THE SOCIAL AND GENDER IDENTITY OF GATHERER-HUNTERS AND HERDERS IN THE SOUTHWESTERN CAPE

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ABSTRACT

Southern African archaeology has experienced several changes in theoretical perspectives over the past few decades. More recently there have been renewed calls for a more social and theoretical approach to the analysis of the prehistoric past, especially the Late Stone Age. This thesis is an account of the last 4000 years in the southwestern Cape, where material culture is analysed in terms of contextual meaning. Contextual meaning is used in conjunction with social identity theory to analyse the interaction between Khoi herders and San gatherer-hunters. I use the active processes of identity formation and maintenance to argue that both the isolationist and revisionist arguments have simplified the concepts of identity, where identity is seen to have a passive role in interaction. I argue that identity is dynamic and changeable, and that individuals have several social identities which are made salient according to the context of interaction. I use specific fineline images in the rock art to argue that these images, in conjunction with scraper styles, were used as strategies by San males to increase their self-esteem. I further argue that interaction would result in unequal gender relations and San females used specific adzes to reassert their gender identity within San society. I further argue that finger paintings and handprints may have been painted by Khoi females as part of their menstruation and/or menarche rituals. I use both the gender and social identities from the Khoi and the San to argue that these are interrelated and cannot be separated. I argue that interaction would result in unequal gender and social practices and these practices would be expressed in the material culture of that group.

PREFACE

Southern African precolonial archaeology has experienced several changes in theoretical perspectives over the past few decades. More recently there have been renewed calls for a more social and theoretical approach to the analysis of the past, especially the Late Stone Age. This thesis is an account of the last 4000 years in the southwestern Cape, where material culture is analysed in terms of contextual meaning. Contextual meaning is used in conjunction with social identity theory to analyse the interaction between Khoi herders and San gatherer-hunters. Active processes of identity formation and maintenance show that both the isolationist and revisionist arguments have simplified the concepts of identity, seeing identity as having a passive role in interaction. Identity is dynamic and changeable, and individuals have several social identities which are made salient according to the context of interaction. Interaction would result in unequal gender and social practices and these practices would be expressed in the material culture of a group. While gender identity is a social identity, I define gender identity as being a sub-identity of a social identity, while a social identity refers to the overall identity of a group. I use the gender and social identities of both the Khoi and the San to argue that identity and material culture are interrelated and cannot be separated. They therefore need to be taken into account in a study of past social relations.

Any interaction between groups of people of the same or different culture will result in changes in the social relations of those groups. These groups can be either gender or social groups, although several other categories usually exist. Changes in social relations will result in changes in material culture, since new contexts of interaction and the use of material culture in these contexts, will arise.

I use social identity theory to analyse this interaction. Social identity theory was developed in Europe over the last few decades, but only became a dominant theory in the mid 1970s with the work of Tajfel (1978a). The main tenet of social identity theory is that groups precede individuals and individuals inherit these group identities. Group membership results in a positive social identity which affects the individual. Individuals attempt to maintain a positive social identity through various strategies; for example ingroup bias, status, comparison dimensions, stereotypes and social categorisations. Individuals therefore compare their groups with other groups, since identity is always in relation to other people or groups. In intergroup interaction individuals will therefore compare themselves and their groups favourably in comparison to an outgroup. If a favourable comparison dimension cannot be maintained, the group will either challenge the outgroup or change its own comparison dimensions through social creativity. Alternatively, some individuals may leave their group and acculturate to the outgroup, since the outgroup would provide a favourable positive

social identity. Apart from a social identity, numerous other identities are available to individuals within a group. These include gender, age and status, for example. Identity is thus viewed in terms of strategies that individuals use to maintain positive self-esteem, and to achieve this purpose various forms of material culture are utilised. These identities are discussed in this thesis in relation to interaction between herders and gatherer-hunters in the southwestern Cape.

An archaeological analysis of gatherer-hunters in the southwestern Cape must take the "isolationist-revisionist" debate into account. "Isolationists" argue that real social differences existed between the San and the Khoi and that these two groups lived beside each other on the same landscape. "Revisionists" argue that differences between the San and the Khoi are recent, and a result of colonialism disrupting former social relations, in which both the San and the Khoi herded cattle and gathered and hunted. Present day gatherer-hunters resorted to a gathering-hunting economy due to this colonial disruption. Both arguments refer to intergroup interaction, and this makes social identity theory an appropriate theoretical framework within which to view this interaction.

After operationalising my conceptual framework, I analyse specific types of material culture in terms of contextual meaning. Contextual meaning refers to the relationship between material culture and its meaning which may be initially arbitrary, but which achieves meaning from its context (Champion 1991). I use specific items of material culture to argue for such contextual meaning, such as scrapers, adzes and rock art. The contextual meaning of an artefact does not necessarily deny the artefact's functionality, but functionality is only one aspect of material culture. Social relations are as important in determining the outcome of material culture, and sometimes may even supersede functionality.

The social relations of a group play an important role in the selection, manufacture and use of material culture, irrespective of the group's geographical place. To demonstrate this, I view all material culture as being interrelated, since the social relations of a society are interrelated, and material culture is partly a reflection thereof. Material culture is not only active, but interactive; an item to be used in the discourses of a group in its negotiations with other groups. People interact with each other, and these interactions are played out in the cognitive-ideological and material realms of that society. Changes in the interactions between people may therefore affect material culture. If changes in different items of material culture co-occur, this may reflect changes in the society as a whole. This view allows for a contrast in changes in adzes and scrapers, which I argue occurred at the same time as changes in rock art. In summary, I use the notion of unequal gender and social relations to argue that interaction results in changes in the content and context of material culture used in daily discourses.

These arguments should be viewed in the context of previous research in the southwestern Cape. This research has concentrated on the functional variability of material culture and is viewed in relation to activity variance across geographical space. This has resulted in a static view of material culture, and has subsequently denied the interactive role that material culture plays in society. Researchers have generally not taken gender and social relations within a society into account, but have concentrated on ecological variables that are seen to influence human behaviour. My analysis is restricted to the southwestern Cape, and covers its ecological zones. I use stratified and single occupation deposits found in rock shelters and shell middens for a definition of an archaeological assemblage. I also use the notion of place in the landscape to argue that these have specific meaning. Historical and contemporary ethnographies of the Khoi and San in southern Africa serve as a bridge between contemporary western theory and non-western ideologies.

CHAPTER 1: ARCHAEOLOGICAL THEORY IN SOUTHERN AFRICAN

Archaeology in southern Africa has experienced many changes in interpretations of the past. Within the last decade the emphasis in several analyses has been towards a more social approach in interpretations (see Mazel 1989, 1992; Hall 1990; Wadley 1989). These social approaches have used a wider range of information than previous interpretations, often emphasising the interdisciplinary nature of archaeology. In some cases, there have been conscious departures from the positivist approaches that have, in the past, dominated archaeological interpretations. In this chapter I review these approaches in relation to Late Stone Age (LSA) archaeology of southern Africa, but specifically the southwestern Cape.

The 1920s saw an increase in archaeological excavations and interpretations in South Africa. Without direct dating techniques, chronologies were assessed according to stone tool typologies, where the LSA, in the Holocene, was divided into the Wilton and various Smithfield cultures (Goodwin 1935, 1937; Hewitt 1931; van Riet Lowe 1926, 1935). The similarities and differences between the various 'cultures' were viewed in terms of stone tool morphology, raw material use and size. Changes in the stone tools were argued to be the result of a migration of new people into an area, or a diffusion of technology or ideas - the migration hypothesis was more favoured. The migration of these cultures was later viewed in conjunction with assumed racial features obtained from human skeletons. The proponents of this broad theoretical approach viewed society in terms of culture history. Culture was a collection of ideas collectively held and conveyed from generation to generation by members of that social group (Trigger 1989). Culture was thought to be normative, with artefacts reflecting those norms. Any changes in the norms of the culture would therefore be seen in the artefacts.

In the 1960s archaeologists began to question this "culture history" approach. It was seen to be descriptive and unable to explain changes in society that were not necessarily normative. Societies were argued to be made up of several interrelated material and non-material systems. It was during this time that the use of radiocarbon dating became widespread. One of the consequences of this dating method was that archaeology moved more towards the natural sciences. There was also an emphasis on environmental issues that affected human behaviour. Inskeep (1967:572), for example, argued that "culture is significantly modified by the environment" and changes in the environment resulted in changes in culture. As more assemblages were dated, quantified and compared, archaeologists soon realised that the environment may only constrain human behaviour, and that causal relationships between the two may not exist.

A major impetus behind this paradigmatic shift was an increasing emphasis on scientific methodology, also called positivism, processualism or New Archaeology. This theoretical position required hypothetico-deductive reasoning, quantification of data, cross-cultural generalisations, and the notion that these scientific results were objectively obtained. Binford (1989) argued that in order to understand the systems working within a society three tenets were needed. First, generalisation was a means to view the past through cross-cultural studies. Second, the use of scientific methodology was important and included hypothesis testing and deductive reasoning - an emphasis on sampling strategies, pattern recognition and quantification. Third, variability in the archaeological record must be tested. Archaeologists in southern Africa incorporated this new approach into their theory and methodology. Sampson (1974) produced a new model for the LSA, arguing that it could be viewed in four phases: the Early, Classic, Developed and Ceramic Wilton. However, changes were still viewed in terms of migration and/or diffusion, development was in a form of lineal evolution, and analysis remained at a functional level.

At this time Deacon (1972, 1974, 1978) reanalysed the Wilton rock shelter assemblages. Her analysis relied on the concept of a 'cultural ontogeny' to explain change that occurred independent of the environment. She initially argued that the changes reflect "a time-controlled series of variations upon the basic tool kit of the people" (1972:36) and that the Wilton was a "single developing system through time" (1974:12). Continuing with her evolutionary model for change, she later argued for a 'punctuated equilibrium' with respect to changes in stone tools (1978). She argued that the introduction of new material culture would increase the rate of change, called innovative change, and as people adjusted, the rate of change would reach an equilibrium, called post-innovative change. Changes in the LSA were therefore related to a series of these homeostatic plateaux. The emphasis on change still relied, however, on cultural units being defined by stone tools, and these tools were seen to be functional.

Parkington (1980) questioned these arguments for change. He argued that changes through time were continuous and related to resource use across geographical space. Concentrating on the southwestern Cape, Parkington (1971, 1976, 1978) also used the concept of seasonal mobility to show how change could be continuous. He excavated several sites in the southwestern Cape to analyse his notion of continuous change. He argued that food procurement strategies would require specific stone tools and raw material, and that these would be related to the seasonal movements, from the mountains to the coastal plains, in relation to the availability of certain foods. This model relied extensively on ecological variables and the notion of adaptation to the environment. While

other non-lithic material culture was used in analyses, stone tool variability was the main thrust of change. These items of material culture were still seen in functionalist terms.

By the mid-1980s archaeologists began to question the usefulness of scientific methodology. Inspired by the British post-processual school, several southern African archaeologists consciously moved away from the positivist epistemology (Hall 1990; Lewis-Williams 1980, 1981, 1983, 1984a, 1984b; Mazel 1989, 1992; Wadley 1989). The reliance on scientific methodology was viewed as cumbersome in its attempts to explain and interpret archaeological material. Researchers further argued that previous analyses remained descriptive. Trigger (1989) argued that positivism ignores the psychological aspects of a society, believing them to have no value for ecological interpretations. Instead, technological and environmental factors are emphasised, and people are viewed as passive players in a social system. The need for cross-cultural generalisations to infer laws of human behaviour was related to the notion of passive players. Post-processualists began to question the validity of these generalisations, since they ignore the contextual-specificity of the people under study, and also ignore the symbolic meaning behind material culture. The idea that "behind the social system is a structure of meaning which determines the relationship between material culture and society" is disregarded by these archaeological interpretations (Hodder 1982b:133).

A further dissatisfaction with positivism has been its view of material culture in relation to a society. Post-processualists prefer to view material culture as having symbolic meaning, and thus not restricted to its utilitarian value. 'Contextual meaning' refers to "the relationship between material culture and its meaning [which] may ultimately be arbitrary, but it derives at least part of its meaning from its context and from preceding contexts" (Champion 1991:138). Material symbolism is an active process, since material culture can be used covertly to disrupt established power relations (Hodder 1982b:10). Raw materials are used in, and are transformed into, social categories, and thus have social meaning beyond their functional attributes. These hypotheses provided the theoretical impetus for Wadley (1989) to argue that scraper raw materials are active signifiers of a group and its social relations, not the environment, and they may determine the 'patterning' of archaeological sites and material culture across geographical space and through time. Hall (1990) used changes in raw materials, amongst other things, to identify group boundaries and changing social relations as a result of economic intensification. Lewis-Williams (1980, 1981, 1983, 1984a, 1984b) has consulted ethnographic sources to argue that all rock art was symbolic and related to deep structures within San society. Solomon (1989a, 1989b) has argued that the gendered structures of San society were inextricably linked to their mythology and rock art. By understanding the

ideological systems which constituted that society one could therefore understand the art. Material culture is thus viewed as an expression of power and ideology (Shanks and Tilley 1987a).
These interpretations are thus a significant departure from previous analyses, since material culture is viewed as being inherently symbolic and actively used to negotiate the different social relations in a society. Hodder (1982b:10) argued that the use of an artefact is always in association with previous usages, and these items may thus be used as an active force in social change. Material culture may legitimate the social order, but does not order it (Shanks and Tilley 1987a). The production of material culture is thus never an isolated act, as it is in reference to a previously established positions. For the post-processualists, "material culture patterning is not a reality to be questioned in the way in which a hypothetico-deductive analysis might suggest but a reality that has to be constructed in the process of translative, interpretative analysis" (Shanks and Tilley 1987a:115).

While post-processualism gained momentum in other parts of the country, interpretations of LSA archaeology in the southwestern Cape were still dominated by the scientific methodology. In the southwestern Cape, for example, scrapers and adzes have been viewed in strictly functional terms. Scrapers have been related to hide working and their occurrence across the landscape is in direct relation to the occurrence of hunted animals. It is argued that since sites along the coastal plain are dominated by shellfish middens, scrapers would have had little value for that group at that specific time. The raw materials used for scrapers are related to specific scraper types and the geographical place of the scraper manufacturer. Adzes have also been analysed in this way. Since the coastal plain and sandveld sites have a softer soil physiology than those in the mountains, fewer adzes would have been needed to make tools for plant food gathering. The intensity of adze manufacture is thus related to the ecology of an area in this interpretation (Mazel and Parkington 1983).

In the southwestern Cape, especially in the mountainous areas, MSA scatters are commonly found on the top of hills. These numerous scatters are open sites where MSA people either made stone tools or lived. Researchers have argued that the reuse of MSA scatters for stone tool production was for economic reasons alone, over the last 2000 years, since access to these primary raw material sources were at one time restricted. Stone tools have thus become functional artefacts, and have been denied any further meaning. A contextual interpretation, in contrast, acknowledges that stone tools serve a functional purpose; however, since function is related to social values, these tools may have social meaning. This meaning relates to the structures of that society, irrespective of where the artefacts are found. Stone tools were thus a dynamic part of the social system, rather than an artefact divorced from the society which created it.

The debate between revisionists and isolationists has been active for some time [for summaries see Myers (1988) and Cassimir (1990)]. The debate started with the publication of *Man the Hunter* in the 1968 (Lee and De Vore 1968), where it was argued that interaction between gatherer-hunters and their herder and/or agriculturist neighbours was minimal. The interaction that did occur was seen to be ineffective in changing the social relations of each group. The argument forwarded by Lee and De Vore (1968) implied that gatherer-hunters were not influenced by interaction with their pastoralist and agriculturist neighbours, and several researchers argued there was no interaction. These gatherer-hunters could thus be used as ethnoarchaeological case studies, and therefore aid archaeological interpretations. The argument thus saw gatherer-hunters as a Late Stone Age people who had not changed their way of life over the last few millennia. Interaction between the different socio-economic groups was argued to be recent. Schrire (1980) argues that the isolationists have viewed San in terms of a social evolutionary paradigm, seeing them as remnant populations from the Stone Age. Many ethnographers have ignored, or dismissed, the duration and impact of contact with farmers and herders on the San, preferring to regard the latter as isolated groups of people who had changed their ways of life only minimally after relatively recent contact with outsiders (Schrire 1980). Revisionists argue that anthropologists have tended to emphasise foraging activities, rather than herding activities, and thus did not note the extensive Kalahari trade networks (Denbow 1980, 1984, 1990; Wilmsen 1989; Wilmsen and Denbow 1990). Revisionists further counter the isolationist perspective arguing that the San have herded and owned domestic stock, and/or harvested their own crops - "the whole spectrum from near dependence on foraging to complete dependence on Bantu speakers" exists (Schrire 1980:13). While the debate has resulted in a revaluation of current concepts of archaeological identity, material culture has been viewed functionally and statically, and thus not active in the process of negotiating identity. I use the concept of contextual meaning in this thesis to interpret the material culture in the southwestern Cape within a social identity framework. The introduction of a new theoretical stance is necessary, especially since the isolationist-revisionist debate appears to have reached a stage of stagnation. I argue that material culture is an active indicator of social change and influenced by the dynamics of identity. This does not mean that material culture simply reflects social relations, "but it may serve to mediate [the social practices and structures] via the logic of its own form" (Shanks and Tilley 1987a:131). This 'logic' can be seen in the way identity is transformed in interaction between groups. If interaction is dynamic, and if it empowers one group and disempowers another, material culture may be used to negotiate these discourses of empowerment.

To understand these discourses I introduce social identity theory, arguing that individuals may belong to particular groups and as a result there is an increase in their self-esteem. Identity is thus a strategy for reaching a positive identity. Since the individual's identity becomes linked to the group's

identity, both will strive for similar feelings of self-worth. However, interaction within the group and between groups will change these negotiations. By relating material culture to identity maintenance, both the cognitive and material manifestations of a society are allowed to be not only active, but interactive. However, identity is never in a state of equilibrium as individuals in a group may not always agree with the dominant ideology and they may challenge it. Individuals have multiple identities that may be in conflict with other identities in the group as a whole.

This thesis uses contextual archaeology to demonstrate the material manifestations of social identity in the interactions between, and within, the Khoi and the San groups of the southwestern Cape.

CHAPTER 2: SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY

In the previous chapter I introduced my theoretical framework in relation to contextual meaning in material culture. This chapter expands upon my brief introduction, highlighting the important conceptual issues involved in social identity. Social identity theory examines individuals and their relations with their own group and other groups, as well as studying people with multiple identities. In this way issues such as gender can be considered, whilst analysing contact between two different social groups. Social identity theory shows how many variables are interrelated in any given contact situation: intergroup contact is not merely a case of *us* and *them*. As such, this theory is useful when considering contact between the Khoi and San, not only in the southwestern Cape, but also in terms of the revisionist/separatist debate.

Social psychology is defined as "that branch of psychology that concentrates on any and all aspects of human behaviour that involve persons and their relationships to other persons, groups, social institutions and to society as a whole" (Reber 1985:708). Social identity theory's main hypothesis is that individuals strive for positive self-esteem, which is related to the perceptions of the groups to which they belong. Thus if a group has low self-esteem, so will the individual. Social identity theory examines concepts such as status, intergroup boundaries and interaction, group identity and formation, changing social identities, and the consequences of contact for the group and its members. Because social identity theory is essentially constructed within a Western/European ideology, I consider its cross-cultural applicability. An understanding of social groups is important, since people grow up in, live in, work with, play in, make decisions with/about and/or fight amongst groups: they are a ubiquitous part of human nature (Brown 1988). Turner (1984:530; and see Brown 1988; Brown and Turner 1981; Tajfel 1978a; Turner 1982) defines a psychological group as "a collection of people that share the same social identification or define themselves in terms of the same social category membership. To the degree that this identification becomes salient in a situation, there is a shared or collective depersonalisation of members' individual selves which produces self-other identity, mutual cohesion, co-operation, and unity of attitudes and actions in line with the stereotypes that define the social category membership."

SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY

Social identity theory has many interrelated aspects; however, to facilitate an understanding of these aspects, I deal with each one with separately. I do not give a summary of early theories in detail since most articles in the literature review these early studies. Brown and Ross (1982),

Hewstone and Brown (1986), Pettigrew (1986), and Brown (1988) provide reviews of early contact theories and criticisms. In Appendix A I summarise the interpersonal versus intergroup argument.

In 1978 Tajfel (1978a) edited a book that marked the beginnings of a reformulated theory of social identity. It was believed that individuals are members of social groups and that membership to these groups contributed to their self-image (Tajfel 1978a). Social contexts that compel individuals to act in terms of their group membership would reinforce for them some group identities which were not previously significant to them, or perhaps activate group memberships that were, beforehand, dormant or potential (Tajfel 1978a). A consequence of this is that individuals will begin to perceive in common an increasingly larger number and variety of social contexts as being relevant to their group membership (Tajfel 1978a). Thus, social identity theory is founded on the postulate that individuals' social identities are derived from their group membership and are reinforced by social comparisons (Deschamps and Brown 1983; Tajfel 1978a, 1978b, 1978c). Groups will differentiate themselves from other groups in order to achieve and/or maintain a positive distinctiveness on some relevant dimension, for example, economics, status and gender (Tajfel 1978a-c; Turner 1978a-b; Deschamps and Brown 1983; Wagner *et al* 1986). The maintenance of a positive social identity is then thus in relation to other groups by means of mutual evaluations. This mutuality, however, may cause intergroup discrimination in situations where there are no objective or external conflict goals (Deschamps and Brown 1983).

Intergroup differentiation tends to be greater on dimensions of comparison of general social value, or of special importance, to the group (Abrams and Hogg 1990). Thus, the more the ingroup (the group to which one belongs) is seen as different and better than the outgroup (the group to which one does not belong, that is, them/the other) the more a group's social identity will be enhanced (Wagner *et al* 1986; Abrams and Hogg 1990). "While categorisation produces the search for distinguishing features, social comparisons and the need for positive social identity promote selective attenuation of intergroup differences that favour the ingroup" (Abrams and Hogg 1990:3-4). These two processes also act in accordance with each other so as to decrease perceived intragroup variation. Individuals act as group members when social identity is salient, whereas this does not occur when personal identity is evoked (Abrams and Hogg 1990). When social identity is evoked, the individual's self-concept is in terms of group membership. The incorporation of a group identity into the self-concept results in group conformity and it co-ordinates group behaviour (Abrams and Hogg 1990). Individuals are connected to the social structures of their group by defining themselves as members of various categories, and thus they "may have some lay conception of a social structure which informs their social identity as members of social categories" (Abrams and Hogg 1990:4). Social categories stand in power, status and prestige relations to one

another (Hogg and Abrams 1988). The more dominant group(s) tends to have the material power to engender its own version of the social nature of society, the groups within society and their relationships (Hogg and Abrams 1988). Subordinate group membership tends to produce a negative social identity, thus groups and/or individuals will try to change this by means of social mobility or social change (Tajfel 1978a).

While social identity theory tends to be consistent with empirical data (Turner 1982), certain criticisms have been directed at this approach. Condor (1989) noted that in gender studies the 'minimal group paradigm' only analyses two categories (masculine and feminine), and thus ignores other gender categories. Furthermore, gender may be played down in some categories - in San societies, for example, very young and old people may be agendered on occasions (Biesele 1993; Solomon 1988). Hinkle and Brown (1990:49) have three criticisms of social identity theory. First, outgroup favouritism does occur, and not only ingroup favouritism. Second, where multiple dimensions of comparison occur, ingroup favouritism may occur on some dimensions, while outgroup favouritism is evident on others. Those intergroup comparisons which form integral parts of a group's social identity thus need to be identified. Third, no consistent positive relationship has been found between ingroup identification and intergroup differentiation: "since the motivational impetus for social identity should increase with strength of ingroup identification, the fact that strong, positive relationships between identification and differentiation are rarely observed is similarly inconsistent with social identity theory". In other words, it is difficult to interpret intergroup comparisons that do not lead to positive differentiation in terms of groups or individuals striving to establish or maintain a positive social identity. I bear the above criticisms in mind in the following section, where I consider self categorisation theory - a derivative of social identity theory.

Self-categorisation Theory

Self-categorisation theory analyses the antecedents, nature and consequences of psychological group function; that is how groups influence and form members' behaviour (Hogg and McGarty 1990). The theory concentrates on the cognitive processes of self-categorisation by perceiving social identity as the socio-cognitive basis of group behaviour and the means that make group behaviour possible. It further "considers both group and individual behaviour as 'acting in terms of self', but self-generating at different levels of abstraction" (Hogg and McGarty 1990:12). These levels are those which define one's human identity (a superordinate level of humanity), social identity (the intermediate level), and personal identity (the subordinate level that views the individual as unique from other group members) (Hogg and McGarty 1990).

Categorisation accentuates similarities and differences between groups. This allows for a clarification of the world into subjectively intelligible areas and identifies those actions which are relevant in specific contexts. "Categorisation of self and others at the intermediate level accentuates the group prototypicality, stereotypicality... The individual is perceptually and behaviourally depersonalised in terms of the relevant ingroup prototype" (Hogg and McGarty 1990:13). Depersonalisation refers to the "contextual change in the level of identity, as opposed to loss of identity", and is thus not negative (Hogg and McGarty 1990:13). The social self-concept depends on the context of specific self-categories used in specific interactions - it becomes the basis of perception and conduct. Thus the level of abstraction is variable "with the frame of reference so that the salient abstraction is that immediately subordinate to the level at which the stimuli under comparison can be treated as identical" (Hogg and McGarty 1990:13). In this way conformity and group polarisations are historical incidents. I deal with the process of self-categorisation in a later section.

Social Identification and Identities

I present the differences between social and personal identities in Appendix A. Identification with one's group entails an investment, for example status, that needs to be justified by the individual (Moghaddam and Stringer 1987:113). This justification is attained by accentuating (real and assumed) intergroup differences, so that the ingroup is viewed in a more positive light. Social identifications are by no means static and individuals can achieve positive social identity in two ways: through social mobility or social change (Tajfel 1978a, 1978b). In the case of social mobility, individuals may leave the ingroup for a (higher-status) outgroup, but group boundaries must be permeable. With social change individual mobility is not possible and thus members of the (lower status) group can only enhance their identities by improving the comparative social status of the ingroup as a whole. Basing their work on Tajfel (1978b), Van Knippenberg and Ellemers (1990:139) suggest that one should rather consider multiple identities that function in various contexts. While Turner (1978a, 1978b) examines personal and social identification, Van Knippenberg and Ellemers subdivide social identification into two parts (fig. 2.1). First, the ways in which individuals perceive themselves as a representatives of a social group or social category of which they are members, is a form of self-definition that may be associated with a social change strategy of identity enhancement. Second, the ways in which individuals perceive themselves as representatives of a social group to which they aspire, or expect to become members, is a type of self-definition that underlies the social mobility strategy of identity enhancement. I use this model henceforth.

FIGURE 2.1: DYNAMICS OF SOCIAL IDENTITIES

(AFTER VAN KNIPPENBERG AND ELLEMERS 1990)

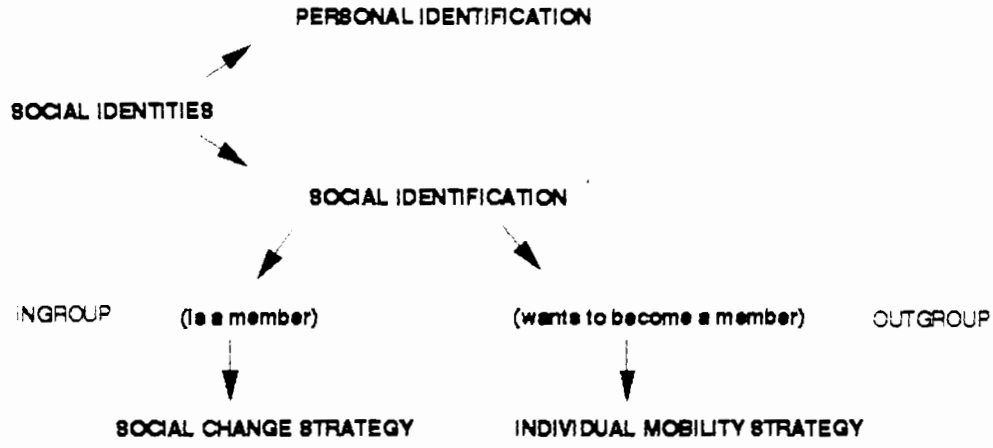
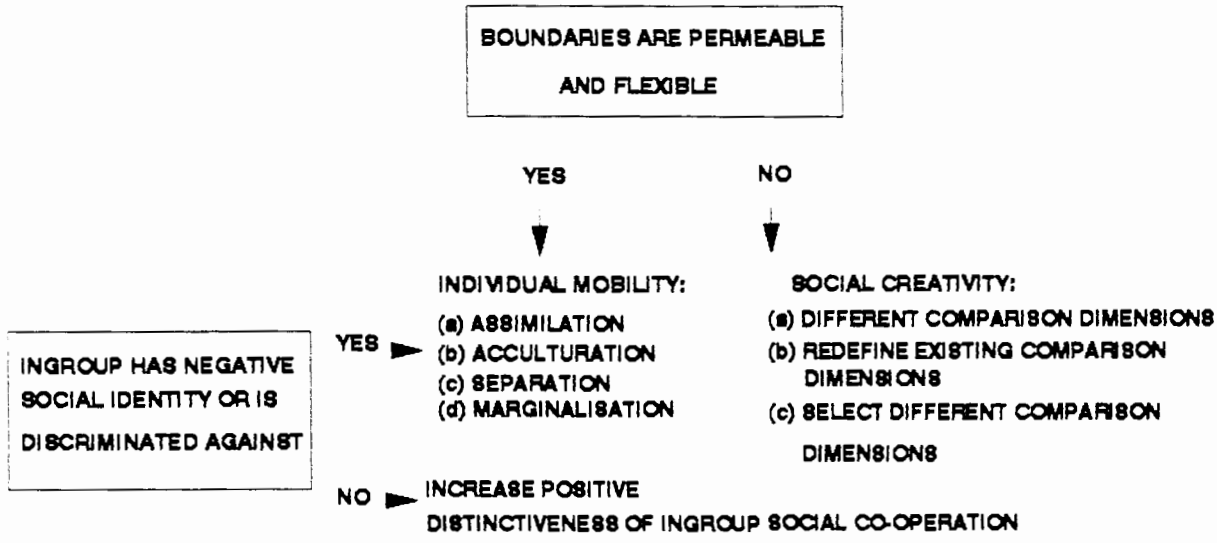


FIGURE 2.2: CONSEQUENCES OF SOCIAL CHANGE



Group Formation and Membership

The group is a psychological reality and not a convenient label: group behaviour is an adaptive process, and thus group identifications are social products and cognitive structures (Turner 1984). Group formation is a process of identification: "the formation and internalisation of self-defining social categories" (Turner 1984:530). Categorisation can fulfil a need for coherence and/or for positive self-esteem in group formation (Hogg and Turner 1985). Furthermore, individuals can form a group spontaneously when grouped with positively distinctive likeable others even when there is no explicit social categorisation (Hogg and Turner 1985). Both categorisation and social attraction are related to group formation. Hogg and Turner (1985:278) explain this further: "categorisation causes differential group behaviour in favour of the ingroup...[and] positive distinctive likeable and negative distinctive likeable groups perceive themselves to be more individually similar to the ingroup than the outgroup".

Early theories viewed similarity as an important determinant of group formation, resulting in stereotypes and bias. While these theories have been criticised for various reasons, similarity and bias are still important aspects of group behaviour. Moghaddam and Stringer (1987) studied those conditions of outgroup similarity which would result in outgroup bias and negative bias. They concluded that when an ingroup and an outgroup are perceived as similar on important criteria, social categorisations and ingroup similarity were combined to create strong identification with the ingroup, which in turn evoked motivation to achieve positive distinctiveness, through ingroup favouritism and intergroup differentiation (Moghaddam and Stringer 1987; see Van Knippenberg and Ellemers 1990). Early psychology theory argued that proximity, social interaction, co-operative interdependence, similarity, group climate and shared success enhance group formation and cohesion. Allen and Wilder (1975:971) tested whether belief similarity or group categorisation was a more important factor in discriminative behaviour. They concluded that: (1) mere categorisation may cause discriminatory behaviour; (2) belief similarity accentuated ingroup favouritism, and belief dissimilarity decreased ingroup favouritism; (3) outgroup belief (dis-)similarity "had little effect on discrimination... instead, subjects favoured the ingroup in all conditions, regardless of whether outgroup members possessed [(dis)-similar]...beliefs": and, (4) subjects (of ingroup) discriminated as they thought others were discriminating - there was thus a norm for discrimination. I argue, therefore, that one should examine the degree of similarity that an individual has with both the outgroup and the ingroup.

Earlier views do not recognise "external designation" as being one of the processes involved in group formation (Tuner *et al* 1983). This term refers to the process whereby "psychologically significant group memberships sometimes develop because people are defined by others as members of socially relevant categories, such as women, black, and so forth" (Tuner *et al* 1983:227). These external designations, and ensuing discriminations, may elicit a subjective acceptance of the group membership regardless that at the onset there may little interdependence and attraction between members (Tuner *et al* 1983). When external designation is absent, a shared positive characteristic between a collection of likeable others will allow an individual to see others as a social unit, instead of as a group of heterogenic likeable others (Hogg and Turner 1985). Thus, inter-individual liking develops where social identification occurs, and external designations are sufficient for group behaviour (Turner 1984). I examine necessary and sufficient conditions for group formation in Appendix A.

In summary, social categorisation allows for group cohesion by accruing to individuals positive intermember attitudes (Turner *et al* 1983). The recognition of some self-defining social categorisation is thus a sufficient condition for group formation. The variables most likely to affect group formation are those which define individuals as members of a common social category, and show that the criteria for group membership are positive (Turner 1982). Once members are defined by the social group they are more likely to see the group as being positive, even if it is seen as negative by outsiders.

Group Membership

I consider that an analysis of group membership maintenance is as important as the processes involved in group formation (see Turner 1984 for a history of group membership theories). Turner (1984:528) noted three features of psychological group membership: identity, interdependence and social structure. Identity is formed when a collection of people is defined by others and by themselves as a group and have an "us" and "them" collective perception. Individuals define and evaluate themselves in terms of their group membership in order to establish positively valued differences between the in- and out-group in order to maintain and enhance their self-esteem as group members, which leads to ingroup favouritism. By common category membership, members may perceive their interests as similar and assign others' goals to themselves and *vice versa*. This shared identity induces a type of co-operation within the group that borders on altruism, as one's own needs are perceived as others' needs, and *vice versa* (see Brown 1988). This psychological group membership causes group members to create (or preserve) their social identity through social means, rather than individual means (Van Knippenberg 1978). Group membership "should be

(positively) interdependent in some way for the isolation of needs, achievements of goals, consensual validation of attitudes and values, in terms of social influence, social attraction, mutual attraction and some form of cohesion" (Turner 1984:518). Although all three of these features play a role in group membership, there is no consensus on which constitutes the main component of group membership (Turner 1984; and see Waddell and Cairn 1986 for further cross-cultural examples, and Appendix A for exceptions).

In conclusion, individuals perceive the ingroup and the outgroup differently, with these perceptions related to the identity of the group. Group membership becomes salient when there is a positive, or negative, evaluation and emotional investment in group membership. Individual social identity is related to group membership - joining a group thus causes changes in self-concept. Furthermore, individuals can belong to more than one group, and function in terms of that group membership to gain social identity through that membership.

GROUP CONFORMITY AND NORMS

The ways in which group members conform to the group, and the norms involved in conformity, differ according to the situation, and whether or not group membership is salient. Norms are frames of reference which individuals utilise when interpreting social interactions (Brislin 1987:44). Norms are not always prescriptive: only those central to the functioning of the group's existence tend to be restrictive, while others have a wider range of tolerance (Brislin 1987). Norms also change over time in relation to changing circumstances (Brown 1988). Thus, if norms change, so would conformity. Hogg and Turner 1987b:139) argue that conformity occurs within the group when individuals exhibit behaviours that are normative for their own group, since these "norms are shared, ingroup attributes are perceived to be objectively appropriate and valid precisely because they are consensual and thus externally attributable". The social influence with such conformity to ingroup norms is called "referent informational influence" (Abrams *et al* 1990; Hogg and Turner 1987b; Turner 1982; 1984; 1985). Conformity occurs in situations where normative and/or informational influence would be assumed to operate and thus interpersonal models of conformity are problematic.

Early studies in conformity focused on normative and informational influence. These concepts require explanation before an alternative model is proposed. Informational influence is the influence to agree with information given by others from the group as evidence about an objective reality - it is thus internalised (Turner 1991). Normative influence is influence related to norms, and is thus related to group membership and compliance, and thus constitutes cultural compliance. Both have

causal structures, and both are reflections of an individual social dependence on others. Individuals tend to have an increase in ingroup conformity when there is an increase in the normative and informational dependence of the individual on the group. However, individuals may influence the group when the dependence of the group on the individual increases (Turner 1991). Thus, conformity is not a unilateral process, as implied from normative and informational influence models (Abrams *et al* 1990; Turner 1991). Social influence is derived from the need of individuals to reach consensus with others so that their responses can be validated as correct, appropriate and desirable. In this way, social change can create problems with the appropriate normative tendency, since the group may be redefining itself, in terms of stereotypes, characteristics and norms. Social consensus is thus an intrinsic property of the social group: dissensus results in conformity pressure (Hogg and Turner 1987b).. Conformity will thus increase in situations of intergroup contact, since it is a function of reference group salience - there is a need to obtain consensus so that subjective uncertainty and validity can be resolved (Hogg and Turner 1987b; Turner 1982).

Intergroup contact and conformity are important since individuals do not simply conform to group norms; they compete with each other to ratify the norm, each claiming that they are closer to the normative ideal than others in the group (Codol 1975, in Turner 1982). This is a cross-cultural phenomenon (see Mann 1988), and may result in an increase in stylistic differences within the group, even though the main stylistic trait remains unchanged. Moreover, when group membership is salient, group norms are seen as more extreme and "attitude polarisation due to conformity to these extremitised norms" occurs (Mackie 1986:77). An attitude change to a more neutral position on an issue occurs when individuals in the group focus on their individual performance. In terms of self-categorisation theory, this means that intergroup comparisons produce polarisation and that "the direction of change on an item may be reversed by changing the comparative context" (Turner 1991:78).

A number of generalisations have arisen from conformity research. First, individuals tend to conform to the norms of the group to which they feel psychologically attached. Second, conformity relies on the perception that the group is in agreement and that deviants are isolated. (Turner 1991:42). Third, conformity to a group occurs in both private and public contexts, particularly in the latter where deviance can be noted. Fourth, it has been observed that "ambiguity leads to uncertainty...and that uncertainty and certainty produce susceptibility and resistance to influence, respectively" (Turner 1991:45). Fifth, "mutual influence in the group will vary with the relative power of members" (Turner 1991:45).

STEREOTYPES AND BIAS

One of the processes involved in conformity to the norm is (self-)stereotyping. The analysis of these social perceptions in intergroup contact and ingroup bias is important, since the historical, economic, and cultural determinants and constraints, of intergroup relations create stereotypes about an individual's own and other groups (Turner 1984). Social stereotypes preserve or enhance a distinctive positive self-image, and they defend the *status quo*, particularly when social differences are seen to be illegitimate and/or unstable (Turner 1984). Experiments have shown that social categorisation and intergroup behaviour are sufficient for intergroup discrimination (Locksley *et al* 1990; Tajfel 1978a; Turner *et al* 1983). While the development of stereotypes follows universal laws, the context and degree of endorsement of the stereotype is culture-specific (Brown 1988; Triandis and Brislin 1984; Whetherell 1982). Stereotypes are formed relatively quickly and are perceived to be the 'right way to behave' (Whetherell 1982).

Stereotypes and Ingroup Bias

Viewing others as members of a category (stereotyping), implies the application of that category's content to them, and is thus related to determining group membership salience (Moghaddam and Stringer 1987; Oakes and Turner 1986). Two factors are involved in ingroup bias: first, the salience of comparative dimensions, and second, the degree to which the outgroup is seen as a relevant comparison group for the ingroup (Turner 1978a). Highly cohesive groups evaluate ingroup members more positively than outgroup members, and they are more co-operative towards ingroup members. Conversely, low-cohesive groups tend not to exhibit ingroup favouritism (Dion 1973; Turner *et al* 1983).

When individuals are viewed solely or primarily in terms of their relevant group membership, the stereotypical attributes associated with their group accrue to them. This may result in a depersonalisation and homogenisation, of outgroup members (Turner 1984). The ingroup may view thus itself as being heterogeneous, more complex and individual orientated, while perceiving the outgroup as monolithic, homogeneous and group orientated (Horwitz and Rabbie 1982; Linville and Jones 1980; Quatrone and Jones 1980; Rothberg *et al* 1984, in Hewstone and Brown 1986). Outgroup images are more impoverished relative to ingroup images - viewing indigenous people as *savages*, for example. An ingroup requires much information for a person to be valued positively. I describe the functions and use of stereotypes in detail in Appendix A.

Social categorisations, comparisons, representations and identity are interrelated. Social categorisations divide the social world into categories. Social identification is the processes whereby individuals place themselves, or another person, within a system of social categorisations, and is thus used to define themselves and others. It may also refer to "the process whereby an individual internalises some form of social categorisation so that it becomes a component of the self-concept" (Turner 1982:18)

Social Categorisation

"The theory of categorisation makes predictions about what human categories can and cannot be like. It does not predict what will be in a given culture" (Lackoff 1987:96; and see Triandis 1988:128). While many categorisations may seem at first to be arbitrary, or unidimensional, they are often connected. While Lackoff (1987) gives a cognitive account of social categorisations his work may also be viewed in terms of social identity theory, and I assess it as such in this section. Social judgements are in reference to (social) categories - even an attitude statement is in reference to a category (McGarty and Penny 1988). Thus, categorisations can elicit an individual's identity; for example, patriot and radical, freedom fighter and terrorist, and so forth. Categorisation orders an individuals social environment by means of groupings which make sense to the individual, and thus it "structure[s] the causal understanding of the social environment and thus it helps as a guide for action" (Tajfel 1978b: 61-2). Categorisations are thus subjective - with reference to the self (Hogg and Abrams 1988).

The effects of categorisation are varied. Most important is that categorisation can produce forms of ingroup bias in the minimal group paradigm (Turner 1981; Turner *et al* 1983). Hewstone and Jaspars (1982:112) note four points pertaining to categorisation. First, "categorisation of the social environment is essential, in cognitive operational-terms". Second, categorisation results in intergroup behaviour, and hence ingroup bias. Third, social categorisations may influence individual behaviour (and see Tajfel 1978b). Lastly, categorisations provide a system of self-reference - they create and define a person's place in society. Categorisations are capable of defining the context of more basic intergroup processes in intergroup conflict (Turner 1978a), and thus affect attitude change - an accentuation of attitudinal differences between groups (Van Knippenberg and Wilke 1988).

Categorisations become salient in situations which least 'fit', thus maximising intergroup differences and intragroup similarities (Hogg and Abrams 1988; McGarty and Penny 1988; Oakes and Turner

1986). Categorisations serve to distinguish between stimuli which belong to different categories. Category salience thus cannot be reduced to "an automatic bias towards novel or perceptually prominent stimuli" (McGarty and Penny 1988:145). Categorisation in a group, however, leads to differential cognisance of the relation between the group and desirability of the behaviour, of which there are three processes. First, group categorisation instigates a guided on-line judgement process - the processing of relevant social information is guided by ingroup bias (Maass and Scheller 1991). Second, group categorisation exerts a retrospective judgement bias "on the consideration of group-relevant information... and does not... undermine... prospective information-processing bias" (Maass and Scheller 1991:203). Third, intergroup categorisation activates ingroup favouritism which in turn then bias subsequent cognitive processes and social interactions (Maass and Scheller 1991:204).

Maass and Scheller (1991) only analyse single dichotomous categorisations; however, cross-categorisations should also be studied (Deschamps and Doise 1978). Males and females may be categorised according to their gender, ethnicity and/or class, for example. Van Beselare (1991) argues for several categorisations, each with their own dichotomous categorisations of which some will coincide while others cut across each other resulting in a more segmented social environment. Diehl (1989, in Van Beselare 1991) found that totally different groups tend to discriminate against each other, while overlapping groups did not discriminate. These cross-categories, however, assume that actual cross-membership is available to an individual in both groups, which may not always be the case.

Social Comparisons

Festinger's theory of social comparison argued that comparisons must be tangible realities (1954, in Hogg and Abrams 1988). However, recent research suggests that one does not need physical realities to make comparisons, as the latter are socially structured perceptions (Hogg and Abrams 1982). Intergroup comparisons are volatile, and any group member may belong to other groups. Situational factors determine which ingroup is salient and which comparison group is important at any given time (Johnstone and Hewstone 1990). While intergroup contact allows for these comparisons between groups, and thus the possibility of enhancing one's social identity, there is a probability of conflict transpiring as only one group can be superior on any given dimension (Johnstone and Hewstone 1990; Turner 1978b). Intergroup differences, reflecting favourably on the ingroup are thus accentuated, resulting in positive distinctiveness, and hence positive social identity (Hogg and Abrams 1990).

Van Knippenberg and Ellemers (1990:158) noted four factors influencing comparison, salience and intergroup differentiation tendencies. First are the ambiguous or unstable intergroup status relationships on important comparison dimensions that enhance intergroup salience. Second are situations when intergroup comparison dimensions were salient, and similar outgroups would be differentiated from, unless the comparison group is very dissimilar. Third was the prevailing goal orientation: if there is competition between similar outgroups, then the outgroups are liked less than dissimilar outgroups. Fourth was that downward comparisons rarely occur "as people prefer to associate with others who have complementary qualities".

Social comparisons are also related to esteem. Whenever "a group is able to compare itself with another group on some relevant dimension, the ingroup must attempt to differentiate itself from the other towards the positively valued pole of that dimension in order to preserve its members' self-esteem" (Turner 1978a:105). However, there are situations where multiple comparison dimensions occur, otherwise groups would be in continuous rivalry on the same dimension. This can be seen in the experimental results of Van Knippenberg and Ellemers (1990) - groups show ingroup favouritism on valued dimensions, whereas on dimensions of little value, groups may acknowledge outgroup superiority. If the ingroup concedes a valued comparison dimension, it may have a negative affect on the member's self-esteem: "the relative status of the ingroup determines, at first, those aspects of the self that are substantially connected to the ingroup and the dimensions on which intergroup comparisons take place" (Wagner *et al* 1986:15). Research has also found that the more inferior the ingroup or social identity, the stronger would be the tendency to deny the importance of the relevant dimensions on which intergroup comparisons take place (Wagner *et al* 1986; see Marques and Yzerbyt 1988). People thus have multiple dimensions of comparison.

Self-categorisations

"Characteristics central to one's self-concept serve as a major basis for evaluating others" (Turner 1981:126). The self-concept consists of the self-descriptions and self-evaluations subjectively available to the individual (Hogg and Abrams 1985; Turner 1982). The self-concept consists of several part that are capable of operating independently of each other - a different part, or a combination of parts, could be at work allowing for a production of different self-images, in any given situation (Turner 1982). This allows for the possibility for one's social identity to override one's personal identity - our self-image is group-membership based, especially in intergroup contexts; for example, conflict, discrimination, or norm changes. Thus, different contexts will result in different self-concepts. Self-categorisation accomplishes two functions: first, it places oneself in the relevant social category; and second, "it generates category congruent behaviour dimensions

which are stereotypic of the category" (Hogg and Abrams 1988:21). Self-categorisation thus converts individuals into groups, and the outcome of self-categorisation is an accentuation of ingroup similarities and outgroup differences; that is self-stereotyping.

As I described above, intergroup contact affects group members' self-esteem either positively or negatively, and the pursuit of a positive social identity is related to a maintenance of the positive self-esteem. "The need for a positive self-esteem probably helps to regulate both intra- and inter-group behaviour; individuals do not simply perceive themselves as similar within and different between groups, but also compare and differentiate themselves from each other in terms of these ambiguities" (Turner 1982:36). Thus social identity regulates social behaviour by increasing the range of operation of motivational processes associated with self-perception.

"Intergroup discrimination on the basis of social categorisation *per se* does seem to be associated with increased self-esteem amongst subjects" (Oakes and Turner 1980, in Turner 1980:34), and outgroup discrimination on valued dimensions is one way of enhancing self-esteem (Lemyre and Smith 1985). These findings have been loosely referred to as the self-esteem hypothesis; however, this has been criticised for several reasons. First, ingroup formation is not necessarily related to increased self-esteem - successful intergroup discrimination does not automatically enhance social identity and thus self-esteem (Hogg and Turner 1985a, 1985b, 1987, in Hogg and Abrams 1990). Second, this hypothesis cannot account for the fact that groups with high self-esteem are more discriminatory than groups with high self-esteem (Crocker *et al* 1987; Maass and Scheller 1991). This suggests that "intergroup biases may derive from collective rather than individual esteem needs" (Crocker and Luhtonen 1990, in Maass and Scheller 1991:197). Groups with low self-esteem may show positive differentiation of the ingroup from a second lower status outgroup when there is a threat to their social identity (Maass and Scheller 1991; Van Knippenberg 1984). I explore this further on in this chapter. Favourable comparisons result in positive social identity, whereas unfavourable comparisons result in low prestige and negative social identity. The need for positive social identity may result in the creation and enhancement of positive distinctiveness for one's own group in comparison with other groups (Turner 1982), but not necessarily at the expense of the outgroup(s). High status groups tend to discriminate the most, especially when their self-esteem is threatened, and thus this questions the 'self-esteem hypothesis'. If the group does not have any positive distinctiveness, it can use social mobility or change strategies (Turner 1982).

Intergroup comparisons are impermanent since individuals may belong to several groups at the same time, resulting in several possible identities and or comparison dimensions being used (Johnstone and Hewstone 1990). Intergroup contact presents the opportunities for such comparisons and the prospect of enhancing one's social identity. However, the probability of conflict occurs since only one group can be superior on any given dimension. Any social action by an inferior group to assert itself will be met with social (re-)action by the superior group (Williams and Giles 1978). While ingroup members may have friendly attitudes to the outgroup, friendliness remains confined to the work place, for example; that is, it does not extend to other social spheres (Brown 1988; Waddell and Cairn 1986). The study of the context of intergroup contact is therefore important.

Intergroup contact is important for a group's (and thus, individual's) identity, as positive identification occurs in the contexts of other groups and not in isolation, and the recognition of one's group by other groups is necessary (Brown and Ross 1982). Deprived outgroup contact inhibits the development of differentiated cognitive structures. The intensity of contact, with a set of objectives, thus influences the extent of intricacy of associated cognitive structures which in turn influence the encoding of characteristics associated with these objects, creating a self-perpetuating situation (Park and Rothbart 1982).

When a majority group has a negative self-image "the group *defends* its status through its distinctiveness; but when it has a positive self-image, the group claims its status...distinctiveness and discrimination acquire importance as one reaches the core of the battle for social recognition - whether the aim is to preserve it or to conquer it" (Moscovici and Paicheler 1978:263). Conversely, a minority group with a negative self-image "finds it impossible to structure itself a clear conception of the ingroup, to demarcate clearly the frontiers between the ingroup and the outgroup" (Moscovici and Paicheler 1978:263, and see Kramer and Brewer 1984). I discuss the 'out-group homogeneity effect' in Appendix A. If a group is perceived to be more variable, they will not be generalised (that is stereotyped). The more the outgroup is seen as being variable, then it is less likely that group members will be treated in a similar negative way; but this will make generalisations from pleasant encounters less likely (Johnstone and Hewstone 1990). I examine the occurrence of outgroup favouritism in Appendix A.

Social Conflict And Competition

The possibility of conflict arises in any intergroup contact, since on any given comparison dimension only one group can be superior (Johnstone and Hewstone 1990). Group membership also becomes increasingly salient in situations of conflict, confrontation and/or encounters with an

outgroup (Brown and Turner 1981). However, there is no evidence to suggest that conflict is an outcome of intergroup contact (Turner 1981). Levels of ingroup favouritism and feelings of antipathy towards the outgroup increase in proportion to the degree which the ingroup's social identity is threatened (Brown and Ross 1982). Resistance to minority groups can be direct or indirect: direct occurs via social comparisons which are negative or undesirable characteristics. If someone from a majority group becomes part of a minority group, it would threaten their positive social identity. Moving closer to the minority group implies agreeing with them, and thus identifying with the minority. Indirect resistance entails recognising that the minority has a valid, even though different point of view (Pêrez and Mugny 1987).

Sherif and Sherif's summer camp experiments (1965, in Hewstone and Brown 1986) concluded that a series of superordinate goals is required to decrease conflict between groups. Tajfel (1978c) criticised this work, since conflict was over by the time the superordinate goals were introduced. Furthermore, while the merging of the two groups was a success, these groups were *ad hoc*. Superordinate goals may, in fact, increase conflict and intergroup differentiation (Brown and Wade 1987; Deschamps and Brown 1983;. The important factor involved is whether the groups' roles are similar or different in the contact context. When these roles are different each group has a distinct contribution to make, possibly resulting in a successful collaboration. However, when the groups are similar or compatible, then each groups' contributions are less distinguished and this may result in an increase in outgroup differentiations (Deschamps and Brown 1983). Only when groups have roles that are both unique and relevant to the social identities, will there be a reduction in intergroup conflict. Thus intergroup co-operation may threaten the positive distinctiveness of each group (Deschamps and Brown 1983; Van Knippenberg 1984). Superordinate goals may decrease conflict when intergroup distinctiveness is maintained and not blurred (Hewstone and Brown 1986). Brown and Wade (1987) found that it was near impossible, and also undesirable, to decrease or open group boundaries when there was role ambiguity in situations where a superordinate goal was present. Thus if conflict is to be reduced, differences must be explicit but given equal and reciprocal value. I discuss social co-operation in Appendix A.

In conclusion, groups have both a history and a future (Brown and Ross 1982). Attitude change is related to the social and institutional support mechanisms that either allow, or disallow, contact in a specific setting (Hewstone and Brown 1986; Himmelweit 1990). Often when contact appears to have produced a positive outcome, this "may be attributed to other factors rather than contact *per se*" (Riovolon 1978, in Hewstone and Brown 1986:23). Only if contact is intergroup might any positive outcomes be effective - contact does not thus necessarily decrease conflict (Hewstone and Brown 1986). I discuss different contact situations and their consequences below.

GROUP BOUNDARIES: PERMEABILITY AND CONTACT

Intergroup contact and the ensuing relationships are largely dependent on the attitudes of each group to the other and the perceived intentions of the outgroup (Gudykunst *et al* 1988). Sherif (1969, in Brown and Wade 1987) believed that intergroup conflict may be reduced by introducing superordinate goals for both groups. Turner (1981) found that if conflict between groups was to be reduced, group boundaries must be eliminated so that intergroup relations can become intragroup relations. However, eliminating group boundaries may not only be near impossible, but also undesirable for both groups.

For individuals (hardly ever groups) to move from the ingroup to the (high status) outgroup, individuals must believe that it is possible to move upwards - this is the individual mobility strategy to a negative social identity (Tajfel 1978a; Ellemers *et al* 1988; Tajfel and Turner 1979, in Van Knippenberg and Ellemers 1990). "Group members that have relatively high individual ability (which is generally highly valued) are...not solely dependent on their group for achieving a positively valued identity. Group members with low ability, however, may only derive a positive identity from positively evaluated group characteristics. Consequently, ingroup identification is particularly attractive to less able group members" (Ellemers *et al* 1988:499-500). High status group members tend to show more ingroup identification than low status group members (Ellemers *et al* 1988; Van Knippenberg and Ellemers 1990). Low status group members, where group boundaries are permeable, tend to identify less with their own group than do low status group members where the group boundaries are impermeable (Ellemers *et al* 1988). If the group is *closed*, then ingroup members have increased feelings of group belongingness (Ross 1977, in Van Knippenberg and Ellemers 1990). Thus if group boundaries are impermeable, subjects revert to their group membership, even if they are not satisfied with the status of their group, they will resort to the social change strategy.

Group boundaries are made by a continuation of specific interactions, not through a lack thereof (Giles and Johnson 1981). Any blurring of boundaries will influence group identification and thus margins are potential areas of conflict. Giles and Johnson (1981) argue these boundaries are characterised by *distinctiveness* (who is a group member and their identification to the group), *strength* (the relevance to a wide range of situations) and *value* (the extent a group's attributes are negatively or positively accepted within the group and thus related to outgroup evaluation).

STATUS, INSECURITY, INSTABILITY AND ILLEGITIMACY

Most intergroup situations involve status and power differences (Brown 1988). Power and status differentials are important in social myths or stereotypes:

> "the legitimacy and/or stability of the social positions, which affects in different ways the 'superior' and the 'inferior' groups, leads not only to the use of strategies aiming to defend or to attack the existing system of comparative social identities, but also to the devising of strategies which could be *instrumental* as psychological tools for either changing or maintaining the *status quo*" (Tajfel 1984:700).

Perceived positions, and the context of these positions, are important as they effect intergroup relationships. Status, security, stability and legitimacy of positions are interrelated, and related to the search for positive distinctiveness. If a group believes itself to be superior it must ensure that no-one challenges its superiority. This can only occur if there is a perpetuation of conditions of social distinctiveness, in conjunction with the signs and symbols of distinct status (Tajfel 1978a). This situation occurs even in a rigid caste system.

Status

One might expect groups with low status to discriminate the most, since they are the ones who have been poorly dealt with, but this is not necessarily the case. There is support for the hypothesis that low status groups perceive intergroup differences to be greater, and when these differences can be accorded value, they can enhance positive social identity (Van Knippenberg 1978). However, more recent evidence suggests that high and equal status groups are more discriminatory to outgroups, and that low status groups may engage in outgroup favouritism (Hewstone and Brown 1988; Hogg and Abrams 1990; Sachdev and Bourhis 1987; Van Knippenberg 1984). However, this only occurs when status differences are seen to be legitimate and stable (Brown 1988; Sachdev and Bourhis 1987). Low status groups need to be acknowledged on at least one dimension of comparison, since no threat to the position of the outgroup will occur (Van Knippenberg 1978). Achieving equal status in contact situations is important for a low status group, but it is also very difficult to achieve (Hewstone and Brown 1986; Hogg and Abrams 1990). In the rest of this section I analyse which conditions will cause low status groups to discriminate against high status groups. I provide an example of perceived low status in Appendix A.

Insecurity and Instability

Insecurity is a result of changes in the status relations between groups especially when these are seen as being illegitimately acquired (Turner 1978, in Brown and Williams 1984:548). Insecure identity will result in a renewed search for positive distinctiveness (Brown and Williams 1984). An

inadequate social identity is not a sufficient requirement for 'inferior' groups to search for positive group distinctiveness: "consensual inferiority and superiority will decrease in salience to the degree that different groups regard themselves as noncomparable" (Turner and Brown 1978:208). However, an insecure social identity is a necessary and sufficient condition for accentuating group distinctiveness. Insecure social identity results when the differentiation is perceived by group members to be illegitimate and unstable: "experiencing circumstances such as these, superior group members may attempt to find justifications for the maintenance of the *status quo*, either by creating new forms of psychological distinctiveness [and/or] enhancing those among the old ones which are still serviceable" (Caddick 1982:137) - resulting in social change.

Van Knippenberg and Ellemers (1990:141f) define unstable as "the likelihood that intergroup relationship will change in the near future". Stronger ingroup identification was found in unstable low status groups than in stable low status groups, while (in)stability had no effect on identification in high status groups. Members of unstable groups showed less satisfaction with their group's accomplishments (that is status) and a stronger will to increase its status position than those individuals in stable intergroup hierarchies (Ellemers *et al* 1988). This indicates that "intergroup status relationships enhance ingroup identification in low status groups and tend to invoke competitive intergroup attitudes" (Van Knippenberg and Ellemers 199:141).

Illegitimacy

Caddick (1982:137) defines illegitimacy as the "group members' perceptions of unjust and unfair relations between their own and other groups". Van Knippenberg and Ellemers (1990:141) note that perceived instability in intergroup status relationships may result in the perception of illegitimacy. Conversely, " group members may be more inclined to contest illegitimate than legitimate intergroup status relationships". Subjective perceptions of *legitimacy* of differences in status influence thus the *status quo* or social change. If status positions are perceived to be illegitimate and unstable, then the low status group may also believe it can be changed (Van Knippenberg 1978). Groups which claim to be superior, but are illegitimate, tend to discriminate more if their position is stable - due to a conflict in values - as they face identity problems in maintaining or accentuating distinctiveness perceived to be illegitimate (Turner and Brown 1978). This conflict of values can be resolved in two ways (Turner and Brown 1978:223): either distinctiveness can be exaggerated in order to create a perception that the ingroup is as different and non-comparable as possible to the outgroup, or the illegitimate superiority can be wavered and other kinds of distinctiveness may be sought. The former is more likely to be preferred if superiority is stable, and the latter if it is unstable. Instability and illegitimacy may thus enhance the salience of intergroup comparisons, especially for low status groups, and thus increase ingroup favouritism. Furthermore, impermeable

group boundaries increase ingroup identification, and this is especially elicited when status relations are unstable and or illegitimate (Van Knippenberg 1984; Van Knippenberg and Ellemers 1990).

Cognitive Alternatives

Cognitive alternatives can be created through the status system's perceived instability and illegitimacy; however, an "awareness of cognitive alternatives promotes mutual ethnocentrism between different status groups" (Turner and Brown 1978:22) The awareness of cognitive alternatives is related to two variables: the perceived illegitimacy of status differences between groups, and the possibility of changing the status position of the group:

> "When a comparison is relevant to the social identity of the lower status group, one can expect a relative enhancement of all differences...and ingroup favouritism...Ingroup favouritism can take the form of emphasising differences on, and enhancement with value of, traits which the owngroup is superior. The latter reaction of the lower status group can be interpreted as the creation of alternative dimensions of comparison...or as a sort of "compensation" used in unfavourable comparison in order to attain a positively valued self-definition" (Tajfel 1974a, in Van Knippenberg 1978:178; and see Williams 1984).

Comparisons are salient for a high status group when a low status group presents a threat to the position of the high status group. The high status group will then accentuate differences and allocate values to traits on which they are better and guard against negative comparisons (Turner and Brown 1978; Van Knippenberg 1978). Conversely, inferior groups will seek positive distinctiveness from dominant groups when their inferiority is perceived as being unnatural, unstable and/or illegitimate, and when social mobility is not possible or desired. This situation occurs when the ingroup uses cognitive alternatives to assert their group's positive distinctiveness. I discuss this further in Appendix A.

CHANGING SOCIAL RELATIONS: SOCIAL MOBILITY AND SOCIAL CREATIVITY

Changes to one's social relations may occur on an individual or on a social level. Change may involve leaving the ingroup for the outgroup, working for an outgroup but maintaining ingroup

identity, or rejecting the outgroup. The type of change chosen by the individual or ingroup is related to the perceptions of the original group. Change involves the use of stereotypes, an increase in group identity, social creativity and/or conflict, as I have demonstrated previously. Social change is inevitable and occurs frequently in the social relations of a group. Individuals and/or groups have two options when confronted with change: social mobility (which includes acculturation or assimilation), or social change (which includes social creativity and social conflict).

Individual Mobility

Hogg and Abrams (1988:27-28) argue "a belief in social mobility leads subordinate group members to adopt individualistic strategies to cast aside their subordinate social identity with its negative connotations and inferiority in favour of the dominant group's social identity and concomitant material advantage and positive evaluation". This process is not easy to accomplish as one proceeds from a subordinate group to a dominant group, and the individual or group tends to start at the bottom of the dominant group. Moreover, to accomplish social mobility, the outgroup's boundaries must be seen as being permeable and flexible; and it is easier for an individual, than the whole group, to leave the ingroup for the outgroup (Hogg and Abrams 1988; Tajfel 1978a).

Social Creativity and Change

If individuals believe that they are confined within the boundaries of a social group, they will attempt to better or change their position or the conditions of that group as a whole (Tajfel 1978a). Intergroup boundaries will be seen as impermeable and rigid, and individuals will be bound with a potentially negative social identity (Hogg and Abrams 1988). Individuals in groups then become conscious of the possibility of change and attempt to influence the rate and direction of social change (Condor 1989). There is also an inclination to distinguish the past from the present, which may justify action directed towards implementing change. Such use of past knowledge can be directed towards changing or preserving past ways, or towards redefining certain features (Stopes-Roe and Cochrane 1988:158).They may thus maintain a distinctive social identity (Tajfel 1978a). Subordinate groups retain an intrinsic ability to motivate and negotiate social conflict through their behavioural and negotiation styles (Mugny *et al* 1984). Discriminated minority groups exert an influence that is often indirect and latent, in the form of conversion. Social change is thus a group strategy that involves social creativity and/or social competition.

In changing social relations the inferior group may then try to reconstruct and redefine its identity. However, the ingroup "may also be given meaning...through its relationship with another group and by activities of care and service...[and thus] esteem can be derived from the ability to fulfil its

vocation or function" (Williams 1984:312). Greater esteem is thus not necessarily obtained through social comparison. This does, however, mean that positive association must be given to a vocation, situation or function, and this can be done through redefining the value associated to it. An increase in identity may also be achieved by individuals comparing themselves favourably with other ingroup members (Williams 1984). Social creativity does not change the *status quo* - it only makes the subordinate group's identity more positive, for example using new comparison dimensions (Hogg and Abrams 1988). Social creativity can also redefine existing dimensions of comparison of a negative identity or choose new comparative groups, especially other (more) low status groups. These three strategies tend to be used in conjunction with each other, are historically related, and the adopted strategy will influence the dominant group's reaction (Hogg and Abrams 1988). Lateral comparisons of subordinate groups will probably not cause a reaction. However if different comparison dimensions are adopted, the dominant group must ensure that the process does not go too far. This may result in the dominant group redefining its own comparison dimensions for group distinctiveness. I examine social competition in Appendix A.

Tajfel (1978b:64) summarises social mobility and social creativity in relation to identity formation:

> "(a) an individual will tend to remain a member of a group and seek membership of new groups if these groups have some contribution to make to the positive aspects of [the individual's] social identity";
>
> (b) If a group does not satisfy this requirement, the individual will tend to leave it unless:
>
> (i) leaving the group is impossible for some objective means, or;
>
> (ii) it conflicts with important values which are themselves a part of [the individual's] acceptable self-image.
>
> (c) If leaving a group presents the difficulties just mentioned, then at least two solutions are possible:
>
> (i) to change one's interpretation of the attributes of the group so that its unwelcome features...are either justifies or made acceptable through a 'reinterpretation'; or,
>
> (ii) to accept the situation for what it is and engage in social action which would lead to desirable changes in the situation [or be a combination of both];
>
> (d) the very nature of intergroup interaction results in dynamic interactions and thus dynamic social identities".

CONCLUSION

I have analysed briefly the cognitive and social psychological aspect to inter- and intra-group behaviour in this chapter. I consider that the **societal** psychological aspect is of greater importance - the interpersonal levels "are incomplete unless one relates them to the... social, structural and institutional, and ideological" levels (Himmelweit 1990:19). If one only studies the intra- and inter-individual aspects of behaviour, one largely ignores the historical and contextual dynamics of social life which affect the individual's functioning in society. An examination of the societal barriers which prevent the functioning of a person or group within a particular society is as important as studying the ways in which functioning does occur (Himmelweit 1990). Laboratory studies tend to be ahistorical and acontextual: "Social behaviour must be located in a social context [as]...some of the most powerful [factors] are rooted in the social and economic structure of society itself" (Hewstone and Brown 1986:20; and see Condor 1989). Lastly, most attributes are not necessary inferior or superior: it is the social context that makes attributes into inferior/superior (Tajfel 1978c). These criticisms form the basis of a societal psychological approach.

Himmelweit (1990) suggested that there are eight points to note in the study of societal psychology:

1) The sociocultural context of a group must be taken into account. Social systems transcend the individual and the individual is socialised to function within these systems. Groups and the functionings within society are as important as the society itself.

2) One cannot separate the individual and group: the characteristics of the group are as important as the characteristics of the individual.

3) Both the individual and social environment have their own properties, even though they are essentially from the same system. How these two relate is thus important.

4) People create social organisations, as social organisations create people (Brislin 1987).

5) Changes occur continuously and often result from tensions at the individual, social or institutional level. Thus the flexibility, permeability, and so forth of an institution should be noted.

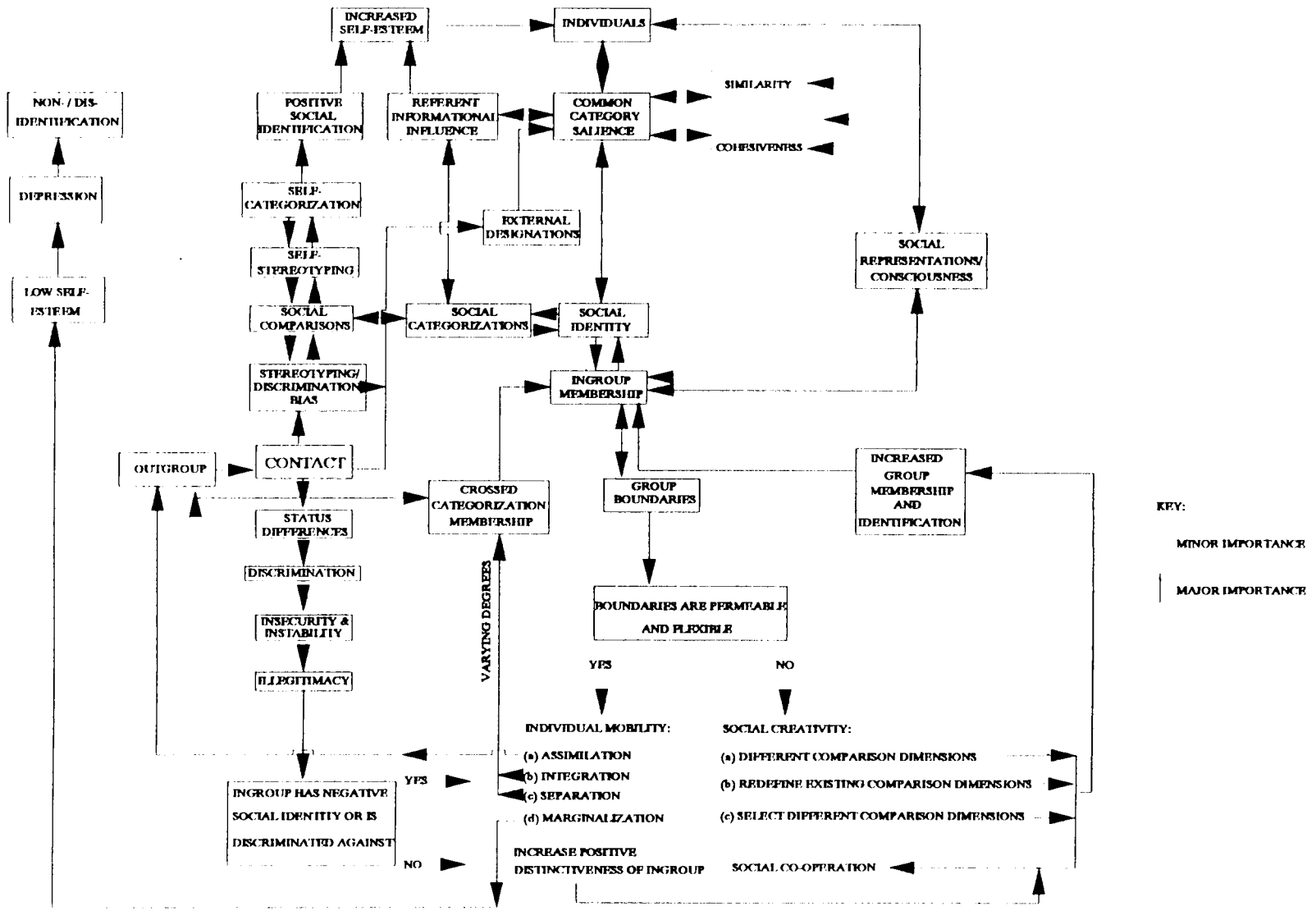
6) Invariant laws are limiting: frameworks must be dynamic.

7) One must maintain an historical perspective.

8) One needs to study social phenomena at the micro- and macro-levels.

My thesis is then a societal psychological approach to intergroup dynamics using social identity theory. However, it must be noted that social identity theory is itself ahistorical and acontextual: only when it is applied to a setting will it be historical and contextual. Figure 2.2 is a diagrammatic representation (not a flow chart or systems analysis) of the relations between variables in the

FIGURE 2.3: SOCIAL IDENTIFICATION - A SUMMARY OF RELATIONS BETWEEN VARIABLES IN THE PUBLISHED LITERATURE



literature and provides a diagrammatic summary to this chapter. The figure indicates the cognitive and social variables associated with intergroup contact, and the various processes that an individual and group may undertake in that context of interaction.

CHAPTER 3: THE REVISIONIST-ISOLATIONIST DEBATE AND SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY

INTRODUCTION

In Chapter Two I introduced my analytical framework, which concerned the issue of identity formation, maintenance and interaction. I argue in this chapter that social identity theory is applicable to the revisionist-isolationist debate, since this debate centres on the question of the degree of separateness between Khoi and San identity. After I discuss this debate, I analyse identity by means of cross-cultural examples and the identity of the Kalahari Khoi and San. I then analyse the identities of the Khoi and San in the historical past. I also argue that mythologies can indicate intergroup interaction, and thus inform us about identity. I summarise the revisionist-isolationist debate in this chapter, noting the criticisms of each argument. I argue that the concept of a group is still relevant to understanding past social and gender identities. I use examples from anthropological ethnographies and /Xam and Kalahari mythologies to argue the above in terms of social identity theory. These arguments form my position for ensuing chapters. While I tend to support the isolationists' arguments I do, however, believe that they have downplayed the complex nature of intergroup relations, as have the revisionists. I begin this thesis with the assumption that the separate identities of San and Khoi exist. However, I argue that identity is not simply a case of "us" or "them", since each group consists of multiple identities that become salient according to the context of interaction.

The definition of Khoi, San and Bushman is important, since different researchers use these terms differently. I define the Khoi as people who practice a herding economy, speak a Khoi language, and are able to claim lineage to other Khoi clans. The term San and Bushman are interchangeable in the literature. While the former is seen to be a more positive name than the latter, it is still negative in the sense that San is a Khoi word denoting someone of low status. Similarly, the term Bushman is also derogatory. It was initially used to denote a vagabond, a thief, someone of low status and who had no cattle (see Parkington 1984). While both terms are used to define the gatherer-hunters of the Kalahari, and southern Africa, I use the term San.

The debate between revisionists and isolationists has been active for some time [for summaries see Myers (1988), and Cassimir (1990)]. The debate started with the publication of *Man the Hunter* in the 1968 (Lee and De Vore 1968) where it was argued that interaction between gatherer-hunters and their herder and/or agriculturist neighbours was minimal. The interaction that did occur was seen to be ineffective in changing the social relations of each group. The debate includes anthropological

and archaeological research, as well as methodological and theoretical issues. Three main geographical areas in southern Africa are involved: Namibia, Botswana and the southwestern Cape. I begin my analysis of the debate in Botswana and Namibia, thereafter analysing those issues which relate to the archaeology of the southwestern Cape. The use of social identity theory in conjunction with the debate becomes apparent in the analysis of the southwestern Cape, since revisionists question the notion of continuous and separate identities through time.

The problems surrounding the debate in the southwestern Cape are exemplified in many of the historical ethnographies. While several of these works set out to categorise different groups, many of the unpublished reports were often based on hearsay, or written several years after the writer had left the Cape. While these historical ethnographies must thus be treated with caution, they do, however, highlight the concerns some archaeologists have in identifying different socio-economic groups, or alternatively a single group. Moreover, as colonialism increased its impact on indigenous populations, these categories became blurred, confused and/or difficult to define. A few examples will illustrate this point. Schrijver, in 1689, found three 'tribes' living in the same kraal: Holinquas (possibly banished Khoi), Soaqua and Thonunij (Mossop 1947). In the Sneeuwberg Mountains runaway slaves and Bushmen attacked travellers, but the latter were unable to distinguish between the two groups (Thompson 1827). By 1872 the population of the Kakamas district was heterogeneous with Bastar, Koranna, San and Iron Age farmers living in the same camp (Morris and Beaumont 1991). In the eastern Cape raiding parties were often a 'mixed' band of Thembu, Khoi and San (Stanford 1910). The debate thus centres on whether or not the ambiguity expressed in historical ethnographies was real, or the result of the ethnographers' own bias, or part of the general state of confusion due to the impact of colonialism. It appears as if the term Bushman began to reflect an economic status, rather than a social group.

THE REVISIONIST ARGUMENT

Revisionists critiqued Lee and De Vore's (1968) book for several reasons. First, the research implied that gatherer-hunters were not influenced by interaction with their pastoralist and agriculturist neighbours and that interaction was recent. These gatherer-hunters could thus be used as ethnoarchaeological case studies, and therefore aid archaeological interpretations. The argument thus saw gatherer-hunters as a Late Stone Age people who had not changed their way of life over the last several millennia. Schrire (1980) argues that the isolationists have viewed the San in terms of a social evolutionary paradigm, seeing them as remnant populations from the Stone Age. Many ethnographers have ignored, or dismissed, the duration and impact of contact with farmers and herders on the San, preferring to regard the latter as isolated groups of people who had changed their

ways of life only minimally after relatively recent contact with outsiders (Schrire 1980). Revisionists argue that anthropologists have tended to emphasise foraging activities, rather than herding activities, and thus did not note the extensive Kalahari trade networks (Denbow 1980, 1984, 1990; Wilmsen 1989; Wilmsen and Denbow 1990). Revisionists further counter the isolationist perspective arguing that the San have herded and owned domestic stock, and/or harvested their own crops - "the whole spectrum from near dependence on foraging to complete dependence on Bantu speakers" exists (Schrire 1980:13). Schrire (1980:27) also questions whether the transition from a gathering-hunting economy could have occurred within the timespan implied by isolationists, suggesting the San had previously implemented such changes: "the modern San periodically engaged in farming again and again over the past few centuries, if not the past few millennia." Wilmsen and Denbow (1990) view labels such as *Bushmen*, *forager*, and so forth, as a consequence of Euroamerican ontology, rather than as self-designated categorisations. They argue that this has resulted in the illusion of a timeless present - an ahistorical account, neglecting important intergroup relations . "The name San was never applied to a group that was large or prosperous, and never to groups that were able to relate genealogically to one of the great clusters of...[Khoi] clans. In other words, it connoted a low status in regard to wealth or lineage" (Elphick 1985:28). The San were never viewed as an ethnic group, rather as a low status class (Elphick 1977, in Schrire 1980).

Agriculturists reached Botswana about 2000 years ago (Denbow 1980 1984; Denbow and Wilmsen 1986; Wilmsen 1986; Wilmsen and Denbow 1990). Some of these farmers subsisted on large scale farming with cattle, and engaged in regional trade networks to obtain raw materials for social relations. Revisionists argue that gatherer-hunters became absorbed into these regional networks, resulting in new social relations and a decrease in their gatherer-hunter economy. Denbow and Wilmsen (1986) further argue that the San are not static representatives of the ancient past, but they have transformed their social relations according to the contexts of interactions. The archaeology of the region does not indicate a complete replacement of gatherer-hunters, but suggests a change in their subsistence (Denbow 1984, 1990). These changes suggest to Denbow that some gatherer-hunters moved between gatherer-hunter and agropastoralist economies, while others became herders. There can thus be no distinct, clear-cut ethnic and cultural group, and we cannot associate one set of artefacts with a specific social grouping. Many gatherer-hunter sites have domestic animals and Iron Age pottery, while some Iron Age sites have Ceramic Wilton (or later Late Stone Age) stone tools and fineline paintings of cattle nearby, suggesting long-term interaction (Denbow 1984).

Revisionist arguments pertaining to "stockless Khoi" currently focus on Elphick's economic cycle. Elphick (1979, 1985) views Khoi socioeconomy in two parts: an up cycle and a down cycle. The up

cycle is related to Khoi stock acquisition and status, while the down cycle describes herders who had lost their stock through social and/or environmental circumstances. Latter individuals are argued to have subsisted on gathering and hunting. Males would have offered their services to richer Khoi, or raided other kraals to acquire stock, thus starting the up cycle. Revisionists therefore argue that "foraging and food production in the Kalahari [and southwestern Cape] are not ideologically separate pursuits, but activities mutually constructed within a forager/farmer symbolic reservoir", and that San have been familiar with non-egalitarian social structures for some time (Wilmsen and Denbow 1990:490). Schrire (1980) uses the cyclical model to analyse the socioeconomy of the *Strandloper* Autshumato, or Harry (see Thom 1958). Autshumato had no land, cattle, nor sheep, and he was considered to be a *Beachcomber*. After Autshumato had acquired some cattle, he and his relatives were accepted as full time herders in Khoi society. Schrire argues that this implies that Autshumato did not keep cattle for immediate consumption - a distinction made by isolationists for gatherer-hunters. Further support is derived from historical ethnographies which indicate that the Soaqua at one time consisted of 400 people, who owned 139 cattle and 31 sheep, and who traded stock with the Dutch (Schrire 1980). Khoi would, on occasion, lend out stock to hunters, who would pasture them elsewhere and be paid in cattle (Elphick 1985; and see Jolly 1992; Lewis-Williams 1992; Prins 1990). San were thus familiar with livestock and "every tribe that owns cattle also has a number of *Bushmen* under its protection" (Mossop 1935:61, in Schrire 1980:25). This, according to Schrire (1984), is part of the evidence for a single group with a single socioeconomy, and thus the same cultural identity. Wilmsen (1989:315) thus argues that "it is...clear that Basarwa/*Bushmen*/San, no matter how distant in space, have never been historically remote from economic and social pressures operating in the larger political entities of southern Africa but have functioned intimately within these processes. It is their relative position in a colonial system - not their geographical or evolutionary distance - that makes them remote today". The San resorted to a gatherer-hunter economy, in the Kalahari, when the demand for elephant ivory severely depleted the elephant population in the area. "With the collapse of hunting [for trade, it] was no longer worth as much as it had been - not to himself, now left with only a reduced subsistence supplement, nor at centres of accumulation, where emphasis [shifted] from quick tributary extraction to longer term sustained production. In practical terms this means that cattle were now unchallenged by ivory as the central source of wealth in the Kalahari" (Wilmsen 1989:315). Khoisan are thus suggested to have become *Bushmen* during the nineteenth century due to a changing balance of power relations brought about by colonial incursion (Wilmsen and Denbow 1990).

Critics of the revisionists question their use of certain historical ethnographies. Passarge, quoted in Wilmsen (1989) and Wilmsen and Denbow (1990), noted the frequent interaction between the Khoi, San and Tswana. Gordon (1990), however, argues that much of Passarge's work is hearsay from white farmers, and Guenther (1990) has questioned the translations of Passarge from German to English.

Yellen (1990) argues that Wilmsen and Denbow (1990) seem to think that foraging can only exist in isolation, and that since trade occurred, there were no true foragers. Several ethnographic studies in other regions appear to support Yellen's argument. Bailey (1991) notes how the Efe Pygmies appear to have maintained their gatherer-hunter socio-economy and identity, even though they have daily interaction with the Lesse villagers. Furthermore, the Efe have not been subjected to the same conditions of colonialism to which the Kalahari San were subjected. The Efe trade with the Lesse, Lesse males marry Efe females, yet the two are socially and economically independent of each other. The Mbuti Pygmies, north of the Efe, engage in similar socio-economic relationships with their agriculturist neighbours (Cavalli-Sforza 1986). The Semai of Malaysia (Gomès 1988), differentiate themselves from non-Semai by their material culture and religion, and actively avoid interaction and/or dependence on non-Semai. Cadeliña (1988) notes how resource use patterns are utilised by the Batak and Ata, of southeast Asia, to differentiate themselves and maintain their own identities. The Dorobo (Kenny 1981) are an example of people maintaining their identity in interaction with the Masai herders - I discuss this in the conclusion. Smith (1990a) questions the revisionists' claims of interaction and dependence of the Zu/'hasi. The Zu/'hasi have a history of trading with, and service to, herders and farmers. But, although the Zu/'hasi have been assimilated into Herero society, they have never accumulated cattle, nor did their social relations become hierarchical. Solway and Lee (1990) contest the revisionist argument, since revisionists imply that an entry into trade networks results in a loss of autonomy and that the introduction of new material culture causes a downward spiral of acculturation - implying that gatherer-hunters cannot manage innovation without radical changes to themselves. Similarly, Bicchieri (1990:570) states that "contact is not synonymous with a loss of cultural identity" - there are alternatives. I argue these alternatives may be in social creativity where contact may increase identity salience, especially in a closed society which imposes negative attributes on others.

Revisionists have been further criticised in that they analyse economic systems as a whole, and thus focus "on those aspects of culture which are most susceptible to outside influence - those related to production and trade. These are amongst the least 'structural' elements...they lie at the opposite end of the spectrum from those which give *Bushmen*, and other Khoisan peoples, their cultural identities...[they do not see] Khoisan, or even Bushman, culture as a real entity" (Barnard 1992:297-

98). I argue that Mossop's statement (1935:61) that "every tribe that owns cattle also has a number of *Bushmen* under its protection." is an indicator of paternalistic relations, as observed with the San and Tswana (Barnard 1992). Paternalism denotes non-egalitarian relations between gatherer-hunters and pastoralists and/or agropastoralists, and is thus grounds for the maintenance of differences between the groups.

THE ISOLATIONIST ARGUMENT

Most isolationists now acknowledge that contact has existed between the different groups for some time. The San did indeed work for pastoralists and/or agropastoralists, and socioeconomic and cultural distinctions are less clear than was previously believed. However, these researchers maintain that the Khoi and the San constituted two different socioeconomic groups existing in the same landscape, each with its own social identity. Yellen (1990:108) concedes that the modern San are affected by world systems, but questions the "extent...[to which] these factors negate the value of earlier work" of the isolationists. Lee (1979) acknowledged the fact that the San did not live alone in a world of hunters. Isolationists therefore argue that gatherer-hunter and herder societies existed in parallel, and colonists did indeed observe two distinct groups (Smith 1990b).

Both revisionists and isolationists agree that the San had a low status in pastoralist and agriculturist societies. The use of livestock would have been an important item of material culture with which to indicate these differences, since livestock has formed the dominant socio-economy in the region during the last two millennia. Brooks (1984) noted the San are in client relationships with the Tswana, herding their cattle often at some distance from the main village. When cattle were born under the care of the San, they were under obligation to return these animals to their client, and thus not keep them for themselves. Payment for service differed in each region, but cattle were not the means of such payment. Smith (1990a) argues this is because cattle are regarded as reflecting a high status, and thus it would be unlikely for the San to be paid with these animals; sheep would be the preferred payment. He further argues that the relations of production in a gatherer-hunter society inhibit the accumulation of a breeding herd. "The social relations of hunting [and gathering] societies are quite different from those of herding societies, making it difficult for hunters to take on the ways of herders" (Smith 1990a:56). The mode of production differs between gatherer-hunters, pastoralists and agropastoralists, and this makes it difficult for gatherer-hunters to become herders "across the productive mode." Smith (1990a:59) argues that while individual San may have worked for pastoralists, they did not own stock for three reasons. First, the sharing ethic in gatherer-hunter societies negates private ownership. Second, "different notions to future availability of food" result in immediate, not delayed, consumption. Third, there are differences in the relationships between

herder and animal, and gatherer-hunter and animal. For herders 'purity' of stock is related to the group of people as well: stock, status, wealth, power and patronage are interrelated. While the San knew about these concepts they did not incorporate them into their social organisation. "Even if a hunter would aspire to be a herder, the social constraints are against it" and thus San are more willing to work as clients, than become independent herders (Smith 1990a:59).

Barnard (1988a) argues that even though the San worked for the Khoi and the Tswana, it does not follow that the former 'lost' their own social identity. The Nharo have had the longest contact with ranchers and herders, yet have retained their social relations, even though they may herd and grow crops and are Khoi-speaking. Solway and Lee (1990) argue that it is erroneous to assume that incorporation into a trade network results in a loss of autonomy, and assimilation. Although assimilation would have occurred, it would have involved individuals, and would have been unlikely to occur at the group level - a concept I discuss later. Although Wilmsen and Denbow (1990:497) noted that the Tswana used San as mercenaries, their sources also noted such San running into the bushes and waiting until the fighting between the Tswana was over. This is not an example of "hegemonic subjugation" as they claim. Even if the San had long-term contact with Tswana and Khoi, they may have used gathering and hunting as a strategy "of resistance to the powers that be...a refuge from or active resistance against intensification" (Myers 1988:265). Parkington (1987:18) stated this in different terms: gatherer-hunters tried to keep to themselves as a "distinct socioeconomic entity, whether in regular contact with pastoralists or as marginal populations on the fringes of the attractive grazing lands". Further examples may be the *Veld Bushmen* (Guenther 1976a, 1976b, 1979, 1986), the Dorobo (Kenny 1981), the Efe (Bailey 1991) and Mbuti Pygmies (Cavalli-Sforza 1986).

Besides criticisms to the isolationists' arguments, I find several of their propositions to be problematic in other ways. According to Smith (1990b), if San had built up herds in the past, delayed consumption and relations of production supporting social needs, for example bridewealth, would have existed, which have not been documented. I disagree with Smith's argument that gatherer-hunters do not store food, an assumption that has been questioned elsewhere (Anderson 1991; Hall 1990; Ingold 1983; Testart 1982). Furthermore, bridewealth in certain forms does indeed occur in San societies (see Barnard 1992). Orpen (1874) noted that a young male would give the heart of an eland to the bride's father. Bridewealth and a marriage gift may be considered synonymous: it is the perceived value of the gift that is important. This then does not support the isolationist arguments. I further disagree with Smith (1990a) for three additional reasons. First, if his argument about the San productive mode is correct, it fails to explain how formative Khoi (that is, gatherer-hunters) acquired stock and became herders in the first place. Second, Smith presumes that

the San males, and the group as a whole, would become herders. I argued in Chapter Two that it is easier for individuals to leave the group and change, rather than the whole group. Third, perhaps access to stock was not solely based on client relations; rather, on gender issues such as intermarriage as well - an issue both isolationists and revisionists ignore.

EXAMPLES OF IDENTITY STRATEGIES: SOCIAL IDENTITY AND MYTHOLOGY

The isolationist-revisionist debate has yielded interesting arguments from both sides. Barnard (1992:297-298) argues that we must examine the relations between people and the relations "between cultural elements as objects themselves as well." Myers (1988:265) argues that "historical work in South Africa, more concerned to debunk the myths of 'splendid isolation' and 'the remnant Palaeolithic', has been less interested in how San peoples might have understood their relations with surrounding peoples." However, the debate has failed to recognise two important points: how identity relates to the clan and/or band, and the meaning given to being a gatherer-hunter or pastoralist (in the past and/or the present). It is not individuals who become herders, but groups of people - at a minimum the extended family. Since a group of people is involved, the group ideology is involved. Thus, the group norms, membership, boundaries, and status of the group, in which interaction with their own and with other groups occurs, must be considered. The ways in which these concomitant identities are construed, and the discourses involved, are thus important, and an understanding of such processes is necessary on both the micro and macro-levels. Identity is formed by interaction with others; it is not only achieved from within the group. It is for this reason that social psychology, particularly social identity theory, is suited to the analysis of identity. It deals with human behaviour and not only economic relations, which are, as Barnard (1992) noted, those most susceptible to outside influence. Criticisms related to Social Identity theory are discussed in Chapter 2 and Appendix A.

Social identity and mythologies are examples to which social identity theory can be applied. I argue that while there were differences in the identities of being a gatherer-hunter and a herder on one level, other identities were involved as well, since these are context-specific. To place the isolationist-revisionist debate in a social identity theory framework, I use various examples of identity maintenance and formation from several cross-cultural examples.

Social Identity

Identity is formed by contact with others - it is both inclusive and exclusive (Barnard 1988a). Identity is also context specific. "The organisation of...identity does not depend on cultural diversity *per se*...rather on the assignment of particular social meanings to a limited set of acts' (Blom

1969:74). Contextual specificity can be illustrated in cross-cultural examples. The Rift Valley Arsi and Jille share a common ancestry - different to that of their Galla neighbours - but have different social organisations. The Arsi have attempted to become like the Galla, yet they have retained their Arsi identity (Knuttson 1969). When these three groups interact in the marketplace at Mocha, no distinct ethnic territorial boundary exists, nor are differences overtly expressed. Identity does, however, become salient in economic relations, since certain groups monopolise specific sectors of the market.

Siverts (1969) noted that in southern Mexico, there is minimal assimilation between *Indios* on the *Ladinos*, and group boundaries remain intact, despite national attempts to alter this. Furthermore, there is an economic dependence of the *Indios* on the *Ladinos*. To transpose the group boundary involves a complete rejection of traditional ways of life, and also involves the loss of land which is acquired through patrifiliation. *Indios* are always *Indios*, in comparison to *Ladinos* (Spanish speakers), and their *Indioness* is the basis for their interaction with the *Ladinos*. This *Indioness* is related to the use of stereotypes by *Ladinos* in daily interactions.

Eidheim (1969) notes that Coastal Lapps have a low status in Norwegian society and may attenuate intergroup differences by enhancing their Norwegianness and Norwegian material culture - the Lapp language is used only in private contexts. Coastal Lapps will make their identity salient only when they are provoked in public by Norwegians. In contrast, the Inland Lapps tend to accentuate their Lapp identity in language and material culture. Thus, the Coastal Lapps have a *false* Norwegian identity as they are trying to act as Norwegians, whilst still retaining some of their Lappness. This highlights the point that there is no 'universal' Lapp identity - or pan-Lapp identity.

A further example of identity formation occurs when identity is imposed on a group and intergroup boundaries are impermeable, such as in India's caste system. Caste groups "survive socially by reacting to the social identities of others, but the definition, recognition and expression of those identities, and the appropriate responses to them, are quite different" (Berreman 1976:304). This is especially important in the social milieu, where caste status must be recognised in short contact periods between two people. Different identities within the same social system thus require different social responses and sub-identities. Furthermore, while the function of social identity appears to be a cross-cultural phenomenon, it is still context-specific.

Identity becomes salient for the !Xò in their interactions with non-!Xò - the !Xò define their band clusters as *my people* and *your people* (Barnard 1988a). While the !Xò live in the same area as herders (the Kgalagari and some Namaqua), they tend not to interact with them (Barnard 1992). The

Damara and Hai//om are not classified as Khoi by themselves, nor by others, and considered themselves as gatherer-hunters during historical times (Barnard 1992). The Ghanzi San "identify the farm Bushmen *qua* veld Bushmen; the reverse of the farm Bushman's self-identification. Yet, while the farm Bushmen separate [themselves]...conceptually from hunter-gatherers...[they are] nevertheless, in constant contact with them" (Guenther 1979:156). These Ghanzi farm Bushmen are marginalised, with a low self-image in relation to other non-San groups, and they use these groups to refer to their present situation (Guenther 1979). The southern Kalahari San want to be classified as *Boesman*, not *Coloured* (Steyn 1984) which may be interpreted as a redefinition of social categorisations in a changing social environment. Similarly, the San at Kagga Kamma in the southwestern Cape want to be known as *Boesmans* (not San), and their whole identity is related to this *Bushman-ness* (pers. obs.; and see White 1991). Some of these San are thus using their status positions in an oppressive society to redefine these categorisations into a positive self-esteem and thus positive social identity.

These examples indicate an important issue: identity is not always fixed - although the caste system may be an exception. Identity formation is context-dependent and thus relates to the people with whom one interacts - a person has several identities that are enhanced according to these different contexts. While language would be an important issue to consider in the prehistory of the southwestern Cape, archaeologists do not know whether or not the Khoi and San spoke different languages in this area. The use of language and dialects to maintain and form identities is important, since the use of a specific language is sufficient to create an ethnolinguistic identity (for this discussion see Abrams and Hogg 1989; Ball *et al* 1984; Berry *et al* 1986; Giles 1978; Giles and Johnson 1981; Gudykunst and Schmidt 1987; Sachdev and Bourhis 1990; and for examples see Gomes 1988; Russell and Russell 1979). Another issue in social identity would be that of gender identity. The social categorisation of San and the ensuing stereotypes, from within and outside the group, are but one aspect of identity in that society. Both males and females have their own identity as well - a gender identity. These gender identities can be further subdivided according to the context: a San male may use his hunting/male identity in interaction with San females, but add to this identity the San-hunter-male identity in situations of contact with non-San. In other words, there are multiple categorisations to which an individual can ascribe, depending on the context of the situation. The concept of gender identity has been discussed in the social identity theory literature (Abrams *et al* 1990; Bem 1981; Frable and Bem 1985; Eagly and Steffen 1984; Frable and Bem 1985; Gurin and Markus 1989; Hogg 1985; Hogg and Turner 1987b; Huici 1984; Locksley *et al* 1990; Lorenzi-Cioldi and Doise 1990; Park and Rothbart 1982; Stopes-Roe and Cochrane 1988; Tunnel 1981; Williams and Giles 1978). However, since I discuss gender identity in subsequent chapters, I will not elaborate further in this chapter.

MYTHOLOGIES AS A MEANS OF EXPRESSING SOCIAL IDENTITY

The mythologies of the Maluti and /Xam San have been used by archaeologists in interpretations of rock art. I argue that mythologies can also disclose the nature of inter- and intragroup relations. The use of the /Xam and Maluti San mythologies is justified since both are similar in content and metaphors, yet are geographically separated by several thousand kilometres. Moreover, these mythologies are similar to those narrated by the Kalahari San over the last few decades. In this section I analyse specific mythologies in relation to social identity, in terms of intergroup anxiety and the illusion of control. I analyse these in terms of the San response to interaction with non-San. In order to discuss this, I briefly review the literature concerning the illusion of control and intergroup anxiety, since some researchers have argued that interaction results in the San undergoing stress (see Manhire 1987a; Parkington *et al* 1986; Van der Merwe 1990). These notions of stress include states of depression and low self-esteem, and I question the usefulness and applicability of such concepts in intergroup interaction.

Illusion of Control and Intergroup Anxiety

Perhaps one of the more interesting observations from experimental work in depression is that non-depressed, rather than depressed people, tend to succumb to an illusion of control in situations where they have little control (Alloy and Abramson 1982:1122). Langer (1975:311) defines an illusion of control as "an expectancy of a personal success probability inappropriately higher than the objective probability would warrant". Illusions of control are used since "people are motivated to control their environment... [and] there is a motivation to avoid negative consequences that accompany the perception of having no control." This can then be related to the need for positive self-esteem. McClure (1991) argues, however, that previous researchers consider depression to occur due to errors within the person, and not from the context in which that person is situated. Abrams and Alloy (1981) question whether an illusion of control is a viable option. They argue that it is adaptive, since it increases self-esteem and causes feelings of invulnerability to depressive reactions when failure is perceived. However, it is also maladaptive, since if the desired goal is not achieved, it may be more difficult to maintain one's self-esteem and positive effect/identity, which, in turn, will increase the illusion of control. McClure and Abrams and Alloy do not note the importance of the group for depressives, or people with low self-esteem (see Eysenck 1992; Miller 1989; Smith 1986, 1989; White 1983).

Stephen and Stephen (1985, in Johnstone and Hewstone 1990:201) refer to 'intergroup anxiety' as "the specific arousals of characteristics of contact situations". Johnstone and Hewstone (1990) argued that intergroup anxiety would be acted out as an intermediary between antecedents: intergroup anxiety may effect the status of one of the groups. Groups with low status tend to have a lowered self-esteem (Wagner *et al* 1986). There is evidence to suggest that lowered self-esteem, depression, the illusion of control and learned helplessness co-occur, and if individuals do not have an 'illusion of control' they will not have the confidence or cognitive ability to engage in self-enhancing strategies. These self-enhancing strategies are a response to social creativity. Conversely, individuals with normal, and high, levels of self-esteem tend to exhibit favourably biased self-perceptions (Hogg and Abrams 1990). While depressives rate themselves, and are rated by others, as having low competence, they are more realistic about their self-perceptions (Lewinsohn *et al* 1980). A "negative self-image partly reflects a realistic recognition of one's lack of positive interpersonal characteristics and competence, thus, ...[depressives] are indeed less socially skilful and therefore are perceived more negatively by those who observe them" (Lewinsohn *et al* 1980:203). Depressives may thus either have a negative self-image even if not so perceived by others, or their negative self-image may indeed be a social reality (Lewinsohn *et al* 1980).

It is therefore conducive for the group and its members to have a positive self-image, and thus positive self-esteem, in order to function fully as group members in intergroup and intragroup relations. Increasing group members' self-esteem may, however, result in outgroup discrimination. Thus outgroup discrimination may be a consequence, but not a cause, of high self-esteem. Furthermore, outgroup discrimination is not the only process related to self-esteem: other processes used are social categorisations, salience of group membership, social competition (Lemyre and Smith 1985; Maass and Scheller 1991), and social change (Tajfel 1978a). Since intergroup anxiety is expressed in intergroup contact, I argue that mythologies should therefore express these intergroup anxieties.

Intergroup Anxieties in Mythologies

Studies of mythologies is a means of entering the minds of the people who told them. They indicate "kinship rules...formed not only a strong basis for social structure and organisation, but also entered deeply into the understanding of integrated orders of existence" (Hewitt 1986:113). An example is the gendered division of labour - although Solomon (1989a, 1989b, 1992) and Biesele (1993) argue that gender relations precede kinship structures, and thus are primarily related to the sexual division of labour and ensuing social relations. Hewitt (1986) does note the importance of gender relations in the Zu/wasi narratives of //Kaggen. He argues that while such narratives are of great hilarity to the

group, they explore fundamental issues such as the division of labour and battle of power between the sexes. Kaggen's ignorance of knowledge relates to his non-social nature, which emphasises the need for social knowledge. When myths about Kaggen are related to close and distant kin, he violates social rules excessively - the sharing of food is related to good relations with other band clusters, which //Kaggen ignores, for example. This situation is also evident in the /Xam narratives (Hewitt 1986). In social identity terms, //Kaggen is a negative comparison dimension: he is used to portray how San should not behave, and what happens to misbehaving San. This comparison dimension is, in a sense, a means of justifying normative influence to San identity; yet it shows tolerance of the degree of divergence to which an individual is allowed to differ. Thus while //Kaggen is the maverick of San society, he is also central to their comparison dimensions, and thus identity, for the group and each gender. The ways in which he flouts gender rules in interaction with close kin may suggest the importance of these rules, and thus of gender identity, within San society. When //Kaggen interacts with non-San, different identities and comparison dimensions emerge.

In /Xam tales, baboons are portrayed as "strange and hostile neighbours...vicious, living separately from other people", and the /Xam are not supposed to interact with them socially and sexually (Hewitt 1986:109). Hewitt sees this as a "narrative formulation of conscious or unconscious attitudes to the [Khoi]...who greatly prized San females and frequently stole them as wives" (1986:110). The differences in social relations between these groups are also areas of potential conflict: the #Nerru said "they marry into us as if they understand [us]" (Hewitt 1986:110). This is also seen in the 'Mason Wasp and his Wife" (Bleek and Lloyd 1911:170, in Hewitt 1986:111). In this myth it is shown how real or assumed physical differences between groups may cause conflict. The wife of the "Mason Wasp...noticed for the first time her husband's slender waist, mocked him for it and was shot on the spot by him". Thus while physical differences between people are accentuated, there is also a social component that makes these comparisons salient. This myth (and several others) highlight intergroup membership, comparison dimensions and social categorisations. Furthermore, not a single San myth tells of the time when the Khoi and San were one group; that is, before the transition to pastoralism. Khoi mythology also reflects on the time when Khoi groups were one large group before they separated (see Elphick 1985), but does not mention times when the San and Khoi were one group. A similar situation pertains to /Xam mythologies.

Stories of who may marry whom and that one must marry within San society, can be related to an expression by San to pastoralist and agropastoralist males' attempts at marrying San females. Intergroup marriage would decrease the numbers of available females to San males, thus decreasing the San population. These myths thus relate to intergroup boundaries; boundaries that are closed to San males. San males can only interact in these outgroups in terms of low status positions. This may

be a social deterrent to individual mobility since there would be no change in status position for San males; while the opposite would occur for San females. These myths may thus be attempts at social creativity by San (males) to redefine their identity and status positions within San society and relative to those with whom they interacted. The narratives of intergroup marriage end in violence or death of one of the partners - normally the San (or their symbolic animal). This then supports the notion that social competition, rather than social co-operation, was more common in interaction, and is related to two groups maintaining their own group boundaries and identities, yet changing them as these identities are negotiated.

Stories about //Kaggen are in relation to three groups of people: distant kin, for example lions and dassies; "creatures encountered on their own while //Kaggen is out supposedly hunting, for example Kora-twi:t'n, !Ku-te-!gue"; and "strangers who should not be visited, for example Ticks, Elephants [and] Baboons" (Hewitt 1986:150). "When strangers are represented as groups rather than as individuals they are always shown as strong and very hostile, and are always bested in some way by //Kaggen" (Hewitt 1986:159). That is, group membership is made salient, there are stereotypic perceptions of the outgroup (they are seen as an homogeneous whole), and a redefinition of comparison dimensions occurs so as to distort a social, externally designated, reality that places San as the 'worst off', or low status group. These stories are thus an expression of intergroup anxiety.

Further examples of intergroup anxiety are seen in stories that explicitly mention European, Tswana and/or Khoi people, and those that disguise group membership in the form of animals, for example ticks, sheep and elephants. Some of these stories are given in Appendix B. The narrative of the 'Ticks and the Sheep' is one of the most interesting outgroup mythologies. Ticks are equated with non-San who keep sheep, and it is an "attempt to preserve...[group] identity in the face of physical superiority. Such an emphasis on conflict with other...[groups] might be a reflection of the San's long history of defeat, and may account for the dominance of strategic ticks in those narratives where groups of strangers are represented, for, in some ways, the power of such neighbours has affinities with vertical power of strongly stratified societies" (Hewitt 1986:159). In //Kabbo's version, the Ticks refer to the Khoi, specifically the Koranna, who "were thought of as black because they always seemed to be angry and violent... [Here] //Kabbo is making an explicit statement between the keeping of domestic animals and culture" (Hewitt 1986: 230, 231). It is also a role reversal: the San are 'have nots', but then become 'have alls', while the Ticks are 'have alls' and become 'have nots' and are to live in an impoverished existence like the San did. This illusion of control is thus expressed in intergroup anxiety.

The San are in low status positions, which affects their self-image and can be seen in many contemporary mythologies. The low self-image of the Ghanzi San is expressed individually and socially through myth and their revitalisation movement (Guenther 1976a, 1976b, 1979) - explained below. An example in their mythology is in the 'cow myth' (Appendix B). The Ghanzi Farm San are marginalised between two worlds, with a low self-image in relation to other non-San, and they use these groups and the 'Veld Bushman' to refer to their situation: *sheta* (Guenther 1979). A !Xò myth describes how 'whites' and 'blacks' and large animals were made first from the creator's pot, while the San and small animals were made from the pot scrapings (Heinz 1975). Similarly Gu/e (a !Xò male deity) made all humans equal, but some (that is San) have to work for others. Present Nharo myth points out that the creator preferred other groups to the Nharo (and other San) (Hewitt 1986). Moreover, threats to the group always come from outside the group, and tends to be "overcome with the help of magical powers" (Hewitt 1986:204).

Thus, while present mythologies show real social divisions between San and non-San, earlier mythologies tend to show more characteristic illusions of control, where comparison dimensions are reversed or redefined to make the San more positive. The transition from an illusion of control to a virtual acceptance of their present conditions suggests that the former strategy did not overcome the San's position of low status. The Ghanzi San, although acknowledging their social context, have resorted to another strategy of social creativity: a revitalisation movement, which in turn can be viewed as an alternative illusion of control through social creativity. Magical powers are used to overcome threats outside the group, which hightens intergroup identity, and redefines comparison dimensions (for example San 'magic') into positive attributes. Furthermore, myths have several meanings - they are historical and cumulative in the values and meanings they wish to express. One such example is that found in the Maluti San myth of 'Qwamanciqutshaa and the Eland' (Orpen 1874):

> Qwamanciqutshaa was killed by males who were jealous of him as all the females were attracted to him. After he died he became a snake and lived in the river. He was later freed by a female who smeared *canna* on him, thus forcing him to stay with her. Qwamanciqutshaa then killed an eland, purified both of them, and went to live in a valley that had its entrance hidden by the mist Qwamanciqutshaa had made. Qwamanciqutshaa then made all the eland that had been killed by **assegais** return from the dead, and he took them into his valley. One day the female's brother was tracking an eland he had shot, and arrived at the valley. He followed the eland into the mist whereupon he met Qwamanciqutshaa and his sister. When the brother told Qwamanciqutshaa that others were dying of hunger outside the valley,

> Qwamanciqutshaa told him to call his mother, relatives and friends, so that they could come and live with him and not starve.

Apart from the gender metaphors present in this narrative (see Solomon 1989a), there are other meanings to this narrative. First, Qwamanciqutshaa differentiates between eland that were hunted by bow and arrow and those hunted by assegais. It is well documented in the Kalahari and historical ethnographies that San hunted with bows and arrows and that the pastoralists and agropastoralists hunted mostly with spears. A comparison is made here between different groups. Qwamanciqutshaa makes those animals killed by non-San return from the dead. Second, this story has notions of a revitalisation movement in San ideological concepts: Qwamanciqutshaa died and was reborn; he recalls the dead eland; people will be fed and carry on living as they did in the past. This resembles those revitalisation movements reported among American Indians (Mooney 1896), American Protestants (Thomas 1989), and the cargo cults in Polynesia (Kamma 1972; Schwartz 1976), Mexico (Gruzinski 1989), South Africa (Sandkler 1961) and other countries (Beattie 1964; Giddens 1987; Haralambos 1980). This narrative can thus be viewed as a response to intergroup interaction where identity is expressed in symbolism: gender metaphors symbolise the ingroup, assegais symbolise the outgroup.

Other symbolism of the outgroup in mythology is also found in stories with arrows of sickness. G//amma, a G/wi male deity, "effuses a generalised evil" and shoots wooden arrows from the sky at females in the camp (Silberbauer 1981:54). The 'evil' then spreads throughout the camp and the trance healer must counter this. Katz (1982) also discusses these arrows of sickness that were shot by 'bad' shamans. Lloyd (in Lewis-Williams 1980:471) mentioned arrows of sickness that are little sticks. On the other hand, the G/wi Iron Dance is related to "foreign objects...being removed from the...body" (Silberbauer 1981:176). Kaha, a healer, stated he pulled "little pieces of metal out of ...[his] wife's legs and hips, like pieces of wire. These bits of metal are tying her ligament up". Later he said that he "took out the pieces of metal embedded in Tankau's back. I pulled the pieces of iron out and gave them to his father, the spirit" (Katz 1982:110, 112). These pieces of metal are arrows of sickness. The Ghanzi farm San hid all non-San material culture during their trance dances as they believed it nauseated the dancer and made the deity angry (Guenther 1976a, 1976b). Quing (Orpen 1874) mentioned the (metal) assegais that killed the eland. It is important to note that arrows of sickness may be wooden or metal, and that the latter are shot by 'bad' shamans and not by a deity. There is thus a notion of an 'other' in the San ritual and mythology, and metal arrows may symbolise the Khoi or other metal using groups. Similarly, Ghanzi farm San shout out the car licence plates of European farmers in the region whilst in trance (Guenther 1976a). In these rituals the outgroup is therefore considered to be the cause of ills, social and physical, and is a means of comparison that

makes identity salient. The causes of illness are thus external and shared by others, creating an illusion of control as a response to intergroup anxiety.

While groups, mythologies and religions incorporate outgroup material culture, it does not necessarily mean that this is to the detriment of the ingroup. Such items of material culture are used in both functional and symbolic ways. Although functionality is important, it is, however, still subordinate to the meaning of the object. These outgroup items of material culture may be used to make ingroup identity salient. They can be incorporated within the group ideology, used as a means of comparison to define and redefine the group, and yet remain utilitarian. The context of their use thus needs to be acknowledged as well as the discourses involved in their use. Furthermore, while some items of outgroup material culture are incorporated into mythology, others are omitted. I could not find any reference to ceramics and glass beads in San mythology, for example. Many mythologies concern interactions between humans and animals, or between animals and animals, but, in only a few are cattle and/or sheep directly implicated in the mythology. Where they do occur, they are associated with negative attributes (see Hewitt 1986 for examples). If the San and Khoi had the same social identity, I would have expected these domesticates to have occurred more frequently and in a more positive light than is the case in San narratives.

In summary, outgroup symbolism occurs in San mythology and ritual, either directly in reference to a person, or indirectly to animals or objects. This symbolism should be used in conjunction with the material culture from the sites under study to form an idea of one of the many possible responses available to San during interaction. These narratives can also be viewed in terms of social creativity and intergroup anxiety, where the San do not have the physical means or resources to maintain their positive self-identity, and thus social identity in a world dominated by pastoralists and later agropastoralists.

CONCLUSION

The Khoi and San presently identify themselves as constituting different social groups, and this is evident in the literature. The Ghanzi San are undergoing a revitalisation movement accentuating Bushman identity (Guenther 1976a, 1976b, 1979, 1986) - a form of social creativity. The !Kung use their trance curing abilities as a means of enhancing their identity, and charging non-San for curing (Katz 1982), which constitutes a redefinition of comparison dimensions. San females are allowed entrance into pastoralist and agropastoralist societies, and thus accrue a relative increased status, while these boundaries are closed to San males. The low status of the San is noted in present and past ethnographies. Archaeologists have at their disposal the present (although by no means final)

stage of the San's trajectory of contact with pastoralist and agropastoralists. It should therefore be possible to discern the effects, or consequences, of the contact: San and Khoi do not identify with each other. The problem is that archaeologists cannot use these ethnographies to imply past differences. By arguing that these differences were always there may be true; however, it is also circular: the cause is the effect, and *vice versa*.

Archaeological interpretations are, consequently, at a theoretical *impasse* regarding the use of ethnographies, since there is no means of interpreting gatherer-hunter societies without some reference to ethnographies. A contextual analysis is also constrained, since it requires using the history of the specific group of the people under study. The cautionary lesson is that the ethnographies should not be direct analogies, but rather used as an interpretation of how the people arrived at their present social position. I argue that some aspects of ethnographies are useful, since they tend to be more conservative to change than other social relations. These may be religion, mythologies and some aspects of gender relations, such as menstruation and/or menarche taboos. The close relationship between the mythologies of the Maluti and /Xam San, who were separated by great geographical distances, and those of contemporary Kalahari San, supports this argument - I do not, however, negate the notion of change within these social expressions. Archaeologists need to explain how change occurred, or in other instances, to show how and why some aspects of a group's social relations remained similar through time.

Revisionists who argue that the Khoi and San belong to the same cultural system and thus share the same identity, use identity in the broadest possible terms, often in relation to theoretical paradigms that do not allow for the microanalysis of human societies. Isolationists also offer a simplified account of intergroup structures. Both revisionists and isolationists do not consider that more than one identity exists which leads to a simplistic and static account of how people, past and present, use their identity to negotiate their positions in changing social relations.

Social interactions between the Fur and Baggara of West Sudan (Haaland 1969) and the Dorobo and Masai of East Africa (Finchilescu 1986; Hodder 1982a; Kenny 1981; Turner *et al* 1983) will illustrate my point. The Fur and Baggara both have social expectations of how each group should 'behave'. Social categorisations result in norms, identifications, and so forth, that cause the social category to become an established identity (I acknowledge that these identities may have existed before interaction occurred). The Fur may become Baggara, live with the Baggara, raise their children in Baggara society, and they are expected to act within a Baggara identity. The Fur may, however, return to their agriculturist socioeconomy at any time, where they are accepted by others

as being Fur. The returnees thus re-enact their Fur identity. More importantly there is no loss of status for becoming a Baggara, or in returning to Fur society.

A different scenario occurs between the Dorobo and Masai. In this instance not only are intergroup boundaries maintained on a social level through internal and external designations, but status differences occur. Dorobo are seen by the Masai to be of low status. For the Masai, the Dorobo are negative comparison dimensions for the ideal Masai. When Masai live with the Dorobo, they behave as Dorobo behave, and there is little to differentiate between Masai and Dorobo material culture. However, when the Masai return to their group they use Masai material culture. The Dorobo remain Dorobo, not being allowed into the ranks of Masai society - unless as low status people. The Dorobo are given the status of being the original inhabitants of the geographical area; however, with this status goes notions of 'primitivity', 'backwardness', 'magical', non-Masai, and so forth. The Dorobo males are given special status within Masai society where they perform circumcision rites on Masai males, and are paid in stock.

Revisionists argue that while Khoi and San had the same cultural identity, the San were still considered to be of a lower status. However, examples given in this and the previous chapter clearly show that people in different status positions still have, or create, their own separate identities. The social expectations, stereotypes, categorisations, and comparisons of different classes or status groups is, in itself, enough to result in a categorisation and/or comparison, and thus a group identity. External designations may result in common category salience, and this may then constitute a group identity within a larger social framework. I agree with the revisionists that a larger social framework (or culture) existed but I argue that they disregard the context of specific identities. Each social category has its own identity which is historically and socially construed and reconstructed. In relation to the southwestern Cape, the Soaqua, even within the revisionist framework, can be viewed as one social category and the Khoi as another, within the larger society. In the isolationist framework they remain separate social categories; each category, however, having its own social expectations. The Soaqua category is important because Khoi who were banned or ostracised from Khoi society, lived in the mountains with the Soaqua. The Khoi referred to the Soaqua not only as stockless people, but also as robbers, thieves, and social outcasts, and they expected individuals in the Soaqua category to behave in this way (that is, according to social stereotypes and external designations). The Soaqua would, without a doubt, have known of these designations. Since Soaqua males did not own large herds of cattle, they would not have been able to afford Khoi bridewealth to marry Khoi females - if the group boundaries were open to them. The lack of cattle and the social stigma attached to Soaqua would have denied them Khoi status and thus identity. Soaqua females, however, would have had access to Khoi society through access to Khoi males. It is therefore

possible to argue for identity differences between the two groups within both a revisionist and isolationist framework. Soaqua was a real category consisting of people who gathered and hunted as their main means of subsistence, and those who were ostracised from Khoi society. Those individuals of Soaqua status were expected to behave as Soaqua, and those of Khoi status as Khoi. Each group had its own social relations and material culture with which it designated its social position within the larger society. Justifications for separate identities could then be ideologically expressed in religion, mythology, status, gender, language, and material culture.

I propose that the category of San, or Soaqua, is maintained in studies of gatherer-hunter-pastoralist interaction in the southwestern Cape. Since identities are not static, strategies such as social creativity could be used to negotiate relative positions in each category. The expectations of social categorisations and ensuing norms, identifications, and so forth, can cause a category to become an identity. In other words, while people move in and out of a category membership, the category itself remains defined, yet changing through time. The status of the present trajectory would thus relate to a historical process that made these identities more salient, with increased closed intergroup boundaries, most likely enhanced by European colonisation.

In the remainder of this dissertation I analyse changing social relations between pastoralists and gatherer-hunters in the southwestern Cape. I explain the consequences of this interaction and the material culture used to enhance these identities.

CHAPTER 4: ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES IN THE SOUTHWESTERN CAPE

The last three chapters focused on the theoretical issues involved in the identity of people, and specifically those of the Khoi and San. The following three chapters focus on the archaeology, arguing that material culture can be used to elicit identity, and thus it is a means to understand changes in identities due to interaction. This chapter deals with the context (environmental background, geology, vegetation and excavation) of certain archaeological sites in the southwestern Cape.

Archaeological sites in the southwestern Cape are located across four ecozones: the coastal plain, sandveld, Cape Fold Belt mountains, and the Karoo. Each ecozone has different vegetations, potential foods, geology and water supplies. These differences have led Parkington (1976, 1978, 1990) to build a model of seasonal mobility across the landscape, in which he argued that while these ecozones support a productive ecosystem, they are constrained by seasonal changes. This necessitates people moving across the landscape to obtain food according to seasonal changes. While this model has been questioned (Nackerdien 1989; Sealy 1984; and Van der Merwe 1986, 1987), I retain these ecological divisions in order to group sites. I also use these divisions in subsequent chapters to argue for the use of the landscape as a means of identity maintenance. Table 4.1 lists each site, their literature references and radiocarbon dates. Figures 4.1 to 4.19 illustrate the location of each site and their stratigraphy, by means of Harris matrices. Fig. 4.1a illustrates the simplified version of these matrices for all sites mentioned in the text.

The Coastal Plains

Parkington (1976:127) notes that the coastal plain is a "series of long sandy shores separated by...isolated rocky...points, usually no more than a few hundred metres long". These shores contain a variety of marine resources for food consumption. Fresh water is scarce along this strip, but is found at the few streams that occur in the area. These streams tend to dry up in the hot summer months, with only the major rivers providing annual fresh water. In contrast, the winters are cool and wet, providing fresh water sources. The vegetation is Cape coastal fynbos. Cave sites occur within 2km of the rocky shores, whereas open midden sites are found along most of this coastal strip. The sandstone, or quartzite, ridges and *koppies* that occur along this plain are part of the Cape Fold Belt. Many of the sites along this strip date to within the last 4000 years.

TABLE 4.1: LIST OF SITES ANALYSED, THEIR LOCATION & LITERATURE REFERENCES

SITE NAME	GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION	NEAREST TOWN	REFERENCES
GORDONS BAY SHELL MIDDEN	SOUTHERN CAPE (COAST)	GORDONS BAY	VAN NOTEN (1966)
DRIEBOS	SW CAPE (SWARTLAND)	GOUDA	SMITH et al (1991; 1992)
VOELVLEI	SW CAPE (SWARTLAND)	GOUDA	SMITH et al (1991; 1992)
DIEPKLOOF ROCK SHELTER	SW CAPE (SANDVELD)	ELANDS BAY	PARKINGTON & POGGENPOEL (1987)
FARAOSKOP	SW CAPE (SANDVELD)	GRAAFWATER	MANHIRE (1992)
TORTOISE CAVE	SW CAPE (SANDVELD)	ELANDS BAY	ROBEY (1984)
KREEFTEBAAI	SW CAPE (COAST)	VREDENBERG	SMITH et al (1991; 1992)
DRIE SUSTERS (& MAIN)	SW CAPE (COAST)	VREDENBERG	SMITH et al (1991; 1992)
HAILSTONE MIDDEN	SW CAPE (COAST)	ELANDS BAY	NOLI (1988)
KASTEELBERG	SW CAPE (COAST)	VREDENBERG	SMITH (1992b)
WITKLIP	SW CAPE (COAST)	VREDENBERG	SMITH et al (1991; 1992)
VLAEBERG	SW CAPE (COAST)	VREDENBERG	SMITH et al (1991; 1992)
OUDEPOST I	SW CAPE (COAST)	VREDENBERG	SCHRIRE (1984), SCHRIRE & DEACON (1989)
PUTSLAAGTE 41	SW CAPE (MOUNTAINS)	GRAAFWATER	HALKETT (1991)
RENBAAN CAVE	SW CAPE (MOUNTAINS)	CLANWILLIAM	KAPLAN (1984; 1987)
KLIPFONTEINRAND	SW CAPE (MOUNTAINS)	CLANWILLIAM	THACKERY (1977)
DE HANGEN	SW CAPE (MOUNTAINS)	CLANWILLIAM	PARKINGTON & POGGENPOEL (1971)
KLIPFONTEINRAND 2	SW CAPE (MOUNTAINS)	CLANWILLIAM	NACKERDIEN (1989)
ANDRIESGROND CAVE	SW CAPE (MOUNTAINS)	CLANWILLIAM	ANDERSON (1991)
KLEIN KLIPHUIS	SW CAPE (MOUNTAINS)	CLANWILLIAM	VAN RIJSSEN (1992)
BURCHELL'S SHELTER	N CAPE	CAMPBELL	HUMPHREYS (1974)
RHENOSTERKOP 1 & 2	N CAPE	KAKAMAS	MORRIS & BEAUMONT (1991)
ASPOORT	KAROO	CALVINIA/CERES	SMITH & RIPP (1978)

FIG. 4.1a: APPROXIMATE LOCATIONS OD ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES IN THE SOUTH-WESTERN CAPE REFERRED TO IN THE TEXT

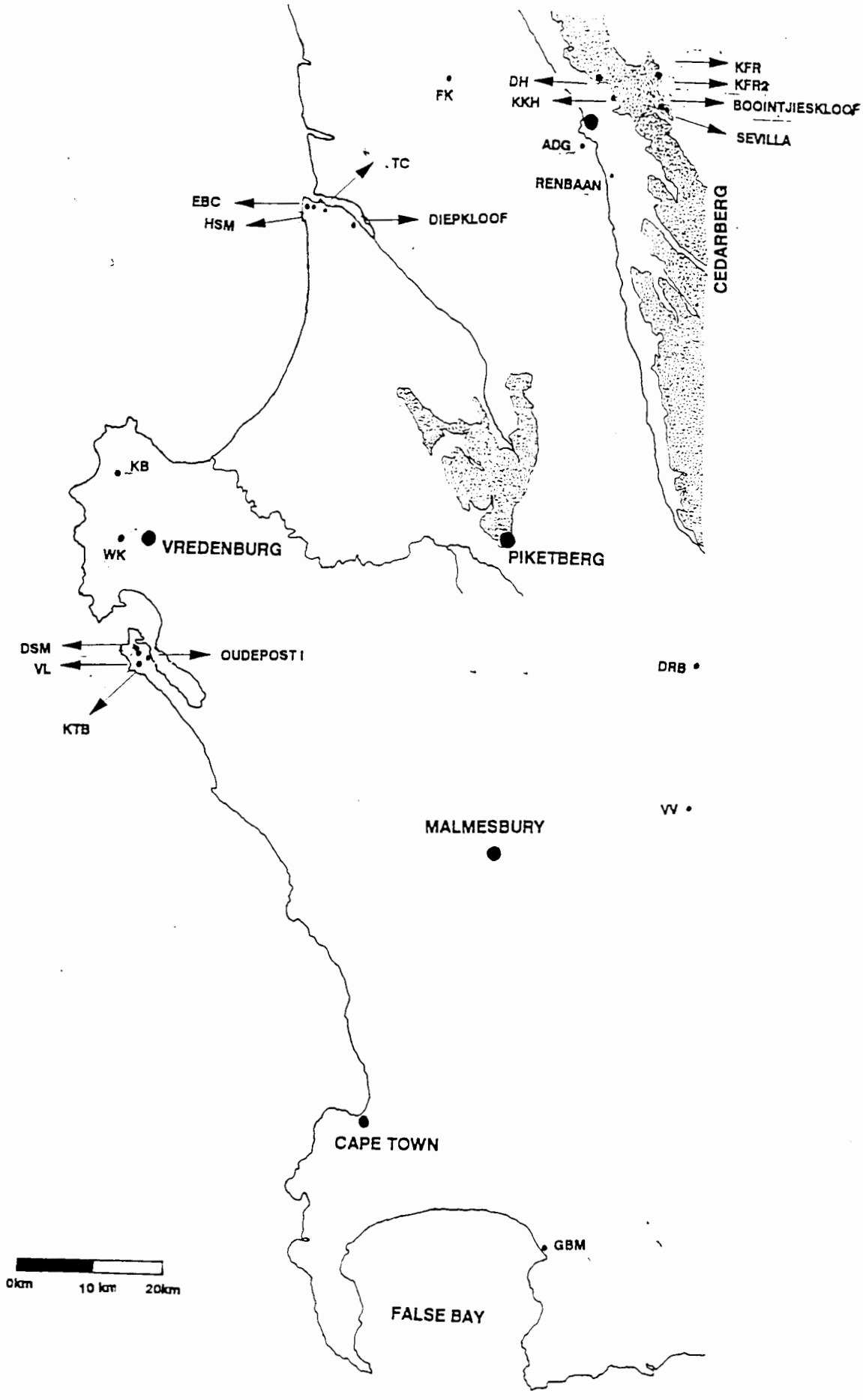
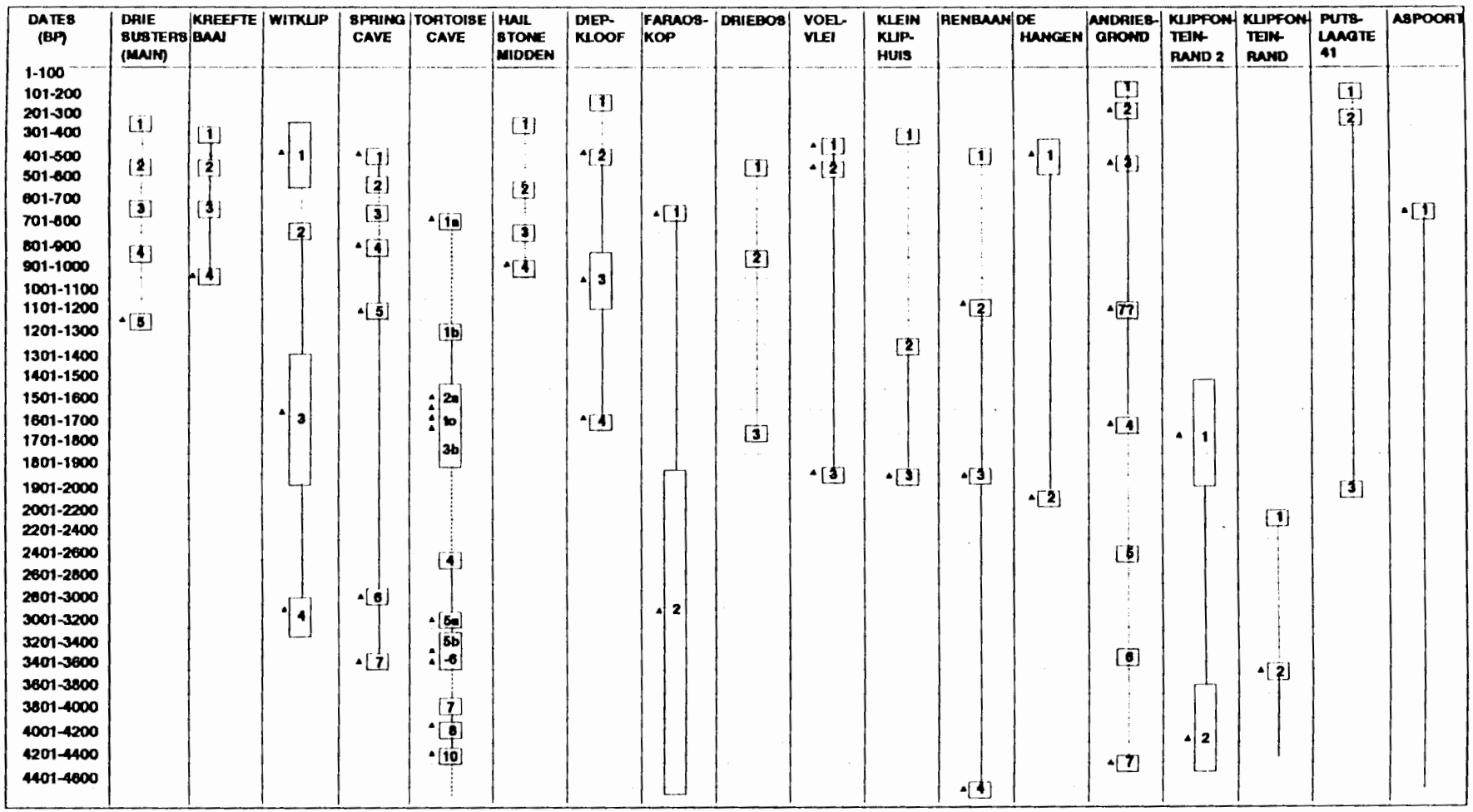


FIG. 4.1b: DIAGRAMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE STRATIGRAPHY OF SITES IN THE SOUTHWESTERN CAPE



The area around Elands Bay has been subject to twenty-five years of archaeological research, and thus is an important base for understanding the archaeological sequence of the southwestern Cape. The rocky outcrops along the shore can provide a substantial amount of shellfish - most of the sites in this area are shell middens, and a large proportion of the stratigraphy of the caves consist of shell lenses. The Elands Bay area was initially researched to test part of the seasonal mobility hypothesis (Parkington 1976; Parkington and Poggenpoel 1971), and these sites have been linked to others in the sandveld and mountains. Parkington (1976) argued that coastal settlement of these areas probably occurred during the winter months due to more favourable environmental conditions.

Gordon's Bay Midden (GBM)

This site (figs 4.1 and 4.2) is not situated in the coastal plain, but its environment is similar in geology and vegetation. In this area summers are cooler and winters are wetter than those of the coastal plain. The site is a shell midden situated in a Holocene sand dune along the coast of False Bay, about 50m from a stream and 500m from the beach. It was excavated since it was threatened by dune slumping. The Gordon's Bay mountain is situated directly behind the midden and would have been a source for plant and animal foods. A possible fishtrap is situated in the rocky area in front of the site. The excavations produced six stratigraphic layers, of which three were cultural horizons (Van Noten 1966). Between these horizons were aeolian sands between 7.5cm and 17cm deep. These assemblages dated between 2 000BP and 4000 BP. The site is unusual, in comparison with middens in Elands Bay, for its high adze and scraper percentages. Food remains include marine resources, medium to small bovids and birds.

Oudepost I

Oudepost I (fig. 4.1) is a small Dutch East India Company (VOC) outpost on the Churchhaven Peninsula near Saldanah Bay (Schrire 1984, 1991; Schrire *et al* 1990). It was excavated to understand the nature of Dutch outposts, in conjunction with archival material. The site was subsequently used to question the material signature that archaeologists have in the past assigned to gatherer-hunters and pastoralists. A nearby spring provides permanent fresh water. The area is sandy, while a sandstone *koppie* is situated nearby. While there was dune mole rat disturbance to the stratigraphy, Schrire *et al* (1990) argue that it was not significant, as is demonstrated in the vertical, temporal distribution of pipe stems. The site has seen occupation over the last 2000 years, and thus has a range of artefacts from the three main economies in this area: gatherer-hunter, herder, and colonial. These three occupations have been argued to co-occur, and researchers contend that this questions the notion of separate economies and identities in the southwestern Cape.

FIG. 4.2: HARRIS MATRIX FROM GORDONS BAY MIDDEN

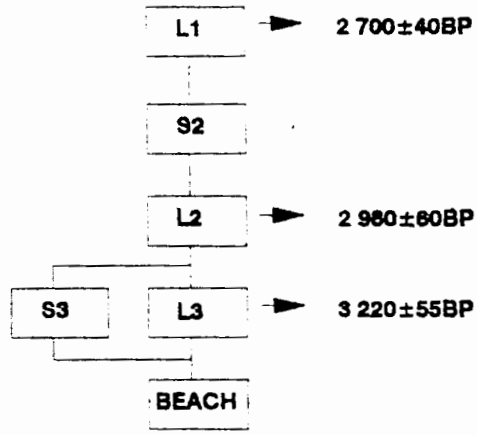
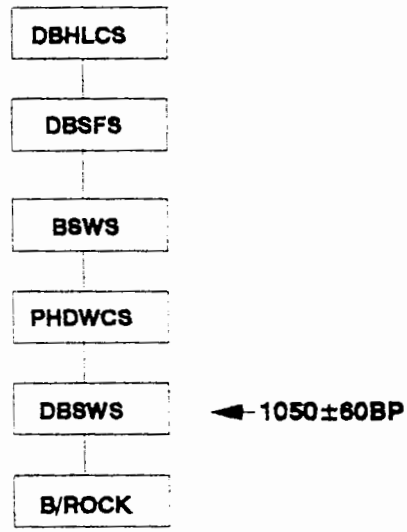


FIG. 4.3: HARRIS MATRIX FROM DRIE SUSTERS (MAIN)



Drie Susters (Main) (DSM)

DSM is an open shell midden located near Oudepost (figs 4.1 and 4.3). Three 1m x 1m squares were excavated from this site, yielding four main units dating to between 1 050BP to 800BP (Smith *et al* 1991). The upper units are contemporary with Kasteelberg B (KBB). Very few formal stone tools were found, while a high density of pot sherds occur. The food assemblage includes sheep, cattle and antelope, as well as marine resources. The site was excavated as part of an archaeological survey on the Vredenberg Peninsula.

Vlaeberg (VL)

VL is situated a few hundred meters from DSM (figs 4.1 and 4.4). It is an open shell midden situated in the sandy soils of this area (Smith *et al* 1991). Stratigraphically, the site is probably one of a single occupation, since only one shell lens was visible. Three areas, between 9m2 to 16m2, were excavated - each 50m apart. The site dates to *c.*520 BP and the decorated pottery coincides with the upper units of De Hangen dated to *c.*485BP. The food remains are dominated by marine resources, and few stone tools were found. The site was excavated as part an archaeological survey of the Vredenberg Peninsula.

Witklip (WK)

WK is a small rock shelter on a quartzite *koppie* on the Vredenberg Peninsula, a few kilometres north of Oudepost I (figs 4.1 and 4.5). The importance of this site lies in its upper layers which are contemporary with Kasteelberg. The site has been used by Smith *et al* (1991) to argue for different socio-economic signatures occurring on the landscape at the same time and place in the archaeological record. Fresh water is scarce although the winter months would have provided water in small streams. The nearest main river is that of the Berg River, which is partly estuarine. Three 1m x 1m squares were excavated - squares F, I and J. The stratigraphy comprises mostly shelly layers interspersed with hearths, or ashy lenses. These excavations produced four main units dating from *c.*3000 BP to *c.*300 BP. The artefacts from this site include many stone tools, beads, pendants, worked bone and wood. The faunal remains are those of small to large bovids, domestic sheep and cattle, several small animals such as dassies, and a variety of marine resources. The floral remains have not been analysed. While this site has been argued to represent a continuous sequence for the last 3000 years, certain of the excavated layers may have been incorrectly mixed into the larger units - I discuss this in Chapter 6. The unexcavated squares G and H are crucial in correlating the excavated layers. If the excavated layers are mixed, this site cannot be argued to represent a gatherer-hunter signature in the last 2000 years, since it would contain both preceramic and ceramic artefacts.

FIG. 4.4: HARRIS MATRIX OF VLAEBERG

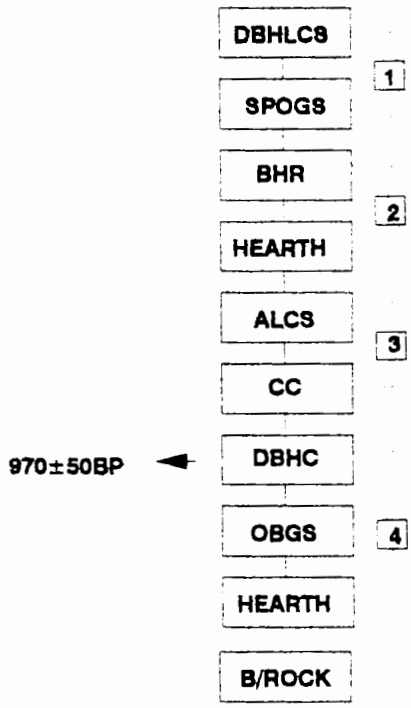
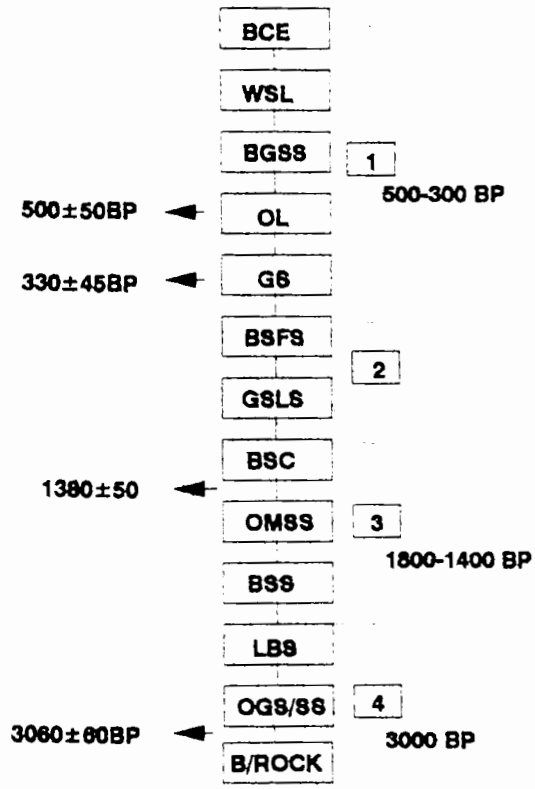


FIG. 4.5: HARRIS MATRIX OF WITKLIP



Kreeftebaai (KTB)

KTB is situated on a hill between sandstone boulders, near the last three sites discussed (fig 4.1). The site was excavated as part of an archaeological survey of the Vredenberg Peninsula (Smith *et al* 1991). Two 1m x 1m squares were excavated to 350cm below topsoil. Four main stratigraphic units were found and the second unit from the top dated to *c.*970 BP. Few stone tools were found, whereas potsherds were numerous. Food remains consisted mainly of marine resources, while sheep, cattle and medium bovids were also found.

Kasteelberg

Kasteelberg (KBA, KBB, KBC, KBD and KBE) is located on a koppie between and below sandstone boulders on the Vredenberg Peninsula (fig. 4.1). Several sites have been located around these boulders and all have yielded very similar material culture. These sites have been used to create a chronology of pastoral occupation in the area over the last 2000 years. It was originally excavated to test a hypothesis of pastoralist transhumance in the southwestern Cape, since it is the only site in the southwestern Cape with an undisputed pastoral occupation. This site is now used by "isolationists" for comparative purposes with other sites in the area, arguing that the differences in material culture are related to different socio-economies. "Revisionists" use this site to argue the opposite. Unfortunately Kasteelberg has not been fully published, and only parts of its excavations are referred to in the literature. The most excavated site on this koppie is KBB, producing sixteen units. These units vary from being shellfish-dominated to those dominated by seal and/or domestic animal remains such as sheep and cattle. Kasteelberg has the first frequency seriation of pottery in the southwestern Cape (Sadr and Smith 1991). While there are over a thousand pieces of stone, pottery dominates the assemblage. Middle Stone Age (MSA) horizons occur below the pastoral occupation.

Hailstone Midden (HSM)

HSM is located about 50km north of Kasteelberg, near the town of Elands Bay, and about 2km from the Verlorenvlei (figs 4.1 and 4.6). HSM is situated on a sand dune near the base of a large sandstone ridge that extends to Baboon Point. Two excavations have taken place at HSM; however, Noli (1986) argues that the first excavations could not be correlated with the second. I use only the second excavations in my analysis. The site was excavated since continuous erosion threatened to destroy the whole site, and to increase the data base of the area. Six 1m x 1m squares were excavated and five main occupation units were found. A radiocarbon date from the basal unit dates it to *c.*910BP. The deposit consists mainly of shellfish lenses interspersed with charcoal, bone and a few stone tools. Food remains consist primarily of marine resources and a few small bovids.

FIG. 4.6: HARRIS MATRIX OF HAILSTONE MIDDEN

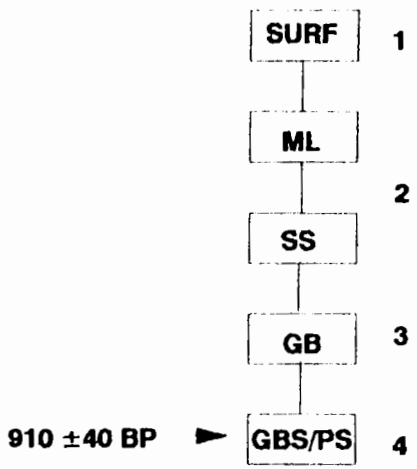
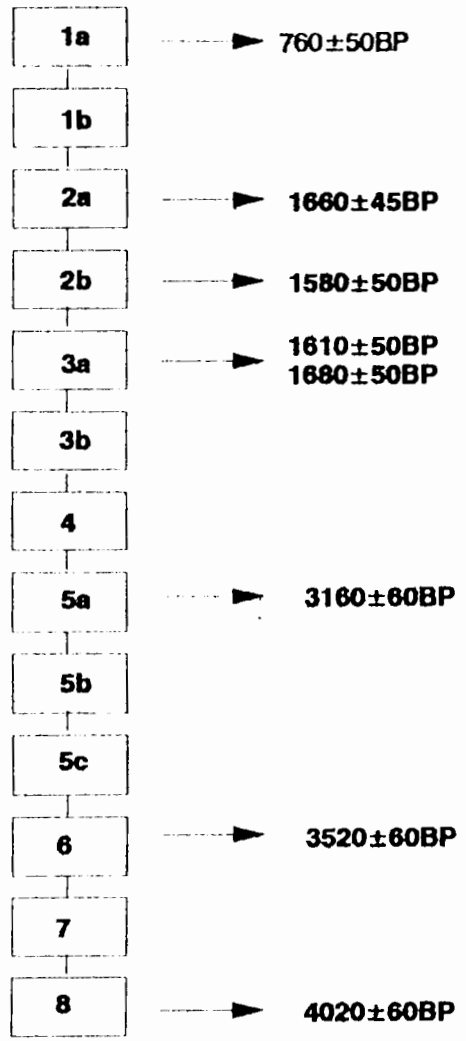


FIG. 4.7: HARRIS MATRIX OF TORTOISE CAVE



Tortoise Cave (TC)

TC is situated about 5km from Elands Bay Cave, and 500m from the southern banks of the Verlorenvlei (figs 4.1 and 4.7). The cave is located on a small sandstone koppie above the vlei. Most of the excavated deposit came from the talus slope, while the shelter produced some bedding. The stratigraphy consists mainly of stratified shell lenses with hearths and bedding patches. The radiocarbon dates from the site range from *c.*7 700BP to *c.*760BP, with an occupational hiatus between 4 000BP and 3 000BP. These dates, and the hiatus, correspond to the dates from Elands Bay Cave. The close proximity of this cave to the sea, vlei and *koppies* allowed for the gathering and hunting of a range of foods. There is a substantial deposit, yet few formal stone tools were found. Unlike previous sites mentioned above, this site yielded some botanical remains, mainly from the *Iridaceae* family. The stratigraphy is currently being reanalysed, and I have used the revised stratigraphy for my analysis. These new groupings and dates were supplied by A. Gerardino (pers. com.).

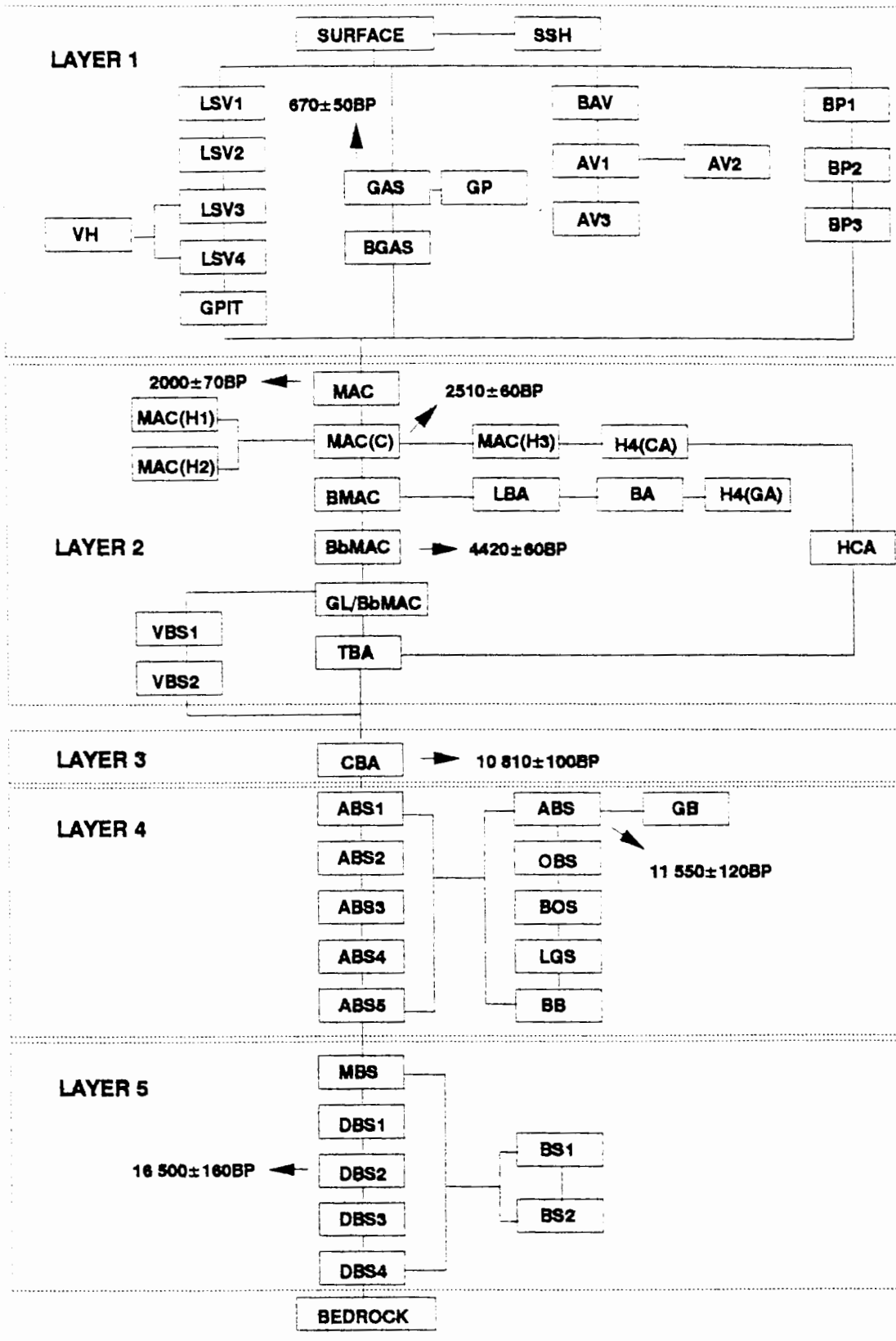
The Sandveld

This ecological area consists of a soft, sandy coastal plain, with several deflation hollows and *koppies*. In winter, water courses supply adequate fresh water, but these dry up in the summer months, leaving only a few perennial fresh water supplies. However, the Verlorenvlei passes through part of this area. Plants and animals are abundant in this semi-arid environment, and include plant foods such as the *Iridaceae*, fruits and berries. These arid fynbos and strandveld shrubland plants are well adapted to the dry environment. Several small to large animals and bovids are found in the sandveld. However, the ecology is low in nutrient status (Smith 1983) and is considered not to be a viable area for large scale herding, especially of cattle. Raw materials suitable for stone tool production are quartzite and quartz, while some areas have silcrete outcrops. Hornfels and the cryptocrystaline silicates (CCS) are found along river banks. Several deflation hollows have been sampled (Manhire 1987a, 1987b), and these artefacts have been relatively dated to between 4 000BP and 2000BP. Apart from the deflation hollows, only two sites have been excavated in this area, namely Diepkloof and Faraoskop. As with the coastal plain, rock art is not common in this area, and where it does occur, it tends to consist mainly of finger paintings and handprints.

Faraoskop (FK)

FK is situated about 3km from the town of Graafwater (figs 4.1 and 4.8). The site is located on the top of a sandstone koppie and faces the coastal plain. A seasonal stream flows nearby. The vegetation is both dry mountain and sandy plain fynbos. The site was excavated as a salvage operation, since a local farmer had conducted informal excavations which removed some of the deposit, burials, and several artefacts. Excavations consisted of five 1m x 1m squares and extended

FIG. 4.8: HARRIS MATRIX OF FARAOSKOP



to bedrock. Five main units were differentiated, dating from *c.*16 500BP to *c.*670BP. While several stone tools were recovered, only two pieces of pottery were found. Food remains include marine resources, tortoise, small to large bovids, small mammals and plants. Twelve skeletons were recovered from this site and Manhire (1993) has suggested that many may have been from a single burial episode. Six of these skeletons had no crania.

Diepkloof

Diepkloof is a large overhang on top of a sandstone outcrop (figs 4.1 and 4.9). The Verlorenvlei is situated about 120m below the shelter, while the coast is approximately 12km to the west. The Late Stone Age (LSA) deposit is shallow and overlies a substantial MSA deposit. Most of the LSA deposits were excavated. The site consists of a series of bedding-ash complexes, which were probably deposited soon after one another. Radiocarbon dates from the cave suggest an occupation between *c.*1 600BP and *c.*390BP, and the excavators have placed most of the excavated layers into one main unit. Preservation at the site was good, and many plant species were identified. Faunal remains included small mammals, mainly small bovids, tortoises, marine fish and shell, and several sheep. Many potsherds were found - more than in any other presumed gatherer-hunter site. The art in the cave includes fineline images, finger paintings and several decorated and plain handprints, as well as colonial imagery. The material culture from the site is important in the revisionist-isolationist debate, since it contains a lot of pottery and sheep, yet conforms to a gatherer-hunter site use pattern. Schrire (1984) argues that this site could represent a herder occupation, while Parkington (1984) maintains that it represents a gatherer-hunter site in contact with herders.

The Mountains

The Cape Fold Belt has a diverse range of plant and animal species. Moll (1984) suggests that the low nutrient status of the fynbos vegetation could not sustain many large bovids. The many smaller animals would thus have formed an important part of the diet of precolonial people. Plant foods are abundant, but vary according to seasonal changes where summers are hot and dry, and winters are cold and wet (see Parkington and Poggenpoel 1971). Vegetation is dry mountain fynbos with numerous *Iridaceae*, although karroid shrubland is present. There are many streams and kloofs which appear to be the preferred areas of occupation. Potential stone tool raw materials are mainly quartz, silcrete and quartzite, while hornfels and CCS are found along main river banks, especially the Doorn River. This area is presumed to have had an increase in occupation during the last 2000 years, as a response by gatherer-hunters to the incursion of pastoralism. However, the area most probably had intensive occupation between 8 000BP and 4 000BP, the time period where there was an occupational hiatus along the coastal plains and sandveld. I divide the sites in this ecozone into

FIG. 4.9: HARRIS MATRIX OF DIEPKLOOF

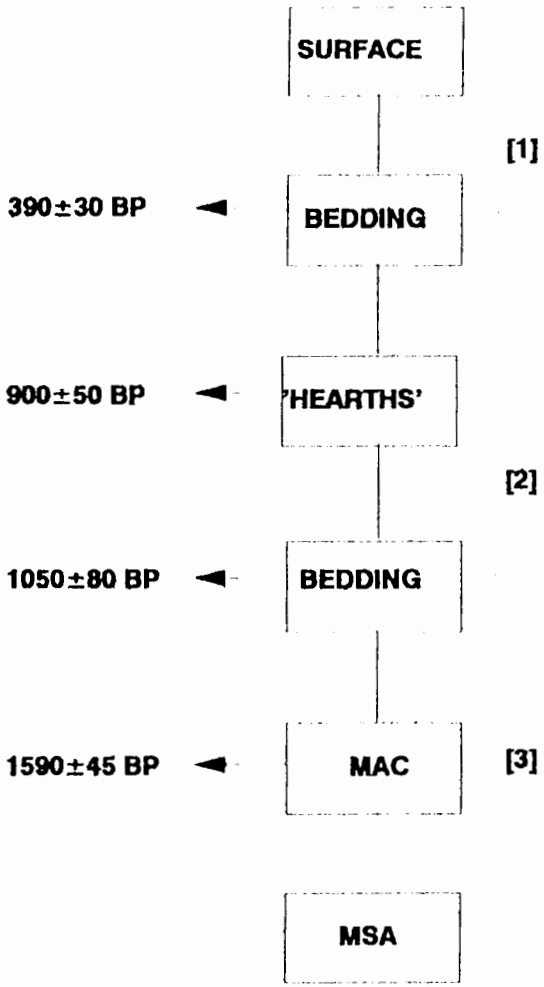


FIG. 4.10: HARRIS MATRIX OF DRIEBOS

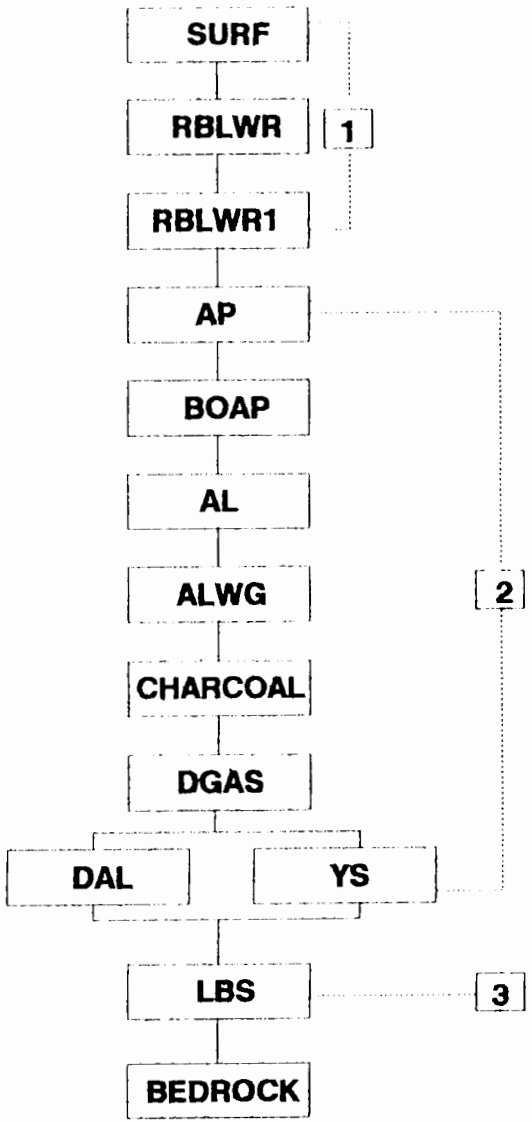


FIG. 4.11: HARRIS MATRIX OF VOELVLEI

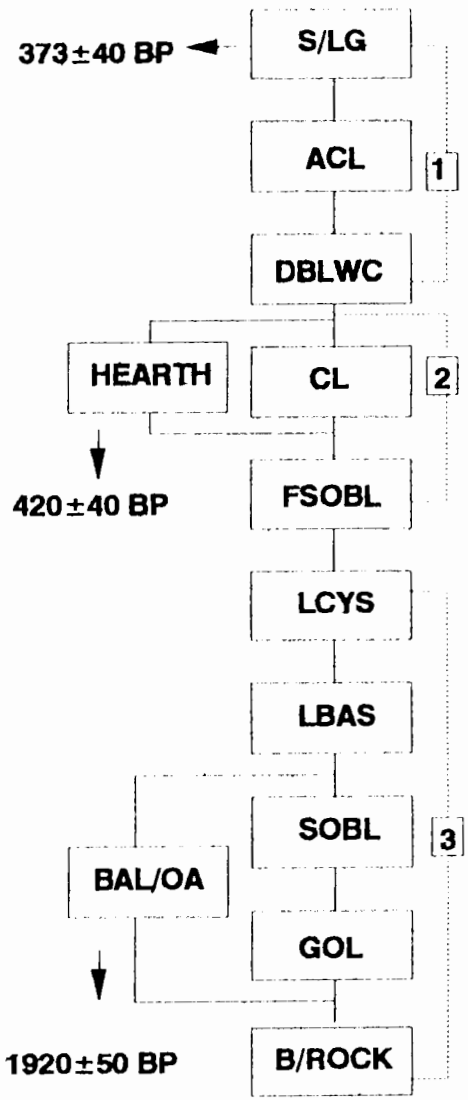


FIG. 4.12: HARRIS MATRIX OF KLEIN KLIPHUIS

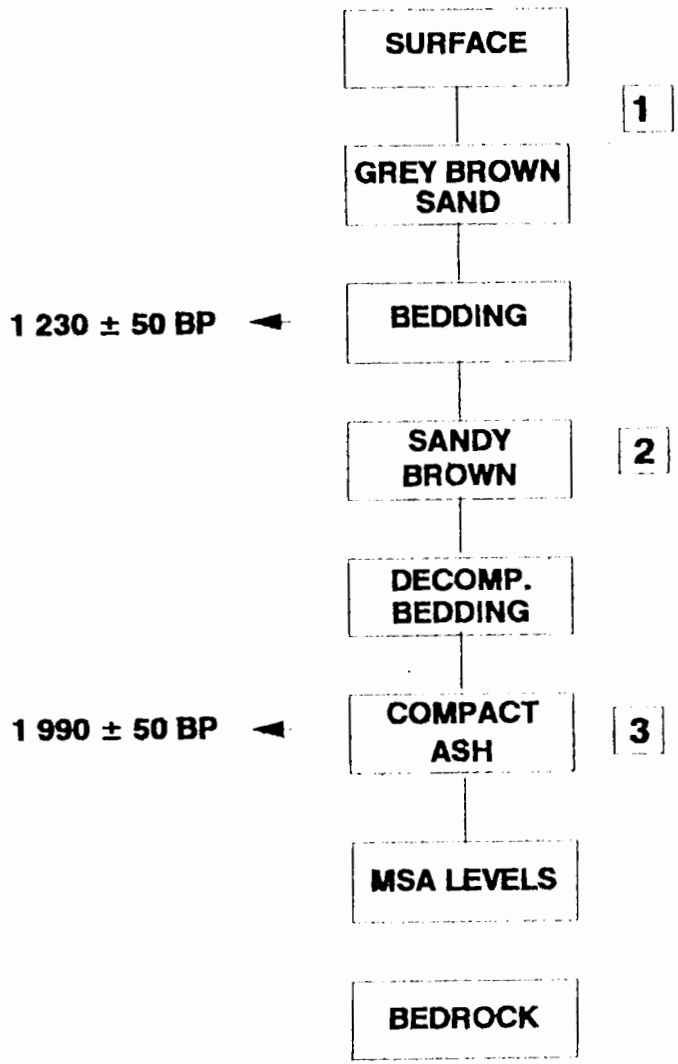


FIG. 4.13: HARRIS MATRIX FOR ANDRIESGROND CAVE

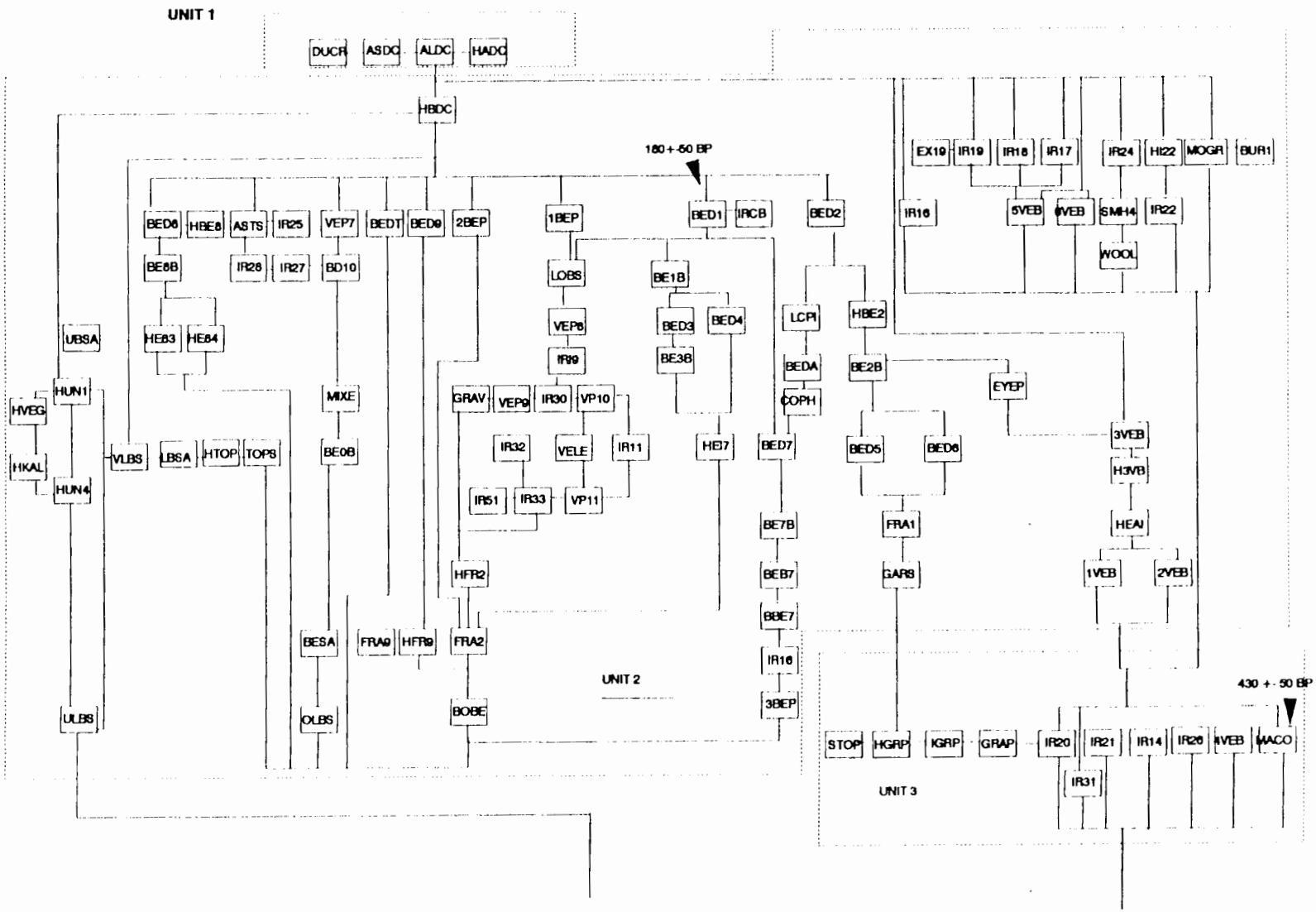
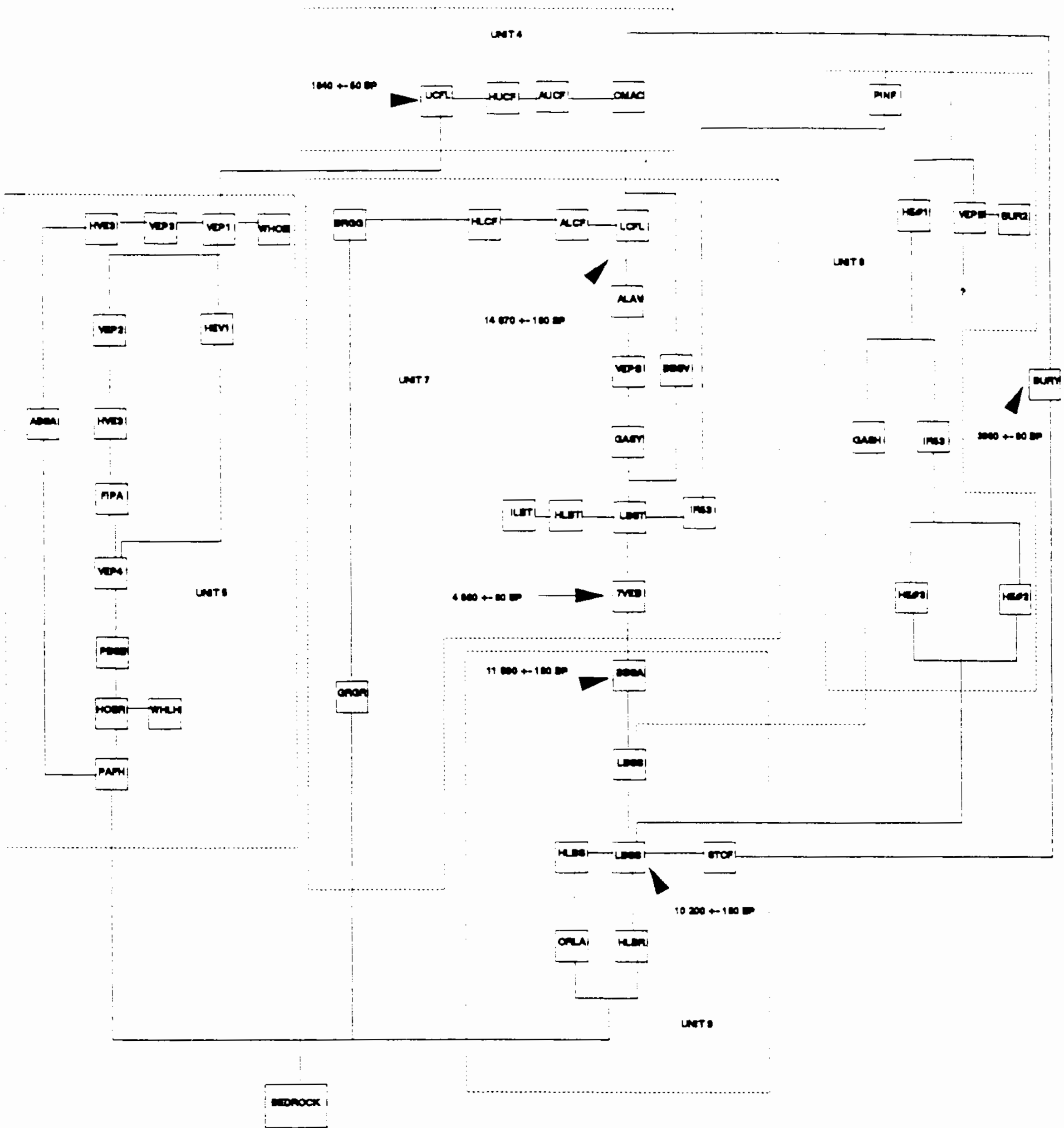


FIG. 4.13 (cont.)


UNIT 4
UCFL
HUCF
AUCF
OMAC
PINF
HLCF
ALCF
LCFL
ALAV
UNIT 7
7VEB
HLBS
STOF
ORLA
UNIT 9
BEDROCK

three broad areas: those on the edge of the Cape Fold Belt-sandveld ecozone, those in the mountains, and those on the Cape Fold Belt-Karoo edge. The first group of sites is found in the Swartland area, while the second group is located mainly in the vicinity of the Olifants River Valley and the Cedarberg mountains. The third group is located in the Swartruggens mountains, where the Karoo begins on the basin of the eastern slopes.

Driebos (DRB)

DRB is situated about 27km northeast from Sonquasdrift (figs 4.1 and 4.10), and is a small shelter in the Cape Fold Belt. The Berg River is the nearest perennial fresh water supply, but annual streams exist in the area. This site was excavated to test the isolationist-revisionist debate (Smith et al 1991). The excavations yielded three main units, of which the top two contained many ceramic sherds. Diagnostic sherds are similar to those found at De Hangen. No radiocarbon dates have yet been submitted. Several formal tools were found of which most came from the ceramic units. The fauna and flora is similar to that of Voëlvlei. Fineline paintings occur at the back of the cave.

Voëlvlei (VV)

VV is situated 10.5km southeast from Sonquasdrift, in the Elandskloofberge (figs 4.1 and 4.11). The shelter is located amongst sandstone boulders near the base of the mountain (Smith et al 1991). The vegetation would have been Rhenosterbos, and part of the dry mountain fynbos, but now forms part of the wheatfields of the Swartland. The Berg River would have supplied fresh water all year round, although annual streams exist in the area. The site was excavated to test the revisionist-isolationist debate. A total of 4m2 was excavated, and a further 4m2 of surface material was collected. The excavated units were combined into four larger assemblages, of which two date to the preceramic period. Several hearths and bedding patches were found in the upper units. The site is interesting since it has several formal tools and also a high frequency of pot sherds. The two decorated sherds are similar to those found at De Hangen. Several large and medium bovids were found, as well as a few small bovids, which may or may not be sheep. The faunal remains include a range of small mammals and *Iridaceae* remains were also found. The rock art appears to be in the fineline tradition, and includes a triple-curved bow.

Klein Kliphuis Shelter (KKH)

KKH is situated in a narrow valley in the lower parts of the Cedarberg (figs 4.1 and 4.12). The Kliphuis River is about 15m below the shelter, although it is little more than a stream. The vegetation consists of dry mountain fynbos and karroid shrubland. Four 1m x 1m squares were excavated, but only one to bedrock (Van Rijssen 1992). The LSA levels were restricted to the top 200mm of the site, and overlay an MSA deposit. The site dates from *c.*32 300BP to *c.*1 230BP. The

LSA stratigraphy consists mainly of bedding-ash complexes, with few stone tools, pottery and food remains. Faded rock art is found at the site. Since this excavation produced few artefacts, I have omitted it from my main analysis.

Andriesgrond (ADG)

ADG is one of the larger excavated shelters in the Olifants River Valley (figs 4.1 and 4.13). The Olifants River is situated about 1km from the site. The site is part of a sandstone ridge with numerous shelters. There is an extensive talus slope in front of the cave. The vegetation in the vicinity of the cave is dry mountain fynbos and karroid shrubland, and the good preservation at the site yielded many of these plants. The site was excavated spatially as part of the research into bedding-ash complexes and seasonal mobility. Forty-two square metres of the site were excavated of which parts went down to bedrock. Five main units were determined from the excavated units (Anderson 1991) . Most of the stratigraphy dates to within the last 4 000 years, while the lower basal units include early Holocene and some MSA deposit. While most of the stratigraphy from the site has been resolved, the radiocarbon date from the layer named GRGR (below the bedding), may be problematic. Although this layer consists of a substantial deposit without any pottery, it dates to around 1 050BP. Other sites in the area have similarly large layers directly below the main bedding, but date to *c.*1 900BP. The charcoal used for dating was taken from three surrounding squares, several years after excavation, and this may have contributed to the late date. Nonetheless I have retained the date in the Harris matrices depicting the stratigraphy, but in my analysis have argued for the earlier date. The excellent preservation at the site revealed several vegetation bands, patches, a pit, and several bedding patches - plant food remains were thus abundant. Woodshavings and formal tools were equally abundant. Faunal remains include small mammals, small to large bovids and many tortoises. Colonial artefacts as well as Khoi pottery were found. The rock art covers most of the cave wall and the images were in the fineline tradition.

Renbaan

Renbaan is situated on a sandstone koppie in the Olifants River Valley (figs 4.1 and 4.14). A permanent stream is located near the cave, while the Olifants River is about 5km away. The vegetation is dry mountain fynbos and karroid shrubland. The site was excavated as part of the research into seasonality and bedding-ash complexes (Kaplan 1984, 1987). The excavation yielded four main units dating from *c.*5 430BP to *c.*1 150BP, although most of the deposit is between 2 000 and 1 000 years old. The site is similar to ADG in its stratigraphy, dates, and artefacts.

Klipfonteinrand (KFR) and Klipfonteinrand 2 (KFR2)

These sites are located within 50m of each other (figs 4.1, 4.15 and 4.16). The sites are situated on a sandstone ridge in the Cedarberg, and in close proximity to Boontjieskloof and Sevilla. Several streams provide fresh water to the area for most of the year, and the sites fall within the Olifants River catchment area. The vegetation is dry mountain fynbos and karroid shrubland. KFR was excavated mostly in spits, apart from the upper layers, and the farmer had removed a substantial amount of the upper deposit prior to formal excavations (Thackeray 1977). The first few layers date to the mid-Holocene, while the rest date to the early Holocene and late Pleistocene. KFR2 contains more late Holocene deposit, but most of these assemblages date to the pre-2 000BP time period (Nackerdien 1989). Both sites contain a wide variety of stone tools and artefacts, common to most of the caves in this region. Few sherds were found. Rock art is found along the back of the cave wall, and consists of fineline images as well as finger paintings and decorated and plain handprints.

De Hangen (DH)

DH is situated along a sandstone ridge in the Cedarberg, between the Olifants and Doorn Rivers (figs 4.1, 4.17). The former is about 8km distant, and the latter about 18km. The vegetation is dry mountain fynbos and karroid shrubland. The excavation results were the first in the southwestern Cape to consider questions of seasonality and bedding-ash complexes. Most of the cave was excavated to bedrock, where three main excavated units were determined dating to *c.* 390BP and *c.* 1 850BP. Most of the artefacts and food remains came from the bedding-ash units. Several decorated sherds were found and one sheep and cow or bull were found. Plant foods resemble those of other sites in this region.

Boontjieskloof (BTJ) and Sevilla (SEV)

These two names refer to farms in the Cedarberg mountains, located over the Pakhuis Pass from Clanwilliam (fig. 4.1). While no sites have been excavated, this area is known for its exceptional rock art. Both farms have been systematically surveyed over several years by SARU and more than 10 000 images have been recorded. Several shelters with archaeological deposit exist. These shelters are usually small, although larger ones have been found. The vegetation is dry mountain fynbos and karroid shrubland. Many rivers and streams supply permanent water sources. Antelope species are usually small and medium bovids, since the low nutrient status of the soil could not sustain many large bovids such as eland. Plant foods are mainly seasonal, and would be edible in spring. Stone tools, especially formal tools, are common on the talus slopes of shelters, and some pottery is also found. Marine shell and fresh water fish have been found. Historically, the area was part of the *trekboer* area, and a few remains of *hartbeeshuise* are present. The rock art is predominantly

FIG. 4.14: HARRIS MATRIX OF RENBAAN

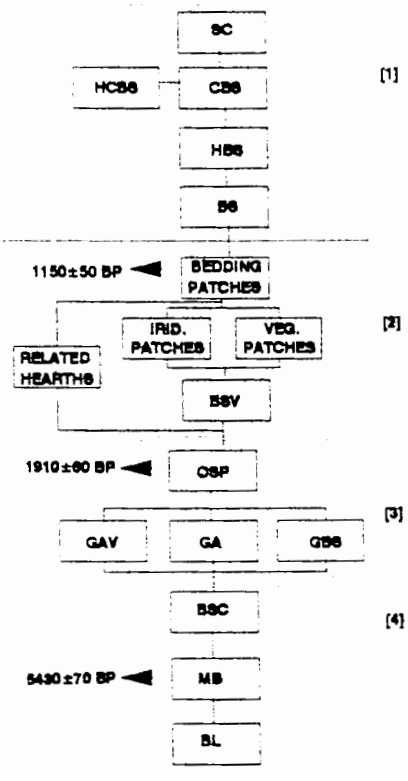


FIG. 4.15: HARRIS MATRIX OF KLIPFONTEINRAND

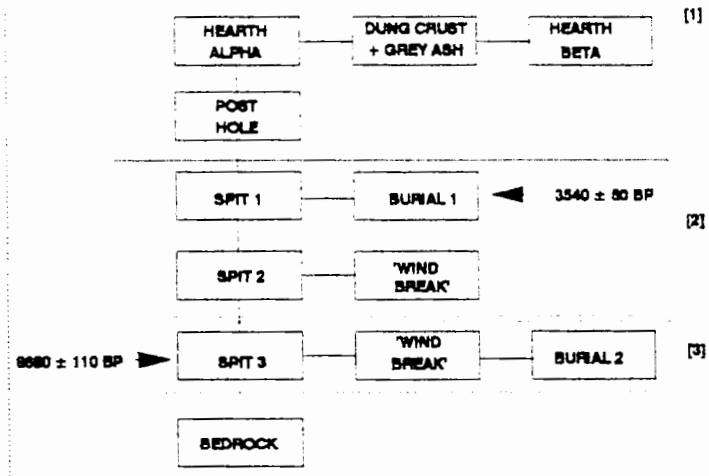


FIG. 4.16: HARRIS MATRIX OF KLIPFONTEINRAND 2

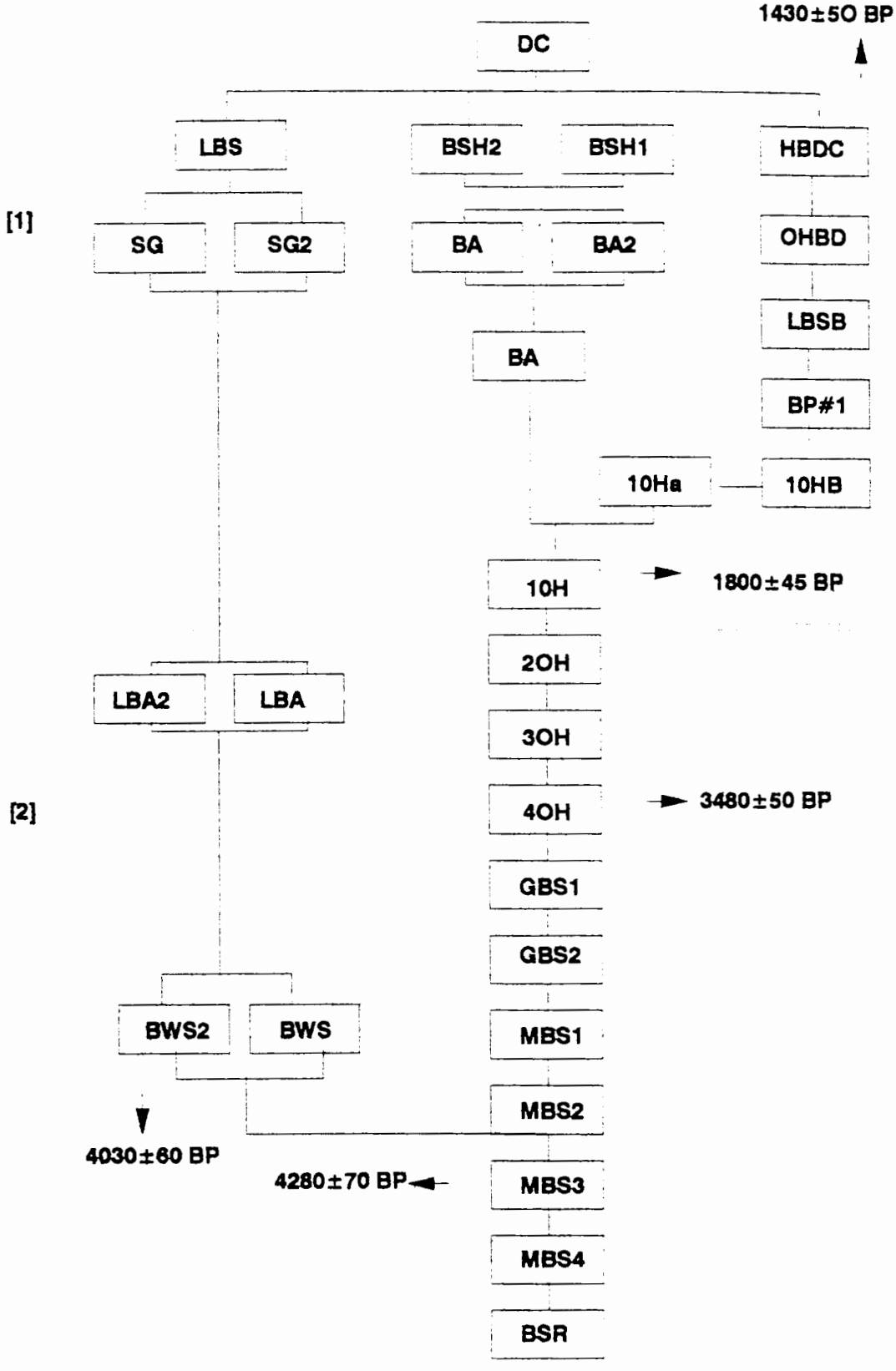


FIG. 4.17: HARRIS MATRIX OF DE HANGEN

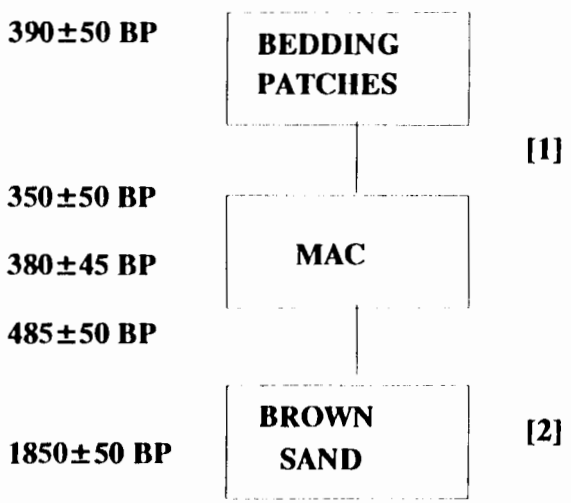


FIG. 4.18: APPROXIMATE LOCATIONS OF KGK, STF AND ASPOORT

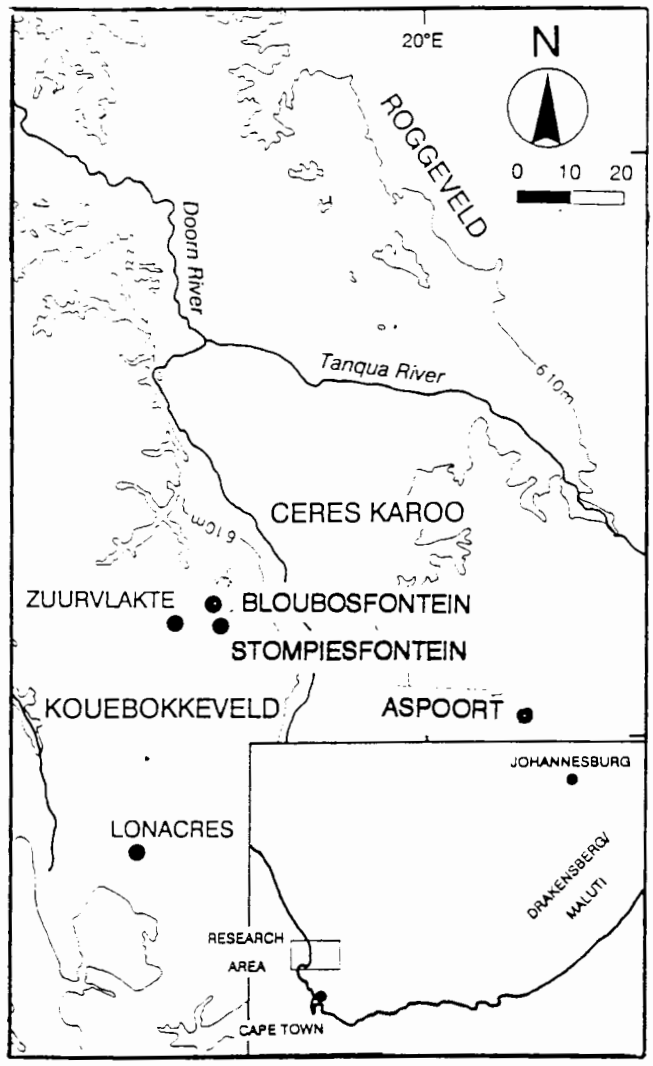


FIG. 4.19: HARRIS MATRIX OF PUTSLAAGTE 41

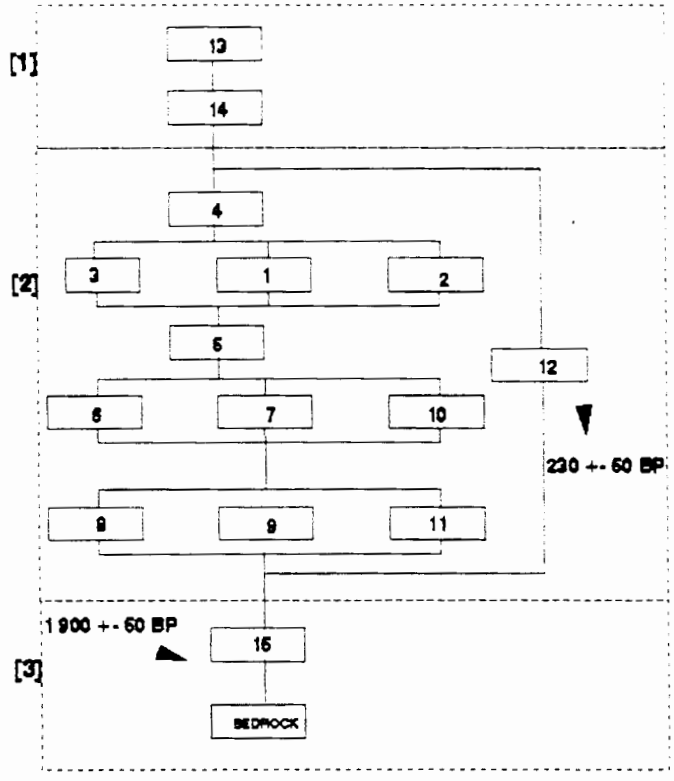
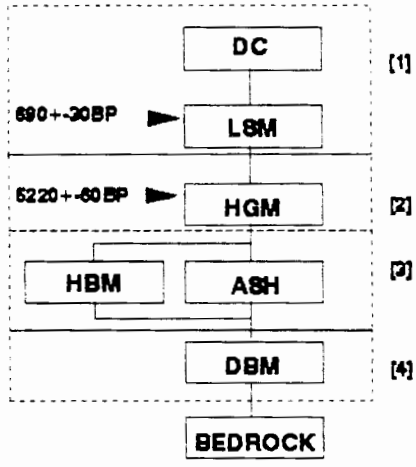


FIG. 4.20: HARRIS MATRIX OF ASPOORT



fineline, while some finger paintings and handprints occur. I have used this area for my rock art analysis.

Putslaagte 41 (PL41)

PL41 is a sandstone shelter at the northern end of the Cape Fold Belt range. The Cedarberg mountains lie to the west, while the Karoo lies to the east (figs 4.18 and 4.19). It is approximately 120km inland from the sea. The rock shelter is located in one of the valleys formed by the tributaries of the Doorn River. The Putslaagte area falls under the rain shadow of the Cedarberg mountains and thus receives less rainfall than the areas mentioned above. Streams usually flow only in winter, while the Doorn River is the nearest perennial water source. The vegetation is mesic fynbos, and several bulbous plant species as well as fruits are found in the area. The site was excavated spatially to determine the number of people living in the shelter at any given time (Halkett 1990). The most common feature is the bedding-ash complex. The large talus slope is a continuation of the deposit in the shelter, and may be stratigraphically contemporaneous with the shelter. Fifteen stratigraphic units were excavated, and these were combined into three main units. The top two unit were ceramic-bearing, and one bedding patch dates to 230±50BP. The third unit dates to 1 900±60BP. The site contains many stone tools, marine shell, artefacts from ostrich eggshell, decorated and undecorated pottery and *Iridaceae* plant remains. The faunal assemblage includes small mammals, tortoises, bird, small to medium bovids and fish.

Kagga Kamma (KGK) and Stompiesfontein (STF)

The third region in the Cape Fold Belt mountains is referred to as the Koue Bokkeveld and forms part of my main research area (fig. 4.18). It is part of the Cedarberg, and forms part of the same geological and ecological system. KGK and STF are situated at the top of the Swartruggens mountains and about 10km from the Karoo. Summers are very hot and dry, while winters are cold with rain and snow. The climate is thus different to that of the Cedarberg area. Few streams occur in this area, although the Riet River and Groot Vlei are permanent water sources and a spring occurs near STF1. Several large shelters are found in this area, but most painted sites are small overhangs, all of which contain archaeological deposits. Both MSA and LSA stone tools are present, although the latter are more common. Apart from STF1, no sites have been excavated. Further excavations at this site and several others could provide useful information concerning the history of this area, since it includes gatherer-hunter, herder, colonial, and mixed socio-economies. My research design was to survey these two farms for specific rock art images. Several pot sherds were found on the talus slopes and in the deposit of these sites. The pottery included both Cape Coastal pottery (Rudner 1979) and grass tempered pottery. The latter has not yet been recorded in the southwestern

Cape. This area was part of the colonial border in AD 1740, and several indigenous peoples lived within this border. The main wagon trails from Ceres to Calvinia and the Karoo passed through these two farms, and are visible today. Several historical houses, huts and other items of colonial material culture can be found throughout this area. The rock art contains all three of the main art styles: fineline, finger paintings, handprints and colonial images.

The Karoo

Karoo shale *koppies* dot the relatively flat landscape of the Karoo area. Rainfall is limited since the Karoo falls in the Cape Fold Belt rain shadow, and occurs in the winter - often in the form of large thunder storms. The Doorn and Tanqua are the two main perennial rivers. Succulents dominate the plant kingdom, although during the winter rains grasses are abundant. These grasses attracted large herds of animals during colonial and precolonial times (see Smith and Ripp 1978). Locally available raw materials for stone tools are hornfels and CCS. This area is known to have been occupied by herders during the last few centuries.

Aspoort (ASP)

ASP is situated 3km from the confluence of the Groot Doorn and Doorn Rivers (figs 4.18 and 4.20). The area is referred to as the Doorn Tanqua Karoo and is a relatively flat landscape. This area is situated in a floodplain containing fertile alluvial soil. Soil physiology varies from sandy to sunbaked desert pavements. The vegetation is adapted to the arid conditions and includes succulents, trees (such as the *Acacia karoo)*, and short-lived grasses after the rains. The vegetation is classified as karroid shrubland. ASP is located on the east side of the Cape Fold Belt mountains. The cave is large for this area and contains a substantial deposit. Two 1m x 1m squares were excavated and four main units were identified. These units date from *c.*5 220BP to *c.*690BP. As with the sites in the mountains, this deposit indicates habitation in the area during the hiatus along the coastal plains. Many stone tools and a few pot sherds were found, as well as some European artefacts. Faunal remains include small to medium bovids.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter provided the context of archaeological sites and research methodology in the southwestern Cape. I gave a brief background to the environment, geology, vegetation and excavated sites. The region referred to as the southwestern Cape, is located across four main ecozones on an approximately east-west axis. Twenty-five years of research makes this region one of the more comprehensively studied areas in southern Africa, providing a large database for further

archaeological analyses. Archaeological sites include those attributed to gatherer-hunters, herders and European colonists. The importance of these excavated sites lies in the fact that they cover a diverse environment and may have required different responses by different socioeconomic groups. The region was therefore subject to periods of interaction between different socioeconomies which is reflected in the wide range of material culture. The isolationist-revisionist debate has included the southwestern Cape, which adds an important aspect to interpretations of the archaeological record.

The archaeological sites analysed in this thesis are found along the coastal plains, Sandveld, Cape Fold Belt mountains and the Karoo. I analysed nine excavated sites along the coastal plain of which eight are shell middens and one a rock shelter. Human occupation in this ecozone includes most of the Holocene, but with two hiatuses between 8000 and 7000 BP and 4000 and 3000 BP. The Sandveld environment is similar to that of the coastal plain. I analysed two excavated sites from this region. While several other sites have been sampled by other researchers, these sites are located in deflation hollows, and have relative dates between 4000 and 2000 years ago. Since these deflation hollows do not provide a detailed chronological sequence, I omitted them from my analyses.

The archaeological sites located in the mountains differ in size and content from those found along the coastal plains and in the Sandveld. Eight sites have been excavated in this region and two farms, Boointjieskloof and Sevilla, have been systematically surveyed by members of the archaeology department at UCT. These farms contain many small rock shelters and rock art in the fineline tradition. I have used the rock art of this area as a central part of my thesis to explain changing social relations in the southwestern Cape. I surveyed two farms on the border between the Cape Fold Belt and the Karoo: Kagga Kamma and Stompiesfontein. This survey concentrated on sites containing rock art depicting European material culture and images done in the fineline and fingerpainted traditions. The Karoo is the final region discussed in my thesis, and I refer to one excavated site located there.

The archaeological sites provide a long sequence of precolonial and colonial history covering most of the Holocene, especially that of the last 4000 years. The twenty excavated sites and the sites located on the four farms used in my analyses have been interpreted according to different research methodologies. These methodologies range from testing a general hypothesis, to answering specific questions about a specific period. However, research has focused mainly on human seasonal movements across the landscape, and bedding-ash complexes. Researchers have focused on the environmental factors influencing the various ecozones and the ways in which people adapted socially to these changes.

The predominance of seasonal mobility models has influenced the types of sites excavated. Studies of gatherer-hunter sites have largely focused on the last 4000 years and include shell middens, rock shelters and rock art. Excavated archaeological sites in the mountains are mostly small shelters with shallow deposits, often dating to the last 2000 years. Only four sites have substantial deposits dating beyond 2000 BP: Andriesgrond, Renbaan, Klipfonteinrand 1 and Klipfonteinrand 2. Studies related to pastoralist sites have focused on a small area on the Vredenburg Peninsula. Kasteelberg consists of several small excavated sites and provides a sequence of near continuous occupation over the last 1800 years. Few open pastoralist sites have been excavated, since they are ephemeral.

The material from gatherer-hunter and herder sites has contributed towards the isolationist-revisionist debate, since both economic groups inhabited the same, or adjacent, regions over the last 1800 years. Many of the more recent archaeological deposits in the mountains are interpreted as resulting from the response by gatherer-hunters to herders, in a refuge situation. However, the excavations at Oudepost I has questioned this refuge scenario, arguing that it is not yet possible to discern between gatherer-hunter and herder sites. This thesis focuses on this theoretical and practical debate and questions the validity of a pure gatherer-hunter-herder divide based on the excavated material culture.

CHAPTER 5: ROCK ART OF THE SOUTHWESTERN CAPE: FROM THE COAST TO THE CEDARBERG AND THE SWARTRUGGENS MOUNTAINS

INTRODUCTION

Interpretations of rock art have changed throughout this century (see Lewis-Williams 1982, 1984a, 1984b; Lewis-Williams and Loubser 1986; Lewis-Williams et al 1993). The current interpretation emphasises the shamanistic component of the art by incorporating San mythology and ritual (Lewis-Williams 1982). Kalahari ethnographies show that many rituals, beliefs, symbols and metaphors were common to all San groups over a wide geographic area (Lewis-Williams 1986, 1992), and Orpen (1874) suggested continuity between the /Xam and Maluti San beliefs. The pan-San cognitive system is "a set of beliefs and perceptions of the world that unify all rock art, mythology and the ritual and trance experience of prehistoric and contemporary San" (Yates et al 1993:70), and it is thus "compatible with diverse environments" (Lewis-Williams 1984:273). The Pan-San cognitive system does not consider "the events and narratives of myths...[to be] important, but its structure and the symbols and metaphors that it incorporates" (Lewis-Williams 1984b:234, 1972).

Lewis-Williams (1982:433) argues that "shamans were concerned with [the] ecological contradictions and tensions" in San society (that is lack of water, food, and so forth). Shamans united the band and helped with the hunt, they healed people and controlled rain and game in their trance states. The band and the shamans needed social co-operation. San males were the hunters and trancers, while females gathered, sang and clapped. There were thus complimentary and distinctive roles related to the social relations of the band (Lewis-Williams 1982, 1984a: but see Solomon 1989a-b, 1992). The shamanistic interpretation argues that paintings were done by shamans after their trance experience, since the complex imagery in the art would make it difficult to depict whilst in a trance state (Lewis-Williams 1984a, 1986b; Lewis-Williams and Dowson 1989; Loubser 1993; Woodhouse 1985). Although paintings were done by individual shamans, they painted in relation to (trance) social metaphors (Dowson 1988). Biesele (1983:56) notes that individual accounts of trance experience become "culturally shared images [and this] is a very important process in the religious unity of hunter-gatherers [as]...individuals experience their own lives as a shared reality...[Folklore and art are] ongoing systems of expression of meaning and experience...[and there is] a high degree of conformity of stereotyping...present in verbal accounts of travels [and travellers] beyond the self, experienced in trance which are made after a night's dancing...[The shamans] are 'preconstrained by' tradition, but they also add to it." There is not only conformity to the norm, but shamans recreate the norm. Shamans painted to reify these social beliefs and to share their experiences with the band.

Lewis-Williams and Dowson (1990b:5) argue that "even the rock was as meaningful a natural element as the paint: anything painted on the walls of rock shelters was thus placed in a shamanistic context." Paintings were powerful and used to draw power and/or potency from the art (Lewis-Williams and Dowson 1988) or shamans used the power of the paintings to increase their trance potency (Jolly 1986; Lewis-Williams 1986b).

The neuropyschological interpretation (Lewis-Williams and Dowson 1988) takes trance experience and shamanism further. It interprets aspects of the art as images seen by shamans during their altered states of consciousness. These images are referred to as 'phosphenes' or 'entoptic phenomena'. Handprints, especially decorated ones, and finger dots are "symbolic reifications of the potency acquired in trance and manipulated in the hands of shaman healers" (Dowson 1989:13). The U-shapes on these decorated handprints "probably represent the physical sensations of tingling in the hands reported by the nineteenth century shamans "of Bleek and Lloyd" (Lewis-Williams and Dowson 1988:20). Phosphenes are therefore metaphors of trance.

Further metaphors of trance are:

- hands to the face, squatting females, antelope with the head down, humans and animals with crossed legs (Yates et al 1983);
- dying postures, eared serpents, 'infibulations', animals surrounded by geometrics (Maggs and Sealy 1983; Lewis-Williams 1984a);
- clapping humans, potency in stomach (in the form of white flecks), fly whisks, rubbing blood, curing, flying creatures, hands behind the back, head gear, lines out of the head, neck and/or body, hands on chest, double/single lines, two shamans holding each other (Lewis-Williams 1986a);
- exaggerated features (Dowson 1988);
- images entering or leaving the rock face ("holes and irregularities" are entrances into the spirit world) (Lewis-Williams and Dowson 1990b:5);
- dancing postures, underwater images, animal possessions and related concepts (for example therianthropes, snapping of fingers) (Lewis-Williams 1981, 1982, 1983; Yates et al 1983);
- trance dreaming and sleeping eland (Lewis-Williams 1987); and,
- bleeding, urinating and defecating animals (Dowson and Holliday 1989).

Virtually all images are thus argued to be metaphors of trance.

Lewis-Williams (1982:438) argues that "the painted symbols of trance experience...provide the backdrop to daily social relationships pointing to the social and economic order which the [shaman] worked to maintain". Similarly, engravings had supernatural potency and the San used these images

to enhance their power. Images are therefore often seen in localised areas to concentrate their energy or power (Deacon 1988). San shamans had a symbolic labour which ensured "the reproduction of nature itself by working on the (imaginary) powers which gave or withheld rain and game...maintained economic relations by curing sickness, long term relations of production which are inter- rather than intra-camp relations" (Lewis-Williams 1982:438). In contact periods with pastoralists and agropastoralists, this symbolic labour would have increased: rain making, control of the game and art is a ritual demonstration of the need for these activities (Campbell 1987). Shamans would control food exchange networks for cattle, they painted (these animals) to share experiences with the camp, and the sharing of these resources can be linked to hxaro (Campbell 1987; but see Barnard 1992 about southern San and hxaro). Kinahan (1989) and Parkington et al (1986) also argue that ritual activity increases with social stress, and therefore so would the frequency of paintings, since shamans would attempt to diffuse the stress.

When agropastoralists arrived in the eastern Cape, new social relations were introduced in the form of rainmaking services (Campbell 1986, 1987; Jolly 1992; Lewis-Williams 1992; Prins 1990; Stanford 1910). Campbell (1986:265) argues that this may have resulted in conflict within the San bands, or between different social groups. The shamans "responsibility [was] to drive off harmful spirits and [this resulted in] a reenaction of this hallucinatory battle either verbally or graphically." Art indicating contact is thus seen as trance related and non-political. Campbell (1987) and Van der Merwe (1989) cite examples of this change in symbolic labour. A colonial female surrounded by a line linked to an ostrich is related to the shaman's potency protecting San groups from colonists (Campbell 1987). Fingerdots surrounding humans are viewed as symbolic protection, for example at STF1 (Van der Merwe 1991; see fig 5.1 this thesis). The material culture depicted in the art is argued to have been incorporated into San social relations, since shamans attempted to protect the group and maintain social cohesion. A response to social stress, caused by changing social relations, is an increase in ritual activity in a reaffirmation of "group social cohesion and common values" (Parkington et al 1986:314). Van der Merwe (1990:2) argues the "art reflects the response of hunter-gatherers to contact and conflict."

Limitations Of The Shamanistic Interpretation

The pan-San cognitive system has allowed archaeologists to use various ethnographies to understand the rock art of southern Africa. While a unifying set of beliefs is an important heuristic device, rock art studies have remained at a general level, at the expense of regional differences. Four examples illustrate this. First, there are few, if any, examples of handprints in the Drakensberg, while the south-western Cape has many. If handprints are related to the sensations of trance (Lewis-

Williams and Dowson 1989), handprints should be common in the Drakensberg, since this area has overt trance imagery. Second, at an inter-regional level, I illustrated significant differences in the reuse of painted males and females between the Cedarberg and the Koue Bokkeveld. Third, in the Cedarberg and the Koue Bokkeveld smearing is always superimposed on fineline images, while this is not the case for the Drakensberg. Fourth, the same symbol may have different meanings. Hewitt (1986) noted that elephants are considered to be bad neighbours in /Xam mythology. However, in the south-western Cape, Maggs and Sealy (1983) and Solomon (1989a, 1989b) argue that elephants-in-boxes are rain animals. Although the pan-San cognitive system has provided a breakthrough in rock art interpretation, it is time to focus on specific socio-geographic regions. Each region has had different levels of interaction with various socio-economic groups, and these levels may influence the ways in which paintings were given meaning.

Many proponents of the shamanistic interpretation use direct analogies from Kalahari San ethnographies, although they note that such an analysis is problematic. Campbell (1987) uses the Ghanzi Farm Bushmen, who, since the 1970s, have experienced a revitalisation movement, and thus social transformation (see Guenther 1976a-b, 1979, 1986), to interpret Drakensberg images. He uses the !Kung ethnographies and hxaro relations (see Wiessner 1977) to explain eastern Cape San social relations and shamanistic symbolic labour. However, Barnard (1992) notes that only the !Kung and Nharo are known to have had hxaro relations; it is unknown whether the southern San practised hxaro. Loubser (1993) uses direct analogies from the !Kung to support the trance interpretations from Tandjesberg. Furthermore, the revisionist argument is that San social relations and origin mythologies are relatively recent products of interaction with other social groups. Since no systematic way of dating the paintings exist to date, paintings that predate contact cannot be identified. Recent mythologies may thus not be appropriate in interpretations of the rock art of southern Africa.

A further limitation to the trance interpretation is in its inability to explain the low incidences of trance imagery in finger paintings. There are only six possible exceptions. These are: finger dots surrounding females (fig 5.2); females in a sitting posture with hands in a possible clapping position (fig 5.3); an inverted animal (fig 5.4); humans (with colonial material culture) in a possible dancing scene (fig 5.4); an image of an inverted animal and a wrapping around a finger painted human in the Zuurvlakte (fig 5.6); and finger painted males with erections at Diepkloof (see Yates et al 1993). I argue that these could not be San trance-related due to different authorship of the art and for different intentions behind these paintings.

FIG. 5.1: STF1/AM-AP

Finger Paintings and Colonial Imagery in the Art

There have been no systematic archaeological surveys in relation to finger paintings and colonial imagery in the south-western Cape, although a few sites have been reported (Johnson and Rabinowitz 1955; Johnson 1960; Johnson *et al* 1959; Johnson *et al* 1963; Tredgold 1953; van der Merwe 1990; Yates *et al* 1992, 1993). I aim to show how finger painted images differ in context and style in comparison to the fineline images. I show the different types of reuse with these images to suggest different authorship of the art.

Finger paintings and/or colonial imagery are found throughout southern Africa: in the Transvaal (Woodhouse 1972; Collins 1973), north western Cape (Dowson *et al* 1992; Van der Merwe 1990) and Ndedema Gorge (Pager 1971). Unlike fineline paintings, finger paintings differ more in content and context according to each region; hence my focus on the art in the Koue Bokkeveld. Finger paintings are assumed to be more recent in age than fineline paintings (Yates *et al* 1992, 1993). A radiocarbon date of 500±140 BP (Oxa-515) was obtained from a black finger painted image at Sonja's Cave, Boontjieskloof, south-western Cape (Van der Merwe *et al* 1987). Once calibrated, it dates to AD 1440 (with a second sigma range of AD 1280-1803). While the sigma range is very wide, it still post-dates the arrival of pastoralism in the south-western Cape.

Several assumptions about finger paintings and colonial images need clarification. Yates *et al* (1993) argue that colonial imagery is restricted to the Bokkeveld, excluding the Porterville 'galleon' and images at Diepkloof. However, finger paintings and related colonial imagery are also found at Klipfonteinrand (Nackerdien pers. comm.), Putslaagte 44 (Halkett 1990 - similar to the depiction at STF1/Oi - fig 5.7) and Citrusdal (Johnson and Rabinowitz 1955). There are a few more unconfirmed reports by Johnson (SAM ADRC records). Finger paintings and/or colonial imagery are often difficult to relate to one another. Yates *et al* (1993) equate STF1/AT-AV (figs 5.8 to 5.10) with the large handprints (not shown in the figures) due to similarities in colour. However, this could be due to differential preservation, since at STF2 (fig 5.11) the main geometric is of two distinct colours, although it was originally the same colour. The problem of defining colours at sites such as STF1 and STF2 is real. While there is a clear difference between the dark red and light red/orange in some instances, I often found it difficult to decide whether a dark red is light red because it has faded or because it is light red in reality. The symbolic meaning of colours cannot be ignored in rock art studies, and is discussed below.

A further problem in the finger painting art style lies in the definition of the depiction of an image, hence the high frequencies of indeterminate animals in the Bokkeveld sample (table 5.1). A domestic animal often can be positively identified only when it has a rider on its back - it is thus a


KEY:
BLACK
YELLOW
WHITE
ORANGE
DARK RED
RED
FADED RED

KEY:

BLACK YELLOW WHITE

ORANGE DARK RED RED

FADED RED

FIG. 5.3: STF1/AI (UPPER)

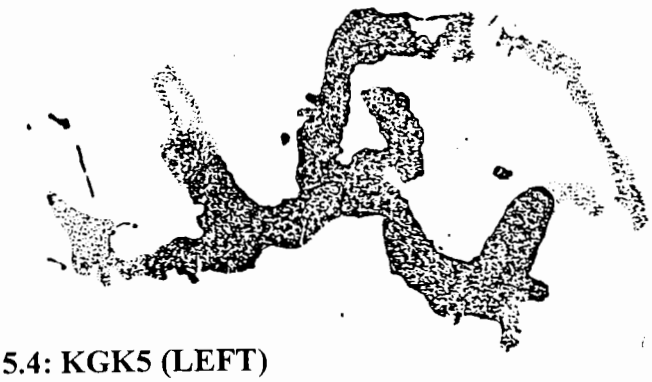


FIG. 5.4: KGK5 (LEFT)

FIG. 5.5: STF1/AQ

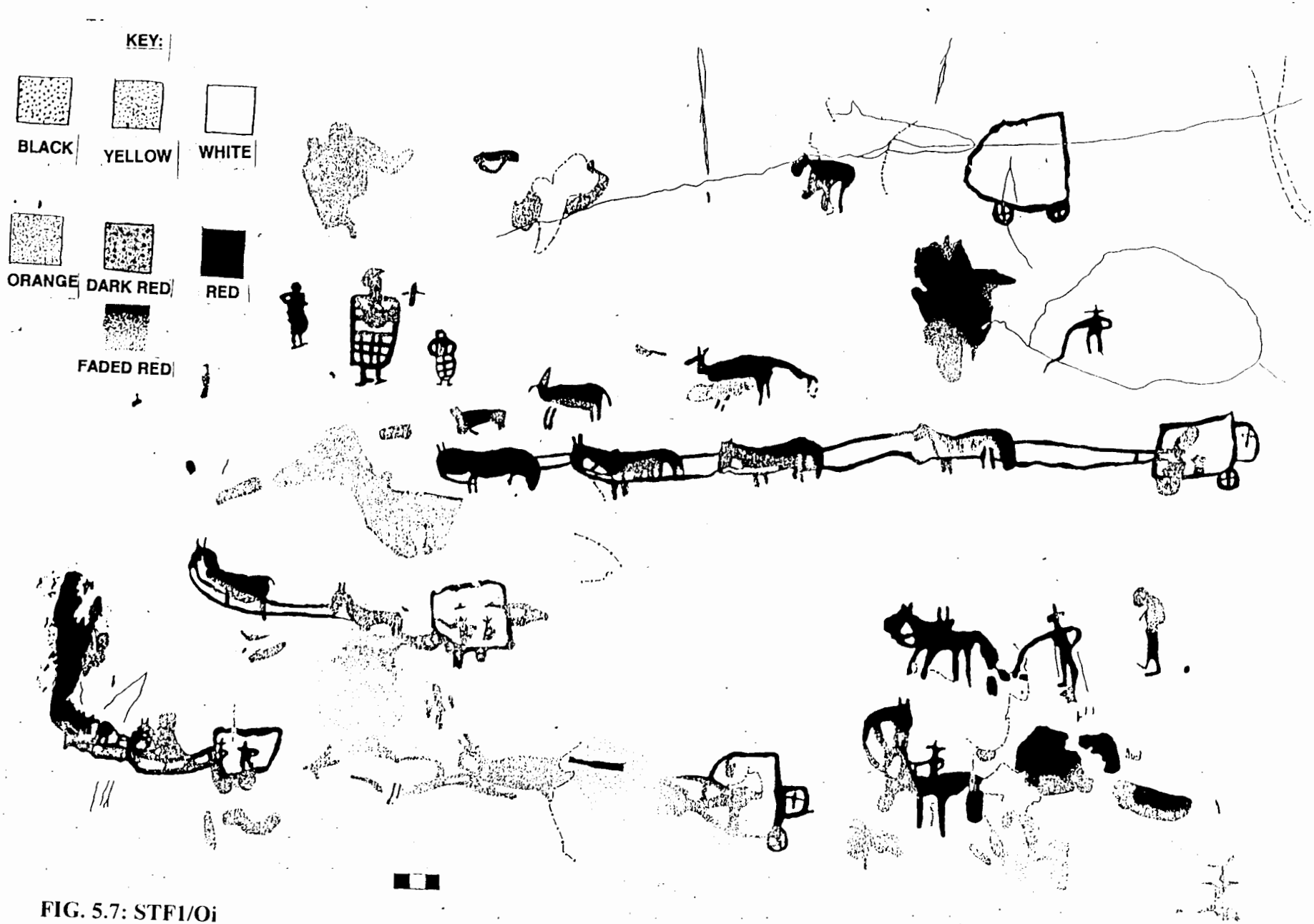


FIG. 5.7: STF1/Oi

FIG. 5.9: STF1/AU

FIG. 5.8: STF1/AT

KEY:

BLACK YELLOW WHITE

ORANGE DARK RED RED

FADED RED

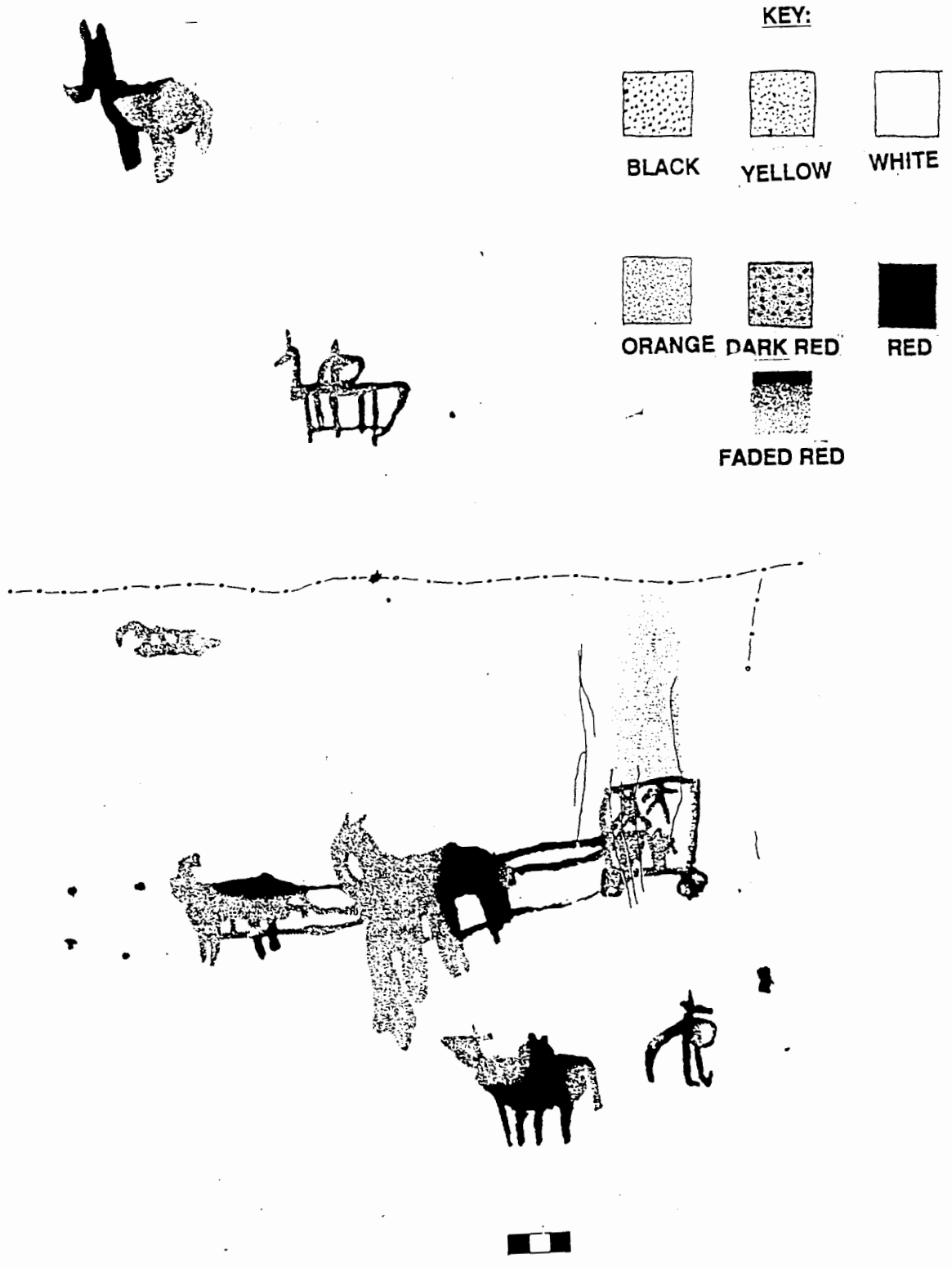


FIG. 5.10: STF1/AV

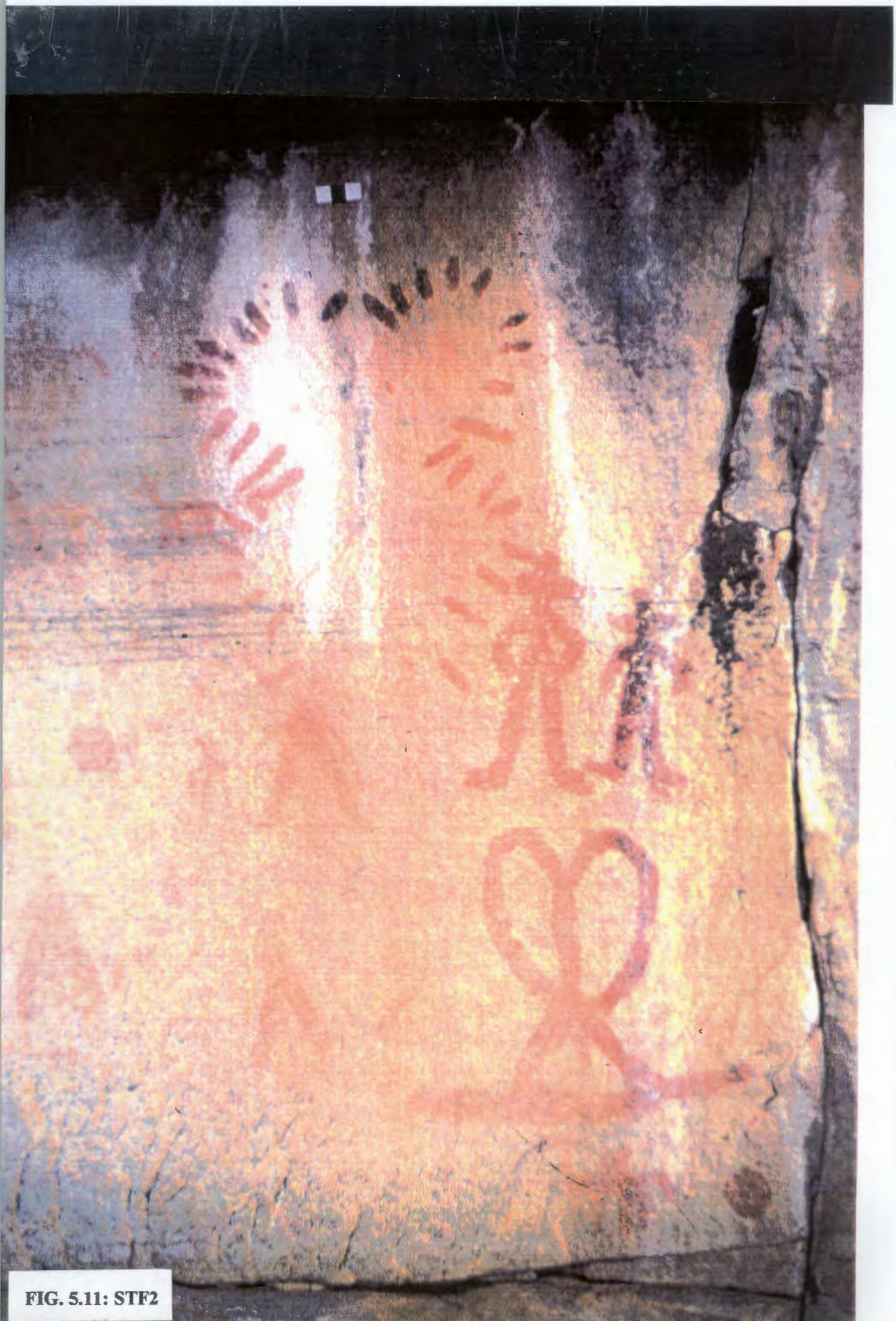


FIG. 5.11: STF2

horse - or through comparisons with STF1 where horses are harnessed to wagons. The only other positive identifications are cattle with horns, birds, baboons and possibly donkeys (donkeys are subsumed with horses in my analysis). A further problem relating to finger paintings is the frequent occurrence of charcoal images, often thought to be graffiti, or 'modern art'. These images are often considered to be the scratchings of recent young herders and thus not art *per se*. Initially these images were considered to be the work of vandals, but after recording several similar depictions in the Bokkeveld, I argue that these images are too consistent to be labelled graffiti. These charcoal images are thus not idle scratchings, but part of a painting tradition (fig 5.12).

Gender In The Art

Solomon (1989) has recently argued that the shamanistic interpretation has not accounted for the role of gender relations and metaphors in the art. She argues that a more gendered approach can gain insight into San social relations, in addition to the shamanistic component. Wolff (1981:49, in Solomon 1989a:21) argued that "works of art are not closed, self-contained and transcendent entities but are the products of specific historical practices on the part of identifiable social groups in given conditions, and therefore bear the imprint of ideas, and contributions of existence of these groups and their representations in individual artists." The sexual division of labour is argued to be the first and foremost social division in human societies (Gero 1991; Solomon 1989a). Gender roles and subsequent identities are constantly salient in labour, social interactions, mythologies and/or religion. Sexual division of labour is necessary and sufficient to cause intergroup comparisons, based on sexual difference, to become salient, especially since these boundaries are closed to most members of the opposite group. "Identities which derive from social categorisations function as self-schemata [self-categorisations]. As such, group identity sensitises the individual...to group cues and events in the social environment, and contributes group-relevant meaning and structure to ambiguous or confusing social situations" (Gurin and Markus 1989:166-7). Gender categorisations enable a framework for interpreting certain contexts. This may be seen in the art. Parkington (1989:15-16) noted how depictions of males and females in the art were not related to how the San actually lived: "there was a deliberate attempt to emphasise the male figure...[and to obscure] the reality of economic relations between men and women and deflect attention from their unequal contributions to the overall diet...[and thus] contribute to a general ideologically-based exaggeration of the role of meat and meat providers." Analogous to this, plants, shellfish and other products of gathering activities are not found in the art of the south-western Cape, yet are abundant in archaeological deposits. Such unequal depictions of gender roles must be expanded in the analysis of the gender metaphors of San society.

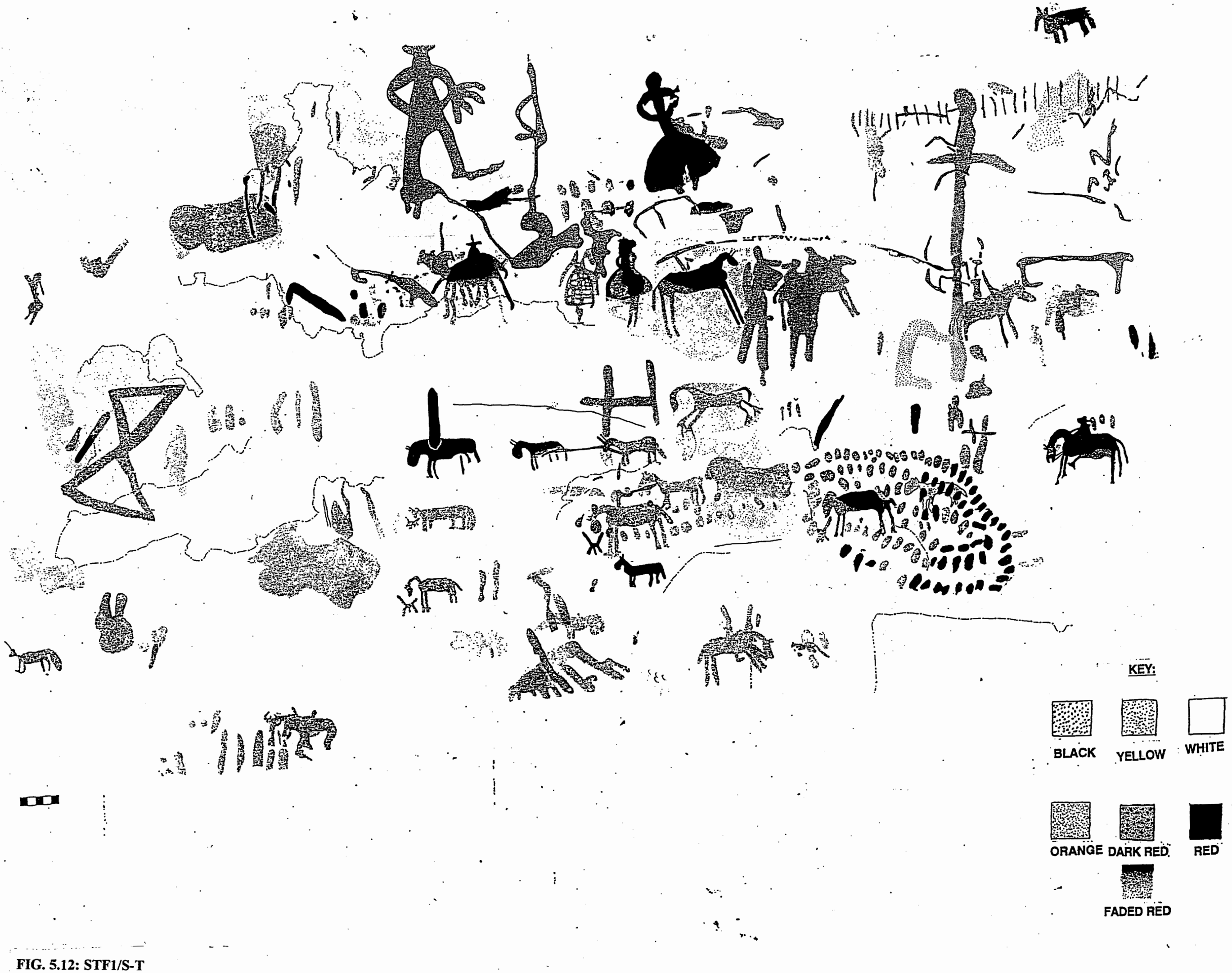


FIG. 5.12: STF1/S-T

"The interlinked theories of gender, sexuality and rain appear to be as important in the art as 'shamanistic elements'...[and the art may also relate to] female initiation ceremony, social organisation, and the complex notions and practices surrounding gender and female sexuality" (Solomon 1992:291). The shamanistic interpretation thus favours shamanism and gender relations are seen as being "complimentary and co-operative" through the notion of symbolic labour. Solomon (1989:308) further states that "if trance is culturally grounded, then trance sensations of elongation may be attributed to prior cultural predispositions." Trance thus draws upon gendered symbols. Similarly, Parkington (1989:16) argues that "access to whatever power and control [that] was available through trance and painting was not egalitarian, but formed part of the culturally constructed gender roles in San society." Trance is thus an expression of ideal co-operation between males and females - an inversion of everyday conflict (Solomon 1989).

However, trance would not increase group cohesion, and thus decrease stress. Trance itself enhances gender differences and identities, and could thus increase gender conflict. Since individuals have multiple identities, and each identity is in relation to the context of interaction and salience, there is no reason to believe that trance will create full group cohesion. Katz's (1982) interviews did not include the perceptions females had of the trance dance; he concentrated on the trancers who were mostly male. If the art is related to trance and shamanism, many of these depictions are gender biased, and should thus reaffirm gender salience.

Gender Metaphors In San Society

Solomon (1989a, 1989b) has argued that amongst other associations gender relates to time, number and space. Females are equated with the past/prior/previous time, full moon, substances that are many in number (for example sand, tobacco, and so forth) and the left hand side. Males are equated with the future, new moon, items of few numbers or unitary items and the right hand side. These gender contrasts are evident in other areas of San social relations, such as perceptions of femininity:masculinity: round:slender, herbivore:carnivore, prey:hunter, gathering:hunting, light, rejuvenating rain:dangerous, destructive rain (Solomon 1989a). Masculinity emphasises unity in single and large food packages; femininity by multicomponent entities and gathering activities.

Such metaphors are apparent in the moon and rain beliefs and animal classifications of the G/wi, !Xam and Nharon narratives. "The prominence of the hunting metaphor is at the expense of gathering, the female contribution; hunter is opposed to prey rather than to gatherer, femininity" (Solomon 1989a:77). Of all the gender metaphors, the male eland seems to be anomalous: it is principally female in metaphor. The male eland is the most frequently occurring animal in the art

and its social roles and metaphors thus require explanation. The male eland differs to other (antelope) species because it is fatter than the female.

> "Fat is a feminine characteristic, and these features which makes both herbivorous prey and women desirable... The male eland displays all [of these]...desirable features characteristically associated with femininity, but in masculine form. In fact, the male eland displays the highest development of these features. The eland may also be seen in terms of an ideology which subordinates women, partly by appropriation of the feminine contribution to continuity and renewal...[It] seems to be a symbol of this masculine superiority, representing the positive features of femininity (meat and fat) in male guise. In other words, the male eland comprises female fertility, desirability and powers under the masculine rubric, and may be seen in terms of the strategic appropriation of positivity by men. In Orpen (1874) it is the bull eland which, in essence, gives birth and repopulates the earth. The male eland is the ultimate symbol of masculine superiority, regenerative power, and command over the future... [Thus females are] the source of fertility and men...[are] the agents of fertility. Agency and social command are attributed to men"(Solomon 1989a:81-82).

Solomon (1989a:98) has argued that sexual differences are accentuated in the art in terms of naked humans, as opposed to clothed humans. Conversely, large group scenes emphasise the group as a whole, and thus de-emphasise gender differences. However, several of the humans referred to by Solomon (1989a) have bows and quivers or digging sticks, and are therefore gendered. Clothing itself is gendered, since males make karosses (see Biesele 1993; Lee and De Vore 1976; Marshall 1976; Silberbauer 1981; Tanaka 1980; Wiessner 1977). Karosses are obtained from herbivores which are hunted, skinned and prepared by males. Furthermore, certain group scenes show a clear dichotomy in the division of labour, for example in trance scenes. Even if the male shaman wears a kaross in one of the female dances, he is wearing the kaross in a female category context: the clothing worn supersedes the biological sex and a specific gender attribute is accrued the male shaman.

Consequently, although the sex of certain images is not explicit, one cannot argue that none was depicted. Gender forms an integral part of the art, both implicit and explicit. Gender metaphors can be can be related to the strategies used by different gender identities to enhance that identities self-esteem. These metaphors and identities are enacted in the real, or physical world, and not only in mythologies and the art.

Male Identity

Hunting is an important activity for the Efe Pygmy males, since it enhances their identity as skilled specialists in acquiring forest resources, distinct from women and male Lesse villagers (Bailey 1991; Berry et al 1986; Cavalli-Sforza 1986). Similarly, for the !Kung "meat is the preferred food and many...call it the only true food - every man feels pressure to provide meat for his family and relatives" (Wiessner 1982:61). Barnard (1992) cites further examples from southern Africa which relate the significance of hunting to male identity and self-esteem. "Hunting" and "man-the-hunter" are thus important concepts in the ideological realm of male hunters and their subsequent social strategies. Gero (1991) notes that male activities are generally more valued socially - the ways in which males controlled that labour has significant consequences. Males could control the socially valued task of hunting by using mythologies that reinforced their ideologies and by controlling material culture, such as rock art. However, it is imperative to know whether male and/or group identity (of which "hunter" is a categorisation) was salient. If identities were not salient, there would be no reason to believe that males hunted or painted to increase their self-esteem and thus create a positive self-identification and social or gender identification. In order to achieve this other material culture has to be analysed in conjunction with the art.

Parkington et al (1986) have argued that the arrival of domestic stock in the south-western Cape resulted in a decrease in hunted large bovids, such as eland and hartebeest. This was related to an increase in ritual activity, social stress and art. However, large bovids do not disappear from the archaeological deposits at that time. In certain cases, especially along the Sandveld margins, these bovids are increasingly represented in faunal assemblages. Small bovids and animals and plant foods also increase in number. This may well indicate a change in the means of male hunters to assert their identities rather than an indication of change in the social value of food. Large game as a food source could unify the whole band through sharing strategies, thus strengthening inter- and intraband relations. Solomon (1989a, 1989b) noted that the eland is related to San male identity. Smaller animals, on the other hand, such as tortoises, dassies and small antelope, could not be shared by the whole band, but remained within the core family unit. Similarly, the increase in plant foods can also be seen as an increase in foods shared within the family.

If small animals and plant foods increased in importance or abundance in the diet, males would not have started gathering with the same intensity as females, since this would have been contrary to gender roles and symbols. It could have caused intergender conflict since males would have appropriated the female role, thus eroding female gatherer identity. However, changes in gender relations do occur and can be caused by conflicts in intergroup and/or intragroup relations. Furthermore, male position and status, for example gender, is ascribed and not achieved, in the way

that age is (Begler 1978). Status and position are thus unstable and illegitimate. There is a constant negotiation and renegotiation of gender discourses which is reflected in, and mediated by the material culture of the group as a whole, or in its subgroups - such as gender. However, status is a relative position, and females may either agree or disagree with this: "each sex has its own sphere of prestige and valued statuses which are closed off to members of the opposite sex" (Begler 1978:574). In the case of the art, gender negotiations are related to how, and which, paintings are used since these are in domestic contexts and thus viewed by all members of the band.

While changes in the food packages may have resulted in pressures on male hunter identity, other variables may also be involved. One such variable is exogamy - involving San females and Khoi males. Khoi males married San females either as a first wife (if the male was poor) or as a second (or third) wife. Conversely, San males - or people of San status - were not allowed to marry Khoi females. Depending on the availability of females in Khoi society, intergroup marriage and bridewealth would have varied accordingly. If a San male had legitimate access to stock only through client relations, he would have been unlikely to be able to afford the bridewealth for a Khoi female (and see Smith 1992). San clients were probably paid in sheep and these appear to be non-bridewealth, and low status, stock. Barnard (1992) has noted that San social relations included a form of bridewealth, although identified by different names according to the anthropological source. Access to Khoi females was closed to males of San status, which would have reinforced their low status positions within Khoi society and during interactions. The only way a San male could have increased his status in this context, within Khoi society, would have been be to acquire cattle and Khoi material and social associations. However, this would have been contrary to gatherer-hunter social relations and difficult to express spatially in rock shelters.

Another variable to consider in interaction between San and Khoi is the role of San shamans, either as healers or as rain makers. Several researchers (Campbell 1986, 1987; Jolly 1986, 1992; Lewis-Williams 1986) have noted the relationship between the San and Iron Age farmers in the eastern Cape in rain making ceremonies. The Khoi in the south-western Cape had their own rainmaking ceremonies and shamans (Dornan 1923; Hahn 1979; Hoernlé, 1923; Laidler 1928; Kolb 1986; Prins and Rousseau 1992), and interaction would have differed from that of the eastern Cape. San shamans may have healed Khoi, as is seen in the Kalahari and Namibia today (Katz 1982), but the Khoi had their own healers as well. In this context, the only way San males would have been able to increase their self-esteem and thus status and identity, would have been to redefine or create new comparison dimensions (through social creativity) for their own group and/or gender and between these groups. Even in these new comparison dimensions, their status within Khoi society would be limited, since the animals given to them and the spatial arrangements of Khoi society still

discriminated against San. Groups with low status (self- or externally designated) tend to have low self-esteem (Wagner et al 1986). If the group or individual does not have an 'illusion of control', they will not have the confidence or cognitive ability to engage in self-enhancing strategies: groups need a positive self-image and self-esteem. San males thus had three options to increase their self-esteem: integration into Khoi society, social creativity or social competition, with the last two being interrelated.

METHODOLOGY AND COMPARABILITY

I analyse rock art from three areas in this paper: the Sandveld and west coast (in general and specifically the site of Diepkloof); the Cedarberg mountains (Boontjieskloof and Sevilla); and the Koue Bokkeveld (specifically two farms in the Swartruggens mountains: Groenfontein and Kagga Kamma). Figure 4.1 shows the location of these areas. I analyse three categories of paintings: fineline images, fingerpaintings and colonial imagery. Fineline art consists of the traditional art (fig. 5.13) found in the south-western Cape and Drakensberg. Fingerpaintings are images specifically done with the hand (as opposed to a brush) and include finger dots, finger smears and handprints. Colonial imagery may be either finger painted or brush painted, but is not of the fineline genre, and includes depictions of colonial material culture (fig. 5.14).

I surveyed specific farms (Stompiesfontein and Kagga Kamma) to analyse finger paintings and those images with colonial imagery in the Koue Bokkeveld. My objectives were to analyse colonial imagery and fingerpaintings and to note the superpositioning of the art. I therefore analysed all art styles. I obtained information about STF1 (Stompiesfontein 1) and KGK1 and/or KGK7 (Kagga Kamma 1/7) from the South African Museum's Archaeology Data Recording Centre in Cape Town. I analysed these sites first, and then undertook a general survey of the surrounding area. The information about Boontjieskloof (BTJ) and Sevilla (SEV) I obtained from the Spatial Archaeology Research Unit (SARU) at the University of Cape Town. These two areas were systematically recorded and photographed by members of SARU, and my analysis is based on their site record forms and photographs. While SARU's objective is general reconnaissance, I targeted specific attributes in specific sites, and then surveyed the surrounding areas. I specifically focused on images such as crayon lines and finger paintings. I do, however, believe this to be a real, although slightly exaggerated, phenomenon. Another problem of comparability is in the number of sites. The Bokkeveld sample is from limited areas due to time constraints. Some sites have more images than other sites, in all areas, for example STF1 had more than 500 images, while STF3 had less than 20 images. I did considered analysing the differences between each site within each area, and then between each area, but due to time constraints I did not apply this - I only note interregional

AGES AT KGK5

FIG. 5.14: DETAILED COLONIAL IMAGERY AT STF1/AB-AC

differences. While sample size and different research designs are factors to be considered, they do not, however, make the sample areas non-comparable.

In my survey I counted each individual finger dot, finger smear and crayon line, whereas in the Cedarberg, these images were grouped. This has resulted in an overrepresentation of these images in my sample area. However, the number of these images are still more abundant than in the Cedarberg sample, and the two samples are not non-comparable.

The differences in the sample sizes between regions may result in an overrepresentation of certain art categories. The use of percentages in the analysis of the art would thus not be a reliable method of comparison, and I used chi-squared, and Yates' corrected chi-squared, tests to counter this problem. I used chi-squared tests to establish whether differences exist between regions and art styles. The chi-squared tests indicate the probability of a whether a relationship between variables exists; these tests are thus not correlations. It does not indicate the strength of the relationship. I have used these statistical tests to compare specific depictions, in order to indicate those images which were reused more than other images, and to demonstrate that significant differences between the fineline and finger painted images exist. While Lewis-Williams (1983, 1984a) has argued that the quantification of rock art may result in the metaphors of the art being downplayed, I believe that some form of quantification is necessary, especially when making interregional comparisons.

FINELINE PAINTINGS OF THE CEDARBERG AND KOUE BOKKEVELD

I concentrated on reused rock art images. Reuse is a broad term relating to the use of the art after it was initially painted to reflect a different meaning. Categories of reuse can be smearing, superpostioning, repainting or overpainting, rubbing, and so forth. This phenomenon has received little attention (see Lewis-Williams 1974; Loubser 1993; Yates and Manhire 1991). Many paintings have been smeared, while only a few are repainted in the south-western Cape (see fig 5.15 - note the legs and head that are in a different colour to the rest of the body). Reuse also occurs on petroglyphs (Morris 1988). My aim in the analysis of the fineline art is to determine which animals have been reused more often than others, and which type of reuse is the most common on that animal. I note the trend in the reuse of females and humans of indeterminate sex, as opposed to males. This analysis allows for a differentiation between fineline and finger painted images.

Paintings of antelope, especially eland, are abundant in the Cedarberg (Yates *et al* 1983), while those of elephants tend to be concentrated around the Olifants River (Maggs and Sealy 1983). Paintings of fineline domesticates are more common in the eastern Cape and Drakensberg

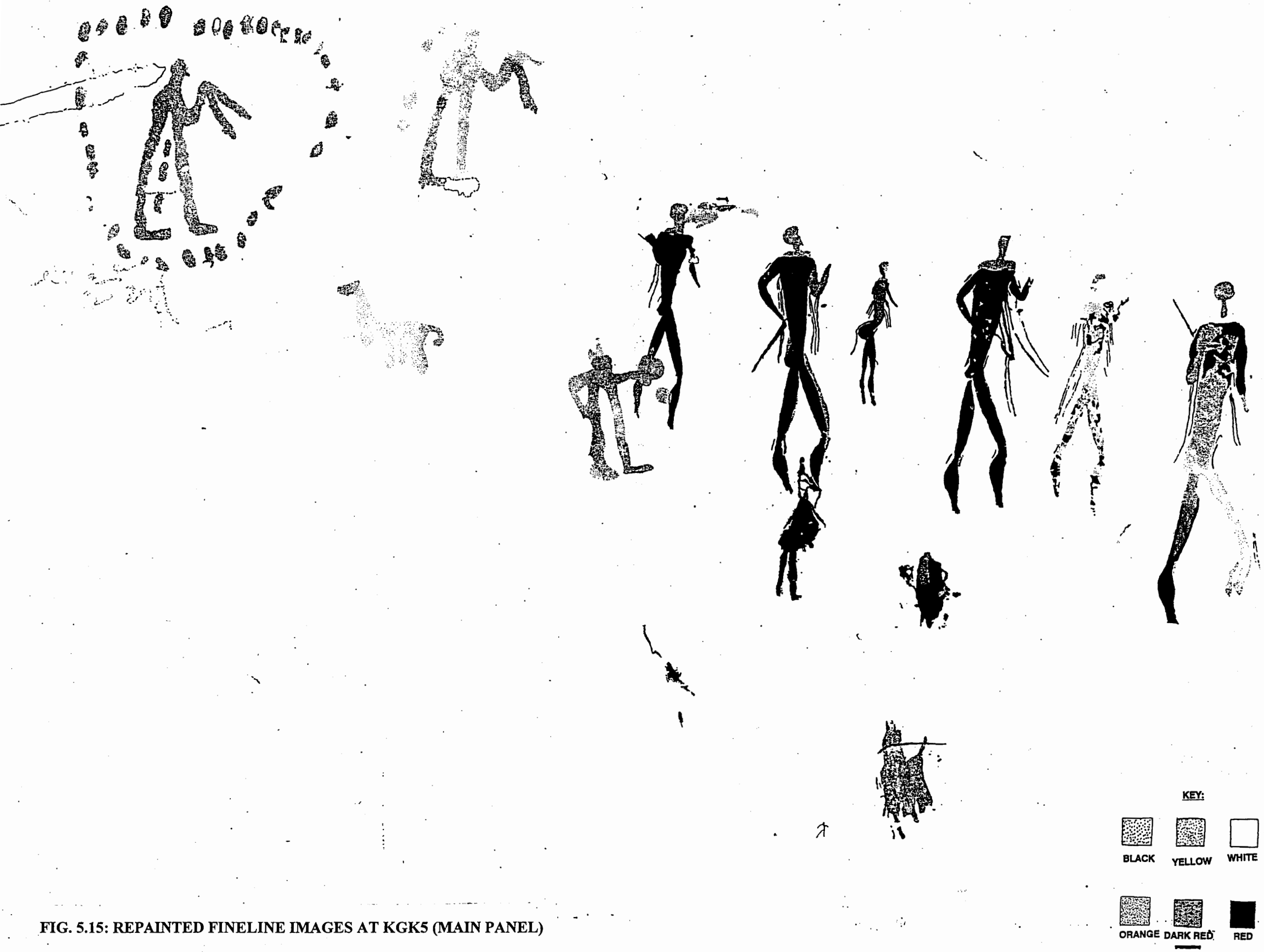


FIG. 5.15: REPAINTED FINELINE IMAGES AT KGK5 (MAIN PANEL)

(Campbell 1986, 1987; Hall 1986; Lewis-Williams and Dowson 1989; Vinnicombe 1976) and the northern Cape (Van der Merwe 1990). While they do occur in the south-western Cape, they are found in localised concentrations (Manhire *et al* 1986). Cattle first arrived in the south-western Cape by *c.* 850 AD, yet few, if any, depictions of these animals exist in the south-western Cape (Manhire *et al* 1986), as opposed to the Drakensberg and northern Cape. The only known depiction of cattle occurs at Diepkloof. This image is finger painted, however, Stompiesfontein 1 has a possible finger painted depiction of a pack-ox (fig 5.16).

RESULTS

I aim to show that specific images in the fineline art are reused more often than other images. These results show that there are differences in the content and reuse of fineline and finger painted art. Tables 5.1 and 5.2 list the percentages and frequencies of each area and category, and I use these tables for my chi-squared tests.

Animals

Elephants are more frequently found in the Cedarberg than in the Bokkeveld. Of the elephants in the Cedarberg, 36% have been smeared, while none have been smeared in the Bokkeveld. In both research areas elephants have very few, if any, finger smears and finger dots superimposed on them. Only in the Cedarberg are handprints superimposed on elephants (2.2%), and these are rare occurrences.

The identification of antelope species in the art is problematic. While eland are easily identified, even when only their torsos are visible, other species are more difficult to define. Eland occur in significant numbers in both areas. In the reuse category, eland are smeared more than indeterminate antelope ($0.01>p>0.05$), in the Cedarberg ($0.25>p>0.01$) and in the Bokkeveld ($0.75>p>0.5$). There is no significant difference in the smearing of eland between the Bokkeveld and Cedarberg ($0.75>p>0.5$). In contrast to eland, indeterminate antelope in the Bokkeveld are smeared less than in the Cedarberg (44% and 12.9% respectively, $p>0.001$). Differences exist between the Cedarberg and Bokkeveld where hand-related superimpositioning is concerned. Compared to the Cedarberg, the Bokkeveld has more finger smears (5.1% and 50%, respectively, $p>0.001$), finger dots (0% and 25%, respectively) and crayon lines (0% and 12.5%, respectively) superimposed on eland. Handprints are infrequently superimposed on eland in both areas (5.1% and 12.5%, respectively, $0.25>p>0.1$). As with eland, the Bokkeveld sample has more finger-related images superimposed on indeterminate antelope than that of the Cedarberg ($p>0.001$). The high number of finger-related

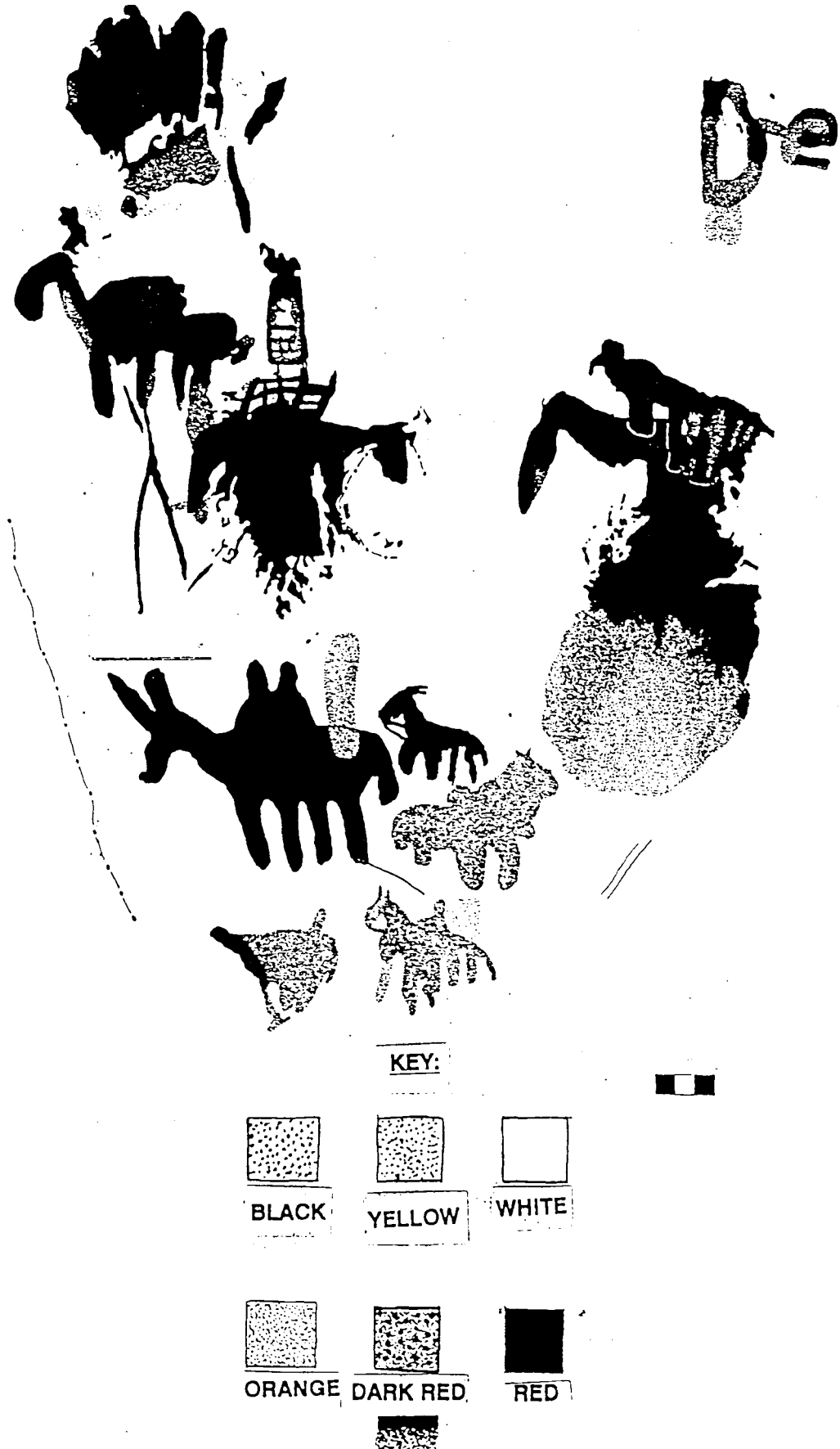


FIG. 5.16: STF1/AJ - PACK-OX (IN CENTRE)

TABLE 5.1: CATEGORIES & FREQUENCIES OF THE ART AT KAGGA KAMMA AND STOMPIESPONTEIN

	KAGGA KAMMA		STOMPIESPONTEIN		TOTAL	
CATEGORY	f	%	f	%	f	%
TOTAL BOVIDS	[illegible]	100.0	43	100.0	183	100.0
TOTAL ELAND	81	[illegible]	16	37.2	97	53.0
FS / ELAND	5	6.2	3	18.8	8	8.2
FD / ELAND	1	1.2	3	18.8	4	4.1
FP / ELAND	1	1.2	-	-	1	1.0
COLONIAL MALE / ELAND	1	1.2	-	-	1	1.0
FL HUMANS / ELAND	3	3.7	-	-	3	3.1
ELAND / FL INDET. HUMAN	1	1.2	-	-	1	1.0
HANDPRINTS / ELAND	1	1.2	2	12.5	3	3.1
ELAND / INDET. ANIMAL	2	2.5	-	-	2	2.1
PALETTE / ELAND	2	2.5	-	-	2	2.1
SMEAR / ELAND	4	4.9	1	6.3	5	5.2
INDET. ANIMAL / ELAND	-	-	1	6.3	1	1.0
HORSES / ELAND	-	-	2	12.5	2	2.1
CL / ELAND	-	-	2	12.5	2	2.1
TOTAL ANTELOPE INDET.	59	42.1	25	134.9	84	45.9
INDET. ANTELOPE / INDET. IMAGE	1	2.0	-	-	1	1.2
INDET. IMAGE / INDET. ANTELOPE	1	2.0	-	-	1	1.2
INDET. ANTELOPE / ELAND	1	2.0	-	-	1	1.2
FL ANTELOPE / ELEPHANT	1	2.0	-	-	1	1.2
FD / BOVID	-	-	3	12.0	3	3.6
FS / INDET. ANTELOPE	4	8.8	1	4.0	5	6.0
CL / INDET. ANTELOPE	1	2.0	-	-	1	1.2
HANDPRINTS / INDET. ANTELOPE	1	2.0	-	-	1	1.2
FL HUMANS / FL ANTELOPE	5	8.5	-	-	5	6.0
HORSES / INDET. ANTELOPE	2	3.9	-	-	2	2.4
SMEAR / INDET. ANTELOPE	11	21.6	-	-	11	13.1
BOVID INDET / HUMAN	-	-	1	4.0	1	1.2
PALETTE / BOVID	-	-	1	4.0	1	1.2
SMEAR / HARTEBEEST	-	-	1	50.0	1	50.0
TOTAL BOVID HARTEBEEST	-	-	2	4.7	2	1.1
FL ANTELOPE / ELEPHANT	1	100.0	-	-	1	100.0
FS / ELEPHANT	1	100.0	-	-	1	100.0
PALETTE / ELEPHANT	1	100.0	-	-	1	100.0
TOTAL ELEPHANT	1	100.0	-	-	1	100.0
TOTAL ANIMAL INDET.	62	100.0	317	100.0	379	100.0
CL / INDET ANIMAL	3	4.8	2	0.6	5	1.3
INDET. HUMAN / INDET. ANIMAL	5	8.1	-	-	5	1.3
ELAND / INDET. ANIMAL	2	3.2	-	-	2	0.5
INDET ANIMAL / INDET HUMAN	2	3.2	4	1.3	6	1.6
FS / INDET. ANIMAL	2	3.2	8	2.5	10	2.6
FD / INDET ANIMAL	-	-	2	0.6	2	0.5
INDET. PAINT / INDET. ANIMAL	3	4.8	-	-	3	0.8
INDET. ANIMAL / ELAND	-	-	1	6.3	1	0.3
INDET ANIMAL / INDET ANIMAL	-	-	1	0.3	1	0.3
INDET ANIMAL(FP) / FD	-	-	1	0.3	1	0.3
SMEAR / INDET. ANIMAL	-	-	18	5.7	18	4.7
HANDPRINTS / INDET. ANIMAL	-	-	1	0.3	1	0.3
PALETTE / INDET. ANIMAL	-	-	1	0.3	1	0.3
TOTAL BABOON	-	-	34	100.0	34	100.0
PALETTE / BABOON	-	-	1	2.9	1	2.9
CL / BABOON	-	-	2	5.9	2	5.9
SMEAR BABOONS	-	-	4	11.8	4	11.8
FS / BABOON	-	-	1	2.9	1	2.9
TOTAL BIRDS	-	-	9	100.0	9	100.0
TOTAL CRAYON LINES	151		368	100.0	519	100.0
CRAYON LINED HUMAN	6	2.0	-	-	6	1.2
CRAYON RUBBING	1	0.3	-	-	1	0.2
CL / FL INDET ANTELOPE	3	2.0	-	-	3	0.6
CL / FP HUMAN	1	0.7	-	-	1	0.2
CL / COLONIAL FEMALE	-	-	3	0.8	3	0.6
FS / "ZEPPELIN"	1	0.3	-	-	1	0.2
CRAYON LINE "ZEPPELINS"	11	3.7	-	-	11	2.1
CRAYON LINE GRIDS	4	1.3	-	-	4	0.8
"ZEPPELIN" / CL GRID	1	0.3	-	-	1	0.2
CL HUMAN / FS	1	0.3	-	-	1	0.2
CL / FP	1	0.7	-	-	1	0.2
CL / FL	9	5.0	3	0.8	12	2.3
CL / FS	17	11.3	1	0.3	18	3.5
CL / FL HUMANS	6	4.0	-	-	6	1.2
CL / FD	65	43.0	-	-	65	12.5
CL / INDET. ANIMAL	3	2.0	2	0.5	5	1.0
CL / HORSES & WAGON	-	-	2	0.5	2	0.4
CL / INDET. IMAGE	-	-	1	0.3	1	0.2
CL / BABOON	-	-	1	0.3	1	0.2
CL / S-FP	-	-	1	0.3	1	0.2
CL / SMEAR	-	-	1	0.3	1	0.2
CL / MEDIUM HANDPRINT	-	-	1	0.3	1	0.2

	KAGGA KAMMA		STOMPIESPONTEIN		TOTAL	
CATEGORY	TOTAL	%	TOTAL	%	f	%
TOTAL FINGER DOTS	618	100.0	1089	100.0	1707	100.0
FD / HUMANS	1	0.2	2	0.2	3	0.2
FD / ELAND	1	0.2	-	-	1	0.1
CL / FD	50	8.1	-	-	50	2.9
FS / FD	1	0.2	16	1.5	17	1.0
FD / FL	-	-	1	0.1	1	0.1
FD / BABOON	-	-	2	0.2	2	0.1
HORSES & WAGON / FD	-	-	1	0.4	1	0.1
SMEAR / FD	-	-	6	0.6	6	0.4
TOTAL FINELINE PAINTINGS	647	100.0	247	100.0	894	100.0
TOTAL FL ANTELOPE	137	21.2	43	17.4	180	20.1
TOTAL FL ANIMAL	53	8.2	41	16.6	94	10.5
TOTAL FL HUMANS	446	68.9	135	54.7	581	65.0
FP / FL	5	0.8	1	0.4	6	0.7
FL HUMAN / INDET ANIMAL	1	0.2	-	-	1	0.1
FD / FL	3	0.5	-	-	3	0.3
FS / FL	17	2.6	-	-	17	1.9
HP / FL	1	0.2	-	-	1	0.1
FL / INDET. IMAGE	2	0.6	-	-	2	0.2
INDET. IMAGE / FL ANTELOPE	1	0.2	-	-	1	0.1
PALETTE / FL	3	0.5	-	-	3	0.3
CL / FL	1	0.2	-	-	1	0.1
SMEAR / FINELINE	25	3.9	5	2.0	30	3.4
FL/FL	24	3.7	1	0.4	25	2.8
TOTAL FINGER PAINTING	315	100.0	498	100.0	813	100.0
TOTAL FP ANIMALS	93	29.5	228	45.8	321	39.5
TOTAL FP INDET. IMAGE	16	5.1	-	-	16	2.0
TOTAL FP HUMANS	38	12.1	115	14.0	153	18.8
CL / FP	4	0.1	-	-	4	0.5
TOTAL SEMI-FINGER PAINTING	27	100.0	-	-	65	100.0
TOTAL FP GEOMETRIC	3	1.0	4	0.8	7	10.8
FD / FP HUMAN FEMALE	1	0.3	-	-	1	1.5
FS / FP	1	0.3	1	0.2	2	3.1
FP / FL	5	1.6	3	0.6	8	12.3
TOTAL FINGER SMEARS	803	100.0	821	100.0	1424	100.0
FS / FL	3	0.5	3	0.4	6	0.4
FS / FS	1	0.2	-	-	1	0.1
FS / FD	1	0.2	12	1.5	13	0.9
CL / FS	17	2.8	-	-	17	1.2
FS / INDET. IMAGE	1	0.2	-	-	1	0.1
FS / FL ANTELOPE	3	0.5	2	0.2	5	0.4
FS / INDET ANIMAL	-	-	4	0.5	4	0.3
FS / INDET HUMAN (COLONIAL)	-	-	1	0.1	1	0.1
FS / FEMALE (COLONIAL)	-	-	2	0.2	2	0.1
FS / HORSES & RIDER	-	-	5	0.6	5	0.4
FS / SMEAR	-	-	1	0.1	1	0.1
FS / BABOON	-	-	1	0.1	1	0.1
FS / INDET. HUMANS	-	-	1	0.1	1	0.1
FS / COLONIAL MALE	-	-	1	0.1	1	0.1
FS / HANDPRINT	-	-	1	0.1	1	0.1
FS / FP	-	-	3	0.4	3	0.2
TOTAL GEOMETRIC	9	100.0	11	100.0	20	100.0
FP GEOMETRIC / ELAND	1	11.1	1	9.1	2	10.0
TOTAL HORSES AND RIDER	127	100.0	78	100.0	205	100.0
H&R / INDET. FL ANIMAL	2	1.6	-	-	2	1.0
H&R / HORSES	6	4.7	-	-	6	2.9
FS / H&R	-	-	6	7.7	6	2.9
CL / H&R	-	-	1	1.3	1	0.5
SMEAR / H&R	-	-	6	7.7	6	2.9
INDET PAINT / H&R	-	-	1	1.3	1	0.5
H&R / INDET. HUMAN	-	-	2	2.6	2	1.0
HP / H&R	-	-	3	3.8	3	1.5
H&R / INDET. IMAGE	-	-	1	1.3	1	0.5
HORSES (COLONIAL)	85	100.0	54	100.0	139	100.0
HORSES / FP INDET. IMAGE	2	2.4	-	-	2	1.4
FP / HORSES	-	-	1	1.9	1	0.7
FS / HORSES	-	-	2	3.7	2	1.4
FD / HORSES	-	-	3	5.6	3	2.2
HP / HORSES	-	-	2	3.7	2	1.4
SMEAR / HORSES	-	-	2	3.7	2	1.4
HORSES / ELAND	-	-	2	3.7	2	1.4

KEY:

CL = CRAYON LINE
H&R = HORSES & RIDER
FP = FINGER PAINTING
FL = FINELINE PAINTING
FS = FINGER SMEAR
FD = FINGER DOTS
HP = HANDPRINTS

TABLE 5.1 (cont):

CATEGORY	NAGGA KAMMA TOTAL	%	STOMPIESPONTEIN TOTAL	%	TOTAL	%
HUMANS (FINELINE)						
HUMANS HEADLESS	7	1.5	-	-	7	1.2
HUMAN PIN HEAD	1	0.2	6	4.4	7	1.2
HUMAN FEMALE	37	8.0	-	-	37	6.2
CL / HUMAN FEMALE	1	2.7	-	-	1	2.7
HUMAN MALES	11	2.4	12	8.9	23	3.8
FP ANIMAL / HUMAN MALE	-	-	1	8.3	1	4.3
FL HUMAN / FL HUMAN FEMALE	1	9.1	-	-	1	4.3
SMEAR / HUMAN MALE	1	9.1	1	8.3	2	8.7
HUMAN INDET.	415	89.7	123	91.1	539	90.0
FS / HUMAN INDET	6	1.4	4	3.2	10	1.9
FD / INDET. HUMAN	3	0.7	2	1.6	5	0.9
CL / INDET. HUMAN	7	1.7	-	-	7	1.3
ELAND / SP HUMAN	1	0.2	-	-	1	0.2
FL HUMAN / ELAND	1	0.2	-	-	1	0.2
PALETTE / HUMAN INDET.	2	0.5	-	-	2	0.4
FL HUMANS / FL INDET. ANTELOPE	3	0.7	-	-	3	0.6
SMEAR / HUMAN INDET.	3	0.7	4	3.2	7	1.3
FL HUMAN / FL HUMAN	7	1.7	1	0.8	8	1.5
FL HUMAN / FL INDET. ANIMAL	4	1.0	-	-	4	0.7
INDET. ANIMAL / INDET. HUMAN			2	1.6	2	0.4
TOTAL	464		135		599	100.0
HUMANS (COLONIAL)						
HUMAN FEMALE	1	2.8	54	47.0	55	36.4
CL / HUMAN FEMALE	-	-	3	5.6	3	5.5
FS / HUMAN FEMALE	-	-	5	9.3	5	9.1
HANDPRINTS / HUMAN FEMALE	-	-	3	5.6	3	5.5
SMEAR / HUMAN FEMALE	-	-	3	5.6	3	5.5
HUMAN MALE	18	50.0	48	41.7	66	43.7
FS / HUMAN MALE	2	11.1	1	2.1	3	4.5
HUMAN MALE / INDET. HUMAN	1	5.6	-	-	1	1.5
SMEAR / HUMAN MALE	-	-	1	2.1	1	1.5
MALE / INDET ANIMAL	-	-	1	2.1	1	1.5
HUMAN INDET.	17	47.2	13	11.3	30	19.9
SMEAR / HUMAN INDET.	-	-	3	23.1	3	10.0
HUMANS FEMALE (CRAYON LINE)	-	-	1	25.0	1	0.7
HUMANS INDET (CRAYON LINE)	-	-	4	3.5	4	2.6
TOTAL	36		115	-	151	100.0

CATEGORY	NAGGA KAMMA TOTAL	%	STOMPIESPONTEIN TOTAL	%	TOTAL	%
CAVE SCENE	1	100.0	-	-	1	100.0
TOTAL BADS	20	100.0	2	100.0	22	100.0
ELAND / BADS	1	5.0	-	-	1	4.5
NETS	1	100.0	-	-	1	100.0
TROUGHS	-	-	4	100.0	4	100.0
TOTAL HORSESS WITH WAGONS	66	-	110	-	176	100.0
TOTAL WAGONS WITH HORSESS	20	-	35	-	55	-
TOTAL WAGONS(EXC. NO. OF HORSE	43	-	41	100.0	84	-
SMEARED WAGON & HORSESS	-	-	3	7.3	3	5.5
CL / HORSES & WAGON	-	-	2	4.9	2	3.6
HORSES & WAGON / INDET.ANTELO	-	-	1	2.4	1	1.8
HORSES & WAGON / HANDPRINT	-	-	1	2.4	1	1.4
TOTAL PALETTE	80	100.0	21	100.0	81	100.0
PALETTE - ROUGH	53	88.3	16	76.2	69	85.2
PALETTE - SMOOTH	7	11.7	1	4.8	8	9.9
PALETTE / FL ANTELOPE	1	1.7	-	-	1	1.2
PALETTE / FL HUMAN	1	1.7	-	-	1	1.2
PALETTE / ELAND	1	1.7	-	-	1	1.2
PALETTE / ELEPHANT	1	1.7	-	-	1	1.2
SMEAR / PALETTE	1	1.7	1	4.8	2	2.5
PALETTE / BABOON	-	-	1	4.8	1	1.2
INDET. IMAGES	124	100.0	168	100.0	292	100.0
INDET. SMEARYPAINT	140	-	-	-	140	47.9
FS / INDET. IMAGE	2	1.6	-	-	2	0.7
?INDET. IMAGE / CL?	1	0.8	-	-	1	0.3
SMEAR / INDET.	1	0.8	5	3.0	6	2.1
INDET. IMAGE / FS	-	-	1	0.6	1	0.7
TOTAL HANDPRINTS	46	100.0	134	100.0	180	100.0
TOTAL HP (LARGE)	3	6.5	21	15.7	24	13.3
TOTAL HP (MEDIUM)	17	37.0	22	16.4	39	21.7
TOTAL HP (SMALL)	31	67.4	83	61.9	114	63.3
TOTAL HP (UNKNOWN)	4	8.7	8	6.0	12	6.7
HORSES / HP (S)	4	8.7	-	-	4	2.2
HORSES & RIDER/HP (S)	2	4.3	1	0.7	3	1.7
SMEAR / HP (M)	-	-	1	0.7	1	0.6
SMEAR / HP (L)	-	-	1	0.7	1	0.7
HP / FL	-	-	1	0.7	1	0.6
HP (M) / INDET. ANIMAL	-	-	1	0.7	1	0.6
HP / HORSES	-	-	2	1.5	2	1.1
HP / HLR	-	-	3	2.2	3	1.7
HP / ELAND	-	-	1	0.7	1	0.6
HP / INDET ANIMAL	1	2.2	2	1.5	3	1.7

TABLE 5.2: ROCK ART CATEGORIES & FREQUENCIES FROM DIEPKLOOF

CATEGORY	TOTAL	%	
TOTAL ELAND	12	100.0	
FS / ELAND	1	8.3	
FD ENCIRCLING ELAND	1	8.3	
FD / ELAND	1	8.3	
HANDPRINTS / ELAND	9	75.0	
SMEAR / ELAND	3	25.0	
FL INDET. ANTELOPE	5	100.0	
DEC HP / INDET. ANTELO	5	100.0	
TOTAL ANIMAL INDET. (F	5	100.0	
CRAYON LINES / ANIMAL	4	80.0	
FS / ANIMAL	1	20.0	
FP COW/INDET ANIMAL	1	20.0	
SMEAR / INDET. ANIMAL	1	20.0	
CRAYON LINES	15	100.0	
CL / DEC. HP	5	33.3	
CL / INDET. ANTELOPE	5	33.3	
CL / FP MALE	1	6.7	
GRAFFITTI / CL	1	6.7	1934 AD
CHARCOAL LINE / CL	4	26.7	
COW	2	100.0	
CHARCOAL IMAGE / COW	1	50.0	?1892 AD
FS / COW	1	50.0	
BIRDS (FP)	1	100.0	
TOTAL FINGER DOTS	292		
FD / FD	75		BLACK / RED
TOTAL FINELINE PAINTIN	28	100.0	
FS / FL	10	35.7	
FD / FL	1	3.6	
HP / FL	10	35.7	
CL /FL	9	32.1	
FP / FL	1	3.6	
SMEAR / FINELINE	4	14.3	
TOTAL FINGER PAINTING	16	100.0	
FS / FP	1	6.25	
CL / FP	1	6.25	
FP / INDET. PAINT	1	6.25	
INDET. FP	1	6.25	
GRAFFITTI/FP	1	6.25	1910 AD
TOTAL FINGER SMEARS	15	100.0	
FS / ELAND	2	13.3	
FS / COW	1	6.7	
FS / INDET ANIMAL	1	6.7	
TOTAL GEOMETRICS (FP)	4		CIRCLE+CROSS; HATCHED SQUARES
TOTAL HANDPRINTS	47	100.0	= MANY MORE
DEC. HP	36	76.6	
DEC. HP / INDET ANTELO	5	10.6	
CHARC. SIG. / HP	6	12.8	?1892 AD
CHARC. LINES / HP	3	6.4	
FS / HP	2	4.3	
INDET. HUMAN / DEC HP	1	2.1	
CL / DEC. HP	7	14.9	
HANDPRINTS / ELAND	9	19.1	

CATEGORY	TOTA	%
HUMANS (FINELINE)		
HUMAN INDET.	6	100.0
CRAYON LINES / HUMAN	3	50.0
HP / INDET HUMAN	1	16.7
TOTAL HUMANS		
HUMANS (FP)		
HUMAN MALE	8	88.9
CL / MALE	1	12.5
MALE / INDET. PAINT	1	12.5
CHARC. IMAGE / MALE	1	12.5
HUMAN INDET.	1	11.1
FS / HUMAN INDET	1	100.0
CHARC. SIG. / INDET HUM	1	100.0
TOTAL HUMANS	9	
TOTAL INDET. IMAGES	1	
PALETTE - ROUGH	2	100.0
SMEAR / ELAND	3	37.5
SMEAR / FL	4	50.0
SMEAR / INDET. ANIMAL	1	12.5
TOTAL	8	

images superimposed on eland in the Bokkeveld is misleading, however, since these finger-related images tend to occur only on a few eland.

Concerning the types of reuse, smearing of indeterminate animals occurs more frequently in the Cedarberg than in the Bokkeveld (21.3% and 4.7%, respectively, $p>0.001$). Most of the indeterminate animals in the Cedarberg are in the fineline tradition, whereas in the Bokkeveld they are finger painted, and this further differentiates the two areas in the types of reuse. Fineline indeterminate animals in the Cedarberg have very few finger-related images superimposed on them, while the Bokkeveld sample has even less (7.8% and 4.5%, respectively, $0.25>p>0.1$). There is thus a difference in the reuse of fineline and finger painted images, coinciding with the different areas.

Fineline Humans

The Cedarberg sample has a few finger painted humans, but this is more likely a real phenomenon than a sampling bias since all paintings were recorded by SARU and the recorders were well aware of the occurrence of finger painted humans - finger painted humans also occur in the Sandveld (Manhire 1984; pers. obs.). Headless humans (including pin heads with no defined head on the body) are insignificant in number, and I disregarded them. The large number of indeterminate humans is either due to a recorder's inability to recognise the sex of the humans (often due to smearing) or because sex was purposefully not shown by the artist. I exclude finger painted humans in this analysis.

While humans of indeterminate sex are depicted most frequently in the Bokkeveld (90%) and Cedarberg (78.7%), the occurrence of females and males in each area differs. In the Cedarberg males (15.1%) outnumber females (5.9%), whereas in the Bokkeveld this observation is inverted (3.8% and 6.2%, respectively). There is a high probability that this is a real phenomenon ($p>0.001$). Of the possible types of reuse, smearing occurs most frequently in both areas. In the Cedarberg sample females are smeared most often (19.9%), followed by humans of indeterminate sex (15.7%), and males (6.8%). In the Bokkeveld smearing is a rare occurrence with males being smeared most often (8.7%; n=2), followed by indeterminate humans (1.3%; n=7) and females (0%). Sample size in this category is problematic in the Bokkeveld. Smearing of fineline humans in the Bokkeveld is significantly infrequent in comparison to the Cedarberg ($p>0.001$). This suggests that females and humans of indeterminate sex were being treated more similarly ($0.25>p>0.1$) than males and indeterminate humans ($p>0.001$) and females and males ($p>0.001$). Fineline humans tend to have fewer finger-related superimpositioning than smearing ($p>0.025$), as is the case for large game animals in both the Cedarberg and Bokkeveld ($p>0.001$ for both areas).

FINGERPAINTINGS, CRAYON LINES, GEOMETRICS, FINGERSMEARS AND FINGERDOTS

Smearing of indeterminate animals in the Bokkeveld is minimal (4.7%) in comparison to those in the Cedarberg (21.3%; $p>0.001$). This is significant since most of the indeterminate animals in the Bokkeveld are finger painted, unlike the fineline paintings in the Cedarberg. Both horses and horses and riders are finger painted in the Bokkeveld, and they show little reuse (figs 5.17 to 5.19). Reuse of horses ranges from 1.9% to 5.3%, while that of horses and riders ranges from 0.5% to 2.9%. Horses and wagons show minimal reuse, ranging from 1.2% to 3.6%, in types of reuse. Finger painted horses and wagons show less detail than those that are not finger painted (figs 5.20 to 5.24). STF1 has the only two instances of horses superimposed on eland. Most of the horse paintings occur at STF1 and KGK7a-c.

Human females in the Bokkeveld tend to be depicted with colonial material culture, except for one finger painted female at KGK34, and a few finger painted females at STF1 (fig. 5.3). Female images form a substantial percentage of the sample of humans (36.4%), but males are painted more frequently (43.7%). Indeterminate sex humans occur infrequently (19.9%), and tend to be finger painted, that is not in the finer colonial imagery style. Females tend to be reused more than the other sexes (22.2%, $p>0.001$), and are the only sex with crayon lines and handprints superimposed on them. Finger smears occur on both males and females, yet slightly more so on females ($0.25>p>0.1$).

Crayon lines are single red lines likely executed by means of a piece of ochre - there is no paint mixture involved. Fingerdots occur as single dots, rows of dots, or areas of both in the Sandveld (Manhire 1984) and in the Bokkeveld. According to Manhire (1984) single finger dots are mainly red, randomly placed, and tend to be separate from the main painted areas in the Sandveld. In the Bokkeveld, Cedarberg and at Diepkloof, finger dots may be in yellow, black and/or white as well, but red still dominates. I believe that they are not random but are purposefully placed for specific reasons. If imagery is socially derived then it cannot be random but intentional. While finger dots are common throughout southern Africa, those in the Drakensberg are not finger dots *per se* (see Campbell 1987; Vinnicombe 1977). These are much smaller and probably not done by means of the finger.

Manhire (1984:50) defines a fingersmear as a "vertical slash which is essentially an extension of the fingerdot motif". In the Bokkeveld they can be in red (most common), black, yellow and

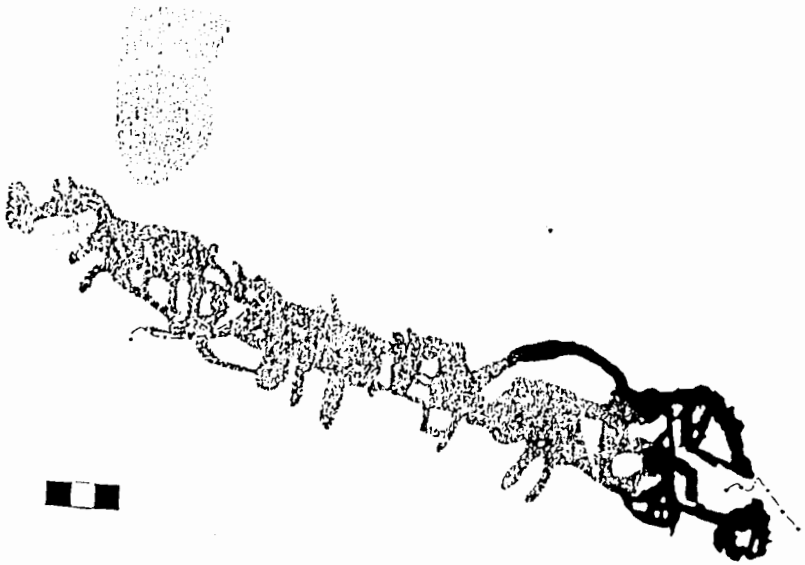


FIG. 5.17: STF1/AL

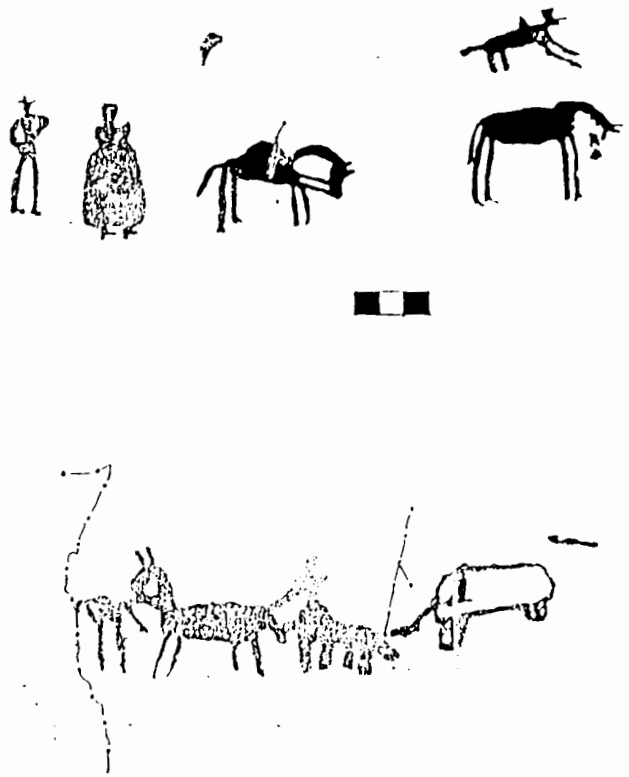


FIG. 5.18: STF1/ALCOVE 4

KEY:

BLACK YELLOW WHITE

ORANGE DARK RED RED

FIG. 5.19: STF1/AC

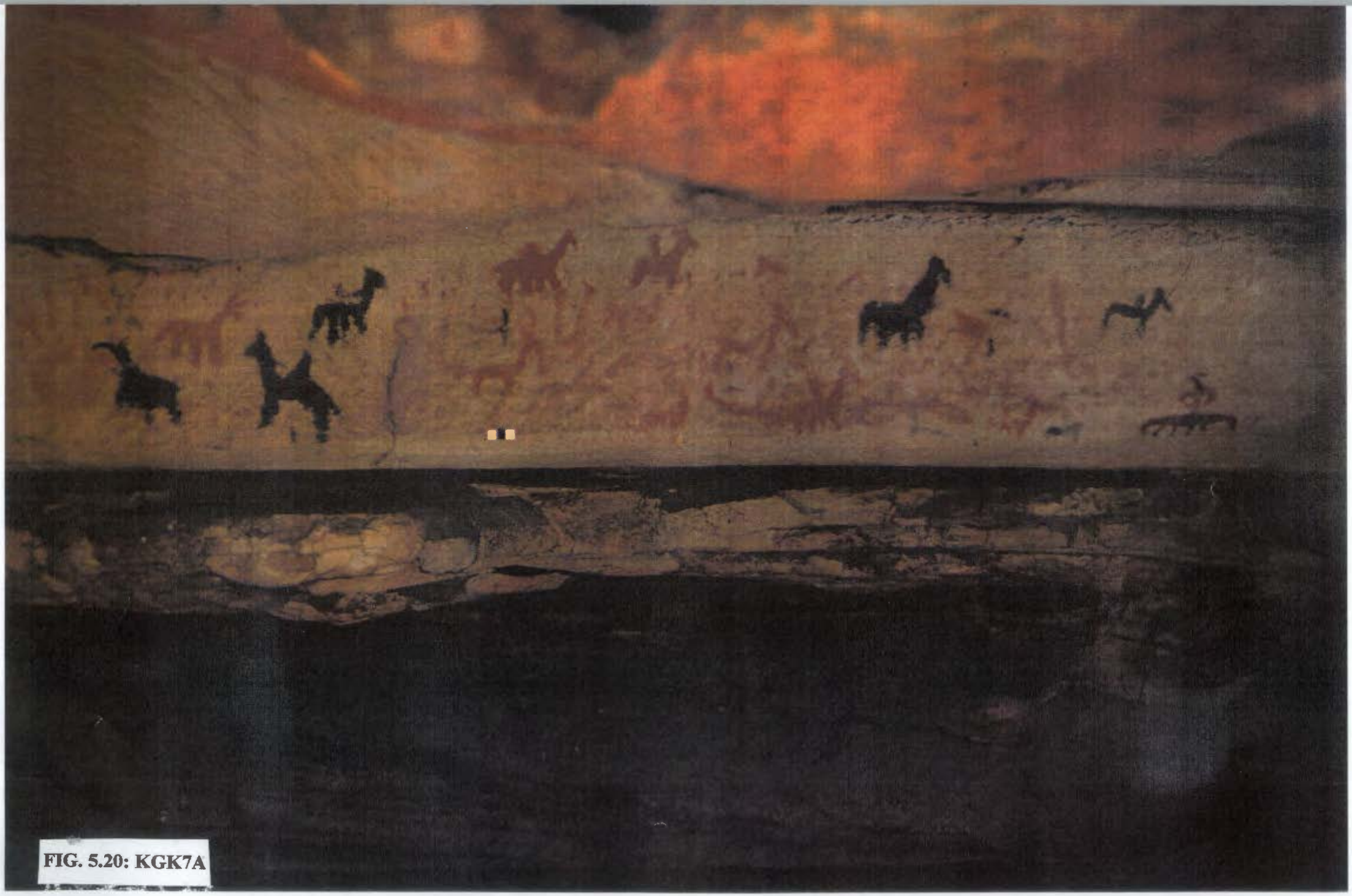


FIG. 5.20: KGK7A

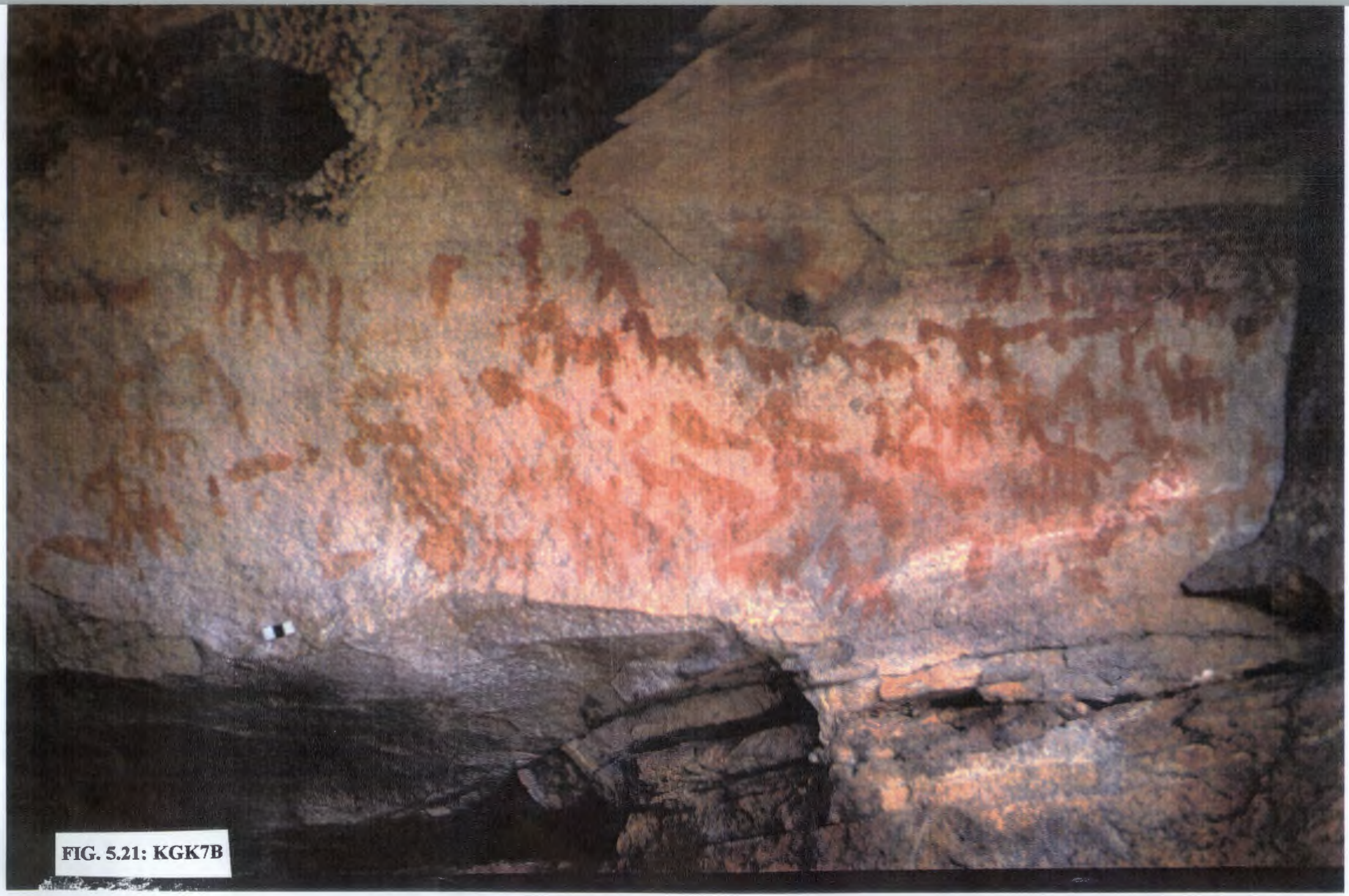


FIG. 5.21: KGK7B

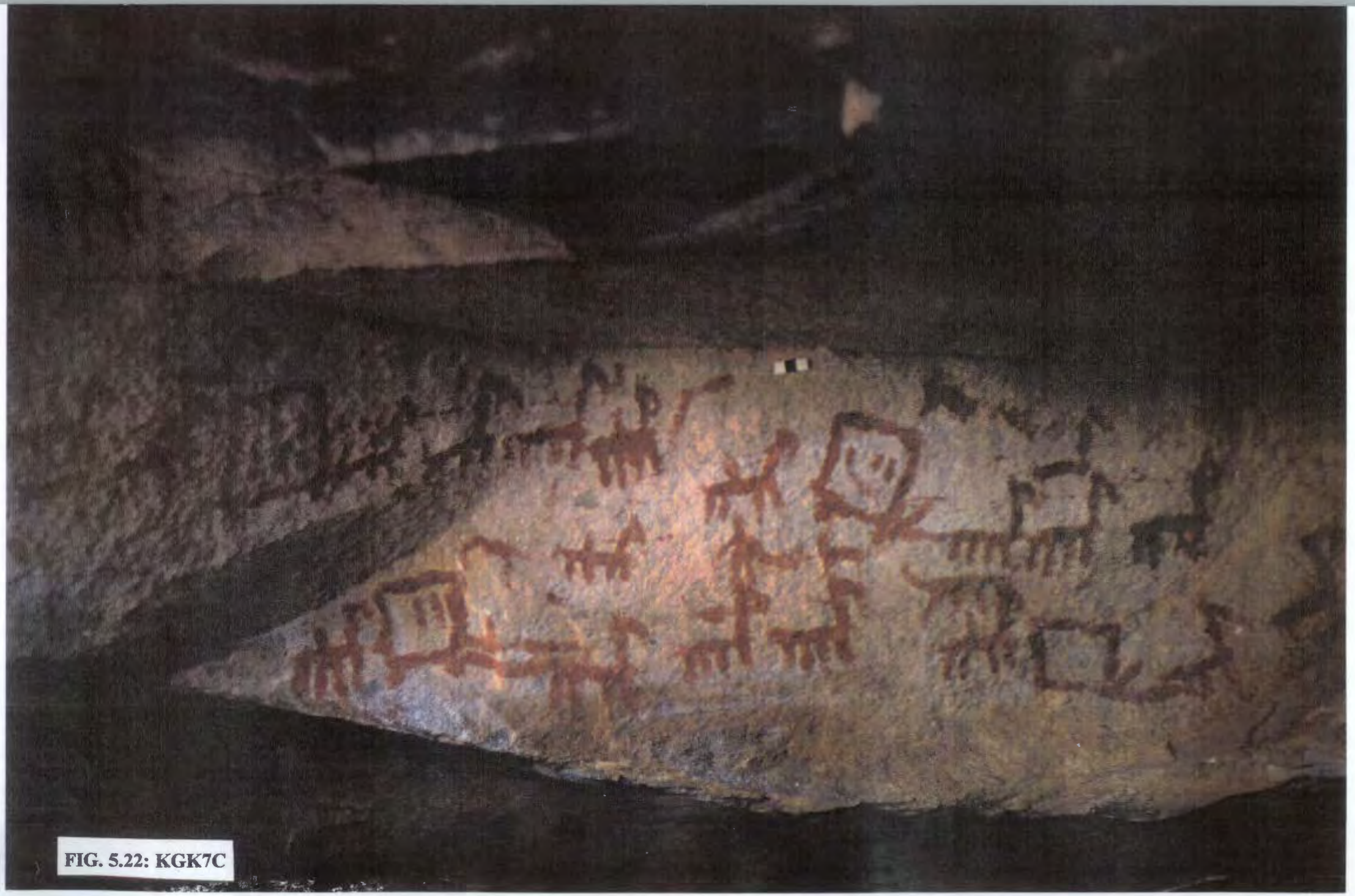


FIG. 5.22: KGK7C

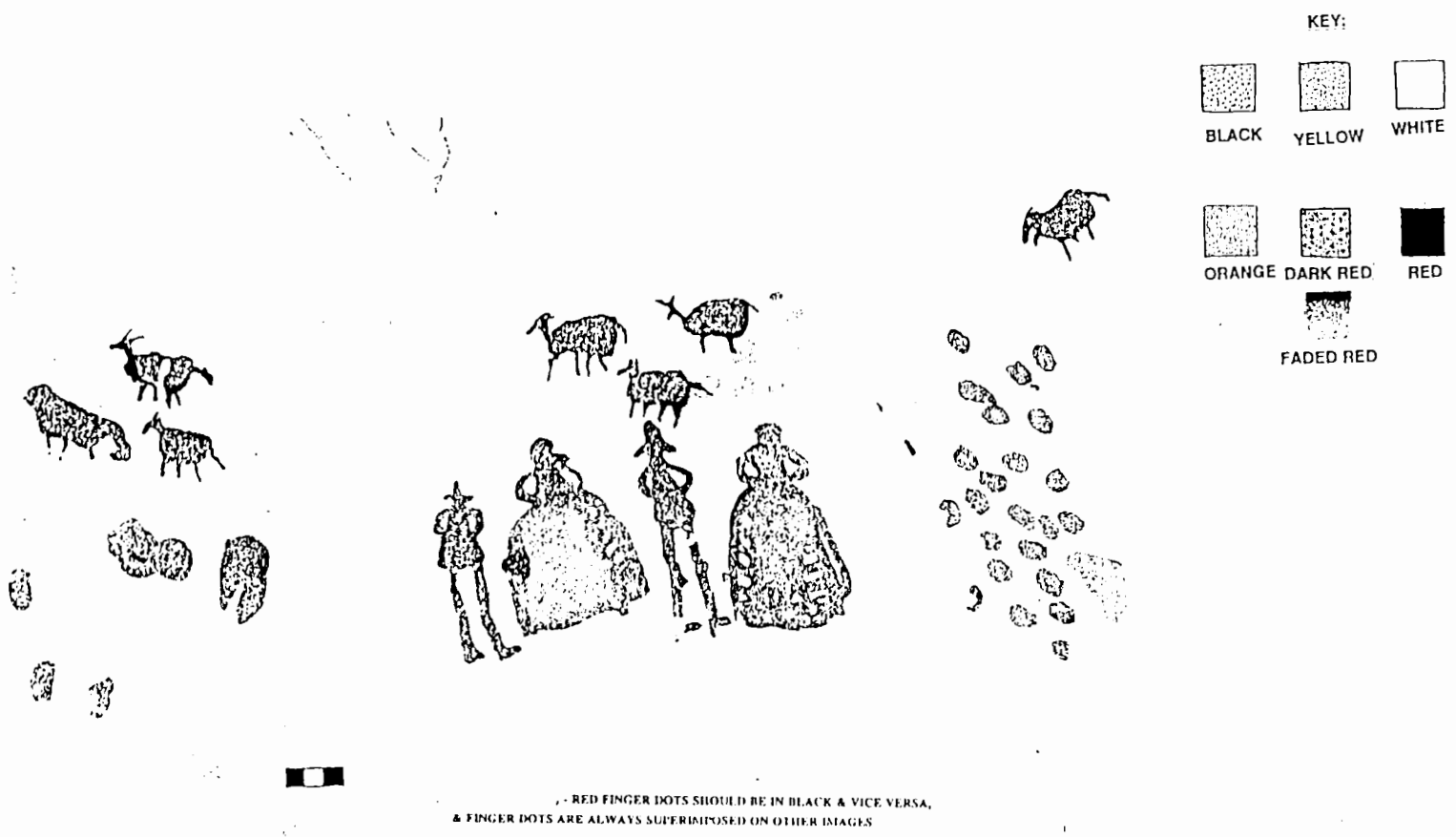


FIG. 5.23: STF1/AI (LOWER)

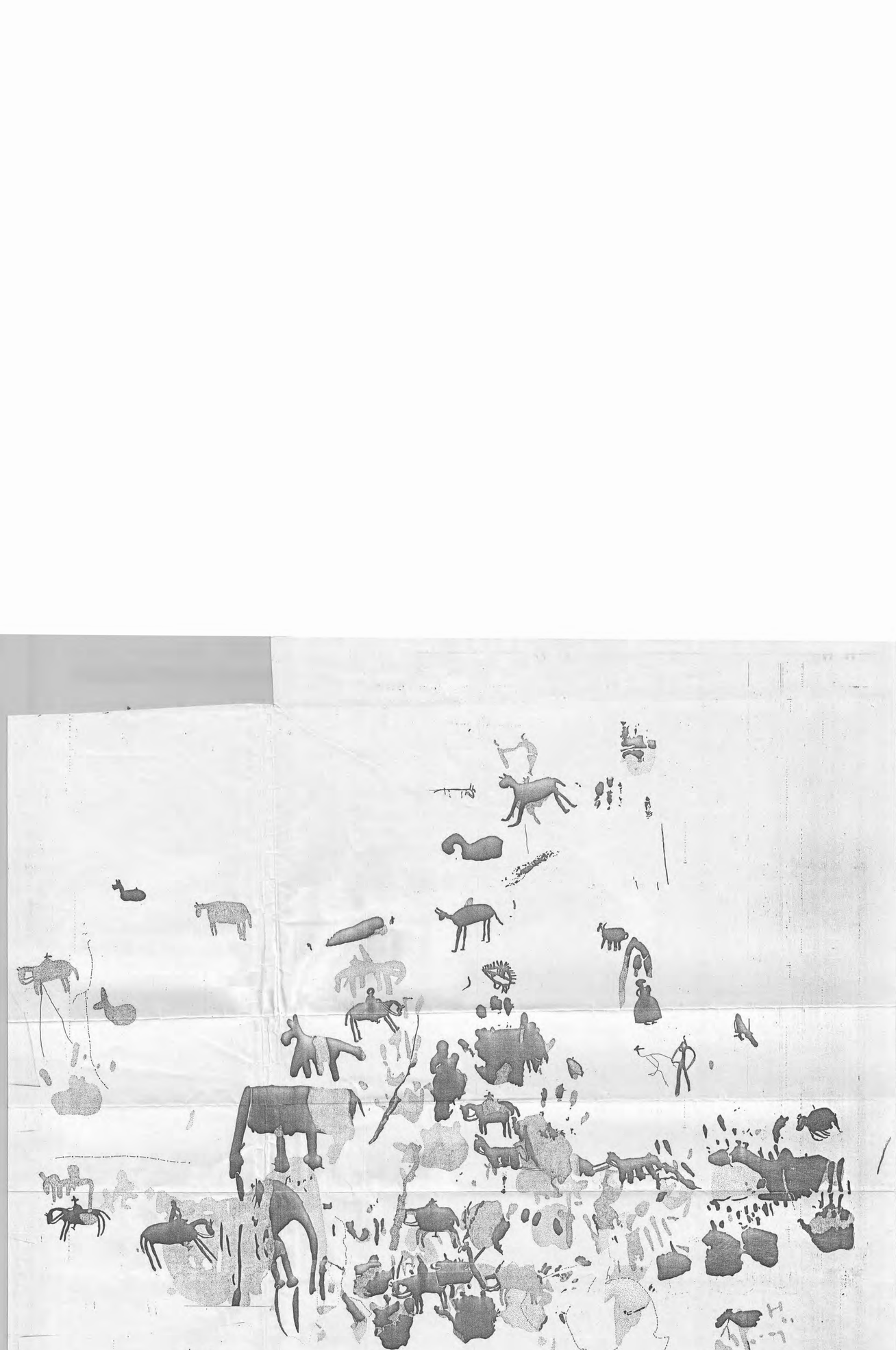


FIG. 5.24: STF1/ALCOVE 2

occasionally white. The spatial positioning of finger smears on the cave wall is similar to that of finger dots. In the Sandveld geometrics are often associated with finger dots, finger smears and handprints (Manhire 1984), as in the Bokkeveld and at Diepkloof. However, in the Cedarberg geometrics occur more often in association with fineline images (pers. obs.; and see Maggs and Sealy 1983). Handprints are positive images of hands (left and right) and may or may not be decorated. Most decorated handprints seem to occur in the Sandveld, with very few in the Cedarberg.

I counted each individual crayon line in the Bokkeveld sample, hence their high frequency. I did not count individual lines when they formed a geometric, or oval grid. Oval grids in the Bokkeveld are usually spatially separate from the main painted areas. Crayon lines are superimposed more on finger painted females and on females in colonial imagery than on human fineline images in both the Bokkeveld (7.3% and 2.7%, respectively) and the Cedarberg (0% for both). Crayon lines thus appear to be associated with finger-related imagery, rather than fineline imagery. Multiple crayon lines are usually superimposed on females (fig 5.1). On the other hand, crayon lines avoid certain images (fig.'s 5.8 to 5.10, 5.1 - panel STF1/AN is an exception, 6a5.20). Crayon lines tend to be associated with finger dots, finger smears, handprints and females ($0.5>p>0.25$), rather than with other images ($p>0.001$, for all other comparisons). This suggests a strong association between the (finger painted) females, crayon lines, finger smears, finger dots and handprints in the Bokkeveld.

Geometrics in the Cedarberg tend to be painted in the fineline tradition, while those in the Bokkeveld (figs 5.11, 5.21, 5.24, 5.25, 5.26), at Diepkloof (fig. 5.27), and in the rest of the Sandveld (Manhire 1984), are finger painted. The most common geometric in the Bokkeveld sample is a circle with a cross inside it, or a variation of this theme. Geometrics are usually not reused in either sample area.

Fingerdots are only superimposed on humans of indeterminate sex in both sample areas, yet this occurrence is infrequent (less than 1.2% in both areas). When finger dots are juxtaposed with other images they may surround colonial and finger painted females, or be associated with females and children, crayon lines, finger smears and/or handprints (figs 5.3, 5.1, 5.2). Fingerdots are usually grouped by themselves and away from the main painted area.

As with finger dots, finger smears occur often by themselves than in association with other images. Finger smears are nearly twice as common in the Bokkeveld as in the Cedarberg. Fineline humans tend to have very few finger smears superimposed on them in both the Cedarberg (2.1% to 2.7%) and the Bokkeveld (0% to 1.9%). Conversely, the frequency of finger smears superimposed on

FIG. 5.25: STF1/ASi

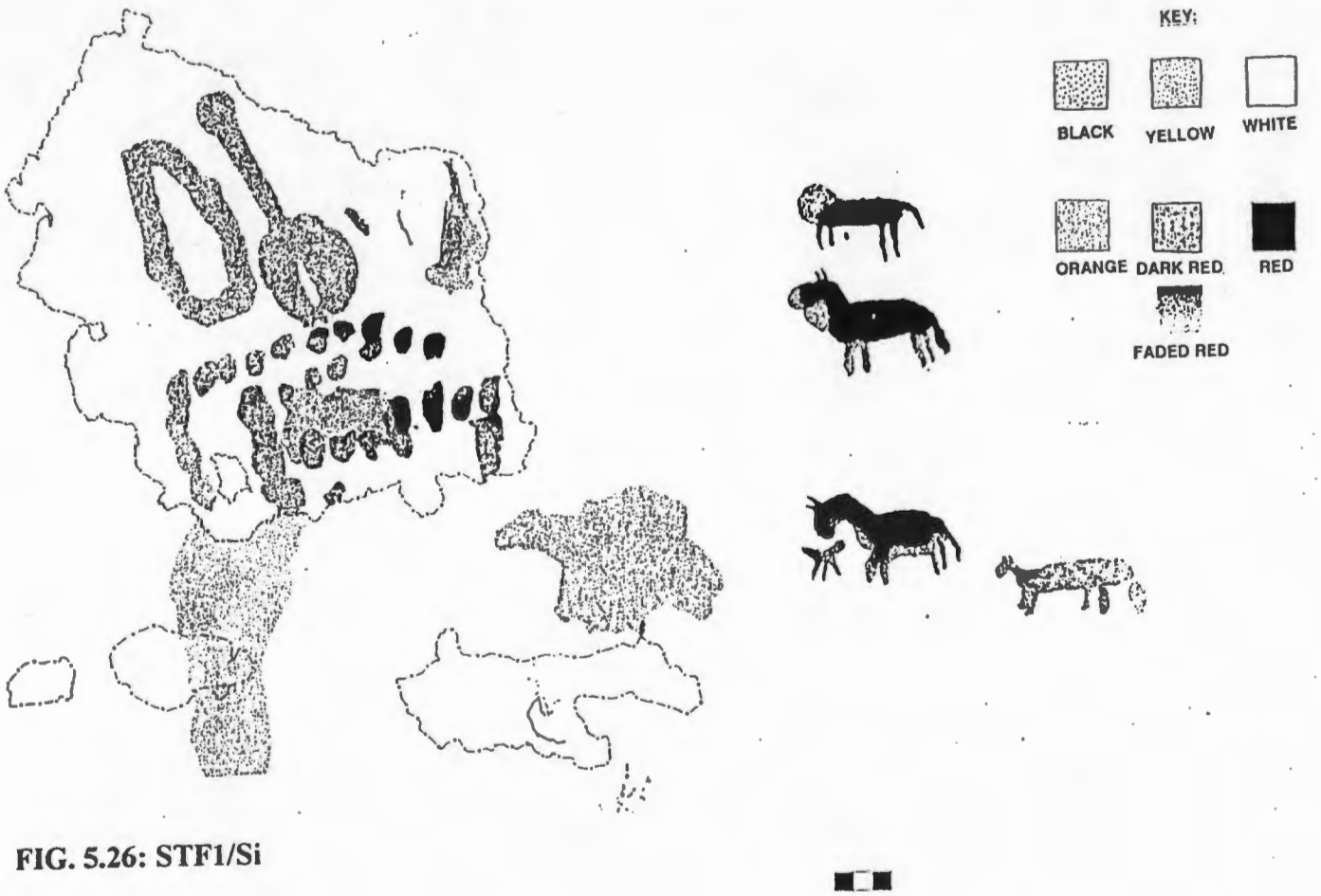
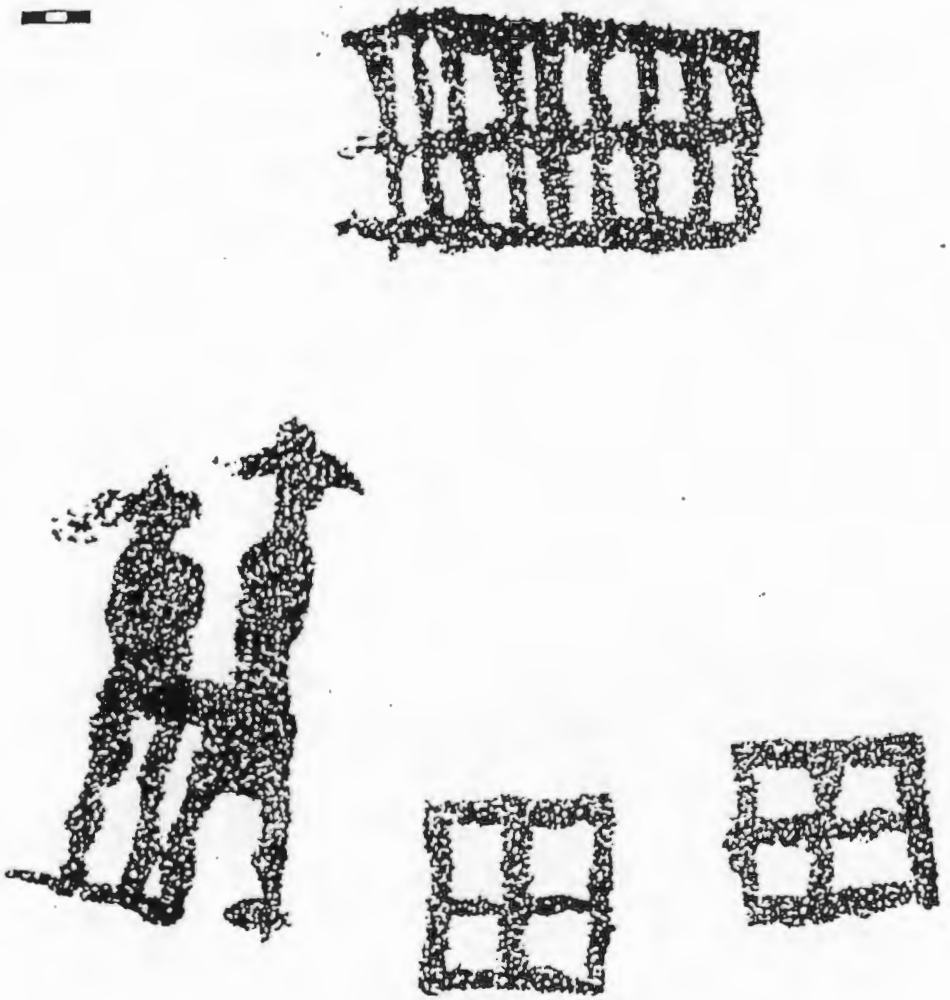


FIG. 5.26: STF1/Si

FIG. 5.27: GEOMETRICS AT DIEPKLOOF (after Yates *et al* 1993)



colonial and finger painted females (9.1%), and to a lesser degree males (4.5%), increases in the Bokkeveld. Finger smears in this area are thus more often associated with finger paintings than with fineline paintings ($0.1>p>0.05$), and slightly more with finger painted females than males ($0.25>p>0.1$). The superimpositioning of finger smears on fineline antelope in the Cedarberg (1.5% to 5.1%) and the Bokkeveld (2% to 5%), is infrequent. However, the Bokkeveld sample is misleading since two eland have most of the finger smears superimposed on them.

HANDPRINTS

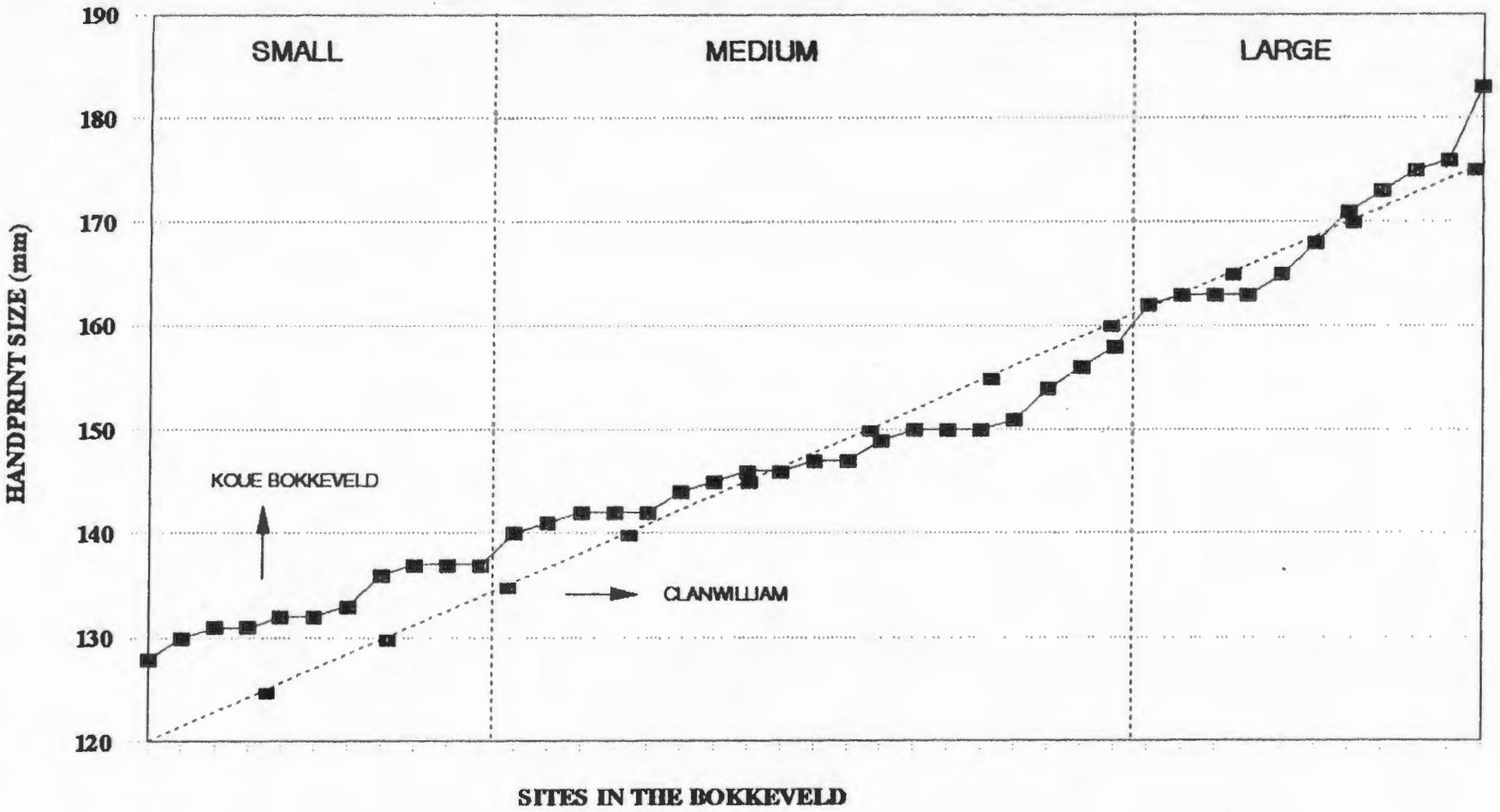
Handprints are mostly located in the western and southern margins of the sub-continent (Van Rijssen 1984). Some sites in the interior have handprints, for example Danielskuil Townlands has engraved 'handprints' (Collins 1973). In the south-western Cape, handprints, especially decorated ones, tend to be more common along the coast and Sandveld (Manhire *et al* 1983). In these coastal margins about 30% of the images are handprints, while in the mountains their frequency is about 6% (Yates *et al* 1993). Manhire (1984) argues that there is a strong correlation between the occurrence of pottery at archaeological sites, handprints and finger-related imagery in the Sandveld. Handprints tend to be separate from main art panels, like finger dots and finger smears in the Bokkeveld.

I divided handprints into three group sizes (measurements supplied by Anthony Manhire). These sizes are small (less than 14cm), medium (14cm-16cm), and large (greater than 16cm, mean = 17cm) (see fig.5.29 and table 5.3). These groupings were done in retrospect after analysing table 5.3 and fig. 5.29. These measurements are restricted to the Bokkeveld sample only.

The Bokkeveld sample has twice the number of handprints than in the Cedarberg sample. Most handprints, of all sizes, come from STF1 (especially the large handprints), while the others are scattered around KGK (and are small to medium). In the Cedarberg sample handprints are rarely superimposed on other images, and at Diepkloof there are a few superimposed on eland. In the Bokkeveld, small handprints dominate the sample (63.3%), followed by medium (21.7%) the large (13.3%) handprints.

Spatially, large handprints are mostly situated at either end of the main cave at STF1. Panels Oi, V, AC, AH, AI and AP, have a combined total of ten large handprints, while panels Alcove 2 to AS have total of twelve large handprints (fig 5.2). STF1/AM has several handprints (mostly small) superimpositioned on a large eland, thus when in table 5.1 n=1 for this category, I refer to the number of eland with handprints superimposed on them, not *vice versa*. Large handprints are not

FIG. 5.28: HANDPRINT MEASUREMENTS FROM THE BOKKEVELD & CLANWILLIAM DISTRICT



KEY

——— MEASUREMENTS KINDLY PROVIDED BY ANTHONY MANHIRE - NOT FOR CITATION WITHOUT PERMISSION

..... AFTER MAGGS (1967)

FIGURE 5.29: SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF ART PANELS AT STOMPIESFONTEIN 1

TABLE 5.3: HANDPRINTS MEASUREMENTS FROM THE BOKKEVELD*

SITE	NO.	TOTAL LENGTH (mm)	SITE	NO.	TOTAL LENGTH (mm)	SITE	NO.	TOTAL LENGTH (mm)	SITE	NO.	TOTAL LENGTH (mm)	SITE	NO.	TOTAL LENGTH (mm)
STF1	1	131	KGK1	1	128	KGK7	1	151	KGK12	1	130	KGK26	1	141
	2	133		2	137		2	154		2	131		2	144
	3	138		3	137					3	132		3	146
	4	137								4	132		4	148
	5	140											5	149
	6	142											6	150
	7	142											7	150
	8	146											8	158
	9	147											9	173
	10	150												
	11	156												
	12	162												
	13	163												
	14	163												
	15	165												
	16	168												
	17	171												
	18	175												
	19	176												
	20	183												
	AVG=	147.69		AVG	134.00		AVG	152.50		AVG	131.25		AVG=	151.00
	STDS	15.49		STD	4.24		STD	1.50		STD	0.83		STDS=	8.96
TOTAL AVG		149.39												
TOTAL STDS		14.82												

* MEASUREMENTS KINDLY SUPPLIED BY ANTHONY MANHIRE
(THESE DO NOT INCLUDE ALL HANDPRINT SITES)

necessarily associated with horses and wagons (except in panel AV where there are two large handprints). Horses and wagons are usually associated with medium and small handprints, where they occur together. There appears to be an association between handprints and other finger-related images.

SUPERPOSITIONING AND RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY

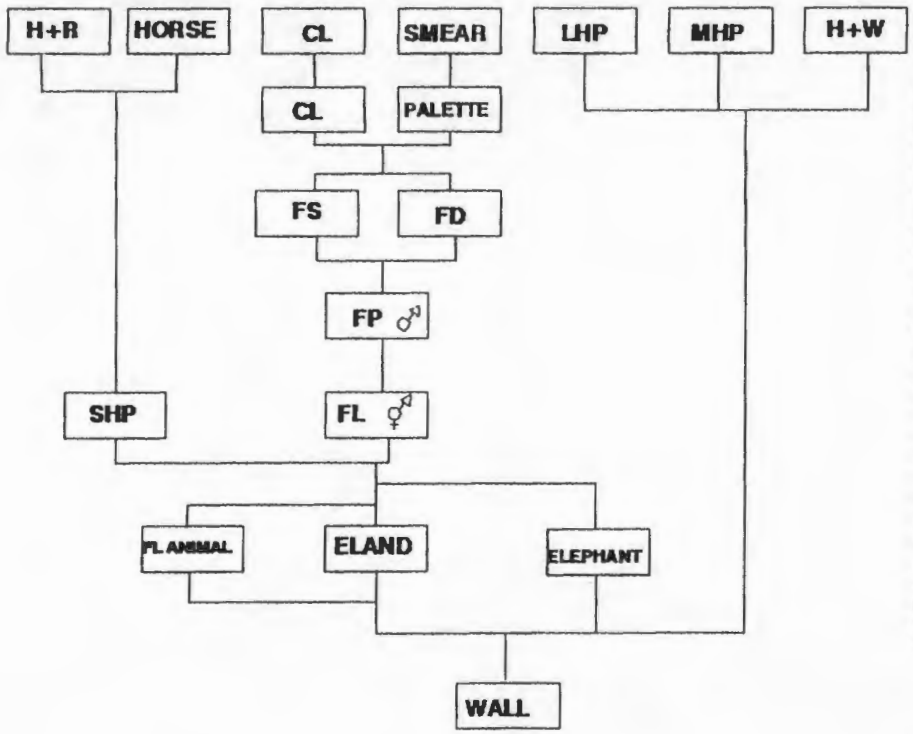
A relative time sequence of images is required to understand the relationship between fineline and finger paintings and colonial imagery. I use this chronology to suggest that smearing occurred after fineline paintings ceased to be depicted. I situate the images of the Bokkeveld in a relative chronology by relating similar types of images in terms of their superimpositioning. I use this chronology to differentiate between images painted by San gatherer-hunters and Khoi pastoralists.

Researchers generally agree that fineline images are the oldest form of paintings in the south-western Cape, whereas handprints are always superimpositioned on other images. Handprints thus post-date the arrival of pastoralism since fat-tailed sheep are painted in the fineline tradition (Manhire 1984; Yates *et al* 1992, 1993). However, this sequence does not account for finger paintings, finger smears, finger dots and crayon lines. These are integral components of the art, especially in the Sandveld and Bokkeveld and the interrelationship between images is important. Superpositioning occurs when the upper painting is painted directly on top of the lower painting, while other forms of superpositioning are essentially overlapping (Lewis-Williams 1974). Many paintings in the Bokkeveld overlap, as in the Sandveld (Manhire 1984), apart from crayon lines, finger smears, finger dots and handprints. The term superpositioning in this analysis refers to overlapping. Although superpositioning may have occurred directly after the first image was painted, I argue that smearing occurred at a much later date.

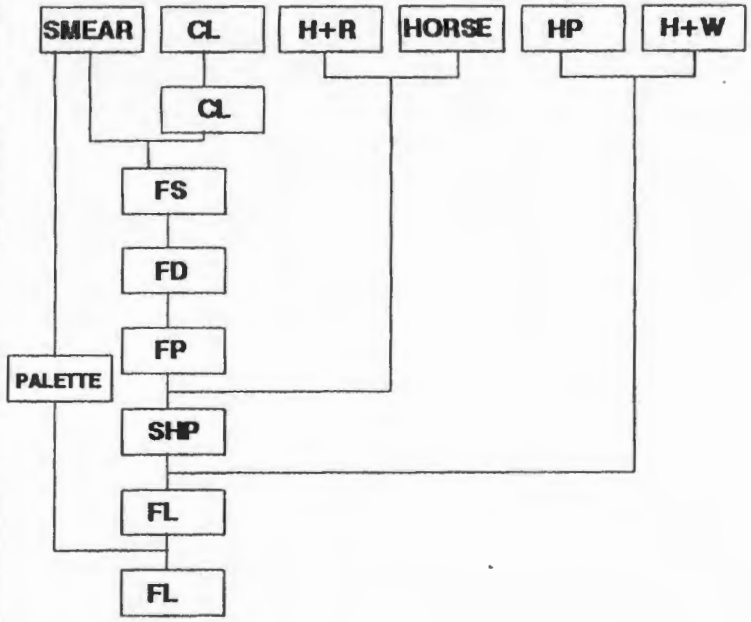
I have diagrammatised the sequence of paintings in the Bokkeveld to show the relative sequence of superpositioning of sites so far recorded. The sequence does not imply that this exact sequence occurs at every site; but suggests the probability of certain images being superimposed by, or superimposing, other images. Figures 5.30 to 5.32 show these sequences from the Stompiesfontein and Kagga Kamma areas. I recorded Diepkloof with the purpose of testing this sequence. While Diepkloof is not diagrammatised, I list the superimpositioning of images in Table 5.3. Diepkloof has graffiti superimposed on finger paintings dating to 1892 and 1910, which allows for a maximum date for the art.

FIG. 5.30: RELATIVE STRATIGRAPHIC SEQUENCING OF KAGGA KAMMA ART

(a): DETAILED SEQUENCING



(b) GENERAL SEQUENCING



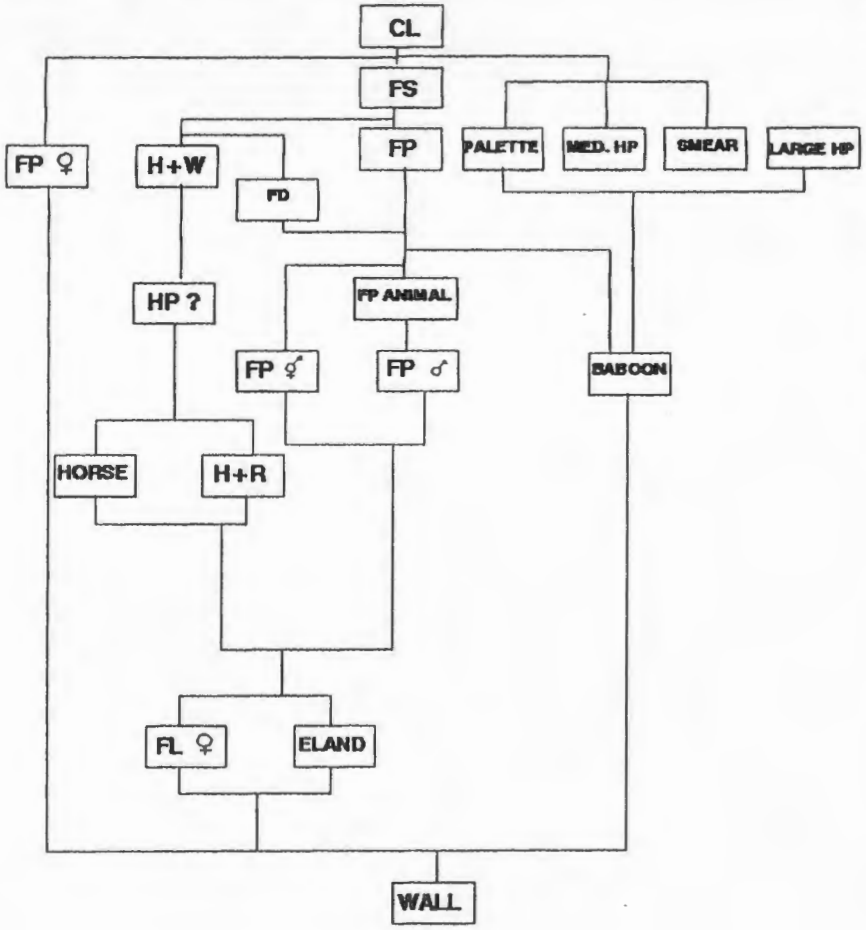
KEY:

CL=CRAYON LINE
FD=FINGER DOTS
FS=FINGER SMEAR
FL=FINE LINE PAINTING
FP=FINGER PAINTING
FP ♂ =FP MALE
FL ♂ =FL INDET.HUMAN

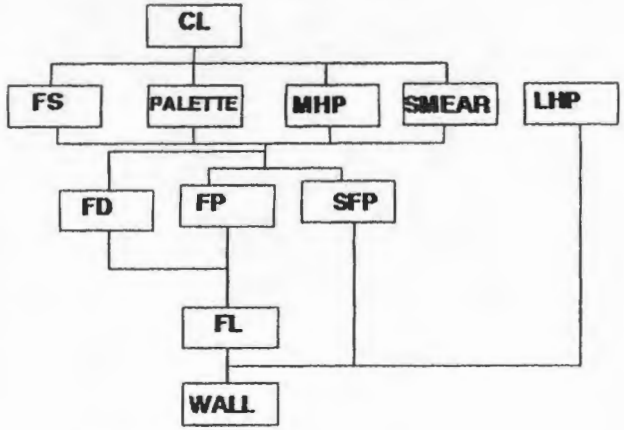
H+R=HORSE & RIDER
H+W=FORSE & WAGON
HP=HANDPRINT
LHP=LARGE HP
MHP=MEDIUM HP
SHP=SMALL HP

FIGURE 5.31: RELATIVE STRATIGRAPHIC SEQUENCE OF STOMPIESFONTEIN ART

(a): DETAILED SEQUENCING



(b): GENERAL SEQUENCING



KEY:

CL=CRAYON LINE

FS=FINGER SMEAR

FD=FINGER DOTS

FP=FINGER PAINTING

HP=HANDPRINT

MHP=MEDIUM HP

LHP=LARGE HP

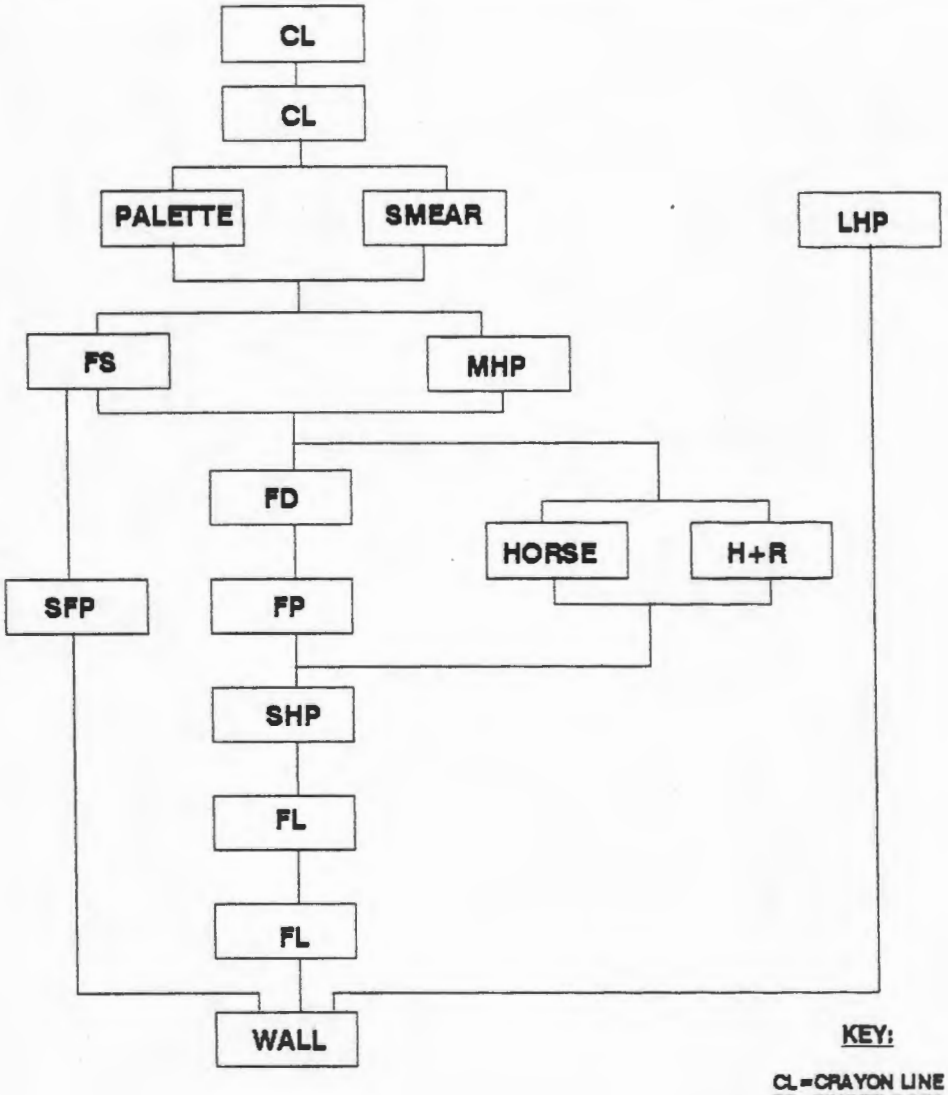
H+R=HORSE & RIDER

H+W=HORSES & WAGON

FL=FINELINE PAINTING

HP?=HP OF UNKNOWN SIZE

FIGURE 5.32: RELATIVE SEQUENCE OF SUPERPOSITIONING AT KGK & STF



KEY:

CL=CRAYON LINE
FD=FINGER DOTS
FL=FINELINE PAINTING
FP=FINGER PAINTING
SFP=SEMI-FINGER PAINTING
H+R=HORSE & RIDER
H+W=HORSES &WAGON
LHP=LARGE HANDPRINT
MHP=MEDIUM HANDPRINT
SHP=SMALL HANDPRINT

Fineline paintings are superimposed by all other images. A fineline painting will only superimpose another image when that image is a fineline image itself. Small and medium handprints have images superimpositioned on them, for example crayon lines, finger smears and finger dots; while only large handprints have no superpositioning. Although smearing of all images occurs, horses and wagons, horses and riders and horses are hardly ever smeared. Crayon lines are never superimpositioned, apart from on another crayon line. Fingerdots are either grouped together or occur on top of finger paintings, fineline animals (although rarely), fineline humans of indeterminate sex and on other finger dots. Black finger dots tend to occur over red finger dots. Finger dots on occasion surround colonial females. Finger smears are superimposed on finger dots, fingerpaintings and fineline animals (although infrequently), fineline humans of indeterminate sex, finger painted males and females (twice as many on females as on males), and occasionally on horses and riders. Colonial imagery is thus superimposed by finger smears and finger dots.

These trends allow for a relative grouping of images/styles. First, the earliest, or lowest, are the fineline paintings. This grouping can be subdivided into fineline images and smeared fineline images. Second are medium and small handprints, finger smears, finger dots, finger paintings and colonial imagery. Third, and most recent, are large handprints, certain colonial imagery, and black charcoal drawings (the last is not indicated on all of the tracings). Tables 5.1 and 5.2 give the frequencies of superimposed images. This sequence occurs at Diepkloof, Elands Bay Cave, at other sites further north in the Sandveld and coastal margin, and in the Cedarberg and Bokkeveld.

DISCUSSION

Interpretations of rock art have changed throughout this century (see Lewis-Williams 1982, 1984a, 1984b; Lewis-Williams and Loubser 1986; Lewis-Williams *et al* 1993). Current interpretations emphasise the shamanistic component of the art by incorporating San mythology and ritual (Lewis-Williams 1982). Aspects of the shamanistic interpretation are considered below in relation to fineline and fingerpainting paintings. I discuss interpretations given to the art, reuse of the art, the meaning of domesticates and the authorship of the art. While shamanism is an important component, it is not the only one. Certain features of the art are better explained by examining gender and social identity in the art of the south-western Cape in relation to gatherer-hunter and herder interaction. Having established the context and a relative chronology of the art, I argue that finger paintings and handprints relate to Khoi female menarche rites. I refer to colonial imagery briefly, since it is not central to this discussion.

Domesticates In The Art

Manhire *et al* (1986:22) argue that the "paintings of domestic animals are shown not only to be shamanistic in conception but also the product of stressful conditions brought about by the competition with immigrant groups." These shamanistic depictions involve sheep, cattle and eland, and horses and eland, and all are considered to be metaphors of trance.

Sheep

Huffman (1983:20) argued that fat is a source of potency and "sheep paintings are not likely to be simple scenes of new people, but complex statements about the control of potency...the general explanation of the sheep paintings concerns trance and" shamanism. The high fat content in the tails of sheep, thus endows them with symbolic significance. Since eland fat is important to San and is related to potency and female puberty, sheep and sheep fat can be similarly regarded. Elongated humans associated with sheep may also relate to trance (Manhire *et al* 1986; Van der Merwe 1990).

There are several problems with the association of sheep fat with potency and/or eland fat. First, if fat is important, especially in depictions of sheep, it cannot explain why at Motoko Cave, Zimbabwe (the cave cited by Huffman), many of the sheep do not have fat tails (see Goodall 1946). Second, while eland fat was important in San ritual for both females and males, no evidence exists to suggest that sheep fat was as important. Both Rudner's (1982) and Waldman's (1989) ethnographic work note the importance of sheep and sheep fat for Khoi female rituals. This importance is not noted in San ethnographies, even for those San who used domestic animal products on a daily basis. Third, San mythologies suggest that sheep was used as a metaphor for the low status positions of the San in the Kalahari and for the /Xam, in relation to their herder and/or farmer neighbours.

There are clear differences between the social values for sheep and eland, and thus their by products, such as fat. While eland are central to San beliefs, in both female menarche and male first kill rites and for their shamans, no mention is made of the importance of sheep in San rituals and/or mythology, even by those who have adopted a Khoi language and/or (pseudo-)herding economy. This metaphor has been extended to other domestic animals. Han#kasso, one of the Bleek and Lloyd informants, "made a point of noting [that the eland bull] was distinct from an ox" (Van der Merwe 1990:60), and thus if something is distinct from it cannot be considered to be similar to, and thus it cannot be a metaphor. In this way, the association between eland and sheep, or eland and cattle, has caused the fat metaphor to be self-perpetuating, and thus circular.

Campbell (1986, 1987) and Van der Merwe (1990) have argued that horses were an important part of the colonial economy, and that shamans tried to control horses. Van der Merwe (1990) notes that horses are the most frequently occurring animal in the contact period art and these animals are related to trance metaphors. 'Zigzags' (wavy lines emanating from an animal) around or on a horse, are equated with the 'zigzags and eland' reported by Dowson and Holliday (1989). Van der Merwe (1990:57, emphasis added) further equates horses and eland as symbols of power: Dia!kwain said "they [the shamans] made the rain, because **the thongs with which they held were like the horses' reins**, they bound the rain". Horses are said to have been important for the San economy and "shamans tried to manipulate that power...[while] arrows and spears...may represent potency of shamans to capture the animals."

I have noted above the problems of linking metaphors of trance with non-San material culture. If horses were used by shamans as symbols of power, one would expect more San than 'non-San' on horses in the art. Dia!kwain does not necessarily equate horses with rain animals or eland, since he refers to the thongs, rather than the animals. Although Campbell (1986, 1987) does identify the classic elements of trance in the colonial imagery, the trance elements relate to the people depicted, rather than the horses. There are no such examples in the Bokkeveld, nor in the north western Cape.

Sheep As Indicators Of Salient Intergroup Relations

Depictions of sheep in the south-western Cape are found along the coastal plains (pers. obs.) and in various places in the mountains (Manhire *et al* 1983). They are characterised by their floppy ears and fat tails (in the south-western Cape), and are always monochromatic: either black, white, or yellow, but mostly red (figs 5.33 to 5.37). The homogeneity in the depictions of sheep at each site is undeniably due to convention. However, although people 'just do things' according to convention, they are acting within a specific reference framework. This framework is guided by social values and the way in which individuals perceive these social values.

Biesele (1983) noted conformity to the expectations and experiences of shamans who enter trance, and in their tales about trance experiences. While shamans conformed to social expectations, they added to them (Biesele 1983), and challenged them. Turner (1984; and see Hewstone and Brown, 1986) noted how the stereotyping of outgroup members led to their depersonalisation and homogenisation. Others were seen as being 'identical', since they were perceived on the basis of the shared characteristics of that outgroup. Conformity to the group norm or conventions thus exists, while a range of variation related to the context is allowed. "Conformity is...[an] ongoing intragroup phenomena in which...[members] exhibit behaviours that are normative for a group with which they

FIG. 5.33: TIERHOEK 9

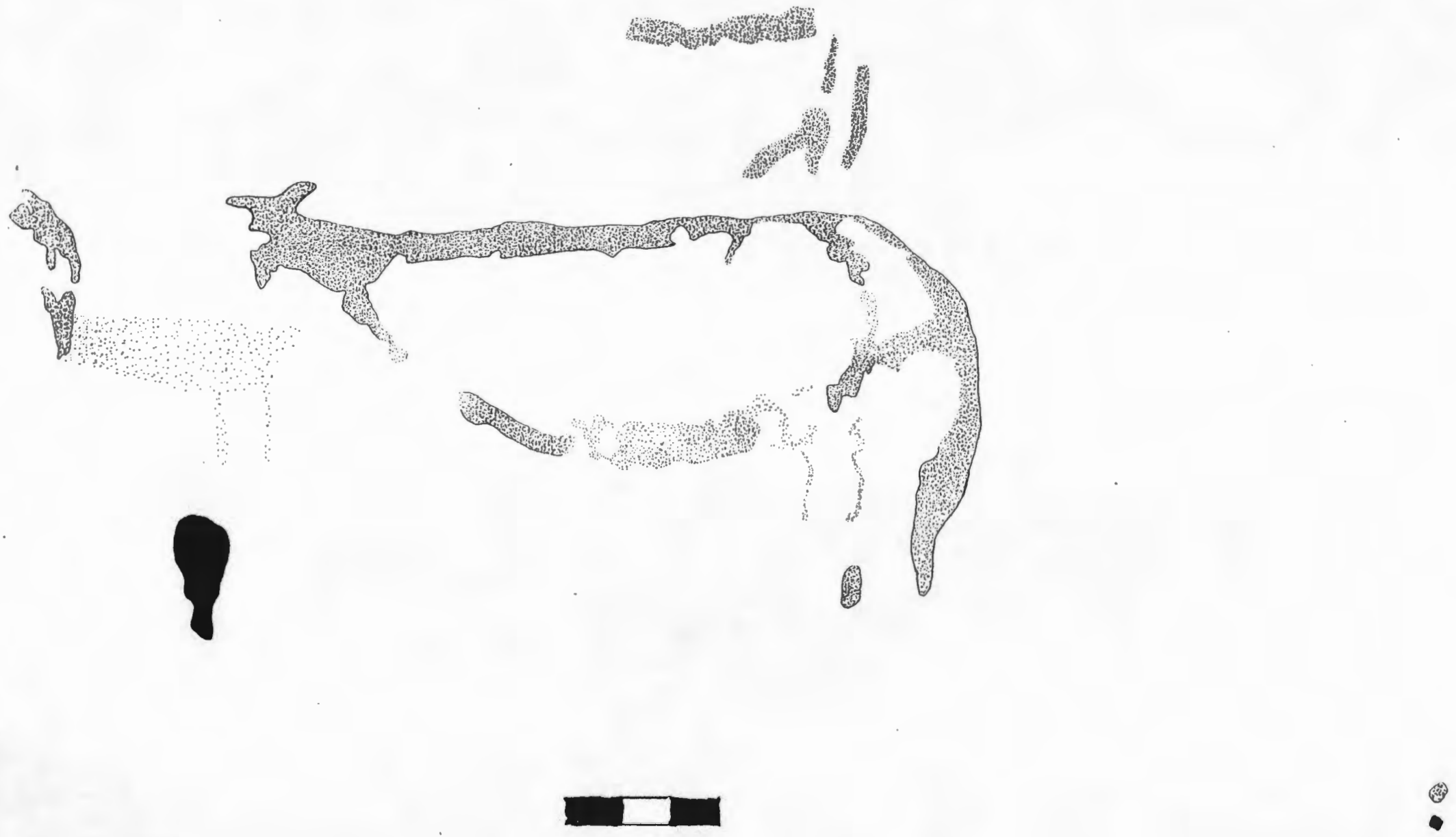


FIG. 5.34: KH30

FIG. 5.35: PUTSLAAGTE 12

FIG. 5.36: LORRAINE 16

FIG. 5.37: CANNAGAAITJIES

identify psychologically, where ingroup norms are shared, ingroup attributes perceived to be objectively appropriate and valid precisely because they are consensual and thus externally attributable...and its operation is traced to the self-categorisation processes responsible for psychological group belongingness" (Hogg and Turner 1987b:139). Social consensus is thus an intrinsic property of the social group: dissensus results in conformity pressure (Hogg and Turner 1987b).

Individuals can, however, influence the degree of the norms. When intergroup contact occurs, conformity will increase as it is a function of reference group salience (Turner 1982). There is a need to obtain consensus so that subjective uncertainty and validity can be resolved (Hogg and Turner 1987b). Norms are dynamic and the normative ideal is viewed differently between group members. When group membership is salient, group norms are seen as more extreme and "attitude polarisation due to conformity to these extremitised norms" occurs (Mackie 1986:77). Group norms are thus viewed in a (self-) stereotypic manner. Furthermore, conformity to norms, and thus increasingly stereotypic behaviour, occurs more so in public contexts than in private.

Paintings of sheep may be interpreted as stereotypic reproductions of San group norms in response to interaction with pastoralists. Of all known sites with sheep paintings, only one sheep (at Tierhoek 9) is finger painted, and this exception occurs in association with hand-related images. While depictions of sheep occur in domestic contexts, that is rock shelters, no real privacy exists. Sheep at each site are painted with the same characteristics regarding gait, head position and colour, and they tend to be grouped together. The only differences in these images occurs between sites, where colour differs. The differential use of colour may be a form of referent informational influence, where the individual uses colour to add variability to the norm (see Chapter 3). Although individuals compete for conformity to the norm or convention they are allowed a range of variation within this norm. The main point is that the crucial characteristics of the sheep are not changed.

Humans associated with sheep tend to have sack-like projections attached to them - often thought to be bags for carrying milk. These humans vary more in position than do sheep. The only known site where humans associated with sheep have overt trance-related features may be at Cannagaaitjies (fig 5.37), where one individual has zigzag legs (see Manhire *et al* 1986). Some of the humans do not necessarily have the exaggerated features or limbs linked to trance, and these images may thus relate to real depictions of the Khoi. It could be argued that the shaman (such as at Cannagaaitjies) is reifying his/her experiences, and thus stereotyping them, in the normative ideal. Since gender is culturally constructed and supersedes trance experiences (Solomon 1989a), so would be the stereotypes about outgroups. Sheep can thus be interpreted as stereotypic depictions of outgroup

material culture - a result of salient intergroup categorisations, and thus identity. That is, images of sheep are stereotyped since interaction between the Khoi and San is not one of integration, but of different social identities.

If sheep are stereotypically depicted as homogeneous examples of herder material culture due to salient intergroup identities, apparently homogeneously depictions of eland in the south-western Cape require closer examination. Unfortunately, many of the eland in the south-western Cape have only their torsos visible (often due to preservation factors). The area of most variation is thus missing. In addition, those eland that have the whole body present are usually bichromatic. It is only in the paintings outside of the south-western Cape where polychromatic eland occur and have various postures; Zimri Shelter in the Cedarberg is the only exception.

However, eland in the south-western Cape art are often directly associated with a variety of humans in a variety of postures, positions and clothing, in contrast to humans depicted in association with sheep. Eland are at times grouped together by themselves or are painted as solitary images. It is clear that one cannot analyse only individual images in a set of paintings. Paintings are palimpsets of images and each draws upon other images for meaning. A painting should thus be analysed with other images directly associated with it. Eland are depicted with a greater variety of images and in different contexts than are sheep. Paintings associated with sheep are usually depictions of other sheep, unlike paintings of eland - Cannagaaitjies is an exception.

GENDER IDENTITY IN THE ART

One may question how status and self-esteem relate to the art. Paintings of sheep reflected intergroup identity salience - both sheep and associated humans lack the variability often seen in other fineline images, apart from eland. This homogeneity relates to referent informational influence and common category membership, social categorisations, social identity, and personal identity. Sheep are painted in the fineline tradition, and fineline paintings were discontinued by 1500-1000 BP (Yates *et al* 1992, 1993), suggesting that contact between Khoi and San, especially males, was not one of assimilation or acculturation. Interaction was more likely one of accentuated intergroup differences and thus salient intergroup identities. This would have resulted in changes in the expression of San and Khoi social and gender identities, in the form of social creativity. One such type of change could have been in the change from fineline paintings to increasing reuse of these paintings.

With the absence of direct dating methods, a relative chronology for rock art is necessary. Smearing almost always occurs on specific fineline images and insignificantly on others as well as on hand-related and colonial images. This suggests that smearing occurred after the fineline images were painted. Smearing may have occurred immediately after an image was painted, but I argue that this did not occur in the south-western Cape. In Chapter 6 I discuss how significant changes in the use of scraper styles, related to male identity, occur after the arrival of a pastoral economy. Other aspects of material culture and ideology also changed, and rock art may have been affected. If males were changing their referent groups and if these groups were primarily related to the male gender identity, changes in the art would have been likely, since some of the art is related to male identity. The art related to male identity is more likely to be those images emphasising the hunter ideology, such as large game animals. Solomon (1989a, 1989b, 1992) also notes that females are metaphors of this hunter ideology. Both females and large game animals, especially eland, are significantly smeared in comparison to other images. Changes in food packages at this time further support this argument. Smearing thus appears to be a late phenomenon, occurring after fineline images were no longer painted. Since sheep are not smeared, they are further differentiated from other animals such as eland.

Antelope are the most frequently smeared animals in the art. Similarly, females and humans of indeterminate sex are significantly more smeared than males (who are hardly smeared at all). Biesele (1993) and Solomon (1989a, 1989b) have noted the carnivore:prey metaphors in San mythology and/or art. The smearing of females and antelope (specifically eland) can be seen as a variation, or redefinition, of this metaphor. While fineline art is a reflection of gender metaphors, it does not mean that these metaphors ceased to exist after fineline painting was discontinued. Rather, the physical expression of these metaphors changed due to changing social discourses. If males were the main painters and smearers, they would have continued the hunter:prey and carnivore:herbivore metaphors. While change through time probably occurred, the medium of expressing the interaction and identity had changed.

The Koue Bokkeveld sample is different in its reuse of the art: there is less smearing of humans and antelope. This may relate to gatherer-hunters being displaced from this area and into the Cedarberg, Karoo or Hantamsberge for example, soon after the arrival of pastoralists. The Bokkeveld and Karroo area was suitable for the grazing of domestic stock and the Karoo appears to have been utilised by pastoralists (see Smith and Ripp 1978, and archival references in this thesis). Rock art sites at STF and KGK have both Cape coastal pottery and grass tempered pottery, and a noticeable difference in lithic categories between sites with fineline and finger paintings (pers. obs). That is, it appeared as if sites with finger paintings had very few formal tools in comparison with sites with

fineline paintings. In Chapter 6 I use this distinction to define gatherer-hunter and herder assemblages. The only site that was an exception was Bloubosfontein where many formal tools were found. However, many of these tools appear to be outwash from an overhang above this site. If I am correct then it would explain why fineline imagery was used significantly less (or over a shorter time period) than the images in the Cedarberg - excavations are however necessary.

In summary, a majority of the smeared images in the south-western Cape, and to a lesser extent the Koue Bokkeveld, are related to attempts by San males to increase their positive self-esteem and gender identity, by controlling the magico-religious realm. The incursion of pastoralism and pastoralists contributed to a decrease in the role of men as hunters, and an increased gender and social identity salience of San male status in the larger interaction network where San males were in an illegitimate and unstable low status position. San males could have retained a positive self-esteem, and thus positive gender identity in the material, ideological and spiritual realms of San society, by emphasising and re-emphasising the male/hunter:female/prey categorisations in the art.

AUTHORSHIP OF THE FINGERPAINTED AND COLONIAL ART IN THE SOUTHWESTERN CAPE

A concept central to rock art studies in southern Africa is that San gatherer-hunters were the artists, and that they were mostly male. However, Van Rijssen (1984) argues that not all images, for example handprints, were made by gatherer-hunters, but by Khoi pastoralists who were physically larger than the San. Researchers are divided as to the trance imagery of paintings with a historical content. Lewis-Williams (1982) and Yates *et al* (1993) consider that these images may not be trance-related, while Campbell (1986, 1987) argues that such paintings in the eastern Cape and Drakensberg contain trance imagery. Paintings with an historical content allow for a more precise, or maximum, age to be attributed to the images. Second, several historical ethnographies, such as Bleek and Lloyd (1923) and Orpen (1874), relate more directly to the paintings, than images considered to be older. Furthermore, archival sources have the potential to yield more information about the socio-politics of a specific area, thus allowing for a regional analysis of the art and artists.

An important issue in the dating of colonial imagery is whether certain animals are horses or oxen. Several images at STF1 have enough detail to show that they are horses. Finger painted horses in association with wagons are admittedly less recognisable (figs 5.20, 5.21). However, it is reasonable to assume that these images of animals being ridden by humans at various sites are horses. It is unlikely that colonial farmers rode on oxen in groups, or that oxen had bridles and stirrups. These

finger painted horses can be compared to the finger painted animals pulling wagons, and I conclude that the latter animals are horses as well.

Inhabitants Of The Koue Bokkeveld After AD 1740

Penn (1985) uses the concept of a moving frontier to argue that after AD 1740, the frontier of the Cape Colony, and thus its boundaries, extended to the Bokkeveld and past Piketberg. The closure of a frontier would result in the people within the boundary being socioeconomically reliant on the ruling government. This is seen in the terminology of the archival records[1] and historical ethnographies. These sources indicate that three non-European social groups were found within and beyond the borders of the colony: *Bastars*, *tame Boesmans* (or Bushmen) and *wild Bushmen*. *Bastars* were the result of European and Khoi marriages, and were given a special status within the Cape Colony. This status was above that of the Khoi, but below that of Europeans (see Elphick and Shell 1979). *Tame Bushmen* lived on colonial farms and at the bottom of *kloofs* in *kraals*, had some cattle and are generally referred to as the Khoi. In contrast, *wild Bushmen* had no cattle, gathered and hunted, lived in mountainous areas such as the Hantamsberge, and often raided stock. The *wild Bushmen* are generally referred to as being San gatherer-hunters. These sources thus indicate that *wild Bushmen* were not found within the boundaries of the Cape colony after AD 1740.

While commandos and *trekboers* used horses for quick mobility, their families mostly used wagons to transport families and provisions. The use of ox-wagons was widespread and several of the historical travellers used this means of transport to traverse the interior. Ox-wagons were easier to dismantle than horse drawn-carriages (or horse wagons), and the oxen were less unstable in the often harsh environments[2]. Horse wagons needed semi-reliable roads on which to travel and these roads were often the bane of colonial farmers as they needed constant repair. The fact that the colonial images in rock art emphasise horse wagons is thus important - no ox drawn wagons have been found depicted so far. Ox and horse-drawn wagons were used by *trekboers*, *Bastars*, and Khoi (see Dunn 1874), and depictions of people in wagons may thus relate to several socio-economic groups.

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1 CO/3945/1011; CO/3941/94; CO/4000/55; CO/3945/1011; CO/3998/160. Penn (1985, 1986, 1987, 1989, 1990) has researched the archives in his analysis of the Bokkeveld; however, his main body of work is beyond the time period in which I am interested. Archival references thus refer to my own research in the Cape Town Archives. These archival sources are referenced as footnotes, since the Harvard system of referencing does not allow for archival references, and it would be cumbersome to put these references in the text.

2 (CO/4070/206½; CO/4070/150; CO/4100/B15; CO/4101/C27; CO/4113/270; CO/4167/C26; AMPT PUBS CCP 1/2/1/15/A100; AMPT PUBS CCP 1/2/11/A4; AMPT PUBS CCP 1/2/12/A62; AMPT PUBS CCP 1/2/34/A17)

Several passes made access to the interior possible. The Witzenberg Pass (1780) to Ceres, Michells Pass (1848) (used for ox-wagons and only later for stage coaches) to Ceres, and the Hex River Pass to Worcester. From Ceres, the Theronsberg Pass (1770) went through the Karoo to Calvinia (Bloemmaert and Wiid 1937; Mossop 1927). Penn (pers. comm. in Yates *et al* 1993) argues that horse-drawn wagons probably entered the Koue Bokkeveld-Karoo in the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries. One such pass used was the Katbakkies Pass - the remains of part of the road from this pass is still visible in front of STF1. This suggests that paintings of horse-drawn carriages in the Bokkeveld may date to the late eighteenth century. Even if the painters had seen horse-drawn wagons elsewhere, they would still date to within the eighteenth century, at which time the Bokkeveld frontier was in the process of closing.

Some of the Khoi and *Bastars* in the Bokkeveld had farms on quit rent, others lived on colonists' farms[3], and some were considered squatters (Penn 1990). Squatters lived in the area from the Karoopoort to Gousfontein and Driefontein[4]. Stompiesfontein, a subdivision of Groenfontein, was owned by a Mr F. Lentner, a *Bastar*[5]. The graves of Mr Lentner and his relatives are found below STF2 (pers comm. to the farm manager at Groenfontein). Penn (1990) mentions that Oude Rooij, a Khoi male from the Bokkeveld, lived at Stille Kraal, near Eylands Kloof, in the eighteenth century. Willem Fortuijn (alias Willem Stompie) lived about a half day's walk from Stille Kraal, on a farm owned by J. Louw (Penn 1990). A J. Louw who was a signatory to a petition in 1850, may be either him or a relative6. Unfortunately, the deeds office has surveys maps dating back to only 1862 for Stompiesfontein[7], and there is no Eylands Kloof on the 1:250 000 map (3218 Clanwilliam). There is an Elands Drift north of Groenfontein (within a day's walk), and an Elandsvlei further north at the Tankwarivier. There is another Stompiesfontein to the north of the Tankwarivier (which is also a day's walk from Elandsvlei). The northern Stompiesfontein would have fallen into the Calvinia magisterial district, not the Bokkeveld, and there is therefore is a strong possibility that Stompiesfontein-Groenfontein was the home of Willem Stompie - a Khoi who lived with his family in the area.

If this analysis is correct, it implies that people designated as *Bastars* and Khoi, or *tame Bushmen* were living in the Groenfontein area with their cattle well into the nineteenth century, and some into the twentieth century7. These groups consisted of families living together, with cattle, sheep and stone kraals (found near STF7d, STF2 and STF3). My archival sources and Penn's (1990) work indicate that the Khoi were living in these *kloofs*. STF1, STF2, STF3, STF7, KGK1, and KGK7, are

3 AMPT PUBS CCP 1/2/8/A55; CO/4005/83/2
4 AMPT PUBS CCP 1/2/C2/175; CO/4138/183
5 SDO Tulbagh Q,V.3f6
6 CO/4052/B47; CO/4101/C27
7 SDO Tulbagh Q,V.3f6

all situated in these kloofs. These *kloofs*/homes were thus domestic activity sites where the people still practised, to a degree, their traditional social relations. This is important since a relative chronology (figs 5.30 to 5.32) indicates that hand-related images were painted before, during and after the colonial images were painted. Since there is a continuity in content and context of these hand-related images, I argue that there is a continuity of the same artists. However, colonial images were not necessarily painted by the same people, and certain of these painters were Khoi females.

Khoi Females As Artists

Most rock art analysis considers San males to be the painters (but see Solomon 1989a), while little research has been produced to argue for the Khoi as artists. Willcox (1959) and van Rijssen (1984) have analysed handprints, and attempted to discern whether differences exist in the handprint sizes of the Khoi and San, since these two socio-economic groups differed in stature. Willcox (1959) measured !Kung and Khoi male handprints from the Kalahari and concluded that there was a statistically significant difference in size between the two groups. Van Rijssen (1984) argued that these differences were not significant since Willcox's sample excluded the larger !Kung handprints (those that were more Khoi-like). These studies have an inherent assumption that handprints were done by males - which is evident from the study samples. Van Rijssen *et al* (1994) and Wilson and Lundy (1994) noted the effects of sexual dimorphism in their skeletal study of known Khoi, San and Iron Age farmers. The implication of their study is that a Khoi/San female would have had smaller hand(print) than a Khoi/San male. A San female marrying into a Khoi group would have a smaller hand(print) than a Khoi female. By implication a San male's hand(print) would be of similar size to a Khoi female's hand(print). These studies have concentrated on differences in hand size of one sex - males - between the two groups, at the expense of differences between sexes within and between the two groups. Handprints are as likely to have been done by Khoi females. In the Bokkeveld sample, the small and medium sized handprints fall within the range of Khoi female height: it is only a few large handprints that cannot be associated with Khoi females.

This argument does not explain the large handprints at STF1 and at Knolfontein (Johnson *et al* 1959). Furthermore, at KGK6 there is black finger painted writing in the same paint and style as the finger painted males in a nearby panel (fig. 5.13). It is unlikely that Khoi were taught to read and write in this area. These images thus represent another variable to be accounted for in the interpretations of colonial imagery: did European farmers paint or was it the result of *Bastars*? These frontier contexts must be seen in terms of identity maintenance and exclusion. Colonial farmer group membership, and thus identity and status, was closed to Khoi and *Bastars*, especially for the males. Proximity of contact, as implied by Elphick (1979) between Khoi and slaves, would

not decrease differences between the two farming groups. Rather, it would serve as a means of accentuating intergroup identities in comparison dimensions and social categorisations. Furthermore, since this area was a heterogeneous society undergoing change, various identities were involved, and thus various means of identification were being placed. The analysis of colonial imagery is thus important, but it is beyond the scope of my thesis.

Khoi Female Identity and Menstruation

Historical ethnographies indicate that Khoi females had menstruation and menarche rites and taboos, which included social and spatial seclusion and food taboos (see Hoernlé 1923; Waldman 1989). These rites also included the use of red ochre for bodily decorations. Dunn (1874) met a Khoi female who painted her face black with a red line beneath each eye. Cortemünde (1962) had heard how Khoi females first painted their faces with red ochre and fat and then drew patterns in this coating. Raven-Hart (1969:128) mentions travellers saw Khoi (females?) entering a cave where they used a red stone and made "stripes and crosses on each others' foreheads". Hahn (1970:140, emphasis added) reported how Khoi females "anoint themselves with red ochre **on certain occasions**, and also for the purpose of worship make marks with red ochre (*torob*) on certain sacred stones" for Heitsi Eibib, a Khoi mythological figure. These females also used the red juice of the *Acacia giraffe* for their body decorations. In more recent ethnographies, Rudner (1982) noted the use of red ochre in Khoi female ritual activity.

Waldman (1989) has studied the present day menarche rituals of the Griqua. She argues that the Griqua, or Grigriqua, originally lived along the lower course of the Oliphants River, in the south-western Cape. At a later stage, some Koranna and Nama were included in the Griqua tribe, which originally consisted of Khoi males and females and San females. Having established themselves in various parts of the previous Cape Province, most Griqua now live in Griquatown, about 150km west of Kimberly. The most important ritual still active is that of the menarche ritual (Waldman 1989). Present day rituals are related to those of the early twentieth century mentioned by Hoernlè (1923) who noted that these rituals were performed for some time before her studies. There is thus continuity through time for these rites.

Menarche is related to a period of liminality. "These rites of passage separate this dangerous...sacred period from daily, profane, life. They also operate to protect the sacred from profane and to prevent the two from invading each other by crossing forbidden boundaries (Douglas, 1975, 49). It is this transitional sacred state which is dangerous, mainly because it is neither one position nor another, it

cannot be defined or limited. The danger is controlled by ritual, and more specifically by rites of passage (Douglas, 1975, 97)... During this rite of passage important aspects and principles about life and society are renewed, but the primary role is to bring about changes in social relationships which have been under tension due to the transition of one of its members from girlhood to womanhood" (Waldman 1989:19-21).

During menarche, the female is secluded for some time; in the case of the Griqua seclusion lasted for two weeks. The place of seclusion is important. While the menarche females in Griquatown were placed in a room of the house, this would not have occurred in a hut in the Khoi village. While these villages were large enough to accommodate a seclusion area, historical ethnographies do not mention such a place. Places of seclusion include symbolic material culture such as tortoise shells, strings of beads (mostly red), ochre, *buchu*, fat/vaseline, and special foods. Seclusion "symbolises the 'death' of a child and the beginning of the birth of the woman" (Waldman 1989:25). Pregnant and menstruating women and boys and men may not enter this place of seclusion because of its inherent danger.

Near the end of the seclusion period, a young female slaughters a sheep by cutting the jugular vein, while females sing and dance around the sheep. The blood of the sheep may not be spilled on the ground, and it is caught in a wooden bowl (as reported for the Koranna). If the blood has been spilt it is carefully scooped from the ground. The sheep's pelvis and tail bone is removed by a female and it is cooked separately from other parts of the sheep. The sheep's pelvis is to related the menarche female's pelvis and to symbols of pregnancy for the future. The meat of the pelvis is, however, eaten by post-menopausal women. After the meat from the pelvis is eaten it is "smeared with red ochre and hung up with the beads and tortoise shell" besides the menarche female (Waldman 1989:25).

After the sheep is eaten, reagregation into the society begins, and the person has a new identity. This is ritualised by the menarche female washing in specially prepared water, and a cleansing ritual to rid the person of her 'child-dirt'. The cleansing rituals of the Griqua, Koranna, and Nama involve the removal of ochre and other body paints, washing in cold water (often in a spring or river) and wearing new clothes. The new clothes include a white and black headscarf, and "their facial make-up consisted of large red circles surrounded by black dots...situated on their foreheads, noses, chins and one on each cheek, a line of small black dots led from the cheek to the ear...to form a cross shape on the girls' faces. The colours used for this are red, white and black" (Waldman 1989:33). The material culture of the rite is thrown into the spring for the water snake. The female is then considered to be a woman.

Blood plays an important role in this ritual. "Had the female not menstruated, that blood would have become a person, but now the blood has the ambiguous status of a dead person which has never been alive...this 'blood of parturition' is represented by...red ochre...red is seen as the colour of illness and as the colour of averting illness...blood has power; for without blood there could be no life. this in turn implies that red has power...it represents the dangerous and powerful situation that [the menarche person]...is in, as well as the ambivalence and duality of that situation" (Waldman 1989:25).

Red, in general, is associated with females in Khoi society. */nas*, the red-eared hare in Khoi mythology (Hahn 1970), is associated with females - only females and prepubescent children could eat the hare. Red (or a closely related colour) was the favoured colour of glass trade beads, which were given to females by Khoi males. Hoernlé (1923) noted a connection between menstruation, amniotic fluid, cold water and Khoi female status positions. Moreover, Waldman's (1989) observation of the use of red ochre during menarche gives a new perspective to Hahn's (1970) and Raven-Hart's (1969) observations of Khoi females using red ochre 'on certain occasions', their entry into caves, and the use of red ochre in these caves. This may specifically relate to menarche rites, or menstruation rites in general. A cave or rock shelter would emphasise the separation of menarche girls from society, and decrease chances of contact, and thus negative attributions, with members of the society.

The time spent in seclusion is important. If females were using caves as seclusion areas, they would be living in there for some time. Specific places would have been reused, since they may become ritually significant themselves. If so, accumulation of deposit and material culture would occur. This could explain why a cave such as Diepkloof would have a high content of botanical remains, sheep and tortoise bones, pottery, and relatively few formal stone tools, but a high percentage of flakes. Diepkloof is in the Sandveld and has several finger smears, finger dots and handprints. Moreover, the black finger dots in this cave superimpose red finger dots. While Schrire (1984) argues that Diepkloof may represent a herder occupation, and the faunal remains that of a Khoi hunt, I argue that the upper assemblages may rather represent a female menarche occupation.

I argue that handprints, finger dots, finger smears and crayon lines are specifically related to Khoi female status positions and their menstruation and/or menarche rites. These rites and paintings were practised in areas such as the Sandveld and Koue Bokkeveld. In the Koue Bokkeveld they were practised well into the nineteenth century, since the people living in this area were classified as Khoi (or *tame Bushmen*). Hand-related images may be viewed as symbols, or metaphors, signifying areas where the menarche and/or menstruation rites occurred, and the symbols of the rite itself. They may

also have been signifiers to indicate the inherent danger for males or pregnant females in visiting such places. These caves and shelters, or places of seclusion, are means to reassert, redefine and cognitise female gender identity.

Gender identities would be enhanced in situations of contact such as intermarriage or intergroup interaction. Intermarriage is a process that threatens the definition of the group as a whole, or its sub-groups (Stopes-Roe and Cochrane 1988). These contact situations would result in activities that renegotiate and/or reaffirm the group identity. In times of colonial contact, the moving frontiers could increase activities associated with identity maintenance or transformation since the frontier aimed to subjugate the indigenous people of the area. This could be seen by indigenous people as attempt by colonists to decrease group distinctiveness. Many Khoi still retained their social relations and material culture after the frontier had closed (Elphick 1979; Elphick and Shell 1979; Penn 1990). Females were more likely to retain their roles (Jacobsohn 1986, 1988; Rudner 1982; Waldman 1989), and thus those practices which defined their roles, although some form of change would occur.

In colonial contact times, especially from the eighteenth century onwards, Khoi females would have come under increasing social stress. Khoi females in the late eighteenth century were oppressed, subject to assault and rape, but valued enough to be kept alive, especially when they were placed in the context of *trekboers* and *droster* gangs (Penn 1990). One of the strategies they could have used to reassert their identity was to paint, and/or reuse pre-existing strategies of identity maintenance. A final strategy of asserting their identity would be in the use of crayon lines, especially since they are related to finger dots, finger smears, handprints, and colonial females.

CONCLUSION

The shamanistic interpretation of rock art does not account for metaphors of gender and identity. Although the pan-San cognitive system, on which this interpretation is based, has explained many metaphors in the art, it does so on a general level, thus ignoring regional differences. An analysis of the fineline and finger painted art from the Zwartruggens mountains to the coastal plains of the south-western Cape indicates that these art forms differ in content and context, and were probably not produced from the same cognitive system.

Specific fineline images, namely large game animals and humans of indeterminate and female sex, were reused in the form of smearing. This reuse of the art relates to changing social relations where San male identities were challenged and renegotiated - the smeared images relate to the male

hunting metaphors evident from the mythologies of southern African San. Smearing was a late phenomenon since significant changes occurred first in other items of material culture that related to both the San male and San group identity. Male hunters had limited access to Khoi society and would need to renegotiate their gender and social identities, both with and without the females in their societies. After the fineline painting tradition abated, smearing of game animals and females were a continuation of the hunter:prey metaphor evident in San mythology and fineline art. Consequently, this allowed San males to maintain a positive self-esteem and social and gender identity within San society, without having to be assimilated into Khoi society as marginal or low status people. Re-use of the art may thus have been a strategy to, and an expression of, maintain a positive social identity.

Handprints may have been those of Khoi females. Previous analyses have only concentrated on male handprints and thus have ignored the gender perspective. Images such as handprints, finger dots, finger smears, and crayon lines relate to Khoi female menstruation and/or menarche rites, a conclusion based on accounts of menstruation rituals (Hoernlè 1923; Rudner 1982; Waldman 1989). Other items of material culture, such as sheep, red beads, rock shelters and ochre, are interrelated in this female rite. Archival sources support my argument that people who identified themselves, and were identified as Khoi lived in the Koue Bokkeveld area after AD 1740. The relative chronology of the art suggests that hand-related images occurred before, during and after colonial images were painted. A continuation in the content and context of these hand-related images thus exists, and the artists were most likely people who had a Khoi identity. These images may relate to the negotiation and renegotiation of intragroup and intergroup identities resulting from changing social relations in the south-western Cape.

CHAPTER 6: STONE TOOL ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

Stone tool analysis has followed various trends over the last few decades. Archaeologists have argued for an ecological and/or empirical analysis (J. Deacon 1976, 1984; Mazel and Parkington 1978, 1983), a functional analysis (Barham 1987, 1992) a gendered analysis (Mazel 1989, 1992) and a group boundary analysis (Hall 1990; Mazel 1992; Wadley 1989). Stone tools, especially formal tools, have also been used in the revisionist debate to distinguish between herder and gatherer-hunter societies (Schrire 1990, 1992, 1993; Schrire and Deacon 1989; Schrire *et al* 1990; Smith *et al* 1991; Yates and Smith 1993); these researchers have analysed differences either between groups or through time and geographical space (see Parkington 1980). Some researchers see stone tools as a distinct, or separate, entity of a group's material culture, and not as an integral part of the group's total social relations. Stone tools are thus still being portrayed as static representations, objectifiable facts, where meaning is deduced from empirical analyses alone - sometimes with reference to ethnographic work.

I argue that stone tools are part of an ideology, and are used in conjunction with other items of material culture as strategies for maintaining identity, status, and so forth. Since ideology causes material culture to make statements, material culture can reflect ideology. In historical material terminology, Lemonnier (1989:156, 157) summarises this view: "technological systems have reciprocal relationships with the social systems to which they belong [and they constrain social systems. Both forces of production and social relations of production] take only into account the effects of technological actions on society [and we must analyse]...in what aspect...[they] are social phenomena [they are not given. We must show] that relationships may exist, between particular aspects of material culture and features of social action...[and also] explain the specificity of these relationships, why they exist in the given case, and try to understand cases when they do not exist".

While some styles may relate to a group marker, the style does not say why that specific object of material culture is used. I address this problem below. I first analyse stone tools in terms of their function. I then relate function to stylistic differences, which are then related to gender and social identity and rock art. I view formal tools, specifically scrapers and adzes, in the context of gatherer-hunter and herder interaction and identity in the southwestern Cape.

TABLE 6.1: LIST OF DATED SITES MENTIONED IN TEXT*

SITE	UNIT	DATE (BP)	CALIBRATED AGE	CALIBRATION (2nd SIGMA)	LAB. NO.
DRIE SUSTERS (MAIN)	5	1050+-60	1018 AD	905-1174 AD	Pta-5478
VLAEBERG (1&2)		520+-45	1434 AD	1405-1476 AD	Pta-5473
KREEFTEBAAI	4	970+-50	1434;1405;1476 AD	1011-1227 AD	Pta-5517
WITKLIP	1	500+-50	1440 AD	1408-1618 AD	Pta-5469
		330+-45	1645 AD	1485-1794 AD	Pta-5467
	3	1380+-50	674 AD	634-784 AD	Pta-4608
	4	1860+-50	227 AD	90-350 AD	Pta-4609
SPRING CAVE	1	460+-40	1456 AD	1427-1628 AD	Pta-4062
	4	840+-50	1252 AD	1168-1291 AD	Pta-4042
	5	1150+-50	968 AD	823-1018 AD	Pta-4035
	6	2970+-60	1121 BC	1295-930 BC	Pta-4033
	7	3510+-60	1754 BC	1922-1620 BC	Pta-4027
DFM	1	510+-40	1437 AD	1411-1476 AD	Pta-4807
		710+-45	1299 AD	1273-1402 AD	Pta-4799
TORTOISE CAVE	1a	760+-50	1286 AD	1235-1389 AD	Pta-3600
	2a	1660+-45	428 AD	368-554 AD	Pta-5855
	2b	1580+-50	548 AD	418-634 AD	Pta-3309
	3a	1610+-50	530 AD	403-615 AD	Pta-3311
		1680+-50	418 AD	331-558 AD	Pta-3312
	3b	1780+-50	331 AD	212-418 AD	Pta-5615
		1800+-50	258 AD	144-408 AD	Pta-5616
	5a	3160+-60	1401 BC	1507-1249 BC	Pta-5498
	5c	3410+-60	1659 BC	1267-1512 BC	Pta-5662
	6	3520+-60	1761 BC	1933-1642 BC	Pta-3504
HAILSTONE MIDDEN	4	990+-60	1041 AD	991-1227 AD	Pta-4018
DIEPKLOOF	2	390+-30	1514;1586;1624 AD	1462-1645 AD	Pta-1055
	3	900+-50	1204 AD	1041-1269 AD	Pta-1056

SITE	UNIT	DATE (BP)	CALIBRATED AGE	CALIBRATION (2nd SIGMA)	LAB. NO.
KEIN KLIPHUIS	2	1230+-50	874 AD	705-980 AD	Pta-4672
	3	1990 +-50	71 AD	40-159 A	Pta-4671
RENBAAN	2	1150+-50	968 AD	823-1018 A	Pta-3768
	3	1910+-60	136 AD	23-322 A	Pta-3783
	4	5430+-70	4244 BC	4355-4035 BC	Pta-3766
DE HANGEN	1	380+-45	1519;1572;1628 AD	1452-1657 AD	Pta-125
		390+-45	1514;1586;1624 AD	1447-1654 AD	Pta-346
	2	450+-45	1462 AD	1427-1635 AD	Pta-188
ANDRIESGROND	2	180+50	1689;1733;1893;1939	1660-1939 AD	Pta-
	3	430+-50	1476 AD	1430-1645 AD	Pta-2402
	?7	1050+-50?	1018 AD	968-1163 A	Pta-
	4	1640+-50	440 AD	381-588 A	Pta-2480
	5	4580+-50	3333 BC	3367-3073 BC	Pta-5848
KLIPFONTEINRAND	1	3540+-60	1859;1844;1774 BC	1954-1670 BC	Pta-1642
	2	8680+-110	**	**	Pta-4531
KLIPFONTEINRAND 2	1	1430+-50	656 AD	599-705 AD	Pta-5063
		1800+-45	258 AD	159-403 AD	Pta-5065
	2	3430+-60	1677 BC	1868-1520 BC	Pta-5212
		3480+-60	1737 BC	1894-1604 BC	Pta-5067
PUTSLAAGTE 41	2	230+-45	1674;1774;1798 AD	1645-1888 AD	Pta-4230
	3	1900+-50	144 AD	64-258 A	Pta-4229
ASPOORT	1	690+-30	1305 AD	12899-1399 AD	Pta-2182
	2	5220+-60	3977 BC	4089-3808 BC	Pta-2179
SPOEG RIVER	2	1390+-50	670 AD	628-779 A	Pta-4753
	3	1920+-40	128 AD	64-238 A	Pta-4745
BURCHELL'S SHELTER	2	120+-50	1893 AD	1677-1934 AD	Pta-1196
OTJITATI	1	670+-50	1312;1354;1384 AD	1283-1417 AD	Pta-4362

METHODOLOGY AND SAMPLING

I use Deacon's (1984) classification system to define formal tools, except where I introduce new categories. I analyse scrapers and adzes from several assemblages. These assemblages do not represent all excavated or sampled sites and I omitted these from the analysis for various reasons. Some sites are still in the process of being published, or are not yet fully (re)analysed, and these were omitted from analysis as well. Apart from scrapers and adzes, all other frequencies come from the literature. Table 4.1 gives a list of published sites, and all sites mentioned in the text are in reference to this table, unless scrapers and adzes are specifically mentioned in relation to my analysis. Table 6.1 lists each site, its dated stratigraphic units and the calibration of these dates. I calibrated the radiocarbon dates using the CALIB4 programme, and these dates are calibrated to the second standard deviation (that is 95% probability). Table 6.2 lists the sites used in the text and the frequencies and percentages of some artefacts per analysed unit - all units are those from the literature with their radiocarbon dates. ADG has two units of the same number: 7 and 7?. While 7? has been radiocarbon dated to 1050±50 BP, I believe it may be older, perhaps 1900 BP, due to its adze content, but no pottery occurs - which is incongruous for a unit of such a large volume. Nevertheless this date has been retained in analysis, until further dating comes from the site.

As with the rock art analysis, different research designs may have influenced published results. It is for this reason that all scrapers and adzes were reanalysed from the relevant sites in the southwestern Cape - those further afield were not reanalysed. Furthermore, some published sites have higher and/or lower frequencies of adzes and/or scrapers compared to my analysis, for example scrapers at ASP outnumbered the total published formal tool count. At KFR2 Nackerdien's and my data analyses differ in formal tool counts. In table 6.2 the list of formal tools is from the literature, although the scraper and adze totals come from my analysis - hence discrepancies between the two tables. Tables 6.2 to 6.3 deal with the frequencies from my analysis. When scrapers were analysed, those that were broken, and thus not of any recognisable form/style, were omitted from the analysis in style (table 6.3), but not from table 6.1, that is, table 6.1 has the grand total of scrapers, while table 6.3 has the total scrapers with identifiable style. Utilised flakes were considered for analysis, yet due to different interpretations of utilisation, I ignored this category. Some sites in the southwestern Cape have been given in table 6.1, but are not listed in other tables as they were not available for analysis. Percentages in the tables are worked out from the total stone tools or formal tools within each unit, and not between units.

TABLE 6.2: LIST OF THE FREQUENCY OF LITHICS & NON-LITHICS FROM SITES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

SITE	UNIT	DATE (BP)	TOTAL LITHICS	TOTAL FORMAL*		SCRAPERS**		ADZES**		POTTERY	DECORATED POTTERY	
				f	%	f	%	f	%		f	%
DRIE SUSTERS (MAIN)+	1-4	1050+-60	252	1	0.4	-	-	-	-	279	-	-
VLAEBERG (1-3)	1-3	520+-45	355	29	8.2	10	34.4	3	10.3	68	3	4.4
KREEFTEBAAI+	1-4	970+-50	125	-	-	-	-	-	-	178	-	-
WITKLIP	1	330-500	637	33	5.2	10	30.3	12	36.4	9	-	-
	2	1380+-50	353	21	5.9	9	42.9	4	19.0	5	-	-
	3	1860+-50	1769	85	4.8	19	22.4	43	50.6	13	1	7.7
	4	3060+-60	783	37	4.7	18	48.6	12	32.4	-	-	-
SPRING CAVE+	1	460+-50	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
	2		?	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-
	3		?	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-
	4	840+-50	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-
	5	1150+-50	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-
	6	2970+-60	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	7	3510+-60	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TORTOISE CAVE	1a	760+-50	141	3	2.1	1	33.3	-	-	11	-	-
	1b		36	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
	2a	1660+-45	46	3	6.5	1	33.3	-	-	-	-	-
	2b	1580+-50	76	1	1.3	1	100.0	-	-	5	-	-
	3a/b	1610-1680	146	8	5.5	2	25.0	-	-	14	-	-
	4		7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	5a/c	3160+-60	2146	78	3.6	44	56.4	1	1.3	-	-	-
	6	3520+-60	695	25	3.6	13	52.0	2	8.0	-	-	-
	7		793	29	3.7	16	55.2	1	3.4	-	-	-
	8	4020+-60	546	6	1.1	10	100?	-	-	-	-	-
	10	4190+-60	1488	35	2.9	24	68.6	-	-	-	-	-
HAILSTONE MIDDEN	1		205+	2+	1.0	-		-		36	-	-
	2		-	-	-	-		-		68	-	-
	3		-	-	-	-		-		32	-	-
	4	910+-40	-	-	-	-		-		24	-	-
FARAOSKOP	1	670+-50	3391	20	0.6	8	40.0	11	55.0	2	-	-
	2	2000-4420	3077	55	1.8	27	49.1	18	32.7	-	-	-
DE HANGEN	1	350-485	1723	261+	15.1	83+	31.8	60	23.0	330	45	13.6
	2	1850+-50	35	?	?	-	-	1	2.8	-	-	-
DRIEBOS*+	1					2				36	-	-
	2		1245	53	4.3	13	24.5	16	30.2	151	-	-
	3		62	5	8.1	23	100?	-	-	-	-	-
VOELVLEI*+	1	373+-40	3908	69	1.8	14	20.3	16	23.2	+290	-	-
	2	420+-40	7	-	-	5	-	2	-	-	+2	0.7
	3	1920+-50	569	10	1.8	7	?	11	?	-	-	-
KLEIN KLIPHUIS	1		785	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-
	2	1230+-50	850	1	0.1	-	-	1	100.0	2	-	-
	3	1990+-50	254	1	0.4	1	100.0	-	-	-	-	-
PUTSLAAGTE 41	1		19666	464	2.36	149	32.1	231	49.8	21	11	52.4
	2	230+-50	904	10	1.1	5	50	5	50	-	-	-
	3	1900+-50	108	6	0.7	-	-	1	16.7	-	-	-

TABLE 6.2 (cont.)

SITE	UNIT	DATE (BP)	TOTAL LITHIC	TOTAL FORMAL*		SCRAPERS**		ADZES**		POTTERY
				f	%	f	%	f	%	
RENBAAN	1		1049	96	9.2	30	31.3	29	30.2	8
	2	1150+-50	1182	104	8.8	38	36.5	26	25.0	-
	3	1910+-60	556	35	6.3	18	51.4	9	25.7	-
	4	5430+-70	219	11	5.0	8	72.7	1	9.1	1
ANDRIESGRON	1		1037	59	5.7	26	44.1	27	45.8	9
	2	180+-50	2691	234	8.7	59	25.2	139	59.4	32
	3	430+-50	1658	73	4.4	37	50.7	17	23.3	2
	7?	1050+-50	439	23	5.2	10	43.5	19	82.6	-
	4	1640+-50	2435	105	4.3	59	56.2	13	12.4	1
	5	4580+-50	2536	91	3.6	66	72.5	23	25.3	-
KFR	1	3540+-60	20741	255	1.2	198	77.6	6	2.4	1
	2		15093	116	0.8	101	87.1	5	4.3	-
KFR2	1	1430-1800	1683	33	2.0	11	33.3	21	63.6	5
	2	3480-4280	11674	128	1.1	40	31.3	52	40.6	-
ASPOORT	1	690+-30	487	20	5.8	20	100.0	***	-	?56
	2	5220+-60	1125	25	2.2	22	88.0	-		-
SPOEG	1	1390+-50	341	3	0.9	1	33.3	-	-	86
RIVER+++	2		216	2	0.9	1	50.0	-	-	39
	3	1920+-40	629	17	2.7	5	29.4	-	-	16
FALLS ROCK	1	730+-70		22		8	36.4			31
SHELTER	2	c. 1880		67		33	49.3			25
	3	4380-3370		68		23	33.8			-
SNAKE ROCK	1	1840-1640		16		6	37.5			13
SHELTER	2	4510-2590		38		20	52.6			-
RENOSTERKOP	1		629	2	0.3	2	100.0	-	-	89
	2		432	3	0.7	1	33.3	-	-	65
	3		432	4	0.9	1	25.0	-	-	?
RENOSTERKOP	1		25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2		120	1	0.8	-	-	-	-	1
	3a		1195	6	0.5	1	16.7	-	-	24
	3b		470	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
OTJITATI	1	670+-50	341	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
	2		173	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3		223	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

* % OF TOTAL LITHICS

** OF TOTAL FORMAL TOOLS

*** ARTEFACTS COULD NOT BE FOUND

*+ UNITS ARE SUBDIVIDE INTO POTTERY & PREPOTTERY IN THE LITERATURE FOR FORMAL TOOLS

+ UNITS NOT SUBDIVIDED IN THE LITERATURE

++LITHICS UNKOWN, BUT ARE VERY FEW IN NUMBER

+++ 1 = PHASE 3, 3 = PHASE 1 IN THE LITERATURE

I have compiled a Harris matrix for each site using the stratigraphy given in the literature, and given in chapter 4. These unit groupings have also been used in pie-chart form in the analysis of scraper styles and raw materials, and for adze styles. I have analysed specific formal tools: scrapers and adzes. Scrapers, like adzes, occur in all ecozones throughout the last 4000 years, although in varying numbers. Other formal tools such as backed blades, segments, borers, and so forth, do not occur continuously throughout the time period under study, or in all regions. They would thus constitute a *fractured* representation, and are non-comparable. None of these formal tools have been analysed in terms of their stylistic attributes in the southwestern Cape, and thus there are no comparisons to be made.

FORMAL TOOLS

A formal tool is a stone artefact that has been deliberately flaked and reworked into a recognisable and standardised form. Each formal tool is presumed to have had a specific function. Smith *et al* (1991, 1992) and Schrire and Deacon (1989; Schrire 1992, 1993) have used formal tool percentages to distinguish between gatherer-hunter and pastoralist assemblages. Formal tools are thus an integral part of the revisionist-isolationist debate. Isolationists argue that assemblages with a high percentage of formal tools are indicative of a gatherer-hunter assemblage, and thus a particular social group (Smith *et al* 1991, 1992). These formal tools are seen as being reflective of an economy relying on stone as a raw material - although the introduction of metals is accounted for. According to the isolationists there is no continuity between gatherer-hunter and herder assemblages (and thus socio-economy). Revisionists argue there is indeed continuity between the two types of assemblages. Using Oudepost I as an example, Schrire and Deacon (1989) argue this assemblage is similar to assemblages in the mountains in formal tool types and frequencies. Oudepost I should thus be considered a gatherer-hunter assemblage; however, it is a site of known Khoi-Dutch interaction. The implication of this is that assemblages along the coastal plains and in the mountains cannot be separated into two discrete socio-economic entities.

I begin this section on the assumption that two distinct types of assemblages are visible: a gatherer-hunter and an herder assemblage. I do believe that assemblages occur on a continuum of an economic spectrum; however, as is the nature with most archaeological data, only segments of this continuum tend to be found. With the notion of a continuum I introduce a middle, or transitional, assemblage. I argue this transitional assemblage reflects both a pastoralist and gatherer-hunter socio-economy. These assemblages are found mostly along the margins of the coastal plain and mountains and may indicate gatherer-hunters who were being assimilated into a herder socio-economy. Noting where assemblages occur on this continuum is important, since one cannot argue for a gatherer-

hunter identity, for example, from an assemblage that may reflect a herding socio-economy. These three assemblages must be considered before statements concerning scrapers and adzes, and thus identity, are made. I argue that the type of formal tools and the ratio of formal tools:pottery must also be considered when differentiating between the assemblages. Lastly, I base the distinction between assemblages on technological and economic factors only - I deal with the social aspects in the discussion.

Establishing The Pattern For 'Gatherer-Hunter' And 'Pastoralist' Sites:

The main criterion in distinguishing between gatherer-hunter and herder assemblages by archaeologists in the southwestern Cape, has been in the percentage of formal tools. A high percentage of formal tools is argued to be indicative of gatherer-hunter assemblages, while a low percentage that of a herder assemblage. Although no assemblages have a formal tool percentage exceeding 10%, arguing for example, that 5% is a low or high percentage would be misleading for reasons that follow. Table 6.2 lists the formal tool percentages. This table indicates that preceramic assemblages have a minimum percentage of formal tools of 1.1% (and a mean of 2.7%) - these are gatherer-hunter assemblages without exception. Sites such as Kasteelberg B and Rhenosterkop I and II have a much lower formal tool percentage - 0.2% and 0.6% respectively, and these three assemblages are, so far, undisputed pastoralist sites. Otjitati, another pastoralist site, has no formal tools. Pastoralist assemblages thus have a formal tool percentage less than 1%. I consider in general that any formal tool assemblage of less than 1%, within the last 1800 years, to be a low percentage. Ideally, a comparison of volume density should be given. However, as Yates and Smith (1993) noted, neither the difference in contexts of deposits (that is shell versus sand), nor the different mesh sizes of the sieves used in excavations, allow for reliable comparisons.

A more specific analysis of the assemblages, in the southwestern Cape, shows that several anomalies exist with the above general categorisation. Several preceramic assemblages have an unusually low percentage of formal tools. These assemblages are TC(8), PL41(3), KFR(1+2), and KFR2(2). TC is problematic since the formal tools were not available for reanalyses, and the whole assemblage is presently being reanalysed. PL41(3) has only six formal tools, in a shallow deposit - it may have a high density of formal tools, despite the small sample size. KFR(1+2) and KFR2(2) should have higher percentages of formal tools, in comparison with their contemporary ADG assemblages. These anomalies are not easily explained, and they thus question the validity of using only formal tool percentages to distinguish between the two assemblage types.

Assemblages with a low percentage of formal tools in pottery levels are DSM, KTB, TC(2b), HSM, FK(1), PL41(2), SPR(1-2), KBB, RNK1, RNK2 and OTJ. While the other assemblages have a higher percentage of formal tools, there are some anomalies. These assemblages are VL(1-3), DRB, PL41(2) and KFR(1-2). Of these assemblages, only VL and DRB have both scraper and adze components less than 35% - the rest are greater than 40%. This is in accordance with assemblages, discussed below, where high formal tool percentages correlate with high percentages of scrapers and adzes. More importantly, there is a continuity through time in these assemblages. Those assemblages in the mountains tend to have a high percentage of formal tools and scrapers and adzes before and after the arrival of pastoralism, as opposed to the Sandveld assemblages - seen in fig.6.1. Fig. 6.1 indicates that after the arrival of pastoralism there is a geographical separation in formal tool percentages and content: the formal tool percentages and content decrease in the coastal and Sandveld assemblages. The only assemblage left that is an exception is Oudepost I. Oudepost I has a formal tool percentage of 4.1%, as well as high scraper and adze percentages (Schrire and Deacon 1989). Oudepost I should thus be placed with the mountain assemblages. The stratigraphy of Oudepost I (Schrire *et al* 1990) has however been questioned, as have the associations between the artefacts (Yates and Smith 1993). Nonetheless, Oudepost I cannot simply be explained away by possible stratigraphic complications.

Although densities of pottery cannot be worked out, since they were not always given in the literature, or because of the differences in the deposit, they can be expressed as a ratio of formal tools to pottery within each assemblage for each site (that is, formal tools divided by pot sherds). A high ratio of formal tools:pottery would thus imply a low occurrence of pottery in that assemblage in relation to the formal tools - high densities of pottery being indicators of pastoralists. This pattern continues when the pottery ratios are added as another variable. Assemblages with a (relatively) high percentage of formal tools and scrapers and adzes, tend to have very few pot sherds, and an even lower occurrence of decorated sherds (fig 6.1). The time-space pattern that emerged from fig 6.1 continues when comparing formal tools:pottery. Coastal and Sandveld assemblages have patterns distinct from mountain assemblages. The mountain assemblages also correspond with a low occurrence of domestic stock (table 4.2). It is in the comparison of formal tools, adzes, scrapers and pottery ratios where VL, DRB and Oudepost I now appear more similar to coastal assemblages than mountain assemblages - all three have extremely low ratios of formal tools:pottery. While ASP tends towards the medium-low ratio of formal tools:pottery, I had problems in reconciling total formal tools and frequencies of scrapers and adzes.

In summary, assemblages with a high percentage of formal tools tend to be preceramic. This pattern continues in the mountains after the arrival of domestic stock and pottery. In contrast, those

FIGURE 6.1a:PERCENTAGE FORMAL TOOLS TO SCRAPER AND ADZES, AND RATIO OF FORMAL TOOLS:POTTERY FOR PRECERAMIC ASSEMBLAGES*

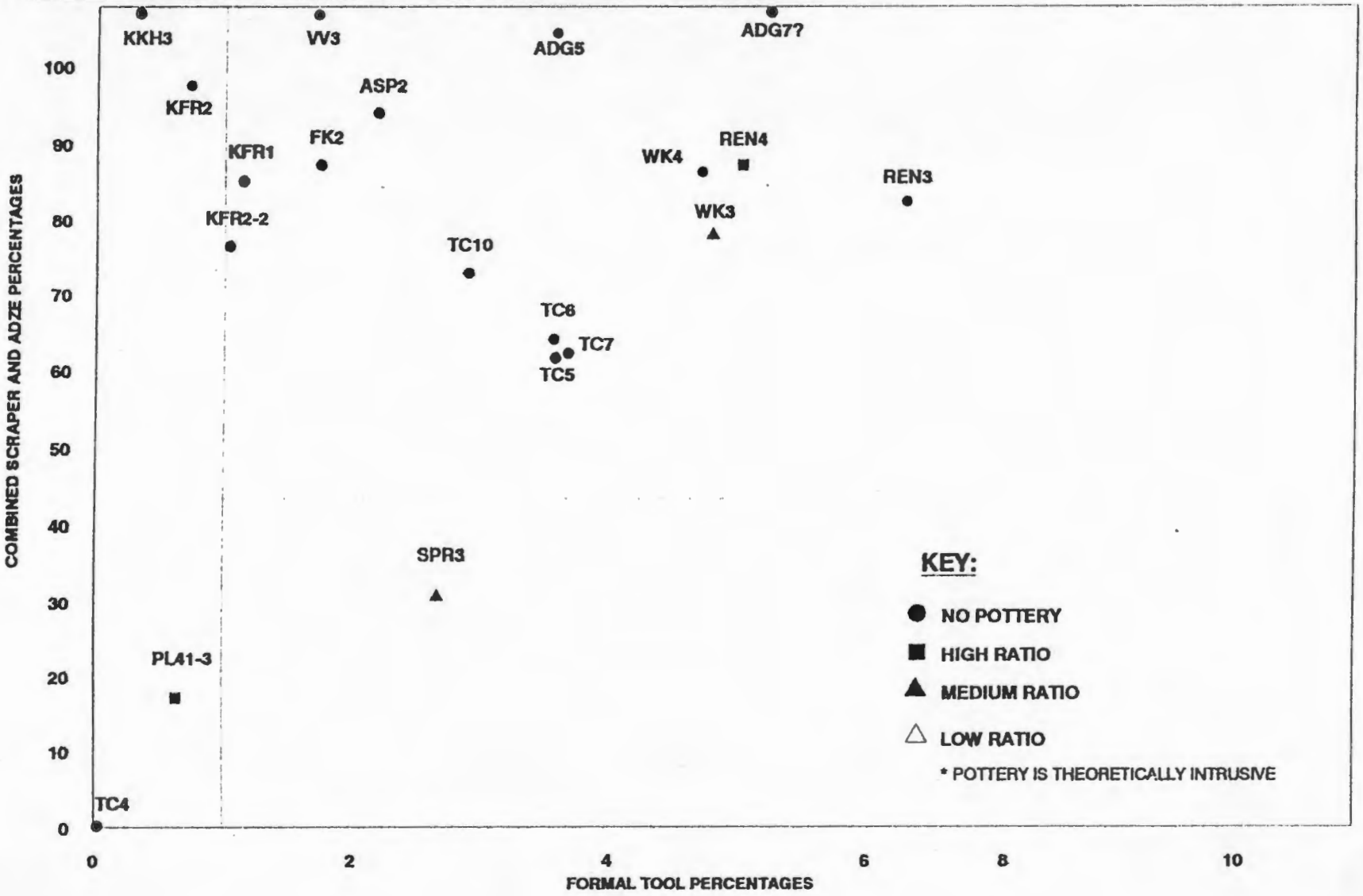
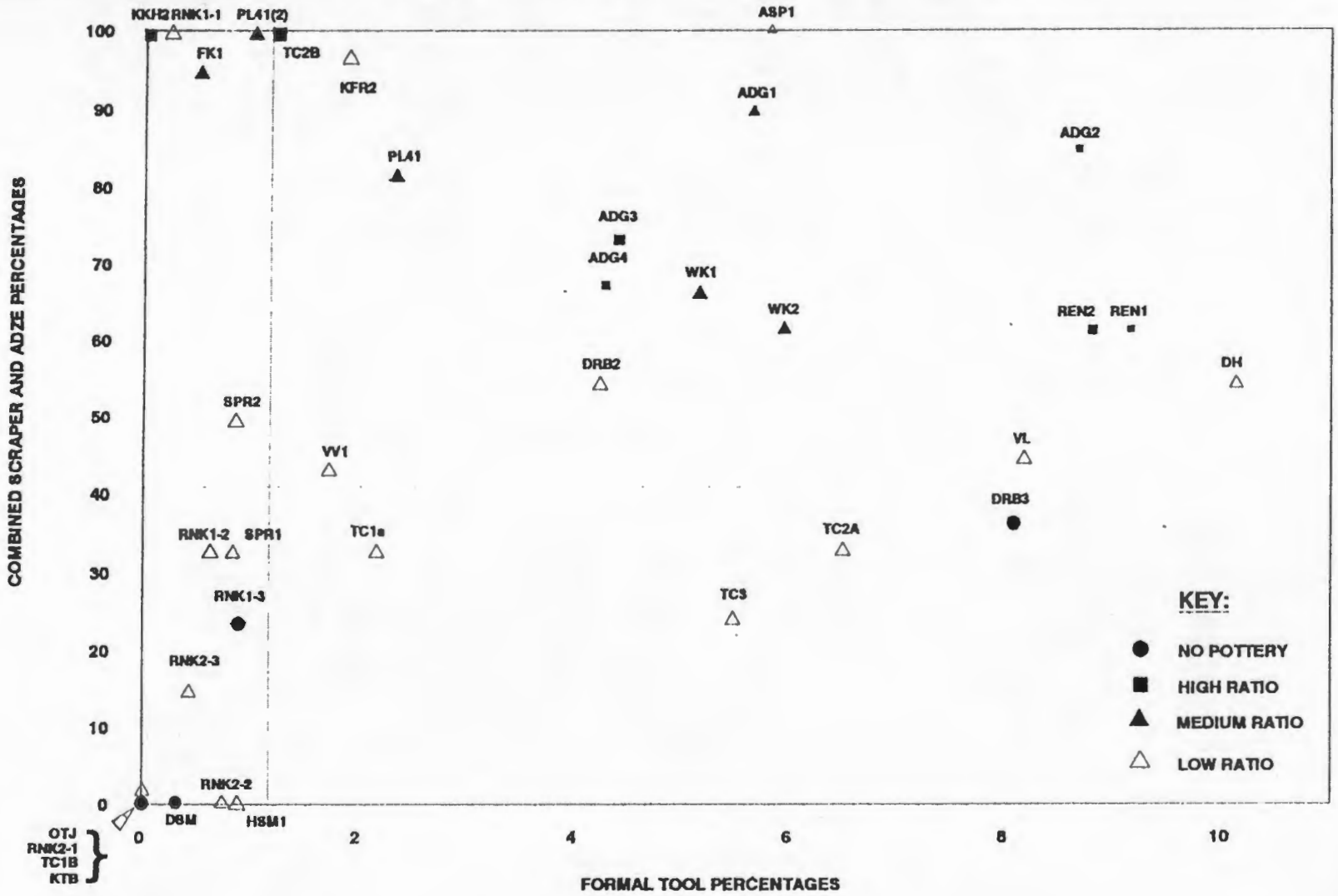


FIGURE 6.1b:PERCENTAGE FORMAL TOOLS TO SCRAPER AND ADZES, AND RATIOS OF FORMAL TOOLS:POTTERY IN CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGES



assemblages in the Sandveld and along the coast show a change in formal tool percentages and content with the arrival of a pastoral economy. These latter assemblages also have a low ratio of formal tools:pottery. I tentatively refer to the mountain assemblages as gatherer-hunter assemblages, and to the coastal and Sandveld assemblages as herder and/or transitional. The gatherer-hunter assemblages are: WK(3+4), TC(5/6/7/10), KFR, KFR2, Renbaan, FK, KKH(2+3), PL41, VV(3), ADG, SPR(3), FRS(2+3), SRS(2), and probably DH(1+2). Assemblages I consider to be herder-related are: DSM, KTB, HSM, Kasteelberg B, SPR(1), RNKI, RNKII, OTJ, FRS(1), SRS(1), and Oudepost I. As I suggested in the introduction, assemblages should not be polarised, but should be viewed as a continuum. Assemblages along this continuum would reflect various economic and technological functions. I refer to these assemblages as transitional, since they are neither gatherer-hunter nor herder assemblages. Transitional assemblages tend to have high percentages of formal tools, mostly medium percentages of scrapers and adzes, and medium-low ratios of formal tools:pottery. These assemblages are: VL, WK(1), DRB, VV(1+2), ASP(1), TC(1a/2a/3), SPR(2), and possibly DH(1). Sites that do not fit my classification are: TC(2b+4) and DH(1). The division of these assemblages compares similarly, and independently, with the variation in ostrich eggshell bead sizes and faunal (wild versus domestic) remains, as reported by Smith *et al* (1991). I have placed VV and DRB into the transitional category whereas Smith *et al* (1991) referred to them as gatherer-hunter assemblages. These two assemblages do, however, have both large and small ostrich eggshell beads as well as more domestic stock than the mountain assemblages, and thus support my categorisation.

SCRAPER STYLES

Scrapers are believed to be for hide working. They are common to all preceramic assemblages in the southwestern Cape, and are dominant in the Sandveld assemblages (Mazel and Parkington 1983; Manhire 1987a). Apart from Mazel's (1989) work in the Thukela River Basin, KwaZulu-Natal, no other work has been done on scraper styles, although Wadley (1989) has referred to it. I argue stylistic differences in scrapers occur across geographical space and through time, and are, in part, related to the arrival of, and interaction with, Khoi pastoralists in the southwestern Cape. I argue that scraper styles coincide with the divisions shown in formal tool assemblages. These scrapers are reflections of San male strategies to increase their positive self-esteem in their interaction with Khoi pastoralists and within the gender divisions in San society. I define scraper style as the variation in the working edge of the scraper so that it does not interfere with the morphology and technological ability of that scraper (and see Gould 1978). Scraper style is thus an individual's expression of a functional item, which is related to group norms of stylistic acceptability. I recognise seven scraper

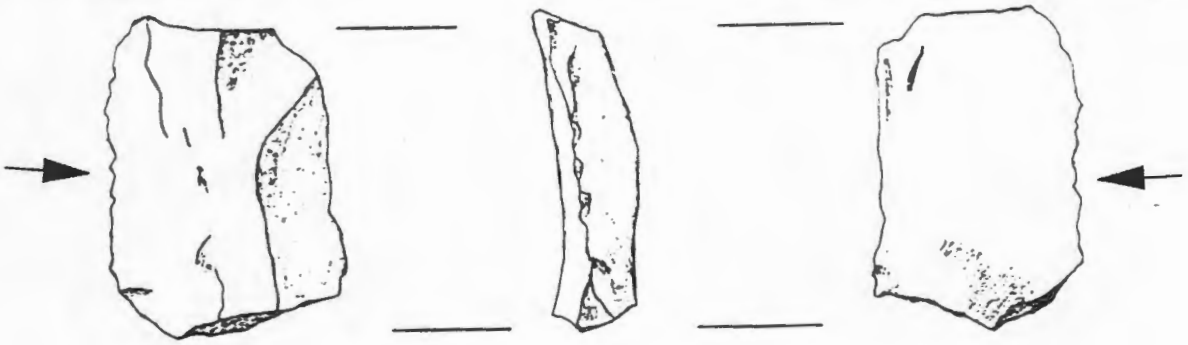
styles: side, end, side-end, round, boat-shaped, Gothic arch and backed (illustrated in fig 6.2). I show these styles to be independent of raw materials.

End scrapers have the formal retouch opposite to the bulb of percussion and the striking platform. Side scrapers are similar in shape to blades (twice as long as is wide) and have retouch adjacent to the bulb of percussion and the striking platform - in this analysis single and double sided side scrapers were kept in one category. The side-end scraper has retouch on one or both sides of the striking platform and directly adjacent to the striking platform. The round scraper is circular in shape with retouch mostly all around the edge. The boat-shaped scraper is a side scraper with one side having a flat surface (natural or worked by splitting a piece of raw material), and closely resemble the hull of a boat. Gothic arch scrapers are the shape of side scrapers, but the retouch is along the end where it forms an obtuse, or Gothic, arch.

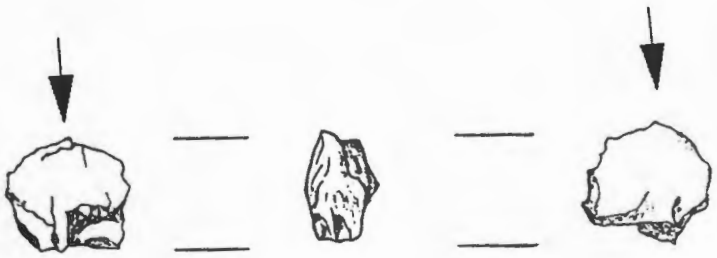
Backed scrapers can be side or end scrapers which have been backed (by specific retouch) on the opposite side of the working/retouched end. Most of these styles fall into Deacon's (1984) thumbnail scraper category, that is small scrapers less than 20mm. Deacon (1984) also divided scrapers into large (> 30mm), medium (20mm-30mm), and small (<20mm) categories; however, in this thesis, size is not considered to affect the working edge, which gives the scraper its style. Two other scraper types have been omitted from this analysis: the scraper-adze and the broken scraper. The former has scraper retouch opposite the bulb of percussion, but adze retouch on both sides. These scraper-adzes occurred infrequently enough not to warrant a new category (n=5). Broken scrapers are scrapers that have been broken in such a way that their stylistic attribute could not be recognised. Total scraper numbers per unit per site are given in table 6.2, while scraper styles are given in table 6.3.

Some assemblages have been omitted from analysis. These are mainly from deflation hollows. Since deflation hollows range in age between ±4000-2000 BP (Manhire 1987a, 1987b), many could be a conflation of 2000 years of human activity. The scrapers from TC could not be located for reanalyses - Robey (1984) did not differentiate between scraper styles, apart from side and end (which could have included other styles as well). Spring Cave, Dune Field Midden and Diepkloof had too few scrapers to warrant reanalyses, and Elands Bay Cave is still in the process of being analysed. The small excavation at Klein Kliphuis Shelter only produced one scraper, and was thus omitted. Sites with less than ten scrapers in total were excluded from analysis (an arbitrary marker) as I considered it too small a sample size. I only analysed assemblages in the southwestern Cape.

FIG. 6.2: ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRAPER STYLES REFERRED TO IN THE TEXT (TO SCALE)*



SIDE SCRAPER (QUARTZ)



END SCRAPER (SILCRETE)

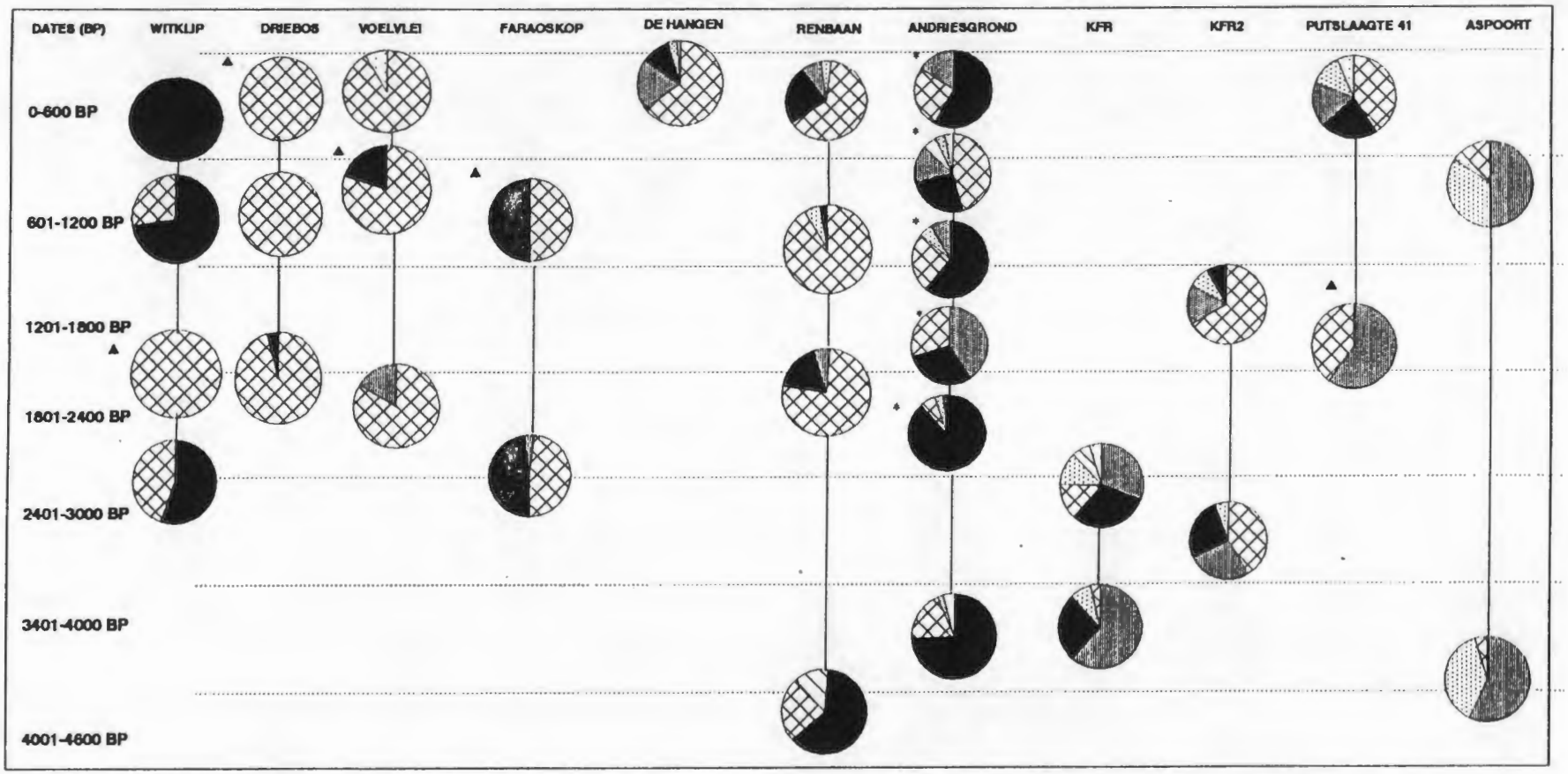
GOTHIC ARCH SCRAPER (SILCRETE)

BACKED SCRAPER (SILCRETE)

BOAT SHAPED SCRAPER (QUARTZ)

ARROWS INDICATE AREAS OF RETOUCH

FIGURE 6.3: DIAGRAMATIC REPRESENTATION OF SCRAPER RAW MATERIALS THROUGH TIME & SPACE



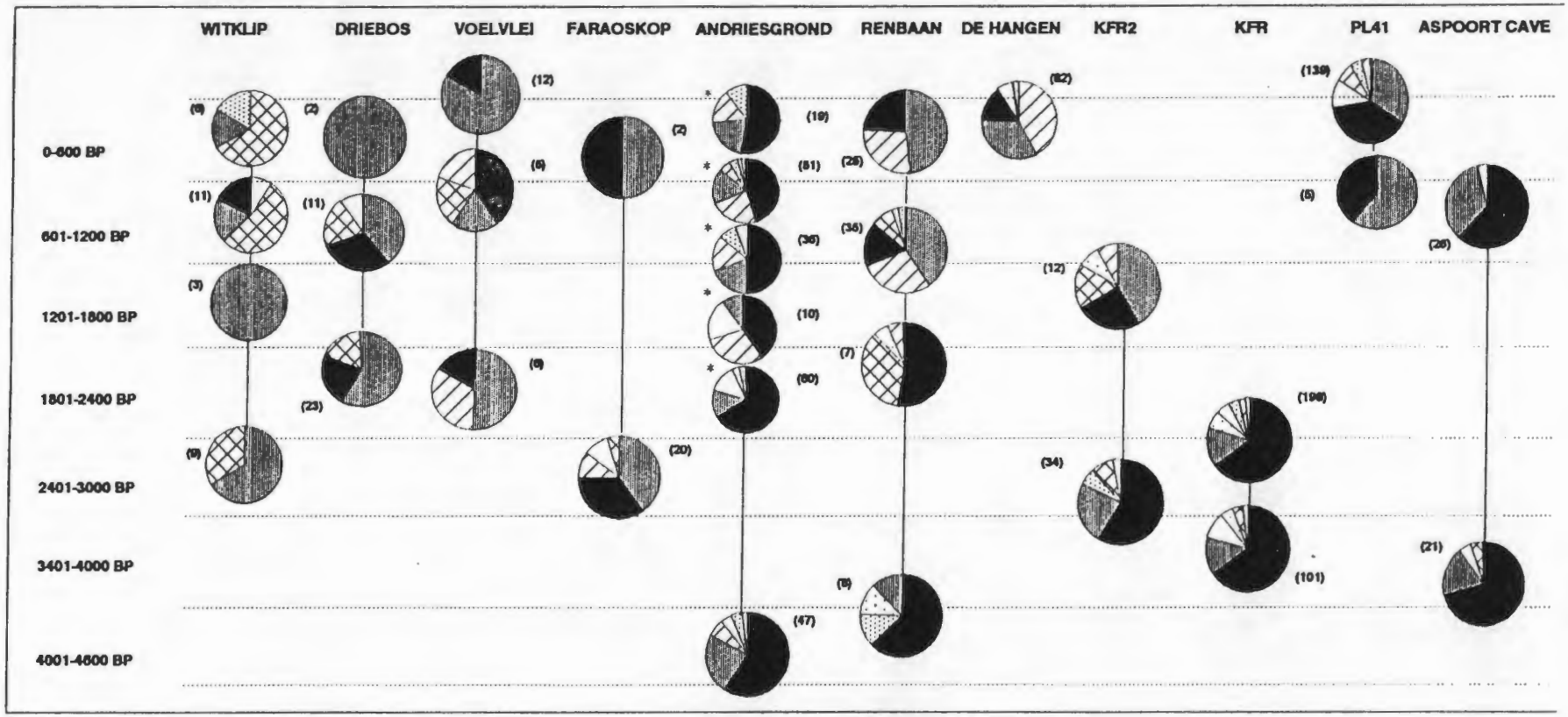
KEY

- SILCRETE
- QUARTZ
- QUARTZITE
- SHALE
- CCS
- OTHER

▲ = DATES FALL WITHIN THE POTTERY PERIOD

n < 5

FIG. 6.4: DIAGRAMMATIC REPRESENTATION OF DIFFERENT SCRAPER STYLES THROUGH SPACE & TIME



KEY:

BOAT SHAPED
GOTHIC ARCH
END
SIDE-END
BACKED
SIDE
ROUND

* THESE UNITS FALL WITHIN THE POTTERY PERIOD

(5): SAMPLE SIZE

TABLE 6.3: FREQUENCIES & PERCENTAGES OF SCRAPER STYLES AND RAW MATERIAL FROM THE SW CAPE

ANDRIESGROND CAVE

UNIT	RAW MATERIAL	BOAT SHAPED		GOTHIC ARCH		BACKED		SIDE		END		SIDE-END		ROUND		TOTAL
		f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	n
1	SILC	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	18.2	7	63.6	2	18.2	0	0.00	11
	QTZ	3	60.0	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	20.0	1	20.0	0	0.00	0	0.00	5
	CCS	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	33.3	2	66.7	0	0.00	0	0.00	3
	TOTAL	3	15.8	0	0.00	0	0.00	4	21.1	10	52.6	2	10.5	0	0.00	19
2	QZITE	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	33.3	1	33.3	1	33.3	0	0.00	0	0.00	3
	SILC	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	23.1	9	69.2	1	7.7	0	0.00	13
	QZ	12	52.2	0	0.00	2	8.7	2	8.7	7	30.4	0	0.00	0	0.00	23
	OTHER	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	50.0	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	50.0	2
	HF	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	50.0	0	0.00	1	50.0	0	0.00	2
	CCS	0	0.00	1	12.5	0	0.00	1	12.5	6	75.0	0	0.00	0	0.00	8
	TOTAL	12	23.5	1	2.0	3	5.9	9	17.6	23	45.1	2	3.9	1	2.0	51
3	SILC	0	0.00	1	4.5	0	0.00	6	27.3	13	59.1	2	9.1	0	0.00	22
	QZ	6	66.7	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	11.1	1	11.1	1	11.1	0	0.00	9
	HF	0	0.00	1	50.0	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	50.0	0	0.00	0	0.00	2
	CCS	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	100.0	0	0.00	0	0.00	3
	TOTAL	6	16.7	2	5.6	0	0.00	7	19.4	18	50.0	3	8.3	0	0.00	36
4	SILC	0	0.00	8	15.1	0	0.00	6	11.3	36	67.9	2	3.8	1	1.9	53
	QZ	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	25.0	3	75.0	0	0.00	0	0.00	4
	HF	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	50.0	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	50.0	2
	CCS	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	100.0	0	0.00	0	0.00	1
	TOTAL	0	0.00	8	13.3	0	0.00	8	13.3	40	66.7	2	3.3	2	3.3	60
7	SILC	2	5.7	2	5.7	0	0.00	9	25.7	20	57.1	2	5.7	0	0.00	35
	QZ	1	11.1	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	11.1	7	77.8	0	0.00	0	0.00	9
	HF	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	100.0	0	0.00	0	0.00	1
	OTHER	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	50.0	1	50.0	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2
	TOTAL	3	6.4	2	4.3	1	2.1	11	23.4	28	59.6	2	4.3	0	0.00	47
77	SILC	0	0.00	2	66.7	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	33.3	0	0.00	0	0.00	3
	CCS	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	25.0	3	75.0	0	0.00	0	0.00	4
	QZ	3	100.0	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	3
	TOTAL	3	30.0	2	20.0	0	0.00	1	10.0	4	40.0	0	0.00	0	0.00	10

RENBAAN

1	CCS	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2
	HF	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1
	QZ	7	43.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	8	50.0	1	6.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	16
	SILC	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	50.0	3	50.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	6
	TOTAL	7	28.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	12	48.0	6	24.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	25
2	HF	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2
	QZ	10	31.3	1	3.1	3	9.4	13	40.6	4	12.5	1	3.1	0	0.0	32
	SILC	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1
	TOTAL	10	28.6	1	2.9	3	8.6	14	40.0	6	17.1	1	2.9	0	0.0	35
3	CCS	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1
	QZ	1	7.7	0	0.0	1	7.7	5	38.5	6	46.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	13
	SILC	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	33.3	2	66.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	3
	TTL	1	5.9	0	0.0	1	5.9	6	35.3	9	52.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	17
4	QZ	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1
	SILC	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	80.0	1	20.0	0	0.0	5
	QZITE	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	50.0	0	0.0	1	50.0	2
	TTL	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	12.5	5	62.5	1	12.5	1	12.5	8

ASPOORT

UNIT	RAW MATERIAL	BOAT SHAPED		GOTHIC ARCH		BACKED		SIDE		END		SIDE-END		ROUND		TOTAL
		f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	n
LSM	CCS	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	23.1	9	69.2	0	0.0	1	7.7	13
	HF	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	44.4	5	55.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	9
	OTHER	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1
	QZ	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	33.3	2	66.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	3
	TOTAL	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	9	34.6	16	61.5	0	0.0	1	3.8	26
HGM	CCS	0	0.0	1	8.3	1	8.3	2	16.7	8	66.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	12
	HF	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	12.5	7	87.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	8
	QZ	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1
	TOTAL	0	0.0	1	4.8	1	4.8	4	19.0	15	66.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	21

TABLE 6.3 (cont.)

KLIPFONTEINRAND 2

UNIT	RAW MATERIAL	BOAT SHAPED		GOTHIC ARCH		BACKED		SIDE		END		SIDE-END		ROUND		TOTAL
		f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	n
1	CCS	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	50.0	1	50.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2
	HF	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1
	QZ	1	12.5	0	0.0	2	25.0	4	50.0	1	12.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	8
	SILC	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	1
	TOTAL	1	8.3	0	0.0	2	16.7	5	41.7	3	25.0	0	0.0	1	8.3	12
2	CCS	0	0.0	1	11.1	0	0.0	2	22.2	5	55.6	1	11.1	0	0.0	9
	HF	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	50.0	1	50.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2
	QZ	3	21.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	28.6	7	50.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	14
	SILC	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	11.1	7	77.8	1	11.1	0	0.0	9
	TOTAL	3	8.8	1	2.9	0	0.0	8	23.5	20	58.8	2	5.9	0	0.0	34

FARAOSKOP

1	QZ	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1
	SILC	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1
	TOTAL	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2
2	CCS	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1
	QZ	2	18.2	0	0.0	1	9.1	7	63.6	1	9.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	11
	SILC	0	0.0	2	18.2	0	0.0	4	36.4	5	45.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	11
	TOTAL	2	10.0	2	10.0	1	5.0	8	40.0	7	35.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	20

PUTSLAAGTE 41

1	CCS	0	0.0	2	8.0	0	0.0	7	28.0	13	52.0	3	12.0	0	0.0	25
	HF	2	11.8	1	5.9	0	0.0	4	23.5	9	36.0	0	0.0	1	5.9	17
	OTHER	1	11.1	1	11.1	0	0.0	2	22.2	5	55.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	9
	QZ	7	12.3	1	1.8	5	8.8	25	43.9	15	26.3	4	7.0	0	0.0	57
	SILC	0	0.0	10	32.3	0	0.0	9	29.0	12	38.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	31
	TOTAL	10	7.2	15	10.8	5	3.6	47	33.8	54	38.8	7	5.0	1	0.7	139
2	CCS	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	66.7	1	33.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	3
	QZ	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	50.0	1	50.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2
	TOTAL	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	60.0	2	40.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	5

KLIPFONTEINRAND

1	CCS	2	3.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	9	14.8	44	72.1	3	4.9	3	4.9	61
	HF	0	0.0	1	3.8	0	0.0	3	11.5	18	69.2	0	0.0	4	15.4	26
	OTHER	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	22.2	7	77.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	9
	QZ	3	11.1	0	0.0	2	7.4	5	18.5	14	51.9	2	7.4	1	3.7	27
	SILC	0	0.0	9	14.8	2	3.3	9	14.8	38	62.3	1	1.6	2	3.3	61
	QZITE	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	14.3	7	50.0	2	14.3	3	21.4	14
	TOTAL	5	2.5	10	5.1	4	2.0	30	15.2	128	64.6	8	4.0	13	6.6	198
2	CCS	0	0.0	6	9.7	4	6.5	6	9.7	42	67.7	2	3.2	2	3.2	62
	HF	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	25.0	4	50.0	0	0.0	2	25.0	8
	SILC	0	0.0	4	14.8	0	0.0	6	22.2	16	59.3	0	0.0	1	3.7	27
	QZITE	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	4
	TOTAL	0	0.0	10	9.9	4	4.0	14	13.9	66	65.3	2	2.0	5	5.0	101
3	CCS	0	0.0	1	16.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	66.7	0	0.0	1	16.7	6
	HF	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2
	QZ	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	50.0	2	50.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	4
	SILC	0	0.0	1	16.7	0	0.0	1	16.7	4	66.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	6
	TOTAL	0	0	2	11.11	0	0	3	16.667	12	66.667	0	0	1	5.5556	18

WITKLIP

1	SILC	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	66.7	1	16.7	0	0.0	1	16.7	0	0.0	6
	TOTAL	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	66.7	1	16.7	0	0.0	1	16.7	0	0.0	6
2	QZ	0	0.0	1	33.3	0	0.0	2	66.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3
	SILC	0	0.0	0	0.0	6	75.0	0	0.0	2	25.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	8
	TOTAL	0	0.0	1	9.1	6	54.5	2	18.2	2	18.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	11
3	QZ	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3
	TOTAL	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3
4	QZ	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	44.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	4
	SILC	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	60.0	0	0.0	2	40.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	5
	TOTAL	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	33.3	0	0.0	6	66.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	9

TABLE 6.3 (cont.)

DRIEBOS

UNIT	RAW MATERIAL	BOAT SHAPED		GOTHIC ARCH		BACKED		SIDE		END		SIDE-END		ROUND		TOTAL
		f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	n
1	QZ	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2
	TOTAL	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2
2	QZ	1	9.1	0	0.0	2	18.2	4	36.4	3	27.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	11
	TOTAL	1	9.1	0	0.0	2	18.2	4	36.4	3	27.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	11
3	QZ	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	19.0	13	61.9	4	17.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	21
	SILC	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1
	TOTAL	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	18.2	13	59.1	5	22.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	22

VOEVLEI

1	OT	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1
	QZ	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	9	81.8	2	18.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	11
	TOTAL	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	10	83.3	2	16.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	12
2	QZ	1	25.0	0	0.0	1	25.0	1	25.0	1	25.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	4
	SILC	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	25.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1
	TOTAL	1	25.0	0	0.0	1	25.0	1	25.0	2	50.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	5
3	CCS	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1
	QZ	2	40.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	40.0	1	20.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	5
	TOTAL	2	33.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	50.0	1	16.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	6

DE HANGEN

1	CCS	1	6.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	11	68.8	2	12.5	0	0.0	2	12.5	16
	HF	0	0.0	1	33.3	0	0.0	2	66.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3
	O	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1
	QZ	32	59.3	3	5.6	0	0.0	11	20.4	7	13.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	53
	SILC	1	11.1	2	22.2	0	0.0	2	22.2	4	44.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	9
	TOTAL	34	41.5	6	7.3	0	0.0	27	32.9	13	15.9	0	0.0	2	2.4	82

In the section dealing with formal tools I placed certain assemblages in herder, gatherer-hunter and transitional categories. The herding assemblages have noticeably few, if any scrapers - my analysis is thus of gatherer-hunter and transitional assemblages only. Table 6.3 lists the frequencies, percentages, raw and materials of each scraper style per unit per site; these are illustrated in figs 6.3 and fig. 6.4. Relative site distance (that is through geographical place) is worked out from ADG which is used as the centre for the Olifants River Valley (an arbitrary decision). This distance through space correlates approximately with the four ecozones found in the southwestern Cape: coast, Sandveld, Cape Fold Belt and Karoo.

RESULTS

Scraper Raw Materials

Silcrete is found near the Vredenberg Peninsula, from Malmesbury to Durbanville in various outcrops, with some outcrops near Van Rhynsdorp. Quartz and quartzite are locally available at all sites analysed. Hornfels (including the lydianite and shale categories) and cryptocrystalline silicates (CCS) originate in the Karoo - the Doorn River and other larger rivers deposit these raw materials along their banks down to the coast. These two raw materials are thus slightly less readily available locally.

The statistical tests also compared raw material use through time and across geographical space. I did Chi-square tests on scraper categories to test whether there is a probability of certain categories for a preference with specific raw materials. While the colour of the raw material may be a significant variable, it was not done in this analysis. Yates' corrected chi-squared test was used when *n* was less than six.

Certain scraper styles may be related to raw materials. Boat-shaped scrapers are mostly made on quartz and tend to be found in ceramic assemblages. Gothic arch scrapers tend to be on silcrete or CCS (although this does vary) and are found more often in preceramic assemblages. Only at PL41 are these scrapers more common in the ceramic units. Backed, side, end and side-end scrapers are made on various raw materials.

Side and end scrapers are the most common scrapers through time and place, and chi-square, and Yates' corrected chi-square tests were done on these categories. Assemblages with a good sample size (>50) show no significant differences between side and end scrapers in their raw material preferences: ADG2 ($0.5>p>0.25$), ADG4 ($0.5>p>0.25$), PL41 ($0.75>p>0.5$), KFR1 ($0.9>p>0.75$),

KFR2 (0.5>p>0.25). Comparisons between ceramic and preceramic assemblages indicate that the former tend to show specific raw materials for specific scrapers, unlike preceramic assemblages. Comparing these two time groupings for CCS, quartz and silcrete, shows a significant difference between end (p>0.001), side (p>0.001) side-end (p>0.001), and a combination of these three (p>0.001). In other words, ceramic assemblages tend to have a more restricted variance of raw materials for a specific scraper style, than do preceramic assemblages. Spatially, the ceramic assemblages show a tendency to use more locally available raw materials - ADG is an exception in that it is dominated by silcrete scrapers. This tendency towards increased use of locally available raw materials coincides with the arrival of pastoralism.

Scraper Styles

Although I did not analyse scraper styles in the Sandveld, Manhire (1987a, 1987b) and Manhire *et al* (1987) noted that backed scrapers dominate the 3800-1700 BP assemblages. This tends to be the case for mountain assemblages as well. Although backed scrapers occur in ceramic assemblages, they never dominate - apart from WK. The occurrence of such a high percentage of backed scrapers at WK has two possible meanings: either the stratigraphy is mixed (that is, the correlations between excavated units are incorrect), or this is a real pattern reflecting a specific scraper style. If WK is a mixed assemblage, its use by Smith *et al* (1991) and Yates and Smith (1993) to differentiate between gatherer-hunters and herders is no longer reliable. If WK is not mixed it supports their hypothesis. An explanation for this should be found when the square metre between the two excavated metres is excavated, so as to correlate the stratigraphy. I deal with each scraper style first on a general level of analysis. I then combine assemblages into groups according to their scraper styles. Preceramic assemblages are dealt with first so as to provide a chronological sequence for changes through time.

Gothic arch, side-end, and round scrapers are never common in space and time. With the exception of FK, boat-shaped scrapers occur in ceramic assemblages only. These scrapers are common in most of the ceramic assemblages at DH, Renbaan and ADG; however, they tend to be absent along the coast and in the Karoo. Since these three styles occur infrequently I have omitted them from the main analysis.

Side scrapers dominate both the preceramic and ceramic assemblages. At DRB side scrapers coincide in time with the increase of side scrapers at WK - they are most abundant in the upper assemblages. Similarly, at VV side scrapers are most abundant in pre- and late ceramic assemblages, but decrease in VV2. Although side and end scrapers occur in the same frequencies in

the Sandveld, the sample is insignificant (n=2 for FK1). Mountain assemblages show the greatest variation in side scraper frequency. DH has an equal number of side and boat-shaped scrapers. ADG has fewer side-scrapers than DH, in assemblage 2, and they remain less than 24% of the scraper categories throughout the whole sequence. KFR and KFR2(2) are similar to ADG in related time periods. KFR2(1), however, has a majority of side scrapers and this coincides with the increase in side scrapers at Renbaan (2). PL41 has virtually equal amounts of side and end scrapers. At ASP side scrapers are the second most abundant scraper style and their numbers increase through time.

End scrapers do not dominate assemblages along the coast and Sandveld, although they are present in all assemblages. At DRB and VV end scraper frequency increase as side scrapers decrease. In the mountain assemblages, end scrapers coincide in frequency with changes in the percentages of side scrapers. Renbaan is dominated by end scrapers in preceramic assemblages, although they decrease in abundance in mid-ceramic assemblages, and then increase again in the late ceramic assemblages. End scrapers are noticeably few in number at DH. ADG, KFR and KFR2(2) are dominated by end scrapers. At KFR2 only the mid-ceramic assemblage has more side than end scrapers. At PL41, the pattern is similar to ADG although side scrapers are slightly more abundant. The preceramic levels at ASP relate to KFR(2) and ADG preceramic assemblages. The pottery assemblages at ASP are dominated by end scrapers, even though there is an increase in side scrapers.

I performed chi-squared tests on scraper categories within assemblages and between assemblages of a similar date to determine whether there was a significant difference in the frequency of scraper categories through time and across geographical space. From these tests four main groupings emerged in preceramic assemblages. These groups are: (1) WK; (2) DRB and VV; (3) ADG, Renbaan, DH, KFR2, KFR, and PL41; and, (4) FK. In other words, each group showed no statistical difference within assemblages of that group, but were significantly different from other assemblages of other groups. The differences between groups 3 and 4 are not as statistically significant as between groups 1 and 2, and this may relate to contact between the groups of people in the mountains and on the coast (see Parkington 1978). Groups 1 and 2 are similar in their scraper style frequency. Side scrapers dominate the assemblages, while end and/or backed scrapers occur in relatively equal frequencies. There are, however, significant differences between these two groups ($0.050>p>0.0025$). Comparing groups 1 and 3 indicate slight significant differences ($0.5>p>0.25$), whereas there is a greater difference between groups 1 and 4. There is a significant difference between groups 2 and 3 ($0.025>p>0.010$), and groups 2 and 4 ($0.005>p>0.001$).

The preceramic assemblages for group 3 are similar in scraper style abundance (end, followed by side scrapers). FK stands out with side scrapers being most abundant and is thus considered to be in

a separate group. I do not relate FK to groups 1 and 2, due to the large spatial difference between the two groups. FK is thus unlikely to be of the same stylistic group, although more Sandveld assemblages need to be analysed before this can be validated. In statistical terms, there are significant differences between all groups in the preceramic assemblages.

A different pattern emerges when I retain the preceramic groups in my analysis of ceramic assemblages. While WK(1+2) has a small sample size, it nonetheless stands out due to the high percentage of backed scrapers. As I have noted before, there is a possibility that WK(1+2) may be partly mixed with preceramic assemblages. Group 2 is some distance spatially from group 3, although these sites have similarities in side and end scrapers, their backed scrapers are also present in greater percentages in the ceramic assemblages, and Gothic arch scrapers are not present. In group 3, scraper styles are more varied through space and time. The side and end scrapers from ADG tend to be the inverse, in percentage, of other assemblages in group 3. The close proximity of assemblages in group 3, yet their differences in scraper content are thus significant. ADG(2+3), Renbaan(1), DH and PL41(1) all have similar radiocarbon dates, yet none have similar scraper styles. Although Renbaan and PL41 have side scrapers, followed by boat-shaped and end scrapers (respectively), as the most dominant scraper styles, DH has boat-shaped scrapers, followed in number by side scrapers, while ADG has mostly end scrapers, followed by boat-shaped scrapers. This shows no conformity to, or continuity of, the scraper styles tendencies observed in the preceramic assemblages.

Although boat-shaped scrapers are the second most abundant scrapers at ADG and Renbaan, this is not so at PL41. If ADG(7?) has been correctly dated, it is approximately contemporary with Renbaan(2), and again there is no similarity, except where boat-shaped scrapers are the second most abundant style. ASP(1) is similar to ADG, since end scrapers are dominant, but the two assemblages are not related in time and geographical space. ADG is further differentiated from other group 3 assemblages in that it has more Gothic arch scrapers in the lower ceramic assemblages. DH and PL41 have similar percentages of Gothic arch scrapers when ADG(2) and ADG(3) are combined. If ADG(7?) dates to the late preceramic assemblages, then it coincides with the scraper styles at Renbaan(3) and other late preceramic assemblages in the Cedarberg, and not those at VV, DRB and WK. PL41(2) is anomalous (n=5) and may relate to either ADG(2) or Renbaan(2) and DH. ADG is noticeably different in ceramic assemblage, which may be related to its finer stratigraphic resolution.

In summary, I defined scraper stylistic attributes according to the position of retouch in relation to the bulb of percussion. Chi-squared tests performed on these attributes determined whether

statistical differences exist between scraper assemblages through time and across geographical space. My analysis centred first on preceramic assemblages where I argued for four discrete groupings. These groupings tend to corresponded with geographical and ecological zones. Raw materials appear to play an insignificant role in most of these scraper categories. The raw materials used appear to have been obtained from a variety of sources and distant places. In contrast to the preceramic groups, the ceramic assemblages show no clear pattern in their scraper styles within the groups defined in the preceramic assemblages. Moreover, there is a change to more locally available raw materials. The few differences that exist in the ceramic assemblages are based along geographical lines. Those assemblages labelled as transitional in the previous section are statistically different to those labelled as gatherer-hunter. Ceramic assemblages thus show an increase in diversification of raw materials and scraper styles, as opposed to preceramic assemblages.

ADZES

Adzes are used as woodworking tools, such as the sharpening of digging sticks (Deacon and Binneman 1986; Mazel and Parkington 1978, 1983; Parkington 1978). There is a correlation between the frequency of adzes in assemblages and soil physiology (Mazel and Parkington 1978, 1983). The softer Sandveld sand would place less physical stress on digging sticks - hence more adzes are found in the mountains (and see Manhire *et al* 1984; Parkington *et al.* 1992). I interpret some adze production, and thus plant food gathering intensity, as a female activity and related to changing gender and social relations. I argue that females used Middle Stone Age (MSA) flakes for adzes as one of their strategies to enhance their gender identity in the changing social environment. I relate this to the importance of place in the landscape. An increase in adze production is an indicator of increased female labour and thus of their status as food providers (and see Mazel 1989, 1992).

I introduce four types of adzes: younger and older adzes, and younger and older slugs (see fig. 6.5 for these styles). Older adzes are made on MSA flakes (that is with a faceted platform and/or that show patination commonly found on Pleistocene stone tools, especially silcrete and hornfels). Older adzes therefore refer to the re-use of flakes from the Pleistocene, but mostly the MSA, in the Later Stone Age. I consider stone tools to be patinated only if the dorsal surface is patinated. The step-flaking (for adze retouch) is thus visible due to differential patination on one side only. Slugs are adzes with retouch on both sides of the flake. Older slugs are slugs which were made on older flakes. Younger adzes have retouch on one side of the flake and have no patination. Raw materials should, theoretically, affect my adze categories. Patination is not visible on quartz, CCS and to a lesser degree, other and quartzite. I do not consider this to be problematic since an MSA flake

would have a faceted platform, and should thus be recognisable. Since adzes rarely occur on quartzite and quartz the bias is reduced, but this is not the case for CCS and other. I am not aware of the degree occurrence of CCS on MSA stone tools in the southwestern Cape, because of the little research of this time period. I analyse hornfels and silcrete adzes separately since these raw materials occur in all adze styles.

The occurrence of slugs has been noted by Goodwin (1926), Kaplan (1984), Rudner and Rudner (1954), and Van Noten (1966). I believe that the early classification of these adzes is problematic in relation to the figures given in the texts. Rudner and Rudner (1954) reported that the Sandy Bay assemblage had 45% of its adzes as older slugs. Most of these were not slugs, but younger adzes or adzes on older flakes. Similarly, Van Noten (1966) reported that the Gordons Bay assemblage had older slugs. Many of the older slugs were either older adzes or younger adzes - rather than slugs. I therefore did not use published assemblages to widen my sampling size. As with the scraper sample, most of the adze samples in the Sandveld came from the *kopjes*, rather than deflation hollows, and thus mid-Holocene samples in the Sandveld tend to be low in number. This may, however, also reflect a real phenomenon, since TC only had four adzes in its total sample.

I propose that slugs were made more frequently on younger rather than on older flakes. Differences between younger and older adzes cannot be referred to in strictly functional and technological terms. I test these adze categories by means of chi-squared and Yates' corrected chi-squared tests. Table 6.2 lists all the adzes listed in the literature, while tables 6.4 and table 6.5 list the results of my analysis. Figures 6.6 to 6.8 relate to my analysis.

Raw Materials

Adzes are made on silcrete, hornfels, CCS, other and quartzite in decreasing order of abundance. They are hardly ever made on quartz. The most important point of the raw material analysis is that all adze styles occur on both hornfels and silcrete. Slugs and older slugs are thus not exclusive to a particular raw material. When I combined all of the raw materials, the percentages of adze styles per assemblage did not change significantly. In fig 6.6 to fig. 6.8 older slugs are never greater than 25%, but mostly less than 15%. When these higher percentages are found it is mostly due to the small sample sizes within each raw material category; hence fig. 6.6 and table 6.4 are better representations of adzes in total. Silcrete is the preferred raw material in most assemblages, except PL41 and to a lesser degree KFR2, where hornfels is the preferred raw material, followed by silcrete. This is important, especially when viewed against scrapers of the same sites and/or assemblages: scrapers, and not adzes, in ceramic assemblages tend to be made from locally

TABLE 6.4: TOTAL ADZE FREQUENCIES

SITE	UNIT	YOUNGER		YOUNGER SLUG		OLDER		OLDER SLUG		TOTA	CHI-SQUARE	p
		f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%			df=1
ANDRIESGROND	1	12	46.15	4	15.38	7	26.92	3	11.54	26	22.1	<0.001
	2	54	40.00	14	10.37	49	36.30	18	13.33	135	131.04	<0.001
	3	3	23.08	4	30.77	6	46.15	0	0.00	13	9.36	<0.005
	4	4	30.77	6	46.15	3	23.08	0	0.00	13	9.44	<0.005
TOTAL CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGES		73	39.04	28	14.97	65	34.76	21	11.23	187	1.025	<0.25
	5	3	60.00	1	20.00	1	20.00	0	0.00	5		
	6	4	40.00	1	10.00	4	40.00	1	10.00	10	6.63	<0.025
	7?	9	47.37	3	15.79	6	31.58	1	5.26	19	15.34	<0.001
TOTAL PRECERAMIC ASSEMBLAGES		16	47.06	5	14.71	11	32.35	2	5.88	34	7.238	<0.05
FAROSKOP	1	3	50.00	1	16.67	2	33.33	0	0.00	6	(3.7)	<0.1
TOTAL CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGES		3	50.00	1	16.67	2	33.33	0	0.00	6	(3.7)	<0.1
	2	3	23.08	4	30.77	3	23.08	3	23.08	13	9.3	<0.005
TOTAL PRECERAMIC ASSEMBLAGES		3	23.08	4	30.77	3	23.08	3	23.08	13	9.3	<0.005
VOELVLEI	1	3	18.75	3	18.75	9	56.25	1	6.25	16	12.36	<0.001
	2	1	50.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	50.00	2	-	
TOTAL CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGES		4	22.22	3	16.67	9	50.00	2	11.11	18	6.65	<0.05
TOTAL PRECERAMIC ASSEMBLAGES	3	6	54.55	2	18.18	2	18.18	1	9.09	11	7.57	<0.01
DRIEBOS	2	5	33.33	5	33.33	3	20.00	2	13.33	15	11.3	<0.001
WITKLIP	1	3	50.00	1	16.67	2	33.33	0	0.00	6	3.35	<0.1
	2	1	50.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	50.00	2		
	3	13	46.43	7	25.00	6	21.43	2	7.14	28	74.2	<0.001
TOTAL CERMAIC ASSEMBLAGES		17	47.22	8	22.22	8	22.22	3	8.33	36	7.383	<0.05
DE HANGEN	1	36	58.06	10	16.13	15	24.19	1	1.61	62	58.14	<0.001
	2	1	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1		
TOTAL CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGES		37	58.73	10	15.87	15	23.81	1	1.59	63	7.419	<0.05
PL41	1	144	64.29	55	24.55	23	10.27	2	0.89	224	220	<0.001
	2	0	0.00	2	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2		
TOTAL CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGES		144	63.72	57	25.22	23	10.18	2	0.88	226	7.717	<0.05
TOTAL PRECERAMIC ASSEMBLAGE	3	1	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	-	-
RENBAAN	1	10	34.48	0	0.00	12	41.38	7	24.14	29	(28.18)	<0.001
	2	9	34.62	1	3.85	11	42.31	5	19.23	26	22.23	<0.001
TOTAL CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGES		19	34.55	1	1.82	23	41.82	12	21.82	55	7.585	<0.05
	3	3	33.33	0	0.00	5	55.56	1	11.11	9	(8.65)	<0.01
	4	1	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1		
TOTAL PRECERAMIC ASSEMBLAGE		4	40.00	0	0.00	5	50.00	1	10.00	10	(5.53)	<0.01
KFR2												
TOTAL CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGES	1	10	71.43	2	14.29	2	14.29	0	0.00	14	(11.65)	<0.001
TOTAL PRECERAMIC ASSEMBLAGE	2	22	64.71	3	8.82	9	26.47	0	0.00	34	(31.35)	<0.001
KFR	1	3	50.00	2	33.33	0	0.00	1	16.67	6		
	2	2	40.00	3	60.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	5		
	3	2	50.00	1	25.00	1	25.00	0	0.00	4		
TOTAL PRECERAMIC ASSEMBLAGE		7	46.67	6	40.00	1	6.67	1	6.67	15	5.682	<0.01

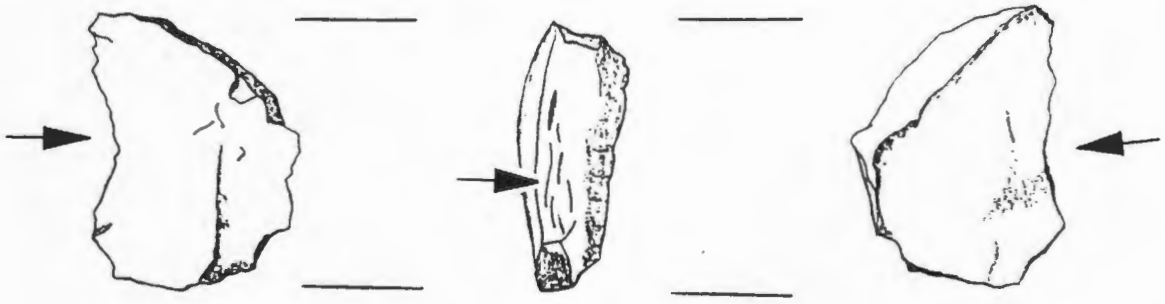
CHI-SQUARE VALUES SORROUNDED BY BRACKETS REFER TO A CATEGORY WITH ZERO ADZES. THESE SHOULD THUS BE READ AS TENTATIVE RESULTS.

TABLE 6.5: SILCRETE & HORNFELS ADZE FREQUENCIES

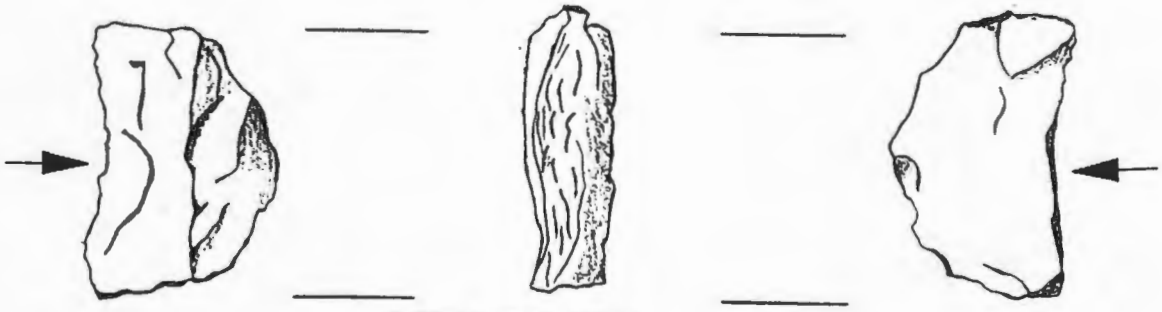
SITES & RAW MATERIALS	UNIT	YOUNGER		YOUNGER SLUG		OLDER		OLDER SLUG		TOTA	CHI-SQUARE	p
		f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%			df=1
FAROSKOP SILCRETE	2	2	22.22	2	22.22	2	22.22	3	33.33	9	5.46	<0.025
VOELVLEI SILCRETE	1	3	25.00	1	8.33	7	58.33	1	8.33	12	8.68	<0.005
	2	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	100.00	1		
	3	3	37.50	2	25.00	2	25.00	1	12.50	8	3.71	<0.1
HORNFELS	3	1	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1		
DRIEBOS SILCRETE	2	3	25.00	4	33.33	3	25.00	2	16.67	12	8.34	<0.005
HORNFELS	2	1	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1		
WITKLIP SILCRETE	1	3	50.00	1	16.67	2	33.33	0	0.00	6	3.71	<0.05
	2	1	50.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	50.00	2		
	3	12	44.44	7	25.93	6	22.22	2	7.41	27	23.2	<0.001
RENBAAN SILCRETE	1	10	34.48	0	0.00	12	41.38	7	24.14	29	26.18	<0.001
	2	9	34.62	1	3.85	11	42.31	5	19.23	26	22.23	<0.001
	3	3	33.33	0	0.00	5	55.56	1	11.11	9	6.65	<0.01
	4	1	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1		
DE HANGEN SILCRETE	1	10	41.67	3	12.50	10	41.67	1	4.17	24	26.3	<0.001
HORNFELS	1	9	60.00	2	13.33	4	26.67	0	0.00	15	12.48	<0.001
PL41	1	8	33.33	3	12.50	12	50.00	1	4.17	24	20.3	<0.001
HORNFELS	1	105	65.22	44	27.33	11	6.83	1	0.62	161	157.1	<0.001
ANDREISGROND SILCRETE	1	7	33.33	4	19.05	7	33.33	3	14.29	21	17.71	<0.001
	2	35	31.82	11	10.00	47	42.73	17	15.46	110	106.5	<0.001
	3	3	27.27	3	27.27	5	45.45	0	0.00	11	(8.38)	<0.005
	4	2	22.22	4	44.44	3	33.33	0	0.00	9	(6.42)	<0.025
	5	3	60.00	1	20.00	1	20.00	0	0.00	5	(2.84)	<0.1
	6	2	40.00	0	0.00	2	40.00	1	20.00	5		
	?7	5	38.46	2	15.38	5	38.46	1	7.69	13	9.44	<0.005
HORNFELS	1	1	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1		
	2	1	25.00	0	0.00	2	50.00	1	25.00	4		
	3	0	0.00	1	50.00	1	50.00	0	0.00	2		
	4	0	0.00	1	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1		
	6	0	0.00	1	50.00	1	50.00	0	0.00	2		
	??	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	100.00	0	0.00	1		
KFR2 SILCRETE	1	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	100.00	0	0.00	2		
	2	1	50.00	0	0.00	1	50.00	0	0.00	2		
HORNFELS	1	7	77.78	2	22.22	0	0.00	0	0.00	9	(7.77)	<0.01
	2	12	70.59	0	0.00	5	29.41	0	0.00	17	(15.3)	<0.001
KFR SILCRETE	1	1	50.00	1	50.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2		
	3	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	100.00	0	0.00	1		
HORNFELS	1	2	50.00	1	25.00	0	0.00	1	25.00	4		
	2	2	40.00	3	60.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	5		
	3	1	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1		

CHI-SQUARE VALUES SORROUNDED BY BRACKETS REFER TO A CATEGORY WITH ZERO ADZES. THESE SHOULD THUS BE READ AS TENTATIVE RESULTS.

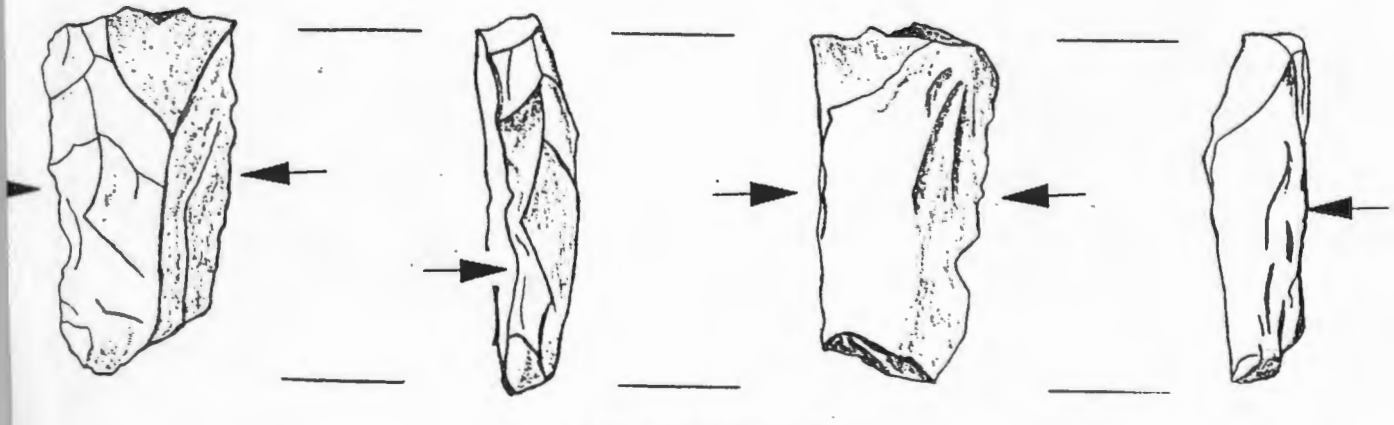
FIG. 6.5: ILLUSTRATIONS OF ADZE STYLES REFERRED TO IN THE TEXT (TO SCALE)



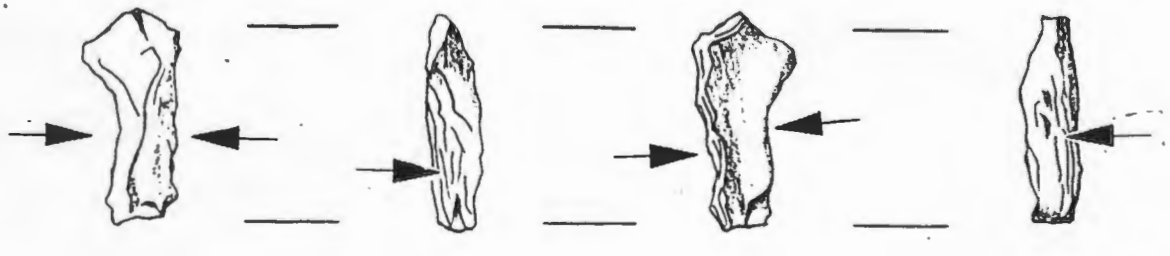
YOUNGER ADZE (SILCRETE)



OLDER ADZE (SILCRETE)



OLDER SLUG (HORNFELS)



YOUNGER SLUG (SILCRETE)

ARROWS INDICATE AREAS OF RETOUCH

FIGURE 6.6: DIAGRAMATIC REPRESENTATION OF TOTAL ADZE CATEGORIES THROUGH SPACE & TIME

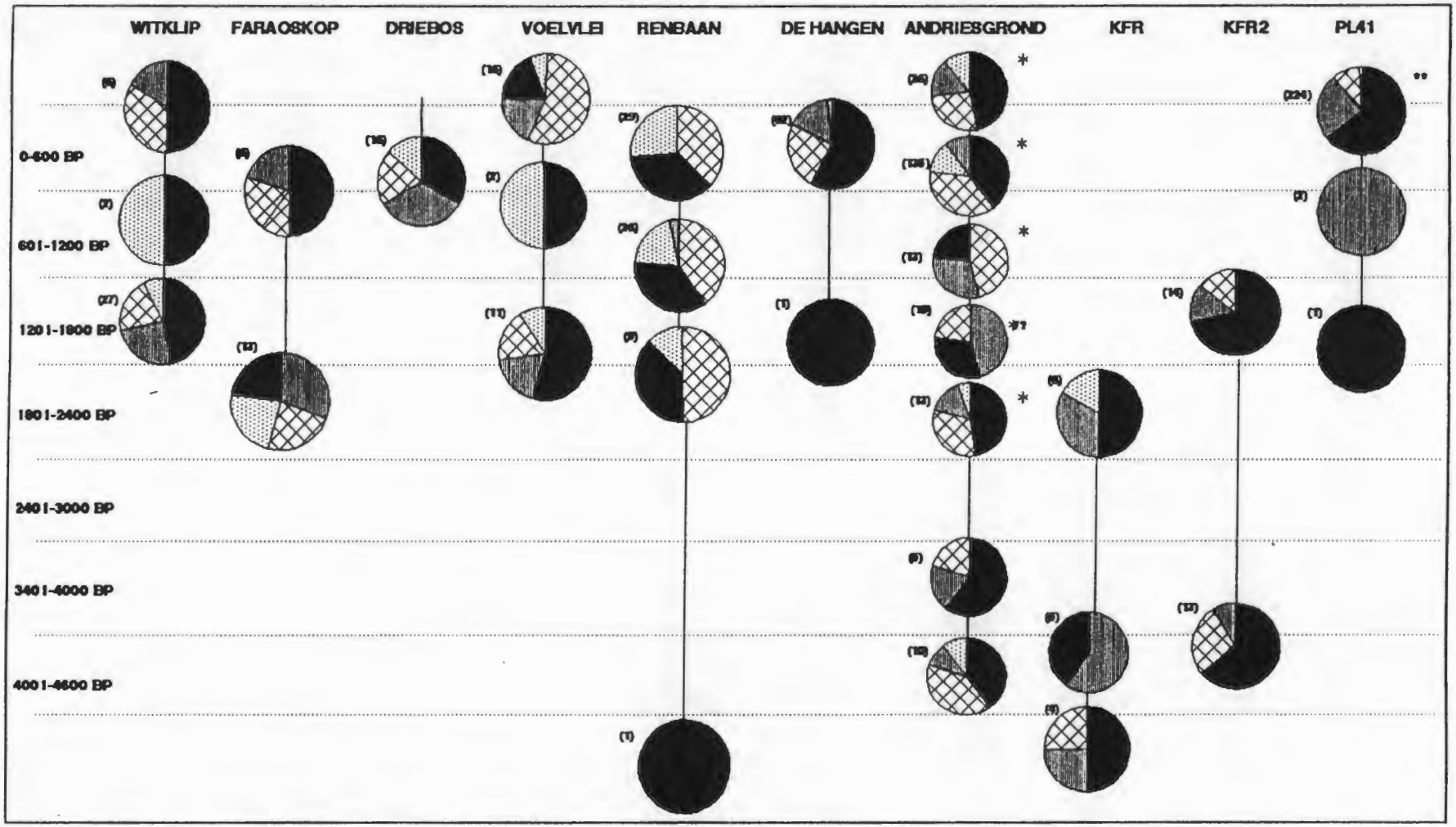


FIGURE 6.7: DIAGRAMATIC REPRESENTATION OF SILCRETE ADZES THROUGH SPACE & TIME

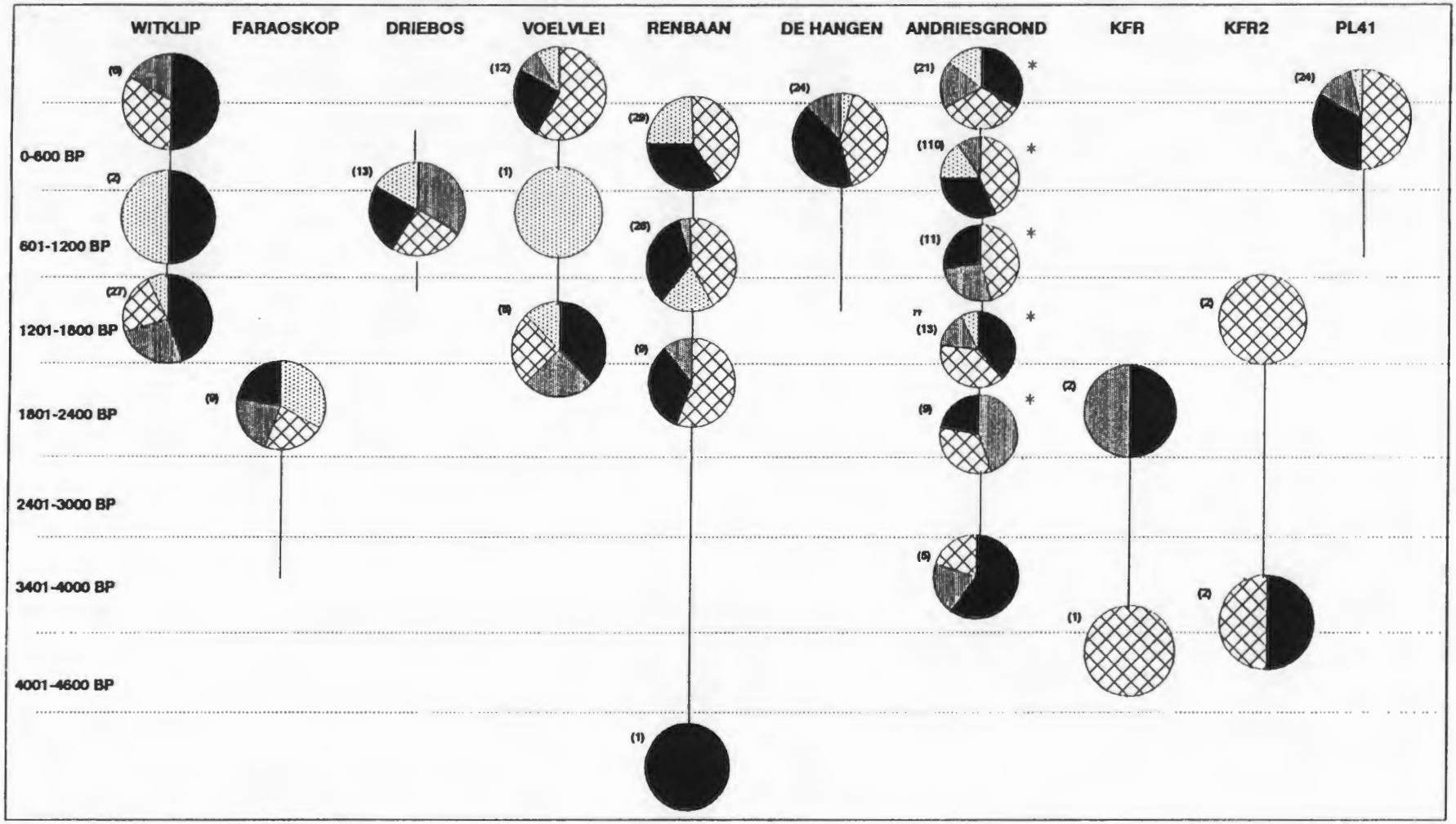
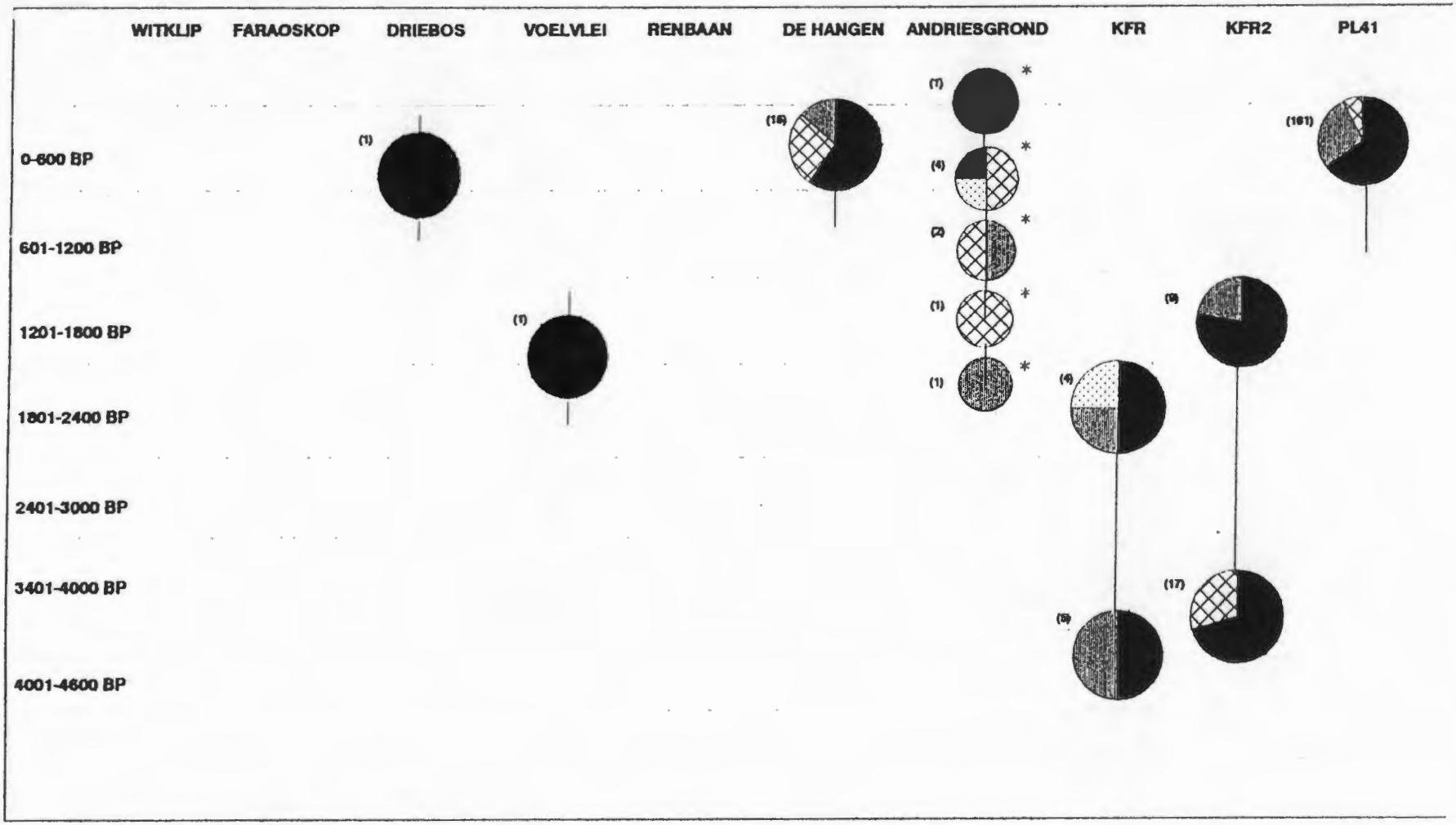


FIGURE 6.8: DIAGRAMATIC REPRESENTATION OF HORNFELS ADZES THROUGH TIME & SPACE



available raw materials. These silcrete and hornfels adzes are not predominantly on older flakes - VV(1) and Renbaan(2-3) are exceptions. This means that the raw materials used for adze manufacture are obtained mainly from primary sources, and not secondary sources such as MSA scatters on *kopjes*. I develop this in the discussion.

Adze Styles

In this section I analyse the differences between adze styles within and between assemblages, using the same definition for scraper styles to define adze styles. I use Yates' corrected chi-squared test since many assemblages have a small sample size (either in total adzes or per category). Sample size is problematic and the results shown to be statistically significant should be viewed as indicating trends. I excluded from my statistical analysis those assemblages with less than six adzes. I omitted FK from the analysis since most of the adzes came from the spoil heap of the farmer's excavation. Adzes in preceramic assemblages are under-represented in relation to ceramic assemblages. I would argue however, that this is a methodological problem, since most of the assemblages available for analysis were the result of research designs investigating spatial rather than temporal issues (see Parkington 1977, 1978, 1980).

Slugs are generally made on younger, not older, flakes. When I combined raw materials (table 6.4), 15 out of 21 assemblages (71%) show significant differences between adzes on younger and older flakes. This indicates a differential treatment for adzes on younger and older flakes. When I compared silcrete adzes, 10 out of 16 assemblages (62.5%) show significant differences between adzes on younger and older flakes. Only PL41 can be used when comparing hornfels adzes. In these assemblages there is a clear significant difference between older and younger flakes. Two more general trends emerge in my analysis. First, there is an increase through time in the use of older flakes for making adzes - not (older) slugs - at each site. Second, older adzes occur in both preceramic and ceramic assemblages. I explain the significance of this trend in my discussion. Only Renbaan shows an inverse of my hypothesis.

Of the total older and younger adzes for all assemblages, slugs tend to be made in similar ratios on older (28%) and younger (36%) flakes ($0.5>p>0.25$). However, this observation ignores the temporal and spatial aspects, since the chi-squared tests in each assemblage yielded variable results. In many assemblages there are significant differences between the numbers of slugs on older and younger flakes, indicating a preference for slugs to be made on younger flakes. Chi-squared tests are not useful when comparing all assemblages, since several do not have slugs on older flakes. A combination of all ceramic assemblages reveals significant differences between younger and older

flakes and slugs. This trend is also seen in the combined preceramic assemblages. When I compared the ceramic and preceramic assemblages, a greater significant difference was observed.

Preceramic assemblages in the mountains tend to have more younger adzes than older adzes (>50%). Older slugs occur in low frequencies in all assemblages - less than 23.1%. With the exception of Renbaan, older slugs are less than 12%. As with preceramic assemblages, ceramic assemblages tend to be dominated by younger adzes. When younger adzes decrease in percentage, younger slugs increase. Older adzes increase in frequency when the younger slugs decrease. When I compared silcrete adzes (fig. 6.7), the Cedarberg assemblages tend to be similar, since older adzes occur more frequently, followed by younger adzes. While WK is dominated by younger adzes, the percentages of slugs and older adzes are similar. Hornfels adzes tend to be mainly on younger, rather than older, adzes. The fact that only silcrete, and not hornfels is used as a raw material for older adzes may suggest a specific use for MSA scatters. PL41 is a hornfels dominated assemblage where both older younger and slugs occur. However, the single older slug is only 0.9% of the sample. The fact that older adzes do not dominate the assemblages supports my notion that raw materials were obtained from non-local source. I believe it is important to note that while WK and DRB are transitional assemblages, their adze styles, but not their scraper styles, remain similar to mountain assemblages.

DISCUSSION

Stone Age archaeology has been dominated by functionalist interpretations. Although these interpretative models have avoided references to the stone tool cultures of cultural historians, positivism still dominates published analyses. Meaning has been descriptive and people, or their social systems, tend to be portrayed as passive participants in changing technological and/or ecological environments. While I believe quantification is necessary in analysis, it should not become an end in itself: "tools are not ends in themselves but are used by people as part of a larger strategy for coping with their social and physical environment" (Torrence 1989:50). I view stone tools as signifiers of a social system, since they are in relation to other items of material culture and the social relations of a society. Archaeologists in southern Africa are fortunate to have many historical and more recent ethnographies relating to the people with whom we they are dealing. These ethnographies should be used as if they were items of material culture themselves.

The interpretation of changes in stone tools through space and time - introduced by Parkington (1980) in the southwestern Cape - has been dominated by an ecological approach. Mazel and Parkington (1983:25; and see Mazel and Parkington 1978; Parkington 1986) argued that some

assemblages at the coast have very few formal tools since "there was little need...to manufacture adzes...and a lesser interest in hunting terrestrial animals due to the wide range of marine alternatives". The changes in stone tools over the last 1700 years have been attributed to the arrival of a pastoral economy. Manhire *et al* (1984) and Robey (1984) argued that the changes in stone tool assemblages in the Sandveld are related to the incursion of pastoralism. They further argue that pastoralism affected the ecology of the area which in turn effected the type of stone tools made. These changes are said to be a result of changes in San hunting patterns and an increasing emphasis on plant foods. Kaplan (1984) argued that gatherer-hunters used MSA flakes for adze production since there was a decrease in the availability of preferred raw materials and/or access to silcrete quarries. While these statements may be true, the analysis remains on a technological and ecological level. Technology is seen "as function of timing and the severity of the risk involved...People will choose the least-cost material that will suit their needs. If they attempt to create a maintainable technology, then they will need materials that can be easily repaired or recycled into another tool" (Torrence 1987:64). I favour the argument that evolutionary ecology, socio-ecology, cost-benefit analysis, and so forth "are reductionist approach[es] that suggest that the allocation of time or energy is determined by the spatio-temporal structure of the ecosystem" (Jochim 1989:166).

According to Kaplan (1984, 1987), Manhire *et al* (1984), Mazel and Parkington (1983), Parkington (1984), and Robey (1983) the use of slugs in ceramic assemblages was a result of decreased mobility and thus access to primary sources. They suggest that "if raw materials become expensive, hunter-gatherers will employ strategies in stone tool procurement and use [so that raw material use will result in] efficient behaviour" (Jeske 1989:35). These interpretations may be correct only on the functional level, and are incorrect in assuming that only the functional or efficiency analysis determines the raw material. A social preference can influence, or even result from, a functional quality and this must be accounted for. While slugs do increase in number per assemblage over time, they do not outnumber younger adzes. If economy is the sole reason for slug manufacture, it fails to explain the limited use of older slugs and the differentiation between slugs and older adzes on both hornfels and silcrete.

GENDER AND SOCIAL IDENTITY

Male And Female Tool Use

"There are no compelling biological, historical, sociological, ethnographic, ethnohistorical or experimental reasons why women could not have made...all kinds of stone tools, in all kinds of stone tool materials, for a variety of uses and contexts" (Gero 1991:176). It is difficult to identify

contexts at the individual level, however, which compels an examination of the group or macrosocial level. Gero (1991:176) argues that females would be most visible in domestic contexts: "house floors, at base camps and in village assemblages where women would aggregate to carry out their work". This is seen in Khoi villages and houses (Jacobsohn 1986, 1988) and in San rock shelters (Parkington and Mills 1991) where woodshavings are most commonly found in the bedding and botanical features, for example at ADG (Anderson 1991; Parkington 1978). Woodshavings would not be preserved to the same degree, however, when they were made near fires.

Historical ethnographies suggest that females used digging sticks and bored stones, and thus by implication the tools related to their manufacture. Both Kannemeyer (1891) and Dunn (1873) met San females who used bored stones. These females said that digging sticks were used only by females and that although they did not make bored stones anymore, they re-used older ones found in the *veld* and caves. In a !Kung female menarche rite "one woman clinked two adze blades together to represent the sound and rhythm of eland's foot falls" (Marshal 1986:201-2). Gould (1978) reported that females in Australia used adzes. I do not imply that males did not gather or use gathering technology. Although hunting is a preferred activity for San males, "when hunting is poor, [males]...may gather full time" (Tanaka 1980:20). San males in Kalahari ethnographies also used unweighted digging sticks (Solomon 1989a). Ethnographic examples thus indicate how two genders can use the same tool in different contexts; one cannot simply divide gender roles. The challenge for archaeologists is to find out the contexts in which gender relations may become salient and how this is reflected in the material culture.

Access To And Control Over Raw Materials

The arrival of a pastoralist economy in the southwestern Cape is thought to have affected the raw material availability for making adzes. Before the arrival of a pastoralist economy in the southwestern Cape, gatherer-hunters supposedly moved across the landscape on a seasonal basis (Parkington 1980, but see Sealy 1984; Sealy and Van der Merwe 1986, 1987). This movement is argued to be from the mountains to the coast, and access to silcrete quarries in the Sandveld and coastal margins should thus have occurred on a regular basis. With the arrival of a pastoralist economy, the east-west movement is thought to have been restricted. Raw materials had to be obtained elsewhere, hence the use of MSA scatters. These MSA flakes, or blades would have provided the ideal raw material and size for the production of adzes.

This explanation is problematic for several reasons. First, Manhire (1987a) noted that silcrete blades (for possible adze production) were struck from quarries in the Sandveld between 3 800 and 1 700

BP. However, during this time period, older adzes were being used in the Sandveld and mountains. If the use of older flakes was a result of social, demographic and/or ecological stress, it cannot explain the use of older raw materials during times of presumably less socioecoomic 'stress', especially when silcrete quarries may have been more accessible. Second, one would expect to find equal or higher frequencies of older adzes in the ceramic assemblages. Older adzes never dominate any ceramic assemblages, besides Renbaan, yet despite a supposed restriction of access to primary silcrete sources. Younger adzes and younger slugs, when combined, are always more abundant than older adzes and older slugs. Third, if access to silcrete quarries had been restricted, one would expect other formal tools, or any other stone tool, to be made on older flakes. However, scrapers are hardly ever made on MSA flakes (Renbaan (unprovenienced) = 1; ADG(3) = 1; PL41(1) = 3) - 5 out of 1053, or 0.38%. The east-west axis of mobility may not have been as disrupted as previously assumed. The use of primary silcrete sources, that is non-local raw materials, also contrasts with the increasing use of local raw materials for scrapers. This suggests a differential treatment for younger and older adzes, as well as for adzes and scrapers. This may, in turn, reflect differential treatment of primary and secondary sources for raw materials and the access to and control over these sources.

Female Status

Mazel (1992) has questioned whether kinship was the dominant gatherer-hunter social structure as argued by Wadley (1989). In a historical materialist framework, Mazel (1992:123) argues that if females were to increase their status, and/or balance the power relations between males and females, they should "control their working conditions and the distribution of goods they produce." The increase in the frequencies of adzes between 4000-2000 BP in the Thukela River Basin is related to an increase in the work input of females, and thus an increase in their contribution to the food supply. This is thought to have increased the status of females in their society. While the inverse may be true - that males increasingly exploited females by making them work more - I do not believe that this occurred.

Smith (1990a) argued that when San males became patrons to the Khoi, the status of San female remained low since there was an unequal role in the work/food contribution. These arguments may be correct, but they ignore the nature of status relationships: when one group is in a lower status position, they may actively change that position. Alternatively, females may leave a status group when its categorisation cannot be changed. Furthermore, status is a relative position and related to who sees it (Begler 1978). I argued in chapter 5 that a dominance of the hunter:prey metaphor in the mythology and art (including smearing) was part of the San male discourses and power relations in response to their externally designated low status positions and the increase in smaller food parcels.

When status becomes salient, group identity becomes salient. Since identity is the strategy behind status, identity must also be considered.

While females are autonomous in gatherer-hunter societies, making their own decisions (Leacock 1978), "gender conflict in non-class societies is a major impetus for social change" (Solomon 1989a:3). Since females are autonomous, and their decisions would relate to 'women's work', this could be a variable in making gender identity salient. Even if females were made to do more work, and thus be oppressed, they do not necessarily have to view themselves to the detriment of male characteristics - they can transcend these designations (Flanagan 1989). Mazel (1989, 1992) has argued that when females increase their subsistence input and their control over food, they increase their status and are thus able to restructure the social relations. Solomon (1989a), however, argued that gathering, in gender and language metaphors, emphasises disunity of the band, while hunted game emphasises band unity. I argue that an identity based solely on disunity would not increase positive self-esteem for the individual or group. Females would need an alternative strategy to increase their social status within their community. This strategy should allow for an increase in self-esteem and gender identity. While identities are always in relation to other identities, they do not denote an acceptance of a low self-esteem and negative social or gender identity. Furthermore, plant foods are a transient and disposable commodity. Forming an identity on plant foods *per se* is unlikely to abet a positive self-esteem. The use of material culture directly related to plant food gathering, in relation to dominant gender discourses, would be more likely to bring about a positive self-esteem and thus positive gender identity.

The use of San mythologies to explain female status positions is thus important in understanding the material culture. A recurrent theme in San mythology is that of primal time. Primal time is linked to notions of primitivity and negativity. "Femininity...is principally associated with primitivity and reversionism, the past, passivity, death, and so on, and masculinity with regeneration, continuity and action" (Solomon 1989a:169). Primal time is related to the ability of females to send everyone back into the past - reversionism. Both primal time and reversionism are considered to be negative or undesirable states. Negativity can be positive, however, such as the ability of females to talk to spirits (see Solomon 1989a, 1989b for more examples). Negativity and reversionism may thus be strategies of asserting a feminine identity within the dominant male discourse. This is a form of social creativity where females use the male ideology of primal time to redefine their own status and identity, for example, and to assert themselves in gender discourses.

I noted previously that several types of adzes occur in gatherer-hunter assemblages - younger, younger slug, older and older slug. It would be simplistic to argue that since females are the main

plant food gatherers, and since adzes are related to woodworking and digging sticks, adzes may be seen as female tools. I argue that different contexts elicit certain responses to specific tools. While both males and females probably used adzes, females would be more likely to have used older adzes. The use of older adzes is thus a material manifestation of primal time. It is important to note that when San males met the first females in primal time, the females were gathering (see Hewitt 1986; Solomon 1989a, 1989b). Gathering and primal time may thus be related. Females probably made the adzes they used and/or collected the raw materials for adzes together. In this practice MSA sources could have become foci in the landscape.

The importance of place must not be underestimated. Deacon (1986, 1988) noted how the /Xam held specific parts of the landscape to be important. This is seen in other socioeconomic groups in southern Africa. The Sotho believe that their ancestors originally came from Ntsuanatsatsi, and specifically from a cavern which is surrounded by marsh reeds and mud (Maggs 1976). Both the hill and the reeds from the cavern serve important symbolic roles in Sotho life and death. The use of Mananga, a large sand dune in Richards Bay, as the spiritual, and not necessary real, resting place of the Mthiyane and Mbonambi ancestors is an example of the importance of place (pers. obs. and Len van Schalkwyk pers. comm. 1995). The use of caves for the burial of leaders in parts of Zimbabwe (pers. obs. and Frans Prins pers. comm. 1995) also indicates the importance of the landscape in social and ritual terms. MSA scatters could have been used as places that defined and enhanced female identities in the dominant male ideologies. The raw materials from these sources could have been be used to make adzes, and the adzes may then have become signifiers of the power females have over primal time and therefore society as a whole. Females could then negotiate their status differences with males in times of increased food contributions to the group. This would have become important when the contribution to the food package by males decreased. If females were the gender group who had access to these MSA sources, I assume that females had control over these scatters as well.

The use of the past in the present needs to be explained further. Establishing a link with the past, by means of an object, enables a person to keep her/his identity (Cszikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Holton 1981, in Radley 1990). Material culture can thus be used to elicit a sense of time and place which is central to San gender discourses. "The past is constantly re-enacted and re-arranged as a critical social activity in the present" (Kristiansen 1980:473, in Solomon 1989a:158). However, different groups have different perceptions of what is memorable and worthy of recollection (Radley 1990). Females may thus reuse older adzes, while males reuse the art. Memories are results of personal and social experiences - something one shares with others. "Long-term memories [are] biographical [and thus sociographical], stressing the shared background within which those concerned can appreciate their common past", and thus they can be become part of the social system

(Radley 1990:49). Specific items of material culture can be chosen since they serve to justify a constructed past. "The different relationships of...[groups] to the material world through their work and their consumption of goods indicate a distinction in how they premise their remembering upon 'the world' in which each has lived... [It is thus an] activity intimately bound up with a sense of the past...[and] not a mental exercise which takes place in segmented present" (Radley 1990:50). By using specific styles the individual is creating "a temporal perspective which claims for the group who 'own' these artefacts entitlement to a superior [or equal] moral status" (Douglas 1979, in Radley 1990:51). In this way females could use older adzes as a strategy to increase their self-esteem, social standing and gender identity, by working within the dominant male gender ideology. The use of place in the landscape would reinforce this notion, thus giving a temporal and spatial dimension to the material culture and gender ideologies. Artefacts such as adzes are "part of the material world ordered to sustain certain myths and ideologies, both about people [or groups] as individuals and particular" groups (Radley 1990:51). The present is a fabrication of the past and material culture can be used as a strategy for serving certain interests that are not arbitrary, but activated within the group identity and norms that modify objects to serve as symbols. "These artefacts are the material aspects of the relationships in which people act together, the object of the 'attitude' engendered by their interests and ideals" (Radley 1990:56).

Female identity may be best acted out in contexts of gathering and or domestic activity. "Gathering re-enacts past actions but in ways that recollect, select and discard and improves on how things have been done in the past... [Identity] becomes more than a strategic display than sheer repetition" (Rosaldo 1988:169). The gathering of plant foods may be one such an activity, and the gathering of older flakes another. In summary, San females may have related their association of the past to gender metaphors and used these metaphors to validate their present position by drawing on memories of the past. This would be achieved materially through older adzes and would have increased in situations where gender and/or social identity was made salient. This becomes more apparent when there is a clear lack of using older flakes for stone tools other than adzes. Older adzes may specifically remind males and females of the past, and possibilities of reversionism over which females have control.

The use of older adzes by females cannot be viewed in isolation by themselves. Since identity is in relation to another identity, specific items of material culture are also in relation to other items. An increase in the use of older adzes should coincide with changes in other items of material culture. There is a change in the nature of animal food packages after the arrival of a pastoralist economy in the southwestern Cape. These packages become smaller, even though large bovids still occur. This may reflect an increase in the food contribution of females. An increase in small bovids, such as

sheep, may relate to intergroup marriage where San females married into Khoi society. Here females would be able to contribute food to their gatherer-hunter family through new food networks and thus decrease the need for gathering. Transitional assemblages such as DH(1), WK(1), VV(1) and FK(1) show this trend of a high MNI/NISP of small bovids (possibly sheep). Diepkloof has the highest MNI/NISP of sheep and very few adzes. An increase in large and medium bovids may in turn be seen as males' attempts to enhance their identity. Females would have needed to assert their identity as well, hence an increase in older adzes - these two variables correspond positively. The smearing of rock art is another item of material culture which reflects changing social relations and identities. If scraper styles changed, I expect other material culture, or its symbolic expression, to have changed. Changes in adzes, scrapers and landscape use occurred with the arrival of a pastoralist economy, therefore I assume the smearing of rock art to have coincided with these changes.

Many historical and contemporary ethnographies note intermarriage between Khoi males and San females, and I assume this to be the case since contact first occurred. San females who married into Khoi society, but did not acculturate and kept their previous social ties, and males working as clients for Khoi would thus have had access to new, or increased, food resources such as meat and milk, and relatives would have benefited from this. The need for San females' to assert their role as the main food provider would have decreased, resulting in the need to use older adzes. This differs from site to site, even at those assemblages noted as transitional. These transitional assemblages, while having low adze:pottery ratios, may be a result of such intergroup interaction through marriage. All of these assemblages have large ostrich eggshell beads. Sites with high adze:pottery ratios tend to have a higher percentage of slugs and/or older adzes, and may relate to less contact with Khoi society and thus an increase in the need for asserting gender and social identity. These latter assemblages also show slightly more similarities in their scraper styles.

STYLISTIC CHANGES IN SCRAPER STYLES AND MALE IDENTITY

Material items always convey symbolic information, even though they may appear to be functional (Hodder 1979, in Gould 1980). Style can give more information than mere boundaries: it can become a "source of information on changing social relations between individual and society through time" (Wiessner 1989:62). "Change that increases an artefact's social and symbolic impact may in turn lead to the frequent and intense social and stylistic comparison, stronger social meanings becoming attached to a given style and, as a result, iconological patterns of variation" (Wiessner 1989:58): Styles thus become historical. The cause of these changes is important. Wadley (1989) argued that stress may accentuate styles, and Wiessner (1989:58) argued that we can predict

stylistic differences between *hxaro* items from "times of plenty and those from times of stress...[where] traditional values would be enforced," since individual styles would create a positive self-image. This to problematic. First, there is no reason to believe that the southern San practised *hxaro* (see Barnard 1992; Wiessner 1977). Second, Wadley (1989) ignores intra- and inter-group dynamics constraining the use of style, for example referent informational influence and identity salience. Third, neither Wadley (1989) nor Mazel (1989) say why a specific style is meaningful. For style to be meaningful the intra- and intergroup variability of an artefact's style is important as well as the motivation behind the style.

Style Beyond Function

The debate between Sackett (1982, 1985) and Wiessner (1983, 1984, 1985, 1989, 1991) concerning the applicability of isochrestic and emblemic style has been well documented. Sackett (1982:75) argues that style is a full complement of function - it is isochrestic: "function [is]...expressed within a culture-historically specific, ethnically meaningful segment of the archaeological record." However, Sackett is dubious as to whether isochrestic style can be identified in stone tool technology: "stone tools do not possess formal variation wherein iconologically significant investment can be objectively identified and defined" (1982:59). This argument has been criticised by several researchers (Hodder 1982a, 1987; Shanks and Tilley 1987a, 1987b). I argue that the very manufacture of an artefact places it in a social context. The person making the artefact imbues it with style and is the one who notes where the retouch is placed (see Wiessner 1983, 1984, 1985, 1989, 1991). Style, like identity formation and maintenance, is in comparison to another style or identity. If scrapers are used for hide working, then it seems unlikely for only one person to be involved in the processes of scraping, curing, and so forth. Kalahari ethnographies suggest that this process involves a particular gender group: males (Biesele 1993; Bleek 1928; Silberbauer 1981; Tanaka 1980;). This process is also an opportunity to teach others how to procure hides, manufacture tools and discuss the hunt.

Gathering and the preparation of plant foods can be used to increase female gender identity. Similarly, hunting and related activities can be used to enhance a male identity. I assume that scrapers were used mostly by males as part of a male hunter identity. Since the male identity is the dominant ideology, differences in scraper styles may thus relate to social identity or interband relations. I view scraper styles in terms of comparison dimensions. The range of styles is limited before the technology of the scraper is affected. While raw materials could be another variable for style, this is not the case for the majority of scraper styles in the southwestern Cape. Stylistic comparisons can be both visual and cognitive; they are learned and are in relation to other (non-

)similar artefacts. I do not analyse boundaries *per se*, rather gender identities and social group boundary maintenance related to contact with other groups. Examining boundaries in the southwestern Cape would be problematic due to the samples chosen and the lack of assemblages in certain areas and/or time periods. Archaeologists in the southwestern Cape, at present, lack the fine stratigraphic resolution to make such arguments.

Wiessner (1983, and see Wadley 1989) has argued for emblemic and assertive styles. Emblemic style is "used to express...social attitudes of identity...carries information about the existence of groups and group boundaries and not about interaction across or within them" (Wiessner 1983:257). It provides information about group boundaries and boundary maintenance. Assertive style is personally based and related to personal identity and thus positive self-image. It is related to contact across interpersonal boundaries. Wiessner (1983) argued that an increase in population density should result in an increase in the will to express personal identity and thus increase stylistic differences. However, this does not allow for the importance of how that population increase is composed. If the population is of the same group ideology, then perhaps assertive style would increase since individuals would be trying to increase their personal identity. When there is an increase in the same style, or when a style becomes dominant, it could be related to attempts to increase emblemic style, and is thus related to conformity. While Wiessner (1983) noted that conformity to norms is important in emblemic style, the underlying notion of conformity is normative, and thus one of cultural compliance; while her assertive style is one of informational influence. Both versions of conformity, normative and informational, imply that conformity is a unilateral process: individuals conform to the group norm and thus they are dependent on the group, with only a limited range of variation allowed.

In chapter 3 I noted the problems with these two types of conformity, and I use referent informational influence to examine style. Turner (1989) noted that while normative and informational influence does occur, the ability of the individual to affect group norms increases the more the group relies on the individual. Moreover, group members must reach consensus with others in the group so as to validate their views. When groups begin to redefine themselves through social creativity, normative and informational influence decreases since there is a move away from the group norm as new comparison dimensions are made or redefined. This becomes more important when the previous comparison dimensions are no longer valid, or if external designations compel new comparison dimensions. Individuals compete within the group for that which they believe the norm should be. These actions result in increased stylistic differences within the group. Assertive styles do, however, have a limit in attitude polarisation of norms, and changing comparative contexts can reverse or invert previous views of a style. Style becomes more than

emblemic or assertive: it is both, yet more. I view style as a strategy used by members of a salient group to gain positive identity for themselves and for the group as a whole. Although Wiessner (1984) noted that style is a strategy related to social relationships, she failed to note referent informational influence.

Quantitative and qualitative changes in styles are changes in modes of comparison and thus social identity. Wiessner (1989) noted how style can only negotiate identity with those who are defined by themselves as comparable. Non-comparable others may also affect style, however. I view new styles as new comparison dimensions; an increase of new styles may relate to an increase in social comparisons. These comparative dimensions are both culturally and historically determined (Wiessner 1989). Before I analyse these comparative dimensions, I examine which identity is being used, why it is used, and why that specific artefact is used to denote style. Style is related to identity, age, sex and gender, class and status, and thus identity is not only how group members see style, but how others see it. Although style can be viewed as a group marker (emblemic style), it does not explain why that object of material culture is used (Lemonnier 1989). Therefore I use gender metaphors in my analyses.

Scraper styles in the southwestern Cape: male strategies and identity maintenance in changing social environments

Scraper stylistic groups are significantly different in the preceramic assemblages in the southwestern Cape, in comparison to each other. Although this probably relates to emblemic style, it is incorrect to assume that all the San in the southwestern Cape belonged to the same band cluster. It is more likely that bands, band clusters and perhaps linguistic groups existed, and this was probably the level of social organisation in the southwestern Cape for the last few millennia. This type of organisation appears to be universal for gatherer-hunter societies (Bailey 1991; Barnard 1992; Gould 1978; Kenny 1981; Lee and De Vore 1976; Lemonnier 1989; Wiessner 1983). Identity is related to comparison dimensions and categorisations, and material culture is the physical agency for such processes. When style is a means of such comparisons, one expects similarities of style within the group and dissimilarities between groups. Hodder (1982a) has shown, however, that there is an increase in stylistic differences at group boundaries. Furthermore, those individuals within the group with which the comparisons are made, should have more frequent contact with others of the ingroup, rather than the outgroup. People compare with others as a means of negotiating their personal and social identity (Wiessner 1983). Personal identity relates to variations of the group norm for a stylistic attribute of an artefact, while social identity is associated with attempts to

increase identification with the group and thus making group identity salient. This is where I disagree with Wiessner.

A dominance of a certain style is related to times when the group identity was made salient, while an increase in stylistic variation is related to a non-salient group identity and/or a change in group identity and relations. Polarisation of group norms (that is of individual differences) can be seen in raw materials used and thus relates to individual comparisons and interpretations of the group identity (referent informational influence). When group identity is salient, conformity to the norm occurs mostly at the band level, then the band cluster, and finally the linguistic group (as noted by Wiessner 1983). This is due to group members being more intimate with each other, similar socialisation patterns, role models, and so forth.

The result of referent informational influence, when identity is salient, is conformity to a general style. However, this does rely on the all things being equal principle. Comparison groups should not have negative external designations, group boundaries should be permeable and flexible and similar statuses between people and negligible bias should occur. If this is not the case, two options are available to the group: individual mobility or social creativity. However, individual mobility relies on group boundaries being permeable, whereas social creativity is related to closed group boundaries, illegitimate status, and so forth. Both strategies are related to contact situations where group identity is made salient. In the case of individual mobility, assimilation, integration, separation or marginalisation are options available to the individual. This strategy tends to occur when the initial group identity has resulted in a low self-esteem and negative identity. Social creativity is a continuation of the group identity as a means of increasing personal and social identity, resulting in different or redefined comparison dimensions. In terms of style, individual mobility would result in a cessation of that style, while social creativity may result in an increase in stylistic variation for a period until an agreed upon style or comparison dimension is found.

Four main groups of scraper styles occur in the preceramic assemblages of the southwestern Cape. These groups are: (1) WK; (2) DRB and VV; (3) ADG, Renbaan, DH, KFR2, KFR, and PL41; and, (4) FK. Scraper styles in preceramic levels, in the Cedarberg, are predominantly end scrapers, followed by side scrapers. While ASP is also an end and side scraper-dominated assemblage, there are no assemblages between it and the Cedarberg for comparison. ASP is either related to the Cedarberg samples, due to the minimal variation in scraper styles before function is affected, or because ASP males used other groups as comparison groups. Although FK, DRB and VV are all side scraper-dominated assemblages, they are not significantly similar - there is a different

percentage of scraper styles in comparison to groups 1 and 2. The high percentage of backed scrapers at WK differentiates it from other assemblages.

In chapter five I argued that the eland, and other antelope, are primarily related to the male identity of hunters, providers of meat, and so forth - as opposed to gatherer:prey. Identity is not reified onto one specific symbol; rather identity has many symbols used in different contexts. Even in these different contexts, connections between the symbols exist. Scrapers are gendered artefacts related to gender metaphors. Scrapers are believed to be related to hideworking - the removal of fat and meat from animal skins. Fat is symbolic of femininity in San society, and here scrapers are used by males to remove fat (see Lee and De Vore 1976 and Marshall 1976, for contemporary examples). The use of scrapers in this context is an extension of the hunter:prey metaphor. Male hunters control and work the hide and fat (or prey); males make the karosses for females. The use of scrapers are thus means of identification with the hunter:carnivore, as opposed to prey:herbivore, in both the material and ideological realms. Males in preceramic assemblages emphasised their identity as hunters in the rock art imagery. Raw materials were also widely used. Similarly, females were asserting their gender identity *inter alia* adzes. Males and females were not only comparing themselves against their gender identities, but also against other band clusters, or linguistic groups, hence the four scraper groups where males in each band cluster made similar scraper styles. Scrapers can thus be viewed as a statement of gender relations and social identity.

If scraper styles are related to gender and band cluster (and/or ethnolinguistic identity), it cannot explain the lack of any patterning in the ceramic assemblages, where the only similarity tends towards dissimilarity. The dissimilarity would imply a 'decrease' in band clusters. Whether the isolationist argument is correct or not, one would expect a continuation of stylistic boundaries, especially in the mountains, in terms of social identity theory. The smearing of rock art coincided with changes in social and gender relations between the San and Khoi. The dissimilarity of scraper styles may thus relate to the changes in identity and comparison groups. San, especially males, had a lower status in Khoi society and this status was continually reinforced in contact situations. I propose that some San would have worked as shepherds for the Khoi, while others would have actively resisted contact on a social basis. Those who chose the latter option would thus have moved away from possible contact areas, for example into the mountains. Those who did not move would thus have opted for interaction and have had a new, or additional, comparison group.

Since Khoi group boundaries were closed to San males, due to status comparison dimensions, the only strategy San males had to increase their comparison dimensions would have been to redefine those comparisons or be marginalised. Marginalisation would result in a low self-esteem and non-

identification with groups, and is thus a negative and undesirable strategy. Redefinition of comparison dimensions would have resulted in an increased positive self and group identity. "Group members with low ability [to move out of a negatively valued identity]...may desire a positive identity from positively evaluated characteristics. Consequently, ingroup identification is particularly attractive to less able group members" (Ellemers *et al* 1988:499-500). When status differences occur, the low status group will only engage in outgroup favouritism when these status differences are legitimate and stable. I do not believe this to have been the case in the southwestern Cape. Illegitimate and unstable status differences would have resulted in group membership being made salient. One would expect conformity in scraper style. "When a comparison dimension is relevant to the social identity of the lower status group, one can expect a relative enhancement of all differences...and ingroup favouritism...Ingroup favouritism can take on the form of emphasising differences on, and enhancement with value of, traits which the owngroup is superior" (Van Knippenberg 1978:178). This is where referent informational influence plays an important role. When San male comparison dimensions are changing, a new norm should be attained to assert identity in scraper styles. However, the assertion of their identity is also in relation to other identities (some more dominant than others) within their society. While gender categorisations and memberships are stable, Khoi-San categorisations are not stable, for example. There is thus a continuation of the negotiation of the norms for scraper styles in previously comparable band clusters.

The increase in smaller food packages in ceramic assemblages can also be related to an increased reliance on individual members and thus increases in individual styles, hence the increase in the range of scraper styles in ceramic assemblages. The only alternative to change, or to resist change, is as a group as a whole (Tajfel 1978a), and this should be reflected in homogenous scraper assemblages, which does not occur. Changes in San male identity would have come from various sources; not only in a change of comparison groups, but also in relation to San females. San females had more social mobility and were of a higher status than San males, in Khoi beliefs. San males would have had to renegotiate several identities at the same time. By the nature of intergroup contact and comparison dimensions, any attempt by one group to compare itself favourably on one dimension would result in similar changes in the outgroup's comparison dimensions, unless an agreement on positive attributes for each group could be found. Polarisation of the norm would result since San males would increasingly try to assert their identity, hence an increase in variance of scraper styles. The increase in variation and the use of more localised raw materials for scraper manufacture (except for some assemblages at ADG), may relate to a decrease in San male mobility and interaction with wider kin networks. This would have resulted in smaller groups living in shelters (see Halkett 1991), a decrease in reference groups, and thus an increase in scraper style

variation. This does not mean that the San were unsuccessful in their attempts to challenge negative identities imposed on them by other groups.

CONCLUSION

Assemblages have been viewed in the past as either gatherer-hunter or herder, but should rather be viewed as occurring on a continuum. Formal tools alone are insufficient in determining an assemblages socioeconomy, since supposedly herder assemblages could be seen as gatherer-hunter assemblages. I compared formal tool percentages, percentages of specific formal tools (scrapers and adzes) and the ratios of formal tools:pottery sherds, to introduce the transitional assemblage category. Transitional assemblages occur along the margins of the coastal plain and the Sandveld. Gatherer-hunter assemblages are: WK(3+4), TC(5/6/7/10), KFR, KFR2, Renbaan, FK, KKH(2+3), PL41, VV(3), ADG, SPR(3), FRS(2+3), SRS(2). Herder related assemblages are: DSM, KTB, HSM, Kasteelberg B, SPR(1), RNKI, RNKII, OTJ, FRS(1), SRS(1), and Oudepost I. Transitional assemblages are: VL, DRB, VV(1+2), ASP(1), TC(1a/2a/3), SPR(2), and possibly DH(1).

Continuing with the notion of a continuum, I analysed scraper and adzes in terms of style. Although both females and males probably used and manufactured adzes, the use of specifically older adzes may relate to females and their status and identity within San society. The use of these older adzes may relate to notions of primitivity, and reversionism within San gender ideology. Females were using these older adzes to assert their gender identity in relation to their increased contribution to the food supply. MSA sources may have been foci on the landscape and places of female activity. Assemblages with greater number of older adzes tend to occur in the mountains and they have smaller animals in their food packages. Conversely, those sites categorised as transitional tend to have a higher proportion of domestic stock. This relates to intergroup marriage, where San females could marry into Khoi society, yet maintain links with their gatherer-hunter bands. In this way females would not be pressurised to increase their plant food supplies and activities, since food networks could ensure enough foods between these two groups.

Four main groupings of scraper styles occur across the landscape in pre-ceramic assemblages, with a variety of local and non-local raw materials used in scraper production. However, these four distinct groups, disintegrated after the arrival of a pastoralist economy. There was also an increase in the use of local raw materials to make scrapers. Scrapers relate to male gender identities, and scraper styles relates to interband social identity and comparisons. The increase in scraper styles in ceramic assemblages relates to the increased need for San males to negotiate their gender and social identities in changing social environments.

CONCLUSIONS

The objective of my thesis was to analyse interaction between and within Khoi and San societies in the southwestern Cape in terms of social identity theory and contextual archaeology. The contextual approach enabled me to link various items of material culture and ideological constructs within the social structures of mainly San gatherer-hunters, and to a lesser degree Khoi pastoralists. This is the first time this type of analysis has been attempted in the archaeological interpretations of the southwestern Cape. Material culture and group ideologies cannot be viewed as interactive with the current theoretical interpretations in the southwestern Cape, since these view material culture in terms of their technological function. The latter approach has divorced people from the material culture and views individuals as passive players in changing social relations.

The alternative I proposed was to view material culture as being interactive with the social relations of a society, and reflected in the gender and social identities of the individuals in that society. Since people use material culture to negotiate their gender and social positions in their society, changes in one may indicate changes in the other. However, this is not a causal relationship since material culture and its social use is context specific.

I used social identity to analyse the interaction between people in the southwestern Cape. Social identity theory views individuals as striving for a positive self-esteem. To achieve a positive self-esteem, individuals belong to groups, since group membership results in a positive social identity which affects the individual. Individuals attempt to a maintain positive social identity through various strategies, for example ingroup bias, status, comparison dimensions, stereotypes and social categorisations. Individuals therefore compare their groups with other groups, since identity is always in relation to other people or groups. In intergroup interaction individuals will compare themselves and their groups favourably in comparison to an outgroup. If a favourable comparison dimension cannot be maintained, the group will either challenge the outgroup or change its own comparison dimensions through social creativity. Alternatively, some individuals may leave their group and acculturate to the outgroup since the outgroup would provide a favourable positive social identity. Apart from a social identity available to individuals within a group, numerous other identities are available. These are, for example, gender, age and status. Identity was thus viewed in terms of the strategies that individuals use to maintain positive self-esteem.

Discussions of identity and interaction between the Khoi and the San in the southwestern Cape must take into account the isolationist and revisionist argument. Isolationists argued that the differences

between the San and the Khoi are real social differences and that these two socioeconomic groups lived besides each other in the same landscape. Revisionists counter this by arguing that the differences between the San the Khoi are recent and a result of colonialism disrupting former social relations, in which both the San and the Khoi herded cattle and gathered and hunted. Present day gatherer-hunters resorted to a gathering-hunting economy due to this colonial disruption. However, I argued that both arguments had used identity in a static manner and denied the material culture any symbolic meaning. Both arguments only considered one or two identities: for the revisionists there was only the Khoisan identity, while for the isolationists there was a Khoi and a San identity. Neither argument allowed for multiple identities such as gender, status and social identities. The arguments also assumed that identity is always salient regardless of the context of interaction. I used social identity theory to show how various identities could be enhanced according to the context of interaction. Since interaction is not only a situation of 'us and them', multiple identities would be used in different contexts and therefore different identities would be evoked according to the specific types of interaction. Material culture can be used to reflect and negotiate identities, and therefore it varies according to the contexts of interaction. Both isolationist and revisionist arguments have used identity in the broadest possible meaning, and they have therefore simplified the interaction between gatherer-hunters and herders not only in the southwestern Cape, but in southern Africa as a whole. My arguments in this thesis therefore have implication for other research areas where interaction exists between gatherer-hunters and agriculturists, frontier situations such as in the Koue Bokkeveld during the early eighteenth century, and between herders and agriculturists. Interaction cannot be viewed solely in terms of economy, and neither can material culture be viewed in technological terms nor as a mere reflection of social relations.

I proposed that the categories of Khoi and San be retained, and should essentially be regarded as separate groups. People in different status positions have, or create, their own separate identities. The social expectations, stereotypes, categorisations, and comparisons of different classes or status groups is, in itself, enough to result in a categorisation and/or comparison, and thus a group identity. External designations may result in common category salience, and this may then constitute a group identity within a larger social framework. I agreed with the revisionists that a larger social framework (or culture) existed; but, I argued that they have disregarded the context of specific identities. Each social category has its own identity which is historically and socially construed and reconstructed. The Soaqua, of the southwestern Cape, could be viewed even within the revisionist framework as one social category and the Khoi as another, within the larger society. In the isolationist framework they remain separate social categories; each category, however, having its own social expectations. The Soaqua category is important because Khoi who were banned or ostracised from their society, lived in the mountains with the Soaqua. The Khoi referred to the

Soaqua not only as stockless people, but also as robbers, thieves, and social outcasts, and they expected individuals in the Soaqua category to behave in this way and the Soaqua would have known of these designations. Since Soaqua males did not own large herds of cattle, they would not have been able to afford Khoi bridewealth to marry Khoi females - if the group boundaries were open to them. The lack of cattle and the social stigma attached to Soaqua would have denied them Khoi status and thus identity. Soaqua females, however, would have had access to Khoi society through access to Khoi males. I argued that it was therefore possible to argue for identity differences between the two groups within both a revisionist and isolationist framework. Soaqua was a real category consisting of people who gathered and hunted as their main means of subsistence, and those who were ostracised from Khoi society. Those individuals of Soaqua status were expected to behave as Soaqua, and those of Khoi status as Khoi. Each group had its own social relations and material culture with which it designated its social position within the larger society. Justifications for separate identities could then be ideologically expressed in religion, mythology, status, gender, language, and material culture.

The maintenance of these categories allowed for identity to be used as a means of comparison for other identities. Since identities are not static, strategies such as social creativity were used to negotiate relative positions in each category. The expectations of social categorisations and ensuing norms and identifications could have caused a category to become an identity. While people moved in and out of a category membership, the category itself remained defined, yet changing through time. The status of the present trajectory would thus relate to a historical process that made these identities more salient, with increased closed intergroup boundaries, most likely enhanced by European colonisation.

The above interaction affected the ways in which material culture was used. I argued that social creativity can be seen in the re-use of the fineline paintings, changes in scraper styles, and the increasing use of MSA flakes for adzes. Before the arrival of a pastoralist economy in the southwestern Cape, much of the art reflected the dominant male gender ideology. Females were symbolised by metaphors of gatherer/herbivore/prey, while males were symbolised by hunter/carnivore metaphors. While trance experiences may have influenced the way in which paintings were depicted, they were still governed by gender ideologies. These ideologies were seen in other items of material culture for this time period. Scrapers, for example, are related to gender identity. Scrapers are believed to be related to hideworking - the removal of fat and meat from animal skins. Fat is symbolic of femininity in San society, and scrapers were used by males to remove fat. The use of scrapers in this context was an extension of the hunter:prey metaphor. Male hunters controlled and worked the hide and fat (or prey), and they made the karosses for females.

The use of scrapers were thus means of identification with the hunter:carnivore, as opposed to prey:herbivore, in both the material and ideological realms. Males and females were not only comparing themselves against their gender identities, but also against other band clusters, or linguistic groups, hence the four scraper groups where males in each band cluster made similar scraper styles. Different raw materials for scrapers were also widely used. Scrapers were thus not only means of comparing between groups on social terms, or as emblemic style, but are intrinsically related to gender identity. Females were not passive acceptors of male ideologies. Moreover, a dominant ideology does not mean that it is accepted by everyone in that society; it may be reinterpreted to increase positive self-esteem and identity. The use of MSA flakes by females, even though initially infrequent, may have related to female identity and the symbolism of place on the landscape.

With the arrival of pastoralism, unequal social relations ensued. San males, or the category of a San male, were regarded as low status, and entrance to Khoi society was restricted mostly to San males. San females did enter Khoi society, but only as wives of poor Khoi males, or males who already had one wife. Even if San males aspired to Khoi status, Khoi social boundaries were closed to San males. Illegitimate and unstable social differences increased differences between the groups, and each group strived for positive distinctiveness either by means of social creativity or by enhancing previous comparison dimensions. These structures therefore increased identity. Unequal gender relations, within San society resulted when the role of San males as hunters decreased, and females as gatherers increased. Fineline art was replaced by the reuse of specific images in the art, for example smearing. However, this art style still reflected the hunter:prey, carnivore:herbivore metaphors. Images of large antelope, females and humans of indeterminate sex were smeared significantly more than other images. The four scraper stylistic groupings ceased to exist, and raw materials for scraper manufacture became increasingly localised.

San females intensified their use of material culture in these changing comparison dimensions. The increase of gathering as a food source resulted in an increase in the status of females in San society at the expense of males. While males controlled most of the reproductions in the art, and the changes, females increasingly used adzes on MSA flakes. The use of these older flakes was within the dominant gender metaphors of females being related to primal time, reversionism and primitivity. The sources of these MSA flakes also became foci on the landscape to symbolise female gender identity.

Changes in Khoi society also occurred, and I concentrated on female identity. Finger-related images such as handprints, finger smears and finger dots, as well as crayon lines, were used by Khoi

females to reassert their gender identities. These images were spatially and stylistically different to fineline images. These images were related to menarche or menstruation rites of Khoi females. In these rites places of seclusion were needed and specific items of material culture such as sheep, beads, tortoises and ochre were used. The use of shelters was an ideal place of seclusion and many shelters in the Sandveld and Bokkeveld have such images.

The authors of the certain colonial images and the large handprints is uncertain. However, these images were painted near the top of the superpositioning sequence, and are not related to other finger-related images in terms of superpositioning. The Bokkeveld area was an active heterogeneous society made up of various groups. These images may reflect one these groups using art to enhance their identity, to form an identity, or mimic previous art.

REFLEXIVITY

One of the main influences in my thesis has been my dissatisfaction with positivist interpretations. The changing emphasis in archaeology towards a more gendered and social study has influenced my work considerably, as have the works of the post-processual archaeologists. The objective of my thesis was to analyse interaction between and within Khoi and San societies in the southwestern Cape in terms of social identity theory and contextual archaeology. The contextual approach, combined with social identity theory, enabled me to link various items of material culture and ideological constructs within the social structures of mainly San gatherer-hunters, and to a lesser degree Khoi pastoralists. This is the first time this type of analysis has been attempted in the archaeological interpretations of the southwestern Cape.

As with any interdisciplinary analysis, weakness do occur. In this thesis I have downplayed or ignored certain aspects, either due to a lack of time, or because of the limitations of a Masters thesis. The colonial images, archaeological deposits or shelters that may have been excavated in the Bokkeveld, and the lack of analysed herder sites, are such examples.

A further weakness in my thesis is that of sample size in the stone tool analysis. Certain tools were too few in number to provide valid statistical results. I believe I have overcome this difficulty by questioning previous assumptions pertaining to stone tool interpretations, for example the emphasis on contextual meaning as opposed to function.

While social identity theory tends to be consistent with empirical data, certain criticisms have been directed at this approach. A main criticism to Social Identity theory is that the results from

experiments tend to be from *ad hoc* groups who have no history of previous interaction. Moreover the experiments tend to analyse only one context of interaction between groups. Other studies have shown that multiple-categories do exist. Furthermore, these experiments, especially the minimal group experiments, tend to be small scale and artificial. Nonetheless, I believe that by using the implications of this theoretical approach, and applying it to a specific context, with the use of ethnographic material and material culture, it still has validity.

Besides these weakness, this thesis has added to the understanding of complex intergroup processes. These processes have been largely downplayed in the 'revisionist-isolationist' debate, arguing that identity is based largely on economic terms. I used social identity theory to argue that the socioeconomy is only one aspect of a group's identity, and that several other identities should also be considered.

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APPENDIX A

ASPECTS OF SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY REFERRED TO IN THE MAIN TEXT

Interpersonal Versus Intergroup

Before examining intergroup issues, one must consider the interpersonal factor and why it is problematic when analysing contact situations. Interpersonal approaches in psychology deal with individual *qua* individual and their personal identities and thus do not account for group processes (see Brown 1988 for a history of interpersonal theories). However, certain psychologists have argued for an interpersonal-intergroup continuum, since there is little empirical support for 'pure' interpersonal situations. That is, while individuals may deal with individuals, they are not necessarily dealing on individual terms; rather on terms of a defined social category (Tajfel 1978a). Only if contact is intergroup will any positive outcome be effective; therefore contact works, not because of interpersonal factors, but "because it changes the nature and structure of the intergroup relationship" (Hewstone and Brown 1986:34).

Researchers studying interpersonal issues tend to analyse the cognitive aspect of human behaviour only - not the socio-cognitive aspects (Hewstone and Brown 1986, Maass and Scheller 1991, Park *et al* 1991, Tajfel 1978a, 1978b; Wilder 1981). Several studies have shown that even groups formed on an *ad hoc* basis will show ingroup bias; that group cohesion, and not interpersonal attraction, will cause positive intermember attitudes. This implies "the principle of imposed group memberships in the absence of interpersonal interdependence and attraction...without any social contact or social structure between members at all" (Turner *et al* 1983:228). Imposed group membership can be achieved through external designation on a positive, negative, or random basis.

Many of the early theories in social identity "focussed on the achievement of positive ingroup distinctiveness [as] the major explanatory notion...[and] the interpersonal and intergroup continuum was conceptualized as varying from 'acting in terms of self' to 'acting in terms of group'...as if the latter were not an expression of the former" (Hogg and McGarty 1990:12). Johnstone and Hewstone (1990:86) criticised this early work arguing that contact is not sufficient to reduce intergroup conflict, and may, in fact, increase it. They argued that any theory of intergroup relations should be able to explain situations of conflict and of harmony. Furthermore, many of these studies were unidimensional: a group could only differentiate at the expense of another group - multidimensional comparisons were not studied (Mummendey and Schreiber 1983; Van Knippenberg and Ellemers 1990). This situation was unchallenged until Lemaine (1974, in Van Knippenberg and Ellemers 1990) found that a disadvantaged group may use another dimension of comparison to gain a positive

social identity, for example, social creativity. Minimal group paradigm studies were criticised for their ahistoricism.

Social Identity and Personal Identity

A differentiation between social identity and personal identity is necessary, although the processes of identification involve both. Social identities are "self descriptions related to formal and informal group membership such as [gender], nationality, occupation, religion" (Turner 1984:526). Social identities are part of the self-concept derived from an individual's membership of social groups that locate an individual in society (Tajfel 1978a-b, and see Berger and Berger 1976:73-4). The self-concept mediates between the social environment and social behaviour; thus social identity and related value dimensions can be evoked under certain conditions (Turner 1982; Whetherell 1982). Once social identity is functioning, it monitors and analyses social stimuli and provides a basis for direct social behaviour; that is social identity is the cognitive process which makes group behaviour possible. These processes can be "relatively automatic cognitive processes associated with social categorisations [and/or] motivational processes which seem to characterize self-descriptions" (Turner 1982:21). Personal identity is a self-description that is more personal in nature, representing personality traits and specific attributes of the individual, for example feelings of competency, personal tastes, and so forth, and it can be fully social in nature (Turner 1984).

Necessary And Sufficient Conditions For Group Formation

If categorisation and social attraction allow for group formation, what are other necessary and/or sufficient conditions for group formation? First, the perception of a common category membership is both necessary and sufficient, while the mere perception of belonging to a social category is only sufficient (Turner 1982; Turner *et al* 1983). Second, similarity is neither necessary nor sufficient (Turner 1982), but it may play a role in group formation because of its effects on interpersonal attraction (Hogg and Turner 1985). Third, cohesiveness itself may not be essential in group membership, but groups tend to be cohesive in some instances (Turner 1982). Social cohesion is a result of identification. When group membership becomes salient, individuals stereotype themselves and others in terms of common attributes of the social categories to which they belong. Individuals in the same category stereotype themselves in terms of their group characteristics. There is thus a perceptual enhancement of their shared similarity which increase attraction (Turner 1982). Fourth, interpersonal interdependence and attraction are neither necessary nor sufficient conditions (Turner *et al* 1983; Turner 1984). "Variables determining interpersonal attraction seem to contribute to group-belongingness once a common category membership has already been established",

especially with social and verbal interaction (Turner 1982:25). A common fate (that is, a shared experience on outcomes), is, however, only a sufficient condition for group formation (Turner *et al* 1983).

Perceived similarity between groups is important. However, the literature is divided on whether intergroup similarity should be emphasized in contact situations (Johnstone and Hewstone 1990). Similarity tends not to increase attraction, as is the case in interpersonal settings. Ingroup favouritism tends to be more effective than does outgroup similarity, and therefore, the desirable strategy for improving intergroup relations is to de-emphasise similarities between the groups and to highlight intragroup dissimilarities (Johnstone and Hewstone 1990), since similarity may increase conflict (Brown 1988; Hewstone and Brown 1990). More importantly, distinctiveness must be viewed in relation to cognitive alternatives available to either group, especially when there are illegitimate and/or unstable relations exist, as "instability...has the effect of providing the necessary catalyst for status to have the consequences predicted by social identity theory" (Brown 1984b:617). If there is a third group, then similarity between groups may be increased if the second outgroup is seen as more threatening than the first outgroup (Johnstone and Hewstone 1990).

Group Membership

Intergroup behaviour is reliant on the occurrence of internal (self-categorisation) and external designation (Breakwell 1978; Tajfel and Turner 1978). However, although this tends to be the norm, there are three exceptions that will affect intragroup and intergroup behaviour: marginality, illegitimate group membership, and non-identification (Finchilescu 1986:83). Marginality occurs when an individual is moving between two groups. Illegitimate group membership occurs when an individual enters a group through deception (Finchilescu 1986). Non-identity occurs when individuals are placed into a group to which they do not wish to belong.

The Functions of Stereotypes

Stereotypes help to explain social events and justify group actions, tend to be made in favour of the ingroup, aid in the organisation of incoming stimuli and to make predictions about the social environment (Park *et al*. 1991; Tajfel 1981 in Brown 1988; Turner 1982). Outgroup discrimination and competition occur not because of any realistic conflict of group interests, but rather to differentiate the ingroup and maintain a positive social identity for ingroup members (Turner 1982). Discrimination may involve the derogation of an outgroup on some specific evaluative dimension, but this does not appear to carry over to more affective measures (Turner 1987b). Ingroup bias is

thus used to distinguish the ingroup positively from the outgroup rather than, initially, to downgrade the outgroup, and is associated with an increase in self-esteem (Crocker *et al* 1985; Oakes and Turner 1982; Turner 1978b). Ingroup bias is greater when an attribute is relevant to the group member's social identity and when the outgroup is more comparable to the ingroup. This "provides evidence that ingroup bias represents intergroup differentiation resulting from social comparison processes" (Turner 1978b:250). However, establishing positive distinctiveness from a relevant outgroup is only one of the various strategies used to achieve and maintain a positive social identity (Crocker *et al* 1985; Maass and Scheller 1991).

The Use of Stereotypes

Both individuals and groups stereotype others, but not all stereotypes are negative (Hewstone and Brown 1986). Stereotyping can be used to "include evaluative status or prestige, emotional experiences, needs and goals and attitudinal and behavioral norms...personality or behavioral traits, and that inductive and deductive aspects of categorisation may operate rapidly and transitorily as well as relatively slowly and stably" (Turner 1982:29). Aboud and Taylor (1971, in Hewstone and Jaspars 1982:106) found that role stereotypes were used when perceiving the ingroup, while ethnic stereotypes were used in the perception of the outgroup. Stereotypes may be used when meeting individuals about whom little is known besides their social category membership, and it is only when diagnostic characteristics of a person are known that stereotypes may have very little impact on the judgement of that person (Locksley *et al* 1980). When stereotypes are used, they consequently result in ingroup bias. Whenever a group, in any situation, "is able to compare itself with another group on some valued dimension, the group must attempt to differentiate itself from the other towards the positively valued pole of that dimension in order to preserve its members' self-esteem" (Turner 1982:105). This dimension becomes central to the group's social identity (Huici 1984). However, while group members show ingroup bias on these valued dimensions, they may concede outgroup superiority on dimensions of low value (Van Knippenberg and Ellemers 1990). Outgroup discrimination tends to occur when no other alternative exists to guarantee one's group's positive social identity. When an positive outcome is possible for both groups simultaneously it appears that evaluations are influenced in the same fairness (Mummendey and Schreiber 1983). Fairness can be a socially desirable strategy in intergroup contact. Derogation of outgroups relative to ingroups tends to be used by people (usually with high self-esteem) to maintain their self-concept when their social identity is being threatened (Crocker *et al* 1987).

One way to decrease intergroup bias could be to decrease stereotypes. Allport (1954 in Brown 1988) suggested that the more contact two groups have with each other, the less bias will accrue.

However, research has shown that contact is not enough, and may, in fact, increase bias at the group level (Brown 1988; Gudykunst *et al* 1988). Studies suggest that the introduction of common membership, or crossed categories, will decrease bias between groups (Deschamps and Brown 1978; Gudykunst *et al* 1988). A further option could be to perceive the group as more variable, since stereotypes are then less likely to be attributed from the group to the individual, and consequently, the stereotype would be more easily changed (Park *et al* 1991). However, this may affect ingroup distinctiveness. Intergroup stereotypes change as intergroup relations change; they can also remain stable despite efforts to change them (Eagly and Steffen 1984; Gennessee and Holobow 1989). This pertains especially to negative stereotypes - "intergroup relations may, thus, only be enhanced by contact which provides more opportunities for disconfirming behaviour to occur" (Johnstone and Hewstone 1990:197).

Self-Stereotyping

People assign attributes to themselves based on their social categories, a concept known as self-stereotyping (Hewstone and Brown 1982). Individuals will self-stereotype "with respect to descriptive traits under conditions in which category members would be expected to be salient [for example]...religious group membership, ethnicity, sex, and behavioral norms" (Hogg and Turner 1987:326). The cognitive output of salient social identification is the stereotypical perception of oneself and others in terms of relevant social categorisation. Self-stereotyping produces the depersonalisation of the self, that is "the perceptual interchangeability or perceptual identity of oneself and others in the same group on relevant dimensions. It is this cognitive redefinition of the self - from unique attributes and individual differences to shared social category memberships and associated stereotypes - that mediates group behaviour" (Turner 1984:528).

Outgroup Homogeneity

One of the consequences of intergroup contact is the 'outgroup homogeneity effect' where the outgroup is seen as being homogeneous, and the ingroup as heterogeneous. This occurs when intergroup boundaries are impermeable (Judd and Park 1988; Park and Rothbart 1982). However, there are complex mixtures of homogeneity and differentiation, and these arise according to the nature of intergroup relations (Lorenzi-Cioldi and Doise 1990). Similarly where groups are under anticipated intergroup competition, ethnocentricism and outgroup homogeneity occurs, while memory for individual characteristics is the same for both groups. Under anticipated co-operation ethnocentricism and memory for outgroup characteristics decreased, but no outgroup homogeneity occurs. That is, "the effects of competition versus co-operation differ at the level of group

judgements and memory for individual group members, such that at the group level outgroups are seen as less variable than ingroups under competition, but competition actually increases memory for information about individual outgroup members" (Judd and Park 1988). Park and Rothbart (1982:1052) suggested that the 'outgroup homogeneity effect' thus confounds status and differences between groups and should be restated: "The degree of intragroup variability should be judged greater by ingroup than by outgroup members", and thus it allows for judgement by both groups.

Outgroup Favouritism and Bias in Intergroup Contact

There are two types of outgroup favouritism. First, such favouritism may occur when the outgroup is favourably judged and not perceived as a threat to the ingroup's social identity, for example, an outgroup on a second class dimension of alleged inferior quality (Mummendey and Schreiber 1983). Second, outgroup favouritism may occur where individuals favour the outgroup (Hinkle and Brown 1990), resulting in the individual leaving the ingroup for the outgroup - the individual mobility strategy. According to social identity theory, individuals strive for a positive social identity through social comparisons. The difficulty occurs "when intergroup comparisons do not result in positive differentiation, it is difficult to interpret such behaviour in terms of groups striving to establish or maintain positive identity" (Hinkle and Brown 1990:57). This may occur when the outgroup's psychological prominence is limited. Outgroup favouritism would be likely to occur when a group emphasised individualism and if a person was in a situation which was non-comparative, for example, members of a jury. Moghaddam and Stringer (1987) suggested that if ingroup formation is unimportant, and if the outgroup is similar, then outgroup favouritism may occur. Outgroup favouritism may thus either indicate ingroup devaluation or a search for security:

> "A group which has an insecure image of itself does not find it easy to adopt clear discriminatory strategies when confronted with the presence of a superior group. On the contrary, this group seems to show a slight tendency towards bias in the favour of the outgroup. Thus, the induction of a majority-minority perspective determines the subjects' behaviour as a formation of the existence in their social field of another group which is important to them. It looks as if it is this salience of the other group which provides the ingroup with its distinctiveness even, or mainly, when the categorisations are important" (Moscovici and Paicheler 1978:265).

A criticism of the social conflict model is that intergroup interaction does not always result in conflict: social co-operation may occur (Van Knippenberg 1984). Social co-operation is a "process in which groups (or individuals) co-exist with consensual appreciation of each other's qualities. These qualities possess a 'socially shared' value, in the sense that the groups agree that the characteristics involved are positively valued (although they may disagree as to the degree in which they are important)" (Van Knippenberg 1984:575) Social co-operation tends to develop in situations where the existence of different qualities is beneficial to both groups or where group goals are not interdependent. In other words, it occurs when there is mutual validation of each group's 'superiority' on at least one valued dimension which will decrease conflict.

Cognitive Alternatives

Turner and Brown's (1978:221) experimental conclusions provide a summary of cognitive alternatives:

> "(1) In a consensual status system, superior groups tend to display more ingroup bias...on status-related dimensions of comparison. (2) The awareness of cognitive alternatives to the existing status relationship tends to promote competitive ethnocentricism amongst different status groups: (a) perceived illegitimacy increases bias for both...groups; and, (b) perceived increases illegitimacy bias for legitimately superior and inferior groups, but has the reverse effect for illegitimately superior groups. (3) Insecure social identity...results...in attempts to achieve a positive self-concept through group creativity: (a) perceived illegitimacy seems to increase creativity...amongst [both]...groups; and (b) perceived instability seems to increase creativity...amongst legitimately superior [non-significantly] and illegitimate inferior groups".

Social Competition

Social competition occurs when the *status quo* is questioned, is "no longer seen to be stable and immutable, and alternative social arrangements and means of bringing them about are early envisaged and anticipated" (Hogg and Abrams 1988:29). Examples of social competition can be seen in civil rights movements, civil war, violent terrorism, and passive resistance (Hogg and Abrams 1988; and see Tajfel and Turner 1979).

Acculturation, Assimilation, Integration and Marginalisation

Acculturation is one of the consequences of individual mobility. There are many options available to the acculturating individual or group: "some may turn their backs, others may embrace [acculturation], while others may selectively engage the new while merging with the old" (Berry 1990:205). Assimilation causes maximum behaviour change; separation retains traditional behaviour and thus minimises change; integration results in a "relatively stable balance between behavioral continuity with one's traditional culture and change toward the 'new' culture"; while marginalisation occurs when an "individual is suspended between two cultures, often in a state of personal and social conflict...[and it is here] that the greatest levels of acculturative stress are to be found" (Berry 1990:222; and see Guenther 1976a, 1976b, 1979, 1989). In the acculturation process contact occurs first, followed by change, and thus both the donor and receptor groups have, initially, an equal chance to influence one another. Berry (1990) argues that one should analyse the characteristics of both the donor and the receptor groups when studying acculturation.

The characteristics of the acculturating process results in the different responses by the receptor group, and these are distributed among individuals since group responses may vary according to age, sex, family and position, since everyone does not enter acculturation process in the same way (Berry 1990). This assumes that the donor or outgroup will allow acculturation to take place by opening group boundaries, for example. Berry (1990) argues two levels of acculturation exist: at the level of the population (ecological, cultural, social and institutional) and individualistic acculturation (behaviours and traits of individual members, which amounts to individual mobility). The distinction between the two is important as acculturating individuals vary in their responses to the collective changes in the group (Berry 1990). Berry (1990:210) further argues that "individual acculturation...does not [pass] as a neat package. Not only will groups and individuals vary in their participation and their response to acculturative influences; but some domains of culture and behaviour may become altered without comparable changes in other domains...[*e.g.*] attitudes towards the value of traditional technology may change without a comparable change in beliefs and behaviours associated with it". However, this statement is problematic for two reasons. First, it can only be correct for assimilation. Second, it negates the symbolic meaning associated with traditional technology, especially if traditional technology were central to the social relations of a society.

Assimilation

Assimilation is part of the acculturation process. It involves the adoption of the donor's culture - there is a loss or rejection of the ingroup and its social identity. "Assimilation as a strategy...is full of pitfalls since it tends to preserve the distinctive social representations of the two [groups]. In

addition, this strategy has serious implications for society. In wanting to assimilate into the [outgroup-]dominated power structure [ingroups tend]...to accept the criteria of the "superior" group [and thus] the [ingroup's] identity is evaluated in terms of outgroup values. Assimilation thus appears to move [ingroups]...away from a definition of themselves which was always based on how [the outgroup] defined them, to a situation where their self-definition is based on [outgroup] standards" (Williams and Giles 1978:440-441). Assimilation thus results in a new identity. Groups may actively resist assimilation to retain their distinctiveness (Hewstone and Brown 1986), and thus assimilation tends to be individualistic.

An example of assimilation can be found in exogamous versus endogamous marriage patterns. Stopes-Roe and Cochrane (1988:156) note how "minority ethnic groups would differ from the majority groups both in the clarity of their definition of possible marriage partner and in strength of their feeling for endogamous marriage; and that, since exogamous marriage is the most extreme aspect of assimilation, attitudes towards it would be related to other forms of assimilation". In pluralistic societies, ethnic groups will have to consider which group or individual may be accepted into the family at the intimate level of marriage. Stopes-Roe and Cochrane do not, however, consider status differentials between groups: the outgroup must be seen to have a higher status than the ingroup, and this status must be desired. They found that those individuals who have been assimilated, would opt for exogamous marriage, while those opting for endogamy "defined their ethnic group clearly; supported it as their parents did, and looked to it to support them" (Stopes-Roe and Cochrane 1988:167).

Acculturation and assimilation are forms of social mobility which occur when group boundaries are permeable. Both occur because people believe that they can improve their position in important ways in a social context; however, they tend to occur at the level of individual action (Tajfel 1978a). "A belief in social mobility leads to subordinate group members to adopt individualistic strategies to cast aside their subordinate social identity with its potentially negative connotations and material inferiority in favour of the dominant group's social identity and concomitant material advantage and positive evaluation (Hogg and Abrams 1988:27-28). Individual mobility is not easy to accomplish for the reasons I have given above. If group mobility occurs, the group will use support mechanisms which tend to maintain certain values, attitudes and beliefs (Brislin 1987). This will result in separation, not integration or acculturation. If social mobility is not possible, social change occurs as a strategy for attaining a positive identity, and hence a positive self-image.

APPENDIX B:

The following are narratives that may explain illegitimate status position, views of other groups, and/or low self-esteem, as perceived in San mythology:

Bushman, Bantu and the Cow, version 1

"The first man who saw the cows in the veld was a Bushman. After he had seen them he met a black man...and told him: 'I saw some animals in the veld and I don't know what kind of animal it is'. They went there and saw one cow, with calf, and they caught the cow and the calf and they milked the cow and boiled the milk. The black man passed the milk to the Bushman and told him: 'You drink first and tell me how this milk tastes'...the Bushman replied: 'No you drink it first'. So the black one drank some of it and gave the rest to the Bushman. When the Bantu tasted the milk he liked it so much that he said to the Bushman: 'You will stay with the wild animals, and I will take the cattle'. He took the cattle and drove all of the cattle away. That is why Bantu have cattle but Bushmen do not". Guenther 1989:65).

Version two ends the narrative by claiming that this is the reasons why Bushmen eat scraps and others do not.

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Biesele (1978:320-21) gives an account of the division of the social world into hunter-gatherers and herder-farmers:

> "We who were made first, have come to be the last. And those who were created last, have come to be first. Even though they arrived later than we did, Europeans and Bantus have come to be ahead of us. I refuse this thing, that we should have come to be the last of all. I fear this thing. It gives me pain. And I despise that old man of long ago who caused this to happen. I think that if I saw him today I would beat him. But he is dead and there is just nothing that can be done. That old man who was responsible for all this was called /'Tuma/'tuma.... One day long ago [he] was out hunting. And in the bush he discovered a cow...." [The rest of the narrative follows Guenther's (1989) version given above].

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OF TICKS AND SHEEP:

[Story told by Bleek and Lloyds' informants (Hewitt 1986: 228-29)].

/Kaggen leaves home and goes to the home of the Ticks. These people are not relatives or friends but "black people who keep sheep". He goes to them with the intention of stealing the sheep, not as a social visit. "The Ticks see /Kaggen coming and hide in their sheep's wool. When /Kaggen approaches the sheep the Ticks drop from their hiding places and beat /Kaggen severely so that he is forced to escape by magically growing feathers and flying back to his home with his possessions flying faithfully behind him". When he returns home he is told how dangerous the Ticks are, and how to steal their sheep. '/Kwammang-a does give him advice on how he should approach stealing their sheep if this is what he wishes to do. He tells /Kaggen that he should creep up on the Tick's sheep, pick the ticks out one by one and drop them into the fire; then he will be free to drive the sheep away'. /Kaggen does this and succeeds.

//Kabbo's version is more elaborate. After /Kaggen had been beaten by the Ticks, not only does he take his things back on the flight, but all the sheep, clothing, cooking utensils, houses and fire, "in fact every material sign of culture" of the Ticks as well. In the morning /Kaggen justifies his actions saying that the Ticks are "to evermore live without clothing or warmth from a fire, and to eat raw foods and drink blood from the ears of hares".

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