USING THE ARCHIVE TO FORMULATE A CHRONOLOGY OF ROCK ART IN THE SOUTH-WESTERN CAPE, SOUTH AFRICA

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work, both in conception and execution, unless otherwise acknowledged. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Science, University of Cape Town. The thesis has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.

Signature of Candidate

Signed by candidate

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ABSTRACT

With absolute dating still limited, relative chronologies remain useful in contextualising painting interpretations. This study vouches for the archival capacity of rock art and hence the archival perspective can be used to analyse paintings sites to build a framework their chronological and interpretative formulations. The sequence of paintings in the south-western Cape is customarily accepted to span hunter-gatherer phase from over 10,000 B.P.; then herding/pastoralism from ca. 2,000 B.P., and finally the historical-cum-colonial period several centuries ago. Several painting traditions with distinct depiction manners and content are conventionally linked to these periods. This study does not replace but evaluates this schema in order to refine the diverse hunter-gatherer, herder and colonial era painting contexts and history. Using superpositions as one of my analytical tools, the notion of *datum* aided the referencing and correlation of layered image categories into relative sequence. Visible differences occur between painting traditions, but indistinguishable within a single tradition. Some themes such as elephants, fat-tailed sheep, handprints and possibly geometric forms and dots were found to occur in various levels, even as parts of different traditions. Such divergences were analysed through the archival concept of *respect des fonds* to clarify graphic variations through the chronology. Probing other sources of information revealed that change from earlier to later imagery phases reflected shifts in the socio-economic, cultural and political circumstances of the region. These histories through time are indicated by the choice and sustenance of particular thematic subjects although their meaning and form changed. The ensuing sequence and interpretation of selected painted themes is a descriptive template reflecting the organic character in the creation, the order of painting phases and cultural continuities and disjunctions in the use of symbolism. This agenda in part reviews the changing social and historical landscape in order to understand variation of painting over time and to project possible interpretative transformations in the sequence. Painting sequences and cultural (dis)continuities are thus intricately entwined and can be disentangled through an analysis that uses the recursive relationship between the archaeological, ethnographic, and historical sources. This amalgamated approach has the ability to produce historicised past narratives and contextual image meanings. The chronology can be understood through first accepting the social, economic, political, and cultural subtleties of painting production.

EXPLANATORY NOTES

Site names and coordinates

In the spirit of South Africa's Heritage Resources Act (No. 25) of 1999 and the desire to protect archaeological sites from wanton vandalism or uninvited attention, this thesis does not provide site coordinates. Where site names are used, they are for known public sites or those sites important only research communities. In any event, with only a few exceptions, these sites are largely on privately owned properties or conservation areas, where even *bona fide* researchers must seek permission to study them. So, they generally enjoy some level of protection. Overall, no coordinates are provided.

Note on the ethnic designations

Because of particular southern African historical circumstances, some terminologies used to label diverse regional peoples are fraught with unflatteringly pejorative connotations. None are so bedevilled by deleterious historical legacy than the names often reserved for the people known collectively today as Khoisan. This term coined in the late 1920s to encompass both the Bushman/San hunter-gatherers and Khoekhoe pastoralists (Schultze 1928). The term refers to linguistic and biological affinities of click speakers of southern Africa, who are more closely related genetically than they are to other African populations. 'Khoisan' is now regularly rendered as 'Khoesan' while others prefer 'Khoesaan' (Smith, A.B. *et al.* 2000) or now commonly 'KhoeSan' (an appellation which I use in this thesis, in line with current developments in this field). Alan Barnard argues for the use of the original spelling 'Khoisan', since it captures a foreign construct that does not exist in original Nama language (1992: 7).

Although in common usage today, in many ways the appellation San (also recently rendered as 'Saan'), like the much more conventional Bushman, is equally problematic given its history. In one Nama dialect, as in other Khoe languages, 'Sa-n' means 'forager people' (non-gender pl.). Others suggest that in the Cape the term may also have implied a people with no stock animals and thus of lower standing. They argue that when domestic animals became much easier for the former hunters and gatherers to hunt than wild game, the name 'San' became associated with stock thieves (Smith, A.B. 1998). It also appears that Bushman (as an Anglicised form) was from the Dutch literal translation of this 'San' moniker with its associated wild connotations. Despite etymological debates around these names, what is incontrovertible is the fact that both have been used pejoratively. But since there is no single self-appellation used among the hunters and gatherers beyond their own group names, such as |Xam, Ju|'hoansi, !Xoõ, G|wi, Nharo, and so forth, writers and the public alike follow convention to use one or the other of the former terms. This thesis is no exception: however, it rejects all earlier derogatory connotations and uses the terms in a positive sense.

Note on KhoeSan clicks

KhoeSan languages use clicks, which are additional consonants. These add meaning to words, inflections and omissions will inevitably alter meaning.

	(or /) Dental click: produced by placing the tongue behind the front teeth to make the 'tut' sound.
ǂ (or ≠) Alveolar click: produced by sucking the tongue against the ridge behind the upper front teeth.
‖ (or //) Lateral click: produced at the side of the mouth.
! Palatal click: produced by clucking the tongue on the roof of the palate.

Note on dates and chronology

Due to longer time frames involved in prehistory studies, chronologies are rendered in two conventional ways. The first way is to quote dates by reference to the present era, usually written as **B.P.** (before present). The reference year is + 1950, which is of course an arbitrary cut-off temporal reference. All dates are negative in relation to + 1950 (e.g., 2,500 B.P. = – 550). Customarily archaeologists often follow this convention, which is used with calibrated radiocarbon dates. The second way is to use the Christian era as a reference point and this approach prefixes a + or – sign to the quoted date. So, when quoting chronology in centuries, the terms **BC** and **AD** ('before the Christian era' and 'of the Christian era') are appended to the dates (e.g., 3000 BC = – 3000 or AD 1450 = + 1450). Historians often use this format. This thesis uses the first approach in line with traditional usage in archaeology and rock art studies.

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Last but not least, I extend my heartfelt thanks to my family nexus, Mr Jacob and Mrs Susan Mguni, then Nobuhle, Nobandile, Sakhile, Bongiwe, Lwandle and others in my Mguni extended folk network, for their unwavering encouragement and support in many ways over the years. I have a special note about my father, whom through my archaeological proclivity has since developed a thorough and lasting enthrallment with the subject, particularly Bushman paintings and cultural patrimony. When I set my sights on this subject as a future career, my father was bemused at first but—seeing and feeling the intensity of my passion for it, as I have always been since childhood—he became my greatest pillar of support in this journey. I thank him dearly and am compelled to share this little anecdote: after one field season in Matopo Hills, Zimbabwe, in the mid-1990s, I took a holiday to spend time with my parents. Then one evening my father pulled me aside and told me what he said was the ‘little he knew’ about the story of our descent from the Bushman nation. From this I

learned that his grandfather's mother was a Bushman woman. He acknowledges that this family history has grown somewhat ambiguous over the years, not least because this maternal fragment of our line did not survive long enough to see, or be seen by, her progeny.

Needless to say, all that her grandchildren—my father included, his siblings and their extended network—knew about her was often brief hearsay within the family circles. Given our complex histories in southern Africa, it did not help that people would not normally freely profess this heritage. All I had heard before this moment with my father was that, it was only my father's grandfather who in his old age often lamented time and time again when he felt emotionally down or upset, that he missed his mother—this Bushwoman! "Ndiyinkonyane ye-Sili!" he would proudly and nostalgically exclaim, meaning "I am of Bushman progeny." Although he may have said this with pride, I should note here that the word 'iSili (sg.)—amaSili (pl.) (Hitchcock & Biesele 2000)—is an inherited disparaging moniker with dubious etymology. Its widespread use in various parts of Zimbabwe, however, appears to have lost that connotation, as it is now an ethnic appellation. Nevertheless, I trust in the belief that, wherever he is, he is proud of the journey I have made. It is to the San nation, of whom I am proud to be partially descended, that I owe this enduring love and interest in the study of their heritage and affairs. I now feel at peace, it has been a worthwhile voyage of self-discovery.

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CHAPTER ONE

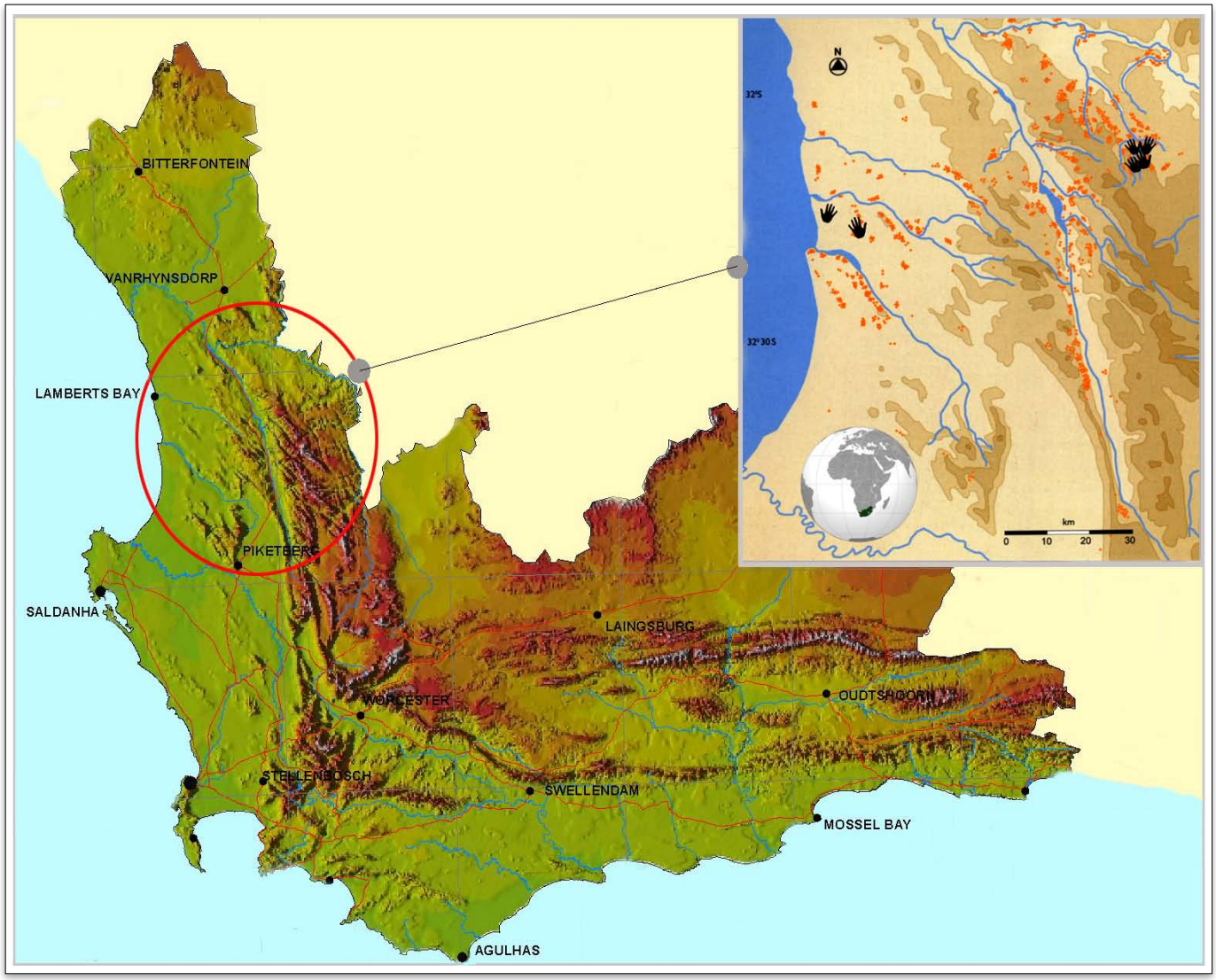
INTRODUCTION

> *Ephemeral objects are paradoxically things full of thingness but also flimsy, fragile, easily imagined as mere screens for the real. The fragility of the objects in turn made them in some sense more real: we were capturing these items before they disappeared. Both archivists and librarians, we were preservers of the past.* (Michie & Warhol 2010: 419-420)

1.1 PAINTING SEQUENCES AS ARCHIVES

This thesis deals with the problem of formulating chronology of painting traditions in the south-western Cape (hereafter referred to as the Cape or Western Cape) with the view of aiding rock art interpretation. I propose the archive approach as a potential framework for historicising regional rock painting sequences. This is not a proposition to replace former approaches to chronology studies, but instead I affirm the archive approach as an augmentation methodology or a supplementary analytical tool to aid interpretation. As we shall see later when I discuss this approach in detail, although it has in-built organisational principles based on the *respect des fonds* concept, it is useful in this case study for visualising and interpreting image subjects and themes that span different levels of the regional sequence. As background review, this chapter presents the notion of rock art as archive, which is a central feature to be unified with other approaches in wrestling with the chronological complexities of the painted record and associated past human experience and history. The archival perspective is a useful platform for promoting interpretations that stimulate historicism of narratives about the past (Hamilton 1996). As an operational perspective, it allows the expansive interpretation of particular painted subjects that may occur at various levels of the sequence and rock art categories, which is often a challenge in conventional approaches. The second chapter defines the central constituents of my archive formulation, whose philosophical force is alluded to in the topmost epigraph, and proceeds to outline the painting assemblage repositories of this analysis. I finish with ways and means to this end: that is, the appropriate conceptual and practical strategies for my investigation and analysis of painting sequences. Notional issues from this précis are developed further to lead

onto and dovetail with my later considerations of theory and methodology frameworks and ultimately my formulation of the regional sequence.



Map 1: This map shows the study area, which is circled in red with a line pointing to its close up, in the broader Cape (Adapted from, Parkington 2003). Black hand-stencil icons are some of the sites analysed in the study.

I declare from the beginning that, except where such mention is warranted for historical reference or comparative arguments being advanced, I do not discuss much from other rock art regions outside the Cape (Map 1). Some associations, however, with these outside rock art regions will be made in later chapters under the historical-cum-iconographic discussion on

the interpretation and meaning of some selected outstanding aspects of San or Bushman[1] rock paintings in the study area. These are undoubtedly weighty hermeneutic themes, but overall, as many today would agree, they have been better researched and are now largely well understood (see this view in, Lewis-Williams 2006: 344). My central objective, signposted in the second epigraph, is therefore to formulate an exploratory frame for articulating rock art chronology with anthropological and historical narratives. This approach is based largely on studying both the painting and archaeological sequences with the prime conception of the former regional inhabitants and artists as active archivists of these artistic and material records. This thread in the thesis prefigures the archival approach alongside other analytical principles as a potential angle in studying chronological sequence and painting history in the Cape. As I show in advancing the idea, paintings are in several respects much like other assemblages whose material and informational qualities resemble the notion and constitution of what is called the 'archive' in modern-day semantics. Besides mirroring the archive, painting assemblages have an intrinsic archival value in and of themselves, as one component among several past records of historical significance. Rock art is thus a subject that must be dealt with, not only as an intellectual exercise of its decipherment using an assembly of analogies, but it can provide complementary backing of information sources such as early travellers' writings, ethnography, ethno-historical and excavated records. Rather than it being a passive recipient of interpretative support from various sources, it is arguably a powerful source in its own right deserving to be used to inform other records in an expansive and bidirectional manner. This approach requires scholarly rigor and probity accorded archives using appropriate analytical tools. Rock painting assemblages therefore require contextualisation chronologically, historically and culturally if studies of social histories using the art are to be successful in, as well as particularise, their image interpretations.

1.2. Rock painters as 'active archivists'

It is hard to imagine that the prehistoric artists were unaware that the images they created would endure long after their own lives. Likewise, it is implausible that they were less self-

[1] In this thesis San or Bushman (*n*, -man [sg.]; -men [pl.]) are used as both *noun* and *adjective*, without their former negative or pejorative connotations. Where a specific group or linguistic designation is not specified, I use these names interchangeably, although these are people had their own names to refer to themselves and their contemporaries.

conscious human beings who did not recognise the patrimonial worth of the previous images made on the same rock faces by their forebears and other earlier generations. This implies that these artists anticipated the prospect of their own creations of imagery in turn forming a legacy to be passed down to and viewed by future generations long after their own existence. This may, at first, seem speculative, but to deny these people this basic human capacity is to deny them a healthy, conscious sense of their own history, their 'past' and 'future' and, by extension, total humanity. When asked about the engravings at Tsodilo Hills, Xuntae Xhao, a Ju|'hoansi man from a nearby village answered that these had been "made so that future generations could see what the older people had done" (Walker, N.J. 2010: 62). Further, it is also revealing that one of the key 1870s |Xam informants in the Bleek and Lloyd archive, the old man ||Kabbo "much enjoyed the thought that the Bushman stories [of which he narrated] would become known by means of books" (Bleek, Wilhem H. I. & Lloyd 1911: x). Even if he did not have in this instance the rock art heritage in mind *per se*, it is evident that the prospect of propagating the KhoeSan legacy down the generations, though in a foreign textual medium, was not a completely alien notion to his San cultural framework. Even though this idea is accorded Western traditions, in practice pre-industrial societies too had a strong notion of future—myths and folklore carried the past-future dichotomy.

Regarding the long gone artists, some writers have similarly argued, "As they worked, they knew that, later, someone would see their images and probably add to the panel" (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009: 42). This view accords (and indeed seems its derivative) with David Lewis-Williams's earlier declaration that, even though the |Xam were not painters, they nevertheless, "recognised the art as products of their own people, and they had the same cognitive system as the last artists" (Lewis-Williams 1981: ix). Moreover, it might be added that given the ubiquity and prolificacy of this lasting artistic tradition across southern Africa, few people today would dispute that its long term creation probably involved many, rather than isolated, individuals, over many successive generations. The making of the art therefore might have been a communal effort (see, Lewis-Williams 1992: 20). This is in contrast to the view that, "[T]hese rock paintings must have been the work of a few individuals while the Bushmen populace as a whole presumably found outlets for their artistic ambitions in quite different fields like dancing, music or ornamentation" (Pager 1971b: 28). This sanitised view reflects a mildly patronising perception of San artists that is quite consistent with the earlier

crude versions generally entertained about these people even by those who seemed to be sympathetic towards them.

For instance, although we now know that he was mistaken, missionary Henry Tindall (1856: 26) once wrote of the San: "He has…no patrimony…a soul, debased, it is true, and completely bound down and clogged by his animal nature." So too was ethnologist Gustav Fritsch (1872: 418), who later denigrated the San in similar vein: "The Bushman is the most unfortunate childish creature, capable of living only for the moment." Quite the reverse, the San were (and still are) as fully human as these two men: they did not live wholly in the present like animals do, without future aspirations. My visceral truisms above may not as yet attract sufficient consideration, for reasons of their seeming subjectivity, as they do not refer to any direct testimony of the artists themselves who have long since disappeared. Yet the oral traditions as recorded in the 19th and 20th centuries show that indeed these people had a strong sense of history, their past, present and future. Lorna Marshall's assertion that the Ju|'hoansi, then known as the !Kung, have no sense of past (Marshall 1999) may have been misinterpretation. If the Ju|'hoansi lacked this angle, they would have no notion of creator deities nor their ancestors frequently mentioned in their primal time myths of which she amply wrote. Their reference and use of the time past signals their sense of history even if it is expressed in mythological terms.

Nevertheless, from my foregoing declarations one can surmise that over several millennia these former indigenous[2] artists were purposefully creating archives of images as part of a protracted cultural tradition and sequence. Stated differently, in their prehistoric milieu, artistic creativity was thus a robust social phenomenon of active production of rock art and, I believe, its subsequent 'archiving' by the people themselves over time. Why would the artists and their societies seek to maintain and pass forth to future generations the custom of making paintings with their related practices? First and most concretely, if in some respects and in

[2] The terms 'indigenous' and 'indigenism' are contested anthropological notions with problematic ambiguities, some of which Mathias Guenther (2006: 18) has contended border on 'essentialism and primordialism.' I therefore use 'indigenous' in this thesis loosely in the sense of 'Indigenous One' expounded by Richard Lee (2006: 6-8) as generally referring to 'small peoples facing Euro-colonial invasion and conquest.' I have elected to use this definition given the social and political setting of the Cape colonial frontier with its capitalist and statist expansion resulting in the encapsulation and marginalization of those dispersed remnants of former hunter-gatherer and herder communities who eventually became a social and economic underclass (Yates *et al.* 1994: 59).

specific regions, the painted panels mounted up as 'reservoirs of power' (see, Lewis-Williams 1992: 25) or some other kind of symbolic accumulation that artists and their contemporaries would use or draw from on a continual basis (and therefore art production *not* being entirely once-off actions and events), it was in their interest to sustain these paintings. Further, this intended accumulation can be conceived of as a facet of 'storage,' an archival conception to which I shall return below and in chapter five. I am not arguing for curatorship as we recognise the profession today, but instead the notion of making images that are long-lasting, either (or both) by using durable materials or placing them in carefully chosen shielded spaces so that they survive time. For, as Lewis-Williams (1998: 96) writes, "The main focus of San art was the building up, through generations of painters, of cumulative manifestation of the spirit world…In this way, through the construction over time of a complex 'progressive manifestation', San painters played not only a religious but also a social role, establishing…symbols and experiences of a shamanistic cosmos." The long term symbolic imaging appears not to have been defined by singular truncated events, extemporaneously fixated on the 'now' or once-off creative action, but rather by mutually threaded and interdigitating incremental additions from earlier to later generational graphic panoplies.

Furthermore, Lewis-Williams earlier observed from his quantification studies (Lewis-Williams 1972, 1974b) that, "[T]he apparent preferences governing the use of superpositioning point to the proposition that some iconic paintings were deliberately related to each other to function as symbols in a system of communication" (Lewis-Williams 1977: 52; see also Vinnicombe 1976: 141) which the "painters…wished to achieve and convey to their viewers and, *importantly, to later participant painters*" (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009: 43, my emphasis). So, this rationale of deliberately relating iconic images through time is in itself conceivably the strongest indicator of the artists' sense of the past and future relevance of their art. Further, a revealing insight is provided by the concept of 'cultural storage,' which Megan Biesele (1993: 52, 59) invokes in her discourse regarding oral systems of communication and the role of expressive forms in transmitting cultural traditions in preliterate, and in her case the 1960s-1970s Ju|'hoansi hunter-gatherers, societies. She draws from Eric Havelock's work, who argued that "All societies support and strengthen their identity by conserving their mores. A social consciousness, formed as a consensus, is as it were continually placed in storage for re-use" (Havelock 1978: : cited in Biesele 1993: 51).

Looking at the rock art panels, where then is the locus of this 'cultural storage', something that I refer to again in later chapters?

In this study cultural storage is conceptualised phenomenologically as an abstract, mental and corporeal phenomenon (e.g., as in oral history, folklore and related performances among other ephemeral forms) that exists both as an internal entity in the 'brain' and also a real physical one (e.g., as in spatial arts of rock engraving or painting, which were the enduring materialities that remain stationary, fixed in place) with an external existence. Storage, I argue further, is predicated on the idea of "archive as accumulation and capitalisation of memory on some substrate" (Derrida & Prenowitz 1995: 15). As Rudolf Arnheim suggested a while ago, artistic activity and visual thinking can be thoroughly rational (Arnheim 1969: v) and so ancient San painters were conscious carries of this iconographic archive, which they fixed on rock surfaces for durability. Because this symbolic accrual of materiality in the form of images over time was not random, but selectively so, my view finds solace in some current writers' formulation that, "Objects from a given historical period activate a metonymic chain by which those looking at, holding…them can feel asymptotically closer to the historical reality from which the objects derive" (Michie & Warhol 2010: 416). How else could artists and their audiences have engaged meaningfully with the symbolic content and context(s) of former images in their shelters if there was a historical and cultural dislocation? The artists would have probably formulated their own repertoire of skills and knowledge in relation to the previous cache of graphic and expressive assemblages accumulated through time within their historical *milieu*. The aspect of image accumulation in time and superpositioning, the notions of cultural storage and re-use (in whichever ways that we might not as yet fully understand) are central to my archival perspective for synthesizing rock art sequences. All material and symbolic phenomena obtained within the purview of the artists' social and spiritual worldviews, ritual and other practices, the various ecological settings where they existed, and crucially their normal domiciles within (but not always) the caves or shelters where they lived lives and painted their daily experiences.

The physical and abstract connection of the 'archive' and 'home' is an important one and has been explored by archival scholars (Derrida & Prenowitz 1995). As Jacques Derrida (1996: 2) noted, the archive concept originates from the Greek *arkheion* (also rendered as archeion, see: Sickinger 1999: 6, or use in, Steedman 2001), which was 'initially a house, a

domicile…residence of the superior magistrates, the *archons*…' or 'those who commanded' (Derrida & Prenowitz 1995: 9). It was at their homes that official government records were filed; the archons were therefore the 'documents' guardians' (Derrida 1996: 2; Sickinger 1999: 2-6). While this principle of guardianship is essential in my analysis, the archive institution itself has thus from its very inception associated the public and private domains in various illuminating ways. This spatial-politico dualism, according to Derrida, gave both a hermeneutic and jurisdictional authority to the magistrates. The associated state control and monopolisation of power to interpret the records, what he calls the *domiciliation* or 'state of house arrest', is therefore, where the archive concept is enmeshed. Although Derrida's appropriation of the archive/house conception is somewhat unfitting for the modern forms of archives, some scholars still recognise this conceptual correspondence (Steedman 1998: 70; 2001: 72), probably at an affective level. Some scholars even amplify this emotional metaphor into a religious one. An archive, for the researcher or any end-user, is thus like a place of pilgrimage or 'the Mecca of historians' (Phelps 2007: 1) where unique, if authentic, sources are normally believed to reside (Connors 2003: 225). Likewise, for some, "To be in the archive is to accede to one of its dominant fantasies: that we can go beyond words, beyond traces, to things" themselves (Michie & Warhol 2010: 419). However, beyond these archival bodily experiences a divergent and hitherto significant construal of these metaphors is the view that the Greek archives to which Derrida alludes, were also largely what the 'people as a whole maintained [as] records of the decisions they themselves made as a community' (Sickinger 1999: 6) (These records were sometimes inscribed, but not always, on stone stelai especially in Athens). Even with his *domiciliation* concept granted, true state control was not as absolute as Derrida would have us believe in his analysis.

The community collectivist position accords with Carolyn Steedman's contention that Derrida's allegory is not a fitting one for our purposes because 'the archon operated a system of law in a slave society…dealt with the majority of local populations, only as aspects of their owners' property and personality' (Steedman 1998, 2001). This point becomes relevant because, as we all now know from anthropological studies, the KhoeSan[3] artists' societies

[3] This term is "a neologism coined the 20th century and used to describe two related peoples: the pastoral Khoi or 'Hottentots' and the hunting and gathering San or 'Bushmen', both speaking unusual click languages" (Lee 2006). The original appellation 'Khoisan' (Schultze 1928), was initially intended as a biological label, but now also encompasses common features of language and culture (Wells 2005).

with whom I am concerned maintained a strong 'communal ethos' as a central *modus operandi* in their cultural interactions with one another and all aspects of nature around them. The San are particularly known to have been largely egalitarian societies (Guenther 1999: 14, 41-42; Katz 1982: 26-27), with little or no traditional authority or leadership. Reverting to Steedman's observation, her point of departure draws instead from, and augments, the 19th century French historian Jules Michelet's thoughts (Michelet 1982), whose significant idea for archival studies was that in resurrecting the past for the community from the archive, the actual 'Magistracy, is History' (Steedman's (2001: 39) translation of the original French text: Michelet 1982: 268). Yet again, the problem with Michelet's central perception is that he draws from an understanding of the Magistrate as being one, at least in the context of England and France within the modern era, who was "specifically charged with care and management of the poor, and mediation of social and class relations" (Steedman 2001: 40). This notion remains inappropriate since the magistrate's elite status and authority here too, as in Derrida's archon metaphor, was steeped in the rule system of law, juridical and state power. It lacks communal agency, which is relevant for my case of rock painting archives.

From this foundation, Steedman nevertheless examines some of the written accounts of self-narratives from the ordinary working class, and often poor, people within 18th and 19th century England archives made for administrative and judicial purposes. Conceding that there was the problem of involuntary 'forced narration' in these accounts, she however stimulates, and perhaps for reasons of what she calls greater specificity, an autobiographical standpoint of self-fashioning and self-perception. What the people themselves chose to 'tell' for inscription became a significant trope. In consequence, the Magistrate was then just one of the sites of storytelling where he essentially became "the necessary and involuntary story-taker" (*ibid*. 55-56). This self-inspired viewpoint is germane to my notion of rock art assemblages as principally and purposefully chosen creations by the indigenous artists as active archivists. Similarly, the archaeologist, like the metaphoric Magistrate, then occupies a secondary level of archivists, scribes and narrators of the past(s) of these hunter-gatherers and other former inhabitants of the Cape. Reverting to my fundamental analogy, those former painters therefore consciously created a through-time repository of images depicting their own lived-through bodily and social experiences in the rock shelters, most of which were also their residential homes. These ancient rock painting repositories reflect characteristics of *accumulation* and *durability* (see concept of enduring or long-term value of archives in,

Sickinger 1999: 5), both of which are also truly and entirely consistent with the defining traits of the notion of the archive.

The idea of envisioning the former artists, and *not* archaeologists and prehistorians or even historians, as people who intentionally made the archive of images is fundamental. In addition, this standpoint is predicated on the acknowledgement of the long-term custodial role of these artists (i.e., painters and engravers in various regions) in respect of their creative, dynamic and expressive record. This indigenous custodianship viewpoint recognises the purposeful role of the artists as making important choices regarding the selection of a variety of available painting materials, techniques of painting, subjects to depict, themes and entangled symbolism, purposeful superpositioning, then the actual image placement on the rock face in terms of the inter-site and intra-site spatial locations. I challenge the temptation to regard the survival of the painted record as a pure accident of natural processes; instead I accept that, although we may as yet not know the recipes of paint making, it is observable that the bulk of the art was made from durable materials. It is probable that the earlier detailed art was invested with resilient materials because of their long-term relevance in contrast to later colonial period art whose purpose was probably ephemeral. I admit that artists clearly wished their creative artistry to endure in time from the mere fact that on the basis of observable rock art sites at present, an overwhelming majority of them appear to have been chosen for their protective overhangs or sheltering qualities. Pointedly, this approach offers possibilities for locating communal agency in rock art analyses and constructions of their chronological frameworks.

Analysing superpositions is an empirical enterprise but distinguishing the agency of image creators as implicated in chronology is essential. Ultimately this process involves mediation and interpretation of relationships between individual images and their categories. In this mediation, contrary to the familiar adage, facts do not speak for themselves, which is a topic that treads on matters of objectivity and subjectivity. While some writers advocate empirical objectivity in archival studies, others have challenged this aspiration as being naïve and a form of outmoded positivist objectivism (Ridener 2009). To understand the significance(s) of the empirically observed image characteristics, their relationships and the cultural selections that the artists made in producing art, it is important that the methodological grounds are laid down for probing the varied contexts of analytical assemblages. These contexts are the

historical, social, cognitive, ritual, ecological, and economic factors inside which the painters operated to produce the interlaced copious archaeological and artistic records through time. As some argue, "it is not possible to divorce the rock art from the associated archaeological remains that document the history of hunter-gatherers, herders and even European colonists in the area" (Parkington & Manhire 2003: 31).

1.3. Breakdown of chapters

To appreciate the nature and composition of the archival materials that this thesis explores, chapter one started with an exploration of the notion of artists as active artists. This provides the thinking behind looking at the art as an archival body of materials to be approached in similar ways. In chapter two, a general description is explored of the rock art in the study area as my central assemblage. There is also a review of archaeological information associated with this assemblage. From then onwards, the art is thought of in its own terms as essentially an archival material of some kind. Chapter three discusses the environmental context of the study area. This is a multi-sided context with physical, social, and ecological variables, which impacted on the formation and variability of material culture. In chapter four, this discussion is further threaded and enmeshed with the historical background. This section contextualises the cultural and chronological complexities arising from the multi-layered archaeology and history of the past two millennia. Chapter five discusses theory and methodology in a dialogue that amplifies the above discussion on the ways and means of my proposed archival approach. It also includes a review and amendments of some methodological issues that bear direct relevance to the key question of relative chronology. Recognising the complexity of imagery change in time requires the use of several promising methodologies than just the familiar dependence on superpositions as the sole basis for relative sequence.

From theory and methodology, chapter six discusses three key sites that are the central focus of this study. The discussion also refers to relevant evidence from smaller sites in their constellations. These sites are spread in contrasting ecological settings: the sandveld near the coast and the inland mountainous chains. All but one site are in the mountains; this exception is Diepkloof Kraal Shelter, with the main sequence in the coastal area. This is a customary, yet important, ecological division in the determination of temporal and spatial variation of various sites in the region. Afterwards, chapter seven presents the new formulation of the unified Cape painting chronology. I also describe the levels that are identified in the sequence

in terms of image forms and content of the relevant painting assemblages in each. The final sections of this chapter set the scene for the interpretative trajectory that is followed in chapter eight for a selection of imagery identified as spanning some levels of the sequence. My agenda concerns the demonstration of change over time through traces or clues provided by some categories of painting.

Chapter eight proceeds from the newly developed painting chronology to demonstrate interpretative possibilities grounded in the analysis of some historical sources. A selection of certain elephant and sheep depictions as prominent subjects from the newly devised regional chronology schema is used to demonstrate contextual, locality-focussed interpretations. It is a demonstration of how sequence may indicate that some aspects of the painting record can be interpreted in terms of historical change through time in particular contexts. Thus, in the final analysis, the painting sequence is integrated with some standpoints from the archival perspective, ethnography, history and aspects of the post-colonial notion of entanglement (for example, see Nuttall 2009), in order to reveal the multifarious historical circumstances that led to several image categories to continue through time as favoured themes though their central meaning tropes shifted. This idea of entanglement is summoned to augment the ideas around acculturation that went with frontier circumstances and how the rock art in certain regional contexts might well have been a product of people who lived and perceived their worlds as those involving humanity of variously mixed identities. In the Cape, this sort of reading is fostered by notions of frontier, borderlands or seam, which relate to colonial encounters as well as those before colonialism, which involved diverse cultures. Fundamentally, therefore, this body of work is a theoretical analysis that advocates a recursive association of temporal sequence with historicised narratives. The syntheses that use rock art as archive have the ability to refine interpretations that are aligned with relative chronologies. The chronology and archival approach are both a means to an end, which seeks a greater understanding of the complexity of pre-colonial and early colonial life-worlds in the Cape. This proposition attempts to develop multi-layered and secure archaeological-cum-historical narratives and subsequent interpretative approaches for unravelling the meaning of rock art in densely painted localities. It does not seek to generalise across space and time, but it is general enough for a localised understanding of specific regional circumstances and thus contextual interpretations. In the end, the concluding chapter nine deals with issues of contingency and how the painting records interdigitate with the production of multi-layered

archives, information and narratives that can feed multiple functions. This may be attained as a tripartite perspective for the application of rock art archive for the improvement of the interpretative framework for the body of pre- and post-colonial painting and archaeology assemblages.

CHAPTER TWO

SHIFTING PERSPECTIVES

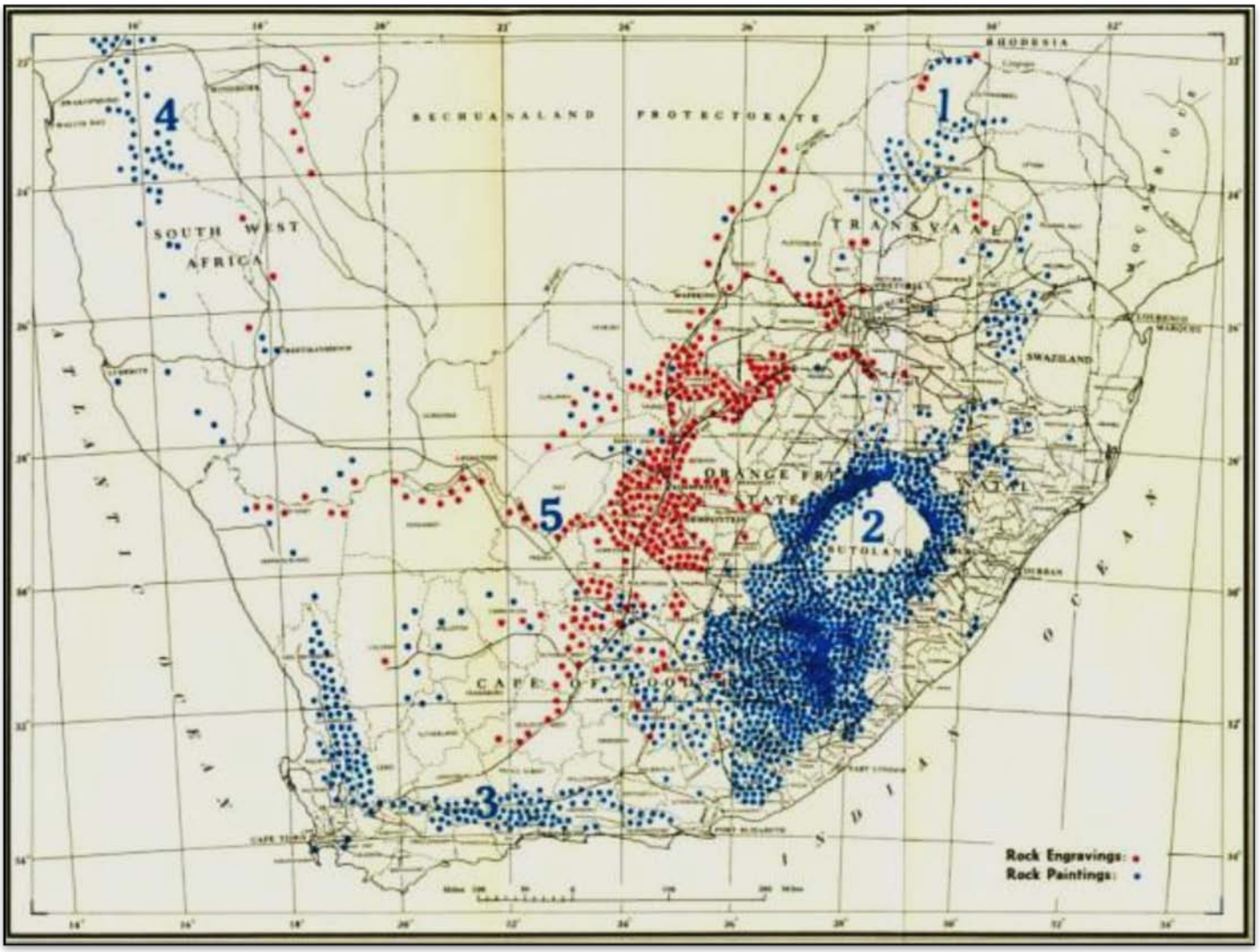
> *Rock art is simply too important a facet of the archaeological record not to be a closely integrated component of the kinds of history we need to write.* (Yates *et al.* 1994: 59)

2.1. THE CAPE ROCK PAINTING ASSEMBLAGES

The core material for my analysis is a sample from the many thousands of paintings found in the Cape. In chapter three I present a detailed physical description of this region, which is part of the Cape Fold Belt whose exposures of sandstones and quartzites created shelters that became suitable 'homes' for the artists and good 'canvases' for their paintings. From archaeological surveys started in 1978 by the University of Cape Town SARU[4] researchers, it was reported in 1983 that they had recorded a total of 1,000 painting sites in the Western Cape region (Manhire *et al.* 1983: 30). A decade ago the estimate increased to over 2,500 painting sites (Deacon, J. 1994b: 33; Parkington 2003: 15; Yates *et al.* 1994: 31). The current estimate is over 3,000 sites containing tens of thousands of individual images (Nicholas Wiltshire, pers. comm. 2010; see also Yates *et al.* 1993: 62). Over 20 years ago, John Parkington (1988: 13) surmised that having seen the record of over 2,000 sites, 'the final total will exceed 10,000,' which is a realistic probability since the intensive surveys have only concentrated on localised areas (Johnson, G. Townley & Maggs 1979; Johnson, G. Townley *et al.* 1959b; Manhire *et al.* 1983). All these sites contribute to the remarkably rich prehistoric archive of both the archaeological and painting assemblages in this region (Mguni 2007). The bulk of the substantive material to which I direct my analytical focus comprises the paintings representing several rock art traditions. Although the core of my painting sequence is comprehensively analysed from 3 sites—2 are in the mountains and 1 in the sandveld—the general analysis is informed by observations I made from over 200 sites in the Cape. The material was accumulated from a survey and the study of sites in the Clanwilliam District, which I conducted over a period of five years. My analysis does not include the rock

[4] The acronym stands for, Spatial Archaeology Research Unit, which was active mainly in the 1980s to 1990s.

engraving traditions (see recent studies on this tradition: Deacon, J. 1988, 1994a, 1998; Dowson 1988, 1992; Morris 1988, 2003; Parkington *et al.* 2008) because they generally occur outside my study area in the outlier regions immediately to the north and northeast. Nor will I consider other image forms, such as minute decorations of various kinds on eggshell, sticks, and so forth, all of which are outside the context of the art variety from my study area. I now define and characterise the general nature of the rock art archive in the study area.



Map 2: The distribution of paintings (blue dots) around the continental periphery characterised by mountain chains and engravings (red dots) in the relatively flat plateaux of the interior escarpment of South Africa (Extracted and re-rendered from van Riet Lowe, 1956).

The bulk of the Cape paintings comprise what is broadly considered the finely detailed pre-colonial assemblage. This is principally a representational and naturalistic category depicting a variety of subjects (Appendix 1, Figure 1). Human figures, which Timothy Maggs (1967b)

showed as a dominant subject in his 1960s quantitative study, appear with material culture which includes hunting and gathering implements (e.g., quivers, bows, arrows, knobkerries, sticks or unstrung bows, stone weighted digging-sticks, bags, and so forth). While gender is often clearly marked there are large numbers of indeterminate examples whose gender can be assumed from their contextual associations. It is common to find male figures depicted as cloaked processions (Parkington & Manhire 1997) while to a lesser extent female and other male figures are found uncloaked. Their distinctive hook-heads (Appendix 1, Figure 2) (usually due to lighter painted facial infill having faded) (van der Riet *et al.* 1940: xi-xii) are more common in the Cape (Sampson 1968) than anywhere in the rock art regions of South Africa (Map 2 above) and even the whole of southern Africa. The anatomical exaggerations of calves and posterior physiques of all classes of human figures are unique to the Cape. A variety of depicted bodily movements and postures include striding gait, groups seemingly standing or sitting, then bows-at-ready posture, sometimes directed towards animals and also notably other people (i.e., observed fight-scenes) as well. Even as a class, the fights or battles and what might be depictions of people hunting are rare. Seldom represented, but seen from time to time, are squatting women and somersaulting figures who also bend acrobatically backwards, then the part-animal/part-human figures or therianthropes, and other apparent non-realistic forms (see some observations in, Manhire *et al.* 1983; Mguni 2007; Slingsby 1997, 2000) and indeterminate representations.

In addition to the common processional groups, there are other less common human groups, such as what are termed ‘group scenes’ (Appendix 1, Figure 3), which are a distinctive sets of human figures featured in crouched clusters surrounded by their belongings (Maggs 1967a), then several rare material items such as the identified ‘hunting nets’, triple-curved bows, (Manhire *et al.* 1985; Parkington & Manhire 1997, 2003) and several more. There are some images not previously described, which I interpret as flywhisks, contrary to the belief that this item is entirely absent in the paintings of the Cape hunter-gatherer material culture (Anthony Manhire, pers. comm. 2005). Several depictions of people appear to be holding tufted objects with a terminal cluster of fanning out bracts or sometimes leaf-shaped. This motif is similar to an object found in some historical etchings and paintings by early travellers in the Cape. This type of object is held by a man in one hand in one of the pictures drawn in accompaniment of Item 68 (Goerd Meister’s diary of 1688); the caption reads “Hottentots [*sic*] at the Cape of Good Hope” (Raven-Hart 1971b: 348, Volume 2). While this one is

unidentified, a later caption under Item 104 (Abraham Bogaert's diary of 1702) explains that the so-called Hottentots "use a handkerchief, made from the tail of a wild cat drawn over a short stick, which they call Zou; and this they always have in their hand to wipe off the sweat, mucus, dust and sand, and to keep off the flies" (Raven-Hart 1971b: 485). Another possibility is what is mentioned occasionally by early travellers: a short stick tufted with a jackal's tail for fanning the face that Vasco da Gama witnessed in his December 1497 encounter with Khoekhoen (Colvin 1912: 35). This might therefore be a flywhisk. Although there are recognisable overlaps in painting categories, they are also distinctive and self-contained assemblages.

Of the animal world, the second largest class identified in Maggs's 1960s study, the large antelope species are most common. They include principally the eland, then the mega-herbivores such as elephants and to a lesser extent the rhinoceros, and equids (e.g., zebra, quagga, or wild horse), and the carnivores, mainly felines (e.g., lion, leopard, etc.). Few images have been suggested to be *Canis* species (Slingsby 1997), although definitive images of dogs are found in the Drakensberg. Recent surveys show the presence of other animal species such as hartebeest (or bontebok) and a selection of smaller species comprised by steenbok or duiker, various birds including mainly ostriches, francolins and other larger land and aquatic species (including a pair of egrets which I recently discovered) as well as raptors. Beyond these common faunal and avian species the other classes of animal life are seldom painted. This widespread art tradition, although far from being fully described, is the fine line[5] assemblage, which is commonly linked to San hunter-gatherers.

The other regional painting category, often of roughly produced images, is known as the finger-painting tradition. As the name suggests, these images were made using the finger although it is also accepted that in some instances these might have been made with a coarse type of instrument or brush (Johnson, G. Townley 1960; Johnson, G. Townley *et al.* 1959b; Mguni 1997; Parkington *et al.* 1986; Yates *et al.* 1993, 1994). They include human figures, often with the distinctive hands-on-the-hips posture, horses or mules, horse-riders, men (sometimes with exaggerated genitalia) and then a range of colonial items such as guns, wide-brimmed hats, dresses, high-heeled shoes, smoking pipes and so forth. Images of ships,

[5] I return to this category in later chapters for a definition and sub-division based on the current analysis of the paintings traditions in the study areas.

animal-drawn vehicles (e.g., wagons, carriages, coaches, etc.), a variety of geometrics and other designs have been recorded (Manhire *et al.* 1986; Mguni 1997; Van Rijssen 1985, 1994). Although this painting assemblage is occasionally referred to, and at times restrictedly so, as 'colonial art', its subject is also both chronologically and stylistically pre-colonial in nature (e.g., see Loubser & Laurens 1994; Manhire *et al.* 1986) in content and form.

Some of the earlier Cape contact images, largely predating the historical period, include the finely detailed fat-tailed sheep. Although other introduced domesticates such as cattle rarely depicted they have been identified in coarsely applied pigments (Mguni 1997; Sampson 1968). While there are instances of finely depicted sheep paintings they however, like most colonial era subjects, also appear in the coarse finger-painting category. These domesticates were introduced with the advent of herding *circa* 2,000 B.P. (Manhire *et al.* 1986; and from the archaeological excavations see, Parkington & Poggenpoel 1971; Rudner & Rudner 1959; Sealy & Yates 1994, 1996) as their *terminus ante quem*. The visibility of domestic animal images is variable and their frequency largely unascertained, although less than 20 sites out of over two thousand sites (see this estimated number of Cape sites, Parkington & Manhire 2003: 31) in the Cape region were known to feature paintings of fat-tailed sheep a few years ago (see Hollmann 1993; Jerardino 1999; Manhire *et al.* 1986; Van Rijssen 1994: 169; Yates *et al.* 1994: 35, among several reports) this number has grown with new surveys. From all the known examples, it is clear that the earlier contact imagery was often more finely detailed in manner than the slightly more profuse, and yet regionally circumscribed later assemblages, which generally trend towards coarseness.

Even within the contact art category, there are possible further subdivisions. Those who are familiar with the Cape paintings will recognise differences between the finger-painted and the instrument produced coarse images (Yates *et al.* 1993). An unfamiliar (for reasons that we shall encounter in later chapters) artistic category, which is neither within the detailed fine-line variety nor the coarse brush-produced contact art assemblage, is that of various types of finger dots, strokes, smears and pigment patches. Apparently associated with this finger-painted imagery and importantly, what Dorothea Bleek—hereafter D.F. Bleek—(van der Riet *et al.* 1940: ix-xi) signalled as a distinctive feature of the Cape, are the handprints (which have subsequently been studied by several writers incuding, Manhire 1998; Meister 2003; Willcox 1959). In her assessment, D.F. Bleek observed that the hand impressions are often

found in proximity of dots or finger-marks and concluded that '[T]hey are associated with very poor painting' (van der Riet *et al.* 1940: x). The various types of dot forms, handprints and their putative association with coarse forms of painting form a significant portion of the concerns that my study seeks to clarify in chronological and cultural terms.

The Cape paintings are typically ochreous (Appendix 1, Figure 4) in nature reflecting paints in various hues of red, maroon, brown, then orange, mustard and sometimes various yellowish shades. To a lesser extent, other paint pigment colours include black, white and similarly lighter shades (Although, lamentably these are ephemeral colours so that what is now visible may be a tiny fraction of what was previously painted using them). Though the art is chiefly monochromatic, there are many cases of bichrome images, with ochreous shades still a dominant mixture. The blocked technique is common with colours not blending into each other. There are, however, several examples of shaded polychromes in the area, although these are far more prevalent in the southeastern mountains (van der Riet *et al.* 1940). On account of such modest colour use, D.F. Bleek considered the Cape paintings to be artistically mediocre; from what we now know of this art tradition, this assessment is clearly erroneous since some of the depicted forms rank among the classic examples anywhere on the subcontinent. It seems that she judged San artists from an aesthetic basis alone, an aspect that was perhaps not even their main focus or reason for painting (see, Mguni 2004). Nevertheless, the difficulties go beyond the artistic character of the San rock art assemblage.

2.2. Issues bedevilling Cape rock art assemblages

The main issue in the Cape painting assemblages concerns the vestigial nature of most of the visible images, which complicates studies of relative chronology. Furthermore, due to its residual nature, southern African rock art, unlike in other parts of the world, remains mostly undated (Jerardino 1999; Thackeray 1983). Ironically, there is a fairly long history of various attempts with mixed success in the region to date rock art directly (Denninger 1971; Thackeray 1983; Thackeray *et al.* 1981; Walker, N.J. 1987; Wendt 1976). This legacy led to the first accelerator mass spectrometry (AMS) radiocarbon method on rock art being applied in the Cape (e.g., van der Merwe, N.J. *et al.* 1987). In recent decades new radiocarbon dates were proclaimed for the southeastern mountains (Mazel 1994, 2009; Mazel & Watchman 1997, 2003). In certain circles some of the new dates are believed to be dubious (Blundell 2004: 67, 68). Although the first AMS radiocarbon date on rock art was published over two

decades ago (van der Merwe, N.J. *et al.* 1987), these are still very limited and so more such efforts as championed by Aron Mazel and Alan Watchman are welcome.

Another problem is finding datable contexts in the deposit, which could in turn be linked to the relative painting stratigraphy. Archaeological practice generally uses a one-dimensional approach by engaging one or the other of these main analytical domains: rock art or excavation deposits. In the Cape, for example, Parkington and co-workers have lamented, "[R]ock paintings have tended to be studied somewhat extracted from the rest of the archaeological record" (Yates *et al.* 1994: 30). A corollary is that there are fewer researchers in this region with a particular rock art focus than those whose interests are in other branches of archaeology. To some degree, this scenario resonates with some earlier observations in North America (also true in fact with various parts of the world), that rock art was until fairly recently rarely afforded serious thought in archaeological syntheses putatively because "of the absence of chronological control" (Whitley & Dorn 1987: 150). As a result, rock art has lagged behind other areas of archaeology and for a long time been accepted only as an artistically interesting epiphenomena (decorative) of unscientific grade. In some quarters, it was even seen as simplistic to merit theoretical discourse (see discussion of this view in, Lewis-Williams 1983: 3-4); this is still the case today in some parts of the world (David Lewis-Williams, pers. comm. 2012). Whereas the lack of scientific credibility, particularly the unremitting difficulty of dating, for the rock art is lamentable, this offered opportunities in southern Africa particularly in the arena of interpretation.

For southern Africa, however, in hindsight such attitudes seem to have vitalised a paradigm shift to an anthropological hermeneutic emphasis. There are some, in agreement with David Whitley and Ronald Dorn's viewpoint above, who believe that the growth and success of the hermeneutic approach in South Africa was the fortuitous consequence of the general difficulty of dating rock art as well as the overall paucity of dates in the region (Blundell 2004: 61; Yates *et al.* 1994: 29). In general rock art research over the years has tended to sidestep the problem of chronological analyses. It is a legacy that the study has had to pay dearly for, although as I mentioned, research on that front is gaining momentum. Lewis-Williams's (1983: 10) earlier remark bears this context when he wrote, "Some writers, for instance, consider the present impossibility of dating much of the art to be an insuperable barrier to interpretation. Certainly, we need a way of dating parietal art, but I doubt if this is

the most urgent need in the study of our rock art today as it was considered to be a decade ago." This was suitable then for the hermeneutic project at hand, but as time has gone-by firmer dates are needed today. It is desirable in the Cape that as new dates become available they be linked with the regional relative chronology such as one presented in this study.

Since rock art and archaeology deposits are often implicitly held to be discrete analytical domains they tend to be evaluated separately and differently. Parenthetically they are differentiated in their physical constitution and configuration, modes of disposal and accumulation, geological substrates that support them, as well as suitable methods and techniques for examining them. As such, Christopher Chippindale and Paul Taçon (1998: 4) have argued that, "In as much as rock-art is rather an archaeological subject apart, so will the methods of its study be set rather apart." Whereas the overall thrust of their argument is the consolidation of rock art studies within the larger and older discipline of archaeology, the unintended consequence is the reinforcement of the alienation of rock art from conventional archaeology. Broadly speaking, each of these study areas has, in effect, what the other lacks. For this reason, in principle they need not be disconnected; their respective strengths oblige that they be recognised as two separate but interdigitating spheres. It is unwise to consider painting chronology outside the processes related to deposit accumulation in the same sites.

The painted record and occupation deposits may overlap to varying degrees even though there might hitherto be difficulties in demonstrating their temporal correspondences or mutual content. However, in the Cape a strong correlation has been noted between the spatial patterning of the painting and domestic sites (Parkington 2003: 18). In addition, rock art and archaeological deposits may occasionally reflect each other culturally, albeit indirectly. Part of their disjointedness is because the rock art record, as we saw in the introduction, was more of an intentionally created and organised assemblage than the largely unconsciously accumulated archaeological deposits. Drawing from their knowledge of extant San societies, early writers intuitively accepted a penecontemporaneity of production (Yates *et al.* 1994) and defined the bulk of southern African rock art as Bushman made (e.g., Cooke 1969; Humphreys 1971). The earliest known such attribution was Ensign Frederick Beutler's 1752 account of the paintings in the Kei River area, Eastern Cape (Theal 1897: 133). Such attributions were not wrong as "the origins of many items of twentieth-century Kalahari San material culture can be traced in archaeological sites: ostrich-eggshell beads and water

containers, digging sticks, and light-draw bows, probably with poison arrows, among others (Sealy 2006: 569).

As for the Cape, D.F. Bleek (van der Riet *et al.* 1940) observed the overall co-distribution of paintings and Wilton Industry artefacts, concluding that the bulk of the art was Bushman authored (another similar approach assumed the association of human engravings and people who occupied sites in the Aar area in Namibia: Wendt 1977). Though without substantive demonstration, this intuition primarily emanated from the assumed spatial and cultural links between the art and inferred attendant deposited material culture (e.g., see conclusions drawn in Willcox 1959: 297, in his hand prints study). On chronology, the excavated deposits are unlike rock art in that they usually provide datable contexts. In the end, however, if the surviving rock art and material culture within the deposits sprang from approximately related sources or even synchronous historical events, under what circumstances are they to be associated or disassociated? Answers to this question cannot simply be asserted nor can it be argued that correlations of rock art and deposit are unreliable on the basis that these cannot be proven. This issue has for a long time bedevilled researchers in their attempts to produce past narratives that cohere with change through time.

With these problems in mind, there is the possibility of using an approach that combines the archival perspective, historical and ethnographic sources in the analysis of rock art as a component of the archaeological record. This approach envisages rock art to be a resource that embodies archival qualities and therefore should be engaged with as if it were a body of archival material straddling several periods. This perspective is promoted against the backdrop of the customary view of the southern African archaeological record, particularly the rock art, to be interpreted on the basis of social anthropological models. These approaches thrived from the 1970s when Lewis-Williams (1977, 1981) and Vinnicombe (1972, 1976), alongside a few of their contemporaries, turned to social anthropological theory for answers to the meaning of San rock art. Starting primarily in the South Africa's southeastern mountains, their ethnographic-analogical approach burgeoned over the decades with various studies adopting it in different regions of the sub-continent. Central to this classic approach are the several San ethnographies from the northern and the southern parts of the subcontinent below the Zambezi and Kunene Rivers. To a large extent researchers now use these collections in tandem with contemporary historical records and the analysis of San

linguistic texts (e.g., see Lewis-Williams 1987b; Lewis-Williams & Challis 2011). In spite of the success of the ethnographic approach (also known as the dual ethnographic-neuropsychological model) and particularly its widespread applicability in the region (Mitchell 2002: 213), some of its aspects have courted controversy. In particular some have chastised the ethnographic approach as lacking historicity, which is generally linked to the persistent lack of absolute dates. The prevailing general feeling that the subcontinent lacks historically oriented archaeological and anthropological studies prefigures this position. The criticism is largely valid given that rock art evidence alone, as history, is not a conclusive framework for the understanding of the past, particularly the pre-colonial period. It is important to establish some chronological framework with which ethnographic analyses and interpretations must be steeped: how can past narratives be history without them being anchored on chronology?

2.3. Ethnography and rock art interpretation

Researchers use several sources to understand the underlying meaning and motivation of rock art. The Southern Bushman in the Cape were studied in the mid-19th century by and foremost amongst early writers, Wilhelm Bleek and his sister-in-law Lucy Lloyd (and later after their deaths by his daughter, Dorothea) (Bleek, Wilhem H. I. & Lloyd 1911). Added to this copious archive, there are those San from the southeastern mountains and Maloti region (now Lesotho) whose beliefs and mythology is gleaned from a Bushman guide named Qing, who worked with, and was partly documented by, the colonial official Joseph M. Orpen in the mid-1870s (Bleek, Wilhelm H. I. 1874; Orpen 1874). Both these groups are now culturally and linguistically vanished. This combined collection of records however bears commonalities with another equally impressive corpus, the 20th century Kalahari Bushman ethnography and ethno-historical records, all of which are now considered ideologically complementary and are used in explaining the iconography of the southern African KhoeSan artistic record (Lewis-Williams 1981; Lewis-Williams & Biesele 1978; Parkington 1984, 1996; Parkington & Manhire 2003; Skotnes 1996a, 2007). Additionally, there are various extracts of relevant material about the way of life of the former indigenes as gleaned from the colonial record from the 17th century onwards which are for my purposes informative though problematic when used on their own (Sealy 2006: 569). Nevertheless, taken together, and in tandem these collections contribute meaningfully to the archive of information which informs chronological analyses of rock painting.

Over the last four decades southern African rock art studies have focussed much of their attention on the matters of motive and meaning. It is a historical milieu that nurtured Patricia Vinnicombe and David Lewis-Williams's ethnographically inspired interpretative approach (e.g., Lewis-Williams 1981; Vinnicombe 1976). Their hermeneutic approach extended the symbolic emphasis of hunter-gatherer rock art. The artistic richness, sophistication, and metaphoric significance of this art have all subsequently been widely demonstrated (Garlake 1992, 1995; Huffman 1983; Mguni 2002, 2005; Parkington & Manhire 1997; Parkington *et al.* 1996; Yates *et al.* 1990). The heuristic and theoretical articulations of this study have been advanced to all the other regional rock art traditions which are associated with the Khoekhoe speaking herders and Bantu-speaking agropastoralists (Eastwood, E.B. 2003; Eastwood, E.B. & Smith 2005; Namono & Eastwood 2005; Prins 1994; Prins & Hall 1994). Recently, several writers working mainly in northern South Africa established the metaphorical intent and symbolic meaning(s) and motivation of these rock arts (Namono & Eastwood 2005; Smith, B.W. & Ouzman 2004) and that they are neither simplistic nor can they be deduced *prima facie* or dismissed as graffiti defacing earlier true artistic records (as once earlier assumed: e.g., see Cooke 1969). As we shall see, although largely unreported previously, some of these later traditions are indeed present (Appendix 1, Figure 5) in my sequence.

The significance of these research efforts cannot be overemphasised; however, my central concern in this thesis is to understand the role of 'active archiving' by the artists themselves and how their painting assemblages may have developed over time. In this context, chronological interpretations should include how the rock art record might be interconnected within the archaeological record (Mazel 2009) as a step towards historical narrative. In this endeavour it is important to concede first the prosaic fact that the southern African rock art is still difficult to date; we therefore have a very limited number of direct dates (Humphreys 1971; Mazel 2009; Mazel & Watchman 1997; Thackeray 1983; van der Merwe, N.J. *et al.* 1987). Hence, I advocate the view that if the rock art assemblages with which I deal bear the features of the archive, then it is prudent to analyse them accordingly using the archival approach. This might disentangle historical and chronological processes that contributed to the formation of both painting and archaeological records. The next section advances the archival approach through the application of ways and means of this rock art analysis.

2.4. Outlining the archive perspective

There is a prospect of obtaining interpretative remedies for the vexatious problem of the chronological complexity of rock art at the level of methodology. These remedies are partly the analytical strategies that are commensurate with image accumulations over time that may satisfactorily explain how artistic practices speak to history. To begin unravelling this vision and building a model for analysing painting sequences, I now undertake defining the archival approach by discussing whether it is a theory or not. For some scholars, 'the archive' is "…the awkward but resonant singular…" which invokes a notion of traveling…Time travel and its new historicist baggage offer the literary scholar a presence, indeed a metaphysics of presence…And that presence can be embodied, not only by a time period…or a vague but attractive collective representing that period…but also by a perhaps-representative individual…" (Michie & Warhol 2010: 415). From this basis and throughout the discussion, my syntheses will test the theoretical and heuristic potential of this perspective. Although the philosophy and ontology of the archive notion, its mission and underlying theoretical outlines have long been debated, some of its important considerations thrived in the 1990s into this century (see comment in Bantin 1998: 20; Eamon 2006). Different ways of thinking about archives corresponded with technological advances that occasioned profound social, political and epistemological changes and shifts in the role of the archives in cultural and heritage contexts (Craven 2008: 1). The archives notion, more practiced than theorised, led to intellectual ambivalence in most writings as to whether there is a theory of the archives.

On archive theory and why is it important, some have argued that, "The first object of archival theory is the nature of archival documents or records" (Eastwood, T.M. 1994: 125). Even more recently, a leading archivist Terry Cook (Preface to the book by John Ridener 2009: xvii-xviii) acknowledges that there is an understandable scepticism in the archival profession about theory, perhaps because theory and practice are often regarded as polarities. In what appears to be an expanded assessment of this acceptance, Terence Eastwood had earlier argued that the dispute on whether a theory of the archive exists comes from disproportionate efforts directed on issues of method and practice, the 'means of treatment' rather than to the question of the material properties themselves (Eastwood, T.M. 1994: 126). The archival endeavour, he argues, concerns building knowledge about archival documents and ways of acting on them methodically in order to protect their intrinsic properties. Recently, Louise Craven (2008: 1) characterised the problem as one of too much focus on the

'how', rather than the 'why' of archival work. For Eastwood, however, the theoretical emphasis should be on what exactly the archive properties are that need protection and why this is so. He listed five properties (below), which underwrite the archival theory and for which method and practice should be employed to preserve their features.

Impartiality: Concerns the relationship of facts with interpretation, the promise of faithfulness in the archival documents.
Authenticity: Contingency on facts, maintenance and custody. These are at the heart of issues of generation and preservation.
Naturalness: Quality of documents being created for specific purposes at hand and needs for which they are then preserved.
Interrelatedness: Relationships between documents and the affairs from which they arose, which render them interdependent of meanings and evidence of past activity.
Uniqueness: A unique place each document has in the archival structure, as evidence of a past activity in relationship with other accumulated documents. But the content or information in each document may or may not be unique.

These five characteristics are argued to be common to all archives and so are a starting point for archival theory, which, as all theories do, seeks to generalize the nature of the archives in order to set the intellectual framework for method and practice (Eastwood, T.M. 1994: 129). Nevertheless, Eastwood acknowledges that the list may not be exhaustive. And part of the crux of the matter is that 'the archival terminology is not entirely uniform' (Sickinger 1999: 5). There are debates, and still raging, among archivists and historians of archives concerning the nature of what should and should not be considered archival records and what should be paramount in reconstructing historical accounts. I deal with these issues in chapter five as I move towards characterising my archival perspective for the analysis of rock art imagery.

The emerging scheme concerns possibilities for contemplating relationships between images, categories and their clusters. The scheme moves beyond the focus on only the superposition or above/below image relations to an approach that cautiously threads image relationships even when there are no obvious superpositions. From yet another perspective in archival studies, there is the concept of *respect des fonds* (Cook 1993), which is useful in thinking about image relations, the phases and sub-phases of image categories in the sequence. The *fonds* is the highest level of arrangement in archives, and may sometimes be used to describe the entire archives or a collation of documents by an individual in the archives. In archival terms, the fonds is not equivalent to 'record group' or collections' (*ibid*.: 27) , a term that is now increasingly reserved for document or record aggregations assembled, but not created,

by an archivist or collector. A rock art tradition for instance, such as the colonial era finger paintings, may be an equivalent of what this concept covers. Fonds may be divided into sub-fonds, generally the records of different branches of archives or key themes from the documents of an individual. Sub-fonds are themselves further divisible into series, which are often the groupings of individual types of documents (e.g., will, minutes, correspondence files, deeds, and so forth), followed by sub-series, then files, and items. An item is the smallest discrete archival unit, and is usually indivisible (e.g., a single letter or volume, for instance). These levels are expandable into sub-divisions depending on the complexity and magnitude of the materials. These archival properties and the fonds concept are developed further in chapter five as tools for conceptualising painting categories and chronologies.

The notion of rock art as archive recognises the artists' agency and meaning frameworks as historical actors in shaping their landscape. The nature of the archive as developed in the painted record acknowledges the awareness of change and continuity over time. In this formulation, the archive also implies a process rather than an end product; as Steedman (2001: 45) argues 'nothing starts in the archive…though things certainly end up there.' Because in the archive there are 'the middle of things; discontinuities,' our artistic record can be conceptualised as being a fragment within a sequence of practices, some of which may also have entailed accumulations in the archaeological deposit. Archives are thus a product of the people in the normal course of their lives and therefore they are not impersonal or absolute entities. There is a very strong element of intention in the selection of what gets to make up the archive. For instance, Steedman (2001: 68-69) has argued that the archive is made from selected and consciously chosen documentation from, or fragmentary traces of, the past. In the case of rock art, the artists chose to depict particular subjects or species and ignored many more others. Particular sites and materials used for these chosen subjects were also cultural selections. As I have mentioned, the Cape artists repeatedly depicted the human form, then animals such as eland, elephants and other forms featured in association with other image types over time almost to the exclusion of other subjects (Maggs 1967b). Additionally, these images appear in varying proportions between the mountain and coastal zones (Manhire *et al.* 1983). What do these choices tell us in the light of our understanding of the *selectivity* of the archive?

To unravel the subtleties of what is selected or ignored in our assemblages from the past we need not only empirical observations, but theory or theories to understand our observations. In such approaches, archaeologists often use theory, method and techniques as the essential set of tools for analysis. Although not always explicit, these are the three main components of research in social sciences (as indeed many other disciplines). There tends to be, however, no defined necessary order or hierarchy in the deployment of these conceptual tools. There are universal views on what theory is or should be (see chapter five where I chart my theoretical perspectives). In this section, I sketch just two, albeit mutual, views. One is quite broad: the pursuit of interpretations that support our understanding of, for example, natural or social phenomena for the sake of knowledge could be defined as 'theoretical'. In this view, theory encapsulates contemplation and explanation as an intellectual exercise. The second sense is specific, while it adds on and expands the first sense, to regard theory as a systematic framework of ideas for explaining observed phenomena. In this definition, a theory can be made up of a hypothesis or multiple hypotheses, which could be a general proposition or a set of propositions established by experimentation or observation (Johnson, M. 1999: 176). Hypotheses are themselves conceptual tools, which make general empirical statements in relation to a specific theory, as they bridge diverse forms of data in relation to that theory to show the relationships between the data.

Furthermore, these propositions should generally be accepted as accounting for those facts or explained phenomena. Thus, as Jonathan Culler (2009: 3) notes, "A theory must be more than a hypothesis…it involves complex relations of a systemic kind among a number of factors…" In this light, Marxism, feminism, structuralism, orientalism and so on, for example, are all illustrations of theories in social science, literary and cultural studies. Although there is disagreement on this point, an important operational concept within the purview of theory is methodology. Methodology encompasses technique and method, which are the pragmatics of assembling and explaining observed data or realities. Stratigraphic drawings, excavation plans, Harris matrices, tracing and so forth, are all examples of techniques; these are the practical applications for gathering and presenting evidence. In contrast, method (*not* methodology) concerns the formulae for developing a form of argument, which could be analogical, inductive or deductive, into a specific conclusion. Induction, now widely a discredited method, attempts to induce general explanations, laws or theories from data. While the inductive arguments may be logically valid, it does not necessarily follow that, if

the premises of an inductive inference are true, then the conclusion must be true. Deduction, on the other hand, follows the opposite view: if the premise of the argument is true, then the conclusion must also be true (see, Chalmers 1978). I do not get into any detail regarding these distinctions on methods of argumentation. My study favours the 'cabling' and 'tacking' method advocated by Alison Wylie (1989), first used in rock art studies by Lewis-Williams in the mid-1990s, which I discuss in chapter five.

Method should be seen as a bridging mechanism for the augmentation of theory and other kinds of information (or what is generally called data). As discussed in chapter five and applied in the subsequent discussions, this thesis employs an amalgam of theoretical perspectives in order to manage the multiplicity of the range of analysed sources. The key in this study is the archival perspective; it is adapted from archival studies as a useful tool to understand other forms of past materiality that have hitherto not been regarded as having archival qualities. This thesis demonstrates that by recognising such qualities in rock painting assemblages allows other rewarding avenues in unravelling the temporal sequences of the paintings and associated site histories. In developing the archival perspective, I now use a flowchart below to define ways and means for the synthesising of painting sequences and relative chronology in a manner that leads to historicised site narratives and focussed imagery interpretations. Below, Figure 1 shows several concepts and their associated components from the painting record and the desired ways and means to a unified working archive. Various parts of the flowchart are essentially linked without any overriding structural hierarchy. This schema, as a guide for my analytical approach, includes (but not exhaustively or exclusively): image assemblages (general art content), distinctive image forms, evidence of phases such as superpositions (partial evidence of temporal sequence), material culture (reflected in deposits and art), and historical and other related records forms. Image assemblages are observed empirically and require various levels of verification for their organisational and chronological integrity. Temporal evidence is allied with the analysis of image form that allows the definition of broader image categories and traditions. However, on its own empirical observation may be in vain unless coupled with ethnographic, ethno-historical and historical sources. These are only analytical levels, which necessitate the examination and understanding of painting history, interpretation, chronology, and the formulation of historicised narratives. All the components feed each other in recursive multidimensional pathways; if one or several components are stronger, they also strengthen

others whose informational value is weak. Finally these components are anchored by the archive theory, since the end product is the expanded multidimensional archive. The expansion of the archive body enables the comprehension of the artistic, anthropological and historical domains and the formulation of frameworks to present and as well as preserve the rock art heritage in general with a particular region.

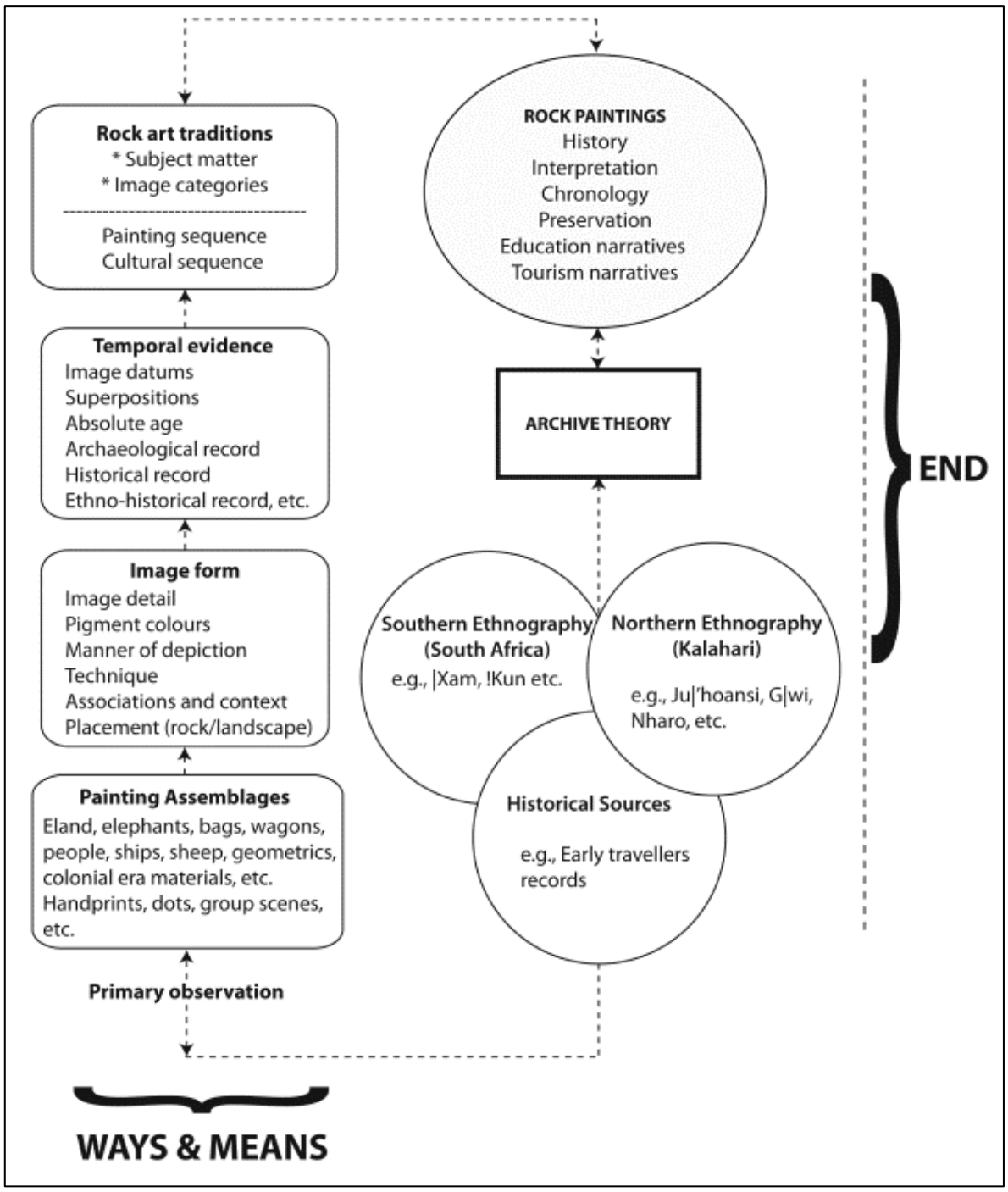


Figure 1: Flowchart showing potential ways and means in the archival analysis of chronological sequences in the Cape.

This understanding, developed later, reveals more similarities than differences between the archaeology and painting sequences. In the flowchart, mechanical observations of superposition as an analytical domain show that the archive retains an element of, but is not limited to, time as relative dating. The significance of this schema is in the recognition that it is neither superpositions nor absolute dates on their own which lead to meaningful historical or anthropological narratives of the past. On the contrary, in tandem with these temporal considerations, there are other analytical segments including the image's formal qualities (i.e., colour, technique, detail, etc.), image categories, and specific subjects that altogether allow the interpretative enterprise to reveal underlying meanings. By shifting the focus and attendant analytical grammar from painting sequence as an end in itself to anthropological and interpretative enterprise based on the notion of 'rock art as archive', I anticipate a better understanding of the interlocution of rock art, ethnography, archaeology, and historical sources, however fragmentary.

2.5. Why a rock art archive?

The formulation of 'rock art as archive' necessitates a synthesis of painting sequences into chronology as adjunct sources of information in the reconstruction of pre-colonial and early colonial painting histories. Unlike several other expressive traditions along with their materialities, rock art, and in particular the paintings, is an enduring legacy which is unique in its ubiquity and durability. Its quality of history is carried in its long term character, derived directly from the natural and human domains themselves filtered through the ancient worldviews and daily experiences of the art creators (see similar views in, Garlake 1995). Accepting particular epistemologies in order to understand cosmologies of past artists' cultures can contribute significantly to the development of new premises of envisioning their individual histories. Painting production, as distinct from other past materialities, is central to all social, political and cultural interactions and milieux. It will become clear later that painting played an active part in the articulation of the vicissitudes of social life.

As social life and political power are played out over time, they become essentially historical: in the African context some historians have observed that people "…tell, sing, produce (through dance, recitation, marionette puppets), sculpt, and paint their history" (Mudimbe & Jewsiewicki 1993: 3). It is wrong though to see past societies in their daily life activities as intentionally 'documenting history' in these artistic domains; history emerges as a by-product

of time and transmission of information down the generations. Similar to Martin Wobst's view on the transmission of material culture (1977: 322), the efficacy of the painting record is in its intrinsic feature of that causes recurrent cultural themes and human behaviour through time. In rock art studies, the persistent challenge concerns the assembling of meaningful units of analysis for understanding how history may be extracted from these time-bound themes and understanding which of their aspects are 'markers' of temporal change. Contextual change involves how generations of artists envisioned their place within shifting social, political and natural environments, as well as how they represented their creations following a multiplicity of experiences. These experiences include awareness of existing former images in the shelters. This is an issue of normative modes of cultural expression, individual and communal agency and the extent to which an aggregation of human choices over generations impinges on and physically informs, painting sequence and ultimately relative chronology.

The basic thrust of this study is carefully selecting the analytical units that reflect temporal shifts within assemblages of imagery. This becomes much more difficult in southern Africa, as a region lacking reliable datable contexts (Jerardino 1999: 543, 548; Parkington & Manhire 2003: 33). The existing gaps, due to the paucity of absolute dates, mean that we cannot track with any specificity the possible cultural and formal changes over time. However, even as the art has largely weathered away, some local sites endure as the only archives of past human culture and history. Some measure of the problem has been with the growing trend of working with painting chronology strictly archaeologically, as fixed stratigraphic sequences. In this mode of thinking, the exhibited themes and manners of painting are seen as transient customs, leaving only traces of their presence (or absence) in time. One-dimensional approaches may not be appropriate for dealing with expressive cultural elements that, to all intents and purposes, overlapped, interlocked and disengaged in cycles through time. The graphic fluidity and emergent entangled imagery requires a different frame of thinking about time-referenced change in painting assemblages. It is partly for this reason that the archival perspective, as outlined above, becomes a useful adjunct in the analysis. Over-painted palimpsests can therefore be contextualised in localised sites as sequential archival records and a regional chronological assemblage might be realised if this sequence is replicated at various sites. The archive perspective thus befits a derivative methodology to organise, extricate and interpret painting assemblages. The methodology

inspires a multi-linearity of syntheses expounded by Wylie (1989). I now discuss a selection of previous sequence studies to reflect of their frustrations as background.

6.1. Short history of southern African sequence studies

In the late 1920s, Miles Burkitt was one of the first to advocate the use superpositions to deduce chronology (Burkitt 1928). The Abbé Henri Breuil was, however, the first to undertake a major chronology project analysing a variety of colour schemes from 4 shelters in what was then the Orange Free State (Breuil 1930). He concluded that two main periods were distinguishable made up of a total of 17 phases. Considering both stylistic and content variation, he believed the art to have evolved from earlier 'degenerate' to later 'elaborate' forms. In the 1950s, Alex Willcox was largely unsuccessful in recognising clear-cut phases in the Drakensberg. Nevertheless, like Breuil, he claimed to have found a linear stylistic and technical development of the art from monochromes to bichromes, then unshaded polychromes and topmost in the sequence the shaded polychromes (Willcox 1956: 61). Although his monochromatic red figures were earliest, he found them to be 'peppered' throughout the painting stratigraphy. Beyond the Limpopo River in Zimbabwe, Cooke (1969: 45) was explicit in asserting that art change and development was discernible in this long spanning tradition. He believed that, because the artists had placed images upon other images, it was possible to gauge relative chronology. He distinguished six styles and, like Willcox, he believed that the art developed from inferior to superior forms and then back to decadence in the final stages (Cooke 1969: 45-50). Two years later, Harald Pager who had been working in the Drakensberg, published his own results from an analysis of sequence that concentrated on the eland paintings (Pager 1971a: 353-356). He found 7 phases involving unshaded bichrome eland, red and white technique in the second phase. Eland shading appears in his third phase, although he found red and white to continue as reused colours; black pigment made its first appearance in human figures. This technique became more complex as colours and image sizes increased in the fourth and fifth phases. In phases six and seven, as Pager concluded, there was regression due to the "waxing and waning confidence of the painters" (Pager 1971a: 356).

In the Underberg region, Patricia Vinnicombe analysed superimpositions from 77 shelters (Vinnicombe 1976: 137), 51% of her total number of study sites. While distinguishing 4 phases, she cautioned against thinking that all earlier images in the sequence were dark red to

maroon monochromes. Although these monochromes were recognisably common in her initial phase, shaded polychromes increased in her third phase, but in the end they retrocede in the fourth phase. Vinnicombe (1976: 141) believed that in contrast to the human element, which increased with sequence into the later phases, animal depictions become progressively less common in later phases. While the range of subjects increased as well, including contact period imagery, the palette also became diversified to include black, yellow, and bright vermillion or orange at the expense of earlier dark reds. Pager (1971a: 354) had noticed a similar colour scheme in his styles 6 and 7 of the Cathedral Peak area sample; he speculated whether this bright colour became darker over time. Overall, Vinnicombe's observations in her own admission 'proved disappointing in many respects' (Vinnicombe 1976: 139), as was Willcox's similar admission from his earlier experience elsewhere. Lewis-Williams found some of Vinnicombe's conclusions in agreement with his own work on the Barkly East sample (Lewis-Williams 1974b; 1977: 58). So too are the recent conclusions of later workers who have employed Harris matrices to analyse superimpositions in the central Drakensberg, particularly at Main Caves, Giant's Castle (Russell 1997, 2000). Later, Joan Swart worked in the northern and southern Drakensberg where she (Swart 2004) analysed the sites of Eland Cave and Ngwangwane 8 and compared her results with Thembi Russell's, all of which generally concur with Vinnicombe's (1976) earlier studies in the Underberg region.

Looking back at the earlier studies of rock art superpositions, it seems that the problems we encounter today are the same ones observed previously. Although she was not herself a rock art specialist, D.F. Bleek was the first to repudiate Breuil's chronological phases based on colour schemes as quite subjective. She pointed out that her own observations from 88 shelters did not bear out the impression of sequence of colours, each being used by a different generation (Bleek, D.F. 1932: 78) and that any variation would have been expected for an art spanning centuries. Later still, she made another important observation on the Cape art that, "Superpositions are few, and where they occur, two layers are visible with a few exceptions" (van der Riet *et al.* 1940: p. x). Her approach, as that of Breuil before her, was not restricted to complete overpainting of one image by another, but also included overlapping imagery as well. This is in contrast to Lewis-Williams's scheme in the early 1970s, which considered superpositioning to be limited to cases of one image directly over another (Lewis-Williams 1972, 1974b). These problems are still fundamental.

In contrast to D.F. Bleek, however, some writers noted more recently that they had done a "close examination of *numerous* superpositionings of handprints with detailed representational images" (Yates *et al.* 1993: 61: my emphasis) in the Cape. From my own observations, it appears that these writers' earlier view that "superpositioning would seem to be less common than in the Drakensberg" (Yates & Manhire 1991: 3) is a more correct conclusion. If superpositions are a rare phenomenon there is a problem of reliability for those analyses that formulate regional chronologies based on them alone. It is against this background that I question the effectiveness of unaided use of superpositions as good chronological parameters although superpositions and the rather uncommon but repetitive use of similar subjects (what I later call 'graphic mimicry') over time indicate the dialectic intertwining of earlier-to-later image making actions and contexts. Over-layering is not always a worthy indicator of relative chronology, but where discernible superpositions remain an analytical avenue for sequencing rock art in tandem with the archival approach.

The scarcity of direct image overlays is an opportunity to investigate other approaches for painted stratigraphic analyses. It must be accepted that inconsistencies will be inevitable in any chronological sequence because of the fragmentary and residual nature of the painting record. Under circumstances of better preserved and over painted sites, superposition can be used to build a basic chronological outline. In assessing chronology and graphic change over time it is useful to think of specific image categories and broader traditions not as entirely distinct entities but open-ended classifications. Their fragmentary boundaries blur within a multi-layered continuum of image creation over time. This view recognises the notion that the occurrence of individual images and their relationships from earlier to later traditions or periods can best be characterised as osmotic, rather than static, variation. The placement of images by artists in one cultural group or another did not happen in a vacuum. Artists operated in direct reference to what already existed on their chosen surfaces. In other parts of the world, this point has long been noted by researchers working on rock art dating in the Laura region of Australia. They observed that over long periods some later artists often imitated earlier motifs, thereby complicating their research attempts to correlate dated art sequences and other archaeological materials (Cole & Watchman 2005). I accept that generations of artists worked within a diverse graphic milieu that may or may not have influenced their own culture-specific artworks. Such choices affect the manner in which we create classifications of the imagery used in the formulations of chronology.

2.6. Using superpositions for chronology formulation

In formulating painting chronologies, analyses start with individual images that contain vital clues for stratigraphic sequence. In themselves, however, as single analytical units they are less than conclusive. This point introduces methodological issues concerning analytical techniques for deciphering the clues of image sequences. Single images only begin to gain explanatory power in sequences when they are appraised in unison with broader image categories within and between panels and sites. This is also true for stratified archaeological materials from single lenses to larger strata at a site and then multiple sites. Archaeologists may speak of a regional sequence from appraising an amalgam of sequences derived from a series of sites. Single images, however, can be used effectively in mapping out a logical structure starting with them as small entities, unit-by-unit, and to broader, cluster-by-cluster, relationships. This analytical conception is further developed later as a crucial element in deducing sequential superpositional units to generate a regional chronology.

Resolving image stratigraphy is not as straightforward as it might at first seem. This is a longstanding problem. Reviewing D.F. Bleek's 1930 book "Rock paintings in South Africa," which assembled various painting copies made nearly sixty earlier by George W. Stow, Burkitt confidently asserted: 'It is a pity, perhaps, that it was not found possible in the limits of time and space to include an account of the various superpositions of styles of paintings which occur, but these *can be easily worked out from the plates* by students' (Burkitt 1932: 29: my emphasis). He hoped that "when they have done so, and isolated the various styles, they will have learnt considerably more about the matter…" (*ibid*.) Burkitt may not have realised that his assertions, ensuing from his own book four years earlier, initiated a protracted preoccupation with sequence and chronology. Moreover, the idea of 'style' as central in this activity has proven difficult to dislodge even today. His views above had problems, as were assertions in his book earlier. It can be recalled that it was Burkitt's book which advocated the sequencing of rock art superpositions in similar ways that archaeologists sequence stratified deposits (Burkitt 1928). The seeds of the problem at hand were sown as early as his propositions therein. The painting sequence is not a simple parallel of archaeological strata or vice-versa. For recognised reasons, no researcher today would attempt setting students off on their own to deduce painting sequence, let alone from reproductions and not at the actual sites. The copy plates upon which Burkitt commented

were made by Stow in challenging circumstances and contingencies; therefore they have problems such as we all now appreciate (see, Lewis-Williams & Challis 2011: 40-42).

Furthermore, the images are often faded due to ravages of time and weathering (Vinnicombe 1976: 139). Overall, as some argued in the 1970s: "Traditional methods of dating have relied on: (i) stylistic typologies, commonly based on paradigms of art evolution from 'primitive' to sophisticated and ultimately 'degenerate' forms…." (Butzer *et al.* 1979: 1201). Previous studies using this approach to chronology assumed, albeit implicitly, a proxy Darwinian evolutionary process in the developmental stages of human life and culture. Hence, although image layers might have been recognised correctly, their interpretation did not allow for a balanced assessment of the social, political, cultural, economic, and other factors that resulted in identified deviations. To label the putative final rock art category as degenerate assumes a 'disappearing' custom as dictates its natural evolutionary course. This was not, as we know, a natural course of initial innovation and then later its demise. The artists lost their culture and all associated mores to the fatal interference and contestations by other social, political and cultural formations that took root in their former homelands and painting landscapes. So the differences in the character of the imagery seem to be a result of the abrupt change in the social, cultural and historical context of the artists, itself not an evolutionary or natural process. Lewis-Williams (1992: 27) has lamented, "All complex panels must have had a beginning, but, had history not intervened so decisively, they may never have had an end." If we discard the evolutionary perspectives, new appreciations of complex processes emerge that may allow the formulation of a historicised painting sequence. None the less, the San hunter-gatherer complex of mores, of which their rock art was part, cannot be construed today as static conceptual and material entities. These were always in a continuous state of flux, as the former societies reimagined and reimaged their own, equally shifty, social circumstances through time. The role of images largely concerned hunter-gatherer religious thought, worldview and ritual practice contextualised within the mutable social and historical circumstances.

Being different cultural entities (or a complex fusion of these entities) that produced the varied Cape painting traditions, it is conceivable that diverse people would have dealt with these social and historical circumstances in different ways. So, the artistic record may indicate such variability, which needs recognition through contextuality and historicity. What

are these art traditions? On the surface, a definition of an art tradition may not be what it seems nor can it be a definitive affair. While it is difficult to observe differences within customary single 'rock art traditions', we cannot accept one tradition or the other as being a constant graphic monolith with redoubtable qualities of uniform character and form. To regard traditions as such is reductionist and ahistorical, given the amount of observable overlaps in form and content. Recognisable forms of ancient rock art have generally become essentialised classifications, which most writers have generally accepted at face value. However, as some have reminded us (e.g., Battiss 1948; Skotnes 1996b), what is accepted on formal qualities alone as an unquestionably invariant San art tradition over time might in fact be an amalgam of several traditions or its 'sub-traditions', a point that I will return to illustrate later in the analysis of temporal sequences in my study area. Even when dealing with a single art tradition, intractable complexities are unavoidable. These traditions are generally deduced from collations of distinctive traits of individual imagery. While these delineations are based largely, but not exclusively, on the overall character, social and formal attributes of imagery, the reality is more complex than this purview. For example, drawing from his familiarity with Arnhem Land scenario and Australia in general, George Chaloupka succinctly cautions that rock art:

> [I]s a complex construct of a human mind, a conscious selection of elements out of artistic experience, imagination and emotions, and not just a utilitarian object. Consequently, a rock painting is more than a motif or pattern which can be reduced by simple typological classification to basic form and studied by such diagnostic means. (Chaloupka 1985: 270)

This caution alerts us to the classification problem concerning the derivation of art traditions from analysing imagery. For instance, what constitutes a presumed coherent image category? So, how do we delineate image groupings that are to be contrasted with other image clusters from numerous assemblages accumulated over long periods of time at diverse sites? The basis of several classifications has been critiqued by Chaloupka himself as having drawn heavily from early ideas on cultural evolution, such as I briefly alluded to above, and therefore not quite suited to this problem of formulating relative chronology in rock art studies. One has to consider first the depicted subjects as an informative source in its own terms in relation to other verifiable sources such as history and ethnography.

To understand such subjects, the archival approach goes beyond just relative sequence towards conflating painting interpretation with a form of historical and ethnographic analysis in tandem with perspectives on social interaction. Certain details in the imagery—i.e., their manners of depiction, contextual associations and others—will have emerged in particular periods and locations and served specific purposes that shifted the locus of their symbolism through time. Painting chronology is fundamentally historical, since the artistic production and change are both constituted and manifested over and through time by the active agency of individuals and their communities. This understanding resonates with the views of Austrian Aloïs Riegl (Riegl 1888, 1889), regarded as the father of modern art history, who believed that "artworks were temporal as well as spatial…and illuminated the passage of time by visually re-representing the perceptual world of past eras" (reviewed and cited in, Gubser 2005: 451). To him, the investigation of art was an exploration of our perceptual relationship with the external world, itself temporally and historically constituted (*ibid*.: 456). He identified two distinct notions of time: one as a historical construct and another as a phenomenon embedded in artefacts (*ibid*.: 458). My painting sequence is a trace of clues for the historical value of images, since "Artistic forms were themselves historically significant in that they exemplified the formal, perceptual tendencies from the past; artistic value was therefore a historical category" (*ibid*.: 459). The recursive link between iconographic, historical and ethnographic analysis provides insights on the artistic change and allied symbolic features identified in the images. It is the economic, social and political spheres of the frontier (a discussion I will return to later in the thesis) that are important in my interpretation of image change over time in the sequence. The archival approach augments the superpositional analysis of the over painted sites. Superpositions, as I showed above, have problems which derive largely from the manner in which images are classed. The next section describes the formulation of my analytical categories.

2.7. Analytical parameters and their delineation

Observable graphic formal features need to be established for analysing image stratigraphies. The extrapolation of sequence from images must be relevant and definable for discerning chronology even in minimally painted site contexts or where there is no obvious superposition. Likewise, hypothetically it should be possible to predict a sequential order of images that are not themselves involved in superposition. This sequential placement of images will be based on their established graphic features and where these are found to

aggregate in terms of stratigraphy of several regional sites. Creating a summative set of relationships of selected images is important in this methodology: it covers image associations, their inter- and intra-site interrelationships. Some of the images or their classes are closely related to others both inside and outside the superposition occurrences. Reliable chronological entities will depend on these relationships, not just on those images found in directly superposed strata but also those that are found to be consistent with others whose sequence is established by superpositions. Indeed, the archival approach can create the link by providing the field of conceptual reference points that can be used to organise these image relations beyond superpositions. Some previous analyses of painting sequences can be easily challenged as being positivistic: first, there are no absolutes in cultural material patterning. Cultural objects are inherently artificial; they are not predisposed to independent laws similar to those governing natural phenomena, such as predictable laws of geological stratification.

From the archive perspective, there is a fundamental recognition of *process* over *product* and that rather than focus on the existence of a cultural record the goal is to appraise its informational value in relation to other records. It is therefore less crucial that at one site some graphic elements appear in one layer and then become reversed or contradicted at another, but that these features belong in a largely autonomous category. In their chronological continuum, the development and eventual creation of these categories may have taken protracted periods. Certain manners of depiction, graphic principles and conventions developed over time, but the placement of images in the shelters was achieved as repeated short-term actions. In turn, it is necessary therefore that the observation of image attributes is contextualised and correlated with types of sites and localities where these image relationships and comparable graphic patterns exist. Each image in the end might then fit into a schema of defined specific attributes. If these are linked to dated archaeological contexts at sites whose occupation histories are known then there is a basis for inferring periods when particular image classes trended in a locality. There is a need to consider formal patterns of images across various sites in order to understand uniformity or lack thereof in the depiction manners and subject repertoire across space and time.

Formulation parameters for analysing regional chronologies require conceptual and methodological tools that transcend the simple superposition analyses. One complementary source in this process is ethnography, as it can within limits confirm or invalidate

formulations made from superposition analyses and excavation data alone. Chronology may not be preserved somewhere beyond individual sites, but rather within the sites in the multi-layered graphic repartee some of which might be in superficial contradiction. In the end, relative chronology markers may lie in image categories across several sites in a region rather than within image clusters of single sites. Indeed, one of the problems from previous approaches is that focusing solely on the correspondence of features could limit the discernment the meaningfulness of dissimilarities. It is useful to analyse various graphic relations from diverse sites to evaluate their artistic patterns. This multi-component approach encompasses rock art, known aspects of hunter-gatherer and herder archaeology and other ethnographical-anthropological evidence. The ideal is to integrate material on cultural context of the art and their relative chronology with absolute dates. Because rock art dating problems, it is crucial to incorporate painting sequences with stratified material cultural remains in deposits. Below I describe the three main categories on painting in the region. They form the basis of the characterisation of the painting assemblages, which form my rock art archive.

2.8. Categories of rock art images and definitions

Whereas 'rock art' as a term has a fairly short history of usage its origins are vague. As we have seen, the topic itself in the Cape has enchanted writers since the mid-1700s with Beutler's published observations in the Eastern Cape onwards (For example, Van Reenen in 1790 [Kirby 1958]; Wikar in 1779 [Mossop 1935]; Gordon in 1777 [Raper & Boucher 1988]; Rudner 1989; Theal 1897: 133). In all early writings, these images are generally referred to as 'Bushman paintings'. However, in the introduction of their jointly authored book, "Bushman art", Hugo Obermaier might have introduced the dual term 'rock art' in southern African archaeological terminology (Obermaier & Kühn 1930: 1-11). The term, however, only gained common usage several decades later in the 1950s (Allison & King 2005: 248; Clark, J.D. 1958: 74) along its less commonly used alternative form 'rock-art' (Johnson, G. Townley 1958: 67). Recently, some writers have advocated the use of this hyphenated portmanteau, which Chippindale and Taçon (1998: 6) explain and define as "human-made marks on natural, non-portable rocky surfaces." Admittedly, ideas of what rock art may or may not be vary regionally. Definitions have overlaps between various image categories or traditions, but overall the distinguishing trait of the greater part of these images is based on the line or stroke made with some object applicator or the finger as the direct instrument of application.

A stroke or line is the elementary unit of most rock art forms. It is indeed the foundation of visual graphic phenomena. Line drawing is observable in most painting and engraving traditions in southern Africa. Generally the artists appear to have employed sharp and delicate edges as the basis of the depicted image form. True outlines were also usually drawn and then filled in or shaded. This graphic technique is essentially the defining feature of San art whose images are mainly finely detailed. It is not clear though when San art first became technically known as 'fine-line'. In the early 1950s, however, Clarence van Riet Lowe used this term in his description of engravings (van Riet Lowe 1952: 5). It is apparent that his conception and use of the expression was in terms of technical aspects of producing engravings. The term 'fine line' as applied to the paintings, not engravings, appears in the literature slightly later (Clark, J.D. 1958: 72-73). I now describe the customary categories of painting in the Cape and follow this characterisation terminology for these distinctive manners of painting.

Fine-lines: The category customarily known as 'fine line' appears to have been first used by van Riet Lowe although he did not define the term 'fine-line', or use it in reference to paintings. Finely detailed images, as the term implies, were created using refined applicators or slender instruments such as brushes of various kinds or quills. Because of the greater control of the paint medium, this method produced well-defined outlines; single strokes are sometimes as thin as a fraction of millimetre. Frequently, details can be the size of a pinhead. With such miniscule rendering of form and detail, depicted shapes are often very clear and delicately executed as to delineate the edges and essential image features. This art is usually extremely elaborate and sophisticated in the use of colour schemes. These are usually a range of ochreous hues of red, brown and maroon, then yellow to orange, as well as black and white, all used singly or in multiple combinations. As these colours do not preserve the same way, very few of these from the ancient palette are visible today, with white and black being pigments that disappear rapidly (Vinnicombe 1976: 141, 164; Wilson *et al.* 1990: 209; Yates *et al.* 1985: 70). Generally, ochreous pigments last longer; often what are visible are residual stains in the rock due to weathering.

Detail and complexity varies in different regions: for example, shading is commonly found in the southeastern mountains and less frequently elsewhere. Although rare, exquisitely shaded examples have been found in the Cape as well. Such high quality form is not amenable to large images. Some fine paintings of large elephant images from the Cape (Yates *et al.* 1994:

38) to Namibia and Zimbabwe (Cooke 1969: 50) can measure a metre or more. Yet a closer inspection shows that a different method of pigment application was used. An outline might have been drawn with an instrument or crayon, then shaded or filled probably with a sponge or some swab-like applicator. In some examples, such as in Matopo Hills the palm of the hand may have been used to smear large shaded areas. Oftentimes the fine-line images are naturalistic, largely depicting people, animals and sometimes non-identifiable creatures, but rarely plants, and a small range of geometric forms and then a range of material culture items which are largely, but not always, easily identifiable (e.g., see, Johnson, G. Townley & Maggs 1979; Johnson, G. Townley *et al.* 1959b; Manhire 1998; Yates *et al.* 1993, 1994). This tradition displays a typically huge variety of representational forms and subjects, whose conceptual import is chiefly metaphoric and symbolic (Lewis-Williams 1981).

The view that fine-lines predate most other categories emanates from the observed absence of other image forms and categories overlain by fine-lines. This tradition, also known as the detailed representational art (Yates *et al.* 1993), is set apart from the other image categories due to its finely detailed manner of execution. Its time depth is inconclusive, but it may plausibly be as old as 30,000 years and as recent as a few centuries ago. Based on observations, this study refined finely detailed imagery by subdividing it into two classifications: *fine fine-line* and *coarse fine-line*, which as we shall see later appear in succession. The former may be regarded as the 'classic' hunter-gatherer tradition found in many parts of southern Africa while the latter occurs in circumscribed regional settings such as the Cape. The images in this category tend to reflect finesse in their delicate delineation of subjects, realistic proportions, and in most cases complex shading was involved using thin consistency of pigment mixtures. Where various colours are used—as is true for the diverse palette typical of this tradition—the blending is often even, as they grade into each other. The course fine-line category is different; while its content overlaps with the former category, the form is diverges. However, as some noted, defining this category as 'smaller free-style paintings' content is more diverse, conventions are discarded "as anything and everything of interest is grist to the mill" (Sampson 1968: 194). The palette is limited to one or two pigments, but principally red ochre. Sometimes the pigment has an appearance of bleeding as if the quality of binding agents used was reduced. The delineation of subjects is often coarse although the artists used some form of instruments as applicators. As "This phase of our rock

paintings is perhaps the most distinct from the others" (*ibid*.), it cannot be confused with the finger paintings, in their form, content and pigment qualities.

Finger paintings: In contrast to what I will henceforth refer to as fine fine-line and course fine-line images, finger paintings are outwardly unpolished, at times being of such partial quality akin to daubing. This quality comes from the use of the finger(s) in their making, although it is also possible that thickly made brushes were used. Its content is both figurative and geometric. In the Cape finger painting is also referred to as historical or colonial period art due to its focus on introduced material culture items. Subjects include European farmers, horses, clothing items (i.e., high-heeled shoes, dresses, wide-brimmed hats and more), guns, smoking pipes, and land- or sea-bound vessels (e.g., animal drawn wagons, coaches and ships). Pigments used in this tradition are shades of red, brick and chalky red, often lacking the standard lustre of the fine fine-line tradition. Although the content is predominantly colonial, this is by no means the rule. There are cases of this tradition, but lacking colonial material culture. Residual images of this type include simple geometrics of crosses, circles (sometimes internally gridded), single vertical lines and ladder motifs and others. Could this be an earlier form of finger painted images, from which the colonial corpus is derivative? Similarly, there are examples of the colonial objects that were occasionally brush-painted as if in emulation of fine fine-lines. Because this tradition captured less attention from early researchers, some writers fittingly note, "The distribution of colonial period rock art in southern Africa as whole is not particularly well documented" (Yates *et al.* 1993: 59).

Handprints, fingerprints and dots: This category is self-explanatory since the content is tied to production technique. Handprints can be sub-divided into plain and decorated types. Dipping the finger in the paint and pressing the tip on the rock face to make a mark was the method to produce the dots (but it must be noted that they there are various kinds of dots). Finally, the finger printed motifs include short strokes and slash marks, which are technically extensions of dots (Manhire 1998). The problem is that some dots may belong with fine fine-lines (Dowson 1989) while some are clearly associated with finger paintings. I return to this point specifically to deal with its occurrence in the sequence. All the above three painting traditions occur in the study area and thus play a major role in the sequence formulation.

These are generally the broad painting categories that have been recognised in the Cape. I have subdivided the assemblage generally referred to as the fine line tradition into two, the earlier being fine fine-line and the latter coarse fine-line. As we shall see later, the subjects are fairly consistent in both assemblages although the manner of depiction is different. The superpositional evidence shows the two to succeed each other chronologically although there is still some overlap. In the analysis, I examine the subjects which span these assemblages in order to show shifting emphasis on the symbolism perhaps due to changing social, cultural and historical circumstances of the painters. The next chapter focuses on the environmental context of the landscape in which the artists lived their lives.

CHAPTER THREE

ENVIRONMENTAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

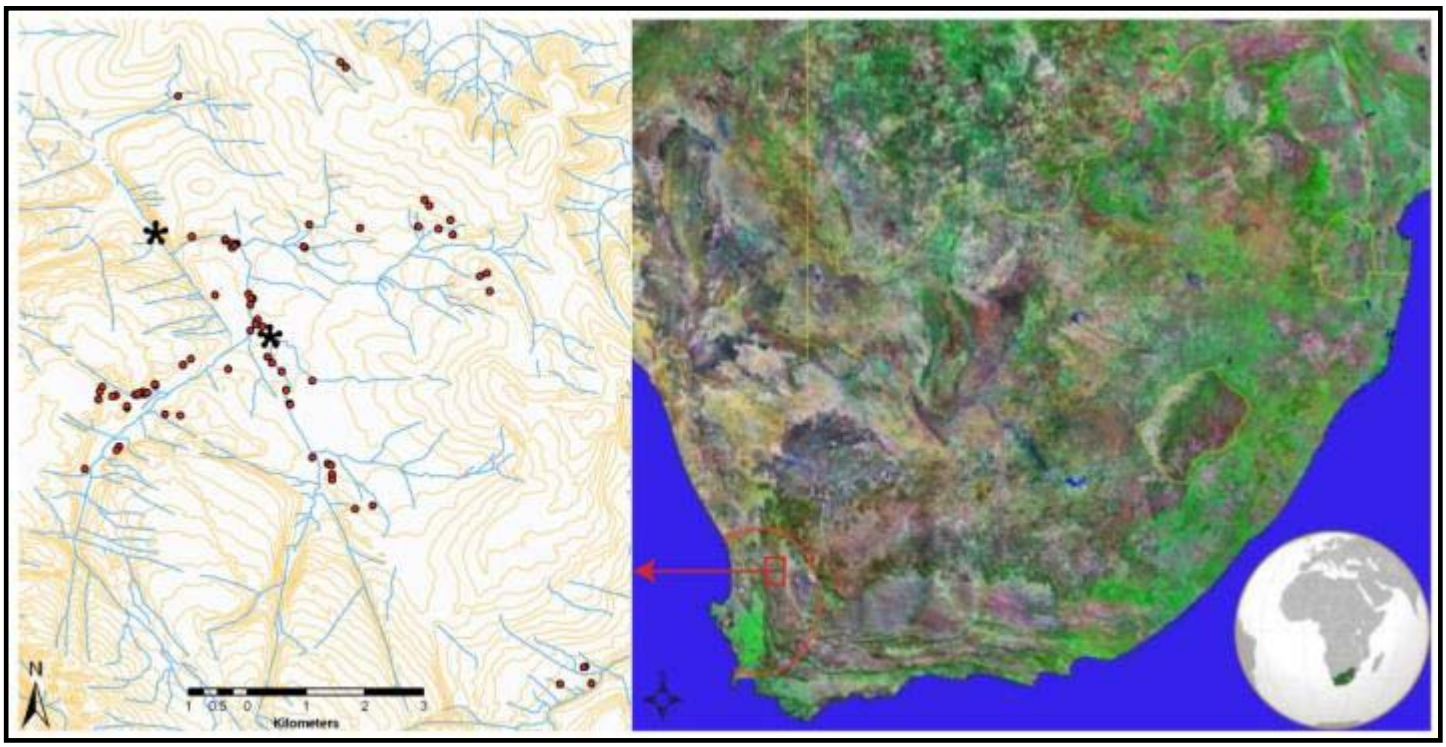
> *In order to understand the effect of changing and unchanging factors on our prehistoric cultures…the archaeologist needs to work closely in touch with the geologist…and palaeobotanist…*(Allison & King 2005: 15)

3.1. BIOGEOGRAPHICAL ENVIRONMENT

The introduction presented the central notion of the Cape rock painters as 'active archivists' purposefully creating assemblages of images and even artefacts in the shelters where they also lived. Because of its characteristic of accumulation over lengthy periods, this archive can be used today to study image chronology sequences and history in particular ecological settings. This chapter describes the environment of the Cape where the study sites are located, as a different situation from other South African regions. While there might be superficial ecological similarities in the various regions of the sub-continent, such as wooded environs along drainage systems, each one is made up of unique sets of habitats and climatic conditions within which ancient rock art and archaeological archives accumulated in distinct ways over many millennia. The first section describes the physical setting of the study area; the second section briefly discusses relevant palaeoenvironmental information as seen archaeologically. This discussion also describes two contrasting ecological zones—sandveld and mountains—within which my study sites are located. This background explores the germane characteristics of the study area as necessary ecological context(s) underlying the creation and natural 'archiving' of the archaeological and painting assemblages over time.

Archaeological evidence including abundant Acheulean handaxes indicates that the Cape environment has supported human occupation from as far back as the Early Stone Age, over a million years ago (Sealy *et al.* 1986: 136). Although the physical setting underwrote conditions which partly ensured the survivability of the archaeological record through many millennia (see for example, Parkington *et al.* 2009: 104, 105, 113), it is also useful in explaining late Holocene hunter-gatherer and herder occupation histories, their choices of local resources, the possible potentials and limitations that might have predisposed earlier

patterns of subsistence, land use, settlement, and systems of exchange networks. Without being environmentally deterministic, it is acceptable that ecological details are in part involved in conditioning human responses and the associated visible distribution of material culture. Some ecological background is thus useful for understanding the circumstances and the degree of biogeography alteration due to long-term human action and interactions from early times through to the terminal Holocene marked by the 17th century European expansion.



Map 3: Satellite image (Right) and contour map (Left) showing the study area and the sites within the Cape (marked approximately with a red oval line). Two stars show key image sequencing sites.

3.2. Physical setting

The study area (Map 3) is a typically rugged region with the Berg River at its southern margin and the Gifberg at its northernmost edge. The western perimeter of the escarpment is largely precipitous, getting progressively gentle towards the lower coastal plain adjoining the Atlantic Ocean. From west to east towards the inland mountains, the topography rises from just a few metres above sea level in between abrupt cliffs, headlands and rocky shorelines. From here the coastal foreland stretches eastwards through the dune and sandy flats of what is called the sandveld. Farther inland the escarpment rim reaches altitudes of over 1000m along a series of elevated landforms in the north and north-east overlooking the interior

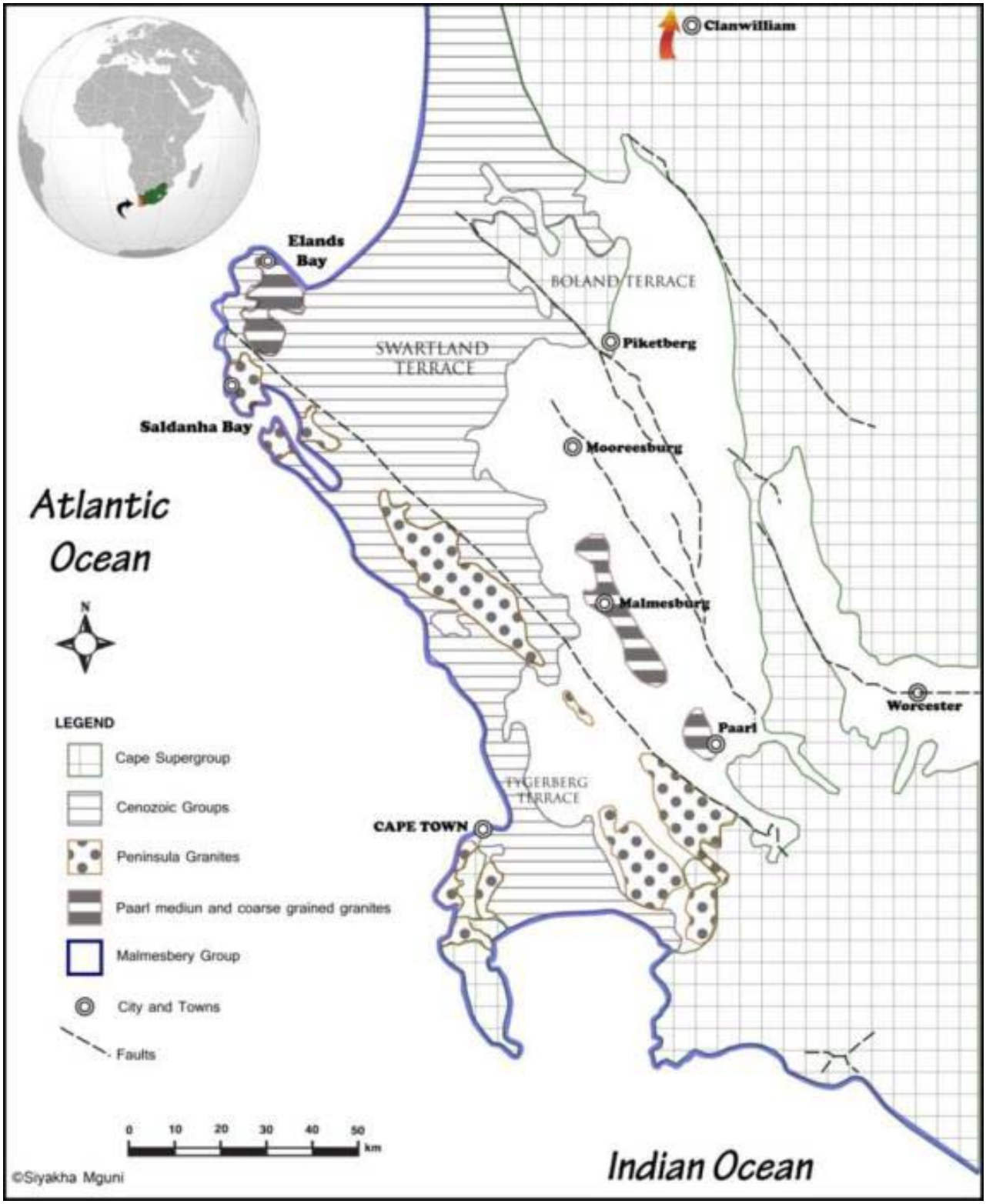
Karoo plateau. This geographical area is drained by three main river systems that flow westwards and north-westwards. Apart from the Berg, the other major watercourses include the Verlorenvlei River and nearby parallel drainages and marshlands, the central Olifants River and the Doring (or Doorn) River on the north-eastern margin. The Cederberg ranges, a major feature of the local physiography, are themselves sandwiched in the west by the Olifants valley and eastwards by the Tanqua-Doring drainage basin (Van Rooyen *et al.* 1999: 11). These rivers and their tributaries have deeply dissected the interior scarp, etching out narrow gorges and ravines called kloofs, which are generally densely vegetated. Streams and rivers provide fresh water, the amount depending on local conditions, specific ecologies and seasonality. Rock painting and other site types occur in low to moderate relief within close proximity to perennial or intermittent water sources along these drainages (Parkington 2003: 18-19; Parkington & Manhire 2003: 32). Writers have noted that these valleys might also have been access routes between the flatter coastal topography and the rugged mountain terrain for both hunter-gatherers and herders in pre-colonial times (Parkington 2003: 18; Van Rijssen 1994: 167). To appreciate fully the Cederberg landscape (Appendix 1, Figure 6), I examine its underlying geological structure, characterised predominantly by the Cape Fold Belt (CFB) sedimentary rocks.

3.3. Geological setting

The CFB is a Palaeozoic Supergroup system of sediments that accumulated in layers in the shallow inland Agulhas Sea (McCarthy & Rubidge 2005: 188-193). Their continental marginal range, comprising the Devonian marine sandstones and shales of around 400–340 million years ago, formed through folding which produced linear north-and-south sub-parallel ridges. In their topographic expanse these rocks are variable in vertical stratification while horizontally they maintain some degree of homogeneity. Vertically, these layers comprise of sandstones, conglomerates, siltstones, slates, shales, mudstones, tillites, and other rocks, depending on the different modes and regimes of deposition associated with their particular periods and environments of formation. Around 250 million years ago, the Permian continental collision produced the north-to-south tectonic compression which uplifted what was a low-lying landmass sandwiched by higher ranges northwards and southwards into a high relief of folded formations. These series of uplifted crustal ridges were then successively reduced by lengthy cycles of erosion and weathering processes that created the existing mountains, valleys and an undulating peneplain westwards. Structurally, the CFB has three

formations: directly above the older Cape Granite Suite basement rocks, there are the basal Table Mountain Group, which is overlain by the Bokkeveld Group, and finally the Witteberg Group, in decreasing order of age. All three, with a total composite thickness of over 6000m, were deposited in an east-to-west striking basin. From the processes of consolidation and metamorphosis, this sediment mass formed silicified sandstones and quartzites due to pressure and heat associated with their immense weight. Rock units of the strata were then subjected to physical deformation from various fold and fault structures resulting in widespread contortion, fracturing and jointing. Chemically, the increased temperatures during folding caused the re-crystallization of quartz and other minerals to form very hard crystalline rocks. Such resistant rocks are externally visible as prominent angular ridges with sheer faces, sometimes showing contorted bedding on exposures along the rocky plateaus.

The Table Mountain Group is the most visible or prominent system of ranges. It contains four formations: Goudini, Cederberg, Pakhuis and Peninsula (collectively known as the Nardouw sub-group) in descending stratigraphic order. Inside this group, fine muds, shales and siltstones are usually associated with the Cederberg formation (Van Rooyen *et al.* 1999: 15). The extensive Ordovician and Silurian glacial period, 440-420 million years ago, allowed the deposition of tillites that are a distinctive feature of the Pakhuis Formation. The distinctly reddish discolorations visible on most cliff faces and exposures are characteristic of this Nardouw sub-group of sandstones. Below this sub-group are the thickly deposited hard quartzites of the Peninsula formation. The different constituent portions of the CFB Supergroup provided the Cape hunter-gatherers with a range of rock materials available for stone artefact making and possibly other cultural uses such as the sources of ochreous, clayey, and other pigment materials. The commonly encountered rock types used in making tools include sandstones, quartzites, quartz, and fine-grained silicious rocks including jaspers, hornfels, cherts, silcrete (Mackay 2006: 181-182; Orton, J. 2006), chalcedony and indurated shale (Parkington & Poggenpoel 1971: 11). And ochre, which was used in the manufacture of pigments, occurs at many sites in the area. Various sites in the area show in abundance these materials in the debitage found on surface scatters.



Map 4: A simplified geological map of the region that encompasses the study area, covering major rocks in the Western Cape Province including the Saldania belt (Adapted from Scheepers 1995).

Furthermore, where they occur, some of the rock groups (Map 4) formed important lithospheric substrates on which certain soil regimes developed and in turn supported various

vegetation biomes and their associated ecological components. Due to specific geological patterns of faulting, rock fracture and subsequent systems of weathering and erosion, the CFB metamorphosed sandstones often have upright, smooth and fairly stable surfaces to paint on. The majority of shelters are located on these bands, where cycles of erosion, fluvial and aeolian weathering over the last 65 million years has sculpted out outcrops and overhangs alongside ravines and gorges (Appendix 1, Figure 6). These rocks variously display pale white, but at times cream to pink discolouration (Parkington 2003: 32) possibly from the siliceous surface deposits associated with the sandstones. The artists favoured rock faces covered in these durable physico-chemical precipitates because they created smooth surfaces and perhaps a striking contrast for their ochreous paints. Such mineral skins, sometimes transparent enough to show through what lies underneath, continue to accumulate over surfaces with rock paintings (Jerardino 1999: 64; Van Rijssen 1987 6-7).

3.4. Soils and vegetation

Closely related to the underlying lithosphere, geology and topography, the soils and vegetation in this area typify a dry arid area. Because the CFB rocks are largely siliceous, they give rise to immature, litholic sandy soils that are mostly poor in nutrients. These soils are largely a product of sandy sediments associated with the Table Mountain and Witteberg Groups. In the mountains there is a mix of sands of aeolian origin ranging in colour from off-white to yellow-brown. The embedded Bokkeveld Group, however, consists largely of shales and mudstones, which weather fairly rapidly to form valleys rather than mountains. Accordingly, and unlike the mountains, these valleys abound with local fertile loamy-clayey soils (McCarthy & Rubidge 2005: 192). In the mountains, rubble and debris occur in numerous places at the foot of the cliffs, mountain pediments and along small streams and rivulets that flow down hillsides after heavy rain pours.

The inland mountains, reflecting the varying levels of effective precipitation and the general lithological composition, feature two biomes: the fynbos and succulent Karoo and their related components (Van Rooyen *et al.* 1999: 16). With high species diversity, the fynbos comprises the *restioid*, *ericoid*, and *proteoid* components occurring as low scrubby brush with few grasses or trees found on well leached and typically sterile coarse-grained sandstone derived soils. The *iridaceae* geophytes abound in the mountains, although also occurring in the coastal plain. Many of them produce edible corms that were an important seasonal

addition to hunter-gatherer diet (Parkington 1976a, 1976b). The renosterveld, another fynbos element, is a small-leaved grassy shrubland. It is very rich in geophyte flora (Cowling 1990; Johnson, S.D. 1992) dominated by the daisy, iris, lily and orchid families. The common food staple might have been *Hypoxis villosa*. Then, some grasses on seasonally wet fine-grained silts and moderately fertile lowland clays derived from shales (Hoffman 1997; Van Rooyen *et al.* 1999: 18-19; Vlok & Coetzee 1997: 16). Most fynbos communities are variously adapted to fire and varied herbivory by large and small mammals. While the fynbos is mostly well-adapted to fire, the renosterveld is actually fire-prone (Low & Rebelo 1996). Another vegetation type mainly confined in areas of alluvium along ravines and gorges is the closed afromontane forest taxa as part of the mesic mountain fynbos. As I show below, these woodland species have not always been what they are today in diversity and habitat preference. They include *Podocarpus elongetus*, *Metrosideros angustifolia*, *Heeria argentea*, *Maytenus oleoiedes*, *Brabejum stellatifolium* and others. Their distinct mountain habitats provide a moderately balanced supply of moisture from rainwater and occasional springs. Unlike the typical fynbos these riparian species are fire sensitive; so the ravines in which they flourish provide protection. Finally, succulent Karoo occurs in the northern fringes of the study area towards the Northern Cape, areas with low winter rainfall and very dry summers. The biome is dominated by dwarf, succulent shrubs of the Mesembryathemaceae, Asteraceae, and Crassulaceae elements without any of the fynbos grasses common farther south.

The low-lying Sandveld, in contrast, is characterized by recent fine aeolian pale sandy soils, in parts underlain by yellow-brown sands of both fluvial and marine origin. The vegetation comprises coastal fynbos, a dune thicket mosaic, and limestone fynbos on the calcretes and proteoid fynbos on deeper sandy soils. Quaternary sediments lie on top of the Skurweberg Formation, which consists of light-grey quartzitic sandstone with subordinate shale layers that weathered from wave action to form shallow caves along the Cape coastline. Overlaying older shelly sediments, calcrete forms a crust of yellow to grey coloured deposits that vary in thickness from a few centimetres to nearly a metre. The sub-dominant Hopefield type with a mix of the rare Langebaan, Sandveld and Sonneblom types dominate these lime-rich soils. Isolated portions from Elandsbaai to Redelinghuys are classified largely as rock and undifferentiated lithosols. They support a proteoid fynbos described as a secondary habitat resulting from disturbance and breakdown of a mosaic of original habitats. This might be a due to too frequent fires. Coastal thicket occurs in the valleys, on the coastal dunes and the

steep sea-fronting cliffs, where it is normally stunted. Within this setting the Verlorenvlei wetland is noticeably flanked by strips of alluvium that are mostly black and rich in plant material and other organics. The soil stratum includes peaty clay and sand, conglomeratic phosphorite overlain by multiple aeolianite phases (Rogers 1980). Its wetland flora occupies a transitional status between the Karroid and fynbos biomes. The region however reflects a high diversity typical of an ecotone, covering various vegetation types: seaward dune strandveld, shrubby strandveld, restioid strandveld, saltpan vegetation, lowland fynbos, dry mountain fynbos, mountain fynbos, Karroid scrubland, and marsh vegetation (Rogers 1980).

3.5. Local climate

The study area is within a winter rainfall region reflecting a combination of marine, geological and topographical conditions which give rise to a great climatic variability in temperatures, rainfall and general surface water retention and availability. Generally, the coastal zone experiences moderate winter mean daily minima of 6-8°C due to the circumpolar westerly winds that bring moist, cold air from the southern oceans in the winter from June to August. On the western shoreline, cold Benguela currents affect this arid region resulting in the lowest average minimum of 7.5°C for July,[6] while January has highest average temperature of 24°C. These ocean currents bring cold and moist air onto the coastal plain. In the mountains, daily temperatures vary seasonally and according to localised altitudinal variations. Mean daily temperatures range from 22° to 30°C; recorded annual temperature minima and maxima are 12.2° and 26.8°C respectively (Ferreira 2005: 34). In winter, temperatures drop steeply at night, sometimes culminating in frosting in higher altitudes of ranges such as Sneeuberg, Sneeukop and others. In summer, by contrast, daily temperatures may soar to 40°C, a trend that escalates sharply from October to February as the driest period of the year (Vlok & Coetzee 1997: 35).

Rainfall patterns are generally determined by the location and orientation of mountains. The prevailing coastal mild-to-warm temperate Mediterranean climate is partly due to the

[6] South African Wetlands Conservation Programme: Verlorenvlei. Information sheet for the site designated to the List of Wetlands of International Importance in terms of the Convention on Wetlands of International Importance.
http://www.ngo.gri.no/soesa/nsoer/resource/wetland/verlorenvlei.htm

influence of regional sea-surface temperatures. Winters are cold and wet while summers are normally hot and dry. The CFB physical barrier collects most of the orographic winter rainfall while drier conditions obtain within the interior rain shadows. So, a gradient of declining levels of annual precipitation occurs around Clanwilliam and Agter-Pakhuis, revealing meagre average monthly rainfall levels of around 11.5mm in summer and 31.9mm during the wet winter months (Ferreira 2005: 34). The main wet season, from April to September, often accounts for more than 80% of total annual rainfall. In these extremes, moisture deficits are experienced widely in the majority of years. In sharp contrast, some localized elevated ranges reveal rainfall patterns with an annual average precipitation in the 600-1000mm range, with some mountain ravines reaching even 1270mm (Van Rooyen *et al.* 1999: 14). These very strong rainfall gradients reflect a mean annual rainfall that can rise above 1000mm over distances of 1–2 km in places. On the other hand, seashore environs reflect an average annual rainfall of 275mm of which, as in the mountains, an average of 70% falls in the winter half-year from April to September.

The physiographic characteristics cause these pronounced differences in mean annual rainfall. Because rainfall is scarce in the arid north, prevailing conditions for plant growth are only limited to spring. In well-watered portions, lasting surface water tends to be confined to a few perennial ravines and seasonal springs in mountain recesses. The uncertainty of the rainfall is best expressed by the coefficient of variation in annual rainfall, with the low rainfall regions having the highest variation. Annual rainfall distribution is skewed such that there are more below average than above average rainfall years, and the median is more meaningful than the mean. The high seasonal variations are accompanied by high spatial variability, and the annual potential evapotranspiration may exceed annual precipitation by ratios of up to 20:1, which are quite high, hence drought conditions are a common phenomenon (Schulze 1997) of this region.

Springs are another major source of water in the Cape. Hydrologically, groundwater availability and surface drainage are largely dictated by the varied dynamics from elevated inland mountainous plateau to the lowland coastal platform topography. During wet seasons the former areas form the catchment zone, collecting and feeding surface drainage towards the shore where the latter areas, such as the Verlorenvlei environs, some perennial streams and floodplains occur. The area is covered by a generally thin sandy soil ranging in thickness

from 0.1m to 3.3m. This is underlain by a calcrete horizon across some parts. A sporadically developed perched water table exists in the near-surface soils, with the water level varying from 1.0m to 1.75m below the surface. The calcrete layer appears to form an impermeable base to the soils, which limit downward movement of groundwater. A particularly important feature of the mountains especially in the Agter-Pakhuis locality, however, is that of many fountains and springs. Some may not be active anymore due to biogeographical alterations from mainly farming or agricultural land use in recent centuries. As some studies in the Northern Cape show, fountains were important utilitarian points of focus for both the hunter-gatherer and pastoral communities in the past (Humphreys & Thackeray 1983: 20). The same may have been true for Western Cape where there is a prevalence of the phenomena of aquifers which sustain several riverine ecosystems (Clark, B. & Ractliffe 2007: 7) and springs (Schwarz 1906). Later travellers to the Orange River frequently heard from inhabitants who had earlier emigrated from the Olifants River of land filled with springs further south of which the Khoe people had been dispossessed (Legassick 2010: 53 citing J. Campbell, B. Shaw and J. Barrow).

3.6. Cape palaeoenvironments

The archaeological record is an invaluable source in reconstructing the pre-colonial and early colonial history of the Cape. Generally, the environmental conditions discussed above were favourable for the preservation of stratified deposits that have ensured the 'archiving' of a long and ancient record of human occupation in well-preserved geological substrates. Although for many years research on global climates focused on the Glacial Maximum (Deacon, H.J. 1995: 123), the Cape has attracted in the last few decades improved reconstructions of the late Quaternary palaeoenvironments from a variety of studies. These include sediment studies covering techniques for radiocarbon dating, pollen analysis, and geochemistry (Meadows *et al.* 1996) and archaeological analyses of ancient fauna and wood charcoal from ancient flora (Avery *et al.* 2008; Cartwright & Parkington 1997; Cowling *et al.* 2003; Klein 1974, 1991). Indeed, as some writers observe, the Cape has become a well-documented and intensively researched archaeological region (Anderson, G. 1996: 63; Kinahan 1989: 11; Porraz *et al.* 2008: 106) and to date it continues to enjoy scholarly attention (Alexander MacKay, pers. comm. 2011). In fortuitous conditions this record, even if fragmentary, retains relevant information for the pre-colonial to colonial periods (Yates *et al.* 1993: 59). This multiple layered prehistoric and early historic archive in the region forms part

of the reconstruction of rock art timelines and associated cultural sequence. Research projects have focussed on the wealth of sites which range from open surface artefact and large deflated stone scatters, shell middens, late Pottery Period campsite, cave and shelter deposits and principally the rock art sites (Jerardino 2003: 53; Mackay 2006: 182). Generally, the Cape coastal forelands archaeological record is rich with sites of mainly caves or shelters and also open deposits older than a million years, but most falling roughly between over 200,000 and 2,000 years ago (Sealy 2006). Human presence is attested in several rich, well-stratified sites that are preserved in the outstanding geological record (Klein 1986), which is similarly rich in the evidence of long-term sea level, environmental and climatic change.

World climates underwent drastic shifts over the last 20,000 years, first with the Last Glacial Maximum around 18,000 years ago when temperatures were between 5ºC and 10ºC lower than today (Deacon, J. 1984a: 31). The relevant slice concerns climatic changes in the transition from the last Pleistocene glacial to the Holocene interglacial periods, around 15,000 and 10,000 years ago. From that period conditions ameliorated after these intervening years to reach climates closer to the present. The relatively humid CFB climates in the past appear to have been conducive for the accumulation of organic sediments that preserve fossil pollen. Some environmental data show that substantial environmental shifts in the last 15,000 years in the region influenced human settlement and subsistence patterns (Manhire *et al.* 1983: 29). The terminal Pleistocene climates were much wetter than in the later Holocene, but generally they have been comparably more favourable for human settlement in the last 5,000 years than at any time since the Last Interglacial (Deacon, H.J. 1995: 123).

Around 8,000 to 4,000 B.P. the sea levels became higher and rainfall lower, making the coastal zone relatively inhospitable. Work at Elands Bay Cave (EBC) shows that hunter-gatherer occupation and use of this site lingered after 13,000 years when the shoreline was 25 km away until 8,000 years when it edged the cave (Parkington 2006: 76-78). After this time, there was a hiatus that lasted until 4,000 years ago. Hence, human populations were persuaded to move seasonally into the mountains as an adaptation to available plant and animal resources there. This view appears to be corroborated by pollen studies from sediment sequences taken from the Verlorenvlei and adjacent marshland areas that show a detailed environmental history over several periods in the last 5,500 years (Meadows *et al.* 1996). Some cores examined for pollen confirm a mid-Holocene higher sea level, with an

accompanying present coastline that was established around 6,500 B.P. (Miller *et al.* 1995). This evidence suggests that the nearby areas at this time may have been drier than today. After this period, conditions improved coinciding with the disappearance of the marine conditions at the vlei around 4,000 B.P. (Meadows *et al.* 1996). Farther south, but still within the broader Cape confines, some writers used a variety of indicators including faunal analysis to suggest that even though it was still a winter occurrence, 'rainfall was greater or more effective' in the early Holocene than presently (Avery *et al.* 2008: 74-76; Klein 1991). For example, the Elands Bay Cave charcoal assemblages reflect a similar picture from the mesic fynbos species between 8,000 and 13,600 B.P. (Cartwright & Parkington 1997; Parkington *et al.* 2000). Writers have noted that the lacustrine conditions prevailed, accompanied by greater moisture availability in the Verlorenvlei River catchment around the time of colonial occupation a few centuries ago. It was however also during the colonial period that increased levels of human disturbance in the Verlorenvlei become evident is pollen sequences (Meadows *et al.* 1996). Some writers conclude that colonial farming dramatically altered regional vegetation (Klein & Cruz-Uribe 1989: 82), which has affected other ecological variables. Being aware of the presence of these alterations allows appropriate correlations to be made from the present times to the past in the analyses of available data.

3.7. Sandveld and inland mountains ecologies

The study area, as already shown, reflects two major geographical divisions that manifest in their topography, climate, vegetation and archaeology (Yates *et al.* 1994: 31). The east-west spatial and seasonality differentiation contrasts markedly a fairly wetter and cooler coastal zone whereas rainfall patterns in the rugged interior reflect mostly drier and warmer regimes. As a brief survey concerning the human interactions with these ecological settings include, first, the coastal forelands of both the coastal plain and the sandveld (Manhire *et al.* 1983; Parkington 1976a) and, second, the interior mountain zone. The ecological zone marked by less than 5 km distance from the coastline is designated the coastal plain; it consists of a series of long soft sandy shores broken by small rocky hillocks (Jerardino & Swanepoel 1999: 544; Parkington 1976a: 127) that stand out irregularly in the area. Archaeological sites on this coastal strip are relatively few and generally poorly preserved, although dominated by deflation hollows some of which have artefact associations, then shell middens and megamiddens (Jerardino 1998; Jerardino & Yates 1997; Manhire 1987a, 1987b; Parkington 2006; Parkington & Hall 1987). The area between the 5 km distance of the coastline to

around 25 km inland is called the interior sandveld. Comparatively, the frequency of occurrence of the interior sandveld sites is higher and they are better preserved than those of the coastal hinterland (Jerardino & Swanepoel 1999: 543, 546). For the present analysis, I do not draw much from this distinction. Generally, this region reflects a semi-arid environment with the driest period of the year being October to March. Moisture and water supply generally become adequate during the April-September period due to winter rains and rivers being active. This biome covers strandveld shrubland and arid coastal fynbos with a dominance of Iridaceae, fruits, berries, and others. Shrubs prevail heavily over grasses, becoming much more abundant during April-September months (Klein & Cruz-Uribe 1989: 82). This environmental factor was important for the pastoralist transhumance patterns in the region, between the coastal plains and inland mountains.

Although both grasses and fresh shrub growth were attractive to herbivores, this would have supported a relatively abundant animal biomass of small and large antelope seasonally. Although smaller domestic stock, such as sheep and goats, could be reared successfully, the area is nevertheless not suitable for large grazing animals like cattle due to the inferior nutrient status of the ecology (Smith, A.B. 1992). It would seem therefore that the past hunter-gatherer and herder societies of the region were accustomed to this seasonal fluctuation of good quality pasture. Historically, the vegetation in this zone supported ungulates of mainly the small browsers or mixed feeders such as steenbok, grey duiker, and less commonly, grysbok. Of the large ungulates, there were grazers or mixed feeders including the Cape hartebeest, eland, and mega-herbivores like elephant and black rhinoceros. There are many other species in the animal biomass—carnivores, smaller non-carnivorous mammals, tortoises, marine mammals, birds, fish, shellfish and so forth—that would have been exploited by prehistoric people.

Inland mountains, on the eastern side of the Olifants River, are a contrasting ecozone. The CFB provides the sources for streams and ravines that were preferred habitats in pre-colonial and colonial times (Parkington & Manhire 2003: 32). While its vegetation comprises nutrient poor and dry mountain fynbos, the abundant Iridaceae (and, in the north-eastern parts, the Karroid shrubland), the zone supported a variety of animal biomass, small and large bovids. This is particularly true in winter and spring when water is also plentiful. Because of many protected shelters and cliff faces with ideal, smooth surfaces, the mountain area is more

prolific with painted sites than the coastal plains (Yates *et al.* 1994: 31). There is a correlation between painted and domestic sites, some of which contain substantial occupation deposits (Parkington & Manhire 2003: 34-35). Comparatively fewer painted sites occur in the coastal sandveld. This scarcity of painted sites is suggested to result from poor preservation due to the influence of the ocean (Jerardino 1999; Jerardino & Swanepoel 1999). The abundance of various sites within the two ecozones and their comparability in terms of archaeological and artistic elements suggests that people in pre-colonial and colonial periods moved regularly between the sectors to the west and east of the Olifants River. The two ecotypes reveal cultural differences in site types, their sequences and the painted subjects.

The Cape landscape and associated ecologies thus reflect a relatively low carrying capacity for either human or animal populations. This *status quo* may have obtained in the late and terminal Holocene periods, where fairly reasonable formulations on rock art and archaeological chronologies may be expected. Such interpretations may be verified against recently established ecological evidence, occupation sequences and past human contributions to archive assemblages. With the general patterning of archaeological site locations across different sectors, particularly the mountains in the east and the coastal plains in the west, the landscape offers possibilities to investigate painted assemblages that exhibit a variety of 'styles' and content. In the following chapters, the variability in painting sequences and relative chronology will be contextualized alongside archaeological and ecological backgrounds. The social context of the artists may be derived from these patterns of variability seen in imagery sequences. Until more rock art direct dates are established, however, the suggested sequence and regional painting chronology will remain provisional. Even though the regional settlement sequence by former inhabitants may be less refined, it is possible to improve our knowledge using the approach that consistently extrapolates painted images, archaeological, anthropological, and historical syntheses.

3.8. Prehistoric and historic interface in the region

The Cape has generally been thoroughly researched over several decades and so the published information on the cultural sequence can corroborate historical narratives. Yet Antonieta Jerardino (2003: 53) argued that "the local cultural sequence is incomplete and may be biased in terms of settlement chronology and the use of the local coastline" largely because campsites along the western shore were inadvertently ignored in earlier sampling

efforts. Moreover, as John Kinahan (1996: 106) argued in respect of the incompleteness of knowledge on the relations between hunter-gatherers and pastoralists, the uncertainty results from practical difficulties of finding stratified and reliably dated assemblages with which to define the units of comparison. This is illustrated by the observations from early travellers who noted ephemeral hunter-gatherer settlements of abandoned windbreaks, often in the open veld along the Olifants River. These were described as "…shabby low huts made of brunches" (Thom 1952: 299-300) and that "many of huts of Soaquas which they inhabit on and off" (*ibid*.: 347). Researchers now note that if these features were the most 'typical' site in the region then they would remain undocumented archaeologically, as are the herder settlements if they were occasioned largely by pasture considerations without conditions to accumulate occupation debris in any one spot (Parkington 1976a: 128-129). Imprecise descriptions of the social, economic and ethnic affiliations of early societies exacerbate the complexities of building fine-grained archaeological and cultural sequences.

Hunter-gatherers are known to have inhabited the Cape's coastal and adjacent interior escarpment and their incessantly nomadic lifestyle is traceable well beyond the Middle Stone Age, a period of over 250,000 years (Manhire 1984; Parkington 1972b) into the Early Stone Age. Further afield, hunter-gatherers had for at least the past 25,000 years until about the 1870s occupied most of the southern African interior (Eastwood, E.B. & Eastwood 2006; Rudner 1989); that is, the entire sub-continental region south of the Zambezi and Kunene Rivers (Willcox 1984: 127-133). Rock art and other site types attest to their widespread presence on the landscape. Archaeological information, which is relevant to this study, comes from the lower Holocene period under 5,000 years ago. These hunter-gatherers comprise various groups, all culturally (and probably genetically or even ancestrally) affiliated to the people known historically and today as San. In the Cape, the |Xam are the most well known group in historical times although there were other groups scattered in the region. In the early 1660s plentiful travellers' reports emerge which mention indigenous peoples and their relationships to each other. The recurrent appellation for hunter-gatherers along the Olifants River valley was Soaqua, sometimes written as Somqua (Mossop 1931), who were said to be "a poverty stricken band of tiny people" (Thom 1952: 299) who "…maintain themselves by robbing and stealing from other Hottentots, having no cattle at all or anything else on which to live" (Waterhouse 1932: 115). Populations are unconfirmed in the records, although the smaller numbers encountered of between 2 and 40 individuals (e.g., in Thom 1954: 315, 318,

319, 345-346, 348-349, 381-382; Waterhouse 1932: 117, 118, 148 among some) suggest they were thinly but continuously spread in the area (Parkington 1977: 152). Their presence in the landscape is also attested by burials found in several shelters with a large number dating to between 3,500 and 2,000 BP (Sealy & Van der Merwe 1988). At the time of the colonial encounters these people may have retained shared aspects of the pan-San ancestry, but were by now probably intermixed with the neighbouring Khoekhoen, the pastoralists who herded first domesticates in the region. Although one of the five key features, the constant shifts in group composition, that characterise hunter-gatherers based on anthropological studies of the Kalahari San (Lee & DeVore 1968), it is unknown to what extent these former groups intermingled in this way. It is possible, however, that those groups inhabiting the Olifants River valley during dry months "ranged west into the sandveld and east into the Karoo in wetter months" (Parkington 1977: 156) and so may have maintained networks for resource sharing with resident groups in those areas. It also appears from the early records that their economy involved clientship with cattle- and sheep-herding pastoralists. As I show shortly, some evidence for such exchanges is borne out of the archaeological record.

Archaeological reconstructions from decades of excavations in the coastal areas and the interior mountains suggest variability in hunter-gatherer settlement patterns and resource exploitation in the last 8,000 to 2,000 years. As others have argued, this period saw "...changes in settlement strategies resulting in intermittent occupations of caves and shelters, changes in raw material usages...and changes in the frequencies of stone tool types scheduled for use at particular sites" (Parkington 1977: 81). Although early Holocene settlements were restricted to the wetter intermontane valleys of the CFB Mountains, generally they were not permanent, as groups maintained seasonal transhumance strategies onto and off the escarpment. At this time, little foraging occurred as far as the arid sandveld near the coast (Manhire *et al.* 1983: 29). One excavated shelter in the mountain zone, De Hangen (Parkington & Poggenpoel 1971), reveals some aspects of the hunting and gathering subsistence and material culture in the terminal Stone Age. Important dietary resources included various geophyte corms especially members of the Iridaceae family, rock hyraxes, tortoises, small antelope such as klipspringer, steenbok, and springbok and other terrestrial species. Fresh-water fish were also identified, as were marine foods such as various kinds of shellfish. Black mussels, perlemoen and others were sourced from the coast less than 80 km west either through scheduled activities there or exchange networks. Some of these

molluscan shell remains, several with perforations, appear to have been brought in as raw materials for making pendant ornaments (*ibid*.: 13). Ostrich eggshell is found in abundance at many sites, and was used for beads but one decorated fragment at De Hangen suggests it might have been a water container. Such artefacts and their variations have come to light from other sites and all contribute to illuminate the hunter-gather way of life in the Cape.

As discussed in later chapters, of much interest in this study was the discovery of domestic animals, sheep and cattle at De Hangen (Parkington & Poggenpoel 1971: 22-23). Some early travellers also noted various vegetable and animal food items of Soaqua (Thom 1954: 315, 381-382; Waterhouse 1932: 117-118) as well as domestic stock in the presence of these hunter-gatherers (Thom 1958: 305; Waterhouse 1932: 117, 118) as were the various artefacts they used such as bows, arrows and assegais, bags and also ivory and skins used for barter trade (Mossop 1931: 85; Thom 1954: 315, 381; Waterhouse 1932: 128). Among some artefacts from De Hangen were a link shaft of a composite arrow, a possible quiver, digging sticks, fire drills, two ivory objects, one being a flat ivory plate "ground into this shape and then decorated with a geometric arrangement of drilled pits" (Parkington & Poggenpoel 1971: 13). They were also animal hides, a range stone tools and pottery. Evidence from mountain shelters suggests that the timing and patterns of settlement of these people followed environmental fluctuations and in the availability of resources, particularly geophytes, water and fresh-water fish (Parkington 1977). And early records suggest that encounters with these people in and around the Olifants River valley was in the dry season (*ibid*. 152), but part of this concentration at this time served a "social purpose: that of promoting the exchange of goods and the interchange of personnel" (Parkington 1977: 156). It is also during such aggregations that ritual intensified and the rock art was produced. At the coast, particularly during the 3,500 to 2,000 BP period, hunter-gatherer population increased as groups probably visited more sites and for relatively longer periods than before or after (Jerardino 2000: 44). One site which I will get back to later regarding paintings, Steenbokfontein Cave, shows an intensity of occupation between 3,600 and 2,400 BP (*ibid*.). While in the mid-to-late Holocene seasonal mobility might have prevailed in the Cape (Parkington 1972a, 1977, 2001), in other regions such as the southern Cape, hunter-gatherers during this period are argued to have led a sedentary way of life, living in demarcated territories with clearly defined boundaries (Sealy 2006: 582).

These rock art archives they produced signal the relevance of the archaeological evidence. For example, women's paraphernalia of stone weighted digging sticks, karosses and bags suggest their subsistence role as food collectors while men's hunting gear features light bows and arrows, sticks, hunting bags and quivers. Pottery, which is frequent in the deposits, is not so easily identified in the art although I have come across few curious rounded objects with open tops. But these could be bags. Although there is obvious selectivity in subjects and we all now know that the rock art was not concerned with documenting people's diets, some species from the animal biomass known in the area and found in the deposits are featured in the paintings. So the imagery of sheep and cattle, animals that have been found at some sites indicate their presence and significance in the social life of the artists. What emerges is corroboration of information from the paintings, archaeology and historical sources, which will become useful in later chapters dealing with the interpretation of certain images that occur in the successive levels of the region's rock art sequence. It is evident that, despite numerous observations of the last hunter-gatherers in the historical era, no evidence of active painters has ever been mentioned in this region. It has been argued that the earlier hunter-gatherer tradition ceased to exist over a thousand years ago and perhaps earlier at the coast, where contact was greatest and pervasive, than in the mountains (Yates *et al*. 1994: 54, 57). One of the proposed reasons for this demise is argued to have been the substantial cultural and/or economic impact of pastoralism on hunter-gather way of life. I am inclined to believe that the craftsmanship of painting itself may not had died but transformed as a result of this putative cultural and economic change in the region and resulted in what I later define as course fine-line category of painting. So, who were these pastoralists?

Around 2,000 years ago, the Cape hinterland witnessed the advent of herding, a hitherto inimitable addition of a new cultural and economic way of life (Klein 1986). Archaeological evidence for this pastoral nomadic lifestyle includes pottery and sheep remains since their first excavation and dating on the South African southern seaboard over 30 years ago (Schweitzer 1974), similar finds have been made and dated over a wide sub-continental area (Deacon, J. 1984a: 349-351; Sealy & Yates 1996). Herders may have also introduced goats, although this is more likely to have been the case farther in the Northern Cape (Elphick 1985: 57-58), dogs and, a few centuries later, cattle as well. Prior to herding, the Cape does not have evidence of domestic animals nor their wild relatives (Deacon, J. 1984b; Klein 1986). The appearance of domesticates and pottery, previously absent in the Cape, suggests that they

originated elsewhere (Ehret 1982, 1998; Sadr & Smith 1991; Smith, A.B. 1990) farther afield on the subcontinent's northern regions from where they embarked on a southerly pastoral migration centuries prior to 2,000 years ago. Cranmer Cooke might have been first in the 1960s to suggest that sheep paintings correlated with the migration routes of herders in the region (Cooke 1965). Subsequent workers however have challenged his conclusions on the basis that his art evidence was incomplete and that his views have limited support from the archaeological record (Manhire *et al.* 1986). The cultural affiliation and exact origin of herders[7] is still uncertain prior to their first use of domestic animals and subsequent dispersal. Richard Lee notes: "Sometime in the first millennium BCE, some of these people obtained sheep, goats and later cattle while others continued to hunt and gather, the origin of the distinction between pastoral Khoi and the foraging San" (Lee 2006: 462).

Expanding on previous propositions (Elphick 1985), Christopher Ehret suggested that these herders, originally hunter-gatherer outgrowths who became proto-Khoekhoen, first adopted a herding lifestyle through contact with their Bantu-speaking farming neighbours in south-central Africa (Ehret 1998) perhaps on the Zambezi environs (Elphick 1985; Smith, A.B. 1992). Some views suggest Botswana (Elphick 1985: 13) and western Zambia on the Zambezi escarpment as the source area (Hodder 2003; Klein 1986) of pastoralism. These early herders migrated from the north and finally introduced herding which later became pastoralism in the Cape coast (Stow 1905; Vital 2005; Wells 2005) around 2,000 B.P. as evidenced principally by fat-tailed sheep and pottery (Henshilwood 1996) and other southerly sites (Klein 1986: 7). Historians and linguists alike have elaborated this idea using comparative and historical linguistics, principally the glottochronological evidence for the southwards drift of Khoe languages (Ehret 1982, 1998; Köhler 1966; Westphal 1963). The glottochronology method, widely used by Köhler and then others afterwards, is now considered suspect in favour of a 'culture-historical' method (Heine & König 2008: 241). Like the hunter-gatherers, these people are also click-speakers, and the name Hottentot is said to have originated from the Dutch description of these consonants in their language. There numerous records in the historical era the pastoralists. In the early 1660s, Jan Danckaert on

[7] 'Herder' is contentious term; some see it as an economic differentiation category of hunter-gatherers with sheep or Khoekhoen with sheep (See Schrire 1992).

one of the earliest journeys to the Olifants River mentioned people he called Namaqua (sometimes called the Amaquas, Whitehouse 1932) and Chariguriqua (Thom 1952). Unlike the hunter-gatherers of the region, these itinerant stockbreeding people were found in large aggregations with large numbers of cattle and sheep.

These itinerant herds-people may never have settled on the plateau, although it is possible that they occasionally moved across the plains searching for pasture, hunting, and collecting medicines. Andrew Smith has developed a model to explain their mobility and seasonal transhumance in the Cape between the coastal and inland zones (Sadr *et al.* 2003; Smith, A.B. 1986, 1992). He explains their cycle as scheduled around marine resources and pastures for their animals. The winter rains and good pasture conditions, between April and September, would have attracted the pastoralists to the coast. Marine resources of shellfish and seals would have been their primary foods, including abundant milk from their animals and supplementary hunting. By October, as resources diminished, they would move inland to better riparian pastures and water supply there from the Berg River (Smith, A.B. 1992: 14). Wild plant foods, underground Iridaceae and animals would have been abundant too. These pastoral groups may be those responsible for the making of the cairns, pottery and other similarly introduced material culture. It is probably during this period that the last hunter-gatherer groups were assimilated or moved off the plateau. On the other hand, archaeological evidence reveals that the hunter-gatherer stone tool industries stop at this time. Rock art sites featuring mainly finger painted imagery and handprints, on the other hand, are fewer in this area compared to the mountains. Finger-painted imagery is also characteristically geometric in repertoire although there are figurative representations as well. From this painting evidence, therefore, which some writers argue to be a distinctive geometric tradition found in southern Africa might have originated from an ancient hunter-gatherer geometric rock art in the central African region (B.W. Smith, pers. comm. 2011). It is argued that during the first millennium CE, the makers of this rock art migrated southward finally reaching the Cape along with this geometric art tradition (Smith, B.W. & Ouzman 2004: 512). This may have followed what Richard Elphick suggested to be a ‘migratory drift’ (Elphick 1985: 14-15) of perhaps small numbers of herders with some of the domestic stock foregoing their arrival in certain hunter-gatherer regions.

Nevertheless, some authors question the notion of wholesale 'migration' in the Cape, (Sadr 1998). Karim Sadr argues for a diffusionist view that innovation might have occurred instead, following pre-existing exchange networks (Sadr 2008). As he argues: "Perhaps the spread of new ideas and technologies was indeed occasionally aided by long and short distance migrations of larger or smaller groups of people here and there" (Sadr 2003: 208). Parkington and colleagues (1993: 59) have argued that "there must have been some migration into southern Africa" culminating in the appearance of what they call the 'pastoral frontier'. Subsequently, however, they stated that "not wishing to imply, as we did earlier…that the changes we have documented were compelled from outside the locally established population" (Yates *et al.* 1994: 58-59) they too question whether the spread of pastoralism involved significant population movement(s) (*ibid*. 59). They grant, however, the possibility of input from local innovation in addition to some 'trickling' of new incoming pastoral groups as opposed to an entirely new population movement into the region. In this incursion, rock painting is argued to have proliferated as ritual intensified for the hunter gatherer societies are under stress of interaction. In response they relocated residence to small shelter sites in the mountains (Manhire *et al.* 1986; Parkington *et al.* 1986). These views bear on my understanding of temporal variability of painted sequences in the Cape. The introduction of domesticates initiated a subsistence economic way of life that altered the outlook of the cultural landscape, long established hunter-gatherer land use and settlement patterns. Several centuries of sustained contact between these early societies and their different economic life ways resulted in complexities that gave this region its diverse historical and cultural sequence.

This multi-layered hunter-gatherer and herder contact history and their interaction are sometimes characterised in terms of displacement of the former by the latter. It may never be possible to infer the extent of this displacement if it is accepted that such situations inevitably also involve aspects of absorption and acculturation. Nevertheless, it is often not clarified whether the displacement was of real people, the former hunter-gatherers themselves, which is a physical phenomenon. Or, whether it was their way of life that was displaced, something that is more abstracted. Either way, displacement as a physical notion may not be an entirely appropriate characterisation of the Cape regarding its former hunter-gatherer and herder communities. I argue that, although their relations may have not been cordial all the time. For example, the Ubiqua hunter-gatherers retained "a fearsome reputation as stealers of livestock

amongst Khoikhoi pastoralists long before the Dutch arrived at the Cape" (Penn 2005a: 32-33). Their general social interactions may be seen in terms of social interpenetration rather than only as social avoidance, which resulted in this region's mixture of pre-colonial and colonial heritages.

Ernest Westphal's view is that since the Cape herders were stockbreeders it can be assumed that they had the same relationships with Bushmen generally as the later Bantu and European stockmen had in other parts of the country. Though there might have been a marked difference between the relations the Bushmen held with black farmers (Manhire *et al.* 1986: 29), Westphal further suggested that their relations were generally harmonious (Westphal 1963: 252) especially in the face of the colonial frontier wars after the mid-1700s. Others argue for an increasingly hierarchical social and political structure as obtaining for the hunter-gatherer-herder relationships in the Cape after 2,000 B.P., when hunter-gatherers living among pastoral societies became marginalised and subordinated (Smith, A.B. 1996). With the advent of colonial frontier zones this stratification was augmented, later producing an economic underclass in the Cape (Penn 1989, 1996, 2005a). This view is illuminated by definitions advanced by Richard Lee in his discussion of the notion of indigenism in anthropological studies (Lee 2006). Even with such an emerging historical sketch it is a challenge for historians to build a detailed and coherent narrative because of the fragmentary nature of the colonial archives. From this purview, some rock art researchers have attempted to use rock art evidence and even the associated archaeological materials in writing the history for specific regions (Dowson 1993, 1994, 2000; Mazel 1989, 1992). As an important part of this study, I return to this aspect in chapters and nine in the discussion of how some phases of change might be reconstructed from the study of painting chronological sequences.

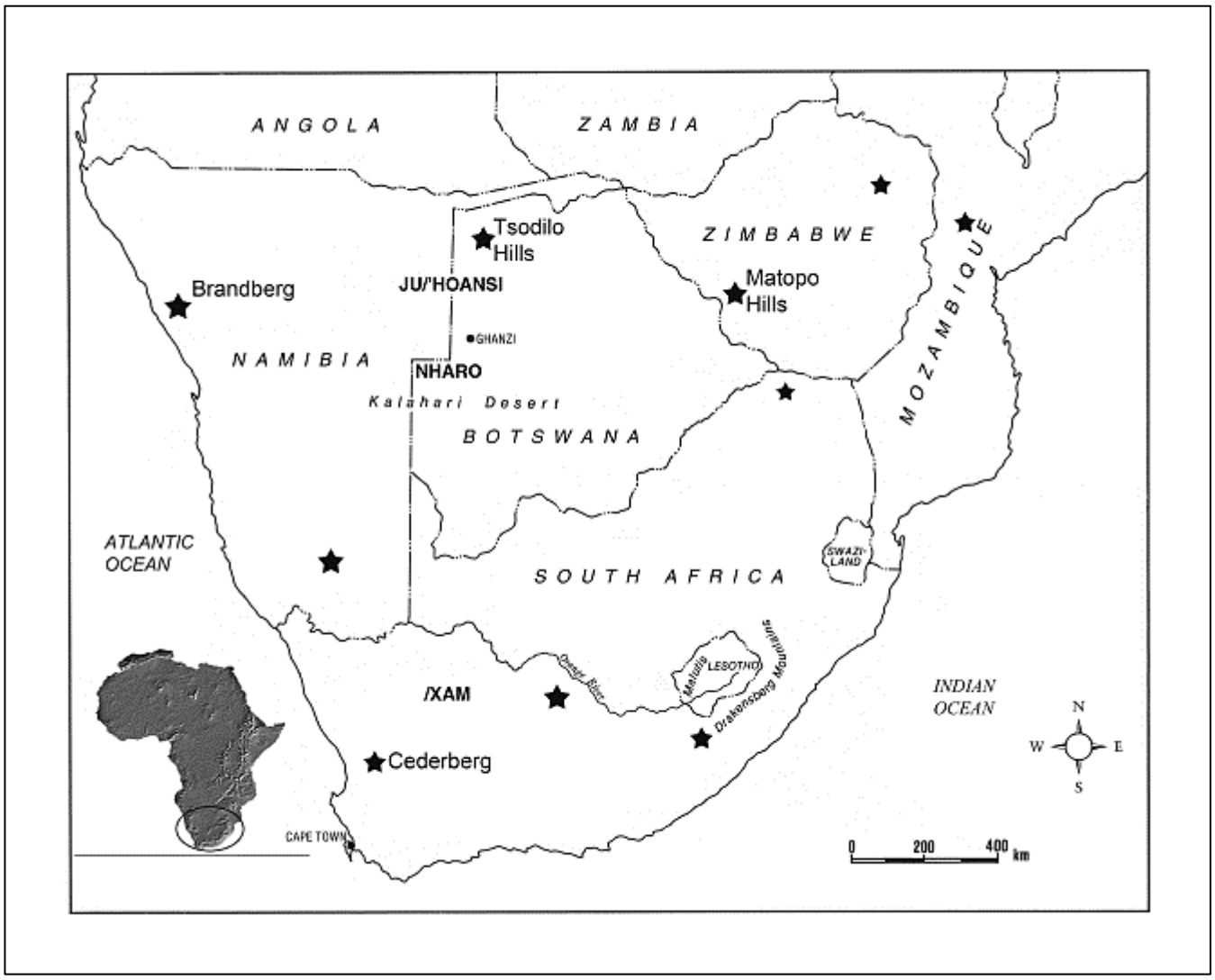
CHAPTER FOUR

CAPE HISTORICAL SETTING

> *Given the brevity and frequent bias of the early colonial written records…it is the archaeological record that must provide details of indigenous life-ways immediately before European contact.* (Jerardino *et al.* 2009: 75)

4.1. SCALE, PATTERN AND PROCESS OF HISTORICAL CHANGE

This chapter is a historical outline of the Cape from the perspective of the colonial period. The idea behind it is to reflect on why the colonial archive has pitfalls that researchers need to wade past as they attempt to understand the past. While colonial archives are useful in understanding the period during which they were made, they have their own problems. Principally, there is dearth of recorded oral traditions for this region, which was directly related to the rapid decline of autonomous KhoeSan societies (Elphick 1985: 3). These problems compel us to study colonial sources alongside other records from anthropology, archaeology, and rock art assemblages (see epigraph). Archaeology and material culture, as some argue, provide "[A]n alternative perspective from the textual and visual sources at our disposal.…Texts…are, for the most part, explicit representations produced by the elite, by those in power, while…artefacts are the implicit articulations of everyone in society—although equally inflected by networks of power" (Lucas 2006: 17). Southern Africa is fortunate to have other valuable records such as the 19th and 20th century ethnographies and ethnohistorical accounts (Parkington & Manhire 2003: 33). As Map 5 shows in the next page, these materials come from various regions of the subcontinent where the KhoeSan are found today or have lived in the recent past. Prehistoric distributions are surmised from archaeological evidence. The various available archives help to illuminate the multifarious historical processes within which diverse social and cultural formations of the former Cape dwellers were entwined from around 2,000 years until recent centuries.



Map 5: Rock art distributions (mainly paintings, but also engravings in the interior) in southern Africa and part of the vast Kalahari Desert region where KhoeSan peoples are found today.

In the last two millennia, the painted archive reflects varying complex processes of continuity and change within, first, the earlier hunter-gatherer and herder phase of interaction, and second, the later colonial period contact of these indigenes with European settler communities from the middle of the 1600s onwards. However, by the 18th and 19th centuries the former Cape indigenous peoples had largely transformed to become the underclasses in frontier zones (Smith, A.B. *et al.* 2000: 1; Yates *et al.* 1994: 59). After this initial social-cum-economic transformation these people completely disappeared as cultural and ethnic entities. While on the surface these familiar prehistoric and historic hunter-gatherer and pastoralist polities may have reflected detached identity formations, we need models to understand the

complexities of the interfaces of this coexistence. To contextualise former hunter-gatherers and herders in their mutable cultural and rock art landscapes, this chapter traces their recent past partly from the colonial accounts aided by their footprint in the painted record and where possible excavated deposits. In this vein, some writers argue that the Cape is confronted with '[A]n abundance of both visual and artefactual material in association with some fragmentary historical and more substantial, but more tangential, ethnographic records from throughout southern Africa' (Parkington & Manhire 2003: 33). Even then, the use of archaeological evidence, ethno-history, ethnography, and historical records in rock art studies has not been uniformly successful in different research periods and regions across the country. However, the types of evidence presented by these sources vary.

The unevenness of research success is partly, if not largely, due to the absence of a robust dating framework for rock art. So, there is common acceptance of the penecontemporaneity for the bulk of rock art as hunter-gatherer (recognised as San). This artificial description confounds studies of chronology. While there might be consensus on the authorship of earlier rock art traditions, it has not been equally easy to identify the artists of other rock arts, such as finger- or coarsely-painted traditions. Hesitation exists even though various Cape inhabitants in recent history are known. Some of these people are the Khoekhoen[8] who include among others, the peninsular groups, Goringhaiqua and Gorachoqua, the inland Cochoqua whose territory stretched from the Cape Flats and as far north as the Olifants River and the Grigriqua who ranged between the sandveld and Piketberg and the Berg River and Knersvlakte in the south-north axis (Penn 2005a: 31-34). Another documented group was made up of hunter-gatherers called the Ubiqua who lived in the high mountains east of the Berg; these were infamous for their aggressive thievery exploits. There were others, perhaps less well documented. The overall difficulty in accepting the material and graphic signatures of these people is that none were observed making paintings. It is debatable whether this disparity is a real case of rock art making having disappeared completely during the colonial period or that it was an innocent omission by early writers. Nevertheless, there are early

[8] The early Dutch gave the Cape pastoralists the pejorative name 'Hottentots' based on their click-based languages; later they were called 'Khoikhoi'. Consensus nowadays is that these Khoe-speaking herders should be called 'Khoekhoen' as the preferred modern-day Nama orthography, meaning "the real people or men" (Boonzaier *et al.* 1996: 1-2, 59) Preferred usages are '*Khoekhoen*' (*n.*) and '*Khoekhoe*' (*adj*.) (Deacon, J. 1994b: 7).

observers of rock art who sometimes implied its connection with the San who still occupied various remote parts of the sub-region.

The historical paradox of the whole sub-region abounding with rock arts of various kinds is that little was ever written in historical times about this art and its producers. The earliest known mention of paintings together with assumed San authorship was in Beutler's 1752 account of his party's expedition to the Great Kei River in the Eastern Cape (Forbes 1965: 7-24; Theal 1897: 133). He did not, however, witness any direct painting. Decades after his account, Colonel Robert J. Gordon and his party (particularly his draughtsman Johannes Schumacher) observed and copied paintings in the north-eastern Cape between 1777 and 1778 (Raper & Boucher 1988: 131). Their local informants referred to the Bushmen of that area as *Sun èi* (*ibid*. 89), some of whose freshly abandoned encampments were observed close to the foothills with painted sites. Some years later, in 1790, as part of the expedition that sought survivors of the Grosvenor, Jacob van Reenen reported paintings in the southeastern Cape in what is now the Cathcart District (Kirby 1953, 1958). A few years later, in 1797, the traveller John Barrow (1801) reported paintings and Bushmen near the Sneeuberg. At the time, it had been observed that no frontier trekboer (Afrikaner) farmers were permanently settled in this area largely due to the continuous attacks from the resident Bushmen (Neville *et al.* 1994: 66). More reports of rock art featured in later decades (Alexander 1840; Arbousset & Daumas 1846; Burchell 1822; Sparrman 1785), although no European actually witnessed San painters or engravers making the images.

Nevertheless, in the late 1800s one of the |Xam informants, Dia!kwain, gave a tantalizing account of his father Xatin (also Xattin) whom he said engraved animals at a place in the Karoo called ǀKann (Bleek, Wilhem H. I. & Lloyd 1911: xiv). Because he recollected his childhood memories, this makes the time of the last engravers around fifty or so years before his dialogue with Lucy Lloyd. Although Lloyd was never able to trace this 'trail', in recent decades Janette Deacon made revealing researches which led her to conclude that ǀKann might have been the pan at Kans, near present-day Brandvlei (Deacon, J. 1988). Apart from this near-direct evidence, Joseph M. Orpen recounted another informative contemporary account from his exploration of some portions of the southeastern mountains. He was on an expedition guided by Qing, a San man who recollected specific knowledge of San art and mythology (Challis 2008; Orpen 1874). This remains the only known testimony by a

Bushman familiar with the paintings and associated lore. There are several testimonies of |Xam San interpretations of some rock art images that were copied by Stow (see, Lewis-Williams & Challis 2011). These |Xam men appear to have been familiar with the graphic metaphors in the paintings, which made it possible for them to superimpose their own cultural understandings. Other useful, if tangential, accounts are from the usually imprecise surmises of either San or others who knew aspects of San culture providing testimonies to colonials about the Bushman traditions (How 1962; Stow 1874, 1905).

As the early Europeans explored the Cape there were still residual painters in confined regions who simultaneously observed and even painted the new colonial lifestyle as it advanced into these territories (Hall, Simon & Mazel 2005; Yates *et al.* 1993). None of the activities of these protagonists however intersected in ways that would inform future rock art research. The paintings of colonial material culture are in themselves a testimony to the presence of painters as late as the mid-19th century. While colonial sources (e.g., see the compilation of accounts in: Raven-Hart 1967, 1971a; Raven-Hart 1971b) are problematic, an understanding of their period might emerge from a counter-balance of readings of an amalgam of the archaeology and rock art records. Reconstructions of pre-colonial and colonial history also benefit from anthropological perspectives from the 20th century Kalahari. Further, the Bleek and Lloyd archive on the Karoo |Xam San in the 19th century offers a glimpse into the San pre-colonial way of life, but largely also their colonial encounters with the northern frontier (Bank 2006; Penn 2005a).

4.2. Transitory fragments from colonial sources

The colonial period heralded written records coinciding with the first cultural intercourse between European seafarers and the indigenes from the 15th century onwards. Later European exploration into the Cape interior ensured a moderately sizeable body of accounts concerning aspects of the life and history of the peoples beyond the Cape of Good Hope. Colonial archives consist of varying quality and quantity of collections that afford us glimpses of pre-colonial and colonial indigenous peoples (Raven-Hart 1967, 1971b). Although early European writings about the Cape and its peoples emerged from their initial interaction in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, the archive is generally sparse in its fidelity, objectivity and thoroughness (Klein 1986: 6) regarding those aspects which are germane to anthropological, archaeological and historical analyses. As Judith Sealy (2006: 569) puts it, “although recent

(ethno-historic) accounts of hunting and gathering people are undoubtedly valuable as sources of insight into this way of life, our documentary record is partial and skewed." Because these sources alone cannot be used conclusively to resolve the complex Cape pre-colonial cultural sequence, the archaeological and recent anthropological sources can be used to reinforce pre-colonial and colonial analyses.

Several factors account for the inadequacy of early written records on the Cape interior's peoples. Various accounts were often not first-hand (Fauvelle-Aymar 2008: 80) or empirical observations (some travellers relied too much on hearsay, e.g., see Raven-Hart 1967: 47), as logistical impracticalities meant less exploration far beyond the seashores. The peculiar rugged topography described in the previous chapter was a hindrance (Theal 1964: 258). Early travellers, explorers, hunters and others were discouraged from journeying ashore by the impassable physical nature of these mountains (Davis 1906; Smalberger 1975) in whose vastness, as widespread myths proliferated, there were also man-eaters. This, too, must have discouraged exploration (Boonzaier *et al.* 1996: 58, 58-10). To be sure, the fierce reprisals that the Khoekhoen meted out against early transgressing Portuguese and Spanish callers[9] from the early 1500s were sufficient in the aftermath to persuade later sailors to bypass the Cape anchorages for nearly a century (Boonzaier *et al.* 1996: 58, 60; Raven-Hart 1967: 9-11). Meanwhile, as a consequence there was a hiatus of written records until from the 1590s onwards when the English and Dutch fleets started to call. The old plethora of wild legends about the putative cannibalistic and corpse scavenging races of the Cape interior swayed these mariners too (Raven-Hart 1967: 111). The myth about the indigenous bloodthirsty and militant wild-men, in fact, was for centuries a well-established antiquated alien theme among early seafarers (Bartra 1994; Boonzaier *et al.* 1996: 8-10; Elphick 1985: 72-73). The enduring negative influence of this teratology (a theme dating back to the 14th century, Mandeville 1983), not only among the roving mariners or Cape settlers from 1600s onwards, but also the book reading middle classes of European countries, abounds in most early writings. Hence, even though the early Portuguese and later the Dutch and English seafarers were long aware of the vastness of the Cape from 1500s, it was nearly 150 years afterwards to the first

[9] On the Cape's western shores, a Portuguese Admiral Antonio de Saldanha was shot and wounded in 1503 by local Khoekhoen following a skirmish and later, in 1510, another similar confrontation saw Fransesco d'Almeida, who was the Viceroy of Portuguese India, killed alongside 65 members of his crew.

European 1652 Cape settlement (Elphick 1985: 73). The encumbrances changed as growing European influence extended farther into the south-western and north-western Cape from 1700s onwards. While these difficulties were logistical in nature or limited capacity to forge inland, attitudes of the period also contributed in skewing the colonial archive.

4.3. Antipathy towards the Cape indigenes

The deficiency of the colonial archive is hardly surprising given the deep European antipathy towards the KhoeSan, their customs and languages (Boonzaier *et al.* 1996: 58-59; Penn 2005a: 241-243; Traill 1996: 183). Documents, mainly textual, but also pictorial records, concerning indigenous encounters were originally produced from perspectives largely tempered with negative European attitudes, 'heartless distortions' (Penn 2005a: 243) and biases, and untenable beliefs emanating from the Middle Ages (Boonzaier *et al.* 1996: 8-10). It was routine to lump the varied Cape native inhabitants with their unique linguistic, cultural and economic life styles together under generic categories or appellations as 'vagrants,' 'beasts,' 'thieves,' 'robbers,' 'savages,' 'scavengers,' 'natives,' or 'blacks' and so forth (*ibid*.: 1996: 58). Without other auxiliary sources beyond the colonial literature the crude stereotypes of the 'lumper position' (see Parkington 2006: 18-19 about this phrase), as with any other similar generalisation (Boonzaier *et al.* 1996: 34-35) on pre-colonial and early colonial indigenes, are clearly inaccurate by stripping people's own cultural markers.

The sum of these indigenous communities in the Cape, included hunters and gatherers, pastoralists and their contemporary category of coastal dwellers (also known as fisher people) whom the Dutch called *strandlopers* (Deacon, H.J. & Deacon 1999: 150, 152) or beachcombers—but probably formerly belonging to one or the other of the earlier groups. The reality of the social and cultural context of this diversity was complex: various groups intermixed often as noted by early European observers. The inevitable interpenetration of groups living adjacent to one another might have resulted in cultural elements reflecting intra-group networks of cultural links or social bonds, and cooperation or even conflict, through space and time. However, acute nondescript ethnic conflation became a prominent feature of the 1860s onwards during the colonial incarceration of KhoeSan resisters of settler commando activity. In the Northern Cape, the misclassification of ǀXam prisoners as 'Hottentots' was routine (Bank 2006: 152-153). Meanwhile, these groups had their own self-referential labels (see discussion in, Parkington 1977), though at times unflattering, in this

cultural phenomenon of designating neighbours (e.g., see brief etymology of 'San': 'Explanatory notes'). ǀXam language speakers used ecological labels to distinguish themselves as, for example, River or Berg Bushmen and in the Karoo, Flat Bushmen (ǁKabbo, ǀHanŋǂkass'o, and ǀA!kunta) and Grass Bushmen (Dia!kwain, ǂKasin and !Kweiten ta ǁken) (Deacon, J. 1996: 245-246). It is evident that they perceived themselves as different from one another, sometimes seeing others with disdain (see Bank 2006: 287).

It has not helped that anthropologists, archaeologists, historians and linguists have spent a great deal of time debating the makeup of hunter-gatherer and pastoralist or herder identities, without actually problematising these ethno-economic appellations. The artificiality of the terminology confounds the studies of chronology: in this study I seek to defragment the divisions in ways that economise and illuminate the painting sequence. It is commonplace to take these categories as a given where difference rather than similarity, though not stated explicitly, is essentialised. As such, a view of the past under such confined optics obscures, rather than elucidates, the complexity of pre-colonial and colonial encounters where convergence and divergence, exchange and avoidance would have precipitated a fluidity of cultural identities and social-economic boundaries over time. In recent years, however, there has been a gradual intervention from projects that are inspired by cultural studies theories that are now shifting the outlook of these debates. As will be clear in later chapters, my study straddles various theoretical predilections and uses postcolonial theory to unshackle the limiting cultural categories created by existing terminologies that the discipline has inherited, often times unquestioningly, from early scholarly writings.

Early scholarly writings on the subject of indigenous peoples were quite uneven prior to the 1900s. Even though the mid-1800s saw a great intellectual efflorescence with researches such as Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd, F.W. Kolbe and others pioneering systematic studies of languages, mythology and religious systems of various South African peoples, the great majority of contemporary writers were untrained observers, adventurists and amateur scientists. A few of these writers, however, could be credited with reasonably accurate scientific accounts on indigenous people and their cultures. One of these writers, Robert J. Gordon's observations are said to 'rank amongst the most important of their kind' (Wilson & Klinghardt 1989: 49), while the missionary S.S. Dornan (1925: 42) argues that the early

1800s German traveller Heinrich Lichtenstein 'was a thoroughly scientific and capable observer,' as were Otto Mentzel (Lucas 2006: 11), Anders Sparrman and William J. Burchell (Beinart 1998: 779-780) among others. Whereas the 1860s and 1870s are argued to have witnessed important developments in the formation of scientific knowledge that later culminated in African Studies (Dubow 2004: 107), the first real anthropological analyses on the KhoeSan in the Cape and surrounding regions were to emerge only later in the early 1900s through the work of Agnes Winifred Hoernlé on the Namaqualand Khoekhoe pastoralists (some of her researches were published, e.g., 1913, 1918, 1922, 1923, 1925).

Part of the reason of this slow development of scientific interest was due to the widely held belief that these people lacked religion (Raven-Hart 1967: 57, 60, 101, 128) and accordingly their implied savage bellicose nature meant that they were unworthy of scholarly attention. Even their artistic traditions were deemed less attractive to any serious study as early writers contented themselves with only literal readings (Lewis-Williams 2006: 349). Illustrating such invidiousness, one influential writer in Europe, Peter Heylen, lamented about the former Cape inhabitants that it was a "pity that so beautiful and rich a country should be inhabited by so barbarous and rude a people" (Heylen 1677 [1621]: 64). Similar European perceptions of indigenes and the impact of these treatment patterns on written accounts emerge from the early encounters with Native American people (Trigger 1986: 255). There, too, scientific attention was as a result hindered until much later. Prospects for creating enduring records were thus squandered. Another viewpoint however is couched in the general scientific atmosphere of the time. According to some writers, the growing discipline of natural history exploration marginalised scientific interest in indigenous peoples (Pratt 1992: 51-52). While early travellers wrote of the fauna and flora in the Cape as components of a pristine environment where no humanity existed, they created an artificial hiatus characterised by an asocial and ahistorical landscape. Whereas the sparseness of colonial archives is in the lack of fidelity, there was also the real problem of hiatuses, sometimes lengthy, when nothing was documented due to difficulties associated with armed conflicts of the early colonial period.

Documentation practices that had taken root previously had now started to encounter bottlenecks from hiatuses caused by on-going and accelerated frontier wars. Some writing started to flourish in the initial advance of the northern frontier in the late 1600s and early 1700s. But then, as the first frontier wars set in from late 1600s, this trend was disrupted. One

of the main hiatuses occurred around 1730s when, due to challenging practicalities of rapid transmission in the midst of flaring wars, verbal reports became a preferred medium to written reports. The impermanent nature of this medium, as a consequence, entailed very little writing on the changing cultural landscape during this period (Penn 2005a: 60, see also a note on p. 42 on the inadequacy of the records around early 1700s regarding the outbreak and impact of the smallpox endemic). Due to the late 1700s wars, very low settler populations (as people with literal skills at the time to document history) on the northern frontier also explain the paucity of detailed facts from the frontier zones (Penn 2005a: 81). The low ebb of colonial advance was restored after this initial conflictive period among groups of people.

4.4. Social and economic impact of the colonial frontier

The 1700s saw a renewed vigorous European expansion into the Cape rugged landscape. The knowledge of the interior had improved, the settler population was swelling, and hunting especially for ivory was increasing alongside the pursuit of mineral and other resources beyond the Cape of Good Hope (Smalberger 1975). There was also the huge quest for farmland, then the indigenous KhoeSan labour and their livestock (Elphick & Malherbe 1989: 11; Lucas 2006: 70; Penn 1996: 36, 83), which were a major beef supply to the expanding Cape community. There was a vast demand for supplies by the Dutch East India Company (VOC: Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie), which was ever increasing (Penn 2005a). Political considerations were important too. The establishment and protection of frontiers was particularly crucial regarding the colonial administrative organisation. As far as the VOC was concerned, the creation of frontier zones was the main objective in strengthening the Cape economically and strategically. Part of the VOC strategy involved increasing the numbers of colonial farmers in these frontier zones (Lucas 2006: 67).

The northern frontier compelled the establishment of chains of military posts to secure their advance (Penn 2005a: 27-55) for their protection and by extension the expansion of the colonial political and economic interests (Lucas 2006: 67). In the frontier zone the general European advance can partly be quantified in terms of the demography of settler communities. In the Cape the farmer population increased gradually to an estimated over 7,000 around the late 1700s (Penn 2005a: 3). While the land available to settlers multiplied tenfold from 1740s to 1770 in the hinterland, their population densities had however expanded at a much slower rate due to convulsions of the incessant frontier wars. But then,

throughout the colony there were only 225 stockholders in 1746, increasing to 600 in 1770 (*ibid*. 81). Although the population density of the frontier farmers was low, its adverse effect on the original peopling of the region was the ruination of residual hunter-gatherers and pastoralists who were domiciled in the Cape (Penn 2005a: 32). Their numbers dwindled rapidly as European advance escalated and their final cultural and physical extermination, or genocide (as some argue, for example see, Penn 1996: 89), largely due to the commando system was completed around the late 1800s (Dornan 1925: 42-43; Elphick 1977; Hewitt 1986: 22, 43, 45; 2002: 36, 52; Lee 2006: 462, 465; Traill 1996: 183) across the whole region where these people formerly existed.

These developments were heralded by a series of wars of dispossession lasting lengthy periods before the indigenous residents were finally subjugated. Various KhoeSan groups had mounted fierce, though sporadic, resistance to colonial expansion (Elphick 1977; Marais 1957; Theal 1888-93, 1915-26; Wright 1971) slowing down the frontier advance into almost a state of social, political and economic attrition. In what was the prelude to their ultimate defeat, the first skirmish between the Dutch and the indigenes was fought over cattle in 1688 (Dornan 1925: 43). The first of the major frontier wars however took place decades later, in 1739, covering in extent both the sandveld and Bokkeveld. The outcome was that the KhoeSan resistance was momentarily crushed. This victory emboldened the settler community, causing the rapid colonial expansion deeper into the interior (Penn 2005a: 20, 77, 81). This thrust was however truncated and slow due to periods of sustained turmoil and maelstrom, which were experienced prior to this war, then during the decades immediately afterwards and well into 1800s. These upheavals culminated in evacuations and settler retreat from vast swathes of land to safer zones following incessant KhoeSan attacks and livestock raids on the farms (Penn 1996, 2007) as retaliatory resistance (*ibid*.: 2005a: 31). The outright demise of the Cape indigenes was completed in late 1800s. In the course of a century these vicissitudes ranging from the political, military, genocide, epidemic, and later colonial evangelical pressures (Penn 2007), the Cape KhoeSan culture was to disappear forever. From this overview, I now provide a scenario that, although admittedly sketchy, provides some understanding of some dynamics of which the latter-day painters of my study area were certainly engaged. There is no direct evidence *per se* to link specific paintings and specific people or groups, but the events of the time created an atmosphere which should help us unravel what might have been the possible context(s) of the production of the paintings.

As some historians have argued, the Cape in the historical era, principally the 1700s-1800s, became the hinterland of intense colonial and indigenous human interactions particularly during the advance of the colonial frontier, its wars and the aftermath. The region concerned is generally between the north of the Berg River and across the Olifants into the mountains and the Doring-Tanqua drainage system in the north and east. Yet this region was not an isolated island of disturbances, but fell under the influence of political and economic activities that extended far beyond into the western fringes of the Karoo and over into the Orange River in the north. By late 1700s the adjacent Hantam district had become a trade zone of strategic importance between Namaqualand and the rest of the colony to the south feeding principally into the 'production and exchange networks which linked Cape Town to the pastoralists of the interior' (Penn 2005a: 170). In between lay the fold belt mountain ranges, where most of the painted sites are located. Rather than this rugged topography being a screen between zones, it channelled other forms of activity across the landscape, with both the colonial and indigenous polities—particularly the pastoral communities—interspersed in their areas of control between distinctive geographic zones.

People and goods moved within and beyond these zones. Trade items included ivory, skins, cattle, sheep, firearms and ammunition, beads, tobacco and a range of other colonial articles which moved between the Cape, Namaqualand and the Orange River (Penn 2005a: 166) where human populations were burgeoning. Some historians speak of trade networks "which had extended from the southern Nguni and the Sotho-Tswana through the Khoi to the Western Cape" (Legassick 2010: 41) in earlier times being replaced in the 1700s by "the new trade system oriented towards the Cape Town market" (*ibid*.). Inevitably the movement of trade items and people entailed circulation of ideas, military and raider ideologies across the vast expanse of regions which form today the Western Cape, Northern Cape and some parts of the North West provinces. Cultural alliances and other forms of human connections were also formed as part of the new socio-political circumstances precipitated by the colonial expansion and the attendant conflictive polities. Others have noted that in the course of the frontier wars and the consequent commando system in the mid- to late-1700s, there was marked cooperation and exchange of information between the residual San hunter-gatherers and the Khoekhoen pastoralists against colonial invasion (Penn 2005a: 129, 135, 235), but also vice-versa. This is true of the general frontier relations between some indigenes and

some elements among the colonists, as pertaining to the nature of frontiers. There are cases of frontier white settlers who integrated into Khoe societies, who were behaving and even dressing like them (Legassick 2010: 43-44). Importantly, these human relations were not a new development, but were essentially a deep-rooted legacy of the pastoralist and hunter-gatherer 'cycles of cultural assimilation' that went back to the first arrival of immigrant Khoe pastoralists (Elphick 1985: 30-31) in the region. What had changed this time were the economic and political circumstances brought about by the northern frontier.

By the time during the northern frontier wars the residual San groups in this region no longer lived on their own nor led an entirely hunter gatherer existence on the landscape. They now formed part of shared social networks and interactions with several other groups of people or at best the landscape was populated by varied groups of people. These human connections were to be observed even in the mostly inhospitable Karoo wastelands to the east of the Cape Fold Mountains. For example, although by the 1800s it is unclear how and to what extent the well-known |Xam San maintained relationships with their neighbours, they were certainly not the only people living in their region. Nineteenth century travellers' accounts mention the presence of other groups that included the Nama and Korana (Khoekhoen), Basters and white stock farmers (Trekboers) south of the Orange River, and the Tswana-speaking groups north of the river. Some of the |Xam people worked for white farmers for certain periods and most could even converse to some degree in Dutch. Those who were informants in Bleek and Lloyd archive from the mid-1800s mention sheep, cattle, dogs, metal, guns, and horses in their narratives (Bank 2006: e.g., 214-218; Deacon, J. 1996: 247) which attests to their familiarity with a complex and mixed world in which they lived. The regions between the Cape, Karoo and Orange River had now become a melting pot of varied ethnicities involving San, Khoekhoen, Bantu-speaking Tswana and Xhosa groups. The Tswana polities had been there longer while the Xhosa people entered this region in the late 1790s after a man called Zonie or Danster led a Xhosa group fleeing clashes in the Eastern Cape and settled around present-day Carnarvon on the Orange River (Kallaway 1982: cited in Deacon, J. 1996: 247; Legassick 2010: 122, 123; Penn 2005a: 211-212). They amalgamated with varied other smaller local groups, mostly outcasts from the colony to form a formidable marauding entity. This was the same Xhosa group whose parent formation was a party which one traveller, Anders Sparrman, had encountered earlier near the Fish river and described as a 'dauntingly dominant presence' (Beinart 1998: 778). Although Danster had at some point entered the

service of colonists in the Roggeveld district, his group eked out a living by keeping stock, hunting and raiding (Penn 2005a: 212). This was a time of broad-spectrum turmoil within the frontier zones where groups violently raided one another for survival in the face of accelerated interaction exacerbated by frontier wars in the east and the north. All frontiers are by their nature characterised by violence as a constant at all times (Penn 2005a: 13), although some scholars dispute that this is a specific condition for frontiers (Legassick 2010). Nonetheless such turmoil and various forms of exchanges were far-reaching, from the Orange River down to the Cape in the south. I submit that my study area fell well within these spheres of influence that we should at least entertain this historical background from the general point of view and then down to the particular level of analysis.

By the 1800s the Orange River had become sanctuary to the hordes of multiplicity of linguistic groupings and social formations. For example, there were mixed descent groups who in the late 1700s trekked for freedom beyond the borders of the Cape colony and settled among other diverse local indigenous groups. These generally Dutch-speaking people were known in the Cape as ‘Bastaards’ and ‘Bastaard-Hottentots’—either Khoekhoen-European or Khoekhoen-slave assimilated into the colonial culture—who organised themselves into small runaway groups of kinsfolk called ‘droster gangs’ (Penn 1990, 1999). The larger and more successful of these cultural formations were called the Oorlams. However, the first drosters (fugitives) and proto-Oorlams (or creole people) were formed very early in the century in the Sandveld and the Drakenstein mountains as part of the KhoeSan resistance to the colonial expansion beyond the Cape peninsula and the insipient commando system (Penn 2005a: 13). Their violent excesses of repeated acts of robbery and murder in their northward drive are well documented (Hall, Simon & Mazel 2005: 133; Penn 2005b). These drosters and Oorlams, in comparison with the indigenous groups—largely the remnatic San, Khoekhoen, Nama and Kora and so forth—whom they encountered and interacted with outside the colonial reach, had advantages acquired from living with the technologically more advanced colonial society from further south, since they possessed horses, wagons, guns (Legassick 2010: 65, 87; Wannenburgh 1980: 50-51). Hence the Namaqua in the north were afraid of ‘hat-wearers,’ these robbers and murderers who shot them and robbed them of their cattle (Legassick 2010: 72). Pillaging and stock theft became a way of life for these groups outside the colonial boundaries. Such wide-ranging conflict circumstances might have impinged on the daily lives of all who lived in the affected regions including the last painters.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to ascertain the nature and extent of the influences of these aggressive interactions and allied acculturative processes on the artists in the Cederberg ranges and Olifants valley. Yet it is reasonable to expect that the residual painters were also entangled in these circumstances, as some of the drosters and their activities are documented in areas around the Doorn and Olifants Rivers (e.g., see Penn 2005b; Ross 1994). From this postulation, chapter eight attempts to interpret a selection of images from the sequence in the context of contact dynamics, first from the advent of herding economies in the second millennium AD and later the colonial period attended by the inception and expansion of the northern frontier with its wars of dispossession. I also examine how during that era the putative undercurrents of incessant conflict and concomitant raiding ideologies might have influenced the artistic change in successive phases of painting. Lamentably, there is no direct evidence to allow the connections between specific people or groups and the paintings although it is possible to hypothesise with caution. These interpretations are based on the images and their contextual associations as well as the analysis of historical or ethnohistorical, and ethnographic sources.

4.5. Termination of ancient traditions

The burst of colonial penetration from the early 1700s (Smalberger 1975: 53-63) had far-reaching disruptive effects on the indigenous frontier societies, causing the rapid fragmentation of their social, economic, and political foundations (*ibid*.: 62). Not only were the Cape indigenes adversely affected by the military and commando excursions of genocidal proportions, but the viability of traditional resources of water and land, foraging territories and grazing pastures also dwindled due to wholesale colonial land usurpation (Legassick 2010: 41; Lucas 2006: 70; Penn 2005a: 172). Accelerating the disintegration of pre-colonial ways of life was also the full force of the unfamiliar disease epidemics: the smallpox outbreak of 1713 wiped out extensive numbers of residual KhoeSan Cape societies (Elphick 1985: xvii; Elphick & Malherbe 1989: 21; Lucas 2006: 71). Its lethal impact, as was that of other serial disease episodes including typhoid, measles, and influenza was exacerbated by the indigenous lack of immunological resistance (Penn 2005a: 42-43). In the end, the combined effect of diseases, military defeat, genocide, conquest and subjugation spanning over 250 years of colonial contact all led successively to the degeneration of the Cape KhoeSan societies' spiritual, psychological, economic, social and political fabric and final

annihilation (Elphick 1977; Klein 1986: 5). Thereafter, in the closing decades of the 19th century the cultural and economic life styles of the hunter-gatherer and herder peoples whatever their former ethnicities, were all completely disappeared from the living traditions and collective Cape historical memory (e.g., see Lucas 2006: 151). Those KhoeSan who survived became a landless underclass of subservient minions of the Dutch and other colonial communities such as the free burghers (Deacon, J. 1996: 250; Elphick & Malherbe 1989: 17; Lucas 2006: 71; Yates *et al.* 1994: 59) in the frontier zone and small urbanized areas or *dorps* that were developing in its wake (Ross 1976: 66, 69). Against this terminal historical epigrammatic backdrop, chapter eight pieces together rock art evidence 'archived' in the chronological sequence established in chapters six and seven in order to understand change through time following a distinctive regional setting of social circumstances and traditions.

To understand the pre-colonial history and the nature of interactions of the indigenous people before the colonial period, it is therefore crucial to probe the extent to which the congeries of cultural admixture and integration of traditions of these indigenes are revealed in the painting and other records. Although these people organised themselves in different ways, socially, politically and economically, it is hard to imagine that interaction did not occur. Indeed, one approach to understand these vexatious aspects of such dynamic connections is to examine rock art chronologies and cultural sequences in localised regions in the light of postcolonial theory in order to probe creatively the colonial archive. Bearing these thoughts in mind, this thesis explores a number of explanatory perspectives, each with its own theoretical positions and commitments, from literary and cultural to archaeological studies.

Whereas some speak lamentingly of an unbridled proliferation of theories, each with different presuppositions, specific objectives, a limited scope, and often in opposition (Iser 2006: 6-7), it is more useful to focus on their convergences, shared questions and claims rather than dwell on presumed divergences. No more suitable context for the use of a number of approaches to unravel the many-sided interactions amongst small– and broad–scale social group formations than the Cape during the colonial and pre-colonial periods. The thesis builds a rock art narrative using a methodology that assembles patterns of specific image categories, site histories, depth of painting chronology and cultural sequences and complexities from the local to regional scales of analysis. Fine-grained interpretations might be expected from colonial sources and painting investigations used in tandem to reveal the

pre-colonial life styles, settlement organisation, and social, economic, political, and cosmological structures. This work is important not only for the resolution of problems specific to rock art chronology and cultural sequence, but also as a body of information which can be used to answer more specific questions about the operation of prehistoric societies and historical contact processes, culture differentiation, change and continuity.

CHAPTER FIVE

THEORY, METHOD AND METHODOLOGY

> *The archive is not potentially made up of everything, as is human memory; and it is not the fathomless and timeless place in which nothing goes away that it is the unconscious. The archive is made from selected and consciously chosen documentation from the past and also from the mad fragments that no one intended to preserve and just ended up there.* (Steedman 2001: 68, original emphasis)

5.1. RESIDUES OF TEMPORALITY IN ROCK ART

This chapter emphasises the articulation of theory and methodology pursued in the study. Principally, the study is a worked-out case of an adapted archival approach to defining painted images in a regional sequence and their allied contexts so as to permit their refined interpretation and historicity. With the use of multiple theoretical and methodological perspectives, the study charts a scheme for interpretative analytical applications that transcend just the use of image superpositions. From describing aspects of theory and the type of argument followed in the thesis (method), the discussion proceeds to the long standing problem of decoding the logical structure, if any exists, of relationships between images and their clusters in over painted surfaces (methodology) in the Cape. This approach signals that the over-reliance on superpositions rather than the analysis of the character of defined image categories may not be sufficient for understanding conceptual interrelationships of images in painting sequences. In this context I broaden accepted norms of theoretical approaches and general practice to chronology studies on the basis of the possibility that they are either simplifications or inaccurate for my present purposes. Building on chapter one, I accept theory as a framing mechanism for method and methodology in evaluating premises and models around which rock art materials are organised, interrogated and elucidated. Theory can be construed generally as some ‘support framework’ for ideas to give them explanatory power, longevity and authority (e.g., Douglas 1989: 857) or a “necessary structure to focus analytical attention to specific research-oriented questions” (Vinnicombe 2010: 248). Nevertheless, the paradox of theory is its quality of flux; theories

arise within particular ideological, social and political contexts. Often, when these milieux shift, theories too would change. Examples can be drawn from the history of southern African rock art studies (e.g., see Lewis-Williams 2006). Various theories, methods and techniques in rock art research have thrived and waned since the mid-1900s (Lewis-Williams 1995a, 1995c); arguably, intellectual fluxes were more pronounced since the mid-1960s onwards than any other preceding period as paradigms shifted in archaeology (for example, see O'Brien, M.J. & Holland 1995: 193). Their foundations or bodies of knowledge along with their tensions, partialities and historical circumstances inevitably bind theoretical frames. Theory, then, is constrained by an amalgam of influences and circumstances (at times, whimsicality) all of which are tied to their formulation and, as some claim, are accordingly thoroughly subjective in outlook (Shanks & Tilley 1987a: 212-213). Overall, the character of the ever-evolving research environments fosters creativity.

In consequence, the epistemic creativity in the humanities and social sciences often results in the proliferation of theories (sometimes in rivalry with one another) which, as Wolfgang Iser decries, is explained by "…changing interests and fashions…" (Iser 2006: 6, 7). Contrasting this view, Jonathan Culler (2009), on the other hand, opines that treating variety in theory "as a set of competing approaches or methods of interpretation misses much of its interest and force." Culler views the multiplicity of theories not simply as one epistemological position opposed to another, but the basic value of the interrelatedness of the bodies of knowledge they generate. It is the collation of explanations and facts that the theories generate from data analyses that matters. In Frederick Cooper's terms, "Most important is to learn to profit from the tensions intrinsic to intellectual inquiry, not resolving them under the hegemonic umbrella of a grand theory…" (Cooper 2000: 317). However, given their mixed milieux, theories cannot, by and of themselves, be independent objective transmitters of facts in terms of positivist epistemologies of so-called 'hard sciences'. Their contingency has long been debated, particularly how scientific theories operate and what amounts to properly scientific practice in archaeology.

On the polemics about science and theory (e.g., Kosso 1991; Schiffer 1996; Shanks & Tilley 1987b), the philosopher of science Wylie (2000: 228) surmised that it is a false notion that sciences are "uniquely non-parochial in scope…[or] that they share a body of investigative practices capable of establishing knowledge that decisively transcends the contexts of its

production." In this vein and specifically in archaeology, Lewis Binford has noted that, "…all archaeological data are generated by us in *our* terms…" as archaeologists in studying contemporary data which we generate in the act of observing the archaeological record (Binford 1987: 393, original emphasis). Just as there are those who accept the unavoidability of political bias in theory (Johnson, M. 2006: 443) or that techniques and data are 'theory-laden' (Johnson, M. 1999: 176-177; Wylie 2000: 232), Wylie endorses a more prosaic, if deflationary, view that science is inherently a "human, social and political enterprise, diverse in form, contingent and evolving" (Wylie 2000: 228). Drawing on Richard Bernstein (1983), she promotes a method of building arguments that she calls 'cabling' and 'tacking' involving the movement back and forth between theory and data (Wylie 1989). It is an earlier metaphor that was first used by Charles Saunders Peirce (1934: 157) and later expanded by Bernstein to characterise scientific argumentation as more like 'chains', but now reformulated by Wylie as typically cable-like particularly in archaeology. In this formulation Wylie also observes the 'disunity of science' which, as she argues, archaeologists have employed to their advantage by way of, first, its characteristic of 'vertical independence' and, second, 'horizontal independence' (Wylie 1999, 2000). The first concerns a priori assumptions in formulating hypotheses, and are theoretically autonomous of evidence that is presented in their support; the second relates to the independence of different lines of evidence used to support any interpretation or hypothesis that is being advanced. Regarding the latter, if diverse forms of mutually reinforcing evidence, based on various archaeological data and explanations from various theoretical perspectives, unite in supporting a particular explanatory standpoint about the past, then the credibility lent these claims by the assembled evidence is enhanced (Wylie 2000: 232; 2002). The evaluation of the closeness of the fit between the evidence and the explanation is not always a straightforward process.

In rock art studies, Lewis-Williams advocates a two-way mutual illumination process between theory and the art (Lewis-Williams 1981: 131). In other words, the two are mutually dependent, without one superseding the other. He further argued that depending on the type of reasoning and argument, there would be interpretations that are true, some less true and those that are simply wrong. Discriminating between them involves assessing how well theory articulates with evidence (Lewis-Williams 1998: 95). Because of the shifting historical, academic and political currents in rock art studies, lately he has spoken less of this valuation platform. Earlier Lewis-Williams proposed several criteria for validating the

explanatory potential of hypotheses in rock art studies: (a) Compatibility with the well-supported theory and relevant ethnography; (b) internal consistency; (c) quantity of data explained; (d) diversity of data explained; (e) verifiability; and (e) heuristic potential (Lewis-Williams 1984: 59-60; 1985: 49-50; Lewis-Williams & Loubser 1986). While these criteria are not explicit in any process of assessing the reliability of explanations, they however remain at the core of the logic of hypothesis valuation. That was not transformed into a framework for selecting credible explanations as those using multiple strands of evidence; but, as has been emphasised, the lines of evidence must be independent of each other (Tilley 1989; Wylie 1986, 1989). Within the 'cabling' and 'tacking' process, of which Wylie adjures, the independence of sources "ensures that the strands of the resulting cables are not just mutually reinforcing but are also, and crucially, mutually constraining" (*ibid*.: 1989: 16).

With theory and evidence interwoven in this fashion, researchers are able to reach rationally decisive arguments (Wylie 2002: 163). Furthermore, it is the explicit arguments attended by a thoroughgoing theoretical and methodological framework that enable the adjudication of competing interpretations. Against this backdrop I use the archive perspective as a supplementary approach to other explanatory perspectives that have been used in studies of relative chronology. My advocacy of the archival approach is consequently not simply to add a new theoretical vocabulary in rock art studies, but a quest for expanded epistemic foundations for elucidating long-standing and hitherto unresolved rock art issues of relative chronology. So in contrast to a previous, rather misplaced, charge that chronology studies are archaeologically biased and immaterial in rock art studies (see comments in, Blundell 2004: 68; Dowson 1993), most researchers now agree that attempts to refine chronology and historicity for rock art interpretation ought not be taken lightly nor categorically dismissed. I deal with the archival approach as an intellectual and practical operative framework for construing and refining relative chronology and rock art interpretative studies.

5.2. An expanded discussion of the archival framework

Over three decades ago, Frank Burke (1981), in his quest for setting the foundation for new directions of archival science asked whether there could be an archive theory without first defining the term itself. He was correct in this view, since as discussed in chapter one, the phrases 'archive theory' and 'archive practice' are often conflated in everyday usage, partly because of the conceptual, ideological and social milieux in which the archives and related

institutions emerged long before Burke's time. To this day, the definition of archive (sg.) or archives (pl.) is still varied. Bearing in mind the non-uniformity of archival terminology (Sickinger 1999: 5), on the one hand, the conventional definition generally tends to emphasise, among other things, a state building where documents are stored, or a collection of non-current records, and even organisational repositories that oversee the continuance of the long-term value of 'records' for posterity (see Eastwood, T.M. 1994: 126; Sickinger 1999: 5-6). On the other hand, the definition is philosophical, with emphasis placed on archival memory values for communities (Craig 2002: 281, 287-289; Menne-Haritz 2001: 59). An archive is therefore, as some have characterised it, an 'imaginative site' whose boundaries are fluid (Voss & Werner 1999: i). This archive-memory relation is philosophically construed in terms of Elaine Freedgood's literary-historical formulation which calls for a 'strong metonymic reading' by which the archive has the ability to authorise abstract movement, in both directions, from things to their histories (Freedgood 2006: 10-17). In this purview, archives thus play both a historical and a custodial record storage role (Craven 2008: 7). This view is fast losing ground in contemporary archival studies.

Some archival scholars (e.g., Cook 1993; 1996), for instance, now eschew the customary focus on the custodial role of archives. As some of them argue, the term archive, not as a verb as in 'to archive', but a noun, captures a variety of ideas that represent "an abstraction of a very complex set of institutional, conceptual, and political issues." Alluding to it thus conjures "a wide variety of associations such as, for example, the past, pasts, documents, retention, recollection, management, technology, memory, visual experience, building, process, rules, etc." (Blouin 1999: 108-109). These archives are made up of records placed there in a non-random manner that has particular biases (Cooper 2000: 308, as argued in the above epigraph). Even with such selectivity, the archive retains its status as a site of meaning production, informing among other things, social, political, historical and other discourses. From this perspective, the archive symbolises the new ways through which the interpretation, construction and organisation of history or histories is realised through analysis of archival records. So, in general terms archives recall institutional 'records', but only in a narrow sense (Steedman 2001: ix); this partial reflection must be understood in relation to the central formulation of this thesis. 'Record' as a term requires unpacking. The import of this term is expandable depending on usage contexts and therefore its understanding for my purpose entails first the evaluation of its nature, content, and constitution.

The established view of archive 'records' is that of documents; ones whose reliability can be authenticated. As discussed in chapter one, it is from this belief that archives are some kind of sacrosanct repositories of sources. Historians, who routinely use archival sources, refer to these sources as 'records of past events' in similar senses that archaeologists speak of the 'archaeological or rock art records'. To what extent are documents, artefacts or paintings records (see the sense in which archaeology is a 'record' in, Binford 1987)? To answer this question it is important to realise that the fidelity and authenticity archival sources' are fundamental to the notion of 'record'. Traditionally, the quality of 'recordness' is accorded to things which can be transcribed as evidence of something (e.g., see allusions in, Michie & Warhol 2010: 430). This view foregrounds the script medium over other information tropes or even various other kinds of media. As the archival discipline has evolved over time, this idea is clearly outmoded, as it excludes material objects, artefacts, oral histories, bodily and intangible heritage and so on, which are outside the domain of textual entities. This thesis subscribes to Alfred Gell's idea of the resonance of memory in material culture: rock art carries cultural memory of past events, as all other material objects do in their physical form (Gell 1998: 233). In light of such views, the recent proliferation of archive studies has dislodged the viewpoint from its original philosophies that past memories reside only in written records or documents. Advances of the information age, for instance, associated technologies and their influence on archival studies have all invigorated the reassessment of earlier notions of archive records and the premises on which they were founded. For example, Terry Cook, who is one of the leading critics of the records-centric notion of the archives, situates the debate on the concept of 'recordness' within the current electronic milieu where the idea of a record being something physically belonging to one place or even in one specific system is rapidly disintegrating. He argues for the recognition of the production-manipulation relation of records and then advances that within the new paradigm:

> '[C]reatorship' is a more fluid process of manipulating information from many sources in a myriad of ways, or applications, rather than something leading to a static, fixed, *physical* product…understanding of the conceptual or virtual interrelationships between creating structures, their animating functions, paradigms, and activities, the information systems, and the resulting records. (Cook 1994: 310; original emphasis)

The revision of the notion of physical record has implications for archaeology, and specifically rock art, particularly the focus on the idea of creatorship, which I will develop in

later sections. This idea is central in the newly emerging epistemological awareness of archives as being more of the embedded information than physical entities. This and several other points making up the rethinking of the archive theory in recent years have been fundamental that many have characterised it as a paradigm shift (e.g., Cook 1997). Ideas of what is regarded as the new archival paradigm transcend the physical attributes (e.g., actual buildings, documents or records) of archives towards those that establish their metaphysical constitution (e.g., information, abstraction of memory, and so no) as well. In terms of actual materials such as information sources preserved in the archives, this approach accords with the manner in which paintings are featured in varied contexts as their specific social and physical landscapes. These contexts contain clues for social meaning, memory and history of the landscape.

The paintings in their original settings are enduring repositories of tangible (i.e., visible graphic forms, their contextual attributes, landscape, etc.) and intangible allusions to aspects of history context of the artists' social and cultural context. They thus exemplify the archival 'recordness' in its expanded formulation. The notion of landscape in this perspective is much more nuanced than just a physical and metaphysical entity. Evoking landscape ideas from narratives, Barbara Bender argues, "Landscapes are no longer to be separated from human experience or seen as purely visual, and instead they are part of a world of movement, relationships, memories and histories" (Bender 2001: 76). Using similar thoughts, though with an effort to distinguish between what is termed genealogical and mythical history from western history, Chris Gosden and Gary Lock (1998: 6) argued that sites and landscape features "can be seen as engines for the creation of time, through the repetition at them of ritualized acts". Citing Alan Rumsey's work in Aboriginal Australia (Rumsey 1994: 127-128), they see landscape as the main locus of social memory, with both myth and history inscribed in it. Further, the ritual performances such as stories, songs, dance and paintings are then means of retrieving social memories and meanings from the landscape. Thus time and social memory are key factors of historical narrative as they are also elements of the archive perspective. As we have seen, archives and rock art could be construed as components of history practice. By its very nature historical narrative is anchored on chronology as a fundamental constituent of change through the 'record of past human activities': change occurs in historical time.

In order to comprehend this notion of 'recordness' and its informational value, I now expand Terence Eastwood's (1994) archival characteristics, which he argued to be rooted in the definition of archive theory. In its definition, John Roberts's (1987: 68) views the main components of organisation, categorisation and retrieval, which are practical, tools in archival science as outside the domain of archive theory. In contrast, other writers argue that the very roots of the archive theory are in the development of classification systems and therefore "organization and categorization are at the heart of theory construction for any discipline" (Stielow 1991: 17). Others still prefer mutually to separate theory and methodology: for instance, Luciana Duranti (1994: 330) argues that archive theory is "the whole of what archival material is, whereas archival methodology is the whole of the ideas about how to treat it." Taken together, these latter insights, which I observe, sustain Eastwood's emphasis on archival theory and practice as being at the core of explanation and meaning of the past. The theory of archival practice is therefore a "codification of rational and systematic thinking, the conscious development of general principles or guides to explain or analyse" (Stielow 1991: 17). This outline presages the notions of context and reconstruction; I now clarify them in relation to Eastwood's archival characteristics of the archive theory.

Archival context (Nesmith 2005), on the one hand, interlaces with Eastwood's characteristic of *naturalness*: the specific purposes for which the records were created and the needs for which they are then preserved. Reconstruction, on the other hand, is elaborated in historical inquiry as a supplementary (or even principal) technique for creating information or memory when explanations of or the meaning of phenomena are needed. Reconstruction takes the opposite direction, but at the same time providing a counter-balance, to storage, a concept which I mentioned earlier in the thesis. It registers exclusively the *past* (ended time, process, and thus fixed), while storage goes beyond to focus on the future. Nevertheless, as the argument proceeds, focusing on what has passed may be secure because past records exist, in contrast to the future, which is uncertain. In principle, therefore, the past may not be alterable (Of course, bearing in mind that due to taphonomy processes and other factors, archaeologists and historians of long-term human past periods largely work with altered 'records'). Reconstruction starts *in the present* and looks *to the past*: it offers salvage for archivists if memory fails in certain circumstances. Yet rock art hints at that past-present-future relational link, if we accept that, "Painters devised…variations in accordance with what, in specific panels, they wished to achieve and convey to their viewers and, importantly, to later

participant painters" (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009: 43). This farsighted anticipation of the involvement of future artists by their predecessors may clarify my archival perspective. To operationalise these concepts, the centre of analysis is *information*: those fragments of meaning which our interpretations seek to resurrect and preserve. The kinds of information that may arise from archival records are diverse. How is this information to be perceived?

Although the inspiration of this notion was much earlier, from Theodore Schellenberg's (1965) articulation that the informational value of records is their symbolic content, it was Frank Burke (1981) who later advocated the significance of the actual information quality of archives. He may have succeeded in shifting the primary concern of archives with their physical constitution to the emphasis of metaphysical aspects: record and storage. Information, as an authenticated and verified body of evidence about the past, no longer resides in a single document or record, but in a multiplicity of sources that may be found in an archive repository or even several repositories in space and time. When transposed to rock art analysis, this perspective shows that a copious amount of images in different categories and with their various relationships might in this sense similarly be stores of useful information for reconstructing painting sequences and social histories of their production through space and time. This viewpoint holds true for Eastwood's archival characteristics of *interrelatedness*, which is the relationship of records as interdependent of meanings and evidence of the past, and *uniqueness*, which concerns the unique place of each record in the archival structure in relationship with other accumulated records or information from the past materialities. As in Wylie's articulation of the cable analogy, each unique record is a strand that reinforces other interrelated strands.

As some rock art researchers have argued, "Each of the thousands of panels that have come down to us is therefore simultaneously unique and—cumulatively—meaningful" (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009: 43). Even in their uniqueness, the images form a chronological continuum. The uniqueness of a single or group of figures is an aspect of time and fall within a contextual history in the production of imagery. Each painting event cannot be the same as any other even by the same artist(s) and so contains a unique context of production. Therefore, bearing in mind Eastwood's characteristic of *uniqueness*, and although each painting record (or painting assemblage) is unique, the content and meaning in each may or may not be equally unique. In searching for meaning, a multiplicity of sources is essential to

the reconstruction of the past using a range of theoretical perspectives in ways that manipulate various mutually constraining strands of evidence. Here, I use archaeology, rock paintings, historical sources and KhoeSan ethnography as evidential strands.

Because any view of the past is inevitably interpretation, this archival analysis offers a continuous dialectical reading of images from several sites and allows their correlation in spatial and chronological terms. Overlapping layers of information and superpositions of images permit the interpretation of rock art meaning(s) and creation of historicised narratives. In terms of the archival characteristics, such historicised interpretations resonate with Eastwood's archival traits of *impartiality*, which concerns the relationship of facts with interpretation, and *authenticity*, as something contingent on facts, maintenance and custody. This outline concerns the central theoretical and methodological aspects of my archival approach that frames a different perspective for rock art chronology. Sequencing painted images in various categories involves interpreting their original order as an internal original arrangement through time. A methodology of archival arrangement and descriptive practice, the concept of archival fonds, shows primarily how the archival system can be dovetailed with interpretations of image sequences. This application does not replace other relative chronology methodologies such as those based purely on stylistic analyses, but it allows for a greater recognition of interpretative links between painting traditions. For example, it permits correlations between imagery themes that occur through different chronological levels and traditions in the sequence. The importance of archival fonds is in its concern with the descriptive categorisation and ordering systems in archival theory and descriptive activity.

5.3. *Respect des fonds* as a useful tool

The concept of fonds originates from the 19th century French principle of *respect des fonds*, or respect for the origin of documents, largely based on the work of Natalis de Wailly (Barr 1987: 163). Following the French Revolution, the new government formalised this notion in order to integrate and manage their contemporary records with those of the former monarchical regime going back to medieval times. Since then, the fonds concept has been adopted widely, first in Europe, then the USA, Canada, et cetera. As head of the Administrative Section of the Archives nationales, de Wailly authored the first circular titled "Instructions pour la mise en ordre et le classement des archives departementales", which the French Ministry of the Interior issued on April 24, 1841 (Bartlett 1992: 107). In the

circular—an instruction to French archivists—he stated the central purpose and principle of archival classification as:

> It is fitting to formulate…the principle and the elements of the method to follow in classification and to define the results which one is seeking: [in part] to assemble the different documents by fonds, that is to say, to form a collection of all the documents which originate from a body, an organization, a family, or an individual, and to arrange the different fonds according to a certain order. (Cited in Bartlett 1992: 107)

This archival approach was an attempt to avoid traditional, largely library-influenced arrangement of documents based on classifications solely relying on items such as theme, subject, medium, place or time and so on. Instead, the new system foregrounded describing documents in terms of "a contextual, organic, natural relationship to their creator and to the acts of creation" (Cook 1993: 26). But what are fonds? As the leading fonds theoretician, Michel Duchein noted, the notion is not easily defined (Duchein 1983: 64). In the early 1980s, the Working Group on Archival Descriptive Standards (Bureau of Canadian Archivists, Ottawa) formally defined fonds as:

> [The] whole of the documents, regardless of form or medium, automatically created and/or accumulated and used by a particular individual, family, or corporate body in the course of that creator's activities or functions. (Cited in Millar 2002: 4)

While lacking in the earlier definition, the Bureau of Canadian Archivists in its *Rules for Archival Description* (RAD) had now amplified their definition by emphasising creation (Cook 1993: 27). This characteristic of creatorship, according to Terry Cook, became central to fonds approach. Records from a creator are thus organised and kept together in their original order as an organic unit, itself defined by its provenance (Millar 2002: 4). Therefore, individuals or institutions "whether they actually originate the records, receive the records or share and manipulate information that is in or could become records…**create** an aggregate of documentary material, in whatever form or medium, which reflects their juridical status as records creators" (Cook 1993: 27, original emphasis). This natural or organic aggregation of records constitutes fonds. Yet it is clear that it assumes a whole.

There is dissension, however, among archival scholars and practitioners on the designation of fonds. For Laura Millar (2002: 6), the main issue is that the notion implies 'a wholeness, a completeness, a totality'—which is not true of the reality of any archive(s). A body of records

can result from many creators or a single creator can leave their records in several physical locations. As Millar proceeds, records are destroyed, or lost, or transferred, or changed before they get to the archives (*ibid*.). This problem is often the case with archaeological or painting assemblages discussed in this thesis. Her argument, which I consent, is that the fragmentary or residual nature of materials left for archiving should be acknowledged. Yet, as we shall see, Cook actually dealt satisfactorily with the main issues—i.e., multiplicity of creators or physical dispersal of a single creator's records in multiple locations—in his advocating for the use of fonds concept. The main problem that Cook identified is that fonds can be perceived to operate at two levels: as an abstraction or a logical (an arrangement process) and a physical (a concrete product or records) reality. This tension, he argues, is in fact derivative from the discipline's theoretical foundations, seeing a dichotomy of both levels as an aspect of creation and archival arrangement (Cook 1993: 25, 27). This implicit contradiction in archival theory concerns the fact the original *respect des fonds* had two dimensions. One was external, keeping records clearly segregated in creation and accumulation (each group organised into a single fonds) and another internal, filing the records in their original order (the latter was initially passive). The objective, Cook proceeds, was the pursuit of the 'essential unit' of categorisation, at the core of archival studies since the seminal 1898 Dutch Manual for archival arrangement by S. Muller, J.A. Feith, and R. Fruin (*ibid*.: 24). Maintaining the fonds as a physical entity, as did Natalis de Wailly earlier, Duchein defines it as meaning:

> [To] group, without mixing them with others, the archives (documents of every kind) created by or coming from an administration, establishment, person, or corporate body. This grouping is called the fonds…(Duchein 1983: 64 Original paranthesis)

In this designation records, if they are from the same source, should be grouped physically and conceptually by assigning them to only one fonds. Following de Wailly by the word, this is envisaged as "[To] gather together by *fonds*…[is]…to unite all the…[records]…which come from a body, an establishment, a family, or an individual, and to arrange the different fonds according to a certain order…" (Duchein 1983: 66). However, as Debra Barr contended, this system compromises contextual provenance (i.e., the complex history of the records) (Barr 1987: 164). Conceivably, her critique concerning provenance affects earlier approaches, which routinely allowed rearrangement of files within separate fonds and thus affected the records' integrity. Yet the external dimension, of which Cook spoke, was later rectified to maintain the integrity of the records of each creator as distinct from those of all

other creators (Cook 1993: 25). This alteration in approach resulted in the idea of archival *provenance*. Later still the internal dimension was revised and articulated as the *sanctity of original order*. This system of ordering focused on preserving the logical structure and internal arrangement of the records of each creator(s) (*ibid*.).

For Cook, the crux of the problem is delimiting a fonds; and that involves defining creatorship. In sum, he argues against viewing fonds as the totality of the physical records of a single creator (*ibid*.: 30). Further, rather than viewing fonds exclusively as a physical object, Cook advocates the conceptual dimension; a principle linking provenance with creatorship (*ibid*.: 31). Creatorship is therefore "a fluid **process** of manipulating information from many sources in a myriad of ways, rather than an action leading to a static, **physical** product" (Cook 1993: 30, original emphasis). As a central component of fonds, creation (reflecting provenance) is a concrete product, an artefact, a record, whereas the logical arrangement (reflecting their original order) is a function, a process and a dynamic activity (Cook 1993: 25-27). Fonds is thus a concept or principle that defines a system of organisation based on the original order by the creator(s) and *not* that of the archivist or researcher. In this study, such an arrangement not only precedes but is also the basis of interpretation of images that may hold clues of change through time. For rock art, the image superpositions and other graphic and spatial interrelationships are empirical observations aligned to the former, while the image stratigraphic sequence—or their ordering, as an analytical construct—and the emergent relative chronology belong to the latter. Painting chronology is thus an abstraction of sequential order interpreted and expressed through observing the physical phenomena of image overlays. It is the indexical qualities of images, such as manners of depiction and overlays, which attest to their temporality and origination that make this archival formulation attractive as an added perspective to other approaches to relative chronology. Sequence is not self-evident; we must discover the original order of images as left behind by the creator(s).

From the above archival formulation, I take the fonds to be an analytical construct (i.e., a theoretical group, which is the sum total of all the records from a single creating agency) that allows the recognition of coherent painting assemblages. These assemblages may or may not ultimately define broader painting traditions, which are individually clearly distinguishable. However, rock art traditions can be observed at single sites or several other sites in any region. A site therefore, as a physical repository of these image assemblages, can also be

viewed as a location where a single or several fonds can be identified. For instance, in archival practice the physical dispersal of records of an individual or institution (i.e., if they reflect the conceptual reality of creation rather than the physical reality of arrangement—Cook 1993: 29) in four separate repositories do not constitute four fonds, but one, if they are demonstrated to be from the same creator(s). While the painting assemblages may be distinct in creation and form, as deriving from different cultural groups, their contextual provenance is the same; that is, they share a complex history and often feature—sometimes superimposed upon each other—at the same site or sites in a locality.

This approach modifies the customary essentialised cultural pigeon-holing approach to the sequencing of images because it anticipates the participation of diverse individuals from different generations and even cultural groups (whether or not they were themselves actual makers of specific art traditions) as being potential users or manipulators of existing painting contexts and thus the resulting site histories as evidenced by the painted imagery and/or archaeological remains. For rock painting interpretation purposes, as shown in later chapters, the archival approach allows an interpretative thread to be sewn through different assemblages of imagery. Common practice is that images are interpreted within the realm of their broader traditions even in regions such as the Cape where sustained contact occurred between or among various groups who made the paintings. It follows then that aspects of image change through time are thought of in terms of intra, rather than also inter, rock painting traditions. Although there are distinct traditions, which might be chronologically verifiable, observable overlaps also exist that should alert the researcher to the potential fluidity of aspects of history and therefore image interpretations. Formal variation of images is observable, but that alone should not discount the interconnection of a number of meaning tropes, or at least as regards certain themes, across the painting traditions.

As the sketchy early colonial record of the Cape shows, the groups of people inhabiting the region at the time were diverse and the situation was brought into sharp relief during the opening, advance and closing of the northern frontier (I discuss this topic later alongside my interpretation of certain image categories). This must have been the scenario for many centuries before the colonial era and well into the periods when the practice of rock painting was still active. Therefore, of fundamental importance to this study concerning cultural diversity was the fluidity that characterised the social and political formations of the later

periods. My discussion of the regional sequence touches on the fluid nature of artistic change over time that might have been prefigured by social and cultural dynamics of interaction. For instance, the painting record features an aspect of active replication of certain themes through the sequence in different painting traditions as if some of the later artists created their own imagery based on what already existed in the shelters which they, like their predecessors, also used or, in most cases, inhabited.

Using a hypothetical scenario, I turn to show important analytical elements of the *respect des fonds* formulation and dovetail these with rock painting analysis. In archival practice, the archivist will analyse fonds to determine whether its elements combine to form levels of arrangement. Let us assume that a repository received from a source a group of materials created by Clarence van Riet Lowe, one of the founding fathers of South African archaeology. It is determined that these materials are comprised of his personal and business letters, published papers, unpublished manuscripts, an assortment of photographic materials, rock art tracings and other forms of recordings, and so on all of which were produced between 1945 and 1955. This whole assemblage, at a conceptual level, is defined as a single fonds upon which the archivist must identify levels of arrangement. The archivist thus identifies files or items and the cross relationships. But each file or item cannot be defined as a van Riet Lowe fonds. Fonds or series may consist of files or items but cannot be arranged at the file or item level, in the same way a paining tradition cannot be defined at the level of an image. Fonds can be arranged at series level. So the archivist must identify and ascertain that the unitary elements of fonds—the files and items—indeed constitute aggregate levels of arrangement. But we must beware that fonds, files and items are levels of description only, not levels of arrangement. It is the series, which operate at both the levels of arrangement and description. The fonds is the *subject* of archival arrangement; files and items are the elements which combine to establish levels of arrangement, not the levels themselves. The archivist then identifies files and items that make up a series in order to arrange them at series level. Files and items are parts of the series, which in turn can make up the fonds at a higher level. A series can be understood as an amalgamation of records which were accumulated and used together for a specific purpose, during a distinct period, by a creator (as defined above), and so on. And in a series, these records are usually arranged in a particular order. For some archival systems, particularly in the USA, where there several groups of series, these larger units or aggregations are designated as Records Group, a notion that is replaced in the post-

custodial era by fonds (Cook 1993). In archival practice, the rules of multi-level description stipulate that the archivist works from the general to the specific (O'Brien, J. 1997: 7). In some ways, rock art researchers too start from considering the contents of any given site from its totality and gradually scale down to the specific images.

Expanding this scenario, let us assume that more similar material groups are donated to the same repository. The archivist discovers that they were created by some of van Riet Lowe's contemporaries, including John Goodwin, D.F. Bleek and the Henri Breuil all of whom, at one stage or another between 1945 and 1955, communicated with each other on rock art and archaeological matters. Are these separate fonds? Yes they are, as discrete assemblages based on their creatorship. If it turns out that any one of these research pioneers has several of their other records kept in other repositories, such material fragments belong to one fonds relating to the same creator(s). As is well known, these early pioneers often hired skilled personnel for specific functions such as for recording paintings or stratigraphies in excavations, and so forth and therefore such files and items are subsumed under the overarching fonds, or they may be designated as sub-fonds. The archivist will go then through the same procedure of archival description and arrangement. Because he or she will respect, or conform to, the principles of original order and provenance, a letter found in van Riet Lowe's fonds which D.F. Bleek wrote to him disapproving Breuil's Orange Free State site sequences is not removed and placed in D.F. Bleek's fonds. This item, the letter (and the archivist might find more such cross communication), becomes a contextual link between these fonds. The importance of such interconnections becomes obvious when one considers in this scenario a researcher who is writing a historiography of the contribution of Breuil in the development of archaeology in South Africa. This researcher may be interested in an individual, but this individual's fonds alone do not provide the whole of the narrative. Therefore, this historiographer must look at other linkages to piece together that holistic narrative. In rock art analysis, such fonds might be envisaged as image assemblages within a single painting tradition or they may indeed be separate traditions, but of importance to my analysis is the recognition of the possibilities of constructing interpretative threads that can be sewn through these analytical units.

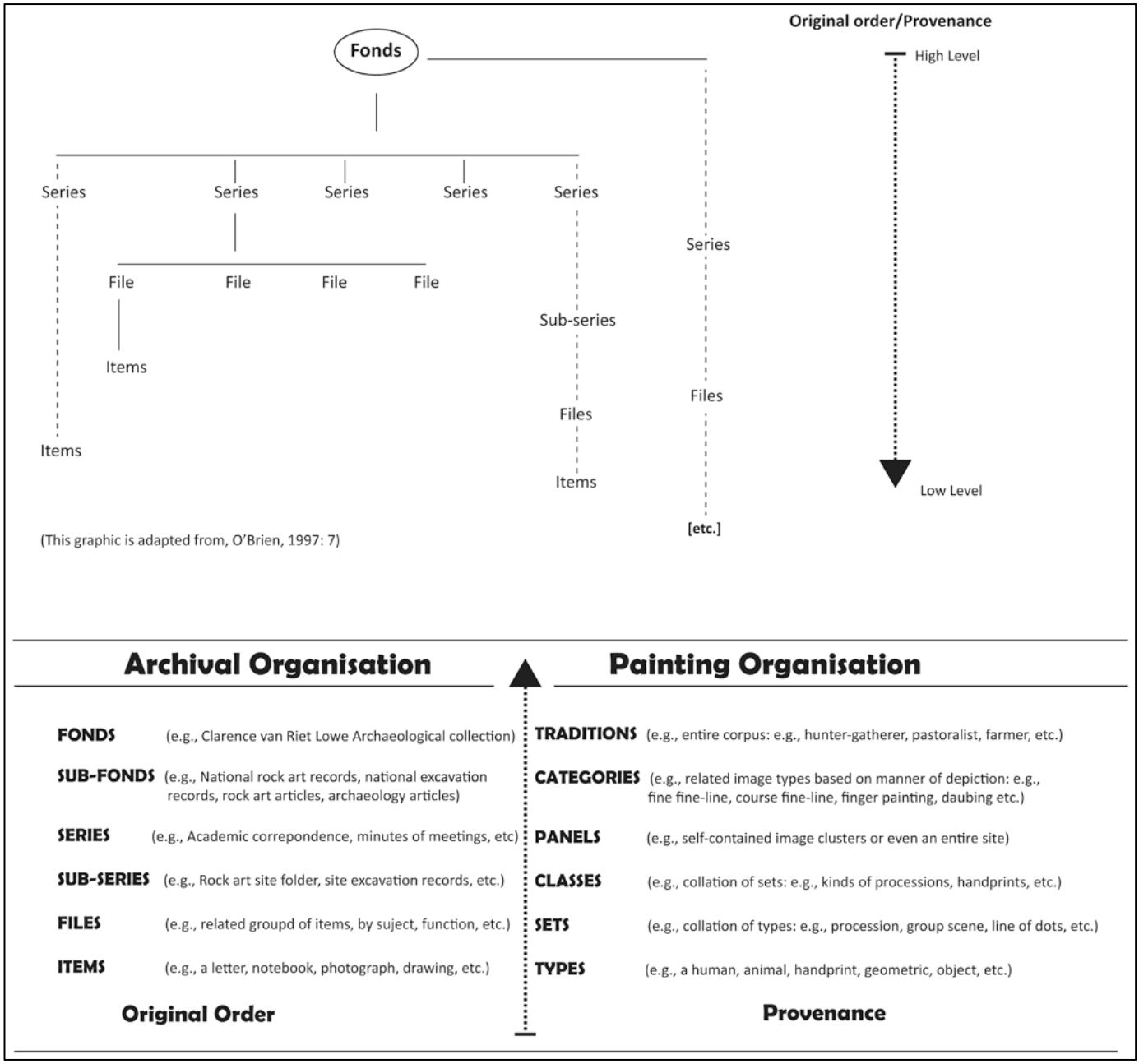


Figure 2: Corresponding links between the organising ideas of archival records and the adaptation to the painted images.

The fonds concept plays a key role in this analysis through meaningful organisation and subsequent sequencing of images as shown in Figure 2. As we shall see in chapter eight, for interpretation purposes, the fonds notion allows multiple informational connections to be made at different levels of arrangement, whereas in customary rock art studies this is only done within single strata or traditions of imagery. In the illustration, the idea of fonds is translated into an equivalent organisation of painted imagery. The structure is hierarchical and so each level forms part of the one above; record descriptions at each level include

reference to the levels above or below. This is as much a conceptual organisation as it is a definition of a painting tradition. As an example, a thread through the hierarchy may start with a human figure or handprint at the bottom. The human or handprint, as an image type, might also form a collection such as a procession or group scenes or in the case of handprints, a grouping of decorated or undecorated types, to become a set. I follow Lewis-Williams's (1992: 9) formulation: he considers *panels* to be spatially defined by separate painted areas as an ideal; in reality there are often no empty spaces between image clusters. *Episodes* are groups of paintings temporally defined from superpositions; they do not however imply a single artist or complete entities. Instead, they are conceived of as segments in a series of images created within a certain period and end when the next episode begins across the rock face. Episodes are conceptual categories for understanding the temporal structure of the paintings. Finally, *sets* are likewise, conceptual entities, which Lewis-Williams defined from five criteria (which are by no means exhaustive): shared action (e.g. as in people walking in a file, or running or crouched in a group); linking action (e.g. as in an archer aiming his weapons towards an animal, or a human holding an eland tail, and so on); similar pigment colours; similar 'style' [manner of depiction]; and similar subjects (e.g., a herd of elephants, or sheep) (Lewis-Williams 1992: 8-9). As Lewis-Williams pointed out, one or more of these criteria, but not necessarily all, need to be present (although the more of them present the better) for the outlining of the integrity of a set or category as a coherent group. There is thus some unity in these kinds of collections of image types. Although he used this schema for a single tradition, San rock art, it holds too for other traditions.

Above this level, various kinds of animal and human processions or battle groups or individual figures, and so forth can then be grouped to form classes. We shall see later in the analysis of my key study sites the various examples of classes such as fine fine-line red + yellow-, black + red-, dark red-, or yellow-kaross figures and so on. Again, using Lewis-Williams's classification, a spatial chain of sets or classes of various image types will constitute a panel or several panels. Although not definitive, panels are generally formed of coherent image clusters that should ideally be delimited by unpainted spaces of rock surface. An entire site might be formed of a single panel or several of them, which are made up of a mix of image types and sets thereof. It is at this level—the equivalent of archival series—that episodes, in Lewis-Williams's schema can be realised as temporal designations. In a region, one can speak of the generality of the images of bags or handprints, for example, as

categories of painting. Categories, in this context are formed of collations or a totality of particular image types. I regard them as strong thematic tropes, to be differentiated from classes, which are less far reaching groupings in a regional situation. Finally, all these other levels contribute to form painting traditions—reflecting a cohesive overall graphic structural outlook—which include numerous image types that may belong together chronologically. Fonds and series, as top-level entities, are therefore the broad units of organisation. Files and items are low-level descriptive entities. On the upper levels, fonds may invoke painting traditions and series connoting categories respectively, as the overarching conceptual entities of organisation. The structure, which can feature in small localities to larger regional contexts, is configured from top down through the broad intellectual unit of fonds, series, files and items. This scheme may not be complete, but is useful when linking imagery within and between rock art sites to formulate a regional sequence. It is also useful in reminding the researcher that any image type might emerge and disappear from any given level in this organisational structure without diminishing the veracity of the general order of painting assemblages. Fonds is thus a principle for expressing a complex organisational unity (the organic manifestation of the archive) directed at the unique relationship between each record's creator and creators (in my analysis, the painters) and the ensuing records (which are their individual as well as clusters of paintings and related materials), and between and among interrelated series or groupings of records (the categories and traditions). This scheme reflects aspects of provenance/creation of imagery in terms of the aspects of their physical form that can be subjected to sequential organisation. In sum, this idea surpasses the limitation of style as an analytical concept. This schema of rock art as archive is therefore combined with other customary methodologies such as Harris matrices in building image relationships within and between sites in the study area.

5.4. The problem of image superpositions

It is standard practice for researchers to consider painting superpositions in a routine sequence-and-chronology methodological perspective. On theoretical grounds, studying several sites is by contrast essentially a diachronic analysis of painting sequences alongside other observations in the region. The cultural sequence was formulated from archaeological syntheses using colonial accounts, ethnohistorical, ethnographic and anthropological records. Specifying the context of cultural phases and sub-phases for painting assemblages is an attempt to account for graphic change, variation and continuities over time. Chronologically,

these analyses further question whether the observed superpositions hold temporal significance beyond individual site contexts. For instance, are the observed overlays restricted only to particular painted clusters at specific sites? If no such specific image pattern within a site exists, then how far and widespread are the observable overlay patterns from particular sites? If certain patterns emerge from several site localities in a region, these occurrences are therefore compelling to suggest a regional chronology.

The various stratigraphic rock art contexts are in reality far more complex than this sketch. Individual images, as time- and material-bound entities, are unique analytical units. A single image production may have involved multiple actions and materials over a period. Likewise, the problem of painting sequence variability requires the elaboration of the concept of superposition itself and the image relationships on which this notion depends. There may be doubts in assigning sequence to images that are not in superpositions, but in reality very few images are in recognisable overlays. The archival perspective therefore offers a possibility to assign cautious stratigraphic connections to images based on other accumulated evidence from those few images in superpositions. Well-observed image relationships may place single images in broader associations with a defined chronological phase. Although superpositions are necessary in deducing relative time it is useful to understand the inherent deficiencies. The stacking of images directly one upon the other is not as prevalent as generally accepted. It is often difficult to discern overlays beyond two or three layers in densely painted panels due to weathering or fading; visible remains of paintings are residual portions of what was an extensive tradition. Poor preservation, smudging, fading, and mineral accretions on paintings all contribute fundamentally to the incompleteness of the art record. It has long been noted that some superpositions are in many ways a product of cultural beliefs than time (see for example, Lewis-Williams 1972, 1974b). They may also result from other human factors not necessarily related to belief or worldview and so should be treated cautiously.

5.5. Creating classifications for rock art sequencing

Sequencing images to infer chronology concerns recognising and creating coherent image types and dividing them into observable categories. In this way, a researcher is able to systematise variability between the categories. The Cape paintings have generally been classed, as in many other studies in various world rock art regions, in descriptive terms. The defined categories are largely qualitative, not quantitative, definitions of image details and

features. While derivative categories generally work, they also have inherent limitations. First, none of the descriptive terminologies have a basis on indigenous classifications or indeed the painters' own notions of artistic categories. In southern Africa it is not possible to reconstruct these ideas from the existing oral testimonies and parlances that may have some relevance to rock art traditions. We saw in chapter three that, although early European records exist, they contain very little insight on the indigenous KhoeSan artists. Even the recent Kalahari hunter-gatherers have no tradition of rock art making and they are therefore not particularly useful in this regard. Consequently, categories used in rock art studies are etic in nature and, once defined, they are largely presumed to be self-explanatory. Classifications are defined principally on the basis of two related concepts: *technique* and *style*. Every so often, technique and style are conflated notions. As analytical terms, they require some explanation, theoretically and methodologically, in order to comprehend their usefulness and limitations in rock art chronology studies.

In its definition, technique is concerned with the practical means of image production—the method by which marks and strokes are put on a rock surface—which Lesley Maynard further says should be separated from design aspects (Maynard 1977: 391). Among others, design dwells on issues such as the description of the shape, size and texture of the marks, and is determined by the tools and selected materials (*ibid*.). Technique has two principal divisions: one is an applicative process, which involves placing pigment on a substrate to make a *painting*; the other is an extractive process, which involves removal of rock surface layers to make an *engraving* (see discussion of Australian rock art, Layton 1992: 183-211). Paintings use the most obvious and common technique comprising powdered pigments mixed with liquid substances to make the image. The act of painting might include free-hand application using an instrument such as brush, quill or stick or alternatively the finger or the entire hand. Produced images can be painted or imprinted on a surface. A less commonly used technique is based on a solid object such as a crayon of ochre, charcoal or other similar material which is scratched on the rock surface to make the image. Often, a pointed object was used to score the surface to make an image: these are drawings. As for engravings, variations of production may include pecking, abrasion, incision, scratching, pounding, and boring in a diversity of substrate contexts. The instruments, types and qualities of the various materials used and the diverse substrates chosen by the artists would precipitate into a variety of recognisable formal characteristics of the painted or engraved images. Whilst the range of

materials and production processes of images fall in the domain of technique, they are also some that are partly in overlap with the domain of style, which I now describe.

Although it is commonplace in art history than in archaeology, the notion and uses of style in rock art and archaeological studies have been debated widely over the decades, particularly in North America, Europe and Australia (e.g., see discussions in, Conkey & Hastorf 1990; Lorblanchet & Bahn 1993; Schaafsma 1985). Robert Layton (1992: 184) views the notion as covering the "overall qualities of form and organisation that characterise the corpus." Style is thus in the domain of design, as suggested by Maynard, and leans towards the abstract notions of image formal characterisation. In this perspective, style consists of form elements or motive, form relationships, and the qualities present including an overall quality that may be called expression. Further, technique, subject matter, and material may be included in style definitions, but these are not as peculiar to the art of a period as are its formal qualitative attributes (Shapiro 1953: 287-289).

There are however differing viewpoints particularly from a conventional archaeological typological standpoint (Burkitt 1928: 111), or a largely functionalist view later developed by James Sackett in his studies of Stone Age lithics (Sackett 1982, 1984). Defining style as pervasive in all formal variation, Sackett devised the isochrestism model, which sees style occurring as two main forms, which are culturally and unconsciously predetermined (Sackett 1990). On the one hand, his *active* style is iconic with ethnic messages built in within surface decoration; on the other hand, in its *passive* form, style expresses function. Yet rather than these being self-contained dimensions, they complement each other (*ibid*.: 34). Stylistic and functional variability flow from isochrestic choices that people make based on familiar traditions in "which they have been enculturated as members of the social groups that delineate their ethnicity" (Sackett 1990: 33). Such choices are specific and consistent within groups at any time, though they may be affected by changes in the group's patterns of social interaction. This kind of isochrestic variation is diagnostic of ethnicity and is what can be perceived as style (*ibid*.). Style, then, consists of "a consistent set of preferences for certain forms and modes with a range of permissible variation" (Sackett 1977: 370). This range of variation is "determined by the society, and the artists of that society at any time operate within those limits". Importantly for studies that use style in formulating chronology, Sackett (*ibid*.) nailed the concept as resting on two observations:

i.) First, as concerning a highly specific manner of doing something; and,

ii.) Second, that this manner is always peculiar to a specific time and place.

Rock art studies apply these axioms, though often implicitly, to organise images with similar formal characteristics into defined periods. Much of the criticism of the use of style concept in rock art chronology studies has dwelt on this time and space fundamental. As Polly Schaafsma (1985: 247) noted:

> If one is unable to identify discrete styles, that is, what consistently goes together, then one's efforts from that point are curtailed or made difficult. Resulting problems include relating rock art to particular cultural manifestations or time periods, understanding the evolution of styles or traditions that may indicate culture-historical relationships, or identifying the visual information or symbol systems that are the product of given ideologies. Understanding function based on such things as superimpositions and locational information may also be confused.

This critique touches on the core of the significance of contextual analysis. In similar vein, Andree Rosenfeld and Claire Smith argued: "A valid criticism is that stylistic methods of dating do not consider context sufficiently" (Rosenfeld & Smith 1997: 407). Drawing from Rosenfeld's earlier co-publication, they argue that several styles in the case of each and all Upper Palaeolithic cultures may have co-existed, with different styles possibly used for different purposes and functions. Then, citing Smith's previous work in the Barunga region of northern Australia, they further argue that artistic systems "encompass a range of styles according to the specific nexus between material context and the social strategies pursued by both the individual and the group" (*ibid*.: 408). In all, "The documented confirmation that style may differ with context and, further, may emerge out of particular contexts has serious implications for stylistic methods of dating, challenging the assumption that differences in style principally relate to differences in time or space" (*ibid*.). Nevertheless, others have argued that in some regions, such as in parts of western Europe and Arnhem Land in northern Australia, "variation in style *is* in part a function of time, but only *in part*" (Chippindale 2001: 251, original emphasis). Chippindale allows that stylistic studies are "effective for bodies of material culture whose rationale is well understood, so variability due to other causes…can be distinguished from those social signals that style is seen as expressing" (*ibid*.). Yet, as is well known, rock art in southern Africa is problematic in that there are

almost no instances where the original artists were documented practicing their artisanship in their original cultural and social contexts of production.

One study where style was applied to a body of material culture whose rationale or its social context is well understood was Polly Wiessner's anthropological study of projectile points among the San in the Kalahari (Wiessner 1983, 1984). In her cause, she defined style within the domain of information theory as "formal variation in material culture that transmits information about personal and social identity" (Wiessner 1983: 256). This information may confer an adaptive advantage on its users. In this behavioural purview, style has two aspects: *emblematic* and *assertive* styles. Emblematic styles carry generalised associations whereas assertive styles are specific. Style thus reflects both individual and group identity. While style is selective, the inherent formal variability can include ethnic messaging that stems from several behavioural sources. Stylistic variation depends on understanding the behaviour that generates it (*ibid*.). While many studies use style in this behavioural framework to analyse social behaviour in archaeological materials, others regard it as insufficient in defining the social domain (Boast 1997). One study of engravings in the Sydney region of Australia by Jo McDonald used these formulations to understand regional patterning of themes and stylistic variability of imagery (McDonald 1999). Although this region lacks ethnohistoric materials with which to understand how the art functioned in realising social strategy and group affiliation, her analysis of design elements of images offered clues for generic social group identity messaging (*ibid*.: 148). Being a contextual study focusing on specific localities, this analysis was carried out based on broad-scale patterning down to local group-level manifestations of particular design themes. Stylistic messaging was "discontinuous and discretely clumped" reflecting bounding information. Compositional detail of engraved images across localised clusters of sites in the region was found to reflect intergroup social contact between the Guringai, Darkingung, and Darug language group areas. It appears that using a stylistic framework to analyse imagery here revealed aspects of social dynamics of the people in this area, which were not attainable from other sources. It seems that, as Chippindale opined above, there are regions of the world where the style concept augurs well with the available archaeological data. Australia is perhaps a classic case in point.

Generally, in most studies it is the outward formal elements of discrete images within assemblages that provide the basis for defining style. Within an assemblage, a repertoire of

elements from single images can define an art tradition, or sub-division thereof, constituting a stylistic system. Technique is applicable to single graphic entities while style covers their overarching repertoires. If one considers Sub-Saharan rock art studies, one realises that former writers used descriptive terms such as, classical, geometric, schematic, naturalistic, and so forth as stylistic categories. There is nothing inherent in these designations, since they are essentially arbitrary. Farther south, early classifications such as those by Desmond Clark resulted in an entire central and eastern African region labelled the Schematic Zone, encompassing both painted and engraved forms (Clark, J.D. 1959). This art form has now been thoroughly studied and nowadays the preferred label is Geometric Tradition because, as other writers argue, the term distinguishes this form from other arts that contain schematic human and animal depictions (Smith, B.W. 1995, 1997). As terms, schematic is too broad; 'geometric' is an improved designation although it is deprived by its restriction to a Cartesian formal characterisation. Distinguished from typical naturalistic rock arts of southern and East Africa, the Sahara and North and West Africa, the typical geometrics include a variety of dot forms variously arranged on the rock surface, circles, circles filled with dots and other shapes, concentric circles, rayed circles, ovals and their variations, parallel and vertical lines, lozenge-forms, boat-like shapes, comb-shapes, ladder-like designs, then multiple complex forms which combine several of these single designs and so forth. These are painted in mostly red, but also white paints or a combination of these colours, in various regions. Although by no means exhaustive, these geometric forms are more typical of the Khoekhoen pastoralist rock art than other traditions south of the Zambezi River and also appear as engraved designs in some parts of the region (Eastwood, E.B. & Smith 2005; Morris 1988, 2003, 2010; Smith, B.W. & Ouzman 2004).

Both style and technique characterisations also include the consideration of colour schemes. Images are designated as silhouetted, filled in or solid, outlined, and in addition whether they were single or multiple-coloured. Some were also complexly shaded with pigment colours to produce subtle transitions of hues or they may have simply been blocked. Apart from regional choices and reflection of variability in the application of these formal attributes, these graphic elements may have also been preferred depending on the depicted subjects. In Layton's definition, these 'qualities and organisation' are in fact related to Dorothy Washburn's (1983: 1) analytical view that "while art forms in a given culture may, in one sense, be specifically iconographic or functional or decorative, on a more basic level, they

share fundamental similarities which are structural in nature." Correctly or otherwise, such stylistic characterisations were previously widely used to define rock art traditions precisely with putative cultural and ethnic overtones (for example, several studies in Sub-Saharan Africa illustrate this view: Fosbrooke 1980: 293, 296; Fozzard 1966: 61; Masao 1979: 225; Van Rijssen 1984, 1985, 1994). In as much as the derivation of ethnicity from ceramics in Iron Age studies is now considered problematic, it is equally controversial to assert ethnic affiliation to rock art on the basis of form alone. There ought to be an amalgam of other forms of evidence, such as ethnography, ethno-history and archaeology as well as how subjects are associated and structured before one can arrive at the ethnic designations. Likewise, it is now a fairly straightforward case that formal similarity alone or commonality of structural principles may not be enough to define the integrity of an art tradition. So, former rock art tradition-to-ethnicity or artistic-cultural correlations are often fallacious.

Margaret Conkey (1980: 615) argued in respect of Levantine Upper Palaeolithic art, that style might be "a set of structural principles, from a repertoire of individual designs". This implies the existence of discoverable rules or laws, within which those structural principles may be embedded. The problem begins when one attempts to unravel these laws, which are assumed to exist within and between individual images and larger image groupings as details, rather than mere descriptions, are sought for interrelationships and regularities that define traditions. This issue is oftentimes compounded by the phenomenon of inconsistent image superpositions. Some, while recognising problems with the style concept, advocate for the useful aspects of the term such as it being an economical lexicon (Chaloupka 1993). Similarly, while accepting the problems with the concept, Rosenfeld and Smith (1997: 408) argued that a stylistic analysis for the purposes of chronology requires the isolation of traits that can be given temporal value though it difficult to differentiate those traits from temporal or geographic factors from those pertaining to the influences of social context. In some scenarios, such as north Australia Chaloupka (1985: 270) earlier defined this concept in his Arnhem Land studies, as "a combination of objective, descriptive aspects of constant form and elements, and a subjective, evaluation of qualities and expressions, as the most important factors in its analysis." As a contextual approach, these ideas contributed to a detailed account of seven traditions within Pre-estuarine period: object prints; large naturalistic style; dynamic figures; post-dynamic figures; simple figures with boomerangs; Mountford figures; and yam figures (Chaloupka 1993). Chaloupka also argued: "It is by identifying individual

styles and by arranging them in a chronological sequence that a meaningful division in a body of art can be achieved, and it is only then that other forms of analysis can be used" (*ibid*. 270). These image categories were seen to be coherent spatially and temporally, but it is not so straightforward in other regional situations.

In southern Africa, the characterisation of image types into coherent groupings that are temporally distinct has always been a challenge, although broad manners of painting or engraving have been used to identify general artistic traditions. As others found in respect of the hunter-gatherer art tradition, there is often contradictory superpositions and therefore sequence within a single tradition remains elusive. As Lewis-Williams (1987a: 96) argued, "If precise definition of individual styles is difficult, the establishment of stylistic sequences by superpositions is more so..." is San rock art. In recent decades other writers have argued that the term is all too often ill-defined and highly subjective (Garlake 1995: 26; Lewis-Williams 1987a: 95-99). Style needs to be defined explicitly and contextually to account even for those capricious variables that are often not internally consistent temporally, spatially and culturally. Some writers, while calling for a 'post-stylistic era' (see, for example, Bednarik 1995; Lorblanchet & Bahn 1993), have called for its neglect.

In order to circumvent such difficulties, Lewis-Williams himself grappled with the notion of grouping images into coherent spatial and temporal categories by formulating three definitional entities of: a.) Panels, b.) Episodes, and, c.) Sets (Lewis-Williams 1992), discussed above. My study combines these organising principles in order to examine and define images, relations between image categories and ultimately the ordering of these categories into a sequence. Adding the concept of the *respect des fonds* as already outlined above, certain images across various strata are then interpreted using ethnography and historical sources. Whereas the use of the style concept as an organisational device is a means by which rock art can be ordered and placed in its temporal and spatial contexts (Schaafsma 1985: 249), I use the fonds as a means to historicise interpretations of image themes that occur in various categories of painting spanning different levels of the sequence. After the categorisation of images, it is possible to move onto the translation mechanisms of these structuring principles using the methodology called Harris matrices in archaeological studies.

Precise definitions in respect of notions embodied in terminologies such as, for instance, ‘style,’ ‘episodes,’ ‘panels,’ and ‘sets,’ as do indeed the terms ‘art’, ‘rock art’ themselves and so on define their conceptual associations. Even as this naming is crucial in indicating the referent or signified associations, the burden of the confusion of denotations comes with most borrowed or adapted terminologies that complicate rock art data analyses. It is the same problem that is encountered in dealing with notions, theories and techniques that were first developed for application in geological sciences, then borrowed in archaeological studies of stratification and now applied to rock art superpositions. By the same token, Harris matrices are a technique that was formulated for use with archaeological stratification, but now it is routinely employed in the analysis of rock art image layers. As we shall see below, some of the issues bedevilling the use of Harris matrices in rock art studies are more conceptual in nature—as related to the terminology itself from the original application of this methodology in archaeology—rather than real and resulting from their transplantation from one situation for which they were developed to another for which they were subsequently adapted.

5.6. How chronology? Harris matrices in sequencing imagery

The importance of relative chronology cannot be overemphasised given the dearth of absolute dates and doubtful datable contexts in southern Africa. In their absence, relative dating evidence remains a source for accepting rock art chronologies in some regions. But relative chronologies too have their own difficulties. Generally, researchers have in the past two decades studied rock art superpositions using separate images mapped out into entities with assigned sequential temporal strata and thus relative chronology (Chippindale & Taçon 1993; Loubser 1997; Mguni 1997; Russell 1997, 2000). These studies have, however, encountered varying degrees of success in those specific areas and rock art traditions where the central methodology of Harris matrices was applied (see critique in, Pearce 2010). I will return to some aspects of these studies, but first I now sketch the principles of the Harris matrix methodology since it is a tool that this study employs with the additional new archival perspective in the resolution of the Cape painting chronology.

Edward Harris developed the Harris matrix methodology in the 1970s while wrestling with multifaceted urban site stratigraphies in Britain, as a graphic system of expressing the complex excavated depositional units of stratification (Harris 1975, 1979a, 1989). However, as Harris himself maintains, the matrix diagrams are not simply a ‘picture’ of a vertical cross-

section of a site (Harris 1975), but they go further to interpret the relationships between all stratigraphic units using the Law of Stratigraphical Succession (Harris 1975, 1977, 1979a, 1989). The layers of deposit are what Harris described as the smallest units of archaeological identification. These layers carry both the spatial and time dimensions; so the Harris matrix system describes the time relationships between layers. In the end, the matrices are "…schematic diagrams capable of showing all the details of the stratigraphic sequence" (Harris 1979b: 87). Harris matrices are in fact not mathematical matrices; rather they are lattices, or partially ordered sets (Orton, C. 1980: 67). Nevertheless, in this study I retain the term matrices, as Harris and others who use the system call these diagrams (see, Loubser 1997). As far back as the 1800s, archaeologists have applied some sort of stratigraphic theories in their analyses of excavation data. Most of these applications had, hitherto Harris's formulations, employed a selection of adapted geological concepts for stratigraphical interpretation of the excavated sites. The principal concept was the Law of Superposition, derived from mid-19th century geological formulations of the English geologist Charles Lyell (Lyell 1865, 1875). For a long time archaeologists used this axiom 'despite the great differences between the consolidated, sedimentary strata investigated in geology and the unconsolidated layers of the archaeological site' (Harris 1989: 13). Its weaknesses prompted Harris to amend the Law of Superposition, using the key clause 'originally deposited'. The revised axiom establishes the temporal relations between archaeological strata. Relatively straightforward, this law is central to sequencing and the Harris matrix construction since:

> In a series of layers and interfacial features as originally created, the upper units of stratification are younger and the lower are older, for each must have been deposited on, or created by the removal of, a pre-existing mass of archaeological stratification. (Harris 1989: 30)

It must be noted that, "…archaeological stratification may exist without artefacts, [as] this law may be applied to archaeological stratification without regard for its artefactual content" (Harris 1989: 39). Because the law does not cover the overall stratigraphic relationships of a site, these artefacts and features as well as other observed phenomena have to be later related to the deposits and units of stratification. For this reason, Harris and Richard Reece (1979) then proposed the 'Law of Stratigraphic Succession', as:

> [A]any given unit of archaeological stratification takes its place in the stratigraphic sequence of a site from its position between the undermost of all units

which lie above it and the uppermost of all those units which lie below it and with which it has a physical contact, all other superpositional relationships being regarded as redundant. (Harris 1979b: 113).

Two relations ensue from this law and the lattice-nature of the matrices: *transitive* and *asymmetric* relations (Orton, C. 1980: 67), which are essential in the construction of Harris Matrices:

- **Transitive relationship**: *if 1 is later than 2 and 2 later than 3, then 1 is later than 3.*
- **Antisymmetric relationship**: *if 1 is later than 2 and 2 later than 1, then 1 and 2 are contemporary.*

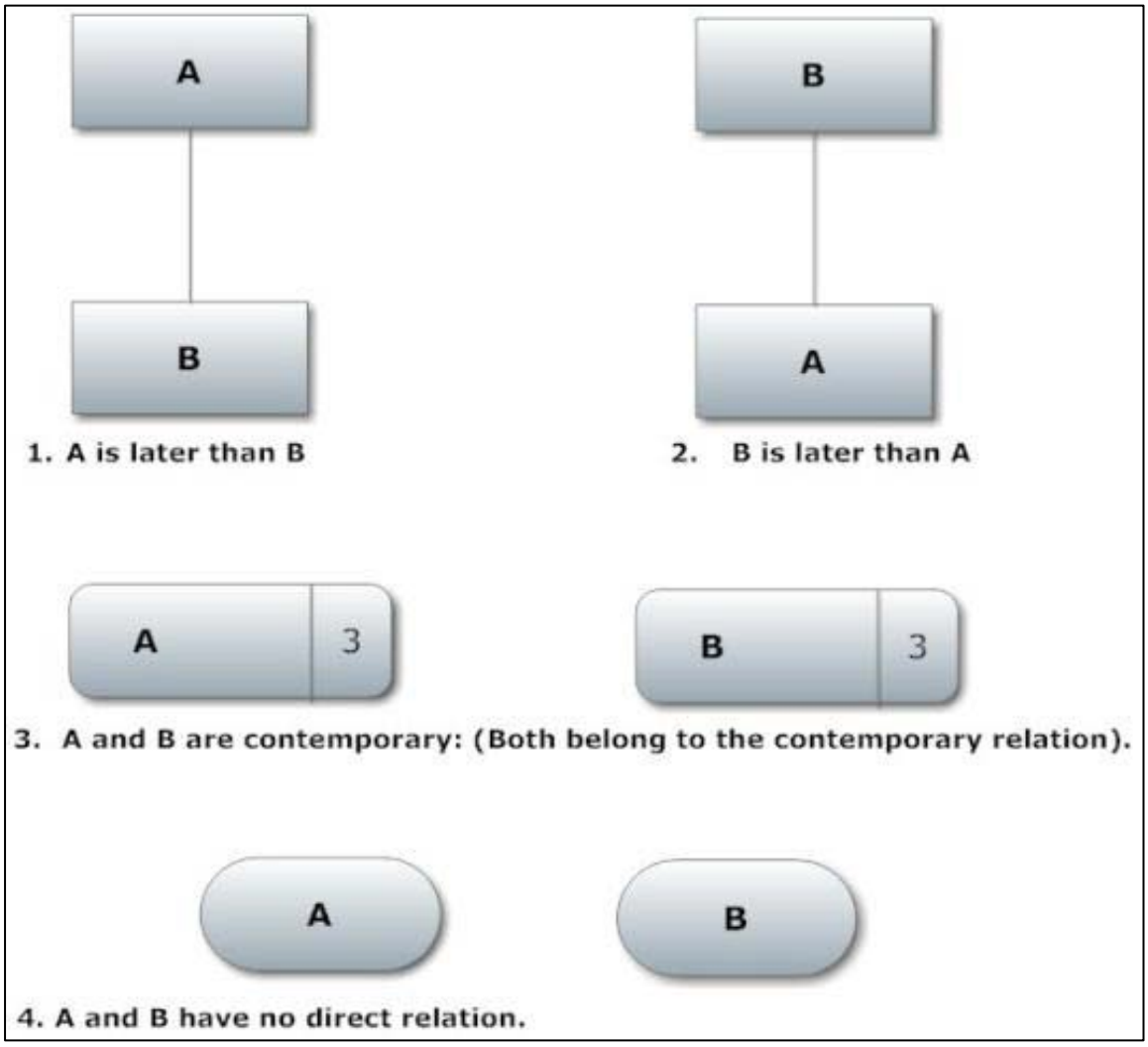


Figure 3: Key types of superposition relationships in stratified deposits, which have some relevance for rock art sequencing.

In the light of the laws and axioms stated above, Figure 3 illustrates the central relationships between two hypothetical stratification layers, **A** and **B**, which are applied in the construction

of matrices as an abstract, diagrammatic interpretation of the sequence of a site (Harris 1975, 1977, 1979a, 1979b). This design matches the schema of stratified archaeological deposits that the Law of Superposition predicts, but there are exceptions. It is important that actual superposition relationships are confirmed by supplementary observations. In sequencing the relations and presenting them as a Harris matrix, the different units of stratification are converted into single values and are then linked to other units according to these key types of relationships that are defined between them. The practical construction of the matrices is a straightforward process where stratigraphic units are represented as numbered boxes, while the successive relations linking them are drawn as vertical and horizontal lines describing the positions and types of relations of the connected boxes. Redundant relations—those that are already implicitly formed by other relations—are then eliminated as unnecessary once a sequence is constructed. Aside the structural difficulties, there are also conceptual disjunctions that researchers need to understand in the application of this methodology (see critique in, Pearce 2010) to rock art analysis.

These principles are better suited to archaeological deposits, and thus need modification for application to rock art sequencing. So the interfaces, which are a crucial concept of archaeological deposits, become less tangible in rock art analysis. However, as an abstraction it is possible to think of spaces separating (if any exist) clusters or episodes in Lewis-Williams's formulation, as some kind of notional interfaces. But they are not easily encoded in the matrix diagram itself. Even the images themselves, as cultural artefacts are not well–suited for this methodology. In reality, while the Harris matrix boxes represent stratification layers in archaeological analysis, they become conceptual entities in rock art analysis. Each entity is formulated through observing imagery relationships and so each image [i.e., each box] becomes a proxy for a notional unit of stratification. When Christopher Chippindale and Paul Taçon (1993: 35) first applied this tool in their analysis of the Kungurrul and Brockman rock art panels in Arnhem Land, they argued: "This examination of a set of stratigraphic relationships, of sufficient complexity that we used the method of Harris matrices…to resolve them into a single successive order." In another context, where the tool was next applied, Johannes Loubser considered Harris matrices (or lattices as he called them) as 'an aid to interpretation' while emphasising the importance of intensive field observations: "Instead of being an end in itself, a Harris Diagram is a systematic means to clarify stratigraphic

relationships at a site and therefore challenge our assumptions about composition, preservation, and relative age" (Loubser 1997: 14-21).

Another study at a site called Diepkloof Kraal Shelter (DKS) (Mguni 1997), which is updated in chapter five, was the first in the Cape to adopt this tool and its original scheme (Chippindale & Taçon 1993) for a comprehensive site analysis. In this scheme each individual image is characterised using four central graphic traits: the manner of depiction (substituting the old notion of 'style'), technique, pigment colours, and subject. The single image is thus an elementary unit of analysis. These traits were chosen as diagnostic features that facilitate the grouping of discrete images into distinctive sets or clusters, which could, but not always, reveal useful temporal patterns [also episodes, as discussed above] in the sequence (Yates *et al.* 1993, 1994). At DKS, "The use of Harris matrices…will not only permit the integration and interrogation of different genres or assemblages of images, but will also allow for the details of sequence of the panorama to be presented graphically" (Mguni 1997: 3). However, according to Harris, "In the simplest of terms, but dealing with that most complicated of ideas namely, time, the matrix is a new type of calendar…to see the stratigraphic sequences of complex sites…it must be translated to a diagrammatic form to be understood as a schedule or sequence." Governed and structured by a set of principles and conventions formulated using laws and theories of stratification, the Harris matrix system renders superposition relationships. In its original formulation it designates superposition contexts based on the idea of 'interfaces' and 'deposits' (but *not* artefacts), although in the system's adaptation to rock paintings these conceptions are converted to abstractions that have little or no force in determining the final sequence structure. Rock art images themselves are the artefacts (excluded in original formulation) in the study of sequence. Correspondences between archaeological and rock art phenomena still hold and warrant the continued application of the methodology in rock art studies.

To understand these correspondences, the Law of Original Continuity is useful in assessing aspects of image *continuity*. In the same way that some images may be discontinuous over painted surfaces—as a result of original creation and weathering over time or both—the archaeology deposits may also be non-contiguous, but still remaining part of the same episode of occupation. This is true, for example, of the bedding and ash lenses and other similar archaeological features from excavated sites. Several patches of ash deposits may

have formed a contemporary unit of occupation without necessarily overlapping, just as a set of discrete paintings might on rock surfaces. So, in some ways, Burkitt (1928) might not, after all, have been far from being correct in arguing for the appreciation of similarities between archaeological stratigraphy and painting sequences. Harris, on the other hand, pointed out that the fundamental fact of the Harris matrix system is discerning time in terms of the ordered deposits within which objects of material culture may be embedded. It appears that the depositional action of archaeological strata is akin to image placement on the rock face. Therefore sets, classes, panels and categories of imagery, as defined above under the archival fonds formulation, become a proxy for deposition strata and their interfaces. Conceptual disjunctions between the various forms of materiality from the past are important to understand, but an awareness of these pitfalls must not deter the cautious use of the methodology. This study applies these principles in the formulation and production of the Harris matrix diagrams to show image superpositions.

5.7. Site and graphic traits for sequencing rock art

The rationale for the use of Harris matrix methodology is to examine and sort the distinctive individual rock art figures into coherent groupings that may then be sequenced into an order within over-painted rock shelters. Such groupings are identifiable through observable graphic features of the images. The crucial aspect of sequence is the detection of superposition in the form of image overlaps but the imagery need to be sorted into categories for them to be useful in the chronology. Below is a list of parameters, following Chippindale and Taçon 1993 and subsequently Mguni 1997, used in this study to classify related images into categories and distinguish their stratigraphic positions in the chronological sequence. I use these formal parameters since they are straightforward and sufficient for my purposes. Because it does not carry varying connotations (Chippindale & Taçon 1993: 39), I use their suggested term ‘manner’ for those attributes of images that border on form and technique.

***Manner of depiction*:** These are recognisable features of the outward form of images. This structural appearance of an image may cohere with other images thus necessitating the correlation with similar images. Images might appear in *fine fine-line* manner (a delicate and finely detailed rendering), while some within this broader category may be defined as *coarse fine-line*. Other observable manners include the offset print manner (imprinting), which accounts for nearly all the handprints in the study area, and the crude finger-painting manner

typical of the colonial period art. In association with this latter manner of depiction are smears, smudges and distinctive pigment patches. There are other non-descript image forms, though uncommon, which use a cruder form of this manner. These images have been studied in other parts of South Africa under the general rubric of Late White Tradition. There is a small component of, for want of a better word, 'doodling' made with crayon lines or simply scratching the rock with pointed objects. Then there are writings, imitative drawings, and other indeterminate forms at various sites. However crude, these are recognisable image types in their own right; it is useful tentatively to define their manner as drawing.

***Technique*:** The instruments and materials available or chosen determined this parameter (Maynard 1977: 391). Recognisable techniques used in creating the images include painting (an applicative process, using the finger or an instrument) or engraving (a subtractive process). Other techniques include scratching where a solid object, possibly pointed, was used to make image outlines. And drawing, such as is drawings and scripts associated with the modern phase of people's names and signatures (i.e., graffiti), where creators used crayons of charcoal and ochreous materials. Geometric forms and imitative representational images appear largely in this technique. In another form, in more recent times commercial crayons and pencils were scratched or rubbed on the rock wall to make the images, names, signatures and other forms of writing. There is finally the offset printing (using wet paint), used in making handprints, and even finger dots and strokes. These are not exhaustive, but are general.

***Pigments*:** Red ochre is the most common pigment, appearing in various shades or hues for rock paintings. However, there were other pigment colours including brown, maroon, white, black, yellow orange or and variants of these pigments. The definition of colours or pigmentation of images is a difficult process particularly when preservation is poor, as is invariably the case with many sites depending on light at the time of recording. Even with a Munsell Colour Chart, which I initially used, may not be objective enough since people may perceive colours differently under different observation conditions.

***Subject*:** The depicted content varies within and between painting categories and traditions. The subjects range from animal, human to geometric designs and many other forms that are often not easily identifiable. In some cases there are unusual implements, which are

associated with human figures, such as tufted or leaf-shaped motifs that are mentioned in chapter two. Nevertheless such objects may also be used in grouping similar images into classes and categories.

***Co-variation in manner, technique and pigment*:** Co-variation is a useful parameter for assessing the coherence of emerging patterns, in terms of the four isolated domains above: manner, technique, pigment colour and subject. This aspect focuses on an aggregate of variables that appear to occur together: the stronger the association the greater the confidence in the assignation of a group of images into single category.

***Datums*:** Image datums were first mentioned in my earlier study (Mguni 1997: 33), but the notion had never been fully recognised in analysing painting sequences. The Concise Oxford Dictionary (9^{th} Edition) defines datum as: **(1.)** a thing known or granted; an assumption or premise from which inferences may be drawn. And **(2.)** a fixed starting point of a scale etc. I use the first sense (with a little of the second) in defining this concept and proceed to argue that in identifying sites for building chronologies, it is essential to select those with spatially structured images which form datums. Ordinarily, images have only one or two relations of sequence with other images. Yet large figures or those forming chains or serial repetitions so that their spatial arrangement covers wide areas of the rock face tend to be involved in many relations. Therefore, they are a good basis for reference points for sequence and image relationships. This concept is useful in ascertaining the archival arrangement notions of contextuality and *respect des fonds*, and then the organising principles of sets and clusters.

All these parameters allow the understanding of the organisation of imagery across rock surfaces and in constructing their sequential relationships. Several large sites usually contain these image datums as autonomous image sets spanning large sections of painted surfaces. In the Cape, these datums are generally in the form of single or multiple lines of handprints, processions of human figures or animals, or even the actual painted linear motifs stretching horizontally across panels, and some types of dots that spread across large surfaces. These image datums may also be in the form of extraordinarily large depictions that overlap with many other images. One datum is a group scene at Fallen Rock Shelter, probably the largest of its kind in the Cape, and another case is the yellow plastered elephant depictions at Salmanslaagte. These large elephants are a common feature in the Agter-Pakhuis area and

(see comment in, Slingsby 1997: 36) further north in the Gifberg region (Yates *et al.* 1994: 38) (Appendix 1, Figure 7). I return to discuss the interpretation and relevance of their occurrence in the various levels of the sequence in chapter eight. I also investigate the consistency of particular themes in various painting categories; for instance, whether the finger dots, handprints and even some elements of the diverse fine fine-line category cohere as chronological units within the regional sequence or they populate multiple temporal levels. In terms of the manner in which the various image categories are painted and defined, this analysis also re-assesses the conventional rock art approach in the region that has allowed a further subdivision of categories into sub-sets with the result of a refined chronology. This combined emphasis will ensure the contextualisation of the established rock art sequence within observed regional patterns and will enable corroboration with direct dates, whenever they become available. Relative chronologies thus create the framework and organising model for direct dates. This chronology provides a graphic frame within which direct dates can be positioned to allow the temporal understanding of the history of artistic production. Direct dates of paintings thus become meaningful when deployed against a contextualised cultural-artistic sequence. In the end, a demonstrable regional relative chronology of painting, which can be integrated with the cultural sequence modelled from the archaeological and documented sources, can make compelling historicised explanations of the interface between pre-colonial and colonial rock art.

CHAPTER SIX

KEY SITES AND THEIR CONSTELLATIONS

> *Methods may need to be adjusted accordingly with much more detailed consideration—and a more precise comparison—of artefactual material at different rock art sites, the deployment of motifs within a site and the situation of sites in the landscape.* (Rosenfeld & Smith 1997: 408)

6.1. DEMONSTRATING THE CAPE CHRONOLOGY

The relevance of relative chronologies of painting might be questioned in some quarters based on their general imprecision. This concern is understandable; the necessity for absolute rock art dates is incontrovertible even though these too are inexact. Conversely, on their own, and however numerous, direct chronometric dates remain less informative if they cannot be related to other aspects of cultural, social and artistic change. As Ray Inskeep once noted, "[W]e must also realise that to know the age of a painting or engraving means nothing, unless that knowledge can be put to work with other data to tell us something more important" (Inskeep 1971: 101). In this vein, some researchers in the Drakensberg were able to link absolute AMS radiocarbon dates with relative sequences (Mazel & Watchman 1997, 2003). Mazel reported recently that an image of an eland, dated between 2,900 and 2,760 years ago, belongs to the second oldest layer at Main Caves North in the central Drakensberg (Mazel 2009), which was earlier identified by the Harris matrix analysis (see, Russell 1997, 2000). However, direct dates are still lamentably very few; in their absence, it is vital to search for discernible artistic divisions that could be ordered sequentially into meaningful chronological phases and sub-phases in space and time dimensions.

Painting sequences are customarily deduced from image superpositions as an aid to relative time determination and correlation. Because this process involves direct field observation, superposition analysis is both an empirical and interpretative procedure. As with most kinds of archaeological rationales, the main problem with this approach to chronology concerns the applicability of results at various analytical scales: from panel, site, locality, and to regional

levels. Although most archaeological frameworks are generally useful at broad analytical and interpretative scales, when tested against finely detailed analyses of site or locality levels their results often become imprecise. While the reverse is also true, generalities are not necessarily wrong but it is their failure to account for minute heterogeneity of phenomena reflected from small scales of analysis. Spatially, archaeological interpretative models should start from small, site and local levels, and move towards larger regional scales of analysis. A locality might reveal a unique variation of phenomena, which often risks being eclipsed by large-scale explanations. The homogenising effect of overarching explanations obscures change and the details that a small-scale analytical level might reveal. To chart the progression of imagery in time, my study focuses largely on three key sites, which I discuss in this chapter, to build a relative painting sequence in the Cape.

In order to envisage history and associated change from painting chronology, I begin from the view that "history begins with bodies and artefacts…the moment of fact creation is continually carried over in the very bodies of the individuals who partake in that transmission. The source is alive" (Trouillot 1995: 29). Although they are not easy to isolate, individual makers of past records are therefore the cornerstones of understanding painting histories. Similarly, rock art interpretative models must have the ability to account for phenomena at individual sites and build upon them through analysing further sites. That way, it is recognised that people as individuals are implicated in the social and cultural processes of their milieux in those space and time contexts. Taking a hypothetical scenario, it is obvious that two distinct historical events arise when one individual painter creates a squatting figure or an elephant group at a densely painted site while another artist simultaneously paints a file of men elsewhere at the site. Each of their image creations is thus as unique in its particular time and space 'history' as all other images and forms of material phenomena within and between sites. In this vein some writers have argued: "Each image and each set of juxtaposed images in a panel of paintings is unique. Each has something to reveal about content…" (Garlake 1994: 347) or as others have said '…the painting of each panel was a specific event that was tied to its own ritual context, purpose, needs and motivations' (Hall, Simon & Mazel 2005: 124). Important observations thus follow: first, to distinguish these two paintings and their histories chronologically is impractical even though they were produced at the same time. The chain of artistic events involved is essentially historical. Second, as an artistic product from specific temporal actions of individual painters, the squatting figure, the

elephant group or the men in a procession at this site are not identical to similar subjects at other sites. This applies even when the same two artists painted these other images. However, in spite of the details of their history, temporal and spatial dissimilarities, they also all belong in the same localised thematic categories—the 'content' of which Garlake speaks. Contemplated from the archival trait of uniqueness, it can safely be said that no two images are exactly the same although their content or meaning may not necessarily be unique in time and space. However, as the analysis of sequence based on selected sites shows, these thematic categories do indeed have a tendency to fall within broader chronological boundaries. Although the traditional approach to painting sequences misses the value of this heterogeneity, the archival perspective does in fact recognise these images as significant for relative sequences and chronology.

This analysis uses some functional concepts from the archival perspective, which I highlight shortly, in order to define image classes for sequencing rock paintings. These concepts are used to evaluate whether the stratigraphy of images is intelligible spatially and chronologically. One of these archival concepts involves building sequences from small scale (specific image superpositions) to large scale (multiple image relationships within and beyond individual sites). This approach is in direct contrast to previous Harris matrix studies that have analysed superpositions from single sites (Loubser 1997; Mguni 1997; Russell 1997). There has therefore been little attempt to correlate the results with other broader regional clusters. While several sites were analysed in the earlier studies in various rock art regions of southern Africa, some of these studies proceeded to look for repetitions of one sequence structure onto others in several other sites. In nearly all, the common frustration was the lack of replication of sequence from one site to the next. By contrast, and even more importantly, my archival perspective allows for the building of a master sequence within which smaller sequences can be placed. Patterns of image categories and traditions are mapped out to provide overall regional sequences. There is a crucial duality of images that this approach recognises: on the one hand, the images are 'unique and single entities' and on the other, they are identifiable 'entities enmeshed in multiple themes' across several sites. Image relationships primarily have chronology implications as observed from superpositions and secondarily from those sequences that are implied by the artistic associations and contexts that are arrived at beyond the use of superimposed images alone.

The archival perspective makes it possible to account for observations that are made at different spatial scales to be integrated into a unified regional chronology. Understanding chronological complexities at different scales of analysis might permit a refined employment of historical, archaeological and anthropological sources to explain recursively both homogeneity and heterogeneity in the painting sequence. This archival approach uses three scalar levels of analysis: it proceeds from small, site level, scale of analysis using stratigraphic interpretations of individual images and clusters. The second tier is the medium, local site scale of analysis, which involves observing inter-site relationships of images and their various classes. Finally, at the large, regional, scale of analysis it considers the spatial and temporal patterns and variations beyond site and local levels. This framework of multi-scalar levels of analysis is suitable in constructing history, chronology and interpretation of the painting record.

6.2. Analysis of painting sequence in the study area

The observations in this thesis come from a survey that included around 200 sites in the Agter-Pakhuis locality and several more on the Olifants River and the sandveld. Out of this number, two key sites were selected from the Boontjieskloof River in the Agter-Pakhuis: Fallen Rock Shelter and Maidens Pool Shelter. None of these sites has been analysed in detail in terms of stratigraphic sequence of painting. The emerging stratigraphic patterns from this locality are then equated with the Diepkloof Kraal Shelter (or DKS) sequence (Mguni 1997) in the quest to provide a detailed painting sequence of the region. The selection of study sites followed some basic criteria: first, I took into account the pre-existing general physiographic divisions noted in chapter two: the mountains and the sandveld. This separation follows an earlier observation that different human and settlement activities were associated with these areas over time with the view that the painting histories also follow this spatial patterning (see, for example, discussion in Manhire 1981; Manhire *et al.* 1983; Parkington *et al.* 1986; Van Rijssen 1984, 1985, 1994; Yates *et al.* 1994). The discussion will refer to other sites in the region to illustrate convergences and divergences in the sequence. While the two shelters and a few satellite sites in the discussion are from the mountains, only DKS is in the sandveld. The selection of sites was based on the following three arbitrary criteria: **a.)** The large shelters (approximately 20 m^2) were selected. It is common in many parts of the sub-continent that large sites have some occupation deposit which attests to their use over time and they also tend to contain numerous paintings with observable superpositions. **b.)** The

recognisable superpositions with density of coverage approximately 75 % or more of the painted surfaces. This is subjective, but a cursory assessment might indicate that a site has potential for studying sequence when dense overpainting is observed. **c.)** The presence of graphic datums: this aspect is very important for the analysis of superpositional relationships across large areas of painting. As explained in chapter four, the concept of datum applies to large images or series of images that form a coherent entity across the rock face. A line of handprints or eland at DKS is an example of an image datum. Another example of datum is that of large elephant paintings that in some cases, such as Salmanslaagte, cover several other images (Appendix 1, Figure 7). Lines of dots, long processions of various subjects, actual linear motifs of various kinds and other similarly structured images also fall within this characterisation. The advantage of these image datums is that they temporally constitute single episodes covering quite wide areas. As a consequence, the various types of sequential relationships they hold with one type of image or the other will also form a good basis for extrapolating further relations across the surfaces even where there is no actual or direct superposition between imagery. In addition to a magnifying glass and in some cases a portable field microscope, this analysis of superpositioning was aided by image processing software: I first used D-Stretch, an ImageJ plug-in, Adobe Photoshop CS4, and finally the CPED Toolset developed by Kevin Crause. Previously, it would have been difficult to discern superpositions where fading and smudging is prevalent (as is often the case), but these image processing techniques make such analyses practicable and less time-consuming.

6.3. Key chronology sites in the Agter-Pakhuis area

The painting sequence of Fallen Rock Shelter

Fallen Rock Shelter is located on the edge of the Boontjies River on Boontjieskloof Farm (Division 176). It is a fairly large shelter of approximately ± 16 m wide, 4 m high and less than 3 m deep from the drip line (Figure 4). A few large freestanding boulders interspaced with vegetation form the façade of the shelter, leaving a narrow entrance. Inside the shelter and on the far left, one slab detached from the wall (hence the name of the site) (Yates *et al.* 1994: 41) and fell onto other rocks on the floor which now keep it in suspension. Underneath the slab, the few visible residual red images were certainly originally part of the parietal paintings that covered a large portion of the site. There are no conventional representational paintings on the scar where the slab detached, although there has been a subsequent placement of a single row of less than 30 small finger dots. There could have been more

images in the scarred area, although it is also possible there was not much subsequent painting activity in the intervening periods after this collapse.

Figure 4: Fallen Rock's well-preserved main panels with sequence in the middle of the site while the peripheral panels are either smudged or faded or both to be of much utility in the deduction of sequence.

The site's sandy and rocky deposit is eroded in parts. The excavation in the late 1980s (Anthony Manhire, pers. comm. 2005) found that the uppermost ash and bedding layers of 10-20 cm deep, dating to around 400 B.P., attest to later ephemeral human occupation at the site. Below these levels, and after some hiatus, the ashy and gravel units around 50cm deep were dated to around 2090 B.P. (Yates *et al.* 1994: 45). It was concluded that occupation was more substantial here than later periods. From the lowermost layer came ochreous nodules as well as a piece of stone covered in ochre. It seems therefore that most of the paintings are generally correlated with this earlier occupation history. On the basis of this work, it was concluded for the fine fine-line images that "[a]t this site at least, they appear to predate the advent of pastoralism in the south-western Cape" (*ibid*.: 45).

The paintings rank among some of the most visually striking in the area with human figures generally much larger than the usual sizes in the region (Yates *et al.* 1994: 45). Colours too are more varied than usual at most other sites. Various hues of red, maroon, yellows, white and black (sometimes in combination) dominate. Human figures are the largest class, a maze of faded finger dots, then a clearer row of larger dots and a range of hunter-gatherer material culture (e.g., various types of bags, hunting equipment, dancing sticks, etc.) (Mguni 2007). Human figures are either single, or in pairs or small groups, but mostly they appear in files of a few or many individuals, generally facing right, although some also face the left.

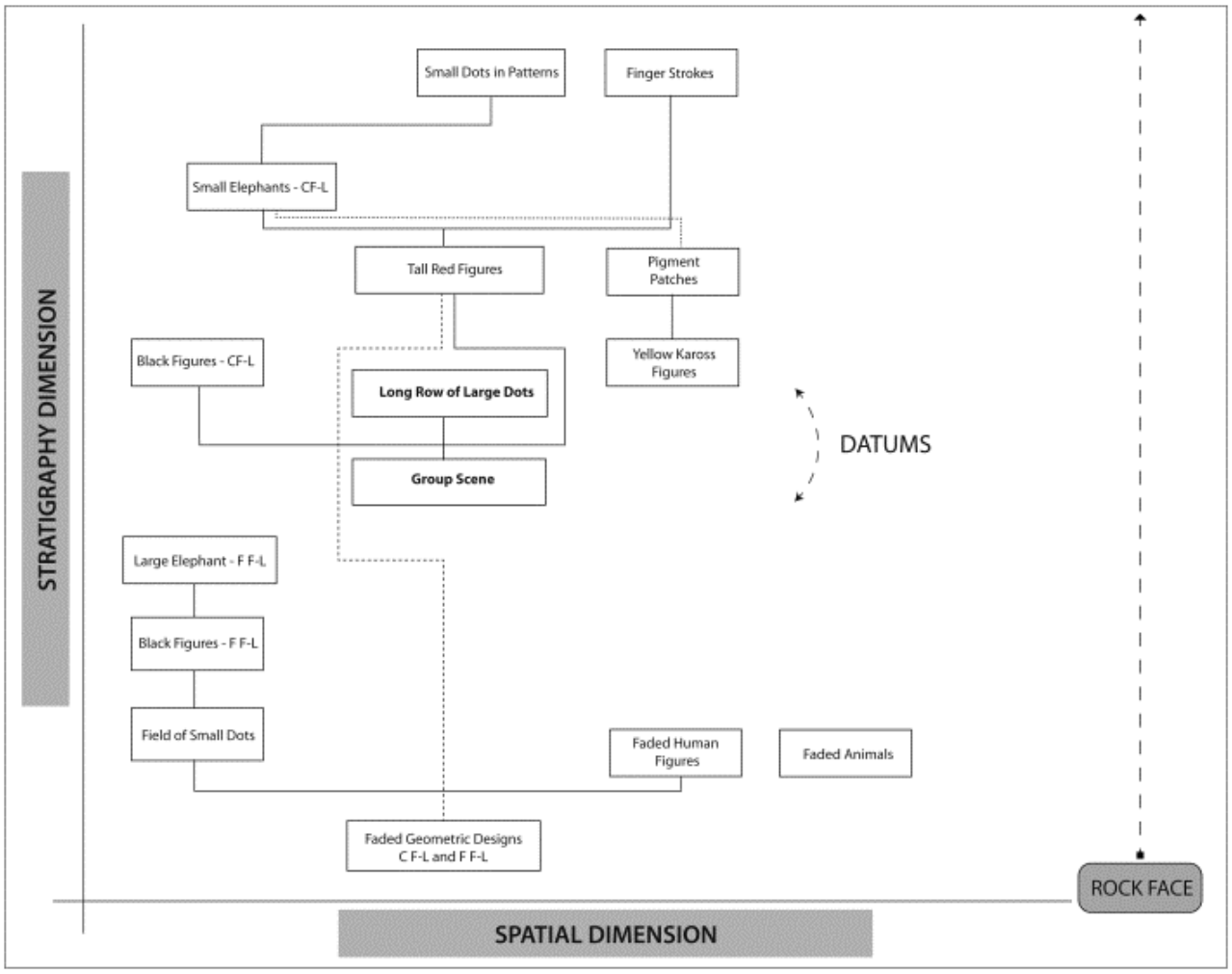


Figure 5: A summary of the rock art sequence of Fallen Rock Shelter worked out from the well-preserved main clusters of painting in the middle of the shelter (FF-L = fine fine-lines, CF-L = coarse fine-lines).

There is a large 'group scene' (Yates *et al.* 1994: 45), perhaps the largest of its kind in the region with 23 visible individuals. Although generally outsized, these figures vary in

dimensions with the largest being around a metre tall. These types of human groups are a relatively common theme in this locality of the Cape fold ranges, but are seldom found farther afield. As mentioned earlier, these groups comprise individuals in positions of sitting or crouching, and often in a more or less circular formation in a manner akin to people clustered around a fire or inside a hut or shelter. Their paraphernalia are often depicted overhead and on the periphery of the group. Further, there are ochre crayon markings, few geometric designs, and then finger smears and stroke marks. An intriguing image, but probably an incomplete impression of something that was larger, is a crenellated form in red, orange and a bit of white forming a thin outline on the edge of the crenellations. Overall the site has over 800 images, making it one of the most densely painted shelters in the area. While this number includes different image types from side-to-side of this shelter, some writers estimated it to have at least 189 fine fine-line images (Yates *et al.* 1994: 45).

Summary of Fallen Rock painting sequence

The analysis of Fallen Rock sequence involved 226 images mainly in the central section of the shelter that has a visible density of overlays. The key summary results of the sequence shown on Figures 5 and 6 represent the condensed main components of the interpretation of the Fallen Rock Harris matrices. Of these images, 121 (53.5 %) are directly involved in superposition relations and 105 (46.4 %) in equivalence relations (Appendix 2, Figure 8). Although 100 (44.2 %) contemporaneous relations were observed, they are not crucial in reconstructing relative chronology (Mguni 1997: 31). Numerous other images were not included in the analysis, since they are floating or not involved in any relation of sequence with other images. When the notion of shelter topography that I discussed earlier is applied, it is plausible that the observed dense overlays occur largely in the middle of the shelter probably because the floor in front of the smooth surfaces is (and was) flatter and free of impeding features such as boulders. There is very little image sequence to the far left (northern section) and closer to the slab that detached from the rock surface, with about two layers comprising tall red coarse fine-line humans overlain by ochre crayon lines and in parts finger strokes. Other sections of the shelter, particularly to the far right (southern section), were not included in the analysis because of considerable smudging and fading or both, which makes it difficult to observe image stratigraphic relationships. What follows is a description of the stratigraphy from the residual images at the bottom of the sequence to the clear figures in the uppermost levels. The faint images at the bottom of the sequence

comprise human figures in rows, or small groups and as single images, few scattered animals (possibly eland, judging by heavy hindquarters and dewlaps) and a large field of faded dots spread in the middle of the site. This field of dots and few other images lie immediately above what is now largely invisible, but has been revealed to be three geometric designs. Geometrics are the lowermost of the imagery. Along with these geometrics are several finger slashes and smears.

This lowermost group is now nearly invisible, but was perceived and made clear through the use of D-Stretch but a more powerful CPED image processing suite was used later and confirmed this surprising occurrence (Appendix 1, Figure 8). One of the geometrics is a gridded design in coarse fine-line manner (or was produced with the finger) overlain by one tall human figure and some dots nearby. The position of this coarse fine-line geometric is surprising since it is of the kind often associated with finger paintings such as at DKS, which are aligned with the historical period. This design is thus anomalous underneath any kind of fine fine-line imagery because this manner of depiction and design are thought to have arisen after the fine fine-line imagery had long ceased to be painted. As noted, some writers postulated that on the basis of the occupation history of the site the fine fine-line tradition is associated with earlier deposits implying that they predate the advent of pastoralism. Faint finger strokes (one of which appears partially under the large solitary elephant) nearby in the same layer as the invisible geometrics however suggest that this is no accidental stratigraphy. I return to this point in the following chapter in the discussion of the implications of this sequence. Another geometric is a double-row comprising a series of crenellated patterns in fine fine-line manner overlain by several dots. The crenellated form is similar to the indeterminate (probably incomplete) image to the right on the same panel as well as other similarly unusual images from Salmanslaagte and other sites.

From the earlier image strata in the fine fine-line manner of depiction there is a large solitary elephant. There does not seem to be any equivalent image to this elephant in this layer. There are two other smaller elephants although they feature in later layers of the sequence. A group scene, including some bags that are part of this group of images, overlies the large elephant. The group scene is nearly 2 m across and just over 80 cm high. Overlying the group scene directly is a row of large dots with an average diameter of 1.5 cm. Their size and arrangement distinguishes them from the earlier field of faint dots that are smaller with a 1cm diameter.

The horizontal line of large dots (or thumbprints) and the large group scene form two datums, which occupy the large part of the panel in the central section of the site. All other noted stratigraphic relationships of various images can be securely validated against these two datums. There is a layer of fine fine-line human figures in black pigment and several yellow pigmented kaross-clad figures across the panel; one of the figures in black paint overlies the solitary elephant, while some of the yellow kaross-clad figures directly overlie earlier faded images at the bottom of the sequence.

Applying the concept of archival fonds, these black and yellow human figures, which share their manners of depiction and scale, can be grouped as belonging to the same stratum in the stratigraphy, although they differ in colour pigments. They would have ordinarily been regarded as chronologically unrelated because of their different colour schemes. They may or may not have been painted exactly the same time or by the same artist or group of artists, but they belong together in terms of their original order in the sequence and the general artistic field. It is their relative order in the chronological sequence that is important in this study. Altogether this order at Fallen Rock can then be tested at the other sites with the expectation that the relationships of the various image classes to other classes will be consistent and coherent. If this sequence is confirmed within and beyond individual sites, it is possible to realise a regional chronological sequence. This is where archival fonds and the Harris Matrix methodology can support each other in correlating imagery that may at first appear unrelated based on the levels they occupy in the sequence.

There is further consistency in the other sets of images that do not belong in the same artistic field or class: all the pigment patches, red, yellow/orange and the large red coarse fine-line figures appear to be in the same level. Some black and red pigment patches overlie the large dots, black- and yellow-cloaked human figures, but not the large red figures. These tall red figures feature above all the other images discussed so far in the sequence. By extension, and using the archival fonds concept, these red figures occupy the same level as the pigment patches of various colours. Both these varied image types therefore may belong together in terms of the original order in the sequence. Two small coarse fine-line elephants appear above the group scene, but not directly superimposed on the tall human figures that are also on top of the group scene. In their manner of depiction, both the small elephants and tall figures are in the coarse fine-line. A similar superposition case shows an elephant group in a

manner between coarse fine-line and fine fine-line overlying earlier detailed figures (Appendix 1, Figure 18). In all, the archival fonds concept permits these elephants, tall red human figures and patches of pigment to be grouped as a stratum. These relationships too can be tested against similar imagery classes at other sites.

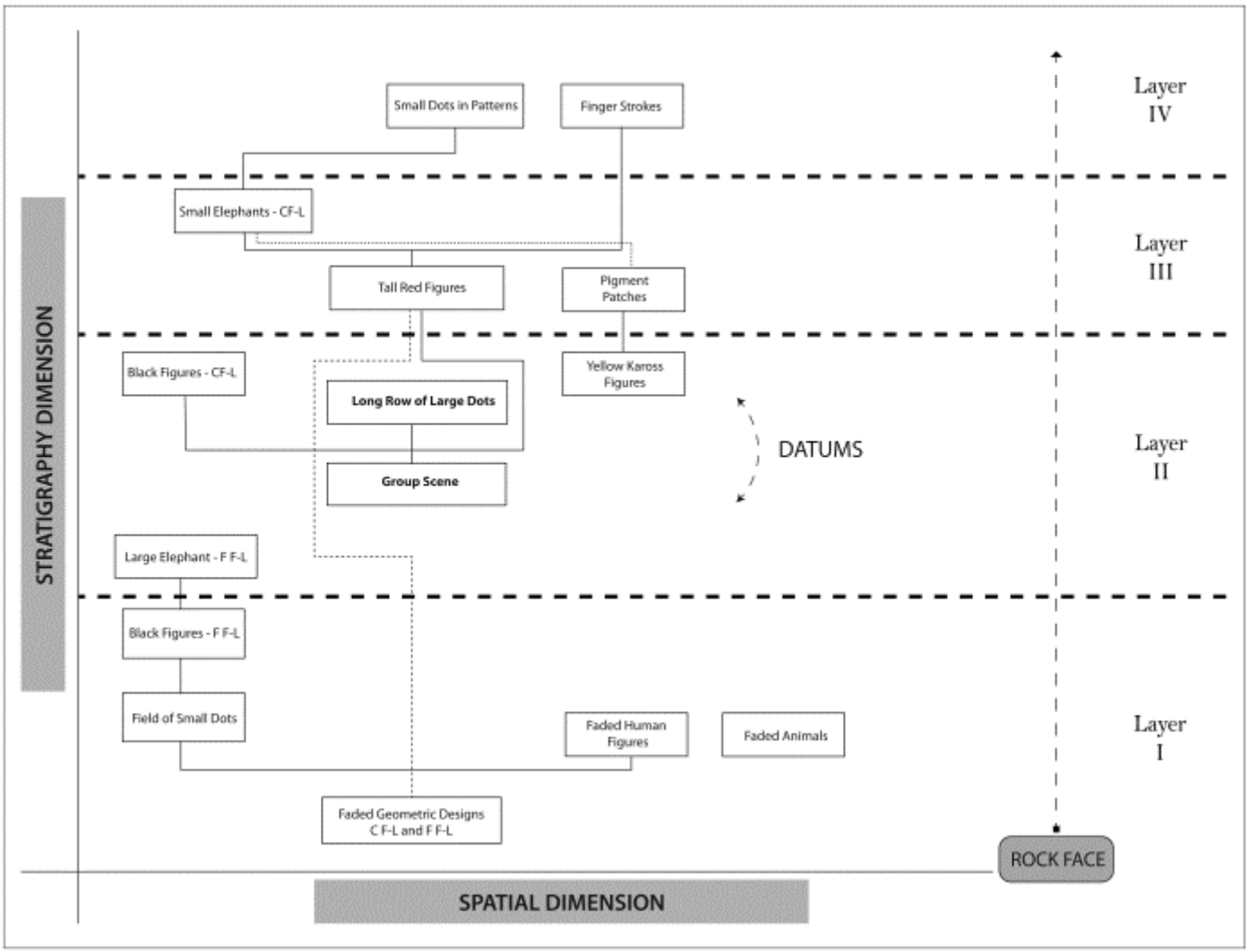


Figure 6: A summary of the Fallen Rock Shelter painting sequence showing the different layers or levels into which different imagery fall.

Finally, above this cluster of images there are linear and cross-like patterns of small finger dots (Appendix 1, Figure 8), ochre crayon lines and the finger stroke marks nearby making them the uppermost set in the sequence. It is observable that, apart from the few places where these smears and slash marks are in direct superposition with other images, they populate the periphery of the main painting clusters. In sum, Fallen Rock reveals at least seven painting episodes or periodic image placement events comprising fine fine-line, coarse fine-line,

pigment patches, dots proper, large thumbprint-like dots, finger slashes or stroke marks and crayon markings. In terms of the artistic classes aligned to the painting episodes, there are four broad stratigraphic tiers, the bottom three of which have been further subdivided in the sequence as shown in Figure 6. The image range and art categories at Fallen Rock are similar to other sites in the locality. This manifestation necessitates the cross-referencing of image sequences in several sites. The second such densely painted site is Maidens Pool, which in the same river valley as Fallen Rock.

The painting sequence of Maidens Pool Shelter

Maidens Pool (also on Boontjieskloof Farm 176) is a large shelter measuring 18 m wide, 3 m high and around 3.5 m deep from the drip-line. It is situated on the slopes of a vast sandstone cliff running south-east/north-west along the northern edge of the Boontjies River (also called the Brandewyn on this segment of its course). There are other large overhangs along this cliff that stretches downstream to Sevilla Trail sites on the next farm division. Stone flakes and sometimes cores of various materials including quartzite, quartz and predominantly silcrete are scattered on the surface slope as well as on the ashy shallow deposit inside the site. There are charred bones, pottery sherds, charcoal as well as recent German type pottery pieces (John Parkington, pers. comm. 2005), porcelain and bottle glass fragments. The site appears to have previously been densely painted, judging by the pigment remnants and partial images across the entire expanse of the rock surface. There are over 1000 individual images in three main clusters across the rock face: left section, middle section and far right section. The shelter is dominated by fine fine-line images of various types including antelope (i.e., a group of eland on the left and also on the far right and then possibly bontebok in a long line across a large part of the shelter), elephants and a few other animal species, human figures in small clusters and processions and a small ‘group scene’ with five individuals. Other image types include an entoptic form, or what has previously been called ‘corrugated motifs’ (Yates *et al.* 1994: 35), with crenellations similar to those on the incomplete image at Fallen Rock and the well-known forms at Salmanslaagte once described as ‘elephants in boxes’ (Maggs & Sealy 1983). Coarse fine-line animal and human figures are abundant at this site but unlike at Fallen Rock some gravitate towards the miniaturised images that are prevalent in the locality.

The central portion is dominated by finger-daubed images in ashy-white pigment. These depict a range of subjects including indeterminate animals, ostriches, human figures and

smears. Farther to the right of this section is a cluster of small finger dots in horizontal and vertical rows, finger strokes and slash marks scattered around the shelter. There are also finger painted images of human beings in black pigment, then several graffiti-like charcoal drawings imitating other earlier subjects. Written graffiti of names, signatures and dates appears in various parts, often directly on top of other images. Most of this graffiti (generally in charcoal, lead pencil, and ink) is mainly associated with a single date of 10 October 1880, although some in commercial crayon may be more recent. These writings add a dimension to the stratigraphic history of the site. These were however excluded from the analysis, as being redundant since their position in the sequence is obvious. The dense overlays of imagery occur on the left of the shelter and in the middle section. Once again, as similar to Fallen Rock, it is plausible that this feature is due to the topography of the shelter floor, which is relatively even in these two sections and also the morphology of shelter walls in front which are fairly smooth.

Figure 7: Maidens Pool Shelter viewed from downstream Boontjies River in the eastern direction with the insert showing some large rock platform in front of the right section of the site.

Summary of Maidens Pool painting sequence

Maidens Pool analysis of sequence involved 240 individual images. While this site has more images than Fallen Rock, it has however fewer superpositions between the various distinct figures. From this assemblage, 52 (21.6 %) images are directly involved in superposition relations and 65 (27 %) images are in equivalence relations. I now describe the sequence as interpreted and summarised from the Harris matrix diagram (Appendix 2, Figure 8). At the bottom of the sequence are faded images, some of the palest ones being visible only when the light conditions inside the shelter are optimal. Most of the images at this site bear evidence of weathering and erosion perhaps as an indicator of long periods of painting. A group of hunters in brick-red pigment to the far left appears to attack an elephant calf and to the right of this 'scene' are three large, or adult, elephants in the same colour. One of the elephants in a rescue charge has turned back to face the hunters with the calf in their focus. This group of figures hunting elephants is the lowest in terms of superposition. After this layer is a group of five red kaross-clad human figures, which are directly overlain by various bontebok antelope which appear in a long line across the site. These antelope directly walk on a thin black line, which—although weathered in parts—is continuous across a large measure of the shelter. The line and antelope above it are a coherent set which forms a good datum—useful datum as it is a continuous line—running nearly side-to-side across a huge portion of the painted area of the site. As similar to the line of large dots and the large group scene at Fallen Rock and even a long line of handprints at DKS, all other imagery in the sequence can either be above or below the datum. Directly above the elephant group there is a line of four eland, which includes an eland calf at the back of the line, all of which are facing rightwards. This 'group-mother-calf' association is important to note; I return to it in the discussion.

In the next level, there are yellow kaross-clad human figures alongside several animal figures in white pigment. So far, all these images are in fine fine-line manner that is typical of the bulk of the paintings in the region. An interesting observation concerning yellow kaross-clad figures is that, on closer inspection, they seem to have been added later (or tucked) into the weathered spaces between the earlier and faded processional red kaross-clad figures. It is a phenomenon that has been observed at other sites in the Clanwilliam District, such as Procession Shelter on the edge of the Jan Dissels River (John Parkington, pers. comm., 2006; Author's own observation). The same principle of tucking images into spaces provided by the

weathering of older imagery has been noted in this region particularly between the images of handprints and a large yellow-clay elephant and a large red eland torso in the Gifberg and the Coast respectively (Yates *et al.* 1994: 38). Farther up the sequence occur scattered finger strokes, human and animal figures in coarse fine-line, and towards the far right some patterned small finger dots which overlie two faint red eland torsos.

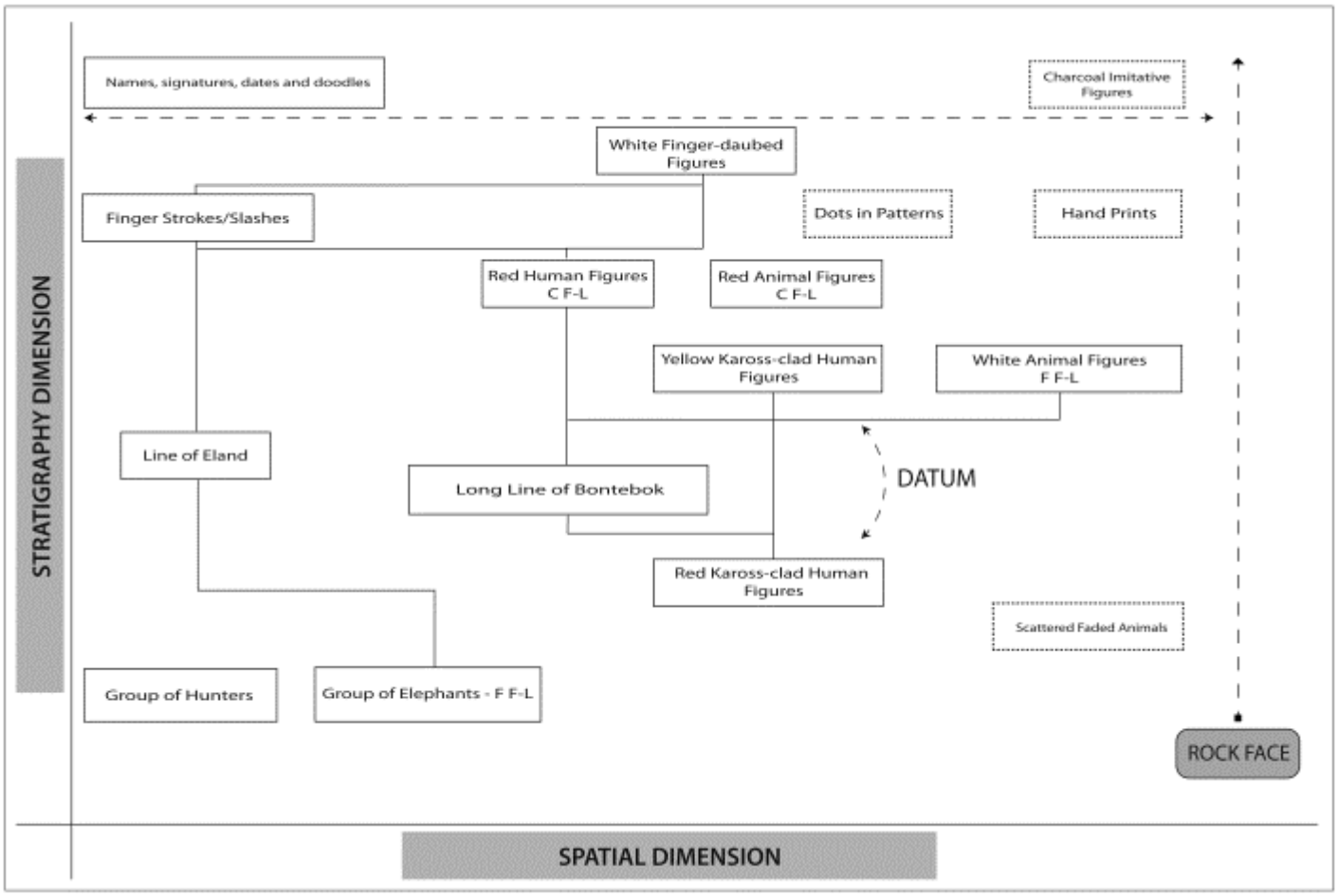


Figure 8: Maidens Pool Shelter sequence of the paintings worked out from the well-preserved clusters of imagery with dense overlays on the left and the middle sections of the site. Dotted boxes are images scattered or far removed from the main over-painted surfaces of the site.

While handprints and pigment patches are not part of this matrix diagram (Figure 8), they are few of them, which occur only as floating images. They may belong in this level of the sequence. This tier is then followed by finger-daubed imagery in ashy-white pigment. Judging by their visible state of preservation, these coarse images may be recent though perhaps in the order of no less than a century. This deduction comes from the fact that the names and signatures dating to October 1880 overlie some ashy-white figures. Scattered in

parts of site are imitative figures drawn in charcoal crayons; they include humans and animals. Names, signatures and dates as well as other forms of doodling are the most recent layer in the sequence, dating to October 1880. Although this graffiti is quite old, some of the few examples may have been done in the recent decades. These graffiti are similar to the forms documented in my earlier study of sequence at DKS (Mguni 1997) and they seem to occur within the same broad regional phase. Overall the Maidens Pool sequence comprises five broad strata or tiers of imagery although some image sets appear in the sequence as sub-divisions of the broad image categories (N.B. Two tiers of the modern phase of graffiti and earlier scattered faint images were excluded from the Harris matrix diagram).

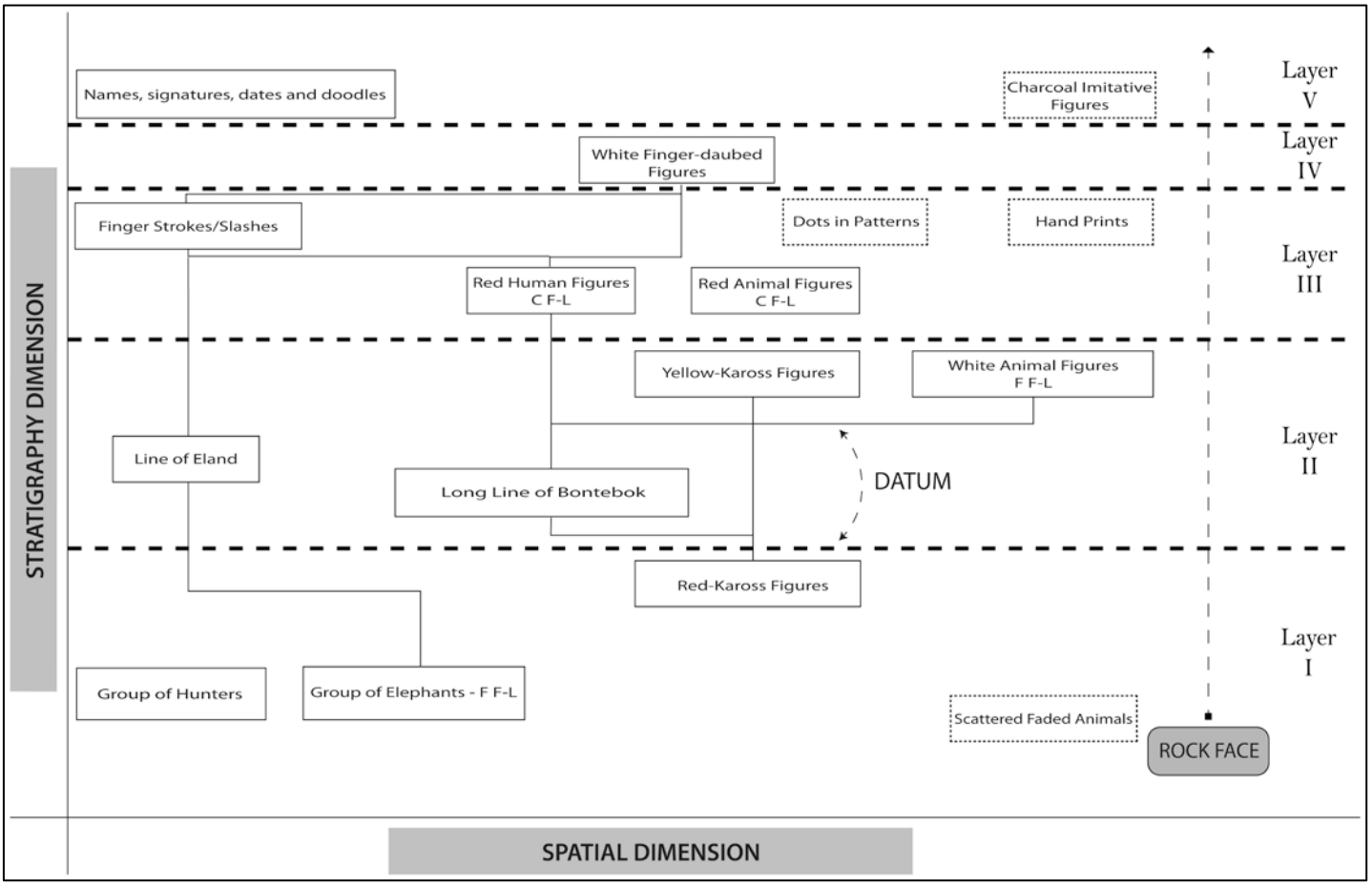


Figure 9: A summary of the Maidens Pool Shelter painting sequence showing the different layers or levels into which different imagery fall.

Figure 9 shows how these sub-divisions are grouped into strata of the sequence: the two lowermost layers are the fine fine-line category, followed by coarse fine-lines, which although earlier they are partially related to the finger produced imagery of strokes or slashes, and patterns of finger dots. At some shelters, this finger produced image category

includes representational images that also extend into the colonial era period in terms of their subject. Two residual handprints (no. 97 and 102) appear to feature in this association, although by themselves they are not involved in any stratigraphic relationship with other images. As floating prints, they too were not included in the Harris matrices. It is observable from this succession of imagery that fine fine-lines appear to be succeeded by coarse fine-lines and that while the latter were still being produced there was at that juncture an inception of finger marking and other similarly produced imagery. These finger produced imagery are perhaps the precursor to forms that later became the finger paintings which finally culminated in the colonial era images. Still farther up the sequence is a cluster of ashy-white finger-daubed images (Appendix 1, Figure 5) of the kind known as the 'Late-White tradition' (see examples in, Moodley 2004, 2008; Namono 2004; Namono & Eastwood 2005; Smith, B.W. & van Schalkwyk 2002: among various published materials) in other parts of South Africa. Various charcoal imitative designs, names, signatures, dates and doodling occur at the top of the sequence as the most recent additions at this site. Unlike Fallen Rock which does not have a modern phase of drawn or written parietal forms, the Maidens Pool Shelter contains a modern layer at its uppermost phase which is similar to the uppermost tier from a sequence that I observed at DKS over a decade ago (Mguni 1997). Because DKS is located in the sandveld ecozone, which is referred to in chapter three, it is worth comparing its painting sequence with the two above discussed sequences from the CFB ecozone. In this investigative manner, these stratigraphic analyses and correlations will represent a cross-regional perspective required in order to build a Cape painting chronology.

I now present a brief cross-referencing summary of DKS, a site that I studied previously (Mguni 1997). Consistent with the two key sites discussed above the DKS sequence features four layers of imagery (Appendix 2, Figure 9); the two top tiers are collapsible to one since they comprise a single broad modern phase. It is also observed that the tentative principles of shelter wall morphology and floor topography apply at DKS as they do at Fallen Rock and Maidens Pool. From the western section of the shelter is a rocky shelf that slopes towards in the easterly direction and suddenly opens into a flat open and earthy area; it is here that the deposit of this site occurs. Farther east (or left) from this area, the floor space becomes rocky until the edge of the shelter (Appendix 1, Figure 9). Moving along the parietal condition of this site from this eastern section towards the right, it is clear that the imagery is thinly spread at the beginning, but progressively becomes much denser with the greatest overlays in the

central part in front of the flat open earthy area. A large measure of this section is also fairly smooth, compared with the sections on either side. From here the imagery gradually thins out again farther west towards the rocky shelf. Tentatively therefore there appears to be a cross-regional conformity in the apparent arrangement of imagery and position of dense overlays in relation to the shelter configuration of wall and floor spaces. This and other already observed similarities create a good foundation for comparisons of imagery types/classes and their relative stratigraphies in order to build a Cape chronological sequence. From the latest layers (topmost) downwards to the earliest layers the DKS sequence comprises:

- Signatures, names, dates, crayon lines and charcoal drawings.
- Colonial era images comprising human figures, animals and geometric designs. These are mostly in crude finger-painting manner, but some are now revised to be actually coarse fine-line.
- Smudges and smears in the same red ochre pigment as that used for handprints. Although these finger-produced images may be allied with handprints and finger dots (Yates *et al.* 1994: 37), they appear above in this temporal sequence.
- Handprints of both the decorated and undecorated type.
- And, finally, the fine fine-line imagery as the earliest layer.

Taken together, these key sites that I have presented above reflect a unified temporal sequence into which several distinct image types and classes can be built-in as coherent categories, which satisfy the archival sanctity of the original order, couched in the fonds notion. As I predicted in my earlier DKS study that "There is a probability of the existence of sub-sequences within these distinctive image sets defined above" (Mguni 1997: 33), I have now been able to confirm using the two Agter-Pakhuis sites the presence of sub-divisions within the finely detailed image tradition. A significant conclusion from this observation is that, contrary to the long held belief that the deduction of temporal sequence in a single tradition is problematic (Pearce 2010: 149), there are scenarios in some regions where a relative order of imagery might reveal the existence of distinct artistic traditions or categories within what was customarily a single tradition. The three sites are observed to contain intelligible stratigraphic relations of largely the two-element type of superpositioning, where a one-to-one sequence relation occurs (i.e., one image above or below another).

Although very few, there are instances of multiple-element superpositions where one image overlaps with two or more other figures. This phenomenon occurs where there are large figures covering wider areas and by so doing interacting with a range of other imagery. This can be expected since, as noted earlier, superpositions are rare. Multiple superpositions occur in densely over-painted panels or where composite numbers of images exist in a restricted or small area but smudging often makes it difficult to deduce any meaningful sequence. At Fallen Rock they are 46 (37 %) multi-element sequence relations out of 121 direct above/below relations, while 15 (19 %) such relations out of 79 were observed at Maidens Pool. Although DKS has these multiple-element relations, they are only 9 instances (14 %), confirming the rarity of this phenomenon at a regional scale. This methodology, combining the use of Harris matrices and the archival perspective, allows the analysis which has the capability to contrast or relate diverse image types and classes and sort them into distinct chronological sets (categories) by virtue of their superpositionings.

6.4. Consolidated discussion of sequence results

Some time ago researchers in the Cape wrote: "We suspect that handprints are linked to finger dots, but we as yet lack a good understanding of the distribution of the latter. Also perhaps related to the handprints and finger dots in terms of application are finger paintings" (Yates *et al.* 1994: 37). One of these writers, Anthony Manhire (1981), had earlier found the occurrence of handprints (Appendix 1, Figure 10) to co-vary with finger paintings. These conclusions prefigure the close association of these three types of imagery, all of which involve directly the hand or the finger in their application on rock faces and as coming later than the detailed images in the sequence. There is generally a sound basis for this conclusion, but judging by the temporal sequences presented above it is highly plausible that finger dots are of various types (Appendix 1, Figure 11). There are those that appear early in the sequence alongside fine fine-lines and those that feature later together with coarse fine-lines and then those broadly associated with the finger painted imagery. Finger dots are a type of image that runs through the sequence from earlier to later phases in the painting history.

Fallen Rock reflects such an analysis: first there are faint finger dots that are part of the image sets that lie at the bottom of the sequence. In the middle levels of the sequence is a large set of dots; these were likely made with the thumb rather than the fingertip. Finally, in conjunction with later imagery at the top of the sequence is a set of patterned finger dots that

are even much smaller than the earlier faint dots. The two earlier finger dot sets are in a similar red pigment colour that is also used with the rest of other detailed representational paintings. On the contrary, the latter patterned dot sets are produced in a rather pale brick-red pigment similar to other finger painted imagery. Although the first set of finger dots at Fallen Rock overlies very faint humans and geometrics they are themselves overlain by clear humans in red and black as well as the solitary large elephant of the fine fine-line category and other red human figures in coarse fine-line. This sequence is repeated in what is a fine fine-line red human figure over a field of white dots at De Hangen Shelter (Appendix 1, Figure 12), which is another site in the mountains featuring the range of imagery similar to these above-discussed three key sites.

There are similar dots in red and black pigment at DKS featured as small fields or clusters inside the western shelter though they are not in any sequence. Although the size variations of these dots may not mean much, it is when such sizes are considered along with the arrangement patterns on rock surfaces that some possible dissimilarity is observed. The finger dots, which are often associated with the fine fine-lines, are generally small ranging from 1.0 cm to 1.5 cm in diameter and tend to occur as ill-defined clusters or amorphous fields that vary in size numbers. On the other hand, those dots that are often associated with finger paintings are much smaller, at around 1.0 cm or less in diameter. Other finger dot forms (sometimes not even dots but strokes *per se*) are not finger produced. These uncommon dot types appear to have been painted with some kind of instrument and in scale they may be as small as half a centimetre wide and 2 cm long. In the Agter-Pakhuis locality the largest known examples are in the range of 2.0 cm to 5.0 cm in diameter. While these observations are noted for sequence purposes, this thesis is not a holistic study of these dot motifs, which in their own right require a sustained research project beyond some previous attempts that only focused on their interpretation (Dowson 1989). Recognising that these dot motifs may in fact belong within different traditions will avoid a ‘lumper position’ approach in their definition and interpretation and in turn allow the use of appropriate ethnographies or ethno-historical sources for each category.

Apart from the finger dots, there are other image classes that appear to range throughout the sequence from earlier to the later phases. One such class is that of human figures in karosses. In both Fallen Rock and Maidens Pool sites, the bichrome red/yellow kaross-clad figures

feature in later tiers of the sequence as directly superimposed on monochrome red kaross-clad figures. While they are in the same tradition or category of fine fine-line, they are distinct in their temporal positions in the sequence. Although all the kaross-type figures in processions tend to be male largely attended by their hunting gear, there are some processions of naked men as well. Other naked processions are of naked female figures that appear in both the fine fine-line and, slightly more frequently, the coarse fine-line manners. Elephant and fat-tailed sheep depictions are also image types that are represented throughout the various tiers of the painting stratigraphic sequences. As shown at Fallen Rock and Maidens Pool, there are earlier elephants in fine fine-line manner (Appendix 1, Figure 13) and then the later ones in coarse fine-line which supersede each other in that order in the sequence. Another site on the Boontjies River, known as Elephant Hunt Shelter, also features elephant representations in both these different manners of depiction although in this case they are not in any sequence. One set includes a fine fine-line cow and calf and juxtaposed to the right, is another small group that includes adult elephants and calves in coarse fine-line (Appendix 1, Figure 14). The differences in their depiction manners might indicate that they are temporally distinct as well. Placed in the context of 'image tucking' discussed above, it is plausible that the latter coarse fine-line group was added at a later time as inspired by the pre-existing former fine fine-line cow-calf scene. While this temporal relationship may be difficult to prove since these images are not in sequence at this site, it is however generally confirmed through stratigraphic sequences at the other two Agter-Pakhuis sites discussed above. I now expand on this artistic feature of drawing inspiration from pre-existing imagery, since it has implications for relative sequence.

The conception of artistic inspiration from earlier fine fine-line imagery by later artists of the coarse fine-lines is strongly represented in the Agter-Pakhuis locality, where it features in some instances as outright simulation. This simulation sometimes occurs at single sites or at different sites within small distances of each other. In nearly all observed cases, the coarse fine-line image or sets of images appear to be superimposed on earlier fine fine-lines that they simulate. A classic example of this phenomenon comes from a well-known site, BSK 06 also called Charlie Brown Site, on the Boontjies River, where a line of large fine fine-line women holding sticks is replicated by another similar line of women in coarse fine-line at a lower ledge to the far right (or west) of the main panel (Appendix 1, Figure 15, Bottom Pictures). Farther upstream, on one of the tributaries of Boontjies River, about 5 km

eastwards, there are five women in a line holding sticks that are also thickly painted in coarse fine-line. This phenomenon was observed from 16 (11.2 %) out of 142 sites recorded in the area. Yet those images in sequence relations were observed to feature only in 5 (29.4 %) instances of coarse fine-lines over fine fine-lines (or above other nearby related fine fine-line images), which they mirrored. This occurrence, however statistically significant or otherwise, is an indication of the operation of site history processes that created the rock art as a through time archive whereby newer additions—even as different categories or traditions—draw their content or external forms from the pre-existing assemblages. The meaning and motivation may not of course be expected to have remained static from the earlier to later mirrored imagery through the sequence and over time even as some aspects of content may have been repeated. These artistic representational complexities and their temporal implications require some explanation. In the next two chapters, I will discuss aspects of change in order to gain insights on why these graphic variations occurred the way they are in the sequences that I have presented above.

Overall, various ideas arise from the analyses of sequence at these key study sites. First, the study observes that true superposition is not a common phenomenon in relation to the existing density, extent and quantity of rock paintings. This view may be due to our inability to discern these superimpositions because of the loss of images through fading, smudging and weathering over time. It is also difficult to observe those images that are directly or completely overlain by other images with certainty. Although there are many cases of contradictory superposition relationships of images, the archival approach does allow the discernment of broader inter-tradition patterns and within intra-tradition sequences to permit the formulation of the original order of their placement on rock faces. Such is the case with the bulk of the painted imagery customarily defined as the fine-line tradition.

A closer analysis shows that this in fact comprises the ‘fine fine-line’ and ‘coarse fine-line’ phases, which may be two distinct traditions in their own right. On the basis of these observations it was possible to compare the results of those sequences from CFB sites and DKS, in the sandveld, where sequence has been documented as well as extrapolate the emergent sequence relationships to other sites with similar ranges of rock art imagery. To make such relative order correlations, the Harris matrix and the archival perspective analyses must necessarily move beyond just the use of superposition and include other systematic

aspects such as the graphic repertoire of imagery which includes: technique, image type, similarity of image, continuity of themes, and principles for creating image sets and episodes as defined by other writers for work done elsewhere in the country (Lewis-Williams 1992). The practicality of observing the paintings as a through time archive is that it permits not only those extrapolations that use only a case of physical superposition, on the one hand, but also those which, on the other hand, place value on the socio-historical production contexts of image types and themes. As discussed in chapter one, the archival qualities of naturalness, interrelatedness, and uniqueness apply with similar force to the paintings. Because imagery arose from specific contexts and purposes, the relationships between them and their specific contexts render them interdependent of meanings. Each distinct image occupies a unique place in the temporal sequence ‘as evidence of a past activity in relationship with other accumulated’ images, although the content or information in each image or class may or may not be unique. Thus, in the ultimate analysis, a broader range of painted sites could be linked on the basis of implied stratigraphic sequential correlations drawn from perceived image similarities within established graphic repertoires or fields. This approach helps in the formulation of a regional painting sequence, a theme that I deal with in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CAPE CHRONOLOGY

> *Even if the rather crude paintings of wagons and the like do represent a final appearance of the long-standing representational tradition, the finer, and far older, techniques of painting had clearly disappeared some time ago.* (Yates *et al.* 1994: 55)

7.1. INSIDE-OUT PERSPECTIVE OF ROCK PAINTING ARCHIVES

Studies of sequence and chronology have prevailed more in the southeastern mountains of South Africa than any other part of the sub-continent. This might in part be due to the preponderance in that region of variously shaded imagery with visible superpositions. Moreover, in attempting to periodise the paintings most researchers in the past have tended to focus on colour schemes as a defining feature of change and so the bias has been towards those areas with more polychromous than monochromatic paintings. In contrast, the emphasis on painting sequences has attracted insufficient attention in the Cape. Nevertheless, as a few previous studies have revealed, there is a tentative chronology of painting in localised areas as reconstructed from particular Cape sites (e.g., see Anderson, G. 1996; Mguni 1997; Yates *et al.* 1993, 1994). This tentative chronology was established largely on the basis of identifiable rock art traditions and categories of painting, distinctive subjects and the analysis of superpositions between the varied distinct imagery. In most previous studies that I mentioned earlier, the classification system that was used seems to have merely reproduced itself in the analysis and thus faltered in registering other dimensions of the painting sequence. One of the main concerns of this study is to ascertain whether there is a Cape regional painting sequence. This sequence would be inferable from the stratigraphic coherence of various image categories within the existing rock art traditions in the region. Furthermore, such coherence in part arises from the clarification of some classes of imagery that have featured in previous chronology studies. As discussed in the previous chapter, one of these uncertain classes is the finger dots: are these dots indeed a coherent group of imagery, which like finger painting tradition or handprints, always appears above the fine fine-line tradition? If this is shown to be the case, then finger dots are indeed a coherent class

in the Cape painting sequence. Handprints are a related but different type of image; a case for regional chronology can be made when this class is also demonstrated to be consistently above and below particular types of imagery and traditions. These two classes are unique in their subject form and production technique that they are generally good benchmarking indicators of rock art sequence as shown at DKS in the Sandveld (Mguni 1997). This is not always true, as has been shown for Stompiesfontein, a site in the Koue Bokkeveld, where handprints are not consistently above any art tradition but are contemporaneous with colonial era finger paintings (Yates *et al.* 1993: 66).

From the onset, it is crucial to remember that the archival perspective, as established from previous chapters, combined with the traditional Harris matrix methodology is the foundation for the exploration of the Cape temporal sequence presented in this study. This section centres as much on the explanation of the phenomena of the sequence of imagery as it is on the examination of basic assumptions and premises assumed in previous chronology studies. In this approach, the analytical methodologies derived from the archival perspective and Harris matrix formulation might reduce complex assemblages of artistic and cultural 'records' to simple and intelligible relative sequential relationships. These structural relationships are then later interlinked with anthropological and historical analyses, which are explored subsequently as means to derive interpretations of the painting record. In assessing historical and cultural change, this study thus offers avenues of interpreting chronology and the associated seriation of graphic-artistic features. Since relative chronology is my main theme, the discussion emphasises the manner in which change may be conceptualised from studying painting stratigraphies. On the face of it, however, the examination of chronological sequence of imagery makes it seem as though the study is entirely empirical through the observation of stratigraphic relations between different images. The relative order of images is essential in the advance of interpretations that are grounded on the past social and political contexts. There seems to be some basis for the change in painting categories shown in the temporal sequences of some sites that I described in the previous chapter and now in the regional sequence summary. Some of the painted subjects, as we saw earlier, persisted through time although at the same time these image categories may have had their symbolic focus shift through time in the sequence.

7.2. Visualising change over time in the sequence

Superposition histories of painted sites are worked out from the analysis of layers of imagery; however, the resulting image layers in the final sequence may reflect contradictory ordering within single traditions. It appears that a major problem that most writers pointed out in the previous sequence studies was that of superpositional contradictions. It is a problem that a recent critique posits as very complex in terms of detecting 'a sequence of temporal episodes *within a single tradition*' (Pearce 2010: 149, original emphasis). Further, various image categories may exist simultaneously over time, sometimes with certain of their elements being selectively blended from one layer or episode to another. It may be observed, for example, that certain types of kaross-clad figures as a category tend to be depicted in both the fine fine-line and coarse fine-line manners. The same is true of certain types of animals such as elephants and the distinctive fat-tailed sheep. Conversely, certain image types do not occur in other manners of depiction beyond their artistic traditions: for instance, while the historical period images are painted in both the coarse fine-line and finger painting manners, it is never in the fine fine-line manner. The reason for this last point is that colonial material culture assumed its place in the painting history of the area well after the fine fine-line image making ceased to exist (e.g., see Parkington 2003: 121). Conversely, there are some animals such as eland, for example, which are typical of the earlier painting traditions in fine fine-line and less so the later coarse fine-line manner. However, an earlier observer argued that there are large and earlier elands, which like elephants, occupy prominent positions in shelters (Sampson 1968: 193). Their observed characteristic was a "marked deterioration in the drawing of elands as they become smaller and occupy humbler positions on the sites" (*ibid*.). While eland are registered in the two manners of depiction, they have not been observed in the finger painting manner in my study or my other broader site survey in the Agter-Pakhuis (Mguni 2007). Artistic change may be discerned from varied manners of depiction; it may not be so evident within a single tradition.

Assessing image change inside a single tradition may be done on the basis of associations of image categories. The uniquely grouped human types and their contexts called 'group scenes' or types of 'elephants' depictions may be associated with a range of other paintings in particular ways that are temporally significant. Their meaning might have changed in time in ways steeped in socio-economic shifts among the various people who made these paintings. Even if the image categories are themselves not in superposition, it might therefore still be

possible to establish whether they are chronologically later or earlier that other classes or categories based on some of their established interrelations within and between various other image classes from different sites. This statement might, at first seem contentious, but my analysis introduced the fonds concept to relate images through their various unique graphic characteristics and associations. In this approach, the Harris matrices attend only to those images that are clearly in superposition (i.e., above or below relationships) as a complementary analytical tool. The sequential relations so established are essential in the construction of relative chronology. Images belonging together in one stratum are represented at the same level within the final diagrammatic layout of sequence. The technique attends to discrete images as units of stratification. Beyond the matrices, linking these sequences in spatial terms across disparate panels within a single site or across several sites requires conceptualising the interrelationships in terms of archival fonds.

7.3. Summary of the main chronology phases

This study worked from the premise that generally the fine fine-lines are earliest followed by course fine-lines, then handprints and finger dotting along with finger painting appearing even later in the sequence. Whether or not finger dots and handprints emerge when the fine file-lines had ceased completely is a concern already discussed and will be expanded a little later in this chapter. This summary of an integrated sequence of the Cape, particularly the area of the mountains called the Agter-Pakhuis, reveals some interesting ordering which has ramifications for understanding of change in this region. This observation and related analysis uses a recursive relationship between the selected painting categories, ethnography, archaeological, and historical sources. I now describe the resulting unified painting sequence and at the same time explaining the occurrence of these image categories in those levels within which they occur in the overall layered structure. I developed five broad chronological divisions into which various image types (small-scale), then larger classes (medium-scale) and broader categories (large-scale) are built-in stratigraphically. Thus, in the final analysis, the emerging defining labels have been useful in so far as they are indicative of succession of imagery in the area. They are informed by and characterised through the observation of form and content of the accumulated imagery assemblages in the region. This sequence pertains to the defined study area and has not been tested against other localities outside this region, but some of the levels might stand to the evaluation.

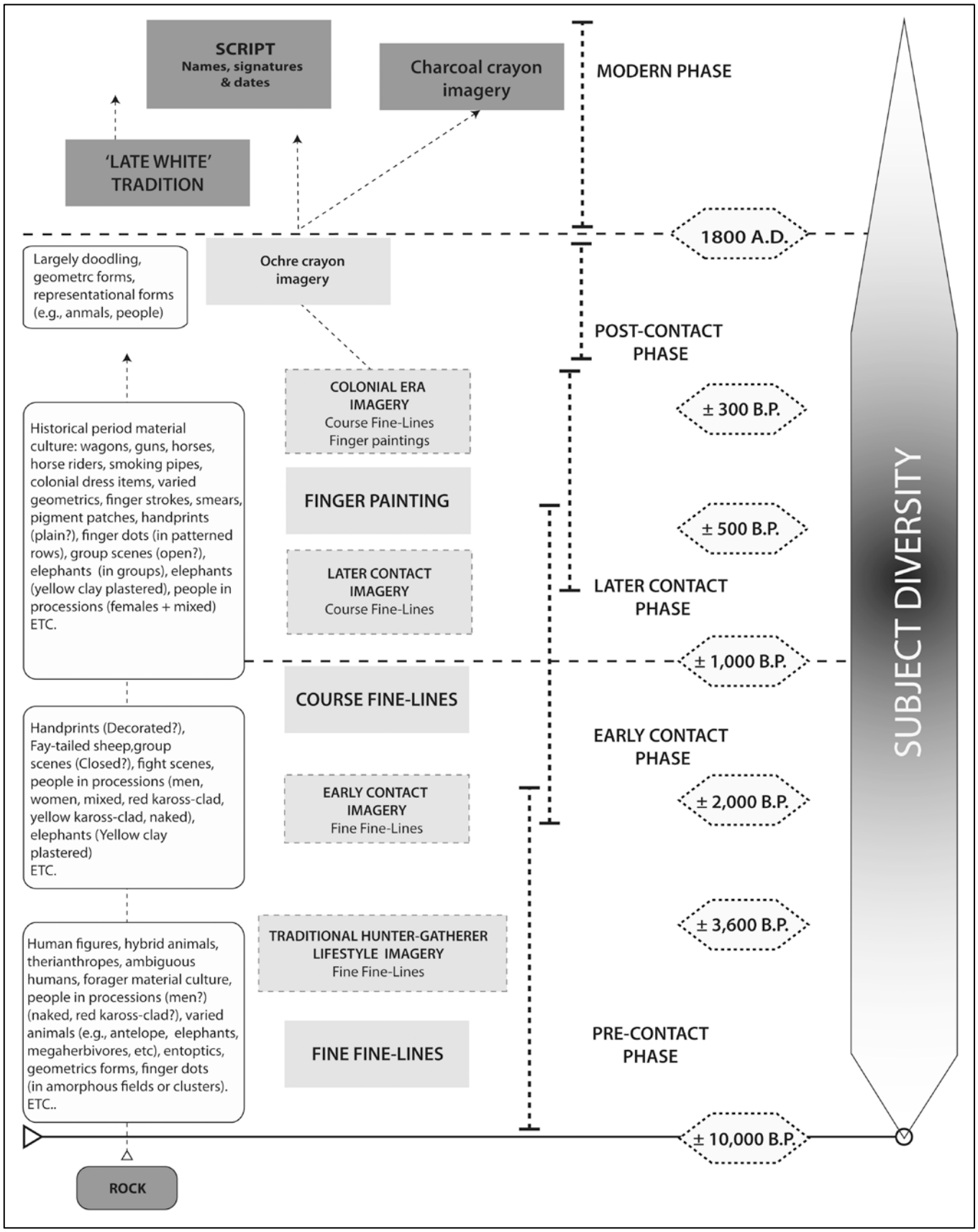


Figure 10: This is a summary diagrammatic representation of the regional sequence of rock paintings in the Cape.

Figure 10 above shows that these broad stratigraphic divisions, from the bottommost to the uppermost, encompass what I will henceforth call the Pre-Contact Phase, Early Contact Phase, Later Contact Phase, Post-Contact Phase, and latterly the Modern Phase, each of which is described in turn below. There is rationale in using such broad, but rather useful, descriptive sequential designations: the available information on the cultural sequence, direct authorship and absolute dating is still largely insufficient and so being any more specific than these divisions is at best specious. It might be noted that some of the pin-pointed dates on the far right of the diagram come from archaeological evidence and a few radio carbon dates of the paintings (Jerardino & Swanepoel 1999; van der Merwe, N.J. *et al.* 1987; Yates *et al.* 1994). These few dates at least provide some idea of the chronological interrelationships between certain archaeological materials and image types, classes or categories in terms of their relative positions in the Cape temporal sequence. Generally, while there are clear discontinuities of imagery through time there also appears to be some continuities of subject from the earlier to later painting traditions.

The lowermost level in the sequence is the Pre-Contact Phase (Pr-CP) as the oldest and perhaps long-spanning division. Since the paintings are generally undated, it is safe to adopt an age range in the order of ±1,500-10,000 years old (see Parkington 2003: 121). Some dating evidence comes from the sandveld area where researchers unearthed collapsed rock slabs, one of which is painted with a line of seven finely detailed human figures (Jerardino & Swanepoel 1999). Radiocarbon dates from associated marine shells revealed a minimum age of 3,635 ± 30 B.P. for the slabs, while a sample immediately above them gave an age of 3,510 ± 50 B.P. (Jerardino & Swanepoel 1999: 544). Another sandwiching sample retrieved from one of the bottommost layers below that of the slabs gave a date of 3,640 ± 60 B.P. On this evidence, the researchers concluded that "Parietal rock art at Steenbokfontein Cave thus dates to at least 3,600 years ago, the oldest yet known for southern Africa." As a minimum age, indicating the time when the slabs fell off the shelter wall suggests that the fine fine-line category might be 4,000 or more years old in the Cape. However, based on the residual white pigment (a fugitive colour) on the slab, the researchers argued that the images were made probably not long before the slab detached (*ibid*.: 545). Since weathering is intense at the coast (Jerardino 1999: 65), some of the extant faded human and animal figures might belong in the same period as the slab images which preserved better due to its dry and stable burial

context in the deposit (Jerardino *et al.* 2000: 47). Further similarities are suggested by the presence on the slab of a kaross-clad figure and there being several figures in the procession, features which become more common in the better preserved corpus in the interior. The relative scarcity of these features in the coastal belt, the researchers argue, might be due to harsher environmental conditions than in the mountains (Jerardino & Swanepoel 1999: 547).

Figure 11: An example of pre-contact phase fine fine-lines extracted from large clusters: top figures are from Boontjies River the bottom figures are from one of the valleys near the Brandewyn River.

Because the visible and dominant images in the shelter (mainly handprints, finger paintings of dots and grids, and faded human figures) are not similar to the images reflected on this slab, these may have been a later addition to the sequence. This is true for the reported fat-tailed sheep and a smear, yet these images are consistent with the general Cape painting tradition (*ibid*.: 64). While sheep are rarely found in the coastal zone, these researchers argue that there might not have been uncommon previously and that they have been lost to weathering. Other key finds from this site include an infant burial, which has been identified as hunter-gatherer due to the cultural burial context and associated materials such as vegetal materials interred with the corpse (Jerardino *et al*. 2000). Occupation histories from several dated shelters with paintings attest to the long-term use of these sites. Site use may have also involved the making of the art in these shelters. In terms of the manner of depiction, this phase comprises what I have defined as the fine fine-lines (Figure 11): this is an elaborate and definitive formal eminence of hunter-gatherer painting tradition evident in southern Africa.

The colour schemes used are as varied as the shading techniques employed, though in the Cape shading is not widely distributed across space (Parkington & Manhire 2003: 31). The subjects are also diverse, but generally include animals, human figures and material culture (Yates *et al.* 1994). Even with this variety, there seems to be a limited range of those subjects on which the finesse of conventional techniques and manners were used. For instance, the eland especially, as well as a few other medium to large antelope and then some types of human figures appear to have been depicted using a diversified colour palette and technical repertoire. On other painted subjects, a monochromatic treatment sufficed, principally in ochreous pigments (Appendix 1, Figure 4). It is therefore possible that the range of subjects was fairly limited in the earlier periods of painting production and progressively increased with time. While there is an obvious diversity of image types and classes, it is difficult, however, in many other shelters in the area to discern any meaningful superpositions between various categories of painting due to limited overlays.

It is important to note that these chronological divisions are not impermeable as some of the image categories are spread across more than a few levels of the sequence. This scenario is to be expected since the painters did not operate in watertight ‘pigeon holed’ temporal and spatial dimensions. The fine fine-line manner of depiction used for the bulk of the paintings

in this Pr-CP phase is extended to the early contact image category. For instance, eland depictions appear in both the earlier fine fine-line manner and the coarse fine-line manner that is generally a graphic feature of the early to later contact phases. Another subject is that of fat-tailed sheep whose early presence in the Cape is established from the archaeological record (e.g., see Sealy & Yates 1996) to appear around 2,000 B.P. and so this date becomes the *terminus ante quem* of these images in the early contact era. The early manner used in depicting this initial contact subject is fine fine-line (Jerardino 1999; Manhire *et al.* 1986; Van Rijssen 1984); however, some sheep examples appear in the coarse fine-line (e.g., the probable sheep painting - Image 173 - which I initially defined as fine line at DKS, Mguni 1997: 36, 55). The latter sheep examples are thus assumed to be later than their finely detailed counterparts. Some are even painted with the finger (Parkington 2003: 115) suggesting the continuity of this theme into the later contact phase.

This graphic transformation along three levels of the sequence however does not constitute evidence for devolution of painting traditions over time. On the contrary, it could suggest cross-cultural influences and the re-cycling of imagery between the various makers of the paintings with the preferred subjects equally shifting symbolic focus and meaning. Such formal shifts in fat-tailed sheep depictions are not unique to this domestic animal (Appendix 1, Figure 14). A graphic shift similar to that of sheep is noticeable with elephant depictions as well. Elephants generally appear in fine fine-line manner that is earlier and within the Pr-CP phase. They also occur throughout the sequence, changing noticeably from the earlier detailed forms to coarse fine-line manners in later phases. In various cases, the earlier image forms of various subjects are overlain by large elephant depictions of predominantly indelicately applied clayish pigments of yellow, orange, white and seldom red pigments. Some writers have correctly observed that large elephants are a common feature in the Cape (Sampson 1968: 192; Slingsby 1997: 36). Although E.W. Sampson suggested in the 1960s that these large elephants are earlier in the sequence, this study found them to populate the middle to higher stratigraphic levels of chronology. These elephants appear mostly above all other images in the broader fine fine-line and coarse fine-line categories, confirming their relatively later occurrence in the sequence. His observation that they tend to occupy central positions in the shelters is confirmable.

Elephants and sheep in general might therefore carry temporal implications: their shifts in formal attributes and also probably meaning throughout the sequence resulted from changes related to the early and later contact periods. Furthermore, other categories such as some types of 'group scenes' and 'fight scenes' appearing in association with early contact imagery do—like the coarse fine-line yellow-ochre plastered elephants—indeed seem to proliferate during early contact between former hunter-gatherers and early herding groups. They successively continue until the most recent levels of the sequence. At least two sites on one of the main valleys of the Boontjies River reveal images of domestic sheep alongside elephants in the same fine fine-line manner and red monochrome pigment colours. In both cases, these images are unified in chronological and, as I argue, probably conceptual and graphic contexts: in one case a cow-calf association appears for both sheep and elephant depictions (Appendix 1, Figure 16). At another site, a file of nine weathered elephants is mirrored slightly below by another file of equally weathered fat-tailed sheep, of which just three are now only partially visible (there may have been more) (Appendix 1, Figure 17). Some subject classes, such as the human figure, appear throughout the chronological spectrum although their differences in manner of depiction may not suggest evident change over time in meaning. Although one must be cautious in overgeneralising, such images should not be expected to have held timeless symbolic focus; their meaning must have changed with time as different social and cultural circumstances shifted and as varied groups of past artists actively placed their own imagery in the shelters in the context of existing strata of imagery. This change may in part be accounted for through the analysis of archaeological, historical and anthropological clues about the past human settlement of this region.

The second level is the Early Contact Phase (ECP), comprising the fine fine-line early contact imagery. Some of the defining subjects are the fat-tailed sheep, which also appear in coarse fine-line manner in later levels. It is possible that some traditional fine fine-line content, such as transformed or hybrid creatures, features also in early coarse fine-lines (Appendix 1, Figure 24). Although this latter manner of depiction may comprise a tradition in its own right, it might also have been an intermediate phase between the earlier fine fine-line and later finger traditions. To all intents and purposes, some of the later image types which are carried over from the earlier Pr-CP to the later ECP phase are potentially some sort of replication or impressionistic remodelling of a selection of earlier subjects by later artists (Appendix 1, Figure 15). Handprints too appear in this ECP division although, as I showed, they also

proliferate into the next phases. Handprints do not seem to be a single coherent category in one phase and there is not enough evidence to discount the possibility of various groups having produced them.

A multi-cultural source for handprints is intimated by some writers (Parkington 2003: 110-111) or even possibly by intra-group age and gender categories (e.g., see studies by, Manhire 1998; Meister 2003). Others have found handprints and finger dots to reflect continuity from the second millennium AD to the colonial period (Hall, Simon & Mazel 2005). Generally, while still contentious, handprinting has been variously associated with Khoe-speaking pastoralists (i.e., now accepted as Khoekhoen) (Van Rijssen 1994; Anderson 1996). For Gavin Anderson, handprints are probably a product of Khoe female initiations. Similarly, Royden Yates and co-workers had suggested even earlier than Anderson a circumstantial link between handprints and pastoralism (Yates *et al.* 1993, 1994). Their view was mainly informed by higher frequencies of handprints in the coastal areas and sites adjacent to the Olifants valley where the evidence of pastoralism appears early, is most intensive and its impact was greater than in the mountains. However, recent observations show that the frequency and distribution of handprint sites is in almost equal proportions in the coast and the mountains (Anthony Manhire, pers. comm. 2005), although the decorated type clearly dominates only in the sandveld and coastal areas (Manhire 1998: 99; Yates *et al.* 1994) where pastoralism was a prevailing lifestyle after 2,000 B.P. in the Cape. On the West Coast a "low-lying shelter with its ceiling covered by decorated handprints" (Jerardino & Maggs 2007: 105) lies adjacent to one of the excavated pastoral encampment sites called Simon Se Klip. This may be coincidental, but the authors mention that such motifs are "…known to be contemporary with domestic stock and ceramics in the last 2000 years…" (*ibid.*: 105).

Because of insufficient historical evidence, Manhire (pers. comm. 2006) now avoids assigning outright authorship for handprints, although he suggests that pastoralists may have done the decorated varieties in coastal areas. As a corollary, the plain handprints found often in sites with fine fine-line images in the mountains were probably made by remnants of hunter-gatherers (Meister 2003) as part of rites of passage or similar ritual ceremonies. What is not explained in most early studies of this image category that argue it to be a product of one group or the other is how two culturally different populations in two nearly distinct ecozones appear to use the same image type for possibly similar ritual practices. Considering

that these are diverse people who had been in contact for several centuries after 2,000 years ago, it is possible that ritual practice and accompanying handprinting (and also painting in general) was a product of the dynamics of social interaction with ideas moving across between systems of belief and worldviews. This is the interpretation that some scholars appear to support for handprints (Parkington 2003: 110). In this purview, I agree with those who avoid the strict "Khoikhoi/San dichotomy" as "unproductive and…limit[ing] the range of interpretation within historical stereotypes" (Jerardino & Maggs 2007: 111). Instead, these writers chose the term 'Khoe-San herders' in describing a pastoralist campsite on the West Coast. It might be even more interesting to ask whether the decorated handprints are themselves earlier than their plain counterparts. The assumption is that the putative association of pastoralism and decorated handprints starts in the sandveld and coastal zones before moving into the mountains at a later stage where it influences among the residual hunter-gatherers (or an admixture of hunter-gatherers with herders) there on to the making of plain handprints, whatever their symbolic associations.

In terms of superpositions between images within the ECP, it is also evident that some classes such as elephants appear above and below or as contemporary with 'group scenes' (Appendix 1, Figure 3). It has also been observed that 'group scenes' appear above some fine fine-line images of eland and human figures. This sequence is manifested in one of the key sites of this study, Fallen Rock, where one large fine fine-line elephant is below a group scene, while at the same time the same 'group scene' is overlain by two other smaller elephants which are in coarse fine-line. In another superimposed case, a small 'group scene' overlaps an earlier polychrome shaded eland, whose fine fine-line manner of depiction in this schema places it in the Pr-CP division. This eland is part of a now faded procession on the left of the 'group scene', which is itself much better preserved. There are also certain types of finger dots and variously coloured pigment patches (which were earlier called 'palettes') in this level. Furthermore, there are several interesting manifestations in this ECP: first, there are cases of imitative imagery that appear to derive from the earlier fine fine-line images. These imitative images are sometimes immediately next to those they imitate, or they may feature elsewhere in the same shelter or even at different sites altogether. Second, there is a common aspect of miniaturising the images in the ECP division with these 'condensed' images appearing in coarse fine-line manner. Most images in the coarse fine-line manner are in fact generally painted much smaller than their earlier ECP counterparts of the fine fine-line category. Third,

in some instances, the coarse fine-line images occur sequentially above the fine fine-lines where they appear in superposition. This feature was first observed in the 1960s as a painting category that is most distinct from the others:

> Conventions are discarded wholesale and drawing becomes active and original. Sombre classical shapes are left behind and anything and everything of interest is grist to the mill. People are shown in all attitudes, even in wild melees…Freakish figures are drawn with spidery limbs. In fact the whole scene becomes as unbridled as it was solemn and conventional in the early stages…There can be no doubt of the recent origin of this phase. It often overlies all the others and is nearly always in the lowest position on a painted surface, as if it had been added after the desirable space had been used up…The figures are nearly all small, from an inch to four inches in length, and are in red monochrome except for a few recent ones, e.g., of a kettle in yellow (clay?). The quality of the paint is poor. It can be rubbed off with a dry cloth and is easily dissolved if wetted. (Sampson 1968: 194)

It was also observed that in this phase there are no large animals of the earlier periods such as elephants, eland and so on, but rather a proliferation of small antelope, baboons. This description is consistent with my coarse fine line category. Still further up in the sequence is the Later Contact Phase (LCP). Coarse fine-lines (Figure 12) are still found in this chronological division although they become less frequent upwards. The finger painting manner proliferates from this level upwards. Although this observation has not been clarified previously, the historical period motifs appear in both the finger painting and coarse fine-line manners of depiction. For example, some writers observed at Stompiesfontein, a site in the Koue Bokkeveld (Figure 13), that many "paintings [here] are in fact not finger paintings and the relatively fine detail in the horse and wagon paintings indicates that the pigment was applied by some form of 'brush'" (Hall, Simon & Mazel 2005: 135). Earlier, others had noted at this site that some finer details of the imagery were made with an instrument rather than a finger, although they differ appreciably from the widespread detailed representational assemblage (my fine fine-line art) and that these generally lack the realistic form (Yates *et al.* 1993: 67). These are what I have designated the coarse fine-lines. Image types that feature strongly in this division are finger dots, finger strokes or slash marks, smears and also handprints (probably the plain type). The defining feature of this division is the colonial material culture depicted in some of the sites in the study area and more frequently in the south of the Cederberg. Some writers have argued that, "The distribution of colonial period rock art in southern Africa is…apparently widespread, both as engravings and paintings" (Yates *et al.* 1993: 59).

Figure 12: An illustration of images of indeterminate animals, weighted digging sticks and patches of pigment in coarse fine-line manner (Left) and a mixture of coarse fine-lines and finger paintings (Right) from two different sites on the Boontjies River.

These depictions include muskets/rifles, mules and horses and sometimes horse riders as well, animal drawn vessels (i.e., wagons, coaches etc.) (see Hall, Simon & Mazel 2005), sailing ships (e.g., well-known example from Noordbron or Heidedal near Porterville and another two from farm Lonacres near Stompiesfontein (Johnson, G. Townley 1960)), dresses, hats of various kinds, smoking pipes, human figures in postures distinctive of this tradition (Appendix 1, Figure 19), basic geometric images and several other introduced and indeterminate images. The ochreous colours used in this division are generally distinct from the earlier divisions; they generally gravitate towards brick red or powdery bright red pigments. While the earlier pigment colours and their effect on the rock face gives the impression of stable mixtures with a distinctive smooth finish, the latter versions are crumbly and tend to come off easily. The colour pigments are restricted as are the localities where these subjects are found. Few years ago, some researchers working along the Caledon River Valley observed that the paintings they studied of domestic animals, shields and alien material culture introduced from outside appear later in the sequence preceded by the shaded polychrome images of the traditional fine fine-line assemblage. As for the manners of

depiction, there were marked differences too, the former appearing largely in blocked colour in contrast to the traditional shaded polychromes, which they rarely superimposed directly (Loubser & Laurens 1994: 89). Importantly, the manner of depiction, technique, colour schemes and subject may in tandem precipitate a chronological place for a category of paintings without itself necessarily being in superpositions with other images.

Figure 13: A collage of imagery from Stompiesfontein showing a variety of content and form, largely in coarse fine-line and fine painting manners. This is largely colonial material culture and animals.

The succeeding level is the Post Contact Phase (Pt-CP). Very little is known about the content of this division. Many sites in the Cape contain numerous lines scratched on the rock surfaces using ochreous crayons. At first, they appear to be random defilements of earlier

painting panels, but on closer inspection they seem to have a certain consistency of form. Some writers found these lines in common association with finger painted females and colonial era female paintings, finger dots, handprints and finger smears (Anderson, G. 1997: 34). They are said to be rarely found with finely detailed earlier paintings although in my Bushmans Kloof Reserve sample of about 150 sites, 19 (12.7 %) of the sites had these lines scratched over or nearby images in fine fine-line and coarse fine-line, without any recognisable pattern of association with other image types. They generally are geometric in character; some are ladder-like shapes, herringbone patterns, wavy lines, or various circular forms some of which are variously infilled with grids, then square and rectangular shapes (sometimes also infilled with grids). In some cases, though uncommon, these crayon lines are actually drawings of subjects that often mimic earlier painted representational imagery on the same panels. While they are almost invariably ochreous in nature, several examples observed in some localities are also in charcoal. It is doubtful that this category belongs to the era of modern writing since none of them are scripts of numerals or any form of lettering. I agree with some observers who have noted: "…these images are too consistent to be labelled graffiti. These charcoal images are thus not idle scratching, but part of a painting tradition" (Anderson, G. 1996: 71). Because of their constant character, images in this category can be called 'ochre crayon markings' and not doodles that are often amorphous.

Although observed only at five sites, this ochre crayon-marking category chronologically appears alongside the so-called 'Late White' paintings, which are not so well documented in the Cape. Desmond Clark (1958: 72) may have been the first to apply the term 'Late White' in his work across the Zambezi River to mean images that are late in the sequence and invariably appearing in ashy white pigments. In superpositions, these white images overlie all else where they are found. These finger-daubed images may represent the true final representational category in the Cape although they appear from a very small number of sites. Whilst throughout Sub-Saharan Africa these images are associated with Bantu-language speaking farming communities, they also vary in their content in different regions. Each region (and the people who made these paintings) has a particular history and symbolism and so the Cape situation may not be comparable to other parts of the sub-region. In most areas a common form is that of spread-eagled designs and people with arms (often legs as well) outstretched, figurative forms and indeterminate shapes. This tradition is generally localised in the northern parts of South Africa and becomes relatively rare farther south.

While other regions have historical and ethnographic sources to inform understandings of the 'Late White' painting tradition, others such as the Cape have no known informative sources to unravel this art form. One way to understand this anomaly in the Cape is to assess the history of long-distance raiding which was commonplace in the latter half of the 1800s. As some writers have noted, the enormous distances were covered by the marauding raiding mixed-identity parties from the Orange River and headed as far south as the Olifants and Berg Rivers. Some of these diverse parties included the Bantu-speaking peoples such as Sotho-Tswana groups who are attributed to have authored this tradition of painting in the northern parts of South Africa. It is also possible that in addition to the 'Late White' paintings, other art forms such as the Khoekhoe geometric images are actually from this layer of history in the region. Being late in the sequence is however consistent with the known fact that Bantu-speaking farmers were not present in various parts of the Cape region until very recently (e.g., see Hall, Simon 1994: regarding the earstern parts of the Cape region).

Right at the top of the sequence, the Modern Phase supersedes (MP) the Pt-CP division. With only a few exceptions, it is also noteworthy that the sites with this kind of late material are fairly accessible as they are near to roads or pathways or built-up areas and farmlands. This division comprises names, signatures, dates, and other forms of lettering which are clearly modern. Oftentimes this scribbling or doodling is probably the work of children or adolescents in recent times. Some however are dates going back to the late 1800s; in most such cases it is doubtful that children were authors. For instance, there is archival evidence suggesting that a team of land surveyors who worked in the area in the 1880s might have written names and signatures at Maidens Pool (John Parkington, pers. comm. 2005). In most of these cases, the materials used are also modern, comprising commercial crayons, ink, lead pencil and synthetic paints of various colours.

The stratified image categories that I have defined and described above denote relative temporal segments in the production of paintings throughout this master sequence of the Cape. Although it is emerging that some long held ideas about this sequence are still relevant based on the review of the image stratigraphies from several sites in the region, it is also clear that this sequence is much more complex than allowed in previous studies. The earlier tradition of painting which is customarily defined as fine-line is in this study divided into two

assemblages: *fine fine-line* which is earlier and oldest and the succeeding *coarse fine-line* tradition of painting. Rather than there being an abrupt and radical disjunction from one to the other, it appears that the two corpuses formally grade into each other. The latter also shares elements with the former, particularly in terms of some of the common subjects, the consistency of the pigment colour choices and the use of brush-like applicators in its production. Nevertheless the coarse fine-lines also deviate from the fine fine-lines in their general rudimentary finish and tendency towards miniaturisation of subjects. So the differences and parallels in this painting sequence were not adequately explored in previous studies. The implication therefore is that such heterogeneity may need to be understood from an appraisal of available historical, anthropological and other sources. Whereas the finger painted imagery, on the other hand, appears to be a coherent category, the handprints may in general be divided into two classes—decorated and plain types—with potentially temporal and spatial implications for the regional sequence. Generally, the image types and their categories featured in this study do indeed appear to be distinctive entities with temporal coherence throughout the sequence.

7.4. Implications for history and rock art interpretation

This study follows several perspectives in arguing for the importance of understanding the increasingly complex ways in which rock art chronology could reveal something about the socio-cultural circumstances that interconnected people and groups on the landscape. The concern with such cultural interconnections is significant for the purposes of understanding painting change over time and permutations of various traditions identified in the sequence. It is an analysis that eschews a vision of a landscape divided into ethnicised compartments, but urges one on which human action through time is many-sided and complexly intertwined. As some have argued, "The connection between embodied social reality and social structures is not an extrinsic one, expressed in theories of determination, but is an intrinsic one where impersonal forces shape, in a subtle and often indirect fashion, the felt necessities of daily life" (McNay 2008: 9). The manifestation of these 'necessities of daily life,' as seen from the lens of a multi-dimensional past such as that of the Cape are expected to feature, however minimally or otherwise, in the rock art record. This record reveals variation through the sequence. The significance of such variation is difficult to clarify, although it can be accepted that 'differences of narrative traditions and practices of the various hunter-gatherer peoples in different times and places raise the strong probability that such cultural and historical

differences also pertain to the rock art'. On visual grounds, known South African artists such as Walter Battiss (Battiss 1948) and, more recently, Pippa Skotnes (Skotnes 1996b) have suggested that the customary 'San rock art' may in fact comprise several different graphic arts or what might also be referred to as sub-traditions of the main artistic assemblages.

Engravings and paintings, characterised by different techniques, distributions and, to some degree, subjects, are an example of the different artistic traditions within the broader hunter-gatherer corpus. But within these two divisions are further sub-divisions, which manifest differentially in certain regions and not in others. The differences between them may be more than just graphic or technical characteristics and may be "rooted in a cultural, regional and historical variety that is often underestimated" (Solomon 2007: 158-159). This is essentially the kind of concern that my archival formulation is intended to understand in the Cape alongside the above regional painting sequence. I argue that the above painting sequence at best reveals the existence of one hitherto undefined sub-tradition within the broader San rock art corpus in the region. I defined this genre as the coarse fine-line assemblage in my revised painting sequence. This distinction has never been formally observed as the two main divisions are generally considered to be the "Finely applied representational compositions, cruder finger paintings…" (Yates *et al.* 1994: 32). In this view, everything that is not painted with the finger is then subsumed under the fine line tradition, which I now define as fine fine-line to contrast it with the coarse fine-line body of painting.

In its formulation my revised sequence has important components that have a bearing on rock art interpretation. Social, cultural and symbolic elements of art production are possible to read from this sequence structure and chronology. Chronological patterns at various sites in this landscape may indicate cultural continuities and discontinuities over time in terms of site use and art production. The reassessment of sequence provides, first, a means to verify and refine the long observed painting traditions. Second, these refinements help unravel previously undefined anomalies of imagery, such as the now defined coarse fine-line tradition. This perspective may also sharpen ideas about contact between the hunter-gatherers and other later immigrant communities. The notion and authority of the element of superposition as the only feature that is a reliable marker of chronological and artistic change in rock art has also been reviewed and complemented with the archival approach in an attempt to refine interpretations. This revision of sequence in part stems from the fact that in

certain scenarios this phenomenon of stacking images upon other images was influenced by reasons other than the passage of time (see, for example, Lewis-Williams 1972, 1974a). Superpositioning is a negligible component of the whole body of rock painting to be a sole reliable marker of sequence. Apart from it being too difficult to discern painted elements that are directly superposed by other images, in most cases smudging, fading and weathering obliterate any chance of resolving painting stratigraphy. Using fonds is thus a convenient approach to unravel aspects of image change over time. As an organisational notion, it clarifies groupings of images spatially and temporally. While the archival perspective allows the re-evaluation of conceptions upon which most previous analyses were based, it also essentially opens up an avenue for the interrogation of historical intricacies of socio-political interaction within and among pre-colonial inhabitants of the Cape prior to and after the first European expansion. Rather than seek sharp cultural and epochal boundaries of rock art florescence through time, it is necessary to consider features and processes of internal variability observable within defined painting assemblages. Cultural innovations and continuities under conditions of social and political intercourse of coexisting groups could have culminated in the changes in social organisation and subsistence economic activities, ritual practice and attendant cultural materiality. Discernible changes in the painting record might now be subjected to historical and interpretative analysis.

It is improbable that the production of the colonial era paintings emerged precipitously with the advent of colonialism in the Cape. There must have been an established artistic tradition, perhaps in its terminal stages, whose form took a different turn as the circumstances of colonialism and frontier wars prevailed. The socio-political phenomenon of contact did not occur in a cultural vacuum, but within a context of established traditions and practices however fractional those customs might have been. As shown earlier, early travellers in the Cape mention the abundant presence of indigenous people in this landscape, although “By 1740 AD free and economically self-sufficient indigenous people…were seldom found west of the Roggeveld Mountains and south of Namaqualand” (Yates *et al.* 1993: 59). Even as late as a century later, there were still small residual San or Bushmen groups who called themselves *Naevii Ukaas* living in the northern Cederberg according to the May 1830 journal entry of Rev. Dr Baron Theodore von Wurmb of the Rhenish Missionary Society (Ross 1994). Whatever the merits of this diary, it is irrelevant for my present purpose whether these people were true hunter-gatherers, or pastoralists or an amalgamation of both. After all, it is

known that relationships of clientele had existed for many centuries between the former hunter-gatherers and Khoekhoe pastoral communities in this region (Penn 2005a: 18). Most importantly the remnants of this collective of indigenes (whose designation I accept as KhoeSan) represented cultural continuities from the past in the Cederberg. So the existence of cross-cultural elements from cosmologies and belief systems of both these indigenous entities will be unsurprising and the later forms of graphic representation in the region should at least signify such continuities. As the next sections and chapter seven show, the forms of contact art, though introducing a new repertoire of subjects, also tend to use some older forms of content albeit with new meanings and symbolism following existing customary frameworks.

7.5. Aspects of contact imagery

There have been several studies of contact imagery in the Western Cape (e.g., see among others, Anderson, G. 1996, 1997; Johnson, G. Townley 1960; Johnson, G. Townley *et al.* 1959a, 1959b; Manhire *et al.* 1986; Parkington *et al.* 1986; van der Merwe, H.D. 1990; Yates *et al.* 1993, 1994) and other neighbouring regions (Dowson *et al.* 1992; e.g., see Hall, Simon 1994; Loubser & Laurens 1994). Contact art proliferated during periods of interaction between the former hunter-gatherers and other groups of people such as first, the herders around 2,000 B.P. and second, the settler communities from the onset of the historical era onwards. Although the suggestive images are those of introduced animals and distinct material culture, this theme is relatively modest within the entire painting corpus in the Cape (Hall, Simon & Mazel 2005: 127). As mentioned already, images of domestic sheep are numerically insignificant in the Cape as well as in other regions (Parkington 2003: 51). While cattle images are much rarer in the Cape, there are some purported depictions of cows or oxen in the Clanwilliam District (Slingsby 2006: 45), at DKS in the Sandveld (Mguni 1997: 36, 50; Parkington 2003: 116-117; Yates *et al.* 1993: 63) and some “positive identifications of cattle with horns” in the Koue Bokkeveld (Anderson, G. 1996: 71, 78). The general finger painting manner of these cattle forms places them within the recent phases in the painting sequence. There are obvious discrepancies however in the region regarding cattle and sheep depictions: first, the meagre presence of sheep imagery and sheep bones in the archaeological deposits is set against the background of the great preponderance of sheep (at least as observed during the colonial period) that Khoe herders bred in the region. Second, the cattle which the Khoekhoen pastoral communities also bred in their tens of thousands (also judging by historical accounts) are relatively rare in the painting record. The domestic animal found

in profusion within a circumscribed area in the Koue Bokkeveld and the Swartruggens east of the Cederberg ranges is the horse (Anderson, G. 1996; Hall, Simon & Mazel 2005). By contrast, more cattle and horses occur farther afield in the Drakensberg than elsewhere in southern Africa (e.g., Campbell, C. 1986, 1987; Challis 2008, 2009; Mazel 1981; Vinnicombe 1976) in various studies as arising from particular social and ideological circumstances linked to the general ritual contexts of the earlier San rock art corpus.

Some animal domesticates such as the dog (*Canis sp.)*, seem to be absent in the painting record although they are mentioned frequently in San narratives in South Africa. In 1497 Vasco da Gamma noted the San at St Helena Bay as having many dogs (Boonzaier *et al.* 1996: 54); dogs might have been introduced in southern Africa by farmers and/or pastoralists (Deacon, H.J. & Deacon 1999: 177; Hall, Sian 2000: 302). Overall, the significance of domesticates featured in the Cape rock art poses a question of whether they were part of the same focus and contextual meaning as those in the southeastern mountains which are generally couched in frameworks which emerged from or were extensions of the San ritual and symbolic contexts (Campbell, C. 1986, 1987; Challis 2008; Vinnicombe 1976: are some examples of case studies which take this perspective). Some writers in the Cape, however, have placed the contact imagery in the shamanistic context since, as they argue, these images cannot be divorced from the general interpretative context of the paintings (Manhire *et al.* 1986: 28). This may be true of the earlier fine fine-line contact imagery reflecting these domesticates; for example, sheep have been particularly seen as shamanistic metaphors even farther afield across the Limpopo (e.g., see Huffman 1983). The danger with this overarching interpretative perspective is that it is predicated on the singular San hunter-gatherer cultural basis of site use, authorship and worldview for the people who made the contact images. Finger painted or even the coarse fine-line imagery of domesticates may not have shared the same hunter-gatherer authorship nor the 'shamanistic context' in their symbolic focus. Therefore some writers recently concluded that there 'is little if any formal continuity in motifs between the fine line San tradition and the colonial art' (Hall, Simon & Mazel 2005: 125) at least within the Koue Bokkeveld and Swartruggens areas where they studied contact imagery. However, they note that in the Western Cape, "a distinctive set of rock art imagery that is explicitly colonial in content…is the work of the descendants of Khoe pastoralists and San hunter-gatherers" (*ibid*.: 124). This conclusion was drawn earlier, that as the colony frontier closed, the emergent, "dependent class of farm labourers of substantially indigenous

descent…were most probably the painters" of the colonial era images (Yates *et al.* 1993). In the face of the artistic record and historical information this is the most plausible deduction.

Whereas the question of authorship remains problematic, those studies premised on identity of the past painters in general (e.g., see among others, Anderson, G. 1996; Johnson, G. Townley *et al.* 1963; Van Rijssen 1994) have been unable to unfurl fully this issue particularly regarding the other traditions beyond the ubiquitous fine fine-line corpus. Although identity was earlier often dealt with as a straightforward inference of depicted images introduced materials as representing outsiders and their movements (e.g., one of the earlier views being those of, Cooke 1965), it is now obvious that such correlations are problematic. Some writers argue that the colonial era paintings reflecting foreign material culture are not necessarily images of colonists (Loubser & Laurens 1994), which is in contrast to the view that in the northwestern Cape colonists were the depicted subjects (van der Merwe, H.D. 1990). In their study of the Caledon River Valley, Johannes Loubser and Gordon Laurens observed that paintings of cattle, horses, sheep and other introduced material culture such as guns, shields and spears reflect a range of characteristics of contact involving the former hunter-gatherers, herders, black farmers and colonists through various times. However, they argued that their depiction does not necessarily represent Europeans or other foreigners *per se*, but it may be a graphic reflection of the painters themselves or their other related indigenous cultural formations (Loubser & Laurens 1994: 108-109; Ouzman 2005). With this caution, some images in my study area might reflect indigenous observations and conceptions of the artists themselves and their communities in terms of their participation in interactions involving diverse cultural affiliations resulting from the new social and political order(s). Others have noted that certain human depictions could be KhoeSan in colonial garb, while wagons and horses could be referents to colonists (Yates *et al.* 1993: 68). Artists might have perceived themselves in the prism of collective cultural interrelations some of which we know from the region's colonial history. I admit that some later phases in the painting sequence are explicable in terms of the information gleaned from historical circumstances around the advance of the northern frontier.

CHAPTER EIGHT

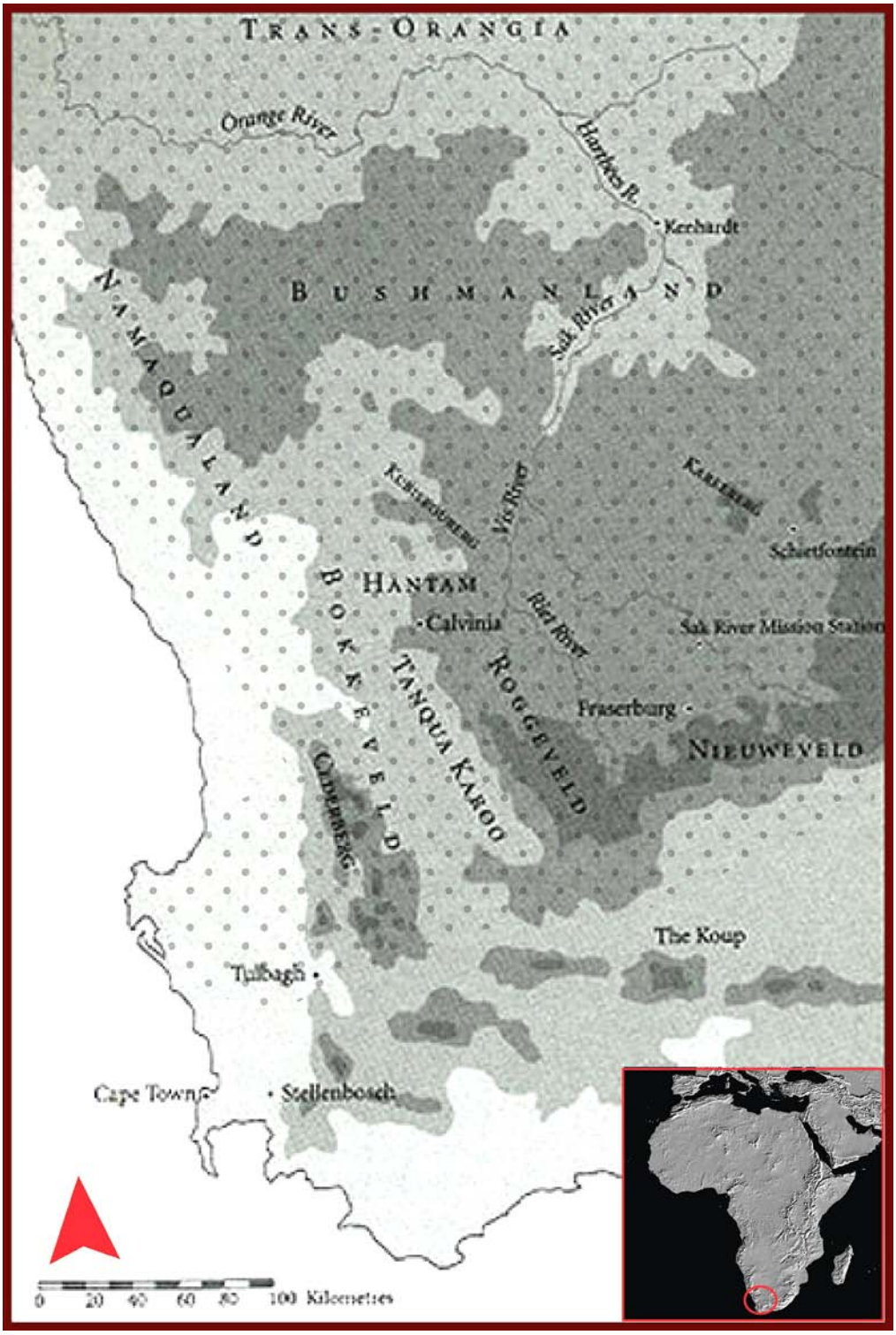
ART ON THE FRONTIER

And: the Archive is also a place of dreams. (Steedman 2001: 69)

The archive is a place where storage meets dreams, and the result is history. (Connors 1992: 21-23)

8.1. CONVERGING ROCK ART ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

The last two chapters established the temporal sequence of my study area and revealed interesting occurrences of certain images across the different levels. To understand the meaning and shifts in the symbolic focus of these images, this chapter moves further to articulate the social, political, ideological and other factors that might have been connected to the generation of some of the region's complex painting panels. From the interpretative latitude provided by the fonds approach this chapter explores the possible meaning of some painting themes that straddle several layers of the sequence. In this approach I also describe and interpret how change over time (however short or long) might have been influenced by these factors in the painting sequence for certain categories of painting. In their study of colonial contact art in the Cape, Simon Hall and Mazel made a statement whose import is in part the force behind my interpretation of particular images. Contrasting the obvious subjects of later contact art reflecting the colonial world with early contact art, they point out that the latter could have "…framed a painted response using content, symbols and metaphors that were conventionally indigenous, and consequently, an art of initial contact could very well be there but is 'invisible' because we are not seeing it in these terms" (Hall, Simon & Mazel 2005: 130). The same point was made, in a different Drakensberg sitiation, that focussing on diagnostic contact imagery such as cattle, sheep, shields, horses and so forth might overlook the existence of a large component of subject matter in the art that is a product of interaction (Blundell 2004: 70). While these are plausible and important observations, I argue instead that it is possible to some degree to recognise less diagnostic images produced under contact situations and associated graphic shifts concerning the symbolic focus for these particular subjects occurring within and between various traditions of painting in the sequence.



Map 6: The regions inhabited by the indigenous polities and parts of the northern colonial frontier coverage which are discussed in this study (Adapted from Penn, 2005).

This chapter attempts to interpret the images of elephants and fat-tailed sheep which I argue to be vestiges of early to later contact imagery indicating change in the artistic production through the painting sequence. I compare and contrast these images to demonstrate the kind of interpretative pathways which I advocate. Elephants and sheep are in some respects allied

to circumstances of social interaction within the early contact and the late contact phases in the region. This view considers the conditions and relations within frontiers of interaction and what might have been the responses and outcomes for indigenous people—some of whom appear to have been practising the art making tradition, or what remained of its florescence—to these scenarios. This approach works by analogy (where aspects of history and ethnography are foregrounded) in tandem with comparative analysis of the later frontier scenarios with likely earlier frontier scenarios of interaction. Both similarities and dissimilarities concerning the late contact and early contact phases bring about the force and integrity of the interpretations that are predicated on frontier circumstances. I use the phrase "earlier pastoral frontier" (Yates *et al.* 1993: 59) in contrast to the later colonial frontier with reference to the historical and pre-historical context of the Cape region (Map 6 above). The notion of the frontier is important to the understanding of the colonial era, specifically the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and therefore prefigures my interpretations of elephant and sheep images. I discuss the background of the frontier notion before delving into these paintings. The discussion shows the extent of social, economic and political context of production accompanying the northern frontier zone, which I believe was significant in the later artistic change as identified in the sequence. It is invoked also partly to begin to understand the possible dynamics pertaining to the earlier pastoral frontier and the sort of imagery that might be recognisable as indicative of artistic change over time prior to, and in the wake of, the colonial frontier.

In his 1969 doctoral thesis, Martin Legassick traces the first use of the frontier concept to the 1893 essay by American historian Frederick J. Turner (Turner 1938: cited in Legassick 2010) who regarded "'the moving frontier of white settlement' [as] 'the wave of civilisation advancing across the continent,' its outer edge 'the meeting-point between savagery and civilisation'" (Legassick 2010: 3-4). Nigel Penn paraphrased this dictum as "a region of continuous transformation, whereby some protagonists became more savage whilst others became more civil" (Penn 1989; 2005a: 9-10). In his adoption of the concept, Legassick recognises the flaws of Turner's original formulation and those of several subsequent South African scholars of a liberal predisposition who had wrestled, albeit unsatisfactorily, with the frontier notion (e.g., among others he directs much of his attention to: Hancock 1942; MacCrone 1965; Walker, E. 1930); some like Fouché (1909) were recently briefly reviewed by Penn (2005). Other contemporary writers saw the South African frontier as a site of

conjunction, a condition precipitated by mutual dependence between the conquering European colonists and the vanquished indigenous peoples who had entered the service of colonists as labourers (De Kiewiet 1957). Conjunction, uneven as it was, certainly was one of the outcomes generally, but it is not true for all regions and all times. As for Legassick, he viewed Turner's understanding as a "blurring of the two analytically distinct processes" while assuming mistakenly that the so-called 'civilisation' spread uniformly with white frontier settlement. He further argued that the inherent assumption of a pervasive duality of white settlement and authority ignored the existence of non-white polities with their own autonomous power (Legassick 2010: 4). These polities were often in conflict with each other as the Dutch were to grow accustomed to in the first few decades of their settlement at the Cape (Boonzaier *et al*. 1996: 50-51). In the end, he recognises two central elements of the frontier as, a.) the lack of a single source of legitimate authority, and b.) the more dynamic 'mutual acculturation' (Legassick 2010: 6). These two elements form the thread of his study.

In contrast to the frontier as a zone of dislocation between frontier communities and their donor societies and where new social systems emerge, as generally assumed by Turner and others who adopted his analysis, Legassick instead argued it was a space of contact and inclusion where protagonists brought together elements of social systems of their parent societies. These protagonists, as some have argued, were "either subject to different political authorities and/or engaged in different modes of production, or indeed recognising no formal authority at all, and therefore perhaps as individuals marking the precise point of articulation and change between different modes" (Marks & Atmore 1980: 9). Inside these vast 'spatio-temporal areas' (Penn 1986: 62) new modes of life and institutions are evolved, of which MacCrone (1965) alluded, and later critiqued by Legassick, but their emergence is through the interaction of different cultures as part of 'mutual acculturation' (Legassick 2010: 6). The hallmarks of frontier zones are interaction and change (Penn 1986: 62).

Acculturation and change occur under conditions that, as Legassick emphasised, lack legitimate authority and thus even when new changes occur they cannot be enforced. Hence the frontier zones "are temporary, unstable, fluid, and dynamic spaces. Essential to their existence is a crisis of values, cultural and political…" (*ibid*.: 7) even though frontiers themselves still possess recognisable patterns that can be analysed. In large measure, Penn applauds Legassick's work, but he also cautions his overemphasis of trading and raiding at

the expense of the pastoral production (Penn 2005a: 11). Penn himself has developed this crucial aspect of the economic and political dynamics at the core of the colonial northern frontier. However, despite its identified shortcomings as applied in various analyses, the frontier notion is generally accepted as useful. At this juncture, it is appropriate to adopt Yates and his colleagues' use of the phrase 'earlier pastoral frontier', in similar vein to Legassick argument that essentially the frontier concept can be regarded comparatively with the frontiers of pre-industrial polities. In essence the frontier concept need not be applied only to the colonial period but also to the earlier processes of interaction, although the different regions and periods obviously carried their own unique attributes. In his somewhat long shot illustration of the frontier concept, Legassick quotes from Jan Vansina's description of the comparison of the Central African Luba Kingdom of Kazembe with the Lozi state as neighbours in the 1700s and 1800s. According to Vansina:

> [T]he structures of these states, all of which had a nucleus which was tightly controlled by the central government, and all of which had outlying provinces, where the authority and power of the central government faded away more and more the farther one went from the centre toward the boundaries. Thus boundaries between states were vague, sometimes even overlapping, and there was little conflict of power between the states, since their respective common border areas were so weak". (Vansina 1966: 155-156)

In Legassick's observation, the frontier zone should be understood as analogous to this political situation between these two states. There was no single source of legitimate authority within the administrative interstices of these polities and their spheres of sway. This, he argues, was the state of the South African frontier regions of white settlement where neither the colonial administration nor the non-white political communities which lay beyond the colony had any real authority or influence (*ibid*.: 6). Yet this analogy is couched more on the basis of form than it is on content of the contact zone: so, while in this example the fringes of independent polities might be fluid, the socio-economic dimensions of those Central African states may not have been the same as those of South African polities. The frontier perspective evokes and can be refined by the notion of 'seam' (De Kock 2004: 275-277) developed by Noël Mostert in his magisterial historical book *Frontiers* (Mostert 1992). Leon De Kock adopts and uses the seam concept forcefully to denote the site of both convergence and divergence, where "difference and sameness are hitched together—where they are brought to self-awareness, denied, or displaced into third terms" (De Kock 2004:

276, 277). The seam bears its own crisis, a paradox, since it also conjures the joining together or closing of those gaps that define it as incommensurate while simultaneously embodying attempts to repudiate social and cultural conjunction. Other writers have grappled differently with the frontier concept: Paul Landau, for example, cites American historians who instead of frontier now prefer the notion 'borderlands' to define "a widening zone of negotiation and force" (Landau 2010). He notes that within the borderlands, wildlife dwindles, trade thrives, and customs are violated and renewed (*ibid*.: 3). As already mentioned, the northern frontier covering the region north and east of the Cape, the Karoo and farther afield into the Orange River was in the 1700s and 1800s characterised by large scale game hunting, especially for ivory and ostrich feathers, bartering, raiding for slaves and livestock, pillaging and so forth.

Although Landau contrasts the notion of 'borderlands' with that of 'frontier', there does not seem to be much formal difference except in the emphasis of process and outcomes, since frontiers too, as Legassick showed, are spaces "governed by interactive, overlapping, and incomplete authorities" (Landau 2010: 3). Indeed, others seem to regard these concepts as interchangeable as shown by Colin Bundy's characterisation of the colonial advance in "the Eastern Cape as borderlands, as frontier" of population movements, of flux and ethnic overlap (Bundy 2004: 10). The overall outlines and conditions grounded on the concepts of frontier, seam or borderlands are germane to my analysis. They prefigure portions of the secluded Cederberg Mountains as voids in the landscape that lacked authoritative power during the time of the earlier pastoral and later colonial frontiers. Legassick actually refers to "[T]he Cederberg and Outeniqualand [and] the outer fringes around the Fish and Orange Rivers" as isolated areas of the colony frontier zone (Legassick 2010: 43-44). This situation in part made it difficult, even a precarious activity, for reprisal pastoralist parties to pursue rogue foraging groups following livestock thefts in earlier times. The same held true for the colonial commando system right from its inception in the mid-1700s onwards particularly in the 'opening' phase of the frontier. On the phases of the frontier, Penn (1986, 1987, 1989, 2005a) foregrounds Hermann Giliomee's (1981) notion of its 'open' and 'closed' stages. In its 'open' phase, a frontier is characterised by unbalanced competition for resources by several societies. For instance, what Cornelis Willem de Kiewiet (1957) defined as mutualism (perhaps disingenuously) was really parasitism of the dominated indigenous polities by the colonial administration. In the 'closed' stage, a frontier falls under the sway of one of the societies, who then control resources and labour. The dominant society (colonists of the

northern frontier) violently exploited indigenous KhoeSan societies and thus undermined their social structure. I now turn attention to the cultural and historical context useful to my reading of sheep and elephant images. Finally I consider the possible metaphorical transposition of the two in the ideological framework of the KhoeSan artists in the Cape.

8.2. Historical background: people, elephants, and sheep

When Portuguese sailor Vasco da Gama came across the Khoekhoen in Mossel Bay in 1497, barter trade ensued. It was a tense and unpredictable encounter, given that it was barely ten years since the incident where his predecessor Bartholomeu Dias killed a Khoekhoen with a crossbow. Such contacts remained hostile for the most part (Elphick 1985: 64, 74-75), even as barter occurred with increasing frequency. We get a glimpse of what was bartered from a diary entry, Friday 1st of December: "To those [Khoekhoen] who approached [his anchorage] he gave small bells and red caps in return for which they presented him with ivory bracelets such as they wore on their arms, for it appears that elephants are plentiful in this country. We actually found some if their droppings near the watering place where they had gone to drink" (Colvin 1912: 34). On Saturday, more people came: "They brought with them about a dozen of oxen and cows, and four or five sheep" (*ibid*.: 34-35). These sheep were probably the variety that Englishman, Sir James Lancaster wrote of in 1591: "The sheepe are very big and very good meat; they have no woll on their backs but haire and great tailes like the sheep in Syrie" (Raven-Hart 1967a: 15). Autochthonous breeds are hairy, fat-tailed and also feature in the art. The indigenous Blinkhaar or Ronderib Afrikaner is one of the breeds the Khoekhoen introduced (Deacon H.J. & Deacon J. 1999: 181) in the Cape (Campbell, Q. 1995).

From this barter trade, some early authorities like Sir Lancaster himself had by the early 1600s accumulated more livestock from the Khoekhoen than was needed for their essential supplies. The four highest recorded numbers of bartered sheep and cattle in the first decade of the 1600s (Elphick 1985: 74) are shown in the table below. Though both mutton and beef were in high demand for the mariners these figures show that sheep prevailed over cattle. There are reasons for this difference, though not the concern of this discussion, but it must be noted that sheep were bred in large numbers and they also reproduced at faster rates than other domestic animals. Sources of supply of livestock were crucial for the colonial establishment for a long time after the first European Cape settlement. Apart from livestock, another item became increasingly very important for the economy of the frontier: ivory. Ivory

became so important that it caused a major escalation of elephant hunting in the Cape region which entailed the involvement of indigenous polities.

Name of Keepers		Sheep	Cattle
Lancaster	(1601)	1000	42
Middleton	(1604)	214	12
Keeling	(1607)	450	66
Matelief	(1608)	175	29

Source: Elphick 1985

These two trade items of ivory and livestock frame the scene for my reading of some paintings of elephants and fat-tailed sheep. Aside from Vasco da Gama's December 1497 barter with the Khoekhoen, this combination of trade commodities emerged again much later and became an important part of the economic life on the frontier. General Jan van Riebeecks's journal records on 29 October 1652: "…bartered from the people of Saldania…one sheep and two small elephants' tusks for a little tobacco and thin copper wire" (Thom 1952: 78). Months later, another entry, 20 April 1653, states: "Meanwhile a tusk of an elephant or of a hippopotamus is also bartered now and then for small pieces of tobacco and copper wire" (*ibid*.: 153). Six months after his arrival at the Cape, Van Riebeeck wrote back to Holland about ivory bartering with the Khoekhoen: "Tusks per piece for a span, or 1½ pounds of tobacco according to size" (Skead 1980: 236). It is clear right from the first Dutch Cape settlement that ivory was going to be a crucial trade commodity. As early as 1653, Johannes Jakob Merklein wrote that, "It is hoped to introduce the trade in ivory and other wares from the mainland of Africa, the profits of which…would richly cover the costs of the Garrison" (Raven-Hart 1971b: 9). Ivory trade was thus encouraged quite early.

Increasingly, starting from the earlier meagre quantities, ivory later became a significant barter commodity between the settlers and the indigenes. This translated into tens of thousands of elephants slaughtered annually by small sporadic hunters (such as illustrated in Figure 14 on the next page) to large well-organised parties. European demand for ivory grew to staggering proportions in the 1600s onwards to the extent that by the 1800s several hundred thousands of tonnes were exported annually to England alone from some parts of the Cape (Skinner & Chimimba 2005: 54). By 1736 it had become common for elephant hunters to be away from Cape Town for eight or nine months "before returning with their wagons laden with ivory" although their routes and hunting grounds were not revealed or properly documented (Theal 1909: 496). As some have noted, this secrecy about these routes has led

to large gaps in the history of ivory trade in the Cape (Skead 1980: 237). In spite of this lacuna, some historians have singled out the Portuguese long-distance trade routes of the early 19th century as crucial absorbers of large volumes of ivory and in return conveying back beads from Europe. On the west coast there was Angola and on the east coast, the Delagoa Bay (Legassick 2010: 27). Although long-distance routes account for the bulk of this trade, ivory and beads also filtered through various indigenous polities in the west, east and north for their own consumption as well.

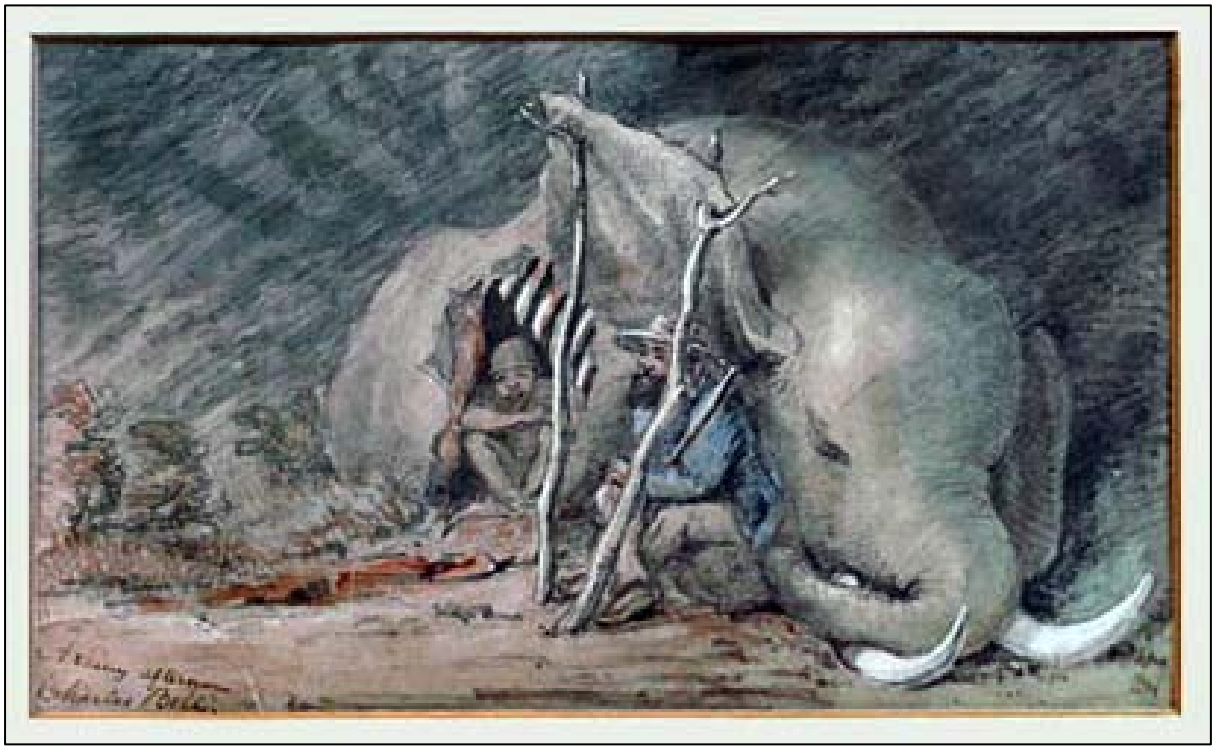


Figure 14: A Charles Bell painting titled "A rainy afternoon" dated 1813-1882 showing men sheltering inside an elephant carcass.

Undoubtedly, Vasco da Gama's 1497 *roteiro* (voyage log), also the earliest record on the occurrence of elephants in the Cape (Skead 1980: 195), gives us clues that indigenous people used ivory as well. However, it is not recorded whether these people actively hunted elephants or they simply collected ivory from carcasses in earlier times. Furthermore, other than ornamentation, it is not clear what else they would have used ivory for. Ivory jewellery, however, appears to have been the main use. These ivory ornaments are chronicled by many later observers including Nicholas Downton who in 1610 wrote: "The principall of these people [Khoekhoen] weare about the bight of there armes a thin flat ring of Ivorye being very smooth and wrought compass, nearer sixteen inches wide…" (Raven-Hart 1967a: 48). Of the

decorative apparel of Khoekhoen, David Tappen reported in the 1680s: “Around his arms he wears rings of white ivory” (Raven-Hart 1971a: 237, 241). Evidently, ivory had significant ornamental and perhaps even barter trade, value to the Khoekhoen and other indigenes with whom they maintained exchange networks afore the advent and burgeoning European demand. So, how did they source the ivory? As indicated below, it is doubtful that traditionally their only source of ivory was solely scavenging from carcases; they appear to have actively hunted elephants.

Early travellers reported elephants numerous times in the Cape. In March 1620, Augustin de Beaulieu wrote: “And on the mountains are…elephants…and other beasts unknown to me” (Raven-Hart 1967a: 99-100). Although after 1652, Van Riebeeck did not report elephants near Cape Town, one of his men, Corporal Verburgh, led an expedition northwards from the Garrison in 1652 and reported them on the west coast before Saldanha Bay (Thom 1952: 186). From mid-1600s onwards, frequent reports appeared in travellers’ journals about their elephant encounters farther inland with most records coming from the Clanwilliam District (Skead 1980: 204). An expedition led by Danckaert reported on 8 December 1660 a sighting of between 200-300 elephants near Citrusdal, an event that gave the name Olifants River (Thom 1958: 317). Reports came from Clanwilliam, Verlorenvlei, Piketberg, Lambert’s Bay, Vanrhynsdorp and Namaqualand (Skead 1980: 204-210). However, in the 1710s-20s some observers noted that several herds were driven away by colonists owing to their purported damage to pastures of the Dutch East India Company (Mentzel 1787 (1944): 76). The last elephant was purportedly seen near the Berg River in the south around the 1700s (Skead 1980: 204). However, between the first records of their presence in the Cape to the 1800s, the elephants were hunted out completely and some were forced to migrate farther north away from the carnage and human encroachment (*ibid*.: 204, 207). European settlers were chiefly the hunters and traders in ivory, but they also used indigenous KhoeSan as assistants since these people were reputed to be excellent runners and hunters (Raven-Hart 1971a: 239; Mentzel 1787 in Skead 1980: 233-234).

Some early writers maintained that the local KhoeSan did not hunt elephants prior to the increasing demand for ivory by the settlers from the mid-1600s since they regarded these animals as “too formidable to attack” and could not be brought down using traditional weapons (Thom 1954: 342). Although it is clear from their first contact with Europeans the

indigenes used ivory for ornamentation, it was not known then how they acquired it. They were thought to have collected tusks from dead elephants. Following many years of colonial authorities urging the Khoekhoen to hunt elephants, according to some writers, they were finally motivated to hunt these animals to supply ivory trade (Skead 1980: 206-207). Some reports describe the KhoeSan methods of hunting elephants, which the colonists are believed to have taught to them. And so, as a result the KhoeSan were now killing elephants at will (*ibid*.). It is unlikely that these indigenes only learned and started to hunt elephants from the Europeans. Of the recorded observations, there is nothing culturally foreign in these methods. Of course, in later years they started using horses and guns with special types of shot for this purpose (Skead 1980: 207). It seems that elephants were hunted even before the KhoeSan encountered the Europeans, but rather as a sporadic activity until European ivory demand escalated in the late 1600s. Nevertheless, as Elphick's (1985) 'Khoekhoe-hunter cycle' explanation shows, at this time some former hunter-gatherers were already acculturated into Khoekhoen society as ordinary members, hunters or soldiers, herdsmen and so on in return for protection and food (Deacon H.J. & Deacon J. 1999: 178-190; Smith A.B. *et al*. 2000: 27-28). This convergence, as discussed above, is to be expected in contact scenarios such as the earlier, pre-colonial, frontier between the various indigenous polities.

It is appropriate to regard what some reports describe as generally KhoeSan activities rather than just one or the other group of these people. In cases where these hunting methods were described, they possibly combine elements of both hunter-gatherer and pastoralist cultural elements. For example, bows and poisoned arrows are San material culture, while the Khoekhoen used the assegais, first tipped with fire hardened bones and then later metal. These assegais were also tipped with poison, which is something the Khoekhoen borrowed from San hunting technology. If KhoeSan people were traditionally reluctant elephant hunters, what created the upsurge of these attacks reported by most early explorers? François Valentyn attributed the socio-economic shift towards pervasive elephant hunting to extreme poverty that befell the Khoekhoen, and by one account, as a result of the theft of their cattle and land by the colonists (Skead 1980: 207). The reasons may be far-reaching, including influence of the well-established long distance trade that included iron, copper, ivory, beads, animals skins and other materials involving Bantu-speaking farmer people and other polities in the north and east of the Cape (see Legassick 2012; Ross 1976). Increased European demand therefore created the pull factor for the ivory supply to grow. Some noted: "Their

wives and children [Khoekhoen] must daily fight against the elephants and thus seek subsistence in this way with the uttermost danger to their lives" (Valentyn 1726 (1973): 25, cited in Skead 1980: 206). Indeed, others in the early 1700s reported people being killed by elephants in this region (Skead 1980: 204). Such deaths attributed to elephant attacks might have been due to the increased hunting pressure on these animals, which, under normal circumstances, would not have killed people.

On elephant hunting, it was Valentyn who described how the Khoekhoen used Bushmen as scouts (However, Stow mentions that the Bushmen hunted elephants and other pachyderms using bows and poisoned arrows, pitfalls and harpoon traps (Stow 1905: 89, 145)). Once spotted the party of hunters would isolate one elephant with good tusks, run it down and attack it in large numbers using spears, poisoned arrows and sharp sticks (Skead 1980: 207; see also Raven-Hart 1971a: 239). Similarly, though from a faraway region, in 1987 Richard Lee conversed with Kumsa-nwhin, a 70 year old Ju|'hoan man in the Dobe area, who gave a glimpse of elephant hunting in the Kalahari. These conversations were part of a project to "elicit collective memories of their pre-colonial past, a time we could date historically to before 1870" (Lee 2002: 185). In Kumsa-nwhin's description of what his father had told him of the early colonial encounters his people experienced in the Kalahari:

> The whites first came to !Kubi, killed the elephants and pulled their teeth [i.e., ivory]. In the old days the Ju|'hoansi also killed elephants with spears for the meat. At least fifteen men were required for a hunt. They dumped the tusks [they didn't have a use for them]. (Lee 2002: 189)

Given the general simple nature of these hunting methods and the highly dangerous nature of elephant hunting expeditions (Ross 1976: 71), elephant hunts became a highly organised activity involving multitudes of able hunters. Even using pitfalls required organised labour and probably political control as well. With such organisational ability, it was possible for the Namaqualand Khoekhoen (a region closer to the study area) to kill the largest bull with only their assegais as witnessed in September 1779 by the Finnish explorer, Henrik Jakob Wikar (Mossop 1935: 43). He also described how they used fire to drive elephant herds towards narrow gorges between the rocks into which they crowded them. Once the elephants were trapped in the narrow spaces, the hunters would kill the biggest bull by severing the leg tendons while also spearing his body (*ibid*.).

In 1668 Johan Schreyer (Raven-Hart 1971b: 122) described how Khoekhoen hunted elephants in the open: they surround the animal in great numbers, run it down while they simultaneously impale him with spears. As mobile pastoral societies, settlements shifted frequently as dictated by the needs of the herds, but also as a result of the new dynamics of ivory trade. Such large elephant kills under these new socio-economic circumstances, also influenced the mobility and location of Khoekhoen camps. And such kills also provided copious amounts of meat for large numbers of people. If the site of the kill occurred near to drinkable water sources for livestock, the whole camp would move with all their possessions to that site (Valentyn in 1726 described this practice as occurring among the Khoekhoen who lived between the Verlorenvlei and Langvlei areas (Skead 1980: 206). Another hunting method was described by Mentzel: the hunters used "a shoulder cape [kaross] to create a diversion and bluff the animal" and some detail about this gruesome method:

> With the karosses over their shoulders, they form a wide circle around the elephant and approach it with slow steps. In this way the circle shrinks gradually and is tightened by the men…As soon as the animal comes close enough for some of the Hottentots to reach it, ten or twelve of those nearest throw their karosses over its head [to make the animal malkop i.e., mad or foolish]. The elephant…blinded by them, remains standing on one spot and, since its eyes are covered and even its trunk entangled in the karosses…Then one of the most courageous Hottentots leaps up behind the elephant, seizes its tail with his left hand and clinging to it thrusts his poisoned assegai with his right hand repeatedly into its body through the rectum as far as it can go. (Skead 1980: 231-233)

The series of steps were repeated with other hunters doing the same sort of attack to the wounded elephant until it was weakened from profuse bleeding and it was eventually slaughtered. Some writers, such as Peter Kolbe (in Skead 1980: 230; also Johan Schreyer's record of 1668 in Raven-Hart 1971b: 122), described how KhoeSan hunted elephants by means of pitfalls. A hole as big as 1.8 to 2.4 m deep and 1.2 m diameter was dug in the ground on elephant trails. In the middle of the pit, they fixed strong and tapering stakes to a point that is made to be level with the top of the hole. The hole would then be concealed with small branches, leaves and grass. When an elephant herd approaches, the one in front is likely to fall into this trap, whereupon the stake pierced it in the neck or breast area. Inside the pitfall, it would struggle and bleed to death while the hunters use various weapons and missiles to finish it off. In the Kalahari too, high-yield big game hunts for subsistence and trade were achieved by digging deep multiple-chambered pitfalls 4 m long and 4 m deep. These were serially placed within dry riverbeds, sometimes at the end of converging rows of

stakes that in some cases stretched for several kilometres (Anderson, C.J. 1856: 374-377). Such hunts were conducted by up to 300 hunters, the organisation of which required considerable labour effort (Guenther 2002: 132). Later elephant hunts were efficient because of the new technologies that indigenous people were increasingly gaining access to and used effectively. These types of hunts intensified in the Cape once horses became available after Van Riebeeck imported them from Batavia. Horses became of great utility for big game hunters, as parties preferred their agility. The use of specialised shots improved killing efficiency of guns (Skead 1980: 233-234; see also Ross 1976: 16), while the availability of wagons made transportation of large quantities of ivory less difficult. Elephant hunting thus became a major facet of the frontier economy. In fact, many burghers formerly settled in the Cape found this activity easily attainable and profitable forcing them to abandon other economic pursuits such as rearing livestock to join the frontier hunters.

From an indigenous perspective, well after the Dutch Cape settlement, the politically powerful groups and wealthy Khoekhoen could sponsor such big game hunts, which not only provided meat and fat but also the much sought after ivory and skins. As early explorers reported, some of those heavily adorned with ivory, copper and other ornamentation were wealthy men who were often chiefs as well. It appears that ivory was a commodity which symbolised status, power and wealth, a combination that must have been augmented once European demand enhanced ivory trade value. Given its importance, ivory also became a tribute item among indigenous polities although there existed other forms of paying such institutionalised obligations. It is known that traditionally, smaller Khoekhoen groups paid tribute of livestock and/or their products to the powerful groups. This practice was not however widely enforced among the groups who lived in the Cape. But it was generally the involvement in big game hunting that attracted tribute payments to the leaders of powerful groups in the form of small livestock—principally sheep. It was common that those Khoekhoe "subjects who had killed wild game were obligated to pay their chief a fat sheep" (Elphick 1985: 48). Among some groups a portion of the kill, and ivory if it was an elephant, from hunting had to be given to the chief, on the understanding that wild animals were part of his 'herd' (Boonzaier *et al*. 1996: 41). Furthermore, a sheep or goat would be slaughtered when a hunter killed a very large animal, such as an elephant, rhinoceros or hippopotamus for everyone to rejoice.

As elephant hunting and ivory trade increased, the role of cattle dropped gradually as a trade commodity. They were no longer required in large numbers to feed mariners or the passing ships, but largely the Cape settler population and the frontier after the 1700s. Sheep appear to have remained important, at least on the frontier zones for their meat and wool. Of the early 1800s it has been noted that the indigenous fat-tailed sheep had long been the basis of the frontier economy. It supplied the trekboers with meat, tallow, and fat as well as being the main source of cash for necessities such as gunpowder, iron, wagons, tea, coffee, sugar and brandy (Ross 1976: 67-68). Indigenous breeds dominated the local socio-economic fabric as well as the colonial one until the later part of the 1700s when settlers introduced foreign breeds such as the merino, which provided good quality wool. Some of the later introduced breeds also provided higher meat yields. There was also an established tradition of placing value on indigenous livestock as a trade commodity by their breeders. Northern Cape Khoekhoen used cattle and sheep as main long distance trade commodities in exchanges with various Bantu-speaking groups who in turn provided iron, beads, corn and other items (Humphreys & Thackeray 1983: 297). In the Western Cape too, the Khoekhoen of the 1650s maintained "spasmodic contact with Bantu-speakers" (Elphick 1985: 50). Some of Khoekhoen groups even claimed links to ancient lineages of Chobona (or Coboqua), long-distance rulers who might have been related to some Xhosa lineages (*ibid*.: 52).

For the Khoekhoen, livestock in general (i.e., cattle, sheep and goats) were bred, but rarely slaughtered (see Georg Meister diary of December 1687 in, Raven-Hart 1971b: 343) except during ritual occasions or ceremonial feasts (Boonzaier *et al*.: 41). They were a symbol of wealth and power. Normally, livestock supplied milk and other products. For example, sheep fat was very important, but these animals did not need to be killed for people to extract this product. The Khoekhoen occasionally cut off neatly the tails of the ewes for use as a valued source of tasty fat, which could feed, fully between 16 to 20 men (Georg Meister 1688, in Raven-Hart 1971a: 343). Oxen were important as pack animals, which eased the mobility of the camps. There were other areas of people's social lives in which these animals were significant; they featured in marriage and initiation rites. Some writers provide detailed descriptions of how the Khoekhoen used sheep in the girls coming of age and rainmaking ceremonies (Hoernle 1918, 1922, 1923; Waldman 1989). Livestock were passed down the generations through inheritance among the Khoekhoen. So, sheep, which were given as bride wealth, provided the nucleus of the newly established families upon which to build their

livestock wealth. However, I do not deal with these themes since they are irrelevant to the kind of painting contexts identified in this study. This theme might be covered in sheep paintings, but there are no definitive graphic details suggesting initiation, marriage and so on, which open up a range of possibilities for their interpretation.

There are records of other unusual uses of livestock, which may seem at first absurd, but in reality they save to show the importance of livestock. Johan Schreyer (in Raven-Hart 1971a: 119) reported in 1668 that "Since the lions and panthers do them great damage they take great pains to exterminate them. When they see a lion has eaten himself satiate (to which end they often sacrifice an old cow to him) and has lain himself down somewhere, they surround the same with a quantity of their sheep, and little by little drive these together. Behind the sheep they set the cattle, so that the lion cannot get through, and despairs because of the terrifying shouts of the men and the lowing of cattle, and is thus killed by their many throwing spears. The sheep which are killed in such a hunt are not wasted, since the victory over the lion is celebrated with them." Deployment of such defensive breastwork (see also Elphick 1995: 59) shows the versatility of the value system the Khoekhoen afforded to livestock, but they also gave their owners in such circumstances some social and political status in their communities.

While there was high status accorded to wealthier stockowners, particularly the chiefs and headmen, this did not result in huge economic divides in the form of social stratification. "[T]here were social mechanisms whereby inequalities could be accommodated and poor people could acquire livestock" (Boonzaier *et al*. 1996: 41). For example, the impoverished people could become servants, herdsmen or hunters for wealthy families and thereby obtain free milk and/or payment in the form of calves but more frequently also smaller stock animals such as sheep, goats and other items. Gradually, these poor families could in due course build their own herds using this distributive context for spreading or sharing wealth. Yet they could not effectively wield political power since it was the very wealthy who could disburse patronage, provide stock for feasts and ritual ceremonies which they hosted (*ibid*.: 47). These wealthy individuals or chiefs could also assemble substantial forces to defend their groups from enemy attacks or for the purpose of mounting raids on other groups (Elphick 1985: 55-57). From this sketch provided by early writings about their encounters with the Khoekhoen, it is crucial to link this background with some San perspectives of interaction with a view of referencing the metaphorical significance of elephant and sheep images.

These mentions in the early records offer an illuminating conceptual equation of the wild and domestic animals, which makes our understanding of elephant and sheep associations in the paintings commensurable. The ideological and metaphorical contexts of such artistic production inform the symbolic focus of these animals. The painting contexts described in the next section show that the theme based on the hunting of elephant in the Cape might have metaphorically alluded to such social, economic, and cultural contexts of the earlier and later frontiers of interaction. The association of fat-tailed sheep graphically implanted in the elephant 'scenes', might well be in the sub-text of interaction. The Khoekhoen were not alone in the landscape when the early European observers were writing about them. We have seen, for instance, how hunters-gatherers were also part of the indigenous groups who shared the landscape, though largely confined in secluded areas on the periphery of the more powerful polities. Their cultural views are, however, no less significant in our understanding of the socio-economic landscape in which they too participated.

8.3. From earlier to newer symbolic tropes

The foregoing historical background contextualised the Cape Khoekhoen, their livestock and elephants from the perspective of the early European observers. In this section I explore extracts from San narratives in order to examine how hunter-gatherer voices carried in their stories resonated with aspects of their interaction with Khoekhoen and other people. The analysis of these narratives provides a template to understand how the symbolism of elephants and that of sheep might have shifted in time and thus illuminate the artistic change for these subjects as identified in the painting sequence, chapters six and seven. The San participated as scouts and trackers in big game hunting and so they were familiar with these animals under the frontier circumstances. They also herded sheep for the Khoekhoen possibly even in pre-colonial times and later for the frontier farmers and some even owned livestock. But in later years of the frontier they had largely retreated to the marginal localities and so still remained a separate identity from the Khoekhoen even after more than 1000 years of contact (Deacon J. 1994: 19).

It is unreasonable, therefore, to assume that these San remnants were completely unaware of the customary practices and the general worldview of their pastoral neighbours. In fact, Richard Elphick (1985: 41-42) goes so far as to reject the "belief that two completely distinct

and non-overlapping peoples inhabited southern Africa." Without wishing to belabour the debates around this issue, this study's perspective is that the Khoekhoen/San dichotomy particularly in the area of belief systems is superficial and misleading for the 2000 year-period under consideration. Both the folklore and mythology of these peoples carry commonalities (Schmidt 1989, 1996). From this contextual springboard, I use |Xam narratives in search of further clues for the significance of elephants and sheep as animals that I perceive to be at the core socio-cultural dynamics of interaction and the regional rock art archive. Two narratives which hold the key to my interpretations were told by some informants in the Bleek and Lloyd archive, specifically ||Kabbo and |Haŋǂkass'o in the 1870s. This first one is about an Early Race (or a *!xwe* ||*na ssho !kui*) man called !gwá–!nuntu whose grandchild was taken away by Elephants, but later recovered by himself. In this narrative (which I have paraphrased):

> !gwá–!nuntu's granddaughter Ttau ho was taken by an Elephant and put inside her ear. At the time !gwa !nuntu had been sleeping inside a hole while the child was left above the ground digging for food when the Elephant's party arrived. The Elephant replaced Ttau ho with a little Elephant and carries the grandchild away. When !gwá–!nuntu awakes and tells his grandchild to dig, the little Elephant answered instead in a different voice and !gwá–!nuntu realised that it was not his granddaughter. He then knocked down the little Elephant with his stick and went away to follow the Elephant's footprints at daybreak. He arrived at the Elephant's houses whereupon they soon recognised him by the ostrich-feather brush he was carrying. The Mother Elephant put the child back into her ear and the child slipped down inside the Mother Elephant's body. !gwá–!nuntu said he would enter the Mother Elephant's body in various ways but instead she threatened to kill him, but he jumped into her navel and put the child on his back and carried her out through the back of the Mother Elephant's head, taking out the Elephant's heart with him. The Hyenas were then 'menacing' !gwá–!nuntu from below on the ground and he took the child into the clouds where they carried him home. The daughter rejoiced about the return of her child, but demanded to know why her father had slept, letting the Elephants take his granddaughter. His answer was that the approach of the strangers had made him sleepy. He had washed himself and the child because the smell of the old Elephant's stomach was unpleasant. The daughter scolded !gwá–!nuntu, although he still defended his actions. (Notebooks: L VIII - 4. 6334-6413; 5. 6414-6455)

In the second narrative, of which two versions were told, one by ||Kabbo and another by |Haŋǂkass'o, it is the sheep that are featured rather than the elephants. However, in the former, the elephants are one of the main protagonists while sheep in the second story are a peripheral device, but one that is important as a carrier of the Ticks. The Ticks are one of the

main protagonists. Yet there are allusions that can allow one to make a metaphoric equation of elephants and sheep. So, in |Haŋǂkass'o's version:

> |Kaggen leaves his home and goes to the home of the Ticks. These people are not relatives or friends but 'black people who keep sheep', and he goes not on a social visit, but with the intention of stealing their sheep. The Ticks see him and coming and hide in their sheep's wool. When |Kaggen approaches they drop from their hiding-places and beat him severely so that he is forced to escape by magically getting feathers and flying back to his home, his possessions flying faithfully behind him. Having soothed his wounds, he admits to |Kwammang-a where he has been, and |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 Ticks' sheep, pick the Ticks one by one and drop them in the fire; then he will be free to drive the sheep away…|Kaggen sleeps overnight and at dawn goes and does just as |Kwammang-a advised. The ticks argue with him and say he has learned this method from |Kwammang-a…He then drives away the sheep and takes them back to his home. (Hewitt 2008: 187-188)

In both stories, it is possible to read two layers of interaction involving the protagonists. In the first, the Elephants are 'strangers' and true to being unfamiliar 'people' they abduct one man's granddaughter. Elephants in San belief are often regarded as bad neighbours (Bennun 2004) or aggressive antisocial in-laws (Biesele 1993). Roger Hewitt comes to that conclusion too in his commentary on the second story when he says "|Kwammang-a is not acting out of character [when he advises |Kaggen how to trick the Ticks], for Ticks, like Baboons and the Elephants…are treated as different and menacing racial groups" (Hewitt 2008: 187). On the other hand, ||Kabbo's version of the second story, which is elaborated in its twists and turns and the allusions he makes about owning stock, invokes the strangeness of outsiders—the Ticks. Of the Ticks in both ||Kabbo's and |Haŋǂkass'o's versions, Hewitt argues: "[T]here can be little doubt that the 'black people who we do not visit' refers directly to the Khoekhoen. Indeed a note relating to this narrative points out that the !Korana were thought of as black because they always seemed angry and violent" (Hewitt 2008: 188).

Whereas the Elephants are strangers in the first story, the second one does not imply that the sheep are strange even though they are essentially an introduced material culture that is foreign to the San hunter-gatherers. Yet the protagonist |Kaggen is actually engaged in stealing the sheep (not to eat them, but to own them) from the Ticks who are themselves in this case the strangers to the San. |Kaggen's desire to 'own' something among the people who

customary did not own possessions beyond bare necessities is what others have described as a "…vignette of a new set of social relations in this rapidly changing landscape" (Bank 2006: 152). Some writers note pertinently that adaptation is a prominent characteristic of Bushman cultures, and that they change substance strategies constantly to suit available resources (Barnard & Taylor 2002: 244). In the two stories, both man, !gwá–!nuntu and |Kaggen represent the San hunter-gatherer fragment of social interaction, while the unfamiliar foreigners, Elephants and Ticks, are representing the Khoekhoen (or similar groups) polity.

These two stories provide the symbolic symmetry between elephants as wild and sheep as domestic and also their menace and docility respectively. This symmetry might also imply the impassiveness of sheep and the antagonism of the elephants. Sheep in the story are the host to the parasitic Ticks who are the foreigners and so |Kaggen must extract them from their covert in the wool in order to defeat them. On the other hand, !gwá–!nuntu must be parasitic to the hostile Elephant cow by entering her gut to achieve the same goal and rescue his granddaughter. While both elephants (as we shall see shortly) and sheep contain unusually large amounts of fat, a substance the San believe to be very potent, the former may have been regarded as dangerously potent but not so much with the fat of the latter. As Biesele showed for the Kalahari San, elephants, like carnivores among Ju|'hoansi, are expressions of the San people's fear of the more aggressive Bantu-speaking farmer people. Therefore, in San thought "Killing in the animal realm is thus metaphorically transposed into the human realm to express tension between groups" (Biesele 1993: 111) and I argue that the fight against and ultimate 'death' of the antagonist is at the core of the symbolism of the elephants in the stories and probably in the artistic record too.

Embedded at the centre of these two stories are the two traditional metaphors, 'entry' and 'exit' into things, that appear to have long antiquity judging by their pervasiveness in San folklore and belief system. For instance, as Figure 14 above alludes imaginatively (a hunter sheltering from rain inside a dead elephant), San hunter-gatherers in other parts of the subcontinent proceed beyond imagining the entry into an elephant carcass and indeed achieve this in reality. This reality was illustrated by the Ju|'hoansi in the Kalahari, as they told anthropologist Biesele in the quotation below how elephant meat is categorised, as they habitually do with most other game animals. Biesele further observed that in Ju|'hoan animal lore the subject of elephants captivates nearly everyone, storytellers and their audiences and

at the core of this interest is the strangeness of these animals. In Ju|'hoan perspective, given by various individuals in one of their conversations with Biesele about elephants:

> Elephant meat isn't red, or black, or white…Elephants have all three…Cut an elephant open, walk inside, and you see hanging down in great sheets meat of all three colours. Black meat is there, and red meat, and white…There's human meat there, and gemsbok meat, carnivores' meat, eland meat, every kind of meat, red black, and white. It's very fat. When it's dead, an elephant smells like a dead person…Its fat hangs down all around you—there is so much fat! It has all the kinds of meat in it—eland, human—it's the father of meat. (Biesele 1993: 149-150)

As part of this conversation, one of the conversants, |Ukxa N!a'an, said people no longer ate elephant meat since it combines people's flesh and bush-animals' flesh, all hanging down. Further, the Ju|'hoansi people use evocative terms *koaqkoaq* for elephants, to mean 'a thing to be feared' and *tci dore* meaning a 'bad, strange thing' (Biesele 1993: 150). There is an emphasis of bad odour of dead elephants, which incidentally features in the |Xam story above, where !gwá–!nuntu bathes to get rid of the 'smell of the old Elephant' which he had vanquished. So, part of the reason they do not eat elephant meat is that:

> [I]t's like a person. The female has two breasts and they are on her chest like a woman's. When she's young they stick out and when she gets old they fall. Also, her crotch is like a woman's with long labia. The males have penises like people. They have only penises and no balls. Their balls went up inside their bodies because they were afraid of lightning. They have an arse like a person's arse. When they run, their breasts flap. Their eyes are small like a tortoise' eyes. You don't use elephant hide, because it's *tci dore*, like human skin. Beside elephants have two backbones. We found a dead one once and it took five people to lift its penis. If an elephant kills you it buries you and puts logs over the top of the hole. When they run, elephants really get into the swing of it and begin to dance, just like people. (Biesele 1993: 150)

However, Biesele also notes that although people have reservations about various types of meat they believe to be found in elephants, she found that it is the only meat that is not distributed along the usual lines of sharing (*ibid*.). According to some of her informants, "There is so much there, you just walk up and cut off what you want" (*ibid*.: 150). If we pause momentarily to contemplate this personhood accorded the elephants that the above passages amply illustrate, we come to the realisation that in essence these animals also evoke diversity in ideology. It seems therefore that this aspect of elephant symbolism in San thought is paradoxical, since within strangeness or foreignness is also embedded a kind of familiarity that is essentially their personhood. Elephants are generally peaceful animals but the bulls

become hyper aggressive and dangerous particularly during musth or when injured or sick and when they are old and solitary (Skinner & Chimimba 2005: 56). They are highly social animals whose matriarchal-based social organisation appears to be significant in San thought and eminently reflected in the paintings. While they are sociable, they can also be dangerous in defending their young or the herd when threatened.

As interaction with other groups of people proliferated, the San in general and the |Xam in this particular case, tried eking out "an independent existence in the face of growing pressures on…home territory by those variously called 'Bastaards', 'Boers', 'strangers' or, most evocatively, 'people who are different' (Bank 2006: 150). This difference is acknowledged within a broadly unified category of personhood, but also that this quality has inherent tensions between hostility and sociability. It seems that such groupings of elephant imagery juxtaposed with that of people, but not necessarily hunting or slaughtering them (e.g., Appendix 1, Figure 20), carry allusions of this metaphoric association. This human/elephant, hunter-gatherer/herder nexus of ideas shifts when the hunting of these animals escalates. The human/elephant bonds changes focus onto the conditions within which intense interaction forces those interconnections to break. As Andrew Bank (2006: 295-296) notes of the |Xam conditions at the hands of Khoekhoen and settler farmer polities, they increasingly viewed themselves and banished to abject poverty and subservience. All said and done, as some have suggested that:

> [T]he social upheaval associated with the influx of herders into the region 2000-1600 years ago could have led to the San moving into the mountains. Their contact with herders could also have led to a breakdown in social cohesion and an erosion of the power of the shamans. (Deacon J. 1994: 34, citing Yates *et al*. 1993)

This scenario would have been true also for the later frontier conditions when San hunter-gatherers lost their traditional lifestyle alongside rights to their lands and now lived (imaginably unwillingly) in contact with or under the servitude of settler farming communities. However, regarding the later colonial frontier interaction, it is plausible that the rock painting traditions had possibly entirely vanished, with the fine fine-line having tailed off much earlier before European contact, and the coarse fine-line enduring slightly later into the colonial period. So it is conceivable that the earlier strata of elephant depictions—ones where therianthropes, transformed figures and entoptics among other distinctive imagery are featured—might have had some connection with shamanistic and other related ritual

symbolism linked to trance performance and rain making. Several of these graphic scenes which were first reported as 'elephants in boxes' (Maggs & Sealy 1983) and whose associated 'motifs' were later expanded through neuropsychological interpretations (Lewis-Williams 1995b) have now been interpreted as representing the communication systems of elephants (Paterson 2007). In this view, wavy or zigzag lines connecting various elephants from their feet, underbelly, trunks, tails, heads or backs, groins and even the throat in one case "represent the sound and/or vibrations of the elephants" (*ibid*.: 3) as they communicate over distances via the ground. While this is a tantalising proposition that touches on the earlier San symbolic tropes, the painting evidence is not so easily sustained. Nevertheless, I am tempted to recall the Elephant heroine narratives of the Ju|'hoansi people collected in the early 1970s farther afield in the Kalahari where allusions to the San system of belief and gender/sex metaphors are featured (Patricia Vinnicombe, pers. comm., 2002). In one story (with several versions), the trickster deity Pishiboro and his brother connive to murder his wife, G!kon||'amdima the elephant girl, and they cut her up and eat her flesh since '[He] was married to meat and thought it was a wife' (Biesele 1993: 151).

> The younger brother, after eating the dead wife's breast…cuts open her uterus. The foetus walks out, accompanied by a flood of uterine fluid…Pishiboro, fearing that the fluid will go to warn the elephant girl's parents, [and] tries to catch it by digging a hole. But it flows past him and indeed continues on to alert his in-laws that their daughter has been murdered. (Biesele 1993: 151)

The symbolism of some of the said images including cow-calf associations 'ensnared' within and amongst the wavy lines and zigzags will be found in the richly complex allusions of these narratives. In the story, the Elephants mount a determined fight for vengeance and they defeat the two brothers who end up hiding inside a termite mound. The Elephant girl's life is resuscitated thereafter. Nevertheless, the artistic themes focusing on shamanistic beliefs and ritual symbolism might have changed with the shifting socio-economic and political scenarios of the earlier pastoral frontier and the later colonial frontier that gradually, but inevitably, fragmented San hunter-gatherer social cohesion and cultural fabric. Although in other contexts of interaction between the San and other groups culminated in the increased roles of ritual specialists (e.g., Campbell 1987) the Cape frontier circumstances appear to have been different. Here the relevance of medicine people might have shifted from a customary healing emphasis towards their importance as political leadership, particularly captaincy, among the politically conscious and belligerent San groups who ventured to

subvert the influence of powerful polities that were eroding San autochthonous rights to the resources in the contested landscapes. Such groups are not difficult to find in many parts of the subcontinent where necessary conditions such as the erosion of San rights to resources, oppression *et cetera* are documented. One cannot find any reason why the Cape hunter-gatherers would have lacked this capacity for political transformation. Let us briefly look at an illuminating example from the Kalahari with similar frontier turmoil.

One anthropologist with a long research record among the Nharo (Naron) of Ghanzi, central Botswana, Mathias Guenther, points out that the 19th century was a period of turmoil and change in this region (Guenther 2002: 131). The abundance of game, particularly elephants, had drawn agropastoralists as well as white hunters and traders who in turn later dominated most San groups as subjects from whom tribute was extracted. However, even before this contact with other people, there were rivalries amongst the San groups: around the mid-1800s the Nharo and ǂAu||eisi, a San group speaking a Ju|'hoan dialect, came into intertribal conflict when the latter group moved into the northwestern Ghanzi veld and displacing the former. Theǂ Au||eisi, with a reputation of military aggression and sorcery, became the dominant group. This dominance peaked under the reign of their 'paramount war chief' ǂDukuri, who is described in oral traditions as a "mighty chief," ruthless and ruling over many San groups from whom he extracted tribute (Guenther 2002: 133). With a substantial arsenal of weapons, he could easily assemble "mounted raids against recalcitrant families, sometimes exterminating entire bands" (*ibid*.). This stimulated a political system dependant on big-game hunting as the "…basis for all social and economic conditions, all rights and laws, the entire political organization" (Guenther 2002: 133, citing Passarge 1907: 81, 119). Subsistence and trade were the key reason for these hunts, which might have also led to wealth accumulation, control and power (Guenther 2002: 132). However, Guenther argues that the organisational elaboration of leadership and politics resulted from the rivalries and hostilities among the San groups themselves. This scenario resonates with Legassick's view that in a frontier zone there tends to be no single source of legitimate authority within the administrative interstices of the polities and their spheres of sway.

From the 1840s to late-1870s the political organisation and military prowess of theǂAu ||eisi under their chiefǂDukuri was kept at bay by several influxes into their sphere of influence

by various settler groups and big-game hunters. Other formidable enemies were the Bantu-speaking agropastoralists, the Tawana, from Lake Ngami region in the north and the Oorlams (i.e., Kai/khauan) from Gobabis in the west who advanced into the Ghanzi veld for hunting big game and raiding livestock from weaker groups. With the death of ǂǂDukuri around the 1860s, and since his chieftaincy was hereditary, his son assumed the leadership. Unlike his father, he lacked the military vigour and so his group could not mount effective resistance to invaders. Further, the radical decline of game due to excessive hunting by outsiders forced his people into impoverishment. Consequently, the overall Ghanzi San resistance to outside pressure declined so much so that white hunters and traders in the late 1800s went in virtually without resistance. This excerpt illustrates the political and military dynamics of contact zones, even in scenarios where there are no outsiders in the equation. As in the Cape, big-game hunting, competition for scant resources and the concomitant emergence of active political leadership and militarism among various indigenous groups fuelled the Kalahari situation.

In a similar vein, Elphick (1985: 73) describes how a group of Khoekhoen in the Cape in 1510 killed the Portuguese viceroy in India, Francisco d'Almeida, and over fifty of his men. The Portuguese had abducted Khoe children inland and, in a fierce counterattack, the Khoekhoen drove their oxen as a defensive rampart (which I mentioned earlier as one method for attacking carnivores) from behind which they hurled spears and missiles. It is interesting that Elphick notes the fact that Khoekhoen were more capable of mounting concerted resistance to Europeans then than they were a century later. Part of the reason can be found in the ideology around war and raiding that is common among pastoralist peoples of the world characterised by great fluidity of wealth and prestige. Khoekhoen fought many wars among themselves even long before colonialism (*ibid*.: 53-54), which resulted in their fragmentation with time. They fought over territorial disputes, raiding, ethnic fission, abductions and so on and one fierce two-week inter-group battle was witnessed in the late 1661 between the numerous warlike Cochoqua and some smaller formations known as the Peninsular groups. Yet these battles galvanised KhoeSan peoples in the face of interaction where military confrontation was found necessary. Such groupings organised in smaller and mobile units than before were to emerge in later centuries in the Cape as the northern frontier wars intensified as presented by historian Nigel Penn's work (e.g., Penn 1987, 1990, 1999, 2005). It seems that the frontier precipitated conditions that created more militaristic groups of often

mixed ethnic formations who were keen to maintain their own political power and authority and control over social and economic resources particularly elephant hunting and the attendant ivory trade. I now describe image contexts that might resonate with these historical and socio-cultural circumstances of the Cape in the course of frontier circumstances.

8.4. A slice through the painted archive: defining elephants and sheep

The sections above described aspects of the history and ethnography that inform my interpretation of elephant and sheep images. To situate the utility of the archival fonds notion in my interpretations, I return to the hypothetical scenario used in chapter five. A researcher working on the development of archaeological terminologies in southern Africa will look at all the record assemblages relating to, among others, van Riet Lowe, Goodwin, Breuil and others even though each one is a separate fonds in the archive. He or she might consider correspondence found at items, files and series levels to build an idea of how, for instance, the terms Early, Middle Later Stone Ages were formulated and used from the pioneering years. By the same token, the analytical trajectory in this study focuses on two selected image themes that span different categories of painting and traces them through the sequence. In the process it reveals how these subjects might have held different symbolic significances through time. Traditionally, this approach would be difficult since each image theme will have to be evaluated within its own painting tradition and separated from the others. Although the art traditions were made by different groups (or even mixed groups in some cases) of people, it is plausible that in the context of long interactions and shared socio-economic activities on the frontier landscape some cultural elements of belief and worldview will feature as admixtures in their artistic productions. Take, as an example, the panel where an elephant cow and calf under attack from archers appears in the fine fine-line manner (Appendix 1, Figure 14, Top), which is juxtaposed on the right with another panel of a herd of several elephants (adults and sub-adults) in course fine-line (Appendix 1, Figure 21, Top Left). The latter manner has been shown in the sequence to supersede the former, even though in this example these two are not superimposed. Although both panels use the same red pigment, the coarsely painted elephants are considerably vivid suggesting that they may have been placed later than the finely painted pair. From the fonds perspective, the reading is that the artists using the course fine-line group intended to add their own understanding of the theme based on the existing fine fine-line pair of elephants under attack.

There are several levels of difficulty in identifying subjects in rock art; some images are straightforward while others may be perplexing. However, anyone who has seen a real elephant or a photograph thereof can directly recognise this uniquely shaped animal in the rock art whatever the manner of its depiction. There may be uncertainties on issues of interpretation and meaning, but not the subject's identification. Where do elephants occur in the sequence and in what graphic forms do they feature in different levels? Why do they appear where they occur and would their meaning have remained the same or changed with different periods in the past? This section describes some examples of elephants in tandem with those of fat-tailed sheep (with emphasis on elephants) in an attempt to identify some conceptual proclivities for their symbolic framework through time.

Several studies have identified the varying frequencies of different animal species in the rock art of the Cape. The elephants were observed in the late 1960s to be the second most favoured species after the eland in the Pakhuis sample. They made up 9.3 % against the higher 18.6 % frequency of eland depictions (Maggs 1967b; Maggs & Sealy 1983). Other studies in the same region found 11.8 % elephants in the Olifants valley (Van Rijssen 1980) and 9.5 % in the Sandveld (Manhire 1981). In a recent Agter-Pakhuis survey, many new sites were recorded, out of which a probable twenty or more have depictions of elephants (Mguni 2007), bringing their frequency to over 10 % in the area. Elephants appear in higher frequencies in the Cape when compared to other regions of South Africa, indicating that they "…had some special importance for the inhabitants…" of the region (Johnson, G. Townley & Maggs 1979: 68; Maggs & Sealy 1983: 45). As argued previously, this importance is indicated by: 1.) the large number of their depictions, 2.) the special contexts in which some of them feature, and 3.) the presence of therianthropes in the midst of some of them (Maggs & Sealy 1983: 45). These observations prefigure the shamanistic framework which establishes their association with "San trance performance" (*ibid*.: 48). In other contexts, elephants, specifically in the engravings where they also feature strongly, have been interpreted in the context of rain symbolism (Deacon, J. 1988; Morris & Beaumont 1994; Rust 2000). Some types of images associated with elephants include wavy and zigzag lines, castellated forms and transformed human figures apparently in these scenarios not hunting them (i.e., their special contexts). They also interestingly feature a strong cow-with-calf combination where the calves are presented walking under the bellies of their mothers. The elephant depictions that I consider

appear in various levels of the sequence and feature in compositional combinations that can be divided into three common types:

1.) Gregarious clusters of two or more individuals,
2.) Solitary or individual elephants (mostly bulls, judging by certain characteristic features) in apparent aggressive charge-postures, and
3.) Mother-calf combinations as pairs or part of larger groupings.

The first kind of elephant depiction that I refer to which appears in the sequence is that of large yellow-to-orange clayey plastered elephants (Appendix 1, Figure 7). These are rarely depicted individually, but are sometimes paired or are in groups of several individuals. These elephants generally appear above the fine fine-line imagery, occasionally sandwiched between this earlier painting category occurring underneath and then handprints, finger strokes and smearing occurring above (Anderson, G. 1996: 78). Some examples of this temporal contextual association are found at several other Agter-Pakhuis shelters including the major sites Sonja's Cave Upper, Salmanslaagte and Site 7 on Sevilla Trail. This type of elephant painting is not to be confused with other yellow painted examples such as the fine fine-line specimens at Khabo Area Site 4 or even those at Zuurvlakte (Though in this latter case, the smaller elephant, or what might be a calf?, joined by a thick line in front of the large animal is coarsely produced as if it was done by different hands and perhaps times) (Appendix 1, Figure 20). Here the pigment is not based on clay and the outline form of the animals is painted using a fine brush and they are shaded evenly inside. There are several more examples of both types of elephant depictions in the region.

The second kind of elephant depiction is that of finely detailed red monochrome elephants appearing, either as individuals or groups, often interleaved between other fine fine-line imagery (Appendix 1, Figure 13). One of these examples is a single large elephant in what is known zoologically as a faster walking gait (Technically elephants do not trot or run), with the tail slightly raised at Fallen Rock Shelter. One defining feature of this elephant is the distinctively rounded fore head—which, along with being solitary, might indicate its maleness. In terms of sequence this elephant overlies fine fine-line human figures and part of a filigree of dots, but a fine fine-line group scene in turn overlies it. The group scene is itself then overlain by two, possibly three, smaller coarse fine-line elephants. A similar sequence is repeated at Maidens Pool Shelter, where a group of finely detailed elephants, which is

contemporaneous with some fine fine-line images at the site, is under several other types of fine fine-line images. To the left of this group, which is filing to the right, is a fleeing calf pursued by a group of hunters with bows and arrows and what appear to be sticks or lances. One elephant, possibly the mother or matriarch, has turned back and charging leftwards in a faster walking gait as if intent on rescuing the calf. Then, a distance below this herd, there is a single smaller coarse fine-line elephant painted amidst finger strokes and smears in similar colours, which—like the Fallen Rock instance—might be later than the fine fine-line group in terms of sequence. Another case of similar combinations involves a fine fine-line cow-and-calf association, which appears among a group of elephants. The calf is actually tucked underneath, nearly touching the belly of, its mother, a position seldom painted in this area where calves are frequently shown walking ahead or behind the adult animals: see Appendix 1, Figures 14, 16, 20, 21. These elephants appear above earlier detailed imagery comprising several slightly faded eland and human figures. Then another set of fine fine-line human figures is painted above the eland. Due to a wash zone running through this cluster of images, the fresher and vibrant red pigment of the humans has bled down onto the mother-and-calf pair that lies spatially below. In these instances, the elephants are flanked by two different sets of finely detailed imagery. In yet another of the examples, a procession of fine fine-line elephants, including calves and sub-adults, occurs above and below finely detailed imagery (Appendix 1, Figure 17); still visible, the earlier red images underneath are severely weathered while the few later human figures in black pigment occur above. Black fine fine-line images generally occur above other finely detailed images in various ochreous pigment colours in the Agter-Pakhuis locality.

This type of elephant association involving mother-calf pairs or groups with calves and other sub-adults directly associated with human figures is more common than recognised. Few of these particular examples are observed in any discernible sequential relationships with other imagery. They generally appear both as fine fine-line and coarse fine-line as shown in the examples in Appendix 1, Figures 14, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22 and 23. Whereas the hunting theme is, by and large, seldom featured in various rock art regions, it is apparent in the Cape that some reference is made to elephant hunting in these depictions either metaphorically or otherwise. Although there is no indication of obvious killed elephants in any of these depictions there is an unusual example of one animal appearing to have succumbed to a series of arrows or lances which are impaled on its head and body while another—some short distance away but

in the same colour, manner and level of deterioration—faces in the opposite direction as if fleeing from the carnage (Appendix 1, Figure 25). The rarity of hunting has been noted under the caption to a presumed dead elephant due to its supine posture and outstretched flaccid trunk from Buffelsfontein, Eastern Cape (Johnson, G. Townley & Maggs 1979: 41). This rarity is no indication of diminished significance of elephant hunting; the few definitive examples are enough to argue for the interpretation presented here.

While some writers have identified trance performance and rain symbolism as central to various depictions of elephants, it is intriguing that a hunting theme involving these animals pervades in circumscribed parts of the Cape mountainous zones, such as the Agter-Pakhuis and surrounding localities. As we saw above, the last of the observed elephants in the region were in these localities and in fact the most intense hunting of elephants was in the Clanwilliam and Citrusdal areas. As a prelude to the discussion of the permutations of the symbolic focus of the theme based on the hunting of elephant, it is worth noting the associated theme where fat-tailed sheep are featured as well. At Elands Bay Cave in the coastal zone, there is a coarse fine-line fat-tailed sheep. The head and upper body however appear to have been enhanced with the finger, something that attests to the overlap of these manners of application (Appendix 1, Figure 14). There is a faded line of elephants a little distance above and to the left of the sheep painting in nearly the same pigment and possibly coarse fine-line manner. This may be incidental: yet a few more examples emerge farther inland, in the mountains. In the Agter-Pakhuis, a weathered fine fine-line sheep (Golson 1983: 23) with its lamb showing characteristic spindly legs is painted slightly above an elephant cow-calf pair (Appendix 1, Figure 16 and 21: Both illustrations are on the top left of the collage). The distinctive floppy ear and back legs are clearly shown; the torso and lower neck might have been painted white and then red for extremities and head—a feature observed in other places (Rudner & Rudner 1959: 106-107). In another association, a finely detailed line of elephants is positioned a few centimetres above another set of two (and possibly more, but now badly weathered) fat-tailed sheep images (Appendix 1, Figure 17). This arrangement appears to be more intentional than incidental: both clusters, which face to the right, have several human figures on the left which are positioned as if to give the impression of herding or driving these animals in the direction they face. Nevertheless it has been noted that in general "…the sheep paintings are often less informative than the human figures grouped with them" (Manhire *et al.* 1986: 25), which makes their interpretation a

challenge. However, the figures associated with the elephant line are carrying bows and arrows or sticks. Yet in other sheep image clusters that other researchers have observed, such human figures carry bags or similar objects. The association of such material culture may indicate known milk skin bags, which were used by Khoekhoen pastoralists. Some of the figures reflect various bodily attenuations which are argued to indicate the connection of these groupings with trance symbolism in line with the general fine fine-line assemblage of painting (*ibid*.; Anderson, G. 1996: 87).

The context of their production is that of interaction and so to select one ethnographic trope as relevant and ignore another, as not might be a counter-productive approach. Even the view that "[N]o 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" (Anderson G. 1996: 85) is not entirely accurate. As we have already seen, sheep are in fact featured in some |Xam Early Race stories, one such being |Kaggen's fight with the ticks who had come out of their covert in sheep wool (Bennun 2005: 151-155). In a demonstration of acquired sheep husbandry knowledge, particularly the different sheep breeds and their behaviour (Bank 2006: 296), |Haŋǂkass'o mentioned that the hairy fat-tailed Ronderib Afrikaner or Blinkhaar breed (*!geiten* is the |Xam name) do return home to the kraal on their own when left in the wilds, unlike the Farland sheep (or *!koa* in |Xam) and others which remain where they are left (Bleek, Wilhem H. I. & Lloyd 1911: 111). These were former hunter-gatherers who had both adopted a partial herding life and also worked for white farmers, Khoekhoe and the so-called Bastaards who we saw in earlier chapters. So the sources that might inform our understanding of contact imagery essentially come from an amalgam of ethnographies concerned with the societies involved in the interaction: thus the Khoekhoen and San nexus seems more appropriate than apprising each one of them in isolation of the other.

Some researchers in this region regarded finely detailed images of domestic animals as shamanistic in makeup as precipitated by "…stressful conditions brought about by the competition with immigrant groups" (Manhire *et al.* 1986: 22). However, Gavin Anderson has dealt with this sheep paintings at length and revised this association of trance symbolism with domestic animal imagery in the Cape on the basis of these animals being non-San material culture (Anderson, G. 1996, 1997). For him, sheep images are "…stereotypic reproductions of San group norms in response to interaction with pastoralists" (Anderson, G.

1996: 87). These images are salient indications of out-group material culture since interaction of pastoralists and hunter-gatherers "…is not one of integration, but of different social identities" (*ibid*.: 88). He believes that in this scenario "Male hunters had limited access to Khoe society and would need to renegotiate their gender and social identities" (Anderson G. 1997: 58-59). The general formal and contextual homogeneity of sheep images is argued to be evidence of this perspective on gender relations. So too are small game animals in the hunter-gatherer rock art tradition in this region. This argument, couched in gender and identity theoretical framework, appears to have some internal inconsistencies. Other researchers placed fat-tailed sheep images within the shamanistic framework (Huffman 1983). Anderson downplays the general shamanistic perspective, with the exception of sheep images at Cannagaaitjies (Anderson G. 1996: 87) on the basis that linking trance metaphors with non-San material culture is problematic (*ibid*.: 86). Yet the same putative 'stereotypes about out-groups' are presumably rooted on San metaphors about foreign things. And where does this leave the acknowledged finger painted sheep (*ibid*.: 87) or even in the case of my sequence discussed above, the coarse fine-line examples, all of which are presumably not classically hunter-gatherer authored? Without seeking to downplay the possibility of gender relations as implicated in some sheep paintings, I anchor my interpretation on the circumstances that are generally found in the frontier zones. We saw earlier how De Kock considered frontiers, using the analogy of the seam, to be sites of both convergence and divergence. Here, difference and sameness become aligned as they are also brought to self-awareness. This view augurs well with Legassick's understanding that frontiers are spaces of contact and inclusion ending in various groups mixing together elements of social systems of their parent societies. In the frontier, differing former political authorities and modes of production cease to influence people's choices as new modes of life and institutions are evolved through the mutual acculturation from interaction of different cultures.

In this purview, the view that identities between San and Khoekhoen were non-integrative cannot be presumed to have been true to all times and places where such cultural interactions took place. It is unclear why "Interaction was more likely one of accentuated intergroup differences and thus salient intergroup identities" (*ibid*.: 88). While aspects of identity and gender might be implied in the sheep imagery as argued, the implicit suggestion that an active artistic 'marking' of social status and intergroup identity salience appears to be strained. In fact, some have noted that in spite of wide gaps between wealthy stock-owners and those

with few or no livestock, “Poor families, as measured in livestock, were looked down upon, whether they were San or Khoikhoi” (Boonzaier *et al*. 1996: 42). Even then, they also argue that social mechanisms were available to ensure some form of wealth redistribution. One problem with the identity-focused perspective is that it overemphasises difference, at the expense of resemblances, itself fixed along stereotyped ethnicities. Hence the statement “[C]ontact between Khoi and San, especially males, was not one of assimilation or acculturation” (Anderson G. 1996: 88). On the other hand, to then use Khoekhoe ethnography about sheep to understand hunter-gatherer fine fine-line sheep is undoing the conviction in their putative socio-economic and ideological variances.

Furthermore, it is unconvincing to discount shamanistic symbolism for sheep images, which are observed to lack any informative contextual detail, while simultaneously tying them strongly with certain Khoe female rituals (themselves not depicted). Other evidence indicates that foraging and herding signatures are similar historically and archaeologically as “…broad continuities in stone artifact traditions and in hunting-gathering patterns before and after the introduction of stock and pottery to the Cape suggest that acculturation (diffusion) was at least as important as population movement in promoting the spread of pastoralism” (Klein 1986: 9, citing Deacon, J. 1984b). It is incontrovertible however that the advent of pastoralism impacted adversely on local hunting and gathering economies by displacing them and exerting other forms of stress. Direct competition for land and other key resources led, in some instances, to confrontations and even fatalities between herders and hunter-gatherers. There are those individuals or groups who moved between herding and hunting depending on circumstances and vicissitudes, while some were completely acculturated in both directions. There are also those hunter-gatherers who did not merge with pastoralists but either entered with them into the various patron-client relationships such as known historically or they retreated into seclusion in the mountains. In the late 17th century there were still autonomous hunters and gatherers in the Cape’s mountainous regions even after over 1000 years of contact with herders (Deacon, J. 1994b: 19).

In this analysis, I advocate Riegl’s (1888, 1889) historical perspective, noted above, as I consider the imagery of elephants and fat-tailed sheep. These paintings are products of past temporalities and historical circumstances of the earlier and later frontier conditions in the Cape. For instance, how did the varying social, economic and political entities produce and

use art under frontier contact as defined by various writers in the discussion above? Noting that elephants and sheep formed an important dimension of the early colonial economies, the ensuing explanation draws on Legassick's focus on trade and raiding coupled with Penn's weighing of the pastoral production. To situate imagery of these particular animals and understand their place in the painting sequence, my analysis follows two directions of the socio-economic continuum in the Cape bestriding both the earlier pastoral frontier which dates back to around 2000 years ago and the later colonial version that can be pegged at 1652 with the first permanent Dutch settlement at the Cape. This appeal to social, economic and political conditions of the two frontier forms does not *per se* mean that they explain the paintings and change; instead their consideration provides the context for understanding aspects of the imagery and change over time. Methodologically, the fonds approach allows the analytical movement from one level in the sequence to another or from tradition to another in the same area where overlaps of cultural entities are known to have existed in contact scenarios. Overall the symbolism of some elephant depictions principally, and the association of fat-tailed sheep secondarily, appears to be linked to ideologies fomented under sustained interaction conditions of the forager, pastoral and colonial frontiers through time in the Cape region. I have argued thus far that imagery shifts from earlier shamanistic emphasis to later political leadership among the KhoeSan groups trying to maintain social cohesion and effect political organisation to counter-balance the polities whose burgeoning influence was undermining the traditional *status quo*. A complex series of events and conditions came together to create an atmosphere where new metaphors were shaped and projected on older and pre-existing animal symbols in a cultural context that Legassick (2010) described above as resulting from acculturation and new modes of life.

Finally, elephant images, by contrast to fat-tailed sheep, are less stereotyped and more heterogonous in their painting context, which gives them a greater range of detail that might lead to some understanding of their meaning(s). What this means is that the former are much more graphically varied than fat-tailed sheep images in their form, colour, size, posture, group characteristics and so forth. As I showed, there are several examples of fine fine-line elephants, and even more others in the coarse fine-line assemblage, which appear in clearly 'hunting contexts'. Figure 22 illustrates this point, showing a cluster of coarsely painted and miniaturised images of several people and three elephants. One elephant, on the far right, has a gait and posture of an adult, which appears to be in pursuit of a group of three human

figures that are carrying hunting equipment. Behind this elephant is what seems to be a calf, judging by its chubby body, fleeing in the opposite direction. Still farther left and slightly higher, there is the third elephant in a cluster that includes four female figures, which carry digging sticks (one of which is stone weighted). The lower picture from another site shows an archer with a drawn bow directed at a fleeing elephant. The manner of depiction of this cluster is intermediate between coarse fine-line and finger painting. Similarly, the top picture in Figure 23 shows a set of coarse fine-line images which include three elephants: The larger elephant facing left features on the top left of the panel while the two smaller ones, possibly juveniles are lower down. In between there five human figures with bows and arrows: some appear to pursue the larger elephant while some are attending to the two others. In the cluster, there are two female figures. Are these depictions of real hunting scenes or are they allusions to something that is embedded at a much deeper metaphorical level?

Regarding such human-elephant interactions in the art, some researchers have noted for other regions that the lack of tusks in elephant images there is evidence that rock artists were not concerned with them as sources of ivory (Rust 2000: 40). That refutation alone appears to view San rock art strictly in terms of daily realities. It must be remembered that San art is noted for its oblique reference to subjects, which goes contrary to our outsiders' sense of reality. In the same breath, one cannot assume that where such tusks are depicted it means that the artists were highlighting ivory. Features of subjects were often omitted, or made to look smaller or bigger than they are in reality in order to emphasise their significance (e.g., see Mguni 2004). It is true, however, that tusks are rarely shown in elephant imagery in the Western Cape and adjoining regions. The main reason for this absence is that tusks appear to have been painted in white, a transient pigment that easily succumbs to weathering (John Parkington 2006, pers. comm.; personal observation). Yet a few existing examples can be recalled: the bottom picture in Figure 23 shows a red elephant with tusks clearly shown in white. Another cluster in the top picture, Figure 14, shows that the two largest individuals out of the five coarsely painted elephants carry tusks in the same monochrome red pigment used for these images (Golson 1983: 21). There are few other instances in various parts of the region (Johnson, G. Townley & Maggs 1979: 62, 64). None of these depictions have any associated images that suggest their being hunted for ivory. It is widely accepted now that the various rock arts on the sub-continent are generally not literal depictions of reality, but rather are metaphorical in content and intent. So even if, as this study does, one has identified

hunting as a theme in the artistic record, it does not necessarily imply that the artists were documenting this activity. The symbolism of these animals and what appears superficially to be ‘elephant hunts’ lies with the historical circumstances of the artists at the time of art production. Therefore, this study searched for clues concerning the contingent combined hunter-gatherer and herder ideologies that were formulated as a result of the new mixed economic activities focusing on elephants and domesticates such as fat-tailed sheep. For the elephants, ivory had become a significant product in the changing socio-economic worlds of people living within frontiers of interaction in the Western Cape.

CHAPTER NINE

PRESENT AND FUTURE

> *The pendulum of thought swings back and forth, as one generation solves its predecessor's problems, but thereby creates new problems for the next generation to address, with ideas having their day, being discarded, and then being revitalized in a modified form in later work.* (Cook 1997: 47)

9.1. ENVISAGING ROCK ART ARCHIVES

This thesis advocated the utility of the archival perspective in the analysis of rock painting sequences and change over time in image production in the Cape. Assemblages of paintings are envisaged to reflect archival qualities while the past artists undertaking painting were themselves engaged in what made them some kind of active archivists of their social histories and worldviews. The issue of historical narratives based on rock art analyses has been a subject of much debate in recent decades in southern Africa. Some years ago, Mazel urged: "I would like to make it clear that the paintings form part of the San historical process, and that if, or more positively when, we are able to date them, they will be an important component in constructing these historical processes" (Mazel 1993: 890). The problem revolves around the lack of dateable contexts for rock art, which—when they become attainable—would form the central means to link the sequences from the layered paintings to the layered shelter deposits. The dating issue is however gradually being rectified and the usefulness of integrating such dates with established layers of rock art sequences have been demonstrated in the Drakensberg (as reported in Mazel 2009). For example, a painted bichrome eland, dated by AMS radiocarbon technique to between 2900 and 2760 BP, was found to belong to the second oldest relative sequence layer identified by Russell (Mazel 2009: 93). Dates alone, without being linked to particular image layers in the art sequence, are less than useful in the chronological interpretation of the layered paintings for deriving social history processes. Therefore the understanding of sequence layers in the art necessarily becomes more meaningful alongside dated images for the discernment of change through time and the formulation of historical narratives based on rock art assemblages. Although Dowson argued similarly to Mazel's view above, that "The Bushman were amongst the first producers of

their history and indirectly and unknowingly they are still involved in its continued production" (Dowson 1993: 644), he believed that uncovering this history is achievable through the painted record without necessarily using direct dates of the images, excavation archaeology, colonial and other such sources. Following the customary manner in which some writers have dealt with change in the rock art of the Drakensburg, Dowson (1994) treated San paintings as collapsible into a broad period from a few centuries ago and going back to two millennia.

In an attempt to explain San history in the rock art, Dowson (Dowson 1994, 1995, 1998, 2000) used structuration theory (Blundell 2004: 66) to map out how individual painters influenced change in San societies from some parts of the southeastern mountains. He rightly considered images as having played a key role in San social relations (Dowson 1994: 336). Focusing mainly of diagnostic shamanic figures, he envisaged change from the earlier undifferentiated communal shamanic groups, to differentiated shamanic consortia and finally elaborate images of pre-eminent shamans. Much of what he narrated about social and economic relations based on clientship among groups does not however, come from the art but knowledge from written sources. Also, neither these observed changes were linked to specific dated images (Mitchell 2002: 407), nor the image successions derived from superpositional analysis. His chronological analysis was thus relative. As others have argued, without a secure chronology within which to situate change from one painting category to another, such change as Dowson identified cannot be demonstrated (Mazel 1993: 89). By contrast to Dowson's approach, several studies have showed in recent decades within the same region where he studied change and history in the art, that colonial history, oral traditions, archaeology, ethnography can be combined with explicit social anthropological theoretical frameworks such as phenomenology and postcolonial perspectives of creolisation and hybridity to advance our understanding of insider hunter-gatherer history through the paintings (e.g., Blundell 2004; Challis 2008, 2009; Mallen 2008). Even prior to the time of these later writers, others had earlier showed the usefulness of combining archaeology, colonial sources, oral traditions and ethnography to unravel local histories embedded in the rock art (e.g., Campbell 1986, 1987; Hall S. 1994; Loubser & Laurens 1994). As Mazel has consistently argued (1992, 1993, 2009), the key concern around these efforts is deriving chronologies based on direct dating of images with which to formulate and organise the social histories archived in the paintings and deposits inside the shelters where the art occurs.

I would also add that a methodology is required that interprets rock art holistically across traditions of painting. Most interpretative approaches work within single painting traditions to understand the social history of the art producers. This approach limits the scope for expansive interpretations that move beyond single traditions in situations where art producers were entangled in social, economic, and cultural relations. This study, by contrast, attempted an approach that allows an integrative interpretative framework particularly for rock art traditions produced under sustained contact situations. As some writers hinted in respect of the south-western France cave art: "What this settlement of Paleolithic hunters gives us is a work of memory, the traces—still very much alive today—of societies that inscribed a part of their past" (Geneste *et al.* 2004: 20). That is of course bearing in mind that this body of ancient art might have been a manifestation of different traditions through time. Their catchphrase, 'work of memory', captures the essence of the archive notion that is the basis of my argument in this thesis. Yet such archival memory pertaining to past histories involving multiple groups of people cannot reside entirely in an assemblage produced by one group and the exclusion of others. The archival perspective allows, at least as a notion to guide practice, for the interpretation of specific images from various painting assemblages produced under contact scenarios. Using the fonds principle within the archival approach permits the creation of links between different assemblages of paintings that may be part of a single broad tradition or several traditions. The method works best when specific painted subjects are identified that occur within and between these assemblages in similar ways that archival records of various kinds can be identified and used to build unified historical analyses. I therefore investigated those painted subjects that might have held significance across cultural and artistic boundaries in similar ways that archivists and users of archives approach archival records, which are themselves often derivative from different sources and periods and in many cases also created for vastly differing purposes. As discussed in chapter five, these archival records are ordered using a particular method and are then interpreted following systematic links between them to produce various types of historical narratives. After developing this archival notion in chapters one, two and four, I then took a slice through the rock painting assemblages of my study area and analysed localised imagery of elephants and fat-tailed sheep in the context of earlier pastoral and later colonial frontier situation in order to understand the social and economic histories associated with the imagery.

Elephants and ivory as well as the domestic sheep products played a major role in the social and economic life of indigenous populations for two millennia and they became even more important from the mid-1600s in the Cape when the European settler community created and expanded economic opportunities based on these animals. The study observed that the artistic rendition of these animals and their graphic contexts move from the earlier fine fine-line, the coarse fine-line and the finger-painted categories. Fine fine-line elephants are expected to go back in time to those assemblages predating the advent of herding around 2,000 years ago, which is the earliest date for the introduction of fat-tailed sheep. In the paintings sheep arrive while fine fine-line paintings are still produced, but disappear in the several centuries that followed. The making of rock art continued until sometime after the advent of the colonial period; the sequence presented in this thesis shows that the course fine-lines might have existed prior to the termination of fine fine-lines, but they then continued and overlapped with the later finger-painted category. Such an overlap is confirmed by colonial era material culture featuring in both these manners of depiction. Elephants and sheep also appear in both these manners of painting, and where they are juxtaposed graphically, the featured manners are still the coarse fine-line and finger-painting categories. There appears to be a continuation of the importance of the elephants and sheep as subjects that held relevance through time for the social and economic interaction conditions of the earlier and later frontiers. Although no obvious new technologies are reflected in the painting clusters where these animals are seen hunted and driven by people, it seems that the traditional hunting methods might have been used throughout most of the frontier history as recorded in the colonial archives. It is possible that the use of existing metaphors in the rock art continued even under the new colonial frontier conditions although the meaning might have shifted through time. Some forms of dots too appear to move through the sequence from earlier to later traditions as shown by superpositions. This occurrence indicates the continuity of certain graphic elements through time and categories of painting, which might mean the co-existence tropes of meaning among interacting cultural groups.

In this study I suggest that the meaning of elephants depictions and possibly sheep shifted from what might have been an earlier strata of beliefs and rituals concerned with the spirit world to metaphorical tropes informed by the increase in political and martial leadership. This leadership was prefigured through the change from customary to introduced economic scenarios of the frontiers. From the earlier to the later frontier scenarios, the social and

economic interactions were fraught with tensions driven by the existence of conflictive groups. Colonial archives show that most of these indigenous groups comprised of people of varying ethnic backgrounds and in the main they were also fluid through time in their compositions. As scholars of frontier histories point out, frontiers are characterised by the central elements that concern, first, the lack of a single legitimate authority, and second, the dynamic mutual acculturation between groups (Legassick 2010: 6). Under the ever fluxing contexts of such frontiers of interaction, it is unlikely that long standing traditions, particularly those of former hunters and gatherers would have been maintained effectively across the entire region affected by the introduced complex social, political and economic conditions.

In this approach, the archival perspective's central methodological tool of the fonds was used to allow the expansive interpretative trajectories both in the formulation of chronology and the subsequent interpretation of certain images of elephants and fat-tailed sheep which populate various levels of the emergent painting stratigraphic sequence. The study contends that there are enough localised configurations of these images and their illuminating contextual clustering patterns to warrant new exploratory perspectives on rock art interpretation in the area. This archival perspective combines historical, archaeological, and ethnographic sources in the analysis of the rock art assemblages in the study area. Rock art is envisaged to be a resource that embodies archival qualities and therefore should be engaged with as if it were a body of archival information straddling several periods. Instead of replacing former perspectives, this approach is promoted as an additional methodology to the social anthropological and other interpretative models that are customary in southern African rock art studies. While one of the foremost archival scholars, Terry Cook, wrote about the archival history in the above epigraph, the same is equally true for rock art studies in this region. Previous approaches emphasise interpretations within, and *not* across, rock art traditions and so there is little room for exploring connections between image assemblages even where it is known that the producers of the paintings interacted for long periods. Such a customary approach misses some information in the art due to the lack of understanding of particular images that might have formed part of the common cultural and economic practices of various groups who interacted under sustained contact situations. In order to understand change through time, the fonds approach allows such narratives on social histories of past painters to be formulated across the imagery sequences and even through different traditions

of painting. In previous approaches, image interpretations are generally compartmentalised according to the defined art traditions to which they belong within emergent sequences, whereas the use of concept of the fonds allows an expansive interpretation. Yet the problem of absolute dates still lurks in the background in all endeavours to formulate historical narratives from rock art and archaeological materials. In seeking to understand hunter-gatherer history in the Drakensberg from the perspective of rock art, Mazel (1993: 891), in resonance with Parkington and colleagues in the Cape, argued for the integration of the art and the excavated archaeological record. This still remains the key to unlocking the problem of realising history and change through time in the art. Some have taken on Mazel's vision, and argued: "It is a mix of local oral histories, local written histories, local archaeological evidence and other sources that has proven most effective when used in combination with rock art for reconstructing San histories..." (Smith, B.W. 2010). Apart from Mazel, another excavation archaeologist working in the region bounded by the southeastern mountains, Peter Mitchell, has called for the "…integration of a diverse set of data, including not only excavated materials and their laboratory-based scientific analyses, but also ethnographic and historical sources. Importantly, both also require the exchange of ideas between archaeologists whose primary interest is hunter-gatherers and those whose primary interest is farming communities. Rock art is central to the discussions of the relationship between these two populations…" (Mitchell 2009: 129-130). It is a vision that this thesis endorses, while adding the archival perspective to the suite of possible frameworks. As intimated earlier in the thesis, for such a vision to bear fruit, researchers will need to formulate projects that combine both the art and deposits in the shelters (Mitchell 2009). Dating should form the core of this focus. One of the sites in this study, Maiden's Pool, was earmarked for excavation and direct dating of the art and materials from the excavation. Although the project under which this work was to be funded was terminated due to lack of funds, plans are underway to conduct this dualistic approach to rock art chronology and interpretation. It remains the priority for my research efforts that in the Cape I conduct future work focusing on both the rock art and the archaeological deposits. I have identified further two sites where dating samples on the art can be derived and excavations conducted in tandem. As dating research is gaining traction in South Africa, as seen in the past few years, this appears to be the right time to resolve one of the most lingering of research lacuna in the region.

APPENDIX 1

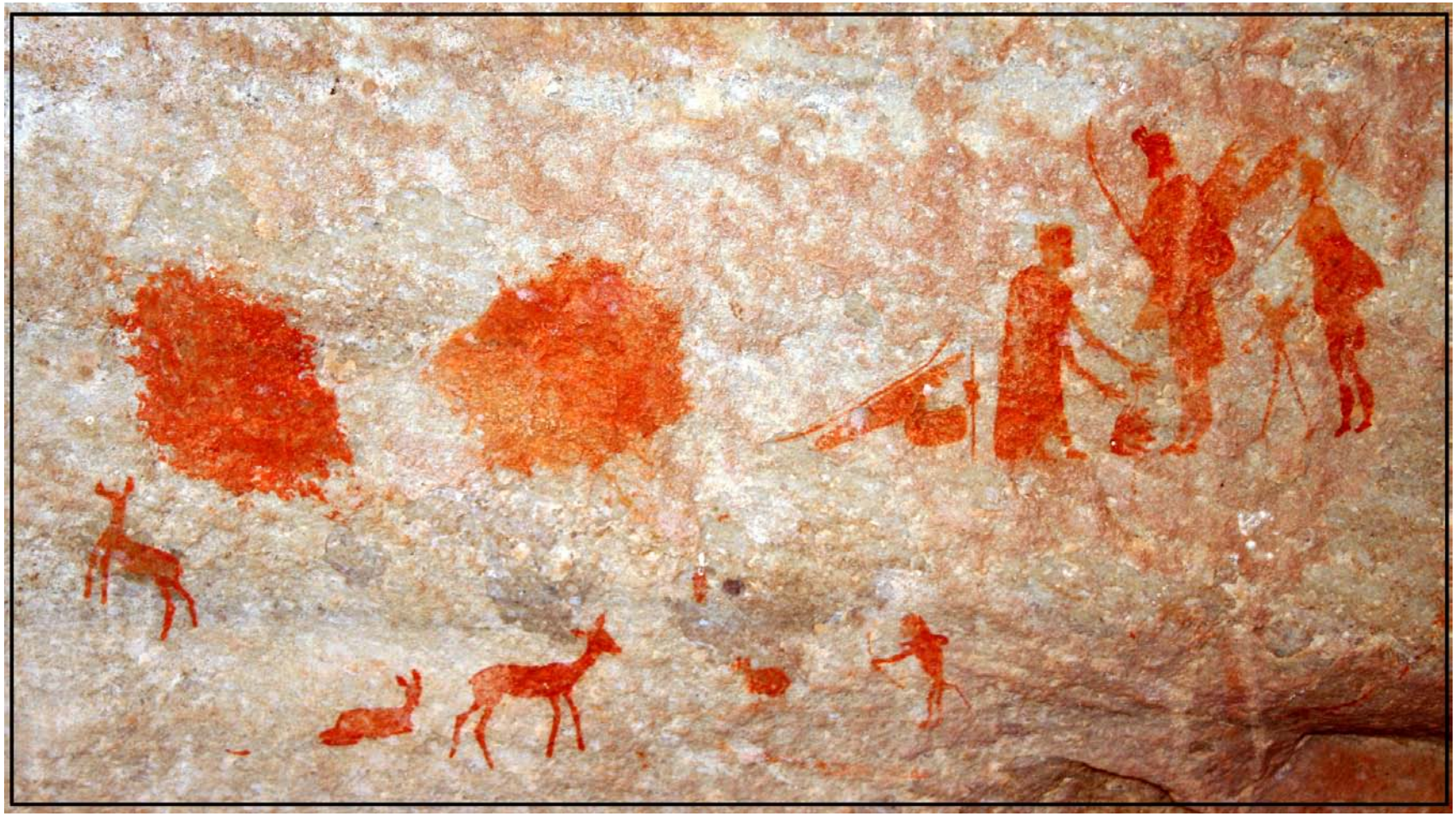


Figure 1: Detailed representational images (fine fine-lines) which are attributed to early hunter-gatherers.

Figure 2: Common type of human head (sickle- or question-mark/**?**-shaped) generally known as the ‘hook-head’.

Figure 3: Various group scenes from the Cederberg.

Figure 4: Varieties of red ochre occur in the vicinity of the painting sites.

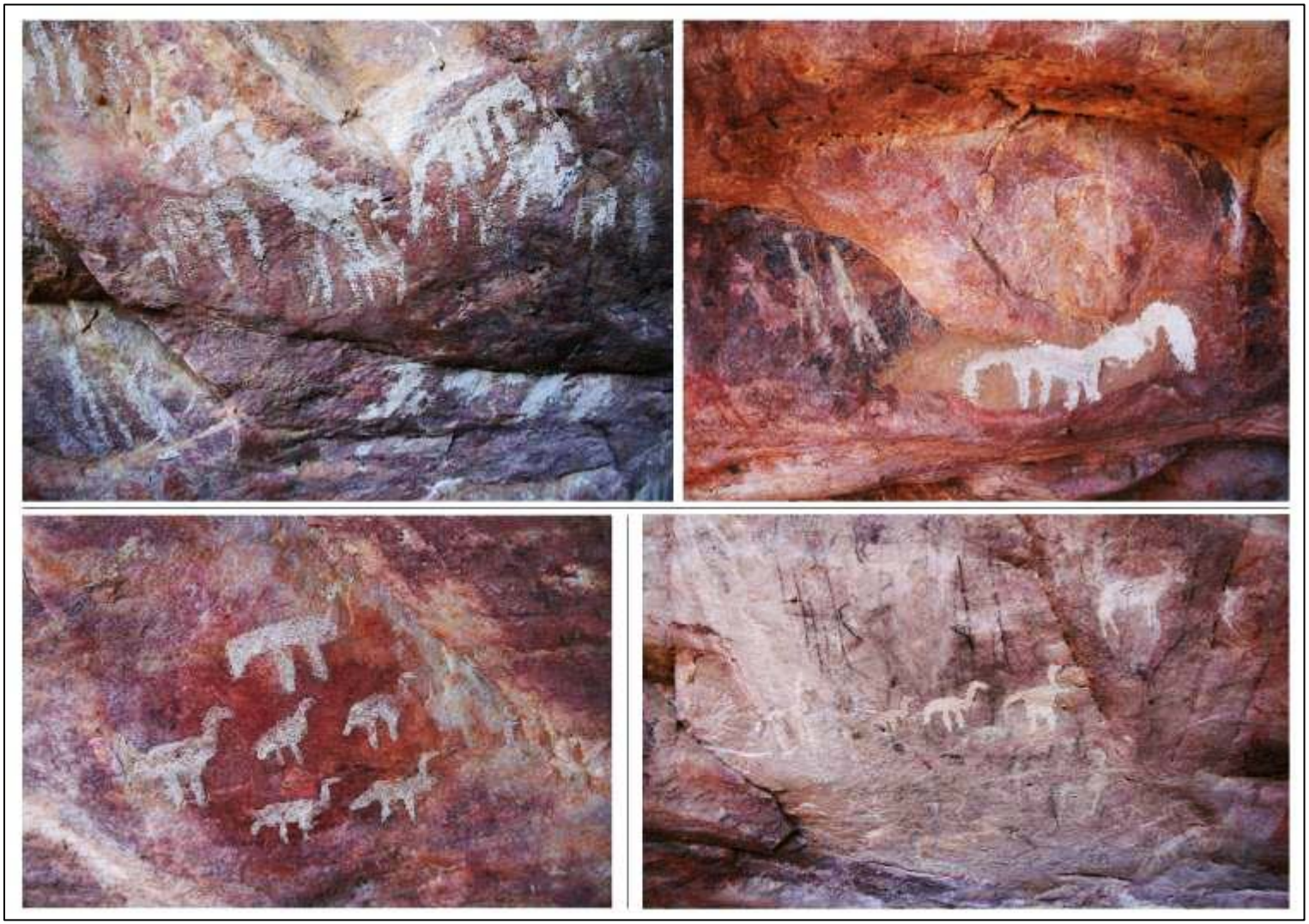


Figure 5: A variety of finger-daubed imagery from Maidens Pool Shelter.

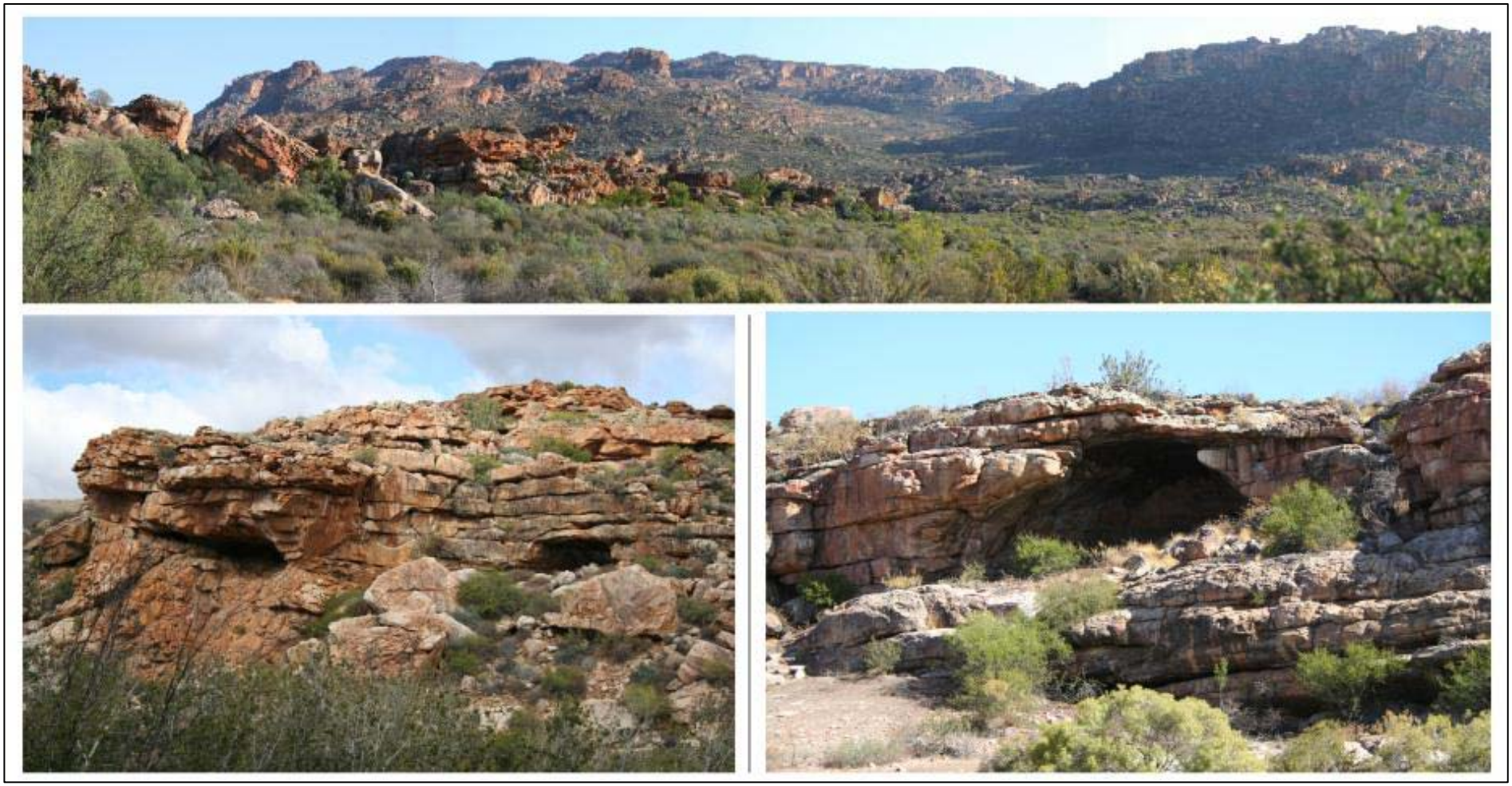


Figure 6: The rugged Cederberg scenery contains ravines where painted and habitation shelters formed good protection for both people and animals.

Figure 7: Large yellow-to-orange clay-plastered elephants are almost always over fine fine-lines. The bottom right picture shows that some late elands as well feature in this form.

Figure 8: ImageJ (D-Stretch Plug-in) and CPED toolkit revealed an invisible layer of geometrics at Fallen Rock Shelter.

Figure 9: Diepkloof Kraal Shelter topography showing the arrangement of rocks and boulders in front of several sections along the shelter. The inert on the bottom picture shows the view out from the shelter.

Figure 10: Decorated and plain handprints are common feature of the Cape.

Figure 11: Various finger dots and finger strokes in the Cape. Top left black dots are over red ones.

Figure 12: White dots, which are overlain by a fine fine-line red kaross figure at De Hangen Shelter.

Figure 13: Finely detailed images with most shelter reflecting dense overlays in the same painting tradition (These panels show elephants in superposition with other fine fine-line images.).

Figure 14: Coarse fine-line elephants and a fat tailed sheep. Their form is contrasted with the finger painting of an indeterminate animal on the bottom right.

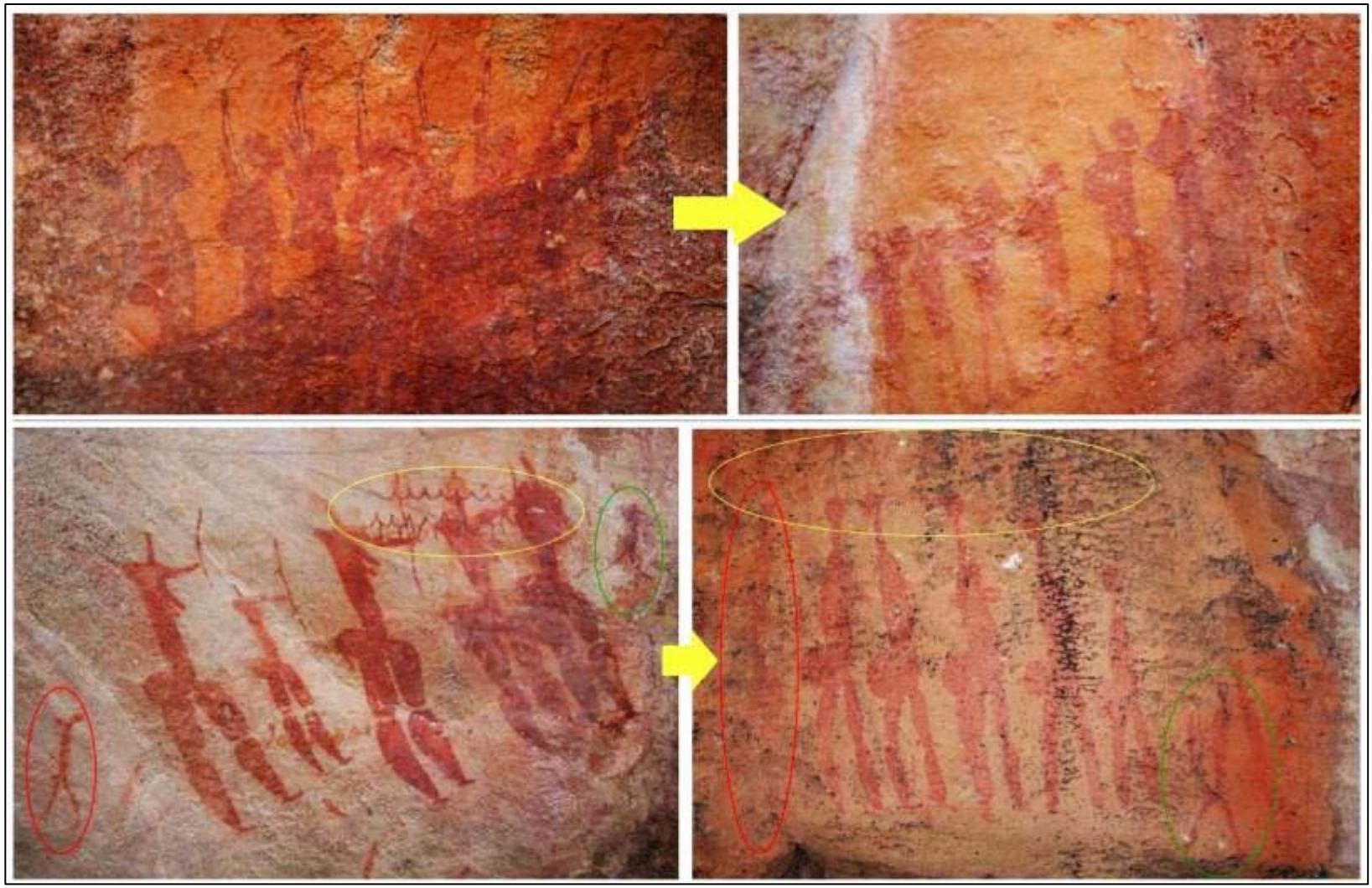


Figure 15: Some of the several cases of replication of imagery from fine fine-lines to coarse fine-lines, which has implications for sequence and site painting histories in the Cederberg.

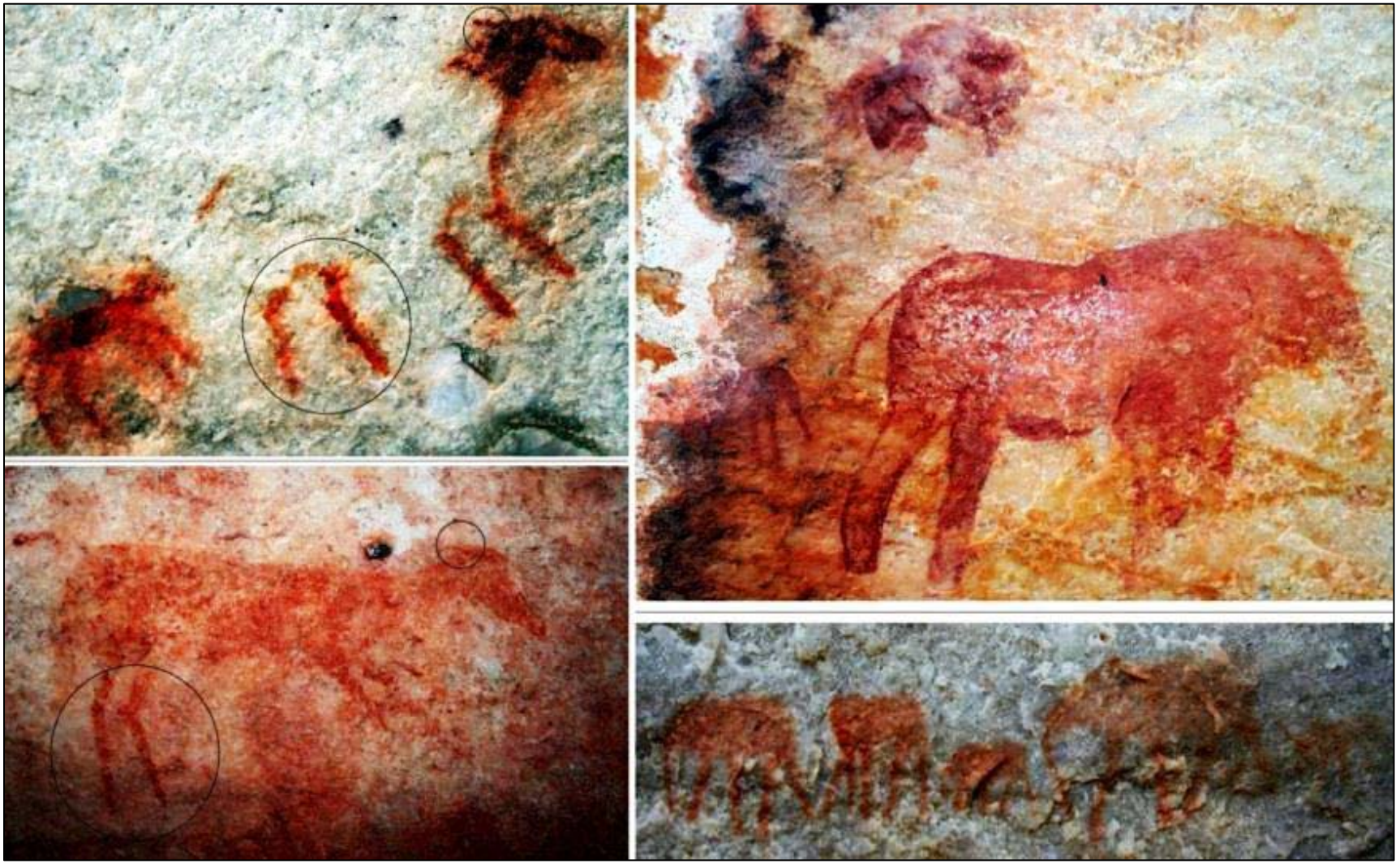


Figure 16: Ewe and lamb (Top left), elephant and calves (Right, top and bottom) and the left bottom sheep shows distinctive features of sheep in general.

Figure 17: Fat-tailed sheep juxtaposed with a file of elephants. (These images are directly above each other and separated by just under 18 centimetres of space and they all face right. The elephant herd has at least 9 individuals including calves and sub-adults while two fat-tailed sheep are clear and a possible further three to the right are very faint and badly weathered).

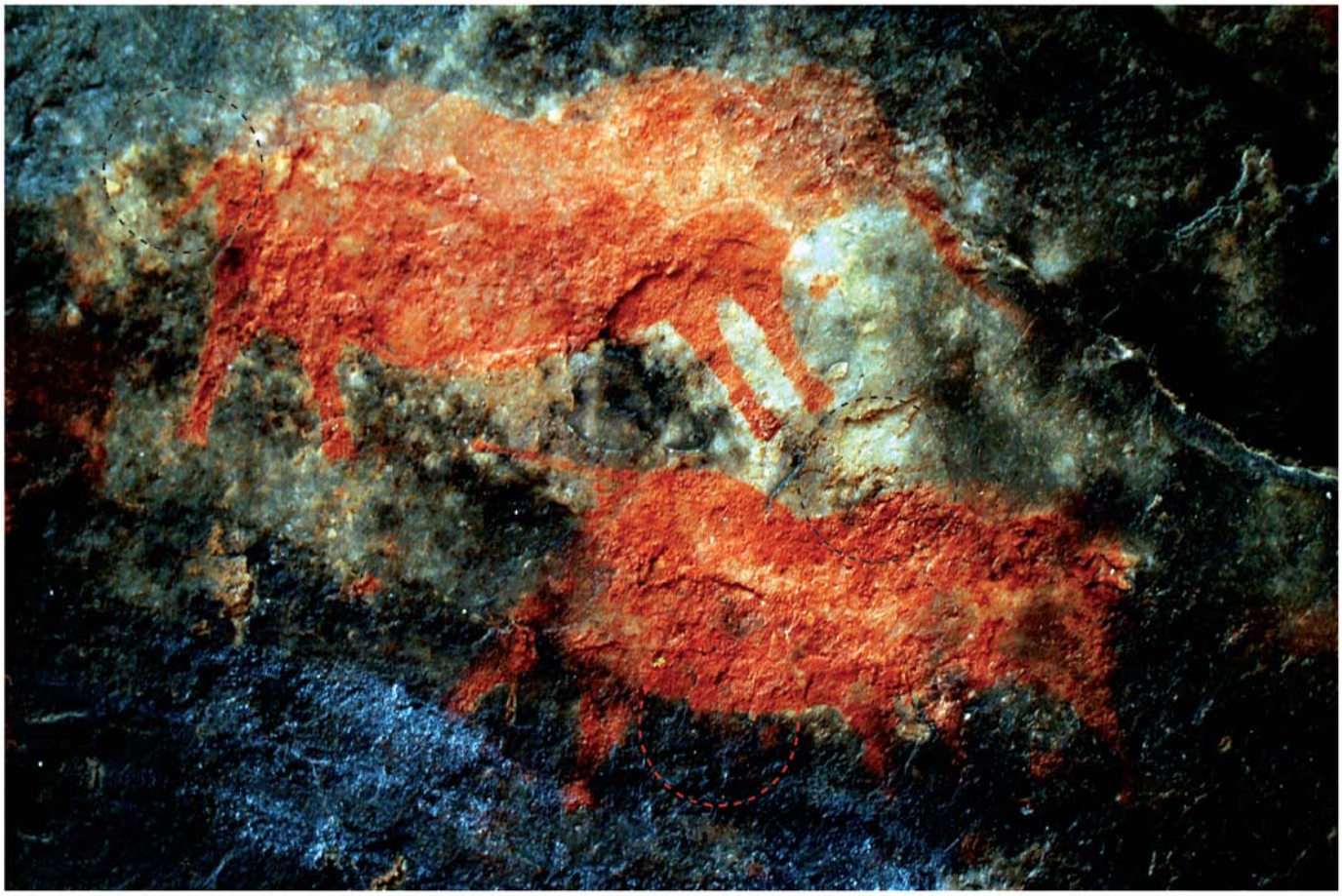


Figure 18: Two coarse fine-line elephants painted over faint fine fine-line figures (The majority of images on this panel are covered in soot). This particular set of elephants appears, however, to be a manner of application that straddles earlier detailed form and the later coarse form.

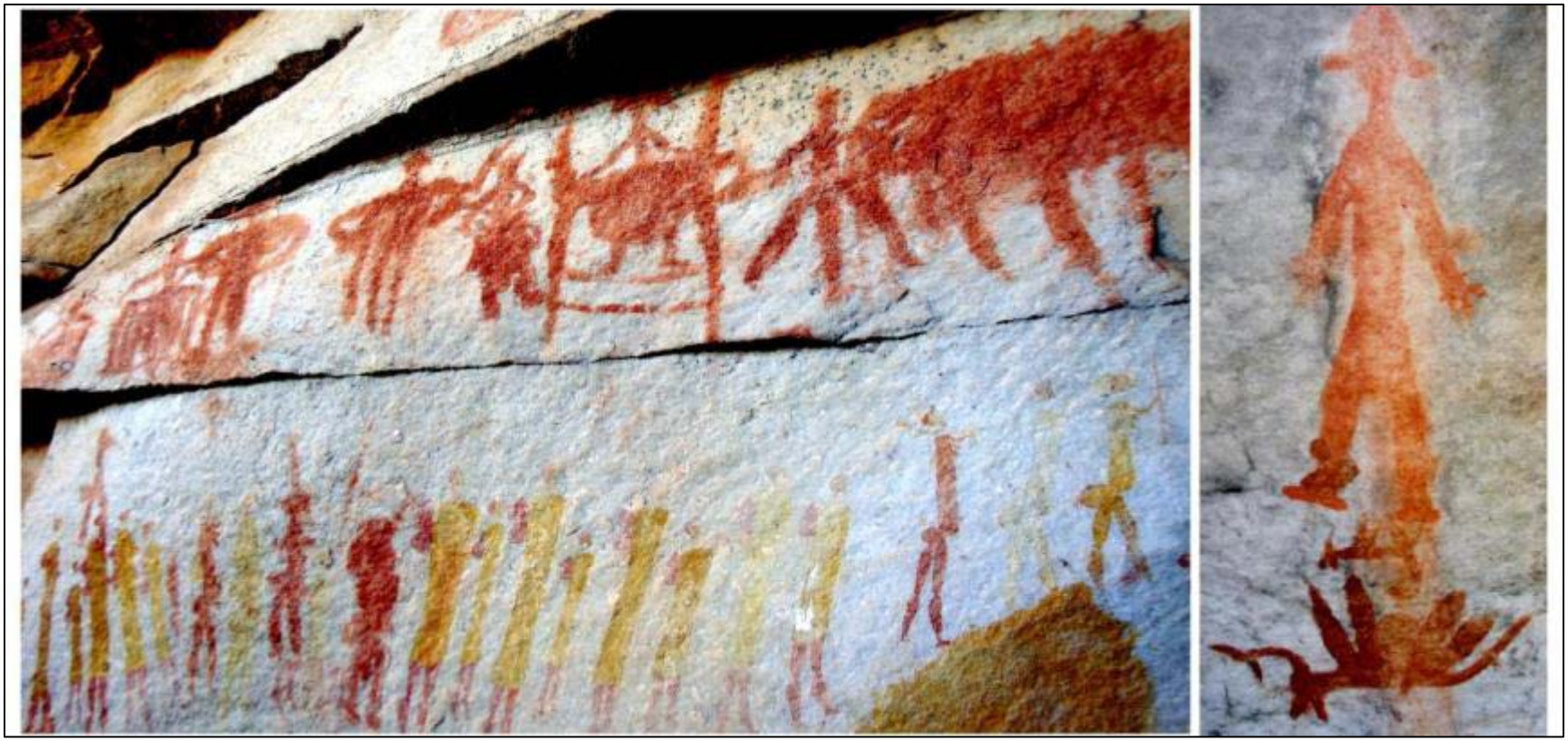


Figure 19: Imagery from Zuurvlakte, Koue Bokkeveld, showing overlaps in form between coarse fine-lines and finger painting.

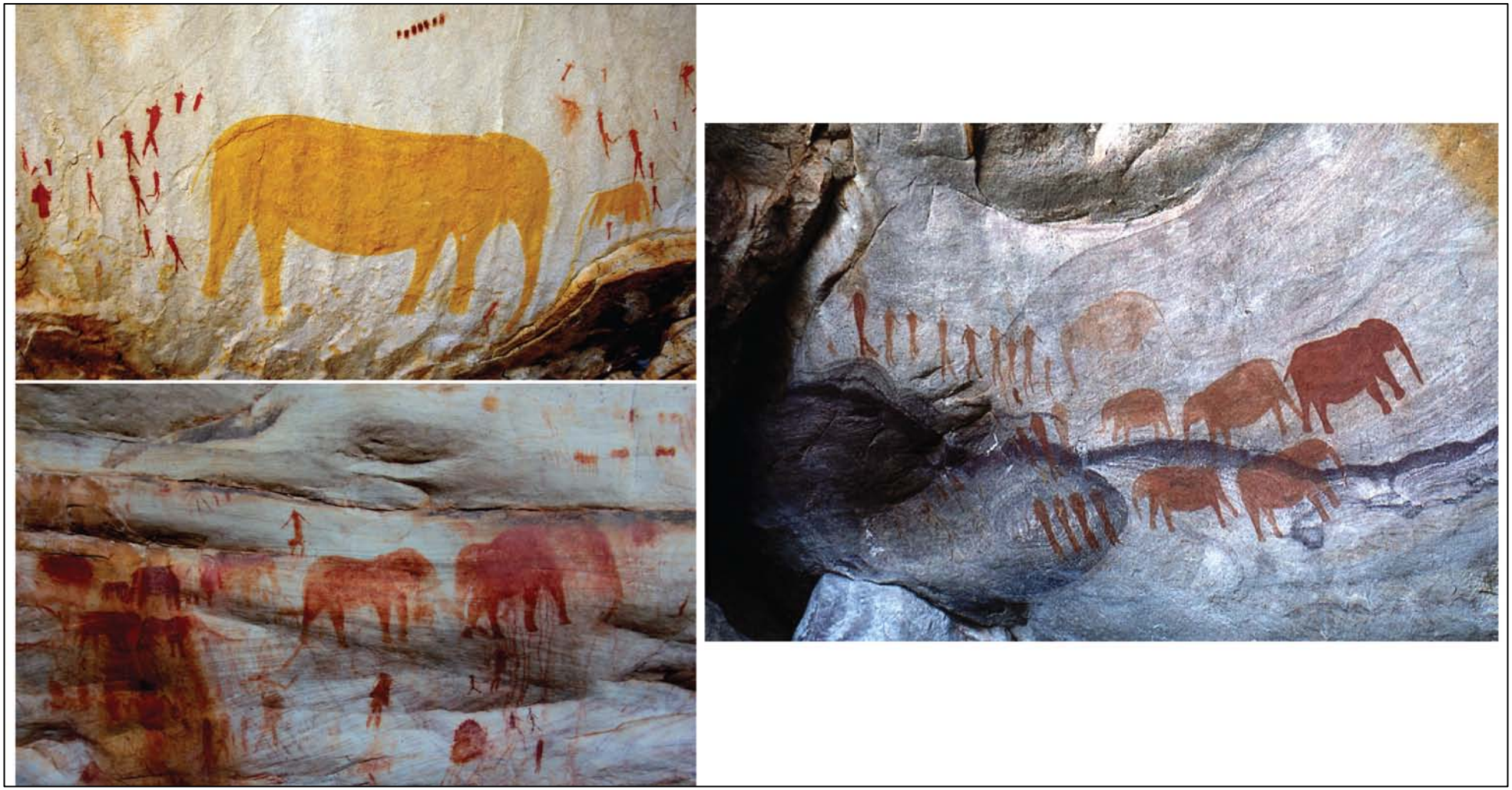


Figure 20: Elephants and calves in contrasting association with groups of people, Koue Bokkeveld and Cederberg.

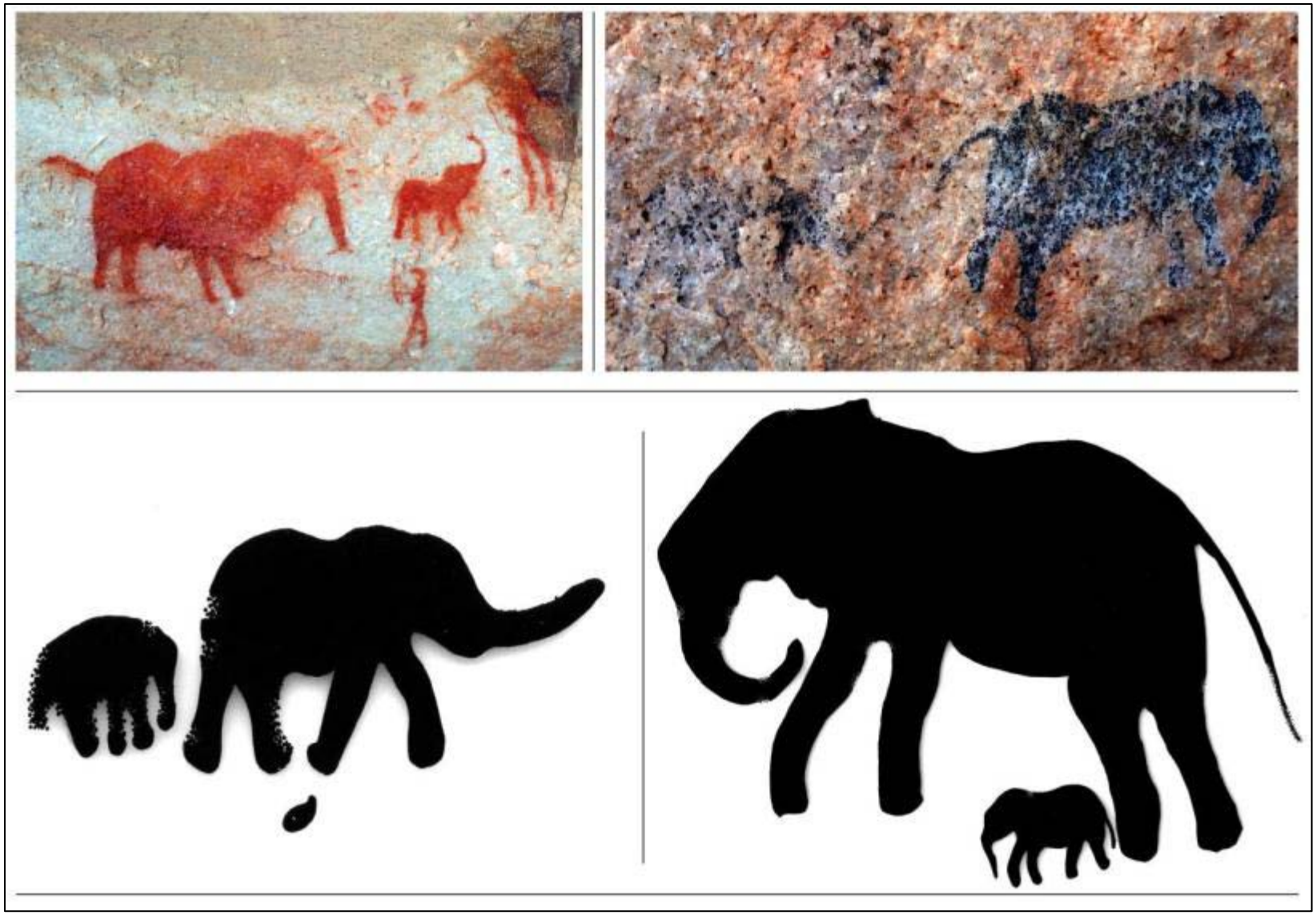


Figure 21: Common theme of elephant cows with calves in the Cederberg.

Figure 22: Coarse fine-line elephants: top example is more coarse and caricaturised than the bottom example.

Figure 23: Elephants pursued by men with bows and arrows or some sort of spears. As in the previous figure, the top cluster is coarse fine-line while the bottom panel is finely detailed.

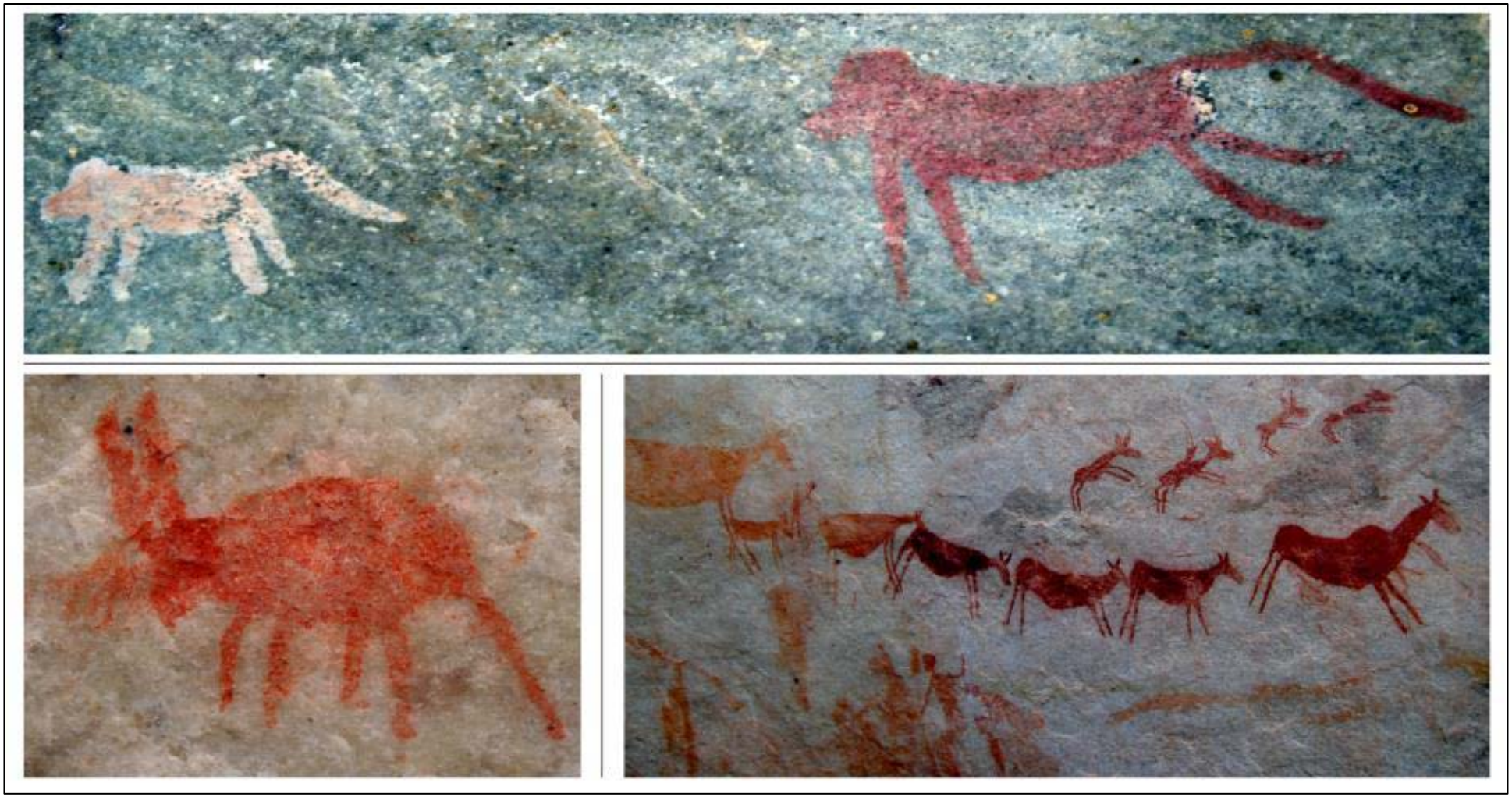


Figure 24: Coarse fine-line images: Bottom right therianthropic figures and the line of disproportionate antelope are possibly an earlier form of this manner (closer in form and content to the true fine fie-lines) while the rest may be later and closer to the finer painting manner).

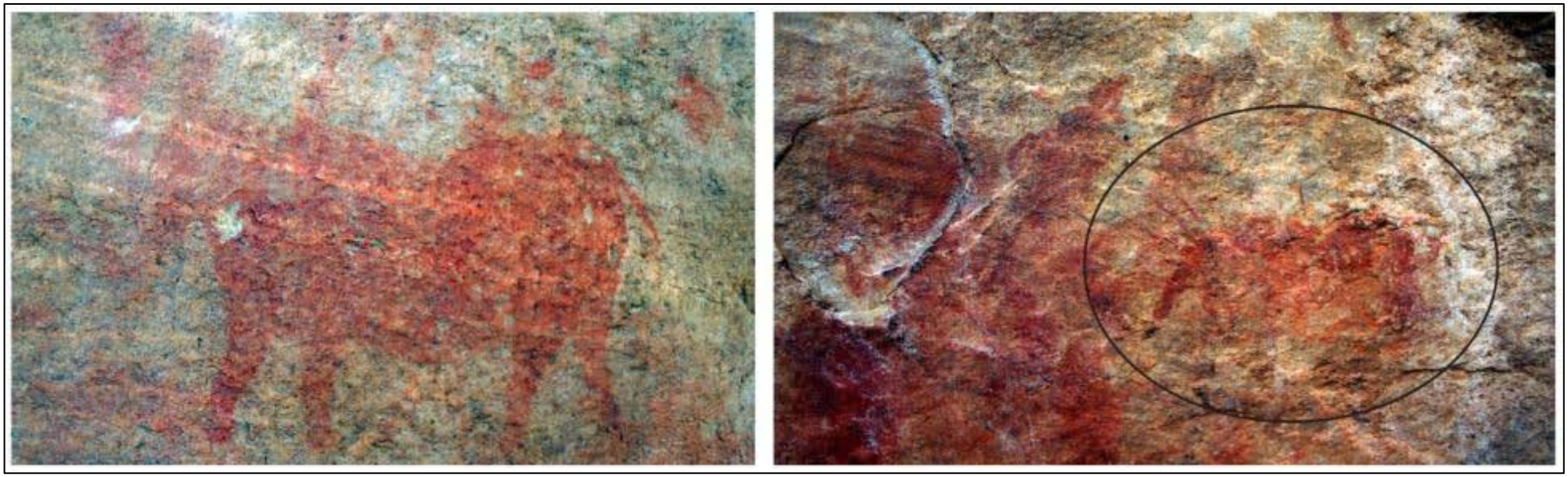


Figure 25: Two elephants—(one possibly a calf or sub-adult) about 55cm apart with human figures and other imagery in between—appear to be part of the same scene with the young animal impaled with arrows or spears while two hunters are closing in from the left.

APPENDIX 2

			OVER																										
		Image clusters	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	
UNDER	1	Human figure, Course Fine-Line, Yellow																	3		1	1							**5**
	2	Yellow-kaross figure, Fine Fine-line, Red + yellow																											
	3	Finger stroke, Finger painted cross, Course daubing, Dark red, Red																											
	4	Tall human, Fine Fine-Line, Light red					1			2																			**3**
	5	Human figure, Fine Fine-Line, dark red																											
	6	Red-kaross figure, Fine Fine-line, Dark red, Red												1															**1**
	7	Human torso, Fine Fine-Line, Yellow																										1	**1**
	8	Geometric, Course Daubing, Yellow						2																				7	**9**
	9	Human figure, Fine Fine-Line, Black,													1														**1**
	10	Red-kaross figure, Fine Fine-line, Black + red						2																					**2**
	11	Human figure, Course Fine-Line, Red						2					1								2	1	1						**7**
	12	Faded animal, Course Fine-Line, Red						2				1																	**3**
	13	Large elephant, Fine Fine-Line, Red															3				1	3							**7**
	14	Tall human, Fine Fine-Line, Red									3		4				1					2							**10**
	15	Group-scene human, Fine Fine Line, Red																1		5	5		7						**18**
	16	Yellow-kaross figure, Fine Fine-line, Black + yellow									1																		**1**
	17	Human figure, Fine Fine-Line, Red															1								2				**3**
	18	Animal, Fine Fine Line, Red															2		1										**3**
	19	Pigment patch, Course smearing, Black, Black + red, Yellow			1			1								1							14		1				**18**
	20	Bag/Quiver bag/Cone-shaped object, Red															2		1		1		14						**18**
	21	Large finger dot, Imprint, Red																											
	22	Human figure, Fine Fine-Line, Black + red																											
	23	Small elephant (?), Course Fine-Line, Red																											
	24	Indeterminate object (might be a hunting bag?)																					2						**2**
	25	U-shaped dot line, Imprint, Red																											
	26	Small finger dots, Imprint, Brick red (also in lines)						6																	3				**9**
					1		**1**	**15**		**2**	**4**	**1**	**5**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**9**	**1**	**5**	**5**	**10**	**7**	**38**		**6**			**8**	**121**

Table 1: Fallen Rock Shelter imagery in superpositions.

			OVER																										
		Image Clusters	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	
UNDER	1	Yellow-kaross figure, Fine Fine-line, Red + yellow																											
	2	Red-kaross figure, Fine Fine-line, Red						2																					2
	3	Red-kaross figure, Fine Fine-line, Dark red	2	1		1				1																			5
	4	Human figure, Fine Fine-Line, Dark red, Red			1			1		1	1	1	3							4						1		1	14
	5	Elephant, Fine Fine-Line, Brick red																		1									1
	6	Antelope, Fine Fine-Line, Dark red + white	1		1					1			1							1									5
	7	Pigment patch, Course smearing, Dark red, Black, Black + red, Yellow																											
	8	Indeterminate antelope, Fine Fine-Line, White															1										2		3
	9	Eland, Fine Fine-Line, Red + white				1														1							1		3
	10	Elephant, Course Fine-Line, Dark red																											
	11	Indeterminate animal, Crude Daubing, Ashy white																											
	12	Indeterminate antelope, Fine Fine-Line, Red (+ white?)																											
	13	Group-scene human, Fine Fine-Line, Red + black											1																1
	14	Long thin line, Fine Fine-Line, Black																											
	15	Indeterminate animal,Course Fine-Line, Red																											
	16	Indeterminate figure, slanting line, Fine Fine-Line, Red								1																			1
	17	Human figure, Course Fine-Line, Dark red, Red											1																1
	18	Finger slash, stroke, Course Daubing, Dark red, Red											1																1
	19	Handprint, Imprint, Dark red																											
	20	Vertical line, Fine Fine-Line, Red																											
	21	Human figure, various subjects, Crude Daubing, Ashy white																											
	22	Human figure, Fine Fine-Line, White																											
	23	Indeterminate animal, Solid Drawing, Black charcoal											3										2						5
	24	Smudge, Course Smearing, Red											1																1
	25	Pigment patch, Course Smearing, Red, Dark red				2							7																9
	26	Smudge, Course Smearing, Ashy white																											
			3	1	2	4		3		4	1	1	18				1			7			2			1	3	1	**52**

Table 2: Maidens Pool imagery in superpositions.

Image IDs	**Description**	**No.**	**Clusters**
1, 2, 3, 4, 5	Human figure, Course Fine-Line, Yellow	5	**A**
6, 35, 36, 37, 38, 155, 156, 157	Yellow-kaross figure, Fine Fine-line, Red + yellow	8	**B**
7, 32, 33, 34, 161, 162, 163, 164, 168	Finger stroke, Finger painted cross, Course daubing, Dark red, Red	10	**C**
8, 9, 10, 11	Tall human, Fine Fine-Line, Light red	4	**D**
12	Human figure, Fine Fine-Line, dark red	1	**E**
13, 14, 22, 149	Red-kaross figure, Fine Fine-line, Dark red, Red	4	**F**
15	Human torso, Fine Fine-Line, Yellow	1	**G**
16, 17	Geometric, Course Daubing, Yellow	2	**H**
18, 56, 94, 95, 96	Human figure, Fine Fine-Line, Black,	5	**I**
19, 21, 23, 24, 25	Red-kaross figure, Fine Fine-line, Black + red	5	**J**
26, 27, 28	Human figure, Course Fine-Line, Red	3	**K**
29, 30, 31	Faded animal, Course Fine-Line, Red	3	**L**
39	Large elephant, Fine Fine-Line, Red	1	**M**
40, 148, 220	Tall human, Fine Fine-Line, Red	3	**N**
41-55, 61, 62, 64, 173-175, 219	Group-scene human, Fine Fine Line, Red	22	**O**
57	Yellow-kaross figure, Fine Fine-line, Black + yellow	1	**P**
58-60, 63, 65, 153, 154	Human figure, Fine Fine-Line, Red	7	**Q**
66, 67, 169, 170	Animal, Fine Fine Line, Red	4	**R**
68-75, 151, 152, 158-160, 167	Pigment patch, Course smearing, Black, Black + red, Yellow	13	**S**
76-92, 176, 177	Bag/Quiver bag/Cone-shaped object, Red	20	**T**
97-147, 172	Large finger dot, Imprint, Red	52	**U**
20, 150	Human figure, Fine Fine-Line, Black + red	2	**V**
160	Small elephant (?), Course Fine-Line, Red	1	**W**
171	Indeterminate object (might be a hunting bag?)	1	**X**
165, 221-226	U-shaped dot line, Imprint, Red	7	**Y**
178-218	Small finger dots, Imprint, Red	41	**Z**
	Total number of images	**226**	

Table 3: Fallen Rock total number of imagery in the analysis and their identifying numbers.

Image IDs	**Description**	**No.**	**Clusters**
1, 4-8	Yellow-kaross figure, Fine Fine-line, Red + yellow	6	**A**
2, 3, 230	Red-kaross figure, Fine Fine-line, Red	3	**B**
9, 10, 71, 72, 74	Red-kaross figure, Fine Fine-line, Dark red	5	**C**
11-16, 73, 75, 78, 79, 103, 228, 229	Human figure, Fine Fine-Line, Dark red, Red	14	**D**
17-20	Elephant, Fine Fine-Line, Brick red	4	**E**
21, 22, 24-39, 41-48	Antelope, Fine Fine Line, Dark red + white	28	**F**
23	Pigment patch, Course smearing, Dark red Black, Black + red, Yellow	1	**G**
40, 49-52, 203	Indeterminate antelope, Fine Fine Line, White	6	**H**
53-55	Eland, Fine Fine Line, Red + white	3	**I**
56	Elephant, Course Fine-Line, Dark red	1	**J**
57, 58	Indeterminate animal, Crude Daubing, Ashy white	2	**K**
59-61	Indeterminate antelope, Fine Fine Line, Red (+ white?)	3	**L**
64-69	Group-scene human, Fine Fine Line, Red + black	6	**M**
70	Long thin line, Fine Fine-Line, Black	1	**N**
77	Indeterminate animal,Course Fine-Line, Red	1	**O**
80, 81	Indeterminate figure, slanting line, Fine Fine-Line, Red	2	**P**
187, 188, 217	Human figure, Course Fine-Line, Dark red, Red	3	**Q**
82-96, 98-101, 104, 189-201, 206-215	Finger slash, stroke, Course Daubing, Dark red, Red	43	**R**
97, 102	Handprint, Imprint, Dark red	2	**S**
105	Vertical line, Fine Fine-Line, Red	1	**T**
106-110, 113-165, 167-185	Human figure, various subjects, Crude Daubing, Ashy white	78	**U**
113-185	Human figure, Fine Fine-Line, White	17	**V**
166	Indeterminate animal, Solid Drawing, Black charcoal	1	**W**
186, 233	Smudge, Course Smearing, Red	2	**X**
202, 204, 205, 216, 232	Pigment patch, Course Smearing, Red	5	**Y**
218, 219	Smudge, Course Smearing, Ashy white	2	**Z**
	Total number of images	**240**	

Table 4: Maidens Pool total number of imagery in the analysis and their identifying numbers.

Table 5: Fallen Rock list of subject matter, colours and depiction manners in the analysis.

Cluster		No.	Depiction Manner	Colours	Subject	Superimposition (Overlay)	Equivalence (=)	Contemporaneity (-)
	A	1	Course Fine-Line	Yellow	Human figure	—	1=2=3=4=5	—
	A	2	Course Fine-Line	Yellow	Human figure	—	2=1=3=4=5	—
	A	3	Course Fine-Line	Yellow	Human figure	—	3=1=2=4=5	—
	A	4	Course Fine-Line	Yellow	Human figure (torso)	—	4=1=2=3=5	—
	A	5	Course Fine-Line	Yellow	Human figure	—	5=1=2=3=4	—
B		6	Fine Fine-Line	Red + yellow	Yellow-kaross figure	—	—	6-35-36-37-38-155-156-157
	C	7	Course Daubing	Dark red	Finger stroke	—	—	—
D		8	Fine Fine-line	Light red	Tall human	—	8=9=10=11	—
D		9	Fine Fine-line	Light red	Tall human	—	9=8=10=11	—
D		10	Fine Fine-line	Light red	Tall human	10 < 12	10=8=9=11	—
D		11	Fine Fine-line	Light red	Tall human	—	11=8=9=10	—
	E	12	Fine Fine-line	Dark red	Human figure (female)	12 > 10	—	—
F		13	Fine Fine-line	Red	Red-kaross figure	13 > 16; 13 > 17; 13 > 185; 13 > 186; 13 > 189	—	13-14
F		14	Fine Fine-line	Dark red	Red-kaross figure	14 > 180; 14 > 181; 14 > 187	—	14-13
	G	15	Fine Fine-line	Yellow	Human torso (very faint)	15 < 190	—	—
H		16	Course Daubing	Yellow	Geometric	16 < 13; 16 < 193; 16 < 194; 16 < 195	—	—
H		17	Course Daubing	Yellow	Geometric	17 < 13	—	—
	I	18	Fine Fine-line	Black	Human figure	18 < 39	—	18-19-20-21-23-24-25
J		19	Fine Fine-line	Black + red	Red-kaross figure	—	—	19-18-20-21-23-24-25
	V	20	Fine Fine-line	Black + red	Human figure	—	—	20-18-19-21-23-24-25
J		21	Fine Fine-line	Black + red	Red-kaross figure	21 > 29	—	21-18-19-20-23-24-25
	F	22	Fine Fine-line	Dark red	Red-kaross figure	22 > 23; 22 > 24; 22 > 27; 22 > 28; 22 > 31; 22 > 32	—	—
J		23	Fine Fine-line	Black + red	Red-kaross figure	23 < 22	—	23-18-19-20-21-24-25
J		24	Fine Fine-line	Black + red	Red-kaross figure	24 < 22	—	24-18-19-20-21-23-25
J		25	Fine Fine-line	Black + red	Red-kaross figure	—	—	25-18-19-20-21-23-24
	K	26	Course Fine-Line	Red	Human figure	—	26=27	—
	K	27	Course Fine-Line	Red	Human figure	27 > 28; 27 < 22; 27 < 71	27=26	—
	K	28	Course Fine-Line	Red	Human figure	28 < 22; 28 < 27	—	—
L		29	Course Fine-Line	Red	Faded animal	29 < 21	—	29-30-31-170
L		30	Course Fine-Line	Red	Faded animal	—	—	30-31-33-170
L		31	Course Fine-Line	Red	Faded animal	31 < 22	—	31-29-30-170
	C	32	Course Daubing	Red	Finger stroke	32 < 22	—	32-33-34
	C	33	Course Daubing	Red	Finger stroke	—	—	33-32
	C	34	Course Daubing	Red	Finger stroke	—	—	34-32
B		35	Fine Fine-line	Red + yellow	Yellow-kaross figure	35 < 90	—	6-35-36-37-38-155-156-157
B		36	Fine Fine-line	Red + yellow	Yellow-kaross figure	—	—	6-36-35-37-38-155-156-157
B		37	Fine Fine-line	Red + yellow	Yellow-kaross figure	—	—	6-37-35-36-38-155-156-157
B		38	Fine Fine-line	Red + yellow	Yellow-kaross figure	—	—	6-38-35-36-37-155-156-157
	M	39	Fine Fine-line	Red	Large elephant (Bull?)	39 > 18; 39 < 42; 39 < 43; 39 < 44; 39 < 69; 39 < 79; 39 < 80; 39 < 81	—	—
N		40	Fine Fine-line	Red	Tall human	40 < 77; 40 < 78	—	—
	O	41	Fine Fine-line	Red	Group-scene human	—	41=42=43=44=45=46=47=48=49=50=51=52=53=54=55=61=62=64=173=174=175=219	—
	O	42	Fine Fine-line	Red	Group-scene human	42 > 39	42=41=43=44=45=46=47=48=49=50=51=52=53=54=55=61=62=64=173=174=175=219	—

	O	43	Fine Fine-line	Red	Group-scene human	43 > 39; 43 < 68; 43 < 97; 43 < 98; 43 < 99; 43 < 100	43=41=42=44=45=46=47=48=49=50=51=52=53=54=55=61=62=64=173=174=175=219	—
	O	44	Fine Fine-line	Red	Group-scene human	44 > 39; 44 < 69; 44 < 107; 44 < 108; 44 < 109 (81 falsely > 44); (44 btwn 69/39)	44=41=42=43=45=46=47=48=49=50=51=52=53=54=55=61=62=64=173=174=175=219	—
	O	45	Fine Fine-line	Red	Group-scene human	45 < 65	45=41=42=43=44=46=47=48=49=50=51=52=53=54=55=61=62=64=173=174=175=219	—
	O	46	Fine Fine-line	Red	Group-scene human	46 > 177; 46 < 65	46=41=42=43=44=45=47=48=49=50=51=52=53=54=55=61=62=64=173=174=175=219	—
	O	47	Fine Fine-line	Red	Group-scene human	47 > 177; 47 < 65	47=41=42=43=44=45=46=48=49=50=51=52=53=54=55=61=62=64=173=174=175=219	—
	O	48	Fine Fine-line	Red	Group-scene human	48 < 65; 48 < 73	48=41=42=43=44=45=46=48=49=50=51=52=53=54=55=61=62=64=173=174=175=219	—
	O	49	Fine Fine-line	Red	Group-scene human	49 < 66	49=41=42=43=44=45=46=47=48=50=51=52=53=54=55=61=62=64=173=175=175=219	—
	O	50	Fine Fine-line	Red	Group-scene human	50 > 67; 50 < 72	50=41=42=43=44=45=46=47=48=49=51=52=53=54=55=61=62=64=173=174=175=219	—
	O	51	Fine Fine-line	Red	Group-scene human	51 > 220	51=41=42=43=44=45=46=47=48=49=50=52=53=54=55=61=62=64=173=174=175=219	—
	O	52	Fine Fine-line	Red	Group-scene human	—	52=41=42=43=44=45=46=47=48=49=50=51=53=54=55=61=62=64=173=174=175=219	—
	O	53	Fine Fine-line	Red	Group-scene human	—	53=41=42=43=44=45=46=47=48=49=50=51=52=54=55=61=62=64=173=174=175=219	—
	O	54	Fine Fine-line	Red	Group-scene human	—	54=41=42=43=44=45=46=47=48=49=50=51=52=53=55=61=62=64=173=174=175=219	—
	O	55	Fine Fine-line	Red	Group-scene human	—	55=41=42=43=44=45=46=47=48=49=50=51=52=53=54=61=62=64=173=174=175=219	—
I		56	Fine Fine-line	Black	Human figure	56 > 219	—	—
	P	57	Fine Fine-line	Black + yellow	Yellow-kaross figure	57 > 219	—	—
Q		58	Fine Fine-line	Red	Human figure	58 > 67	58=59=60	—
Q		59	Fine Fine-line	Red	Human figure	59 < 160	59=58=60	—
Q		60	Fine Fine-line	Red	Human figure	60 < 160	60=58=59	—
	O	61	Fine Fine-line	Red	Group-scene human	61 < 66	61=41=42=43=44=45=46=47=48=49=50=51=52=53=54=55=62=173=174=175=219	—
	O	62	Fine Fine-line	Red	Group-scene human	62 < 66; 62 < 94	62=41=42=43=44=45=46=47=48=49=50=51=52=53=54=55=61=173=174=175=219	—
Q		63	Fine Fine-line	Red	Human figure	63 < 64; 63 < 66 (64 is btwn 63/66); 63 < 95 63< 71, 63 < 88, 63 < 131; 63 > 176	—	—
	O	64	Fine Fine-line	Red	Group-scene human	64 > 63	—	—
Q		65	Fine Fine-line	Red	Human figure	65 > 45, 46, 47, 48 (figures share base)	—	—
	R	66	Fine Fine-line	Red	Animal	66 > 49, 61, 62, 63, 64, 174 (66 straddles all)	66-160	—
	R	67	Fine Fine-line	Red	Animal	67 < 50; 67 < 58; 67 < 219	—	—
S		68	Course Smearing	Black	Pigment patch	68 < 98; 68 < 99; 68 < 100; 68 < 101; 68 < 102; 68 < 103	—	68-69-70-71-72-73-74
S		69	Course Smearing	Black	Pigment patch	69 > 39; 69 > 44	—	69-68-70-71-72-73-74
S		70	Course Smearing	Black	Pigment patch	70 > 81	—	70-68-69-71-72-73-74
S		71	Course Smearing	Black	Pigment patch	71 > 27, 71 < 63, 71 > 88; 71 < 128; 71 < 129; 71 < 130; 71 < 131	—	71-68-69-70-72-73-74
S		72	Course Smearing	Black	Pigment patch	72 > 50	—	72-68-69-70-71-73-74
S		73	Course Smearing	Black	Pigment patch	73 > 48; 73 > 175	—	73-68-69-70-71-73-74
S		74	Course Smearing	Black + red	Pigment patch	None	—	74-68-69-70-71-72-73
S		75	Course Smearing	Yellow	Pigment patch	75 < 103; 75 < 104; 75 < 105	—	75-152
	T	76	Fine Fine-line	Red	Bag	—	—	76-77-78-79-80-81-82-83-84-85-86-87-88-89-90-91-92-93-176-177
	T	77	Fine Fine-line	Red	Bag	77 > 40	—	77-76-78-79-80-81-82-83-84-85-86-87-88-89-90-91-92-93-176-177
	T	78	Fine Fine-line	Red	Cone-shaped object	78 > 40	—	78-76-77-79-80-81-82-83-84-85-86-87-88-89-90-91-92-93-176-177

	T	79	Fine Fine-line	Red	Cone-shaped object	79 > 39	—	79-76-77-78-80-81-82-83-84-85-86-87-88-89-90-91-92-93-176-177
	T	80	Fine Fine-line	Red	Quiver bag	80 > 39	—	80-76-77-78-79-81-82-83-84-85-86-87-88-89-90-91-92-93-176-177
	T	81	Fine Fine-line	Red	Quiver bag	81 > 39; 81 < 70; 81 < 111; (81 falsely > 44)	—	81-76-77-78-79-80-82-83-84-85-86-87-88-89-90-91-92-93-176-177
	T	82	Fine Fine-line	Red	Bag	82 < 110; 82 < 111	—	82-76-77-78-79-80-81-83-84-85-86-87-88-89-90-91-92-93-176-177
	T	83	Fine Fine-line	Red	Bag	83 < 118, 119, 120	—	83-76-77-78-79-80-81-82-84-85-86-87-88-89-90-91-92-93-176-177
	T	84	Fine Fine-line	Red	Cone-shaped object	—	—	84-76-77-78-79-80-81-82-83-85-86-87-88-89-90-91-92-93-176-177
	T	85	Fine Fine-line	Red	Cone-shaped object	—	—	85-76-77-78-79-80-81-82-83-84-86-87-88-89-90-91-92-93-176-177
	T	86	Fine Fine-line	Red	Cone-shaped object	86 < 113; 86 < 114; 86 < 115	—	86-76-77-78-79-80-81-82-83-84-85-87-88-89-90-91-92-93-176-177
	T	87	Fine Fine-line	Red	Bag	87 < 125; 87 < 126; 87 < 127	—	87-76-77-78-79-80-81-82-83-84-85-86-88-89-90-91-92-93-176-177
	T	88	Fine Fine-line	Red	Quiver bag	88 > 63; 88 < 71; 88 < 128, 88 < 129, 130, 131 (71 is betwn 88 /129-130)	—	88-76-77-78-79-80-81-82-83-84-85-86-87-89-90-91-92-93-176-177
	T	89	Fine Fine-line	Red	Cone-shaped object	—	—	89-76-77-78-79-80-81-82-83-84-85-86-87-88-90-91-92-93-176-177
	T	90	Fine Fine-line	Red	Quiver bag	90 > 35	—	90-76-77-78-79-80-81-83-84-85-86-87-88-89-90-91-92-93-176-177
	T	91	Fine Fine-line	Red	Bag	—	—	91-76-77-78-79-80-81-82-83-84-85-86-87-88-89-90-92-93-176-177
	T	92	Fine Fine-line	Red	Bag	—	—	92-76-77-78-79-80-81-82-83-84-85-86-87-88-89-90-91-93-176-177
	T	93	Fine Fine-line	Red	Bag	—	—	93-76-77-78-79-80-81-82-83-84-85-86-87-88-89-90-91-92-176-177
I		94	Fine Fine-line	Black	Human figure	94 > 62	—	—
I		95	Fine Fine-line	Black	Human figure	95 > 63; 95 > 174	95=94	—
I		96	Fine Fine-line	Black	Human figure	—	—	—
	U	97	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	97 > 43	97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	98	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	98 > 43; 98 > 68	98=97=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	99	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	99 > 43; 99 > 68 (68 sandwiched)	99=97=98=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	100	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	100 > 43; 100 > 68 (68 sandwiched)	100=97=98=99=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	101	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	101 > 68	101=97=98=99=100=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	102	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	102 > 68	102=97=98=99=100=101=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	103	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	103 > 68; 103 > 75	103=97=98=99=100=101=102=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	104	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	104 > 75	104=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—

	U	105	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	105 > 75	105=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	106	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	—	106=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	107	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	107 > 44	107=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	108	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	108 > 44	108=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	109	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	109 > 44	109=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	110	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	110 > 82	110=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	111	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	111 > 81; 111 > 82	111=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	112	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	—	112=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	113	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	113 > 86	113=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	114	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	114 > 86	114=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	115	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	115 > 86	115=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	116	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	—	116=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	117	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	—	117=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	118	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	118 > 83	118=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	119	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	119 > 83	119=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	120	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	120 > 83	120=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	121	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	—	121=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	122	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	—	122=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	123	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	—	123=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	124	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	—	124=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—

	U	125	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	125 > 87	125=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=126=127=128=129=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	126	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	126 > 87	126=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=127=128=129=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	127	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	127 > 87	127=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=128=129=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	128	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	128 > 71	128=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=129=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	129	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	129 > 71; 129 > 88	129=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=	—
	U	130	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	130 > 71; 129 > 88	130=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	131	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	131 > 71; 131 > 88	131=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	132	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	132 > 176	132=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	133	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	133 > 171	133=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	134	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	134 > 171	134=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	135	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	—	135=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	136	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	—	136=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	137	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	—	137=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	138	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	—	138=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	139	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	—	139=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=140=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	140	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	—	140=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=141=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	141	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	—	141=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=142=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	142	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	—	142=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=143=144=145=146=147	—
	U	143	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	—	143=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=144=145=146=147	—

	U	144	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	—	144=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=145=146=147	—
	U	145	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	—	145=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=146=147	—
	U	146	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	—	146=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=147	—
	U	147	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot	—	147=97=98=99=100=101=102=103=104=105=106=107=108=109=110=111=112=113=114=115=116=117=118=119=120=121=122=123=124=125=126=127=128=129=130=131=132=133=134=135=136=137=138=139=140=141=142=143=144=145=146	—
N		148	Fine Fine-line	Red	Tall human	148 > 159	—	—
	F	149	Fine Fine-line	Red	Red-kaross figure	149 > 152	—	—
V		150	Fine Fine-line	Black + red	Human figure	—	—	—
	S	151	Course Smearing	Red	Pigment patch	—	—	151-158
	S	152	Course Smearing	Yellow	Pigment patch	152 < 149	—	152-75
Q		153	Fine Fine-line	Red	Human figure	153 > 155	153=154	—
Q		154	Fine Fine-line	Red	Human figure	154 > 156; 154 > 157	154=153	—
	B	155	Fine Fine-line	Red + yellow	Yellow-kaross figure	155 < 153	—	155-156-157-35-36-37-38-6
	B	156	Fine Fine-line	Red + yellow	Yellow-kaross figure	156 < 154	—	156-155-157-35-36-37-38-6
	B	157	Fine Fine-line	Red + yellow	Yellow-kaross figure	157 < 154	—	157-155-156-35-36-37-38-6
S		158	Course Smearing	Red	Pigment patch	158 > 157	—	158-151
S		159	Course Smearing	Black	Pigment patch	159 < 148	—	—
	W	160	Course Fine-Line	Red	Small elephant (?)	160 > 159; 160 > 60, 160 < 222, 223, 224	160=66	—
	C	161	Course Daubing	Red	Finger stroke	—	161=162=163=164	—
	C	162	Course Daubing	Red	Finger stroke	—	162=161=163=164	—
	C	163	Course Daubing	Red	Finger stroke	—	163=161=162=164	—
	C	164	Course Daubing	Red	Finger stroke	—	164=161=162=163	—
Y		165	Imprint	Red (pinkish)	U-shaped line of dots	—	165=221=222=223=224=225=226	—
	C	166	Course Daubing	Red (pinkish)	Finger painted cross	—	166=168	—
S		167	Course Smearing	Red	Pigment patch	167 < 168	—	—
	C	168	Course Daubing	Red (pinkish)	Finger painted cross	168 > 167	—	—
R		169	Fine Fine-line	Red	Animal (Eland torso?)	—	—	—
R		170	Fine Fine-line	Red	Animal	—	—	170-29-30-31
	X	171	Fine Fine-line	Red	Indeterminate image, Possibly a hunting bag	171 < 133; 171 < 134	—	171-178-179-180-181-182-183-184-185-186-187-188-189-190-191-192-193-194-195-196-197-198-199-200-201-202-203-204-205-206-207-208-209-210-211-212-213-214-215-216-217-218
U		172	Imprint	Red	Large finger dot (isolated)	—	—	—
	O	173	Fine Fine-line	Red	Group-scene human	—	173=40=41=42=43=44=45=46=47=48=49=50=51=52=53=54=61=62=64=174=175=219	—
	O	174	Fine Fine-line	Red	Group-scene human	174 < 66; 174 < 95	174=55=41=42=43=44=45=46=47=48=49=50=51=52=53=54=61=62=64=173=175=219	—
	O	175	Fine Fine-line	Red	Group-scene human	175 < 73	175=55=41=42=43=44=45=46=47=48=49=50=51=52=53=54=61=62=64=173=174=219	—
T		176	Fine Fine-line	Red	Cone-shaped object	176 < 63, 176 < 132	—	176-76-77-78-79-80-81-82-83-84-85-86-87-88-89-90-91-92-93-177
T		177	Fine Fine-line	Red	Cone-shaped object	177 < 46, 176 < 47	—	177-76-77-78-79-80-81-82-83-84-85-86-87-88-89-90-91-92-93-176

	Z	178	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	—	—	171-178-179-180-181-182-183-184-185-186-187-188-189-190-191-192-193-194-195-196-197-198-199-200-201-202-203-204-205-206-207-208-209-210-211-212-213-214-215-216-217-218
	Z	179	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	—	—	"
	Z	180	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	180 < 14	—	"
	Z	181	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	181 < 14	—	"
	Z	182	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	—	—	"
	Z	183	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	—	—	"
	Z	184	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	—	—	"
	Z	185	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	185 < 13; 185 > 16	—	"
	Z	186	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	186 < 13; 186 > 16	—	"
	Z	187	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	187 < 14	—	"
	Z	188	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	—	—	"
	Z	189	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	189 < 13	—	"
	Z	190	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	190 > 15	—	"
	Z	191	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	191 > 16	—	"
	Z	192	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	192 > 16	—	"
	Z	193	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	193 > 16	—	"
	Z	194	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	194 > 16	—	"
	Z	195	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	195 > 16	—	"
	Z	196	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	—	—	"
	Z	197	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	—	—	"
	Z	198	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	—	—	"
	Z	199	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	—	—	"
	Z	200	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	—	—	"
	Z	201	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	—	—	"
	Z	202	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	—	—	"
	Z	203	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	—	—	"
	Z	204	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	—	—	"
	Z	205	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	—	—	"
	Z	206	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	—	—	"
	Z	207	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	—	—	"
	Z	208	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	—	—	"
	Z	209	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	—	—	"
	Z	210	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	—	—	"
	Z	211	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	—	—	"
	Z	212	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	—	—	"
	Z	213	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	—	—	"
	Z	214	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	—	—	"
	Z	215	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	—	—	"
	Z	216	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	—	—	"
	Z	217	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	—	—	"
	Z	218	Imprint	Red	Small finger dot	—	—	"
O		219	Fine Fine-line	Red	Group-scene human	219 > 67; 219 < 56; 219 < 57	219=41=42=43=44=45=46=47=48=49=50=51=52=53=54=55=61=62=64=173=174=175	—
	N	220	Fine Fine-line	Red	Tall human	220 < 51	—	—
Y		221	Imprint	Brick red	Horizontal dot line	—	221=222=223=224=225=226	—
Y		222	Imprint	Brick red	Vertical dot line	222 > 160	222=221=223=224=225=226	—
Y		223	Imprint	Brick red	Vertical dot line	223 > 160	223=221=222=224=225=226	—
Y		224	Imprint	Brick red	Vertical dot line	224 > 160	224=221=222=223=225=226	—
Y		225	Imprint	Brick red	Horizontal dot line	—	225=221=222=223=224=226	—
Y		226	Imprint	Brick red	Horizontal dot line	—	226=221=222=223=224=225	—

Table 6: Maidens Pool list of subject matter, colours and depiction manners in the analysis.

Cluster		No.	Depiction Manner	Colours	Subject	Superimposition (Overlay)	Equivalence (=)	Contemporaneity (-)
	A	1	Fine Fine-line	Red + yellow	Yellow kaross-figure	1 > 27	–	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8
B		2	Fine Fine-line	Red	Red kaross-figure	2 < 28, 2 > 71	2=3=4=4=5	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8
B		3	Fine Fine-line	Red	Red kaross-figure	3 < 29	3=2=4=4=5	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8
	A	4	Fine Fine-line	Red + yellow	Yellow kaross-figure	–	4=2=3=4=5	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8
	A	5	Fine Fine-line	Red + yellow	Yellow kaross-figure	–	5=2=3=4=4	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8
	A	6	Fine Fine-line	Red + yellow	Yellow kaross-figure	6 > 72	6=7=8	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8
	A	7	Fine Fine-line	Red + yellow	Yellow kaross-figure	7 > 72	7=6=8	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8
	A	8	Fine Fine-line	Red + yellow	Yellow kaross-figure	–	8=6=7	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8
C		9	Fine Fine-line	Dark red	Red kaross-figure	–	–	–
C		10	Fine Fine-Line	Dark red	Red kaross-figure	10 > 34, 10 < 103	–	–
	D	11	Fine Fine-line	Dark red	Human figure	11 > 23, 11 > 24	–	–
	D	12	Fine Fine-line	Dark red	Human figure	12 < 104	–	–
	D	13	Fine Fine-line	Dark red	Human figure	–	–	–
	D	14	Fine Fine-line	Dark red	Human figure	14 < 219	–	–
	D	15	Fine Fine-line	Red	Human figure (very faint)	–	–	–
	D	16	Fine Fine-line	Red	Human figure (very faint)	16 < 53, 16 < 101	–	–
E		17	Fine Fine-line	Brick red	Elephant calf	–	–	–
E		18	Fine Fine-line	Brick red	Elephant	–	–	–
E		19	Fine Fine-line	Brick red	Elephant	–	–	–
E		20	Fine Fine-line	Brick red	Elephant	20 < 55, 20 < 85	–	–
	F	21	Fine Fine-line	Dark red + white	Antelope (Bontebok?)	21 < 57	–	–
	F	22	Fine Fine-line	Dark red + white	Antelope (Bontebok?)	–	–	–
G		23	Course smearing	Dark red	Pigment patch	23 > 54	–	–
	F	24	Fine Fine-line	Dark red + white	Antelope (Bontebok?)	24 < 11	–	–
	F	25	Fine Fine-line	Dark red + white	Antelope (Bontebok?)	–	–	–
	F	26	Fine Fine-line	Dark red + white	Antelope (Bontebok?)	–	–	–
	F	27	Fine Fine-line	Dark red + white	Antelope (Bontebok?)	27 < 1	–	–
	F	28	Fine Fine-line	Dark red + white	Antelope (Bontebok?)	28 > 2	–	–
	F	29	Fine Fine-line	Dark red + white	Antelope (Bontebok?)	29 > 3	–	–
	F	30	Fine Fine-line	Dark red + white	Antelope (Bontebok?)	–	–	–
	F	31	Fine Fine-line	Dark red + white	Antelope (Bontebok?)	–	–	–
	F	32	Fine Fine-line	Dark red + white	Antelope (Bontebok?)	–	–	–
	F	33	Fine Fine-line	Dark red + white	Antelope (Bontebok?)	–	–	–
	F	34	Fine Fine-line	Dark red + white	Antelope (Bontebok?)	34 < 10, 34 > 103	–	–
	F	35	Fine Fine-line	Dark red + white	Antelope (Bontebok?)	–	–	–
	F	36	Fine Fine-line	Dark red + white	Antelope (Bontebok?)	36 < 52, 36 < 200	–	–
	F	37	Fine Fine-line	Dark red + white	Antelope (Bontebok?)	–	–	–
	F	38	Fine Fine-line	Dark red + white	Antelope (Bontebok?)	–	–	–
	F	39	Fine Fine-line	Dark red + white	Antelope (Bontebok?)	–	–	–
H		40	Fine Fine-line	White	Antelope (Indet.)	40 < 77	–	–
	F	41	Fine Fine-line	Dark red + white	Antelope (Bontebok?)	–	–	–
	F	42	Fine Fine-line	Dark red + white	Antelope (Bontebok?)	–	–	–

	F	43	Fine Fine-line	Dark red + white	Antelope (Bontebok?)	–	–	–
	F	44	Fine Fine-line	Dark red + white	Antelope (Bontebok?)	–	–	–
	F	45	Fine Fine-line	Dark red + white	Antelope (Bontebok?)	–	–	–
	F	46	Fine Fine-line	Dark red + white	Antelope (Bontebok?)	–	–	–
	F	47	Fine Fine-line	Dark red + white	Antelope (Bontebok?)	–	–	–
	F	48	Fine Fine-line	Dark red + white	Antelope (Bontebok?)	–	–	–
H		49	Fine Fine-line	White	Antelope (Indet.)	–	–	–
H		50	Fine Fine-line	White	Antelope (Indet.)	–	–	–
H		51	Fine Fine-line	White	Antelope (Indet.)	–	–	–
H		52	Fine Fine-line	White	Large indet. animal (partial)	52 > 36, 52 > 74, 52 > 75, 52 > 76, 52 > 78, 52 > 79, 52 > 80	–	–
	I	53	Fine Fine-line	Red + white	Eland calf	53 > 16	–	–
	I	54	Fine Fine-line	Red + white	Eland	54 < 11, 54 < 23, 54 < 84	–	–
	I	55	Fine Fine-line	Red + white	Eland	55 > 20	–	–
J		56	Course Fine-Line	Dark red	Elephant	–	–	–
	K	57	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate animal	57 > 217, 57 > 188, 57 > 216, 57 > 238, 57 > 239, 57 > 240	–	–
	K	58	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate animal	–	–	–
L		59	Fine Fine-line	Red (+ white?)	Antelope (Indet., faded)	–	–	–
L		60	Fine Fine-line	Red (+ white?)	Antelope (Indet., faded)	–	–	–
L		61	Fine Fine-line	Red (+ white?)	Antelope (Indet., faded)	–	–	–
	F	62	Fine Fine-line	Dark red + white	Antelope (Bontebok?)	–	–	–
	F	63	Fine Fine-line	Dark red + white	Antelope (Bontebok?)	–	–	–
M		64	Fine Fine-line	Red + black	Group-scene human	64>119	–	–
M		65	Fine Fine-line	Red + black	Group-scene human	–	–	–
M		66	Fine Fine-line	Red + black	Group-scene human	–	–	–
M		67	Fine Fine-line	Red + black	Group-scene human	–	–	–
M		68	Fine Fine-line	Red + black	Group-scene human	–	–	–
M		69	Fine Fine-line	Red + black	Group-scene human	–	–	–
	N	70	Fine Fine-line	Black	Long thin line (horizontal)	–	–	–
C		71	Fine Fine-line	Dark red	Red kaross-figure (very faint)	71 < 2	71=72	–
C		72	Fine Fine-line	Dark red	Red kaross-figure (very faint)	72 < 6, 72 < 7	72=71	–
	D	73	Fine Fine-line	Dark red	Human figure	73 < 9	–	–
C		74	Fine Fine-line	Dark red	Red kaross-figure	74 < 52	–	–
	D	75	Fine Fine-line	Light red	Human figure	75 < 52	–	–
	D	76	Fine Fine-line	Dark red	Human figure	76 < 52	–	–
O		77	Course Fine-Line	Red	Indeterminate animal	77 > 40	–	–
	D	78	Fine Fine-line	Dark red	Human lower leg	78 < 52	–	–
	D	79	Fine Fine-line	Dark red	Human lower leg	79 < 52	–	–
P		80	Fine Fine-line	Red	Indeterminate figure (very faint)	80 < 52	–	–
P		81	Fine Fine-line	Red	Slanting line (hunting stick?)	–	–	–
	R	82	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	–	–	–
	R	83	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	–	–	–
	R	84	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	84 > 54	–	–
	R	85	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	85 > 20	–	–
	R	86	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	–	–	–
	R	87	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	–	–	–

	R	88	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	–	–	–
	R	89	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	–	–	–
	R	90	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	–	–	–
	R	91	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	–	–	–
	R	92	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	–	–	–
	R	93	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	–	–	–
	R	94	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	–	–	–
	R	95	Course Daubing	Dark red	Finger slash	–	–	–
	R	96	Course Daubing	Dark red	Finger slash	96 < 108	–	–
S		97	Imprint	Dark red	Handprint, small	–	–	–
	R	98	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	–	–	–
	R	99	Course Daubing	Dark red	Finger slash	–	–	–
	R	100	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	–	–	–
	R	101	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	101 > 16	–	–
S		102	Imprint	Dark red	Handprint, small	–	–	–
	D	103	Fine Fine-line	Red	Human figure (very faint)	103 < 10, 103 < 34	–	–
R		104	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	104 > 12	–	–
	T	105	Fine Fine-line	Red	Vertical line (hunting stick?)	–	–	–
U		106	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	–	–	–
U		107	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	–	–	–
U		108	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	108 > 96	–	–
U		109	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	109 > 187	–	–
U		110	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	110 > 205, 110 > 228	–	–
	V	111	Course Fine-Line	White	Human figure	–	–	–
	V	112	Course Fine-Line	White	Human figure	–	–	–
U		113	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate animal	–	–	–
U		114	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure (Ostrich?)	–	114=115=116=128=231	–
U		115	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure (Ostrich?)	–	115=114=116=128=231	–
U		116	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure (Ostrich?)	–	116=114=115=128=231	–
U		117	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure (Ostrich?)	117 > 64	–	–
U		118	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	–	–	–
U		119	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure (Ostrich?)	–	–	–
U		120	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure (Ostrich?)	–	–	–
U		121	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure (Ostrich?)	–	–	–
U		122	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure (Ostrich?)	–	–	–
U		123	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure (Ostrich?)	–	–	–
U		124	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure (Ostrich?)	–	–	–
U		125	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate animal	125 < 235	–	–
U		126	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate animal	126 < 234	–	–
U		127	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate animal	–	–	–
U		128	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure (Ostrich?)	–	128=114=115=116=231	–
U		129	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	–	129=130=131	–
U		130	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	–	130=129=131	–
U		131	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	–	131=129=130	–
U		132	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Human figure	–	132=133=134	–
U		133	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Human figure	–	133=134=132	–
U		134	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Human figure	–	134=132=133	–
U		135	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	–	135=136=137=138	–
U		136	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	–	136=137=138=135	–

U		137	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate animal	–	137=138=136=135	–
U		138	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate animal	–	138=137=136=135	–
U		139	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Human figure	139 < 236	138=140	–
U		140	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Human figure	140 < 237	140=139	–
U		141	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure (Ostrich?)	–	–	–
U		142	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure (Ostrich?)	142 > 232	142=143=144=145=146=147	–
U		143	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure (Ostrich?)	143 > 232	143=142=144=145=146=147	–
U		144	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure (Ostrich?)	144 > 232	144=142=143=145=146=147	–
U		145	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure (Ostrich?)	145 > 232	145=142=143=144=146=147	–
U		146	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure (Ostrich?)	146 > 232	146=142=143=144=145=147	–
U		147	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure (Ostrich?)	147 > 232	147=142=143=144=145=146	–
U		148	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate animal	–	–	–
U		149	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Geometric	–	–	–
U		150	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	–	150=151	–
U		151	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	151 > 233	151=150	–
U		152	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Human figure	–	152=153=154=155=156=157=158=159=160	–
U		153	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Human figure	–	153=152=154=155=156=157=158=159=160	–
U		154	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Human figure	–	154=152=153=155=156=157=158=159=160	–
U		155	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	–	155=154=152=153=156=157=158=159=160	–
U		156	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate animal	–	156=152=153=154=155=157=158=159=160	–
U		157	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate animal	–	157=152=153=154=155=156=158=159=160	–
U		158	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	–	158=152=153=154=155=156=157=159=160	–
U		159	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	–	159=152=153=154=155=156=157=158=160	–
U		160	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	–	160=152=153=154=155=156=157=158=159	–
U		161	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Human figure	–	161=162	–
U		162	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Human figure	–	162=161	–
U		163	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	–	–	–
U		164	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	–	164=181=182=183=184=185	–
U		165	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate animal	–	–	–
	W	166	Drawing solid	Charcoal (Black)	Indeterminate animal	–	–	–
U		167	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	–	167=168=169=170=171=172	–
U		168	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	–	168=167=169=170=171=172	–
U		169	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	–	169=167=168=170=171=172	–
U		170	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	–	170=167=168=169=171=172	–
U		171	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	–	171=167=168=169=170=172	–
U		172	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	–	172=167=168=169=170=171	–
U		173	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	–	173=174=175=176	–
U		174	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	–	174=173=175=176	–
U		175	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	–	175=173=174=176	–
U		176	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	–	176=173=174=175	–
U		177	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	–	177=178=179=180	–
U		178	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	–	178=177=179=180	–
U		179	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	–	179=178=177=180	–
U		180	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	–	180=179=178=177	–
U		181	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	–	181=182=183=184=185=164	–
U		182	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Human figure	–	182=181=183=184=185=164	–
U		183	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	–	183=182=181=184=185=164	–
U		184	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Geometric	–	185=182=181=183=184=164	–
U		185	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure	–	182=181=183=184=185=164	–

	X	186	Course smearing	Red	Smudge	–	–	–
Q		187	Course Fine-Line	Dark red	Human figure	187 < 109, 187<198, 187>199	–	–
Q		188	Course Fine-Line	Red	Human figure	188 < 56, 57>188	–	–
	R	189	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	–	–	–
	R	190	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	–	–	–
	R	191	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	–	–	–
	R	192	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	–	–	–
	R	193	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	–	–	–
	R	194	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	–	–	–
	R	195	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	–	–	–
	R	196	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	–	–	–
	R	197	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	–	–	–
	R	198	Course Daubing	Red	Finger stroke	198 > 187	–	–
	R	199	Course Daubing	Red	Finger stroke	199 > 187	–	–
	R	200	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	200 > 36	–	–
	R	201	Course Daubing	Red	Finger stroke	–	–	–
Y		202	Course smearing	Red	Patch of pigment	202 > 203	–	–
	H	203	Fine Fine-line	White	Indeterminate figure (very faint)	203 < 202	–	–
Y		204	Course smearing	Black	Patch of pigment	204 > 203	–	–
Y		205	Course smearing	Red	Patch of pigment	205 < 110	–	–
	R	206	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	–	–	–
	R	207	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	–	–	–
	R	208	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	–	–	–
	R	209	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	–	–	–
	R	210	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	–	–	–
	R	211	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	–	–	–
	R	212	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	–	–	–
	R	213	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	–	–	–
	R	214	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	–	–	–
	R	215	Course Daubing	Red	Finger slash	–	–	–
Y		216	Course smearing	Red	Patch of pigment	216 < 57	–	–
	Q	217	Course Fine-Line	Red	Human figure	217 < 56, 217 < 218	–	–
Z		218	Course smearing	Ashy white	Smudge	218 > 217	–	–
Z		219	Course smearing	Ashy white	Smudge	219 > 14	–	–
	V	220	Drawing outline	Charcoal (Black)	Indeterminate figure	–	–	–
	V	221	Drawing outline	Charcoal (Black)	Indeterminate figure	–	–	–
	V	222	Drawing solid	Charcoal (Black)	Human figure	–	–	–
	V	223	Drawing solid	Charcoal (Black)	Human figure	–	–	–
	V	224	Drawing solid	Charcoal (Black)	Indeterminate figure	–	–	–
	V	225	Drawing solid	Charcoal (Black)	Human figure	–	–	–
	V	226	Drawing solid	Charcoal (Black)	Human figure	–	–	–
	V	227	Drawing outline	Charcoal (Black)	Indeterminate figure	–	–	–
D		228	Fine Fine-line	Red	Human figure (very faint)	228 < 110	–	–
D		229	Fine Fine-line	Red	Human figure (very faint)	–	–	–
	B	230	Fine Fine-line	Red	Red kaross-figure	–	–	–
U		231	Crude Daubing	Ashy white	Indeterminate figure (Ostrich?)	–	231=114=115=116=128	–
Y		232	Course smearing	Red	Patch of pigment	232 < 142, 232 < 143, 232 < 144, 232 < 145, 232 < 146, 232 < 147	–	–
X		233	Course smearing	Red	Smudge	233 < 151	–	–

	V	234	Drawing solid	Charcoal (Black)	Indeterminate figure	235 > 125	—	—
	V	235	Drawing solid	Charcoal (Black)	Indeterminate figure	234 > 126	—	—
	V	236	Drawing solid	Charcoal (Black)	Additions to daubed human	236 > 139	—	—
	V	237	Drawing solid	Charcoal (Black)	Additions to daubed human	237 > 140	—	—
	V	238	Drawing solid	Charcoal (Black)	Indeterminate figure	238 < 57	—	—
	V	239	Drawing solid	Charcoal (Black)	Indeterminate figure	239 > 57	—	—
	V	240	Drawing solid	Charcoal (Black)	Indeterminate figure	240 > 57	—	—

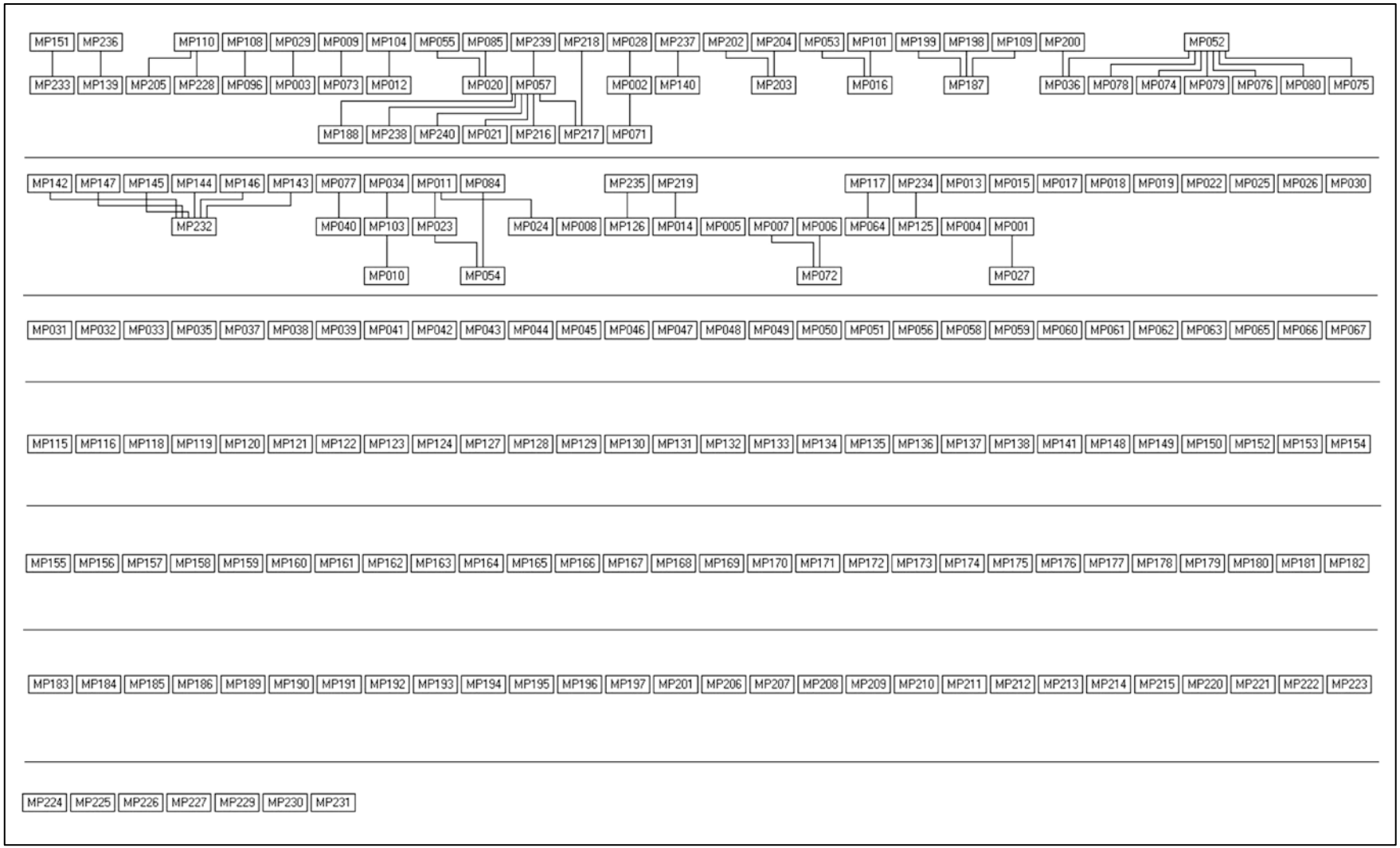


Figure 1: Maidens Pool Harris matrix diagram.

Figure 2: Fallen Rock Harris matrix diagram.

Figure 3: Diepkloof Kraal Harris matrix diagram.

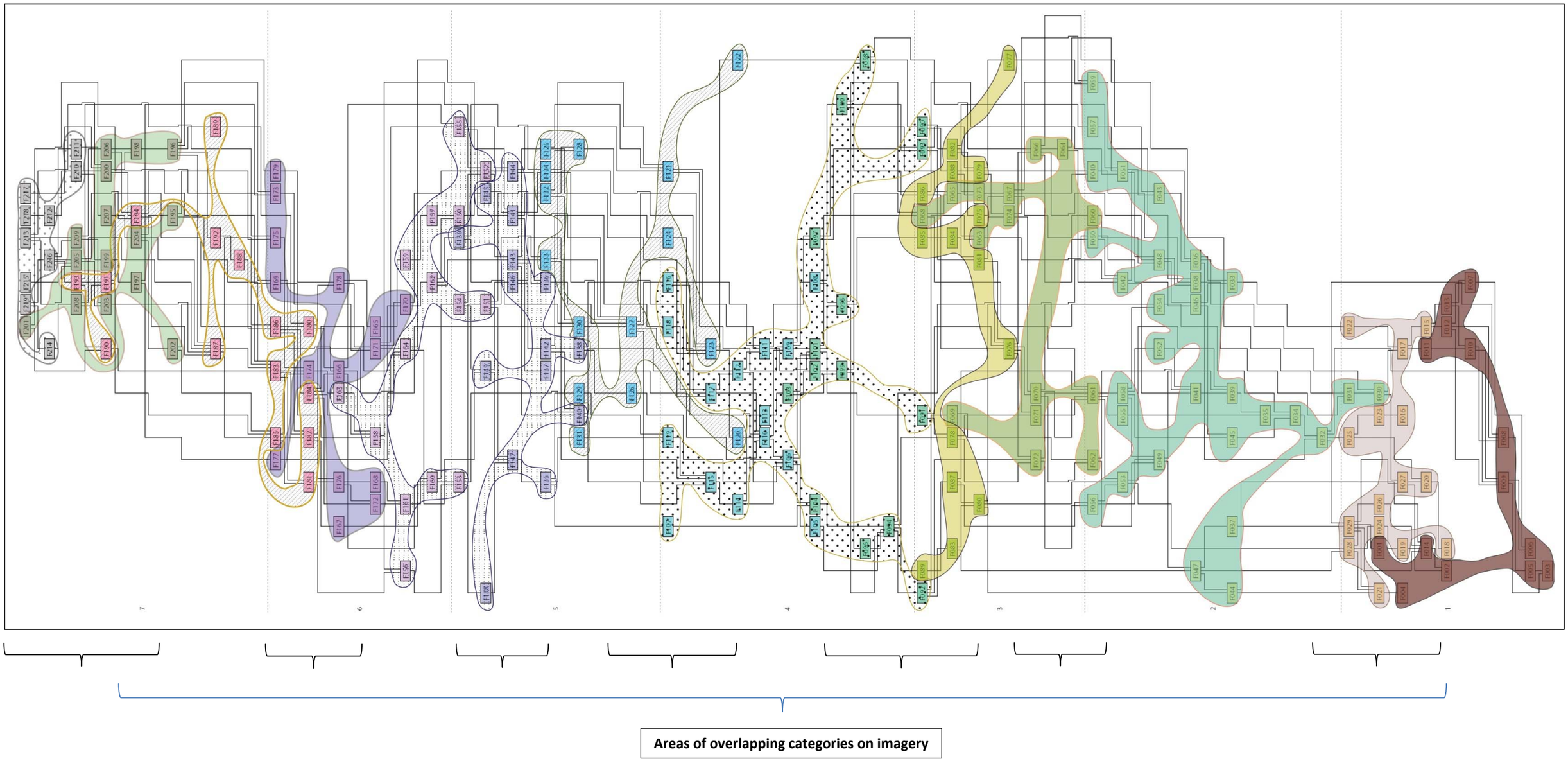


Figure 2: Fallen Rock Harris Matrix diagram.

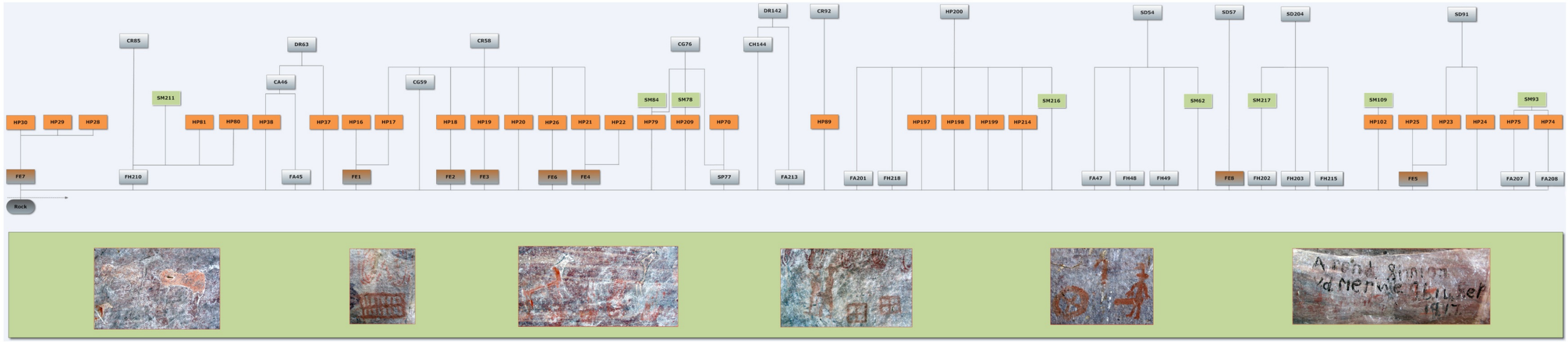


Figure 3: Diepkloof Kraal Harris matrix diagram.

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