

**WOMEN READING THE GARIEP RIVER, UPINGTON:
STRUCTURED INCLUSION**



By Mary Elizabeth Lange Student no: 201512092

**Submitted in fulfilment of the Degree of Master of Arts,
Culture, Communication and Media Studies, Faculty of Humanities,
University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa**

2006

Supervisor: Professor Ruth Teer-Tomaselli

DECLARATION

I, Mary Elizabeth Lange (student number 201512092), declare that this is my own work, except for the acknowledged supervision and referred citations. It is being submitted in fulfilment of the Master of Arts Degree in the Faculty of Humanities, at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa. It is submitted as 100% of the degree.

It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination, or to any other university.

Signature

Date

WOMEN READING THE GARIEP RIVER, UPINGTON: STRUCTURED INCLUSION

Declaration	1
Table of contents	2
Abstract	3
Acknowledgements	4
Prelude	6
Introduction	7
SECTION A:	
RESEARCH CONTEXT & INTERTEXTUALITY (SECONDARY SOURCES)	14
1. Background to research subject, participants and researcher.	14
2. Methodology Context	23
3. Between the printed sheets: Laying out the field	38
SECTION B:	
RESEARCH CONTENT & MULTIVOCALITY (PRIMARY SOURCES)	72
4. Creating Meaning: From ear to mouth to ear to pen	72
5. Creating Meaning: The Physical, The Spatial, The Tangible	100
6. Creating Meaning: More than a Rorschach test	135
7. Conclusion	169
Bibliography	175
Websites	187
End notes	188
Appendices	1-3

Abstract

This research project focuses on the application of a structured inclusive approach to the use of ethnography for the interpretation of rock art. The geographical research location is the Upington area north of the Orange/Gariep River. Both tangible and intangible heritage are explored using a multiple intelligence theoretical framework including auto ethnographic, ecosystemic methodology. The study is embedded in constructivist educational theory, which builds on the researcher and others' previous knowledge and research.

The intangible heritage is made up of oral narratives about a Water Snake told by a group of women of a mixture of cultural backgrounds. The tangible rock art, made up of various rock engraving styles is situated at Biesje Poort. Contemporary indigenous as well as various academic interpretations of the site are included in the research.

Secondary sources relating to theory and methodology on myth and ethno archaeology, specifically on rock art, are used in the first section of the research in order to convey the research context.

The second section of the research concentrates on the application of various dominant intelligences in regard to the analysis of primary sources. Experiential, intrapersonal and interpersonal encounters with the subjects are included.

Synthesis of the primary and secondary sources plus new and prior research is included in the presentation through written text and visual representation and imagery.

The research is conducted in order to include and expand on present museum practices which emphasize inclusion and ownership of heritage research and representation. As such this research process emphasizes the ethical implications of participatory research and aims to maintain an empowering partnership with the research informants.

Acknowledgements

I am privileged to do this research project within a wider project conducted by Culture, Communications and Media Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal. This project is entitled *Observers and Observed: Reverse cultural studies, auto ethnographic, semiotic and reflexive methodologies*, and is sponsored by the KwaZulu-Natal University Research Fund and the National Research Foundation. I am indebted to the National Research Foundation for scholarships that have allowed me to undertake this study. The project is led by Professor Keyan Tomaselli. Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at in this dissertation are those of the author and not necessarily attributed to the National Research Foundation.

I would like to thank Professor Keyan Tomaselli immensely for the opportunity to accompany the research group to the Kalahari which has resulted in my viewing research in the Kalahari with new eyes. Much appreciation and thanks to Professor Ruth Teer-Tomaselli for her skilled and selfless time and instruction.

Participation in this project was facilitated by my direct family in Durban and many thanks to Frik, Rick, Kathlyn-Sue, Mary-Ann, Roger, Sue Lange and Aslina and Cyprian for their constant encouragement and holding of the fort while I was away. Thanks and respect to Frik for his staying power despite car wrecking Kalahari roads and a dining room table full of books. To Frik, Rick and Bryce special thanks for all the hours of assistance with photographs and images and especially to Frik for his computer expertise and extreme patience. To Kathlyn-Sue thank you for your hard work and assistance in synthesizing the research material and to Mary-Ann, Kelly, Paul Rodda and Professor Garth Allen for your role in the sample geometric reception study.

Upington is home from home due to the hospitality and support of my mother Kathy, father Bill Fisher, sister Kathleen and brother-in-law Willie Burger. Thanks for their extra support through accommodation and meals. To my brothers I am also very indebted for their time and constant patience with my 'picking their brains': Roger, my academic motivator, source of texts and personal role model; Allan, store of knowledge both trivial and vast and especially Michael for his ever enquiring,

brilliant mind, storehouse of environmental knowledge and for walking sites with me even in the middle of summer.

Thanks to McGregor Museum staff present and past, Peter Beaumont who fanned the spark of my interest in archaeology with patience and guidance and David Morris for his professional knowledge and reciprocity.

Upington museum staff has supported this research and special thanks to Pieter Goussard and Ann Young for their hours of time in research, discussion and visits to sites with me.

Thanks to all the people of Upington and Andriesvale who participated in the sample geometric reception study and to community members of Upington who gave of their time and knowledge regarding the history of the Upington area especially the three Mr Engelbrechts. I am saddened that I could not share this research with the man whose work inspired it and whom I never met: Mr A.K. Cornelissen.

For hospitality, friendship and reciprocity in and from the Kalahari I thank Vetkat and Belinda. Thanks to Silikat, Blade and Dawid for pleasant memories and increased knowledge of Kalahari crafts plus Dawid Padmaker who not only guided me to the beauty of the rock engravings of Biesje Poort but shared his interpretation of them too.

Thanks to fellow Kalahari students, specifically Vanessa McLennan-Dodd who has acted as a patient and knowledgeable mentor from the first trip to these final pages and for all her hours of skilled editing, and to Vanessa, Kamini, Lauren and Charlize for adding friendship to the process.

This research is greatly indebted to the constant assistance from Ellen and involvement of Louisa but especially for the participation of the Eiland Women: Nana, Martha, Maria, Maku, Bessa and Girlie who shared their time and oral narratives with me in order that their children and their children's children may know them. Thanks to the River: the Tree of Life.

Prelude:

Taking the 'other' route

You can take the relentlessly never-ending straight-tarred road to Uppington
Or the perilous winding back route

From the masculine main road
We walked the winding
Rubble strewn paths
To Keidebees

There
Feminine voices
Sang out over the bulldozed shacks

O Keidebees O Keidebees jou het ons lief bo alles!

The deceitful river winds gently
The sun playfully
Kissing
The mirror surface

There
Feminine eyes
Drank images the river provided

There feminine hands
Coloured rivers on pages

There
Feminine voices
Told tales of girls and boys and uncles and mothers
Tales of serpents
And spirals
And sufferings
And rituals

There
Feminine eyes
Reflected times past
Joyful and anguished

And washed them
and cleansed them
and could
but would not
shed them

Introduction

The Research area: Upington on the Gariep and surrounding areas

Hierdie is die mees digbevolkte besproeiingsgebied van ons land met die droë kalkvlaktes van Kenhardt en Boesmanland na die suide en die sandduine van die Kalahari na die noorde.

Vir my as geoloog is die 'n gebied van oorsaak en gevolg, van waarneem en interpreter en dan na alles die gebied waar 'n mens jou medemens kan dien om ten volle mens te wees. Kyk na die sweetkolle op die hemp an die arbeider, kyk a die kameeldoringboom en wonder hoe oud hy is, kyk na die kameeldoringboom en wonder hoe oud hy is, kyk na die kalkvlaktes en wonder hoe het dit ontstaan en dan eers as jy weet dat jy min weet sal dinge waarde kry, en eers as jy raaksien sal jy sien hoe baie hier is om te sien.

Hier is die sewester en die suider kruis snags helder, want hier is die lug skoon. Hier was die pioniers natuurmense en ons bring hulde aan hulle wat ons voorgestaan het. (Cornelissen, circa 1975)

[This is the most densely populated irrigation area of our land with the dry chalk plains of Kenhardt and Bushmanland to the south and the Kalahari sand dunes in the north.

As a geologist, I see this is as a land of cause and effect, of observation and interpretation and then above all where one can serve your fellow man in order to be complete. Look at the sweat marks on the labourer's shirt, look at the Camel thorn tree and contemplate its age, look at the chalk plains and wonder on their origins and then only when you realise how little you know will it all gain value, and only when you have insight, will you see how much there is to be seen here.

Here, at night, The Seven Sisters / Pleiades and Southern Cross are bright, because here the air is clean. Here nature's people / people close to nature were the pioneers and we give tribute to all those who came before us.] (Cornelissen, circa 1975: 1, unpublished¹)

The town of Upington is situated in the Northern Cape Province on the banks of one of the largest rivers in South Africa (Fig 0.1). The spot on the river where the town has grown was previously a drift crossing for people, animals and later ox wagons. The various names of the river over time reflect physical aspects of the river plus the numerous groups that have encountered it.

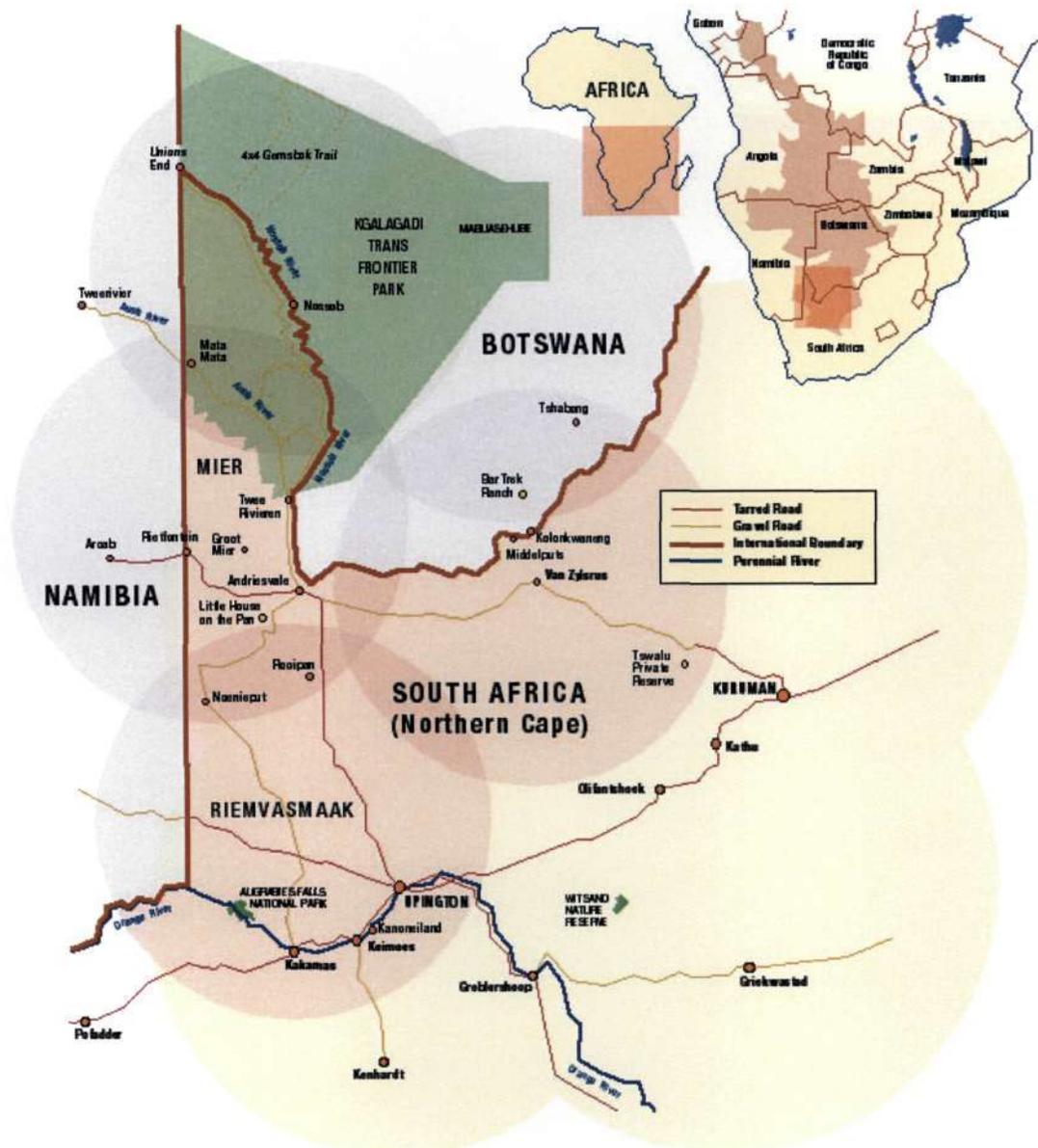


Fig 0.1
Research Area: Gariiep River (Orange River), Upington, Northern Cape
 (<http://www.kanabo-safaris.co.za>)

In *Langs Grootrivier* (circa 1975: 13 unpublished) A.K. Cornelissen writes of the names this river has been given by residents and visitors over many years: Portuguese sailors named it St Antonio; Simon van der Stel in 1685 heard of the river Tyen but marked it as Vigit Magna on his map; The elephant hunter Jacobus Coetze on 26th July 1760 referred to the river as de groote Rivier which became Grootrivier; Carel Brink on 18th September 1761 records that at Ramnsdrif the river residents referred to the river as Ein (Tyen) or Charie (Gariiep); Captain Robert Gordon in 1777 reported that the river residents named the river Hey Gariiep (yellow or drab river) and Noe Gariiep (zwart (black) river); Campbell spoke of the Gareeb or Garib; Generally, Namas, especially those living below Augrabies, referred to the name Ein and

Korannas and other indigenous groups north of Augrabies referred to Gariep. Ein appears to refer to the people themselves and therefore “our” river. Although Gariep is thought to possibly mean wilderness, according to George Thompson in 1820 Gariep just means the river, which fits in with the names Hey or Noe Gariep. On 17 August 1779 Robert Gordon raised the Dutch flag in the middle of the river and drank a toast and baptised the river the Oranjerivier (Orange River) after the Prince of Orange. This was the name used on maps henceforth although locals continued to refer to Grootrivier² (See Fig 0.1).

People of the Upington area: Encounter, and melting pot, of cultures

The Gariep River area, Upington, is historically a frontier area and as such represents a melting pot of cultures (Smith, 1995). By the 18th century the San³, who were originally hunter-gathers, sometimes owned livestock and were difficult to distinguish from the herder Khoikhoi cultures (Smith et al, 2000). Relationships at the river area between the hunter-gatherer San and the herder Khoikhoi were mostly marked by “a good deal of harmonious interaction” (Penn, 1995: 22). Some ≠Khomani San clan members today refer to themselves as “Nama Boesman”. This highlights the historical social ties of the San and the Khoikhoi, the lack of economic definition between the two groups notably after colonial intervention and their mutual identification with the Khoisan linguistic group.

Early Tswana African farmers too integrated with local Khoisan communities in the Gariep River, Upington area. This is supported by the recorded presence of the Gyzikoa, a group who lived in the present day Upington area and are described as “of mixed Khoi/BaTlaping (Tswana) ancestry” (Smith, 1995; xix). In the 18th century the group east of present day Upington were known as the Korana. They too were a group mainly identified as Khoikhoi, although they also shared evidence of complex identification, “racially, culturally, socially, politically and economically-with groups of Tswana” (Penn, 1995: 23). This historic mixture resulted in the identification of Upington Tswana descendants as “Coloured” in a segregated South Africa.

In the remote Gariep area, unlike the Cape Town area, it was more the norm than not for Europeans to take Khoikhoi Nama wives. The ‘Baster’ community was a result of

this common practice (Penn, 1995), a name that was originally carried proudly but that was removed when all who identified themselves as ‘Basters’ were renamed ‘Coloured’ on their identity papers in the 1960s. Migrant male railway workers and mine workers poured into the research area in the early 20th century and added to the melting pot of cultures. Present day oral history confirms that when apartheid action in 1961 split ‘Natives’ and ‘Coloured’ into townships outside of Upington it was an unnatural separation of “*die bokke en die skape*” (the sheep and the goats) with difficult choices and consequences for the many descendants from mixed cultures (Eiland women, interview: 2004).

Oral narratives of the Upington area: Water creatures

Descendants of the Khoisan⁴ and mixed Khoisan still form part of the present day Upington community. A selection of oral narratives recorded from the descendants reflects a belief in a resident Water Snake (Hoff, 1993; Lange, 1998). Oral narratives on water deities, in a similar way to mythology, have transcended time, location and culture (Wilmsen, 1986). Henry John Drewal describes the fusion of visual images around an African water deity that bridged Africa, Haiti and the United States. The water deity named Mami Wati is also associated with a snake. Drewal includes in his research the contexts and identities that contributed to the influence in representation of the European snake charmer on the water deity in Africa, and subsequent imported influence on Santa Marta representations in the Americas (Drewal, 2002). Drewal concludes his article on Mami Wati by calling for greater equality in construction of knowledge based on ethnography between researchers and researched.

In a South African context Water Snake narratives have been recorded from most cultural groups (Cornel, 1910; Thackeray, 1988a; Prins, 1992; Lombard, 1999). Jean Lombard’s doctorate centres on the Water Snake of the Gariep and oral narratives from Namibia. This study on the Water Snake explores its relevance in Afrikaans and the use of mythology as a base for comparative literature studies (Lombard, 1999).

A group of women in Upington, Northern Cape related Water Snake Stories to me between the years of 1998 and 2006. The women are: Nana (de Wee); Mokie (Malo); Poppie (van Rooi), Bessa (Sixaxa); Maku (Hlopezulu) and the late Girly

(Saaiman / Vuyiswa). The women are all from Upington. Like many indigenous inhabitants of Upington, historically and presently the women's heritage comprises Bantu and Khoisan speaking forefathers plus some European travelers, settlers, explorers or adventurers (See Chapter 1). In this dissertation the women's local oral heritage, particularly the Gariep River Water Snake Stories, serves as a springboard for a multi layered self-reflexive record and analysis of an inclusive methodology for the research of tangible and intangible heritage. The women gave me permission to use their names in related research. I have used their nicknames but have included their surnames for cultural links.⁵

I refer to the women as The Eiland Women as our relationship started at the island resort in the middle of the Orange/Gariep River at Upington. The Eiland Women are not a homogenous cultural group and their individual, shared and shifting identities form part of the dissertation's theoretical and descriptive research content.

Rock art of the Upington area: unknown artists

David Morris (2002) has linked geometric designs in rock engravings at Driekopseiland near Kimberley to rituals associated with Water Snake beliefs. Clues from *Langs Grootrivier* (Cornelissen circa 1975), Upington's local newspaper *Die Gembok* and oral narratives of local residents revealed rock engraving sites, one at Louisvale and a number at Biesje Poort, which included non-figurative and geometric engravings. My research in relation to these rock-engraving sites forms part of my inclusive methodology but also attempts to add to past and present research on ethnography as a means towards knowledge of authorship and meanings of geometric engravings.

Geometric reception study: In search of cross-cultural meanings

A topical issue in rock art research in South Africa at present is the assignation of authorship of geometric rock art in both paintings (Lewis-Williams & Pearce, 2004; Eastwood & Smith, 2005; Ouzman, 2005; Masson, 2006) and engravings (Morris 2003, 2007; Masson 2006). Most researchers agree that geometric images can be read as indices of trance or puberty rituals (Lewis-Williams, 1990; Hoff, 1993; 1995; Thackeray, 1988a; Lombard, 1999; Bahn, 1998, Morris, 2002; 2006; Ouzman, 2005;

Masson, 2006). The variability in style and technique of geometrics, as in figurative rock engraving images, supports the view that there might not be a pan-cultural identity for the depiction of geometrics in South Africa (Morris 2007 forthcoming).

It is, however, the number of sites world wide including engraved geometrics albeit of varying styles and techniques (Bahn, 1998) that interests me. With this in mind I focused on the research area populations to conduct a cross-cultural sample reception study on geometrics.

The reception study will add to previous research on Water Snake narratives and rock art. Ansie Hoff recorded oral narratives from the Upington area but focused on how belief systems of the San/Bushmen were reflected in the Water Snake stories of the Khoekhoe (Hoff, 1997). In contrast, my research focuses on geometric images as representations of water, snakes and other “metaphors of transformation” (Lewis-Williams & Pearce, 2004: 81) embedded in Water Snake narratives.

Research application: Museums

Museums are places where identities are presented and created (Jones, 2002). In the past, South African museums presented segmented cultures, which is still the case in many contemporary museums. As a result of the intercultural nature of the Water Snake oral narratives (Hoff, 1995; Lombard, 1999) and their associated rock engravings, they have the potential to be useful intangible oral sources that can be used for educational programmes specifically linked to museums, towards imparting understanding of our past and present heritage.

Multiple voices: Multiple selves

I have included in this study both written and visual text, both aesthetic and non-aesthetic diagrams, photographs, poetry, journals and academic writings. The use of analogy in this dissertation introduces my habit of mobilising the intelligences in research representation for aesthetic as well as non-aesthetic purposes (Gardner, 1993). Through this variety of writings I attempt to embed my inclusive methodology in the presentation of the research. Through the inclusion of multiple

genres I also hope to underline the narrative self-reflexive inclusive attempt to reflect not only all the shifting voices of theorists, research partners and people of the Kalahari but also my own shifting written linguistic 'ways of knowing'. The inclusion of sections of previous texts also falls within my belief in 'constructivist educational theory' (discussed in Chapter 3) whereby knowledge is best achieved through including and building on what is already known by each particular individual. This methodology also aligns the research process with the shifting or fluid aspects of storytelling or orality (discussed in Chapter 5) and the narrative aspect of research.

The structure of my writing in 2001 and still in this dissertation includes the juxtaposition of academic quotes (notably at the beginning of each section) with personal anecdote without an explained link or connection. The intention is that meaning is created through the thought provoked by the included juxtaposition. The context and objectives of my use of this type of structure in the written linguistic presentation of my research is discussed further in the chapter on methodology (see Chapter 2).

In the dissertation I make use of historical, linguistic, archaeological and present day oral history and ethnography, specifically related to the Water Snake myths of the Upington Eiland Women, to try to identify possible artists of the engravings at Biesje Poort in the Upington area.

SECTION A:

RESEARCH CONTEXT & INTERTEXTUALITY

(SECONDARY SOURCES)

Chapter 1

Background to research subject, participants and researcher

During the early years of this research I recorded aspects of my encounters with the Eiland Women and archaeological sites in the Gariep, Upington area in a journal, which I sent to the McGregor Museum. McGregor Museum archaeologists oversee the Northern Cape archaeological sites, as there is not an archaeologist stationed at the Upington Museum. This journal provides an introduction to my instinctive participatory methodology; the content of the Water Snake stories and the context of my interest in a link between The Eiland Women's oral history (intangible heritage), and rock art engravings (tangible heritage) of the Upington Gariep area. In the dissertation I shall move from informal recording of the research topic to theoretical analysis but throughout turn back to the informal research to remain grounded for, as Vetkat Regopstaan Kruiper⁶ said to me:

Ons moet altyd onthou om af en toe stil te staan, en terug te kyk oor ons skouers na die wat met wie ons begin het en sê: "Haai kom, ek wag vir jou, loop saam"

[We should always remember to stop now and then to look back over our shoulders to the people that were with us in the beginning and say: "Hey, come on I'm waiting for you, walk with me"].

The research process I see as similar to an organic spring. They both differ from a linear research approach not only in their cyclic motion forward but also in that they can and sometimes should bend backwards. In this way they touch upon previous people, places and thoughts in order to keep grounded and yet create the potential for new or revised thinking triggered by what has come before.

Journal⁷

January 1998- Upington, Northern Cape

The Northern Cape held certain attractions for me; I could earn some extra money assisting my sister, Kathleen, and her husband, Willie Burger, in their hotel business and I could pursue my fascination with the landscape and people of the area. These trips brought me in close physical and emotional proximity with a group of women of mixed descent whom I learnt carried stores of oral knowledge. These stories centred on a belief in the Water Snake.

My youngest son, a 'busy-boy' aged four, accompanied me to Upington and either remained with my father at the hotel whilst I worked or more-often-than-not, dawdled after me as I went about my business. This 'business' of mine included taxiing cleaning staff back and forth across the bridge that spans the Orange/Gariep River to '*Die Eiland*' [the island].

Despite my forty-two degree heat induced irritability and persistent requests that he remain with his grandfather, my 'little darling' insisted one dry blistering morning on tagging along to '*die eiland*'. His grandfather's parting words, (probably hoping to scare him into not going) were: 'Be careful of the RIVER MONSTER!' Unperturbed, my son went with Maria, Martha, Maku, Nana, Ellen and me, all squashed into my father's small Toyota.

Such close proximity every day, twice a day, for sixteen consecutive days, can only lead to lively discussion and often much hilarity, for a chatty person such as myself and five colourful women such as those named above. Roger (the 'little darling') this particular morning led the conversation as he stared out of the window at the full and rising Orange/Gariep River:

'Amelia was nearly swallowed by the Water Monster once!'

'Really?' I answered humouring him, 'That's terrible!'

The five women seated in the car, as if in one voice, started telling stories of drowning, near-drowning, strange sightings and many other phenomena as we cruised on to 'die eiland'. Only Maku, the eldest of the group, said nothing.

Ellen explained to me that all the stories centered on the '*Waterslang*' [Water Snake]. There is a male and a female '*Waterslang*'. The male seeks out women and girls with which to '*paar*' [mate] and the female seeks out men and boys. Ellen said that if the mates captured were to the '*Waterslang*'s liking then the bodies were never found again but if they were not '*tevrede*' [satisfied] with the chosen mate, the body was found spewed out of the river.

Patronisingly (I think it must have sounded as I reflect back), I summed up all their various anecdotes as follows in my attempted Afrikaans:

“Die ou mense het seker die stories waarvan julle praat ook vertel, soos Granddad vir Roger vertel het, om die kinders en die mense weg te hou van die rivier af.”

[The old people probably told the stories with the same intention as my father told Roger, that is, to keep the children and people away from the river].

I was not prepared for the serious and honest reply:

'Nee, Mies Mary dis nie 'bangmaak stories' van die Waterslang nie, dis die waarheid'.
[No, Miss Mary these stories of the Water Snake are not to scare, they are the truth].

I remembered vaguely that snakes were represented in some rock art engravings and wondered if any of the beliefs of the San or Khoikhoi people had continued in the stories that were being related.

When I realised that their stories might be relevant to rock art research, and possibly social if not economic benefit to them, I had to deal with the questions of how to record these stories in the most authentic manner. I hoped to capture the reality of the Uppington informants' oral narratives by allowing them to tape themselves.

I asked the group if they would allow me to tape their stories. They agreed if I gave them enough time to ask their relatives if they knew any other stories about '*die Waterslang*'.

At the end of the week Maria told me they were ready to be taped. The group of women came in earlier than usual, took the tape recorder and went and sat down at the swimming pool area of the hotel. They took the task ahead of them very seriously and some, especially NaNa, who usually seems so confident, were quite nervous. They asked me to leave as they thought my presence would only add to their nervous state. When the tape recorder stopped they brought it to me.

I had asked only that they remember that those listening and learning from their stories might not understand all their colloquial expressions. This led to their sometimes acting as interviewer and asking questions to which they obviously knew the answer.

I went to fetch them at the 'eiland' that afternoon, taking the tape recorder with me, and they sat and listened to their stories. There were many squeals, shrieks and guffaws on hearing their voices. The general consensus was that they sounded like: '*regte Namas!*' [real Namas] or '*luister hoe kom die Nama bloed uit!*' [listen how the Nama blood comes out] and even '*ons klink soos Jan Spies⁸!*' [we sound like Jan Spies]. They loved it, but urged me to speak to others and to search for more evidence to back the truth of their '*waterslang*' stories.

I could not wait to look at the McGregor Museum's *Guide to Archaeological Sites in the Northern Cape* on my return to Vereeniging. I was sure that I would find something written there that would relate to the stories I had taped. So there was, plus a photograph of three rock engravings, including a snake and a geometric motif as of the sun; a circle with rays emitting from all around it.

The discussion of the snake engraving read as if it had been fed to the women before they had told their stories, so well did their accounts fit in with archaeologist David Morris' discussion.

When I told the women that I was interested in continuing research into their stories they were keen to participate. I asked them for the context of their presence in Upington and they did so. Some of the women recorded their history orally on tape and others wrote it down. I include here translations of what they told me.



**Fig 1.1 The Eiland Women Upington Protea Lodge⁹, 2005
Photograph F J Lange Jnr (with permission)**

Related by **JOHANNA DE WEE (Dollie)** 30/11/48
(written by NaNa/Dollie Dec 1998 on the banks of the 'Eiland' at Upington.)

I am called NaNa. I only have a daughter. I have four sisters and two brothers namely: Johannes, Gert, Duifie, Rosie, Poppie, Dollie. This is our living family. Our parents have both died.

My mother was a Bastard Coloured-Hottentot woman. Her name was Katrina De Wee. She came from the Kareeburg district of Namibia. My grandmother was originally from the same part of Namibia.

My grandfather also came from somewhere in Africa and after a great trek came to South Africa. My granddad is a Griqua-Coloured whose language is a Khoi language, a Nama language.

My father is also a Tswana mixture with coloured blood children who are all a mixture of Tswana, Coloured-Bastard, and this brings us now to 'Coloured'. Our

church affiliation is to the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* [Dutch Reformed Church]. Our home language is Afrikaans.

We grew up in Keidebees. It is there that our fond memories of growing up lie. In later years the Boers took us away from our place of birth and they put all those of Coloured race in one area. Now we just live here in Rosedale (Upington.)

MARIA MALO (MOKKIE)

(Recorded on tape Jan 1998 next to the swimming pool of the Upington Protea Hotel overlooking the Orange River.)

I am Maria Malo; my nickname is Mokie. I was born north of the Orange River, Upington on the 4th September 1945.

ELIZABETH SANDLANA (BESSA)

(Written by Maria's sister Dec 1998 on the 'Eiland' Upington.)

My mother's father is an Englishman. My father's mother is a Xhosa. I am a Bantu-coloured. I am married.

My father came from Queenstown to Upington... my father is a Zulu from his father's side - he came to Upington and settled here...then married my mother, she was his first wife...and he came to work on the railways...

Those were the years of the locomotive and my father died in Upington - his mother also died in Upington - my father had a half finger due to his beliefs...then they slaughter a goat and have *matombo* during which various families come and sing and dance and drink and eat and my father hung a blanket over his head and only the men were allowed to see him... the reason for this was that it is the law and he was a man and not a woman because if it was a woman then it is they who do the work and so it continues for a day.

My father's son shall also follow the law and have done to him what was done to his father and when my father died an ox was killed because it is the law and after a week we washed the picks then made beer and threw it over the picks and spades and then the beer drinking began. I am glad to be able to write about these things.

MARTHA VAN ROOI (POPPIE)

(Written by Poppie Dec 1998 on the banks of the 'Eiland' Upington.)

I am Martha Van Rooi; my other name is Poppie Nel. My mother was a Baaster-Hottentot, Katrina De Wee. She was from Namibia. My father was Tswana from Upington. I am married. My husband is from Prieska. I have two sons and a daughter and three grand children.

NOXOLO PRESCILLA SAAIMAN (GIRLIE)

(Written by Girlie on the banks of the Orange river at the 'Eiland' 1998 Upington.)

My great grandmother is from Rietfontein, grandfather is from Queenstown, they went to live at Rietfontein.

My grandmother is a Tswana – my Oupa is a Xhosa. They had four children, two boys and two girls. My mother is a Tswana, my father is a Xhosa. They come from Queenstown and then came to live in Upington.

We are Tswana-Xhosa at home and speak Xhosa. Us, women of Upington do not go to the hut¹⁰, only the people of Queenstown. Our men go to the veld to practice their beliefs. I am a Zionist, I was baptised in the Orange River. There is a type of belief that we have called *Mamchilibe*. If you want to become a Medicine man then you have to study for it.

MAKU HLOPEZULU

(Written by Dec 1998 on the banks of the 'Eiland' at Upington)

I am a Xhosa born in Upington. My father is from Carnarvon and my mother is also from Carnarvon. My father's father always spoke a great deal about Carnarvon so they were all from one place.

I am a mother of eight children, three boys and five girls and have ten grand children, one of whom has died.

Research direction?

The recording of the oral narratives and histories has led to hours of transcription and translation. I felt alone in my wrestling with ethical issues relating to the ethnography. Martha was cynical about the possible use of their stories for a museum exhibition. She said the museum had interviewed her mother due to her reaching an age of over 100 years, and now had no record of the interview. Expectations had been raised and promises had and still have to be kept. The present research is a slow process that has taken nearly three years to date. Power issues had to be resolved in my own mind as I had all the weight in the relationship, politically and economically. Jealousy occurred amongst other workers who did not necessarily only want the economic benefits from working overtime with Miss Mary but recognition that their stories, and their knowledge was also relevant, worth being taped, typed up and hopefully recorded in some form of publication that echoed their voice.

I wanted any ethnographic work to be productive, not only in the normal academic sense of publication but of practical economic benefit to the informers. Further I wanted in collaboration with the originators of culture to use the ethnography for what I thought and still think is the most empowering experience - education that reinforces your strengths and talents resulting in greater self-esteem and productivity.

In 2006 we are all changed by time and social economic changes. Despite the word-on-the-street of '*niks het verander nie*' [nothing has changed], when asked individual questions regarding their home status, The Eiland Women include many changes regarding housing, water and electricity supplies to their homes. Nevertheless they bemoan the resulting loss of social contact that these technological amenities introduced. The children no longer play in the yards, the neighbours no longer chat over the fences as they are all inside watching television. The women no longer need to collect wood or water and their stories are seldom, if ever, told to the children or grandchildren (Interview, Maku, Nana and Mokkie: 2005).

I now only wash my own family's dirty laundry. Most of the women still do piece work at the island but they supervise themselves. When I meet the Eiland women, at least once a year, it is usually in my mother's flat attached to the hotel in Upington or

more frequently in one of the formal lounges of the hotel itself. We all wear our 'going out' clothes and we sip *koeldrank* [cooldrink] or drink *koffie* [coffee] and eat *koekies* [biscuits]. We still chat and laugh but now we are more businesslike as we pour over drafts of my writing or watch filmed footage of the women. Some things remain the same: The women still walk far to get to the hotel from the taxi rank and I travel far from Durban to meet with them. We are more like associates now as I cannot continue my work without them and they want to continue to benefit from their heritage through me but they still call me Mies Mary. They still ask me to work just one more time with them on the island for old times' sake. The irony is that I too have become locked indoors through *advanced* circumstances. Writing up this dissertation requires treading a fine line between reclusive methodology, which focuses on texts and working in seclusion, and inclusive methodology, which actively participates with research informants and the research place.

I aim to create a research foundation for public communication for the Upington Museum that is based on The Eiland Women's oral heritage and how it relates to rock engravings. The public communication should be such that not only visitors from outside of Upington can relate to it but that the source of the heritage, the Southern Kalahari people and particularly The Eiland Women should also identify with the information presented.

Chapter 2

Methodology context

...so it follows that part of research should be to study the nature and process of research itself. If it is me as the researcher who is the primary instrument, it is important for me to examine how I participate in the observed since my own frame of reference will heavily guide what I choose to present as significant...my methodology becomes a reflection or discussion about my own epistemology or way of knowing, and what I as a researcher believe can be known, as well as who can be a knower. (Singer, 1995: www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR2-2/singer.html)

Methodology: Structured Inclusion

Theoretical and methodological discussions of my work with the women of Upington reflect both on my instinctive approach and conscious application within the group research project 'Observers and Observed: Reverse Cultural Studies, Auto-Ethnographic, Semiotic and Reflexive Methodologies' headed by Prof Keyan G. Tomaselli.

I aim to formalise theory and methodology related to this particular case study with a view to aiding future research of this type through highlighting successful and unsuccessful applications of theories of reflexivity and auto-ethnography specifically relating to visual anthropology within an action research project.

In a Masters dissertation comprising part of the overarching research project, Vanessa McLennan-Dodd (2003) emphasised the positive application of self-reflexive theory to research engagement between observers and observed. She highlights the potential danger of representation of marginalised communities for greater disempowerment of the group.

Disempowerment occurs both in terms of the unequal power relations between observer and observed or researcher and researched, relating to payment of interviews, photographs or filming, the returning of information and ownership of intellectual property; as well as in the way in which the community or individuals are seen by the wider world as a result of how they are represented. (McLennan-Dodd, 2003: 110)

McLennan-Dodd uses auto ethnography and self-reflexivity to try and make sense of the encounter; the experience of the field trip:

My argument for the application of reflexive and auto-ethnographic methodologies to social research is based on my understanding that little can be learnt and understood about 'other' people without experiencing what it is like to be there, and relating the experience of their reality to theory and knowledge. (McLennan Dodd, 2003: 110)

The research process is scrutinised by the researcher through self-reflexivity and, as such, the context of the researcher and researched are made transparent. The reality is still, however, that what and who are included - from theorists to research participants; from the research process to the communication of the research - is still under the control of the researcher. Tomaselli (1996) writes of *structured absences* within visual anthropology; the constructed removal of certain images from frames to promote stereotypes of the San/Bushmen as frozen in time, untouched by a modern world.

The inversion of this structured absence is *structured inclusion*. I find it appropriate to examine this aspect of the research process, the negative and the positive application of *structured inclusion*. I have examined the research process in line with McLennan-Dodd's research within the broader Observer-Observed research project; that is, the place of the researcher within the encounter. While McLennan-Dodd placed a spotlight on the work of Rupert Isaacson in researching and publishing *The Healing Land* (2001), I shall examine my encounters with the narrators of the Water Snake stories, the product of these encounters, and subsequent attempts at their representation within a museum setting.

McLennan-Dodd lists moral concepts that her experience revealed as necessary for field research. These include accountability to the research partners in all areas of research from false expectations to the return of information; actions that demonstrate 'respect and acknowledgement', actions that ensure *structured inclusion*. The morals and methods to which McLennan-Dodd refers are inherent in Paulo Freire's action research methodology, 'remembering that research as critical reflection on reality leads to critical intervention in reality' (Freire, 1972 in McLennan-Dodd, 2003:110).

Inclusive paradigm

We wanted to document our dilemmas and dialogues with ourselves as individuals, between ourselves as research teams, and with our hosts as individuals and as communities. (Tomaselli, 2005: 6-7)

An emphasis on inclusion rather than absence could be related to the difference in ways of seeing or reading a half empty or half full glass; that is, the variations in viewing the world from a negative or positive perspective. I would like to think that an inclusive perspective relates to a positive approach; an approach that emphasises what is consciously included in research will not just lead to reflexive back patting but will reflect on the unavoidable constructive nature of research.

Augustine Shutte (2001) proposes an inclusive philosophical paradigm as relevant for southern Africa. This proposed ethic for living, although set in a dualist philosophy, is nevertheless one that appeals to me because of my religious and cultural context as a Christian South African:

...and this is at the heart of *UBUNTU*¹¹: the call to find oneself in the other, to see, in the very differences between people and cultures, the same humanity that we find so precious in what is our own. If *UBUNTU* means seeking and finding oneself in others, no matter how different and alien they may appear, then surely no-one, no group or culture has anything to fear from the practice of this ethic... (Shutte, 2001: 226)

Shutte highlights the common ideals of individualism and *ubuntu* community emphasis. The National Research Foundation encourages individual academic students' participation within a broader group research project such as the one in which this research falls. Tomaselli encourages individual acknowledgement within an academic community through transference of skills in writing for publication and the opening up of opportunities for such publication. It is as a result of this emphasis on reciprocal strengthening of individual and community that some of the research undertaken for this dissertation has already appeared in local and international academic publications (Lange, 2003a; 2003b; 2005; 2006a).

Tomaselli relates his approach to Peircian philosophy and pluralist ideology. Peirce's phaneron provides an inclusive framework for research that goes beyond a traditional positivist scientific system and where a pluralistic approach makes provision for multiple realities. Auto-ethnographic methodology has been used in the writing up

process of this research project as “it permits us to write as individuals while maintaining team coherence and project cohesion” (Tomaselli, 2005: 13). This inclusive approach spreads further than the research team to include the research communities:

participatory studies done in the Northern Cape, Namibia and Botswana, in which human agency is described and recognised, and in which voices from the field, our ‘subjects of observation’ are engaged by researchers as their equals (in human dignity and thus as producers of knowledge). (Tomaselli, 2003: 8)

With full knowledge that I have been accused of essentialism in referring to Western and African attributes in societies, I will still describe this as an African traditional approach whereby ethnography is not a result of a search for the one out of many but rather the one made by many. An attempt is made to hear multiple voices and to reflect these in the communication of the field experience.

Self-reflexivity both in written and visual material and close co-operation with research communities has become an important tool in an attempt to reveal the researcher’s point of entrance and make transparent any type of ‘othering’ that may occur in the process of communicating the encounter and experience. I was introduced to the naming and description of this approach in the Visual Anthropology course at Culture Communication and Media Studies, UKZN. It is embedded in participatory anthropology methodology as described by American anthropologist, Paul Stoller:

Participatory anthropology means mastering the language of the subjects, conceding our ignorance and their wisdom, admitting our mistakes in public in print, and filming and writing which try to capture the seamlessness of thought, action and feeling in the world. (Stoller, 1992: 193)

It was with a view to echoing this research methodology in the writing up process that I invited Belinda Kruiper, a Kalahari poet and wife of Vetkat, and Charlize Tomaselli, a fellow Kalahari student to co-write an article with me: ‘Meeting Points’ (Lange, Kruiper & Tomaselli, 2003b). The team work continued in the preparations of the article via letter, email, phone booth and cell phone.

Inclusive learning theory

It is a pluralistic view of mind, recognizing many different and discrete facets of cognition, acknowledging that people have different cognitive strengths and contrasting cognitive styles. (Gardner, 1993: 6)

I have mentioned my preoccupation with including more than the traditionally emphasized linguistic and logical-mathematical intelligences in learning situations. Gardner of '*Multiple Intelligences*' writes of "westist", "testist" and "bestist"; the tradition predominant in our previous education system where what was imported from Europe and could be rationally tested was considered the most important (1993: 12).

The predominant testing was the Intelligence Quotient (IQ) test, which tested linguistic, and logical-mathematical intelligences and therefore participants who scored highly in the IQ test were considered the cream of the population. Adult achievements and roles were considered to depend on the 'flowering' of one type of intelligence. In contrast, Gardner's research identifies seven different intelligences, which are independent in that their location within the brain can be identified in the same way as the linguistic and logical-mathematical intelligences are identified in the left lobe of the brain. The intra- and interpersonal intelligences are found in the frontal lobes; musical is found predominantly in the right brain as are spatial and bodily kinesthetic in left handed persons, whereas the left-brain is the home for linguistic and bodily kinesthetic intelligences of right-handed persons. All roles in society require a combination of intelligences:

Nearly every cultural role of any degree of sophistication requires a combination of intelligences...dance requires skills in bodily kinesthetic, musical, interpersonal, and spatial intelligences in varying degrees. Politics requires an interpersonal skill, a linguistic facility, and perhaps some logical aptitude. (Gardner, 1993: 26-27)

Individual aptitudes are seen as a unique combination of intelligences or skills. Therefore, if a learning situation is to be of greatest potential benefit to learners, then I believe it should include as many of the intelligences as possible. Gardner proposes that in a multiple intelligence learning situation, alternative routes can be found to problems, for example, the use of spatial or bodily kinaesthetic metaphors to assist

learners who do not have strong logical mathematical skills and for whom the obvious route of language is not a strong option:

In this way, the student is given a secondary route to the solution to the problem, perhaps through the medium of an intelligence that is relatively strong for that individual. (Gardner, 1993: 33)

Multiple intelligence theory, although based on the physiological, does include a postmodern outcomes approach through the inclusion of *significance of culture* (Lindauer, 2003: 4). The emphasis and development of specific intelligences is influenced by the importance placed upon it by the culture within which the individual finds him/herself. The outcome of the development of intelligence influences the time and attention paid to that particular intelligence specifically during the formative years. For example, there is currently a drive in South Africa to develop the sciences; various measures and incentives are in place to facilitate greater attention to the logical mathematical intelligence particularly of educators, and primary, secondary and tertiary learners.

My intense interest in a multiple intelligence approach is derived through my own experience of the use of spatial intelligence to grasp linguistic and logical-mathematical concepts. The derogatory 'Do you want me to draw you a picture?' really works for me. It is more than once that I have been told 'You're quite stupid for an intelligent person'. Diagrams and mind maps, speaking problems out aloud with much gesticulation or bodily activity, summation of linguistic facts into poetic metaphors all serve as secondary routes to aid my grasp of the written linguistic and logical-mathematical processed in the left brain. Although I achieved highly in left-brain intelligences during my primary school years, it was my dance, theatre performance, sport and music, which received my attention from my teens onwards.

My post school years of intense involvement in the visual and performing arts - coaching oral communication and concentration on creative writing - have resulted in the dominant development of intelligences housed in the right and frontal brain areas and application of the creative aspects of these intelligences.

Gardner (1993) does not identify a separate artistic intelligence in his analysis but rather observes that:

each of these forms of intelligence can be directed toward artistic ends: that is, the symbols entailed in that form of knowledge may, but need not, be marshalled in an aesthetic fashion [...] Whether an intelligence is mobilized for aesthetic or no aesthetic ends turns out to be an individual or a cultural decision. (1993: 138-139)

The range of intelligences can be identified for both “content of instruction and the means or medium for communicating that content” (Gardner, 1993: 32).

Choice of content

If the scientific view of the world was right and everything could be known by observation and measurement, then the universe was really nothing more than a huge machine, made up of identical physical atoms that moved and interacted according to universal physical laws. What room in that was there for human thought –and human freedom? Renee Descartes, in the 15th century, wrestled with this problem and produced a novel solution. There were two quite different kinds of reality, spiritual and material. Our minds were spiritual, able to think and act apart from the laws of nature, our bodies were material, part of nature and subject to the laws that science had discovered. This view was known as dualism. I doubt, therefore I think; I think, therefore I am. And I am a thinking thing...To distinguish persons from all other kinds of things philosophers called us “subjects”. As bodily beings we could be studied by all the different sciences, as one special kind of object. But as thinking and choosing beings, beings who actually practised science, we were subjects, a very different kind of thing. (Shutte, 2001: 45)

Heated debates still rage both externally and internally amongst those involved in any type of cultural recording and or communication thereof. Is this not continuing a separatist tradition? What right has one group of people, no matter from what culture, to observe an-other?

Ethnography, the scientific description of human races would record compartmentalized aspects of *others*. Ethnographic realism, according to Stoller (1984: 102), sought in the tradition of Plato to create order out of flux and ‘*to turn away from subjective involvement to objectivity*’ and from opinion to knowledge. ‘We discover the reality (the One) hidden behind appearances (the Many) and thereby arrive at truth. “Realism is actually a style that is just as calculated, self-conscious, and artificial as any other style, though it doesn’t seem that way; it seems more lifelike and real.”

My choice of aesthetic content is reflected in my preference for visual over written ethnography or at least the inclusion of visual within written ethnography. My research topic and subject matter; that is, oral narratives, rock art and ritual; also lean towards the aesthetic applications of verbal, spatial and bodily kinaesthetic intelligences.

In order to try to learn and impart as much as possible in the research process, I have applied the multiple intelligence theory in my research methodology on two levels: in the encounter with the research area and community and in the presentation of the research material. As previously mentioned, there is no single intelligence involvement in the learning process, but I have tried to include more than just an emphasis on the non-aesthetic written linguistic and logical-mathematical. Meaning creation through the text emphasizes the non-aesthetic written linguistic encounter with the research subject matter. Meaning through the tangible, the archaeological experience, places emphasis on the bodily kinaesthetic and spatial encounter. Oral narratives, rock art and rituals bring the aesthetic oral linguistic, spatial and musical intelligences to the encounter. Meaning through participatory research and self-reflexive methodology emphasizes intra- and interpersonal intelligences.

Means of communicating content

Ethnographic Surrealism appeals to me. It not only accommodates many facets of my interests and beliefs personally and academically, but is an approach that includes the physical and the metaphysical. As mentioned in *From One to an Other* I have a natural tendency towards the avant-garde. I am still amazed when a written creation, which appears to me to be personally cathartic and an artistic means of muddling my way through epistemological, theoretical, methodological and other – *als*, strikes recognition and is performed publicly or is published.

When an anthropologist is confronted with an incident...that he or she cannot explain, the pillars of the aged metaphysic of the Western philosophic tradition begin to crumble: the convention of representation that worked so beautifully in a previous study are no longer adequate. (Stoller, 1984: 106)

The metaphysical is as much part of my real world as is the physical. A spiritual or paranormal world was never doubted in my upbringing or in my experience. Besides

the usual *Reader's Digest*-style literature devoted to mysterious events and the inexplicable, I was raised on fascinating stories of my ancestors' visions, visiting apparitions and unnaturally synchronised events. The presence of spiritual beings besides a Supreme Being was considered unthreatening if one didn't meddle with them or try to control them, especially for self-serving purposes. Only good spirits would reveal themselves to me and their appearance would be for a specific purpose, I believed and still believe. Evil spirits seemed like sharks to me, natural in their environment and only to be feared if human beings foolishly entered their domain. Street sharks were far more menacing.

Whilst paranormal stories mostly stemmed from my maternal ancestry and were excused by a line of Gaelic blood, from my paternal side came a line of men born with the *cowl*¹²: a trait continued in the birth of my youngest son. I knew all the intuitive and prophetic gifts supposedly and actually accompanying that birth trait. Amongst the males, there was also a strong interest in science fiction and beings from outer space; these too were not considered to exist outside our reality and were accepted as possibilities like any other phenomena originally confined to stories and scorned but later becoming an acceptable aspect of modern man's worldview.

Recounting of dreams formed part of my family's dinner banter, with certain members of the family accepting the burden of interpreter or rather advisor on self analysis of dreams, especially those few, vivid, different dreams that stood out from the average night's viewing.

The arts have always shown the inner life of man in a particular period better than political, intellectual, or social history (Russel, 1980: xv).

The creative process, so far as we are able to follow it at all, consists in the unconscious activation of an archetypal image and elaborating and shaping the image into the finished work. By giving it shape, the artist translates it into the language of the present and so makes it possible for us to find our way back to the deepest springs of life. (Jung, 1964)

Then how to communicate the encounter in Africa? This seems to be difficult in traditional Western anthropological terms. "Although anthropologists like painters, lend their bodies to the world, we tend to allow our senses to penetrate the Other's world rather than letting our senses be penetrated by the world of the Other" (Stoller,

1984: 93). The Lewis-Williams domination of left brain thinking in terms of investigation and analysis, which distances intuition and causes tension and stress, is not part of traditional African life. Pasteur and Toldson (1982: 79) argued that a greater use of right brain functions in African culture led to greater harmony in the personality. A further factor that aids optimal functioning is the collective existence. The expression of consciousness through group cultural activities such as dance, song oratory, painting and sculpture is also indicated as a factor resulting in less repression and therefore greater optimal mental health.

A holistic view of humankind and unity with God and nature found in the African worldview was to influence European art and ethnography in the early 1900s, especially in France. Africa became a source of knowledge. The influence of Africa was embodied in the art movement named surrealism for which the common sense meaning of the term is reflected in the New Oxford Illustrated Dictionary:

Surrealism (n) Movement in art and literature, which originated in France (1924), purporting to express the subconscious activities of the mind by representing the phenomena of dreams and similar experiences; art, literature, produced in accordance with this theory. (1978: 1685)

This art movement was based to a large extent on the theories of psychoanalysts Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung. Jung and surrealism paralleled the African experience in their seemingly 'unscientific' methodology that provided access to the unobservable and non-quantifiable facts of what it is to be human whilst also allowing for the spiritual dimension of humanity.

In contrast to the classic European, the Negro-African does not draw a line between himself and the object; he does not hold it at a distance, nor does he merely look at it and analyse it...the Negro-African sympathizes, abandons his personality to become identical with the Other, dies to be reborn in the Other. He does not assimilate; he is assimilated. He lives a common life with the Other; he lives in a symbiosis... 'I think therefore I am' Descartes writes...The Negro-African could say 'I feel, I dance the Other; I am'. (Senghor, 1964: 72-73)

In his review of a conference for indigenous people, Guenther (1995) suggested that surrealist theatre could be used as an effective form of ethnographic communication:

A conference participant, hailing from yet another intellectual constituency, the performing arts, whose efforts at grappling with the authenticity issue I personally found especially revealing, was the dance choreographer Sylvia

Glasser... she presented her dance troupe in a dream-like “modern dance” routine entitled “tranceformations”. The half-hour performance enacted the trance experience of a number of Bushman curing dancers. The form and content of what I found to be a deeply absorbing performance was modeled on the extinct /Xam Bushmen, as mediated by David Lewis-Williams in his many scholarly writings.

The performance conveyed to me, more effectively than any scholar’s descriptive and hermeneutic essays on the subject, the emotional and metaphysical essence of this key element of Bushman ritual and cosmology. Glasser’s “take” on this Bushman ritual suggests to me that authenticity lies not in the surface texture of culture, manifested in ethnographic, musicological detail, but within its sub-textural, deep textual, emotional or ideational core. Cultural anthropologists have always maintained that one’s basic access to this core is through intuition. The fact that an artist (Bushman or otherwise), a choreographer, dancer or novelist, might be more effective at capturing that core than an anthropologist was revealed to me by Glasser’s troupe’s performance. (Guenther, 1995: 114, 115)

I was not fortunate enough to see the above performance but I did see a video presentation of it. I was disappointed as I had heard a great deal of its live impact and felt something was lost in its filming.

The master of ethnographic surrealism in film was Jean Rouch. He found surrealism to be the most appropriate style for recording African rituals. He used the movement of his camera to emulate the Automatist school of surrealists who, influenced by Jung, believed images should be allowed to flow freely from the subconscious to the conscious without interpretation. The camera became part of the ritual, one with the body, initiating events that otherwise would not have taken place and “encountering and experiencing the phanerons of Others” (Tomaselli, 1996: 179).

Rouch sees the ritual as a form of cleansing and coping mechanism used by the Songhay. The madness or the shadow of colonialism is entered into through role play in order to cope with the mundane realities of everyday existence under colonial rule. Rouch also reflected an African style of work ethic in the creation process of his films through participatory /shared anthropology (Tomaselli, 1996:165).

Montage, which stresses the juxtaposition of images more than the images themselves, always implies the shaping hand of a creator, but the compression of multiple meanings into one shot can seem to efface the director, giving the illusion of reality (Bordwell, 1985). The ethnographic surrealism of film or video has reached

greater heights in post-modern times through the juxtaposition of linear filmed images of reality with computer-generated effects; theatrical images such as puppets placed next to static photos or paintings before returning to the mobility of the film or video. The African and Jungian principles of creative conflict between opposite tensions are used to strive to integrate opposites in a harmonious whole (Meyer et al, 1997:102).

Perhaps if two cultures remove their masks then with careful and respectful co-operation they can together share the reflected sight, even if for a moment, of their unmasked selves.

Ecosystemic methodology

What follows is therefore the writer's own view, and does not reflect a fixed reality. This view is, of course, also based on the writer's dialogue with the ideas of others . . . You, the reader, will enter into a dialogue with the ideas that are presented here and new ideas will be co-constructed in this process. (Meyer, Moore, and Viljoen, 1997: 560)

I discovered that the experience of a researcher within a community with which I was familiar is very different from that of a researcher within a group of researchers and a community. The subverted 'gaze' intended through participatory research (Tomaselli, 1996) to go both ways from researcher to researched may become stuck between researcher and researcher. The traditional 'other' does not become the shadow archetype (Tomaselli, 1995) but rather the gaze turns inward and falls first on the research process (Tomaselli, 1996; Robins, 2001; Lange, 2003a). Fellow researchers then become the 'other' and finally, as the gaze hits one hundred and eighty degrees, it is my own shadow that I must confront. "How can I be substantial without casting a shadow? I must have a dark side too if I am to be whole; and by becoming conscious of my shadow I remember once more that I am a human being like any other" (Jung, 1953: 59).

Tomaselli in *Appropriating Images* (1996), and Robins in *Intersecting Places: Emancipatory Spaces* (2001) have discussed the history and changes in emphasis and approach of written and filmed ethnography.

Melinda Robins (2001) includes scripted ethnographies and an in-depth academic debate relating to their background and significance: "Thus, ethnographic texts can be seen as 'fictions,' not only because they have been made but because they have been made up" (Robins 2001: 37). She mirrored many of my own doubts and debates on what content and method were the most appropriate for communication of the field experience.

The difference in emphasis in Robins's approach and my approach is revealed in the second part of each title; the words *emancipatory* and *symbiotic*, respectively. Robins stresses postmodern emancipation of the critical and feminist theories, whereas I stress cooperation and growth within a post-mechanistic, ecosystemic paradigm.

The focus is on systems, and where ecological and cybernetic principles provide the point of departure . . . you need to know about the interaction, cooperation and counteraction of subsystems with the larger context. (Meyer, Moore, and Viljoen 1997:555)

Bateson (1980) describes a post-mechanistic ecosystemic paradigm as "an ecology of ideas" in systems. Influences from 'cybernetics,' as in a stress of patterns of interaction, "formed through relationships," are emphasized rather than Newton's linear causality (Meyer, Moore, and Viljoen, 1997).

Focus is then not simply placed on what researchers think of their subjects or what subjects think of the researchers but also on what they each believe the other thinks of them. These ripples include relationships between researchers and researchers, researchers and society, the researched and the broader community. Process takes preference over product. Tomaselli incorporates some of these aspects in his discussions of ethics in filming/videoing cultures, for example: "How does sectional empowerment, often one that is gender specific as well, affect the 'community' as a whole?" (Tomaselli, 1996). Man and all other subsystems, however, are autonomous and, unlike Marxism, ecosystemic thinking believes that this autonomy results in "disturbance" by other systems, but only in "influence" by other systems if the first allows this (Meyer, Moore, and Viljoen, 1997).

But as an overall view about human experience, the idea that there is only one gate to knowledge, one kind of gate, is a form of mental color blindness; and the second kind of knowledge is as difficult to describe to some people as color to a color-blind person. (Hoggart, 1973:22)

Various epistemological principles, “ways of thinking” or “ways of knowing,” are incorporated in an ecosystemic approach (Meyer, Moore, and Viljoen, 1997).

The documentary use of literature is underestimated and it can “recreate the experiential wholeness of life” (Hoggart, 1973). Fictional literature also has a role to play in reflecting society: “What about fantastic art, surrealist art, art that is deliberately distorted, excessive, obsessional, which appears to turn ‘reality’ on its head or narrows its interest to one tiny and aberrant aspect of society? Can that lead us to some ‘truth’ about society?” (Hoggart, 1973).

Humans are biologically geared for encountering the world in a stereoscopic and stereophonic manner via the left and right hemispheres of the brain. Integration resulting in perception . . . ‘hologrammic thought’ . . . disparity required by the brain in order to construct a meaningful whole... Bateson (1980) refers to this as “multiple version of the world” memory for recognition and disparity for discovery”. (Fisher, 1992: 119)

An ecosystemic approach also builds on constructivism’s ‘reality’ created by the observer and no correct, objective reality. Reflexivity has “more often than not revealed the problems of film-making in anthropology . . . This is one of the reasons for the ‘narrative turn’ by some anthropologists. By creating ‘fictions’ anthropologists try to represent reality” (Tomaselli, 1996: 213). Written and visual ethnography can work together to reflect “reality.” Tomaselli’s “phaneron” in visual anthropology stresses how: “the same text elicits different perceived texts because [of] the different con-texts through which different audiences and users may make sense of the film” (Tomaselli, 1996: xv).

Growth

Realities can be agreed upon by subsystems (Meyer, Moore, and Viljoen, 1997). This aspect forms the basis for ‘myths’ and ‘archetypes’. Tomaselli (1995) refers to myths as “recurring themes, icons and stereotypes that claim common recognition within a cultural group.” Culturally chosen realities can be challenged when there is perceived disparity and subsequent striving for balance results in progression/growth. This

forms the basis for changes, creativity, and exploration such as shifts in paradigms on a macrocosmic scale (Fisher, 1992) and creativity on a microcosmic scale.

The creative text can be used as a springboard in the work-in-progress for further understanding of the sensory field experience, through analysis. To understand someone else's 'song' I need to understand my own 'song.'

'Tis the voice of the Jubjub (sensory)

'Tis the note of the Jubjub (analytical)

'Tis the song of the Jubjub. The proof is complete (holistic knowledge).

(Lewis Carroll, 1966 in Fisher, 1992:119)

Chapter 3

Theory

Between the printed sheets: Laying out the field.

Disciplinary texts can be understood as constructions of knowledge about previous constructions of knowledge. As such, they are inevitably criticized and characterized as incomplete (Chalfen in Tomaselli, 1999: xi).

Ingredients

More than just sugar, flour or salt

More than just the origins of the salt

More than just the type of salt

More than just the environment's influence on the salt

More than just the granules of salt

More than just the amount of salt

More than just the relationship of granules of salt to each other

More than just the packaging of the salt

More than just the person using the salt

More than just the internal aspects and more than just the external influences on the salt

All the above and an inexplicable more

MEL 2006

3.1 Learning theory

I found that discussion of narrative, myth and orality theories approached from a structuralism perspective lacked application to my research focus. Thousands of words seemed to ramble nowhere with no connecting thread. I decided to return to my chapter on methodology, reexamining Ruth Teer-Tomaselli's analogy of theory as 'the ingredients' of a dish and Margaret Lindauer's PhD exploration of Museumology and combinations of theories and approaches that she found worked together when creating a museum exhibition (Lindauer, 2003). Since my research relates largely to museum work, I decided to refer to Lindauer (Fig 3.1) in its theoretical foundation. I reapplied the use of analogy for understanding - ironically, this may be construed by some as rambling - that is, I went back to the use of the creative to try and bridge the gap of understanding. This resulted in the recognition of constructivism as an essential thread in my work. The influence of Roland Barthes' (1981) intertextuality, and specifically context, was not explicit in the theoretical discussion, which lacked inclusion of the unstable sign's influence on theories of narrative, myth and orality, resulting in disparity between the sign and the signified or event and meaning. My

very work was, however, embedded in noting and attempting to bridge the gap between the event of storytelling and its interpretation and representation. Thus the application of theories relating to both the internal structure of narrative, myths and orality plus external factors, namely context (not only of the theories but also of the theorists and intertextuality), would enhance the constructivist ecosystemic approach used throughout my research and its presentation within my dissertation. The theoretical field is vast, thus it seemed appropriate to zone in not only specifically on Water Snake stories within Upington as told by the Eiland Women but also to concentrate on ethno-archaeology of South Africa, related primarily to oral narratives used for the interpretation of rock art, and then more specifically oral narratives relating to rock engravings, finally emphasising theories regarding Water Snake oral narratives relating to rock engravings within the Upington area.

The complexity of the Water Snake stories exists on different levels between the abstract and the structure that includes form and content. The oral narrative content is very specifically contextualized in Upington and I need to bridge the divide between this specific empirical data and other theoretical research contexts. This is also necessary regarding the application of the Upington oral narratives for interpretation of Upington area geometric engravings. Once more there is division between the locally specific empirical data and broader ethno-archaeological research and research theories.

As mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation, one of the desired outcomes of this research is a base for heritage communication within a museum setting. This objective results in the inclusion of a number of disciplines in my research, which could be argued to fall under the discipline of Museum Studies, or more specifically New Museology, as it “analyses moral and political aspects of practise” (Lindauer, 2003: 1). As such and because of her emphasis on outcomes based education, the categories that Margaret Lindauer (2003) allocated for her literature review in Museum Education, New Museology and Curriculum studies is useful in this dissertation as a springboard for discussion of theories relevant to my research. Lindauer identified common features between the three approaches mentioned and discovered that specific combinations of theories were compatible when tabled under the categories of educational philosophy; learning theory; curriculum theory and

research theory (see Fig 3.1). I have included in brackets abbreviations of Lindauer's explanations of the terminology, which she does not include in the table but elsewhere in her paper on the subject. Lindauer proposes nine possible combinations for "potential approaches to developing museum exhibitions" (Lindauer, 2003).

	Educational philosophy	Learning theory	Curriculum theory	Research theory
1	Traditional Humanist (Importance of shared body of knowledge – emphasis on teaching a canon)	Cognitive/Social cognition	Tylerian (Teacher as respected master and learner as empty vessel to be filled)	Positivist/Post-positivist (Quantitative/qualitative data collection)
2	Traditional Humanist (Importance of shared body of knowledge – emphasis on teaching a canon)	Constructivist (Human learning constructed – new knowledge built actively on previous learning- everyone does not understand the same way)	Laissez-faire (Teacher as nurturing parent – offers options)	Interpretivist (Akin to ethnography- focuses on generating a multiple-voiced rich description on process and outcome)
3	Traditional Humanist (Importance of shared body of knowledge – emphasis on teaching a canon)	Constructivist (Human learning constructed – new knowledge built actively on previous learning- everyone does not understand the same way)	Holistic (Teacher and learner partners in dialogue-both learn from exchange)	Interpretivist (Akin to ethnography- focuses on generating a multiple-voiced rich description on process and outcome)
4	Developmentalist (Focus on individual – foster cognitive maturation)	Behaviouralism	Tylerian (Teacher as respected master and learner as empty vessel to be filled)	Positivist/Post-positivist (Quantitative/qualitative data collection)
5	Developmentalist (Focus on individual – foster cognitive maturation)	Cognitive/Social cognition	Tylerian (Teacher as respected master and learner as empty vessel to be filled)	Positivist/Post-positivist (Quantitative/qualitative data collection)

	Educational philosophy	Learning theory	Curriculum theory	Research theory
6	Developmentalist (Focus on individual – foster cognitive maturation)	Constructivist (Human learning constructed – new knowledge built actively on previous learning- everyone does not understand the same way)	Holistic (Teacher and learner partners in dialogue-both learn from exchange)	Interpretivist (Akin to ethnography- focuses on generating a multiple-voiced rich description on process and outcome)
7	Social Adaptionist (Responsibility to generate a skilled workforce and responsible citizenry)	Cognitive/Social cognition	Tylerian (Teacher as respected master and learner as empty vessel to be filled)	Positivist/Post positivist (Quantitative/qualitative data collection)
8	Social Meliorist (Education for improving inequities)	Constructivist (Human learning constructed – new knowledge built actively on previous learning- everyone does not understand the same way)	Holistic (Teacher and learner partners in dialogue-both learn from exchange)	Interpretivist (Akin to ethnography- focuses on generating a multiple-voiced rich description on process and outcome)
9	Social Meliorist (Education for improving inequities)	Postmodern (Emphasis on the significance of culture rather than physiological activities of the brain).	Critical Pedagogy (Focus on ways in which certain dialogues redress social inequities - teacher and learner partners in social activism)	Critical Theory (Redressing of social inequity)

Fig 3.1 Lange (2006) categories generated from Lindauer's PhD (2002) literature review plus explanations for terminology.

3.1.1. Constructivist learning theory

building

blocks on

building blocks

I have identified three sets (highlighted) in Lindauer's combinations that apply to my research in this dissertation. Combination 6 of Lindauer's sets is the applicable combination of theories regarding my acquisition of knowledge in this dissertation. Combination 3 relates to my reception study of the geometric shapes. Combination 8 applies to the recording of the Water Snake Stories with the Eiland Women and their presentation in a museum setting. All three sets include constructivist learning theory.

Constructivist learning theory is set within constructivism philosophy, which is informed by a relativist position. The theory of relativism in philosophy posits on a radical scale that there is no real reality, and on a weak scale promotes the relativity of truth and values as determined by the context of the relevant persons or groups. Relativism was supported firstly in anthropology, followed by cultural studies where it became a central theoretical influence. The idea of one true outside knowledge is rejected. 'Truth' is considered relative to a reference point such as language, cultural or historical context. Social construction theory proposed universal agreement through social creations such as citizenship or through common areas of the psyche.

Constructivism in psychology is reactionary to behaviouralism which is set within a realist, determinist position. The spider web of theory requires that to understand reactionary theories at least the basics of the initial theory need to be understood; therefore I shall begin with realism and behaviourist learning theory. Behaviourism learning theory is informed by the philosophy of realism, which promotes truth and knowledge through scientific investigation. Behaviourism and behaviouralism place emphasis on the researched or learner as empty vessels to be filled or manipulated by an authoritative researcher or teaching figure.

"Behaviourism assumes that people on the ground, the illiterates or alliterate, have nothing intelligent to say, do, or feel – that they are simply there to be told what to do, and how to react." (Tomaselli, Dyll and Francis, 2007 forthcoming). In anthropology,

behaviourism was reflected in ‘enculturation’: the transmission of culture to the individual, and ‘socialization’: the adoption of surrounding practises of a culture.

Constructivist learning theory (Dewey, 1922; and Vygotsky, 1978) has its roots in various disciplines including psychology, philosophy and education. It can be applied both to learning and to epistemology: that is, to how people learn and to the nature of knowledge. This theory is embedded in the philosophy that knowledge is constructed by the individual not in isolation but within the association with peers and teacher: “Only by wrestling with the conditions for the problem at hand, seeking and finding his own solution (not in isolation but in correspondence with the teacher and other pupils) does one learn” (Dewey, 1910). The theory links to multiple intelligence theory as individuals are credited with different abilities and therefore will not necessarily gain the same knowledge from a situation. Learning is linked to natural curiosity. The context of learning influences knowledge gained as learning takes place through building from the known to the unknown.

In line with the above I then approached this section of the work through working from my empirical data that is the recorded Eiland Women’s Water Snake stories to the abstract theories via the context of the empirical data. The route I used for understanding is mapped out in Fig 3.2.

CONSTRUCTIVIST LEARNING THEORY APPLICATION TO BRIDGING THE GAP THROUGH ACTIVELY BUILDING ON THE CONTEXT BETWEEN THE KNOWN EMPIRICAL DATA AND THE UNKNOWN ABSTRACT THEORY		
		EMPIRICAL DATA
		Intangible heritage
		Tangible heritage
		Gariep River; Upington (place) Eiland Women (people) Water Snake stories (narratives/ myths)
		Louisvale and Biesje Poort (places) rock engravings (art)
	Research time period- 1990s to 2006	
Northern Cape Water Snake stories: Hoff	Northern Cape rock engravings: Morris; Parsons; Ouzman and Smith	
SA Water Snake stories: Hoff	SA rock engravings: Dowson; Morris; Ouzman	
SA Water Snake stories: Hoff; Lombard; Prins	SA rock paintings: Hoff; Lewis-Williams; Woodhouse; Prins; Thackeray; Smith; Ouzman	
SA oral narratives: Bleek; Brown; Tomaselli	SA rock art: Lewis-Williams; Deacon; Morris; Solomon; Thackeray; Guenther; Schmidt; Smith; Ouzman	
Oral narratives	Rock art: Bahn	
Ethno archaeology: Renfrew and Bahn		
Myths and Anthropology: Levi Strauss (1967); Barthes (1972, 1975,1981)		
Myths and Psychology: Freud (1900), Jung (1953,1960, 1964a); Bateson (1980).		
Myths and Semiotics: Tomaselli on Peirce (1996)		
Myths and Literature: Canonici (1992); Armstrong (1969); Graves (1974, 1975).		
Mythology and myths – disciplines and definitions		
Reality – relativity – constructivist learning theory		
THEORETICAL AND RESEARCH CONTEXT		

Fig 3.2
Bridging empirical data and learning theory.

3.2 Myth Theory

isms isms isms

*realism behaviouralism
truth science knowledge*

smsi smsi smsi

*relativism constructivism
context culture perspective*

i sms i sms i sms

philosophicalisms

miss miss miss

deism and revelationism

isms isms isms

MEL 2006

For heuristic, investigatory clarity I shall revisit the abstract and then work my way towards my specific empirical data, namely the Upington Gariiep Eiland Women's oral narratives and Upington area rock engravings. En route, I shall not present a comprehensive theoretical treatise, which is out of the scope of this dissertation, but rather point to relevant theories from various disciplines which relate to oral myths and their recording and use for interpretation of rock art. It is an interdisciplinary approach as the recording and interpretation of myths by scholars of literature and of ethnography rooted in anthropology have been influenced by the disciplines of philosophy, psychology and literary studies and have in turn influenced them.

Μῦθος

The word 'myth' derives from the Greek mythos. For the ancient Greeks this meant 'fable,' 'tale,' 'speech,' or 'address,' but in all the sense of the 'unreal'. Thus the hidden meaning contained within the myths became increasingly more important. (Ferreira, tr. Fisher, 1998-2005)

Myth is used to mean a story which, as well as corresponding with lasting patterns of thought and feeling as any narrative must that is to command attention, expresses them at a deep level with a definitive kind of economy and concentration. (Armstrong, 1969: 5)

Myths: These refer to events connected with religion, with the creation of man and the shaping of his destiny. (Canonici, 1992: iv)

True myth may be defined as the reduction to narrative shorthand of ritual mime performed on public festivals, and in many cases recorded pictorially on temple walls, vases, seals, bowls, mirrors, chests, shields, tapestries, and the like. (Graves, 1974: 12)

The disciplines of psychology and philosophy were integrated from approximately the 5th century BC to the late 19th century owing to their setting within religious thinking. With the decline of the authority of church, based on faith, came the 'Age of Reason' wherein the world and the people within it became the focus of philosophical reflection. The replacement of faith with reason laid the ground for an 'explosion of scholarship' particularly in the natural sciences. The breakthroughs in the natural sciences led to the development of specific human and social sciences disciplines, e.g. psychology (Meyer et al, 1997). These disciplines would influence the interpretation of myths into the 21st century.

The recording of myths, traditionally associated in Western culture with Roman and Greek culture, and oral narratives was originally included in the field of anthropology in order to record all aspects of cultures by the various ethnological societies established across the world between 1839 and 1884. These recordings were the beginnings of a cultural holistic approach but not yet part of a model for explaining cultural phenomena (Mühlmann, 1968: 79).

In the second half of the 19th century Charles Darwin's (1858) ideas on organic (biological) evolution initiated a thought climate for investigation of the development of culture. The scientific study of myths commenced at this time. The theories of the classical evolutionist were used to explain international common themes in myths according to common mental elements, for example: similar stimuli provoke in the human mind similar imaginings (Ferreira, tr. Fisher, 1998-2005). The literate Western culture was considered the last stage of development: the civilized society, whilst the oral hunter/gatherer societies of Africa were regarded as savages, with African pottery makers as barbarians in between, according to anthropologist E.B. Tylor's sequence of human development (Fagan, 1994: 41). American anthropologist Lewis Morgan developed the evolutionist sequence in his book *Ancient Society*

(1877) and influenced the thinking of social philosophers Friederich Engels and Karl Marx (Fagan, 1994: 42).

Despite criticism of the lack of empirical knowledge as a basis for the classical evolutionary theory, nevertheless it created the grounding for subsequent anthropological theory. Anthropology was dominated by diffusionist theory in the late 19th and early 20th centuries when the diversity of cultures and the impact of Western technology on traditional societies were recognised by researchers. A concerted effort was made to record as much data as possible on these ‘vanishing’ cultures. This data provided the basis for the development of more complex anthropological theories, which would influence the analysis and emphasis on myths in future years.

3.2.1. Myths: Psychology

3.2.1A Myths: Freud and psychoanalysis

Aspects of the psychoanalytical model relevant for the interpretation of myths are inherent in its emphasis on childhood experiences for the explanation of adult behaviour and the unconscious nature of these influences (Meyer et al, 1997). Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) and the psychoanalytical model of abnormal behaviour laid the foundation for psychology as a science within “a practical medical context” (Meyer et al, 1997: 33). The ‘unconscious mind and repressed sexual impulses’ were the focus of Freud’s work. He introduced into the English language the “*Oedipus complex* (rivalry with the father and sexual love of the mother)” besides other new words such as “*id* (the primitive, uncensored impulse), *ego* and *super ego* (civilized elements of character that exercise restraint)” (Clark, 1968: 304). The use of *primitive* and *civilized* by Clark to describe the Freud’s terminology echoes the evolutionistic thinking of the period in which Freud’s psychology was shaped. In *The Interpretation of Dreams [Traumdeutung]* Freud proposed that psychoanalysis was not only relevant for the interpretation of patients’ dreams but also had a place in the interpretation of literature/arts:

Just as all neurotic symptoms, like dreams themselves, are capable of hyper-interpretation, and even require such hyper-interpretation before they become perfectly intelligible, so every genuine poetical creation must have proceeded from more than one motive, more than one impulse in the mind of the poet, and must admit of more than one interpretation. (Freud tr. Brill, 1900)

The universality of myths, 'old legends', is explained by Freud as a result of the universal validity of his "hypothesis of infantile psychology" or repressed impulses. An example of his application is encapsulated in the link between matricide portrayed in the great poetic tragedies of Sophocles' Greek myth, *Oedipus Rex*, and Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, and neurosis caused by the early childhood love of one parent and subsequent hatred for the other (the wish-fantasy of the child manifested in dreams) (Freud, 1900). Freud writes that a secondary theological intention of *Oedipus* fails where it succeeds on a psychological level:

The attempt to reconcile divine omnipotence with human responsibility must, of course, fail with this material as with any other [...]. In *Oedipus Rex* the basic wish-phantasy of the child is brought to light and realized as it is in dreams. (Freud tr. Brill, 1900: 306)

3.2.1B Myths: Jung and the collective unconscious

Evolutionary theory, archaeology and cross-cultural studies of the 19th century influenced not only the internal approach to interpretation of myth proposed by Freud, but also that of his Swiss student Carl Gustav Jung (1875-1961). Jung differed, however, from Freud's deterministic, negative, mechanistic approach whereby unresolved childhood issues with an emphasis on sexuality resulted in neurosis; Jung regarded disparity as a potential source of growth or health development. The introduction of a new level to the psyche of the *collective unconscious* was Jung's most "original and most controversial concept" (Meyer et al, 1997). The *collective unconscious* included positive and spiritual elements "derived from the cumulative experience of the human species": The *id* was also not considered in a negative light but as a creative force (Sue et al, 1994: 48).

The collective unconscious comprises in itself the psychic life of ancestors right back to the earliest beginnings. It is the matrix of all conscious psychic occurrences, and hence it exerts an influence that comprises the freedom of consciousness in the highest degree, since it is continually striving to lead all conscious processes back into the old paths. (Jung, 1960: 112)

Archetypes, or primordial images, contained in the collective unconscious comprise "the whole treasure-house of mythological motifs" (Jung, 1960: 310). These archetypes can be expressed as symbols: "a word or an image is symbolic when it

implies something more than its obvious and immediate meaning” (Jung, 1964a:4). Jung analysed symbols as manifested in dreams, fantasies, visions, myth and other forms of art to understand the collective unconscious (Meyer et al, 1997).

Archetypes for every aspect of life experience are listed by Jung e.g. birth, death, sun, darkness, power, women, men, sex, water, mother and pain. The archetypes discussed in detail and relevant for myth interpretation were: the persona or public self; the anima and animus or psychological traits of male and female found in both males and females; the shadow or primitive animal instincts which includes impulsive urges and emotions which are unacceptable to society; the self or individual motivation to ‘integrate the various components of the psyche into a harmonious whole’. One of the symbols in which the archetype of ‘self’ is manifested is the *mandala* which according to Meyer et al is the “visual representation, symbolizing the ‘complete man’” (Meyer et al, 1997: 107-111).

The differences in the psychoanalytic approaches of Jung and Freud are visible in their theories on the Oedipus complex. As discussed, Freud viewed this as an expression of suppressed childhood desires. Jung, within his holistic approach that strove for human unity including the physiological, social, psychic and spiritual dimensions, saw it as “an expression of the interaction between psychic and religious needs in the mother-father-child relationship” (Meyer et al 1997: 102).

Jung’s theories influenced subsequent psychologists and theorists such as Hillman and the ecosystemic methodology, which was applied successfully in South Africa, especially as a result of its inclusion of the spiritual, from the 1990s. An ecosystemic approach applies to the individual but is extended to include the systems within which the individual operates. These theories included a pluralist approach whereby emphasis was no longer placed only on the biological or cognitive aspects of the individual for analysis and treatment but rather on a *biopsychosocial* approach (Meyer et al, 1997). An ecosystemic approach has been discussed in relation to my research in the chapter on methodology. Jung was the only psychologist, albeit superficially and within an essentialist approach, to attempt an analysis of the psyche of the African which prior to this was confined to anthropological studies (Meyer et al, 1997).

The psychoanalytical approach to abnormal behaviour and the interpretation of myths was followed in psychology by behaviourism, which emphasised observable, measurable behaviour rather than the intrapsychic (Sue et al 1994).

3.3 Myth: Structuralism

Structuralism, which is often described as a ‘method with ideological implications’, is rooted in the premise that reality lies not so much in individual events, objects or ideas, but in the relationships between them. Its characteristic method is an attempt to reveal the general principles or structures governing the apparently infinitely varied items which make up human action and creation [...]

As far as content is concerned we associate structuralism with studies of myth, narrative and social interaction. (van Zyl, 1978: 3)

3.3.1 Linguistics and Structuralism: de Saussure

Anthropology and cultural theory were influenced by semiology, the science of signs, as presented early in the 20th century by Swiss linguist de Saussure (Hoenisch, 2005). He did away with consideration of the historical aspect of language for understanding of the arbitrariness of the sign and analyzed language synchronically (that is, as a formal system made up of different elements which function at a specific time). De Saussure differentiated between the social (*langue*) aspect of language and the individual or personal (*parole*). In line with a behaviourist approach, de Saussure placed emphasis on the social (*langue*) as the personal (*parole*) was considered a product of the system. Reality was believed to be shaped by language; therefore ‘reality’ was specific to different cultures as dictated or mediated by the language spoken. The social convention of language led to dominant discourses which imposed ideology (Barthes, 1972).

3.3.2. The Cambridge School of Classical Anthropologists

Literary studies and myths were influenced by Anthropology with the linking of Greek tragedy to their ritual origins by British scholar, Gilbert Murray (1866-1957) of the Cambridge School of Classical Anthropologists (Fergusson, 1949).

The Cambridge School of Classical Anthropologists has shown in great detail that form of Greek tragedy follows the form of a very ancient ritual, that of the Enniautos-Daimon, or seasonal god. (Fergusson, 1949: 523)

Mythology designated categories for myths. Another category of myth was the life-death-rebirth myth which includes Jesus from Christianity and Heitsi Eibib from the South African Khoekhoen. Oedipus was assigned to this category by Fergusson in a naturalist approach that focused on myth as ritual and the seasonal associations of the ritual. The question of whether myth or ritual came first is not considered relevant to Fergusson but rather he observes that they “are close together in their genesis, two direct imitations of the perennial experience of the race.” (Fergusson, 1949: 524). The tragedy of Oedipus is interpreted as the equivalent of the ritual of the Festival of Dionysos, which not only addressed individual maturation and growth but also that of the community:

...based upon the yearly vegetation ceremonies, included yearly vegetation ceremonies, included rites de passage, like that celebrating the assumption of adulthood-celebrations of the mysteries of individual growth and development. At the same time it was a prayer for the welfare of the whole City; and this welfare was understood not only as material prosperity, but also as the natural order of the family, the ancestors, the present members, and the generations still to come, and, by the same token, obedience to the gods who were jealous, each in his own province, of this natural and divinely sanctioned order and proportion. (Fergusson, 1949: 524)

3.3.3 Myths - ritual and historical meaning: Robert Graves

The scientific influence of anthropology and archaeology is seen in the recordings of myths in *The Greek Myths: 1* (1974) and *The Greek Myths: 2* (1975) by English writer, Robert Graves. He rejected the psychoanalytical approach for the interpretation of myths and proposed a scientific historical approach:

A true science of myth should begin with a study of archaeology, history, and comparative religion, not in the psycho-therapist's consulting-room. Though the Jungians hold that ‘myths are original revelations of the pre-conscious psyche, involuntary statements about unconscious psychic happenings’, Greek mythology was no more mysterious in content than are modern election cartoons, and for the most part formulated in territories which maintained close political relations with Minoan Crete - a country sophisticated enough to have written archives, four-storey buildings with hygienic plumbing, doors with modern-looking locks, registered trademarks, chess, a central system of

weights and measures, and a calendar based on patient astronomic observation. (Graves, 1975: 21-22)

Graves' description of his methodology emphasises the roots of his approach in structuralism:

My method has been to assemble in harmonious narrative all the scattered elements of each myth, supported by little-known variants which may help to determine the meaning, and to answer all questions that arise, as best I can, in anthropological or historical terms. (Graves, 1974: 21-22)

3.3.4 Anthropology and Structuralism: Levi-Strauss

Outside the discipline of linguistics, French anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss posited a structuralist theory, influenced by de Saussure's approach, proposing that an understanding of society and culture could be achieved through deconstructing it into its small parts. Levi-Strauss was preceded by two prevalent schools of anthropologists: the functionalists Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski stressed the study of culture at a specific point in time, and the historical relativist Franz Boas, an American anthropologist, believed "every culture must be judged according to its own standards and values" (Barnouw, 1979: 412-414).

The relevance of context in the recording of oral narratives was noted by Malinowski:

The text, of course, is extremely important, but without the context it remains lifeless. The stories live in native life and not on paper, and when a scholar jots them down without being able to evoke the atmosphere in which they flourish he has given us but a mutilated bit of reality... Folktales must be lifted from their flat existence on paper, and placed in the three-dimensional reality of full life. (Malinowski, 1926)

The emphasis of anthropological research based on behaviourism shifted with Levi-Strauss from sociological behavioural factors of humans to their psychological make up: that is, the working of the brain.

Levi-Strauss believed classification and order were central to humans who sought logical arrangement in their lives. This classification, Levi-Strauss proposed, always fell within the scope of the unconscious binary workings of the brain: that is, thinking in opposites such as "us" and "them"; "day" and "night" and "male" and "female".

This theory of binary opposites was proposed by Levi Strauss as the basis for a structured analysis of myths (Levi-Strauss, tr. Jacobson & Schoepf, 1967). The problem of the seemingly arbitrary content of myths and yet their international prevalence resulted in Levi-Strauss proposing myth as a third addition to de Saussure's *langue* and *parole*:

We have distinguished *langue* and *parole* by the different time referents which they use. Keeping this in mind, we may notice that myth uses a third referent which combines the properties of the first two. On the one hand, a myth always refers to events alleged to have taken place long ago. But what gives the myth an operational value is that the specific pattern described is timeless; it explains the present and the past as well as the future. (Levi-Strauss, 1958. www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works/fr/levistra.htm)

The addition of myth, Levi-Strauss believed, moved his analysis beyond that of linguistics:

Whatever our ignorance of the language and the culture of the people where it originated, a myth is still felt as a myth by any reader anywhere in the world. Its substance does not lie in its style, its original music, or its syntax, but in the *story* which it tells. Myth is language, functioning on an especially high level where meaning succeeds practically at 'taking off' from the linguistic ground on which it keeps on rolling. (Levi-Strauss, 1958. www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works/fr/levistra.htm)

In literary studies, the work of Levi Strauss on myth was paralleled in the analysis of Russian fairytales by Vladimir Propp. Propp saw each fairytale as a sign within the overall corpus of tales. Propp reduced an original thirty-one basic functions recurring in tales to seven basic performers: the villain, the donor, the helper, the princess and her father, the dispatcher, the hero and the false hero. Propp's use of "repeated generating principles" falls within a structuralist approach and his work echoes Levi-Strauss in the identification of duplicity in the unique content of the individual story whilst also including repetition and universal concepts within the basic structures (van Zyl, 1978: 8).

The tradition of narrative analysis within literary criticism continued in the work of Greimas and Tzvetan Todorov. Greimas simplified Propp's seven performers into three pairs of "actants": "subject (hero) versus object, sender versus receiver, and helper versus opponent". Todorov applied a sentence based analysis which "even in

its characteristically structuralist search for simplicity, allows for fairly complex and detailed observations on single texts” (van Zyl, 1978: 9).

The theories of Levi Strauss influenced a subsequent cognitive approach in anthropology where emphasis was also placed on language and symbolic communication. When scholars of literature started to question what made structures intelligible to cultures, this resulted in a shift from the text to context and intertextuality.

Levi Strauss’ analysis of myths was criticized as self fulfilling: due to the commitment of the mythographer to “a certain view of the nature of myth”, he or she would search for elements that confirm “prior conception of what he expects to find” (van Zyl, 1978, 9).

3.3.5 Myth: Post-structuralism and Barthes

Myth is a metaphysics of absence implicit in every sign [...] Myth is discourse resisting more ideology. (Gould, 1981:256)

Besides Saussure’s theory of meaning not being present in the sign, various intellectuals including Marx, Brecht and Lacan influenced Roland Barthes’ application of semiology to the study of culture, particularly regarding the radical instability of the sign. Barthes applied this theory to the analysis of myth specifically in his writings in *Mythologies* (1972).

According to Barthes’ interpretation of myth, there is always an element of truth but the myth masks the truth. We live in a world made up of myths that promote the ideology of the ‘*petite bourgeoisie*’ (Barthes 1972, 27). The myth or ideology dresses itself in innocence and therefore the ideology behind the sign is contained within the connotation or second order of the sign. The sign then supports existing powers.

Literary theorists’ initial examination of what made structures intelligible to cultures resulted in a shift from the text to context and intertextuality: “the structural relationship between two or more texts, using text in its broadest meaning as any product of encoding signs [] discourse replace author in the theory of intertextuality”

(Ryan, 1995: 180). Barthes (1975) likened the text to a “weaving of voices” and M. Bakhtin (1981) introduced intertextual theory to literary theory: “...language does not communicate one irreducible meaning or a single viewpoint because each utterance is always caught up in a web of other utterances”. This thinking leads into the deconstruction theory of Derrida, (Ryan, 1995: 181). Focus on the reader and the reader’s context shifted emphasis from the ‘truth’ of the text to its plurality.

Post structuralism was influenced by the philosopher Jacques Derrida and his publications that promoted the method of ‘deconstruction’. Derrida’s work announced the death of the ‘author’ as an independent authority:

A deconstructive critical approach would loosen the binding of the book, undo the opposition between verbal text and the biography of the name subject ‘Charlotte Bronte’ and see the two as each other’s ‘scene of writing’. In such a reading, the life that writes itself as ‘my life’ is as much a production in psychosocial space (other names can be found) as the book that is written by the holder of that names – life – a book that is then consigned to what is most often recognized as genuinely ‘social’ in the world of publication and distribution. (Spivak, 1995: 104)

Derrida’s thinking influenced postmodern writers such as Foucault plus the post-colonial studies of E.W. Said, Homi Bhabha and English professor Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak who translated Derrida’s *De la Grammatologie*. Spivak’s writings are an example of the inherent anti-authoritarianism in post structuralism, which in Spivak’s case concentrated on broadening feminist theory beyond the individual:

...my readings here do not seek to undermine the excellence of the individual artist. If even minimally successful, the readings will incite a degree of rage against the imperialist narrativization of history, that it should produce so abject a script for her [...] As the female individualist, not-quite/not-male, articulates herself in shifting relationship to what is at stake, the ‘native female’ as such (*within* discourse, as a signifier) is excluded from any share in this emerging norm. If we read this account from an isolationist perspective in a ‘metropolitan’ context, we see nothing there but the psychobiography of the militant female subject. In a reading such as mine, in contrast, the effort is to wrench oneself away from the mesmerizing focus of the ‘subject-constitution’ of the female individualist. (Spivak, 1995: 104)

The ‘post’ theories impacted not only the application of literary criticism and myth but also influenced the disciplines of cultural studies and anthropology with its sub-discipline archaeology and specifically ethno-archaeology. The theoretical influences

were reflected not only in the writings of international academics but also in South Africa, which, due to its colonial history, continues to situate itself within a Eurocentric theoretical approach.

3.4 Ethno archaeology: Oral narratives and rock art

The focus of my dissertation is on the method of recording oral narratives and their link to, and possible use of, the interpretation of rock art, specifically rock engravings. Research on indigenous knowledge and artefacts falls within a contentious area of indigenous archaeology associated with colonialists and geographic and intellectual imperialism. It is necessary for my contextual approach to include, as in the exploration of myths, the theoretical setting of ethno archaeology within which my research takes place. In the discipline of archaeology the use of ethnography falls under what Renfrew and Bahn call “What did they think?” in *Cognitive Archaeology, Art and Religion* (1991: 339). The use of “they” emphasizes not only ethical issues of ‘othering’: that is, the negative artificial construction of two camps of cultures and the corresponding approaches of scholars and present day descendants of the artists, but also the time gap between the artists of the past and the present (Lewis-Williams & Pearce, 2004). The rock paintings situated in caves, shelters and on portable stones mostly from the mountainous regions in South Africa have been dated as far back as approximately 25 000 years ago. Rock engravings are situated predominantly in the plateau areas of Southern Africa on boulders, river beds and ochre. Rock engravings are dated to approximately 60 000 to 70 000 years ago (Lewis-Williams & Pearce, 2004). This complicates any attempts at interpretation of rock art by the application of oral narratives, even those recorded by the earliest colonialists, since our views and therefore theories on art, oral narrative and methodology are constantly changing (Bahn, 1998).

Theories relating to the topic are embedded in the prevalent philosophical, psychological and literary approaches of the particular time but do not necessarily follow a convenient linear time line as seen in the previous sections of this chapter in relation to myth. As indicated in Fig 1.2 I shall first briefly locate theories of rock art and ethno archaeology within their scholarly historical context and then focus specifically on South Africa. The written sources I used as a springboard for the

world discussion are: *Archaeology Theories, Methods and Practice* by Renfrew and Bahn (1991), *The Cambridge Illustrated History: Prehistoric Art* by Paul G Bahn (1998) and *Prehistoric Rock Art* by Smith & Blundell (2000). Further contemporary theories of the 21st century are added from various publications.

3.4.1 Early recordings and attitudes: evolutionistic thinking and sympathetic magic

The Islamic incursions into Asia, Europe and Africa approximately 1 300 years ago and the interest of Western countries in foreign countries after the Middle Ages are cited historical events that precipitated an awareness of and interest in recording the customs of foreign cultures (Maree et al, 1997). The arrival of foreigners in ships, using horses and later ox wagons, was recorded in rock paintings and engravings by the indigenous people of South Africa (Lewis-Williams, 1983).

Travellers, adventurers, missionaries and soldiers in turn recorded aspects of the cultures in Africa in their diaries and reports prior to the formal emergence of anthropology as a science and the evolutionistic approach. The contribution that the drive of material rewards played in the early visitors' hazardous journey to the southern part of Africa was recorded by a Dominican priest in 1586:

The country is very hot, unhealthy, and prejudicial to foreigners, especially the Portuguese, who generally fall sick and die of fever; but this is not sufficient to restrain their avarice and the eagerness with which they go thither in search of the mines and riches of the country. (Dos Santos, 1586)

The 'gaze' of the colonialists on the 'exotic other' is apparent in these writings which, despite attempts to include the voice of the indigenous people, often reveal more of the attitudes and perceptions of the writers than cultural details. An example is this account of the Khoikhoi/ Khoekhoen by Christoffel Langhansz when stopping at Cape Town on his way to the Indies in 1694:

As to their religion, they have none, but live like the unreasoning brutes from day to day. Although some say of them that they reverence the moon this is not so, although it is true that by night, especially at the New Moon, they dance, or better said leap before it, and thereby howl rather than sing. But this dancing is done only for their pleasure, since leaping against their shadows

and clapping their hands delights them especially, in that they see their shadows also do this; and this they continue so long as the moon shines on them, so that this dancing is thus to be considered as solely and entirely for their pleasure and amusement. (Langhansz, 1694 in Maclennan, 2003: 50)

The recording of rock art during this time was incidental and did not follow any formal methodology. The Chinese have the earliest recordings of rock art dating back to approximately 2 300 years ago by Han Fei (280-233 BC) (Bahn, 1998: 1). Mention of rock art in Europe is minimal before the 19th century.

The colonisation of the New World in the 16th century resulted in identification of rock art located in South America. The link between the rock art and indigenous religion particularly that in “*Quetzalcoatl*” (the feathered serpent God) caused Spanish missionaries to destroy or attempt to allocate Christian meaning to the images (Bahn, 1998: 9-10). A recording of engravings in a burial tomb were made in Ireland by Edward Lhwyd (1660-1708). The negative colonial attitudes of scholars of the time to this type of art as ‘primitive’ (Smith & Blundell, 2000:8) and of little aesthetic value is reflected in Lhwyd’s reference to the art as ‘rudely carved’ and ‘Barbarous a sculpture’ when referring to a ‘spiral like a Snake, but without distinction of Head and Tail’ (Bahn, 1998: 6).

Charles Darwin’s *Origin of the Species by Means of Natural Selection* (1859) impacted not only the theory of man’s origins but, as mentioned previously, also the recording of cultures. In the field of rock art, evolutionistic thinking in terms of categorization from simple to complex forms led to South African rock art - especially geometric engravings - being interpreted as the idle doodlings of a primitive people (Maree et al, 1997; Lewis-Williams & Pearce, 2004) or caricatures (Bahn 1998). The earliest recordings of rock engravings in South Africa and specifically the Northern Cape are credited to the Swede, H.J. Wikar on his journeys along the Gariiep/Orange River in 1778. Not all early Europeans dismissed the value of the rock art in South Africa and some, such as Barrow in 1797, attempted an understanding of rock art and appreciated the realistic depictions of animals within it (Bahn, 1998). When the beauty and artistic merit of the rock art was acknowledged then some Europeans considered the art beyond the scope of the ‘primitive’ indigenous people, the San. Alternative cultures were considered and attributed to

visiting 'Caucasians', for example: the Brandberg (South West Africa/Namibia) 'White Lady' by Breuil in 1917 (Smith & Blundell, 2000; Bahn, 1998: 62-63):

"Heading the 'early' school Abbe Breuil had seen, in such paintings as the famous 'White Lady', early Mediterranean influences, and attributes an age of several millennia to much of the art" (Foreword SA Arch Soc, date and author unknown (approx late 50s).

The impact on meaning attributed to rock art during the unilineal or classical phase of evolutionistic thinking was that 'primitive' art was linked to 'primitive' religious practice, namely belief in magic. In the same way that 'civilized' man controls his environment with science and technology, this theory proposed that 'primitive' man controlled his environment with magic. This conjecture was applied to the interpretation of rock art in Europe by historic figures such as Breuil, who regarded rock art "primarily in terms of hunting magic", in that the depicted animal and an associated ritual were believed to influence the outcomes of the hunt (Bahn, 1998: 62; Smith & Blundell, 2000).

3.4.2 Early records and analysis: traditional systematic

The development of anthropology and archaeology as sciences in the beginning of the 20th century resulted in an emphasis on quantitative methodology and positivist research theory. As mentioned previously, diffusionist theory in the late 19th and early 20th century emphasized the need to record as much data as possible before it disappeared. In archaeology and specifically the recording and analysis of rock art, a traditional, systematic approach entailed definition of artefacts in space and time. In reaction to previous subjective guesswork and "imaginings" as to the significance of artefacts including rock art (Renfrew & Bahn, 1991), emphasis was placed on artefacts that could be analysed scientifically to achieve knowledge of the true past. The excavation system of General Pitt-Rivers developed between 1880 and 1900 influenced the recording and publication of archaeological finds (Renfrew & Bahn, 1991; Webley et al, 2000). This system required occurrence distribution maps, stratigraphy allocation and finally assignation to a specific archaeological culture (Renfrew & Bahn, 1991).

This traditional approach is used earlier in this section when naming the two types of rock art, their location and dates. Further systematic analysis of rock art in the traditional approach includes description of rock engravings in terms of place, techniques and time. Accordingly, South African rock engravings are found predominantly on andesite (Morris, 1998) and “rocky outcrops of dolerite and diabase”; they are divided into three techniques whereby the patina (rock crust) is removed (using another hard stone to expose “the lighter coloured rock beneath” (Morris, 1998: 16), namely: fine lined (cutting with a sharp stone), scraped and pecked techniques (Dowson 1992: 1). The three types sometimes overlap on the rock river beds but are assigned by archaeologists to different cultures and time periods. There is not yet unity amongst archaeologists and anthropologists regarding the culture to which the rock engravers belonged. The engravings in South Africa are dated in association with stone tool assemblages (Morris, 1998):

The rock engravings, which are most frequently met with in the central districts of the Orange Free State and the adjoining northern parts of the Cape lying immediately to the west, also belong to this art group [Bushmen]. Its distribution coincides with that of the Upper Smithfield Industry of the Later South African Stone Culture, and the paintings and engravings are always found associated with implements of this Industry. (Schapera, 1930: 211)

The engravings are also dated according to cation-radio dating within the South African Late Stone Age or Hunter Gatherers and Early Iron Age or Herder and Pastoralists time periods. Approximate datings reflect fine line/ hairline engravings approximately 8 000 years older than the pecked and scraped techniques engravings, of which the oldest go back approximately 3 000 years and the most recent are dated 150-200 years from the present (Beaumont & Vogel, 1989; Morris, 1988; 1998; Dowson, 1992).

3.4.3A Structuralism and rock art: multilineal evolution, cultural ecology

Unilineal evolutionist thinking theorizing that all cultures could be graded on one path to Civilization was replaced in the 20th century with multilineal evolutionist thinking, which emphasized rather that cultures developed “along different paths and at different rates” (Webley, 2000). This approach falls within American cultural anthropologist Frans Boas’ (1858-1942) theory of ‘historical relativism’, which called for a break away from broad unilinear evolutionary research and greater focus and

detail on individual sites (Renfrew & Bahn, 1991). The 'classification and consolidation' of artefacts in order to record a culture was extended by the work of Marxist influenced Gordon Childe in Europe with publications such as *The Dawn of European Civilization* (1925), when he posed questions in archaeology that applied not only to the 'what', 'where' and 'when' of a culture's prehistory, but included an attempt at 'why?'. The impact of this type of research on the theory and practice of rock art research is that focus is not solely on chronology and cultural sequences but includes the historical, cultural or ecological context of their creation. The cultural historians 'described' rather than 'explained' prehistory (Webley, 2000: 7).

In the 1940s North American anthropologist Julian Steward and British archaeologist Graham Clark promoted the inclusion of the ecological impact to in addition to awareness of intercultural impact (Renfrew & Bahn, 1991). Towards a more ecologically inclusive approach, Clarke incorporated the skills of specialists in animal bones and plant remains for the archaeological record. This type of approach is reflected in South African rock art through an emphasis on the inclusion of rock art as part of the archaeological record: "after all, the art is a part of the culture of the peoples who created it, and must be studied along with bones and stones, pottery, houses and graves" (Foreword SA Arch Soc, date and author unknown [approx late 50s]).

In 1948 WW Taylor published *A Study of Archaeology* wherein he opposed the culture-historical approach with his call for a cultural anthropological methodology, which echoed contemporary ethnography (Webley, 2000). The dissatisfaction with archaeological reasoning culminated in the 1960s with the formation of New Archaeology.

3.4.3B Structuralism and South African rock art: quantitative studies and search for patterns

In South Africa during the 1950s the theory of interpretation of rock art included 'art for art's sake'; that is, that the rock art was created with no specific meaning but purely for recreational purposes. Unlike in the colonial approach, the aesthetic merits of the art were recognised:

The aesthetic value of such paintings is widely appreciated and has already been greatly exploited by the makers of fabrics, ashtrays, and beer mugs[...] Carefully protected and properly published, it may provide a wealth of information for those interested in Africa's past, and a source of pleasure for generations to come. (Foreword SA Arch Soc, date and author unknown (approx late 50s)

But no symbolic meaning was attached to the images, as illustrated in *The Rock Paintings in Africa*, published by The South African Archaeological Society. The images of the rock art are grouped geographically but no interpretation is imposed in the caption, for example:

Human-headed seals or fishes at Ezeljachtspoort, George district, Cape Province. A painting 10 ¼ inches (26 cm) in horizontal diameter, generally known as the Mermaid Scene, and probably represents a local legend linked with the sea. (Plate XXXV Copied by Miss M. Wilman. Vol. ii, No. 7)

An explanation for lack of interpretation is given as follows: "partly because it is thought that this is an exercise in which readers may wish to indulge according to their own tastes and theories without interference from the editor!" (Foreword SA Arch Soc, date and author unknown). Although meaning was not attributed, the significance of motivation and examples of possible motivations for the art were proposed:

It is important to attempt to arrive at the motives underlying the art [...] there seem to be a variety of motives. Hunting magic may well be one, but it is less easy to be sure than in Europe. Some, such as the lone piper, may well be simply the expression of artistic feelings, but elsewhere there is good reason to believe that some paintings are true pictograms recording particular events in the life of a group of people. Others are almost certainly connected with initiation centres and ceremonies. (Foreword SA Arch Soc, date and author unknown)

An emphasis on quantitative studies was influenced by scientific discoveries in the mid 20th century and a dissatisfaction with the lack of scientific procedures as expressed by the South African Archaeological Society in the above mentioned publication regarding the dating of rock art: "There are two main schools of thought (how nice it would be to replace them with volumes of facts!)" (Foreword SA Arch Soc, date and author unknown [approx late 50s]).

Quantitative studies in rock art meant further categorization according to details typical of a structuralist approach, whereby understanding is sought within the break down into smaller segments. The styles of engraving were divided further than the categories mentioned earlier (such as technique) into the type of images depicted; that is, representational and non representational or geometrics. Representational rock engravings were also categorized into either specific animals as opposed to humans, or under types of animals such as rodents, mammals etc; the frequency with which each of these appeared on a site was noted, for example, in the records of rock engravings of South Africa by G.J. Fock in the 1960s and 1970s (Smith & Blundell, 2000).

The development of scientific dating, such as dendrology in 1929 by A.E. Douglas and radio carbon dating by W. Libby in 1949, shifted the emphasis of archaeology from dating and descriptive and inductive archaeology (that is, looking for generalizations from specifics) to a deductive approach (that is, explaining processes rather than just describing them). This approach was led by Lewis Binford and other American archaeologists in the 1960s and named 'New Archaeology'. This type of archaeology, known as *processual archaeology*, called for a process in archaeology and therefore rock art research that required: "the formulation of a hypothesis and then testing it through a carefully designed research project". Research however was still situated within 'culture historical reconstruction' (Webley et al, 2000: 10).

3.4.4 Rock art: Post structuralism, Post processualism

The influence of post structural semiotics and the unstable sign or multiple meanings (as discussed with reference to myth in section 3.3.4) impacted rock art research theory with the appearance of several new theoretical approaches. The functional and evolutionary approaches discussed previously were rejected in favour of a more human based approach. Postprocessual archaeology emphasized people as:

knowledgeable actors who construct, change and manipulate their social worlds. Meaning is more important than materialism and is always actively created, mediated in relation to interests and social strategies. (Binneman, 2000: 45)

In South African rock art, as in other parts of the world, research approaches that emphasized quantitative processes were not discontinued but were found to be

inadequate: “counting and listing require enormous amounts of time and labour, and at the end of the day do not reveal anything much about meaning – they merely provide the raw material on which hypotheses can be based” (Bahn, 1998: 68). New approaches in archaeology are reflected in some South African rock art research, where bridging the gap between the sign and relative interpretation is attempted by means of emphasis on universal physiological traits, as in the psychoneurological theory of Lewis-Williams and Dowson (1989); emphasis on landscape context, for example, Deacon (1994); a research process intended to reveal the ideology behind the sign, as in the work of Solomon (2006), with an emphasis on post colonial theory including feminism and the rights of indigenous people; focus on intertextuality and pluralism either by emphasizing the multiplicity or ‘multivocality’ behind the text or through inclusion of multiple voices, especially the voice of indigenous people and the marginalized, as in the work of Morris (2007).

3.4.5 Middle range theory: Psychoneurological/ Shamanistic model

Archaeology differs from historical studies in that it is not only a discipline of the humanities but also a science, and as such requires scientific investigation of material from the past (a past which extends right up to the present) – investigation that emphasizes the importance of the archaeologist’s analysis as much as it does the “instruments of a laboratory” (Renfrew & Bahn, 1991: 10). American archaeologist Lewis Binford and fellow archaeologists felt it necessary to create a distinct method to bridge the gap between “the static archaeological record” and the “dynamic past”, which they named “middle-range theory” (Webley et al, 2000: 13). This theory was based in the processual approach with a belief that “the past is inherently knowable, provided that rigorous research methods and designs are used and that field methods are impeccable” (Fagan, 1994: 26).

The impact that this theory had on interpretation of rock art methodology in South Africa is most apparent in the interpretative research of Lewis-Williams and Dowson. Like other ‘middle range theory’ archaeologists, Lewis-Williams and Dowson made use of “controlled experiments, observations of contemporary hunter-gatherers [...] and formulations” that “translated the contemporary observations of static material things, and quite literally, translated them into statements about the dynamics of past

ways of life” (Fagan, 1994:26). The formulation used by Lewis-Williams and Dowson, initially for the interpretation of South African rock art but later attributed international relevance, is known as the neuropsychological or shamanistic model of rock art interpretation (Lewis-Williams, 1980, 1982, 1983, 1988; Lewis-Williams & Loubser, 1986; Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989).

The focus of this dissertation requires me to explore the neuropsychological model in some detail, given its marked influence on contemporary rock art, whether in terms of inclusion or opposition:

The ground breaking work of David Lewis-Williams not only introduced a new paradigm in our understanding of San rock art, but an increasing number of researchers utilised aspects of this shamanistic model into their own work. However, the absence of any substantial body of southern-San ethnography cast doubt for some workers on aspects of the shamanistic model, which was essentially based on Kalahari San ethnography, intertwined with historical records of the southern San. (Prins, 1999: 47)

Contemporary interpretative archaeology, according to Prins, often exists within a positivist view of reality (one true, knowable, reality) and “is still practiced largely along the empirical and scientific frameworks of the 1960s and 70s” (Prins, 1999: 43). Lewis-Williams & Dowson made use of not only middle range theory but two other “interlocking approaches” of processual archaeology, namely ‘ethnoarchaeology’ and ‘experimental’ archaeology (Fagan, 1994: 328). Rock art research focused on the meaning the art held for the artists (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989).

Ethnography became “the key to the art” when archaeologists turned to indigenous people’s beliefs for understanding of rock art (Smith & Blundell, 2000: 11). The early diaries of travellers, missionaries and explorers provided the first written records of the customs of the Khoisan speaking people of Southern Africa. These recordings were limited by the majority of these first writers not speaking the indigenous languages, in addition to their context of colonial prejudices, specifically regarding religious and spiritual beliefs of the indigenous people of South Africa.

The necessity of understanding the religious and spiritual beliefs of a people in order to understand their art is communicated by Lewis-Williams and Dowson through the

analogy of Leonardo da Vinci's artwork in *The Last Supper*. Quantification of images present in the artwork does not bring the viewer closer to understanding the significance of the artwork within a Western Christian context, neither does an aesthetic (discussion of the use of colour and composition) or narrative (the art as a record of the customs, dress and so on of the time) description of the artwork. Knowledge of the role of Christ, the Eucharist (the Last Supper) and Christian or Western symbolism transforms the artwork from merely a record of a group of men eating to an important Christian ritual (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989; Lewis-Williams, 1990).

The neuropsychological module is steeped in the religious and spiritual beliefs of the rock artists, owing to the integral role of spiritual life in everyday activities and the lack of compartmentalization between the sacred and the secular (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1998). These beliefs are researched by Lewis-Williams and Dowson used the following sources to research these beliefs: recordings made in 1873 by Natal Government magistrate Joseph Millard Orpen of Bushman guide Quing's stories and explanations of rock paintings in Lesotho; the 1870s records of German linguist Dr Wilhelm Heinrich Immanuel Bleek and his sister-in-law, Lucy Lloyd, regarding Southern /Xam Bushmen prisoners in Cape Town; information on the ingredients used in rock painting from Mapote, a Basuto man whose father Moorosi had painted in the caves was recorded by Marion Walsham; How in the 1930s (How, 1970); the American Marshall family's written and filmed ethnographic records of the Kalahari !Kung in the 1950s (Smith & Blundell, 2000: 12); as well as:

...research done on the Kalahari Bushmen during the last three decades. Writers such as [...] Mathias Guenther, Philip Tobias, Alan Barnard, Marjorie Shostak, Richard Katz, Nancy Howell, Patricia Draper, George Silbauer and Polly Wiessner. (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989: 28)

Criticism referred to earlier by Prins of the use of Kalahari !Kung ethnography for interpretation of art by a completely different San/Bushmen language group in South Africa, namely the /Xam, was addressed through emphasis on the similar "ritual practices" of the two peoples (Smith & Blundell, 2000: 12):

San beliefs and rituals still form an important aspect of their lives. The basic structure and metaphors in this belief system have strong similarities with those used by the /Xam and Quing and it is these that have shed welcome light

on the rock art. And because these similarities can be identified from information gathered a century ago and several thousand kilometres apart, we feel confident about using the general principles of the beliefs and rituals to interpret the rock art. (Deacon & Deacon, 1999:169)

Further ethnography on the southern San was introduced into the archaeological research arena by Prins and Jolly in 1986:

With the publication of two articles relating to the discovery of a first generation southern San descendant, known as M, with authentic knowledge of rock art production and symbology (Jolly, 1986; Lewis-Williams, 1986). M's father Lindiso was probably the last known San painter, and he passed on some of his knowledge to M (Prins, 1994). Given developments in rock art research at the time it is not surprising that M's testimonies were largely utilised to validify and to complement aspects of the shamanistic model or the trance-hypothesis, as it was then known. (Prins, 1999: 47)

Lewis-Williams's current work includes reference also to the ethnographic research of Megan Biesele in the Kalahari, specifically regarding maidens and "metaphors of transition" (Lewis-Williams & Pearce, 2004: 160).

3.4.6 Aspects of the neuropsychological model

The neuropsychological model proposes that rock art was painted by medicine men or shamans and that the content of the rock art largely comprises a record of the shamans' trance hallucinations. The neuropsychological model bases its hypothesis on three aspects of research, namely: Western neuropsychological laboratory experimentation with the effects of mind altering drugs on patients and the stages of 'trance'; ethnography of the trance or curing dance from the Kalahari !Kung, and the prominent role in and relation to the trance dance of the eland in /Xam and !Kung spiritual beliefs and rituals.

3.4.6A The eland: metaphor of transition and symbol of spiritual power

The work of Patricia Vinnicombe in 1976 is cited by Lewis-Williams as a turning point in rock art research as she (along with Tim Maggs in the same year) revealed the significant contribution of breaking away from the narrative approach to rock art research. Quantification indicated the eland as the most frequently depicted animal in

most parts of South Africa (Lewis-Williams, 1990). Ethnographic collections in South Africa revealed the eland as an integral part of San/Boesman rituals and thought (Smith & Blundell, 2000). As mentioned previously, multiple meanings (polysemy) influenced the interpretation of rock art in the 1970s, particularly with regard to the frequent depiction of the eland in rock paintings and engravings in southern Africa (Lewis-Williams, 1990). Narrative interpretations had previously read the depictions of animals in specific places as indication of the prevalence of that type of animal within that area, but in the 1970s the influence of research into the beliefs of the artists led to the eland gaining multiple meanings, including religious symbolic status.

Not only were words indicating respect attributed to the eland by the San/Boesman, but sometimes the strength of naming it was considered too strong and therefore a taboo. Lorna Marshall mentioned the !Kung word *n/om* for the power or energy that certain animals and people contained at certain stages of their lives. Like electricity, the potency could be useful or dangerous. Shamans and the eland (and parts of the eland such as its fat and blood) were considered to be full of potency, which the shaman was required to control “for the good of all people” (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989:32). The eland was part of the most important rituals of the San/Boesman’s lives, namely: the boys’ hunting rituals, the girls’ puberty rituals or Eland Bull dance, the curing and rainmaking dances. All these rituals were important for the unity of the people and therefore the eland brought with it connotations of “fatness, well-being and rain” (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989: 82). In the rituals the fat of the eland was used on the initiates (Lewis-Williams, 1990) and in the paintings the eland blood was used in the ingredients (How, 1970).

3.4.6B The trance dance

A ritual central to the neuropsychological model of rock art interpretation is the trance or curing dance (Deacon & Deacon, 1999). This dance is led by medicine persons in the San/Bushmen groups. Lewis-Williams and other archaeologists and anthropologists name these spiritual leaders of the San/Boesman, ‘Shamans’:

‘Shaman’ is a Tungus word from central Asia. It has been accepted in the anthropological literature to mean someone in a hunter-gatherer society who enters a trance in order to heal people, foretell the future, control the weather, ensure good hunting, and so forth. (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989: 30-31)

In the 1830s, the French Protestant missionary Thomas Arbousset described a dance called 'the dance of blood' because of the number of nose bleeds during the dance (MacLennan, 2003; Smith & Blundell, 2000). The trance dance is performed in order to "obtain supernatural power from God", which is mainly used to heal people, as well as for rain making, game control and group cohesion (Deacon & Deacon, 1999: 168). Unlike shamans in other parts of the world who do not participate in everyday life, the Bushman shamans are an unprivileged 'ordinary people' with approximately half the men and a third of women in a particular group claiming to be shamans (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989:31; Deacon & Deacon, 1999). Ethnography recorded from Quing by Orpen refers to an apprentice type of training whereby experienced trancers taught new pupils for a few years techniques needed for trancing and imparted potency (Deacon & Deacon, 1999).

The trance dance of the Kalahari !Kung and !Xo, like other traditional San/Boesman dances, usually takes place around a central fire with the women sitting while clapping the rhythm and men and women dancing around the women, or with the dancers inside with the clapping group standing or sitting around them (Marshall Thomas, 1959; Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989; Lange et al, 2003b).

Shamans traditionally wear a kaross around their shoulders for a trance dance and have a stick in one hand and often a fly whisk, which is made from the tail of a buck and used to "remove the arrow of sickness", in the other hand (Deacon & Deacon, 1999:173). The Kalahari !Kung and !Xo dancers tie rattles made from dried cocoons and small pebbles, pieces of ostrich egg shell or camel thorn tree seeds around their legs (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989; Lange et al, 2003b). The /Xam are recorded as also making rattles out of "dried springbok ears" (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989: 44). On their heads, the dancers often wear headdresses made of animal skin and designed with animal qualities such as horns or ears and a tail (Lewis-Williams, 1990).

The intense dancing, singing, clapping, rattles and stamping continue for hours until the shamans, aided by 'intense concentration and hyperventilation', enter a mind altered state of trance. Physical indicators of the shaman having entered this state recorded by Orpen include bending over, falling down and blood running from the

nose (Deacon & Deacon, 1999: 170-171). During this state of *n/om* potency builds up painfully in the body as the dancer gasps for breath, sweats and trembles, feeling hairs standing up on the body (Lee & Woodhouse, 1970). Metaphors used for this experience include dying, drowning and flying (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989).

Depending on the dance, the shaman can harness the potency in different ways; for example, during a trance dance the shaman would, trembling, place hands on a sick person to draw out the illness. In rainmaking ceremonies, when the shaman collapses, his spirit leaves his body to harness a rain animal and bring it across the mountains and veld where, on its killing, the blood or milk would provide rain. These scenes were depicted in rock paintings in which Lewis-Williams and Dowson read the eland, the favourite animal of the San/Boesman trickster God, /Kaggen (Deacon & Deacon 1999), as mirroring the shaman in trance with buckled crossed knees, blood from the nose and potency indicated by continuous or dotted lines emitted from behind the neck (Lewis-Williams, 1990). Shamans drawn in association with eland, in postures such as touching their tails, are read as drawing strength from the potent animal. Lewis-Williams and Dowson regard the eland as a metaphor for the trancing shaman; that is, a symbol of entering an altered state of consciousness, entering the spirit world with the rock face as the veil between the real and the spiritual world (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1990).

The depiction in rock art of therianthropes – creatures with animal and human features - is also read in the trance hypothesis as indication of an altered state of consciousness and therefore supportive of the shamanistic model. The reason for this attribution is discussed below.

3.4.6C Neuropsychological research

Lewis-Williams insists that neuropsychological research was not used to “show that the art is the product of altered states of consciousness”, as he believed the ethnography had already proved this. The use of neuropsychological research was used for further understanding of rock art as depictions of “visions and experiences of shamans who entered trance” (Lewis-Williams, 1990: 55-56). This was particularly relevant for Lewis-Williams and Dowson’s interpretation of geometrics.

The neuropsychological research approach used by Lewis-Williams and Dowson was applied by Siegel to “the experiences of people from a variety of ethnic backgrounds in different countries around the world who have taken hallucinatory drugs” (Deacon & Deacon, 1999: 172). The laboratory experiments made use of “hallucinogenic drugs such as LSD” (Lewis-Williams, 1990: 55). The experiments noted that all subjects went through three stages: a first stage of seeing ‘entoptics’ (geometric shapes); a second stage of trying to make sense of these entoptics according to the cultural context of the subject, for example: a u-shape interpreted as a boat; a third stage where the subject loses a grip on his sense of reality and entoptics are no longer important. Images seen are no longer *like* but rather *are* as the subject hallucinates “animals, monsters and other things with a powerful emotional content” (Lewis-Williams, 1990: 56-57).

The third stage was used to explain the depiction of therianthropes within a trance hypothesis. The shamans depicted animals that they experienced themselves *becoming* (Lewis-Williams, 1990). (This aspect and others mentioned previously relating to states of altered consciousness and the production of rock art will be explored further in the discussion of rock engravings in the research area.) Other sensations related by the subjects such as lengthening and extra digits were also used to interpret rock art which had fallen outside of the narrative approach (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989). Lewis-Williams noted the greater concentration of entoptics in rock engravings as opposed to rock paintings but could in the 1990s only speculate as to the significance of this phenomenon (Lewis-Williams, 1990).

SECTION B

RESEARCH CONTENT & MULTIVOCALITY (PRIMARY SOURCES)

Chapter 4

Creating meaning: From ear to mouth to ear to pen

First and Second World theoretical frames have largely excluded discourses of religiosity and spirituality, dimensions which remain real and influential in black African cosmologies. These cosmologies draw on orality and collective imagery and largely shape rural, and aspects of urban, African subjectivities. The characteristics of orality question the idea of the individual as the centre of signification. (Tomaselli, 1993)

Trying to read oral narratives through a crude true/false binary is usually unhelpful. However, by trying to hermeneutically trace and understand how people make their 'truths' is a useful interpretative approach. As Krog argues, 'Is truth that closely related to identity? It must be. What you believe to be true depends on who you believe yourself to be'. (1998: 99) (Field, 1999:4)

Myth seeps into personal history; the ancient past is populated by people from the present; recent history is described in the language of myth. This is another way of understanding the meaning of the past, another way of making sense of the present. (Bennun, 2004:7)

We, (The Eiland Women and me), began a working relationship in 1997. I supervised their cleaning of chalets and had my share of collecting the dirty laundry of overseas visitors. Our work included walking many kilometres per day from chalet to chalet. We chatted and laughed a great deal. We became amateur sociologists, psychologists and anthropologists as we discussed and analysed the inhabitants of the various chalets according to the amount of laundry, the photos at the side of their beds, the magazines and books they read, the cleanliness or lack thereof of their bedding and bathrooms and particularly the amount of money that they left for the staff. In this sense I too am one of The Eiland Women. My identification with the group of women is part of the motivation for my research and I address the issue of identification in the dissertation.

Some cultures are loath to speak about the Water Snake due to its perceived negative powers. The group with whom I work do not perceive the Water Snake as an

embodiment of evil but rather as part of nature, that is, as one with the river. They have expressed a desire for the stories of the Water Snake to be recorded for “their children and their children’s children” so that their history may live on. The Eiland Women were not initially chosen as a group for research as their relationship with me began prior to my registration with Culture Communications and Media Studies (CCMS), University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) and participation in the continuing group Kalahari research project led by Professor Keyan G Tomaselli.

The inclusion of oral narratives for a greater holistic approach in cultural studies has been emphasized numerous times in the published research of Keyan G Tomaselli, as evidenced in the above quote. He particularly emphasizes the use of oral interviews and narratives as a means not only to understand the neglected spiritual aspects of cultural research, but also as a tool for understanding the collective identity of a group of people. To this end Field (1999) suggests that an explanatory or hermeneutic approach for interpretation of oral narratives is more successful than simply considering the plausibility of the oral narratives. The interpretation of myths - in their traditional sense as narratives - particularly benefits from this type of analysis, as their very description as ‘myths’ indicates that they are accepted as history but that they similarly also reflect the beliefs of a group of people (wordweb.info).

Present neurological research appears to lean towards bad brains rather than bad people, as injury to the frontal lobe sometimes results not only in personality change but change too in moral behaviour (Cornwell J: *Sunday Times Lifestyle*, October 1 2006, 12). A separate spiritual or moral intelligence is not identified in Howard Gardner’s multiple intelligence theory, but he does refer to this as “a reasonable candidate for an eighth intelligence although there is equally good reason to consider it as an amalgam of interpersonal intelligence and intrapersonal intelligence with a value component added”(Gardner, 1993: 46). According to Gardner, the spiritual values of a society are influenced by cultural values and therefore he labels intelligences as “abilities that can be mobilized by the values of a culture rather than the behaviours that are themselves valued in one way or another” (Gardner, 1993: 46).

An inclusive approach, as mentioned in previous chapters, strives for knowledge and understanding through encounter with the subject matter with an emphasis on as many

intelligences as is possible. It is possible to learn something of Water Snake narratives purely through reading about them. It is possible to share some knowledge on the Water Snake narratives purely through the written word, trapping the living intangible heritage into a black and white tangible product. Dissemination of heritage information to the general public has been partly neglected due to museums following a Cartesian approach. Descartes' (1596-1650) privileged thinking, which emphasizes mathematical law. Accordingly, museums placed focus on that which could be recorded, measured, categorised and displayed: the scientific and the tangible. Postcolonial and post-mechanistic approaches have resulted in Western and South African museums recognising the need to address the dominance of Western methods of accumulation and communication of knowledge (Allen & Anson, 2005; Russell, 1994).

A shift in emphasis has occurred from tangible heritage housed in museums towards the inclusion of the intangible (Lange, 2003). The intangible heritage of oral history in particular, has been recognised by museums and academic institutions (Field, 1999). Natural landscape or topographical features that are afforded meaning by a community were included as 'living' national heritage in the 1999 South African National Heritage Resources Act (Act No 25 1999, Ch. 111 Schedule (xxi)). This requires the researched communities to be treated as co-producers of knowledge (Tomaselli, 1999). Not only is emphasis placed on a sense of community, through the shared humanity of individuals, but also on self-acknowledgement of the value of our own uniqueness, our own history, existence and roles, which is then affirmed in others (Shutte, 2001).

4.1 Intangible to tangible

The title I have given this chapter refers to the various phases of recording oral narratives and deliberately emphasizes the gap between the origination of the oral narrative from the mouth of the speaker to the representation by the researcher in the form of the written word. The discrepancy between the intangible oral word and the tangible written word is especially relevant when oral narratives are an essential part of the heritage of a people. Archaeologists attempt to bring to life the remnants of tangible artefacts through reference to the intangible. Rock art interpretation of the

late 20th century led by David Lewis-Williams, as discussed further in Chapter 6, has applied specifically this type of methodology through use of ethnography, particularly the oral narratives recorded by Bleek (1875).

A preface to a proposed publication of the Eiland Women's water stories has been written by David Morris. In the preface he highlights not only his use, as an archaeologist, of the intangible heritage to understand the tangible rock art past, but also the paradox of freezing the intangible in the written word and therefore transforming it into a temporal tangible product, which becomes part of the past thus severing from its intangible origin which transforms into the present and the future.

In their recent investigation of *The subtle power of intangible heritage*, Harriet Deacon and her co-authors (Deacon et al, 1997) point to the paradox that, in order to conserve intangible heritage, it must be made incarnate in tangible manifestations, in visible signs. As an archaeologist I have a particular interest in the way the intangible is made tangible: material culture, one might say, is a physical residue of past intangible heritage, of past actions, events, beliefs, and their social and cultural contexts. The Northern Cape rock art sites I study are material residues in the landscape of ancient ideas, perhaps even rituals. The interpretive role of archaeology is to breathe back into these silent traces, as best we can, something of the significance and motivation that might have lain behind their original creation. Deacon and her co-authors add, with respect to intangible heritage, that it is *significance*, not material forms *per se*, that requires safeguarding. Hence the paradox: intangible heritage made incarnate, from the moment it is manifest in physical form, recedes into the past as life moves on. (Morris 2006 correspondence)

The inclusion of research on the intangible is not a neat aspect of the research but a necessary one as, like all ethnography, it tries to capture and analyse a moment that, although it may fade into the past, is nevertheless part of a living growing store of knowledge and understanding of the present and for the future. Despite changes in paradigms and discourses I believe the recording of the intangible will remain relevant if the researcher's context is transparent; i.e. the 'narrator' of the research reveals as much as is logistically possible and academically relevant of the why and how behind the selection of 'scenes' and the structuring of the research 'scenes'. My use of literary or narrative terms such as 'narrator' and 'scenes' implies that the entire research process can be analysed from a narrative theoretical perspective. Such a detailed analysis falls, however, outside of the scope of this dissertation. The relevance for the future of recording the intangible is then multi-layered rather than linear as according to an ecosystemic approach as discussed in Chapter 1. The

significance may lie in the research content, yet may also be in what the analysis reveals about the researcher and research processes, or relationships between all the aforementioned.

4.2 The Eiland Women's Water Snake narratives

Water Snake narratives have been recorded from most cultural groups in the South African context (Cornel, 1910; Thackeray, 1988a; Prins, 1992; Lombard, 1999). Jean Lombard's (1999) doctorate centres on the Water Snake of the Gariiep and oral narratives from Namibia. Lombard's study on the Water Snake explores its relevance in Afrikaans and the use of mythology as a base for comparative literature. David Morris (2003) has linked geometric designs in rock engravings at Driekopseiland near Kimberley to rituals associated with Water Snake beliefs. Ansie Hoff recorded oral narratives from the Upington area, focussing on how belief systems of the San/Bushmen were reflected in the Water Snake stories of the Khoekhoe.

Despite 'shifting identities' (Hall, 1997), particularly amongst the Khoisan (Simões, 2001), the cosmology of the Gariiep River people continues to include a belief in the Water Snake. This is not surprising considering that the genetic heritage in today's Gariiep river population includes /Xam, a Southern group of San ('previously believed by many to have died out' (Hoff, 1997: 21)), and Khoekhoen, herders of Southern Africa. The reason for the perpetuation of belief systems such as that of the Water Snake is clarified by Ansie Hoff:

Although the Khoekhoen and /Xam have been subjected to substantial culture change, it is still possible to trace their views on the Great Snakes, because beliefs are rooted in a group's world-view, usually the last facet of its culture to change during acculturation (Forde 1954:viii; Moller 1976:7; Van Rooy 1978:1). This is demonstrated by my study of the Khoekhoen who had been subject to Western influences up to 300 years (Hoff 1990). An anthropological definition of a group's world-view would be their basic thoughts, on both conscious and subconscious level, about their world or their reality. (Redfield 1952:39; Honigmann 1963:189) (Hoff 1997: 22)

The Water Snake, of the North Western South African border, is believed to originate at Augrabies Falls on the Gariiep River. Oral narratives of the Water Snake often emphasize its supernatural powers. Positive powers include the provision of rain whilst negative powers include luring people into its depths where they live in a

mirrored world below the river's surface. Oral narratives that I have recorded centre on stories of lured victims and the rituals practised by family members to try and regain loved ones from the Water Snake.

The discussion of the narratives as belonging to a particular literary family or genre is typical of a Western literary academic approach; however, Newcomb emphasizes their roots in 'all forms of literature-and, in some instances, even of other arts such as painting, music and dance'. The worth of applying narrative and genre to analysis of 'interpersonal communication grounded in human speech, in everyday exchanges with others' as well as film and electronic media is described by Newcomb 'as ways of organizing, framing, and directing experience and knowledge' (Newcomb 2004: 413).

Lombard (1999) researched Water Snake stories with reference to their 'mythic', specifically related to "the reworking of the mythological motif of the watersnake in mainly Afrikaans Literature" (Lombard 1999: Abstract i). 'Mythic' is used to reflect that the research encompasses not 'merely the story' or just the narrative literary or oral genre 'myth', but also the 'numinous dimensions' of the 'mythological and historical motif' of the Water Snake. The inclusive genre 'mythic' is encapsulated as follows: 'Mythic links two universal traits of human existence, namely a narrative (the urge to tell stories) and spirituality (the questioning of the numinous)' (Lombard 1999: Abstract ii). The stories include the inexplicable: '*van dinge te hoor, wat ons aldag nie met die oog sien nie, of met die oor hoor nie – met ander woorde: die onverklaarbare, die numineuse*' [to hear of things that we do not see or hear in our everyday lives – in other words: the unexplained, the numinous dimensions]' (Lombard 1999: 128). Analysis of the stories' mythic rather than their mythical archetypes as designated by Jung also allows for open rather than essentialist interpretations that bridge the differences of all cultures whether Khoekhoe, San, Western or Asian. The interest in Water Snake stories, particularly in Afrikaans literature, Lombard attributes to 'a common postmodern trend within Western culture to combine mythological traditions from different cultures – for instance, African and Western – in order to regain something of the lost unity of the mainly oral origins of myth, in a modern world divided into a variety of different realms.' (Lombard 1999: Abstract ii).

The Water Snake Stories told by the Eiland Women of Upington can be seen to benefit from analysis based on aspects of narrative and genre as proposed by Horace Newcomb (2004: 413-428). Narrative and genre are central concepts to all forms of literature and expressive arts; thus Newcomb's principles, despite relating specifically to Western film and the electronic media, provide springboards for analysis of the Water Snake Stories as African oral narratives. The beliefs of the women and myself, the researcher, are revealed in this type of approach; therefore, according to Krog (as quoted above), through revelations of researcher's and researched's beliefs in what is and isn't true.

4.2.1 Narratives

The recording of the Eiland Women's Water Snake stories was their response to my question: "What do you know about the Water Snake?" A response to a question is the basis for narrative (Newcomb 2004: 414). Five women took on the role of narrator, while the sixth chose to remain in the group only as a listener as her religion opposes traditional beliefs. The two-way imaginative process that normally occurs between narrator and listener (Newcomb, 2004: 414) was heightened to include a third imaginative process; namely, the imaginary potential audience who would listen to the tape recording.

Traditionally the audience for the oral narratives of the area would have been other women collecting reeds, water or mud at the river, or other women working in the neighbouring yards, or children, or other adults seated around the fire at night. In the circumstances of this research, however, the audience was an imaginary one proposed to the Eiland Women as people who not only did not know anything of the Water Snake but also knew nothing of their colloquial language and culture. The actual audience as they told the stories comprised the tape recorder and each other. The women started telling their stories (appendix 2) conscious of the tape recorder and interrupted the narrator when they felt clarification was needed of colloquial terms; for example, the story of *'n Bok vir die Waterslang* ('A goat for the Water Snake') narrated by Nana and interrupted by Poppie and the other women with questions, to

which they know the answers, aimed at ensuring that listeners to the tape recording will also be able to understand the colloquial:

... 'n ou Hotnots oupa...en hy is ook ene wat met die waterslang werk en ook kan sien, sien jy? – en...

(Wat bedoel 'n Hotsnots oupa?)

Hoe nou sou ek sê hierdie...

('n Sangoma)

(Story De Wee, 1998)

...an old Hottentot elder...and he is also one of those that works with the Water Snake and has visions, do you understand?

(What do you mean by a Hottentot elder?)

How shall I put it, these...?

(A Sangoma-Medicine man)

By the time that Nana narrates *Die dogtertjie in die rivier* (The little girl in the river) it becomes evident that the women are as an audience no longer engrossed in the taping occasion but rather are caught up in the sombre atmosphere and subject matter of the imaginative narrative. Their interjections become spontaneous and participatory as one would expect in a traditional non linear oral narrative setting:

...sy kom nie tot by haar ma nie en die Ma kan ook nie tot haar kom nie en later toe het sy het net met haar handjie so terug gewaai en weer terug in die water in.

(O dis vir gevaarlik)

Nou nou leef sy met die wete dat die kind lewe (lewe) in die rivier en sy kan haar nie kry nie en sy weet nie of sy nou nog lewe of wat?

(Dis darem 'n tragiese storie)

(Dit moet vreeslik wees!)

(Story De Wee, 1998)

...she could not go to her mother and her mother could not go to her. Finally she just lifted her little hand and waved back before returning to the water.

(Oh it is so dangerous)

Now, now she lives with the knowledge that her child lives (lives) in the river and she cannot reach her and she does not know if she is still alive or what?

(It is really a tragic story)

(It must be terrible!)

The shift in the imagination of the women away from their tape recorder audience to the content of the narrative is made not only by the listeners but also by the narrator. In this narrative she does not indicate an ignorant audience by interjections within her own narrative as she does in previous narratives and specifically in the final narrative of the collection. The shift from intellectual participation to emotional identification with the mother's loss of her little girl is a result of the active imaginative participation by both narrator and listeners as discussed by Newcomb (2004).

...the "work" done by narrative and genre can be understood as a process of rearranging the world for imaginative purposes. This imaginative activity occurs in at least two ways. First, the act of the one who answers the question, who selects events and orders them, is an imaginative action. Second, the one who listens, who anticipates, who believes or disbelieves, who laughs or fails to laugh, who places herself or himself into the circumstances by thinking [...] in an imaginative process [...] To "imagine" the future, or the past, or other worlds, or actions forbidden -or bidden - by our societies, enables a potentially rich consideration of and commentary on the actions we do perform. (Newcomb, 2004: 414)

Participation in the oral narrative is revealed to be more than simply an oral linguistic encounter, but rather a multiple intelligence encounter with the subject matter, emphasising the linguistic. Firstly, oral aesthetic linguistic intelligence is applied. According to the symbol system of linguistic intelligence: "language is encountered through sentences and stories". The language is used aesthetically, "metaphorically, expressively, or in such a way as to call attention to sound or structural properties", in other words, artistically (Gardner 1993, 28).

The Eiland women's narratives can be subjected to a detailed analysis according to Newcomb's list of narrative characteristics, but I shall just touch on certain aspects that contribute to the aesthetic appeal of the narratives. The Eiland women project one of the most important attributes of narrative and that is 'malleability'. This aspect of narrative is complemented by the genre of Water Snake stories, namely 'myth', which is considered the most fluid of oral genres:

The myth is malleable, and narrators adjust their performance to suit the occasion and their own social needs. The tellers are in control, and provided they do not stray too far from what the people expect, they can serve their own ends, even as they entertain their enthralled listeners with their dramatizations and mimicry. (Lewis-Williams & Pearce, 2004:189)

The Eiland Women's choice of narratives on the Water Snake build on the old but are set in the present and thereby make them 'useful and significant for human experience [they] conform to patterns, but they may also suggest new patterns, new ways of considering the world, new perspectives on old topics' (Newcomb, 2004: 419).

The Eiland women's narratives include known characteristics of the Water Snake passed down from generation to generation. These characteristics are identified by Ansie Hoff in her research on San and Khoikhoi Water Snake stories and are applied below to examples taken from the Eiland women's narratives.

4.2.2 Characteristics of Khoisan Water Snake stories and the Eiland Women's oral narratives

4.2.2A Water Snake narrators

San folklore, folktales or myths should, according to Lewis-Williams & Pearce, be analysed not only in terms of Propp's episodic narrative structure, Freud and Jung's psychological influences or Levi Strauss' theory of mediation of binary oppositions (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004: 111). 'Metaphors of transition' are proposed as an analytical centre for understanding "some of the central meanings of the myths, and at the same time, situate the myths in the tiered San cosmology" (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004:111). San cosmology is illustrated in a bi-axial model, which divides the cosmos into the sky and underground on the vertical axes and the daily and life on the horizontal axis; within these axes there is a circle depicting dance and dreams above the horizontal axis, and graves, waterhole and rock shelters on and below the horizontal axis. On the horizontal axis within the circle and between graves and rock shelter, the following are shown interacting between the sky and underground on the vertical axis: Trans-cosmological travel, States of consciousness and Transformation (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004:52). David Morris identifies rock engravings, particularly those at Driekopseiland, as having "arguably reinforced an inherent power of place, directly at the intersection, one might suggest, of the structural axes in relevant Khoisan cosmology" (Morris in press 2007). This is reflected where Morris likens the engraved rock features at Driekopseiland to "!Khwa, the 'Rain/Water' in the form of a giant Great Water Snake (Schmidt, 1979) emerging from the depths in

the channel of the 'Ghumaap' and dipping down beneath the riverbed again a few hundred metres further downstream" (Morris in press 2007).

I have chosen to include application of this approach to characteristics of the Water Snake in the Eiland Women's stories so that anthropologist Ansie Hoff's (1997) work on identifying San influences in Water Snake stories of the Khoekhoen can be extended to Eiland Women of mixed descent. Influences of Nguni and other African farmers will also be applied, as they too are relevant for the interpretation of rock art as noted particularly by Woodhouse (1992), Prins (1994) and Thackeray (1988a):

It is not claimed that the study of beliefs among Xhosa can be used directly to interpret rock art in Southern Africa. However, beliefs held by Bantu-speaking population groups as well as those held by Bushman-speakers can be examined together, in an attempt to identify some of the conceptual associations which may have contributed to the development of belief systems of the kind expressed in rock art. (Thackeray, 1988a: 2,3)

This inclusion is relevant as the Eiland Women are of both Khoisan and Black African settler descent. The Christian influence should also not be ignored as not only do some of the women have European settler ancestry but also all the women belong to Christian based churches, which have shaped not only their world views but also those of their ancestors over a number of past generations (Lombard, 1999).

Whereas the Eiland Women were of mixed descent and volunteered to tell their stories rather than being in my study on the basis of research objectives or for their knowledge on the Water Snake, Hoff's research took place within a formal ethnographic framework:

In the choice of informants only persons who regarded themselves as of /Xam descent or as Khoekhoen, and who displayed considerable knowledge of their culture were considered. It was frequently found that a person of mixed descent displayed excellent knowledge, often transferred to him or her by a Khoekhoe or /Xam mother or grandmother. In order to serve the main purpose of this paper, namely the interpretation of rock art, the oldest views on the Water Snake had to be established. Research was therefore carried out primarily among the elderly. (Hoff, 1997: 22)

Unlike Europeans' belief in the Water Snake or Great Snakes as characters in folklore (Hoff 1997: 23), the Eiland Women, like Hoff's Khoekhoe informants (Hoff 1997), believe that the Water Snake is a supernatural being which does exist in nature:

<p><i>Ek sal sê</i> <i>kan nou nie sê</i> <i>is nie waar of so nie</i> <i>Glo daar in die man</i> <i>Ek glo ook</i> <i>in 'n Waterslang</i> <i>Regtig waar</i> (Story de Wee, 1998)</p>	<p>I would say I cannot say that it is not true or so Believe as you will I also believe in a Watersnake Truly</p>
---	--

4.2.2B Water Snakes as mediators

The link between the present northern San Ju/'hoan beliefs and the weather, including rain, hail and wind, is recorded by Megan Biesele:

Men's and women's great "procreative" powers – childbirth and hunting – to the vitally important polarities of the weather...In the *n!ao* beliefs, men are thought to cause weather changes by their interaction with the great meat animals they kill. Similarly, women influence the weather by giving birth to one "kind" of child or another – rain-bringing or sun-bringing. (Biesele 1993: 87-88)

The rain animals including the Water Snake are considered metaphors of trance i.e. mediatory animals between the binary oppositions of life and death as symbolised in the homestead and the wild, the known and the unknown (Prins & Lewis, 1992). As metaphors of trance they are identified with mediators within the society, people who could work with the weather and the spiritual worlds. The obvious mediators are the traditional healers, however, girls at puberty were likewise believed by the San to be "a focus of potency", that is, the equivalent of the power of the rain or *like* shamans (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004: 163; Lewis-Williams 2006: 105). Lewis-Williams & Pearce (2004) caution against merely adopting, for interpretation of San puberty rites: "a Levi-Straussian structuralist position and point out that both new maidens and shamans are mediators of binary oppositions". This position is also valid for the mysteries of the Eiland Women's Water Snake stories, although the adoption of binary oppositions for interpretation does provide a textual interpretative starting point in a researcher's limited abilities to reflect reality: as long as the limits of such an interpretation are acknowledged in capturing the essence, mystery and spiritual nature of a peoples' beliefs.

4.2.2C Dwellings of the Water Snake

The different types of snakes that the indigenous people believe in, such as the Heaven Snake and rain bull - /Xam descendants sometimes refer to the Water Bull as a snake (Hoff, 1997) - can be identified in the Water Snake of the Eiland Women. The dwelling place of the Eiland Women's Water Snake is also not as restricted Hoff's 1997 research describes.

The Khoisan people "refer to Water Snakes as River- or Fountain Snakes according to where they live. Water Snakes are found only in permanent water sources such as permanent fountains and perennial rivers. The Orange River is regarded by many as 'the only dwelling place of the River Snake' (Hoff 1997, 23). The Khoekhoen also include water sources such as fountain and springs (*gwarrie*) as potential homes of Water Snakes, not necessarily a Great Snake, but rather: "this snake is small and brown, about the size of an ordinary snake and is referred to as the water or fountain snake"(Hoff 1997: 23). This snake is attributed with positive powers, which include ensuring that there is always water in the spring or borehole. Hoff relates Water Snake exclusively to the term "Great Water Snake" used by present descendants of the Khoekhoen and San and does not include therefore the "Heaven Snake, the Rainbow" and the "Garing Snake" (Hoff 1997: 23).

The Eiland Women's reference to the dwelling place of the Water Snake includes not only the Orange (Gariep) River but also an associated '*gwarrie*' [spring]. The Water Snake moves between these two areas in the form of a storm or whirlwind. Maria Malo discussed with Johanna (Nana) de Wee the dangers of the movements of the Water Snake between the river and the spring. I firstly translated the Water Snake pronoun 'hy' to the masculine form but changed the translation to 'it' as the gender assigned to the Water Snake in this discussion is not clear. This is due to the fact that Maria not only uses 'hy' as a pronoun for male but also female e.g. she refers later in this recorded discussion to her mother and Maria uses 'hy' for non animate objects e.g. the use of 'hy' when referring to the '*gwarrie*'. The inclusion of the tape recorder within the research process is emphasized when Nana interjects the question regarding the '*gwarrie*', for the sake of the listeners as she herself is well acquainted with the meaning of the word:

Maria:
*Maar hier
 enige tyd hier in die jaar af
 dan trek
 hy oor van Oranje Rivier
 na die gwarrie toe
 Dan sien jy net 'n storm*

Nana:
Wat is 'n gwarrie?

Maria:
*Dis 'n groot gat
 sê maar hier in die grens
 hier van Namibia
 daars 'n groot gat
 wat amper soos 'n
 hy word nooit leeg nie
 hy bly vol met water*

*Dan trek hy oor
 Jy kan net sien
 dis 'n vreeslikke warrel wind
 wat hier oor die lokasie
 hier oor die dorp
 dan's hy oor
 dan gaan trek anderkant
 dan verdrink die mense*

*daar's 'n sekere
 tyd van die jaar
 dan trek
 hy mense in*

Nana:
*Ja dis veral
 Desember maand*

Maria:
*Ja, Desember maand
 is die grootste tyd van die jaar
 wat hy mense in die rivier
 in die gwarrie intrek
 of hy trek mense hier
 in die rivier in*

*Dit is 'n vreeslike storie mense
 mens moet weg bly
 van die water af*

(Discussion Malo and de Wee, 1998)

Maria:
 But here
 anytime of the year here
 he moves
 from the Orange River
 to the 'gwarrie'
 Then you just see a storm

Nana:
 What is a 'gwarrie'?

Maria:
 It is a large hole
 let's say at the border
 of Namibia
 there's a large hole
 which is almost like a
 it never empties
 it remains filled with water

Then it moves in
 you just see
 a terrible whirlwind
 that is over the location
 over the town
 then it's gone
 moved to the other side
 then people drown

there's a certain
 time of the year
 that it pulls
 people in

Nana:
*Yes it is especially
 December month*

Maria:
*Yes, December month
 is the worst time of the year
 when he pulls people in the river
 into the 'gwarrie'
 or it pulls people here
 into the river*

It is a terrible story people
 one must stay away
 from the water

Deep, turbulent water, mist, a sweet smell, reeds, rushes, water-buchu and a rainbow might all be characteristics of the place where the Water Snake may be found (Hoff 1997:24). The rainbow is believed to be a Great Snake by one of Hoff's informants and elderly Griquas referred to the snake as living in the sky. 'A rainbow in the water may indicate the Water Snake's presence', according to one of Hoff's /Xam informants (Hoff.1997: 24). The rainbow, included in a number of rock paintings (Woodhouse, 1992) is interpreted by Lee and Woodhouse as associated with San mythological creatures of the rain or water, which include the rain snake but in particular the rain bull (Lee & Woodhouse 1970: 126; d31, 122 & 123). The rock art images of the 'rain bull' are noted to have similarities to real animals:

The similarity between many of the paintings of rain animals and hippopotami was commented on by Dr Sigrid Schmidt in 1979 (Schmidt, 1979) when she made the point that the rain bull often referred to in the Bushman folklore implied contact with cattle breeders: whereas the earlier paintings were probably created before such contact, when any thought of water would have included the hippopotamus which was abundant and widely distributed in rivers and vleis throughout the subcontinent. (Woodhouse 1992: 7).

In '*n Bees vir die Waterslang*' by Maria Malo not only is 'turbulent water' mentioned, but the rainbow too is associated with the Water Snake. Ironically in contrast to the traditional reading of the rainbow as a sign of hope, relating to its association with the flood of the Old Testament, the rainbow can be perceived in this excerpt as a negative sign (this can be read as an extension of the dualistic nature attributed to the Water Snake, especially by the /Xam, whereas the Khoekhoen placed greater emphasis on the negative qualities as discussed previously with regard to Hoff):

*En net een oggend toe kom hulle by
die rivier
dis net water wat opstoot tot by die
rivier
en 'n reënboog gaan so bo oor die
brug
en toe sê die sangoma vir my auntie

Julle kan maar terug draai want die
Waterslang*

One morning when they were at the
river
the water was turbulent at the river

and a rainbow was over the bridge

then the traditional healer said to
my aunty
You may as well return as the
Water Snake

<i>het daai man</i>	has that man
<i>en hy het van daai 1985 (is nou 1998)</i>	and he has from 1985 (it is now 1998)
<i>het daai man nooit tevoorskyn gekom nie</i>	that man has never reappeared
(Story Malo ,1998)	

Further emphasis on the negative aspects of the Water Snake is found in the beliefs of the Nguni who do not even believe in saying its name. These variations in the perceptions of the Water Snake's negative powers are reflected in the stories of the Eiland Women. The transition metaphors of the Khoesan people appear to have transferred into ritual enactment by the African farmers, particularly the Nguni people. The ritual of offering 'n bees' [a beast] to the Water Snake related firstly by Bessa Sixaxa with reference to her late uncle's disappearance into the Gariep river, and then described by the late Girly Vuyiswa, echoes images in some rock paintings interpreted as relating to rain-making, capturing or leading the rain animal, or even sacrifice to the rain animal (Lee & Woodhouse 1970: 122-123 Fig D31; Woodhouse 1992: 52-55 Figs 79-86; Lewis-Williams & Pearce, 2004: 145 Fig 7.3, 146 Fig 7.4).

Die toordoktor sê toe vir ons ons moet 'n bees in die rivier in jag dan sal hy uit kom maar dan moet ons hom dadelik wegstuur om 'n dokter toe word en as ons dit nie doen nie gaan hy weer terug stap rivier toe maar as hy uit kom sal hy met niemand praat nie

[The medicine man told us to chase a beast into the river and that then he would come out but we would have to send him straight away to become a doctor and if we did not do this than he would return to the river. When he came out he should speak to no one]. (Story Sixaxa, 1998)

Girly described the ritual of sending the beast into the water as follows:

The men stand in two rows facing each other, creating a path down the banks of the river to the water. The medicine men 'tik tik' the beast from behind and so steer it between the paths of men into the water. If the person who is taken by the river returns then has to be trained as a medicine man. (Interview, 1998)

4.2.2D Sangoma/Oupa?

Considering the sometimes heated academic debate on the terminology used when discussing spiritual leaders linked to the myths and art of the Khoisan, I will discuss in some detail the terminology used by the Eiland Women in their Water Snake stories.

The Eiland women use the word '*sangoma*' interchangeably with '*oupa*' or '*oom*' and '*ouma*' or '*auntie*' when referring to a person in the community consulted regarding the Water Snake, as indicated in the following excerpts:

*En sy het my gevertel
Van haar seun
Wat
ook van die
Waterslang ingetrek is*

and she told me
about her son
who
was also pulled in
by the Water Snake

*En hulle het hom
probeer daar uit kry
en later
het die mense vir hulle gesê
gaan na 'n Sangoma Oupa toe
hy sal julle miskien
meer vertel
want
hulle ken die Waterslang
(Story de Wee, 1998).*

And they tried
to get him out
and later
the people said to them
go to a wise traditional healer
he might
tell you more
because
they know the Water Snake

*Jan is weg
Jan het verdrink*

Jan has gone
Jan has drowned

*En die mense kyk terug
Nou wat gaan aan?
en later
het een van die aunties
ook vir hulle gesê*

and the people looked back
What was happening?
at last
one of the aunties
also said to them

*Al raad is ons moet ook nou
maar net gaan maar
daarsô daar in rooikoppies
ook hier so
teen die Oranje Rivier
bly 'n oupa
'n ou hotnots oupa
en hy is ook ene
wat met die Waterslang werk en
ook kan sien
sien jy en...*

the only advice I can give
is just that you must go
over there to the red hills
also over there
next to the Orange River
lives a wise man
an old Hottentot wise man
and he is also one
that works with the Water Snake
and has visions
do you understand and...

(Story, de Wee, 1998)

Even though the word *Sangoma* is used, it appears more that it is employed in most of the Eiland Women's Water Stories for the listeners of the taped stories to understand the role of the '*oupas*' and '*oumas*' as traditional healers, rather than specifically

Nguni traditional healers. This observation results from the fact that *oupa* is attached to the word *Sangoma*, for example by Nana de Wee in ‘*Willem en die Waterslang*’ [Willem and the Water Snake], thus placing the traditional healer in the realm of Afrikaans speakers. The culture of the traditional healer that works with the Water Snake is made more specific by de Wee in her subsequent taped story: “‘*n Bok vir die Water Slang*’ [A goat for the Water Snake] where she qualifies the ‘*oupa*’ as “‘*n ou Hotnots oupa*’”. When one of the listeners enquires ‘*Wat bedoel ‘n Hotnots oupa?*’” de Wee then hesitates, looking for a synonym “*Hoe nou sou ek sê hierdie...*” [How shall I put it, these...] The fellow Eiland woman listener responds then with the word “‘*n Sangoma*’”. De Wee first uses *Sangoma* but continues to clarify that it is the Khoisan equivalent: “*Sangoma oupa, sien jy. Maar hulle is nou weer die Hotsnot – die Nama mense, die boesmans mense. Dis hulle eintlik ook wat met die water ook gewerk het me die Hotnots meisies ja.*” [Sangoma, yes. But they are the Hottentot kind – the Nama people, the Bushman people. It is actually the same people who worked with the water with the Hottentot girls].

The term *Sangoma* then continues to be used by de Wee for the rest of that particular narrative, but in her last story, ‘*Die dogtertjie in die rivier*’ [The little girl in the river], she reverts to the expression ‘*oom toekoms oupa*’ [seer], which she once more defines through the addition of ‘*sangoma oupa*’. Her sister Martha van Rooi simply uses ‘*oumas en oupas*’ when referring to the traditional leaders in the puberty ritual that work with the Water Snake. This emphasis of the Khoisan link to the Water Snake by de Wee and van Rooi is understandable as they were the most directly linked in their ancestry to the Khoisan through their Namibian mother (‘*Baster kleurling Hotnotsvrou*’) and Griqua grandfather (Notes, de Wee, 1998),

The ancestry of the other three Eiland Women as discussed in Chapter 1 is predominantly that of African farmers, specifically the Nguni. Maria Malo’s sister Elizabeth Sixaxa describes herself as follows: “*Ek is ‘n Bantoe Kleurling,*’ and Girly Vuyiswa states: ‘*Ons is Tswana-Xhosa by ons se huis*’. It is interesting to note then that Bessa refers to her family consulting a ‘*toordokter*’ (sorcerer) for guidance when her uncle walks into the river. Malo refers to the same person as a *Sangoma* but in her last narrative, on blisters caused by the Water Snake’s rays, Malo refers to a ‘*Sangoma auntie*’. Auntie seems to be added after *Sangoma* as an adjective to clarify the person’s gender.

4.2.2E Male and female snakes

The choice of 'characters' or in this case characteristics of the Eiland Women's Water Snake narratives can be used for analysis of the 'author' or creator of the oral narrative, 'The point is that the narrator is the voice or perspective within the narrative that guides the construction of the sequence of events, hence guiding the viewer's knowledge and perhaps reactions to these events' (Newcomb, 2004: 418).

The indication of male and female Water Snakes is noted by Hoff as a characteristic of /Xam and Khoekhoen Water Snake stories, although 'usually only male Snakes feature spontaneously in Khoekhoe and /Xam narratives' (Hoff 1997: 24). Ansie Hoff (1997:27) notes a possible shift in emphasis on 'a male-oriented view of Water animals', and that her experience is in agreement with that of Bleek's informants, of whom the majority spoke of rain in the masculine form. The Water Snake is referred to as a male or female snake by the Eiland Women as I recorded in my diary:

January 1998 – Upington Northern Cape

Ellen explained to me that all the stories centred on the "*Waterslang*" [Water Snake]. There is a male and a female '*Waterslang*'. The male seeks out women and the girls with which to '*paar*' [mate] and the female seeks out men and boys. Ellen said that if the mates captured were to the *Waterslang*'s liking then the bodies were never found again but if they were not '*tevrede*' [satisfied] with the chosen mate, the body was found spewed out of the river. (Interview, Sihoyo, 1998)

The above is reiterated by Nana in her story '*Willem en die Waterslang*' [Willem and the Water Snake] in which a small boy is taken at the river but returned with the help of an '*oupa sangoma*' [wise elder, traditional healer]:

*Dit was 'n wyfie slang want
hulle sê
dat die wyfie hou meer van die
manne
en die man slang hou meer van
die vroue*

It was a female snake because
they say
that the female prefers men

and that the male snake prefers
women

In 'Die 'half-vrou, half-vis' op Prieska' [The 'Half-woman, half-fish' at Prieska] by Maria Malo the Water Snake first appears to Maria's brother-in-law as a female mermaid type figure:

*En met die wat hulle onspan het
die man
so bietjie uitgeloop
Sy het langs
die rivier gesit en sy sien net op
die rivier
by 'n groot klip
sit 'n mooi vrou met net sukke
lang
swart hare
Sy onderlyf is 'n vis
maar dit skyn so blou en met die
wat sy haar man roep
verdwyn die vrou onder die
water in
(Story, Malo 1998).*

Whilst they were relaxing her
husband
went for a walk
She sat down
next to the river and saw just on
the river
on a large rock
sat a beautiful woman with very
long
black hair
Her lower half was a fish
but it was shiny blue
with that she called her husband
and the woman disappeared
under the water

In the second half of the above narrative, Maria describes how they returned to the river and this time a Water Snake appeared to her sister in the shape of a necklace. In this instance the Water Snake is referred to in the masculine third person, reinforcing the opposite gender involvement between the Water Snake and victims. This pattern is not followed, however, in "'n Bok vir die Waterslang" [A goat for the Water Snake] and Nana emphasizes the fact that it was a male snake, 'eintlik 'n man' [actually a male], that took the young boy but later spat him out with his neck broken:

*En een twee drie
toe 's als skoon
die kind is weg
en daai man
dis entlik 'n man
die man is weg
met kind en al...
(Story de Wee, 1998).*

And one two three
everything was clear
the child was gone
and that male
it was actually a male
the male was gone
with child and all

After Martha van Rooi relates the narrative of '*Die meisies en die Waterslang*' [The girls and the Water Snake], the role of the male as the victim and the female snake are reversed and the subsequent oral narratives related and recorded on that particular day included stories of female victims and corresponding male snakes. One exception was the narrative of the Boer and the diamond, which does not include a drowning.

In the Eiland Women's Water Snake narratives it is men and women who are imbued with the power of knowing: the identification and characteristics of the Water Snake and appropriate action that should be taken when encountering a Water Snake. In '*Die half-vrou, half-vis op Prieska*' [The half-woman, half-fish of Prieska] it is Elizabeth's sister who sees the 'half-fish beautiful woman' but her husband who recognises it as the Water Snake:

<i>En toe sy die man roep</i>	And when she called the
<i>en vir die</i>	husband
<i>die man vertel</i>	and told the
<i>sê hy</i>	the husband
	he said
<i>Jong</i>	Man
<i>kom ons gaan hier weg</i>	let's get away from here
<i>Dis die Waterslang!</i>	It's the Water Snake!
<i>en hulle is onmiddelik</i>	and straight away
<i>was hulle daar weg</i>	they left
(Story Malo 1998)	

However, in '*Die Boer en die Water Slang se kroon*' [The Boer and the Water Snake's crown] it is the woman, the wife of the worker, who recognises the retribution of the Water Snake in the turbulent weather and not only warns her husband but also orders him and the Boer to set things aright with the Water Snake:

<i>Toe</i>	Then
<i>het die ou</i>	the old
<i>hotnot ouma gevra</i>	Hottentot wise elder asked
<i>Vir sy man gevra</i>	asked her husband
<i>Jy</i>	You
<i>waarvan daan kom jy?</i>	Where have you been?
<i>Is nou hierrie ding</i>	Is this thing
<i>Wat jy geloop haal het</i>	that you fetched
<i>van die Waterslang?</i>	Of the Water Snake?

Ja

*Hoorhie
Vat hom nou terug
Vat hom nou terug of
als word geverwoes
Vat hom terug!*
(Story de Wee, 1998)

Yes

Listen here
Take it back now
Take it back now or
all will be destroyed
Take it back!

The power of actually working with the Water Snake is attributed to people of wisdom regardless of their gender. The respect for these people is indicated in the Eiland Women's stories through the use of 'oom' or 'oupa' and 'auntie' or 'ouma' which translate literally as 'uncle' or 'grandfather' and 'aunt' or 'grandmother' but which indicate in the context of these oral narratives the respect shown to someone of wisdom despite and sometimes beyond their age (Kruiper, Belinda personal conversation 11 Oct 2006). This demonstration of respect once more emphasizes a continued power invested in those members of community who display an ability to communicate with the spiritual world and contribute to mediation on behalf of individuals or the community.

Regarding the gender specificity of characters in the Eiland Women's oral narratives, I find it an interesting feature that the women in these stories are proactive and strong women that advise, make decisions and live by the consequences of their decisions, despite the narrators' indicating the female protagonists' and their own fear and trepidation regarding working near the water.

*My ma het altyd
van die river afgekeer
En ek
Was bang
Vir die rivier*

My mother always
avoided the river
and I
was scared
of the river

*Lat ek nou vandag hier
lanks die river werk
wat ek nie weet
watter tyd raak ek hier weg*
(Story Malo, 1998)

That I should today
Work next to the river
not knowing
when I might disappear

Hoff's research notes a marked shift away from female and male inclusion in the Water Snake stories to a male domination, where she observes a shift away from the

early San belief in male and female rain towards a 'male-orientated view of Water animals' (Hoff 1997: 27). This is not marked in the Eiland Women's stories. The mention of female Water Snakes by the Eiland Women as predators of boys and men differs from Hoff's research experience: 'informants only mentioned the female Water Snake or the Water Cow as procreative partners of the male.' In the Eiland Women's Water Snake narratives, the inclusion of male and female is not limited to the Water Snake but as discussed above there appears to be a balance between both genders' inclusion as experts, victims and as spiritual consultants. The Water Snake oral narratives, in this context where there is a dominance of narratives by Khoisan descendants, appear to provide a space where gender inequalities are bridged, but more research incorporating a greater number of narratives is needed for this to be considered a trend.

4.2.3 Oral narratives, rock art research and dominant intelligences

Research on rainmaking and the rain animals has mostly concentrated on linking San ethnography and the paintings in rock art rather than rock engravings. The central role that trance and 'shamanism' or traditional healers play in the creation and consumption of rock art related to rain making and rain animals, as opposed to the illustrative mythological value of the art, remains a currently ongoing debate between rock art researchers (Lewis-Williams 2006:105-114; Solomon 2006: 117-118). Argument from different research paradigms can be seen as argument from different dominant intelligences. Prins (1999) and Jolly (1998) wrangle publicly on, among other aspects of research, the 'handling of oral data as obtained from African diviners' (Prins, 1999:43), specifically relating to rock art interpretation. The difference in philosophical influence on their research is highlighted by Prins with regard to paradigms of positivism versus relativism, but what essentially underlines the difference is that Jolly emphasises application of the mathematical scientific intelligence to his research, which highlights 'data and the particular' of oral narratives when researching the past, whereas Prins focuses on the intra and interpersonal intelligences applied aesthetically through oral narratives, which accentuates 'beliefs and conceptualisations' (Prins, 1999: 45). The two approaches should complement each other, adding pieces of the jigsaw if not to a picture of the past or the researched oral narrators, then definitely towards an understanding of the fractured rock art research community of the late 20th century. The publications

arena becomes a large field trip where the researched people and their art are largely left out of the issue and merely go along for the ride (Lange 2003a).

If the rock art and related oral narratives are researched from an inclusive perspective, then the art and oral narratives are researched as part of a multiple intelligence approach by indigenous people to explore and gain and convey knowledge of themselves, their communities, nature and the spiritual world. Interpreting the emphases made in applying specific intelligences, and the value attached to certain intelligences, can help grasp an understanding if not of the past then of the present people's perceptions of the past. Rather than opposing aspects of research, I hope the research into the Eiland Women's Water Snake stories reveals that the art and oral narratives rather display different intelligences grappling for reconciliation of the same theme in aspects of the individual, the community, nature and the spiritual world; namely, that of change in the form of maturation, transformation or transcendence.

Even if binary oppositions are discarded as an old fashioned theoretical framework, it is true that they influence the realities of some. Women will know that one day you did not menstruate and the next day you did; one month you had not bled and the next month you did; one season you were not fertile and the next year you were; one year you were a girl child and then next you were a woman. The gradations between one thing and another can be argued between many aspects of ourselves, but the oncoming of puberty is one of the milestones in our lives that link us to the binary oppositions of nature: night and day, winter and summer, spiritual and physical death and life. At the same time, though, that the linear binary oppositions are emphasized through puberty, the narrative cyclic aspects of our lives too are reinforced: blood flowing followed by blood stopping followed by blood flowing; celestial beings rising and setting, growing and waning; rain falling and ceasing; season following season and babies born and people dying ad infinitum. These embedded linear binary oppositions and cyclic norms are reflected in the Water Snake stories and the painted rock art associated with them. Whether these same elements are reflected in the geometric rock engravings associated with Water Snake rituals and narratives will be explored in the following chapter.

4.2.4 Orality

The Eiland women paint images with their words through: appropriate gesture and facial expression plus choice of words; instinctive and apt selection and application of the prosodic elements including pace, pause and pitch; effective use of repetition of sound in alliteration and assonance, typical of oral narratives, as well as repetition of word and phrase; compelling arrangement of events in time and space (Newcomb, 2004: 416) to draw the listeners into the suspense; despite hearing a narrative based on the known Water Snake, they still want to know the outcome of that particular localized narrative (Newcomb, 2004:418).

*Dit was 'n stil dag
daar was nie wind wat waai het
of niks nie
baie stil*

It was a quiet day
no wind blew
nothing stirred
just very still

*En die lekkerste hout was altyd
so op die wal van die rivier op
die water se kant toe
Daar was so 'n lang
hak waarmee hulle die hout hak*

And the best wood was always
up on the bank of the river
Towards the water
There was a long
hook they used to hook the
wood

van die hout op die wal terughak

hook the wood on top of the
bank

en hulle lag nog so lekker

and they laughed so gleefully

*Die son sak so
half skyns
vang so mooi
op die water*

The sun set
at an angle
caught so beautifully
on the water

(Story Martha, 1998)

The skills with which the stories are told reveals intra and inter personal as well as linguistic intelligence unappreciated in the women by the researcher in day to day conversation. The use of spatial intelligence during oral narration is utterly lost when transferred to a literary format. The importance of creating meaning in oral narratives through gesture, facial expression and the use of prosodic elements of speech is highlighted by Keyan Tomaselli (1996) in his discussion of the filmed monologue of Draghoender's lament in *Kat River: The End of Hope* (Peires, 1984). This was the reason for making a visual record of the women telling their stories (2005). The Eiland women's applied intelligences for oral narratives would have been admired in

an oral society specifically for the social unity that they would encourage, as discussed by Gardner:

Thus, we see that in traditional societies, intelligence involves the ability to maintain the community's social ties. In a society that likely depends on the cooperation of many individuals for such basic needs as food and shelter, it makes eminent sense that those who can secure such cooperation would be deemed intelligent. (Gardner 1993:234)

Whether to be 'deemed intelligent' would have resulted in power for women oral narrators in the pre-industrialised herder society is debatable. The power or meaning of 'myth' for foragers is not in the literary form and structure which can be analysed, but: 'In societies such as the San, it is the performance of the myth that counts. In that way, myth is like ritual; its performance is a ritual.' (Lewis-Williams & Pearce, 2004:189).

It is the shaman rock painters and particularly the rain shamans that Lewis-Williams & Pearce discuss regarding the performance of myth. They particularly refer to these myth tellers of power as male and refer briefly to this gender specificity as follows regarding a female informant of mixed San and Nguni descent:

In his life, her father, however, had explained some of the paintings to her, and her sister had eventually inherited his powers, though not his painting expertise; among Bantu-speaking farmers, women are more likely to become ritual specialists than among the San. (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004:198)

My call for stories on the Water Snake led to participatory research by the Eiland Women as they told me that they went home and asked for as many stories as they could, primarily from family members. The power displayed by these women was not in the knowledge of the stories' content, but rather in their performance. Those with prevailing intelligences or 'talent' for oral narratives dominated the original recording of the oral narratives and have continued to do so. Initially it was Nana and Poppie who dominated both in knowledge of content and performance skills. I attributed this to their strong Khoekhoen genetic heritage, as their mother was Nama. These women failed to retain leadership power within the group in our daily work at the Eiland once the late Girly Vuyiswa, daughter of an Nguni father and mother of mixed descent (Notes Vuyiswa, 1998), joined the Eiland work force. I commented on my surprise at this power shift in my journal.

December 1998

Girly was not expected to last as a cleaner as she had been very dolled up for her interview. She was, however, not to be underestimated. From the first day she showed leadership qualities and by the end of the two weeks was spokesperson for the group, keeping on top of things that needed to be remembered and organising the 'afskeid piekniek' (farewell picnic) for their last day. I was surprised that the others, especially Nana allowed her to take over. (Comment, Lange 1998)

Once Girly was comfortable sharing her thoughts with me, I discovered that she felt called to be a Sangoma, traditional healer, but could not afford to go for training so she had joined the Zionist church to try and resolve her inner conflict between her Christian and traditional African beliefs (Interview Vuyiswa, 1998). She was baptized in the Gariep River. The power Girly naturally seemed to hold in the group of Eiland Women may be attributed to the fact that her origins comprise a mixture of the cultures of the other women in the group, or may result from allocation of power to those whose intelligences extended beyond the material, tangible world, affording enhanced access to the spiritual world as explored regarding the San shamans by Lewis-Williams & Pearce:

It now seems that their own culture's emphasis on material wealth and property caused Western researchers to miss other kinds of inequality—those that are embedded in differential access to level of the tiered San cosmos. Some San people are able to tap in to spiritual knowledge [] They do not display this privilege in any material way: They do not wear gaudy clothes or carry emblems of superiority, that they are respected nonetheless. (Lewis-Williams & Pearce, 2004:188)

A continuation of the world-views of San hunter gatherers, the /Xam, by the Khoikhoi/ Khoekhoen herders as proposed by early researchers such as Schapera is supported by Hoff's research on the inclusion of /Xam views of the Water Snake in Khoekhoen informants oral narratives (Hoff, 1997). These worldviews continue to be reflected in the oral narratives of those of mixed descent, the people of the Upington Gariep area. The allocation of power to those with spiritual power such as Girly and the Eiland Women could be further reflection of the continued worldviews of San and Khoekhoe within that of the people of the Upington area.

4.2.5 Multiple intelligences equal multiple power

It was those with the greatest access to the spiritual world and literacy that Lewis-Williams & Pearce believe held the most power. They describe these people as male painters, the mythic performers and visual artists (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004). The shamans embody the people in a society who, according to Gardner's research, display strength in multiple intelligences applied in an aesthetic fashion; that is, the shamans also meet the requirements described by Gardner of gaining respect as individuals within the community who could meet societies' needs for cohesion: on a micro scale, healing individuals' physical needs; on a macro scale, provision of feeding rain and spiritual well being for the community as a whole. In the case of the Water Snake stories, the person or people of power raised their levels of power by including visual literacy, a display of visual literary intelligence applied aesthetically. Unlike the 'secretive' rituals of the rain shamans of the foragers described by Lewis-Williams and Pearce, these art works were public displays engraved on rock. The authorship and meaning of these engravings in relationship to the Eiland Women's Water Snake oral narratives is the subject of the next chapter.

It was evident when one of the Eiland women asked to rewrite one of her oral narratives after she had shown them to her children, that she and her family too believe in the value of visual literacy, namely in the form of the written word or at least the status that the written word has over the oral word. I accepted the faxed rewrite and have included it in the proposed publication of their stories. We discussed, however, that the rewrite could and should not replace the written record of the oral narrative as it came from a specific time, place and audience that had already become part of the past. The rewrite was characteristic of an oral society and especially of transformation myths where, ironically, to change the story is to allow it to transcend death, to breathe life into it, and so to retain it as living heritage.

CHAPTER 5

CREATING MEANING: THE PHYSICAL; THE SPATIAL; THE TANGIBLE

To be there, to read with the body and all the senses, that is, to experience the physical space and *genus loci* of a place, is to be inspired to explore, to learn more, to theorise and to share the encounter; a feeding of the mind and spirit which creates a meaning not found in texts, a personal sensory meaning that sustains more than just intellectual interest until the next encounter. I record my experience of the place and the tangible with a view to imparting the significance of this aspect of research in the type of methodology that I am attempting. This comprises an endeavour to demonstrate the role held by physical encounter with place in a multiple intelligence approach to research that encourages optimum learning by including spatial and bodily kinaesthetic intelligences (Gardner, 1993).

The narrative element is counter-balanced throughout by exhibits on how we know (or have known) the past, conveying *inter alia* the notion that history [...] while concerning the past, is made, constructed, and viewed in the present.

[...] Places and the spatial arrangements within them do not have single monolithic Meanings, since people connect with them in multiple ways, which are themselves always open to contestation. In the making of rock art, people in specific times and places invoked meanings that, while 'full of the past', would have constituted a making and re-making of individual and collective histories.

[...] a sense of agency, of negotiation, and even contestation, emphasizing the situational nature of cultural phenomena at any given time and place. (Morris, 2003: 2-6)

Meanings are never fixed; cultures (in the anthropological sense) are constantly being reinvented both from within and through their myriad encounters with travellers of all kinds. (Tomaselli, 1998: 388)

My travels to the Northern Cape were frequent from the 1980s. My family lived a nomadic life spearheaded by my husband's profession. Upington in the Northern Cape became a fixed site for vacations both recreational and working, a mark on the map to which our roaming compass always returned. My vacations became task oriented when I perceived a link between my work interest in theatre and rituals, and past and present cultures of communities in the Upington area.

At this point I was concentrating predominantly on the research of space and place through both tangible and textual resources (see Chapter 1). Initially archaeologist Peter Beaumont and then later archaeologist David Morris, both from McGregor Museum, generously guided my interest and research in the area both with advice regarding methodology and by providing information on previous research published on the area. My increased participation with and experience of the people was to coincide with my involvement in Prof Keyan Tomaselli's Kalahari research project.

5.1 Spitskop Nature Reserve – Stone tools to bullet shells

The Northern Cape is one large archaeological site, “partly excavated by the natural elements, partly known by archaeological work, and with much still hidden” (Correspondence Morris, 2004). Stone tools scatter the land's surface, and research in the unique *Wonderwerk* Cave near Kuruman indicates the area's significance in the history of early man. The town of Upington is paved with evidence that man has often found it a desirable place to stay. Open plots awaiting housing, school grounds and municipal parking lots, and even the centre islands of the town's main streets, contain stone artefacts and “plenty of stone tool manufacturing waste” (Correspondence Morris, 2004) - spanning Earlier, Middle and Later Stone Age cultures. Some of these clues to our very early past are most likely brought in from a gravel quarry in the dunes outside of Upington.

The Spitskop Nature Reserve in Upington has largely remained protected from modern man's industrial disturbance. The site has coincidentally served to partially protect the natural and archaeological heritage of the area. This small game park is situated 13 km north of Upington and was established by the Upington municipality in 1967. Visitors can walk up a winding rock staircase to the summit of the rock peak and view game through a telescope. A large granite rock formation gives Spitskop its name. This landscape feature is the result of an eruption of hot granite magma from the depths of the earth. Weathering over many, many centuries has sculptured the rock formation.

Stone artefacts identified at Spitskop comprise “Later Stone traces of the last few thousand years, including ostrich eggshell flask fragments and small stone tools called

microliths. There are also older artefacts that include flakes, point and blades, and a small pear shaped hand axe” (Correspondence Morris, 2004). Archaeologists of the McGregor Museum, Kimberley, suggest the hand axe and associated points and blades may be “some 300 000 years of age”, belonging to the ‘Fauresmith’ industry, which possibly bridged the Earlier and Middle Stone Ages (Correspondence Morris, 2004).

Oral history tells how a small black hill in the Spitskop Nature Reserve formed a hideout for hunter-gatherers after their raids on the domestic stock of Korana herders settled near the Orange River. If necessary, the hunter-gatherers would flee into the dunes of the Kalahari where they were masters of the environment and as such stood a far better chance of survival than did the pursuing herders (Interview, Botha Spitskop Upington, 1999). The wearing Kalahari wind still occasionally reveals Later Stone Age stone tools, shards and sometimes complete decorated ostrich eggshells in the dunes just outside of Upington (Cornelissen circa 1975 unpublished).

Spitskop once more entered the oral narratives of Upington during the time of the 1914/15 Rebellion. Post South African Anglo-Boer war Anti-British sentiment, a consequence of the post South African Anglo-Boer war resentments, resulted in an uprising in the area. Commander Stadler was wounded during the Lewis-Williams flank’s movement from Spitskop on the town. According to oral tradition, Stadler was taken to the farm Christiana, where he died. He was first buried at Spitskop and then later reburied at Kakamas (Cornelissen circa 1975, unpublished). Used bullet cartridges in the Spitskop sand add their voice to confirm of past conflict.

In the mid 1990s a delegation of ≠Khomani San visited Spitskop. They were taken to the terraced sides of the small black hill. There they sat and reminisced about how their forefathers would have used such terraces as look-out points for game and enemies whilst manufacturing their tools. They would change their choice of position on the hill according to the direction of the wind (Interview, Botha at Spitskop, 1999).

Game kept on the reserve today includes gemsbok, zebra, springbok, ostrich, eland, hartebeest and mountain zebra. The present sample of game is a small representation of what was recorded in 1778/79 by Wikar. He describes lions, elephants, hippos,

buffalo, rhinoceros, giraffe, gemsbok, kudus, ostriches and a range of smaller animals inhabiting the river area (Cornelissen circa 1975, unpublished). Rock art images found in the Green Kalahari confirm that an abundance of these animals roamed the area in prehistoric times (Butzer, 1989). The relevance of the number and type of animals in the quantification approach of recording rock art is discussed later in this chapter. Many animals vanished from the landscape, as did the number of indigenous people, with the colonial introduction of guns (Penn, 1995).

5.2 Communicating the place

I found the Spitskop Site and its clues to our recent and prehistoric past, captivating. The find of a mortar and pestle placed next to each other on a terrace at the *Swart Koppie* [Black Hill] conjured a scene of domestic processing tools waiting for their owner to return. The barren valley sprang to life at the anticipated sound of stone on stone as roots, bulbs, berries or ochre were crushed by a sister, mother, grandmother or healer perched on a terrace with a 360 degree view of never-ending plains. The place also taught me patience. Acting on newly acquired knowledge regarding the importance of not collecting artefacts randomly, I left the mortar and pestle where they stood. This discipline led to much jovial derision on later trips to Botswana when cynical fellow travellers listed all the possible fates of artefacts left behind, even if they had been found where 4x4 tyres had unearthed them in desert roads.

I contacted the acting curator, Mr Goussard, of the Upington museum to inform him of the finds at Spitskop and to alert him to the fact that I had sent initial finds to archaeologists at McGregor Museum. Mr Goussard became just as fascinated by the finds and accompanied me to the site (Field Notes Lange, 1998). We never found the mortar and pestle and I did not even have a photograph of them, but as we stood on a south facing terrace near the peak of the *Swart Koppie* discussing the pros and cons of inhabiting the place, I looked down and found a beautifully crafted, pear-shaped hand axe. The hand axe mentioned earlier linked to the Fauresmith culture (Correspondence Morris 2000).

In the plain between the *Swart Koppie* and the main peak I found a small, very smooth pebble that appeared at first to be of bone or ivory. The triangular shape

made me wonder whether it was an animal tooth (Field Notes Lange). Archaeologist Peter Beaumont described it as an interesting find, as the only other site where he had discovered similar finds was at *Wonderwerk* cave. There, piles of these “edge-abraded or corroded pebbles” (Beaumont & Morris, 1990:106) or “small coloured river pebbles that are foreign to the cave vicinity” (Beaumont, 1998:8) had been found in “stratum 5” or “the upper handaxe levels”, placed in a manner to indicate no chance of their falling randomly into the cave, and with other finds such as red ochre and quartz crystals served to create a picture that suggests more complex behaviour for early man than has been cited in “comparable occurrences elsewhere in the world” (Beaumont, 1998: 8).

My imagination and thirst for knowledge was supported by generous and encouraging professionals, and I was so motivated by the unique nature of the place and its mysteries that I registered with UNISA to study archaeology. I searched the granite expanses for images that could have been carved out of the rock faces. Such was my determination to find rock art at the site that I read scars left by natural flaking of rocks as fish or other animals. I photographed the images, wishfully sending them to archaeologist Peter Beaumont. He let me down kindly, pointing out that there were other rock art sites in the Upington area. When I insisted it was at Spitskop that I wanted to find rock art, he chided me for being wilful. I was disappointed that there was no rock art at Spitskop. I projected the powerful meaning I had ascribed to the site on previous travellers and inhabitants, and was convinced that rock art would seal my intense search for specific meaning attributed to the site by the Khoisan people.

5.3 In search of rock art: Louisvale in text

The connection between rock art and social relations operates because of the relative permanence of the art on immovable rocks in the landscape. They mark places that have significance in ritual (rainmaking, initiation) or folklore (anthropomorphisation of landscape features) and thereby give added meaning to the landscape. (Deacon, 1994; 253)

Upington Museum curator, Pieter Goussard, knew of my intense interest in rock art and specifically an interest in the sensory evocations of rock engravings. Archaeologists do not often mention more than the visual record of a site. However, there are some archaeologists who call for a greater level of sensory description. The usual setting of rock engravings near water immediately brings to life for me sounds of running water, swaying reeds and foot steps crushing grass, squishing mud, swirling water before padding across rock to reach the chosen place. When researching rock engravings, I can sense the rhythmic pounding noise of rock on rock, and the smell and sight of the sparks and dust of their creation to the background of singing, humming and pounding dancing feet. I can feel the ochre in between the fingers and see the lost colouring-in of their designs. I can visualize the artists and community watching the virgin rock break blow by blow until it bore the image of the creator. Not least of all I can feel the completed contours under my hands.

Mr Goussard searched through many copies of the old local newspaper, *Die Gemsbok*, housed in the museum, for any information he could find on rock engravings in the area. When I next visited Upington, in 2000, Mr Goussard handed over a number of articles that he had found. The first site that I researched was at Louisvale, north of Upington.

The rock art site at Louisvale was described in Afrikaans in an article in *Die Gemsbok* dated 9 Augustus 1968 and titled Rotstekeninge by Louisvale [Rock art at Louisvale]. At the Upington museum I bought a copy of a photo copied, unpublished book on the history and prehistory of the Upington area by A K Cornelissen written in the 1970s. I checked his references to rock art in the area and Cornelissen wrote as follows:

Tekeninge weg van die river soos by Louisvale en anderkant Kleinbegin is al dof. Gravures wat die beste behoue gebly het, is by Putsonderwater, Naroegas

en Biesiepoort. Veral die sowat 300 gravures van Biesiepoort is besonder interessant.

[Drawings away from the river such as those at Louisvale and on the other side of Kleinbegin are already faded. The best-preserved engravings are at Putsonderwater, Narogas and Biesiepoort. The approximately 300 engravings at Biesiepoort are especially interesting.]. (Cornelissen circa 1975 unpublished)

I was eager to try to locate the reported rock engravings, especially when I saw they were included in researchers Fock and Fock's 1989 list of Southern African rock art. This list, written in German, followed a quantitative methodology whereby the site was allocated a number and the rock art found at that site was categorized according to type, number of images of type and the percentage of that type of image with respect to the total number of images at the site. The Louisvale site is listed as follows:

From Fock & Fock, G & D (1989) *Felsbilder in Südafrika 111*, Köln: Bohlau
Louisvale (nr 196)

Design	5	25,00%
Unidentifiable	3	15,00%
Antelope	2	10,00%
Mammal	2	10,00%
Footprint	2	10,00%
Giraffe	1	5,00%
Gemsbok	1	5,00%
Hartebeest	1	5,00%
Zebra	1	5,00%
Equid	1	5,00%
Leguan	1	5,00%
	20	100,00%

My reading of the above information and consequently of the meaning attributed to the site has changed over the past years. In the year 2000 I read the above information with an emphasis on the lack of any eland, an antelope prominent in rock paintings and rock engravings found in other areas of Southern Africa as discussed in Chapter 3 (Lewis-Williams & Biesele, 1978).

Die Gemsbok reported that numerous initials and dates were also engraved in the rock at Louisvale. These included: 1926 C C: 19-LMO; LB 1926; F 29 KW; 1929. The journalist pointed out that these engravings – although 42 years old – still appeared

fresh and as if powdered with chalk, compared to the other engravings. This indicated that the latter were created many years before the initials and dates were engraved.

I dragged my brother Michael, a retired nature conservationist, into my quest for the Khoisan art. We calculated the approximate position of the art as 12 miles from Upington as recorded in *Die Gembok*, and approximately 300 metres south of the Orange River as recorded by Fock and Fock. These pointers led us to *Frank Biggs Laerskool* just outside Louisvale next to Newlands farm. This appeared to be the correct location as *Die Gembok's* report stated that the engravings were situated on a farm previously owned by Biggs.

The owner of Newlands farm, Mr Theunis Engelbrecht (no relation to the owner of Biesje Poort discussed later), did not have any knowledge of the engravings and referred me to an old and knowledgeable resident of the town, namely Mr Kassie Karstens. Mr Karstens was interested to hear of the engravings but told us that in the over forty years that he had lived in the town, he had never seen or heard of the engravings. He agreed to ask fellow residents about the engravings, at a town meeting held that week. He feared, however, that if the engravings were 300 metres from the river, there was a strong chance that they had been destroyed to make way for vineyards. David Morris, archaeologist of McGregor Museum, had also tried to track the Louisvale rock engravings without success (Correspondence Morris).

Spiritual and ritual meaning given to that place by the engravers of the rocks (Deacon 1994) had been replaced by the reading of the economic benefit of the place by later settlers; a reading that not only did not discern spiritual meaning in rocks but rather read them as boulders in the way of progress.

5.4 Finding rock art: Biesiesput/Biesiespoort/Biesiepoort/Biesjespoort/Biesje Poort?

I managed to contact Mr A K Cornelissen, author of *Langs Grootrivier* [Next to Great River], in which he referred to the engravings not only at Louisvale but also at Biesje Poort. Three names have been used in the writings about this site: Cornelissen (circa 1975, unpublished) refers to Biesiepoort; Fock & Fock (1989) refer to Biesjespoort and Beaumont et al (1995) refers to Biesje Poort. The languages in which the writers have written have influenced the spelling used: Cornelissen has written in Afrikaans, Fock & Fock in German and Beaumont in English. The language usage may have influenced not only their spelling of the word but also whether it is written as one word or two. The multiple spellings reflect the orality of the research involved in the outlying Kalahari areas. I shall reflect further on this in my discussion at the end of this chapter.

Mr Cornelissen had retired to Cape Town and Mr Goussard of the Upington Museum gave me Mr Cornelissen's telephone number. I wrote to David Morris at Mc Gregor Museum of my contact with Mr Cornelissen:

I spoke to Mr A.K. Cornelissen who wrote the book on the Upington and nearby areas called *Langs Grootrivier*. He now lives in Durbanville, Cape Town. He says he has a great deal of information about the rock engravings of the Upington area in his head but little on paper. He invited me to come and speak to him when I am in the Cape and described himself as follows: "*Twee-en-tagtig, baie, baie lelik, maar miskien meisie kry jy my op 'n dag wanneer ek in 'n goeie bui is*". [Eighty-two, very very ugly, but maybe girl you'll see me on a day when I'm in a good mood.] As regards the rock engravings he says that at Biesiesput near Kakamas (I think that is the name of the place where the large amount of engravings are to be found or Biesiespoort? – Cornelissen wrote the article about them in one of the *Gemsbok* newspaper articles I gave you). He says there are two sites, a west and east site, of which he only visited one. He says that there were both animals and geometric designs at the site that he visited. He says he worked with the Focks as regards the engravings and I wondered if they perhaps had recorded them, either in your archives or otherwise in their book on the Northern Cape rock art? (Correspondence Lange to Morris, 3 September 1998)

I believe people are generally generous with their time and knowledge. This is especially true of those from rural areas. The more I spoke to local people of all cultures within the Upington area, the more information came my way without my seeking it. This despite the fact that I was in essence a *buitelander* (foreigner) to the

place in gender, race and of a language group previously deemed the Other or perpetrator of Othering in that area due to the negative social effects in the area of the South African Anglo Boer war (Cornelissen circa 1975 unpublished). I had the boldness of ignorance and naivety, and in that guise approached farmers, family and labourers, businessmen, professionals and workers without flinching. So wrapped up was I in the wonders of creating meaning through encounter and knowledge that I could not believe that everyone was not equally enthusiastic about our past and present heritage. I proceeded in the belief that the communication of anything I learnt about the places of the Upington area, specifically for educational purposes, far outweighed any inconvenience I might cause by phoning, visiting and interviewing locals.

Mr A K Cornelissen died in 1999 before I had a chance to take him up on his invitation to visit him. He did write about rock engravings – *boesmantekeninge* [bushman art] - including those at Biesje Poort, in his unpublished book of circa 1975, *Langs Grootrivier*. Mr Cornelissen did not doubt the fact that Bushmen were artists but raised the question as to whether they were the only people to have contributed to this art form. In the seventies, Cornelissen revealed insight into an area that received in-depth academic attention from archaeologists only in later years. Archaeologists who researched alternative rock art artists to the Bushmen include: Morris, 1988; Beaumont & Morris, 1990, Prins, 1992; Prins & Hall 1994; van Rijssen, 1994; Beaumont et al, 1995; Smith, 1997; Bahn, 1998; Ouzman, 2005. The question of authorship led to debates within the new South Africa, where rock engraving sites were often read not only as sites worthy of heritage protection (National Heritage Resources Act No 25, 1999) but also as places for tourism development and as such of economic benefit particularly to historically or culturally related communities (Morris 2003, 2006).

It took a paper chase of phone calls before I managed to contact the owner of Biesje Poort. Difficulties arose due to the farm having been purchased a few years previously from the family that had owned it for a number of generations. In 1998 the new owner of Biesje Poort was Mr. B J Engelbrecht of Upington. I went to visit Mr. B J Engelbrecht at his business in Stockenström Street, Upington. He was extremely

helpful, encouraging me to visit the farm where his daughter stayed and to try and see the engravings. He himself had not seen the more westerly site.

I shall refer, for clarity's sake, to the large more westerly site, furthest from the main road that does not appear to have been recorded by Fock & Fock as the 'New Site' and the large easterly exfoliating site traditionally viewed by visitors to the farm as the 'Old Site', which has been recorded by Fock & Fock as discussed later in this chapter.

It became more and more apparent that the 'New Site' had been viewed by very few. I was determined to add my presence to that exclusive group. The site had gained extra meaning for me as it posed a challenge, and promised the reward of viewing and recording rock art briefly mentioned but not yet listed in any publication. I had joined the many archaeologists, anthropologists, naturalists and others who sought to be a discoverer of the exotic, the remote, the seemingly lost, whether it is the last of the Mohicans, the coelacanth or Elvis Presley.

The owner arranged that a farm assistant would meet us at the farm gate and guide us to the rock art sites on the farm. We - my brother Michael Fisher, a retired nature conservationist, and myself - left Upington at four in the morning to avoid walking in the valley in the mid day sun. A 4x4 is really needed for the rough farm roads but we coped in a *bakkie* [pickup truck]. The *kloof* [valley] in which the rock art lies is magnificent. It is an oasis in stark contrast to the dry Kalahari through which we had driven from Upington. This site has not been exploited. It lies in what must previously have been a riverbed that ran between two sets of hills. Here nature was undisturbed by historic settlers. Wild animals are still plentiful and as visitors we felt we were intruding and needed to move with caution and respect.

The air was clean, dry and thin as we moved through the short crunching grass, following in the stealthy tracks of our highly alert guide, farmhand and herder, Dawid Padmaker. We could not anticipate the glory of the larger sites and so spent much time at each solitary or small cluster of rock engravings that we discovered. The guide alerted us to signs that we would not otherwise have read, not being as focused as he. At the entrance to the 'New Site' we saw fresh animal footprints in the soil

next to a rock on which animal spoor were engraved. We were warned that leopards were still prevalent in the valley. The danger added to the edgy watchfulness already experienced at the site. Searching eyes moved from the undulating rock floor to the shrubs on the surrounding hills. The permanent rock engravings highlighted the fragility and temporality of the soil spoor. In contrast, the accurate depiction by the observant artists was emphasized by the detail of the fresh spoor echoed in the art.

En route to the 'New Site' I saw a pretty, small horned snake and bent to take a closer look. Michael, a naturalist, recognized the snake as a horned viper and, irritated by my ignorance, warned me to stay well away from the snake. Synchronicity would have it that we were later to see the very same type of snake beautifully pecked out of rock at one of the smaller rock engraving sites south and parallel to the large Lewis-Williams site.

We visited the site again in 2000. I have a firm belief in the value of cultural heritage and the arts - particularly rock art - as a resource for reconciliation in South Africa. With this in mind on our visit in 2000, three members of the Cultural centre in Roodewal, Worcester, who had performed the Khoisan programme I had written at the SA Museum Cape Town, accompanied me, Michael Fisher, the acting curator of the Upington Museum, Mr Pieter Goussard, and Frik Lange. Two of the performers were of Khoisan descent and marvelled at the artwork associated with their ancestors.

We did not have a guide on the 2000 trip to Biesje Poort but we decided nevertheless to try and find the 'New Site' on our own. Michael and my memories did not serve us well; we suspected that we were not in the correct location when we found sites with pottery and plenty of quartz artefacts and ostrich eggshell fragments. We removed no artefacts from the site but recorded our viewings photographically. Peter Beaumont had previously told me about this site (personal communication 1999). Isabelle Parsons was the archaeologist engaged in continuing research on the Doornfontein industry at this and other herder sites in the area, such as at the farm Blaauwbosch in the Upington area (Parsons, 2001). I was struck by the beauty of some of the quartz artefacts with their delicate shining facets and forgot to record and classify as I gained greater understanding of past and present cultures' belief in the spiritual power of quartz.

The archaeological remains of the herder site were situated near rocks. Between the rocks there appeared to be water seepage in the sand where an animal had dug. A swarm of bees buzzed around the moisture exposed by the animal hoofs. Mr Goussard found what looked like petrified bone. On returning to Upington and conducting some research, Michael thought it was most likely an elephant's tooth. It was only after Michael had climbed a nearby *koppie* [hill] where he had a view of the weathered, well-documented eastern engraving site, 'Old Site', (Fock and Fock, 1989) that we accepted that we were not in the correct location and that the 'New Site' was still at least a kilometre away. As in most research processes, a mind open to an unexpected and unplanned path can lead to greater depth of knowledge and experience.

Michael, as is his manner, went on ahead at a great pace but did not have a camera and, as it turned out later, came across some sites we may not have seen on our previous or present visit. These unrecorded images included a number of giraffe placed in close proximity. I hoped the professional archaeologists would make use of the knowledge Michael had acquired of the location of the main and smaller sites.

The rocks on which the engravings are made are very weathered and often it is only when one is standing next to an engraving that it can be identified amongst the natural weathering. This is especially true of the 'Old Site'. As the sun was quite high we observed a glitter and shine in the engraved rocks that we had not appreciated on the previous visit.

Photos were taken of the various small sites but as is often the case on site visits, we ran out of film and a scorpion and ostrich were two engraved animals that escaped our shoot. Engravings on the 'New Site' had been taken individually as well as some group photos to try and indicate the positioning of engravings, such as the giraffe and fantasy (ostrich/scorpion/therianthrope) image photographed within the 'New Site', as a whole.

The physical aspect of research has its limits and we were unable to visit the main westerly site due to the extreme heat. On our sweaty way back to the vehicle parked at the Lewis-Williams side of the kloof, Frik came across a small mine. Bits of white

and green quartz lying amongst the rubble pile at the sides of the hole hinted at what was mined.

5.5 Mapped meeting

(Correspondence to archaeologist Peter Beaumont of McGregor Museum, Kimberley, 1999):

I did however go to Biesje Poort. What a beautiful site! I did not go to your archaeological site there but was guided to the rock art sites. I was extremely excited when the guide asked if I could tell him about some pile of stones on the farm. He took me to a cairn very similar to that photographed in the book *Einiqualand*. It was approx 1600cm in width and 600cm in height. There were however two upright stones in the centre and not just one. This cairn was west of the rock art sites and south of the fence we had to climb over to get to the rock art sites. The cairn was in excellent condition.

On the dust road between the farm gate and the rock art sites there is another cairn but this one only has about three rocks exposed above the sand, one of which is an upright rock. I think the sand has covered the others rather than being knocked over. The guide said there was another cairn east of the farmhouse. Unfortunately I had run out of film by the time we saw the cairns.

(Response from Peter Beaumont):

I was fascinated to hear about the three cairns there...The large one you describe certainly seems more substantial than one would expect to find over a grave.

Dawid Padmaker [path maker] was my guide on a 1999 field trip to search for partially recorded and long forgotten rock engravings linked to both Bushman and the subsequent herder inhabitants of the area north of the Orange River in the Kalahari. Padmaker's abilities echoed his name; at first I was dumbfounded at the extraordinary way he moved amongst the rocks searching for engravings and never becoming disorientated. Our guide was friendly and open. We moved comfortably across the terrain, chatting away after I had ensured he did not mind my recording his reading of the place and the art. He shared some clues as to how he knew where to find the engravings in the rocky valley. An enormous cairn of natural formation lay at the Lewis-Williams end point of the valley that served as a handy beacon as it could be seen from the various sites visited including the main Western site.

On my first visit we also found a man-made cairn on the Western side. It looked very similar to a photograph of a triangular pile of stones or 'Heitsi Eibib', recorded by Andrew Smith (1995). Schapera wrote of 'Heitsi Eibib' [Great Tree / The one who

has the appearance of a tree] as an ancestor of the indigenous people. Schapera quotes Vedder as speculating that cairns originally were placed as territory beacons by Bushmen where strangers crossed their paths but later were identified by the newcomer Khoi groups as ancestor graves, particularly the grave of Heitsi Eibib:

He died in many places, was buried, and always came to life again...His "graves" are found all over the country...generally in narrow mountain passes on both sides of the road. Natives passing these graves, which consist of great heaps of stones piled up high, throw pieces of their clothing, or skins, or dung of the zebra, or twigs of shrubs and branches of trees, as well as stones, on the heap. This they do, says Hahn, to be successful on their way; and they generally, if hunting, mutter the following prayer:

"Heitsi Eibib,
Thou, our Grandfather,
Let me be lucky,
Give me game,
Let me find honey and roots,
That I may bless thee again,
Art thou not our Great-grandfather?
Thou Heitsi Eibib!"

Hahn identifies Heitsi Eibib with both Tsui//Goab [the personification of the natural forces giving rain] and the Moon. All three, he says, come from the east, so that their faces may look towards sunrise...They all promise immortality to men, and fight with the bad beings; they kill the enemies of their people. All three can alter their shape; they can disappear and reappear. (Schapera, 1930: 384, 385)

In the categorization of myths the story of Heitsi Eibib is classified with the story of Jesus as a Resurrection Myth. The parallel of the two beliefs extends to Jesus who, with the 'Tree of Knowledge that is of good and evil: life and death' in Genesis, is also referred to as 'The Tree of Life' (Cruden Concordance, 1986: 522 re Revelations 2:7, The Bible). The crucifixion's cross as 'the tree' as in the following Christian hymn:

Would Jesus have the sinner die?
Why hang He then on yonder tree?
What means that strange expiring cry?
Sinners, He prays for you and me:
"Forgive them Father. Oh forgive,
They know not that by Me they live."
(Charles Wesley, (1707 to 1788): Hymn 173, Methodist Hymn Book)

Michael Fisher accompanied me on all my trips to the engraving site. He noted that the cairn would make a good hunting hide out, especially as it faced the exit route of migrating animals from the valley. I subsequently found a photograph captioned 'Shelter at waterhole in which Tjimba-Herero hunters conceal themselves from game coming to drink' (Vedder, 1928: 198). The base was very similar to the cairn we had seen and was combined with a hut. A large tree helped to support the structure. There was also a photograph of a 'Grave in Okahandja of Kahimema, Headman of the Mbanderu Herero's that has cairn characteristics' (Vedder, 1928: 198). The same book discusses a number of similarities in viewpoints held by the Herero and the Khoekhoen, specifically in their beliefs regarding graves and ancestors (Fig 5.3).



Fig 5.1
Photograph of Herero hunting hides (Vedder, 1928:199)

Padmaker knew that the migratory route of the animals in spring went from east to west. He had worked out that the rock engravings followed the migratory path under the perceived movement of the sun from the east in line with the natural cairn in the west. Padmaker's conviction of the site's link to hunters derived from its location; the migratory route of animals and people; the engraved animals; engraved spoor; and the engraved star shapes, which he said depicted the hunter's morning star. His reading of the engravings was very practical and mainly linked to his direct daily frame of reference of present day wild life of the area and which included as a herder reading the terrain for signs of predators and noting the stars at night.

I was particularly intrigued by Dawid Padmaker's interpretation of an engraving on the 'New Site' as an aggregation map. What made his interpretation so intriguing was that his explanation of the different points of the map actually coincided with points on a present day map.

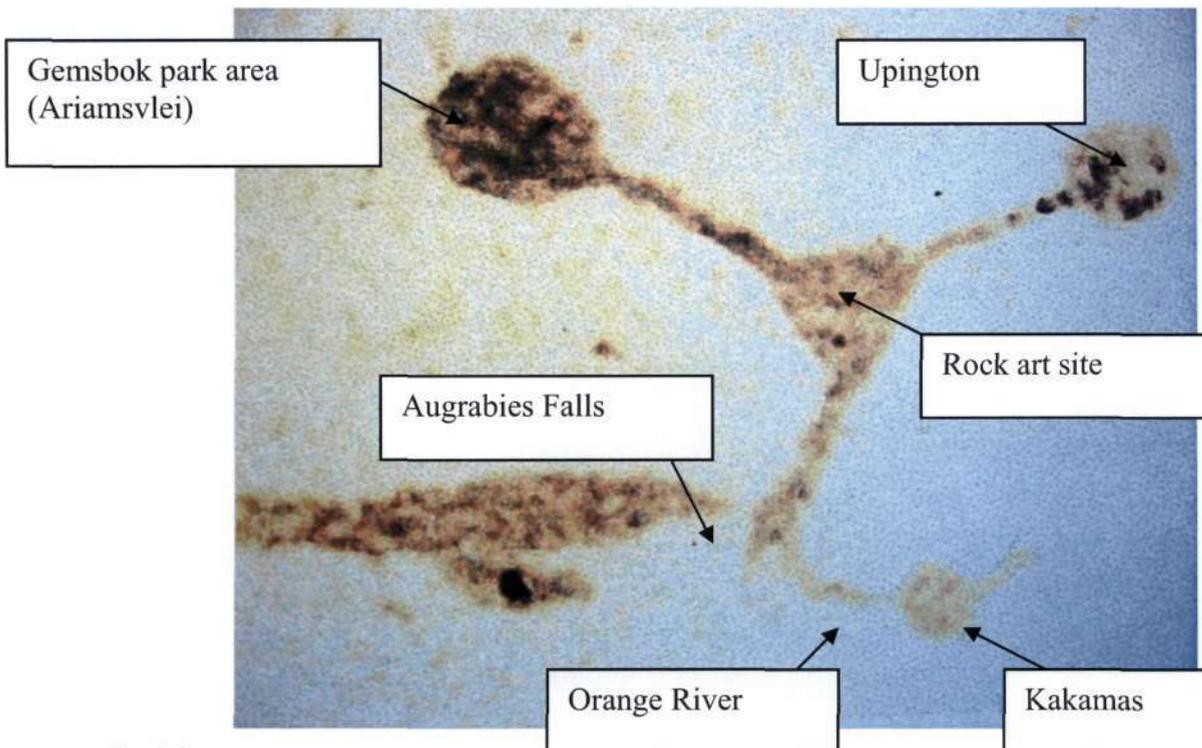


Fig 5.2
'Map' engraving at Biesje Poort with interpretation by Dawid Padmaker 1999
(Photograph (negative): Michael Fisher with permission)

Padmaker interpreted the baffling engraving as a map, pointing to the right circular point he said:

"Die ene wys mos nou sonop se kant toe"
 [This one points to the direction of the rising sun].

He continued pointing to the top circular point.

"Hierdie ene wys nou noorde kant toe, hulle het 'n pad daar, 'n voetpad, 'n trekvoetpad en hierdie gaan, sal ek sê, Gemsbokpark se kant toe."
 [This one points to the north, they have a path there, a footpath, a migration path, and it goes, shall I say, in the direction of the Gemsbok Park].

Returning to the right circle he said:

"Daais Upington se gedeelte."
 [That is Upington area.]

The bottom circle he discussed:

“Hierdie is ‘n klein gedeelte, Boesmanland. Hierdie is die rivier.”

[This is a smaller area, Bushmanland. This is the river.]

He explained the meaning of the map, all the while tracing his fingers along the lines joining the central point with the outlying points:

“Dan kom hulle, elke een het mos sulke bondeltjies, nou kom hulle, dan kom hulle bymekaar. Dan kom hulle klomp mense bymekaar. Soos hulle trek. Hulle het nie kompas nie”.

[Then they come, all in small groups, then they come, they come together.

Then a large group of people come together. So they move. They do not have a compass.] (Biesje Poort interpretation, Padmaker 1999).

I was once warned to be careful to whom I told theories of engravings read as maps as I may be seen as a bit ‘kookie’. How could the engravers have emphasized the meaning of the place as a central meeting place with a map that is in line with today’s maps based on aerial or satellite photographs? Readings that fall outside of the logical, mathematical, linguistic structures and include astronomical or spiritual meaning are frowned upon as they have the potential to draw more attention to the researcher than the involved communities (Meskell, 2005). I was not perturbed, the interpretation was from a representative of the people of the area and I have never pretended to be a scientist but have always rather identified with artists. Only those who have been and seen, felt and created their own meaning in the context of the environment where the rock art is housed, will agree that the how, why and what the engravings intended to communicate, and may now communicate, is probably beyond what we can convey only using our rational, logical minds.

5.6 Case study from the Upington area: The rock engravings of Biesje Poort

Inclusion of the historic recordings and readings when discussing rock art sites results in what Morris refers to as ‘multivocality’ (Morris, 2006). This inclusive approach creates a multidimensional image of the site that reflects not only the place and its people but also its procession of viewers, recorders and researchers. Many of these voices accompanied me on my visits to Biesje Poort, and increased on each occasion as between visits I devoured any writings I could find that might have been relevant to interpretation of the site. As I stood on the sloping rock face at the majestic ‘New Site’, it was the engraved images of the eland and its associated non-figurative

engraving and fantasy image with hatchings which particularly triggered the many voices on the what, when, who and why of the place?

5.6.1 What?

Previous affiliates of the McGregor museum, G. J. and D. Fock, identify the site as Biesje Poort West, but their quantitative study and accompanying narrative links more to the large raised exfoliating easterly site near the spring, closest to the main road, than it does to the large westerly site in the valley where the fantasy image is found. The designation of West for Biesje Poort could be attributed to the fact that the rock engravings are found on the Western side of the road that splits the Biesje Poort farm into an Eastern and Western section. As in their study at Louisvale (see section 5.3) the quantitative research conducted by Fock & Fock the Biesje Poort site includes a table listing the type of engraving, the number of times it appeared, the percentage of each type within the total number of engravings, and a narrative description of the site. Their findings, published in German in 1989, appeared in *Felsbilder in Südafrika 111*; I had it translated into English by Egon Wortman of Westville, Durban in 2001. I include the English translation below as I shall refer to it in section 5.6.2 'when?'. The use of quantitative research is relevant not only for ecological reasons but also for dating and knowledge of the importance of particular images to the relevant rock artists as mentioned in discussions on the eland in Chapter 3. The numbers on the left refer to the line number of the original German line:

Biesje Poort West

Translated from Fock & Fock, G & D, 1989, *Felsbilder in Südafrika 111*, Köln: Bohlau

6. This place is situated on the Northern bank of the Orange approximately 35 km north-northwest direction from the Orange.
7. On a slope made of the nice rock just underneath the highest point there is a spring that originates there in which during the rainy season even a small waterfall forms and at that place one will find a number engravings on various gentle slopes.
8. Underneath the waterfall the rivulet forms a pond that is deep enough so that water is retained there all year through.
9. It is in this arid area the only standing water in a very large area.

10. The engravings here are partly and largely badly weathered where the stone exfoliates – breaks off in places due to the bad weathering.
11. These engravings were created over a great period of time and created at various times and most of them have the colours of the surrounding rocks and were very difficult to photograph or even copy.
12. Because of the colouration of the area and the rocks it is for that reason that most of the engravings shown are the younger ones with lighter shade and they are the surviving ones shown ...
- 19 One can see quite clearly that the stone has exfoliated and that the depiction of the giraffe only has the head and the neck remaining.
- 20 The other engravings that are very close to each other consist mainly of people, patterns and other animals.

Biesje Poort West

Translated from Fock & Fock, G & D, 1989, *Felsbilder in Südafrika 111*, Köln: Bohlau (No 197).

Mammal	22	12,09%
Footprint	17	9,34%
Giraffe	16	8,79%
Ostrich	16	8,79%
Human	15	8,24%
Antelope	14	7,69%
Unidentifiable	14	7,69%
Design	11	6,04%
Disc	10	5,54%
Gemsbok	7	3,84%
Eland	6	3,29%
Hartebeest	6	3,29%
Rhinoceros	6	3,29%
Bird	6	3,29%
Human Footprint	3	1,64%
Kudu	2	1,09%
Hippopotamus	2	1,09%
Lion	2	1,09%
Elephant	1	0,55%
Zebra	1	0,55%
Springbok	1	0,55%
Jackal	1	0,55%
Baboon	1	0,55%
Ratel	1	0,55%
Kori Bustard	1	0,55%
	182	99,97%

A classification approach to rock art research includes listing of different types of styles or methodologies of production. An aesthetic judgement, that is assessment of

the artistic merit, of the art often accompanies a classification approach, for example: later pecked engravings are considered 'cruder' than the "often exceptional rendering of body detail by way of variations in pecking intensity" of the 'classical' phase (Beaumont et al, 1995: 250).

Quantitative research related to rock engraving research in South Africa has resulted in the placing of engravings into three main categories according to the technique in which they are created, namely finelines, scraped and pecked (See Chapter 3). Beaumont et al, (1995) have identified a relationship between the engraving technique and their spatial distribution, their age, content and associated culture. Butzer draws attention to the fact that the phases probably overlapped in certain areas and refers to "hints of the styles used in Southwest Africa (see Scherz 1970)" (Butzer, 1989: 147). I have summarised these techniques and their relevant associations in a table (Fig 5.3)

I have placed Biesje Poort in the table associated with the Doornfontein industry as, although Beaumont et al (1995) don't include the name of the site in the discussion in that particular section of their research, they do include Biesje Poort in a table that lists the "C-14 readings for Doornfontein sites in or bordering Bushmanland". I will discuss the Doornfontein industry in greater detail under the following section 'Who?'.

Technique	Spatial Distribution and Example of site	Approx age	Dominant content	Associated Archaeological Culture
Finelines	More widespread than scraped engravings but concentrated in Western side of interior plateau where suitable rock surfaces available e.g. Upper Karoo	12, 000 - 2, 000 Before Present (BP)	Tranquil naturalistic art; humans mostly male; domination of large equines then eland, kudu, rhino, ostrich and gemsbok; no marked presence of mythical or trance related images	Hunter Gatherers Late Stone Age,
Scraped	Predominantly Bushmanland e.g. Jagtpan 7 and Springbokoog 11	Some predate 2, 100 BP - Approx 116 BP	Stick figures, a few mythical creatures, domination of eland, stylised horses	Hunter Gatherers, Late Stone Age, Late Swartkop industry
Pecked	As finelines but less confined by rock surface e.g. Wildebeest Kuil, Danielskuil, Biesje Poort.	Approx 1 800 BP – Approx 100 BP	Two phases, often at same site: Early 'Classical' -Mainly naturalistic with detailed humans and domination of eland Later 'cruder' include colonial images e.g., wagons. Marked presence of schematic patterns, geometrics. Infrequent inclusion of domestic animals.	Hunter Gathers. Herders Late Stone age with ceramics, Doornfontein Industry

Fig 5.3 Rock engraving techniques of South Africa (Beaumont et al, 1995: 248-250).

5.6.3 When?

Butzer mentions Biesje Poort briefly under sites in the “Orange River Valley”. The study area is described as follows:

The study area includes a 470 km-long, intermediate stretch of this 2,250 km river, adjacent to the Vaal confluence. The channel has cut down as much as 75mm into Dwyka sediments and andesite, and the valley walls tend to be steep above a narrow floodplain. The environment is arid to semiarid, rainfall increasing from southwest to northeast. Agriculture is only possible with the help of irrigation, and the vegetation is of Karoo type and used mainly for sheep grazing. In historical times the Orange River has formed an ethnic as well as an ecological boundary. To the south there are few representations of giraffe, for example, since this is a warmth-dependent animal. Engravings south of the Orange tend to be shallow in their execution, and appear to be younger than those north of the river, where other techniques were mainly used. The southernmost site done in a “northern style” is Kareekloof [...] whereas the engravings at Biesjespoort (no 197), north of Kakamas, give hints of the styles used in Southwest Africa (see Scherz 1970). (Butzer, 1989: 147)

The high frequency of giraffes and footprints are one of the features at Biesje Poort that echo sites in Namibia (previously South West Africa), namely giraffes and ‘entoptics’ at Kamanjab and animals and human and animal spoor at Twyfelfontein in Damaraland, Namibia (Dowson, 1992). Ouzman and Smith highlight the same route of rock engravings flowing down the centre of South Africa from the north and then moving to the west coast. They link these engravings with migratory routes of the Khoekhoen but place an emphasis on links between ‘non entoptic’ geometrics and the herders. As I read their findings, they emphasize the Khoekhoen tradition as a new introduced art which they imply confirms theories of a new migratory culture entering southern Africa which introduced domestic animals and pottery (Smith & Ouzman, 2004).

The quantification record of animals by Fock & Fock (1989) can be used to try to date the time periods of the rock engravings as Butzer emphasizes that the research reveals “satisfactory degree of ecological “credibility” in the rock art animal assemblages” (Butzer, 1989: 151) despite the influence of cultural influence on the depiction of animals e.g. the small inclusion of springbok despite the large numbers of herds recorded by e.g. Dunn on 21 August 1872 and the high incidence of eland in relation to their presence in the area. At Biesje Poort, as at other sites in the Vaal

Orange basin, animals make up the largest percentage of engraved images and a notable percentage of these animals depicted “can be identified to at least the generic level” (Butzer, 1989). Butzer cites as evidence a smaller percentage of bush or semi aquatic animals are representative in the identifiable animal engravings in the more open Orange River setting than for example in the densely vegetated area around Klipfontein (Butzer, 1989). Butzer divides the animals depicted in the rock engravings of the research area that are included in Fock & Focks’s, *Felsbilder in Südafrika III*, into two types of vegetation areas: I have placed these vegetation areas and associated animals in a table then listed animals engraved at Biesjepoort (as listed by Fock & Fock, 1989) in association with the appropriate vegetation area. As can be seen from the table animals at Biesje Poort fall in both vegetation areas but with the majority characteristic of open country/ scrub land. It is tempting to apply Butzer’s suggestion that the amount of meat available on the animal played a part in its frequency depiction as the larger animals are more frequently depicted than the smaller ones. The significance of ‘the high symbolic and ritual value’ of the eland is also mentioned by Butzer as a possible influence on the frequency of depiction of an animal out of proportion to its representation in a specific area. Butzer does not list the eland separately in the list but as an antelope I have placed it in the bush land section (Fig 5.4).

Butzer's Vegetation description (1989: 151) and approximate dating according to environmental change	Butzer's list of associated animals (1989: 151)	Fock & Fock's list of identifiable younger pecked engraved animals at Biesje Poort (1989)
Open country, whether grassland or grass savanna, with interspersed bush and scattered deciduous trees or scrub, commonly thorny 2200 BP to after 800 BP	Include: giraffe, ostrich, oryx, hartebeest, springbok, zebra, quagga, warthog, black and blue wildebeest, aardvark, hunting dog, cheetah	Giraffe (8,79%); Ostrich (8,79%); Gemsbok/Oryx (3,84%); Hartebeest (3,29%) Springbok (0,55%); Zebra (0,55%);
		Total: 25,81%
Bush or thickets, and the margins of wooded areas or aquatic habitats. 3000 BP to 2200 BP	Roan and Sable, white and black rhinoceros, hippo, Elephant, impala, waterbuck, kudu, buffalo, leopard, as well as flamingos and herons	Antelope/Roan and Sable (7,69%); Rhinoceros (3,29%); Eland (3,29%) Hippopotamus (1,09%); Kudu (1,09%); Elephant (0,55%)
		Total 17,00%

Fig 5. 4 Vegetation, Dating and animals related to engravings of Biesje Poort.

The 'New Site' includes amongst its engraved images an eland, giraffe, fantasy and unidentifiable images. These images will be examined as a sample for dating. These images can be attributed approximate dating not only through their weathering, positioning and subject matter but also by applying Butzer's division of the pecked engravings into styles linked to:

"A chronology of environmental change" (Butzer 1989: 156):

3000 BP (or earlier) to 2500 BP

"Classical", Intermediate, and possibly also "older" engravings; climate moist and streams aggrading

2500 to 2200 BP

Intermediate engravings continue, especially on stream floors; climate dry, streams down cutting, eolian activity

2200 to 1200 BP

Younger engravings, possibly overlapping with Intermediate; earliest domesticated animals; climate relatively moist, streams aggrading.

1200 to 800 BP

Younger engravings, wild "explosion" of geometrics; climate dry, streams down cutting, eolian activity.

After 800 BP

Youngest engravings, possibly overlapping at first, environmental conditions intermediate or mixed.

The engraved eland at the 'New Site' can be dated as older than the associated ostrich/scorpion, unidentifiable and giraffe engraved images for the following reasons: The eland is more weathered and nearly the same colour as the rock surface. The ostrich/scorpion has been pecked over the eland indicating they were engraved later. The eland is more finely pecked than the roughly pecked associated images especially the less figurative images. The eland is an animal associated with wetter

climates which fits in with the moister climate related to earlier/intermediate finer pecked engravings whereas the rougher pecked giraffe and ostrich/scorpion are animals associated with bush and grasslands of the later drier climate (see above lists of Butzer, 1989: 156). The geometric infill of the ostrich/scorpion also fits in with the designation of geometrics and designs to younger engravings within the past approximately 2000 to 800 drier years BP. These approximate time periods fit in with Beaumont et al's description of techniques namely pecked engravings and associated sites, content and dates.

5.6.4 Who?

In light of the above approximate dates for the rock engravings at Biesje Poort site I will turn to historical, linguistic, archaeological and present day oral history and ethnography to try to identify possible artists of the engravings.

5.6.4A Historical records

Early Swedish traveler Hendrik Wikar (October 1778; April 1779) and Dutch explorer Robert Gordon (October - November 1779) and missionary, Robert Moffat (1842) recorded on rough maps (see Fig 5.5) the names of the various indigenous groups of people living at the time of their journeys in the area north of the Kai !Garib [Great River], which Gordon renamed the Orange River, between Augrabies and Upington. The groups indicated on the maps in the approximate vicinity of the Biesje Poort site include the San/Boesman hunter-gatherers: Noe Eis, Ei Eis and the Kein Eis. The Khoekhoen or Khoikhoi herders included Klaare Kraal and Kaukow. The largest group of “Khoi inhabitants of the Middle Orange River were the Einiqua” (Penn 1995: 38).

Closer to Upington the San/Boesman included the Hoekeikoa and the Noueikoa; however the San in the area of present day Upington were the “Koun ei Na” (Penn, 1995: 39) and the mixed Tswana/Khoekhoen tribe, the Gyzikoa [Twin kraal people] (Penn, 1995). Historian Penn describes the Gyzikoa as follows: in “appearance and nature they seemed to be a mixture of Tswana and Khoi with the latter influence predominant” (1995: 41); “though a mixture of Korana and BaTlhaping, were also considered to be Einiqua” (1995: 39). “The Einiqua were a group that fell between the two primary dialects namely Nama to the west and !Kora to the east”; “their various subdivisions displaying similarities to other Namaqua or Korana, on their location” (Penn: 1995:39). The Korana: “a catch-all term, which in the 19th century, was used to describe a great hotchpotch of diverse and fragmented peoples” (Penn, 1995: 45), were considered the same people by Gordon; Penn concurs since both groups were pastoralists and belong to the Orange River Khoi language group (Penn, 1995: 38). Some of the Khoi and mixed Khoi had San groups as “clients or allies” (Penn, 1995: 41). The Einiqua are recorded as having had amicable relationships with the San, whereas the history of the Great Korana and San are marked by hostility and “violent contestation” (Penn 1995: 47). The Einiqua are thought to possibly be the ‘Little Korana’ that formed through absorption of weaker Einiqua groups when the Great Korana moved into their territory (Penn, 1995: 45). The Little Korana, like the Einiqua, are recorded as having been on friendlier terms with the San. During the

Korana wars, Jackson wrote in 1879 that many Bushmen/Boesman were in the service of Koranas:

It is a custom of all powerful tribes on the Northern Border to hold as many Bushmen as they are able to collect as landsmen or slaves and to employ them for hunting purposes. In time of war the Bushmen are employed against the enemies of the tribe to which they are attached. (Jackson, 1879 in Cornelissen, circa 1975: 23)

This historical reference to such close links between the San/Boesman and herders and pastoralists is significant according to theories of authorship of rock art (Frans Prins, 1994) and rock engravings (David Morris, 2002), as discussed under interpretation of this site in Chapter 6.

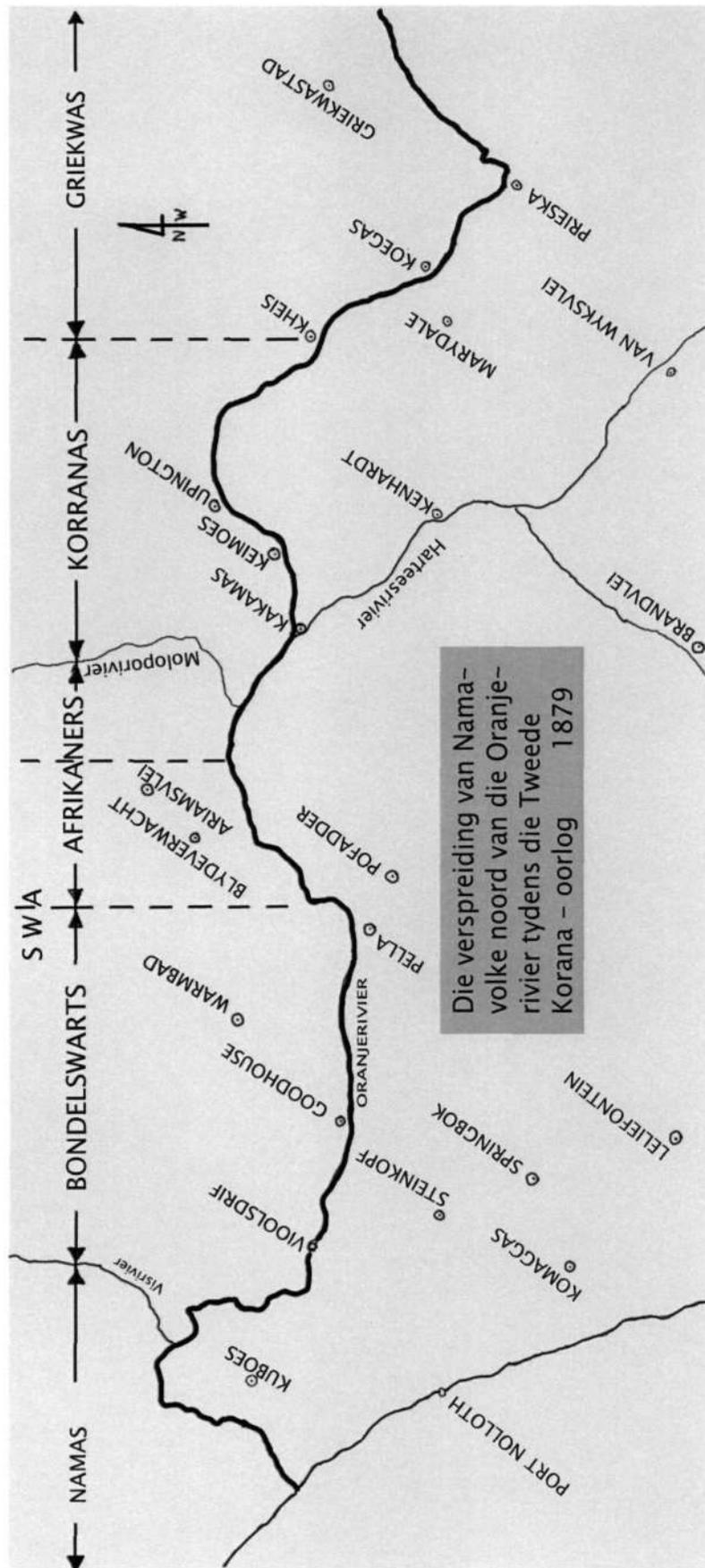


Fig 5.6 Distribution of Khoi (Nama) groups north of the Orange River during the Korana wars 1879. (Lange (2006) after Cornelissen, circa 1975, unpublished)

From 1786 the disruption on the Orange River caused by colonial presence resulted in the disappearance of the Einiqua identity and the Khoi “people of the river” merged into the Korana (Penn, 1995: 45). A map that marks the distribution of Nama groups north of the Orange river during the Second Korana wars of 1879 marks the ‘Koranas’ north of the Orange river between the Molopo river and Kheis (Cornelissen circa 1975: 104) (Fig 5.6). Cornelissen referred to a man in Upington named Isak who, in 1971, referred to himself as a ‘Kora’, which Cornelissen considered recent reference still to the Korana group rather than his name (Cornelissen, circa 1975). What is noticeable from Penn’s descriptions of the various historical Khoi groups living in the Upington area is their fluidity and that there was little to distinguish one group from another, especially as historical evidence suggests that groups such as the Korana:

...were inextricably intertwined – racially, culturally, socially, politically and economically – with groups of Tswana. In addition to this process of intermingling with Bantu speaking groups, the Korana had an earlier (and more obscure) history of complex and diverse group formation which makes it virtually impossible to state with any certainty where they originated or which groups comprised the core of their conglomerations. (Penn 1995: 23)

The Korana incorporated not only the economic practices of the Bantu speaking groups but also adopted the lifestyle of hunter gatherers when harsh climatic circumstances made it necessary for survival (Beaumont et al, 1995). The inclusion of San/Boesman into the Korana groups plus their adoption of the hunter gatherer lifestyle must have added further confusion to certain identification of cultural groups by early recorders of the area.

In the 1870s two Korana captains were given the land north of the Orange River between Augrabies Falls and Griqualand West namely Klaas Lukas and Cupido Pofadder, “in recognition of their assistance in helping the colonial forces, and the area was designated ‘Koranaland’. This treaty was not recognized by other groups, and exacerbated by the poverty caused by the drought conditions” (Smith, 1995: 305). My guide at Biesje Poort, Dawid Padmaker, told me that his predecessor at the farm, an old man named Pofadder who had lived on the farm his entire life, had showed Padmaker the sites. Dawid Padmaker said that Pofadder had told him the engravings were made by Bushmen; Padmaker was likewise convinced. Pofadder’s knowledge of the farm extended to the source of the spring and with the wildlife on the farm he

used the water from the spring so as not to use the farmer's water. He also told Padmaker that the Cairn west of the rock art sites and other Cairns to be found on the farm were the graves of Bushman. Dawid Padmaker thought that Pofadder might have had Bushman blood, as he was small and moved extremely quickly.

I never saw Dawid Padmaker again but was told that he moved from the farm to work for Mr Engelbrecht in Upington. I delivered my writings on Biesje Poort to Mr Engelbrecht Senior in Upington and gave him an extra copy for Dawid Padmaker.

5.6.4B Linguistic evidence

Linguist Anthony Traill recorded that the Bushmen who lived north of the Orange River in the Upington and surrounding area were the //Ng, who he says were wiped out by the Korana (Traill, 1970). This ties with oral histories of conflict between the Bushmen and the Korana recorded at Spitskop and historian Penn's research, as mentioned earlier. A map showing the distribution of the Khoisan tribes in Schapera's writings of 1930 indicates the //ng !ke as an 'extinct tribe' north of the Orange River.

5.6.4C Archaeological records

As mentioned in section 5.6.1 'What?', archaeologists Peter Beaumont and Isabelle Parsons have identified the cultural group living near the spring at Biesje Poort as representing the Doornfontein Industry. This identification was made through the surface collection of stone tools and pottery and the dating of ostrich egg shell fragments. The archaeological record from Biesje Poort was also interpreted in relationship to other sites in the area and the greater South Africa.

Beaumont et al describe the historically associated culture of the Khoi, Doornfontein industry, (Beaumont et al, 1995: 255) as follows:

Occurs at a number of localities that are confined to the vicinity of the Orange, or to more or less permanent water sources, that are not far from that river, or from regions abutting on Bushmanland. The assemblages contain a consistently large complement of ceramics that are always thin-walled, and which include thickened bases, lugs, bosses, spouts, and decorated necks or

rims, while the lithics, which often have a high incidence of quartz, are characterized by a dominance of coarse irregular flakes and a retouched component that is either very small or absent. The industry, as a whole, shows remarkably little change over time, with some minor variations in this respect being that the earliest (pre AD 700) aggregates lack lugs (Thackeray et al, 1983 record the earliest known example) and have a small complement of formal lithics, while late occurrences contain coarser sherds (Jacobson, 1984) with some grass temper, a higher number of iron or copper objects (as found at Waterval...) and some markedly larger ostrich eggshell beads. (Beaumont et al, 1995: 246, 247)

Rock engravings have traditionally been associated with Late Stone age assemblages such as at Springbokoog (Beaumont et al, 1995: 244). The research of van Rijssen regarding authorship of rock art in southern Africa (1995), includes the distribution of realistic depictions of wild and domesticated animals, hand prints and what he refers to as: "sematographs [...] marks, signs or symbols" (1994:167). Van Rijssen concludes that the San or rather hunter-gatherers created the realistic depictions but that other images "are the work of herders" (1994: 174). Dawid Padmaker, on guiding us around the Biesje Poort engraving sites, said that he believed that two different groups of people had made the older and newer engravings. A number of 'crude' images unidentifiable to myself and Fisher, Padmaker interpreted as material culture with which he was familiar such as a 'kiri' [stick], a 'kalbas' [calabash], 'kaross' [skin] and 'n pot met 'n roer ding in' [a pot and mixing utensil]. These images would have fallen under Butzer's description of youngest 'crude' style possibly made with "metal tools" (Butzer, 1989: 139).

It was interesting to me that Dawid Padmaker's identification of the animals and material culture was specific to his experience and what he had been told by his predecessor, Pofadder. He confidently offered interpretations for the youngest images that I was unable to read without assistance. He also offered identification of younger engraved images as animals with which he had come in contact still in present times on the farm and in the Kgalagadi Frontier area. An example of this was a number of jackals, made in the 'box-type' technique from the younger pecked period (Butzer, 1989: 139) yet he could not identify some older / intermediate engraved animals, which were obvious to me, but are now extinct in the area such as the rhinoceros. This resulted in sometimes Padmaker and Fisher not agreeing on the identification of an animal. These very discrepancies emphasized for me the honesty of his interpretations as representative of people of the area and not merely repetition of an

academic or outsider visitor's opinion/s. Padmaker has ideas too on why the rock engravings were made.

From the historical, archaeological, linguistic research and recent ethnography of Biesje Poort what is evident from the rock engravings is that the place had the power to draw at least three different groups of people to it over approximately the past two thousand years. What is also made evident by previous research is that it is extremely difficult to identify specific cultural groups to the engravings. Morris emphasizes not only similar difficulties in his research on the rock engravings at Driekopseiland but also reiterates the fact that the herders along the dissertation's research area, namely the Middle Orange differed from other areas in South Africa:

The idea that the animal engravings and older geometric at Driekopseiland were made by 'Bushmen', linked with the 'Smithfield b' sites, and the younger geometric motifs by Korana or Korana/Bush people, may be simplistic. Rather, it seems likely that a complex 'mosaic' (Beaumont & Vogel 1984; Humphreys 1988) of economic, technological and ideological responses became manifest in the region through the last 2000 years, characterised by a variety of social and cultural interactions between differing subsistence modes (Humphreys 1988; cf Denbow 1990; Maggs & Whitelaw 1991; Lewis-Williams & Blundell 1997). In such a scenario, the ethnic groups recorded in the colonial era might well be of uncertain time depth and perhaps even of doubtful relevance (Humphreys, 1998). In the 19th century, 'Korana'. For example, became something of a catch-all frontier category – at least in colonial literature; different from 'Korana' herders along the middle Orange River in the previous century (Barnard 1992; CF. Legassick 1979: 251) . . (Morris 2006)

The 'Who?' of the site influences and is influenced by interpretations of rock art and its related 'Why?'. In the next chapter, in order to further expand on research regarding who the artists were at Biesje Poort, I will turn to the relevant research on narratives and rituals (that is the application of dominant linguistic and bodily kinesthetic intelligences) associated with rock art, and particularly the rock engravings of the research area.

CHAPTER 6

CREATING MEANING: MORE THAN A RORSCHACH TEST

Why?

At the same time human societies modify space in the process of production. This transformation is basic to the control of social relationships which appropriate and distribute the products. In San society these are to be seen in the sexual division of labour, xaro relationships, camp organization, and so forth...Space thus has social value beyond production and the exploited territory is "the symbolic differentiation of space (topologisation). (Smith, 1994: 376)

Various interpretations of geometric engravings have been proposed from doodling by Chuana and herders (Moffat, 1842; Wilman, 1933) including:

graphic representations of traps, snakes or flowers, and even the beginnings of a 'primitive' alphabet (see Schonland 1896; Wilman 1933; Slack 1962). We should, however, bear in mind that any interpretations must be based on authentic Bushman beliefs. (Dowson, 1992: 30)

Dowson's writings fall within a research period when geometric engravings were ascribed to Bushman/San, whereas subsequent research, as discussed in Chapter 5, associates this form of rock art with herders and pastoralists.

Due to the restrictions of this dissertation I shall once more use the 'New Site' and particularly the eland and associated fantasy/mythical figure as a sample of the site for discussion (Fig 6.1). I unfortunately do not have dimensions for the engravings but the eland was an average size engraving greatly overshadowed by the two later non-figurative engravings.

I apply a conscious structured inclusive approach in this section via discussion of the 'why?' from a multiple intelligences approach. This means that I will discuss the various theories of interpretation from scholars and Dawid Padmaker according to the dominant intelligence applied in the researchers' research, and at times I will refer to how the interpretation of meaning of the engravings influences the dominant intelligence applied by the rock artists.



Fig 6.1
Biesje Poort 'New Site' Fantasy/Mythical image 2001
Photograph: Michael Fisher (with permission)

6.1 Aggregation site: Dominant interpersonal and spatial intelligences

The connection between rock art and social relations operates because of the relative permanence of the art on immovable rocks in the landscape. They mark places that have significance in ritual (rainmaking, initiation) or folklore (anthropomorphisation of landscape features) and thereby give added meaning to the landscape. (Deacon, 1994: 253)

Settlement archaeology and spatial analysis of hunter-gatherers was conducted by Brooks and Yellen (1987) in the 70s and 80s. The research approach emphasized the economic relevance of water and therefore the central role (especially in the dry season) that water resources played in hunter-gatherer settlement patterns (Webley et al, 2000: 22). The influence of natural water sources, rivers and springs and subsequent creation of rock engravings at these sites is evident too in the settlement patterns of herders, pastoralists and herder-hunter gatherers in the dry areas of Namibia and the Northern Cape because of the amount of water needed for livestock, which resulted in competition with hunter-gatherers for resources (Masson, 2006). Large rock engraving sites could have been used as aggregation sites (Deacon &

Deacon, 1999), which were places where the hunter-gatherers came together at their 'n/oresi' or specific hunting grounds (see Fig 6.2), in the same way as the Eland gathered in preparation for calving before the rains in spring. At such places temporary huts would be built (see Fig 6.1) and *Hxarro* or gifts would be exchanged on a rotational system that consolidated ties between the different groups and individuals. Dawid Padmaker's interpretation of the 'map' engraving at Biesjepoort (see Chapter 5) fits in with this ethnography. Rock art could have been created during celebrations or rainmaking or initiation rituals on such occasions and as such would have had a functional role for stress relief and cohesion of the group (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1994).

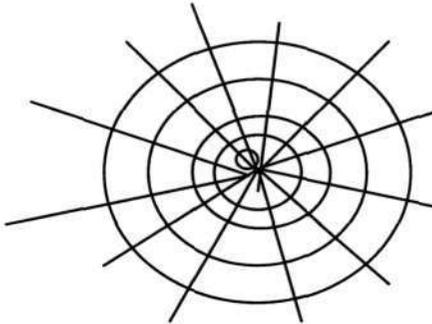


Fig 6.2
Temporary shelter from above.
(Lange 2002)

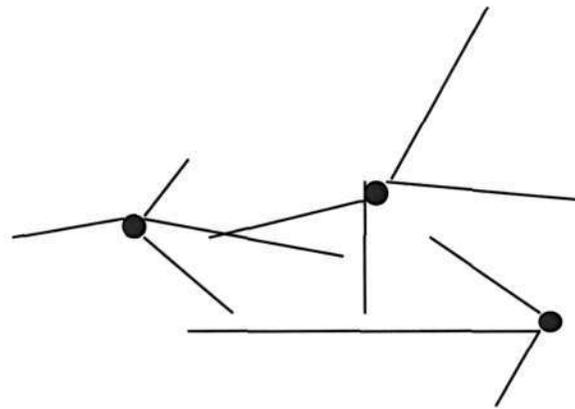


Fig 6.3
A map of three n/oresi drawn
by a !kung man. (Smith, 1994:375 after
Marshall and Ritchie 1984)

6.1.1 Rock engravings, spatial intelligence and tactile modality

If the artists marked Biesje Poort as an aggregation site in the engraving, then they can be interpreted as applying dominant right-brained spatial intelligence in the younger engraving period, that is: “the ability to find one’s way around a site, to recognize faces or scenes, or to notice fine details” not only through the ‘visual arts’ and the “remarkable representational accuracy” as in the ‘classical’ engravings but also through the use of “the notational system of maps” (Gardner, 1993: 21).

The ‘spatial intelligence’ in the right brain is the equivalent means of processing to ‘linguistic intelligence’ in the left-brain. The tactile element of the rock engravings adds an extra aspect to spatial intelligence; Gardner (1993) points out so as to

compensate for lack of vision, blind people demonstrate a heightened use of spatial intelligence: “the perceptual system of the tactile modality parallels the visual modality”. The images had the potential to be read spatially not only as visual imagery but also as tactile imagery. This aspect of the art makes the ruling of rock art preservation that one may not touch the engravings (Bahn, 1998: 262) extremely difficult to obey, as one’s natural instinct is a desire to literally feel the art. Smooth areas on animal engravings, for example the eland at the ‘classic’ engraving site on an island in Vereeniging (personal observation), has resulted in researchers speculating that people did engage in a tactile sense with the engravings over a long period. This element of rock art has potential for further research specifically with regard to the influence, if any, of the cessation of access to rock engraving sites, and therefore visual spatial processing of concepts through rock painting or rock engraving, on an increase in oral narratives, that is: the linguistic processing of concepts; and /or the impact that increased linguistic processing of concepts through the written word had on the cessation of visual, spatial processing of concepts particularly of the unknown or unknowable.

The Berg Damaras people are described by Vedder (1928) as a group that did not belong specifically to any cultural group but were associated with Hereros and Namas as servants. Specifically because of their association with the Nama and Herero and their possible long historical presence at similar engraving sites to Biesje Poort such as Apollo 11 and Twyfelfontein in Damaraland, Namibia, the Berg Damara are one of the groups potentially associated with the later rock engravings at Biesje Poort rock art site (see Chapter 5). As discussed in Chapter 5 the Biesje Poort later engravings do not have great detail and equivalent ‘artistic’ value compared to early engravings. Vedder notes that the Berg Damaras are a people of exceptional linguistic and musical intelligence. Despite adopting the language of the Nama:

It appears that many intellectual products, such as tales, legends, old songs, proverbs, and so forth, have been retained from the days before the change of language took place. The Berg Damaras have numerous splendid proverbs; they have a fine treasury of songs which are chanted to the music of the hunting bow. The old death chants are most affecting and they depict in glowing colours the life of the hunter, the gatherer or the deceased child. Their dancing songs reveal a remarkable height of mental creativeness and are often powerful and dramatic. Besides the animal fables which they have

borrowed from the Hottentots, they possess their own legends and fables, which are unknown to the Hottentots. (Vedder, 1928: 74-75)

Colonisation and the occupation of land by colonists occurred with the introduction of the written word; particularly the Bible and accompanying singing of hymns, so to pinpoint one influence as outweighing another would require emphasis on the context of particular sites.

6.1.2 Rock engravings, spatial intelligence and aural modality

Experiential archaeology (see Chapter 5) places greater emphasis on the researcher, including a record of the sensory experience of the site, whether of the researcher and/or the relevant associated culture/s. An awareness and recording of the researcher's experience of the site places the researcher in a better space for attempting to engage with the artists' use of the senses during the production of the engravings. The pecked engravings add not only a greater tactile but also a greater aural modality to the creation of rock engravings as opposed to rock paintings and fine lined engravings. This more public presence of the rock artists links to the temporal placement of rock art in the open veldt or valleys and riverbeds compared to the more secretive location of paintings in caves and / or shelters.

The creation of noise could mean that the pecked engraving artists were not as reliant on wildlife for food as were other rock artists, especially the painters, as corroborated by theories that identify Khoi or herders/pastoralists with pecked engraving sites (see Chapter 5). It could however indicate a lack of wildlife in the vicinity and therefore rituals linked to bringing animals to the area. Due to associations of the area with game and hunting, it seems more likely that the artists were not concerned about the noise made in production of the engravings and possible accompanying rituals (which will be discussed in this Chapter), as the sounds were integral to the 'why?' of the arts' creation. I speculate that the added aural association with pecked engraved images added descriptive accuracy to their depiction that compensated for lack of visual accuracy, similarly to the way in which visual accuracy was compensated with spatial tactile accuracy as discussed previously.

I find this an interesting area of rock engraving research to which I cannot do justice within the confines of this dissertation as it would require more extensive research according to temporal placement, types of rock used as a canvas and as rock engraving tools. Closer attention to narrative and religious interpretations and rituals associated with rock engravings and therefore possible discoveries of the 'Why?' could provide clues as to the application of the spatial aural modality to the engraving sites. I will limit my application to images that appear on the 'New Site' at Biesje Poort.

6.2 Narrative meaning

The engravings can be interpreted as depicting what the artists saw in their environment; the artists told a story about their environment and lifestyle via engraved images of: "hunting escapades, fights, dances, amusing incidents, meat-providing animals, and occasional 'mythical' figure, and so forth" (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989: 24). Viewers of art frequently read rock art in this way and Lewis-Williams & Dowson believe it has been "deeply ingrained" by "popular books and articles" (1989: 24). Our guide, Dawid Padmaker at Biesje Poort in 2001, naturally applied this form of reading of the engravings at Biesje Poort.

6.2.1 Hunting site

In 2001 Dawid Padmaker interpreted the meaning of the rock art as a record of the life style of the artists; as a record of their heritage for their descendants. In this way he viewed the rock engravings predominantly as the marking of a hunting site that included a record of animals in the area and clues to the hunting practices of the artists' culture. A star shaped engraving he interpreted as the morning star. He described the human foot with the star, giraffe spoor and dog (his interpretation of a small animal not easy to identify) as working together in a narrative way. The combined images told the story of the hunter and his 'tools' needed for success, namely: the morning star, tracking and his dog. Padmaker linked the morning star to hunting practices and told us that it was an essential marker for reading direction in his experience.

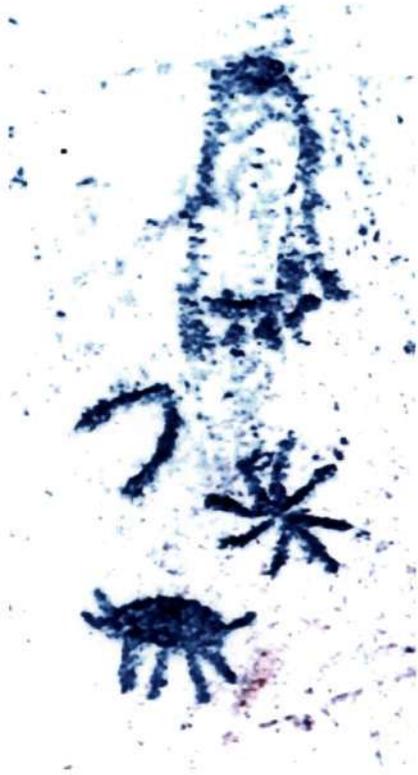


Fig 6.4
Hunting metaphor. Rock engraving from ‘New Site’ Biesje Poort 2001.
Photograph: Michael Fisher (with permission).

Padmaker sat next to the engraving of the ‘aggregation map’ and demonstrated how the artist would have sat and worked so that the artist’s shadow did not fall across the animal that he was engraving. This practice linked hunting taboos with the engraving of animals. I speculate that the visual depiction of animals, people and beings perceived to be powerful can possibly be interpreted as replacement representations linked to the taboo of mentioning the powerful one’s name:

They superstitiously avoid pronouncing the names of the animals they fear. In speaking of a snake the pseudonym “thong” is used, and for an elephant they use the expression “the world of Otavi” in the Kaokoveld, for fear that these animals might hear their names and pay them unwelcome visits (Vedder, 1928: 175).

These taboos relating to powerful beings are still held by traditional Nguni speakers. The inclusion of water spirits as part of belief systems, rather than purely as

fantastical creatures, needs to be taken into consideration when contemplating possible exhibitions that include Water Creatures.

Visual aesthetic linguistic intelligence replaces the prohibition of non-aesthetic linguistic intelligence application to the ritual. Musical intelligence would also have been included for identification through the stamping of the feet and sticks, shaking of the rattles, clicking of the tongues with accompanying sung sounds. The wearing of skins, horns, hunting caps and various other headdresses for example the large skin crowned headdress of the Herero women (Vedder, 1928: 189) and material headdress with 'ears' of the Herero initiate girls (Smith et al, 2000) may also have communicated the unspeakable through merging the intrapersonal, the interpersonal and the spiritual image of the Powerful Being. All this as well as the use of bodily kinesthetic intelligence for miming, dancing, trembling, falling and creation of animal footprints in the sand would have identified and submerged the human into the animal and the spiritual worlds in one powerful communicative image such as that which I witnessed during a fire dance at Ngwatle, Botswana (Lange et al, 2003).

Padmaker pointed out how the artists must have looked at the animals a great deal, whether when hunting or after a successful hunt, in order to depict them accurately. Academics (Vinnicombe, 1976; Lewis-Williams & Bieseke, 1978; Bieseke, 1993; Thackeray, 1983; Mallen, 2005; Hollman, 2005) have also noted the "incorporation of their [the hunter-gatherers] keen observations of animal behaviours and attributes into their cosmology and rock art" (Mallen, 2005: 3). The less accurate engravings Padmaker attributed to novices learning the art. He explained to me that in the same way that his elders had taught him to hunt so the elders of the culture at Biesje Poort would have taught apprentices to engrave and so the tradition would have been passed down from generation to generation.

6.2.2 Non-figurative three humped image

Padmaker interpreted the non-figurative engraving with three humps as depicting the three hills in the valley.



Fig 6.5
Biesje Poort 'New Site' Three humped image and eland 2001
Photograph: Michael Fisher (with permission)

The first hump is filled with pecks, the second hump has less and the third hump has only a few pecks in it. This, Padmaker suggested, emphasized the different degrees in size of the three hills associated with the site.

The solid pecked areas at the ends of the humps reminded me of nails at the ends of fingers, three fingers, pointing towards the eland engraved image. My interpretation is probably embedded in my knowledge of the use of hand signals by the hunters for interpersonal communication during the hunt. The signal for the eland is designated by three extended digits. Many of the taboos of the San/Boesman are embedded in practicalities and as such the reason for not mentioning the powerful being may well be linked to the same reasons hand signals were made, which was a practical need for not speaking and thereby chasing away the prey plus the ability to communicate over a greater distance than oral communication will allow. This form of communication is used by commuters in KwaZulu-Natal indicating their destination to taxi drivers.

6.2.4 Narrative interpretations of Fantasy / Mythical figure?

6.2.4A Scorpion/ Wildebeest features

The 'fantasy/mythical' engraved figure baffled Padmaker and he exclaimed that he had no idea what it was or could be. After moving around the image a number of times he suggested that part of it might have been linked to a scorpion facing from south to north with curled pincers. I was told by a Khoisan descendant of Andriesvale that the scorpion is still depicted in their crafts as it has strong poison (Field notes, Southern Kalahari, 2005). The 'pincers' can also be interpreted as curved horns similar to those of a wildebeest.



Fig 6.6
Biesje Poort 'New Site' Fantasy/Mythical image –Scorpion? 2001
Photograph: Michael Fisher (with permission)

6.2.4B Giraffe features

The hatched filling of the fantasy/mythical figure plus the two long spread ‘legs’ has led to some reading the image, at first glance, as a giraffe drinking. This they have done without knowledge of the giraffe that is depicted a little to the east of the fantasy/mythical figure. The representative giraffe and associated giraffe spoor emphasize the inclusion of a syntax approach to the reading of rock engravings. The spoor on its own could be mistaken as an unidentifiable marking but with read with the giraffe links to Padmaker’s reading of the site as associated with tracking and hunting.

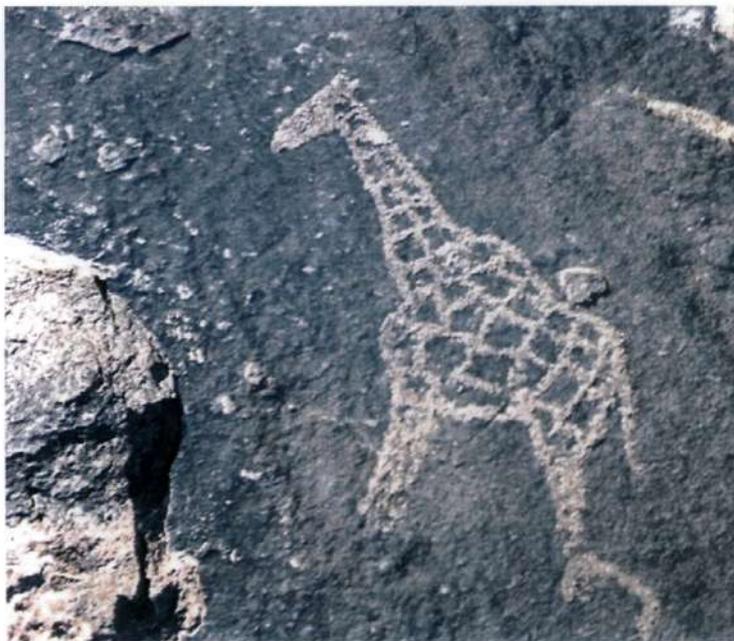


Fig 6.7
Giraffe and spoor at Biesje Poort ‘New Site’ 2001
Photograph: Michael Fisher (with permission)

6.2.4C Horned snake features

I read the fantasy/mythical engraving as including features of the horned adder, having viewed both a live and an engraved image of a horned adder at Biesje Poort (see Chapter 5). Deduction of the process of producing the engraving, in other words the order in which the lines were engraved, led me to believe that the first meandering line of the engraving started in the eastern left corner. It appears that this is the way the artist faced originally when creating the fantastic figure and confirms Padmaker’s suggestion that the artists sat so as not to cast their shadow on the work. The original

outline was a meandering 'v' shaped image with 'horns' or 'forked tongue' engraved on the northern point of the v shape. The origin of the line coincides with a natural crack in the rock, which gives the appearance that it is an extension of the natural feature. This aspect of the art will be discussed later under trance interpretation. The original line then curves back to meet the meandering line.



**Fig 6.8 Fantasy/Mythical image – Horned Snake? Biesje Poort ‘New Site’ 2001
Photograph: Michael Fisher (with permission)**

The hatched infill of the triangular shaped ‘head’ and the dark engraved triangle plus the placement of the image as disappearing into the rock support the image’s possible association with that of a horned adder. The Department of Vertebrates Herpetology Collection at Transvaal Museum describes the following features of the horned adder:

The head is triangular and distinct from the body which ends in a short thin tail. The maximum recorded head-body length recorded for males is 372 mm and 548 mm for females. [...] The basic colour varies from pale grey, light reddish, greyish to dark brown and tends to match the regional substrate. A dark mark on the head may vary from a V- to an hourglass-shape. The tail tip may be black, while the underside of the body is cream to yellowish white. Becoming active at dusk, it tends to lie in ambush at the base of shrubs, tufts of grass or bushes, may shuffle into sand until only the top of the head and the tail are visible. (www.nfi.org.za)



Fig 6.9 Horned adder (www.nfi.org.za).



Fig 6.10 Horned Snake (Tchaba, Kuru arts and crafts project) www.kuru.co.bw

In order to confirm the characteristics of a horned snake and the engraved image I Googled “horned snake” with gratifying consequences as it included a painting by an artist in the Kuru San arts and crafts project in Botswana titled “Horned Snake”. The horned adder is found in most dry areas of southern Africa including Namibia, the Kalahari Desert, southern Botswana, the Great Karoo and the Northern Cape (Smith, 1849 in www.nfi.org.za).

The similarities between the painting of a horned snake by a contemporary San artist, Tchaba, and the Biesje Poort engraving in general shape and inclusion of geometric shapes I think are apparent. The association of the horned snake head with an antelope is also a sustained image despite the distance in time and space of the two

artworks. Discussions with the present day artist regarding his historic, cultural, economic and spiritual roots may well shed more light on the authorship and meaning of the art of the past.

6.2.4D Ostrich/ human: therianthropic features

The faded bean-shaped image under the body of the fantasy/mythical figure suggests the head of an ostrich type figure included in the image. The ostrich features strongly in the folklore of the southern /Xam (Deacon 1994) and Botswana San (Fourie & Maunick 2000).

The stories recorded from Botswana reveal the ostrich as a creature associated with birth, creation, transformation and transitions in man's survival. The ostrich is present in stories relating how a feather became an ostrich; the gemsbok's acquisition of long horns; the origin of the Bushmen; and the introduction of man to food of the forest and man's acquisition of fire and subsequent cooked food (Fourie & Maunick 2000). Deacon suggests that the male ostrich can be seen as a metaphor for rebirth after trance in the same way that the eland is seen as a metaphor for 'death' (1994: 251, 252).

Ostrich eggshell is still used for medicinal purposes by the Khoisan descendants of Upington. Ellen Sihoyo, an Upington resident of mixed descent, told me in 1997 that the 'oumas' or medicine women crush ostrich eggshell, dagga (marijuana) and sugar into a powder. The powder is rubbed on the gums of babies when teething and relieves the pain. Ostrich eggs have 'supernatural potency' for the !Kung according to San ethnographer, Lorna Marshall. (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989; 136) As in Pagan and Christian beliefs, where the egg is a symbol of rebirth, so too could the egg - and especially the ostrich egg - be a symbol of fertility, rebirth and growth in San and subsequent Biesje Poort cultures' belief systems.

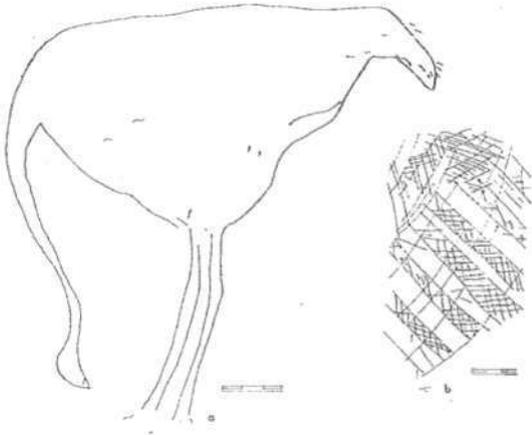


Fig 6.11
"Tracing by D. Morris of hairline engraving on rock, ostrich and hatching, at Springbok Oog, Northern Cape" (Beaumont & Morris, 1990: 37).

Ostriches feature frequently in rock engravings, sometimes in association with geometrics not unlike those seen on engraved shards from archaeological sites (Beaumont & Morris, 1990) or geometric images on present whole ostrich eggshells. Further research on geometrics in rock engravings could shed light on geometrics on ostrich eggshells as demonstrated by extending a table created by Lewis-Williams including geometric shapes and rock paintings and engravings to include ostrich eggshell decoration.

Ostrich eggshell (oes) decoration	Paintings	Engravings	Entoptic Phenomena	Entoptic Phenomena	
					Zig zags
					U shapes
					Filigrees
					Grids
					Lines
					Dots

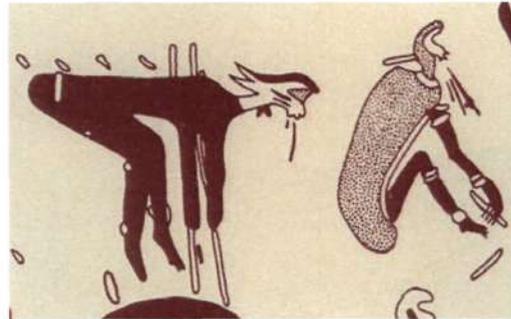
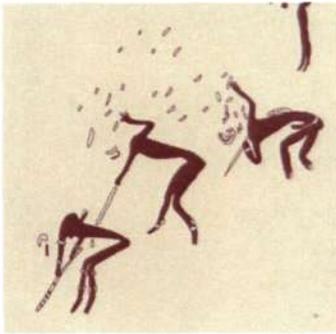
Fig 6.12
Lewis-Williams' and Dowsons' table of geometrics [1989: 61]
-extended to include geometrics on ostrich eggshells.
Redrawn by Rick Lange 2005.

The faded bean shape 'head' reminded me of rock art paintings that depict what Lewis-Williams has interpreted as the heads of shamans (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989: 44). A further narrative interpretation relates to a therianthrope, that is a combination of human and animal features if viewed from the east side looking towards the west.

If interpreted as a therianthrope, then the half man-half animal is bending and supporting itself with a stick in front and at the back. The hatched area is read as the large fat body or kaross of the therianthrope. The area that touches the eland forms part of the figure's headdress. The straight lines ending in balls are read as long legs and the figure has a tail. These features mentioned are similar to rock painting images interpreted as shamans by Lewis-Williams and Dowson, (1989). Rock art images that include therianthrope features combined with a bending posture (often including nose bleeds) and cultural material such as sticks, ankle rattles and kaross are linked by Lewis-Williams and Dowson (1989) to shamans and trance dancing.



**Fig 6.12 Fantasy/Mythical image – Therianthrope? Biesje Poort 'New Site' 2001
Photograph: Michael Fisher (with permission)**



6.13 and 6.14

Dancers associated with trance from rock painting in Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989:44, 45

6.3. Ethnographic interpretations, natural modeling and gender

In Chapter 3, I referred to Lewis-Williams & Dowson's (1989) trance or shamanistic or 'owners of potency' (Lewis-Williams, 1981a) interpretation of rock art, which is embedded in /Xam, Kung and Ju/'hoan written ethnography and applies a dominant written linguistic and logical mathematical intelligence approach to rock art interpretation. Lewis-Williams (1983), as previously mentioned in Chapter 3, interprets geometric images in rock paintings according to his trance theory. The images are read as denotative signs seen in the first stage hallucinatory state of trance, that is entoptic phenomena (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989). He does not, however, extend his research to interpreting the significance of the geometric symbols to the artists as he does the centrality of the eland in rock paintings:

What geometric percepts meant for the people who saw and made images of them is another matter altogether. The meanings that shamans attach to these percepts are always culturally controlled. A zigzag, for instance, may mean one thing to an Amazonian shaman in South America but something quite different to a San shaman. At present we have little idea of what meaning the san attached to geometric imagery, though there is evidence that they associated the grid form with giraffe – probably giraffe potency – on account of its similarity with the pattern on a giraffe's coat. (Lewis-Williams & Blundell, 1998: 23)

Lewis-Williams & Pearce (2004) employ Biesele's work in the Kalahari to support the theory of the centrality of the trance experience, further emphasising the bond between San rock art and myth:

A key point in an understanding of both San spirituality and art is that, for the San, spiritual knowledge originates, principally and overwhelmingly, in transcological trance experience. This is an empirical observation, not merely an interpretation, that Biesele made during her many years of living with the Ju/'hoan San of the northern Kalahari... Myth and rock art are two fields in which San people deploy metaphors of transition. (Lewis-Williams, 2004: 133)

The work of Deacon (1994) and Morris (2007 forthcoming), amongst others, shifted the emphasis of rock art research from dominant textual, written linguistic intelligence application to, and of, ethnography to the inclusion of spatial and visual linguistic intelligence through attention to the spatial placement of engravings within the landscape, the actual characteristics of the landscape and their relationship to features and characteristics of real and mythical creatures of importance to the artists.

Current research builds on trance theory, acknowledging its relevance through the inclusion of *natural modelling* which is defined by Mallen (2005:3) as: "the inclusion of certain features and behaviours of animals in belief systems in order to elucidate a variety of 'social and spiritual phenomena'." (Hollman, 2002: 563)

Natural modelling shifts the research towards further application of spatial and visual linguistic intelligence through attention to details of animal species in rock art and subsequent classification plus greater emphasis on visual material for investigative and presentation purposes of the research (for examples see the work of Mallen, 2005: 3 and Hollman, 2005: 21).

Research on the representation of identifiable characteristics of the animals of spiritual or social significance to the Khoisan people can be extended from the rock art and its environment to the dress of the artists and associated rituals for greater understanding of authorship and meaning as mentioned in 6.2.1. The application of gender and the influence of human anatomy to rock art interpretation, in addition to ritual and shamanistic trance experience, is proposed by Anne Solomon in her discussions on 'mythic women' in rock art:

San narratives make extensive use of anatomical and biophysiological symbolism; in creation/origin tales, sexual difference takes on a special

prominence, and themes of the food quest, rain-making, creation and origins all seem to depend significantly on constructions of the body. (Solomon, 1994: 351)

6.3.1 Slippery characters: Animals, shamans and females as metaphors of transition

Biesje Poort, like many rock engraving sites in the Northern Cape and Namibia, includes material evidence of multiple and melted occupations (See Chapter 5). The specific cultures that created the engravings are as difficult to pinpoint as those at sites such as Driekopseiland near Kimberley in the Northern Cape:

Precise answers to the question of authorship remain elusive, with the options being, at most, between Khoisan groupings, where the influence of emergent pastoralism and contact with Iron Age groups may have played a role. But insights with respect to significant cross-cultural continuity in the sphere of beliefs and ritual, mean that the pertinent questions on diversity in the engravings here may in fact relate more to changing emphases in the expression of widely shared beliefs (cf. Lewis-Williams, 1988), and including dynamic landscape temporalities (Ingold, 1993) and variable contemporary uses of places, than to the relative merits of different ethnic authorships. (Morris, 2007)

The continuation of the engraving art technique at one site suggests, despite changes in pecking size and detail of representation, a parallel between narrative structure of oral narratives in the area and the rock art. The similarity lies firstly in the constants that exist despite the fluidity of the art. As in the Water Snake stories, there are narrative aspects of the engravings that remain constant and therefore serve as effective means of communication to a narrative community. An example of a constant within the fluidity of the art is observed at Biesje Poort, where the engravings are created in the valley with the animals walking in a migratory direction from east to west (Lange interview Padmaker, 2001). Similar engravings found in Namibia include those at Apollo 11, which also has sites including springs (Masson, 2006). More engraving sites are found that confirm the parallel of human and animal migration in the area:

along the valleys of the Fish and Konkeip Rivers that drain south to the Orange River, which was the main east-west artery of human movement in

both historical and prehistoric times [...] Dowson attributes the engravings thought to the “Bushmen”, whereas it is here proposed that the engravings are the work of Nama herder-hunters or their Khoekhoe predecessors”. (Masson, 2006: 86)

Constant elements in the earlier engravings include the depiction of large meat-providing animals believed to possess great potency or *n/om* such as eland, giraffes, snakes and hippos (Lewis-Williams & Pearce, 2004). Smaller animals are introduced in the later engravings as evidenced in photographs of the sites (Masson, 2006; Dowson, 1992; Lange field notes 2001). Non-figurative, including geometric, engravings are included throughout the engraving period but increase within the later periods (Butzer, 1989). Geometric patterns, especially hatching and or zigzag geometrics, appear in association with or on top of larger animals. The majority of researchers read geometrics as indices of trance:

Not all transformations are the direct result of shamanistic altered states of consciousness. But each is a subtle interweaving of belief, cosmology, and transcendental experience. It is difficult to draw a line between transformations that are associated with altered states of consciousness and those that are not. It is here that metaphors of transition play their role. (Lewis-Williams & Pearce, 2004:160)

Flight, death, water, bags, karosses and lions are some metaphors of transition incorporated in rock art which Lewis-Williams & Pearce (2004: 133) believe indicate shamanistic associations or activities and punctuate the painted panels as they do the myths: “They lift the art from the ordinary into the spiritual”.

In Chapter 4 Hoff (1997) is quoted referring to a number of water deities in the oral narratives that she recorded. It is possible that in the same way the styles of rock engravings include variations according to their regions despite basic similarities; so too the water creatures in which the Khoisan people believe differ or differed according to the regions and the water animal on which the belief was based. This incorporates Solomon’s call for further research examining regional differences. Solomon’s approach includes a greater application therefore of spatial intelligence, including attention to visual details of geographic mapping in relation to the mapping of the human body (Solomon, 1994). Her call for greater attention to ritual plus the inclusion of natural modeling can help in ascertaining whether the apparent regional

differences in water creature stories are reflected in rock art and particularly rock engravings.

I shall attempt a brief interpretation of the fantasy/mythical image and related engravings at the 'New Site' through analysis of the engravings for metaphors of transition plus aspects of a natural modeling, topographic and gender approach, to the extent that is possible within the constraints of this dissertation.

6.3.1A Snakes and shamans:

Water Snake storytellers have been dated in association with geometric rock engravings (Fock & Fock, 1989; Beaumont & Morris, 1990). Morris' writings, which expanded on Fock's idea of a link between female rights and the geometric rock engravings, first sparked my interest in a possible link between geometric engravings and Water Snake stories. Morris' subsequent research reinforces the *genus loci* and geometric rock art explored by Deacon, Ouzman and Walker but relates it to the serpent-like aspect of the engraved rocks at Driekopseiland:

I speculate that, as the striated blue-grey glaciated andesite was exposed by geological processes in the last two and a half millennia, so the rocks came to be identified, not quite as the 'great whales lying in the mud', as Battiss memorably described Driekopseiland, their backs 'decorated with innumerable designs' (1945:58), but indeed as !Khwa, the 'Rain/Water' in the form of a giant Great Watersnake (Schmidt 1979), emerging from the depths in the channel of the Gumaap, and dipping down beneath the riverbed again a few hundred metres further downstream. (Morris, 2007)

Biesje Poort has large rock domes that protrude from the soil down the spine of the valley. The engravings replace the river that must have flowed over the rocks thousands of years ago. The large head of the horned snake with its geometric infill emerges from its source as the engraved line begins where a natural crack in the rock ends. This feature of rock art has been interpreted as follows:

Numerous San rock paintings apparently enter or leave the rock face. Neuropsychological and ethnographic evidence suggests that San shamans visited the spirit world via a tunnel that, in some instances, started at the walls of rock shelters. Shaman-artists depicted some of the visions they brought back from the spirit world as if they were emerging from the rock face. (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1990: 5)

The snake is identified as a metaphor of transformation by Mallen in her natural modelling interpretation of the inclusion of puff adders shedding their skin and reiterates Lewis-William's identification of snakes and shamans (Mallen, 2005: 7).

Sproul (in Solomon, 1994: 87) interprets a dualistic cosmology for the Khoe from Hahn's writings of 1881: "The Hottentots posit a dualistic order, in which Tsui//Goab [...] finally triumphs over the evil //Guanab, 'lord of the dark heaven, and the dead'". Hahn's quoted reference to //Guanab as dying several times and living in a dark heaven quite separate from the heaven of Tsui//Goab seems to identify //Guanab with Heitsi who is described with a similar trait (see Chapter 5). Different cultures appear to have had different beliefs in Heitsi but he was associated with successful hunting:

Joseph Tindall vertel hoe 'n Damara gepraat het: "Jy moet gaan staan en sê u het my gemaak en gemaak om te werk en as u my verlaat hoe kan ek dan lewe, so, sien my"

[Joseph Tindall told of a Damara who said: "You have to stand and say you have made me and made me to work and if you leave me how can I live, so see me"]. (Cornelissen, circa 1975)

Some believed he was a mythical hero and others a moon god but what remains consistent is the belief that he became human, died and was resurrected numerous times in the same way as the moon dies and is reborn (Cornelissen, circa 1975). It is not clear from Hahn and Vedder's research whether the realm below incorporated in the Khoe beliefs, as reflected among the Nama and Korana, is an influence of Bantu-speakers as suggested by Biesele (1993).

The Water Snake, and Heitsi and the moon share characteristics of metaphors of transition, transformation and resurrection, mediators of life and death, rain and fertility. Solomon adds women and menstruation to this list. Zigzag lines are associated both with snakes (Madden, 2005) and women (Solomon, 1994). In women the zigzag motive is interpreted as depicting "amniotic or menstrual fluid" (Solomon, 1994: 363). The role of negative or positive qualities and women in rock art is part of contemporary debate (Solomon, 1994; Mallen, 2005 and Ouzman, 2005). The Eiland Women's Water Snake stories indicated that the Water Snake and associated female initiation rites are places of 'ambiguity' where neither male nor female appear to

dominate. 'Mythic women' like the Water Snake include male and female characteristics, similar to the large bovid animals such as hippos which included or shared features with 'rain animals' in rock art depiction:

The Animal imagery associated with the motif has a certain consistency; they are generally large herbivores, of the kind which are distinguished by their fat, which bear n!ow, which are associated with rain, and are formally/somatically analogous to rain animals. In so far as can be claimed on the basis of such a limited analysis of associated imagery, the animals depicted in conjunction with the 'mythic women' are of the kind that are associated with femininity and rain (as indeed, are large herbivores in general). (Solomon, 1994: 366)

Characteristics and anatomical features of hippos associate them more closely with the water creature of the women's female initiation rites as described by the Eiland Women than those of the snake. Elements of the female ritual that parallel characteristics of the hippo with the initiates and the shaman include: the application of red ochre and the red perspiration of hippos that resembles blood; the strewing of buchu over the water and the unusual characteristic of hippos of defecating a shower of what appears to be chopped up grass (personal communication, Fisher and Thala nature conservationists, 2006); the fattening of the girl and rubbing her with fat. Further possible links between hippos and characteristics of the Water Snake myths, such as the star on its head, mythical snakes and their manes and 'horse-type' heads and the trancing of shamans are reflected in the perceptions of early travellers, which may reflect those of the indigenous people as conveyed in the writings of a Dominican priest on the inland area of Mozambique in the 16th century on hippos:

Nearly all of them [hippos], or the greater number, have a very white mark running from middle of their foreheads to the nostrils and a very fine white star on the forehead. They are very subject to epilepsy or attacks of melancholy, and when this pain seizes them they press their left foot very tightly against the breast, doubling it back and let themselves fall to the ground upon it, their hoofs coming under the breast. . (Dos Santos, 1586)

The 'star' on the hippo's head is probably the water shining in the hollow of its head, which is created by 'meeting brows' on the forehead of the animal. This plus '*moesies*' [moles] on hippos' faces and the bodies of the hippos appearing as '*moesies*' [moles] on the river's back offer a possible explanation for the Eiland women saying that the Water Snake prefers people with '*moesies*' and joined eyebrows (Lange, interview 2001).

However, as the 'mythic women' combine male and female characteristics, it is quite possible that the mythical water creature and its associated 'servant' familiar combine characteristics of water creatures such as hippos, crocodiles, snakes, iguanas and even barbell fish. Research in this regard could be developed further with the application of natural modelling as conducted by Madden on the puffadder (2005).

The horned adder also possesses a 'crown' feature on its head, a red colour, gives birth to numerous young and combines female and male 'somatic' forms by inclusion of the fat 'female' features in its large head and very thin, long 'male' features in its contrasting thin body (Solomon, 1994). The depiction and emphasis on the female or ambiguous form may reflect a sharing of male and female economic/spiritual responsibilities - for example the Herero have a male priest and a female priestess (Vedder, 1928), or a change from a matriarchal to patriarchal society, or a struggle for domination extended to a struggle for the sign as portrayed in rock art. Further gender research would shed light on these issues. One of the cultures associated with the rock engravings at Biesje Poort is the Nama. The role of the women in the Nama society is described as follows:

The position of the woman among the Nama is by no means that of the devoted servant of the man. According to old custom the hut belongs to her and she disposes of everything within it. When in need of something the man has to approach his wife entreatingly and not imperiously. But since the old-fashioned huts which were covered with rushes by the women have more and more been displaced by the modern houses, which the man builds with material for which he has laboured, the woman is being pushed into the background. The abode now becomes the property of the man and there is danger that the consequences will be ill treatment of the woman. (Vedder, 1928:135)

Focus on gender has noted the emphasis in previous rock engraving research on male rituals. I have noted with interest that men are in a no win situation with regard to the inclusion or exclusion of female rituals; they are criticised for discussing female taboos if they include reference to these rituals (Personal communication 2006) and criticised for excluding aspects of female gender.

Trance theory has placed rock art and associated hunting rituals and male hunters centre stage in previous research. Female inclusion emphasizes the negative power of

women on the hunt and therefore associated female involvement in hunting rituals has emphasized 'luck' needed by the males for their hunting (Solomon, 1994: 346). Solomon emphasizes the 'gender manipulation' and subsequent "liminal status of persons engaged in rites of passage that has been suggested by Lewis-Williams (1981a)" (Solomon, 1994:346, 358).

The Berg Damaras' rite of passage of birth is marked by a hunting ritual performed by men but where the focus is on women. As in the absent 'naming' of powerful beings, the women are not present at the ceremony and yet they are the central players. In this birth rite there is once again an emphasis on absence of verbal linguistic intelligence application; that is, speaking a name, which emphasizes what I shall refer to as 'the power of naming':

The child is given its name by the father, after the navel cord has dropped off. The father who until then has not yet seen the child – as its birth and after he has had to remain at a distance – prepares himself for the ceremony in a peculiar manner. He tries to get some game which he cooks. With its fat he anoints the upper part of his body with great care. The pieces of dirt which rub off in the process are carefully collected and tied up in a small piece of leather with a small thong. Thereafter the ceremony may proceed. The father enters the mother's hut, hangs the talisman which he has just prepared and which has the power of warding off sickness, around the child's neck, spits on its chest and rubs in the fluid carefully on the child's chest, and then utters the name, which is to commemorate some extraordinary event which occurred in the days preceding or subsequent to the birth. (Vedder, 1928: 54)

Significant aspects of the above ritual include the game, the fat, the thong, the umbilical cord and birth. It has previously been mentioned that the Herero replaced the name of snake with 'thong'. The above ritual associates the umbilical cord and the thong. The !Kung have an oral narrative that explains the wealth of the herders/pastoralists due to the fact that they were given the thong and the Bushmen were not. The thong is a metaphor for transition from the hunter gatherer life and associated poverty due to lack of ownership of animals, to the perceived life of prosperity of the herder/pastoralist. A reading of the Water Snake as representative of the umbilical cord was suggested to me by my brother, Roger, in 2005. The umbilical cord parallels characteristics read in the The Eiland Women's Water Snake oral narratives of gender ambiguity. It relates to life and death, a joining of the world of liquids and solids and

as such can be read with Heitsi Eibib, the shaman, the eland, the horned snake, the ostrich, the fertile woman and the thong as a metaphor of transition.

The above discussion opens possibilities for research on rock engraving authorship and meaning, which includes the possible linking of elongated thin lines as not just 'male' but rather as metaphorical representations of the 'umbilical cord' as a route to life or death. The umbilical cord as such can be linked to a visual linguistic expression of anatomical routes; the 'river' to verbal linguistic geographic routes; the line of male or female initiates as bodily kinaesthetic social routes; Heitsi, //Gammab/ Water Snake as a metaphysical route.

The image of the star/crown of the Water Snake could be related to the central role of the fire within the domestic, social and spiritual spheres of the Khoisan speaking people but would require further research to ascertain whether it too can be viewed with the snake-like image as a central metaphor of transition in the beliefs of the rock engraving artists.

The 'power of naming' or the absence thereof is also an area of rock art research which appears relevant at Biesje Poort and may be a suitable framework for greater understanding of other rock art sites.

6.3.1B Towards meaning: Changing worlds, changing images – worlds create images and images create worlds

If the rocks in river beds or water passages were seen as part of the rain animal, the Water Snake, perhaps even the '*moesies*', then the engravings could link to the release of power/n!ow through cutting the hump of the rain animal. Dowson interprets geometrics in association with humps of animals in engravings and its metaphoric link to trance and signification of entry into non reality (Lewis-Williams 1988) as follows:

Placing entoptics at the hump of the animals has some significance in terms of supernatural power associated with animals and with the power harnessed by shamans to facilitate entry into the spirit world to perform their ritual tasks-curing, controlling game, or making rain. (Dowson, 1992: 62)

Lewis-Williams & Pearce (2004:141) describe the 'cutting' of the rain animal as narrated by //Kabbo to the Bleeks: "Cut a she-rain which has milk. I will milk her, then she will rain softly on the ground...I will cut her, by cutting her I will let the rain's blood flow out, so that it runs along the ground" (Bleek, 1933: 309).

If the beliefs of the artists are to be taken into consideration, as suggested by Dowson (1992), it is then Water Snake rituals and stories that should be explored for some understanding of the geometric engravings. Dowson (1992:30) concedes that: "Identifying engraved geometric patterns as entoptic phenomena is not enough. Entoptics are bound to have had some meaning or significance for them to have been engraved, but this is still obscure."

Researchers have linked geometric rock engravings with the two key elements in Water Snake myths, namely water (Bahn, 1998) and its metaphoric link to trance and signification of entry into non reality (Lewis-Williams, 1988) and snakes, both literal and the Nguni mythical multicoloured snake, *ichanti* (Prins, 1990, Thackeray, 1988a). Thackeray reads the geometrics as denotative signs of the patterns seen on snakes' bodies. Bahn dismisses the 'blanket' altered state of consciousness theory based on shamanic trance proposed by Lewis-Williams and suggests that many conditions, including dreams, besides a trance state may result in seeing entoptic phenomena, and that a combination of approaches may be more accurate since he believes there is no proof that shamans created the rock images:

...A zigzag motif could easily be inspired by lightning, just as circles can be inspired by ripples in water...where every motif, every gesture, is automatically interpreted in a symbolic, metaphorical or mystical way. As Freud said, sometimes a cigar is just a cigar. (Bahn, 1998: 240-242)

I had been to the rock engravings site, read related literature and research, heard the oral rendering of the Water Snake stories and now needed to try and establish a link between the geometric engravings and the Water Snake stories beyond space and time. I wanted to apply a scientific, mathematical intelligence to this part of the research, that is: a quantitative behavioural research test sample making use of questionnaires and content analysis.

My hypothesis was embedded once more in multiple intelligence education theory but this time on another level. I consider the puberty rituals at the river as part of an education process; a process with which I identify through my own participation in two rituals as a teenage girl: confirmation on a personal and spiritual level and a debutantes' ball on a social and economic level. The outcomes of the Water Snake occasion were also to introduce and prepare the participants for a new phase of their lives that included changes to the personal, spiritual, social and economic spheres. It would appear that this process made use of all intelligences; where the application of certain intelligences were each given an occasion for predominance and included the Western understanding of aesthetics - that is, the intelligences were applied artistically.

Through Water Snake rituals including singing, dancing, make up, costume, gesture, the participants engaged with the subject through predominantly the bio kinesthetic, musical and spatial intelligences with aesthetic application. The intrapersonal aspect of puberty rituals is emphasized through the seclusion in the hut whereas the group performance at the river emphasizes the interpersonal. The Water Snake oral narratives predominantly make use of the oral linguistic and interpersonal intelligences once more with aesthetic application. The logical mathematical can be argued to be present in all aspects from choice of date for the occasion to the spatial geometry of the ritual and tracking of spoors.

What is missing is an aesthetic written linguistic encounter with the subject. Geometric rock engravings are considered aesthetic written encounters. Geometric images have mostly been read as indices of trance or puberty rituals (Lewis-Williams, 1990; Hoff, 1993, 1995; Morris, 2002).

My hypothesis developed as follows: if the geometric images used in the rock engravings were an integral part of a people's engagement with the river and the Water Snake rituals through all intelligences, then they should incorporate a written linguistic intelligence encounter with the subject, comprising denotative signs or characters of the main elements included in Water Snake myths. A written symbol is used to represent speech or words included in the Water Snake encounter, namely:

water, snake, wind, plants, and light in the form of a crown or diamond and connotative signs of the main themes of the occasion.

If the geometrics are denotative signs - images wherein the image looks like the actual object - and they are nature based, then they should have some common readings cross culturally. Considering my emphasis on pluralism and constructive theory it is ironic that I was looking for closed readings. Reverting to research that coincides with Lewis-Williams's reference to structuralism: "At this stage, it is tempting to adopt a Levi-Straussian structuralist position...of binary oppositions" (2004: 163), assuming 'universal' meaning attributed to the images by all cultures. But it was my only explanation for the global distribution of similar images notably at places of water. The Water Snake myths are set in a context of mediation between binary oppositions explored by Frans Prins and Hester Lewis, with the Bushman shaman, water "creatures" and rock art described as mediators between the forest (the wild/unknown) and the homestead (domestic/safe) (Prins & Lewis, 1992: 24-25).

The application of a binary model is appropriate if the rock art is interpreted within the cosmology of the herder-hunter gatherers, considering the association of rock engraving sites with herders/pastoralists whether in association with or embedded in Bushman practises. An example of binary oppositions included in herder-hunter gatherers is reported by Vedder when discussing the spiritual beliefs of the Berg Damara:

The highest divinity at the Berg Damara dwells in heaven and is known as //Gamab. Since the stem of this word is identical with the word //gami, i.e. water, and in view of some supporting legends and peculiar customs, it may be assumed that //Gamab was originally the god of the rising clouds and of thunder and fountains[...] In the same way that /Gamab provides for the livelihood of all living beings and thus is the maintainer of life, so he is also the Lord of Death. It is his prerogative to direct his sharp and deadly arrow from his heavenly seat at the bodies of men so that they take sick and die. (Vedder, 1928: 130)

Vedder proposes that the Berg Damara derived their name for God from the name used by Nama, Korana and: "the Bushmen of the San tribe who stand in close relation to the Hottentots, as far as physical structure and language are concerned still call the Supreme Being //Gaunab" (Vedder, 1928: 130).

6.3.2 Application of logical mathematical intelligence to the question ‘why?’

Geometric Reception study

In a search for common cross cultural readings of geometric shapes I conducted a small sample reception study with two groups (See appendix 6.3b). The first group comprised a predominantly female group of all adult ages, community members in Andriesvale, Northern Cape who attended an arts and crafts workshop arranged by the crafts coordinator in June 2004. The research schedules were presented in the workshop room with permission and participation by the crafts coordinator and informed consent of the participants. The broad results of the reception study were discussed with the group the following year, 2005.

The second gender diverse group comprised adults predominantly over forty years of age, community members in Upington, Northern Cape who attend the Methodist church and attended a tea at the Upington Museum tea room in September 2005. The research schedules were presented in the tea room with permission and participation by the church pastor and informed consent of the participants. The broad results of the reception study have been discussed with individuals on subsequent visits and via the pastor and his wife.

A questionnaire (See appendix 3a) was compiled, including twenty geometric images from rock engravings (Dowson, 1992; Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989: 61) and ostrich eggshell decoration from various sources (Humphreys & Thackeray, 1983; Lange, 2006). The images can be categorized into the categories listed by Lewis-Williams’ and Dowson’s (1989: 61) table of geometrics, namely: Grids, Lines, Dots, Zigzags, U shapes and Filigrees (See Fig 7.1).

The procedure followed for the reception study was as follows: Participants were read the informed consent form in their home language English or Afrikaans or in the case of groups in both languages (see appendix 1). The twenty geometric images were each printed on a separate sheet of paper approximately A5 size. The images were held up one by one to the group and the researcher asked the readers to describe whatever the particular geometric brought to mind. Their oral responses were

recorded. Participants were assured that there was no right or wrong answer and that the procedure was not to be used as a projective test as in a Rorschach inkblot test, which was used to identify universal concepts and symbols for personality analysis. The participants' gender and approximate ages were recorded by the researcher. The researcher emphasized the objective of the research to find commonalities between cultures. Participants were rewarded for their time through a compensation agreed upon prior to the research session.

The results were initially processed using SPSS for Windows release 11.5.0 for content analysis, but due to the limited sample number and early stages of this research a descriptive and relational approach was implemented. These approaches also complement a participatory type of research as the results are more easily understood by a layman and therefore suitable for feedback to the participants. Each research schedule was listed numerically as a case study. The geometric images were recorded as the independent variables. The responses were listed as the dependent variables.

Controlled variables were:

Location: urban or rural;

Gender: male or female;

Ages: below 20, between 20 and 40, 40 to 60 and 60 plus;

The source of geometric image: entoptic, ostrich egg shell or rock engraving;

The type of geometric image: zigzag, u shape, grids, dots, lines, filigree and combinations of the former.

The responses made by the two case studies were placed in a table (See appendix 3b), which included a numerical listing of the diagrams/geometric images and the independent variables, namely the geometric images and two controlled variables: the source and type of geometric image.

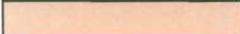
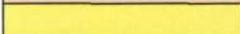
Content analysis of common readings was designated according to various categories: Rain, rebirth, fertility; Readings from nature; Readings from domestic; Metaphors of transition; Readings from earth and sky. The various categories of common readings were indicated on the table using colour coding; the images that included readings from nature and from domestic were indicated with an arrow.

This sample reception study points towards common cosmic interpretations and common personalized domestic readings including: Snake, Rope, Water, River, Crown/Diamond. The inclusion of metaphors and images in the readings that relate to the Eiland Water Snake narratives and the engravings at Biesje Poort, although extremely exciting and rewarding, seem to fit in so exactly with my previous discussions that a wider reception study would need to be conducted to ensure accuracy of the results and to determine whether these results could provide a possible explanation for the world wide inclusion of geometrics in rock engravings, and the global distribution of stories regarding water snakes and water deities that point towards geometrics, specifically the undulating line and star images as visual linguistic metaphors for the Water Snake and its crown as verbal linguistic metaphors.

Geometric image	Common readings by Group A and Group B	Image	Source	Type
Diagram 1	Water		Entoptic	zigzag
Diagram 2	Mountains, Rivers, Snakes, Dunes, Roads		Entoptic	zigzag
Diagram 3	Truffle cracks		Entoptic	Filigree
Diagram 4	Necklace		Entoptic	U Shape
Diagram 5	Honeycomb		Entoptic	Grids
Diagram 6	Stones		Entoptic	Dots
Diagram 7	Rain, Porcupine quills		Entoptic	Lines
Diagram 8	Rain		Entoptic	Dots
Diagram 9	Rainbow, Banana		Entoptic	U shapes
Diagram 10	Bars, Fence		Entoptic	Grid

Fig 6. 15 Sample Group Upington and Andriesvale, Northern Cape Geometrics reception 2004 Common readings Group A and B

Geometric image	Common readings by Group A and Group B	Image	Source	Type
Diagram 11	Bridge/arch/tunnel Steps/ladder Train tracks		OES	U shapes and grid
Diagram 12	Tent		OES	Zigzag and Lines
Diagram 13	Snakes Rope		Engraving	Filigree
Diagram 14	Rugby ball		Engraving	U shapes and grid
Diagram 15	Ball Pizza/pie/bun		Engraving	Dots and grids
Diagram 16	Plant/leaves Feather		OES	Filigree
Diagram 17	Diamond/crown Star Sun		Engraving	Dots and Lines
Diagram 18	Sun Eye		Engraving	Dots and lines
Diagram 19	Water		Engraving	Zigzags
Diagram 20	Snail		Engraving	Filigree

Colour key for Fig 6.	
	Rain, rebirth, fertility
	Readings from nature
	Readings from domestic
	Metaphors of transition
	Readings from earth and sky
	Common readings from domestic and nature including: Snake, Rope; Water. River; Crown/Diamond

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

I have in this research applied a multiple intelligence educational approach within an autoethnographic, ecosystemic methodology. My work is embedded in constructivist educational theory which means I have built on my own and others' previous knowledge and research. I have learnt through inclusion and application of previous research on autoethnography conducted at Culture, Communication and Media Studies, for example by McLennan-Dodd and Tomaselli (2003) that I can work ethically in partnership with a research group. This type of methodology is, however, extremely demanding both financially and in terms of time and resources. As such it limits potential researchers. With globalisation and the easy access to empirical data on the internet, there is the danger that researchers will not leave their computers in order to engage with their research subjects. I am aware of this possibility in present and future research due to my own experience of the productive and intriguing results gained from effective armchair use of the internet and email.

The application of a multiple intelligence educational approach means that I have had to include the experiential as well as the textual in my research. The conscious inclusion of the various intelligences and therefore constructed framed knowledge ironically has resulted in open ended rather than closed results. I have learnt that application of this type of methodology is stimulating as it encouraged me as a researcher to investigate areas previously under-researched by others or with which I would not have engaged were I not prompted by the structure of inclusion of all types of 'knowing'. Thus the study is located within a broader sphere of knowledge, which includes autoethnographic methodology and ethno archaeology.

The application of this type of inclusive methodology has resulted in synthesis of previous research on the specific research area of this case study, namely the Upington area. I have engaged with, synthesised and expanded on empirical data that includes Water Snake oral narratives, rock engravings - specifically geometrics, and the context of the people of Upington past and present. This inclusive methodology, which rejects essentialism, has resulted in an emphasis on the 'messy' nature of engaging with informants, texts and archaeological sites.

I have borne in mind throughout the process of compiling this research my objective to add visually and textually to the cultural bank of knowledge used as a resource by local museums. This I have attempted throughout in partnership with community members of the Upington area through exchange and adaptation of research throughout the process.

In the long process of this research not only was I made aware of the fluid and temporal nature of the content of intangible heritage, but the passing away of key informants such as Mr Cornelissen and Girlie has also emphasized the fragile aspect of human 'resources'. At this point Girlie's mother remains active within the research project and 'speaks' for her deceased daughter. I spoke to Mr Cornelissen's wife subsequent to his death regarding the rights of translation to his book. Mrs Cornelissen told me that the Upington Library had all rights to the book. The Upington library and museum confirmed they would welcome a translation of the book into English. The book was partly reprinted for the South African Anglo Boer centenary and sold at the Upington Museum. I hope to include translation of the book, as one of my future projects if someone else does not do it first.

Specific outcomes of the research regarding the oral narratives include that the melting pot of cultures existing both presently and historically within Upington are reflected within the diverse characteristics of water creatures based on qualities of real animals, for example hippos, puff adders and horned adders are absorbed into one representational entity, the Water Snake. Further natural modelling research specifically on water animals would add to research on regional similarities and differences in depiction of rain and water creatures. The oral narratives from this analysis reflect an area where verbal linguistic intelligence has been applied, which includes no gender domination but opens possibilities of research as to reasons for this ambiguity that cannot be assumed to reflect equal gender status within the representative community.

The gender ambiguity embedded in the oral narratives intersects with the rock engravings of the research area and as such links it not only to the broader body of past and present research theory on rock art but also with current research on Khoe

authorship of rock engravings. My inclusive engagement with the rock engraving site at Biesje Poort suggests not only regional differences in rock engravings but also that pan theories of authorship may be simplistic, especially as the engravings at Biesje Poort not only appear to be stylistically but also culturally and historically linked to rock engraving sites in Namibia, not just on the east migratory rout but also to those in the north such as in Twyfelfontein (Dowson 1992).

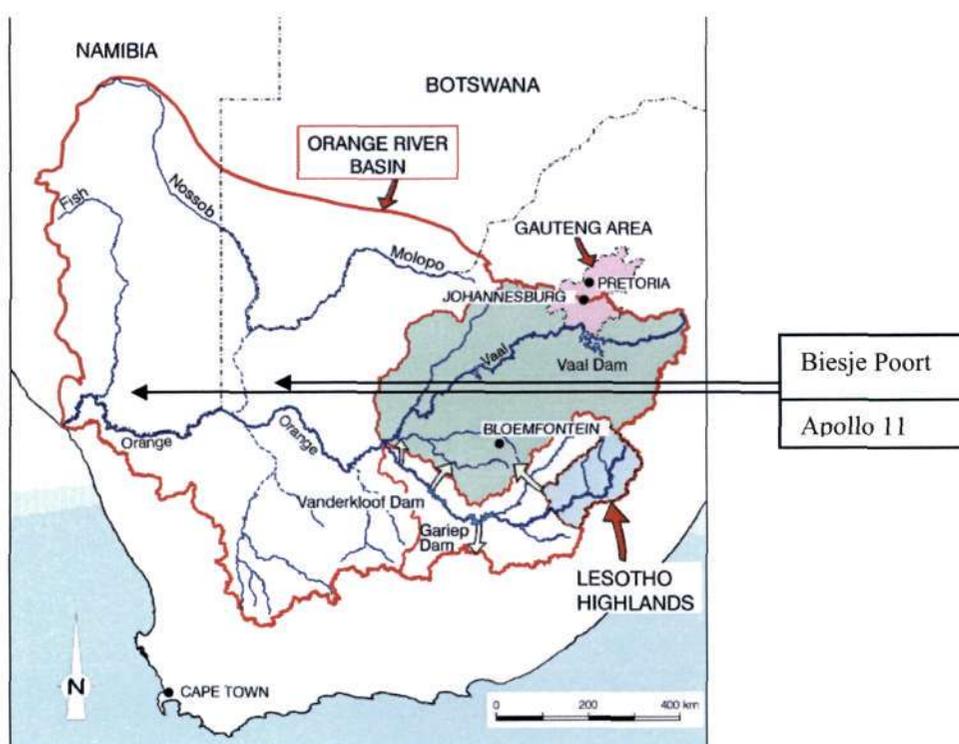


Fig 7.1

Approximate position of Biesje Poort rock engraving site (Lange, 2003) in relationship to Apollo 11 rock engraving site (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989: 150) in Namibia (See also location of engravings as designated to Khoen engravers Ouzman & Smith, 2004). (www.dwaf.go.za)

Both oral narratives and the rock engravings I researched in the Upington area reflect differences from traditional San cosmic beliefs but include enough similarities to indicate that they are the result of a tradition embedded in the San culture. Similarities in oral narrative evidence a belief in a water deity, which includes transformational characteristics and is linked to power embodied in shamans and mature fertile women. The differences include a binary oppositional belief within the present oral narratives and more recent rock engravings whereby the water deity comprises positive and negative qualities. The oral narratives, however, link to the San origins through reference to Bushman as the people who work with the Water Snake. The engravings engage with the Bushman belief system through continuation of characteristics

included in rock painting, specifically those linked to rain animals such as superimposition of the later engravings with the symbolic eland, spiritual being and metaphor of the shaman and inclusion of natural features of the rock to emphasize the transitional metaphor of the connection between the physical and metaphysical worlds (Fig 7.1).

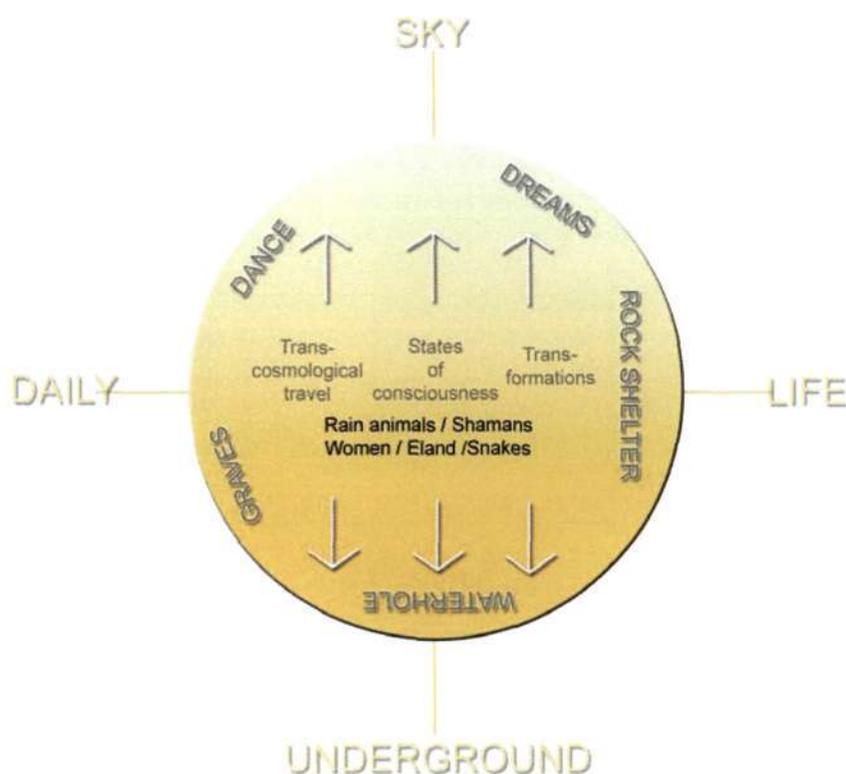


Fig 7.2

After Lewis-Williams & Pearce (2004) *The bi-axial model of the San cosmos*. In various ways the levels of the San cosmos interact (RARI). (Lange, 2006)

The research emphasizes the present day Upington and rock engraving site areas as including historically more than one San and Khoe community. Added to the melting pot of cultures were the Tswana Bantu language pastoralists from the east and the Herero from the west. Each group absorbed both hunter gatherers and herders. Influences of these groups and wider spread Nguni-Bantu language groups are evidenced in the Eiland Women's Water Snake stories. Inter cultural influences are seen too in, for example, the adoption of Herero dress by Bushman female initiates (Smith et al, 2000: 79). A similarity between the silhouette of the aforementioned

young Bushman girl and that of the fantasy/mythical image at Biesje Poort may be more than coincidental.

Frans Prins included the Bushman influence on Nguni practises and the parallel of ambiguous concepts and creatures for mediation between the binary opposites of nature and man's culture. I have extended Prins' work to include the conclusions of my sample reception study on geometrics (See Fig 7.3).

The parallel of the changing names of the Orange/Gariep River and Biesje Poort reflects the perceived ownership of the researchers similarly to written words of explorers, travellers and conquerors of the land. Perhaps these subtle cultural differences in naming the land provide a clue to shifts in the rock engravings written on the same land. Or they could be examined as an analogy for the intention of the author as a constant marking and searching of the place for: higher knowledge whether scientific as in the present, or spiritual as in the past; economic power whether through access to the research area in the present, or access to the water and grazing in the past; an interpersonal communication ritual whether for academic qualification purposes in the present, or puberty initiation purposes in the past. The list could continue for as many unknown personal intentions we as writers have owing to our particular context and intertextual references for engaging with a particular site, and as many unknown intentions the engravers of the past had for engaging with a particular site. Yet we pursue the unknowable intentions of the authors of the past, both research writers before us and rock artists, for we are naturally inquisitive creatures. Like the engravers we both incorporate and stamp out the work that has been written before us, making their knowledge practises our knowledge content. In the process, if nothing else we are hopefully imparting something of our selves and our own intentions.

Adaptation of: *The Bushman as Mediator in the Symbolic Structure of the Nguni (after Hammond-Tooke 1975)*
to include sample cross-cultural reception of geometrics - Lange 2004

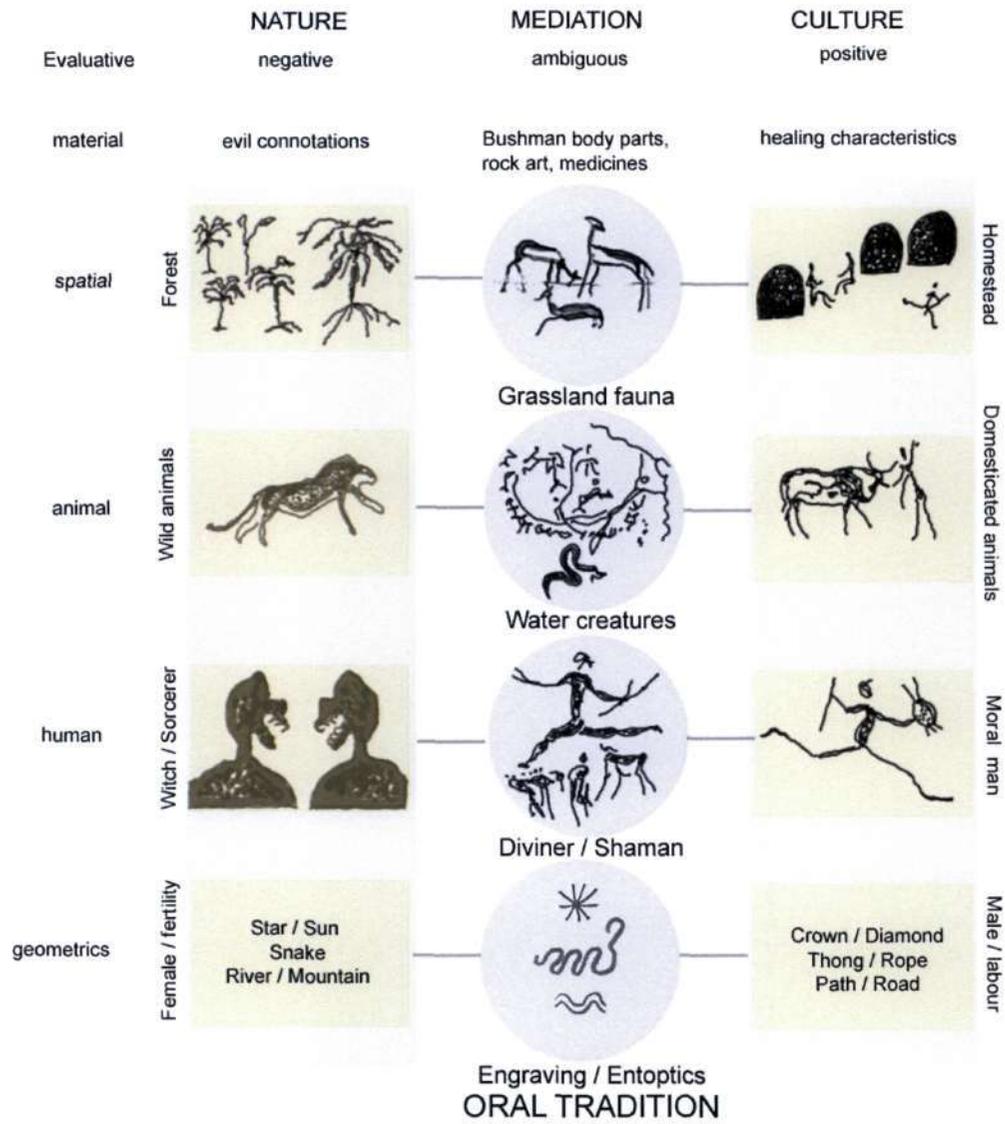


Fig 7.3 Lange (2006) after Prins & Lewis. (1992:25)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Interviews

The National Heritage Resources Act (Act No 25 1999) Chpt. 111 Schedule (xxi) - 'living heritage'.

Dawid Padmaker (1998) taped interpretation of Biesje Poort rock engravings, transcribed and translated Lange.

Botha, Mr & Mrs (1997), managers Spitskop, Discussions on Swart Koppie.

Peter Beaumont (1997-1999), archaeologist, McGregor Museum: Correspondence.

Michael Fisher (1997-2006), retired nature conservationist, discussions and correspondence at Keidebees, Upington, on the Eiland, Spitskop, Louisvale and Biesje Poort.

Pieter Goussard (1997-2002), acting curator Upington Museum, Discussions and site visits.

David Morris (1998-2006), archaeologist, McGregor Museum: Correspondence.

Belinda Kruiper (2000-2006), Correspondence and personal communication..

Vetkat Regopstaan Kruiper (2000-2006) Discussions in Durban, Upington and Welkom.

Ann Young (2003-2006), curator Upington Museum, Discussion and site visits.

Nature Conservationist Thala Game Reserve (2006) information on hippos.

De Wee, J. (1998) Notes on family heritage in Upington, translated by Lange.

Hlopezulu, M (1998) Notes on family heritage in Upington, translated by Lange.

Malo, M (1999) Notes on family heritage in Upington, translated by Lange.

Vuyiswa, G (1998) Notes on family heritage in Upington, translated by Lange.

Sixaxa, E (1998) Notes on family heritage in Upington, translated by Lange.

Van Rooi, M (1998) Notes on family heritage in Upington, translated by Lange.

Sihoyo, E (1998) Notes on family heritage in Upington, translated by Lange.

Eiland Women (1998) General discussions re Water Snake, transcribed and translated: Lange.

De Wee, J (1998) Water Snake stories, taped, transcribed and translated by Lange.

Van Rooi, M (1998) Water Snake stories, taped, transcribed and translated by Lange.

Malo, M (1998) Water Snake stories, taped, transcribed and translated by Lange.

Sihoyo, E (1998) Discussion : childhood memories of Upington.

Van Rooi, M (1998) Visit to Keidebees.

Malo, M (1998) Visit to Keidebees.

Vuyiswa, G (1998) Interview re call to be Sangoma.

Vuyiswa, L (1999) Oral narrative on her history, taped.

Sample geometrics reception study with crafts group in Andriesvale 2004.

Sample geometrics reception study with Methodist church group in Upington 2004.

Mr Engelbrecht, Snr and Jnr, owners of Biesje Poort – discussions and correspondence.

Mr Engelbrecht informant re Louisvale – discussion.

Mr Engelbrecht, long term resident Upington – interviews on Upington recent history.

Sketches and notes of artefacts at various sites in Upington area.

Notes and sketches of rock art at Biesje Poort and mine.

Recordings of Stone circle – Keidebees.

Photographs of artefacts and rock engravings of area.

10. Related research: unpublished dissertations and papers

- Ferreira, O.J.O. 1995. *Adamaster, gees van die Stormkaap*. [Adamastor, spirit of the Cape of Storms] (1998-2005) translated by Fisher, R.C. Pretoria: Unpublished document.
- Field, S. (15th January 1999). 'Memory, the TRC and the Significance of Oral History in Post-Apartheid South Africa' presented at History workshop, *The TRC: Commissioning the past* University of Witwatersrand (11- 14 June 1999).
- Fisher, R.C. (1989) 'A Paradigmatic approach to Architectural history: Postmodernism.' In unpublished thesis: Master of Architecture in the Faculty of Natural Sciences, University of Pretoria.
- Fisher-Lange, M.E. (1997). 'Changing worlds, changing texts: worlds create words and words create worlds-Notes on the dramatised text- "A Prayer for Rebirth"'. Unpublished manuscript, University of South Africa.
- Fisher, R.C. (1992). 'An ecosystemic role for architectural style: Bearing 'the plan' in 'mind'. Unpublished MA Thesis. University of Pretoria.
- Jones, Nora, L. (May 2002). 'The Mutter Museum: The body as Spectacle, Specimen, and Art'. A Dissertation Submitted to The Temple University Graduate Board in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy.
- Lombard, J. (1999, November). 'Waterslangverhale in en rondom Afrikaans: 'n ondersoek na mitisiteit as basis vir vergelykende literatuurstudie'. Proefskrif voorgelê vir die graad Philosophiae Doctor in Afrikaans en Nederlands aan die Potchefstroomse Universiteit vir Christelike Hoër Onderwys.M. Unpublished thesis.
- MEF/MEL 1997; 2006 Poems various.
- McLennan-Dodd, V. (2003). 'Reflexivity and Research Methodology in Representing the San: A Case Study of Isaacson's 'The Healing Land'. University of Natal, Durban, MA (Arts) Culture, Communication and Media Studies.
- Morris, D (1998) extracts from (1988). 'Engraved in place and time: a Review of Variability in the Rock Art of the Northern Cape and Karoo'. *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, 43 109-21 in UNISA hand book ACE 11: rock art chpt 1.
- Morris, D. (2002). 'Driekopseiland and "The Rain's Magic Power": History and Landscape in a New Interpretation of a Northern Cape Rock Engraving Site'. Masters Thesis, University of the Western Cape. Archaeology.
- Morris, D. (September 2003). 'Rock engravings in the Northern Cape, South Africa: a heritage resource in research and development'. Paper delivered at Khoe-San Research and Development Conference, Gaborone/ McGregor Museum, Kimberley, South Africa 2003 Biennial Conference of the South African Historical Society, Bloemfontein.
- Morris, D. (2006 in press) 'The importance of Wildebeest Kuil: 'a hill with a future, a hill with a past' McGregor Museum Kimberley.
- Parsons, I. (2001). 'An investigation of a Later Stone Age open-air surface site on Blauwbosch 364, Northern Cape'. Universiteit van Pretoria. (MA) Archaeology.
- Parsons, I. (2003). 'Circles of stone in the Northern Cape Province of South Africa' paper presented at The Fifth World Archaeological Congress Theme: Landscapes, Gardens and Dreamscapes Session: Created Spaces: Exploring Designed Landscapes, Washington D.C.
- Trail, A. (1997) 'What did the painters speak? Aspects of the South African Khoisan languages'. Notes from Rock art conference. Pretoria. Flagship museum 1997.

11. Related publications

- Anonymous. (circa 1958) Foreword of 'Rock Paintings in Africa' in *South African Archaeological Society*, Cape Town.
- Anson, G. & Allen, G. (2005). *Museums as Sacred Space: Navigating cultural identity in a post-colonial world*. E. Mellen.
- Armstrong, J. (1969). 'The paradise myth'. London: Oxford University Press.
- Bahn, P.G. (1998). 'The Cambridge Illustrated History of Prehistoric Art'. Cambridge University Press.
- Bakhtin, M. (1981). 'The Dialogic Imagination'. Holquist, M. & Barthes, R. (1974) S/Z: New York.
- Barnard, A. (1992). 'Hunters and herders of Southern Africa: a comparative ethnography of the Khoisan peoples'. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.
- Barnouw, V. (1979). 'Anthropology' Homewood: Dorsey Press.
- Barthes, R. (1972). 'Mythologies' New York.
- Barthes, R. (1975). 'Roland Barthes by Roland Barthes' New York.
- Barthes, R. (1981). 'Theory of the Text' in *Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader*, ed. Robert Young, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 31-47.
- Bateson, G. (1980). 'Mind and nature'. London: Fontana.
- Battis, W.W. (1948). 'The artists of the rocks' Pretoria: Red Fawn Press.
- Beaumont, P. & Vogel, J.C. (1984). "Spatial patterning of the ceramic Later Stone Age in the Northern Cape Province, South Africa" in Hall et al (eds) *Frontiers: Southern African archaeology today: 80-95*, Oxford: British Archaeological reports. International Series 207.
- Beaumont, P. & Vogel, J.C. (1989). 'Patterns in the age and context of rock art in the Northern Cape' in *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 44: 73-81.
- Beaumont, P.B. and Morris, D. (1990). 'Guide to archaeological sites in the Northern Cape'. Kimberley: McGregor Museum.
- Beaumont, Smith, Vogel (1995). 'Before the Einiqua: The archaeology of the frontier zone'. In *Einiqualand Studies of the Orange River Frontier* UCT Press (Pty) Ltd, Rondebosch. 236-264.
- Beaumont, P. (1998). 'Wonderwerk cave' in *IV Congress. Excursion guide to sites in the Northern Cape, Free State, and Lesotho. Dual Congress 1998*. Desktop Creations: Pretoria. 7-10.
- Bennun, N. (2004). 'The broken string. The last words of an extinct people'. London: penguin books.
- Biesele, M. (1993). 'Women like meat. The folklore and foraging ideology of the Kalahari Ju/hoan.' Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Binneman, J. (2000). 'Results from two test excavations in the Baviaanskloof Mountains, Eastern Cape Province' in *Southern African field archaeology* 9: 83-96.
- Bleek, W.H.I. (1875). 'A brief account of Bushman Folklore and Other Texts'. Cape Parliamentary Paper. Cape Town.
- Boas, F. (1900). 'The mythology of the Bella Colla Indians' in *Memoirs of natural history* 2:25-127.
- Bordwell, D. (1985). 'Narrative in the fiction film' Maddison: University of Wisconsin press.
- Brooks, A. & Yellen, J. (1987). 'The Preservation of Activity Areas in the Archaeological Record: Ethnoarchaeological and Archaeological Work in

- Northwest Ngamiland, Botswana. In Kent, S. (ed.) *Method and Theory in Activity Area Research*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Butzer, K. W. (1989). 'Rock art in the Vaal –Orange river basin: an overview' in Fock, G. J & D 'Felsbilder in Südafrika Teil 111: die Felsbilder im Vaal-Oranje-Becken.'. Köln: Böhlau Verlag. 137-154.
- Canonici, N.N. (1992). 'Zulu folktales for beginners'. Durban: Department of Zulu language and literature, University of Natal, Durban.
- Carrol, L. (1966). from *The Complete Works*. London: Nonesuch.
- Chalfen, D. (1996). 'Foreword' in Tomaselli, K.G. *Appropriating Images: the Semiotics of Visual Representation*, Denmark: Intervention Press. xi-xvi.
- Childe, G. (1925). 'The dawn of European civilization'.
- Clark, B.H. (1968). 'European theories of the drama'. New York: Crown Publishers.
- Cornel, F.C. (1910). 'The "groote Slang" of Orange River' in *The State* (August 1910).
- Cornelissen, A.K. (11 Oct 1968). 'Gravure by Louisvale tussen 400 en 500 jaar oud' in *Die Gemsbok*. Upington.
- Cornelissen, A.K. (circa 1975). 'Langs Grootrivier', Upington Museum.
- Cornwell, J. (1 Oct. 2006:12). *Sunday Times Lifestyle*.
- Cruden Concordance, Alexander. (1986: 522). *The Bible, Revelations 2:7*.
- Darwin, C. (1858/1959). 'On the origin of species' London: John Murray.
- Deacon, J. (1994). 'Rock engravings and the folklore of Bleek and Lloyd's /Xam San Informants' in Dowson T A & Lewis-Williams, D. W. *Contested Images: diversity in Southern African rock art research* edited by Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press. 237-256.
- Deacon, H.J. and Deacon J. (1999). 'Human Beginnings in South Africa: Uncovering the Secrets of the Stone Age'. Cape Town: David Philip Publishers.
- Dewey, J. (1910). 'How we think'.
- Dewey, J. (1922). 'Human Nature and Conduct'.
- Dos Santos J. (1586). 'Attacks of melancholy' in MacLennan B. *The wind makes dust*. Cape Town: Tafelberg Publishers Limited. 2003. 17.
- Dowson, T. A. (1992). 'Rock engravings of Southern Africa'. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Drewal, H.J. (2002). 'Mami Wati and Santa Marta: imag(in)ing selves and Others in Africa and the Americas' in Landau, P.S. & Kaspin, D.D. (eds). *Images & Empires: Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa* London: University of California Press, Ltd. 193-211.
- Eastwood, E.B. & Smith, B.W. (2005). 'Fingerprints of the Khoekhoen: geometric and handprinted rock art in the central Limpopo basin, Southern Africa'. in *The South African Archaeological Bulletin* Vol 61: 183 June 2006: 63-76.
- Eastwood, E.B. (2006). 'Animals behaving like people: San rock paintings of ku in du in the central Limpopo basin, Southern Africa.' In *The South African Archaeological Bulletin* Vol 61: 183 June 2006: 26-39.
- Fabian, J. (1990). 'Presence and representation: The Other and anthropological writing'. *Critical Inquiry* 16:753-772.
- Fagan, B.M. (1994). 'In the beginning. An introduction to archaeology. Eighth edition'. New York: The Lindbriar Corporation.
- Fiske, J. (1979). 'Semiotics: its contribution to the study of intercultural communication' in *Educational broadcasting international* June 1979.
- Fock, G. J & D. (1989). 'Felsbilder in Südafrika Teil 111: die Felsbilder im Vaal-Oranje-Becken.'. Köln: Böhlau Verlag.

- Fourie, C. & Maunick, E.J. (2000). 'Splinters from the fire: Éclats d'un feu'. Pretoria: Protea Book House.
- Freire, P. (1972). 'Pedagogy of the oppressed' London: Penguin Books.
- Freud, S. (1900). 'Oedipus and Hamlet' (translated by Brill 1900) in Clark, B.H. (ed) (1968). *European Theories of the Drama*. New York: crown Publishers, Inc.304-307.
- Gardner, H. (1993). 'Multiple Intelligences. The Theory in Practice.' New York: Basic Books.
- Gould, E. (1981). 'Mythical Intentions in Modern Literature'. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Graves, R. (1974). 'The Greek Myths: 1' Great Britain: Penguin Books.
- Graves, R. (1975). 'The Greek Myths: 2' Great Britain: Penguin Books.
- Guenther, M. (1995). 'Contested images, contexted texts: the Politics of Representing the Bushmen of Southern Africa.' In Tomaselli. K.G. (ed) *Critical Arts* Vol 9:2 (1995) 110-118.
- Hall, Simon. (1996). 'Race, culture and communications: Looking backward and forward at cultural studies' in What is cultural studies?, London, Edward Arnold.
- Hall, Simon. (1994). 'Images of Interaction' in *Contested Images: diversity in Southern African rock art research* edited by Dowson T. A. & Lewis-Williams, D. 61-82 Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Hall, Stuart. (1997). 'Random thoughts provoked by the conference: "Identities, democracy, culture and communication in southern Africa".' *Critical Arts* 11(1/2):1-16.
- Hoff, A. (1993). 'Die tradisionele wereld beskouing van die Khoekhoen' [The traditional world viewpoint of the Khoekhoen] *South African Journal of Ethnology* 16: 1-9.
- Hoff, A. (1995). 'Pubertietsrite van 'n Khoekhoemeisie' [Puberty ritual of a Khoekhoe girl] *South African Journal of Ethnology*, 18: 29-41.
- Hoff, A. (1997). 'The Water Snake of the Khoekhoen and /Xam' in *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 52: 21-37, 1997.
- Hoff, A.(1998). 'The water bull of the/Xam' in *South African Archaeological Bulletin* No53: 109-124.
- Hollman, J.C. (2005). 'Swift –people': Therianthropes and bird sybolism in hunter-gatherer rock paintings, Lewis-Williams and eastern Cape provinces, South Africa.' in Blundell, G (ed) *In South African Archaeological Society Goodwin Series. Further approaches to southern African rock art*. Vol. 9. December 2005: 21-33.
- Hoggart, R. (1973). 'Speaking to each other: Vol.2' in About literature, London, Penguin books.
- Honigman, J.J.(1963). 'Understanding culture'. New York: Harper.
- How, M.W. (1970). 'The Mountain Bushmen of Basutoland' Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik Ltd.
- Humphreys, A.J.B. & Thackeray, A. I. (1983). 'Ghaap and Gariiep: Later Stone Age studies in the northern Cape'. *South African Archaeological Society Monograph Series* 2.
- Humphreys, A.J.B. (1988). 'A Prehistoric frontier in the Northern Cape and Western Orange Free State: archaeological evidence of interaction and ideological change', in *Kronos: Journal of Cape History* 13:3-13.

- Humphreys, A.J.B. (1998). 'Populations, prehistory, pens and politics: some reflections from north of the Orange River', in *Southern African Field Archaeology* 7: 20-25.
- Ingold, T. (Oct. 1993). 'The Temporality of the Landscape', *World Archaeology* 25, 2 152-74.
- Ionesco, E. 'Notes and counter notes' in Hatlen, T W (ed). *Drama principles and plays*, second edition (1967) New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Jacobson, L. (1984). 'Comments on Bambata pottery' in *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 39:142.
- Jolly, P. (1986). 'A first generation descendant of the Transkei San'. In *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 41: 6-9.
- Jolly, P. (1998). 'An evaluation of recent oral evidence relating to southeastern San history and culture'. In Bank, A., (ed.), *The proceedings of the Khoisan identities and cultural heritage conference*. Institute for historical research. University of Western Cape Town: Info Source.
- Jung, C.G. (1953). 'The Collected Works' London: Routledge & Kegan Paul 59.
- Jung, C.G. (1960). 'The structure and dynamics of the psyche'. *The collected works* (Vol 8.) London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Jung, C.G. (1964a). 'Man and his symbols'. New York: Dell.
- Landau P.D & Kaspin D.D. (eds) (2002). 'Images & Empires Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa'. London: University of California Press.
- Lange, M.E. (2003). 'From one other to an-other: In search of Methodology'. *Cultural Studies-Critical Methodologies* (Theme issue: From one to an-Other: Auto-ethnographic explorations in Southern Africa) Vol 3 No 4, 2003; 429-447 Sage Publications.
- Lange, M.E., Kruiper, B. and Tomaselli, C. (2003b). 'Meeting points:Symbiotic spaces' in *current writing*, 15(special issue): 72-93.
- Lange, M.E. (2003a). 'Voices from the Kalahari' *current writing*, 15(special issue): 57-71.
- Lange, M.E. (2005). 'What's it got to do with me? Arrow in South Africa' in *Arts for reconciliation: a world journal of Research, debate and practice*, 1(1).....
- Lange, M.E. (2006a). 'Tracking Decorated Ostrich Eggshells in the Kalahari' in Hockings, P (ed) *Visual Anthropology*. May-September 2006. Viane019 (3-4). 371-388.
- Langhansz, C. (2003). 'At last both die. The Khoikhoi again' 1694 in MacLennan, B. (ed). *The wind makes dust*. Cape Town: Tafelberg Publishers Limited.
- Lee, D.N. & Woodhouse, H.C. (1970). 'Art on the rocks of southern Africa'. Cape Town: Purnell.
- Legassick, M. (1979). 'The northern frontier to 1820: The emergence of the Griqua people', in Richard Elphick & Gillionce, H. (eds), *The shaping of South African society, 1652-1820*: 243-290, Cape Town: Longman.
- Lewis-Williams, J.D. (1980). 'Ethnography and Iconography: Aspects of Southern San thought and art' in *Man* (n.s.) 15: 467-482.
- Lewis-Williams, J.D. (1981a). 'Believing & Seeing: Symbolic meanings in southern San rock paintings'. Orlando, FL: Academic Press.
- Lewis-Williams, J.D. (1982). 'The economic and social context of Southern San rock art' in *Current Anthropology* 23(4): 429-449.
- Lewis-Williams, J.D. (1983). 'The rock art of southern Africa'. Cambridge: University Press.

- Lewis-Williams, J.D. (1988). 'Reality and non-reality in San rock art'. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press for the Institute for the Study of Man in Africa. Twenty fifth Raymond Dart Lecture, 6 October 1987.
- Lewis-Williams, J.D. (1990). 'Discovering Southern African Rock Art'. Cape Town & Johannesburg: David Philip.
- Lewis-Williams, J.D. (2006). 'Debating Rock Art: myth and ritual, theories and facts'. In *The South African Archaeological Bulletin* (June 2006). Vol 61: 105-114.
- Lewis-Williams, J.D. & Biesele, M. (1978). 'Eland hunting rituals among anorthern and southern San groups: striking similarities' in *Africa* 48 (2). 117-134.
- Lewis-Williams, J.D & Dowson, T. (1999). 'Images of Power: understanding Bushman Rock Art'. Cape Town: National Book Printers.
- Lewis-Williams, D. & Blundell, G. (1997). 'New light on finger dots in Southern African rock art: synesthesia, transformation and technique'. In *South African Journal of Science* 93: 51-54.
- Lewis-Williams, D. & Blundell, G. (1998). 'Fragile heritage A rock art fieldguide'. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Lewis-Williams, J.D. & Dowson, T. (1990). 'Through the veil: San rock paintings and the rock face'. In *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 1990 45: 5-16.
- Lewis-Williams, J.D. & Loubser, J.H.N. (1986). 'Deceptive appearances: a critique of southern African rock art studies' in *Advances in world archaeology* 5: 203-290.
- Lewis-Williams, J.D. & Pearce, D.G. (2004). 'San Spirituality Roots, Expression, and Social Consequences'. Cape Town: Double Story Books.
- Maclennan, B. (2003). 'The wind makes dust' Cape Town: Tafelberg
- Mallen, L. (2005). 'Linking sex, species and a supernatural snake at lab x rock art site'. Blundell, G. (ed). In *South African Archaeological Society Goodwin Series. Further approaches to southern African rock art*. Vol. 9. December 2005: 3-10.
- Malinowski, B.K. (1926). 'Myth in primitive psychology', London: Kegan Paul.
- Malinowski, B.K. (1969). 'A scientific theory of culture and other essays' London: Oxford University Press.
- Maree, G.H., Wouters, J.M.F., de Beer, F.C., and Costello, D. (1997). 'Anthropology SKA 100-V', Pretoria: Dept of Anthropology and Archaeology UNISA.
- Marshall, J. & Ritchie, C. (1984). 'Where are the Ju/wasi of Nyae Nyae? Cape Town: University of Cape Town Centre for African Studies Communications No. 9.
- Marshall-Thomas, E. (1959). 'The Harmless people'. London: Martin Secker & Warburg.
- Masson, J. (2006). 'Apollo 11 Cave in southwest Namibia: Some observations on the site and its rock art'. In *The South African Archaeological Bulletin* Vol 61: 183 June 2006: 76-89.
- McLennan-Dodd, V. (2003). 'Wit Meisie/Morning Star: Encounters in the Desert. In *Current Writing, Special Issue*: 88-100.
- McLennan-Dodd, V. (2001). 'A Semiotic Analysis of The Great Dance: A Hunter's Story in Relation to Media Representation of the San', mimeo.
- Meskill, L. (2005). 'Recognition, Restitution and the potentials of postcolonial liberalism for South African heritage' in *South African Archaeological Bulletin*. Dec 2005. Vol 60 no 182: 72-78.
- Meyer, W.F., Moore, C., & Viljoen, H.G. (1997). 'Personology. From individual to ecosystem.' Johannesburg: Heinemann.

- Moffat, R. (1842). 'Missionary Labours and Scenes in South Africa'. London: John Snow.
- Morgan, L. (1877). 'Ancient society' Fort Worth: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Morris, D. (1988). 'Engraved in place and time: a Review of Variability in the Rock Art of the Northern Cape and Karoo'. *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, 43 109-21.
- Morris, D. (2007 forthcoming). 'Snake and veil: On the rock-engravings of Driekopseiland, Northern Cape, South Africa'. In Smith, C.B.W. & Blundell, G. (eds) *Seeing & Knowing*. UK: Chippindale.
- Morris, D. (2004). (13 iv 04). Comment on 'Taking Stock. Identifying Khoekhoen Herder Rock Art in Southern Africa'. In *Current Anthropology* Vol 45:4 August-October, 2004, The Wenner Grenn foundation for Anthropological Research.
- Mühlmann, W.E. (1968). 'Die Geshichte der Anthropolie' Bonn: Athenädaum Verlag' in Anthropology SKA 100-V UNISA.
- Murray, M.I. (1974). 'Witwater se mense'. Cape Town: Tafelberg.
- Newcomb, H. (2004). 'Narrative and Genre' in Downing, J., McQuail, D., Schlesinger, P and Warbella, E., *The Sage Handbook of Media studies*, Oaks, CA: Sage, 413-428.
- Ouzman, S. (2005). 'The magical arts of a raider nation: Central South Africa's Korana rock art'. in *South African Archaeological Society Goodwin Series. Further approaches to southern African rock art*. . Vol. 9. December 2005: 101-113.
- Oxford Dictionary 1978.
- Pasteur, A.B. & Toldson, I.L. (1982). 'Roots of soul: the psychology of Black experience'. New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday.
- Piaget, J. (1950). 'The psychology of intelligence'. New York, Routledge.
- Penn, N. (1995). 'The Orange River Frontier Zone, c. 1700-1805'. In *Einiqualand Studies of the Orange River Fronteir*. Smith, A.B. ed. Rondebosch: UCT Press (Pty) Ltd. 21-109.
- Prins, F.E. (1990). 'Southern-Bushmen Descendants in the Transkei – Rock art and rainmaking' in *South African Journal of Ethnology* 13 110-116.
- Prins, F.E. and Lewis, H. (1992). 'Bushmen as mediators in Nguni cosmology' in *Ethnology* (April 1992) University of Pittsburgh.
- Prins, F.E. & Hall, S. (1994). Expressions of fertility in the rock art of Bantu speaking agriculturalists' in *African Archaeological Review* 12: 171-203.
- Prins, F.E. (1999). 'Dissecting diviners: on positivism, trance-formations, and the unreliable informant' in *Natal Museum Journal of Humanities*, Vol. 11 1999. Pietermaritzburg. 43-62.
- Redfield, R. (1952). 'The Primitive world view'. In *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 96.
- Renfrew, C. & Bahn, P. (1991). 'Archaeology Theories Methods and Practice'. USA: Thames and Hudson Ltd.
- Robins, M. (2001). 'Intersecting Places Emancipatory Spaces: Women Journalists in Tanzania'. Eritrea: Africa World Press.
- Rudner, I. (1953). 'Decorated ostrich egg-shell and stone implements from the Uppington area' *South African Archeological Bulletin* 26:139-142.
- Russel, D.A. (1980). 'Period style for the theatre'. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Russel, T. (1994). 'Enquiring visitor-education in museums' in *Group for education in museums* 15 (GEM).

- Ryan, P. (1995). 'Postscript: a theory of intertextuality' in Batley, K (ed) *Fiction: intertextual readings* ENG 314R UNISA.
- Schapera, I. (1930). 'The Khoisan peoples of South Africa'. London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd.
- Scherz, E.R. (1970). 'Felsbilder in Südwest-Afrika, Teil 1' Cologne: Bohlau.
- Schmidt, S. (1979). 'The Rain Bull of the South African Bushmen', Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Schonland, S. (1986). 'On some supposed Bushman inscriptions and rock carvings found in Bechuanaland', in *Transactions of the South African Philosophical Society*, 9, xix-xx.
- Senghor, L. (1964). 'On African socialism'. New York: Frederick A Praeger Publisher.
- Shutte, A. (2001). 'Ubuntu'. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications
- Slack, (1962) 'Rock engravings from Driekopseiland and other sites south west of Johannesburg'. London: Centaur Press.
- Slack, L.M. (1962). 'Rock engravings from Driekopseiland and other sites south west of Johannesburg'. London: Centaur Press.
- Smith, A.B. (1994). 'Metaphors of Space: rock Art and Territoriality in Southern Africa' in *Contested Images: diversity in Southern African rock art research* Dowson T.A. & Lewis-Williams, D. (eds) Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press. 373-384.
- Smith, A.B. (ed) (1995). 'Einiqualand Studies of the Orange River Frontier' UCT Press (Pty) Ltd, Rondebosch.
- Smith, B.W. (1997). 'Zambia's Ancient Rock Art: the paintings of Kasama'. National Heritage conservation Commission: Livingstone.
- Smith, A.B. (1998). 'Khoesaaan Orthography' in *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 53: 37-38.
- Smith, A., Malherbe, C., Guenther, M., Berens, P. (2000). 'The Bushmen of Southern Africa- A foraging society in transition', Cape Town, David Philip/Ohio University Press.
- Smith, B.W. & Blundell, G. (eds) Van der Ryst & Kruger, E. (2000). 'Prehistoric Rock Art'. Pretoria: Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, UNISA.
- Smith, B.W. & Ouzman, S. (2004). 'Taking Stock. Identifying Khoekhoen Herder Rock Art in Southern Africa'. In *Current Anthropology* Vol 45:4 August-October, 2004, The Wenner Grenn foundation for Anthropological Research.
- Solomon, A. (1994). 'Mythic Women' in *Contested Images: diversity in Southern African rock art research* Dowson T.A. & Lewis-Williams, D. (eds). Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press. 331-371.
- Solomon, A. (2006). Review of 'San spirituality, roots, expressions and social consequences' in *The South African Archaeological Bulletin* (June 2006). Vol 61: 183: 117-118.
- Spivak, G.C. (1988). 'Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism' from 'In other worlds: Essays in cultural politics'. London and New York, Routledge. In Batley, K., *Fiction: Intertextual Readings*. Pretoria: UNISA.
- Stoller, P. (1984). 'Eye, mind and word' in *Anthropology, L'Homme* 24.3-4
- Stoller, P (1992) 'The cinematic griot: The ethnography of Jean Rouch' Chicago: University of Chicago press.
- Sue, D, Sue, D & Sue, S. (1994). 'Understanding abnormal behavior'. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

- Thackeray, J.F. (1983). 'Disguises, animal behaviour and concepts of control in relation to rock art of southern Africa'. In South African Archaeological Society Goodwin series 4 38:43.
- Thackeray, J.F. (1988a). 'Southern African Rock Art and Xhosa beliefs associated with Abantubomlambo'. In *Pictogram* 1:2-3.
- Thackeray, A.I., Thackeray, J.F. & Beaumont, P.B. (1983). 'Excavations at the Blibkklikop specularite mine near Postmasburg, Northern Cape'. In South African Archaeological Bulletin 38:17-25.
- Tomaselli, K.G. (1995). 'Introduction to Recuperating the San' *Critical arts: A Journal of Cultural Studies* 9(2): i-xxi.
- Tomaselli, K.G. (1996). 'Appropriating Images: The Semiotics of visual representation' Hjobjerg, Denmark: Intervention Press.
- Tomaselli, K.G. (1998). 'Recovering praxis: cultural studies in Africa: The un-naming continues' (Reply to Wright, 1998 and McNeil, 1998) in *European Journal of Cultural Studies* Vol 1(3) 387-402 Sage Publications, London.
- Tomaselli, K.G. (1999). 'Psycho Spiritual Ecoscience: the Ju/'hoansi and Cultural Tourism'. In *Visual Anthropology*, 12 (2-3): 185-195.
- Tomaselli, K.G. (2003a). "*Op die Grond*": Writing In the San/d, Surviving Crime'. *Current Writing*, forthcoming.
- Tomaselli, K.G. (2005). 'Where Global Contradictions are Sharpest. Research Stories from the Kalahari'. Amsterdam: SAVUSA-series Rozenberg Publishers.
- Tomaselli, K.G., Dyll, L. and Francis, M. (2007 forthcoming). "'Self' and 'Other': Auto-, Reflexive and Indigenous Ethnography". In Denzin, N. *et al* (eds) *Handbook on Ethnography*. London: Sage.
- Van Rijssen, W.J. (1994). 'The question of Ownership' in Dowson, T., & Lewis-Williams, D. (eds) *Contested Images: Diversity in Southern African Rock Art Research*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press: 159-176.
- Van Rooy, J.A. (1978). 'The traditional world view of black people in southern Africa'. In *Wetenskaplike bydraes van die Potchefstroom Universiteit vir C.H.O.* reeks F. Potchefstroom: Instituut vir die bevordering van Calvinisme.
- Van Zyl, S. (1978). 'Sign and Structure: semio-structural approaches to literary criticism'. In *Unisa English studies*. Vol, XVI:2 Sept 1978:3-11.
- Vedder, H. (1928). 'The Herero' in Hahn, C.H.L. *The Native Tribes of South West Africa*. Cape Town: Cape Times Limited. 153-208.
- Vedder, H. (1928). 'The Berg Damara' in Hahn, C.H.L. *The Native Tribes of South West Africa*. Cape Town: Cape Times Limited. 37-78.
- Vinnicombe, P. (1976). 'People of the eland: rock paintings of the Drakensberg Bushmen as a reflection of their life and thought'. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.
- Vygotski, L.S. (1978). 'Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes. Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press.
- Vygotsky L. S. (1962). 'Thought and language'. Cambridge The MIT Press.
- Webley, L.E., Binneman, J.N.F. & Schoeman, M.H. (eds) Boeyens, J.C.A. & Kruger, E. (2000). 'Theoretical approaches in archaeology: The reconstruction and interpretation of past lifeways and culture change'. Pretoria: Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, UNISA.
- Wesley, Charles, 1707 – 1788: Hymn 173, Methodist Hymn Book.
- Wilman, M. (1933). 'The rock engravings of Griqualand West and Bechuanaland, South Africa'. Cambridge: Deighton Bell.

-
- Wilmsen, E. (1986). 'Of paintings and painters, in terms of Zu/'hoasi interpretations, in R. Fossen & Keuthmann (ed) *Contemporary studies on Khoisan 2*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.
- Woodhouse, B. (1992). 'The rain and its creatures'. Rivonia: William Waterman Publications.

Images	Title and Reference	Pg
Figure 0.1	'Research area: Gariiep River (Orange River) Upinton Northern Cape. www.kanabo-safaris.co.za	8
Figure 1.1	'The Eiland Women, (2005) Upington Protea Lodge': Photograph FJ Lange jnr.	18
Figure 3.1	Lange (2006) 'Categories generated from after Lindauer's PHD (2002) literature review plus explanations for terminology'.	40-41
Figure 3.2	Lange (2006) 'Bridging empirical data and learning theory'	44
Figure 5.1	'Photograph of Herero hunting hides' (Vedder 1928:199).	115
Figure 5.2	'Map engraving at Biesje Poort with interpretation by Dawid Padmaker 1999' Photo: Michael Fisher 2001	116
Figure 5.3	'Rock engraving techniques of South Africa' (Beaumont et al 1995:248-250)	121
Figure 5.4	'Vegetation dating and animals related to Biesje Poort' Lange (2006); Butzer 1989:151; Fock & Fock 1989 – animals at Biesje Poort)	124
Figure 5.5	Lange (2006) after Cornelissen. 'Maps of distribution of Khoisan people by earlytravellers' including Gordon R, 1779; Moffat, R. 1856 and Wikar, 1778/79 in Cornelissen (circa 1975).	127
Figure 5.6	Lange (2006) after Cornelissen 'Distribution of Khoi (Nama) groups north of the Orange River during the Korana wars' (1879) in Cornelissen (circa 1975).	130
Figure 6.1	'Fantasy mythical image, New Site Biesje Poort'. Photograph, Michael Fisher, 2001 (with permission).	136
Figure 6.2	Lange (2002). 'Temporary shelter from above'	137
Figure 6.3	'Map of n/oresi drawn by !Kung man'. (after Marshall & Ritchie 1984 in Smith 1994:375).	137
Figure 6.4	'Hunting metaphor, New Site Biesje Poort'' Photograph, Michael Fisher, 2001 (with permission).	141
Figure 6.5	'Three humped image and eland, New Site Biesje Poort' Photograph, Michael Fisher, 2001 (with permission).	143
Figure 6.6	'Scorpion? New Site Biesje Poort' Photograph, Michael Fisher, 2001 (with permission).	144

Figure 6.7	'Giraffe and spoor New Site Biesje Poort' Photograph, Michael Fisher, 2001 (with permission).	145
Figure 6.8	'Horned snake? New Site Biesje Poort' Photograph, Michael Fisher, 2001 (with permission).	146
Figure 6.9	'Horned adder' photograph: www.nfi.org.za	147
Figure 6.10	'Horned snake' ' Kuru Art and Craft project www.kuru.co.bw	147
Figure 6.11	Tracing by D. Morris 'Springbokooog' (Beaumont and Morris 1990:37)	149
Figure 6.12	'Therianthrope New Site Biesje Poort' Photograph, Michael Fisher, 2001 (with permission).	150
Figure 6.13	'From Trance dance' from Lewis-Williams & Dowson (1989: 44-45).	151
Figure 6.14	'From Trance dance' from Lewis-Williams & Dowson (1989: 44-45).	151
Figure 6.15	Lange. M.E. (2004) 'Sample geometric reception study'	167-168
Figure 7.1	'Approximate location of Biesje Poort and Apollo 11 in relationship to Xu rock engravings by Ouzman and Smith' www.dwaf.go.za	171
Figure 7.2	Lange after Lewis-Williams and Pearce re San cosmos (2004).	172
Figure 7.3	Lange M.E.(2006) 'Adaptation of Bushman as mediator in Nguni culture to include geometric rock engravings' after Prins and Lewis. (1992) (after Hammond-Tooke 1981) 'The Bushman as Mediator in the Symbolic Structure of the Nguni'.	174

Websites

Map Research area www.kanabo-safaris.co.za

Map Upington www.dwaf.go.za

Horned Snake, Tchaba, www.kuru.co.bw

'Horned Adder' www.nfi.org.za

Hoenisch, S. (2005). 'Saussure's Sign'. www.criticism.com/md/the_sign.html.

Levi-Strauss, C. (1958, 1967). 'Structural anthropology' (Jacobson, C. & Schoepf, b.g. Trans.). Allen lane, Penguin press.

www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works/fr/levistra.htm.

Lindauer, M. A. (December 4, 2003). 'Inside, Out, and Back Again: The Relationship of New Museology and Curriculum Studies to Museum Education'. Paper presented at Current Research in Museum Studies. A forum featuring the Year 2004 Smithsonian Fellows in Museum Practice Smithsonian centre for education and museum studies <http://museumstudies.si.edu/lidauer.pdf>

Simões, Anthea. (2001). Issues of Identity in Relation to the Kalahari Bushmen of Southern Africa: A Comparative Analysis of Two Different Bushmen Groups during the late 1990s and into 2001

www.und.ac.za/und/ccms/publications/dissertations/anthea/htm.

Singer. (1995). www.nova.edu/sss/QR/QR2-2/singer.html

End notes

¹ During the time period of this research the book *Langs Grootrivier* by A.K. Cornelissen (circa 1975 unpublished) was for sale at the Upington museum in a photostated form.

² For further discussions on the river names see: Raper & Boucher, 1988:300; Forbes, 1965:106 and Smith, 1995: xvii.

³ When referring to descendants in South Africa of traditional hunter-gatherer communities I have used interchangeably the names 'San' and 'Boesman' [Bushman] as well as specific linguistic grouping such as /Xam. My choice of name in the text is often related to the name used by the relevant source such as 'San' in the writings of historian Nigel Penn (1995) and the Afrikaans 'Boesman' by the communities themselves of the Northern Cape, as verified by Belinda Kruiper (Personal communication 2006).

Controversy over the naming of these communities has been much debated and for further explanation of meaning and choice of naming within the research area of the Northern Cape see Tomaselli 2005:1.

⁴ I shall use Khoisan when speaking of the traditional hunter-gatherer and herder people as one generalised entity. The use of Khoi/ Khoikhoi/ Khoekhoen/ and Khwekhwe I have used interchangeably for herder groups as reflected in related research.

⁵ I have subsequently found out that one of the names given was actually that of a relative. As the woman concerned is deceased, I have decided to use the name she wanted used and explained this to her mother when she requested the name be changed to her daughter's correct name. In order to satisfy both mother and daughter I have included the name her mother requested in brackets.

⁶ Vetkat, a member of the //Khomani Kruiper family is an artist who lives in the Southern Kalahari.

⁷ Field journal, notes and tapes of interviews relating to this research were sent to Mc Gregor Museum over the years and are housed there.

⁸ Jan Spies was a renowned Afrikaans storyteller with a distinct southern African West coast accent.

⁹ Upington Protea Hotel and Lodge supported this research through accommodation and interview facilities.

¹⁰ The 'hut' refers to the small room used for seclusion in the female puberty initiation rite

¹¹ 'UBUNTU' is an Nguni word meaning 'humanity' or that a person is a person because of other people: "The concept of UBUNTU embodies an understanding of what it is to be human and what is necessary for human beings to grow and find fulfilment." (Shutte, 2001: 2).

¹² The 'cowl', originating from a monk's hood, is the term used when the amniotic sac does not burst before the child has is out of the mother's womb. The burst membrane over the baby's face is known as a 'cowl'. People born with the 'cowl' are believed to have extra sensory abilities.

Heritage from the Upington, Gariep River area

Informed consent

This research is part of my, Mary Elizabeth Lange's, dissertation towards a Masters Degree with the Culture, Communication and Media Studies Centre, University of KwaZulu- Natal.

The research aims to add to the public communication of heritage (as presently available by Cornellisen) and specifically the intangible heritage record of the above area. Intangible heritage includes oral history and places of meaning. The Upington museum has indicated the need for recording cross cultural oral history. The main focus group of the research is a group of class, gender and race previously marginalised by South African museums. Their histories and perceptions of the Gariep river will be complemented by recordings of oral histories of other Upington individuals.

Methodology used is multidisciplinary with an emphasis on participatory and auto-ethnographic methods. This means that the values of the researcher and how they influence the research are made transparent. It is hoped that the research will link to Freire's action research whereby people being researched feel empowered through articulating their points of view mainly through oral autobiography and formal survey schedules.

Oral and written autobiographies recorded will be discussed in the dissertation regarding: meaning attributed to the Gariep/Orange River and Hall's theories of shifting identities.

Oral autobiographies will be recorded on tape and transcriptions will be returned to the originator for verification of the transcription.

If preferred no names will be mentioned but it would add to the research if links to historic figures could be mentioned.

For more information regarding this project Prof Tomaselli, CCMS, UKZN (031) 2602505 may be contacted.

I thank you for your voluntary participation and trust you will find the exercise both enjoyable and rewarding.

Mary Lange
0826527091

Erfenis van die Upington area

Hierdie navorsing is deel van my, Mary Lange, se werk vir my Meesters Graad by Universiteit KwaZulu-Natal, Culture Communication en Media Studies. Ek hoop die navorsing sal 'n bydrae lewe vir inligting van die area en verskille en ooreenkomste van die samelewing.

Vir meer inligting oor hierdie projek kan Prof Tomaselli, CCMS, Tel (031) 2602505 gekontak word.

Ons doen navorsing met mense van alle ouderdomme, geslag en kultuur om te probeer ooreenkomste van lesing van ons eiganis te bewys.

Twee navorsingskedule sal ingevul word wat omtrent vyf en veertig minute sal duur. Ek sal met individuele werk en prentjies wys en vra oor enigiets waaraan die prentjie hulle laat dink. Ek sal dan vir hulle vra om n paar eenvoudige prentjies te teken van woorde wat ek vir hulle voorlees. Daar sal gun druk wees om te antwoord nie en as die deelnemer vind dat hulle dit nie geniet nie mag hulle ontrek.

Deelnemers sal vergoed word vir die tyd wat hulle gebruik op die navorsing tussen minimum dertig en maksimum vyftig rand.

Deelnemers se name sal nie gebruik word nie.

Ek dank die wat wil deelneem en hoop dat hulle die geleentheid geniet.

Mary Lange

082 652 7091

APPENDIX 2: M.E. LANGE 'WOMEN READING THE GARIEP, UPINGTON. WATER SNAKE STORIES, COMMENTS AND NOTES 1998 - Taped, transcribed and translated by Mary Elizabeth Lange

<p><i>WATERSTORIES - 1998 UPINGTON NOORD KAAP</i></p> <p><i>1A. 'WILLEM EN DIE WATERSLANG' vertel deur JOHANNA DE WEE (DOLLIE) 30/11/48 (geskryf deur NaNa/Dollie Des 1998 op die gras op die 'Eiland' - Upington.) (Ek is NaNa so noem hulle my. Ek het net 'n Dogter. Ons is 4 Sisters en 2 Broers Johannes, Gert, Duifie, Rosie, Poppie, Dollie. Dit is die famielie waar van ons almaal nog lewe. Ons ouers is al twee dood. My Ma is 'n Baster Kleurling Hotnosvrou. My Ma se naam is Katrina en sy van is DeWee. Sy kom uit die omgewing van Kareeburg Namibia. My ouma is oorspronklik van Namibia en ook van Kareeburgs omgewing. My Oupa – Hy is ook afkomstig van Afrika wêreld van 'n groot trek deur die land tot in Suid Afrika. My Oup is 'n Griekwa Kleurling sy taal is Koitaal 'n Namataal. My pa is ook 'n Tswana gemeng met Kleurling bloed. Sy kinders is almaal gemeng Tswana, Kleurling Baster, dit bring ons nou uit op Kleurling. Ons Kerk verband is NGK Kerk. Ons huis taal is Afrikaans. Ons het in Keidebees grootgeword. Daar lê ons groot Herrineringe van ons grootwording. Ons is later in jare weggeneem van ons geboorte plek af van die</i></p>	<p>'WATERSTORIES' 1998 – TRANSLATION</p> <p>1A. WILLEM AND THE WATERSNAKE Related by JOHANNA DE WEE (Dollie) 30/11/48 (written by NaNa/Dollie Dec 1998 on the banks of the 'Eiland' at Upington.)</p> <p>(I am called NaNa. I only have a daughter. I have four sisters and two brothers namely: Johannes, Gert, Duifie, Rosie, Poppie, Dollie. This is our living family. Our parents have both died.</p> <p>My mother was a Bastard Coloured-Hottentot woman. Her name was Katrina DeWee. She came from the Kareeburg district of Namibia. My grandmother was originally from the same part of Namibia.</p> <p>My grandfather also came from somewhere in Africa and after a great trek came to South Africa. My granddad is a Griqua-Coloured whose language is a Khoi language, a Nama language.</p> <p>My father is also a Tswana mixture with coloured blood. His children are all a mixture of Tswana, Coloured-Bastard, and this brings us now to “Coloured”. Our church affiliation is to the NGK Church. Our home language is Afrikaans.</p> <p>We grew up in Keidebees. It is there that our fond memories of growing up lie. In later years the Boers took us away from our place</p>
--	--

Boere en hulle het ons alle kleure rasse op een voorblok gesit. Nou bly ons maar in Rosedale Upt.)

1B

(Op band opgeneem -Jan 1998 langs die swembad by die Upington Protea Hotel langs die Orange Rivier oorkant die 'Eiland')

"My naam is Johanna de Wee, my klein noem naam is NaNa. Ek bly in Upington, waar ek groot geword het.

In die tagtige jare het ek gewerk saam in die apteek met 'n ander vrou en ons twee het daar saam gepraat oor die Waterslang en sy het my gevertel van haar seun wat ook van die Waterslang ingetrek is.

En hulle het hom probeer daar uit kry en later het die mense vir hulle gesê:

'Gaan na 'n Sangoma Oupa toe. Hy sal julle miskien meer vertel want hulle ken die Waterslang.'

En hulle het dan besluit en hulle het gegaan na die rivier toe, saam met die vrou, die kind se moeder, en hulle het daar gekom en die Sangoma oupa boegoe in die rivier gegooi het, so oor gestrooi die water.

En dan praat die Oupa en dan sê hy :

'Stuur vir my vir Willem uit!' Ek wil vir Willem hê!'

Die eerste wat hy uitstuur het was 'n skoen.

En na hy die skoen uitgestuur is dan sê die oupa:

'Ek soek vir Willem en nie die skoen nie.'

Nader van tyd het hy weer die hemp uitgestuur en vervolg het hy weer die beurs gestuur en so het hy een

of birth by the Boers and they put all those of coloured race in one area. Now we just live here in Rosedale (Upington.)

1B

(Recorded on tape Jan 1998 next to the swimming pool of the Upington Protea Hotel overlooking the Orange River opposite the 'Eiland')

"My name is Johanna de Wee, my nickname is NaNa. I live in Upington, where I grew up.

In the eighties I worked in a pharmacy with another woman. The two of us used to discuss the Water Snake. She told me about her son who had also been pulled in by the Water Snake.

They tried to get him out until people said to them:

'Go to a Sangoma (Medicine man) elder, perhaps he can tell you more, as they are familiar with the Water Snake.'

They decided to do this and they went to the river accompanied by the woman - mother-of-the child. When they arrived there, the Sangoma elder threw buchu in the river; he scattered it over the water.

Then the elder spoke and he said:

'Send Willem out to me! I want Willem!'

The first article he sent out was a shoe.

After the shoe was sent out the elder said:

'I want Willem and not the shoe!'

After a while a shirt was sent out followed by a purse and so it continued -articles of clothing sent out one by one until the elder said:

vir een die kledingstukke gestuur en op die laaste toe sê die Oupa:

'Ek soek nou vir Willem!'

En toe kom Willem uit! Dan stuur hy vir Willem uit, en Willem kom op die water tot by die wal van die rivier. Maar Willem is 'n bietjie skrikkerigs. Hy's al reeds 'n hele tydjie in die water, onder die water. As sy moeder vir hom sien, gryp sy hom.- omhels!

Vreugde, hart is bly omdat sy haar kinds sien weer. Uit by die wal.

'My kind hoe is dit, hoe het julle daar beland?'

'Nee Ma, ek sal nooit weer rivier toe kom nie.'

'Nou wat het daar gebeur?'

'Ma ek het gehoor van 'n Waterslang maar ek het hom self gesien. Daar onder by sy plek is so skoon. En een ding, my ma ek sal nooit weer... ek wil nie he iemand moet weer na die water toe gaan nie.'

En die eerste ding wat die ma opgelet het was dat die kind baie moesies op sy gesig gehad het, en sy vra:

'Nou waars die moesies?'

'Nee Ma sy het hulle een vir een almal afgehaal. Ek weet nie wat maak hy met hulle nie maar hy het hulle almal afgehaal.

Maar die ma was so bly om haar kind weer te sien.

Vat sy vir hom huistoe.

Die seun het nog baie lank gelewe daarna het voor hy dood is in 'n ongeluk.

Dit was 'n wyfie slang want hulle se dat die wyfie hou meer van die manne en die man slang hou meer van die vroue.

'I want Willem now!'

Then Willem came out! Then he sent Willem out, and Willem came out of the water up to the bank of the river. But Willem was a bit shaky. He had already been in the water, under the water, for some time. When his mother saw him –she grabbed him – embraced him! What happiness and how glad was her heart to see her son once more. Out via the bank they went.

'My child how, how did you land up there?'

'No Ma, I shall never come to the river again.'

'Why, what happened there?'

'Ma, I had heard of a Water Snake but now I have seen him for myself. Down under in his home it is so clean/ beautiful. But one thing Ma, I shall never ...I never want anyone to go to the water again.'

The first thing the mother noticed was that whereas previously her child had had many moles on his face now there were none, so she asked:

'Where are your moles?'

'No, ma, she took them off one by one. I do not know what he did with them but he took them all off. But the mother was so glad to see her son again. She then took him home.

The boy still lived for many years before he was killed in an accident.

It was a female snake because it is said that the female prefers men and the male snake prefers women.

En dit was nou die einde van my storie daardie."

2A. 'DIE 'HALF-VROU, HALF-VIS' OP PRIESKA'

vertel deur-MARIA MALO (MOKKIE)

(Op band opgeneem –Jan 1998 langs die swembad by die Upington Protea Hotel langs die Orange Rivier oorkant die 'Eiland')

"Ek is Maria Malo, my noemnaam is Mokie. Gebore noord van die Orange Rivier, Upington die 4de September 1945.

Ek en my suster het een oggend sit en gesels toe vertel sy vir my toe sy was in Prieska. Sy en haar man is getroud. Haar naam is Elizabeth Sixaxa. Sy sê hulle het langs die rivier in Prieska gesit.

En met die wat hulle onspan het die man so bietjie uitgeloop. Sy het langs die rivier gesit en sy sien net op die rivier, by 'n groot klip sit 'n mooi vrou met net sukke lang swart hare. Sy onderlyf is 'n vis, maar dit skyn so blou en met die wat sy haar man roep verdwyn die vrou onder die water in.

En toe sy die man roep en vir die die man vertel, se hy: 'Jong, kom ons gaan hier weg, dis die Waterslang!'

En hulle is onmiddelik was hulle daar weg.

And that brings me to the end of my story.

2A 'THE HALF-WOMAN, HALF-FISH OF PRIESKA'

related by MARIA MALO (MOKKIE)

(Recorded on tape Jan 1998 next to the swimming pool of the Upington Protea Hotel overlooking the Orange River.)

"I am Maria Malo; my nickname is Mokie. I was born north of the Orange River, Upington on the 4th September 1945.

One morning when my sister and I were sitting and chatting she told me about when she was at Prieska. She and her husband are married. Her name is Elizabeth Sixaxa. She said they were sitting next to the river in Prieska.

While they were relaxing her husband went for a walk. She sat down next to the river and saw on the river, seated on a large rock, a beautiful woman with very long black hair. Her lower half was that of a fish but it was a shiny blue. When my sister called her husband, the woman disappeared under the water.

When she called her husband and told him, he said: 'Man, let's get away from here, it's the Water Snake!'

And they left straight away.

Toe kom ons by die huis. Vertel ons my ma. Toe sê my ma vir my;

'My kind julle moet weg bly van die rivier af. Die rivier is nie vir mense wat moeisies, toesteek oogbrouers het nie' '

*En met die gaan ons weer onspanningsoord toe en gaan ons bietjie ontspan. Met die sien ons net krale op die rivier. En my suster sê toe;
'Jong kyk daai mooi goed!*

*En met die sê my ma:
'Nee my kind, nou moet julle 'n plan maak dat julle hier weg kom want dit is ook deel van die Waterslang.'*

En van daai dag af het ons besluit ons gaan nie weer rivier toe nie.

Hy verander hom mos in enige ding - dis die storie! In 'n ou skaaplammietjie wat blêr, en 'n kind wat daar sit,, jou eie kind of jou suster, en nou sien jy nou nou wat soek hy op die rivier? Dis enige soort ding, sien jy nou, dis 'n mens of 'n hoed of 'n iemand wat vir jou roep op die rivier!

So eindig my storie."

When we arrived at our house we told my mother. My mother said to me:

'My child you must stay away from the river. The river is not for people with moles or joined eyebrows.'

But again we went to the holiday resort to relax a little. There we saw a necklace on the water. My sister said:

'Man, look at that beautiful thing!'

With that my mother said:

'No my child, now you really must **get away from** here because that is also of the Water Snake.'

And from that day onwards **we decided we would not go** to the river again.

He can of course change himself into anything, (that is how the story goes!) into a bleating lamb, or a seated child over there – your own child or your sister, and you might wonder now what he is doing at the river? It is into any type of thing. Do you understand now? It is a person or a hat or someone calling you from the river!

So ends my story.

2B

[(Geskrif deur Maria se suster Elizabeth Sandlana (Bessa) Des 1998 op die 'Eiland' Upington)

Bessa:

My ma se pa is 'n Engelman. (Engelman)

My Pa se ma is 'n Xhosa.

Ek is 'n Bantoe Kleurling.

Ek is getroud.

*My pa het in Kwinstaun (Queenstown) gebly gekom
Upingtonmy pa is 'n Zoeloe van sy pa se kant...
gekom na Upington met ouer en toe huis vestig hy
hom.... getrou my ma is sy eerste vrou... en hy het op
spoorweg kom werk*

*Daardie jare toe is die die loukou en my pa is dood in
Upington... sy ma is ook dood in Upington... my pa
het 'n halwe vinger dit is sy geloof... dan slag hulle 'n
bok en maak matomilo dan kom daar verskillende
huise se mense en hulle sing en dans en drink en eet en
my pa hang 'n kombers en sy kop is toe en net die
mane kon my pa sien... die rede waarom hulle my
alleen kom sien dit is die wet want dit is 'n man dit is
nie 'n vrou nie as dit 'n vrou is dan is dit dat die vroues
die werk doen... en so gaan dit dan aan vir die dag en
my pa se seun doen ook die wet wat aan hom gedoen
was... en toe my pa dood het om 'n bees geslaag want
dit is die wet en na 'n week was ons die pikke dan
maak ons bier en gooi dit oor die pikke en grawe en
dan gaan die bier drink aan...*

Ek is bly om aan dit teskrif.]

2B

**[(Written by Maria's sister Elizabeth Sandlana (Bessa) Dec 1998
on the 'Eiland' Upington)**

Bessa:

My mother's father is an Englishman.

My father's mother is a Xhosa.

I am a Bantu-coloured.

I am married.

My father came from Queenstown to Upington... my father is a Zulu
from his father's side - he came to Upington and settled here...then
married my mother, she was his first wife...and he came to work on
the railways...

Those were the years of the locomotive and my father died in
Upington...his mother also died in Upington... my father had a half
finger due to his beliefs...then they slaughter a goat and have
matombo during which various families come and sing and dance and
drink and eat and my father hung a blanket over his head and only the
men were allowed to see him... the reason for this was that it is the
law and he was a man and not a woman because if it was a woman
then it is they who do the work...and so it continues for a day.
My father's son shall also follow the law and have done to him what
was done to his father... and when my father died an ox was killed
because it is the law and after a week we washed the picks then made
beer and threw it over the picks and spades and then the beer drinking
began.

I am glad to be able to write about these things.

3A.

(Geskryf deur Martha van Rooi (Poppie) Des 1998 op die 'Eiland' Upington)

(My moeder was 'n Baaster-Hotnos Katrina De Wee. Sy was van Namibia. My Pa was Tswana van Upington. Ek was getrou. My man is van Prieska. Het twee seuns en 'n dogter drie klein kinders.)

(Op band opgeneem –Jan 1998 langs die swembad by die Upington Protea Hotel langs die Orange Rivier oorkant die 'Eiland')

[Poppie het ook een dag vertel dat haar ma tot 102 jr gelewe het en een van Poppie se susters het gese dat Die Upington Museum haar mas se geskiedenis neer geskryf het.]

3A.

(Written by Poppie Dec 1998 on the banks of the 'Eiland' Upington)

(My mother was a Baaster-Hottentot, Katrina De Wee. She was from Namibia My father was Tswana from Upington. **I am** married. My husband is from Prieska. I have two sons and a daughter and three grand children).

(Recorded on tape Jan 1998 next to the swimming pool of the Upington Protea Hotel overlooking the Orange River.)

[Poppie said on a different occasion that her mother had lived to the age of 102 yr. and that one of her sisters claimed that The Upington Museum had documented her mother's history.]

3B 'DIE KETTING IN DIE WATER'

vertel deur **MARTHA VAN ROOI (POPPIE)**

"Kom laat ek vertel julle wat my ma vir my vertel het, maar dis nou vir die waarheid wat sy my vertel het.

Ek is Martha Van Rooi, my ander naam is Poppie Nel. Ons het ook naby die rivier gebly in a lokasie wat uit die dorp uit gelê het. Ons het baie houd gaan haal by die eilande waar baie verskillenden waters deurloop om by die lekker houde uittekom. En sy sê vir ons toe gaan sy en haar niggie hulle het gaan houd haal die dag.

Dit was 'n stil dag, daar was nie wind wat waai het of niks nie, baie stil..en die lekkerste houd was altyd so op die wal van die rivier op die water se kant toe. Daar was so 'n lang hak waarmee hulle die houd hak van die houd op die wal terughak En hulle lag nog so lekker... die son sak so half skyns vang so mooi op die water.

*Sy kyk so op en sy sien maar dis maar 'n pragtige goue ketting wat so opgerol is, maar die ketting dryf nie met die water af nie, die ketting lê net daar opgerol. En sy is vas genael op die ketting sy sien hoe as sy nou lekker lank die hak vat en sy hak hom daar in die middel en sy lig hom so op sal sy die ketting uitkry. Haar hak val toe af wat sy mee die hout hak en sy roep toe haar niggie en sy sê:
'Hennie kom gou hierso man!'*

En haar niggie sê vir haar;

3B THE CHAIN IN THE WATER'

related by

MARTHA VAN ROOI (POPPIE)

"Come let me tell you what I was told by my mother, but it is all true what she told me.

I am Martha Van Rooi; my other name is Poppie Nel.

We used to live near the river in a location a way out of town. We used to often fetch wood at the islands where we would cross many waters to reach the best wood. She told us that one day she and her cousin went to collect wood.

It was a quiet day; no wind blew, nothing stirred - just very quiet. The best wood was always to be found on the banks of the river on the water's edge.

They used a long hook to hook the wood up off of the riverbank. They were laughing gleefully. The half-setting sun was beautifully reflecting off the water...

She looked up and saw a beautiful coiled golden chain, but the chain was not drifting with the water, but just lying coiled on top of it. And she was riveted to the chain and thought how if she held the hook carefully at the end, and hooked the chain in the middle, and if she could lift it out in this way, then the chain could be hers. Her hook, used for hooking the wood, fell though, and so she called to her cousin:

'Hennie, come here quickly man!'

Then her cousin said to her:

'Kom weg van die water af!'

En sy sê:

'Nee kom kyk hier man en bring sommer my hak saam.'

En sy kom, haar niggie kom en sy sê vir haar:

'Daar waar die son blink daar lê 'n goue ketting so opgerol en as ek kon net my hak daarin kan kry dan hak ek hom binne in die ketting in die middel dan kan ek hom oplig.'

En toe sy haar niggie so kyk val die son mooi op die ketting wat opgerol is en sy ruk my ma daar weg en sy hardloop en die wind kom op en die wind waai. Dit was nou net dood stil gewees het en my ma vra:

'Wat gaan aan?'

Sy se:

'Jong dis die slang! Dis die slang! Jy kan mos vir seker sê want 'n ketting kan mos nie op die water lê nie, dit gaan af bottem toe of 'n material ding dryf af. Dis die slang!'

En die wind waai en hulle het gehol en los die hout net daar en hulle hol toe 'n hele ent toe voor hulle hoor 'n stem:

'Het julle nie gaan hout haal nie?'

Hulle het al die pad lokasie toe gehol.

My Ma het baie moesies sy het 'n moesie op haar neus soos ek ook hier het en sy het 'n moesie direk oor haar oog ook en dis wat sy my gesê gebeur het is vir die waarheid."

'Come right away from the water!'

And she said:

'No, come look here man, and bring my hook with you.'

And so she came, her cousin came, and she said to her:

'Over there where the sun is shining lies a gold chain rolled up and if I could just get my hook inside of it then I could hook it up.'

And as her cousin looked at the sun shining beautifully onto the coiled chain she grabbed my mother away and ran and the wind came up and the wind blew. It had just been dead quiet and my mother asked:

'What is happening?'

She answered:

'Boy it is the snake! It is the snake! You can definitely see it is because a chain cannot lie on top of the water, it sinks to the bottom, and something of material would float away. It is the snake!'

And the wind blew and they took to their heels and left the wood just there. They had fled quite a way before they heard a voice say: "Didn't you go to fetch wood?'

They had fled all the way back to the location.

My mother has many moles and she has one on her nose just like mine and she had one directly over her eye too and that which she told me is the truth.

4. 'n BOK VIR DIE WATERSLANG"

vertel deur: JOHANNA DE WEE (NANA)

(Op band opgeneem -Jan 1998 langs die swembad by die Upington Protea Hotel langs die Orange Rivier oorkant die 'Eiland')

"Hoor hie my auntie vertel my gisteraand ook van so 'n slang waterslang storie. Sy sê, hulle het ook gaan hout haal en toe het hulle dan nou, die seuns kinders is mos so stout, speel speel in die water speel speel in die water. En later van tyd sê die ander ene net: 'Jan is weg! Jan het verdrink!'

En die mense kyk terug nou maar wat gaan aan? En later het een van die aunties ook vir hulle gesê: 'Al raad is ons moet ook nou maar net gaan maar - daarso daar in rooikoppies ook hier so teen die Oranje rivier bly 'n oupa... 'n ou hotnots oupa... en hy is ook ene wat met die waterslang werk en ook kan sien, sien jy - en ...'

(Wat bedoel 'n Hotnots oupa?)

Hoe nou sou ek sê hierdie ...-

('n Sangoma)

Sangoma oupa sien jy. Maar hulle is nou weer die Hotnot - die Nama mense, die boesmans mense, (dis hulle eintlik ook wat met die water ook gewerk het met die Hotnos meisies ja.)

Ja, ja.

4. "A GOAT FOR THE WATER SNAKE"

related by JOHANNA DE WEE (NANA)

(Recorded on tape Jan 1998 next to the swimming pool of the Upington Protea Hotel overlooking the Orange River.)

Listen to this, my aunt told me a water snake story last night. She says they too fetched wood and then they, the boys, (who are of course so naughty, playing in the water, playing in the water) until after awhile one of them just said:

'Jan has gone! Jan has disappeared!'

And everyone looked back to see what was happening? Later one of the aunts said to them:

'The only advice I can give is that we must now all leave. Way over in the redhills next to the Orange river lives an elder...and old Hottentot elder...and he is also one of those that works with the watersnake and has visions, do you understand? And...'

(What do you mean by a Hottentot elder?)

How shall I put it, these...?

(A Sangoma- Medicine man)

Sangoma, yes. But they are the Hottentot kind...of the Nama people; the Bushman peoples; (it is actually the same people who worked with the water with the Hottentot girls).

Yes, yes.

En toe het hulle vir hom gelaat kom.en hy het sy boegoe oor die rivier gegooi maar dan sê hy vir die mense:

'Julle moenie raas as julle sien daar kom die kind uit. Bly dood stil. Want dis ook 'n ding daai wat kwaad word as 'n mens aangaan op die rivier, nee, as jy sien daar is jou kind of jou vriend of wat ook al en nie raas nie, bly net dood stil. Maar julle moet eintlik vir my 'n rooibok, 'n bok met wit bruin kolle ek wil hom instuur.'

(Dit moet nou 'n ; Hotnos bok wees?)

' Ja, ek wil hom instuur en as ek hom instuur dan kom die kind uit.'

Dan sê een van die aunties maar hulle het dan nou nie 'n bok nie, oupa sy moet 'n plan maak, (Sangoma sy moet maar 'n plan maak nou) Dan sê hulle ok ons gaan maar julle praat niks nie.

Sangoma het gegooi die boegoe-hier kom die kind uit en terwyl die kind uitkom toe vloek daai auntie -

Jou dinges! Ja, jou dinges! Waars my kind? Wat maak jy met my kind daar binnekant? En een twee drie toes als skoon die kind is weg en daai man, dis eintlik 'n man, die man is weg met kind en al toe sê die oupa Sangoma;

'Ek het vir julle gesê moenie raas nie, wil julle nog sien?'

Then they asked him to come and he threw his buchu over the river but then he said to the people:

'You must not make any noise if you see the child coming out. Stay dead quiet. For it is also something that can become angry if you carry on at the river. No, if you see your child or your friend or anyone does not make a noise, just stay dead quiet. But you must get me a red goat, a goat with white and brown blotches as I want to send it in.'

(That must be a Hottentot goat?)

'Yes I want to send it in, and when I send it in then the child will come out.'

One of the aunties then said that they did not have a goat and that the elder would have to think of a plan. (The Sangoma would have to quickly think of a plan.) So they said they would go but that we should not say a word.

The Sangoma scattered the buchu and out the child came and whilst he was coming out the mother began to curse:

'You what-do-you-call-it! Yes, you what-do-you-call-it! Where's my child? What are you doing with my child down there? And one, two, three everything was clear, the child was gone and that male, it was actually a male, that male was gone with the child. Then the elder Sangoma said;

'I told you you must not make any noise, do you want to see more?'

'Yes, we want to see him.'

'Ja, ons wil hom sien.'

'Nou hoor hierso kom more oggend, kom julle rivier toe, julle sal daai kind teen die rivier se wal kom kry, hy lê daar en sy nek is gebreek.'

Die ander dag môre het hulle vir hulle vinnig klaargemaak daar - rivier toe ons wil nou kyk, hulle wil kyk, of die oupa die waarheid praat, die Sangoma Wat hulle daar kom, toe lê hy daar teen die rivier se wal uitgegooi sy nek is gebreek.

Ek sal sê; kan nou nie sê is nie waar of so.nie.- glo daar in die man. Ek glo ook in 'n Waterslang. Regtig waar.

'Well then come tomorrow morning, all of you come to the river, you shall find that child there on the river bank, he shall be there and his neck shall be broken.'

The following morning they finished quickly and went to the river, we wanted to see, they wanted to see, if what the elder had said was true, the Sangoma.

When they arrived there, there he was on the bank where he had been thrown out, his neck broken.

I would say, that one cannot say whether it is true or not – believe as you will. I too believe in a Water Snake. Truly.

5A. "N BEES VIR DIE WATERSLANG'

vertel deur: MARIA MALO

(Op band opgeneem -Jan 1998 langs die swembad by die Upington Protea Hotel langs die Orange Rivier oorkant die 'Eiland')

In die jaar 1985, my pa se broer, Striker Sandlana, het weggeraak na die rivier toe. Ons het gesoek en gesoek en die duikers het gesoek en gesoek maar ons kon hom nie kry nie. Toe het ons ook na 'n Sangoma toe gegaan toe sê hulle vir ons ons moet 'n bees instuur want die Waterslang het my oompie. En ons het toe gegaan maar die mense het nie eintlik gevoel om die bees in die water in te stuur nie want hulle voel my oompie sal nie uitkom nie - hulle wil nie glo nie - en 'n bees is baie geld.

Ons het maar uitgehou en ons het gewag en gewag en gewag. En dit het jare geduur van 1985 af, en die mense het maar bymekaar gekom en by die rivier gekom sit en gekyk of hy nie wil uitkom nie.

En net een oggend toe kom hulle by die rivier dit net water wat opstoot tot by die rivier en 'n reenboog gaan so bo oor die brug. En toe sê die Sangoma vir my auntie:

'Julle kan maar terug draai want die Waterslang het daai man en hy het van daai 1985 (is nou 1998) het daai man nooit tevoorskyn gekom nie.

Daai vrou was nou in 1987, (is sy vrou), oorlede,

5a A BEAST FOR THE WATER SNAKE

related by: MARIA MALO

(Recorded on tape Jan 1998 next to the swimming pool of the Upington Protea Hotel overlooking the Orange River.)

In 1985, my father's brother, Striker Sandlana, disappeared at the river. We searched and searched and divers searched and searched but we could not find him. So we also went to a Sangoma and he told us to send in a beast as the Water Snake had my uncle. So we left but the people did not actually feel like sending an ox into the water as they felt that my uncle would not come out, they did not want to believe, and a beast costs a great deal.

We just held out and waited and waited and waited. The years from 1985 went by and the people would just come together and sit at the river to see if he would not come out.

One morning when they were at the river and the water was turbulent at the river and a rainbow was over the bridge, then the Medicine man said to my aunt:

'You may as well return as the Water Snake has that man.' He has from 1985 (it is now 1998), never reappeared.

His wife died in 1987, without her husband she died, but she had

*sonder sy man was sy weg maar sy het haar altyd
geonthou om 'n blommetjie in die rivier te kom gooi vir
sy man se weggaan want sy nou nooit kan 'n begrafnis
vir hom gehou het nie want hy het in die rivier
weggeraak en sy kon hom nooit weer kry nie.*

Nee, hulle het toe nooit die bees ingestuur nie.

always remembered to throw a flower in the river for her husband's passing on as she could never hold a funeral for him because he disappeared in the river and she could never get him back.

No, they never did send in the beast.

5B

(Geskryf deur Maria se suster Elizabeth (Sandlana) Sixaxa - Dec 1998 op die 'Eiland' Upington)

Ek Elizabeth Sandlana getrou met Sixaxa.

Ek het iets om vir julle te vertel... my pa se outste broer Striker Sandlana 1976 in die rivier in gestap hy het self sy klere en skoene en hoed uitgetrek en ingestap... my groot pa is al hierdie jare onder die water... die toordogter (dokter) sê toe vir ons ons moet 'n bees in die rivier in jag dan sal hy uit kom maar dan moet ons hom dadelik weg stuur om 'n dokter te word en as ons dit nie doen nie gaan hy weer terug stap rivier toe maar as hy uit kom sal hy met niemand praat nie so al wat ek kan sê is ons het hom maar vergeet want ons het nie geld om al hierdie wenke te doen nie

5B

(Written by Maria's sister Elizabeth (Sandlana) Sixaxa – Dec 1998 on the 'Eiland' Upington)

I am Elizabeth Sandlana married Sixaxa.

I have something to tell you...my father's eldest brother Striker Sandlana walked into the river in 1976, he even removed his clothes, shoes and hat and walked in ... my great father has been under the water for all these years. The Medicine man told us to chase a beast into the river and that then he would come out but we would have to send him straight away to become a doctor and if we did not do this than he would return to the river. When he came out he would speak to no one. All I can tell you is that we had to rather forget him as we did not have money to fulfill all these wishes.

6

Kommentaar:

(Die vrouens het nie 'n stryd gehad tussen hulle sterk Christelike gelowe en die stories van die waterslang nie. Die twee gelowe was apart in hulle denking. Net Girlie wat op die 'Eiland gewerk het het 'n stryd gehad tussen haar Christelike geloof en haar tradisies. Dus het sy 'n lid van die Zioniste kerk geword. Haar geval was buitengewoon omdat sy gevoel het dat sy geroep was om Sangoma te wees. Sy konnie bekostig om dit te doen nie.

Girlie het volgens beskryf hoe hulle die bees water toe stuur: die manne staan in twee rye af na die water toe met 'n paatjie tussen hulle na die rivier toe. Die Sangoma tik-tik die bees agter dat dit water toe gaan tussen die twee rye manne. As die mens terug kom uit die water uit dan moet hy Sangoma word.)

6

Comment:

(The women saw no conflict between their strong Christian beliefs and the stories of the waterslang. The two areas of beliefs were removed from each other in their thinking. Only Girlie who worked on the island had had to deal with her conflict between her Christianity and her traditional beliefs, this she had resolved by joining the Zionist church. Her circumstances were extreme however as she felt called to be a Sangoma. But could not afford to pursue this calling.

Girlie described the ritual of sending the beast into the water as follows: the men stand in two rows facing eaching other, creating a path down the banks of the river to the water. The medicine man 'tik tiks' the beast from behind and so steers it between the path of men into the water. If the person taken by the river returns then he has to be trained as a medicine man.)]

(Geskryf deur Girlie by die Orange rivier op die 'Eiland' 1998 Upington)

Noxolo Prescilla Saaiman.(Girlie) My ouma grootjie is van Rietfontein, Oupa is van Queenstown, hulle het by Rietfontein gaan bly.

My Ouma is 'n Tswana – my Oupa is 'n Xhosa. Hulle het vier kinders gehaat. Daar was twee seuns en twee dogters. My ma is 'n Tswana, my Pa 'n Xhosa. Hulle kom van Queenstown af en toe kom bly hulle in Upington.

Ons is Tswana-Xhosa by ons se huis en ons praat Xhosa. Ons hier in Upington wat vrou betref gaan nie na die hot toe nie, net die mens van Queenstown. Die manne van ons gaan veld toe om die gelofte maak. Ek is 'n Zion , ek is in Oranje rivier gedoop. Daar is 'n soort gelof wat ons het daar is 'n Mamchilibe. As jy 'n toordokter wil wees moet jy leer daar voor.

(Written by Girlie on the banks of the Orange river at the 'Eiland' 1998 Upington)

Noxolo Prescilla Saaiman.(Girlie) My great grandmother is from Rietfontein, grandfather is from Queenstown, they went to live at Rietfontein.

My grandmother is a Tswana – my Oupa is a Xhosa.They had four children, two boys and two girls. My mother is a Tswana, my father is a Xhosa. They come from Queenstown and then came to live in Upington.

We are Tswana-Xhosa at home and speak Xhosa. Us women of Upington do not go to the hut, only the people of Queenstown. Our men go to the veld to practise their beliefs. I am a Zionist, I was baptised in the Orange river. There is a type of belief that we have called Mamchilibe. If you want to become a Medicine man then you have to study for it.

8 'DIE MEISIES EN DIE WATERSLANG'

vertel deur: MARTHA VAN ROOI

(Op band opgeneem -Jan 1998 langs die swembad by die Upington Protea Hotel langs die Orange Rivier oorkant die 'Eiland')

Mokkie maar hoor hierso. Die Hot meisies want hulle so in stuur. Dis mos nou die Hotnos mense. Nou as 'n meise nou 'n dogtertjie word, ('n jong meisitjie word) en sy mentruer dan word sy vir daai bepaalde tye, van se maar tien dae, word sy in 'n kamertjie in gehou, daar kry sy haar kos, haar water, sy gaan nie uit nie, sy sit nou net daarso. En op die tiende dag dan gaan sy nou uit, nou gaan hulle nou die groot oumase en die oupase, hulle gaan nou, die oumas kom nou in en hulle maak haar nou mooi, die gesig word opgemaak, soos hulle nou vandag nou, hoe sê 'n mens, gremeer. Nou word sy nou haar gesig baie pragtig gemaak met moeisese en dan word dit nou en vat die oumase nou boegoe en (!nou, !nou) en sakke (hulle noem daai ding !nou, daai rooi ding) en nou is so 'n klip wat gemaal word daar kom hy so bruin af met die boegoe en dan ruik dit so heerlik maak hulle dan haar gesig so op.

Dan word daar musiek gespeel, die oupas speel musiek en die oumase dans, die namastap, nou gaan hulle voordagmore nou word dit gedans die oumas dans rivier toe en daar op die rivier word die oumas gepraat op die taal, op die namataal oor en hulle gooi daai boegoe in die rivier in.

8, THE GIRLS AND THE WATER SNAKE

Related by MARTHA VAN ROOI

(Recorded on tape Jan 1998 next to the swimming pool of the Upington Protea Hotel overlooking the Orange River.)

But Mokkie listen to this...The 'Hot' girls that they send in. That is now the Hottentot people. Now if a girl becomes of age (becomes a young woman) and she menstruates then she is placed in a small room for that period of time of about ten days. There she is fed, given water, she does not go out but just stays seated there. On the tenth day she then leaves and they go to the great grandmothers and the great grandfathers, they go now, the grandmothers come now and they make her beautiful, the face is made up, like they do today now, what does one call it; 'make up'. Now her face is made beautiful with moles and then it becomes now and the grandmothers now take buchu and (!nou !nou) and bags (they call the thing !nou, that red stuff) !nou is a type of stone that is ground and becomes sort of brown with the buchu and then it smells so wonderful, in this way they decorate her face.

Then music is played, the grandfathers play music and the grandmothers' dance, the Nama step, now they go the following morning, the grandmothers dancing, to the river and there on the river the grandmothers speak in their language, the Nama language, and they throw buchu into the river.

En ek vra toe nou waarvoor is dit nou goed en hulle sê nee daais hulle dit werk saam met die Waterslang.

Nou as hulle klaar gedans het en die goed is so op die rivier gegooi is en daai meisies staan nou daarso partykeer is daar is daar meer as een meisie, en daar is so drie of vier, nou kom dans hulle weer so terug van die rivier af huistoe na lokasie toe en daai tyd wat die meisie verskriklik pragtig as sy daar uitkom.

Maar as sy by die rivier kom. het ek gesien dan het hulle 'n lang stok dat slat hulle die water, die water moet oor haar val, bo oor haar lyf, dis 'n bewys dat die Waterslang haar nie kan intrek nie

Kyk ons kinders hulle word nie. Daai goed word nie meer gedoen in die jare van nou nie soos in die vroe jare soos wat ons nog jong meisies was nie was daai goed gedoen maar nou van nou se kinders hou mos nie van hierdie onnodige goed nie.

En as hulle so uit die kamertjie gesit word so vir tien dae en hulle kom daar uit is daai mens, daai kind so spek vet hy lyk nes 'n klein vet vartjie.

Dis net soos hulle hierdie Xhosa (mans) in veld toe stuur om hulle te gaan sny, besny.

I asked what was the worth in doing this and they said that that stuff works with the Water Snake.

Now when they have completed their dancing and the stuff has been thrown on the water and the girls stand there, (sometimes there is more than one girl – three or four), now they dance back home from the river back to the location and by that time the girl is extremely pretty when she arrives.

But when she is at the river, I have seen that they have a long stick with which they hit the water; the water has to fall over her, right on top and over her body; this is a sign that the Water Snake cannot pull her in.

Look our children they are not - these things are no longer done these days as in the earlier years as when we were young women and they were done, but now children of today of course do not like these unnecessary things.

And when they are put into the room for about ten days and when they come out then they are, those children are so fat and look just like fat piglets.

It is the same, as they send in the Xhosa (men) to the veld to be cut, circumcised.

9. DIE BOER EN DIE WATERSLANG SE KROON

. JOHANNA DE WEE (NANA)

(Op band opgeneem -Jan 1998 langs die swembad by die Upington Protea Hotel langs die Orange Rivier oorkant die 'Eiland')

Luister ek het nou hier 'n storiëtjie wat ek ook nog vertel het.

(Ons moet loop werk. Ja, Mies Mary kom nou. Ek het vir Ellen gesê sy moet ons goed bymekaar sit.)

[Komentaar:

Ellen Sihoyo het vir Mnr en Mev Fisher gewerk by die Upington Hotel. Sy het getrou met Fanie Matsoso, 'n Sotho van Upington. Ellen het drie dogters gehad Veronica, Anna en Louisa, Veronica is oorlede in 1998 aan asma. Ellen se moeder was Anna Olifant van Koegasberg wie getrou het met James Sihoyo, 'n Xhosa van Oos Londen. Hy het by die Koegasberg myn kom werk. Anna Olifant se ouers was Elsie Links en Dawid Olifant van Koegasberg en dan Riemvas. James Sihoyo se ouers was Louissa Papegaai en Andries Sihoyo.]

Dan sê my auntie vir my, dis mos altyd my auntie wat vir my die stories gevertel het, my ma lewe vir jare mos nie meer nie maar sy het ook vir ons gesê, maar nou kan ek mos nie alles praat nie die ander moet ook die ander ook kan sê.

9. THE BOER AND THE WATER SNAKE'S CROWN

Related by JOHANNA DE WEE (NANA)

(Recorded on tape Jan 1998 next to the swimming pool of the Upington Protea Hotel overlooking the Orange River.)

Listen , I have another story to tell

(We must go work. Yes, Miss Mary is coming soon. I told Ellen she must put our things together.)

(Comment:

Ellen Sihoyo worked for Mr. and Mrs. Fisher at the Upington Hotel. She married Fanie Matsoso a Sotho from Upington. Ellen had three daughters Veronica, Anna and Louisa; Veronica died in 1998 of an asthma attack. Ellen's mother was Anna Olifant of Koegasberg who married James Sihoyo a Xhosa from East London who came to work at the Koegasberg Mine. Anna Olifant's parents were Elsie Links and Dawid Olifant of Koegasberg and then Riemvas. James Sihoyo's parents were Louisa Papegaai and Andries Sihoyo.]

Then my auntie told me, it is always my aunt who told me the stories. My mother has not been alive for many years but she also told us but I cannot tell all right now as the others must also have a turn to tell of the other things.

Dan sê my auntie, dan sê my auntie:

Is 'n boer, 'n plaas boer en die man wat onder hom werk. Dan het die boer gehoor van die Waterslang wat 'n kroon dra, maar die kroon is vol diamante. En hulle wil nou die kroon loop steel. Nou hulle het gehoor hy haal hom in die aand agter, sit hy hom daar tussen die bome en dan wei hy nou in die lug.

(O dis nou sy werkers wat loop vir hom gevertel het.)

Ja, dis sy werkers wat hom gevertel het. Dan wei hy nou in die lug van die diamant se skyn en hulle tweetjies het nou twee perde gehad nou hulle kom nou van die plaas af en hulle is hier af na rivier toe maar hulle is ook maar bangerig, hulle staan so effentjies tussen die bome, loer - loer, dan sê die oujongetjie: 'Oubaas daar skyn die lug! Nee wag, wag, wag ons gaan eers saggies naders dat ons kan sien of dit rêrig hier is.

As die oubaas nader kom dan sê hy maar dit is mos. 'Jinne man maar dis pragtig lug maar nou kan ons nie sien waar sit hy nie. Jong jy moet hierdie kant kom dan kom ek hierdie kant om.

'Maar kom ons vat maar die flits. Dan sit ons die flits een kant dan dink hy mos die flits lig is die kroon, sy kroon daai, dan gaan jy die kant om.'

Die oubaas se:

'Maar hoekom moet ek die kant om? Gaan jy maar eer

Then my auntie said, then my auntie said:

There was a Boer, a farmer Boer and the man who worked for him. Then the Boer heard about the Water Snake that wore a crown, but the crown was full of diamonds. They wanted to go and steal the crown. They had heard that he removed it in the evening and put it between the trees and then grazed in the light.

(Oh it must have been his workers who went and told him about it.)

Yes, it was his workers who told him. Then he grazes in the light of the diamond's shine and the two of them had two horses and they came from the farm to the river but were quite scared. They stood slightly between the trees, peering-peering, then the youngster said:

'Master there is the light! No wait, wait, wait we should first go quietly nearer so that we can see if it really is here.'

When the master came nearer he said but of course it was it:

"Gosh man but it is a beautiful light but now we cannot see where he has put it. Boy you must come this way and then I will come that way.'

'But let us take the torch. Then we can put the torch one side and then he will think the torchlight is the crown, his crown there, then you come this way round.

die kant om.

(die oubaas is bang)

'Ja, dan gaan jy en los die flits lig daar dat hy kan dink is.'

Ou jong is nou hier om en oubaas is ook nader gevolg en hulle het die ding in die sak en op die perde weg.

Kt kt kt kt kt kt kt kt kt!

Hulle is skaars by die plaas en begin die wind opkom en dit reen. En dit waai en die wind is agter en die reen is agter. Toe hulle by die plaas kom, hulle het sukke groot store gehad, hierrie lusern stoor. Toe die ou kêrel daar. Toe is die stoor se dak afgewaai.

Toe het die ou hotnot ouma gevra, vir sy man gevra:

'Jy, waarvan daan kom jy? Is die nou hierrie ding wat jy geloop haal het van die Waterslang?'

'Ja.'

'Hoorhie vat hom nou terug, vat hom nou terug of als word geverwoes. Vat hom terug.'

'Nee maar sien jy nie dan nou die wind en die reën is nou so sterk hoe kom ons nou daar?'

'Klim op die perde, jy en die oubaas, en vat hom erug.'

The master said:

'But why do I have to go around that side. You go around this side.

(the old master is scared)

'Yes, you go and leave the torch light there so that he can think it is (his crown).'

The youngster went around and the master also followed and they had the thing in the bag and on the horses they were away.

Kt k kt kt kt kt kt kt kt kt!

They had scarcely reached the farm when the wind came up and it began to rain. And it blew and the wind was behind and the rain was behind. When they arrived at the farm where they had very large granaries, for lucerne. When the master reached there, then the stores roof was blown off.

Then the old Hottentot grandmother asked of her husband:

'You, where have you been? Is this the thing that you fetched from the Water Snake?'

'Yes.'

'Listen here, take it back, take it back now or all will be destroyed. Take it back.'

Hulle is daar weg in die reën en die wind en verder en nader hoe hulle gery het na die rivier se kant toe het dit begin stiller geword, stiller geword. Die wind waai nie meer so sterk nie. Die reën beginne nou sagter te val en te bedaar.

Daar kom hulle en weet ook nie waars die sekere plek waar hulle hom gevat het. Hulle het hom in 'n sakkietjie gehad en die het hulle maar net so bewe bewe uit gehaal en neer gesit en toe hy nou daar neer gesit toe is alles oor en dis dood stil.

Toe is hulle weer terug met hulle perde saggies gelop gelop tot by die huis en toe hulle daar kom het die ou miesies gevra:

'En nou wat het julle dan met hom nou gemaak?'

'Nee, ons het hom vir sy baas afgeloop gee.'

Hulle sê hulle sal dit nooit weer doen nie.

'No, can't you see the wind and rain are now so strong that we will not be able to get there.'

'Climb on the horses, you and the master, and take it back.'

They left in the rain and wind and as they rode closer and closer to the river so everything became quieter and quieter. The wind was no longer blowing so strongly. The rain began to fall softer and to subside.

When they arrived they were not sure of the specific place where they had taken it. They had it in a bag and they just took it out shaking all the while and put it down and when this was done then everything was over and it was dead quiet.

Then they returned quietly plodding on their horses till they came to the house and there they were asked by the old wife:

"And now what have you done with it?"

"No, we went and gave it back to its owner."

They said they would never ever do it again.

10. ALGEMENE GEVARE VAN DIE WATERSLANG

(Op band opgeneem -Jan 1998 langs die swembad by die Upington Protea Hotel langs die Orange Rivier oorkant die 'Eiland')

Maria:

Maar hier enige tyd hier in die jaar dan trek hy oor van Oranje Rivier af na die gwarrie toe. Dan sien jy net 'n storm....

Nana: Wat's die gwarrie?

Maria:

Dis 'n groot gat wat anderkant sê maar hier in die grens hier van Namibia, daars 'n groot gat wat amper soos 'n....hy word nooit leeg nie, hy bly vol met water. Dan trek hy oor, jy kan net sien dus 'n vreeslikke warrel wind wat hier oor die lokasie, hier oor die dorp dans hy oor dan gaan trek daar anderkant. Dan verdrink die mense. Daars 'n sekere tyd van die jaar dan trek hy mense in.

Nana: Dus veral Desember maand..

Maria:

Ja, Desember maand is die grootste tyd van die jaar wat hy mense in die rivier, in die gwarrie intrek of hy trek mense hier in die rivier in. Dit is 'n vreeslike storie mense. Mens moet weg bly van die water af.

Nana:

En ek het nou die ding moesies. Jy kan mos sien hier -

10. GENERAL DANGERS OF THE WATER SNAKE

(Recorded on tape Jan 1998 next to the swimming pool of the Upington Protea Hotel overlooking the Orange River.)

Maria:

But anytime of the year here he moves over from the Orange River to the quarry. Then a storm is seen...

Nana: Explain the 'quarry'.

Maria:

It is a large hole found on the other side, let us say towards the Namibian border, there is a large hole that is almost like a...it never empties, but stays full of water. Then he moves over, you can just see a terrible whirlwind that is here over the location, here over the town and then he moves over to the other side. Then it is that people drown. It is a certain time of year that he pulls people in.

Nana: It is especially during December.

Maria:

Yes, the month of December is the time of the year when he mostly pulls people into the river, into the quarry or he pulls people in here at the river. People, it is a terrible story. One should stay away from the water.

Nana:

groot moesies. En nou werk ons hier agter die eiland, agter die rivier en ek wil net op die water wees.

Maria:

En my mas so bang vir hierdie water hier. Ons het met die Kersfees hier kom geonspan my ma wil nie naby nie, hy wil nie eers kyk na die rivier se kant toe nie. Hy bly lê daar sit hy bly vir ons sê nou wanneer gaan ons nou huis toe, ons moet nou huistoe gaan. Hy sê as ons net hier Nuwe Jaar toe praat ons weer ons wil weer oord toe gaan Hy sê hy sit nie sy voete, hy sit nie sy voete weer daar nie want hy is nie 'n mens van die river nie.

And I have these things, moles. You can even see here, large moles. And here we are working here at the island, at the river and I just want to be on the water.

Maria:

And my mother is so scared of the water here.

We came to relax here at Christmas time and my mother did not want to be near, she did not even want to look in the river's direction. She remained seated and kept asking us when we were going home, we must go home now. She said, when at New Year we wanted to go to the resort once more, she said she would not put a foot, she would never put a foot there again, as she is not a person of the river.

11. - DIE DOGERTJIE IN DIE RIVIER

JOHANNA DE WEE (NANA)

(Op band opgeneem -Jan 1998 langs die swembad by die Upington Protea Hotel langs die Orange Rivier oorkant die 'Eiland')

Jong het julle gehoor van van van 'n ook 'n meisiekind, ook 'n dogtertjie, sys seker twaalf jaar oud, hier in Upington en .. Hulle was hier by die Soneste ontspanningsoord en toe het een van die kindertjies seker nou ook vir haar in die water ingestoot en sy kan nou nie swem nie.. En die ma is nou by die huis.

En toe gaan sê hulle vir die ma die kind het verdrink en hulle kry nou nie die kind en hulle weet ook nie.¹

Hulle het gesoek daar maar hulle kry nie die kind nie. En die ma het nou ook gehoor van 'n sekere oom toekoms oupa, sangoma oupa wat dan nou ook vir haar kan kyk.

Toe sê die oom nee maardie kind - die sangoma oupa, die kind hy is in die water hy makeer niks. Hy is veilig in die water maar jy moet iets doen om hom uit te kry daarso. Toe sê sy maar ek het dan nou niks om haar daar uitte kry nie. En later toe sê die oupa OK los maar hy sal eendag uitkom.

En nou so met die tyd soos die tyd gegaan het het haar ma eendag wasgoed gewas en sy hang haar wasgoed op die draad. Dis ook so stil dag en later het sy haar

11. THE LITTLE GIRL IN THE RIVER

Related by Johanna de Wee (Nana)

(Recorded on tape Jan 1998 next to the swimming pool of the Upington Protea Hotel overlooking the Orange River.)

Man, have you heard of, of, of also a girl, also a little girl, about twelve years of age from Upington and...

They were here at the 'Soneste Holiday resort' and then one of the children probably also pushed her in the water and she could not swim...And her mother was at home.

Then they went to tell the mother that her child had drowned and that they could not find the child and they **did not know** what to do.

They searched but could not find the child. Now the mother had also heard of a certain seer elder, medicine man elder that would also help to look for her.

Then the elder said, the medicine man said, no, the child is in the water and there is nothing wrong with her. She is safe in the water but you must do something to get her out again. She then said that she did not have anything to get her out once more. After awhile the elder said that it was all right they should leave it, as she would come out again one day.

And so time passed until one day her mother was busy washing and then hung the washing on the line. It was also a quiet day and she

*doek ook op die draad so pienk doek op die draad
gehang. En die wind beginnete waai en die doek die
wind waai die doek af en die doek waai direk na die
rivier toe. Dat die mens uit die lokasie uitkyk tot by
die rivier daar het die doek gewaai.*

*Toe sê die mense vir haar gaan nou rivier toe die kind
is nou uit, die kind le op die wal hy het hom uit
gestuur.*

*En toe sy daar kom toe sit haar dogtertjie sukke ou
grasgroen oegies met rooi lippetjies, spierwit met
blonde haartjies toe sit die kind daar en sy wat die
moeder is is nou bang om nader te gaan.*

*En die kind is so spier wit bleek. Dan sê die mense sy
moennie te na aan die kind gaan nie maar die kind
praat niks met haar nie en die ma het net later
hartseer geword en die trane het beginne loop. En die
ou dogtertjie ook daar aan die anderkant het ook die
trantjies ook op haar wange beginne loop en die een,
sy kom nie tot by haar ma nie en die ma kan ook nie tot
haar kom nie en later toe het sy het net met haar
handjie so terug gewaai en weer terug in die water in.*

(O dis vir gevaarlik.)

*Nou nou leef sy met die wete dat die kind lewe (lewe)
in die rivier en sy kan haar nie kry nie en sy weet nie
of sy nou nog lewe of wat?*

(Dus darem 'n tragiese storie.)

(Dit moet vreeslik wees!)

then also hung her scarf, her pink scarf, on the line. The wind began to blow and the scarf; the wind blew the scarf off of the line straight to the river. The scarf blew right to where one can see the river from the location.

The people then said to her that she should go to the river, as the child was out, the child was lying on the bank as he had sent her out.

When she got there her daughter was sitting with grass green eyes, red lips, snow white with blonde hair and even though she was her mother she was scared to go any nearer.

And the child was as pale as snow. Then the people said she should not go too near the child but the child said not a word to her and the mother became so heartsore that tears began to fall. The little girl on the opposite bank also had tears beginning to run down her cheeks: she could not go to her mother and her mother could not go to her. Finally she just lifted her little hand and waved back before returning to the water.

(Oh it is so dangerous.)

Now, now she lives with the knowledge that her child lives (lives) in the river and she cannot reach her and she does not know if she is still alive or what?

(It is really a tragic story.)

(It must be terrible!)

**12. NOG ALGEMENE GEVARE VAN DIE
WATERSLANG**

(Op band opgeneem -Jan 1998 langs die swembad by die Upington Protea Hotel langs die Orange Rivier oorkant die 'Eiland')

Veral as die rivier so afkom die water sien, dan is dit ook die tye dat die mense so aanlok met enige pragtige ding wat op die water is. Een dag sit daar sommer 'n vrou op die water met sy dogtertjie opdie skoot. En dan se die een vrou;

'Man is daai nie dingese nie wat hier sit, my suster nou wat soek sy op die water?'

Jy weet soos hy die mense inlok.

Ek dink dit kan seker maar die waarheid wees.

Maria;

Dit is die waarheid man hier dis die waarheid daai storie kom al jare toe ek 'n kind was het hierdie storie van die Waterslang aangekom en my ma het altyd van die rivier afgekeer en ek was bang vir die rivier. Lat ek nou vandag hier lanks die rivier werk wat ek nie weet watter tyd raak ek hier weg.

Daars baie gesegtes van die Waterslang hier by die rivier- baie.

Ek verstaan hys op verskillende plekke en hys altyd by - as hy nie by 'n berg is nie dan is hy in 'n grot. En daar waar hy is is altyd diamante.

Maku het jy nie 'n storie jong?

12. MORE GENERAL DANGERS OF THE WATER SNAKE

(Recorded on tape Jan 1998 next to the swimming pool of the Upington Protea Hotel overlooking the Orange River.)

It is especially when the river rushes down that any attractive thing that is on the water lures people.

One day a woman may just be sitting on the water with a little girl on her lap. And then one woman says:

'Man isn't that what's-his-name sitting over there, my sister, now what is she doing on the water?'

You know how he lures the people in.

I think it can surely be the truth.

Maria;

It is the truth man, listen here, it is the truth. That story has come down from many years back. Since I was a child the story of the Water Snake has been told and my mother always avoided the river and was scared of the river. That I should today work here next to the river not knowing when I might disappear.

There are many sayings about the Water Snake here at the river – many.

I understand that he is at various places and that he is always present – if he is not at a mountain than he is at a cave. And where he is there are always diamonds.

Maku haven't you got a story, man?

13.
*(Geskrif deur Maku Sihoyo Des 1998 op die 'Eiland'
Upington);*

*(Ek is 'n Xhosa gebore in Upington. My Pa is van
Karnavel (Carnarvon) en my Ma is ook van Karnavel
(Carnarvon) so my Pa se Pa het ook baie van
Karnavel (Carnarvon) gepraat so almal van hulle was
van een plek.*

*Ek is 'n moeder van agt kinders 3 seuns en 5 meisie en
het 10 klein kinders een van hulle is dood.)*

13.
**(Written by Maku Sihoyo Dec 1998 on the banks of the'Eiland' at
Upington);**

(I am a Xhosa born in Upington. My father is from Carnavon and my
mother is also from Carnavon.
My father's father always spoke a great deal about Carnarvon so they
were all from one place.

I am a mother of eight children, three boys and five girls and have ten
grand children, one of who has died.)

14

Komentaar:

(Maku het gesorg vir amper al haar klein kinders en sy het swaar gekry omdat daar prpbleme was met die betaling van haar pensioen. Die ander vrouens wat by die 'eiland' gewerk het het vir Maku gehelp met die skoonmaak van die chalets. Hulle het haar jammer gekry en respek vir haar gehad omdat sy vir so baie moet sorg en ook oor haar ouderdom. Maku het nie oor die waterslang gepraat nie as gevolg van haar geloof.)

14.

Comment:

(Maku looked after most of her grandchildren and she was battling to eke out a living due to delays in her pension being paid. The other workers all helped Maku with the chalets she cleaned on the island. They even shared food left by guests with her as she was greatly pitied and admired by her fellow workers because of her dependants and age. Maku would not discuss the waterslang stories because of her religion.)

**15 NOG ALGEMENE GEVARE VAN DIE
WATERSLANG continued**

Nou ek wonder waar is Feitjie?

*By Prieska is 'n waterslangstorie Ek hoor in Prieska
is die Waterslang verskriklik. Die mense praat ooooo
dis sy blyplek.*

Ja...

*Die feit bly staan maar net, my man sê vir my
gisteraad is ook hier in die skemer op 'n berg dan gaan
sit hy nou op die berg dan haal hy daai kroon af sit hy
daai lig daar neer. Nou die lokasietjie is sommer
hierso onder die berg sien jy hoe val daai lig nou op
die lokasie, so skerp is daai lig.*

*Hy sê vir my eendag is hier in Upington dan staan sy
skoonsuster in die jard, sys besig om die plante nat te
maak maar, ons het die potplante wat staan op die
tafel en een twee drie is haar gesig vol waterblase. En
sy het nou gevra:*

*'Nou wat gaan nou aan met my gesig wat nou soveel
waterblase is?'*

*En hulle is maar dokter toe en die dokter het maar salf
gegee en die waterblase bly net waterblase en die salf
doen maar niks. Toe het hulle maar ook na 'n sangoma
auntie toe gegaan. Toe het die auntie vir hom gese:
'Jong, weet jy wat, dis daai man in daar die rivier.'*

*En daai persoon, bly so ver, daai auntie bly so ver van
die rivier af in die lokasie.*

Toe vra ek:

'Maar wanneer was hy nou daar?'

**15 MORE GENERAL DANGERS OF THE WATER SNAKE
continued**

Now I wonder where Feitjie is?

At Prieska there is a story of the Water Snake. I have heard that in Prieska the Water Snake is terrible. People say oooooooo that it is his home.

Yes...

The fact still just remains that, my husband said to me last night, that it is also at dusk, on a mountain, that he goes to sit. When he sits on the mountain then he takes off his crown and puts the light down. Now the location is right under the mountain and you can see how the light falls down on to the location, so sharp is that light.

He said that one day in Upington his sister-in-law was standing in the yard. While she was busy watering plants, (we have pot plants on the table), One, two, three her face was full of water blisters. And she asked:

Now what is going on with my face now that it has so many water blisters?'

So they went to the doctor and he just gave some ointment but the blisters just remained blisters and the ointment did not help. Then they also just went to a Sangoma, Medicine auntie. Then the auntie said to her:

'Man, do you know what, it is that man in the river.'

And that person stays so far away; the aunt lives so far from the river, in the location

So I asked:

'But when was he there?'

Toe se hulle nee hy het sy strale hy het sukke strale wat hy uitstuur. Jy weet soos sonstrale wat jou trek. En toe het die Waterslang sy sonstrale gestuur na haar toe en toe is sy nou te ver sien jy en toe die van haar getref in haar gesig. Toe gee hulle vir haar 'n salf en sy meng dit met 'n poeier en sy smeer dit aan.

(Wie gee vir die salf?)

*Die Sangoma auntie en later se sy:
'Gaan rivier toe maar jy moenine gaannie stuur iemand anders dan gaan haal jy van die rivier se klei dan vat jy van die nat klei dan smeer jy jou gesig.'*

*En sy het so vir 'n paar dae die klei aangesmeer toe is daai waterblase skoon weg.
Ja, hulle se so.*

Dis net te snaaks hy, ek hoor hy hoor alles wat jy praat.

Hulle se so, hulle se hy staan so op die rivier dan is dit 'n spieel, sy spieel die strale val so, as jy net sien daars 'n lig dan moet jy weet dus sy spieel wat die strale so gooi. Ooo dit is verskriklik ek wil maar net weg bly van die rivier af want ek wil nie in een se strale wees nie.

Then they said no, he had his rays, he had sort of rays that he could emit. You know like sunrays that strike you, and that the Water Snake had sent his sunrays to her. And now she was too far away you see and so some struck her on her face. So they gave her an ointment and she mixed it with a powder and rubbed it on.

(Who gave her the ointment?)

The Sangoma, Medicine auntie and later she told her: "Go to the river but you must not go, send someone else to go and fetch some clay from the river and then take some of the wet clay and rub it on your face."

And she rubbed the clay on for a few days and the blisters went completely away.
Yes, they say so.

He is just too strange; I hear that he can hear everything that one says.

The say so, they also say that he stands on the river and then it is a mirror, his mirror's rays fall in this way, if you just see a light then you must know that it is his mirror that is emitting the rays in that way. Oooo it is terrible, I just want to stay away from the river, I do not want to be in his rays.

APPENDIX 3A: SAMPLE GEOMETRIC RECEPTION STUDY – RESEARCH SCHEDULE (2004)

1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
7			
8			
9			
10			

Date:

No:

Age:

Sex:

Place:

11			
12			
13			
14			
15			
16			
17			
18			
19			
20			

- A. Rock engravings – a. Dowson, b. Lewis Williams, c. Morris
- B. Entoptics- Dowson, Lewis-Williams
- C. Ostrich eggs
- D. River drawings Eiland Women
- E. Schedule image identification
- F. Schedule word identification

LANGE, M.E. 2006 'WOMEN READING THE GARIEP, UPINGTON: STRUCTURED INCLUSION'

APPENDIX B3: CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE SAMPLE GEOMETRIC RECEPTION STUDY (2004)

MATERIALS

A questionnaire (see Appendix 3A) including 20 geometric images from various sources but which can be categorized into the categories listed by Lewis-Williams' and Dowson's table of geometrics namely Grids, Lines, Dots, Zigzags, U shapes and Filigrees (1989: 61).

ENTOPTICS

11 Entoptic images from Lewis-Williams & Dowson table of geometrics (1989:61).
See Appendix 3A – Images 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,13.

OSTRICH EGG SHELL ENGRAVINGS

3 Geometric images which differed slightly from the entoptics and were engraved on ostrich egg shells (Lange 2006a).

See Appendix 3A – Images 11 (Humphreys & Thackeray, 1983) and
12 (Lange 2006a).
16 (Vetkat OES, 2002)

ROCK ENGRAVINGS

6 images which differ from the listed entoptics and were found engraved on rocks
See Appendix 3A – Images 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20 (Dowson 1992).

PROCEDURE

Participants were read the informed consent form in their home language English or Afrikaans or in the case of groups in both languages (see Appendix 1). The twenty geometric images were each printed on a separate sheet of paper approximately A5 size. The images were held up one by one to the group and the researcher asked the readers to describe whatever the particular geometric brought to mind. Their oral responses were recorded. The participants' gender and approximate ages were recorded by the researcher. The Participants were assured that there was no right or wrong answer and that the procedure was not to be used as a projective test as in a Rorschach inkblot test which was used to identify universal concept and symbols for personality analysis. The researcher emphasized the objective of the research to find commonalities between cultures. Participants were compensated for their time through a compensation agreed upon prior to the research session.

RESULTS

Recording the results

SPSS for Windows release 11.5.0 was used for content analysis.

Each research schedule was listed numerically as a case study. The research wished to measure the case studies responses to the diagrams and then to

The diagrams were recorded as the independent variables.

The responses were listed as the dependent variables.

Controlled variables were:

The location namely urban or rural.

Gender namely male or female.

Ages namely below 20, between 20 and 40, 40 to 60 and 60 plus were.

The source of geometric image namely entoptic, ostrich egg shell or rock engraving.

The type of geometric image namely zigzag, u shape, grids, dots, lines, filigree and combinations of the former.

Displaying the results

Bar Graphs were used to display various results as the independent variables are not continuous

MAN-MADE/NATURE:

The common responses were divided into two categories namely those associated with nature and those associated with domestic/man-made articles/industrial.

A bar graph was used to show the relation between the number of nature responses and domestic responses and the overall number of common responses.

The type of geometric image was included in this graph to facilitate further research linked to this particular controlled variable.

The total number of common responses related to man made/domestic articles and structures was recorded namely 13 out of 35 common responses overall. The linguistic response was placed in a graph to show the number of responses linked to a specific concept in relation to the total number of common responses from man made/domestic articles and structures

Sample Group Upington and Andriesvale, Northern Cape:

Geometrics reception 2004 Common readings Group A and B

The number of common readings of nature in relation to the number of man made/domestic readings out of the total number of common responses.

Dgrm	Nature	Man made
1 Entoptic	1	
2 Entoptic	4	1
3 Entoptic	1	
4 Entoptic		1
5 Entoptic	1	
6 Entoptic	1	
7 Entoptic	2	
8 Entoptic	1	
9 Entoptic	2	
10 Entoptic		2
11 OES		3
12 OES		1
13 Entoptic	1	1
14 Engraving		1
15 Engraving		2
16 Engraving	2	
17 Engraving	2	1
18 Engraving	2	
19 Engraving	1	
20 Engraving	1	
Total	22/35	13/35

NATURE:

The total number of common responses related to nature was recorded namely 22 out of 35 common responses overall. The linguistic response was placed in a graph to show the number of responses linked to a specific concept in relation to the total number of common responses from nature.

**Sample Group Upington and Andriesvale, Northern Cape
Geometrics reception 2004 Common readings Group A and B**

The number of specific nature related common responses in relation to the total number of common nature responses

	Su	Sn	H2O	Rn	RB	Rv	TC	Sn	Pp	HC	Ft	St	Pl	Mt	Dn	Ey	So	Bn
2/22	Dark Blue	Green	Yellow	Yellow														
1/22	Dark Blue	Green	Yellow	Yellow	Grey	Light Yellow	Orange	Orange	Orange	Orange	Orange	Orange	Dark Green	Dark Brown	Light Brown	Orange	Dark Brown	Yellow

The common responses from nature were placed in a graph to show the relation of the number of nature responses which have connotations of fertility, rebirth and transition within the total number of nature responses. Nature categories were as follows:

Celestial Bodies: Sun (Su), star (St)

Rain/ birth/ rebirth assoc: Water (H2O), rain (Rn), rainbow (RB), river (Rv), truffle cracks (TC), porcupine (Pp), snail (Sn), honey comb (HC), feather (Ft), snakes (Sn)

Stones (So); Mountains (Mt) /dunes (Dn); Body parts – Eye (Ey); Fruit – banana (Bn); Plants (Pl)

RAIN/BIRTH/REBIRTH/FERTILITY:

**Sample Group Upington and Andriesvale, Northern Cape
Geometrics reception 2004 Common readings Group A and B**

The number of common nature responses linked to Rain/birth/rebirth and fertility in relation to the total number of common nature responses.

	Celestial Bodies	Rain/Birth/rebirth/fertility	Plant	Body Parts eye	Mountains/dunes	stones	Fruit-banana
13/22		Yellow					
		Yellow					
		Yellow					
		Yellow					
		Yellow					
		Yellow					
		Yellow					
		Yellow					
		Yellow					
		Yellow					
3/22	Dark Blue	Yellow			Dark Blue		
2/22	Dark Blue	Yellow			Dark Blue		
1/22	Dark Blue	Yellow	Dark Green	Orange	Dark Blue	Dark Brown	Yellow

MAN MADE/DOMESTIC ARTICLES AND STRUCTURES

**Sample Group Upington and Andriesvale, Northern Cape
Geometrics reception 2004 Common readings Group A and B**

The number of common responses divided into specific responses linked to Man made-structures and articles in relation to the overall number of responses in this category.

	Ncklce/	Dmnd/ crwn	tnt	rpe	stps	rlwy	Rds	brs	fnce	Brdge arch	blls	Pie/pzza
2/13												
1/13												

The common responses related to man made/domestic articles and structures namely 13 was placed in a graph to show the number of responses linked to domestic articles and structures in relation to the overall number of responses in this category and the number of responses which had connotations of travel or transition in relation to the overall number of responses in this category. The graph also shows the relation between the number of domestic and community related answers.

Man made-structures and articles categories were as follows:

Articles and Structures domestic: bars, fence, tent, pie/pizza, Rope, balls, Necklace/Diamond

Travel, transition: railway line, roads, bridge/arch, steps

TRAVEL AND TRANSITION:

**Sample Group Upington and Andriesvale, Northern Cape
Geometrics reception 2004 Common readings Group A and B**

The number of responses linked to domestic in relation to the overall number of responses and the number of responses with travel and transition connotations in relation to the overall number of responses in this category.

	Domestic	Travel and trans- ition
9/13		
4/13		