

THE ROCK ART OF THE ANYSBERG NATURE RESERVE, WESTERN CAPE: a sense of place and rainmaking

by
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The crest of the University of Stellenbosch is centered behind the author's name. It features a shield with various symbols, including a book and a torch, surrounded by a red and white wreath. The motto 'POSTERA TOLERANT CALUMNIAE POTEST' is inscribed on a ribbon below the shield.

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“Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree

ABSTRACT

The Anysberg Nature Reserve is a block of mountainous terrain comprising 44 515 ha in the Little Karoo of the Western Cape. There are approximately 50 known rock art sites within its boundaries. During a two-year site survey details of the rock art images were recorded on forms and, where possible, by tracing and photography. The sites tend to be small with fewer than 50 images per site and are located in narrow kloofs, mostly on the Anysberg. Few sites have occupation deposits. The main interest has been the interpretation of the images. Human figures, predominantly male, are most commonly represented. Other images are animals, such as eland and elephants, antelope, felines and therianthropes, as well as non-representational marks. There are clear resemblances in content and style to the rock art in the Hex River Valley, the Cederberg and the Western Cape generally. The art can be linked to shamanistic experiences in altered states of consciousness. A number of depictions can be interpreted as part of rainmaking rituals.

KEYWORDS: Rock art, shamanism, rainmaking.

OPSOMMING

Die Anysberg Natuur Reservaat, van 44 515 ha, is geleë in die Klein Karoo in die Westelike Provinsie. Daar is ongeveer 50 rotskuns vindplase binne die grense van die Reservaat. Navorsing oor 'n periode van twee jaar is onderneem en die inhoud en detail van die rotskuns tekeninge is gedokumenteer. Vorms met dié inligting is vir elke vindplaas uitgereik en waar moontlik is tekeninge nagegetrek en gefotografeer. Die vindplase is klein met meestal minder as 50 tekeninge. Die rotskuns is gevind in diep klowe, meestal geleë op die Anysberg. Min vindplase het argeologiese oorblyfsels wat okkupasie impliseer. Die hoofdoel van die studie is interpretasie van die rotskuns. Menslike figure is hoofsaaklik manlik terwyl ander figure soos die eland, kleiner boksoorte, olifant, jakkals en katagtige diersoorte en halfmens figure, asook nie-realistiese merke, verteenwoordigend is van die rotskuns. Daar is tekeninge wat ooreenstem met dié van die Hex Rivier Vallei, die Cederberg en ander dele van die Westelike Provinsie. Die rotskuns in die Anysberg is 'n uitbeelding van shamanistiese transendentale ondervindings. Van hierdie tekeninge kan ook geïnterpreteer word as simbolies van rituele reënmaakery.

SLEUTELWOORDE: Rotskuns, shamanisme, reënmaak-rituele.

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CONVENTIONS

The following conventions are adopted in this thesis:

- The abbreviation ANR for Anysberg Nature Reserve is used to designate the research area.
- The indigenous Stone Age peoples of southern Africa, the Khoekhoen and the San, are collectively known as the *Khoisan* (Deacon, H.J. & Deacon, J 1999).
- The term *San* is used as a collective noun to describe the past and present small-scale hunter-gatherer societies in southern Africa. At the time of contact in the latter part of the seventeenth century, the European colonists knew them as the Sonqua or Soaqua. These are words of Khoekhoen derivation. The communities were probably local groups of the */Xam*. The term *San* has acquired pejorative connotations. It was a word used by the Nama for ‘vagabonds’. In this thesis the term *San* is preferred and any possible pejorative associations are rejected.
- *Khoekhoen* is the plural form of the Nama word ‘man’ and literally means ‘men of men’. It is used to refer to herder or pastoralist peoples in the Western Cape at the time of European contact. This spelling is currently preferred as it is closer to the pronunciation of the Nama word (Deacon, J. 1998). The *n* at the end of the word is retained unless the word is used as an adjective.
- Unless otherwise stated, the term ‘rock art’ is used to denote both paintings and engravings. It is debatable whether the term ‘art’ is appropriate to describe the images on the rocks, because it carries unwarranted connotations. However, rock art is a label that is widely recognised.
- In the text where there is a reference to a tracing from a site, as in example, site A/A 54/2 *tracing b*, this refers to a tracing in a folio lodged at Cape Nature Conservation, Jonkershoek Stellenbosch.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a study of the rock art of the Anysberg and surrounds. The Anysberg (33°30'S; 20°45'E) is part of the inland Little Swartberg range of the Cape Fold Belt of South Africa (Fig. 1.1 & 1.2). The name Anysberg derives from the Afrikaans, 'anys', meaning anise. Pettman (1931:183) suggests anys refers to an aromatic umbelliferous plant (*Pimpinella* sp.) with a liquorice-flavoured seed. In this context anys probably refers to an indigenous buchu, known as 'anysboegoe'. The leaves give off a strong smell of aniseed. A number of species in the family Rutaceae are labelled buchu and in this area the name may refer to *Agathosma capensis*.



1:282392

Roads (1:50 000)
CNC Reserves



Fig. 1.2. Map of the Anysberg Nature Reserve.

The study area is the Anysberg Nature Reserve (ANR). The ANR is situated near the towns of Ladismith and Laingsburg, approximately three hours drive from Cape Town. The land was acquired by the Cape Directorate of Nature Conservation and Environmental Affairs (Martin *et al.* 1989) through a purchase by the South African Nature Foundation, now the World Wide Fund for Nature. In 1986 negotiations started for the purchase of three farms, Vrede, Keurkloof and Kleinspreeufontein, and in 1988 these negotiations were successfully completed (Martin *et al.* 1989). In 1995, with funding from the Lesley Hill Succulent Trust, the World Wide Fund for Nature was able to acquire a further farm, Touwsfontein, thereby extending the area to 44 515 ha.

Currently, the staff of the former Department of Forestry, seconded to the Cape Department of Nature Conservation, manages the property. Interest in the reserve has been almost exclusively in the flora and fauna. However, now there is an awareness that conservation must be extended to cultural resources if such reserves are to be sustainable. Appreciation that rock art is a cultural resource that attracts tourists, has encouraged managers to compile inventories of rock art occurrences in addition to check lists of renewable natural resources.

Among the aims of the project was to locate, record and assess the rock art sites on the ANR and surrounds, and to formulate preliminary guidelines for the management and the protection of the sites. In *Appendix C* some recommendations for rock art conservation in the ANR are given. The success of conservation efforts depends on a partnership between the staff and the community. Community support for the ANR is registered through the Anysberg Conservation Club. This club was founded by Mr B.P. du Plessis, a teacher at the Touwsrivier Primary School in Touwsriver. Mr du Plessis has been able to stimulate the interest of his pupils in the environment and in particular in the rock art. This bodes well for the future of conservation.

A goal of this study was to assess the content of the art in the Anysberg area in relation to that in adjoining areas of the Western Cape where research is more advanced. Rock art research in the Western Cape has been concentrated on the west coast, Sandveld, Cederberg and Koue Bokkeveld (Manhire *et al.* 1983; Deacon, J. 1993; Yates *et al.* 1994). The Spatial Archaeological Research Unit at the University of Cape Town and the South African Museum in Cape Town have been responsible for the initiation of rock art projects and recording of data. The Cederberg has become well known as a core area or centre with a prolific quantity of art. Research away from this centre has been less intensive perhaps because the areas are more remote. The Anysberg (approximately 200 km from the Cederberg range) and the Hex River Valley discussed in this study would have been peripheral to the Cederberg centre. It does appear that the sites with rock art in these latter areas are fewer and the sites contain fewer images than in the Cederberg. However, there are broad

similarities in content, both in the images represented and probably the meaning that can be placed on these images. As research advances the contrasts between the Cederberg centre and the other centres of art in the Western Cape rather than the similarities may prove to be revealing.

There are no extant San communities living in the Anysberg or surrounds. Although there may be individuals of San descent, most folk memories of communal life to which the rock art may relate have been lost. There are no images in the art that can be directly related to contact with Khoekhoe herders or early European travellers. Although isolated as a mountainous area the Anysberg does not seem to have served as a refugium or a place of late resistance of the San. There is thus no direct indication of when the social order that produced the art collapsed. The only indication of the age of much of the art is its faded condition. This is an arid area that may have been marginal for hunter-gatherer settlement and never densely populated. Yet the occurrence of rock art suggests the Anysberg was a place of significance. That significance lay in the performance of shamanistic rituals including rainmaking ceremonies. There are numerous images that are explicable in terms of the trance hypothesis (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1994).

The rock art of the ANR is a document of the social history of the former inhabitants. Some of the sites at which paintings occur were homes as is attested by the remains of ostrich eggshell beads, pottery and stone artefacts visible on the surface or talus. These sites are themselves a resource, which will add to what can be learnt from the art, and are part of the same document. The priority for conservation and good management of these sites is self-evident as they are a non-renewable resource.





CHAPTER TWO

APPROACHES TO ROCK ART STUDIES

Introduction

‘ Vivid and beautiful though much of the art is, it is a source of wealth not easily tapped . . . ’

(Inskeep 1971:104).

In recent decades researchers in South Africa have given greater emphasis to the study of rock art and have made considerable strides in tapping this source of information about the past. This chapter is a review of how research has developed and concepts changed. It also considers some of the current academic debates in research, such as the significance of shamanism and mythology in understanding the meaning of the art. Ethnography has become central to the interpretation of rock art and the continuity between ethnography and the prehistoric past in South Africa provides unique opportunities for interpretation. However, there are images in South African rock art like entoptic signs that occur in rock art everywhere. Rock art is the product of the human mind and the universals in rock art are explicable in the recent evolution of modern humans and their global dispersal.

The many rock art sites in South Africa are a national treasure. In the ability of researchers to interpret and explain the complexity of rock art, lies the greatest hope for conservation.

Discovering the rock art

The early travellers were sufficiently impressed by the rock art to note its occurrence in their travelogues. In 1777 the first known copies were made by Robert Jacob Gordon in the Camdeboo (Raper & Boucher 1988:83-84). In 1835 James Alexander (1838) travelling near Oudtshoorn visited rock paintings. In his book, *An expedition of discovery into the interior of Africa*, he published copies of these paintings that had been made by his guide, Major C.C. Mitchell. These included images from the now famous Ezeljagdspoor site. However, the assessment of the significance of the art was strongly influenced by the then deprecating attitude of the European travellers towards the ‘Bushmen’, the accepted authors of the art. In the 1800s William Burchell (1822:Vol.1: 457)

described the San he encountered on his travels as “the most destitute of beings, and the lowest in the scale of man”. The San were considered sub-human savages with no religion. They were hunted, killed, forced into slavery or forced to flee into remote and often mountainous areas to escape persecution (Moodie 1838). By the latter part of the last century the /Xam language, culture and society had been almost totally destroyed. It was at this late stage that some serious interest in San language, mythology and art was evident.

A chief magistrate in what is now Lesotho, J.M. Orpen (1874), collected information on Maluti San myths and rock art and published these with comments by the authority on the San languages, W.H.I. Bleek. Bleek and L.C. Lloyd (1911) were engaged in collecting information on /Xam myths, legends and language from prisoners from Bushmanland released to their care. Bleek showed a copy made by Orpen of the paintings from the Melikane shelter, Mongolong cave to his /Xam informants. They were able to explain the images in terms of the belief system of which they were part. The informants described the paintings as follows: “We see here a water thing, or water cow . . . They then charm the animal, and attach a rope to its nose, - who desire to lead it over as large a tract of country as they can, in order that the rain should extend as far as possible, - their superstition being that wherever this animal goes, rain will fall” (Orpen 1874:12). Orpen’s own informant, Qing, also interpreted the image as a rain animal. This makes rainmaking the most attestable activity associated with the art. Regrettably, Bleek died in 1875. Orpen did not continue with his interest in rock art and Lloyd’s main interest was in mythology but not art. The interpretation of rock art was set back. It was a case of too little too late, an opportunity lost. The Bleek and Lloyd record of /Xam ethnography however remains crucial to the understanding of the art (Lewis-Williams 1983a).

The latter part of the last century saw the opening up of the mineral wealth of the interior. Geologists like Dunn (1931) and Stow (1905) visited rock art sites, had contact with informants and, in Stow’s case, compiled a collection of copies of both paintings and engravings. Although trained observers with an interest in San ethnography, their writings include little detail or insight. Stow’s (1905:397) comment that “. . . these rude works of art are the ancient title deeds of their race to the wide-spread plains around them, which had been occupied not only by themselves, but by their remote ancestors” may reflect his primary concern in tracing successive migration into South Africa. The copies made by Stow eventually passed into the hands of Dorothea, the daughter of Bleek, and among the images she was able to recognise were rain animals (Stow & Bleek 1930). Dunn (1931:46) acknowledged that the San had been removed forcibly from the areas he visited but he did record an interpretation, cited below, that has a clear reference to rainmaking:

“In 1872, shortly after leaving the Orange River, on our way to Kweekfontein, near N’Ghaums, I saw an engraving of a hippopotamus being dragged across the dry veldt by several Bushman people by means of a rope attached to its nose. The sergeant of police who was accompanying me on the trip suggested that this engraving had probably been done during a drought. As magic played a big part in the Bushman’s life, the idea most probably was that since the hippopotamus lived in water, and could not exist without it, that if he was dragged across the drought-stricken country, rain would necessarily follow, to keep him alive, the drought be broken, and an abundance of food be assured”.

Maria Wilman (1933:64) pointed out that the explanation offered by the sergeant is the same as that made for the painting in Mangolong Cave (Orpen 1874) and has to do with rainmaking. Her concern at the time was that although the scene recorded by Orpen had been reproduced in many subsequent publications, the reproductions failed to include the representations of falling rain. The power of rock art images and any relationship with rainmaking was not generally appreciated.

The turn of the century saw the belated adoption of a more responsible attitude to conservation of San heritage. The product was the Bushman-Relics Protection Act No.22 promulgated in 1911. At risk were engravings and paintings that could be removed and sold. African art was in vogue and marketable. The legislation was designed to stop the potential destruction of rock art panels and their export. There was another way in which the rock art could be publicised, exhibited and enjoyed and that was through publication. A demand for rock art reproductions in book form developed.

One of the first popular books to be published on South African rock art was the volume *Bushman Paintings* by Helen Tongue (1909). She had visited rock art sites in the Drakensberg foothills of the Eastern Cape by horse and trap. Her copies showed vividly the importance of the image of the eland. She appreciated the significance of eland images in San cosmology by drawing an analogy to the importance of cattle in traditional agricultural societies. To her the art showed “. . . a vivid imagination, expressing itself in rich and varied folklore”. Tongue set the stage for, and to a degree anticipated, the much later publication *The People of the Eland* by Patricia Vinnicombe (1976). The significance of the eland in the imagery of rock art was appreciated at an early stage.

The turn of the century also saw the rise of the museum. Old museums were expanded and new museums founded. Professional scientific staffs were appointed, as the colonies and later the Union began to document the natural heritage. Bushmen artefacts and art were collected, as the Bushmen were perceived to be part of nature rather than humanity (Goodwin 1935). Péringuey, an

entomologist turned archaeologist, led the way and dispatched staff like Drury to make casts of the 'dying race' (Summers 1975). The first decades of this century were a collecting phase driven by an imperative to make museums important as depositories. The concerns were in collecting art, less in documenting it and even less in learning about its meaning. What folk memories of painters survived, went unrecorded.

In 1923 A.J.H. Goodwin became the first professional archaeologist to gain employment in South Africa (Deacon, J. 1990). He saw his main task as making sense of the vast collections of stone artefacts that had accumulated in the museums during the collecting phase. He was less concerned with the art. His Cambridge mentor, Miles Burkitt (1928), in his appropriately titled book, *South Africa's Past in Stone and Paint*, showed more concern with rock art. Burkitt's interest was primarily in the chronology of styles. Chronology was the overriding problem faced by archaeologists in what Goodwin (1958) saw as the classificatory period of research. The time scales of the stone industries could not be determined except in a relative sense. The rock art could only be stratified by rare superimpositioning or indirectly by style and was even less datable. In spite of being an ethnographer and a student of San material culture, Goodwin left the study of rock art to others, Miles Burkitt, Dorothea Bleek (Stow & Bleek 1930), Maria Wilman (1933), Walter Battiss (1948), the van der Riet sisters (Bleek *et al.* 1940), and the Abbé Breuil (1955).

World War II caused a disruption in archaeological studies although it did bring the Abbé Breuil back to the country. His time spent in the country led to the publicity given to rock art, notably through his monograph on the 'white lady' of the Brandberg (Breuil 1955). It matters little now that his interpretation of the white lady was misguided. Indeed it was so lacking in understanding of the context of the rock art that it helped to expose the need to return to San ethnography to understand the art. The end of the war allowed the founding of the *South African Archaeological Society* by Goodwin and it was in the pages of the *Bulletin of the South African Archaeological Society* that the interpretations of Breuil and others could be debated. There was now an organisation to encourage wider interest in archaeology and in the most accessible part of archaeology, the rock art. The immense task of recording the rock art in the country fell to groups of enthusiastic members of this society. In one sense this made rock art studies the province of amateurs, but cast in a more positive light, it brought a new corpus of researchers to aid in the advancement of archaeology.

The decades following the end of the war were a period of documentation of the art. The richer and more accessible areas like the Drakensberg and the Cederberg became well explored. The art was documented by tracing or, in the case of engravings by rubbing, and by photography. Apart from papers in the *South African Archaeological Bulletin* and the *South African Journal of Science*, the

results appeared in a number of popular books. Notably, among these books were *Rock Paintings of the Drakensberg* (Willcox 1956), *Rock-paintings of the South-West Cape* (Johnson *et al.* 1959), *Prehistoric Rock Art of the Federation of Rhodesia & Nyasaland* (Summers *et al.* 1959), *Rock Engravings from Driekops Eiland: and other sites south-west of Johannesburg* (Slack 1962), *The Rock Art of South Africa* (Willcox 1963), *The Hunter and his Art* (Rudner, J. & Rudner, I. 1970), *Art on the Rocks of Southern Africa* (Lee & Woodhouse 1970). The most lavish of these publications was *Ndedema* (Pager 1971) which combined photography and tracing in a survey of the art in one gorge in the Drakensberg. Concerns were shifting from choosing selective images to more systematic recording of all the images at sites. In this the lead was given by Vinnicombe (1967a, 1967b) and Maggs (1967).

Beyond *art pour l'art*

The explanation for rock art in *The Rock Art of South Africa* (Willcox 1963) exemplifies the normative approach to the art at the time. It showed an awareness that the art was produced by San communities and discussed the history of the San and their folklore. It suggested that some of the art illustrated lost myths and legends (Willcox 1963:35). However, the view expressed was that *art pour l'art*, for the pleasure of the beholder rather than sympathetic magic, was the motivation behind the art (Lewis-Williams 1991). This represented little advance in the understanding of the art over the comments by D.F. Bleek (1932) and Wilman (1933) made some thirty years earlier. The 1960s saw the emergence of the New Archaeology and a confidence that the past was knowable if the research was designed in a logical deductive manner. The positivism may have been responsible for new standards of recording and for an emphasis on quantification in the art. The counting of numbers of human figures in scenes as an indicator of social group size (Maggs 1967) reflects the positivist approach of the New Archaeology. The ethnographic studies of band size and mobility among the Dobe !Kung (Lee 1965) had a considerable influence on archaeological thinking of the time. Estimating the key variable of the size of social groups inhabiting archaeological sites was a problem. Quantitative analysis of the rock art appeared to hold the answer but only if it could be assumed that the images reflected reality. This assumption can be questioned (Lewis-Williams 1983a; Lewis-Williams *et al.* 1993) along with other assumptions of the New Archaeology that ignored the social context of the information.

The 1969 rock art conference (Schoonraad 1971) was the end of the era of the discovery of rock art. The conference was designed to bring together amateur and professional workers in the field to exchange ideas. The proceedings reflect the concerns with documentation and description and a mix of normative and New Archaeology thinking. It was the end of the era because the extreme

positivism of the New Archaeology was outmoded in the 1970s by the appreciation that people were active and not passive agents. Rock art studies were to gain a new impetus from the relativism expounding in the new post-processual movement in archaeology. The ideas and beliefs of people of the past could no longer be ignored.

In a challenge to the empirical methods being used in documenting the art, Inskeep (1971:102,104) urged the need to “wrestle with the problem of the motivation behind the art”. He stressed that “. . . the ethnography of the surviving hunter/gatherers, of their storytelling and mythology, as well as that recorded by earlier workers, may well provide suggestions leading to a more intelligent view of the art”. This suggested a way forward through making links between ethnography and the art. The art could only be understood through the minds of people who created it (Conkey 1987). Access to those minds was by way of ethnography.

It needed a new climate of thought to make the links between the art and ethnography. This came not from the New Archaeology but from the post-processual or relativist reaction to it. The seeds of the paradigm shift were already sown. Indeed they had been long established. Tongue (1909) was aware of the symbolic significance of the eland in the Drakensberg even without rigorously counting of the number of images in shelters. The obvious questions were not asked. Why was the eland important? How might we learn of its importance? Wilman (1933:64), in reference to W.H.I. Bleek’s explanation of rainmaking, commented that “There would therefore seem to be more in some compositions than meets the eye” but as noted she failed to make the connection between sorcerers or shamans and the art which in this case related to rainmaking. With hindsight the links between the art and ethnography were obvious but they had to be made explicit. They had to be argued.

Since the 1970s interest in social theory has increased, with positivism giving rise to post-positivism and post-processualism to the radical critique (Clark 1993). Ethnographic studies that focussed almost exclusively on hunter-gatherers and their quest for food, became more concerned about the fabric and less about the functioning of San society. Subsistence strategies were out and social formation in neo-Marxist terms was in. Under the label of the ‘Great Kalahari Debate’ (Barnard 1996) the views of the traditionalist, post-positivists who believe in a real ethnography, and the radical revisionists, who believe in nothing of the kind, have been aired. The resulting broadening of the perspective has helped to uncover the links between ethnography and rock art.

In the 1970s Patricia Vinnicombe (1972a, 1972b, 1976) turned to the ethnography and rightly saw this as the meaningful approach to rock art studies. She stressed that ways of understanding the art

should be sought in the belief structure of the San. In recording the art of the Underberg in Natal, she found that images were selective and subject matter restricted and that the images displayed certain conventional postures, proportions and colours. Vinnicombe (1976:349) concluded that “. . . the Bushmen did not paint simply what they saw, but selected what was symbolically important to them”. She focused on mythology and argued that there was a relationship between the San and the eland:

“The eland epitomised more than the regulated unity of the Bushman band: it served also as a link between the material and spiritual worlds. The eland was the medium through which the oppositions of life and death, of destruction and preservation, were resolved. The eland was connected with the practical here and now as well as with the less tangible concepts of fertility, regeneration, and eternity. The eland was the focus of the Bushman’s deepest aesthetic feelings and of his highest moral and intellectual speculations. The Mountain Bushmen of the Drakensberg were known as the ‘people of the eland’, and in sharing the eland’s name, they partook of the eland’s identity. As the wind was one with the man, so man was one with the eland” (Vinnicombe 1976:353).

Vinnicombe (1976) saw an important association between the eland and rainmaking in describing paintings showing the eland “tied up” or “connected to strange figures by rope-like lines”. To her the eland could “therefore be associated with rain-making rites as well as with game sorcerers” (Vinnicombe 1976:240). She had made the connection between the art and shamans more explicit. The links between the nineteenth century ethnography recorded by Bleek & Lloyd (1911) and that recorded since the 1950s (Marshall 1957, 1962, 1969), and the art were being formed.

Vinnicombe was not in a position to build on her years of rock art research in South Africa as her subsequent work has been in Australia and only indirectly concerned with rock art. It was left to David Lewis-Williams (1981a) to build on the foundation that had been created and to take rock art interpretation that step further in linking the art to the trance performances of shamans. Lewis-Williams has based his research on the evaluation of the ethnography of the surviving hunter-gatherers (Lewis-Williams & Bieseke 1978), and the nineteenth-century records of Bleek and Orpen. He recognised that the metaphors in the art were associated with the trance performance of shamans in the ritual-curing dance, in communication with the ancestors and in rainmaking. In his view the art was an expression of the religious system of the San and fundamental to strengthening their cognitive system.

Lewis-Williams (1972, 1981a, 1983b) recognised the potency in images associated with the eland among other animals. It is the frequency of depiction of the eland in the rock art and the importance of the eland in San ethnography that strengthen the hypothesis that this animal was central in San cognitive thought. In ethnography the eland is a symbol that features in rites of passage - the menarcheal rite, the marriage rite and the rite of a young hunter's first eland kill, as well as in rainmaking. The !Kung perform the 'eland potency' dance next to the carcass (Katz 1982; Katz & Bieseke 1986) believing they can capture this power. In trance they can use this potency to cure ills. This power Lewis-Williams believed was portrayed in the art and gave meaning to the paintings.

In the rock art the eland were depicted in certain postures associated with shamans (Vinnicombe 1972a; Lewis-Williams & Bieseke 1978). The lowering of its head, the bleeding from the nose and the 'sweating' with hair standing on end, symbolise the death of the animal and this can be seen as analogous to the 'death' of a shaman entering trance (Lewis-Williams 1981a, 1983b). The shaman became part of the potency coming from the 'dying' eland. He becomes part of the antelope and is transformed by animal power. This transformation between animal and human explains the therianthrope depictions of shamans with antelope ears, heads and hocks or hoofs (Lewis-Williams 1981a).

It has been stressed by Lewis-Williams and colleagues that the act of making a rock painting established a context in meaning which was associated with the rock face itself (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1994:210). As the rock face was a 'curtain', a screen, between the 'real' world and the spirit world, all images placed on the walls of shelters were restricted in meaning and of shamanistic content. Consequently, the images were of religious nature, a conclusion drawn by Bleek many years before (Orpen 1874:11). In his view (Lewis-Williams 1998) the painting is not the symbol but only 'carries' the symbol and may thus portray many meanings. These meanings are found in San myth, ritual and religion. As noted the eland were central in San thought and Lewis-Williams has emphasised that the eland were a symbol of many meanings or is polysemic. However, he holds that the image of the eland portrays one meaning at any time. The rest of the associations remain in the background, but while their meanings are peripheral they still constitute a power base in thought.

There is no question of the magnitude of the contribution that Lewis-Williams has made to the interpretation of rock art. This is only devalued by his polemical statements on empiricism in rock art interpretation (Lewis-Williams 1984a, 1984b). While emphasising the importance of the trance

hypothesis, Lewis-Williams may not have adequately acknowledged the role of hallucinogens in reaching a state of altered consciousness among the /Xam. Although clapping and dancing are able to induce trance, hallucinogens undoubtedly promote the process. There are ethnographic references to hallucinogenic plants that suggest their importance in the trance performance, ritual and healing. The use of 'kanna' has been noted in reference to the naming of Kannaland. The *kwashi* plant, an amaryllid (*Pancratium trianthum*) is an hallucinogen (Schultes & Hofmann 1992) known and used by the Dobe !Kung. Katz (1982:168) has reported that dancers seeking *n/um*, drink *gwa*, a name applied to several species of *Leonotis* or dagga (Bleek 1929:32). In the !Xóõ language dagga is *qhàna* (Traill 1994:221), a word perhaps only dialectically different from Ghana or Kanna. The leaves of the *iqwaka* plant, *Catha edulis* (Smith 1966:473; Watt & Breyer-Brandwijk 1962:179; Prins 1990), were apparently chewed when 'making rain' according to an informant, Maquoqua Dyantyi (Jolly 1986, 1999; Lewis-Williams 1986:10) from Tsolo in the Transkei, who was interviewed recently. These references are at least circumstantial evidence that altered states of consciousness involved the use of substances.

The idea that shamanistic rituals explain much if not all rock art has not gone unchallenged. One challenge has come from those researchers who point to the changing social contexts in the production of the art, particularly in the last 2 000 years with contact between the San and herders or agriculturists (Prins & Hall 1994; Ouzman 1994, 1995; Dowson 1995; Prins 1996). One of the issues raised is the extent to which the Khoekhoen rather than the San were probably responsible for the more recent art of the south-western Cape (Van Rijssen 1994). It is argued that changes like the introduction of herding would have influenced ideology (Hall 1994; Yates *et al.* 1994; Penn 1995). Whereas the San owned access to resources that were shared with kin, herders and agropastoralists owned commodities in the form of stock that had more tangible value (Campbell 1987; Prins & Hall 1994). Where commodities are involved the role of rock art may have shifted from promoting community cohesion to initiation into the rights of inheritance by formally establishing the individual's place in society. At question is whether the trance hypothesis implies a static view of San society that is inadequate to explain the art of societies undergoing dynamic and varied transformation.

Recent research has fuelled a continuing debate on the role of gender and myth in production of the art. Discussion of issues of interpretation 'outside' the trance hypothesis help to continue the exploration of meaning (Lenssen-Erz 1997; Solomon 1992, 1994, 1997, 1999) and to avoid intellectual stagnation. In particular, Anne Solomon (1997, 1999) argues that the importance of the trance hypothesis in explanation of the art has been overstated and the art cannot be called

shamanistic. She claims that the ritual meaning given to the art and the symbol of the eland is too restrictive. In her view explanation should concentrate on the interrelatedness of the different dimensions of belief, gender, and form. This would allow for the emphasis she gives to female initiation and the depiction of mythical figures from the primal past in interpretation as opposed to the performance of shamanistic activities (Solomon 1997).

In arguing against the importance attached to shamanic activities in interpretation of the art, Solomon (1999:56) refers to Katz (1982:231) stating that the !Kung have no shamanistic tradition. In this she is incorrect and the statement of Katz is taken out of context. His concern was that the !Kung have no priestly cast or shamanistic tradition based on shamans being seen as different by the other members of their group. He did not dispute the shamanic nature of their healing powers. The !Kung shaman had no special role or privileges as is reported in most societies that have a shamanistic tradition (Elkin 1977; Halifax 1979; Eliade 1989; Harner 1990; Ryan 1999). Elsewhere Katz (1976; 1982:100) describes the !Kung ceremony of *kia* as a transcendent and an 'out of body' experience. The *kia* is a trance performance by shamans.

Solomon (1999) sees the Qing testimony to Orpen (1874) as cornerstone to the shamanistic model. She considers this as tenuous in the interpretation of shamanism as motivation for the rock art. She argues that the use of the term death in "men who had died and now lived in rivers" in this testimony as actual death and, contrary to Lewis-Williams (1981a), claims that this does not refer to shamans going into trance. In her argument the testimony of Qing reflects aspects of San mythology and belief, particularly the /Xam and the Kua narratives of a powerful being associated with death, disease and underwater. Solomon holds that Qing refers to the old order and *real* dead men in rivers. Although there are San creation myths that are consistent in describing the replacement of an old order by a new, to bridge myth and art in interpretation remains problematic (Guenther 1989, 1994). The agent of transformation was the anteater (ichneumon) that is rarely if ever depicted in the art anywhere in southern Africa. The lynx and the springbok are other central characters in this creation myth and are difficult to identify among felines and indeterminate small antelope. Although Solomon has reiterated the importance of mythology in interpreting the art, there is little in the depictions themselves that demand mythological interpretation. Mythology may be part of the explanation of the art but even so this is not clear cut in interpretation. If Qing was relating the story of the transition from the primal time why did he not narrate the actual story? Why did he refer to it in such complex terms? He said that these were secrets that are not spoken of and that only the "initiated men of that dance know these things" (Orpen 1874:3). It is universally accepted in societies that practised shamanism, that arcane knowledge gained while in trance was passed on by

the shamans or initiated individuals (Shostak 1981; Eliade 1989; Harner 1990). While myths and legends are learnt by all around the fireplace, deeper religious knowledge is only accessible through a learning process. This involved initiation into shamanism.

The rhebok men as described in Orpen (1874) are bending forward, holding sticks and wearing karosses. These are all features of trance dancing and men in trance (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989). Solomon (1999) acknowledges that Qing was referring to these figures as part of the dance to control (harm/spoil) their “maleficent powers”. The implication is that for ‘men’ to have achieved such supernatural power and to be able to ‘fight off’ the evil spirits they would have had to enter the spirit world. The spirit world was a different dimension from the real world and entry was through trance. Trance as the way to gain power over good and evil was the central function of shamanistic activities. All else follows from this activity. This makes it inherently more plausible that rock art images are primarily trance and not myth related.

It has been established that the art does not adequately ‘illustrate’ the different myths and narratives in San cognitive systems (Deacon 1988; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1994:208). Janette Deacon (1988) has examined the late nineteenth-century narratives recounted by Upper Karoo /Xam informants and tried to trace these with corresponding themes in local rock engravings. She found that ‘only eland and people are often represented in both’ (Deacon, J. 1988:11). Figures that feature prominently in the myths such as the mantis, jackal, hare and ichneumon do not occur in the engravings, while animals such as the elephant, which appear in significant numbers, as in the Western Cape, seldom feature in the narratives. She concludes that much of the rock art can be linked with shamanistic activities. The animals that feature in the rock art such as the eland, hartebeest and lion do so with shamanistic connotations.

It is the feelings and associations of the people for whom the art had meaning that was important in the production of the art. Although it is now impossible to share those feelings, we have the record of the reaction of a San couple in the Jammerberg to copies of rock art shown to them by Stow (Vinnicombe 1976:350). On seeing some dances illustrated in these depictions the woman began to move rhythmically and to sing. Her husband pleaded with her not to revive memories of the past as it made his heart too sad. A copy of depictions showing San with bows in their hands and arrows filleted around their heads was described by the old woman as a special dance for the hunters. This painting induced her to sing again and the old man proceeded to dance to her singing. Vinnicombe (1976) argues that this incident demonstrates the connection between paintings, music, dance and ritual in the minds of the San, and that in San thought all aspects of culture were inter-connected.

The importance of one force of production of the art over the other is therefore not the main issue. The medicine man/woman or shaman was the role player in production.

Concluding remarks

The vernacular term 'Bushman paintings', still used in popular literature, reflects folk knowledge that the San were the authors of the rock art. Although quibbles have been raised to the effect that not all the art was produced by people claiming San ethnicity, these do not invalidate the premise. The rock art is San art and the most tangible record of their society. While the San were regarded as the lowest class of humanity, the art was trivialised. The revelation that has come from recent studies is the depth of meaning portrayed in the art. The art can no longer be deprecated as child-like and dismissed as art that has to do with sympathetic magic or art for art's sake. It has taken some 200 years since the first copies of rock art were published to achieve wider acceptance of the significance of rock art as a religious expression. In this time the traditions associated with the production of the art have been lost. There is probably no living person who can claim to have been schooled in this tradition. All that remain are tenuous folk memories of its production to facilitate a link.

Myths and stories in non-literate societies are the way in which happenings were recorded to enhance survival. The shamans who received this knowledge passed it on in the ritual act of shamanism. The art was the vehicle used to transmit information in visual form. Mythology, ritual and the art are interwoven in a web of shamanistic religious ideas and cannot be separated and studied as different entities. It serves little purpose to debate the relative importance of mythology versus shamanism in interpreting the art. They are parts of the same whole.

Janette Deacon summarises the essence of meaning that the rock art conveys: "Their art stands out as a sophisticated reminder of the depth of their religious beliefs and their ability to use art as part of ritual practices to mediate social conflict and record experiences in the spirit world" (Deacon, H.J. & Deacon, J. 1999:163).





CHAPTER THREE

SETTING OF THE SURVEY AREA

Geographical locality

The Anysberg Nature Reserve (ANR), which is designated as the study area in this rock art research project, is situated in the district of Laingsburg in the Little Karoo. It is situated off the normal tourist route and is midway between the towns of Touws River, 47 km to the west and Ladismith, 48 km to the east. The ANR is 44 515 hectares in size. The 1:50 000 topographical maps, 3320CB, 3320DA, 3320BC and 3320BB, cover this area and the immediate surrounds.

Topography

The Witberge to the north of the Reserve and three distinct mountainous areas, the Anysberg, the Matjiesgoedberg in the central area, and Suurkloof se Berg lying in the northern part give

ANYSBERG NATURE RESERVE



Rivers (1:500 000)
Contours (1:500 000) 100m
CNC Reserves



10 0 10 20 Kilometers

Fig. 3.1. Topography of the Anysberg Nature Reserve.

topographic relief to the ANR (Fig. 3.1). The northern boundary is the Suurkloof se Berg, highest point 1478 m, and the Anysberg, highest point 1622 m, is the southern boundary (Fig. 1.2, on page. 2).

Between the mountainous areas there are two east/west striking valleys (Martin 1993). It is not all broken terrain and there are open plains. The most extensive plain is north of the Anysberg. The Touwsfontein area on the southwestern side of the Anysberg is dominated by opens plains and shale ridges (Price 1996a).

Seasonal streams drain the catchment areas of Fisantekloof and Elandskloof and feed the Anys River, which enters the ANR on the western side and flows through the central valley eastwards. A few kilometres from the eastern boundary the Anys River turns south and is joined by the Prins River. From there the Anys River flows southwards through the impressive gorge known as Prinspoort. The flow of these rivers is intermittent and floods occur. The Anys River is a tributary of the Touws River which, in turn, joins the Groot River and feeds into the Gouritz, the major river that enters the sea near Mossel Bay on the south Cape coast.

Geology

Three main geological strata dominate the rock and soil formations; the Table Mountain Group, the Bokkeveld Group and the Witteberg Group represent the Cape Supergroup in this region (Theron *et al.* 1991). The valleys are cut into Table Mountain Group rocks, while the Witteberg sandstones are found to the north and the Bokkeveld shales underlie the Anysberg and southern inclines near the Touws River. There is a narrow infold of Bokkeveld slates along the Matjiesgoedberg (Du Toit 1926:173-177). Quartzitic and feldspathic sandstones, reddish at the outcrop, are characteristic of the Table Mountain Group, while dark or greenish shales and mudstones represent the Bokkeveld Group (Theron *et al.* 1991:27). There are deposits of iron-rich clays, ochre and haematite, in these beds. These may have been a source for the pigments used in the paints of the depictions on rocks. The Witteberg Group includes thick white quartzite and tillite beds that are down-faulted against the rocks of the Table Mountain Group (Du Toit 1926).

Climate

The ANR is in a bimodal rainfall region, transitional between the summer and winter rainfall regions. Rainfall varies with topography. The mountain ranges in the north and south have a higher mean annual rainfall (500 mm) than the lower-lying valleys (200 mm). The central mountainous

area, Matjiesgoedberg, receives approximately 400 mm per annum (Martin 1993). Some 60% of the precipitation is from cyclonic fronts in winter (May to July). Temperatures range from -5°C in the winter to 38°C in the summer, with frost occurring between March and October. The extremes in temperature make this a harsh environment.

Vegetation

The ANR falls in the succulent Karoo biome and within the less arid succulent Karoo region of the biome (Martin 1993). The Karroid Broken Veld merges easily into the Succulent Karoo vegetation, where the succulents increase and dominate the shrubs (Acocks 1988). On dry plains at higher elevations, there is a transition from semi-succulent, open Karroid Broken Veld to Mountain Renosterveld. The thornveld along the rivers and streams is well developed and in places forms an *Acacia karroo* woodland. Up the sides of the mountains the semi-succulent scrub becomes non-succulent. There is a transition to scattered scrub-like trees, predominantly *Euclea undulata* on the south-facing slopes. Other prolific species in the Renosterveld are *Dodonaea augustifolia*, *Acacia karroo*, and *Rhus lucida*. More dramatic changes take place higher in the kloofs and upper reaches of the mountains, especially the Anysberg, where the Karoo is replaced by fynbos vegetation and, where large stands of Proteaceae occur in the wetter and cooler areas (Martin *et al.* 1989). The mountain fynbos has the characteristic alliance of Restionaceae, Ericaceae and Proteaceae. The vegetation change from dry Karoo scrub to fynbos is a product of both climatic and edaphic factors. The varied topography and substrates contribute to the plant diversity. There are micro-habitats formed by pockets of soil supporting different plant communities. It is a parched environment but one that supports scrub and Cape hares, the small antelope steenbok and duiker, leopard, jackal and caracal as well as a rich herpetofauna (Burger 1993).

A sense of place

The rugged terrain, massive rock outcrops, thin soils, ephemeral streams, extremes of temperature and aridity, low large mammal biomass and sclerophyllous or succulent vegetation make the Anysberg area unfavourable for agriculture. Land is cheap and for this reason farms could be bought and consolidated into a reserve. It had not been intensively farmed and degraded by early colonists or Khoekhoe herders and, in that sense the land has been preserved in relatively pristine form. The main impact of recent land use apart from selected ploughing would have been the increase in the incidence of burning and the introduction of exotic plants. There are small areas of alien vegetation, notably lucerne lands and stands of eucalyptus trees near the homesteads, but these apart, there are few invasive plants.

San foragers would have made different demands on the land. Story (1958) was amongst the first to document that the San had an “astonishingly good” knowledge of field botany and of the areas and habitats in which their food plants grew. Such knowledge would have been essential in an arid area like the Anysberg. The range of microhabitats each with its own fauna and flora would have been to their advantage with precipitation the single most limiting factor on productivity. The Anysberg mountains themselves would have generated a sense of place (Deacon, J. 1988), secure in their isolation and symbolic in their massive presence. Water sources and geographical landmarks feature in the San mythology. There are features of the art in the Anysberg that suggest that the rock face and choice of site was in itself meaningful and significant in the placing of the art. It is understandable that a number of the paintings that allow interpretation have to do with rainmaking rituals as discussed elsewhere.

Early history

‘Karoo’ is a Khoekhoe word meaning dry, hard and lightly covered (Burman 1981). While used as a general term for the arid interior of South Africa, the word is also used in the vernacular as a ‘generic’ name for fodder plants, mainly Compositae, found mostly in the arid areas (Smith 1966:281). The ANR lies in the northwestern corner of the so-called Little Karoo region, south of the Great Karoo and enclosed by the Langeberg and Swartberg ranges.

Backhouse (1844:112) states that in early historical times the Little Karoo was known as ‘Kannaland’. This name comes from a species of *Sceletium*, which was found in abundance there (Smith 1966:276). In 1789, William Paterson recorded the name ‘Channa Land’. He states that the name derives ‘from a species of *Mesembryanthemum*, which is called Channa by the natives and is exceedingly esteemed by them’. The small trailing succulent plant, *Sceletium tortuosum* is known to contain the poisonous principle ‘mesembrine’, a relative of cocaine, and was called ‘kougoed’ or ‘channa’ (Herre 1971:276). Jacobsen (1960:1413) records *S. tortuosum* growing near Lainsburg. However, the vernacular name *Kanna* was applied to any species in the genus *Sceletium* (Mesembryanthemaceae) and at least one species of *Sceletium* is found in ANR (Alan Martin, pers. comm.). The fermented or dried leaves of channa were chewed by indigenous people at the Cape, and retained in their mouths for a while, ‘when their spirits would rise, their eyes would brighten, and they would commence to dance’ (Smith 1966:309). In the account of his travels at the Cape in the 1770s, Thunberg (Forbes 1986:303,248) records that ‘Hottentots’ came from far and near to attain ‘kon’ (*Sceletium emarcidum*) or ‘canna’ (*Sceletium tortuosum*) for its narcotic properties. A further reference to the use of kanna (channa) by the ‘Hottentot’, as a euphoriant and hallucinogen

is given by La Barre (1975:24). Bleek (1929:34) translates the word //gaṇa (canna) as to 'dream'. It also means 'spirit' in the /Xam San language. A possibly related word //gāna translates as waterhole (Bleek 1929:90). It can be argued that the name channa evidences knowledge of hallucinogens and taking these was linked to dance, visions and dreams; a possible association between an hallucinogenic plant causing altered states of the mind. Trance performances are important rituals throughout Africa and well documented among the San. The dimension of trance and the activities of shamans in creating the rock art is a central theme of this thesis. In the Anysberg and in the Little Karoo hallucinogens were known and were probably part of creating the art.

Historical settlement of the Anysberg

The first European settlement of the Anysberg and surrounds was relatively late. There are ruins of farm buildings, which may date from the late 1700s (Alan Martin, pers. comm.). The earliest land granted on perpetual quitrent in the Anysberg, was the '*loan place de Fonteinmorgen aan de Vlakte over de Thouw*, bounded in the south by the great chain of the Zwarteberg, East and West by government ground, Northwest and North by Government ground and mountains' (Worcester Quits. Vol. 12. Folio 19: Deeds Registry, Cape Town). This grant was made in October 1848 to Pieter Fredrik Gerhardus Crots and Alwyn Petrus Burger. In June 1857, another land-grant was made to Johan Godfried Drotskie. The property was *Kleine Spreeuwfontein aan de Klipfontein* and bounded by Crown land, towards 'Eilands Kloof and summits of the Wittebergen' and 'by Crown land towards Anysberg' (Worcester Quits. Vol. 12. Folio 47: Deeds Registry, Cape Town). The Anysberg was probably settled earlier than the dates of these grants suggest. Farms were sometimes occupied on a trial basis, only to be abandoned if found to be unsuitable. In such cases the farms were not registered.

The reason for the relatively late date of farming settlement of the Anysberg suggests that it was remote and isolated in historical times, even as it is today. The recorded routes taken by the eighteenth and nineteenth century travellers and botanists did not pass the Anysberg. The routes were either through the Koue Bokkeveld - Tanqua Karoo and Roggeveld to the Calvinia district or through the Hex River Valley past Touws River to Laingsburg and along the northern side of the Swartberg range. The Swartberg stretching north-eastwards from the Touws River forced travellers to the north of the Anysberg. For example, in September 1776, Hendrik Swellengrebel passed through the Hex River Valley into the 'harshness and emptiness of the Karoo'. He took the route over the Touws River to Laingsburg across the Dwyka and Gamka Rivers, and beyond (Forbes 1965). Again in 1778, Robert Gordon, accompanied by the governor of the Cape, Van Plettenburg

and his party, made a journey to the eastern frontier of the colony (Raper & Boucher 1988:177). The route taken like that followed by Swellengrebel was north of the Swartberg and the Anysberg. Even travellers like Thunberg who in 1772 traversed the Little Karoo from east to west did not reach the Anysberg, preferring to turn south across the Langeberg after crossing the Gouritz and Groot rivers through the Plattekloof Pass (Forbes 1965, 1986). Of the more frequented routes from the Cape to the interior, the Anysberg was settled later than surrounding areas.

From the 1600s, herders, hunters, and agriculturists living along the southern shores of South Africa, were exposed to increasing contact with sailors, travellers, and hunters from Europe. Some contacts were peaceful encounters, others were aggressive (Raven-Hart 1967). The first Europeans to penetrate into the Little Karoo or 'Kannaland' were the members of the trading expedition led by Ensign Isaac Schrijver in 1689 (Moodie 1838:236, 433-440). The expedition passed through the Attaquas Kloof into the eastern end of the Little Karoo. Along the route the expedition met up with the Hessequas near the Kaffirkuils River and Gouriquas near Mossel Bay. After passing through the mountains into the Little Karoo, they encountered Attaqua Khoekhoen near the Doorn River and Kandelaars River. Ensign Schrijver described some of the groups encountered near the Olifants River as *Sonqua Hottentots*. These were the Hougliquas, described as being very aggressive as well as being cattle thieves and living in kraals and owning cattle. It appears that they were Khoekhoen rather than San hunter-gatherers and had stockposts scattered through the region.

The excavation of the stockpost at Boomplaas cave (Deacon, H.J. 1995) established that communities of Khoekhoe herders were living in the Little Karoo as early as 1700 years ago. Calibrated dates of this herder occupation are between 396 and 437 AD. The herders were engaged in intensive small stock farming shown by the age profile of the sheep remains (Deacon, H.J. *et al.* 1978; Von den Driesch & Deacon, H.J. 1985; Sealy & Yates 1994). Finds of Khoekhoen pottery in the ANR suggests herder communities ranged into the Western Karoo. Settlement of the Anysberg, on the arid margins of the Little Karoo towards the north-west, by smaller 'patch-bound' (Deacon, H.J. 1995:124) hunter-gatherer groups in contact with the herders may have continued after the expansion of the latter. The small shelters and occupation sites in the ANR may indicate this. However, none of these sites have been positively identified as a stockpost. Many of the Later Stone Age archaeological sites, including the rock art sites of the ANR, probably date to the last 5 000 years when environments became more favourable for the prehistoric expansion of human settlement in the more arid areas of the interior of the country (Deacon, H.J. & Deacon, J. 1999). Archaeological research in the western part of the Little Karoo is too limited to document the

prehistoric settlement in the Anysberg but it involved San hunter-gatherers, later in contact or in symbiotic relationship with Khoekhoe herders.

The dating and context of the art

There are no images in the art of the Anysberg that indicate European contact. Images of colonial times such as horses, ox-wagons and people with guns, occur at a number of sites in the southwestern Cape (Yates *et al.* 1993). In the Hex River Valley area, which is closer to the Anysberg and Little Karoo, such images are again absent (Rust 1995). Sheep are well represented in the art of the southwestern Cape (Manhire *et al.* 1986). In the Kalahari Shelter in the Hex River Valley there are possible depictions of sheep, some with 'thin' and others with fat-tails. However, images of fat-tailed sheep have not been recorded in the Anysberg. One inference that could be drawn is that much of the art in the Anysberg predates contact with European and Khoekhoen. However, there are handprints and finger paintings that are generally considered to occur late in the chronology of the art (Manhire 1998). A late Holocene date for the art is probable but none is undoubtedly from the contact period.

The range of the material culture observed on the surface of the rock art sites and sites without rock art, can be readily identified with that of the Later Stone Age San hunter-gatherers. There are numerous stone flakes, bone and marine shell fragments, ostrich eggshell beads and pottery sherds. Marine shell (*Donax serra*) fragments in deposits point to coastal contacts or trade. In themselves these items are not an indication of the age of the art in the absence of controlled excavations with suites of radiocarbon dates.

The surface finds of pottery sherds have chronological significance. The sherds are thin-walled with a mean thickness of 5 mm. Decorations include rows of thin lines parallel to the rim of the pot sherd, or dot-like marks in rows probably made with a pointed stick. In some cases the clay was burnished with red ochre. Black burnishing is evident as well. The temper of these sherds is slightly gritty with small pieces of quartz inclusions. One sherd has reinforced lugs. These sherds are of a tradition classified as Cape Coastal Ware and were historically associated with the Khoekhoen (Rudner, J. 1968). Archaeological evidence (Smith *et al.* 1991; Smith 1992) shows pottery was introduced after 2 000 years ago and it is normally found in association with the remains of domestic stock.

Concluding remarks

The crumpling of the surface of Gondwanaland to form the Cape Fold Belt, heaved the mountains of the Anysberg into existence. They represent a very ancient broken upland landscape. This is an island in the western part of the Little Karoo or Kannaland. It is off the beaten track, served by poor roads and not good farmland. It is such places that are being consolidated to form wilderness areas.

These are scented mountains and plains cloaked in aromatic herbaceous and succulent plants. Karoo symbolised aridity now and in the past and Kannaland is named for a hallucinogen. The harsh dryness and the floral diversity are significant features. They are part of the reason why the colonial farming frontier opened up late in this area. There is evidence in pottery rather than the art that Khoekhoe herders preceded the farmers. There is typical Cape Coastal Ware sherds lying on the surface of some of the sites. These sherds would date to the last 2 000 years. They cannot be related directly to specific elements in the art although handprints and finger paintings may be equally recent.

There has been no detailed archaeological investigation other than of the art. The confusion that surrounds the archaeological determination of ethnic distinctions between San and Khoekhoen in the literature (Smith *et al.* 1991; Schrire 1992; Webley 1997), has given us limited understanding of the process whereby herding replaced hunting. The question of San-Khoekhoen dichotomy, whether they were the same or different ethnicities, cannot be answered here. Either way, hunters would have lived in the Anysberg prior to the introduction of stock. The metaphors in the art suggest the art to have been produced by hunters.

The Anysberg is and was a dry place but with some permanent sources of potable water. Rain to bring on veld foods would have been critical at all times. As discussed in the following chapters rainmaking rituals are well evidenced in the art. Therein lies a tenable explanation for the depictions on the rocks of the Anysberg.





CHAPTER FOUR

SITE RECORDING IN THE ANYSBERG NATURE RESERVE

Previous archaeological research on the rock art sites of the Anysberg

A nine-month survey of rock art sites on Anysberg Nature Reserve (ANR) was undertaken by Catherine Price (1996b), then completing a Diploma in Nature Conservation at the Technikon S.A. With the assistance and direction of the manager and the staff, approximately 40 sites of rock paintings and/or archaeological deposits were recorded. Some sites had previously been recorded and the details lodged in the Archaeological Data Recording Centre at the South African Museum. Price (1996b) noted that sites were more likely to be found in longer kloofs which were not too steep and in which water is available all year round. At the instigation of the manager, Alan Martin, a field ranger was given the task of searching for further rock art sites to support and assist in the fieldwork entailed in this thesis. Sunette van Romburgh (1998) undertook this search as part of her studies for the Diploma in Nature Conservation. She was able to increase the total number of sites recorded previously. However, the count of recorded sites in the Anysberg is not equivalent to the count of rock art sites as not all contain paintings. There are differences in the definition of what constitutes a site and these may account for the number of 44 sites recorded in this survey. In the Cederberg and Groot Winterhoek Wilderness Areas, each of which is similar in size to the ANR, there are 90 and seven rock art sites respectively. These were recorded in a two-year survey of similar intensity (Deacon, J., 1993).

Research methods and results

In the period January to November 1998, all the known sites were visited and the images recorded. Images not previously traced were added to the archaeological files of the ANR (*Appendix A*). Some of the sites visited had few images and were too indistinct to trace or record. The recording entailed filing a record form for each site (*Appendix B*). If the outlines and images were distinguishable, the paintings were traced on tracing film, and photographed with colour slide film. A Garmin GPS 50 positioning system was used to plot the position of sites and spot check the previously recorded positions. In the future these data can be incorporated in a GIS system, together with other data relevant to the management of the Reserve.

Site location and access to these sites are often difficult because of the steep and rocky terrain. The time taken for recording sites averaged at 1,5 sites per day. This included the time spent locating the sites and tracing the images, and time taken travelling as far as vehicle access would allow and walking to the sites. Many of these sites were visited more than once to clarify tracings and documentation.

Each site recorded has been given a number on site forms. This number is preceded by the acronym ANYS for Anysberg and ARCH for Archaeology. This conforms to the identification of records in the database of the ANR. The form used in recording the sites are based on that developed for the survey in the Cederberg Wilderness Area (Deacon, J. 1993). The information on the site forms describes the location and access to it; gives an assessment of the state of the painted surfaces and the degree of weathering; and describes the approximate number of depictions and the range of subject matter. The completed 44 site forms and tracings of the images are supplementary to this thesis and are lodged at the offices of Cape Nature Conservation, Jonkershoek, Stellenbosch. The discussions in the following chapters are based on the data contained on the forms and tracings.

The sites and the images

All the sites fall between 33°18' to 33°39' S, and 20°27' to 20°46' E. The paintings are found on the rock faces in shallow overhangs (46%), on exposed faces of rock walls (35%), and shallow caves with substantial deposits (19%). The sites are located at heights ranging from 500 m to 1020 m above sea level. Three sites have been located on top of Anysberg at an elevation of 1000 m above sea level. The average elevation for other sites is 780 m above sea level.

Most of the sites face in an easterly direction. However, there is little indication that orientation was a critical variable, except possibly in affording some shelter from the prevailing weather. The very exposed sites contain a few paintings. Some 40% of the sites are located in kloofs with a gradient steeper than 40°. The few sites with a substantial occupation deposit are located near the valley floors where gradients are lower. The surface areas of the shelters or caves range from 4,5 m² to 120 m². The strike and dip of the regional rock, incision of the landscape and rock weathering are reflected in the orientation and size of the shelters.

There are fewer painted sites to the north of the ANR and in the kloofs on the southern flank of the Anysberg. This may indicate a choice in location or again it may be a reflection of the geology. The rock surfaces to the north and on the wetter southern side of the Anysberg Mountain are subjected to severe exfoliation and mineral weathering. Surfaces with a high iron oxide content may have

been avoided for this reason.

About 80% of the paintings show some degree of deterioration. Numbers of paintings are too indistinct to record. It is clear that weathering has led to the disappearance of paintings because they grade from clearly visible to barely distinguishable. Given such variability in preservation any statistics on frequencies, however calculated, will be prone to error. It would be misleading to assume the recordable art is all that existed in this environment.

The human images are mostly small in size, ranging from 20 mm to the largest of approximately 500 mm in length. The animals are also mainly proportionately small in size, while a few solitary animals have an average size of 400 mm in maximum dimension. There are no images that are extremely large (more than 2 m in size) as reported elsewhere in the south-western Cape (Yates *et al.* 1994). The distribution of painted images of the Anysberg area show that the paintings occur at small sites, often in close proximity and each with 10 or fewer images. This distribution pattern is similar to those encountered by Manhire (1981) in his research in the Sandveld and the pattern Janette Deacon (1993) recorded in the Cederberg. Only 7% of the sites in the Anysberg contain 25- 50 or more images. More than half (68%) of the sites contain less than 10 images. There are 10 - 25 images at 25% of the sites. The count is an approximation because some of the images are indistinct and some have disappeared. The definition of when the application of paint on a rock surface is an image is a factor as there are lines, dots and stokes, some very small, that are seen as part of a bigger image and counted as such. The human depictions are 79% of the total and significantly outnumber animal images. In other surveys in the Western Cape (Maggs 1967; Manhire *et al.* 1983; Van Rijssen 1984; Yates *et al.* 1985; Halkett 1987; Hollmann 1993; Deacon, J. 1993) a similar pattern is found. This is further support for the contention that rock art of the Anysberg is part of the tradition of the Western Cape.

The sites are generally of easy access. The upland sites are not always visible from a distance or from the level of the valley floor. This may be a factor of the steepness of the terrain rather than deliberate concealment. A few sites close to the valley floor, such as Goedehoop (A/A 54/31) and Kleynspreeufontein (A/A 54/12) show substantial occupation.

Concluding remarks

The sites vary in position and size and most are located in the kloofs and in close proximity to each other. The majority of the sites are small with ten or more images. The pattern that few locations have 25 or more depictions is apparently common throughout the Western Cape. It seems reasonable to conclude that this reflects the low population density and the small size of local or residential groups.

The survey showed that the occurrence of rock art sites is not predictable according to the variables used in GIS-type systems except in a very general sense. For example, most locations afford some protection from the weather. However, the number of images at a site is not correlated with size and position. The location of the painted sites may indeed have had meaning but only in an altered state of consciousness. Placement is best described as stochastic, patterned not after the drunken person's walk but after that of a hallucinating shaman.

As the staff of the ANR conducted the search for sites, it was possible to concentrate efforts on recording the images. It is likely that the majority of the sites within the ANR have been located. Future search could be extended to adjoining properties as sites there could be brought under the same management scheme. Partnerships with individual owners could be developed. None of the sites in the ANR stands out as being a site of major imagery. There is no equivalent of the Zimri rock shelter of the Cederberg Wilderness Area (Deacon, J. 1993). Perhaps search outside the boundaries of the ANR will produce evidence of more sites of equivalent interest.





CHAPTER FIVE



ROCK ART IMAGES

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the range of imagery in the Anysberg Nature Reserve. The separate bound volume of site forms gives the size of the panels and scanned images. Where relevant here image size is indicated. Comparisons are made between Anysberg and the rock art of the research areas in the Western Cape, to gain a wider understanding of the processes that produced the art. Some similarities between these areas in the occurrence of the art have been noted. These similarities extend to details of the images themselves. The research areas in the Western Cape include the Sandveld (Manhire 1981), the Cederberg and Groot Winterhoek Wilderness Areas (Deacon, J. 1993), the Koebee area (Hollmann 1993), Koue Bokkeveld (Johnson *et al.* 1959; Johnson & Maggs 1979; Yates *et al.* 1985; Yates & Manhire 1991), and the Hex River Valley (Trew 1984; Rust 1995).

Human images

The sample of the Anysberg

As noted, there are twice as many human as animal images. Where gender is obvious the figures are predominantly male with few depictions of women. Examples of paintings of possible female figures are found in Tapfontein site A/A 54/8 and Anysberg site A/A 54/2 (Fig. 5.1).

Fig. 5.1. A female figure on the left and a male figure on the right, at Anysberg site. Average height 300 mm.





Fig. 5.2. Indeterminate human figures at Soogdierkloof.
Figure on the left is 200 mm in height.

The majority of the figures are of indeterminate sex as in the example from Soogdierkloof site A/A 54/26 (Fig. 5.2). There appear to be no examples of children depicted, although at site A/A 54/43 two smaller hook-heads immediately behind two larger heads may represent the smaller heads of children carried on the backs of the adults. Figures range in size from 15 mm to 500 mm.

Males figures are mostly naked with penises showing, some exaggerated in size and infibulated. Some of the figures wear long karosses and are decorated with arm and knee bands. Whether naked or kaross-clad, most males carry hunting equipment, quivers, some with arrows, and skin bags, some with tassels. Some carry sticks that are bent or appear to be double, forked or knobbed. Examples of these images are found in Meulkloof A/A 54/68 (Fig. 5.3) Prinspoort A/A 54/6a (Fig. 5.4).



Fig. 5.3. Shaman figure at Meulkloof.
Height 350 mm.



Fig. 5.4. Human figure at Prinspoort.
Height 140 mm.

Bags and quivers are painted as individual items, near human figures, or in the vicinity of a group of figures (A/A 54/34 & 35, Figs. 5.5 & 5.6). The bodies are elongated and the calves and buttocks are well defined. The buttocks are covered in some cases with tail-like flaps as in Fig. 5.4.

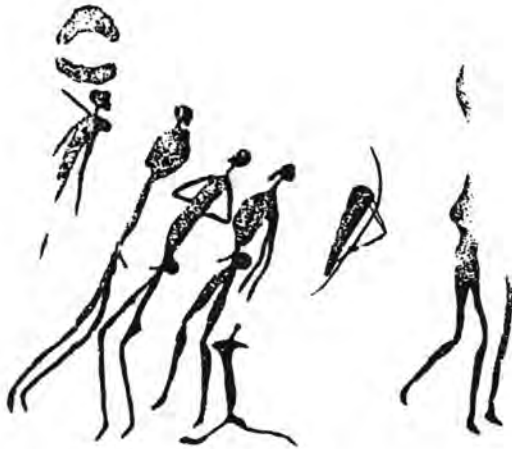


Fig. 5.5. Human male figures at Allemorgenskloof. The figures in the centre of the panel are 170 mm in height.



Fig. 5.6. Human figures in transformation at Allemorgenskloof. Average height 220 mm.



Fig. 5.7. Spindly figure at Klipfontein.

Some figures are very small (<20 mm). Depictions of 'stick-like' figures are found in Matjiesgoedkloof A/A 54/4 and small 'spindly' figures (15 mm in height) painted in black occur in Klipfontein A/A 54/36 (Fig. 5.7).



Fig. 5.7. 'Stick' figure at Klipfontein.

The figures are usually grouped, painted in rows or in lines or depicted in twos and threes. Some are seated and encircled by lines as at the Allemorgenskloof site A/A 54/35 (Fig. 5.8). In this example, several torsos are joined. Figures are 'linked' together in the paintings either by superimpositioning or being joined in a composite image, as can be seen in Sankloof A/A 54/30 (Fig. 5.9). In this composite the lower limbs of six humans are represented but the upper bodies are transformed into that of an eland.

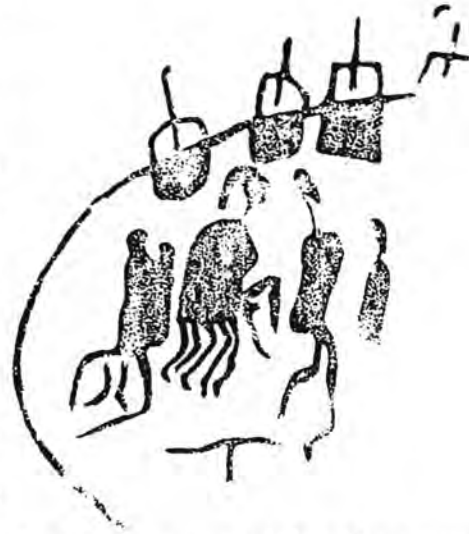


Fig. 5.8. Figures encircled at Allemorgenskloof. Bags on the line are 60 x 20 mm in size.



Fig. 5.9. Human figures entwined at Sankloof. Figure on the right is 300 mm in height.

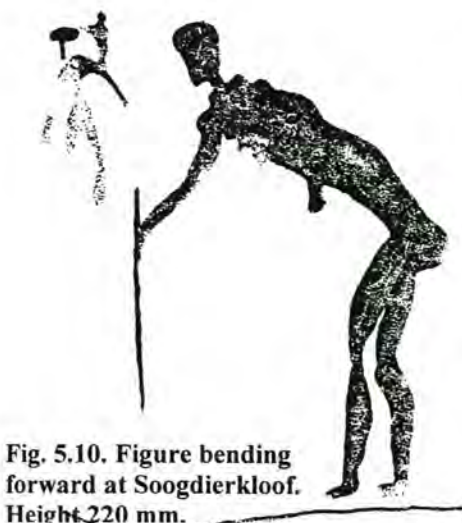


Fig. 5.10. Figure bending forward at Soogdierkloof. Height 220 mm.

Figures show distinctive and repeated postures. Some appear to be bending in the forward position (as figure in Fig. 5.10, Soogdierkloof A/A 54/13c), squatting, sitting, kneeling in a forward position, lying down or engaged in an acrobatic-type action, some are running, walking or standing.

The heads are predominantly 'hook-heads' (Lewis-Williams 1981a:135). Examples are found at the Burial site A/A 54:10 (Fig. 5.11). In the examples from Meulkloof site A/A 54/20 and Anysberg site A/A 54/2, the fugitive yellow and white fill of the face of the hook-heads is still visible.

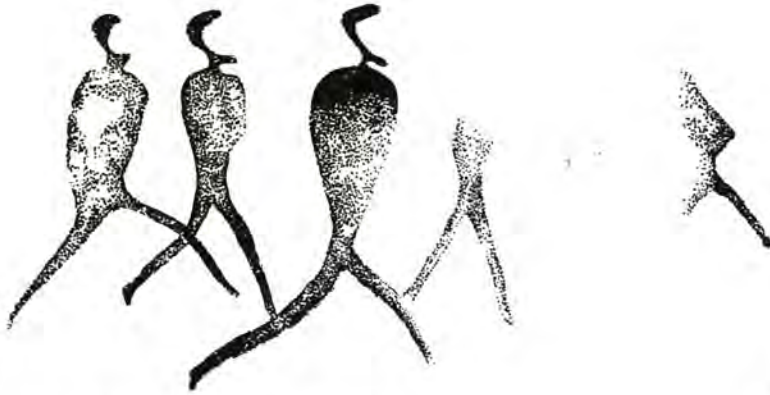


Fig. 5.11. Hook heads at the Burial site.
Figure in the centre is 140 mm in height.

Other head forms are concave, oval or triangular. Some of these have dog-shaped faces. One human figure, at site Tapfontein A/A 54/8 (Fig. 5.12), is apparently headless. The body shape does not suggest that a head was present and there is no residue of paint evident.



Fig. 5.12. Male figure(s) at Tapfontein. Height 250 mm.



Some figures are anthropomorphic in form, some have elaborate 'head-dresses', bristles or tufted hair, or lines emanating out of the top of the head as at Soogdierkloof site A/A 54/13a (Fig. 5.13).

Fig. 5.13. Human figures with 'head-dresses' at Soogdierkloof. The composite image on the right is 170 mm in length.

Other figures have lines emanating from the nose and throat, under the armpits and from the penis (Fig. 5.14, A/A 54/63). The lower figure is 200 mm in height.



Fig. 5.14. Human figures with lines from armpits and penis at Prinspoort Dam.

Some figures have 'trunks-like' protuberances as found in Allemorgens site A/A 54/35 (Fig. 5.6, on page 30) and appear to be therianthropic.

Other examples with animal-like features, such as animal heads and large ears combined with human torsos and legs, are found in Prinspoort site A/A 54/6b (Fig. 5.15) and Meulkloof site A/A 54/20 (Fig. 5.16).

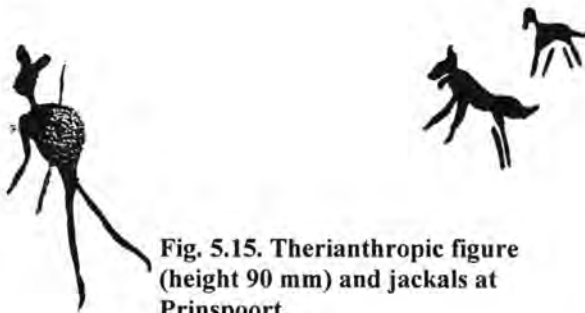


Fig. 5.15. Therianthropic figure (height 90 mm) and jackals at Prinspoort.



Fig. 5.16. Therianthropic figure at Meulkloof. Height 130 mm.

Another example is represented in the Fourth Kloof West of Wolhuiskloof site A/A 54/46 (Fig. 5.17).



Fig. 5.17. Therianthropic figure at Wolhuiskloof. Height 150 mm.

Some rare images of a combination of human head and torso with fish-like lower limbs are found at Meulkloof site A/A 54/19 & 68 (Fig. 5.18) and Anysberg A/A 54/2 (Fig. 5.19).



Fig. 5.18. Fish-tail human figure at Meulkloof. The figure is 40 mm in length.



Fig. 5.19. Fish-tail figure (45 mm in length) and figure with arm outstretched at Anysberg site.



Human figures are also depicted 'entering' the surface of the rock face. Irregularities in the rock face may have been used to enhance the composition or determine the position of the art. At the Soogdierkloof site A/A 54/13a, three human figures appear to be in 'trancing' postures with one figure 'entering' a crack in the rock face. (Fig. 5.20).



Fig. 5.20. Human figures 'entering' a crack in the rock face at Soogdierkloof. The figure in the centre is 60 mm in length.

Further examples of this phenomena are found in Meulkloof A/A 54/18 copied as *tracing a*; Matjiesgoedkloof A/A 54/4 copied as *tracing c & d*; Janpieterkloof A/A 54/25 copied as *tracing a*; and Sankloof A/A 54/16 copied as *tracing a*.

Comparison with human images from other Western Cape areas

Numerical counts indicate that in the Western Cape (Maggs 1967:103; Manhire 1981:18; Deacon 1993; Hollmann 1993; Rust 1995) it is the norm for human images to make up more than half of the total images. As in the Anysberg, group scenes are commonly depicted. In the Cederberg and Sandveld the number of individuals in group scenes (Yates *et al.* 1985; Deacon, J. 1993) is larger than in the Hex River Valley and the Anysberg. In the larger Western Cape sample it is to be expected that group scenes would be more diverse. For example, there are no scenes of seated female figures clapping seen in the Anysberg, but there are examples from elsewhere in the Western Cape. Such scenes underscore the importance of dance in rituals associated with the art.

As in the Anysberg, gender is seldom clearly indicated and representation of the sexes is vague. However, there are a few distinctively female figures showing breasts, steatopygia and lumber lordosis in the ANR, and these compare with similar figures elsewhere in the Western Cape. In the smaller Hex River Valley sample, no figures representing females were recorded (Rust 1995). In the Cederberg research area gender is indicated in less than half of the figures (Deacon, J. 1998) and as both males and females carried bags or sticks these items are not necessarily indications of gender.

Male figures are more clearly indicated. The appearance and posture of male figures are uniform throughout the Western Cape in that they are mostly hook-heads with some 'dog-faced' or prognathous (projecting jaws), and others triangular in head-shape. Again figures are seldom depicted wearing decorations or clothing although some are kaross-clad (long, worn to the knees) and have arm- or knee-bands, and beads around the head or neck. Similarities extend to characteristics such as elongated bodies, penises showing infibulation and figures joined at the limbs and in a state of transformation. Knobbed, bent, zigzagged, or forked (Vinnicombe 1976) sticks and bows are usual equipment. No paintings of bows and arrows were recorded in the Hex River Valley which is surprising because depictions of these weapons in other areas of the Western Cape and the Anysberg are relatively common (Manhire 1981:33; Hollmann 1993; Deacon, J. 1998).

Regional similarities extend to the range and frequencies of colours used in the art. The use of the rock surface in the placing of the art is also a significant feature. In Rocklands site (RKD 6) in the Cederberg (Deacon, J. 1993), irregularities in the rock face appear to have been utilised in the art form as one figure is depicted 'disappearing' into a crack. This also occurs in the Anysberg (Fig. 5.20, on page 34).

Therianthropic figures are well presented in the rock art samples from the Western Cape areas and again animal-like features such as large fox-like ears, antelope head, and trunk-like protuberance combined with human torso and legs are common. However, in the Anysberg there is no equivalent of the black therianthropes with wildebeest or Cape buffalo heads at Zimri Shelter in the Cederberg. These are fine examples of the depiction of shamans and are unusually well preserved (Deacon, J. 1993:84). In the Hex River Valley site of Sandhoek, a therianthrope is painted with well-defined human calves and a clearly depicted 'buck-head' (Rust 1995).

Images with human-like heads and torsos and fishtail-like lower limbs as represented in the Anysberg are rare in the Western Cape. However, examples that compare are the 'mermaids' of Ezeljagdspoor (see Fig. 6.9, on page 81) and Attaquas Mountains (Lewis-Williams 1977; Maggs 1998:3). One example composed of black figures is known from Brandewyn River near Pakhuispas (Johnson *et al.* 1959: no.21) in the Cederberg. There are also examples in Tolkloof and Blaaskloof recorded in the Hex River. In the Cederberg some figures are a combination of human-like features and geometric grids (Deacon, J. 1993:98). In Anysberg there are similar transformations in the imagery and some images show mirror leg combinations that appear grid-like and transform into an animal.

Animal images

The sample of Anysberg

Eland (*Taurotragus oryx*), other antelope, rhebok (*Redunca fulvorufula*) (Fig. 5.21, Anysberg A/A 54/2) and gemsbok (*Oryx gazella*) (Fig. 5.22, Sankloof A/A 54/28)

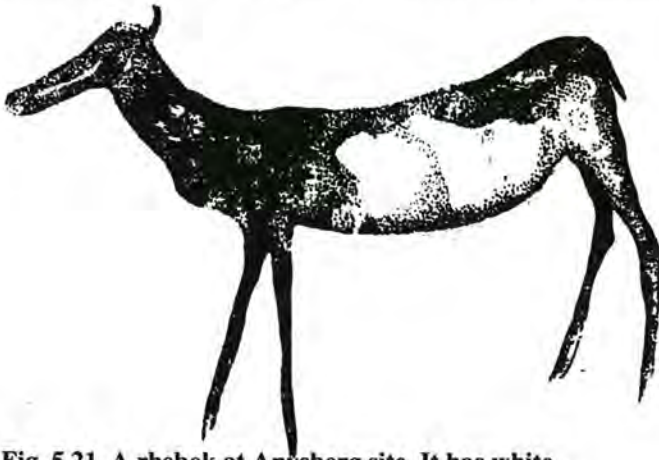


Fig. 5.21. A rhebok at Anysberg site. It has white marks on the face and is 190 mm in length.

and indeterminate small antelope suggestive of duiker or grysbok/ steenbok (*Raphicerus* sp.) are represented. The eland is more frequently depicted than other antelope.

The majority of the antelope are painted in red with a few yellow or white figures. Some eland and rhebok are painted in red with white heads, shoulders, legs and under-bellies (at Third Kloof West of Prinspoort A/A 54/43 and Anysberg A/A 54/2). The two paintings of gemsbok are executed in white and black.

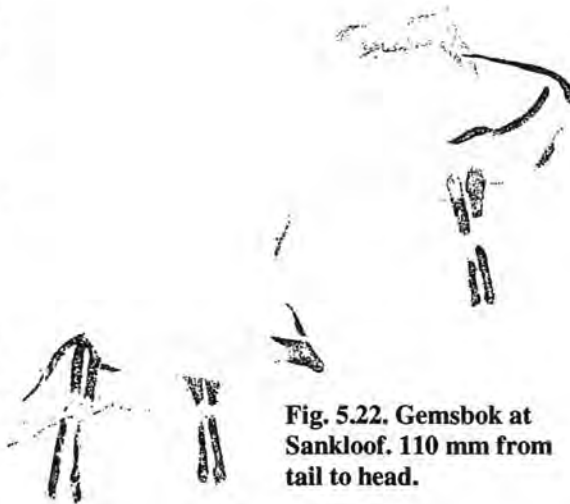


Fig. 5.22. Gemsbok at Sankloof. 110 mm from tail to head.

Some eland are depicted with lowered heads and lying down with surrounding lines (Fig. 5.37, on page 47). Eland may be superimposed on other images and in some examples human figures are superimposed on eland.

The depiction of the rhebok in Fig. 5.23 shows a protuberance 'flowing' from the top of its head. Rhebok, depicted solitary or in groups, are mostly surrounded by 'hook-heads', dots, strokes, lines or handprints. Palettes or smeared areas of paint are also found in close proximity to rhebok. While the importance of the eland in the rock art

of the Anysberg is clear (approximately 50 % of the animal images are eland depictions), the rhebok and other antelope are also significant.

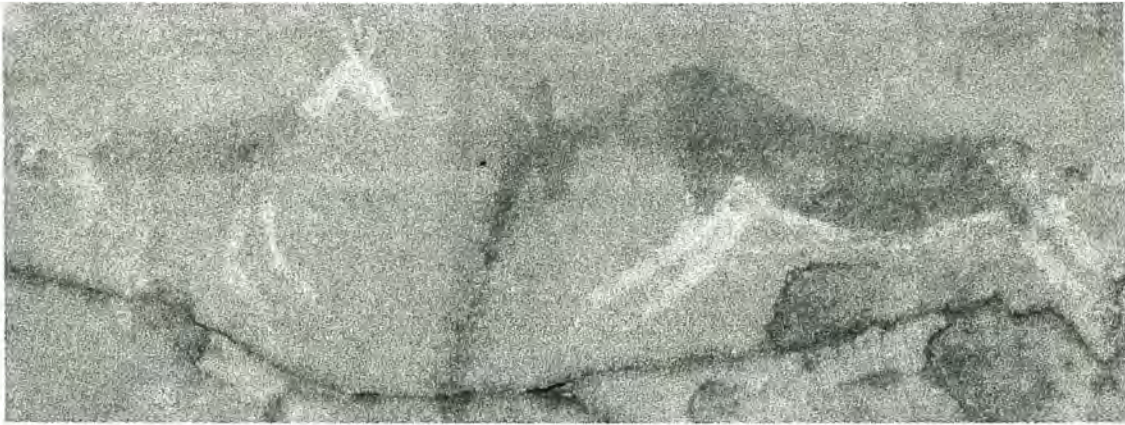


Fig. 5.23. Two rhebok at Anysberg site. A protuberance 'flows' from the head of the rhebok on the right. This rhebok is 130 mm in length from head to tail.

In Sankloof A/A 54/28 (Fig. 5.24) an image of an antelope that may represent the extinct bloubok or blue antelope, *Hippotragus leucophaeus* (Skead 1980) is represented. The identification is suggested by the relatively thin neck, a long tail, a

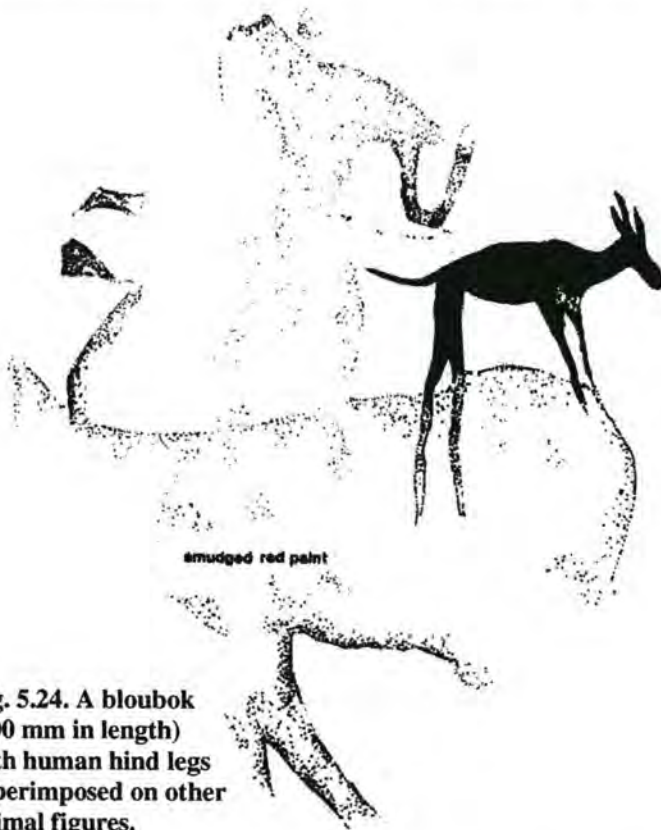


Fig. 5.24. A bloubok (100 mm in length) with human hind legs superimposed on other animal figures.

thin body, the absence of a mane and the size and position of the ears. Loubser *et al.* (1990:109) identified paintings of bloubok in the eastern Orange Free State on such features. Given that the bloubok, a hippotragine, related to the roan and sable antelope was a possible Cape endemic and the last recorded occurrence was near Swellendam, the identification is plausible.

Small remnant populations in the surrounds of Swellendam, Caledon and Bredasdorp,

became extinct around AD 1750 (Klein 1974:114). The bloubok occurs in Holocene archaeological deposits in the Little Karoo (Klein 1974:103) and almost certainly occurred in the Anysberg area in prehistoric times. This possible image of a blue antelope appears to have human hind legs and is superimposed on faded animal-like images.

Elephant (*Loxodonta africana*), some with calves, are represented at a number of sites. Janpieterskloof (A/A 54/24, Fig. 5.25) and Witdam se Kloof (A/A 54/52) are examples.

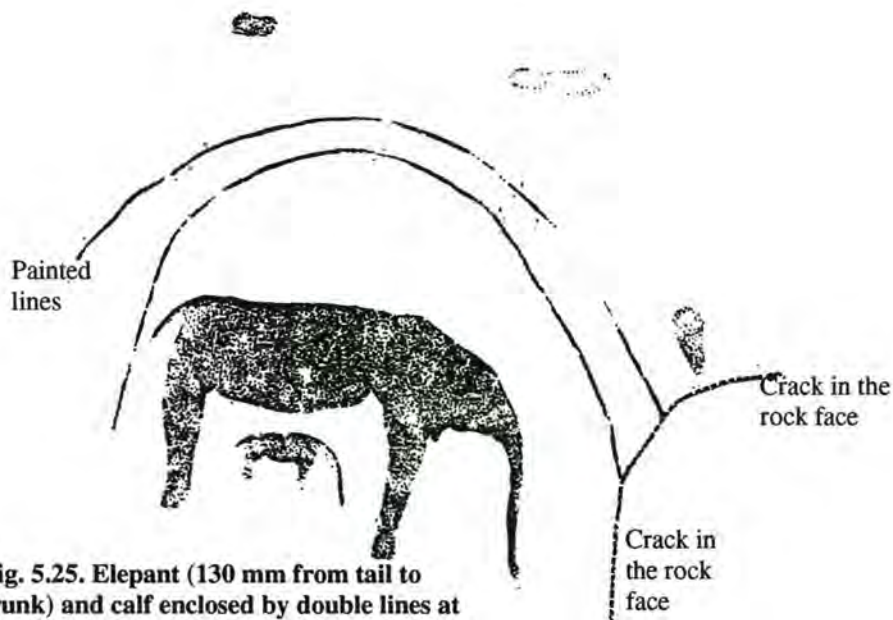


Fig. 5.25. Elephant (130 mm from tail to trunk) and calf enclosed by double lines at Janpieterskloof. Lines 'enter' a crack in the rock face. Dots are present above the lines.

Some of the elephant are painted in red with white outlines as in Janpieterskloof (Fig. 5.26) and others in black.

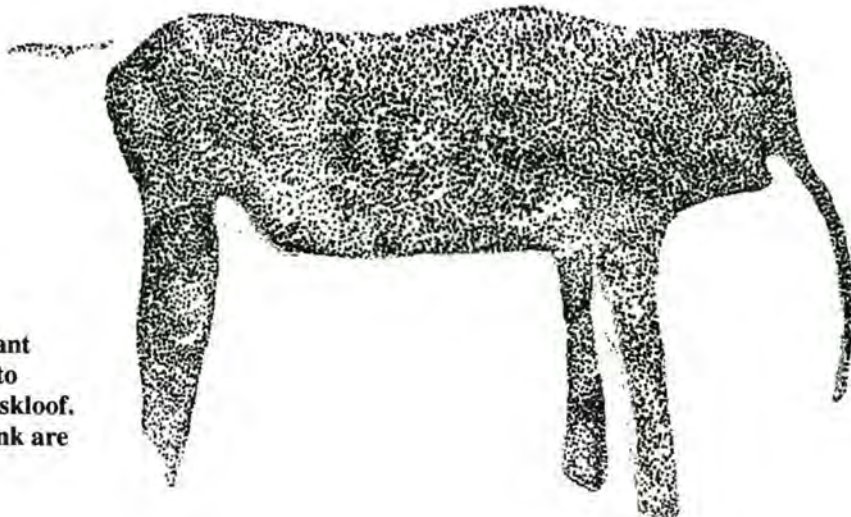


Fig. 5.26. An elephant (150 mm from tail to trunk) at Janpieterskloof. Legs, belly and trunk are outlined in white.

The depictions of elephant are naturalistic. Elephants are depicted in groups or solitary as in Sankloof A/A 54/27 (Fig. 5.27).

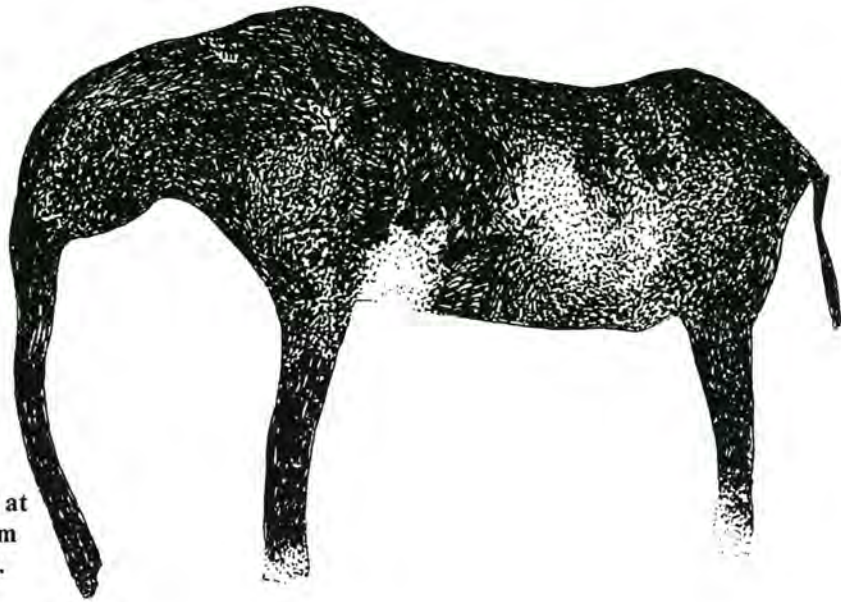


Fig. 5.27. An elephant at Sankloof. 180 mm from head and trunk to tail.

The tusks are not prominent, suggesting elephants were considered important other than as a source of ivory.



Fig. 5.28. A black rhinoceros at Anysberg site. 100 mm in length. Double lines are painted to the left of this image.

In Anysberg site A/A 54/2 (Fig. 5.28) there is a rare depiction of a black rhinoceros (*Diceros bicornis*). The short head, triangular upper lip, relatively small ears and horn (Dorst & Dandelot 1970; Rookmaaker 1989) make the identification of the animal certain. Like the elephant, the black rhinoceros would have occurred in this area as there are historical records of its general distribution in the Western Cape (Skead 1980:296). While a

naturalistic painting of a rhinoceros can be identified to species there are large, round amorphous-type animals. These could represent rain animals as shown in the

paintings of Stow (Stow & Bleek 1930). An example was recorded in Soogdierkloof in Anysberg (Fig. 5.29).

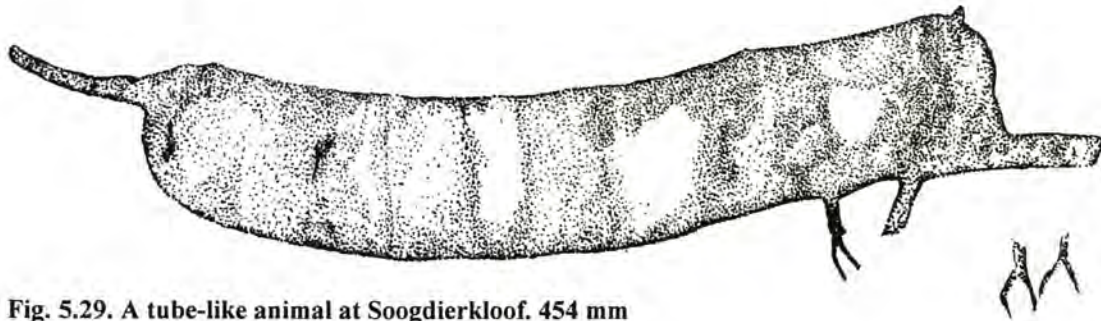


Fig. 5.29. A tube-like animal at Soogdierkloof. 454 mm in length and superimposed on human figure(s).

The elephant, rhinoceros and large amorphous-type animals may all be associated with rain making. There are double lines (indistinct in places) in the immediate vicinity of the depiction of the rhinoceros which are taken as a further suggestion of this association.

There are felines in Meulkloof (A/A 54/19 copied as *tracing a*) and Fourth Kloof West of Wolphuiskloof A/A 54/46. There are jackal or dog-like images in Prinspoort A/A 54/6b (Fig. 5.15, on page 33), Soogdierkloof A/A 54/13a, Sankloof A/A 54/17, and Allemorgens A/A 54/35. Canids are mostly depicted as solitary animals and some have a human torso and legs. Dogs (*Canis familiaris palustris*) were a late introduction (Schweitzer 1979:203; Deacon, J. 1984:283) and most canid paintings are probably jackals. The jackal features strongly in African mythology and was widespread in historical times. It is still regarded as a problem species in stock farming areas like the Karoo.

Snakes feature in the art of the Anysberg. Some have 'horns' or 'ears' as in Sankloof A/A 54/15 (Fig. 5.30).



Fig. 5.30. A snake image at Sankloof with horns or ears. Double lines are present near the mouth.



Fig. 5.31. Snake images at Meulkloof. A 'flying figure' and human male figures entwined, are present.

A fish image 'swimming' towards vertical lines is found in the First Kloof West of Prinspoort site A/A 54/42a (Fig. 5.33, on page 43). The fish has a 'bottlenose' head, pointed snout (Skelton 1993), and long body. As noted below fish-like images are a link with the southern rather than the Western Cape regions.

Other examples are in Meulkloof A/A 54:68 (Fig. 5.31). These snake images are approximately 500 mm in length, and the human figure to the left of the lower snake image is 350 mm in height. This figure is also indicated in Fig. 5.3, on page 29.

The upper snake image in Fig. 5.31 is a bichrome. It is painted in orange with yellow along its back. The snake figures are readily identifiable and one example is coiled (Fig. 5.32).



Fig. 5.32. A coiled snake (650 mm in length) and human figures, one with stick, has lines 'flowing' from its head.

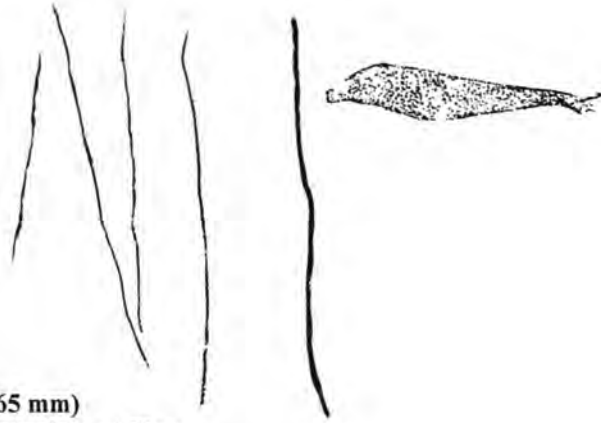


Fig. 5.33. A fish (65 mm)
'swimming' towards lines at First
Kloof West of Prinspoort.

Comparison with animal images from other Western Cape areas

Eland, elephant, smaller antelope and felines are also important animal figures in the art of the Western Cape. However, as in the Anysberg, the eland are most frequently depicted. The eland are painted mostly in red with white belly and legs, white between the ears, white neck, and black muzzles and black outlines to head and tail. A few depictions of white or yellow eland are found. In the Cederberg the eland were painted with more care than in the Anysberg and there are shaded polychrome examples (Deacon, J. 1998). In contrast to the Drakensberg where the eland were depicted in various activities (Vinnicombe 1976), eland figures in the Western Cape are mostly static in their pose or 'moving' in a herd.

Eland and other antelope are superimposed on human and animal figures as in the Anysberg. The eland are mostly depicted as individual figures, although sometimes represented grouped in rows, while smaller antelope are depicted in pairs and rarely in rows or groups. Palettes or smeared paint areas, and patterns of finger dots superimpose some eland, while handprints are also painted over or near antelope depictions.

There are therianthropic examples of human and eland as in the Anysberg (Fig. 5.17, on page 33) and Hex River Valley at Sandhoek site. In Cederberg Wilderness Area at Zimri shelter there is a therianthropic example of a transformation between human and eland. The figure has an eland head and shoulders with human legs (Deacon 1993:50). Lines, dots and strokes surround these animals as in samples in the Cederberg and Anysberg. In Anysberg, Sankloof A/A 54/27, an eland has a stubby line protruding from its neck. Examples of eland in the Hex River Valley show lines

emanating from the top of the head while one has a thick line flowing out of the nose and a thinner line emanating from under its throat. A third eland has 'hair' visible on its back (Rust 1995).

Elephants, sometimes with calves, are commonly represented in sites in the Western Cape (Deacon, J. 1993) and, as in the Anysberg, they are second only to the eland in frequency. The percentage of images identifiable as elephants is consistently of the order of 10% (Maggs 1967; Maggs & Sealy 1983; Yates *et al.* 1985; Hollmann 1993). The high frequency of elephant figures is a characteristic of the art in the Western Cape. In the Drakensberg, for example (Vinnicombe 1976:151), elephant paintings are rare. This may be a reflection of habitat differences but even in the Western Cape elephants would not have been 10% of the biota.

The frequency of elephants in the art has to do with their significance as a symbol and metaphor. As in the case of the eland in the ANR, the elephants are associated with 'hook-heads', other human figures, animals, lines and dots, strokes and grid-like images and palettes. Some elephants are depicted surrounded by double lines, as if encased in a 'cloud', as in the Anysberg where examples of elephants are 'ringed' by thin parallel lines. In Keurhoekkloof in the Hex River Valley there are similar depictions of elephant surrounded by double lines (Trew 1984, Rust 1995).

These examples can be compared with those at Monte Cristo, near Porterville (Maggs & Sealy 1983:44). The elephants at Monte Cristo are enclosed by thin lines - parallel, zigzag and denticulate lines. The associated human figures appear to be therianthropes and have elephant heads and trunks, and these are also a feature in the Anysberg. There are human figures in the Anysberg with trunk-like protuberances. A good example of the association between people and elephants, is the group of elephants painted in the proximity of two groups of people in procession in the Stadsaal site in the Cederberg (Deacon, J. 1998:47). It appears as if the elephants and the people are analogous in their actions. The encircled elephant is a theme that links the art of the Cederberg and Hex River Valley to the Anysberg. This theme is not repeated elsewhere in the Western Cape.

As in the Anysberg in Sankloof and Prinspoort, among the identifiable images found in low frequencies, are felines, mainly jackal-like representations. There are no baboons identifiable in Anysberg art and there is only a single record from the Witklip site in the Sandveld (Manhire 1981:35). However, baboons are part of the scene at Tolkloof in the Hex River Valley (Rust 1995). Further afield at De Hoek (Bleek *et al.* 1940: plate 23 & 25; Johnson & Maggs 1979: no.66) in the Cango Valley there is a similar composite scene that includes a row of baboons.

Snakes are rarely depicted in the south-western Cape. An unusual example is a cobra on the farm Lorraine near Pakhuis Pass, Clanwilliam (Johnson *et al.* 1959: pl.42). In the Hex River there are 'snake-like' images in Tolkloof. Snake images are relatively more common in the Anysberg.

Inanimate images

The Anysberg sample

About 60% of the rock art sites in Anysberg area contain either grid-shape or parallel lines and/or finger dots, strokes, and/or handprints. These lines, dots, strokes, and handprints usually occur close to animals or human figures in trance postures. Sometimes these entoptics (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1988) are the only images depicted in a site. The inanimate images account for about 10% of the sample.

Some of the dots are not finger daubs and appear to be painted images. Finger dots may be patterned together to form cloud-like or triangular shapes. Some micro-strokes or microdots, are grouped to form parallel, vertical or horizontal lines. In the example of Anysberg A/A 54/2 copied as *tracing g1*, there are two parallel lines of dots. Each line has the same tally of 128. The left line has two images that are larger than the dots but are part of the line and thus part of the tally. The line on the right has dots 'added in' at the bottom apparently to complete the count of 128.



Fig. 5.34. Strokes transforming into a human figure 'entering' a crack, at Goedehoop.

Finger strokes are usually

executed in rows and some appear to transform into human images. An example is in Goedehoop site A/A 54/48 (Fig. 5.34, on page 45).

In this painting, the end stroke in the line of vertical strokes has been transformed into a human figure with only legs and an 'apron-like' flap showing as the rest of the body has 'entered' the rock face. Kleynspreeufontein A/A 54/3 copied as *tracing e*, Tapfontein site A/A 54/22 at *E map position* and site A/A 54/43 copied as *tracing d1*, show similar representations. Some of the strokes are horizontal and appear to 'swim' or 'fly'. At the Tapfontein site A/A 54/22, the strokes are joined and crossed-over to form grid-like images and star shapes. In Matjiesgoedkloof site A/A 54/4 the strokes form three X and four Y-shapes (Fig. 5.35).

These images are interlaced and reminiscent of human legs in a running or walking posture. On a tenuous note Stow (1905:121) wrote that a cross formed by such lines was one "of the most ancient of the Bushman symbols".

Fig. 5.35. Strokes forming X and Y shapes at Matjiesgoedkloof.



Lines may form enclosures, rainbow or arched shapes. An example is that depicted at Sankloof A/A 54/21 (Fig. 5.36).

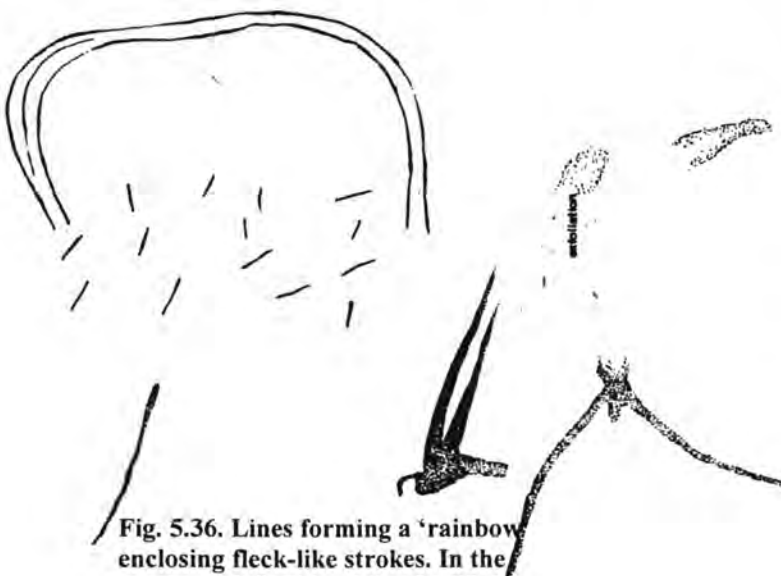


Fig. 5.36. Lines forming a 'rainbow' enclosing fleck-like strokes. In the centre a 'flying' hook head with a wing-length of 100 mm.

Some lines meander around images, like elephants or eland. Examples are found in Janpieterskloof A/A 54/24 copied as *tracing b* (Fig. 5.25, page 39) and Sankloof A/A 54/16 (Fig. 5.37, page 47).

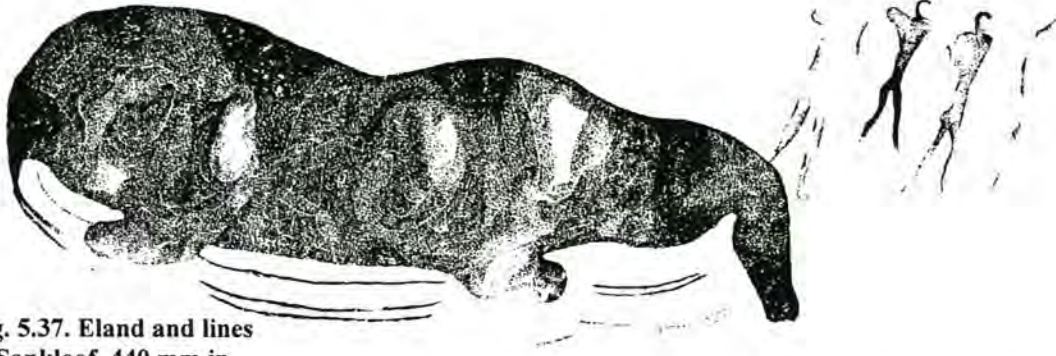


Fig. 5.37. Eland and lines in Sankloof. 440 mm in length.

Lines may be straight and parallel. There are lines that emanate from the human figures and from parts of the anatomy like the throat and penis as in the example from First Kloof West of Prinspoort A/A 54/63 (Fig. 5.14, on page 33).

Examples of boat-shaped 'phosphene-like' images associated with human figures, are found in Allemorgens site A/A 54/34 (Fig. 5.38).

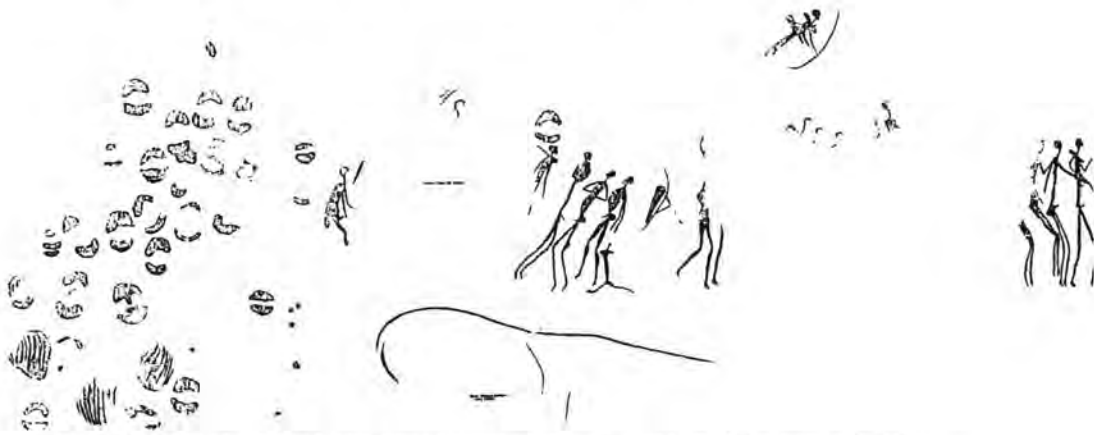


Fig. 5.38. Boat-shaped phosphenes (average size 35 mm) at Allemorgenskloof. Note the phosphenes above the head of a figure in the centre of the panel.

In some examples the phosphenes appear to be close to the heads of human figures. Oval shaped images are visible immediately above the heads of the human figures with 'trunk-like' protuberances in Allemorgens site A/A 54/35 (Fig. 5.6, on page 30). Protuberances emanating from the heads of figures in Soogdierkloof A/A 54/13a (Fig. 5.13, on page 32) may be similar depictions, although more elaborate. Fish-shaped images, which may also be classified as phosphenes, are present in the Third Kloof West of Prinspoort A/A 54/43 (Fig. 5.39, on page 48). These all 'face' in the same direction and are grouped in close proximity to handprints.



Fig. 5.39. Fish-shaped phosphenes at Third Kloof West of Prinspoort.

Handprints (positive) and decorated prints that take on the shape of nested curves or 'U' shaped images are present. Handprints seem to be more often associated with finger dots, strokes and smears or 'palettes'. Less frequently there are single or a few handprints near human or animals figures. Palettes or smeared areas of paint are presented throughout. In some examples lines appear to 'enter' or 'leave' the palette as in Sankloof site A/A 54/17 (Fig. 5.40, on page 50). Palettes occur near human figures or animals.

Although inanimate images occur everywhere in the area, finger dots, strokes and nested curves appear to be more prominent at sites with occupation deposits. Anysbergkloof A/A 54/51, as discussed in a later chapter, has a substantial deposit and the only painted images are patterns of strokes and handprints. At Kleynspreeufontein site A/A 54/3 with traces of occupational debris on the floor, the images are strokes and dots. There is one small 'stroke-like' human figure in line with strokes at this site. Again at site A/A 54/14 in Sankloof there is evidence of occupation and the art represents finger dots and strokes. At this site, it is possible that some of these finger-dots and strokes were superimposed on animal images that are not distinguishable. West of Goedeheop, A/A 54/31 is a further example. At this site there are U-shaped phosphenes, black dots, red strokes, and black lines surrounding what may be a 'rain animal'.

Superimpositioning has been utilised in the art form. Positive handprints overlies images of human figures and animals, notably eland. There is an example of black dots superimposed over phosphenes in the site West of Goedeheop A/A 54/31. These dots appear to be painted with some tool and not the finger. Some are painted over a white smeared area.

Comparison with inanimate images from other Western Cape areas

Inanimate images have been recorded at sites throughout the Western Cape (Manhire *et al.* 1983; Maggs & Sealy 1983; Dowson 1989; Yates & Manhire 1991; Hollmann 1993; Yates *et al.* 1993; Deacon, J. 1993, 1998; Rust 1995). In the surveys of the Cederberg and the Groot Winterhoek Wilderness Areas inanimate images occur in percentages ranging from 10 % to 40% (Deacon, J. 1993). At Putslaagte an average of 39 % is given (Halkett 1987). In the Sandveld inanimate paintings constitute 32 %. Manhire (1981) places handprints in a separate category because they are very common in the Sandveld and at the coast. There are fewer handprints inland in the adjacent mountains (Manhire 1998). Inanimate images account for an estimated 23% of the paintings in the Hex River Valley (Rust 1995). A feature of the Anysberg then is a lower frequency of inanimate images although most of the sites have such images. However, the recorder's perception of inanimate images as singly or grouped may affect the count.

The range of inanimate paintings is the same throughout and corresponds with that seen in the Anysberg. They are grouped in similar ways. Finger dots and strokes form double and horizontal rows and collective circular patterns (clouds). At the Zimri shelter, in the Cederberg (Deacon, J. 1993: 87 & 93), dots in patterns grouped vertically and horizontally, are superimposed on eland and other images. In the Hex River Valley in Buffelshoekkloof there are similar examples of grouped dots superimposed on animals. In one example, the dots add to the shape of the animal. As in the Anysberg some of the inanimate images are microdots or strokes and appear to have been executed by an implement not the finger. At Groothoek site in the Hex River Valley there are very small strokes (5 mm or less), not finger daubs, joined onto lines encircling spindly human figures. Some single dots and groups of a few, usually larger dots, are found at sites in the Hex River Valley as in the Anysberg and elsewhere.

Painted lines, some thin, straight, or double, are found in sites throughout the sample areas. These lines are usually associated with human figures and animals, although Anysberg show lines mostly connected with animals and palettes. At Sankloof A/A 54/17 (Fig. 5.40) branched lines 'join' a palette.

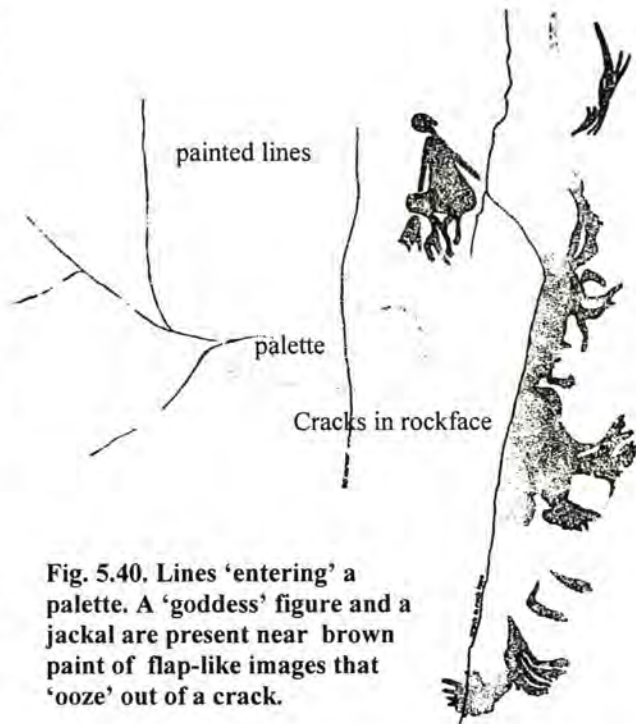


Fig. 5.40. Lines 'entering' a palette. A 'goddess' figure and a jackal are present near brown paint of flap-like images that 'ooze' out of a crack.

Multiple lines compare with lines in paintings reproduced from Boontjieskloof and Seville sites (Yates *et al.* 1985: figs. 5, 8, 10a, & 10b). The lines run to and from eland and human figures. These lines are comparable to paintings copied by Johnson and Maggs in the Clanwilliam district (1979: no. 71). The depictions show 'hook-heads', illuminated with dots, and joined with double lines to indeterminate antelope type animals.

Lines or protuberances 'flowing' out of the top of heads of human and animal figures are features in the art throughout the Western Cape although there may be no direct

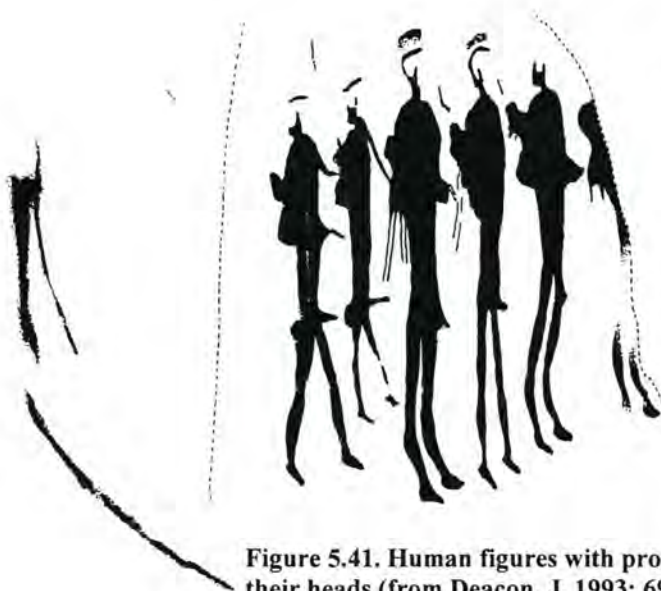


Figure 5.41. Human figures with protuberances above their heads (from Deacon, J. 1993: 69).

equivalent to the images in Allemorgenskloof and Soogdierkloof sites in the Anysberg that are discussed in a later chapter. At the Rocklands site in the Cederberg (Fig. 5.41), protuberances are visible above the heads of 'hook-head' figures which are similar to the white depictions above

the heads of figures in Fig. 5.6 (on page 30) in the Anysberg.

In another example at the site Zuurvlaakte, in Groot Winterhoek Wilderness Area (Deacon, J. 1993: fig. 61) lines emanate from the bodies of two figures in forward bending postures, as in the Anysberg (Fig. 5.14, on page 33). In the Cederberg there is a further example at the site Rondeheuvel (Fig. 5.42) where four seated figures with white and yellow faces are joined by meandering double zigzag lines at their heads. One figure has a white line emanating from the mouth or nose. The protuberance that emanates from the top of the 'hook-head' below the seated figure on the left in this painting, is similar to that depicted in the Anysberg. In that example, it 'flows' from the back of the head or neck area of a human figure to the right of the frieze in Fig. 5.9 (on page 31).



Fig. 5.42. Lines joining hook heads with images above heads (from Deacon, J. 1998:45).

Lines also form enclosures or arches surrounding seated and clapping human figures and animals like eland, elephant or amorphous type animals, which have been identified as 'rain animals' (Maggs & Sealy 1983). The lines encircling the human figures usually have attachments, identifiable as bags in most cases. In composition the lines that surround these figures and animals have parallels in the Anysberg.

There are a number of examples where it can be suggested that uneven surfaces and cracks in the rock face were used as part of the images as in the Anysberg. One of the best known is the Sevilla painting of a cave (Johnson & Maggs 1979:64) that includes a hollow in the rock surface. At Keurhoekkloof in the Hex River Valley (Rust 1995) a 'bee hive' is painted in a crack in the rock. Human figures may enter the rock 'veil' by way of cracks. This is a feature of the art throughout southern Africa (Lewis-Williams 1981a).

Discussion and concluding remarks

The purpose of this chapter has been to describe rather than interpret the rock art images that occur in the Anysberg. In the following chapters more emphasis is given

to interpretation. However, viewing the art and describing the content cannot be done outside a framework of understanding given by the theoretical approaches discussed in Chapter 2. In this description the assumption is implicit that the art is associated with shamanistic activities in states of altered consciousness. Description of the images found in the ANR show this area to be part of a Western Cape rock art province. The validity of such regional definition depends on the geographical spread of rock art surveys. At present there are no areas that have been surveyed in detail in the Little Karoo to the east of Anysberg with which comparisons can be made. This is a shortcoming that needs to be rectified in future research and, as in the ANR, provincially controlled reserves would provide a base for such work.

The similarities in the content of the sample of rock art recorded in the Anysberg and the areas to the west are in the colour coding of the paintings, mainly monochrome reds with detail added in other colours in some instances, in the relative proportion of human to animal figures and in elephant images being second only to eland in frequency. The treatment of the human figures is in the same style throughout. The postures shown are those widely recognised (Lewis-Williams 1981a) as adopted in trance, however there are subtle differences. In the Anysberg the depiction of boat-shaped phosphenes and elaborate protuberances from the top of the head appear to be unique although they are also trance related. There also appear to be more human figures joined in some way and figures transforming into animals. The numbers of human figures in groups and the numbers of group scenes are smaller in the Anysberg than in the Cederberg. This may correlate with there being fewer images at the Anysberg sites. The explanation may lie in the Anysberg having been a more marginal area supporting fewer people.

Although there are relatively fewer inanimate images in the Anysberg there are innovative ways in which dots have been grouped in rows or clouds. The most notable example is the two rows of 128 microdots in one site. Entoptic images together with forms like strokes and handprints have been suggested as the late phase in the art in the Western Cape (Yates *et al.* 1993). There is nothing to contradict this in the Anysberg where they again consistently overlie fine line paintings. Some of the entoptic images in the ANR are executed with an implement and appear to be part of the fine line painting style. In the Anysberg these paintings are associated with

shelters in which there is some build up of occupation deposits. As these deposits include pottery they relate to a recent period but there are no paintings of sheep that would provide additional confirmation of the recent age. There are no recent depictions of colonial subject matter (Yates *et al.* 1994) that would help to date the entoptic images. The entoptics may date from a time after the introduction herding and prior to any contact with Europeans. As finger paintings and handprints overlie the fine line paintings, as discussed in Chapter 3, the latter may be several thousand years old. The bulk of the images belong to this fine line class.

The interpretations that have been offered for the meaning of elements in the art and the motivation behind the art in the Cederberg and elsewhere in the Western Cape, have validity for the Anysberg. Many of the images show the art is shamanistic and trance related. The eland would have had the same metaphorical significance as elsewhere, and clearly is the most frequently painted of all the animals in the Anysberg. Elephants in the imagery appear to share this significance and are encircled with lines, which has been suggested are associated with rainmaking (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989; Yates *et al.* 1993). The transformation of humans into elephants shown by the trunk-like protuberances underscores the importance of the elephant symbol. Prominence given to snake depictions in the Anysberg rather than elsewhere in the Western Cape is probably also associated with rainmaking.

Most human figures are unsexed. This could mean that the significant message communicated through the art had less to do with sexual division but more to do with ritual, particularly in the religious realm. Tilman Lenssen-Erz (1997) considers unsexed human figures as the third gender and promoting the essence of an egalitarian hunter-gatherer society. He argues that gender distinction became more important in later phases of the art when gender roles changed and women became a commodity in exchange. Although only one of the images recorded in the ANR is possibly that of a 'mythical woman', gender relations can be assumed to have been important. They are simply not very obvious.





CHAPTER SIX



ART IN THE LANDSCAPE

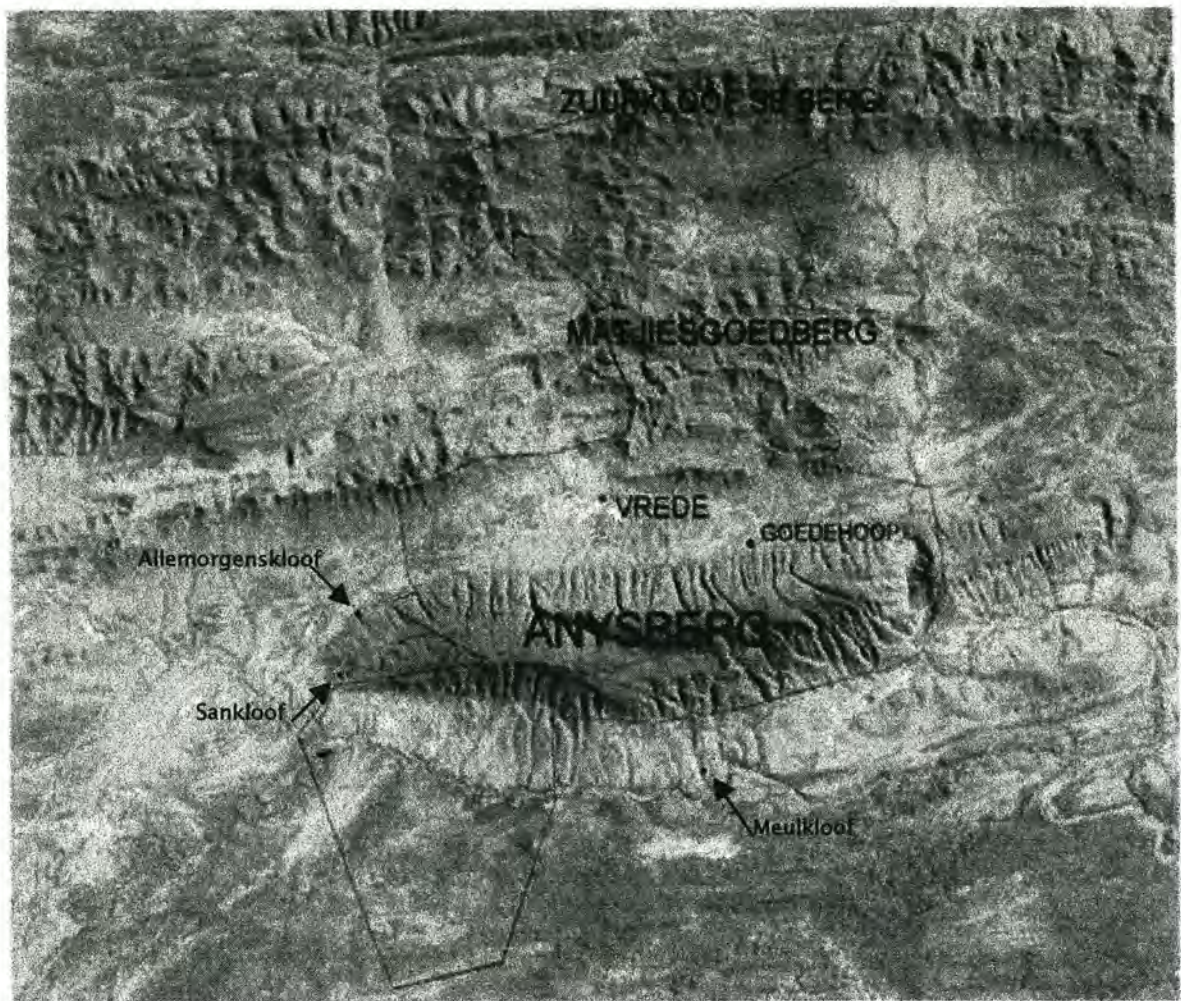
Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the interpretation of the images such as presented in Chapter 5. The rock art sites in three of the kloofs in the ANR are detailed and the meanings of the depictions considered. The positions of these kloofs are shown in Fig. 1.2 inserted on the following page. The kloofs are Sankloof, Allemorgenskloof and Meulkloof and they are on the north and south sides of the Anysberg. The sites are located on maps (Figs. 6.1, 6.6 & 6.8). These kloofs were chosen because they represent the range of imagery found throughout the ANR. The interpretations that can be offered for specific images hold for similar images elsewhere in the Anysberg. In as far as possible reference is made to occurrences in other kloofs. The sample of art in the three kloofs gives an impression of the art on a landscape scale. As noted, there are no large sites with numerous or obviously impressive images or scenes. Rather the art is widely distributed across the landscape among many small sites, few of which preserve any occupation deposits. The low-density dispersed occurrences of the art suggest an attempt to fill the landscape with images. The paintings themselves are of interest for a number of reasons. They depict boat-shaped phosphenes, snake images, therianthropes with trunk-like protuberances, elephants in cupola-shaped lines and an eland 'tied down'. The impression gained is that many images carry the same symbolic message, and it is argued that rainmaking was the dominant theme.

Sankloof

Sankloof is a deep kloof at the southern foot of the Anysberg, with smooth rock surfaces and large boulders. It has water throughout the year in deep pools and narrow gullies and is subject to flooding, as indicated by high water marks. There are two

MAP OF THE ANYSBERG NATURE RESERVE



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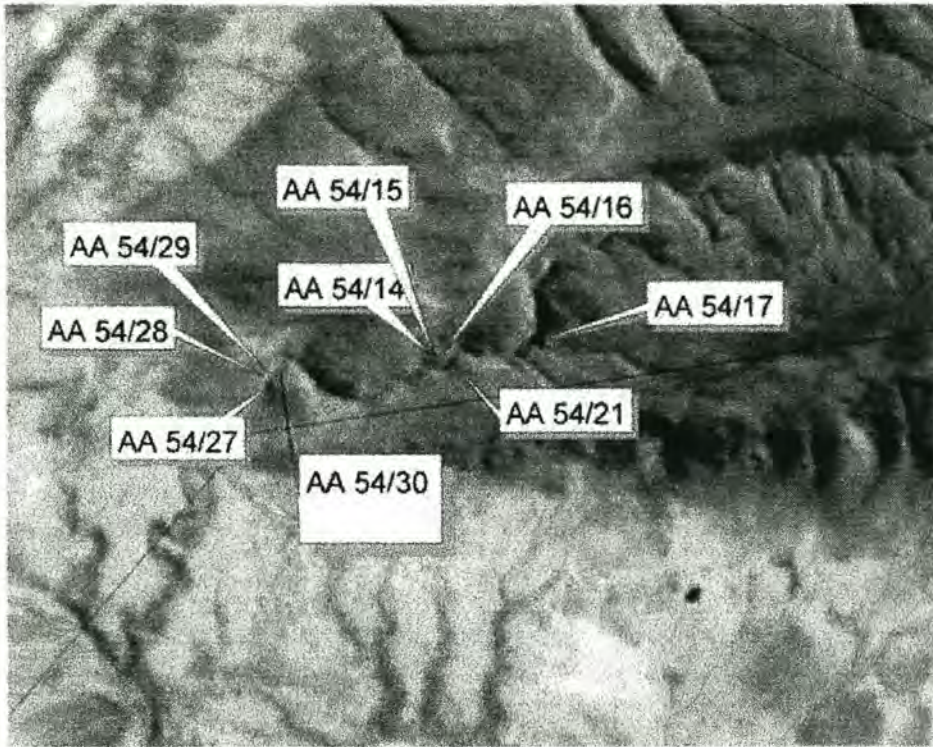
Roads (1:50 000)
CNC Reserves



Fig. 1.2. Map of the Anysberg Nature Reserve.

occupation sites with surface deposits. One of these has no paintings. There are nine sites with paintings. There are approximately 50 paintings in one and as few as 10 images in others. The paintings are mostly on exposed surfaces. The sites are shown in Fig. 6.1.

SANKLOOF



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Rivers (1:50 000)
CNC Reserves



Fig. 6.1. Map of Sankloof and location of sites

Site A/A 54/14

This site is half way up the kloof. It is a substantial overhang, 11 m wide and 5 m in depth. There are pottery sherds, stone flakes, charcoal and ostrich eggshell beads and fragments on the surface. There are two vertical rows of finger dots with 9 and 12 dots respectively, and 15 more executed in a circle. Two rows of 16 and 17 finger strokes occur between the dots. These finger daubs can be recognised as entoptics (Siegel & Jarvik 1975; Lewis-Williams & Blundell 1997) and are superimposed on older images.

Site A/A 54/15

Site A/A 54/15 is directly below A/A 54/14. The site is a high overhang and the rock face is vertical. This is the largest site in the kloof, 18 m wide with a depth of 3 m. There are no artefacts visible on the surface. Any deposits may have been eroded out by floodwaters. There may have been 50 or more images at this site, but some are not distinguishable.

There are 30 or more finger dots that form two circles, one small and the other elongated, near what appear to have been fine-line paintings. These are located in the centre of the site near human figures in rows. These dots together with those from site A/A 54/14 are the only samples of finger paintings in Sankloof.

To the right of the dots described, there are 18 or more human figures, grouped in two rows and showing distinctive features and postures. These figures are attenuated with thin stick-like legs and arms held out wide. A few have hook-heads and carry bags. Some have long erect penises. These are features that are associated with the sensations that shamans feel when they experience trance (Lewis-Williams 1981a). The posture of holding the arms out sideways is indicative of trance (Katz 1982). The presence of ten or more figures (Ouzman & Wadley 1997:395) indicates the context was a trance dance with associated shamanistic activity. An image of a dog- or feline-like animal occurs among these figures.

On the far left side of the site, a snake-like creature (A/A 54/15, Fig. 5.30, on page 41) with a gaping mouth and ears or horns, was recorded. Two partially preserved antelope show human-like legs. There are other animals and human figures near the snake image but they are indistinct. A small section of a double line is visible near the head of the snake image.

Site A/A 54/16

At this position the kloof narrows and the rock faces are vertical. A large eland is painted, lying down. It is as if it was 'tied down' by the lines that 'flow' from its tail and partially surround it (Fig. 5.37, on page 47). Four 'hook-head' figures, carrying bags, are painted near the head of the eland. One figure appears to have a foot superimposed on the animal. These figures are facing the same way as the eland and appear to be walking in front of it.

Close to the eland depiction, are two human figures with well-defined legs. These figures have large distorted torsos and the head and shoulders have disappeared. It is significant that they appear to be stepping out or into a split in the rock face. The legs without feet terminate in the crack.

Site A/A 54/21

This site is directly opposite site A/A 54/16, on a flat open vertical rock face. There are 10 or more images. The paintings are poorly preserved. Double lines, and part of a third line, form a 'rainbow' shape enclosing fleck-like imagery (Fig. 5.36, on page 46). The flecks could represent entoptic phenomena 'seen' during trance but raindrops may be another possible explanation. This cupola shape formed by the lines is reminiscent of the shape of lines that enclose the elephant and calf in Janpieterskloof A/A 54/24 (Fig. 5.25, on page 39).

A bird-like image with wings and a 'hook-head' occurs near the 'rainbow' image. A human figure with legs in a 'running' mode and an oversized penis is next to the 'flying' creature.

Site A/A 54/17

This site is situated high up in Sankloof, near deep pools. The paintings are on a corner of an exposed rock face. There is no deposit and there are no more than ten images at this site. They are of variable preservation. Painted lines appear to come out of or go into a palette executed on the corner. These lines end in bifurcated tips. From a natural split in the rock face, finger-like projections in brown paint appear to be 'oozing' out. A squatting figure is painted close by with a 'peaked-cap' shaped face, arms held out, and protuberances below the buttocks that extend into multiple 'legs' (Fig. 5.40, on page 50). These protuberances are reminiscent of the finger-like projections depicted 'oozing' out, as described above. The possibility that this figure is a 'mythical woman' figure is discussed later in this chapter. To the right of this panel there are more figures and smeared paint, but preservation makes it difficult to distinguish detail. The figures appear to be wearing karosses and carry equipment, and they may represent shamans. Shamans are known to have worn karosses, as in trance their blood was colder than normal (Bleek 1935:13).

Site A/A 54/28

This site is situated lower down in the kloof. There are no more than 20 paintings. These images are relatively poorly preserved. There are several human figures. Some are distorted and they have thin stick-like legs with arms extended. Some are superimposed on other imagery.

There is a painting of an antelope, identified as a blue antelope as discussed in Chapter 5, superimposed on a large amorphous animal, which in turn appears to overlies other indistinct images (Fig. 5.24, on page 38). The 'blue antelope' has human hind legs and is probably the representation of a therianthrope. In this context the figure would symbolise the relationship between the man and an animal with potency.

Further unusual animals in this site are two gemsbok painted in black and white (Fig. 5.22, on page 37). Nearby are four elongated human figures. These appear to be superimposed over an animal-like image. Close to the gemsbok and the human

figures there is a poorly preserved large amorphous animal with double lines near its legs that may be a representation of a rain animal. A white animal with a dewlap possibly an eland is also discernible. A positive handprint and small nested U-shapes (average length of the line measured 5-6 mm) are represented near these images.

Site A/A 54/27

This site is opposite site A/A 54/28, and is again an exposed rock face. Preservation is variable and there is superimpositioning. The human figures are depicted in distorted and attenuated shapes. Some are upside-down and supine, squatting or kneeling. Three or more 'hook-head' figures are in black. There are kaross-clad figures carrying bags and sticks. As shamans are often depicted carrying equipment (Lewis-Williams 1981a), these may be shamans.

A large human figure with long extended arms is squatting on its haunches. It appears to 'come out' of a crack and its right arm 'disappears' into an irregularity in the rock face (copied as *tracing c1*). Another figure at site A/A 54/27 (Fig. 6.2) with a large erect penis is kneeling with an arm stretched out in the direction of other images. This posture of kneeling and extending an arm in a pointing gesture is typical of trance (Lewis-Williams 1981a: 97-100). 'Pointing' is a particularly potent gesture and symbolises the directing of supernatural power (Lewis-Williams 1981a).



Fig. 6.2. Kneeling figure (110 mm in height) at Sankloof, pointing towards a yellow human figure.

In front of the 'pointing' figure, is an imposing large (450 mm in height) yellow male figure (A/A 54/27, copied as *tracing b2*), superimposed on an eland. The eland in turn is superimposed on human figures and indeterminate animals. The yellow figure has an erect penis and well-defined calves. The upper half of his body is large and bulky. The head and shoulders are executed in the same style as the squatting figure (copied as *tracing c1*) and the figure in a supine position (copied as *tracing b1*). A rod-like shape protrudes above his head and shoulders. This is identified as a snake-like representation. Similar rod-shaped protuberances resembling snake images are found in Soogdierkloof A/A 54/26 (copied as *tracing b*) and in Meulkloof A/A 54/68 (Fig. 5.31, on page 42).

There is a depiction of an elephant (Fig. 5.27, on page 40) near the black hook-head figures. This may be seen as an icon and as such conveyed a message of potency (Yates *et al.* 1985:71).

Site A/A 54/29

Further up the kloof from site A/A 54/28, there is an amorphous animal, a possible rain animal, with large ears and long nose painted low down on the rock face. The back and head of this animal is outlined in black and poorly preserved double lines surround it. Close to it are two black human figures with only the torsos and legs preserved. The legs are stretched out in a running posture.

Site A/A 54/30

This site is near site A/A 54/27 and the paintings are on an exposed rock face. There are ten human figures grouped and 'joined' by limb or lines, superimposed on an eland (Fig. 5.9, on page 31). The torsos, heads and some bodies *en masse* form the upper part of the eland. The superimpositioning or enmeshing of the images is a visual representation of transformation into an eland. The legs of the figures form a mirror-like effect, and the intricate combination of limbs weaves a grid-like pattern. The figures show characteristic features of trance in attenuated bodies; arms held akimbo, and large erect penises, some infibulated. Jackal-like figures protrude from

between the legs of two figures. This is one of the more interesting paintings in the ANR and as discussed below emphasises the symbolic conflation of humans and the animals of potency.

Discussion

Finger daubs

The only sites with finger daubs are sites A/A 54/14 and 15. Individuals who were in the early stages of initiation may have made these. In the early stage of trance, subjects experience entoptic-style hallucinatory constants, and some initiates never go beyond this stage (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1988). By superimposing the entoptics that they were 'seeing' on older art, especially on animals of 'meaning' such as the eland or elephant, initiates may have been 'sapping' the energy and power of the older paintings through their fingers and into their bodies and minds.

In the first stage of trance the subjects are still able to move about and perform normally. It is a state of well being, and they would not have been oblivious of their immediate surroundings. Older shamans, who took care of and instructed the younger initiates into the art of trancing, may have helped the aspirants to daub the paint onto the rock face in the ritual act of acquiring the power of the paint and paintings to go on an 'out of body' travel in further states of altered consciousness. It is established that eland blood in particular was used in the manufacture of the paints to produce the art and in this way the paintings themselves became repositories of power (Lewis-Williams 1986). Daubing paint which itself held significance on the rock face in a ritual may have enhanced the activity of trance (Lewis-Williams & Blundell 1997).

Trancing in front of paintings was practised. Jolly (1986:7) and Lewis-Williams (1986:11) report the statements of an informant "M" that the San danced in front of the paintings and 'drew' power from the imagery. Subjects in trance 'see' images as if these are projected onto a television screen (Siegel & Jarvik 1975, Siegel 1977) and it is possible that the rock art stimulated mental imagery. Lewis-Williams & Dowson (1989) suggested that the San dancers in trance looked at the paintings and projected

their own mental visions onto the rock face. This could be the reason for the shaping of stroke-like images into human-like forms as noted at Kleynspreeufontein A/A 54/3 and Tapfontein A/A 54/22 sites. When the point of vision changes from one of observation to participation, the shamans feel themselves becoming part of the visions. Lewis-Williams & Dowson (1988) refer to such hallucinatory forms as 'construal imagery'. In the initial stages of trance these mental images mingle with the painted images, which become animated and intensified.

In these early stages of hallucination subjects report seeing larger dots 'swirling' at times (Siegel & Jarvik 1975:132). Larger dots in a scatter may be construed as potency that 'floats' around in a trance dance (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1988; Lewis-Williams & Blundell 1997). The finger dots in site A/A 54/14 and site A/A 54/15 form circle shapes and this may represent the tunnel-form consistent of hallucinatory imagery. Devereux (1997:150) claims that the tunnel-form image signifies the shift from observation to participation in the visionary experience of trance. Katz (1982; Katz *et al.* 1997) reports that shamans say they can 'see' supernatural potency. They perceive their surroundings with these 'entoptic' dots projected onto objects about them.

Handprints

Relatively few sites in Anysberg include handprints and in Sankloof only one positive handprint and a few decorated prints were recorded. The paucity of handprints could be idiosyncratic and may have depended on the shamans' preference for the use of some symbols over others. Positive prints are depicted with sematographs but decorated handprints are interspersed with fine-line paintings and may be unrelated to older forms of imagery. The decorated prints resemble nested U-shaped entoptic signs (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989:108), and are usually smaller in size than an adult hand (Manhire 1998), suggesting that only part of the palm was used. Handprints are mostly executed near or over figures of humans or animals.

The presence of handprints can be interpreted as marking a visit to a site with paintings and acknowledging a 'sense of place'. This would have been a further way in the first stages of trance for the initiates to 'feel', 'see' and 'become' the power on the rock face.

Figures in trance

In Sankloof and elsewhere, human figures are depicted as distorted, long and thin, with arms extended sideways or over their heads. Some are kaross-clad and carry equipment, while others wear tail-flaps and/or have enlarged erect penises. Some figures are in a supine position, some squatting or kneeling, others are depicted upside down. One figure has a distended stomach (Fig. 5.40, on page 50). Figures in a supine position indicate the 'death pose', the symbolic 'death' of the shaman when entering trance (Lewis-Williams 1980: 469-474). Elongated and distorted figures illustrate trance-induced states, when individuals feel very tall and out of shape (Katz 1982). Similar sensations are experienced during hallucinations induced by mescal (Klüver 1966:38). Figures collapsing, falling forward or bending double can be related to trance experiences. When the *n/um* 'boils up' in the stomach and along the spine (Lewis-Williams 1981a: 8, 88-89; Katz 1982:129; Katz *et al.* 1997) the muscles contract and cause pain so the aspirant bends at the waist.

The source of potency originates in the organs of the lower abdomen, in the area of the navel (Garlake 1995). In interpreting the Ezeljagdspoor paintings for Bleek, /Han≠kassó commented that the line joining the figures was the 'rain's navel' (Lewis-Williams 1977:168). The 'rain's navel' may be a reference to *n/um* potency in the context of rainmaking. The distended stomach of the squatting figure (Fig.5.40, on page 50) in Sankloof may indicate *n/um* potency. Potency emerging from the navel in



Fig. 6.3. Female figures at Tapfontein with dots near the navel of figure on the right.

(Lewis-Williams 1977:168). The 'rain's navel' may be a reference to *n/um* potency in the context of rainmaking. The distended stomach of the squatting figure (Fig.5.40, on page 50) in Sankloof may indicate *n/um* potency. Potency emerging from the navel in

the form of dots is evident at Tapfontein site A/A 54/8 (Fig 6.3) and Anysberg site A/A 54/2 (Fig. 5.1, on page 28). In Soogdierkloof A/A 54/13c (Fig. 5.10) there is a shaman in a forward-bending posture holding a stick, with a protuberance from the navel. This would be a shaman entering trance.

Hallucinations produce sensations of macropsia. Large, erect and infibulated penises show the heightened tension that climaxes in the trance dance. The penis is another localised area of potency. An example from the First Kloof West of Prinspoort A/A 54/63 is illustrated in Fig. 5.14, on page 33. Lines of potency emanate from the penis. In classical mythology the god's spirit-world companions are at times known as 'big penis' or 'elephant-penis' and the penis was a metaphor for a threatening supernatural persona (Katz 1982:113). It has been suggested that in South African rock art, the penis was a referent for access to certain spiritual resources (Ouzman 1996).

Rain things

Rain things, large naturalistic or amorphous animal-like creatures, are associated with human figures, shamans, in trance-related postures, flecks and lines of 'potency' that form rainbow shapes and may surround them. It is with some certainty that rainmaking can be identified in these depictions.

The eland seemingly 'tied down' by lines in A/A 54/16 (Fig. 5.37, on page 47) is significant, as the eland were central in the rainmaking ritual. Qing, Orpen's informant, stated that the eland were created by /Kaggen in a waterpool in a kloof. !Khwa the deity of water and thunder took the shape of an eland (Hewitt 1976:91-92). In itself the eland was endowed with 'magical' powers (Bleek 1924:10) and among these was rainmaking. The belief that rain will fall if the rain animal is 'captured' in water holes and led across the landscape (Orpen 1874; Bleek 1933) is shown in paintings of rain animals with lines surrounding them and this prone and tied eland in Sankloof may be evidence of this myth. The /Xam tradition refers to deep water holes as the abode of the rain animal (Bleek 1933:309). There are deep pools in Sankloof and elsewhere in the Anysberg.

Lines around rain animals may have expressed a link to the spirit world (Lewis-Williams 1981b; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989:90), and more specifically between the spirit world and rainmaking. The lines 'flowing' out of an eland's tail (Fig. 5.37, on page 47) may represent the released supernatural potency from the eland as rain animal. Such lines can only be seen by the shamans while in trance and are harnessed by them to 'catch' the rain animal (Dowson & Holliday 1989). In the Site A/A 54/31 (West of Goedehoop), is an example of an amorphous type animal, reminiscent of a rain animal (Ouzman 1996), surrounded by lines covered with 'entoptic' dots. These lines are interlaced and branched to form a filigree pattern, that are described by Siegel (1977:138) as visual phenomena generated neurologically during early stages of trance. This may be an example of the polyopian phenomenon in the imagery. This is a concept to describe repeated similar images 'seen' by an individual undergoing transformation in trance.

In the Upper Karoo and Northern Cape, the Khoekhoen and descendants of the /Xam describe the elephant, hippopotamus and rhinoceros as rain animals (Hoff 1998:111). There are other ethnographic references that support this association with rainmaking (Ouzman 1996; Hoff 1998). On top of Anysberg, the rhinoceros and lines depicted at site A/A 54/2 (Fig. 5.28, on page 40), suggest rainmaking. The solitary elephant in Sankloof A/A 54/27 (Fig. 5.27, on page 40) is not encircled by lines but is near to hook-heads and may be a source of potency. Examples of depictions of elephants and calves as possible rain animals are in Witdam se Kloof A/A 54/52 (Fig. 6.4), and in Janpieterskloof

A/A 54/24 (Fig. 5.25, on page 39).

In Janpieterskloof the elephant and calf are enclosed

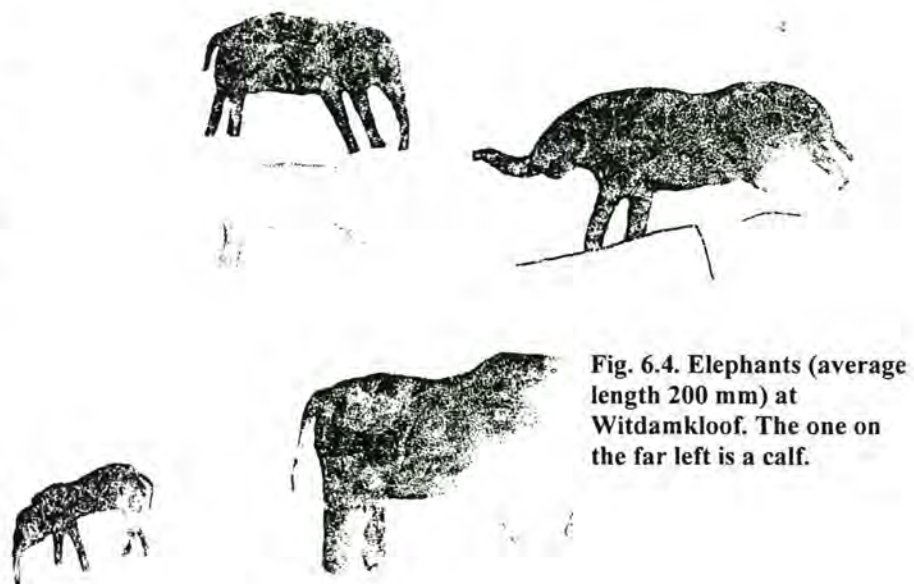


Fig. 6.4. Elephants (average length 200 mm) at Witdamkloof. The one on the far left is a calf.

by 'rainbow' shaped double lines, similar to those in Sankloof site A/A 54/21. There are individual entoptic dots close to these lines. In Janpieterskloof A/A 54/24 another elephant is outlined in white lines (Fig. 5:26, on page 39), possible lines of potency. The tail outlined in white is upright and held away from the body, a posture that is associated with mating. A mating position is thought to symbolise potency and fertility (Yates *et al.* 1985; 73).

Images of amorphous animal figures are of 'rain things'. There is an example of an amorphous 'rain animal' in Sankloof site A/A 54/29 (copied as *tracing a*). The animal has a prominent horse-shaped ear and protruding nose. A black dorsal line is present on the back of this animal. This line may emphasise an area of high supernatural potency (Eastwood 1999). Partially preserved double lines appear to surround the animal. Another example in Sankloof is at site A/A 54/28 (copied as *tracing b1*). This animal is again partially surrounded by lines. It has thick legs and could be an elephant or an amorphous rain animal. A further example of a large fat rain animal is in Soogdierkloof A/A 54/13a (Fig. 5:29, on page 41). This is a long tube-like creature with a 'trunk-like' protuberance on one side and what appear to be short fat legs on the other side. The common feature of these rain animals is their fatness and this has connotations for potency. There is no direct evidence that the San killed an animal in the rainmaking ritual performance. However, as part of the ritual Hoernlé (1921/22:21) reported that the Nama Khoekhoen kill a cow with calf near a riverbed, and allowed the uterine liquid of the animal to flow directly onto a fire, lit for this purpose. The letting of the uterine fluid, symbolising rain, ensured the fertility of the soil. The control of rain and the concept of the rain animal in San cosmology have found various expressions amongst the peoples of southern Africa.

Snakes are also 'rain things'. In Sankloof site A/A 54/15 (Fig. 5.30, on page 41) a snake image has horns or ears. This feature is an attribute given to mythical snakes and in particular water-snakes over most of southern Africa (Schapera 1971; Vinnicombe 1976:229; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989:63, 67, 130; Woodhouse 1992:15, 62). Images of buck-eared or horned serpents are thought to be shamans in

trance in San mythology (Huffman 1983; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989:242). Furthermore, they represent the soul of the shaman leaving the body to enter the spirit world (Hoff 1997). A snake-like image projected above the head of a human figure as depicted in site A/A 54/27 (copied as *tracing b2*), could represent the soul leaving the body.

Transformations

Depictions of the transformations from human to animal are represented in a combined image of humans joined at the limbs and transforming into an eland, at Sankloof A/A 54/30 (Fig. 5.9, on page 31), and at Soogdierkloof A/A 54/13a, copied as *tracing b*, Fig. 6.5.

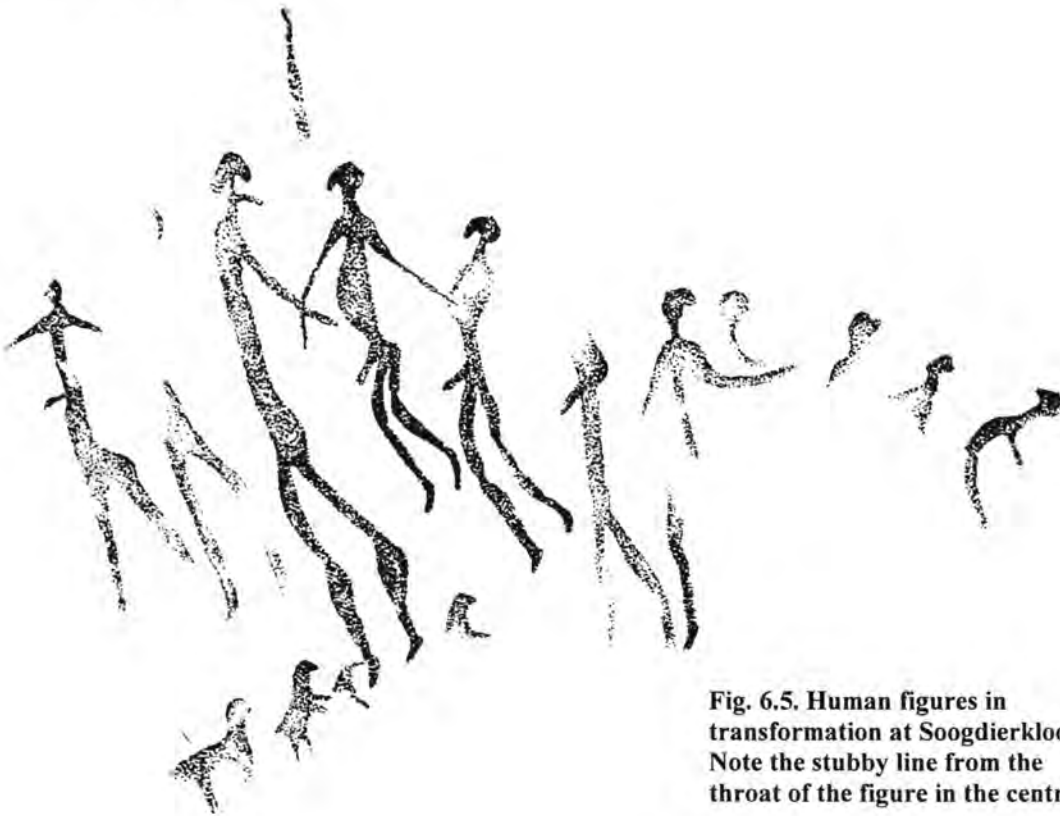


Fig. 6.5. Human figures in transformation at Soogdierkloof. Note the stubby line from the throat of the figure in the centre.

As mentioned, these may be examples of polyopia, the transformational principle in the imagery of altered states of consciousness, whereby a single image may multiple into a series of repeated depictions of the same image (Siegel & Jarvik 1975:114). Repetitive patterns are seen in the first stage of trance experiences (Reichel Dolmatoff

1978a, 1978b) and Lewis-Williams and Dowson (1993) argue that polyopia explains the 'tightly packed' repetitive motifs. In the ANR it is the human figures that are repeated in the process of transformation into an animal. The different repetitions are the sensations that the shamans experienced. In Fig. 5.9 (on page 31), human figures 'grow' out of each other. One emerges from the chest of a figure, the top half of which forms the hind leg of the eland. Another figure has a protuberance coming from his spine, which may be a representation of potency. An equally suggestive feature of transformation is the projection of two jackal-like creatures from the thighs of this figure. In deeper altered states of consciousness (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1988:204), with the progression from cognitively induced entoptic imagery to the sensation of deep trance, perceptions become more vivid and real and the human is transformed into an eland. This depiction is of an 'out-of-body' experience as the eland literally 'grows' out of the person.

In site A/A 54/21 (Fig. 5.36, on page 46), the bird-like image with wings and hook-head near the 'rainbow' image is another metaphor for hallucinatory experience. Human-headed winged creatures or fish-tailed human figures were symbolic representations of 'out-of-body' travel (Lewis-Williams 1981a). In the literature these are termed 'flying buck' or *ales* and are symbols of shamans in trance (Lewis-Williams 1981a:100). These symbols refer to the metaphors used in descriptions of trance, of sensations of underwater and flight for altered states of consciousness. Dowson (1992:74) recounts that some shamans described these sensations as growing feathers and flying.

Isolated depictions of felines and jackal-dog-like images as in Fig. 5.9 (on page 31) are associated with shamans that have been 'transformed'. Shamans in the form of felines were believed to harm people and possessed supernatural powers (Bleek & Lloyd 1911:187). In the ANR felines are usually solitary and they may express a metaphorical ambiguity if not negativeness. The image of the jackal, in site A/A 54/17, in a 'flying' or 'falling' posture, again probably represents a shaman. It is near the squatting figure documented below. The flying posture is analogous to the

sensations experienced by shamans in trance. The jackal is 'falling' towards the painted brown mass of ooze that comes out of a large split in the rock face. Like felines, at times the jackal was a malevolent creature (Bleek 1935:15; Bieseke 1993:94, 122, & 149) and this would carry negative connotations. As the female element could be malevolent (Silberbauer 1981) gender relations may be indicated.

Social forces

With fewer than half the human figures sexed and few if any female, the art appears male dominated. However, both sexes took part in shamanistic activities. Women were curers and even game shamans amongst the /Xam but rainmaking was exclusively male (Hewitt 1986). Among the Maluti San rainmaking involved women (Orpen 1874:3,7). It can be assumed that some of the human figures in the ANR were women shamans. As noted there is one possible representation of a 'mother goddess' or 'mythical woman' figure in Sankloof A/A 54/17 (Fig. 5.40, on page 50). It is a squatting figure painted close to a natural split in the rock. It has leg-like protrusions below a distended body. If these can be interpreted as menstrual blood and birth waters they could be a symbol of female potency (Huffman 1983; Solomon 1994; Garlake 1995). The /Xam San narratives indicate powerful associations between women, in particular pregnant women, and rainmaking (Hewitt 1976). In the context of the Anysberg female potency may have had more to do with rainmaking than gender.

Palettes and cracks

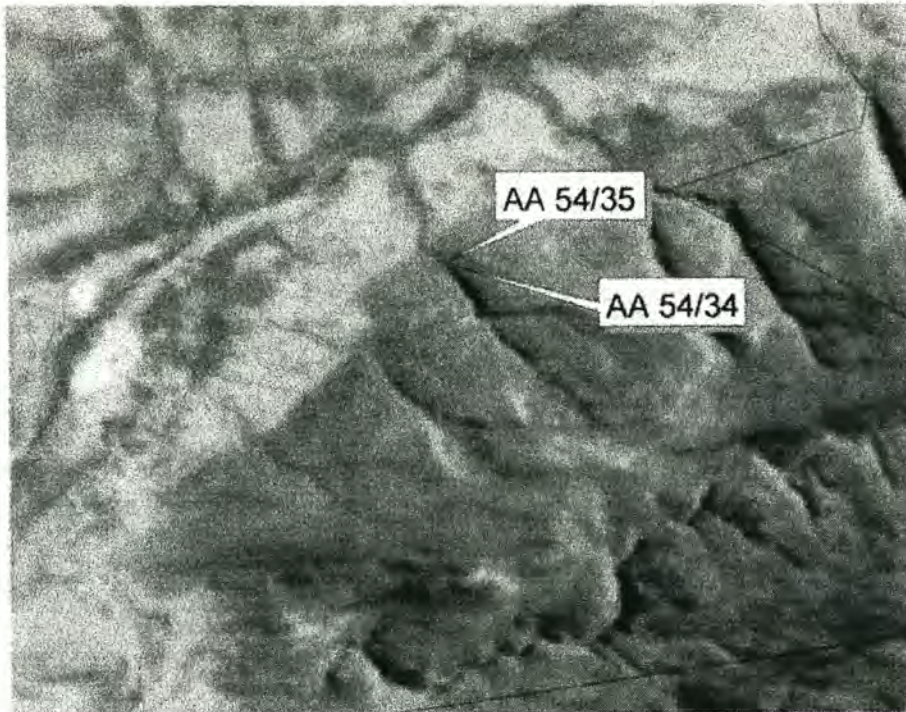
The symbolism and trance association is enhanced by the presence of lines of potency in forming a branch-like pattern and jointly 'entering' or 'leaving' a palette or smeared area. In Sankloof site A/A 54/17 (Fig. 5.40, on page 50) the lines terminate in a massed area of red paint, which may have been the result of the smearing of paint, or retouching of the painted patch of pigment (Yates & Manhire 1991). The palettes may represent 'reservoirs' of supernatural power. This could be an indication of the interaction of the shaman with the rock face and the power attached to the ochre

pigments applied to the rock face (How 1962). It has been suggested that the smeared areas and rubbings can be viewed as 'entrances' into the spirit world beyond the rock face (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1990; Yates & Manhire 1991). Katz (1982) reports that the !Kung 'see' a hole in the ground when in trance and they believe their spirit will enter this to travel an underground route. In hallucinations, vortex or 'tunnel' images are common to participants signifying an Alice-like travel into Wonderland. Splits or cracks in the rock face would have been similar entrances to the world beyond and there are examples of lines and figures terminating in these features in the Anysberg.

Allemorgenskloof

The two sites are 17 m apart in the lower part of the kloof on the western slopes of the Anysberg (Fig. 6.6). The kloof has large boulders and pools. The paintings are on smooth weathered rock faces. There are no occupation deposits.

ALLEMORGENSKLOOF



1:30418

Rivers (1:50 000)
CNC Reserves
Roads (1:50 000)



Fig. 6.6. Map of Allemorgenskloof and location of sites

Site A/A 54/35

In the first panel (copied as *tracing a*) there are hook-head figures. One figure has a round head with a prognathous jaw line. This figure has its arms held out away from the body, a posture associated with trance. Lewis-Williams (1983b) describes this position as a 'flying posture' and equates it with 'out of body' travel. Associated with some of these 'hook-heads' are scattered, painted, entoptic dots. Some dots are shaped like large strokes or flecks. These entoptics literally fill the atmosphere around the figures. Bags are seen near the figures and one bag has a curved thong and tassels.

In a second panel (copied as *tracing b*), there is hunting equipment near human figures. The quivers contain no arrows and are interspersed with large entoptic dots. The figures are grouped in a processional row. They are attenuated with thin arms and legs interlaced and joined. The figures have their arms held out. One figure has both arms stretched backwards as shamans on the verge of trance do when they are asking God for *n/um*. The figures share features such as enlarged penises, trunk-like protuberances for noses and long attenuated necks. Two figures with drop-shaped heads appear to have a thickening in the area of the neck.

Below these figures with 'trunks' there are additional figures, in a poor state of preservation. The head, shoulders and arms of a prominent figure, carrying hunting equipment, is discernable. A quiver is filled with arrows but only the points and possible link shafts are preserved. White paint residues suggest the shafts of the arrows were probably painted in white. Above the head of this figure is a horizontal line. This may be a 'power line' joined to the indistinct figures to the left. There is a further example of a 'power line' in this panel as copied in *tracing d* (Fig. 5.8, on page 31). A thick line encircles grouped human figures and the line has attachments that appear to be bags and other equipment. The 'attachments' on this 'power line' as shown in *tracing d* are similar to the depictions of bags 'on pegs' in the Cederberg (Fig. 6.7).



Fig. 6.7. Bags on pegs in the Cederberg (from Deacon, J. 1998: 52).

Images 'attached' to the line suggest potency because the figures grouped within the circle depict people in trance. Two figures appear to lie on top of each other. Their bodies are shown as one torso with two heads and four legs. Other figures have multiple legs joining into one torso and head with a protuberance emanating from the head. The protuberance may signify the spirit leaving the body (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989). The encircling line and entwined limbs and torsos may represent an individual experience in trance, a further example of polyopia. An early stage of a shaman in transformation is indicated.

Other figures outside the circle in this panel (A/A 54/35 - copied as *tracing d*) again show features associated with the trance experience. One recumbent figure with an attenuated body, arms held out sideways, has a long line emanating from the navel area, a depiction of the potency *n/um* residing in the lower abdomen area (Katz 1982; Marshall 1962; Garlake 1995). The recumbent position is a characteristic of trance posture (Lewis-Williams 1981a; Yates *et al.* 1985). Other figures with attenuated anatomical features, in bending and kneeling postures, reinforce the interpretation of trance and depictions of potency in this panel.

In A/A 54/35 (copied as *tracing c*) a human figure, in a row of three figures in trance posture appears to advance out of a crack in the rock face, a symbolic entrance to the spirit world (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989:88). The figure in the front of this row

is holding a stick. Shamans usually held sticks. Diä!kwain gave a graphic description of this to Bleek and Lloyd when describing a copy of a rock painting: “This man who stands in front seems to be showing the people how to dance; that is why he holds a stick, ... for the people know, that he is the one who always dances first, because he is a great sorcerer” (Bleek 1935:11-12).

The legs of some of the figures that are joined and form grid-like patterns are interpreted here as polyopia. They are comparable to figures in Sankloof A/A 54/30. In A/A 54/35 these figures are superimposed on an eland. There are eland and jackal or dog-like figures depicted close to the human figures and as these have long attenuated limbs and bending postures they probably represent shamans transformed into animal form.

Site A/A 54/34

The second site is higher up the kloof and has one panel of paintings. Some of the paintings are clear and bright, while other images are indistinct due to exposure and weathering. On the left of this panel there are more than fifty phosphene or entoptic motifs (Fig. 5.38). Most of these are boat-shaped (30 – 40 mm in length), some are paired, one above the other, others are dot-shaped and some are nested catenary motifs (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989:60) formed by vertical curved lines.

In the centre of the panel is a processional row of figures. They have arms held out forward or stand akimbo. Some touch the figure in front. A figure, carrying equipment and grouped with the other attenuated and naked figures, has boat-shaped entoptics positioned above the head. One figure in the row has both arms in a backward position and has the trunk-like protuberance of an ‘elephant man’. Another figure with shoulder attachments holds a large bow and carries a quiver. A neatly painted quiver with straps and bow attached is positioned among the dancing figures. Lines painted below the figures, encircling more boat-shaped images are barely distinguishable.

Discussion

The panels at the two sites in Allemorgenskloof follow a pattern that is found throughout the ANR. There are small numbers of images per panel. This can be an advantage because it offers resolution of discrete episodes of paintings. Some panels may be the depiction of a single trance performance. In site A/A 54/35 the 'elephant men' may represent such a trance performance possibly associated with rainmaking. In A/A 54/35 (copied as *tracing b*, Fig. 5.6, on page 30), the last figure in a polyopian row is incomplete. It has no head, arms or legs and may be interpreted as a shaman in the final process of transformation. Parts of the body would have 'entered' the spirit world and are no longer visible. It may also express something that !Kung shamans report that they experience in trance: " ..as body lines become fluid, body parts become separated" (Katz 1982:235). A further example of the possible depiction of a discrete trance experience is at Anysberg site A/A 54/2 (copied as *tracing e*). The figure is a 'hook head' with white face and holds a white bow in the one hand. It is near a 'palette' or deliberately applied patch of paint and following four eland facing in the same direction. The painting may be interpreted as that of a game shaman with the depiction of the bow emblematic (Prins 1990).

The panels in Allemorgens kloof carry clues of the underlying reasons for the trance performances. At A/A 54/35, below the 'elephant men' depictions are a number of images that are probable different trance experiences. The depictions include human figures associated with a red line to which bags and equipment are attached. In /Xam San folklore it is recorded that an old bag is hung "...up a little way off, that rain may fall upon it, as it hangs" (Bleek 1936:151). The representation of bags in the rock art may have meaning in rainmaking. The skin of the bag represents the animal and carries its potency. The information given to Bleek and Lloyd by /Han=kass'o, illustrates the significance of skins whether karosses, quivers or bags: " ... the karosses become springbok which lie down and roll, ...; then the arrows (or reeds) just stand about, and so do the quivers. The skins of which people have made the quivers turn into springbok, as the quivers stand about there, they get ears; meanwhile the rain turns altogether into a pond, because its body goes into it" (Bleek 1933:300).

This is a clear reference of an association between skin garments, equipment and rain. This underscores the apparent seamlessness of the shamanistic activities of rainmaking and game control.

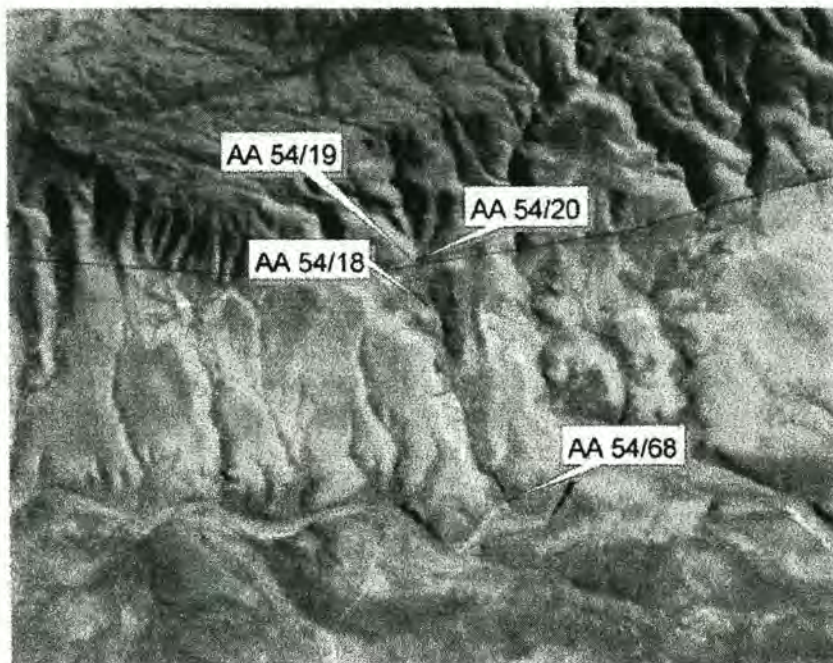
In A/A 54/35 (copied as *tracing b*) there is a quiver on the back of one of the therianthropic figures. An 'arm' extends from the quiver to join up with the figure walking immediately behind (Fig. 5.6, on page 30). This associates quivers with therianthropes. The shape of quivers in Allemorgenskloof sites is similar to those at Tapfontein site A/A 54/8 (Fig. 5.12, on page 32). There, again, a figure with a quiver, is in front of a second figure that has no head and arms. This torso is quiver-shaped and does not appear to be shaped to support a head. This may mean the shamans in trance 'saw' him or herself transformed as a quiver in this example or in other examples as a hunting bag or net-like grid.

The paired boat-shaped motifs in A/A 54/34 are visions that subjects see in the first stage of trance. At Tapfontein site A/A 54/22 (*map position D*), close to similar boat-shaped images, there are a positive handprint and finger painted crosses, grid structures, strokes and dots but no fine line paintings. It cannot be established whether the handprints and finger paintings are more recent and unrelated to the boat-shaped entoptics and whether only the boat-shapes are associated with fine line paintings. In Matjiesgoedkloof Site A/A 54/4 (copied as *tracing c*) nested catenary U-shaped images are interspersed among trancing figures with arms held outward, some carrying sticks and a fly whisk, and wearing karosses. In Soogdierkloof Site A/A 54/13a, copied as *tracing g & h* (Fig. 5.13, on page 32), the figures of shamans have elaborate depictions of head extensions that appear to be nested curved lines. Other unusual shapes are the bar-like attachments to the shoulders. They may not be decorations but could be associated with areas of potency on the body. The white-faced figure with similar shoulder flaps at site A/A 54/2 (Fig. 5.1, on page 28) is another example. These entoptic images all relate to the first stage of trance but the relationship of the different classes of entoptics are not easily discerned. Clarification may be sought in future research.

Meulkloof

Meulkloof is a wooded kloof on the southern flank of the Anysberg. There are permanent water pools and higher up the kloof there is a large waterfall with a drop of approximately 45 m. From Meulkloof it is possible to cross the Anysberg to the northern side. There are four sites (Fig. 6.8). There are few images per site, on average 10 to 20 images. Only one site has an occupation deposit.

MEULKLOOF



1:56515

CNC Reserves
Rivers (1:50 000)



Fig. 6.8. Map of Meulkloof and location of sites.

Site A/A 54/68

This site is low down in the kloof near the present farmstead and outbuildings. The art is on exposed rock faces and there is no overhang. There is no surface deposit.

The tracing, copied as *a*, shows two depictions of snakes, the upper one executed in orange and red with a distinctive head (Fig. 5.31, on page 42). An indistinct human figure is drawn with an arm stretched out over the head of the lower snake image. A neatly executed figure, with dog-faced, concave-shaped head, lying in a recumbent posture, face down, with legs outstretched, penis erect, and with equipment on its back, is painted close to the lower snake image.

An interesting human figure is depicted on the left of the lower snake image, described above. The legs are painted with the one leg in front of the other as in a walking posture. The figure is bent slightly forward and has a 'dog-shaped' concave head with a long neck. It is superimposed over other figures but these are not distinguishable. In this example, the throat of the figure was carefully executed in yellow in a natural hollow in the rock face. The figure has its arms held backwards in a typical trance posture (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989). It is probably a representation of a shaman holding a 'fly whisk'.

In this panel, copied as *tracing a*, an elongated human figure holds its hands above its head, and bends forward as the potency 'grows'. Immediately above, there is a human figure with wing-like arms and fishtail-like legs (Fig. 5.18, on page 34). The other human figures in close proximity appear to be interlaced at the lower limb and joined to form a grid-like pattern. They have long protuberances at the nose and some have enlarged penises. There also appears to be a line joining the figures in the navel area.

In the *tracing*, copied as *b* (Fig. 5.32, on page 42), there are additional human figures and an image of a coiled snake. To the left of the snake image there are two heads joined in one bulky torso with a pair of arms held out, and a stick carried across the shoulder. Human figures appear to be superimposed on the body of the snake. One is

carrying a stick, and has lines, like streamers flowing out of the back of its head. This figure has a flap-like protuberance extending from the buttocks.

Site A/A 54/20

Site A/A 54 20, is an open flat rock face above the waterfall in Meulkloof. There are fewer than 10 images and these are human figures surrounded by flecks and short stroke-like lines.

The human figure on the extreme left of the panel is shown on all fours and has a grid-like body with a line flowing from an elongated-shaped head. The figure is 'wearing' a skin flap over the buttocks. The adjacent figure resembles it in posture and form. A quiver is nearby, emphasising the potency of objects in the panel. A figure faces the second figure and has a dog-shaped face with an arm held outward and long thin legs in a wide stance. A fourth and fifth figure are walking and carry a bag and equipment. The fifth figure, on the right of the panel has an attenuated body, a round head and a long protruding animal-like nose. Flecks and short lines fill the air between the figures. Similar flecks were described as rain by Qing to Orpen (1874). Some flecks form a pattern of short strokes and those around the figure with the nasal protuberance appear to join at its feet. Other strokes take on the form of a 'swimming' figure with arms in held-back posture. Individual entoptic dots are also represented.

Site A/A 54/19

Site A/A 54/19 is across the valley above the waterfall. There are several human figures, four 'hook-heads' with yellow faces, elongated bodies and well-defined legs, penises, and carrying equipment. One figure touches the head of the figure in front. Some figures wear karosses. Some appear to 'run' with arms held wide. A feline image is present near to a palette. There are what are clearly therianthropic figures. One has human arms and head with 'fish tails' for legs. Another figure has a long

stroke-like body with a human head, no arms and fish-like tail. The third figure appears to be similar but it is too indistinct to trace.

Site A/A 54/18

Site A/A 54/18 is below the waterfall on the left in the kloof. Four or more human figures are represented. These figures have triangular shaped heads, large penises and carry sticks, some with knobs. The figure on the left appears to 'come out' of a crack in the rock face, while another figure on the right appears to be bending forward. The figure on the left touches the figure in front. There are black finger dots. Some are stroke-like, some are grouped in a pattern and others are individually executed. There are indistinct antelope.

Discussion

The recumbent figure near the image of the snake (A/A 54/68, Fig. 5.31, on page 42) may also be somersaulting (Marshall 1969:376). This occurs in the highly energetic activities of the curing dance of the !Kung. Katz (1982:129) states that as the trance deepens: "The struggle with the painful boiling num throws the body into unexpected idiosyncratic postures and rhythms".

Use of irregularities in the rock face to define the throat of a figure (Fig. 5.3, on page 29) is significant because the neck is the *n//au* spot (Marshall 1969:370). Here it would be associated with potency of the rock face itself. Diä!kwain (Bleek 1932:246) described the 'neck hollow' as associated with 'illness' and 'death'. A possible interpretation is the gaining of power in healing.

Some of the human figures in Meulkloof carry flywhisks or sticks. These are depicted as wavy lines or with knobs. The flywhisk or stick suggests a form of inherent potency. Such images are widely depicted in rock art in association with trance related imagery and dancing (Garlake 1995:145). Flywhisks were used to ward off the

'arrows of illness'. Among the !Kung the flywhisks only appear during curing dances (Marshall 1969:358). From San testimonies Vinnicombe (1976:314) inferred that "specific rods and reeds were connected with protective and curing medicines". Bleek's informant Diä!kwain in explaining the paintings from the Melikane shelter copied by Orpen (1874), described the sticks carried by the buck-headed figures, as things "...which people take when they are practising sorcery, ... This will help them to practise sorcery, for these things are in the things with which they strengthen their senses" (Bleek 1935:14). /Han=kasso, another Bleek informant, shown copies of the Ezeljagdspoor rock paintings commented that the /*khoe*, a curved stick, was used in rituals intended to influence the rain and drive away threatening thunderstorms (Fig. 6.9).



Fig. 6.9. Ezeljagdspoor 'mermaids'. from Lewis-Williams 1977.

In site A/A 54/19 (copied as *tracing c*), a figure is touching the head of the figure in front of the processional row. This occurs in sites A/A 54/18 and 68. This may be to receive the potency that leaves the head during trance. Interactions of this kind may

be different from the 'joining of limbs' that can be explained as polyopian. Interpersonal support in this instance may have to do with the curing rituals and in the inducement of trance. In some images groups of figures may be different individuals but in others the groups are repeated images in trance.

The flap-like protuberances that some figures have probably signify the trance dance. The !Kung tie animal tails or skin aprons over their buttocks, and these items are only worn at the medicine dances (Marshall 1969:358). The significance may be that the skin of the animal had inherent potency and in the act of wearing it 'conveyed' this power.

The presence of the 'swimming' or 'flying' figures in Meulkloof may imply the interaction between the real world and the spirit world. As noted the spirit leaving the body can only be 'seen' by other shamans in trance and this spirit can sometimes take the form of a bird. Linked to this are numerous ethnographic references, particularly among the /Xam, of people living under the water (Orpen 1874:10; Hewitt 1976) and entering water holes to find the rain animals.

The figures in site A/A 54/19 & 68 are similar to the 'watermeide' in the paintings at Ezeljagdspoor (Fig. 6.9, on page 81), and the figures in the Attaqua Mountain, near Cloetes Pass in the Western Cape (Maggs 1998: fig. 1). In his interpretation of the Ezeljagdspoor paintings, /Han=kassō told Lloyd; "I think that they are rain's people. ..., for I behold that they are people. For, they have their arms; they resemble people. They feel that they are sorcerers, the rain's sorcerers they are; for this man is holding a thing which resembles /*khoe*. ..They make the rain to fall and the rain's clouds come out on account of them." (from the Bleek papers, L.VIII.1. 6063-6068; cited in Lewis-Williams 1977:166-167). /Han=kassō saw these paintings as a rainmaking scene and that these creatures were 'rain's things' or shamans mediating between !*Khwa*, the sky and earth to make the rain come. In /Xam San thought there was a conceptual combination of rain, water, fertility and fluids of the human body (Hewitt 1976). In site A/A 54/2 (copied as *tracing d2*) there is a further example of a horizontal

‘swimming’ or ‘flying’ figure, with ‘wings’ and a body ending in fish-like limbs that can be interpreted in this light (Fig. 5.19, on page 34).

The snake images in the panels at site A/A 54/68 (copied as *tracing a & b*), appear to be puffadders (*Bitis arietans arietans*). The large snake, (copied as *tracing a*), is distinctively coloured in yellow and dark orange (Fig. 5.31, on page 42). In the 1830s, James Alexander (1967:227-228) recorded descriptions of a snake, known as the Water Snake by the Nama; described as “brown above and yellow below”. The snake image, in the tracing copied as *b*, is coiled and trails through figures in trance postures and may link rainmaking to shamans in this panel. As rain animals, snakes were !Khwa’s creatures. This is evident from Diä!kwain’s remarks, recorded in the 1870s, that emphasise the importance of the snake in association with rain: “The puffadder is a rain’s thing. The puffadder is green/yellow, it resembles the rainbow which is green/yellow. Do you not see that the puffadder is wont to appear when the rain has fallen? One of the rain’s things it is. And one of the sky’s things it is, that which is coming out of the sky” (from the Bleek papers, L.V.6. 4384 and 4385 rev.; cited in Lewis-Williams 1977:168).

The rock art sample in Meulkloof is rich in symbolism. Of particular note is the association between ‘going under water’, shamans and trance, and snakes as the rain things. In mythology the snake personified water and rain and is seen as living in waterholes and rivers. It is associated with both negative and positive forces in nature and is seen as affecting the harmony in the community.

Conclusions

The three kloofs in the sample are representative of the Anysberg, especially in the features and postures of the human figures. They all relate to trance and shamanistic activities. However, the choice of animal figures is diverse. Solitary animals are sometimes depicted. While the human figures depict a common experience, the varied choice of animal may relate to different shamanistic activities after entering the trance

state. These activities would be to cure, to control the hunt and to make rain using different animal potencies.

There are interesting and unusual images in the three kloofs. Examples are the use of the polyopian feature of multiple human limbs joined in mirror-like images, the depiction of 'touching' especially on the head, the transformational feature in rows of figures from human to animal and the boat- and quiver-shaped phosphenes surrounding these figures. The depiction of 'ooze' coming out of a crack in the rock is an unusual way of showing the potency thought to reside behind the rock face in the spirit world beyond. The depiction of rare animals such as the gemsbok and the blue antelope point to individual trance experiences. Although also rare, the symbolism associated with depictions of snakes is almost universal.

Although there are similarities in the depictions in the three kloofs, there are contrasts. Sankloof has more rain animals with lines of potency surrounding them. Hook-heads and other human figures in trance postures are usually near the rain animals. The 'rainbow' image, flecks and winged creature are further evidence of rain things. The unique depiction of a possible 'woman goddess' figure in Sankloof may represent rainmaking rather than the principles associated with female depictions, ambivalence and initiation. Finger daubs in two of the Sankloof sites may record visits of rain shamans and their initiates.

The sites in the Allemorgenskloof suggest some activities related to game shamans. A quiver on the back of a therianthropic human figure superimposed on eland may be that of a game shaman. However, although depictions of hunting equipment and bags symbolise the controlling of animals, they appear also to be important in rainmaking.

Although images in Meulkloof especially those of snakes strongly suggest rainmaking, other depictions are consistent with healing rituals. The hand of a human figure held out over the head of a snake image is significant in suggesting a curing

action. This action is reminiscent of human figures in sites higher up the kloof with hands held out to other figures and touching heads. Human figures, depicted in the antics of trance, are surrounded by entoptic flecks and painted dots and hold flywhisks that are associated with healing. The 'swimming' and 'flying' human figures in Meulkloof like the snakes are again 'rain things'. In /Xam thought rainmaking and healing are not polarised activities. This may be what is shown in Meulkloof.

The three kloofs are not rich in depictions. They are remote kloofs in an isolated massif and never well frequented. This has an advantage in that some depictions may represent the role of individual shamans. The individual is difficult to 'see' in the archaeological record but there are hints of single experiences in these depictions. There are many images that show people in states of trance. The interesting question is why? There is a hint in the depictions in these kloofs that while rainmaking was the main purpose, the shamans were also involved in controlling game and curing. The choice of kloof may indicate a preference in imagery and denotes a sense of place.





CHAPTER SEVEN



CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

This chapter draws together some of the themes that have been explored in this thesis. The sample of rock art comes from a circumscribed area of the Anysberg and has a coherence in this respect. There is no assurance that the depictions are of the same age and they may have been painted over a period of millennia. However, in that there is repetition in the subject matter depicted and in the placement of the images in the landscape, the art is an expression in the same tradition. This is a tradition that was widely shared because there are undoubted similarities in the range of depictions in the Anysberg and more widely in the Western Cape.

The Anysberg is relatively isolated in that it is not crossed by any important natural access routes. It is also in the relatively dry Little Karoo or Kannaland. The prediction would be that the area was sparsely populated even given a diversity of microhabitats and a rich flora. A hint that this may have been so is the relatively small number of depictions at individual sites and the apparent absence of any major site with many images. However, on a landscape scale there are almost as many rock art sites as in the Cederberg Wilderness Area, which is also of some 44 500 ha in size. Possibly what the number of sites and their distribution reflects, is the activities of small dispersed local groups who were not necessarily isolated.

The sites are in the kloofs for the most part. This is where there are suitable rock surfaces. There is also running water in the wet season and pools and springs in the dry season in the kloofs. There is always water in some of the kloofs even if only in the upper reaches. The association with water may be more significant in the placement of images in the landscape than simply the availability of rock surfaces. Nevertheless, the distribution of sites does reflect the geology because they are concentrated in the Anysberg itself where the valleys are cut into the Table Mountain Group rocks, and are absent in the area of sheered rocks in Suurkloof se Berg. This northern area of the ANR is not as well endowed with pools or permanent springs, thus the significance of the association of the sites and water is strengthened. Potable water could have been got from the beds of the main rivers draining the area in any season and the significance of water sources in kloofs would have been symbolic as much as life sustaining. The habitation sites that have been

recognised are in the entrances to the kloofs and the valleys below rather than in the upper reaches of the kloofs where most of the rock art is found.

The occurrence of rock art in the Anysberg is not predictable from the standard terrain-type parameters that are used in GIS systems to manage fauna and flora in conservation areas. This was a lesson learnt in the Cederberg Wilderness Area (Deacon, J. 1993). The only correlation of significance is that the sites are most likely to be found in the kloofs. It is only through systematic foot traverse that sites can be located. From the distribution, size and dispersed pattern of the sites, it would appear an attempt was being made to fill the place or landscape with images. Apart from making it difficult or impossible to predict site preference, this may indicate that perceptions of place are involved. The scale of place may not have been what is mapped as a discrete site or a set of sites in one of the kloofs but the whole mountain massif of the Anysberg. Topophyllia, the significance of place, is an accepted phenomenon (Deacon, J. 1986, 1988; Silberbauer 1994; Devereux 1997:45). There is the danger that in surveying and recording the parts, the meaning of the whole may be devalued if not overlooked.

The depictions that make up the whole are almost stereotyped (Bieseke 1983:56). These are mostly repeated depictions of unsexed or male figures with exaggerated and sometimes infibulated penises, in a range of postures. The postures themselves can be understood as conventional, but only when it is appreciated that they are those adopted in experiencing trance. The conventions followed were the same in the Anysberg as in the wider region of the Western Cape and elsewhere. This repetition of depictions of trance postures on a regional scale is explicable only if it is accepted that these depictions are of shamans. The trance hypothesis (Lewis-Williams 1981a) predicts this and the support comes from historical ethnography. On being shown depictions from Melikane Cave and Ezeljagdspoor, the informants of Bleek immediately recognised the role and status of the 'sorcerer'. A large part of the 'whole' of the rock art of the Anysberg is then repeated depictions of shamans in different stages of trance.

In studying the depictions of shamans entering trance and transforming into an animal, usually an eland, several human figures become the same animal. The human figures may have legs that are entwined and bodies that are joined. These depictions illustrate the principle of polyopia. They are the multiple self images or visions of the same shaman, showing different stages of transformation. Such depictions are relatively common in the Anysberg. The recognition of

polyopian images brings the individual shaman closer. Not all multiple human images are polyopian and other depictions show the shaman being supported by helpers.

In the Anysberg there appear to be even fewer depictions of females than elsewhere in the Western Cape, although most of the figures are sexually indeterminate. Children are rarely if ever depicted and group scenes are not domestic. The art is not about the gender issues that concern contemporary society and it would be mistaken to attempt to read these concerns into the depictions. As shown in the studies of Marshall (1962) and Biesele (1993) there are tensions between the sexes in traditional San societies, which are mediated by customary roles and taboos, but the depictions in the ANR do not necessarily show this.

A further part of the depictions is animal representations. These are a conventional set of images of eland, elephants, antelope, small carnivores and snakes, with individual depictions of gemsbok, blue antelope, rhino and rhebok. Transformations of shamans into eland are matched by figures with apparent trunk-like protuberances that may be 'elephant men'. The importance of the eland as a metaphor is well established and eland are polysemic, having different meanings in different contexts. In Fig. 7.1 there is an attempt to illustrate the central position the eland occupied in San cosmology. This may show the essence of animal depiction, particularly the eland and elephant in the rock art in the Western Cape. The eland and the elephant were sources of power that could be drawn on and the eland symbol would probably have shared meaning with the elephant and other animal images.

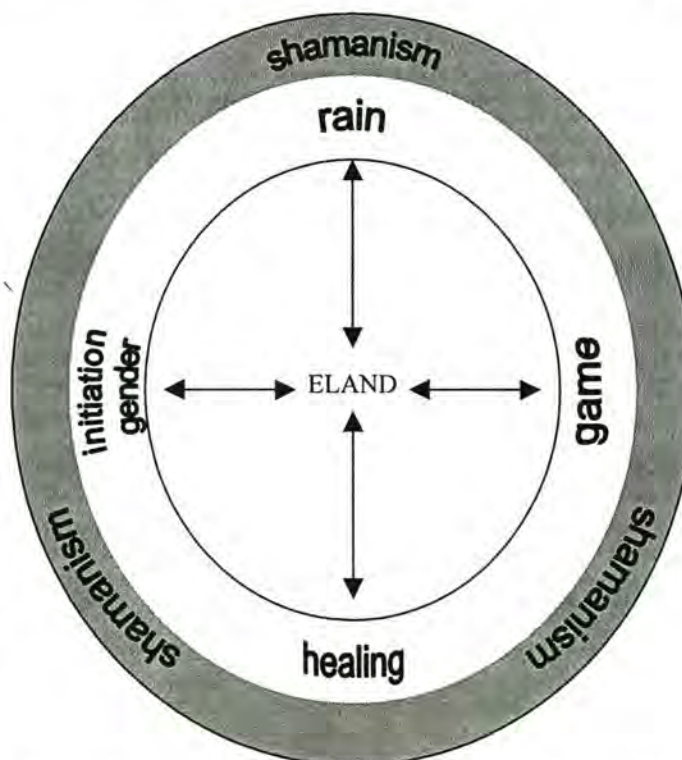


Fig. 7.1. A diagrammatic representation of the significance of the eland

Although the significance of the eland in ritual and in the art was first established in the Drakensberg area, the eland symbol was also very significant in the Western Cape. Similarly, the frequency of elephant images and figures with elephantine features shows in the Western Cape this animal may have filled a symbolic power role equivalent to that of the eland. Elephant images are a feature of the Anysberg. In contrast to the eland, there is little ethnographic reference to aid in the interpretation of the meaning of the elephant symbol. The assumption based on its large form and association with lines, sometimes even enclosing lines, is that it is possibly a 'rain thing'. They are appropriate to symbolise rain because they are dark shapes and their digestive systems causes their stomachs to rumble like thunder. There are large amorphous animals depicted as well and they would also be rain animals. These are always solitary whereas elephants are sometimes in groups and with calves, but the common element is tethering lines, and these surround eland as well in the Anysberg. Historical ethnography from several sources gives confidence in interpreting the meaning of rain animal images. The many images that suggest rainmaking point to the importance of the ritual and show that it may have been the most important shamanistic activity among the hunter-gatherer groups living in the Anysberg..

Specific to the Anysberg is the choice of a range of boat-, quiver- and fish-shaped phosphenes and depictions such as snakes and fish-tail humans. The snake depictions have meaning as 'rain things'. The depictions of 'watermeide', human-like forms with fish tails in the Anysberg are of special interest. These resemble the figures at Tolkloof in the Hex River Valley (Rust 1995), at Cloetes Pass in the Attakwas Mountain (Maggs 1998), and at Ezeljagdspoor in the Langkloof (Lewis-Williams 1977). They could be depictions of myths but are still shamanistic in their context.

It may be a pattern in the ANR that some kloofs were selected for particular rituals and that the sites in those kloofs were revisited for such purposes as initiation into the arcane knowledge of the shamans. Three kloofs in the Anysberg were surveyed. There are depictions of shamanistic activities in each and some are common to all three kloofs. However, each kloof seemed to include a different combination of images and images specific to that kloof. Although it would be too simplistic to suggest complete separation of the roles of shamans in rainmaking, curing, and game control there do appear to be more depictions that can be related to one of either of these activities in a particular kloof.

These three kloofs are again just parts of the Anysberg. The challenge posed by this research is to gain a deeper understanding of the meaning of the Anysberg in San cosmology. This can only

come from more intensive study of the art and further theoretical developments in this field. The rock art of the ANR is a valuable resource and is well worth every effort at conservation.



APPENDIX A

LIST OF RECORDED SITES

This list of sites gives number, local name and reference to the file name on the computer discs. Computer discs containing the data from the site recording forms together with a xerox copy of the tracings are lodged at Cape Nature Conservation, Jonkershoek, Stellenbosch.

SITE NO.	LOCAL NAME	DISC REFERENCE
A/A 54/2	Anysberg	Anysberg2.doc
A/A 54/3	Spreeufontein	Spreeu3.doc
A/A 54/4	Matjiesgoedkloof	Matjies4.doc
A/A 54/6	Prinspoort	Prinsp6.doc
A/A 54/8	Tapfontein	TapF8.doc
A/A 54/10	Grafkloof	Graf10.doc
A/A 54/13 a, b & c	Soogdierkloof	Soogd26.doc
A/A 54/14, 15 & 16	Sankloof	Sankloof14.doc
A/A 54/17 & 21	Sankloof	Sankloof17.doc
A/A 54/18	Meulkloof	Meulkoof18.doc
A/A 54/19	Meulkloof	Meulkoof19.doc
A/A 54/20	Meulkloof	Meulkloof20.doc
A/A 54/22	Tapfontein	TapF22.doc
A/A 54/24	Janpieterskloof	JPieterK24.doc
A/A 54/25	Janpieterskloof	JPieterK25.doc
A/A 54/26	Soogdierkloof	SoogD26.doc
A/A 54/27 & 29	Sankloof	Sankloof27.doc
A/A 54/28	Sankloof	Sankloof28.doc
A/A 54/30	Sankloof	Sankloof30.doc
A/A 54/31	West of Goedehoop	GoedeH31.doc
A/A 54/35 & 34	Allemorgens	Allemorg35.doc
A/A 54/36	Klipfontein	Klipfont36.doc
A/A 54/40 & 41	Second Kloof west of Prinspoort	2KWPrinsp40.doc

A/A 54/42 a & b	First Kloof west of Prinspoort	1KWPrinsp42.doc
A/A 54/43	Third Kloof west of Prinspoort	3KWPrinsp43.doc
A/A 54/45 & 46	Fourth Kloof west of Wolfhuiskloof	Wolfhuis45.doc
A/A 54/48	Goedehoop	GoedeH48.doc
A/A 54/51	Anysberg se kloof	Anysberg51.doc
A/A 54/52	Witdam se kloof	Witdam52.doc
A/A 54/53	First Kloof west of Witdamkloof	1KWWitdam53.doc
A/A 54/59	First Kloof west of Weirkloof	1KWweirK59.doc
A/A 54/60	First Kloof right of Weirkloof	1KRWeirK60.doc
A/A 54/62 & 63	First Kloof west of Prinspoort Dam	1KWPPDam62.doc
A/A 54/68	Meulkloof	Meulkloof68.doc

APPENDIX B

EXAMPLE OF A COMPLETED ROCK ART SITE RECORD FORM

SOOGDIERKLOOF A/A 54/13 a, b, c.

1. General site information

LOCAL SITE NAME	: Soogdierkloof	RECORDER'S NAME	: Renée Rust
MAP SHEET	: 3320 BC	ACCOMPANIED BY	: Bennie du Plessis
GPS POSITION	: 33°31,28' S 20°32,40' E		
ALTITUDE	: 757 m		
SITE NO.	: A/A 54/31	CONTACT PERSON /	
ACCESS TO SITE	: 300m from track	OWNER	: Alan Martin
		POSTAL ADDRESS	: Anysberg Nature Reserve
RECORDING METHODS	: Tracings, slides		: Ladismith 6655
		TEL. CODE	: 023
SITE PREVIOUSLY RECORDED	: Yes	PHONE	: 5511922
DATE OF RECENT RECORDING	: March, 1998		

2. Description of the site

- GRADIENT : 20-40°
- ORIENTATION : South
- TERRAIN : Rocky, bushy, low vegetation
- TYPE OF SITE : Overhang & wall
- SIZE OF CAVE /
OVERHANG : Width – 8 m
Depth - 1,5 – 4 m
Height – 3 m
- NATURAL
SCREENING OF SITE : *Visibility on approach - concealed by vegetation*
Visibility from the site - view of Soogdierkloof & valley
- EXPOSURE TO
SUNLIGHT : Afternoons, part gets no sun
- NATURE OF DEPOSIT : Sandy
- ARTEFACTS PRESENT : OES, black burnished pottery, charcoal, stone flakes
- ACCESS TO WATER : 10 minutes



Fig. 5.10. Figure bending forward at Soogdierkloof. Height 220 mm.

3. Condition of paintings

- % OF SEEPAGE / DRIP / LICHEN / MOSS AND VEGETATION ON PAINTINGS : **>50%**
- ARE PAINTINGS IN DANGER OF DISAPPEARING ? : **Yes**
- VANDALISM / GRAFFITI PRESENT ON THE PAINTINGS : *Paint chipped off – none*
Charcoal – none
Paint – none
Scratches – present
Smoke – none
Other - exfoliation, exposure to sunlight

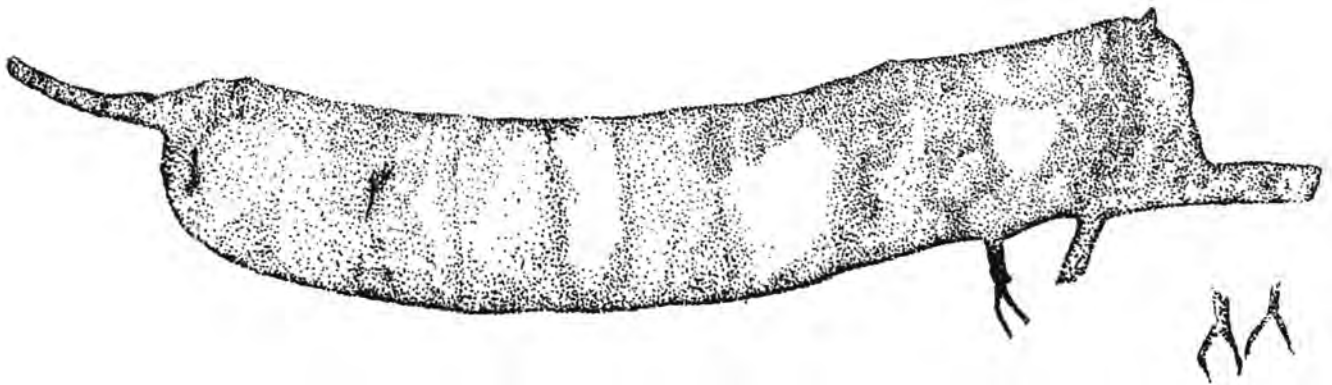


Fig. 5.29. A tube-like animal at Soogdierkloof. 454 mm in length and superimposed on human figure(s).

4. General description of paintings

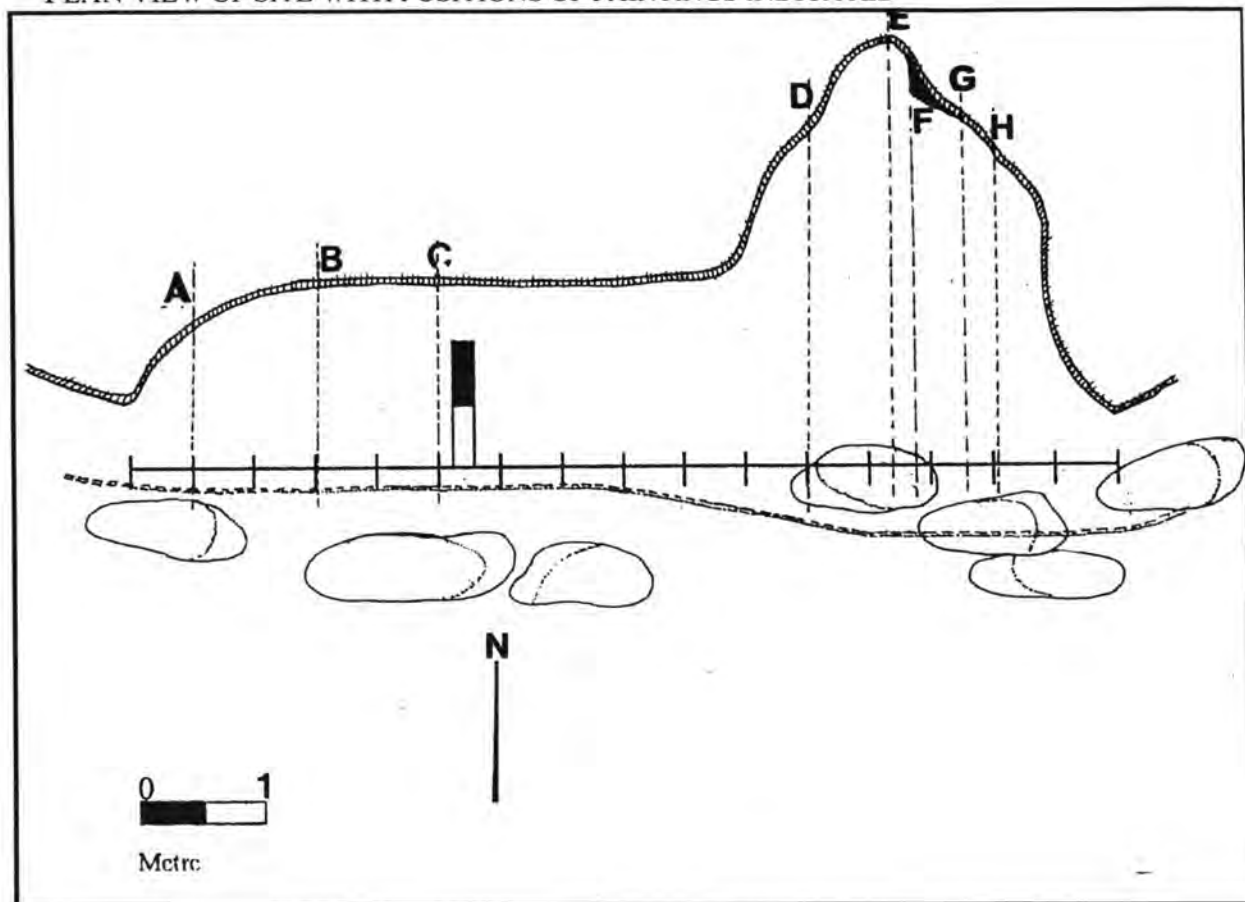
- ESTIMATE NUMBER OF PAINTED IMAGES : **25-50**
- CLARITY OF PAINTINGS : *Colours – faded*
Outlines – fuzzy
Detail – poor
- COLOUR OF PAINTINGS : *Red - 90%*
Yellow – 4%-
White -1%
Black – 5%
Bi / Polychrome - /
- SUBJECT MATTER : *Human -male figures, hook-heads, group scenes*
Animal – antelope, elephant, rain-animals
Handprints – patterned
Palettes – present
Smeared areas – uncertain
Finger dots – none
Lines – present
Therianthrope – present



Fig. 5.13. Human figures with 'head-dresses' at Soogdierkloof. The composite image on the right is 170 mm in length.

5. Record of images

PLAN VIEW OF SITE WITH POSITIONS OF PAINTINGS INDICATED



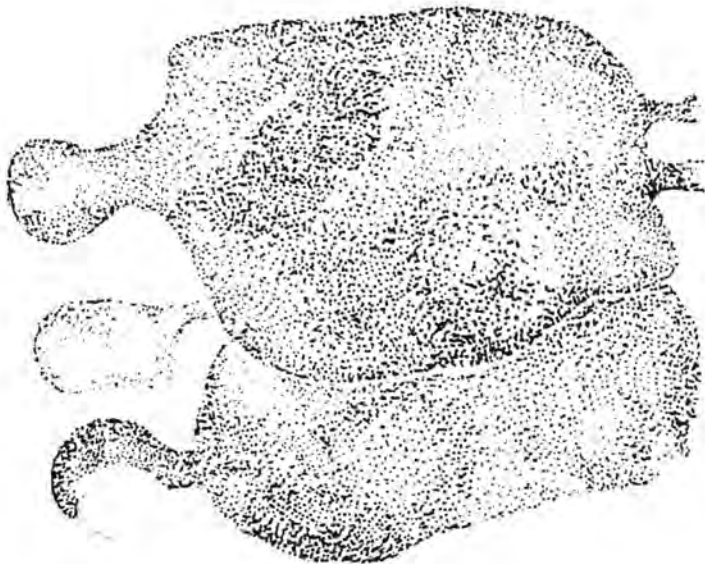
Description of paintings, location, tracing and/or slide

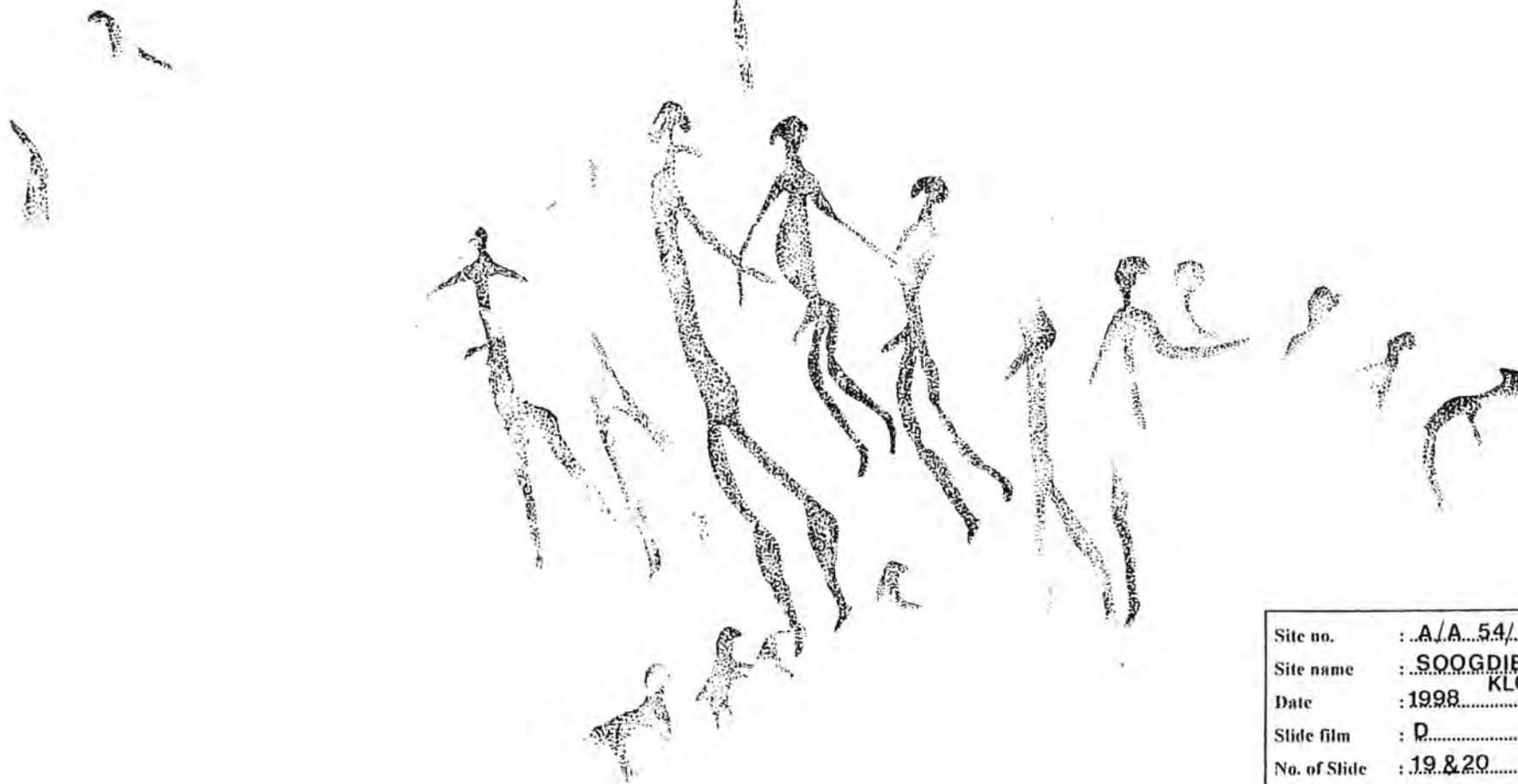
Slide film	Slide no.	Map pos.	No. of tracing	Description
		A 0,5m	a	<i>A/A 54/13a</i> – There are three human figures (80 mm in height). They appear to squat. Their bulky bodies are superimposed over each other. These figures fit neatly into a small cup-like hollow in the rock face. The one figure has only the head (concave shaped) showing behind the squat round bodies of the other two figures. The one on the left has a hook-head, while the one on the right (with large round head) has short stubby thin 'legs' showing. They appear to have no arms.
D	19, 20	B 1,5m	b	There are ten or more human figures 'walking' in a row. The average height is 100 mm. They are elongated and naked, some with erect penises, arms extended and touching, with heads that appear to have short 'trunks'. Immediately below and entwined with the human figures is a line of dog-like figures moving in the opposite direction. The human and animal images show transformations in a polyopian succession. Some of the depictions show forward-bending postures. One figure on the left of the panel has a protuberance from the navel while another in the centre of the panel has a

				stubby protuberance from the neck. Above the head of the latter is an upright rod-like image. It resembles similar depictions above the heads of human figures in Site A/A 54/26 in this kloof and Sankloof A/A 54/27.
		C 3m	c	There is a large round animal-like figure. It appears sausage or tube-like, partly faded. It has a 'arm' extended on the left side of its body, and stubby fat legs on the right. It appears to have a short tail. It is 500 mm in length, and 80 mm thick. This depiction is superimposed on a partially preserved human figure. Two human figures are present to the right of this image. This indeterminate animal may represent a rain animal.
D	21	D 5,5m	d	There are six kaross-clad figures with hook-heads. The average height is 120 mm. One figure in the centre of the frieze is superimposed on a large (200 mm in height) yellow figure. It is very indistinct.
		E 6,2 m	e	There are two or more spindly black figures faintly visible. Average height is 90 mm. These resemble the black lines surrounding them. Some of these lines are crossed-over. Two red human figures are visible amongst the black figures. These red figures (100 mm in height) have long wavy legs and the one figure has a flap-like protuberance in front of the stomach and a tail-like protuberance over the buttocks. The head is concave- shaped, similar to a black figure on the right.
		F 6,3m	f	On a flat smooth section of the rock wall, there are five eland, executed one above the other. The average length from head to tail is 130 mm. One eland has its head lowered and one is lying down. Lower down the rock face, copied as <i>tracing f2</i> , there are three human figures (average height 60 mm) with legs and arms interlaced in forward-bending postures which appear to be 'entering' a crevice in the rock face.
		G 6,8m	g	There is a human figure (95 mm in height), with erect penis, carrying equipment and holding a stick that is pointing downward. The figure has a 'dog-like' face and separate concentric lines lying over its head like a covering. This figure is to the left of other figures that appear similar in execution (copied as <i>tracing h1</i>).
		H 7m	h1	There are three more figures resembling the figure in <i>tracing g</i> , all carrying sticks that point downward. The one figure's arm is an extenuation of the stick. All the figures are carrying equipment, and have long 'dog-like' faces with separate concentric lines depicted above the heads. These appear to 'radiate' from the top of their heads. The figure in the middle has a therianthropic type depiction extending above its head. These images are joined and appear to be one figure. This composite of figures is 170 mm in height. It resembles figures described (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989: depictions numbered, 30 - 32, 38b). Close to these figures copied as <i>tracing h1</i> is an eland painted in yellow

				ochre. Its head and neck have faded. A small antelope (60 mm in body length) with large definite ears is painted below the eland <i>tracing h2</i> . This may be a steenbok (<i>Raphicerus campestris</i>) or a grysbok (<i>R. melanotis</i>). Below this depiction there is a depiction of a large singular elephant (180 mm in height) copied as <i>tracing i</i> .
			a	A/A 54/13b: This site is 10 m to the left of A/A 54/13a and has one panel of images. There are 10 or more male figures grouped in rows. They are 90 – 100 mm in height. The figures carry hunting equipment and sticks. Images of arrows as hunting equipment are distinct. The figures have triangular shaped heads and some have faces with trunk-like noses. Arms are held outward. Large penises show on these figures.
			a	A/A 54/13c: 33°31,28'S: 20°32,40'E: Twenty-five meters to the left of Site A/A 54/23a, a large male figure (220 mm in length), is painted on a smooth rock surface. The male figure is bending forward, holding a stick which is pointing straight down. His navel protrudes. He is carrying a bag or cloak on his back. The protuberance in front of the figure from the stomach may not be a 'navel' as stated above but part of the bag carried on the back. In close proximity there are more human figures. The one figure has an oval shape head. These figures are indistinct.

A/A 54/13a
MP-0 5 m
TRACING: a

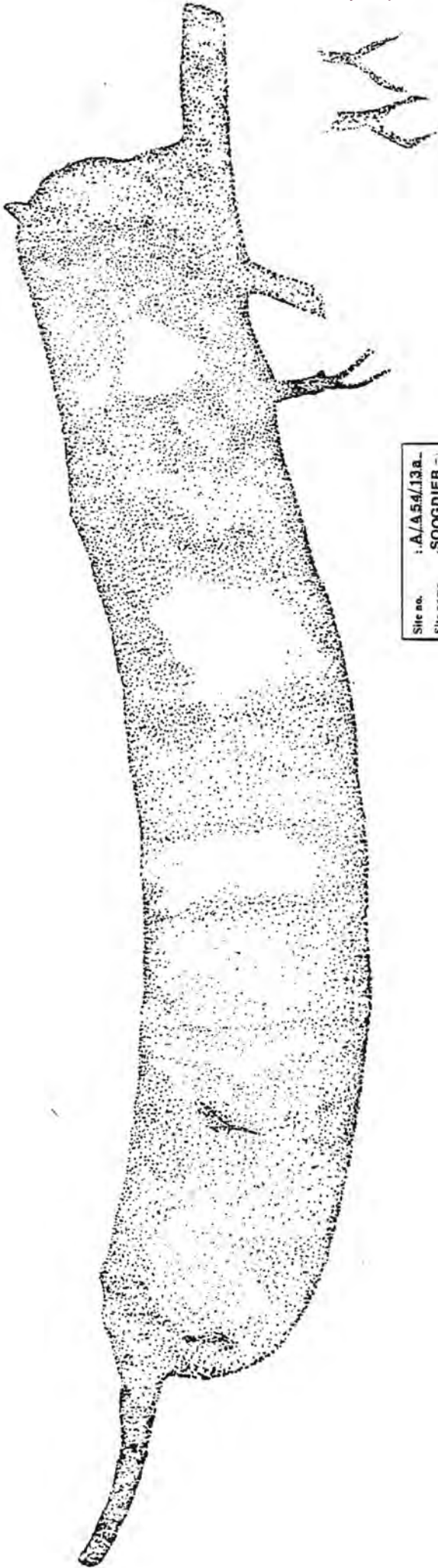




figures to ri
very faded

Site no.	: A/A 54/13a
Site name	: SOOGDIER- KLOOF
Date	: 1998
Slide film	: D
No. of Slide	: 19 & 20
Map Position	: B -1.5m
No. of Tracing	: b

1 2 3 cm

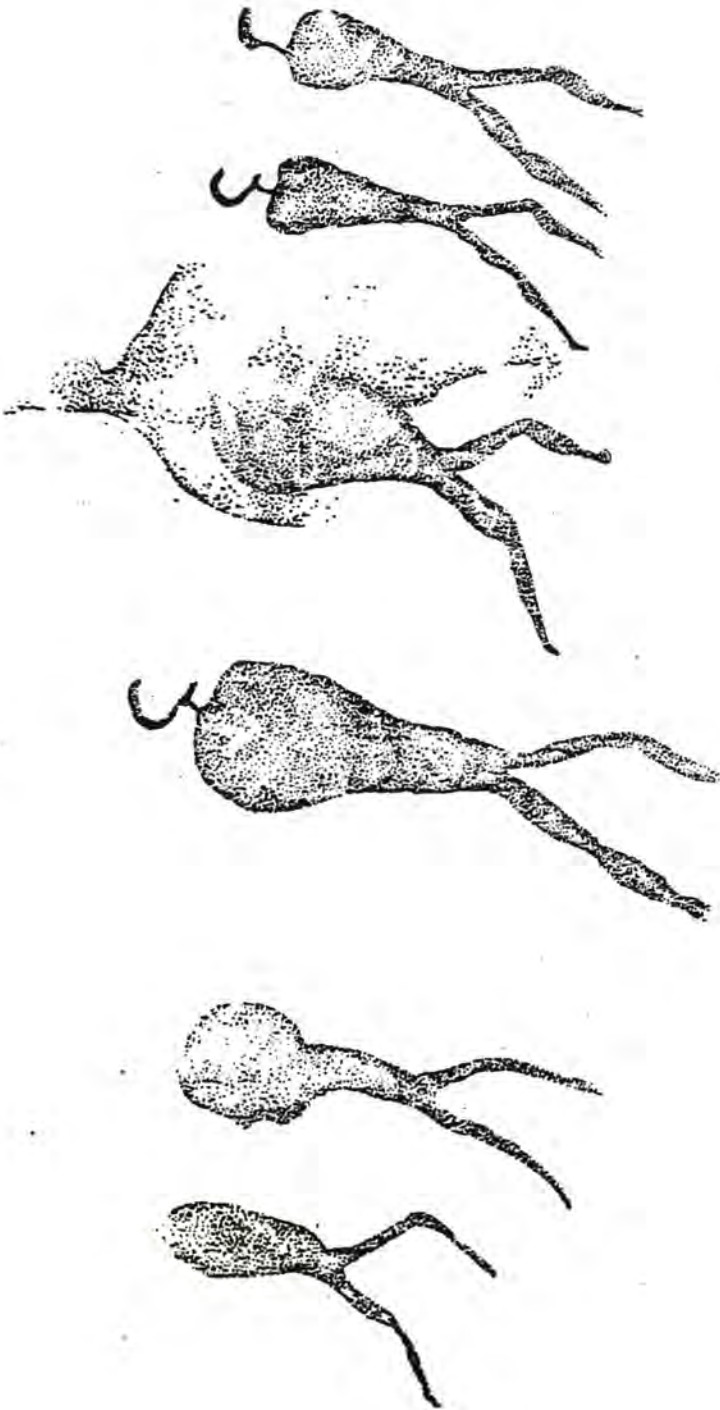


Site no.	: A/454/13a.
Site name	: SOOGDIER KLOOF
Date	: 1998
Slide film	:
Nos. of Slide	:
Map Position	: C 3m
No. of Tracing	: 6

123

cm

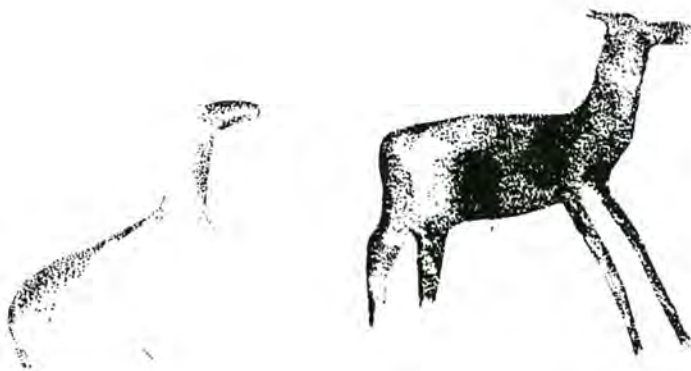
palette above



Site no.	: A/A.54/13a...
Site name	S OGGDIERKLOOF
Date	: 1998
Slide film	: D
No. of Slide	: 21
Map Position	: D...-5.5m.
No. of Tracing	1 d
<div><div></div><div>1 2 3</div><div>cm</div></div>	



Site no.	: A/A 54/13 a.
Site name	: SOOGDIER-KLOOF
Date	: 1998
Slide film	:
No. of Slide	:
Map Positons	: E - 6, 2 m.
No. of Tracing	: e
<div><div></div><div>1 2 3 cm</div></div>	



Site no.	: A/A 54 /13a
Site name	: SOOGDIER- KLOOF
Date	: 1998
Slide film	: _____
No. of Slide	: _____
Map Position	: F - 6,3m
No. of Tracing	: f1
<div style="text-align: center;">1 2 3 cm</div>	





Site no.	:	54/13a
Site name	:	SOOGDIER-KLOOF
Date	:	1998
Slide film	:	
No. of Slide	:	
Map Position	:	F- 6, 3
No. of Tracing	:	f2

1

2

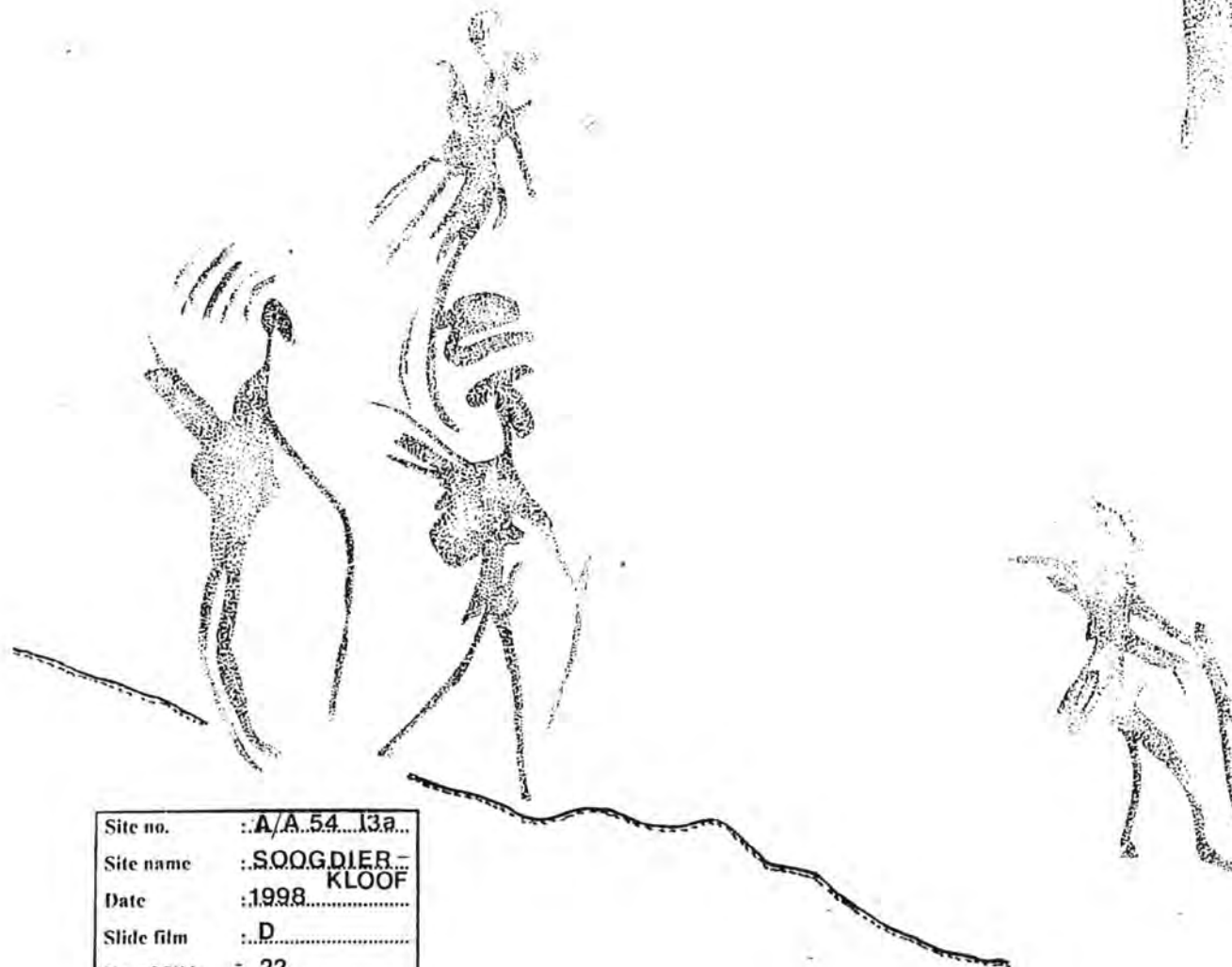
3

cm



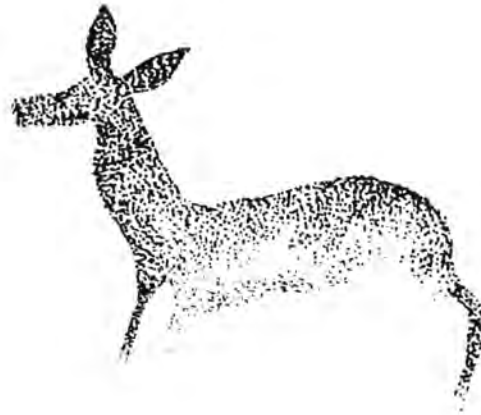


A/A 54/13a
left of tracing h
MP 6,8 m
Tracing: g

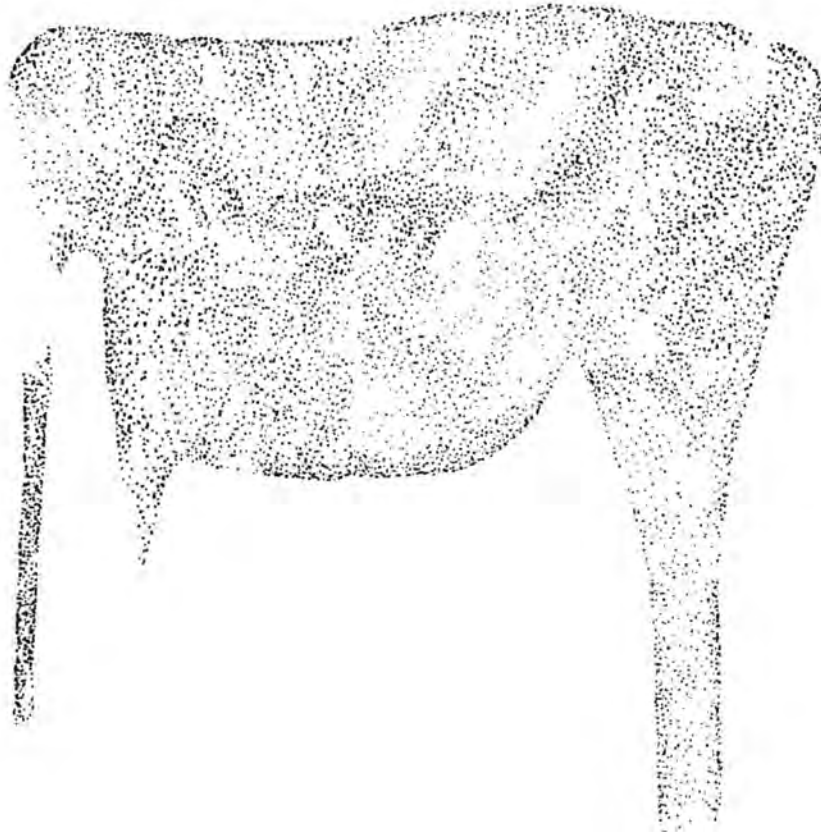


Site no. : A/A.54.13a...
Site name : SOOGDIER -
Date : 1998 KLOOF
Slide film : D
No. of Slide : 22
Map Positons : H - 7m
No. of Tracing : h1
1 2 3 cm

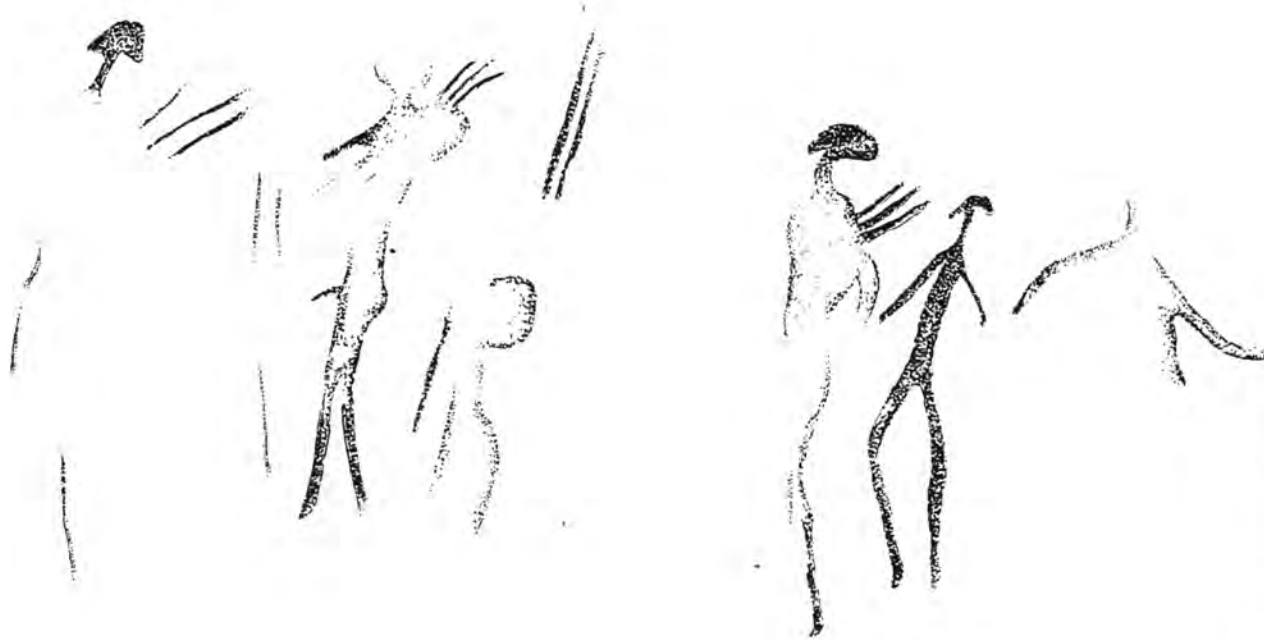
split in rock face



A/A 54/ 13a
MP.- 7 m
Tracing: h2

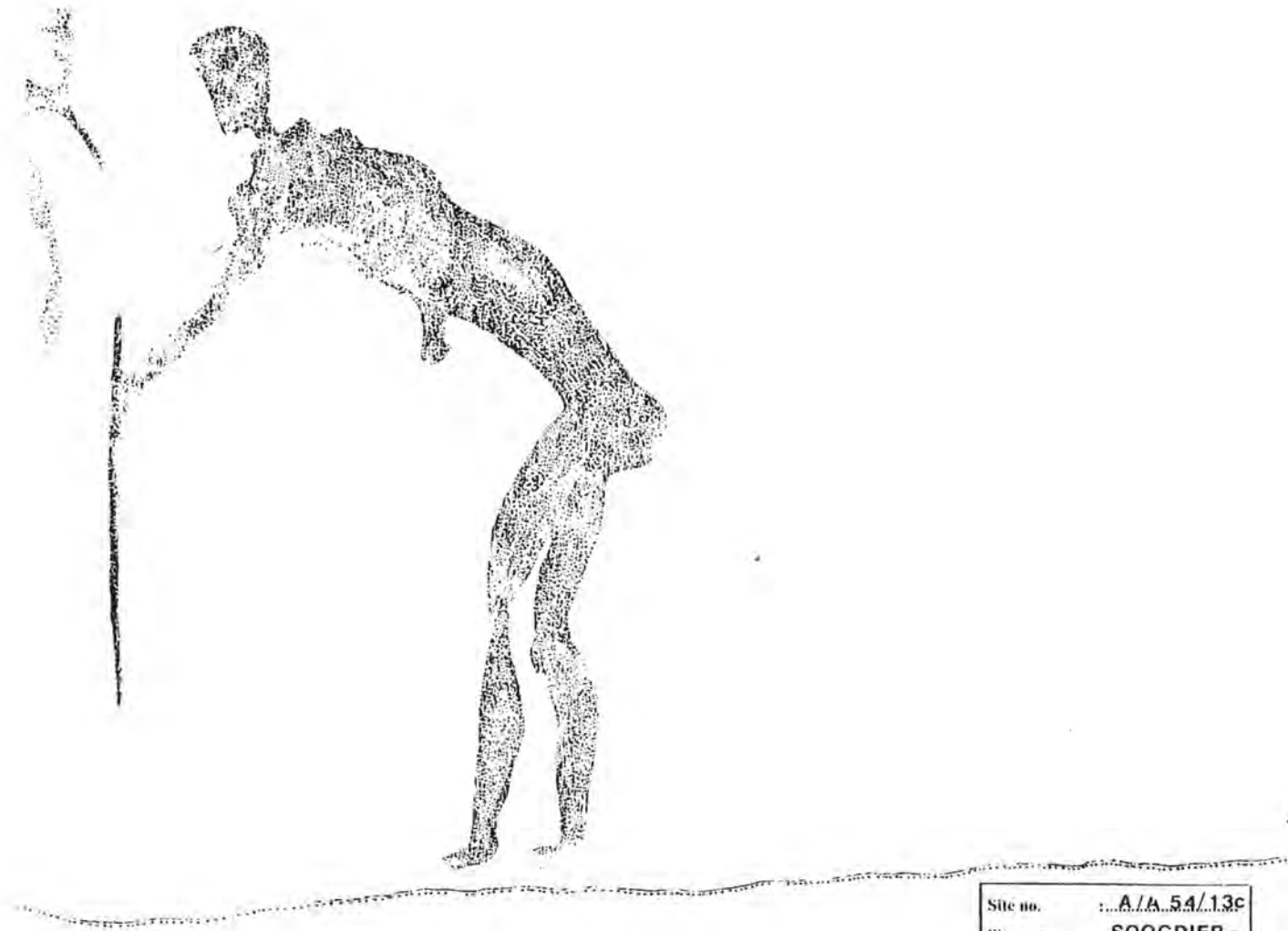


Site no.	: A/A.54/13a
Site name	: SOOGDIER-KLOOF
Date	: 1998
Slide film	:
No. of Slide	:
Map Position	: H - 7m
No. of Tracing	: 1
	
1 2 3 cm	



Site no.	: A/A 54/13b
Site name	: SOOGDIER-KLOOF
Date	: 1998
Slide film	:
No. of Slide	:
Map Position	: 10m left of 13a
No. of Tracing	:
<div style="text-align: center;">1 2 3 cm</div>	

group of 10 or more figures -
very faded



Site no.	: A/A 54/13c
Site name	: SOOGDIER- KLOOF
Date	: 1998
Slide film	:
No. of Slide	:
Map Position	: 25m. left of 23
No. of Tracing	:
<div><div></div><div>1 2 3 cm</div></div>	

split in rock face

APPENDIX C

CONSERVATION AND MANAGEMENT PROPOSAL OF THE ROCK ART

The present state of conservation of the rock depictions

The area was in private ownership before the transfer of the land to Nature Conservation and public access was restricted. While in private ownership the paintings and sites were protected from vandalism. By allowing only authorised persons to visit these sites, the staff of Nature Conservation has continued to protect them (Alan Martin, pers. comm.). These conservation measures need to be continued until the ANR can implement a policy suited to it. As little can be done to preserve the art the accepted policy is to 'maintain rather than promote these works of art' (Deacon, J. 1993:46).

Research by the CSIR concluded that the water seepage through the rock is the main agency of destruction. In the few millimetres behind the rock surface the minerals and salts are concentrated and these are deposited on the paintings when the moisture evaporates (Lewis-Williams 1990). Besides depositing minerals and salts on the paintings, the water dissolves the cementing medium of the rock. As a result the depictions become more faded and will eventually disappear completely.

No advances have been made in methods for preserving rock art *in situ*. At the turn of the century whole panels were removed and taken to museums for safekeeping. This is only an option if the rock art is in danger of being totally destroyed by construction of dams, roads or other building activities (Loubser 1991). The repainting or touching up of depictions has been considered inconsistent with conservation (Rudner, I. 1989; Deacon, J. 1999). It does not help to coat the images with silicone preparations because apart from cost, soluble salts may be trapped behind the coating and accelerate the deterioration (Loubser & Van Aardt 1979).

Rock art has been protected under the terms of the National Monuments Act (Act 28 of 1969). Under this legislation it is an offence to damage or destroy rock art. The National Monuments Council issues permits for any excavation or alteration of sites, or removal of artefacts. In most cases the permits are issued only to professional archaeologists. A new National Heritage Act will

replace the National Monuments Act but has similar provisions for the protection of archaeological sites and rock art (Deacon, H.J. & Deacon, J. 1999:195). An innovation in the new act is that heritage concerns have been devolved to the provinces. The Western Cape Province through its heritage agency will be responsible for the rock art sites in the Anysberg and elsewhere in the province.

Principles for the protection and management of the rock art in the Anysberg Nature Reserve

Rock art is a cultural resource that is non-renewable and requires management and protection (Deacon, J. 1999). The depictions cannot be re-painted or re-created. This research project provides a basis on which a management plan for the rock art resources in the ANR can be formulated. This would allow integration of cultural and environmental conservation. Protection measures now in place limit the visitors to sites.

A management plan for the ANR should contain the following principles and guidelines:

1. There is a need to build up a sense of **responsibility** towards the preservation of the rock art among the staff and local community. This can be achieved by stimulating an awareness through instruction, talks and other means of communication. The essential message to convey is that rock art is a non-renewable resource and the viewing of rock art is a privilege that carries responsibility.
2. Making pamphlets available for distribution and booklets for sale can stimulate **knowledge** of the rock art. The essential information to be provided includes the meaning of the art, the age, the authorship and the principles of conserving the art.
3. **Education** of staff and visitors to the rock art sites is necessary to make them aware of appropriate on-site behaviour. Care should be taken not to stir up dust that settles on the paintings, nor to wet, touch or scratch graffiti anywhere near the images. Lighting of fires in or near a shelter is not permissible. The code of conduct to be followed by visitors needs to be adhered to, not only in the reserve but on private land where there are rock art images as well.
3. **Active preservation** entails fencing where necessary to keep stock out or to control access. Other measures would include constructions to divert run-off or drips of water, away from the paintings. Further actions could include sheltering the art from direct sunlight by maintaining the natural vegetation screen or by some construction. However,

fire may be a hazard if the vegetation grows too close to the depictions on the rocks. The impact of any active measures needs proper assessment and this can only be done in consultation with the appropriate authority (South African Heritage Agency or a provincial heritage authority) and with the assistance of a suitably qualified person.

4. A **staff-training** programme needs to be initiated. Often professional management policies are not fully implemented, as knowledgeable staff is unavailable. Without training, guidelines become neglected because a responsible attitude to the art is not cultivated and its importance disregarded (Deacon, J. 1993). Protection of the art needs to be part and parcel of existing processes of conservation set up for natural resources. Monitoring of known sites should also be included in any training programme. This could provide information on natural weathering and site control. If visitors frequent any sites, the effects can be observed. Monitoring the sites can be seen as a learning process, encouraging the search for new images and sites. It should be policy to employ a professional archaeologist to regularly update the management plan and guidelines, and to assess any changes or deterioration of the condition of the paintings. The reserve should be encouraged to budget for the use of professional expertise.
5. A **spirit of community** involvement and interest in rock art can be nurtured through active participation of a 'friends' or club-type association.

Recommendations

- Rock art is a non-renewable cultural resource that needs to be managed for conservation, education and tourism.
- There needs to be a continual search for new sites to establish the total resource base. The records of locations need to be updated, as new locations and images, not previously recorded, are found. The site database may be expanded to include occurrences on adjacent properties through partnerships with other owners.
- Information on the significance of rock art and instruction on the do's and don'ts to be followed in visiting rock art sites, need to be made available to management, rangers and any visitors.
- There is a demand from the public for access to sites and information on rock art. Rock art is very much part of eco-tourism. Public access requires responsible management and planning. As the sites are sensitive locations and in the interests of conservation, access needs to be controlled and the necessary protocols followed. Professional advice should be sought on the best ways in which the rock art resource can be made accessible to visitors.

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