

on Native Americans and white Americans. To present this inclusive past, however, it is first necessary to understand something of the history of the Pony Express.

The origins of the Pony Express go back to 1860, when William Russell, the owner of a stage and freight company based in Leavenworth, Kansas, decided to establish an 'Express Mail Company' to deliver mail to California along the Oregon and California trail. The stage express initially comprised 800 mules and 50 coaches. By February 1860, the efficiency of the mail service had cut down the delivery time from the east coast to California from the weeks it took by ship to just a few days. Financial losses were, however, staggering, and promised Government subsidies did not come through. It was clear that something was needed to promote the mail service in the public's eye. Finally, it was decided to run the route with the best horses available and ridden by light and tough young men. There were to be 400 horses and 80 riders; a further 400 men would man the stations along the route. The proposed route was from St. Joseph, up the Platte and Sweetwater rivers, through South Pass and the Rockies to Salt Lake City, out across the Utah-Nevada deserts, through the Sierra Nevadas and into California - some 1900 miles. On 3rd April 1860, the Pony Express was officially inaugurated.

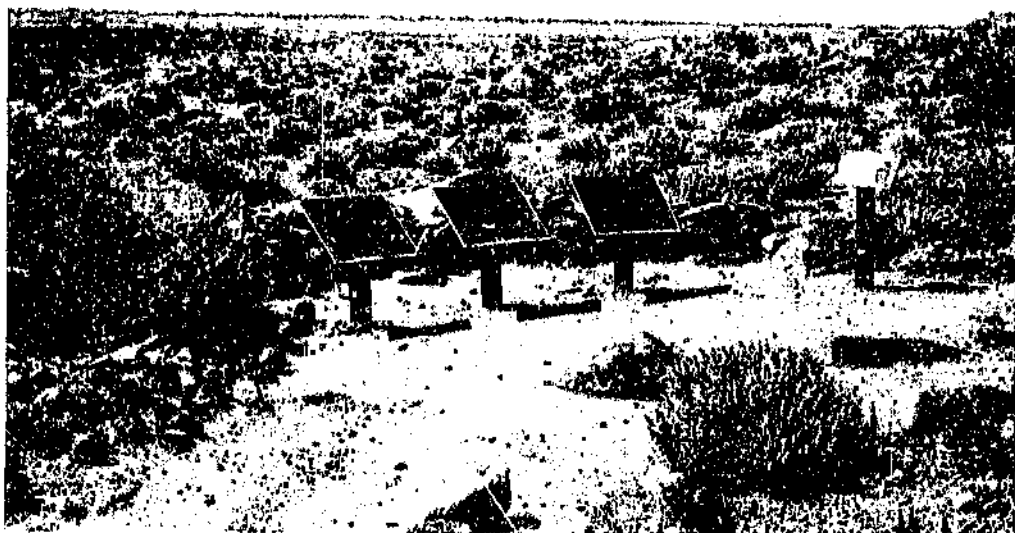


Figure 48. The flatness of the Great Basin stretching into the distance provides a backdrop to three lecterns at Grimes Point, Nevada. The lecterns, which mark the positions of engravings, present copies of the art. These copies are inaccurate and appear to be an artist's sketches.

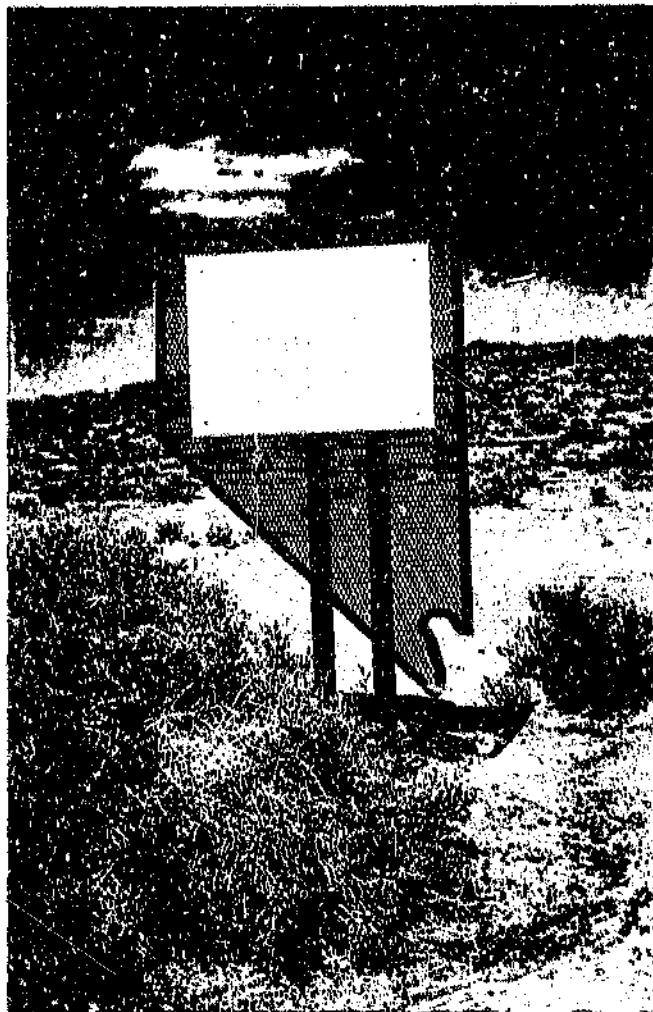


Figure 47. This metal outline map of the state of Nevada is at the approach to Grimes Point. The text set on this map contradicts that found at other lecterns at the site.

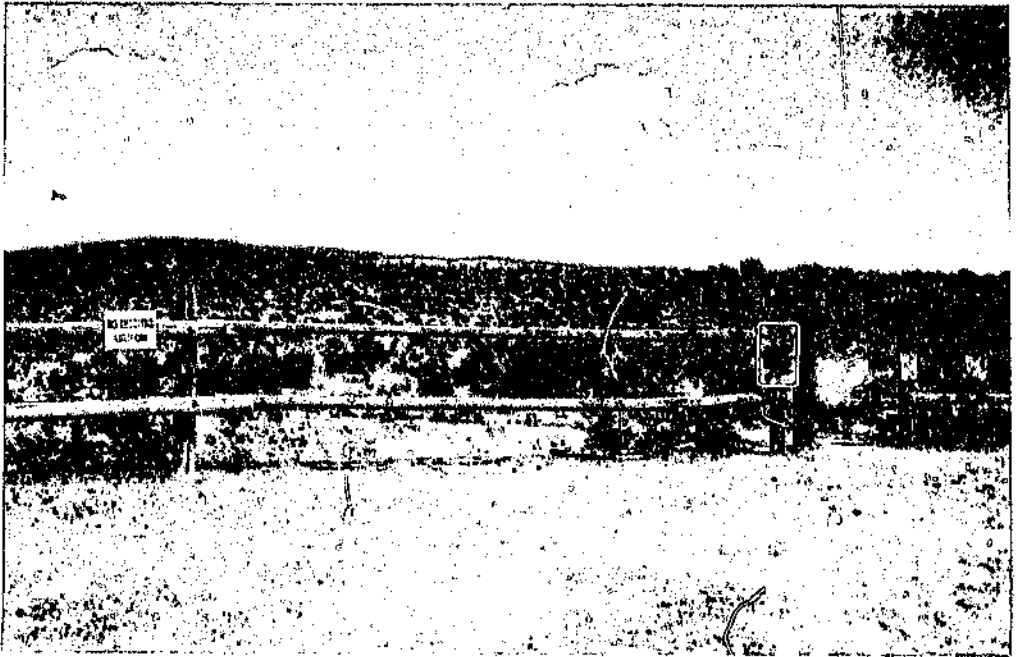


Figure 46. The entrance to Grimes Point, Nevada. In spite of a good interpretative pamphlet, there are problems with the presentation of the site, especially in the contradictions between the various texts on the lecterns.

ownership (Chapter Two) and the sensitive nature of Wounded Knee make discussions with Native Americans imperative. I therefore consider another site that offers potential to present an inclusive past. The site, which I have already critiqued in Chapter Two, is situated in Nevada and is known as Grimes Point (Fig. 46).

As a public rock art site, Grimes Point has mixed qualities (Fig. 47). For many years, it was used as a garbage dump and an off-road vehicle area. As a result, the petroglyphs were damaged. Eventually the site was cleaned up and interpretative facilities constructed by the Youth Conservation Corps (Fig. 48). In 1978 Grimes Point and its surroundings were declared Nevada's finest National Recreational Trail. In spite of an exceptionally good interpretative pamphlet, many problems exist at Grimes Point, not least of which is the reproduction of stereotypes (Chapter Two).

Apart from the petroglyphs, Grimes Point is implicated in another period of American history - the Pony Express. The site is situated alongside US Highway 50 that follows the route of the shortlived but famed Pony Express. The remains of pony stations may still be found next to the highway. The State of Nevada is currently involved in a project to restore and reconstruct some of these stations. The passing of the Pony Express route near Grimes Point petroglyph site allows for a presentation focusing

Sates could take their plan.

Grimes Point

Sites like Spionkop, where the material remains of various historical players in South Africa's past may be found, are also relatively rare in America.

Where such sites do occur, they should, therefore, be exploited; they offer an ideal opportunity to present an inclusive past and consequently a unitary identity. It should, however, be kept in mind, that where an inclusive past has been presented in America, it has been from a purely white perspective (Chapter Two). Such an inclusive past promotes stereotypes of Native Americans and needs to be avoided.

One possible area for the establishment of metaphoric pilgrimage that promotes an unbiased and inclusive past is the Black Hills-Wounded Knee area of South Dakota. The Black Hills, we saw in Chapter Two, is considered a holy place by Native Americans. Rock art exists within these hills (Sundstrom 1989), and this suggests that the hills were used for vision quests. An automobile tour linking one of these rock art sites, Mount Rushmore, Crazy Horse and Wounded Knee would offer an ideal opportunity to present an inclusive past that would speak of the complex, often tragic, history of interaction between whites and Native Americans. The holy nature of the Black Hills and Native American contestation of its

talking on the recording about various aspects of their culture.

Reincorporation

The return path does not, at present, emerge at the point at which visitors began the trail. A second transition structure is therefore necessary where the return path merges with the general area of presentation of the cliff dwellings. Like the transition structure that separated visitors to the rock art site from other tourists, the structure needs to be small. Facilities should be provided so that visitors can return their audio-cassette players and their identity tags. Furthermore, a free pamphlet should be available on rock art in general that they can take away with them. Because of the small size of the transition structure and since restaurants and souvenir stores can be found elsewhere at Mesa Verde, such facilities need not be made available in the second transition structure.

I reiterate that what I have suggested for Mesa Verde needs to be negotiated with Native Americans. Furthermore, what I have suggested should be taken only as a starting point. Depending on available finance and technology, numerous, more imaginative ideas for presenting the art could be suggested. Indeed, if time, effort, and money were invested, the Mesa Verde petroglyph trail could become an archetypal metaphoric pilgrimage, from which all other constructions of public rock art sites in the United

the "all-powerful" spirit animal. These comments support information from other areas that strongly suggest that rock art was part of Native American shamanic practice.

This panel is the largest known rock art site in the park, and its placement at this point, being secluded from the cliff dwellings, suggests that the images had significance for the Anasazi beyond the everyday. Perhaps they used to come here on vision quests or similar rituals.

The use of Native American voices to read the comments partly offers an indigenous perspective on the art. Indeed, visitors would thus be led by the 'other' rather than approaching the art of the 'other' from a purely Eurocentric perspective.

The current path from the rock art panel makes its way up the canyonside and eventually comes out at the top of the mesa. From here the path leads back to the cliff dwellings and interpretative centre and other modern buildings. The circular route of this path conforms to the principles of metaphoric pilgrimage and requires little or no alteration. The only recommendation I make is that a sign be placed at the rock art panel telling visitors that they must proceed along the path and not return the same way they came, which often happens.

Along the top of the mesa, further stations could be placed where visitors could stop, enjoy the spectacular view and listen to Native Americans

images could be placed on this lectern.

Since this is one of the few sites for which ethnographic information is available, it should be exploited to the full. Four Hopi men visited the petroglyph panel in 1942 and gave interpretations of the images that should be part of the audio-cassette recording. Native American voices could dramatise the interpretations offered by the four Hopi men but also warn against unconditional acceptance of the interpretations: they are modern statements and may not have anything to do with the original intentions of the artists. The recording should introduce the comments with something along the following lines:

The following comments were made by four Hopi men in 1942. Although they were made in modern times, and consequently may not be what the original artists intended, the comments nevertheless provide interesting viewpoints.

This statement should be followed by the Hopi's comments spoken by Native Americans against a background of Native American music. A final statement should follow these comments and should be phrased along the following lines:

Although the Hopi men interpreted the panel predominantly along narrative lines, it is interesting that some of their comments refer to religious elements such as the *shipapu* and



Figure 45. The rock engraving panel at Mesa Verde is situated away from the main structures. The engravings comprise a number of images, such as hands, anthropomorphs and meandering lines.

Importantly, between the two stations, the recording should provide a background of Native American music for some of the distance walked. When the music has ended the audio-cassette recording should inform visitors that they should turn their cassette players off until they come to the next station. Native American music would add to the multi-sensory and multi-componential experience of visitors, but it could become distracting if left playing for too long. Besides, the walk is spectacular and the quiet countryside is in sharp contrast to the noise of the crowds at the cliff dwellings.

Although my aim is to situate the art within a cultural paradigm, the present trail guide that deals with the surrounding natural elements should be kept. If the rock art section of the pamphlet were removed, the art would no longer be explicitly situated within nature (Chapter Two). People interested in the fauna and flora could still pick up the pamphlet if they so desired. Nature would therefore become supplementary to the art and not rock art subordinate to nature.

Lectern

A single lectern should be placed in front of the engraved images (Fig. 45). It should be the only lectern on the trail. The copy of the panel that currently appears in the pamphlet with numbers marking the individual

path leads to a rock art panel that is some distance from the dwellings. Why did they come so far to engrave the images you will see?

The text here should play on the sense of mystery regarding the Anasazi in order to establish a quest in the visitors' minds; this quest is symbolically paralleled by the trail. By pointing out the comparatively remote location of the art, I hope to challenge, at the rock art panel itself, the visitors' probable preconceived ideas of the art as art-for-art sake or 'idle daubings'.

Station Two

The recording at this station should develop the theme of a quest for an answer to the mystery of the Anasazi and their rock art. I suggest something along the following lines:

The reason why the Anasazi engraved their images at the location towards which you are heading would be known if we understood more about the meaning of their art. While much research is needed, it appears that Anasazi rock art was a complex expression of beliefs about the supernatural world. As you will see, many engravings depict fantastic animals that, in all likelihood, existed in the spirit world. Whatever the answer, it appears certain that rock art sites had a deep and special significance for the Anasazi.

By suggesting that the rock art site is a special place visitors are being prepared to view the engraved images as something special and not just mundane drawings of aspects of nature.

has pointed out that pilgrimages themselves are open to contestation (Eade and Sallnow 1990). In this view, pilgrimages do not always contribute to social harmony and unity; sometimes they reproduce and even accentuate divisions and tensions between people and groups. Writers emphasizing the contestation of pilgrimage see themselves as taking a very different approach from that of the Turners, who emphasized the harmonious and unifying aspects of pilgrimage. They feel that the Turners, in their personal commitment to pilgrimages, overlooked its political divisiveness. The Turners, however, were well aware that pilgrimages could have divisive consequences. They pointed out, for example, that archaic pilgrimage to St. Patrick's purgatory has been "the focus of an acrimonious polemic between Irishman and Englishman, Protestant and Catholic" (Turner and Turner 1978:107).

Whether pilgrimages contribute to social harmony, social conflict or both is, of course, an empirical question. Certainly, different pilgrimages, widely separated in space and time, have contributed in different ways to the social milieu. The message of Eade and Sallnow's book, however, should be taken to heart, for social unity through pilgrimage is only an ideal; far more often than admitted, the reality is conflictual.

Because pilgrimage is open to contestation, metaphoric pilgrimage, as

I have, furthermore, tried to treat the public as heterogeneous and not as homogeneous. In South Africa the already diverse nature of the public's attitudes to rock art is being accentuated by political processes. The so-called 'Cape Coloured' people of the Western Cape, many of whom have ancestral links with the Khoisan, have begun to assert a new identity through San archaeology, history and rock art. Interestingly, the Western Cape was the only constituency to be won by the National Party - the former white controlled apartheid regime - in the landmark elections of 1994. To what extent the use of San rock art, archaeology and history by the 'Cape Coloured' community represents an attempt to take control of their own political future will become apparent over the next few years.

Even more interesting will be the reaction of the African National Congress, the ruling political party, to these attempts to claim the San past as, essentially, 'Cape Coloured'. Will the government seek to undermine the sectional interests of the 'Coloured' community by using San imagery for more national purposes and thereby consolidate what has already been done in this area (Chapter Three)? As I say, the answers to these questions will emerge over the next few years as South Africa and its diverse communities search for new identities in a post-apartheid era.

Importantly for a sensitive consideration of this question, recent literature

fashion places the designer in the position of moral arbiter between a contemporary audience and a distant and, for them, unrelated past. The audience of these exhibitions, in spite of being several generations removed from the historical period in question is made to feel connected to those distant commandos and consequently, for white viewers at least, is made to feel a sense of guilt. In this sort of exhibit, the designer becomes a self-righteous merchant peddling a moral lesson to the audience. Morality, like theory, becomes a device for consolidating power.

The problem with an overemphasis on theory and with the adoption of the 'high moral ground' in exhibitions is that they possibly alienate the very members of the public whose attitudes to the San we are trying to change. The essence of the problem, then, with some of these types of post-modern exhibitions is the lack of consideration they give to the public.

I have tried to avoid using such alienating and confrontational tactics in my suggestions for the presentation of public rock art sites. Rather, I have tried to take the public from 'where they are' and shift their perceptions of the art in ways that are more conducive to the reappropriation of 'other'. It is this reappropriation that allows visitors to construct new identities for themselves based on positive ideas about the San.

purely 'practical' stance. We do need to know, theoretically, how individual and group identities are created and transformed. We do need to know by what mechanisms such transformations take place. The essence of this thesis thus consists in a dialectic between theory and data rather than the vague 'balance' that is sometimes advocated. Theory and data work with and against one another. Theory is much more than the 'sauce of your choice'.

Above all, I have tried to avoid the super-subtlety that unbridled theoretical discourse can produce. Some post-modern museum exhibits, for example, are so convoluted and subtle that visitors who are unschooled in the subtleties of post-modernism turn away baffled. In these instances, theory is no more than a device for consolidating the power of the designer.

In addition to an emphasis on theory, certain post-modern exhibitions and publications have taken on strong moral stances. Dowson and Lewis-Williams (1993:58), for example, in an otherwise insightful article, argue that museum exhibits dealing with the San should not display "platitudinous effigies of a tranquil artist and 'his' family" but that they should rather display "the dead bodies of those Bushmen who, wounded by the commandos, crawled away to die". While one can understand Dowson and Lewis-Williams's frustration with earlier exhibitions on the San, this suggestion is highly problematic. Exhibiting the San in such an aggressive

Chapter 8

Public pasts:

Strategies of presentation

A complaint often voiced against post-processual archaeology is that it has surrendered to the hegemony of theory. It is relatively easy, so the objection goes, to write about discourse, representation, poetics, the death of the author, multiple histories, intertextuality and so forth. It is another matter altogether to allow these theoretical constructs to confront (or enter into a dialectical relationship with) data in all their complexity, and, moreover, to show that the results of the confrontation are noticeably different from the sort of results that would have been produced without the espoused theory. Is the perceived difference simply a matter of rhetoric or a politically correct injection of doubt and uncertainty? The test of the pudding is the taste, not its appearance.

I have therefore tried to avoid the much criticised contemporary emphasis on theory at the expense of application. I have dealt directly with the very real and intractable problems that rock art sites present to those who would prepare them in some way for public consumption. Yet, it should also be clear that I have tried to avoid the deception of a supposedly atheoretical,

Reincorporation

Because I imagine this site to remain largely unsupervised, I do not intend many facilities to be available in the reincorporation section of the visitor centre. Amenities, such as toilets, could be coin-operated and checked regularly by state-employed staff. No restaurants or souvenir stores need be available in the reincorporation section of the visitor centre. Instead, only literature in the form of pamphlets should be available, free of charge, for visitors to take home. In addition, I recommend placing two lecterns in this section with images and information pertaining to Native American rock art in general, such as regional differences and universal similarities.

Conclusion

If the guidelines of metaphoric pilgrimage are followed at Grimes Point, an inclusive past can be constructed. Grimes Point offers an ideal arena where Native Americans could express their sentiments about the Pony Express and American history in general. Certain lecterns could, for example, present texts by both Native Americans and Pony Express riders regarding specific issues, such as conflicts that occurred in the 1860s. For this reason, and as at Mesa Verde, I strongly urge that, before changes at Grimes Point are initiated, constructors should consult Native Americans.

Lectern Eight

This lectern should be placed some way from Lectern Seven. The following is a possible text:

Today, thanks to our knowledge of Native American beliefs, we know that the pictographs and petroglyphs of North America were an integral and significant part of the religious and spiritual lives of Native Americans. Rock art sites were sacred places.

The emphasis on the spiritual aspects of Native American lives, something of which many Americans are aware, is an attempt to generate a new respect for the art in the visitors' minds. In this way Native Americans are constructed positively rather than negatively. Instead of being based on negative associations, the visitors' identities are constructed by the reappropriation of the 'other' to themselves.

From Lectern Eight, visitors should be guided along the path to Lectern Nine, shortly before the path returns to the visitor centre. The following is a possible text:

If the Pony Express riders had not been in such a hurry to reach their destination and if they had taken their time to try to learn something of Native American customs and beliefs, so many lost lives might have been avoided.

of such 'pits' as well as other engravings that must have taken considerable time and effort to make. Certainly not something you would want to do in your 'idle' time!

Together, these three lecterns and the two interactive exhibits challenge the view that the art was the product of 'idle' pastimes or child-like art.

Lectern Seven

Lectern Seven should be placed at a point on the path some considerable distance away from Lecterns Four, Five and Six. I recommend the following as possible text:

One of reasons why there are so many misconceptions about Native American art is that it is often approached from a Westerner's viewpoint. Few people attempt to see whether they can do what Native Americans did and even fewer people bother to read about Native American beliefs and customs.

By this stage visitors should be questioning the 'cultural baggage' that they brought with them to the site. The visitors should be 'lost' as to what the art means - the accepted identities of the artists and concomitantly visitors' own identities are no longer certain. This preparation is vital for the lecterns following this one, where, in place of these old conceptions of the art and stereotypical identities, I hope to substitute new identities of 'self' based on positive conceptions of Native Americans.

Lecterns Four, Five and Six

These lecterns should be placed near a prominent boulder that is covered with numerous deeply engraved 'pits'. In addition, a replica of part of the engraved rock as well as replicas of archaeological tools thought to be used in making the engravings should be placed near these lecterns. Lectern Four could present the following text:

Before you is a replica of the nearby engraved rock. Please feel free to touch the replica and feel how deep some of the engraved marks are. But, please, never touch original rock art as the oils in your skin can damage both petroglyphs and pictographs. Early visitors, some of whom may have been part of the Pony Express often damaged rock art.

Lectern Five:

Some replicas of tools that are thought to have been used by Native Americans in carving these images may be found attached to this lectern. Please handle them but remember never to remove originals from where you find them. Archaeologists learn about past peoples from the context in which tools are found; removing them means that this context is lost.

Lectern Six:

Carving one of these 'pits' or 'grooves' is difficult work. The rock is exceptionally hard. Using tools such as those you have seen must have been difficult. At this site there are hundreds

Lectern Two

Even if they had stopped, the riders of the Pony Express would not have understood the mysterious symbols carved on these rocks.

Between the two lecterns, a map could show Grimes Point in relation to various features such as important archaeological sites and major urban centres. To make this map interactive, the names of the sites should not be placed next to the relevant markers on the map but should be listed on a key next to which there should be buttons, the pressing of which should light up the relevant point on the map. This sort of interactive map, if designed correctly, is a low budget, low maintenance item that turns the usually passive visitors into active agents.

Lectern Three

This lectern should be placed at a point close to the visitor centre before visitors reach the art and should be worded along the following lines:

At the time of the Pony Express little was known about American rock art. Even today it is commonly believed that Native American art is simple and has no serious meaning. At best it is believed that the art is an enigma - a mystery, the meaning of which has been lost in the past forever. These views are, however, misconceptions.

Separation

As at Spionkop and Main Caves, a visitor centre should be constructed at Grimes Point in order to separate and reincorporate visitors. However, the remoteness of this site along Highway 50 (signboards on the side of the road refer to it as "The Loneliest Highway in America") suggest that this will not be a high-volume site in terms of visitors; I therefore do not recommend elaborate structures. As far as possible, the facilities at Grimes Point should require little maintenance and supervision. The visitor centre should therefore be smaller than those at Spionkop and Main Caves but larger than the transition structures at Mesa Verde. Like all visitor centres though, Grimes Point should have a separate entrance and exit to provide visitors with a sense of progress. No orientational video nor audio-cassette recording should be on offer, however, as these require maintenance and supervision. I imagine all the interpretative material at this site to be in the form of lecterns running in a clearly numbered sequence. I suggest placing two lecterns in the entrance section of the visitor centre with the following as possible text for each one:

Lectern One

The highway you have just left follows the route of the Pony Express (1860-1861). It is tempting to wonder if, in their haste to deliver the mail, the riders of the Pony Express ever stopped here or even noticed the petroglyphs at this site.

In the short time that it lasted, from April 1860 to the end of 1861, the riders of the Pony Express achieved fame for feats of superb riding through arduous and dangerous conditions. Throughout the existence of the Pony Express, trouble flared up frequently between Native Americans and both riders and pony stations. Eventually, the establishment at the end of 1861 of the transcontinental telegraph led to the demise of the Pony Express. But it had ridden its way into American folklore.

The current display at Grimes Point does not mention the Pony Express, but other markers along Highway 50 indicate important points dating to this period. Grimes Point offers two possibilities for the presentation of an inclusive past. First, it could be included in a metaphoric pilgrimage undertaken by vehicle along Highway 50. The infrastructure is already in place for such a metaphoric pilgrimage. A number of tourist pamphlets are available at various centres. They contain maps and information regarding points of historical interest along the highway. It remains only to work out an order in which to visit sites and what is to be represented and presented at particular sites. Secondly, Grimes Point could be reconstructed so that an inclusive past that takes into consideration both the Pony Express and the Native American petroglyphs is presented. I deal only with the second possibility.

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be successful only if they begin from the understanding that the past is inevitably caught up in the construction and contestation of present identities. Whether one takes the view that identity-formation is a process of Hegelian objectification, as I do in this thesis, or whether one has another understanding of identity, beginning from this premise opens innumerable possibilities for public presentation.

identities. The souvenirs should in no way trivialise the art or the makers of the art. Rather, as does the entire experience of metaphoric pilgrimage, they should contribute to the construction of a positive 'other'.

If this thesis has contributed anything to our understanding of the presentation of public rock art sites, I hope it is the refusal to accept anything in these presentations as straightforward and purely practical. Even in the consumption of souvenirs, deep processes of identity-formation take place. It is the ability of the theoretical model of metaphoric pilgrimage to take these abstract processes into account and to turn them into practically implementable suggestions that makes it a powerful strategy with which to approach the reconstruction of sites. This strategy, moreover, has potential for development in countries, such as the United States of America, where dominant perceptions of the rock art and its makers follow similar pejorative lines to those in South Africa.

Because it is a strategy, however, metaphoric pilgrimage is not the only way of presenting sites to the public. Alternative strategies to presenting rock art, as well as other archaeological sites, need to be developed. The development of such strategies is important because it affords archaeologists a way of bridging the dichotomy between themselves and the public that I discussed in the opening pages of the thesis. New strategies will, however,

it as. Rather, consumption is

an element in a cultural process that remains dialectical, always a moment of becoming within contradiction. In practice this may often take the form of an attempt to ameliorate capitalism's oppressive consequences in everyday life, but this may include strategies which embrace as well as refuse the new possibilities of commodities. The point was not that this is some new domain of choice, but in a sense the contrary - that increasingly people have no choice but to focus upon consumption as the only remaining domain in which there are possibilities of sublation (Miller 1994:221).

Sublation, in this sense, refers to the displacement of alienation - the retrieval of part of what was taken away. Consumption, as the reappropriation of part of the alienated self, points to the "struggles of peoples to locate identity out of the same materials in which their identity must inevitably be lost" (*ibid.*:222).

The consumption of books, posters, coffee mugs and other material memories at public rock art sites thus offers a final way for visitors to reappropriate the 'other'. It is the purchasing of these, seemingly meaningless objects, that plays a vital role in the construction of visitors' identities. The 'meaningless' is in fact invested with meaning and experiences. Because souvenirs are not meaningless trivialities, more thought should be given to what is on sale at public rock art sites so that these material memories may have the fullest possible impact on visitors'

hoped, will be encountered in the future.

Like pilgrims, visitors to public rock arts sites wish to take back tokens in the form of T-shirts, coffee mugs, books, pamphlets, photographs and so forth as evidence that they were at the site. These objects act as material memories for those who have been and as 'imaginative links' for those who have not been but who might happen to see the souvenirs. Souvenirs are symbols of identity, not mere trinkets.

Perhaps more important than the role souvenirs play in aiding memory is their role in consumption. Daniel Miller's ideas on consumption are of particular relevance here. Miller, whose reading of Hegel I use in my discussion of identity-formation, draws on the work of theorists such as Hegel, Marx, Munn and Simmel to develop a theory of consumption. He takes Marx's idea of alienation - in a capitalist economy the producer of an object does not have control of the product of his or her labour - which is, in turn, based on Hegel's ideas of objectification, and argues that modern consumption offers a way of reappropriating the alienated self: "This appropriation consists of the transmutation of goods, through consumption activities, into potentially inalienable culture" (Miller 1994:215).

Consumption, for Miller, is not the trivial act that many post-modernists see

those of the San by physically moving through a process of Hegelian objectification as characterised by the pilgrimage process. It is this theme of reappropriation that runs through the entire suggested structure for public rock art sites.

An important component of this reappropriation is the exit section of the visitor centre. I have not paid much attention to the exit section in the last three chapters because most people probably believe that coffee and souvenir shops are inevitable at public institutions. Some people might find the suggestion that sites should have such shops trivial. Some may even find it offensive because they believe that shops detract from the more 'spiritual' experience of viewing the art.

The importance of shops at public sites cannot, however, be overemphasized because the sale of souvenirs is in fact a powerful component of pilgrimage. Commenting on 'real' pilgrimage Coleman and Elsner (1995:6) point out that returning

pilgrims frequently bring back a token of the place, both as proof that the journey has been completed and as a physical manifestation of the charisma of a sacred centre...One important aspect of the objects of pilgrimage - relics, talismans and amulets - is that they help to reconstruct the sacred journey in the imagination. For the actual pilgrim this is an act of memory; for the aspiring pilgrim such objects provide an imaginative link with a sacred goal which, it is

implemented at public rock art sites, might also be open to conflict that could divide rather than unify South Africans. Indeed, the danger of divisiveness is real, given the interest in the San by the various, even opposed, groups that I described earlier. These group interests lie behind some of the television programmes to which I have referred. I have therefore been careful not to design public rock art sites so that they exploit conflict. Rather, I have designed them explicitly so that they will contribute to a sense of unity. Should rock art become part of the already vast repertoire of sectarian and divisive symbols in South Africa, it would be a major tragedy, for few symbols hold the potential that the art does to be a focus of unificatory ideals. If it were to turn out that the implementation of the theoretical model of metaphoric pilgrimage at public rock art sites contributed, even in some slight way, to conflict, steps would have to be taken to rectify this position at once. In any event, all displays and exhibitions are designed for a particular time and place and should therefore be continually reviewed and revised.

The avoidance of both conflict and the alienation of visitors should be seen as two central aims of metaphoric pilgrimage. The design of a public rock art site according to the model should, in fact, attempt the opposite of alienation: it should attempt to allow visitors to reappropriate the 'other'. They should be guided so that they may reconstruct their identities and

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