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# ELIZABETH GOODALL: A QUIET CONTRIBUTION TO ROCK ART RESEARCH IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Laura de Harde

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# ELIZABETH GOODALL: A QUIET CONTRIBUTION TO ROCK ART RESEARCH IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

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Laura de Harde
0502544V

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Art History)

Johannesburg, 2019

Supervisor: Dr Justine Wintjes

Co-supervisor: Dr Jill Weintroub

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# abstract

This thesis examines the rock art research of Elisabeth Mannsfeld/Elizabeth Goodall, paying particular attention to the hand-painted reproductions she produced as a member of the ninth Frobenius expedition to southern Africa in 1928 to 1930, and the work she produced thereafter while working at the Queen Victoria Museum (now Zimbabwe Museum of Human Sciences [ZMHS]) until her death in 1971. The German-born Goodall (née Mannsfeld) arrived in southern Africa as a member of the German-Afrika Expedition led by the ethnographer and explorer, Leo Viktor Frobenius. A trained artist, Goodall (working under her maiden name Mannsfeld) was primarily employed to record the hundreds of rock paintings that she and the other members of the Frobenius team encountered scattered across the southern African landscape. During these formative years, she worked closely under Frobenius's tutelage; and formed part of a team of artists and scientists working in collaboration to forge an understanding of the painted images they explored.

In 1931, roughly a year after the Frobenius Expedition ended, Goodall relocated to Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia (now Harare, Zimbabwe) where she began working as an independent researcher. Goodall's career is one intertwined with her role at the Queen Victoria Museum where she worked right up until the day before her death. Today Goodall is survived by a plethora of hand-painted rock art recordings and fragmentary archival materials housed in a storeroom in the ZMHS.

During a site visit to the museum in 2016, I discovered that Goodall's archive had been somewhat neglected, leaving a largely untapped resource of visual information pertaining to southern African rock art. Moreover, unlike some of her contemporaries working on rock art in the early part of the twentieth century, Goodall's research has received little engagement from academics in the intervening nearly five decades since her death.

Using the rock art site, Aberdeen Farm, Harrismith as a first case study, I explore how Goodall's legacy has been constructed through a relatively recent (and still current) re-engagement with the recording techniques she employed in 1929.

Goodall's career has been interesting to compare with the rock-art-related research of acclaimed South African artist Walter Battiss, with whom Goodall corresponded on rock-art-related matters and whose career she appears to have followed. Both researchers worked intensively on rock art and produced many pictures inspired by the art (although in different ways and with different outcomes) that have been preserved, at least in part, in institutional archives.

During my site visit to the ZMHS, I collected, photographed and compiled a digital archive that I have used to inform my study. I have therefore conducted two types of fieldwork in my exploration of Goodall's copies: one that actively follows her footsteps in the landscape, and another practised 'virtually', from behind my laptop in Johannesburg. In Part Two, I draw on this fieldwork to provide a deeper exploration of Goodall's copying practice in relation to two further case studies, Makumbe Cave and Diana's Vow.

# keywords

Elisabeth Mannsfeld, Elizabeth Goodall, Leo Frobenius, Walter Battiss, sleepy archive, Zimbabwe Museum of Human Sciences, Queen Victoria Museum, rock art recordings, hand-painted copies, Farm Aberdeen, Free State, Harrismith Programme, South Africa, Nyambavu, Makumbe Cave, Diana's Vow, Ruchera, Mashonaland East Province, Manicaland Province, Southern Rhodesia, Zimbabwe.

# declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Art History) in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university.



Laura de Harde
19th day of December 2019.

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# PART ONE


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INDIEN-REISE I

# Introduction

> Next morning, whilst we were packing for our start from 'Mtoko's [Mutoko District, Mashonaland East, Zimbabwe], I was informed of the existence of some Bushman drawings under an overhanging rock about half a mile from our camp. I hurried thither and took some hasty sketches of them. The rock is literally covered with these drawings in colours of red, yellow, and black, which had evidently eaten into the granite, so that the figures are preserved to us. They represent all sorts of wild animals such as elephants, kudus, and [*cynocephalous*] apes; these are wonderfully well executed; the figures of warriors with poised spears and quivers of arrows are, however, grotesque. The most curious fact about them is finding these drawings so far north, and a close examination of this district will probably bring to light many more. The people who made these drawings inhabited all this district and down into Manicaland. Specimens, too, are found near Fort Salisbury [Harare]; oddly enough, during our wanderings near [Great] Zimbabwe and the Sabi [river], we never saw any or heard of their existence.

These words, written in 1891 by James Theodore Bent (1893: 333 - 334), mark the moment when Zimbabwean rock art enters the documentary realm for the first time. As the British explorer and archaeologist Bent (b. 1852 – d. 1897) illustrates, the paintings and engravings scattered on rock formations across the landscape compelled many European settlers and explorers who happened upon them to record them in some way, often descriptively in text or through a visual engagement (Wintjes 2016). As has been documented in both scholarly literature and popular media, the figurative and naturalistic expressions of these marks, especially those of the finer painted variety, have for centuries held the attention of European explorers and researchers in the region (Kirby 1942; Rudner & Rudner 1970: 245; Wilcox 1963: 1; Wintjes 2012: 23 – 41). Questions regarding the identity of the artists, the timeframe in which the art would have been produced and the meanings behind the images as well as the aesthetic appeal of the art, have inspired, and continue to inspire, many visitors to make the journey into the landscape. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, researchers, explorers, travellers and amateurs began engaging the art with the conviction of trying to answer some of these questions (Blundell et al. 2010; Mguni 2014; 2015; Mitchell & Smith 2009; Solomon 2006: 78). Across southern Africa, tens of thousands of painted panels and engravings have been documented and '[t]he paintings are now a cherished, if minor, part of contemporary culture' (Solomon 2006: 77). Scholars and interested people from around the world embark on journeys into the landscape, trekking to what can often be remote locales, in order to visit these 'pictures in place' (Chippendale & Nash 2004: 11).

Fig. 0.1 (opposite): A photograph taken in August 2014, of a cabinet in one of the Frobenius Institute's storerooms. The cabinet contains the photographic albums collated from the southern African expedition (2014 digital colour photograph by L. de Harde).

Since first experiencing the paintings in the landscape, recorders have responded (Skotnes 2008 & 2010; Wintjes 2012 & 2016) to the visuality of the primary rock art panels in various creative ways in order to capture the pictorial attributes of the markings in the landscape, with a view to creating copies that become movable objects (Wintjes 2016). The creative experimentations of early researchers have resulted in an array of secondary images ranging from watercolour copies on large canvases, to line tracings made on sheets of cellophane and pencil sketches in field notebooks. Rock art recording has sometimes been carried out by trained artists equipped with the skills required for picture making and processes of mimesis. Furthermore, artist-painters had a particular affinity with the medium of paint, equipping them with insights into ways to translate the images from rock surface to canvas or paper copy. However, even with art training, the translation and imitation of original to copy is not straightforward and required what Pippa Skotnes refers to as 'creative exploration' (1994: 319).

The documents resulting from the endeavours of these recorders sometimes survived their makers and developed lives of their own, often ending up in archives. One such archive, collected by a team of researchers working under the auspices of the German researcher and explorer Leo Viktor Frobenius, became the archival focus of Justine Wintjes's project *The Frobenius Archive in the southern African landscape*.

Wintjes encountered the rich collection of unpublished visual and documentary records held by the Frobenius Institute while conducting research for her doctoral thesis *Archaeology and visuality, imaging as recording: a pictorial genealogy of rock painting research in the Maloti-Drakensberg through two case studies* (2012). Some of these materials pay specific attention to visually recording the travels and observations in the field made by the ninth Frobenius Afrika Expedition to southern Africa during 1928 and 1930. Wintjes observed that the surplus of material generated from expeditions, particularly expeditions including visits to rock art sites carried out over many months as is the case with the Frobenius Expedition, is immense and

> while relatively little recorded information filters through into the published realm, unpublished archival materials can preserve significant information about sites that may have deteriorated, or even vanished completely, since the time of recording. The process of returning to these materials, and returning these materials to the sites that inspired them, can enable a contextualization and revalorization of the recordings, as well as the recovery and restoration of aspects of the original art (Wintjes 2013: 167).

The Frobenius archive is unique in the scale of the expedition's emphasis on pictorial documentation. It is this reliance on the visual image as a means of capturing, recording, documenting and translating the original rock art panel that continued to stimulate Wintjes's interest and influenced her decision to make it the archival focus for the project.

The archive itself is the 'site' of investigation in the first instance – rather than the sites, painted panels or materials out in the landscape. For this reason, the archive plays an active and central role in framing this research. The content of the Frobenius archive has not only ended up directly serving Frobenius's theoretical and interpretive ambitions, but also represents (by default, possibly by accident) an accumulation of a range of direct observations and primary data that can be used for other purposes (Wintjes pers. comm. 2017). In April 2014, I was invited to participate in the project and shortly thereafter began working as its doctoral candidate. The various student projects conceptualised under the direction of Wintjes's primary initiative each take an aspect of the materials stored at the Frobenius Institute in Frankfurt am Main as their starting point (Fig. 0.1) (Glover in prep. 2019; Massie 2017; Thompson 2014; Williams 2014 & 2015).

The requirements of the student projects as envisioned by Wintjes were clear: to work from within the Frobenius archive. Each postgraduate sub-project that has derived from this starting point has been directed by the project-linked students, all working in reflective mode, and considering the archive as a space of active engagement, where work done in the present can play an active role in reconfiguring and reinterpreting the materials accumulated, collected and preserved in the past to serve what was often, a different set of research objectives. Such materials accumulated under the leadership of Frobenius, may, for some, be contaminated by Frobenius's problematic interpretation of history and by the rapacious nature of the documentation of the African 'other' by Europeans in that period. J. M. Ita cautions:

> Of course, the historian will need to examine Frobenius's statements critically in order to assess their reliability, but only in the same sense as he would have to assess the reliability of any other historical document, bearing in mind the particular bias of the writer (1972: 674).

But to focus solely on Frobenius as the only voice in the archive is to negate the autonomy of the ethnographers, artists and researchers he employed to assist him in his endeavours, and who often worked independently, as well as aspects of the creative work of African artists captured in the recordings.

The rock art collection held within the Frobenius Institute is a unique body of work that can be productively examined in its own right as a valuable archive, as well as being a set of materials driven by Frobenius's theories and used to support them. As this research will show, some of these documents have developed lives of their own with a substantial value and an existence beyond Frobenius's interpretations. Indeed, archives are collections of data that can be reorganised in many different ways (Hamilton et al. 2002). One way is the approach taken by the

students working from within 'The Frobenius Archive in the southern African landscape', out of which I have developed this research.

## The Frobenius archive

The archive began as the private *Afrika-Archiv* (Africa Archive) of the German researcher and explorer Leo Viktor Frobenius (b. 1873 - d. 1938). Today the archive is joined to the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University and is housed on the university grounds in Frankfurt am Main. On a research trip to the institute in 2014, I was able to explore parts of the southern African portion of the archive comprising a largely untapped resource of hand-written documents, photographs, films, sketches and rock art recordings. The location of the archive and the use of German as the primary language have contributed to the Frobenius archive being somewhat inaccessible to a South African audience. In more recent years Frobenius and his team have generated considerably more interest in southern Africa (Keene 2011; Skotnes et al. 2010; Wintjes 2012 & 2013).




Fig. 0.2: The Frobenius Institute is housed within the Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität where this photograph was taken when I visited the archives at the beginning of my project (2014 digital colour photograph by L. de Harde).

Between 1904 and 1935 Frobenius orchestrated 12 ambitious expeditions across the African continent. It was during the second of these expeditions, which took place between 1907 and 1909 in West Sudan (Mali, Burkina Faso, Togo), that Frobenius first became interested in rock art (Keene 2010: 37). He encountered the art again during two later expeditions: the sixth (from 1912 to 1914) to the Saharan Atlas (Algeria) and the eighth (in 1926) focusing on the Nubian Desert (Sudan) (Frobenius-institut.de 2018). Frobenius's experience of the rock paintings *in situ*, and the interest that southern African rock art was starting to attract globally at the time, motivated him to embark on a longer expedition to southern Africa between 1928 and 1930). During that time, Frobenius and a team of eight researchers traversed the southern African landscape with the aim of studying and recording rock art images (Keene 2010 & 2011; Wintjes 2012, 2013, 2014 & 2017).

Together with documenting rock art paintings and other archaeological materials, the ninth Frobenius Expedition collected contemporary anthropological and ethnographic information about some of the African people they met during their travels. The team visited a range of archaeological sites across what are now commonly referred to as the Iron Age and Later Stone Age periods, and maintaining an important focus on rock art. During this time, the team recorded considerably more rock art in Southern Rhodesia than in any other country, visiting more than 80 locales (Frobenius & Mannsfeld 1930). The team also recorded rock art in South Africa and Basutoland (now Lesotho). This southern African expedition produced 1193 copies out of the total of about 8500 copies, which are housed at the Frobenius Institute today (Schöler 2011: 105).

Frobenius frequently engaged the services of artists to assist him in his documentary endeavours, a point that I explore, in detail, in Chapter One. The body of recordings produced by the expedition contains valuable empirical information about sites across six countries (today Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, Zambia), many of which have undergone significant change in the intervening 90 years since the expedition. The work conducted by the expedition remains the most 'abundant single catchment of painted copies of rock art in this region' (Wintjes & De Harde in review: 6). Zimbabwean archaeologist and art historian Peter Garlake believed the copies made by the expedition members to be 'accurate, painstaking and still unsurpassed in scale as well as skill' (1993: 9).

In 2014, I visited the Frobenius Institute in Germany where senior researcher and curator of the ethnographic collection Richard Kuba and Peter Steigerwald, the head of the photographic archive, facilitated my access to the archive. At the time of my visit, some of the researchers at the Frobenius Institute were developing projects gathered together under the title *Appropriation of*

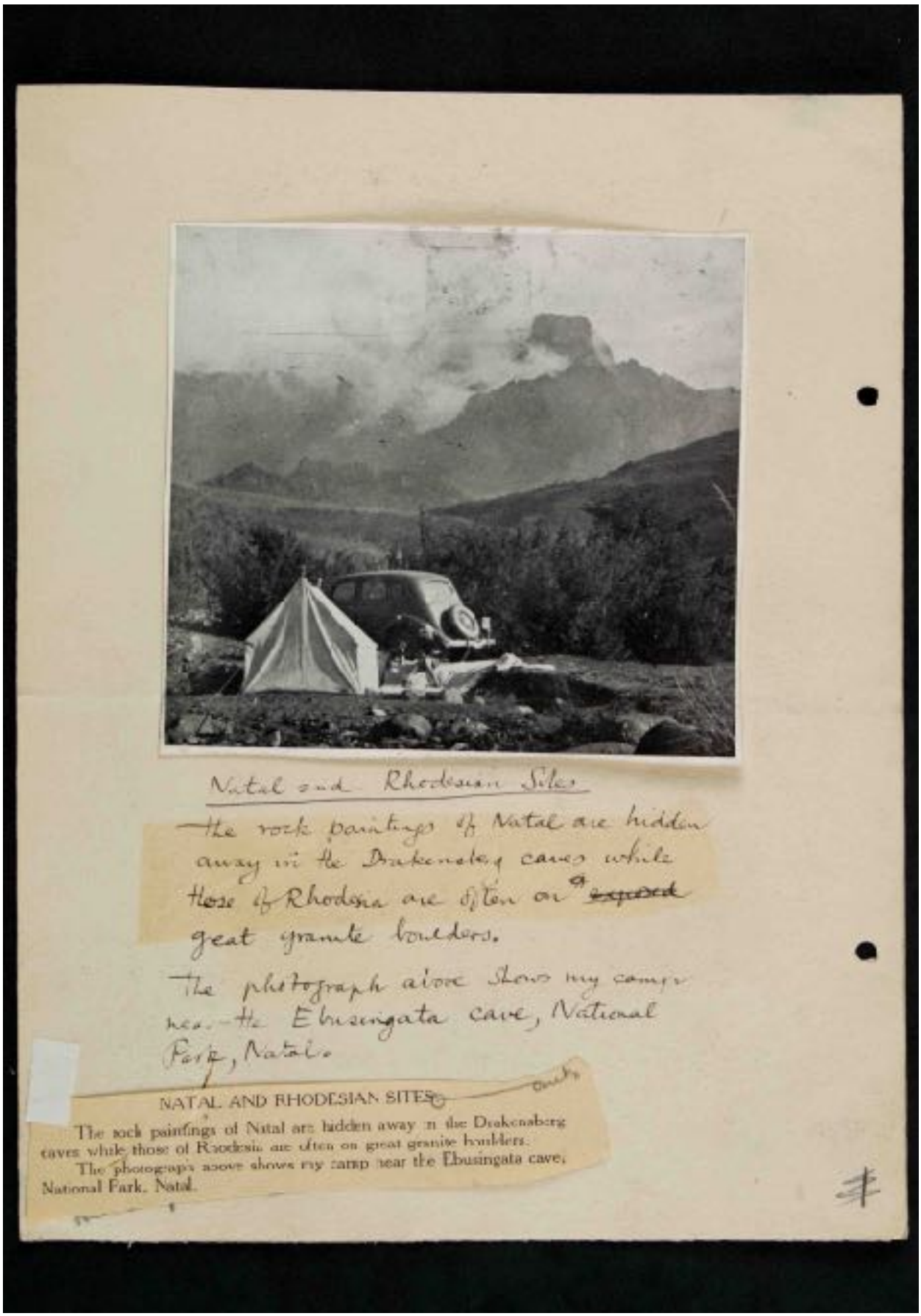



Fig. 0.3: A book plate for *Artists of the Rocks* (1948:184) with a photograph of W. Battiss's camp when he visited the National Park, Natal (now called Royal Natal National Park, KwaZulu-Natal) near 'Ebusingata cave' (now known as eBusingatha) (date unrecorded, book plate catalogue, photographed by E. Wettengel), Walter Battiss Archive © Rock Art Research Institute, Johannesburg.

*Rock Art by 20th-Century Modern Art* (2014) and submitted to the German Research Foundation in 2012. Inspired by my visit to the archive and my conversations with Kuba, I began to think about a project in which I envisioned revisiting the work of the Frobenius Expedition through questions of creative influence in the realm of contemporary artistic practice in South Africa, including an examination of relationships between artists and archaeologists in forging interpretations of rock art (Skotnes 1994; Smith 1989; Snow 1959).

The acclaimed South African artist Walter Battiss, renowned for his engagement with southern African rock art, emerged as a promising case study, seeing also as Battiss's work and archive were attracting renewed attention at the time. On 16 July 2014 Bank of America Merrill Lynch announced that the Rock Art Research Institute (RARI) at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) would receive funding to restore a collection of rock art related work produced by Battiss (Mdluli 2014; Wits University Press Release 2014). The collection of materials numbered about 1500 documents consisting of varying forms of tracings, reproductions of tracings, sketches, watercolours, photographs, notebooks and individual letters, notes and pamphlets. The materials were donated to the Rock Art Research Institute (RARI) at Wits by Battiss's son, Giles. The Walter Battiss Collection comprises primarily the results of the rock-art-related scholarship Battiss was conducting during the early part of his career in the 1930s and 1940s. The collected notebooks follow chronologically one after another, spanning the early part of his career and plotting a timeline of field trips, notes taken, and sites visited.

In addition, Battiss's rock art recordings demonstrate a range of creative engagements with the art he viewed and subsequently studied, including watercolour copies on paper, tracings painted onto cellophane sheets of varying sizes, sketches and rubbings made directly off the rock surface. The fragmentary materials are in many instances extremely fragile and therefore necessitate specialist handling, making their study extremely challenging. The grant made to RARI 'enable[d] the appointment of expert paper conservators to work on cleaning, sorting and restoring the collection' (Wits University Press Release 2014). The intention was to conserve the materials for future study, while simultaneously making them 'available to researchers so as to better understand [Battiss's] fascination with the lives of the San/Bushmen and the manner in which their art influenced his own practice as an artist' (Sack pers. comm. in Wits University Press Release 2014). The efforts of conservators and staff members alike would culminate in an exhibition that took place towards the end of 2016, thereby partially fulfilling one of the objectives by making part of the archive accessible to a wider audience.

In addition to the interest in Battiss's rock art related work, his artistic practice was provoking renewed attention at the time, which would lead to an exhibition at the Wits Art Museum

(WAM) in 2016. Collector and philanthropist Jack Ginsberg, with curator Warren Siebrits, produced an exhibition consisting of over 700 artworks by Battiss from Ginsberg's private collection. The exhibition, *I invented myself: The Jack Ginsberg collection*, was accompanied by a publication with the same name (Siebrits et al. 2016).

This renewed interest in Battiss coincided with the completion of my proposal. My engagement with materials in the Battiss collection revealed that his rock art related work seemed to intersect at particular sites with the activities of the Frobenius Expedition.I was able to explore some of these connections during a field trip in October 2014 to the Royal Natal National Park (RNNP) (Carruthers 2013) where I joined Wintjes to trace the steps of the Frobenius Expedition's visit to the area some eight decades earlier (Fig. 0.4 & Fig. 0.5). Documents in the Walter Battiss Collection as well as a photograph published in Battiss's book *The Artists of the Rocks* (1948) confirm that Battiss visited the RNNP (Fig. 0.3) some years after the Frobenius Expedition, where he too, conducted research into rock art in the area (Battiss 1948; Van Riet Lowe 1949; Wintjes 2012 & 2013). In the weeks that followed my visit to RNNP, I searched the archived materials for further points of contact



Fig. 0.4: A large component of my research was participating in fieldwork. I took this photograph of Justine Wintjes while we were following in the Frobenius Expeditions footsteps at the RNNP (2014 digital colour photograph by L. de Harde).



Fig. 0.5: Comparing rock art copies saved on a cellular telephone with original paintings *in situ*. This photograph speaks to the enormity of possible translations that may derive from the original (2015 digital colour photograph by L. de Harde).

between the efforts of Battiss and the expedition.

In 2015, History of Art student Ivonne Marais was an intern at RARI where her position gave her preferential access to the sensitive materials. At the time, Marais was conducting research for her honours research report titled *'What they have so freely given I take': A study on the relationship between Walter Battiss and San rock art* (2015). Marais's research revealed a copy that Battiss had made of the Zimbabwean rock art panel, Diana's Vow. Battiss's tracing of Diana's Vow was produced using pencil on an A3 sheet of tracing paper (Fig. 0.6). The scale of the tracing and the materials that Battiss used made this particular copy stand out among the archival materials, many of which were reproductions made by painting on cellophane. These tracings on cellophane are highly fragile and the images painted on the shiny surface are not always immediately readable and often require a viewing surface to be placed underneath. The scale of the tracing prompted Marais to suspect that Battiss's reproduction was produced by tracing from another artist's copy, rather than by copying the image directly off the rock surface itself, though she does not elaborate on why she believed this to be the case. This assumption led



Fig. 0.6: A tracing made by W. Battiss from the rock paintings at Diana's Vow, Rusape, Zimbabwe. (date unrecorded, pencil on tracing paper, Photographed by E. Wettengel, tracing Catalogue No. 671), Walter Battiss Archive © Rock Art Research Institute, Johannesburg.



Fig. 0.7: *Main monument B; Entire scene. Lying dead king and accompanying figures. Below large composition with many humans, animals, baskets and other objects in obvious relation to the upper part of the picture* by J. Lutz c. 1928 (watercolour on paper, 68 x 98cm, FBA-C 01416), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.

me to investigate who authored the primary copy that Battiss may have relied on to reproduce his version of the panel.

It was at this point that I unearthed a copy in the Frobenius Institutes online image database of the same panel – produced some years prior to Battiss's rendering – made by Joachim Lutz of the Frobenius Expedition (Fig. 0.7) (Bildarchiv.frobenius-katalog.de 2019).

The discovery of this point of intersection between Battiss and the Frobenius Expedition happened to coincide with the weeks leading up to my participation in a field trip to Great

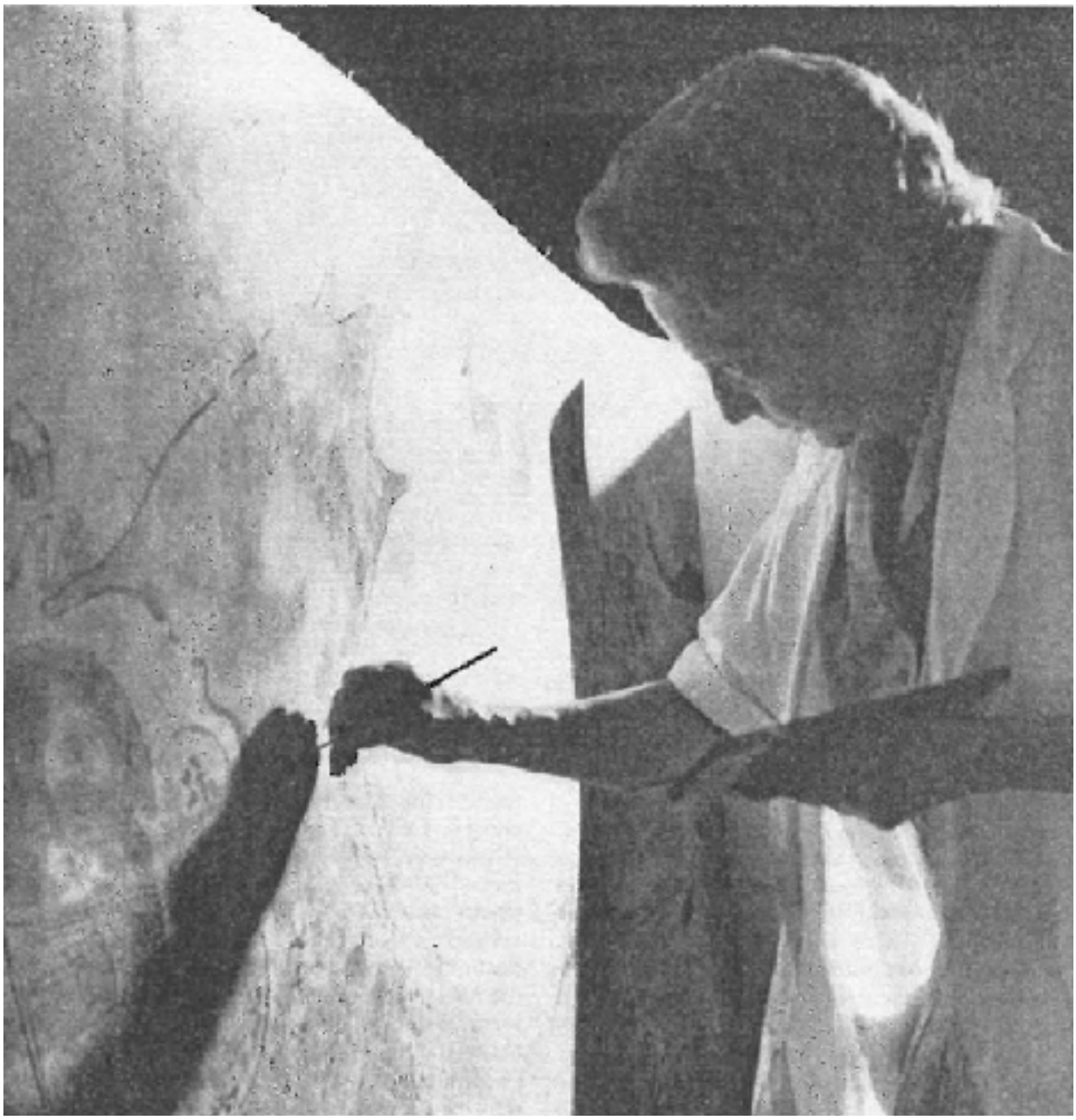


Fig. 0.8: Elizabeth Goodall carefully painting one of her rock art copies by hand. I managed to visually match the copy she is seen working on here to a reproduction of a similar (if not the same) scene located at Robert McIlwaine National Park, Zimbabwe, and illustrated in 'Rock Paintings of Mashonaland' (1959: 17 [Plate 8]), Photographer unrecorded: Date unrecorded (Raath 1971: 5).

Zimbabwe in 2015. The timing was significant in that our presence in Zimbabwe inspired a small group of us to embark on a day trip to visit Diana's Vow (via the Mutare Museum).

During the field trip to Great Zimbabwe we engaged in a concrete task, assisting Wintjes in her repeat photography project, which helped to address different research questions across the different student projects. We extended the exercise to include re-staging one of the photographs that the Frobenius Expedition took at Diana's Vow.

Following the site visit, Diana's Vow became the point of interest that drove my project. On my return to Johannesburg, I began compiling a kind of 'site biography' to trace the visual history of Diana's Vow, beginning with the moment the site enters the documentary realm through the Frobenius Expedition's engagement with the paintings. A version of this primary research forms the entry point for Chapter Five. In my attempts to uncover the earliest archival trace of the site, I unearthed a sliver of information in the form of a comment made by Zimbabwean archaeologist Cran Cooke in 1979, regarding the authorship of the secondary recording. Cooke believed

> Miss Man[n]sfeld (Mrs. E. Goodall), an artist with the Frobenius Expedition of 1928 […] prepared the first known copy of the frieze. It has since been described and illustrated by her […] (1979: 115).

Prompted by Cooke's statement I followed the archival trail and discovered that following her time on the expedition, Mannsfeld relocated to Southern Rhodesia where she committed her life to researching and copying the rock art in the area. Mannsfeld like Battiss was also a trained artist and, like Battiss she used her technical and visual skills as a means to study and copy the rock art she visited. This discovery recommended Mannsfeld to me as an appropriate case study. Yet while both artists engaged broadly in what Skotnes refers to as 'creative exploration' (1994: 319) they did so in remarkably different ways, a point I return to and explore throughout my thesis.

## Elisabeth Mannsfeld/Elizabeth Goodall

Elisabeth Amanda Margarethe Mannsfeld, later known as Elizabeth Goodall[1] (b. 1891 – d. 1971), came to southern Africa for the first time in 1928 as one of the artists employed by Frobenius. Prior to meeting Frobenius, Mannsfeld had trained as an artist. In 1931, about a year

1 In addition to her last name changing after she married Leslie Goodall, it appears her first name was 'anglicised' to become Elizabeth (with a z).

after the end of the expedition, Mannsfeld returned to Southern Rhodesia[2] where she pursued a life committed to the study of southern African rock art (Fig. 0.8). For more than four decades, she worked in Southern Rhodesia (later Rhodesia) under her married name, Goodall.

To my knowledge, little biographical information has been recorded about Goodall, resulting in some speculation and vagueness in relation to the events in her life, the details of her career and the interests, influences and motivations that inspired her devotion to the study and recording of rock art. Wintjes noticed a similar lacuna in the recorded history of rock art research in the course of research on the Frobenius Expedition and its members. She notes:

> The fact that Elisabeth Mannsfeld and Elizabeth Goodall were the same person is well known (e.g. Frobenius 1931a: 36, Pager 1962: 45, Jonathan Waters pers. comm. 2010) but the links between her German heritage and role in the development of rock art research in Zimbabwe have not to my knowledge been examined (2013: 202).

Presently, only one relatively brief publication, focusing (almost) exclusively on the life and work of Elizabeth Goodall[3], has been compiled. It took the shape of a commemorative issue of *Occasional papers of the National Museums of Rhodesia,* and was published shortly after her death in December 1971. The issue comprises two parts that focus on Goodall: Michael Raath wrote 'An appreciation of her life and work' and Cooke examines her role as a rock art researcher in 'The Recording of Rock Art by Mrs. E. Goodall', while a third contribution, 'A guide to the Iron Age of Mashonaland', though not about Goodall, was written by Thomas Huffman. All three writers were colleagues of Goodall in various capacities at the Queen Victoria Memorial Museum (QVM), now the Zimbabwe Museum of Human Sciences (ZMHS), where they worked at overlapping time periods. In addition to the memorial paper, Garlake mentions Goodall in his overview, 'The first eighty years of rock art studies 1890 - 1970', of the formation of rock art studies in the then Rhodesia, published in *Heritage of Zimbabw*e in 1993 (re published in Pwiti in 1997: 33 - 53).

Raath described Goodall as a 'scientist' who belonged to numerous societies in her field of interest (1971: 6). In 1970 Goodall was recognised as an Honorary Life Member of the Rhodesian Scientific Association, achieving an unbroken membership spanning over 30 years (Raath 1971: 6). Cooke also noted the 'scientific papers' (1971: 8) Goodall wrote that appeared on the pages of 'journals of learned societies' (1971: 8). In addition to the rock art related publications that Goodall produced (1946a, 1946b, 1947, 1949, 1957a, 1957b, 1959, 1962b,

2 The naming of this country has a complex history, it was established as the Colony of Southern Rhodesia in 1923. In 1965 the name changed to Rhodesia and then the Republic of Zimbabwe in 1980.

3 In my discussion of Elizabeth Mannsfeld/Goodall, I oscillate between using her maiden and married names depending on the name she would have used at the time in question.

1962c, 1962d, 1970), she also researched and wrote on various other topics that interested her, for example; 'Iron smelting and smithing in Africa' (1944) and her investigation into 'A specific and early pottery tradition of northern Mashonaland' (1960) among others (1946c, 1962a, 1965). However, as Wintjes and I note (in review: 7), when her research is cited by other scholars, 'it is generally with reference to her identification and description of particular motifs' (see for example Garlake M. 1966: 113; Huffman 1983; Manhire et al. 1986: 22; Dowson 1988: 117; Solomon 1995; Mguni 2004: 193; 2005: 34, 36; 2009: 140), and not necessarily on the basis of her ability to provide illuminating interpretive insights into rock art.

In his memorial paper, Cooke stated his belief that Goodall's written contributions and 'the magnificent copies of the paintings which are housed in the collections of the National Museums of Rhodesia' would forever ensure that her name be associated with Rhodesian/Zimbabwean rock art (1971: 8). Goodall is still widely acknowledged within Zimbabwe today, and indeed rock art researchers who work on rock art in Zimbabwe have to engage in some way with her work (Nhamo pers. comm. 2019).

Goodall is remembered by Huffman and Raath as a reclusive and private person, who mostly kept to herself in the archaeology department of the QVM. Neither of them knew her well (Huffman pers. comm. 2016; Raath pers. comm. 2017). Raath explains that by the time he started working at the museum in 1965, Goodall had already been there for many years and was well into her 70s, working as a volunteer and honorary staff member. For this reason, Goodall kept flexible working hours and seldom crossed paths with her colleagues. Raath remembers her affectionately as 'a small, rather stooped figure that used to scurry around [the museum] as if in a perpetual hurry' (Raath pers. comm. 2017). According to Raath, Goodall's husband Leslie remained her foremost supporter and often joined her on field trips (Raath pers. comm. 2017), suggesting that much of the support she needed to carry out her research came from the intimate, domestic sphere rather than from her professional colleagues.

Goodall's time spent working at the museum resulted in a rich collection of painstakingly hand-painted copies of the paintings she visited (Fig. 0.11 - Fig. 0.14). In addition, she generated index cards of 192 sites with a written description on one side of the card and drawings of the paintings on the other side (Cooke 1971: 8). Goodall explains the making of these cards as follows:

> Hand in hand with the copying of the paintings goes the compilation of an illustrated card-index, which gives full particulars of size, colour and character of all objects depicted at each site, no matter how faint, fragmentary or seemingly unimportant they may appear (1942: [no page number] [2016-08-19 13.53.20]).

In subsequent years, many of the rock paintings in the immediate vicinity of Salisbury (previously Southern Rhodesia's capital city, renamed Harare after Zimbabwe gained independence in 1982) were destroyed by the city's expanding infrastructure, inspiring Cooke to describe these cards as 'a most valuable record' (1971: 8). Goodall was passionate about making the paintings accessible to a wider public and over the course of her time at the QVM she curated the exhibits and came up with creative solutions for displaying the copies. She alluded to one solution in an Annual Report written in 1942:

> In order to meet the lack of exhibition space, the display of copies in revolving frames has been commanded. Here a new method is introduced, by the placing of photographs side by side with copies of the same moti[f] (Goodall 1942: [no page number] [2016-08-19 13.53.20]).

Goodall's legacy is apparent in many of Zimbabwe's national museums where displays still showcase reproductions of her copies; this is true for the ZMHS, the Mutare Museum and Ziwa Site Museum, as well as in a recent addition at the Domboshava Interpretive Centre (Sagiya pers. comm. 2018).



Fig. 0.9: A copy painted by E. Goodall of a selection of paintings at Chikupu Cave, Masembura Reserve, Zimbabwe. Goodall describes the scene as a 'Frieze of animal-headed people, superimposed on old outlines of elephants' (2016 digital colour photograph by L. de Harde).

Towards the middle part of the 1950s, during Johan 'Hans' Frederik Holleman's (b. 18 December 1915 – d. 28 August 2001) curatorship of the QVM, Goodall was instrumental in reorganising the museum exhibits (Raath 1971: 4). According to Holleman's report

> Mrs. E- Goodall gave invaluable advice on the choice of material to be displayed, helped to catalogue hitherto undisplayed material, and added two large friezes to her already impressive collection of reproductions of Rhodesian Rock Art. It is hoped that as a result of these renovations, an ever wider public will realise and appreciate the priceless contribution she has made during the past quarter century to the preservation of prehistoric art (in Raath 1971: 4).

It was also around this time that Goodall was honoured by an election to Fellowship of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (F.R.A.L). A few years later, in January 1961 she was awarded the Member of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire in the New Year's Honours List (Raath 1971: 4). MBEs are awarded for remarkable contributions to the arts or sciences as well as charitable public services, the motto of the organisation is 'For God and Empire' (Russell 2017).

Goodall's lifelong involvement with the QVM has resulted in a collection of materials, some of which were assembled posthumously, being preserved in one of the museum storerooms. Goodall's archive is therefore entwined with the institutional archive as a whole. As a result, the copies, notes, sketches and documents have not been organised into a distinct collection with a formal title. A thorough study of what I refer to as the 'Goodall archive' as a discrete body of work would require a more systematic examination of the museum's storerooms than was possible in the limited time of my field visit. In this regard, the Goodall's archive is quite different from, for example, the archive formally named the Bleek & Lloyd Collection, held in the University of Cape Town's Manuscripts and Archives Department, which has been intensively structured, categorised and studied – and is now fully digitised and available online to a global audience (Lloydbleekcollection.cs.uct 2019). Unlike the




Fig. 0.10: On the verso of the copy (Fig. 0.9) is a label which corresponds to 'Plate 46' that corresponds to Goodall's publication 'Rock Paintings of Mashonaland'(1959: 86), (2016 digital colour photograph by L. de Harde).

clearly delineated and catalogued materials gathered into the Bleek & Lloyd Collection, Goodall's archive housed in the ZMHS is by comparison chaotic and largely neglected.

In 2016, Wintjes and I organised a research trip to Zimbabwe to visit the Goodall archive, housed in the ZMHS. In the years leading up to this trip, I had visited the Frobenius Archive in Frankfurt, the Battiss Museum in Somerset East, the private collection of Jack Ginsberg in Johannesburg and RARI. What I noticed as a result of this research and exploration of the various archives, was the stark divergence between these other archives, which are what I describe as 'active' archives, and Goodall's archive, which, in my experience of the archive, appeared to have received relatively little attention in the five decades since her death in 1971.

During our research visit to the museum in August 2016, in our exploration of the storeroom, Wintjes and I found a range of materials, diaries, watercolour copies, sketches, photographs, photo albums, notes, letters, articles and newspaper clippings. My experience of the archive suggested there was no discernible, clear or up-to-date cataloguing system. However according to Ancila Nhamo, 'previous curators at ZMHS such as Lauren Swan, Caroline Thorp,



Fig. 0.11: One in a series of photographs documenting the contents of the standing cupboard where I discovered Goodall's hand-painted copies. The cupboard is in one of the storerooms of the ZMHS (2016 digital colour photograph by L. de Harde).



Fig. 0.12: With great care and the assistance of the some of the ZMHS employees we managed to unroll and photograph some of the copies in the archive (2016 digital colour photograph by L. de Harde).

and Pascall Taruvinga have catalogued and re-catalogued the work over the years' (Nhamo pers. comm. 2019).

## Voices from the archive

When I entered the storeroom at the ZMHS I remember feeling a sense of excitement (Nesmith 2006) when I noticed the labels on the shelves of one of the storage cabinets, which read: 'Field notebooks' and 'Goodall's Diaries' (Fig. 0.10). I had hoped to discover materials comparable to Battiss's personal notebooks filled with stories and sketches, which I had read in the RARI storerooms. But Goodall's diaries recorded dates, meetings and little else (Fig. 0.15).

Goodall's formal work for the museum, including large watercolour copies of rock paintings in the region, continues to display the remnants of what presumably was her original cataloguing system, in which she detailed site names and accession numbers written directly on the back corner of the paintings (Fig. 0. 9). We located a number of these large format watercolour copies, which Goodall had spent countless hours painstakingly copying by hand, in a standing cabinet



Fig. 0.13: Once photographed we carefully rolled the copies again and placed them back into the standing cupboard (2016 digital colour photograph by L. de Harde).



Fig. 0.14: A photograph I received from Munyaradzi Elton Sagiya in September 2018, after he visited the ZMHS. It shows the paintings in the cupboard where I last examined them. From Sagiya's photograph it seems as though there may have been more paintings added to the group (2018 digital colour photograph by M. E. Sagiya).

towards the back of the storeroom near the window. The copies, some of which are more than $2m^2$, have been individually rolled and stacked vertically. Consequently, many of the copies were damaged and torn (Fig. 0.11 - Fig. 0.14). This reflects the challenges of large-format copies that are difficult to store in archives the world over because of the specialised storage needs of such documents that ideally need to be laid flat in drawers. In turn, what results is a bias away from the more pictorial, comprehensive copies, towards selective extracts made up of isolated figures (Wintjes pers. comm. 2019).

In contrast to the copies, which display the remnants of order harking back to the time Goodall was researching and accessioning her work, are a range of fragmentary materials collected and placed into a box with the labels 'Rock Art Engravings' and 'Goodall Papers' (Fig. 0.16 - Fig. 0.18).

In a discussion on 'Stratification and chronology' the South African archaeologist A. J. H. Goodwin uses the metaphor of an 'untidy desk' to enable the reader to visualise the manner in which discarded materials build up in layers over time: the older documents (artefacts) towards the bottom of the pile and the most recent, accumulating on the top (1953: 10). With this visualisation in mind it becomes easier to imagine the multiple layers of material built-up below the superficial layer of the earth's surface, enabling a further visualisation of the methods archaeologists employ in excavating each layer at a designated site and from there, ordering and interpreting the unearthed artefacts as they were found lying in relation to one another. By examining the artefacts alongside one another and in relation to non-human events that may have had an effect on the environment, such as climate change, veld fires, volcanic eruptions and floods, archaeologists attempt to piece together fragments of their present discoveries as a means to reveal aspects of the past.

In 2016 during my site visit to the ZMHS, I imaginatively experienced Goodwin's 'untidy desk' metaphor in relation to, ironically, a set of documents evoking the collected contents of an actual desk, rather than an archaeological deposit out on the land. The box which I imagined could have been collected from Goodall's desk contains documents, letters, notes, newspaper clippings and drafts of both published and unpublished papers which are stacked, in no noticeable order, one on top of the other. These materials seemed intriguingly like what could have been lying on Goodall's desk and gathered posthumously by one of her colleagues at the museum and placed into a box. On the outside of the box are two labels, suggesting a repurposing of the box: one bears the title Rock Paintings & Engravings', and the second, noticeably newer label is inscribed 'Goodall Papers'.




Fig. 0.15: I took this photograph while conducting field research in the storerooms of the ZMHS in 2016. A label on the second shelf reads 'Goodall's Diaries viii' (2016 digital colour photograph by L. de Harde).

In 2016, I photographed the contents of the box, taking care to follow the order of the pages, so that the digital files would follow the order of the paper files. I did this intentionally, knowing that I would need to return to these materials throughout the course of my research, and with the knowledge, after Goodwin, that the original order may provide some insight in relation to the proximity of the materials to one another. This was not necessarily something that I could foresee when I first experienced the box as it lay *in situ,* in the storeroom. As many of the documents are not signed or dated, their proximity to others that do bear these details, has helped to provide some sense of context for the research I would continue to engage in during the years to come.

This box seemed to me to have the potential to speak on behalf of and in the absence of, their maker/collector (Kopytoff 1986; Shanks 1998). I have used the digital archive that I created from these documents to add texture to my discussion by reproducing some of the photographs that I took to illustrate the materiality of the original objects. In reference to these documents, I also include the file number as it corresponds with my own digital database.

In my experience of Battiss's archive housed at RARI for example, Battiss's research can be read alongside the many notebooks he kept, and the plethora of anecdotal stories others have collated and told about him. Having

worked with materials from both of these collections, my sense of the archives of these two artist-researchers is that it is almost as though Battiss's voice can still be heard when turning the pages of his notebooks and reading what he thought about when he visited the art on the rocks. Indeed, as I discovered when visiting the Walter Battiss Museum in Somerset East as I did in 2015, Battiss's voice can literally be heard playing off an old VCR cassette recording of an interview he gave to the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) shortly before his death in the early 1980s. Battiss's larger-than-life personality has secured him a lasting presence in his archive, whilst in contrast, Goodall's archive is imbued with the quietness for which she is remembered.

It is possible that these less formally archived materials, the imagined contents of Goodall's desk and the materials that speak to the work she was doing for the museum, survive their maker only because of her involvement with the museum. In other words, while the finalised copies were accessioned and archived for storage and display purposes, and papers written by her published, the materials that are related to the process work she was doing around the production

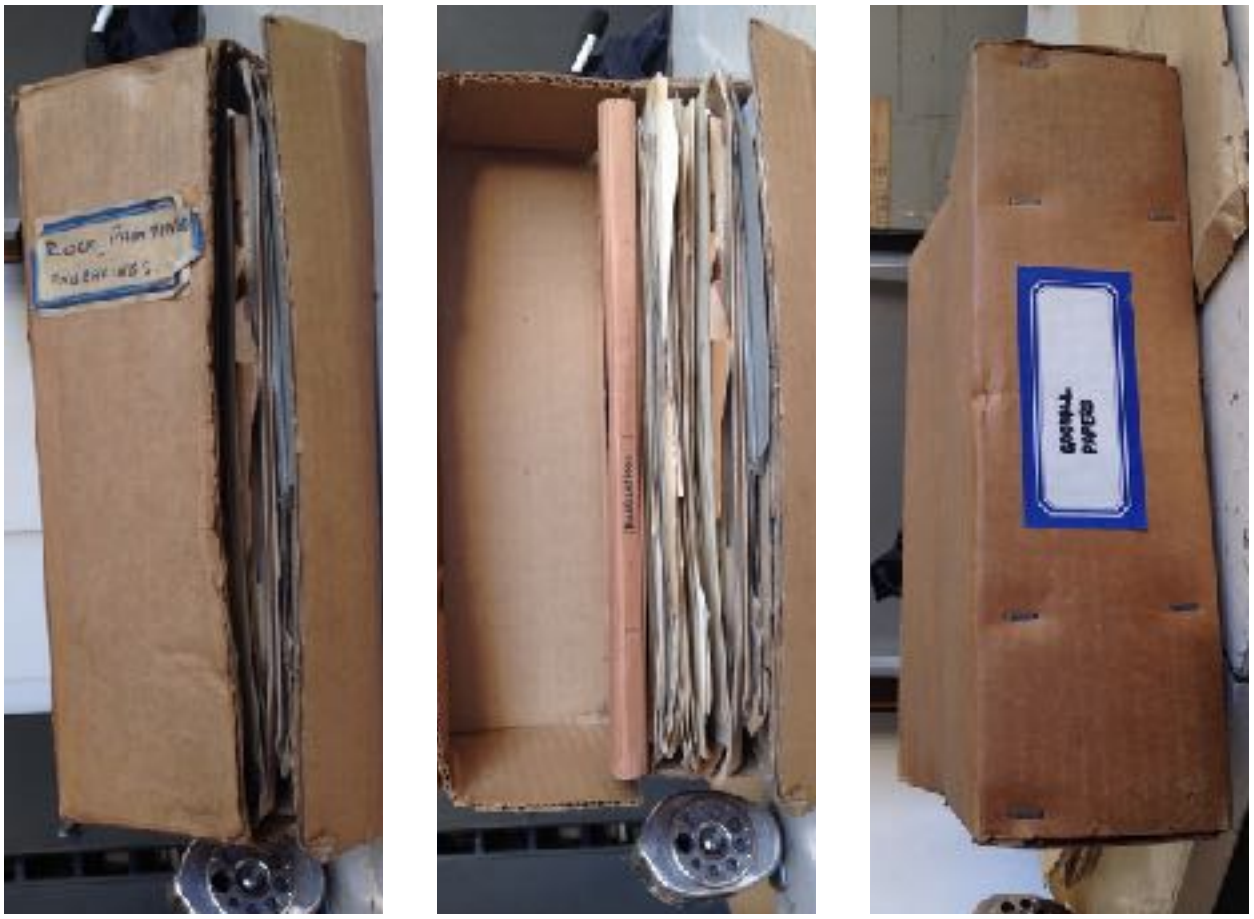


Fig. 0.16, 0.17 & 0.18: A series of photographs taken of a box-file that I found in the ZMHS storeroom. The box contains materials that I imagine were compiled and stacked together from the remnants of Goodall's desk after her death in 1971. This box and its contents inspired me to create a digital archive that I have returned to in the years following my visit to the ZMHS (2016 digital colour photographs by L. de Harde).

of these copies and publications, in the form of the many notes she made or the pages of manuscript drafts displaying her handwritten corrections, speak to a collection of materials of a more private nature, which relate to background activities engaged with in order to produce the final, finished product. In Goodall's case, these were the secondary recordings of the panels and the various curating tasks she fulfilled at the museum as well as a certain number of published articles. In a sense, these fragmentary materials provide insight into the mundane, day-to-day administrative tasks involved in producing research for public consumption.

With debates in the last few decades challenging and broadening the concept and practice of 'archive' (Enwezor 2008; Hamilton et al. 2002; Velios 2011; Weintroub 2013), these fragmentary documents can be studied alongside the formal scholarship, the publications Goodall produced and the many copies she painted, providing greater insight into the active, sometimes creative, processes she engaged in as a researcher and recorder of southern African rock art.

My sense when looking through Goodall's documents and copies in the storeroom of the ZMHS was one of witnessing materials existing in a present state of 'sleep' (Foucault 1994: 123). This was different from how I experienced the more active archives of Frobenius and Battiss. As a result, my exploration shifted from what I had initially imagined as a comparative analysis of two trained artists (Battiss and Goodall) engaging in creative practice as research method, to one of a close study of a quiet person who committed her life to her chosen vocation. In my discussion I focus specifically on Goodall's rock-art-related research, the publications that this research inspired and the many hand-painted copies and sketches housed at the ZMHS and circulating in the published realm. This study includes a number of large-scale copies that are spread across several archives in Germany, Zimbabwe and South Africa[4].

My intention in writing this thesis has not been to 'awaken' Goodall's materials from their slumber, 'and, by reciting the marks still legible on their surface, to rediscover the flash of their birth' (Foucault 1994: 123). On the contrary, my intention is, as Michel Foucault suggests,

> to follow them through their sleep, or rather to take up the related themes of sleep, oblivion, and lost origin, and to discover what mode of existence may characterise statements, independently of their enunciation, in the density of time in which they are preserved, in which they are reactivated, and used, in which they are also but this was not their original destiny - forgotten, and possibly even destroyed (1994: 123).

Beginning therefore, with the materials that survive their maker in the storeroom of the ZMHS, my starting point is to explore and consider their inception and the ways in which they

[4] The copies housed at the Iziko South African Museum have not been accessible while I conducted my research (Wendy Black pers. comm., Iziko Museums of South Africa, 2017 & 2018).

came into being. For this reason, I begin by researching and compiling a biography of their maker – Elisabeth Mannsfeld/Elizabeth Goodall.

The renewed attention being paid to the documents, notebooks and other materials that survive these early researchers, has coincided, as Jill Weintroub points out, 'with what has been described as an 'archival turn' in critical studies and the humanities more generally' (2013: 73). In her work on the 'ethnography' of the Bleek and Lloyd collection and the role of Dorothea Bleek in its establishment, Weintroub goes on to explain that these engagements are:

> Driven by an interest in the archive as process rather than repository, the archival turn has highlighted the many layered meanings of archives, their paradoxical ability to foreclose knowledge as well as to open to the future and embrace the infinite. It has also highlighted the role of individuals in collection making, and in this respect closely parallels the resurgence of the deployment of biography as mode of writing in the humanities and social sciences (2013: 73).

In re-examining archived materials with the role of the individual in mind, a quieter scholarship can emerge, making visible more subtle aspects of the production of knowledge beyond the dominant narratives. Re-engaging these materials, and interrogating them (and their makers) from the vantage point of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, the contemporary researcher finds herself imbued with the benefits of years of discourse, enabling her to go 'downstream' (Foucault 1994: 135) and reconsider these materials in ways that may not have been accessible at the time of their inception. Yet in acknowledging that from my position, I may re-examine these materials in a manner different from, or not accessible during the lifetime of their maker, I am aware that this statement is true in reverse: from my position in the present, I cannot fully comprehend or understand the intricacies that make up the contextual environment of the past, a time undeniably different from the one in which I am operating.

The risk, as the historian Frances Yates cautioned in her often-cited essay, 'The Hermetic Tradition in Renaissance Science', is that there can be a tendency to perpetuate a certain, privileged type of knowledge production, thereby creating another imbalance through attempting to correct the imbalances of past researchers. To illustrate her point she refers to the history of science, a realm of inquiry that can be transposed to various forms of knowledge production. Yates explains

> […] the history of science […], instead of being read solely forwards for its premonitions of what was to come, should also be read backwards, seeking its connections with what has gone before. A history of science may emerge from such efforts which will be exaggerated and partly wrong. But then the history of science from the solely forward-looking point of view has also been exaggerated and partly wrong, misinterpreting the old thinkers by picking out from the context of their thought as a whole only what seems to point in the direction of modern developments. Only in the perhaps fairly distant future will a proper balance be established in which the two types

> of inquiry, both of which are essential, will contribute their quota to a new assessment (1984: 242)

Taking heed of Yates's caution, it would be remiss of me not to state clearly at this point that my study is an exploration of a person who I have placed at the core of my thesis: Elisabeth Mannsfeld/Elizabeth Goodall. I explore some aspects that may have contributed to the construction of her legacy, and which, in turn, may have contributed to the sleepiness of her archive. However, my intention is not merely to argue for the inclusion of Goodall in the central narrative of rock art research and scholarship but that her legacy of rock art copies be properly evaluated for their complexity, ingenuity, originality and nuance. My interest in her career, and the research that I have conducted and compiled here, serves to draw some attention, more so perhaps than before, to her work and her archive. Only through the interest of researchers in the future can it be determined whether or not her work will continue to spark scholarly inquiry, or whether her materials will once again fall into a deep slumber.

An active engagement by a range of researchers, bringing different perspectives and various ways of looking to an interrogation of original archival materials, can reveal previously neglected complexities to challenge and reconfigure knowledge production (Bank & Jacobs 2015; Ouzman 2006). This is an overarching concern of the work of the University of Cape Town's Centre for Curating the Archive (CCA), which was established by Pippa Skotnes. The contemporary work of the CCA has focused on fulfilling Lloyd's wishes that the materials associated with the /Xam and !Kung folklore and linguistic work of Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd together with rock art reproductions by George Stow would one day be published. Skotnes notes that 'it is really only in this century, given the possibilities of digital technology, that such a vast archive could have become widely accessible' (2008: 9). Such a level of accessibility would have been incomprehensible to the original makers of the materials. My project to pay dedicated attention to Mannsfeld/Goodall's reproductions and other documentary materials preserved at the ZMHS is inspired by and draws on the CCA's quest to widen public access to Bleek and Lloyd materials, and is moreover influenced by Skotnes's stated aim to reverse what she perceived to be a marginalising of Lloyd, who is often 'cast into the role of [Wilhelm Bleek's] sister-in-law assistant' (Skotnes 1996: 21). This 'quieter' role assumed by women conducting serious scholarly research in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is one that I believe to be embedded in the under-researched archive of Mannsfeld/Goodall housed at the ZMHS. My project therefore aligns in some ways with a resurgence of interest in contemporary scholarship about women in the field and their contribution to science (Bank 2013 & 2016; Golde 1986; Moser 2007; Shanks & McGuire 1996: 75 - 88; Wadley 1997; Weintroub 2009, 2013 & 2015).

The mode of constructing a biographical account of an individual has been useful in writing the story of Mannsfeld/Goodall. However, as alluded to previously, the scant availability of personal biographical material inspired a different framework for discussion. In this thesis, the professional aspects of the biography of Goodall provides the structure for my writing, with chapters loosely constructed in relation to particular events in her life and the figures that emerge as interesting become case studies setting up a space to discuss Goodall. The biographical approach (Weintroub 2013 & 2015) enables the trajectory of my discussion through the various moments in Goodall's life in Part One, and establishes the backdrop for Part Two where I look closely at her engagement with two sites in particular, Makumbe Cave and Diana's Vow.

## Chapter outline

In Garlake's (1993) assessment of Goodall's career, in relation to what he delineated as 'The first eighty years of rock art studies' spanning 1890 to 1970, he recognized Goodall as one of 'the two great authorities' (1993: 1) in rock art studies in Southern Rhodesia. He also commented that



Fig. 0.19: The pathway between the looming walls of storage boxes leads to a smaller storeroom where Wintjes and I spent two days examining and documenting Goodall's archive (2016 digital colour photograph by L. de Harde).

Goodall and her colleague at the QVM, the archaeologist Cran Cooke (b. 1906 – d. 1992), spent 'much of their time, energy and enthusiasm in recording more and more material, but [did] little to advance the plot' (1993: 1). In this review of Southern Rhodesian rock art research, Garlake seems to treat some of the researchers, such as Lionel Cripps (b. 1863 – d. 1950), Miles Burkitt (b. 1890 – d. 1971), Frobenius (b. 1873 – d. 1938) and Henri Édouard Prosper Breuil, known as Abbé Breuil (b. 1877 – d. 1961), as active participants driving scholarship forward, while his impression of Goodall and Cooke is that of researchers who were unable to significantly advance or expand either research or scholarship (1993: 1).

In his written discussion, Garlake characterised Goodall's contribution in relation to two influencing factors, believing that 'she remained throughout her life entirely loyal to Frobenius's ideas but did little to develop, expand or adjust them to the new material she was collecting' (1993: 17). He viewed her as 'remain[ing] primarily an artist', arguing that 'her response to the art was always essentially aesthetic' (1993: 17). Garlake further commented that Goodall's contribution was generally overshadowed and overtaken by a changing intellectual milieu that was ushered in by the work that Patricia (Pat) Vinnicombe (b. 1932 – d. 2003) and David Lewis-Williams (b. 1934 - ) were conducting in South Africa in the early part of the 1970s. Garlake's assessment was that the 'new work in South Africa was revolutionizing approaches to the paintings. Nothing would be the same again: all earlier interpretations became obsolete' (1993: 1).

Using Garlake's critique as a prompt, I have divided the chapters of my thesis to follow a roughly chronological order of Goodall's career. In Chapter One I draw on Frobenius and the ninth expedition to southern Africa to probe the early part of Goodall's career. Frobenius, who Garlake describes as Goodall's 'master' (1995: 35), was in many ways her mentor and helped shape her for a career in rock art studies. While there has been comparatively little research on Goodall, many publications explore Frobenius's career. Consequently, Frobenius forms the entry point for Chapter One. Chapter One has two purposes, to probe the work of Frobenius as a context within which to explore the early part of Goodall's career and foundational training. The chapter also provides a background to the practice of archaeology in southern Africa relevant to this period. Furthermore, I consider Frobenius's presence in the narrative of rock art studies in southern Africa.

I argue that Frobenius played a central and profound role in bequeathing a certain way of approaching research to Goodall, that she stuck to throughout her career. In Chapter One I examine Frobenius's foundational role in laying the groundwork for Goodall's career, as well as his role in fostering and apprenticing his team, of which Goodall was one. I explore the roles

assumed by Frobenius (the 'master' in Garlake's view) in relation to the secondary, supportive role in which Goodall is cast and consider the implications these roles may have had in determining the trajectory of Goodall's legacy. Goodall, who, as alluded to earlier, showed strength and determination in what was at the time a largely male-dominated profession, appears to have frequently been overlooked because she was a woman. At the same time, she received promotions in her career and was officially recognised for her contribution in a number of professional contexts. In 1961 Goodall was honoured with an MBE (Member of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire) (Whyte 1973: 319). She dedicated her career to pursuing what she believed to be a most valuable contribution to the field of rock art research.

Chapter Two takes shape as a case study of one rock art copy in particular, which Goodall produced at Aberdeen Farm in Harrismith. Using this site, I explore how Goodall's legacy has been constructed through a relatively recent (and still current) re-engagement with the recording techniques she employed in 1929.

In Chapter Three, I compare Goodall's research with another artist researching rock art, Walter Battiss. Working towards the early part of the twentieth century, Battiss was a slightly younger contemporary of Goodall's. In this chapter I consider Battiss's trajectory, which earned him a prominent place in the history of southern African art and a position (if still contested) in rock art studies (Berman 1983; Duffey 2006; Henry 2007; Lewis-Williams 1977; 2002; Lutrin 1998; Schoonraad 1985; 1974; Skawran & Macnamara 1985; Scully 1963; Van Bruggen 1972; Woodhouse 1968). Battiss and Goodall were for a time peers in the emerging practice of rock art recording and each dedicated considerable time and energy to visiting rock art in the field and reproducing secondary images of the paintings they encountered. Interestingly, while both responded to the paintings by engaging creative practice as a research method, their legacies, and as a result, their archives are treated differently in the present.

My intention in chapters Four and Five has been to use the digital archive I created from the documents in the box inscribed with two labels: 'Rock Art Engravings' and 'Goodall Papers', discussed previously, to try to understand and access the motivations behind the countless hours Goodall devoted to her vocation over the forty years she worked independently in Southern Rhodesia. In Chapter Four I look closely at Makumbe Cave, one of the first rock art sites that Goodall copied soon after she relocated permanently to Southern Rhodesia in 1931. Using archival materials from the Frobenius Institute alongside my digital archive, I interrogate Goodall's professional motivations for her relocation to Southern Rhodesia.

Chapter Five is a detailed exploration of the painted site known as Diana's Vow. My exploration of Goodall's archive led me to develop the impression that Goodall had a particular affinity with the art at Diana's Vow. In writing this chapter, I allowed her interest in the site, together with my experience of visiting the paintings in 2015 and again in 2016, to guide my discussion.

In the course of this project I have worked across disciplines and employed a range of methodological approaches including fieldwork and photography, archival research, art historical and visual comparison. I have collected a number of images, at times as the photographer making images through the lens of my camera, and in other instances, gathering material from online image databases, digital archives, books, journal articles, newspapers and various other sources and documents. These images have contributed to my research methodology and have played a crucial role in the development of this thesis (Baudrillard 1997; Elkins 1998 & 1998; Mitchell 2005). I have deliberately selected and curated the images to take the shape of a visual argument that develops alongside, and in conversation with, the textual discussion. This thesis has therefore been carefully designed with the final three-dimensional object (or book) in mind. The pages are laid out in such a way that the images and texts are not confined to a single page, but are in a dialogue that continues over double page spreads and throughout the document. In addition, I have embraced the materiality of the images by making visible where possible the original source, whether it be a page from a book, a photograph or press clipping pasted into a homemade album or diary, a sketch pencilled in among a set of private research notes, an illustration in a newspaper article or a low-resolution image downloaded off an online database. An awareness of the afterlives that images (and documents) have beyond their initial creation is at the core of this discussion and has informed my approach to their inclusion in this project (Leibhammer 2009; Moser 2014; Smiles & Moser 2005a & Smiles & Moser 2005b; Tucker 2006).



# Chapter One

In 2016, in preparation for our research trip to Zimbabwe, Wintjes and I corresponded with friends and colleagues to decide which places of interest would be worth visiting. The archaeologist Edward Matenga, a former Director of the Great Zimbabwe World Heritage Site, suggested that we visit Elizabeth Goodall's gravesite, which, he remembered, was at the Warren Hills Cemetery located on the outskirts of Harare. The cemetery, to the west of the city centre, turned out to be close to where we were staying in Harare, and easy to reach by car.

To locate the gravesite, we sought the help of a cemetery employee who, for a U S dollar, went through the cemetery records in search of Goodall's name and gravesite number (Fig. 1.2 & Fig. 1.3). The grave number led us to the older part of the cemetery grounds, referred to as the 'Rhodesian' section. Once we found Goodall's grave, it became immediately apparent why Matenga had suggested we visit the site.

Different from the carved or decorated marble and cement headstones surrounding it, Goodall's gravestone is of natural, unrefined rock (Fig. 1.1). The face of the rock has not been polished or smoothed to accommodate the inscription; instead the inscription is carved directly into the uneven surface. It was at this point that we learnt that the ashes of Leslie Goodall had been interred there some years later, after his death in 1974. Equally compelling was the





Fig. 1.1 (opposite): A photograph taken on 20 August 2016 by J. Wintjes during our site visit to E.Goodall's gravesite at Warren Hills Cemetery, Harare. The recognition of Goodall's M.B.E is still visible on the granite stone (2016 digital colour photograph by J. Wintjes).
Fig. 1.2 & Fig. 1.3 (above): Photographs taken at the Warren Hills Cemetery that tell a rich visual story about that 'Rhodesian' past, and how these records, not to mention grave sites, are interacted with in the present (2016 digital colour photographs by L. de Harde).

discovery that, above the inscription, was a single motif borrowed from a rock art panel. The panel was first recorded by the Frobenius Expedition in 1929. The site is located on what was then the boundary between two farms called The Springs and Fischers Farm, both indicated on the 1:250,000 map of the Mutare region (Surveyor General Rhodesia 1974). The expedition referred to it as 'Fishervall-Springs' (Frobenius & Mannsfeld 1930: 97) (Fig. 1.4). In 1959, Goodall recorded the site as 'Nyahuvu Farm' (1959: 99). This is the name by which Rock Art Research Institute (RARI) senior researcher Sam Challis remembers it (Challis pers. comm., Wits University, 2019). Today, the farm and site are known as Nyambavu.

In 1929, the expedition labelled the site 'Hauptmonument A', ('principal monument A') (Frobenius & Mannsfeld 1930: 97), adding that it was 'one of a constellation of sites to which [the expedition members] attributed a particular prominence and royal status, in the Rusape, Marandellas and Charter districts' (Wintjes & De Harde in review: 9). While district boundaries and names have since changed, this area corresponds with the highlands to the south-east of Harare. A similar status was bestowed on another site known as Diana's Vow, a site located in

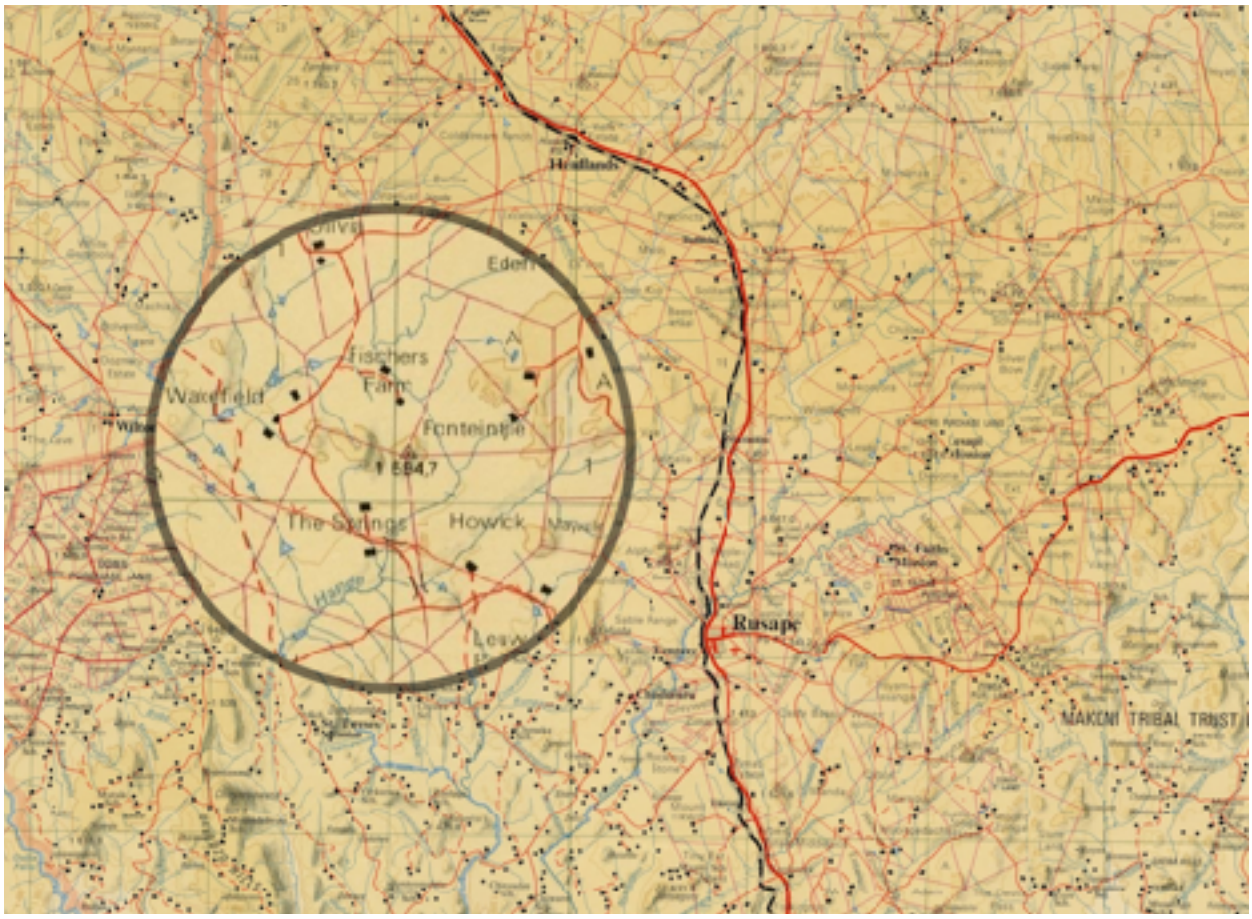



Fig. 1.4: A magnified selection showing the location of The Springs and Fischers Farm both indicated on the 1:250,000 map of the Mutare region (Surveyor General Rhodesia 1974).

Manicaland Province, about 40 km east of Nyambavu (roughly 20 km north-west of Rusape). Unlike Diana's Vow, which was declared a national monument in 1950 and remains one of the most famous rock art sites in Zimbabwe, Nyambavu is comparatively less well known today. It does not appear on maps and has never been declared a national monument (Fothergill 1953: 62–3; ZimFieldGuide 2019). When I visited Diana's Vow in 2015 and again in 2016, the site was clearly signposted and neatly maintained. Elisha Tsoka, a custodian linked to the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ), was stationed there. Nyambavu is located in one of the areas that became a target of land invasions in the early 2000s (Bell 2010; Chan & Primorac 2004; Chikowore 2017a; 2017b; Kriger 2013; Ranger 2004; Scarnecchia 2006; Shaw 2000). Challis remains in contact with the previous owners of the farm, who preferred not to speak to me directly on the grounds that it would be painful for them to revisit the events related to their relocation from their family home (Challis pers. comm. Wits University, 2019) (Fig. 1.5).

Today, 'private homesteads that are currently occupied lie in close proximity, with a clear line of sight between the painted panel and these domestic spaces' (Wintjes & De Harde in review:



Fig. 1.5: A photograph of the farm house called 'Nyahuvu' in 1997 (Photographer unrecorded).

13). Wintjes and I visited the site in 2016 while participating in a week long research expedition with Jonathan Waters, an experimental economist and friend of Wintjes and Zimbabwean archaeologist Robert Burrett[5]. Burrett is a research associate of the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe, which meant that from the perspective of the heritage authorities, our visit to the site was authorised. Our experience at the site was quite different, the farm residents were troubled by our presence and we sensed some of the hostility that continues to haunt the area; we were not permitted to stay for long. The writers of the website ZimFieldGuide reported a similar experience at a nearby farm and have warned visitors not to travel to the area at the present time (ZimFieldGuide 2019). Nyambavu's status can be contrasted to Diana's Vow which is also situated on and surrounded by private farms but access to Diana's Vow has been maintained because of its status as a national monument. Whereas Nyambavu's status is ambiguous, it is a heritage site located on private land to which access is not necessarily permitted by local residents.

After our visit to the site in 2016, Wintjes and I observed that

> rather than a cave or a rock-shelter, this site comprises essentially a single painted panel on the side of a free-standing rock, located near a dirt track, not far from a tar road. The rock paintings are located on a smooth vertical panel protected by a narrow



Fig. 1.6: A copy of the panel at Nyambavu painted by J. Lutz in c. 1929 (watercolour on paper, 242 x 133 cm, FBA-D3 01621), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.

[5] The main objective of the Waters-Burrett expedition was to conduct research in preparation for a book that James Bannerman was writing prior to his unexpected death earlier in 2016. Bannerman's book focuses on an extended history of the Eastern Shona cultural sphere, including areas beyond the eastern boundary of Zimbabwe into central Mozambique (Manica, Sofala and Tete provinces).

> overhanging horizontal ledge. The panel comprises figures in red and orange-yellow, including humans in a variety of postures, botanical motifs and an elephant, to either side of the two largest motifs: a tall figure with a wide and particularly long body, reaching its hand into a natural fault in the rock, and a more abstract type of motif often referred to as a 'formling' (in review: 13).

The word 'formling', meaning 'moulding' or 'shape' in German, is a term that Frobenius coined to identify a particular category of motifs observed in the rock art (Frobenius & Mannsfeld 1930; Frobenius 1931; Mguni 2015). When the Frobenius Expedition visited Nyambavu in 1929, they produced several recordings (Fig. 1.6). Frobenius in particular seems to have been drawn to this panel, having authored four of the total of five copies made. One possible explanation for his interest may have been his recognition of the 'formling' motif. Frobenius's fascination with 'formlings' is something I pick up on later in this thesis as a possible reason why some of the initial paintings were afforded greater prominence, with earlier copies being made of them, such as occurred with the Makumbe Cave recordings (see Chapter Four).

Some years later Goodall produced a copy of the paintings, which she published along with a written description in her book 'Rock Paintings of Mashonaland' (1959: 3 – 111) (Fig. 1.7).



Fig. 1.7: Goodall's undated copy of the main panel at Nyambavu, illustrated in her section of the book, *Prehistoric rock art of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland* (1959: plate 55). Goodall recorded the panel as 'Nyahuvu Farm, Headlands' (the whereabouts of the original copy are unknown).

# Arrival

In August 1928, the Frobenius Expedition arrived by ship at the Port of Cape Town. In preparation for this, his ninth expedition, Frobenius had assembled a group of artists and researchers to assist him in his endeavours. In total, the expedition consisted of nine members, Frobenius and his daughter, Ruth Frobenius; three ethnographers, Adolf Jensen, Albert Seekirchner and Heinz Wieschhoff; and four artists, Joachim Lutz, Agnes (Susanne) Schulz, Maria Weyersberg and Elizabeth Mannsfeld (Fig. 1.8).

Mannsfeld had met Frobenius in Munich, Germany, a few years prior to the expedition, while furthering her artistic training presumably at one of the universities in the city (although exactly which one has not been recorded). She was born in Hamburg, Germany, as Elisabeth Amanda Margarethe Mannsfeld, on 7 July 1891 (Raath 1971: 1). She completed her early formal schooling in the city of her birth. It was reportedly during this time that her artistic talents first began to show (Raath 1971: 1). After completing her formal education, Goodall followed in the



Fig. 1.8: Frobenius's ninth expedition to southern Africa: on the voyage before arriving at the Port of Cape Town. From left to right: Weyersberg, Wieschhoff, Mannsfeld, Lutz, Frobenius, unidentified person (possibly Frobenius's daughter), Schulz and Jensen. (1928 Photographer unrecorded, FoA 09-10006), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.

footsteps of her father and went on to qualify as a teacher through the Hamburg Drawing Teachers' Seminar (Raath 1971: 1). What motivated her to pursue this career path has not been recorded in any detail, inviting questions such as: was she driven by a passion for education, or was the decision more mundane and a consequence of the limited options available to women at the time? Or was it perhaps the legacy of her father, who was a teacher himself? On these questions, the three biographical sketches about Mannsfeld are silent. What remains salient to this research is the significance of the choice she made to specialise as an art teacher. As well as teaching art, she worked for a time at the *Hamburgisches Museum Für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte* (Museum of Ethnology Hamburg) (Raath 1971: 1).

Shortly after the end of World War I, Elisabeth Mannsfeld relocated from Hamburg to Munich, where she continued her artistic training with a three-year course (Raath 1971: 1). While the exact details of the course are unrecorded, it was at some point during her stay in Munich that she met Frobenius and went on to work as his research assistant at the *Forschungsinstitut für Kulturmorphologie* (Research Institute for Cultural Morphology), the institution that Frobenius had established in Munich in 1920. In 1925 Frobenius relocated his headquarters to Frankfurt am Main, where it was joined to the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University. Mannsfeld relocated to Frankfurt with the institute and continued working for Frobenius as an archivist. It was during this time that Mannsfeld became interested in rock art (Raath 1971: 1), an interest that she most likely cultivated alongside Frobenius's growing interest in the art. This may have influenced Frobenius's decision to include her in his ninth African expedition, which was primarily dedicated to studying and recording rock art in line with what Frobenius considered to be the 'oldest tangible records of humanity' (Frobenius 1931a: ii. 7 in Wintjes 2013: 169).

As previously mentioned, little is recorded of the early part of Goodall's career. However, what has been established is that during these formative years she worked closely under Frobenius's tutelage. While no details have been recorded about the particular features of the work she undertook during this period, considerably more information is available about Frobenius's interests and motivations. It is therefore possible to gain a general sense of the influences Mannsfeld was exposed to in these formative years while she was working under Frobenius's direction and guidance.

Frobenius's enthusiasm for the African continent was ignited at an early age (Jahn 1974). He was born in Berlin on 29 July 1887, and, as the grandchild of the zoologist Heinrich Bodinus, spent countless hours in his childhood in the Berlin Zoological Gardens, where he 'made friendships with Eskimos and Laplanders every winter, and with Bedouins and Blacks every

summer' (Frobenius 1901: page number unrecorded in Jahn 1974: 6). At the time, ethnographic exhibitions – also known as 'human zoos' – were not unusual in Germany (Corbey 1993; Blanchard et. al. 2011; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998). Whole villages of people were exhibited alongside cultural artefacts collected from expeditions to Africa, Siberia and the Arabian Peninsula. In 1894, by the time Frobenius was 21 years old, he had already established the broad theoretical framework that would underpin all his future endeavours (Jahn 1974: 7). In 1925 he summarised his lifelong intellectual concern, saying, '[i]n my time I called into existence the theory of cultural circles' on a continental scale (Frobenius 1925: 199 in Jahn 1974: 7).

Frobenius conceptualised a framework whereby he believed that groups of people shared essential characteristics with one another, which 'underlie the multiplicity of cultural manifestations' (Oksiloff 2001: 105). He considered these underlying 'primal forms as a spiritual essence or "Paideuma"', as he called it (Oksiloff 2001: 105). Assenka Oksiloff explains Frobenius's theoretical framework as follows:

> A morphology of culture aims at identifying common structures, what appear in Frobenius's ethnographic studies as the 'African-ness' of African cultures, the 'Asian-ness' of Asian cultures, and so on. Frobenius considers it the task of the anthropologist to find, through careful investigation of material culture, evidence of this spiritual essence. He contends, for instance, that the spiritual essence underlying all of the diverse cultures of Africa is illuminated in the hard folds and unpretentious decorations of a ceremonial robe, the stern carvings in the handle of a knife, the refusal of any type of 'softness' in general. Frobenius boils these various cultural forms down to a short list of adjectives that ostensibly describe a unified African spirit: practical, austere, stern, tectonic (Frobenius 1973: 60-61 in Oksiloff 2001: 105).

Oksiloff's interest in Frobenius is driven by her overarching interest in early German cinema. She examines the construction of 'primitive' cultures, which took place through the lens of the early movie camera (Fuhrmann 2007; Glover in prep. 2019; Oksiloff 2001). In Germany, Frobenius's ideas were met with equivocal responses. His 'unscientific' approach to studying and classifying cultures did not recommend him to 'the broader scientifically-oriented international intellectual community' where '[t]he hegemony of "science"', as Reneé Sylvain observes, 'left no room for Frobenius' (1996: 483). He was refused admission to universities and was forced to make his own way in the world. He therefore 'wrote on his own and attacked the scholars' (Jahn 1974: 7). As a consequence of being rejected by the European scientific community, Frobenius needed concrete evidence to support his theories and defend his ideas, and so began his extensive travels abroad (Fabian 1990; Jahn 1974: 7; Marchand 1997).

Between 1904 and 1935 the eccentric ethnographer organised 12 expeditions. Coming as he did from the 'age of the "gentleman scholar", in which research was pursued by a moneyed class with time to kill' (Currie 2017), Frobenius was forced to find alternative means to fund his

expeditions and research. Over the course of his career, he received financial assistance from both private and public funders such as the Karl Ritter Foundation, the Rudolf Virchow Foundation of Berlin, the German Colonial Office and various museums in Hamburg, Berlin and Leipzig (Sylvain 1996: 484). Frobenius secured some of the funding on the understanding that while on his expeditions he would collect objects (artefacts) for the museums that sponsored him and his team(s) (Sylvain 1996: 484). Sylvain argues that Frobenius's '[d]ependence upon funding from museums ultimately compromised the quality and integrity of [his] scholarly work' (1996: 484). James Clifford has explored the role these 'exchange systems' (1988: 215) had on the collection of objects and the afterlives of those objects in European museums. Yet the immovable nature of rock art meant that these objects could not be collected in the same way, necessitating reproductions being made that could be removed from the site. A concern for the original paintings meant that the copyist would work with as much care as possible to avoid causing damage.

Frobenius wrote as he spoke, sometimes writing about himself in the third person (Fig. 1.9). Oksiloff argues that he was throughout his career, obsessed 'with the "I" and "mine"'. 'The "I" that stages itself in Frobenius's work is often exhibitionist, flamboyant, and iconoclastic, at times reactionary, at others boldly progressive' (Oksiloff 2001: 99). Oksiloff aligns this characteristic of Frobenius's construction of the self with what Clifford calls 'ethnographic self-fashioning' (Clifford 1988: 92-114 in Oksiloff 2001: 99). For Frobenius, Oksiloff suggests, the ideal ethnographer 'gains more knowledge of foreign cultures from adventure and travel accounts than from technical manuals, has a business rather than a scientific background, and is a self-made thinker and explorer' (2001: 103). Frobenius saw this dynamic mode of engagement as superior to, and a fundamental shift away from, the dominant disciplinary models of 'botany, geology, and zoology, which had



Fig. 1.9: A photograph of L. Frobenius during his ninth expedition in southern Africa. This photograph was taken while the group were in the Belingwe District in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) (c. 1929, photographer unrecorded, FoA 09-10133), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.

previously determined the epistemological basis for studying primitive cultures' (Oksiloff 2001: 103). Oksiloff recognises in this 'impulses of an avant-garde rupture with the past' (Oksiloff 2001: 103).

With interests traversing the disciplinary boundaries of various subjects including, but not limited to, archaeology, anthropology, ethnography and history, Frobenius worked across the temporal boundaries that these disciplinary areas traditionally imply. He spent the last part of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century travelling the world 'document[ing] and collect[ing] evidence of the material culture of ancient traditional ways of life' (Wintjes 2012: 107). During this time, he developed an interest in 'the diversity and complexity of foreign cultures' (Dinslage 2009: 10). It was also during this period that he became specifically interested in the African continent and he can probably best be described as an 'Africanist multi-disciplinarian' (Wintjes 2012: 107).

In keeping with a growing concern with rock art globally, Frobenius was becoming increasingly interested in archaeology and rock art. Rock art (cave or palaeolithic art as it is called in Europe) did not have a smooth entrance into the academic world towards the turn of the twentieth century. In the following section I pause to examine the moment when cave art in Europe enters the academic realm, sketching out the intellectual terrain in which Frobenius and Mannsfeld were operating, and demonstrating some of the prejudices inherent in the thinking of some members of the intellectual elite who, for example, thought 'primitive man' incapable of producing such highly skilled and beautiful artistic creations as the rock/cave art. The following section serves two purposes. It provides a glimpse into the role the academy assumed, while setting the stage for Frobenius's intervention into rock art research, inspiring in him a decision to dedicate time and resources to an extensive southern African expedition.

## A 'bull' in a china shop

In 1879, near the town of Santillana del Mar in Cantabria, Spain, María Justina Sanz de Sautuola, a young child at the time, accompanied her father on a site visit to a nearby cave (Madariaga de la Campa 2001: 24). Her father was a Spanish gentleman and landowner, Don Marcelino Sanz de Sautuola. While her father was hunched over digging in the dirt, María occupied herself by running around and exploring the cavern (Bahn & Vertut 1997: 17). The small girl found herself towards the back of the cave looking up at the ceiling in the flickering candle light when she noticed what appeared to be figures and forms painted on the wall (Bahn & Vertut 1997: 17; Hays-Gilpin 2004: 44). Immediately she exclaimed, 'Mira, Papá,

bueyes!' ('Look, Papa, oxen!').6 Shortly after this discovery, Sanz de Sautuola, who recognised the similarities between the depictions on the portable Palaeolithic art he had been studying and the paintings on the cave wall, brought his discovery to the attention of the academy (Bahn & Vertut 1997: 17).

Sanz de Sautuola wrote to Spain's leading paleontologists at the time, Juan Vilanova y Piera. Piera would go on to present Sanz de Sautuola's discovery in 1880 at the International Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology in Lisbon. It may be expected 'that such a remarkable find, albeit unprecedented and unexpected, would have met with interest – even excitement' (Bahn & Vertut 1997: 18), but this was not the case. The paintings were dismissed as fakes and forgeries. Two French prehistorians in particular, Gabriel de Mortillet and the influential scholar Émile Cartailhac, were especially cynical regarding the Sanz de Sautuolas' discovery. Cartailhac, who believed the paintings were 'far too good to be so ancient' (Bahn & Vertut 1997: 18), went as far as accusing Don Marcelino of conspiring with an artist to forge the paintings. The allegations persisted, and eventually contributed to his premature death in 1888,



Fig. 1.10: Copy painted after the Altamira paintings in Northern Spain by E. Pauli (Illustrated in Goldwaters 1937: 6 & Seibert 2014: 12) (1936, mixed media on paper, painted, FBA-C1 02660) © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.

6 María Sanz de Sautuola has often been misquoted as having said 'bull' and not 'oxen'. Émile Cartailhac believed the paintings depicted *aurochs* (wild cattle) and not the prehistoric bison that would have been living contemporaneously with the painters (Bahn & Vertut 1997: 17; Hays-Gilpin 2004: 44).

when he died 'a sad and disillusioned man still under suspicion for fraud and naivety, with his discovery rejected by most prehistorians' (Bahn & Vertut 1997: 18). Paul Bahn and Jean Vertut present three reasons for the rejection of Sanz de Sautuola's discovery:

> For a start he was a complete unknown, rather than an established prehistorian. Second nothing remotely similar had been found before; after all figures scratched on bone were a very different phenomenon from sophisticated polychrome paintings. Moreover the discovery was made in Spain - at the time many of the prehistorians were French and south-west France was the region par excellence for Palaeolithic finds. So it must have seemed illogical and suspect for a discovery such as Altamira to occur in a different area (Bahn and Vertut 1997: 18).

Eduardo Palacio-Pérez goes a step further in providing insight into the hostility Sanz de Sautuola faced towards the end of the nineteenth century:

> Artistic ability was obviously one of those intellectual traits that evolutionists thought was 'superior', and it was therefore very doubtful that it could have existed among the earliest humans or at least it could not have appeared with the same level of complexity as in modern humans. On the contrary, according to fixists, Palaeolithic art was the proof that demonstrated the unvarying nature of human beings as a result of a single act of divine creation (Palacio-Pérez 2013: 687).

Nearly half a century later, Frobenius cites one moment in the history of the Altamira debacle, where a letter written by Cartailhac is read out at a meeting of the Anthropological Society in Berlin in 1895. Looking back on this moment, Frobenius explains that the discovery shook the foundations of European knowledge in the late nineteenth century, which at that time believed that modern science after the Age of Enlightenment had enabled contemporary European culture to reach its highest level of sophistication (Frobenius 1937: 14; Palacio-Pérez 2013). The suggestion that people living thousands of years before the turn of the twentieth century were capable of rendering such magnificent paintings opened up uncertainty, instability and debate. Frobenius recalls that the contents of Cartailhac's letter described the paintings in such a way that there could be no mistaking them for primitive, unsophisticated, childlike paintings; they should in fact be considered 'great works of art' (Frobenius 1937: 13-14). Speaking of the content of the letter, Frobenius goes on to say:

> There was uncertainty as to how the discovery should be accepted. For it must be remembered that the pictures had been painted many thousands of years before the beginning of history, that they showed that Ice Man had reached a level in matters of art so high as to be removed not so very far from our own, and, finally, that such evidence was in no sense compatible with the precepts of the then current evolutionary conception of the development of human culture (Frobenius 1937: 14).

Ironically, Cartailhac, as one of Sanz de Sautuola's most vitriolic critics, would have written the letter to disprove the proposed links to antiquity. It was not until 1902 when the evidence became overwhelming that Cartailhac acknowledged his mistake and issued an apology in the

form of *Mea culpa d'un sceptique* (1902). As Paul Bahn and Jean Vertut observe, Sanz de Sautuola's greatness lies in the fact that he not only made the crucial deduction, but that he 'dared to present his views to the sceptical academic establishment', thereby challenging and disrupting the status quo (Bahn & Vertut 1997: 17).

The events leading up to the cave art of Europe 'chang[ing] from a source of ridicule to a subject of splendid monographs' (Bahn & Vertut 1997: 20) is relevant to my research for three reasons. First, it sketches out the intellectual milieu to which Frobenius and Mannsfeld contributed in the 1920s. Second, it provides insight into the dominant mindset of those times regarding the abilities of prehistoric man in relation to the 'enlightened' men of the present day. Such stereotypes calling into question the abilities of people regarded as primitive, would influence the perception of other cultures perceived to be less civilised than Europe. Third, a theme that I develop through this thesis, is the contribution of researchers who break away from mainstream scholarly currents of thought to present either innovative methods or fresh interpretations of the art. In this thesis, I argue that Frobenius was one researcher whose views at times countered dominant understandings of Africa and African people as being devoid of culture. Jahn has argued that in this regard, Frobenius's lifetime of research contributed to the 'liberation and decolonization of Africa' (Jahn 1974: 20), while scholars, such as Marchand (1997) point to the complexities, contradictions and problems that are to be found in his work.

## An unattainable accuracy

Frobenius found in the Altamira controversy inspiration that he attributed to the motivation behind his ninth expedition to southern Africa. For him, the question was obvious. Where had the people capable of making these paintings disappeared to? Speaking here about himself in the third person, Frobenius recounts his thinking:

> He took into consideration the fact, then already known to science, that North Africa had not always been a desert, but rather that it had enjoyed a pluvial period at the very time when glaciers still covered the southern slopes of the Pyrenees. During this period its mountains must have been decked with trees, its valleys traced with a network of rivers, lakes and streams, and inland, southward from the coast, wide plains must have been the most characteristic feature of its landscape. Further, it was thought that the Straits of Gibraltar had not existed at that time, that the Mediterranean had been a lake and that Spain had been just as much a part of Africa as a part of Europe. Therefore, why should not the culture of the period have flourished in Africa as well as in Spain (Frobenius 1937: 15-16).

With this as his starting point, he probed the possibility that the group of people living and painting in Spain could have formed part of a much larger culture, which, at some point

disbanded with some going north, further into Europe, and others going south, into Africa. Frobenius says of this epiphany, 'this culture still could be alive today, still could be observed, grasped, studied and understood today!' (Frobenius 1937: 16, italics in the original). These words were penned in 1937, some years after the southern African expedition concluded, and a few years after he had written two publications on his discoveries in southern Africa, Madsimu Dsangara. Südafrikanische Felsbilderchronik (1931a) and Erythräa. Länder und Zeiten des heiligen Königsmordes (1931b). With the benefit afforded by a historical perspective, we know today that Frobenius's expedition in 1928-1930 was not solely in pursuit of proving a theory around rock art as evidence for cultural diffusion. A central intention, as Garlake points out, was to investigate Great Zimbabwe, a request that the Rhodesian Government denied, granting permission instead to the English archaeologist, Gertrude Caton-Thompson (Garlake 1993: 9). Frobenius's view was that an ancient foreign civilisation had been responsible for building Great Zimbabwe (Fig. 1.11 & Fig. 1.12). This contradicted Caton-Thompson's excavation findings that the buildings were of African design and construction, a finding announced at the 1929 meeting

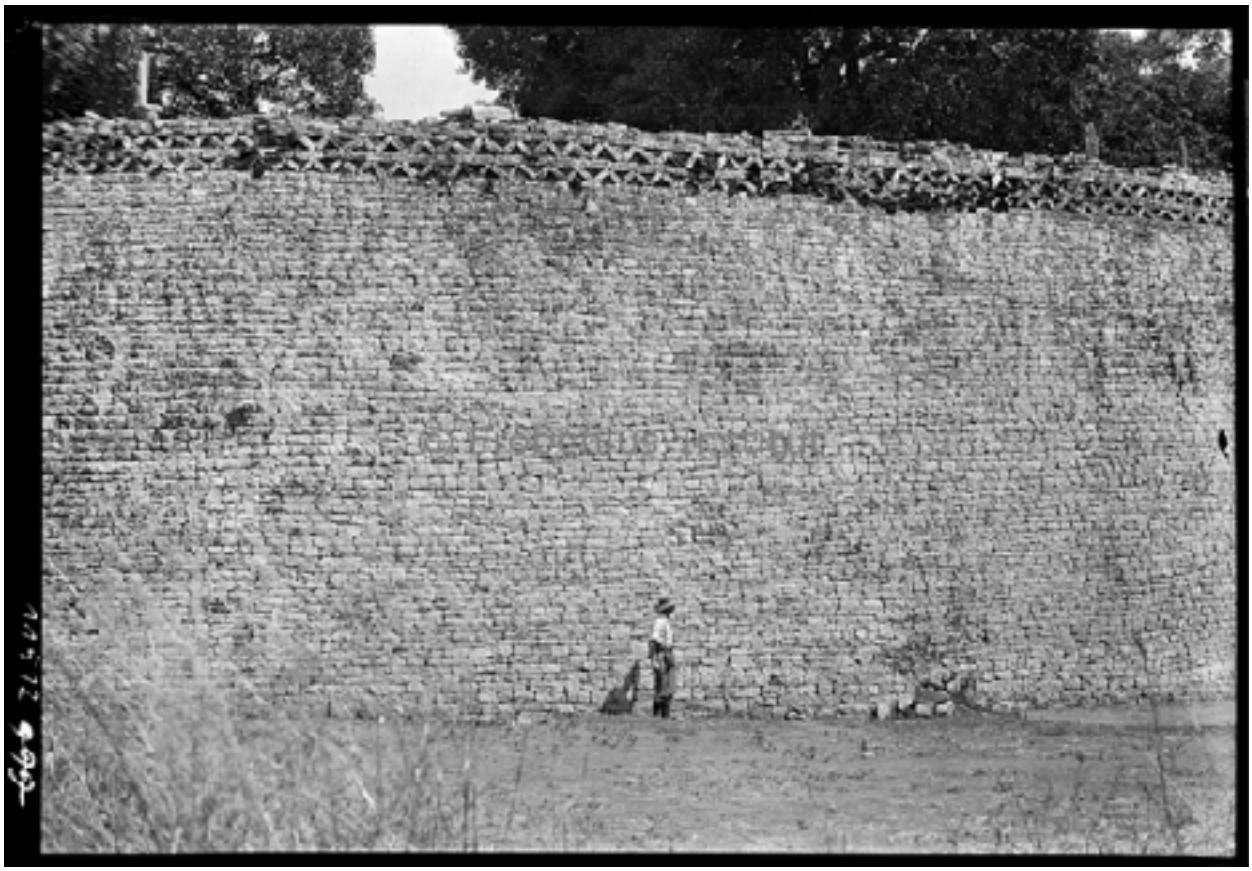


Fig. 1.11: Photograph taken of A. Jensen standing near the eastern wall of the Great Enclosure. Jensen is dwarfed in size by the scale of the magnificent 11 meter high wall (Great Zimbabwe c. 1929, photographer unrecorded, FoA 09-11512), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.

in Johannesburg of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (Derricourt 2011; Dubow 2008; 2009) with Frobenius in the audience (Caton-Thompson 1931).

Reflecting on the ideas he formulated as a 'young Frobenius' living in Germany and eager to establish himself in an intellectual milieu concerned with the 'science of culture', Frobenius quoted his own proposal that 'the most difficult obstacle to our understanding of culture is our ignorance. We do not know enough' (Frobenius 1937: 16-17). His solution to the problem as he saw it, was 'Work! And more work!' And further, that:

> Every fact, object and belief which can help us to understand the growth of human culture should be recorded and indexed for use. It is a pure question of application, first to get the material together and then to see how much we can learn alone from the geographic distribution of certain culture elements (Frobenius 1937: 16-17).

In pursuit of gathering as much evidence as possible, Frobenius's travel style was of the general survey variety, never staying in one place for extended periods, but moving quickly to cover as much ground as possible. Over the following 20 months, the team would traverse the southern African landscape, visiting hundreds of rock art sites. Photographs taken during the expedition record something of the process of travelling, showing the extent of the long and arduous journey. The primary mode of transport was by motor vehicle, on occasion aided by donkeys and oxen (Fig. 1.13) when crossing some of the deeper rivers (Keene 2011: 13). Many of the sites the expedition visited were in remote locales, accessible only by foot or on horseback. While the experience of viewing paintings in their original positions, painted on the surfaces of exposed rock faces in the landscape, would probably have been a first for many members of the team, the members of the Frobenius Expedition were contributing to a history of rock art recording which started emerging in the eighteenth century, with 'the eastward penetration by European travellers associated with the expanding frontier of the Cape Colony' (Wintjes 2012: 11).



Fig. 1.12: Gordon Massie, a member of the Frobenius Working Group (FWG), took this photograph of me examining the wall of the Great Enclosure near where A. Jensen was photographed standing, nearly nine decades earlier (2015 digital black & white photograph by G. Massie).

As Wintjes explains, the paintings on the

rocks 'are image artefacts that have […] inspired a vast and diverse body of pictorial copies' (Wintjes 2012: 9). In this way, the history of recording rock art runs parallel to the study of the original painted panels. The act of experiencing the rock art *in situ,*

> […] in their original expression in the landscape can be a rare luxury or a fleeting experience, especially in remote localities. A range of different visual strategies has been deployed to create a record of mobile, reproducible pictures through which knowledge of the originals is perpetuated and their imagery studied off-site (Wintjes 2012: 9).

The copies produced of the parietal images are arguably what makes the study of rock art possible in the first instance, since, as Whitney Davis argues, 'no specimen is useful unless it can be studied by all scholars' (1985: 5). In terms of Davis's assertion, the immovable nature of the paintings and their existence in the landscape makes rock art a singularly difficult object of study. Indeed, the immovability of the paintings makes them perhaps more challenging to study than other objects, which are rendered significantly more accessible when they are physically relocated to museums or universities, even if, once institutionalized they are not necessarily accessible to everyone. In this way, the paintings '[s]ecluded in rock shelters in remote areas where few visit on

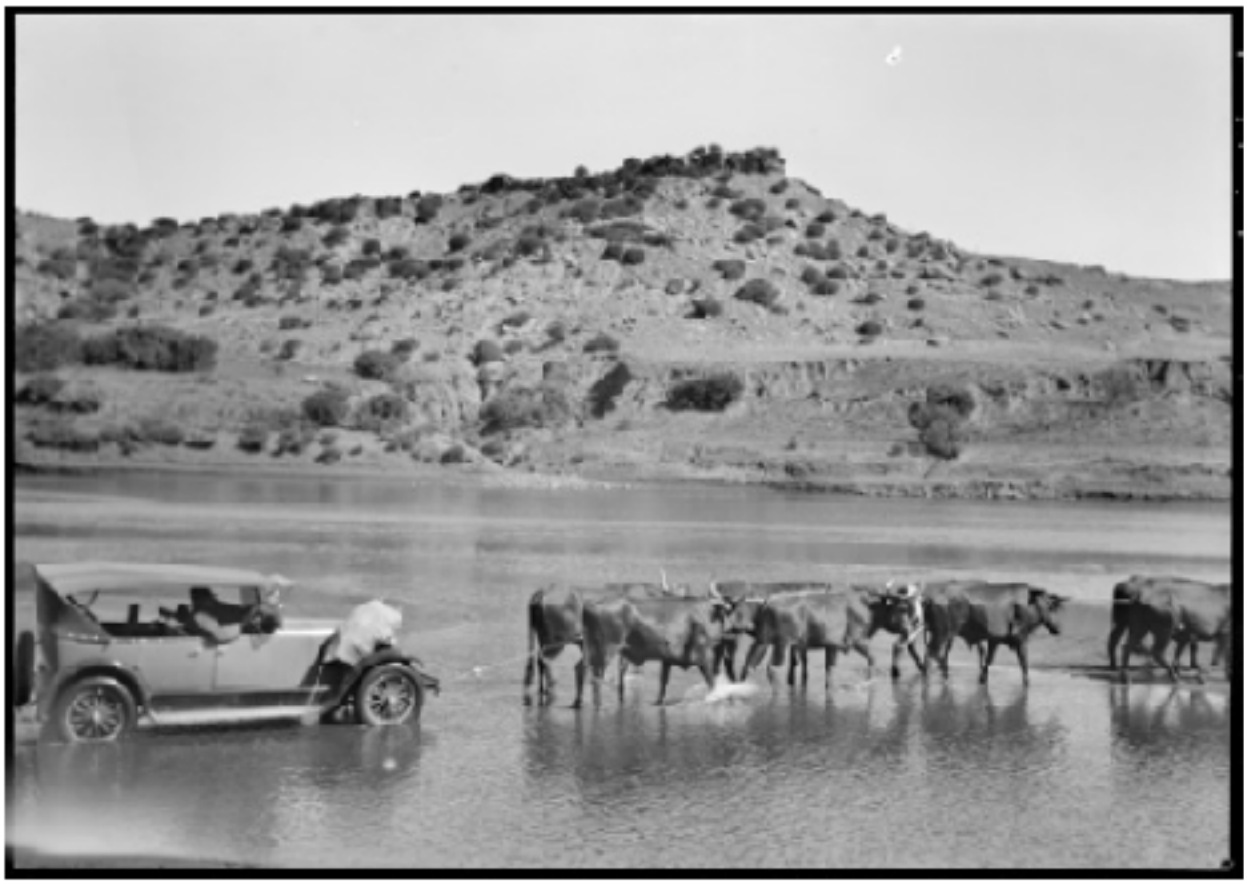


Fig. 1.13: The Frobenius Expedition crossing over the Orange River in a motor car aided by oxen (Free State c. 1928, photographer unrecorded, FoA 09-10246), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.

a regular basis, […] rely on pictographic copies to capture, constitute and explain information about their enigmatic nature' (Leibhammer 2009: 43). This is one reason why researchers have focused on developing ways of recording the paintings as accurately as possible so that the recordings, reproduced on to mobile surfaces, can be removed from the site, making the paintings accessible to a wider audience. However, it seems as though many rock art researchers (Chippindale & Nash 2004; Wintjes 2011; 2014; 2016) have difficulty attributing reasons to why these elaborate pictorial figurative images seem to inspire more new acts of image-making than other kinds of archaeology. Wintjes and I (in review: 5) grapple with these complexities using Alfred Gell's framework of a 'technology of enchantment' (1992):

> Rock paintings have been the site of an enchantment hinging on this perception of advanced painterly skill, inspiring numerous artists trained in western traditions of art-making to create copies, prior to the achievement of ethnographically informed understandings of the semantics of the art's symbolic constituents. In this way the art has transcended its first context, generating acts of painting by artists working on paper, expressions of a technological encounter between two different traditions of image-making.

For the purposes of this discussion, I consider the documentary materials - in this case, the copies produced to stand in for the original rock paintings - collected by researchers as 'evidence'. Peter Murphy defines evidence 'as any factual datum which in some manner tends to lead to inferences either favo[u]rable or unfavo[u]rable to some hypothesis whose proof or refutation is being attempted - any material which has the potential to cause us to change the state of our belief regarding the hypothesis' (2001: 570). David Whitley provides some insight into what sorts of biases may be expected when considering the limitations of historical copies. He says:

> Whether conscious or not, all documentation involves choices about what is important to record and what may reasonably be left out, given real-world constraints like time and money. These choices should be made as explicit as possible, and are ideally defined by an overarching research or site management problem that guides the fieldwork. The need to define the problem or objective clearly cannot be overemphasised (Whitley 2005: 18)

To mitigate this problem, for the purposes of this discussion, I am limiting my definition of 'evidence' to copies that were made through necessity with the explicit aim of standing in for the originals; copies that were made to represent the original painted panels as closely and as accurately as possible rather than creative elaborations or extensions. At the same time, even the most painstaking or careful copies can only ever be partial representations of the original paintings (Leibhammer 2009; Skotnes 1996). Nessa Leibhammer presented an argument concerning the 'lives of images' as active participants in the knowledge production of the original rock painting (2009: 42 – 59). Leibhammer posits:

> Copies are never exact replicas of the original. They will always capture data selectively and these selections are meaningful, as are the methods and materials chosen for rendering. They both add and subtract visual information in translation from the original. Pictographic copies are inclined to reduce the aspects of the original that the copier[7] considers unimportant and to accentuate, or draw out, those that are considered significant. Copiers have also been known to elaborate images in ways that are not necessarily appropriate to the original (2009: 43).

Leibhammer argues that the copies are therefore 'products of different phenomenological paradigms' (2009: 43). In her discussion, Leibhammer echoes the sentiments expressed some years earlier by Lewis-Williams, who reflects on the copies produced by early researchers:

> Many people continued to record the art, and there are large collections made by such enthusiasts […]. Unfortunately, most of these copies are, by today's standards, somewhat inaccurate. The early recorders missed details (or recorded features that did not exist), rearranged paintings to fit a page and, most damaging of all, selected paintings and engravings that interested them (1990: 50 in Leibhammer 2009: 47).

The assumption underlying Lewis-Williams's assertion is that with the benefit provided by a research-historical perspective afforded to contemporary researchers, copies produced today can be more accurate. Leibhammer reflects on the influence these observations have had on recording methods:

> [Lewis-Williams] endorses tracing by skilled informed individuals as the preferred means of copying, arguing that no copy is objective but, if those doing the tracing are knowledgeable and graphically competent, then the result will be at an acceptable level of accuracy, the decision and selection made will be appropriate and information useful and relevant (2009: 45).

The issue that arises most forcibly from this discussion is that no copy is ever accurate, and therefore, the 'preferred' method used by contemporary researchers is just that, a preferred method, which they believe to be the most accurate and appropriate for the purposes of current research. The implication of the phenomenological argument that highlights the copyist's subjectivity and inability to divorce themselves from their 'conventions of Western representation' (Leibhammer 2009: 43) is that early researchers were not aware of their inherent inability to produce accurate copies. The argument follows that today, contemporary researchers, aware of these limitations, are in a better position to address their shortcomings, thereby producing more accurate copies than the ones produced by researchers working without this awareness. But as the geographer and archaeologist Karl Butzer explains,

> Most social scientists have long been aware that value-free objectivity is a goal, as well as a challenge, that has yet to be met. For the time being, most of us remain constrained to use language that is loaded with multiple levels of meaning and (alternative)

[7] Leibhammer uses the term 'copier' to denote the people who copy paintings. I have chosen to use the word copyist, thereby emphasising the very human nature of the act of recording.

> connotations, while our thought processes are distorted by innate neural structures and differential life experiences. There are no ready solutions to our shared shortcomings in either achieving objectivity or deep understanding. Let us therefore be civil in accepting this, in preference to impugning the mental skills or motivations of others (1991: 47).

Accepting that no single reproduction (whether produced by hand or technical device) can ever fully embody every aspect of the original it mimics, the focus therefore shifts from the degree of accuracy achieved by a copyist to the kinds of accuracy a copy embodies in relation to the purposes that copy is conceived for. For example, as I discuss in Chapter Three, Goodall's copies can be considered accurate in terms of her sensitivity to the importance of reproducing the colours and shading of the original paintings. By contrast, the monochrome redrawings favoured by RARI (Lewis-Williams 1985; 1996), although colourless, appear to capture a more systematic kind of translation with a view to minimize idiosyncratic interpretation (Wintjes 2012: 15). These questions of accuracy are central to my thesis and an element of copying that I consider in relation to Goodall's career, against the backdrop of the development of rock art research in southern Africa. In this and subsequent chapters, I draw on case studies to compare Goodall's approach to copying with other researchers, Frobenius, Battiss and Lewis-Williams, who, I argue, try in various ways to overcome the difficulties associated with producing copies that successfully stand in for the originals in particular interpretive contexts.

## Artists as scientific researchers

Frobenius's distinctive field research methods were in place early on in his career. He insisted that the materials were 'carefully copied and ordered in such a manner that, in case of [his] sudden death, its value would not be impaired' (Frobenius 1912: I: 32 f. in Jahn 1974: 7). As Kuba explains,

> Frobenius was very much of the view that only the thorough visual documentation of African cultural expressions could counter the effects of time and transience. On his expeditions he always took some professionally trained draughts persons and sometimes even renowned artists, such as the painters Hans Martin Lemme, Carl Arriens or Alf Bayrle (2018: 113).

The artists employed to assist Frobenius in his documentary endeavours on the ninth expedition were Joachim Lutz, Mannsfeld, Agnes (Susanne) Schulz and Maria Weyersberg. They were tasked with 'the most important copies and rubbing of the art' (Frobenius & Mannsfeld 1930: 8, translated by Wintjes 2013: 172). Over some 20 months, from August 1928 to March 1930, the German expedition visited hundreds of places of interest in areas across the Union of South Africa. They visited rock art sites in Natal, the Cape Province and the Orange Free State, before heading north to Northern and Southern Rhodesia, Basutoland and South West Africa

(Wintjes 2013: 172). Frobenius and his team had several recording methods available to them, which can be examined in relation to four categories (not necessarily clear-cut or mutually exclusive but proposed for exploratory purposes): sketched, painted, diagrammatic and photographic (Wintjes 2012: 15). At the time when Frobenius was working, 'photography was becoming increasingly popular for anthropological fieldwork' (Oksiloff 2001: 102). With colour photography remaining difficult to master and expensive to produce until the late 1930s (Mitchell 2010: 319 – 337; Spencer 1939: 163 – 175), the team employed black and white analogue photography to document their findings. Wintjes observed that the recording methods used by various researchers

> reflect the changing availability of image making technology. Early copyists worked manually because photography wasn't yet available, subsequent copyists copied in colour because only black and white photography existed, and, from about 1950, colour photography reduced the need for the labour-intensive production of hand drawn colour copies (Wintjes 2012: 15).

The team used photography extensively (see Chapter Two), but notably less so for the documentation of the rock paintings themselves. For the copies of the paintings, they had a preference for colour sketches and paintings (with selected motifs turned into diagrammatic translations at times [Frobenius & Mannsfeld 1930]). This was probably precisely because of the absence of colour in the photographic image.

The primary objectives, outlined by Frobenius and Mannsfeld in the expedition catalogue *Enthält den katalog der Südafrikanischen felsbilderkopien der D(IA)FE 1928 - 1930* (Frobenius & Mannsfeld 1930: 87, translated by Wintjes 2013: 171) were:

> 1. To conduct ethnological research into southern Erythraean cultures;
>
> 2. To study the development and excavations of the ancient so-called 'Zimbabwe' ruins;
>
> 3. To study old mines in the area; and
>
> 4. To locate and copy the thousands of so-called 'Bushman drawings', i.e. rock art, spread out across the land.

The fourth objective was by far the most time consuming, challenging, creative and experimental of the expedition requirements. For Frobenius, the task of accumulating the material would need to be carried out 'not only linguistically, descriptively and philosophically, but also graphically' (Frobenius 1937: 17). For this reason, 'every expedition will be equipped with a staff of artists who will transfer to paper and canvases that which cannot be recorded with the camera' (Frobenius 1937: 17). Kuba (2018: 115) has recently explored the relationships between Frobenius's chosen methods of visual recording, observing that:

> Up until the late 1920s, when the compact camera came into wider use, photography in the tropics was a complex and time-consuming business: exposure times were relatively long, the equipment was heavy, awkward to manoeuvre and technically unreliable. The transportation of the fragile emulsion-coated glass plates used in this process posed an additional challenge during the often extremely arduous journey to the traveller's destination. And it was only when the hoped-for treasure trove of images was being developed after the traveller's return that he might discover that all his efforts had been in vain (Frobenius 1907: 450). Thus, for all that technology had to offer, for a long time hand-done documentation remained the most reliable way of making records, with the result that in the second half of the nineteenth century and even into the early twentieth century, European painters still played a key part in the visual documentation and imaging of distant lands. However, the question of which was a better means of documenting those distant worlds, photography or drawings, was not decided based on technological arguments alone but also on the question of authenticity.

Frobenius favoured the engagement of artists over the mechanical technique of photography. However, while he was interested in new technologies of image-making, Frobenius also took a critical stance, as he was at times 'sceptical of modern visual recording, including still photography' (Oksiloff 2001: 100). Frobenius acknowledged the difficulty associated with photographic recording methods, a sentiment echoed some years later by Lewis-Williams (1985: 12 - 17), at a moment when the research he was conducting in the Harrismith area happened to overlap with that of the Frobenius Expedition (this overlap is the focus of Chapter Two). Frobenius considered the camera to be 'generally useless for one thing because the paintings are nearly always executed on oblique or much-angled stones, and then, too, because most of them are done in those colours which it is most difficult to photograph' (1929: 333). He therefore preferred the laborious method of hand-drawn copies in his quest for documenting and recording the many painted panels he and his teams visited on various expeditions. It is furthermore intriguing to consider, in the contemporary 'Selfie Moment' (Goodnow 2016: 123 - 130) where immediate access to captured images is taken for granted, that researchers working in the field in the late 1920s would not see the photographic image until much later, once the image had been coaxed out of invisibility through a chemical process of development. I imagine that researchers sought alternatives, such as painted reproductions, to mitigate the unpredictability of those outcomes reliant on more complex technological processes. To achieve the ambitious goals of his ninth expedition, Frobenius relied on the 'efficiency' of his team of 'four draughtsmen and artists, who had been specially trained for this kind of work for many years' (Frobenius 1929: 333).

As previously mentioned, the artists that Frobenius employed were already formally trained and skilled, and many of them were fine artists in their own right (Fig. 1.14). For this reason, it is not clear if he believed the artistic qualifications they had prior to collaborating with him were sufficient, or if he required them to undergo further specialist training in preparation for, or in



Fig. 1.14: J. Lutz preparing his copy of the painted panel in the site recorded by the Frobenius Expedition as Grosse Mtoko-Höhle (now Ruchera). I visited this site in 2016 (see Fig. 1. 16), (Zimbabwe c. 1929, photographer unrecorded, FoA 09-12292), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.

the initial phase of the expedition. I suspect it was probably a combination of both.

Frobenius believed 'that the process of producing copies by an artist's hand was essential to address the challenges of recording rock artworks' (Wintjes & De Harde in review: 6). As he explained in some detail:

> Neither the study nor the reproduction of prehistoric rock pictures is easy. If the rock surface were smooth and all on one plane, if the lighting were regular and of the necessary strength and texture, if the colo[u]rs and incisions were clear cut and not criss-crossed and pocked by erosion, then 'perhaps' one would need only to avail oneself of a camera. But only 'perhaps.' For a lens cannot differentiate between that which is essential and that which is not. The result is that it is extremely difficult if not impossible to obtain an accurate conception of a rock picture from a photograph. So there is nothing left but to have the pictures copied by hand, something which is not easy and which can be done satisfactorily only by those who have, so to speak, immersed themselves in the material and are sensitive to the spirit and mentality of an age which has passed. This will be hard for some people to understand. But the fact remains that every picture, whether carved into the rock by prehistoric man, drawn by a child or painted by a Raphael, is alive with a certain definite spirit, a spirit with which the facsimile must be infused (Frobenius 1937: 18-19).

From this quote it seems as though Frobenius understood that there is no such thing as a perfectly accurate copy, but that different copying techniques reflect different aspects of the original. He seems to demonstrate an awareness of the subjective nature inherent in the act of copying, and the varying strengths and weaknesses of different kinds of image-making processes. However, because of the complexity of the art's materiality, he explicitly recognises the importance of the selectivity of the artist in creating a copy, suggesting a kind of informed subjectivity required to produce an 'accurate' copy. But, Frobenius does not stop at this point; he goes a step further to suggest that artists share a 'certain definite spirit', which resonates with his notion of an underlying spiritual theory of 'Paideuma'. His view that artists gain the capacity to copy rock markings through a kind of experiential learning and repetitive practice by being 'immersed in the material' makes good sense, and supports the idea of a sympathetic relationship emerging between copyist and first artist through re-enacting an act of painting. However, the idea that there is some kind of fundamental spiritual principle in the art that is accessible through its visual attributes alone, that the copyist can somehow connect with intuitively because of a connection shared as visual practitioners, starts to sound romantic, essentializing and reductive. As romantic as this position may first appear, Frobenius was not the only rock art researcher to consider artists as capable of offering a privileged source of insight as researchers in the realm of creative practice assisting archaeologists in their interpretive, problem-solving endeavours. In the 1940s, a decade after Frobenius carried out his research and published its findings, the Director of the Bureau of Archaeology based at the University of the Witwatersrand, Clarence (Peter)





Fig. 1.15 (above): Watercolour copy painted by J. Lutz in Grosse Mtoko-Höhle (now Ruchera), (Zimbabwe c. 1929, 678,5x283 cm, FBA-D4 01619), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.
Fig. 1. 16 (below): Photograph taken by J. Wintjes in 2016 of J. Waters, R. Burrett and me examining the paintings at Ruchera Cave (2016, digital colour photograph by J. Wintjes).

van Riet Lowe, shared in Frobenius's enthusiasm for collaborating with artists, a point I develop further in the following chapter in relation to one such artist in particular Walter Battiss.

One can hypothesise that the members of the Frobenius Expedition worked under instruction from Frobenius, while also having space to exercise a level of exploratory freedom. For Mannsfeld, the time spent working under Frobenius's tutelage is significant as she went on to incorporate her work and the skills she learned in these formative years, into her life-long professional practice. At first glance, the copies she made over 40 years working independently at the museum in the then Salisbury, do not seem to deviate enormously from the work she was doing as a member of the Frobenius Expedition. This is something I investigate and return to throughout my thesis.

## A network of visual engagements

As I demonstrated by sketching out an overview of the history of rock art recording, Frobenius and the members of his expedition were by no means the first to see the value in preserving paintings through copies. The British colonial official Joseph Millerd Orpen (b. 1828 – d. 1923) first noticed a number of paintings in the Senqu valley while on a military mission in the Maloti mountains of Basutholand (now Lesotho). Orpen secured the services of Qing, a man described as a 'Bushman'[8] hunter, to guide the men through the mountains. What transpired was a dialogue between the two men on the topic of the paintings, which Orpen recorded (De Prada-Samper et al. 2016: 4). Some months after the expedition concluded, Orpen published an article about the 'stories' Qing had told him in the Cape Monthly Magazine together with four sketches of the rock paintings they had discussed (De Prada Samper et al. 2016; Dubow 2004: 128; Orpen 1874). The article appeared alongside commentary on the folklore and narratives, written by Wilhelm Bleek, who was working with Lloyd on a project to record the language and folklore of people they called Bushmen (Bank 2006; Skotnes 2007; De Prada Samper et al. 2016). The relevance of this extensive archive 'for illuminating rock art was recognised immediately' but the extent of the potential, according to archaeologist and independent researcher Anne Solomon, was 'under-realised' until Patricia Vinnicombe (*People of the eland: rock paintings of the Drakensberg Bushmen as a reflection of their life and thought* [1976]) and Lewis-Williams (*Believing and seeing: symbolic meanings in southern San rock paintings* [1977; 1981]) revisited the materials in the 1970s (2013: 1208). Evidence for Solomon's assertion can be observed in the comments Bleek made about Orpen's article:

[8] I use the term 'bushman' in quotation marks to demonstrate an awareness of the contested usage of the term.

> The fact of Bushman paintings, illustrating Bushman mythology, has first been publicly demonstrated by this paper of Mr. Orpen's, and to me, at all events, it was previously quite unknown, although I had hoped that such paintings might be found. This fact can hardly be valued sufficiently. It gives at once to Bushman art a higher character, and teaches us to look upon its products not as the mere daubing of figures for idle pastime, but as an attempt, however imperfect, at a truly artistic conception of the ideas which most deeply moved the Bushman mind, and filled it with religious feelings.
>
> A collection of faithful copies of Bushman paintings is, therefore, only second in importance to a collection of their folk-lore in their own language. Both such collections will serve to illustrate each other, and to contribute jointly towards showing us in its true light the curious mental development of a most remarkable race. A Bushman painting will frequently help us to unearth a myth, legend, or fable, which otherwise would have been forgotten, and might have remained unrecorded, although of importance perhaps for the explanation of the nature and origin of Bushman mythology (Bleek 1874: 13; McGranaghan et al. 2013: 164).

The idea guiding Bleek here was the need to collect the language and folklore as well as artworks and material objects, used/made by such 'vanishing' races, so as to keep a record of them even though they, the makers of these objects, would be dying out. This 'salvage paradigm' (Clifford 1989: 73 - 78) inspired many researchers in the early twentieth century to trek into the landscape armed with coloured pencils, charcoal and watercolour paints to make 'facsimile' copies of the paintings. Writing at the time about the annotated volume of rock art copies by Helen Tongue and Dorothea Bleek, *Bushman Paintings* (1909), Alice Werner provides valuable insight into the labour-intensive act of copying and explains some of the challenges faced by early researchers, challenges that continue to make rock art recording difficult today:

> it is obvious that the best specimens of Bushman art are to be found in remote districts, not easily accessible. It would make one blush for our civilisation - were kindred facts not so painfully familiar - to learn what a few of the cave - paintings have suffered at the hands of picnic parties. Most of the farms which Miss Tongue visited are at a considerable distance from the main roads; and the caves or rocks had then to be reached by long drives or rides, or, in some cases, on foot, over the roughest of paths. The tracings often involved peculiarly difficult and harassing work - as, for instance, in one case, where they are placed on the roof of a cave. Where the figures were still visible, but too indistinct to appear clearly through the tracing paper, they had to be freshly outlined with charcoal, a proceeding which would have been somewhat hazardous in the hands of any but a trained artist. The colours were carefully matched with the originals, so as to secure the utmost possible exactitude in the reproductions, which are all of the actual size. The colours used are chiefly red, yellow, black, and white, obtained from various earths and ochres, and the red oxide of iron so common all over Southern and Central Africa. The nature of the blue and bluish-green pigments employed in a few of the pictures has not been satisfactorily determined. They were not laid on pastel-fashion, or by using the stones as one might do coloured chalks; but were mixed with fat and possibly some sort of gum, and seem to have been applied with something in the nature of a brush (1908: 338).

Different approaches to the act of copying and the use of varying copying techniques capture and reflect different aspects of the original paintings. Frobenius demonstrates an

understanding of the limitations inherent in the translation of original to copy. According to a letter written by Dorothea Bleek to her friend Käthe Woldmann, Frobenius had seen paintings by Stow nearly 30 years prior to his ninth expedition, while visiting Lloyd who was living in Charlottenburg, Berlin, at the time.[9] Stow alluded to making 200 'facsimile copies of Bushman paintings' (Stow in Skotnes 2008: 11), of which 169 copies have been accounted for (Skotnes 2008: 11). In her fine-grained analysis of George Stow's copying project and creative legacy, Skotnes suggests that Lloyd 'believ[ed] that [Stow's copies] were an invaluable archive of images recording many paintings that would not survive either the elements or the willful destruction that had already obliterated so many others in the rock shelters of the countryside' (Skotnes 2008: 10). As Skotnes goes on to point out, this prophecy came true and 'many of the originals that Stow copied have now disappeared or are so badly degraded as to be unrecognisable, so that his paintings are the only reflection of them that remains' (2008: 12-13). Skotnes observes that '[n]ot only is the art of copying a subjective one, even today, but Stow was concerned just as much to compose his own sheets of paper and he often distorted or contracted the spatial and



Fig. 1.17: *From rocks on the Thome River Queenstown Division. An elephant hunt* copied by G. Stow (Watercolour on paper, 50.6 x 68.1 cm), © Iziko Museums of Cape Town Social History Collections Department, South Africa.

[9] Document 11: letter from Dorothea Bleek to Käthe Woldmann dated 9. 4. 1931, La Rochelle, Newlands (Documents BC 210, Box 4 from the Woldmann collection at UCT).

scale relationships between the elements he saw on the rocks so that distant figures could be drawn into the composition' (2008: 13). Skotnes explains that

> While [Stow] aimed for the greatest possible truthfulness in reproducing the individual features of the paintings, the demand for fidelity to the original has more recently become so acute that by today's standards his attempts fall far short of anything that would qualify as 'accurate' (2008: 13).

While Stow's copies may not be considered 'accurate', they can be productively studied for the evidence they provide of his experimentation with different techniques that he used to capture the paintings. For example, his copy (Fig. 1.17) contains evidence of what Skotnes refers to as 'creative exploration' (1994: 319). The elephant and some of the figures surrounding it are rendered using a dark black paint. The opaqueness of the figures gives them a density and a heaviness quite unlike the ephemeral quality of the two ostriches running across the bottom left corner. While the saturated density of the elephant was probably painted by building up a number of layers of one dark colour, the ostriches were rendered sensitively using a translucent wash into which small touches of paint were cautiously added to create the outline and shading



Fig. 1.18: *Rocks on the Storm Berg at Buffels Vontein – one of the heads of the Holze Spruit* by G. Stow of a rock art panel in the Stormberg Mountains of the Eastern Cape (Watercolour on paper, 101.1 x 67.8 cm), © Iziko Museums of Cape Town Social History Collections Department, South Africa.

of the birds. Stow painted the antelope walking off to the right of the composition using a combination of these techniques.

In this copy Stow did not shade the background, giving the composition the impression that the figures were lifted off the rock surface and transposed directly onto the page as though floating across the off-white picture plane. What anchors the figures is that their feet seem to be grounded on imaginary surfaces running parallel to the bottom of the page. Some of the figures – the two below the elephant's hind legs – are not grounded in quite the same way. However, they are stabilised on a vertical axis that runs perpendicular to the bottom of the page.

In some of Stow's other copies (such as in Fig. 18) he begins to experiment by disrupting and discolouring the page, evoking the presence of the original rock surface onto which the paintings were originally painted. My research into these archives of reproduction techniques suggests that a significant distinction can be drawn between the impression of the rock surface that Stow's copies suggest and the purposeful copying of the rock surface that Goodall engages in through the course of her career. Stow's copy (Fig. 1.18) is transitional between the complete absence of the rock surface in 'Figure 1.17' and the meticulous attention Goodall paid to copying the variations of the rock surface itself, actively supporting and intersecting with the painted imagery, not merely suggesting it through non-specific shading of a general area.

## Superfluous duplications

In 1929, the artists of the Frobenius Expedition placed some of their copies on show in Pretoria at the meeting for the British Association for the Advancement of Science. Dorothea Bleek commented favourably on the large format copies she saw on display. While she did not approve of Frobenius's theories, and disagreed with his assumption that the 'bushmen merely continued an art and culture that had been developed in antiquity' (Weintroub 2015: 119), she 'admired the copying work produced […] and complimented [Frobenius's] researchers for working "diligently" and for saving "much beauty, and interesting things" from decay' (Weintroub 2015: 119). But from her personal letters can be gleaned a more critical assessment.

Bleek and Helen Tongue, a fellow teacher and friend, conducted an expedition (1905 – 1907) through the mountains of south-eastern southern Africa, to study and record rock art in the region. Their research culminated in the publication *Bushman Paintings* (1909), which consisted of rock art copies, painted and described by Tongue together with annotations and notes by Bleek (Weintroub 2015: 44 - 65).

In her intellectual biography on Dorothea Bleek, Weintroub argues that Bleek had, by 1929, developed strong views about how rock art should be reproduced. Bleek, who by the 1930s was regarded as a world expert on 'the bushmen' (Weintroub 2015: 144), did not approve of the methods used by the Frobenius team. Weintroub cites Bleek's assessment of the Frobenius Expedition's copies that she saw on display:

> Based on this viewing, she doubted the accuracy of colour, line and size in the reproduction produced by Frobenius and his team of artists […]. They were 'too highly coloured' and much bigger in scale than the originals, and furthermore in some cases they were superfluous duplications of paintings that had already been published - for instance, the copies she and Helen Tongue had produced 22 years ago at Modderpoort and Advance Post (Weintroub 2015: 119).

Prompted by Bleek's assertion that there were overlaps between the research she and Tongue conducted and that of the Frobenius Expedition, I began by consulting the Frobenius Institute's online Image Catalogue for the copies the expedition produced in Modderpoort (Bildarchiv




Fig. 1.19: Map reproduced in Tongue and Bleek's *Bushman Paintings* (1909: page unnumbered) showing the location of Modderpoort in the Orange River Colonies (now the Free State) (digital colour photograph by L. de Harde [red dot added]).

Frobenius-katalog 2019). I discovered that between Mannsfeld, Schulz and Weyersberg they had produced 14 copies of the original rock paintings and in addition took several photographs at the site. I systematically compared these copies visually with the series of loose colour plates which accompany Tongue and Bleek's *Bushman Paintings* (1909), and discovered copies which reflect similar selections from the painted panels. I illustrate and discuss one example in more detail in the following section (Fig. 1.23 & Fig. 1.24).

Modderpoort is a site located 14kms north of the town Ladybrand in the eastern Free State (Fig. 1.19). Today the land is collectively known as Modderpoort but was previously made up of two farms, Modderpoort and Modderpoortspruit, purchased in 1867 by Bishop Edward Twells of the Anglican Diocese of Bloemfontein. Twells bought the farms with the intention to build a mission station (Colman 2009: 2). In 1871 the Missionary Brotherhood of St Augustine of Hippo (Society of St Augustine or SSA) 'a self-supporting community, consisting of a brotherhood of five' inhabited the land (Colman 2009: 4). For two years while construction on the mission station was underway, the men inhabited a cave on the property. It was during this time that they



Fig. 1.20: Photograph taken by J. Deacon inside the Modderpoort shelter showing the layers of graffiti built up on the rock surface (1992 digital colour photograph by J. Deacon, JDC RSA MOE1 13), © The African Rock Art Digital Archive.

bricked-up one of the entrances and excavated the cave floor, widening the enclosure. Not only did the brothers live in this space, they also used it as a church until the completion of the Gothic stone church in 1872 (Colman 2009: 5).

When Tongue and Bleek visited the site in the first decade of the twentieth century they describe three caves located behind the mission house containing rock paintings. Of the paintings they observed that 'some [were] much faded and rubbed out, others 'improved' by the Black Watch, who have kindly left their autograph, but a few are still clear' (1909: 25). The inscription made by the 'Black Watch' is but one example of the many layers of engagements from different individuals and communities who have entered the cave and in some instances left their marks on the walls (Fig.1.20). As Sven Ouzman has provocatively argued that graffiti can be described as an 'artefact well-suited to archaeological analysis' (2010: 2). His study of the various layers of human interventions serves to 'de-center time [and] helps dissolve the hard distinction between the past and the present, and draws Archaeology closer to the realm of contemporary socio-political action and popular culture' (2010: 2). At Modderpoort, the oldest of these



Fig. 1.21: Colour photograph of a selection of the Modderpoort painted panels copied by both H. Tongue (1909) and M. Weyersberg (c. 1928) (Date unrecorded, photographer unrecorded, NASMUS RSA MOE1 49), © The African Rock Art Digital Archive.

traditions are the 'Bushman' paintings that adorn[ed] the cave walls and warranted the site being demarcated as a Provincial Heritage site in 1936 (Colman 2009: 3). Stephen Gill curator of the Morija Museum & Archives in Lesotho (pers. comm. 2009 in Colman 2009: 4), places other groups such as the Bakoena and the Bahlakoena in the area in the early part of the nineteenth century, stating that it was a group called the Baromokhele who inhabited Modderpoort for an undefined period in the nineteenth century (Colman 2009: 4). The Caledon or Mohokare Valley in which the Modderpoort site is nestled was also 'riddled with tribal contestations between the Basotho and Boers' (Moephuli 2016: 6) in the years preceding the arrival of the Missionary Brotherhood.

In an application to the South African World Heritage Committee in 1998, Modderpoort is described as 'Africa's rare centre for the amalgamation of different cultures and faiths that straddles through time' (1998 in Colman 2009: 3). In 2010 the United Nations Educational,




Fig. 1.22: According to the Frobenius Institute's online database this photograph depicts E. Mannsfeld and M. Weyersberg copying the paintings but on closer inspection it seems to show Weyersberg examining the paintings while an African person (whose name has not been recorded in the database, presumably employed to assist them in locating the paintings) looks on.(c. 1928, photographer unrecorded, FoA 09-12175), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.

Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) believed Modderpoort to be better suited to the status of a National Heritage Site (Colman 2009: 3). Today the site can be described as a 'living heritage of different cultural and spiritual manifestations' (Moephuli 2016: 6). The site has been well documented and has an extensive online presence on SARADA under the name MOE1 (SARADA 2019). Unfortunately human interference combined with natural weathering have caused irreparable damage to the paintings which are now generally faded and in some instances obscured with scratches and scribbles (Fig. 1.21).

A photograph taken by the Frobenius Expedition shows Weyersberg examining the same selection of paintings that she and Tongue copied at a time when the paintings were better preserved (Fig. 1.22). In her assessment of this panel, Tongue observed what she described as 'a group of elands', 'men with feathers', a bird that she believed to be a vulture and a figure that had been 'rubbed out' which she believed to be 'a man in disguise' (1909: 26). The figures that Tongue describe are all present in the copy she painted (Fig. 1.23).

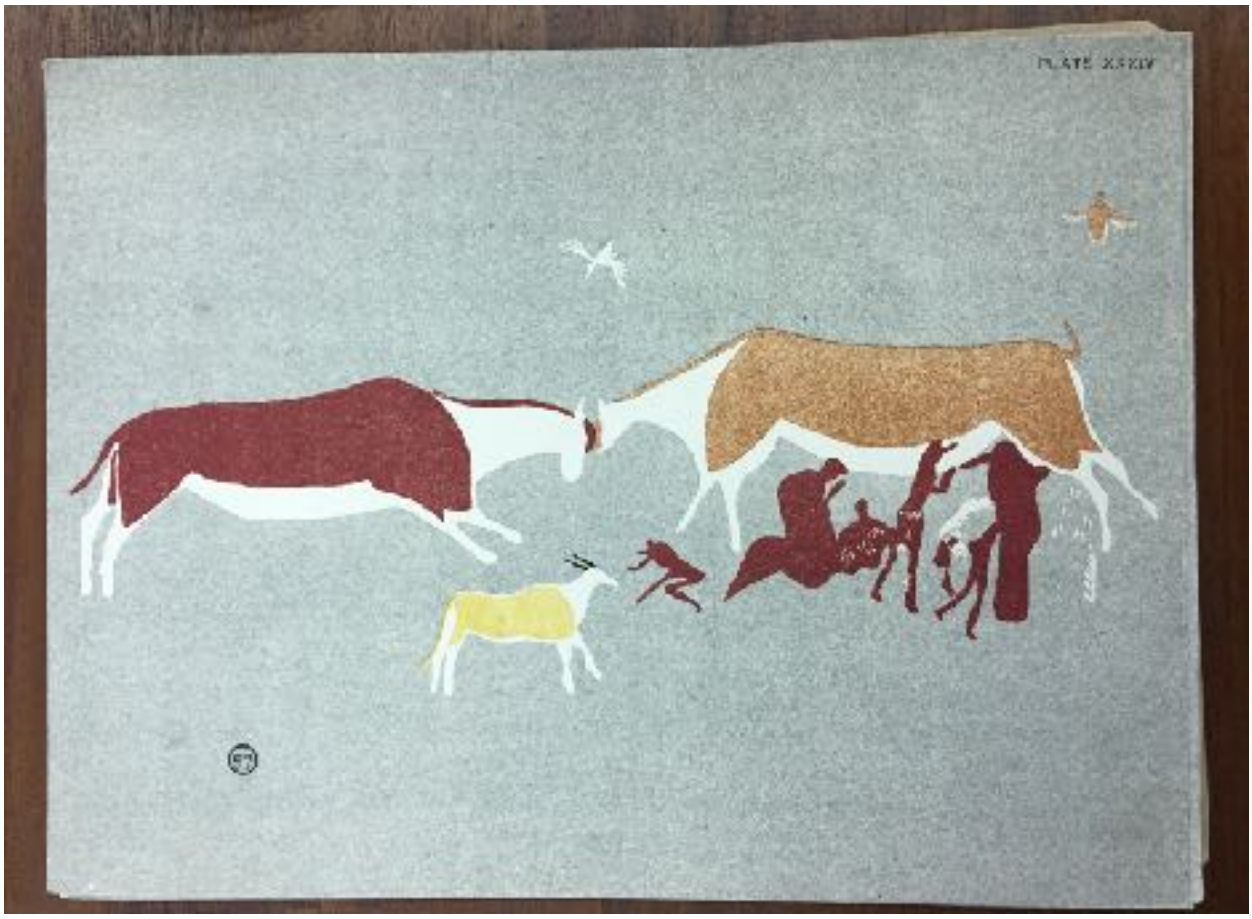


Fig. 1.23: Copy painted by H. Tongue and reproduced for publication on loose paper sheets accompany her book *Bushman Paintings* (1909: Plate XXXIV), (2019, digital colour photograph by L. de Harde).

Tongue's copy sits comfortably within the confines of the rectangular frame created by the paper. She constructs her composition around two large antelope which form the focal point of the composition and are positioned centrally along the horizontal axis. She only includes a small selection of other paintings, predominantly those that fit neatly within the frame constructed directly around the two prominent antelope.

Weyersberg's copy of the same panel (Fig. 1.24) is of a wider selection and includes a number of paintings in close proximity to the two antelope painted by Tongue. In her copy, Weyersberg decentralises the two antelope, moving them up and to the right of the composition. Weyersberg carefully painted the figures to fit within the selection established by the rectangular frame of the paper she worked on. Furthermore she paints the figures that are severed by the edge of the paper, creating the impression that the original painted panel continues beyond the frame imposed by the copy. Wintjes made a similar observation in relation to the copies produced by the Frobenius Expedition at Cinyati (now eBusingatha in the northern KwaZulu-Natal Drakensberg):




Fig. 1.24: Copy titled *Tafel mit vielen vielfarbigen Elenantilopen. Rechts einige Figuren in Gewändern* (*Blackboard with many multicoloured eland antelopes. On the right some figures in robes*) by M. Weyersberg (c. 1928, watercolour, 129.5 x 90 cm, FBA-D2 01546), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.

> Although the creation of an orthogonally framed composition around a rock painting is an inevitable consequence of the use of rectangular paper formats, it is oxymoronic in that there is nothing analogous to the frame in the original. But unlike other copyists who deleted figures from within the frame to reinforce the autonomy of a new composition, many of the Frobenius copies are rather more like sections cut out of a continuous pictorial fabric (2012: 186).

In addition to painting the full extent of the composition contained within the imposed frame, Weyersberg also carefully painted what she saw in the negative space between the paintings. She took great care to copy the shading and texture of the rock surface that forms the original canvas. The painterly treatment that Weyersberg affords both the painting and the rock surface/canvas begins to convey something of the experience of viewing these paintings *in situ*. Weyersberg draws attention to the relationship between the paintings and the surface on which they are rendered, with the original paintings often slipping in and out of focus depending on environmental changes, such as sunlight, experienced within the shelter.

Tongue observed that the antelope on the right had been painted over another group of earlier paintings depicting human-like-figures ('men with feathers') (1909: 26). She noticed that in some parts the red-brown colour used to paint the figures 'shows through the white of the eland' (Tongue 1909: 26). However this palimpsest is not conveyed in Tongue's copy where the human-like-figures are painted using flat smooth planes of colour, darker and more prominent than the antelope, giving the impression that they were painted more recently. Weyersberg's treatment of this same grouping is not as easily defined by outlines. The paint is more transparent creating ambiguity in the placement of these figures in relation to the antelope but also uncertainty around what exactly these figures represent. Again Weyersberg captures something of the experience of viewing the original paintings where figures are often ambiguous, unrecognisable and difficult to categorise.

## South Africa's 'New Columbus'

The work of the ninth expedition became more time consuming than Frobenius had envisaged. At some point he ran out of funds and appealed to the South African government for assistance to continue and complete the expedition (Struben 1930 in Mason 1989: 93; Schlanger 2003). D. F. (Daniel François) Malan, the Minister of the Interior, Education and Public Health at the time, granted Frobenius five thousand pounds towards this goal. In exchange for the financial assistance, Malan explained, Frobenius would, in good faith, 'make as complete collection as he could [of the painted copies], and […] give it to South Africa as a contribution to the material we want to collect for further study' (Malan 1930 in Mason 1989: 94). In one of her letters,

Dorothea Bleek expresses her view that the state grant of '2000 pounds was overly generous, and would have been better given to the South African Museum to fund the making of accurate copies' (Bleek 1929 in Weintroub 2015: 119) — and the amount was not 2000 pounds but 5000 pounds. Bleek was not alone in her view that the funds could have been spent differently, as the following debate in the House of Assembly on 24 January 1930 illustrates. The opening address delivered by R. H. Struben, the MP for Albany (a former district in the Eastern Cape) reads as follows:

> With reference to the grant of five-thousand pounds for the Frobenius expedition, will the Minister [D F Malan] tell us why it was necessary to employ this gentlemen when we have such a long list of qualified South Africans who are quite competent to do the work if funds therefore are available. I do not wish to cast any aspersions whatever on the work Dr Frobenius has done, but why spend the money on that expedition when the money could have been more usefully expended in South Africa by highly-qualified scientists already in the country? (Struben 1930 in Mason 1989: 93)

The exchange is relevant here for two reasons: it provides insight into the general perception of Frobenius at the time while simultaneously illustrating Malan's assessment of the value of the expedition's work.

Even though other South Africans were working in this area of rock art research and archaeology more generally at the time, many of whom were not as complimentary of Frobenius, Malan saw great promise in Frobenius's work in South Africa. This period in the emergence of archaeology as a discipline has been engaged with critically and extensively by contemporary researchers and historians (e. g. Dubow 1997; 2006; 2007; Schlanger 2002; Shepherd 2002). Malan exclaimed that never before had there been such an extensive undertaking embarked on in southern Africa to study and investigate 'bushman' drawings although these claims have been contested. Malan was no doubt influenced by Frobenius's international credentials, citing his position as a lecturer of ethnology at the University of Frankfort, the support he had received from the German government and the numerous published works ('thirty or forty') he had produced. Frobenius had also conveyed his intention to publish his findings, placing them 'at the disposal of the scientific world' on a global scale (Malan 1930 in Mason 1989: 94). Furthermore, Malan was impressed with Frobenius's tenacity, starting as a 'private research worker in 1904' and able to organise and lead many expeditions. Malan explains that in his view Frobenius approached the 'bushman' drawings from a new perspective, one that had not been explored prior, whereby he considered the art 'from a general antiquarian and broad standpoint' (Malan 1930 in Mason 1989: 96). Malan saw in Frobenius's work a tenacity to 'collect all the evidence he could to get a view of the culture which existed in South Africa' (Malan 1930 in Mason 1989: 96). Frobenius and his team were involved in collecting

empirical evidence, and they had 'not only examined the caves over a large area, but also made drawings […] labelled them territorially, and shown that the drawings coming from one part of South Africa differ greatly from others found in other parts' (Malan 1930 in Mason 1989: 96). Malan saw value in these documents and an opportunity to acquire them for South Africa:

> As the rock drawings are of so much importance, it is right that when a man comes here, apart from the conclusions he arrives at, to conserve them for us by having them properly drawn, and enabling us to have a collection in our museum, so that the material is available for scientists here and overseas, that we should support the undertaking (Malan 1930 in Mason 1989: 98).

This was probably the origin of the collection of beta copies that Goodall (working under her maiden name Mannsfeld), was primarily involved in producing when she returned to Germany a few months before the official end of the expedition (Keene pers. comm. 2018; Kuba pers. comm. 2018; Stappert pers. comm. 2019). In total, 374 copies were shipped to South Africa in 1931 and bequeathed to the South African Museum (now Iziko South African Museum) where they are still housed today (Keene 2010: 66).

Malan was impressed with the global sources Frobenius was drawing on in compiling his theories, 'investigating tradition in religious matters of the various old peoples of South Africa and comparing them with traditions in Egypt, Arabia and also India' (Malan 1930 in Mason 1989: 96). Dubbing Frobenius South Africa's 'new Columbus' (Malan 1930 in Mason 1989: 96), Malan explains that Frobenius

> made discoveries that we are not aware of. We regarded the bushmen drawings as a remains of the bushmen, but in the light of his research, and of course that of other persons, we have found that we had to do with the remnants of an old culture. He has shown the world that there is culture behind those drawings (Malan 1930 in Mason 1989: 98).

In response, J. H. (Jan Hendrik) Hofmeyr, concedes Malan's assessment of the value of the empirical evidence the Frobenius expedition was collecting[10]. However, not convinced by Frobenius's theories, he took issue with Malan's exaggerated and idealistic representation of Frobenius. Hofmeyr's response to Malan conveys the general suspicion with which Frobenius's theories were met. Furthermore, it also conveys an undercurrent of systemic gender bias present in the academy in the 1930s:

> I would class him with what I call the 'feminine' group of scientists. A wise man once said that in nine cases out of ten a woman arrives at a conclusion sooner than a man, but that in eight cases of nine she is wrong. I think this is the case with Professor Frobenius [...] (Hofmeyr 1930 in Mason 1989: 99).

[10] Saul Dubow compares the 1905 and 1929 visits of the British Association of Science to South Africa as a way of demonstrating the ways in which science had been 'South Africanised' by the early 1930s (Dubow 2009).

Even the Frobenius expedition as a whole is seen in a male-gendered light: 'here we have a man with his whole staff - I think there were as many as ten men' (Hertzog 1930 in Mason 1989: 105). Throughout these proceedings there are clear indications of the gender bias and 'old boys club' ideas that structured parliamentary proceedings at the time. Jan Christiaan Smuts puts Clarence (Peter) van Riet Lowe's name forward as 'one of our South African boys' who he believes, should have received the money (Smuts 1930 in Mason 1989: 103). The nationalist 'South Africa first' that begins to appear towards the second part of the proceedings is further fuelled by what appears to be the privileging of British influence as opposed to German. J. M. B. (James Barry Munnik) Hertzog summarises these sentiments, stating that 'we are dealing with scientific people, to get rid a little now of the prejudice of 1914 - 1919' (Hertzog 1930 in Mason 1989: 105). These political biases and rivalries among South Africa, Britain and Germany following the South African War (1899 - 1902) and World War I (1914 - 1919), are part of the contexts in which the Frobenius Expedition and Elizabeth Goodall were conducting their research (Dubow 1997; 2006; 2007; Schlanger 2002; Shepherd 2002), and later seems to have affected the ways in which Goodall's work was received. Throughout her career, Goodall remained associated with Frobenius, and her contribution was evaluated in relation to her German identity even though by the end of her life she had lived as long in the British colony of Southern Rhodesia as she had in Germany.

The contested evaluations of Frobenius's contribution to rock art in southern Africa notwithstanding, the debate reveals the attention South Africa was attracting from the scientific world (Dubow 1997; 2006; 2007; Shepherd 2002) in the first part of the twentieth century, 'because it had turned out to be the centre of great scientific interest from the point of view of its archaeology and history' (Standerton 1930 in Mason 1989: 101). In his discussion on the value of the work the Frobenius expedition was doing to preserve the paintings, Malan relays the sentiments of L'Abbé Breuil when he visited South Africa previously:

> To destroy or deface [the art] is like destroying archives, or paintings by old masters; for many of these rock-paintings are exquisitely done, and together they reveal the whole history of South African art, and, indeed, the whole history of ancient South Africa itself for thousands upon thousands of years. These ancient peoples did not write, but they painted. Painted their life, their customs, wars and occupations, their whole history. It is the duty of the Union Government and of the Rhodesian Government to realise their responsibility in this matter not only toward their own countries, but to the whole world. Many of these paintings are fully as important as are the Egyptian antiquities or the ancient Greek sculptures. Eventually, if properly preserved, they will draw to this country visitors from afar, not merely scientists, but members of the general public in large numbers, just as do the antiquities of Egypt and Greece (Malan 1930 in Mason 1989: 98).

In his closing remarks, Hertzog reiterates the importance of preserving and conserving the art:

> We are concerned here with a matter in our history about which we have heard for years that it is of the greatest importance in our country history and even culture for us to conserve and appreciate it. Anyone, however, at all acquainted with the history of South Africa knows that the drawings which in my youthful days could be seen everywhere in the Free State have almost or more than a third part, disappeared (Hertzog 1930 in Mason 1989: 104).

Present in these discussions which took place in the House of Assembly in 1930 is a clear sense of scepticism with which some of Frobenius's interpretive ideas were already being met. However, while the House could not agree on the validity of Frobenius's theories, they seemed to reach a general agreement that the active fieldwork that he and his team were pursuing was worth supporting and ultimately benefiting from. While this discussion demonstrates an uneasiness towards Frobenius and his theories, there does seem to be a recognition of the pursuit of a common goal which was to record and preserve the paintings.

In pursuing this goal, Frobenius fostered a relationship of collaboration, working with his team and trusting them as individuals to undertake their research autonomously. Shanks and McGuire ask, 'Should the ideal of archaeological work not be a craft ideal - the notion of apprentices working with their teachers to master the doing of archaeology?' (1996: 80). Frobenius sketched out the parameters for the expedition, while encouraging 'creative exploration' (Skotnes 1994: 319) in the field and crediting the contributions made by individual artists. By the time Mannsfeld returned to Southern Rhodesia and started her own career, she had engaged extensively in active fieldwork, she had co-authored a publication and had worked for many years as an archivist. As I have argued thus far, and despite how she has been framed in some accounts, Elizabeth Goodall returned to Southern Rhodesia with a concrete task and a set of objectives. She produced a number of copies, one in particular at Makumbe Cave, that is the focus of Chapter Four, would later be placed on display in an exhibition in Frankfurt. From the correspondence in her archive, it also seems that she remained in contact with her research team in Germany and received support from them, including Frobenius.

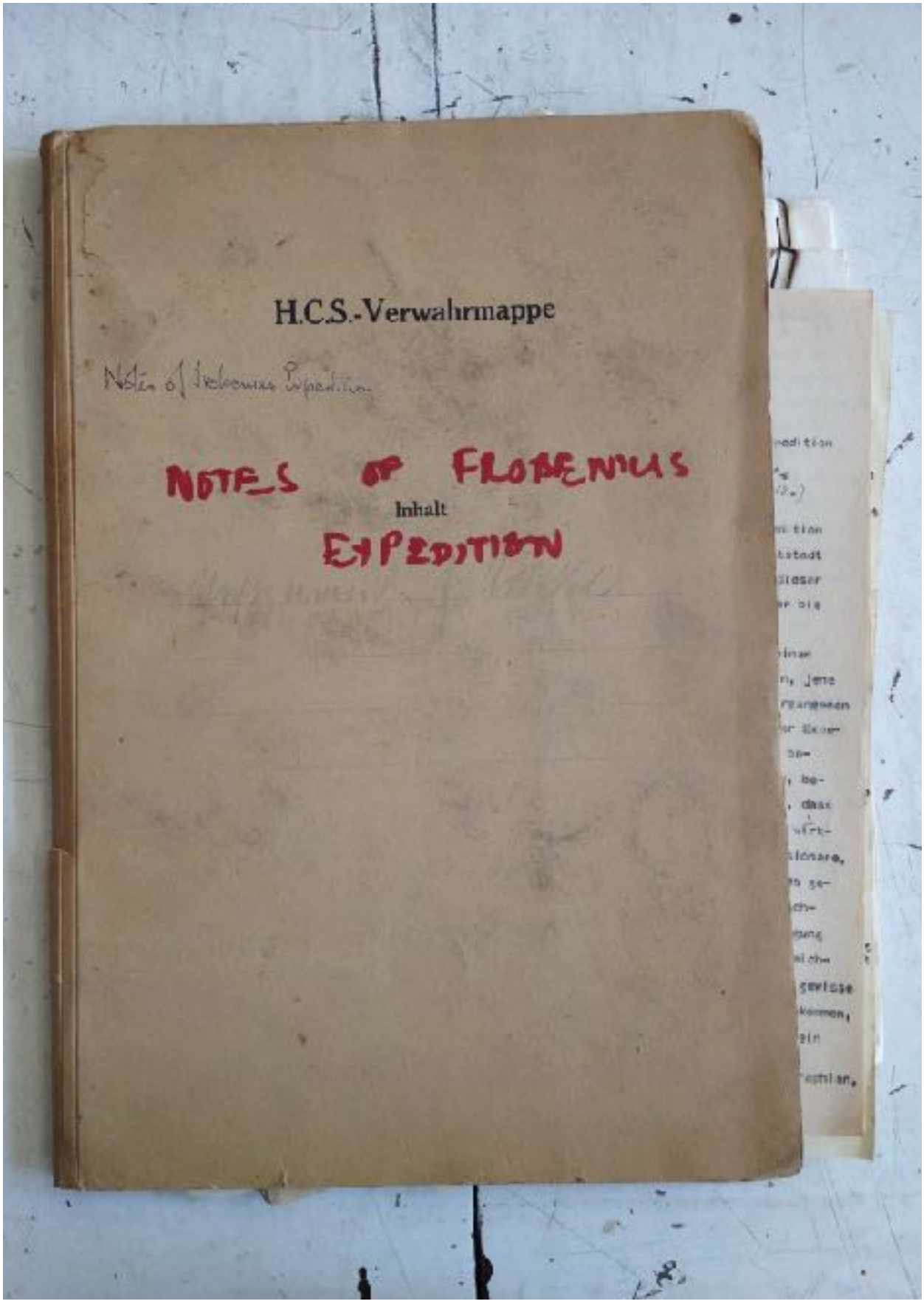



Fig. 1.25: A folder in the Goodall archive at ZMHS with a hand-written label 'Notes of Frobenius Expedition'. The folder contains, among other documents, letters to Goodall from the *Forschungsinstitut für Kulturmorphologie* (Research Institute for Cultural Morphology), (2016, digital colour photograph by L. de Harde).


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# Chapter Two

Across her forty-year career working in Southern Rhodesia as a rock art researcher in her own right, Elizabeth Goodall produced in excess of 500 watercolour copies of various rock art sites (Garlake 1993: 15). She recorded detailed sections of paintings as well as large panels reaching over 10 meters in length. One of these, Makumbe Cave, is the case study of Chapter Four. Goodall was studying paintings and engravings at a time before rock art studies had developed into a fully-fledged scientific field. As Peter Garlake has observed, it was a time when rock paintings were not 'considered of much interest or consequence by the Rhodesian public' (1993: 3). In Chapter One I examined how Frobenius and his team of researchers engaged in active (and experimental) fieldwork in southern Africa. Under the direction of Frobenius, the team trekked through the landscape searching for rock art. The immobility of the painted panels necessitated documentation that would not damage or compromise the original paintings. The team explored and experimented, devising on site methods of recording using a variety of creative techniques to capture the images they studied. The secondary recordings, fieldnotes and photographs were eventually selectively intertwined into Frobenius's theories some of which, as I discussed in Chapter One, can be described as spectacular and royalist. These publications reflect the public face of the expedition. Today many of Frobenius's overarching theories have been discredited, but that is only one aspect of the legacy of the expedition. Frobenius's team also collected an extensive archive of support material. The unpublished archival 'leftovers' of the Frobenius Expedition have served as a rich resource for extracting information about the creative engagements of the various members of the expedition.

In Chapter One I focused primarily on the various ways in which Frobenius may have determined or influenced the trajectory of the work Goodall would have been involved in during the formative part of her career. Through this discussion I have also demonstrated Frobenius's [in]famous status in the central narrative of rock art research. However, to focus solely on Frobenius's character and influence is to place my research in danger of succumbing to exactly the overpowering narrative that I seek to interrogate. I therefore concede that there are a number of factors that have contributed to Frobenius's prominence as a memorable historical figure, in

Fig.2.1 (opposite): A photograph taken by Wintjes of a photograph in one of the photographic albums (Volume 8) housed at the Frobenius Institute. This photograph is of E. Mannsfeld working at the rock art site recorded by the expedition as 'Aberdeen Farm' (FoA 09-12207 1-2), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.

relation to Goodall's relative submergence. One possibility is the division of labour among the various members of an expedition or research team. I have found Michael Shanks and Randall McGuire's summary of the different roles assumed by various archaeologists to be useful here. Shanks and McGuire formulate their distinction by explaining that very often there is a 'hierarchy in archaeology including those that lead to inequalities based on gender', explaining that there is a tendency to group individuals in 'gender-stereotyped images of the archaeologist as either a discoverer or a puzzle solver' (1996: 78). They go on to explain:

> In the discovery image the hero, usually male, risks life and limb to discover or uncover archaeological knowledge in exotic and dangerous lands […]. In the puzzle-solving image the archaeologist, again usually male, takes the pieces, the facts about the past provided by secondary specialists, often female […], and assembles these pieces to solve the puzzle of the past (1996: 78).

There is no doubt that Frobenius organised and directed the expedition with his own research objectives in mind, which were inspired and directed by his theoretical framework, ideological viewpoints, interests and biases as alluded to earlier on in this chapter. Frobenius travelled prolifically and made grand announcements about what his finds meant, generating public appeal and intrigue (1929: 333 - 335). Frobenius therefore slips easily into Shanks and McGuire's image of discoverer or puzzle solver archaeologist. But what about the artists he had working on his team? Although Frobenius published mostly under his own name and cultivated a strong public persona for himself he did not act alone and more importantly did not profess to act alone. As alluded to earlier, he actively sought the help of 'secondary specialists' whom he selected based on their particular visual/creative skill sets. Frobenius's theories notwithstanding, the point here is that Frobenius placed considerable emphasis and importance on the roles assumed by the artists in his employ and valued their contribution to his research. One may even go as far to hypothesise that Frobenius demonstrates an awareness of the bipartite relationship between the archaeologist and his support staff.

As discussed in Chapter One, Frobenius understood the role of technology in the process of documentation and therefore demonstrates an awareness that '[t]he archaeologist also needs a good technical understanding of the past and a respect for material objectivity' (Shanks & McGuire 1996: 80). It is necessary here to pause on this point because, as Shanks and McGuire explain:

> The facts of archaeological knowledge are created from observations of a reality, and the archaeologist must recognize that reality and master the technical aids that assist or allow us to observe it. But this does not mean giving absolute primacy to the object past. In the interplay between archaeological craftworker and object, both are partners in the final product. The archaeologist gains familiarity through working with the art[e]facts from the past, which defy this familiarity through their resistance to classification and

> categorization. The archaeological record can never quite be captured or pinned down - there's always more (1996: 80).

I turn now to look at some of the research that has been done on the fieldwork practices of the Frobenius Expedition to demonstrate how Frobenius fostered a collaborative work environment, encouraging creativity, autonomy and accountability in the members of his team.

In 2010 Richard Kuba, senior researcher and curator of the ethnographic collection at the Frobenius Institute, observed that relatively little research has been carried out into how the Frobenius Expedition to southern Africa was organized (Richard Kuba pers. comm. 2010 in Wintjes 2012: 89). In the past decade, interest in the archive has grown substantially, visible in the form of an exhibition at Iziko South African Museum (2010 - 2012), which was accompanied by a publication (Skotnes 2010), not to mention the research being conducted under the umbrella of Wintjes's NRF project. I turn now to examine one component of the Frobenius Expedition where significantly more attention has been directed to the fieldwork practices of the group. Towards the beginning of the expedition, the three women, Mannsfeld, Schulz and Weyersberg, diverged from Frobenius and the rest of the team to conduct research independently. What becomes apparent is that the fieldwork they carried out was not limited to a dry collection of data entirely governed by preconceived ideas, but was a process of learning about rock art as well as about the complexities of copying.

## Crafting fieldwork and archaeological enquiries

On 17 January 1929, Frobenius and Adolf Jensen travelled by car in a north-easterly direction from their research base near Pretoria, to Rusape in Southern Rhodesia, before moving in an easterly direction into Mozambique (Frobenius-institut.de 2018). At the same time, the three female artists, Mannsfeld, Schulz and Weyersberg, departed by train to Natal (Wintjes 2014: 220-221). The three women had already travelled together to Basutoland and possibly elsewhere before Natal, in the latter part of 1928 (2012: 90). It was a conscious methodological strategy for the members of the expedition to diverge in different combinations so as to cover more ground, and the details of many of the individual legs of the expedition still need to be uncovered (Wintjes pers. comm. 2019). My reason for pausing momentarily on the Natal leg of their journey is because there is slightly more detailed insight available into the way the women worked together in the field as well as at the sites they visited (Wintjes 2013). The primary objective of the Natal leg of the expedition was to visit rock art sites, and these were interspersed with visits to African villages (Wintjes 2013: 174 - 175). Over the course of the five-week period,

the women explored 11 rock art sites in the Natal Drakensberg. In addition to this, Wintjes notes that:

> ethnographic recording must have also been part of the mandate as the three artists documented aspects of local material culture, such as houses and dress, dedicating considerable time to making notes, sketches and photographs of these with careful observation, and interacting with Zulu-speaking people they met along the way, and with women in particular, whom they found friendly and engaging (Wintjes 2013: 177).

Wintjes has identified all 11 of the sites they visited (Wintjes pers. comm. 2018). As her starting point, she selected the most famous of these sites, which was also the site where the team spent the most time, recorded as Cinyati (2013: 167 - 205). eBusingatha, the name by which the site is known today, has endured many changes since it was first recorded by Mannsfeld, Schulz and Weyersberg. Sanctioned removals in 1947 and a natural collapse of part of the shelter in 1990, as well as ongoing processes of exfoliation of the remaining painted imagery, have significantly altered the experience of the shelter. Towards the end of January 1929, the women spent six days at the site. Notably, '[a]t Cinyati […] despite the extensive damage […] they discovered such outstanding representations among the painted remains that they saw a lot of work ahead of them when they arrived' (Weyersberg 1929a: 88–9 in Wintjes 2013: 180). This



Fig.2.2: Copy titled *Zug von Schreitenden, z.T. im Zipfelgewand. Weiße Elenantilope, Bogenschütze und dickes rotes Tier* (procession of walking figures, some of them wearing zigzag-edged garments; white eland, archer and bulky red animal) copied by E. Mannsfeld in 1929 (Watercolour and colour pencil, 110 x 70 cm, www.sarada.co.za: IZI-LVF-01-153HC; beta-version of Frobenius Institute Kat. Nr 645), © Iziko Museums of Cape Town Social History Collections Department, South Africa.

was in contrast to the poor condition in which they had found some of the paintings at sites they had visited earlier, where, in some instances, they had not found it useful to produce any copies (Wintjes 2013: 180). At eBusingatha, however, the women produced a total of 13 painted copies of the rock paintings using *Farbstift* (coloured pencil crayon) and *Aquarell* (watercolour). They also wrote field notes covering details of their journey, descriptions of the site as well as encounters with local people (Wintjes 2013: 180).

Wintjes relied on the detailed recordings produced by the three women artists to visually reconstruct the shelter to a time before the removals had taken place. In compiling and examining the photographs, field notes, sketches and copies made by the team of artists, Wintjes's assessment of their contribution is as follows:

> Without being able to say much about the 'meaning' of the paintings, the Frobenius artists produced copies that accurately reflect many aspects of the originals. In several cases they attempted to capture oversized samples, resorting to technically challenging formats in order to grapple with the continuous, mural-like painting. The recording gives the impression of true teamwork, so that the various parts fit together as a multi-authored whole, where individual authorship is not obvious. It is not always clear why the artists chose to frame the images the way they did, but, rather than each copy representing a new composition that stands on its own, most of them speak to a wider



Fig.2.3: Watercolour copy painted by E. Mannsfeld in 1929 titled *Versammlungsszene. In der Mitte sitzend Mann mit langer Maske, um ihn hockende Männer* (group scene, in the centre a sitting man with a long mask, around him squatting men), (46 x 30 cm, FBA-B 01067),© Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.

> visual context. The Frobenius artists also captured detailed contextual information and their notes tend towards the descriptive—concerned with the visual appearance of the rock art imagery without delving into the deeper verbal meaning—more ekphrasis than interpretation (2013: 199).

These early field experiences show that the three women were already engaged in close and attentive observation of the art, a practice that Mannsfeld continued throughout her career. I continue along the trajectory set out by Wintjes. However, my project deviates from Wintjes's exploration of Cinyati fundamentally in that while Wintjes is interested in using the archival material collected by the three women 'for the information it contains about one particular rock painting site' (2013: 167), the question guiding my study is not what the copies produced by Mannsfeld can tell us necessarily about the site, but rather what the copies (in relation to the original paintings) can tell us about the work Mannsfeld produced while working for the expedition, and how this experience set the stage for her later career.

## A day trip to Aberdeen

On Sunday 24 February 1929, Mannsfeld, Schulz and Weyersberg, travelled from Ladysmith in Natal (now part of the province of KwaZulu-Natal) to Harrismith in the Orange Free State (now known as the Free State). Their arrival in Harrismith marked the end of the Natal leg of the expedition (Wintjes 2013: 221). While stationed at Harrismith, the women continued to visit and record the rock paintings in and around the area. Here, their itinerary has not been pieced together in the same detail as has been done for their work in Natal (Wintjes 2012; 2013). However, by referring to Schultz's field notes, I was able to establish that it was during this time that they visited the rock art site that they recorded in the expedition catalogue *Enthält den katalog der Südafrikanischen felsbilderkopien der D(IA)FE 1928 - 1930* as 'Farm Aberdeen' (Frobenius & Mannsfeld 1930: 126) (Fig. 2.1). Aberdeen (site ABE1 on SARADA) was one of the rock art sites that I did not visit in person. I have therefore relied primarily on the Frobenius Institute database and the field notes taken by the women, as well as images featured on SARADA, to locate Mannsfeld's copy in the landscape. As Wintjes observes, there are many challenges involved in '[n]aming, numbering and documenting sites', which have been made slightly easier with advances in technology:

> Old primary archaeological documents are often neglected or lost while only a small, superficial or highly translated portion of the information is published. Aided by new technologies, sites can nowadays more easily be recorded more holistically, descriptively and accurately in the landscape, using digital photography, GPS coordinates and centralized electronic databases (2012: 92 – 93).

Today, the multiple images stored alongside one another in digital archives such as the Frobenius Institute database (and SARADA) can facilitate connections to be made between the site (recorded by name) and the copies, photographs and other materials that derive from it, within the constraints of a desktop study. However, without careful site mapping or contextual photographs showing the placement of the paintings on the rock surface, it is often impossible to match the secondary images to their corresponding position in the shelter. As a result, the pictures 'float somewhat ethereally over the landscape' (Wintjes 2012: 185).

Working in the early part of the twentieth century, the women did not have access to the digital technologies available today. It is possible that they did not realise just how many sites there were in the area. Consequently, they did not know to distinguish this particular rock art site from other sites that may have been located nearby and even on the same farm. They did, however, take photographs of the surrounding landscape and vegetation, and recorded the distance and direction in which they travelled from the nearest landmarks. In 2014, while participating in an expedition at the Royal Natal National Park, I experienced the value of this



Fig.2.4: Following in the footsteps of the Frobenius Expedition at the Royal Natal National Park. J. Wintjes and Miesha Hayden walking on a single track, behind Lawrence (Muzi) Msimanga who is visible in this photograph (2014 digital colour photograph by L. de Harde).

type of documentation while retracing the expedition's footsteps (Fig. 2.4). In preparation for the trip, with a view to bring elements of the archive into the field, Wintjes used the Frobenius Institute's database to collate various photographs and copies that the Frobenius Expedition had produced when they visited the park nearly eight decades earlier. Wintjes proceeded to print out the images she collected, in some instances gluing them together to form panoramas of the landscape (Fig. 2.5).

The location photography taken by the expedition members and printed out by Wintjes transformed the images into tangible objects that we could hold up against the rolling landscapes for comparison (Fig. 2.6). This process of *in situ* experimentation and exploration enabled us to pinpoint the exact locations of the rock art sites. We were able to develop a sensitivity for the surroundings while tracking down the sites and exploring the landscapes in which they are nestled (Bender 2002 & Ingold 1993). Furthermore, by comparing the photographs to the original subject, we on many occasions stood in the same positions as had the expedition photographers. Through this type of re-enactment, we were able to experience something of the



Fig.2.5: A collection of images printed from the Frobenius Institute's online image database that we took into the field to compare with the surrounding landscape. The location shots that are visible in this photograph enabled us to situate ourselves in the landscape in relation to where the Frobenius Expedition had stood over eight decades earlier. We also used these images to locate the paintings that the expedition recorded (2019 digital colour photograph by L. de Harde).

quality of fieldwork activities and processes of documentation that expedition members were engaged with, as well as the ability to pick up many different kinds of changes in the landscape. I would argue that this type of experiential knowledge making through trial and error, and visual exploration through the archive, can be richer and more useful for finding a site than a set of GPS coordinates. Each method of location recording has its strengths and weaknesses. The benefit is that today, we have access to a layered archive that can sometimes provide more than one set of details about location, and as we discovered, can add texture to the fieldwork process, enabling first-hand exploration and a physical engagement with the act of locating sites and recording them.

In her fieldnotes, Schulz records 'Farm Aberdeen' as being 18 miles from Harrismith travelling in a westerly direction, deviating slightly southwards. The paintings are presumably to be found on what she describes as a small cliff on the opposite side of a river, the name of which is not recorded but I believe may be the Elandsrivier (Google Maps 2019) (Fig. 2.7). In addition to the 'narrative recording' (Whitley 2005: 23) produced by Schulz, in the form of descriptive



Fig.2.6: Here Justine Wintjes is comparing one of the Frobenius Expedition's location photographs with the surrounding vegetation and landscape as she experiences it in situ. Miesha Hayden who was a doctoral candidate of Wintjes's at the time looks on (2015 digital colour photographs by L. de Harde).

notes written across six pages in one of the notebooks 'LF 476', the women employed two field recording techniques, hand-painted/hand-drawn copies of the rock paintings and photography of the site and surrounding landscape. The fieldnotes in 'LF 476' are often accompanied by a small pencil sketch capturing certain details of the painted figures that the team selected for recording in their hand-painted copies (Fig. 2.8 & Fig. 2.9).

The precise date on which the Frobenius Expedition visited Aberdeen and the amount of time they spent at the site have not been recorded in the notebook I had access to though it is possible that they recorded these details somewhere else. The notes they took are extremely descriptive, sometimes going into detail to record the exact colours used in the paintings as well as the exact measurements of certain figures (although again the reasons for providing this detail in one area and not another are not clear). In keeping with Frobenius's (1937: 18-19) ethos of recording and research, the notes describe the paintings in general terms, and a selection of figures in detail. The artists seem generally to have captured a good general impression of the




Fig.2.7: One of the photographs taken by the expedition at Aberdeen. It is possible that this photograph represents Schulz's description of the location of the site as a small cliff positioned on the opposite side of a river (1929 photographer unrecorded, FoA 09-12206) © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.

paintings alongside close attention to certain details, and so demonstrate an appreciation of the full site and an understanding of the richness of the art at different scales.

The women kept two kinds of notes, which can be categorised as site descriptions on one hand, and travel diaries on the other. As alluded to previously, while many of the visual materials in the Frobenius Institute's archive have been digitised, many of the support materials have not. For this reason it is quite possible that they may have taken other notes and produced further documents at Aberdeen. However, at the time that I conducted this research, I only had access to one set of notes, in the form of the site descriptions (Schulz c. 1929). Using the information recorded in this document, it appears as though the team had limited time to spend at the site. It is possible that their visit lasted only one day rather than several as at Cinyati a month prior (Wintjes 2013: 180). Yet despite their short visit, the three artists were able to produce nine copies in total. Mannsfeld produced seven of the copies, comprising six small format copies (less than 0.5m$^2$) and one medium format copy (between 0.5 and 1m$^2$). Most of the copies were produced using *Aquarell* (watercolour). Two were made with *Farbstift* (coloured pencil crayon), and one using

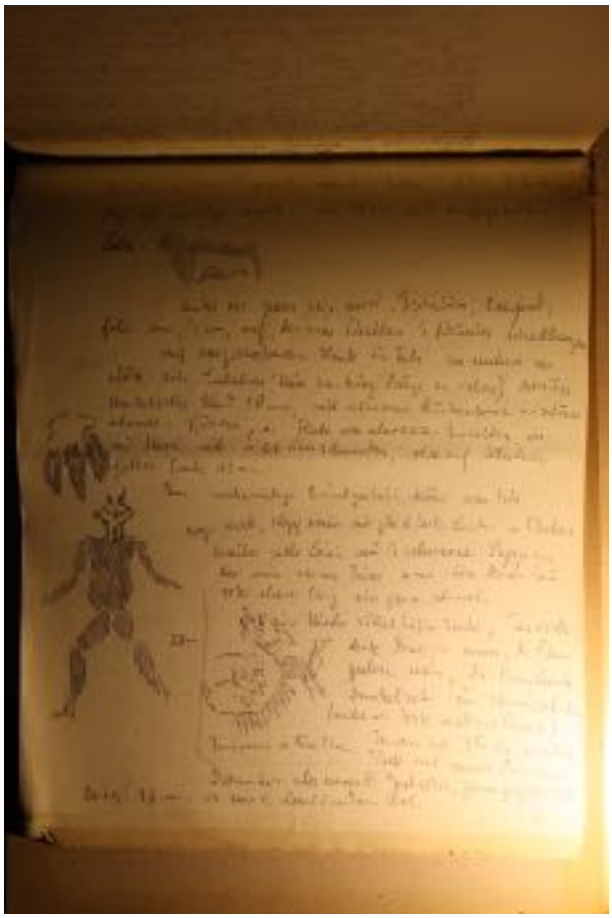


Fig.2.8: Sketches and fieldnotes take by Schulz at Aberdeen currently kept in the Frobenius Archive in a folder titled 'Freistaat' (2013 digital photograph by J. Wintjes), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.



Fig.2.9: The sketch in Schulz's fieldnotes corresponds to a watercolour copy painted by Mannsfeld titled *Mann mit Hörnern. Reste von Formlingen* (*Man with horns. Remains of formlings*) (1929, 17 x 36 cm, FBA-B 00968), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.


© Frobenius-Institut

Fig. 2.10: *Große Elenantilopen. Viele Gestalten, zwei mit besonderem Kopfputz (Large eland antelopes: Many figures, two with a special headdress)* copied by E. Mannsfeld using colour pencils on paper (1929, 58 x 76 cm, FBA-C1 01553), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.

*Tuschezeichn* (drawing ink). Weyersberg and Schulz produced one copy each, Weyersberg's a medium format using *Aquarell*, and Schulz a large-format (over 1m²) using *Farbstift*. In addition to the recordings of the painted panels and selected individual figures, the women took two photographs at the site. One of the photographs captures the landscape and surrounding vegetation and the other shows Mannsfeld closely examining the paintings.

In 1985, nearly 55 years after Mannsfeld, Schulz and Weyersberg visited Aberdeen, archaeologist and Professor Emeritus David Lewis-Williams singled out one of the historical copies produced by the Frobenius Expedition, titled *Large eland antelopes: Many figures, two with a special headdress* (Fig. 2.10), for closer analysis (1985: 27 - 28).

At the time, Lewis-Williams was leading a team of researchers into the field under a collective study called The Harrismith Programme. The Harrismith Programme was funded by the Human Sciences Research Council and the University of the Witwatersrand (Lewis-Williams 1985: 1). The research was carried out by a team of researchers consisting of two research assistants, Paul den Hoed and Bruce Fordyce (better known for having won the Comrades Marathon nine times), who were assisted by students from the Archaeology Department at the University of the Witwatersrand, Thomas Dowson, Terence Kohler, Jan Loubser, Conrad Steenkamp, and Gavin Whitelaw (Lewis-Williams 1985: 1).

This programme presented an opportunity for Lewis-Williams to direct a study based on a central thesis that he had developed some years earlier while conducting his doctoral research in the 1970s (1977; 1981). Lewis-Williams defines his overarching thesis as the belief that 'much of the art communicated ideas and values central to San thought' (Lewis-Williams 1981: 3). To establish these connections, cognitive archaeologists rely on the oral traditions of the painters themselves or, in the absence of the painters, the people 'most closely related to them' (Skotnes 1994: 315).

From the findings of the Harrismith Programme, Lewis-Williams compiled an unpublished report, 'Rock art recording and interpretation in the Harrismith District' (1985) (hereafter referred to as the Harrismith Report). Embedded in the 'Prolegomena' (1985: 3 - 8), Lewis-Williams outlines two discernible aims. The first is to apply the 'new theoretical interest' (1985: 3) in San ethnography to rock art in the Harrismith Area:

> In elucidating these interrelationships we do not, as was formerly the case, depend on shaky inferences and Western perceptions but on authentic San beliefs and associations which recur in myth and ritual: the art is essentially a religious statement, not a panorama of secular life. Nor is it sui generis, an isolated aesthetic efflorescence, but an integral part of San thought and life which cannot be studied in isolation. (1985: 5 [underlined in original]).

In contrast to the aims of the Frobenius Expedition, which were to produce something of a schematic and selective regional survey, the Harrismith Programme was interested in making detailed, comprehensive recordings of entire panels. While their approaches to the recording of the paintings are different, both expeditions are united in their respective assessments that 'the art is disappearing at an alarming rate' (Lewis-Williams 1985: 5). As a result the Harrismith Programme established that

> the position in the Harrismith area seems to be particularly discouraging, the prospect for southern African rock art is generally dismal. In not many decades only copies will remain together with the few examples which have been removed to museums. The pressing need for recording can therefore hardly be overemphasised. Future generations of archaeologists and anthropologists, from abroad as well as in our own country, will no more forgive us for allowing the art to pass into oblivion than they would forgive the Greeks for allowing the Parthenon to collapse. Such is the international status and importance of southern Africa's rock art heritage (1985: 8).

As I demonstrate by closely examining the copy produced by Goodall (Mannsfeld) in 1929 and the copy produced in 1985 by the Harrismith Programme of a similar selection, is that despite such similar points of departure, the copying techniques employed by either group could not be more different.

## From colourful copies to monochrome diagrams

At the time of writing the Harrismith Report, Lewis-Williams believed the Harrismith Programme's redrawings of the painted panels to be 'particularly noteworthy' in the 'success achieved' (1985: 28). In support of his argument, he compares a selection of one of the copies produced by the Harrismith Programme to Mannsfeld's copy (Fig. 2.15). Lewis-Williams believed that Mannsfeld produced her copy at a time when 'the paintings were in a much better condition' (Lewis-Williams 1985: 27). His reasons for selecting this particular copy were to me not immediately obvious. However, I was able to trace the copy's published trail to *Madsimu Dsangara* (1931: *Tafel* 101).

I conducted a visual analysis of the three iterations of Mannsfeld's copies (Fig. 2.12 - Fig. 2.14). The differences between the three reproductions are very slight, but on careful inspection there are a number of similarities between the image which Lewis-Williams reproduces and the one in *Madsimu Dsangara* (1931: *Tafel* 101). For example, the framing of both reproductions is similar but different from Mannsfeld's original copy, in that the hoof of the hind leg of the upper-most eland has been cut off by the frame in the same position. In Mannsfeld's copy that section of the hoof is still visible. There are also noticeable similarities between some of the

shading marks which are more pronounced in the black and white versions of the image compared to the original colour copy, for example in the bottom left corner of the composition. The similarities between the black and white copy in *Madsimu Dsangara* (1931: *Tafel* 101) and the copy illustrated in the Harrismith Report has led me to conclude that Lewis-Williams may have copied his image directly from *Madsimu Dsangara.* The significance of this is that because the copy in *Madsimu Dsangara* is reproduced in greyscale, Lewis-Williams may quite possibly have not seen the original copy in colour and therefore produced his critique of Mannsfeld's copy without taking into account the significance that colour played in her translation of the images.

In his discussion of the copy, Lewis-Williams chose not to credit Mannsfeld by name. Instead he refers to her as 'Frobenius's inexperienced worker' who overlooked a number of important figures, and was ultimately 'unable to decipher the jumble of paintings' (1985: 27–28). The caption in *Madsimu Dsangara* (1931: *Tafel* 101) credits Mannsfeld as the copyist. If my suspicions are correct and Lewis-Williams relied on this publication for his image, then it is not clear why he does not refer to her by name and it would seem he did not know that the author was a younger



Fig. 2.11: Photograph taken of a similar selection of the original painted panel that E. Mannsfeld and the Harrismith Programme copy (1999, photographer unrecorded, RARI RSA ABE1 85), © The African Rock Art Digital Archive.

Goodall either. One possibility may be that the '[i]mages produced under Frobenius's direction are frequently attributed to him and in South Africa it is not widely known that he did not produce all the copies himself, or even visit all the sites he published' (Wintjes 2012: 172). Lewis-Williams may have simply regarded the identity of the artist as unimportant because she was serving a larger research project, in this case, the Frobenius Expedition, which he does credit. This emphasis placed on the expedition and not on the individual maker of the image would be in keeping with Lewis-Williams's treatment of the copies in the Harrismith Report where the assistants are named at the beginning of the report but are not explicitly linked to any of the copies they produced. In this system of accreditation, the copies are not considered 'authored' as such and are the result of a collective effort, in which, for example, even if one person did the tracing, the final outcome embodies decisions made from discussion across the group.

The treatment of the artists working as collaborators in service of a specific project is similar in the case of both the Frobenius Expedition and the Harrismith Programme. But even though the Frobenius artists were working as a team, as alluded to earlier in this chapter, Frobenius sees the subjectivity of the artist as a positive attribution, and something that can strengthen the accuracy of their engagement with the paintings. Concerned with the problematic subjective and phenomenological position of the copyist (Leibhammer 2009), Lewis-Williams on the other



Fig.2.12: *Große Elenantilopen. Viele Gestalten, zwei mit besonderem Kopfputz (Large eland antelopes: Many figures, two with a special headdress) published in greyscale in Madsimu Dsangara* (1931a: *Tafel* 101), (2018 digital colour photograph by J. Wintjes).



Fig.2.13: 'Aberdeen 1. Frobenius copy' (1985: figure 4) in the *Harrismith Report* (1985). The cropping of the image is similar to that of Fig. 2.12 which has lead me to suspect that Lewis-Williams may have relied on the greyscale image in *Madsimu Dsangara* (1931a: *Tafel* 101) for his assessment of the copy.

hand, was experimenting with solutions for taking the idiosyncrasies of the individual copyist out of the redrawing.

Interestingly, the Wits Archaeology department sometimes employed students from the Fine Art department for the specific task of copying the paintings (Nettleton pers. comm. 2019). With these various stages of translation, involving different combinations of people the redrawing practice developed over time into a multi-authored activity, taking place away from the original art, resulting in the redrawers having not necessarily seen the original art on the rock.

Lewis-Williams stated that 'recording and interpretation are not […] two disparate activities, the first preceding and proceeding independently of the second' (1985: 4). He places this assertion as central to the efforts of the Harrismith Programme, where there is a 'stimulating and continuing interaction between recording and interpretation' (1985: 4). As he goes on to explain:

> Highly detailed recording has brought to light hitherto unnoticed features of the art and has thereby directed attention to San ethnography for possible explanations. At the same time, the San belief system has pointed us to features of the art which would otherwise have escaped attention or have been dismissed as unimportant. A symbiotic relationship thus exists between recording and interpretation (1985: 4).

Here Lewis-Williams's overarching concern is the inability of the researcher to collect site data (or evidence) objectively. Like Frobenius (Frobenius 1937: 18-19; Kuba 2018: 115; Oksiloff 2001: 100), Lewis-Williams also saw problems with the use of photography in recording rock art. Frobenius saw the lens of the camera as unable to distinguish between the rock surface and those paintings that are more faded and therefore less visible. In his assessment, Lewis-Williams did not take issue as much with the mechanical shortcomings of the camera itself, as with the preferences that guide the photographer, as the following quote demonstrates:




Fig. 2.14: A comparison between the three iterations shows a slight difference in the cropping between Fig 2.13 and Fig 2.14 which are similar and E. Mannsfeld's original copy shown here. This is most obvious in the bottom right-hand corner (FBA-C1 01553), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt.

> Whilst it is undeniable that many colour photographs produce pleasing and realistic likenesses, the technique has introduced unfortunate imbalances into the subject. In the first place, faint, damaged and vandalised paintings are not photogenic and are on that account ignored. This selectivity is compounded by most photographers' interest in variety;

> they do not wish to reproduce painting after painting of say, eland, unless the depictions have some specific merit or unique features. Consequently, books of photographs of rock paintings give an entirely wrong impression of the content of the art. True, for the purpose of aesthetic appreciation, photographs of carefully selected, well-preserved paintings can show the art to good advantage, but […] we have passed that rather naive level of research; we are now asking questions rather than merely admiring (1985: 13).

For Lewis-Williams and the Harrismith Programme the admiration of aesthetic qualities was a characteristic central to the research interests of the empiricists, who, he argues, for decades 'extolled the astonishing achievement of the San artists' for:

> their lively compositions, mastery of polychrome shading and foreshortening, all illustrated in this report, are unequalled by rock art anywhere in the world. But today these qualities are increasingly seen as a generous bonus or delightful prelude to more profound questions. I therefore take the aesthetics of the art for granted and concentrate on those avenues of research which have led to the present international interest: the recording of so complex an art and its interpretation in terms of the beliefs of the people who made it (1985: 3 - 4).

Aspects such as colour, which was so carefully and precisely recorded by the Frobenius Expedition, both descriptively in field notes and through the mixing and application of paint, was something that the Harrismith Programme almost entirely ignored. According to Lewis-Williams because, at the time of study, the paintings had already faded, and the colours today are different from the ones applied to the rocks by the original painters, there is no way of knowing what the original shades of colours were. For this reason, he believed that, 'there is little reason for recording the faded tint now remaining' (1985: 25). Seeing the careful recording of colours as 'wasteful of time and energy' (Lewis-Williams 1985: 25), the Harrismith Programme notes only the 'principle colours' (Lewis-Williams 1985: 25), which are red, white, yellow and ochre, on the field tracings, using coded annotations. 'Even within a single painting,' Lewis-Williams observed, 'a colour can vary considerably owing to fading, and the reproduction of such variations would be irrelevant to an interpretative study. (1985: 25). Placing colour and tonal variations beyond the scope of their recording interests, the members of the Harrismith Programme employed a monochromatic recording method that was favoured by the Rock Art Research Institute (RARI), and is still in use today.

From Lewis-Williams's position, if the interpretation of evidence was compromised by the phenomenological position of the interpreter, then evidence collected would also be tainted in much the same way by the person deciding what evidence to collect. To mitigate this problem, Lewis-Williams reached the conclusion that 'the ultimate evaluation of a recording technique is the degree to which it succeeds in accomplishing the aim of the research project' (1985: 28). He elaborates on this point saying:



Fig. 2.15: A section of the monochrome tracing produced by the Harrismith Programme at Aberdeen. This photograph was taken of a page from the *Harrismith Report* (1985) clearly showing that a portion of the copy has visibly been cropped to echo a similar selection made by E. Mannsfeld over 5 decades earlier (date unrecorded, tracer unrecorded, RARI RSA ABE1 9R), © The African Rock Art Digital Archive.

> A common error is the supposition that there is only one correct or best way to record rock paintings. On the contrary, the choice of a recording technique depends, as with any research, upon the aim of the study. The aim dictates the data worthy of record, the degree of accuracy required, the quantity of data necessary and the manner in which the data should be presented. Conversely, uncritically selected recording techniques themselves introduce biases into the data and can thus covertly skew the avowed aims of a study (1985: 10).

It is not at all surprising, given Lewis-Williams's position on the phenomenological limitations of the interpreter to infer information from the evidence collected, that he would see the act of evidence collecting (in this case the recording of rock art) as similarly compromised by the theoretical position of the copyist (secondary specialist). For Frobenius and Goodall the roles of discoverer/ puzzle solver archaeologist (interpreter of evidence) and secondary specialist (evidence collector), respectively, were separate tasks each with their own specialist training. Lewis-Williams does not see these two positions as separate rather seeing them both as serving one objective – interpretation. This approach is befitting of the trends of the 1960s, when 'New Archaeologists'



Fig.2.16: Thomas Dowson and Paul den Hoed carefully tracing the paintings at Aberdeen. The sheets of high-quality tracing paper (Ozatex) are visibly taped to the rock surface (1983, photographer unrecorded, RARI RSA ABE1 18), © The African Rock Art Digital Archive.

> sought to make archaeology more legitimate as an intellectual pursuit; a nomothetic science we could all be proud of. New Archaeologists wanted it to be more than a set of techniques, and they elevated theory to a pursuit that directed fieldwork. This desire considerably inflated one of the divisions that we live with now - particularly the separation of the theoretical from the dirt-digging archaeologist (Shanks & McGuire 1996: 77).

Lewis-Williams does not necessarily separate the dirt-digging archaeologist (in this case; rock art recorder) from the theoretical (as Goodall and Frobenius were previously separated by a division of labour based on the individual skill sets required for each endeavour). Instead, he merges the two roles under one thesis and argues that both should be driven by theory (the trance hypothesis). To substantiate this consolidation, he argues that both approaches are compromised by the subjective position of the researcher responsible and should therefore be determined by San thought. The solution was to develop a recording practice that aimed to altogether eliminate the subjectivity of the individual recorder.

In the Harrismith Programme, the tracers first taped the high-quality tracing paper (Ozatex) to the rock surface, taking care not to touch the paintings with the tape (Fig. 2.16). The paper was sometimes cut to fit the paintings accounting for the uneven surface of the rock and allowing the tracer to position the paper as close as possible to the paintings (Lewis-Williams 1985: 23 - 24). For the Programme, precision was of absolute importance, requiring an exact replica of the various motifs in the panel as well as the painted line to be reproduced. The researchers found that paint and felt-tipped pens did not produce sufficiently fine lines and therefore preferred the use of clutch-pencils. Pencil was also favoured because it is easier to erase mistakes (Lewis-Williams 1985: 23 - 28; Wintjes 2012: 15 - 16). These field tracings are later assembled off site into one continuous drawing showing the relationship between the panels as they are positioned in the shelter. The method is not dissimilar to the monochrome diagrams early researchers derived from tracings and other copies. Mannsfeld herself produced a variety of these for publication in *Enthält den Katalog der Südafrikanischen Felsbilderkopien der D(IA)FE 1928 - 1930* (Frobenius & Mannsfeld 1930). For the Frobenius Expedition, the decision to produce monochrome diagrammatic representations for the purposes of publication may have been economically motivated but the copies also served to draw out particular motifs that featured in Frobenius's discussions, thereby fulfilling an interpretive role.

One of the overarching aims of the Frobenius's expedition was to produce a selective regional survey rather than detailed, comprehensive recordings of entire panels, which is what the Harrismith Programme sought to do. The copies produced by the Harrismith Programme and the recording methods they employed reflect this. The Harrismith Programme paid careful attention to the entire shelter, taking great care to position the tracing paper in such a way that it

overlaps and can therefore extend to encapsulate the panel in its entirety rather than cropping smaller selections. The researchers 'marked each page so that the panel can be reconstructed in the laboratory where several small pieces of Ozatex may be redrawn on a single large sheet' (Lewis-Williams 1985: 24). Seeing the figures grouped together as units or panels and not necessarily as accumulations of separate figures, the Harrismith Programme was interested in the relationship between the panels as well as their position in relation to the larger shelter. According to Lewis-Williams, this information would be indicated on the site diagram; however, it is clearly not visible in the selection of the recording reproduced in the report (Fig. 2. 15). One drawback of this approach is that the black ink used in the redrawing of the diagram oversimplifies any variations of shading or tone making it impossible to distinguish between what can sometimes be multiple layers of separate figures (Skotnes 1991; Wintjes 2012: 15 - 16). In fact, the palimpsest is rendered ambiguously at times making it difficult to decipher the superimposition.

For example, in the photograph taken of the original panel, the head of the second eland seems to be obscured by the hind leg of an antelope positioned to its right (Fig. 2.19). In the Harrismith Programme's redrawing, the line of the head continues in much the same way as it would if the head was fully visible in the original panel. Without shading or tone to differentiate



Fig.2.17: Detail from the Harrismith Programme's tracing showing a definite outline of the head of the eland overlapping the hind leg of the eland in front of it (RARI RSA ABE1 9R), © The African Rock Art Digital Archive.



Fig.2.18: Detail from E. Mannsfeld's copy showing her treatment of the palimpsest of the eland head. Similar to the original painting (Fig. 2.19) Mannsfeld's depiction is ambiguous (FBA-C1 01553), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt.

between the two motifs, it is very difficult to gauge the layering of the paint. The traced redrawing shows a clear outline of the muzzle of the eland (an expression of certainty, unambiguous presence), whereas the coloured pencil sketch shows a dissolving of the head against the leg of an adjacent, much larger antelope, which is a very different visual expression, and one more in keeping with the original panel.

Aware of this shortcoming in the tracing method, Lewis-Williams explains:

> The field-tracings are also annotated to assist redrawing and general understanding. With superpositions, for example, it is often hard to be sure which of two paintings is uppermost; this is then noted on the field-tracing (1985: 25).

Other aspects of the paintings are noted on the tracing in a similar way, such as when they 'appear from or disappear into cracks in the rock face, the position of flakes and so forth and also the tracer's name, the date and the vertical' (Lewis-Williams 1985: 25). I was unable to find the field tracing for this grouping of figures on SARADA (2019), but I did manage to find another example that illustrates Lewis-Williams's point that details, in this case sections of the rock that have flaked off, are recorded on the field tracing (Fig. 2. 20).

If, however, a selection of the tracing is extracted from the original, redrawn and published elsewhere, as is the case of the copy produced by the Harrismith Report (Fig.. 2.15), the additional information is not always transferred. This can lead to misinterpretation of the original painting, as indicated in the previous example of the superimposition of the eland's head (Fig. 2.17 - Fig. 2.19).



Fig.2.19: Detail from the original painting showing the palimpsest of the head of an eland and the hind leg of the of another. Here is is difficult to distinguish layering of paint (RARI RSA ABE1 85), © The African Rock Art Digital Archive.

As previously mentioned, the redrawing (Fig. 2.15) published in the Harrismith Report is a cropped selection from a much larger tracing. The selection that Lewis-Williams chose to reproduce was cropped precisely to echo the framing of Mannsfeld's copy to make a fair comparison. The redrawing produced by the Harrismith Programme encompasses a wider view, extending the selection upwards and to the right of what Mannsfeld had originally selected. Lewis-Williams's critique of Mannsfeld's copy rests primarily on the fact

that he believed she overlooked certain details that the Harrismith Programme deemed essential to its interpretation of the original panel. Lewis-Williams noticed one figure in particular that Mannsfeld omitted in her tracing, 'a human figure in the arms-back trancing posture in the lower part of the panel and the antelope-headed serpent which bleeds from the nose and is partly obscured by the very large eland's leg' (1985: 27). He believed that Mannsfeld missed these and other figures depicted in the original painting because of her 'inexperience', which resulted in her 'not know[ing] what to look for' and being 'therefore unable to decipher the jumble of paintings' (1985: 27 - 28). Lewis-Williams is correct in his assessment that early researchers did not necessarily make connections to the ethnographic material that was available at the time, to decipher the paintings from the 'San thought' perspective (Lewis-Williams 1981: 3). Yet, despite his assertion that 'the choice of a recording technique depends, as with any research, upon the aim of the study' (1985: 10), in his assessment of the Mannsfeld copy, Lewis-Williams does not consider the context in which she was working, which would take into account the research aims of the Frobenius Expedition that Mannsfeld was a part of.

Mannsfeld may not have produced her copy with the same interpretive aims in mind, but she was fulfilling another aim that she shared in common with the Harrismith Programme. This aim was driven by the need to produce records of the original paintings for fear that they may at any moment be permanently destroyed.

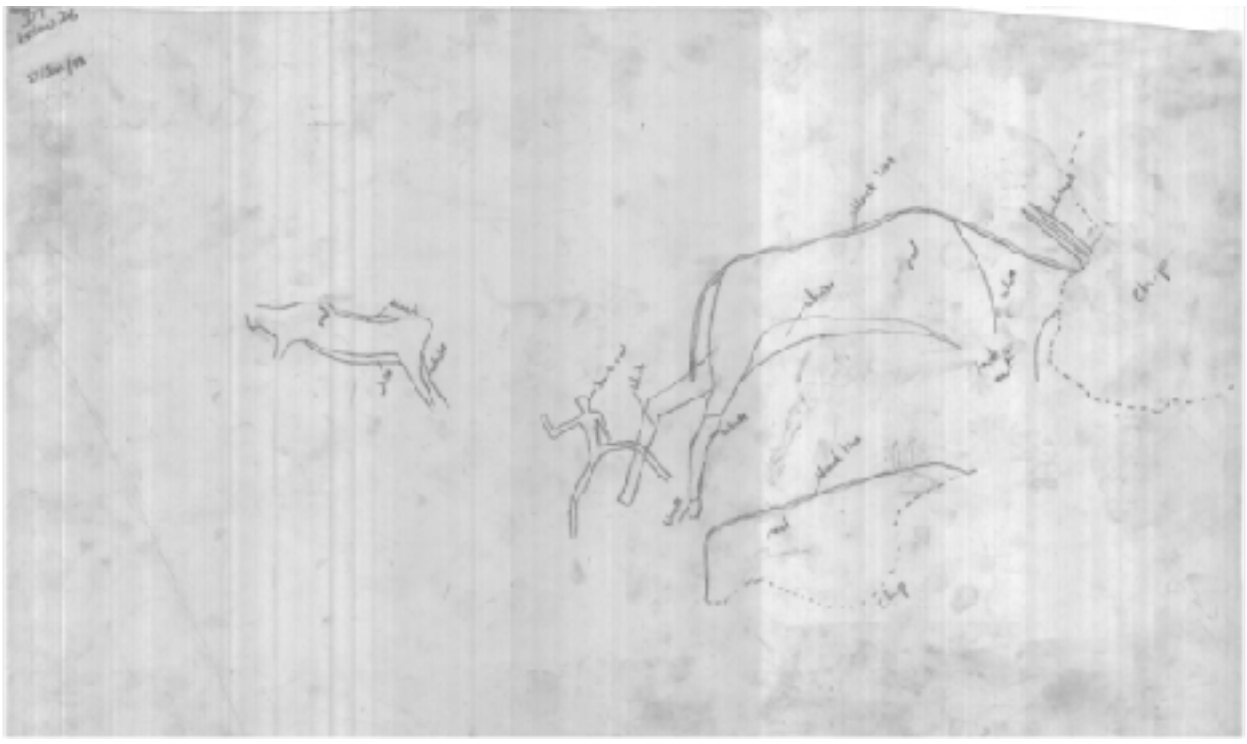
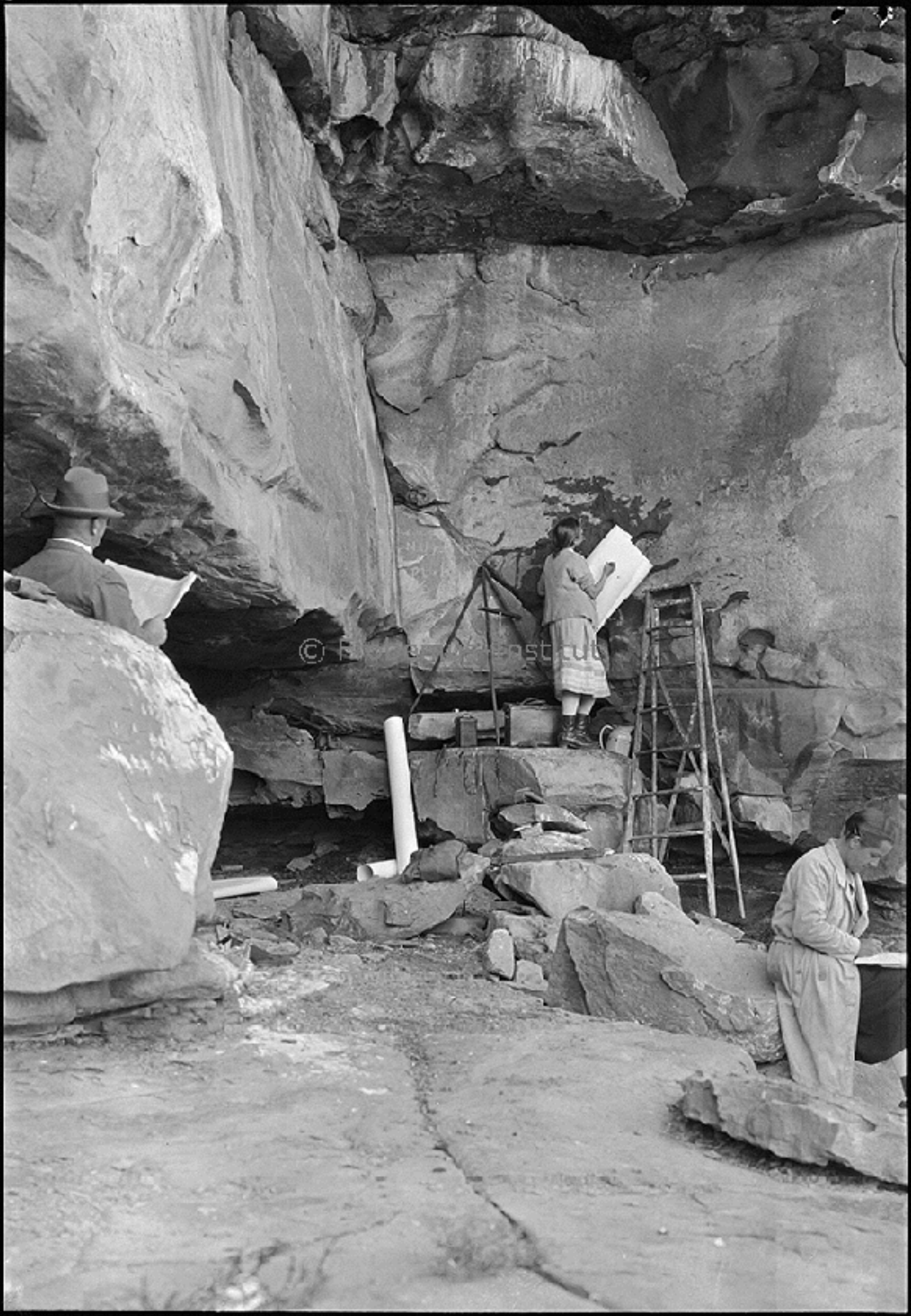


Fig.2.20: Details about the paintings are recorded in this original field tracing. However, these details are not always carried across in the secondary copy produced using black ink as I have demonstrated using the example published in the *Harrismith Report* (1985) (Fig. 2.15), (1983, tracer unrecorded, RARI RSA ABE1 4T), © The African Rock Art Digital Archive.

Examining Mannsfeld's copy and the copy produced by the Harrismith Programme from this perspective, Mannsfeld's copy demonstrates a sensitivity in capturing various elements of the original such as colour, shading and texture. These elements are lost in the flat monochrome redrawings. In 1991, Pippa Skotnes reflected on the standardized method of archaeological recording, similar to that employed by the Harrismith Programme:

> Traced from the rock surfaces, these line drawings bare both the stylistic imprint and the subjective biases of the researcher. All suggestion of emotive and expressive qualities are eliminated - these are of course, precisely an effect of colour and form - and the paintings are thus reduced to unidimensional diagrams. In short, they lose precisely those qualities which the word 'art' implies in the first place (1991: 16 - 17).

The monochromatic diagrammatical approach of the 1980s was initially developed to reduce the idiosyncratic marks made by the hands involved in reproducing the paintings. Yet, while this technique has served to eliminate the individual hands of the recorder, the slick black lines of ink have simultaneously reduced the distinctive characteristics of the original rock paintings (Skotnes 1991). Consequently, the monochrome recordings altogether diminish the unique styles of the original rock painters responsible for the art. The Harrismith Programme produced copies that accurately capture the contours of the figural content of the imagery, but that eschew other significant aspects like colour.



# Chapter Three

Towards the end of 1929, a few months shy of the official end of the expedition, Mannsfeld returned to Frankfurt to collate and process the materials collected by the expedition. She co-authored the expedition catalogue *Enthält den Katalog der Südafrikanischen Felsbilderkopien der D(IA)FE 31928 - 1930 (1930)*, hereafter referred to as the *Katalog*, which is an inventory of rock art copies produced by the members of the expedition. This list of copies is accompanied by simplified monochrome illustrations of some motifs isolated from the copies. It was also during this time that Mannsfeld took on the task of preparing the 'beta' copies that were made to form a partially complete set of the Frobenius expedition's body of work, bequeathed to the South African Museum (now Iziko South African Museum) in 1931 (Keene 2011: 18). As mentioned in the previous chapter, this set of copies may have been one of the conditions under which the South African government granted Frobenius the amount of 5000 pounds to conduct his expedition. Mannsfeld was the main artist involved in producing this second generation of copies, working largely on her own, studying the original field copies produced by the various artists on the expedition, and reproducing them by hand (Kuba pers. comm. 2018). Later that same year, she returned to Southern Rhodesia where she married Leslie Goodall, whom she had met during the Rhodesian leg of the expedition. At the time of their meeting, Leslie Goodall was working for the British South African Police (BSAP) and had been stationed in Salisbury (Raath 1971: 1).

According to the biographical record compiled by Michael Raath, her colleague at the Queen Victoria Museum, it was not long after settling in Salisbury that Goodall resumed her rock art research. Using the opportunity to deepen her knowledge of the sites being no longer a traveller in this landscape but a resident, and building on the regional survey approach employed by the Frobenius Expedition, she concentrated specifically on various painted shelters in Mashonaland, a region in northern Zimbabwe. The paintings in this area were relatively easily accessible from her home in Salisbury (Harare), situated in Mashonaland. She saw the paintings as 'impressive', representing 'a long, unique, epoch, of recording events and religious ceremonies of a bygone age upon the granite pages preserved in […] magnificent caves and shelters' (1959: 3). For Goodall, the paintings in the Mashonaland area held 'an abundance of evidence on the

Fig.3.1 (opposite): A photograph taken during the Orange Free State leg of the Frobenius Expedition while the team visited a site in Harrismith c. 1929. Elizabeth Mannsfeld is photographed in action, carefully studying and copying the rock art. Jensen is also seen in the photograph on the left and Weyersberg is seated on the right (FoA 09-12210), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.

rocks of great documentary value' (Goodall 1959: 3), which continued to inspire in her a creative engagement right up until the time of her death in 1971.

Raath commented that 'the newly married Mrs Goodall proceeded with her rock art studies, especially at sites in Mashonaland such as Chikupu Cave – near Bindura; Makumbe Cave – in the Domboshawa area; Mawanga Cave, and others' (1971: 1). Goodall would have been familiar with many of these sites, having visited some of them during the Frobenius Expedition and having recorded many of the paintings herself. In addition to her active involvement in recording and documenting the parietal images at numerous sites first-hand, she would also have learned indirectly about the original painted panels at other sites through her interactions with the documentary material collected by the other expedition members, while compiling the *Katalog* in 1930, and later when reproducing the beta copies for the South African Museum. Her practice of revisiting rock painting sites in the landscape of which secondary images already existed, was not limited to sites that had been recorded by the Frobenius Expedition. Indeed, Goodall revisited some of the sites of her own copies and produced new versions of those copies, or created newly composed copies from sites she had already documented. The emphasis she placed on producing her own first-hand copies, linked to this reiterative manner of working, is crucial to my view of her extraordinary commitment to her project.

As argued above, Goodall's return to Southern Rhodesia marked the start of a new emphasis and direction in her career, where she would initially devote dedicated attention to making, sometimes re-making, finely detailed recordings of rock paintings she had in some cases previously documented while working for Frobenius. This initial period of energetic fieldwork and copying was later limited by a new phase in which her attention was diverted, as curator, towards administrative and managerial work in the museum. In this chapter I begin by exploring this new phase in Goodall's career as she carved a space for herself in the emerging intellectual milieu of rock art research and archaeology in Rhodesia.

## Elizabeth Goodall and the Queen Victoria Museum

According to Ruth Whyte, who worked for a time as the Honorary Keeper of History at the QVM and compiled a comprehensive article on the history of the museum, Goodall's name and the 'valuable work' she did for the museum first appears in museum records in September of 1934 (Whyte 1973: 319). Whyte notes that it was in (Southern) Rhodesia where Goodall 'began her life's work of recording and copying rock paintings' (1973: 319). Goodall's association with the museum began in 1934, when she curated an exhibition at the Queen Victoria Memorial

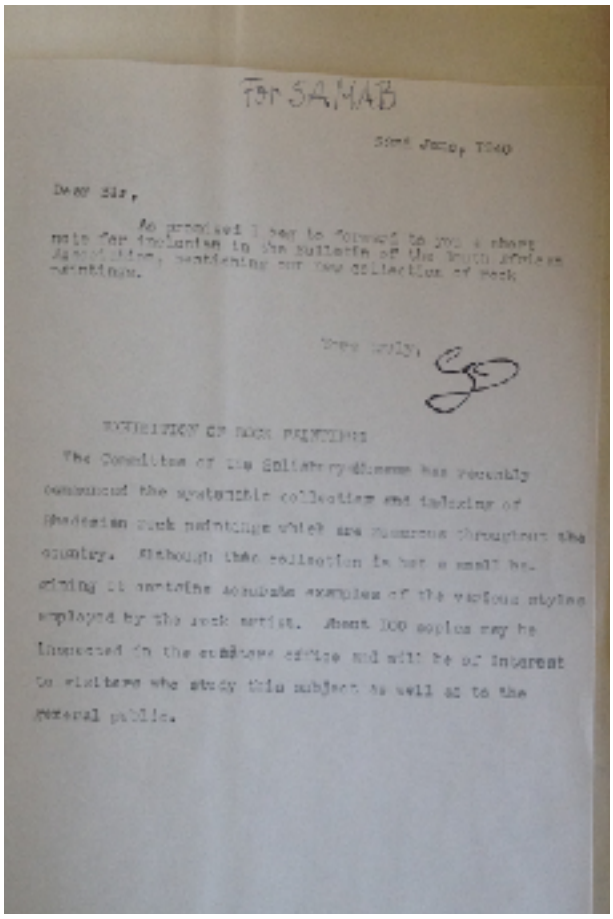
Library and Museum then occupying a building on Moffat Street, Salisbury (Fig. 3.2) (the museum later moved into its own premises where it stands today [ZMHS]). The display consisted of a selection of 12 rock art copies that she had painted. According to the museum's records, in 1935 Goodall sold 32 of her copies to the museum for 20 pounds, which even then was a reasonable fee (Raath 1971: 1). From this account, her association at this point, at least in terms of her copying practice, was not simply as an employee in which role her recordings would have formed part of her job description and by extension an integral part of the institutional archive.

By 1939 she was engaged in more formal work for the museum, branching out into ethnography, while still continuing her rock art recording practice. It was at this time that she



Fig.3.2: A photograph taken at the opening of the Queen Victoria Memorial on 28 February 1903, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia (photographer unrecorded). In later years the building was demolished and the Salisbury Girl's High School was built in its place (Waters 2015: 441).

began compiling an index of Rhodesian rock paintings, a valuable record that was incorporated into a master national register of rock art sites by the Historical Monuments Commission of Southern Rhodesia. From the archival materials that survive her, it seems that Goodall seldom clearly articulated the motivations behind her commitment to her scholarship. However, there are some documents that provide glimpses into the thoughts of this private person. For example, Goodall believed the copies to be a 'necessity for the museum' (excerpt from 'General Aspects of rock-paintings' date unrecorded: 2 [2016-08-19 13.53.40]). She explained that they were necessary 'in order to get the whole picture gradually more complete', as well as 'to enable those who cannot themselves make journeys and climb around the rocks, to see and study the reproductions of important paintings' (excerpt from 'General Aspects of rock-paintings' date unrecorded: 2 [2016-08-19 13.53.40]). Here she demonstrates two concerns; first, making a comprehensive archive, and second, the idea of making rock art accessible through copies. Both these concerns are consistent with Frobenius's motivation for his ninth expedition as discussed in the previous chapter.


For SAMAB

Dear Sir,

As promised I beg to forward to you a short note for insertion in the Bulletin of the South African Archaeological Association, pertaining our new collection of rock paintings.

Yours truly,

HISTORICAL OF ROCK PAINTINGS

The Committee of the Salisbury Museum has recently commenced the systematic collection and indexing of Rhodesian rock paintings which are numerous throughout the country. Although this collection is but a small beginning it contains accurate examples of the various styles employed by the rock artist. About 100 copies may be interested in the exhibits office and will be of interest to visitors who study this subject as well as to the general public.

Fig. 3.3: A letter written by E. Goodall in June 1940 stating that at that time there were already 100 copies of rock art in the QVM's collection (2016 digital colour photograph, L. de Harde [2016-08-19 13.59.22]).

Goodall's life and scholarship were intimately entwined with her career at the QVM and her devotion to studying and recording the rock paintings in and around the Salisbury area. She employed a variety of media ranging from coloured pencils to watercolour paints, on different kinds of canvases including tracing paper and thick brown paper, in order to capture and translate the images she saw on the rocks, as accurately as possible onto mobile surfaces for a range of different purposes. The evidence of her labours, some of which survives her in the form of a substantial archive of rock art recordings in the Zimbabwe Museum of Human Sciences (ZMHS), was produced over four decades. Garlake suggests the years between 1940 and 1943 (Garlake 1993: 15) were the most prolific of her career, but he does not explain why he believed this to be the case. The only 'sliver' (Harris 2002) of





Fig.3.4 (above): An illustration of E. Goodall's copy of the paintings at Robert McIlwaine National Park, Harare, Zimbabwe (1959: Plate 7). The painting measures 96,52 x 287 cm and is today, still on display at the ZMHS.
Fig.3.5 (below):A photograph of E. Goodall's copies on display in the QVM 'Bushman Gallery' (Whyte 1973: page unnumbered).

evidence I unearthed in possible support of this claim came in the form of a single page, which may have been an extract of or submission to the QVM Annual Report. The page is signed and dated by Goodall and appears to outline the progress made with regard to rock art research from 1 April 1941 to 31 March 1942. According to the report, '126 new copies of rock paintings have been added to the collection' (Goodall 1942: page number unrecorded [2016-08-19 13.53.20]). If, over the course of her career she produced more than 500 copies, depicting single figures as well as large, comprehensive panels (Garlake 1993: 15), and almost a quarter of these copies were produced in one year between April 1941 and March 1942, this may provide sufficient evidence to substantiate Garlake's claim (Fig. 3.3). Goodall was an Honorary Keeper from 1942 and promoted to Curator in 1945. It is nearly impossible to say for certain what contributed to this surge of copying in one year, a level of production that was not repeated. Perhaps Goodall's growing seniority at the museum diverted her attention from copying to administrative and managerial activities. Whyte alludes to the political climate in Southern Rhodesia, suggesting that Goodall 'held the museum together during the [Second World] war', a service for which she received an MBE (Member of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire) in January 1961 in recognition for her work (1973: 319). As I mentioned in Chapter One, this honour was carved into her gravestone where it is still visible today. Furthermore, picking up on a point made in the previous chapter, I find it intriguing to consider these events from the perspective of national rivalries at the time, taking into account that Goodall was of German extraction, receiving this kind of recognition from Britain in the post-World War II era.



Fig. 3.6: Photograph of the bottom half of the Zimbabwe Bird, measuring 47cm, in Carl Einstein's *Afrikanische Plastik* (1921: 48) (Dewey 2006: 23).

In 1942, Goodall was recognised for her considerable knowledge of

rock art as well as ethnography when she was appointed Honorary Keeper at the QVM. The title 'Honorary Keeper' was bestowed for work already done. However, as Raath observed, 'it is doubtful whether the proverbial "wild horses" would have kept her away from her department in the museum' (1971: 3). For Goodall, as we have seen, her work at the museum was only beginning. While working at the museum Goodall had another 'triumph' (Raath 1971: 3). She was the person responsible for reuniting two parts of the Zimbabwe soapstone birds.

## Zimbabwe's most valuable asset

In 1902 the archaeologist Richard Nicklin Hall (b. 1853 – d. 1914) presented half of one of the Zimbabwe Birds (the head) to the Queen Victoria Memorial Library and Museum when it opened earlier that year. Hall had presumably collected and removed the detached head while conducting excavations at Great Zimbabwe (Hall 1909; Kuklick 1991). In his discussion about the 'Repatriation of a Great Zimbabwe Stone Bird' (2006), American-based archaeologist William Dewey traced the first visual representation of the base of the bird to Carl Einstein's *Afrikanische Plastik* (1921: 48; Fig. 3.6). The publication provided no information other than to state that the base of the bird was, at that point, in the collection of the Berlin Volkerkunde Museum (Dewey 2006: 23; Matenga 1998; 2011). As Thomas Huffman points out, however, Dewey does not make the connection that Goodall 'was the first to realise that the two parts went together' (Huffman 2013: 2). According to Raath, Goodall 'recall[ed] the base of a bird mentioned in Zimbabwe publications as being in the Berlin *Museum für Völkerkunde* … [and] ... suspected that the head and base might belong together' (1971: 3). Goodall took a cast of the head of the bird to Berlin where she 'matched it to a cast of the bottom half' (Huffman 2013:

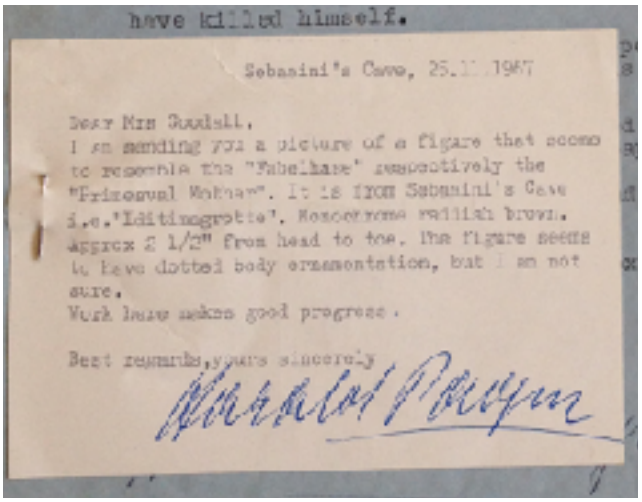


Fig. 3.7: Zimbabwe's President at the time, Robert Mugabe, admires the soapstone sculpture with German ambassador Peter Schmidt in the background. The Reunification Ceremony took place on 14 May 2003, State House, Harare, Zimbabwe (Photographer unrecorded) (safa.rice.edu 2019)

2). She returned to Southern Rhodesia with the combined cast, which later went on display at the QVM (Raath 1971: 3; Huffman 2013: 2). Years later, in 2003, the two original halves of the birds were reunited after the base had been repatriated from Berlin. At an official reception, Robert Mugabe signalled the significance of the moment, exclaiming that the 'Zimbabwe birds are the country's most valuable assets. […] like our land reform programme, today's ceremony allows us to proudly assert ownership over our national resources and treasures […] the sacred bird will now join other birds as they rest and watch over our country' (*The Herald* 2003 in Mataga 2004: 148). Apart from Huffman's brief mention of this history in 2013, Goodall's involvement in this important event in Zimbabwe's popular history is almost altogether unknown.

## Collegial connections

In the early part of the twentieth century, when Goodall began her career in Southern Rhodesia, rock art studies in the region were yet to be formalised into a fully-fledged discipline and therefore was the work of professional archaeologists in addition to amateur investigators (Tobias 1969: 1; Shepherd 2002a, 2002b, 2003, 2015). The rock art research community was made up of a limited number of researchers who corresponded with one another, sharing interests and ideas. Over the course of her career, Goodall also played a role in this network. Evident in her archive are traces of these interactions. Over the years she corresponded with fellow researchers, sharing ideas and sketches of the rock art she studied. The letter from Harold Pager (Fig. 3.8) is one example of her interactions. Pager, who is acclaimed for his magnificent copies of the rock paintings of the Ndedema (Didima) Gorge in the uKhahlamba Drakensberg mountains (Pager 1971), wrote to Goodall while working *in situ* in the Gorge, reporting to her on some of the motifs he had discovered.


have killed himself.

Sebasini's Cave, 25.11.1967

Dear Mrs Goodall,
I am sending you a picture of a figure that seems to resemble the "Fabelhase" respectively the "Frisenval Wahaw". It is FROM Sebasini's Cave i.e.'Editmagrotte'. Monochrome reddish brown. Approx 2 1/2" from head to toe. The figure seems to have dotted body ornamentation, but I am not sure.
Work have makes good progress.

Best regards, yours sincerely

Harold Pager

While sifting through Goodall's documents and notes I discovered that she had been tasked with giving the farewell speech to Margaret and Peter Garlake in 1970, before their departure to Nigeria. She gave the speech on behalf of the Vice Chairman of the Historical Museums Commission at the time, Colonel John Hickman (Document date 13 December 1970

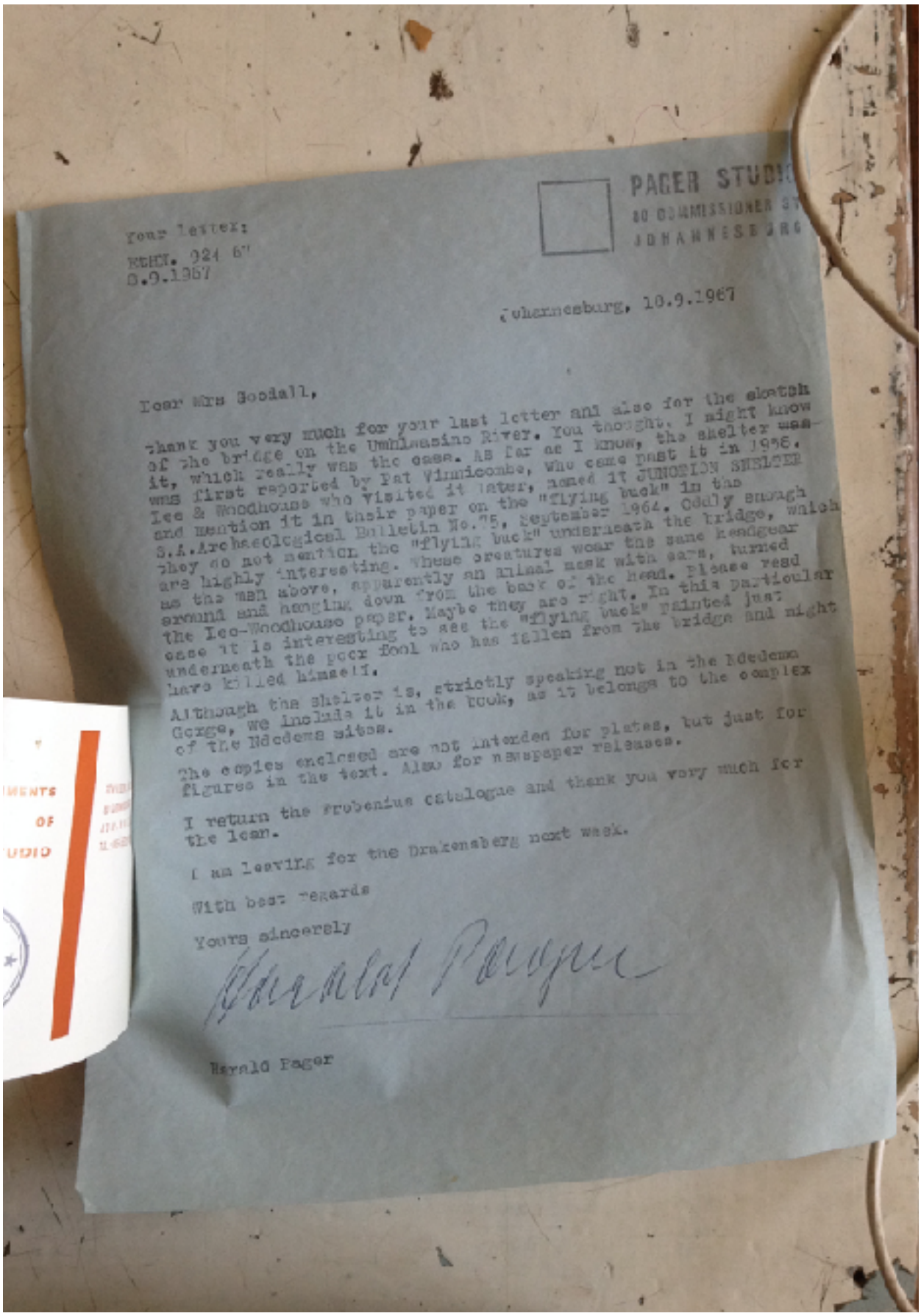



Fig. 3.8: A letter written to E. Goodall by H. Pager while in the Ndedema (Didima) Gorge in the uKhahlamba Drakensberg mountains in November 1967 (2016 digital colour photograph, L. de Harde [left: 2016-08-19 12.05.45; right: 2016-08-19 12.06.09]). Left: A note signed by pager stapled to the front of the letter.

[2016-08-19 14.24.54 and 2016-08-19 14.25.00]). Another fascinating exchange took place between Goodall and acclaimed South African artist Walter Battiss, with whom she corresponded and to whom in the 1960s she loaned her precious hand-painted copies for an exhibition. In addition, I unearthed an element from the other side of this exchange in the Walter Battiss Archive at RARI, a letter that Goodall had written to Battiss. I have used this exchange as the launching point for the second part of this chapter, where I examine Goodall's rock art related work in relation to that of Walter Battiss, using the framework of 'creative exploration' (Skotnes 1994: 319) as a research methodology.

In his overview of rock art research in Zimbabwe, Peter Garlake recognized Goodall as one of 'the two great authorities' in rock art studies in Southern Rhodesia before 1970, alongside Cran Cooke (1993: 1). He argued that '[t]o an academic, [Goodall's] work is almost entirely unsystematic and unanalytical. She developed no theoretical framework or specific research intentions' (1993: 17). But he also acknowledged her commitment to producing copies of the painted panels, which he saw as her way of 'shar[ing] her enthusiasm for the art by making [the]

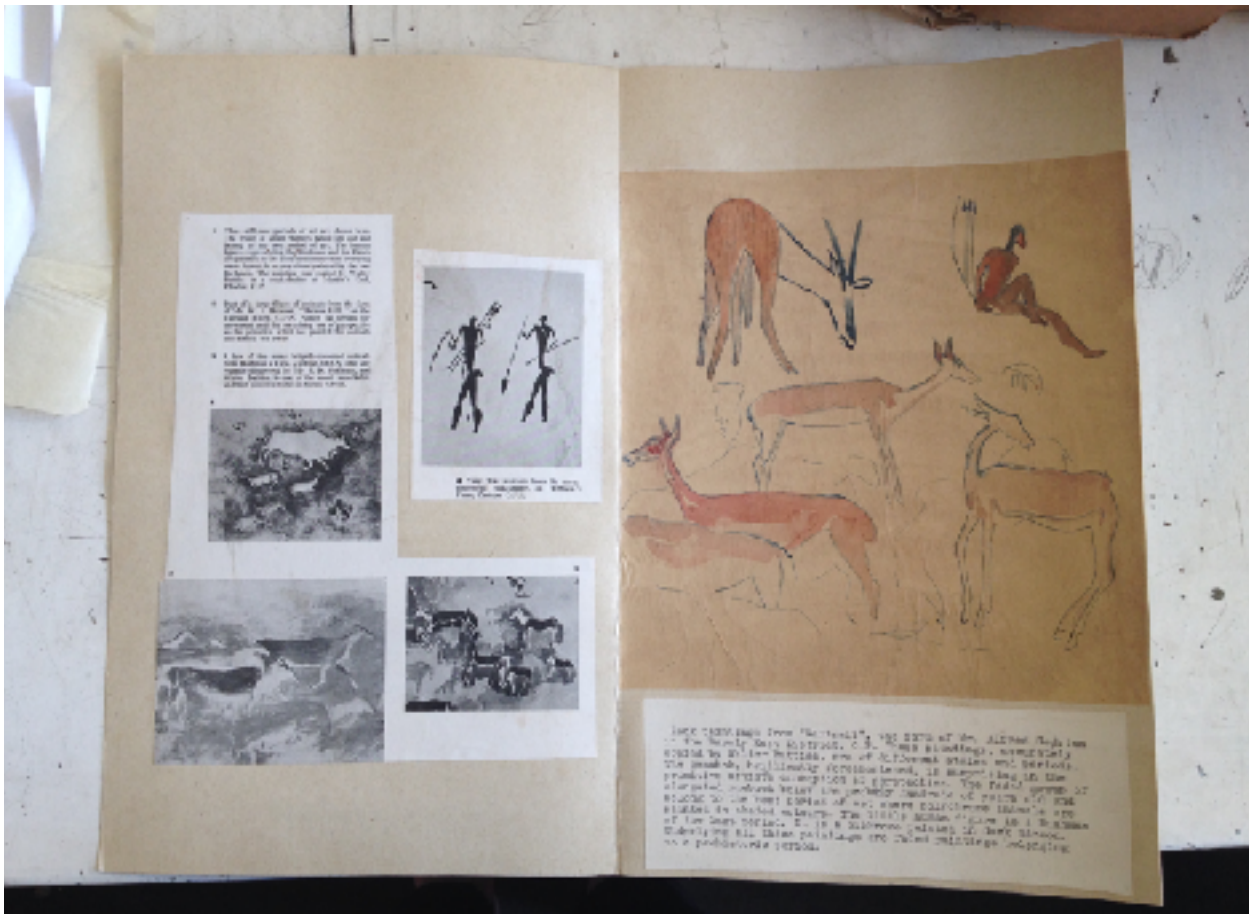


Fig. 3.9: From the archival materials, it appears as though E. Goodall followed Battiss's rock art career. Here she has carefully cut out an article about Battiss and reinforced it by gluing the pages to a thicker brown paper (2016 digital colour photograph, L. de Harde [2016-08-19 14.03.41]).

paintings widely accessible' (1993: 15). In his assessment of her engagement with the rock paintings, Garlake suggested:

> Her main concern was to reproduce their aesthetic qualities. She was happy to adjust compositions to strengthen their effect and to transpose the thick, dry, opaque pigments of the artist into the much more fluid and transparent medium of watercolour. Despite the primitive materials she had to use in tracing and the techniques these imposed on her, her copies succeed in capturing the character of the art in a different medium while retaining accuracy, precision and detail more successfully than any other copyist, copying system or photography. (1993: 15)

Garlake went on to acknowledge that while no copy is entirely accurate, he believed she 'never entirely misread an image' (1993: 17). He also recognized the particular 'skill' and 'care' she demonstrated in her copying practice and believed the accuracy of her copies would 'probably never be matched' (1995: 35). Yet he did not see her as a fully-fledged scholar in her own right, describing what he saw as '[h]er few contributions' as 'a celebration, and not an analysis, of the art' (1995: 35). For Garlake, Goodall 'remained primarily an artist' (1993: 17). Her career is therefore interesting to compare with another artist, who, like Goodall, committed a substantial amount of time and energy to the study of rock art imagery.

At fifteen years his senior, Goodall circulated, for a time, in the same broad intellectual milieu as Walter Battiss (b.1906–d. 1982) and, as I discovered their research efforts overlap at various rock art sites, such as Diana's Vow. My study of the contents of Goodall's archive revealed that she collected some newspaper articles by and about Battiss. Furthermore, it appears as though she followed his achievements as an artist and a rock art researcher in other ways too (Fig. 3.9) and corresponded with him on matters pertaining to rock art.

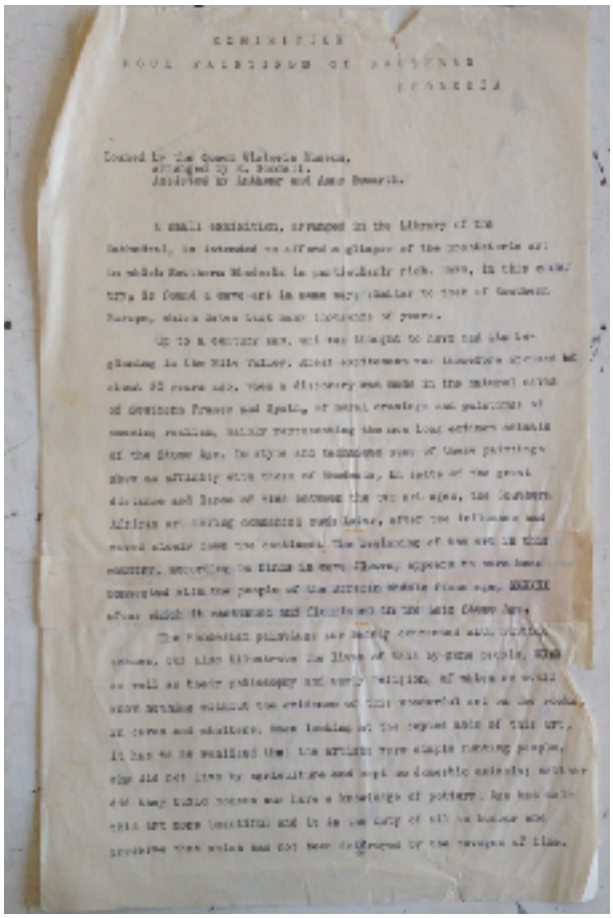


Fig.3.10: An overarching concern for the preservation of the paintings motivated Goodall to produced hundreds of painstakingly hand-painted copies as well as carefully illustrated record cards of the sites she visited [2016 digital colour photograph, L. de Harde [2016-08-19 14.56.16])

Battiss kept one of the letters addressed to him by Goodall, from 1943, which is the only one that I came across in my exploration of the Battiss archive at RARI although their correspondence involved more than one

exchange. From the contents of the letter (Fig. 3.11) it seems as though Goodall had loaned Battiss some of her copies for inclusion in an exhibition he had organised, and he had not yet returned them to her. The correspondence suggests that, loaning copies to others, both individuals and institutions, was not unusual for Goodall, who regularly organised exhibitions at the QVM (Fig. 3.10) and assisted the South African Association of Arts and the South African Archaeological Society to arrange an 'Exhibition of Prehistoric art in Southern Africa' (The South African Archaeological Bulletin 1947: 17 - 19). The exhibition travelled extensively in South Africa before going to Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia and then travelling to France.

In her letter (Fig. 3.11) Goodall refers to a previous letter she had written to Battiss. In the letter of 1943, Goodall accompanies her discussion with a page of tracings she had presumably copied from the set of four seminal sketches that Joseph Orpen had recorded at Sehonghong and Medikane shelters in the Maloti of Basutoland (now Lesotho) and published as a colour lithographic plate in *The Cape Monthly Magazine* (Orpen 1874). This exchange provides evidence of the connections that existed between researchers across time and place, showing them

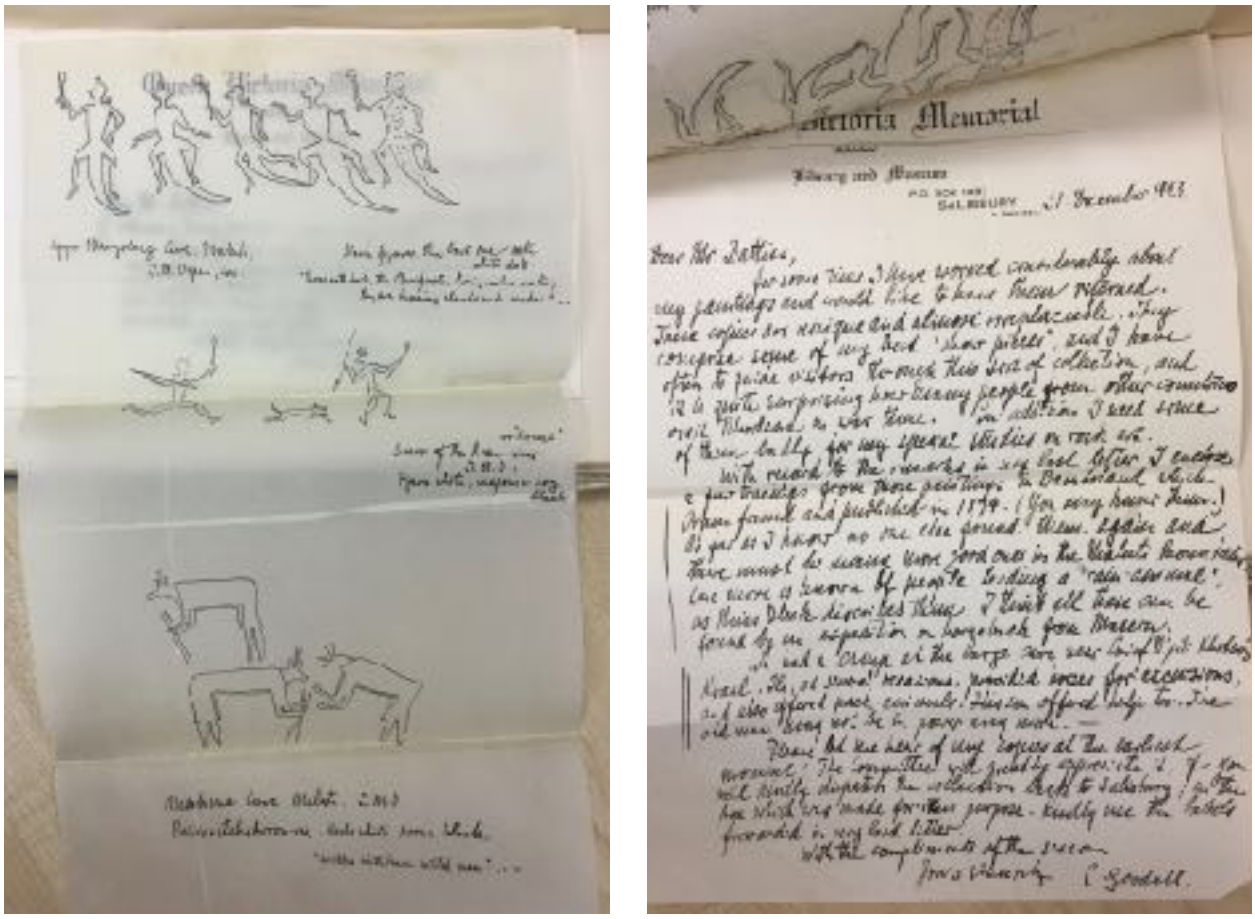


Fig. 3.11: A letter written by E. Goodall, in December 1943, to W. Battiss requesting the immediate return of the copies she had loaned him for an exhibition. Included in the letter is a page of tracings made after J. Orpen at Sehonghong and Medikane (Melikane) shelters in the Maloti of Basutoland (now Lesotho). Battiss kept this letter and it is not in the Battiss archive at RARI (2018 digital colour photograph by L. de Harde).

engaging with one another's work, referring to it and extending their own research in relation to it.

Battiss similarly followed in the footsteps of researchers working before him, often revisiting some of the paintings and producing his own copies after their copies, for example, George Stow (Fig. 3.12 & 3.13). There is evidence that Battiss was in contact with other researchers. After studying his notebooks in the RARI collection, I noticed that he refers to Dorothea Bleek in some of his field notes (e.g. Notebook WBC/08/004), and that he corresponded with her on certain points (e.g. 1948: 50). In this way, Battiss demonstrates a serious scholarly interest in rock art, one firmly grounded in the research of the time where he looked closely at the existing work of different copyists, alongside which he found what he described as a 'maelstrom' of opinions (Battiss 1948: 22).

Navigating this terrain, Battiss argued that 'for every problem of our prehistoric art two opposing schools of thought exist', believing it the 'reader's pleasure to assess theoretically their worth, or for him to investigate in the field the possible truth of their postulates' (1948: 20). Battiss penned these words in his introduction to *Artists of the rocks* (1948), providing an insight into his tentative understanding of the complexities involved in pinning down a decisive theoretical framework or interpretation without sufficient evidence to substantiate it. This is a position shared with Goodall, who similarly demonstrated caution when attempting to interpret the meanings behind the paintings she studied on the rocks. For example, in her discussion of the reclining figure in the Diana's Vow painting, Goodall says:

> It is the figure of the 'king', the deceased 'lying in state'; such is the description we are accustomed to applying to this figure. We still find it the most appropriate elucidation; and yet we cannot be quite sure until corroborative proofs from similar scenes, with accompanying retinues, come to light (1946b: 63).





Fig. 3.12 (above): *From rocks on the Thome River Queenstown Division. An elephant hunt* copied by G. Stow (Watercolour on paper, 50.6 x 68.1 cm), © Iziko Museums of Cape Town Social History Collections Department, South Africa.
Fig. 3.13 (below): A watercolour copy by W. Battiss made after G. Stow (date unrecorded, Photographed by E. Wettengel), Walter Battiss Archive © Rock Art Research Institute, Johannesburg.

Here Goodall repeats the description of the figure as a dead king, as coined by Frobenius and still the generally accepted interpretation, but she also shows an understanding of it as a mere custom or consensus of its time, lacking substantiation. Garlake saw Goodall's cautious interpretive work as evidence for her not having 'taste for the robust and often vituperative controversy of southern African prehistory' and indicative of her simply parroting Frobenius's ideas (1993: 17). Furthermore, he argued that her avoidance of debate was a consequence of her inability to express herself confidently in English. Yet, by the end of her life, Goodall had lived as many years in (Southern) Rhodesia as she had in Germany and was circulating in a predominantly English-speaking intellectual environment. Moreover, my exploration of her archive suggests quite the opposite, that she had an excellent mastery of English and was on more than one occasion thanked for her fascinating and illuminating talks.

Battiss, on the other hand, articulated a more developed interpretive position, and has been criticised for being 'given to flights of flowery prose' (Lewis-Williams 2002: 6). Yet, alongside this elaboration, he too showed an understanding of different approaches and their difficulties. I have quoted him at length to demonstrate his awareness of the complexities of interpretive studies in rock art:

> […] there are a few sober ways of approaching prehistoric art. The first is to ignore all theories and to look at the originals of prehistoric art as one would look at paintings in an art gallery, that is, to look at them so that the *eye* enjoys them for their calligraphy, their colour, their composition, their form and structure. That is pure aesthetic enjoyment. A great deal of prehistoric art is beautiful to look at. The other sober way is to go up the mountains and down into the valleys to the sites and to discover for oneself what the rock-shelters reveal.
>
> At the first site it is possible to find the proofs of all one's fantastic theories. But, at the next site, if one is fortunate, all the preconceived theories are scattered to the winds. However, if one is unfortunate, at the second site all one's fantasies will be confirmed a second time.
>
> It is far better to have no pet theories seeking confirmation, for the happy research worker is he who learns from the paintings what really is, rather than he who tries to teach the paintings to be what he wants them to be. Some men go to the sites to prove their fantastic theories, others, more humble and honest, go to learn what they can (Battiss 1948: 22)

Based on my exploration of Battiss's published work alongside the archival documents that I have studied at RARI, I argue that Battiss frequently attempted to foreground the uncertainties and ambiguities he encountered in his study of the paintings. By repeatedly writing himself and his positionality in to his discussions, saying, for example, '[w]hen I have written my little say and shown what I have found' (Battiss 1948: 66), Battiss presents his reader with a number of caveats with which to approach his discussions. He time and time again reiterates his own uncertainties

regarding the content of the paintings, by drawing the attention of his readers to the importance of experiential learning, expressing an opinion or deflecting to an 'authoritative voice' where possible. While demonstrating just how subjective and uncertain the study of rock art can sometimes be, he tried to inspire in his audience an interest in the original paintings by conveying concrete visual and site-specific objects through his copies, books and artworks. In my assessment of Battiss's research, his response to the art is deeply personal and subjective, and also tentative, hesitant and speculative. This approach is quite different from what can sometimes be the dogmatic approach taken by researchers working after the paradigm shift of the 1970s such as the Harrismith Programme (discussed in Chapter Two).

As Wintjes and I (in review: 9) have observed, '[Battiss] is well known for taking inspiration from his first-hand experiences of rock art into an autonomous realm of creative work, seeing himself as the first artist trained in the western tradition to use southern African rock art as a direct reference […]'. Art Historian Anitra Nettleton recognizes a positive angle to Battiss's contribution in this domain, seeing him as '[t]he first South African artist to similarly engage

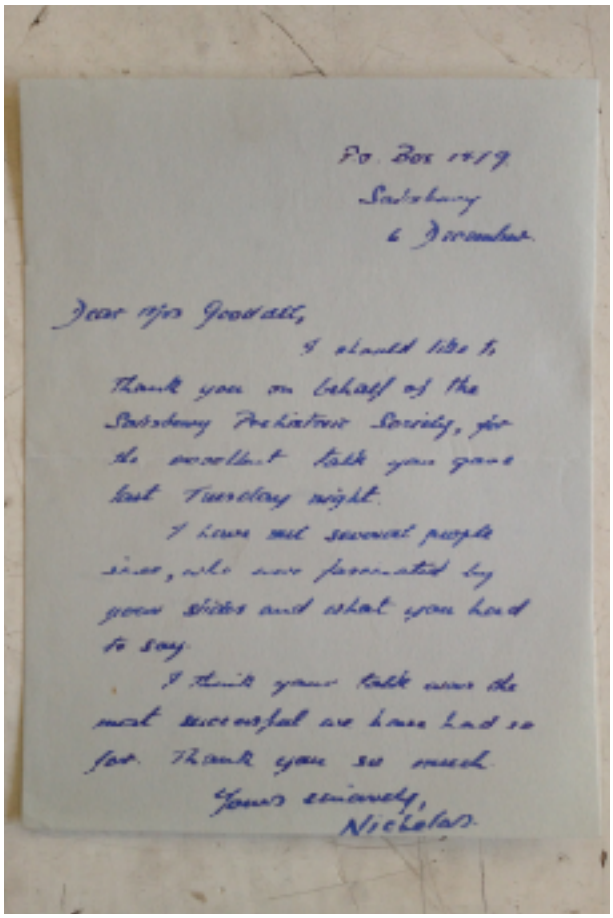



Fig.3.14: I unearthed this letter, thanking E. Goodall for a presentation she delivered, in Goodall's archive at the ZMHS (2016, digital colour photograph by L. de Harde [2016-08-19 14.21.57]).

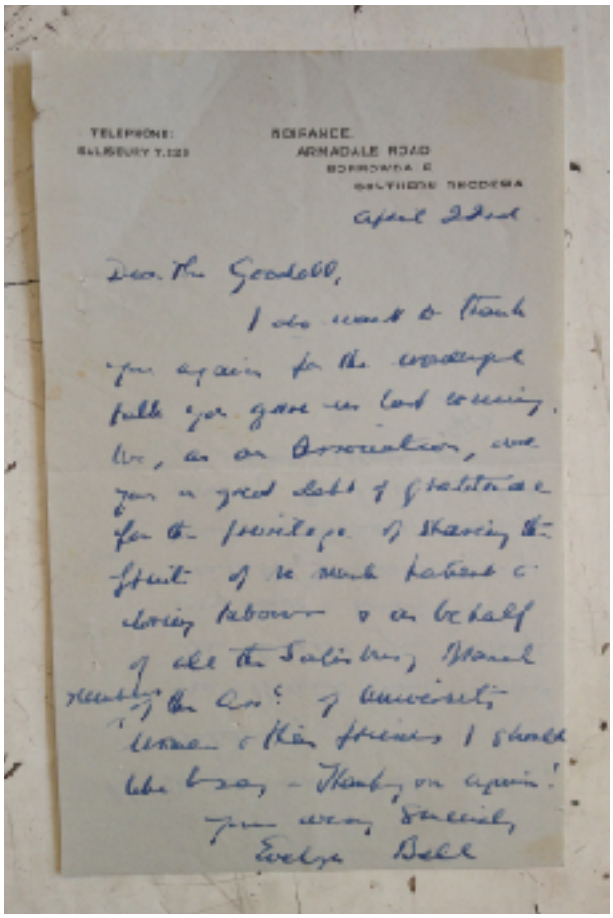



Fig.3.15: Another letter that E. Goodall kept from one of the audience members who listened to one of her talks, presumably at the QVM (2016, digital colour photograph by L. de Harde [2016-08-19 14.22.06]).

with European formal primitivism while searching for an African stylistic identity […]' thus breaking away from 'the primitivist tendencies in South African art in the period between 1945 and 1976 [which] were complicated by the racial segregation of apartheid' (Nettleton 2011: 145).

Skotnes described Battiss as '[t]he most important of South African artists to mediate and interpret the images of the San through creative exploration' (Skotnes 1994: 319). While his contribution to the field of rock art research as a scientific endeavour remains contested, Battiss nevertheless 'became one of the most iconic South African artists of the twentieth century, [while] in a neighbouring country Goodall was at work on a more substantial and systematic archive of rock art copies, but earned little recognition as a rock art researcher, and even less as an artist in her own right' (Wintjes & De Harde in review: 9). In the following section, I reflect on the approaches taken by Battiss and Goodall by looking closely at some examples where their rock-art-related work overlap (Fig. 3.16 & 3.17).

## Creative experimentation

When Goodall arrived by ship in southern Africa in 1928 and experienced the rock art scattered across the landscape *in situ* for the first time, she would already be well into her late 30s. Walter Battiss, on the other hand, encountered rock art, in the form of engraved or carved petroglyphs, for the first time as a boy of only 11. Somewhat nostalgically, Clarence van Riet Lowe recounts the profound effect the experience had on Battiss:

> In the course of time the Battiss *ménage* moved to Fauresmith where young Walter, still in the valley of the Riet, soon discovered more galleries. In this way our young artist spent many of his impressionable years. Youthful enthusiasm and an unflagging zeal led him step by step through a long period of initiation until he reached a wise understanding (Van Riet Lowe 1948: 12).

Some years later, in 1973, Battiss reflected on these encounters saying that William Fowler, a friend of the families, had led him, as a young boy, to the ancient stones. But it would not be until much later in his life that the full effect of those experiences would dawn on him, and he would finally 'realize how [his] creative subconscious had been affected by this revelation of early art' (Battiss 1973 in Schoonraad 1985: 40). Following Battiss's first encounter with rock engravings, it would be just a few years after this experience, in 1933, that Battiss would see the finer painted variety of the art for the first time. According to Art Historian Alexander Duffey, it was the artist Erich Mayer (b. 1878 - d. 1960) whom Battiss had befriended some years earlier,

who had arranged for Battiss to visit rock paintings *in situ* for the first time, on the farm 'Malopodraai', in the Orange Free State. Duffey observed:

> It was about this time that Erich Mayer was intensely involved in the promotion of his campaign for a national South African art and consequently he had discussions about the importance of San rock [art] in the establishment of such an art with the younger artist (2006: 28).

Reporting on his visit in a letter to Mayer, Battiss summarised what he had learnt:

> The bigness of South Africa. It seems a world relying for its effect on tone values. It is not easy to paint with a small brush. I feel one must possess an acute colour-sense and paint in oils. And quickly too. It seems this area around here requires special study. The rock-formations are curious but they do not easily make good compositions. Shadows make a wonderful difference too. I am sure I am coming again (Battiss 1933 in Schoonraad 1985: 40 [italics in original]).

Battiss did visit the engravings and paintings again, many times, in the Orange Free State and elsewhere, devoting both time and energy to the study of rock art in the years to follow (Schoonraad 1985: 40). A few months after his initial interest was spiked, Battiss made another discovery that Schoonraad argues contributed to consolidating his 'lifelong interest in [r]ock art' (1985: 40). Schoonraad recounts the events as follows:

> [Battiss] stayed for a few days at his parents' home in Fauresmith. While walking, deep in thought, along the road past the house, he accidentally kicked a stone and in so doing unearthed a stone artefact of the Fauresmith culture. The stone appealed to his aesthetic sense and he became very excited about it. On asking how it could have got there, he was told that it was probably in the gravel road-dressing brought from a nearby spruit. So Battiss went down to the banks and assembled some very beautiful specimens, many of them water-washed (Schoonraad 1985: 40).



Fig.3.16: A copy of a rock engraving from a site recorded by the Frobenius Expedition as 'Farm Doornhoek', Kleksdorp, Transvaal. E. Mannsfeld made this copy using colour pencils on paper (date unrecorded FBA-C 01487), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.



Fig.3.17: W. Battiss photographed in the act of copying what looks like the same rock engraving as the one Mannsfeld copied several years earlier (1948: 17; photographer unrecorded).

Battiss took his collection to Johannesburg to show Van Riet Lowe. It is presumably at around this time that Battiss and Van Riet Lowe's professional relationship and friendship began. Schoonraad makes the following observations about the effect Battiss's discovery had on him, which

> set him thinking in a new direction. The fact that he unearthed an artefact with his foot was philosophically significant to him. It was his foot that had been involved in the act - not his brain. He had by chance been brought into physical contact with an implement used by a prehistoric artist - and artist's tool: 'It was my foot', he wrote, 'which spurred me on to this and I decided that prehistoric art in South Africa belonged to us, the artists. Fate had sent it to me to go into action as an artist not as an archaeologist' (Battiss no date: no page number in Schoonraad 1985: 41 [italics in original]).

Battiss accidentally exposed an artefact with his foot. The image of the discoverer archaeologist risking 'life and limb to discover or uncover archaeological knowledge' (Shanks and McGuire 1996: 78) is replaced with something accidental, whimsical, perhaps even creative, or, as Battiss saw it, a case of fate making the connection for him (Schoonraad 1985: 41). According to Schoonraad, Battiss took this as a sign that he should approach the art as an artist and not as an archaeologist (1985: 41). Schoonraad does not elaborate on what Battiss meant by this statement. Therefore, one can only surmise about the distinction Battiss drew between the different approaches embodied in the positions of artist and archaeologist. I wonder whether these contrasting positions convey an indication that Battiss identified more with a creative approach to research. He seems to have been more attracted to an embodied engagement with the paintings.

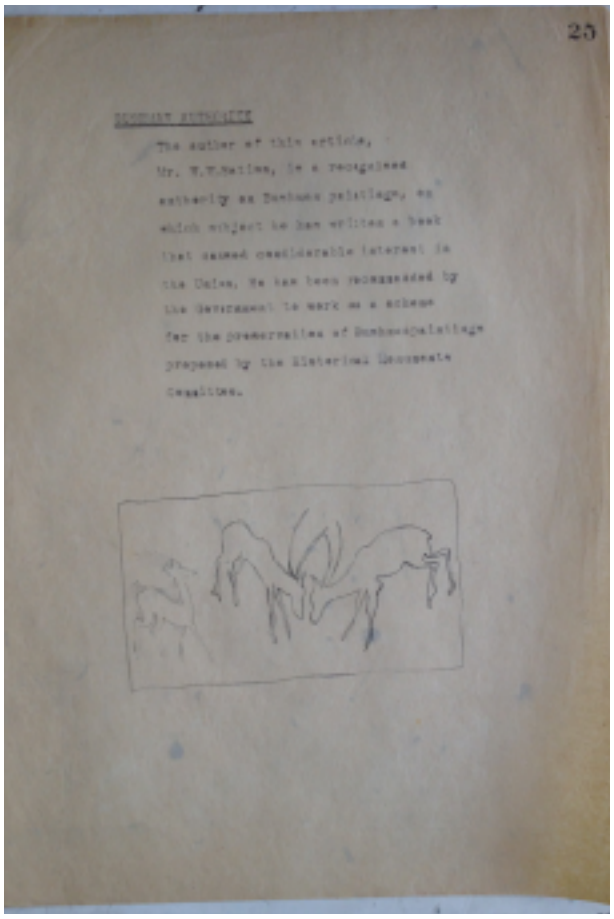



Fig.3.18: A fragment in E. Goodall's archive professing W. Battiss to be a 'recognised authority on Bushman paintings' and accompanied by a hand drawn sketch seemingly inspired by rock art (2016, digital colour photograph by L. de Harde [2016-08-19 14.21.20]).

From 1936, after accepting a post as an art teacher at Pretoria Boys' High School 'he commenced research [into rock art] in earnest' (Schoonraad 1985: 41). Battiss spent countless hours, especially during the early part of his career, trekking to remote locales, armed with coloured pencils and paint, searching for new rock art sites and copying the art that he found.

Schoonraad recounts Battiss's dedication to his research, noting that he would 'resort to any means of transport available, ranging from a school girl's bicycle to an expensive hire car' (1985: 46). Battiss's research was largely self-funded with little assistance from grants or awards; Schoonraad comments that '[o]ne cannot help but admire his tenacity' (1985: 46). Michael Raath noticed a similar commitment in Goodall, who

> in spite of her age still used to go on occasional brief 'expeditions' into the bush in search of new rock art sites, to make detailed copies of the paintings. These outings were simple and private, on which she was usually accompanied only by her husband, and they were largely self-financed. But the copies she made she generously deposited in the museum's [QVM now ZMHS] archaeological collections (Raath pers. comm. 2017).

Accordingly, some of Goodall's copies can still be found on display in the public galleries, or dispersed in various localities in the storerooms, of the ZMHS. Battiss's rock-art-related materials resulting from his documentary endeavours and field excursions on the other hand, were gathered and consolidated by Battiss's son Giles Battiss, and donated as a single collection to RARI. Having visited and documented material in both archives, I have been able to draw parallels between the approaches taken by Goodall and Battiss in relation to the methods they employed to copy the painted images they studied on the rocks. In the following section, I examine closely their respective engagements with the painted panels.

While conducting research trips into the southern African landscape, with the primary objective of studying the rock art, Battiss also sketched and painted the environment in which he experienced the paintings. 'In this way', Schoonraad observed, 'his own creations became intermingled with those done centuries before by other [artists]' (1985: 41). I doubt whether Battiss, at the time, would have seen a strict division between his 'own creations' and those of the artists he studied. From the way Battiss writes about the landscape and the rocks on which the original artists chose to paint, it seems as though he saw the paintings as inextricably linked to the landscape, seeing them as site-specific works, not paintings made in isolation. It is possible that he believed it necessary to collect all the available evidence, inferring information from the surrounding environment as well as in the paintings themselves (1948: 67 - 71). Battiss's sketches (e.g. Fig. 3.19) convey these sentiments visually in his atmospheric treatment of the landscape, creating the impression that the clouds are part of the mountains, and also grade into the vegetation.

Goodall's work on the Frobenius Expedition (as Elisabeth Mannsfeld) shows a similar interest in approaching the paintings as site-specific artworks. However, where Battiss sketched the places he visited and the people he met, Goodall appears to have preferred the use of photography to capture both people and the vegetation surrounding some of the rock art sites. The Frobenius

Institute's online database credits Mannsfeld as the photographer of at least 30 photographs ranging from portraits of people to landscapes (Bildarchiv.frobenius-katalog.de 2019). This was consistent with the expedition's general practice, and something she learned in this context, but she also extended this approach into a more systematic method of recording while working at the QVM. One example is the index cards she produced that I discuss later in this section.

Another point of similarity between the approaches taken by Battiss and Goodall is that both researchers demonstrate an interest in the people they encountered on their expeditions. Again, Battiss made sketches of the people he met along the way, as well as those who accompanied him on his trips, along with animals and the objects and artefacts he encountered. He rendered his sketches in a loose and spontaneous style that quickly captures essential features (Fig. 3.21). While working on the Frobenius Expedition, Goodall, on the other hand, took photographic portraits of some of the people she met. My reading of the images she produced suggests that she was interested in taking photographs that appeared natural, capturing people engaging in various activities such as fashioning pots (Fig. 3.20), playing musical instruments or dancing



Fig.3.19: An atmospheric sketch titled *Clouds rising up from the bay* by W. Battiss (date unrecorded, Photographer: E. Wettengel), Walter Battiss Archive © Rock Art Research Institute, Johannesburg.

(Bildarchiv.frobenius-katalog.de various photographs 2019). In this way, their archived works show their shared interests in recording the material cultures of some of the people they met.

Both researchers, moreover, produced written narrative recordings of the painted panels that they visited and studied in their field notes. While Battiss incorporated his findings into the books he wrote on the topic (1939; 1941; 1948; 1950), Goodall formalised her notes into record cards of which Cran Cooke counted 192 (Cooke 1971: 8). Cooke describes the cards as preserving 'a meticulous and accurate account' of the many sites Goodall visited (Cooke 1971: 8). He goes on to state that the information that Goodall's cards (Fig. 3.23) provided of each site that she had visited greatly improved the Archaeological Survey records of the Historical Monuments Commission (Cooke 1971: 8). When I visited the ZMHS in 2016 I was unable to locate these cards, but during a recent visit to the museum, American archaeologists Anne and George Stoll were able to locate them and photographed a small selection (A. Stoll pers. comm. 2019; Fig. 3.22).

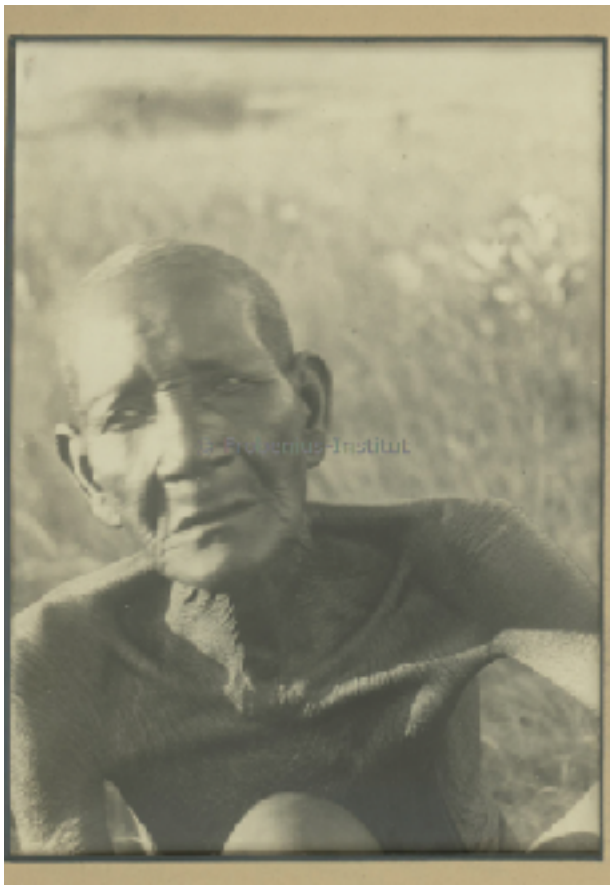


Fig.3.20: A photograph titled *Alte Batongafrau bei Mtoko, Südrhod (Old Batonga woman at Mtoko, Southern Rhodesia)* taken by E. Mannsfeld while working on the Frobenius Expedition (date unrecorded, subject's name unrecorded EBA-B 01605 ~ a), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.



Fig.3.21: W. Battiss captured the essence of his subject in a few quickly sketched pencil marks, as can be seen in this example of a man that he presumably encountered while conducting his rock art research (date unrecorded, subject's name unrecorded, photographer: E. Wettengel) Walter Battiss Archive © Rock Art Research Institute, Johannesburg.

Towards the beginning of his career in the late 1930s and early 1940s, Battiss sometimes incorporated the techniques of woodcut, linocut and wood engraving into his artistic practice. This was about the same time that rock engravings, or petroglyphs, caught his attention. Schoonraad observed that Battiss saw in the engravings an affiliation to his artistic practice, noticing that 'they were so closely akin to his own graphics' (Schoonraad 1985: 43).

In producing reproductions of the engravings, Battiss experimented with various techniques. He began by first making rubbings of the art (Fig. 3.24), a technique akin to one that Goodall (Fig. 3.16), while working as a member of the Frobenius Expedition, had employed at a site in Klerksdorp in the Transvaal (now North West Province), among others including Koffiefontein where Battiss had also seen rock engravings.

Battiss took his experiment a step further when he created a recording of an engraving using a linocut technique, where material is removed from a linoleum surface to create an image (1985: 44). In this example, Battiss's copying extends from a purely visual engagement with the art to an activity in which he attempts to mimic in his choice of technique the material act of creating the original imagery. But, as Schoonraad observes, 'this method did not satisfy the scientifically minded' as is illustrated in the following letter written to Battiss by the archaeologist Berry Malan:

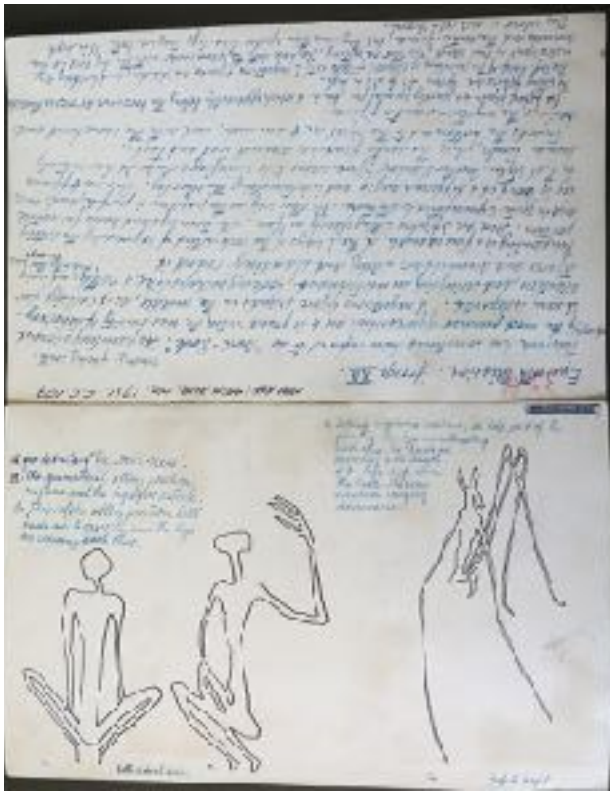


Fig.3.22: Photograph taken by G. Stoll of the index cards made by E. Goodall that are currently housed at the ZMHS. These cards record sketches of some of the figures as well as written descriptions (2019 Stoll Photos, reproduced here with permission from the authors).

> Your method of reproducing rock engravings in linocut is interesting and artistic, but I am afraid the technique in which the originals were produced is lost. Various styles and techniques were used, e.g. we have lines or true engravings, peckings, silhouettes in either method, the interiors rubbed, etc. and these differences, which are scientifically important, are lost in the linocut (1937 in Schoonraad 1985: 43).

There is no doubt that in his creative trials, Battiss sacrificed details and aspects of the appearance of the original paintings. However, in my view, it is important to remember when examining Battiss's work that he was not only concerned to mimic the original paintings visually but also to capture something of their essence, style and production. In other words, Battiss's immersion in the art was multifaceted;

he enjoyed re-enacting and embodying the process that he imagined the original artists employed in their creation of their images. His commitment to this aspect can be inferred from an incident that occurred a decade later, in 1947, at a farm in Gladstone's Nose, now the Kamberg Nature Reserve, part of the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg Park, and at a larger scale the Maloti-Drakensberg World Heritage Site. According to Schoonraad (1985 43 – 46), Battiss retrieved a rock from the garden of the guest house and painted his own composition that he had modelled after the rock paintings he had been studying (Fig. 3.23). Ironically, in this case the style and patina of this work was convincing enough to trick French prehistorian, the Abbé Breuil, who visited the farm later that year, into identifying it as an original 'bushman' painting (Schoonraad 1985 43 – 46).



Fig.3.23: *Bushman Painting on rock* by W. Battiss signed 'original Battiss' (1947) (in Schoonraad 1985: Fig. 10). Battiss painted his interpretation of a rock painting onto a natural rock. The likeness was so close to an original, it confused the Abbé Breuil.



Fig.3.24: A copy of a rock engraving made by W. Battiss in 1963 at site recorded as Doornhoek, Krugersdorp (noted on the paper). Battiss seems to have employed a smudging technique to transfer the engraved lines from the rock onto the paper (Photographer: E. Wettengel) Walter Battiss Archive © Rock Art Research Institute, Johannesburg.



Fig.3.25: Copy of a rock engraving by W. Battiss using linocut. The copy was made at a site recorded by Battiss as Afvallingskop, Koffiefontein, Orange Free State (date unrecorded in Schoonraad 1985: Fig. 8).

Yet despite Battiss's technical prowess as an artist and draftsman, I (and others such as Marais 2015) have found it a difficult task to match Battiss works with the original rock art sites from which they derive. This is a stark point of difference that distinguishes Goodall's research from Battiss's.

I have conducted two types of fieldwork in my exploration of Goodall's copies: one that actively follows her footsteps in the landscape (for example to the site Diana's Vow [Chapter Five]), and another practised 'virtually', from behind my laptop in Johannesburg. My research has led me to the discovery that it is generally simple to identify the sites through the archive, as well as to connect Goodall's copies with the rock art *in situ*, in order to compare reproduction with original (Fig. 3.27 - Fig. 3.28).

In her project *'What they have so freely given I take': A study on the relationship between Walter Battiss and San rock art* (2015), honours student Ivonne Marais tried to find a clear causal sequence between Battiss's rock painting-tracing/redrawing/freehand drawing/creative work, but was largely unable to do so for reasons cited previously. These difficulties in matching original with



Fig.3.26: E. Goodall's watercolour copy made at a site recorded by her as 'Macheke'. The copy is titled *Group of irregular forms and small, ghost-like creatures emerging from clefts in the rocks* (1959: Plate 32). Here J. Wintjes and two student helpers who were assigned to assist us at the ZMHS hold the rolled up copy open (2016, digital colour photograph by L. de Harde).

copy also reinforce the sense that ultimately Battiss strongly deviated from the original rock art, even though this process involved elements of close observation and accurate copying.

I managed to find one example where I connected one of Battiss's early works, a cluster of three antelopes with partial human figures, illustrated in *The Amazing Bushman* (1939), with a photograph taken of a single antelope motif that I found on SARADA under the 'site ID' RSA LEL2 for Aliwal North (SARADA 2019). Battiss recorded the site where he found the original paintings as The Valley of the Art, Jamestown, in the Cape Province (Fig. 3.29).

I also connected the painted copy with one of Battiss's tracings on transparent cellophane in the collection at RARI (Fig. 3.30). By comparing the three iterations, tracing-copy-photograph, I noticed that Battiss traced with more sensitivity and accuracy in relation to the original rock painting, than the subsequent copies show. For example, the antelope at the top of the grouping is painted using a thick stark white paint. Yet the tracing provides a more nuanced appreciation of the ways in which the colours blend into one another, shading the form and giving the antelope the appearance of being three dimensional and capturing the effects of shadow and



Fig.3.27: E. Goodall's copy illustrated on the ZimFieldGuide website (ZimFieldGuide 2019).



Fig.3.28: A photograph taken by one of the contributors to ZimFieldGuide who were able to match the original paintings with E. Goodall's copy of the site (ZimFieldGuide 2019)

pigment variation in the motif as it appears on the sandstone.

A second point of interest is that, in his copy, Battiss appears to have filled in and completed the antelope at the top of the grouping whereas, in the original painting, this figure seems to be somewhat distorted because it is painted on an uneven surface. There also seems to be a crack in the sandstone but because Battiss did not typically represent the cracks and textures of the rock it is difficult to say with any certainty when the crack happened (before or after Battiss made his copy).

Over the years (1930s, 1940s, 1950s), Battiss experimented with a range of creative approaches in his engagement with the paintings. Some aspects of his copies capture visual information about the originals with accuracy while others depart from this into creative extensions, and the distinction between these two approaches is not always clear, especially if the original rock painting is not available for comparison. Yet Battiss developed innovative fieldwork methods in his placement, for example, of transparent sheets of cellophane over the paintings onto







Fig.3.29: Watercolour copy by W. Battiss of a site recorded as The Valley of the Art, Jamestown, in the Cape Province. Battiss recorded the colours for the 'upper animal' as white and the lower two as white and golden, with 'Bushmen red figures superimposed' (1939: No 12).
Fig.3.30: Preparatory tracing painted on cellophane (Photographer: E. Wettengel), Walter Battiss Archive © Rock Art Research Institute, Johannesburg.
Fig.3.31: Photograph taken of the original painting showing a close-up of the antelope at the top of the grouping (date unrecorded, photographer unrecorded), © The African Rock Art Digital Archive - All Rights Reserved.

which he would transfer the traced images below using watercolours (Leibhammer 2009: 49 - 58). As the previous example (Fig. 3.29 – 3.31) demonstrates, he treated his cellophane tracings sensitively, mixing the colours with great care to mimic the originals both in the texture of the paint and the shading of the colours.

Battiss's final copies evolved and sometimes strayed some distance from these tentative and careful engagements with the original art. However, in some instances, his redrawings from those initial tracings begin to deviate from this concern for close observation and accuracy, the lines encapsulating the forms becoming smoother and more polished, the colours often losing their painterly modulation and flattening out into blocks of a single colour. In general, it seems as though the tracings do often capture aspects of the fragmentedness of the originals, and it is mostly in the redrawings that Battiss begins to fill in, extend and elaborate his own interpretations (Fig. 3.32 & 3.33).

Schoonraad believed that '[a]rtistically speaking, [Battiss's] copies are the best ever made in South Africa' (1985: 43). He went on to explain that he would marvel

> at the uncanny manner in which [Battiss] intuited the way the primitive artist[11] had worked. Often, part of the painting or petroglyph had deteriorated or was partially obliterated, or invisible at first glance, because of a dark shadow. Yet Battiss would say what the painting or engraving originally looked like, and it would later be possible, after studying the work through a magnifying glass, or waiting for the sun to change its position, to fill in the missing parts (1985: 43).

Schoonraad's discussion of Battiss's approach is ambiguous, it appears as if he is saying that, in his recordings, Battiss imaginatively filled in parts of the paintings that were actually missing in



Fig.3.32: Preparatory tracing painted on cellophane at 'Burley', Barkley East, Cape Province (Photographer: E. Wettengel), Walter Battiss Archive © Rock Art Research Institute, Johannesburg.



Fig.3.33: Finish copy titled *Eland bull and two cows,* published in *The Artists of the Rocks* (1948: 141).

[11] It's necessary to note that while Schoonraad ascribes the title of 'primitive artist' to the rock art painters, Battiss's use of this terminology is more complicated, as Anitra Nettleton demonstrates in 'Primitivism in South African Art' (2011).

the original. However, Schoonraad could also have meant that those parts that were 'missing' were simply not immediately apparent and could become visible when the light changed or the viewer shifted their perspective. In my experience, the paintings can be quite unstable visually, particularly the more faded or incomplete ones, changing throughout the day and also depending on the weather conditions.

Unlike Battiss, Goodall paid careful attention to the original rock surface, taking great care to copy the paintings as she saw them, recording cracks and exfoliation. There is even evidence of this sensitivity even in her early work, while she was working (as Elisabeth Mannsfeld) for the Frobenius Expedition (Fig. 3.34). Battiss, on the other hand, was at times more selective about the paintings he chose to copy. I found one example, published in *The Artists of the Rocks* (1948) and again in *Bushman Art* (1950), where Battiss admits outright to being selective in his copies of the original paintings, based on his aesthetic preferences, and his understanding of the paintings as being layered over time:

> The artist has miraculously combined a lively gift of colour with an imaginative conception of animals in perspective, so that we are here looking at one of the few perfect paintings in the world of art.
>
> A Bushman artist of the Last Period painted over part of these animals with his own paintings of eland in flat yellow, ochre and white. These are omitted in this reproduction so that the full beauty of the earlier eland is not marred by the palimpsest (1948: [no page number] Plate No. ix).

This quote also illustrates one of Battiss's central theses which he summarised as follows:

> To make the position clear from the start my thesis is merely this, that in South Africa there are two very old arts – old engravings and old paintings – but over them lie the Bushman engravings and paintings.
>
> It is not unlike a piece of weaving composed of ancient warp into which a Bushman weft has been woven. The warp acts as an underlying control but the Bushman weft makes a visible pattern. Where the weft is loosely woven the ancient warp can be spied and its texture and pattern examined (1948: 67).




Fig.3.34: Copy made by E. Mannsfeld using colour pencils on paper. The copy is described as a 'red mythical animal' and was made at a site in the Marandellas District (now Marondera), Southern Rhodesia (FBA-B 00745), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.

Battiss's view that some of the paintings

dated back thousands of years was contested at the time by researchers such as Dorothea Bleek who believed the paintings were more recent (Weintroub 2015: 109). It is interesting to note the difference in approach between Battiss and Goodall here as well. In his translation of the original, Battiss visually and metaphorically erased the uppermost layers of the paintings to reveal what he believed he could see hidden below (Fig. 3.35). Goodall carefully studied, and accurately copied, each of the various layers that she observed, and their entanglement, taking great care to show the stratigraphy of paint built up over time. In Chapter Four I look closely at one copy in particular that Goodall made of the Makumbe Cave panel, shortly after her permanent relocation to Southern Rhodesia in 1931.

## Dichotomy of identity

In 1943, after only six years working part-time as a rock art researcher, Walter Battiss received the following praise from Van Riet Lowe who was working as the director of the Archaeological Survey :

> I cannot stress my ambitious views of your future sufficiently. When I permit myself the luxury of being my own grandson and look back at the end of this millennium, I see your collection and works on prehistoric art among the most treasured possessions, not only of the museum it was my privilege to found, but of the Nation (Van Riet Lowe 1943 in Schoonraad 1985: 40).



Fig.3.35: *The Aasvogelkop Eland* painted by W. Battiss at a site recorded as Rouxville, Orange Free State (now Free State), (1948: Plate no. ix).

In 1985, Schoonraad reflected on Van Riet Lowe's prediction, believing it to have been validated and citing his belief that 'Battiss's [r]ock art copies are among the finest record of the art of yesteryear, they are the most sought after, and they are considered extremely valuable Africana' (1985: 40). In support of his statement, Schoonraad references 'Figure 3.36' that he illustrates on the adjacent page.

Schoonraad's juxtaposition of image and text is illuminating for a number of reasons (1985: 40). This image is a reproduction of one of Battiss's early copies, which I traced back to his first book, *The Amazing Bushman* (1939: 18) (Fig. 3.37).

The illustration that Schoonraad reproduces in his book (Fig. 3.30) was printed as a postcard. From the caption, it appears that Schoonraad made the artwork in collaboration with Battiss. For these reasons, this copy has undergone a further segregation from the original site where it was first recorded, sequencing through the stages original – copy – postcard. In this way, Battiss



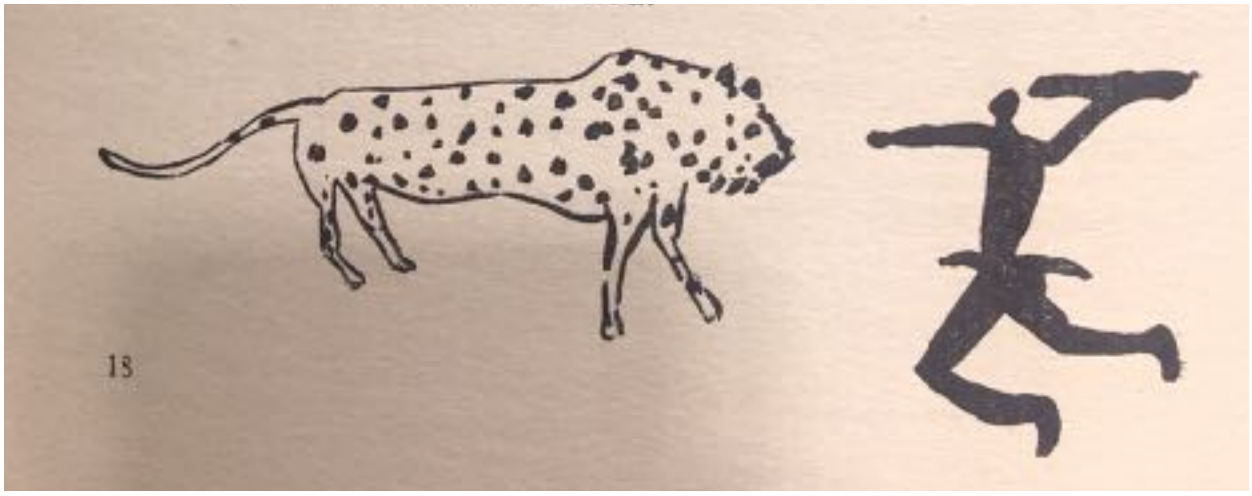



Fig.3.36: A postcard made in collaboration between W. Battiss and M. Schoonraad titled *Warrior defending himself against a leopard*. The copy was made at Modderpoort, Ladybrand in the Orange Free State (now Free State) (date unrecorded in 1985: Fig 4).
Fig. 3.37: W. Battiss's copy in *The Amazing Bushman* (1939: 18).

mobilizes his copy of rock art and produces a commercial product, a postcard. Furthermore, the postcard itself is a new object that begins to take on another identity, one that shifts from rock art recording into the realm of fine art, resembling in colour and graphic impact an artwork made in the Pop Art tradition set in motion some years later by Andy Warhol (Fig 3.38).

Battiss struggled with a 'dichotomy of identity' in the early part of his career. 'Was he Battiss, the student of prehistoric art, or was he Battiss, the artist?' (Schoonraad 1985: 46). His frustrations are evident in his writing where he ponders whether his choice of subject, 'Bushman art', has dominated his work. Schoonraad observed in 1985 that 'Battiss, the creative artist was often overshadowed by the expounder of prehistoric [r]ock art'. Yet, by contrast, Schoonraad felt that his international persona 'owe[d] his fame less to his studies of prehistoric art than to his creative work' (1985: 40).

According to Schoonraad,

> Battiss believed that [Bushman] [r]ock art was a reflection of the artists themselves. They painted very directly - they were talking about themselves and this, he felt, was marvellous […]. There came to him a revelation that there is something primitive in all of us (1985: 41).

Leibhammer argues that Battiss's observation about the Bushmen 'says more about [his] relationship to his own art than about rock art' (2009: 50). She elaborates on this point arguing that for Battiss, 'the images an artist depicts are, in reality, an extension of self - a paradigm of being that is distinctly Western. In the copies of rock art by Battiss, a sense of individualism and personal spirit is evident' (2009: 50). Initially, Battiss may have started out in pursuit of recognition for the earlier artists, foreseeing '[a] time […] when faithful colour reproductions of […] Bushman art will be received as enthusiastically as Van Gogh or Picasso prints' (1939: no page number [preface]). However, as his career unfolded and his aspirations for personal recognition grew stronger, it appears as though he moved away from faithful copyist of rock art to incorporating the imagery into his own practice, towards increasingly autonomous work.



Fig.3.38: Andy Warhol's cover for The Velvet Underground's vinyl (1967).

In 1938, Battiss went to visit the renowned rock art researcher, the Abbé Breuil, in Paris. On his

return to South Africa he painted *The early men* (1938) (Fig. 3.). He wrote the following inscription on the back of the painting:

> This is the first painting in which I break away from Impressionist art. I still continue my orthodox Impressionist painting, working on primitive art forms until it became a definite part of my style. I called this painting *The early men*. This work is therefore the first painting by a South African artist using our primitive art as a direct reference (Battiss 1938 in Schoonraad 1985: 43).

My view of this inscription is that it is misleading because it gives the impression that overall Battiss's study of rock art was less about the art itself and significantly more about his own artistic practice, his search for acceptance and his desire for acknowledgement. Seeing Battiss's motivation for working with rock art as purely self-serving from the outset was, for me at first glance at odds with the ethos of the many books he published and articles he wrote arguing time and time again for southern African 'primitive art' to receive the recognition it deserves:

> There is still a great deal of work to be done in this valley for in it are a thousand paintings to delight the eye and reveal a story of a lost people. The little painters have gone but an immortal monument is their work. So a primitive people disappear and leave art of the highest order to perpetuate their memory (Battiss 1939: 36).

However, Battiss's inscription on the verso of *The early men* (1938) (Fig. 3.39), speaks more about his exploration and incorporation of 'primitive art forms' in his own artistic practice and possibly in context it also reflects something of the conflict he had between the desire to engage with the work of other artists (in the form of rock art) and the desire to establish his own original body of work. He also had a very clear understanding of the art-historical lineage he was consciously contributing to and situating himself in. Through his 'creative exploration (Skotnes 1994: 319), Battiss reproduces the rock art motifs that he studied in a way that transforms them into representations that take rock art as their starting point, but develop a different life. By building on the artistic tradition first produced by the 'Bushman Painters', Battiss mobilizes rock art from an object of archaeological and ethnographic inquiry into the world of art, firmly entrenching the place of the 'Bushman' artists in the art historical canon.

As mentioned previously, there were times when Battiss wanted to 'detach himself from [r]ock art'. In 1946 he wrote:

> David [Neville] Lewis has published his book *The naked eye* [1946] and there is one of my reproductions of a Bushman painting in it – but Grace and I are getting rather sick of their never taking any notice of my own art – but always, always connecting it with the Bushman art. If I'd never done this Bushman art I'd have been known as an artist. and when I do my own art they say it is influenced by the Bushmen! Never mind, perhaps when I'm dead like the Bushmen!!

> Did I tell you the fiasco of the Bushman Exhibition at Cape Town? They first invite me and then arrange it on dates when I'm not free to go! However, it is a blessing in disguise because then again I'd be known as a Bushman. And I want to be myself - not a Bushman!! (Battiss 1946 in Schoonraad 1985: 46)

At other times in his career, Schoonraad observed, Battiss 'was proud of the recognition which the study of [r]ock art brought him' (1985: 46), seeing himself as the first '*neo-primitive* in South Africa' (Battiss 1946 in Schoonraad 1985: 46 [italics in original]).

Reflecting on their professional relationship, Van Riet Lowe, like Frobenius, observed the valuable insight that the creative practice of artist-researchers could bring to the study and meaning of rock art. Both Van Riet Lowe and Frobenius believed that artist-researchers shared an affinity with the original artists. Frobenius refers to this aspect of the paintings as the 'spirit', a characteristic imbued within the artwork, which transcends time and space. In his attempt to give words to the intrinsic knowledge of the artist, Van Riet Lowe explains it as Battiss's 'deep understanding of and sympathy for the primitive' (1948: 13). He goes on to elaborate on this assessment of Battiss's skills as

> […] an asset which enabled him to get well under the skin of our prehistoric artists. This sympathetic approach and understanding have been all-important in his development. They have given him qualities of insight and discernment which no other published works have yet revealed; a fellow-feeling for the primitive in the humble recognition of the essential oneness of art (Van Riet Lowe 1948: 13).



Fig.3.39: *The early men* (1938) painted in oil by W. Battiss. He painted this composition after returning to South Africa from his travels in Europe where he met P. Picasso (in Schoonraad 1985: Fig. 6).

By the time Frobenius and Van Riet Lowe penned their individual assessments of the artists with whom they worked in collaboration, they had spent a number of years observing the creative engagements through which the artists responded to the painted panels. Both Frobenius and Van Riet Lowe seem to have had difficulty articulating what specifically it was about fieldwork and data collection that placed artists in a superior position to those researchers who did not engage in art-making. However, their admiration and respect for the work done by the 'secondary specialists' with whom they collaborated is unmistakable.



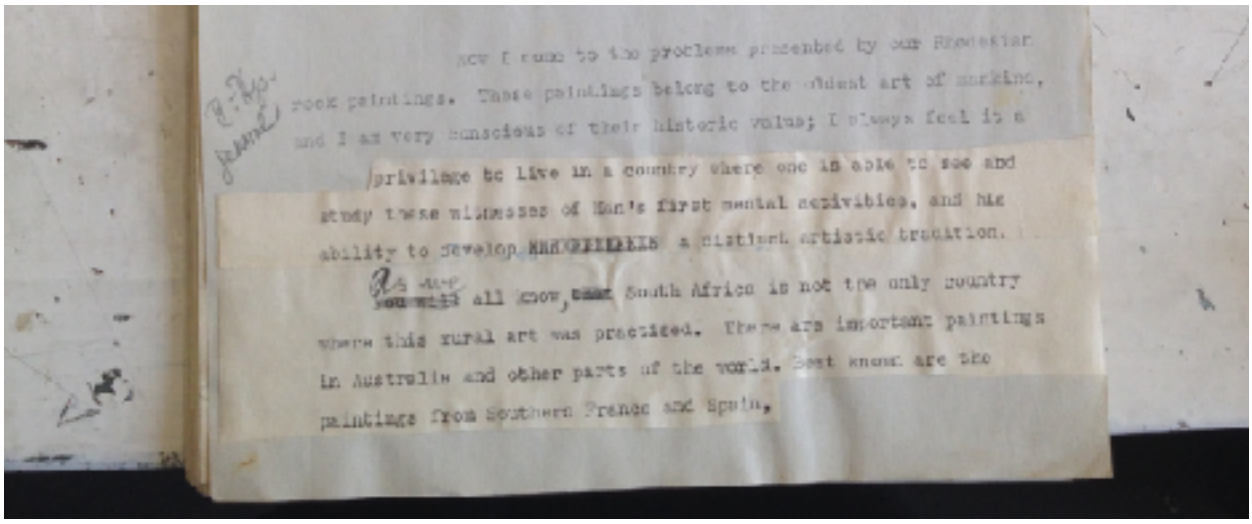
Fig. 3.40: Photograph taken standing on the inside of Ruchera Cave, Zimbabwe, with my back towards the paintings looking out towards the surrounding landscape (2016 digital colour photograph by L. de Harde).



# PART TWO



# Chapter Four



now I come to the problems presented by our Rhodesian
rock paintings. These paintings belong to the oldest art of mankind,
and I am very conscious of their historic value; I always feel it a
privilege to live in a country where one is able to see and
study these witnesses of Man's first mental activities, and his
ability to develop a distinct artistic tradition.
As we all know, South Africa is not the only country
where this rural art was practised. There are important paintings
in Australia and other parts of the world. Best known are the
paintings from Southern France and Spain.

Garlake described the fact that Mannsfeld 'met and fell in love with a local policeman' as 'the most significant result' of the Frobenius Expedition to Rhodesia (1993: 15). He recognized her as one of 'the two great authorities' in rock art studies in Southern Rhodesia before 1970 alongside one of her colleagues (for a time) at the QVM, Cran Cooke (1993: 1). Garlake goes on to summarise her career as follows:

> Elizabeth Mannsfeld was a German art teacher who became interested in ethnography and a research assistant to Frobenius in 1923. She accompanies him to southern Africa at the age of 37. After cataloguing his collection of copies of paintings from the expedition, she returned to Rhodesia in 1931 to marry Leslie Goodall, who was her devoted support in all her future work (1993: 15).

In his treatment of Goodall, Garlake's sequence of events is not necessarily incorrect. However, the emphasis he places on Goodall's personal life, such as her age and her marriage at about the same time as she relocated to a different continent, overshadows the serious work she was doing as a researcher at that time. Garlake's dismissive attitude towards Goodall's research becomes more apparent, moreover, if one compares his treatment of Lionel Cripps (b. 1863 – d. 1950) who, like Goodall, had relocated to Rhodesia and dedicated time and energy to locating and copying rock art. Cripps, according to Garlake, 'fell in love entirely, overwhelmingly and

Fig. 4.1 (opposite): Detail from E. Goodall's large scale watercolour copy of the painted panel at Makumbe Cave, Zimbabwe (c. 1931; 950 x 150 cm; FBA-D3 02972), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.
Fig. 4.2 (above): [Rhodesian rock paintings] belong to the oldest art of mankind, and I am very conscious of their historic value; I always felt it a privilege to live in a country where one is able to see and study these witnesses of Man's first mental activities, and his ability to develop a distinct artistic tradition[…]. Extract taken from, '*The Rhodesian Rock Paintings*' (Date unrecorded: unnumbered [1]), One of the documents in the box labelled 'Goodall Papers', in the storeroom of the ZMHS (2016 digital colour photograph by L. de Harde [2016-08-19 14.23.21]).

forever, with his new country' (1993: 4-5). It is not entirely clear why Garlake believed it necessary to comment on Leslie Goodall's devotion to his wife. Again, this kind of attention to private relationships and domestic details is not afforded to Goodall's male contemporaries in Garlake's review of rock art in Zimbabwe (1993). The personal details regarding Goodall's age and the nature of her relationship with her husband seems to be included to create an impression that her decision to relocate from Germany to Southern Rhodesia was purely a matter of the heart. In Part One of my thesis, I located Garlake's assessment of Elizabeth Goodall's career as an entry point for a discussion that probed her career, and what I argue is her quiet yet significant contribution to the field of rock art research in southern Africa. I explored and considered what some of her contemporaries did differently, positioning themselves as memorable characters in the central narrative of rock art research in southern Africa. I considered the work of three researchers in relation to Goodall: Leo Frobenius, Walter Battiss and David Lewis-Williams, opening this as a line of inquiry that enabled me to probe various aspects of Goodall's quiet legacy (Golde 1970; Nora 1989, Wadley 1997).

Goodall devoted her energy to studying and recording the rock art she experienced in the southern African landscape. A close reading of her archive suggests someone committed to the art (or craft) of copying. Throughout her life, it does not appear as though Goodall engaged in self-promotion and, as a consequence, is largely remembered and presented in the literature as a quiet person who focused her particular attention, skill and energy on recording the paintings she studied. Underlining my investigation in Part One is the portrayal of Goodall in the limited literature available. Part Two is directed by my interpretation of fragmentary clues that I discovered through a close reading of Goodall's archive. I have used these clues to extract sites that appear to have been of particular significance to Goodall. These prompts in turn direct my exploration of Goodall's career, steering the discussion. Through my close examination of Goodall's archive, I developed the impression that she had a particular affinity to the Diana's Vow rock art site. This sense of her empathy, alongside my experience of visiting the site on two occasions, motivated my decision to make Diana's Vow the focus of Chapter Five. In this chapter, I turn my back on the memoirs for a moment and consider Goodall's decision to return to Southern Rhodesia as a professional one. I begin with a careful consideration of the first site Goodall copied upon her return, the site she recorded as Makumbe Cave (today recorded as Mawanga in the NMMZ database). Using the fragmentary archival materials available in the ZMHS, I piece together and consider some of Goodall's methods and processes through her notes, speeches and unpublished papers, to explore what motivated her to dedicate hours to the intimate experience of studying and copying the paintings (Fig. 4.2).

# Locating Makumbe Cave through the archive

The site recorded as 'Makumbe-Höhle' by the Frobenius Expedition is still known today at Makumbe cave, located in the Chinamhora Reserve in Eastern Mashonaland, about 70km north-east of Harare. The site features two distinct groupings of paintings, which were recorded separately by the expedition: 'Chinamora- Res., Makumbe-Höhle' (Frobenius & Mannsfeld 1930: 104) is the larger 'main cave' and the 'Chinamora- Res., Makumbe Kleine- Höhle' the smaller one of the two. According to Garlake the smaller cave is located slightly below and towards the eastern side of the main cave (Garlake 1987: 67). Reportedly, the paintings at 'Kleine- Höhle' are not damaged as severely as those in the main cave (Garlake 1987: 67).

Makumbe has been described as a 'deep, dramatic and very large cave' (Garlake 1987: 66), which is located within Chinamhora (now Chinamhora Communal Lands), previously designated as Tribal Trust land and noted for its rupestrian sites such as Domboshawa and Ngomakurira (Garlake 1987: 67; Adejokun 2019). Like the Frobenius Expedition, many visitors to the site have separated the paintings into two parts, Makumbe, sometimes referred to as the main Makumbe Cave, and the smaller shelter, Lower Makumbe (Garlake 1987: 67). There is a dirt road leading up to the cave that is passable for 750m, but many visitors to the cave prefer to walk (Garlake 1987: 91). Garlake described the cave as a 'narrow, dark horizontal cleft below the prominent cross on the summit of the hill' (Garlake 1987: 91). According to the published accounts, the cave itself is not difficult to access. The path down is steep, and must be walked slowly on foot, preferably with rubber shoes, an exercise taking about 45 minutes (Garlake 1987: 91; Goodall date unrecorded: no page number [2016-08-19 14.51.22]; Fig. 4.3). Garlake believed that at one point the cave may have 'contained the richest array of paintings in Zimbabwe' (1987: 66).

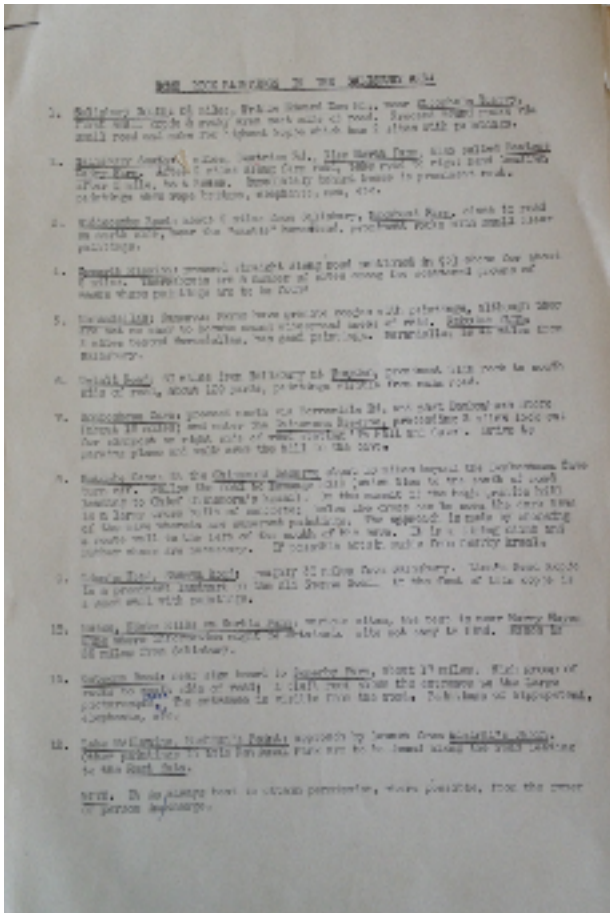


Fig. 4.3: 'Some rock paintings in the Salisbury area' (date unrecorded: no page number). This photograph forms part of the digital archive I collected and collated from the materials in the ZMHS. This page came out of a box with the label 'Goodall's Papers' (digital colour photograph by L. de Harde 2016-08-19 14.51.22).

Today, residual soot from fires lit deep within the cave has blackened the walls of the shelter, completely obscuring the paintings (Nhamo 2018: 58 - 75; Zimfieldguide 2019) (Fig. 4.4). In 1987, when Garlake explored the site, fragments of the paintings were still visible. He reported that

> The clearest have been systematically chipped away, possibly for use as traditional medicines. Young vandals from the nearby mission school have lit fires in many places and covered every surface with graffiti. Dust obscures every surface and the clearest remaining paintings are obscured by an opaque film, produced by repeated wetting intended to give some momentary clarity to selfish viewers (1987: 66).

Having not visited the site in person, I have relied on descriptions and photographs documented when the paintings were partially visible to establish the layout of the cave and the paintings within it. I have followed Garlake's broad division of the cave into three large recesses (Fig. 4.5), left, middle and right (1987: 66), in my analysis of the general layout of the shelter and determination of the general placement of the copies produced by the Frobenius team.

In the left recess, Garlake recalled that 'two horizontal ovoid designs survive' (Garlake 1987: 66). This panel does not appear in the photographs taken by the Frobenius Expedition, nor is it



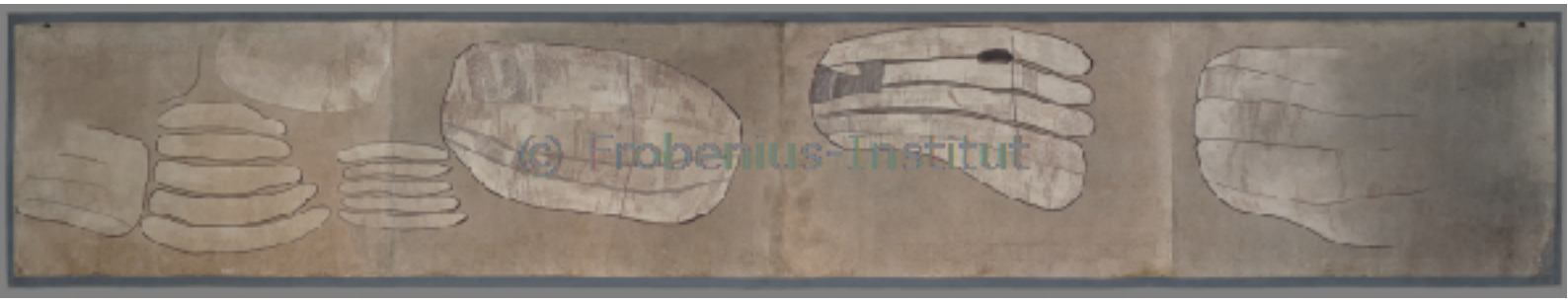
Fig. 4.4: A photograph taken more recently and published on the website Zimfieldguide 2019, showing the extent of the smoke blackened cave, completely obscuring the paintings.




© Frobenius-Institut

Fig. 4.5 (above): Photograph taken by the Frobenius Expedition of the inside of Makumbe Cave, the three recesses which Garlake speaks of are visible (c. 1928 – 1930; FBA-A1 09-047), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.

Fig. 4.6 (below): Photograph taken by the Frobenius Expedition of the inside of Makumbe Cave, these photographs correspond to Garlake's description of some of the paintings which were still visible when he visited the site. Lutz's copies of these paintings can be seen on the opposite page. (c. 1928 – 1930; FBA-A1 09-043),, © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.


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in any of the copies they produced. However, Garlake saw a similar subject depicted in the centre recess in the form of 'six very large horizontal ovoid designs, of unusual size, regularity and complexity', which at the time were still visible (Garlake 1987: 66). A sufficient number of the paintings remained for Garlake to see the light pigments used by the artists to create the forms, contained within 'dark outlines and stippling' void of a 'central core' (1987: 66). Garlake's description aligns with two photographs, taken by the Frobenius Expedition, of the inside of the cave. After the expedition, the photographs were collated in a photographic album (Fig. 4.5 & 4.6); today they are available through the Frobenius Institute's online database (Bildarchiv.frobenius-katalog.de 2019).

In addition to the two photographs there are two large format copies, by Joachim Lutz, in the Frobenius Institute's archive (Fig. 4.7 & 4.8). 'Figure 4.7' comprises four separate sheets, which appear to have been joined together to form an elongated rectangle. The drawing is oriented horizontally and is roughly similar to the orientation of the original shapes or 'formlings', the term Frobenius used for them, meaning 'moulding' or 'shape' in German and mentioned in Chapter One (Frobenius 1931a; Hampson 2016: 98; Mguni 2002; 2004: 181 – 199; 2005: 34 - 44; 2015). The 'formlings' follow one another in a horizontal procession. However, it does seem as though Lutz repositioned the shapes for the purposes of his drawing ensuring that they would fit neatly in one horizontal progression across the pages and not falling beyond the top and bottom parameters of the picture plane. Moreover, as is characteristic of Lutz's style of copying, the outlines of the objects are treated with a certain exaggerated precision, giving the forms a heightened clarity.

Fig. 4.7 (above): *Fries stehender und liegender Gruppen parelleler, langgezogener Formlinge, die verschieden gemustert sind* (Frieze of standing and lying groups of parallel, elongated formlings, which are patterned differently) by J. Lutz c. 1928-30 (colour pencil on paper, 34 x 209 cm, FBA-D1 01520), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.
Fig. 4.8 (below): *Fries stehender und liegender Gruppen parelleler, langgezogener Formlinge, die verschieden gemustert sind* (Frieze of standing and lying groups of parallel, elongated 'formlings', which are patterned differently) by J. Lutz c. 1928-30 (colour pencil & water colour on paper, 134 x 735 cm, FBA-D3 02982), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.


© Frobenius-Institut

According to the *Katalog* (1930), Lutz made another copy at Makumbe, recorded as number 181, *Fünf Böcke* (Five Buck) (Frobenius & Mannsfeld 1930: 107). The medium format copy (50cm x 35cm) was rendered using colour pencils on paper. The copy corresponds to a photograph taken of a similar selection of the original panel.

The photograph (Fig. 4. 9) glued into the photographic album is positioned below a black and white photograph of a selection of Goodall's large-scale copy of Makumbe Cave that she painted for the Frobenius Institute (c. 1931) (Fig. 4.1). This section of the shelter, which was partially obscured in 1987, is today completely concealed behind a thick black veil of soot from fires lit within the cave (Nhamo 2018). Garlake noticed fragmentary 'outlines of several large elephants' (1987: 66) in the right-hand recess. Using Garlake's description, it has been possible to locate Goodall's copy in the shelter, as well as Lutz's *Fünf Böcke*, which corresponds to the figures depicted in a photograph in the album (Fig. 4.9). As a result, today aspects of the original 'Five Buck' ensemble are preserved across five recordings. I return to these recordings later in this chapter, when I pause to look closely at the five recordings and consider Goodall's work in relation to that of her contemporaries.




Fig. 4.9 (this page): A page from one of the photographic albums housed in the Frobenius Institute displaying two photographs. The one below is a close up of a selection of the Makumbe panel presumably taken by the expedition (c. 1928 – 1930). The second is a photograph of a copy of the panel which, based on the fold visible towards the top of the copy, I believe is a black and white reproduction of Goodall's copy on the opposite page. The inscription on the photographic album page reads: *Detail aus gr. Felsbilderfries aus der Makumbe-Höhle nach d. [...?] oben die [...?]¶ Photo nach dem Fels, [.....?] (Detail from large rock frieze from the Makumbe cave to d. Burkitt-Fries above the [...?] ¶ photo after the rock, [.....?])* (FBA-A1 09-045, © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.

# Anonymous authorship

My interest in Goodall's engagement with the Makumbe panel in particular was ignited the first time I read Raath's memoir (1971: 1 - 7). My sense is that the marginalisation of Goodall's contribution to rock art research was reinforced in the immediate aftermath of her death, in the commemorative issue published in 1971. Goodall's name was left off the series of images published alongside Raath's and Cooke's 'appreciations' of her life and career. Furthermore, probably as a consequence of practical constraints around publishing in colour, the majority of the illustrations are simplified, monochromatic line drawings and not the creative and colourful watercolours that Goodall had spent her career producing. Of the selected images, only one illustration (Fig. 4.11) alludes to the scope of Goodall's hand-painted copies and is reproduced in colour (1971: 10). The painting is a selection made from the panel at Makumbe Cave. I recognised the painting from Goodall's chapter 'Rock Paintings of Mashonaland' (1959: 3 – 111), where it appears on page 7 (Plate 3). Yet the caption, which reads 'Goodall, Cooke, Clark, Summers ed., 1959, Plate 3', is credited to the authors of the book rather than to the author of the painting, who is also the person who the article is commemorating. In addition, Raath selected another illustration (Fig. 4.10), presumably to illustrate his mention of the copy that Goodall produced of the Makumbe paintings. The placement of the image in Goodall's memoir gives the impression that she was the maker of the drawing. However, the caption does not credit her as the maker, nor does it give any further details about the provenance of the original image. I wondered why Raath had chosen to give this monochromatic diagram (Fig. 4.10) prominence, and it prompted me to question its significance to Goodall and her career. I was also intrigued by the anonymity of the author and the significance of its selection as one of five images that Raath chose to illustrate Goodall's life. I was determined to track down the original reference.

The archival trail led to a passing mention made by Garlake in his assessment of Frobenius's contribution to rock art research in Zimbabwe:

> Frobenius recognised several absolutely independent styles which corresponded clearly to different periods and independent creative forces and, once again, members of his team tried their hands at defining a chronological sequence of styles from the many superpositions of paintings at Makumbe (1993: 9).

A footnote in Garlake's paper cited a publication containing written contributions by Frobenius and Agnes Schulz. After contacting the Frobenius Institute, I established that the publication was a pamphlet, 'Bilderbuchblatt 2' ('Picture Book Sheet 2'), produced to accompany an exhibition by the Forschungsinstitut für Kulturmorphologie, which ran from 20 December 1932 to 31 January 1933. The show, 'Bilderbuchblatt 2: Beitrag zur Analyse südafrikanischer

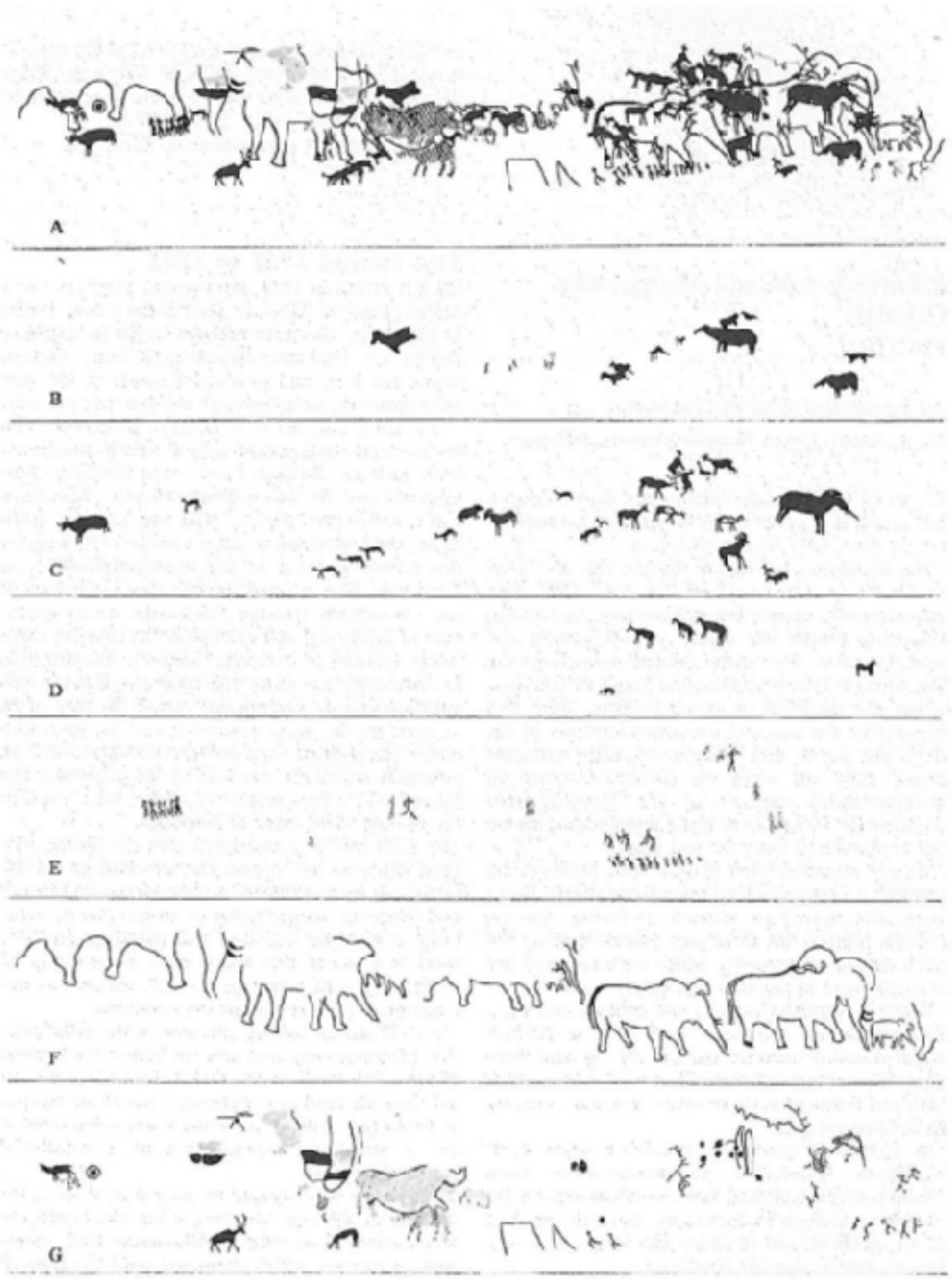



Fig. 4.10: A monochrome diagram accompanying M. Raath's publication about E. Goodall's life and work. The caption reads 'a. Part of the Makumbe painting b - g: Separations of successive painting episodes' (1971: Fig.1).

Felsbilder mit Beispielen von Steinwerkzeugfunden (aus der Sammlung von Prof. Dr. E. Reuning)' ('Picture Book 2: Contribution to the analysis of South African rock pictures with examples of stone tool finds from the collection of Prof. Dr. E. Reuning'), was held at the Weltkurturen Museum in Frankfurt. According to the pamphlet, this was the second exhibition in Frankfurt that materialised as a result of the efforts of the Frobenius Expedition. The aim of the exhibition, as outlined by Frobenius in the introduction, was to display 'spectacular stylistic samples of ancient South African culture' (Frobenius 1933: 11). A similar diagram to the one reproduced by Raath was included in the pamphlet (Schulz 1933: np [18 – 19]). The accompanying text made reference to a large-scale hand-painted watercolour copy echoing the size of the original painted panel. While Mannsfeld was cited in the accompanying text as the artist of the large-scale watercolour copy, the authorship of the diagram remained, for me, unconfirmed.



Fig. 4.11: E. Goodall's copy of the Makumbe panel accompanying Raath and Cooke's 1971 appreciation of her research (1971: plate 1).

In his introductory remarks to 'Bilderbuchblatt 2' (1933: 11), Frobenius suggested that Mannsfeld returned to the field (in 1931) to produce a life-size copy of Makumbe (Fig. 4. 13). Her impressive watercolour reproduction would be sent back to Germany to become the central focus of the exhibition (Frobenius 1933: 11). This sliver of information enables an entirely different reading of Mannsfeld's reasons for returning to Southern Rhodesia and arguably shifts the emphasis from a solely personal decision to marry Leslie Goodall to one fundamentally motivated by professional reasons. In further comments on the Makumbe copy, Frobenius noted that Agnes Schulz had been given the task of 'dissolving the mixed layers' overlaid on top of each other in the original painting (Frobenius 1933: 11 Google translated from German), providing additional evidence of the collaborative work produced by the team both during fieldwork and afterwards. It is clear from these remarks that Goodall and Schulz were involved in various stages of translation and interpretation from parietal painting in Southern Rhodesia to the walls of a gallery in Frankfurt.



Fig. 4.12: Photograph taken by A. Stoll and G. Stoll of one of E. Goodall's copies of the Makumbe panel on display in one of the storerooms of the ZMHS (2019 Stoll Photos, reproduced here with permission from the authors).

I argue that this moment in Goodall's life – her fieldwork at Makumbe Cave – represents a pivotal juncture in her career. It reveals her working autonomously in Southern Rhodesia as an independent researcher in her own right. Archival documents and artworks preserved in the storeroom of the ZMHS (Fig. 4.12) show that she revisited and reproduced the Makumbe paintings on several occasions during her career. Her study of the cave culminated in an article published in 1957a, 'Styles in Rock Paintings', where she counted 15 different artistic styles superimposed one on top of the other, each attributed as being a representative of 'the beginning of the decadent periods' (1957a: 295). Goodall's published article contains five illustrations, four in colour and the fifth, monochromatic. A footnote explains that the paper is an abbreviated version of the original, which was submitted with 45 illustrations. I unearthed a copy of the unabridged version of the manuscript in one of the storerooms in the ZMHS, accompanied by greyscale copies of all of the illustrations and pencil sketches.

As Lewis-Williams correctly notes in relation to the Aberdeen paintings and the copy that Mannsfeld produced (discussed in Chapter Two), such scenes may be experienced as an indecipherable jumble. Indeed, rock paintings at many sites seem to present a confusion of images difficult to tease apart unless researchers spend many hours in close study of individual figures and motifs. Moreover, it is not always possible to disentangle these layers from observation alone.

The members of the Frobenius Expedition were able to competently record the images and scenes they encountered in some detail, especially in light of the little they knew about the art at the time. It is possible that Mannsfeld and her colleagues may not have felt that they were afforded enough time to spend at each site. The large-scale painted reproductions preserved in



Fig. 4.13: Large scale watercolour copy of the painted panel at Makumbe Cave, Zimbabwe by E. Goodall (c. 1931; 950 x 150 cm; FBA-D3 02972), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.

the ZMHS suggest that she sought to devote much more time to the study of specific sites when she returned to live permanently in Southern Rhodesia a few years later. At Makumbe Cave, for example, she spent three weeks camping in the field and produced a magnificent copy spanning nearly 10 meters in length (Raath 1971: 1). Today, Goodall's copy is valuable for many reasons, one being that the original paintings are no longer entirely visible (Garlake 1987: 66). Furthermore, the copy that Goodall produced served another purpose. It was exhibited as a stand-in for the original, a continent away, in Germany. Goodall therefore attempted to communicate exactly what she saw through her visual engagement with the site, because her colleagues and other viewers of the exhibition would infer information directly from her copy. In this chapter, I explore Goodall's creative practice as a research method, using Makumbe as a case study.

## Disentangling a jumble: a collaborative effort

Shortly after returning to Southern Rhodesia in 1931, Goodall camped in the Makumbe cave for three weeks in order to produce the copy (Raath 1971: 1). This was a seminal moment in her career, as I have argued throughout this thesis, marking, in my view, the beginnings of her transition from 'secondary specialist' (Shanks & McGuire 1996: 78) and member of the Frobenius team, to professional researcher in her own right. The length of time it took Goodall to complete the copy is not at all surprising given the extent and magnitude of the final work (Fig. 4.13), spanning nine and a half meters in length and one and a half meters wide. The reproduction gives an indication also of the collaborative and social quality of her fieldwork, an aspect that Raath remembered in his tribute written after her death:



> she was often assisted by the local tribesmen, and the ease with which she secured their co-operation and the high esteem in which she was held by the tribesmen was henceforth to be a feature of all her later work in the remote tribal areas of Rhodesia (1971: 1).

After Goodall completed the life-size reproduction of the Makumbe panel, the copy travelled back to Frankfurt for the exhibition. The task of disentangling the various layers was then taken up by her erstwhile colleague and fellow artist and colleague on the Frobenius Expedition (1928 – 1930), Agnes Schulz. The collaboration between Schulz and Goodall was to provide an interpretation of the various layers of paintings built up on the rock surface and a chronological account of the paintings. This evidence of scholarly interaction across continents, in my view, provides an indication of Goodall's role as an independent professional working in collaboration with European partners. Schulz, having remained in Frankfurt after Goodall left, had to rely entirely on Goodall's copy to construct her argument for the pamphlet that would later accompany the exhibition where the large-scale reproduction was placed on display (1931 - 1932). This would not be the last time that Goodall's copies would be used by other researchers as primary reference points for their interpretations of the original paintings, for example, Margaret Garlake's exploration of 'Bushman Heads and Headdresses in Southern Rhodesia' (1966: 108 - 113), an article I return to in Chapter Five.

On the first page of 'Bilderbuchblatt 2' (1933: 11), Frobenius outlines the two separate tasks of Goodall and Schulz: Goodall made the life-size copy of the panel, and Schulz, with the aid of that copy, was tasked with separating out the various layers. Goodall and Schulz were not the first to attempt this process of disentanglement at Makumbe. In 1928, after visiting 'Makumbi' (Makumbe), Cambridge archaeologist Miles Burkitt observed that

> Among both the rock engravings and the paintings it is often found that figures have been drawn one upon another, forming what in the case of ancient manuscripts would be called palimpsests. According to the law of superposition it follows that any drawing below must be older than one which is made above it (1928: 111).

In his analysis of the panel, Burkitt noted that in addition to the paintings having been painted one on top of the other, the individual layers could be separated according to the unique colour sequences employed by the different artists. He argued that the artists whose paintings had built up in layers on the cave wall working at different times and in different styles, seemed to favour a particular colour of paint. He deduced from his stratigraphical considerations of Makumbe 'not only a sequence of styles, but actually a sequence of colours' (1928: 112). Yet, Burkitt cautioned that

> Colours, too, are naturally not quite constant, for instance at Makumbi those of dark brownish-red and dark claret series approach each other closely. But the observer who

> has carefully looked at the various paintings in several sites will probably find it far easier to recognise the different styles than to explain their differences (1928: 132).

With reference to the limited number of copies that Burkitt published in his book, he goes on to highlight the difficulty associated with relying on secondary copies:

> Unfortunately the reader may not be able to distinguish the differences of style very well from the few illustrations in this book, for although they are reduced from actual tracings it is not only the outline which contributes to the style of the painting, but also the effect of the *tout ensemble* – the painting in its own setting with its own rock background. Moreover, with the best intentions in the world, it is hard for the tracer not to contribute something of his own to the work, more especially in places where the paintings are faint or decayed, and this must to some extent tend to give an intangible common factor to all the art traced and copied by the same hand (1928: 132).

Before resuming my discussion on Makumbe, I want to pause momentarily to consider Burkitt's view that the copy made of the rock art will inevitably be tainted by the eccentricities unique to the individual who does the copying. In support of my discussion I have selected a sample of copies produced of a selection from the large rock art panel at Ruchera Cave, Zimbabwe. The site was first recorded by the Frobenius Expedition as 'Grosse Mtoko-Höhle' when Joachim Lutz produced his copy of a selection of the panel (Fig 4.14). I visited the site while travelling through Zimbabwe with Jonathan Waters, Robert Burrett and Justine Wintjes in 2016 (Fig. 1.16 in Chapter One).

My reason for selecting this site is because, in addition to my having experienced the paintings first-hand *in situ*, there exist three iterations of copies produced of the same selection made from this large rock art panel. Lutz produced his copy (Fig. 4.14) while working as a member of the Frobenius Expedition; Goodall (working under her maiden name Mannsfeld) following the end of the expedition (c. 1930), produced a 'beta' copy after Lutz's copy (Fig. 4.15), which was among the large set bequeathed to the South African Museum (c. 1931); and finally, in 1959, Goodall published her own copy (Fig. 4.16) as part of her chapter 'Rock Paintings of Mashonaland' (1959: 3 - 111). I have included a photograph of the original paintings for comparison (SARADA 2019) (Fig. 4.17). I argue, that if Burkitt's assessment that copies produced by the same artists will have a similar style to one another, this style may indeed taint all copies produced by that hand, including the copies made after copies and not only copies made after original paintings. It is therefore interesting to consider Goodall's copies from this perspective. Following Burkitt, the copyist's unique style will be present in any number of copies that she produces whether the copy is made from the original rock art (Fig. 4.16) or copies made after copies (Fig. 4.15). However, in the example I have provided here, Lutz's copy (Fig. 4.13) and Goodall's copy after Lutz (Fig. 4.15) are noticeably similar to one another while Goodall's later copy (Fig. 4.16) is entirely different from the first two. A close study of these various iterations

suggests that Goodall took great care to not only follow Lutz's copy accurately but to mimic his style (and not necessarily the style of the original 'bushman' artist). Goodall carefully copied Lutz's smooth shaping and shading of the figures, clearly echoing his personal style, allowing the various shades of colour to bleed into one another.

In the copy she produced some years later (Fig. 4.16), she created a copy in her own style, in which she captured other aspects of the painting such as the exfoliation of the painted surface, signs of weathering and some white lines that correspond to what appear to be etching marks. It is possible that these signs of weathering may not have been visible when Lutz made his original copy; nevertheless, Goodall copied Lutz's shading, colouring and style carefully, making a true copy of the copy. She did not allow her own style and copying practice to intervene in her ability to copy Lutz's copy and not what she perhaps knew of the original paintings. My engagement with Goodall's copying practice has revealed what I argue is a suppressed presence of her own unique style because of her objective to create facsimile copies. It is possible that her pursuit of accuracy regardless of the copy she was producing (be it a copy of a copy or a copy of an original rock art painting) may account for her habit of return to the sites many times so as to witness and study the art in person and to reproduce her own original copy.

In my understanding of Goodall's work, it could be almost as though she accepted the challenge set by Burkitt that no copy could ever be completely devoid of the hand of its maker, and devoted her career to refining her craft each time she reproduced the original paintings. This devotion to the idea of copying as craft, in my view, may provide one of the reasons why Goodall revisited the Makumbe Cave site and its paintings so many times during her career, and in turn, reproduced so many iterations of the panel in both published and unpublished versions.




Fig. 4.14: J. Lutz's copy titled *4 Männer treiben ein Tier. Klassischer Stil, dickbeinig (4 men are driving an animal. Classic style, thick-legged)*, (colour pencil, 30 x 57 cm, FBA-B 00918), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.



Fig. 4.15: Copy-after-Lutz by E. Mannsfeld bequeathed to the South African Museum (c. 1930, IZI LVF 01 118HC) © Iziko Museums of Cape Town Social History Collections Department, South Africa.

# Visually teasing apart the layers

In Goodall's collaboration with Schulz, it seems as though she was only involved in producing the copy of the panel. Some years later, in 1957, Goodall published an article 'Styles in rock painting' (1957a), where she combines her first-hand account of the paintings with the copies she produced at Makumbe Cave to form a written analysis of the site.

Goodall begins her discussion by situating her argument within the conceptual framework of the time and attempting 'to bring the numerous stylistic periods of Rhodesian rock art into a classified system' (1957a: 295). She believed the paintings at Makumbe to be a supreme example of this method of classification. She selected only one adaptation from the set of Makumbe copies she had produced over the years, a monochromatic diagram reflecting all 14 layers of paintings that she had observed on the cave wall, superimposed over one another (Fig. 4.18). What is interesting is that accompanying this publication is a note, mentioned above, stating that the paper appeared 'in an abbreviated form, having been submitted originally with 45 illustrations' (1957a: 295). I discovered the unabridged draft in the ZMHS storeroom. The preservation of her materials has allowed me to see all of the many variations and iterations of Makumbe and other copies, and through this process, to begin to see Goodall's overlooked and marginalised work in a new light. This selection serves as one example where Goodall's work deserves to be revisited because it can offer a contribution to art history and rock art interpretation. In this example, Goodall's exploration of Makumbe far exceeds the limited material available in the published realm, many of which do not include many images as illustrations.



Fig. 4.16: Goodall's copy titled *People leading a domestic animal* (1959: Plate 14).



Fig. 4.17: Photograph taken of the original panel by L. Wadley (date unrecorded, ZIM RUC1 6), © The African Rock Art Digital Archive - All Rights Reserved.

According to Goodall's description of the Makumbe panel, today completely obscured by a thick covering of black soot, the entire panel once depicted 'six large elephants walking in single file with two small ones behind them' (Goodall date unrecorded: 1).

Goodall recorded the colour of the elephants as 'a dark mauvy, brown', which she believed had already faded to a very pale hue. She believed these paintings to be the earliest paintings on the wall (Goodall 1957a: 295). In her assessment, Goodall demonstrates an awareness of some of the dating techniques being employed in Europe at the time. Building on the work of her contemporaries (Armstrong 1931; Bleek 1932; Burkitt 1928; Van Riet Lowe 1929), Goodall saw a future for research methods in southern Africa, where the layering of styles on the walls would correlate to and be supported by the materials unearthed in the ground beneath the paintings and in the surrounding floor in the shelters (1957a: 299). Goodall cites South African archaeologist Leslie Armstrong's excavation of the Bambata Cave in the Western Matopos of Rhodesia, which he carried out with the assistance of local archaeologist Neville Jones. Armstrong discovered 'pieces of yellow ochre at a depth of five to seven feet' below the surface (Goodall 1957a: 299). Armstrong reports further findings deeper in the cave floor:

> Pounders and large scrapers in green lava were present, and pencils and small balls of haematite and red ochre. From the presence of the latter, and the signs of use which they display, it seems probable that the Wilton occupants were responsible for the latest series of paintings in the cave frieze (1931: 249).



Fig. 4.18: Monochrome diagram showing a portion of the large frieze at Makumbe Cave by E. Goodall. She recorded at least 14 superpositions in this panel (1957a: Fig. 1).

Goodall drew on these findings to support her proposal that this was 'an indication that the dark red is indeed the earliest painting' (1957a: 299).

For her discussion, Goodall made a small selection from the large panel displaying the two elephants (Fig. 4.19). She recorded this section to measure only 3 meters of the total nine and a half meters, which gives a sense of how large this panel and these elephants must have been. Having hypothesized these two elephants (Fig. 4.19) as the oldest paintings on the wall, Goodall proceeded to tease out the chronological positioning of the various layers of paint. She compared the ways in which the different styles overlapped with the elephants, that is to say, she used the elephants as the constant in her analysis.

Goodall observed that the next layer of paint overlapping with the elephants seemed to be slightly darker in colour compared to the paint used by the artists responsible for the lowermost layer. She believed that this shift in colour indicated a different group of artists (Goodall 1957a: 295). Burkitt likewise observed these slight changes in colour as denoting different artists working at different times (1928: 34; 111; 118; 121-122; 132). Goodall believed that this layer (Fig. 4.20), consisted of 'the smaller elephant, a sable antelope and several nondescript finely drawn antelopes, all done in a flat colour wash; the latter of which she described as belong 'to the best animal style' (Goodall 1957a: 295). She noted that the third style present in the panel was painted 'in a deep, subdued, reddish colour' (Goodall 1957a: 295). She observed that the fourth style was



Fig. 4.19 (above): E. Goodall's illustration of the two large elephant figures at Makumbe Cave. She used these figures as a constant in her analysis of the paintings, comparing each layer with their relation to the elephants which she argued were the oldest paintings in the panel (2016 digital colour photograph by L. de Harde [2016-08-19 11.57.30]).
Fig. 4. 20 (below): The third, fourth and fifth layers in the Makumbe Cave panel by E. Goodall. She observed the colours for each layers as dark chocolate brown; deep red and pale red respectively (2016 digital colour photograph by L. de Harde [2016-08-19 11.57.38]).

painted in a pale red and she considered these paintings to be 'of lesser quality' (Goodall 1957a: 295). She reproduced the second, third and fourth layers (Fig. 4.20) by shading the various groupings using dark chocolate brown, red and paler red (these colours cannot be seen on the monochrome diagram but the differences in shading are indicated through the use of white, grey and solid black).

The next layers, five and six, were differentiated by the 'yellow or yellow-brown' coloured paint, 'a colour which did not last [as] well as the earlier dark brown' (Goodall 1957a: 295). Goodall noticed that 'one of the antelopes is extraordinarily well done, with great sensitivity, but others less so; they lack the finer details, such as hooves, of the second style' (Goodall 1957a: 295). In layer six are human figures, the 'best style being represented by a standing man (centre top of the frieze) and by a figure she described as a 'mourner' (bottom right), both painted in dark Indian red (Goodall 1957a: 295). In the topmost layers that Goodall numbered 7 to 13, she saw a progression of 'successive styles' (Goodall 1957a: 295).





Fig. 4.21 (above): E. Goodall's monochrome diagram showing the fifth and sixth layers of the Makumbe Cave panel. She observed in each layer the paintings to be yellow and yellow brown (2016 digital colour photograph by L. de Harde [2016-08-19 11.57.38]).
Fig. 4. 22 (below): In this illustration E. Goodall depicts layers 7 to 14. She draws all the previous styles from the diagrams (Fig. 4.19 - 4.21) in outline so that the new layers stand out in silhouette (2016 digital colour photograph by L. de Harde [2016-08-19 11.57.46]).

Goodall saw within the paintings a variety of styles, which she distinguished in terms of techniques and colours, subject matter as well as skill. From the hundreds of paintings she examined, many of which she also copied, she noticed changes in the paintings. Schultz explains that she and her colleagues believed that

> [t]he best starting point is provided by the large picture walls with superimposed paintings, where the unity of related figures is confirmed by recurrence in the same age-old

> materials and at the same time can be seen as they follow each other in time. It is indeed a curious fact that this cannot be clearly determined at all points of intersection, because unequal thickness in the application and versatility of the colours often allow the earlier painting to penetrate so strongly that soon one, now the other, tone appears overlying. So, these places are also reproduced in the copies […]. But there are enough cases of clear overlap to read from a number of similar figures that their relation to other groups is the same at all points where paintings overlap (1933: 15 Google translated from German).

There is a point of similarity between their approach to the Makumbe Cave panel and a view expressed by Frobenius that:

> The question of the age and the history of the rock-paintings of South Africa can be definitely answered only when we can command enough material for comparison. It is essential to classify the various styles, and then to ascertain in what relation they stand to each other with regard to age (1929: 333).

Echoing Frobenius's cultural morphology argument, Schulz suggests that while the rock arts of southern Africa and of Europe are in many ways different, some of the advances made by researchers working in European caves could be effectively transposed to their southern African counterparts:

> To the South African rock paintings come many related finds from other countries… which, despite all the peculiarities in the different areas, are essentially to be regarded as one phenomenon: thus we must see in them a characteristic expression of great epochs of human culture, the once dominated vast areas, not a meaningless special development of individual tribes from a general point of view. And thanks to the discovery and investigation of the pictorial subterranean caves in southern France and northern Spain (the so-called Franco-Cantabrian Circle), we know that such engravings and paintings are already part of the ancient testimony of human life (1933: 13 Google translated from German).

Schulz explains that most researchers accepted that the paintings could date back to as early as 9000BCC (Schulz 1933: 13). Researchers came to this date through 'systematic excavations in which each site was examined in layers' (Schulz 1933: 13-14). Schulz and Goodall were aware of archaeological work being conducted in Europe in which excavations of cave floors revealed artefacts that were visually comparable to objects and equipment depicted in the paintings. This was true for faunal and other biological remains found in the layers. Schulz noted that 'findings of geology and palaeontology, which prove the extinction of certain animal species that are still depicted in the rock art […] coincide with the research results of prehistory and fortify them' (Schulz 1933: 14 Google translated from German). The links between the layering of sand in the cave floor and the various layers of styles on the walls of shelters was not explicitly stated, but the inference is alluded to (Schulz 1933) and it is this underlying principle that Goodall and Schulz employ in their 'excavation' of the Makumbe panel. Like Burkitt, Schulz and Goodall

were attempting to apply the principle of stratigraphy, the fundamental organising principle of archaeological excavation, to their study of rock art and their interpretations thereof.

However, unlike the painted caves in western Europe, the oldest of which date back some 33000 years and Apollo 11 Cave in Namibia, for example dating back to c. 25000, the rock art in southern Africa continues to present problems in dating (despite the advent of chronometric dating and geographic information system (GIS) advancements) (Bonneau et al. 2011; Bonneau et al. 2012; Bonneau et al. 2017; Russell 2012: 37 – 46; Thackeray 1983: 21). There is also a difference in the preservation of these paintings, the paintings in underground caves have stable environments where paintings have more chance of surviving than those in shallow overhangs exposed to the elements. In Europe, 'a dated sequence of stylistic changes has been established for that region from dates associated either with art mobilier in cave deposits or with deposits covering parietal art' (Thackeray 1983: 21). In their attempts to 'establish a relative chronological sequence for southern African rock art', early researchers attempted to transpose a European rubric onto their southern African counterparts through the 'establishment of sequences of stylistic change from "primitive" to "sophisticated" or "classic" and finally "degenerate" form' (Thackeray 1983: 21). This approach aimed at establishing a chronological sequence based on stylistic features against which other paintings could be compared (Bleek 1932: 72 – 83; Bonneau et al. 2011; Bonneau et al. 2012; Bonneau et al. 2017; Russell 2012: 37 – 46;).

In his classic introduction to the study, interpretation and preservation of the world's rock art, Whitley proposes that the concept of style 'arises in two slightly overlapping fashions', the first being a 'stylistic evolution', and the second a 'cultural-historical' approach (2005: 47). Stylistic evolution, which 'is prominent in studies of the origins of art, especially those focusing on Palaeolithic cave art of western Europe', sees the art as demonstrating a gradual progression in style changing over the course of many centuries (Whitley 2005: 47). These changes were believed 'to run from simple to complex, or from geometric to naturalistic, figurative, or iconic images' (Whitley 2005: 47). The underlying principle of the stylistic evolution method was the belief that the perceived sophistication of the paintings developed in accordance with the evolution of the human skeleton. To put it simply, as the human body evolved over time, there was no reason to believe that fine motor skills would not develop accordingly, enabling a refinement in the image making abilities of the original artists (Whitley 2005: 47). This is also referred to as a 'cultural ontogeny' model. However, no evidence has yet been discovered to suggest that artistic skill as well as the affixed cognitive awareness implied by the act of creating images evolved gradually once the people in question began making art (2005: 48). Whitley goes

on to explain that rock art 'certainly may have changed over time in any given region. But the word *change* has different implications than *evolution*' (2005: 48 italics in original).

The cultural-historical approach categorises different styles based on perceived similarities, grouping them accordingly. The styles are interpreted as being 'exemplary of a particular culture during a specific time period' (Whitley 2005: 48). In 1953, art historian Meyer Schapiro defined the cultural-historical approach as follows:

> By style is meant the constant form – and sometimes the constant elements, qualities and expression – in the art of an individual or group […] for the archaeologist, style is exemplified in motive or pattern which helps him to localise and date the work and to establish connections between groups of work or between cultures: style here is a symptomatic trait, like the non-aesthetic features of an art[e]fact (1953: 287).

Whitley notes the influence of this definition on rock art researchers, but cautions that the application has not always been successful, providing the following solution:

> It is potentially useful to define styles in rock art research, and they can be distinguished based on types and nature of the motifs, the techniques by which the motifs are made and presented, and the patterns in their association. But what these styles imply in cultural-historical terms needs to be determined through independent analysis, rather than assumed at the outset (2005: 52).

In considering the conceptual influences that directed Goodall's scholarship, the distinction between a formal analysis of the paintings and an interpretive analysis is an important one to make.

In my assessment of some early researchers working in this field, there seems to be evidence of a growing awareness that the success of the study requires a distinction between collected evidence and the interpretations of that evidence (even if the boundary between description and interpretation is blurred). My reading of Goodall's published, and unpublished work, suggests someone dedicated to the former, the collection of evidence and an unwavering dedication to that pursuit. While Schulz employed the principle of stratigraphy and the notion of chronological sequences and successive styles to disentangle the images conceptually, Goodall seems to have been more interested in copying the paintings and carefully recording the visual differences between the layers.

Almost half a decade later, in 1979, in his foundational work on the use of stratigraphy in archaeology, Bermudian archaeologist Edward Harris explains the important bearing that the law of superposition has on the application of stratification to understand archaeological sites. He explains that

> It assumes that the strata and features are found in a position similar to that of their original deposition. It thus allows the archaeologist to determine the relative order in

> which the units of stratification were created. In other words, it gives a direction to the physical sequence of the stratification of a site […]. The law is a statement about the physical relationships of superimposed deposits, i.e. the one lies on top of or underneath another. It is by the recording of such superpositional relationships that the archaeologist amasses a body of data from which the stratigraphic sequence of the site may be determined (1979: 113).

The 'Harris matrix', as it is known today, was developed by Edward Harris in 1973 in order to make sense of the relative chronology of a site by inferring information from the stratigraphic sequence of the layers of material (human or natural) built up over time, at the archaeological site in question. Underlying the Harris matrix is the 'law of superposition' which states that, in the case of undisturbed layers, the uppermost layer is the most recent deposit and each level below will be older than the one preceding it (this is the same principle that Goodwin applied to his metaphor of the 'untidy desk' (1953: 10), which I discussed in the introduction to this thesis). Harris describes the relationship between the objects within the various layers as follows:

> [A]ny given unit of archaeological stratification takes its place in the stratigraphic sequence of a site from its position between the undermost of all units which lie above it and the uppermost of all those units which lie below it and with which it has a physical contact, all other superpositional relationships being regarded as redundant (1979: 113)

Using the information gleaned from the aforementioned relationships of the objects/artefacts to one another, '[t]he aim of the [Harris matrix] is to combine the entire stratigraphic data of a site into a single, coherent diagram' (1975: 113). In 2000, nearly seven decades after Goodall produced her study, Thembi Russell applied the Harris matrix to the layers of paint built up on the rock surface at Main Caves North, Giant's Castle Game Reserve (2000: 60 – 70). She then compared her findings with chronological sequences developed by Harold Pager (1971) who identified seven different styles in the paintings, and Patricia Vinnicombe (1976), who observed a chronology consisting of four phases. In each case, the researchers inferred information directly from the paintings themselves, noting the colours used and the application of paint as central to their discussions. Citing Russell's work, Anne Solomon explains that:

> The key problem, once again, is the notion that the imagery is evidence of something other than itself. Though it may *also* be evidence of something beyond itself, it nevertheless requires analysis in the visual terms, that is in terms of the internal dynamics and development of the visual tradition. Irrespective of absolute dates, the Harris matrix studies suggest that the shaded polychromes are a distinct phase in the middle of the sequence […] characterised by exploration and extension of the possibilities of the medium (2016: 238)

David Pearce has argued that complications emerge when the Harris matrix, that was developed to represent the stratification of the various soil layers of excavated sites, is extrapolated to rock surfaces covered with a multitude of paintings (2010: 148 – 153). Pearce's

argument hinges on an overarching concern that not all paintings, especially those painted in the single-tradition, overlap to create a clear 'stratum' (2010: 152). However, like Russell, Goodall anticipated these potential difficulties with stratigraphy and therefore began her 'excavation' of the Makumbe Cave panel by first identifying a stratum in the form of the large elephants, against which the relative position of the other paintings could be examined. However, this approach does not necessarily address the issue of clear strata elsewhere in the sequence.

## Stylistic similarities construed differently

Henry Balfour wrote the 'Preface' to Helen Tongue's 1909 book *Bushman Paintings*, beginning by stating '[t]he importance of careful and systematic preservation of all available records relating to primitive people' (1909: 4). He went on to encourage 'any efforts made with a view to collecting together the scattered shreds of evidence, from which may be constructed the cultural history of vanished or fast-vanishing races of mankind' (1909: 4). Balfour elaborates on George Stow's assertion that there were 'two distinct branches of the Bushman people, differing not only in customs and language, but also in their artistic talents and methods' (1909: 6). After Stow, Balfour categorises the two groups as 'Cave-dwellers' who he believed were responsible for the paintings on the rocks, and the 'Kopje-dwellers', to whom he attributed the engravings (1909: 6). Balfour explains that while modes of art making differed from one another, in South Africa there appeared to be 'three main periods of art evolution' (1909: 6). He outlines the three styles as follows:

> 1. 'A stage representing the earlier and cruder attempts'
>
> 2. 'A period during which the skill reached its highest degree of excellence'
>
> 3. 'A period of decadence' attributed to the Bushman being overpowered by the influx of other, more powerful groups of people coming into the area (1909: 6).

While Balfour's scheme is hierarchical, his interrogation of the paintings relies on a combination of various methods and interpretations, drawing on the formal elements of the paintings and inferring explanations from (albeit generalised) observation of the behaviour of the people believe to be descendants of the original painters. Balfour cites a similar argument relating to the development of four stages outlined by the Czech explorer Emil Holub (b. 1847 - d. 1902), in relation to the sculpted forms or petroglyphs. Balfour is, however, critical of the motivations behind these classifications of style and looks to the paintings themselves for evidence. He examines, for example, patination of the surface of the rocks, arguing for a palimpsest of styles and positing that the paintings that form the earliest layers are, generally

speaking, 'of a higher type' than the most recent layers (1909: 7). Here Balfour, like many other researchers following this method of classification in pursuit of dating the paintings, does not distinguish between a formal analysis of the paintings relying on information gleaned through a close looking *at* the paintings, and his subjective interpretation of that assessment. He infers further information about the paintings from general observations and beliefs about the lifestyle and behaviours of the Bushmen, considering the paintings to be representative of actual events and, as a result, having historical significance (1909: 8).

In his assessment of the paintings, Balfour recognises the skill of the painters, yet his scholarship remains, through its oversimplification of comparisons with other groups of unidentified ('primitive') people and children, unquestioningly tainted by its colonial context:

> The practice of endeavouring to represent more than could be seen at one time, a habit so characteristic of the graphic art of primitive peoples as also of civilised children, is far less noticeable in Bushman art than might have been expected from the rudimentary general culture of these people, and one does not see instances of both eyes being indicated upon a profile face, or a mouth in profile on a full face, such as are so familiar in the underdeveloped art of children and most backward races (1909: 9).

Seeing a perceived similarity between rock paintings and the art produced by children is not unique to Balfour and persisted into the 1960s as a way of providing answers for the question 'Why did the San paint pictures?' (Willcox 1963 in Nettleton 1984: 67). As Anitra Nettleton explains, this level of comparison negates the autonomy of the original artists in producing the paintings and furthermore reduces the painters to painting and creating without intention (Nettleton 1984: 67). Considering Balfour's argument holistically, I doubt whether he was trying to reduce the work of the painters to an unconscious exercise, as he goes on to say:

> The meaning of many of the paintings and sculptures is quite obscure, and may, perhaps, never be elucidated, but by a careful comparative study of the varieties under which a given design occurs, it may in the end be possible to diagnose to some extent their hidden significance (Balfour 1909: 6).

Balfour, like many other researchers working during the early part of the twentieth century, was intrigued by the level of sophistication that the Bushman painters were able to achieve, a response which may be interpreted as somewhat condescending towards the painters.

Balfour concludes his discussion by reflecting on the dearth of information available about the Bushman at that time. He believed that the only solution to the problem was further research and the collection of more evidence, suggesting that '[t]o this end it is necessary to secure accurate copies of as many examples as possible' (Balfour 1909: 6). As previously discussed, the emphasis on the collection of empirical data was one view shared by many researchers at the

time, not least of all Frobenius and later Goodall. Goodall outlines this concern as central to her work at the QVM:

> Little has been published about our Rhodesian paintings. It is our endeavour at the Salisbury Museum, to collect as much evidence of this bygone race as possible. The picture will never be complete, as too much has gone already. But all signs are very promising that more knowledge will still come to light (date unrecorded: 5 [2016-08-19 14.00.23]).

Two decades after Balfour published his assessments of the different styles in the paintings, Frobenius published 'The Mysteries of South Africa's Prehistoric art' (1929), where he reflects on his findings of three 'divergent style[s]' as he observed them over the course of three expeditions (1913 - 1914 to the Sahara, 1926 to the Nubian Desert, 1928 to South Africa) focusing specifically on rock paintings, drawings and engravings. Frobenius categorises the styles that he observed somewhat differently from Balfour. Instead of grouping them primarily based on a perceived inferiority or superiority of the technical skill of the artist, in his 1929 article, Frobenius groups the various styles according to form. In order to make his selection he examines the techniques used in rendering the images, the surfaces the artists chose as their canvas as well as the subjects they were interested in representing. He does not immediately distinguish between engravings and paintings as two different art forms, from two different groups of people; instead he places the engravings, which he describes as having been 'chiselled into the hard rock -basalt or diorite', and devoid of colour (1929: 333) as a style on their own. While Balfour's scheme is hierarchical, reading off the paintings and engravings separately from one another, focusing on the technical proficiency of the artists in capturing their subjects, Frobenius examines the paintings and groups them according to their similarities with one another.

Notably Frobenius saw in these styles strong affinities with the cave paintings of Europe. He saw 'the important features of the representation of movement in the soft South African style, conform in the most striking of manner to those of the east Spanish paintings' (1929: 333).

In support of his argument he cites Hugo Obermaier's *Fossil Man in Spain* (1924). The book was first published in French in 1916, but was revisited nearly a decade later, translated into English and published once more, possibly giving the publication more prominence, and therefore, influencing Frobenius's thinking at the time of the southern African expedition of 1928-1930. Frobenius draws visual similarities between the figures in the paintings which he identifies as 'running men' (Frobenius 1929: 334) (Fig. 4.23) and the figures (unspecified) in Obermaier's discussion (Obermaier 1924: 124) (Fig. 4. 24).

Scholars continue to grapple with the legacy of Frobenius's extensive expeditions across Africa and his samplings of African arts and ways of life (Derricourt 2011; Marchand 1996;

Schlanger 2003). His contribution to knowledge about the continent has elicited contradictory responses from African intellectuals earning the admiration of Léopold Sédar Senghor (Christophe1987) and Aimé Césaire (Nesbitt 2000) to the opposite from Wole Soyinka, who famously critiqued Frobenius's opinion of the makers of a Yoruba bronze sculpture in his 1986 Nobel Lecture 'This Past Must Address Its Present'.

Frobenius has been criticised for his Eurocentric interpretations, seeing non-African imagery in the paintings, but in this example he interpreted the similarities in style as evidence that the 'culture of the African Capsian […] brought the East Spanish rock paintings to Europe' (1929: 333). Years later, Battiss acknowledged that '[s]triking resemblances between certain Spanish cave paintings near Castellón and those of the Bushman have been noted […] although the distribution of Bushman-like paintings is a very large one and painting sites occur in Spain, North Africa, the central Sahara, Tanganyika, Rhodesia, South West Africa and the Union' (1939: 21). However, Battiss believed there was insufficient evidence to 'preclude the presumption of positive linkage' (1939: 21).

Battiss identified what he believed to be three periods in the paintings 'suggesting different occupation by different people over long periods of time' (1948: 68). He categorised them as the early, middle and late periods. However, Battiss did not place his division of stages or styles in a hierarchical procession; instead, he encouraged a reading of each of the three different styles as separate from one another, so that each could be valued in the context of itself and not in relation to the skills and abilities of the painters who painted before or after. If considered independently of one another, in each style Battiss saw something unique, such as in '[t]he



Fig. 4.23: An illustration in 'The Mysteries of South Africa's Prehistoric art' (1929) used by L. Frobenius to draw visual parallels to prehistoric art of Spain (1929: 334). The copies include in this publication are attributed to Frobenius. (2018 digital colour photograph by L. de Harde).

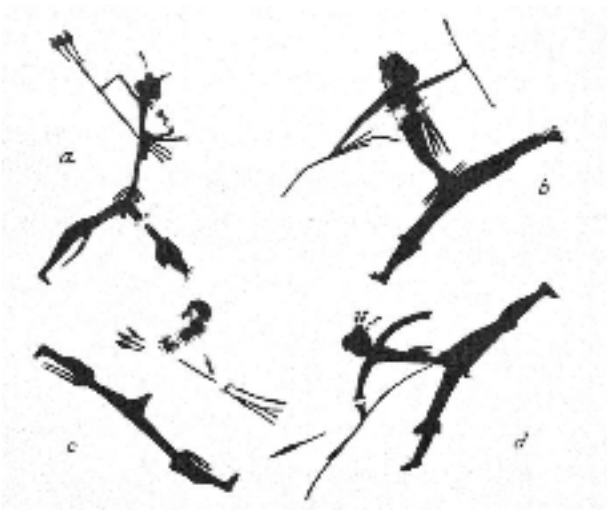


Fig. 4.24: Hugo Obermaier's *Fossil Man in Spain* (1924). L. Frobenius argued that there are clear visual similarities between the styles recorded in Fig. 4. 23 and this example.

discovery of action', which, he argued, came later and was the 'greatest contribution of the last Bushmen' (1948: 80-81). In this way, Battiss's approach was to separate the art into different stages allowing a comparison of 'like with like' and thereby enabling, in his view, a fair assessment of each style, rather than simply seeing one as better than the other. In his assessment:

> […] it is possible to look upon the arts of the three periods as *three separate arts*, and to forget about an evolution from the first paintings to the last paintings. Indeed it might be disastrous to continue thinking of all the paintings as belonging to one art, evolving to a climax and falling into a decline in the time of the last Bushmen, whereas it might be fairer to look upon the last art as a separate art belonging to the Bushmen, and the first art as a prehistoric art belonging to unidentified artists, and perhaps to consider the controversial Middle Period of art as a separate art with characteristics of its own (1948: 74).

There are some inconsistencies in the record regarding Battiss's attribution of authorship to the paintings. Lewis-Williams, as previously discussed, dismisses Battiss on similar grounds, suggesting that his opinion of the art and its makers fell into an unthinking and stereotyped category:

> Underlying these ideas, none of which it should be noted, stood up to further research, is the notion that the 'little Bushmen' were primitive, naive and consequently incapable of Great Art. The popular Western stereotype of the San hunter-gatherers as the archetypal 'other', primitive yet romanticised, had been so widely disseminated that no one questioned it. Even when considering his final period, the one that he believed had indeed been produced by the Bushmen, Battiss did not bother to turn to any San beliefs, myths, and rituals (2002: 7 - 8).

However, if Battiss's views are considered in the context in which they were written, it is my sense that his approach can be seen to break away from the general consensus of the time, and point to the kind of approach forged by later researchers:

> For somewhere in the make-up of even the last despised Bushman, inherited from his ancestors, there were flashes of artistic genius that redeem him from condemnation and his sense of poetry is reflected in the scrap of folklore that was saved and written down by two or three Europeans with an ear for such melodies of thought (Battiss 1948: 66-67).

Present in this statement is not only the suggestion that Battiss was aware of some of the ethnographic material collected and the work of Bleek and Lloyd, but also his assertion that the people he referred to as 'Bushmen' were descendants of the prehistoric painters working in the 'Early period of painting' (1948: 68 – 74). Battiss's attempts to construct a chronology of authorship for the paintings were contradictory within themselves and contested at the time. For example, Dorothea Bleek did not agree with Battiss, arguing that the paintings were hundreds

rather than thousands of years old (Weintroub 2015). Yet present in Battiss's explorative and sometimes romantic approach to the paintings is, as Anitra Nettleton observes:

> Battiss's acceptance of the primacy of the San as his cultural ancestors, and his construction of their art as universally relevant, allowed him to use rock art as a sign of Africanness and thus of an 'authentic' national identity (2011: 145).

This reading of Battiss's work is often overshadowed by Lewis-Williams's highlighting of Battiss's belief that only the final period could be attributed to the Bushmen, implying that the other, 'superior' periods derived from different origins, perhaps more fanciful European/ Egyptian origins.

Goodall too, has been accused of employing a Eurocentric approach to her interpretive research. A close reading of her archival materials reveals many occasions where she states explicitly that while she may 'like to draw occasional parallels of European and African cave art' observing that they '[b]oth are to a certain degree restricted, they are two-dimensional […] hav[ing] no third dimension, that of depth'. She also argued that '[o]nly slight touches of perspective are occasionally given' and that the '[f]oreground and background' are often painted but not necessarily to provide the illusion of perspective. She explained that these observations may lead 'to a natural development of similarities, of these large centres of Cave Art which need not necessarily mean a racial connection'. Furthermore, she noted that '[f]rom time to time, it has been suggested that Sumerians, Phoenicians and Greeks have been painted, but this extremely uncertain' (excerpt from 'General aspects of rock-paintings' date unrecorded: 4 [2016-08-19 13.53.58]). In this regard, Goodall was quietly challenging notions of foreign authorship of the art, while endorsing support for African authorship and the work of researchers such as Gertrude Caton-Thompson who had established Great Zimbabwe as the work of 'Bantu' people (1929). On a separate occasion, Goodall mentions the oft-cited 'striking




Fig. 4.25: M. Burkitt's cover page of *South Africa's Past in Stone and Paint* (1928). The illustration is a copy of a similar selection of the Makumbe panel also copied by J. Lutz titled *Fünf Böcke (FBA-B 00772)*.

resemblance between Spanish, North Africa and South African rock art'. However, she concludes that 'with our present knowledge it is hard to believe that the artists from the North actually migrated down to South Africa' (excerpt from 'Old Masters of Rhodesia's Past' date unrecorded: 4 [2016-08-19 13.59.57]). Yet, what she does demonstrate is a cautious approach to attributing all rock art to the same group of people. A glimpse of this is present in one of her unpublished papers, which may have been notes for a talk presented at the museum. In it she recounts, albeit informally, the attribution of the paintings in South Africa to the Bushmen, explaining that…

> the art was alive almost up to the present day. Early colonists are said to have observed small people of the Bushman race executing their art on the rock surfaces, or, at least, have spoken to those who possessed knowledge of the art, and of the secrets of obtaining and mixing paints. So it came that they were all classed as 'Bushman Paintings', whether here in Rhodesia or in the South. But it does seem rather an incorrect term for Rhodesia, as the art appears to originate much further back than that of the true Bushman Art. The styles differ considerably, so that we may safely call them 'pre-Bushman', and, to be non-committal, we prefer to call them just 'Rockpaintings' (date unrecorded: 1 [2016-08-19 13.59.28]).

As previously discussed, Garlake interpreted Goodall's uncertainty about authorship as indicative of certain racial underpinnings. Yet, as Solomon, among other researchers, has problematised on more than one occasion, there are many uncertainties regarding the authorship of paintings (e.g. 1996; 2000; 2011; 2016). In 'Writing San Histories: The /Xam and "Shamanism" Revisited' Solomon argues:

> that reading the /Xam texts through the lens of Kalahari ethnographies produces similarities that do not necessarily exist and reifies a questionable notion of San identity. That is not to say that there are not notable commonalities in the broad contours of San (and even Khoesan) religious belief; however, similarities and diversity in San cultures remain poorly understood. Structural perspectives perpetuate a view of San peoples that grants them 'antiquity at the expense of history', to paraphrase the charge at the centre of the continuing 'revisionist debate' in Kalahari ethnography (2011: 100).

Despite these many differences of opinions regarding 'the cultural attribution and affiliation of the rock art they were studying, and controversy concerning the interpretation of details in images as indigenous or foreign to sub-Saharan Africa', as Davis points out,

> it is important to note that in practice Burkitt, Van Riet Lowe, Goodwin, Breuil, Frobenius and Battiss all recognised many of the same var[i]ations in the rock art of Southern Africa - between the Brandberg and the Drakensberg, between 'static' and 'naturalistic' styles, between engraving and painting - but construed the archaeological significance of these variations very differently depending on their background views about chronological and cultural correlations (1990: 282 - 283).

# Fünf Böcke

Joachim Lutz was born on 12 January 1906. It was expected that he would follow the same vocation as his father and become an engineer but the artistic aptitude he demonstrated in his formative years ensured a different education and career path (Roth 2006). Lutz studied under the graphic designer, painter and illustrator Walther Klemm, at the Art Academy in Weimar, Germany. Lutz did not confine himself to a single technique or subject and developed a 'wide-ranging graphic oeuvre' (Roth 2006), painting landscapes in watercolour, sketching portraits and experimenting with woodcuts and linocuts (Roth 2006). In 1928, he joined Frobenius's ninth expedition to southern Africa where he worked as one of the artists and illustrators employed to record the many painted panels dispersed across the landscape.

During the Rhodesian leg of the expedition, Lutz visited Makumbe and produced three copies of the site, two of which (Fig. 4.7 and Fig. 4.26) were likely drawn *in situ*. One of the copies (Fig. 4.7), is considerably larger than the others, capturing more detail than the smaller




Fig. 4.26: J. Lutz's copy of a selection made of the large Makumbe panel. This copy is titled *Fünf Böcke* and according to the Frobenius Institute's online database was rendered using colour pencil but does appear to be a combination of watercolours and pencil (c. 1928 - 1929; 33 x 60 cm; FBA-B 00772), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.

iteration of *Fünf Böcke*. Unlike Lutz's copy of the 'formlings' (Fig 4.7) where it seems as though he attempted to capture the panel in its entirety, his copy of *Fünf Böcke* is a small selection framed by Lutz within a much larger panel. There are several possible reasons why Lutz may have spent more time on this small composition and less on the more intricate and detailed panel that Goodall copied a few years later (Fig. 4.13). One reason for this is that the larger panel in the right-hand recess may have been recognised early on as being far too intricate to copy in the limited time the expedition had available, whereas the cluster of five antelope constituted a manageable selection. After all, we know that Goodall would later spend three weeks in the shelter shortly after relocating to the country, to produce her copy. This invites speculation as to when the team recognised that the site would ideally need to be revisited, and at what point it was decided that Goodall would be the copyist to return.

Lutz's copy depicts five antelope, which, judging by their antlers, could be kudu (*Tragelaphus strepsiceros*). The antelope are rendered centrally on a horizontal plane. They are treated similarly to one another using smooth blocks of colour, which are individually contained within unbroken



Fig. 4.27: Cropped selection made from E. Goodall's large scale watercolour copy of the painted panel at Makumbe Cave, Zimbabwe (c. 1931; 950 x 150 cm; FBA-D3 02972), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.

outlines creating individual forms. The palette is limited to three colours, yellow-ochre, greenish-brown and brick red. No details of the context, for example, the granite surface on which they were painted, are depicted. It is as though the five antelope were peeled off the uneven granite rock and neatly transposed onto the flat two-dimensional surface of the page.

A comparison between the Lutz copy (Fig. 4.26) and Goodall's (Fig. 4.27) reveals that Lutz may have selected only the shapes that were recognisable to him as antelope, whereas Goodall sought to paint all the figures within the frame, including those that seemed obscure or hidden. As I demonstrate by cropping Goodall's copy to echo the selection made by Lutz, Goodall painted a total of eight animals, whereas Lutz depicted only five. It becomes apparent too, that Goodall was careful to include signs of ageing and deterioration visible on the rock surface. A distinct example of this discernment and variation in looking between the two artists can be observed by examining the head of the male antelope positioned second from the left towards the bottom of the scene (Fig. 4.28). In the Lutz copy, the entire head, ears and two large antlers are visible. Yet, in Goodall's depiction of the same animal, only the antlers are similar to Lutz's rendition while the head and ears are merely suggested through fragmentary lines. It is as though the original painting suffered from exfoliation resulting in only partial fragments of the head of the figure remaining on the rock surface. There is a possibility that Goodall's copy (c. 1931), which she painted a short time after Lutz made his copy (c. 1928 - 1929), may have reflected the deterioration of the paintings resulting in further chipping away of the head however this seems unlikely given the relatively little time between the two copies. I have examined the two copies closely in relation to the photograph of the panel that the Frobenius Expedition took at the time of their visit (which was at the same time that Lutz made his copy). The photograph confirms that the head of the antelope was already partially chipped away. This comparison (Fig. 4.28)




Fig. 4.28: Details of the male antelope's head recorded in a photograph taken by the Frobenius Expedition (for the full image see Fig. 4.9), Lutz's copy (Fig. 4.26) and Goodall's copy (Fig. 4.27).

therefore provides evidence that Lutz filled in partially preserved figures, while Goodall copied the original panel as closely as possible.

In Lutz's copy, the two central antelope seem to be floating while the three outer figures are positioned with their hooves on two separate flat planes running parallel to the edge of the page. The positioning of these figures reminds me of the copy made by Joseph Orpen of three therianthropic figures at Melikane, Lesotho (1874) (Fig. 4.29).

Like Lutz, Orpen does not include background detail in his copy. Orpen also positions the three figures to create the illusion that they are standing on a flat ground plane running parallel to the bottom of the page (Wintjes 2012: 59 - 62; Wintjes 2015). The illusion is strengthened in Orpen's composition, in which the sticks the figures are holding are positioned on the same imaginary line as their feet (Leibhammer 2009: 46).

In her analysis of Orpen's copy, Nessa Leibhammer observes that '[a] sense of balance in a determinate realm with gravitational forces is implied in the image. Solid bodies appear to occupy space in the physical world and this illusion is constructed through specific [w]estern visual traditions' (2009: 46). Using the 'conventions of plane, ground and perspectival illusionism' (Leibhammer 2009: 46), Lutz and Orpen create balance by repositioning the figures in an arrangement familiar to a 'western' viewer. Both copyists treat the anatomy of their subjects in a similar manner. In Orpen's case, '[t]he figures also have proportions that are more anthropomorphically normative' (Leibhammer 2009: 46). The same is true for Lutz's treatment of the antelope, yet he goes a step further. In his reproduction, as mentioned above, Lutz 'repairs' the figures, filling in the outline to create a stylised depiction of the animal complete with horns and ears.



Fig. 4.29: J. Orpen's copy of the three therianthropic figures at Melikane, Lesotho (1874) (2012 digital colour photograph by J. Wintjes).

Leibhammer suggests two reasons that may have contributed to the 'earth-bound' nature of the figures in Orpen's copy. The first, she suggests, is that Orpen 'probably had no formal art training and operated as an interested amateur' (2009: 46). She goes on to attribute the 'absence of technical and artistic skill in the handling of the paint' to the overall impression and 'visual reading' of the final image (Leibhammer 2009: 46). However, unlike Orpen, Lutz was an artist employed for his formal training. Yet, as I have demonstrated through the above comparison, Lutz's treatment of the paintings is unquestionably similar to the conventions that Orpen followed. If both Lutz, a trained artist, and Orpen, an untrained amateur, were employing similar pictorial conventions in their translations of the paintings, it may be an indication of the difficulty of translation, and the power of pictorial conventions familiar to them, and not the technical limitations of the artist/copyist, as Leibhammer suggests. The challenge of translating images from the rock surface onto a picture plane penetrates much deeper, proving difficult for even trained artists specifically employed for the task of copying (Leibhammer 2009; Skotnes 2010; Wintjes 2011 & 2012). Goodall by contrast did not succumb to the comfort of familiar conventions in her depiction of the painted panels. Instead, she continued throughout her career to strive for a level of accuracy in depicting what she saw on the rock surface, staying as true to the original painted panel as possible.

Leibhammer suggests a second reason for the difficulties faced by Orpen in making his copies of the paintings: 'It is also likely that, had his knowledge of the art and world view of the San been different, Orpen would have articulated the image differently' (Leibhammer 2009: 46). In this way, Leibhammer conforms to the view shared by researchers who, Wintjes suggests:

> have previously thought about how historic copies mediate between the original rock paintings and the viewer of the copy, but their primary concern in this regard has been to establish whether the copies faithfully reflect the iconographic content of the originals, in which light they can be established as inaccurate, whimsical or fraudulent (Wintjes 2012: 14).

Seen in this light, Leibhammer's assessment of Orpen's copy is not dissimilar to the lens through which Lewis-Williams assesses the copy Goodall made at Aberdeen, as discussed in Chapter Two. Leibhammer cites Lewis-Williams's position:

> Many people continued to record the art, and there are large collections made by such enthusiasts […]. Unfortunately, most of these copies are, by today's standards, somewhat inaccurate. The early recorders missed details (or recorded features that did not exist), rearranged paintings to fit a page and, most damaging of all, selected paintings and engravings that interested them (1990: 50 in Leibhammer 2009: 47).

She goes on to state that '[i]t seems likely that because San art was considered simplistic, without a developed symbolic and spiritual system of thought underpinning it, this gave copiers

licence to manipulate as they saw fit' (2009: 47). Here, Leibhammer argues that the copyist set about purposefully manipulating their translations of the painted panels. Davis came to a similar conclusion in his assessment of modes of recording employed by early rock art researchers:

> Ideally, one scrutinizes every instance of an image reasonably thought to belong to a single historical culture or stylistic tradition. In the past, however, most writers were content to single out striking, dramatic, or peculiar images, images in the best condition for publication, 'beautiful' images. Even now, it is difficult to escape the temptation to characterize a style, and by implication a culture, by referring to a small selection of the most 'characteristic' images. Lately, as part of the revolution in archaeology generally, students of rock art have understood the need to record completely and accurately; not only are many actual works threatened with obliteration, but also some important facts about rock art only come to light when the totality of production is reviewed. (Davis 1984: 13- 14)

Perhaps what sets Goodall apart from some of her contemporaries working prior to the 1970s, is the self-reflexive quality of her research and her awareness and sensitivity to her own limitations of the knowledge she had available about the paintings at the time. As Schulz demonstrates in the following extract, both she and Goodall shared an awareness that they did not necessarily have all the information to 'decipher' the images. Schulz explains:

> Incidentally, the authors of all these rock paintings have left us scant evidence of their existence. Thus, in addition to the interest that they have in their developmental history because of their ancient origins, the representations are valuable as the monuments of an otherwise almost unnoticed cultural stage of humanity. For both aspects, all paintings are important. Today, however, they pose more unsolved problems to the research than they give results. However, there are many obscure illustrations that remain incomprehensible, but the very essence of the paintings, their sense of their authors themselves, is still awaiting enlightenment (1933: 14; Google Translated from German).

Their sensitivity to the gaps in knowledge about the cultural context of the artists and their paintings prompted the researchers to ask questions such as, 'How is this material to be processed?' (Schulz 1933: 14; Google Translated from German). Schulz goes on to explain their intentions as follows:

> Here a part of the various studies is shown, which deals only with the rock paintings themselves, with the aim to find in the confusion of changing styles larger groups with common characteristics. The best starting point is provided by the large picture walls with superimposed paintings, where the unity of related figures is confirmed by recurrence in the same age-old materials and at the same time can be seen as they follow each other in time. It is indeed a curious fact that this cannot be clearly determined at all points of intersection, because unequal thickness in the application and versatility of the colours often allow the earlier painting to penetrate so strongly that soon one, now the other, tone appears overlying. So these places are also reproduced in the copies, it can be repeatedly stated on the exhibited pieces. But there are enough cases of clear overlap to read from a number of similar figures that their relation to other groups is the same at all points where paintings overlap (1933: 15 Google Translated from German).

In many instances the work of early copyists is dismissed on the grounds that they were unaware of the cultural context in which the original paintings were produced (for example: Dowson & Lewis-Williams 1994: 1 – 11; Lewis-Williams 1983 2 – 13; Lewis-Williams 1990: 50). The earlier copies are criticised for being inaccurate and their methods of recording are disregarded for being unsystematic and unscientific (Challis & Lewis-Williams 2010; Lewis-Williams 1983; 1996 & 2006). This is not true for Goodall who aimed to keep her reproductions as close to the original paintings as possible, a point she reiterated in a presentation I discovered among her documents left behind in the storeroom of the ZMHS. The date has not been recorded, but the presence of the document among others relating to her time at the Queen Victoria Museum suggests that she gave this talk while in the museum's employ.

As she explains in her own words, Goodall saw her copies and sketches as tools that could be used to illustrate and visually motivate her textual (in this case, verbal) argument. She described her recordings as 'true copies', explaining that she had neither added to nor changed what she saw on the rocks. This, she said, was unlike some of the copies she had seen in museums elsewhere where the copyists seemed to be 'afraid or ashamed to show the motifs correctly' (Goodall date unrecorded: 1).

In 1931, while some of her co-workers on the expedition went on to assist Frobenius in refining the copies produced on the expedition and readying them for publication, Goodall returned to the field. Returning to the division of labour as discussed earlier in this thesis, Goodall, who under Frobenius assumed the role of 'secondary specialist', arguably shifted her position at this point in her career, working for herself under a set of guidelines and a project plan that she determined and executed. In this way, Goodall shifted her position from assistant and assumed a role more akin to the 'discoverer' or 'puzzle solver' archaeologist. Yet the tentativeness with which she approached her work may complicate categorising her into either one of these roles.

In my reading of the events that transpired in the early part of her career (c. 1931), I believe that Goodall was already asserting her particular research objectives and demonstrating her prioritisation of primary fieldwork over the removed engagement with secondary material that is extracted from sites. I would go a step further in my analysis and argue that her interest in working with the original paintings *in situ* may have been influenced by her awareness of the role the phenomenological position of the copyist plays in their ability to successfully record the painting. To put it simply, Goodall trusted her ability to record the paintings over that of her contemporaries. To my mind, Goodall was not as interested in working with or reworking secondary copies; her primary concern was engaging directly with the original painted panels *in*

*situ*, working closely with the paintings and gaining insight from the intimate experience of copying them.

Throughout her life, Goodall was committed to pursuing an accuracy in her engagement with the original paintings. This is evident in the 'beta' copies she produced for the South African Museum (Keene 2010; 2011). A selection of some of these copies was exhibited in the exhibition *Rock Art made in translation: Framing images of and from the landscape* (2010 – 2011). I mentioned these copies in Chapter One, noting that D. F. Malan placed great value in making sure that South Africa procured a set of copies of the rock art recordings that Frobenius and his team had produced from 1928-1930 (Malan 1930 in Mason 1989: 98). Goodall (working under her maiden name at the time, Mannsfeld) was the primary producer of these copies of the copies made by her and her colleagues on the Frobenius Expedition. As I demonstrated earlier in this chapter, she treated the copies produced during the expedition with the same close attention and accuracy with which she had treated the original rock paintings. At times, it is difficult to see the difference between the primary copy and the secondary (beta) copy produced for the museum. This is a point I return to in Chapter Five, by looking closely at the iterations of the copies made of the painted panel at Diana's Vow. By comparison, the task of redrawing the primary copy for the purposes of publication and highlighting some of the elements to serve Frobenius's theoretical positions, does not seem to have captivated her interest. It seems to me that Goodall was dedicated to copying what she saw and recording what was actually on the rock surface. She devoted her life to refining her craft and responding to it sensitively and with accuracy, with the objective of highlighting and refining her copying work to serve no other purpose than to most accurately represent the original. Instead of remaining under Frobenius's instruction, she returned to Southern Rhodesia, a decision that I have shown through a close reading of some of the copies she made of the panel at Makumbe, was also for a serious pursuit of scholarly work. These aspects of her career are much underplayed in many of the reviews written about her.

In summary, then, my research suggests that Goodall returned to Rhodesia to carve out her own place in rock art research where she felt she could make a significant contribution through the particular type of work she was doing and the skills she had developed while under Frobenius's tutelage. Evidence for this can be inferred from the fact that within four years of her return to Rhodesia, she had not only recorded 32 rock paintings, she had exhibited and sold them to the museum (Raath 1971: 1). One can hypothesise that her motivation to start an independent career in Rhodesia was similar to the motivation she expressed later on in her career, seeing the need to make rock paintings more accessible to the general public through displays of her copies in the museum.


DIANAS VOW
NATIONAL
MONUMENT
½ MILE

# Chapter Five

In 2015 and again in 2016 I followed in the footsteps of some of the visitors to the Zimbabwean rock art site Diana's Vow. My first visit in 2015 developed as a result of a synergy between being in Zimbabwe for a research expedition to Great Zimbabwe and my discovery, a few weeks prior to the trip, that the research activities of Walter Battiss and the Frobenius Expedition had overlapped at this particular site. On 27 November 2015, which was the eighth day of the ten days we spent exploring, researching and documenting Great Zimbabwe, a small group of us made the arduous 800km return journey to Diana's Vow.

This chapter, which I have loosely divided into three sections, begins with my journey to the site and my experience of the paintings as they exist *in situ* in the landscape. The first section is an exploration of Goodall's engagement with the paintings, through a close examination of the archival materials that survive her in the Zimbabwe Museum of Human Sciences (ZMHS), which I photographed during a two-day research trip to the museum in 2016. These archival materials support my interpretation that Goodall's interest in Diana's Vow was one that preceded and surpassed the connection I made early on in my research, namely the overlap between Goodall's research at the site and that of Walter Battiss's. The chapter ends with a loosely woven chronological account of a selection of visual engagements with the site by other researchers, a broader context against which I consider Goodall's practice.

In 2016, while sifting through the multitude of documents, photographs, letters, notes and recordings that survive Goodall in the ZMHS, I developed the impression that Goodall showed a marked affinity to one rock art site, Diana's Vow, the name by which the site is still known today. The 'elaborately painted' (Garlake 1987: 45), and generally well-preserved rock art panel is widely celebrated as one among, if not the, most spectacular painted rock panels in Zimbabwe (Fothergill 1953: 62–3; ZimFieldGuide 2018). Goodall referred to the cluster of paintings as the 'great Diana's Vow panel' and observed it to be 'the most complicated and detailed single scene' found in southern Africa (1959: 98). There is a possibility that I was drawn to the documents pertaining to the panel because of an earlier interest I had developed in the site, which was further fuelled by an eagerness to find points of contact between Goodall and Battiss. Yet, I have

Fig. 5.1 (opposite): Signage photographed on the journey to Diana's Vow, Rusape, Zimbabwe (2015 digital colour photograph by L. de Harde).

returned to the digital archive I collated of the ZMHS holdings and can confirm that archival traces of Diana's Vow appear far more frequently than any other panel. For example, in the box labelled 'Goodall Papers' there are only two documents that have been translated from the original language (in both cases German) into English. Both are extracts from *Madsimu Dsangara* (Frobenius 1931a). The first is 'The rock paintings of South Africa' by Leo Frobenius. The translation of this document has not been explicitly credited to anyone but can be presumed to have been done by Goodall. The second is a one-page translation headed 'Diana's Vow Painting' typed out on a translucent, yellowing page, with a note 'Important description' written in blue ink and translated by Goodall herself. Furthermore, sandwiched between a brown-paper folder containing 'Birds of the stone age' written by Van Riet Lowe and two notes that appear to have been glued together is an A5 envelope addressed to the Queen Victoria Museum from Citadel Press Printers in Lansdowne Cape Town. 'Metal - Block Diana's Vow Painting' has been handwritten on the outside of the envelope (Fig. 5.2). Inside the envelope is a metal plate depicting a selection from the painted panel at Diana's Vow. Among the archival documents I photographed as part of my research, this metal plate, left over from mass-printing technologies of this period, is the only one of its kind remaining in the residue of Goodall's research materials (Fig. 5.3).



Fig. 5.2: An A5 envelope addressed to the Queen Victoria Museum from Citadel Press Printers in Lansdowne Cape Town unearthed in Goodall's archive. 'Metal - Block Diana's Vow Painting' has been handwritten on the outside of the envelope (2016, digital colour photograph by L. de Harde [2016-08-19 14.43.47])

The fragmented nature of the archival materials forms a disruptive and disorganised backdrop against which more carefully considered additions to the collection of objects stand out. In contrast to the scraps of torn pages with scribbled notes are other

documents, which emerge as being more purposefully selected and preserved. An example can be seen in the many newspaper clippings and articles that have been carefully selected and precisely cut out of the original newsprint page and reinforced by being stuck onto a harder and more durable card backing. Evident in the care and time taken to collect and preserve these extracts is the importance these articles must have held for their collector, Elizabeth Goodall. These examples have helped to guide my exploration of the archive, by pointing me to objects that appear to have held greater importance to Goodall than other materials.

In a torn brown-paper folder is one such example, a black-and-white photograph displaying the title: 'Modern Art by Primitive Man', and depicting a majestic vista in the Cape Province. The photograph serves to visually orientate the reader in the Karnmelkspruit landscape, in the Eastern Cape, where the rock paintings Carline discusses can be found. What follows and serves as an introduction to the article is a brief synopsis of some of the challenges 'western' viewers have experienced in their attempts to analyse, interpret, date and attribute authorship to the paintings. Central to the discussion is a brief overview, couched in the narrative of extinction characteristic of the time (for a foundational work on this narrative, see Stow 1905), of the views that late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century researchers held in relation to the African people thought to have authored the art, 'with their gradual extinction have gone the answers to many questions about the pictorial type of art which was their outstanding cultural



Fig. 5.3: Inside the brown paper envelope (Fig. 5.2), I discovered a metal plate depicting a selection made from the painted panel at the rock art site Diana's Vow (2016, digital colour photograph by L. de Harde [2016-08-19 14.42.58]).

accomplishment' (Carline 1945).

On the following double-page spread are pasted on facing pages two rock art copies each reproduced in greyscale. The copy on the right is much larger than the one on the left, filling the entire page. It is noticeably a reproduction of a selection from the painted panel at Diana's Vow. The other copy, positioned towards the top left-hand corner of the opposite page, presents a simpler composition of two antelope with 'bushman' figures painted over them. Neither of the copies has been attributed to a named artist. From the discussion in the text about Battiss and Frobenius one would imagine these copies to have been produced by them. I recognised the smaller copy to be one made by Battiss and reproduced in *The Artists of the Rocks* (1948: 142 - 3).

A visual comparison of the three copies, the first produced by Lutz (1928), the second Mannsfeld-after-Lutz (c. 1930), and the third the greyscale reproduction in Goodall's archive, established that the three copies, while superficially similar to one another, are all different.

The trail led to a copy produced by Goodall some years after the end of the Frobenius Expedition, following her relocation to Rhodesia in 1931. A reproduction of the copy is included



Fig. 5.4: A photograph taken of the second and third page spread of Carline's 1945 article 'Modern Art by Primitive Man', during my research trip to the Zimbabwe Museum of Human Sciences (Harare) in 2016. I found this document in a box labelled Goodall's Papers (2016 digital colour photograph by L. de Harde [2016-08-19 15.03.57]).



Fig. 5.5: Hauptmonument B. Ganze Szene. Liegender toter König und Begleitfiguren. Unten große Komposition mit vielen Menschen, Tieren, Körben und anderen Gegenständen, in offensichtlicher Beziehung zum oberen Teil des Bildes (Main monument B; Entire scene. Lying dead king and accompanying figures. Below large composition with many humans, animals, baskets and other objects in obvious relation to the upper part of the picture) by Joachim Lutz c. 1928 (watercolour on paper, 68 x 98cm, FBA-C 01416), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.



Fig. 5.6: Mannsfeld-after- Lutz copy c.1930 (watercolour on paper, 65 x 100 cm, IZI-LVF-01-360HC), © Iziko South African Museum (Cape Town).



Fig. 5.7: Illustration in an article by Carline (1945) of an undated copy of the main panel at Diana's Vow by Goodall (whereabouts of the original copy unknown). (2016 digital colour photograph by L. de Harde).



Fig. 5.8: Illustration in an article by Carline (1945) of an undated copy of the main panel at Diana's Vow by Goodall (whereabouts of the original copy unknown).



Fig. 5.9: Illustration in Goodall's chapter in the book, Prehistoric rock art of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (1959: plate 56) of an undated copy of the main panel at Diana's Vow by Goodall (whereabouts of the original copy unknown).



Fig. 5.10: Illustration on the back cover of Cooke's 'A *Guide to the Historic and Pre-historic Monuments of Rhodesia*' (1972) (whereabouts of the original copy unknown). (2016 digital colour photograph by L. de Harde).

in Goodall's chapter in *Prehistoric rock art of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland* (1959: plate 56). However, even this copy is not an exact replica of the copy reproduced in Carline's article (1945), which means that Goodall produced at least three copies of the main panel at Diana's Vow. She produced these copies in the knowledge that two large-scale reproductions by Lutz (Fig. 5.5) and the copy she produced after his (Fig. 5.6), already existed and were housed in Frankfurt-am-Main and in Cape Town respectively. I was unable to find the originals of these copies during my visit to Harare in 2016, but interestingly found more reproductions which strongly resemble Goodall's copies at various museums in Zimbabwe such as the Mutare Museum (Fig. 5.12); Ziwa Site Museum, Domboshava Interpretative Centre (Sagiya pers. comm. 2019) and in the offices of the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ) (Fig. 5. 11). The copy (Fig. 5.11) that hangs in the headquarters of the NMMZ shares similarities to that of Goodall's copy (Fig. 5.9) and therefore appears to be a digital print of her original.



Fig. 5.11: This framed copy of Diana's Vow hangs over the desk of the secretary of Godfrey Mahachi, the Director of the NMMZ. This photograph was taken by Anne and George Stoll during a recent trip to Zimbabwe (2019 Stoll Photos, reproduced here with permission from the authors).



Fig. 5.12: A copy of a selection of the paintings at Diana's Vow on display at the Mutare Museum, Mutare Zimbabwe. This copy seems to be a hand-painted copy after E. Goodall's copy (Fig. 5.9). There are noticeable similarities such as the framing and the watermarks however the colours appear to have been heightened.

# A prominent boulder in the landscape

The Diana's Vow paintings are positioned on the side of a prominent granite boulder which creates a point of interest in the landscape (Fig. 5.13). The area, which was favoured by colonial settlers, is today still easily navigable by road. A farm track leads off the main road and is clearly marked 'Diana's Vow'. It leads right up to the gate to the enclosure. An old barbed wire fence separates the 'car park' from the dirt road. After a short and easy walk from the parked car, the large 'free-standing granite boulder with an overhang' (Mguni 2015: 24), which forms the canvas of the painted panel, comes into view. The site is cordoned off with a metal fence and a pedestrian gate. It was declared a National Monument in 1950 and is open to the public (Fothergill 1953: 62–3; ZimFieldGuide 2018). Elisha Tsoka, a custodian associated with the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ), was stationed there on both occasions when we visited in 2015 and 2016.

The majority 'of the painted figures are concentrated on one panel on the side of a large mushroom-shaped boulder, one in a ring of boulders interspersed with trees. At the centre of this

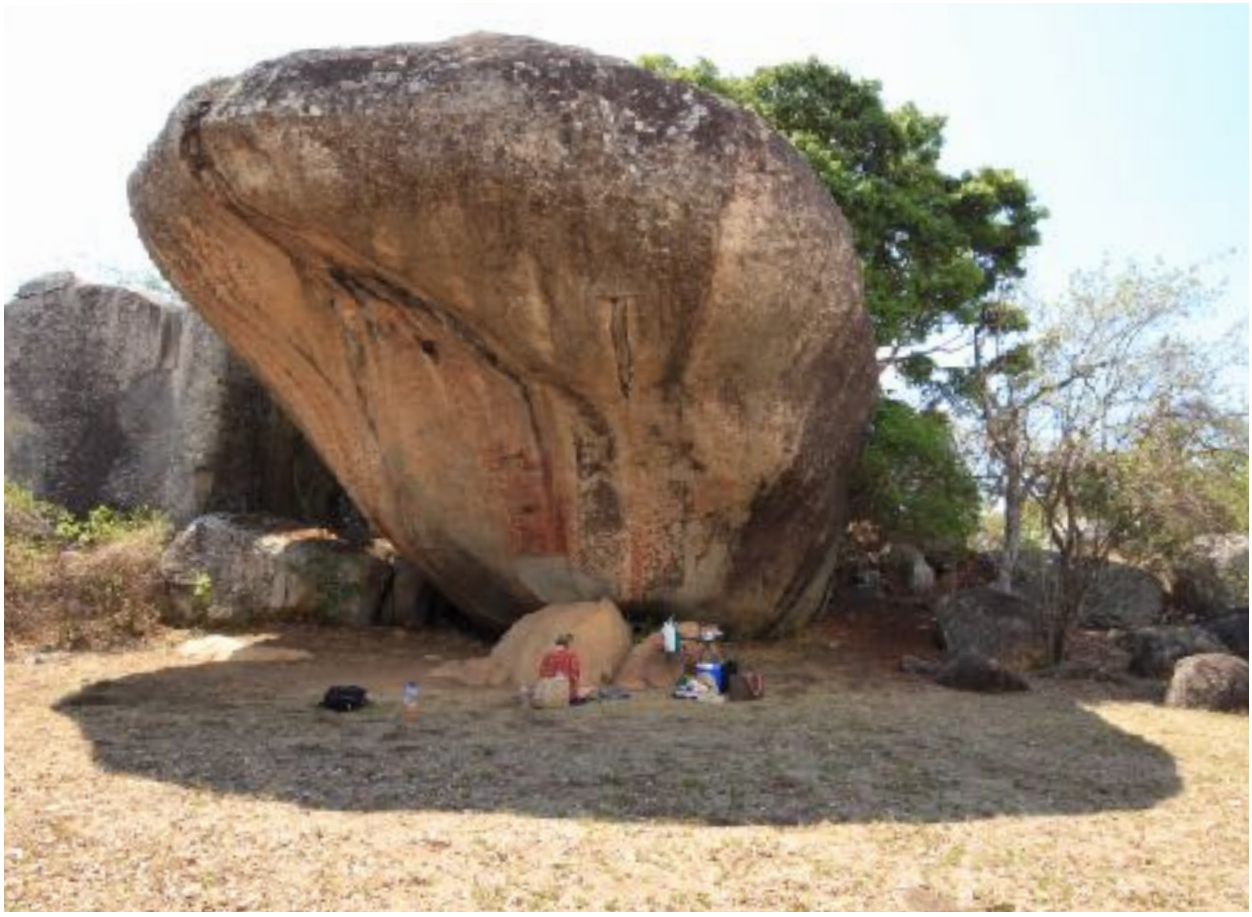


Fig. 5.13: Photograph taken during a day trip to Diana's Vow in 2015. Honours student and member, for a short time of the Frobenius Working Group (FWG), Kent Williams sits in the shade, below the paintings. Williams is dwarfed in comparison to the looming boulder which forms the canvas of the rock art (2015 digital colour photographs by L. de Harde).

ring is a grassy clearing creating a secluded area around the painting' (Wintjes & De Harde in review: 9-10) (Fig. 5.14). The paintings that form the main panel are positioned directly beneath the overhang and slightly off centre to the right-hand side of the boulder. This grouping begins about two meters from the ground and is roughly one-and-a-half meters high and half a meter across. The figures are arranged vertically in a roughly oval composition and are closely grouped together with the natural rock face forming a frame around the composition. The grouping is easy to capture in some detail in a single photograph, with the paintings being orientated vertically in a rectangular formation, which fits relatively easily into the frame of a camera.

The granite surface that forms the canvas of the art is textured with naturally occurring indentations, cracks, holes and scratches. The granite is a combination of varying shades of yellow ochre dispersed with lighter sandstone hues and dark, raw umber stains. The main grouping of figures is painted against a backdrop of a reddish discolouration on the otherwise predominantly yellow-beige rock surface. The reddish discolouration appears on other sections on the granite surface of this large boulder, but nowhere else is the concentration of colour as dark, nor the surface area covered, as wide. The discolouration is possibly a stain created from



Fig. 5.14: View of the main panel showing the orientation of the paintings on the granite surface and a smaller which may have been used by the original painters to reach the higher portion of the boulder (2015 digital colour photograph by L. de Harde).

water leaching pigment into the rock. The original painters sometimes rendered figures in such a way that they appear to be placed in relation to the natural colouring of the rock and are often placed deliberately in relation to what is already there such as cracks, holes or formations in the rocks. This however does not seem to be the case with the grouping of figures included in the main panel, where it seems as though some of the watermarks and discolourations happened later. Yet, there are some examples of paintings that today sit separately from the main panel on the rock surface, which do appear to use the natural markings of the rock as reference in the composition.

It is also possible that the original artists selected this particular section of the boulder because of a pre-existing darker colour. The effect is that this section stands out when the rock surface is considered in its entirety, producing a rectangular panel approximately 120cm high and 70cm across, which is easily distinguishable from the rest of the granite surface.

The cluster of paintings is framed within the physical shape of the granite boulder as it stands firmly in place in the landscape, visually separating the painting from the vegetation



Fig. 5.15: Watermark running down the length of the right side of the main panel (2015 digital colour photographs by L. de Harde).



Fig. 5.16: Close up of paintings towards the lower left side of the boulder that appear to have been painted in response to the crack in the rock surface and the naturally occurring discolouration of the granite (2015 digital colour photographs by L. de Harde).

beyond the boulder (Fig. 5.13). The yellow-beige colouring of the boulder acts as a buffer between the painting and the busier landscape beyond, in effect visually silencing the colours and shapes of the trees, boulders, bushes and sky that fall on the perimeter of the boulder. Even though the site is open (in contrast to a rock-shelter or cave for example), when one stands below the overhang in front of the painted panel there is a sense of immersion. In this way, the rock and its paintings have an architectural effect. The border created by the granite surface draws further attention to the paintings by allowing them to stand out as a focal point on the rock face. There are two naturally occurring dark lines running vertically on either side of the panel; the line on the left is longer than the line on the right, however seen from a distance the lines create a further frame within the frame, once more positioning the 'main panel' as the focal point on the rock surface. There is also the slight overhang above the painted panel, which shelters the viewer from the natural elements such as sun or rain and contains the viewer within a space in shadow, the space of the painting.

The lower section of the painting begins nearly two meters from where the ground and boulder meet and continues upwards for a further meter-and-a-half, placing it above eye-height



Fig. 5.17: Close up of main panel (2015 digital colour photographs by L. de Harde).



Fig. 5.18: Photograph taken by the Frobenius Expedition when they visited the site (c. 1929, photographer unrecorded, FoA 09-12489), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.

and slightly out of reach for the average visitor. The placement of the painting gives the impression of it towering over or dominating the viewer. There is a smaller rock (Fig. 5.14) in close proximity to the painting, which may have been used by the painters to reach the higher regions of the granite boulder, assuming the ground level today is the same height as it was when the paintings were made. Where this rock and the boulder meet, towards the lower region of the panel, a large part of the granite rock face has flaked off, exposing the next layer of light grey rock beneath the surface.

It is difficult to say conclusively whether the painting continued over the granite which has subsequently flaked off, with a portion of the painting disappearing along with it, or if the painting was made after the flaking had occurred. By closely examining the painted figures here, there is very little indication that the paintings continued beyond the edge, moreover it appears as though the painting stopped just short of the edge. There is no distinct evidence of figures having been cut off as a result of the disappearance of the granite. Moreover, the figures that have been painted in close proximity to this edge are indistinguishable, making it difficult once more to say with any certainty whether their composition incorporated this edge. The close-up photographs of this section do suggest that the red pigment stops just short of the edge, exposing the grey granite before the section that flaked off. Furthermore, if this section of the granite flaked away after the painting had occurred, one might expect there to be some trace of the reddish hue bleeding into this area from the pigment above it, possibly carried by the water that evidently runs down this surface when it rains. In the earliest photographs I have found of the panel, which were taken by the Frobenius Expedition in 1928, the granite flake was already missing.



Fig. 5.19: A deep line etched into the upper region of the boulder presumably to redirect water away from the paintings (2016 digital colour photographs by L. de Harde).

Despite the natural protection offered by the boulder, there does seem to be evidence of human intervention in the form of a deep horizontal line etched into the granite surface a few meters above the main panel (Fig. 5.19). I



Fig. 5.20: Repeat photography sequence taken of the main panel at Diana's Vow. 1928 photograph by t:he Frobenius Expedition (photographic negative 13 x 18 cm, FoA-09-12489), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.



Fig. 5.21: Photograph taken by the Frobenius Working Group during our visit to the site in 2015 (photographic negative 6 x 7 cm).



Fig. 5.22: Close up of main panel (2015 digital colour photographs by L. de Harde).

did not find any details of this intervention in the archive. I suspect the line was etched to redirect water away from the main panel. The paintings on the main panel have deteriorated little since the time the Frobenius Expedition photographed the site in 1928.

Whether the stability of the paintings is due to the choice of canvas made by the original artists, or the intervention that took place more recently, or any number of contributing factors, cannot be confirmed and is most likely multifaceted. Battiss, for example observed that '[i]n Rhodesia the paintings are often on giant granite monoliths clustered in cubist-shaped colonies. The paintings are on the shiny crystalline surface that hangs over the earth away from the rain' (1948: 69). Battiss believed that from the geological positioning of the art on the rocks, researchers could determine or at least establish which paintings were the oldest. From the hundreds of sites he visited, Battiss observed what he believed to be a 'fussiness' in the placement of the paintings by the original artists: 'This art is on the hardest rock in the best preserved shelter, and I have never yet found it on any but the best surface' (1948: 69).

However, contrary to Battiss's assertion, it is interesting to note that while the main Diana's Vow panel is comparatively well preserved, there is evidence of a number of other less prominent paintings on the rock surface. I noticed, and photographed, the presence of lighter, faded paintings during my visit to the site.

It is therefore possible that the main panel is only a small portion of what was once a much larger composition. Jeremy Hollmann made a similar observation in 2018 when he visited the site noticing:



Fig. 5.23: Photographs showing faded paintings that can be found at various locations on the surface of the boulder (2015 digital colour photographs by L. de Harde).

> that the rock surface at Diana's Vow was formerly probably covered with paintings, but that weathering perhaps in the form of water, has destroyed the rest of the art except for a portion at the left and of course the extremely well-preserved art in the middle. So we are looking at remnants of what was probably an even more spectacular assemblage (Hollmann pers. comm. 2018).

When considering the section of the panel where the paintings are most visible as a whole, there are arguably two distinct sections. The upper region of the panel comprises only a handful of larger figures and is less visually congested, in a spacious configuration, compared to the lower region, which comprises about two-thirds of the panel and is more detailed with hundreds of smaller figures painted in close proximity to one another. One figure in particular stands out among the rest. This figure is not only the largest, it is also positioned towards the top of the panel, in relative isolation (Fig. 5.24). This figure is a reclining male therianthrope and, in many early references, is often referred to as a 'king', specifically as a 'dead' or 'dying' king (Goodall 1959: 98; Schofield 1949: 100). As Wintjes and I have argued, this 'trope[…] can be traced back to Frobenius (1930; 1931a I: 27), who pronounced an affinity with the royal burial practices of Ancient Egypt and suggested this figure represented a kind of "prehistoric Tutankhamen", and



Fig. 5.24: Close-up of the large, male therianthropic reclining figure often referred to in early references as a 'king' (2015 digital colour photographs by L. de Harde).

the smaller reclining figure nearby as his "queen"' (Wintjes & De Harde in review: 10). The figure lies horizontally across the upper region of the painting, stretching almost the full breadth of the main panel area. His bent legs are positioned towards the left-hand-side of the paintings while his head is on the right-hand-side. The head of the figure is not immediately recognisable as human; instead it appears to be mask-like, possibly referencing that of an antelope (Fig.5.24). The head is depicted in profile, with a long muzzle on one side of the neck and a collection of lines, which give the appearance of hair, on the other side. There are two vertical horns on top of the head, which denote an antelope-like appearance. The head has also been decorated with two white lines, which run alongside the muzzle, and a number of white dots, which continue to spread across the figure's torso. The head of the figure is propped up with his left hand, while in his right hand he is clutching a flattish-oval shaped object. The figure's penis is decorated with a tassel attached to a string and behind his lower back is an oval shape also decorated with white markings or dots.

The second reclining figure (Fig. 5.25) mentioned above as often being referred to in the past as the 'queen', is approximately half the size of the male reclining figure. It is depicted below and slightly to the right of the male reclining figure. The second figure is not as detailed as the first. However, the figure's scale, and the density and concentration of the maroon paint used in its rendering, make it visually striking in relation to some of the smaller, lighter paintings surrounding it. The concentration of colour used in the second reclining figure is echoed in a handful of other places across the panel, a few smaller upright figures towards the top of the painting as well as what looks like what researchers have described as a 'rain animal' (Woodhouse



Fig. 5.25: Close-up of the second reclining figure often referred to in early references as the king's wife, or the 'queen' (2015 digital colour photographs by L. de Harde).



Fig. 5.26: A close-up of a figure often described as a 'rain animal' (2015 digital colour photographs by L. de Harde).

1989: 15 - 25; 1990) positioned almost in the centre of the panel (Fig. 5.26). Even from a few feet away, these figures are pronounced, acting as beacons that move the eyes of the viewer across the picture plane.

## Tracing a history of recording

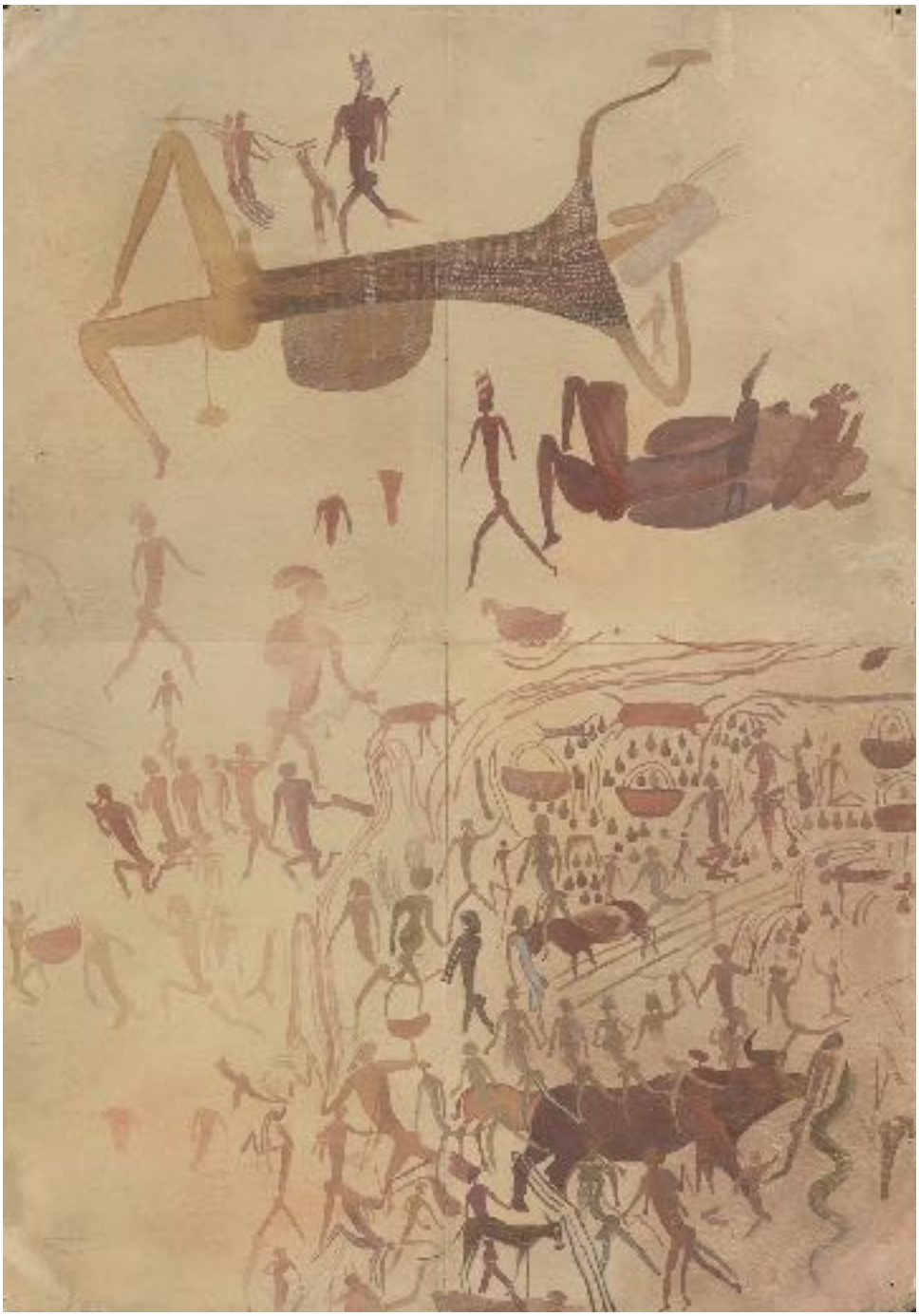


Fig. 5.27: *Hauptmonument B. Ganze Szene. Liegender toter König und Begleitfiguren. Unten große Komposition mit vielen Menschen, Tieren, Körben und anderen Gegenständen, in offensichtlicher Beziehung zum oberen Teil des Bildes (Main monument B; Entire scene. Lying dead king and accompanying figures. Below large composition with many humans, animals, baskets and other objects in obvious relation to the upper part of the picture)* by Joachim Lutz c. 1928 (watercolour on paper, 68 x 98cm, FBA-C 01416), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.

What first attracted my attention to the Diana's Vow paintings was the overlap between two artist-researchers who both responded visually to the primary panel (Battiss and one of the members of the Frobenius Expedition). At the time of my first site visit to Diana's Vow in 2015, I did not know who the author of the copy produced by the Frobenius Expedition was. The archival trail led me to a sliver of information penned in 1979 by Cooke, stating his belief that Goodall had been responsible for producing the 'first known copy of the frieze' (Cooke 1979: 115).

Prompted by Cooke's assertion I began by compiling and then constructing a history of visual engagements derived from the Diana's Vow panel as they exist in the published and unpublished realm. This chapter therefore follows a loosely woven chronological timeline, which begins with the earliest record that I found, in the form of the catalogue produced of the Frobenius Expedition, *Enthält den Katalog der südafrikanischen Felsbilderkopien* der D(IA)FE 1928 - 1930 (Frobenius & Mannsfeld 1930). Using the *Katalog* (1930), I was able to match the copies archived at the Frobenius Institute, establishing a relatively accurate timeline for the earliest visual engagement with the panel. According to the *Katalog* (1930), the expedition labelled the site, on Diana's Vow Farm, as 'Hauptmonument B' ('principal monument B') (Frobenius & Mannsfeld 1930: 97). At the time of publication, the Frobenius Expedition had produced three recordings of the Diana's Vow panel, one pencil sketch attributed to Frobenius, and two watercolour copies painted by Joachim Lutz. It is therefore possible that Cooke may have been referring to a secondary copy of the paintings, which Goodall produced after Lutz, following the end of the expedition, which was later bequeathed to the South African Museum in Cape Town (Keene 2011).

The Frobenius Expedition started in August 1928, two months prior to the date Richard Kuba (pers. comm 2015) gave me for this copy, which is the end of October 1928. This date places Lutz at the site towards the beginning of the expedition. I imagine at this point he would still have been relatively unfamiliar with southern African rock paintings and he would be coming to terms with the task of translating the images on the rocks onto portable surfaces. His copy reflects this, to a degree, in the ways in which he applies the paint, filling in the shapes and finishing off their edges to produce recognisable human and animal forms. The painted figures and shapes fade in and out, in relation to the discolourations of the granite boulder on which they appear. The colours used by the painters are not dissimilar to the hues created naturally by the mineral composition of the granite boulder. In Lutz's translation (Skotnes 2010; Wintjes 2011; 2012; 2014) of the painting, the transparency of the original form is replaced with solid figures embodied with a presence of their own, in some cases visually separated from their

counterparts in the painting. What may be contributing to the individual figures' standing out as separate from one another in Lutz's copy, is the contrast created between the painted figures and the yellowing brown paper. Evident in Lutz's copy is the emphasis he placed on the paintings themselves, lifting them off the granite surface and transposing them, and them alone, onto his paper canvas. In some areas of his copy there is evidence of his attempts to discolour the paper to reflect the granite. However, it seems as if these interventions remain quite separate from the painted figures themselves, whereas the relationship of granite and painting is not as clearly outlined on the boulder's surface.

A visual comparison between one of the figures, standing with tusks and bow, and the same figure in the original painting, shows how Lutz records the weathering of the granite, but he does so in such a way that the weathering is in relation to the individual figure and not the full composition (Fig. 5.28 & 5.29). Moreover, the watermark in Lutz's copy discolours the interior of the figure but is contained within the smooth boundary line of the form. This is inconsistent with the original painting in that the watermark runs from above the large reclining figure, over his legs and lower abdomen and down the left-hand side of the painting, disturbing and disrupting the painted figures in its wake.



Fig.5.28: A visual comparison between one of the figures in the main panel that appears to be standing with tusks and a bow, showing Lutz's treatment of the watermark



Fig. 5.29: For comparison a close-up of the same figure (Fig. 5.28) in the original painting, showing the watermark running through the figure.

A similar watermark discolours and obscures the right hand-side of the painting, partly erasing the upper torso of the second reclining figure. But this watermark is not depicted in Lutz's copy, which depicts quite the opposite. In Lutz's copy the full form of the figure remains visible. Lutz has paid careful attention to the shading of the figure, representing the tonal gradations and contours of both legs and buttocks. He has treated the upper torso, head and arms with similar precision, shading the various shapes that make up the form. Were it not for Frobenius's

representations of the same figure only five months later, these inconsistencies between this form in Lutz's copy and the original painting could be seen as evidence of weathering and deterioration that the painting had endured since Lutz's visit to the site. But in Frobenius's sketch of the second reclining figure, his depiction stops at the waist of the figure, which is consistent with the distortion made by the watermark, still visible on the original panel. It seems that Lutz closely examined the painting and filled in what he believed the watermark erased. This may seem like an innocent adjustment, perhaps even the creative licence of an artist. Yet these copies were made as mobile translations of the original panel, which then go on to stand in for the original in other contexts, away from the site on the landscape. It is therefore possible that these small adjustments, changes and inconsistencies could have far reaching consequences for the public face of the panels, considering that many people viewing the paintings often do so through secondary copies as opposed to visiting the paintings out in the landscape. The copies therefore play an active and significant role in the way the original paintings are represented, examined and ultimately understood (Moser 2014: 98 – 99).

As alluded to previously, when Cooke cites Goodall as the maker of the 'first known copy' of the Diana's Vow painting (Cooke 1979: 115), he may have been referring to the copy she produced in about 1930 after she returned to Germany following the end of the expedition. This was one of the many secondary copies she produced, for the South African Museum (now Iziko South African Museum), of the primary copies made during the Frobenius Expedition. As discussed in Chapter One, the purpose of these copies was so that the South African Museum could house 'as complete collection' as was possible for Frobenius to offer 'as a contribution to the materials […] collect[ed] for further study' (D F Malan 1930 in Mason 1989: 94). The aim was for both countries, Germany and South Africa, to have access to the copies the expedition members had made of the original paintings. What transpired was that Germany kept the original copies (in Frankfurt) and South Africa received the 'beta' copies (kept in Cape Town). If this arrangement were to take place today, the use of high-resolution cameras and photocopying machines would negate the need to produce the copies by hand. What is especially interesting when examining the copies by Lutz and Mannsfeld-after-Lutz (c. 1930) respectively (Fig. 5.30 & 5.31), is the precision with which Goodall followed Lutz in the framing of the paintings, the colours he used, as well as copying his particular style. I would argue that the closeness by which these two copies represent one another is a testament to Goodall's commitment to her role as copyist.

The paper on which Lutz produced his copy is made up of four smaller pages which have been glued, or more likely taped, together to form a larger sheet. The orientation of the page is

portrait, echoing that of the original rock painting. There is evidence of handling on the paper as the corners have been bent and folded. The corners also display evidence of pin holes which could be attributed to securing the paper when the copy was made *in situ*, or perhaps these holes could have been made later when the copy was pinned up for contemplation.

While Lutz produced the first copy of Diana's Vow towards the end of October 1928, another significant event took place at around the same time that may have affected the way in which this panel was recorded.

Towards the end of October 1928, Frobenius broke his foot and was forced to cease fieldwork for several weeks. He spent the duration of his recovery time at the Queen's Hotel near Marandellas, Salisbury (Dinslage 2009: 18). Frobenius capitalised on the unforeseen setback and began receiving visits from local people in his hotel room, whom he enticed with small gifts to tell him stories (Dinslage 2009: 18). Over the following weeks, Frobenius became captivated by the art of story-telling. 'He was fascinated', as Sabine Dinslage explains 'by the charm of the stories and myths he heard and attempted to extract from their content the essentials of the culture and character of each of the societies he visited' (2009: 20).

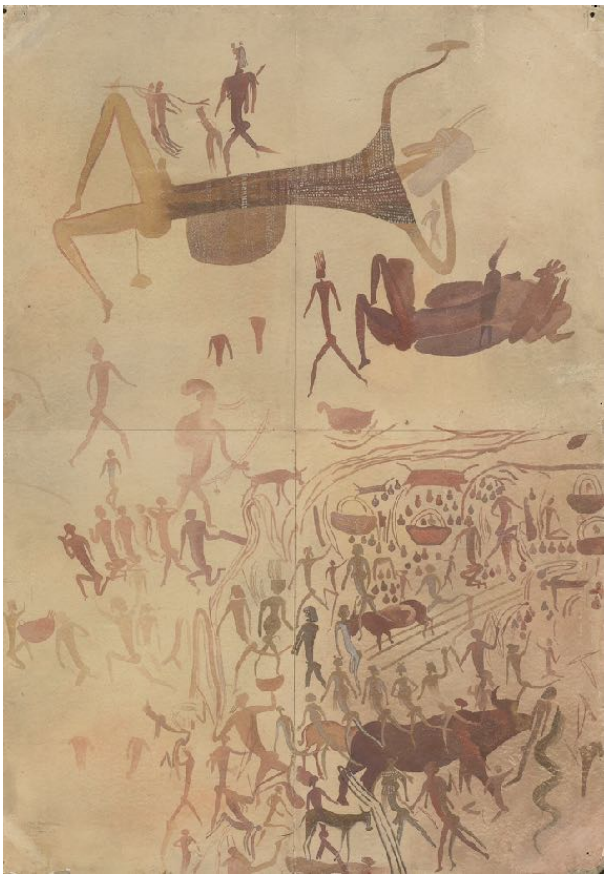


Fig. 5.30: Copy of Diana's Vow by Joachim Lutz c. 1928 (watercolour on paper, 68 x 98cm, FBA-C 01416), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.



Fig. 5.31: Mannsfeld – after- Lutz copy c. 1930 (watercolour on paper, 65 x 100 com, IZI – LVF – 01 – 360 HC), © Iziko South African Museum,Cape Town.

One story in particular caught his interest and motivated him to relocate the position of his basecamp among a group of people whom he recorded as 'Waungwe' (Hungwe) in his travel accounts from 1929 (in Dinslage 2009: 24). At the time the group were near Rusapi, a position in close proximity to the royal compound of the Maconi - 'the last South-Rhodesian ruler – who lives according to the old ways, or is permitted to do so' (Dinslage 2009: 22). In the months prior Frobenius had heard stories about royal burial practices and ancient tombs. At that point no outsider or Western visitor had been granted access to these sacred spaces and Frobenius was eager to visit them. At the time, Frobenius was under the impression that the Maconi would 'provide him with information regarding ceremonies, religious practices and in particular regarding traditional royal burials and tombs' (Dinslage 2009: 22).

Frobenius's visit to the royal tombs finally took place on 27 February 1929, two months after he began his negotiations with the Hungwe and their leader (Dinslage 2009: 18). It is likely that these interactions were at the forefront of Frobenius's thoughts in the months that followed and would have ignited his imagination when he gazed at the recumbent figure painted on the boulder at Diana's Vow Farm. The events may have influenced his composition of the two sketches he produced of the paintings which, as I demonstrate in the following section, are notably more selective than the copy produced by Lutz.

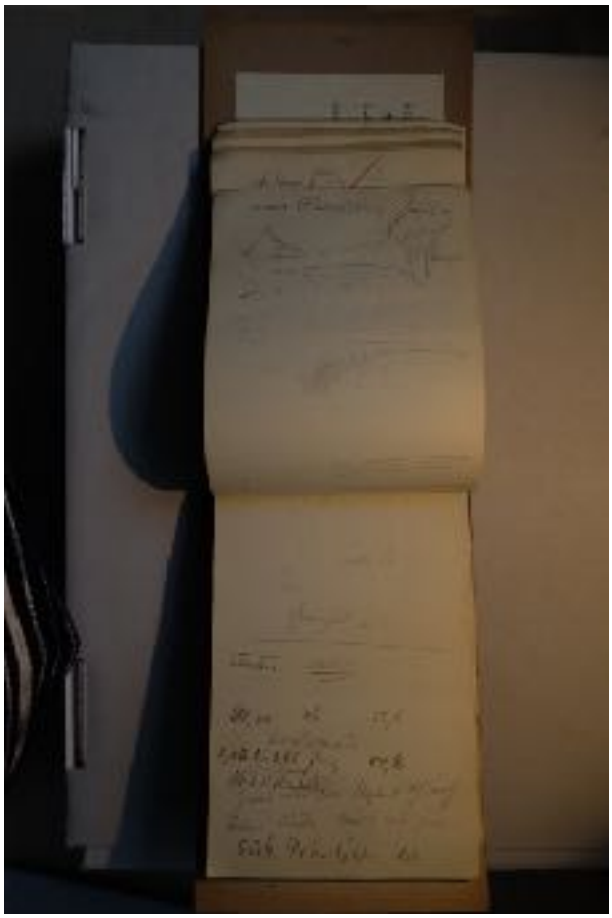


Fig. 5.32: Pages 72 to 73 in Frobenius's notebook covering the Rhodesian leg of the expedition (digital colour photograph by J. Wintjes).

In addition to the hand-painted copies produced of the rock art they encountered, the members of the Frobenius Expedition used all modes of recording available to them in the late 1920s: photography, pencil sketches and field notebooks. Many of the notebooks remain unpublished and awaiting digitisation on the shelves in the Frobenius Institute (Keene 2010, Wintjes 2012). One notebook, among many other notebooks and travel journals, was penned by Frobenius and covers the Rhodesian leg of the expedition's journey (LF 410).

Frobenius's first mention of Diana's Vow is spread across pages 70 to 71 and precedes his sketch of the rock art panel on pages 72 to 73

(Fig. 5.32). The handwriting, belonging to Frobenius, is in German. It has proven difficult to decipher and for this reason, I have relied on a provisional transcription of the notebook pages carried out by Wintjes in 2017[12].There are a few details about the visit recorded on page 70: a location: *Rusapi* (Rusape); a date: *Mittwoch 6 Marz 1929* (Wednesday 6 March 1929); a name that looks like *Van Rijndsberg auf F*[ar]*m Diana Vow* (from the farm Diana's Vow); and what appears to be a recording of the time the expedition spent at the site: 12:00 to 1:40. Furthermore, some peripheral details have been recorded regarding their experience of visiting the site on that particular day: the rainy weather is mentioned, the departure and arrival times, the miles they travelled and a landmark passed *en route* to the site. Page 71 reads like an inventory of funds spent.

On page 72 and 73, the sketch occupies a vertical orientation on the double page spread. Each page has been roughly divided in two horizontal sections (Fig. 5.32). The sections on page 72 and the top section on page 73 are recognisable as a reproduction of a selection from the painted panel at Diana's Vow. The fourth section (the second on page 73) comprises some notes on the painting and what seems to be details of the expedition's journey to the site and accommodation arrangements.

In his sketch, Frobenius simplified the complicated and detailed painting into two, possibly three sections. In the first section 'I', he has singled out one figure in particular, which happens to be the largest and most detailed figure depicted in the original painting. There are a few faint pencil lines below, and slightly to the right of the figure, which hint at a second figure, but these are so faint that they cannot be mistaken as the focus of the sketch. The second section 'II' comprises two sets of horizontal lines and the third section, unnumbered, can be assumed to correspond to the bottom section of the panel. Frobenius was not a trained artist, yet evident in this sketch is his ability to swiftly and succinctly capture the intrinsic form of the figure. The multiple pencil lines on the thigh and foot of the figure's right leg are testament to the speed at which the image was captured. These lines also add to the performative aspect of sketching *in situ*; the cumbersome task of holding the notebook still with one hand and applying enough pressure with the pencil in the other hand to enable a clear recognisable line. The presence of the lighter preparatory pencil marks over the outstretched arm and head provide further evidence that this sketch was more than likely carried out while standing or kneeling near the painting. I imagine this sketch preceded, and possibly acted as a preparatory drawing for another pencil sketch that he produced of the site, now housed at the Frobenius Institute.

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12 Wintjes's continuing research on the Frobenius Expedition has placed her in a unique position to be able to decode Frobenius's handwriting and to translate some of the German used in his notes.

In the second sketch, which Frobenius produced of the panel (Fig. 5. 33), the large reclining figure is positioned centrally in the composition, surrounded by a selection of smaller figures that accompany him on the larger panel. Frobenius did not include all the accompanying figures, deliberately leaving out the paintings that seem to be fragmented and less easily recognisable as human forms, as well as the figures that partially fall outside the frame demarcated by the end of the page area. The figures have been positioned in such a way that the backs of the reclining figures and those of two of the standing figures run parallel to the outer edges of the paper, a position which, Leibhammer argues, visually stabilises the forms within the picture plane (2009: 46).

Frobenius's interest in the large recumbent figure to the exclusion of the rest of the painting, is in keeping with a point Lewis-Williams and David Pearce raise regarding the role played by copies in serving the particular interests of the copyist:

> Always, we must remember that copies are made for particular purposes and that they are not substitutes for the originals. For instance, the black-and-white, diagrammatic tracings […] are designed to show specific components of the images and features of the rock face, some of which are hard or impossible to discern in photographs. They and others like them are not facsimiles (2009: 44).

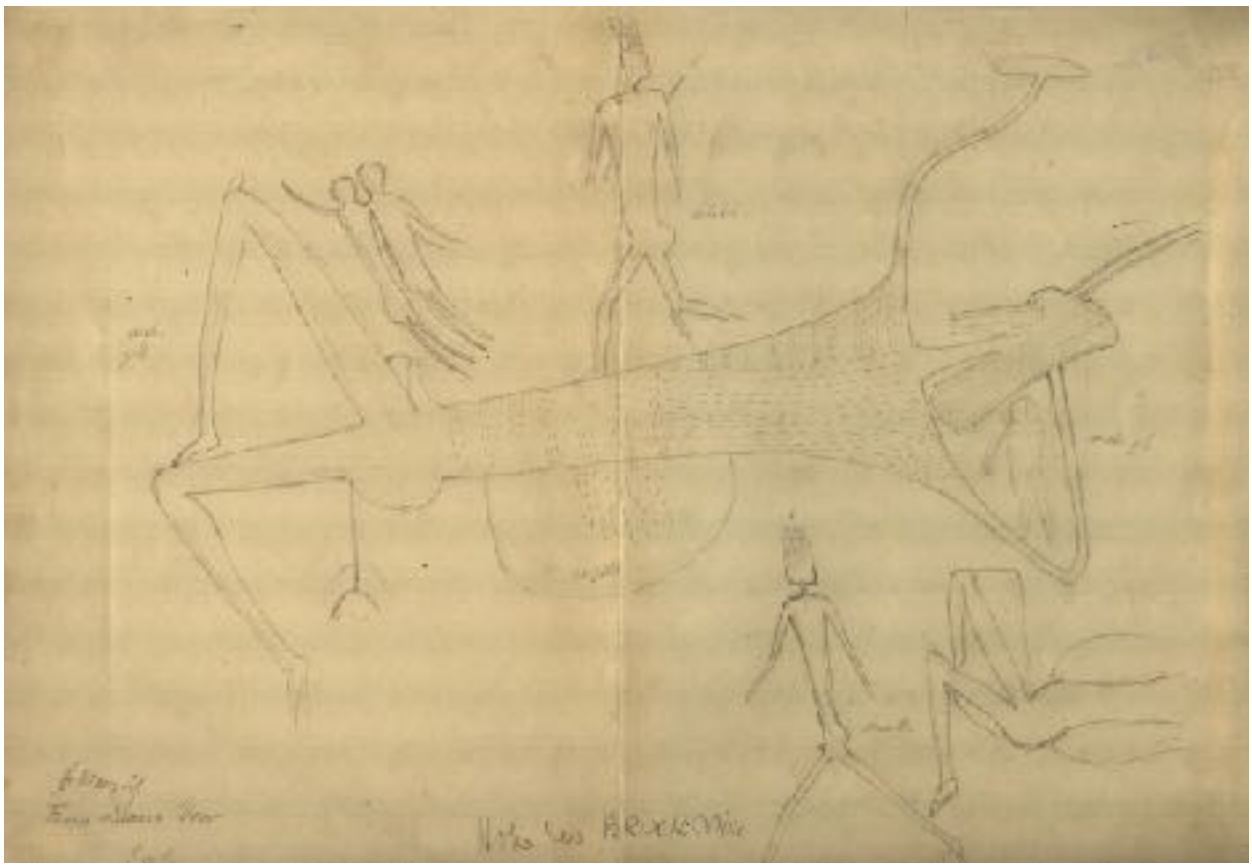


Fig. 5.33: *Skizze zum Hauptmonument B. Oberer Teil* (Sketch of the main monument B. Upper part) by L. Frobenius (c. 1929, pencil sketch, 90 x 108cm, FBA-A1 01-044), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.

While the sketch in Frobenius's notebook and the second, more complete sketch he made on the same day cannot be mistaken for facsimile copies of the original paintings, nevertheless, these sketches show his decision to select a specific part of the panel to the exclusion of other parts. It is this selection that seems to inform the framing of Lutz's copy (Fig. 5.30), which is later further cropped to focus specifically on this particular selection from the larger panel for the purposes of publication (Fig. 5.36). As becomes apparent as this chapter develops, this selection is perpetuated by other artists and copiers in their reproductions of the panel as depicted in publications subsequent to the Frobenius Expedition's visit to the site. I would argue that while Frobenius's sketches are not necessarily copies of the original panel, their ability to facilitate and translate the perspective of their maker in his viewing of the original painting are not dissimilar to what Nessa Leibhammer explains can sometimes be the tendency of the copyist to record only those aspects of the painting that are either recognisable or interesting to the copyist, at the expense of the rest of the painting (Leibhammer 2009: 43).

A comparison between Frobenius's sketch and Lutz's copy (Fig. 5.34) shows what appears to be a correlation between the two recordings. The dividing line in the first section of Frobenius's sketch (numbered I and II) corresponds with the horizontal fold or join in Lutz's original copy (Fig. 5.30). This division has led me to suspect that Lutz may have visited the site without Frobenius when he first produced the comprehensive copy of the panel. If this assumption is correct, Frobenius may have returned to the copy, perhaps pinning it up (accounting for the pin holes in the corners), in the months prior to his visit on 6 March 1929. If my suspicions are correct, I imagine Frobenius would have seen Lutz's copy representing the panel in full and

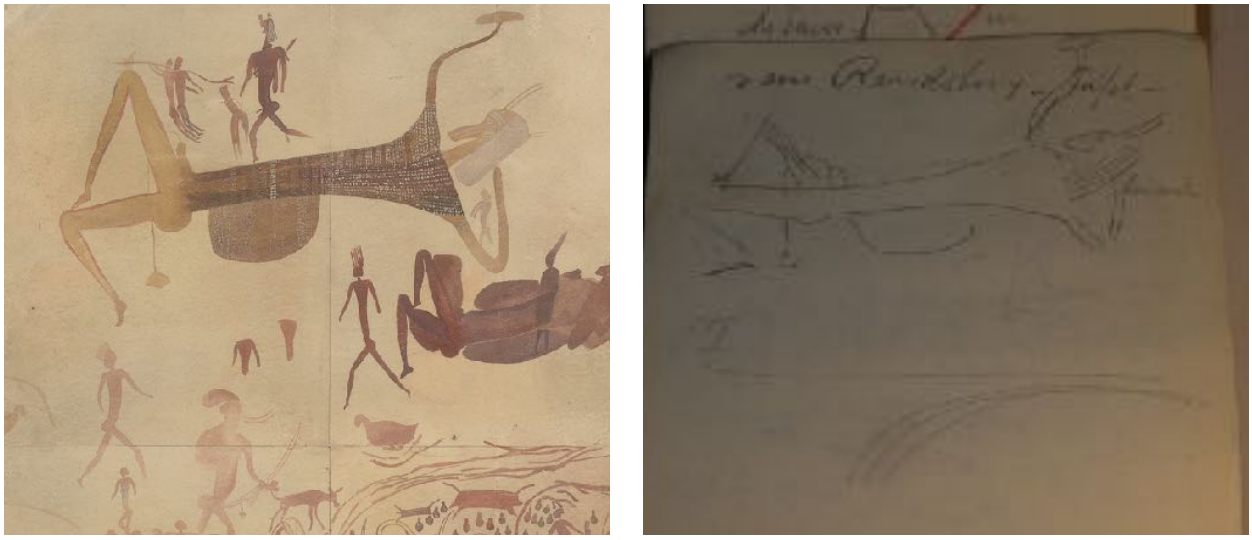


Fig. 5.34: A visual comparison between J. Lutz's copy (left) and L. Frobenius's sketch (right) shows a similarity in the join in Lutz's sketch and the line drawn by Frobenius separating the upper portion of the painting from the lower section.

considered it in relation to the events that were to transpire in the intervening months before he could visit the site himself.

During his career, Frobenius was prolific in the publications he produced. He contributed to newspapers and journals and published many volumes from the materials collected during the many expeditions he led (Keene 2010: 38; Wintjes 2013: 168). For this reason, it is not at all surprising that a newspaper article published in the *Illustrated London News*, on 1 March 1930, marks the first time the paintings at Diana's Vow enter the published realm, a few months prior to the publication of *Katalog der südafrikanischen Felsbilderkopien* (1930). The article is titled 'Prehistoric Art in South Africa: "The Kings Monuments" - a unique series of rock-drawings recently discovered in Southern Africa'. The first illustration of the paintings at Diana's Vow are on the second page of the article, subtitled '"Dende Maro" rock-drawings: Monuments of a prehistoric King' (1930: 339). I unpack the term 'Dende Maro' later in this section. The Diana's Vow paintings are represented comprehensively in a black and white photograph taken of the original painting.

The photograph seems to be a reproduction of one of the photographs taken during the expedition, currently housed in the Frobenius archive. The photograph is positioned centrally and to the left of the page and placed in relation to two further photographs of other painted panels, recognisable as a copy of another rock art site, Nyambavu, which is located about 40km west of Diana's Vow (about 20km north-west of Rusape). This site, which I discussed in Chapter One, also enters the documentary realm after the Frobenius Expedition visited it in 1929. According to the *Katalog* (1930), the team labelled it 'Hauptmonument A', a site on a farm recorded as 'Fishervall-Springs' (Frobenius & Mannsfeld 1930: 97). Today, both the farm and the rock art site are known by the name Nyambavu.

The caption for the photograph of the Diana's Vow paintings reads as follows:

> The prehistoric 'Tutankhaman' (shown in colour on page 1) as he appears in the actual rock-drawing: the king's mummy (recumbent at the top) with that of his wife just below to the right. (44 1/2 by 59 inches) (1930: 339).

The colour reproduction referred to in the caption as being 'on page 1' (Fig. 5.36) is a watercolour copy of the panel, cropped to display the same framing as described in *Katalog der südafrikanischen Felsbilderkopien* (1930) as 'Nr 5': 'Lying with horned mask, second, lying/recumbent figure and accompanying figures' (Frobenius & Mannsfeld 1930: 97). The illustrations supplied in the article are not attributed to any artist in particular, which presents a problem when attempting to track down the original copies and the dates on which they would have been made.




Fig. 5.35: A page from a newspaper article titled 'Prehistoric Art in South Africa: "The Kings Monuments" - a unique series of rock-drawings recently discovered in Southern Africa'. The second page, subtitled '"Dende Maro" rock-drawings: Monuments of a prehistoric King' (1930: 339) has three illustrations, a photograph taken of the main panel at Diana's Vow positioned towards the bottom left of the page. This illustration is placed below and in close proximity to another site labelled by the Frobenius team as 'Hauptmonument A', a site on a farm recorded as 'Fishervall-Springs'. Today the site is known as Nyambavu.

By returning once more to the *Katalog der südafrikanischen Felsbilderkopien* (1930) and the holdings at the Frobenius Institute, I was able to visually match this illustration (Fig. 5.36) to a copy produced by Agnes Schulz. This copy in particular is the most 'resolved' of all the copies produced by the Frobenius Expedition of the Diana's Vow paintings. By comparing Schulz's (Fig. 5.36) copy to Frobenius's sketch (Fig. 5.33), the illustrated recording is undoubtedly more detailed than the preliminary sketch produced by Frobenius, but the similarities are nevertheless obvious. The recumbent figure holds a central position within the picture frame, positioned slightly upwards thereby providing sufficient space for the smaller figure below and to the right of the main figure. In Frobenius's sketch, he omits certain of the figures. This omission is sustained in both copies produced by Schulz (Fig. 5.37 & 5.38). The smaller reclining figure, which appeared only as light pencil marks in Frobenius's sketch, is given a similar prominence to the larger figure in Schulz's later copies, in terms of the intensity of the colours used to render it and the attention to detail paid to the shape of the figure. The renewed prominence of this supporting figure is entrenched in the description that accompanies the copy: 'The mummy of a dead king, crowned with a horned mask and wrapped in decorative skins; (on right, below) his wife, to be buried with

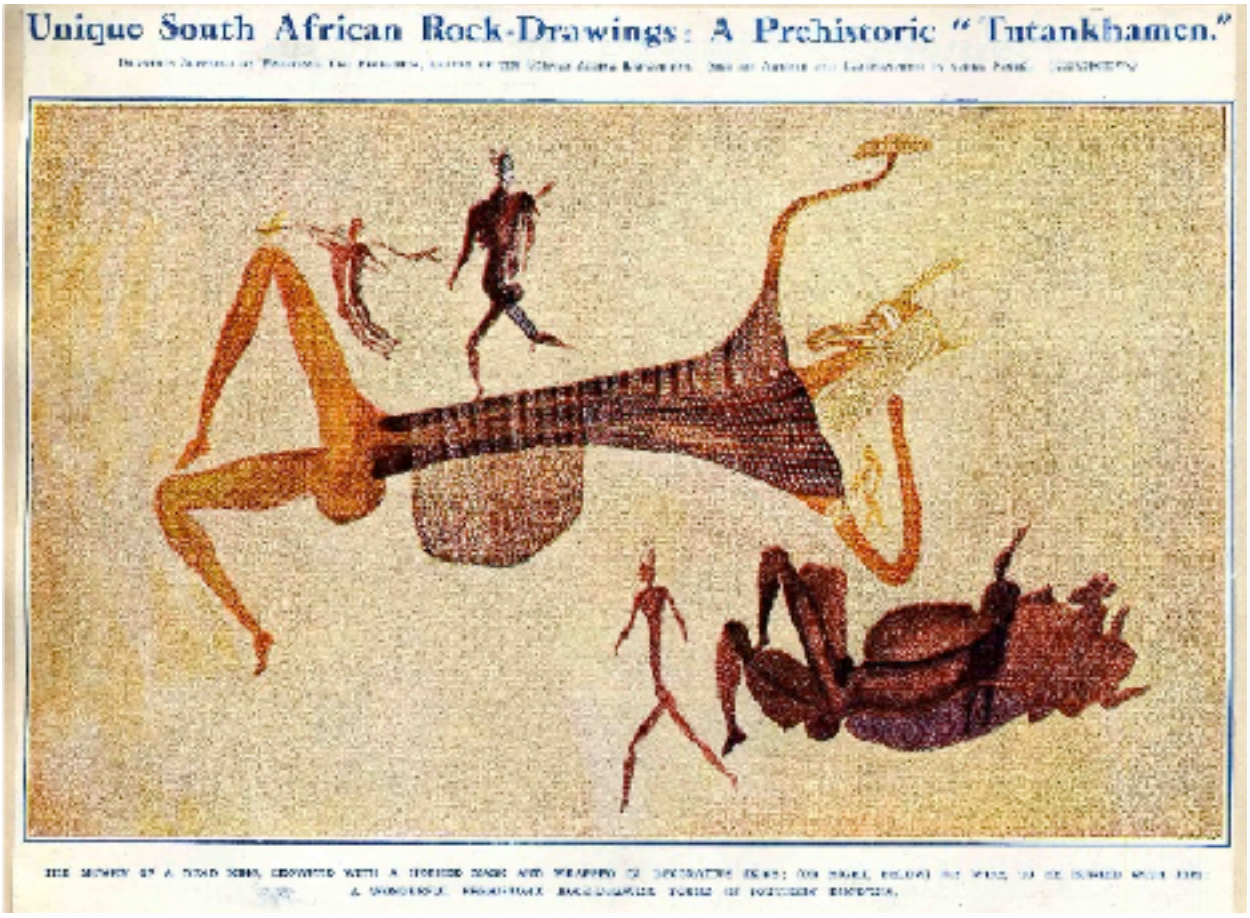



Fig. 5.36: An illustration published in colour under the title: 'Unique South African Rock-Drawings: A prehistoric "Tutankhamen"' (1930: 339). I was able to visually match this copy to one produced by Schulz (Fig. 3.37). This copy gives prominence to the male reclining figure in much the same way as L. Frobenius does in his sketch (Fig. 5.33).





Fig. 3.37 (above): A copy made by A. Schulz after-an earlier copy (Fig. 3.38). This copy is rendered on one continues page and not broken up by pages that have been stuck together. The figures are also treated with a heightened sense of clarity and the colours too have been enhanced, probably for publication purposes (147x106, FBA-D3 01622 ~ b), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.
Fig. 3.38 (below): *Rock art copy titled Hauptmonument B. Klassischer Stil. Oberer Teil Liegender mit Hörnermaske, zweite liegende Gestalt und Begleitfiguren (Main Monument B. Classical style. Upper part lying with a mask, second lying figure and accompanying figures)* painted using watercolour by A. Schulz (147x105 cm, FBA-D3 01622 ~ a), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.

him: A wonderful pre-historic rock drawing found in southern Rhodesia' (Frobenius 1930). The prominence afforded the 'king's wife' figure in this accompanying illustration is done in such a way that the figure is rendered complete, devoid of signs of deterioration or weathering, which is a distortion of the original painted panel.

Frobenius begins the article by referencing themes discussed in a previous contribution he made to the same newspaper the previous year. Frobenius briefly references the trajectory of the previous article and explains his methodology employed in extracting and inferring information about the paintings from a 'comprehensive' survey he conducted of rock art in southern Africa. Thereby alerting the reader, if unfamiliar with Frobenius's work, to his authority on the subject. Frobenius approaches the article with an inherent sense of confidence, of which Janheinz Jahn says: 'This was Frobenius's pathos, his style, his self-confidence and his key to success. And he spoke as he wrote' (1974: 7).

From the empirical evidence Frobenius and his team collected he examined the patterns that he saw emerging and deduced different styles in the art scattered across the southern African landscape. Frobenius 'recogni[s]ed the necessity of fieldwork for the purposes of gathering first-hand information' (Sylvain 1996: 484) early on in his career. As Petro Keene explains:

> he found cultural practices to be inextricably bound to the material resources available to people, and so geography and the landscape were critical in his researches. The study of Africans was vital, Frobenius insisted, for he believed they embodied otherwise unknowable ways of the human past (2010: 38).

The Frobenius Expedition produced more research on rock art in Southern Rhodesia than anywhere else on their travels. 'Prehistoric Art in South Africa' (1930) is a contained investigation focusing specifically on the themes depicted on the granite boulders in Southern Rhodesia. Frobenius noticed regional stylistic variation in the paintings, observing that while animal forms adorn the granite walls, they seem to play a supporting role to the prevailing human figures. He says:

> The figures represented are drawn in quiet dignified poses. Thus the style of the most southerly part of Africa is a style of motion, whereas that of South Rhodesia is a style of inertia and rest (1930: 338).

Frobenius goes on to consider other differences between the rock paintings of South Africa and those of Southern Rhodesia. He considered the compositions of the paintings and determined that the subjects conveyed in the art of Southern Rhodesia to be more complex than what he interprets to be the various activities such as hunting, dancing or fighting rendered on the rock surfaces further south. Furthermore, Frobenius examines the changes in subject matter, noting specifically the interest of the Southern Rhodesia painters in depicting botanical images

such as plants and trees, subjects not often rendered in other parts of South Africa and Basutoland, for example. According to Peter Garlake, Frobenius believed that '[a] "truly essential and fundamental feature" of the style was the painting of landscapes' (1995: 32). Garlake goes on to explain Frobenius's interpretation of landscape as a subject in the paintings as follows:

> The landscapes were 'not copies of nature but natural objects with a symbolic meaning'. Images of animals had 'not come from nature but rather from imaginative experience'; the hares, snakes and ghost figures belonged to a mythical world. The recumbent figures represented the central theme in the art, 'an expression of [man's] fate or destiny'. All the key images were essentially anchored in an inner vision, derived from the imagination, and bore no relation to daily life. All expressed the mythical in symbol (1995: 32)

Frobenius extended his 'landscape view' (Mguni 2015: 23) to infer information about the paintings from the ways in which the people he studied interacted with the granite formations:

> But all the other pictures of the South Rhodesian style […] seem weak and colourless compared with the monumental size and power of walls of the usual type - caves like 'gaping mouths' in granite rocks; they are on large slabs of rock, with the top edges projecting slightly, while at the base there is almost invariably a large altar-like stone of about five feet high. Twice the natives told me when I asked them the names of these rock structures, that they were called 'Dende Maro.' That is the name by which the natives of Mashonaland designate the council seats of their kings or chiefs - seats built of large pieces of rock. 'Dende Maro' means 'the king's throne.' Accordingly, as these pictures evidently show scenes from the great drama of the king's life, we have called them the king's monuments (Frobenius 1930a: 338).

Frobenius explanation of the term 'Dende Maro' is consistent with the description Zimbabwean archaeologist Edward Matenga gave me for the Shona word 'dendemaro' (Matenga pers. comm. 2019). Moreover, Matenga explained that while the word is no longer in common usage today, he believes it would have originated in the eastern part of Zimbabwe, around the Rusape region (which is where the Diana's Vow paintings are situated) (Matenga pers. comm. 2019). In addition to drawing from the information provided by the people he met living in the region, Frobenius also compared 'a great many other rock pictures' from which he formulated his interpretations of the rock paintings. He conducted what Renée Sylvain criticises as '"survey" fieldwork' (1996: 484). She attributes what she believes to be his 'original and undisciplined scholarship' to his 'lack of formal training' saying that:

> Frobenius borrowed across the board ideas from various thinkers and then reconfigured them in his own ideological and idiosyncratic, if somewhat logically incoherent, metaphysical system; his theoretical concoctions contained a dash of diffusionism, a pinch of historicism and a smattering of Romanticism (Sylvain 1996: 485).

Yet if the example of the burial ceremonies is examined, Frobenius considered the empirical evidence he and his team had collected and saw a distinct difference between the paintings in

one region and another. It was this gap that he chose to investigate further and by combining oral histories, the information he extracted from the paintings and of course, his own imaginative assumptions, constructed a narrative for the paintings. He misguidedly argued for Egyptian origins for the ceremonial practices depicted in the painting. Nevertheless, as Wintjes argues:

> Frobenius surely deserves greater recognition for setting a number of important precedents that broke away from the 'gaze and guess' approaches that dominated early rock art research, as well as for his role as a prolific visual documentarian (2013: 170).

Goodall has been criticised for remaining 'loyal to Frobenius's ideas' (Garlake 1993: 17) and, as Garlake argues, a 'careful reading [of her work] makes it clear that she continued to adhere to Frobenius's conviction that important elements in the art were ancient and exotic' (1993: 17). In the following section I take up Garlake's prompt and look carefully at Goodall's engagement with burial practices as depicted in the paintings.

## An independent researcher

Goodall became Frobenius's research assistant in 1923, nearly a decade before her permanent relocation to Rhodesia in 1931 (Garlake 1993: 15). By the time she began her independent career she was in her early 40s. The initial part of her career would have been spent working in close proximity with Frobenius, culminating in a two-year expedition spent exploring, researching and recording southern African arts and peoples, and a year and half collating and compiling the material generated by that expedition for publication in the *Katalog der südafrikanischen Felsbilderkopien* (1930), *Madsimu Dsangara. Südafrikanische Felsbilderchronik* (1931a), *Erythräa, Länder und Zeiten des heiligen Königsmordes* (1931b). It stands to reason that at the time of her departure, Goodall was an authority on the work produced by the expedition. She knew which sites they had visited and she had studied the recordings of the painted panels that she and the other artists had produced. She was also well versed in the debates and she understood, and possibly even contributed to, Frobenius's point of view regarding the meaning of the paintings they had spent, at least, the last four years studying. For these reasons, it is unsurprising that one of the first articles she published, working in her personal capacity as a researcher and rock art recorder, 'Some observations on rock paintings illustrating burial rites' (1946b), is an extension of ideas that Frobenius was considering in relation to the Diana's Vow Paintings.

In her 1946 article, Goodall explains her intention from the outset saying that 'the purpose of the paper is a short discussion on those rock paintings which are thought to represent burial ceremonies, and in particular, those which are still practiced at the present time' (1946b: 63). She goes on to explain her intention to present examples that show 'that a correlation exists between

certain paintings and African obitual practices' (1946b: 63). Her primary case study is the paintings at Diana's Vow, which she cites as having been interpreted as depicting a deceased king and his subjects. However, she heeds caution stating that while the interpretation of the dead king remains the most favourable at the time when she wrote the article, there still existed uncertainty 'until corroborative proofs from similar scenes, with accompanying retinues, come to light' (1946b: 63).

Goodall extracts one detail from the painting in particular that Frobenius had drawn attention to in *Madsimu Dsangara* (1931a). Frobenius had interpreted the head of the large recumbent figure as being covered by a mask. He explains the importance of this discovery because '[n]o European, not even the Portuguese, who were much interested in such institutions, has ever heard of these or the Makalanga people using masks' (1931a: Translated by Elizabeth Goodall). In her discussion, Goodall keeps the painting at the centre of her debate and considers multiple figures by closely examining them and redrawing them. The redrawing of the heads/masks of various figures in the panel serves as evidence on which she builds her argument. She

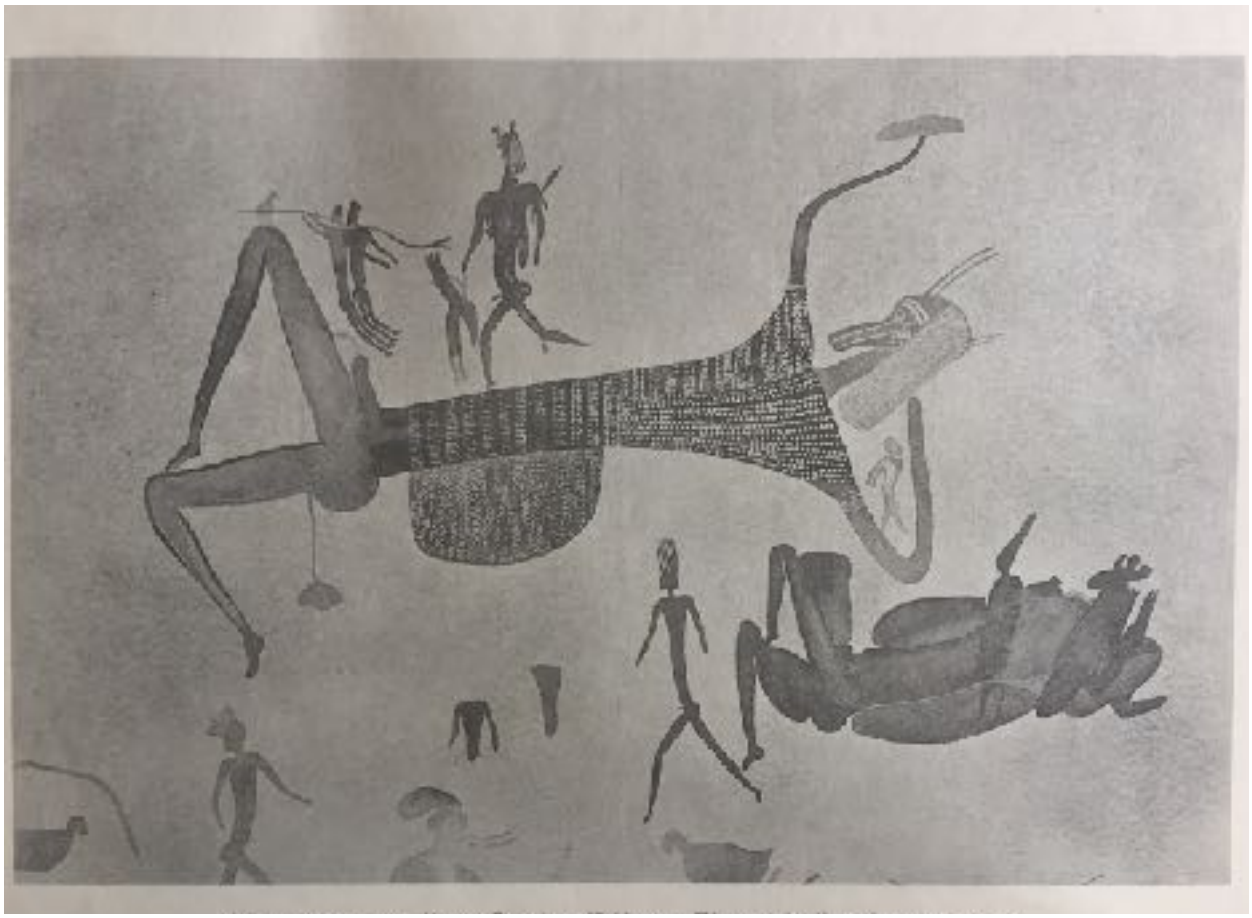


Fig. 5.39: Illustration in black and white in *Madsimu Dsangara. Südafrikanische Felsbilderchronik* (1931a: table 11), of a cropped section of Lutz's larger copy of the main panel at Diana's Vow.

shows that the treatment of the human heads is not unique, and that one animal head in particular has been treated in a similar manner. She extrapolates the discussion of masks and objects used for disguise and draws comparison to other sites containing rock paintings in Basutoland (now Lesotho), Natal (now KwaZulu Natal) and Zaka in Masvingo Province, Zimbabwe (1946b: 67). While the conclusion she reaches is not conclusive, it quietly challenges Frobenius's interpretation of the panel. She writes:

> The 'masked man' from Rusape offers a serious problem, as no other instance is known, either in rock-art or folk-lore, where the face of a dead person is covered by a mask. Due to lack of sufficient evidence, we are forced to the conclusion that some reluctance must remain in interpreting the whole scene on the Diana's Vow panel (1946b: 67).

Unlike the confidence with which Frobenius' approached his writing, in her discussion on paintings representing burial rights, Goodall proceeds with caution, saying that '[s]ome can reasonably be classed as funeral scenes; and if we are right in assuming this' (1946b: 63). This cautionary tone is in keeping with a belief she shared with some early researchers, such as Battiss, that the true meanings behind the paintings and what inspired their makers could only be speculated because the artists were no longer available for comment. This is a point that Lewis-Williams has fought strongly against since the 1970s:

> Various debilitating notions hamper the explanation of San rock art, the most crippling of which is the assumption that a reliable reconstruction of the meaning of the art is now impossible because the last artists died about a century ago. An inference often drawn from this pessimistic premise is that we shall never know what they believed and therefore we should always 'keep an open mind' and give all hypotheses equal weight. The accumulation of hypotheses, whether testable or untestable, whether mutually exclusive or compatible, is thus seen as a healthy situation which preserves for some a pleasing aura of mystery. Such multiple explanation is sometimes supported by the further assumptions that prehistoric artists were as variously moved to create as modern western artists are and that art communicates directly to modern researchers who need experience no difficulty in distinguishing records of amusing incidents and important events from arcane and enigmatic paintings (1983: 3).

With the original artists unavailable for comment, Frobenius searched for patterns and links connecting seemly disparate people, such as the rock painters in southern Rhodesia with 'the royal burials in ancient Egypt' (Frobenius 1930: page number unrecorded), in her discussion Goodall infers connections from 'African burial customs of the present day' (1946b: 72). Her non-confrontational approach in her writing may be what Garlake was referring to when he said she had 'no taste for the robust and vituperative controversy of much of southern African prehistory where Frobenius's views were misunderstood, dismissed or entirely ignored' (1993: 17). Yet I would argue that her exploration of the 'mask' in the Diana's Vow paintings is one example where she did not remain 'entirely loyal to Frobenius's ideas' (1993: 17). The debate regarding the depiction of masking and costumes in rock art is ongoing (Jolly 2002).



Fig. 5.40: Illustration in Goodall's chapter in the book, *Prehistoric rock art of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland* (1959: plate 56) of an undated copy of the main panel at Diana's Vow by Goodall (whereabouts of the original copy unknown).

Some years later archaeologist and conservator Margaret Garlake expanded on Goodall's exploration of the various headdresses she had seen depicted, and illustrated, from the Diana's Vow panel. In her 1966 article titled 'Bushman Heads and Headdresses in Southern Rhodesia', Garlake cites Goodall as the artist behind the illustrations she used to accompany her article. She says:

> All the heads illustrated in this paper with the exception of those noted below are reproduced from copies made by Mrs. E. Goodall of the Queen Victoria Museum, Salisbury - I am most grateful to her for permission to use them (1966: 113).

My reading of this acknowledgement is that Garlake relied on Goodall's secondary copies to illustrate (and possibly build) her argument. It is quite possible that Goodall's primary work (visiting the sites) and reproducing the copies enabled others to draw from her research and build their arguments with the access that Goodall's copies provided to many more sites than they perhaps had access to or visited first hand. Garlake's reliance on Goodall's secondary copies to construct and illustrate her argument is testament to the confidence she must have had in the accuracy with which Goodall copied.

In 1961, architectural historian James Walton criticised Goodall for 'deal[ling] with the paintings of Mashonaland from the romantic viewpoint of an imaginative artist, thus following the pattern established by Frobenius, Breuil and Battiss' (1961: 164). Walton believed that Goodall's 'romantic' approach to her analysis of the paintings did not do them justice. He cites the following passage:

> Certainly, this is the memorial to a dead 'king', who is painted much larger than all the other figures and above a lively scene which fills the lower part. Deceased persons are frequently painted in an attitude similar to that shown. Certain peculiarities are noted; the figure holds an oval object in the hand; the body is elaborately wrapped in bandages and ready for burial. An astonishing aspect is the mask covering the face. The study of masks is an important ethnographic subject, customs of their usage reach back from the present day to prehistoric times. The deceased is not absolutely dead, his spirit can observe and influence the living (Goodall 1959: 98 in Walton 1961: 164 – 165).

Walton takes issue with Goodall's use of the word 'certainly' stating in response, that '[t]here is no "certainty" about any single statement in this description which completely ignores local ethnological evidence' (Walton 1961: 165). Walton argues instead that the painting depicts 'Bantu initiation' practices (Walton 1961: 165). In support of his argument, he critiques Goodall's copy stating that the inaccuracy of the copy has caused, what he believes to be misinterpretation of 'body decorations' that appear as bandages in Goodall's copy. In support of his argument, he cites his own copy as well as a copy published by Frobenius in *Kulturgeschichte*

*Afrikas: Prolegomena Zu Einer Historischen Gestaltlehre* (1933), in which the 'bands' are seen as 'dots' and not strips of bandages (Walton 1961: 165).

Walton's copy (Fig. 5.41) is remarkably similar to Schulz's redrawing (c. 1930) after Lutz (1928). Walton positions the figures centrally in the frame created by the edge of the paper. However, unlike Schulz's copy, Walton's treatment of the individual figures is flat by comparison; he does not display the same sensitivity to shading as she does (Fig. 5. 29). Like Lutz (Fig. 5.27) and Schulz (Fig. 5.37 & 5.38), Walton refines the figures, omitting the parts of the painting that demonstrate deterioration and weathering, such as the upper part of the smaller reclining figure. This omission corresponds to Frobenius's treatment of the same figure. Goodall by comparison takes great care in reproducing the watermark that runs over the figure, distorting her copy as the watermark travels down, echoing the distortion of the original paintings.

Perhaps the most striking difference between Walton's copy and the other iterations of the panel (especially those cropped to echo the focus on the reclining figure) is Walton's inclusion of a human figure towards the bottom right corner of his composition. The figure, which he has




Fig. 5.41: *Rusape, S. Rhodesia* copied by J. Walton (1955). Walton made his copy from the main panel at Diana's Vow. It appears as though he adapted the composition of the original to include additional figures within the rectangular frame imposed by the paper on which he worked (IZI JMW 01 15HC), © The African Rock Art Digital Archive.

depicted as juxtaposed in front of what looks like two animal forms, does not appear in any of the other iterations. I was also not able to find this particular figure on any of the photographs of the original panel. It was only when I considered the panel holistically that I noticed this grouping lower down and towards the centre of the main panel (Fig. 5.42). In order to include this figure in framing his copy, Walton drastically altered the composition of the original painting. Yet Walton accused Goodall of producing a copy that was 'far from' accurate (1961: 165).

In a written response published in 1962, Goodall reproduced her copy alongside a photograph of the original painting, and explained the process by which she undertook to achieve a likeness of the original:

> The copy was made in sections from suitably placed scaffolding, enabling details to be traced exactly and in actual size, as seen on a level with the observer's eye. In refuting the allegation that this is 'far from an accurate copy of the painting,' I produce, if I may, illustrations which, in view of the assertion made, provide evidence to probe the substantial accuracy of my reproduction of this painting (Goodall 1962d: 23).



Fig. 5.42: Magnified image showing the grouping of forms that J. Walton included in his copy of Diana's Vow in relation to their position in the original main panel (2015, digital colour photograph by L. de Harde).

As illustrated by this description, Goodall went to great lengths to copy the paintings as accurately as possible. The techniques that she employed in the field are the same as those she would have learnt while working on the Frobenius Expedition (Fig. 5.44). In future iterations of this work, it would be interesting to position Goodall's formalist and interpretive approaches to her study of rock art, in relation to the dominant trends that would have been taking place in western art history at the time that she was conducting her study (Nettleton pers. comm. 2019).

Another artist who employed similar fieldwork techniques in producing his copy of the Diana's Vow paintings was Battiss. Evidence for this can be seen in the photograph (Fig. 5.45) taken at Diana's Vow and reproduced in *Artists of the Rocks* (1948: 186).

The photograph (Fig. 5.45), which is taken from a few meters away, clearly shows the overhang of the large boulder with the small figure dwarfed in comparison. In addition to providing a sense of scale, this photograph also shows how high up the painting is situated on the



Fig. 5.43: E. Goodall defends her copy (right) against J. Walton's critique by illustrating her copy in relation to a photograph taken of the original panel (left) (1962d Fig. 1).

rock surface the paintings sit. Battiss described the placement of the paintings in Rhodesia as often being 'on giant monoliths clustered in cubist-shaped colonies' (1948: 69). He observed that 'the paintings are on the shiny crystalline surface that hangs over the earth away from the rain' (Battiss 1948: 69).

The magnificent boulder has captured the attention of other visitors over the years. Another visitor who sketched the boulder was the rock art enthusiast Lionel Cripps. Cripps drew the boulder in profile, assuming a similar position to the photographer who captured Battiss balancing on the scaffolding (Fig. 5.46). From this angle the large overhang characteristic of the site is pronounced. Goodall too, was in possession of photographs taken of the boulder itself. I have not come across any evidence to suggest that she sketched any wider views of the boulder, it seems as though her interest was primarily in the paintings and their relationship to the rock





Fig. 5.44 (above): A photograph taken by the Frobenius Expedition while conducting research in the Harrismith area, Free State (c. 1929). Visible in this photograph is a tall ladder presumably climbed to see the paintings higher up on the rock surface (FoA 09-12208 1-2), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.
Fig. 5.45 (below): Photograph taken of W. Battiss using a ladder to inspect the paintings at Diana's Vow. This photograph was reproduced in *Artists of the Rocks* (1948: 186).

surface, but only insofar as surface and paintings related to one another; she did not necessarily extend this view to include the site holistically.

However, as alluded to in earlier chapters, Goodall's interest in the surface of the rock as a fundamental and inseparable element of the paintings is a remarkable and unique approach, which she shared with some of the other copyists' working on the Frobenius Expedition. As Keene observes in relation to some of the secondary copies produced by the Frobenius Expedition that are housed in the Iziko South African Museum collection, 'A number of the copies […] have painted backgrounds with varying shades of colouring, revealing attempts by the artists to demonstrate the shapes, shades and cracks in the rock surfaces' (2011: 19). Goodall's sensitivity to the surface on which the paintings are placed is a characteristic of her copies. Yet this is another example of an oversight in contemporary research where Goodall's innovative and sensitive copying methods have been overlooked. Leibhammer demonstrates this in her view that Harold Pager[13] 'differed from most copiers of rock art in that he was the *only one* to include

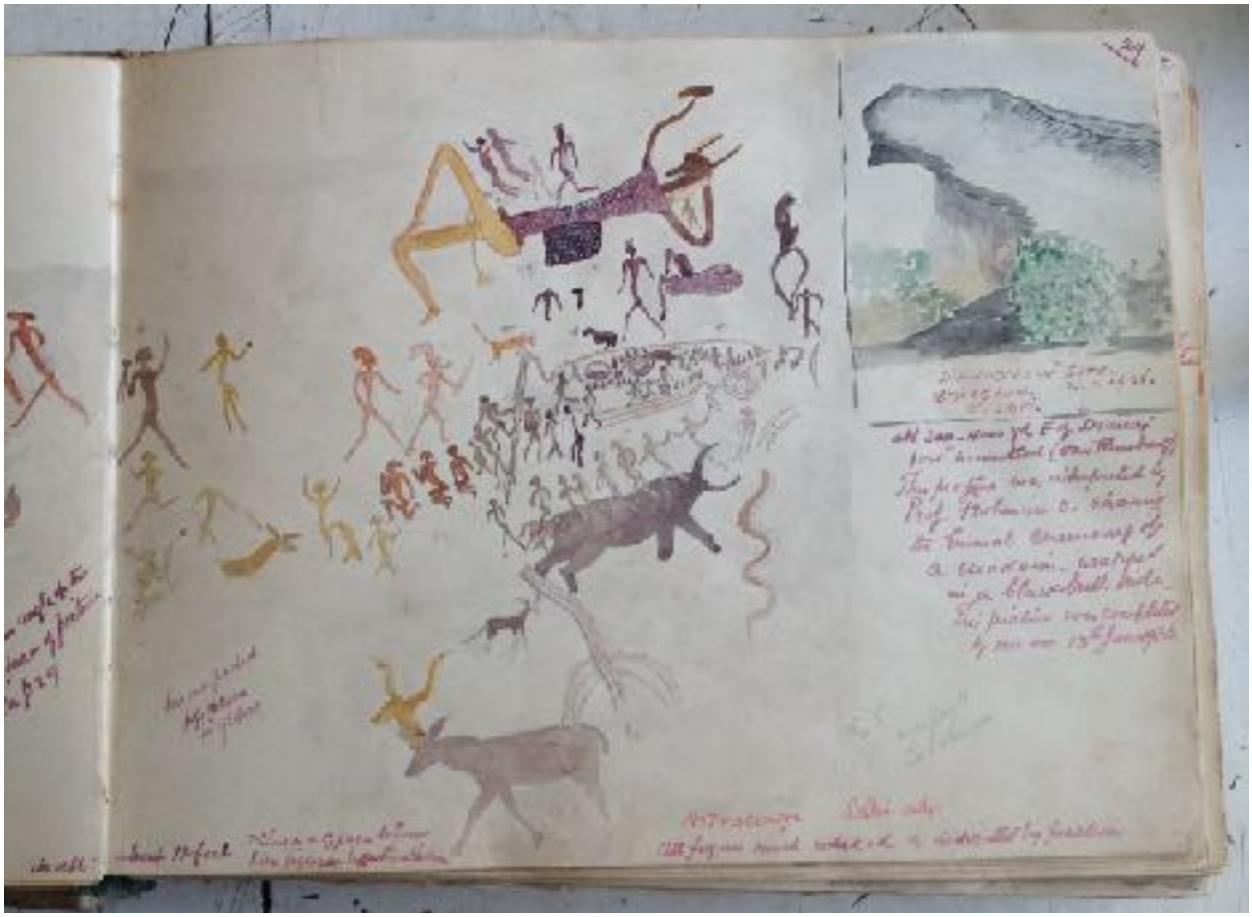


Fig. 5.46: A photograph taken of a page out of one of L. Cripps's books currently housed in one of the storerooms in the ZMHS. I found this book on a shelf in the same storeroom where I explored Goodall's archive. A. Nhamo has recently published images from this book in her her 2007 publication *Immortalizing the Past: Reproductions of Zimbabwean Rock Art by Lionel Cripps*. This page shows Cripps's interest in the profile of the boulder, (2016, digital colour photograph by L. de Harde).

[13] In addition to what appears to be their shared interest in the relationship between the paintings and the surface on which they were painted, there are further resonances between the research methods employed by Goodall and Pager that could in future lead to a productive comparative study.

the rock surface as an integral and important part of the image' (2009: 51 my emphasis). This oversight is further evidence of the limited research conducted into Goodall's work.

The 108-page contribution Goodall made to *Prehistoric Rock Art Of The Federation Of Rhodesia & Nyasaland* (1959), which includes beautifully illustrated colour reproductions of her hand-painted copies, represents the culmination of her contribution to the field of rock art research. According to Raath, at the time of her death (in 1971) she was working on another publication, but because this publication did not materialise there is no way of knowing whether it would have rivalled what today remains her magnum opus. It is for this reason that the archival materials I have examined, photographed and presented here provide a noteworthy and comprehensive insight into her creative practice.



Fig. 5.47: This strip of photographs came out of a folder in a drawer in the storeroom of the ZMHS. The drawer is labelled "Photographs 1831 – 1920". Wintjes and I wondered if this photographs perhaps documents the intervention which was made to redirect the water away from the paintings. (2016 digital colour photograph by L. de Harde).

# Conclusion

Elizabeth Goodall's dedicated and committed interest in the visual properties of the rock paintings she studied, formed a central component of her research practice spanning the length of her career in southern Africa. In Chapter One I probed the early part of her career, examining her foundational training in the practice of rock art research and documentation. I surmised that Goodall worked under Leo Frobenius's tutelage in the role of an apprentice, with a range of expectations bestowed upon her but ultimately working in the field in a position which necessitated experimentation and on-site innovation. Following the end of the expedition, Goodall closely interrogated the research materials and documents that she and her colleagues had produced over the 20 months they spent working in the field in southern Africa. She synthesised this material into an expedition catalogue, *Enthält den katalog der Südafrikanischen felsbilderkopien der D(IA)FE 1928 - 1930* (Frobenius & Mannsfeld 1930) and co-authored it with Frobenius. Goodall was also primarily responsible for the production of secondary or beta copies that were bequeathed to the South African Museum in 1931. This responsibility would have required her to carefully examine and reproduce each copy in isolation, away from the in situ rock art panel that inspired its creation. I argued that this close engagement with the copies would have highlighted, for Goodall, the strengths and weaknesses of the recording methods employed by the artists working in the Frobenius Expedition. I suggest further that her involvement in this reflective exercise may well have inspired in her a life-long commitment to refining and perfecting her own copying practice in a quest for what I have framed as an unattainable accuracy.

In the wake of the Frobenius Expedition's time in southern Africa in the late 1920s, technical and theoretical advancements propelled rock art research into a period perhaps best described as 'the monochrome present' (Wintjes 2012: 15). In Chapter Two I considered one site in particular where a copy produced by Mannsfeld (while working as a member of the Frobenius Expedition [c. 1929]) is singled out for critical analysis by David Lewis-Williams and his team working in the Harrismith Programme. I argue that the changing landscape in rock art recording practices ushered in by the paradigm shift of the 1970s eclipsed the painstaking and labour-intensive hand-painted mode of recording employed by earlier researchers. Drawing on a wider archive of research materials derived from the paintings on Aberdeen Farm by the Frobenius Expedition, the Harrismith Programme and the documentation available on SARADA, I demonstrated the value of different recording methods conceived in conjunction with the aims of the

corresponding study in question. One overarching, almost universal, aim that rock art researcher have in common is the proclivity for conservation and preservation of the paintings exposed and vulnerable to natural weathering and human intervention in the landscape. Goodall served this objective through a process of creative experimentation, revisiting her copies more than once in pursuit of a heightened accuracy. Yet while she stayed close to the original paintings, Walter Battiss extended his encounters with rock art into his creative artistic practice, earning himself a place as one of South Africa's most celebrated artists. In Chapter Three I compare and contrast the research methods of these two trained artists who worked with the same broad subject matter in very different ways.

In the literature available about Goodall, her decision to relocate to Southern Rhodesia in 1931 is often attributed to her marriage to Leslie Goodall. By closely examining a wealth of materials spread across two archives in Frankfurt, Germany and Harare, Zimbabwe, in Chapter Four I challenge the impression given in the literature and reveal a decision motivated by Goodall's career interests and a professional appointment. I argue that Goodall's transfer to



Fig. 6.1: E. Goodall's hand-painted copies on display in the Zimbabwe Museum of Human Sciences. Photographed by G. Stoll (2019 Stoll Photos, reproduced here with permission from the authors).

Southern Rhodesia, where she produced her large format copy of Makumbe Cave, signifies her elevation from apprentice/secondary specialist to independent/puzzle solver archaeologist.

After relocating to Southern Rhodesia, Goodall dedicated the following 40 years of her career to her chosen vocation, demonstrating an overwhelming commitment to first hand fieldwork practices and close engagements with the original *in situ* painted panels for recording purposes. The rock art panel identified as Diana's Vow is the site that first piqued my curiosity about Goodall and, as I discovered over the course of several years of research across several continents and in many archives, it is a site that held a particular fascination for her. Chapter Five examines Goodall's repeated engagement with the Diana's Vow paintings against the backdrop of a wider history of visual recordings of the site, to demonstrate that Goodall did more than merely copy the paintings. I argue that the creative research methods that she employed illuminate and capture complexities and sometimes overlooked aspects of the paintings, making them visible through her careful visual engagement.

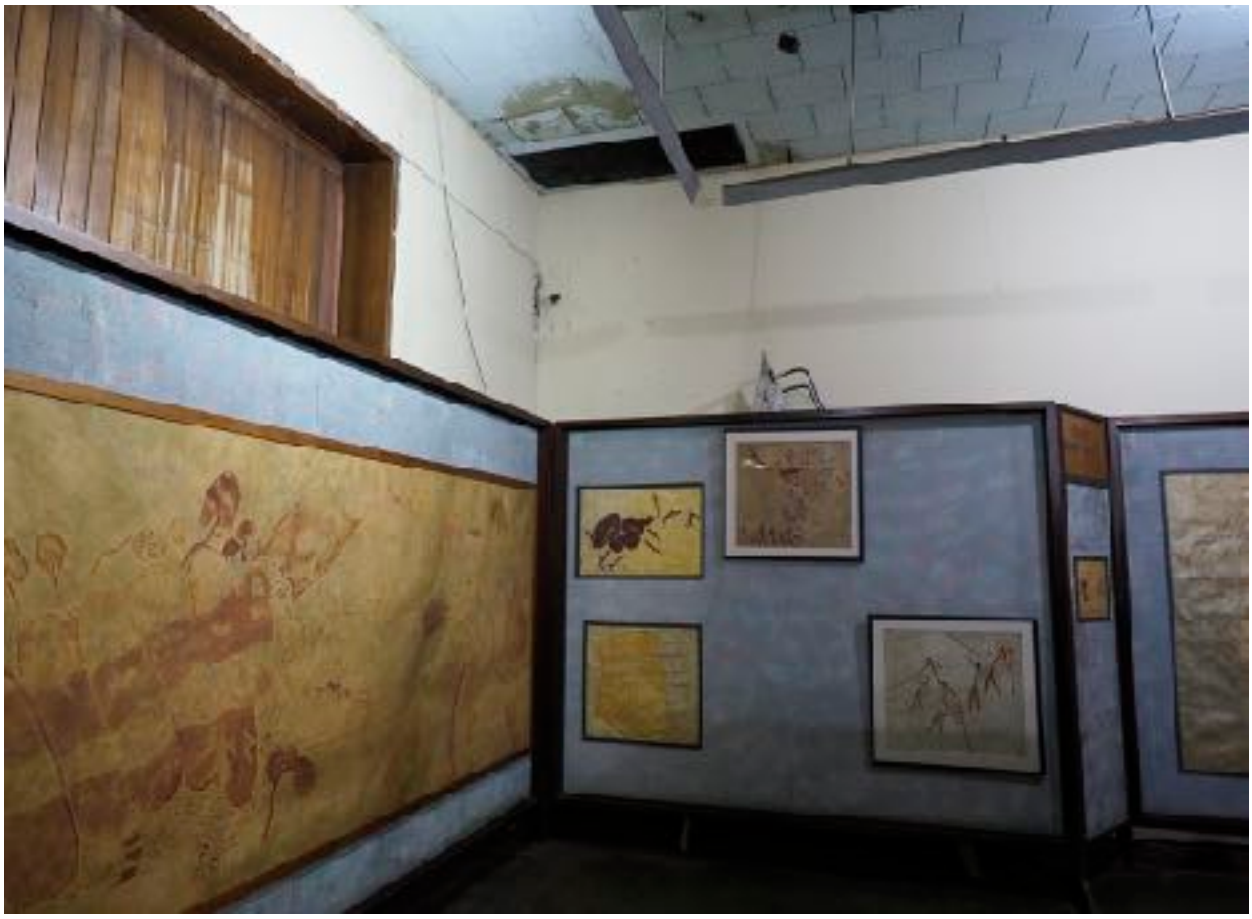


Fig. 6.2: A. Stoll and G. Stoll noticed that the wall of the museum had been painted white at some point since the paintings were put on display and that in some instances paint can be seen on the frames of the copies. They also mention that the tiles of the ceiling above the gallery show signs of water damage which has the potential to make the display copies vulnerable (2019 Stoll Photos, reproduced here with permission from the authors).

I have conducted two types of 'fieldwork' in my engagement with Goodall's copies: one that I conducted in the 'virtual' realm from behind my laptop in Johannesburg, using a digital archive that I photographed and compiled of the fragmentary archival materials relating to Goodall unearthed in the storeroom of the ZMHS. And another, where I actively followed in Goodall's footsteps visiting some of the sites she explored in the landscape as well as the Queen Victoria Museum (now ZMHS) where she had spent many hours working, researching and producing copies of rock art. In 2016, when I entered the storerooms of the ZMHS and began exploring the remnants of Goodall's research and practice, what I discovered was a sleepy archive resting — somewhat chaotically — in various drawers, cabinets and shelves. In conducting this research, it was not my intention to try to awaken these materials by arguing that Goodall should be recognised for her contribution to rock art research, thus forcibly adding her name to the master narrative of rock art recording and its history. My study presents a more nuanced approach whereby I have gently stirred Goodall's archive, drawing attention to her quieter contribution, made by an individual motivated not necessarily by fame and recognition, but instead by an all-consuming commitment to her chosen vocation. In the years since I began my



Fig. 6.3: Two of J. Lutz's copies on display at the Paris in the Centre Pompidou's exhibition titled *Préhistoire. Une énigme moderne* (2019, digital colour photograph by R. Kuba), © Frobenius-Institut an der Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main.

study, my research has ignited a renewed interest in Goodall, inspiring other researchers to engage with her legacy. Today, the Frobenius Institute is involved in negotiation with the ZMHS 'to work on the history of rock art documentation in Zimbabwe in general and especially on Goodall's legacy' (Kuba pers. comm. 2019). These discussions have included proposals and initiatives aimed at conservation efforts, and a project to digitize the archive has been proposed. In June 2019, as I was working on the final drafts of this thesis, two American-based archaeologists, Anne and George Stoll, followed in Wintjes and my footsteps, spending three days in the small storeroom or 'survey room' in the ZMHS, which I had directed them towards (A. Stoll pers. comm. 2019). In addition to locating and photographing Goodall's archive, they also noticed that 11 of Goodall's copies are still on display in the museum (Fig 6.1).

The afterlives of Goodall's copies as they remain for now on display in the ZMHS (Fig. 6.2) are interesting to compare with, for example, one of the copies painted by her colleague on the Frobenius Expedition, Joachim Lutz. Lutz's large format copy of the Mtoko (now Ruchera) frieze (discussed in Chapter One) and his copy made from a selection of paintings at Makumbe Cave (discussed in Chapter Four) (Fig. 6. 3) are currently on display in Paris in the Centre Pompidou's exhibition titled *Préhistoire. Une énigme moderne* (Centrepompidou.fr 2019; ildarchiv.frobenius-katalog.de 2019; Kuba pers. comm. 2019). This photograph speaks volumes about the global aesthetic circuits that the Frobenius Expedition material now inhabits and that perhaps in the imminent future Goodall's copies will once again participate in.

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# Appendix