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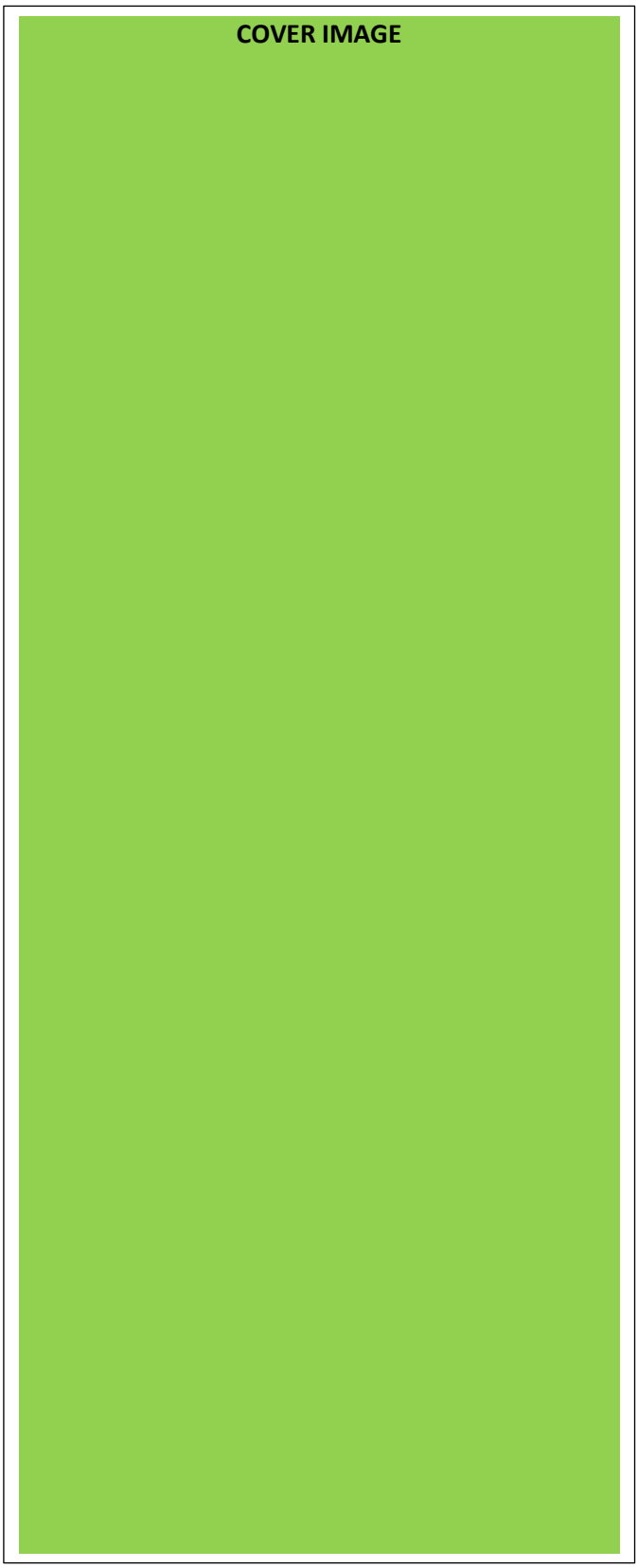
Landscape, Rock Art Recording, Narrative: A Biography of The Harald Pager Archive

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Landscape, Rock Art Recording, Narrative: A Biography of The Harald Pager Archive.

Lemishka Moodley

A Research Report submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for a degree of Masters in History of Art.
Johannesburg, March 2019.

Declaration

I declare that this Research Report is my own unaided work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of Masters in History of Art at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination at any other university.

_____

Lemishka Moodley

15th day of March 2019

Dedication

For my mother, sisters and support system.

Acknowledgements

My biggest thank you goes to Dr Justine Wintjes, for her incredible supervision and support. I am so unbelievably grateful for her incisive yet insightful comments, generous sharing of knowledge and expertise. Without her guidance, tremendous amount of patience and confidence in me, I would not have been able to produce this work.

I also really appreciate:

All the interlocutors who agreed to have a conversation with me about Harald Pager's life and work. Their contributions added richness and depth to my project. Aron Mazel and Paul Stopforth took the time to have e-conversations with me. John Wright, Leon (Jakes) Jacobson, Neil Lee and Shirley Woodhouse (the wife of the late Bert Woodhouse) engaged in a group conversation about Pager's life and work. Finally, David Lewis-Williams graciously agreed to have a discussion with me as well. Without their 'personal histories' contribution, my report would not have been this rich.

David Pearce of the Rock Art Research Institute, who facilitated access to the Harald Pager Archive.

And I thank my family, who supported me throughout this process and "crossed the finish line" with me.

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Preface

In the early days of the discipline of archaeology, the archaeologist Sir Charles Thomas Newton stated, in a lecture at Oxford University in June 1880, that "the subject-matter of Archaeology is threefold – the Oral, the Written and the Monumental" (Newton 1880, p.3–7). By 'oral', he meant expressions of spoken language as a form of patterned communication passed down from the past, which he considered to be as significant as written texts and traces of the built environment. Newton's statement also resonates with ongoing attempts to make sense of the fragmentary remains of the past by including living sources with links to those remains, often referred to as 'oral traditions'. I argue that the domain of 'oral' could be extended in the contemporary context to refer to the realm of the 'spoken word'. The spoken word is mobilised in the telling of personal histories of researchers engaged in making sense of the past, consistent with a move towards the study of the production of archaeological knowledge, and the broader context of the history of science. The past, and the investigation of that past, can be easily lost or erased with time, unless it is documented in some form.

For as long as I can remember, I've had a keen interest in knowing about the world that preceded me. So naturally, movies like *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1981), *The Mummy* (1999), *Lara Croft: Tomb Raider* (2001), *10000 BC* (2008), *The Prince of Egypt* (1998), *Brother Bear* (2003) and many others, fascinated and triggered my overactive imagination. These points of inspiration even prompted many crazy shenanigans and adventures that took place in my back yard. Needless to say, my mother was never impressed because her garden was in constant danger of being destroyed through micro-excavations (as I had to find the treasure I buried the previous evening!). However, it was a Pixar animated film — *The Croods* (2013) — that recently re-ignited my interest in deeper human history. Despite its status as a relatively mainstream commercial animated film, *The Croods* sparked my curiosity to find ways to visit the past and bring yesterday's stories into our lives today.

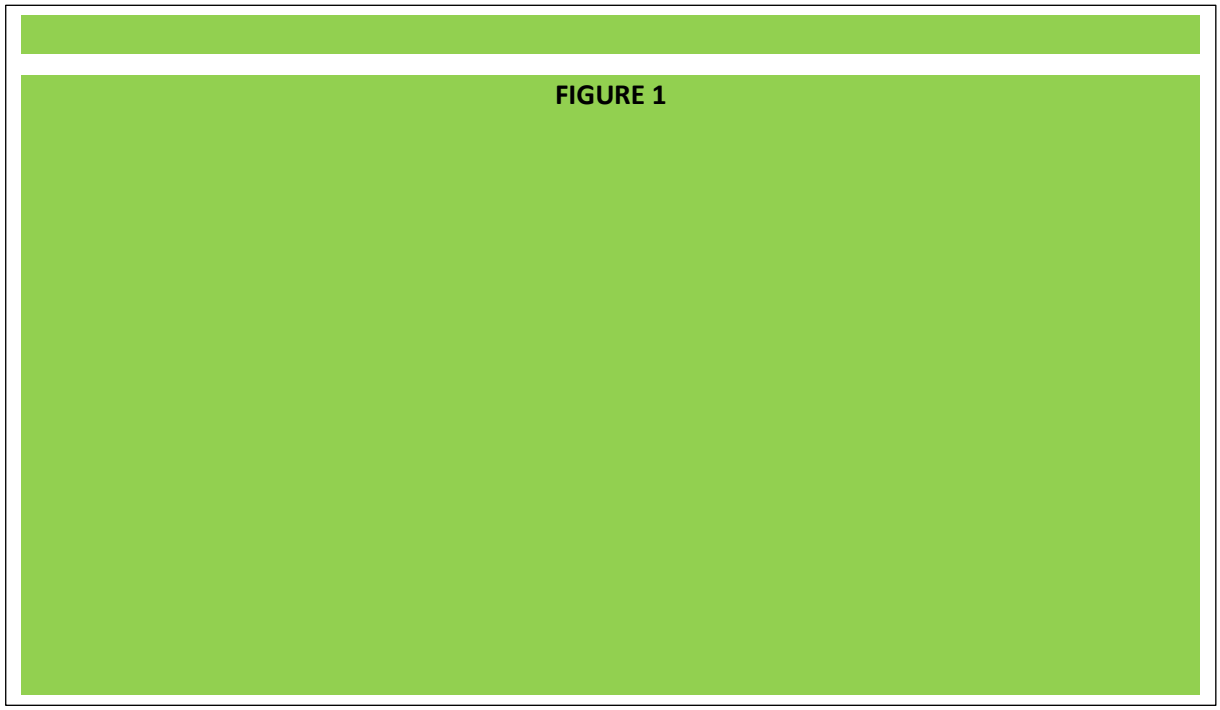


Figure 1: Screenshot of Grug drawing on a cave wall. Captured by Lemishka Moodley from *The Croods* (2013). Animated Film. Directed by C. Sanders. U.S.A. Pixar.

After their cave collapses, the first Crood family has to undertake a journey to find a new home. The father, provider and leader of his pack, recounts multiple stories that urge and caution his children to follow the rules described on the cave wall and to not try anything "new", or generally be curious for that matter. He sees newness as dangerous, with potentially serious repercussions like death. He prefers for them to dwell in the "safe" compounds of the cave in which they live. He develops "cautionary" narratives through visual means by drawing pictures on the cave walls using pigment and dirt he scoops off the ground. The animated film highlights the ways in which a pictorial expression in the form of rock markings could be enlivened in its original context of performance and story-telling, and, also, the ways in which history is forged through personal experience.

The film also prompted me to reconsider the academic realm in which rock art is primarily situated in southern Africa, which is archaeology, and the possible perspectives that other disciplines could bring to bear on these materials, such as art history. My understanding of the reasons why rock art (and its copies) can and should also be considered and studied as an art form, ultimately stems from my own experience in art education. The rock art works made by the San people are encoded with "the history and culture of a society" that is "thousands of years old" and "a testament of the displaced ancient African culture and the San presence in the world" (Solomon 2005). By studying these traces as artworks, researchers, historians and archaeologists are reminded to look at the visual features, but also beyond the physical aspects of the work. They begin to consider the processes that contributed to its making, and the various interpretations and meanings that the work had in its context of production, as well as in its subsequent readings. An examination of the process of knowledge production not only draws attention to the development of artmaking and the manner in which different materials were used to create artworks, but also demonstrates the precarious nature of the meaning of rupestrian imagery. An example of this instability of meaning is evidenced by a body of oral histories relevant to the San context, starting with Joseph Orpen's documentation (1874) of a mountain Bushman called Qing's account of the meaning behind particular rock art panels. Thereafter, in 1911, Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd produced *Specimens of Bushmen Folklore*, a book of 87 recorded legends, myths and other traditional stories of the |Xam Bushmen in their now-extinct language (Solomon 2005). These resources integrated the "spoken word" with Bushman ethnographic research and laid the foundation for how we read and write about the art today, and they also provide numerous different ways into the question of interpretation.

I have utilised my previous first-hand experience as an intern at the Origins Centre, where Simone Opperman and myself worked under the guidance of Steven Sack and Lara Mallen. In working towards the exhibition titled, *The Origins of Walter Battiss: "Another Curious Palimpsest"*, we worked closely with the Rock Art Research Institute (RARI), and my interest in rock art and its archive grew immensely. Here, I learned of the Harald Pager archive, which is physically located at RARI. After speaking to my supervisor, Dr Justine Wintjes, and listening to the way in which she briefly recounted the story of Harald Pager, who was an active rock art recorder and researcher during the 1960s and 1970s, I wanted to learn more about the man who seemingly died for his craft. Wintjes mentioned that Pager recorded San rock art in the Drakensberg area along with his wife for many years. The Pagers relied heavily on their personal resources in order to keep the recording and documentation process going, and ended up incurring financial debt. Harald Pager was passionate about archaeology and sought to understand the rock paintings he discovered in his travels across the region, which also included what was then South West Africa (now Namibia). In one of the conversations held in the course of my Masters research, Neil Lee explained that Pager dwelled for months on end in a shelter in order to finish the copies of rock paintings he sought to record. Pager's adamance and determination, and even his belief that he could change his metabolism, apparently led to ill health while recording rock art in the Brandberg in 1985. He died a short time later in Windhoek (Neil Lee 2018, pers. comm.).

Given the scale and meticulousness of Pager's archive, and in light of the conversations I had about him, it seemed strange that his work and story are engaged with so seldom within academia. Nevertheless, Pager's vast archive lives on in the storerooms of RARI, and now also in the digital world. His recordings were recently digitised during the course of the South African Rock Art Digital Archive (SARADA) project, which sought to scan and make more accessible the content related to southern African rock art at RARI and other institutional and private archives. With the rapid rate at which technology is developing and progressing, physical archives are being turned into digital databases, while also being supplemented by newly created digital materials. However, like all archives, digital archives are not 'permanent'. They have their own kind of media-specific fragility. The digital archive also has the potential to become obsolete and demonstrates a different kind of limited lifespan. Although digital files are also not physically present in the same way that a physical copy or photograph is, and "lose" a particular kind of materiality and stability, they gain a virtual presence and potentially greater accessibility. As with the 'original' archive of rock art that exists in the landscape, the traditional paper archive and the digital archive represent different kinds of longevity and fragility, and have a complex relationship with each other. While being subject to changes and deteriorations of various kinds, the archive is important as a record of archaeological materials in the landscape, but is also a site where knowledge is produced, and the practice of science is conducted.

Thus, I set out to devise a project that would address some of these interests and problems, to find connections between the present and the past, and to focus on 'process' across the rock art archive in the broad sense of the term. I also wanted my project to address absences and silences within the archive, embedded within the documents and copies as well as the rock art itself. I approached the archive as a layered domain that extends beyond the strictly 'documentary' archive, and adopted a 'personal histories' approach as a way of forging connections across that archive. I explain this working strategy in more detail in the 'Methodology' section below, but first I explore some of the conceptual elements that frame the project.

Foundations

An archival focus

When I began this project, I explored the sites that Pager recorded at Didima Gorge. Leopard Cave attracted my attention because of my own particular interest in the single feline representation among the numerous painted figures at the site. Across the regional corpus of San rock painting, felines are a relatively rare motif and have received some attention as a topic of a focused study or part of a larger discussion (Pager 1971, 1993, 2000; Lewis-Williams 1981a, 1983; Herrera Maldonado 2009). Nevertheless, feline representations are perhaps not as well researched as other animals depicted in the art and a deepened study would be beneficial. The feline figure thus seemed to potentially open up a viable area of new research. However, a focus on this particular motif was not necessarily compatible with my central interest in the making of the archive, or the forging of Pager's own focus areas, and so seemed to pull towards a different kind of study, one with an iconographic and interpretive focus on the rock art itself through engagement with the ethnography, which could constitute a thesis on its own. Considering the scope of a Masters research report, I decided rather to adopt a biographical approach, not towards Pager himself, but towards the archive. I was particularly interested in the making of the archive, and the personal reasons that drove Pager to immerse himself so intensely in the solitary process of recording rock art through photography, drawing and painting. I initiated conversations with various interlocutors, including people who knew or worked with him in various contexts, who provided me with as much information as they could possibly remember. Much of what they told me was based on their own immediate personal encounters with Pager, and the details of his earlier life, before he became involved in rock art recording, remain vague and speculative. All the interlocutors concurred that Pager was an introvert and never really shared much about where he grew up and the reasons for his affinity with rock art. Geoff Blundell suggests that in some ways, Pager's interest in African prehistory may have had some similarity to Leni Riefenstahl's photographic work in Africa after the end of Nazi Germany, in the context of a post-World War II search for an Eden "untouched" by corruption of civilisation (pers. comm 2019). I hoped to uncover more of this kind of subtle detail surrounding his deeper biography and motivations through the 'personal histories' approach I adopted. This proved challenging, as there aren't many people left who knew Pager well.

Because of the scale of Pager's archive, I nonetheless found it helpful to introduce a narrower site focus as a particular node within the bigger archive, and a practical set of connections to attempt to trace back through the layers. Sorcerer's Rock was not a particular topic of any of the conversations I held with the various interlocutors, but it functions as a sub-set within the larger archive through which to explore the biography of the archive as a whole. Pager's archive, like most archives, is a vast repository of documents comprising traces of many lived experiences and cannot be unpacked all at once. After considering several of the other Didima sites, I chose to focus on Sorcerer's Rock and its main rock art panel, because of the manageable scale of the site, and the apparent 'narrative' coherence of the main panel, in order to explore Pager's approach to recording and his contributions to rock art interpretation. By choosing this one site, I could address, in specific terms, the thematic threads presented in this paper. Although researchers have previously examined the paintings at this shelter, they have primarily focused on the central and most elaborate 'sorcerer' figure on the panel, and there has not yet been a study of the entire panel or site at Sorcerer's Rock. While my study of this site doesn't purport to be a fully-fledged interpretation of the site in line with current practices of ethnographically based rock art interpretation, my study goes some way to contribute to this site-specific body of research, and I discuss the shelter and its rock art archive in more detail later in this report.

I acknowledge that the scope of the study I set out to do was ambitious. I hoped to address previously undocumented aspects of Pager's life and work, while also delving into several well-developed theoretical areas of scholarship (landscape, archives and rock art interpretation), within the time and length constraints of a Masters research report. I see the resulting work, not so much as a comprehensive achievement in any of the aforementioned areas, but rather as a hybrid piece that makes a methodological contribution in terms of a structure for approaching the unarchived (or even unarchivable), within a research-historical framework.

Theoretical toolkit

My theoretical toolkit is a set of interlinked concepts that I have devised to explore Pager's fragmented biography and the archive he created. I have structured the archive into three tiers, which are the primary, secondary and tertiary archives (defined and explored in more detail below). The toolkit, in its expanded dimension, presents three themes that run like threads through these layers and are embedded throughout this document. These themes are 'archive', 'landscape' and 'narrative'. In terms of the structure of this report, I think of the three-tiered archive as a horizontal scaffold for this thesis, which is interwoven with the three interlinked themes as 'vertical' threads that cut across these horizontal layers.

Archive

Traditionally, archives are viewed as a window into the past and retain particular documentary by-products of human activity for their long-term value (International Council on Archives 2016). The examples of physical, paper-dense repository and digital database I have been working with both contain certain landscape and narrative thematic threads. In my definition, the archive extends beyond the institutionalised documentary domain to the physical locale of the various rock art sites recorded by Pager, and beyond this to the wider world, towards the unarchived and potentially archivable. Thus, the archive is positioned as the foundational topic throughout this report.

After my experience at RARI, I began to reflect on the contents of the archive as well as the kinds of materials that tend to be included in formal institutional archives (and by extension excluded). The archive at RARI houses a range of photographic negatives as well as prints of some of the rock shelters. There are several large-format recordings of the rock art sites that Pager collected at Didima Gorge, including several other huge, almost hyper-realistic, roll-out panels. I describe them as hyper-realistic because having initially seen only the digital scans on the RARI website, the impressive and monumental materiality of the physical copies struck me forcefully once I had the opportunity to view them first-hand. Like so many copies, they translate the rock art into flat, distorted images, but they also embody a kind of enhanced reality, because of Pager's attention to making the rock paintings themselves particularly visible and colourful against the backdrop of the rock canvas.

FIGURE 2

Figure 2*: Harald Pager, n.d,* H. Pager 33*, oil painted eland on black-and-white photograph. The Rock Research Institute. Captured by Lemishka Moodley.* FIGURE 2

Making these copies involved a labour-intensive method whereby Pager produced visually complex

reproductions through a process of combining three types of media (photography, tracing and oil painting). To begin, he documented the details of each site photographically. The negatives were then developed in Johannesburg and printed as 1:1 black-and-white prints. Thereafter, he returned to the site with the photographic prints and traced all the figures that were not clearly visible in the pictures. Pager sought to replicate the rock art with a high degree of accuracy by painting directly onto the photographs in oil paint. The kind of accuracy he sought was an enhanced visibility of the painted figures whose clarity and colour he emphasised against the background of the rock canvas. He spent a considerable amount of time in the presence of the art in the landscape so that he could capture the exact texture of the paintings (the pronounced cracks and bumps in addition to the eroded and exfoliated parts of the rock surface). These artworks also embody Pager's unique style. Understandably, no copy is perfectly accurate and comprehensive. However, Roland Barthes' central argument in 'The Death of the Author' (1968) is that the viewer is given power over the interpretation of the artwork and the same idea would apply to the rock art recorder's work. Interpretatively, the nature of the accuracy that Pager was able to achieve considers the overall visual aesthetic of the copies when compared to other rock art recordings by various copyists. His copies embody a kind of pictorial enhancement, comparable in some ways to digital enhancement in that it brings differential modification to the surface of the image in order to make the rock paintings stand out more from the rest of the image. This increases the saturation of the painted figures so that what is painted is clearly distinguishable from the rock, but at the same time is still presented in the geological context with all of its textures.

The Pager archive housed at RARI also contains a copy of the book *Ndedema* (Pager 1971), along with a filing cabinet that contains smaller drawings from several other locations outside of Didima and Pager's fieldwork tools. The physical archive feels somewhat overwhelming compared to the digitised versions of these documents that can be accessed via the SARADA website[1] because of the number, scale and fragility of the copies. In addition, the recordings of the rock shelters, as spaces, constitute a large part of the Pager collection. For example, the Sorcerer's Rock documents, which can be considered a kind of 'sub-archive' representative of the total archive, comprises copies of the main rock art panel, information about the site, and photographs that can also be viewed in the *Ndedema* book. Via SARADA's digital platform, anyone can have access to view the 'condensed' version of Sorcerer's Rock. The platform houses more than 200 records for this site, including several of Pager's hand-painted copies. There are also copyright restrictions, and for that reason, high-resolution images can only be accessed after sending a formal request to SARADA. The digital archive does not show Pager's tools or stationery. There is also a screen interface that stands between the researcher and the physical space of the archive. Although convenient and accessible, provided that one can connect to the internet, the website offers a different kind of experience when compared to sifting through documents with white gloves in the physical archive. Not all the senses are engaged in the same way.

Michel Foucault described the archive as more than a collection of artefacts and the space that houses them, elucidating the rules that comprise the archive as a discursive formation and pointing to the inherent discontinuities (Foucault 1972, cited in Greenberg 2012, p. 161). Therefore, instead of simply reproducing information, the archive produces meaning as well; moreover, Foucault's concept of the archive reminds us that the storage, organisation, and redistribution of information are never passive or innocent; they always inform political and historical discourse (Evans 2010). A second wave of intense interest in the archive as a significant discursive space was initiated by Jacques Derrida. His 1996 book titled *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, explored various approaches to the archive, interrogated how it is constructed, and questioned what informs the archive's representation and meaning (Evans 2010). Foucault and Derrida's work continues

[1] Website link: http://www.sarada.co.za/#/library/

to be influential in drawing attention to the archive and the complex ways in which we construct and organise our histories (whether official, collective, and/or personal).

This then led me to think of Sigmund Freud's text, 'A Note Upon the "Mystic Writing Pad"' (1925), in which Freud offers the idea of a mnemonic system that describes the capacity which a substance or organism possesses for retaining the after-effects of an experience, or the stimulation undergone by itself or its progenitors (Freud 1925, p. 20). What this suggests in the context of rock art, and in relation to Pager's copies, is that the copy becomes a place where a form of memory is deposited and can be evoked or written into history at any point in time. The question of the unarchived and unarchivable arises from the fact that what is archived is highly selective and subjective. There are only small traces that allude to the fullness of what actually happened in the past. The memory of the documented moment is additionally limited in the sense that one will only generally know of the documented information rather than the experiences that the artist endured for instance. The documented paintings on the cave wall then become a representation and mediated account within a specific moment in time which can be used as an excellent referential tool in an empirical context, for example, to understand the rate at which the deterioration of the ephemeral rock art occurs in the landscape.

As a further consideration, a layering of 'traces' is consequently present in the landscape and can potentially be traced into personal memory. By this, one could argue that the expanded Pager archive encapsulates the relations among "the living and the dead, the roles of ordering, preservation, and registration, the rival patriarchal aspirations of archives and psychoanalysis to a place of ultimate authority, authenticity, originariness, and truth, and the differentiation of the natural (biological) from the artificial (technological or mediative)" (Derrida 1995, p. 91, in Greenberg 2012, p. 161). This idea has also contributed to my interest in investigating the realm of personal histories, which are forged through the recording of living memory.

RARI and SARADA are jointly extending the life of the physical archive while simultaneously preserving it on a digital platform so that it can be accessible for years to come, but the recording of narratives personal histories in the form of narratives has the potential to bring this archive to life and add valuable layers of meaning. In relation to the Pager archive (and no doubt to many other archives), there exists an opportunity to learn about the entanglement between a rock art copyist and a recorded landscape. This is another aspect of investigating the archive beyond its sense of authoritative, institutionalised documentation, by exploring how it might encompass a more intangible shared memory of Pager, his life and his work. Thus, I look at an even broader definition of archive, one that, beyond the landscape, encompasses also the stories and narratives that have not yet been written down, over and above the traditional documentary archive that these theorists refer to. This suggests that the archive has a life beyond the dimensions of the physical archive that can be recalled through historical research as well as memory, what might be referred to as the 'biography' of the archive. I approach the archive's biography by 'exploding' the archive into primary, secondary and tertiary tiers in order to gain insight into its layered history and its expanded dimensions. As discussed above, I define the primary archive as the site in the landscape (following Williams 2014), the secondary archive as Pager's documentation, and the tertiary archive as belonging to the living[2] context in which I am working, which includes the digital space, as well as the as-yet-unarchived. The tertiary archive is unavoidably less precise and more difficult to describe and contain, because it exists as a kind of 'afterlife' of the other tiers of the archive; however, it

[2] It should be noted that the tertiary archive is fundamentally a projection of my cotemporary interest on to the past. I acknowledge that there is no evidence that the San artists considered the construction of the images as a form of archive, however, based on an interpretation of the rock art, it may as well be viewed as a documented account. Hence, I merely used the aforementioned archives theorist writing to inform my understanding.

provides me with a space for experimentation and reflection on my own process of exploring and adding to the archive.

Landscape

FIGURE 3

Figure 3*: Image of Didima Gorge from Pager (1971, p. 85).***FIGURE 3**

Figure 3: Image of Didima Gorge from Pager (1971, p. 85).

Landscape is an important theme that runs through all the tiers of my expanded definition of archive, as well as being a strong theme of the Pager archive itself. Since Pager sought to record aspects of the physical landscape as well as the archaeological artefacts that are embedded within it, landscape becomes a fundamental archival material, and also an organising principle that helps make sense of the archive, and that is also linked to time. I have found Tim Ingold's 1993 text, 'The temporality of the landscape', useful because he aims to unite archaeological and anthropological perspectives through a focus on the landscape and its impermanent nature. Landscape can be viewed through a 'dwelling perspective', whereby the "landscape is constituted as an enduring record of — and testimony to — the lives and works of past generations who dwelt within it, and in so doing, have left there something of themselves" (Ingold 1993, p. 152).

Ideas of landscape can be traced through Pager's work, and also traverse the fundamental understanding of San religious thought and art (which are essentially all embedded in components of landscape) (Lewis-Williams 2010, p. 1). Christopher Chippindale and George Nash postulate the importance of understanding the reasons behind the creation of rock art and learning the identity of the artist, while also considering the role of the landscape (Chippindale & Nash 2004, p. 21, in Lewis-Williams 2010, p. 1). The rise of landscape approaches within rock art studies led to Benjamin Smith and Geoffrey Blundell's proposal that an emphasis on landscape can lead researchers down the wrong track, and that it is essential that include ethnographic contextual methodologies to support their research (Smith & Blundell 2004, p. 259, in Lewis-Williams 2010, p. 1).

And yet landscape in relation to rock art can be understood in different ways. Pager's archive arguably embodies the notion of landscape through a kind of dwelling perspective reminiscent of Ingold's ideas, and based on his interaction with and experience of the world. The archive, essentially, is a remnant of Pager's existence and a testimony to his presence in the various sites that he documented. The archive shows how people's active engagement with the world can further unravel and clarify the meaning of landscape, in contrast to the less embodied concepts of land, nature and space (Ingold 1993, p. 174). In fact, landscape raises a crucial point because, in addition to being a thematic thread that runs through all the tiers of the archive as defined in my study, the land as a place that houses a set of materials also forms a kind of archive in and of itself, which constitutes the 'primary archive' of my study. Although this research project has not involved any fieldwork, landscape nonetheless became a significant aspect in gaining an understanding of the Pager archive, in conjunction with my exploration of 'archive' and 'narrative'. Even as a thematic thread throughout this research report, 'landscape' opens out from the present into the past and bears the residue of the social, cultural,

religious and spiritual exchanges of those whose lives are woven into it (Atha et al 2013, p. 1). However, the remnants within the landscape perish over time and constitute a different form of recording the past when compared with a tangible, documented archive. For that reason, I have employed narrative (as a final theme) to describe but also recount the land's past experiences.

Narrative

Narrative, as a conceptual thread, has the potential to enliven and inform the landscape and the archive, and is also linked to the 'personal histories' component that I identify and explain in the methodology section below. Through Pamela Jane Smith's 'personal histories' approach, narrative, as a theoretical tool, is also used as a tool to further unpack the biography of the Pager archive by engaging in conversations with several interlocutors about Pager, his life and work. By extension, this fosters a deeper comprehension and interpretation of the process of research (specifically through 'oral' exchanges), and the social context in which research takes place, which questions and challenges the 'aura' of the traditional archive and its contents. 'Meaning cannot rest or stay the same' every time one chooses to activate a repository of memory, and narrative influences how one understands and writes about it (Vinnicombe 2010).

According to Sven Ouzman, rock art sites are best understood as places where a world order could be contemplated, questioned, supported or altered by means of 'mindscaping', which can be defined as the process of shaping the landscape culturally (Ouzman 2001, p. 238). My sense is that the frame of rock art discourse readily encourages the development of metaphors in the form of storytelling, which could enable the exploration of old topics in new ways through a ritualised human behaviour for example — which Pager himself arguably also performed in some form in order to document all the works at Didima. I understand Pager's ritualised behaviour to be located in the ways in which he went about recording each site. His method of copying was systematic, meticulous, immersive, and involved several steps that he followed habitually. After reading David Lewis-Williams's article, 'The imagistic web of San myth, art and landscape' (2010), I began making links to the notion of a dwelling perspective in conjunction with mindscaping, linkable also to the "parallels and interrelationships between certain myths, paintings and landscapes" (p. 1). Thus, the archive in relation to the landscape is able to be retold, reconstructed, reformed, and studied in the present through a network of lived experiences.

Methodology

My exploration of the physical and digital archive encouraged a deeper analysis of Pager's archive through narrative, following a method adapted from Smith's inspirational 'Personal Histories Project' (University of Cambridge 2015). The use of inter-linked theoretical concepts throughout this project helped me comprehend and interpret how the landscape and digital archives move beyond the documented archive into an expanded archival domain that can enable the extension and critical unpacking of the history of Pager's archive. In order to extract, excavate and learn about the archive's biography, I use one of the shelters Pager recorded in Didima Gorge as a node within the larger archive, as previously mentioned. My focus on the main rock art panel at Sorcerer's Rock afforded me the opportunity to expand my investigation of the archive and contribute detail to the archive's grand narrative.

Most of the information obtained to write this research report came from the physical and textual archive at RARI, and the SARADA online database, in addition to excerpts extracted from the conversations had with the various interlocutors to form an extended 'oral' archive. In order to mobilise narrative as a mode and medium

of exploration, I used a 'personal histories' approach to create links between the different tiers of the archive in order to investigate the context of Pager's work, and his contribution to the history of rock art studies in South Africa. The conceptual strands consist of archive, landscape and narrative, and are informed by a consultation with living sources, who assisted me in understanding the materials in both the physical and digital archive. Ultimately, the links between the respective archival domains extend beyond the archive's materiality to include narrative aspects in the form of conversations about Pager, which point to the 'personal histories' component of this project. My study of the Pager archive explores aspects of how the archive was made and highlights the various personal experiences embodied in it. 'Narrative' creates synergy and meaningful links between the theoretical strands.

Because Harald Pager died just over thirty-three years ago, and there was no way for me to interview him to answer the many questions that I had, I incorporated a 'personal histories' component into my methodology (Carpeneti 2012), where I interviewed various people who knew Pager in different ways and invited them to tell stories about his interest in rock art and his documenting practice. The recording of personal histories through conversations with interlocutors contributed to my understanding of Pager's biography and his archive. This demonstrates that a 'personal histories' approach has the potential to enliven and add valuable layers of meaning to the existing archive. The oral historian Pamela Jane Smith (University of Cambridge 2015) points out that those personal histories have the potential to provide insight into disciplinary histories, as well as bring together people from different social classes and age groups, transport education from the institution to the world, and question the traditional boundaries of conducting research. Smith's Personal Histories Project (University of Cambridge 2015) offers a way of using narrative in order to illuminate the development of 20th-century archaeology (Carpeneti 2012). In wanting to understand how knowledge is produced, her approach considers narrative through the idea of knowledge and its production being recounted as a story told from first-hand experience. Inspired by her project, I wanted to explore how the links created between the different layers of the archive allow me to investigate the context of Pager's work and his contribution to the history of rock art studies in South Africa. Since no biography has been written on Pager, a narrative approach is a useful tool for exploring the primary, secondary and tertiary archives. This approach is guided by the personal narratives and mutual exchanges of 'narrators' or 'interlocutors' with whom I have held conversations, and whose contributions enable me to engage with and explore Pager's biography and archive (Carpeneti 2012). Thus my research report incorporates a range of personal accounts, interactions and perspectives related to the sites in Didima Gorge, to Pager and his archive, and ultimately to the history of rock art studies and archaeology in southern Africa. In the process of unravelling something of the archive's biography, I was able to gain a deeper understanding and interpretation of the process of research and the social context in which Pager's research took place.

I have also used a narrative style in the writing of my research report more generally, in the hope of creating a text that is engaging and reads like a story, by engaging with history-writing as a form of story-telling. Storytelling, as one kind of narrative method, has the power and capacity to enliven the past and firmly root the historical materials in a social context, while also exploring the potential of narrative as a research method and form of writing. The use of narrative allows me to creatively explore the researched content and potentially produce an alternative exploration of what Pager and other researchers have previously proposed about Sorcerer's Rock, as one example. In Paul Thompson's *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*, he states that the domain of oral history consists of the content of history as well as the processes of writing it, and that it breaks through boundaries between educational institutions and the outside world (Thompson 1988, p. 25). This explanation suggests that by shifting the focus from fact-finding research to new avenues of attaining knowledge, one can challenge the assumptions and judgements of historians by bringing recognition to diverse

groups of people with relevant experiences (Thompson 1988, p. 25). Mieke Bal elaborates on the notion of 'narrative' as a mode rather than a genre, and as a major reservoir of cultural baggage that enables us to make meaning (2004, p. 10). Her notion of 'narrative' as a transdisciplinary concept — not confined to any one academic discipline — informs my whole project. The archive is constructed by a series of events that have taken place at, and in relation to, a specific place in the landscape, including the experiences of an earlier artist, past recorders of the site, and me, who is attempting to investigate the formation of the primary archive, including its extension into the secondary and tertiary archives through the recording process and its afterlife. In many senses, narrative also then guides the proposed use of a 'personal histories' approach which has the potential to enliven the archive of Sorcerer's Rock, the Didima area, and beyond.

Importance of this research

David Coulson suggests that rock art in Africa represents some of the earliest remaining expressions of humankind's visual communications and previously unrecognised artistic ability in the deep past (Coulson 2004, p. 8, cited in Deacon 2004, p. 8). Rock art is arguably the oldest, longest running and most extensive record of human thought in pictorial form. Rock art is a body of traces that we can consider 'archival,' and its study makes it possible for one to gain access to the past through a pictorial medium. But rock art archives embedded within, buried under or scattered over parts of the land are under major threat because they are a fragile and non-renewable resource. Rock art is exposed to a range of ongoing processes of natural weathering, and was not necessarily designed to last any great length of time. The longevity of rock art is further endangered through vandalism and through less intentional damage caused by people who visit or camp in shelters that house rock art. These threats to the rock art reaffirm my focus on the archive, which functions as a mechanism for extending the presence and footprint of the rock art in the wider world. Nowadays, the accepted value of the markings made on cave walls is constructed within a robust, ethnographically informed theoretical academic framework — in addition to its widely recognised heritage and tourism value, as well as its aesthetic value, acknowledged also by many contemporary artists. Rock art and its extended archive are also presented to the public in many visual forms (such as museum exhibitions and displays, books, films, television shows, and the many other ways in which this knowledge can be disseminated). However, it must be noted that the living context of copying and researching is largely lost when the findings of rock art studies are presented to a wider audience. This research study could contribute to addressing this loss, but the translation or interpretation of the findings of rock art research for popular reception is not the primary focus of this paper.

An additional point is that Pager's recording work has not been engaged with in much depth in the South African context because his interpretations of what the art "means" have long been superseded. Also, Pager died in 1985, so a 'personal histories' project in relation to his archive had to happen soon in order to gain access to and preserve something of the living context of its production. To some degree, Pager's memory lives on in the texts written about him and the narratives told by those who knew him. Still, there are currently relatively few people alive who had direct experience of working with Pager. In the course of this study, I identified and attempted to contact several people who knew Pager in different capacities. The archaeologist Aron Mazel and artist Paul Stopforth took the time to have e-conversations with me. Later on, I was fortunate to be part of a group conversation with historian John Wright, archaeologist Leon (Jakes) Jacobson, rock art researcher Neil Lee and Shirley Woodhouse (the wife of the late Bert Woodhouse) about Pager's life and work. Finally, I had a conversation with rock art researcher David Lewis-Williams who also knew Pager and was able to contribute to an understanding of how the Pager archive ended up at RARI, and related his experiences with Pager through

an explanation of the history of rock art interpretation. Unfortunately, my repeated attempts to contact Pager's wife (Shirley-Anne Pager) and his daughter (Cara Pager) were unsuccessful, and I have still not received a response from either. I also attempted to contact John Kinahan and would have liked to have had additional conversations with archaeologists Tilman Lenssen-Erz, Peter Breunig, and Beatrice Sandelowsky.

This research is important also because it creates an awareness of the different ways in which narrative can be used to make sense of and enliven an archive. Narrative as a research method (involving multiple readings and interpretations, and the creation of multiple meanings) has played a role in many other knowledge spaces over time (anthropology, ethnology, post-colonial research, etc.). In the domain of rock art research, for example, rock art researcher Patricia Vinnicombe recounts her experience in Western Australia in 1977 in her text, "Meaning cannot rest or stay the same" (2010). Through Vinnicombe's conversations with local 'indigenous' peoples, she was able to understand and discover new aspects of the meaning of the Aboriginal rock art that dealt with a specific experience of the Aboriginal past. Vinnicombe broadened her understanding and thinking about a 'moment' in Australia's past from the perspective of her understanding of San rock art, and the theories that contributed to that understanding (Vinnicombe 2010, p. 24). She was, moreover, able to recount the stories in relation to what she had viewed, and, in many ways, a narrative approach also informed her research because an understanding of how the Aboriginal culture functioned was also explained through the performative gesture of storytelling.

Lastly, at a higher level, I am interested in connecting my research to some of the ways in which narrative features in current theoretical domains in humanities research. The ethnographical approach by Vinnicombe, Lewis-Williams and others, uses relevant accounts from archival sources to recall the past, make various interpretations through an inductive process, and thereby shed light on the meanings and interpretations of the rock art paintings. This, then, also forms part of a narrative mode.

Chapter structure

I have structured the report according to the primary, secondary and tertiary archives (as outlined above), with different thematic threads that weave across and hold together the various layers of the archive.

CHAPTER 1: The Primary Archive

This chapter defines the primary archive as rooted in the landscape and provides a descriptive physical, archaeological and historical overview of the Drakensberg landscape with a focus on Didima Gorge.

CHAPTER 2: The Secondary Archive

This chapter explores the secondary archive, defined as the body of historical recordings of rock art. It traces the history of recording in Didima Gorge prior to Pager, and shifts to a focus on Pager's recording campaigns, his copying method and the archive it generated. I explore the archive related to the Sorcerer's Rock site in greater detail, in the form of a 'visual essay', as a small sample that provides insight into the wider documentary archive.

CHAPTER 3: The Tertiary Archive

The tertiary archive is a less precise entity, but can be defined as the living context and 'afterlife' of Pager's archive, and comprises the documentary archive in its current state, the digital archive, and the space in which I am working, all of which I explore in this chapter. I thread together the various narratives collected from my

conversations with various people about Pager, his life, his work and his experiences, particularly at Didima Gorge, as a contribution to the archive. I also offer a reflection on the 'personal histories' approach that I have used to 'dig' into the biography of Pager's archive (my object of curiosity), as well as a reflection on the archival and digital space I have been working in.

APPENDICES

Two documents append the report: a creative visual essay (Appendix 1). A selective transcription of the conversations held during the course of this research was previously included, however, an ethical decision was made to omit the conversation transcripts. It became necessary to protect the privacy and confidentiality of the individuals involved in those conversations, especially since the discussions contained sensitive and personally identifiable information. Moreover, the omission ensures that they are not used or shared in ways that were not originally intended.

Chapter 1: Primary Archive

FIGURE 4

Figure 4: *Babylonian concept of the world's cosmos in the form of a three-tiered structure. From De Gracia (2015).* **FIGURE 4**

Figure 4: Babylonian concept of the world's cosmos in the form of a three-tiered structure. From De Gracia (2015).

Kent Williams, as a student of art history, describes rock art as a blurred, 'written' amalgamation of text and images (2014, p. 2), and argues that rock paintings within the landscape can be considered archival 'documents' that record aspects of San religious beliefs. Hence, this establishes the possibility for the landscape as a whole to be considered as a primary archival repository, where one should consider "the 'primary archive' to be the rock art out on the land, whose living context has vanished but that has been extensively studied by rock art researchers and anthropologists" (Williams 2014, p. 2). Taking inspiration from Williams, I define the landscape as a kind of primary archive. In other words, the primary archive is the foundational layer of the total archive, from which the secondary and tertiary layers are derived. The primary archive is the land that encompasses the infinite yet socially constructed landscape, on and through which human interactions and impressions were made, buried and rediscovered (Williams 2014, p. 2). Landscape, in this research process, is the site where the rock art was conceived; the place where the people who conceived the art lived; and a physical space that is constantly changing and adapting. Ingold considers landscape as "a kind of lowest common denominator of the phenomenal world" (Ingold 1993, p. 153). The layered, unbounded and all-encompassing land opens out into the past and enfolds the lives and times of predecessors, who, over many generations, have moved around it and have played a part in its formation (Ingold 1993, p. 152). Thus, the primary archive in which rock art is embedded is the landscape (Williams 2014, p. 2).

Landscape, as a concept, opens up ways of thinking about the past and "becomes an insightful tool that shows how and from what the contemporary world has been constructed" (Williams 2014, p. 1). The land illustrates the active engagement and relationship between people and their environment, and how the residue of people's engagement with the land challenges contemporary researchers to unpack the constructed narrative of the past (Godby 2010, p. 128). By interpreting the material evidence of human imprints in the archive, one can read the landscape like a text that is continuously shaped and re-shaped by a "collection of information amassed and redefined over centuries and millennia" (Bastian 2014, p. 47).

In this chapter, I outline how the landscape of the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg mountains is not only made up of a collection of natural landforms (such as mountains, hills, plains, plateaus, streams, and soils such as sand or clay), natural vegetation, and other features of the natural landscape, but also includes a cultural landscape that people have shaped over time (Wright & Mazel 2007, p. vii). This reasserts the idea of a "dwelling perspective" and illustrates how the landscape becomes a space that testifies to the existence of a past community through the residual fragments they leave behind (Ingold 1993, p. 152). Essentially, I recognise how the landscape works against a perceived binary relationship between humans and nature (Meinig 1979, p. 2,

cited in Ingold 1993, p. 154). A descriptive overview of the 'Berg' (as the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg mountain range is colloquially known in KwaZulu-Natal) and a detailed description of the Didima Gorge valley will form a basis for understanding how the 'organically' evolved landscape has manifested itself, and how the spiritual, economic, and cultural significance of the area is entrenched in and has developed alongside the landscape's physical characteristics. The physical and archaeological landscape of the region is discussed in relation to the associated cultural landscape, and in relation to the physical evidence of historical human use at various sites (e.g. the rock paintings on cave walls, and the remnants and objects in cave deposits).

uKhahlamba-Drakensberg Mountains

FIGURE 5



Figure 5: Photograph of the Drakensberg Mountains. Captured by Moiseenko (2018).

Since this project is purely archival, and I have not conducted any fieldwork, I familiarised myself with the broader landscape through consulting various sources related to the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg mountains. Video footage shows these mountains as a vast landscape with enormous rock formations that lie majestically immersed in lush flora. The mountains currently lie within the Maloti-Drakensberg Transfrontier Conservation and Development Area, a World Heritage Site that spans the Sehlabathebe National Park in Lesotho and the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg Park in South Africa (UNESCO n.d). This area is one of the largest protected sites in southern Africa because it is occupied by many threatened and endemic species, and has a prolific number of rock paintings made by the San[3] people (UNESCO n.d.).

[3] Website link: http://www.sarada.co.za/#/library/
'San' or 'Bushman' are conventional terms, yet are also in some instances pejorative terms used as an umbrella for a broad grouping of hunter-gatherer people generally thought to be responsible for the figurative rock art across the entire region (Lewis-Williams 2003, p. 123). Prior to colonial intervention, the hunter-gatherer community were usually considered to be the San. However, the allocated label/name does not consider the more detailed questions of authorship of the art, of smaller-scale group identity in relation to authorship, and of the diversity in the art across space and time, and remains an externally constructed label, but one for which it is challenging to find alternatives for the archaeological time period.

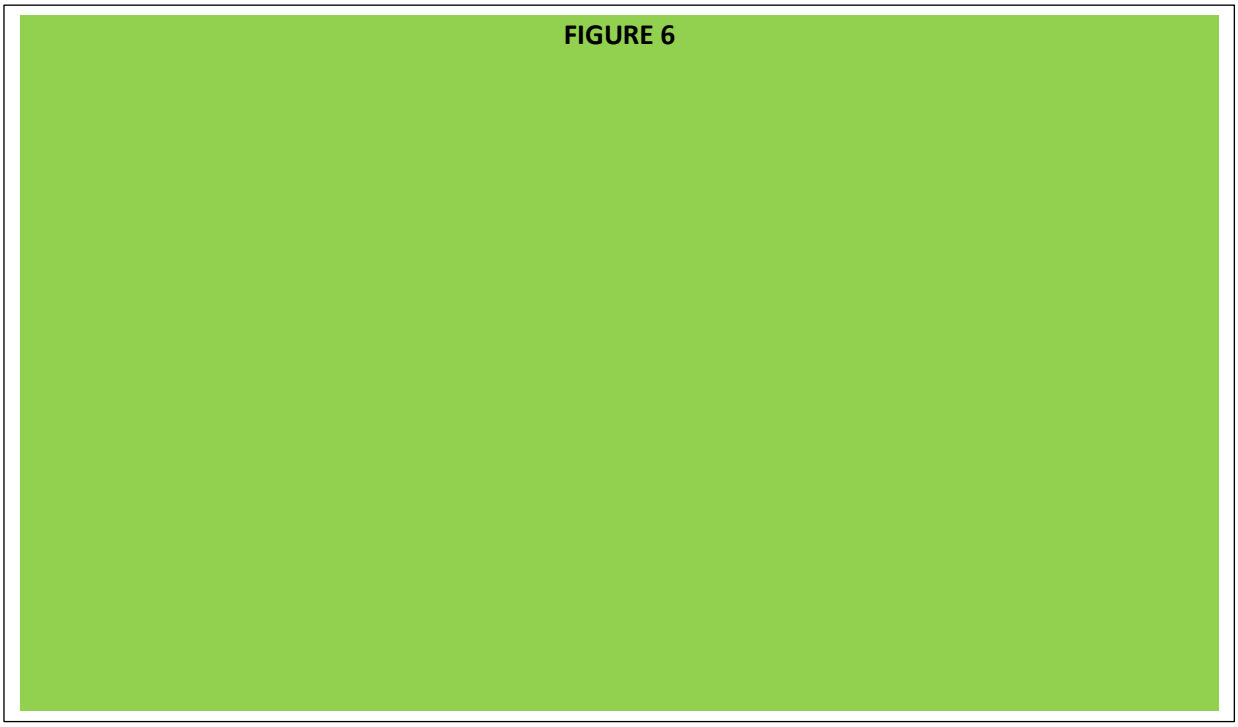


Figure 6: Image of a map indicating the transboundary and geographical location of the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg heritage site (as circled above in red). From Pager (1971, p. 3).

Through *Tracks In A Mountain Range: Exploring the History of the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg* (2007) by John Wright and Aron Mazel, I learnt about the history of the Drakensberg and the people, animals and plants that have occupied the region. The mountain range spans 200 kilometres and bears different archaeological signatures, including the remnants of the San hunter-gatherers, who dwelled across the escarpment for thousands of years prior to the settlement of black farmers within the Drakensberg area (Wright & Mazel 2007, p. 1). What is most important, or rather most remarkable, about the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg is that it is considered to possess "the most extensive and impressive galleries of rock art to be recorded anywhere in the world", as well as fragments of culture and subsistence "found on the floors and in the deposits of numerous rock shelters" that prove the existence of the long-term occupation of the San (Wright & Mazel 2007, p. 1).

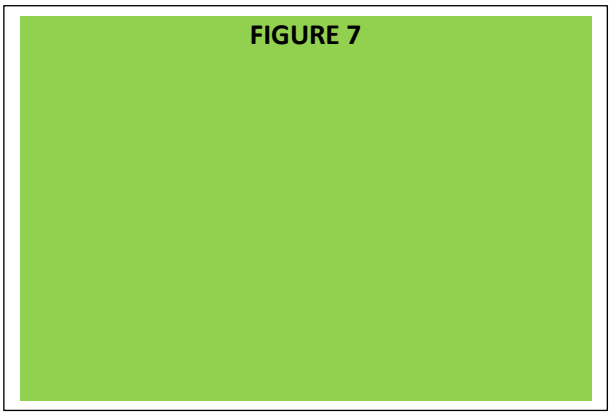


Figure 7: Lateral view of the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg showing the geological formations from Pager (1971, p. 5).

At the geological scale, the oldest layer of rock found in the Drakensberg is estimated to have existed 250 million years ago (Wright & Mazel 2007, p. 2):

> The earliest deposits consisted of sandstones and mudstones which were laid down under semi-arid conditions in lakes, flood plains, and meandering river channels. These rocks which today lie at an altitude of about 1300 metres, belong to what geologists have named the Beaufort Group. Overlying them are layers of the Stormberg Group, which today make up most of the foothills. The lowest of these layers belong to the Molteno formation.

Correspondingly, the archive, like the landscape, is also (literally) layered, and these layers also form a kind of archive relevant for the deeper geological time-scale. The mountain is, overall and primarily, a sandstone palimpsest phenomenon (Wright & Mazel 2007, p. 1–2). The layer above the Red Beds in relation to the categories mentioned above is one of the layers that form part of the Stormberg Group. Below the Red Bed layer is cream-and-white sandstone currently known as the Clarens Formation, and still often referred to as Cave Sandstone (Lewis-Williams 2003, p. 9; Fig. 5). The massive stratum formed by the long lines of 'kranses', or cliffs, runs just under the summit of the ridges of the Little Berg and represents its most distinctive feature. It is in this layer, particularly, that hundreds of rock shelters and overhangs are to be found (Lewis-Williams 2003, p. 9). The Clarens Formation consists of many strata and varies in permeability and hardness, and rock shelters formed from the softer layers that eroded more rapidly than the overlying harder layers (Wright & Mazel 2007, p. 2–3):

> In some instances, large blocks of sandstone were dislodged from the cliffs and settled on the slopes below in ways that form overhangs, thus assisting in the creation of habitable rock shelters. In these shelters and overhangs San hunter-gatherers made their homes for thousands of years, and here the great majority of rock paintings are to be found.

The landscape is mostly covered in grasslands, with scattered and varied plant communities and other associated fauna governed by the climate, geology, soil, drainage and effects of fire (Wright & Mazel 2007, p. 4). In the past, the Drakensberg area accommodated "a wide variety of mammals, dominated by antelope and smaller carnivores", whereas today, only 11 types of antelope and the odd carnivore are found there (Wright & Mazel 2007, p. 5).

Wright and Mazel (2007) debate how far back in time the 'San' as a group identity in this region can be ascertained. Micro communities of hunter-gatherers for which we have no specific ethnonyms have lived across the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg area (2007, p. 6 & 88), but the chronological details of these hunter-gatherer occupancies are vague and cannot be pin-pointed exactly, hence the ongoing topic of archaeological research. Wright and Mazel suggest, however, that hunter-gatherers have lived in the area from before 25 000 years ago, but their occupation of the area dates primarily to the last 3 000 years, i.e. the Later Stone Age (Wright & Mazel 2007, p. 23). Alex Willcox stated that Middle Stone Age hunter-gatherers would have been unable to gain access to the mountains due to the thick forest and snow that covered the landscape at that time (Wright & Mazel 2007, p. 23); however, this hypothesis proved to be invalid when Mazel identified Middle Stone Age artefacts in the river gravels in the north and south of the Drakensberg, as well as on the floors of five rock shelters in the north (Wright & Mazel 2007, p. 23). Wells's expedition in the 1930s had already discovered Middle Stone Age artefacts in the rock art shelter deposits of the Cathedral Peak and Cathkin Peak areas (Wright & Mazel p. 24–25). Even today, archaeologists are unable to establish clearly when the land was first occupied (Wright & Mazel 2007, p. 24). But because the deposits are scarce and are far apart, one can argue that the occupation by hunter-gatherers was not extensive before 25 000 years ago (Wright & Mazel 2007, p. 23–25).

From recent history there are very few written records pertaining to the history of the San occupation in the mountains prior to the British establishment of the rudiments of a functioning bureaucracy (Wright & Mazel 2007, p. 89). Written historical accounts of the past are therefore rooted in the colonial experiences of the white man, rather than in those of the people they ruled (Wright & Mazel 2007, p. 10). However, the rock paintings and related documentation provide a major source of evidence of a hunter-gatherer presence in the Drakensberg (Wright & Mazel 2007, p. 28). By "drawing on evidence from archaeology and from the 19th century documentary records, […] stories about the hunter-gatherers as a part of […] 'the history of the Drakensberg'" are told even though nothing is known about how they perceived their history (Wright & Mazel 2007, p. 7). Rock art combined with a culturally informed history by San 'intellectuals', became (primary) testaments/evidence of the San's ways of thinking — especially about what we could call spiritual matters — but at present we have no way of interpreting these sources as clues to the specific histories told in their communities (Wright & Mazel 2007, p. 7). It would be worthwhile to engage more closely with the unwritten stories rooted in the pre-colonial materials that have survived in the memories of oral historians among the people who dwell in the Cathedral Peak area, and in other nearby communities, and indeed the question of whether the rock art might be considered something akin to an 'archive' from a San perspective, but this goes beyond the scope of this research report as well as Wright and Mazel's study (Wright & Mazel 2007, p. 8). I contend that it would be possible to deepen a consideration of this landscape as an 'archive' with further stories and histories to uncover, because layered records demonstrate a relationship between the land and its occupiers, who continuously shape and re-shape "a collection of information amassed and redefined over centuries and millennia" (Bastian 2014, p. 47).

Didima Gorge

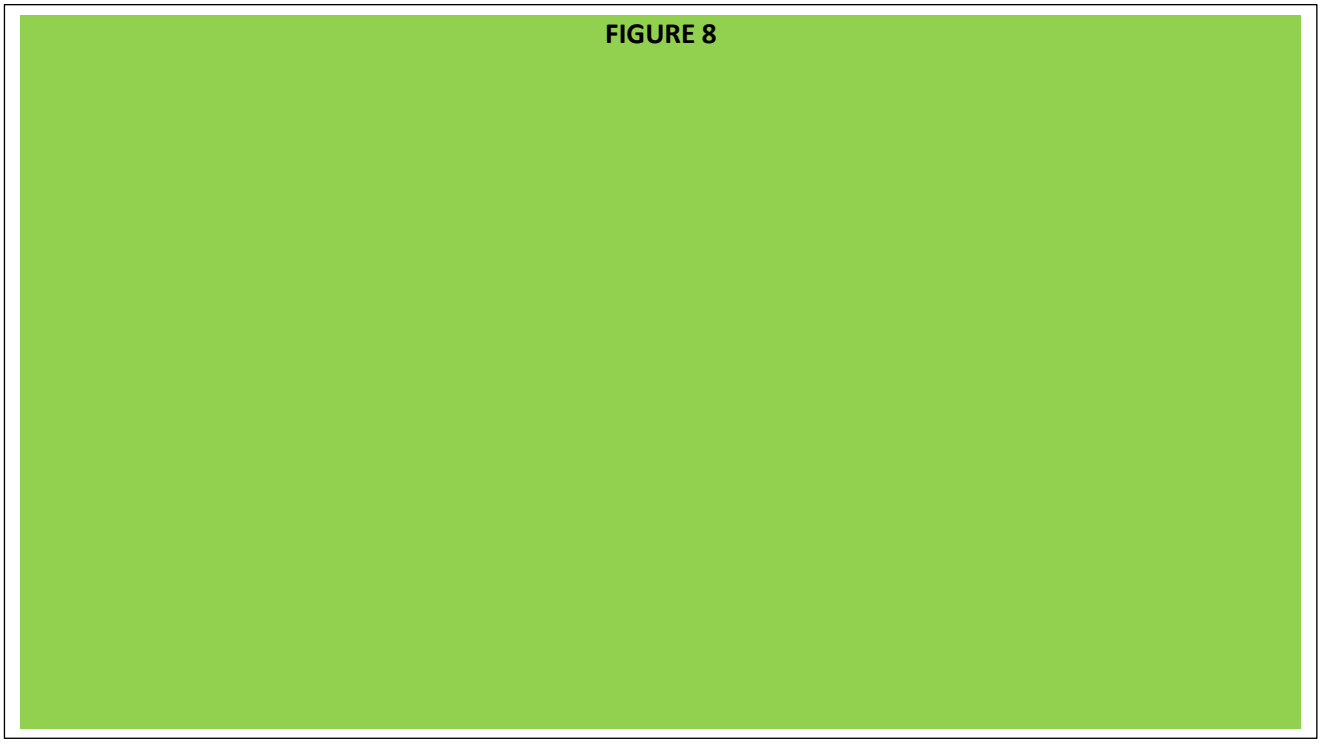


Figure 8: Image of Didima Gorge. From Night Jar Travel (n.d.).

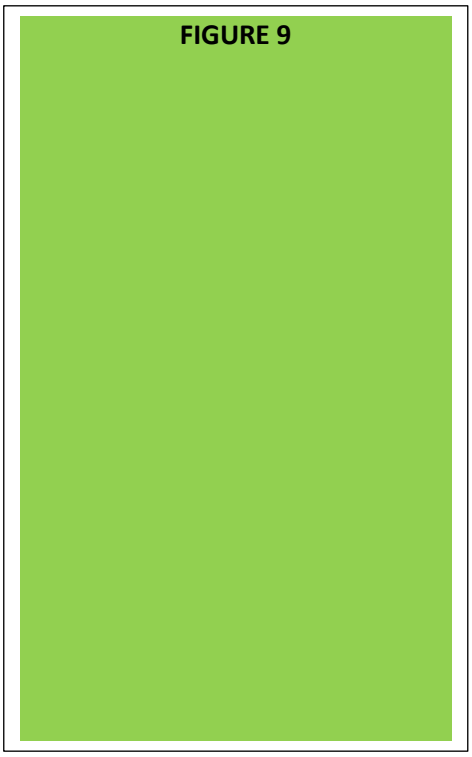


Figure 9: This image is a combination of two images (a photograph and a line drawing) published in Harald Pager's *Ndedema* (Pager 1971, p. 86–87). Composite image by Caroline Thompson (2014, p.29). It shows the location of the seventeen painted rock shelters recorded in the gorge. Sorcerer's Rock is number 7.

Shelters:

1. eSibayeni
2. Elephant Shelter
3. Water Shelter
4. Botha's Shelter
5. Rock-Fall Shelter
6. River Rock
7. Sorcerer's Rock
8. Nuttall's Shelter
9. Shirley's Shelter
10. Poacher's Shelter
11. Leopard Cave
12. Nanni's Rock
13. Silt Rock
14. Sugar-Loaf Rock
15. Asbestos Shelter
16. Junction Shelter
17. Exhaustion Shelter

Didima Gorge is a valley situated in the Cathedral Peak area, in the northern part of the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg Park (Mazel 2011, p. 284). Didima Gorge is the area where Pager recorded 3909 'paintings'[4] and documented seventeen shelters over a period of four years (1965–1969). His study covered Sebaaieni Cave, Elephant Shelter, Water Shelter, Botha's Shelter, Rock-Fall Shelter, Shirley's Shelter, Nuttall's Shelter, Sorcerer's Rock, River Rock, Poacher's Shelter, Leopard Cave, Nänni's Rock, Silt Rock, Sugar Loaf Rock, Asbestos Shelter, Junction Shelter and Exhaustion Shelter (Pager 1973, p. 6; Fig. 7). Pager's recordings from the valley cover a mere 10% of the c.40000 paintings in the Gorge (Mazel 2011, p. 286). Mazel (2011, p. 286) suggests that the valley

> is not only distinguished by the sheer quantity of paintings, but it contains a higher proportion of figures which Pager (1971) has referred to as "ritual" than the surrounding Cathedral Peak and Cathkin Park areas and the uKhahlamba Drakensberg as a whole.

The "ritual" aspect here connotes a trance experience that the San undergo for secular and sacred purposes (Lewis-Williams 2010, p. 6). Herein lies an anthropological framework through which an understanding of the painted figures can be established. Although rock art research has moved on since Pager's time, he was already becoming aware of the fundamental theme of transformation, and of affinities imagined between animals and humans in the art. For Pager, the painted figures shed light on transformative experiences through which the San became mythical creatures such as therianthropes, ceremonial figures, bristle bulls, mythical baboons and other fantasy animals (Pager 1971, p. 338–344).

[4] Pager and many rock art researchers refer to the individual figures as 'paintings', but approaching the panel as a whole 'painting' makes it easier to describe and understand the entire composition. This points to the different perspectives that might be applied by art historians and archaeologists respectively.

In addition to the visual references in the art, Mazel pays attention to the acoustic properties of the landscape. The word "Didima" may allude to the echoing of rumbling thunder during a heavy rain storm, when the sound travels "through the huge kranses of the narrow gorge" and produces a clattering vibration (Mazel 2011, p. 291). Mazel's acoustic research reveals another interesting insight about hunter-gatherer history in the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg and how it may have influenced the painted representations (2011, p. 291). Mazel explores Pager's comment that "The name of the gorge is a Zulu one, meaning 'The Reverberating One', implying shaking and upheaval" (Pager 1971, p. 5, cited in Mazel 2011, p. 291). However, based on a personal communication with Peter Raper in 2010, Mazel proposes that "the word 'Didima' may be an adaptation of the |Xam word '!gum' meaning 'to roar'" (Mazel 2011, p. 292).

I now narrow my focus on the Didima Gorge valley to examine more closely a single rock shelter that acts as a microcosm of the wider landscape and archive.

Sorcerer's Rock

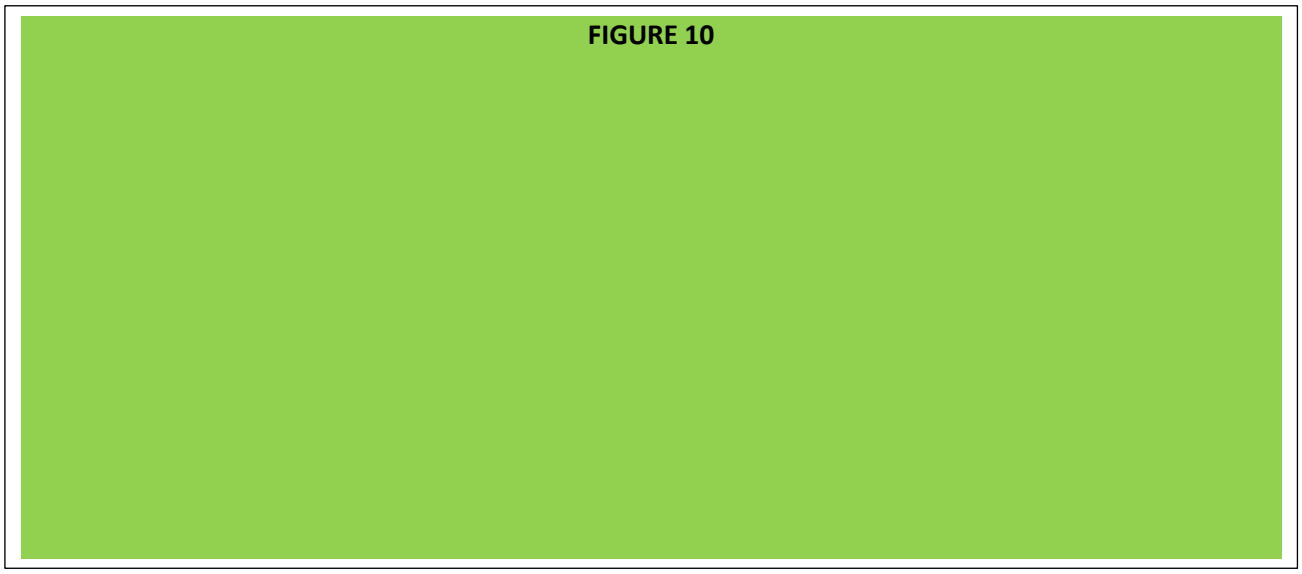


Figure 10: Image of Elevations of Sorcerer's Rock. From Pager (1971, p. 66).

Sorcerer's Rock is a rock art shelter situated in Didima Gorge, in the KwaZulu-Natal Drakensberg. The shelter is located at 28°59'50" S and 29°16'42" E and is 1580m a.s.l. (Pager 1971, p. 66). According to Miss L. N. Peirson of Richmond, Natal, a group of Natal and Transvaal Mountaineers "discovered" Sorcerer's Rock in 1948, and in July 1958, Pager and A. P. Botha rediscovered and recorded the shelter (Pager 1971, p. 66). Though there are earlier references to Sorcerer's Rock, Pager was the first to publish a detailed account of the site.

Pager noted that the vantage point of the site allowed one to see the entire yellowwood forest (Pager 1971, p. 66). He recorded access to the site from river level as being up a steep grassy slope to gain entrance to the open shelter formed by an enormous fallen rock "that had come to rest half way between the Lower Main Krans and the river" (Pager 1971, p. 66). Pager recorded various aspects of the physical properties of the site and its immediate landscape. The shelter is small and the tiny flat area of floor below the painted ceiling provides just enough space to accommodate two people. During wet and rainy weather, one's feet get wet. The naturally formed shelter has shallow banks on either side of the overhang that protect its occupants from harsh gusts of wind. The area toward the deeper interior of the shelter floor slopes, and becomes so narrow that the roof meets the floor. A sectioned side-elevation view of the site presents the shape as an acute triangle (Fig. 7). Pager suggests that, due to the limited space, many ceremonial rituals could have taken place at the river, in

addition to day-to-day activities such as washing, cooking, and collecting water for the arid shelter. Most of the area immediately surrounding the site is covered by grass and ferns, and only supports a few trees. Other than that, Pager observed a number of artefacts, including an end scraper, a concave scraper and a grindstone with two potsherds (Pager 1971, p. 66).

Chapter 2: Secondary Archive

In this chapter, the primary archive coalesces into the secondary archive, with a continued focus on Sorcerer's Rock and the motifs that the main rock art panel features. This chapter first explores the history of rock art recording and traces the history of recording in Didima Gorge prior to Pager. This history shows something of the ways in which people have interpreted and understood rock art over time. Thereafter, my focus shifts toward Pager's recording campaigns, his copying method and the archive it generated. The detailed copies Pager produced afford him the title of the greatest recorder of southern African rock art (Blundell, 2018, pers. comm.). The archive pertaining to Sorcerer's Rock is explored in greater detail, in the form of a 'visual essay' that provides insight into the wider documentary archive. I provide a denotative and connotative reading of each figure based on insights attained from academic scholarship. Although I pay homage to Pager, his life and his work through the archive, I am critical of all my findings and am cognisant that there are many errors in his copies (Blundell, 2017, pers. comm.).

Pager and his wife visited the shelter several times between February and March 1968 and spent a total of 30 hours copying and recording the rock art. Some of the rock paintings were executed on the low ceiling while others appear on the fallen rock lying in the middle of the shelter. It is in the middle of the site that the lowest figures are painted, approximately 20cm above floor level. Of the 43 painted images at the site, the depictions on the ceiling are well preserved, and are enlivened during the day by reflected spots of sunlight cast on the shelter floor. The name Sorcerer's Rock was chosen, apparently by Pager (although he doesn't say so explicitly), because of one unusual painting of a crouching, white human figure depicted frontally with elaborate reddish-brown painted patterns on its entire body, who is seemingly engaged in esoteric activities. However, the figure does not necessarily depict a sorcerer or medicine man, even though several early researchers ascribed this identification to this type of figure at other sites (Frobenius 1931, p. 22 and Goodall 1959 cited in Pager 1971, p. 66). Based on similar depictions elsewhere, the current interpretation would not necessarily see it as depicting a sorcerer in any literal sense. In the chapter that follows, I explore the current interpretations of this figure further through a review of previous scholarship. Apart from the sorcerer figure that has attracted some attention, there are several other painted images and elements on the rock panel. I could have begun my visual analysis of the rock art from any given point on the panel, but chose to begin with the peculiar figure on the left-hand side that is displayed amid and is encompassed by varied lines in different directions. I read the panel as a narrative through the ways in which the brown contour lines connected each figure to create a 'story' about the panel. I finish my visual analysis with the interestingly shaped group of figures who appear to be returning from a painted red daub over a black crack in the rock surface towards the right edge of the panel.

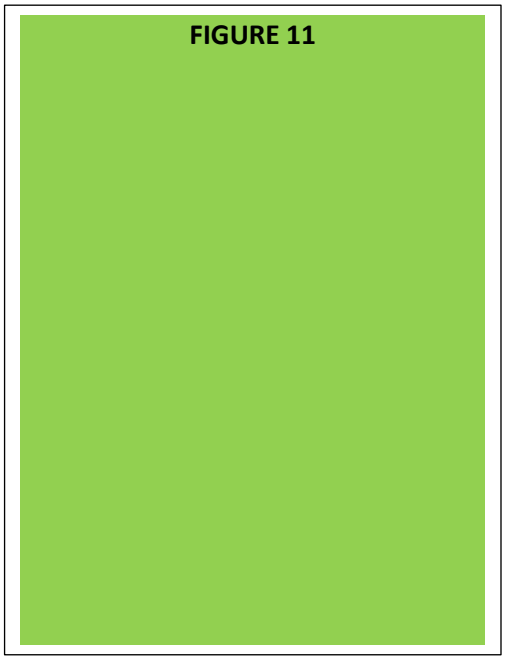


Figure 11: A scanned and cropped image of the crouching white figure/ Sorcerer. From Pager (1971, p. 164).

In a short obituary, Ione Rudner noted that Pager (1923–1985) was born in Czechoslovakia and went on to live and study in Austria to become a graphic artist, and later became a world-renowned archaeologist through his work on rock paintings located in South Africa and South West Africa (now Namibia) (Rudner 1985). After emigrating to South Africa in

1955, he initially began working as an industrial designer and soon thereafter became interested in rock art. Prior to 1960, he visited and recorded briefly rock art sites in Tanzania and Zimbabwe. During the latter part of the 1960s, Pager — along with his wife, Shirley-Anne — researched and recorded 17 rock shelters in the Ndedema (now known as Didima) Gorge in the Natal (now KwaZulu-Natal) Drakensberg. For four years, the Pagers lived and worked in rock shelters, spending an estimated 2168 hours recording rock art in the Didima Gorge. They recorded every painted motif and compiled a significant amount of data on the area in relation to its history and topography, including almost everything that lived and lurked there, its flora and fauna, and its archaeology (Rudner 1985). Of the 17 recorded shelters, however, four did not have any art (Mazel 2011, p. 284).

I chose to focus on Sorcerer's Rock because of the manageable scale and the apparent 'narrative' coherence of the shelter's main panel — the compositional coherence created through the denotative and connotative analysis of each figure on the main rock area panel that tells a story in itself. Although researchers have examined the paintings at Sorcerer's Rock to some extent (e.g. Frobenius 1931, Goodall 1959, Solomon 1994 and Thorp 2015), they have considered the central and most elaborate figure on the panel more or less in isolation instead of in the context of the entire composition, or the site as a whole. Here, I discuss the Sorcerer's Rock archive in greater detail. I provide a summary of what previous rock art researchers have proposed regarding the central figure and go on to discuss the entire panel in the form of a 'visual essay', as a small sample that could provide insight into the wider documented archive. I first present an overview of rock art recording in the Drakensberg to establish a context for the consideration of Pager's work, and go on to reflect on his recording campaign and methods.

History of rock art recording and interpretation in the Drakensberg

It is challenging to write such a piece, because it is a synthesis of a great deal of work that draws from archival sources that extend beyond the scope of this report. However, my intention in the following paragraphs is to establish a context within which to situate the work that Pager did. He initiated a method that was quite different from those used by his predecessors, involving a more comprehensive, layered colour copying technique that embodied observations gained from long hours in the presence of the paintings. Furthermore, Pager's copying technique has not really been replicated since.

The recording of rock art in the Drakensberg began with Sir Henry Bulwer in 1863. After Bulwer came across several studies about the culture of the Bushmen who lived in the Cape by Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd (1911), and in what was then Basutoland by Joseph Orpen (1874), his interest in rock art was sparked, and he requested a father and son, Mark and Graham Hutchinson, with artistic abilities to copy the paintings at Giants Castle (Wright & Mazel 2007, p. 51). Most of Pager's subsequent predecessors, like Helen Tongue, George Stow, Henry Breuil, Clarence Van Riet Lowe and Walter Battiss (to name just a few of those who recorded rock art in the wider region), also preferred traditional modes of copying in the form of drawing, tracings and paintings. For example, Walter Battiss, who later became a celebrated South African artist, produced direct tracings and colour copies in the 1940s (Lewis-Williams 2000, p. 124), and wrote a series of books on South African rock art in which he analysed its form, style and sequence (Smith 2016, p. 133).

Rock paintings, after Bulwer, were viewed as representations of scenes from everyday life, and interpretations of the illustrations focused on the hunting practices of the San community and the conflict they experienced with other communities (Wright & Mazel 2007, p. 52). Wright and Mazel suggest that the first sustained effort to record art in the Drakensberg was in the year 1910, when the increasing damage to the paintings through human interaction and through natural causes such as weathering prompted concern on the part of the

government of the time. Trooper Whyte was instructed to locate all the paintings within the area (Whyte 1910). The result of his research produced the first quantitative record of paintings over 37 sites and 1 041 images. Archaeology and art enthusiasts visited these rock art sites and debated the stylistic attributes, age, and aesthetic qualities of the paintings, as well as the identity of unusual figures. Their discussions were not, however, grounded in thorough research.

Between 1910 and 1960, the recording of rock art slowly started to gain momentum again (Wright & Mazel 2007, p. 52). Most scholars proposed that the rock art had been created purely for aesthetic reasons, in line with the philosophy of "art for art's sake". However, a handful of scholars recognised that the art made by the San hunter-gatherers could be imbued with a deeper meaning. After York Mason participated in Lawrence Herbert Wells's 1932 expedition to Cathkin Peak and Cathedral Peak, he proposed that "the phase in which polychrome art was produced was a period of religious fervour" (Wright & Mazel 2007, p. 51 – 52). The formulation of Mason's hypothesis was based on the subject matter of the paintings — hybrid animals, figures apparently wearing masks and various ritual scenes. During the 1950s, Alex Willcox and Patricia Vinnicombe published separately on the paintings in the Drakensberg (Wright & Mazel 2007, p. 52), and publications by Woodhouse, Lee, Pager and Lewis-Williams followed in the 1960s (Wright & Mazel 2007, p. 53).

During the 1970s, tension between professional academics and people outside of the academy grew during what is sometimes referred to as a 'revolution' in the history of rock art interpretation. In a conversation with Lewis-Williams, he recounted what the climate of the period was like, with the conflict between the 'professionals' and the 'amateurs'. It was an era of new archaeology — a scientific archaeology and analytical archaeology (Lewis-Williams, 2018, pers. comm.):

> Archaeologists of this period opted for testing and hypothetical-deductive methods to analyse rock art. Up until then, rock art was, not entirely, but overwhelmingly the field of the amateur. The amateurs were the individuals who did not come from an academic background. Consequently, a new legislation was introduced about getting permits or a license to excavate, so unless you were a trained archaeologist, you could not take part in the process. Amateurs could carry buckets but could not excavate and that caused a lot of bitterness that led to a huge debate. Rock art people, being largely amateurs without any sort of academic training or background, were defaulted into the amateur category. Being grouped as someone who was not qualified, and incompetent did not sit well with most amateurs like Pager. This categorisation upset him enormously because he said he was a graphic designer prior to being a rock art recorder and what he was doing when recording was graphic design, so one could not typify him as an amateur.

Lewis-Williams notes how the methodology of rock art recording is a fundamental issue worldwide, and questions the ways in which researchers should approach the rupestrian images of other cultures that were created in the distant past (1996, p. 41). His suggestion is to consider how ethnography, neuropsychology, and the rock art itself are intertwined, in order to formulate persuasive explanations of specific rock art images through meaning making, interpretation and understanding the context of "the social trajectories in which the image intervened" (Lewis-Williams 1996, p. 41). Lewis-Williams also mentions that stereotypes of the San played a role in the formation of colonial conceptions about southern Africa's past (1996, p. 39). Thus, "southern African rock art and much rock art research have been influential in the construction and reproduction of stereotypes of the San" and remain largely misunderstood (Lewis-Williams 1996, p. 39). These perceptions based on stereotypes extend into the public realm and are further complicated by viewers who observe rock

paintings or copies of them. Essentially, when actively engaging with the work viewers tend to challenge and interpret what they see according to their existing cultural baggage and prejudice (Lewis-Williams 1996, p. 39).

It was Vinnicombe, however, who first began to open up a more convincing approach in the interpretation of rock art in the Drakensberg with her 1976 book, *People of the Eland*, in which she "pioneered the systematic use of Bushman ethnography to explain southern African rock art" (Huffman 1983, p. 49). Thereafter in 1981, drawing from a wider range of ethnographic sources, Lewis-Williams published a book titled *Believing and Seeing: Symbolic Meanings in Southern San Rock Painting*s (Lewis-Williams 1981a),[5] where he argued how each painting present on the shelter walls could be seen as a product of shamanistic belief systems, rituals and experiences (Wright & Mazel 2007, p. 53–54). He established a three-tiered "shamanistic cosmology" that focused on shamanistic beliefs, rituals and experiences (Wright & Mazel 2007, p. 54). Vinnicombe's and Lewis-Williams's work drew on the beliefs of the hunter-gatherers who had dwelled in the southern Drakensberg and Giants Castle areas, respectively (Wright & Mazel 2007, p. 53).[6] Studies done in these areas by Vinnicombe and Lewis-Williams — and by many other researchers subsequently — made use of Pager's meticulous recordings of rock art at Cathedral Peak (Wright & Mazel 2007, p. 53). The role of the animal in San religious beliefs became a pivotal area of research (Wright & Mazel 2007, p. 53). From the 1970s onwards, Lewis-Williams explored the ritual and symbolic forms of the painted subjects in rock art from different parts of southern Africa. His exploration of and insight into rupestrian imagery derived from documented oral accounts of various indigenous people (Wright & Mazel 2007, p. 54).

In spite of considerable theoretical and methodological developments over the nearly four decades since, the "overstated" role of the shaman, according to Dowson (2007, p. 49), has largely retained its dominance. This dominance was questioned by Anne Solomon, who proposed that the rock paintings were primarily concerned with mythology, and were only marginally concerned with the shamanistic rituals and allied religious beliefs that were suggested by the ethnographic historical approach (Wright & Mazel 2007, p. 54). In a sense, Solomon's notions might be seen to productively dilute and complicate the approach Lewis-Williams had pioneered.

There has also been some work on San painting technology. Wright and Mazel note that the pigment that hunter-gatherers dug out of the basalt mountains to make paint with, was believed to possess supernatural powers (2007, p. 56–57). Often, paintings would begin with a sacramental hunt (Wright & Mazel 2007, p. 57). San women prepared the pigment during a full moon, when they heated the basalt until red hot and thereafter ground it into a fine powder. Afterwards, eland blood was either mixed with the pigment or used in its raw state to paint with, as it was believed that the animal's blood was a 'storehouse' of potency. The San used a variety of tools to apply the paint to the rock surface. These tools came in the form of small brushes made from feathers, reeds, quills, bones and wooden sticks with a sharp point (Wright & Mazel 2007, p. 57).

[5] From my conversation with Lewis-Williams, I learnt that his book was in fact a published version of his PhD submission in 1977 (Lewis-Williams, 2018, pers. comm.).

[6] According to Blundell, Vinnicombe and Lewis-Williams used two different archives, which led to two different emphases. Vinnicombe focused on the Natal archives, which were largely historical in nature, while Lewis-Williams focused on the Bleek and Lloyd material which was largely anthropological (2019, pers. comm.).

The Pager Archive through a focused study of Sorcerer's Rock

FIGURE 12

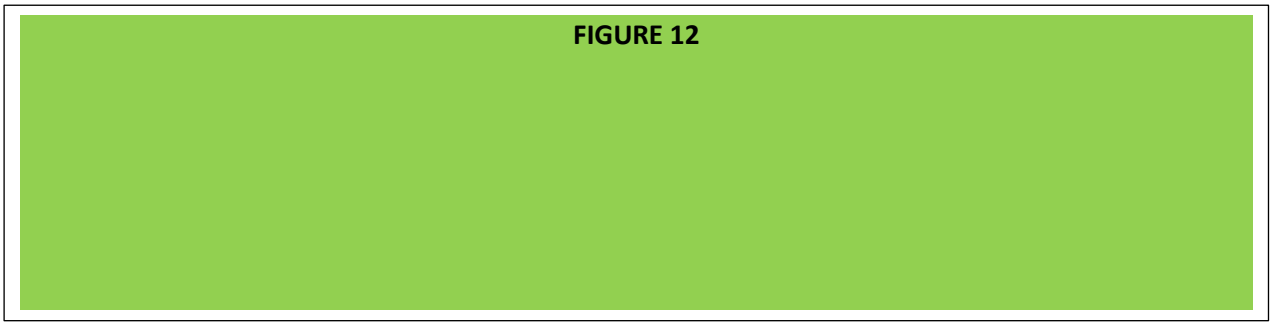


Figure 12: Lemishka Moodley, *Merged images of 3-sections of Pager's Archive*, 2018, photograph.

Pager's multi-stage, mixed-media copying method, with its emphasis on completing as much of the work on site as possible, produced images that are uniquely recognisable among rock art copies. RARI houses a substantial number of Pager's large-format copies that are hung up in storage. Some of these have already been digitised through high-definition scanning or photography, and are available upon request through the SARADA website, but some of the larger ones still await digitisation because of the technical challenges posed by their size. The digitisation of copies adds yet another layer, and creates a further remove from the primary archive.

After Pager's death in 1985, Woodhouse took the Didima collection and exhibited it in various places under the auspices of Murray & Roberts, the construction company for whom he worked. In the process of exhibition, the copies were damaged. Eventually they came to RARI at Wits. In the late 1990s, Murray & Roberts were approached by RARI to fund the restoration of the collection. This took a long time and the collection had to be sent to the restorers twice. A lamentable decision was made to cut the panels for preservation purposes. Murray & Roberts also funded an archive room in the old Archaeology building at Wits to house the collection. Corporate involvement here was thus essential to the creation of the archive (Lewis-Williams 2018, pers. comm). This story about the archive is told in greater detail in the following chapter.

From the results of the fieldwork conducted at Didima Gorge, Pager published a book titled *Ndedema: A documentation of the rock art paintings of the Ndedema Gorge* (1971). According to Rudner (1985), his book was produced with integrity, and was enormously significant, as it presented the most comprehensive study of rock art at the time. In spite of suffering personal financial difficulties because of his devotion to the Ndedema project, Pager persevered and devoted all his time to rock art. He went on to write another book titled *Stone age myth and magic* (1975) and published numerous papers and articles ('The Antelope Cult of Prehistoric Hunters of South Africa' (1975); 'Quantitative Analyses Elucidate the Motives of South African Painters' (1976); 'The Rating of Superimposed Rock Paintings' (1976); 'The Paintings of the Upper Brandberg' Part I–IV (1989, 1993, 1995 & 2006 respectively); 'San Trance Performances Documented in Ethnological Reports and Rock Paintings of Southern Africa' (1994)), which afforded him the opportunity to deliver many lectures in South Africa and abroad (Rudner 1985).



Figure 13: Image of mythological painted figure. From Willcox & Pager (1967).

The purpose of this section is to provide an overview of the scholarship that has dealt with the rock art at Sorcerer's Rock in addition to some focused analysis of the single figure that the site was named after. I do not purport to provide a comprehensive interpretation of the panel, which is a substantial project in and of itself needing to draw from dozens of additional sources, rather this overview tracks something of the history of copying and interpretation, from Pager through to the present day.

More recent scholarship goes into closer and more substantiated detail in identifying and interpreting the 'sorcerer' figure. Pager's interpretation of the 'mythic being' is unknown in the formal sense of research and writing. In '"Mythic Women": A Study in Variability in San Rock Art and Narrative' (1994) followed by 'Rock Art Incorporated: An Archaeological and Interdisciplinary Study of certain Human Figures in San Art' (1995), Anne Solomon claims that the unusual human figure depicted can be categorised as a mythic being or, more specifically, a mythic woman (1996, p. 33). She considers five attributes specific to this motif type for the figure to be categorised accordingly: "raised arms, an object or objects brandished aloft (bow, stick(s), crescent), splayed legs, an 'emission' or genital emphasis" and varied exaggerated or swollen torsos (Solomon 1996, p. 33). A. J. B. Humphreys challenged Solomon in his 1996 paper titled, 'Mother Goddesses and Mythic Women: An Alternative View', where he suggests that the figure is male (Humphreys 1996, p. 32). Solomon (1996, p. 33) had actually pointed out that the ascription of gender based on body attributes is ambiguous in rock art research and has, consequently, been considered by association with tools the figures are surrounded by or carry. Such observations are based on San ethnographic accounts which describe how, for example, women were not allowed to touch men's hunting equipment because they would contaminate it (e.g. Silberbauer 1981, in Solomon 1996, p. 33). Nevertheless, the possibility of women with hunting equipment should not be disregarded, and some ethnographical records of rituals do involve women using hunting equipment (Solomon 1996, p. 33). Solomon also concurs with Humphreys' proposition that the figure could also be male because it has an infibulated penis (Solomon 1996, p. 34). In a sense, Humphreys' view encouraged Solomon to nuance and complicate her perception and interpretation about a clearly gendered 'mythic woman' based, among other sources, on a |Xam account about San ethnographic practices and a sorceress shooting invisible arrows translated by Bleek and Lloyd[7] (1911, n.p., in Solomon 1996, p. 34). Moreover, during ritual practices the biological sex of the individual who is performing or is a part of the ritual may be temporarily transformed or transcended (Lewis-Williams 1981b, p. 72, in Solomon 1996, p. 34). A label of 'sorcerer' is therefore not an entirely inappropriate descriptor for this figure in that it could possibly be 'gynandromorphic' (hermaphrodite) (Stevenson 1995, p. 109–10, 17, in Thorp 2015, p. 182).

Carolyn Thorp, on the other hand, in 'Rain's things and girls' rain: marriage, potency and frog symbolism in |Xam and Ju 'hoan ethnography', suggests that the figure at Sorcerer's Rock could be a therianthrope with frog-like features (2015). The platanna (African clawed frog; *Xenopus laevis*) has similar genitalia when compared to the 'sorcerer' (Thorp 2015, p. 182). This important anatomical characteristic is a clue that points to the symbolism of frog-like features, and is not only reminiscent of female genitalia but also looks like the large red and round protruding bulges between the 'sorcerer's' thighs (Thorp 2015, p. 182). A link between the frog imagery and that of the figure at Sorcerer's Rock hints at the idea of reproduction (Thorp 2015, p. 182). Thorp agrees with Solomon's identification of features as being relatable to the theme of 'mythic women' who emit fluid from their genitals (referred to as menstrual blood) and who carry links to female initiation rituals (Solomon 1996, p. 34). Thorp builds further on Solomon's interpretation by suggesting that the depicted paintings "refer to potency […] and the necessity to control potency through shamanistic activity" (Stevenson 1995, p. 114, 116, in Thorp 2015, p. 183). Ultimately, a connection between the features of the painted figure and Bushman beliefs around blood and potency can determine aspects of the sex/gender through an examination of the genitalia (Thorp 2015, p. 183). Yet, Solomon's use of Lewis-Williams's view puts it best: "while some images may have been iconic, they are better understood as 'icons' fulfilling a symbolic function" (Lewis-Williams 1981b, p .6b, in Solomon 1996, p. 35). Hence, there is often a disjuncture between the literal appearance of an image and its potential meaning or symbolism.

As this history of interpretation shows, the 'sorcerer' can be argued to be many different characters based on the intertwined narratives of San historiographical, ethnographical, and mythological accounts. The importance

[7] For more information see *The Digital Bleek & Lloyd*. ONLINE. URL: http://lloydbleekcollection.cs.uct.ac.za/stories/717/index.html. Date Accessed: 17/03/2018.

of Pager's work arguably prompted detailed inquiry into and consideration of the sorcerer figure within a wider anthropological context, if not so much its visual context. As evident above, even though Pager himself did not have much to say about the sorcerer figure, he drew attention to it, and more recent interpretations have built on aspects of his interpretations and recordings. Furthermore, he was clearly interested in the wider pictorial and landscape context of this figure. Although he may not have expressed this much in words, this becomes clear in an examination of the copies he made and in the detailed documents about the specifics of each site. In the context of this research report particularly, Pager's archive also became a point of departure to extend my understanding of theoretical threads of archive, landscape and narrative that I chose to explore to explain and illustrate some of the figures in the main rock art panel. I expand my visual analysis in the form of a visual essay that points towards the potential richness of an analysis of the other figures in the panel.

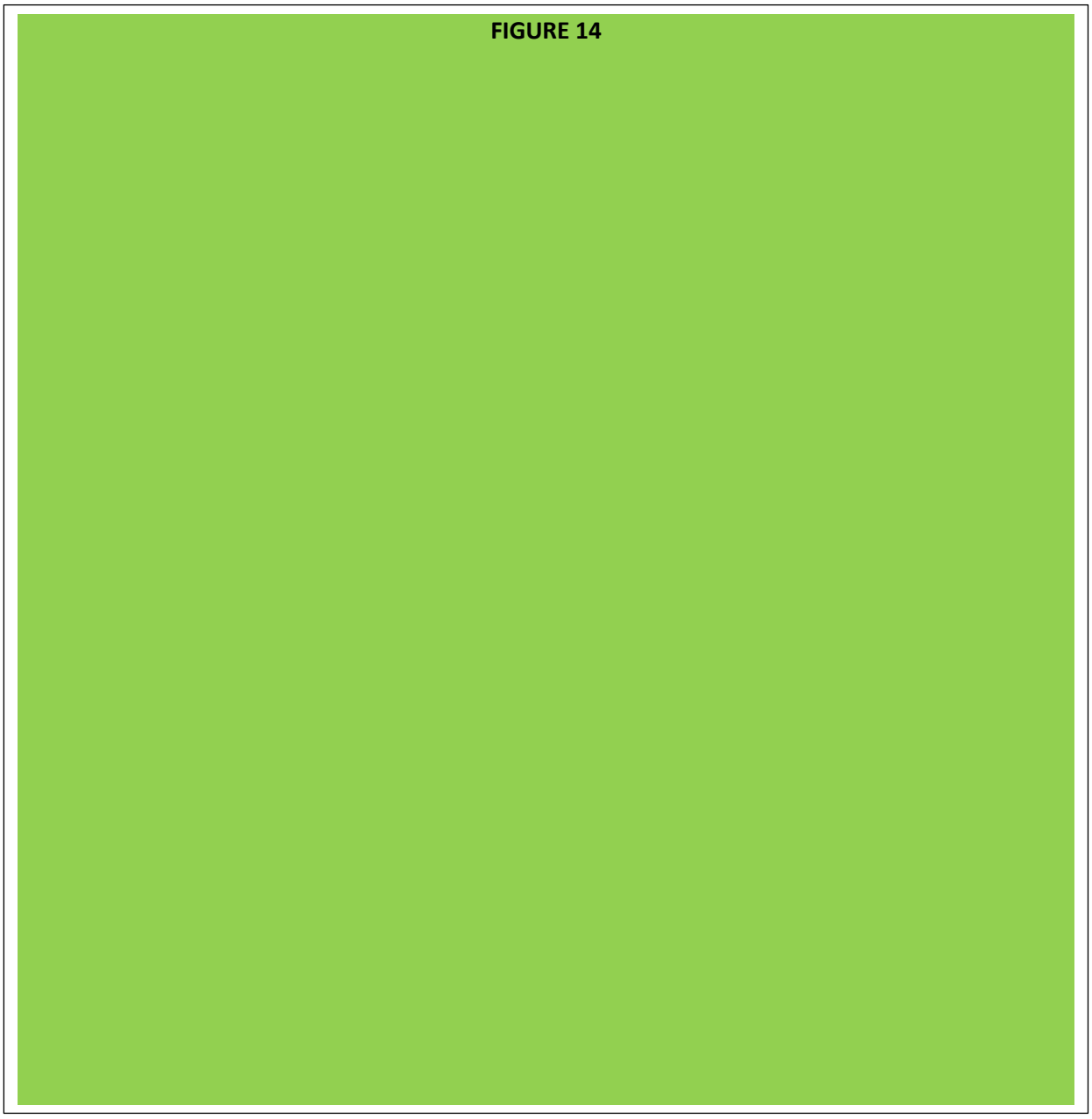


Figure 14: ARACHNE website

Pager's recording method

The history of interpretation reflects the history of copying in relation to understandings around the function or meaning of the art that was generated in its first context. Prior to Pager, rock art recording was viewed as a process of recording and documenting visual works of art and their surrounding environment through photographs and illustrations.

Acknowledging the difficulties that many recorders before him had experienced when trying to record rock paintings, Pager opted to develop a more labour-intensive copying method from his own particular skills and interests arising from his training as a graphic designer. He described in some detail what this method entailed in his book *Ndedema* (1971, pp. 81–82). The painted rock faces were photographed from right-angle camera positions on a 6 x 6cm or 6 x 9cm black-and-white film. A tape measure, attached to the rock, was included in each frame. Where the walls of the shelters were even, areas of c. 1m² each were photographed in a way that adjoining panels overlapped with each other by a few centimetres. Where rock faces were curved, or consisted of small panels facing various directions, a series of photographs had to be taken in order to avoid perspectival distortions (Pager 1971, p. 81).

He employed photography as a starting point, while also thinking carefully about the strengths and weakness of the photographic medium. Although from one angle photography provides a realistic representation of a captured moment, Pager viewed it as significantly less accurate than what could be seen by the naked human eye. Photography still leads to some confusion between the texture of the rock and the grain of the photograph, as well as the colour of the paint versus the natural colorations of the rock — subtle differences that tend to be difficult to discern in photographs. Indeed, detail in the paintings, for example what might only be visible at oblique angles, or ambiguities between natural and painted colour, can be difficult to capture from a single right-angle camera position. Pager also considered colour photography to be useless as a medium for large-scale documentation because it excludes the minute details of a rock painting, even though it can document the well-preserved examples (Pager 1971, p. 81).

The second part of his process was an 'orthodox' tracing method. This type of working method consisted of attaching cellophane or transparent plastic sheets to the rock face, tracing the outline of the paintings, transferring the outlines onto paper, and eventually painting them in. But Pager observed that the representations produced through tracing turned out to be quite alien when compared with the actual appearance of the rock paintings. Pager found it disheartening to see a misrepresentation of an idea that has been so intensively investigated.

My interpretation is that Pager aimed to highlight "the formal and technical characteristics of the rock art, including the individual motifs (its shape, colour, texture, technique, and conservation state), the spatial relations with the other motifs and the rock surface (including superimpositions), and the location within the site and the natural … and cultural context" (Domingo Sanz 2014, p. 6352). Inés Domingo Sanz (2014) suggests that tracings retain their value as a primary rock art recording method because they have the capacity to facilitate motif identification, especially when motifs are faded or are part of complex superpositions. Despite great advances in photography, hand drawings and tracings are still the main approaches aimed at rock art recording and dissemination (p. 6353). Still, there are notable disadvantages to direct or contact tracing methods. This process of working can accelerate the degradation of the fragile rock surface and the motifs if

not practised carefully. There are also problems with reducing 1:1 scale drawings to manageable sizes for research and publication, since large-format scanners are not readily available. Additionally, when compared with a photograph that corresponds with the principle of scientific rigour required by any archaeological work, this method provides a controlled picture of the rock art. It must be noted, though, that photography is not entirely flawless and cannot be "exempt from metric inaccuracies caused by lighting conditions, perspective, and/or lens distortion" (Domingo et al. 2013, in Domingo Sanz 2014, p. 6352). However, in Pager's case, this method allowed him to decipher and trace the complex painted panels at the sites themselves. This is how Pager captured many of the faded details that are vital to understanding the rock art. Additionally, the complexity of a panel can only be studied once the art has been traced, because the tracing becomes an indispensable tool for studying the rupestry (Lewis-Williams 1996, p. 38).

The camera films were processed in Johannesburg and made into 1:1 scale prints. Pager then took the prints back to the rock shelters at Didima and propped them up on a makeshift easel next to the painted rock faces. This allowed for a constant comparison to be made between the original and photographic print throughout the progressive stages of the copying work. Nevertheless, the impressions of the rock paintings on the black-and-white images were faint and barely recognisable. Each figure had to be first outlined with a pencil for a better definition of the figures. In certain instances, Pager relied heavily on the rock art surface for an accurate representation of animals or figures when working on his copies. Graph paper was used to redraw the figures, and upon completion they would be measured again to ensure that each aspect of the painting was precise. The figures were then painted in oil paint directly onto the enlarged black-and-white photographs. Oil paint as a medium helped with capturing the subtlety of the merging tones in the shaded polychrome paintings. Mixing and matching of paint to closely approximate the colour of the art was time consuming, physically uncomfortable and demanded close attention and looking (Stopforth, 2018, pers. comm.). Even though the mixing and application process was relatively easy, the disadvantage of using oil paint was that it is slow to dry. Sudden gusts of wind could bring up a cloud of dust that could ruin the work once it settled on the surface of the painting (Pager 1971, p. 81).

Pager practised careful consideration and caution, not only in copying the details of the rock paintings but also in copying the damage they had suffered by erosion and exfoliation. This becomes a vital part of the recording process, as it determines the rate of further deterioration of the pieces that have already flaked, crumbled or faded. With time and the weather that the environment endured, many of the paintings' colours (such as the red and yellow ochres) merged with the natural sandstone and the tints of the rock surfaces were not usually recorded by rock art copyists. Pager produced detailed copies of each shelter in the form of paintings. He sought to create a representation of the images present on the rock surface; however, they were not entirely realistic. There is a level of enhancement and sublimation, and the rock painting figures are colourful, but the rock is not actually presented as a colourful surface. Yet, this does not detract from the fact that Pager's copies are more complex and careful than the vast majority of the copies that were made before his, as these tended to exclude the rock surface entirely.

Working in close proximity to each site over months or weeks, and for several hours a day, allowed Pager to observe how one could begin to discern the differences between many figures, and the details that often go unnoticed (Pager 1971, p. 81). This raises the question of a kind of visual literacy that can only be achieved through spending an unusual amount of time at a site, in order to document and trace the footsteps of the previous inhabitants' remains. Pager, sometimes accompanied by his wife or colleagues, adopted a practice akin to 'dwelling' in the shelters at Didima in order to capture the essence of each space within the landscape. A notion of ritualised behaviour could be applied to the analytical, immersive and strenuous routine process

Pager adopted to ensure that his rock art recordings were accurate. My sense is that this notion of ritual goes back to Pager's method of recording and is thus embodied in some way in the archive that I explored, and that, throughout Pager's epic project, patience was a key virtue that he practised. Apart from the process of recording being extremely labour-intensive (as mentioned above), Pager followed up on each contour to be certain that it was in the right place (Pager 1971, p. 81). Only once the project had been completed, were all the large-format copies assembled, with the edges cut along the natural cracks of the rock and then glued together. Unfortunately, slight spatial distortions were unavoidable due to the receding panels that had been photographed from individual angles, folded out and brought to lie in the same vertical plane as the main panel (Pager 1971, p. 82).

The method of documenting each rock shelter at Didima Gorge produced recordings that are scientifically useful, and are of a certain aesthetic quality, but are not free of errors. Pager's copies are also a good example of the important role copies (with their inaccuracies) play in post-analysis, in other words, the interpretation that is done away from the site through the copies (Nettleton 1985, cited in Thompson 2014, p. 26). The remnants, in the form of Pager's work and his tools, have also created a set of archival materials with unique properties and storage requirements. Pager's work and tools establish the physical archive at RARI, which has changed substantially since Pager's time and links to what I refer to as the tertiary archive.

Visual essay

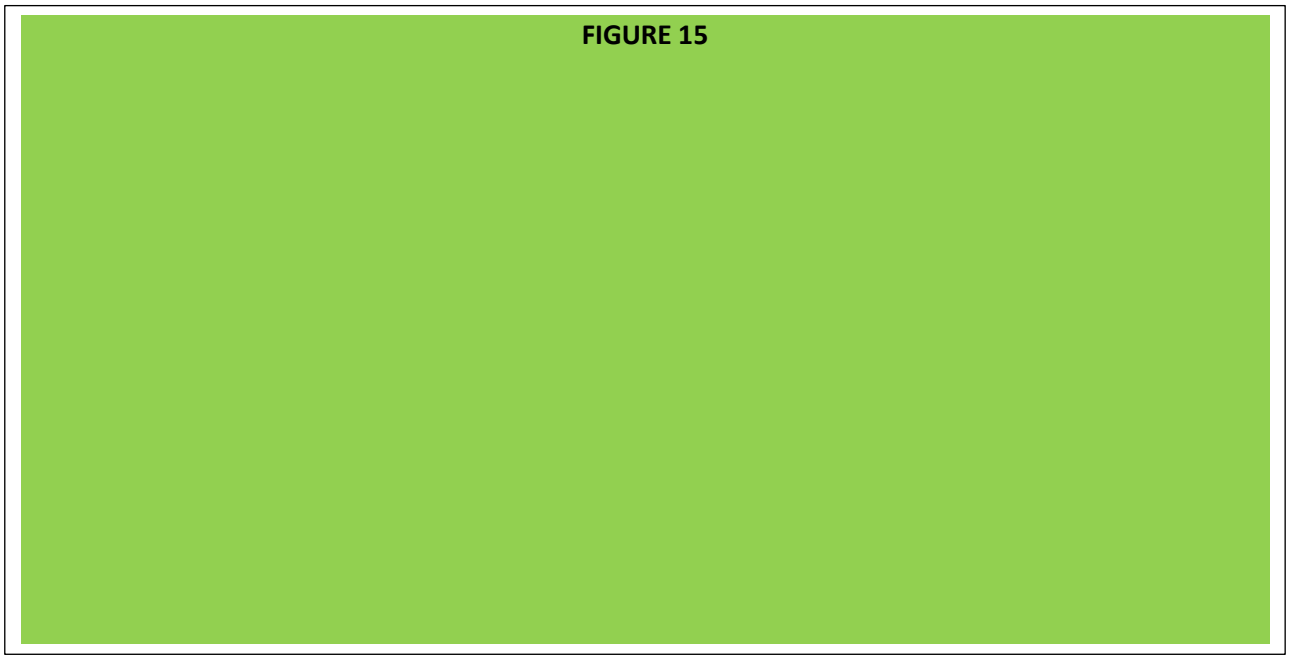


Figure 15: A part of the rock art panel at Sorcerer's Rock. From Pager (1971, p. 164–165).

The purpose of the visual essay is to explore the recording that Pager created at Sorcerer's Rock. I explore the recording and the comprehensive nature of Pager's recording practice at one specific site, in order to consider his legacy within rock art research more widely. While the focus in the literature pertaining to Sorcerer's Rock has been on the single and particularly elaborate 'sorcerer' figure, the rock shelter contains many other figures and shapes that form part of a complex and continuous panel. Pager also tried to integrate and illustrate the visual links in his recording methodology, by working in a way that establishes how various figures are connected to one another in some way or the other. In the case of the Sorcerer's Rock panel, the 'line' motif physically shows the links between one depiction and the next and, undoubtedly, shows a narrative that can be conjured

from this very visual device. As a continuation of my interest in different modes of writing, I have imaginatively extended this visual essay in a preliminary creative exercise in free writing, to further explore the visual relationships across the panel at Sorcerer's Rock and to become familiar with its composition (Appendix 1). Inspired by the central 'sorcerer' figure of the panel, I have titled this creative piece, 'A story about the sorcerer in the valley', serving as part of my efforts to re-contextualise this figure within a wider pictorial and landscape context. Pager's contrived attempt to describe and 'narrate' the panel through a formal description of each figure in various sections of the *Ndedema* book, facilitates some of the links I make to more recent rock art histories and interpretations wherever relevant.

My interpretation is that the main rock art panel at Sorcerer's Rock frames a complex expression of a spiritual world-view and may track something of the history of the valley and wider landscape. This complexity is evidenced by Pager's copies and the different histories extended through narrative approaches to the paintings themselves. I do not attempt to reconstruct aspects of the original narrative(s) that this panel would have been animated by in its first life, as this goes beyond the scope of this project. Instead, I go to some length to describe and narrate the visual connections visible across the panel, to show how Pager was also interested in capturing a visual continuity, for example in the way he worked in colour against a textured rocky background and used paint to capture the painterliness of the imagery. I begin with a wide view of the whole copy that Pager produced of the main panel at Sorcerer's Rock and then zoom in to consider some of the details. I work systematically from the left-hand side of the panel to the bottom right. I begin with a description of the lines, and move on to examine some of the human, animal and composite figures, ending with the cluster of mythical beings. I would like to make explicit that Pager did not comment on any particular motif connotatively. Instead, he produced a denotative reading of each figure. I used Pager's descriptions as a point of departure to link each figure to some of the findings of more recent scholarship.

In discussions of sites elsewhere, the line, according to Lewis-Williams, is considered to be the most intriguing, sinuous and bifurcating aspect of rock art (Lewis-Williams 1981b, p. 5). He refers to this line as "the red line" because it appears to link certain painted facets that often touch the figures' feet to suggest a path, or tends to enter and/or leave various parts of the figures' bodies (Lewis-Williams 1981b, p. 5). Another example of the line is depicted as a rope or lasso, and is held by human figures (Lewis-Williams 1981b, p. 5). Pager cites an Australian Aboriginal ritual that uses a rope fringed with white feathers to further explain symbolic and representational aspects that indicate a spiritual bond or ceremonial practices by the San (1975, p.78–80, in Lewis-Williams 1981b, p. 5). Woodhouse further proposes the line as a "passage of time" or "river of life" that harnesses a magic force (1975, p. 125, in Lewis-Williams 1981b, p. 5). However, Vinnicombe sees the line as a link between San game medicine men and the creatures they claim to control (Vinnicombe 1976, p. 334, in Lewis-Williams 1981b, p. 5). Vinnicombe's interpretation uses 19th-century San ethnography to explore what the line could be and what it might mean (Lewis-Williams 1981b, p. 5). The "red line" is said to be a form of manipulated supernatural potency and is generated and activated through different dance rituals (often a medicine ritual dance) by medicine men to achieve several goals (Lewis-Williams 1981b, p. 5). The lines of potency still often feature in analyses that link animals and human figures with a depression in the rock face, in addition to outlining and depicting an enclosure or rock shelter occupied by people (Pager 1971: fig. 211 in Lewis-Williams et al. 2000, p. 124). Figures are represented holding the line as if it were a rope or a 'pathway' that the figures walked along (see also Pager 1975, p. 79, 80; Woodhouse 1975, p. 123; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1990, fig. 2, in Lewis-Williams et al. 2010, p. 124) and further "there are instances where the line seems to enter and leave the bodies of animals and people" (see also Lee & Woodhouse 1968, p. 14; Woodhouse 1975, p. 123, 124; Lewis-Williams 1983, fig. 1; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1999, figs 22, 35c, in Lewis-Williams et al. 2010, p. 124).

Throughout the entire panel, there are various contour lines that overlap, intertwine, and cross one another. The lines presented are in various shades of brown and differ in terms of thickness/boldness, depth, solidity, and direction. Sometimes "portions of the red line are without the white dots" as a result of weathering;

elsewhere “breaks in the line may also be a result of fading paint, flaking rock”, or may indicate sections “intended to be separate” (Lewis-Williams 1981b, p. 6). At Sorcerer’s Rock, the lines connect a figure with baboon-like features, reedbuck, vaal rhebok, ostrich, bristle bull and mythical beings to one another. At first glance, the lines look like veiny roots that stretch across the rock surface as a terrain. A second examination reminded me of a rope or chain tethering one thing to the next. A third observation pointed to the panel at Sorcerer’s Rock as a kind of ‘map’ that joins, or pinpoints, several interwoven events. However, whatever specific connotation the lines themselves may carry, they connect and potentially underpin a single narrative that links all the represented figures together.

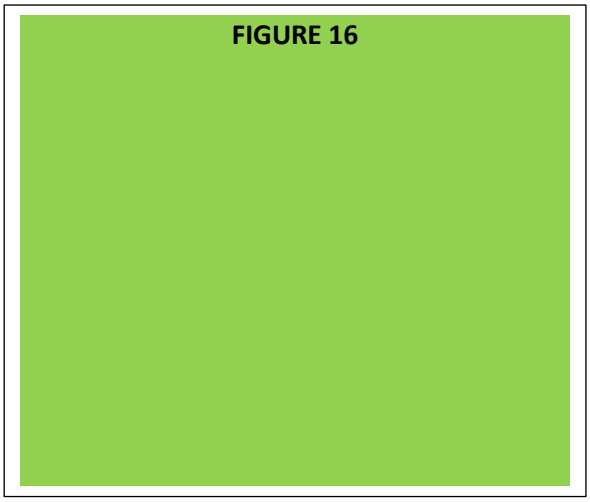


Figure 16: Cropped and zoomed in baboon figure? From Pager (1971, p. 164).

Initially I perceived the figure in Fig. 16 as a silhouetted, hunched male figure with a bowed tail and walking stick (or even knobkerrie), who appears to be on a journey and is surrounded by various brown-coloured shapes, formed by different contour lines. Although, the gender of the represented figure is debatable, I deduce that the figure is a male baboon based on the snout, crooked tail and protruding appendage in the lower mid-section of the figure’s frame. There has not yet been conclusive data thus far that is able to determine the sex of baboons in rock art. However, male figures are said to have a penis while carrying and/or using a weapon (Pager 1971, p. 231). Pager describes a baboon as an animal with a homologous body shape and crooked tail (1971, p. 231).

There is a possibility that the baboon could also be a mythic baboon. This particular depiction has the body and tail of a baboon, displays other zoomorphic features like fangs and bristles, and is either with or without human decoration and equipment (Pager 1971, p. 231). In an attempt to make connections to Pager’s notion of a mythological baboon creature, I consider Sam Challis’s work that describes how the baboon figure was the most powerful and binding rock art symbol in the creolised cosmos context (2012, p. 270). The baboon is believed to be “the manifestation of protective powers derived from the medicinal plants with which it was associated” (Challis 2012, p. 270). The cognate or culturally coherent creolised belief system proffers that the baboon figure harnesses supernatural qualities to defend and protect (Challis 2012, p. 276). The |Xam San shared the creolised belief system about how “the baboon was thought to embody the protective powers of root medicines” and how the magical stick that the baboon keeps in its mouth is used to caution the baboon of potential dangers (Challis 2012, p. 277). The Nguni believed that there were two types of baboon: the first is the powerful shaman and trickster, and the second is a wild and natural animal associated with the land and the ancestors (Challis 2012, p. 276). Ergo, the overarching idea extracted from this reading is that the baboon rupestrian image embodies protective medicine (Challis 2012, p. 280).

However, an alternative reading of the figure in Fig. 16 juxtaposes the aforementioned interpretation because the painted representation could actually be a depiction of a hunter. What I described as a 'hunched back' or round bulge on his back, could have actually been a smudged arm (held alongside his body) either on the physical rock surface or the copy Pager produced. The 'snout' could be an extended jaw in a profile view, while the 'crooked tail' could be a an extended leg to show that the figure is in motion. To push this interpretation further, what appears to denote genitalia may have been a piece of cloth covering the genital area. However, my interpretation of the gender of this figure has merit, as most hunters were depicted with weapons (as I mentioned above through Pager's description).

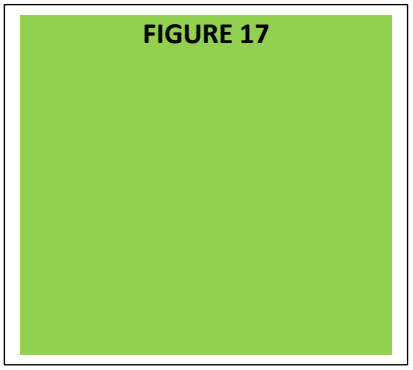


Figure 17: Cropped and zoomed in on faded human figure. From Pager (1971, p. 165).

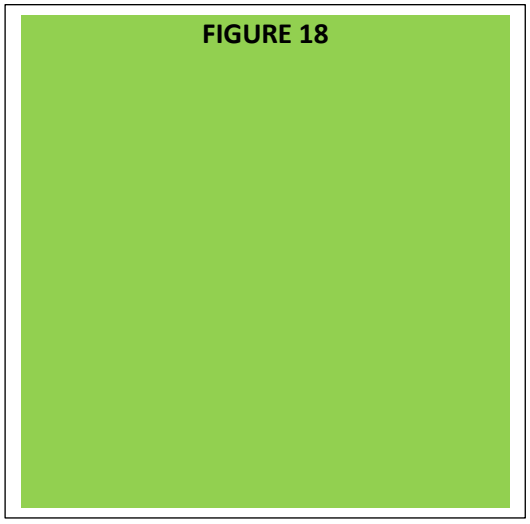


Figure 18: Cropped and zoomed in image of reedbuck, rhebok and ostrich. From Pager (1971, p. 165).

The lines of potency further connect three animal figures depicted in profile that I have identified as a reedbuck (*Redunca arundinum*), vaal rhebok (*Peleo capreola*) and an ostrich[8] (*Struthio camelus*) respectively. The reedbuck, in this instance, comprises a faded burnt umber body that outlines the animal's tail, stretches halfway up its neck, and blends into its sienna-coloured face. The sienna colour also defines the vaal rhebok's under body, inner hind legs and tail. The reedbuck's face has a white slit for an eye and two dark dots are positioned above the reedbuck's head to present two small horns. Pager states that there are only nine painted depictions of the reedbuck at Didima, and that all nine representations are scattered over eight sites (Pager 1971, p. 20). The painted figure of a reedbuck clearly represents a natural species of animal, and demonstrates that the artist created this imagery from a close observation of actual animals out on the land.

The vaal rhebok, on the other hand, has a golden ochre outer body and a white inner body. It has a brown slit for an eye and no horns. The naked part of the vaal rhebok's nose is accentuated by a white dot. This white dot suggests a swollen appearance of a very large nose. This key identifying feature helped Pager to differentiate the 113 vaal rhebok from the 325 representations of other small antelope species painted in shelters throughout Didima Gorge. This particular animal was recorded in the Natal Hills sometime before 1900 (Mann 1859, p. 162, in Pager 1971, p. 20) and was listed in the Natal Game Protection Laws of 1866 and 1884 as well (Curson 1924, in Pager 1971, p. 20). At present, vaal rhebok are still the most frequently encountered antelope species in the rock art and often move in small groups of two to five individuals at a time (Pager 1971, p. 20). According to Vinnicombe, the intimate grouping of rhebok signified a family unit, whereas the eland illustrated a greater social group that the family unit was part of (Vinnicombe 1976, pp. 195–201, fig. 1, in Challis 2005, p. 11). The meaning and status of the rhebok draws connections "between medicine men, therianthropes, and the medicine dances" that gave rise to Lewis-Williams' shamanism interpretation (Challis 2005, p. 11).

[8] Not much information is provided on the black-and-white feathered bird with exaggerated long white legs. A depiction of an ostrich appears to be a rare occurrence in rock art recording.

Difficulties often arise when trying to determine which group the various depictions of 'antelope' belong to. The term 'antelope' is often assigned to species that cannot be identified specifically or fit into the certain clusters of buck (Pager 1971, p. 232). In some instances, silhouettes or discoloured representations create uncertainty around whether these paintings depict a member of a large or small group of antelope or buck species. Evidence from fragmentary remains (such as hooves) further adds to the confusion because the remnants may also belong to bovids or sheep that inhabited the area. However, due to the scarcity of such depictions, a misinterpretation of the reedbuck and vaal rhebok figure is unlikely (Pager 1971, p. 232). Even when one finds a painting of a type of buck with short, straight horns, these horns are not a conclusive identifying feature because there are six species of smaller antelope that have such horns in the area (Pager 1971, p. 20).

Returning to the panel, in a wide, egg-shaped circle, various human figures are depicted in black. An interpretation of this scene as an enclosure of fantasy and mythological beings stems from a secondary source I encountered in Pager's *Ndedema* book (1971), which explains and interprets some of the mythological creatures that Pager came across during the course of his research at Didima. This interpretation is extended through Lewis-Williams's concept of shamanism and taking into account the transmogrification that is said to occur during a state of trance.

A large black creature is crouched on all fours and is leaning towards a black rounded rectangular shape, which looks like a black pit, in front of it. In the upper right-hand corner, a rabbit – or cat – like creature with large ears is positioned in front of a hatched gate or fence. Towards the entrance of the enclosure, a group of three stick-like human figures sit huddled in front of a fire that is also reminiscent of a sun. The lines of the 'sun/fire's' rays overlap and meet with one of the many lines of potency. On the left-hand side of the egg-shaped enclosure, a large, black, animal-like silhouette appears to be daubed onto the rock surface.

In this cluster, there are five figures (Fig. 20). They are all human with some animal features, and are also depicted frontally, which is relatively rare. The largest figure on the left is shaped like a woman, and could either be wearing a large traditional hat with tentacles/antennae/horns attached to it, or could be another form of mythological or transformed being. The four figures, who appear to be following the large figure on the left, are painted in different positions, and I consider them from left to right. The first figure has bulky legs and thighs, and a thin upper body. Figure One's body seems to be turned towards the right, evidenced by its arm gestures. Figure Two has small and stocky raised arms, a small waist, thick thighs and thin legs. Figure Three is the most prominent of the four representations and appears to be the fattest. This figure is holding a stick or weapon of some sort. The fourth figure looks the most frail of them all. Figure Four faces to the left with both hands raised in prayer or worship. These figures are wearing horned headdresses, and can be described as men with antelope features, and so constitute hybrid human-animal figures. Challis (2005, p. 13) explains how

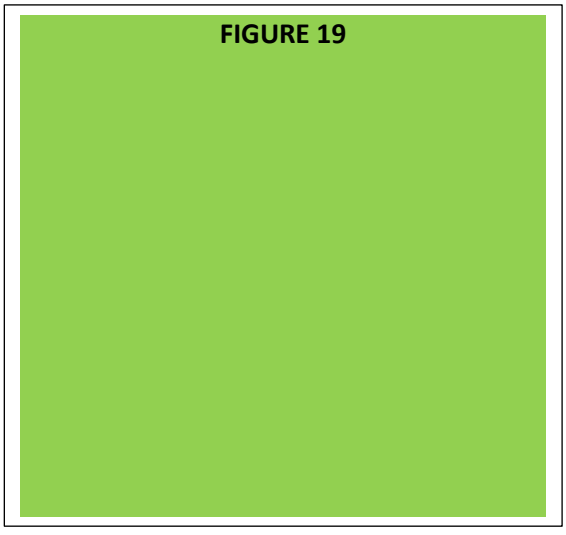


Figure 19: Cropped and zoomed-in image of enclosure with figures. From Pager (1971, p. 165).

> therianthropes are depictions of shamans with partial animal form, transforming from one state of being to another (Jolly 2002: 98) who pass into the realm of the spirits in order to perform certain tasks. Some may be spirits of the dead or early race beings (Bleek in Orpen 1874: 13).

Although Figure One has an antelope head, this may not be sufficient evidence to identify this creature as an antelope man. Pager pondered whether this type of figure represented a disguised hunter, a shaman or a mythological creature, settling on the latter because the animal attributes do not seem to plausibly constitute actual clothing or body supplements (Pager 1971, p. 340). But Challis (2005, p. 13) explains that

> Therianthropes can, however, be confused with shamans wearing antelope-eared caps. These caps, made from the scalps of small antelope (Bleek 1936: 144; Lewis-Williams 2001: 23), denote shamans, probably only the living, who are concerned with influencing the movement of the game. Antelope were said to follow the wearers of the caps into the hunters' ambush (Bleek 1935: 46).

If the quality of Pager's copies is measured against his predecessors, his portfolio of rock art copies includes works that are in some respects highly realistic but are not without errors, as is the case with all recordings. Human error is ubiquitous, but people also privilege their particular interests and interpretations. Photographs are unable to capture all the fine details, and so Pager employs tracing, but tracing is problematic too because there is no guarantee of capturing, interpreting and recording the entire rock painting. Before going into a deeper exploration of Pager's recording technique and the copies it produced, I begin by situating Pager within the context of the history of rock art recording in the Drakensberg.

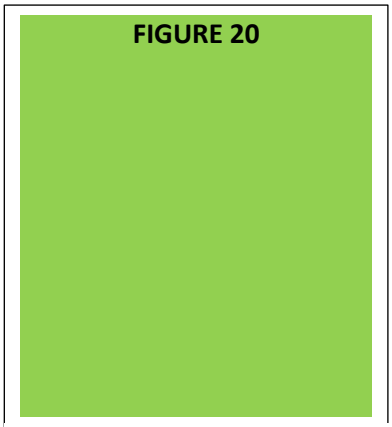


Figure 20: Cropped and zoomed in image of cluster of figures. From Pager (1971, p. 165).

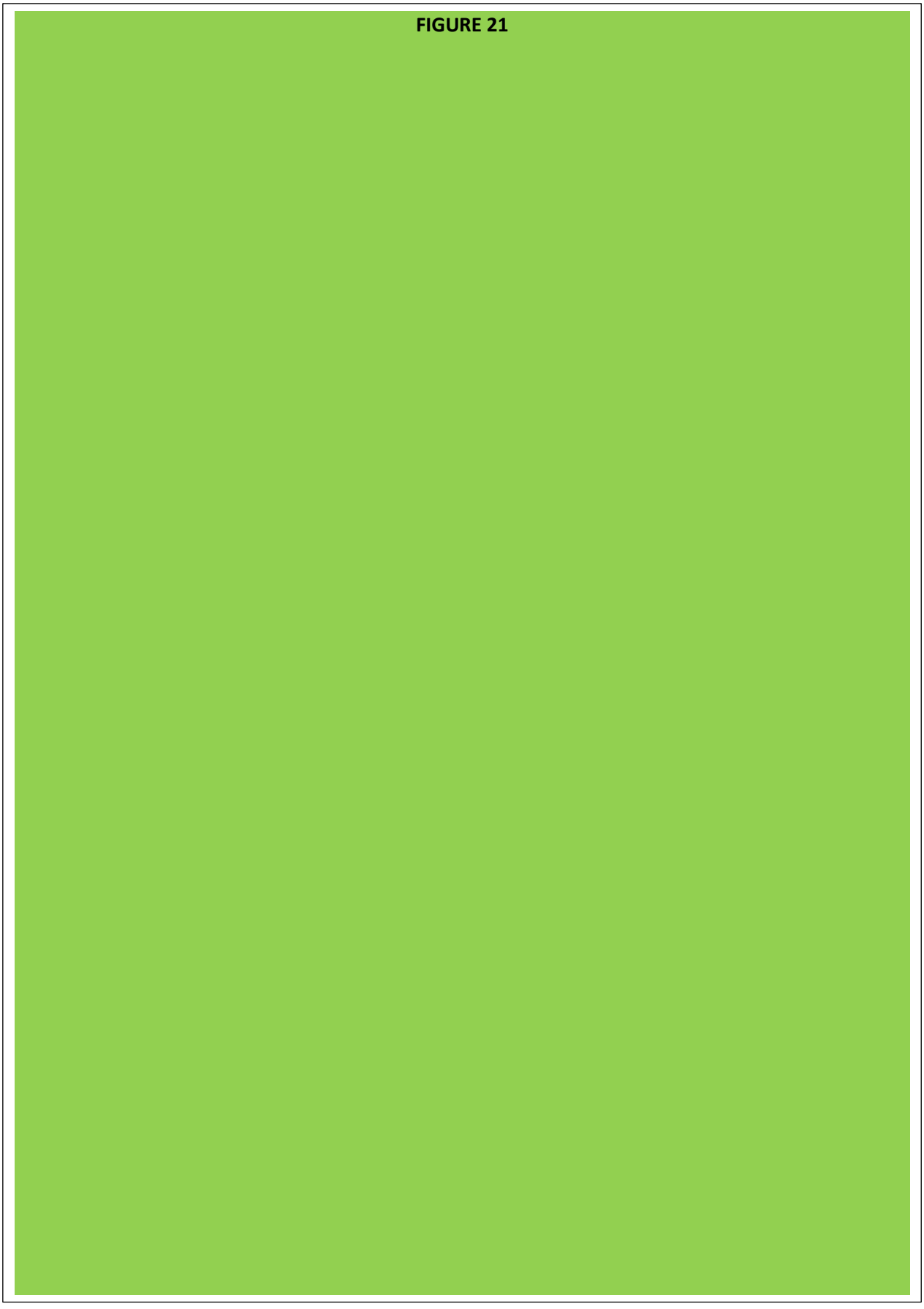


Figure 21: SARADA Images

Chapter 3: Tertiary Archive

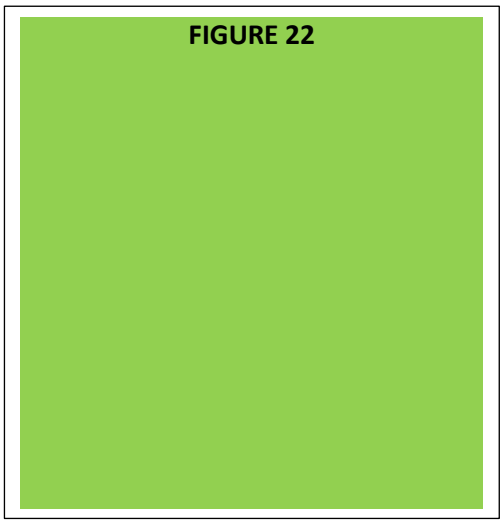


Figure 22: ARACHNE website

Prior to the commencement of this chapter, I sat staring at a scanned photograph of Harald Pager on the Arachne[9] website. In the image, Pager is sitting on a rock while posing with a cracked pot or vessel of some sort. He is a thin, middle-aged man with brown hair, brown eyes and a (fairly) bushy beard. Pager is wearing a khaki-grey-green shirt, grey-beige pants with ripped and tattered holes around the right knee area, and a khaki-beige-green hat. He is positioned in the foreground, with huge boulders and other giant rocks in the background. I gazed in frustration at Pager while he gazed back at me, in the bizarre hope that he would start having a conversation with me about his life and work. But, alas, there was no response — he was as silent and unmoving as the archive at RARI, and the encounter reflected how not much is known about the man who died for his craft.

In this chapter, I move from the secondary archive to reflect on the related but less precise existence of the tertiary archive, which I think of as the Pager archive's 'afterlife' – an infinite 'becoming archive' that is never really finished and is constantly being reshaped. The tertiary archive focuses on the current state of Pager's archive, the digital archive, and extends into the space in which I am working. Through my experience of the reconfigured archive, I began picking up on the gaps within the archive and noticed how fragile it is. I contribute to the archive by weaving together the various narratives collected from conversations I had with different people about Pager, his life, his work and his experiences, particularly at Didima Gorge. This is my attempt to make sense of and supplement the existing archive with remembered stories gleaned from the realm of the spoken word. I used the 'personal histories' approach to 'dig' into the biography of Pager's archive and reflect on the archive and digital space I have been working in. Moreover, I make connections to the ways in which the tertiary archive is linked to (and is derived and modified from) the secondary archive, which, in turn, derives from the primary archive.

[9] Arachne (short for iDAI.objects arachne) is the central object database of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) and the Cologne Digital Archaeology Laboratory (CoDArchLab) at the Archaeological Institute of the University of Cologne. Arachne digitises material that is in danger of being destroyed over time, and forms a searchable research database tool for the archaeological sciences. Arachne contains hundreds of thousands of datasets from both analogue and digital sources.

Story of the physical archive[10]

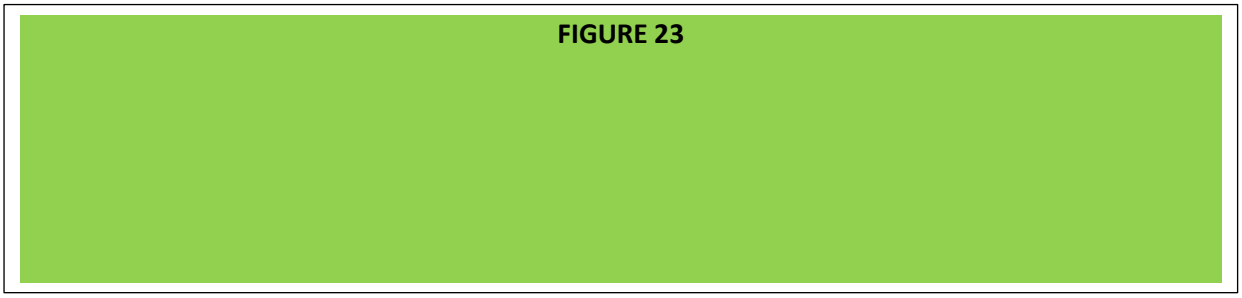


Figure 23: Lemishka Moodley, Panorama of Pager's Archive, 2018, photograph.

On arriving at RARI, I envisioned going into a basement-level room filled with an immense number of documents and scattered mounds of dust. But this is not a movie! Instead, I was led by David Pearce to the ground floor of the Origins Centre and through a grey double door bearing a transparent plaque with white uppercase letters indicating "HARALD PAGER ARCHIVE". The RARI offices are directly connected to the Origins Centre by various interleading access points. Nevertheless, the grey door was unlocked, and I was met with a cool breeze. Upon entering the room, a fluorescent light was switched on and Pearce instructed me not to touch the fragile copies. The Pager archive fits into a rectangular room and is divided into three neat sections. To the left of the archive are several of Pager's large-format recordings of various rock art sites at Didima Gorge, including several other huge 'hyper-realistic' roll-out panels. As my initial exploration of the archival materials had been primarily through digital proxies, the physical copies struck me as hyper-realistic. Digital images are affected by various kinds of distortion, but Pager's original renderings are impressively detailed and highly tactile objects depicting various aspects of different rock art sites. It could be argued that the hyper-realism denotes a visual complexity and sensitivity towards the artworks, thus embodying Pager's unique style. His work embodies a kind of enhanced realism that increases the saturation of the painted figures so that what is painted is clearly distinguishable from the rock, but at the same time is still presented in its geological context with all its textures. Placed on the left-hand side of a whitish-grey table adjacent to the door is a photograph of an older Pager working in the field, and on the right-hand side is a recording, of a slightly larger format than the photograph. In front of the recording on the table is the *Ndedema* book. On the left-hand side of the room are two large filing cabinets, placed against the wall. The cabinets contain smaller drawings from several other locations and Pager's fieldwork tools. In a separate storeroom within the RARI office, a range of film photographs, including aerial shots of some of the rock shelters, can also be found.

I am still pondering the question of how the Pager archive came to rest at RARI. After a long and interesting conversation with David Lewis-Williams about Pager, some clarity was reached regarding the reasons for the archive's current location (Lewis-Williams 1996, p. 38). When Pager completed the Didima Gorge rock art copies, he had hoped to sell the entire collection to reduce the debt he had incurred during the course of the project (Lewis-Williams, 2018, pers. comm.). Unfortunately, he was unable to obtain a buyer for the entire collection and resorted to selling the copies in various parts, despite the advice by various colleagues not to break up the collection. Perhaps Pager was desperate to relieve his debt and had no other option but to sell his work in various chunks. Some of the copies were sold to a university in the United States, some to a tobacco company, and the rest were sold to the Rembrandt van Rijn Gallery owner's father, who also donated money to the University of the Witwatersrand. Thereafter, for some reason or the other, he no longer wanted the collection and sold it to Dr J. Douglas Roberts, Chairman of Murray & Roberts Holdings Limited. Subsequent to

[10] To formulate this section, I combined information from the summary about the Harald Pager Collection on the Wits website (Wits n.d.) with the information Lewis-Williams shared with me in February 2018.

Roberts's 1978 purchase of the collection, Hubert Charles Woodhouse who worked for Murray and Roberts at the time, proposed a tour of South Africa to showcase the copies, and Roberts financed the entire transportation cost of the tour. I imagine the showcasing of the copies to have been a series of curated pop-up exhibitions. The copies were rolled up and stored in cardboard tube-canisters and were rolled out each time they were displayed. At the end of each exhibition the copies were mishandled and (according to Lewis-Williams, 2018, pers. comm.) were 'thrust' back into the cardboard tubes. Eventually, the copies began to deteriorate. The paper started to crease and tear, and bits of paint started to peel off. In an effort to repair the copies, Woodhouse adhered them onto muslin with an acidic glue. This damaged the copies even more, as the muslin began to shrink over time and the acidic glue caused the thinned-oil-paint medium to flake off. The shrinking caused the surface of the copies to squash, crinkle and tear even further. The mistreatment of this collection was so severe that one can still see the effects today in the large bumps on the surface of the copies. Woodhouse could no longer exhibit the copies and they were abandoned at a Murray & Roberts construction site in Edenvale (Lewis-Williams, 2018, pers. comm.).

Once the copies had been discarded, they were forgotten until the topic of their whereabouts surfaced when Professor Karl Tober (Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand between 1984 and 1988) was having lunch with Roberts (Lewis-Williams, 2018, pers. comm.). Roberts told Tober that he still possessed the copies and that they were all in tubes. However, at that point in time (the exact date and details are unknown) Roberts had already given the copies to the Africana Museum (the predecessor of Museum Africa, Johannesburg) to look after. Tober told Roberts about Lewis-Williams and asked if Roberts would permit him to inquire whether Lewis-Williams would be interested in the copies. Roberts agreed and Tober approached Lewis-Williams. All three subsequently visited the Africana Museum together, only to find that the collection had been carelessly stored under a long table. The copies were pulled out from under the table and placed on top of it so that Roberts, Tober and Lewis-Williams could have a look at them and assess their condition. As they opened the tubes, bits of paper and paint spilled out and flew all over the place like specs of floating ash residue. The copies were in a perilous state and needed to be restored. The Africana Museum had decided to throw the copies away as they no longer had any use for them and deemed them beyond repair, and so Lewis-Williams brought the copies to RARI.

At RARI the copies were removed from their tubes and Lewis-Williams began thinking of ways in which they could be restored while retaining their original and authentic finish. Lewis-Williams reverted to Tober for funding to restore the copies, and Tober approached Roberts, who agreed to pay for the entire restoration process. But who was going to restore them? Initially, they received three opinions on how the situation could be managed. The first opinion, offered by paper restorers, was that the copies should be discarded, as the damage to the copies was deemed to be too severe, and restoration of the copies was considered impossible. The second opinion was that the copies should be thrown away and that the sites should be re-recorded. Unfortunately, there was no one else who possessed the skill, time or money to go back to Didima Gorge, photograph all 17 shelters and come back. Additionally, over time, the actual rock art had experienced a certain degree of degradation and would not look the same way it had done when Pager created his original copies. The third opinion was that the copies should be restored, and Lewis-Williams, Tober and Roberts were directed to someone at the Wits Fine Arts department who suggested that they consult the National Cultural History Museum in Pretoria where there was an Austrian or Czechoslovakian paper restorer. Third time was a charm, and the paper restorer evaluated the state and condition of the copies and agreed to restore them. He warned the trio that it would take a very long time to restore, as the copies could not be processed and had to be restored individually through manual methods.

The first step was to separate the muslin from the paper without tearing it, after which the copies were soaked in an alkaline solution to get rid of the acidic glue, in order to stop the copies from discolouring over time. Thereafter, the copies were remounted with acid-free chemicals and put under a heat press so that the paint

would bond with the photographic paper, thus preventing the paint from flaking off again. The paper restorer and his one assistant restored Pager's copies. Sadly, some panels had to be cut as the heat press was not a large enough to process them. In addition to paying for the restoration of the copies, Murray & Roberts paid for the room in the old RARI building; the copies have since been moved to new premises in the Origins Centre. A slide-structure was installed so that the copies could each hang onto a slide and be pulled out whenever someone wanted to look at them. The room was built in in the hope of having an accessible facility for hordes of students to study the copies. However, only two students (including myself) have interacted closely with Pager's archive (Lewis-Williams, 2018, pers. comm.).

Reflection of the digital archive

The physical archive feels somewhat overwhelming, and is sensorially more complex, compared with the digitised versions of these documents. With the advancement of technology, everything is easily accessible online or digitally. The digitisation of Pager's paper archive opens new and powerful avenues for enhanced research possibilities. According to Mazel, digitisation enables researchers to access and share materials with colleagues directly or via the internet (Mazel, 2018, pers. comm.). In addition to the ability to stimulate research and knowledge creation, digitisation also enables the public to obtain a deeper appreciation of the archaeological record (Mazel 2017). Lastly, digitisation can support the long-term preservation of material (Mazel, 2018, pers. comm.). As an online platform that grew out of the digitisation of RARI's extensive collections, SARADA houses more than 200 records pertaining just to Sorceror's Rock, including several of Pager's hand-painted copies, from the tens of thousands of records forming the Pager holdings, including slides. The site offers low-resolution, miniaturised and less tactile versions of the rock art due to copyright privileges and restrictions. High-resolution images can only be accessed after sending a formal request to SARADA. One of the advantages of this site is that everyone can access and view the archive selectively at his or her leisure. It is therefore important that RARI or the university undertake to maintain database websites, or they will become redundant and work will potentially be lost.

Oral histories and archival reflections

Taking inspiration from Smith's 'personal histories' project to learn more about the biography and history of objects, I began to take into account the importance of the role of biography through oral tradition (Givens 2008, p. 177) in my exploration of the Pager archive. Biographies illustrate how researchers use the lives of individuals to explore historical events and how researchers examine the labours and contributions of individuals to the discipline they have been involved in (Givens 2008, p. 178). In fact, a biography should be viewed by historians and researchers as a valuable tool for sharing information through an individual's life (Givens 2008, p. 181). Biographies identify, analyse and present a myriad of accomplishments that show how a discipline influenced an individual's intellectual and professional background (Givens 2008, p. 183), and serve as evidence of these. This evidential truth inadvertently creates a 'historical puncture' of an individual's life and work, which has defined boundaries in time and space (Givens 2008, p. 178). The 'biographer' uses these markers of time to study and describe various pivotal moments. Biographies can therefore be understood as a description of an archive's life from birth, an examination of the time during the archive's life (while Pager was alive) and a reflection on the legacy of the archive (after Pager's death). Here the 'biographer' can interpret the lifelong professional relationships between an individual and his or her colleagues as a valuable sample of data that can be used to assess the impact and direction of an individual's thinking, as well as opinions about their work and institutions that have contributed to their development (Givens 2008, p. 183).

My sense is that biographies are often generated through mutual exchanges, such as a conversation in the form of an oral narrative passed down from one generation to the next. Whiteley states how oral traditions are seen as a primary source of evidence and interpretation of past social formations (2002, p. 405). A great deal of human experience concerning the production and reproduction of oral history is cross-culturally commensurable (Whiteley 2002, p. 406). This means that various historical facets are addressed through discontinuous events activated by human agents, who primarily contribute to the conflicts, movements and shared experiences of particular social and political occurrences (Whiteley 2000, p. 407). These encounters include a versatility because the entities involved each subjectively endorse these experiences differently. Thus, intercultural consensus becomes a challenging component that researchers and historians attempt to grapple with critically in order to be able to discern factual truths (Whiteley 2002, p. 407). All these aspects thus speak either directly or indirectly to potentially 'testable' historical and cultural realities: they occur against the background of a structured set of practices and ideas that can be enlisted to aid in archaeological explanation. Thus, narratives evidence both mythological and historical consciousness (Whiteley 2002, p. 410). They reaffirm histories and re-memorialise sites with their objective capacity to remind the living of knowledge of the past (Whiteley 2002, p. 411). But it is the nature of oral traditions that allows rock art researchers and a handful of art historians who stumble across the finding to re-tell the history of the rock art archive in order to remember and take note of that which has passed. Thus, a social purpose manifests through their recall of the past, providing a definite reason as to why this oral tradition has been passed down as well as chronicled in the form of text (Thompson 1988, p. 25). These memories further unravel and take the form of a mnemonic apparatus that remembers Pager and reproduces knowledge about him at any given point in time (Freud 1925, p. 20).

According to Joan W. Scott, historians are storytellers (Scott 2011, p. 203). Scott suggests, in her 2011 paper titled 'Storytelling', that the moment one concerns oneself with studying history, one becomes a storyteller (p. 203). The exploration of history, and the history of objects or artworks, is creatively interpreted by historians or researchers based on evidence presented to them (Scott 2011, p. 203). These findings become a point of departure and explanation as to how and why these missing moments occurred (Currie & Sterelny 2017, p. 14). Historian-storytellers then bring forth information that did not originate from them, but attempt to fill in the missing pieces of the past (Scott 2011, p. 204). No one can ever know the past directly and for that reason, narrative becomes a method of incorporating human experiences within the social contexts that surround the experience to make what is said meaningful (Scott 2011, p. 204). The stories that are chosen to be told or retold become a way of exposing readers to the differences beyond certain societal paradigms which govern how we perceive a place or object (Scott 2011, p. 205). By offering other ways of thinking about the past, storytelling has a decentring effect — not only because it is not confined to any one academic discipline (Bal 2004, p. 10) but also because it offers epistemological challenges to the current orthodox historiographical accounts (Scott 2011, p. 205).

Adrian Currie and Kim Sterelny explore a similar set of ideas in their 2017 paper titled, 'In defence of story-telling'. The pair "argue that narratives are central to the success of historical reconstruction" and include an explanation of the various contributing factors across time (Currie & Sterelny 2017, p. 14). Nevertheless, narrative tends to embellish, postulate and speculate causal connections between comparatively well-established events (Currie & Sterelny 2017, p. 14). This is not necessarily bad, but the material remains and economic and social accounts of communities embedded in the narrative risk being cast aside by the blanket of scepticism which covers it (Currie & Sterelny 2017, p. 14). But why does this happen? With the above in mind, I now question what constitutes a believable story. Currie and Sterelny suggest that one can avoid making the reconstructed narrative problematically speculative through the incorporation of scientific and historical accounts, which transform a speculative narrative into a set of convincing arguments and facilitate further inquiry into a topic through various suggested scenarios and identified evidence (Currie & Sterelny 2017, p. 16).

One also needs to acknowledge the coherent constraints imposed on narrative (Currie & Sterelny 2017, p. 21). Although the articulation of narrative is an epistemic achievement, coherence of the narrative is a great challenge because of historical scientific progression — an aspect historian-storytellers need to be more cognisant of when writing (Currie & Sterelny 2017, p. 21). As time progresses, in various directions, the plausible nature of narrative is sought after (Currie & Sterelny 2017, p. 14). However, by conforming to the admissible models put forth to achieve a precise narrative, the historian isolates the story "at the cost of simplification and abstraction" (Currie & Sterelny 2017, p. 14). Storytellers need not shy away from abstract, formal approaches to explanation and reconstruction just because they may deviate from the contingent details (Currie & Sterelny 2017, p. 20). Instead, they need to allow narrative to track the complex changes in various historical trajectories over time (Currie & Sterelny 2017, p. 14). The combination of both narrative and model will then allow us to understand and explain more highly complex historical sequences (Currie & Sterelny 2017, p. 14).

Conversations[11]

According to Lewis-Williams, Pager came from a village in Austria. He was conscripted at the age of 16 into the German army and fought on the Russian front. Not necessarily in opposition to the previous point, Neil Lee spoke about Pager being a part of the SS (Lee, 2018, pers. comm.).[12] Shirley Woodhouse recounted the anecdote, based on a conversation she had with Pager's wife years ago, that Pager took off all parts of his uniform that showed that he was a soldier and threw his rifle into the ditch because the allies were advancing (Woodhouse, 2018, pers. comm.). Although this information cannot be dismissed entirely, there is no way of verifying the nature and extent of Pager's involvement in World War II.[13] Pager never spoke explicitly to these interlocutors about the details of his role in the war and what his role entailed. One could offer that played a significant role in the conflict, particularly within the context of Nazi-occupied territories. As a senior officer in the Waffen-SS, Pager was involved in the administration of occupied regions and their populations. His contributions are noted in several historical accounts, such as those by Yerger (1997) and Wilt (2014), which detail the Waffen-SS's role in occupied Europe. Pager's involvement underscores the complex and multifaceted nature of the SS organization during the war, serving both as a military force and an instrument of Nazi ideology, which had profound implications for the territories under Nazi control. When Pager returned to his village, he learnt that he no longer had parents (Lewis-Williams, 2018, pers. comm.). It was either an aunt or grandmother

[11] Again, the exact dates and details of certain events mentioned during the conversation with various interlocutors are unclear and were not made explicit during the conversation.

[12] "The Schutzstaffel (SS), initially established in the early 1920s as Hitler's personal protection force, evolved into a formidable organization with a deeply troubling legacy. While both the SS and the Wehrmacht (the regular German armed forces) played roles in World War II, the SS stands out for its involvement in some of the most egregious war crimes and atrocities. Academic historian Christopher Browning argues that the SS played a pivotal role in implementing the Holocaust, overseeing the operation of extermination camps and the systematic murder of millions of innocent people (Browning 2004). In contrast, while the Wehrmacht was not without its own war crimes, its primary focus remained on conventional military operations, setting the SS apart as a symbol of brutality and extreme ideological commitment during the Nazi era."
Browning, C. R. 2004. The Origins of the Final Solution: The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy, September 1939-March 1942. University of Nebraska Press.

[13] By the final stages of World War II on the Eastern Front, a significant shift in surrendering behaviour became apparent. It was not uncommon for German soldiers to prefer surrendering to the Western Allies, who were advancing from the West, rather than facing capture by the advancing Russian forces from the East. This phenomenon can be understood within the broader context of the contrasting wartime experiences associated with these two fronts. As many historians have noted, the Eastern Front witnessed extreme brutality, with the Soviet Red Army often engaging in fierce fighting and acts of revenge due to the devastation and loss they had suffered earlier in the war (Beevor, 1998). In contrast, the Western Allies were often seen as a more lenient and preferable option for surrender. This behavior highlights the complexities and nuances of the soldiers' decisions on the Eastern Front during the war's closing stages.
Beevor, A. 1998. Stalingrad: The Fateful Siege, 1942-1943. Penguin.
(Blundell, 2019, pers. comm.)

who encouraged him to pursue a career in graphic design. He then emigrated to South Africa and lived in Durban for a while, where he shared a bachelor flat with someone else. He moved to Johannesburg after a while because he thought it was better for his graphic design career.

Lewis-Williams suggests that he may have become interested in rock paintings after attending a lecture where Alex Willcox discussed various rock art slides from a South African Archaeological Society meeting. Paul Stopforth, on the other hand, speculates that Pager's interest in rock art may initially have been a way for him to recover from the war. Interesting questions remain around the extent to which Pager's war experiences may have inspired this interest in African prehistory, possibly as part of a quest for an alternative primordial world (Geoff Blundell pers. comm. 2019). Perhaps his intense immersion in rock art fulfilled a therapeutic role, providing him with a purpose after witnessing the horrors of being a German foot soldier and the trauma of losing close family members in the war. Being in the presence of these works of art led him to make a commitment to dedicate his life to their preservation and documentation. The mental, physical and financial demands made on Pager to ensure the creation and publication of an important legacy could perhaps be regarded a sacrifice of sorts. Although Pager mentioned his experiences during the war only briefly to those around him, I think the trauma of that event prompted him to choose and succeede in creating a remarkable life in another country.

By the time Lewis-Williams met Pager, "he [Pager] had already started on the Ndedema work and was in the process of raising money for it. He even approached food enterprises to endorse his project" (Lewis-Williams 2018, pers. comm.). Pager and his wife even sold their house in Parkhurst to pay for his work in the Drakensberg. Pager had been led to believe that when he completed the work he would be able to sell the entire collection to an American museum or university in order to recover the money that they had spent. However, the whole task turned out to be bigger than he and his wife had envisaged at the beginning — something that is true of all rock art field work. Pager, however, wanted to return from the field having completed everything he had set out to. Sadly, it never ends. He lived in the Didima Gorge for over two years and even then he missed a site (Lewis-Williams 2018, pers. comm.).

Reflective Summary

What did I learn and understand from doing this research?

The archive as an over-arching theme informs and unites the two theoretical threads of landscape and narrative. By understanding the role of the archive as more than a receptacle of tangible and paper-dense documents (which are conservatively housed due to their fragility), and the online database as an extension of the physical archive, I reflect on the usefulness of landscape and narrative in relation to the archive that inadvertently informs the biography of the Harald Pager Archive. In many senses of my understanding, landscape and narrative are subsets that are entangled within the archive and that create a strong scaffolding to build on. I discovered that each of these areas was potentially vast to explore in relation to the Pager archive, but that I could also weave aspects of them together into a method supporting my quest to retrieve something of the living context of Pager's copying practice. By drawing on and unravelling these conceptual strands in relation to the archive, the primary, secondary and tertiary archive manifested and, ultimately, informed the structure and methodology of this report.

To investigate and interrogate this idea of archive, I needed to explore this concept in a critical and creative fashion. The idea of an archive as a theoretical thread extends beyond the physical records. The archive is "the foundation of the production of knowledge in the present, the basis for the identities of the present and for the possible imaginings of community in the future" (Hamilton, Harris & Reid 2002, p. 9). It is from the archive that one can gain an understanding of the cultural debris within and on the landscape. The remnants of the past, and the living sources in the form of oral narratives, extend into the realm of the 'spoken word' based on the personal histories of researchers engaged in making sense of the past in a way that is consistent with a move towards the study of the production of archaeological knowledge, and the broader context of the history of science. It was through my research that I came to understand the potential of approaching the archive as a process. The rock art, as a sub-set of the archive, can thus be read, interpreted and unpacked like a text aimed at extracting meaning. This understanding is firstly informed by previous scholarship that informs how the rupestrian imagery is translated into the archive and can lead to the reinforcement of particular stereotypes or reductive accounts. Ergo, selective and subjective moments in time are 'frozen' and govern the ways in which the San's history is written about and construed. Researchers like Wright, Mazel, Lewis-Williams, Pager and many others relied on the land, in one way or another, to explain the history of the Drakensberg in general, more narrowly Didima Gorge, which Pager surveyed extensively through its physical and visual attributes. There is no doubt, as well, that Pager's research was influenced by how he perceived the land and his own fieldwork experiences.

Landscape provides an avenue for thinking about the past and reflecting on how and from what the contemporary world was constructed (Atha et al. 2013, p. 1). As an organising principle, the landscape was (and still is) a place where one can have an active engagement with the past through the remnants left behind by the San communities who dwelled within the land (following Williams 2014, p. 2). The residual footprint of the San occupants is presented in the form of rock art and surface findings. The rock paintings, arguably more so than the surface findings, expands one's knowledge of the San and their relationship with the land through the visual illustrations that provide insight into their daily lives, and into the ritual ceremonies they performed. The landscape becomes the primary archive from and through which the rock art is conceived, and lived experiences are embedded from an active engagement with the land. This emphasises my point about the need to constantly reconnect with the original site, to continually revisit and remember the space in which the event of recording took place (and continues to take place) (Guy & Wintjes 2009). Digital restoration has been a way of revisiting a site in order to bring us closer to the materiality and physical presence of rock art (Guy & Wintjes

2009). Similarly, by investigating Pager's work in relation to the conversations with various interlocutors, one can gain a richer understanding of its presence in space and time, as an 'original' work in its own right. This layered history not only illustrates how the land is literally layered but also comments on what might be described as a palimpsestuous intertextuality shaped by all the components within the archive as well.

On the topic of narrative in relation to archive, a personal histories approach is useful to enliven and consolidate certain gaps in the Pager archive. The gaps take the form of a physical absence and removal that is already echoed in the ways in which the archive at RARI is neatly packed and categorised into three separate areas. What was apparent was how the archive serves as a record that Pager was an exceptional rock art recorder. However, nothing much alluded to aspects of his life. How do I go about examining the archive without having knowledge about the person who the archive is about? It is the narrative component through personal histories that offers this opportunity and narrows my focus to one site as node to explore the biography of the Pager Archive. The 'voice' of Pager's life to some extent comes alive through conversations with those who knew him and had knowledge of his work. These conversations "provided a valuable forum for examining the contextual milieu, both socio-political and theoretical" (Hamilton, Harris & Reid 2002, p. 11). This shows how the realm of the spoken word feeds the construction of the archive and informs the cultural and social mores of the time that shape collections in profound ways (Hamilton, Harris & Reid 2002, p. 12). It is essentially through the narrative way of connecting landscape and archive that we see a synergy and the ways in which these strands overlap and fold into one another.

Through a particular structured method, my study uncovered several hitherto unrecorded aspects to Pager's recording practice, which could be extended and deepened through further research. While I don't think the stories I have collected have properly congealed into a coherent 'biography' of Pager's archive, there are hints of a richer tapestry that can yet be woven. My sense is that oral histories should be collected and included alongside paper and digital archives. The oral narratives recorded add a richness and depth to the repository and provides a better understanding of the context of the archive. This addition, in turn, will create an opportunity for archival materials and their production to be further explored.

Appendices

Appendix 1: A creative visual essay

A Story about the Sorcerer in the Valley

Once upon a time, there lived a great and wise baboon called Rafiki, who possessed the most powerful staff in all the land. Although Rafiki was "all knowing" and "all seeing", he was the only one of his kind in the entire kingdom in which he lived. When he was an infant his family abandoned him. It happened when a clan of baboons was migrating across the land in search of greener pastures. One night when the clan was asleep near a river bank, a fierce and ferocious green leopard attacked the family. In the outrageous panic of it all, Rafiki's mother flung the grass and leaf cot in which Rafiki was sleeping into the river.

The stream carried the baby baboon along the contours and breaks of the river which led to a water sanctuary where all the other mammals on the other side of the land gathered to drink water and bath. While collecting water, a powerful monkey sorceress, called Qingina, came across the grass and leaf cot. Out of curiosity, she approached the cot. However, before touching it, she was startled by Rafiki's cries. Qingina tore the grass and leaf cocoon apart, only to discover a hungry baby baboon. The sorceress took the baby under her wing and raised him as her own along with her other monkey babies. She taught them how to look and see beyond this world and activate the next. Out of all her children, Rafiki showed the most potential and Qingina's other children considered him to be a threat. The siblings hungered for their mother's invincible power that had consequently been bestowed on Rafiki in the form of a staff. After Qingina's suspicious death, her children disowned Rafiki. Heartbroken and alone, the wise baboon went in search of his real family.

He travelled far and wide along various dark and bold paths, until he eventually crossed over a steep mountain, where he discovered a "new world" filled with interesting and vibrant characters who taught him more than he could ever have expected to know. Once Rafiki arrived at the bottom of the mountain, he encountered an ochre, sienna and umber vaal rhebok with white eyes and two small protruding horns from its head; a white and golden ochre reedbuck with umber eyes; and a black and white ostrich (*Struthio camelus*) with extremely long legs, being chased by a female white walker around the mountain. The woman was an Amazonian zoomorphic sized creature with a white painted body. The only visible colour was the rouge-burnt-sienna colour of her hair, eyes, and mouth, a satchel tied around her waist, what doubled as a skirt-tail, and interesting lines and markings all over her white body. She had a white triangular hat on with a long brown beaded necklace that caressed her neck whilst the extended ends almost touched the ground. Eventually, the white walker stopped in an upright squatting position with her hands stretched wide out. The women started chanting and mumbling inaudible words, and suddenly brown and gold intangible lines were emitted from her hands toward the three animals she had been chasing after. Rafiki, in complete awe, hid behind a bush and peeked through its nooks and crannies to see what would happen next. The brown and gold intangible lines transformed into a lasso which wrapped around the reedbuck's left front leg. The woman then pulled the reedbuck towards her and the animal disappeared into her satchel.

The baboon had never seen anything like this before. Nothing that he had learnt from Qingina had prepared him for this. Having a curious mind and a deep desire to find out what would happen to the reedbuck, Rafiki cautiously followed the female white walker. He did not want to startle her, as he had seen what she was capable of and thought he could rather introduce himself at more appropriate time. The woman was in a hurry to be somewhere and had sensed Rafiki's presence. In a second, she disappeared, and her enormous shadow towered over him from behind. After several clicks of her tongue, and various accented sounds and phrases in different languages, the white walker managed to speak to Rafiki in his language. Rafiki had finally met someone

who was even more powerful than he was. In a high nasally congested voice, the white walker asked, “Who are you? What do you want? Why are you following me?”. In complete shock Rafiki gasped, dropped his jaw and opened his mouth wide, and fainted to the ground. The woman could sense that the baboon had no ill intentions. She picked him up with her one hand and continued her journey towards her shelter.

The white walker’s shelter was located 28°59’50” South and 29°16’42” East and was approximately 1580m above sea level (Pager 1971, p. 66). From this vantage point, she could see the entire yellowwood forest (Pager 1971, p. 66). She walked up a steep grassy slope and entered the open shelter that was formed by an enormous fallen rock “that had come to rest half way between the Lower Main Krans and the river” (Pager 1971, p. 66). It was not anything big, fancy, or elaborate. It was small and quaint. The small flat area of floor below a painted ceiling provided just enough space to accommodate two people (Pager 1971, p. 66). During wet and rainy weather, the white walker often found her feet wet (Pager 1971, p. 66). She was fortunate in some sense because the naturally formed shelter had shallow banks on either side of the overhang that protected her from gusts of harsh wind (Pager 1971, p. 66). The other parts of the shelter floor toward the deeper interior tended to slope and became so narrow that the roof and floor met (Pager 1971, p. 66). From a sectioned and side elevation view of the site, it was shaped like an acute triangle. Most of the white walker’s rituals were performed at the river. There she was able to channel the power and spirits of the river itself. In addition, it was more convenient for washing, cooking and collecting water for the dagga pots because the site was arid (Pager 1971, p. 66). The major exterior of the shelter was surrounded by grass and ferns, and only supported a few trees (Pager 1971, p. 66). The woman’s painted visions on the ceiling came alive after the long hours of sunshine cast a spotlight on the shelter floor.

When Rafiki woke up, he was laying on a bed made of leaves and grass. Before he could ask any questions, a blurry white figure materialised and the following questions were repeated: “Who are you? What do you want? Why are you following me?”. Rafiki at once explained who he was, the purpose of his journey and why he had followed her. The white walker smirked and responded, “My name is Khang”. Rafiki remained quiet, confused by her response and still pondering the name that had just been uttered, because it sounded so familiar. Khang continued to talk: “The reedbuck you saw me capture belonged to the black shadow walkers who were going to sacrifice the animal to the potent blood pool near the dark cracked side of the land. Although the potent blood pool feeds the earth, the black shadows want to use it for evil, in order to control the land and its elements, and they see destruction merely as a casualty of war waged to gain ultimate power and control. I am sure you have never heard of such things before, but the black shadow walkers are dangerous and have a giant shadow bristle bull under their control. The bristle bull is a literal shadow who obeys all their instructions and kills whatever threatens them. You do not see or hear it coming ever. I need to activate the reedbuck’s suppressed memories to learn what the dark shadows plan to do”. Rafiki, without hesitating, said that he would help Khang to extract the reedbuck’s memories. He knew he had so much more to learn and once he had learnt and knew enough, he would be able to find his real family thanks to Khang’s teachings. The woman was happy to have an apprentice who already had magical capabilities.

When Khang extracted the reedbuck’s memories, a large silver blob hovered in the air above them and swiftly floated into an empty large dagga clay pot placed over a fire. A hologram of figures appeared at a rapid rate and suddenly stopped at a topographical view of an enclosed cave. Resting near burnt orange steps with black horizontal lines was the giant bristle bull with white headlight-shaped eyes and an ephemeral body extending against and beyond the contours of the wall and circumference of the cave, staring aimlessly into a rectangular black pit. Next to the black pit was a hatched raft with a peculiar animal with big round ears lying in front of it. Just at the entrance of the cave where the potent bloodlines pass and disseminate into many different paths and channels that move along the contours and crevices of the land until it reaches a terminable end, three black figures surround a black fire. Just outside the cave, four conversing followers in unusual sizes and shades of black and deep brown follow a black therianthrope antelope man. One of the followers appears to be holding

a walking stick while the other to the far right is holding something in his hands. This group of characters outside the cave appear to be walking away from the potent blood pool near the cracked side of the land. Amid it all, a light ochre man with a stick is running towards Khang. The hologram collapses and the silver ball evaporated into thin air…

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