

Preface

As the end of the millennium approaches, South African archaeologists face a crisis: their expertise in understanding the past is being contested by the public on a scale never before seen. This contest has already begun to take on deep political undertones that will have far reaching implications for archaeology in the subcontinent. Particularly illustrative examples of this attack on archaeology are two recent (1995), controversial television programmes screened by the South African Broadcasting Corporation.

The first of these programmes, part of a weekly series usually devoted to nature conservation, was on archaeological remains in the Northern Province. The remains in question consist of stone-walled sites, and the controversy revolved around their origin and function. Various interpretations of the walls were given by professional archaeologists as well as by people well-known for their 'alternative' views on the South African past. In itself, contrasting professional and popular views in this way is useful but, in this case, and this is where the controversy arose, there appeared to be a deliberate intention on the part of the presenter to discredit archaeologists and promote 'alternative' interpretations.

Repeatedly, the archaeologists were represented as being ignorant while the

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open to the public.

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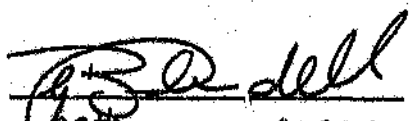
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I also visited public rock art sites in France and Italy. Jean Clottes played a vital role in the organisation of this trip and kindly arranged visits for David Lewis-Williams and me to the public sites of Lascaux II and the Parc Pyrénéen de l'Art Préhistorique. We also visited numerous sites that are not

For my mother and father

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university.


29th day of MARCH, 1996.

Abstract

South African and American public rock art sites are in a predicament. In both countries, there is a lack of an adequate, theoretically informed but practically implementable, conceptual approach to presenting these sites. This lack leads to the reproduction of stereotypes of rock art and the indigenous people who made it. This thesis suggests a way of rectifying the present situation. It is argued that any suggested reconstruction of public rock art sites must recognise that they are implicated in identity-formation. Following this premise, a strategy, entitled metaphoric pilgrimage, is suggested, developed and applied to four rock art sites - two in South Africa and two in America.

**THE POLITICS OF PUBLIC ROCK ART: A COMPARATIVE
CRITIQUE OF ROCK ART SITES OPEN TO THE PUBLIC IN
SOUTH AFRICA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

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degree of Master of Arts.

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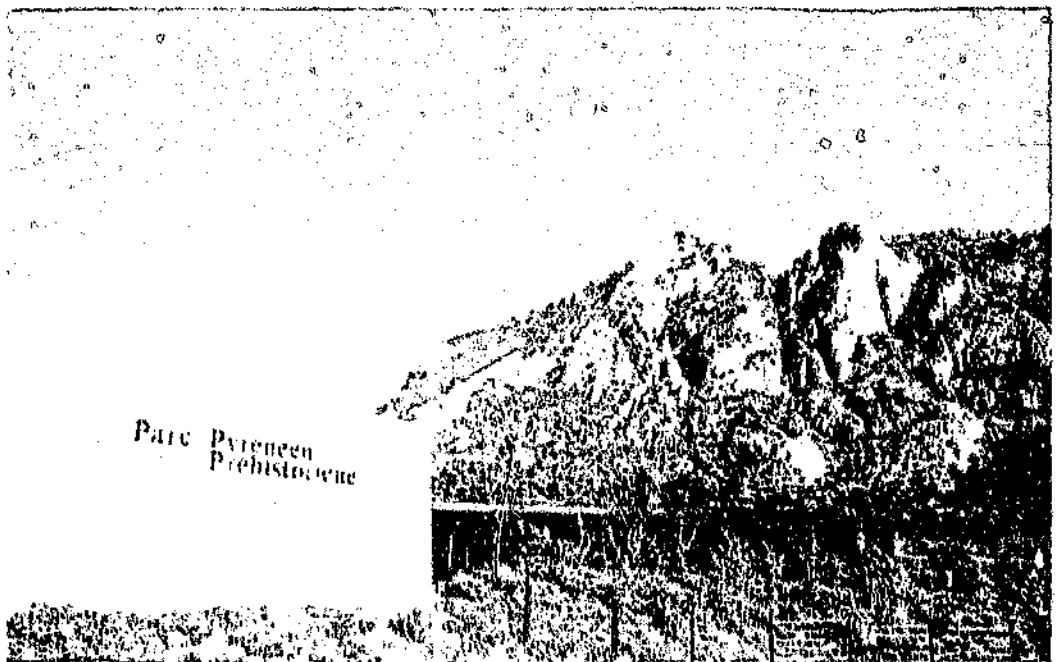


Figure 3(A). The newly opened Parc Pyrénéen de l'Art Préhistorique in France has an impressive entrance. Intended as an introduction to the rock art of the area, the park is possibly the finest of its kind in the World.

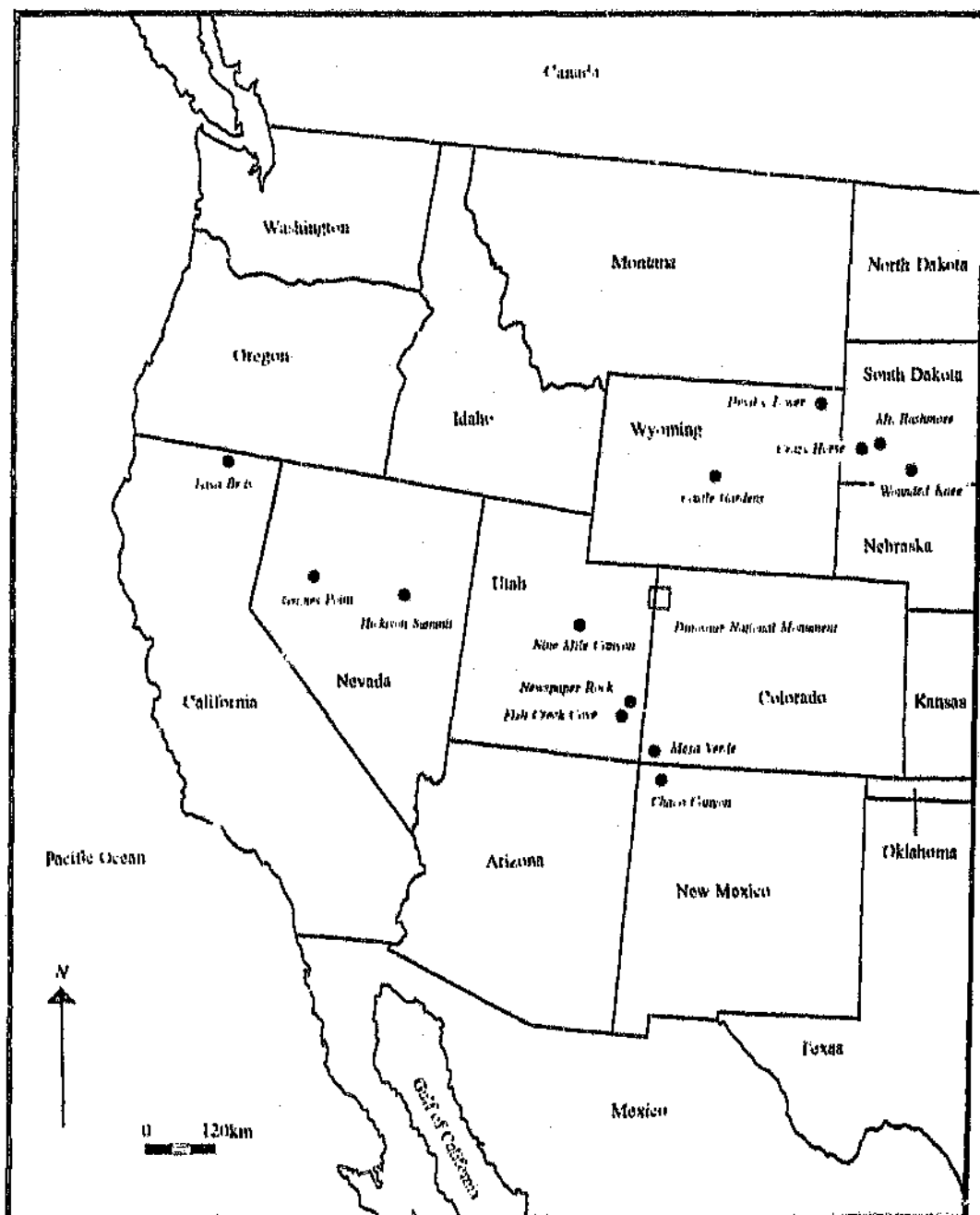


Figure 2. Map of the western United States of America indicating public rock art sites and other places mentioned in the text.

New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, California, Wyoming and South Dakota (Fig. 2). Yet, if I was hoping to find an instant answer in the USA as to how South Africa's public rock art sites could be rectified, I was sorely disappointed.

I also visited rock art sites in France and Italy in 1995, some 'public', others not. I was also able to study the recently opened (1994) Parc Pyrénéen de l'Art Préhistorique near Tarascon, a large-scale, imaginative project designed to prepare people for their visits to Upper Palaeolithic caves in the vicinity (Fig. 3A and 3B). Although I do not refer frequently to this European experience, it has helped to shape my understanding of public rock art sites. The French, in particular, are extremely proud of their prehistoric art, and the sheer scale of such presentations as the Parc Pyrénéen and the celebrated Lascaux II is breath-taking. Indeed, an acute awareness of the marked contrast between the French attitude to rock art and the South African and American attitudes lies behind much of what I have to say.

All in all, my experience has shown that, although generally better off than South Africa, American public rock art sites are also largely problematic. Although making detailed observations on site layout, interpretative material and the behaviour of visitors to rock art sites in the USA led to an

in South Africa. The irritation generated by witnessing the situation at Main Caves led me to observe people's behaviour at other public sites and to speculate as to why the situation is as it is and what can be done about it.

These observations were the beginnings of my fieldwork on public rock art sites. Always, however, the observations were a side issue to my main research work - recording and interpreting the art. It was, however, theoretical developments in archaeology and anthropology regarding the representation and presentation of academic knowledge, a movement that began in the mid-1980s, that made a broader project on public rock art sites seem necessary.

In addition to the theoretical developments in archaeology and anthropology, a second reason for the formulation of a fully-fledged research project on public rock art sites was the opportunity to travel to the United States of America in 1993. I was fortunate in being able to join a research enterprise on North American rock art conducted by the Rock Art Research Unit at the University of the Witwatersrand and led by Thomas Dowson. Discussions with Dowson led to a comparative project between rock art sites in the USA and those in South Africa. During the three and a half months I spent in the USA I studied rock art sites, some open to the public, others not, as well as monuments and museums in Utah, Colorado,

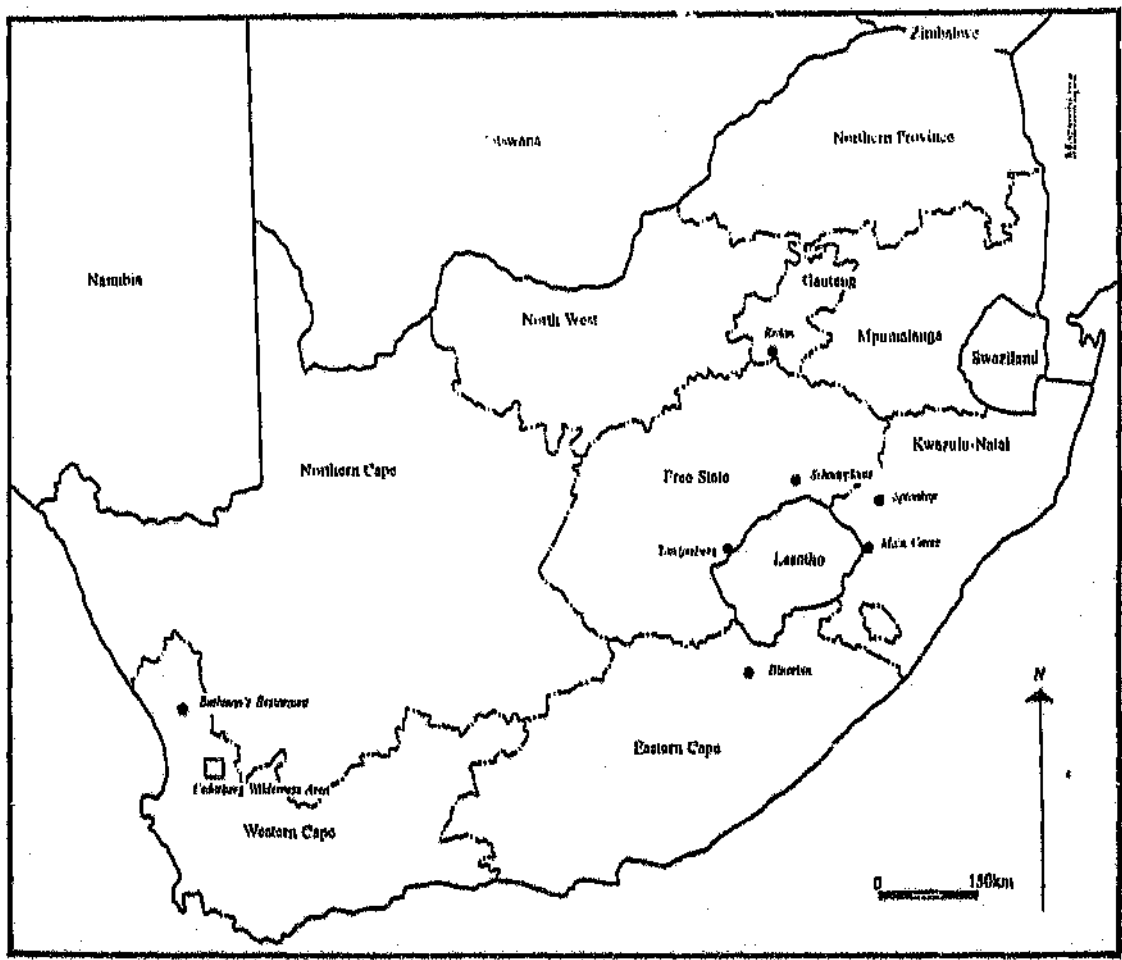


Figure 1. Map of South Africa indicating rock art sites that are open to the public and other places that are mentioned in the text.

ultimate goal in writing *The Politics of public rock art*, and, indeed, the reason for taking a comparative approach, is to suggest a theoretically informed, but practically implementable, way of reconstructing South African public rock art sites so that they will have greater impact on perceptions of South Africa's past.

Fieldwork

The reasons for choosing public rock art sites as a topic grew out of my field research over the last six years. Many field excursions to rock art sites in South Africa, ranging from the Western Cape to the Free State to KwaZu'u-Natal (Fig. 1) have raised important questions: Why are there so few rock art sites open to the public? Why are those sites that are open so poorly presented? Surely the preparation of the sites could be much better, even though the available resources are limited? How can such sites be improved?

In large part, these questions were raised in my mind at one particular public site - Main Caves in the Giant's Castle Nature Reserve in KwaZulu-Natal. Indeed, visits to Main Caves to record various aspects of the art have often irritated researchers. The outdated and poor interpretative material prepared by the Natal Parks Board and the lack of care evinced by the uninformed guard are indicative of the general situation regarding rock art

Most of the 'public' conceptions with which I deal come out of a white educational background. The comparative unity of white education has played a major role in the production of these conceptions. Black 'public' conceptions of the San are far more difficult to deal with (cf. Prins and Lewis 1992). All in all it must be remembered that all South African communities are in a state of flux and that the word 'public' masks all the manifold, shifting conceptions. At appropriate points, I allow for such diversity.

Despite this indisputable diversity, however, there are widely shared beliefs about the past, especially regarding the situation of indigenous people within that past. Importantly, some of these beliefs extend across continents.

Comparing public perceptions from widely separated geographical areas therefore leads to greater insights into the nature of these perceptions and how archaeology may impact on them more effectively. As a route to these wider insights I compare public rock art sites in South Africa with those in the United States of America; thereby I show how archaeology may have greater impact on public perceptions of the past. The American sites provide a yardstick against which to measure the quality of presentation at South African sites. Moreover, comparing sites from these two countries allows for an understanding of what to avoid in reconstructing them that is more comprehensive than a non-comparative approach. Nevertheless, my

South Africa are on private land and are visited by the farmers who own the land and, sometimes, their families, friends and visitors. Some of these sites have accrued fame and are frequented by visitors other than the farmers' immediate families and friends. I do not consider these sites to be public rock art sites. Rather, I define a public rock art site as a historic or prehistoric rock art site that has been prepared in some way to receive visitors. Such preparation may take two forms: first, physical structures, such as fences and boardwalks, may be erected; secondly, interpretative material, or representations, may be placed at sites or made available through pamphlets to guide visitors' responses to the art. This distinction, however, requires three qualifiers. Some sites that have been fenced are hardly ever visited because they are in remote areas (e.g. Fulton's Rock, Giant's Castle Nature Reserve) or because land owners do not permit visitors. Such sites can hardly be described as 'public'. Moreover, too rigid a distinction should not be drawn between physical structures and interpretative representations because even simple fences communicate something about the art that lies behind them. Finally, the word 'public' is itself problematic because, on the one hand, it emphasises a distinction between 'ordinary people' and 'scientific experts' and, on the other hand, it homogenises what, in reality, is a diverse, fluid and often contradictory social generality.

is the narrow way in which many archaeologists define their discipline. As recently as 1993, a pamphlet perpetuating the stereotype of archaeologists as objective, scientific empiricists was published by the South African professional association. The pamphlet defined archaeology as, largely, excavation. Defining archaeology by a technique of data retrieval, unlike most other disciplines, is, of course, very problematic. As Lewis-Williams (1993:45-50) points out in his castigation of this pamphlet, such definitions ignore or marginalise the complex interaction between archaeology and its broader socio-political environment. With a few notable exceptions, archaeologists have largely failed to come to grips with their position in the broader South African socio-political matrix. Few attempts, for example, have been made to bring archaeological knowledge to the public, whether in the form of popular books or other forms, such as exhibitions and the media. Yet, it is in these forums that archaeologists will need to become proficient if they wish their considerable wealth of knowledge to have the full impact that it can in the so-called new South Africa. This thesis is a response to the challenge facing South African archaeology today in that it is concerned with a forum of public presentation not widely considered by archaeologists - public rock art sites.

The notion of a public rock art site is a complex one, for, very broadly speaking, all rock art sites are open to the public. Many rock art sites in

archaeologists for desecrating the graves and the village sites of their ancestors and for failing to respect their cultural values (Johnston 1976; Swinton 1976). In many jurisdictions they have sought to stop or control archaeological research and have won much sympathy and support both from the general public and from politicians. More significantly, their actions have created a moral as well as a legal crisis for many archaeologists. While individuals have attempted to deal with this challenge in a piecemeal fashion, and in some instances have done so successfully, archaeologists have so far largely failed to grapple collectively with the more fundamental implications of the challenge they are confronting. They have not begun seriously to assess archaeology's moral and intellectual responsibility to native people.

In a country such as South Africa, it is difficult 'to assess archaeology's moral and intellectual responsibility'. Archaeologists have often been in the forefront in debunking racist myths concerning the Bantu-speaking majority (e.g. Huffman 1973:15-16; Huffman 1975:21-24; Lewis-Williams 1976:32-41; Hall 1988:62-64; Huffman 1991:61-70; Maggs 1993:70-76) and have provided an alternative to the dominant white colonial history. Much, however, still needs to be done, as is evident from the situation in which the discipline currently finds itself. The challenge facing archaeologists worldwide, but in South Africa in particular, in the next century is how best to bridge the ever-widening chasm between themselves and the public. Unfortunately, it is a challenge for which archaeologists are ill-equipped to deal.

One of the most significant difficulties in the way of meeting this challenge

appropriated archaeological evidence for their own purposes. What is particularly alarming about the South African situation, though, is the apparently widespread acceptance of 'alternative' beliefs about the past.

Clearly, what is at issue in these contests is the relationship between archaeology and the public. This relationship is increasingly taking on divisive characteristics that may be characterised as a set of oppositions along the following lines:

Traditional	:	Modern
Vernacular	:	Authoritarian
Indigenous	:	White
Public	:	Academic

Broadly speaking, these oppositions characterise most conflicts over archaeological data and have, in fact, led to a profound moral crisis within archaeology in recent years (Ucko 1990:xx). This crisis has still to be acknowledged and responded to by many practising archaeologists, not only in South Africa but worldwide. As Trigger (1980:670), commenting a decade and a half ago on North American archaeology, pointed out,

relations between archaeology and native peoples are not good. As Indians and Inuit have become politically more active, they have become increasingly articulate about the white man's treatment of their heritage. They have denounced

presenter, setting himself up as the adjudicator between the various interpretations, praised the seeming certainty of the 'alternative' approaches. Ironically, these approaches smacked strongly of older, colonial and racist views of the South African past. The programme elicited an outcry from the South African archaeological community which, through the South African Association of Archaeologists, entered into correspondence with the presenter.

The second television programme that illustrated the *point* of over understanding the past was a talk-show about human origins. A number of academics, including archaeologists, anthropologists, historians, palaeontologists and teachers interested in South Africa's past took part in a discussion with 'traditional' ritual-specialists and other people who hold 'alternative' views. As in the first programme, the professionals were called upon to defend their stances, while the 'alternative' views, by and large, came off lightly. Indeed, it seemed as if the professionals were reluctant to criticise the 'alternative' views.

The questioning of archaeological authority, as evidenced in these two programmes, is neither new nor peculiar to South Africa. Archaeology has often been a source of controversy throughout the world (see, for example, Gero 1989); numerous, but relatively small, communities have often

curators to maintain them. The NMC is in effect an organisation that guides; it has little power to implement. Hampered by the very real problems of limited funds and staff, the NMC cannot have the widespread influence it would like to have. At present the NMC is being restructured, and these problems will be addressed if not solved.

Funding is, however, far from a solely practical concern: it is also a conceptual problem. What is chosen to be supported financially is indicative of what society conceives to be valuable. Indeed, money is available for other types of art in South Africa. This availability is evident from the recent international art exhibition, *Africus: the 1995 Johannesburg Biennale*. Some five and a half million rands were spent to host the exhibition, with an additional seven million rands of foreign funding. Although a small exhibit on South African rock art was included in this exhibition, the vast sum spent on the Biennale is a poignant illustration of the way rock art is perceived in the country today. Rock art is seen as neither 'African' nor 'Western' and is therefore ambiguous. Unless rock art can be incorporated into either of these categories, very little is done about it. The money spent on the Biennale belies the view that the predicament of South Africa's public rock art sites is merely a practical issue. Behind the oft-discussed absence of funding, interest, labour and so forth lie deep value-judgements; South African rock art has, by and large, not been considered valuable. The

lack of attention paid to those sites that are open to the public. A common explanation for this lack is an absence of funding. There is some truth in this for very little funding is at present available for the conservation of rock art. The structure and functioning of the National Monuments Council (NMC) is a case in point. The NMC is the statutory body ultimately responsible for the management and conservation of South Africa's rock art. Although the body has rightly been criticised for its Eurocentrism, it was nevertheless through the NMC's guidance over the years that all rock art in South Africa is today protected by law, whether it is on private or government land. Formerly, part of NMC policy was to go further and to declare selected rock art sites national monuments. Ten such sites were declared in the 1930s and 1940s (Deacon 1993a:2-3). The declaration of these sites led to an increase in the number of visitors to places at which no provision could be made to control access. This often resulted in severe damage to the art. As a result, only one site was declared in 1991, after many years during which no sites at all were declared national monuments. In this instance (Tandjesberg), the farmer who owns the land was considered a competent manager of the site.

The lack of adequate control at declared sites is the result of inadequate legislation that was passed in 1969: the NMC was granted the power to declare monuments but neither the power nor the funding to appoint

(to fill this lacuna by establishing a theoretical framework from which site museums can systematically be developed)

In spite of some good ideas, however, Moolman's work, which is concerned with site museums of various kinds, does not fulfil this promise. Indeed, most of the suggestions he makes for improving and establishing site museums are practical, not theoretical, and concern the establishment of bureaucratic structures to administer these sites. He does not consider representation and presentation, key issues in contemporary anthropology and archaeology, in any detail.

Among the supposedly purely practical problems that are often cited for the paucity of public sites is the fact that most sites are on private land and their locations do not allow public access. Many farmers on whose land the art occurs are, however, willing to cooperate with academic and governmental institutions to allow controlled access to the art. In some cases, notably at Tandjesberg in the Free State and Dinorbin in the Eastern Cape Province, farmers have already cooperated with institutions to construct public rock art sites. In any event, there are sufficient sites on land belonging to provincial and other government organisations to warrant more public sites.

Even if lack of access explains the paucity of sites, it does not explain the



Figure 4. The neglect and deterioration of some South African public rock art sites is clearly evident in this photograph of a rock engraving site near to Vereeniging. The site is known as Redan.

neglected. At these sites it is common to find signs and noticeboards that have fallen down, a lack of, or outdated, interpretative material, and protective fences that have long since rusted (Fig. 4). South Africa's public rock art sites fall far short of the much admired art they contain; both physically and conceptually they lie in tatters and rags.

In this chapter, I argue that the reasons for the deplorable state of affairs in South Africa are not simply practical. They go much deeper than funding, administration and so forth. The few attempts that have been made to resolve the problems of public rock art sites have overemphasised the practicalities of site management and have not given enough thought to a conceptual understanding of these sites and how they communicate concepts of the past. It is because insufficient thought has been given to a conceptual understanding of public rock art sites and, further, to the attitudes of the public to the San that the predicament has been perpetuated.

Emphasizing the practical

There is a virtual absence of theoretical issues in the literature on public sites in South Africa. Moolman (1993) acknowledges this in his PhD thesis.

He states that his aim is:

om hierdie leemte te vul deur 'n teoretiese raamwerk daar te stel waarbinne terreinmuseums doelmatiger kan ontwikkel.

Chapter 1

Possible pasts:

The predicament of South Africa's public rock art sites

*AND STRUNG OUT BEHIND US, THE BANNERS AND FLAGS
OF OUR POSSIBLE PASTS, LIE IN TATTERS AND RAGS*
(Waters 1983)

Parts of South Africa have been referred to as the "richest storehouse of prehistoric mural decoration in the world" (van Riet Lowe 1941:9).

Educated guesses place the number of South African rock art sites at over 15000, although the actual total may be closer to twice that number.

Furthermore, the aesthetic appeal of the art has long been noted; for the South African artist Walter Battiss (1948:231), the subcontinent's engravings and paintings called to mind such names as Degas and Picasso.

For so celebrated an art it is more than a little surprising to find that there are exceptionally few sites that have been prepared for public viewing. Indeed, in writing this chapter it was difficult to go beyond a handful of well-known sites. Worse, even the few sites that have been prepared are, at times, run-down and, in some extreme and unfortunate cases, now totally

created anywhere in the world for an established archaeological community. The restrictive past has not prepared archaeologists in South Africa to take on the new challenge and to explore innovative ways of not just uncovering the past but of presenting and representing the nation's history in a way that is relevant to the new political and social circumstances. Public outreach programmes are now being developed by a number of South African archaeologists who have come to realise that the challenges of the present and the future are different from the challenges that faced them in the apartheid era.

Of all these chapters, the pivotal one is Chapter Four. In the chapters leading up to it I argue that South Africa's public rock art sites are in a predicament and that there is an urgent need to reconstruct them. In order to accomplish this it is necessary, first, to understand what sort of experiences they offer, an insight that may be gleaned, at least in part, from American sites. Secondly, it is essential to conceptualise these experiences at a theoretical level. Only once this theoretical conceptualisation has been achieved, can we attempt to make suggestions for the reconstruction of public rock art sites. After Chapter Four, the remaining three chapters demonstrate the application and effectiveness of the approach that I suggest.

Undoubtedly, developing new approaches of presenting the past to the public will become increasingly vital to archaeology as the discipline moves into the next century and a new democratic era takes shape in South Africa. Indeed, the present crisis is not created entirely by negative factors; it also has its positive side. The political changes that have taken place so swiftly in South Africa have opened up new perspectives on the past. There is a new kind of interest, still nascent, in the pre-colonial history of the subcontinent that is not posited on a need to combat oppression and political subjugation. This new interest creates an opportunity with a challenging and immense potential. What should archaeology's contribution to the new South Africa be? Seldom, if ever, has such a challenge been so suddenly

discussion, I move on in Chapter Four to suggest a new approach to public rock art sites. This approach draws significantly on a concept that is deeply implicated in the experiences I discuss in Chapter Three. It is the broad notion of pilgrimage. I do not, of course, intend this new approach to be monolithic, nor that it should apply to public rock art sites for all time. Rather, I intend it to be a flexible approach that is applicable to a diversity of sites and that can be developed as social circumstances change.

In Chapters Five and Six I demonstrate the value of my approach and provide a guide as to its possible implementation by applying its key principles to two South African sites. The new approach is, however, not only relevant to the current situation in South Africa but has applications in the USA as well. Chapter Seven, therefore, demonstrates the applicability of the principles of this approach to two sites in the USA. Since my principal aim is to make suggestions for the reconstruction of South African sites, I do not deal with these two American sites in as much detail as the South African ones. The sites I have chosen from South Africa and the USA are similar in some respects but very different in others. This diversity illustrates the flexibility of my approach to public rock art sites. Finally, in Chapter Eight, I draw my arguments together and discuss possible future implications of the approach I advocate.

American public rock art sites in Chapter Two. For numerous reasons, America provides an enlightening comparison with South Africa, more so than most other countries. For one, both countries have a vast wealth of rock art. Yet, as we shall see, in both countries adequate presentation of the art is lacking. The reasons for this poor treatment lie in complex colonial and historical processes that are often similar, sometimes different, but never exactly the same in both countries. The problem with American sites, I argue, lies with the types of past that they present to the public. Understanding these portrayals of the past in the American context points to the sort of experiences with which we are concerned at these sites and allows us to avoid similar mistakes in the reconstruction of South African sites.

In Chapter Three, I investigate, in considerable detail, the experiential phenomena that I have mentioned. These experiences are complex, and the literature on them is elusive; most writers are vague about defining these experiences, and they seldom make their theoretical understanding of them explicit. For this reason, rather than applying the work of a single author, I select ideas from various, often diverse, sources in order to avoid the habitual glossing over of the key experiences.

Armed with an explicit theoretical formulation of the experiences under

interesting comparative component that refined earlier ideas and produced new ones, the fieldwork was far from 'archaeological'. This departure from 'normal archaeology' led to concern as to how my work would be accepted by the archaeological community both here and in the USA. It took the controversial television programmes to convince me that my approach is not only valid but, furthermore, that it is one that South African archaeologists should be investigating more energetically.

Central arguments

In turning theory and fieldwork into a presentable form, I have divided the thesis into eight chapters. In Chapter One I point out why South African sites should be reconceptualised. I discuss the predicament of South African public rock art sites and point to the urgency with which they need to be reconstructed. I argue that an emphasis on practical rather than theoretical issues has hampered current approaches to rock art sites. If we are to reconstruct these sites we must move beyond an emphasis on practical issues alone and study the complex and diverse emotional and intellectual experiences that are involved when people visit these sites. In short, we now need to go beyond 'preservation' (essential as it is) to 'presentation'.

The types of experiential phenomena that are generated when visitors confront images from and of the past become apparent as I discuss



Figure 3(B). The main attraction at the Parc Pyrénéen de l'Art Préhistorique is the reconstruction of the famous Salon Noir at Niaux. In addition to this reconstruction, the park has a large open-air area with spectacular views of the Pyrenees, as well as constructed water features and concrete impressions of bison.

negative, non-cultural images of the San and their art.

The metaphor-of-museum approach

Whereas the minimalist approach conceptualises public rock art sites as part of nature, the metaphor-of-museum approach tends to conceive the sites as if they were museums or, more rarely, art galleries. In some ways this approach is preferable to the minimalist approach because it tries to foster conservation of the art by turning sites into a kind of institution that is familiar to and respected by many, if not most, people today. In implementing the metaphor-of-museum approach, however, the structures erected at South African sites never compare in quality to those found in museums. At best, sites are fenced, and one or two lecterns erected. The lack of a substantial financial input into structures of presentation at sites that follow the metaphor-of-museum approach is, yet again, indicative of the lack of value of rock art in the country.

An NMC pamphlet entitled *Minimum standards for archaeological site museums and rock art sites open to the public* illustrates the main components of this approach. Points from this pamphlet include the following :

television and such events as Environment Week find themselves in a difficult position. On the one hand, television and public events have a far wider audience than the usual academic forums of representation and even rock art sites themselves. On the other hand, it is unfortunately true that the vast majority of television programmes and events that are in a position to get more sensitive perceptions across to the public are those devoted to nature and hence ultimately to the very associations that were used to justify the genocide of the San. It is difficult, therefore, to gauge what should be done: researchers need to obtain public recognition of the art, but they also need to avoid being caught in a vicious circle in which they themselves become responsible for reproducing images of the San as part of nature. By associating the art closely with nature, no matter how sensitively, it, and by extension its makers, will always be seen as less than cultural. Until South African rock art is treated as nothing less than purely cultural, the whole cycle of pejorative attitudes, lack of presentation, lack of care, and, ultimately, vandalism will continue.

By leaving public sites unmediated, as the minimalist approach advocates, we run the risk of reproducing long-standing, widely-held racist conceptions of the San as part of the 'wilderness'. The minimalist approach, then, does not, by definition, try to alter people's conceptions. On the contrary, by not challenging visitors' 'cultural baggage' this approach inevitably reinforces

that rock art is a cultural phenomenon that makes use of the environment in a complex way" (Deacon 1994:64), it is difficult to gauge the success with which they managed to shake off historically rooted and widespread associations of the art.

The same question could, in fact, be asked of television programmes. Often, such programmes adopt a minimalist position and take the San to be part of nature rather than of culture. Indeed, most of the programmes that feature rock art are programmes dedicated to nature. True, some of these programmes are sensitive to the consequences of an association between San, their art, and nature and are, therefore, careful to avoid being pejorative, as indeed were the organisers of Environment Week. Nevertheless, it needs to be questioned to what extent such sensitivity is effective. In the powerful and emotive overall context of 'nature' programmes, statements about the cultural significance of the art have little impact. Too often, form and setting override the content of these programmes.

The association of rock art with the environment, an inevitable result of the minimalist approach, poses a dilemma not only for tour operators and publicists but also for researchers. Professional archaeologists and others who wish to publicise the art and change perceptions of the San through

Even today the association between the San, their art and nature is ineluctable in South Africa. A disconcerting recent development, for example, is the interest ecotourism developers have shown in rock art. In 1995, for example, the Centre for Ecotourism at the University of Pretoria hosted a seminar at which the possibility of developing rock art as a tourist attraction was discussed. A number of tour operators are, so it was said, eager to capitalise on South Africa's growing tourist market by making money from a perceived international interest in the subcontinent's rock art. Such international interest is, of course, to be welcomed. The seminar was, however, characterised by an absence of any understanding of the complex issues involved in representing the San, and especially their supposed close association with nature. Significantly, all the archaeological sites that were deemed suitable for ecotourism were those of either Bantu-speaking people or the San. White historical sites, such as battlefields or Cape Dutch colonial houses, were not considered part of ecotourism. That such a distinction should be problematic eluded the majority of the participants.

Most associations between nature and rock art are, however, made on more sensitive grounds than those of ecotourism. Rock art was included, for example, in the 1994 Environment Week, the title of which was *Our World in Art*. Although the organisers of Environment Week explicitly aimed "to promote greater awareness of rock art and at the same time to emphasise

concept of space as independent of social construction. Far from being neutral communicators "objects and spaces generate specialized modes of viewing and interaction, which are likely to be rooted in historically deeper modalities of seeing as a cultural practice" (Appadurai and Breckenridge 1992:46). The cultural practice of seeing rock art in South Africa has long been part of a broader opposition between nature and culture within Western thought generally. This opposition requires some discussion.

Whether it is in the writing of such popular authors as Laurens van der Post (Barnard : 78-9), in the exhibiting of San life in natural history settings (Davison 1991:139-167), or in the display of rock art within the Johannesburg Zoological Gardens (Dowson and Lewis-Williams 1993:47), the association of the San with nature as opposed to culture is pervasive theme in southern Africa. In this view, the San are seen as living close to nature (as constructed by Westerners) and thus closer to animals than to people. By extension, their art is seen as closer to nature than to Western art, which is, of course, seen as cultural. The perception of the San as part of nature has been current since Europeans first arrived in southern Africa; the San's hunting and gathering way of life, with seemingly no permanent, cultivated territory that they could be said to own, was interpreted by colonists as being akin to that of wild animals. In turn, this perceived animality was used to justify their genocide (Lewis-Williams 1995a).

assumed to have no influence on the way visitors view the art. Space, however, is not neutral; it is socially produced and is

meaningfully constituted in relation to human agency and activity...It follows that the meanings of space always involve a subjective dimension and cannot be understood apart from the symbolically constructed lifeworlds of social actors (*ibid.*:10-11).

On the other hand, the minimalist approach, as implemented at the CWA, wrongly assumes that 'wilderness' possesses its own inherent values. The notion of 'wilderness' as Westerners understand it today is, however, a mid- to late-twentieth century construct. 'Wilderness', for Westerners, carries connotations of untamed, untouched, unspoilt and pure. It is seen as the repository and source of vaguely defined values and supposed spiritual regeneration. 'Wilderness' is, in fact, constructed not discovered. The notion of 'wilderness' is part of visitors' cultural baggage, and it powerfully informs their response to the art. The San thus come to be seen as 'children of nature' and their art seems to do no more than reflect their idyllic relationship with a romantic 'wilderness'

The minimalist desire to keep the art and its surroundings as pristine as possible is therefore based on problematic assumptions about the inherent meaning and aesthetics of the art, the neutrality of viewers, and a false

the idea that viewers of the art are neutral. The minimalist approach assumes that people come to public rock art sites as blank and receptive visitors who will inevitably admire and appreciate the art. However, as Karp (1992:3), commenting on visitors to museums, points out, they "do not leave their cultures and identities in the coatroom". Visitors to public rock art sites come as persons who have, to varying degrees, been exposed to ideas about the art through particular types of education, through seeing movies and television programmes and through reading newspapers and magazines. These ideas tend to stereotype the art as simplistic depictions of mundane events. In other words, visitors are people with their own 'cultural baggage'. It is on this 'cultural baggage' that visitors draw when they view the art. Part of their 'baggage' contains the stereotypes of the San to which I have referred. Inevitably, the art simply reflects these stereotypes, and visitors find in the images confirmation of their long-held prejudices. The approach I develop in subsequent chapters addresses the problem before visitors reach the site itself.

The minimalist approach is, in some ways, contradictory. On the one hand it assumes that the geographic space in which the art is viewed is an "abstract dimension or container" (Tilley 1994:9) that is neutral, lacking in depth and meaning. In other words, the way in which sites are presented, the approach to the site and the order of structures of presentation are

At first glance this kind of policy seems reasonable enough. There are, however, at least three closely related problematic assumptions with the minimalist approach: (1) the notion that, at the actual sites, the images should be allowed to speak for themselves; (2) the assumption that visitors to public sites are neutral; (3) the belief that the geographic space in which sites occur is a meaningless void. I discuss each in turn.

The principal idea behind the minimalist approach (in its extreme form) is that, if the art is left in its original setting with little or no mediatory structures and interpretative material it will communicate directly to viewers (this position is somewhat moderated in the CWA where a pamphlet is available to visitors). Behind this idea lies the problematic notions that the art should not be interpreted from a modern perspective and that its 'message' can be easily 'read' by those who are 'close to nature'. Such notions, however, implicitly emphasize the aesthetic beauty of the art rather than its 'meanings'. The problem with this view is that it assumes meaning and beauty to be inherent in the paintings themselves and that these are evident to even casual viewers. Yet, both interpretations and aesthetics are subjective. They are complex, dynamic cultural constructs that reside in the viewer and not the art.

Closely linked to the belief that meaning and aesthetic value are patent is

were the first-known shaded polychrome depictions of eland in the Western Cape. From all points of view, the work was very valuable and an example for other authorities to emulate.

The survey resulted in a report containing suggestions and recommendations for the sustainable use of rock art as a resource in the CWA. In accordance with her brief, Deacon's suggestions are necessarily strongly geared towards the conservation and protection of the art; she suggests such valuable practical measures as having employees of the CWA briefed on the art and its conservation and the promotion of interest groups to encourage conservation of the sites. Deacon also considers the use of interpretative material; she recommends that pamphlets and a guidebook be made available to the public. These important recommendations have now been implemented.

At the end of the survey, a decision was taken that only certain sites would be opened to the public and that no interpretative structures would be placed at these sites. Only the pamphlet mentioned was to be made available to interested persons. This decision was in keeping with the widely acknowledged wilderness concept: 'nature' should be left pristine and unmediated wherever possible. In this way the sites would be left as unspoilt, untouched parts of the wilderness.



Figure 5. Schaapplaats, a public rock art site on private land, is an example of the minimalist approach. At this site only a fence has been erected to protect the paintings. There is no interpretative material.

apart from what is seen as 'mainstream culture'. These stereotypes lie hidden behind both the minimalist and the metaphor-of-museum approaches, indeed behind all apparently purely practical problems.

The minimalist approach

Minimalist sites are those that have little or nothing in the way of interpretative material and facilities; the art is either left alone completely or the minimum in the way of mediating structures is placed at or around the sites; sometimes only a protective fence has been erected. These types of sites make no attempt to inform the public about the art (Fig. 5). Most of South Africa's public rock art sites fall into this category.

A recent project funded by the Department of Environment Affairs illustrates this approach. The administrators of the Cedarberg Wilderness Area (CWA) recently approached Dr Janette Deacon, the NMC archaeologist, to co-ordinate a survey of rock art in their territory and adjacent areas. In part, the aim of the survey was to identify sites to which the public would be allowed access. In the most extensive undertaking on the conservation of rock art sites in the last decade, Deacon and her team surveyed the CWA, in the process discovering close on 90 hitherto unrecorded sites (Deacon 1993b:5). Apart from the sheer quantity of sites discovered, many highly significant images were found. Amongst these

predicament of South Africa's sites, however, goes even deeper than value-judgements of the art: it has to do with the very real difficulties of presenting rock art in a modern world.

Current conceptual approaches

The fundamental mission of every public rock art site is to present what is a poorly understood and alien art form to a modern, industrialised world. So far, this challenge has been taken up in South Africa from either of two positions - I term these the minimalist and the metaphor-of-museum approaches. They are, of course, ideal types and are thus, in a sense, strawmen. In practice, the distinctions between these approaches are not always sharp and aspects of both are found at a number of sites.

Nevertheless, I argue that they imply different understandings

of public sites and that they are both associated with a number of stereotypes of the San and their art that are far from favourable. These stereotypes have been much discussed (e.g. Lewis-Williams 1976; Smith 1983:37-49; Voss 1987:21-40; Humphreys 1994:111-131; Lewis-Williams 1995a; Lewis-Williams 1995b) and need not be presented at length here.

Briefly, they present the San as savages, or as children, or as dwellers in an idyllic, romanticised 'nature' (see also Chapter Three). Stereotypes are, of course, constructs, not facts; they have changed as political and social circumstances in South Africa have changed. But, always, they set the San

Authoritarianism

The second problem of the museum approach that I consider is authoritarianism. Almost every public presentation involves some degree of authority on the part of the presenters. Importantly, however, a distinction must be made between 'authoritarian' and 'authoritative'. 'Authoritative' refers to representations of the past that are based on, and supported by, convincing evidence, while 'authoritarian' refers to the presentation of the past in a way that emphasizes the intellectual hegemony of the displayers.

At rock art sites where the museum approach has been adopted there is a distinct impression of a high-handed authoritarian pedagogue working behind the scenes. The authoritarian tone is seen in such aspects as the prominent display of the legal consequences of any sort of vandalism. In fact, such authoritarian noticeboards tend to be a common theme at most South African monuments and museums. Only recently, have there been admirable attempts to mitigate the confrontational tone and invitations extended to various communities to participate in producing exhibitions.

Another expression of this authoritarian attitude is the erection of fences around sites. Placing fences around sites does keep all but the most serious of vandals out. However, when fences are dilapidated and do not enclose all the images at a site, they communicate a lack of value of the art. Such

The artifice of the diorama is more apparent at Main Caves than at the SAM and Natal Museum. There is no indication of interaction between the casts, as there is at the SAM and the Natal Museum. They are not a unified community with a social dynamic of their own but, rather, isolated, static objects. Even more so than those in the SAM, the casts at Main Caves represent "a classification and reification of Bushmen as racial Others" (Davison 1991:152).

The objectification of indigenous people, such as the San, through casting and other methods by museums is, by now, well attested. Objects made by indigenous people, especially during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, were collected and displayed as a way of knowing them (Impey and MacGregor 1985; Stocking 1985). Removed from their original contexts and the control of their makers, these objects were easily incorporated into an ideology that held Westerners to be at the pinnacle of an evolutionary trajectory. In this sense, indigenous people were denied a history and a subjectivity of their own (Davison 1991:14). In turn, this denial and the perceived superiority of Westerners were used to justify political subjugation, colonialism, and even genocide. Museums were, in other words, institutions that justified Western power relations; in many instances they still do.



Figure 7. Two of the casts in the Main Caves diorama. A man paints on the shelter wall (A), while a woman digs for roots or bulbs with a weighted digging stick (B).

"The power of museum professionals to appropriate, classify and represent the Other in the name of science" (*ibid.*:167).

Despite the problematic moral issues surrounding such casts, museums have continued to display them. At the Natal Museum in Pietermaritzburg, for example, the main attraction of a recently constructed display is a mock shelter that, in its tunnel-like approach resembles a European Upper Palaeolithic cave more than it does the Drakensberg shelter it is supposed to represent. Along the walls of this cave are reproductions of rock paintings. The view from the shelter is as if one were staring at the sloping ground outside a rock shelter and at the distant Drakensberg. In this open area, two casts of San, representing a man and a boy, have been placed. The casts are also gazing away from the shelter at something in the Drakensberg. To view the casts, visitors have to turn their backs to the rock art. The visitors thus occupy a liminal area that is demarcated by the paintings behind them and the central focus of the exhibit, the casts.

Whereas the casts at the SAM are presented as looking at birds flying overhead and those at the Natal Museum as looking at something in the distant mountains, those at Main Caves are involved in diverse activities. One figure paints on the rock wall (Fig. 7a), another digs for plant material (Fig. 7b) and others, including a child, are performing various daily tasks.

the decades since their acquisition.

These various displays have, however, until recently, been problematic. In the early 1960s, for example, the original display underwent radical change. It was transformed into a diorama, a display convention common to natural history museums at that time (*ibid.*:158). The casts were arranged as if they were in a 'Bushman' camp, looking away from the viewer as if, as the label on the diorama says, they had seen a large flock of birds flying overhead (*ibid.*:159).

There was no attempt to situate the depicted scene in Khoisan history, except to indicate that there were no longer Bushmen living in the Karoo. The implication was, therefore, that the activities depicted were timeless or traditional and generalized. The casts (museum objects), however, were given historical provenance and more attention in the label than the hunting and gathering way of life, which the display set out to illustrate. This inversion confirms the perceived importance of the casts as unique museum objects (*ibid.*:159).

Rather than display the impoverishment of the San or focus on their dispossession and destruction at the hands of colonists, the San casts were portrayed in an idealistic setting, far removed from the historical reality in which they were made. What museum professionals presented at the SAM was, in fact, a fiction. Ultimately, the collection and display of the casts was not so much about the search for scientific knowledge as it was about

thus merely completing a process begun by P. . . speakers, a process that was historically ordained. By implicating all races in the decimation of the San, the colonists were justifying their own position of power and lessening their culpability.

Apart from the interpretative material that reproduces such notions, another problematic feature created by the metaphor-of-museum approach at Main Caves is the diorama consisting of San casts. The problems with collecting and displaying casts may best be illustrated by referring to Patricia Davison's (1991:139-167) discussion on the dioramas at the South African Museum (SAM).

Davison's work s. . . how the power exercised by those who construct such exhibits can create false responses in viewers. The casts for the SAM exhibit were commissioned by Louis Péringuey who sent James Drury, the museum modeller, to Kimberley and Upington to make the casts from 1907 onwards (Davison 1991:148). The project appears to have been motivated, in part, by a desire to preserve something of the vanishing 'Bushmen' and 'Hottentots' (*ibid.*:145), as well as to collect casts as scientific evidence to resolve issues surrounding questions of racial origins. The casts have, however, never been used as scientific specimens but have become museum objects in their own right (*ibid.*:156) that have been variously exhibited over

them, appropriated their land without a single pretext of justification, and waged a war of extermination against them as soon as they resisted or resented the wrong that was done to them (Stow 1905:215).

Today we know that these references to "every race of men" are greatly exaggerated. For close on two thousand years before the arrival of the Europeans at the Cape of Good Hope, the San had interacted with Bantu-speakers and Khoi pastoralists, largely amicably. San and Bantu-speakers were engaged in various trade (Wilmsen 1989; Wilmsen and Denbow 1990; Gordon 1992; Hall 1994) and ritual relations (Prins and Lewis 1992; Dowson 1994; Jolly 1994).

For the colonists and later generations of European-descended South Africans, the supposedly innate aggression of all the subcontinent's people towards the San was a self-perpetuating historical 'truth' that required little evidence. The twin notions of innate aggression and successive invasions gained widespread acceptance because they legitimated colonists' actions against the San. The colonists believed that they were, in large part, merely following a historically established pattern. It was a historical trajectory, moreover, that was couched in evolutionary notions. As the 'blacks' had invaded South Africa, displacing the evolutionary simpler San, so 'whites' in turn invaded the country and displaced the 'blacks', who were more advanced than the San but less so than the Europeans. The Europeans were

word 'invasion' is illuminating. The successive invasions of the San's land first by Bantu-speakers and then by whites, is a repetitive theme in South African literature. As it is constructed, the notion clearly lies at the heart of power relations within modern South Africa. The past is presented as a contest for land, but a contest with an inevitable outcome because some 'races' are considered intrinsically more powerful than others. This conception of South African power relations has a long history. Theal (1964:42), for example, commented,

Being better armed and disciplined than the aboriginal savages [San], the invaders [Bantu-speakers] had little difficulty in exterminating them or driving them into the barren parts.

It is, moreover, common in the early literature on South African history that this invasion is said to have been motivated by hatred for the San. Thus, Theal (1964:28) observed that "the white settlers . . . regarded the Bushmen simply as robbers just as the Hottentots and Bantu did".

Other writers also commented on the way in which the San were universally despised. For these writers the San, of all South Africans, were the most detested notably by white but also by indigenous people. What was important for these writers was that

Every race of man, savage or civilized, that came into contact with



Figure 6. Main Caves, South Africa's most important public rock art site, is an example of the metaphor-of-museum approach. Here there are display cabinets (A) containing excavated material and a diorama (B), comprising casts of San arranged as if they inhabit the shelter.

Main Caves 'site museum', as it is explicitly known, is a striking example. Possibly South Africa's best-known public rock art site, Main Caves, is situated in the Giant's Castle Nature Reserve in the central Drakensberg of KwaZulu-Natal. The reserve is a popular tourist destination because of its scenic walks and spectacular scenery. Nevertheless, a focal point for many visitors is Main Caves. Undoubtedly, a major part of the attraction for visitors is the museum-type exhibit in the caves. This exhibit comprises display cabinets containing archaeological material (Fig. 6a) and a diorama consisting of 'Bushman' casts (Fig. 6b). In addition, interpretative material in the form of coloured redrawings of selected images from the site (with no accompanying text) and an audio-cassette commentary are on offer to the public.

Much of the interpretative material on the audio-cassette is outdated and reproduces some common but false notions of the San and their art. For example, the audio-cassette commentary says of the demise of the San that,

It is clear that their centuries long existence, for the latter part of which they had Hottentots as their neighbours, did not long survive the major invasions of South Africa, first by the Bantu and then by the Europeans. It was not long before the invaders had decimated and absorbed the Hottentots and virtually eliminated the Bushmen.

Apart from the offensive uses of 'Hottentot' and 'Bantu', the choice of the

assumption is preferable to the minimalist approach because it has the potential to challenge stereotypes of the San. But, although the advice is reasonable enough and appropriate to the audience at which the pamphlet is aimed, it is fraught with at least three problems: the problematic power relations between museums and various communities, past and present; the authoritarianism of the approach; and the imposition of structures on a (constructed) landscape. I discuss each in turn, relating them to selected sites.

Power relations

Different kinds of power relations are implicated in the metaphor-of-museum approach: they include relations between the San and other communities, past and present, and between the makers and viewers of exhibits. The kinds of power relations implicated in public displays and museums has been much discussed (see, for example, Karp 1992), and there is already an awareness of the problems surrounding such relations in South Africa (e.g. Wright and Mazel 1987; Davison 1991). Rather than analyze these relations in detail, I show how they are reproduced at South African rock art sites that adopt the metaphor-of-museum approach.

Facilities -

- there should be a litter bin at the parking lot and it should be emptied regularly;
- consider the need for toilets and the supply of refreshments and other facilities such as shop, public telephone, rest room, etc., depending on the number of visitors expected;
- consider the need to establish an interpretative centre separate from the site, where people can see the excavated artefacts in a museum-type situation and where you may be able to store material, provide accommodation, etc.

Provision of information -

- at least an introductory notice board explaining that the site is protected by law;
- where appropriate, a display with more detailed information on what can be seen at the site and what it means;
- a visitors' book in a container to protect it from weather, or the farmhouse or other convenient place; an explanatory leaflet or pamphlet that is specific to the site.

Protection of the art -

- a psychological or a physical barrier could be set up between the visitor and the rock art or display area in the form of anything from a low wooden railing to a fence that encloses the entire site, depending on the vulnerability of the site or precautions necessary for the safety of the visitor;
- every effort should be made to remove graffiti from the site as it attracts more graffiti. A permit from the National Monuments Council is required to remove graffiti at a rock art site.

An assumption underlying all these recommendations, good as many of them are, is that people are visiting a museum. As I have said, this

the conservation and effective management of these sites. Drawing on material from America and Australia, he suggested such measures as the construction of interpretative centres and the publication of educational material for visitors (Mazel 1981:105ff). His suggestions for improvements were not extensive, though, and he apparently did not at that time find the exhibition of the casts nor the interpretative audio-commentary at Main Caves problematic.

Although he realised the need for educational features, such as interpretative centres, interpretative sites and publications, Mazel did not question the way in which this material was to be presented. Mazel never suggests a unified conceptual approach that would govern the placement of these structures. Because he did not consider the complex theoretical and conceptual issues surrounding the presentation and representation of the past, he was able to offer only what we have already seen are problematic practical solutions. His work was, however, done in 1981, before representation and presentation became current intellectual concepts. It must, therefore, be evaluated in light of the fact that there was very little theoretical literature on which to draw. Even so, it is unfortunate that his suggestions to improve public sites were not taken up in sufficient measure by the Natal Parks Board and that, as a result, the sites that are open to the public today have not been greatly improved since they were originally constructed.

All this is undoubtedly laudable, but there is a problem with Tandjesberg in that the interpretative text that accompanies the redrawn images is in the form of a substantial and unfortunately dense booklet that may be obtained from the farmer. Not having at least some text on the lecterns with the images is a drawback since, as I have noted, people come to sites with 'cultural baggage' that is loaded with negative perceptions of the art. Because the redrawn images, by themselves, do not challenge people's negative perceptions of the art, they may aid in reproducing those perceptions. The practical measures taken at Tandjesberg certainly preserve the archaeological deposit in the rock shelter, but they do not sufficiently contest stereotypes of the San and their art. All imposed structures thus inevitably 'say' something about the art, and, in the case of Tandjesberg, the lecterns without text 'say' that the images are self-explanatory and are therefore simple.

The point that imposed structures are not simply practical measures taken to answer purely practical problems has been missed by most researchers working on public rock art sites. Aaron Mazel, one of the earliest writers to consider the problems of presenting rock art to the public, is a case in point. In a welcome and positive move on the part of the Natal Parks Board, Mazel was asked in the late 1970s and early 1980s to survey the rock art in the Drakensberg reserves. He made a number of suggestions for

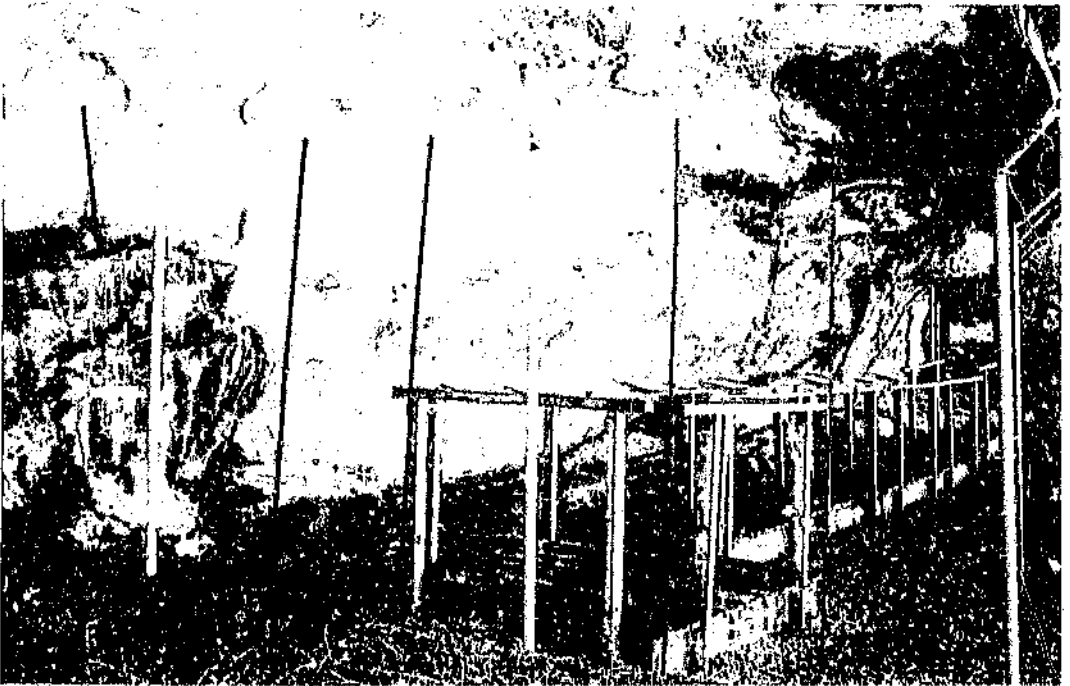


Figure 10. Tandjesberg, a site that falls between the minimalist and metaphor-of-museum approaches, is a good example of what can be achieved and, unfortunately, also an example of what not to do. While the boardwalk protects the archaeological deposit and prevents visitors from stirring up dust, the lack of text on the lecterns containing copies of images means that preconceptions of the art are not challenged.

The art thus becomes peripheral to the imposed structures, the diorama and museum cabinets, and it is not seen as the principal interest. Even at sites where the art is the focus of the presentation, there is a danger in using museum-type structures without carefully thinking through the problems thereby entailed. The site of Tandjesberg is a case in point.

Situated on private land, the Tandjesberg rock shelter has long been open to the public. Discovered in 1941 and since visited by hundreds of people, it is protected by a fence and is well managed by the farmer, Angelo Ligouri. Yet, despite his efforts, the site has suffered some damage over the years because people are able to reach it without being seen from the farmhouse. In order to prevent further destruction, the Rock Art Department at the National Museum in Bloemfontein, with financial assistance from the NMC, constructed a boardwalk on the archaeological deposit in 1991 (Fig. 10). This measure prevented further destruction of the deposit as well as the stirring up of dust which was adhering to the paintings and damaging them. Copies of images in the shelter have been placed on lecterns along this boardwalk. J.H.N. Loubser, then head of the Rock Art Department at the National Museum, hoped "that visitors would be channelled by the boardwalk as they are expected to stay behind the hand-rail with its interpretive copies of the paintings" (Loubser 1993:347).

site or between those images and similar images in South African rock art as a whole. In this way, the museum approach treats rock art images as if they were, say, isolated pots or headrests in widely separated 'old fashioned' museum display cabinets. The images, like museum objects, stand as metonyms for the culture that produced them, and the site becomes little more than certain museums that contain a myriad of decontextualised objects.

Treating the art as isolated objects in a disjointed presentation leads to confusion amongst visitors as to what to see first, where to go next and how to relate parts of the site to each other. Moreover, the disjointed nature of presentations at public sites allows for the emergence of the structures of presentation themselves as items of interest rather than as facilitators for viewing the art. One gets the distinct impression at Main Caves, for example, that the paintings are a sort of wallpaper decorating a museum display. Indeed, this impression is explicitly supported by the audio-tape commentary at the caves when it emphasizes the preeminence of the display itself:

On your way to it [the glass-fronted cabinets], have a look at the many paintings on the big rock that provides such an attractive backdrop to the display.

Imposed structures

Any attempt to present a rock art site to the public will, of course, entail the imposition of some sort of structure, be it a pathway, a boardwalk or lecterns. The metaphor-of-museum approach, however, sees structures as the focus of any presentation instead of seeing them as vehicles for carrying concepts. What is at issue is the way in which imposed structures divide up a site and represent the relations (or absence of relations) between parts of a site and, just as important, the relation between a site and the wider landscape.

Fences, for instance, influence public perceptions of the art in that they delineate the boundaries of sites. In fact, the very word 'site' is misleading when it comes to rock art. The makers of the art had very different conceptions of the landscape from those that we have. In all likelihood they saw connections between different parts of the landscape and between rock art images from distant areas; we do not yet understand these connections.

Fencing rock art sites, however, obscures any possible perceivable connections and creates the impression that the art occurs in isolated and unconnected 'islands' when, in fact, there are similarities across vast tracts of the South African landscape.

Very little attempt is made to demonstrate connections between images in a

day into the sun) and not down as at a lectern, imparts a didactic quality to the presentation of this interpretative material. It must be pointed out, that, since I visited this site in October 1994, it has been improved and the graffiti have been removed. I have not seen these alterations. Moreover, Janette Deacon has negotiated with members of a local 'gang' that committed much of the vandalism at Bushman's Restaurant and has tried to involve them in the conservation of the site (Deacon pers. comm.). Nevertheless, the extensively vandalised nature of the site as it was in October 1994 exemplified the failure of the didactic stance of the museum approach.

Authority is, inescapably, part of any presentation, including the alternative approach I offer in Chapter Four. I cannot escape authority myself. Nevertheless, I do believe it is possible to escape being authoritarian, something which the museum approach, as I have pointed out, does not manage to do. What is needed is attitudinal not didactic education. But even attitudinal education will be successful only if it avoids being blatantly authoritarian, that is to say, if it avoids establishing too sharp a distinction between visitor and an unseen, powerful pedagogue. Rather than 'lecture' to people at public rock art sites, we should guide them on their own journey of discovery of the art.



Figure 9. The remains of an article on South African rock art flutter in the breeze at the so-called Bushman's Restaurant. This article does not address the images in the site itself and is far too long to be appropriate. Such didactic measures coupled with strong authoritarian statements increase the possibility of vandalism.



Figure 8(C). A fire was lit in the shelter at Bushman's Restaurant but, fortunately, did not damage the art. Since the photographs in Figures 8 A, B and C were taken in 1994, Janette Deacon of the National Monuments Council has removed graffiti and restored the site.

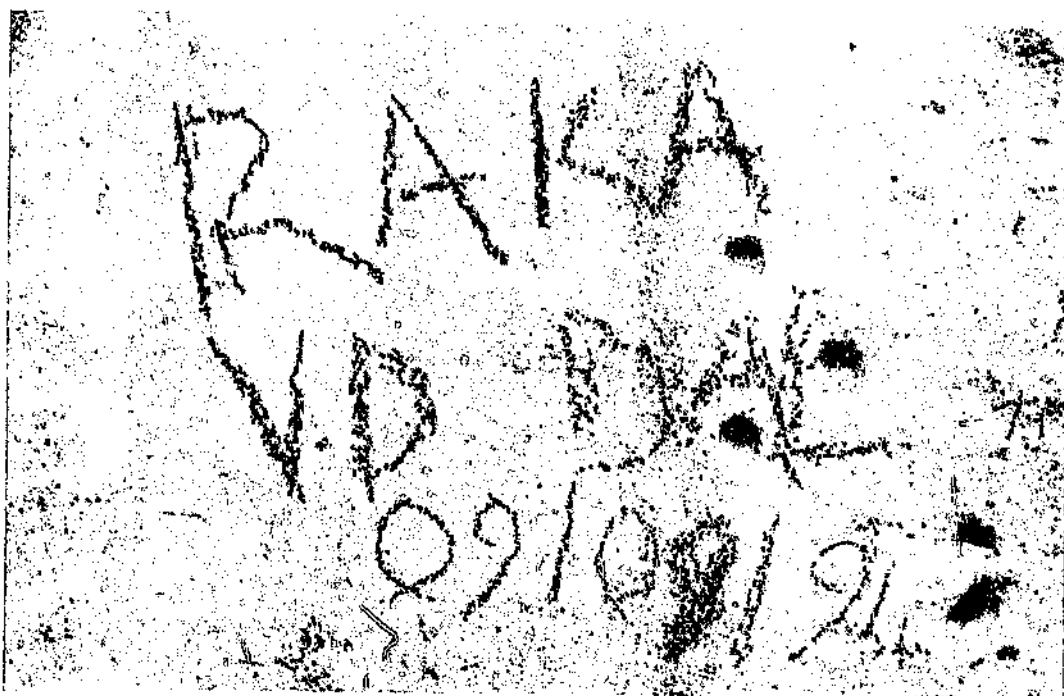


Figure 8(B). Vandalism at Bushman's Restaurant public rock art site extended to the art itself. Vandals scribbled graffiti over the paintings.



Figure 8(A). The ironically named Bushman's Restaurant is an example of what can go wrong if a site is not constantly managed and guarded. Because Bushman's Restaurant was not adequately guarded and because the design of the site did not enhance visitors' experiences but, instead, alienated them with its authoritarian tone, the site was vandalised.

fences might encourage destruction rather than protection of sites. This is because the very nature of a fence influences people's perceptions of the value of the art behind it. The associations of razor wire with police action and civil protest in South Africa, for example, ignite deep feelings of oppression for many people. Razor wire has, in other words, acquired connotations of authority that go far beyond its functionality. The insensitive erection of fences like this may alienate sections of the public from the art. Restricted access may actually do more to damage the art through encouraging vandalism than to protect it.

In a manner less obvious than that of fences, the interpretative material that is presented in the museum approach often has a didactic and authoritarian quality. An example of this is at a site known, ironically, as Bushman's Restaurant in the Western Cape. Much of the site has been vandalised and destroyed, and graffiti have been scribbled over the art (Fig. 8a; Fig. 8b; Fig. 8c). The interpretative material in this site is a photocopied article entitled *Die San: lewe, geloof en kuns* by David Lewis-Williams (1986) that has been placed on a noticeboard. The fact that this article does not concern any of the images at the site in question and its considerable length make its use here inappropriate (Fig. 9). The use of a paper written by an academic, albeit for a popular audience, as well as the placement of the article on a noticeboard, which requires the reader to look up (at certain times of the

Department of the Interior (USDI), an organisation that has played a major role in America's past, especially in its relationships with Native Americans. Understanding the role of the USDI in America's past sheds light on NPS and BLM attitudes to the past.

The USDI and Native Americans

In a pamphlet entitled *Are there any public lands for sale?*, the USDI defines its mission thus:

As the Nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has responsibility for most of our nationally owned public lands and natural resources. This includes fostering the wisest use of our land and water resources, protecting our fish and wildlife, preserving the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historical places, and providing for the enjoyment of life through outdoor recreation. The Department assesses our energy and mineral resources and works to assure that their development is in the best interests of all our people. The Department also has a major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in Island territories under the U.S. administration (emphasis added).

The USDI's involvement with Native Americans may be traced back to 1849 when the organisation was established. In that year the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) was transferred from the War Department to the USDI (Berthrong 1988:257). The history of the BIA's involvement with Native Americans has been varied. Although sincere efforts were made to improve the situation of Native Americans during the nineteenth as well as the twentieth century, much of the organisation's involvement has had

of America; most of the sites I discuss in this chapter, and indeed the majority of rock art sites in America, fall under the control of either the National Parks Service (NPS) or the Bureau of Land Management (BLM).

The NPS manages 80 million acres of land and 367 sites, which total includes national monuments and parks, rivers, seashores, historic sites, trails and battlefields (Mitchell 1994:21). Amongst these are the famous sites of Yellowstone and Mesa Verde, as well as numerous rock art sites. Because the NPS suffers a shortage of employees and is underfinanced, the service co-operates with the BLM and with state and local governments in the conservation and presentation of rock art.

Of the two organisations, it is the BLM that appears to be most involved with rock art even though, unlike the NPS, it is not primarily concerned with cultural resources. The BLM controls even more acreage than the NPS, some 270 million acres in fact. The task of the BLM is to manage these vast public lands, to conserve 'wilderness' areas, to administer grazing rights, to issue permits for mining, and to conserve cultural and historical sites. In spite of differences between the two organisations, they share many similarities especially in attitudes to rock art, Native Americans and the past. It is, of course, not surprising that they share these similarities because both organisations fall under the control of the United States



Figure 12. Fish Creek Cove, Utah, is typical of many public rock art sites in the West. The contempt that people have for the unenforceable authoritarian tone of the signboards (A) is evident from the bullet holes that riddle a signboard warning of the penalties for vandalism (B). It is not only the signboards that have suffered - the art itself has been damaged. Someone has engraved a target around some of the paintings and then shot at them (C).

by the bullet holes that riddle the second noticeboard (Fig. 12b). Worse, this contempt has also been vented on the art itself which is pock marked with bullet holes (Fig. 12c).

The unequal power relations between museums and the indigenous people they display, authoritarianism and the imposition of structures in a haphazard manner on the landscape all apply to American public rock art sites to a greater or lesser degree. The most significant problem, however, lies in the interpretative material which, in spite of appearances, tends to reproduce pejorative notions of the art and its Native American makers. In this chapter, I discuss this interpretative material and point out similarities and differences between sites in America and in South Africa. I argue that perceptions of the past, as presented at American sites, are bound up in the history of the organisations responsible for rock art. I argue, moreover, that the views of these organizations support Western ideologies that mask contemporary political realities. As I outline these ideologies and realities, the sort of emotional and intellectual experiences generated by public rock art sites will become increasingly clear. In turn, my discussion will shed light on the route to take in reconstructing South African sites.

Perceptions of the past

Two organisations are, largely, responsible for rock art in the United States

Native Americans pecked symbols on these mineral stained rocks. Today fingerprints and bullet holes mar the ancient works. America's heritage deserves better. Will you help?

These are, I believe, sensitive and carefully thought-through texts. Indeed, the texts and presentations at all the sites in Dinosaur National Monument are amongst the best in America. Clearly, the authors have tried to instill in visitors a sense of appreciation, respect and care for the art by playing on similarities between it and material in museums and art galleries in Western society.

In spite of such genuine and good efforts to change people's perceptions of rock art through approaching the site as if it were a museum or art gallery, the metaphor-of-museum approach, as applied in America, suffers from the same problems as it does in South Africa. Very few sites escape authoritarian attitudes. At many sites, for example, a sign, similar to the NMC plaque at South African sites, proclaims the custodianship of these sites or points to the penalties incurred for damaging the art. Again, as in South Africa, the blatant assertion of authority without any visible sanction to back it up has led to vandalism. At Fish Creek Cove, Utah, for example, there is a sign reading, "Do not go beyond this point" (Fig. 12a). A second sign specifies the penalties for vandalising the art. The contempt with which some people view these unenforceable authoritarian statements is expressed

sites show a distinct bias towards the metaphor-of-museum approach.

Indeed, this approach has been comprehensively implemented at numerous sites in an attempt to foster an appreciation of the art. At certain sites in Dinosaur National Monument, Utah, for example, the text on the lecterns explicitly treats the art as valuable material that actually belongs in a museum or art gallery. At one of these sites, Swelter Shelter, there is a lectern entitled *A Fragile Museum*. The text urges visitors to

behave as if you were in a museum of rare and fragile items.

Another area of the park, Mckee Springs, has two rock art sites open to the public. The first of these has a lectern that states,

Perhaps the creators of these ancient rock designs were the Rembrandts and Michelangelos of the Fremont Culture. Just as you would not touch the works of the Old Masters, thank you for not touching these.

Please don't touch, not even once.

The second site has a large noticeboard stating,

Petroglyphs

Cultures express themselves differently. Nine centuries ago



Figure 11. Hickison Summit, a public rock art site in Nevada. The noticeboard on the left wrongly identifies the area as a pictograph (painting) site. According to Bureau of Land Management personnel, who, in 1993, were putting up a new noticeboard that correctly identifies the area as a petroglyph (engraving) site, the old signboard had been up for at least five years, maybe even longer. As with public rock art sites in South Africa, there is a lack of a sense of urgency in repairing these sites. The new signboard is visible in the background.

Chapter 2

Problematic pasts:

The predicament of American rock art sites

There are considerably more rock art sites open to the public in the United States of America than there are in South Africa. Consequently, the problems of the representation of the art and its makers can be examined in more detail than in South Africa. Indeed, the centrality of these representations in American thought contrasts sharply with the marginal position that the San and their art occupy in South Africa. Unlike the San in South Africa (there are no self-proclaimed San communities in South Africa), Native Americans are a potent and ever-present factor in American politics. South Africans can learn much, both positively and negatively, from the situation in America.

Although vandalism and destruction have occurred at many American public sites, certainly in comparison to South Africa, most are in good condition; fences tend not to be dilapidated and rusted, and sites on the whole are well managed (but see Fig. 11). Seldom does one see a public site without interpretative material, as is characteristic of the minimalist approach in South Africa; rather, conceptual approaches to American public rock art

emotional and intellectual experiences. It is at American public rock art sites, to which I turn in the next chapter, that we may best come to realise what these experiences are. Once we identify and understand them in some detail, we can set about reconceptualising and eventually reconstructing public rock art sites.

That South Africa's public sites even find themselves in a predicament is disconcerting and somewhat ironic, for rock art is arguably the best known and best understood component of South Africa's archaeology. As such, it offers an ideal resource with which to combat pejorative myths of the San. The visually powerful nature of the images gives them a better chance of impacting on public perceptions of the past than stone tools or concepts of subsistence strategies. Indeed, rock art has the potential to capture the imagination as no other component of South Africa's heritage. Furthermore, the art embraces South Africa's history as does no other aspect of our heritage. The images speak of the sometimes peaceful, but often turbulent, South African past. In some places and at some times the art concerned all of South Africa's people, not just a privileged part of the population. Not only did the San depict themselves, but they also painted their interaction with Bantu-speakers and colonists. Like no other part of our heritage, then, rock art can stand for all our possible pasts. South Africa's public rock art sites are a testament to the ways in which we see the past - they are the "banners and flags of our possible pasts". When they lie in "tatters and rags", something unique and essential in the very fabric of South African life is denied.

The resolution of the predicament I have discussed lies, I argue, in recognizing that public sites are fundamentally concerned with complex

encounter. It is obvious to people that art should be displayed in a gallery and that museums should display objects. At public rock art sites, one is forced to explain the presence and purpose of imposed structures, a task that is very difficult.

The work that has so far been conducted on South Africa's public rock art sites has, then, been concerned largely with the practicalities of site management; writers have suggested constructions and administrative structures rather than new conceptual approaches to presenting the art. It is this lack of an adequate approach to presenting the art that constitutes the predicament of South African public rock art sites. Without an explicitly formulated theoretical understanding even the most sincere and meticulous work is likely to reproduce old stereotypes of the art and its makers, as do the minimalist and metaphor-of-museum approaches in certain cases. Both approaches appear to be practical solutions to the predicament of South Africa's sites but, because their conceptual implications have not been thought through, they contribute to the problem. If South Africa's public rock art sites are to play a more significant role in changing people's perceptions of the past, then we need a new and explicit conceptual approach that will avoid the problems of the minimalist and metaphor-of-museum approaches.

Conclusion

At all the sites I have discussed, fundamental differences between public rock art sites and museums or art galleries are overlooked. Museums and art galleries are cultural institutions in which objects are placed; public rock art sites are, in a sense, the inverse. They are objects around which cultural institutions have been constructed. In museums and art galleries, space is organised; visitors to galleries and museums can be led through ordered exhibits, though this seldom happens. This is not the case with public rock art sites. One cannot place the art in classificatory schemes with objects or rooms. Nor does the sprawling nature of some sites allow the art to be broken down easily into items that can be spoken about in a logical sequence. The positions of structures at public rock art sites are thus determined by the distribution of the art, and, since the placing of images within sites is poorly understood, it is not obviously clear how to order a presentation. Yet, one is dealing fundamentally with connections. These connections are between the various images, between the images and landscape, and between a site and other sites. The importance of these connections lies in the insights they provide into San cosmology.

In a museum or art gallery one does not have to explain the setting. Museums are, as Davison (1991:88-91) comments, "cultural artefacts"; visitors to museums usually have a good idea of what they are likely to

From the cultural resources discovered, protected and studied, what we learn about past people and how they adapted to their world provides vital information to us today - information that helps us learn strategies to cope with such things as global climate changes.

Cultural sites have given America artistic and architectural inspiration, the results of which can be seen in many buildings of modern cities.

Unravelling the mysteries of our country's unique heritage helps us understand the present and wisely plan for the future.

From arid deserts to lush forests, to wind swept tundra, the diversity of BLM's lands provides countless opportunities to learn about and enjoy our nation's past!

These statements express the three dominant themes that are apparent at American public rock art sites. These three themes are as follows: First, the preservation of mystery. Despite the suggestion in the third paragraph, that they are deciphering the past, the tendency at public rock art sites managed by either the BLM or the NPS is to avoid explanation. Secondly, the situating of the past in nature. Both the first and last paragraphs in the pamphlet emphasize the importance of nature; The last paragraph, especially, grounds the past in nature, there is no mention of cultural heritage in this statement. Finally, the denial of conflict. The last paragraph contains an interesting and often used phrase: "our nation's past". Despite the engaging innocence of these statements they are not as harmless as they at first appear. As I now show, they carry with them ideas of Native Americans and their rock art that are patronising and contribute, in some way at least, to the sense of a united America. These three themes are

seen as the formative place and period of American history, culture and nationalism. When people travel to the West today, they take conceptions with them, that to a greater or lesser degree, are about the past. It is important to note that these conceptions are partly grounded in perceptions of concrete space. That is to say, the values associated with the West as place are conceived by people as somehow residing in the West as space. The space of the West - land in Utah, Arizona, Wyoming and so forth - is thus seen by Americans as a physical manifestation of the spirit of the frontier, the repository and storehouse of what it means to be American. As much as 87% of the land administered by the BLM is situated in the American West (Conniff 1994:12), and, since all the public rock art sites that I discuss in this chapter are situated in the West, they are irrevocably caught up in the construction of the West.

Public rock art sites in the West

The perceptions of the past that I have discussed are particularly evident in pamphlets published for public consumption by the BLM and NPS. These pamphlets are available at public rock art sites and at BLM and NPS offices. An especially illuminating BLM pamphlet is entitled *Adventures in the Past*. It gives a series of well-meaning statements about natural and cultural resources.

sometimes riding horses, sometimes standing and staring presciently into the distance (Berkhofer 1988:537). The West is a place of 'ghost' Native Americans, not real ones. Native Americans and white Americans therefore exist together in the West - but only in historical imagination. They are not seen to exist together in a current reality. This concept underlies many public rock art sites.

It is not merely Native Americans that are associated with the West, but a particular type of Native American - the stereotype of the Plains Culture warrior. This stereotype has come to represent all Native Americans in various popular media but especially in movies (Marsden and Nachbar 1988:607). Moreover, Native Americans have become so associated with the West that, in popular consciousness, it is impossible to conceive of them as existing in any other place. Little mention, for example, is made of eastern Native Americans in popular writing and movies although many powerful and influential Native American groups lived there. The immovable association of Native Americans with the West is part of a world-wide phenomenon in which "natives are not only persons who are from certain places, and belong to those places, but they are those who are somehow incarcerated, or confined, in those places" (Appadurai 1988:37).

The West, then, is one of the major constructs of American culture - it is

People holding these romantic views inevitably yearned for the past when the West had been a wild frontier. This yearning was particularly well captured by two American artists, Charles Remington and Charles Marion Russell, who, at the turn of the twentieth century, painted nostalgic landscapes and themes that recall the loss of the wildness of the West. Their images of the West, together with Turner's ideas of the frontier, became incorporated in political discourse, influencing presidents, such as Franklin D. Roosevelt and the already-mentioned Wilson (Nash 1990:8-13). So influential have artists been in capturing the West that American art has become virtually synonymous with the West. As an exhibition held in 1991 in the National Museum of American Art was entitled, many Americans see *The West as America* (Anderson 1991).

Today, in the space of the West, images and symbols of both Native Americans and white colonists, images that once stood for incongruent cosmologies and antithetical ambitions, exist side by side. Thus, one finds rock art on T-shirts, mugs and various curios that are essentially Western. Today, Native Americans and Europeans are conceived as occupying the same geographical space. Fundamentally, however, these Native Americans are little more than historical figments, for the West is first and foremost a place of the past. This is evident from the large number of postcards, curios, and T-shirts on sale in national parks, that bear 'ghost' figures,

eagerness to celebrate the 'Americanness' of western paintings, however, contemporary commentators often ignored European sources and influences. To acknowledge such sources would diminish the much-desired national character of the works (Anderson 1992:24).

During the early part of the nineteenth century, Western themes were seen to speak of the future of a modern America. In the later part of the nineteenth century, however, Western themes became associated with the past. It is difficult to be precise about when the West began to be seen as a place of the past, but Anderson (1992:18) argues that it was before 1888 because such notions are visible in Albert Bierstadt's famous painting, *The Last of the Buffalo*. The reasons for this change of emphasis lay, partly, in a change in attitudes to the wilderness that occurred in the mid-eighteenth century. Constant encroachment on the wilderness by settlers, the extermination of the buffalo, and the belief that Native Americans were vanishing in the face of civilization's advances (Dippie 1982), all contributed to the belief that the West itself was disappearing. A dichotomy developed in the way that Americans viewed the wilderness. On the one hand, farmers continued to view the wilderness as something to be fought and tamed. They saw their lives as an ongoing struggle against a harsh and merciless environment. On the other hand, those influenced by European attitudes viewed the wilderness as part of a romanticised nature (Tuan 1974:63), not unlike that encountered in South Africa.

'place' refers to meaning. Place is, indeed, space to which meaning has been ascribed; space becomes place, in the first instance, by being named (Carter *et al.* 1993:xii; cf. Tuan 1974). As space, the West is a topographical area covering the vast geographical region of the states of California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Utah, Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Texas, Montana, Wyoming, North and South Dakota, Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, and Louisiana (Limerick 1987:26). The West is, however, more than a geographical location; it is a place. Attached to the word 'West' and held to be grounded in the physical space of the West are associations based on a once concrete reality that has become transmuted and incorporated into an ideology that mythologises that reality. These associations are, moreover, multifaceted and often contradictory.

The process of turning the West from space into place is particularly visible in American art. This medium was effective in capturing, expressing and, in turn, influencing American sentiments about the West. Early nineteenth-century painters, for example, used images of the West in their art to establish a distinctive character for America. The West, it was believed, distinguished America from Europe. In fact

the majority of the artists who painted western images in the nineteenth century travelled or studied abroad. In their

founding symbols of the American nation; the stress, however, has always been on 'founding', for Native Americans, like the frontier, had to be conquered before the American nation itself could be founded. In NPS and American thought they were a necessary antecedent to the inevitable, unilinear, evolutionary path of the progress to modern America.

The BLM and the West

Closely associated with the idea of frontier in American popular consciousness is that of the 'West'. Themes of the West permeated almost every facet of American culture from dime novels (Berkhofer 1988:537) and theatre in the last century to the first movies in the early part of this century (Marsden and Nachbar 1988:609-610). In these and other facets of American life, the frontier was perceived to be receding ever-westward as the colonists settled more and more land, until it finally came to a close in 1890. By the time the notion of the frontier had been fully articulated by Turner, then, the West had become inextricably associated with it in American thought.

The perceived westward movement of the frontier has produced a complex conceptual confusion between the 'West' and the 'frontier' in American thought today. A useful way of understanding this complexity is to approach the 'West' as both a space and a place; 'space' refers to topography and

Although it began as an organisation dedicated to preserving the ideals of the frontier, the role of the NPS soon expanded. In 1933 all federally-owned national parks, monuments, military parks, eleven national cemeteries and other memorials and parks were placed under their control as part of the reorganisation of Roosevelt's New Deal policy (Bodnar 1992:176). The organisation, in effect, took control of all the most powerful symbols of the American nation.

The NPS soon moved to present the past at these places in terms of various categories, such as economic, military, political or religious. These categories, moreover, were placed under an overarching framework that portrayed American history as advancing through progressive stages from the prehistoric, through the colonial and finally to the present (Bodnar 1992:178,181). The presentation of this progression was explicitly intended to foster American nationalism, a task the NPS has maintained throughout its existence. Nor has the NPS abandoned its original symbols of the bison and the arrowhead, even though symbols of American nationalism have shifted radically since its birth; the bison and the arrowhead were, and still are, symbols of 'America'.

The idea of assimilating Native Americans, thus, took on a particular historical trajectory within the NPS that stressed Native Americans as

enclaves of the frontier and thus crucial to America. One of the visionaries of the national parks, J. Horace Mcfarland, spoke of the importance of national parks to America when he commented in 1916 that "It is the one thing we have that has not been imported" (Pritchard 1991:36). As areas that preserved the values of the frontier, the national parks symbolised all that was unique and definitive of America; they were held to be the very essence of 'American'.

To symbolise the unique role of the NPS in preserving this essence, two images, considered to express the values of the frontier more potently than others, were chosen for the NPS badge. The first is an image of a bison against a background of trees and mountains. The bison is, as Paul Pritchard, president of the National Parks and Conservation Association, commented on a living one, "not just a bison...it's a last vestige of frontier" (*ibid.*:49). The second image is drawn from Native American culture: the bison has been placed on top of the outline of a lithic arrowhead. The use of an image drawn from Native American culture is indicative of attitudes within the NPS, and America in general, that associate Native Americans with the frontier. If the frontier was untamed, the Native Americans and the bison were the arch symbols of that wildness. Both Native Americans and bison were thus considered symbols that were distinctly American.

argued that the frontier had closed in 1890 when no lands were left for conquest, and the wilderness had thus been tamed (Limerick 1987:21). In spite of the fact that Turner's definitions of the close of the frontier were "arbitrary and riddled with exceptions and qualifications" (*ibid.*:23), his ideas became a dominant and pervasive theme in American history and, ultimately, in American popular consciousness.

What so many found appealing in Turner's work was his articulation of that most evasive of all concepts - 'American'. For Turner, it was the frontier that had turned Europeans into Americans. The frontier

moulded the distinctive character of Americans, shaping traits such as individualism, hard work, and self-reliance; it was the major determinant of the democratic character of their political institutions; and it provided American cultural life with unique characteristics (Nash 1990:3).

President Wilson and the other visionaries behind the establishment of the NPS were influenced by these ideas and conceived the organisation as an institution that would preserve something of these frontier values.

Because the NPS was considered to be the preserver of the frontier, "the natural landscape dominated the organization's thinking and planning", and during "the 1920s the park service acquired twice as many natural areas as historic ones" (Bodnar 1992:170). These natural parks were seen as the last

The NPS and American Nationalism

Within the NPS the idea of the eventual assimilation of Native Americans followed a particular historical trajectory. This trajectory, an understanding of which is vital to grasping the attitudes of the NPS to the past and hence to rock art sites, has its origins in the last century. In 1872 the first national park in the USA, and, indeed, in the world, was declared at Yellowstone (Thompson 1984:220). Over the next few decades a number of areas were declared national parks, including the first archaeological park at Mesa Verde in 1906 (*ibid.*:221). By the early part of the twentieth century there were a number of widely scattered national parks. To bring these scattered tracts of land under the control of a single organisation, President Woodrow Wilson established the NPS in 1916 (*ibid.*:222). Wilson's motives were, however, ideological as well as practical. As were other powerful advocates of the NPS, he was profoundly influenced by the ideas of the historian Frederick Jackson Turner.

In 1893, Turner published *The significance of the frontier in American history*. The notion of a frontier had been widespread before Turner and, historically, it had been associated with a rugged, untamed wilderness. The frontier, in this sense, was threatening and was a place to be tamed and reclaimed. It was Turner, however, who articulated these notions in a systematic way thereby giving full expression to the notion of 'frontier'. He

detrimental effects; the corruption of the organisation's agents in the late nineteenth century and the forced removal of Native Americans to public boarding schools in the early part of this century are just two aspects of this involvement that have received much criticism (Nash 1988:265). Structural reforms begun in the late 1920s have, however, led to considerable improvement within the organisation, and today some 80% of the BIA's staff are Native American (*ibid.*:275). Since its establishment, however, the dominant and consistent attitude of the BIA to Native Americans, may be summed up thus,

Throughout the history of Indian policy, it seems clear that one of the factors present in all fluctuations was the assumption that eventual assimilation was both inevitable and desirable (Nash 1988:271).

Although the NPS and the BLM were established considerably later than the BIA, the fact that they fall, together with the BIA, under the USDI means that their attitudes to Native Americans have, to some degree, been influenced by those of the BIA. For much of their history, then, attitudes towards Native Americans within the BLM and the NPS have focused on assimilation. Both within the NPS and the BLM, however, these attitudes took on a further and more complex slant.

against its use for rock-climbing. Despite vigorous counter-protest by rock-climbers, Devil's Tower may soon be closed to such recreational activities (McLean pers. comm.).

Unlike Devil's Tower, which is a recent example, long-running conflicts are often rekindled in modern forums. The Black Hills of South Dakota, for example, were significant to Plains Culture Native Americans. Known to them as *Paha Sapa*, Native Americans went to the Black Hills on vision quests. Considered wasteland by the United States government, the Black Hills were left to the Lakota Native Americans. The discovery of gold in 1874, however, led to the eventual annexation of the territory by the US government (Swastek 1994:24). In recent years, Native Americans have taken the United States Government to the Supreme Court over the Black Hills and today this legal action continues.

In these conflicts over land between Native Americans and the United States, monuments play a significant role because they both construct and contest claims to the past and present in the space of the West. To illustrate this proposition, I now compare three famous monuments, Mount Rushmore, Crazy Horse and Wounded Knee. This discussion provides a conceptual framework for understanding the present as well as the possible roles of rock art sites, for they too are monuments in certain ways.

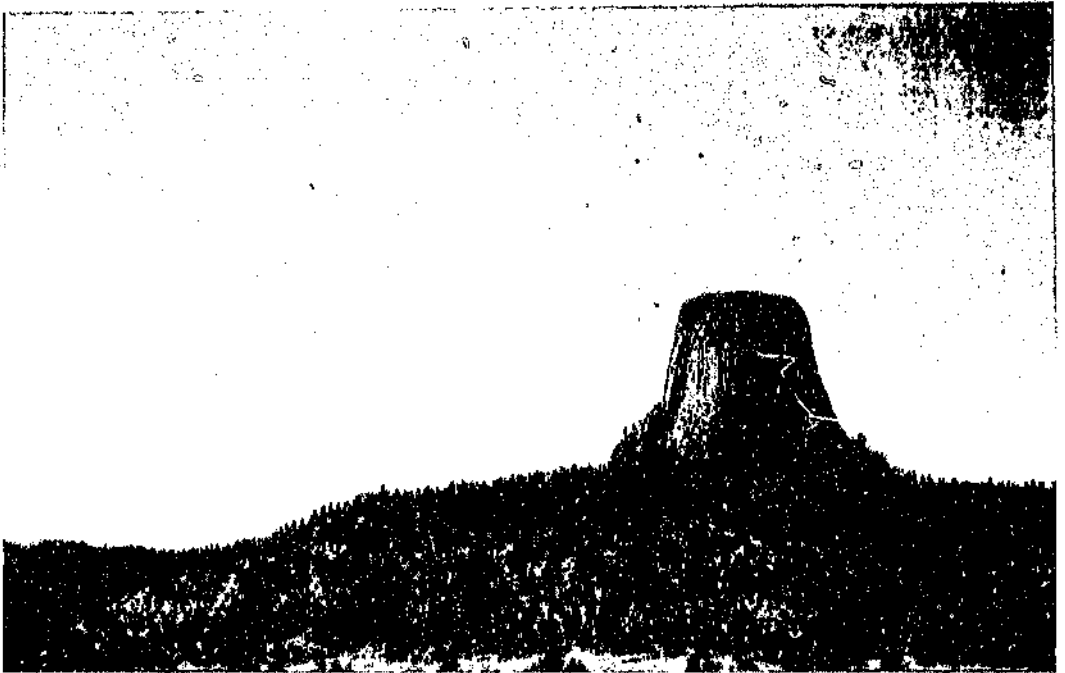


Figure 13. Devil's Tower, Wyoming, is the centre of recent controversy. Native Americans, for whom the mountain is sacred, want to restrict access to what has become a popular rock-climbing destination.

hunting-magic, and, secondly, placing it on the map of Nevada underwrites the interpretation as authoritative: it supports that which is presented and masks any contestation of the conceptions of the art and artists that are presented at the sites. Apart from establishing the interpretation as authoritative, the map immediately establishes ownership by clearly placing the site within the boundaries of the State of Nevada. Establishing ownership of the site may not appear very important at first, for ownership is, of course, necessary to administer a site effectively. Yet, ownership of sites dismisses, or aims to dismiss, any contestation of what is presented.

The significance of this dismissal can be understood only in relation to the contemporary political situation of the space of the West; the West is today, as it has been historically, contested terrain. Today, Native Americans actively contest the historical appropriation of their lands by white Americans, as well as the contemporary use of places they consider important

Interestingly, this conflict concerns both natural and cultural features that are considered important. Devil's Tower National Monument in Wyoming (Fig. 13) is a recent example. For many years this cone-shaped volcanic plug has been the playground of rock-climbers. The mountain, however, has religious significance to Native Americans, and recently they protested

past" or "your American heritage". Such phrases play an important role in the way the past and, in turn, present are perceived in three ways.

First, references to 'our' past are often associated with an interpretation of the past that draws on NPS policy and presents the past in terms of a cultural evolutionary trajectory. As I have pointed out, pamphlets and texts at sites often describe American history as beginning with Native Americans and then proceeding through various stages of Euroamerican development and culminating in modern, white America. In this sense, Native Americans have significance in American history only as antecedent to white Americans in space and time. Their present existence as autonomous political entities with their own interpretations of the past is denied; 'our' effectively assimilates Native Americans into modern America.

The second way that 'our' contributes to ideas of the past and present lies in implications of ownership that are also replicated in the structures of presentation at sites. Earlier, I discussed a signboard at Grimes Point that contained text that describes the art as having been made as an adjunct to hunting-magic rituals. This metal signboard is placed on a large outline metal map of Nevada situated near the entrance to the site. Placing the text there, right at the entrance to the site, accomplishes two things. First, the text primes the visitor to approach the art from the view that it is related to

wilderness, references to nature draw on and recursively reinforce associations of Native Americans as part of the West.

The West as a place of nature has, by extension, given rise to the notion of the West as a modern pleasure ground. From hiking, to cycling, to mountain climbing, to river rafting, or just taking in the scenery of the 'wide-open' public lands, the modern West is sold very much as a leisure destination. While many tourists visit the West to view historical places or Native American ruins, these places are usually incidental to relaxing in the spectacular scenery of nature. Public rock art sites are seen as of even less significance than the ruins in this playground.

The denial of conflict

The BLM pamphlet, *Adventures In the Past* (p. 84), refers to "our country's unique heritage" and "our nation's past". Similar sentiments are expressed in an NPS pamphlet entitled *Take Pride In America*:

Important symbols of our past are protected for our mutual benefit as well. These historic sites and landmarks preserve places and memories of the great individuals, cultures, occasions and examples of architecture that make up our heritage (emphasis added).

The phrases I have emphasised point to the third and perhaps most important theme apparent at American sites that I discuss here - the denial of conflict. Texts at virtually every site are laced with references to "our

The situating of Native American pasts in a 'natural' paradigm at public rock art sites is often phrased in terms of education. The BLM pamphlet emphasises the way in which people "adapted to their world" and suggests that we "can learn strategies to cope with such things as global climate changes".

The rhetoric of education, moreover, is often invoked as a warning to the excesses of modern society. At Swelter Shelter, Dinosaur National Monument, Utah, for example, Native and modern Americans are compared in their use of nature. A lectern states:

Each environmental and technological change required these people to adapt. Would they have foresight to see the full effect of their adaptations? Will we adapt to the environmental changes we are causing today?

Two conceptions are implicit in this and other texts related to environmental education. First, the makers of the art are seen as passive victims of the environment; they are portrayed as naive and incapable of commanding and controlling their destiny. Modern visitors are, by contrast, constructed as active agents in transforming that same environment. They have the ability to see where their actions are taking them and to change the course of their destiny. Secondly, since the West is associated with the last remnants of the frontier and since 'frontier' is inseparable from associations of nature and

Seven). A trail leads from the main archaeological attractions to nearby petroglyphs. A 16-page booklet containing relevant information on the walk is available to the public. The most illuminating comments are made at the conclusion of the booklet:

Man [the Anasazi] certainly rose well above the other animals in his ecological complex but still lived in fairly close association to them and to the other elements in his surroundings. Seven centuries later we exact more controls over our environment yet we still face problems of overpopulation, decreasing resources, and social, political, and religious troubles as did the Anasazi of Mesa Verde.

The comment that the Anasazi "rose well above the other animals" plays on historically rooted conceptions of the Anasazi as being more akin to Europeans than other Native Americans because they lived in city-like structures and were agriculturists. A similar sentiment is expressed in the BLM pamphlet, *Adventures in the Past*, which points out that "Cultural sites have given America artistic and architectural inspiration, the results of which can be seen in many buildings of modern cities". Such statements are, however, limited to Anasazi ruins and do not extend to the rock art. Of the 34 entries in the guidebook, only two are concerned with archaeology and rock art; the rest of the entries concern the natural environment around the rock art site. The cliff dwellings, then, are associated with 'culture', but rock art is more closely associated with nature. I return to this point in Chapter Seven.

It seems that it has been impossible for constructors of public sites to separate nature from Native American cultural remains. At virtually every public rock art site there is some text, either in a pamphlet or on a lectern, that refers to nature. Visitors to Hickison Summit, Nevada, for example, are urged to

take only photographs. Leave only footprints and enjoy the cultural and natural history of this area.

References to nature appear not only at virtually every site but, as a theme, nature is often accorded equal treatment to that given to the art. At Lava Beds, California, for example, a sign on the fence surrounding the rock art site asks,

Please do not handle wildlife. Living or dead.

No comparable sign warns against touching the painted images. Moreover, there is a single lectern devoted to the rock art, while another lectern, of equal size, is devoted to the bird life found in the region. Here, nature and rock art enjoy equal consideration.

Some sites go further and give nature precedence over the art. This is the case at Mesa Verde, Colorado, the famous Anasazi Cliff dwellings (Chapter

elusive and because it contains bizarre imagery, rock art lends itself to the notions of mystery that are associated with the wildness of the 'West'. In the preservation of mystery, the interpretative texts at sites draw on and in turn contribute to associations of the West as a mysterious place. Because the art is mysterious, anybody's guess is as good as anyone else's. The second important sentiment expressed in the texts at these sites is that some interpretation is inevitable. The apparent openness of interpretation, however, veils negative images of the art. Because it appears as if the interpretation of the art has been left open-ended but, in fact, veils prejudices, the preservation of mystery legitimates accepted but inadequate and incorrect interpretations of rock art.

The situating of the past in nature

The first paragraph of the BLM pamphlet, *Adventures in the Past* (see p. 84), makes the point that we can learn from Native American cultural remains how to cope with our environmental problems. The final paragraph, on the other hand, mentions that we can learn from 'our nation's past'. As examples of this past, the pamphlet cites a range of ecological niches such as desert, forest and tundra. These comments point to the second pervasive theme at American sites: the association of Native Americans and their art with nature. This association of course recalls the perceived link between the San and nature.

are told about hunting magic. Most sites, however, do not have this further interpretative element; they simply leave the question of meaning entirely open and mysterious.

The preservation of mystery is also merely a front at Castle Gardens and Newspaper Rock. The quotation from the Castle Gardens lectern that I gave above opens with the phrase, "Each artwork tells a story". Far from being an open-ended invitation to interpret the art as you like, this statement conditions visitors to interpret the art as 'straightforward' narrative. At Newspaper Rock, by contrast, the public is presented with an array of possible interpretations of the art. Of the range of interpretations offered at this and other sites, none is based on considered ethnographic research. Instead, the interpretations offered draw on common stereotypes, such as the art having been an adjunct to hunting magic. Having read these interpretations, visitors are reminded of conceptions of the art that are already part of their 'cultural baggage'; they are then invited to view the art from the perspective of this 'baggage'. Negative associations are thus reproduced.

In sum, two important and related sentiments are expressed in texts and other forms of presentation, such as those at Castle Gardens, Newspaper Rock and Grimes Point. First, perhaps because its meaning is felt to be

At yet another site, Grimes Point, Nevada, a lectern informs the reader that

Archaeologists are still exploring the meaning of the petroglyphs.

In these statements the meaning of the art seems to be undecided and open, and an intriguing mystery is preserved. The preservation of mystery is, however, merely a mask, for interpretation does seep into material presented at sites. Elsewhere at Grime's point, for example, a lectern states quite explicitly,

Many archaeologists believe that Great Basin petroglyphs were related to hunting. Perhaps the rock carvings were part of a ritual to ensure a successful hunt. Grime's point, surrounded on three sides by water, served as a natural ambush point for antelope and other game.

Another lectern at Grime's Point is even more explicit and detailed:

The act of making a petroglyph was a ritual performed by a group leader before each hunt. Evidence exists that suggests that there existed a powerful taboo against doodling in places, for purposes, and by persons other than those directly associated with the hunt.

The situation at Grime's Point is thus paradoxical. First, visitors are told that the meaning of the art is unknown, then, a few paces farther on, they

related and cannot, in the popular mind, be divorced, partly because they are firmly situated in notions of the frontier and the West. I separate them for purposes of analytical discussion and consider each in turn.

The preservation of mystery

In spite of the comment about "unravelling the mysteries of our country's unique heritage", the tendency at rock art sites is actually in the opposite direction. At Castle Gardens, Wyoming, for example, there is no interpretative text at the site whatsoever, yet a lectern invites visitors to interpret the art however they choose:

Each artwork tells a story...wander at your leisure through the gardens and see how many figures you can locate and interpret.

Another site, Newspaper Rock, Utah, gives the impression that the meaning of the art is still a mystery. The only lectern at this site states:

In interpreting the figures on the rock, scholars are undecided as to their meaning or have yet to decipher them. In Navajo, the rock is called *Tse' Hane'* (rock that tells a story). Unfortunately, we do not know if the figures represent story telling, doodling, hunting magic, clan symbols, ancient graffiti or something else. Without a true understanding of the petroglyphs, much is left for individual admiration and interpretation.

interesting history of the area. The Lava Beds were, in fact, the site of the famous Modoc wars. Later, during the second World War, there was a Japanese internment camp near the site (Thompson 1993:40). There is no mention at the site of this more recent conflictual past.

Thompson (1993) has put forward various plans for the improvement of Petroglyph Point. He has suggested the involvement of Native Americans in the planning and reconstruction of the site and the incorporation of ethnographic data in the presentation. His suggestions for the Modoc site were, however, not well received. The NPS put pressure on Thompson "to tone down seemingly confrontational language in the manuscript and in future site interpretation programs" (Thompson 1993:3). Indeed, there was little attempt, on the part of the NPS, to include Native Americans in the reconstruction of Petroglyph Point, Lava Beds National Monument. The NPS's advice to Thompson is evidence that public rock art sites do indeed contribute to present contests by masking political realities and thereby incorporating a contested past into an ideology of a harmonious present.

Conclusion

Despite laudable attempts at sensitivity, both the BLM and the NPS, hold predominantly Eurocentric views of the past that are shot through with long-standing prejudices. These prejudices and conceptions surface most notably

event, historically a European concern, the constructors of public rock art sites have portrayed, often unwittingly, stereotypical images of the art and its makers. Indeed, representing rock art at American public sites is predominantly about white perceptions of the art, about white perceptions of Native Americans, and about whites' perceptions of themselves.

Although public rock art sites have not been explicitly incorporated into the conflict between Native Americans and white America, they nevertheless contribute to this contest because they present white views of the past and do not portray the past as contested. The use of 'our', in this context, masks separate and contested notions of the past. The apparent contradiction in the harmonious juxtaposition of symbols of Native Americans and whites in the same space of the West is mediated through the placing of that juxtaposition in the remote past. Conflict, so the myth implies, is now over and done with, an unfortunate historical episode that can now be reconceptualised as a symbol of unity because it is distant in time. Native Americans and colonists are not portrayed as existing together in the present or as involved in contests about the control of the past in the present day.

More importantly, little effort is made at sites to point out that the rock art was possibly implicated in past political struggles. At Lava Beds, California, for example, there is no information on the complex and



Figure 18. An image from Nine-mile Canyon, Utah, that encapsulates the problems at many rock art sites in America. This image speaks of the powerful dichotomies between individual and state, public and private, past and present, 'our' and 'other' all of which play an important role in the construction of American identities.

uncertain as to their meaning. Native Americans do not, therefore, readily adopt the art as part of their heritage. Moreover, writers on the art have, for the most part, been Europeans. For a long time they have written of the art in less than a positive light, in a way reflecting public disregard for the art (e.g. Fig. 18) (Whitley and Loendorf 1994:xi-xx). Most Native Americans, perhaps influenced by these attitudes, do not consider the art as morally powerful as, say, ancestral bones; nor do they consider rock art sites to resonate with as much political meaning as places such as Wounded Knee. They do, however, consider some rock art sites to be sacred and publicly express concern about the threat facing these sites through development and tourism (see, for example, *Billings Gazette*, Montana, 1993:24). Yet, because rock art has not been widely claimed by contemporary Native Americans as part of their heritage, the sites have not been drawn into the contestation of identities. As a result, the representations and interpretations given at public rock art sites in the United States have gone relatively unchallenged.

The lack of involvement of Native Americans has meant that the presentation of knowledge at public rock art sites has largely been the concern of white Americans. Most of the people who construct public rock art sites are white archaeologists working for the National Parks Service or the Bureau of Land Management. Coming from a discipline that is, in any

American people and in 1972 it was occupied by the American Indian Movement (Hertzberg 1988:319). For the Lakota, Wounded Knee represents the loss of their autonomy. Black Elk, a Lakota spiritual leader, commenting to John Neihardt in the early 1930s on the events of Wounded Knee, spoke of this loss when he said, "the nation's hoop is broken and scattered. There is no center any longer, and the sacred tree is dead" (Neihardt 1988:270). For Native Americans, Wounded Knee is not a monument to be proud of but a symbol of lost identity.

Monuments such as Mount Rushmore, Crazy Horse, and Wounded Knee contest and legitimate particular claims to the past and, consequently, the ontology of the present. Public rock art sites in the West must be viewed against this background because they too contest and legitimate claims to the past and the present. Yet there has never been contestation over a rock art site comparable with the occupation at Wounded Knee or the protests against the construction of Mount Rushmore. The reasons for this lack of contestation are complex and historically situated. For one, although there are notable exceptions, Native Americans today tend, somewhat surprisingly, to have little affinity for the art. In part, this may be a result of the forced removals of the last century that separated many Native Americans from their ancestral lands. Consequently, most Native Americans are today unclear as to who made particular images and are

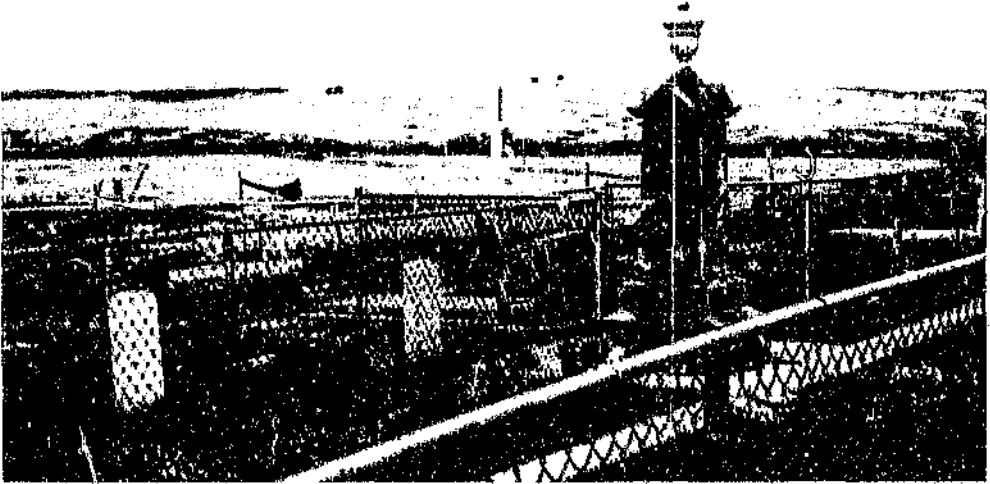
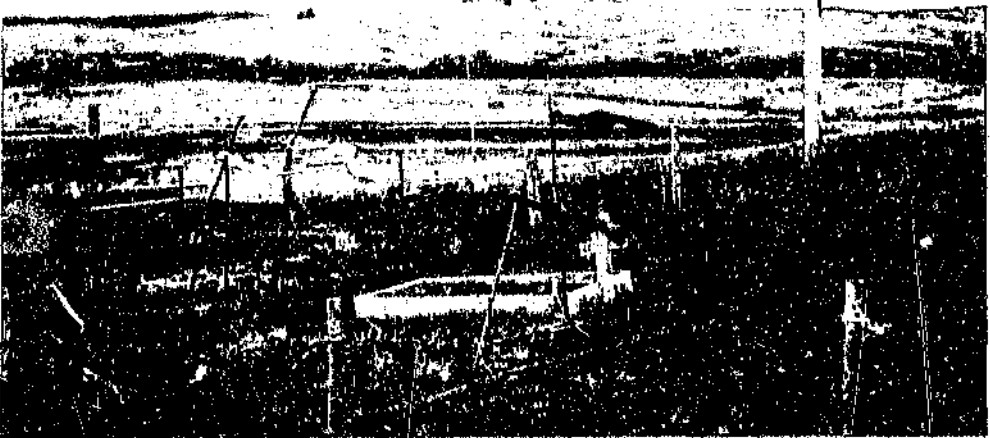
A**B**

Figure 17. Wounded Knee, a site that carries powerful emotions for Native Americans, lies on the plains of South Dakota, east of the Black Hills. The contrast between, on the one hand, the mass grave (A) and other memorials to the dead (B) at Wounded Knee and, on the other, the monumental grandiosity of Mount Rushmore is a poignant reminder of the inequalities of the past and present.

be as if Sioux religion were merely a dumb echo of the anthropocentric fixation suggested by Frank Lloyd Wright's reported remark that the heads on Mount Rushmore made it look as though the mountain had responded to human prayer.

To the east of the Black Hills in the plains of South Dakota, not very far away from Mount Rushmore and Crazy Horse, is Wounded Knee Creek - the site of America's darkest atrocity against Native Americans. In 1890, the year in which, according to Turner, the frontier ended, the United States Seventh Cavalry, in an attempt to crush the ghost dance uprising (Mooney 1965), slaughtered nearly 200 men, women and children at Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge Reservation (Mooney 1965:119-120; Utely 1988:182). The Native Americans were surrounded and ordered to surrender their arms. Seeing that they had no hope, they agreed to comply with the order. But even as the last weapons were being surrendered, the cavalry opened fire. As a place symbolising the tragic suffering of Native Americans, few resonate with as deep a significance as Wounded Knee.

Today, in stark contrast to the grandiose monumentality of Mount Rushmore, a small cairn on the mass grave and a faded and worn notice board are all that mark the wind-swept hills of Wounded Knee (Fig. 17a). Yet the site, like Mount Rushmore, is still considered a shrine and numerous pieces of ribbon adorn small crosses on the more recent burials (Fig. 17b). Wounded Knee, obviously, still has great significance to Native



Figure 16. Crazy Horse Monument, near Mount Rushmore, is far from complete. The stone monument, which dwarfs Mount Rushmore, celebrates the Lakota leader, Crazy Horse. Native American feelings toward this monument are divided. Some see it as a way of putting their 'heroes' on a par with white 'heroes'; others see it as an intrusion into the sacred space of the Black Hills.

of dispute and bitterness - is no coincidence. Mount Rushmore's placement in the Black Hills speaks subtly of an American nationalism that is based on the conquest and continued subjugation of Native Americans.

A short distance from Mount Rushmore and also situated in the Black Hills is Crazy Horse (Fig. 16), another mountain carving. In 1939, a Lakota Native American leader, Chief Henry Standing Bear, invited a Polish-American sculptor, Korczak Ziolkowski, to carve a monument in the Black Hills because as Bear put it, "My fellow chiefs and I would like the white man to know the red man has great heroes, too". The statue which was to commemorate the famed Lakota leader and strategist, Crazy Horse, was to be far larger than Mount Rushmore and, in fact, the four heads would fit into the arm of the carving of Crazy Horse. Work on the Crazy Horse Mountain Memorial began in 1948. Today, twelve years after Ziolkowski's death, his family continues the work on the monument. Given that they felt the place to be sacred enough to protest against the construction of Mount Rushmore, it is ironic and self-defeating that Native Americans have resorted to using the same mechanism - mountain carving - to express the values they find important in the past. As Schama (1995:399) comments,

Emulating the white obsession with visible possession, with self-inscription, with cutting the mountain heights to the scale of the human head, would, in the most poignant way imaginable, be to accept the terms of the conqueror. It would



Figure 15. The grandiose approach to Mount Rushmore. The walkway is lined with the flags of the 50 states. The monument is a shrine to American national identity.



Figure 14. Mount Rushmore, South Dakota, is a testament to the insensitive attitude of white America towards Native Americans. These figures have been carved in the heart of the Black Hills, a place the surrounding Plains Culture people regard as sacred.

One of the most famous of American monuments, Mount Rushmore (Fig. 14), was constructed under the supervision of Gutzon Borglum (Schama 1995:386). In spite of Native American protests against what they believed to be the desecration of a sacred place, work began on the monument in 1927 and was completed in 1941. Today, one approaches the huge carved heads along a lengthy walkway, lined on either side with the flags of American states (Fig. 15). Under each flag is a plaque with the name of the state and the date on which it was accepted into the Union. At the end of this celebratory approach is a modern visitor centre with information regarding the construction and history of Mount Rushmore. The impression one gets walking along the flag-lined path is of the long and difficult struggle to achieve American independence and unity. Mount Rushmore is a grandiose monument to all that is sacred to Americans; it is a shrine dedicated to American identity.

As the available literature and the displays in the visitor centre proclaim, the four monumental heads of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Roosevelt symbolise the struggle for independence and the birth of the republic, the idea of representative government, the permanent union of the states and equality for all citizens. That sentiments such as these, considered so dear to Americans, be symbolised on a mountain in the heart of the Black Hills - land appropriated from Native Americans and still the object

(1995b) points to the reason for this:

Because rock art research deals with inanimate, apparently ancient images painted and engraved on rock surfaces, it has given the impression that it is removed from direct comment on the Bushman people themselves; the full impact of its concept-forming role has thus been concealed.

The concept-forming role that rock art has played in identity-formation becomes abundantly clear when we compare the situation of rock art in South Africa and America with that of rock art in France.

Most of the Upper Palaeolithic parietal art of France is situated in deep, underground caverns. These caves and the art have become an illustrious French cultural heritage. So acclaimed has the art become that in 1990, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the discovery of Lascaux, the most famous of the caves, a national celebration was held. Newspapers ran feature-length articles on the event, special publications were released and the event became a media extravaganza. Apart from media attention, an international conference was held, bringing together students of Upper Palaeolithic art. President Francois Mitterand opened the conference, and afterwards only he, and none of the 'experts', was allowed into the jealously protected cave. Indeed, very few people are allowed into the cave in any given year, and it is not open to the general public, having been sealed to prevent contamination. Those fortunate enough to enter pass

that archaeologists discover are, in their ethnographic definition, used as evidence for the unchanging and static nature of the indigenous, not only in the past but also in the present. Non-Western societies are thus seen as different from Western cultures whose identity, by contrast, is conceived of as continually changing (cf. Trigger 1980). As Gathercole (1990:7) points out,

Archaeology began by viewing Europeans and Western European civilization as a realm of existence apart from the rest of the world. European artifacts and enterprise, along with Europeans themselves, were understood in terms unlike those of other cultures. Where the two impinged - through conquest or other forms of contact - the interaction was also seen from a profoundly Eurocentric viewpoint. This perspective...still shapes the mental image of most people throughout the world.

Wherever Europeans colonised the globe, then, indigenous people were conceived of, not only as opposite, but also inferior. This conceptualisation of indigenous people as inferior 'others' was fundamental to the establishment of colonial and, in some cases, as in America, national identity. Indeed, the establishment of 'other' and what characterised 'otherness' was taken by colonists in the United States and South Africa to be the opposite of what they were; what the colonists were was what 'Bushmen' and 'Indians' were not.

The role of rock art in the process of identity-formation that I have described has, until recently, largely gone unrecognised. Lewis-Williams

practised in the present, not because the past imposes itself, but because subjects in the present fashion the past in the practice of their social identity" (Friedman 1992:853).

Conceptualising 'the past' (at any rate, the distant past) is, of course, preeminently the task of archaeology. Recently, the role of South African archaeology in the formation of identities has been acknowledged. In a perceptive article, Humphreys (1994:111) points out that "we, as southern African archaeologists, are still imposing identities derived from an outdated paradigm". The outdated paradigm to which Humphreys refers is the division of southern Africa's people along the predominantly racial lines of 'Bantu', 'Bushman', 'Hottentot', and 'European'. By using these categories unquestioningly, South African archaeologists have, unwittingly, helped to legitimise received identities (cf. Schrire 1992).

Part of the problem lies with the fact that archaeologists have had to rely on ethnography in their interpretations of the past. Ethnography is, of course, inextricably linked to anthropology (Clifford 1988:9) and thus the construction of 'other'. By extrapolating ethnographic information uncritically back through time and using it to explain material objects from the distant past, archaeologists have aided in the construction of an homogeneous and temporally distant 'other'. In turn, the material objects

spaces which ground identification but places" (Carter *et al.* 1993:xii). The West, by becoming place through its association with 'other' (Native Americans), becomes part of the formation of American national-identity.

Whereas public rock art sites are caught up in the construction of the West, sites in South Africa have not contributed to the construction of a similar monolithic landscape. This is because the San as 'other' have not been associated with a particular place, such as a geographically precise 'frontier', but have, rather, been associated with a diversity of spaces. Of these spaces, two stand out more prominently than the rest - desert and mountains. Both are felt to be remote and inhospitable. Yet San have not been so closely associated with particular landscapes that they have become conceptually incarcerated within them, thereby making it impossible to think of a landscape without thinking of the San.

Apart from situating the indigenous within a specific space, an important aspect of turning space into place is its association with the past. This association is clearly of considerable importance in identity-formation, and writers, such as Sahlins (1985), Friedman (1992) and Rowlands (1994), have commented on the relationship between the past and identity-formation. For the most part, these writers demonstrate that the past is constructed in the present to suit present identities: "The past is always

of explanation; it was a necessary assumption, a conceptual category involved in the constitution of the Other, that is, the object of anthropology (Fabian 1991:197)

In other words, "Time, space and objects, as well as knowledge, find their possibility only in the encounter with alterity" (Grosz 1993:65). Indeed, Tuan (1974:56), in a statement that recalls what I had to say about the minimalist approach to 'wilderness', goes so far as to suggest that "To see the landscape requires, first of all, the ability to make the sharp distinction between self and others". Making a distinction between self and other thus allows for space to be incorporated into identity-formation.

I now illustrate these theoretical propositions by referring to the different ways in which rock art has been implicated in the construction of the 'other' in North America and South Africa. I contrast these two instances with the very different role that Upper Palaeolithic art has played in the construction of French national identity.

We saw in Chapter Two that the West is inextricably associated with Native Americans and thus the 'other'. The distinction between 'self' (white Americans) and 'other' (Native Americans) allows for conceptions to be attached to the physical space that the 'other' occupies. In turn, these conceptions of 'other' allow for space to be turned into place: "It is not

Civilized : Savage

The more the first set seemed unstable, vague, undefined or questionable, the more important became the second set. Thus, the "more doubts Western intellectuals developed about the progress of civilization (or about civilization as progress), the more important the savage became as antithetical figure" (Fabian 1991:196).

Anthropology has been successful in constructing indigenous people as antithetical to Europeans and colonists because it has managed to separate its object - other people - in both time and space. According to Fabian (1991:198), anthropology was and is "a field of knowledge whose discourse requires that its object - other societies, some of them belonging to the past, but most of them existing contemporaneously in the present - be removed from its subject not only in space but also in time". Indeed, from the beginning of anthropology,

evolutionism and diffusionism, the founding paradigms of anthropology as an academic discipline in Europe, established themselves as a discourse on distance, on remoteness in space and time. Their scientific aim was to explain, or account for, the culture history of mankind (in the case of diffusionism) or the law-determined emergence of cultural variation (in the case of evolutionism) by means of the comparative method whose primary datum was the distribution or dispersal of culture traits in space. It bears repeating (and needs to be given much more thought) that distance, spatio-temporal but also developmental was not the object

and colonials constructed their identities by conceptually turning indigenous people into uniform entities. In writing, painting and in museum displays, indigenous people were portrayed as simple, unchanging, and without history. In this sense they were conceptually homogenised into the object of European and colonial identity.

The process whereby Europeans and colonials homogenise the indigenous has come to be referred to as 'othering'. Said (1978), Clifford (1988), Marcus and Fischer (1986), Fabian (1983; 1991) and other writers have shown that from the very first discovery of the new worlds and, indeed, throughout the colonial period, indigenous people have been the object in the identity-formation of European 'man' (Fabian 1991:195). Certain academic disciplines grew out of and, in turn, contributed to the construction of indigenous people as objects. Of these disciplines, anthropology has been preeminent in homogenising the indigenous into the object of European and colonial identity-formation. The 'othering' of the indigenous by Europeans and colonials produced a distinction between categories of opposites that included:

Western	:	Indigenous
Modern	:	Traditional
Progressive	:	Stagnant

meaningful only when it is expressed in relation to other individuals or other groups. The dialectical character of identity-formation lies in the fact that an individual (or a group) is only similar to certain individuals (or groups) if it is also different to other individuals (or groups) (Cabral 1973:64).

Subject and object, in this view, cannot be separated; they constitute, in Giddens's phrase, a duality rather than a dualism. However, since the dialectic is far from a simple issue, I separate Hegel's description of objectification, as described by Miller, into three components that allow for further analytical discussion. These are the object, process, and subject of identity.

The object of identity-formation

The object of identity-formation may either be material objects, animals, or, what concerns me here, human beings. As objects of identity, groups of human beings create complexities not found at the individual level. For one, people do not exist in homogeneous groups. Rather, groups, societies, cultures, and other collectivities of this nature tend to be heterogeneous and are made up of multiple, often dissonant, consciousnesses. As I pointed out in the Preface, 'the public' is, in fact, a collectivity, not a unity. To be conceived of as an object in identity-formation, however, groups of people need to be conceptually homogenised. The most prolific area of study on the objectification of people in recent years has focused on European colonialism. Research in this area has increasingly shown that Europeans

incorporates identity-formation. According to Miller (1994), a common influence amongst most of these writers is that much of their approach to identity-formation derives from the nineteenth-century work of Georg Hegel. What most of these writers find useful in Hegel is his account of objectification. This conception of objectification is fundamental in understanding identity-formation, as I use it in this thesis. Miller (1994:22) summarises the notion of Hegelian objectification:

In the very first instance of this process, the subject is hard to describe, since it is entirely unconscious and undifferentiated. In the first stage ([Hegel] 1977:58-103) the subject must struggle towards an awareness that it actually is; but this can only be achieved by its becoming aware that there is something it actually is not. Awareness of the self is predicated on awareness of the 'other', and it is the process of creation and acknowledgement of the other which is the key to the achievement of self-awareness. What is required is not merely the process of separation and incorporation but also a knowledge that this process is taking place, and, finally, an understanding of the nature of this process. In short, we start with an undifferentiated substance, which achieves a separation into subject and object. The subject thereby comes to know itself as non-other, and thus acquires self-consciousness. It is crucial to observe that, from the beginning, development is predicated upon differentiation, as the originally abstract and generalized humanity becomes increasingly concretized into particular being.

While Hegel initially spoke of the dialectic formation of individual consciousness, the process that Miller describes applies equally to the construction of group identities; at the level of the group, identity-formation is similarly based on perceived difference between a subject (group) and an object (usually another group). Identity is thus

slip into a form of functionalism in which identity is seen as relatively fixed, homogeneous, natural, and thus unchangeable. This approach to identity may be labelled 'primordialist' (Rowlands 1994:132). Identity is, however, as Malkii (1992:37) points out,

always mobile and processual, partly self-construction, partly categorization by others, partly a condition, a status, a label, a weapon, a shield, a fund of memories *et cetera*. It is a creolized aggregate composed through bricolage.

This approach to identity may be termed 'interactionist' (Rowlands 1994:132). In this chapter I adopt an interactionist approach. I draw out various aspects of identity-formation that allow for a fuller understanding of the phenomenon. Drawing on the work of a nineteenth-century philosopher, I argue that identity-formation consists of three important components. Understanding these components allows us to realise what sort of identity is being and, further, could be constructed at South African public rock art sites.

Identity-formation is a relatively well researched phenomenon that transects a number of disciplines. In psychology, writers such as Klein (1988) and Piaget (1932) have described the process of individual identity-formation. In anthropology, Bourdieu (1977) has written on the process of individual identity-formation as it relates to the broader socio-cultural matrix, and in sociology Giddens (1984) has laid out a theory of structuration that

Chapter 3

Political pasts:

Identity and rock art in South Africa and the United States of America

The fundamental experience of visiting a public rock art site is, I argue, identity-formation. This complex emotional and intellectual experience has, certainly in South Africa, gone unrecognized. If we are to reconstruct South African sites in any successful and meaningful way then we must approach them explicitly from the perspective that they are involved in identity-formation. This approach requires a theoretical understanding of identity-formation as well as a fairly detailed understanding of some of the concepts that have played a key role in the construction of the 'cultural baggage' that Westerners bring with them to rock art sites.

Identity, although a recurring theme in social science research, often appears in the literature as a taken-for-granted. Far too often, writers do not specify clearly their conception of the process of identity-formation. At times, this omission leads to a rhetoric which suggests that identity-formation is an end in itself. Identity-formation becomes, for these writers, the ultimate goal of all cultural processes. Arguments of this type tend to

in pamphlets distributed to the public at rock art sites and, more generally, wider ranging pamphlets published by these organisations. The notions that these pamphlets express concerning the makers of the art are reinforced at the sites through texts and other means. These notions are, first, the preservation of mystery, which in fact reinforces pejorative conceptions of the art; secondly, the situating of Native Americans in a predominantly natural paradigm that draws heavily on images of the frontier and the West and that denies them any significant contribution in the way of rock art to culture; finally, a denial of conflict that seems to allow for the construction of a harmonious, unified present but which supports current hegemonies and therefore actually perpetuates conflict. Underlying many of these notions are ideas about the assimilation of Native Americans into conceptions of the past that are associated with the West and, ultimately, with the production of American nationalism.

Because public rock art sites are involved in the construction of what is 'American', they are fundamentally involved in the formation of identity. However, before we can begin reconceptualising public rock art sites in America or in South Africa, we need to understand identity-formation more precisely; I turn to this task in the next chapter.

archetype, have emerged since the 1950s. They are the San as harmless people; and the San as original ecologists. As harmless people, San were seen as afraid of Europeans and Bantu-speakers, and it was said that they tended to keep away from them. Elizabeth Marshall Thomas (1959:23), whose book entitled *The harmless people* best exemplifies this conception, notes,

Europeans are beyond the powers of Bushmen's imagination, more awesome in stature, in possessions, in might, than even the Bushmen's god, who can be cajoled, who hunts with a bow and arrow.

The San, in this perspective, are viewed as powerless in the face of the stronger Bantu-speaking and European civilizations. Indeed, Marshall Thomas writes of the San as if they have an almost fatalistic and stoic acceptance of their inferiority and unjust treatment by others. They offer no resistance.

The underlying theoretical stance of the concept of harmless people is essentially functionalist. Everything in San society is taken as operating to maintain the harmony and integrity of that society. While the impressions of many writers may well have been valid for the area and time in which they were working (see Wilmsen and Denbow 1990 for a denial of this validity), the conception of San as harmless people has, unfortunately, been

By contrast, it was the Zulu *impi*, those disciplined warriors who defeated the British at Islandwana and Rourke's Drift and had achieved infamy earlier at Blood River, and who were epitomised by Shaka, that came closest to playing the role of Rousseau's noble savage in South African and indeed world popular historical consciousness (Hamilton 1993).

While never to the extent of that in America, contradictions along the lines of noble savage-debased savage began to develop for the San from the 1950s onwards. This development was largely due to the work of the Marshall family, the Harvard Kalahari project and popular writers such as van der Post. Writing at a critical period in Western epistemology, the Marshall family and those who followed were profoundly influenced by the events of World War II. Suffering from a fear of modernity's alienation and denial of people's basic humanity, those who journeyed to the Kalahari were searching for the essence of humanity in an "untouched Eden" (Lewis-Williams 1995a). Like Rousseau, then, and so many others since, the writers of the 1950s sought an antidote to the ills of Western civilization in the 'other'. Casting themselves in this Rousseau-like mould, it is not surprising that they (probably unwittingly) resurrected some conceptions of his noble savage for the San.

Two dominant conceptions, both permutations of the noble savage

America, however, changed things dramatically. Having sided with Britain and lost, Native Americans were regarded more and more as bloodthirsty savages incapable of being civilized. This contradiction between noble savage and bloodthirsty savage has dominated white American thinking on Native Americans and, depending on different historical circumstances in America, one or other has been emphasized. Speaking in Hegelian terms, Americans have conceptually separated Native Americans as savage savages and, largely unsuccessfully, tried to reappropriate them as noble savages.

Despite Rousseau's use of the Cape 'Hottentots' to illustrate his *Discourse*, neither they nor the 'Bushmen' were ever broadly conceived of as noble savages, as were Native Americans. The San were not the lost golden youth of Rousseau's noble savage but were incorrigible children who had to be cared for, to be protected from civilization's detrimental effects. They were "wards rather than people in their own right" (Lewis-Williams 1995a). They were considered to be the wretched of the earth, eking out a miserable existence in the wastelands of southern Africa. They were barely human and needed to be exterminated like wild vermin. 'Bushmen' were always ignoble savages. The identification of the San as ignoble savages, as I pointed out in Chapter One, was used as justification by the colonists to appropriate San land and deny them access to resources.

of the savage" (McGuire 1992:229). Native Americans were, thus, thought to be unable to cope with the sophisticated world of civilization and wherever they came into contact with civilization they "surrendered what was good in their racial character and absorbed what was bad in that of the whites" (Dippie 1982:12).

Not everyone in the United States, however, accepted the view of Native Americans as noble savages; no stereotype is uncontested. The notion was largely "an urbane, east Coast ideal and not accepted either on the frontier or in rural areas where whites were or had recently been locked in struggle with real Indian people" (McGuire 1992:230). For those Americans who were involved in conflicts with them, the Native Americans, in a very real sense, were "bloodthirsty devils" (Dippie 1982:6). They were wild, ferocious, fearsome and war-like people with an inherently cruel disposition. One either killed them or one was in imminent danger of being killed by them; they were 'savage' savages.

Dippie (1982) has traced the historical origins and reasons for the development of this contradiction in the USA. He argues that before 1812 American views of the Indian were dominated by Enlightenment ideals; Native Americans were seen as having the potential to be civilized. They could be assimilated, made part of 'our'. The 1812 war between Britain and

Their innocence and simplicity made these noble savages the happiest of all people, and, indeed, for many Europeans and colonials, they were a living reminder of the banishment from Eden and the embodiment of all that was lost in the process.

The noble savage was the opposite of everything bad about civilized society. Civilized society was corrupt and weak; the noble savage was pure and strong. This difference was manifest in such visible attributes as physical strength, natural ability (such as good eyesight) and health. "We need only call to mind", Rousseau (*ibid.*:183) points out,

the good constitution of savages, of those at least whom we have not destroyed by our strong liquors; we need only reflect, that they are strangers to almost every disease, except those occasioned by wounds and old age, to be in a manner convinced that the history of human diseases might be easily written by pursuing that of civil societies.

Significantly, two examples of the noble savage that Rousseau used to illustrate his argument were the Cape 'Hottentots' and American 'Indians' (*ibid.*:186).

Native Americans have long been seen as noble savages who were "unsullied by the corrupting might of civilization". However, "such pure souls were ill prepared and unable to adapt to civilization. The evils of civilization, which the learned man could endure, would sully the nobility

Scene I) wrote,

I am as free as nature first made man,
Ere the base laws of servitude began;
When wild in woods the noble savage ran...

As Dryden suggests, the noble savage was seen as wild and closer to nature - the "woods" - than civilized man. There is, however, a strong touch of nostalgia in this passage, for the freedom associated with this state of savagery. Savages are noble in the sense that they are free from the burdens of civilized law.

Although the notion of savages as free from civilization's restrictions was common in Europe even before Dryden, it was only with the 1775 publication of Rousseau's hugely influential *Discourse on the origin and foundation of inequality among mankind* that the notion of a noble savage was fully articulated. Rousseau's noble savage was an innocent child with simple needs and desires:

His moderate wants are so easily supplied with what he everywhere finds ready to his hand, and he stands at such a distance from the degree of knowledge requisite to covet more, that he can neither have foresight nor curiosity (Rousseau 1967:189-190).

background is the notion of 'savage'; Native Americans and San were, and still largely are, seen as 'savages'. This notion pervades many public rock art sites and therefore demands explication.

The word 'savage' first appeared in English literature in the early 1300s, even before the age of discovery and the colonial period. From the beginning it was used with negative connotations. It described unpleasant characteristics of nature, undomesticated animals and people (*Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edition, vol. xiv 522-523). People who were called 'savage' were generally thought to be wild, untamed, ferocious and closer to nature than their fellow humans. During the colonial period the word came to signify a state of being uncivilized or existing in the lowest state of culture and therefore the antithesis of the civilized West. In this sense, 'savage' served as a label that homogenised indigenous people, turning them into 'other', or the object of identity.

The West's conception of 'savage' has, somewhat paradoxically, often been multifaceted and contradictory, with a number of possible permutations existing at any given historical juncture. Of all the possible connotations of the word 'savage', the notion of the noble savage is historically prominent and, perhaps, foremost in public consciousness today. John Dryden, for example, in his play, *The Conquest of Granada* (1669-1670; Part I, Act I,

an end. Yet, since resources constantly shift, identity is continually constructed and reworked. That identity is a process intimately related to access to resources may best be illustrated by reference to the changing ways in which San and Native Americans were viewed by colonists. These two examples provide an important framework for any discussion of identity-formation at public rock art sites.

Although I have already mentioned some of the images of the San and Native Americans in preceding chapters, a fuller discussion here allows for chronological contextualisation as well as a broader situating of similarities between South Africa and the USA. This discussion provides necessary insights into the dialectic process of identity-formation, the construction of 'other', and the kinds of images to avoid reproducing at public sites. The images, or stereotypes, of the San and Native Americans are some of the raw materials in the process of identity-formation. I outline them here to prevent too great a distance between theory and data and to illustrate by concrete examples the process of identity-formation.

Although the respective colonists saw San and Native Americans as differing from them in innumerable ways, they expressed these differences on both sides of the Atlantic in terms of widely shared concepts that derived from a common European background. The most pervasive theme of this

and the artists "our distant ancestors". On the other hand, San and Native American rock art have historically not been considered part of 'our' heritage. They have been seen as belonging to an indigenous people who were different from Europeans and so constituted an 'other'. Clearly, viewing rock art as either 'our' or 'other' means that it becomes an important and powerful part of identity-formation.

The process of identity-formation

The second important component of the Hegelian conception of identity-formation is a dialectic process. 'Process' implies that the duality of subject and object is continually in flux; it is forever developing. The notion of dialectic, then,

does not divide the world into clear, bounded, separate entities that scholars can define in terms of lucid, consistent, and exclusive definitions. It does not look for stability, homeostasis, or the functional integration of parts. It recognizes that these states may exist, but sees them as temporary and fleeting. It rejects the idea that the social world is inherently static, inert, or stable, thereby requiring us to invoke external cause to account for change (McGuire 1992:94).

The construction of an object of identity - an 'other' - is therefore a process, not an act. For Hegel, this process of objectification had an ultimate purpose - the attainment of absolute knowledge (Miller 1994:24). In so far as identity is manipulable and facilitates or denies access to resources, depending on membership of a particular identity or not, it has

rock art is not altogether convincing. She believed that, because South Africa has so much rock art in comparison to France, it made people oblivious of its value. This explanation, by today's standards, would be considered somewhat simplistic. The real reasons lie much deeper in the socio-political matrix of South African society and, concomitantly for the USA, in American society.

One of the most deeply embedded aspects of this socio-political matrix, one that underscores the differences between South Africa and America on the one hand and France on the other hand, is the distinction between 'our' and 'other'. For the French, Europeans and European-descended people, Upper Palaeolithic imagery is 'our' art. This attitude is clear from the numerous popular books written on Upper Palaeolithic art. Windels (1949), for example, dedicates his book *The Lascaux Cave Paintings*,

TO
OUR DISTANT ANCESTORS
WHO WORKED IN THE SILENCE
OF THE CAVES
SOME TWO HUNDRED CENTURIES AGO
IN BELATED HONOUR
OF GENIUS NEVER SURPASSED

The Upper Palaeolithic art of France has, virtually since its discovery, been seen as the origin of European and, especially, French culture. For the French and Europeans in general, the art is most definitely 'our' heritage

site. Moreover, the art has never been the object of a national festival in any way approaching that staged to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the discovery of Lascaux. One is not surprised, then, to learn that, in spite of many sites' being of comparable beauty and complexity, none in South Africa or America compares in any way with the treatment accorded to Lascaux.

This contrast has not passed unnoticed. Dorothea Bleek, in an article entitled *The Neglected Riches of Southern Africa* (1929:33), was one of the earliest writers to comment on differences in the treatment of South African and French rock art. Commenting on the Upper Palaeolithic images, she wrote:

What excitement their discovery caused! What a joy they have been to the archaeologist and the artist! They have been minutely studied, described and copied; they have formed the theme of innumerable articles, and costly books have been published to make these finds known to the world and to discuss their origin, age and purpose.

Of South African rock art she said,

in variety, action and composition the best paintings here cannot be matched in France or Spain. Do we excite ourselves about them? No. Familiarity breeds contempt.

Dorothea Bleek's attempt to explain the lack of interest in South African

through airtight doors and walk through chemical solutions in order not to contaminate the cave. But, because the French consider the cave a national shrine, a meticulous replica of part of the cave, called Lascaux II, was constructed at a cost of millions of francs.

Two new sites, both said to be comparable in quality to Lascaux, have recently been found in France. The most recent discovery, the Chauvet cave, was made on 28 December 1994 near Avignon. This discovery was considered so important that it was announced through the world media and was covered extensively by publications as widely read as *Time* (February 13, 1995), which stated, "Not since the Dead Sea Scrolls has anything found in a cave caused so much excitement" (p. 41). So infectious was this excitement that more than three times the number of people catered for applied to attend a public symposium on Upper Palaeolithic art held by the California Academy of Sciences in San Francisco in March 1995 (Lewis-Williams, pers. comm.).

Although discoveries as impressive as that near Avignon are made in South Africa and the USA, they receive much less attention, and the rock art of South Africa and America does not enjoy the prominence that the Upper Palaeolithic art of France does. To the best of my knowledge, no South African premier nor American president has yet officially visited a rock art

of archaeological remains even into a world heritage. One does not, thus, escape the inclusion of archaeology in political struggles by incorporating it into a world heritage.

The internationalist versus nationalist debate is just one element of the background against which South African public rock art sites have to be reconceptualised and reconstructed, for everywhere identity is contested. In years to come, public rock art sites may become involved in the construction of more vernacular, partisan identities, especially amongst those people descended from the San and labelled by apartheid as 'coloured'. As this community begins to assert its identity in the so-called new South Africa, its members will increasingly turn to the past to reappropriate what they believe 's their heritage. It is not my aim in this thesis to contribute to such partisan identities; suffice to say that these identities are far from unproblematic in a country that has a history of divisiveness. Nevertheless, such identities will no doubt have to be taken into account at public rock art sites in the future.

I do not, moreover, expect San rock art to become a symbol accepted by all; such a task is an impossibility. Rather, I aim to turn conceptions of San rock art, in however small a way, into something more positive than they have been and currently are. In this way I hope to contribute to the

supremacist overtones. South Africa today hardly approaches the situation in Nazi Germany, nor does it appear that South African nationalism, even as it is being forged, will ever take on the excesses of German nationalism.

What is at issue in these protests against archaeology's inclusion in national identity is a confusion between nationalism and national identity. Bowinan (1993:77) points out the distinction:

National identity-formation...is a fairly diffuse recognition of various forms of cultural continuity shared by certain individuals and not shared by others, it can be asserted, and mobilized, in a number of different ways. Nationalism, on the other hand, is a particular assertion of national identity-formation which mobilizes, organizes, and transforms a sense of shared identity-formation into a political programme designed to realize, territorially and politically, the idea of community which underlies it.

There is hardly a danger that South Africa will try to realize territorially and politically a sense of shared community nor, as in the case of Nazi Germany, carry out this ideal militarily. In any event, it is not my aim to promote nationalism at South African public rock art sites but rather national identity. Nevertheless, many archaeologists, including some South Africans, believe that archaeological remains should be incorporated into a world heritage and not be used in more localised political contests. Such beliefs tend to ignore the fact that political struggles surround the inclusion

The relationship of the intellectual to the powers that be in society is an **oppositional** one. The role of the intellectual is to call into question the established socio-political order (original emphasis).

Such arguments may be persuasive in countries where liberal democracy is safe, but in South Africa, with its divisive and violent political past and ever-widening gap between archaeology and the public, this attitude is an unaffordable luxury. In fact, adopting an oppositional attitude, as Shanks and Tilley suggest, would only serve to heighten the already widespread feeling in South Africa that academics inhabit an irrelevant 'Ivory Tower'. This feeling is increasingly being voiced in public forums such as the television programmes I mentioned in the Preface. Far from a need to undermine and be divisive, South Africa is urgently in need of unification. Any divisive intercession would threaten the country's new found democracy.

Yet archaeologists who are less radical than Shanks and Tilley are sure to have doubts about the promotion of national identity at public rock art sites. Many archaeologists are, for historical reasons, opposed to any incorporation of the past into national identities. An obvious example of the dangers of incorporating the past into a national identity is that of Nazi Germany (Arnold 1990), but other countries, such as Israel (Shay 1989), have also incorporated archaeology into a national identity that has

(1993) and stamped on valuable coins minted to commemorate the World Rugby Cup (1995). Even though Sam Ramsamy, the President of the National Olympic Committee of South Africa, vehemently denied that the choice of San rock art was not intended to be a "new or competing national emblem" (The Star 1993/11/18), the choice of San imagery for a flag that represents a national team points to the fact that the San and their art are, for the first time in South African history, becoming incorporated on a large scale into the production of a unitary, national identity. The San and their art provide ideal symbols for new, and especially national, identity. They are (supposedly) politically neutral - they do not carry divisive connotations, as do the Voortrekker oxwagon or the Zulu assegai. Moreover, sentiments of the noble savage have been resurrected and attached to them in recent years. A new approach to South African public rock art sites, must take into consideration and build on the inclusion that is now taking place of the art in a new national South African identity. This is what I argue in subsequent chapters.

The promotion of national identity at South African public sites is, however, sure to be contested by many archaeologists. Some writers, such as Shanks and Tilley (1987:201ff), for example, have argued that archaeologists should constantly undermine government hegemonies:

in a never-ending dialectic process: finality is never reached.

For the first time in its history, South Africa is now attempting to construct an identity as a nation. Since the 1994 election the country has been concerned with reconciliation and reconstruction. A prominent catch-phrase in this programme is 'nation-building', and, indeed, the general feeling in the country is that South Africa should move away from the older, divisive identities to a new national identity.

In recent years a highly significant element has been associated with this idea of nation building. There has been an awakening affinity in South African public consciousness with images of the San and their rock art. The San and their art, for example, appear in commercials for companies such as Telkom, the SABC, and Spoornet (Einhorn 1995; Lewis-Williams 1995b). These companies tend to be state owned or are in the process of becoming fully privatised. Companies being privatised have needed new identities to accompany their new status, as in the case of South African Railways becoming Spoornet, and those that have remained state-controlled are trying to construct a new image that is more appropriate to present-day South Africa.

Rock art images have, moreover, been incorporated into the Olympic flag

The subject of identity-formation

Like the object of identity, the subject at the group level tends to be more complex than that of individual identity-formation. At the individual level we are dealing with single consciousnesses whereas groups are made up of heterogeneous consciousnesses. It is difficult at the level of group identity-formation, for example, to identify a particular 'society' or 'culture' that forms a coherent subject. I have pointed out that a 'society' or 'culture' is usually made up of a number of smaller, often competing, groups which in turn are made up of even smaller groups, and so on until we arrive back at the level of the individual. The subject at the group level is therefore a somewhat vague entity. It is difficult to understand, for example, what it means when we talk about 'American', 'South African' or, worse still, 'Western' (Gupta and Ferguson 1992:14).

The dominant collective norm for groups in the world today is 'nation'. Nations are, of course, in Benedict Anderson's famous formulation, 'imagined communities'. Nations are imagined "because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (1983:15). The very complexity and elusive nature of the nation requires that it be continuously involved in a Hegelian process even more than the individual. The nation is constructed and re-constructed

Catlin and Bain manipulated widely held stereotypes of indigenous people to establish their identity as individuals in their own cultural surroundings. In effect, Bain and Catlin set themselves up as mediators. They moved between savage and civilized, in that murky space between indigenous and modern, drawing on their expertise of one when interacting with the opposite and establishing their identity as experts on the 'other'.

A number of people followed the examples of Catlin and Bain and constructed their identities as experts on the 'other'. Power, of course, accrues from being an 'expert'. In turn, the notions of indigenous people propagated by these individuals became incorporated into more collective identities, even national ones in the case of America. The establishment of the 'other' thus began as a dialectic process in the establishment of individual identity; it developed into a focal point that united colonists from diverse backgrounds and emerged in America as the anvil on which national identity was forged. At the same time, the 'other' - both San and Native Americans - was what distinguished the colonists from their European ancestry - what made them unique and what determined their ancestry as separate. It is this sentiment that is expressed in the notion of saving the savage. It is the preservation of uniqueness; it is the construction and ownership of a difference important to colonial identity.

children of nature from total extinction, then the original inhabitants are going to vanish from the South African scene for good (Gordon, in prep.).

Catlin, although he never pursued the ideal as Bain did, was also interested in establishing a reservation for Native Americans. This reservation was to be a place

where the world could see for ages to come, the native Indian in his classic attire, galloping his wild horse, with sinewy bow, and shield and lance, amid the fleeting herds of elks and buffalos...A nation's Park, containing man and beast, in all the wild and freshness of their nature's beauty! (Catlin in Matthiessen 1989:vii).

In his idea of displaying Native Americans for the white man's edification, Catlin, like Bain who exhibited San not just at the Empire Exhibition but also at various exhibitions and fairs, manifested racist attitudes, despite the sincerity of his intentions.

Bain's and Catlin's endeavours were only the start of a dialectic process. As Gordon (in prep.) points out, as Bain constructed the 'Bushmen', they in a very real sense helped to construct his own identity. Catlin also used Native Americans to construct his identity. Being self-taught, he chose his Indian subjects, partly to establish an identity of his own that was different from that of his European trained and influenced east-coast contemporaries. Both

Even today, farmers in the eastern parts of South Africa lament the 'fact' that the 'last Bushman' was shot on their own farm.

More than by intellectual writing, the notion of the vanishing Bushman was implanted in white South African consciousness through exhibitions of 'live' San. As I proceed, it will become clear that the exhibition of San people has strong parallels with the 'exhibition' of rock art images in public sites.

Donald Bain, like Catlin, was interested in saving something of the indigenous. Concerned that the San were vanishing forever, Bain, unlike Catlin, was concerned with saving the indigenous people themselves.

Picking up earlier ideas, he laboured to establish a reserve for San so that they could be protected from the inevitable demise that modernity offered them (Gordon 1992:148ff; Gordon, in prep.). Bain felt that the San needed a reservation to protect them because their

mentality is that of a child and they are absolutely incapable of absorbing modern ideas (Gordon, in prep.).

At the 1936 Empire Exhibition in Johannesburg, Bain, who was responsible for exhibiting the San, announced,

if provision is not made in one or the other way to save these

What is so important and interesting about the notion of the 'vanishing savage' is that it facilitated the formation of individual and collective identities that were based on patronising attitudes to Native Americans. Certain individuals, concerned that the indigenous people were vanishing, set about trying to save them. George Catlin (1796-1872), a self-taught artist who travelled west making sketches and paintings of Native Americans in the last century, was such a person. Catlin's 'Indian Gallery', a collection, initially, of 510 paintings is still celebrated as a remarkable record of accurate observation (Matthiessen 1989:xvi). Catlin's aim in making these paintings was not so much to preserve Native Americans but to preserve a record of Native Americans. Indeed, there is "something callous about the enthusiasm" of not only Catlin but his contemporary artists and writers, who "went about the self-appointed task of preserving not the Indian, but a record of the Indian" (Limerick 1987:27).

Although there has not been a case as sensational as that of Ishi nor an artist of Catlin's calibre in southern Africa, the notion of the 'vanishing Bushman' is common. The notion of the 'vanishing Bushman' has a long historical precedent and was propounded in the last century by academic figures such as Wilhelm Bleek, who spoke of the San as 'This dying out race' (Thornton 1983), and Stow who constantly refers to the 'last Bushman', be it in the Malutis (1905:230) or in the Genadeberg (1905:223).

Another notion that is fundamental to the understanding of American and South African appropriations of rock art is that of the last savage. In North America, the contradiction between noble savage and bloodthirsty savage was mediated in public consciousness by the notion of the 'vanishing Indian' (Dippie 1982). Fuelled by the obviously debilitating effect that disease, conquest, and alcohol were having on the Indian, the notion of the vanishing Indian was soon elevated to the status of a national myth. It no longer mattered whether the Indian was a noble savage or a bloodthirsty one. They were savages who were dying out in the face of civilization's progress; they, like the frontier and the bison, were vanishing.

The notion of the 'vanishing Indian' gave rise to a long-standing image in white American consciousness - the 'last wild Indian' syndrome. In 1911 the most famous instance of this syndrome was enacted. In the town of Oroville, California, a Native American, later to be known as Ishi, seemingly blundered out of the forests into civilization (Kroeber 1976). Ishi shot to national fame virtually overnight. The widespread interest in his sudden appearance was the product of conceptions of the vanishing American which by the time of his 'discovery', had become a "self-perpetuating...self-fulfilling prophecy" which required no further questioning (Dippie 1982:xii).

extrapolated to a substantial portion of San history. In this view, San have always been passive victims of colonialism, offering little and ineffectual resistance to their oppressors. They have always been incapable of mounting resistance; they have always been unable to look after themselves; they are in essence still children. This primordialist conception, not only denies the San a dynamic history but denies them agency. The works of researchers such as Marks (1972), Vinnicombe (1976), Wright (1971) Wilmsen (1989) and Gordon (1992), however, have shown that the San were not merely harmless functionalists but, rather, that they were active agents who mounted fierce and sometimes successful resistance to colonists.

The second possible permutation of the noble savage archetype is the San as original ecologists, the problems of which I have already mentioned in Chapter One. This notion appears to have emerged from the adaptationist Kalahari research of the 1950s and is closely coupled with the San as harmless people. The notions of the San as harmless and gentle people, living in harmony with nature - initiated by the Harvard Kalahari Project and popularised by van der Post and other writers - have given rise to images of the San as the custodians and protectors of nature. Such images, despite the problems associated with them, appear to be a major shift away from earlier notions of the San as debased.

identity as a member of normal society as well as his or her identity as a member of a special band. This is because the bonds established by pilgrims are comparatively weak and because pilgrims return to the life they left more accepting of that life; in some ways, pilgrimages tie pilgrims more securely than they were before to their own social structure. Yet, the opposite is also true. The binding of pilgrims to their usual social structure translates into Hegelian terminology as the increasing complexity of the subject (pilgrim), for, in their own minds at least, pilgrims are closer to the object (the supernatural) than before the pilgrimage and are thus differentiated from the rest of their community. Pilgrimages, thus, offer a way of privileging a particular identity, often a religious one, while they downplay other identities. Although the Turners never use the word 'Hegelian', pilgrimage, as a process of separation, liminality, and ultimate reincorporation, satisfies the Hegelian conception of identity-formation that I outlined in Chapter Three. Pilgrimage, then, as a process of identity-formation, appears to be an ideal vehicle for the establishment of new identities at public rock art sites.

Types of pilgrimage

The notion of pilgrimage conjures up an almost exclusively religious image in most minds. The Turners, however, identify at least four types of pilgrimage, some of which function to perform tasks beyond the religious.

before, even though he may have seen very similar objects in his parish church almost everyday of his life" (Turner and Turner 1978:11). It is in the presence of these symbols and icons that pilgrims transform their identities.

In Herelian terms, these symbols and icons are the 'objects' of the pilgrim's identity. Being of a religious nature, the statues and relics represent something beyond the mortal and stand for a supernatural 'other', and this gives them particular power. One of the most important reasons for going on a pilgrimage is that subjects often increasingly feel overwhelmed and 'undifferentiated' in day-to-day society where they must adopt multiple identities according to the diverse situations in which they find themselves. In this sense, one of the functions of pilgrimage is to separate the object of identity (icons, relics and statues), from the subject (the pilgrim). By separating the objects of identity from the subject, pilgrimage allows the subject to reappropriate the object of identity in a new and powerful way. This reappropriation is achieved through experiencing the physical hardships and deprivations of the long journey and by rituals at the shrine itself. These deprivations operate, to some extent at least, to make pilgrims aware that their identities are constructed in opposition to supernatural 'objects'.

Paradoxically, the reappropriation of the object consolidates a pilgrim's

hardships during a lengthy liminal phase and because they share the ecstasy afforded by the shrine at the climax of the pilgrimage. Indeed, it is the break down of normal, accepted relations during the liminal phase that facilitates an attitude within a pilgrim that is more susceptible to the affective impact of the shrine at the culmination of the pilgrimage.

Pilgrimages usually culminate at a shrine where symbols and powerful icons, around which the pilgrimage has become established, are located. These symbols can take the form of relics, statues, or combinations of these items. These symbols are familiar to the pilgrims and they frequently come into contact with them in the course of their daily living. The power of the symbols is, however, often lost in the 'noise' and symbolic clutter of routine social life. Because they are isolated from 'normal' life and are situated at a special site, the symbols and icons at the end of a pilgrimage are resonant with a more powerful or immediate presence. At the shrine, moreover, a pilgrim's susceptibility to symbols is heightened through personal physical and mental privations, such as fasting, and mind-altering rites, such as prolonged chanting. The susceptibility of the pilgrim and the placing of symbols at a special site out of the way of normal society have the effect of turning the symbols and icons at a shrine into particularly powerful communicators of belief. According to the Turners, these symbols and icons strike the pilgrim "as perhaps they have never done

In undergoing the rite of separation, a Huichol pilgrim's identity is altered to that of a God or ancestor. This other-worldly identity marks the second or liminal phase during which pilgrims perform rituals to indicate and maintain their identity as distinct from non-pilgrims. These rites include the eating of certain foods only or the wearing of particular clothes to mark themselves off as separate from non-pilgrims. Amongst the Huichol, the liminal phase is marked by a number of inversions, taboos and practices. Each pilgrim has a particular place, duty and attitude to maintain, and linguistic terms become inverted so that one refers to oranges as lemons, for example. In the set of final rites pilgrims perform a number of rituals to symbolise their reincorporation into society. These rites usually involve an undoing of the separation and liminal rituals. Together, these three categories of rites constitute the 'pilgrimage process', as the Turners describe it.

Of the three phases of the pilgrimage process, it is the liminal phase that is most important in the formation of identity. During this phase, pilgrims consider themselves, and are considered by others, to be distinct from mainstream society. During the liminal phase a pilgrim establishes bonds with other pilgrims rather than with 'normal' members of society. The bonds formed between pilgrims are fundamentally different from the bonds that they experience in everyday life because they derive from experiencing

also implicated in the formation of conceptions of larger collectivities; by going on a pilgrimage one belongs to a group of pilgrims as opposed to non-pilgrims. The Huichol, for example, say that in Wirikuta, divisions that are found in normal life, such as those between sexes, ages, leaders and led, people and animals, plants and animals, people and demigods, break down and new collectivities are formed (Turner 1974:9). Pilgrimage is therefore deeply implicated in the formation of both group and individual identities.

Pilgrimage is involved in identity-formation through three categories of rituals that are, in Van Gennep's (1960) famous formulation of *rites de passage*, rites of separation, rites of liminality, and rites of incorporation. In the first set of rites pilgrims undergo a symbolic separation from society. These rites take on a number of forms, such as the rite of sexual confession amongst the Huichol. In this rite, all participants in the peyote pilgrimage must confess their sexual indiscretions before embarking of the journey. The shaman leading the pilgrimage ties a knot in a cord for each indiscretion; a new cord is used for each individual. These cords are then burnt. According to Myerhoff (1974:136),

The life experience represented by the cord was destroyed. The *peyeteros* were now pure, made new. They were no longer mortal. It was from this moment that the pilgrims became and were known to each other as the ancient ones.

baggage' of modern visitors and, at the same time, derive in a significant way from the original use of the sites. All the points I have discussed from the South African, North Mexican and North American ethnography are characteristic of what Victor Turner calls the pilgrimage process (in Myerhoff 1974:8). The suggestion that rock art sites were used for what may be fairly loosely called pilgrimages holds exciting possibilities because, thanks to the work of Victor Turner and his wife, Edith, pilgrimage is well-understood. In a number of works published in the 1960s and 1970s the Turners laid down the foundations for understanding the pilgrimage process. Since the Turners' work, there has not, to the best of my knowledge, been further extensive analyses of pilgrimage until recently (e.g. Eade and Sallnow 1990; Coleman and Elsner 1995). Some of their work, at least, must be regarded as somewhat out of date. Rather than applying all their conceptions of pilgrimage, I offer my own interpretation and reworking of what I find useful in their work.

Pilgrimage and identity

One of the most important aspects of pilgrimage is that it brings about a change in the pilgrims. Pilgrims often speak of being profoundly altered by the experience, and this change is conceptualised by pilgrims as an inward movement of the self. Pilgrimages are thus implicated in the shifting and altering of an individual's conception of self. Pilgrimages are, however,

indicates, overwhelmingly, that rock art sites were considered powerful places and that the production and consumption of the imagery was implicated in ritual. Many sites, for example, were used for vision quests (*ibid.*:83-84). These quests were deeply personal journeys in which shamans gained insights into an alternative reality. Questers journeyed to the rock art sites and then, in an altered state of consciousness, launched themselves on a spiritual journey.

The undertaking of long, often arduous journeys, both real and hallucinatory, appears to have been a widespread phenomenon amongst American and, indeed, shamanic communities worldwide (Eliade 1981, Halifax 1991:35-86). Amongst the Huichol of northern Mexico there is still an annual expedition to collect the powerful hallucinogen, peyote. The Huichols undertake this annual journey to Wirikuta in the Sierra Madre Occidental where they 'hunt' the peyote cactus (Myerhoff 1974:9). The entire journey is surrounded by ritual, strict taboos and a number of conceptual inversions (*ibid.*:112ff; cf. Myerhoff 1978:56-70).

The Huichol peyote pilgrimage, the vision quests of other Native American communities, the real and imaginary journeys of shamans worldwide and the annual migration of San to painted sites in the Drakensberg together suggest an approach to rock art sites that will challenge the 'cultural

were considered powerful places that attracted generation upon generation of San (Deacon 1988).

The power of the images and the sites appears to have been exploited seasonally. Both Patricia Vinnicombe (1976:5) and Patrick Carter (1970), drawing on ethnographic and archaeological evidence, noted that, in the winter, the San moved from the mountainous areas of the KwaZulu-Natal Drakensberg, where paintings are abundant, to the midlands, where there are few paintings. This seasonal movement had important implications:

The virtual restriction of painting to the summer months could be interpreted as evidence for periodic, possibly annual, ceremonies in which painting was an integral and important part (Carter 1970:57).

There is ~~thus evidence~~ that suggests that at least some southern African rock art had powerful religious significance and that people travelled annually to the sites.

In America, there is more evidence on the use of rock art sites than there is in South Africa. In the far west there is extensive ethnography which, as David Whitley (1994:81) points out, "is arguably the most complete and detailed of any in the world". This ethnography deals, in part, with the use of sites by the Native American painters and engravers. The evidence:

impact on modern visitors to the fullest extent possible.

The original use of sites

Not much is known about the use of rock art sites by the makers of the art. What evidence there is, though, points to the use of sites for religious and ritual purposes, both in South Africa and the USA, and this must be the starting point for any plan that aims to make them accessible to the public.

In southern Africa, evidence exists that the production and consumption of rock art were implicated in ritual. Marion How (1962:32ff), for example, learned from Mapote, a southern Sotho man with knowledge of San painters and paintings, that the making of paint was a ritual activity. In addition, recent research has shown that the rock surface on which the images were painted was regarded by the San, at least in some circumstances, as an entrance into the spirit world that lay behind the rock (Lewis-Williams and Dowson 1990; Yates and Manhire 1991). Evidence for the religious use of sites themselves comes from the testament of Maqindi Dyanti, or M as she is known in the literature. The daughter of a San rainmaker and artist, M testified that San people danced before the rock paintings during religious rites. They believed that they could obtain supernatural potency inherent in some of the images (Lewis-Williams 1986; Jolly 1986; Jolly and Prins 1994). It therefore seems that, not only individual images, but certain sites

Chapter 4

Metaphoric pilgrimage:

Reconceptualising public rock art sites

I have argued that public rock art sites are, to all intents and purposes, structures that have been placed on the 'objects' (rock art) of the 'other' (San). As such, they are necessarily implicated in the production of identity. Because constructors of sites have been unaware or have not acknowledged that sites are involved in identity-formation, they have approached them from a minimalist or a museum perspective. In both cases, these approaches have reproduced the problematic, stereotypical identities that I described in the previous chapter.

In this chapter, I develop a new approach to public rock art sites that is based on the Hegelian understanding of identity-formation that I outlined in Chapter Three. I argue that any reconceptualisation and subsequent reconstruction of public rock art sites must treat them as *sui generis*, not as fragments of 'nature' or as museums. To treat sites as something existing in their own right it would be advantageous to approach them, to some degree at least, as the makers of the art approached them. I argue that we need to draw on but at the same time modify this approach so that the art can

is neither minimalist nor museum orientated, because, as I demonstrated in Chapter One, those approaches reproduce identities based on negative images of the San and their art. Moreover, if we are to set up sites so that they contribute to the formation of a South African national identity in a positive way, we need to avoid reproducing an 'other' that is comparable to the 'other' presented at American sites. Any new approach, if it is to succeed in altering identity, must be theoretically informed, but it must also take into consideration the practical issues of changing identity. We need a conceptual approach that translates practically into an effective and quick mechanism of identity-formation, or, rather, identity-alteration. The Hegelian approach that I follow produces such a conception, one with intensely practical considerations. In the next chapter, I draw on the understandings of multi-faceted identities that I have developed here and argue for a new approach to South African sites (with consequent implications for America) that, I believe, will successfully aid in the production of a national identity based, in part, on positive images of rock art and its makers.

formation of a national identity that is based on a positive perception of these new symbols. It is my belief that a national identity based on negative perceptions of these new symbols, even if the negative connotations of the symbols are not fully recognised, is not conducive, in the long term, to an acceptance of cultural plurality in South Africa.

The negotiability of identity

My aim is to suggest ways in which public rock art sites can be constructed in such a way that they contribute to a South African national identity that is based, in part, on positive images of the San and their art. This is not an easy task. Numerous writers have noted the difficulty of changing conceptions of the 'other' and thus altering the trajectory of identity-formation processes. Friedman (1992:852), for one, states,

Culture is supremely negotiable for professional cultural experts, but for those whose identity-formation depends on a particular configuration this is not the case. Identity-formation is not negotiable. Otherwise, it has no existence.

Friedman is, perhaps, too pessimistic, for people do alter their identities, but his warning about the difficulty of altering identity is well heeded.

If we are to overcome the very real difficulties in the way of challenging and altering identity at public rock art sites, we shall need an approach that

variety of shrine-associated objects. Nor do they encourage the active participation of visitors as the objects do at pilgrimage shrines. The lectern is not symbolically powerful in itself; rather, it is the text that is important. If we are to re-create the effect of pilgrimages without losing the explanatory potential of texts we need to introduce some sort of three-dimensionality to the lecterns. Lecterns need to be creatively transformed into interesting, participatory stations along the route. I give some examples in the next three chapters.

The texts on the lecterns should, moreover, be kept to a minimum and should express the complex issues of the art in a simple and lucid fashion. Most importantly, they should also be cumulative in their impact, for at pilgrimage shrines there is often an increase in the number of stations the closer one gets to the central object of worship. Those lecterns on the path leading from the visitor centre to the site should increasingly emphasize the separation of visitors from daily social life and raise expectations of what is to be seen at the site. Along the return path, the lecterns should emphasize the reincorporation of (transformed) visitors into daily social life. Again, this gives visitors a sense of a progression through the site.

Another consideration for the construction of lecterns is that there is a continuity amongst objects at pilgrimage shrines. Particular rituals are

Another reason why the route should be given considerable thought is that pilgrimage routes are "conduits of cultural transmission" (Turner and Turner 1978:26). Perhaps, rather than having groups arriving haphazardly at a site, set times for conducted tours should be established as in the case of the French Upper Palaeolithic sites. These tours would facilitate interaction between strangers from many different backgrounds. The problem with this is that in the nature of pilgrimages the association between pilgrims is voluntary, and the bonds they form are different from those of everyday life. There are, however, strict rituals at shrines and generally enforced times in which to conduct specific rituals. A point to bear in mind is that with metaphoric pilgrimage we are trying to compact into a few hours a phenomenon that usually takes weeks or even months.

The principal medium for the dissemination of information along the path at public rock art sites will have to be lecterns. In some ways these will take the place of statues and other items usually associated with religious pilgrimages. Religious objects are important in the progression of the pilgrim, and a number of devotional activities are performed around them. The affective power of these objects encourages active participation on the part of the pilgrim, such as the utterance of chants and prayers. Indeed, the religious objects are felt to be imbued with a magical efficacy (Turner and Turner 1978:28). Lecterns, however, lack the three-dimensionality and

The liminal phase

Possibly the most important component of pilgrimage that needs to be re-created at public rock art sites is that of process. This process, we have seen, is one of moving from a phase of separation, through a lengthy liminal phase and finally to reincorporation into society. Considerable attention should thus be given to foregrounding the sense of liminality that tourists to public rock art sites inevitably feel (Graburn 1983:13).

The liminal phase begins outside the visitor centre at the start of the path that leads to the rock art. At this point visitors leave behind their daily selves and set out on a journey of discovery - a point that could be made to them explicitly. The path to the site should be elliptical and visitors should not return to the visitor centre by the same path along which they journeyed to the site. The visitor should be given the experience of developmental change. To create the impression of the lengthy and difficult journey of pilgrimage, a long walk is desirable to create a sense of separation and to provide sufficient time for the sort of instruction I describe below. This might mean that the most direct route to the site might not be taken, and a more indirect route established that takes in features of the landscape that could be made preparatory to the experience that awaits them at the site. Such lengthy walks, however, are not always possible nor desirable when older or handicapped people are expected to visit the site.

entrance section should contain very few amenities, certainly no coffee shops or curio stores, and the layout should facilitate an efficient progression of people rather than a directionless and open forum where people can drift around at will.

Furthermore, a short orientation video of a few minutes should be shown. At pilgrimage shrines, the pilgrims do not need to have the symbolic aspects of the objects explained to them. They know the meaning of the symbols before they even begin their journey. People come to public rock art sites, on the other hand, with preconceived cultural baggage that is often pejorative (Chapters One, Two and Three). A fundamental difference, then, between pilgrimages and visits to public rock art sites is that pilgrims have their essential symbolic set reinforced while most visitors to rock art sites encounter an almost completely alien symbolic set that is linked to negative notions of the 'other'. An orientation video is thus desirable; the video should introduce key components of the art's symbolism. It would also serve to create symbolic distance between visitors and the outside world, because the length of the video would create a contemplative time-gap between the visitors' arrival and the ensuing visit to the rock art. As a final act of separation, visitors should be given a large and suitably designed tag to hang around their necks to identify them as visitors to the site. The tag would mark visitors off as separate from daily social life.

disseminated, not only on the rock art but on the archaeology and general environment of the site as well. Often these centres have some sort of cafeteria where refreshments are served and a shop where souvenirs and books can be purchased. While advocates of the minimalist approach see such centres as blemishes on the landscape, they perform an important symbolic function that is not always acknowledged or well understood. Indeed, it would be to fall into the error that I discussed in Chapter One if one were to suppose that the construction and placing of a visitor centre is a purely practical matter. The design and placing of a visitor centre subtly conveys attitudes and values. If the centre is impressive, visitors feel that they are about to visit an important place. If the centre is cheaply and tastelessly constructed, visitors will feel that what they are about to see is not worth much.

Positioning these centres at public rock art sites would be critical. All visitors would have to pass through the visitor centre when entering and leaving the site. Set up as the first and last stations on the pilgrimage route, a visitor centre provides an ideal area to mimic rituals of separation from and rites of reincorporation into everyday society. In order to provide a sense of progress through the site, a separate entrance and exit should be established so that visitors do not return the same way that they entered and hence feel that they are retreating on their own tracks. In addition, the

I therefore argue for what I call 'metaphoric pilgrimage'. By this phrase I mean that I take certain components of the pilgrimage process and use them to structure the experience of visitors to rock art sites. Importantly, visitors need not be told that they are pilgrims; that is why I use 'metaphoric'.

Metaphoric pilgrimage: design and structure

Establishing a metaphoric pilgrimage at a public rock art site requires replicating the 'pilgrimage process'. In effect, this means that the site must be designed and constructed in such a way that visitors pass through phases of separation, liminality, and reincorporation. In actual pilgrimages, these phases are marked by rituals. In metaphoric pilgrimages, we need to devise rituals or to reformulate familiar conventions in a manner that turns them into rituals. I now deal in a brief and preliminary way with how the three phases of the pilgrimage process could be established at public rock art sites. I consider the separation, liminal and reincorporation phases in turn. I show how a visitor's experience can be moulded and channelled.

Separation

An effective way of establishing a separation between the visitor and the general public is through the use of a visitor centre. Common in American national parks, visitor centres have not yet been widely used in South Africa. These centres are important as they are places where information is

there is no hard and fast dividing line between pilgrimage and tourism, that even when the role of the pilgrim and tourist are combined, they are necessarily different but form a continuum of inseparable elements (Graburn 1983:16).

Tourism and pilgrimage are similar because they both involve the visiting of distant places. For tourists, this visiting is almost always across ethnic boundaries (MacCannell 1984:388). Likewise, for pilgrims, visits to distant places mean travelling through 'other cultures'. Secondly, both tourists and pilgrims are liminal figures. More important than these surface similarities, however, are the deep structural similarities. Both tourists and pilgrims undergo a self-imposed rite of passage (Graburn 1983:13) in which they seek an authentic 'other' - a 'cultural other' for tourists and a 'spiritual other' for pilgrims. In both pilgrimage and tourism this seeking implies a dialectic between social structure and a loosening of social rules.

Establishing a pilgrimage to a public rock art site is something to which tourists can relate, and this will make it an effective process that will provide them with an insight into South Africa's cultural and historical wealth. Moreover, large numbers of foreign tourists at rock art sites would have an effect on South Africans themselves. If South Africa were to become known for its exciting rock art and the innovative ways in which it was presented, South Africans would visit the sites in greater numbers than at present.

pilgrimage could effect conceptual changes in visitors.

Another important facet of the current climate in South Africa that suggests that pilgrimage may be a way of reconstructing public rock art sites is the resurgent interest in tourism. Allowing for adequate stability in the country, the tourism market should boom in the next few years. Moreover, apart from the scenic splendour of the country, its ancient cultural heritage is gaining interest overseas. As I pointed out in Chapter One, a host of tour operators are already looking at ways of exploiting rock art, even though many are ignorant of the significance of the art. This growing interest should be a warning to those concerned about things to come. If adequate provision for large numbers of people is not made at public rock art sites, damage to the sites will be inevitable, and this will lead to the demise of what displays a' the characteristics of being a long-term source of desperately needed income.

Tourism, however, has another more direct implication. This is because "a tourist is half a pilgrim, if a pilgrim is half a tourist" (Turner and Turner 1978:20). Although certain writers (e.g. Cohen 1977) have argued that not enough differentiation is made between tourists and pilgrims, many writers on tourism, following Turner, have argued that,

interest in mysticism thus suggests a growing receptivity to pilgrimage amongst Americans.

The situation seems to be somewhat different in South Africa, but there are other reasons for supposing that South Africans will be comfortable with the use of pilgrimage that I suggest. It could be argued that because there are no major, world-renowned pilgrimages in South Africa, most South Africans are not familiar with the concept. If this were the case, it would be valid to ask how we might expect pilgrimage to function successfully at public rock art sites. Pilgrimages are, however, found in most of the major religions of the world, including Hinduism, Islam and Christianity. The vast majority of South Africans belong to one of these three religions and consequently are familiar with the concept of pilgrimage, though to what extent is debatable. Even the independent Zionist African churches may be said to make pilgrimages, for example, to Morija. Most South African people, therefore, while not able to articulate consciously the concept, are familiar with the notion of pilgrimage. Even if most South Africans were not familiar with pilgrimages, this would not invalidate the usefulness of the concept. According to the Turners (1978:30-32), there is a near universal desire for the type of liminal experience offered by pilgrimages. The use at public rock art sites of some of the concepts of pilgrimage could therefore be successful. If carefully thought through and applied, the notions of

contribute positively to a new South African national identity and because South Africa is a modern nation, modern and archaic pilgrimages are the two pilgrimage types that are most relevant. I advocate a combination of elements of archaic and modern pilgrimages.

Using archaic pilgrimage, which, as we have seen, is implicated in national identity, will allow us to contribute positively to a new South African national identity. At the same time, drawing on aspects of modern pilgrimages will supplement the formation of that identity. Modern pilgrimages are closely associated with the mysticism that is increasingly evident in large sections of the population in the United States. This growth of mysticism is important for the purposes of pilgrimage in two ways. First, mysticism is often intricately connected with and interested in archaic religious forms. This is clearly evident in America where mystics often visit rock art and archaeological sites to conduct various personal rituals. For example, at Chaco Canyon, a canyon containing a number of Anasazi ruins, for example, it is not uncommon to see someone meditating at sunrise next to a kiva (a circular, sunken ceremonial structure). Mysticism and pilgrimage are connected in a second important and more fundamental way. "If mysticism is an interior pilgrimage, pilgrimage is exteriorized mysticism" (Turner and Turner 1978:3). This suggests that people interested in mysticism can readily relate to the notion of pilgrimage. The growing

are particularly appropriate for public rock art sites. Archaic pilgrimages are essentially ambiguous and are characterised by a syncretion of beliefs and symbols with older religions that might even contradict the newer religious pilgrimage (Turner and Turner 1978:17). This type of pilgrimage is often implicated in the production of national identity, as is the case in Ireland where Christian pilgrimages are made to sites associated with Celtic paganism. Celtic paganism is seen as different from English Christianity and thus as an assertion of Irish national identity. Archaic pilgrimages are "like a vertical shaft driven into the past, disclosing deep strata of ancient symbols, potent signifiers...which reinforce nationalistic sentiments" (*ibid.*:106).

Modern pilgrimages, on the other hand, are highly devotional in tone and are characterised by a fervent personal piety amongst its adherents. These pilgrimages are part of what the Turners call a system of apologetics against a secular, post-Darwinian world. They are

deeply involved with mass technological and scientific culture, both positively, in drawing on it as a source of instrumental aids, and negatively, in seeing it as a challenge to the Christian, and indeed to the entire religious world view (*ibid.*:18-19).

Because my aim is to reconceptualise public rock art sites so that they

These are ideal types and in reality each pilgrimage may display the characteristics of one, any or all four types. Moreover, these types of pilgrimages wax and wane historically. They arise or are rejuvenated when social conditions are considered right. Sometimes they go on for centuries and at others for only a few years before interest in them drops and the number of pilgrims diminishes. If the experience is to have the full impact on identity alteration that it can, we must know what type of pilgrimage is most suitable to current socio-political conditions. The four types of pilgrimage identified by the Turners are prototypical pilgrimages, medieval pilgrimages, archaic pilgrimages and modern pilgrimages.

Prototypical pilgrimages are believed to be established by the founder or disciples of a particular religion and are usually of an ecclesiastical nature. The orthodoxy of the faith is manifested in symbolism which remains consistent with the "root paradigms", or fundamental concepts, of the religion (Turner and Turner 1978:17). Medieval pilgrimages are those which, obviously, date to the medieval period between AD 500-1400. These two types of pilgrimage are not directly applicable to public rock art sites because of the historical specificity of the one and the fact that we do not know who the original artists were.

Rather, it is those types that the Turners refer to as archaic and modern that

of a visitor centre at the gate that presently stands at the western edge of the camp at the beginning of the path to Main Caver (Fig. 22). The placement of the visitor centre here would be ideal because the area is already a boundary, or margin, between the camp, which cannot be considered a complete separation from society, and the path, which is the beginning of the liminal area. The short path from the camp to this area should serve as a means of distancing visitors from daily social life.

The centre should be situated slightly below the path that already runs along the shoulder of the spur so that the route through it will lead naturally down to the river path. If placed below the upper path, the centre could be designed to blend tastefully and unobtrusively with the surroundings, as do the last chalets of the camp that are themselves below the level of the path.

In accordance with the principles of metaphoric pilgrimage, the visitor centre at Giant's Castle should have a separate entrance and exit. It could be constructed in two parts, each with a slightly different orientation - one facing toward the river and the other facing toward the path that runs along the shoulder. I suggest that visitors should pay at the entrance section to the centre and that the experience of visiting the rock art site not be included in the general admission costs to Giant's Castle Nature Reserve. Paying for such experiences, increases their value in the eyes of most people living in

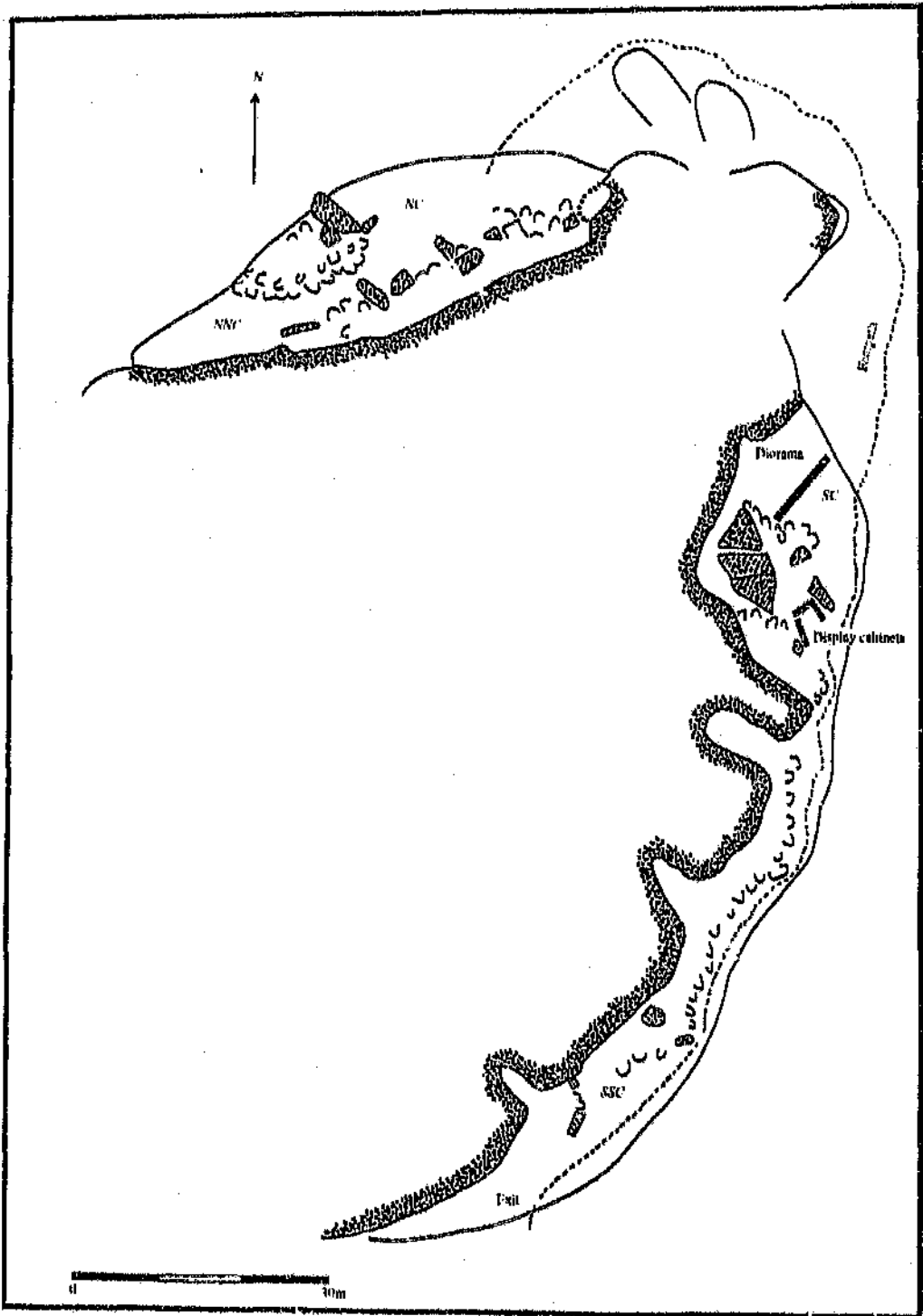


Figure 21. Map of Main Caves, after Ward and Maggs (1994).

North Cave (NC), South Cave (SC) and South South Cave (SSC) (Fig. 21). In addition, there is another shelter, not named by Ward and Maggs, in which there are some faded paintings. I label this shelter North North Cave (NNC). Of the four shelters, NC and SC have been excavated. NC was excavated by Alex Willcox in 1956, and SC was excavated by Clayton Holliday in the late 1960s. Holliday's excavation produced the material from which replicas of some objects were made for the museum exhibit (Chapter One).

Apart from rock art sites, there are a number of interesting historical features in the Giant's Castle Nature Reserve. The experience that I outline in this chapter places the art in historical perspective by incorporating some of these features. In this way, San rock art becomes part of the whole sweep of South African history and not the isolated fragment that it currently is. I suggest that Main Caves be reconstructed in terms of the three phases of metaphoric pilgrimage.

Separation

One of the most promising ways of separating visitors to a public rock art site from society, as I mentioned in Chapter Four, is the establishment of a visitor centre. A number of buildings already exist at Giant's Castle; unfortunately, none of these is suitable. I therefore suggest the construction

of any danger to the art from so many visitors. Clearly untrained and not proficient in any language other than Zulu (most of the visitors to Main Caves are English-speaking [Mazel 1981:110]), the guard throws stones in the general direction of the paintings he is talking about or taps them with a stick. Often, when the single, shared audio-cassette player containing interpretative material is playing, the guard points to paintings that are not related to the commentary. If, for example, the voices on the cassette player are talking about eland, the guard sometimes points to felines. This situation imparts a sense of lack of value of the art and clearly needs to be rectified.

The museum display and 'Bushman' diorama, as I showed in Chapter One, objectify the San as idyllic 'others'. Moreover, the cassette recording is remarkable for its paternalistic commentary on the San - with such references to paintings as 'the chain gang'. These interpretative facilities may have been adequate at their time of construction, but they are not adequate in present-day South Africa where an increase in tourism demands a higher standard of display.

Part of the problem of displaying the art in Main Caves in a positive light is the sprawling nature of the site. Main Caves, in fact, comprises three adjacent shelters, each of which contains paintings. Following Ward and Maggs (1994), who in turn follow Hughes (1965), I label these shelters



Figure 20. Although only twenty people are allowed in Main Caves at one time, this rule is frequently waived. On this occasion 43 people were in the shelter. Bored with the audio-recording which was not synchronised with what the guard pointed out, many people split away and went to South Cave where he had no control over them. The lack of control is a serious threat to the continued existence of the art, as could be seen from the fresh graffiti encountered in South Cave on this occasion.

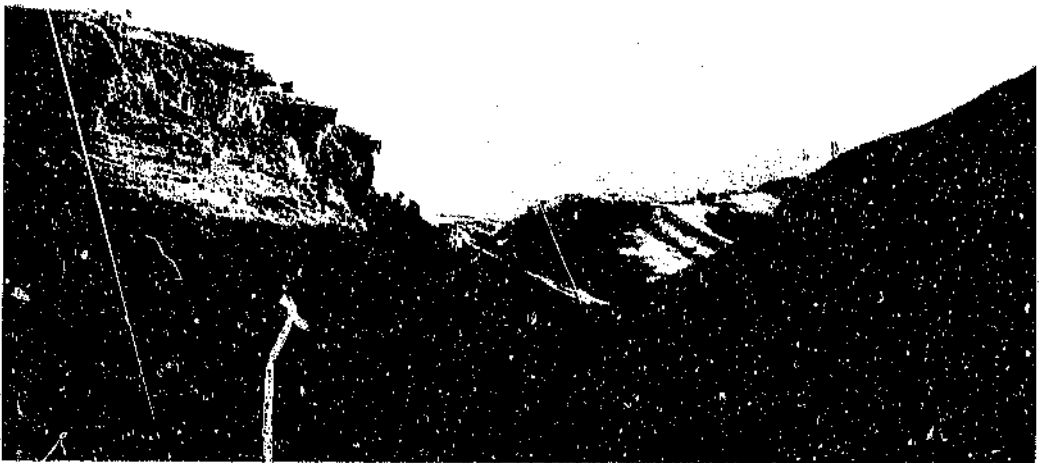


Figure 19. The afternoon light breaks through the clouds and illuminates the northern side of Main Caves. The dramatic setting of the site and the existing infrastructure of the Natal Parks Board at Giant's Castle make it an ideal arena in which to construct a metaphoric pilgrimage.

at the confluence of the Bushman's River and Two Dassie Stream (Fig. 19) is, however, the most impressive because it contains by far the most paintings. The site is in fact already one of the focal attractions at the reserve. It is a fifteen- to twenty-minute walk away from the chalets of the Giant's Castle rest camp. There are no roads upstream of the camp, and only footpaths lead to the caves and other hiking trails, some of which go to the summit of the Drakensberg.

The Natal Parks Board has been successful in protecting the fauna and flora of the reserve. Good management policies, however, have not always been applied to the rock art. For example, certain rock art sites have been damaged through Parks Board burning to create firebreaks and to prepare the land for the summer rains. Another pressing problem is the lack of control at Main Caves. To cope with the numerous visitors to the site, the cave has been partially paved. In order to prevent dust being stirred up in the unpaved as well as the paved sections, only twenty visitors are allowed in at a time. A sign near the camp, at the beginning of the path to Main Caves, makes this clear. Yet, on occasion, as many as 43 visitors, more than twice the number allowed, cram into the cave (Fig. 20). Often these people climb over barriers, stir up dust and touch the paintings.

The guard, who watches over the people and the art, is seemingly oblivious

Chapter 5

Main Caves:

Metaphoric pilgrimage in South Africa

The South African site that is undoubtedly best suited for the establishment of a metaphoric pilgrimage is Main Caves in the Giant's Castle Nature Reserve. I intend Main Caves to act as a template for the establishment of metaphoric pilgrimages at other public rock art sites. I offer suggestions based on the principles of metaphoric pilgrimage for reconstructing this site. These suggestions centre on structures of presentation, such as buildings and facilities. I also suggest texts for lecterns and an audio-cassette recording. The audio-cassette texts that I give are intended to provide only the gist of a larger commentary and are not intended to be final. The language used on the lecterns will have to be carefully and sensitively negotiated. The languages available on the cassette recordings should include all the official South African languages as well as international languages such as French and German.

Main Caves, Giant's Castle

The Clarens Formation sandstone cliffs that occur throughout the reserve contain numerous rock art sites of exceptional quality. Main Caves, situated

10. The metaphoric pilgrimage established at sites should be related to contemporary socio-political needs and should be amenable to change.

Conclusion

Pilgrimage fulfils the criteria for an approach to public rock art sites that is based on an indigenous use of sites and that is implicated in the alteration of identity. I argue for a metaphoric pilgrimage, that is an approach to sites that draws on the identity-transformation aspects of pilgrimage. Using metaphoric pilgrimage allows for a flexible approach that is theoretically informed and practically implementable. If the principles and practical applications that I have outlined are followed the art will strike the visitor as never before. New insight into the 'other', the makers of these spectacular and complex images, will impact on the visitors' own identities.

In the next three chapters I demonstrate the applicability of metaphoric pilgrimage by discussing specific sites in South Africa and America that present diverse challenges.

It should be made clear, though, that owing to financial burdens the construction of visitor centres may not always be possible. Although these centres themselves can be money-spinners, the construction of a metaphoric pilgrimage to a public rock art site is not entirely dependent on a visitor centre.

Metaphoric pilgrimage: a model

In sum, the following elements constitute the model:

1. The experience of visiting a site should be moulded so that visitors' identities are altered.
2. Identity-formation may be understood as a process of Hegelian objectification.
3. Metaphoric pilgrimage seeks to shift perceptions of the art from 'other' to 'our'.
4. The pilgrim/visitor needs to move through phases of separation, liminality and reincorporation.
5. The art itself is analogous to the shrine of religious pilgrimage and should be the focal point.
6. The route to and from the site should be elliptical to reinforce a sense of progression.
7. The experience of travelling the route should be cumulative and should raise expectations. The intensity of the experience should increase as the shrine is approached.
8. Where possible visitors should interact with displays, thus replicating the rituals of pilgrimage.
9. Metaphoric pilgrimage should link the present to the past.

revelation.

Reincorporation

On the visitors' return to the visitor centre, the tags could be placed in a box as the first symbolic act of reincorporation. The coffee shops and souvenir stores should be placed in this section of the visitor centre because they are familiar components of daily social life and thus symbolise the reincorporation of the visitors into the general public. Furthermore, the purchase of souvenirs or even some further reading performs an important task in reminding visitors of their experience as well as denoting to other people the difference between them and the visitor. Souvenirs are also a visible reminder to visitors of the intellectual and emotional gains that they have made from their visit to the site; their importance should not be underestimated.

An important feature of pilgrimage to consider here is that pilgrims on the return journey are more like tourists and are eager to get home, a point that the Turners make (Turner and Turner 1978:23). Rituals of reincorporation should therefore be brief and should be limited to the provision of souvenirs, books, food and beverages. No attempt should be made to educate visitors in the exit section of the visitor centre.

performed at particular objects in a specified order. The order of lecterns at rock art sites will have to be given considerable thought, and they will have to be connected in diverse ways to provide a sense of continuity. The best device to link a whole metaphoric pilgrimage is a portable tape recorder. Not only do taped commentaries provide a continuity to exhibitions, but a combination of sensory inputs is conducive to a more interesting experience and consequently to better learning. Audio-tapes have yet to be introduced on a large scale at South African institutions, but their benefits have clearly been demonstrated in Europe and America.

The symbols that visitors finally encounter at public rock art sites are, of course, the paintings or engravings. In terms of the model, the area where these images are found is the pilgrimage 'shrine'. It is principally in front of these images that visitors' identities are altered. It is here that they come face to face with the objects of their identity. In actual pilgrimages, pilgrims perform certain rituals at a shrine. Metaphoric pilgrimage needs to replicate this. One way of doing this would be to get visitors to be more active in viewing the art; bending, kneeling, stretching, lying down or even climbing a staircase to view particular images, would accomplish this task. One powerful way of imitating a pilgrimage shrine ritual is to place some sort of lighting on spectacular images that are in dark areas. Switching on the light would expose these striking images and would be akin to a ritualised



Figure 24. Rock 75 is one of a small cluster of rocks near Main Caves. It has historical importance and should be included in the metaphoric pilgrimage to Main Caves.

recommend that a path be cut from the river path to the rock. Rock 75 is a large boulder on the east side of Two Dassie Stream, on the west side of which a steep slope leads up to Main Caves (Fig. 24). The number '75' has been deeply carved into it (Fig. 25). The history of this carving starts in 1849 when the Natal Colonial Government ordered the Hlubi leader Langelibalele to move his people into the foothills of the Drakensberg. By forcing Langelibalele to resettle here, the Government of Natal was establishing a buffer zone between colonists in Natal and the raiding San groups that came across the Drakensberg. Langelibalele was aware that he was being manipulated for the Government's purposes. Later, in 1873, when the Government ordered him to register his people's firearms, he perceived another attempt at control and manipulation. He refused to comply with the demands and fled across the mountain into what is now Lesotho. He was pursued and eventually apprehended in the Pitsang valley.

Langelibalele's flight, as well as all the earlier experiences of San raiders coming down from the Drakensberg passes (Vinnicombe 1976; Wright 1971) finally convinced the Natal Government that they had to close the passes. Major A. W. Durnford was therefore ordered to block the passes by means of explosives and thus to prevent further cross-border transgressions. In 1874 Durnford, along with members of the 75th Foot Regiment, pitched camp in the Bushman's River valley. The regimental cook is reputed to

Caves and never pick up similar-looking objects or anything you might think has archaeological value because this removes the objects from their context. You can assist in the preservation of South Africa's past by reporting such finds to the nearest museum, university or conservation agency. Please switch off your cassette and walk to Lectern Three.

Placing objects like a stone tool and a digging stick in a position where they can be handled and viewed closely conforms to the principle of metaphoric pilgrimage that requires interactive displays that substitute for rituals.

Furthermore, displaying objects like these helps to suspend visitors' sense of time. They are conceptually transported back to a time and a place that is not here and now. This emphasis on a distant time is the final separation of visitors from daily social life. They are now conceptually in the past and firmly entrenched in a liminal frame of mind. At this lectern, as at the first, I have tried to avoid placing the San in a harmonious position with nature and thereby setting them up as our ecological teachers. Rather, I have attempted to downplay the San's association with nature by concentrating on their technology and rituals. The shift away from nature is important because the next station on the path is historically significant.

Lecterns Three, Four, Five and Six

The path along the Bushman's River leads below Main Caves and into the High 'Berg. It thus narrowly misses a feature known as 'Rock 75', a feature I see as crucial to metaphoric pilgrimage to Main Caves. I therefore

Lectern Two

I suggest that this lectern be placed some way along the Bushman's River from the first lectern. It should build on the information of the first lectern. Whereas the first lectern emphasized separation, this lectern should begin to place visitors more firmly within the liminal phase. With this in mind, I suggest that there should be at this lectern a replica of a stone tool and a digging stick with a bored stone. These artefacts should be displayed in such a way that they can be touched but not removed by visitors. I suggest the following to accompany these objects:

The San were hunter-gatherers and used this tranquil valley well. They made stone tools like the one here to cut and clean animal meat. Sticks weighted like this one were used to dig up roots and bulbs. Please feel free to handle these replicas.

The audio-cassette should supplement the information on this lectern along the following lines:

For much of their history, the San of the Giant's Castle Nature Reserve practised a hunting-gathering way of life. Stone tools, like the ones on display, were used for a variety of tasks. Apart from utilitarian functions, such as cutting meat and smoothing wood, certain stone tools appear to have had a symbolic significance for the San. The digging stick and bored stone, for example, were used not only to dig up roots and bulbs but were also used during certain ceremonial occasions to call up the spirits of the dead from beneath the earth. While it is permitted to touch these objects, please refrain from touching the paintings you will see at Main

Because many visitors come to Giant's Castle to experience nature, the first lectern takes them from where they are and begins to shift their accepted identities in accordance with the principles of metaphoric pilgrimage. This creation of empathy avoids the alienation that authoritarian and conflictual presentations of the past engender in visitors.

The wording on the lectern also attempts to turn visitors into more active participants by encouraging them to drink the mountain water. This type of physical action is a substitute for the rituals of real pilgrimages, and it is hoped that by getting visitors to perform various actions such as this they will be better disposed to respond positively to new symbols of identity at the site itself.

The recorded text adds to the written information. The greater length of the additional information is, of course, made possible by the medium of audio-cassette which, given our visual and audile orientated world, produces a greater impact on visitors than the text on the lectern alone could achieve. The two types of media - written and spoken - when combined in this way allow for a much richer informative experience. Together, the lectern and the audio-cassette at this lectern establish visitors' identities as clearly distinct from ordinary social life.

To accompany the text at Lectern One, the cassette player should provide additional information along the following lines:

The stream before you is known as Bushman's River, and it has its source in the High 'Berg. At springtime, the melting snow from the high peaks increases the flow of the river. The river is named after the Bushman people who once occupied this valley and left their paintings on many rock surfaces.

The word 'Bushman' derives from the colonial Dutch word, 'Bosjesman', which later became the Afrikaans 'Boesman'. Because these words have been used to imply that the people were wild savages, it is today preferable to use the word 'San'. 'San' is the Nama word for the people known historically as 'Bushmen'. Please switch your audio-cassette off until you reach Lectern Two.

To some extent both the lectern and cassette texts are idyllic, and the emphasis on nature here might appear to contradict my earlier calls for an emphasis on the culture of the San. I am, however, playing here on the nature-culture dichotomy common in many minds. I use this dichotomy to establish a clear separation of visitors from their usual, predominantly urban, setting. I do not situate the San and their art within this 'nature' paradigm but only the initial experience of visitors themselves. Moreover, the text on this lectern does not set up a distinction between 'our' and 'other', establishing the 'other' as incarcerated in nature and 'us' as controlling nature. Rather, the text creates a new empathy between visitors and the San because they participate in the same activity of drinking water.



Figure 23. View of Main Caves (right) from Bushman's River with Giant's Castle in the background. The rock jutting out over the river on the left hand side of the photograph is where Lectern One could be placed.

down to the river, along the south bank of the river and eventually up to the site itself. Visitors returning from the caves should then be directed back to the centre along the path that runs along the shoulder.

Lecterns should be placed along the river path. In keeping with the notion of metaphoric pilgrimage these lecterns should follow four principles. First, they should be cumulative; the information imparted by later lecterns should build on that of earlier ones. Secondly, the texts on earlier lecterns should raise expectations of what is to come. Thirdly, the number of lecterns should increase the closer the path gets to the caves. Finally, the aim of the lecterns is the alteration of visitors' identity. With these points in mind, I offer the following tentative suggestions for the lecterns and the recorded commentary.

Lectern One

This lectern should be placed at a flat rock jutting out over the Bushman's River (Fig. 23). It should enhance, in visitors' minds, the idea of separation from ordinary daily life:

This rock offers a good position from which to drink water if you are thirsty. The San who occupied this valley drank from the pure waters of this stream and perhaps even used this rock in the same way that you are now using it. Everywhere in this valley, we walk in the footsteps of the San.

way towards the lower exit and from there down to the river path and the beginning of the liminal area.

The liminal phase

The liminal phase of a metaphoric pilgrimage comprises three parts: the route to the shrine, the shrine itself, and the return from the shrine. I discuss each in the order that they will be experienced at Giant's Castle.

The route to the shrine

According to the principles of metaphoric pilgrimage, visitors should approach a rock art site and return from it along separate paths in order to attain a sense of progression. There are already two paths that lead to Main Caves: one that runs along the shoulder to the south of the river and one that runs from below the camp, along the river itself and past Main Caves heading out into the High 'Berg. At present, visitors to the site usually take the path along the shoulder and return by it as well. To facilitate the process required in metaphoric pilgrimage, however, visitors should be directed towards the river path on leaving the centre. There is a large and steep rock outcrop just below the area where I suggest the centre should be built and through which a path will have to be cut to the existing river path. A stairway will probably have to be built through these rocks for the safety of visitors. Clearly marked directions should guide visitors from the centre

society.

In addition to separating visitors from mainstream society, such a video would be designed to raise visitors' expectations. The raising of interest and expectations should, indeed, be a key element in the preparation of South African rock art sites. At Lascaux II, for example, visitors are taken through two rooms that give background information on Upper Palaeolithic art and on how the replica was constructed. By the time they enter the actual replica they are informed about the art and, most importantly, eager to see and appreciate the imagery.

A facility, possibly automatic, should be placed in the entrance section where visitors can obtain a personal cassette player, the price for the use of which should be included in the entrance fee. The commentary on these cassette players should replace the old cassette recording currently in use at Main Caves. Cassette players allow people to stop the recording and replay a part of it that they did not hear or understand adequately the first time. Each section of the taped commentary should be cued to a clearly numbered point along the route. The cassette recording will provide a continuous and important link between the visitor centre, the widely scattered lecterns, and the rock art site itself; the recording will lend coherence to the whole experience. Having collected their cassette players visitors will make their

a capitalist-commodity economy. A visit to Main Caves could thus be seen as an experience above and separate from the experience of nature, for which most people visit the reserve. The entrance money should be put back directly into maintaining the site itself and not into a pool of money to be used for general conservation purposes.

Once visitors have paid their entrance fee, they should each be given a tag or medallion, to hang around their necks. Each tag should carry an image of a rock painting that visitors will be able to find in Main Caves. These tags will identify visitors to the guard at the caves. This is important because the paths to and from the caves are used by other visitors to Giant's Castle for hiking and to go fishing. Access to the visitor centre and the Bushman's River Valley in general will therefore not be restricted to visitors to the caves. The tag will also serve as a visible symbolic gesture of separation from mainstream society as well as from other visitors to the reserve.

As I envisage it, visitors will be directed by the structure of the building itself towards an area where an orientational video of no more than ten minutes will be shown. This video should contain general information about the importance of the art within a global perspective. The time spent sitting quietly and watching the video would distance visitors from mainstream

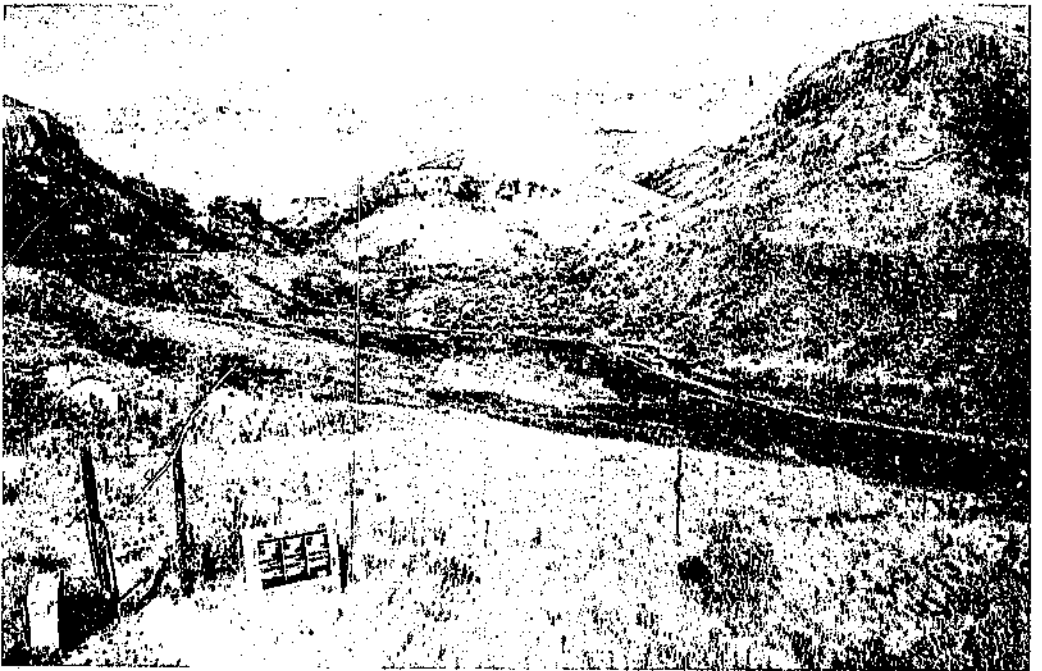


Figure 22. The distant High 'Berg frames the serene Bushman's River valley and Main Caves in the centre of the photograph. The path that follows the south shoulder of the valley and leads to Main Caves is to the left. The area in the foreground is where the a visitor centre could be constructed.



Figure 28. A large group of people make the steep ascent to Main Caves. People stop repeatedly, especially where the path changes course, to recover from the effects of the climb. It is at these changes in direction that Lecterns Eight, Nine and Ten should be placed. North Cave is to the right of the buttress; South Cave is to the left.

Having begun with a lectern (No. 1) that separated visitors from society, and then having moved on to lecterns dealing with an inclusive history (Nos 3-5), the lecterns from this point onwards prepare visitors and raise more specific expectations of what they will encounter in the site itself. The ascent to the caves is also an 'ascent' in understanding and empathy.

Lectern Eight

After crossing the bridge, the path winds up the slope to Main Caves. At times it heads straight up the slope, and at others it snakes up the hill in a series of switchbacks. At one of these switchbacks, a rest point has already been placed, because the climb is rather strenuous for some people. I suggest making use of this rest point by placing a lectern here (Fig. 28). Since most visitors' ability to absorb large amounts of information is not great, each lectern should focus on a specific symbol, rather than on many. Because the eland was the central symbol in the lives of the San of this region (Vinnicombe 1976; Lewis-Williams 1981), it provides a suitable focus.

I recommend that Lectern Eight be placed where the path turns from the river towards the steep ascent to the site. There is at present a bench at this point, and I recommend that more be added. The lectern should present the following text:

of the bridge marks a further transition. It is a point, when crossed, from which there is no turning back. To take advantage of the symbolism of transition that bridges generally have, I suggest the following possible text for the lectern here:

Many people in the past have crossed this river with ideas about the San and their art. Giving the sort of opinion that many people held a hundred or more years ago, Frances Colenso wrote:

These caves are full of coloured drawings by the Bushmen, hideous representations of eland hunts, cattle raids, or fights. Each one is more ugly than its neighbour.

Do not approach the art as Frances Colenso did. What you are about to see as you cross this river and head up the hill into the world of the San is one of the most remarkable rock art sites in the world.

The lectern here invites visitors to leave their 'cultural baggage' behind and to approach the art with an open mind. Placed at the point of transition at the bridge, the lectern suggests that this is the place to discard old ideas, and that what is to be encountered on the other side of the bridge is of special significance and interest. The accompanying cassette commentary should give Frances Colenso's words in full and point out her numerous errors and who she was (Bishop Colenso's daughter [see Guy 1983]). Her relationship with Durnford should also be alluded to.

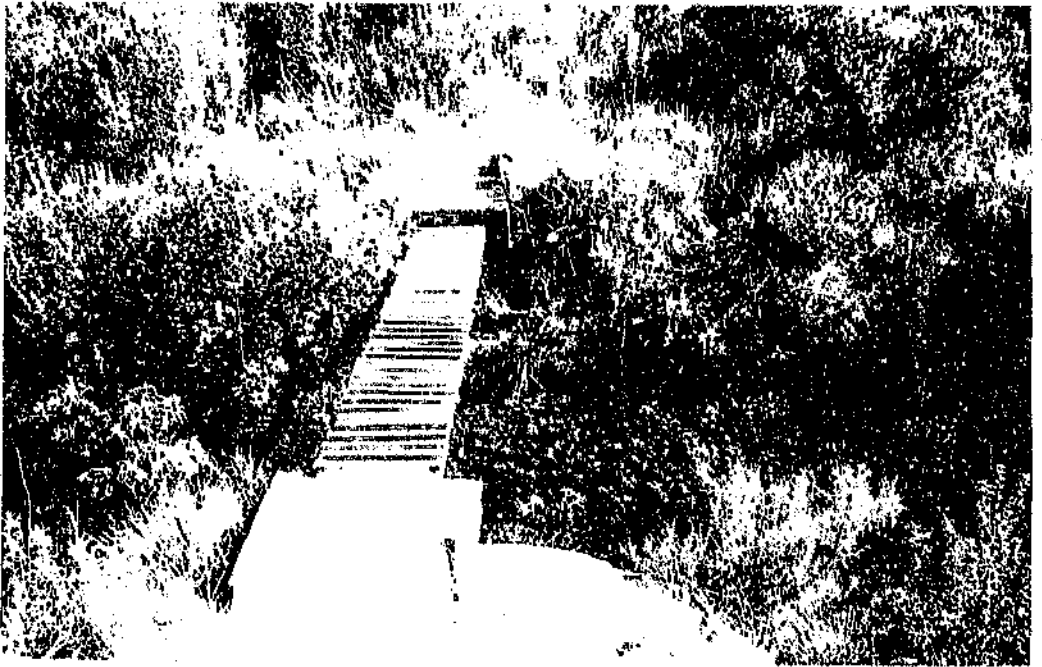


Figure 27. The bridge over Two Dassel Stream. Lectern Seven should be placed here before visitors cross this bridge and follow the path, which may be seen in the background, up the slope to Main Caves.

should be placed, with a brief descriptive and interpretative text next to each image. Causing people to kneel or crouch to see these images turns them into active, rather than passive, agents.

The three lecterns at Rock 75 contribute to the formation of the identity of visitors by confronting them with a complex, multi-component, yet inclusive, past. The lecterns thus combat pejorative 'cultural baggage' based on notions of fragmented and divisive identities. Because of the presence of their art and their non-involvement directly in the events of 1874, the San can be made to take a mediatory role in visitors' minds, for a conception held by many South Africans, as I have pointed out, is that the San mediate between various extremities, such as between nature and culture, real and spirit worlds, white and black. The mediatory role of the San allows for visitors' identity to be formed around them rather than around one of the confrontational groups in this strife.

Lectern Seven

Once visitors have viewed the paintings at Rock 75, I suggest that the boardwalk make a loop and direct them back towards the present path to Main Caves. The path soon comes to Two Dassie Stream (Fig. 27). I suggest that a lectern be placed just before visitors cross the bridge to make the final ascent up the steep slope to Main Caves. Importantly, the crossing

present paved area to the paintings and that Lectern Five, with the following text, be placed there:

These San paintings are faded and difficult to see, but, if you crouch down, you can discern painted antelope. It is difficult to know whether the cook who carved the '75' and his fellow soldiers knew of these paintings. It is interesting, however, that both the San and the British troops chose the same rock on which to depict important symbols.

The audio-cassette should contain more detail, and I recommend the following:

The San painted on many of the rocks in this valley. Most people walk past these rocks without noticing the paintings. One of the principal reasons we miss them is that we see the rocks only as part of the beautiful natural surroundings. But at times these rocks take on a special significance as when someone carved '75' on this rock. But for the San large rocks like this occupied a special place in their world. Such rocks were seen to contain another reality behind their surface; a reality which it was the task of the artists to expose in the form of paintings. Before moving on from Rock 75, look at the paintings low down on the left. Although faded today, they held great significance for the San. When the San were living here, there were probably many more paintings on this rock.

I suggest that to compensate for the poorly preserved nature of some of the images on Rock 75, a low lectern, Lectern Six, should be placed at a kneeling or crouching position. On this lectern, tracings of the images

emphasize that the Hlubi were forcibly relocated, and that the event presaged what was to be a major characteristic of South African political policy in the twentieth century. Secondly, it should be stressed that the reason why the Hlubi were used as a buffer was to ward off San cattle raiders. It should be made clear that the San resorted to cattle raiding because the colonists decimated the wild game and that cattle raiding sometimes may have been a means of revenge. Thirdly, it should be pointed out that an older interpretative tape at Main Caves used to say that the "Bantu" turned on their "erstwhile" friends - the San - but that this is only half-true because it was the colonists who turned them against the San by placing them in the path of traditional San seasonal routes.

As I have pointed out, there are San rock paintings on the west side of Rock 75. Some of these paintings are rather faint today but some are clear. They are situated low down on the rock, and one has to kneel down to see them. The position of these paintings means that most people do not notice them, and they are not referred to in the current display. The location of San paintings on the same rock as the engraved number of a British regiment sent to stop cross-border raiding by San provides an ideal opportunity to emphasize an inclusive past in South Africa. To take advantage of this remarkable opportunity, I suggest that a boardwalk with a rail to prevent people from touching the paintings be constructed from the

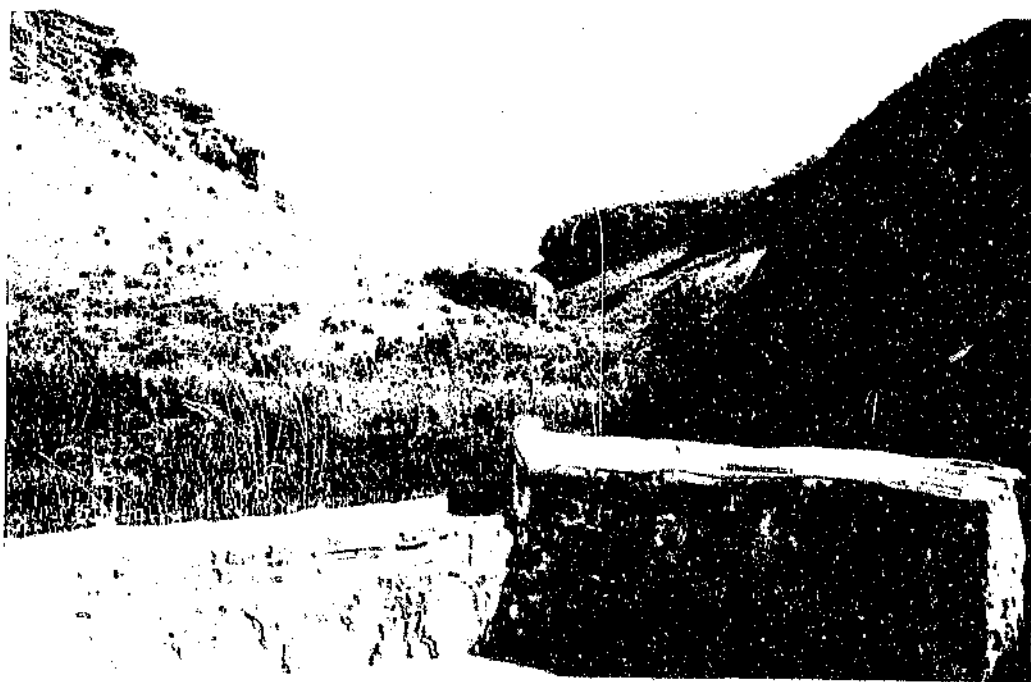


Figure 26. The present display at Rock 75 will have to be modified if it is to be successfully included in the metaphoric pilgrimage. The path that leads up to Main Caves is on the slope to the left of the photograph.

in the rock and what is to be learned there. As visitors move towards the rock, further lecterns will provide the necessary information in a progressive and cumulative manner.

There is already a display at Rock 75. A small paved enclosure with a low wall has been built in front of the engraved '75'. Three metal plaques have been cemented into this wall (Fig. 26). One concerns the history of Rock 75; another comprises an outline of the peaks in the Drakensberg with their names; a third plaque is a memorial dedicated to certain soldiers and helpers who perished in the Langalibalele conflict. While they do not fit in readily with the process of metaphoric pilgrimage, it is not necessary to remove these plaques, and, in fact, the fourth lectern should be placed here so that it can usefully refer to the plaques. I recommend the following text:

It seems that for many people, the rocks of the Drakensberg held special significance. The story behind the carving of the '75' on this rock may be read on one of the plaques on the low wall near the rock. Another of the plaques is dedicated to those who fell in the Langalibalele rebellion of 1874. Ironically, there are no memorials to the San who died resisting the invasion of their land by colonial powers - except the caves that they themselves painted.

The audio-cassette should again supplement the text on the lectern, and I suggest that the history of the Langalibalele revolt be dealt with here in some detail, but with particular emphases. First, the commentary should

The audio-cassette should, once again, supplement the text on the lectern; the following might be a possibility:

San (and the predecessors of San) occupied this valley for thousands of years. Then about 1700 years ago, black farmers began moving in to the area. Although relationships between San and the farmers must have varied considerably during the last 1500 years, it appears that, for the most part, the two groups managed to interact peacefully. When Europeans arrived in the area, however, severe pressure was placed on the natural resources and a difficult struggle ensued. In this struggle, alliances between San, whites and black farmers were complex and varied considerably. This rock bears evidence from a period during the 1870s when one of these complex alliances was playing itself out in this valley. Please turn your cassette player off until you reach Lectern Four.

The text and the tape both refer to all the participants in the region's history. They attempt to present an inclusive and not a privileged past. This inclusive past differs considerably from the sort of inclusive past implied by the denial of conflict found at American public rock art sites that I discussed in Chapter Three. In that chapter, I pointed out that the inclusive past contains a subtle notion of ownership and domination of that past by white Americans. The suggestion of a more equitable inclusive past at Lectern Three is the first step in a process in which visitors will approach the present as embracing, rather than dividing, South Africa's people.

The audio-cassette and the text on the lectern are designed to arouse interest

have carved the number '75' on the boulder. Significantly, no attempt has been made to connect the rock with the paintings of Main Caves or with the broader historical processes of the last century. More importantly, however, no mention is made that on the side of this boulder there are a few paintings of antelope.

I suggest that this boulder become an important point on the metaphoric pilgrimage route. The significance of the rock encompasses most of the major players in South African history - San, colonists, and Bantu-speakers. It therefore offers an opportunity to emphasize a number of important points regarding the history of the region.

Lectern Three should be placed on the path leading from the river to 'Rock 75'. This lectern should prepare visitors for what they are about to encounter at the rock, while at the same time building on previous lecterns. Having been placed in a liminal frame of mind at Lectern Two, visitors are now ready to be faced with the first step in the formation of a new identity at Giant's Castle. I suggest the following text for Lectern Three:

San people were for a long time the sole occupants of this valley, but black people moved in some hundreds of years ago and, later, Europeans. All these people were to leave their mark on this valley in some way, as we shall see on the rock ahead of you.

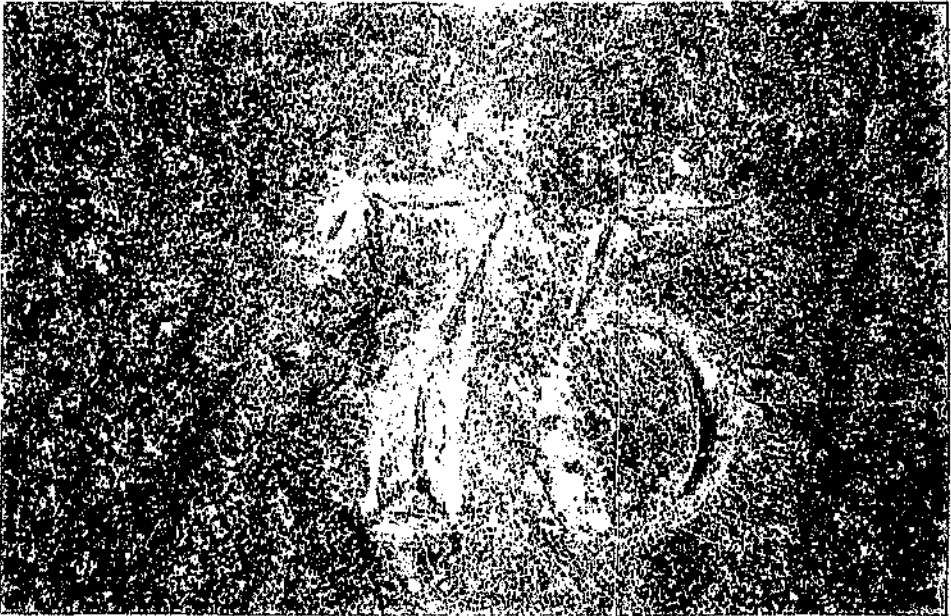


Figure 25. The number '75' carved into the rock is what attracts people to this site. Few, if any, visitors are aware that there are paintings on the rock.



Figure 32. Black-and-white copy of the thetrianthropie figures on the high panel in NC. Copies such as these should be placed on lecterns on a raised viewing platform.

Lectern Thirteen should be placed at the right-hand end of the raised boardwalk and should have black-and-white copies of the two therianthropic figures (Fig. 32) that are painted there.

The importance of animals, especially antelope, in San life is evident in these paintings. Here, two people have antelope heads and hooves but walk upright and have human legs. San shamans often speak of being transformed into animals in the spirit world. This world was believed to exist behind the rock surface. This painting depicts an event that is taking place in the spirit world.

The audio-cassette should expand on the text by explaining more fully the sensation of transforming into animals as it is experienced in shamanic cultures. Mention should be made of the many paintings that have both human and animal characteristics, and information should be included about the world-wide phenomenon of somatic hallucinations, such as the notion of werewolves.

Quite close to the therianthropic figures explained at Lectern Thirteen is a depiction of a feline with spots that are invisible when viewed from the floor of the cave (Fig. 33). This interesting painting should be discussed at Lectern Fourteen:

This is a painting of a feline. At first one might assume that it is an painting of an ordinary leopard because it has spots. But

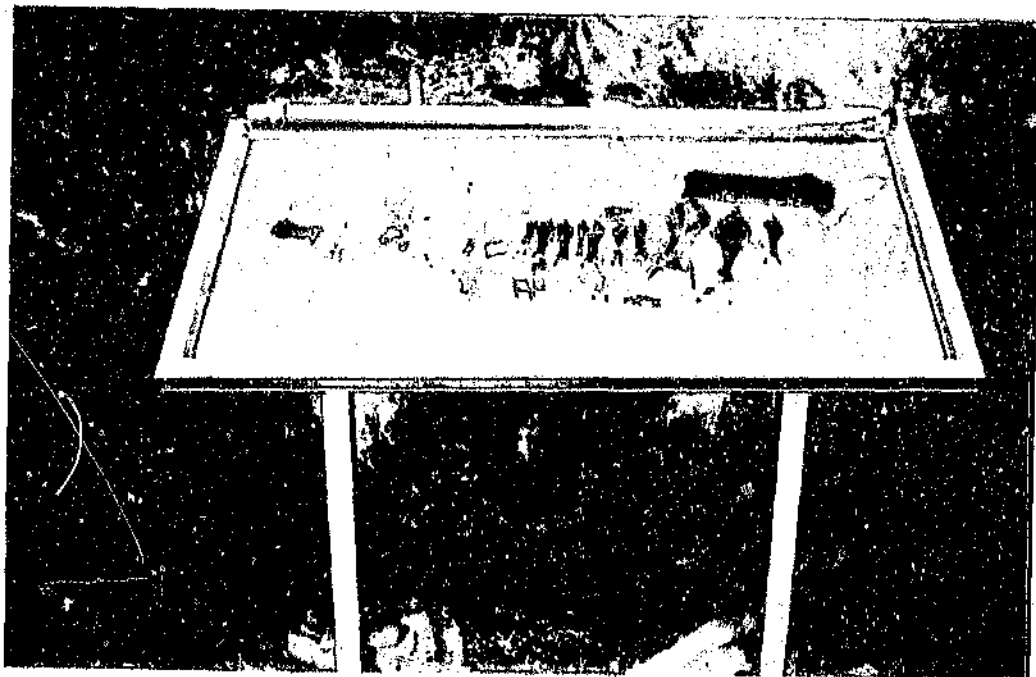


Figure 31. One of the two lecterns in NC. The canvas covers, designed to protect these copies, are tattered. The distance that these lecterns are placed from the art makes them largely ineffective as aids to viewing the images.



Figure 30. View from NNC down into NC. It is from here that visitors will approach the art in Main Caves. Having seen NC, visitors will exit behind the trees and continue around the buttness into SC.

Lecterns Thirteen - Fifteen

The boardwalk should lead from the holding area towards the art at the back of NC. The floor level of NNC is higher than that in NC (Fig. 30). This means that a raised boardwalk could be constructed to lead from NNC directly to the high panel in NC. Visitors would thus find themselves some metres above the floor of NC and able to see the high panel in a way that is now impossible. This arrangement would make a dramatic, perhaps stunning, start to viewing the art because the paintings here are among the best preserved and most striking in Main Caves.

The panel contains a number of interesting features and has been fully copied by the Rock Art Research Unit at the University of the Witwatersrand. This copy has been used to make the full-colour copy on the present lecterns in the site (Fig. 31). Because these lecterns have no accompanying text, they do not challenge, and may even reinforce, inadequate conceptions. I recommend that these lecterns be replaced by a series of three lecterns on the raised boardwalk, which I envision will run close to the paintings.

The three lecterns on the raised boardwalk should carry copies of selected images only and not the entire panel. These selected images should have accompanying text.

of process, rather than aimless wandering, can be generated.

The three shelters - NC, SC, and SSC - contain images that, if carefully presented, hold the potential to transform people's conceptions of the identity of the San and thus their own identities. To this end, I suggest that the three shelters be prepared along the following lines.

Lectern Twelve

I suggest that this lectern be placed at the boundary between the holding area in NNC and NC itself. By the time visitors reach this lectern, vital ethnographic information has been supplied and the images are firmly situated within a symbolic and spiritual realm. The act of viewing the art is the moment when visitors finally confront a new positive 'other'.

The recording could add information here on San ethnography along the following lines:

To understand any art, one must know something of the cultural ideas that produced it. Our knowledge of San beliefs comes primarily from the nineteenth-century research of a German linguist, Wilhelm Bleek, and his sister-in-law, Lucy Lloyd. Together these two people collected 12000 pages of San beliefs, customs and myths. This vast quantity of information was collected from San, some of whom had been prisoners in the Breakwater Prison in Cape Town.



Figure 29. North Cave. The high panel is deep in shadow in the background. To allow better viewing of this panel a raised boardwalk should be constructed.

prepared by the video at the visitor centre and the lecterns along the way, that they will experience the most profound effects of identity-formation.

Only two of the four shelters are currently used in a presentation - NC (Fig. 29) and SC. SSC, which contains some of the most evocative images in the site, is not currently drawn into the presentation. The two shelters that constitute the presentation, as it currently exists, are open auditoriums that can accommodate a number of people. This unstructured openness is somewhat confusing and does not promote a sense of progression through the site. Moreover, the current entrance to the site is from a gate below NC. When visitors have completed listening to the recorded commentary in NC, they follow the same path out of the shelter then, after a short distance, break right to SC. The use of the same path as an entrance and exit is not conducive to the sense of process required in metaphoric pilgrimage. I therefore suggest that a new entrance be constructed in NNC. This shelter offers a sort of natural 'holding' area which narrows as one approaches NC and from which access to NC, SC and SSC can be restricted. I suggest that a boardwalk be constructed from NNC leading through to NC, then SC and finally to an exit beyond SSC where a gate already exists. Visitors will thus exit from an entirely different point from which they enter. Along this extended boardwalk lecterns should be placed with information regarding only selected images. In this way, an impression

that held religious meaning for the San. The site itself was very important to the San.

The audio-cassette at this point should explain more about San beliefs about the eland.

Lecterns Eight to Eleven have focused exclusively on the eland and its role in San belief and society. The principle aim behind this focus is to prepare visitors to accept the art as symbolic and not as if it were merely literal, or indeed in any of the other inadequate ways in which it is viewed. The text so far has actively challenged and diminished the grip of accepted stereotypes by portraying the art as symbolic. This sort of preparation, accomplished even before visitors have seen any of the paintings, will enhance the impact that their first glimpse of the images will have. They now have a framework into which they can fit the experience of seeing the art and, moreover, into which they can fit the more detailed explanations that lecterns and the audio-cassette give before specific paintings. It now remains to drive home the message to visitors in front of the paintings themselves - within the 'shrine' itself.

The shrine

The three shelters of Main Caves constitute what in a real pilgrimage would be the shrine. It is in front of these paintings, for which visitors have been

Lectern Ten

This lectern should be placed at the next bend in the path which is a short way from the rest point and Lectern Nine. Lectern Ten should continue with the topic of the eland as preparation for viewing the many paintings of eland in the cave. I suggest text along the following lines:

For the San, there was a close association between shamans (ritual specialists) and eland. When an eland is shot with a poisoned arrow, it shakes violently, bleeds from the nose, foams at the mouth, and eventually collapses, as do San shamans, when they enter a religious trance. The San spoke of their religious trance experience as 'death'.

I suggest that the audio-cassette expand on the other symbolic associations of the eland, including the boy's first-kill rites and the girl's puberty dance (Lewis-Williams 1981:41-67).

Lectern Eleven

This is the final preparatory lectern before visitors enter Main Caves. I envisage that it be placed shortly before the present entrance on the north side of the site. It should bring together the texts of Lecterns Eight, Nine and Ten. A possible way of doing this might be to say:

For the San, eland were filled with religious meaning. San were known as the people of the eland. In these caves there are magnificent paintings of eland and many other animals

in other words, a synthesis, however partial, between visitors and the 'other'. Such an amalgamation, in Hegelian terms, is the construction of a new subject.

Lectern Nine

Lectern Nine should be placed slightly higher than Lectern Eight on a sharp bend in the path that is presently designated 'Rest Point'. Once again the lectern should build on the previous one, and I suggest that, to give continuity, the text should remain with the topic of eland. It could possibly be worded like this:

The San prized the eland above all for its fat because they believed that its fat contained vast quantities of an invisible supernatural power.

The audio-cassette should expand on the notion of potency with the following:

Eland store vast quantities of fat in their dewlaps, a fold of skin that stretches from below the jaw to the front legs. The San believed this fat to be exceptionally powerful because it contained a supernatural power. This power was said to be found in many living things; it was an essence that permeated the whole San universe. Some San today describe it as energy that boils within them, almost like electricity. Other substances that contain quantities of this supernatural potency are honey and sweat.

As you climb the hill, look back down the valley. You may be able to see an eland or two. When the San were here there were many eland in this valley. The eland's size made it valuable prey for the San, but it also had great spiritual value, as the paintings in the caves above show.

A photograph of an eland next to this text is also desirable, because many visitors are likely never to have seen one before. The audio-cassette could add to the text on the lectern with something along these lines:

The eland is the largest antelope in Africa. In former times eland aggregated in large herds in the summer months and moved from the KwaZulu-Natal midlands up into the Drakensberg to the sweet grass that springs up after the first rains. Then, in the winter months, they dispersed into small groups and returned to the midlands. The San, who followed the seasonal migration of the eland, also gathered together in the Drakensberg in the summer months, perhaps even following the same path that you are taking. Some Drakensberg paths are old indeed! The families and friends who gathered at this time danced and sang in front of the paintings at Main Caves and other rock art sites. Today fences prevent the extensive eland migrations of old, and the San are no longer here.

Here I have attempted to start a process by which the viewer will approach the art as symbolic and to establish the identity of the San as people with the capability of making complex symbolic associations. I have tried to build on these points in the audio-cassette commentary where I have suggested to visitors that they are following in the footsteps of the San. I am trying to construct a sense of empathy on the part of visitors for the San or,

that they are about to leave behind the world of Main Caves and re-enter daily social life. Secondly, it will be the culmination of the identity-altering experience offered at Main Caves, for visitors will here be confronted with a symbol of their national identity. They will realise that the Olympic logo derives from the very images that they have come to view in a more positive and informed light and around which their new identity has been constructed. Since, as I have pointed out in Chapter Three, identity shifts with changing socio-political conditions, this lectern should be more temporary than the others at Main Caves. This will allow for the presentation of other symbols at this point that may play an important role in the construction of future identities.

In Hegelian terms, the process by which visitors' identities have been altered at Main Caves may be described as follows:

Through raising expectations, establishing a sense of empathy with the San and by presenting cumulative, positive knowledge about them and their art, the lecterns on the route to the caves prepared visitors to view the paintings in a positive light. In the caves themselves, visitors confronted the art - the object of their identities - with this positive attitude. Rather than seeing the art negatively, visitors should have marvelled at its complexity, detail and aesthetic beauty. The identity of the San and, in turn, visitors' identities

approached the site. The lectern should give visitors the impression that they are about to return to 'normal' society; I suggest the following text:

Before crossing this stream and heading back to the modern world look back and reflect how different life here could have been.

The audio-cassette should supplement this lectern by giving information on the present distribution and predicament of the San, their poor living conditions at Schmidtsdrift near Kimberley, and the historical reasons for this situation.

Lectern Twenty-Four

This is the last lectern in the metaphoric pilgrimage to Main Caves. Since the aim is to prepare visitors for their reincorporation into daily social life I suggest that this lectern have a large South African Olympic flag with the following text:

Rock art is today part of South African culture. It is fitting that it be found on the Olympic flag, for it is part of South African life.

By placing the Olympic flag on a lectern at this point, two things will be accomplished. First, the reference to the flag will clearly indicate to visitors

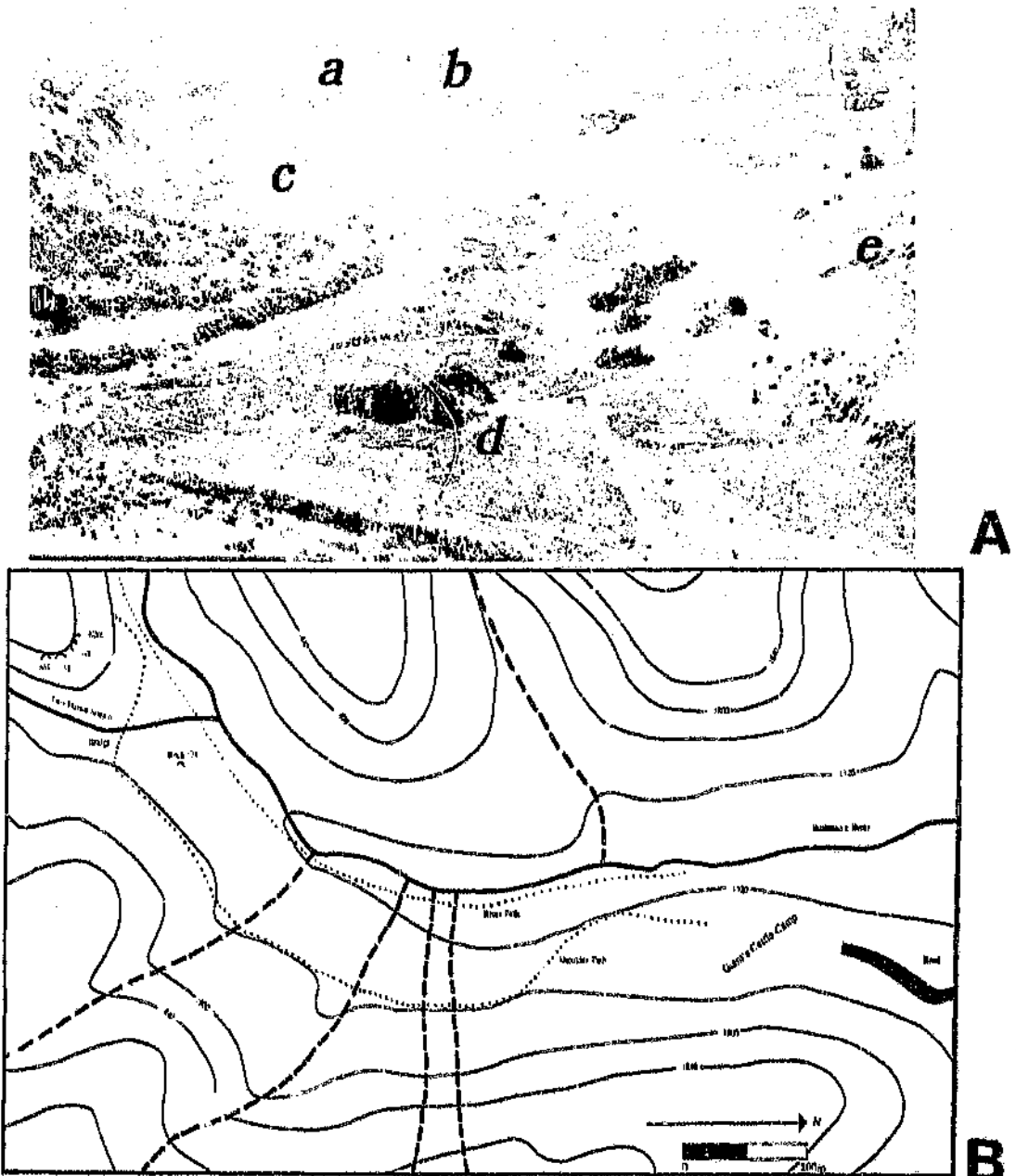


Figure 34. A view of the Bushman's River valley looking east from Main Caves (A) with corresponding map (B). In the distance, Giant's Castle camp is visible (a). The area where a visitor centre could be constructed is marked (b). A path should be cut from this centre down to the existing river path (c). Visitors should follow this path which should be modified so as to lead them to Rock 75 (d) before they ascend the slope to Main Caves. On their return visitors should take the path (e) along the southern shoulder of the valley.

I do not envisage that the audio-cassette will add anything to this statement.

The route from the site

Once visitors have left SSC, they should follow the path down the southern slope of the hill. This path should be cleared and clearly marked. It leads to a second bridge that crosses Two Dassie Stream. Having crossed this stream, visitors climb to a path that winds its way back along the shoulder above the Bushman's River, eventually arriving back at the place where the I suggested the visitor centre should be constructed (Fig. 34). Along this path, a few lecterns should be placed. These should not be as numerous as those encountered on the way to the site, because the main identity-alteration should have been accomplished before the return walk is begun. Rather, the long distance should give visitors time to digest everything that they have learned at the 'shrine'. Furthermore, the emphasis on the lecterns should be on the forthcoming reincorporation of visitors into society and on the effects that this visit has had on them. For these reasons, I envisage only two lecterns on the return path - numbers Twenty-Three and Twenty-Four.

Lectern Twenty-Three

This lectern should be placed at the base of the descent from Main Caves, just before the bridge upstream from the one by means of which they

shelter, thereby allowing visitors to absorb what they have been told at the first two.

The paintings in this shelter and South Africa in general are disappearing owing to natural and human destruction. When they are gone, a priceless reminder of the once vibrant culture of the San will have disappeared forever.

The text of this lectern moves beyond the sense of empathy between visitors and the San that previous lecterns have constructed. By emphasizing the disappearance of the art, I have tried, in Hegelian terms, to create a sense of the loss of the visitors' object of identity (the art). Lectern Twenty-Two builds on this sense of loss.

Lectern Twenty-Two

There is a gate just past the SSC that is virtually never used, but, in terms of metaphoric pilgrimage, it provides a suitable exit from the 'shrine'. At this gate the final lectern should focus the experience of the visitors in some way. I recommend the following:

In these rock shelters you have seen magnificent works of art. Frances Colenso, as we saw at the bridge, thought that each painting was "uglier than its neighbour". She saw the San as stupid and savage. These are the attitudes that colonists used to justify the indiscriminate killing of San men, women, and children. How wrong they were and how tragic were the consequences of their actions.

The arrival of the colonists led to the virtual extinction of the eland and other game. Faced with a depleting food base, the San turned to cattle raiding on horseback. They also began to hunt from horses. Scenes like these horsemen were common throughout the area from the early part of the nineteenth century to the late 1870s.

The audio-cassette should supplement the text on this lectern by discussing San attitudes to the colonists.

Lectern Twenty

This lectern should be placed a few metres along the boardwalk from Lectern Nineteen. I suggest that the lectern include reproductions of two paintings of people on horseback that are in SSC. I recommend the two images accompany the following text

Every San cattle raid brought a reprisal from the colonists. In the end the San of the KwaZulu-Natal Drakensberg were either killed or forced to live with the larger and more secure black farmers.

The audio-cassette should add to this by giving examples of colonial accounts of the atrocities committed during these raids.

Lectern Twenty-One

This lectern should be placed at a distance from the first two lecterns in this

Today the San no longer make rock art. All that is left of a once thriving art are images like these in silent shelters. They are, along with archaeological artefacts, the only remains we have of these people.

Having viewed the images in SC, visitors ordinarily turn around and head back the way that they came. Applying the principles of metaphoric pilgrimage, however, I suggest that they should rather carry on along the unidirectional route to a new experience.

A few metres on from SC is SSC. This cave contains paintings of San people on horseback. It is very rare, under the current circumstances, that a visitor to the site will walk farther along the cave to see these images. The images in SSC speak of the final years of the San in the KwaZulu-Natal Drakensberg when their hunting and gathering way of life was coming to an end. The paintings in this shelter are 'historical' in the sense that the depictions of horses show that the images date from a period after the arrival of white colonists in South Africa. I suggest three lecterns at this shelter.

Lectern Nineteen

This lectern should be placed fairly near the beginning of the painted area, near the painted figure of a man on horseback. The following is a possible text:

could be asked to identify images, to look for details such as hoofs on human figures, to look for various postures amongst eland and so forth. Another possibility is to ask visitors to locate the figures on their name tags amongst the rocks. The figures on these tags would, obviously, have to be taken from SC. Following this invitation, visitors should be told to stop their audio-cassettes until they have completed searching and have made their way to Lectern Eighteen. There should be a railing to restrict the visitors from going near the paintings.

Here visitors are on their own, so to speak, and they can relate more directly to the images and experience something of the excitement that is generated when close inspection reveals hitherto unsuspected details.

Locating figures in this way turns visitors into active agents searching for part of their identities as symbolised by the tags. Conducting the search without having to listen to the audio-cassette recording would allow visitors to communicate with each other and would contribute to the feeling of a shared experience so common to pilgrims.

Lectern Eighteen

Lectern Eighteen, as I have said, should be placed at the exit of SC and should read something like this:

have not done.

Lectern Seventeen

Just before visitors leave NC to move on to SC, a final lectern is necessary to encapsulate the process that began with Lectern Eight at the base of the hill. I recommend the following:

Far from being simple paintings, the images you have seen in this cave formed part of the religious worldview of the San. The paintings were, as Wilhelm Bleek said in 1874, an attempt, however imperfect, to capture the religious feelings that most deeply moved the San.

Once visitors have left NC they should be directed around the butress that divides it from SC. This is the cave in which the museum cases and diorama are at present. I recommend that the shelter should be restored as far as possible and that the current museum display be removed. The casts of the San should also be removed because such exhibits are today highly controversial and problematic; the conditions surrounding the collection of these casts, especially, are often less than admirable (Davison 1991:145ff). Secondly, very little should be done to present the art in this shelter, and the only information should be on the audio-cassette and a single lectern placed at the exit of SC. The audio-cassette recording should invite visitors to examine the art in SC in light of what they have learned so far. Visitors

Lectern Sixteen

Once visitors have completed reading the text at Lectern Fifteen, they should proceed down from the raised boardwalk by a staircase that would have to turn back towards NNC. The boardwalk should then lead them towards the present entrance to the site, which will become the exit from NC. On the way to the exit, there is a rock with some exceptional paintings. These include a shaded polychrome eland, as well as eland facing away from the viewer. The low position of these images requires visitors to kneel to see them. A cushioned structure should be designed to facilitate this. The text here should emphasize the artistic complexity of these images:

Notice that some of these eland are painted in positions facing away from you. They show some of the diversity of San art and the artist's ability to use foreshortening. Notice too the delicate shading.

The audio-cassette should supplement the lectern with information on various features of San rock art, such as foreshortening, perspective and shaded polychrome paintings.

The lectern here accomplishes two things. First, it points to the sophistication of San art, as opposed to perceptions of the art as simple and childlike, and, secondly, it links the art at Main Caves to the art in the rest of South Africa, something that previous approaches to public rock art sites

notice that the spots along the spine stand out from the figure. These 'spots' are not realistic. They probably depict the boiling of potency that shamans experience in their spines as they enter trance. San speak of shamans taking the form of felines. Whereas the two figures shown at Lectern Twelve are half-transformed, this painting depicts a fully transformed feline shaman.

The audio-cassette could supplement the text on this lectern by discussing the visual appearance of dots like these in altered states of consciousness and expand on the experience of out-of-body travel in the form of an animal.

The third and final lectern in this series, Lectern Fifteen, should be set off slightly from the other two. I suggest that this lectern contain depictions of the three large eland and the row of kaross-clad figures on top of one of these. The following text could accompany these images:

Painted eland, like real eland, were considered to contain supernatural power. The power of these painted eland often attracted San artists to paint other images over them such as these hooped human figures that are wearing karosses (skin-cloaks).

The audio-cassette could supplement the text on this lectern by discussing aspects of superpositioning.

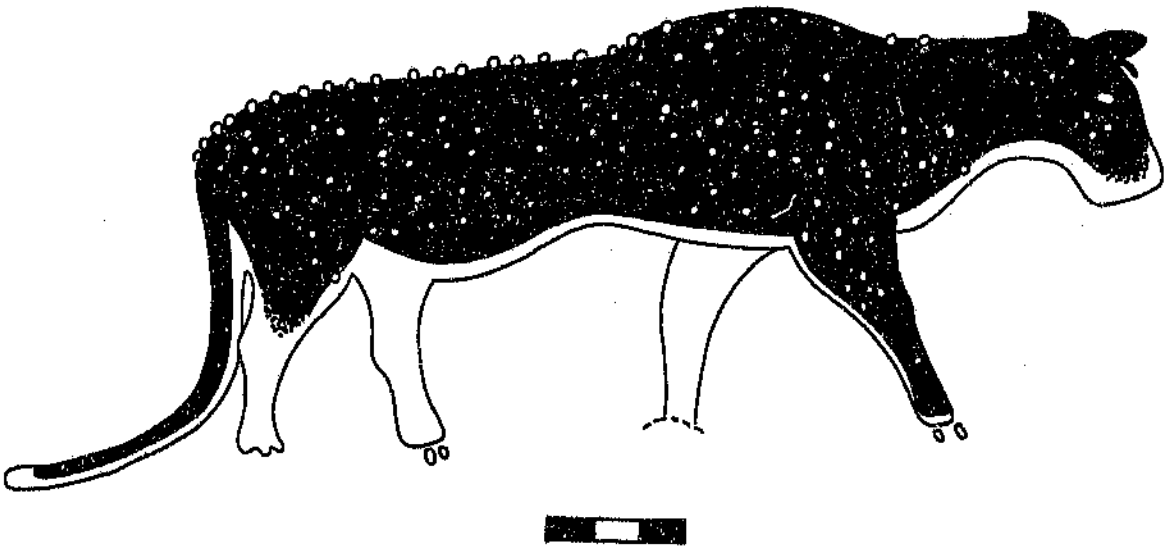


Figure 33. Black-and-white copy of the feline in the high panel in NC. From the ground, the dots along its back are invisible, but they would be discernible from a raised viewing platform.

1982:305).

When night fell, Lieutenant Thorneycroft, who had taken over from the fallen Woodgate, ordered his men to vacate their positions and retreat back to camp. At first light the next morning the Boers arrived on the summit of the hill, yet again having prevented the relief of Ladysmith. It was only on 28th February 1900 that Buller eventually relieved the town from its ordeal, after crossing the Thukela farther downstream.

Today, monuments mark the graves of the British where they died in their trenches or fell elsewhere (Fig. 36). There is also a monument to the Boers who died in the Battle (Fig. 37). The Battle of Spionkop, or Thukela Heights, as it is sometimes known, was a costly fiasco, but the bravery of the men whom Buller sent to almost certain death was extolled so that the real issues were obscured.

Today, as the hundredth anniversary of the battle approaches, it seems appropriate to make the hill a national shrine to South Africa's past and future. At the turn of the last century, as I have said, people were filled with foreboding for the coming era, and the Anglo-Boer War was seen as an omen of a dark future, but, as we approach the end of this century, the hill could speak of a future South Africa far more positively than it did at

they advanced undetected on the 100 or so Boers guarding the summit of the hill. A Boer picket heard the approach at the last minute and opened fire. The British charged, killing one Boer and easily routing the rest. Having taken the hill with no loss, the British began to entrench themselves. The hard nature of the ground, however, prevented any sufficient depth to these trenches; the inadequacy of depth, a factor that could have been foreseen, was to prove costly for the British.

The routed Boers notified their comrades, and Botha began immediately to plan his counter attack. He ordered seven guns to be placed on three surrounding hills, including four on Ntabannyama, so that Spionkop could be shelled as soon as the mist cleared in the morning. Further orders were given to groups of 50 Boers each to occupy three surrounding hills that provided good firing positions. Under cover of these guns and riflemen, 400 Boers were to advance up the north-eastern slope and recapture Spionkop.

The strategic placement of the Boer guns and riflemen, as well as their own insufficient cover, was disastrous for the British. Throughout 24th January, Woodgate and his men were shelled and shot as they lay in the shallow trenches. British losses were high: about 243 men, including Woodgate were killed, over 1000 were wounded, and 189 prisoners were taken. In comparison, the Boers lost only 75 dead and 155 wounded (Packenham

Spionkop with the intention of crossing the Thukela (for an account of the campaign see Pakenham 1982:288ff; cf. Creswicke 1900:104ff).

In order to prevent Buller from crossing the river, Boer forces under General Louis Botha took up strategic defensive positions on the north bank. Buller ordered his second in command, General Charles Warren, with 15000 men and 36 guns, to cross the Thukela at Trichardt's Drift and to outflank the Boer positions. Warren's crossing took the Boers by surprise, and, had he moved quickly, the British would probably have succeeded. Warren, however, delayed attacking for three days in order to prepare and so gave the Boers sufficient time to bring in reinforcements. These reinforcements, together with other Boers, entrenched themselves on a prominent hill, just to the west of Spionkop, called Ntabamnyama. Warren's advances were therefore easily checked on two occasions, on 20th and 21st January. Warren and Buller then decided that the only way they could achieve victory at Ntabamnyama was to capture Spionkop, a bold and foolhardy strategy. Spionkop's commanding position could, they believed, then be exploited by placing artillery on the hill with which to shell the Boer positions on Ntabamnyama.

On 23rd January a force of some 1700 men under the command of Major-General E. R. P. Woodgate approached Spionkop. Under cover of night,

transformed into a major national shrine and rallying point, a new name will have to be considered, one that will better convey a new assessment of South Africa's past and, at the same time, a strong message for the present and the future. I suggest *Luxolweni*, meaning 'Place of Peace'. This name will avoid the inevitable, sectional connotations of 'Spionkop' and show that a change of name can have subtle and far-reaching implications. I use Spionkop throughout this chapter as it is familiar to readers and its use here will emphasize the need for and the appropriateness of the change that I advocate. I now discuss the hill's Anglo-Boer War, Iron Age and San rock art evidence in turn.

The Anglo-Boer War component

Spionkop was the site of a costly struggle. As so often in South African history, the loss of life and suffering seem not only grossly incommensurate with the issue but also the result of personal pride and, ultimately, the long-standing southern African struggle for the control of resources.

In November 1899, Boer forces laid siege to the small town of Ladysmith (Chisholm 1979:92ff). To relieve the town, British forces had to cross the Thukela River, a task that had until the beginning of January 1900 proved impossible. In that January, British forces, amounting to 24000 men and 58 guns under the command of General Redvers Buller, moved toward

careful consideration. For one, the inclusive past I hope to present at Spionkop must avoid the problems of the kind of inclusive past that is presented at some American public rock art sites (Chapter Two); the past at American sites tends to reproduce evolutionary hierarchies. It is the practical challenge of how to establish metaphoric pilgrimage and to avoid such hierarchies at Spionkop that I take up in this chapter.

The suggestions I make will require a major financial and human investment and demand far-reaching commitments. One of the first major financial commitments that will have to be made is the purchasing of privately owned sections of the hill, such as the portion on which the rock art is situated. Another cost will be the establishment of a transport system at the site. Yet such commitments are vital for the presentation to succeed. The time when South Africa could make do with mediocre attempts at public presentation are past. Today, as tourism to this country increases, we are open to the world, as Lascaux and Mesa Verde are open to the world. It is time now to repair and resurrect the banners and flags of our possible pasts.

Unfortunately, the name by which the hill is presently known links it strongly, indeed exclusively, to the Anglo-Boer War. Moreover, 'Spionkop' - a hill from which one can spy out the land - carries connotations of conflict and intrigue. If, as I argue it should be, this place were to be

In some ways, then, Spionkop has been and still is a pilgrimage site. It is doubtful if many of these visitors are aware of the stone walling or the rock art. It is not their fault though, for there are no signs to direct them, let alone to tell them something about these remains. In fact, all the signs on Spionkop today refer to the graves and places of interest regarding the battle of 1900. Yet the presence of Iron Age walling and rock art on the hill holds great potential for developing Spionkop as a multi-component, metaphoric pilgrimage site. To miss such a rare opportunity to present a past in which so many of South Africa's people are represented would be a serious mistake. I make suggestions as to how the situation at Spionkop can be rectified.

As at Main Caves, I apply the principles of metaphoric pilgrimage in a way that I hope will result in an identity-altering experience for visitors. Unlike Main Caves where the emphasis is on rock art, the rock art at Spionkop is only one component of the site. Rather than focus on the symbolic meaning of the art, I therefore take advantage of the unusual nature of Spionkop in order to present to the public a past that is not divisive but inclusive.

Ultimately, the San and their art must be situated in the complex course of southern African history.

Presenting such an inclusive past is, however, no easy matter and requires

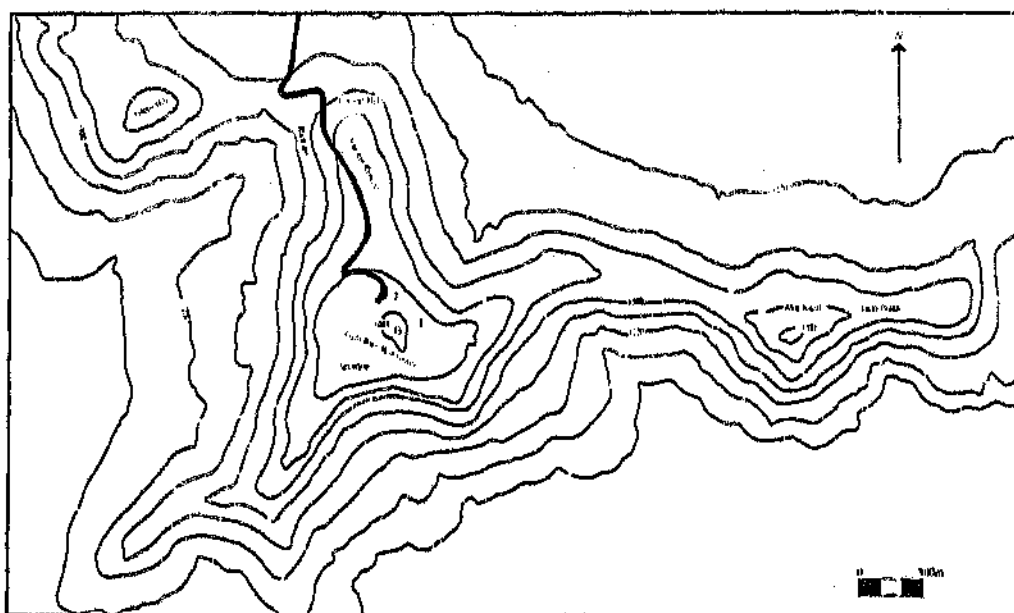


Figure 35. Map of Spionkop, illustrating the Anglo-Boer War battle positions, the Iron Age remains, the rock art and the present road.

are archaeological remains from three periods on the hill. The presence of two of the three components is not, however, generally known. A gravel road leaves the Winterton-Ladysmith road, by-passes a rock art shelter and leads up the north side of the hill to the broad shoulder where Iron Age stone walling is situated (Fig. 35). Then the road, now paved, climbs steeply up the hill to the summit where the famous Anglo-Boer war remains are situated and where there is a car park.

Today, people visit the site to see the Anglo-Boer War graves and trenches. It is tempting to speculate whether any of those who lie there now noticed, in the heat of battle, that some of the stony places in which they sought cover from enemy fire had a circular shape and that vegetation was thicker in these circular clusters than elsewhere. It is even more tempting to wonder whether before or after the battle any Boers or the British made their way down the western slope of Spionkop and, amidst the dense vegetation, caught sight of some strange and unfamiliar paintings in a low rock shelter. Perhaps they did not even notice; we shall never know.

Since the battle, and especially in the years immediately following the Anglo-Boer War, many families of the fallen soldiers made personal pilgrimages to the sites where their sons lay buried. Indeed, Spionkop, is still visited by people from around the world who are interested in the war.

Chapter 6

Luxolweni:

Metaphoric pilgrimage at the place of peace

In 1900, Thomas Hardy, contemplating the century that lay ahead, heard the song of a thrush and was moved to remark that the bird must know things of which he was unaware, for he could think of nothing to sing about. As were many others of his time, Hardy was filled with a fatalistic anxiety for the coming century, a fear that was in large part motivated by the horrors of the Anglo-Boer War which was raging at the turn of the century. It seems fitting, then, as we approach the end of this century, to consider one of the sites involved in the conflict of that war, a conflict that touched so many South African lives, black and white, and captured the world's attention for three desperate years. Known today as Spionkop, the site I consider in this chapter was the scene of a bloody conflict between the Boers and the British in 1900. But, more importantly, and the reason why I consider Spionkop here at all, the hill was implicated in the lives of South Africans long before the War.

Situated on the banks of the Thukela River in KwaZulu-Natal and administered by the Natal Parks Board, Spionkop is remarkable in that there

Conclusion

Because it already has the best infrastructure of any public rock art site in the country and because its setting in the Drakensberg is conducive to powerful emotional experiences, Main Caves offers an ideal opportunity to construct metaphoric pilgrimage; its spectacular situation lends itself to a process of identity-alteration. Not all sites offer such opportunities. Indeed, at many, if not most, sites establishing metaphoric pilgrimages would be far more difficult. Possibly one of the more difficult challenges at Main Caves is the inclusion of aspects of the past that are not San, such as 'Rock 75'. Sites that contain material remains of a plurality of southern Africa people are fraught with difficulties. I turn to such a site in the next chapter.

advertisements. It should explain how incorrect associations of the San are often projected in these apparently innocent contexts.

In the visitor centre, visitors should find themselves in the exit section after depositing their tags. Provision should be made here to hand in cassette players. The nature of this exit should be open and permit the free movement of visitors. A souvenir store and coffee shop are desirable because they facilitate a 'decompression chamber', as it were, in which visitors can readjust to daily social life. In addition, I recommend a wall of pictures on the ways in which images of San and their art are used in contemporary culture. A comparable wall in the Buffalo Bill Historical Centre in Cody, Wyoming, is successful in showing how images of Native Americans are appropriated in contemporary society. Furthermore, a number of facilities usually found at museums and public rock art sites should be included in this section. These include: (1) A suggestion box with a printed questionnaire - essential for monitoring visitors' reactions to their experience. All informative material should, from time to time, be reassessed in the light of these questionnaires. (2) A visitors' book in which people can sign their names. (3) A donations box should also be present so that visitors who wish to contribute to a fund for the upkeep of the site can do so. (4) A shop where books and videos on South African and, indeed, world rock art can be bought.

would thus have been altered. In SSC, especially at Lectern Twenty-One and Lectern Twenty-Two, a sense of loss for the object of identity has been created. This sense of loss allows visitors conceptually to reappropriate the object (the art) when they see it 'enshrined' in the Olympic flag, a symbol with which they already identify. Now they will see the flag and what it stands for (national unity) in a new light. They will be able to reappropriate San rock art, as exemplified by the emblem in the flag and as newly understood. This process of new identity followed by a sense of loss and then reappropriation will effectively shift conceptions of the art from 'other' to 'our' and thereby contribute to the formation of a South African national identity based on positive images of the San and their art. Their own identities altered, the visitors are now ready to be reincorporated into mainstream society.

Reincorporation

Just before visitors enter the visitor centre, a container should be placed where they can return their name tags, thereby symbolically ending their liminal status. A useful idea would be to have a container into which the visitors could place their tags and in return be provided with a pamphlet to take away. This pamphlet, should contain a short reading list (the books listed should be available in the centre shop), as well as information on the use of images of the San and their art in contemporary films and

remains, situated lower down the hill, are not noticed by most visitors. The situation of the Anglo-Boer War remains on the summit and the lower positions of the rock art and Iron Age components make it difficult to decide on the order in which the visitor should encounter these remains. The elevated situation of the Anglo-Boer War remains means that, in the minds of many visitors, this component will take precedence over anything situated lower down the hill. If the route were to begin with the rock art, for example, and then to move on to the Iron Age remains and finally on to the Anglo-Boer War remains, the presentation would reinforce notions, no doubt already in many visitor's minds, of an evolutionary trajectory beginning with the San (Stone Age), moving on to Bantu-speakers (Iron Age), and finally culminating in the pinnacle of evolution - the white male military figure (modernity). In this way the presentation at Spionkop would be no different from the kind of past that is often presented at American public rock art sites.

If, on the other hand, the route were to begin on top of the hill, with the Anglo-Boer War remains, continue down to the Iron Age walling and then, finally, to the rock art, the hierarchical process would still be reinforced. Moreover, beginning and ending on the top of the hill, would contradict the principles of metaphoric pilgrimage that require a sense of process. Creating this sense of process would be difficult if the visitor had to drive

the 'cultural baggage' that people bring with them to public rock art sites, and, of course, to all historical sites. I identify three potential interrelated problems in the way of presenting an inclusive past at Spionkop: (1) the reinforcement of what already are separate and divisive identities; (2) the reproduction of an evolutionary hierarchy; (3) the use of the San as no more than introductory rhetoric. I discuss each of these problems in turn before proceeding to possible solutions.

The most intractable danger in South African history is the reproduction of divisive distinctions between groups. But the occurrence of all three of these groups' material remains at Spionkop offers an ideal opportunity to counter these stereotypical identities and to present a past in which many South African groups are both included and implicated in each others' pasts. The great advantage of Spionkop over other historical sites, then, is the co-existence of these remains on a single hill, and the challenge facing us is the presentation of these remains in a unitary manner.

The second problem at Spionkop is that the juxtaposition of the three historical components could easily lead to the reproduction of an evolutionary hierarchy. The current presentation at Spionkop, though well done given the funds available to the Natal Parks Board, is dominated by the Anglo-Boer War structures on top of the hill. The rock art and Iron Age

good quality. There is a single eland painted in red and white and the remains of human figures, as well as some other indistinct painted areas. In addition, there are two crudely painted red human figures that appear to be different from what are generally regarded as San paintings. Although the quality of the paintings is not exceptional, their position in a shelter so close to the Iron Age and Anglo-Boer War remains is the important point to keep in mind. In order to keep the visitors' attention at the rock art component, I recommend that paintings from other parts of Natal be tastefully reproduced, as indeed has been so successfully done at Lascaux in France. In addition, although the deposit appears shallow, excavation might yield artefacts that could be displayed.

Metaphoric pilgrimage at Spionkop

As I have pointed out, the combination of Anglo-Boer War remains, Iron Age settlements, and rock art make Spionkop an ideal place at which to present a past that draws together South Africa's people and that will contribute to a unitary South African history and identity. Exactly how this is to be achieved in terms of the principles of metaphoric pilgrimage is the problem to which I now turn.

The preparation of Spionkop as a public site faces its own set of problems that are unlike those at Giant's Castle. These problems result in part from

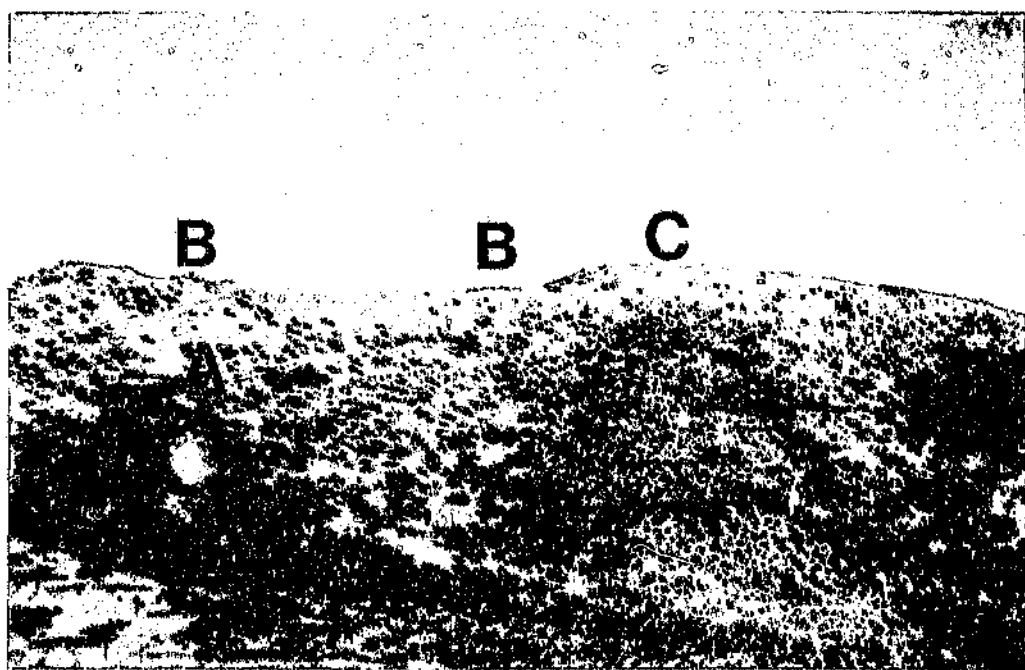


Figure 41. View of Spionkop from the west, showing the rock art site (A), the Iron Age (B) sites and the Anglo-Boer War sites (C).

army under Shaka attacked the Ngwane on the Upper Thukela and drove them over the Drakensberg onto the highveld (*ibid.*:18).

The area around Spionkop does not appear to have been significant in Kwazulu-Natal again until 1832. In that year Dingane, Shaka's successor, stationed the Hlomendini (home guards), among whom there were Hlubi people, along the north bank of the Thukela to keep watch over the route from Zulu country to Port Natal (*ibid.*:23-24).

The excavation of the Iron Age structures on Spionkop could yield interesting evidence for the role of the walled structures in the history I have described. Even if the structures date to before the last century, mention should be made of this history either on lecterns or on the audio-cassette-recording. An important point is the link that the Hlubi establish between Spionkop and Giant's Castle (Chapter Five). This link should be drawn to the attention of visitors to both sites.

The Rock Art component

In addition to the Anglo-Boer War remains and the Iron Age stone structures there is a painted rock shelter on the western slope of the hill (Fig. 41) The shelter is situated in dense vegetation and is not presently visible to the uninformed visitor. The rock art itself is faded and not of very

Although it is not known who exactly occupied the Iron Age settlements on Spionkop, oral accounts have provided insights into the general history of the area for the early part of the nineteenth century. During this time the Bergville-Ladysmith area, which includes the upper parts of the Thukela River, was occupied by Bhele and Zizi people (Wright and Manson 1983:5). The emergence of two powerful kingdoms between the Pongola and Thukela rivers in the second decade of the century changed this situation. In the south, the Mthethwa under Dingiswayo kaJobe were extending their hegemony northwards while in the north, the Ndwandwe under Zwide kaLanga were expanding southwards (*ibid.*:12). These two kingdoms clashed and Dingiswayo was defeated. His successor, Shaka, however, managed to defeat the Ndwandwe when they attempted further invasions (*ibid.*:13).

Shaka followed up his success by invading the Ndwandwe territory and routing them. This rout set in motion a series of desperate attacks, first by the Ndwandwe on their neighbours, the Ngwane, and then by the Ngwane on their neighbours, the Hlubi (*ibid.*:14). The Ngwane attack on the Hlubi took place around 1819 (*ibid.*:17). The Ngwane, however, did not stop after defeating the Hlubi. Fearing the strength of Shaka's consolidating kingdom, they invaded the Bergville-Ladysmith region, displacing the Bhele and Zizi before settling in the Upper Thukela region (*ibid.*:16). In 1821, a Zulu



Figure 40. Aloe Knoll, seen from close to a British mass grave. From this hill the Boers inflicted heavy casualties on the British. Iron Age walled sites are marked by clusters of trees. Ladysmith is in the far distance, left.



Figure 39. View from the north shoulder, Spionkop. The Iron Age sites are clearly visible. In the background the road makes its way to the summit of the hill.



Figure 38. Spionkop. The north shoulder, as seen from the summit. Conical Hill is at the far end of the shoulder. The arrows indicate Iron Age walled sites (A-E).

the end of the last century.

The Iron Age component

Apart from the Anglo-Boer War monuments, there are also a number of Iron Age, agropastoralist stone-wall remains on Spionkop. These stone walling sites are situated on the north shoulder and have not yet been excavated. The remains consist of at least five circular enclosures that are visible because of the comparatively dense vegetation growing in the walls (Fig. 38; Fig. 39). There is also evidence, in the form of small stone platforms, of possible grain bins near these enclosures. Of the five enclosures, the site closest to Conical Hill (Fig. 38) is the most complex and should reveal some interesting features and possibly material for radio-carbon dating as well. In addition to excavating this enclosure, I recommend reconstructing it so that visitors would have an interesting and varied display. Another of the enclosures could be excavated and displayed as an excavation so that people could see what an excavated area looks like and how South Africa's deep past is recovered. In addition to the enclosures, it appears that the people who occupied these settlements moved rocks so that a large, flat area was made available for agriculture. Apart from Spionkop itself, some of the surrounding hills, Aloe Knoll, for example, show evidence of Iron Age structures (Fig. 40).

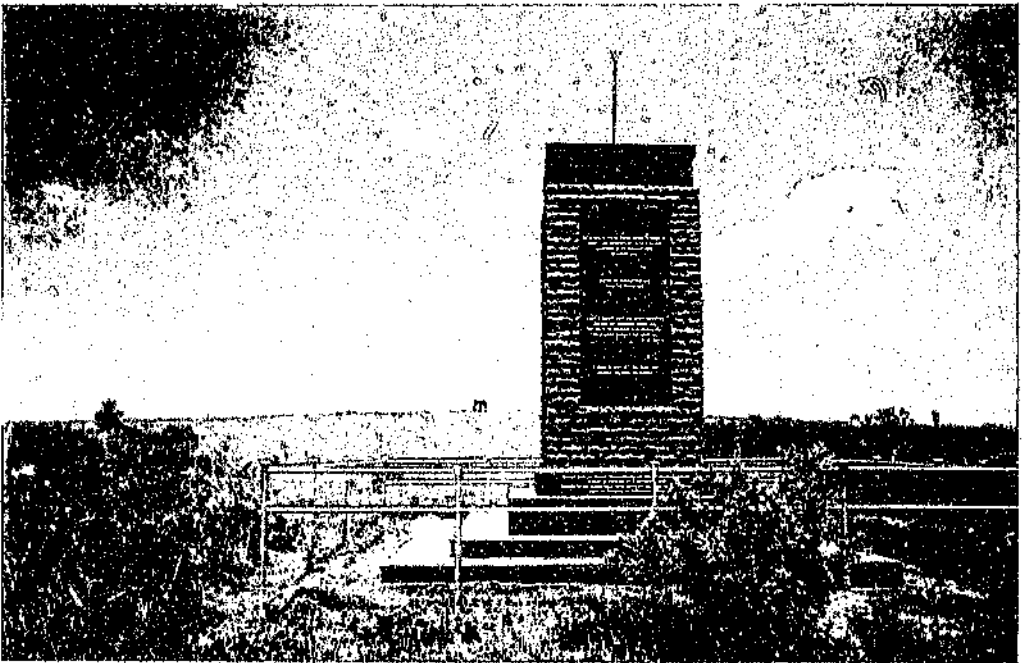


Figure 37. Spionkop. A monument to the Boers who fell during the battle.



Figure 36. Spionkop. Monuments mark the trenches and mass graves of British soldiers.

Lectern Seven

This station should serve as the introduction to the Iron Age remains and should consist of a single lectern with the following text:

African people began moving into South Africa nearly two thousand years ago, one thousand seven hundred years before European colonists arrived at the Cape of Good Hope. They brought with them mixed farming and a complex system of beliefs. These beliefs were, however, broad enough to accommodate the San whom they found living here. Centuries of interaction between the San and black South Africans led to a complex interchange of beliefs and language, some of which are still recognisable in African communities today. South African history has long been a story of interaction.

Once again, the text tries to link both San and Iron Age history to the present day and thus to construct their history as a continuing process and as part of a broad South African culture. From this lectern visitors should move to the excavated settlement on the northern saddle of the hill where the number of lecterns will depend on what the archaeological record reveals. Possible ideas for this area include an overview of the central cattle pattern settlement layout with related explanation (Huffman 1986, 1989), and a display with replicas of excavated materials so that people can touch them. People would be invited to walk through the reconstructed settlement and the other ruins.

of South Africa. It is estimated that 12000 black people died during the Anglo-Boer War.

The text here points to a little known fact: Bantu-speaking people were caught up, not for the last time, in what is often seen as a 'white' war.

Thomas Pakenham (1982:396ff) has pointed out the devastating effect the war had on many thousands of African people. Using his estimates, the text on this lectern not only points to an inclusive past but also raises expectations about the Iron Age settlements below, thereby linking them to the Anglo-Boer War remains and, ultimately, to the whole sweep of South African history.

Once visitors have completed viewing the Anglo-Boer war component, they should be directed towards the place where they will be able to obtain transport to take them down the hill to the Iron Age component. Here they will see the stone walled structures. As I have suggested, one or two of the walled structures should be excavated and prepared for public viewing. Perhaps, where possible, collapsed walling could be restored, and part of the largest site could be fully reconstructed. The position of the lecterns in this component will depend on the results of the excavation, but I suggest, very tentatively, three possible lecterns.

Lectern Five

This lectern should be placed close to Lectern Four and could present the Afrikaans poem *Dits Al* (That's all) by Jan F. E. Celliers (in Opperman 1951) together with the translation by Guy Butler (1962:12). The poem deals with the sense of loss experienced by Boer soldiers who were exiled for long periods after the war.

*Dits die blond,
dits die blou: dits die veld,
dits die lug;
en 'n voël draal howe in eensame vlug -
dits al.*

GOLD,
blue;
veld,
sky;
and one bird wheeling lonely, high-
that's all.

*Dits 'n balling gekom
oor die oseaan,
dits 'n graf in die gras,
dits 'n vallende traan -
dits al.*

An exile come back
from over the sea;
a grave in the grass,
a tear breaking free;
that's all.

Lectern Six

This station is the final one for the Anglo-Boer War component. From here visitors will descend to the Iron Age ruins. I recommend a single lectern with the following text:

History books are usually silent about the role that black South Africans played in the Anglo-Boer War. Yet they were enlisted by both sides, and the war affected many neutral South Africans whose ancestors lived in villages such as the one you are about to see. Many who were living in Johannesburg at the start of the war had to flee to other parts

The text on this lectern is an attempt to break down the rigid categories in the minds of many visitors between the Iron Age and the Anglo-Boer War - between black and white. In such a way, the identity of the visitor comes to be based on an inclusive and not a sectional past. The sites on Aloe Knoll should not be excavated; their present tumbled down condition is poignant.

Lectern Four

This lectern should be placed between points I and J (Fig. 35). These points mark British and Boer monuments respectively. The text on Lectern Four, at the British monument, could be taken from Thomas Hardy's poem

'Drummer Hodge' (in Wain and Wain 1990):

They throw in Drummer Hodge, to rest
Uncoffined - just as found;
His landmark is a kopje-crest
That breaks the veldt around;
And foreign constellations west
Each night above his mound.

The recording at this point could contain moving extracts of letters written home by British soldiers. Here, rather than focus on the divisive reasons for the conflict, focusing on the pathos of death and battle should lead visitors from various cultural backgrounds to find common ground.

part, the rituals of real pilgrimages. This station would, of course, have to be under cover to protect the map and the various electrical (battery-driven) components.

I do not envision any more stations on the Anglo-Boer War route after visitors have left Lectern Two until they arrive at point G on the present route (Fig. 35). Nevertheless, along the route the audio-cassette should invite visitors to stop at the points marked on the pamphlet map. At these points, the commentary should provide specific information about the events that occurred there.

Lectern Three

Having followed the path, visitors should eventually arrive at point G on the pamphlet map. This point marks the mass graves of the British forces. They lie where they died in their trenches. The lectern should be placed in such a way that it faces Aloe Knoll. The lectern should carry a photograph of Aloe Knoll taken from the point where the lectern is placed and arrows should point out the Iron Age structures on the hill. I suggest the following as text to accompany the photograph:

From this point one can see the remains of much earlier Iron Age settlements on Aloe Knoll. While the battle raged, these remains bore mute testimony to earlier occupants of the land. This part of South African history is explained farther along the route.

addition of lecterns to add to the information supplied on the recording. I deal with each of these lecterns in turn.

Lecterns One and Two

These lecterns should be placed near the current point A which has a commanding view over KwaZulu-Natal (Fig. 35). Lectern One should contain the following text:

Few hills embody the whole sweep of South Africa's past as does Spionkop. For many years, the battle that took place here was the focus of interest, but today we are able to take a journey much deeper into the past and to form a new concept of South African history.

Having left Lectern One, visitors should proceed to Lectern Two, which I suggest should be fairly close to Lectern One. I recommend that this lectern contain a relief map of the surrounding hills and the Drakensberg. Small red lights could be placed on the map at relevant and important hills. To the side of the map, a key should be placed with a list of the names of the hills. Next to each name, a button should be fixed so that when a visitor presses the button the light on the relevant part of the map will light up. There is such a map in the Ladysmith museum. As at Main Caves, where I suggested a lectern with a replica of digging-stick and bored stone that people could touch, this lectern would be interactive, and so replicate, in

changed very little. It is marked by a discreet wire cable and leads visitors around the various graves, monuments and other points of historical significance. These points are marked with letters of the alphabet on metal pegs. A pamphlet with sections corresponding to each of the relevant letters is currently available. This pamphlet contains information regarding the various phases of the battle. Unfortunately, the comprehensive nature of the information is not always conducive to reading the entire pamphlet while walking the route. Placing some of the information in the pamphlet onto audio-cassette and dramatising it would add greatly to the experience of what is, in any event, a striking location with breath-taking views up to the Drakensberg and over KwaZulu-Natal. In such surroundings eye-witness accounts could be dramatically narrated with accompanying sound effects of battle and, at appropriate places, such as at the graves, music.

I shall not give extensive suggestions for what should be included in the recording about the Anglo-Boer War remains because the information in the pamphlet is a sufficient source. All I recommend is the addition of eye-witness accounts and sound effects.

In addition to adapting the pamphlet for audio-cassette, I recommend that the path be marked more clearly and that it should be paved so that it could be easily traversed even after rain. Along this path I recommend the

cells, shower areas and the dining hall, but a combination of striking sound effects and the voices of former inmates and guards recounting personal experiences in the prison is exceptionally powerful. Like the one at Alcatraz, the audio-cassette at Spionkop should have simulated voices of British and Boer troops giving differing views of the battle. Realistic sound effects could accompany these voices. Apart from the battle, voices of San and Bantu-speakers could dramatise and recount experiences and beliefs at the other components of the site. The monotony of a single voice could thus be avoided. The potential of the audio-cassette here is great and should be exploited to the full.

The Liminal phase

Once visitors have left the entrance section of the centre, they should be able to take transport directly to the top of the hill to the Anglo-Boer War remains, then back down to the Iron Age settlements on the north shoulder and finally to the rock art. The transport to the summit of the hill should follow the present road, eventually arriving at a stop somewhere near the present parking area. Once on top of the hill, transport should not follow the present walking route but should arrive and depart from a single point. Once visitors have alighted, they should be able to walk around the Anglo-Boer War monuments at their leisure. Indeed, the present route that visitors follow is adequate in terms of metaphoric pilgrimage and needs to be

Separation

As at Main Caves, I envisage the construction of a visitor centre at Spionkop. It should be built at the foot of the hill before the road ascends to the shoulder and should function as a point of separation and, subsequently, reincorporation for visitors. In the separate entrance section an orientational video should be shown to distance visitors symbolically from the rest of society and, at the same time, give them some idea as to what they will encounter on the route. The multi-componential aspect of this site means that considerably less time will be allocated to rock art in the video than in the one at the Main Caves visitor centre.

Having paid their entrance fee and having watched the video, visitors will collect their personal cassette players. The visually variable nature of the remains at Spionkop suggests that too many lecterns might overwhelm the visitor, and I see the audio-cassette playing a more prominent and varied role here than at Main Caves. It will have to provide continuity for visitors throughout the various components of the presentation.

The type of recording I have in mind has been used with great success at Alcatraz Prison in San Francisco Bay. There is only a small museum at the prison and no lecterns or texts. Audio-cassette recordings provide the only explanatory material. The setting is stark and areas of display include empty

may be found at the Jorvik Viking Centre in England where a small, open train takes visitors on a journey back into time (Shanks and Tilley 1992:86). At Spionkop, however, the exceptionally steep slope of the hill does not allow for a train. A more realistic possibility might be golf-carts designed to carry a number of passengers that run at regular intervals along a set route. Whatever system is chosen, emphasis should be placed on a journey into the past.

The suggested route from the Anglo-Boer War remains to the Iron Age walling and finally to the rock art has a number of advantages. With some modifications to the existing path, the route will satisfy the elliptical nature of a path in metaphoric pilgrimage. Furthermore, if linked together with some sort of transport system running every few minutes, visitors interested in specific aspects of the site only could spend more time at the component of their choice.

A transport system linking the components in the order I suggest, together with carefully considered texts and interpretative material, would allow the route at Spionkop to avoid reproducing the stereotypes of the San that I have discussed. With these issues in mind I make suggestions for the establishment of metaphoric pilgrimage at Spionkop. As in my discussion of Main Caves, I consider, in turn, separation, liminality and reincorporation.

the presentation should avoid giving the impression that one of the components is central. Later I suggest how the absence of a central shrine can be turned to advantage.

To avoid the three problems I have discussed, I suggest a route that shuffles the accepted order of approaching the past. Unfortunately, what may be the best route - moving from San rock art to Anglo-Boer War to African Iron Age - is impractical. An extensive new path would have to be constructed from the rock art site, up the steep western slope in order for visitors to get from the rock art to the Anglo-Boer War component. The route will, therefore, have to be in reverse chronological order and run from the Anglo-Boer War to the Iron Age and then to the rock art. Hopefully, visitors will be so sated with the spectacular view from the top of the hill that they will not perceive an evolutionary process (in reverse) and, if they do, at least not take it as a justification for social inequality and stereotypical identities. With careful planning and thoughtful use of texts, as well as the manipulation of the landscape in which the monument is set, I believe it will be possible to avoid implying an evolutionary hierarchy. The overall experience would be a journey into the past.

To promote the notion of a journey, innovative transport could be provided to carry visitors between the various components. One idea for transport

up the hill to the current parking lot, view the Anglo Boer War remains, walk down to see the rock art and Iron Age sites and then return up the hill once again. The practicalities of such a process add to the problem. For example, would visitors want to walk down the very steep hill and then up again? Many people might feel that they have seen what they came for at the top of the hill and then decide to depart or to drive down the hill and view what they can from the vehicle in passing.

A third problem in laying out a metaphoric pilgrimage route at Spionkop is that of beginning the process with the rock art, as may at first seem logical. Dowson (1995) has pointed out that many South African history texts begin with the San but do not implicate them in South African history beyond their being Stone Age relics. The San, in this sense, become no more than the material for an introductory rhetoric, and their role in the unfolding of South African history is ignored. At Spionkop, it would be easy enough to make the San rock art the first component of the presentation and then never mention it again. Beginning the historical metaphoric pilgrimage sequence with the rock art would therefore be comparable to using the San as an introductory device in history texts.

The nub of the problem is that the multi-component nature of Spionkop means that there is no central, climactic shrine or focal point. At any rate,

As McGuire implies, public rock art sites, along with other sites, in America have been constructed without consultation with Native Americans. This has led, in turn, to a presentation of the past that is from a white perspective. This perspective portrays Native Americans as antecedent and - in the language of contemporary theory - the prehistoric 'other'. Seldom, if ever, is Native American history portrayed as continuing into the present day. Moreover, the lack of ethnography in the presentation at these sites is, indeed, testament to the one-sided approach evident at virtually all archaeological sites. Few people have dared to suggest that public rock art sites should be constructed through negotiation with Native Americans (but see Thompson 1993).

Although, as I pointed out in Chapter Two, Native Americans have not yet started to use rock art as a political resource, the increasing success with which they have managed to effect the legally sanctioned repatriation of sacred and funerary objects, suggests a possible future crisis over control of rock art sites. Such a crisis may be avoided if constructors of the sites engage in dialogue with Native Americans as to how the sites should be presented, what identities should be represented, and, especially, how Native Americans could benefit from these sites. Because such consultation is vital and cannot be preempted, I deal with only the principles of presentation; the specific details of presentations and much of the content of

Colorado, and the other at Grimes Point, Nevada.

Archaeology, public rock art sites and Native Americans

Establishing metaphoric pilgrimage in America will be more complex than in South Africa because of the political presence of Native Americans. In Chapter Two, I discussed the link between archaeology, American national identity, and Native Americans. One of the most important aspects of this three-way interaction is that archaeologists have aided the perpetuation of the myth of the Native American as vanishing. Because this myth has been used to legitimate the political, economic, and cultural disempowerment of Native Americans, archaeologists have unfortunately and mostly unwittingly contributed to this disempowerment. The involvement of archaeologists in this process has distanced the discipline from Native Americans, who tend to view archaeologists with increasing suspicion. Increasingly, it is becoming apparent that the resolution of this crisis lies in dialogue with Native Americans. McGuire (1992:226) comments:

If archaeological remains are part of a universal human heritage, then many voices should be heard. To let many voices speak raises a crisis of representation in archaeology that parallels reassessments of dominant ideas in many other social sciences....[Archaeology] should be restructured to support a diversity of interests, paradigms, and notions of the past. The problem is how to do this? Archaeologists are not the only voices speaking about a Native American past, and many of the other voices are antagonistic; the change is not one that archaeologists alone can make.

Chapter 7

Mesa Verde and Grimes Point:

Towards metaphoric pilgrimage in the United States of America

Metaphoric pilgrimage is a flexible strategy for the construction and reconstruction of public rock art sites. In Chapters Six and Seven, I tried to demonstrate this flexibility by applying the principles of metaphoric pilgrimage to two South African sites. Because, as I have mentioned, my principal goal is to suggest a strategy for reconstructing South African public rock art sites, I dealt with these sites in some detail. But an important question remains as to whether or not the principles of metaphoric pilgrimage could apply to American public rock art sites as well as to South African sites.

I begin with a discussion of obstacles in the way of establishing metaphoric pilgrimage at American sites. Drawing on issues discussed in Chapters Two, Three and Four, I argue that the situation in America, in comparison with that in South Africa, is far more complex. But, despite these complexities, I argue that applying the principles of metaphoric pilgrimage would still be beneficial. I then demonstrate the applicability of these principles to two American sites, one at Mesa Verde National Park,

Conclusion

The three components - rock art, Iron Age, and Anglo-Boer War - set Spionkop apart from monocultural archaeological sites and turn it into Luxolweni. Sites like this are not only exceptionally rare in South Africa but are rare in other parts of the world as well. When they occur, full use should be made of their potential. Both Main Caves and Spionkop offer possibilities to present the past in ways that escape the problematic identities more commonly associated with such presentations in South Africa. I have suggested how, by applying the principles of metaphoric pilgrimage, we may capitalise on the possibilities of Main Caves and Spionkop and contribute to the production of a united South African national identity. In the next chapter I demonstrate, more briefly, how metaphoric pilgrimage could contribute to American public rock art sites.

The symbolic act of laying a wreath here functions to identify visitors with an inclusive past. The object of their identity is thus not the 'other' but a monument that encompasses the diversity of South Africa's people and expresses that diversity in terms of shared human emotions. The visitors' sense of identity could be fundamentally altered by this emphasis on unity and the highly emotive components of the metaphoric pilgrimage they have just completed.

From this memorial visitors should be able to make their way back to the visitor centre where there should be a box, like that at Main Caves, so that they can return their identity tags. Once inside the centre, the usual array of souvenir and book stores and coffee shops should be available. This time, however, the range of items on sale, unlike that at Main Caves, could be much broader. Books on history, archaeology and other aspects of the past and the present, not just rock art alone, could be sold.

Once again, the effect in the visitor centre should be reincorporation into daily social life; familiar spaces, such as coffee shops and souvenir stores, help facilitate this transition. But, at the same time, the changes in attitude and identity at which the whole metaphoric pilgrimage aims should be reiterated and emphasized.

Somewhere between the centre and the transport stop a final lectern should be placed before a suitably designed monument to all who died in conflict on South African soil. I see this station as the shrine, or focal point, of the whole Spionkop pilgrimage. It, and not one of the three components, should be the climax of what could be a deeply affecting experience. Small token wreaths, made of non-perishable material, should be available for visitors to place before the monument, if they so desire. Perhaps real flowers could be sold if the public takes to the idea. A small patch of grass should be maintained in front of the monument so that people would have the opportunity to add any memorial token they wished, in a similar fashion to the pieces of cloth placed near the mass grave at Wounded Knee (Chapter Two). Lectern Thirteen should be worded as follows:

Many of South Africa's monuments are to people who died in conflict. In the hope that such divisive conflicts belong to the past and that the future will bring lasting peace, this monument has been erected.

If you too desire a peaceful future, feel free to place a wreath at this monument to all those who died in conflict on South African soil.

This is

Luxolweni

Place of Peace

with this as possible text:

As European colonists placed pressure on the land, so conflicts sprang up between them and other people, including the San. Eventually this conflict led to the destruction of many San communities; others were forced to amalgamate with black neighbours. Conflict over land was not to end with the San, however, but continued well into the twentieth century. It is to the site of one of these conflicts that we shall now proceed.

At both these lecterns, the text is designed to implicate each of the groups in the others' history, as in the text at Lectern Twelve where the relation between the San and Bantu-speakers is noted, or to draw analogies between the histories of the various groups, as on the audio-cassette recording for Lectern Eleven where the text compares the significance of the rock shelter to that of the graves. Together, the implication of each group in the others' history and the analogies drawn should generate a view of the past that is inclusive and not divisive.

Reincorporation

Once visitors have left Lectern Twelve, the path should lead them back to a place where they can take the transport back to the visitor centre. The entire route has been elliptical and has provided visitors with a sense of progress. The transport should stop some way from the visitor centre, though, thus allowing for a fair walk back to the centre.

Lectern Eleven and Lectern Twelve

This station should be located in the rock shelter and should consist of two lecterns. As I have said, I envisage supplementing the images with reproductions of paintings from other sites, both on the wall of the shelter and on the two lecterns. On Lectern Eleven a copy of a rock painting depicting a rain-making scene should be placed. I recommend the following text to accompany the reproduction:

Although the art at this site has faded, many paintings in the Natal Drakensberg preserve the beliefs and history of the San. The image on this lectern, for example, is a painting of a rain-animal. Here we can see it being captured before being led to its slaughter in order to cause rain to fall. Such activities were believed to take place in the spirit world.

The recording should supplement this text with something along the following lines:

Many of the paintings in southern Africa depict the experiences of San medicine people who entered trance. The rock surfaces on which these paintings were depicted were sometimes regarded as the entrance to the spirit world. This shelter had great spiritual significance for the San, as did the stone-walled sites higher up have for black people who buried their ancestors within them, as did the Anglo-Boer War graves on the summit have for many whites.

Lectern Twelve should present a copy of a rock painting depicting conflict

years ago, they established relations with the San. In some places San became servants to African people and looked after their cattle. In other places, Africans visited San shamans to ask them to make rain or to heal the sick. When, many hundreds of years later, colonists arrived from Europe, the new arrivals put tremendous pressure on the land and its people. Relations between San and Africans intensified at this time, and many San went to live with Africans for protection. By the time of the Anglo-Boer War there were no independent groups of San in Natal.

The recording should supplement this text by giving more information on the nature of African beliefs about the San and especially their shamans. I suggest something along the following lines:

The San were regarded by many Africans across southern Africa as powerful medicine people, or shamans. Even today these beliefs are still common. Near Mmbatho in the Northern Province, Tswana people still pray for rain on a low hill covered with San rock engravings. In other parts of the subcontinent San sell medicines and perform cures on the sick.

Whereas the audio-cassette at Lectern Nine stressed interaction between the San and Bantu-speakers, the text and audio-cassette at Lectern Ten continue this emphasis but situate the beliefs about the San in the present as well. In this way I hope to avoid using the San purely as an introductory device and so reproduce the fiction that they 'died out' long ago. Their history continues today.

San people had ritual specialists who performed specific tasks, such as rain making. The San spoke of the rain as an animal, and during times of drought they approached medicine people, or shamans, to make rain for them. A nineteenth-century San man called Diä!kwain said this about rain making, [a different voice]

The people speak to the medicine men about it, and these promise they will really make rain fall for them. Then they go and sling a thong over the waterbull's horns, they lead it out, they make it walk when they have slung the thong over its horns. They make it walk along and kill it on the way, that the rain may fall. They cut it up, as rain falls at the place where they threw it down.

The shamans had to be careful not to anger the rain-animal for, if they did, it would release thunder and lightning and so kill people. The San often spoke of leading a rain animal to the top of a hill, perhaps like Spionkop itself or the Drakensberg which can clearly be seen from here. At the top of the hill, they would kill the rain-animal, and its blood would flow as water onto the flat areas below. It is easy to imagine a scene like this when the top of Spionkop or the long summit of the Drakensberg is hidden in cloud and mist,

I emphasize rain as it provides a potential theme with which to link the various components at Spionkop. At the second lectern, I suggest that the theme of rain be used to link San and Bantu-speakers more concretely.

Lectern Ten

This station should be placed some 10 metres from the paintings. The lectern could contain the following text:

When black people moved into South Africa two thousand

speakers and colonists rather than on the symbolism of the art. This emphasis will avoid duplication of the experience offered at Main Caves; visitors will thus be able - indeed should be encouraged - to visit both sites. They should see the sites as complementary rather than repetitive.

I envisage three lecterns at the rock art component at Spionkop - two preparatory lecterns and one at the painted images themselves.

Lectern Nine

This station should consist of a single lectern which should be placed some 20 metres before the painted shelter, I suggest the following text:

Even before the arrival of black farmers and Europeans, the San people of KwaZulu-Natal practised rituals to make rain, combat evil spirits and cure the sick. Parts of these rituals were said by the San to take place in the spirit world. San people may have lived in this shelter at the same time as the farmers were living in the stone-walled settlements nearby.

The audio-cassette should supplement this statement by playing San music, such as that produced by the musical bow or thumb-piano, and include comments on rain-making by a San person. The following text includes such an account; Diä!kwain, a San man of, what is now, the Northern Cape Province gave it to the Bleek family in the 1870s (Bleek 1933:376):

Lectern Eight

Lectern Eight should be established shortly after the Iron Age remains. The text on this lectern should begin to bring together the various strands of the display so far:

Many books tell how different the San, blacks, and whites were from each other. Here, on this hill, all the people of South Africa, and indeed the world, can find meaning. Here we see not only how people fought but also how they came to terms with each other. Here the past promises peace.

This text openly challenges stereotypes, emphasizes the inclusive nature of the past at Spionkop and points towards a unificatory identity. It also prepares the visitors for what they will encounter in the next component - San rock art.

Having completed viewing the Iron Age remains, visitors should be able to obtain transport that will take them to the rock art component. The hillside will have to be modified somewhat to facilitate this. Unlike the rock art at Main Caves, the paintings at Spionkop are not the focal point of the metaphoric pilgrimage; they are a component in a much broader perspective. Far less information can thus be provided about the meaning and symbolism of the art. In addition, because my aim is to present an inclusive past, the text should focus on the relation between San, Bantu-

I recommend that the two stations, and the entire tour in fact, be linked to the so-called 'mystery of the Anasazi'. At first, this may appear to reproduce stereotypical identities of Native Americans as vanishing but, as I have remarked, we should take people from where they are and transform their identities from that position. In practice, this means taking an item from the visitors' cultural baggage and setting it in a subtle dialectical process in order to transform their sense of 'other' and thus their own identities. The 'mystery' surrounding the Anasazi provides such a conception and is a powerful resource on which to draw in the alteration of visitors' identities. I therefore recommend that the route to the petroglyph panel be treated as a metaphoric journey of discovery - a discovery of a hitherto unrecognized component of the Anasazi 'other', that is, their rock art.

Station One

This station could be situated fairly close to the transition structure but at a point where the cliff dwellings and other structures at Mesa Verde are out of sight. Since the present trail twists and turns along the canyon wall and passes through wooded areas, such a point would not be difficult to locate.

At this point the recording should expand on the following ideas:

Although the Anasazi painted motifs in their dwellings and on the cliff walls behind their buildings, they also engraved and painted at places where there were no cliff dwellings. This

large number of visitors to the park makes it impractical to place lecterns along the path itself because this would cause a backup of people.

Moreover, the small size of the transition structure will not allow for an orientation video. Given the already overwhelming visual nature of the park, as well as the fact that videos on the dwellings are already being shown, this is not necessarily a negative point. The audio tour might well provide a welcome relief from the visual stimuli of the rest of the park.

In addition to a cassette player, an identity tag should be available, as at Main Caves. Having collected these tags, visitors to the petroglyphs at Mesa Verde should find themselves on the path leading to the art.

The liminal phase

The path frames the liminal phase for visitors to the petroglyph site.

Whereas at Giant's Castle, visitors can be prepared for the paintings that they will encounter at Main Caves through the lecterns along the path, the absence of lecterns at Mesa Verde means that the audio-cassette recording will have to provide sufficient information. Where it is feasible for a few people to congregate, there could be well-marked numbers at which the recording could be played. I suggest two such possible stations along the path and a single lectern at the rock art panel itself.

undergoing an experience fundamentally different from their everyday lives; we could say that they are already liminal to mainstream society simply by virtue of their being at Mesa Verde. Creating a distinction between visitors to Mesa Verde and those who go on to view the rock art may be said to be an establishment of a metaphoric pilgrimage within a metaphoric pilgrimage.

Since there are already numerous visitor structures around the park, some close to the beginning of the trail, it will be neither possible nor desirable to construct a large visitor centre solely for the purposes of viewing the art. Although it is desirable that the art should be seen as an integral part of the whole Anasazi site, we must be realistic and accept that some people, no matter how much they may be encouraged to take the rock art route, will be reluctant to walk any further than necessary. I therefore recommend the construction of a small transition structure near the present start of the trail. Passing through this structure should give visitors to the rock art the impression that they are leaving behind all the other visitors and going on a rather special personal pilgrimage - far from the madding crowd, as it were.

In this structure, visitors should be able to collect a personal audio-cassette player. The interpretative material will have to be largely audio on this route because of the narrowness of the path leading to the rock art. The

art and makes it difficult to present the rock art in a way that fundamentally alters a visitor's sense of identity. Presentations dealing with the cliff structures do not point out the importance of the paintings to the Anasazi, a problem that is compounded by most visitors' lack of appreciation of the role of rock art in Native American society in general.

At Mesa Verde, then, people have to be wooed away from the nature paradigm, and they have to be shown that the art was integral to the Anasazi way of life. These two problems will have to be carefully negotiated and thought through. Nevertheless, these challenges are not insurmountable if the principles of metaphoric pilgrimage are employed in the presentation of the art.

By now, the process of metaphoric pilgrimage - the movement of the visitor through separation, liminality, and reincorporation - should be familiar. I make comparatively brief suggestions for the establishment of each phase.

Separation

If we are to establish a metaphoric pilgrimage to the rock art site at Mesa Verde, it is imperative that a distinction be drawn between ordinary visitors to the cliff dwellings and those who, in addition, wish to take the rock art route. Many tourists to Mesa Verde already consider themselves to be

striking, has not been incorporated into the presentation in any significant way. At present a tranquil trail leads from a central cluster of cliff dwellings, known as Spruce Tree House, along the side of a spectacular canyon to a set of rock engravings (petroglyphs). The pamphlet I critiqued in Chapter Three explains features encountered on this trail. In comparison with Native American rock art in general, the panel is interesting but not exceptional; it is the size and position of the panel in relation to cliff dwellings that make it unique in the park. Its uniqueness and situation in a national park which is already an established tourist attraction make this panel similar to Main Caves.

As at Main Caves, however, the rock art at Mesa Verde is strongly situated in a nature paradigm. I pointed out in Chapter Two that the pamphlet for the petroglyph tour at Mesa Verde promotes this perception. The problem is further compounded by the fact that the Anasazi are seen as similar to white settlers because they lived settled lives and were not nomadic hunter-gatherers. Because the path moves from the cliff dwellings, near which are situated the visitor centre and other modern structures, to the art, there is a distinct impression of moving from culture into nature.

A further problem, one that is unlike those encountered at Main Caves, is that the powerful impact of the spectacular cliff dwellings overshadows the



Figure 44. Mesa Verde. A view of the inside of a three-storey Anasazi building. Geometric paintings are visible on the first storey.



Figure 43. Mesa Verde. A kiva, or ceremonial structure. Kivas were roofed at the time of the Anasazi. The sunken central circular area is a fire place, while the small wall is to deflect wind from the rectangular opening to the air shaft behind it.



Figure 42. Cliff Palace at Mesa Verde, Colorado, is one of the most spectacular archaeological sites in America. Built into a cliff, the structures consist of square rooms and circular kivas. The splendour of Cliff Palace and other Anasazi dwellings at Mesa Verde attracts millions of visitors each year.

Wetherill and Charlie Mason. Since then, Mesa Verde has become one of the largest archaeological tourist centres in America. The national park today contains nearly 600 cliff dwellings situated in what is known as Cliff House Sandstone. These cliff structures are attributed to the Anasazi who occupied the area from A.D. 500 to A.D. 1300. The largest of the cliff dwellings in Mesa Verde, indeed the largest in America, is Cliff Palace (Fig. 42). It contains 217 rooms and 23 kivas (circular enclosures believed to have been used for ceremonial purposes [Fig. 43]). This dwelling supported a population of somewhere between 200 and 250 people in its heyday. Rock art, comprising mostly geometric motifs (Fig. 44), is found on the inner walls of certain buildings at Cliff Palace.

Although the cliffs were used by the Anasazi throughout their occupation, it was not until A.D. 1100 that they built the cliff structures, living in these dwellings for about 175 years before abandoning them in A.D. 1275 (Plog 1988:121). The mysteries of the sudden occupation and abandonment of the cliff structures, the large number of kivas, and the association of rock art with the dwellings make Mesa Verde a complex and challenging arena in which to construct a metaphoric pilgrimage.

One of the challenges is created, not by the site itself, but by the way that it is presently constructed for the public. The rock art, though visually

Negotiation is, inevitably, time-consuming and complex. Because these complexities have to be confronted and the identities represented at sites have to be negotiated, I deal only with principles in this chapter and not specific details. The necessary involvement of Native Americans in the construction and reconstruction of American sites, as well as my principal concern with the construction and reconstruction of South African sites, means that I do not consider American sites in as much detail as I did those in South Africa. Nevertheless, it is desirable to demonstrate the applicability of concepts of metaphoric pilgrimage to sites in America to show the flexibility of this approach and possible ways of avoiding the reproduction of unacceptable identities.

I have chosen Mesa Verde and Grimes Point because of their similarities with Main Caves and Spionkop. But no two rock art sites are ever the same; both Mesa Verde and Grimes Point show interesting and significant differences from the two South African sites.

Mesa Verde

Three years after the Giant's Castle area became a reserve in 1903, Mesa Verde in Colorado was declared a National Park. Like Main Caves, Mesa Verde had been known to European colonists since the end of the nineteenth century, having been discovered in 1888 by two cowboys, Richard

American flag and the discourse of nation are part of the same process. As McGuire (1992:222ff) has pointed out, the ideology of the nation-state, of which America was one of the first, demands that the only legitimate political discourse is that of nation-state. In attempting to renegotiate their political position and destiny within the wider American society, Native Americans have little option but to adopt this discourse and have, thus, effectively established nations within a nation.

While Native Americans have represented their own identity in terms of 'nation', images and symbols of Native Americans as part of American national identity have been, largely, superseded by other symbols. It would, for example, be difficult to argue today that Native Americans play a more important role in American national identity than does, say, the Vietnam War. Instead, Native Americans have become important as symbols to various sectional interests, such as the New Age and Green movements. The incorporation of elements and symbols of Native American culture into these new and probably ephemeral identities is not always favoured by Native Americans themselves; many see it as an attempt to appropriate their culture. Presenting public rock art sites to support these identities is, thus, clearly not desirable and the identities presented at sites should be negotiated with Native Americans.

the 'message' at particular sites should be the product of negotiation between constructors and Native Americans.

A problem closely related to the involvement of Native Americans is that of identity. The presentations that I suggested for the two South Africa sites were explicitly designed to promote a unitary national identity, based on symbols of the San and their art, together with other components of South African history. Because the San are extinct and are not a political interest group in present-day South Africa (a different situation, of course, obtains in Namibia and Botswana), they make ideal, non-sectarian, symbols of national unity. Native Americans, by contrast, are politically active, and they are increasingly opposing white America's appropriation of their culture. Not surprisingly, the identities that Native Americans wish to put forward often conflict with the identities that anthropologists, archaeologists and others assign to them.

In recent years, Native Americans have begun to assert their identities in the language of nationhood (Deloria and Lytle 1984). Television programmes such as *500 Nations* have begun to project this identity more forcefully than ever before, and Native Americans have begun to speak of themselves as 'nations'. It might seem paradoxical, then, that the American flag is flown at Native American gatherings. But both the flying of the