



McDONALD INSTITUTE CONVERSATIONS

The pasts and presence of art in South Africa

Technologies, ontologies and agents

Edited by Chris Wingfield, John Giblin & Rachel King



The pasts and presence
of art in South Africa



McDONALD INSTITUTE CONVERSATIONS

The pasts and presence of art in South Africa

Technologies, ontologies and agents

Edited by Chris Wingfield, John Giblin
& Rachel King

with contributions from

Ceri Ashley, Alexander Antonites, Michael Chazan, Per Ditlef Fredriksen,
Laura de Harde, M. Hayden, Rachel King, Nessa Leibhammer, Mark McGranaghan,
Same Mdluli, David Morris, Catherine Namono, Martin Porr, Johan van Schalkwyk,
Larissa Snow, Catherine Elliott Weinberg, Chris Wingfield & Justine Wintjes

Published by:

McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research
University of Cambridge
Downing Street
Cambridge, UK
CB2 3ER
(0)(1223) 339327
eaj31@cam.ac.uk
www.mcdonald.cam.ac.uk



McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2020

© 2020 McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.
The pasts and presence of art in South Africa is made available
under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-
NoDerivatives 4.0 (International) Licence:
<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

ISBN: 978-1-913344-01-6

On the cover: Chapungu – the Return to Great Zimbabwe, 2015, by *Sethembile Msezane*,
Great Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe. Photograph courtesy and copyright the artist.

Cover design by Dora Kemp and Ben Plumridge.
Typesetting and layout by Ben Plumridge.

Edited for the Institute by James Barrett (*Series Editor*).

CONTENTS

Contributors	vii
Figures	ix
Acknowledgements	xi
<i>Chapter 1</i> Introducing the pasts and presence of art in South Africa	1
CHRIS WINGFIELD, JOHN GIBLIN & RACHEL KING	
Protest as performance	3
Re-staging <i>The Fall</i>	6
Chapungu	7
Technologies of enchantment	10
Technologies	10
Ontologies	12
Agents	13
Part I Technologies	19
<i>Chapter 2</i> Reframing the Wonderwerk slabs and the origins of art in Africa	21
MICHAEL CHAZAN	
Scientific isolation and its aftermath	22
Discoveries of global impact	23
Art as cognitive capacity	24
Taking stock	24
<i>Chapter 3</i> Poisoned, potent, painted: arrows as indexes of personhood	31
LARISSA SNOW	
Engaging anthropology's material and ontological turns	31
Arrows and 'the enchantment of technology'	33
Making persons and managing relations	36
Potent substances and important processes	37
Conclusion	38
<i>Chapter 4</i> Relocated: potting and translocality in terminal Iron Age towns and beyond	41
PER DITLEF FREDRIKSEN	
Craft identity and household spaces in the terminal Iron Age	42
Approaching making in everyday workspaces	45
Recipes and relocation: the use of mica in terminal Iron Age potting	46
Concluding remarks	48
<i>Chapter 5</i> Appropriating colonial dress in the rock art of the Makgabeng plateau, South Africa	51
CATHERINE NAMONO & JOHAN VAN SCHALKWYK	
Arrivals and departures in the landscape	51
Rock art re-signified	55
Clothing, costume, dress	58
Clothing Christianity	59
Conclusion: appropriation as a hermeneutic process	61
<i>Chapter 6</i> To paint, to see, to copy: rock art as a site of enchantment	63
JUSTINE WINTJES & LAURA DE HARDE	
Rock art as technology of enchantment	63
The art of copying	65
Elizabeth Goodall	66
Diana's Vow	68
Nyambavu	72
Being and becoming	76

Part II	Ontologies	79
Chapter 7	Art, rationality and nature: human origins beyond the unity of knowledge	81
	MARTIN PORR	
	The paradox of modern human origins, art and culture	82
	Art, nature and humanity	83
	Art, nature and the unity of knowledge?	86
	Back to South Africa	88
Chapter 8	Birds, beasts and relatives: animal subjectivities and frontier encounters	91
	RACHEL KING & MARK McGRANAGHAN	
	Relatives and relativism	92
	Horse-ostriches of the Strandberg	95
	Between beasts and goods in the Maloti-Drakensberg	100
	Conclusion	105
Chapter 9	Art, animals and animism: on the trail of the precolonial	111
	CHRIS WINGFIELD	
	Disentangling the nexus	113
	On Campbell's trail	115
	Other travellers	119
	BaHurutshe art	121
	Conclusion: art and animals on South Africa's northern frontier	121
Chapter 10	A discourse on colour: assessing aesthetic patterns in the 'swift people' panel at Ezeljagdspoor, Western Cape, South Africa	127
	M. HAYDEN	
	The aesthetic role of colour	127
	Evolution of a motif	127
	Polysemic implications	130
	Colour analysis	131
	Metaphoric implications of colour valence	135
	Exploring the concept of actualization	136
Part III	Agents	141
Chapter 11	Unsettling narratives: on three stone objects answering back	143
	DAVID MORRIS	
	Dramatis personae	144
	Becoming iconic	147
	Answering back: an ontological turn	150
	'Things that talk': three concluding remarks	153
Chapter 12	Art and the everyday: gold, ceramics and meaning in thirteenth-century Mapungubwe	159
	CERI ASHLEY & ALEXANDER ANTONITES	
	What is art?	162
	Exploring Mapungubwe	163
	How are pots being used?	164
	Understanding Mapungubwe ceramics	165
	Conclusion	166
Chapter 13	Presences in the archive: <i>Amagugu</i> (treasures) from the Zulu kingdom at the British Museum	169
	CATHERINE ELLIOTT WEINBERG	
	Presences (and absences) in the archive	169
	Agency and archive	170
	Biography and backstory	172

Backstory (pre-museum life story): Wolseley, no ordinary ‘Tommy’, and Cetshwayo kaMpande	173
Biography (museum life story): ‘ethnographization’ and beyond	178
Conclusion	179
 <i>Chapter 14</i> Considering the consequences of light and shadow in some nineteenth-, twentieth- and twenty-first-century South African images	 183
NESSA LEIBHAMMER	
Introduction	183
Scope and aim	184
Seeing the light	185
Away from deterministic frameworks	188
Invocations of immanence	190
Line and light: mission images	192
Kemang Wa Lehulere: disrupted fields of authority	193
Conclusion	195
 <i>Chapter 15</i> The day Rhodes fell: a reflection on the state of the nation and art in South Africa	 199
SAME MDLULI	

CONTRIBUTORS

CERI ASHLEY

Department of Africa, Oceania and the Americas,
The British Museum, Great Russell Street,
London WC1B 3DG, UK
Department of Anthropology & Archaeology,
University of Pretoria, Pretoria, South Africa
Email: CAshley@britishmuseum.org

ALEXANDER ANTONITES

Department of Anthropology and Archaeology,
University of Pretoria, Pretoria, South Africa
Email: alexander.antonites@up.ac.za

MICHAEL CHAZAN

Department of Anthropology, University of
Toronto, 19 Ursula Franklin Street, Toronto, Ont.
M5S2S2, Canada
Email: mchazan@chass.utoronto.ca

CATHERINE ELLIOTT WEINBERG

Formerly Sainsbury Research Unit, University of
East Anglia, Norwich, NR4 7TJ, UK
Email: crelliottweinberg@gmail.com

PER DITLEF FREDRIKSEN

Department of Archaeology, Conservation and
History, University of Oslo, PO Box 1019, N-0315
Oslo, Norway
Email: p.d.fredriksen@iakh.uio.no

JOHN GIBLIN

Department of World Cultures, National Museums
Scotland, Chambers Street, Edinburgh, EH1 1JF, UK
Email: j.giblin@nms.ac.uk

MARK McGRANAGHAN

Email: markmcgranaghan@gmail.com

LAURA DE HARDE

Wits School of Arts (WSOA), University of the
Witwatersrand, 1 Jan Smuts Avenue, Braamfontein
2000, South Africa
Email: laura.deharde@gmail.com

M. HAYDEN

History of Art, Wits School of Arts (WSOA),
University of the Witwatersrand, 1 Jan Smuts
Avenue, Braamfontein 2000, South Africa
Email: 838484@students.wits.ac.za

RACHEL KING

Institute of Archaeology, University College
London, 31–34 Gordon Square, London
WC1H 0PY, UK
Rock Art Research Institute, University of the
Witwatersrand, 1 Jan Smuts Avenue, Braamfontein
2000, South Africa
Email: tcnrki@ucl.ac.uk

NESSA LEIBHAMMER

Archive and Public Culture Research Initiative,
The John Berndt Thought Space, A C Jordan
Building, University of Cape Town, Private Bag X3,
Rondebosch 7701, South Africa
Email: nmleibhammer@gmail.com

SAME MDLULI

Arts Research Africa, Wits School of Arts (WSOA),
University of the Witwatersrand, 1 Jan Smuts
Avenue, Braamfontein 2000, South Africa
Email: A0031677@wits.ac.za/samemdluli@gmail.com

DAVID MORRIS

Archaeology Department, McGregor Museum, and
Sol Plaatje University, P.O. Box 316, Kimberley 8300,
South Africa
Email: dmorriskby@gmail.com

CATHERINE NAMONO

School of Geography, Archaeology &
Environmental Studies, Faculty of Science,
University of the Witwatersrand, 1 Jan Smuts
Avenue, Braamfontein 2000, South Africa
Email: Catherine.Namono@wits.ac.za

MARTIN PORR

Archaeology/Centre for Rock Art Research +
Management, School of Social Sciences, University
of Western Australia, 35 Stirling Highway, Crawley
6009, Australia
Email: martin.porr@uwa.edu.au

JOHAN VAN SCHALKWYK

Formerly Ditsong National Museum of Cultural
History, Pretoria, South Africa
Email: jvschalkwyk@mweb.co.za

LARISSA SNOW

Formerly University of Witwatersrand,
Email: larissasnow@hotmail.co.uk

CHRIS WINGFIELD

Sainsbury Research Unit, University of East Anglia,
Norwich, NR4 7TJ, UK
Email: Chris.Wingfield@uea.ac.uk

JUSTINE WINTJES

Wits School of Arts (WSOA) & Wits Institute for
Social and Economic Research (WISER), University
of the Witwatersrand, 1 Jan Smuts Avenue,
Braamfontein 2000, South Africa
KwaZulu-Natal Museum, 237 Jabu Ndlovu Street,
Pietermaritzburg 3200, South Africa
Email: jwintjes@nmsa.org.za

Figures

1.1	<i>Chumani Maxwele's poo protest at the University of Cape Town.</i>	2
1.2	<i>Cecil John Rhodes statue pelted with excrement.</i>	4
1.3	<i>Chapungu, the Day Rhodes Fell, Sethembile Msezane, 2015.</i>	8
2.1	<i>Map showing sites mentioned in the chapter.</i>	22
2.2	<i>Two views of the Later Stone Age incised slabs from Wonderwerk Cave.</i>	25
2.3	<i>Details of the incised Later Stone Age slab from Wonderwerk Cave.</i>	26
3.1	<i>Map showing regions mentioned in the chapter.</i>	32
3.2	<i>A selection of forms of decoration found on arrows in museum collections.</i>	34
3.3	<i>Schematic drawing of a painted rockshelter scene in the Maclear District.</i>	35
3.4	<i>Digitized Film Stills from John Marshall's 1952–3 film Rite of Passage.</i>	36
4.1	<i>Skilled hands shaping a pot, Limpopo Province.</i>	42
4.2	<i>The study area and sites named in the text.</i>	43
4.3	<i>Example of Moloko pottery.</i>	44
4.4	<i>Shimmering muscovite mica inclusions in a Moloko pottery sherd.</i>	47
5.1	<i>Location of the Makgabeng in Limpopo Province, South Africa.</i>	52
5.2	<i>Older rock art linked to initiation.</i>	53
5.3	<i>Recent rock art linked to colonial contact / political protest.</i>	53
5.4	<i>Percentage of sites with dominant rock art motifs.</i>	54
5.5	<i>Percentage of sites showing co-occurrences of different motif types.</i>	54
5.6	<i>Northern Sotho rock art showing clothed men and women.</i>	55
5.7	<i>Close-up of the panel with male figure holding the female figure.</i>	56
5.8	<i>Rock shelter showing the context of the panel in Figure 5.7.</i>	56
5.9	<i>Images interspersed with animal motifs.</i>	57
5.10	<i>Images with hands 'akimbo' and wearing shoes.</i>	58
5.11	<i>The smock (ele) worn by women as part of Northern Sotho ethnic costume.</i>	60
5.12	<i>Woman wearing skin apron below her cotton fabric dress.</i>	60
6.1	<i>Map showing sites mentioned in the chapter.</i>	64
6.2	<i>Repeat photography sequence of the main panel at Diana's Vow.</i>	66
6.3	<i>The Mannsfeld-after-Lutz copy, c. 1930.</i>	67
6.4	<i>Undated copy of the main panel at Diana's Vow by Elizabeth Goodall.</i>	70
6.5	<i>Illustration of an undated copy of the main panel at Diana's Vow by Goodall.</i>	70
6.6	<i>Different views of the main panel.</i>	71
6.7	<i>1928 copy by Joachim Lutz and Maria Weyersberg of the panel at Nyambavu.</i>	72
6.8	<i>Illustration of the main panel at Nyambavu by Elizabeth Goodall.</i>	73
6.9	<i>The panel at Nyambavu: photograph by the Frobenius expedition and a recent image.</i>	74
6.10	<i>The Goodalls' grave at Warren Hills Cemetery, 2016.</i>	75
7.1	<i>Map showing sites mentioned in the chapter.</i>	82
8.1	<i>Regional locator map showing the Strandberg Hills and Maloti-Drakensberg.</i>	93
8.2	<i>Jackal hunting scene with Afrikaans text.</i>	96
8.3	<i>Historical-period ostrich engravings.</i>	97
8.4	<i>'Fat' ostriches in a panel with eland.</i>	98
8.5	<i>'Swan-necked' horse.</i>	98
8.6	<i>Horse-ostrich conflation.</i>	99
8.7	<i>Bird-human conflation and lion juxtaposed with a man with clawed feet.</i>	100
8.8	<i>Map showing significant archaeological sites in the Maloti-Drakensberg.</i>	101
8.9	<i>Re-drawing of MTM1 Panel.</i>	102
8.10	<i>Detail of cattle therianthropes and bags at MTM1.</i>	103
9.1	<i>'Interior of Sinosee's house, Kurreechane', 1822.</i>	112
9.2	<i>Map showing sites mentioned in the chapter.</i>	113
9.3	<i>The art nexus surrounding 'Interior of Sinosee's House, Kurreechane'.</i>	114
9.4	<i>Original sketch showing the interior of Senosi's house.</i>	116
9.5	<i>Original sketch showing the corn store of Mocketz, son of Senosi.</i>	117

9.6	Original sketch showing the interior of another house at Kaditshwene.	118
9.7	'Section & plan of a Bachapin house', William Burchell, 1824.	120
9.8	Tswana or kora knife with its sheath, Robert Gordon, 1777–1786.	122
9.9	Illustration from Lichtenstein's Travels in southern Africa, 1803–1806.	122
9.10	Original sketch showing the regent Diutlwileng and Moitwa the second.	123
9.11	Staircase of the old British Museum, Montague House, 1845.	124
10.1	Map showing the location of Ezeljagdspoor.	128
10.2	Ezeljagdspoor 'swift people' motif, true colour enhancement, 2011.	128
10.3	Ezeljagdspoor site, 2011.	129
10.4	Four copies of the Ezeljagdspoor rock painting.	130
10.5	'Swift people' motif outlined with subtle use of black and white pigment.	131
10.6	Ezeljagdspoor site, quadrant division of painted panel for colour analysis.	132
10.7	Indeterminate antelope depicted in integrated use of colour.	133
10.8	The 'swift people' group, Enhanced False Colour.	133
10.9	Replicated oval-like composition similar to 'swift people' motif.	134
10.10	Figurative images superimposed on swaths of red or yellow colouring.	135
11.1	Map showing locations from which artefacts originated.	144
11.2	Block of andesite with engraved quagga, removed from Wildebeest Kuil.	145
11.3	Sculptured stone head found at the outskirts of Kimberley in 1899.	146
11.4	Stone handaxe excavated in 1980 at Kathu.	147
12.1	Map showing sites mentioned in the chapter.	160
12.2	Image showing partially excavated grave at Mapungubwe.	161
12.3	Photograph reproduced in Fouché showing Van Tonder at Mapungubwe.	161
13.1	Amagugu (treasures) at the British Museum.	170
13.2	Map showing sites mentioned in the chapter.	171
13.3	'Cetshwayo ka Mpande' photograph by Alexander Bassano, 1882.	172
13.4	'Garnet Joseph Wolseley' painting by Paul Albert Besnard, 1880.	174
13.5	'Cetewayo's milk-pails, dish and pillows', Illustrated Interviews, 1893.	175
13.6	Objects on display in the Wolseley family home, 1905 and 1907.	176
13.7	'...finding some of Cetewayo's treasures', Illustrated London News, 1879.	177
14.1	Map showing sites mentioned in the chapter.	184
14.2	Evening Prayers at Moria by Charles Davidson Bell, 1834.	186
14.3	Fingo village Fort Beaufort 1848, painting by Thomas Baines.	187
14.4	Fingo village Fort Beaufort 1848, sketch by Thomas Baines.	188
14.5	Three trancing shamans by Joseph Millerd Orpen, 1874, Melikane, Lesotho.	189
14.6	Copy of section of rock art panel by Patricia Vinnicombe, late twentieth century.	190
14.7	Still life with Sangoma's bones and other objects, painting by Simon Moroke Lekgetho, 1964.	191
14.8	Portrait of induna/headman Umdamane by unknown photographer.	192
14.9	Mirror-inverted engraving that appeared in the Mariannhiller Kalender V, 1893.	193
14.10	The grave step by Kemang Wa Lehulere, 2014.	194
15.1	Map showing sites mentioned in the chapter.	200
15.2	Chapungu – the Day Rhodes Fell, 2015, by Sethembile Msezane.	201
15.3	Chapungu – the Return to Great Zimbabwe, 2015, by Sethembile Msezane.	202

Acknowledgements

This volume is the ultimate result of a conference with the same title, held on 27–29 October 2016 to mark the opening of the British Museum exhibition *South Africa: the art of a nation*. The conference was a collaboration between the British Museum, where John Giblin was Head of Africa Section at the time, and the University of Cambridge, where Chris Wingfield was a Curator at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology and Rachel King was Smuts Research Fellow at the Centre of African Studies. We are each grateful to those institutions and our colleagues there for supporting us in hosting this conference.

We are also grateful for the financial support offered for the conference by the Centre of African Studies and the Smuts Memorial Fund at Cambridge, who each funded the participation of one South African scholar. We also extend our thanks to Peter Mitchell and Paul Lane for supporting our funding applications. We are especially grateful to the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, and to Cyprian Broodbank in particular, for considering our request for funding and then offering to double it, even if this offer came with the condition that at least some of the conference be held in Cambridge – which involved us attempting to lure assembled scholars onto a 7 a.m. coach for the British Museum with promises of fresh coffee and croissants, the morning after the conference dinner! Not everyone made it....

The combined funding enabled us to invite Same Mdluli, David Morris and Justine Wintjes, whose work is included in this volume, as well as Mbongiseni Buthelezi and Carolyn Hamilton to participate in the conference. We were especially honoured to hold the

very first launch of Carolyn and Nessa Leibhammer's edited volume, *Tribing and Untribing the Archive*, at the Museum of Archaeology & Anthropology as part of the conference programme.

The ongoing support of the McDonald Institute in making this publication possible is deeply appreciated – especially that of James Barrett, Emma Jarman and Ben Plumridge. We are also grateful to two anonymous reviewers of the volume for their comments and support, and to Mark McGranaghan for his assistance with standardizing the diacritics for languages that were never supposed to be written down!

As editors, we are especially grateful for the forbearance of the contributors to this volume over the period of four years that has elapsed between the conference and the publication of this volume. As a mitigating circumstance, we would just note that as well as a wedding, a baby and a family relocation to Cape Town and back between us, each of us has also moved to new jobs in new cities during that period – Rachel to the Institute of Archaeology at University College London where she is now Lecturer in Cultural Heritage Studies, John to National Museums Scotland, where he is now Keeper for the Department of World Cultures, and Chris to the Sainsbury Research Unit at the University of East Anglia, where he is now Associate Professor in the Arts of Africa. We can only hope that the extended period has enabled each of the papers in this volume to develop to a fuller maturity!

Chris Wingfield
John Giblin
Rachel King

Chapter 5

Appropriating colonial dress in the rock art of the Makgabeng plateau, South Africa

Catherine Namono & Johan van Schalkwyk

The Makgabeng plateau in Limpopo Province, northern South Africa (Fig. 5.1) is one of four distinct rock art areas within the Central Limpopo Basin, aside from Soutpansberg, the Limpopo-Shashe Confluence Area and north-eastern Venda (Eastwood 2003, 14). The Makgabeng has three rock art traditions, often found in the same shelters: that associated with hunter-gatherers, Khoekhoe herders and Ntu language-speaking farmers (Hall & Smith 2000; Eastwood & Van Schalkwyk, 2001; Eastwood et. al. 2002; Eastwood 2003; Smith & Van Schalkwyk 2002). On the Makgabeng, there are 617 recorded rock art sites and 398 of these contain rock paintings made by Ntu language-speaking Northern Sotho (Namono & Eastwood, 2005, 2).

Northern Sotho rock art tradition comprises two categories: one linked to initiation and thematically gendered; the other is linked to nineteenth- and early twentieth-century political protest and colonial contact. Rock art linked to boys' initiation comprises human figures and images of about 20 different animal species, as well as crocodilian motifs called *kôma* (Fig. 5.2a) (Moodley 2008; Van Schalkwyk & Smith 2004; Smith & Van Schalkwyk 2002; Hall & Smith 2000). Imagery linked to girls' initiation comprises geometric designs and a spread-eagled motif called *kôma* (Fig. 5.2b) (Namono 2004; Eastwood & Tlouamma 2003) or *kôma ya basadi* (Namono & Eastwood 2005). The second category, of political protest and colonial contact rock art, includes depictions of figures in colonial clothing, figures mounted on horses with guns, gun-wielding figures on foot, figures with hands on their hips, as well as wagons, motor vehicles and trains (Fig. 5.3a & b).

Field research conducted by RARI staff and Edward Eastwood on the Makgabeng plateau between 1999 and 2008 indicates that of the 398 recorded Northern Sotho rock art sites on the plateau, 56 per cent have imagery mainly attributed to boys' initiation, 20 per cent to girls' initiation and 24 per cent to

colonial contact or protest (Fig. 5.4). 29 per cent of the sites have images linked to both girls' and boys' initiation (Fig. 5.5). 13 per cent of the 398 sites have images linked to all three themes while 44 per cent are associated with boys' initiation and colonial material culture. Only 14 per cent of the sites have girls' initiation imagery and colonial material culture motifs occurring together. This implies that colonial material culture and initiation imagery occur together at 71 per cent of the sites.

This paper considers the relationship between colonial and initiation imagery, the probable intention(s) of its makers, as well as the Northern Sotho experience of colonialism, particularly in relation to the introduction of European styles of clothing by German missionaries. We argue that the Africans appropriated European dress and through their rock art re-signified or symbolized it, as part of a process of reconstituting their identity to become 'Northern Sotho'.

Arrivals and departures in the landscape

According to Krige (1937), the Northern Sotho of the Makgabeng plateau include people who identify as Koni, Moletše, Birwa, Tšhadibe, Tlokwa, Tau and Hananwa (Krige 1937, 354;). Krige cites oral traditions identifying the Koni of Kgoši Matala as the earliest farming inhabitants of the Makgabeng plateau, believed to have arrived around AD 1730 (Krige 1937). The Koni were followed by the Moletše and people who self-identified as Tlokwa, between AD 1756 and AD 1760 (Morton 2013). Eastwood & van Schalkwyk (2003) suggest that around AD 1800, the Hananwa, under their founder Kgoši Sebudi Lebôhò (Malebôhò), joined the Birwa, Venda, Ralotang, Motlatlane and Madibana on the Blouberg Mountain (Eastwood & Van Schalkwyk 2003), from where they began to rule over most of the Makgabeng area (Krige 1937).

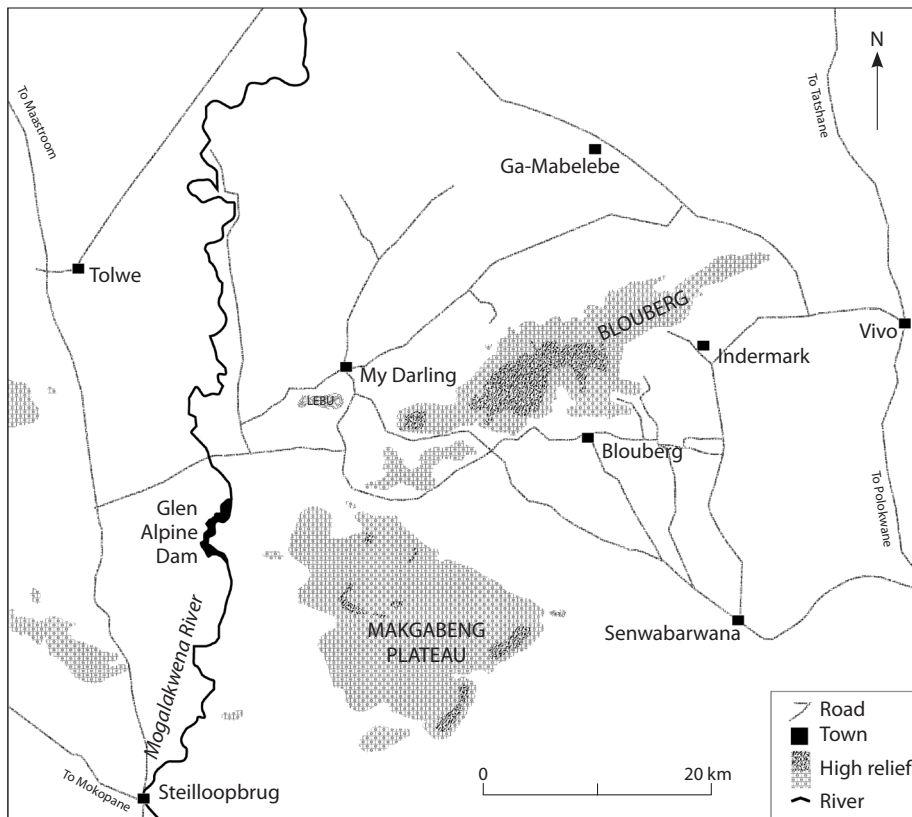


Figure 5.1. Location of the Makgabeng in Limpopo Province, South Africa.

According to Makhura (1997) and Morton (2009), Dutch-born Coenraad de Buys, leader of a racially mixed community (mainly Bastards, Corannas and Griquas) known as the Buys people, or the *maSetedi*, also settled on the Blouberg and the western extreme of the Soutpansberg in the 1820s (Makhura 1997, 193–4; Morton 2009, 7). Apart from individual hunters, travelers and traders, early contact with other whites was initiated by the arrival of two parties of Voortrekkers from the Cape during 1836. This contact became more sustained after the establishment of a longer lasting settlement at Schoemansdal (1848–67) in the nearby Soutpansberg mountain range, Limpopo. The rock art on the plateau depicts wagons and people dressed in western clothes that may reflect local encounters with early traders and missionaries.

Peter Delius (2001) argues that early African Christians were mainly migrant workers who had encountered Christianity during their sojourns in places like the Cape Colony and Natal (Delius 2001, 431) and who, upon their return home, converted others. According to Delius (2001, 436), early European missionaries to areas like the Makgabeng depended heavily on the linguistic, social and political skills of such migrant converts.

European missionary activity began in the area during the 1860s, after Rev. S. Hofmeyr, of the

Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) in the Cape Province, obtained permission from the Hananwa chief, (Kgoši) Matseokwane, to establish a mission station in the Blouberg and Makgabeng region. Since he could not find a missionary from DRC to send, he permitted the Berlin Mission Society to establish a mission in November 1868. Rev. E.B. Beyer initiated the first station, called Blaauwberg, located at the foot of the Blouberg, where he stayed until 1874. Initially the local inhabitants had good relations with the mission, and Kgoši Matseokwane allowed the community to attend church, except during the initiation school period. However, he was later angered when his Headman, Moses Makeere, converted to Christianity and abandoned the *dipheko* (divining stick) that Kgoši Matseokwane had personally given to him. Matseokwane is said to have allowed the *Baroa* (San / Bushman descendants) to settle next to the mission station to provoke the missionaries.

In 1870, a mission station was established in the Makgabeng plateau by Rev. R.F.G. Trümpelmann. In 1875, Trümpelmann left because, according to him, the area was becoming 'too dangerous' and difficult due to droughts and fever epidemics. Missionary Herbst followed Trümpelmann, but in 1894 the Blouberg mission and the Makgabeng mission stations merged, and by 1896, Makgabeng was regarded as an outstation for the Blaauwberg station. In 1892, Missionary Sonntag

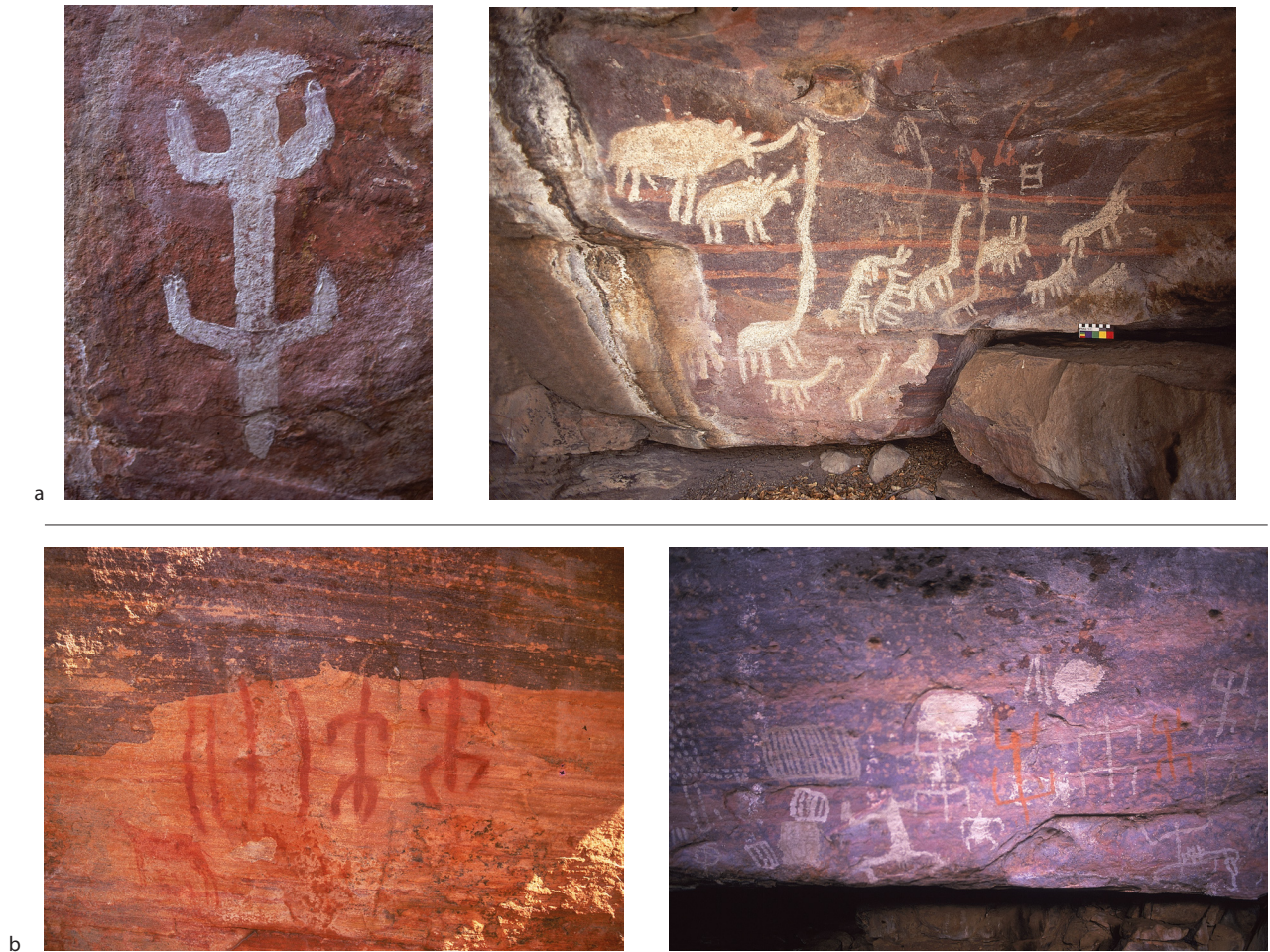


Figure 5.2. Older rock art linked to initiation; (a) images associated with boys' initiation and (b) are associated with girls' initiation. Photographs courtesy and copyright The Rock Art Research Institute, South Africa, www.sarada.co.za. University of Witwatersrand. South African Rock Art Digital Archive Ref Nos. (a) RARI-RSA-BOE5-18 & RARI-RSA-BOE8-4; (b) RARI-RSA-BOE18-3 & RARI-RSA-TOO74-8.

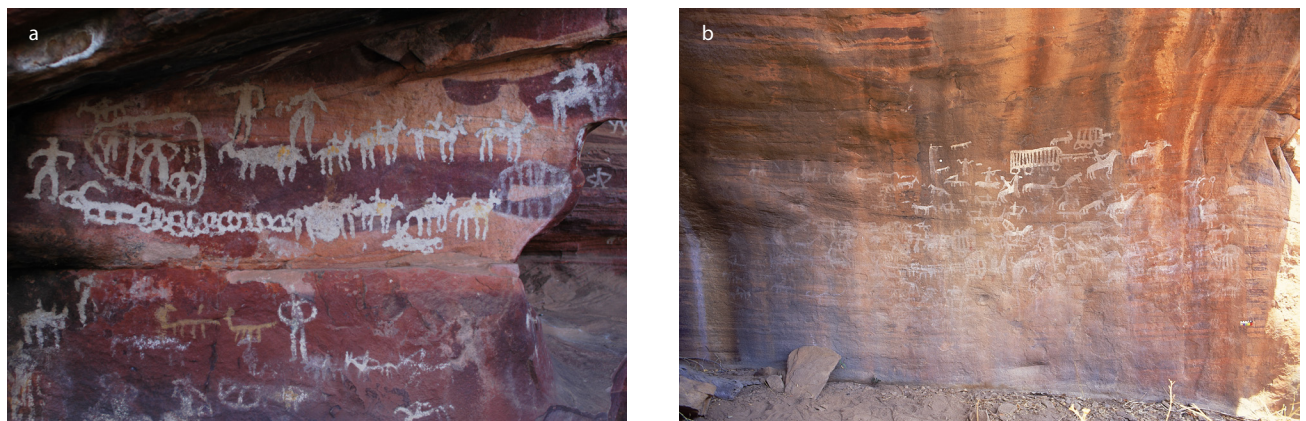


Figure 5.3. Recent rock art linked to colonial contact / political protest. Photographs courtesy and copyright The Rock Art Research Institute, South Africa, www.sarada.co.za. University of Witwatersrand. South African Rock Art Digital Archive Ref No. RARI-RSA-BOE16-27D & RARI-RSA-BOE24-1.

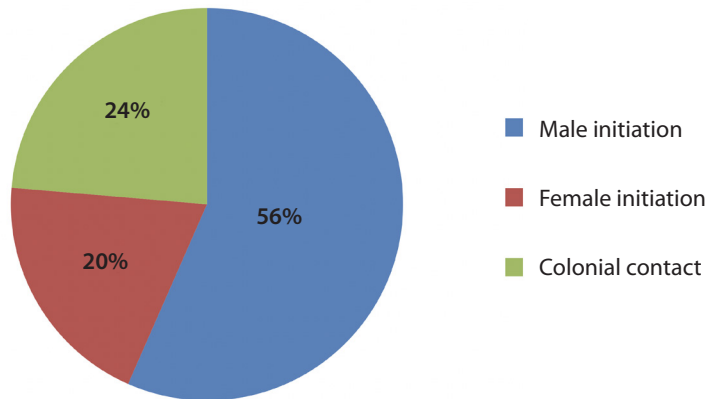


Figure 5.4. Percentage of sites where rock art motifs associated with male initiation, female initiation or colonial contact are dominant, from 398 Northern Sotho rock art sites recorded on the Makgabeng plateau.

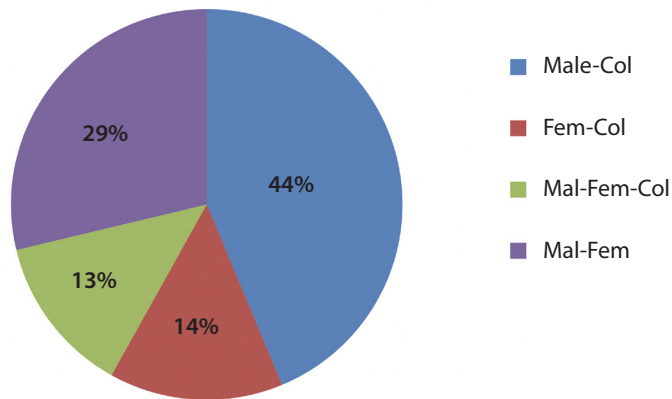


Figure 5.5. Percentage of sites showing the co-occurrences of different motif types, from 398 Northern Sotho rock art sites recorded on the Makgabeng plateau.

arrived at Blaauwberg to find conflicts between Kgoši Kgalushi Leboho, white farmers and their local representative Barend Vorster, Native Commissioner for the South Africa Republic (ZAR), based at Kalkbank, Soutpansberg, approximately 50 km south of Blouberg.

Following British defeat during the first South African War of 1880–1, the area had been regarded as part of the legitimate sphere of influence of the South African Republic (ZAR) in the Transvaal. After Kgoši Kgalushi Leboho refused to pay taxes to the ZAR, the then President Paul Kruger was determined to crush African independence in the region, resulting in the Malebôh war of 1894 (Sonntag 1983; Van Schalkwyk & Moifatswane 1991; Joubert & Van Schalkwyk, 1999). Many Northern Sotho took refuge in the Makgabeng, and the mission station became a place of refuge for Christians and non-Christians alike. Missionary Sonntag defended the Hananwa during the war but was mistrusted by both sides. During the siege of Kgalushi's capital, Sonntag convinced the Kgoši to surrender.

After the siege, Kgalushi was imprisoned for 7 years in a Pretoria prison with most of his councillors. In 1897, Sonntag left the Blaauwberg following the death of his wife and was replaced by another missionary, Rev.

Franz. In 1900, when the British overran Pretoria during the Second South African War, they released Kgalushi and his councillors. Upon release from prison, Kgalushi returned to Makgabeng and rejected the influence of the missionaries, establishing an initiation school on the land held by the mission station as a deliberate provocation. Commissioner Vorster and missionary Franz set fire to the lodge, further inflaming tension between the chief and the missionaries.

It is clear that initiation was a key point of tension in the relationships that unfolded between missionaries and chiefs. The establishment of initiation schools was a key chiefly prerogative, and participation in them is one of the ways in which subjects demonstrated their support, so missionary opposition to what were understood as pagan rites constituted a direct challenge to chiefly authority. The male and female initiation rituals of *bjale* and *bodika* are central to developing and entrenching Northern Sotho collective (social) identity. These ceremonies mark the transition into adulthood of boys and girls and involve instruction about appropriate adult behaviour. Initiation becomes a reference point for the rest of one's life; membership and the characteristics of one's initiation regiment (*mephato*), which generally takes its name from the

chief's sons who led the boys through the rites, are central to adult identity. Changes in forms of dress are one of the ways in which this transition to adulthood has typically been marked (James 1996, 4). Therefore, it is no doubt significant that, as noted above, initiation imagery and depictions of colonial material culture, and particularly European clothing, occur together at 71 per cent of sites in the Makgabeng plateau. What we have described above, from the arrival of colonial traders and missionaries, to the Malebôh war of 1894, contributed in one way or another to the new iconography found in the rock art discussed in this paper.

Rock art re-signified

Smith & Van Schalkwyk (2002) and Van Schalkwyk & Smith (2004) have argued that many of the depictions of Western material culture were made as pointed humour, to chronicle a political struggle, and to serve as a form of catharsis in relation to the 1894 war against

the ZAR government. Here we intend to consider 'struggle', in a more complex and culturally manifested manner. Rock art can shed light on indigenous perspectives on, and responses to, colonization, and we suggest that many of the depictions of European clothing may have been subtle acts of artistic rebellion against forms of imposed missionary discipline, demeanour and control.

Some of the 398 Northern Sotho rock art sites are easily visible and accessible, but most are not because those associated with initiation are often in secluded areas, far away from areas of settlement. The rock art imagery discussed here focuses on depictions of figures in Western clothing or demonstrating forms of Western demeanour, such as holding hands or standing with hands on the hips (Figs. 5.6–10). Figure 5.6 depicts human figures wearing typically male and female forms of clothing, trousers and long dresses, holding hands in a line. Those with dresses all seem to wear a black belt around the waist. This might be



Figure 5.6. *The women in crinolines, men in shirts and trousers, and men and women holding hands. The bottom part of this panel has imagery associated with boys' initiation. Photograph courtesy and copyright The Rock Art Research Institute, South Africa, www.sarada.co.za. University of Witwatersrand. South African Rock Art Digital Archive Ref No. RARI-EEC-RSA-BLA46-1.*



Figure 5.7. A close-up of the panel showing the male figure holding the female figure as if dancing. Both are wearing colonial clothing. Photograph courtesy and copyright The Rock Art Research Institute, South Africa, www.sarada.co.za. University of Witwatersrand. South African Rock Art Digital Archive Ref No. RARI-RSA-TOO1-44.



Figure 5.8. The site showing the context of the panel in Figure 5.7 and the rock art linked to initiation. Photograph courtesy and copyright The Rock Art Research Institute, South Africa, www.sarada.co.za. University of Witwatersrand. South African Rock Art Digital Archive Ref No. RARI-RSA-TOO1-1.

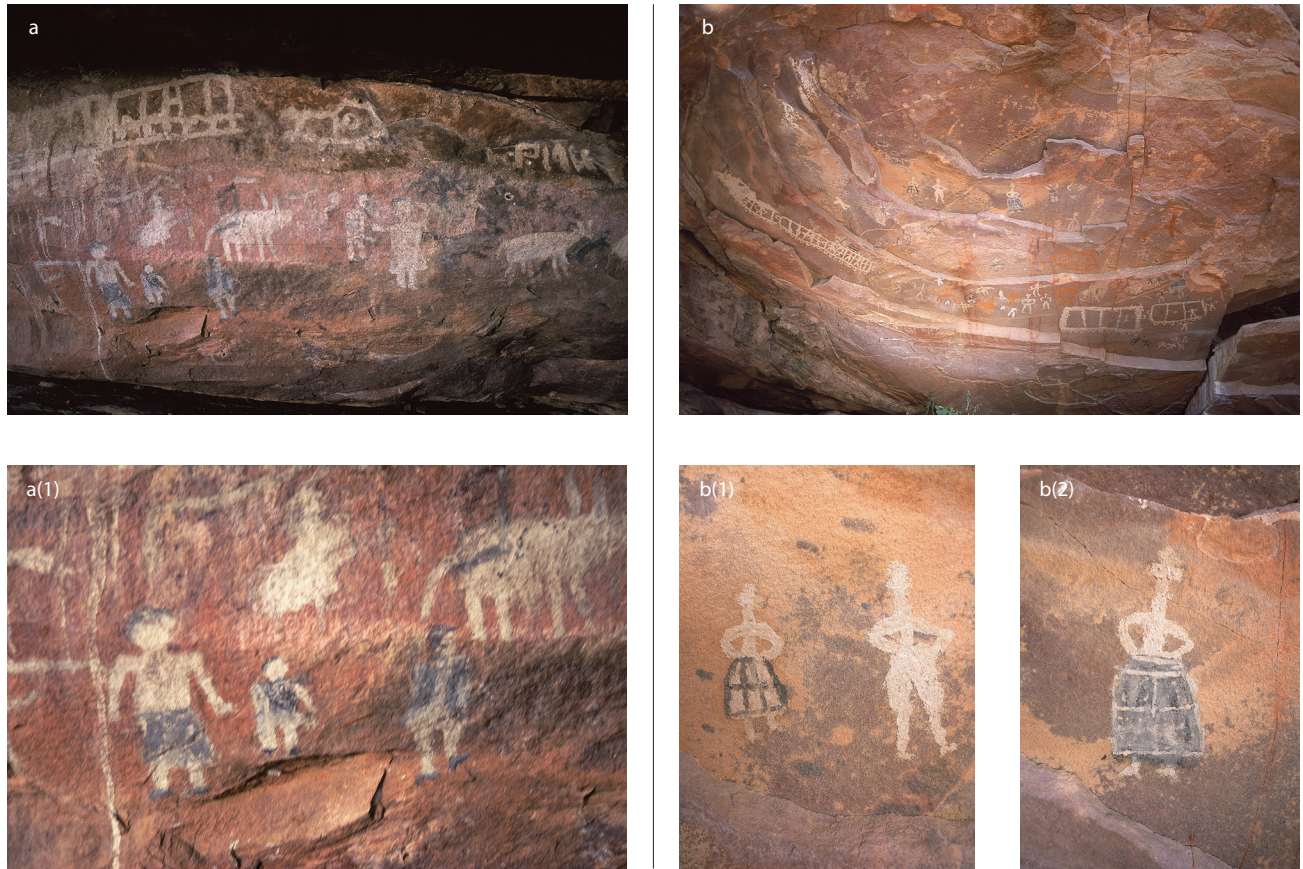


Figure 5.9. Images interspersed with animal motifs. The figures appear to be dressed in elaborate stiff skirts (b1 & 2) and knickerbockers (b1). In figure a (1), two images are dressed in what appear to be waistcoats. Photographs courtesy and copyright The Rock Art Research Institute, South Africa, www.sarada.co.za. University of Witwatersrand. South African Rock Art Digital Archive Ref Nos. (a) RARI-RSA-NIE3-35; (a1) RARI-RSA-NIE3-19; (b) RARI-RSA-LNG1-85; (b1) RARI-RSA-LNG1-18; (b2) RARI-RSA-LNG1-20.

an indication of a costume that was worn during folk dancing (Afrikaans = *volkspele*), or a maypole festival, associated with spring, and Germanic in origin. Such traditions and symbolism would likely have resonated well with the Northern Sotho given their celebration of their various communal rituals, such as the preparation of the seeds for planting (*go ntšha pēu*), first fruits ritual (*go loma lerôtse*), and other rites associated with fertility.

In Figure 5.7, a male figure is depicted wearing a hat, waistcoat, shirt, trouser, and shoes. He appears to have one hand on his waist and the other holding that of a female figure wearing a dress and shoes, probably with a scarf on her head. These figures appear to be dancing inside a house. The house appears to be a typical Northern Sotho cone-on-cylinder structure with a thatched roof, indicated by the central apex for the thatch. However, the door indicates western influence of 90-degree doorframes. The location of this panel in

a ‘pocket’ is indicated by a red rectangle in Figure 5.8, adjacent to a larger panel of colonial contact and boys’ initiation motifs in the foreground.

In Figure 5.9a & b, human figures and colonial contact imagery are interspersed with animal imagery normally associated with boys’ initiation. Details in (Fig. 5.9a 1) and (Fig. 5.9b 1 & 2) depict pointed or high heeled shoes, riding boots (Fig. 5.9b 1), waist-coats, hats, skirts, as well as dresses with probable crinolines (Fig. 5.9b 1 & 2). In Figure 5.10, human figures, possibly female, are depicted wearing head gear, heeled shoes, dresses or skirts; while other figures, probably male, are shown wearing boots and trousers in a stance with their arms on their hips. In the redrawing on the right of Figure 5.10, the group at the bottom are depicted in a line, holding hands.

These painted panels provide examples Northern Sotho depictions of colonial material culture in rock art, and suggest that gestural patterns and items of



Figure 5.10. Images with hands 'akimbo' appear to be wearing shoes; men are wearing trousers and women are dressed in short dresses. Shown alongside reverse ground redrawing. Photograph and drawing courtesy and copyright The Rock Art Research Institute, South Africa, www.sarada.co.za. University of Witwatersrand. South African Rock Art Digital Archive Ref Nos. RARI-RSA-BOE16-14D & RARI-RSA-BOE16-2R.

European clothing were key features of many of these rock art images.

Clothing, costume, dress

Robert Ross (2008, 6) has defined clothing as 'items of apparel, generally but by no means always made of some form of textile, leather and so forth' and dress as 'the complete look, including for instance hair styling, tattooing and cosmetic scarification as well as items of apparel'. According to Ross (2008, 6) 'costume' denotes both dress and clothing; it may be peculiar to a nation, region, group, or historical period and may be regional or localized, every day, ceremonial or ritual; it demonstrates unambiguity and denotes specific identity. According to Pierre Bourdieu (1986) clothing can also function as a marker of social class, an aspect of cultural capital that allows elites to establish, maintain and reproduce positions of power, thus reinforcing relations of dominance and subordination; the well-to-do in society wear fine clothes to communicate their social status.

Clothing can be a powerful expression of identity and culture, and since these are fluid, what one wears often portrays how shifts in culture and identities are reconstituted and reflected. Clothes are 'lived garments' and have the ability to transform the body (Entwistle 2000; Küchler & Miller 2005) and communicate nonverbally. Particular items of clothing serve as signifiers of status and may be functional, fashionable or both. In many societies, there are special clothes for specific special events such as initiations, weddings

or funerals. Clothes can also communicate a person's age, gender, marital status, and ethnicity, personality as well as social and economic status. For example, as a sign of mourning, a Northern Sotho widow's body, as well as her front and back skin aprons were traditionally blackened with a mixture of fat, earth and the burnt kernel of the *motšhidi* (*Ximenia caffra*) fruit, and the tips of her double-pointed back apron were cut off (Pauw 1990, 79). Upon menopause, Northern Sotho women would turn the 'tail' of the back apron to the side (Wood 2002, 86).

The anthropologist Terence Turner (1980) coined the term 'the social body' to refer to various dimensions of body adornment, such as decorations and modifications of the flesh, hair fashion, cosmetics, masking and costumes, tattooing, piercing, and scarification, body fattening or thinning, muscular development, and cosmetic surgery and the social context in which people act and through which they are shaped. According to him, the surface of one's body is a boundary of the individual as a biological and psychological entity, but also a frontier of the social self, the part that interacted with the rest of society, reflecting outwardly what society perceives of it:

The surface of the body, as the common frontier of society, the social self, and the psychobiological individual; becomes the symbolic stage upon which the drama of socialization is enacted, and bodily adornment (in all its culturally multifarious forms, from body-painting to clothing and

from feather head-dresses to cosmetics) becomes the language through which it is expressed (Turner 1980, 112).

Drawing on Turner's concept of the social body, alongside those who regard costume as a form of material culture, we analyse colonial depictions in Northern Sotho rock art and attempt to look beyond the purely visual to understand the intentionality and reference of what was depicted. This approach will enable an analysis of how the Northern Sotho appropriated clothes and embodied these with new symbolism and/or meaning amidst the changes and challenges of daily life brought by colonial encounters. This line of enquiry considers the socio-economic conditions that pertained between the Northern Sotho and colonial influences, in the context of what was painted and why it was depicted. This approach draws on Alfred Gell's (1998, 17) argument that we should look at what images do, rather than simply focusing on what they represent. We argue that the images of colonial material culture in the rock art form part of a process of appropriation, of narration, and of engagement with new symbols and values.

Clothing Christianity

According to Comaroff & Comaroff (1997, 222), clothing was at the heart of dialogue between Africans and Europeans in terms of the meaning and substance of colonial rule because it was through clothing that power was constituted, articulated and contested (Allman 2004, 1–10). Missionaries sought to re-shape African bodies with new forms of dress (Comaroff & Comaroff 1997, 119–220), replacing skin loincloths and aprons with items of European fabric. Among many African communities, adornment using western clothing soon became a signifier of wealth, social status, of a successful male provider, or of assimilation of the exotic (Comaroff & Comaroff 1997, 228–9, 234).

Among the Northern Sotho, dress was associated with distinct forms of status and identity even before European and missionary arrivals. For instance, men would have been given skin cloaks to signify sexual and jural maturity towards the end of their initiation (Comaroff & Comaroff 1997, 229). However, the significance of dress and costume shifted following the introduction of western clothing. Initially, missionaries were relatively relaxed about the innovative adoption of western clothing by Africans (Ross 2008, 96–7). However, adoption of exotic material and conversion to Christianity did not occur in a vacuum, but was influenced by what Robert Hefner (1993, 4) terms 'a larger interplay of identity, politics, and morality'.

Concern arose that to European items of clothing were becoming a means to display extravagance rather than the forms of modesty that missionaries endorsed (Ross 2008, 97). In late 1875, matters came to a head in Pretoria when the Berlin Missionary Society missionary Grünberger preached against the 'misuse of crinolines', by women who appeared in church wearing them (Ruether 2002). In October of that year, he demanded that women surrender these 'fashion items' which he publicly burnt (Ruether 2002, 359). Gruenberger's actions must have appeared a contradiction to many of his congregation, since missionaries had encouraged the adoption of European clothing, but nevertheless found some forms of dress distasteful.

Ruether (2002, 360) has suggested that it was no coincidence that this event took place in an urbanizing setting, where the conservative political outlook of Lutheran missions came into conflict with other influences on aspirational African converts, such as trading stores. Indeed, Reuther (2002, 373) has suggested that German missionaries in the Transvaal wanted to shape an African cultural identity that was subordinate to their own, as well as that of settler farmers, and so they particularly objected to what they saw as British forms of dress, associated with urban spaces, which they regarded as challenging these distinctions. Indeed, the wives of Berlin Missionary Society missionaries, such as that of Reverend B. Richter who was stationed at Matlala on the southern side of Makgabeng were allowed to wear silk dresses on certain occasions, when these were not permitted to African converts, even on their wedding days (Ruether 2002, 370). For German missionaries, such distinctions in the European dress became an explicit means of maintaining their own supremacy in the face of claims to equality among their congregations.

While these tensions must have been less stark in the relatively more rural setting of the Makgabeng plateau, they nevertheless provide a sense of the tensions that surrounded the adoption of European dress in German mission contexts. Indeed, Reuther (2002, 361) has suggested that 'disputes over clothing became an integral part of everyday life on Lutheran mission stations from the 1870s onwards' since missionaries increasingly 'interpreted African appropriation of European garb as a sign of opposition and inappropriate social aspirations'.

This was undoubtedly exacerbated by the increasing demand for African labour in South Africa's mines, following the discovery of diamonds in the Northern Cape in the late 1860s and gold in the Transvaal in the mid-1880s, which led to the arrival of recruiting officers on the Makgabeng (Sonntag 1983). Those men who went to work in the mines returned with forms of dress



Figure 5.11. The smock (the blue and brown dresses in the picture) are worn by women as part of the ethnic costume of the Northern Sotho, known as *ele*. The word *ele* derives from a European unit of measure for a length of cloth used to make the smock, an *ell*, approximating the length of a person's arm from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger. Photograph Johan van Schalkwyk.



associated with urban locations and were increasingly preferred in marriage to those who remained in the rural villages, because they were perceived as providers who could afford clothes that enabled women to display their status and wealth. By the mid-1920s, going to the mines became a part of the typical male's life cycle, somewhat like initiation. Women, on the other hand, frequently remained in the villages where they played a major role in sustaining rural households, raising children and in reproducing social relations between men and women, the living and the dead (James 1994, 59–60).

Deborah James (1996, 34) has argued that group identities, such as Northern Sotho, were constructed through the ongoing invocation of tradition and its opposition to modernity, resulting in 'sets of opposed dualities' such as town/country, Christian/non-Christian and *sesotho/sekgowa*. 'Traditional' female forms of dress changed considerably under these various influences, but James (1996) has argued that they nevertheless continued to be understood as expressions of Northern Sotho ways. New forms of clothing became

Figure 5.12. A woman wearing skin apron below her cotton fabric dress. Photograph Johan van Schalkwyk.

additions to, rather than replacements for, ethnic dress, such as the *ele* (Fig. 5.11). The *ele*, worn by married women, became fashionable in part because of its association with the hospital run by the Berlin missionary Franz. When a woman delivered a baby at a hospital, she was given a loose-fitting smock and this smock developed an association with fertility. The colours of the cloth, white and red, resonate with Northern Sotho symbolism associated with rites of passage, while blue resonates with exogenous powers. By the 1940s and 50s the smock was widely adopted by married Northern Sotho women and worn over their ethnic skin aprons as a feature of 'traditional' dress. It is perhaps significant that although women incorporated such items into their traditional costume, they kept 'Sotho-ness' close to their bare bodies and wore 'cloaks' of Christianity or Western conformity on top (Fig. 5.12).

Allman (2004, 6) suggests that the meaning of a cloth is often transformed when moved across time and space, even though much meaning ultimately remains hugely vernacular. Indeed, 'traditional' Sotho clothing was replenished and strengthened with new elements and its symbolism continuously transformed within the context of initiation (James 1996, 40–1), and it is likely that changes in western clothing and demeanour depicted in the rock art reflect this process.

Conclusion: appropriation as a hermeneutic process

According to Schneider (2006, 29), appropriation means a taking out of one context and putting into another. Broadly, appropriating something entails claiming *someone else's* thing as your own and therefore having the right to use it in the context that *you* choose. Schneider (2003; 2006, 29) focusing on the 'appropriation' of ideas, symbols and artefacts from other cultures, and on power differentials between appropriator and those appropriated from, advocates a hermeneutic procedure to appropriation as a strategy to create something new with materials from outside one's culture. This implies that cultural elements are invested with new signification, and that those who appropriate are transformed, ultimately constructing and assuming new identities (Schneider 2006, 29). In this paper we followed Schneider's hermeneutic strategy as a process that emphasises an implicit potential to contextualize and work with 'foreign' things to create something new (Schneider 2006, 27). We argued that colonial forms of dress were appropriated through their depiction in Makgabeng rock art and were made to signify Northern Sotho-ness.

Whether one can link the depiction of items of European clothing directly to forms of rebellion against

missionary sartorial codes is difficult to determine, but the juxtaposition of these images alongside other forms of initiation imagery is surely significant. Following Alfred Gell (1998), we considered the rock art depictions as indexes of the agency of their original painter. Gell (1998) argues that images do not only express the values of their makers but inherently transmit concomitant values to produce, rather than express, meaning. So, contextually, the intended meaning or significance of depictions of European clothing resides not only in their form but also in their production and the acts of consumption for which they were intended (Layton 1992). Those viewing the imagery determine the meaning and significance of the rock art based on their own experiences and associations. Those who appropriated the clothes transformed themselves in the process, ultimately constructing new identities for themselves, not as converts or Europeanized Africans, but as initiated Northern Sotho men and women.

References

- Allman, J.M., 2004. Fashioning Africa: power and the politics of dress, in *Fashioning Africa: power and the politics of dress (African Expressive Cultures)*, ed. Allman, J.M. Bloomington, USA: Indiana University Press, 1–10.
- Backhouse, J., 1844. *A narrative of a visit to the Mauritius and South Africa*. London: Hilton, Adams and Co. Paternoster Row.
- Berlin Mission Archive, 1909–1938. Blouberg, South Africa, Northern Transvaal, Founded 09.03.1868, in *BMW1 5544*. Germany: Berlin Mission Archive.
- Bourdieu, P., 1986. *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*. London: Routledge.
- Comaroff, J.L. & Comaroff, J., 1987. The madman and the migrant: work and labor in the historical consciousness of a South African people. *American Ethnologist* 14(2), 191–209.
- Comaroff, J.L. & Comaroff, J., 1992. *Ethnography and the historical imagination*. Boulder, Francisco, Oxford: Westview Press.
- Comaroff, J. & Comaroff, J., 1991. *Of revelation and revolution: Christianity, colonialism and consciousness in South Africa*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Comaroff, J. & Comaroff, J., 1997. *Of revelation and revolution: the dialectics of modernity on a South African frontier*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Delius, P., 2001. Witches and missionaries in nineteenth century Transvaal. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 27(3), 429–43.
- du Plessis, J., 1911. *A history of Christian missions in South Africa*. London; New York [etc.]: Longmans, Green and Co.
- Eastwood, E., & J.A. Van Schalkwyk, 2001. Rock art of the Makgabeng Plateau: introducing the Makgabeng and the rock paintings of Gallashiels. Unpublished Report, Swan fund and the National Research Foundation.

- Eastwood, E., J.A. Van Schalkwyk & B.W. Smith, 2002. Archaeology and rock art survey of the Makgabeng Plateau, Central Limpopo Basin. *The Digging Stick* 19, 2–3.
- Eastwood, E.B., 2003. A cross-cultural motif in San, Khoekhoe and Northern Sotho rockpaintings of the Central Limpopo Basin, Southern Africa. *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 58, 14–26.
- Eastwood, E.B. & Van Schalkwyk, J., 2003. *Introducing the rock art of Limpopo Province*. Unpublished Report.
- Eastwood, E.B. & Tlouamma, N.J., 2003. Rock art of the Makgabeng Plateau, Vol 6: Rock paintings of Devilliers Dale and Delaroush. Unpublished Report. Paleo-Art Field Services.
- Entwistle, J., 2000. *The fashioned body: fashion, dress and modern social theory*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Gell, A., 1992. *The anthropology of time: cultural constructions of temporal maps and images*. Oxford: Berg.
- Gell, A., 1998. *Art and agency: an anthropological theory*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Hall, S. & Smith, B.W., 2000. Empowering places: rock shelters and ritual control in farmer-forager interactions in the Northern Province. *South African Archaeological Society Goodwin Series* 8, 30–46.
- Hefner, R.W., 1993. Introduction: world building and the rationality of conversion, in *Conversion to Christianity: historical and anthropological perspectives on a great transformation*, ed. Hefner, R.W. Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press, 3–45.
- Hewson, L.A., 1950. *An introduction to South African methodists*. Cape Town: The Standard Press.
- Hodder, I., 1977. The distribution of material culture items in the Baringo District, Western Kenya. *Man* 12, 239–69.
- Houle, R.J., 2011. *Making African Christianity: Africans re-imagining their faith in colonial Southern Africa*. Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press.
- James, D., 1994. Basadi Ba Baeng/visiting wWomen: female migrant performance from the Northern Transvaal, in *Politics and performance: theatre, poetry and song in Southern Africa*, ed. Gunner, E. Johannesburg, South Africa: Witwatersrand University Press, 81–110.
- James, D., 1996. 'I dress in this fashion': transformations in Sotho dress and women's lives in a Sekhukhuneland Village, South Africa, in *Clothing and difference: embodied identities in colonial and post-colonial Africa*, ed. Hendrickson, H. Durham, USA: Duke University Press, 34–65.
- Joubert, A. & J.A. Van Schalkwyk, 1999. War and remembrance: the power of oral poetry and the politics on Hananwa identity. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 25(1), 29–47.
- Krige, J.D., 1937. Traditional origins and tribal relationships of the Sotho of the Northern Transvaal. *Bantu Studies* 11, 321–56.
- Küchler, S. & Miller, D. (eds.), 2005. *Clothing as Material Culture*. Oxford: Berg: Berg.
- Kuper, H., 1973. Costume and identity. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 15(3), 348–67.
- Layton, R., 1992. *Australian rock art: a new synthesis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Makhura, T.J., 1997. Mercenaries and missionaries in the Boer subjugation of the Bagananwa in the Northern Transvaal, 1894–1895. *South African Historical Journal* 36(1), 193–219.
- Moodley, S., 2008. The crocodile motif in the rock art of the Northern Sotho. *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 63(188), 116–24.
- Morton, F., 2009. *When rustling became an art: Pilane's Kgala and the Transvaal Frontier 1820–1902*. Claremont, South Africa: Davidphilp.
- Morton, F., 2013. Settlements, landscapes and identities among the Tswana of the Western Transvaal and Eastern Kalahari before 1820. *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 68(197), 15–26.
- Namono, C., 2004. Dikgaatwane T~ Sa Basadi: a study of the link between girls' initiation and rock art in the Makgabeng Plateau, Limpopo Province, South Africa (Unpublished MA Thesis), University of the Witwatersrand.
- Namono, C., 2010. Surrogate surfaces: a contextual interpretive approach to the rock art of Uganda (Unpublished PhD Thesis), University of the Witwatersrand.
- Namono, C. & E.B. Eastwood, 2005. Art, authorship and female issues in a Northern Sotho rock painting site. *South African Archaeological Goodwin Series* 9, 77–85.
- Pauw, B.A., 1990. Widows and ritual danger in Sotho and Tswana communities. *African Studies* 49(2), 75–99.
- Porterfield, A., 1997. The impact of early New England missionaries on women's roles in Zulu Culture. *Church History* 66(1), 67–70.
- Rietbergen, P., 2015. *Europe: a cultural history*, London: Routledge.
- Ross, R., 2008. *Clothing: a global history: or, the imperialists' new clothes*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Ruether, K., 2002. Heated debates over crinolines: European clothing on nineteenth-century Lutheran mission stations in the Transvaal. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 28(2), 359–78.
- Schneider, A., 2003. On 'appropriation'. A critical reappraisal of the concept and its application in global art practices. *Social Anthropology* 1(2), 215–29.
- Schneider, A., 2006. *Appropriation as practice: art and identity in Argentina*. United States of America: Palgrave Macmillan Ltd.
- Smith, B.W. & Van Schalkwyk, J.A., 2002. The white camel of the Makgabeng. *Journal of African History* 43, 235–54.
- Sonntag, C., 1983. *My friend Maleboch, Chief of the Blue Mountains*. Pretoria: Sigma Press (Pty).
- Turner, T.S., 1980. 'The social skin', in *Not work alone: a cross-cultural view of activities superfluous to survival*, eds. Cherfas, J. & Lewin, R. London: Temple Smith, 112–40.
- Van Schalkwyk, J.A., 1990. Die Kulturhistoriese Betekenis Van Die Berlynse Sendingstasies in Die Blouberg-Omgewing, Noord-Transvaal. *South African Journal of Cultural History* 4(4), 244–9.
- Van Schalkwyk, J.A. & S.M. Moifatswane, 1991. The Siege of Leboho: South African Republic fortifications in the Blouberg. *Military History Journal* 8(5), 175–81, 83.
- Van Schalkwyk, J.A. & Smith, B.W., 2004. Insiders and outsiders: sources for reinterpreting a historical event, in *African historical archaeologies*, eds. Reid, A.M. & Lane, P.J. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 325–46.

The pasts and presence of art in South Africa

In 2015, #RhodesMustFall generated the largest student protests in South Africa since the end of apartheid, subsequently inspiring protests and acts of decolonial iconoclasm across the globe. The performances that emerged in, through and around #RhodesMustFall make it clear how analytically fruitful Alfred Gell's notion that art is 'a system of social action, intended to change the world rather than encode symbolic propositions about it' can be, even when attempting to account for South Africa's very recent history.

What light can this approach shed on the region's far longer history of artistic practices? Can we use any resulting insights to explore art's role in the very long history of human life in the land now called South Africa? Can we find a common way of talking about 'art' that makes sense across South Africa's long span of human history, whether considering engraved ochre, painted rock shelters or contemporary performance art?

This collection of essays has its origins in a conference with the same title, arranged to mark the opening of the British Museum's major temporary exhibition *South Africa: the art of a nation* in October 2016. The volume represents an important step in developing a framework for engaging with South Africa's artistic traditions that begins to transcend nineteenth-century frameworks associated with colonial power.

Editors:

Chris Wingfield is Associate Professor in the Arts of Africa at the Sainsbury Research Unit for the Arts of Africa, Oceania and the Americas at the University of East Anglia, having previously been a Curator at the Museum of Archaeology & Anthropology at the University of Cambridge.

John Giblin is Keeper for the Department of World Cultures at National Museums Scotland, having previously been Head of Africa Section at the British Museum where he was lead curator of the 2016 exhibition *South Africa: the art of a nation*.

Rachel King is Lecturer in Cultural Heritage Studies at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, having previously been Smuts Research Fellow at the Centre of African Studies at the University of Cambridge.

*Published by the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research,
University of Cambridge, Downing Street, Cambridge, CB2 3ER, UK.*

The McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research exists to further research by Cambridge archaeologists and their collaborators into all aspects of the human past, across time and space. It supports archaeological fieldwork, archaeological science, material culture studies, and archaeological theory in an interdisciplinary framework. The Institute is committed to supporting new perspectives and ground-breaking research in archaeology and publishes peer-reviewed books of the highest quality across a range of subjects in the form of fieldwork monographs and thematic edited volumes.

Cover design by Dora Kemp and Ben Plumridge.

ISBN: 978-1-913344-01-6

