

META-TOURISM, SENSE OF PLACE AND THE ROCK ART OF THE LITTLE KAROO

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Declaration

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ABSTRACT

The subject is the rock art within the region known as the Little Karoo in the Western Cape that lies between the coastal plain and the Greater Karoo, penned in geographically by the Langeberg in the south and the Swartberg in the north. During a ten year site survey of 150 sites with rock art, content and details of the rock art images have been recorded on site forms and where possible traced on polyester film and photographed. The sites tend to be small with, on average, fewer than 50 images, but then 7 sites have more than 100 images per site. The sites are located mostly in ravines in the mountainous areas. Few sites with rock art have occupation deposits. Human figures in the rock art, predominantly male, are most commonly represented. Other images are animals, such as eland, smaller antelope, elephants, felines, canids and therianthrope figures of half-human, half-animal forms. Finger dots, handprints and geometric or non-representational marks are present in the rock art sample as well.

The art can be linked to shamanistic experiences in altered states of consciousness. A number of depictions are interpreted as part of rainmaking ritual and the significance of the symbolism of water. There are resemblances in content and style to the rock art in the Hex River Valley, the Cederberg, and south of the Langeberg, on the coastal plain, but some imagery point to a variation more specific to the Little Karoo. These are rare rock art depictions of a combination of human head and upper torso with ichthyoidal lower limbs, at times reminiscent of bird-like human figures. Verbatim accounts recorded of stories and sightings of numinous *watermeide* (water maidens) at waterholes and rivers of the Little Karoo and correlations drawn with research on similar folklore in the Northern Cape and elsewhere make a traditional link between these regions. The myth of the *watermeide* takes on a therianthrope nature in form, that of half-human half-fish, reminiscent of the well-known westernized mystical concept of mermaid features; a description popular in the vernacular. The described form of the *watermeid* espouses a connection to the uniqueness of the rock paintings of therianthrope figures with distinctive fishtail and human shoulders, head and arms. A connection with explanatory accounts of rock paintings and folklore recorded in the Oudtshoorn district more than a hundred years ago, recorded information of stories and myths of mystical water creatures in the Northern Cape, and verbatim accounts of the *watermiede*, is made to suggest a basis for interpretation of the therianthrope nature of some of the rock art imagery in the Little Karoo. The rock art is produced in a space and a time frame that may be related to that of the current stories of the *watermeide*.

The research is organised around two main activities. Firstly, documentation and interpretation of the rock art within a geographical paradigm and sense of place; and secondly, the establishment of a social relationship of the rock art, historical and living ethnography with a focus on management of the art in this context, and interpreting, presenting and conserving the rock art as a meta-tourism resource in post-modernism context. Presentation of the rock art may include replication of the heritage resource at a built centre situated in proximity to where the rock art sites are found. The centre may be located at Groenefontein, near the Rooiberg, seventeen kilometres from the town of Calitzdorp situated on the tourist Route 62. Studies of presentation and replication of South African and European rock art centres were made to arrive at workable concepts for an interpretation centre at Groenefontein in the Little Karoo. Authentic presentation is possible if interpretation of the heritage is done, even if replicated, at a centre in the natural and cultural landscape where the resources are found.

Keywords: Rock art, meta-tourism, post-modernism, sustainability, authenticity, mind tourism, cultural resource, social history, living communities, therianthrope, watermeid folklore, shamanism, rainmaking, sense of place, partnership, community involvement, professional management, guidelines, interpretation centre.

OPSOMMING

Die tema is die rotskuns, geleë binne die Klein Karoo in die Westelike Provinsie, tussen die suidkusvlakte en die Groot Karoo, geografies afgebaken deur die Langeberge in die suide en die Swartbergreeks in die noorde. Navorsing is oor 'n periode van tien jaar onderneem en die inhoud en detail van die rotskuns tekeninge is gedokumenteer. Ongeveer 150 vindplase met rotskuns is besoek en aangeteken. Vorms met dié inligting is vir elke vindplaas opgestel en waar moontlik is tekeninge op poliësterfilm nagetrek en gefotografeer. Die vindplase is klein met meestal minder as 50 tekeninge terwyl 7 wel meer as 100 tekeninge per vindplaas het. Vindplase is geleë in diep klowe van bergagtige dele. Min vindplase met rotskuns het argeologiese oorblyfsels wat okkupasie impliseer. Menslike figure in die rotskuns is hoofsaaklik manlik. Ander figure is diere soos die eland, kleiner boksoorte, olifante, katagtige en ander roofdiersoorte en teriomorfiese figure van halfmens-halfdier gestalte. Vingermerke, handafdrukke en geometriese of nie-realistiese merke is ook teenwoordig in die rotskuns.

Van die rotskuns in die Klein Karoo is uitbeeldings van sjamanistiese transendentale ervarings. Sommige tekeninge kan ook geïnterpreteer word as rituele reënmaking en impliseer die belangrikheid van die simboliek van water. Daar is tekeninge wat ooreenstem met dié van die Hexriviervallei, die Sederberge, en kusstreek suid van die Langeberge, hoewel die rotskuns in die Klein Karoo unieke eiesoortige eienskappe toon. Dié rotsfigure beeld 'n kombinasie uit van halfmens en half-vis of waterdier, of soms voël-figure met menslike kenmerke. Die verbale opnames van stories oor die mistieke watermeide (watervroue) wat vandag nog waargeneem word by watergate en riviere in die Klein Karoo, stem ooreen met stories oor soortgelyke watermense of waterdiere in dele van die Noord-Kaap, en daar is gepoog om 'n verband te lê tussen die volksoorleweringe in hierdie gebiede. In die mite van die watermeide is die vorm van die figure half-mens, half-vis, vergeleke met die westerse mistieke konsep van die meermin; 'n beskrywing wat dikwels in die omgangstaal gebruik word. Die beskrywings van die watermeid dui op 'n moontlike skakel met die unieke vorms van die rotstekeninge van teriomorfiese figure met kenmerkende vissterte en menslike skouers, kop en arms. Die verband tussen woordelike verduidelikings van die rotskuns-figure en stories wat meer as 'n honderd jaar gelede in die Oudtshoorn distrik opgeteken is, die verhale en mite van die mistieke waterdiere in die Noord-Kaap opgeteken, en eietydse woordelike opnames van watermeid-stories is gelê om 'n basis daar te stel vir die interpretasie van die teriomorfiese aard van sommige van die rotskuns figure in die Klein Karoo. Die rotskuns is geskep in 'n ruimte- en tydvak wat in verband gebring kan word met dié van die huidige stories van die watermeide.

Die navorsing het tweehooffokusse: eerstens die dokumentasie en interpretasie van die rotskuns binne 'n geografiese paradigma en sin van plek; en tweedens die lê van verbande tussen die historiese en lewende sosiale etnografie, die rotskuns en interpretasie daarvan, en die potensiaal vir postmoderne meta-toeristiese konsumpsie daarvan. Om toeganklikheid aan die publiek, en die volhoubare beskerming en bestuur van die bronne te verseker, word die konsep van replikasie van die erfenis-bron by 'n interpretasiesentrum behandel. Aanbieding en replikasie van rotskuns by rotskunsentra in Suid-Afrika en Europa is beoordeel om toepaslike konsepbenaderings vir 'n eie interpretasiesentrum te ontwikkel. Voorstelle vir die oprig, funksionering en bedryf van so 'n sentrum in die outentieke landskap en naby rotskuns vindplase op Groenefontein, naby die Rooiberg, 17 kilometer vanaf Calitzdorp en geleë op die toeristiese Roete 62, word voorgestel.

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CONVENTIONS

The following conventions are adopted in this dissertation:

- The indigenous peoples of southern Africa, the Khoekhoen and the San, are collectively known as the *Khoesan* (Deacon & Deacon 1999).
- The term *San* is used as a collective noun to describe the past and present small-scale hunter-gatherer societies in southern Africa. At the time of contact in the latter part of the seventeenth century, the European colonists knew them as the Sonqua or Soaqua. These are words of Khoekhoen derivation. The communities of San at the Cape were probably local groups of the */Xam*. The term *San* has acquired pejorative connotations. It was a word used by the Nama for ‘vagabonds’ (Bleek 1929). In this dissertation the term *San* is preferred and any possible pejorative associations are rejected. The term *Bushman* (pl. *Bushmen*) is used in context in this dissertation and has no derogatory connotations.
- *Khoekhoen* is the plural form of the Nama word ‘man’ and literally means ‘men of men’. It is used to refer to herder or pastoralist peoples in the Western Cape at the time of European contact. This spelling is currently preferred as it is closer to the pronunciation of the Nama word (Deacon J 1998). The *n* at the end of the word is retained unless the word is used as an adjective.
- The use of the term *meta* coupled with tourism conceptualises a functional part of a changing perception. In definition and sustainability meta-tourism is adapted in this dissertation to interconnect basic principles of sensitivity to place, of authenticity of a visit to visitor and behavioural principles to the asset and in particular to the San rock art.
- Unless otherwise stated, the term ‘rock art’ is used to denote both paintings and engravings; and these on the rock surfaces of shelters, overhangs, open faces and boulders. Rock art is a label that is widely recognised, yet it is debatable whether the term ‘art’ is appropriate to describe the images on the rocks, as at times it implies western aesthetics, motivations or expediencies, without clearly stating this. The term ‘depiction’ to refer to images on the rock face is used with equal problematic pragmatism.
- The term *watermeid* is a colloquial term to denote a water maiden entity with connotations of mysticism. The word is an Afrikaans term, the language mostly spoken in the Little Karoo. It is of archetypal conception and not used pejoratively in the text. Although used more frequently, *watermeid* is also given the term *meermin* (mermaid) in the vernacular to describe the therianthrope figures (half-human, half-fish) that occur in the rock art of the Little Karoo.

- The use of the descriptive terms *tangible* and *intangible* concerning the rock art imagery on the rock face are directed towards the dual features of the rock art; that is, in the visual and the meaning beyond the visual and use of the rock face in a cultural landscape. As part of the archaeological record of a prehistoric hunter-gatherer society as well as a herding culture, the rock art is artefactual evidence of a physical material asset, the *tangible*, while in setting it has meaning as an *intangible* asset of a traditional spiritual nature.
- In the text where there is a reference to a site or tracing/data from a site, as for example, site TK 17 *tracing b*, the TK denotes the place or reserve and the number of the site, form and tracing. The site forms and tracings are kept in a folio lodged with the author until such time as this data is rendered to an appropriate institution.
- All the images scanned into the text are located on the rocks in the prescribed areas in the Little Karoo. The candidate has personally visited and documented each of these during the course of the research survey.
- *Cultural tourism* is marketed as such, and includes the customs and traditions of people, their heritage, history and way of life.
- *Ecotourism* is environmentally and socially responsible travel to natural or near natural areas; it promotes conservation with a focus on low visitor impact and provides for beneficially active socio-economic involvement of local people.
- *Environment* includes natural, urban, human living and cultural environments.
- *Previously disadvantaged communities* are population groups that have had little or no involvement in mainstream tourism activities.
- *Responsible tourism* promotes responsibility to the environment by means of sustainable use; it has a focus on involving local communities in the tourism industry; it is responsible for the safety and security of visitors. The term “responsible” in tourism development has become more realistic in approach and has become more apparent and workable in certain policies such as pro-poor tourism (Telfer & Sharpley 2008:31).
- *Sustainable tourism* is development, management and any other tourism activity which optimize the economic and social benefits in the present without limiting the potential for similar benefits in the future. However, evidence suggests that support in policies for the concept is on the decline (Telfer & Sharpley 2008).
- A *tourist* is a person who travels away from home, staying away for more than twenty-four hours. A tourist can be a *domestic tourist* (e.g. a resident of Johannesburg staying one night in Durban), a *regional tourist* (e.g. a visitor from Zimbabwe spending one or more nights in the Free State) or an *overseas* or *international tourist* (e.g. a resident of Germany or other

countries staying one or more nights in South Africa). A tourist travels for different purposes including business, leisure, conference and incentive.

GLOSSARY AND ABBREVIATIONS

A short list of specialist words and terms used in this dissertation that may be unfamiliar or foreign to some readers.

First People	indigenous people occupying a region prior to external colonization
hook head	in rock art many human figures are depicted with a hook-shape head in one colour while the face had a fill-in of yellow or white. These fugitive colours faded and only the hook of the head remained.
kaross	a southern African skin blanket
!khwa: !ʎhai:n	/Xam term for the rain's navel or caterpillar (Bleek 1956)
!khwa:-ka xəro	/Xam term for the rain bull, a mystical water animal (Bleek 1956)
kwaai waters	Afrikaans term for angry, strong waters – used in personification in the text
kloof	Afrikaans term for a deep, sometimes narrow, ravine or gorge in a mountainside
kougoed	Afrikaans term for a creeping meseb that was used by herders and hunter-gatherers as a mood-altering substance. The dried powdered plant material is chewed or smoked
!kwěitən-ttū	/Xam term for flower (noun) (Bleek 1956)
n!ow (n!ao)	!Kung term for women's engendering powers linked to weather and rain
n/um (n/om)	!Kung term for a spiritual power or energy present in many things that may facilitate healing if harnessed in trance
oom	Afrikaans term for 'uncle'; a parent's brother. In the vernacular Afrikaans the term is used to show respect to an older male outside family kinship, an elder or a person of standing in the community
opstal	Afrikaans term for a traditional character housing of a farming family, as well as buildings for labourers and animals attached to the main buildings in a farmyard
poort	a gateway, a mountain pass
shaman	a shaman is a mystical, priestly figure; a healer, conjuror, magician, trickster, a performer and storyteller. Shamans are seers and have visions when in altered states of consciousness. In these transformed states shamans communicate with gods and spirits. The shaman is an ontologist bringing into focus the essence and concerns of being that have existed within the human mind for aeons. It is used in this dissertation to denote San ritual-specialists.

The use of the word shaman does not support the primitivist view (Blundell 2004)

shamanism	a complex belief form of spiritual divination and healing which utilizes a system of mental altered states for a shaman to enter trance and experience a spirit flight or out-of-body journey to go or fly to the supernatural world. A number of ways to enter trance is through the usage of mind-altering drugs, drumming, chanting, dancing, and so forth. It is one of the earliest orders of religious expressions. The shaman visits the spirit world to gain supernatural power to be able to heal, restore harmony and health by drawing out the sickness and countering bad spirits, controlling animals and the elements such as making rain. Shamanism is still practised in some cultures and places around the world.
skerm	Afrikaans term for an enclosure made of sticks and cut dried bushes
veld(t)	Afrikaans term for an open, unforested, uncultivated, often arid, grass-country
verkeerde dinge	Afrikaans term for misconduct or transgressions of accepted cultural ways in a community
vuil	Afrikaans term for dirty, dirt – used in personification in the text
werf	Afrikaans term for a yard or enclosure surrounded by farm buildings
CAPE	Cape Action for People and the Environment
GI	Gourits Initiative; a conservation initiative to create a landscape-wide bioregional and biodiversity area surrounding the Gourits River system
GNR	Gamkaberg Nature Reserve
HASG	Heritage Asset Sensitivity Gauge
PPIC	People and Place Interpretation Centre

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

“The European ethic of bringing ‘civilization’ to ‘primitive’ peoples is not only challenged, but leaves the reader wondering how European culture might be enriched from a truly respected exchange with Indigenous peoples worldwide” (Borysenko *A woman’s book of life*, quoted by Katz *et al.* 1997:i).

“... , the setting or cultural space is important, for intangible heritage is intrinsically linked to a place or context.” (McKercher & Du Cros 2002:83).

1.1 *Raison d'être*

This dissertation is aimed at integrating the intangible in presenting the rock art of the Little Karoo in heritage tourism. This involves and considers the importance of the integration of realms such as local stories and folklore. A further purpose of this dissertation is to discuss the importance of local stakeholder participation in the rock art heritage tourism of the Little Karoo in the Western Cape to engender commitment to preservation. The recognition of rock art as a visible tangible cultural asset, as well as an intangible cultural asset that can be linked to spiritual events, related to living folklore of mythical water phenomena is emphasised in this dissertation. These mythical beings are encountered at water sources by local elders and storytellers. The storytelling of these legendary encounters in the landscape is an expression of an ancient and mythical knowledge. In the stories there is an appreciation of and belief in alternative states of consciousness. Here an effort is made to explore the relationship between the living heritage of storytelling and traditions and the sacred heritage places where the rock art occurs. In this the documentation of the rock art imagery was of utmost importance because it enhances understanding of the rock art more holistically (Ouzman 1995a).

Tourism operators and interested parties mainly appraise the art visually, but the rock art of the indigenous cultures of southern Africa has meaning beyond the visual. Any tourism initiative or activity that includes rock art as an asset needs to promote an understanding of and a respect and concern for the rock art as a cultural heritage of the First People (a term used in moderation) (Ouzman 2005: 208) whilst involving living communities. Although not living like the prehistoric hunter-gatherers and herders that roamed the plains and valleys of the Little Karoo in prehistory, it is the legendary stories of the local people today, rooted in a landscape, that cement their history to

the past qualifying them as First People. Although there is a growing community interest in rock art, awareness of its importance is still lacking. Community needs, awareness and conflicts vary from place to place and management and conservation need to be formalised taking this into account.

1.2 From heritage tourism to meta-tourism: Outline of a research problem

In a region intersected by a tourism route (Route 62) of growing prominence, and where the rock art is marketed as a tourist attraction, the dangers of exposing rock art to tourism activity must be recognised. From a tourist perspective the exposed and poorly understood rock art is a limited, highly vulnerable and potentially unsustainable asset. Access to the paintings is often difficult. Visitation to rock art in the Little Karoo should be kept at low levels to minimise the impact and allow for the visitor to experience the open spaces and ‘quietness’ of the landscape. Incorporating intangible aspects found in the folklore in the presentation of the rock art may aid in providing a deeper tourism experience and in conserving the art. Presentation that includes replication of the rock art at a centre within an appropriately situated landscape will further minimise impact on the rock art. A visit to a centre of this kind in an authentic setting may centralise and control tourism activities, allowing for a well-informed and knowledgeable access to cultural assets like the rock art, and augment concern and respect for such assets from the public.

Tourist initiatives in the Little Karoo are developing at a time when global climate change demands conservation and care for heritage and the environment (Upton 2001). In fact worldwide social movement and pressure groups are beginning to respect post-modern trends, which value human rights, indigenous peoples and cultures, concerns for the ecology and natural resources of the world and their protection (Ouzman 1998b). To gain insight underlies these growing concerns. Although fundamentalism in politics and religion is marginalizing these global attempts at shifting perceptions, the bold movement towards change is disseminating and reaching into many institutions and organizations.

One of the main concerns here is to discuss and develop alternative measures in presentation that seek meaning beyond the ordinary; a presentation that extends beyond the ocular to include non-visual experiences and perceptions. Meta-tourism is developed as a new and encompassing concept in heritage tourism in this dissertation. The term *meta* derives from classical Greek signifying “beyond”; in this case combined with tourism to mean an extensive, more fundamental interpretation of tourist attractions. This dissertation strives to show how a caring consciousness

could be facilitated by meta-tourism. It links sensitivity to place and authenticity to the San rock art. It is discussed how San rock art as heritage asset may provide the fundamental means to introduce indigenous knowledge and awareness. Ideally, presentation according to meta-tourism principles will foster a link of some form with the ancestral past even if it is not the tourist's own. Furthermore the tourist may experience a sense of place, even if foreign (Ryan & McKenzie 2003).

The concept of meta-tourism builds on existing heritage tourism principles, but it extends these to include the spiritual intangible dimension of tourism, the meta-physical association with the landscape that implies a connection beyond the limits of the ordinary. This considers how an understanding of the symbolism of the landscape informs and augments interpretation of the heritage resources contained in that place. Meaning in the landscape is accessed through ethnography and historical events. *Meta* resonates with myths and the quest for meaning to induce a heightened state of consciousness.

Awareness and gaining a knowledge of the heritage are the keys to meta-tourism. It advocates an integration with a sense of place. A sense of place is a link between people and the landscape (Deacon J 1986); an intangible asset associated with a traditional setting. The significance of place is expressed in social and historical events through storytelling, providing the "context of a 'place'" (Ouzman 1998c: 34). It is accessed in the light of ancestry, family (kinship), and social ties. It is a physical setting, a dynamic system, but also part of the social practices, the cultural system, that take place there (Arsenault 2004). It suggests in turn a coherence which includes a space to live in; "humans-in-society on the land" (Silberbauer 1994: 119), but also a place of specific numinosity (Whitney 1998; Bradley 2000; Arsenault 2004). The space surrounding a social group is centred in a mythological geography. "Land is not an anonymous, impersonal topography; it is differentially imbued with the personality of Beings" (Silberbauer 1994:125); permeated through the Little Karoo in the stories of water mythical creatures. These 'beings', so to speak, come 'alive' in the stories of place. Mountain ravines and hills in the Little Karoo are endowed with permanent deep water holes in an otherwise semi-arid region. In this dissertation it is shown that the rock art sites are mostly found close to these water reservoirs, which may have significance in terms of a sense of place. Sense of place is an informed space, related to features in the landscape not necessarily boundaries of a territory (Deacon J 1988). Boundaries among hunter-gatherers were agreed upon by the neighbouring groups for the purpose of providing a use of resources to survive and could be changed. This space can thus only be understood through explaining people's interaction with their land. It makes for a useful contribution to the understanding of the heritage and the maintaining of this heritage for future generations. A sense of place is invariably linked within local context and it

raises questions such as how people perceive the nature of the land and its resources. On a poignant note Deacon (J 1988:138) encapsulates the definition of a sense of place: "... losing their land meant cultural and religious disaster to the /Xam, rather than simply economic loss".

1.3 Research aim and approach

The San rock art and the local stories told in the Little Karoo may be proof of the depth of a knowledge that manifest at water sites and painted or engraved sites. How the colloquial stories collected for this dissertation link to beliefs and rituals that may have roots in the rock art is explored. Humans approach the problems of survival and the environment through metaphor and an awareness of a world beyond reality into a spirit realm (Elkington 2001; Newberg *et al.* 2001). Media like the San rock art shows that the human mind is capable of sensing these deeper realities. In attempting a link to the system of beliefs that inspired the ancient rock art to the living ethnography in the Little Karoo, this dissertation endeavours to understand the nature of stories told of sightings of mythical water people, at specific places in the landscape. The commonalities between themes in the rock art with possible threads to the present are what may be presented in cultural heritage tourism.

Researchers on tourism trends argue that the main motivation for the renewed interest and concern for the past is found in the moral, social and identity crisis rife in the last decades (Goulding 1998). It is a call for spiritual and cultural reform and a balanced self-awareness, a global healing to renew a sense of joy and peace, a social commitment and spiritual linkage to others. As with demands for visits to remote areas, there has been a major recurrence of interest in indigenous peoples of the earth (Kemf 1993; Hillery *et al.* 2001). In particular, on southern African soil, it is a growing conviction that the San local peoples can tell us something of their ancient ways of altered living, which may facilitate transformation and spiritual healing (Keeney 1999).

As an outcome of global changing attitudes toward how the earth's resources are exploited and wasted, people want to believe that there *is* a future and that conditions and social orders may improve and provide security for sustaining cultural and natural resources (Hofmeyr 2003). Siegfried (2002:116) emphasises that a new spiritual element in the foreseeable future could become important and warns that it has been said that "the 21st century will be spiritual or it will not be". Sixty percent of North Americans believe that religious fervour and strict adherence will solve the world's current problems, while a large part of the 60 percent follow *creationism* which encapsulates the belief that the world was created by God 6000 years ago (Siegfried 2002). This

puts a disturbing cap on the ancient wisdom that needs to be accessed and distilled in the philosophy of global tourism basing its trends on truthfulness and environmentalism.

1.4 Research objectives

The research was driven by six distinct objectives that are clearly woven into the fabric and structure of the report and that are revisited in the summary of results to the dissertation in the final chapter:

- In establishing the principles of meta-tourism the changing needs of tourism were compared on a global and local scale.
- Knowledge of the geographical distribution and the extent to which it is known by the local population is essential for the protection and responsible exposure of rock art. Recording the rock art of the Little Karoo was one of the focal points of this dissertation.
- The importance and significance of folklore for the presentation of rock art in tourism is explored. The connection between the stories of the *watermeide* and the rock art is sought.
- Accounts and information related by key role players in the local communities and custodians of traditions were recorded and incorporated into making a connection to the rock art of the region.
- Unlocking heritage to tourists through interpretation in a local milieu is the essence of an authentic experience. How this can be achieved through presentation whilst communicating a sense of place is discussed.
- In conclusion, the concept and design of a presentation centre at Groenefontein, near Calitzdorp, Little Karoo, are proposed. Presentation through replication in close proximity where the original occurs is considered important. Foreign and local site surveys and concepts were integrated into the model design. Local, private and state conservation initiatives were drawn into the precepts of an interpretation centre.

1.5 Methodology

Aside from the extensive literature review conducted, research methodology entailed four field survey activities. These are: field location of rock art sites and filling out field descriptive recording forms, image recording through digital photography and tracing of imagery; management evaluation of a site for tourism suitability; personal interviews with local people knowledgeable on local and regional folklore; and visitation and evaluation of international and national rock art

centres as case studies for an interpretation centre at Groenefontein. In sequence, the rest of this section expands on the detail regarding these methods.

The rock art in the Little Karoo is part of the national cultural heritage. The greatest hope for conservation of this heritage lies in interpreting the rock art, and in creating controlled conditions to present it to the local and international tourist market. This study and documentation of the rock art in the Little Karoo shows the extent of the rock art imagery and address the issue of *how* to expose the rock art in the context of tourism, and to ensure conservation in the process.

The rock art in the Anysberg mountain range near Touwsriver has been surveyed since 1998 (Rust 2000), and is ongoing. The rock art of Vleiland and the Klein Swartberg near Ladismith, the Groot Swartberg, the Rooiberg and Gamkaberg, the Kammanassieberg, Attakwaskloof and the Outeniqua mountains in the south, were documented. Although on or beyond the boundaries of the Little Karoo, some parts of the neighbouring Baviaanskloof, Uniondale (Eastern Cape) and Riversdale (southern Cape) areas, were also recorded and these images used to gain further insight into the research of rock art in the region of the Little Karoo. Most of the rock art surveyed in the study region (Figure 1.1) occurs in a region that lies between the southern coastal plain and the Great

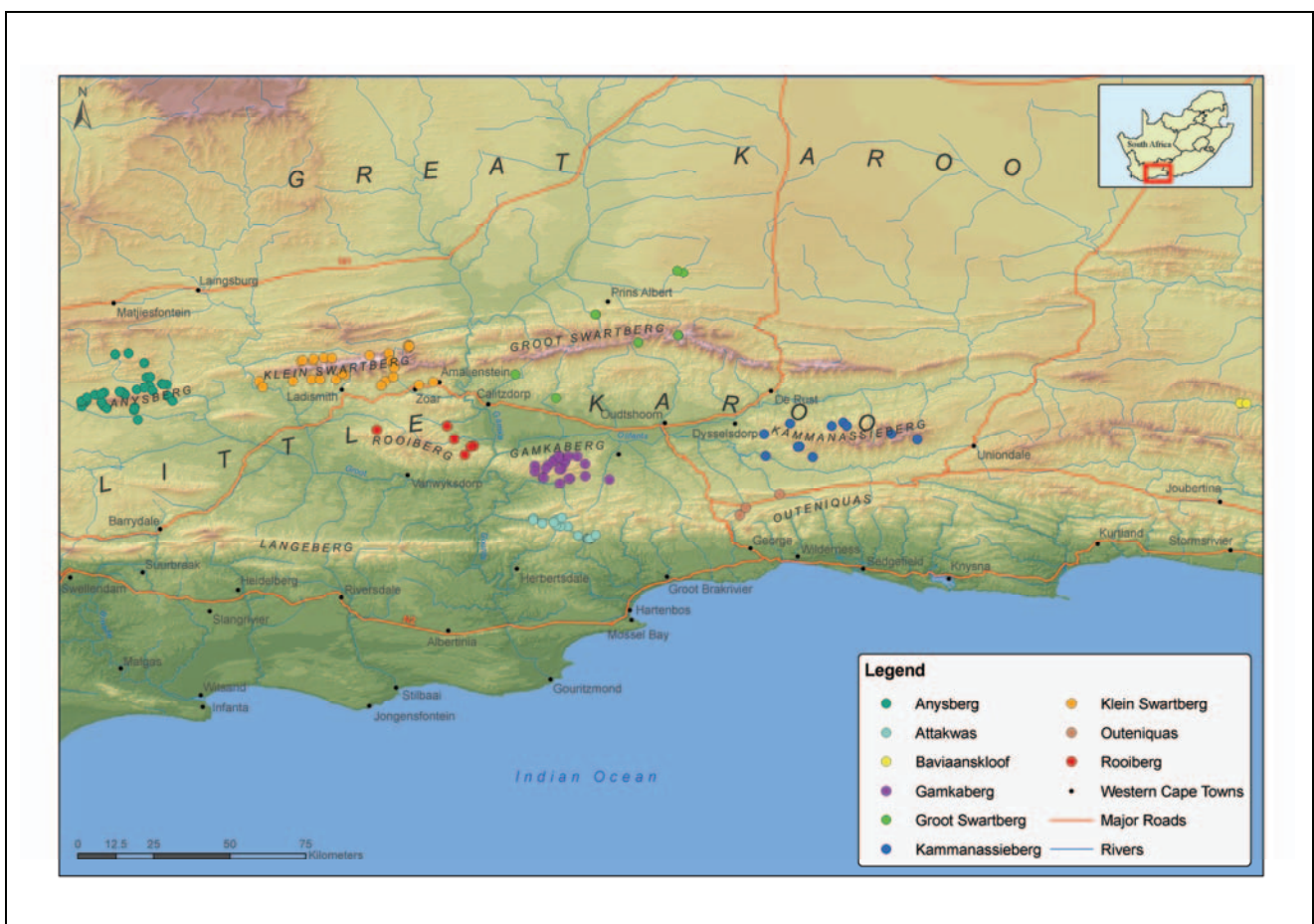


Figure 1.1 The Little Karoo rock art survey sites

Karoo. The sites visited and documented are mostly located in designated reserve areas of CapeNature, and contiguous privately owned farmland, as well as on the border areas of the Little Karoo. The survey of the rock art of the demarcated areas followed a quantitative approach. A subsidiary goal of this dissertation was to determine the occurrence of therianthrope figures of half human half fish (in some cases bird-like) in the imagery. These rock art figures are known as ‘mermaids’ in colloquial terms. The data has been collected in a manner that allowed the distribution of these figures in the study region to be recorded and to identify the extent of certain commonalities.

1.5.1 Defining a rock art site

Defining when rock art occurrences may be classified as a site is not straightforward. An overhang or cave with a cluster of paintings can be identified as an archaeological site, but an open rock face with a single painting may also be a site. In this survey, a site has been identified when a thematic coherence exists within a restricted area. However, it is not assumed that the grouping has any temporal significance - the interest here is in holistic occurrence of certain themes. The images are not placed randomly but cohere at certain topographical features; for example, a crack, fissure or hole in the rock face. A Harris Matrix (Harris 1989) in which order of superimpositioning (or even juxtapositioning) of paintings are analysed has not been attempted here. It is not always possible to discern the order of superimpositioning and to infer chronology or style. The focus here is on the relationship of the rock art to the landscape which may suggest symbolism (Lewis-Williams 1990b). Although it may be possible to use archaeological deposit to identify a site, an association between the painted record and the artefactual data cannot always be ascertained (Lewis-Williams 1990b; Russell 2000).

The sites reported on in this dissertation amount to an estimated 25 percent of the total imagery surveyed to date. Each site recorded has been given a number on a dedicated site form. The imagery is traced on polyester film where distinct. The polyester film is non-static and does not disturb the processes of the inorganic content of the substances used in the paint to produce the rock art on the rock surface. Each tracing and content of imagery is described on the site form. Tracings are individually numbered according to the relevant site form. The number of the site form is preceded by an acronym identifying the reserve where the rock art is located. This conforms to the identification of records in the database of the CapeNature reserves where applicable. The form used in recording the sites is based on that developed for the rock art survey in the Cederberg Wilderness Area (Deacon J 1993). An example of a completed site form is presented in Appendix B

to this dissertation. The information on the site forms describes the location and access to site and rock art; the topography of the site; gives an assessment of the state of the painted surfaces and the degree of weathering; and describes the approximate number of depictions and the range of subject matter. Other information recorded informs on the sounds of echoes, unusually large, deep or interesting holes and crevices at the sites, the presences of bee hives and swallow nests, vegetation of endemic or indigenous interest and of possible use of such sites in prehistoric and recent times if visitation is evident.

1.5.2 The recording methods of the rock art

The technique of stippling to reproduce the paintings on the non-static polyester film used in tracing was employed to show variation in colour, fading, and the shading of one colour into or over another. Lighter areas of stippling (dots further apart) were applied to show where the images had faded and become indistinct. Permanent markers of appropriate colour were used in applying stippling on the film. Craft paint was used on tracings (at times over stippling) to bring out colour and possible dimensions of superimposing in the imagery. Rock surface irregularities were shown with brown stippled lines on the tracings and indicated thus in the legend on the film. The tracing and documentation during the course of this survey were done with the essential respect for and care of the site and the rock paintings. In applying the tracing film to the rock surface, care was taken when taping the corners to the rock face to avoid areas of paint. Tracing the images can cause damaging markings on the surface of the painted areas (Parkington 2002). Care was taken not to apply pressure onto the film while tracing so as to avoid direct contact on the images. Any contact with the surface of the rock face was minimized and where possible avoided altogether.

The method of tracing remains an essential tool in documentation for the researcher as at times a tracing shows detail that may have been missed using other methods such as photography. Digital photography has advanced and is a proficient and essential tool, but availability of light and other conditions at sites with rock art may result in inadequate digital documentation at the time of visitation. However, digital image manipulation in documenting rock art instead of tracing is becoming more common and within reach of most researchers (Mudge *et al.* 2006; Wiltshire 2008 pers com). The contrast and sharpness of digital images are enhanced for greater definition and accuracy. Assemblages of these produce holistic representations of the images. The effectiveness of photography for recording rock art has thus been improved by the development of “computer-aided” or “digital image processing” (DIP) techniques (Clogg *et al.* 2000: 837). The method of 3-D reconstruction of the rock art allows for recording the rock art in its natural environment and this

has potential for accurate large-scale model replication of rock art (Mudge *et al.* 2006). This method involves the use of digital interferometry to record the images *and* the surface geometry (Clogg *et al.* 2000). Further image enhancement uses commercial paint packages, such as Kodak Photo-CD, Corel Graphics and Adobe PhotoShop, to mention some of the software used in digital recording and manipulation of rock art (Vicent *et al.* 1997; Wiltshire 2008 pers com). Tracing, if used assiduously and with care not to harm the paintings, is still a consistent and easily manageable method. The disadvantages are that it is largely dependent on the skill of the recorder and may thus not be an objective recording or damage the rock art in the process of tracing. However, the human eye and attentiveness at accuracy can reveal hidden detail that has a direct effect on interpretation of the imagery at a rock art site. As tracing is time-consuming the recorder spends more time at a site which presents a bigger potential for meticulous documentation of the paintings and noticing detail. Tracing images also has the advantage of bringing the recorder up close to the face of the rock at the likely distance and angle that was used to produce the images (Figure 1.2). Stances adopted to trace the rock art are often at testing physical angles and heights and this allows for some perception of the degrees of production of the imagery. The author is shown actively capturing an image in Figure 1.2. Desk work entails filling-in of images on the tracing film. Visual digital images on computer were used to assimilate imagery as accurately as possible and combine this with the work done on the tracings to check detail, colour and so forth. At times tracings were taken back to sites to test detail. The tracing film is durable, easy to handle and if permanent pen markers are used the recordings are lastingly preserved.



The author is tracing an elephant and other figures at Minwater, south of Gamkaberg Nature Reserve, Little Karoo. Care is taken not to unsettle the paint (the film is non-static) or touch the paintings. The polyester film is lightly attached to the rock face so as not to touch the painted surface.

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 1.2 Tracing of rock art using polyester film

A Garmin GPS 50 positioning system was used to plot the position of sites and spot check the previously recorded positions if any were available. This data is incorporated in a GIS system together with other data relevant to the management of rock art on the designated nature reserves in the Little Karoo. The co-ordinate positions are plotted and shown in Figure 1.1. A list of sites visited and documented is attached as Appendix B.

The site reference and local name of the site are given in this list but the co-ordinates are not included to protect the location of these sites. The site recording forms and tracings of the rock art imagery at these sites are lodged with the author until such time as the data might be given to an appropriate institution. It is deemed appropriate to lodge a copy on disc of the rock art site forms with information as an addition to the recording and management processes of CapeNature on the nature reserves researched in the survey.

1.5.3 Evaluating the management needs of a site

The rock art is in danger of disappearing due to the degree of natural weathering, water seepage, and the most immediate threat, that of human visitors. Often the paintings and engravings are damaged due to disrespect and lack of knowledge at sites. To cultivate these principles, practical and persuasive measures need to be followed that will be appropriate and effective in the field. Management is thus essential in conserving the rock art, and evaluation of sites is required to establish control of visitation at sites.

The management of the site and possibilities of exposure to tourism were reviewed and recorded where relevant. The criteria of the Heritage Asset Sensitivity Gauge (HASG) (Wurz & Van der Merwe 2005) were applied to the rock art site *Merrie se Kloof*, on Gamkaberg Nature Reserve. The accessibility, authenticity, vulnerability and sustainability of the site and the rock art if exposed to tourism initiatives were gauged. An example of the results of the HASG applied to rock art is given in Appendix C. The results are given as tabled under the sections of criteria. It is an aim of the current survey of rock art in the Little Karoo to apply the HASG system in all cases where a rock art site may be opened to visitation by the public.

1.5.4 Recording local and regional folklore

The local and regional folklore were recorded to access living ethnography in the vicinity of the rock art. The ethnography of communities of the Northern Cape was considered to draw parallels

with the folklore of the Little Karoo even though the Northern Cape is 400km distant from the Little Karoo. These parallels have been drawn with full awareness of the complexities of using analogy.

In 2004, a pilot study on heritage and tourism perceptions of people living within a radius of 60km of Calitzdorp, Little Karoo, was undertaken under the auspices of the Department of Geography and Environmental Studies at Stellenbosch University (Rust & Van Pletzen-Vos 2004). Two surveys were undertaken from March 2 to March 12, 2004. The first survey was the Local Heritage Knowledge Survey. The second survey was the Strategic Tourism Development Plans for the Little Karoo. Both surveys were pilot studies and need further development. The Tourism survey identified individuals or organisations which were affiliated in some way with tourism in the Little Karoo. The initial part of both surveys entailed acquiring the general background of each respondent, their history and position, either within the community or organisation. The total respondents numbered 125: in particular 25 from Amalienstein; 25 from Zoar; and in and around Calitzdorp and the rural area 25 respondents.

A snowball or referral survey method was initially chosen for the survey. This was a non-random, non-probability technique aimed at specific people within the local communities (Babbie 1995). People of all races were interviewed but in particular people were identified to determine the extent of local heritage knowledge of an indigenous nature, of historical events or family histories. People interviewed were asked to recommend or refer the researcher(s) to further informants who were then interviewed and asked for further informants. This was not necessarily a representative sample of the population but was useful in identifying indigenous people with stories to relate that could link their descendency and memory of the past to the First People who were known historically to have lived in the region (Backhouse 1844; Elphick & Giliomee 1989). The stories of *watermeide* (water mythical people) by five informants were selected to discuss in this dissertation. More recently the survey of local traditions and folklore was extended to other areas such as Attakwaskloof, Baviaanskloof and Uniondale. The informants were interviewed in-depth on their knowledge of *watermeide* and their verbatim accounts as reflected in Appendix A. They expounded on personal experiences of sightings of the *watermeide*, or of people known to them that have 'seen' or 'still see' these mythical figures at water sources. It was imperative to build up a relationship of trust between the interviewer(s) and respondents due to the sensitivity of the subject matter of these interviews. A high response of integrity and resourcefulness was achieved in conducting these personalized interviews. In accessing the expressions and ideas integral to the belief system involving the *watermeide*, the interviewer(s) took care to be open and consistent. The interviewer(s) valued an essential principle of social research to respect the views expressed and

acknowledge the person interviewed to avoid any bias that may occur and affect the nature of the survey (Babbie 1995). The interviewer(s) sought not to influence the informant's perception and response and remained as neutral as possible in posing questions and perceiving the answers given (Babbie 1995). Care was taken not to suggest answers or ask leading questions in interviews conducted. The interviewer(s) chose to keep the questions open-ended as the interviews progressed, although a questionnaire to assess the local heritage was prepared according to guidelines stipulated by the Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, University of Stellenbosch. The interview results were analysed for consistent themes, aimed at ascertaining a local knowledge of heritage, historical episodes and related stories of the communities, knowledge of the use of plants and how and if these events are related to tourism in the area. The recurring themes of the *watermeid* stories were ubiquitous and grouped together in analysis on the basis of noted similarities in the data. Repeated visits were undertaken to add to data collecting. Interviews were conducted in Afrikaans, the *lingua franca* of the area. A data base has been initiated in this survey for updating and adding information as research in the field of living heritage in the Little Karoo is continued (Rust & Van Pletzen-Vos 2004).

1.5.5 Researching the concept and design of an interpretation centre

Case studies of a number of foreign and local interpretation centres were undertaken to gain information on methods and techniques of presentation of rock art and cultural resources. The interpretation centres visited are located in France, Spain, England and South Africa. A day or more (a second visit) was spent at these centres to conduct the case studies. Where possible interviews were conducted with staff members and people involved in designing and managing these sites. Information was sought on how the design works, what materials were used in the design, what context and themes were created in displays and virtual projections, and to what extent visitors engaged with displays and activities presented. Photographs were taken, relevant information noted and documentation acquired where available.

Replication was the method of presentation used by each of these centres. This method and related interpretive material were given particular attention with the aim of applying similar principles in presentation at the proposed facility at Groenefontein, the people and place interpretation centre (PPIC). The motives, the design, location and methods of replication are included in the proposal discussed in Chapter 6. The objectives and methods of presentation of cultural and natural resources at the centres visited were reviewed and applied to the proposal for a PPIC in the Little Karoo.

1.6 The study region

The Little Karoo is defined by its massive mountain ranges, situated as it is between the Swartberg range to the north and the Langeberg and Outeniqua mountains to the south as demarcated in Figure 1.3. Commonly, the Little Karoo is taken to extend from Uniondale and the Langkloof on the border with the Eastern Cape to Montagu in the west (Nell 2003). The hilly enclosed area is

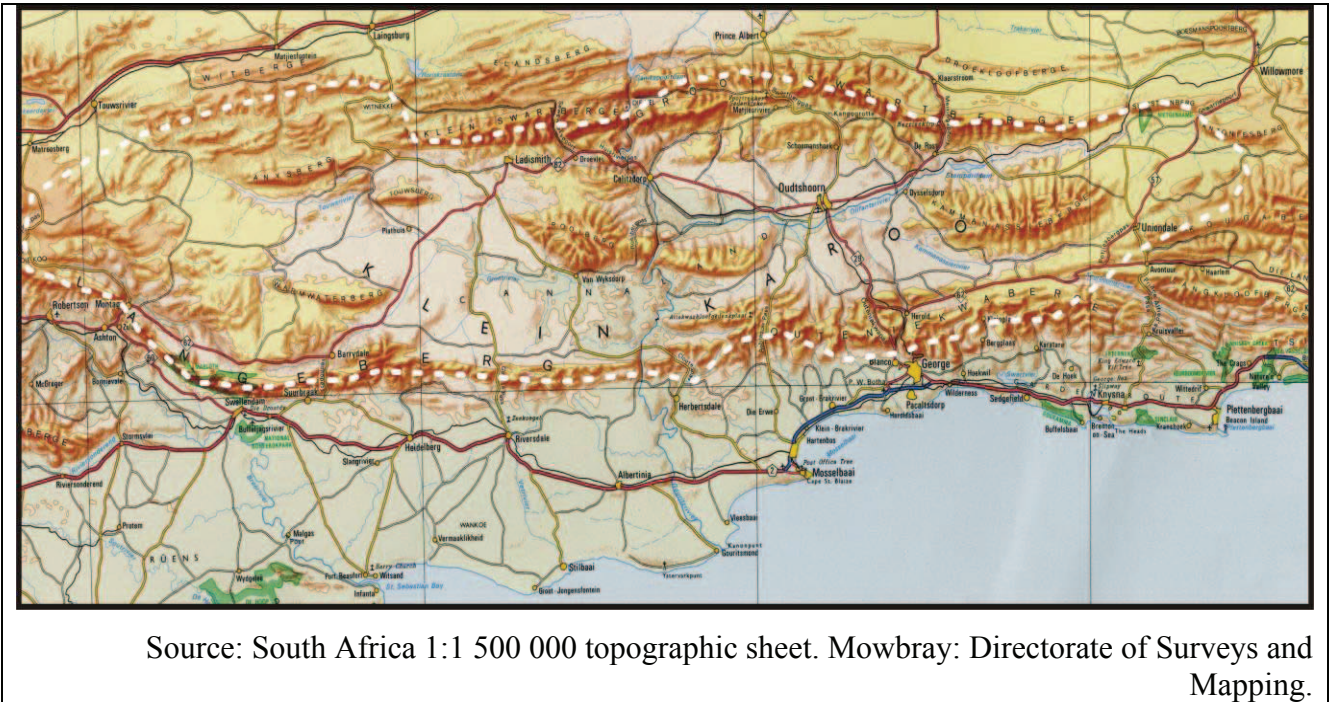


Figure 1.3 The Little Karoo study area

morphologically characterised by plains interspersed by localised mountain complexes like Anysberg, Warmwatersberg, Touwsberg and Kammanassieberg. The geology of the Little Karoo offers distinctive scenery. Folding and weathering has formed mountain peaks of Table Mountain quartzites with sediments of the older Kango and Kansa Groups and younger sediments such as the conglomerates of the Enon Formations (Norman & Whitfield 2006), as at Redstone Hills near Calitzdorp.

The mountains of the Little Karoo, incised by deep ravines, are characteristic of the Cape Supergroup; massive, resistant coarse-grained quartzitic and feldspathic sandstones, reddish at the outcrop, while the fine-grained softer dark or greenish shales and mudstones represent the Bokkeveld group (Theron *et al.* 1991; Barnett *et al.* 1997). There are deposits of iron-rich clays, ochre and haematite, in these beds. These may have been a source for the pigments used in the paints of the depictions on rocks. The younger Witteberg group includes thick white fine-grained

quartzite and tillite beds that are down-faulted against the rocks of the Table Mountain sandstones (Theron *et al.* 1991). The sandstone outcrops provided the hard, sufficiently flat rock surfaces to act as ‘canvases’ to the San painters.

The variance in the geomorphology of the Little Karoo particularizes and allows for the vast diversity of vegetation. There are micro-habitats formed by pockets of soil supporting different plant communities. The rugged terrain with massive rock outcrops, thin soils, ephemeral streams, extremes of temperature and aridity, low large mammal biomass and sclerophyllous or succulent vegetation of the succulent Karoo biome are regular features in the landscape. The Fynbos biome is closely associated with the sandstones and quartzites of the Cape Supergroup (Rutherford & Westfall 1986), and is found mostly on wetter plains of higher elevations in the Little Karoo. The mountain fynbos include the characteristic alliance of Restionaceae, Ericaceae and Proteaceae. The plains are scented and cloaked in aromatic herbaceous and tenacious succulent plants, clinging in places on sheer cliffs. Karroid shrubland merge easily into the Succulent Karoo vegetation (Mucina & Rutherford 2006). There is thus a transition from semi-succulent, open Karroid shrubland to Renoster shrubland of predominantly *Elytropappus rhinocerotis* plants on the dry plains. The thornveld along the rivers and streams is well developed and in places forms an *Acacia karroo* woodland. In places it is a parched environment but one that supports scrub and Cape hares, small antelope like steenbok and duiker, Cape mountain zebra, leopard, jackal and caracal, as well as a rich herpetofauna (Burger 1993). This bio-environment offered the life support system on which the San hunter-gathering society thrived.

The region is subject to a bimodal rainfall regime, transitional between the summer and winter rainfall regions. Rainfall varies with topography and is generally meagre with periodic droughts occurring. The average rainfall is 150mm per year with higher rainfall occurring on the southern slopes and peaks of the mountain complexes. The region falls in the “rain shadow” of the Langeberg and Outeniqua mountain ranges in the south (McCarthy & Rubidge 2005: 207), cutting it off from the southern coastline. Summer temperatures are high (day temperatures generally above 30°C), while the mountain peaks are often snow-capped in winter. Vast areas are unfavourable for rain-fed agriculture so that commercial farming is limited to intensive irrigation fruit production along river courses and extensive ostrich and stock farming elsewhere. For this reason as well as a need to consolidate proclaimed Mountain Catchment Areas, farms were bought and secured as provincial nature reserves. Such conservation measures amalgamated land to form the Anysberg, Swartberg, Rooiberg, Gamkaberg, Kammanassie, Ruitersbos and Outeniqua Nature Reserves,

where most of the rock art documented is located. In pockets, especially in the ravines in the mountainous areas, the land has been preserved in relatively pristine form.

The harsh dryness and the floral diversity are significant features of the palaeoenvironment of the Little Karoo. The diversity of species of both plant and small mammals increased because of an amelioration of climate during early middle Holocene to the present. This resulted in warmer temperatures and higher precipitation after 14 000 BP (Deacon *et al.* 1983; Deacon HJ 1992). In the north the Little Karoo is sheltered by the massive eroded reaches of the Swartberg, the highest peak at 2325m. The water from these mountains flow into streams and pools and collect in the larger river systems of the Gamka, the Olifants, the Kammanassie, the Touw and the Groot to feed the snaking Gourits to the sea on the south coast. It is in mountainous places along the reaches of these rivers that areas are being consolidated to form wilderness zones and where the rock art has the best possible opportunity of being adequately protected.

Backhouse (1844: 112) states that in early historical times the Little Karoo was known as “Kannaland”. This name comes from a species of *Sceletium*, which was found in abundance there (Smith 1966: 276). Paterson recorded the name Channa Land. He wrote that the name derived from a species of *Mesembryanthemum*, which was called channa by the local people (Paterson 1790). The small trailing succulent plant, *Sceletium tortuosum*, is known to contain the poisonous ingredient mesembrine, a relative of cocaine, and was called “kougoed” or “channa” (Herre 1971: 276; La Barre 1975: 24). The fermented or dried leaves of channa were chewed by indigenous people at the Cape causing a heightened sensory state. In the Little Karoo hallucinogens were known and were probably part of the ritual in creating the rock art on the rock faces.

The relatively late date of farming settlement of the Little Karoo suggests that it was remote and isolated in historical times. From the 1600s, herders and hunters (agriculturists lived on the eastern coast) living along the southern shores of South Africa, were exposed to increasing contact with sailors, travellers, and hunters from Europe. Some contacts were peaceful encounters; others were aggressive (Raven-Hart 1967). The first Europeans to penetrate into the Little Karoo or “Kannaland” were the members of the trading expedition led by Ensign Isaac Schrijver in 1689 (Moodie 1960: 236, 433-440). The expedition passed through the Attaquas Kloof into the eastern end of the Little Karoo. Along the route the expedition met up with the Hessequas near the Kaffirkuijs River (now Goukou) and Gouriquas near Mossel Bay. After passing through the mountains into the Little Karoo, they encountered Attaqua Khoekhoen near the Doorn and Kandelaars Rivers. Ensign Schrijver described some of the groups encountered near the Olifants

River as *Sonqua Hottentots* (Moodie 1960: 236). These were the Hougliques, described as being hostile and cattle thieves. They lived in kraals and owned cattle. It appears that they were Khoekhoen rather than San hunter-gatherers and collected at stock posts scattered throughout the region.

The excavation of the stock post at Boomplaas cave (Deacon HJ 1995) established that communities of Khoekhoen herders were living in the Little Karoo as early as 1700 years ago. Calibrated dates of this herder occupation are between 396 and 437 AD. The herders were engaged in intensive small stock farming shown by the age profile of the sheep remains (Deacon *et al.* 1978; Deacon HJ 1979; Von den Driesch & Deacon 1985; Sealy & Yates 1994). Many of the Later Stone Age archaeological sites, including the rock art sites of the Little Karoo, probably date to the last 5 000 years (a late Holocene date) when environments became more favourable for the prehistoric expansion of human settlement in the more arid areas of the interior of the country (Deacon & Deacon 1999). Prehistoric settlement implicates San hunter-gatherers living throughout the Little Karoo region and becoming part of symbiotic or otherwise, amicable exchanges with Khoekhoen herders in historic times.

1.7 Report structure and content

In Chapter 2 the growing need for new ideas in presentation of vulnerable cultural heritage, such as rock art is discussed. Changing perspectives on how people deal with their lives and the environment they live in or visit are explored against the background of post-modernism. The need for greater awareness and concern towards other cultures and the environment are related to the tourism industry. A new term for a developing type of tourism, namely meta-tourism is introduced in Chapter 2. Meta-tourism acknowledges the necessity of responsibly exposing natural resources and cultural heritage to tourism. The presentation of rock art include exposing, promoting, developing and preserving it as a heritage tourism asset and linking it to living heritage. Meta-tourism promotes awareness of place, past histories and traditions in local societies.

The results and analyses of the data collected are given in Chapter 3. This was a problem-orientated hermeneutic approach to reveal and interpret specific rock art images through the application of ethnographic data. The chapter emphasises the significance even today of indigenous myth and ritual by relating this to the rock art of the Little Karoo. The significance of the therianthropes, half human half fish figures, in the rock art of the Little Karoo and on its borders is discussed. The recorded images are accompanied by interpretative text where possible. It is shown that the rock art

in the Little Karoo can be linked to altered states of consciousness and rainmaking rituals through the depiction of eland, elephants, serpents, and double painted lines near these creatures. How the deliberate placing of the rock art relates to the significance of water is also discussed.

Chapter 4 links the rock art of the Little Karoo to the mythology of extinct indigenous small-scale societies and the stories of their possible descendants. It is shown how the traditions, the myth and ritual of local people can be connected to the rock art in the landscape. Therianthropes in the rock art may be similar to the so-called *watermeide* of the stories of the local people. In the Little Karoo, and in the Northern Cape, local people still acknowledge their traditions and their past in their living heritage through storytelling.

In Chapter 5 the practical implications of linking the rock art to the myths of the *watermeid* is discussed. How this may engender respect for and conservation of the rock art is considered. Interpretation that links local social and cognitive frameworks and ethnography facilitates authenticity of a visit. Responsible management and planning include involvement of the local community and are part of meta-tourism ideals. How meta-tourism can be promoted by presenting rock art in combination with local folklore at an interpretation centre in a natural environment is further discussed in the following chapter.

Initiatives to involve the community in heritage, especially in rock art, to actively nurture participation in developing local tourism is discussed in Chapter 6. This can be achieved through a partnership of professional management and local involvement at an interpretation centre. The issue of replication of the rock art imagery and sites is discussed with reference to international and national interpretation centres. These ideas are applied to the concept of the interpretation centre at Groenefontein near the Rooiberg, Little Karoo. The importance of protection and conservation with active participation from the local communities is emphasized throughout.

Chapter 7 concludes by discussing and reiterating the importance of interrelating ecological and social values between visitor and host to protect the rock art and biodiversity of the region in tourism. The distribution of types of images on the rock face of sites visited is summarised. Of particular importance is the numbers of therianthropic figures with human upper bodies and fish-tails. The images are of a spiritual nature and may even show actual spirits of the nether world beyond the rock face. Through transformation in trance depicted, the artists may have been projected into the spirit world. The power of the images is rendered accessible through insightful interpretation of the images. Linking local legends and stories of the *watermeide* to the

therianthrope figures is one way to access the power of the rock art through interpretation. It is from the perspective of the art as a space for the experience of transformation that authentic tourism experiences may be promoted. The landscape bridges the past to the present and it is thus a crucial element in interpretation that should also be conserved. Chapter 7 again emphasises the rock art as part of the landscape of hunter-gatherers and herders in prehistory and historical times. The goal of this dissertation is to situate the presentation of the heritage of rock art in the Little Karoo within responsible tourism context. It is recommended that the rock art and its link to ethnographic and local stories are presented at an interpretation centre situated in the landscape of the rock art. Replication of the rock art at such a centre embodies the essence of the rock art. At the same time it conserves the rock art because frequent visitation may destroy the painted images. If replication is done in the landscape of the rock art and awareness of the sense of space interpreted in presentation, authenticity is achieved in tourism. This may lead to a sense of place in a landscape that enables a conservation minded attitude.

CHAPTER 2: HERITAGE AND CULTURE IN A NEW TOURISM

“I will leave you a prayer to pass on to others: I ask for the good way for all people. I pray that the Big God will tell all people in the world about the Bushman’s spiritual power ...” These are the words of Xixae Dxao, a blind Bushman shaman living near Xaixai in Botswana, echoing the eternal quest for a peaceful existence and a sense of well-being (Keeney 1999: 114).

“Knowledge is power. Whoever controls the knowledge imparted to the visitor wields a tremendous amount of power over how the cultural tourism asset is ultimately used” (McKercher & Du Cros 2002: 153).

This chapter discusses heritage in the context of the changing perspectives of people’s daily needs and perceptions and how these reflect in western philosophies. The global moral, social and identity crisis is reflected in the current tourism consumption patterns. Accordingly, the chapter considers the state of global tourism trends and how and if this relates to the South African context. How these changes are reflected in heritage tourism is discussed. The chapter furthermore discusses the theoretical foundation of heritage tourism and changing perceptions on how to present the heritage assets. The social benefits of recognising a heritage in a specific geographical area is discussed. The need to develop new perspectives on tourist types is considered emphasising the need for experiences beyond the visual and the “display cases” (Brown 1995: 74). The term meta-tourism is introduced and how both cultural and natural heritage viewed in the landscape of its origin can be the means to introduce ancestral knowledge that may facilitate a deeper experience and awareness for the tourist.

2.1 Changing perspectives in tourism

The following paragraphs show how changes in societies have influenced a growing trend in tourism towards seeking non-hedonistic spiritual experiences.

2.1.1 Post-modern transitional trends in societies

There is no doubt that societies worldwide are undergoing a period of transition. Armstrong (2001: xiii) writes that globally people have found themselves in “dramatically” changed conditions of environment and place due to polarization of societies. Tradition and a sense of the past are

minimized and lost in places. The loss of traditional knowledge of spiritual and natural resources is one of the biggest challenges of our times (Kemf 1993; Anderson 1996).

The modern exploitation of land and the resources, which emerged in Europe from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries onwards, is still in process and has a worldwide influence (Giddens 1990; Appadurai 1996). Modernity, as referred to in Western history developed over the last three hundred years (Wang 1996). It is the period from the 1780s onwards which can be described in terms of shifting perspectives, from “being” (the relationship of “being” to God and the Universe) to “knowing” (Venkatesh 1992: 199). It was an era of new means in finance, management, science and technology. Modernity was associated with prominent places where rapid changes and industrial growth took place. A free rein was given to development without consideration for the people and the environment (Leakey & Lewin 1996). People from these ‘advanced’ societies moved deeper into subcontinents like Southern Africa, Australia and North and South America and attempted to modernize indigenous peoples, even subdue and annihilate some. Belittling stereotypes were construed to describe these peoples and advance colonial subjugation policies. Western financial and technological advancement led to a sense of superiority in relations with indigenous peoples and caused much exploitation of human and natural resources. The devastating results of such exploitation were not considered in policies and perceptions of colonists, hunters and travellers that came from Europe, and the fact that the ‘primitives’ utilized these resources for many generations developing processes of traditional knowledge to protect the natural environment (Marshall Thomas 1959; Kemf 1993, Bailey 1997; Weinberg 2000). Little recognition was given to the sacredness that land and special sites and elements in nature were regarded with by the so-called ‘uncivilized’ peoples (Kemf 1993; Weinberg 2000). Recently it has become apparent in view of globalization that large-scale and universal multinational operations have aggravated the deterioration of the environment despite international initiatives to address degradation (Siegfried 2002; Bonthuys 2004; 2005). Yet, local resourcefulness, values and traditions of usage in the environment where utilized and organised in management heritage issues have successfully sustained cultural and natural resources and environments (De Beer 1999; Ferreira 2007).

Postmodernism as movement “from the rational ... to a symbolic system”; a system of acquiring and communicating knowledge (Venkatesh 1992: 199), may resist global citizenship and the effects of trans-national corporations and move towards local forms of social identity. Although currently a subject of an ongoing debate, even referred to at times as “a rather shallow and meaningless intellectual fad” (Featherstone 1991: 1), the concept of postmodernism or postpositivism nevertheless supposes that modern societies have entered a new phase or epoch of a post-industrial

era, coupled with a renewed interest in heritage and the past (Venkatesh 1992). Postmodernism is conceptualised as an extension of modernism and as well as its critique. Material wealth and the processes of acquiring this, focused on during the period of modernism, have resulted in mass production and uniformity in thought processes that have limited individualism and self-fulfilment. It appears that disillusionment with the material era characterise the beginning phase of post-modernism and needs to filter through the evolutionary process. Cynicism with what happened before begins every new era and brings about changing perceptions (Featherstone 1991). Post modernism has now outlived its connotation of being a “fad” and is growing as a cultural movement (Venkatesh 1992: 202).

The effects of these changing perceptions manifest in a new era of social relationships (Siegfried 2002). In South Africa as well a new social cohesion in nation building and solidarity was sought in a revival and recognition of the virtues of indigenous living processes (Martin 1993); for example, by recognising the conservation knowledge of traditional healers (Ngqobe 1993). However, contradictions emerge and caution is needed when describing indigenous people as environmentalists’, ‘pure’, ‘spiritual’ and authoritative. A new stereotype may be created and marginalize being *local* once again (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004). Incongruities have developed in the new social and political discourse in South Africa. On the one hand, focusing on differences in cultures and traditional aspects of people’s lives, especially those of indigenous peoples, away from Eurocentric, may restore special rights, cultural, religious and linguistic (Chidester *et al.* 2003b), but claims for reinstatement of significant rights and traditions may undermine the mandate for equality in a broader society (Meskell 2005). The strongest counter elements for this phenomenon would be to cultivate the necessary respect and high esteem for variant traditions and cultures. It would do well to heed the caveat that: “... , cultural diversity is at risk of being reduced to the ‘indigenous’ – not only for the global tourist market but also for nation-building by the postcolonial state” (Chidester *et al.* 2003b: 313).

2.1.2 Tourism in the post-modern world

Organised and mass tourism was popular until the 1990s, but in keeping with trends of post-modern society, tourists are becoming less satisfied with “traditional” holiday packages (Stevens 2000: 62). Holidays in the past were identical, standardised, inflexible and mass-controlled. This form of tourism in the 1970s and 1980s was termed Mass Standardised Rigidly Packaged (MSRP) (Lubbe 2000), and people holidayed *en masse*, creating a *subculture* with a lack of consideration for the environment and the norms and culture of the host communities (Altman 1989, Siegfried 2002,

Hillery *et al.* 2001). These travellers were in general sun- and fun-seekers; the “heliolatrous tourist”, a unitary type of tourist with underlying motivation confined to a bubble of self-indulgence, pleasure, “just looking for a good time ... to let your hair down and to have fun ... in the sun” (Wickens 2002: 838). To be at leisure and escape the confinement of everyday routine, global marketing in the past aggregated tourists in large groups in ‘fun’ places, as the ‘get away’ alternative, and promoted capitalist production and commodified consumer behaviour. The operators manipulated this system of distribution in the tourist market (Dann 1981; Cohen 1988; Giddens 1990). This allowed for little choice in destination as the emphasis was on hotel and other amenities, developed to be in line with a familiar environment for the tourist. There is certainly little adventure and novelty associated with this form of tourism (Lubbe 2000).

Interestingly the wide-ranging effects of globalisation have turned humanity on its head once again. Globalization has introduced new phases in human perceptions on cohesion, identity and the dynamics of global citizenship (Chidester *et al.* 2003b; Hofmeyr 2003), but the movement has also brought about incongruities. People in many parts of the world face “a growing and depressing sameness” (Ouzman 2001a: 10). This results from the *exposé* of the world as a global village (Appadurai 1996). People have lost their wonder of the complexities of the universe and feel meaningless and out of control, and standardised once again because the world has been reduced to a village. Globalization and tourism alike reflect these incongruities. To all accounts tourism is the catalyst that absorbs and translates what underlies the processes of globalization. As with the shift from modernism to postmodernism, it parallels the change, moving from MSR to recognising the *person* in travel and the need to go beyond the ordinary to acquire a knowledge of the world outside a socially controlled existence. Although this may still substantiate a small percentage of the tourism population the numbers are growing (Lubbe 2000).

Societies are thus providentially in a constant state of flux. Today there is a steady demand in societies for developing new ideas and opportunities and these needs have an interface with the tourist industry (Boniface 2001). Tourist consumption interacts with human capacity for creativity and imagination. Boniface (2001) presents tourism as a phenomenon that reaches everywhere, has a wide influence and incorporates change. Changes in tourism have occurred worldwide in response to the changing post-modern consumer behaviour, expectations and values (Herbert 1995; AlSayyad 2001).

The need to travel appears to be an innate desire in most people to go to a specific place or to get away from somewhere (Boniface 2001). Travellers globally have become more affluent as

measured in disposable income per capita and ownership of property; they are better educated, on average over 50 years old, widely travelled and more sophisticated in their needs in leisure time and choice of destination (Stevens 2000). The current decade is described as an age of voyaging on a global scale (AlSayyad 2001).

Global tourism in terms of globalization is the primary mode of reciprocity among nations, regions and races (Siegfried 2002), and as such has an important if not *the* role to play in post-modern society; one of the positive effects of globalization. However the *real* power is invested in numbers. Globally tourism is one of the world's largest and fastest growing industries due partly to technological advances and the opening of specialized holiday destinations (Lubbe 2000; AlSayyad 2001; Boniface 2001). Much of this growing and advancement in travel is as a result of accessibility of information via the Internet, online services and opportunities for travel distribution. The economic power in tourism is bigger than petroleum oil or agriculture, generating annually more than three trillion US dollars, accounting for 5 percent of the world's total output (AlSayyad 2001). Global travel statistics predict that world tourism will grow at a rate of four percent per annum (AlSayyad 2001). This appears to be feasible as world tendencies in the statistical growth in tourism show an increase of almost sixfold since the 1960s, and suggest a further increase of 35 percent by 2010; the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) estimated the total number of tourists in 1960 at 69 million (an estimated 2.3 percent of the world population), in 1999 at 657 million (10.9 percent of the world population), and at 1,006 million (14.7 percent of the world population) in 2010 (Lomborg 2001; WTO Statistics and Information 2007). Other interesting figures on *world* scale are: that tourism employs one of every fourteen workers; that the top twenty attractions worldwide generate more than 150 million visitations yearly; that at any given moment three hundred million people are travellers, 60 percent of whom are leisure travellers, and of the 60 percent, 25 percent are 'nature-bound' tourists (Garrod *et al.* 2002; Siegfried 2002).

The WTO views the continued marginalisation of Africa from the global process and the social exclusion of the vast majority of its peoples as jeopardizing global stability (WTO Statistics and Information 2007). This can be addressed through NEPAD and African empowerment. The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) was founded by African leaders with a common vision to eradicate poverty and to place their countries on a path of sustainable growth and development within the world economy. The WTO estimates further show that in 2004, out of 760 million tourist trips across international boundaries, generating over US \$ 523 billion, Africa only received 33 million international arrivals amounting to US \$ 14 billion. Considering that projections to the years 2010 and 2020 foresee rises in tourism numbers and earnings to 1,6 billion and US \$2

trillion, respectively, it is fair to say that Africa must grow in tourism initiatives and management to receive a more reasonable share of these results (WTO Statistics and Information 2007). It is clear that more needs to be done through institutions such as the World Tourism Organisation in Africa to promote tourism and empower people.

The United Nations Millennium Declaration of September 2000, endorsed at the United Nations General Assembly 60th Summit in September 2005, committed global community's support to Africa's efforts to deal with underdevelopment and marginalization, and to provide partnerships in caring for the environment and improve peoples' quality of life with concern for future generations (UNO 2007). More importantly, South Africa has taken up the challenge to contribute to these millennium development goals in tourism as the biggest potential to regenerate developing countries. South Africa is aware of, and subscribes to, the projected goals of the WTO initiatives in sustainable tourism and relief of poverty projects (WTO Statistics and Information 2007).

South Africa is currently rated as one of the fastest growing destinations in the world although, as discussed, tourism still plays a relatively small role in the South African economy (Tourism Guidelines 2002). Nevertheless, in South Africa tourism achieved growth of 20.1% in overseas arrivals during 2002 and currently accounts for one in every eight jobs (Responsible Tourism Handbook 2003). In 2006 a total number of 8.4-million tourists visited South Africa compared to a total number of 4 976 349 visitors to the country in 1998, an increase of 11,5% over a period of 8 years, showing a growing potential which may strengthen opportunities for change (Tourism South Africa 2007). To fulfil the potential of tourism in the national income, the gross domestic product (GDP) revenue from tourism needs wider distribution among all South Africans. In the past the main focus of governments was on the growth in international arrivals and total foreign exchange earnings; today as stated the focus has shifted to addressing poverty relief, employment, local economic development, and developing entrepreneurial opportunities for the historically disadvantaged (Tourism South Africa 2007). Supporting the growth of tourism is engendered as one of the ways to do this and in particular responsible tourism (discussed further on).

2.1.3 Spirituality in tourism

Tourism embraces the changing nature of global order. The current global disillusionment, manifests in expressions of a desire for a renewal of spirituality, albeit away from dogmatic religious philosophies (Anderson 1996; Boniface 2001). These changing demands and concepts do not necessarily embrace a specific religion but seek a spirituality (Graburn 1983; AlSaiyyad 2001;

Ouzman 2001a). It is noted that the term ‘spirituality’, a much used term, implies here that people are seeking meaning in a visceral sense even though they follow no regulated form of spirituality, such as an organised religion (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004).

Seeking the spiritual, the intangible, remains a dichotomy for ideologies because it is still rooted in materialism, “parody” and “pastiche” (Goulding 1998: 838). Research poses the question what is *real* in the travel experience? (Cohen 1988; Wang 1999). The challenge has been taken up by the tourism industry (Lubbe 2000; Boniface 2001). The shift in conceptualising travel has taken advantage of in-marketing advertising language use with concepts such as “true meaning in life”, “a search for nourishment”, “empathy for the past”, and so forth (Boniface 2001: 16-38). This highlights travelling to remote regions of the world, which has experienced an exponential growth of tourist numbers (Hillery *et al.* 2001), expanding the potential of nature-based tourism. Tourism has facilitated an accessible return to roots and ancient knowledge by commodification of the past.

The past is perceived as a time of originality and reality, even moral traditional order. With the continued devastation and pollution of the earth’s resources, the search is directed towards pristine natural and cultural places. Resources such as rock art, and other archaeological sites, are seen as places with representation of serenity and realness (Featherstone 1991). Hunter-gatherer rock art holds a special interest in this way as it is described as a symbolic signature of human spirituality, resourcefulness and creativeness in an original milieu (Ouzman 2001a; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004). Visits to archaeological sites imply connections to an original past and subsequent meaning and may allow for people to tap into the reality it represents. Accessing of a realness in the experience may embody an iconic meaningful expression of the past that exists within an ancient wisdom in relation to place and time (Lipe 1984; Devereux 1990; Hoff 1997; Bradley 2000; Elkington 2001; Ouzman 2001a; Schama 2004). Still the experience needs interpretation.

The effects of global change in visitor demands have influenced the South African tourism industry during the last two decades (Lubbe 2000). Globally and in South Africa the shift has occurred away from mass tourism towards a new kind of tourism. Lubbe (2000: 46-47) describes this so-called “new” tourist as “... more experienced, more environmentally aware, more independent, more flexible, more quality conscious and harder to please than before”. They want to assert their individuality; they are spontaneous and amalgamative in choice of destinations and demand transparency. This has allowed for a greater degree of flexibility and individual incentive in the tourist trade and distribution in South Africa. South African tourism has risen to the global challenge (Lubbe 2000). The shift in tourist needs includes refocusing of visitor management

techniques away from the control of the visitor *en masse* to managing them as individuals (Silver 1993; Pitchford 1995; Carey *et al.* 1997; Waitt 2000; Garrod *et al.* 2002; Echtner & Prasad 2003). The need for interaction with the attraction settings has surfaced in recent years and studies have shown that joyful and sensitised experiences at period theme parks in Britain have reaffirmed identity and a sense of time and space for visitors (McIntosh & Prentice 1999). Lubbe (2000: 39) writes: “Travellers seek different types of experiences to those of their predecessors and this, together with greater accessibility and availability of information, provides the travel industry with its greatest challenges”.

Stevens (2000) predicts that in the next decade a transformation in the geography and typology of visitor attractions, with the greatest opportunities being in the development of purpose-built, multi-functional and multi-occupier destination attractions, will take place. This new generation of visitor attractions may be accommodated in unusual locations that involve “place-making skills to create different types of visitor and tourism destinations” (Stevens 2000: 62). This will require new forms of management and new organisational structures, in other words new concepts in representation and exhibition, and a greater emphasis on doing this *in situ*. A shift is required towards quality-orientated strategies in tourism and managing visitor impacts (Garrod *et al.* 2002). This movement in tourism to deliver an altered product presupposes that heritage initiatives as one of the fastest growing aspects of the tourism industry will facilitate and incorporate the new trends (Herbert 1995; McKercher & Du Cros 2002). The essential component of such initiatives is cultivating a respect and concern, a mindfulness of others and the environment, convened as incentive travel.

2.2 Heritage tourism as the new attraction

There is a large group of people worldwide that have the time and means to travel and require an infrastructure to facilitate this. Contemporary research shows that this number is growing. A connection to the past is sought among this group in rekindling origins through travel experiences (Boniface 2001). The following paragraphs define tourism experience needed to make the connection to the past.

2.2.1 Defining heritage

Heritage consists of circumstances that people value that can be inherited and that may have a continued value into the future. Heritage may be tangible or intangible. Heritage that consists of a tangible quality involves the material things produced by human activity, such as artefacts, waste

products, middens, art, landscape modified or otherwise, structures, monuments and so forth, that have remained from the past to the present (Deacon *et al.* 2003). The intangible quality of heritage involves social values and nearly always touches on the nostalgic. Such feelings and imaginative creativity may be the intangible resource of heritage. The National Heritage Resources Act (No. 25 of 1999: 8) defines the intangible aspects of inherited culture as living heritage, which may include “cultural tradition; oral history; performance; ritual; popular memory; skills and techniques; indigenous knowledge systems; and the holistic approach to nature, society and social relationships”. These are the intangibles, which underlie individual and group emotions and imaginations and thus include the spiritual and ritual and communicate norms, attitudes and beliefs (Chhabra *et al.* 2003; Chidester *et al.* 2003b). Hence issues of heritage evoke a strong emotive response (Chidester *et al.* 2003b). Such patterns of behaviour are left behind as historical artefacts whether of the mind or the labour. As heritage they constitute a learned value, and thus extend to the group’s “... cultural, intellectual, historical and psychological frames of reference ...” (Lipe 1984: 2). The definition of heritage may be dualistic but the link between the tangible and intangible heritage is nevertheless vital as the one may depend on the other to ‘live on’. Significantly, intangible resources may outlast the tangible but may be more difficult to access in the recesses of memory and traditions if the tangible is destroyed.

Thus heritage is concerned with things in the environment whether natural or constructed. Some tangible resources may only have partial remains and traces left of past usage while some are still in use such as the ancient pre-colonial fish traps in Still Bay on the Cape South coast (Gribble 2005). Heritage is based on a cultural continuity and a perspective of past usage. Any one generation cannot accumulate, use or manufacture its entire material environment (Lipe 1984). That which is retained from the past must be useful in the present, even if it is of intangible quality, to be defined as heritage and have credibility as a cultural resource. The value of a heritage resource is defined in relation to some function.

The function may lie in how people link their ways to historical and cultural resources. Thus heritage *per se* is a human condition that weaves itself through a search for identity. Heritage has a wide stimulus (Herbert 1995; Goulding 1998; McKercher & Du Cros 2002). Almost anything can set it off. A touch, a smell, sound or colour: memories that flood back (Prentice 2001; Dann & Jacobsen 2003). At times the definition of heritage may seem frivolous. It may be coupled with a sense of well-being (Lipe 1984). In 1981 the National Heritage Memorial Fund in the UK is reported as having had difficulty in finding a definition for heritage and put forward to the nation that they “... could no more define the national heritage than [they] could define, ... beauty or art

... So [they] decided to let the national heritage define itself. ... from those who believed they had a part of the national heritage worth saving ... ” (Brisbane & Wood 1996: 4). Kwenda (2003: 68) suggests that heritage and culture is a way of life and that “ ... there is a very small step from ‘a way of life’ to life itself”. Thus what people hold as heritage is a personal cultural choice.

It is a personal choice but it is nevertheless in public domain. Story-telling and music-making is disseminated within the cultural choice and represents the “public” character (Chidester *et al.* 2003b: 313). This could be termed ‘heritage in landscape’ as it means publicising both tangible and intangible resources as certain values, names, and myths are attached to physical features and hold significance in a mythic space (Deacon J 1986; Deacon J 1988; Knapp & Ashmore 1999; Lewis-Williams 2006). Thus heritage has a link to time and place and it is the people living it who are the bearers. Heritage comes ‘alive’ through storytelling and myths of the past. Stories and myths tend to be readily known in societies. This establishes a heritage that is “mythologized” translating a physical asset into “a place of spiritual ... significance”, as myths are often cast and determined at specific geographic locations (McKercher & Du Cros 2002: 129). The inherent knowledge of a heritage includes elements of expressing, celebrating or recording special events, which carry symbolic and emotional importance for local communities (Low *et al.* 2002). Memories, stories and myths filter through these symbols and emotions (Matowanyika 1998). In essence language is the chief representational system as it facilitates heritage through sounds, signs, and symbols (Hall 1997b).

The word heritage, with its roots from the French *heriter*, has long surpassed the meaning of individual inheritance or family heirlooms to include the idea of a common inheritance of a whole populace or a country (Graham *et al.* 2000). Today it conveys a wider, more common, sense of pride, association, tradition, identity and sense of quality. It even conveys stability and durability. Yet, conversely, heritage is also commodified and advertised. Thus the exploitative use of the word attaches connotations, often false, of longevity to the products (Brisbane & Wood 1996). Besides engaging the quality of being a sellable product (Brisbane & Wood 1996), it has been used to ignite slavery, pogroms, genocide and organised racism where people have been marginalised by their inherited culture (Chidester *et al.* 2003b; Kwenda 2003). This perspective or projection originates from *now*, the present, and is thus shaped by current issues, prejudices and contentions.

In summary, meaning in heritage is centred on cultural identity and is produced and communicated through social interactions in many fields as illustrated diagrammatically in Figure 2.1 below in a proposed *circuit of heritage*. According to this diagram heritage is regulated and produced through

consumption that has meaning in the social context; meaning which may be exploited in tourism. Obviously, these perspectives overlap but the existence of heritage depends on interpretation. If

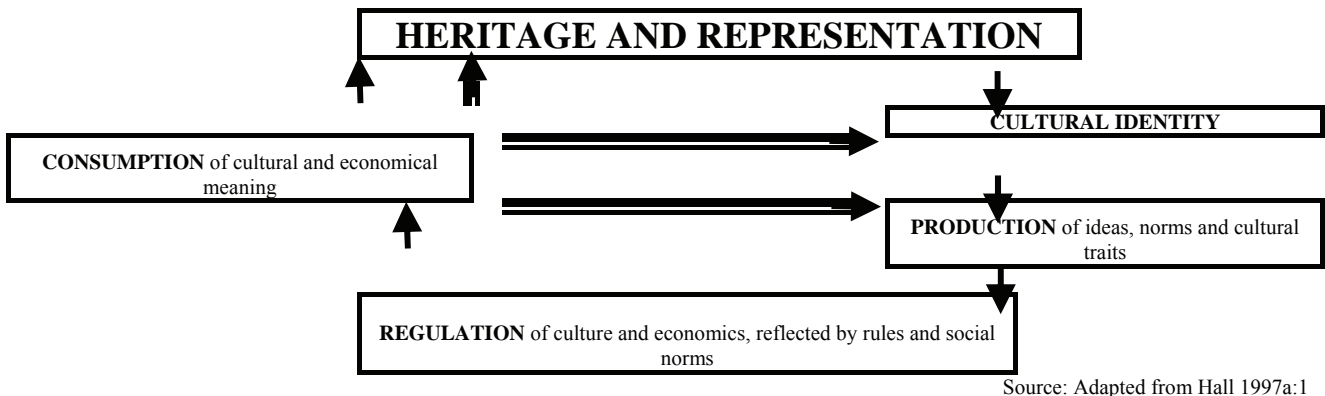


Figure 2.1 A circuit of the processes of representing a heritage within a society

concerns focus on *how* we use the past in the present or project aspects of the present into the future, then a heritage is articulated (Graham *et al.* 2000). A heritage is a perspective on understanding about the *who* in context and *how* that makes a person *feel* in the present.

2.2.3 Heritage and tourism

In 1999, at the symposium of *The Cluster Consortium – Strategy in action*, the participants at the conference adopted the UNESCO definition as a framework for defining and marketing heritage tourism in South Africa: “Heritage is our legacy from the past: what we live with today and what we will pass onto the future” (Cluster Consortium 1999: 198). This classification of heritage includes cultural tourism based on arts, crafts, dance, music and ritual, defined here as ‘special interest’ tourism with community involvement and development (Chennells 2003). The grouping of attractions features three segments of heritage tourism: cultural and lifestyle, historic and natural. The following definitions put forward at the conference (Cluster Consortium 1999: 198-199), describe the perceptions of government and interested parties on heritage tourism: “Heritage tourism is where there is a story or interpretation. It is about creating an experience”; “It is about the construction, packaging, transmission and consumption of images and representation of society and its past”; “It is the land and the residents’ sense of time, their sense of space and their story of creation”.

Definition of heritage tourism must clarify *what* is significant for people in their environment and *how* is it perceived. The term heritage has become a “buzz” word in tourism since the 1990s (Palmer 1999: 315), and it has become the fastest growing component of global tourism (Herbert 1995; Isar 1998). More so than ever, the intangible has become consumable tourism (Moscardo

1996; McIntosh & Prentice 1999; Moscardo & Pearce 1999; Boniface 2001; Chhabra *et al.* 2003). For example travel experiences may add meaning and exposure beyond the physical features of products such as conventional cultural products, buildings, visitor attractions and museum artefacts (Prentice 2001). Heritage tourism is not confined to traditional cultural attractions, such as museums (Ouzman 1998a), but can be described as a non-static and mutable relationship between the tourist and the site, facilitated by the behaviour of the visitor (Poria *et al.* 2003). The "... personal characteristics, site attributes, awareness, and perception" are the important components of a visitor's experience and are elementary to understanding heritage tourism as a social phenomenon (Poria *et al.* 2003: 241). This lifts visitor behaviour beyond the "gaze" (Rojek & Urry 1997: 176), and lead to an "evocation of emotions" (Prentice 2001: 5).

Currently, heritage tourism emphasises the importance of local communities and people in interpretation and acknowledges local knowledge (Ozinsky 2004). If heritage tourism is defined through local knowledge and interpretation it is undeniably immersed in the narrative, the tales and 'storytelling'. In the presentation of the narrative heritage tourism reflects the imaginativeness, creativity and adaptability of the individual (Prentice 2001). Narratives contain spiritual and intellectual aspects (Graburn 1983). 'Storytelling' reflects on the very nature of humanity itself, and as such the narrative provides an identity, even if it is only for a moment (Cary 2004). Ozinsky (2004: 30) says that the challenge facing global tourism today, "... is to go beyond the aesthetic, to enable visitors both domestic and international to experience the soul of a place, to go beneath the surface and be changed in some way – if only for a day". On this "... spontaneous instance of self-discovery and belonging", the moment carries the tourist, "... beyond being a tourist" (Cary 2004: 61). This moment encapsulates *what* and *where* of heritage and the "gaze" on heritage (Rojek & Urry 1997: 176).

In the Western world as early as the eighteenth century, and in the mid- and late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, tourism was for the elite, and visits to Rome, Venice and in particular the Egyptian pyramids showed a marked interest in the culture of others; an interest which in the last twenty-five years has become increasingly popular with the middle classes (Prentice 2001). Before the 1980s in global terms cultural heritage and leisure were in separate and distinct realms. Although cultural tourism was popular, the demand for heritage tourism was still limited (Goulding 1998). Since then the heritage tourism industry has grown and countries like America and England shifted the focus to experiential cultural tourism and constituted the experience of consuming heritage as opposite to leisure. This was hardly an authentic experience. At the time heritage was on display in exhibits and housed behind glass cases. The debate was on how museums should present

heritage of that time and still continues (Wang 1999; Ouzman 1998a; Prentice 2001; Chhabra *et al.* 2003). The *who* behind the heritage was not always clearly represented. Goulding (1998: 835) suggests that this process "... fostered conformity, passivity and political indifference", among visitors or spectators, as interpretation of history and culture "... in commercially driven museums, [had] become sanitised, entertaining, and inauthentic, in order to appeal to popular tastes". Presentation in tourism in whatever form remained a commodity to be bought and sold.

Heritage tourism has been evolving ever since. An emphasis on conservation is promoted through the symbiotic relationship between natural and cultural heritage (Hillery *et al.* 2001). The World Heritage Convention (Committee), adopted by UNESCO in 1972, proposed that nature and culture are "complementary and cultural identity is strongly related to the natural environment in which it developed" (Saouma Forero 1998: 89). This can be related to the tourism demand to be part of the other's experience and knowledge of their environment. The global growth in heritage tourism is caused by a change in attitude that emphasises simplicity, sensitivity, spirituality, sensuality, renewal and peace (Boniface 2001). The cultural landscape with the local people's interpretation of heritage is part of heritage tourism (Isar 1998). Since 1994, the World Heritage Convention initiated the process of listing nominations of African heritage sites and identified the categories as archaeological; traditional and technical knowledge; spiritual, sacred and religious; human settlement and cultural landscape; cultural itineraries and exchange routes; while underlining in these nominations the holistic approach towards and inseparability of nature and culture in Africa (Saouma Forero 1998).

In South Africa cultural heritage for the tourist market also involves defining the aspects of building a nation. The government and institutes in South Africa in promoting national unity and social cohesion need to preserve the multiple cultural heritage resources of all South Africans. Research has shown that the number of people in South Africa that identify with a broader South African identity is growing (Chidester *et al.* 2003b; Klopper 2003). The advertising initiative of labelling products and heritage in particular with the slogan 'proudly South African' is an effective way of dealing with diverse social identities in trade and economics. The new trends in the tourism market have brought a much needed focus to heritage and how its role in the South African society may affect social cohesion, political order, labour production, economic exchange and community formations (Chidester *et al.* 2003a). In South Africa heritage resources have specific ethnic characteristics based on cultural, linguistic or spiritual elements. In exposing these characteristics to tourism with respect and sensitivity, greater participation by the community may ensue. Often the heritage of the poorest peoples in the South African society is promoted (Matowanyika 1998).

Chidester, Hadland, and Prosalendis (2003b: 316), analyse national policy and identity in South Africa in their research, suggesting that what is critical in shaping a future may also hold for heritage tourism: "...we must ponder the imperative of rooting our development in the vital forces of our society, namely those of heritage, identity and creativity. Until we understand producing culture and forging identity as a creative process and until we establish an environment in which creative individuals flourish, we are going to have only a superficial, perhaps even meaningless national identity". These words spell the need to correct the imbalances of the past. Tourism managed in a responsible way towards local communities may smooth the process. A recipe is proffered: Into the 'melting pot' should go; a large slice of identification and recognition of heritage; all the creativity possible; a fair amount of management; lots of conservation of cultural and natural assets; a good mixture of economic value and sustainability; a sieving out of social divisions and dogmas and values that may sour the mixture; and finally, spiced with tolerance and understanding. The complex nature of the relationship between the tourism mechanisms, the identification and use of heritage assets, the consumption of the products, and the consumer, the tourist, may be made easier and interrelatedness more consistent if the heritage institutions of tourism mediate the travel industry (McKercher & Du Cros 2002). Heritage tourism deals with the knowledge and the human skills at its core and thus may have a better handle on conservation and protection of indigenous and natural resources if managed sustainably. It is suggested that within the strategies of heritage tourism the formulation and appropriation of a new tourism type described as meta-tourism may mediate a caring individualism in tourism and may improve sustainable use of cultural and natural resources.

2.3 Meta-tourism, its significance and place in wider perspective

In this section the principles of *meta*-tourism is discussed. This represents a specialised kind of travel in which imagination may construct experiences. This may be an experience extending beyond physical reality to larger causal forces of which our physical being is part (Devereux 1990; 2001a).

2.3.1 Introducing meta-tourism

Meta implies *beyond* and *above*, a *higher order*. Meta-tourism is similar to spiritual tourism in emphasising emotions and sensations in the tourist experience (Venkatesh 1992; Ouzman 1995b; Boniface 2001). It is a search for alternatives in "experiential" cultural tourism: "Feel the light ...

Hear the silence ... Know the mystery ... See the past ... Taste the view ... Touch the space ... Sense the warmth” (as cited in Prentice 2001: 5-6). It is about travelling beyond the limits of ordinary, conventional or mainstream; a particular or specialised form of travel engaging personal behaviour towards place. This means that the tourist is engaged in making choices to realize his/her best interests as well as the best interests of the place and people they visit. It includes gaining knowledge and respect for *others*. The meta-travel experience seeks to access the intangible in heritage (Meta-travel 2007). This tourism type expands existing trends that may not have been exploited fully. Meta-tourism focuses on engaging the tourist to experience the “metaphysical”; that is, the spiritual, the sensitivities and the intellectual aspects of tourism (Boniface 2001: 158). Meta-tourism may capture the *moment(s)* in tourism through sensory experiences. Brandt (1997: 129) describes such moments: “Feelings [at places with ambience] have a restless, weightless, almost bird-like quality – in fact a tourist quality: ephemeral, bound for elsewhere and nowhere. ... soul feelings of being ... altered, unbounded, undefined” [my parenthesis].

The term *meta* is used on the Internet (Meta-travel 2007) where search engines are offered to explore travel options on a global scale (Lubbe 2000). The following randomly accessed websites offer examples:

<http://www.it.metatravel.net;>

http://www.galileo.it/x_rapporto/int_tele/affari.html;

<http://www.intraportal.com;>

http://www.greenlife.co.za_links_portals.html;

<http://www.travelnotes.org;>

<http://www.travelnotes.org/Meta-Travel/meta-travel.htm>

Meta is used in advertising tourism options to suggest ‘wide travel’, or sites ‘about travel’ to all places in the world; in other words there is no place on earth, which cannot be reached by meta-travel. Meta-tourism as defined by this dissertation involves more than travelling to remote places. It is about facilitating a spiritual experience through special heritage products that provide links to origins. In this dissertation it is developed to link to extraordinary phenomena and deeper states of awareness that may be accessed through rock art and relating local narratives. It has been argued that the intrinsic context of rock art in particular reflect other dimensions and has a profile in spiritualism (Taçon & Ouzman 2004). This is in line with the recommendation of Dann, Nash & Pearce (1988: 3) who calls for a “meta-analysis of tourism research” in which the human spirit is included.

Meta-tourism aims to fulfil changing demands in tourists. Tourists today are more sophisticated and more experienced in travelling and require a different style of behaviour, outlook and type of product (Wang 1999). Boniface (2001: 158) points out that current tourism strategies emphasise “fluidity, lightness, immediacy [an appeal to intuitive understanding], imagination, intellect [and] intangibility” (my parentheses), which are described as elements in tourism that have a “metaphysical effect on tourists” in general. Meta-tourism involves a search for spiritual meanings within a context of origins. Ozinsky (2004: 32) argues that, “... all tourism should involve some sort of spiritual experience ... some sort of internal journey”. It involves a transformation of the tourist experience from “outer worlds”, the ordinary, to the “inner worlds”, the extra-ordinary (Taçon & Ouzman 2004: 39); that is if certain socio-symbolic conditions are presented in the experience such as, for example, the mystical interpretations of rock art, and of stories, beliefs and ritual. Rock art sites are places where the ordinary and the extraordinary connect (Taçon & Ouzman 2004), and as a resource measures up to the principles of meta-tourism. Meta-tourism cultivates the individual commitment to conservation in tourism. The way in which heritage is presented and the quality of the product contribute to responsible and successful conservation (Warmeant 2001), encouraging the tourist to become a custodian of the heritage asset.

Worldwide visitors demand more from the place than the place itself, wanting a spiritual and ‘feel good’ experience. To feel well is central to being human and it is thought that biochemical and physiological phenomena related to spiritual travel may restore health (Newberg *et al.* 2001). Travel to ‘well-ness centres’ and places where people ‘renew’ energy in spiritual journeying are being explored in tourism (Murray & Graham 1997; Spicer & Nepgen 2005). These holistic experiences are advertised to potential tourists as the joys of a sacred experience, as spiritual renewal, enlightenment, inner happiness and contentment (Moscardo 1996, Wang 1999). An example is advertising by Cape Town Tourism emphasizing the launch of a new tourist niche market with increasing numbers of foreigners seeking out holidays of spiritual significance in body, mind and spirit (Ozinsky 2004; Tourism Cape Town 2007). Table Mountain as geographical feature is marketed as a source of earth energy (Spicer & Nepgen 2005). Cape Town is also advertised as the *Lost world of the Bushmen*, marketing it internationally as personalized travel with spiritual renewal and wellness activities combined with visits to the Bushmen rock art in the Western Cape, as a manifestation of past peoples of ancient culture (Meta-travel 2007). It is marketed as presenting opportunities for tapping into this tradition stretching back tens of thousands of years.

Ozinsky (2004), former manager of Cape Town Tourism, talks about the importance of integrity of the tourist in developing spirit and wellness tourism. The merit in tourism initiatives to promote

authenticity with less focus on consumerization, would be to keep local populations at the forefront (Ozinsky 2004). The exploitative aspect of tourism marketing in Third World Countries is the subject of critical studies (Silver 1993; Palmer 1999; Uriely *et al.* 2002). In South Africa there are many incentives for tourism companies to adopt more responsible and 'pro-poor' behaviour. Independent campaigning organizations such as Tourism Concern (Pro-poor tourism 2007), combats exploitation in tourism, in particular of previously disadvantaged peoples otherwise voiceless, and aim for a visitation experience to be as good for the people in destinations as they are for the visitor. The need to apply postcolonial theory to tourism and to redress pejorative concepts and descriptions in the historical records in presentation and interpretation of heritage products is a part of meta-tourism. From the 1600s onwards in southern Africa the original peoples were objects of debasement to be controlled and civilized, especially in Christian religious ways. However a fascination with the primitive lives on (Echtner & Prasad 2003), and again promotes shallow description in presentation (Skotnes 1996). Current interpretation does not always expose cognitive traditions, the richness of symbol and ritual practices (Smith 1996). In this way memories and traditions stay locked in and the narrative is lost.

Meta-tourism introduces and outlines a set of principles to affect appropriate responsibility towards a heritage asset, the people and the environment; to bring out the narrative so to speak. It extends to the condition and validated presentation of resources, induces a basis for sustainable tourism and underlies a preservation ethic of heritage management (Moscardo 1996; Warneant 2001; Wallis & Blain 2003). In conclusion, meta-tourism complies with the trend to enter into the feelings or spirit of something; of visiting a place and being open to a deeper awareness of where one is at; a travelling experience of recognising the importance of learning, self-discovery or exploration of ideas and knowledge of the area, the place and people (Moscardo 1996). In the last two decades heritage and tourism have been moving closer in search of meaningful travel (Taylor 2001). Krippendorf (1987) captures this trend in a poem:

How can we get from extensive to intensive travel,
 from devouring miles to lingering,
 from ticking off items in the travel guide to stopping and thinking,
 from rush to leisure,
 from aggressive and destructive to creative communication,
 from camera-wearing idiots to people with the third eye?
 I believe these are the important and burning issues.
 For we are all looking for meaning and humanity.

(Krippendorf 1987: 103).

2.3.2 Outline of meta-tourism in heritage tourism

On the one hand you need a special tourism and on the other a special product. However, this equation is optimistic and not viable in practice. To explain the rationale of meta-tourism and find a place for this new trend, the meta-tourism events must be placed within a known cultural tourism context. Meta-tourism involves a certain type of presentation, but also has management implications. Sustainability and continuation of the heritage consumed need to be ensured. The product means little unless presented in a themed space which focuses on where the product is located preferably in its place of origin. McKercher & Du Cros (2002: 122) list some common features in creating a cultural product, and these are applied and adapted to transform a cultural asset into a meta-tourism attraction.

- *Tell a story* – meta-tourism places are destinations with a story, presented in ways to make different levels of understanding available and allow for control and choice of the tourist in accessing this heritage. A story, a myth or legend facilitates ingenuous consumption enhancing the pleasure or ‘fun’ aspect of the product and keeps equity in presentation. Thus storytelling can weave enjoyment and insight into presentation of the heritage making it accessible for the tourist. The story thus provides access to the beyond in the cultural product. Value and respect are added to the experience by the knowledge gained in presentation.
- *Make it a participatory experience* - meta-tourism by the nature of its expected level of engagement and participation of the tourist can provide an experience where the tourist feels committed to understand and access a deeper level of understanding; engaging so to speak with local people and the product in a meaningful way. Inviting concern but also enjoyment in the experience, such engagement can also be achieved at an interpretation centre where the tourist engages in activities in presentation and gains orientation and knowledge with a lingering impression and opportunity for understanding more. The experience may then engage the intellect and incite the emotions of the tourist in presentation.
- *Make it relevant to the tourist* – meta-tourism focuses on creating awareness and concern for *who* the story is told to, and *who* will access the knowledge. Does the experience satisfy the needs of the tourist? Meta-tourism implies catering for the modern needs of travelling; to

have control in the visit and relate to a frame of reference and knowledge that the tourist finds relevant. Information is given at different levels although the core of interpretation would be meaningful and in-depth presentation. If relevant to the tourist, presentation of the heritage will also be accessible, uncomplicated and easy to consume.

- *Focus on quality and authenticity* - the meta-tourism experience must be unique and interesting and cater for the well-educated, widely-travelled and cultivated traveller – consider their cultural awareness of the resource, the region and the people and offer a choice in presentation which may give the visitor the satisfaction and stimulation sought. The impact of the meta-tourist experience on the feelings of the tourist implies quality and authenticity of the product. The experience of the tourist viewing the product in the landscape of its origin in a genuine state or replicated in proximity to the product, produces a unique experience that implies quality and authenticity. The product introduced as original can overcome cultural distance although ‘otherness’ is still recognised.

2.3.3 Meta-tourism and tourism typologies

Meta-tourism is an umbrella term that clusters together thoughts and ideas around exposing exceptional places that offer holistic and unique tourism experiences. It is interwoven with heritage. Therefore its principles fit well with other established types of tourism. For example, its principles are similar to those of eco-tourism in advocating an alternative to *mass* tourism and insensitive destination management. Eco tourism represents the opposite in travel options from *mass* tourism and is regarded as part of alternative tourism (Telfer & Sharpley 2008). Likewise, eco-tourism and meta-tourism safeguard the integrity of natural environments and enhance the conservation of cultural and natural resources to create economic opportunities that benefit the local populace.

The meta-tourist can be accommodated within several categories of travel types. Lubbe (2000) distinguishes different categories of travel on the African continent as a classification of various types of tourist values and expectations, here adapted in Table 2.1. *Nature tourism* defines the landscape and biodiversity for spiritual expansion, while *cultural tourism* enhances the personal experience; *active, recreational* or *specialised tourism* provide participation in local group and mind activities; *religious tourism* reinforces spiritual significance and lead on to *health-tourism*, while *ethnic tourism* brings on the mindscape significance of a sense of place. These products occupy a highly selective position in meta-tourism. The significance of these aspects of tourism is reinforced repeatedly by reports that the tourists pursuing the deeper qualia of a visit search for the

indigenous in untouched primitive places (Moscardo & Pearce 1999). If these needs are satisfied in the tourist experience authenticity and quality of presentation is implied.

Table 2.1 Types of travel organised by tourist orientation

Type of travel	Attracts those who enjoy	Examples
Nature tourism	Outdoors, beautiful scenery and wildlife	An African safari
Cultural tourism	History and folklore of destinations	Wine festivals, cultural events
Active tourism	A challenge to achieve a predetermined activity	Exploring a certain area, walking, cycling, learning a new language
Recreation tourism	Participating in activities	Camping, games, new skills
Specialised tourism	A specific interest and purpose	Study group, students, farmers
Religious tourism	Spiritual significance	Pilgrimages, walks
Health tourism	Improved physical condition	Hot springs, health spa
Ethnic tourism	Return to homeland	Learn more about own ancestry

Source: Adapted from Lubbe 2000: 245

The concepts of the ritual and pilgrimage are significant in meta-tourism. Tourism has been defined as a rite, and even as the “modern ritual” (Graburn 1983: 11). The beginning of the ritual is the period of separation ‘away from home’; the middle period of limited duration, an epitome of a physical departure away from the known, a freedom, a transformation associated with life changes, self testing, renewal, uncertainty progressing to knowing, and usually demonstrative of strong emotional arousal; and then the end of the ritual, terminating in the return to home and work. Rites revolve around the personal (De Coppet 1992), a place that is sacred for the individual. Despite the opinion that the modern-day tourist-pilgrim is “damned to inauthenticity” (Cohen 1988: 373), Graburn (1983: 16) concludes that rites of passage are applicable to all forms of tourism and that there is “no hard and fast dividing line between pilgrimage and tourism”. He sees travel as a pilgrimage to spiritual experiences. This new tourism is described as opening a “door” to the liminal world that brings relief from ordinary life and tensions, and that these structured breaks permit indulgence in near-ecstatic experiences, such as play, ritual, ceremony, communion, altered states of consciousness, meditation, worship, pilgrimage and so forth (Graburn 1983: 11). The meta-tourist is a pilgrim that searches for the qualities of nature, the wilderness, health, indigenous local peoples, ‘roots’, history, and culture (Graburn 1983). Therefore destination choices in meta-tourism would focus on natural core areas, ‘sacred’ places and places related to pre-industrial societies.

The needs that influence destination choice of the meta-tourist are summarized as follows:

- Need for self-actualization – holidays that may offer an opportunity of exploration and self-evaluation, to actualise a personal potential and access a way of enhancing or changing it.
- Need for self-esteem – in society, especially as people grow older in a society, they may want to enhance and regain their status in a process of acquiring insight into something larger than themselves.
- Need for belonging – strengthening of interpersonal relations in establishing roots and ethnic contacts, to satisfy the need for living caringly, receiving recognition and practising tolerance.
- Need for comprehension – the tourist travels to learn of other people’s cultures, gaining a knowledge and recognising similarities while respecting diversities.²

2.3.4 A summary of meta-tourism values

The following are key strategies and aims of meta-tourism:

- It analyses the trends of contemporary tourism worldwide and formulates strategies to promote and satisfy the needs of the tourist seeking a destination beyond the *mass* itinerary. An effective classification recognises the heterogeneity of the *new* needs of consumers and transports this knowledge to be appropriated in commoditization. It strives to achieve the highest levels of integrity based on professionalism and service excellence.
- In its specific concern with heritage and its expression in nature, meta-tourism focuses on cultural artefacts of spiritual, sensory and intellectual qualities as tourism commodities.
- It promotes strategies to include a particular theme or format, such as pilgrimages, well-ness and interpretation centres.
- It strives to provide an analytical framework for the individual in travel to extend to other dimensions and accommodate a search for self-knowledge and fulfilment.
- It promotes critical awareness of cultural heritage and aims to sustain interest, respect and integrity in furnishing the consumers with adequate knowledge and insight.
- It requires environmental sustainability to be the priority of any promotion and management strategy, as well as engaging concerns to prevent and counter degradation, and responds

² Source: adapted from Chon (1989:4) and Maslow’s hierarchy of needs (Mill & Morrison 1992).

actively to arrest or redress any such processes. It uses responsible tourism as part of marketing strategy.

- It networks with agencies, operators, NGOs, hosts, community-based and commercial opportunities, conservationists, archaeologists, botanists, geographers, geologists and other scientists, to accommodate usage within the proponents of sustainable tourism and societal well-being.
- It networks with management operating across the board, from local to national, especially at grass roots and educational levels, to achieve action strategies to accommodate the aims of meta-tourism.
- It builds and operates on principles of peace, transparency, honesty, trust, mutual respect, and acceptance of diversity in heritage and other cultures. It aims to inform on interaction between visitors and local people and calls for sensitivity in communication. It aims at establishing people-centered partnerships in tourism that responds to the needs of all South Africans.
- It will be consistent in promoting and supporting identification and intellectual rights of cultural groups in exposure to tourism, but repudiate marginalization of local cultures due to diversities and ‘otherness’. The aim would be to empower claims of cultural legacies of the past yet support full participation in the public life of the nation and assert solidarity in a global future.

2.4 Meta-tourism and society

Globally, concerns of social, political and environmental issues seem insurmountable. Contemporary headlines on global and local scale, show poverty-stricken and starving people; the dead and dying in conflicts and wars; as during the last decades, the Kosovo ethnic cleansing and war in Iraq; the brutal ethnic cleansing on the African continent; the global caveat on devastating weather changes and all too frequent bush fires and floods; the large scale extinction of plants and animals; the pollution of rivers, lakes and the sea, and so forth. Added to this, debates on environmental matters to address the problems more often than not are superficial, emotional and non-effectual. Siegfried (2002: 27) calls this the “rocking-horse syndrome” in the South African situation; lots of movement and planning but the process is going nowhere. In South Africa conservation and survival should be prioritised within the realities of poverty and the needs of the masses (Ferreira 2003). Currently environmentalism is frozen in political ideology and poverty is not adequately addressed at grass roots (Siegfried 2002; Ferreira 2003). What is needed?

Meta-tourism may be one of the antidotes to these problems. Because dogmatism in religious institutions is waning (Armstrong 2001), and the distance from nature a concern, travellers want unique experiences and are more focused on community-based and responsible tourism (Du Toit, quoted in *The Cape Times* 2006). Meta-tourism includes an understanding of the earth's biota in holistic terms. It proffers an understanding of the interactive connection with cultural and natural resources in terms of origins not as a privileged species but as part of the biotic whole. Leakey and Lewin (1996: 253) caution about the impact of an impending sixth extinction: "The recognition that we are rooted in life itself and its well-being demands that we respect other species, not trample them in a blind pursuit of our own ends". Meta-tourism underwrites these words of concern. Meta-tourism furthermore upholds the need to establish knowledge of the heritage resources at grass roots level whilst acknowledging local people. Through their beliefs and traditions, local people in the Little Karoo have kept a link with indigenous wisdom passed down over the centuries. In this dissertation the rock art and local traditions as meta-tourism assets are identified and analysed. These assets provide magical places and sacred spaces but need to be introduced and accessed through meta-tourism where exposed to ensure protection. The scope of the rock art of the Little Karoo is explored in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3: ARTISTIC TRADITIONS OF THE LITTLE KAROO

“Our species ... is entering its phase of socialisation; we cannot continue to exist without undergoing the transformation which in one way or another will forge our multiplicity into a whole. But how are we to encounter the ordeal? In what spirit and what form are we to approach this metamorphosis so that in us it may be hominised?” (Teilhard de Chardin 1977: 42).

Rock art is undoubtedly one of southern Africa’s most valuable cultural heritage items, and one of the most sensitive assets to respect and conserve. Rock art is increasingly exposed to tourism consumption. The best course of protection lies in understanding the significance of the rock art imagery and conveying this information to local people and the larger public. Documentation dating from the late nineteenth century and twentieth century ethnography can be used to attempt to reconstruct the behaviour of the people who produced the art. The chapter is introduced by reviewing the rock art studies of southern Africa of the past 130 years. Reference is made to the significance of water and rainmaking in San myth and choice of rock art imagery, suggesting a spiritual link to landscape in the location of the rock art sites. The rock paintings of the Little Karoo are interpreted. The images on the rock faces are epithets of intangible ancestral knowledge that if interpreted may give some understanding of the power of these paintings, and of how it may have resonated to San painters, the initiates and other viewers. The chapter furthermore attempts to interpret the symbolic relationship of the rock art to landscape.

3.1 Contextualising the rock art

The earliest art is the geometric engravings from Blombos Cave, southern Cape, dated to 77 000 years ago (Henshilwood & Sealy 1997), while the earliest date for painted parietal art in southern Africa date to 27 000 years ago (Wendt 1976). The rock art was part of a tradition, of a “mindscape”, tied to social variables more so than time (Ouzman 1998c: 30). Devereux (1997: 169) expands on *older* creativeness and consciousness and writes, “..., the ghosts of Bushmen now extinct can have a last word: out of Africa, from time to time, comes the visionary imperative for us not to become too narrowly and exclusively entrenched in just one mode of consciousness we call normal”. The *Bushmen* he refers to, of course, are of the creators of the southern African rock art and the tradition of spiritual meaning attached to it. Thus, as this ancient creativity (Deacon HJ 1992; 1993) represents “the longest artistic tradition human beings have produced” (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989: 23), the content of the rock art on the surfaces of rock shelters and boulders in southern Africa constitute an essential heritage resource. The rock art may relate to San

shamanism with correlates to other shamanic traditions (Knoll & Kugler 1959; Eliade 1974; Halifax 1979; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1988; Harner 1990; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1993; Thorpe 1993; Lewis-Williams 2002a, 2002b).

Rock art is found throughout the African continent, and hundreds of thousands of individual sites occur. It tends to be concentrated on massive rock outcrops in certain areas, such as the Sahara Desert, central Tanzania, eastern Zambia, and southern Africa (Coulson & Campbell 2001). In these areas in Africa where the rock art occur, many sites are often located close to each other, as if placement of the art represents significance (Coulson & Campbell 2001). The richer and more accessible areas like the Drakensberg and the Cederberg in southern Africa became well explored and documented. Pioneers documented the art by tracing or, in the case of engravings by rubbing, and used photography extensively. Apart from papers in the *South African Archaeological Bulletin* and the *South African Journal of Science*, the results appeared in a number of popular books. Notably among these books were: *Bushman Paintings* (Tongue 1909); *Rock Paintings of the Drakensberg* (Willcox 1956); *Rock-paintings of the South-West Cape* (Johnson *et al.* 1959); *Prehistoric Rock Art of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland* (Summers *et al.* 1959); *Rock Engravings from Driekops Eiland: and other sites south-west of Johannesburg* (Slack 1962); *The Rock Art of South Africa* (Willcox 1963); *The Hunter and his Art* (Rudner & Rudner 1970); and *Art on the Rocks of Southern Africa* (Lee & Woodhouse 1970). The most lavish of these publications was *Ndedema* (Pager 1971) which combined photography and tracing in a survey of the art in one gorge in the Drakensberg. Concerns were shifting from choosing selective images to more systematic recording of *all* the images at sites. In this the lead was taken by Vinnicombe (1967a; 1967b) and Maggs (1967). New rock art occurrences are being found all the time; some may have been known to local people but are not publicly or scientifically recorded. The Little Karoo is certainly an area where the art is little known and where rock art is continually discovered for the first time. Although not recognised as a hotspot for rock art, the outcome of this research will show that this area makes an important contribution to rock art research.

In the Little Karoo the rock art images are almost exclusively found in small rock shelters, vertical rock faces, sometimes on exposed or open faces of boulders that are not well protected against the elements. One hundred and eighty million years ago the crumpling of the surface of Gondwanaland began to form the Cape Fold Belt, heaving the quartzitic sandstone mountains of the Little Karoo or Kannaland into existence. They represent a very ancient broken upland landscape. The chain of folding formed the anticlinal arch-like manipulation of rock formations visible in Figure 3.1. The

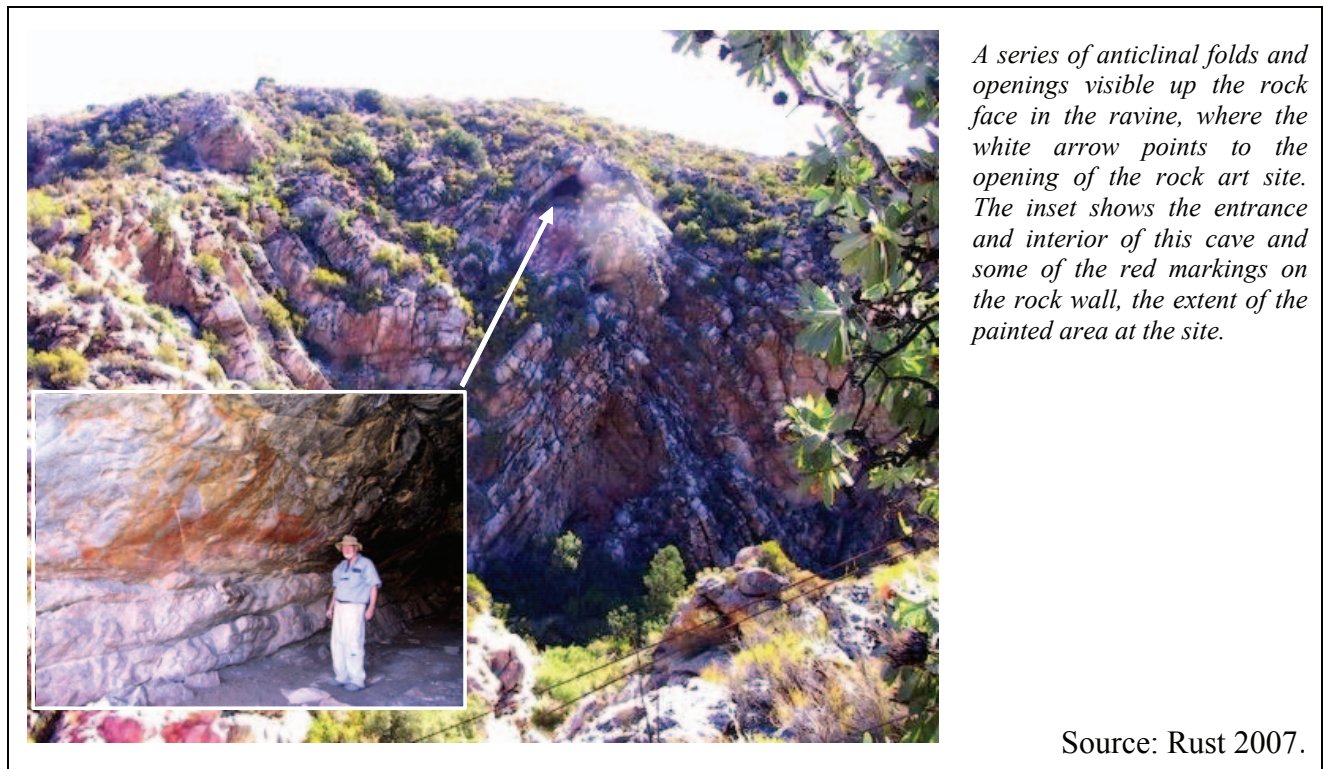


Figure 3.1 The rock art site Minwater 2, Jonkersberg, south of Gamkaberg, Little Karoo

softer material eroded to form the openings utilized as shelters by the hunter-gatherers in the Little Karoo landscape. These openings are places where the rock art is found.

The aridness and meagre soils are part of the reason why the colonial farming frontier opened up late in the Little Karoo. In 1689 Isaac Schrijver and party followed an elephant path through the Attakwaskloof, dividing the Outeniqua and Langeberg, and were the first Europeans to cross the mountains into the hinterland of the Little Karoo (Moodie 1960). The party travelled along the *Kamnasy* (Kammanassie) and Olifants Rivers and met up with indigenous herders and hunter-gatherers, the Attaqua, the Hongliqua, and Sonquas and later bartered with the Inqua herders near Aberdeen in the Greater Karoo. Schrijver reports that the relationships between these indigenous tribes were amicable, albeit hostilities did occur (Moodie 1960). Evidence of typical Cape Coastal Ware pottery sherds (Dunn 1931; Rudner 1968), found on the surface in most rock art sites in the research area, and the example of a reassembled clay pot found near Ladismith (Figure 3.2), points to possible occupation of indigenous herders in prehistoric times, preceding colonial farmers in the Little Karoo; at least since the inception of sheep 2000 years ago and the appearance of cattle 500 years later in the Western Cape (Smith *et al.* 1991; Smith 1992). The occurrence of two horse images at Baviaanskloof, on the eastern border of the Little Karoo, may indicate recent depictions of colonial subject matter (Yates *et al.* 1994). Paintings of sheep as sampled in the art of the south western Cape (Manhire *et al.* 1986), albeit rare do occur in the rock art imagery of the Little Karoo

(Figure 3.2), and provide additional confirmation of a recent date for the rock art, that is after the introduction of herding. Handprints and finger paintings found in the rock art sample of the research area may be equally recent. However, the bulk of the rock art images belong to the older fine line class (Lewis-Williams 1981a).

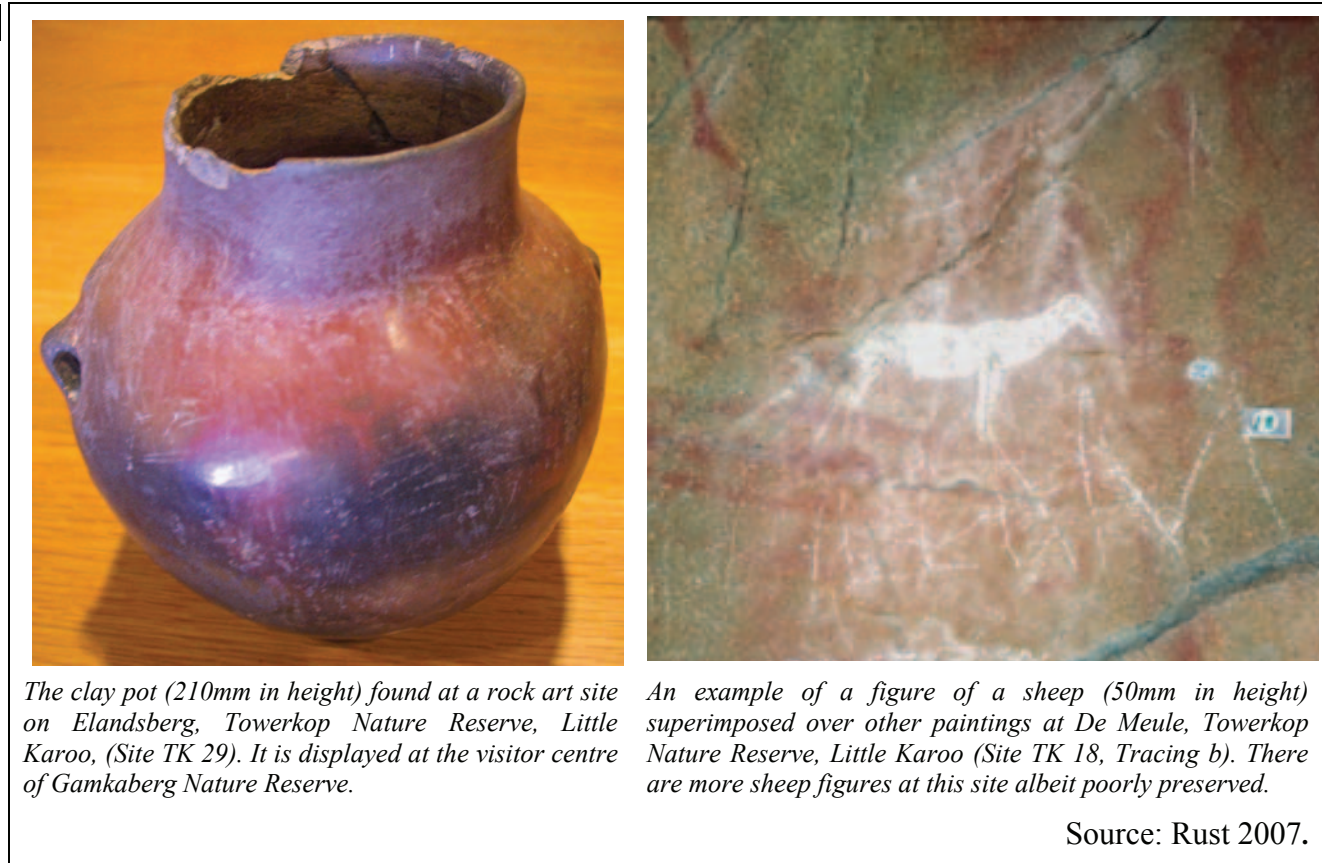


Figure 3.2 A clay pot and rock painting of sheep found in proximity, Klein Swartberg, Little Karoo

The ambiguity that surrounds the archaeological determination of ethnic distinctions between San and Khoekhoen in the literature (Rudner & Rudner 1970; Van Rijssen 1984; 1994), Smith *et al.* 1991; Schrire 1992; Webley 1997; Ouzman & Smith 2004), has given researchers limited understanding of the process whereby herding replaced hunting, if at all. The dichotomy of whether the San and Khoekhoe groups were the same or different ethnicities cannot be answered here. Either way, hunters would have lived in the Little Karoo prior to the introduction of livestock. The metaphors in the art suggest the rock art to have been produced by hunter-gatherers, but most likely they influenced the spiritual life of the herders as well.

Living off the land and surviving in the harsh climate of the Little Karoo made the availability of water an issue of survival. This probably led to a “mindscape” in which the self was perceived as of being part of natural processes, not apart from it (Ouzman 1998c: 30). The significance of water and

how the symbols of water and rainmaking that occur in the art can be linked to the stories of *watermeide* is discussed in this chapter and continued in Chapter 4.

3.2 Understanding the rock art

The following discussion proffers some insights into the significance of water/rain in rock art. The rock art presents metaphors for spiritual resources that would have been important for survival in the past.

3.2.1 Recording the myths of the San and its significance in rock art

For millennia hunting and gathering were the prime occupations of most humans on earth (Solway & Lee 1990). It is remarkable that there are living examples of the hunting and gathering lifeway left to research today. The ideologies of the !Kung or Ju/'hoansi, the group of San of the western Kalahari of southern Africa still practising a partial hunting and gathering lifestyle, are influential in rock art research. It may offer some insights into the earliest human symbolic thoughts (Biesele 1983; 1993), and may be useful in interpreting rock art (Lewis-Williams 2002a). The San of the Kalahari, Botswana and Namibia and some groups living in the Northern Cape still practise rituals of their ancestors and dance the spiritual medicine dance for sharing and healing (Katz *et al.* 1997; Keeney 1999; 2003). Even although change is evident, certain values around the dance, beliefs and rituals are upheld from earlier times, and even possibly prehistoric times. It is recounted in beliefs and stories that a power, an energy in life forces, is used in ritual to influence the hunt, to heal, and control the weather and sustain life (McCall 1970; Biesele 1993). The healing dance provides an outlet for tensions and restores coherence of the social group (Katz 1976, 1982; Katz and Biesele 1986; Katz *et al.* 1997; Biesele 1993). The healing, the dance and the energy can be identified in many rock art images.

Interpretation of rock paintings in the Western Cape, and elsewhere, is based on nineteenth century recordings and papers and twentieth century ethnography recorded in the Kalahari (Orpen 1874; Bleek and Lloyd 1911; Bleek 1932; 1933; 1935; 1936; Yates *et al.* 1985; Biesele 1993; Hollmann 1993; Lewis-Williams *et al.* 1993; Manhire 1998; Hollmann 2001; Jolly 2002; Parkington 2002). It is a selection of translations of narratives and verbatim accounts of /Xam origin from the Northern Cape and later of !Kung (Ju/'hoansi) sources from the Kalahari. The San from the Kalahari Desert of Botswana and Namibia live 1 000 km to the north of the rock art of the Western Cape, but it is clear from the verbatim collections of the 1870s (Bleek and Lloyd 1911; Bleek 1932; 1933; 1935;

1936), that there were commonalities that established links between the Kalahari Bushmen, the !Kung or Ju/'hoansi, and the /Xam of the Northern Cape, and that in all probability these belief systems were upheld by the extinct Southern San of the Cape (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989; Deacon J 1984; 1988; 1990; Guenther 1999).

The early travellers were sufficiently impressed by the rock art of southern parts of Africa to note its occurrence in their travelogues. In 1777 the first known copies were made by Robert Jacob Gordon in the Camdeboo (Raper & Boucher 1988: 83-84). In 1835 James Alexander travelling near Oudtshoorn visited rock paintings. Alexander (1837) published copies of these paintings that had been made by his guide, Major C.C. Mitchell. These included images from the now famous Ezeljagdspoord site near Oudtshoorn. However, the assessment of the significance of the art was strongly influenced by the then deprecating attitude of the European travellers toward the Bushmen. Alexander (1837: 315) described the Ezeljagdspoord paintings as “rude attempts of uncivilized artists ...”. In the 1800s William Burchell (1822: Vol.1: 457) described the San he encountered on his travels as “the most destitute of beings, and the lowest in the scale of man”. The San were considered sub-human ‘savages’ with no religion (Wilmsen 1996). They were hunted, killed, forced into slavery or forced to flee into remote and often mountainous areas to escape persecution (Moodie 1960). By the latter part of the nineteenth century the /Xam and Southern San language, culture and society had been almost totally destroyed, except for remnants of these indigenous societies in the Northern Cape.

In 1857 Wilhelm Bleek started the process of recording some of the indigenous myths and knowledge relating to the rock art when he began his studies of the Bushman language, using subjects that were jailed at the time on Robben Island and in the Cape Town Gaol and House of Correction (Rudner & Rudner 1970). In 1871 //Kabbo, a member of a /Xam group from the Northern Cape, joined the Bleek household in Mowbray from the Breakwater convict station. He proved to be an excellent narrator and provided a vast amount of cultural material. //Kabbo was of the Flat Bushman country near Strandberg, north of Vanwyksvlei, on route to Kenhardt. A few years later other Bushmen from the Katkop Mountains, north of Calvinia, came to the Bleeks in Mowbray. Diä!kwain was one and stayed until 1876, becoming an important informant on /Xam folklore. In 1878, /Han#kassō came to Mowbray from Vanwyksvlei and proved to be as good a narrator of Bushman folklore as //Kabbo, his father-in-law. Bleek found that the myths and stories from the Katkop and Strandberg areas, approximately 300km apart, were essentially similar, although the dialects differed slightly (Bleek & Lloyd 1911). Bleek and Lloyds’ (his sister-in-law), extraordinary enlightenment and attitude towards indigenous people and the /Xam of the Northern

Cape in particular, and their research at the time, have had a profound influence on rock art research. It was crucial at the time to record what was left of the indigenous material as the southern San groups and painters of the rock art in the Western Cape were already culturally extinct.

Bleek's verbatim recordings and those conducted by family members were expressed in San metaphor but its meaning was unclear. It nevertheless set the foundation for researching indigenous beliefs and myths and relating this to the rock art. Today it does not seem possible to illuminate any meaning of the rock art except through an understanding of indigenous culture in southern Africa. In the last decades researchers of rock art have accepted that the /Xam of the Northern Cape and the Kalahari !Kung (Ju/'hoansi) beliefs and rituals informed the art and provided an understanding far beyond the narrative and explanations that went before. Earlier explanations were filtered through western eyes and influenced by acute *Abbé Breuilism* of the early twentieth century which attributed the South African rock art to be the work of "more advanced civilisations such as those of Crete and Etruria" (Breuil 1955: 9).

Further important work on interpreting rock art using San myths, was done by Joseph Millerd Orpen (1874), a chief magistrate in what is now Lesotho, who collected information on Maluti San myths and made copies of rock art and published these with comments by Wilhelm Bleek. Bleek showed copies made in 1873 by Orpen of paintings from the Melikane shelter, the Mangolong (now known as Sehonghong) shelter, and a shelter at the source of the Kraai River in Lesotho, to his /Xam informants. They were able to explain the images in terms of the belief system of which they were part. The informants of the Bleek family, Diä!kwain and his sister from the Katkop Mountains in the Northern Cape, described the paintings, from Mangolong (Sehonghong) in particular, as follows: "We see here a water thing, or water cow, ...[a] Bushman [figure in the paintings] beckons to others to come and help him. They then charm the animal, and attach a rope to its nose, ... , to lead it over as large a tract of country as they can, in order that the rain should extend as far as possible, ... their superstition being that wherever this animal goes, rain will fall" [my parentheses] (Orpen 1874: 12). Orpen's own informant, Qing, also interpreted the imagery from Mangolong cave, as a rainmaking ritual and described the animal depictions as rain creatures. The informants of Bleek and Orpen agreed that shamans or medicine men performed the ritual of rainmaking. These informants were from widely separated areas and did not know of each other (Lewis-Williams 1981a). This attests to the significance of water and rainmaking as one of the metaphors in meaning of the rock art and the actual painted or engraved activity associated in the rock art. Regrettably, Bleek died in 1875. Orpen did not continue with his interest in rock art and Lucy Lloyd's (sister-in-law of Wilhelm Bleek) main interest was in mythology and language but not rock art (Schoeman

1997). The interpretation of rock art was set back. It was a case of too little too late; an opportunity lost. The Bleek and Lloyd records of /Xam ethnography however remain crucial to the understanding of the rock art (Lewis-Williams 1983a).

The latter part of the last century saw the opening up of the mineral wealth of the interior of South Africa. Geologists like Dunn (1931) and Stow (1905) visited rock art sites, and had contact with informants. Stow compiled a collection of copies of both paintings and engravings (Stow & Bleek 1930). Although a keen observer with an interest in San ethnography, Stow's writings include little detail or insight. However, the copies made by Stow eventually passed into the hands of Dorothea, the daughter of Bleek, and among the images she was able to recognise were rain animals or paintings "made for magical purposes" (Stow & Bleek 1930; Van der Riet *et al.* 1940:xiii). Later she (Bleek) comments that paintings documented on the farm Groenfontein in the Swartberg, Little Karoo, illustrate "some myth" and makes the connection between rainmaking and imagery in rock art (Van der Riet *et al.* 1940: Plates 18 and 19). Dunn (1931) showed concern and acknowledged that the San had been removed forcibly from the areas he visited. Dunn (1931: 46) recorded an interpretation, cited below, that has a clear reference to water and rainmaking: "In 1872, shortly after leaving the Orange River, on our way to Kweekfontein, near N'Ghaums, I saw an engraving of a hippopotamus being dragged across the dry veldt by several Bushman people by means of a rope attached to its nose. The sergeant of police who was accompanying me on the trip suggested that this engraving had probably been done during a drought. As magic played a big part in the Bushman's life, the idea most probably was that since the hippopotamus lived in water, and could not exist without it, that if he was dragged across the drought-stricken country, rain would necessarily follow, to keep him alive, the drought be broken, and an abundance of food be assured".

Wilman (1933: 64) who documented engravings, commented on the explanation offered by the sergeant, quoted in the previous paragraph, as being similar to descriptions given for the painting in Mangolong Cave (Orpen 1874) and that it has to do with rainmaking. Her concern at the time was that although the scene recorded by Orpen had been reproduced in many subsequent publications, the reproductions failed to include the stipples on the rock face, possible representations of falling rain. The power of rock art images and any relationship with rainmaking was not generally appreciated.

3.2.2 Meaning beyond *art pour l'art*

In the early part of the twentieth century explanation of the rock art was descriptive with little understanding or recognition of the spirituality of the rock art. However, in July 1969, the South African Association for the Advancement of Science at its annual conference, held at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, invited students, both amateur and professional workers in the field of southern African rock art to attend (Schoonraad 1971). The proceedings reflected not only concerns with documentation and description but the “appraisal of the ethnography of the surviving hunter/gatherers, of their storytelling and mythology, ...” (Inskeep 1971: 104). A new era for the documentation and understanding of the rock art was initiated at the conference and the papers presented reflected a mix of normative and New Archaeology (Deacon J 1990). The positivism of the New Archaeology became outmoded in the 1970s by the appreciation that people were active and not passive agents. Rock art studies were to gain a new impetus from the relativism expounding the new post-processual movement in archaeology. The ideas and beliefs of people of the past could no longer be ignored. The view expressed was that motivation and production of the rock art lay beyond art for art’s sake, naïve analogy and sympathetic magic as *raison d’être*, as purported in the past by the Abbé Breuil and others (Lewis-Williams 1991; 2002a). The way forward in attempting to interpret the painted and engraved imagery on the rock face was through making links between ethnography and the rock art. The art could only be understood through the minds of people who created it (Inskeep 1971; Conkey 1987). Access to those minds was by way of ethnography. The links between the rock art and ethnography had to be made explicit and had to be argued.

Since the 1970s interest in social theory increased, with positivism giving rise to post-positivism and post-processualism to the radical critique (Clark 1993). Ethnographic studies that focussed almost exclusively on hunter-gatherers and their quest for food became more concerned about the fabric and less about the functioning of San society. Subsistence strategies were out and social formation in neo-Marxist terms was in. Under the label of the “Kalahari Debate” (Barnard 1996: 239) in the 1980s, the views of the traditionalists who viewed Bushmen in the Kalahari as an isolate pure model of hunter-gatherer culture with no dynamic connection to the outer world, ethnography untouched by the real world, and the radical revisionists, who viewed the Bushmen in sociological terms, an underclass as part of a larger social system, the antagonistic world, have been aired. None of these views are ‘correct’, but the resulting broadening of the perspective helped to uncover the links between ethnography and rock art. If accessible, how people view themselves is important in interpretation.

In the 1970s Patricia Vinnicombe (1972a; 1972b; 1976), advanced rock art studies through a well-constructed and meaningful approach to ethnography. She stressed that ways of understanding the

art should be sought in the belief structure of the San. In recording the art of the Underberg in Natal, she found that images were selective and subject matter restricted and that the images displayed certain conventional postures, proportions and colours. Vinnicombe (1976: 349) concluded that "... the Bushmen did not paint simply what they saw, but selected what was symbolically important to them". She studied the mythology and argued that there was a relationship between people and animals and focused on the eland as one such particular animal. She writes: "The eland epitomised more The eland was connected with the practical here and now as well as with the less tangible concepts of fertility, regeneration, and eternity. The eland was the focus of the Bushman's deepest aesthetic feelings and of his highest moral and intellectual speculations" (Vinnicombe 1976: 353). Vinnicombe (1976) saw an important association between the eland and rainmaking in describing paintings showing the eland or other animals tied up or connected by rope-like lines to human figures. To her the eland could therefore be associated with rainmaking rites as well as with game sorcerers/shamans (Vinnicombe 1976). She had made the connection between the art and shamans and shamanism more explicit.

The links between the nineteenth century ethnography recorded by Bleek & Lloyd (1911) and ethnography recorded since the 1950s (Marshall Thomas 1959; Marshall 1957; 1962; 1969), and the rock art were being formed. Research in rock art in the Western Cape has shown that similar key metaphors are depicted in the imagery on the rock face and although other animals are emphasized, notably the elephant, the rock art is related and equivalent fundamental beliefs apply (Manhire 1981; Maggs & Sealy 1983; Manhire *et al.* 1983; Hollmann 1993; Yates *et al.* 1993; Rust 1995; 2000). Rock art interpretation was taken a step further by Lewis-Williams (1981a) to linking the art to the trance performances of shamans. He based his research on the evaluation of the ethnography of the surviving hunter-gatherers (Lewis-Williams & Biesele 1978), and the nineteenth-century records of Bleek and Orpen. He recognised that the metaphors in the rock art were associated with the trance performance of shamans in the ritual-curing dance, in rainmaking; facilitating communication with God and the ancestral spirits. In his view the art was an expression of the religious system of the San and fundamental to strengthening their cognitive system. Lewis-Williams (1972; 1981a; 1983b) recognised the potency in images associated with the eland and other animals. It is the frequency of depiction of the eland in some areas of the rock art and the importance of the eland in San ethnography that strengthen the hypothesis that this animal was central in San cognitive thought (Parkington 2002; 2003). Examples of an antelope painted lying down and surrounded by lines as if 'tied down' with hook head figures walking in front of it (Figure 3.3) and elephant encircled by lines (Figure 3.4) may suggest similar depictions of significance and control of animals in the imagery of the rock art in the Little Karoo.

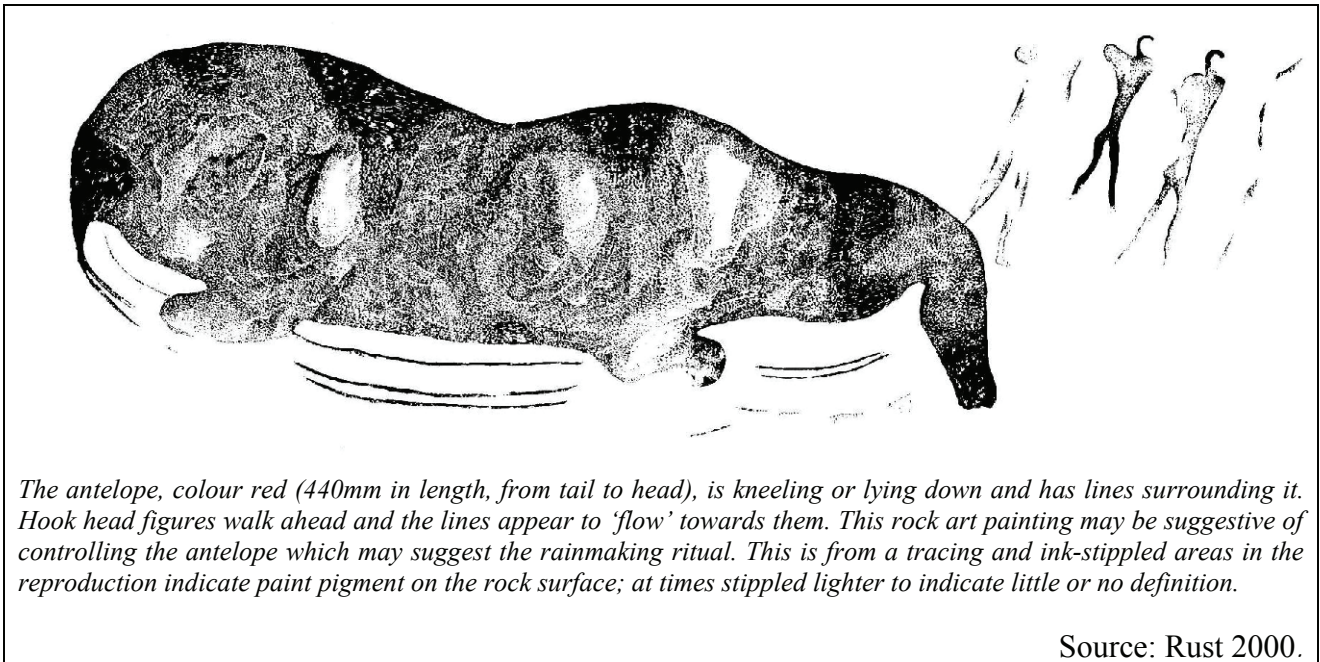


Figure 3.3 An eland and lines at Sankloof, Anysberg Nature Reserve, Little Karoo

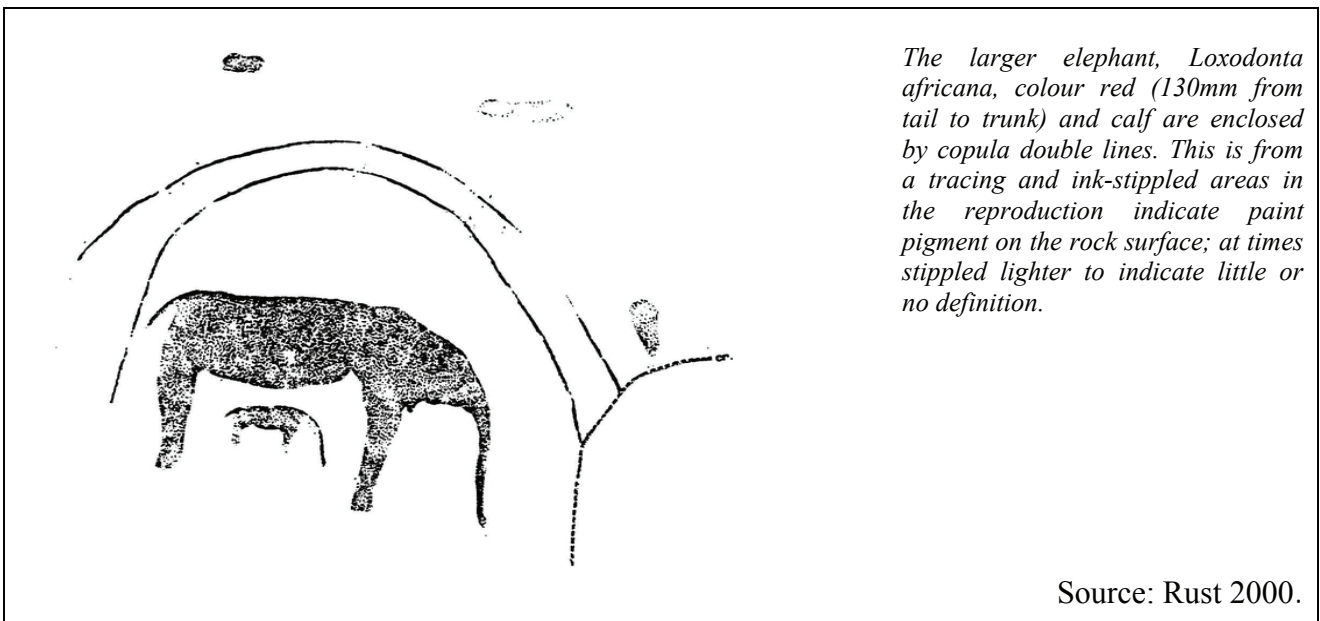


Figure 3.4 Elephants at Janpieterskloof, Anysberg Nature Reserve, Little Karoo

Significance is also attributed to the eland by the /Xam of the Northern Cape as it is portrayed in myth. The eland is created by /Kaggen, the mantis and trickster-deity, and allegorically appears to align relationships between the hunter and prey, food, honey and sex, and between /Kaggen and his family (Bleek 1875; Bleek & Lloyd 1911). The eland furthermore in /Xam thought become evident as a symbol of the transition from the primal time of the Early Race, the first Bushmen, of absurdities and disarray in myth, to order in the metaphorical relationships between predator and prey, food and sex (Bleek 1875; Parkington 2003). In ethnography the eland is a symbol that

features in rites of passage; the menarcheal rite, the marriage rite and the rite of a young hunter's first eland kill, as well as in rainmaking. Among the !Kung in the Kalahari the potency of the eland is captured in a dance (Katz 1982; Katz & Biesele 1986). In trance the Kalahari shamans use this potency *n/um* (*n/om*) to cure ills; a potency gained in ritual in other parts of southern Africa as well, and what Lewis-Williams & Dowson (1989) believe was portrayed in the rock art and gave meaning to the paintings.

3.2.3 Shamanism as a tool to interpret rock art

It has been suggested that the act of making a rock painting established a context in meaning which was associated with the rock face itself (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1990). As the rock face was a "veil", a screen, between the real world and the spirit world, all images placed on the walls of shelters were restricted in meaning and of shamanistic content (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1994: 210). Consequently, the images were of spiritual, even religious nature, a conclusion drawn by Bleek one hundred and thirty years before (Orpen 1874). Lewis-Williams (1998) considers the rock painting/engraving not as the symbol but only transmitting the symbol and may thus portray many meanings. These meanings may be found in San myth, ritual and religion.

The connection in context lies in the choice and nature of depiction of human or animal in the rock art. In the rock art the eland and other animals are depicted in certain postures associated with shamans (Vinnicombe 1972a; Lewis-Williams & Biesele 1978). The lowering of its head, the bleeding from the nose and the 'sweating' with hair standing on end, or lying down, symbolise the death of the animal and this can be seen as analogous to the 'death', a metaphor of altering consciousness, of a shaman entering trance (Lewis-Williams 1981a; 1983b). The shaman became part of the potency coming from the 'dying' eland or potent animal. He/she becomes part of the antelope and is transformed by animal power. This transformation between human and animal explains the therianthrope depictions of shamans with antelope ears, animal heads, hocks or hoofs, wings or fishtails (Lewis-Williams 1981a; Clottes & Lewis-Williams 1998) (Figure 3.5 to this dissertation). The act of transforming or changing shape is considered here as a spiritual transformation, as an act of an altered state of consciousness. There is no question of the magnitude of the contribution that Lewis-Williams have made to the interpretation of rock art. Others like Thackeray and colleagues also noted in the early 1980's in southern African rock art the similarities in imagery to those of altered or trance states (Thackeray *et al.* 1981). The idea that shamanistic rituals explain much if not all rock art has not gone unchallenged.



Whale-like figures transform into human figures (on average size, 100mm in length) with forward bending postures and arms held out as in ritual dancing (the photograph on the left shows a close up of the same procession). Two male hook head figures are superimposed by an eland signifying the use of the potency of this animal in the dance.

Source: Leggatt 2007.

Figure 3.5 A procession of figures transforming from animal to human, Outeniqua, Little Karoo

One challenge has come from those researchers who point to the changing social contexts in the production of the art, particularly in the last 2 000 years of contact between the San and herders or agriculturists (Prins & Hall 1994; Ouzman 1994; 1995b; Dowson 1995; 1998; Prins 1996). One of the issues raised is the extent to which the Khoekhoen rather than the San were probably responsible for the more recent art of the south-western Cape (Van Rijssen 1994). It is argued that changes like the introduction of herding would have influenced ideology (Hall 1994; Yates *et al.* 1994; Penn 1995). Whereas the San owned access to resources that were shared with kin, herders and agro-pastoralists owned commodities in the form of stock that had more tangible value (Campbell 1987; Prins & Hall 1994). Where commodities are involved the role of rock art may have shifted from promoting community cohesion to initiation into the rights of inheritance by formally establishing the individual's place in society and reducing the effectiveness of an equalitarian society. At question is whether the trance hypothesis implies a static view of San society that is inadequate to explain the art of societies undergoing dynamic and varied transformation. Appreciation of the antiquity of shamanism as an indigenous belief system in southern Africa (Lewis-Williams 2002a; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004), and similar forms of ritualized activities still utilized today among peoples in the Kalahari and Northern Cape that have undergone social and economic changes (Katz *et al.* 1997; Keeney 1999; 2003), may effectively counter these concerns. For example myths of the *Watermeide* still told and believed in the Little Karoo, and integrated into the Christian belief system, contain nuances of shamanic causes. Any concept of altered states as spiritual activity that may have influenced indigenous people's lives by

all accounts would incorporate changing views and locate these changes within a past and in living societies where possible.

The rationale for discussing shamanism is to set an interpretive framework for viewing the rock art sample of the Little Karoo presented in this chapter. However there is a continuing debate on the role of gender and myth in production of the art and this merits discussion (Lenssen-Erz 1997; Solomon 1992; 1994; 1997; 1999). In particular, Solomon (1997; 1999; 2006; 2007) argues that the importance of the trance hypothesis in explanation of the rock art has been overstated and the art cannot be called shamanistic. She claims for example that the ritual meaning given to the art and the symbol of the eland is too restrictive. In her view explanation should concentrate on the interrelatedness of the different dimensions of belief, gender, and form. This would allow for the emphasis she gives to female initiation and the depiction of mythical figures from the primal past in interpretation (Solomon 1997).

Solomon (1999) quotes Katz (1982: 231) who suggested that the !Kung have no shamanistic tradition, to argue that rock art is not related to shamanism. However, the statement of Katz is taken out of context because he emphasised that the !Kung have no priestly cast or shamanistic tradition in the sense that shamans are seen as different by the other members of their group. The !Kung shaman had no special role or privileges as is reported in most societies that have a shamanistic tradition (Eliade 1974; Elkin 1977; Halifax 1979; Harner 1990; Ryan 1999). Katz did not however dispute the shamanic nature of their healing powers. The !Kung ceremony of “*kia*” (“*!aia*”) is described as a transcendence and transformation of consciousness (Katz 1982: 100, 231; Katz *et al.* 1997: 19). To achieve a state of *kia* is a recognised trance performance by !Kung shamans (Biesele 1979; Keeney 1999).

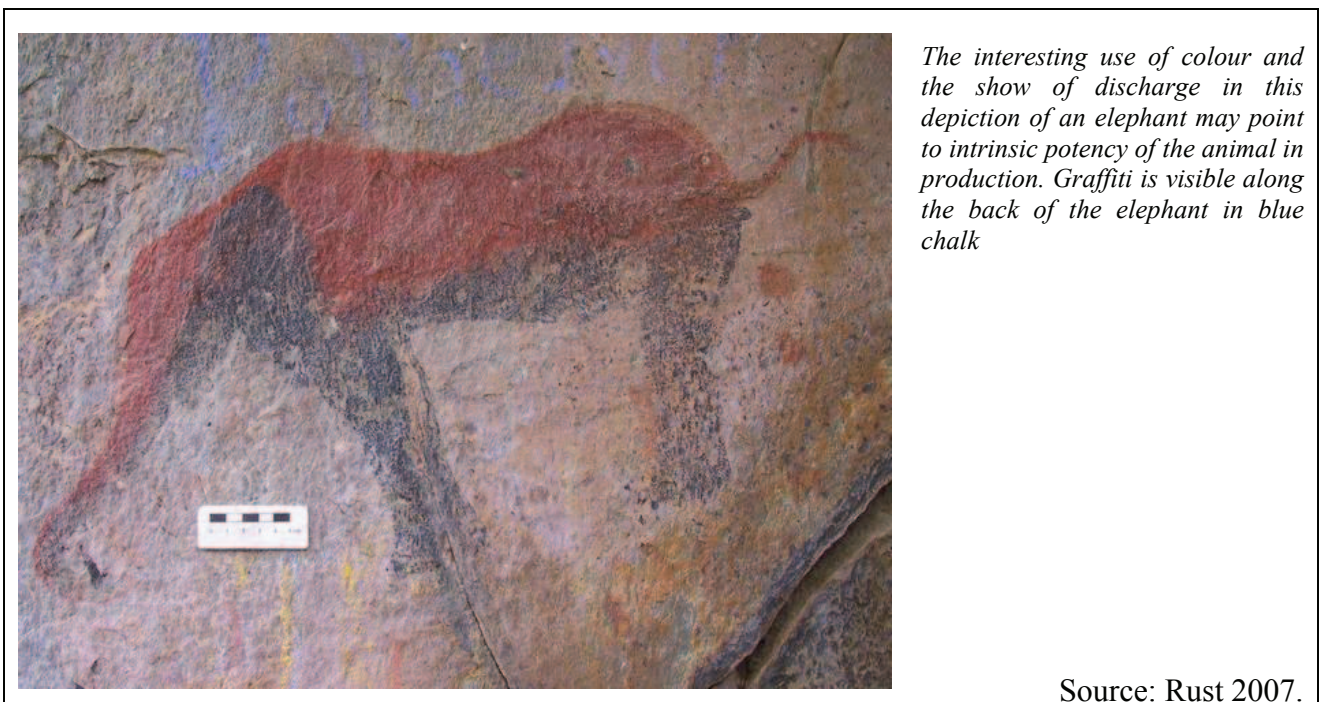
Solomon (1999) sees the Qing testimony to Orpen (1874) as another example of unwarranted exploitation of the shamanistic model. She argues that the use of the term death in “men who had died and now lived in rivers, ...” (Orpen 1874: 2), in this testimony as actual death and, contrary to Lewis-Williams (1981a), claims that this does not refer to shamans going into trance. In her argument the testimony of Qing reflects aspects of San mythology and belief, particularly of the /Xam. Solomon holds that Qing refers to the old order and *real* dead men in rivers. Although there are San creation myths that are consistent in describing the replacement of an old order by a new, to bridge myth and rock art in interpretation remains problematic (Guenther 1989; 1994). The agent of transformation was the anteater (ichneumon) that is rarely if ever depicted in the art anywhere in southern Africa. The lynx and the springbok are other central characters in the creation myth and

are difficult to identify among felines and indeterminate small antelope in any rock art sample. If Qing was relating the story of the transition from the primal time why did he not narrate the actual story? Why did he refer to it in such complex terms? He said that these were secrets that are not spoken of and that, "...only the initiated men of that dance know these things" (Orpen 1874: 3). It is universally accepted in societies that practised shamanism that arcane knowledge was gained while in altered states of consciousness (Eliade 1974; Shostak 1981; Harner 1990). While myths and legends are learnt by small-scale society members around the fireplace, spiritual acumen is accessible through ritual exposed to arcane knowledge. This inevitably involved initiation into shamanism.

The painted rhebok men of the Melikane shelter as described by Orpen (1874) are bending forward, holding sticks and wearing karosses. These are all features of trance dancing and men in trance (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989). Solomon (1999) acknowledges that Qing was referring to these figures as being part of a dance to control (spoil) malevolent powers. The implication is that for 'men' to have achieved such supernatural power and to be able to 'fight off' the evil spirits they would have had to enter the spirit world. These figures have antelope head with ears and horns and human torsos and extremities illustrating transformation. The spirit world was a different dimension from the real world and entry was through trance. Trance as the way to gain power over good and evil was the central function of shamanistic activities. All else follow from this activity. This makes it inherently more plausible that rock art images are primarily trance related.

It has been established that the art does not adequately bring out the different myths and narratives in San cognitive systems (Deacon J 1988; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1994). Deacon (1988) examined the late nineteenth-century narratives recounted by Upper Karoo /Xam informants and tried to trace these with corresponding themes in local rock engravings. She found that "only eland and people are often represented in both" (Deacon J 1988: 11). Figures that feature prominently in the myths such as the mantis, jackal, hare or ichneumon do not or rarely occur in the engravings, while animals such as the elephant, which are painted in significant numbers as well, features less frequently in the narratives. Thus the myth and the image on the rock face does not always make a connection in interpretation, yet the elephant like the eland are represented in myth and image alike. The elephant features in myth in connection with supremacy, even adverse influence (Bleek 1875; Bleek 1924), and it is also associated with water and rain in the narrative (Bleek 1864). The significance may relate in part to the fact that elephants need vast quantities of water and are never far away from a water source (Dorst & Dandelot 1970). The rendering of the elephant in a rock art sample of the Little Karoo (Figure 3.6) in polychromatic use of colour, white tusks, red to

distinguish the top half of the elephant from the lower half and legs in black, points to a possible link to power. Furthermore, the tail is red and held characteristically high and straight with a show of faecal discharge. The excrement is depicted as round shapes and is also coloured in red. Like the eland the elephant is given meaning and significance in myth in Ju/'hoansi cognition, categorising elephant meat in three colours, red, black and white and giving the animal an "... out of the ordinary" or human connotation (Biesele 1993: 150). Although the myths are illusive in the rock art imagery and analogies to mythology existing elsewhere tenuous, unusual renderings, features and postures of rock art imagery transforming, imply multi-layered meaning and intrinsic value to certain depictions on the rock face. Deacon (1988) contends that much of the rock art is semantic and can be linked with shamanistic activities. For example, the late nineteenth-century verbatim accounts given by //Khabbo and /Han=kassō, /Xam informants from the Strontbergen, in the Northern Cape, report on transformation into an animal as part of altered states (Bleek 1935). Animals that feature in the rock art such as the eland, elephant, hartebeest, felines, birds, fish or reptiles, serpents, may be implying shamanistic nuances; or given a significance which reflects a wider symbolism than the creature itself, and representing a humanness in the depiction.



Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 3.6 Elephant rock art at Minwater Site MIN 1, Little Karoo

The art should be interpreted in a holistic manner – it is also feelings and associations of the people for whom the art had meaning that were important in the production of the art. Although it is not feasible to know the full extent of these feelings, the reaction of a San couple living in the Jammerberg, Lesotho, to copies of rock art shown to them by Stow a century ago, have been

recorded (Stow 1905). On seeing some human figures illustrated grouped together in these depictions the woman began to move rhythmically and to sing. The old man, her husband, reacted emotionally and proceeded to dance to her singing. Vinnicombe (1976) argues that this incident demonstrates the connection between rock paintings, music, dance and ritual in the minds of the San, and that in San thought all aspects of culture were inter-connected. Reactions to the paintings and the manipulation that may ensue as a result are examined by Blundell (2004). He places his research within a historical trajectory, and focuses on the emotions and the extent of ritual control that may have been possible and how this affected the choice in rock art imagery. The use of transference into the spirit world helped the San ritual specialists to maintain control and identity, especially in colonial times, as keepers of the secrets of the spirit world (Blundell 2004).

It is now generally accepted that San rock art relates to the power and ritual experiences of the shaman, (*n/omkxaosi* amongst the !Kung, and *!gi:xa* amongst the /Xam), and his/her ability to 'go to' the spirit realm and communicate with gods, spirits and mythical creatures (Lewis-Williams 1981b; 1990a; Yates & Manhire. 1991). When the San was regarded as the lowest class of humanity, their customs and art were trivialised. The revelation that has come from subsequent studies is the depth of meaning portrayed in the art. The art can no longer be deprecated as child-like and dismissed as art that has to do with sympathetic magic or art for art's sake. It has taken some 130 years since the first copies of rock art were published to achieve wider acceptance of the significance of rock art as a religious expression. In this time the traditions associated with the production of the art have been lost. There is probably no living person who can claim to have been schooled in this tradition. All that remain are tenuous folk memories of its production to facilitate a link.

In the not too distant past, myths and stories in non-literate societies were ways in which happenings were recorded to enhance order and survival. Sometimes shamans passed it on in the ritual act of shamanism. The art was the vehicle used to transmit information in visual form yet evoking all the senses. Mythology, ritual and the art are interwoven in a web of shamanistic religious ideas and cannot be separated and studied as different entities. It serves little purpose to debate the relative importance of mythology versus shamanism in interpreting the art. They are parts of the same whole.

3.3 The content of the painted shelters of the Little Karoo

The rock art of the Little Karoo has been recorded in several field seasons (Rust 2007). Its spiritual and mystical character is highlighted in this section. This is essential to establish the intangible link of this heritage to the social context of the past and present. In the presentation of the rock art of the Little Karoo below the images are accompanied by interpretative text. If reference is made to a specific site, the site acronym and number are given in the text and further data is accessible from the site forms and tracings lodged with the author.

3.3.1 The dating and location of the rock art sites

In 1689 when Isaac Schrijver entered the Little Karoo (Moodie 1960), social and economic exchange had in all likelihood taken place between the indigenous groups; those still living a hunter-gatherer way and the herders. The occurrence and content of rock art sites scattered throughout the Little Karoo and on its boundaries, reflect possible relationships between the San and Khoekhoen. The rock art shows a sequence of fine-line paintings superimposed with more recent finger and hand printing (Van der Merwe *et al.* 1987). There are ten examples with distinctive chronological features or a possible indication of domestication (Manhire *et al.* 1986). The only other colonially related features (Yates *et al.* 1993) as mentioned are two horses at a site on Bo-Kloof, Baviaanskloof (cf. Uitslag site BKL1; Appendix B). This evidence suggests that the rock painting tradition continued in geographically isolated areas in the mountains of the Little Karoo in colonial times. Shifts in ideologies may have occurred with the emergence of a pastoral lifestyle. Contact with Europeans in later colonial times on the south coast near Mossel Bay, Riversdale and Still Bay areas (Raven-Hart 1967), may have affected the shift in the geographical locus of the rock painting tradition.

A depiction of a sailing ship in the Attakwaskloof, north of Mossel Bay (Leggatt & Rust 2004) (Figure 3.7 to this dissertation), and images of sheep (cf. De Meule site TK18) occur. The ship superimposes older paintings but also finger dots and handprints, while black and red dots superimpose the ship. The ship can be dated to the 1590s or to the first half of the seventeenth century (Leggatt & Rust 2004). This means that the black and red finger dots superimposing the ship were executed less than 400 years ago. It points to recent use of the sites probably by indigenous herding peoples in the region. Sites with similar dotting and handprints are found south of the Langeberg range. Thus finger-applied imagery may be more recent and may indicate re-visitation at many sites in order to paint or repaint particular rock surfaces over a period of time.

However, at times the dots appear to have been executed at similar times as the older fine-line paintings and applied with an implement. One notable example is the two vertical rows at Site ANYS 2, Anysberg Nature Reserve, of painted microdots, each numbering an equal count of 128 dots (Rust 2000). Entoptic images together with forms like strokes and handprints have been suggested as the late phase in the Western Cape (Yates *et al.* 1993). There is nothing to contradict this in the Little Karoo art sample where they again consistently overlies fine-line paintings, except in the cases where the tradition of daubing may be older and appear to be part of the fine-line painting style in some instances.

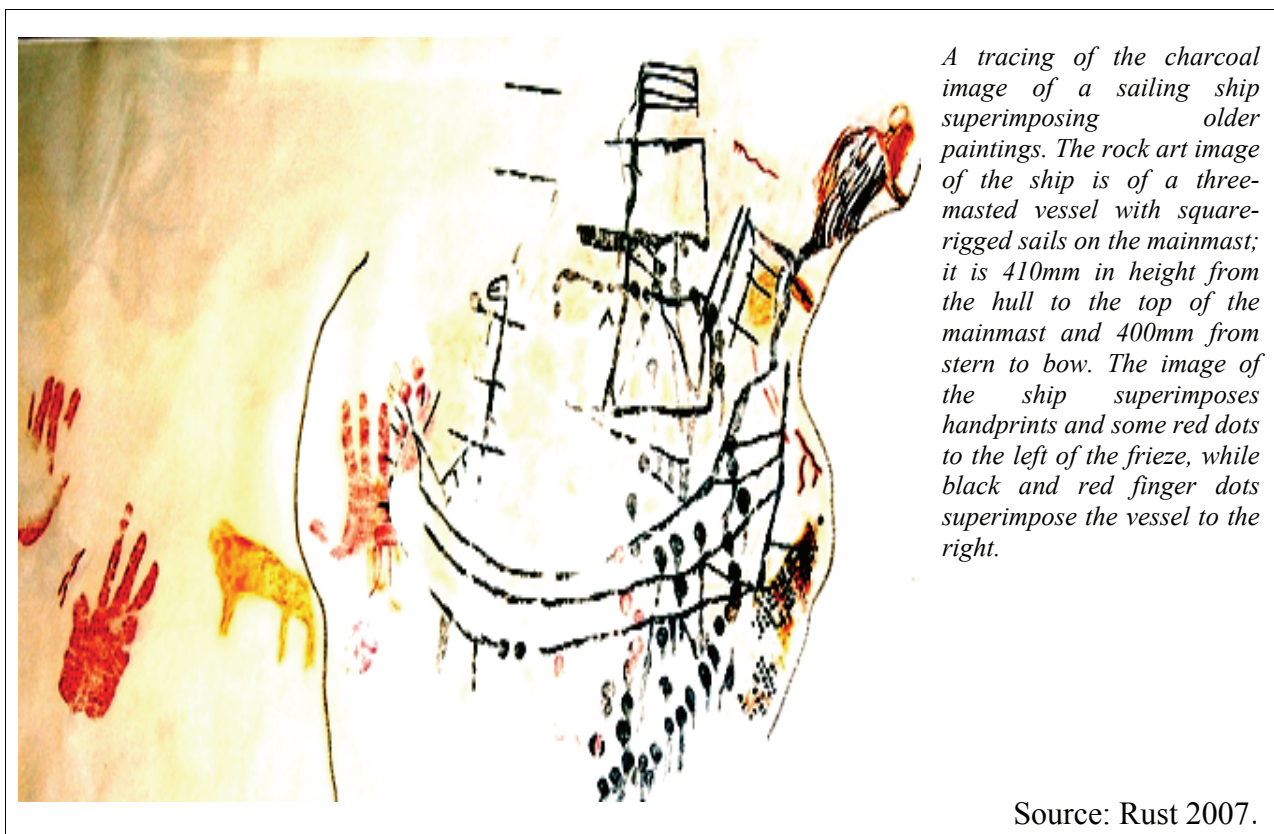


Figure 3.7 Dutch sailing vessel at Crane's Crest, Attakwaskloof, Ruitersbos, Little Karoo

In this dissertation a site is indicated with an acronym and number (Appendix B). Usually it indicates a shelter or overhang with paintings. It may be very few images or over a hundred on the rock face. One hundred and fifty sites with rock art depictions were considered in the analysis of the imagery. The rock art is executed on geologically weathered smooth or plane-fractured flat sandstone and quartzitic rock faces sheltered from the elements that were chosen as 'canvases' (cf. Figure 3.1). The sites tend to be small and a group of sites may be clustered and located in one *kloof*. Sites with rock art located thus may be in line of sight from any one site. The sites tend to have fewer than fifty images per site. A pattern is discerned that larger sites with more than 50

images have superimpositioning of imagery that points to selection of such sites for re-visitation and a possible ritual function. Besides the painted images on the rock shelter walls other artefacts or fragments thereof show the types of activities at these sites. However, few sites show prolonged occupation and surface deposits show a scatter of stone flakes, pottery shards, quartz pieces and flakes, sharpened bone to produce awls, one with a hole for threading, wooden honed sticks, ostrich eggshell fragments and holed beads, *Donax serra* fragments, as well as wooden pegs lodged in crevices (Figure 3.8).

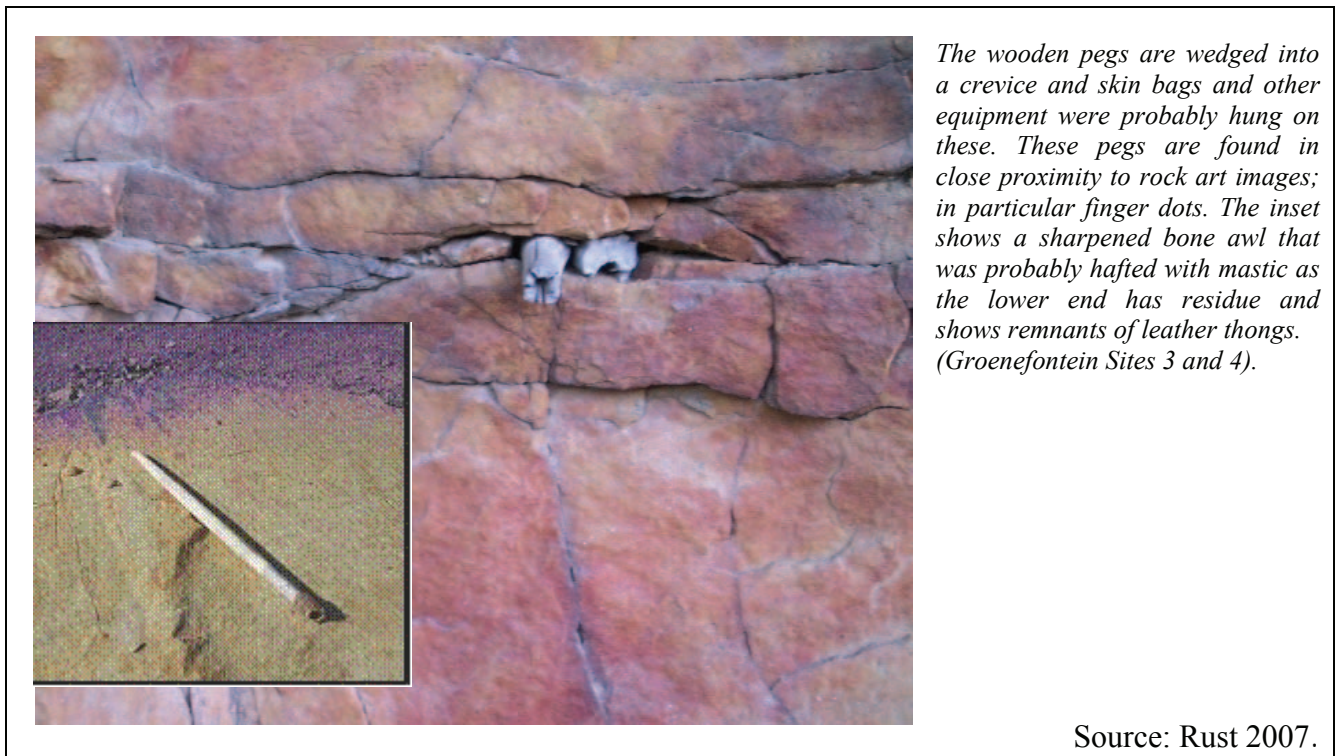


Figure 3.8 Wooden pegs and bone point at Groenefontein Nature Reserve, Little Karoo

The impression is that the sites are scattered throughout the mountainous landscape. They are mostly located at places that seem to be distinguished from the surrounding landscape by prominent topography; high cliffs or outcrops, and caverns. Some of these sites are located high up mountain ridges and access is difficult. Some can only be reached by those who knew how and where to find them (even today) and some are located on routes over the mountains, probably frequented at different times of the year. One of two sites on Elandsberg near Ladismith (Figure 3.9), for example, is found at 1700m above sea level which necessitates traversing the *veld* and mountainous terrain. The pattern that can be discerned in the location of rock art sites in the Little Karoo is that they are invariably found near stream courses or water sources in *kloofs*. Many of the painted rock surfaces at sites are exposed.

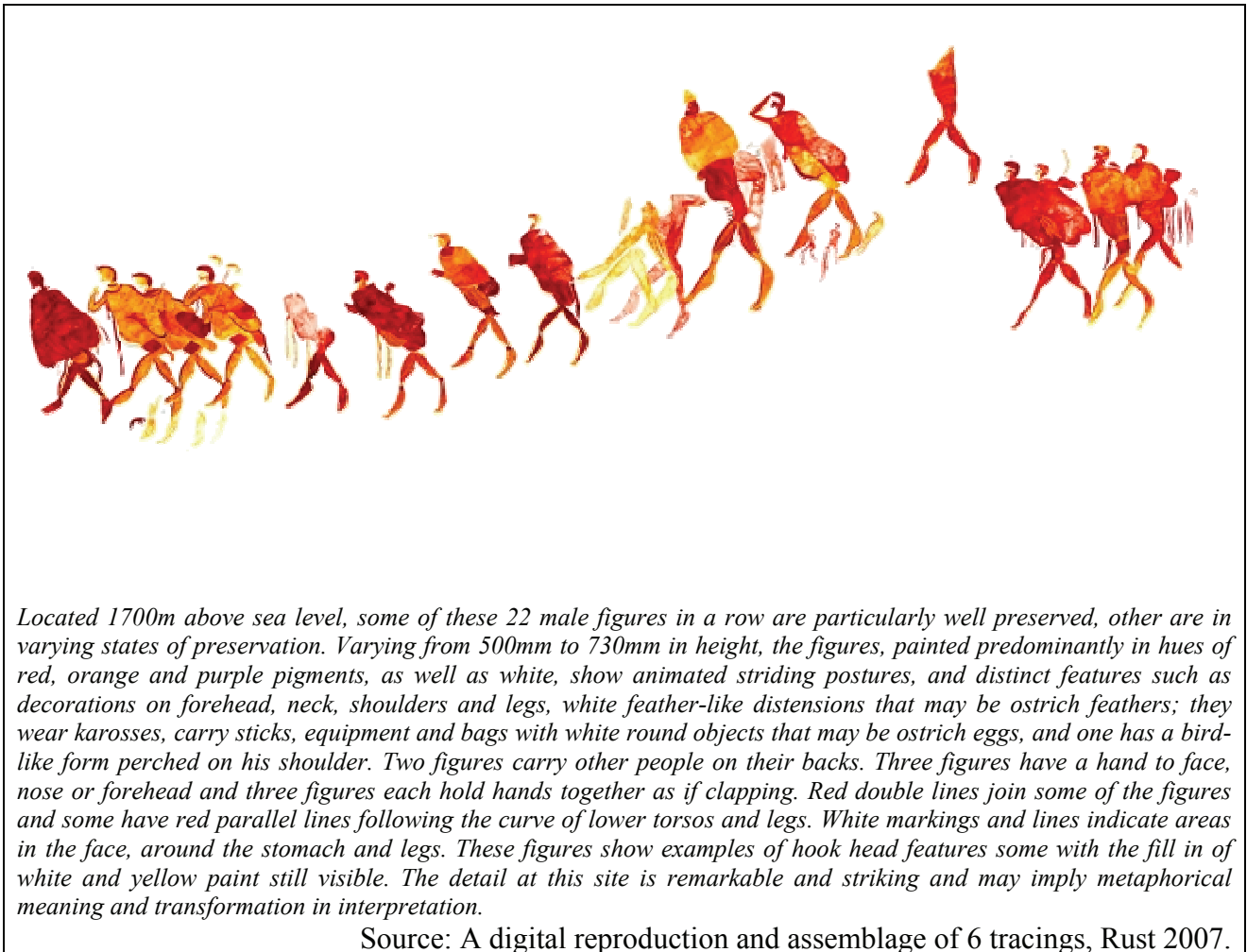


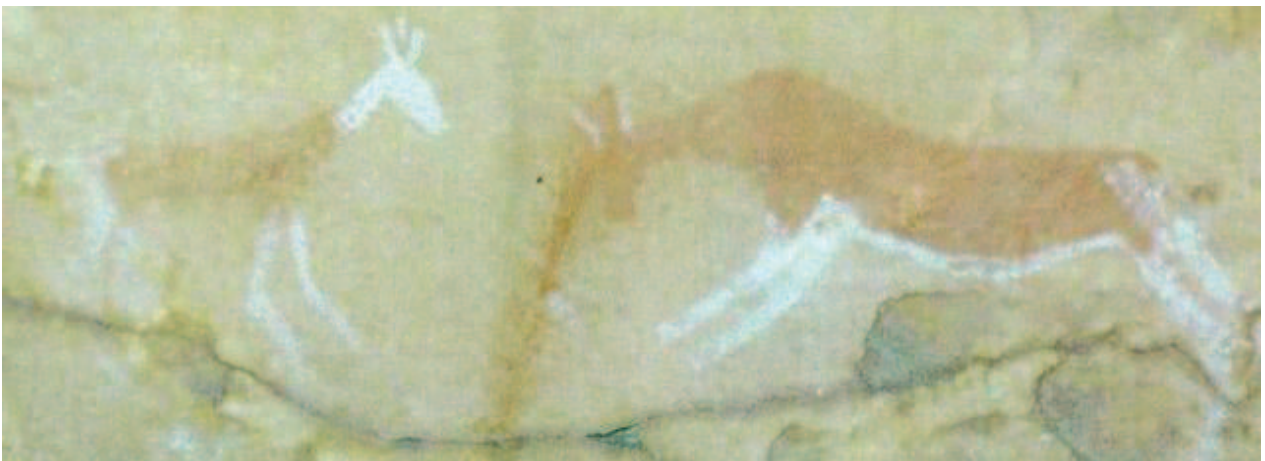
Figure 3.9 Rock art imagery at Towerkop Nature Reserve (Site TK 30), Ladismith, Little Karoo

3.3.2 Methods used to produce the paintings

The paintings encountered in the research area are not always clear, some partially preserved. The paintings were made with a fine applicator or brush, or with the fingers or palm. Paint brushes may have been made from feathers, animal hair, a stick or a bone spatula, but none have been found in context (Bassett 2001). The paint may have been kept in small antelope horns. A Bushman of the Malutis who was shot in a raid in the Drakensberg wore a belt with small antelope horns filled with paint (Stow 1905). In 1965 red ochre powder was found in a partially preserved clay pot discovered by Stanley de Wit, a resident of Ladismith, at Site TK 30 on Elandsberg near Ladismith in the Little Karoo (De Wit 2006, pers com). The pot, removed from the site and later reassembled by De Wit, stands 210mm high, with a width of 195mm, has thin walls of 5mm and is burnished with red ochre (cf. Figure 3.2). Two lugs on opposite sides are suggestive of a Khoesan pot (Dunn 1931; Rudner 1968). It is significant that the pot with ochre powder was found near paintings of elephant, antelope, a therianthrope, animal-like head with human legs, and male figures, some wearing karosses. These are fine-line paintings which suggest that the pot may relate to the earlier art form.

The proximity of the find to rock art may furthermore indicate that the ochre in the pot was used as pigment in a mixture of paint in applying the paintings on the rock face. It is difficult to evaluate this observation as the account of the find is verbatim and told 40 years later.

Recurring features in the rock art are found in the sample throughout the region. In some cases it appears as if the paintings were outlined first and then filled-in, as all that remains is an outline (cf. Site GNR V2 available on compact disc). A rock art image in outline may have been intentional but may also indicate the initial concentrated application of a brush full of paint. This applies to thin lines that are distinct while the rest of the painting has faded. Similarly, a hook shape usually indicates the head of a male figure, also applied with thick splodges of paint to execute the curve of the hook. The fill in of the face was usually done in white or yellow. The white paint mixture shows the most rapid and highest rate of deterioration and is completely faded out in some cases so that only the red hook of the head remains visible. Many paintings employed only one colour; ochreous hues of red, yellow or orange. If paintings contained more than one colour, termed bichromes, the different parts of the image would be painted in flat colours without shading (Figure 3.10). Others



The depiction of two bi-chrome antelope (average size, 100mm in length from tail to head) shows the technique of applying two colours.

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 3.10 Bi-chrome antelope at Site ANYS 2, on the Anysberg Nature Reserve, Little Karoo

are bichrome and some polychrome, using a third colour (Figure 3.11). If heated these ochreous minerals can change colour and become darker (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989). Black was often used in imagery on the rock face. Green or blue colours do not occur in the Little Karoo. It is suggested that the paint mixtures were made using powdered clay, charcoal, and oxide coloured minerals mixed with binders and carrying agents such as blood, fat, egg, plant resin or sap, gall and water (Bassett 2001).



The figure (610mm in height) in the centre is the seventh figure from the left in the frieze of figures shown in Figure 3.9. This figure shows characteristics in depiction as described in the text. It has a hook head shape with a yellow/orange fill in to the face that is still distinct. It is a polychrome as it is painted in three colours; orange white and red.

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 3.11 Detail from the frieze of figures at Towerkop Nature Reserve (Site TK 30), Little Karoo

In all probability red was made from ochre pigments containing oxidized iron, haematite or specularite, yellow from goethite or limonite, black from charcoal or manganese oxide, and white were made from raptor faeces, gypsum, or kaolin. In the 1930s in Lesotho, a Basotho man, Mapote, of mixed San descent, reported that blood of a freshly killed eland was used to bind the paint mixture (How 1970). The blood must be fresh otherwise it would coagulate before mixed with ground ochre pigment. A woman had to heat the red pigment over the fire and grind it to a powder under a full moon out of doors (How 1970: 33-38). When asked to do some paintings, Mapote collected the various materials, then used fresh blood to bind the pigment mixture and painted on smooth sandstone selected for this purpose. Earlier reports show the familiarity of the San with different pigments. In the 1870s it was reported by /Han=kassō that the /Xam Bushman mine *ttō*, red haematite, and anoint their bodies with it, and with //hára, black specularite, they anoint their heads (Bleek & Lloyd 1911: 375-379). Ritual undertones and mystical qualities of the pigments themselves are hinted at in these accounts.

3.3.3 A selection of images from the Little Karoo

The images of the Little Karoo show the same technique and themes as other rock art areas in the Western Cape (Yates *et al.* 1985; Halkett 1987; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989; Yates & Manhire 1991; Van Rijssen 1994; Yates *et al.* 1994; Parkington 2002; 2003). As the research and

documentation continues in the Klein Karoo it may prove to be as rich as other well-researched rock art areas in southern Africa, such as the Cederberg, Drakensberg, the Matopos in Zimbabwe and the Brandberg in Namibia.

The rock art has been executed skilfully. The depiction is literal but some details suggest the metaphor and meaning beyond the accurate representation on the rock face. They used various details to distinguish the people and animals. Animals are most often depicted true to their natural shape. Colours were not always used faithfully and different hues were sometimes used to portray significance and an important feature. Depictions of animals are rendered in a variety of postures, attesting keen powers of observation and knowledge of the animals. Although mostly done laterally, facing right or left, the paintings are in fact three-dimensional as the artist(s) considered the place, the rock face and behind the rock face as part of the construct (Lewis-Williams 2002a). In Sections 3.3.3.1, 3.3.3.2 and 3.3.3.3 the images are discussed according to subject; for example, animal figures, human figures, dots and lines. In Table 3.1 images have been categorised and a number given according to image type. Images that were indistinguishable and not traceable were not counted. The criteria of breasts and large buttocks or penis and well-defined thighs, calves, were used to distinguish female and male.

Table 3.1 Categories of recognisable images in the Little Karoo

IMAGE TYPE	IMAGE	DESCRIPTION	NUMBER
Humans:			
	Male		184
	Female		28
	Unsexed		1216
	Children		6
Therianthropes:			
	Human/animal		98
	Avian-like		27
	Ichthyoids		26
Rubbings/ smears:			
	Palettes/ circular painted areas		42
Entoptics/iconics:			
	Lines / strokes	Sets - parallel - grids	295
	U-shaped entoptics	Concentric lines - boat-shaped	40
	Dots	Groups/sets	143

Handprints:			
	Positive		37
	Patterned		14
Equipment:			
	Digging sticks		11
	Bags		26
	Quivers		37
	Flywhisks		6
Animals:			
	Baboon		7
	Bees	Separate units	40
	Birds	Some large, like ostriches	12
	Canid		15
	Cattle		0
	Domestic sheep		10
	Eland		121
	Elephant		35
	Feline		14
	Fish		29
	Hippo		1
	Horses		2
	Larger antelope		51
	Smaller antelope		19
	Snakes / serpents		19
	Rhino		1
	Zebra		2
	Other animals	Some fat and barrel-shaped	41

3.3.3.1 Animal images

The examples of animal and reptile imagery have been selected to indicate distinct features and characteristics of creatures portrayed. The eland and the elephant are more frequently depicted than any other distinguishable larger animal in the rock art sample of the Little Karoo (cf. Table 3.1). This pattern appears to be similar to the frequencies of animal subjects in other major rock art areas such as the Western Cape, Cederberg, Putlaagte, Drakensberg and Tsodilo Hills, Botswana (Parkington 2003). These animals have powerful associations with /Xam mythology and living ethnography in the Kalahari. They signify potency. /Kaggen, the /Xam Bushman trickster-deity, creates the eland in southern Bushmen stories. Lateral views of antelope are common but they are

also shown from the front (Figure 3.12 and Figure 3.13). The eland is most often depicted in red monochrome, but the polychrome technique occurs as well (Figure 3.14). As suggested, the elephant is a notable component of the rock art imagery in the Little Karoo. Although the eland is by far the most consistently painted image, the elephant has as a significant count compared with other identifiable animals on the rock face at sites surveyed (Table 3.1). Some of the elephant depictions in the Little Karoo show fine detail such as the lips of the trunk, hair on the tails, showing faecal excretions, and spouting water (Figure 3.15, Figure 3.16, Figure 3.17), some are depicted with juvenile elephant (cf. Figure 3.4). The elephant portrayed in the rock art of the Little Karoo may be a representation of the smaller *Loxodonta cyclotis*; the head is rounded and the small tusks are seldom depicted. The tusks of the *Loxodonta cyclotis* do not jut out in front of the trunk but are tucked behind (Dorst & Dandelot 1970). The tusks are executed with white paint, but are not always noticeable as the white paint is fugitive (cf. Figure 3.6). Because of prominence given in stature and size, use of colour and detail, sometimes surrounded by lines and dots, and depicted with young, the elephant was probably conceived as a rain animal in the Little Karoo.



An antelope, an eland in all probability (110mm from the legs to the tip of the ears) depicted from the front. The execution of this bi-chrome and foreshortened antelope show artistic skill and detailed rendering of an image. The ears are expertly painted with white undersides. The antelope is deftly painted on a jutting rock.

Source: Rust 2007.

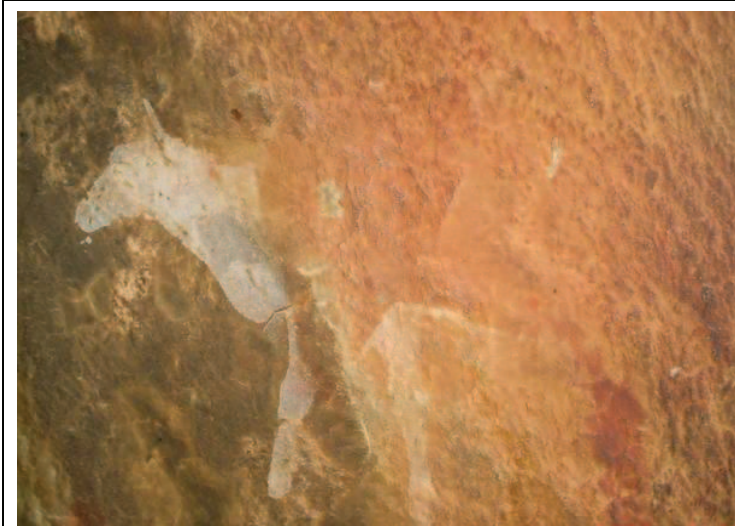
Figure 3.12 Antelope, bichrome, from the Leeublad site, Kammanassie Mountain, Little Karoo



The antelope, probably eland (100mm in height from legs to tip of ears) are painted in the bichrome technique. The eland, executed above the line of a crevice in the rock face, shows foreshortened characteristics and five 'legs', one probably a tail.

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 3.13 Antelope, frontal facing, from the Leeublad site, Kammanassie Mountain, Little Karoo



A bichrome depiction of an eland (110mm in height from hoof to ears, showing an antelope head and pointed ears and pendulous dewlap. The head, neck, belly and legs are done in white. It also has high shoulder characteristic of the eland.

Source: Leggatt 2007.

Figure 3.14 Bichrome eland at Koumaskloof, Outeniqua Nature Reserve



This rock painting of an elephant (390mm in length from tip of trunk to tail) shows detail such as a lip, flexible trunk, a long tail with straight legs (Site TK 21).

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 3.15 An elephant at Voorbaat site, Towerkop Nature Reserve, Little Karoo

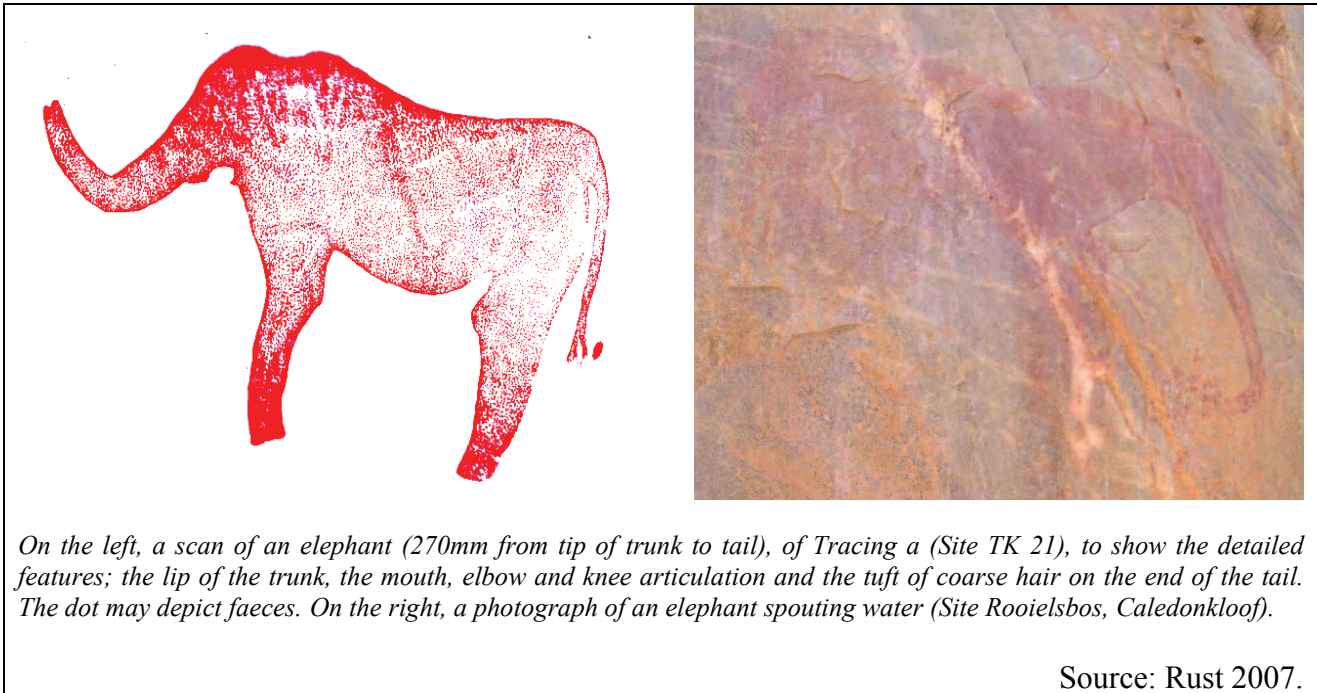


Figure 3.16 Elephant at Towerkop, Swartberg and Gamkaberg Nature Reserves, Little Karoo

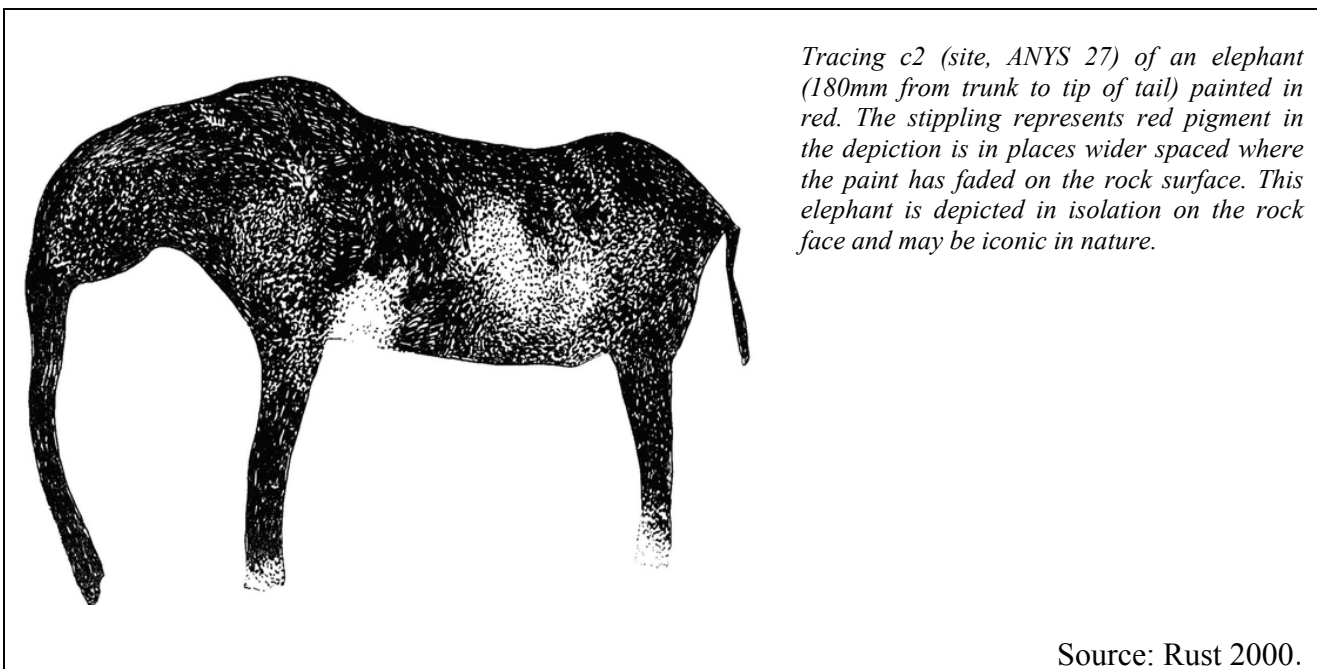


Figure 3.17 A red elephant at Sankloof, Anysberg Nature Reserve, Little Karoo

Other animals in the rock art sample of the Little Karoo are canids (Figure 3.18) felines, rare examples of gemsbok (Figure 3.19), black rhinoceros, *Diceros bicornis* (Figure 3.20), *Hippopotamus amphibius* (Figure 3.21), zebra, other species of antelope or bovine, rhebok (Figure 3.22), hartebeest (Figure 3.23), and a few depictions of smaller animal species such as primates and mongooses. Some large animals depicted on the rock face are impossible to differentiate. Large antelope of indeterminate species amounted to 51, while other animals that could not be

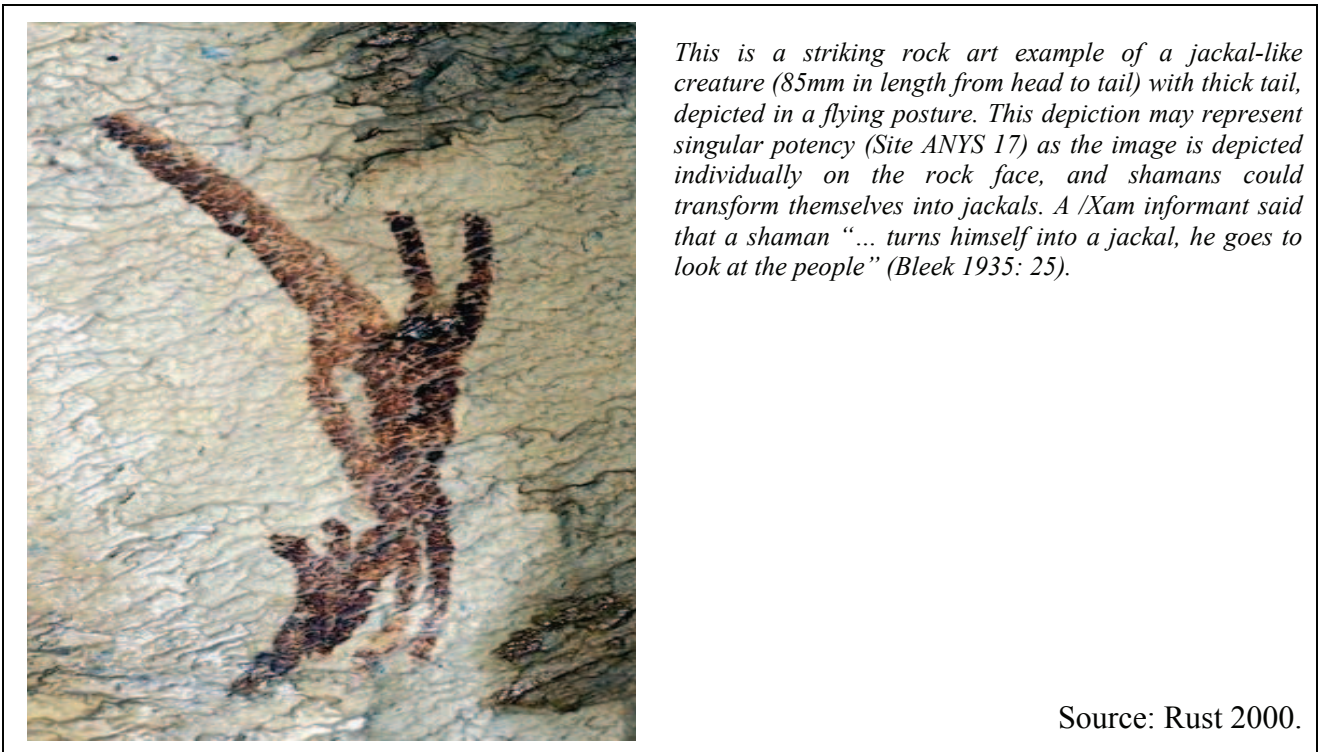


Figure 3.18 A jackal-like creature at Sankloof, Anysberg Nature Reserve, Little Karoo

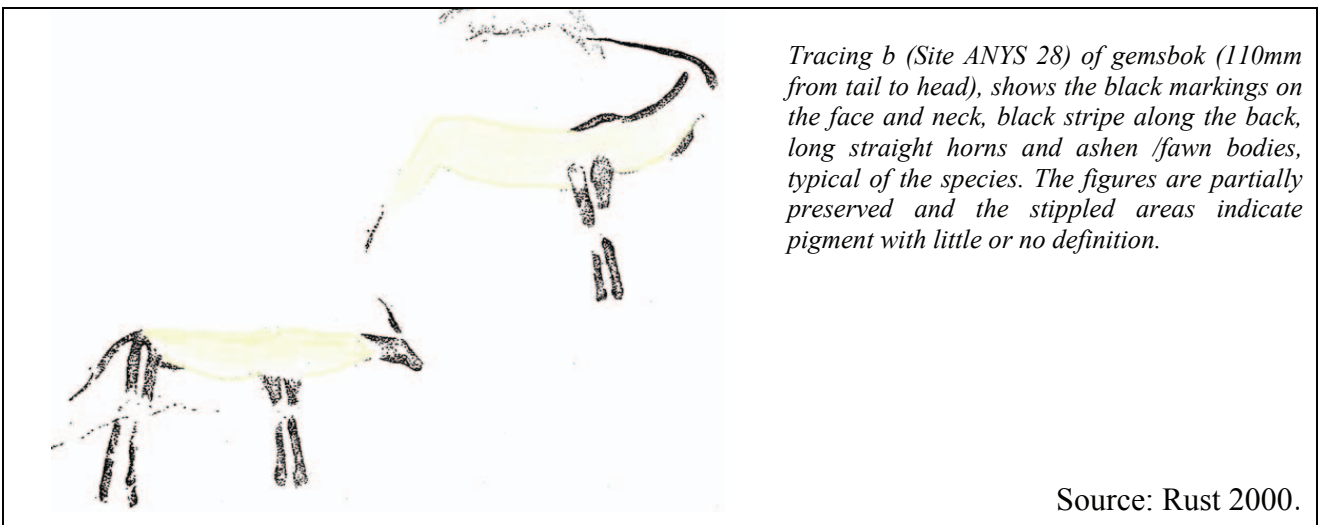


Figure 3.19 Gemsbok at Sankloof, Anysberg Nature Reserve, Little Karoo

differentiated numbered 41 (cf Table 3.1). Of these some appear to be rounded and fat, bull or barrel-shaped. Other similar rounded and fat animal figures have been identified in rock art research as mythical rain animals (Bleek 1933; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989; Woodhouse 1992; Ouzman 1996) (cf. Figure 3.24 to this record). The rain animal appeared in shamans' hallucinations but in context on the rock face it was probably 'real'.

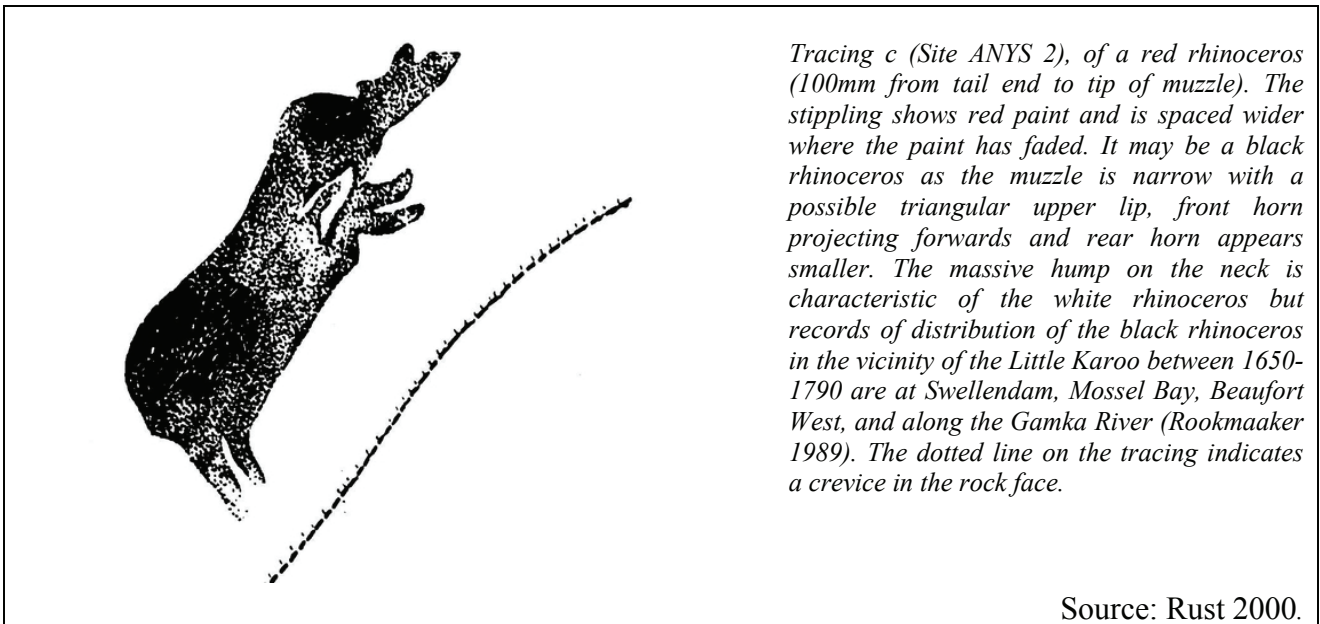


Figure 3.20 A red rhino at Anysberg Nature Reserve, Little Karoo

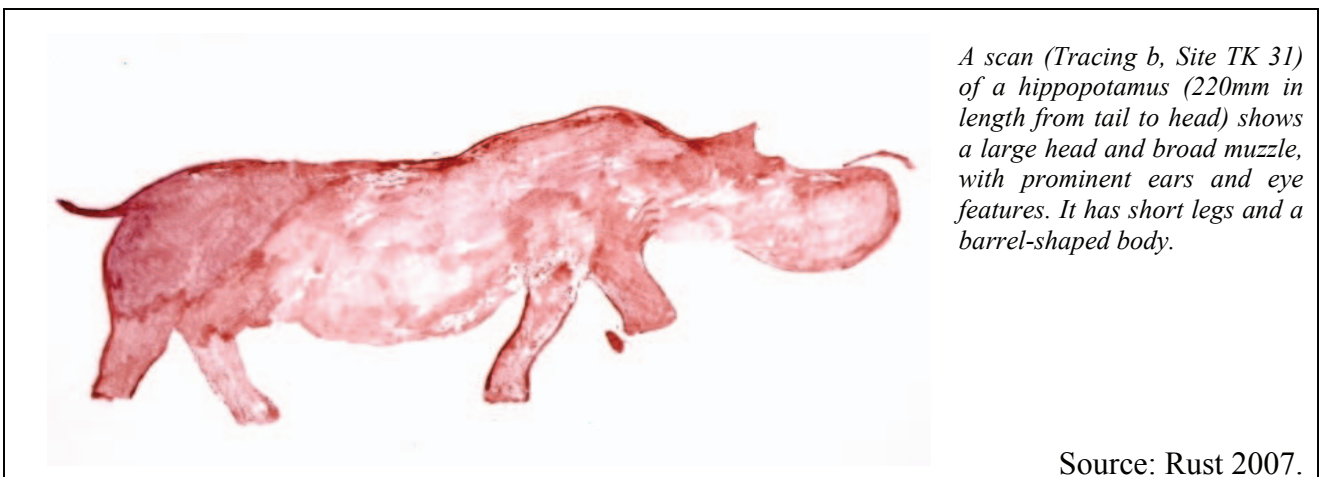


Figure 3.21 A hippopotamus at Grysmanskloof, Zoar, Little Karoo

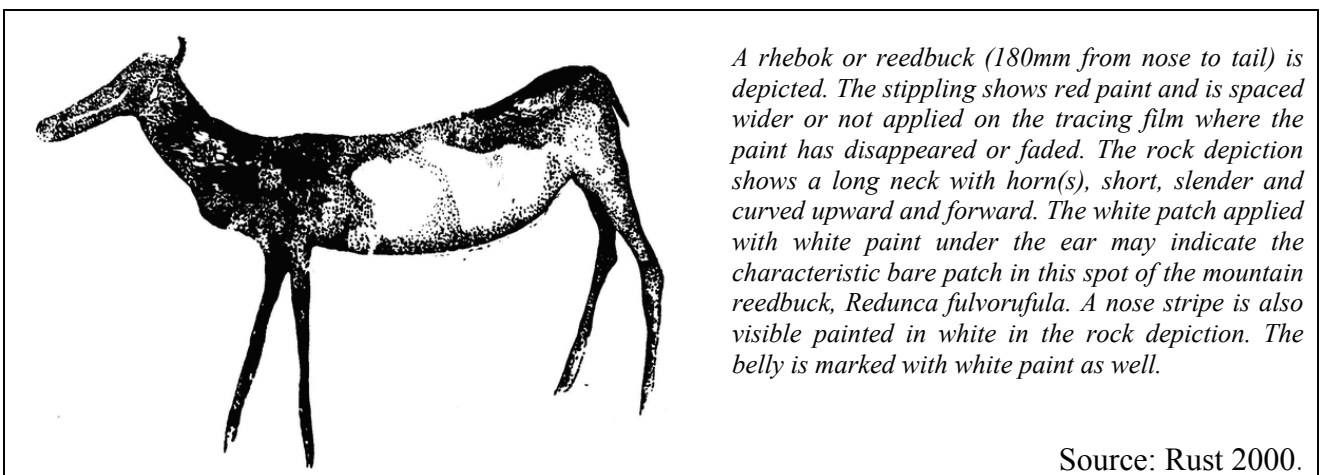


Figure 3.22 A rhebok (Tracing c at Site ANYS 2), Anysberg Nature Reserve, Little Karoo

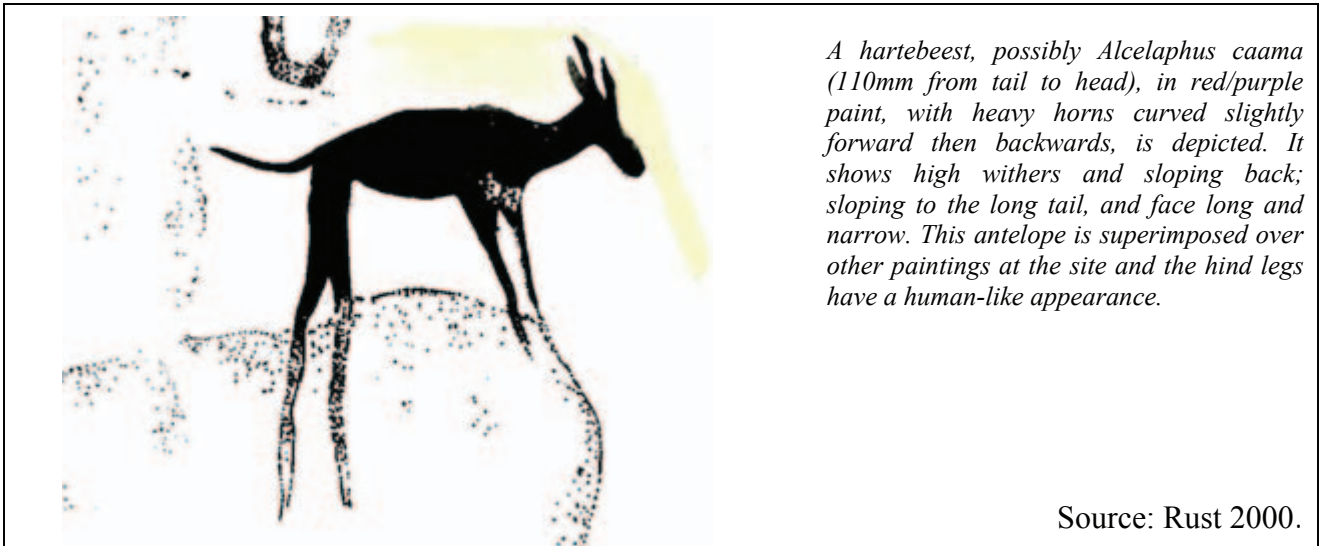


Figure 3.23 A hartebeest (Tracing b at Site ANYS 28), at Sankloof, Little Karoo

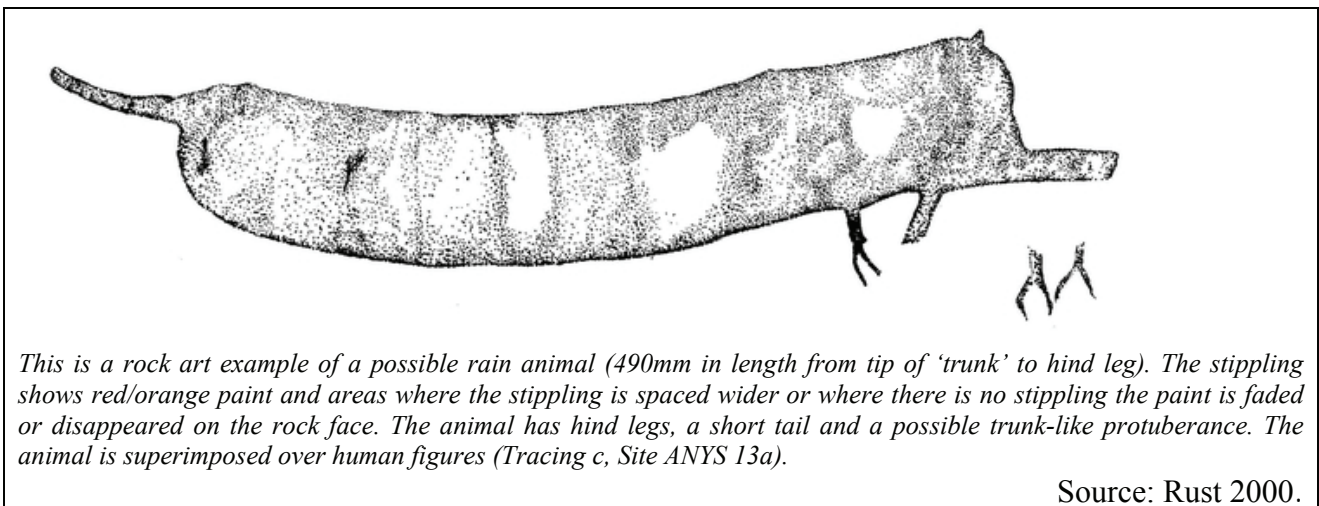


Figure 3.24 A rain animal at Soogdierkloof, Anysberg Nature Reserve, Little Karoo

Fish (Figure 3.25) and birds (Figure 3.26) are present in the rock art of the Little Karoo. Birds can sometimes be identified, such as the ostrich. Reptiles, snakes and serpents (Figure 3.27, Figure 3.28, Figure 3.29 and Figure 3.30) are also found in the rock art of the Little Karoo. Snakes are water creatures in San myth (Bleek 1933; Hoff 1997). The relative high occurrence of snakes in imagery of the rock art of the Little Karoo in comparison with the other animals (cf. Table 3.1), may signify the importance of the snake creature as symbolizing water in life and ritual. Snakes are a part of aquatic metaphors important to the /Xam. /Kaggen, the /Xam trickster-deity, changes himself into a puff-adder (Bleek 1924). San artists linked the symbolism of snakes and serpents with water by including these images in the rock art (Lewis-Williams 1989). Snakes and serpents appear prominently in the rock art of the Little Karoo. Sometimes the head of the snake can not be distinguished as the snake is depicted 'entering' or 'leaving' a crack or crevice in the rock face,

probably signifying a transcendent dimension of the spiritual world behind the rock face (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1990). The head of the snake may have ears or horns, or have a beak-like shape (Figure 3.29 and Figure 3.30). These may represent mythical creatures. The snakes may also be depicted as thin lines but with snake characteristics. The interesting choice of colour of snakes may indicate the common puff-adder species, *Bitis arietans arietans*, described as variable from yellowish, light brown to orange brown above (Broadley 1983). The puff-adder is also a rain animal in San belief (Bleek 1933). Orpen's informant Qing tells him that snakes were also men, shamans, and "that when those snakes came back they would fill the country with water" (Orpen 1874: 5). Burnt snake powders induced ritualised behaviour and helped shamans to trance and heal (Orpen 1874). There is a clear connection between going underwater or into waterholes, snakes and shamans (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989).

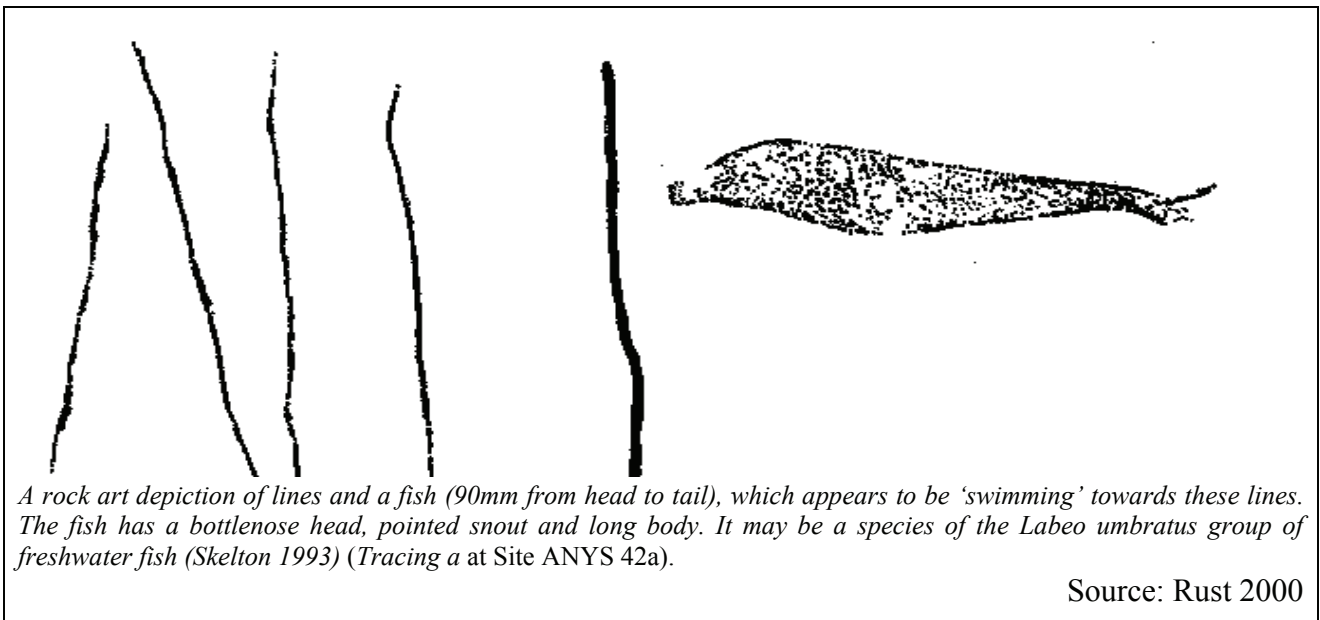


Figure 3.25 Lines and a fish, at Anysberg Nature Reserve, Little Karoo

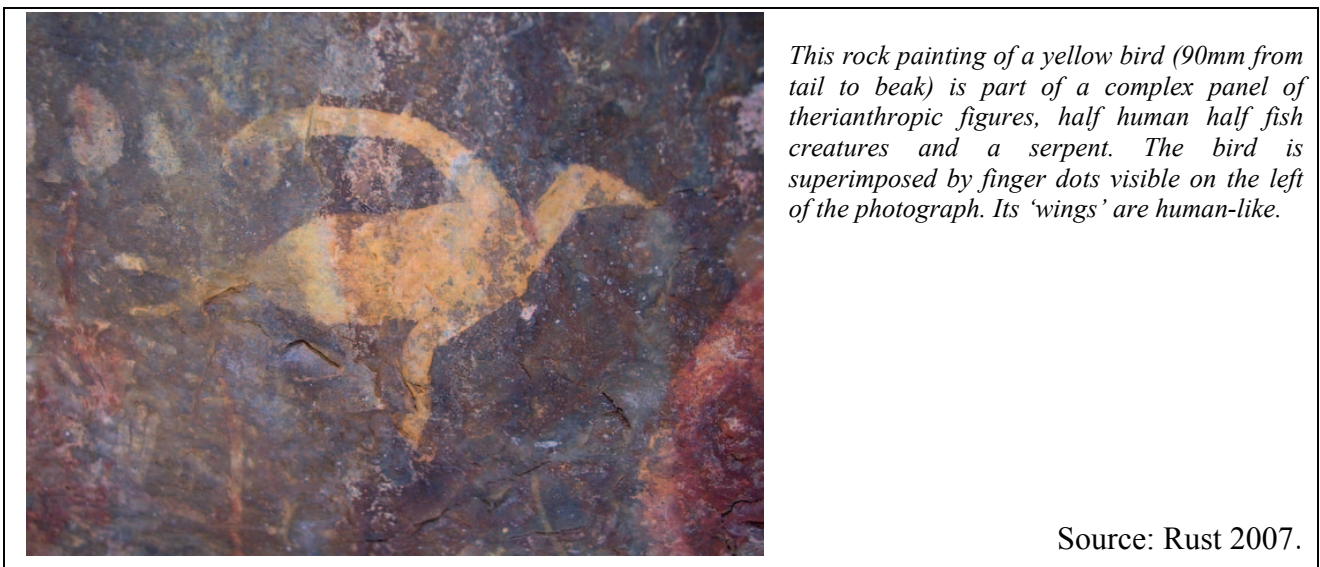
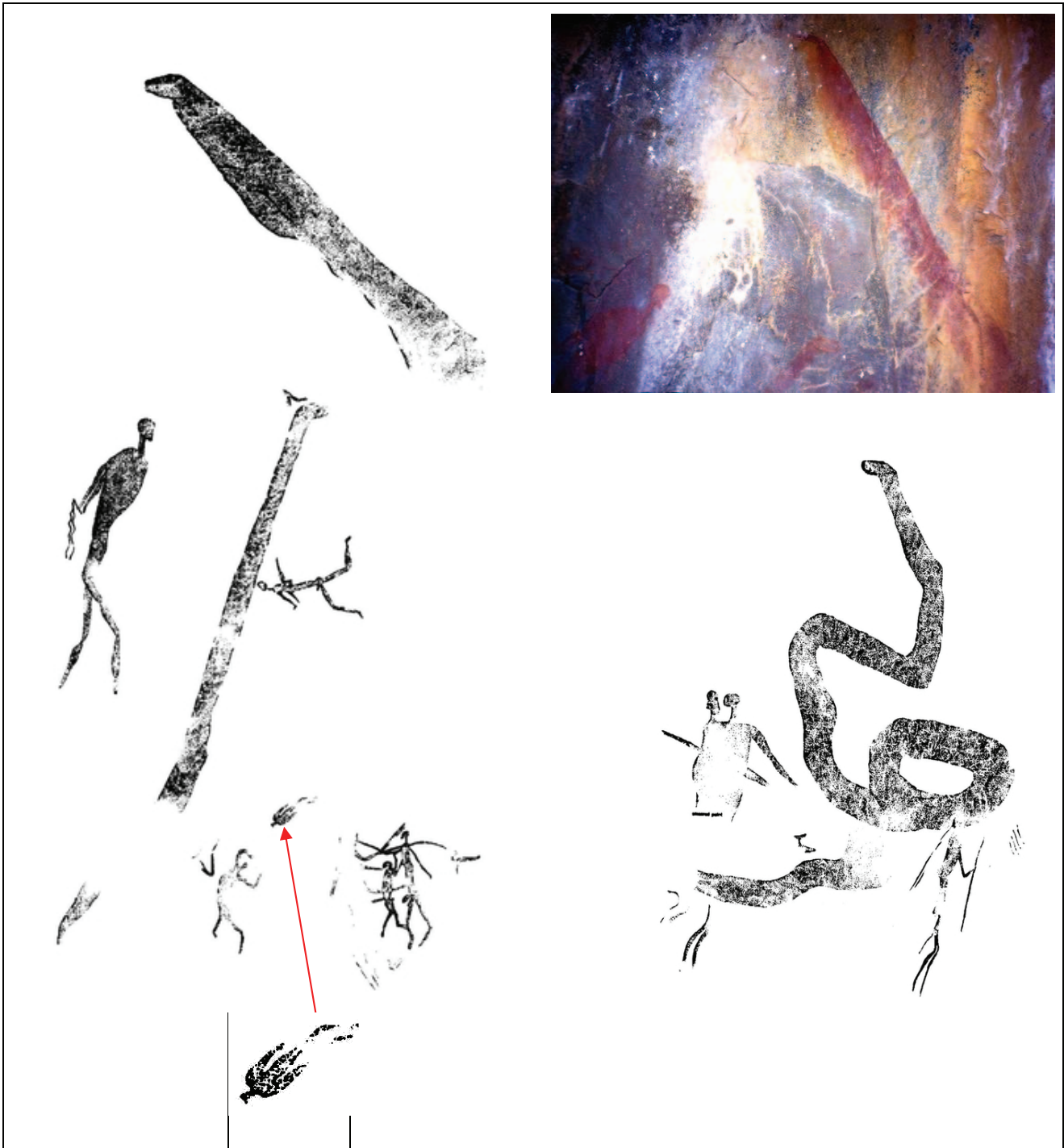


Figure 3.26 Yellow bird at Site MIN 2, Gamkaberg, Little Karoo



Tracings (cf. Tracings a and b, Site ANYS 68), and photograph inset of rock depictions of snakes (on average 600mm in length). These snakes are painted in orange, yellow and red. The inset shows the colouring of the snake to its left in the reproduction. The stippling on the tracing film shows the red/orange colouring and where spaced wider, the stipples indicate poor preservation and fading of the paintings. The snakes have elongated heads, rounded snouts and probably represent a species of the genus *Bitis*. The snake on the right in the Figure is 2m distant to the right of the other snakes on the rock face. Human figures in antic postures surround the snakes. They carry sticks, a flywhisk, and are joined. A 'swallow' figure (65mm from head to tail) with human head and wing-like arms and tail is present above the small human figure with arms out and upward, near the bottom left of the Figure. The red arrow points to the 'swallow' figure. An enlargement (inset) of the 'swallow' figure is shown below the figure as described.

Source: Rust 2000.

Figure 3.27 Depictions of snakes at Meulkloof, Anysberg Nature Reserve, Little Karoo



This partially preserved, bichrome snake (more than 600mm in length) is part of the complex rock art panel at Leeublad, Kammanassieberg. The dorsal section of the snake is coloured red, while white paint shapes the long head and colours the underside of the snake to show segments marked in darker paint to represent the scales arranged in regular diagonal transverse sections.

Source: Rust 2007.

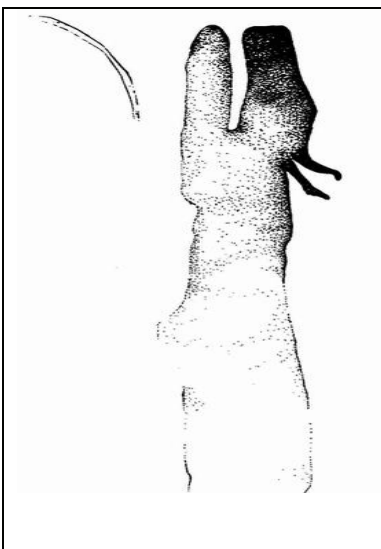
Figure 3.28 Bichrome snake at Leeublad, Kammanassie, Little Karoo



A serpent (300mm in height measured from where it appears to emerge from the crevice visible in the rock face) that forms part of a larger panel. The serpent appears to be holding its head up and faces the bird-like image (cf. Figure 3.26). It has a beak-like snout and regular segments marked in darker paint represent the scales arranged in regular diagonal transverse sections.

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 3.29 A serpent at Site MIN 2, Jonkersberg, south of Gamkaberg, Little Karoo



Tracing c (Site ANYS 15) of a serpent, partially preserved, shows horns or ears. The section of the serpent shown here is 300mm long. Double lines depicted, as in this example, signify linking potency to images. The stippling on the tracing film shows the red/orange colouring and where spaced wider, the stipples indicate poor preservation and fading of the lower section of the creature.

Source: Rust 2000.

Figure 3.30 A serpent with horns or ears at Sankloof, Anysberg Nature Reserve, Little Karoo

With depictions of animals it is not always clear whether the images are meant to be real or portrayed with metaphorical or iconic meaning. The interrelatedness however between the imagery and the belief systems are such that whenever postures and details are consistent in depiction it means that there is more to the image than just literal meaning.

3.3.3.2 Human images

The human figures are frequently decorated with bands around the wrist, waist, knee and ankle, which may indicate beading (Figure 3.31), carrying bags and sticks (Figure 3.32). Trimmings hang down from bags and coverings are depicted over the buttocks (Figure 3.33). They wear caps or have additional shapes to their heads (Figure 3.34), and are sometimes depicted with protuberances and lines emanating from their bodies. They wear kaross-like cloaks that cover the torso (Figure 3.35). Most human figures are painted sideways, often facing the same way in lines or processions, depicted in various postures; standing, walking, running, bending forward, lying down or sitting. Some appear to be flying or swimming, or dancing with arms held upward (Figure 3.36). The human figures are depicted in recurring ways, for example the hook head feature (Figure 3.36); the feature of elongated limbs, interlinked and touching (Figure 3.37 and Figure 3.38). Singular items such as quivers, bow and arrow, skin bags, digging sticks and the wearing of a kaross may signify the activation of potency and also represent a mystical power in the item itself (Orpen 1874; Bleek 1935) (Figure 3.38 and Figure 3.32 to this record). Most of the human figures resemble one another in size, colour, posture and dress, if depicted clothed or wearing coverings such as karosses. The figures are often grouped to show some blending or interrelatedness; stances or grouping that suggest a dance or even clapping at a dance (Figure 3.39 and Figure 3.40).

The way in which groups are portrayed on the rock face may suggest a collective sensing of potency. Composite imagery may thus show a sharing of the potency present at dances and rituals. Human figures are mostly depicted with other human images, probably illustrating the social aspect of the rock art. The attenuation and polymerous characteristics (having extra limbs, digits, or repetitive qualities) of features and joining of figures in the rock art imagery may show collective potency by progression. The *joie de vivre* present in these depictions suggest transformation in altered states of consciousness. Some of these figures with weird proportions and white in colour may represent spirits of the outer world (Dowson 1994) (cf. Figure 4.13 and Figure 4.14 to this dissertation).

The majority of the human figures could be classified as male (Table 3.1). The male figures are mostly naked with erect penises showing, or wear karosses (shoulder length cloak), and carry hunting or bag equipment, quiver, bow and arrows (cf. Figure 3.38). There are a large number of unsexed individuals, although maleness of the rock art is dominant as most figures carry hunting equipment and wear karosses which are technically associated with males. Women images are identified by the digging sticks they carry. The higher number of males may be explained by the fact that there are more male than female healers (shamans) in the Kalahari among the San today (Katz 1982). This was also the case among the /Xam as the Bleek records of the nineteenth century give accounts of female sorcerers (shamans), but principally that of male (Bleek 1935; 1936). As previously illustrated, most of the figures are unsexed. This could mean that the significant message communicated through the art had less to do with sexual division but more to do with ritual. Lenssen-Erz (1997) considers unsexed human figures as the third gender and promotes the essence of an egalitarian hunter-gatherer society. He argues that gender distinction only became more important in later phases of the art when gender roles changed and women became a commodity in exchange.

Female figures are easily distinguishable as their breasts are rendered distinctly, a side view often showing both breasts. The phenomenon of steatopygia, large and fat buttocks, is depicted. The pattern of distribution shows that depictions of women are relatively rare in the rock art of the Little Karoo. Women are often grouped and wear decorations which suggest ritual, for example carrying digging sticks weighted with the stone with which the women beat the ground to influence the hunt (Bleek DF 1935), or wearing caps that may suggest items donned for a ritual dance (Figure 3.33 and Figure 3.34).

Other distinct features of women include a distended stomach, a protuberance denoting the navel, and a covering over the buttocks (Figure 3.31). The woman figure is often grouped, seated or in a dancing posture, carrying equipment, and skin bags (Figure 3.32, Figure 3.33, and Figure 3.34). Both men and women carry sticks. The female power is important in rainmaking. Female rain is beneficial and feeds underground systems; "... a she-rain which has milk, ... will rain softly on the ground, so that it is wet deep down in the middle the rain's blood flow[s] out, It flows into the waterpits, to lie in them and fill them up at the waterpits which are on the mountain" (Bleek 1933: 309-311) [my parenthesis]. The connection here with women and waterpits is significant. As will be discussed in the following chapter, the *watermeide* are known to control water flow and rain (Appendix A), and found in waterholes and near springs in the mountains of the Little Karoo. Besides the detail, depictions of varied postures and proportions, grouping and transforming, the

general impression of human depictions of the rock art of the Little Karoo is one of movement and vitality.

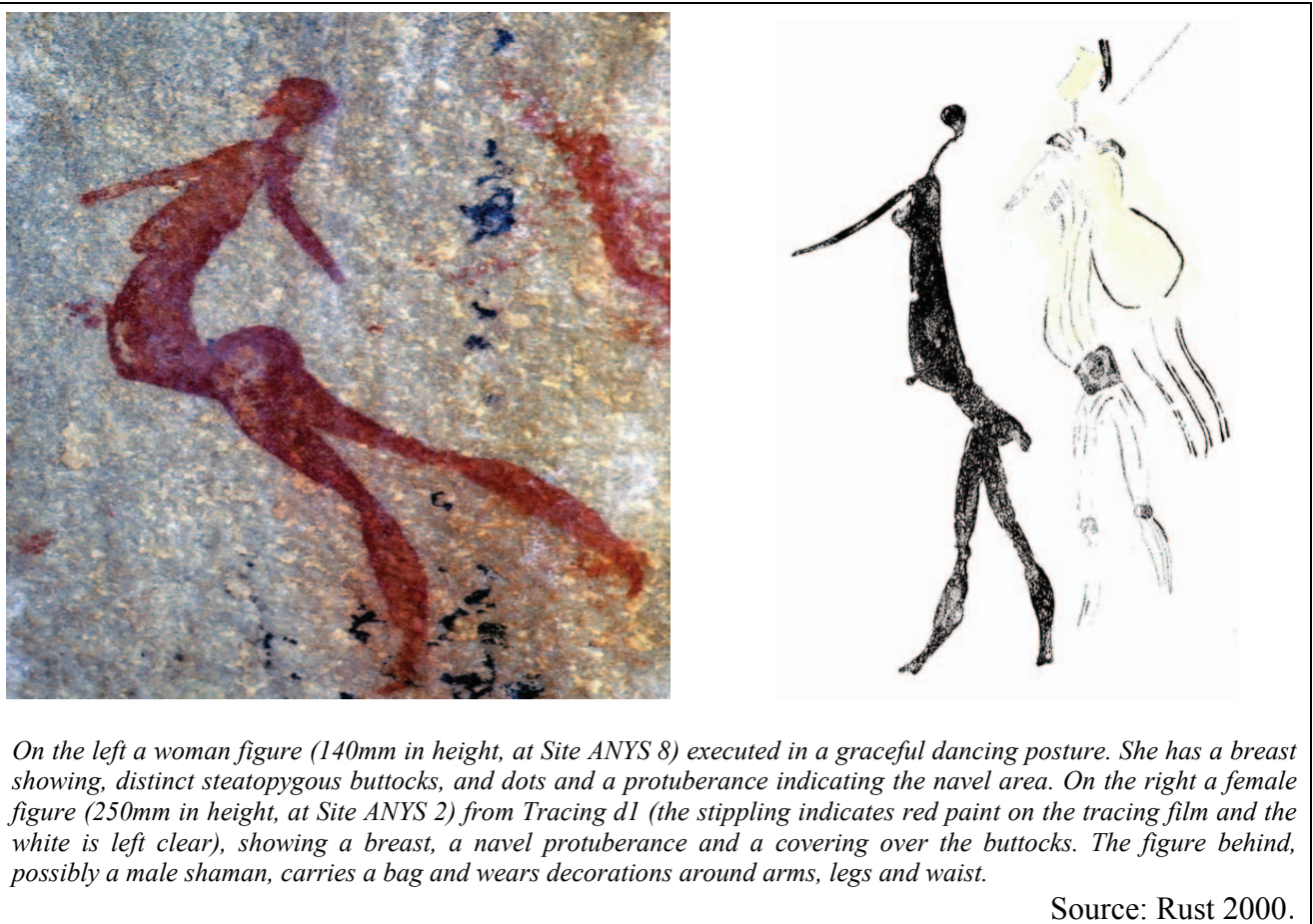


Figure 3.31 Figures in particular stance, some with decorations, at Anysberg Nature Reserve, Little Karoo

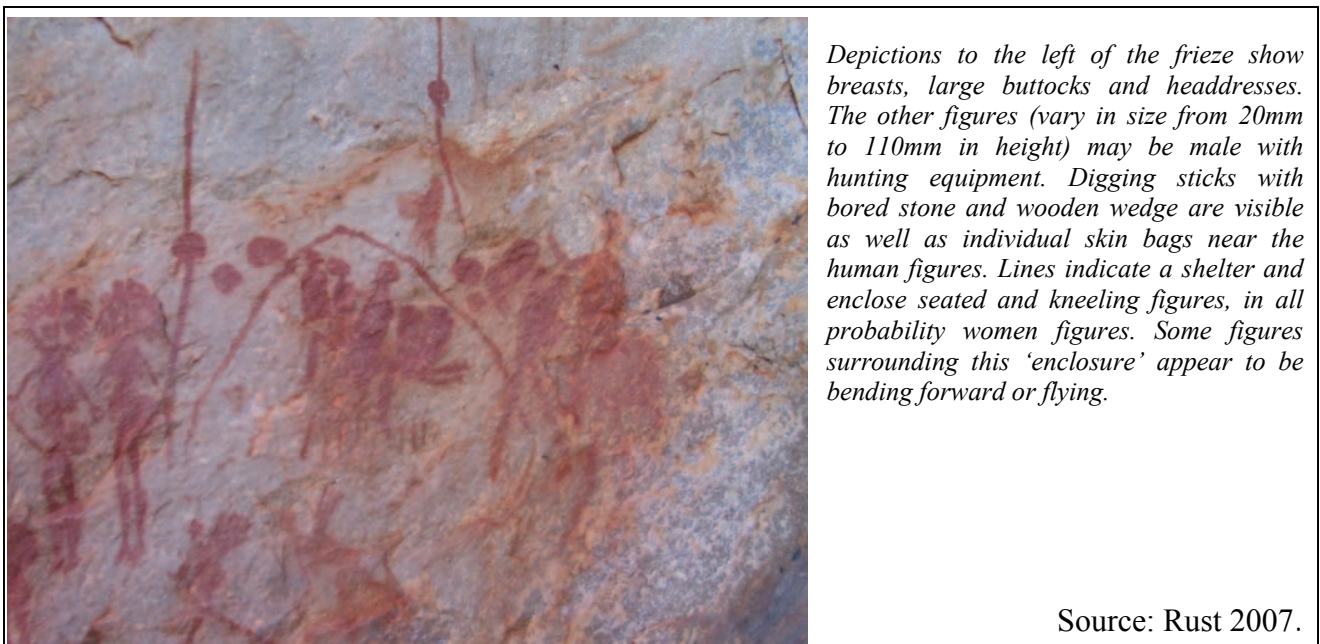


Figure 3.32 Figures grouped and enclosed, with various decorations and equipment at Site ATTQ 20, Attakwaskloof, Little Karoo

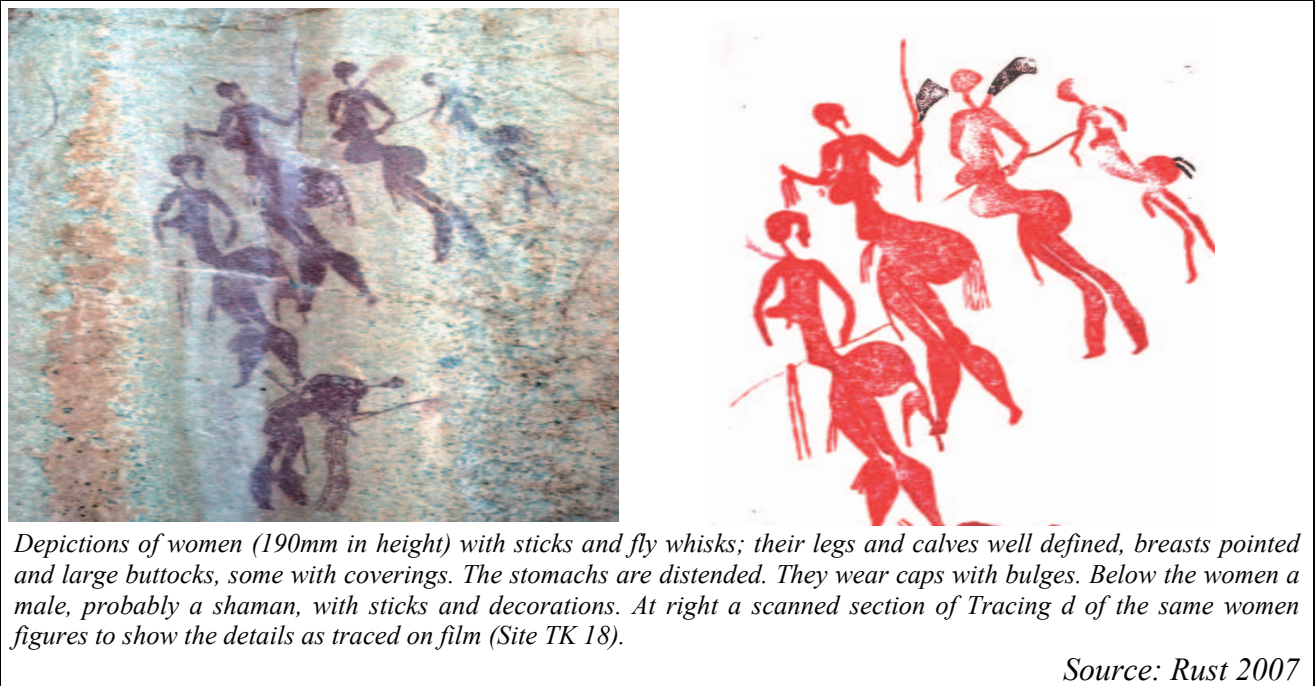


Figure 3.33 Detailed depictions of women at De Meule, Towerkop Nature Reserve, Little Karoo

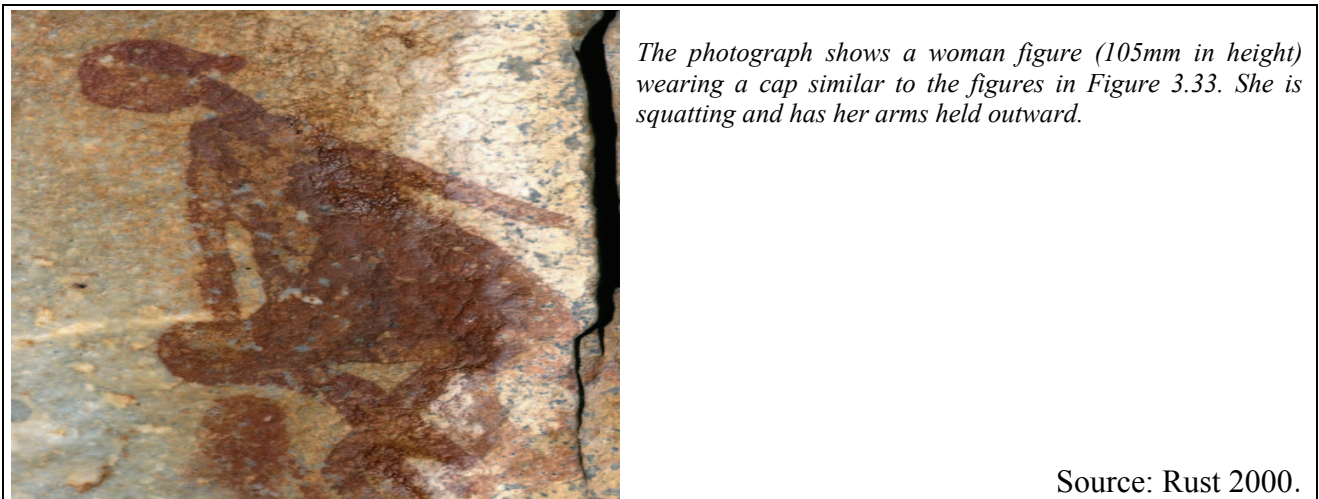


Figure 3.34 Woman figure with cap at Site ANYS 17, Anysberg Nature Reserve, Little Karoo

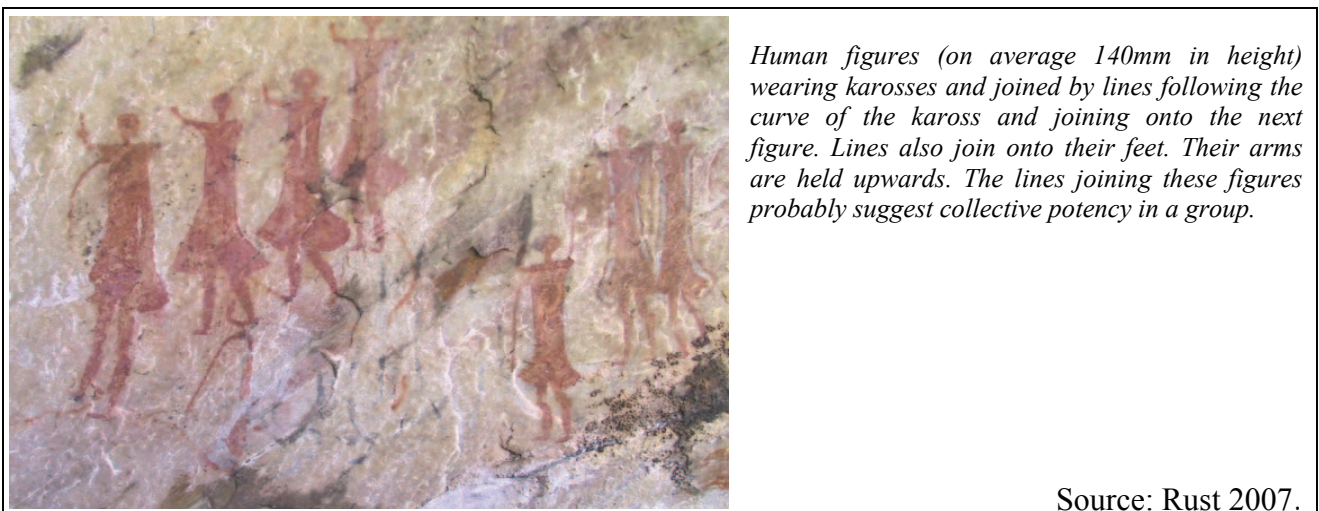


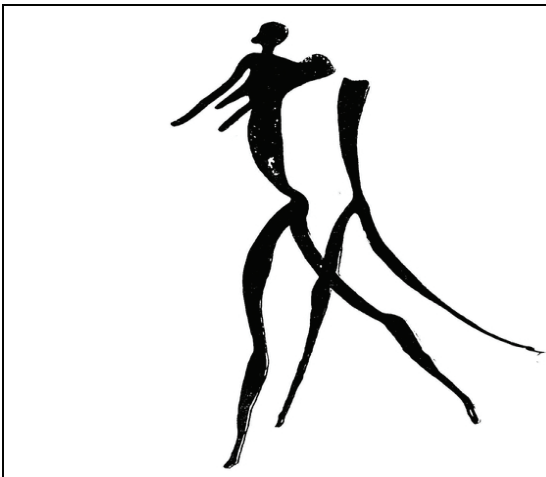
Figure 3.35 Human figures wearing karosses at Site ATTQ 20, Attakwaskloof, Little Karoo



Human figures (average size of 70mm in height) that appear to be running, bending forward, and have their arms outstretched as if they are flying or swimming (Site TK 31). Their bodies are truncated and the lower half appears to have fish-like extensions as if transformed. The heads of the figures are hook shaped.

Source: Rust 2007.

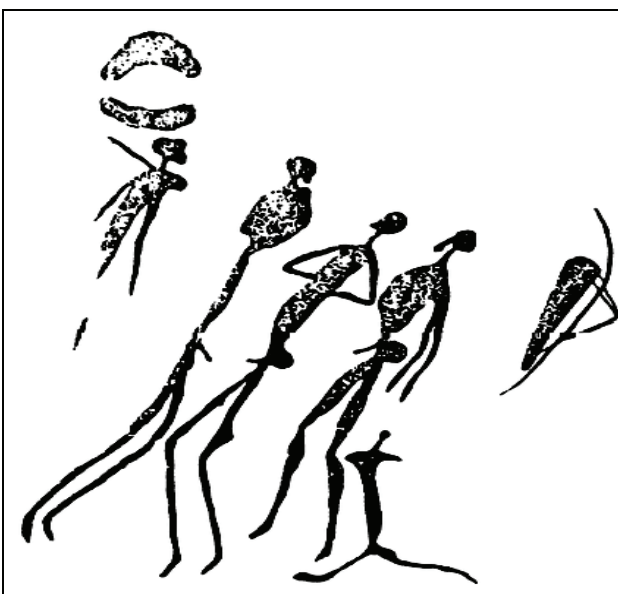
Figure 3.36 Human figures at Grysmanskloof, Zoar, Little Karoo



Tracing a (Site ANYS 8) of red human figures (240mm in height) shows them walking with legs intertwined. The figure in front is carrying a quiver and holds his arms out and forward, while the torso of the figure behind is shaped like a quiver as if transformed into a quiver.

Source: Rust 2000.

Figure 3.37 Human male figures at Tapfontein, Anysberg Nature Reserve, Little Karoo



Tracing a (Site ANYS 34) showing male figures (170mm in height) leaning forwards and backwards, with penises showing, arms akimbo and held out backwards; in all probability signifying trance experiences. The stippling indicates red paint and where spaced wider, the paint has faded or disappeared from the rock face. A bow and quiver suggest potency. The two boat-shaped images above the head of the partially preserved figure may also indicate potency

Source: Rust 2000.

Figure 3.38 Male figures at Allemorgenskloof, Anysberg Nature Reserve, Little Karoo

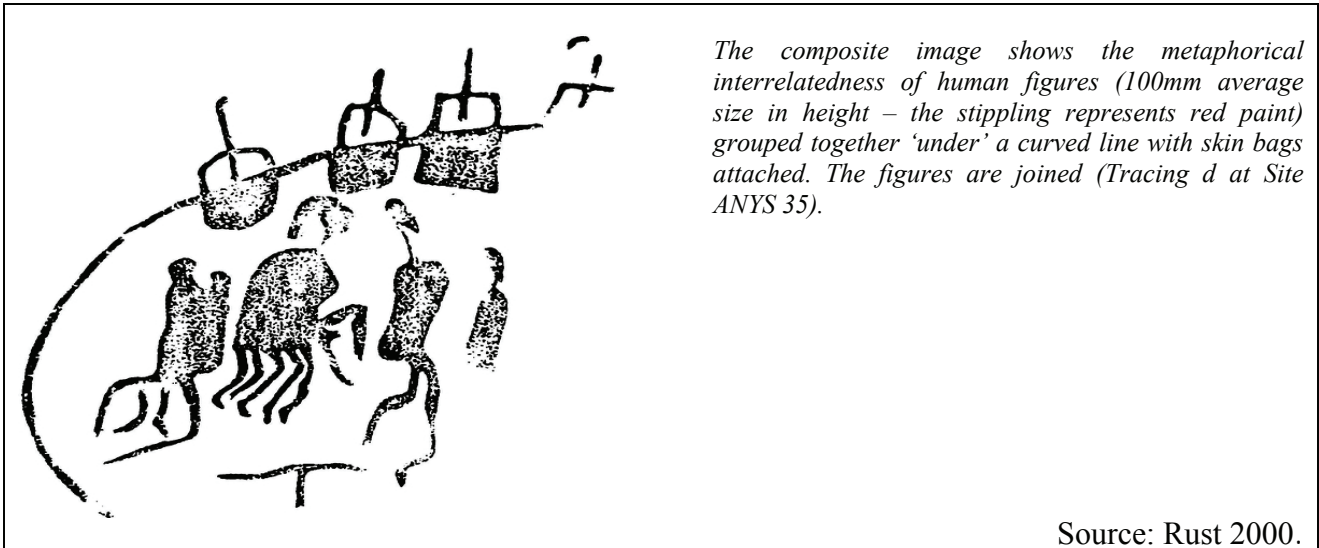


Figure 3.39 A line with bags enclosing human figures joined in limb, at Anysberg Nature Reserve, Little Karoo

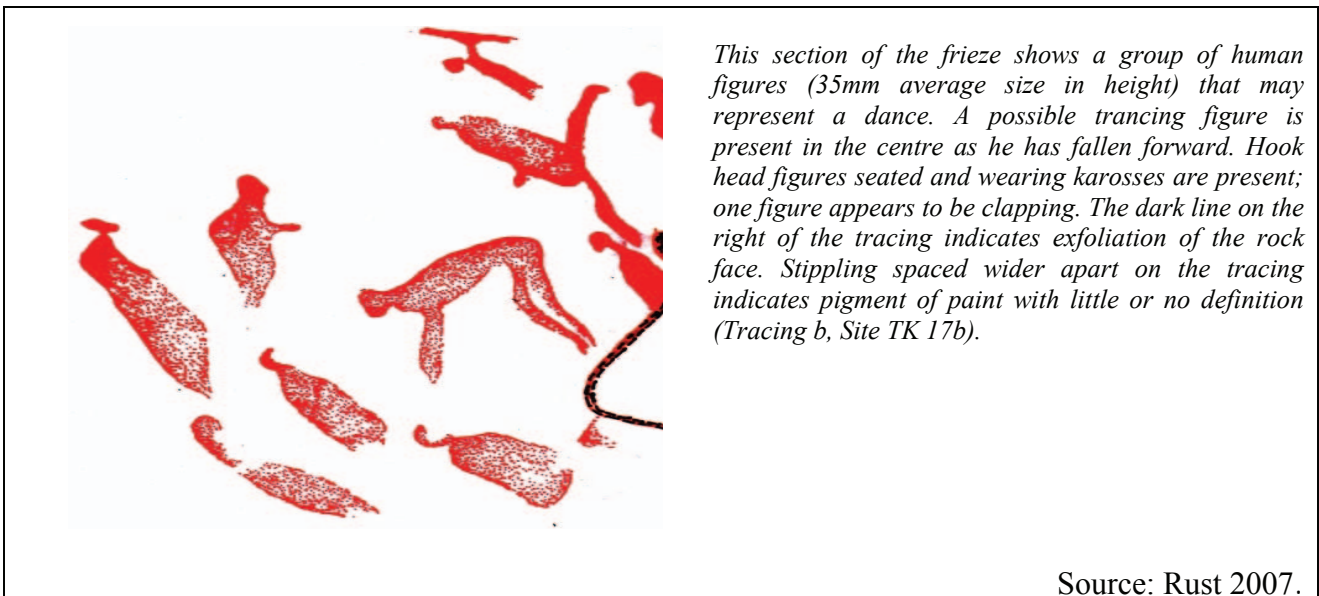


Figure 3.40 A group of dancing human figures at Towerkop Nature Reserve, Little Karoo

3.3.3.3 Therianthropes and altered states of consciousness

Therianthropes are depictions in which human and animal, ichthyoidal or avian-like features are merged (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989). The therianthropic figures in the sample of rock art discussed here, add up to 10,5% of the total count of human figures and 33% of the total count of animal images which point to a significance in subject choice (Table 3.1). This may be because of ritual activity shown in the rock art. The therianthropic figures are as numerous as the depiction of eland suggesting further outcome of ritual interrelatedness. The association of human and animal attributes is intentional (Figure 3.41, Figure 3.42, Figure 3.43, Figure 3.44, and Figure 3.45). Therianthropes show transformation from human to animal or animal to human images

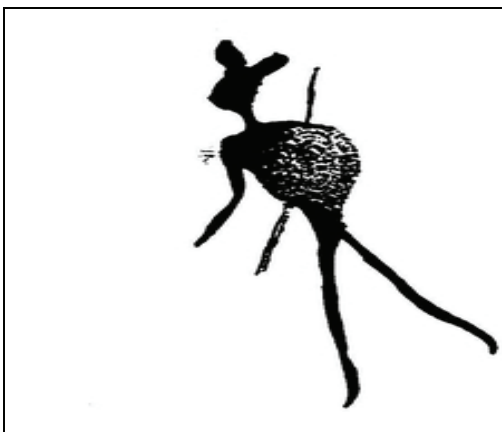
(Figure 3.46, Figure 3.47, Figure 3.48 and Figure 3.49). These transformations can be interpreted as indicating altered states of consciousness. It is accepted that human altered states are experienced in the same way in all places at all times, albeit with different cause and effect (Klüver 1966; Siegel & Jarvik 1975; Siegel 1977; Mavromatis 1987). In the Bleek reports //Khabbo and Diä!kwain, the /Xam informants, affirm that a person goes on a “magic expedition” to become a sorcerer (*!gi:xa*) in order to heal others and to make rain (Bleek 1935: 23). While on this mythical journey a person, the sorcerer, trembles and grows hair; “he becomes a beast-of-prey ...”, or he, “... turns himself into a jackal ...”, or he, “... dies, his heart comes out in the sky and becomes a star. ... when a star falls from the sky, it goes into a waterpit. As it enters the waterpit it sounds like a quiver ... it sounds like rain pouring down ... it sounds like rain as it goes into the waterpit which is alive ... that is why it sounds like rain ... he takes the magic power, he shoots it back to the place where people are ... his magic walks about, [he returns to tell] ... about the things which he had been wont to see, when he was out on a magic expedition” (Bleek 1935: 23-25, 27, 28, 30-32; Skotnes 1999). These verbatim recorded narratives explain transformation in ritual and this aspect of these accounts relate to the rock art where the transformation in a procession is clearly shown (Figure 3.46).



This figure, with an antelope head, nose and ears, combined with human torso, arms and legs is holding a bow and wears a kaross. Original height: 150mm.

Source: Leggatt 2007.

Figure 3.41 A therianthrope figure at Koumaskloof, Outeniqua Nature Reserve, Little Karoo



The figure has an animal head, large ears and pointed face; it carries a bag and stick. The stippling indicates red paint. Original height: 90mm (Tracing 6b at Site ANYS 6).

Source: Rust 2000.

Figure 3.42 A therianthrope figure at Anysberg Nature Reserve, Little Karoo

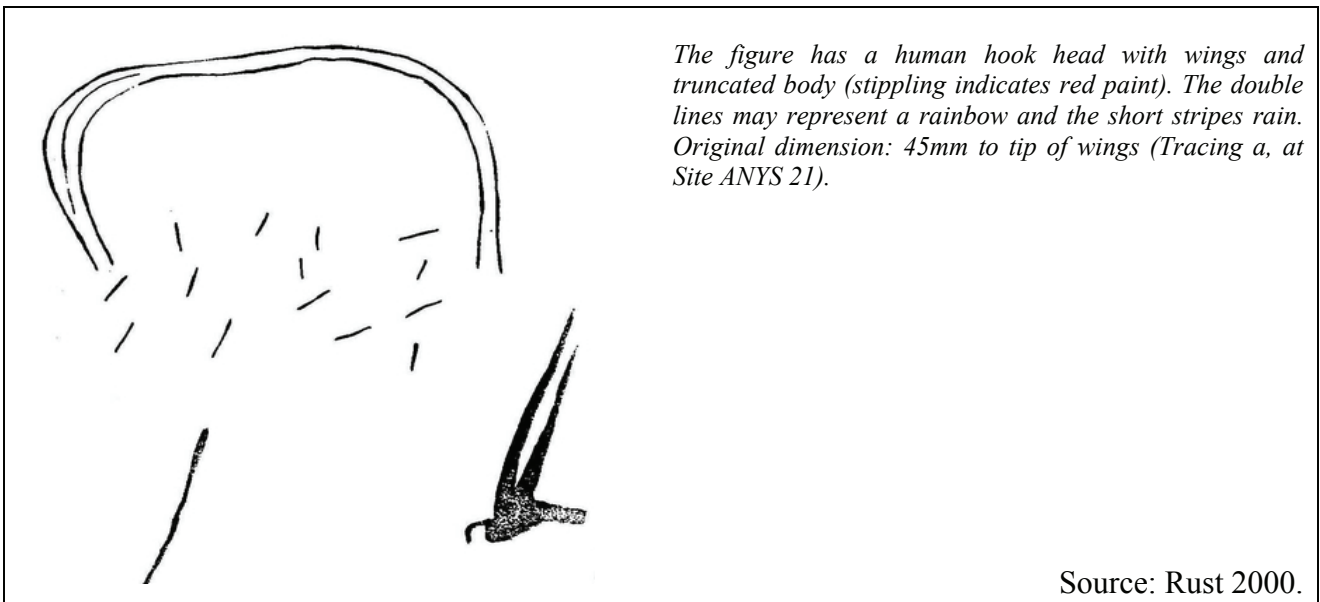


Figure 3.43 A therianthrope bird and lines at Sankloof, Anysberg Nature Reserve, Little Karoo

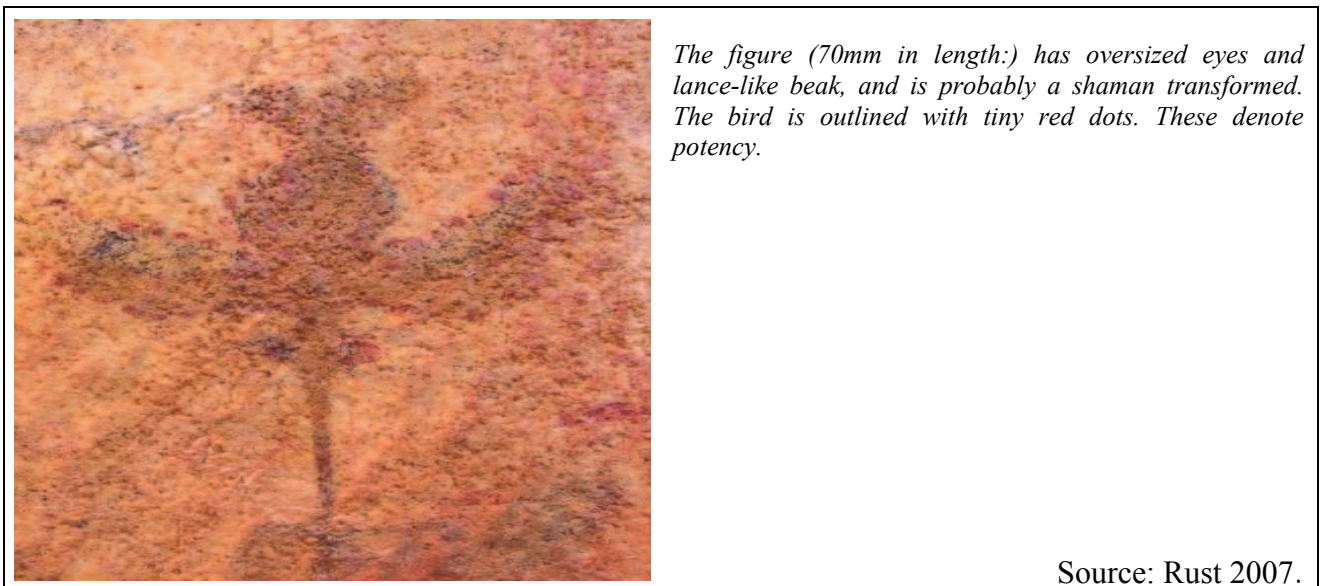


Figure 3.44 A depiction of a bird at a site on Mountain Pastures Nature Reserve, Little Karoo

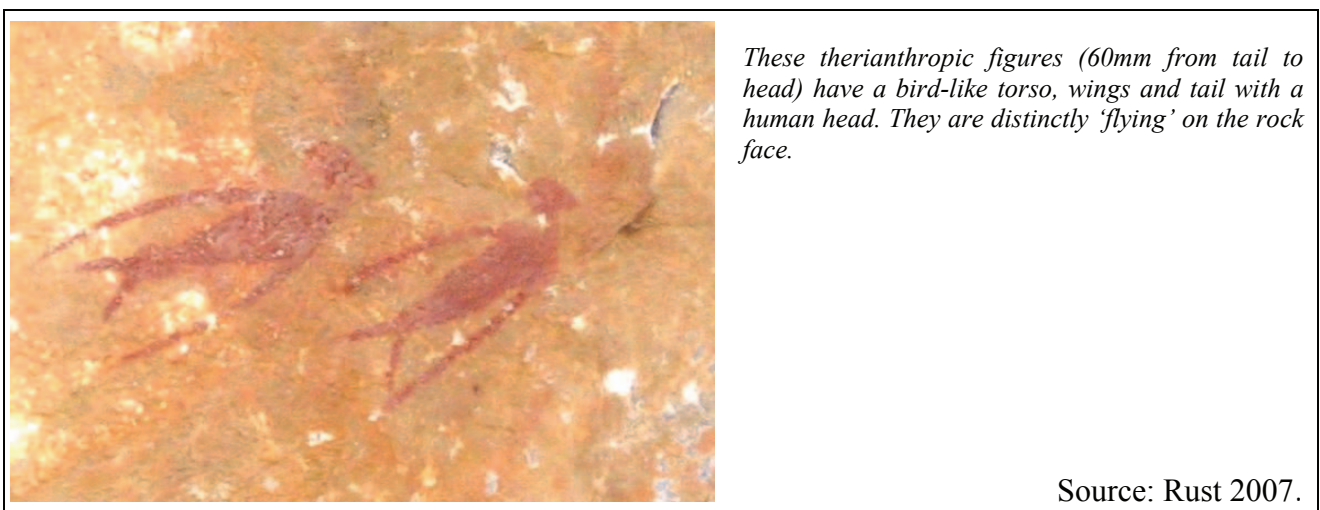


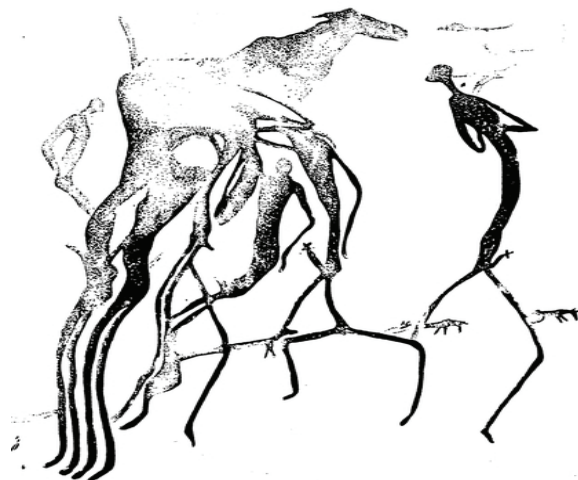
Figure 3.45 Therianthrope bird figures at De Hoek site, Swartberg Nature Reserve, Little Karoo



Male figures in a row with limbs joined, penises showing and some have distensions above their heads; three have elephant-like heads with short trunks (Tracing b at Site ANYS 35). The quiver on the back of the figure in the middle of the row has a human-like arm touching the figure behind. The depiction suggests progressive transformation as the figures alter shape. The figure in front of the procession appears humanlike in shape but little of its human body remains in the depiction. Quivers and individual dots to the left of the procession of figures suggest potency. The stippling indicates red paint. Original dimension: average height 220mm.

Source: Rust 2000.

Figure 3.46 Male figures in a row at Allemorgenskloof, Anysberg Nature Reserve, Little Karoo



Human male figures showing complex features of attenuation and polymerous in limb, join together to transform into an eland (Tracing b at Site ANYS 30). The heads and shoulders of the human figures merge with the legs of the eland. The human limbs also take on grid-like characteristics. Penises are fibulated. Animal-like creatures appear to 'protrude' out of the legs of the figures. The figure on the right (300mm in height) has his arms akimbo and lines emanate out of his body and head. The stippling indicates red pigment and where it is wider apart shows little or no definition on the tracing film.

Source: Rust 2000.

Figure 3.47 Figures at Site ANYS 30, Sankloof, Anysberg Nature Reserve, Little Karoo



The frieze shows human figures (average length 80mm) with ichthyoidal lower limbs, moving or 'swimming' horizontally. The tail flukes of these creatures are relatively broad, reminiscent of fish species. They have human upper torsos, arms and head.

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 3.48 The frieze of rock art at Site MIN 2, Jonkerberg, south of Gamkaberg, Little Karoo

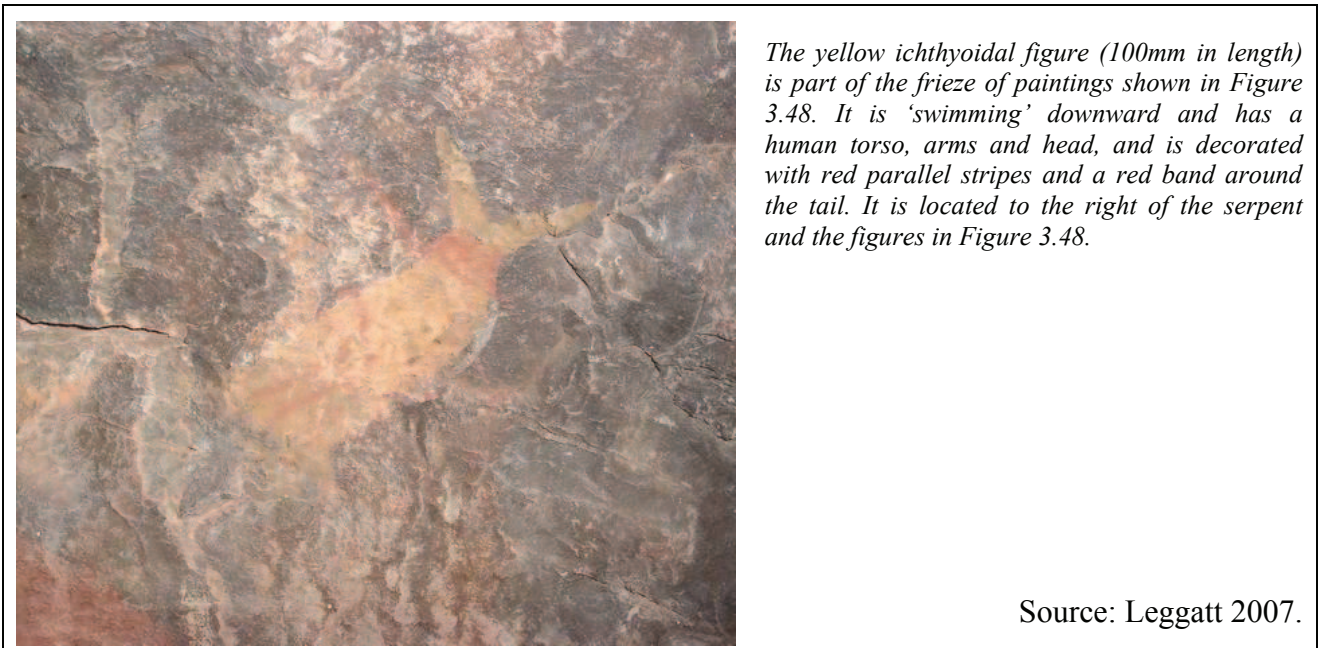


Figure 3.49 Yellow ichthyoidal figure at Site MIN 2, Jonkersberg, Little Karoo

The depictions of transformation discussed above are widely held to relate to the activities and experiences of shamans and healers. It is not only the merging of human and animal features that occur in therianthropic figures, but also specific markers such as emanating lines, distensions above heads that indicate shamanic activity (Figure 3.50, Figure 3.51 and Figure 3.52). The shamans are presented in many various ways in the rock art (Figure 3.53, Figure 3.54, Figure 3.55 and Figure 3.56). The rock art images in the Little Karoo indicate shamanistic transformation and healing (cf. Figure 3.56) with dance and customary activities, even indicating the use of the flute and possible rattle in rituals (Figure 3.57). Cogaz, one of the three deities of Maluti San mythology, played his reed flute, controlling shady characters such as the Qobé giants and putting them to sleep (Orpen 1874). These visual features show potency, a supernatural power mediated from the spiritual world of mythical images of human and animal synthesis and transformation in procession (Figure 3.58 and Figure 3.59).

Lines that emanate from individual's heads or exotic elaborate headgear can be interpreted as indications of transmogrification and transcendence (Figure 3.51). Special sensations and awareness have been attributed to the head and neck by the Kalahari !Kung and the northern /Xam alike. The belief in the Kalahari is that the spirit leaves the man's body during trance through the head (Marshall 1969). The /Xam had a similar belief in out-of-body journey in the form of a bird which flew about or sat on the heads of people, he/she, the shaman, wished to cure or assist (Bleek 1935). Among the !Kung (Ju/'hoansi) the area at the back of the neck from where the malady is expelled is known as the "n//ao spot" (Biesele 1993: 109). The "neck hollow" as a place that hurts if the illness

“sticks” there, causing death if it does not go out from there, was a well established belief of the /Xam (Bleek 1932: 246). Even !Khwa, the Rain, was calmed by the rubbing of buchu on his neck by the young woman he had carried away (Bleek & Lloyd 1911). Thus in all probability the belief in the significance and sensitivity of these spots was shared among the indigenous peoples. The lines from the head may thus indicate the spirit that leaves the body during trance (Figure 3.50). The convoluted imagery emanating from the head and neck may represent malady expelled from the *n//ao* spot, while bird figures perched on a head or a shoulder of a shaman may represent the out-of-body journeys or the spirit of the shaman.

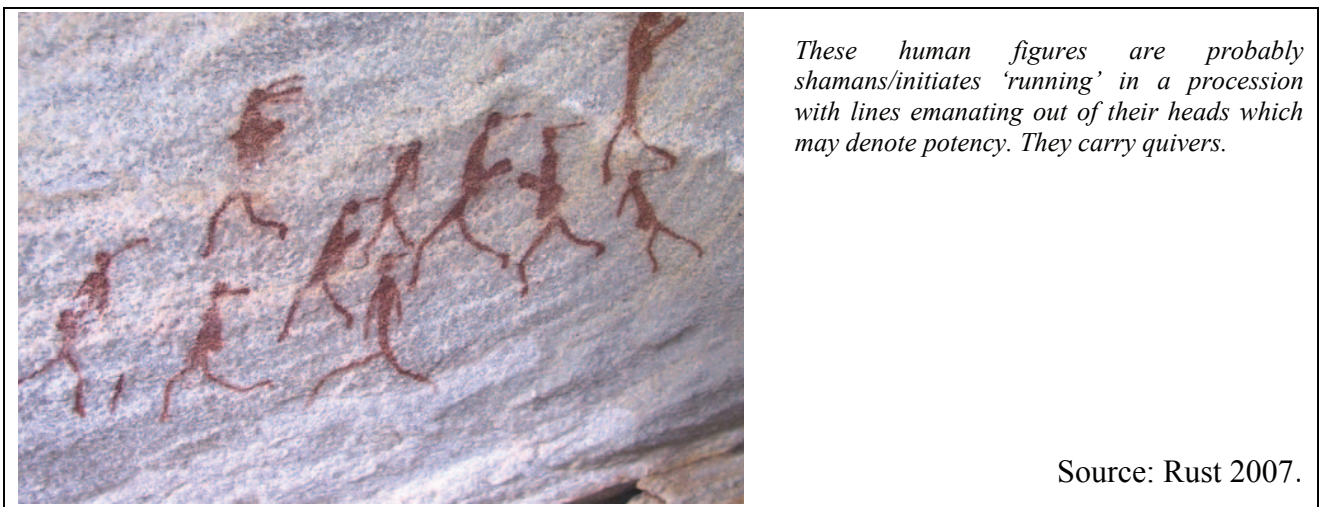


Figure 3.50 Human figures, at ATTQ 3, Carbonaatjieskraal, Attakwaskloof, Little Karoo

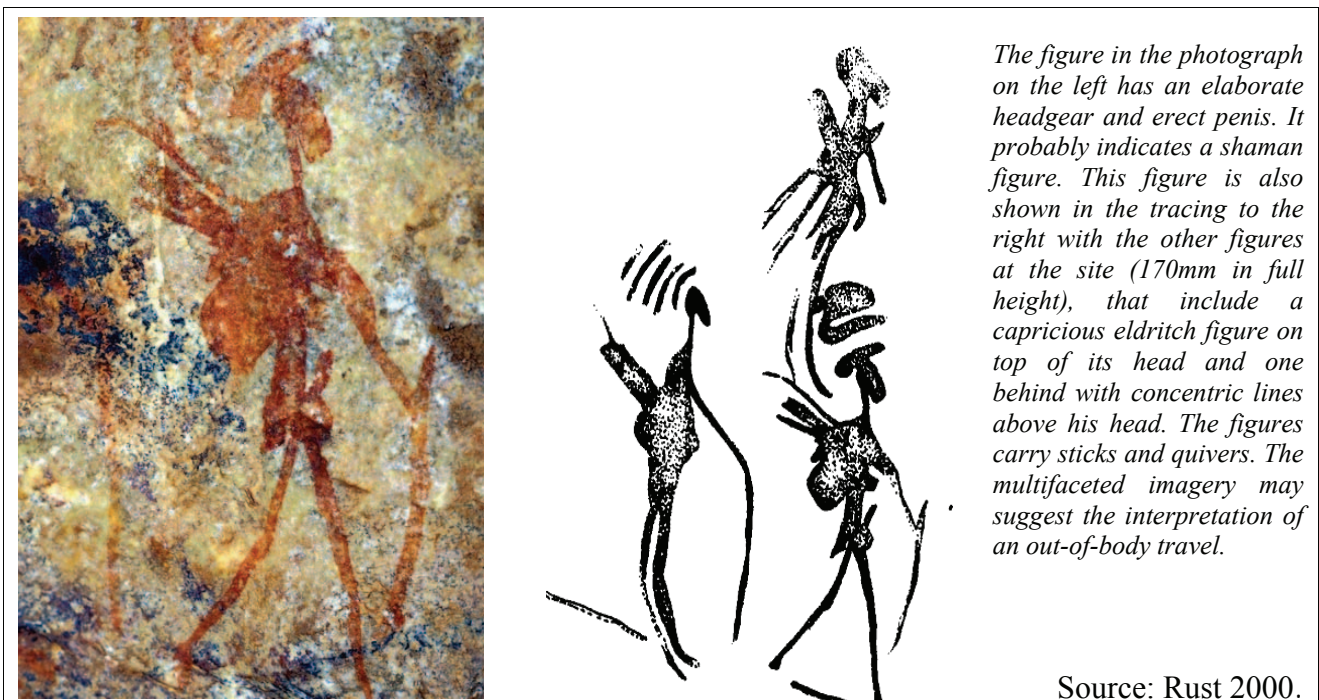


Figure 3.51 Human figure: painting and Tracing h at Site ANYS 13, Soogdierkloof, Anysberg Nature Reserve, Little Karoo

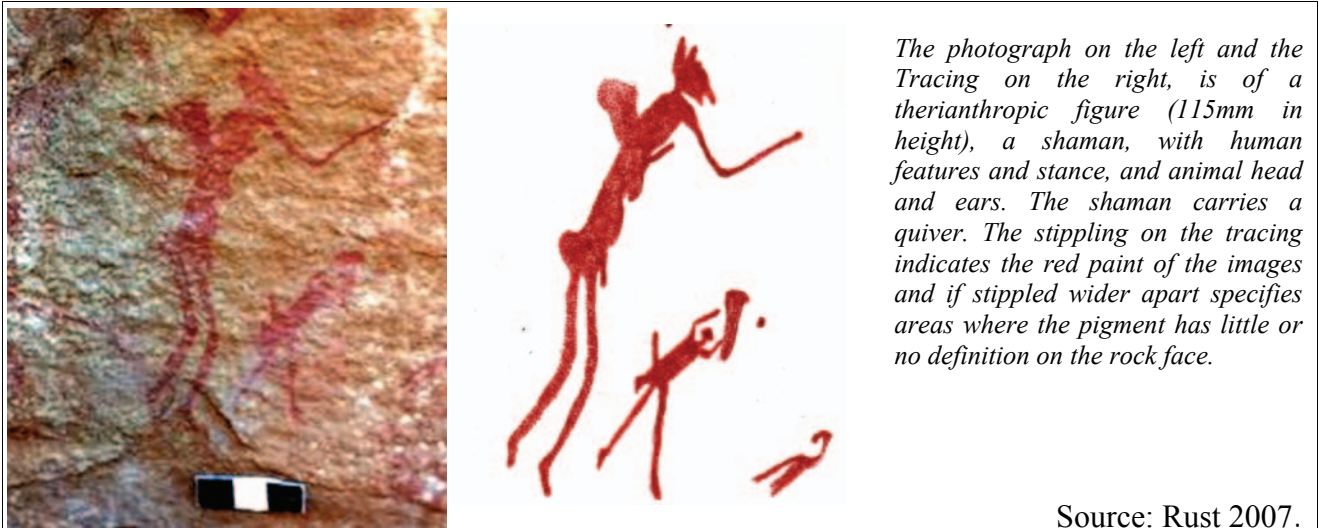


Figure 3.52 Therianthrope figure at Site TK 1, Besemfontein, Towerkop Nature Reserve, Little Karoo

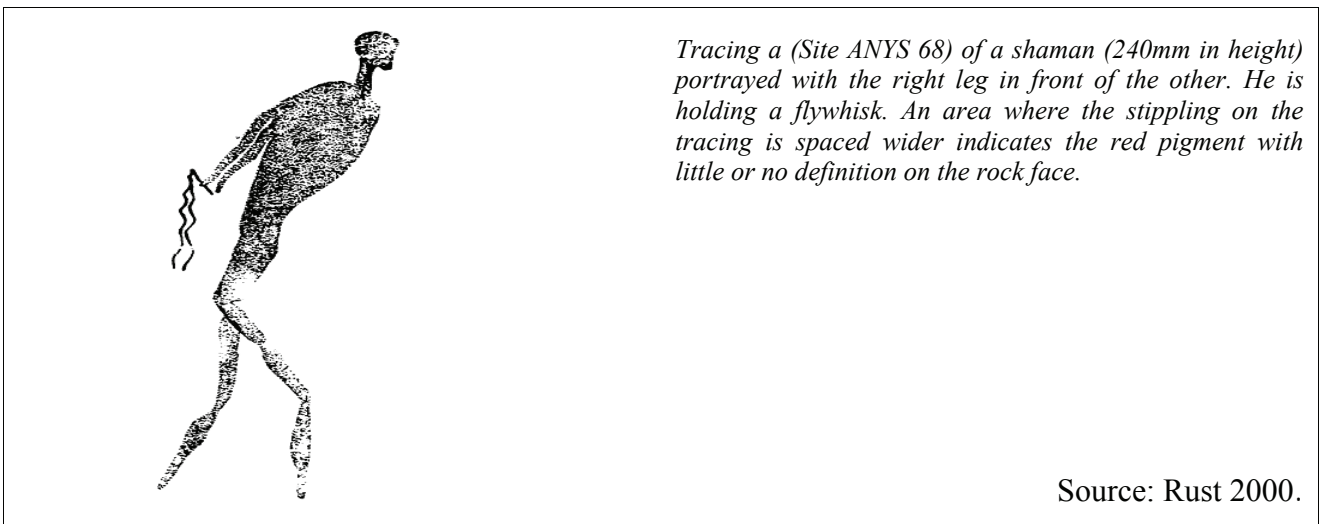


Figure 3.53 A shaman at Site ANYS 68, Anysberg Nature Reserve, Little Karoo

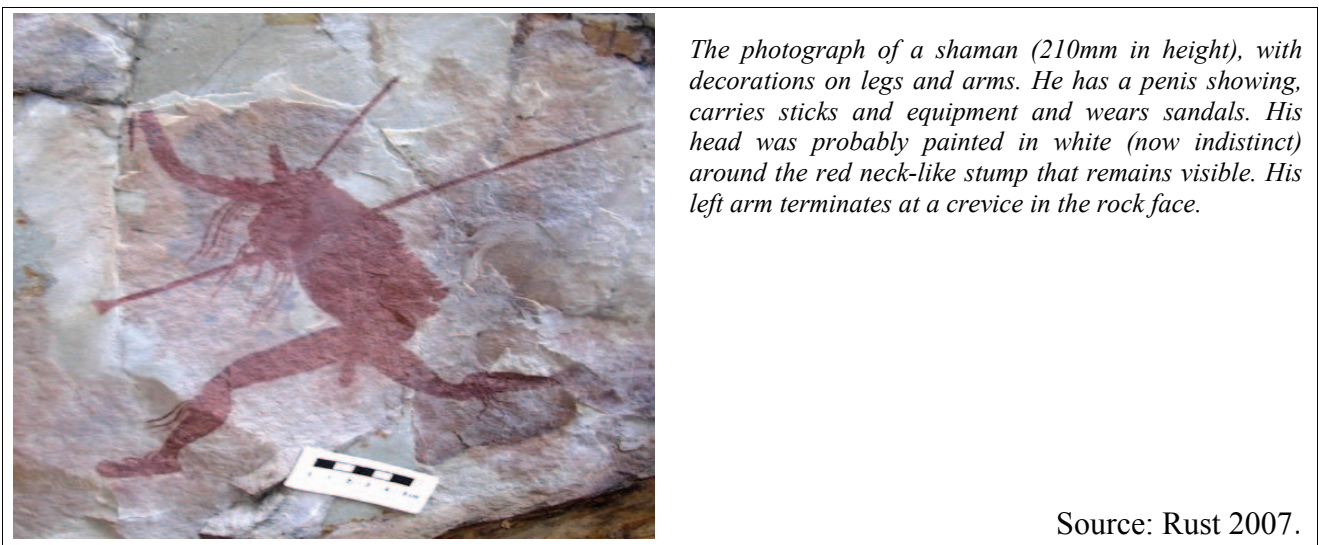


Figure 3.54 A shaman at a rock art site in Baviaanskloof, Little Karoo



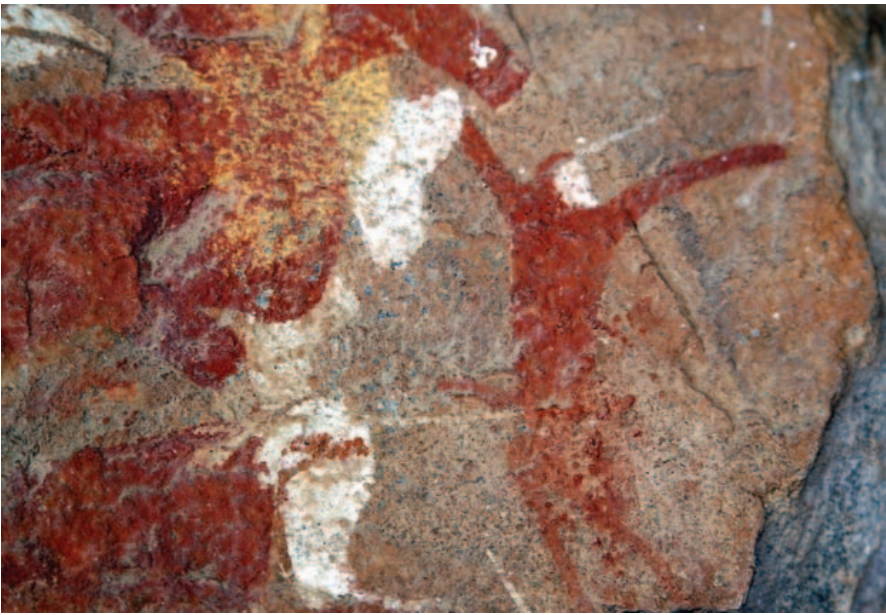
Figure 3.55 A therianthrope (shaman) at ATTQ 2, (Tracing a) Gamkaberg Nature Reserve, Little Karoo



Figure 3.56 Human figure at Site TK 3, Besemfontein, Towerkop Nature Reserve, Little Karoo



Figure 3.57 Procession of human figures at Site Carbonaatjieskraal, Attakwaskloof, Little Karoo



This is a complex painting of animal-like creatures with white faces, superimposing other paintings. The creatures have human arms and hook heads and are probably shamans transformed. The human figure (110mm in height) in the centre is another shaman with arms held outwards indicating ritual. He has a hook head with a white face that resembles the strange humanlike animals.

Source: Rust 2007

Figure 3.58 Complex of animal-like creatures at Site GNR 2, Groenefontein, Gamkaberg



Transformation into animal forms is shown in the photograph on the left and scan of Tracing b (Site AA 13) on the right of the same. Interrelatedness is present in procession: limbs touch and figures are superimposed. The tallest figure shows a protuberance from the neck. Animal forms are interspersed and some of the human figures transform into jackal-like animals.

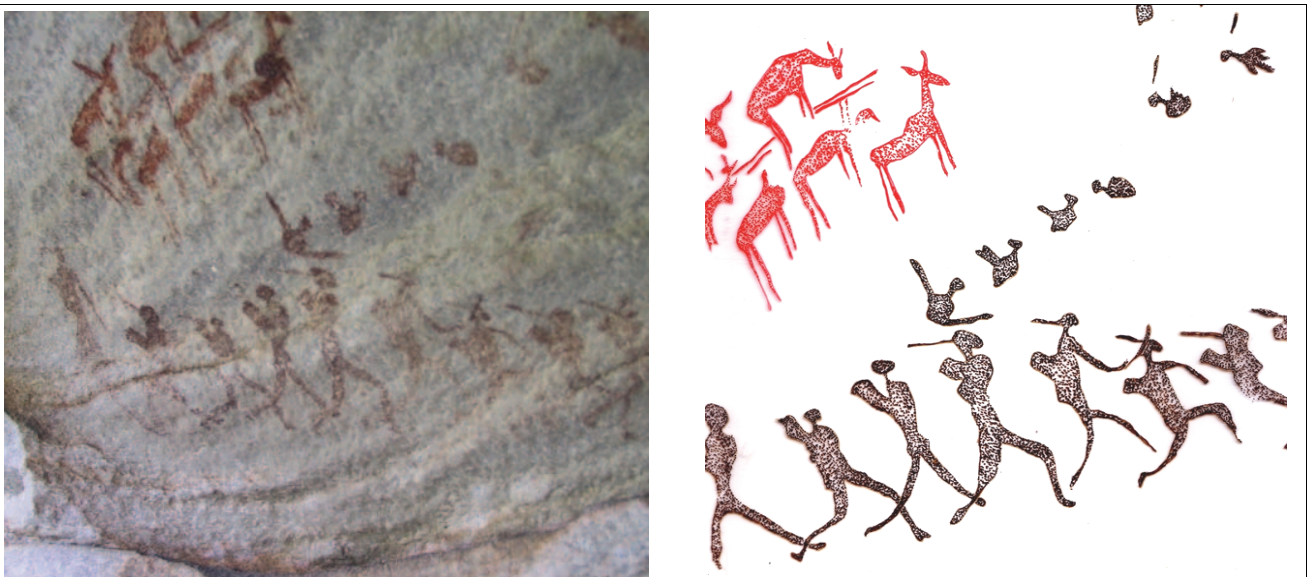
Source: Rust 2000

Figure 3.59 Figures in procession at Site AA 13, Anysberg Nature Reserve, Little Karoo

In the Sections 3.2.3 and 3.3.3.3 the association of altered states of consciousness and transformation with feelings of flying and swimming under water (Keeney 1999), has been discussed. This association appears to be universal – flying or moving underwater, diving into waterholes or going underground (Eliade 1974; Ryan 1999) occurs widely. The sensations described are of movement through a tunnel or vortex, into holes or spirit world. These tunnel visions also occur in dreams and near-death experiences. Iconic visionaries occur along the sides of these ‘tunnels’. San subjects, that is Bushmen from the Kalahari, and western subjects (who had subjected themselves to present-day experiments of hallucinatory states), alike describe their sensations as feelings of inhibited breathing, distorted vision, sound in the ears, difficulty in

moving, weightlessness and a sense of being in another world, a spirit world (Siegel & Jarvik 1975; Siegel 1977; Mavromatis 1987). These sensations are frequently interpreted as being underwater or flying. These experiences may be why so many people around the world believe in passing underground to a subterranean spiritual realm.

The experience of sensations of flying or swimming in altered states of consciousness may be metaphorically indicated in the rock art in the form of birds or fish. These creatures are often represented above the heads of people in a dance procession or where transformation is depicted on the rock face in the rock art sample of the Little Karoo (Figure 3.60 and Figure 3.61). The /Xam belief is that sorcerers (shamans) are wont to fly as birds around the heads of the people they want to protect (Bleek 1935). /Kaggen, the /Xam deity, can assume many forms, dives into the waterholes as well as sprouts feathers and flies (Bleek 1924). Swimming or flying is indicated in the rock art of the Little Karoo. (cf. Figure 3.26, Figure 3.44 and Figure 3.45; Figure 3.48 and Figure 3.49). This data shows a particular selection of distinctive therianthropomorphic features, human plus fish-like and bird-like figures. These images indicate the notion of a tiered cosmos involving the natural and spirit world. The spirit world is beyond the rock face as it is underneath the water or high up in the sky. Indeed the natural crevices or irregularities in the rock face, crevice or hole, or natural nodule, often daubed with paint (Figure 3.62), are used to show special features (Figure 3.63) or figures coming out or going into a crevice/opening in the rock wall of a shelter, overhang or cave (Figure 3.64). The suggested ‘emerging’ or ‘disappearing’ into a crack in the rock face suggests an entry or access to and from a spirit realm.



The photograph to the left, and Tracing to the right, of human figures, probably shows shamans/initiates, joined at the limb and grouped in a procession with lines emanating out of their heads (cf. Figure 3.50). Birds, some humanlike, are visible above the heads of the human figures which may denote ‘out of body’ experiences.

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 3.60 Human figures depicting shamans at ATTQ 3, Carbonaatjieskraal, Attakwaskloof

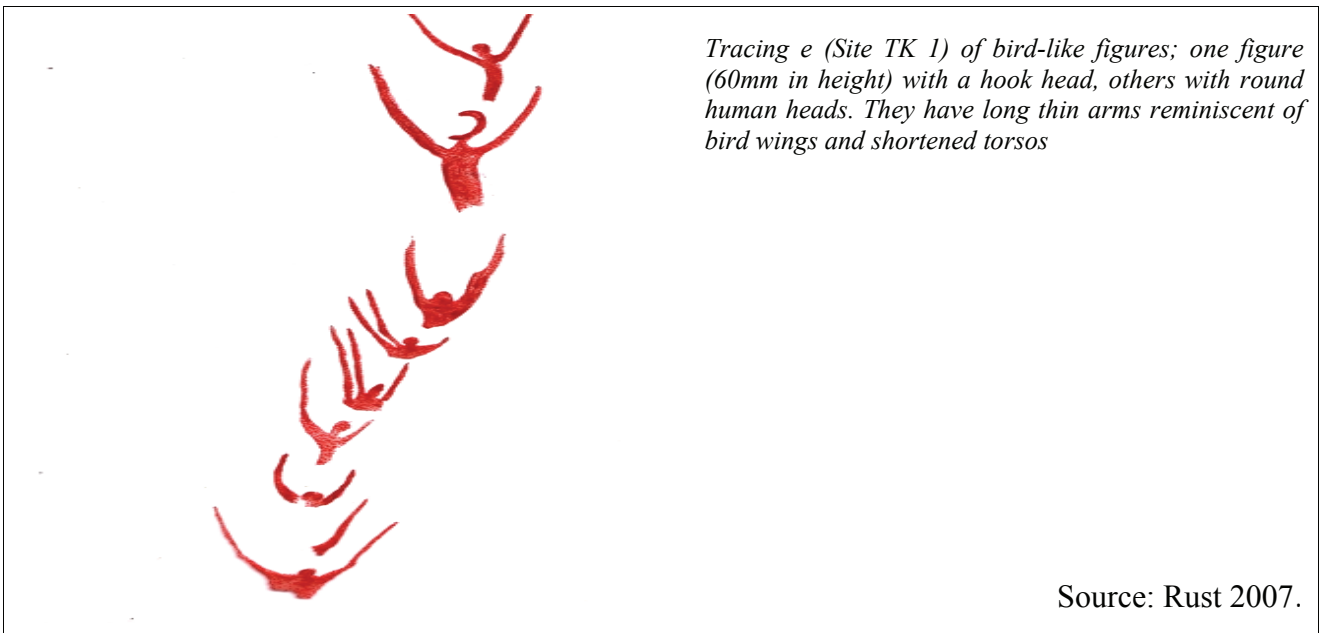


Figure 3.61 Bird-like figures at Site TK 1, Besemfontein, Little Karoo

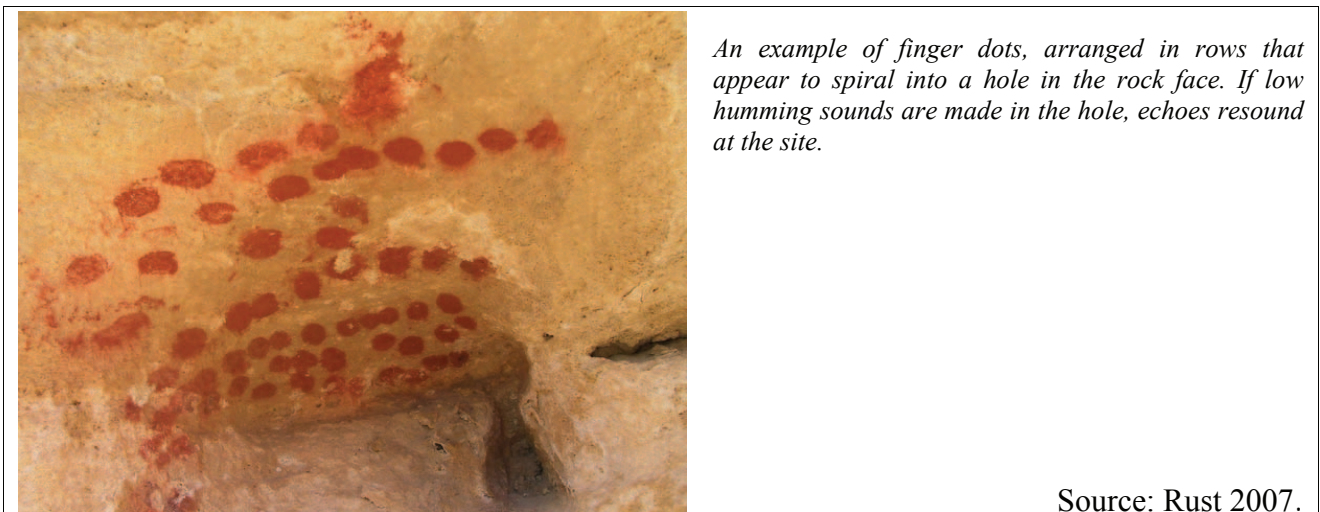


Figure 3.62 Finger dots at a site on the lower Duiwenhoksrivier, Vermaaklikheid, on the south coast

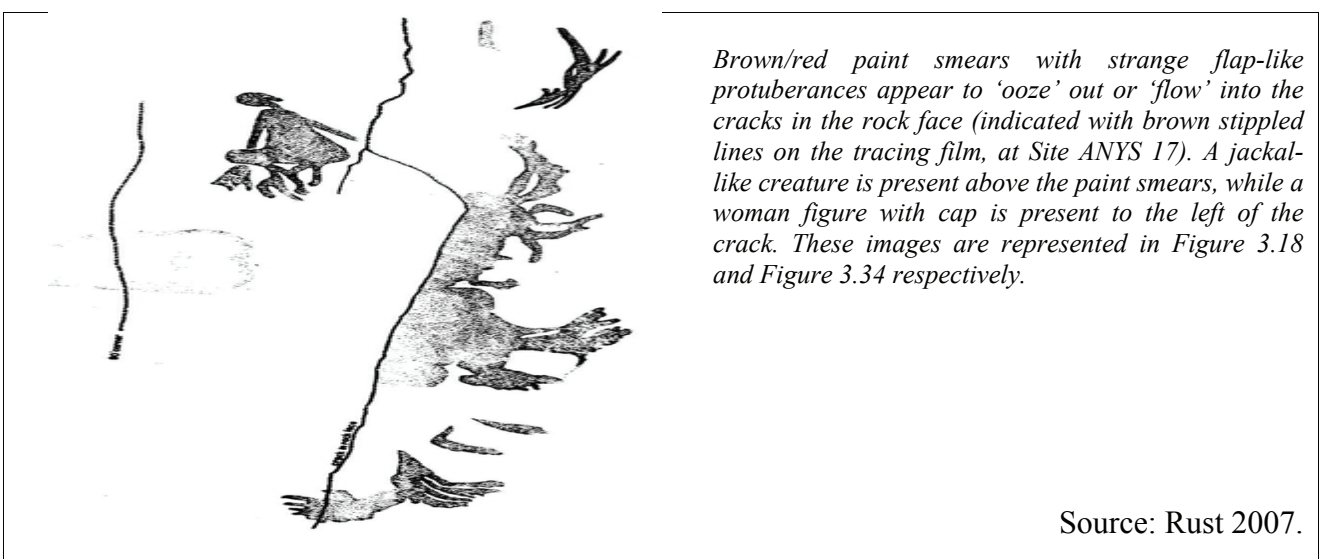


Figure 3.63 Brown/red smears near cracks in the rock face at Site ANYS 17, Anysberg Nature Reserve, Little Karoo

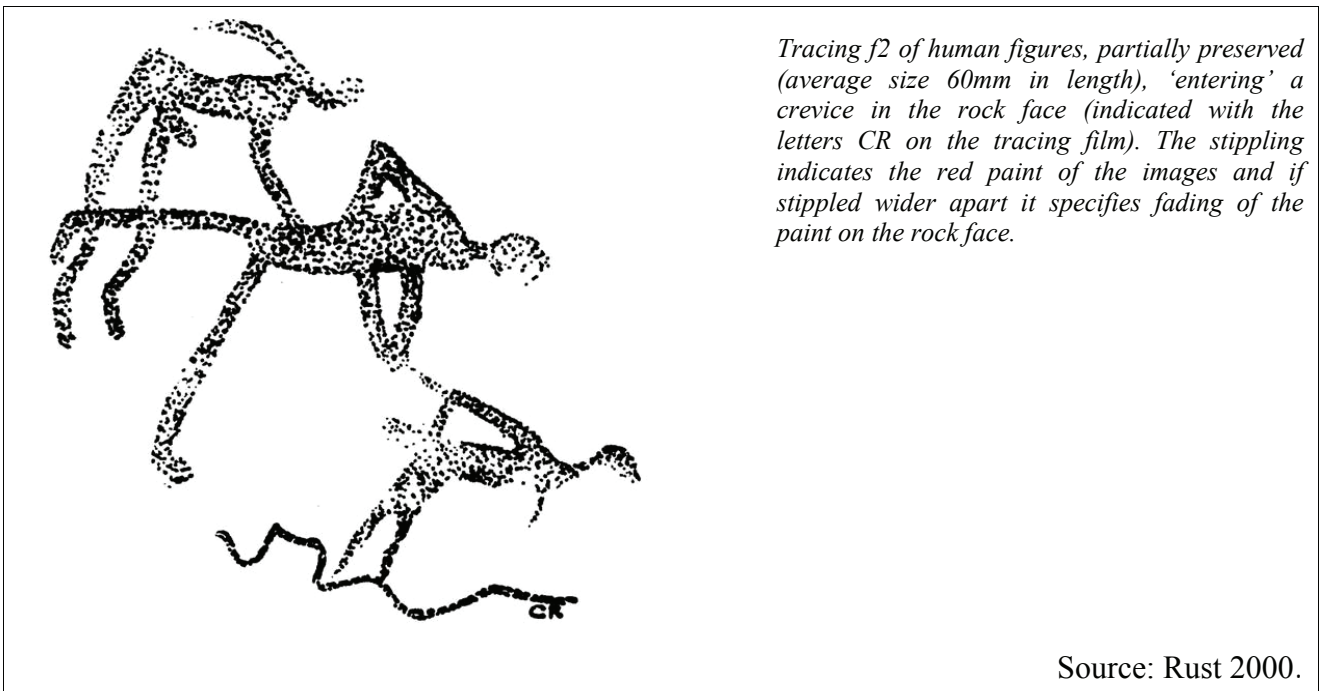


Figure 3.64 Human figures at Site ANYS 13a, Soogdierkloof, Anysberg Nature Reserve

The significance of the therianthrope figures with regard to water is explored further in Chapter 4. The relationship between the rock art and water is embodied in a numinous experience of a landscape where vital interface takes place between the visual and the mythical. It constitutes once again a metaphorical link between the images of the rock art and “the landscape within the images” (Goldhahn 2002: 56).

3.3.3.4 Handprints, finger dots and lines

The numbers of handprints are low compared to the dots and lines. The dots and lines occur in sets, grids, rows, and concentric images, at times superimposing fine-line paintings of human and animal figures. Superimposing of images occur often and is at times easily discernable (cf. Figure 3.65). It has been reasoned that in trance visions are often superimposed on other images (Mavromatis 1987). A more obvious explanation for superimposing or juxtaposing is that the act of touching the painted images on the rock face is powerful. The artist and participant of ritual at a rock art site resonate a memory in their minds by touching or rubbing other paintings and the rock face. By applying finger or palm or even brush to specified areas on the rock face may be an act of accessing the known power of the older art work (Yates & Manhire 1991). Finger dots and handprints applied to the rock surfaces show contrived combinations and are sometimes grouped to form shapes (Figure 3.66). The dots are not always applied with fingers. Some are most probably painted, as the ones in Figure 3.67 which are carefully shaped and combined with white painted wings to represent

bee images. Dots may also be depicted singular surrounding human or other images (Figure 3.68). At times the dots are outlined with red or black, or it may be once again an exact fingering on previous dots with an alternative colour.

As discussed, it has been found that paint is applied to circular holes or irregularities in the rock face as if to accentuate these geological features on the surface. The rock face itself had meaning as a canvas for placing the rock art (Lewis-Williams & Blundell 1997). It was permeable. The same applied in the imagery in the known rock art sample of the Little Karoo and no images are grounded in any way or painted as part of a setting or scenery. The closest the rock art depictions come to showing a 'setting' is when figures are depicted within cupola line(s) to suggest the shape of an enclosure of sorts (cf. Figure 3.32 and Figure 3.39). These images may suggest ritual activities as the figures are depicted joined in limb, squatting, seated, kneeling, bending forward, or clapping. Besides the dots, other geometric forms are found in the rock art sample of the Little Karoo, such as curved concentric lines, crosses or grids, double parallel and zigzag lines, and nested U-shapes. These lines are also depicted as ladders shown 'in' and 'out' of smeared paint blobs (palettes) and then terminating in a crevice. These are non-representational marks on the rock face. As shown these surround human and animals figures and group or join figures (Figure 3.68 and Figure 3.69). These examples of inanimate subject matter in the rock art are known in research as entoptic or phosphene phenomena (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989); phenomena that derive from within the eye. This interesting interpretation may be applied to the boat-shaped paired image from the Little Karoo (Figure 3.69). Inanimate shapes, such as these boat-shaped images, near the top of the head of a human figure indicate a concentration of potency at this spot. Palettes, as discussed, are smears of paint (cf. Figure 3.55) that may represent places of potency on the rock face and even suggest openings to the spirit world beyond.

Do the finger dots in the rock art hold some significance to sound? Lines and dots are connected in the rock art. It may be that shamans in trance 'saw' and 'heard' flickering dots and depicted them; the articulate sounds of the healing moments when a shaman or healer achieves spiritual well-being (Keeney 2005). Thumping with the fingers on a hard surface may often echo the rhythm of a song or jingle - it echoes energy. An audio-visual perspective is implied where the aural, tactile and visual impressions of the imagery on the rock face combine in a basic interplay of feelings and perceptions.



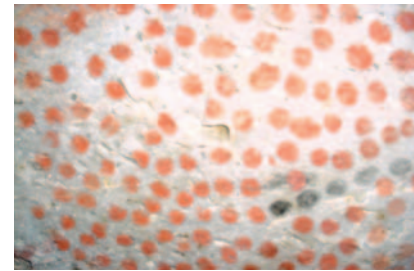
A finger painted human figure (100mm in height), with interesting use of colour superimposed over a positive handprint and older rock art; an eland above.

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 3.65 Finger painted human figure at Site V1, Merrie se Kloof, Gamkaberg Nature Reserve, Little Karoo



Hundreds of red finger dots (some black, in the centre of the group of dots), forming a rounded shape near other paintings which may suggest potency present in application on the rock face. The inset below shows the black dots.



Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 3.66 Finger dots at Site V1, Merrie se Kloof, Gamkaberg Nature Reserve, Little Karoo



These red dots (on average 7mm in length) surround human fingers and appear to be 'flying' as they are shaped like bees and have a set of white wings (cf. Figure 3.36).

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 3.67 Red dots at Site TK 31, Grysmanskloof, Amalienstein, Little Karoo

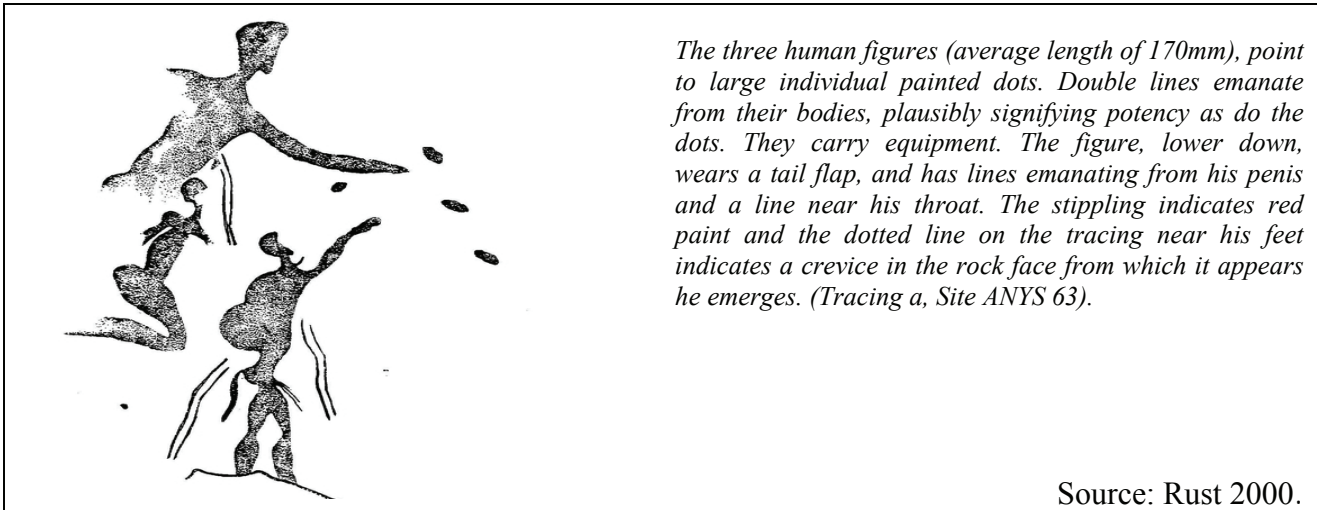


Figure 3.68 Three human figures and large dots at Site ANYS 63, Anysberg Nature Reserve, Little Karoo

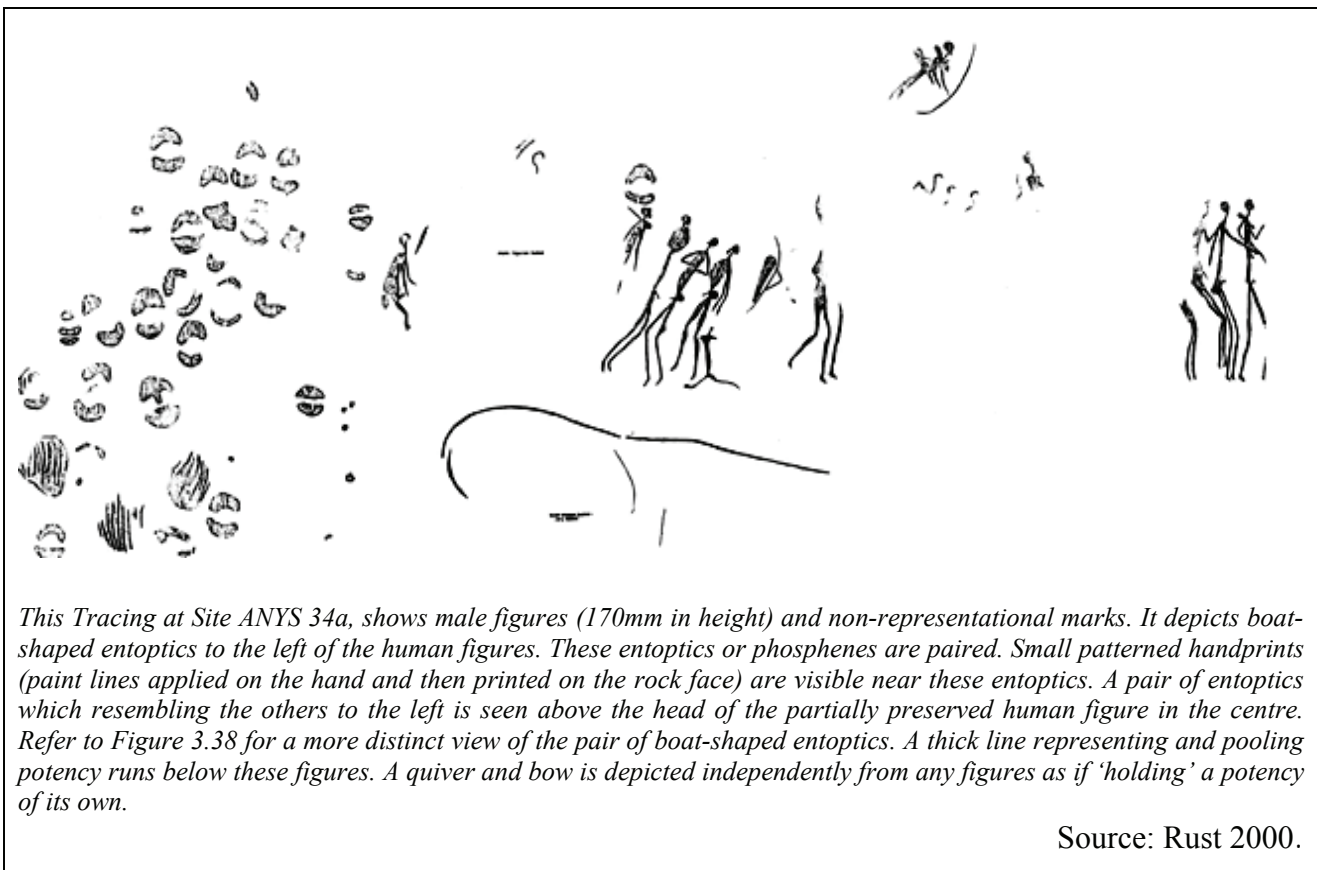


Figure 3.69 Male figures at Allemorgenskloof, Anysberg Nature Reserve, Little Karoo

It is plausible that remnants of forces that contributed to achieving an altered state of consciousness may still be present at these sites (Devereux 1990; 2001a). For example, natural acoustic echoes are experienced at sites if low sounds are made in hollows or openings in the rock face (Goldhahn 2002) (cf. Figure 3.62). The significance of sensing these phenomena may be shown in rock depictions of figures 'entering' a crevice in the rock face at a site (Figure 3.64). Geophysical

phenomena, echoes of wind and water, and holes and crevices that resound at rock art sites are significant and more than New-Age fantasies. Such echoes and resonance may produce relatively low levels of infrasonic sounds, at sites suitably shaped naturally to induce neuropsychological effects on visitors, shamans and initiates (Devereux 1990; 2001a; 2001b). These phenomena could have played a role in the orientation and use of the sites in prehistory. Echo sounds, rhythm and resonance may have held mythical qualities for the people who painted and visited the rock art sites. The audible experience of perceiving these sounds was enhanced by repetitive sounds, singing and clapping, at times probably accompanied by the use of hallucinogenic substances from indigenous plants, and sensed as an energy or potency present in ‘things’. This may be linked to the use of sound and music, and maybe the finger and painted dots, besides being entoptic, were placed on the rock face as ocular awareness of such resonance and rhythm. Some sites with more paintings and layers of superimpositioning show re-visitation and ritual practice that may suggest a frequency of resonance present at these sites. Future research is required to establish this pattern of use at sites.

The /Xam myths echo sounds. The string, the ringing sound and thing that vibrated in him, was what Xā:ä-tij, father to Diä!kwain’s (Bleek’s informant) heard and sang about when !nuiŋ-/kúitən, the shaman, summoned !khwa:-ka xəro, the Rain-bull when on a “magical expedition”, a trance (Bleek 1936: 134, 132). /Xam women beat the ground with a grinding stone as a prayer of sound to control the animals in the hunt (Bleek 1935). Diä!kwain told of the sound of the thong as it passed along above the sky after breaking and losing hold of the rain bull; it vibrated with a ringing noise and sounded like a !kummi, a musical instrument (Bleek 1933: 378). Today, Texae #oma, an elderly woman Bushman healer from Xaoxa, Namibia, reiterates the sounds of strings and dots that give “magic songs” (Keeney 2003: 114). It is possible that the San shamans, the painters, the initiates and visitors to the rock arts sites, harnessed this energy or sound during ritualized behaviour by touching and fingering the rock face to enter the spirit world. Tantalizingly, physicists today try to explain microphysical reality, the quanta, linking these particles as vibrating superstrings and encompassing ‘music’ in a higher dimensional field (Laszlo 2007). The sense of place at rock art sites carry visual, auditory and mythical significance that can be utilised to connect to spiritual power sought by meta-tourists.

3.4 The association with water in the depictions of the Little Karoo

The purpose of this chapter has been to contextualise the interpretation of the rock art within ethnography, and to describe and interpret the rock art images of the Little Karoo. The rock art of the Little Karoo show similarities with other rock art areas in the Western Cape rock art tradition.

The similarities are in the colour coding of the paintings, mainly monochrome reds with detail added in other colours; in the relative proportion of human to animal figures, and in the significant utilization of eland and elephant in the imagery. The ways in which human figures are executed are also similar. The features are of elongated limbs, hook heads, forward-bending dance-like postures, squatting, running, in groups or singular, naked figures mostly, but at times wearing karosses, decorations and carrying bags and equipment. These postures are widely recognised in rock art samples (Lewis-Williams 1981a; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989). There are interesting examples of polymerous joining of limbs in the depiction of processions of human figures; often these joined figures transform into animals. Therianthropes are frequently depicted; such as humans with elephant trunks, jackal and human, bird wings and tails, and human torsos with fish tails (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989; Yates *et al.* 1993). The numbers of human figures in groups and the numbers of group scenes are fewer in the Little Karoo than in the Cederberg for example. This may simply reflect the lower frequency of known sites in the Little Karoo or that the region supported fewer people in the past.

This chapter has emphasised the rock art images that can be related to water and rainmaking through the ethnography. For example, snakes and elephant can be related to water and rainmaking. The therianthropes involving imagery of fish creatures may indicate the importance of water, not only in ritual but also in the landscape. The depictions of women also suggest ritual and are possibly associated with water. The themes of therianthropic fish and women and water are further developed and related to contemporary myth in the following chapter. Water symbolises life and has always been at the root of all mythology (Campbell 1988; 1991; Bailey 1997). The sites are scattered throughout the landscape in a geographical area as if the rock art marked the landscape with spiritual messages on routes to places near waterholes or rivers. Were the sites with rock art in particular, portals to the mystical world of spirits, and resultant healing and rainmaking places? Did the sites lead to the watercourses as an embodiment of subterranean dimensions of these rituals? The following chapter shows that even today mythological spirits ‘live’ in the waterholes and rivers in the Little Karoo.

CHAPTER 4: ROCK PAINTINGS AND A LINK TO A LOCAL STORY

“Our mothers used to tell us, that a sorceror’s [sic] heart’s sound makes a noise like rain taking him away, because it feels that it goes away dying. Then his heart falls down into the water-pit. It sounds like rain as it goes into the water-pit which is alive, (into) its water. That is why it sounds like rain, because it enters water which also lives, as does he who is a sorceror [sic]” (Dictated by Diä!kwain, Bleek 1935: 32).

“Mythologizing an asset transforms it from the mundane to the extraordinary and converts a physical asset into a place of spiritual ... significance” (McKercher & DuCros 2002: 129).

This chapter establishes a link between the rock art and the living heritage of local people of the Little Karoo. The similarities between the stories and the descriptions of water beings, particularly female figures, and themes of water in the rock art are discussed. Stories of sightings of mythological water creatures and *watermeide*, can be related to the therianthrope figures of rock art imagery. Consecutively, the ethnography, beliefs and stories recorded in the 1870s are related to the stories told today by local people of the Little Karoo.

4.1 The setting of the rock art and myth confirmed

The people who have lived in the Little Karoo for the past 400 years have the same neurological substrate as the humans on the southern coast, Western Cape, who made the first art at 77 000 years ago. Ochre pieces engraved with entoptic patterns (Figure 4.1), bifacial points, bone tools, shell beads found at Blombos Cave near Still Bay on the southern coast, suggest fully modern cognitive behaviour at 77 000 years ago (Henshilwood & Sealy 1997; Henshilwood 2004; D’Errico *et al.* 2005). Since that time an artistic tradition is evident that reflects also in the latest occurrence of rock art on the southern Cape, that is the rock depiction of a Dutch-sailing vessel from the late sixteenth or first half of the seventeenth century, as introduced and described in Chapter 3 (cf. Figure 3.7). To interpret ancient art is not unproblematic, but analogy can be used to a certain extent to infer meaning. Analogies (Sharer & Ashmore 1987; Thomas 1989) are used to interpret acumen, imagination, and past experience (Thomas 1989). The interpretation of rock art relies on historical evidence and modern-day ethnography. These same sources can also be used to detect mythology in the rock art. The many metaphors and nuances contained in San ethnography must be considered in understanding any of the rock art imagery.

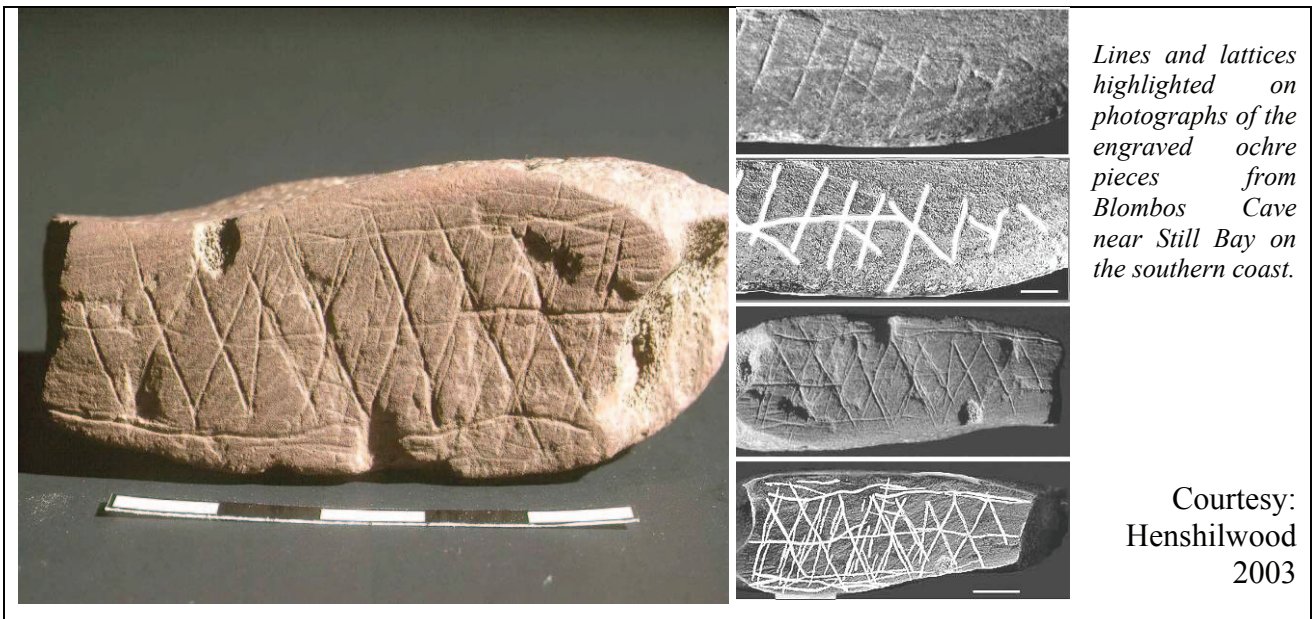


Figure 4.1 Engraved ochre pieces from Blombos Cave near Still Bay on the southern coast, Western Cape

Judging from the living San ethnography a high degree of complexity in belief system is a given (Vinnicombe 1972a; 1976; Katz 1982; Lewis-Williams 1981b; Katz & Biesele 1986; Katz *et al.* 1997). Even considering that there is a risk to impose modern concept onto the culture of the ancient ones, it remains an exceptional resource for interpretation (Hewitt 1986; Guenther 1989; 1994; 1999; Hoff 1990; 1997; 1998). The link between San ethnography and the folklore of the Little Karoo is illustrated by a discussion of the ichthyoidal rock paintings.

4.2 Ichthyoidal rock paintings in the Little Karoo

The so-called “mermaid” paintings of Ezeljagdspoor (Lewis-Williams *et al.* 1993: 277) are used as a case study to illustrate the link between living folklore and San ethnography. This painting was chosen as a case study because these figures and others that are similar to the “fish-tails” figures of Ezeljagdspoor (Lewis-Williams *et al.* 1993), have been interpreted as ‘mermaids’ (Rudner & Rudner 1970), and are still interpreted as such by the local people (Van der Walt & Benghiat 2005). The site is situated on the Brak River, south of the Kammanassie Mountains, 50km from Oudtshoorn. These well-known rock paintings enjoyed ambiguous interest for more than 160 years when it was first published (Alexander 1837: 316), because the figures resembled mythical beings or figures “obviously connected with local mythology” (Rudner & Rudner 1970: 106) (Figure 4.2; Figure 4.3 and Figure 4.4 to this dissertation). They attracted interest because of their ichthyoidal lower limbs, reminiscent of the western concept of “mermaids” (Rudner & Rudner 1970: 106; Van der Walt & Benghiat 2005). In 1835 these paintings were first copied by Maj. C.C. Mitchell for Sir

James Alexander on a visit to the site (Alexander 1837). Although Alexander found these paintings unfathomable he did remark on the “amphibious nature” of features of the figures at the Ezeljagdspoort site (Alexander 1837: 317). From a Western aesthetic perspective the paintings resembled mermaids. To this day this is a popular interpretation of these figures.

Hollmann (2005a; 2005b) has argued that these therianthrope figures, the Ezeljagdspoort images and other similar figures in the Little Karoo and peripheral areas of the Eastern Cape may represent “swift-people” (Hollmann 2003; 2005b: 21). His interpretation is based on commonalities between the behavioural attributes of swifts and these therianthrope figures. Some figures certainly do have more avian-like characteristics as examples show (cf. Figure 3.43, Figure 3.44 and Figure 3.45 of Chapter 3 to this dissertation), but here it is argued that the Ezeljagdspoort figures are more like fish than swallows. Even so, the idea that these particular therianthropes, as sampled at the Ezeljagdspoort site, may be swallows or bird-like in composition has received widespread support (Van der Riet *et al.* 1940; Rudner & Rudner 1970; Lewis-Williams 1990a; Lewis-Williams *et al.* 1993).



This copy of the Ezeljagdspoort figures was made by Maj. C.C. Mitchell for Sir James Alexander.

Alexander 1837: 316

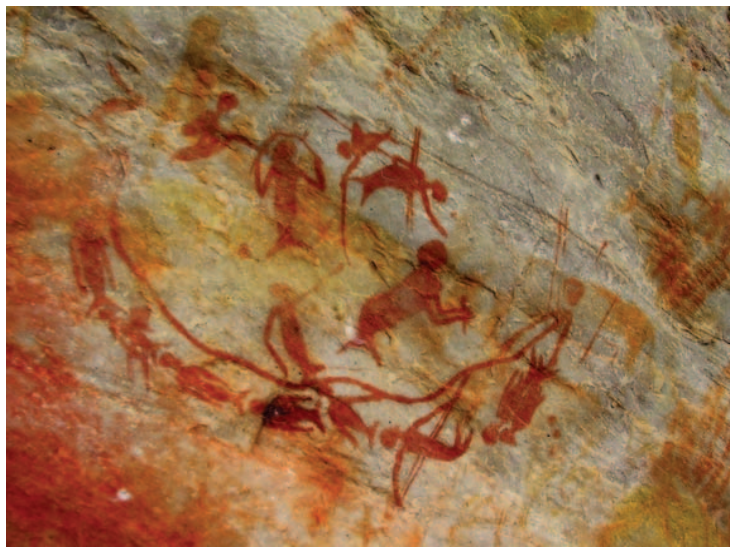
Figure 4.2 The early copy of Ezeljagdspoort figures near Oudtshoorn, Little Karoo



These therianthrope figures (on average 65mm from head to tail), show clear defining of the shoulders and short arm lengths. The figures are holding sticks; some figures have their arms ‘pointing’ outwards. The procession of therianthrope figures, below the semi-circular line-figure with human head, arms and fingers showing, has images on the left transforming into fish-like images. The paintings are in red (cf. Figure 4.4. This copy was made by TA Dowson in 1988.

Source: Lewis-Williams *et al.* 1993.

Figure 4.3 A later copy of therianthrope figures at the Ezeljagdspoort site near Oudtshoorn



The therianthrope figures of human figures with ichthyoidal features. This photograph taken in February 2004 may be compared with Figure 4.2 and Figure 4.3 above. Figure 4.2 does not have all the figures drawn while Figure 4.4 shows the colouring and clear condition of some of the images still today.

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 4.4 Image of the therianthrope figures at the Ezeljagdspoort site near Oudtshoorn

Here it is argued that the therianthrope figures of Ezeljagdspoort and similar figures elsewhere in the Little Karoo appear more aquatic, and have ichthyoidal features. Although Hollmann (2005a; 2005b) interprets these figures as swifts, he notes it is the shorter arm-length limbs that may have led to past interpretations of half human half fish. There is some variation in how these therianthropes were rendered that is in favour of an ichthyoidal interpretation. In Hollmann's avian model the tail feathers taper and in some cases are not shown (Hollmann 2005a: fig 7; cf. Figure 3.43 to this dissertation), whereas the lower extremities of most of the ichthyoidal therianthrope figures show well defined wide forked tails.

The upper part of these figures are human with round heads, well-defined shoulders, shorter arms, more human-like than wings, while the lower part suggests fish tails. The rounded and well-defined shoulders and human arms and hands contrast sharply with some therianthrope figures that have upper limbs that curve sharply downwards, 'wing-like', and extend beyond the tips of the lower limbs, and, as suggested by Hollmann (2005a) resemble swifts (cf. Figure 3.43 and Figure 3.45 to this dissertation). The lengthening and thickening of the lower body are more fish-like than bird-like. These features of the lower body resemble the caudal peduncle length of the fish; the body section from behind the anal fin to the base of the caudal tail fin (Skelton 1993). Behavioural activities that are more human-like such as the bending or swinging of arms and holding sticks are evident in the rock depictions. Therefore it is argued that these therianthrope figures of Ezeljagdspoort appear more aquatic, and have ichthyoidal features with human upper bodies.

The figures from Ezeljagdspoor are identical to other ichthyoidal therianthropic figures in the rock art throughout the Little Karoo. Examples are found near Cloetes Pass, Attakwas Mountain (Maggs 1998) (Figure 4.5 to this dissertation); near Herold, Outeniqua Mountains, Little Karoo (Figure 4.6), and on the Moerasrivier, Gamkaberg (Figure 4.7). In similar examples in the Kammanassie Mountains, these figures are painted in pigments of red-pink, white, and yellow with red stripes decorating the bodies and squared with shoulders defined (Figure 4.8).

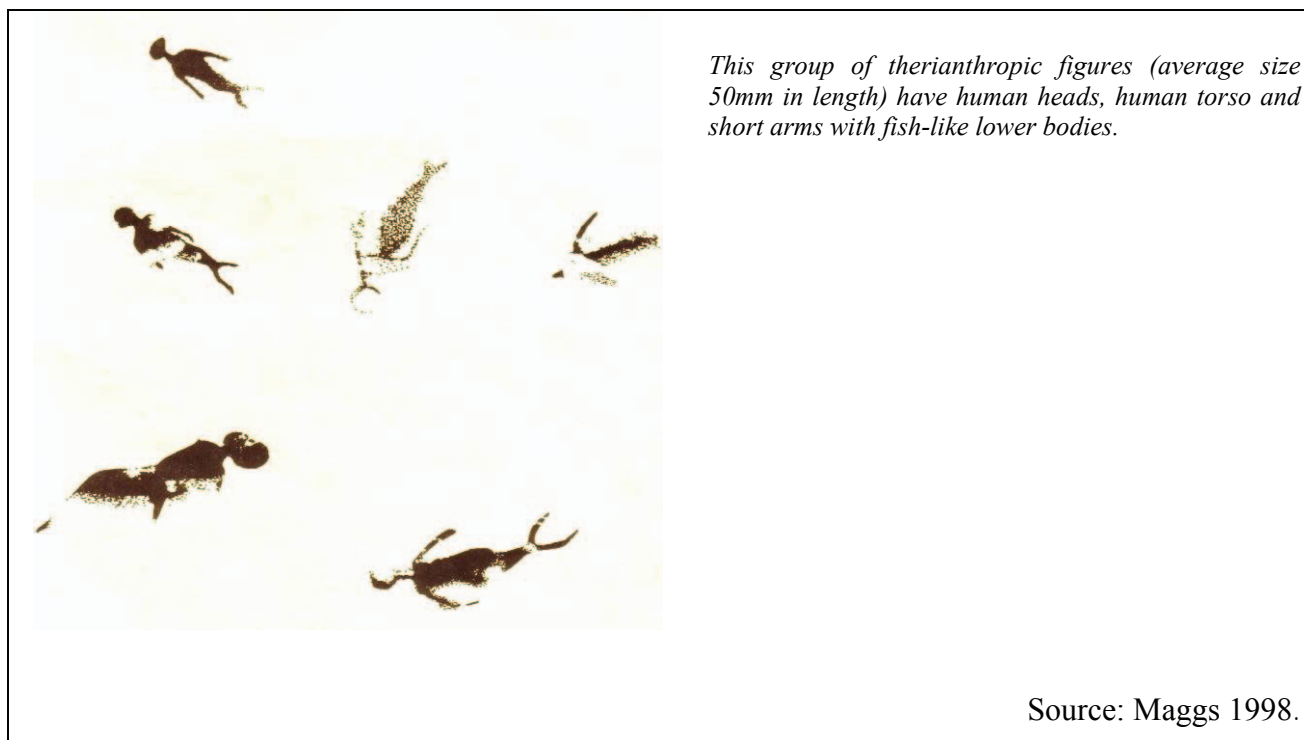


Figure 4.5 Therianthropic figures near Cloetes Pass, Attakwas Mountain, Little Karoo

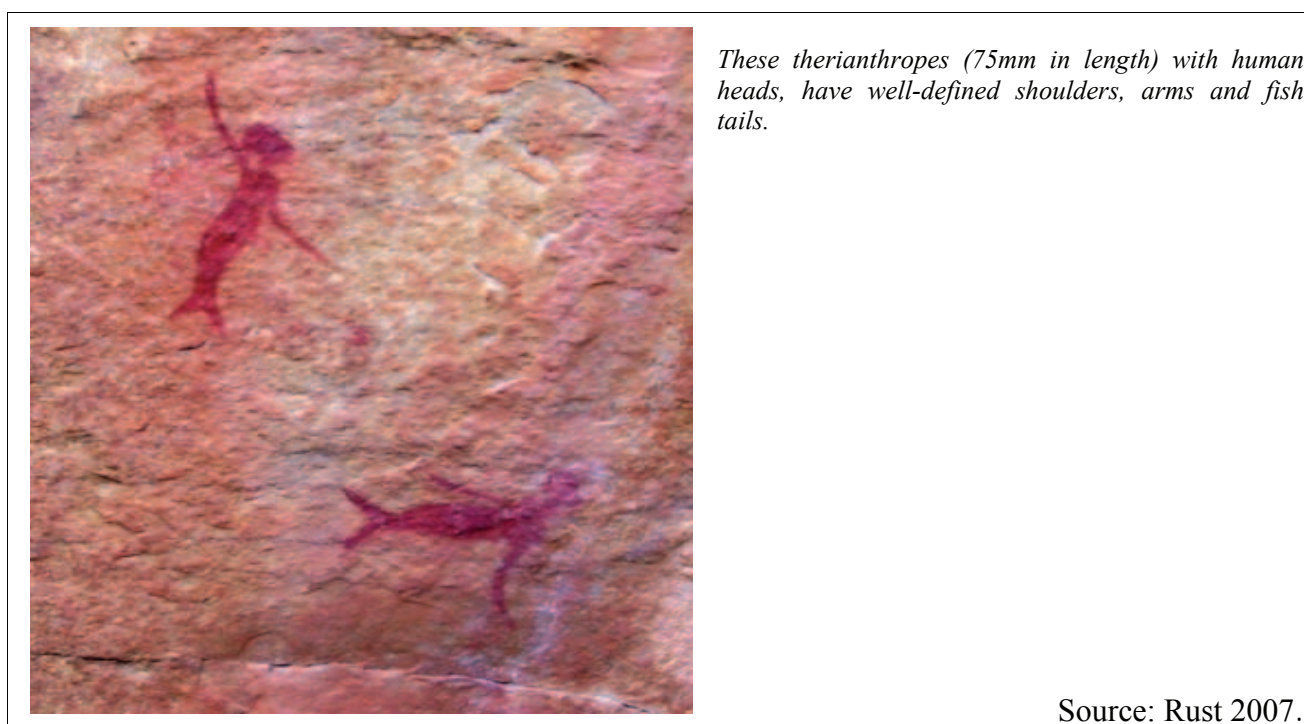


Figure 4.6 Therianthropes at a site near Herold in the Outeniqua Mountains, Little Karoo



This therianthrope (100mm from head to tail) is part of a complex panel. It appears to be 'swimming' downward; it has red stripes vertical to the body decorating the upper torso, human arms, shoulders and head, and fish-like lower body with a red band, highlighting an area near the tail fin that may be likened unto the caudal peduncle length of a fish. The head and arms are partially preserved and not clear in the photograph.

Source: Leggatt 2007.

Figure 4.7 A therianthrope at Site MIN 2 near the Moerasrivier, Gamkaberg Nature Reserve, Little Karoo



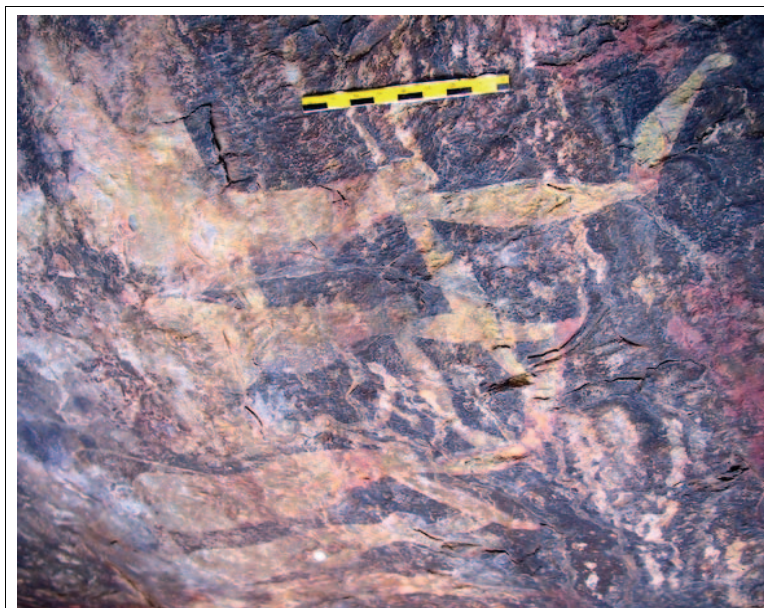
A therianthrope figure with red striped body, a human head shoulders and arms holding a stick. It has a fish tail and a red band indicates the caudal area.

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 4.8 A therianthrope at a site in the Kammanassie Mountains, Little Karoo

In some depictions of these therianthropes the section of the lower body that resembles the caudal peduncle length of a fish is painted with a band of colour, highlighting the lengthening and thickening of the lower body (cf. Figure 4.7 and Figure 4.8). This strengthens the argument that some of these depictions in the Little Karoo are ichthyoidal.

These figures and other examples in the rock art of the Little Karoo (Figure 4.9; Figure 4.10, Figure 4.11, Figure 4.12, Figure 4.13, Figure 4.14, Figure 4.15 and Figure 4.16), signify transformation and entrance into deep holes, water pits and the spirit world. The depictions of fish in the rock art are interpreted as showing altered states and “add up to the ‘underwater’ trance experience” (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989: 88, cf. fig. 40), as discussed in Chapter 3, Section 3.2.3. As pointed out previously, current research (Hoff 1997; 1998) among /Xam, and San belief in general, point to links between snakes and serpents, ‘swimming’, going underwater or into a pit, and shamans.



These human figures (on average 180 to 300mm from head to feet), seem to be ‘moving’ horizontally, with red markings around knees and waists. They appear to be in ‘swimming’ postures. Their legs intertwine. These figures are above the therianthropes and serpent (cf. Figure 4.10 at Site MIN 2).

Source Rust 2007.

Figure 4.9 Yellow human figures at Site MIN 2, Jonkersberg, south of Gamkaberg, Little Karoo



The red ‘swimming’ therianthropes (on average 80-100mm in length) are reminiscent of the Ezeljagdspoor paintings. They have human arms and some hold sticks. They are depicted near the serpent and other human figures (cf. Figure 3.29). Note the wooden peg at the bottom of the photograph wedged in the crevice to hang bags on.

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 4.10 Red therianthropes at the MIN 2 site, Jonkersberg, near the Moerasrivier, south of Gamkaberg Nature Reserve



These figures (average length from head to feet, 190-210mm) retain their humanness but appear to be transformed. They are depicted 'swimming'. Red lines join these images.

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 4.11 'Swimming' figures at Attakwaskloof, Little Karoo



White therianthrope figures (70mm in length) with human head and bird-like torsos are superimposed over other paintings, are spirit like in appearance and accentuate flight. These and others in similar posture emerge out of a crack in the rock face. The figures are part of a large and complex frieze of paintings.

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 4.12 White therianthrope figures at the Leeublad Site, Kammanassie, Little Karoo



The white figure on the left is 100mm in height, has a large head and face, lines emanate from his head, and he carries arrows and equipment. The white eldritch figures juxtapose red, yellow and white therianthrope figures with fish tails, and holding sticks.

Source: Rust 2007.

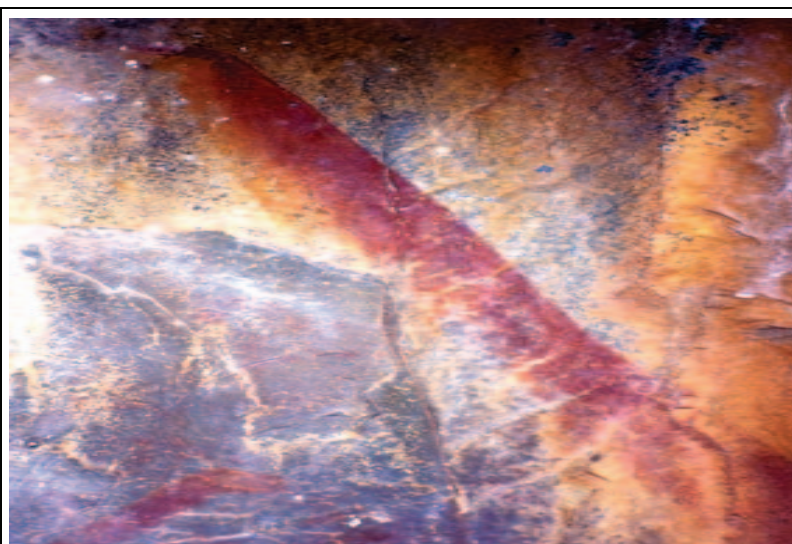
Figure 4.13 Eldritch figures at Kammanassie, Little Karoo



White spirit-like figures, and a red therianthrope (110mm in length) with fish-like features (cf. Figure 4.8), red stripes and a red band across the caudal peduncle length of the lower body of the figure. The red figure has well-shaped shoulders and carries a stick. These figures are left of the figures in Figure 4.13 at the same site.

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 4.14 Spirit-like figures and a therianthrope at Kammanassie, Little Karoo



Bichrome, yellow/orange and red snake images with a yellow face (partially preserved) at Meulkloof (cf. Figure 3.27).

Source Rust 2000.

Figure 4.15 Snake images at Meulkloof site, Anysberg Nature Reserve



The red figure, top left, has a human head and arms and a fish tail depicted in a typical 'swimming' posture. This red figure is superimposed over yellow male figures on the left. The red therianthrope figures below this 'swimming' red figure are also depicted in 'swimming' mode. The serpent in the centre of the photograph 'emerges' from a crevice in the rock face (a wooden peg is stuck in this crevice, far left of the photograph). The serpent has a long head with a beak. Lighter shaded segments show on the underbelly of the serpent. To the right above the serpent, a bird, a therianthrope figure, and other human figures 'swimming' horizontally, are present (cf. Figure 4.7, Figure 4.9 and Figure 4.10).

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 4.16 The whole frieze at Site MIN 2, Jonkersberg, near the Moerasrivier, Gamkaberg

The rock art of Site MIN 2, Jonkersberg, near the Moerasrivier, south of the Gamkaberg Nature Reserve, illustrates the link between underwater experience, snakes and ichthyoidal characteristics (cf. Figure 4.16). Red therianthropes (cf. Figure 4.10) to the right and near the serpent at this site are reminiscent of the Ezeljagdspoort paintings (cf. Figure 4.5), 50km distant. At both sites the figures are significantly human, have ichthyoidal features and are showing the ‘underwater’ posture in behavioural mode of depiction. In the following paragraphs it is discussed why the ichthyoidal images of Ezeljagdspoort and other sites in the Little Karoo have been interpreted as water/rain “things” (Bleek 1933: 303).

4.3 Ezeljagdspoort and mythical water creatures

Schunke sent copies of the Ezeljagdspoort paintings to Wilhelm Bleek. Bleek described these figures as water maidens and made the connection to the story of the *watermeid* told by Afrikaander, a Bushman, to D Ballot near Oudtshoorn. In 1875 Bleek wrote “The subject of it (the watermaidens), was explained in a fine old legend to Mr. D. Ballot (who kindly copied it for Mr. Schunke), by a very old Bushman still surviving in those parts” (Bleek 1875: 20). Afrikaander had the firmest belief in the *watermeide* or water women and professed to know stories about them. One of them was about a girl dragged under the water as she stooped to pick a flower on the surface of the water. She lived with the water people and found it pleasant. She was careful not to say she wanted to eat fish as this would have been perilous as these water people are half fish. Her mother threw some dried and powdered shrub substance on the water and the girl returned from under the water unhurt to her family with stories to relate about the water people (Leeuwenberg 1970).

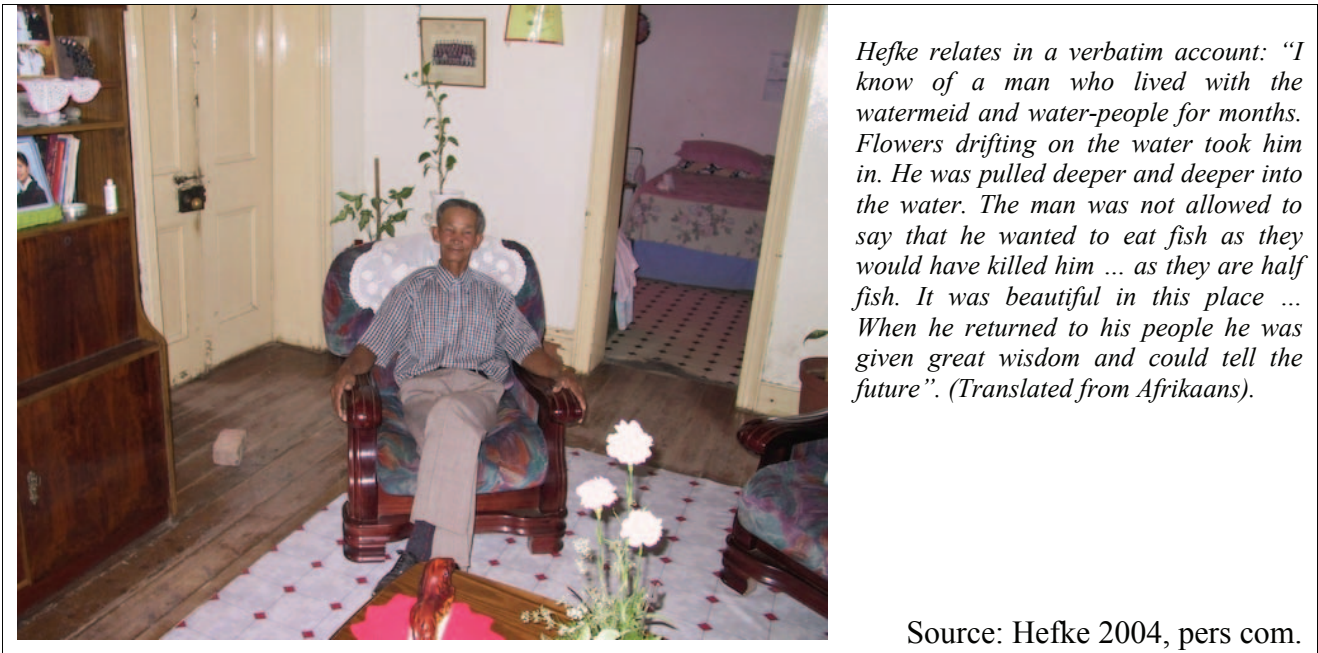
There is some confusion as to whether Afrikaander actually saw the Ezeljagdspoort painting. It appears that the aging Afrikaander did not see these paintings and that his story was in response to the question “Do you believe in *Watermeide*?” from Ballot and not because he, Afrikaander was explaining the paintings (Lewis-Williams 1977; Lewis-Williams *et al.* 1993). What could be surmised is that Bleek made the connection of the Ezeljagdspoort paintings to the story of the *watermeid* told to Ballot as he, Bleek, recognised certain similar features such as the fish-like tails of human figures of the paintings and the description given by Afrikaander of the *watermeide* “half fish half flesh ...” and assumed the rest (the story as told by Afrikaander is handwritten on blue writing paper, no page numbers or date, and with markings BC151 F1.16, located in Lucy Lloyd’s papers in the Jagger Library, Cape Town University). Bleek may thus have been referring to the *subject* of the paintings not implying that Afrikaander saw the actual paintings.

In 1878 /Han=kassō, a /Xam informant was shown the Ezeljagdspoor paintings by Lucy Lloyd. The interpretation that /Han=kassō gave of the Ezeljagdspoor paintings differs from the story that was told by Afrikaander (Lewis-Williams 1977). /Han=kassō considered the figures human and as shaman rainmakers but gave no comment on the ichthyoidal nature of the depictions. /Han=kassō calls these figures the rain's people which points to the mystical nature of these figures and he identifies them as people because they have human arms and they hold sticks (Bleek & Lloyd Collection 1878a: L VIII 1: 6063-6068). The carrying of sticks is interpreted as ritualized behaviour (Bleek in Orpen 1874; Bleek 1935). Diä!kwain, the /Xam informant, explained that sorcerers (shamans) carry sticks when they dance (Bleek 1935).

/Han=kassō emphasised that the Ezeljagdspoor paintings represent the rain's people that could influence the weather and that these 'rain' figures resemble people. He refers to the long line with human head and human arms and fingers, joining the other figures, as !khwa: !Nhai:n;, which dwells in the water and is worm-like (Bleek & Lloyd Collection 1878b: L.VIII.1.6074-6077). Lloyd translated !khwa: !Nhai:n; according to the *Bushman Dictionary* (Bleek 1956: 369) as the rain's navel or caterpillar. /Han=kassō discusses two opposing themes: the power of the water people making rain and thwarting adversative weather conditions, and on the other hand, inciting such destructive forces. /Han=kassō hints that the long humanoid line !khwa: !Nhai:n; depicted in the Ezeljagdspoor paintings may indicate division or opposing forces. /Han=kassō does not say the line is human nor does he refer to the fish tails but this may simply be an omission in documentation or an oversight on his part in explanation, as these features are so distinct in the depictions.

Essentially the theme of the events that are part of the Ezeljagdspoor paintings and Afrikaander's story is about the mystical concept of water. Afrikaander's *watermeid* story is regarded as a "Bushman folktale" (Maggs 1998). In 1878, only three years after Afrikaander gave his story of the *watermeid*, /Han=kassō was shown a copy of the paintings and he gave his interpretations, as described. Although the home territories of /Han=kassō and Afrikaander were 400km apart it is quite reasonable to suggest that they were both members of the San ethnic group and may have shared similar symbolic references. Neither /Han=kassō nor Afrikaander mentions the concept 'mermaid' as this term was probably unknown to them but their stories carry common nuances of supernatural mystical beings and potencies that relate to water, rain and healing, concepts that were part of their mythology. Both events involve a concept of water people that live under water and are connected to the living. These San folktales are linked to stories of the *watermeide* as told by the

Little Karoo informants (Appendix A), of whom Hendrik Hefke is one (Figure 4.17), and discussed in Sections 4.4 and 4.5.



Hefke relates in a verbatim account: “I know of a man who lived with the watermeid and water-people for months. Flowers drifting on the water took him in. He was pulled deeper and deeper into the water. The man was not allowed to say that he wanted to eat fish as they would have killed him ... as they are half fish. It was beautiful in this place ... When he returned to his people he was given great wisdom and could tell the future”. (Translated from Afrikaans).

Source: Hefke 2004, pers com.

Figure 4.17 Hendrik Hefke in his house at Calitzdorp

4.4 The indigenous roots of the community of Zoar and Amalienstein

The villages of Zoar and Amalienstein are situated between Ladismith and Calitzdorp along the Klein Swartberg. The local community has had close ties with missionary societies since the early nineteenth century. In 1817 the South African Missionary Society established Zoar on the farm Elandsfontein, and the Berlin Missionary Society set up its station on the adjoining farm, Amalienstein in 1833 (Hofmeyr 1995). These communities are in fact one and were only divided for purposes of regulation by the missionary societies. The local community can be linked to southern indigenous peoples, then referred to as the ‘Hottentots’. In 1838 James Backhouse visited Zoar and later wrote what he had seen: “It has an extensive tract of land, chiefly rocky, Karroo hills; but by the side of the river, there are two fertile spots ... containing together upwards of 100 morgens ... Upon the verge of one of them stands the chapel and a number of huts, forming a village, which is inhabited by from 3 to 400 Hottentots, including children ...” (Backhouse 1844: 114-115). The Evangelical Lutheran Church at Amalienstein, completed in 1852 near where the chapel was, and restored in 1996, is a distinctive landmark in the Seweweekspoort River Valley, connecting the communities of Zoar and Amalienstein (Hofmeyr 1995). The inhabitants of these towns and missionary posts remained relatively isolated politically and economically for 150 years. The local community’s lineage can be traced back in some cases to the time when their ancestors

were freed slaves (Figure 4.18), probably after 1834 (Elphick & Giliomee 1989), and lived on these missionary stations (Januarie 2004, pers com; Temmers 2005. pers com).



The elderly woman on the left in the photograph was a slave, and ancestor of the poet, Hendrik Januarie, who lives at Zoar, Little Karoo. She was blind when the photograph was taken. She lived at Zoar. Her age is given as 116 years (Januarie 2004, pers com).

Source: Courtesy, Januarie 2004.

Figure 4.18 The woman (left), a slave ancestor of the poet, Hendrik Januarie of Zoar, Little Karoo

Similar settlements exist elsewhere in South Africa. For example, the informants interviewed by Hoff (1997) in the Northern Karoo lived in small towns and at missionary settlements. Interestingly Hoff (1990; 1997; 1998) established in her research that indigenous peoples living in the Upper Karoo and Bushmanland of southern Africa still today regard themselves as /Xam descendants. She collected ethnographic evidence that established distinct /Xam cognitive roots in the living cultural data among her informants. The local community of Zoar and Amalienstein has ties to the ‘Hottentots’ and are not /Xam descendents, but it is remarkable that mythical water beings exist in the folklore of both groups. The phenomena of the mythical *watermeide* known by the local people of the Little Karoo are discussed next.

4.5 The story of the *watermeide*

The traditional local people of the Little Karoo firmly believe in the existence of the *watermeide*. These beings live under water. The informants (Fourie 2005; 2006 pers com; Hefke 2004; 2007 pers com; Januarie 2004; 2007 pers com; Kleinbooi 2004; 2005; 2006 pers com; and Magani 2005 pers com, Appendix A) recount the existence of the fine underwater dwellings, mud houses, of these half human half fish female creatures, the *watermeide*. The *watermeide* are white; at times they glow, flicker and shine, have long hair and are pleasant to look at. They are surrounded by luminosity. These water women are able to transform into other creatures, at times into snakes. They entice

their victims with flowers floating on the water or other strange objects that people may want to pick up, such as playthings. People drawn in under the water in this way ‘live’ with the *watermeide* and return, after long periods of staying under water. They were unharmed if they behaved correctly and did not say they ate fish; the reason for this being that the creatures are half fish half human. When they return they are endowed with knowledge and wisdom, to foretell the future. The water at the source or in the river where the *watermeide* live must not be polluted or spoiled in any way, as they will move away. *Watermeide* are accredited with supernatural powers which are treated with apprehension and respect by the local people. The *watermeid* can change into snakes and is associated with the water bull – it licks the face until white of those ‘living’ with them in their watery domain (Hefke 2004, 2007, pers com; Kleinbooi 2005, pers com; Magani 2005, pers com). The *watermeid* is acceptable as an entity and a living reality, albeit in the spiritual, within the Christian faith as she is one of God’s creatures.

The *watermeid* can influence the weather or the flow of water. If a *watermeid* is angered or disturbed without the prescribed procedure or respect, such as neglecting to greet her, putting mud on the forehead or throwing a stone into the water, she may bring harm to that person(s) or place, at times by flooding the rivers. The *watermeid* is described as the water itself and is alive. The water can ‘stand up’ or move violently. The water maidens can be subdued with herbs and they consent to certain plants being used to heal people. The *watermeide* impart knowledge of plants that can be used for cures of ailments in return for money thrown in the water. If the coin(s) disappear the *watermeid* has accepted the token and the ailing person will be cured by the plants used. The *watermeid* does not tolerate any girl with menses to come near the water as the water will be fouled. The aggression of *watermeide* towards such a girl is because she has a particular potency at the time of her menses.

Sappie Kleinbooi (2004; 2005; 2006 pers com, Appendix A) who has personal encounters with the *watermeid*, relates the incident with a young girl filling a bucket with water from the river near his home at Zaaimanshoek, Baviaanskloof, when the water turned muddy, churning and standing up around her as if ‘alive’. He immediately relieved her of the bucket admonishing her to go away from the water’s edge as she was with menses. Kleinbooi explained it is abhorrent for women menstruating to go to waters where the *watermeide* reside as the water becomes contaminated. Such an inauspicious act annoys the *watermeide* and affects the water. At the water source Sewenfontein, four kilometres from Zaaimanshoek, where it is known that another *watermeid* resides, Kleinbooi describes these waters as unsafe, “*vuil*”, and having ominous qualities (Figure 4.19).



The waters at Sewenfontein, Baviaanskloof, flow from its source among trees and roots that are hundreds of years old. The water shimmers, and is according to Sappie Kleinbooi “vuil”, implying it is alive, potent and pungent.

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 4.19 Source of the waters at Sewenfontein, Baviaanskloof

He explains that the *watermeid* must be approached and treated with respect and caution. He uses the vernacular Afrikaans word “vuil” (dirty) to imply the living and potentially hazardous characteristics of the water (cf. Appendix A), which renders a potency that can be harmful if the wrath of the *watermeid* is evoked in any way by the behaviour of visitors to this place. The presence and the powers of water are themes recounted throughout mythology in southern Africa (Schmidt 1979). The modern ethnography of the Ju/'hoansi (!Kung) Bushmen of the Kalahari give accounts of shamans who tell of spiritual experiences, of ‘travelling’ to rivers and water and moving underwater or underground, “... stretched out in the water”; when waters climb over them and rush or roar through tunnels, and when waters have to be fought off or connected with (Biesele 1979: 56; Harner 1968; Katz *et al.* 1997; Lewis-Williams 2002a).

The astute seers or informants of the Little Karoo, such as Maans Fourie, Sappie Kleinbooi, Jan Magani, Hendrik Hefke, elders who ‘see’ the *watermeide* today near water sources where they live, accomplish healing and sustain health and well-being within their communities. Their belief and stories of the *watermeid* demonstrate to their fellow members that they are spiritually not alone in their fears and struggles against life’s hardships. The accomplished welfare has a conservation aspect. The accessibility and condition of the water sources are directly connected to the presence of the *watermeid* (Fourie 2005; 2006, pers com). Fourie, who lives at Amalienstein, recounts that the water fountain where the *watermeid* was encountered, was situated in the village and was polluted by the inhabitants and usage through the years. It dried up as a result and the *watermeide* moved away to Grysmanskloof in the Klein Swartberg on the northern side of the Amalienstein/Zoar

valley, fifteen kilometres distant. Underpinning Fourie's story was discontent at the loss of a water source and the importance of conserving water.

Jan Magani (Magani 2005 pers com, Appendix A) from the Baviaanskloof, explains in verbatim descriptions of where the *watermeide* reside, as places where the water 'is alive', 'shimmers', moves and flows forcefully at times. The *watermeide* infuse the water with energy. The concept is fluid. He explains that the otherworldly creature at such water sources is at times the water itself. The water is an entity and takes on a shape that is 'real' and can be 'seen'. He recounts that it can also be the rain in the sky taking on the shape of a snake, like a cloud, and where it 'dips' down into the valleys that is where the rain falls.

4.5.1 Water maidens as beings of water in wider perspective

Throughout southern Africa folklore that relate to water creatures, in some cases in female form (Miller 1979; Prins 1996) is found. These water entities are amphibious creatures in many instances, such as otters, water snakes, fish and "... people of the river" who have both human and ichthyoidal attributes (Prins 1996: 217). In the Cederberg in the Western Cape similar water creatures are collectively known as a "waterbas" and stories told and collected recount the supernatural power and transforming abilities of such entities (Smit 2006: 25). Jan Magani, from the Baviaanskloof, spoke of the fact that snakes live underwater with the *watermeide* and that they, the maidens of water, also transform into serpents (Magani 2005, pers com).

The *watermeid* story told and recorded 130 years ago near Oudtshoorn (Leeuwenberg 1970), is similar to stories collected in the Northern Cape, 400km distant from the Little Karoo, and even further a field in the Kalahari. The informants of Khoekhoen and /Xam descent in the Northern Cape also tell of the *watermeid*, described as half woman and half fish (Hoff 1997). Hoff (1997) recounts that the Griqua Khoekhoen and the /Xam descendents give accounts of the water snake, river and fountain snakes, travelling through the air in a cloud, bringing rain and stormy weather. Water sources such as fountains where the water entities live are described as "deep and turbulent"; as *kwaai waters* (angry waters) as these fountains are deemed alive and display these characteristics (Hoff 1997: 24). Water entities thus have a direct effect on the well-being of people. The research in the Little Karoo and Eastern Cape found similar concepts in the belief systems. Symbolically rain/water involves a living entity which may control the weather and influence the health of people. As recorded by Bleek and Lloyd (1911: 193), the /Xam hunter-gatherer philosophy associated water and the rain with a wellness; the "scent" and "breath" of the rain was "fragrant"

and hence beneficial. Prins (1996: 219) reports on the effect of the San mythology and rituals through times of contact on the Mpondomise of the Eastern Cape and which to this day “ ... continue to evoke an emotive response in diviners ... ”. Prins (2001: 69) states that the, “Southern San descendants in the Eastern Cape regard the water maidens (*watermeide*) as the same category of spirit beings referred to by their Xhosa-speaking neighbours as the water people (*abantubomlambo*)”. The *abantubomlambo* are also known as the “... River People,” among the southern Nguni (Jolly 1998: 259). Investigations into the modern day phenomena of sightings of *watermeide* may relate to a shared past belief structure in water spirits in the landscape.

Other commonalities exist between the *watermeid* stories of the Little Karoo and other areas. The menses of women provoke certain ritualized avoidance practices especially at the time of puberty. Adolescent women among the southern /Xam that did not adhere to the social rules at puberty caused imbalances in the community, and influenced the rain to be aggressive and destructive (Bleek 1933). Informants in the Northern Cape also describe the water snake as being belligerent towards menstruating women or maidens at puberty and cleansing rituals are performed (Hoff 1997). Hoff (1997) indicated that all her informants described disturbances in the water as signs of aggression of water creatures and more specifically the water snake. As mentioned, a young female /Xam descendant from the Upper Karoo, took a glance at a *watermeid*, described by her as half woman, half fish, who lived under water, and if incensed by the girl “stealing a look”, causes “... the water to become turbulent and fog to move in” (Hoff 1997: 28). Hoff (1997) suggests that male-orientated water creatures may be due to a changing, wider-influenced, view over the last hundred years and that the female concept of water spirits is an older cognitive view. The !Kung (Ju/'hoansi) believe a potency *n!ow*, exists in people and in some animals, in bodily fluid, especially uterine fluids at birth, and that this influences weather, bringing rain if it is a constructive *n!ow*, and adverse weather if negative (Marshall 1957: 233). The aspect of turbulence on the water or changing water levels are thus common themes in stories of water creatures, as water and femininity are unanimous themes (Gimbutas 1989; Jordan 1992; Bailey 1997; Devereux 2001b; Elkington 2001). There are strong associations between women and rainmaking in /Xam narratives (Orpen 1874; McCall 1970; Hewitt 1976). In the Northern Cape among /Xam descendents there was a conceptual combination of rain, water fertility and fluids of the human body and the healing and continuity these concepts bring (Hoernlé 1921/1922; Hoff 1997; 1998).

The connection with snakes and water is consistent in folklore. Among the stories told by the Khoekhoen and /Xam descendants of the Northern Cape is the account of the water snake spitting at people, imbuing these victims with his potency and controlling them, enticing them and taking them

underwater to ‘live’ in his watery domain (Hoff 1997; 1998). Such victims live with the water creatures underwater without drowning to return after a period to their homes and families. However, contact with the water snake does not always have positive results. Among these informants incidents of the killing of victims of water creatures are reported. The water snake is capable of taking a woman to his home under water to be his spouse (Hoff 1997). Despite harmful consequences, Hoff’s (1997) informants also spoke of being filled with wonder towards the water creature. People are attracted to the water people and the water snake is not always feared, although treated with caution and respect. These informants of Khoekhoe and /Xam descent warned that a person should avoid picking or taking flowers or unusual objects at water sources as the water snake entices people by changing into these shapes. According to some of Hoff’s informants, the lower half of the victim’s body can change into a snake or fish (Hoff 1997). These themes are found recurrently in the stories of the informants of the Little Karoo.

References to the personification of rain/water, of being “taken” by the rain and living under water, especially girls, then known as the wives of the rain after abduction, and becoming and resembling flowers, *!kwëitēn-ttū*, which grow in the water and disappear when approached, are themes found in the stories related to Bleek and Lloyd by the /Xam informants (Bleek & Lloyd 1911: 395). The subject matter of stories of water and the creatures that live in the water, in the Kalahari, the Northern Karoo, bridge space and time as similar descriptions are recounted in the Little Karoo to this day. The experiences with water entities are more often than not pleasant and healing. Maans Fourie from Amalienstein, (Appendix A), confirms that ‘seeing’ or encountering the *watermeid* is a pleasant experience without any feelings of anxiety or fear. A person ‘taken’ by the water people will not drown and if in answer to the question the person replies that he or she eats meat only and not fish, these half fish and half human creatures will not kill the person (Hefke 2004, pers com; Fourie 2005; 2006, pers com). Hendrik Hefke (Appendix A) relates that people enticed and taken by the *watermeid* to the dwelling place under the ground, under the water, describe it as a wondrous place and that people can live there contentedly. Fourie and Hefke both attest to the fact that the *watermeide* instil a desire in a person to go to the water holes or rivers and confirm once again that objects to entice the person to the water’s edge may be flowers or even toys drifting on the water (Hefke 2004, pers com; Kleinbooi 2004; 2005; 2006, pers com).

Common among the extinct /Xam, and in the research areas of the Kalahari, the Northern Cape and the Little Karoo, water and spiritual entities in or near water sources are deemed malevolent at times, especially if transgressions of ritual behaviour have taken place. For instance /Han≠kassō, a /Xam informant of the Bleek family, warned of dire consequences if the water’s things are harmed.

Thus the rain does not fall if a frog is killed. Buchu, *Agathosma betulina*, is ground and sprinkled on the water surface if the water, !Khwa:, or the female equivalent, the rain cow (Schmidt 1979), is angry and means to harm people (Bleek 1933: 300-301). Among the living !Kung a person's *n!ow* is the 'rain' inside them (Marshall Thomas 1959). It is controlled by ritual and influences the weather and there is a continuous interaction between a person's *n!ow* and the rain/water (Marshall 1957). The Nama, Korana and other Khoekhoe groups hold similar views on water or rain as a living entity (Hoernlé 1921/1922; 1985; Engelbrecht 1936; Schmidt 1979; Hoff 1997; 1998). Among the Korana and others the old men went out in the *veld* and killed a bull or ox, roasted and ate the meat and asked the rain for water in a rainmaking ceremony (Engelbrecht 1936). The issues of time and space are resolved in the fundamental nature of the ritual and the stories and the association with water.

The dark side of the influence of the mystical water entities is consistent with defacement and illness, blistering sores and high fevers, while on the light, beneficial side the water creatures are capable of healing and maintaining harmony. Diä!kwain, the /Xam informant, spoke of the "rain's bolts" that can kill a person (Bleek 1933: 298). The /Xam used buchu, *Agathosma betulina*, as an effective plant to still and reduce the danger of the water or the rain bull (Bleek & Lloyd 1911; Bleek 1933). The /Xam descendents and informants in the Upper Karoo area speak of the threads of the water snake causing illness, blisters, stiffness and pain in limbs if contact with the water snake has occurred or if aggression is shown by water creatures as a result of transgressions on the part of people near the water sources. On the other hand harmony can be restored. The /Xam descendents, Griqua, Korana and Nama informants recounted the use of sweet-smelling, ground-up buchu to quieten or calm the water snake (Hoff 1997; 1998). Sappie Kleinbooi of Zaaïmanshoek, Baviaanskloof, spoke about the properties of plants and the knowledge of these plants given to him by the *watermeide* (Figure 4.20). Infusions and ointments of these plants would cure the blisters, rashes or sores, sometimes caused by the *watermeid* (Kleinbooi 2005, pers com). One such plant is *Berula erecta* subsp. *Thunbergii*, a water parsnip, used in an infusion as a body wash to treat skin ailments, headaches and chewed to relieve toothache (Smith 1966; Van Wyk *et al.* 1997: 58). Kleinbooi explained that the herbal remedy is only effective if specified and allowed for use by the *watermeide*. Healing from the *watermeid* can only be effected if she is approached and asked in ritual observance. As with the Hoff informants from the Upper Karoo who speak of throwing a stone or money, in particular silver money in the water, or putting mud on the forehead, to approach the water snake, Kleinbooi from the Little Karoo warns that the *watermeid* must be greeted according to ritual and traditional requisites, by throwing a stone or money in the water as an act of

respect. If the stone or money disappears she has accepted the presence of the person ‘seeing’ her and asking for aid, and will give permission for use of the plants endowed with her healing powers.



*Sappie Kleinbooi identifies the plant, *Berula erecta* subsp. *Thunbergii*, as the plant with healing qualities used by him to cure skin blisters and illness caused by the watermeide. He holds the book ‘Medicinal Plants of South Africa’ (Van Wyk et al. 1997) to identify the plant.*

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 4.20 Sappie Kleinbooi, interviewed at his home in Zaaïmanshoek, Baviaanskloof

And again these stories can be correlated to folklore material collected by the Bleek family between 1870 and 1880. /Han≠kassō, one of the /Xam informants from Strandberg (Strontbergen), north of Vanwyksvlei, and 400km from the Little Karoo area (Figure 4.21), informs how his grandfather and the old men addressed the rain as an entity recognising certain intrinsic qualities. They spoke to the rain itself, saying:

*“Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs,
For the women looking shocked at thee,
Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs for the children”* (Bleek 1933: 304).

Diä!kwain, the /Xam informant from Katkop (cf. Figure 4.21), referred to water “... which is alive,” and beats like a heart (Bleek 1935: 32). The rain or water, known as !Khwa in the /Xam language, was alive and powerful (Bleek 1933 Part V), and was personified as a deity (Bleek & Lloyd 1911; Bleek 1933; Hewitt 1986). /Han≠kassō adds to the descriptions of the rain; “... the rain thunders sounding little, because it thunders lying along in the sky” (Bleek 1933: 304). //Kabbo, one of the informants from Strandberg near Vanwyksvlei (cf. Figure 4.21), describes the rain as a “she-rain” and “mother rain” which rains gently and is not angry, “... because her clouds are soft, ... for they

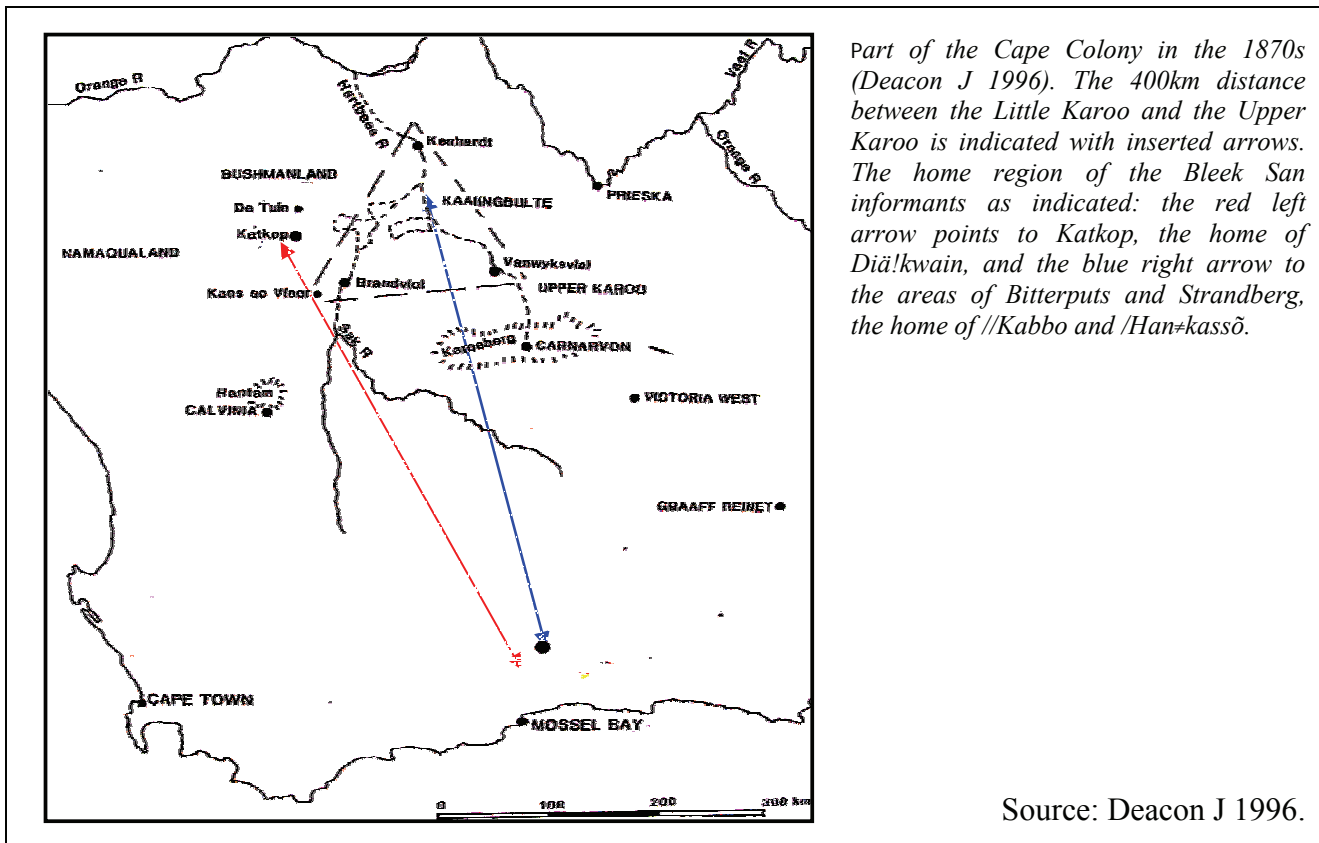


Figure 4.21 The home region of the Bleek San informants in the 1870s

are the rain's hair", and she lives "... at the great waterpits which are on the mountain" (Bleek 1933: 308-311).

The paintings of fish tail creatures in the rock art of the Little Karoo and the visions of *watermeide* may both be the result of hallucinatory or hypnagogic experiences (Mavromatis 1987). This link is explored further below.

4.5.2 *Watermeide*, matter and mind

All human beings worldwide and throughout time, history and prehistory, have had the capacity to enter and progress through stages of altered states of consciousness (Lewis-Williams 2002a). The use of hallucinogenic drugs, psychoactive plants, hyperventilation, sensory deprivation, loud monotone repetitive music, drumming, rhythmic dancing, and other extreme conditions such as starvation and pain or high fever, are some of the techniques and ways that facilitate an abnormal mental state. Shamans have been using such practices for thousands of years to alter their consciousness and transport themselves to the spirit world where they and their followers believed they interacted with supernatural beings (Eliade 1974; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989). Some

researchers believe the *nature* of reality is the focal point and that hallucinations in part may arise from external stimuli outside the receiver wavelength of the brain and chemistry that cause internal changes in consciousness (Huxley 1960; Mitchell 1996; Devereux 2001b; Elkington 2001).

Trained and more experienced shamans at times have no need of all the above mentioned techniques and ways of entering trance states as they alter their consciousness more easily and readily than most, known by the collective term as hypnagogia (Eliade 1974; Huxley 1960; Mavromatis 1987; Lou *et al.* 1999; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2005). Hypnagogic experiences are defined as hallucinatory and takes place in the intermediate state between wakefulness and sleep (Mavromatis 1987). According to Mitchell (1996), a NASA astronaut and author, such awareness and visualizing of energy fields are not paranormal abilities but denote a deeper awareness of naturally occurring and otherwise man-made patterns of energy. This may be a high level of natural radioactivity or low-frequency (infrasonic) sounds in the environment, around 19 Hertz (cycles per minute), perhaps rushing noisy waters or wind in confined spaces. People are susceptible to infrasonic (below the usual audible limit) sounds, below 19 Hertz, which may induce alpha waves in the brainwaves (8 – 12 Hertz) associated with a state of relaxed wakefulness and recorded over the occipital and parietal lobes (Newberg *et al.* 2000; Newberg *et al.* 2001). Kleinbooi (2004; 2005; 2006 pers com) spoke of ‘seeing’ the *watermeid* near the source of fountains in the Baviaanskloof River near his home, and more frequently so if the river is full or flooding (Figure 4.22). High cliffs forming the northern flank of the river resonate the sounds of the water. Vision questing sites among small-scale societies were often natural wild places, remote places, known to individual shamans (Devereux 2001b), such as could be compared with sites where the *watermeid* is ‘seen’ in the Baviaanskloof in particular and elsewhere in the Little Karoo.

Kleinbooi’s spontaneous experiences and sightings of the *watermeid* need not be any less real than Moses’ ‘burning bush’ vision. The unique altered state of hypnagogic experiences may possibly explain the extraordinary haunting sightings of the *watermeide* in areas of the Little Karoo. Thus some of the gifted trancers experience altered visionary states without the ritual or extreme conditions. They report encountering the realm of the spirit world spontaneously (Eliade 1974; Ouzman 2001b). In small-scale or hunter-gatherer societies, most men would experience at least one vision quest in their lives as a tradition, but shamans would perform visions quests frequently restoring social equilibrium, healing and initiating social norms and standards in their communities (Devereux 2001b).



In the photograph deep pools in the Baviaanskloof River are visible in the background. Kleinbooi is standing near the place where he claims he encounters the 'watermeid'.

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 4.22 Sappie Kleinbooi next to the Baviaanskloof River near his home

Persinger (2000) has shown in his research over thirty years that electromagnetic fields, sometimes imperceptible, associated in part with seismic events, appear to have effects on the human brain that stimulate altered states of consciousness as might any hallucinatory drug, rhythmic dancing, repetitive drumming or any other extreme physical severity or deprivation. As discussed, some people have a higher propensity to be influenced by “environmental hallucination triggers” than others (Devereux 2001b: 190; Twyman 2002; Tobias 2005). The geomorphologic setting and features such as deep rock fractures and fissures caused by the folding of the mountain sandstone may present natural conditions of high auditory levels and are reported as effecting altered states (Goldhahn 2002). Although modern science disclaims that ionising radiation can affect humans, natural radioactivity has been known to occur at some prehistoric rock art sites in Arizona and Nevada; this, researchers maintain, could result in certain physical conditions such as feeling fatigued or ill, or having spells of euphoria, and that ancients could have considered these sites “haunted” by powerful spirits (Devereux 1990: 5). Echoes have been cited as a phenomenal feature of certain rock art sites that resonate sound effects that influence the body rhythm of people visiting the site (Waller 1993; Devereux 2001a; Ouzman 2001b). It is acclaimed that some ancient cultures considered echoing a supernatural phenomenon. Evidence supports the fact, “... that human beings can be profoundly sensitive to energetic effects in their environment” (Devereux 1990: 40)

Sewenfontein is a place in the Baviaanskloof, Little Karoo, where the *watermeid* is ‘seen’. As stated, it is perceived as a liminal and mystical place by the local people (Kleinbooi 2004, pers com). It is a water source with hundreds of years of tree growth and vegetation. The author found the place to have a hallowed atmosphere. It is devoid of much sunlight due to the canopy of the

trees. A visitor to the site is aware of sounds of water and wind. Filtered sunlight concentrated in the centre of a photograph taken at the site took the shape of what may be perceived in the mind's eye as a distinct female form (Figure 4.23).



Sunlight filtering through the greenery at the Sewenfontein water source allows for a tantalizing photographic image that may resemble a female form with long hair, in the centre of the photograph, taken at the site.

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 4.23 The Sewenfontein water source, Baviaanskloof

This illustrates the imaginative ability of the mind if confronted with certain visual and audible effects coupled with a sense of place combined with the tantalizing traditional knowledge of the *watermeid* in the landscape. The people interviewed who have ‘seen’ and relate the stories of the *watermeide* share a perspective that they encounter and communicate with spiritual entities that are real (Appendix A). These encounters signify the existence in their perception of other dimensions. Certainly for the informants of the Little Karoo, any image of the nature of *watermeide* if encountered is regarded as quite normal. Today sensing and sightings of *watermeide* are common and acceptable among the vestiges of traditional societies in these places near the water holes and rivers. It is virtually impossible not to have some kind of conviction or knowledge of the *watermeide* amongst these local societies. When showed the photograph (cf. Figure 4.23) Sappie Kleinbooi perceived the image to be that of a *watermeid* and asked the author whether she had greeted the *watermeid* respectfully and with the correct code of behaviour (Kleinbooi 2006, pers com).

In terms of established chemical, biological and physical laws, research has shown that natural causes and the composition of the brain account for certain sensations and mental capabilities that the subject may experience and utilize in so-called spiritual visitations and visions (Newberg *et al.* 2000; 2001). Yet research is ‘saying’ that such convictions and unique states of consciousness are

not sufficient to explain all of the supernatural (Mitchell 1996; Elkington 2001; Newberg *et al.* 2001). Newberg, D'Aquili and Rause (2001) researched and explored the connection between science and religion as others have done (Kingsland 1937; Damasio 1999; D'Aquili & Newberg 1993; 1998; 1999; Edelman & Tononi 2000; Devereux 2001a; 2001b; Elkington 2001; Lewis-Williams 2002a), and provided insight into the origins and meaning of human spirituality. Newberg and colleagues conclude "... there is more to human existence than sheer material existence. Our minds are drawn by the intuition of this deeper reality, this utter sense of oneness, where suffering vanishes and all desires are at peace. As long as our brains are arranged the way they are, as long as our minds are capable of sensing this deeper reality, spirituality will continue to shape the human experience, and God, however we define that majestic mysterious concept, will not go away" (Newberg *et al.* 2001: 172). Albert Einstein was certainly aware of other dimensions. Einstein's theories revolutionized scientific insight on the form of energy and initiated the thinking that particles may have a tendency or potential to exist; in other words, quantum matter may possess information of its 'own' which may be considered imaginative (Davenas *et al.* 1988; McTaggart 2003; Brooks 2004; Laszlo 2007). Matter and mind is thus indivisible. Future scientific evidence may point to the possibility that human consciousness may under certain circumstances such as altered states be a vehicle to connect with supernatural potencies and spiritual beings. This is the idea conveyed by the San in particular through their beliefs, rituals, and paintings and engravings on the rock face. Today, the stories of the *watermeide* in the Little Karoo are doing the same.

The people interviewed (Appendix A) that 'see' the *watermeide* radiate a confidence in their ability to do so and to communicate with the water people from the spirit world. These numinous teachers are family and community leaders and are naturally gifted and sensitive people in these local communities in the Little Karoo. As in the modern San societies they may be self-trained or guided, to be more aware of natural energy potencies (Katz *et al.* 1997; Devereux 2001a). They confess to being more receptive to and aware of forces or energy in the environment near water sources (Magani 2005, pers com).

4.5.3 The *watermeid* and plants

Hallucinogenic plants and their uses may be regarded as a "mind-expanding agent" that can facilitate a mystical experience (La Barre 1972; Schultes & Hofmann 1992: 9). Schultes and Hofmann (1992: 7) write about the sacred, healing and hallucinogenic powers of plants and conclude that some plants had and still have "... inexplicable effects that transported the human mind to realms of ethereal wonder". Traditionally and ritually plants with so-called magical powers

were sanctified. Although not known as a hallucinogenic, buchu, *Agathosma betulina*, was regarded to have magical powers and was used by the extinct /Xam to calm the water creatures (Bleek & Lloyd 1911; Bleek 1933). Today, descendants of the /Xam, and Griqua, Korana and Nama informants give an account of the use of sweet-smelling, ground-up buchu to dispel the harmful powers of the water snake (Hoff 1997; 1998). The !Kung Bushmen are known to use psychoactive plants in *kia* healing rituals to aid and induce altered states of consciousness (Marshall 1969; Winkelman & Dobkin de Rios 1989). Evidence of the healing and magical powers of plants is also found in the story of the *watermeide* told by Afrikaander (Leeuwenberg 1970). When the young girl was ‘taken’ by the *watermeid* to her watery realm, the mother of the girl went home and collected, dried and powdered specific shrubs that she knew the *watermeid* cherished, and returned to the place near the water’s edge with the powdered substance of the plants. When she scattered the powder on the water the girl was released and she emerged unhurt from the waterhole with stories to relate about the water people. In the research in the Little Karoo, Hefke (2004, pers com) and Kleinbooi (2006, pers com) spoke about the use of plants in safeguarding people and dispelling the powers of the *watermeide* encountered in the rivers and waterholes. Some plants contain chemicals that relate to and are in all probability evolved with the brain hormones and neurotransmitters such as dopamine and serotonin and are essentially linked to heightened intuit (Matsuda *et al.* 1990). Hallucinogenic plants thus aid transformation and use may lead to hallucinatory visions, but outside stimulation or drug-induced experiences are not necessarily needed to experience religious or spiritual moments (Huxley 1960). More research is needed to confirm which plants with psychotropic substances if any are used in the areas of the informants of the Little Karoo.

Although rhythmic clapping and dancing are able to induce trance, hallucinogens undoubtedly promote the process. Investigators add an important observation that may further strengthen the use of hallucinogens, in that drug-induced patterns appear to be, “more vivid, more colourful, more regular, and more ornate than those elicited by other methods” (Siegel & Jarvik 1975: 110). The use of ‘kanna’ has been noted in reference to the naming of Kannaland. Local knowledge of the hallucinating properties of a species of *Sceletium* contributed to the name “Kannaland”, which the Little Karoo was known by in early historical times (Paterson 1790; Backhouse 1844: 112; Smith 1966: 276; Forbes 1986: 303, 248). As stated this plant was known as “kougoed” or “channa” (Herre 1971: 276; La Barre 1975: 24). This small succulent plant, *Sceletium tortuosum*, “canna”, is known to contain the poisonous principle mesembrine, a relative of cocaine. Jacobsen (1960: 1413) records *Sceletium tortuosum* growing in the Cape Province, near Montagu, Prince Albert and Laingsburg. At least one species of *Sceletium* is found in areas in the Little Karoo where the rock art has been documented (Barry 2004, pers com). Although not strictly hallucinogenic (Van Wyk *et*

al. 1997), the fermented or dried leaves of channa were chewed by indigenous people at the Cape, and retained in their mouths for a while, “when their spirits would rise, their eyes would brighten, and they would commence to dance” (Smith 1966: 309). The words //gaṇa or //gāna (canna) in the /Xam language translate as dream, spirit and waterhole (Bleek 1929: 34, 90). This may further evidence the link between the knowledge of hallucinogens and altered states of the mind. The *kwashi* plant, an amaryllid (*Pancratium trianthum*) is an hallucinogen (Schultes & Hofmann 1992) known and used by the Dobe !Kung. Katz (1982: 168) has reported that dancers seeking *n!um*, drink *gwa*, a name applied to several species of *Leonotis* or dagga (Bleek 1929: 32). In the !Xóö language dagga is *qhàna* (Traill 1994: 221), a word perhaps only dialectically different from Ghana or Kanna. The leaves of the *iqwaka* plant, *Catha edulis* (Smith 1966: 473; Watt & Breyer-Brandwijk 1962: 179), were chewed when making rain according to an informant, Maquoqua Dyantyi from Tsolo in the Transkei (Jolly 1986; 1999; Lewis-Williams 1986) and these plants grow abundantly in the Little Karoo (Barry 2004, pers com). These references are at least circumstantial evidence that altered states of consciousness involved the use of substances and that some of these plants grow in the Little Karoo. A convincing link could be made to the ritual involving the explicit approval and sanctioning of the use of plants that are given healing powers by the *watermeide*.

4.6 Stringing together the past and present

There are water beings in the rock art of the Little Karoo that indicate a potency according to mythology to influence rain and healing. The images of the Little Karoo that have been linked to water and rainmaking are females, snakes, elephant and ichthyoid therianthropes. Here the link between the ichthyoid therianthropes and the stories of the *watermeide* has been explored. The descriptions, powers and ritual regarding these water beings are consistent in time and space to /Xam beliefs to facilitate the connection between these therianthropic creatures in the rock art and the therianthropic nature of the *watermeide*. As the art is placed in specific places near waterholes and water courses, so the mystical figures of the *watermeide* are located in sacred ‘dwellings’ at water sources.

This chapter has shown that a theme of water and rainmaking can be used to link the rock art, indigenous ethnography and folklore of the living traditional peoples. In a similar way the imagery of the elephant, women and snakes relating to the theme of water can be further expanded on in interpretation. This is an example of how the living heritage in the present can make a connection with the heritage of the past – one of the goals of meta-tourism. There is an ancient connection of the feminine gender to water and healing, and the stories of the water creatures also have to do with

healing and harmony. /Han=kassō's attitude to the water entities in the rock art and how to deal with them, and the link made to the present is a good example of how the ritualized living wisdom surrounding the *watermeide* that signifies magical qualities of water, be acknowledged and respected as one of the ancient spiritual traditions. The story of the *watermeid* is cast in terms of the narrative as a cultural concept that has mutated, spread and survived in the minds of people in the Little Karoo. In the following chapter the presentation of these themes to tourism is discussed.

CHAPTER 5: INTERWEAVING ROCK ART, MYTH AND LOCAL PEOPLE IN TOURISM PRESENTATION

“I must draw because I know that in the old times they painted on the rocks. ... Those Bushmen, I am not like them. But it does not matter, I must still follow there ...” The words of /Thaalu Bernardo Ruma, a !Xun documentary artist from Platfontein (Winberg 2001: 132).

“Intangible heritage requires the presence of traditional culture bearers to give it life. Consequently, the cooperation and participation of “folk” are prerequisites for the presentation of real intangible heritage. Likewise, the setting or cultural space is important, ...” (McKercher and DuCros 2002: 83).

The chapter relates myth of the *watermeide* and the rock art to presentation in tourism. It is the universality and widespread potential of humans to delve into other realities that may be accessed and linked to the landscape in meta-tourism. Although indigenous peoples today in the Little Karoo are not able to interpret the rock art as part of a memory of when the rock art was produced and why (Januarie 2004, pers com), the myth of the *watermeid* provides a means to connect to the rock art. The indigenous communities who have lived all their lives in places where the *watermeid* is known to ‘exist’ and at the same time where the rock art imagery is found at sites, share a landscape with the inhabitants who lived here hundreds of years and even thousands of years ago. It is suggested that a flow of shamanic knowledge is still present in the memory of people living in the Little Karoo through folklore. This must be communicated through interpretation of rock art. The demand from the public to access archaeological sites and information on rock art must be used as opportunity to involve local communities. A spirit of community involvement and interest in rock art can be actively nurtured through participation in local tourism initiatives. How responsible management and planning with the involvement of the local community can be achieved through an interpretation centre in proximity to the archaeological sites with rock art will be introduced. The issues of authenticity and replication of a cultural heritage are discussed.

5.1 Heritage tourism on the Route 62

Creating meta-tourism opportunities within the Little Karoo must involve established heritage tourism projects in smaller towns and regions (Ferreira 2007). The restoration of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Amalienstein/Zoar in 1996/7 is one such project. The report prepared for the Restoration Committee of the Lutheran church (Hofmeyr 1995) states that the community trust, the

Management Board of Zoar, was established to take up tenure of the land because of the importance of a cultural heritage and identity in the community, and the need to develop economically and further the learning of new skills. The goals stipulated in this report identified the agricultural potential of mixed farming and the area where a dam could be built to irrigate such crops and increase the export possibilities.

The potential of tourism was also identified in this report (Hofmeyr 1995) and in a further report prepared by LANOK (Landelike Ontwikkelings Ko-öperasie) (Schoeman 1995). Hendrik Januarie, a published poet of Zoar, and Chairman of the Management Board of Zoar, expressed misgivings on the implementation of these visions over the last decade (Januarie 2004, pers com). Individual ownership of the land has not taken place. To date the dam has not been built; there is a shortage of water, which cripples the development of agriculture. The tourism initiatives have been more successful as tourists visit the restored Lutheran Church, especially German visitors who attend services and are entertained by the church and school children's choir (Van Willing 2004, pers com). Annabel van Willing is a leading organiser of the Women's Club, Aristata Tuisnywerheid, that markets and sells local products at the Tea Room/Farm stall. The historically restored Guest House and Tea/Coffee Shop, selling locally-made preserves, cakes and dried fruit, attracts some visitors but certainly not the estimated 2 200 visitors per year or an average of 6 persons per night as was envisioned on assumptions for tourism growth and potentiality (Hofmeyr 1995). Hiking trails, 4X4 routes and the donkey cart rides are not operational. Some of the teaching staff of the two schools of Zoar and Amalienstein interviewed in the heritage survey (Rust & Van Pletzen-Vos 2004) expressed the need for a revival and establishment of these amenities and tourist attractions. Restoration of the historic watermill and buildings in the mouth of the Seweweekspoort would be an added attraction for tourism. The need was expressed for the establishment of a museum as rare antiques are still to be found in some homes and people would take pride in exhibiting these to the public (Hardine 2004, pers com; Van Willing 2004, pers com). The problems identified were a lack of funding and people with the necessary skills and endeavour to run these projects. It is clear that limited financial ability has hampered initiatives of this kind. Most of the 5 000 inhabitants of Amalienstein/Zoar work on adjacent properties as farm labourers (Schoeman 1995; Kemp 2007). The economic activities on Amalienstein and Zoar are mostly focused on agriculture with few opportunities of exporting the produce (Januarie 2004, pers com).

Tourism has become increasingly important in the economy of the Little Karoo. Recently Route 62, as access route from the western end of the Little Karoo to Oudtshoorn, has received much emphasis and tourist attractions on the route have increased and brought visitors into the Little

Karoo (Route 62 2007). As a destination it may also capture the imagination of meta-tourists through the unique sense of place present at villages such as Montagu, Barrydale, Zoar and Amalienstein on route. Route 62 is described as the free traveller's and adventurer's route (Lubbe 2004, pers com). An alternative to the N2, it meanders through the Breede River Valley and the winelands and into the Little Karoo. The Route 62 is known as the world's longest wine route (Route 62 2007). It influences the economies of twenty towns en route to Oudtshoorn. Montagu, on the western border of the Little Karoo is the halfway stop between Cape Town and the Garden Route on the Route 62, and opens up the eastern end of the legendary route to Oudtshoorn. In part Route 62 passes along the Klein Swartberg range through Ladismith, passes Zoar and Amalienstein and on to Calitzdorp and Oudtshoorn. The growth of 30% in visitor numbers in the Western Cape since the first half of the last decade according to SATOUR (South African Tourism Organization) has effected an increase of visitors travelling the Route 62 (Hofmeyr 1995). In June 2004, at a workshop of the Gourits Initiative (GI), (now known as the Gourits Corridor), with members of the Tourism Industry at Oudtshoorn and surrounding areas, tourist preferences and destinations were divided into categories and the number of visitors accorded to each (Table 5.1). Organised tours taking people to specified destinations on the route is popular and does not allow for much self-travel. If Zoar and Amalienstein is not a destination the bus loads of visitors will not visit these towns. Data given for visitor numbers to the Cango Caves, near Oudtshoorn, from 1995 to 2007 confirm an increase in tourists visiting such attractions in the Little Karoo (Moos 2007, pers com).

Table 5.1 Current tourism categories within the Gourits Initiative, Little Karoo

Category	Description	Visitors per year
Mass tourism/ Bus tours	Fixed package tours of 2-3 days in the Little Karoo area on the Route 62, from Barrydale to Oudtshoorn.	120 000 to 150 000
Mini busses (mini coaches)	8-14 seat busses. Flexible tour packages, 2-3 days in Gourits area.	10 000 to 20 000
Self travel over short distances	<5 days. Car rental, self-driven.	10 000
Self travel over longer periods	>5 days. Car rental, self-driven. Tourists of mature age group; retired or close to retirement; stay in one place for 4-5 days, affluent, informed. They visit the more remote reserves.	3 000 – 5 000.
Adventurers (mostly South Africans)	Mountain bikes Hiking trails	3 000 – 5 000.
	Total	200 000

Source: Ackhurst 2004 pers com.

However, the tourist potential of the Little Karoo has not been fully tapped (Lubbe 2004, pers com). Lubbe explains that a route of this nature if used to its full potential, shows a “world in one country”

because of diversity in cultures and resources *en route*. The potential exists. Along the Route 62 visitors experience a sought-after vastness in landscape. Lubbe explains (2004, pers com) that the friendliness and hospitality of the local people towards visitors are of “the best in the world”. There are also wellness centres on route that are popular for the traveller who wants a holistic healing experience. These centres are close to several hot spring sources at various places on the Little Karoo section of the route; at Montagu, Warmwaterberg, and near the Olifants River, the Calitzdorp Spa.

The Route 62 was founded in 1998 and modelled on the heritage Route 66 in the USA linking Chicago with Los Angeles (Route 66 2007). Route 66 was a major path of the migrants who went west in the 1930s. It supported the economies of the communities through which the road passed. People became prosperous due to the growing popularity of the highway. Much of the highway was essentially flat and this made the highway a popular truck route because of the geographical landscape through which it passed. The route passed through numerous small towns, and with the growing traffic on the highway, helped create the rise of small-scale businesses and tourism ventures (Route 66 2007). The Route 62 has similar features. As on the Route 66, Route 62 cements a microcosm of the heritage of the Little Karoo and its people along its way.

The need to conserve the historical Route 66 was initiated in the 1960s and the aims to preserve historic landmarks and revitalise economies *en route* were undertaken by a non-profit organization, the National Historical Route 66 Federation. The Federation was empowered to achieve its aims and conservations projects, when in August 1999, a bill of Congress (Public Law 106-45/ 106th Congress) legislated the Route 66 corridor. It authorized the Secretary of the Interior to provide assistance, acting with the National Parks Services in implementing the act. Guidelines, grants and collaboration to preserve/restore historically identifiable structures and other cultural resources in private, indigenous (the Indian community ownership), state or local government ownership were instigated. Regular monitoring was facilitated by the Federation to ensure sustainability and consistency. Ideas to facilitate this were developed, such as an ‘Adopt-a-Hundred’ program, in which twenty-seven facilitators each made a commitment to be responsible for a 100 mile stretch of the Route 66, thus adopting the whole route (Lubbe 2004, pers com). Visitor centres and museums are included as priorities in developments of visitor attractions *en route* (Route 66 2007).

Route 62 in the Western Cape shares a history and beginnings with the Route 66 in America. The marketing strategy of Route 62 has adopted a similar logo to the Route 66, thereby identifying symbolically *en route* with the American route. The patrons of the Route 62 would do well to adopt

some of the principles driving the Route 66, such as establishing a formal organization to bring together the initiatives, the people skills, the roadside communities, some local communities like Zoar and Amalienstein and their heritage, and introducing measures of conservation and awareness of resources. This is a challenge to seek out traditional knowledge of preservation ethics. Lubbe (2004, pers com) advocates the idea of institutionalising the Route 62, and if this takes place, sees beneficial consequences for a twin relationship with the Federation of Route 66.

At present mobile travelling on the Route 62 is by car or bus, but the potential of walking tours may be an added attraction to access the local heritage as travel is slowed down and concentrated in specific areas. In South Africa and in particular of late in the Little Karoo there is a growing potential in hiking (Davids 2005, pers com), and websites are introducing and offering walking as a tourism attraction. Examples of such sites visited in March 2004 are listed in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2 Examples of websites propagating/marketing different types of walking tours

Website	Main theme
www.earthfoot.org	Birding walks as attraction on dedicated roads in South Africa
www.siyabona.com	Wildlife walks as attraction
www.afsc.org	Religious pilgrimage
www.south-africa-tours.com	Walks/hikes to view rock art

Walking in the Little Karoo will fill a niche that exists for pilgrimages. To this day the populace of the world have walked along spirit paths or pilgrim routes for diverse reasons, in the past especially for religious purposes (Devereux 2003). The function of such “spirit roads” in past times was to introduce a “cognised landscape” through the local knowledge of the area; a mindscape that is mapped and projected onto a geographical landscape (Devereux 2003: 11). A processed walk or a pilgrimage, can facilitate a discovery of often life-changing self-knowledge (Coelho 1992). Visiting rock art on such pilgrimages may further enhance opportunities to do so. Travelling through a landscape both physically and metaphorically facilitates a mapping of a mental state on to a route. Thus a pilgrimage through a mindscape has the likelihood to fulfil this innate potential (Graburn 1983; Goulding 1998; McIntosh & Prentice 1999). If specifically chosen and undertaken walking takes on a dimension of moving meditation (Frazer 2005, pers com; Gordon-Forbes 2005, pers com).

From all accounts it appears that millions of tourists of the developed world are in search of active experiences; walking, hiking in natural environments and participating in the activities of a local

culture (Stevens 2000; Echtner & Prasad 2003), but more so to tap into a spirituality of the past (Daniel 1996; Graham *et al.* 2000; Stein 2003). It is reported that more than three million walking holidays were taken in the United Kingdom in 1996 (Boniface 2001). Such walks may be on known ancient pathways, ordinary roads, across unmapped land, or architectural and designed path installations that may be structured and developed at the PPIC at Groenefontein, just off Route 62 as will be discussed in the next chapter.

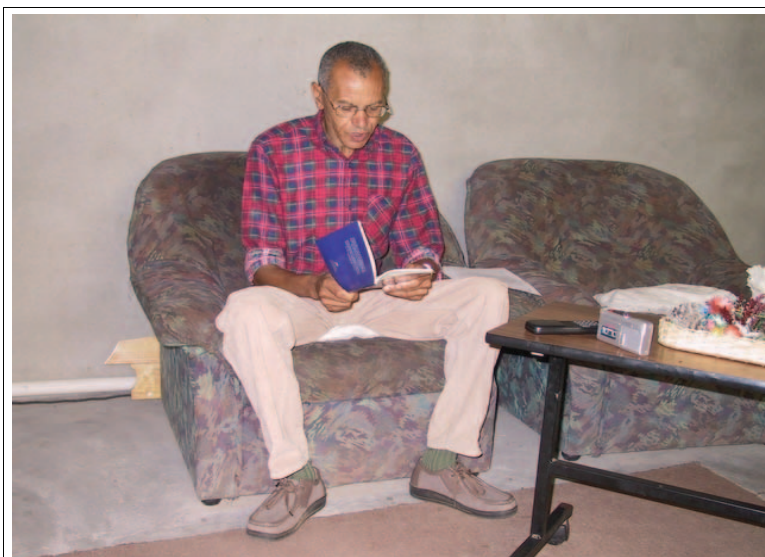
5.2 Incorporating local knowledge into tourism presentation *en route*

The mechanism and structures of tourism that facilitate the contact between the visitor and the destination, must take care not to address surface levels only but to penetrate multi-layered meaning and levels in societies (Veverka 2001). At the same time research projects should be directed to include local concerns and values so that the local knowledge and heritage benefit the local people as well (Wobst 2005; ResponsibleTravel 2007). How the local knowledge can be used to create multi-layered meanings is discussed in the following section.

5.2.1 Current use of local knowledge

The reports on Amalienstein and Zoar (Hofmeyr 1995; Schoeman 1995), brochures, tourist agencies and verbatim accounts (Rust & Van Pletzen-Vos 2004), all resound with tourism opportunities in the region; the possibilities of subsequent economic growth, an increase in facilities and creation of employment. This does not always materialize. Although state and private initiative have driven worthwhile and admirable projects since the restoration of the Lutheran church and establishment of a trust, more than ten years down the line the euphoria and visions on paper have not materialized and the problems have not changed nor have they been absolved (Januarie 2004, pers com). As discussed the establishment of the Route 62 initiative/brand has opened some tourism opportunities but the people of the Zoar/Amalienstein community are still marginalized in local economic and political development. Januarie feels that more projects and state endeavour to develop skills and private enterprise may unlock the impasse and give people hope (Januarie 2004, pers com). Even although a few busloads of tourists alight on the soils of Amalienstein on occasion, to attend a church service in the Lutheran church and listen to adult and school choir performances, tourism on the Route 62 has not made Amalienstein and Zoar a destination *en route* (Hardine 2004, pers com; Tobias 2004, pers com).

However, the performance of the church choirs to visitors to Amalienstein, especially the German tourist due to Lutheran association, is an example of how tourism can facilitate a meaningful contact. Here sound is used to facilitate meaningful tourism. It encourages a sense of belonging and affirms a connection with the local people. If what is local is given respect and acknowledgment people are empowered. For example, it was important to conduct the interviews on local heritage in and near Calitzdorp in Afrikaans (Rust & Van Pletzen-Vos 2004), as it is the *lingua franca* of the region and acknowledgment was shown to the medium of the folklore. During this field survey on local heritage knowledge (Rust & Van Pletzen-Vos 2004), it was revealed to the researchers that a sense of belonging connected people geographically to a place if it could be connected to the stories and myths of folk memory. If the people who have lived there tell their stories, even in song, a meaningful experience will probably ensue. However, this potential is not fully developed (Hardine 2004, pers com), and Januarie (1989) portrays in his poems the need for active participation in sharing his past and that of his community of Amalienstein and Zoar (Figure 5.1). He is ardent



His latest publication is titled 'Nagjakkals' (Januarie 2007) and the subjects of the poems include his landscape of Zoar and the 'things' and people in it.

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 5.1. Hendrik Januarie recites the poem on Seweweekspoort from his book, *Pro Rata* (1989)

about his people and his landscape and he is willing to share his heritage if the observer is willing to listen. In his dialogue, he writes: “ek wil boer met woorde, my kultivars self teel, hektaar vir hektaar met elke leser deel.” (Januarie 1989: 7) [*I want to farm with words, grow my own cultivars, share with every reader hectare for hectare*].

5.2.2 Incorporating local knowledge in heritage tourism

The local community has extensive knowledge of the physical features of the Little Karoo, and this is a resource that can be tapped in heritage tourism. The knowledge and attraction of these physical features lie in consistent and long-standing usage. For example, Seweweekspoort, the gateway

(*poort*) through the Klein Swartberg, seventeen kilometres long and following the course of the Huis River, is described in brochures to tourists as one of the most spectacular and awe-inspiring of all mountain ravines in the country. Seweweekspoort has exceptional and geologically noteworthy rock formations (Ross 2002), and this is what is visually perceived by the visitor or motorist driving through the poort. Yet the landscape is built up in the strata of memory (Schama 2004) and the deeper dimension lies in the memory of the local people. The traveller does not experience what the poort conjures up in memories of the local communities of Amalienstein and Zoar: the impassability of the poort when the Huis River floods, the stories of how the pass got its name, ranging from the length of time it took for a wagon to negotiate the poort, to the corruption of a missionary's name Zerwick that the locals could not pronounce, or the extension of seven weeks onto the journey of the smugglers through the poort to Cape Town to avoid exposure and customs-dues if they followed the road through Ladismith and Barrydale (Januarie 2004, pers com). In the 1860s Seweweekspoort housed convicts who built the road and lived in stone structures put up for this purpose in the poort. The story of one hundred and eight convicts who constructed the pass, literally with their hands, should be told. Even today, the omnipresence of leopards, *Panthera pardus*, in the poort, but rarely seen, point to the ruggedness and remoteness of its kloofs. Januarie's poem tells about these animals and he writes with poignancy of the rightful place of these animals in his environment:

Luiperdland

Ná vele jare
loop hulle weer
oop en bloot
met hulle welpies,
tussen die klipskeur
en die waterstroom
knip hulle die dassies
se anskrete kort.

Mak en rustig
Soos honde,
gaan hulle lê
tot op die werf
want die dae
van slagysters
en gewere
is verby.

Ek sien hoe vermy
Die voetslaners nou
'n alleenlopery.

(Januarie 2007: 33).

The people of Zoar and Amalienstein have an in-depth knowledge of Seweweekspoort, its animals and flora. Flora like the endemic *Aristata protea* holds a special pride (Van Willing 2004, pers com). Folkloric narratives pertaining to the poort flow from inherent memory. These descriptions perpetuate fundamental ties to land and resources. The poem of Seweweekspoort (Januarie 1989: 24) conjures up youthful visions, smells, sounds and colours, visions of hardy plants clinging to precipitous sides, and local names for every landmark and turn in the road that defies translation:

Seweweekspoort

Seweweekspoort,
milieu van my kinderdae,
my oë herleef die dekor,
my ore vang die weerklank
van die klanke van die poort.

die Klein-Swartberg,
die Klein Karoo,
Klein-Amalienstein,
kleinvannag betrek ek jou
landgoed van die poort.

die nou gruispad,
die smal skoon vliet
die enge bogte by die driwwe,
die hoë kranse
in Seweweekspoort.

die mos in die skeure,
besembos en biesiepol,
varings en proteas;
lieflik en sierlik die wasdom,
dié flora van die poort.

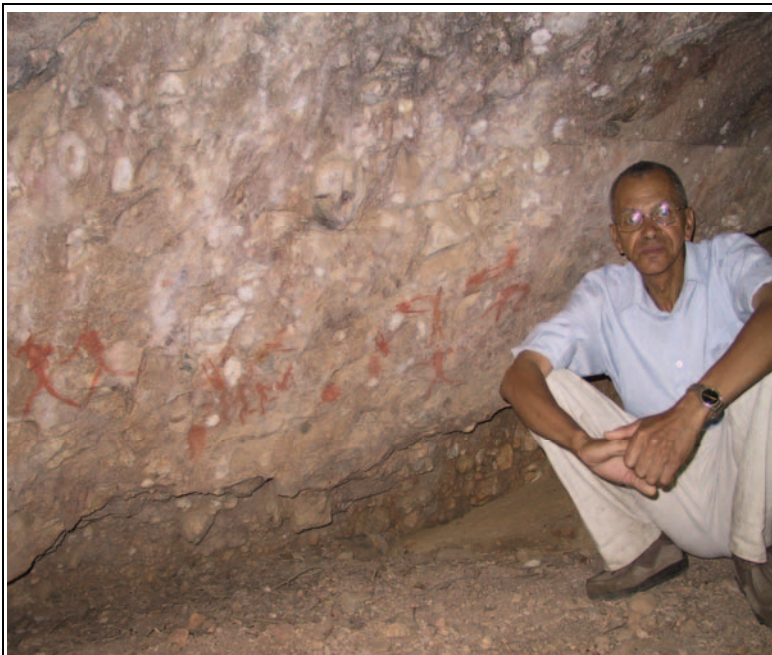
die haas en die das,
klipbok, klipsalmander,
muishond en die bobbejaan,
die luiperd, meerkat, skilpad
maak gemeenpad in die poort.

Davidse-nek, Amandeldraai,
Grootkraal, Bakoond, Breëdrif,
Rusbos, Reënkranse, Withuis
is elk markante landmerk
op die trajek van die poort.

Tierkloof, Skerpdraai, Skeurklip –
 elke naam ontlok nostalgie,
 elke landmerk bly ‘n skat;
 al die geure, kleure, klanke
 in die dampkring van die poort

(Januarie 1989: 24).

Seweweekspoort as a place denotes pleasurable times for the communities of Amalienstein and Zoar, such as New Year celebrations when it is customary to stake a picnic spot as one would the family seat on the benches of the church. However, fear of the occasional encounters with predators such as the leopard, *Panthera pardus*, brings out the dark side of the poort and surmises a malaise and mysteriousness in local memory and stories (Tobias 2004, pers com), and as echoed in Januarie’s poem, *Luiperdland* (Januarie 2007: 33). Another malaise to consider is the fear of the devastating floods that flow through the poort. Memories of such happenings even find their way into spontaneous interpretation of the rock art found in the ravines of the poort and near Amalienstein. The subject of the poem, titled *Noue ontcoming* (Januarie 2007: 20), is the rock art imagery on the rock face in Grysmanskloof near the southern entrance to Seweweekspoort (Figure 5.2 and Figure 5.3). Januarie explains in the poem, the story he perceives the imagery on the rock face in the poort to narrate, that of the earliest inhabitants of his landscape, the hunter-gatherers, drowning in a flood, some holding hands to strengthen their hold against the torrent of water.



Januarie sits on his haunches in front of the paintings he describes in his poem, 'Noue ontcoming' at the rock art site in Grysmanskloof near Amalienstein and Seweweekspoort, Little Karoo.

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 5.2 Hendrik Januarie at the paintings he describes in his poem, *Noue ontcoming*



The figures in Figure 5.2 are shown in the combined Figure 5.3 above. The human figures hold hands, some appear to 'swim' and 'run' with white marks on the underside of their feet. One figure on the left of the photograph, on the right, has a hook head and a truncated body with fish-like extensions and long arms extended upwards. It is superimposed over the lower red human figures facing and moving to the left. The red painted dots, as referred to in the poem, 'Noue ontcoming', as representing water and flooding, are visible in the photograph on the left. These red dots have what appears to be white 'wings'. The white circular forms visible in the photographs are naturally occurring quartz inserts in the rock face.

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 5.3 Detail of the figures at Grysmanskloof, near Amalienstein and Seweweekspoort

Noue ontcoming

Aangeland is
 ek oorkoepel
 deur 'n skulp
 van 'n rots
 en teen 'n wand
 sien ek dié figure
 in roeserige rooi:
 wesens hand aan hand,
 party met arms
 wild omhoog,
 andere drywend,
 één met die hande
 en die knieë
 op die grond.

Uit die talle stippels,
 oënskynlik druppels
 water, kon ek vermoed
 dit toon 'n vloed.
 Mettertyd
 wasdit helder:
 'n instromende
 watergevaar

soos toé ervaar
 deur grotbewoners
 eeue en eeue terug.

(Januarie 2007: 20)

The poem could form an important part of information presented to tourists as it points to the heritage of a people before, of an experience in a landscape and of a story to tell. Januarie writes in his poem that the red painted dots on the rock face (Figure 5.3) denote water and the turbulent flow of the flood waters. Inadvertently Januarie's discerning and keenly perceptive descriptions could also be used to refer to an aspect of the trance; the metaphorical explanation of the sensation of 'drowning' or 'swimming underwater' and depiction of these feelings in rock art imagery, albeit in different context. The figures are also described in the poem as moving horizontally, crawling, holding hands and one with arms held 'wildly' above his head. All these postures are typical of the way in which trancing human figures are executed on the rock face. The locale of the rock art presents a remarkable and long-lived sense of place among people. It implicates a sense of belonging that was there in ancient times and has remained among local people to this day. But this ancient link needs to be argued and incorporated in the interpretation of cultural heritage.

The story of the *watermeid* can also be linked to a specific rock art site. The *watermeid* is 'seen' by Maans Fourie of Amalienstein (Fourie 2005, pers com), four kilometres from the historical village, in Grysmanskloof in the foothills of the Swartberg, within a thirty metre range of the rock art imagery at the site (cf. Figure 5.2 and Figure 5.3) close to the water source in the narrow ravine where he cuts firewood. This is remarkable that the two phenomena are so close in the landscape and that both attest of spiritual realities. As discussed above, this rock art imagery at Grysmanskloof is also the subject of Januarie's poem, *Noue ontcoming*. The event described in the poem is an untrained reading of the rock art but the ancient value of the paintings and water and its power are still the essence in this interpretation. Januarie's poem suggests a personification of a water power and describes the flooding water as a dangerous entity (Januarie 2007, pers com), "*n ... watergevaar*", (Januarie 2007: 20) as it may have been experienced at the time by the ancient cave dwellers. Januarie explains that this "... watergevaar" is a water being, as the *watermeid* may be dangerous, so water is a powerful entity (Januarie 2007, pers com). Three events are represented here in one place. At Grysmanskloof the rock art is presented on the rock face near the water source in the ravine; the *watermeid* is 'seen' by Maans Fourie at this water source; and Hendrik Januarie finds inspiration for his poem *Noue ontcoming* in the rock art imagery in the kloof and personifies

the spiritual essence of water in verse. The folklore and the sense of place interact in interpretation and presentation.

5.3 Authentic presentation of rock art and myth in heritage tourism

The following paragraphs attempt to show that interactive and informative interpretation may play a critical role in sustainable heritage tourism in which presentation, conservation and tourism use are balanced (McKercher & Du Cros 2002). Presentation should communicate information that visitors can understand and relate to whilst creating the opportunity for a *real* experience through active involvement.

5.3.1 Authentic presentation

The perception of authenticity, even if staged, is essential in presentation. At replicated or “staged” sites, visitor experiences may be interpreted as non-authentic because the original resource is not shown (MacCannell 1973: 589). However, the originality/realness of presenting the heritage product depends on what is ‘real’ for the visitor. Authenticity is a fluid concept (Goulding 1998; McIntosh & Prentice 1999; Wang 1999), and this is why it is debated in post-modern studies of tourist motivations (MacCannell 1973; Harkin 1995; Moscardo 1996; Goulding 1998; McIntosh & Prentice 1999; Moscardo & Pearce 1999; Wang 1999; Chhabra *et al.* 2003). Authenticity is sometimes regarded as irrelevant “since there is no original that can be used as a reference” (Wang 1999: 356). An added reason for the post-modern tourist’s apparent unconcern with authenticity and exposing the ‘real thing’, is the increasing awareness of the negative impact of tourism on host communities and natural resources. In this context the definition of authenticity has been scaled down to specific situations and arousal of personal feelings and preferences in the tourist experience (Wang 1999). This approach is taken in this dissertation and presentation can thus be used as a manipulative tool to create *realness* of an experience. Thus whether authentic or not is today largely the consequence of interpretations commodified for consumer consumption (McIntosh & Prentice 1999), and may be successfully introduced at a multi-faceted interpretation centre as introduced below.

Culture is always in process and this adds to the difficulty of defining authenticity as concept. A static or absolute origin of a culture is not possible (Lane & Waitt 2001), but visitors want to return to origins and the past – gaining such knowledge qualifies as authentic experiences (Wang 1999). Because authenticity is sought in people’s preferences, beliefs, and follows the emotive and

imaginative, *real* meaning involves activity-related experiences (Wang 1999; Goulding 1999). For example, an activity-related nature tourism creates imaginative and creative experiences (Wang 1999), and may be the authenticity sought in a visitor experience. The perception of authenticity increases if the visitor has a degree of control of the experience. Personal experience and perceptions of the tourists become part of a meaningful environment, a “critical engagement” (McIntosh & Prentice 1999: 592). In addition, the effort to be more than passive consumers and observers brings a sense of achievement and enjoyment (Krippendorf 1987). This ‘openness’ and self-creativity need directive interpretation.

A model to develop and gauge authenticity in the visitor experience is suggested in Figure 5.4, listing a qualifying set of factors that may signify *how* a resource, in particular a heritage resource such as the rock art, may be exposed to the public and which factors in presentation may introduce mindfulness. The rock art as cultural heritage is used as the subject matter for the model. This model ascribes a set of qualities and values to visiting. Heritage resources in possession of the qualia listed in the model may be extended to built heritage sites. The model (Figure 5.4) introduces two sets of defining factors that influence tourists’ behaviour and concern at heritage sites, setting or site factors and *visitor* observations. Setting factors affect how the interpretation is conducted through displays, exhibits, guiding, knowledge and learning by interaction, talks, signs, maps, books, pamphlets, sense of place, guided tours and exposed *en route on* walks (pilgrimages) (McIntosh 2007). The setting factors of the resource are primary and enhance the visitor observances and if in place may induce these factors; if lacking, the visitor may not attain or aspire to the visitor factors. In other words these two sets of factors determine whether the visitor is mindful or mindless of the significance of visited heritage resource. Mindfulness or compassion for something or someone promotes authentic experiences (Moscardo 1996).

If the interpretive result is positive it may achieve meta-tourism ideals, such as learning, discovering and understanding the resource and place, satisfaction and enjoyment in visitation, an awareness of the effects of their visit and more appreciative of the site visited – on the whole an authentic visitor experience. Interpretation must identify a local populace that identifies with the heritage and is aware of its value and contribution to the group and area or place. Local participation in presentation allows for a more productive partnership between the resource and its exposure, which may prevent the static presentation of culture which contributes to widening gaps and conflicts, especially in a country like South Africa (Deacon *et al.* 2003).

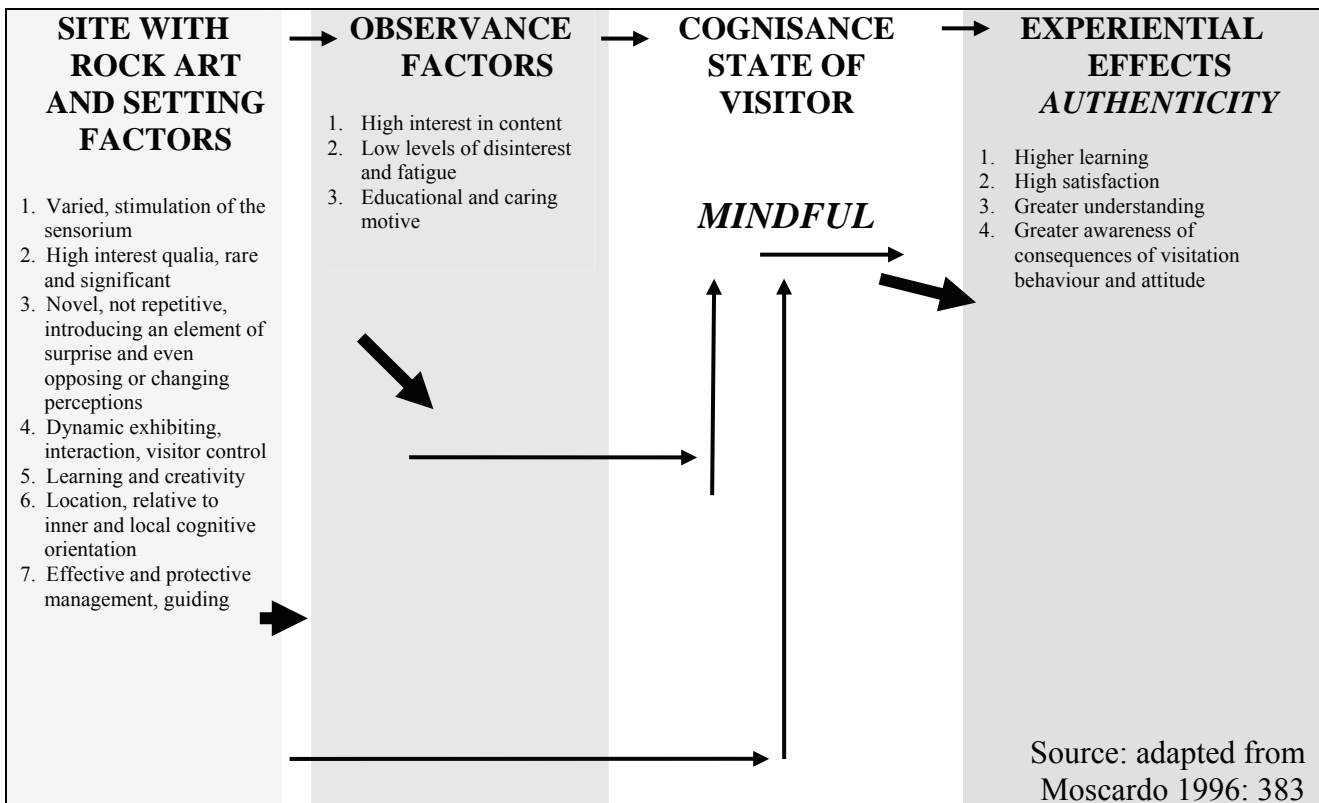


Figure 5.4 A model to define and introduce mindfulness in the visitor's behaviour

Including local folklore in the presentation of rock art enhances tourism experiences. For the visitor to engage with the resource as if it is real, presentation needs to be done *in situ* or as close to the resource as possible. In doing so the heritage is placed at a place or centre where involvement of the local people is a requisite and inevitable.

5.3.2 Authenticity and the local people

The recognition and acknowledgement of the local people as part of presentation is essential. Presentation of the heritage of the indigenous peoples in southern Africa has not always been adequate (Buntman 1996). For example, insensitive commodification has allegedly changed the meaning of the cultural products and social relations of San rock art, making it meaningless in context. The images and representations of the rock art are frozen in the Western tourist imagination. Used as decorative designs on Western products for sale, craft items, in advertising, in books, often marketed as *authentic* products of *primitive* mankind, the rock art images represent European tourist values and desires when viewing or buying the products, rather than those of the people that produced the art and the reasons for doing this on the rock face in shelters and caves. It also accentuates the imbalance of power and fails to bring out the full implications and histories behind the rock art, that of cultural genocide, the death of languages, the starvation and loss of lives,

the persecutions and prison victims (Skotnes 1996). Although this may mar the visitor's experience it is still part of the events that took place in the landscape. Truthful interpretation allows for authenticity in presentation and acknowledges the dissonance of human history (Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996). While Europeans labelled and separated indigenous traditions to ideologically justify colonial rule worldwide, still today tour operators engage in similar labelling to compete in the tourist market where the contemplation of the indigenous and the traditional are the focus and these cultures presented as timeless and unchanging (Silver 1993; Upton 2001). At the same time marketing 'authenticity' is at most times pitched at a level of portrayal of traditions that are problem-free, unchanged and packaged in a moment of euphoria.

One of the disparities between the resources, the local custodians and the consumers is the realization that the local people at destinations experience a profound change. The local reaction is one of amazement and disbelief at the tourist's wealth and power. In view of this the local people see themselves as primitive, backward, inferior, and not part of the dynamics of the world of the tourist (Bruner 1991; Pitchford 1995). Locals effectively lack the power to influence the discourse (Bruner 1991). These perceptions have a long history. Coetzee (2002: 552) laments the psychological rape of Africa "at the moment of colonization" and the outcome resulting in the perpetuation of the myth that non-western societies are nominal in ideology and belief. These perceptions rekindle historical injustices and lead to cultural revolutions, creating feelings of inferiority and second-class status with little pride in heritage (Weaver 2000; Isaacson 2001; Bregin & Kruiper 2004). One of the reasons may be that in Third World countries the services and amenities at these specialized places cater mostly for wealthy travellers. Although job opportunities are created in these five star tourist ventures, for many, heritage is alienated as the high monetary value on it has put it beyond their reach. In South Africa similar situations exist at the travel destinations. Offering these 'pristine' and 'authentic' experiences is priced excessively high to the point of excluding even local visitors. As stated, this creates feelings among the local people that travellers come from a different world, one that their own can never hope to compete with or be a part of. The tourism incentives on the Route 62 have not made a substantial difference to the economy of Amalienstein and Zoar and the people feel that they have been left out of the tourism and marketing strategies of the region (Januarie 2004, pers com; Cloete 2004, pers com). This does not bode well for conservation and enhancement of heritage and natural resources, as native pride and awareness are alienated.

Expanding South Africa's capacity in environmentally based tourism will depend on providing training for operatives, disseminating knowledge on resources and identifying the needs and value

systems of locals and tourists alike. If the benefits filter through to the local communities, the local perception that tourism is another form of ‘neo-colonialism’ with detrimental consequences for indigenous and local communities, as well as engaging control over Africa’s assets by foreign parties and non government organizations (NGO’s) (Maluleke 1998; Lane & Waitt 2001), may be partially dispelled. The emphasis on “primitivity” and “natural”, demonstrably cater for neo-colonial tourism, at the same time forcing “caricatures of cultural identity onto local” (Schroeder 1999: 367). The commodification of resources must thus extend wider; a *back to roots* travel incorporating natural elements, heritage, aesthetics, and people.

5.4 Sustainable heritage tourism in the Little Karoo

The current interest in tourism in heritage places has made it imperative to maintain and protect these assets. Places of archaeological interest and in particular rock art sites are under pressure for exposure to visitation. Responsible presentation and management of heritage are still lacking. For such participation and responsiveness to happen, local awareness, interest and pride in the heritage need to be established. An effective balance in accessing and utilizing heritage is required between local participation and management on provincial, private, tourist and corporate levels.

5.4.1 Sustainability, rock art and heritage tourism

As more heritage places, cultural and natural resources have become part of the tourism product, public access to these places has increased, and this in turn threatens non-renewable resources. This basic conflict between conservation, access and consumption has become a dominant and much debated issue in heritage tourism (McKercher *et al.* 2004; Wurz & Van der Merwe 2005). Wurz and Van der Merwe (2005) remonstrate that both preservation structures and the tourism industry are currently not fully prepared and equipped to deal with the increasing demands for visitations to, for example, archaeological heritage sites. Heritage resources have been exploited without the appropriate provision for the protection and management of these resources (McKercher *et al.* 2004). Rock art sites on the African continent are particularly vulnerable and currently under a lot of pressure to be exposed to visitation and commodification (Campbell 2005; Morris *et al.* 2001, Ouzman 2001a; Tlhapi 2001). For example, increasing tourism without management measures in place to protect a major engraved rock art site in Niger, has prompted the Trust for African Rock Art (TARA) to nominate the engraved rock art site at Dabous, Niger (Coulson & Campbell 2001: fig.262), to the list of UNESCO’s World Monument Watch. The site was listed in 2000 as one of

the world's most endangered sites (Campbell 2005). These measures in place still have little efficacy and need local intervention and regard for the heritage value of such cultural resources.

In recent years the rock art fraternity has come to realise that a positive and successful way to conserve the rock art is to convince the general public of its significance and importance (Lewis-Williams & Blundell 1997; Deacon J 1999; Ouzman 2001a). Although attitudes are changing through rock art publications, articles, a few enlightened custodians at sites open to the public, and websites, there is little public awareness of conservation and protection of archaeological sites (Wurz & Van der Merwe 2005). Meaningful and active partnerships between private ownership of cultural assets, local custodians, the facilitators and supplier of amenities that provide and manage heritage sites, and the tourism sector that develop and promote/market the product are crucial. The Heritage Asset Sensitivity Gauge (HASG) (Wurz & Van der Merwe 2005: 10) based on an assessment instrument by McKercher & Du Cros (2002), can be applied and utilized to gauge management demand of heritage resources. This gauge can be used by the heritage and tourism sectors to create this awareness and assess the condition and vulnerability of the site and its "maturity" for tourism exposure (McKercher *et al.* 2004: 8; cf. Appendix C to this dissertation). The rock art of southern Africa as an example, has not had a long-established exposure to visitation or protection mechanisms in place (Ouzman 2001a; Tlhapi 2001), and as such are immature³ and in need of HASG assessments. It has become crucial to gather round the academics, the local institutions and conservation agencies to research and disseminate information in a balanced and usable manner (Wurz & Van der Merwe 2005). The proposed meta-tourism principles of concern and awareness have a role to play as they engage through individual empowerment the values of heritage conservation and associates this with consumption of the resource. This may facilitate in a small but effectual way partnerships between institutions managing the resources, conservation organizations and tourist associations. The "silo" fragmented approach of various bodies in management and tourism (Cluster Consortium 1999: 226; Deacon *et al.* 2003), is regarded as a main obstacle to the realization of sustainable tourism (Wurz & Van der Merwe 2005). There is little communication between institutions responsible for heritage conservation and heritage tourism.

Conservation and resource management of rock art in particular must form part of meta-tourism, cementing a partnership between tourism and conservation. Mature and responsible interpretation fulfil deeper needs, beyond the usual tourist "gaze" (Rojek & Urry 1997: 176) on the one hand and

³ Mature relationships between management and tourism are when assets have been exposed to visitation for a long time and some management system has evolved.

gives incentive to conserving on the other hand. Existing channels of promotion and marketing of tourism should be used to distribute a knowledge of the resources visited to ensure changing perceptions and determine sustainability (Warneant 2001).

5.4.2 Local participation and awareness of heritage

Many incentives have taken up the challenge to include local participation in management and conservation of cultural and natural resources (Tourism Guidelines 2002; ResponsibleTravel 2007). Incorporating the views and concerns of the local people of for example Amalienstein and Zoar into tourism is not an easy task. Prins (1997) warns that the interpretation of local people of the past and their *sense of place* claim, identifying group membership and ownership in this way, may differ from the perceptions of scholars and the western idiom. Prins (1997: 116) concludes: “As South Africa moves into a new era with a greater emphasis ...on local community issues, it is ... time ... for heritage managers to listen more attentively to the ‘ancestral voices’ of those communities in the environs of heritage sites”. It is a wake-up call to integrate an awareness and mindfulness and local knowledge systems in heritage management practices. The heritage of a people is vulnerable and susceptible to social and economic manipulation (Oliphant 1998). In many instances histories are built on the suppression of identities, as on the African continent (Chidester *et al.* 2003b). Some identities were suppressed while others were promoted and as such may often have included a false sense of self in some cases and diminished a pride in heritage in others. In South Africa colonialism led to fragmentation of the social structures of the indigenous peoples.

In such manner, heritage and essentially prehistory are demoralized and affected adversely by social instabilities (Klopper 2003). Heritage can in effect be ‘scrubbed away’ and lost (Low *et al.* 2002). For example the loss of a local community’s sense of place results from conditions of physical destruction, forced removals, re-developments, the obliterating or the erasing and changing of historical texts, and the consequent loss of a ‘connectedness’ with a cultural identity. Even today in ancestral towns and villages in the Western Cape and along the south coast economic pressures have forced local populations of mostly poorer coloured folk to sell to affluent, mostly white and foreign buyers, thus dispersing the local indigenous community and replacing it by a new community (Temmers 2005, pers com). This is a process of gentrification (Zukin 1991) that in fact destroys the binding element of a heritage as it removes the knowledge from the place (Bradley 2000; Schama 2004). The loss of the heritage of the Khoesan in southern Africa is amply researched and documented (Deacon J 1996; Le Roux 2000; Bregin & Kruiper 2004). Le Roux & White (2004: v) joined the voices of the living Kalahari San First Peoples in their book *Voices of*

the San and in the interviews conducted, the San poignantly referred to the fact that when the land no longer belonged to them and to their ancestors, “... things changed forever. Not only had their livelihood changed, but, without land, they also lost the source of age-old legends, natural resource-use knowledge and spiritual dimensions, of which only they and the land knew. They felt, with this loss, that they had also lost their dignity”. It is strongly felt among the living communities in Amalienstein and Zoar that without land and the right to ownership they will lose their ancestral observances, customs and strong church traditions that sustain their heritage to this day (Januarie 2004, pers com).

5.4.3 Sustainability and responsible ownership of heritage and land

Besides the cultivation of an awareness of resident culture and heritage among local people, in order for the cementing process to take place linking the land and heritage with the people, economic sustainability, growth and potential need to be stabilized and developed. This is based on the realization of natural and cultural assets, as well as utilizing, conserving and protecting these resources. The conservation effort in the Little Karoo is limited. Migration of natural life and vegetation is restricted and fenced in by barbed wire, more so in recent decades by game fencing. Poor farming practices, overgrazing, rampant road and dam building and development have been eating away at the last wild areas in the arid semi-desert parts of the Little Karoo (Nell 2003). Combined efforts are imperative to conserve the last remnants of cultural and natural resources that ought to be preserved for the spiritual and physical welfare of future generations. Ownership of land and heritage must find the balance in this process.

The local people as landowners are prominent in this process. In recent years in the Western Cape, CapeNature is encouraging conservation stewardships with landowners by tailoring contractual agreements to ownership needs; for example redemption of land taxes, while creating protected areas in the process. Landowners become custodians of critical ecosystems and are educated in conservation in the process of stewardship with CapeNature (Barry 2004, pers com). This may be coupled with sustainable tourism possibilities and economic gain for landowners, especially where replacing borderline farming practices which are often hard hit if droughts prevail (Burman 1981; Nell 2003).

In southern Africa the proposals and establishment in places of Trans-Border Conservation Areas may adhere to such principles in conservation. Despite the disparities and inherent problems existing around the conception of these conservation areas, the ‘peace parks’, as they are known,

straddle the borders of states, are seen as increased opportunities in the trade, and provide the link between conservation and tourism (Ferreira 2003). Although still habitat 'islands' in places, the ideology and conception nevertheless, of mega established reserves, joining protected non-use core areas, conservation state land, forest reserves, private nature reserves, and agricultural land, to form large tracts of protected areas, will allow for wildlife migrations and genetic mixing of animal and plant life (Schroeder 1999: 365). Such incentives facilitate opportunities for people and place to link up again. The establishment of the Gourits Initiative (GI) follows this example and are initiating similar processes in the Little Karoo (Lombard & Wolf 2004).

The establishment of the Gourits mega reserve or Gourits Initiative (GI) (now Gourits Corridor) in the Little Karoo, Western Cape, along the Gourits River, as a conservation corridor stretching from the Swartberg to the south coast, is a Cape Action for People and the Environment (CAPE) and CapeNature joint project of major proportions for the Western Cape. If successfully implemented and managed efficiently this initiative will ensure that significant components of the biodiversity of the region and the ecological processes are protected. Again, success and efficiency in driving and managing this initiative will depend on political and private motivation and the benign attitude and interrelatedness of the local stakeholders, farmers, local communities and governments, NGO's and conservation agencies to fulfil this *dream* in conservation. To date this project has not been driven or managed to its full potential in securing support and land for the initiative in conservation (Botha 2007, pers com). The government bodies and conservation institutions with a mandate to protect resources are not working efficiently and poor head management and a shortage of funding are crippling efforts at conservation in South Africa and in particular in the Western Cape. The fragmentation of efforts and planning of conservation initiatives in the Little Karoo needs to be centralized in concept and place, and institutionalised at a centre. Such a centre, where research and conservation projects can be facilitated, is proposed at Groenefontein at the foothills of the Rooiberg near Calitzdorp in the following chapter.

5.5 The local community and presentation at an interpretation centre

Restoring pride and an ownership even if this is only embodied in a sense of belonging at that place, is what is aimed at in presentation of heritage. This can only be done in presentation processes that stimulate traditional knowledge or gauge what has remained in an area of local knowledge of heritage, and exposing this to tourism to instil a pride in something that 'other' people regard as worthwhile visiting and accessing. The exposure of such knowledge and the establishment of local participation in the renewal and sustaining of the heritage can be facilitated at an interpretation

centre. Replication of the heritage at such centres may achieve the above aims but also protect and sustain the resources.

5.5.1 Pride and custody of local heritage

Some researchers argue that tourism concerned with cultural heritage can restore arts, skills and cultivate creativity and provide a basis for communities to present themselves positively and with pride (Pitchford 1995). What is aimed at it to instate a pride in heritage (Garrod & Fyall 2000), and renew ancestral memory to affect a sense of place (Schama 2004). This is the basis for sustainable heritage tourism. Warmeant (2001) reports on a *Barometer of Sustainability* as a tool for measuring and communicating a society's well-being and progress towards sustainability. The barometer measures the pride of the community in the heritage as a measure of sustainability. Pride in heritage advances its protection. If resources are not protected, any development in tourism will eventually be unsustainable (Warmeant 2001). Thus ideally it is the influence of local awareness of heritage that guides visitor preference. One of the ways to achieve this would be to establish built heritage places where local interest in heritage can be developed (Garrod *et al.* 2002); where accessibility, affordability and involvement for all are more likely; creating as such, a people, pride, and place heritage site (PPP site). This is where 'authentic' replication can take place to induce awareness in a controlled setting. Conservation education, transparency in benefits and the initiation of feasible, sustainable and rewarding grass roots projects are the keys to success. Such processes and incentives should involve identification of heritage, and re-discovering and re-writing histories where needed, enhancing self-knowledge and defining an ancient past (Kemf 1993).

However, in southern Africa ancestral and migration histories are notoriously difficult to reconstruct (Elphick & Giliomee 1989), but the community decision-makers are today drawn from the full spectrum of society and this may ensure equal participation at local level. It is by definition difficult to make connections and utilise analogies to establish an ancient past. Even so, the fact that the prehistoric rock art confirms the symbolism of a past that existed in a given area and is designated to the Khoesan is in itself worthy of attempts at linking the present to the past.

Importantly, the establishment of such interpretation centres may address the existing resistance or negativeness amongst local people for the appropriation of past traditions and values during the apartheid years. The antagonisms of the colonial period in southern Africa have seeped through into modern society and to be called a *Bushman* today is sometimes still perceived as derogatory and an insult (Bregin & Kruiper 2004). 'Outsiders' or 'inkommers' (people foreign to the area and settling)

are often the self-appointed custodians and restorers of a pride in heritage (Bregin & Kruiper 2004). Ironically, in recent times fuelled by a sense of guilt and responsibility for former histories, First World countries are of the main advocates for preserving the cultures and environments of Third World societies (Boniface 2001). However, these processes should not be alienated and included in any initiative to restore local heritage as often the funding of these First World countries are crucial as the governments of Africa and in particular South Africa do not always fund such projects. Hence the responsible tourism enterprises and resourcefulness, and the marketing of tourism products as pro-poor, pro-local and committing to responsible tourism for protection and conservation of heritage and environment, are initiatives to follow (ResponsibleTravel 2007). Linking rock art to local folklore and a sense of place is advocated in this dissertation as one way to facilitate the unifying process of local people, pride and place incentive.

5.5 2 Promoting sustainability through replication of rock art imagery and local traditions at interpretation centres

The tourism potentiality of visiting rock art sites is often small scale and marginal in its profitability. Rock art tourism initiatives often involve guides and the selling of pseudo Bushmen crafts, largely imitations that mock the original. Rock art needs exposure within a milieu of controlled management and interpretation. The opportunity of exposing the symbolism and probable meaning of the rock art whilst connecting to local traditions through the interpretative media at an information centre provides an ideal potential to promote sustainable tourism. The proposed Groenefontein PPIC, situated in the geographical area where the art is found, may be the most effective way of presenting the rock art and related local folklore. Presentation at an interpretation centre necessitates replication of rock art.

Although rife with potential problems, replication of ancient rock art has become academically accepted (Chhabra *et al.* 2003; Aujoulat 2004), and has been undertaken successfully (Clottes 1996; Bassett 2001). Early replication of rock art sometimes forfeited accuracy and were more concerned with an 'artistic' rendition (Stow 1905; Battiss 1948), but the interest shown in the process of painting provide engaging perspectives. In the 1930s in Lesotho, an elderly Basotho man, Mapote, who had Bushman half-brothers and had painted with them in rock shelters as a youngster, painted an eland and other figures on two porous and smooth sandstone rocks on request of Marion Walsham How (How 1970). Mapote used brushes of reed and bird feathers which he made at the time. He powdered red ochre between two grinding stones and mixed it with fresh ox blood, relating that in earlier times the special *qhang qhang* red ochre, a pigment haematite, was used and

mixed with fresh eland blood and prepared and heated over a fire by women during full moon (How 1970). A recent example of replication is the work of Bassett (2001) who has for more than a decade recorded and replicated rock paintings. He found that this process facilitates a connection to the power and significance of the paintings. In the foreword of Bassett's book *Rock paintings of South Africa* (2001: 7), Skotnes, relates the documentation and subsequent replication of the rock paintings by him, to a grappling with "the very heart of painting – the artists' relationship with both their canvas and with their medium and with the symbolic resonance of that relationship".

Presenting the process of replication at an interpretation centre may advance an understanding of a craft and the way in which the painters may have mixed and used their paint and to what purpose. The process may further allow for recognition and nurturing of an extraordinary skill at production. As in the case of the research done by Bassett (2001), a perception and understanding of sensitivity for pigments and binders and brushes were revealed and how a choice was made in execution. It is also about an activity indicating choice; some of the thoughts of the painter as to choice of colour, pigment or binder, choice of a special rock face and site in a particular place, or a time of day when the sun is not full on the rock face where the paintings are placed. The author (Rust) has found that in full sun the paintings are difficult to distinguish on the rock face. The quality of light at an open rock art site is thus important and may have influenced choice.

The rock art site is primarily a site of meaning, and placement of the imagery and choice of colours highlight certain areas on the rock face deemed as places with potency (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989). Replication at an interpretation centre may include reproducing the actual rock face of a site even if artificial materials are used. Topographical features such as natural crevices, fissures and holes should be included and its meaning and use communicated in replication. As discussed previously, research suggests the indigenous painters viewed the rock face itself as a veil and those irregularities, fissures and holes in the rock face were entries and exits to and from the spirit worlds (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1990). Replication should include discolorations and damage of paintings and rock surface. Graffiti applied on or near rock art imagery at sites in modern times is part of interpretation and may have a social context and meaning in that the "graffiti artists" are placing their signs, names, initials, dates, to indicate an identity over someone's older form of art (Chippindale & Nash 2004). Incorporating natural weathering of the rock paintings and graffiti may promote a concern and reveal the need to protect the rock art.

This dissertation is concerned with promoting sustainable tourism use of rock art in the Little Karoo through replicated presentation at an interpretation centre. Presenting replicated rock art in

combination with local stories and involving local communities is an ideal way to achieve the balance between conservation and use in heritage tourism.

5.6 Conclusion : Developing sustainable rock art tourism through replication and local participation

The Little Karoo is an area where a number of tourism initiatives already exist, notably Route 62. There has been some attempt to include the local people in these initiatives, but in the interviews it expired that this may have been too limited. This chapter has discussed how to incorporate local knowledge into tourism presentation. This can be achieved by linking the stories of the *watermeide*, and their sense of place as captivated in the poems of Hendrik Januarie (1989), to presentation of the rock art. Authenticity, whether staged or not, is essential in presentation and is linked to what is 'real' for the visitor. Authentic experiences can be promoted by communicating how local people connect to the mythical through the *watermeid* stories. This can be used as platform to connect to the rock art and the ethnography that is used to interpret the rock art. This linkage and interaction between contemporary and ancient expressions of the mythical facilitates a 'real' experience for the tourist. If this occurs similes in interpretation are acceptable in presentation (Brown 1995).

An interpretation centre *in situ* or close to the cultural heritage resources may facilitate a platform for local people to share their knowledge and stories of the area but also gain and establish a knowledge and link to the past while supporting and assisting in sustainable management of the cultural heritage in their environment and sharing the benefits of tourism that may develop from this. If the beliefs of people are respected, an understanding of the spirit realms that surround these stories and that of the rock art may develop and have a positive effect on the protection of the heritage.

An interpretation centre has the potential to satisfy current tourism needs. It would attract those who enjoy the pristine character of a natural environment, the outdoors, beautiful scenery, wildlife, plants; a history and folklore; and a place of spiritual significance. By marrying the location of the centre and close distribution of rock art and holistic presentation with the unearthing of local skill and initiative in presentation of a heritage, the establishment of an interpretation centre may be a great aid to presenting cultural and natural resources, especially the rock art. The goals of meta-tourism may then be achieved.

CHAPTER 6: PRESENTATION OF LITTLE KAROO HERITAGE AT THE GROENEFONTEIN INTERPRETATION CENTRE

“... examples of failed national monuments ... demonstrate that national mottoes, anthems, flags and monuments cannot actually make a nation. Still, nations need narratives.” (Chidester *et al.* 2003b: 308).

“... alternative public spheres are constantly being opened ... through the cultural performances of ‘story-telling and music-making’.” (Gilroy 1993: 200).

In this chapter the issues around establishing an interpretation centre at Groenefontein at the foothills of the Rooiberg, Little Karoo, are discussed. Purpose built centres, such as the proposed People and Place Interpretation (PPIC) at Groenefontein, must become sites where living participation generates connection to the rock art. The proposed establishment of the PPIC is guided by the Gourits Initiative (GI) whose aims are to sustain utilization of the unique biodiversity of corridor areas earmarked along the Gourits Rivers and mountains of the Little Karoo, ensuring wide recognition through partnerships and creating opportunities for continuous awareness and participation on all levels. A number of interpretation centres have been surveyed and are used as case studies to discern principles of presentation to be used at the PPIC. An aim of this chapter is to discuss how capturing the corpus of local knowledge and ethnography linked to rock art provide the opportunity to create special tourism experiences.

6.1 *Raison d'être* for the establishment of a People and Place Interpretation Centre (PPIC)

It is proposed that a PPIC may be located at the foothills of the Rooiberg/Gamkaberg range on Groenefontein Nature Reserve. The location of the proposed PPIC is shown in Figure 6.1, which indicates five Management Sectors in the Gourits Initiative planning domain and the Management units within these sectors. The PPIC location is easily accessible from Calitzdorp, turning off the established tourist *Route 62*. The road distance is 17km from Calitzdorp, and 69km from Oudtshoorn, the capital of the Little Karoo (Nell 2003). The instigation of a PPIC may result in advancing conservation of natural and cultural resources in this specific area of the Little Karoo for the benefit of all people.

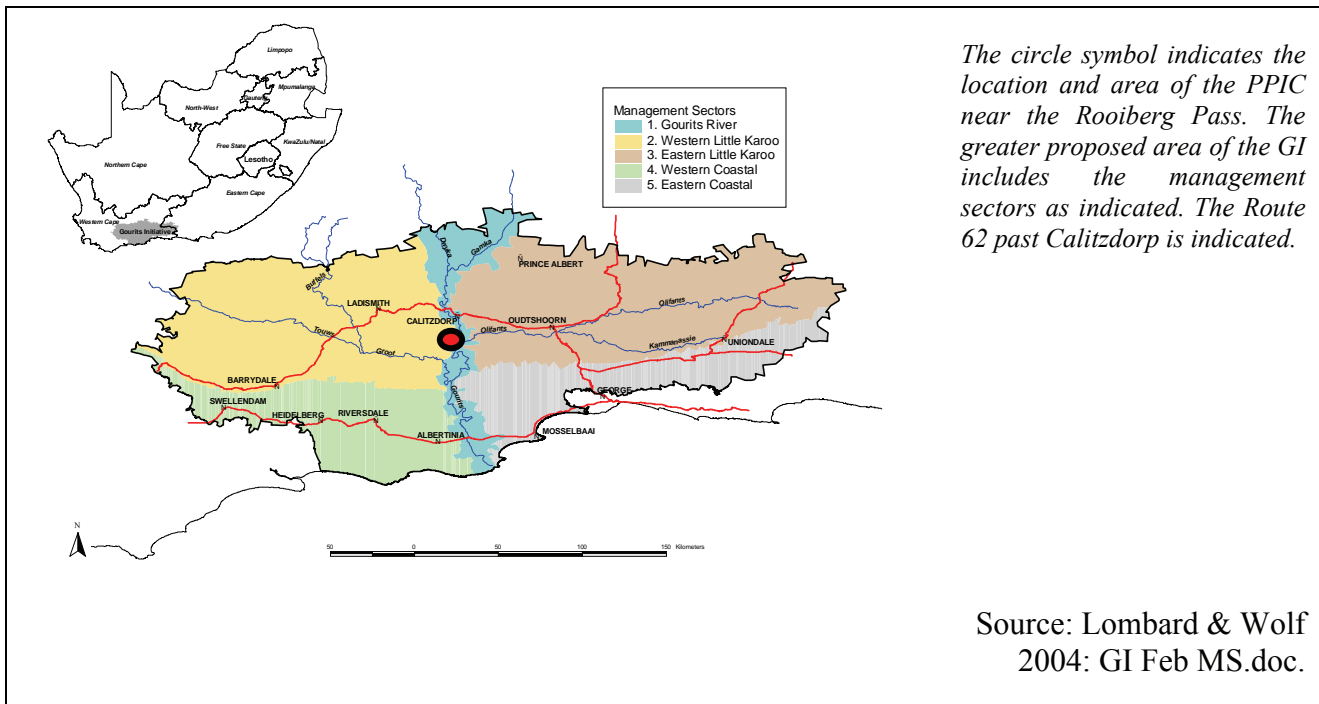


Figure 6.1 The Gourits Initiative planning domain and the five management sectors.

6.1.1 The ecological setting of the PPIC

In 1999 the World Wide Fund South Africa (WWF-SA), with funding from the Leslie Hill Succulent Karoo Trust, purchased the Groenefontein property. This was motivated mainly by the occurrence of high plant diversity with rare and endemic succulents. The property is currently managed as Groenefontein Nature Reserve by CapeNature, as part of the Gamkaberg Conservation area.

It borders onto other protected areas, private land and nature reserves, such as the Rooiberg Conservancy (Barry 2004, pers com). In this vast area, Groenefontein Nature Reserve is geographically the *heart* of the GI (Figure 6.2). State and private conservation efforts collaborated to instigate the GI, and support and guidance for this initiative are forthcoming from Conservation International (CI), Cape Action for People and the Environment (CAPE), Succulent Karoo Ecosystem Plan (SKEP), Subtropical Thicket Ecosystem Plan (STEP), the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA), and the key player, CapeNature as implementing agency (Lombard & Wolf 2004). The aim of the GI is to create a landscape-wide bioregional and biodiversity area, a mega reserve surrounding the system of the Gourits River, where all the initiatives as mentioned may be assimilated as one in conservation – sustainable living landscapes that will be managed as delineated sectors (geographical areas) (Figure 6.2).

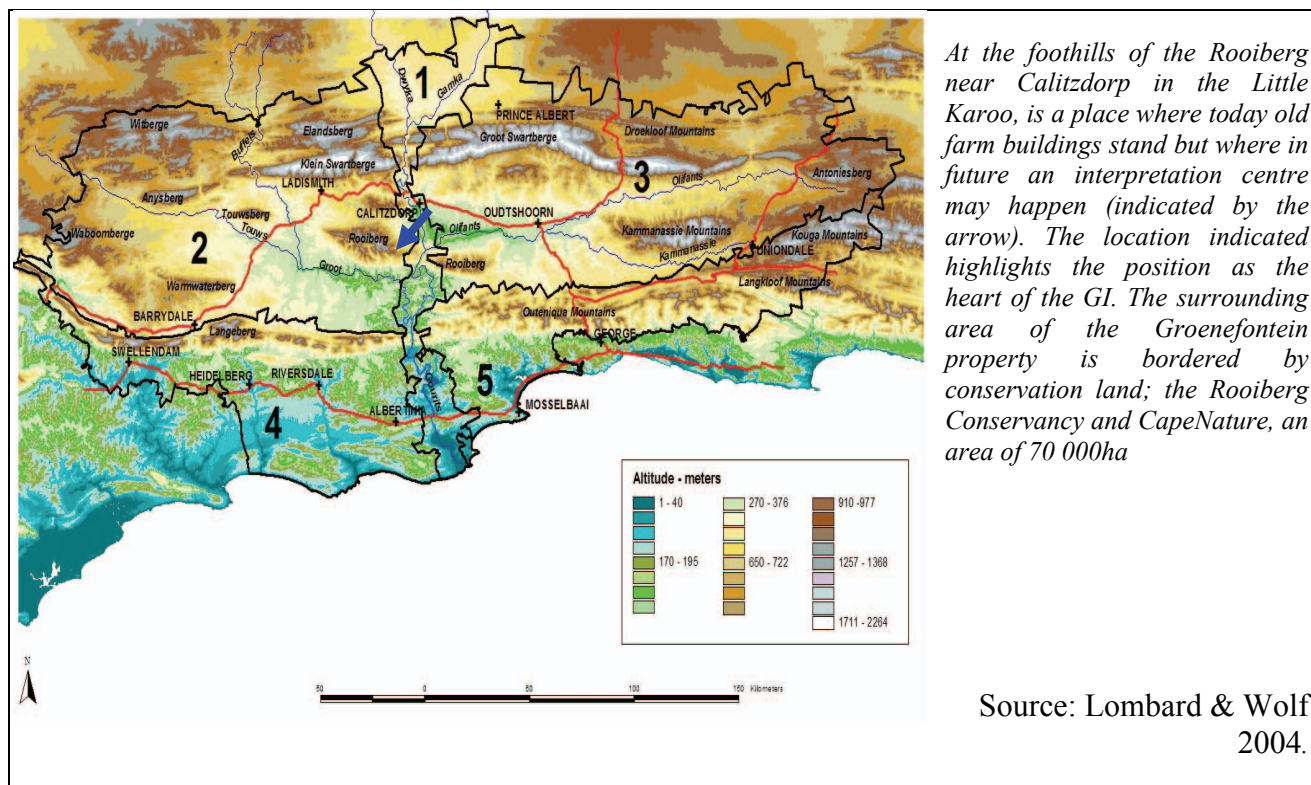


Figure 6.2 The five management sectors of the GI

Overall environmental and biological data was used to delineate the geographical framework for the GI and its implementation as depicted in Figure 6.3. This information was drawn together and assimilated at expert workshops during 2003. Each of these data sets provided particular environmental features with a certain proviso in management. The delineation of the mega area as marked out by the above mentioned institutions concerned with the GI, will stretch from the mouth of the Gourits River on the southern coast across the mountain ranges to the Groot Swartberg. The Western Cape Provincial and National governments have endorsed recommendations for the establishment of mega parks and in particular the Gourits Initiative (Lombard & Wolf 2004). The holistic and widely extended protection in this vast area of natural and cultural resources will greatly improve the bio-geographical capability of the area as naturally existing corridors promote ecological processes and enhance regional and local biodiversity. The main purpose of the GI is thus to create a corridor along the Gourits River where naturally occurring indigenous animals and plants could disperse freely from the conservation areas of the inland mountains: Anysberg-Swartberg, Gamkaberg-Rooiberg, Kammanassieberg to the coastal mountains, Langeberg-Outeniqua ranges. The establishment of the GI will aim to conserve the unique natural and cultural heritage and biodiversity of the Southern Cape and Little Karoo through active participation and

involvement of local people and institutions. Conservation stewardships will be formed with private landowners. The People and Place Interpretation Centre (PPIC) on Groenefontein may constitute

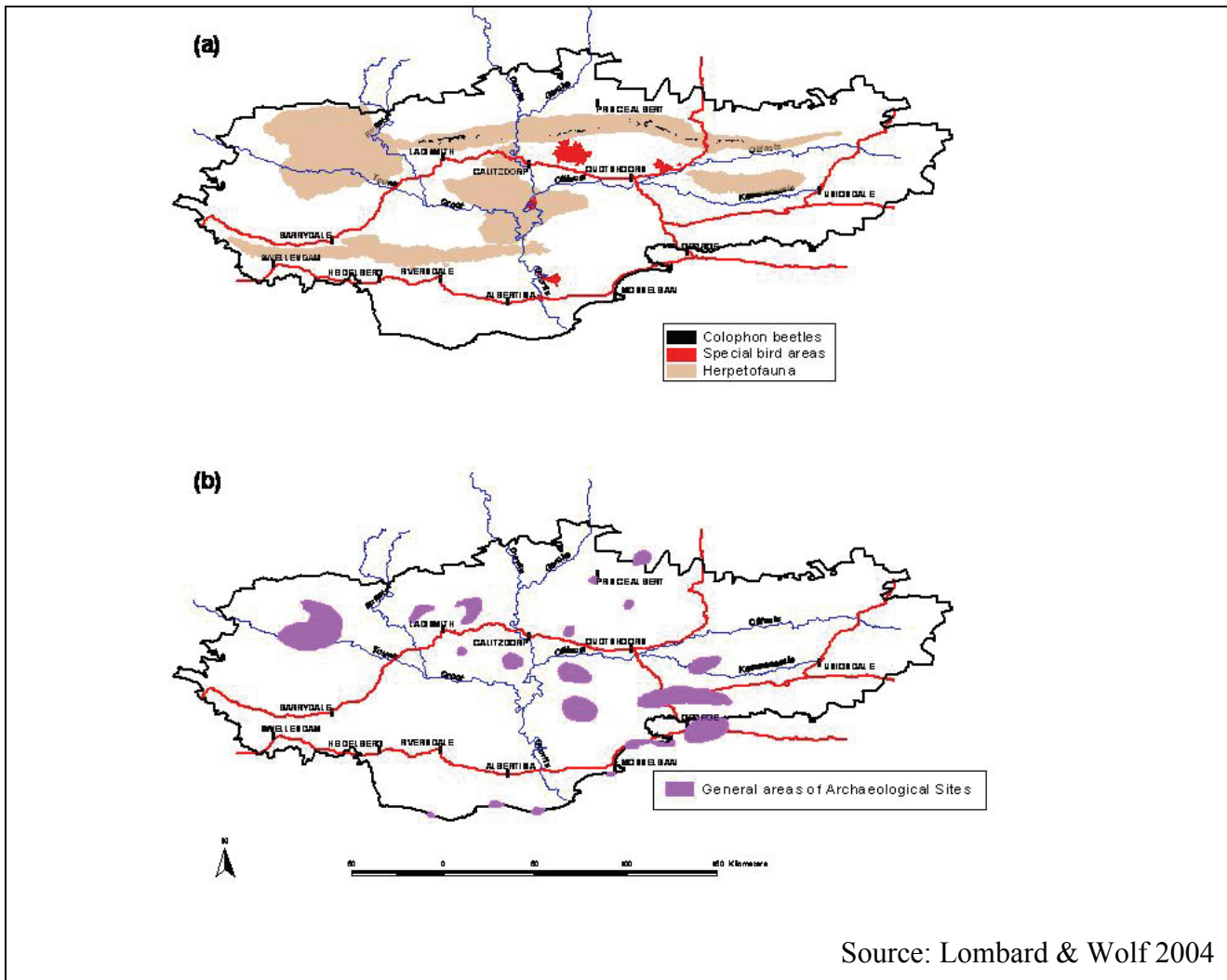


Figure 6.3 Biological process zonation (a) and archaeological centres (b) in the GI area

a hub of this initiative, implementing local participation and identifying and facilitating projects that share joint rationale. Areas of archaeological importance are shown in Figure 6.3(b). Most of these areas are where there are rock art sites. The actual point localities have been merged into general areas to protect the integrity of the sites.

6.1.2 Rationale for placing the PPIC at Groenefontein

Unique natural and cultural features are present at Groenefontein. This property at the foothills of the Rooiberg pass is situated on a historical route, constructed with dry-stone walling to support steep trajectories and the road winds up the Rooiberg to a height of 800m, crossing the top, descending and continuing southwards to Van Wyksdorp (Burman 1981; Nell 2003). At the top of the pass a cairn of rocks signify meaning as the first European settlers marked their journeys by

piling rocks on the heap ensuring safe travel, accessing the power of place so to speak (Figure 6.4). This cairn has been known to the local people for many years (Hefke 2004, pers com). It may be that the questing for safe travel was building upon an ancient tradition known from prehistoric times. Stone cairns were known to be burial mounds of Khoesan origin and some may have been good luck mounds (Schapera 1930; MacLennan 2000). When these places were passed a prayer may have been offered for good health.



This cairn is situated on top of the Rooiberg Pass next to the road. The Swartberg range is visible in the background.

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 6.4 The cairn on top of the Rooiberg Pass

Groenefontein is a place of scenic beauty and diversity. The farmyard where the proposed centre may be established has historic buildings dating from the 1870s (Figure 6.5). Ostrich farming prior to 1999 devastated the natural vegetation surrounding the farm buildings and the construction of a centre would be centred on these waste lands. The surrounding areas have remained intact and rare and endemic plants are located in the vicinity of the abandoned farmyard. Groenefontein is situated within one of the two world-renowned ‘hotspots’ in the GI area, classified as global biodiversity places and recognised as centres of plant endemism (Lombard & Wolf 2004).

The unique quartz gravel patches on Groenefontein are where the succulents thrive and support the biodiversity. Dwarf succulent communities with *Glottiphyllum regium*, *Gibbaeum heathii* and *Haworthia truncata* are indicator species of these special habitats. Figure 6.6 shows an example of the *Gibbaeum heathii*. A man-made stone flake is visible in the centre of the photograph and indicates prehistoric man in the environment. The *in situ* contexture of natural and cultural resources is shown here by example. Encircled in yellow (Figure 6.6), a stone flake lies on the

surface in proximity to the *Gibbaeum heathii*. This interestingly illustrates the probability of linking the archaeology to the broader bio-physiographic area through interpretation.

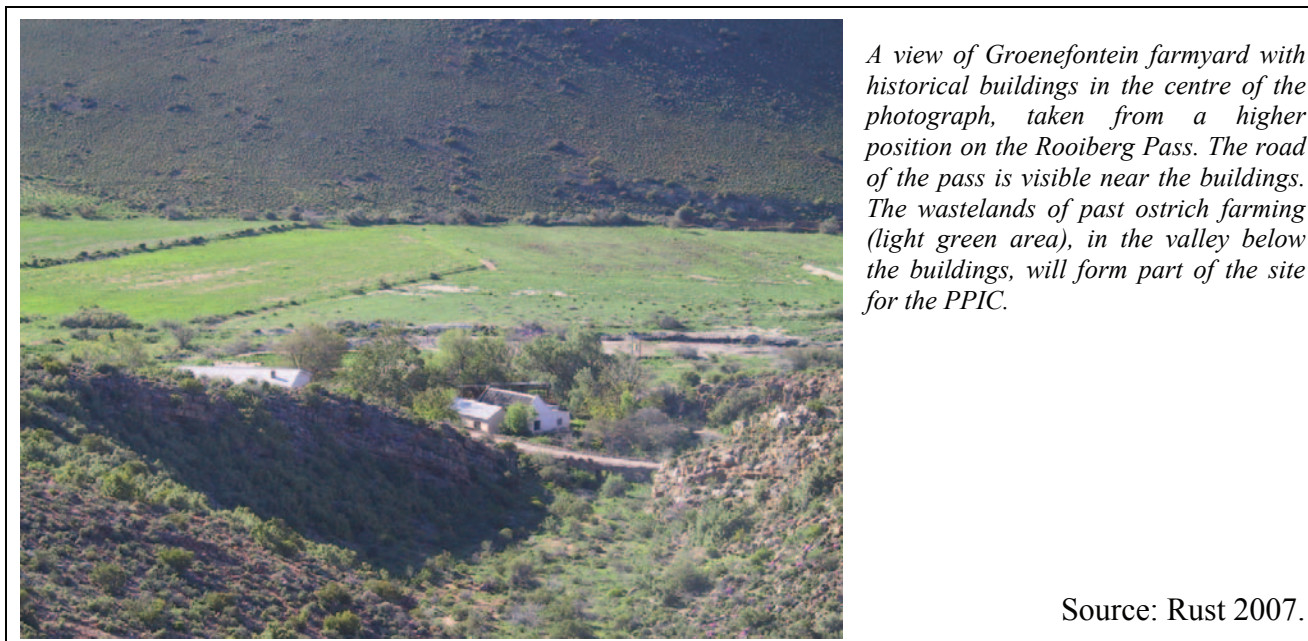


Figure 6.5 The historical Groenefontein farmyard

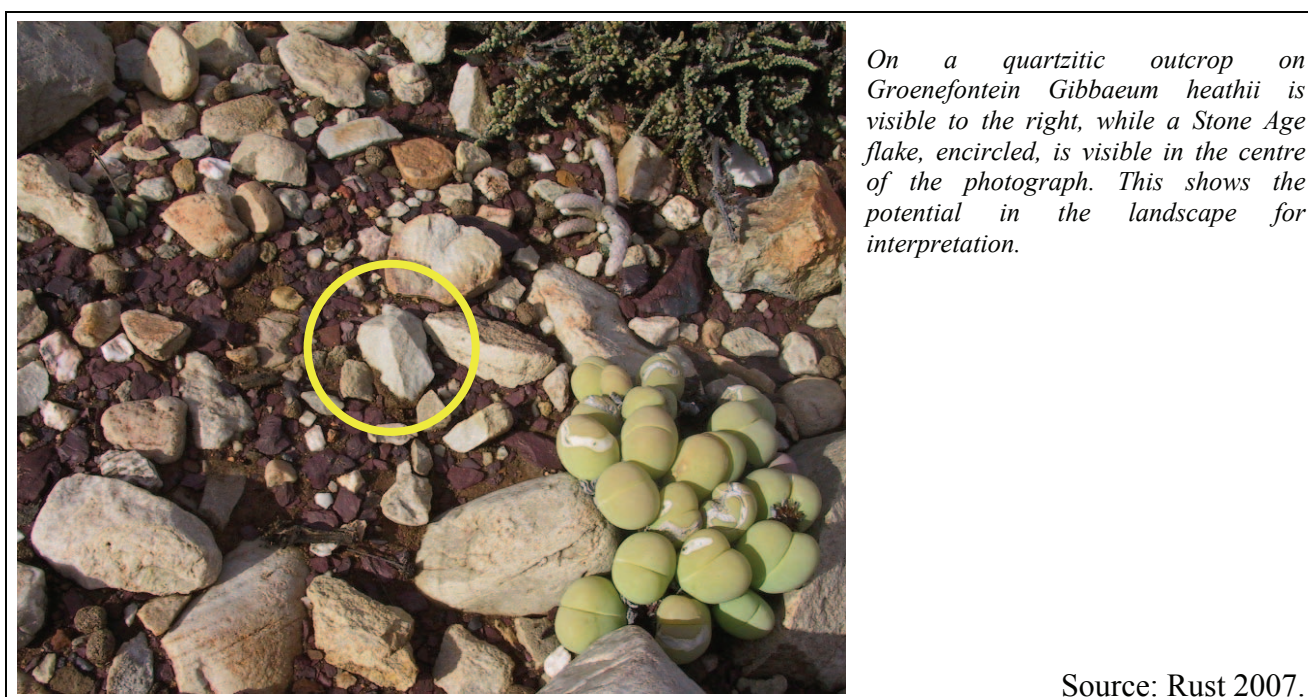


Figure 6.6 Stone flakes and succulents at Groenefontein

Furthermore, scientific spatial studies commissioned by the GI (Wolf 2003, pers com; Lombard & Wolf 2004), show that in the mountains, Gamkaberg and Rooiberg, and valleys and ravines surrounding Groenefontein, special migratory routes exist for nectarivores (sugarbird types that pollinate fynbos), antelope, leopard and a range of other animals. The area is also important for herpetological biodiversity and distribution. The Cape Mountain Zebra, *Equus zebra zebra*,

occurring naturally on Gamkaberg, is also of great conservation value due to the fact that it represents a unique gene pool within the Cape Mountain Zebra metapopulation (Barry 2004, pers com). Research has pointed out the dilemma of many perennial streams drying up owing to groundwater abstraction causing mortality in the endemic Cape mountain zebra. Mountain zebras need fresh clean water daily within a 2km radius but because of water extraction from boreholes up to 3km deep the surface water dries up and the mountain zebras die. This once again highlights the importance of acquiring the knowledge and changing an attitude towards utilization of land resources.

Years of abusive agricultural practices and industrial exploitation have made it imperative to conserve resources in pristine places to ensure the natural habitat and establish the link again between people and the earth (Anderson 1996; Siegfried 2002). The rock art occurring on the rock faces of shelters and overhangs in the area, as well as in the ravine, Waterkloof, leading up from the farm buildings on Groenefontein, represents the ancient footprints of man in the biodiversity. This rock art site (Figure 6.8 and another lower down (Figure 6.8), are located within 700m from the farm buildings in the kloof. Presentation and replication of archaeological sites must allow people to identify with the site through interpretation (Blundell 1996). The Little Karoo, the Gourits/Rooiberg area in particular, is rich in rock art, but lacks controlled and managed exposure and adequate preservation. The PPIC initiative aims to locate, document and introduce the rock art to the public through replication to stimulate the public and local interest and concern whilst promoting its protection. This will contribute towards conserving the art.



This example of rock art is found at a site in the Waterkloof ravine, 700m upstream from the farm buildings on Groenefontein and proposed location of the PPIC.

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 6.7 Rock art at Groenefontein



A large rock shelter with rock art situated 30m high up the side of the ravine, from bedrock level, in Waterkloof. The site indicated with a circle is 300m from the farm buildings on Groenefontein, and lower down from the rock shelter and rock art shown in Figure 6.7.

Source: Rust 2007

Figure 6.8 Rock shelter with rock art at Groenefontein

In South Africa the conservation of rock art is in a predicament. It is due to little care taken at sites with rock art, the removal of rock art (Loubser 1994), and outdated and poorly presented interpretation, if at all. It results in the visitor's detrimental behaviour at rock art at sites (Deacon J 1993; Loubser 1993; Ouzman 1995b, 1999; Blundell 1996; Lewis-Williams & Blundell 2000; Tlhapi 2001).

6.2 The proposed PPIC concept

The author and conservationist and manager of Gamkaberg Conservation Area (Barry) co-initiated the concept for a "people and place" interpretation centre at Groenefontein site in the Rooiberg/Gamkaberg complex, and identified Groenefontein as the ideal place to establish a PPIC. Both initiators realised the synergy between natural and cultural resource preservation early on in their respective work and how this could be presented to tourists as an inimitable product in a natural environment. The proximity of the rock art and other resources to the location of the PPIC plus the conservation initiatives in the area makes for feasible and economic sustainable presentation as it can become a conservation and research 'spill point' while being a destination on a tourist route. The PPIC is on a new proposed route leading to Route 62 and easily accessible to the public. Many activities as well as pilgrimages and alternative tourism options have potential to be developed here. The proposed projects are all guided by sustainable utilization of the unique biodiversity in the area of the PPIC. The results and ideas developed from surveys done at rock art centres in Europe and South Africa are considered in Section 6.2.2.

6.2.1 Economics, resources and social/community sustainability of the concept

The PPIC concept as proposed has a focus on the economic viability of responsible tourism in the region. The Groenefontein project may offer to the general public a view and conception of the prehistoric, with an emphasis on the rock art, within a staged environment of hunter-gatherers of 10 000 and 20 000 years ago. Interpretation of the ancient and traditional lifeways may contribute to an understanding of the dynamics of the hunter-gatherers' relationships with the environment in its various dimensions. In representation a connection could be made to life and social relationships to the present.

Economic growth is directly influenced by the tourist visitation due to the attractiveness of the area. The increase of the number of visitors to the area may allow for growth in the economy of the surrounding towns. It is taken on authority that this has materialized since the inception of the Route 62 in 1998 (Ackhurst 2004, pers com; Route 62 2007), and it has facilitated exposure of a cultural heritage along this route, at times difficult to access. A route from Herbertsdale through Cloetes Pass to Van Wyksdorp and from there over the Rooiberg Pass to Calitzdorp and the Swartberg, is planned which will run over or join the Route 62 (Cape Town Routes Unlimited 2007). The PPIC is on this new route and this initiative augurs exposure. Furthermore, the GI underscores an effort by NGO's, local authorities and private enterprise to put a material value to a heritage, cultural or natural, and to combine this with the need to strengthen and support the economic growth of the area while adhering to the commitment to conserve and protect resources. The PPIC endorses these values and conservation efforts in concept and constitutes the location for these initiatives.

The Groenefontein property is ideally suited for experiential activities such as participating in hikes or walks and explorations of the pristine mountainous areas. These may include adventure activities like climbing, *kloofing*, and viewing rock art in these ravines under controlled guiding. A further feature is the potential of the PPIC to become the centre from where or to where pilgrimages take place; for example the new route from Herbertsdale to the Swartberg could be developed and serviced for such an initiative. On a socio-cultural level the conceptualising of the PPIC can be viewed as a source for spiritual renewal and restoration of mental equilibrium in alternative tourism. The possibility of exposing local cultural tourism *en route* at an interpretation centre is suggested in the meta-tourist experience. Such a centre may act as catalyst for route-based cultural tourism and may furthermore offer an array of experiences enriching the tourist consumption. At the same time

a spatial development strategy of this nature concentrates visitations and lessens the demands to visit fragile tourist attractions, such as for example, the rock art (Murray & Graham 1997). Meta-tourism at the same time addresses concerns around the adverse effects of overdevelopment of routes and attractions in the Little Karoo and the inevitable advancing of mass tourism and numbers of tourists in the face of promoting and establishing such development. This is vital in discussion of tourism potential in the Little Karoo. It requires responsible tourism (Kotzé 2002). The evaluation of responsible presentation should lie in environmentally sustainable presentation that still retains the feeling of isolation if a visitor is on top of the Rooiberg and on other routes in the Little Karoo to experience the calm and natural sounds without too many tourists and vehicles 'rushing you off your feet'. Thus the routes may have a purpose to facilitate diffusion so that the visitor can still experience the wild open spaces. The tourist experience finds the vast open space of the Little Karoo in its mountains and passes on routes, embodying "a humanistic experience of landscape" (Goldhahn 2002: 29). A purposeful fulfilment on route may be for the traveller to value another culture and to explore some past and have an appreciation of a heritage complex. An interpretation centre located on routes may facilitate the opportunities for, as well as the dissemination of tourist demand, a "supply more equitably" in tourism throughout the region (Murray & Graham 1997: 514).

Groenefontein is endowed with a constant water supply in Waterkloof. Water features that circulate water back into the environment may be used in the structural concept at Groenefontein, symbolising the forces of nature. Using water features to enhance the senses and promote feelings of well-being will be considered in construction of a PPIC. The centre may also lend itself to becoming a research facility with the necessary amenities. Academic institutions locally as well as internationally in the fields of archaeology, botany, geography, geology, palaeontology, tourism, zoology and history and other relevant research projects to the region, may undertake to promote studies *in situ* to students. The exposure of such projects in tourism may also be of value in conservation of the resources.

The area provides healthful and aesthetically pleasing surroundings as well as opportunities for education and recreation. The opportunities for furthering learning and various skills training to local communities may be a further outcome of the development of the PPIC. Local guides may be capacitated to interpret various features of *people and place* to visitors to the area. Members of the local communities may find employment in the restaurants, shops, and accommodation amenities. Further development of local initiative may incorporate medium- and micro-scale business potential in the region in secondary industries (for example, local crafts and market facilities). The structure

may provide an outdoor or indoor venue for cultural events like music concerts, live performances, debates, workshops, lectures, and film shows, to name a few event possibilities of a year-round programme. Revenue could be obtained through entrance fees, environmental educational programmes, special shows, accommodation and hospitality, and nature-based recreational activities. Another potential to explore at the centre may be nursery projects in the propagation and sustainable utilisation of local succulents and indigenous medicinal and domestic plants exploited at present in the veldt of the region for their healing qualities.

6.2.2 European and South African rock art interpretation centres

The People and Place Interpretation Centre have been modelled on similar interpretation centres from abroad and locally. Lascaux II, near Montignac, Périgord, central France; the Parc Pyrénéen d'art Préhistorique at Tarascon in the Ariège area in southern France; Altamira Cave located near Santillana del Mar in Cantabria, Spain; and the Eden Project in Cornwall (Privett 2003; Smit 2001), England, and locally, Didima Rock Art Centre in the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg Park and the Origins Centre in Braamfontein, Johannesburg, have been surveyed to inform on the design and presentation of the PPIC.

6.2.2.1 *Lascaux Cave and Parc Pyrénéen d'art Préhistorique*

In France the strong concern for archaeology among academics, institutions and local government promote conservation of archaeological and in particular rock art resources through funding initiatives. Rock art sites in France attract high numbers of visitors because Upper Palaeolithic art is regarded as a significant heritage (Lewis-Williams 1991). It became necessary to replicate these sites to make rock art more accessible to the public whilst preventing its deterioration (Aujoulat 2004). Algae grow over the paintings in the unnaturally humid atmosphere created by the presence of people passing through these caves. The replicated caves and structures are located in close proximity in the landscape of the original heritage resources and this promotes an authentic experience. The PPIC in the Little Karoo, South Africa, has a similar unique setting in the landscape where the cultural and natural resources are found.

Lascaux II is located on the left bank of the river Vézère, near Montignac, Périgord, in France. It was built 200m from the original cave and replicated to near exact topography and size, and display the paintings of the original site, Lascaux I (Lascaux 2007). The facsimile Cave of Lascaux II houses the replication of two galleries, Salle des Taureaux and Diverticule Axial of the Lascaux I

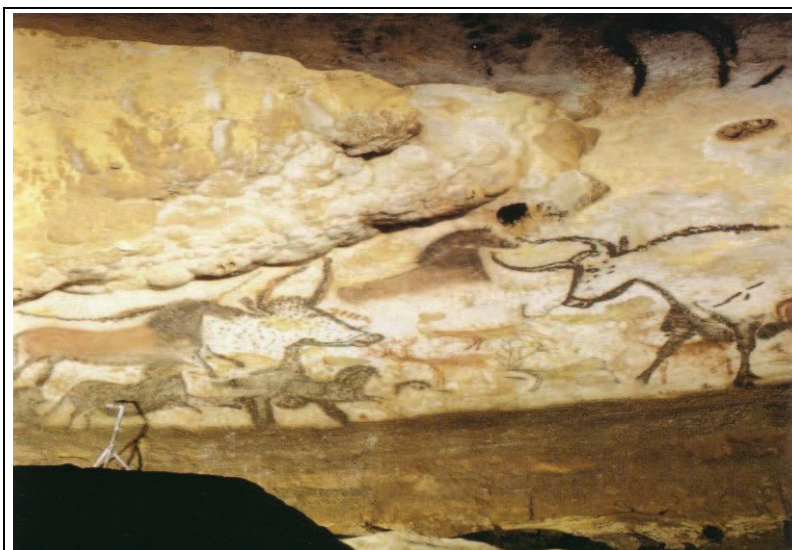
Cave paintings near Montignac. Lascaux II was constructed in an old quarry and the building construction underwent a rehabilitation process of previously exploited land. It is a highly technological and scientific achievement in the use of materials and skills to replicate the original (Aujoulat 2004). A visit to Lascaux II resulted in an authentic experience even although it is replicated (Figure 6.9). The lighting and atmosphere within the subterranean cave-like facsimile structure of Lascaux II create a dark furtive interior conducive to stimulating the imagination. When entering Lascaux II assimilation of a descent into the darkness and bowels of the earth so to speak suggested the effect and control of a subterranean ‘journey’ on an overawed and apprehensive initiate in prehistoric times. Upper Palaeolithic parietal art images surround the visitor on the replicated walls of the structure (Figure 6.10). Interplay of light and darkness is produced as if a taper of a prehistoric stone oil lamp may still be burning and giving light in the dark interior.



The entrance to the Lascaux II subterranean museum has been architecturally designed to enhance authenticity of the experience as the visitor descends into the replicated cave.

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 6.9 The entrance to the Lascaux II subterranean museum



Inside the replicated galleries of Lascaux II, near Montignac showing a section of the painted panels. Replication of the painted images and topography of Lascaux I cave was done within a 30mm error margin of the original size and shape.

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 6.10 The replicated imagery of the galleries of Lascaux II, France

The descent into the darkened full size replication of the original Lascaux and the effects of the large and multi-coloured imagery visible on the ‘rock face’ in the staged twilight produces a multi-sensory impact for the visitor.

The facsimile of the Niaux Salon Noir at the Parc Pyrénéen d’art Préhistorique, near Tarascon in the Ariège area in southern France, is a further case study (Ariège Prehistoric Park 2007). Foix, a mediaeval town and springboard for visits to the park and Upper Palaeolithic caves with rock art in the area, is situated 15km from the Parc Pyrénéen d’art Préhistorique. The park extends over an area of 13 hectares in the mountainous landscape dominated by Le Pic des Trois Seigneurs. The large subterranean building near the entrance to the Park is an example of ‘staged authenticity’ (Figure 6.11).

This structure constitutes the heart of the Parc Pyrénéen d’art Préhistorique and houses the replica of the rock art images as on the rock face of the real Niaux Salon Noir. Visitation of the real cave is possible by appointment. At the Parc Préhistorique, the water features and rich forested vegetation create a pleasurable and inviting ambience as the visitor enters the park. Natural vegetation surrounds a large artificial waterfall at the entrance and from there the visitor follows the pathways past interesting rock and water features (Figure 6.11

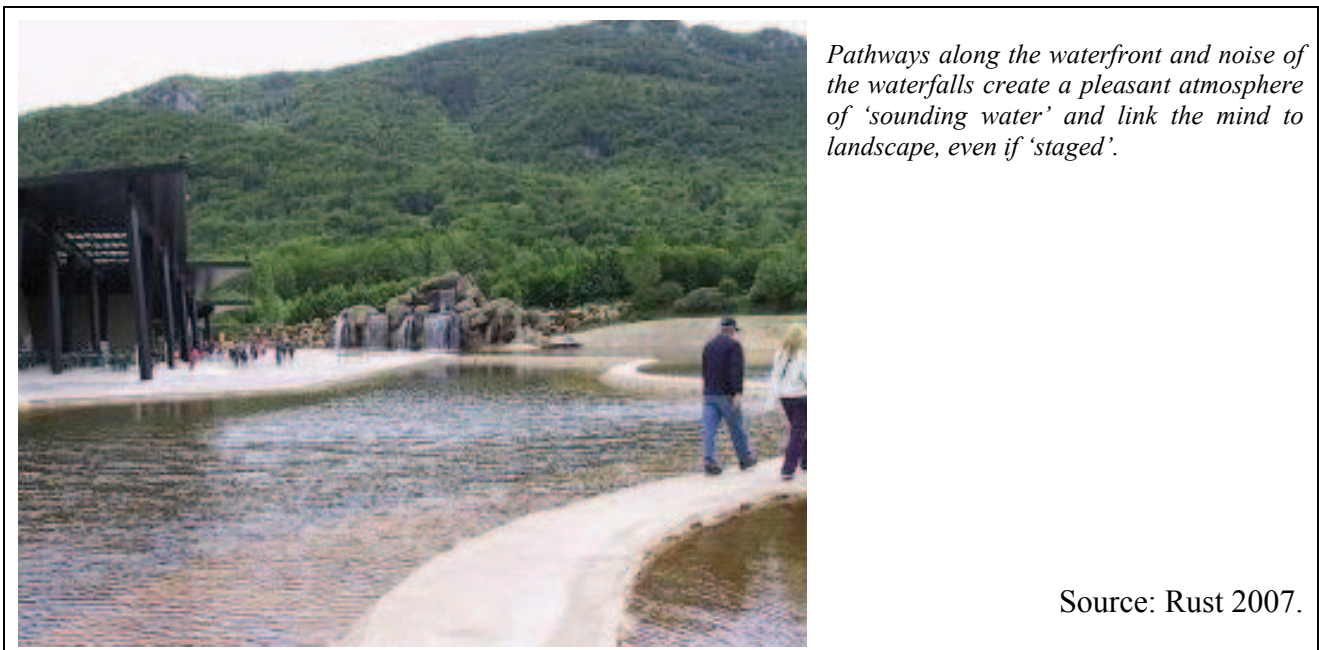


Figure 6.11 Water features at the Parc Pyrénéen d’art Préhistorique in France

This audio-visual perspective of landscape, in particular loud running water as is the case at the Parc Pyrénéen d’art Préhistorique, is important to enhance interpretation (Goldhahn 2002). Visitors,

especially children, walk along pathways to discover the plants and creatures, and experience the environment as people in another time and space may have sensed it and lived in it. The pathways at this park, a maze of dense vegetation with animated sounds or music are particularly effective in creating sensations of isolation and to accentuate awareness of the sounds of insects and animals (Figure 6.12). This represents an interesting way of orientating visitors and stimulating the senses. The interpretation that is suggested is that the prehistoric hunters and gatherers heard such natural sounds and that the present-day visitor is sharing a landscape over time and space. This model will be followed at the PPIC.



Path installations or pathways at the Parc Pyrénéen d'art Préhistorique in France, may be a good example to follow and developed at the PPIC at Groenefontein, Little Karoo. These pathways constitute a maze with sound effects. Strolling in gardens has become a recognised tourism activity.

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 6.12 Example of pathways at the Parc Pyrénéen d'art Préhistorique

At Parc Pyrénéen d'art Préhistorique strategically placed notice boards inform visitors on the indigenous vegetation, replanted in places, and other features in the environment along the pathways. This provides an opportunity to learn. It provides physical and mental exercise and promotes connection and understanding of the environment.

Furthermore, the visitor is shown at a site, structured for this purpose, how the archaeologist goes to work to find the evidence for reconstructing ancient lifeways. The visitors can participate in the making and using of the weapons and tools of the hunter- gatherers, or painting on rock walls built for this purpose after mixing the paint as the ancient hunters would have done to paint with. These replications of ways of life of the prehistoric inhabitants of the area are enacted by specialists or students in their field of research as shown in the examples of Figure 6.13, Figure 6.15 and Figure 6.15. At Parc Pyrénéen d'art Préhistorique replication in reconstructing ancient lifeways and methods of doing things enables revisiting of the times and space of the Upper Palaeolithic.



Captivated visitors look on while trained staff gives live demonstrations of ancient lifeways at the Parc Pyrénéen d'art Préhistorique in France.

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 6.13 Demonstrations of ancient lifeways at the Parc Pyrénéen d'art Préhistorique



Along pathways at this park, the visitor is shown at a site, structured for this purpose, how the archaeologist goes to work to enact and then define certain ancient lifeways. Visitors, especially children, can participate in the making and using of weapons, tools and other artefacts of the Magdalénien hunter-gatherers, or view their ways of life enacted by specialists or students in their field of research.

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 6.14 On-site display of archaeologists at work at Parc Pyrénéen d'art Préhistorique



Children are shown at the Parc Pyrénéen d'art Préhistorique in France, how the Magdalénien hunter may have mixed and used the paints to paint on the rock face. In this case the children are encouraged to mix some paint and put their mark or painting on a rock wall, visible in the background, constructed for this purpose.

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 6.15 Rock painting demonstration at the Parc Pyrénéen d'art Préhistorique

The replication at this park is particularly effective and therefore will be used as a model for replication at the PPIC at Groenefontein (Figure 6.16). The rock art was simulated as close as possible to the original art (Clottes 1996). Friezes of the paintings are replicated to actual size, colour and detail on rock walls duplicating the topographical complexity of the walls of Niaux cave.



Rock art images on the walls of the duplicated Salon Noir of Niaux cave, in the subterranean museum at the Parc Pyrénéen d'art Préhistorique in the Ariège area. The images are replicated to actual size, detail and colour.

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 6.16 Duplicated rock art images at the Parc Pyrénéen d'art Préhistorique

When entering the large subterranean building near the entrance to the Parc Pyrénéen d'art Préhistorique, to view the replicated rock art imagery in the simulated cave, the visitor is lifted underground into a cavern-like structure. All along, the effect of a cave-like interior is continued by darkened walkways, water dripping sounds, between display rooms heightening the authentic feeling of entering a 'real' cave with rock art. Subtle lighting, simulating the light of a primitive oil lamp, modulates spatial perception and one may get an inkling of the likelihood of sensing dissolution of the barriers of the perceptual and the real world. Before entering the large chamber replicating the Salon Noir of the Niaux, the visitor is shown flashes of rock art from all over the world, including South Africa, on a multi-vision, six panel (12 m²) screen positioned high above the dome shaped cavern of the Salon Noir. Moving on, once again, the visitor experiences advancing deeper into the earth so to speak, as steps lead down into the high vaulted Salon Noir.

The vaulted structure houses the replica of the Niaux Salon Noir, which constitutes the heart of the Prehistoric Art Pyrénéen Park. This exhibition of prehistoric rock art is not only a mere copy but reproduced in such a way and atmosphere that the modern day visitor may sense him/herself as a Magdalénien hunter viewing the paintings with feelings of awe of the dark interior and engulfing presence of the art on the walls (Clottes 1996). The building covers 2000 m² and rises to a height of 6 to 8 meters.

The dark interior is punctuated by brightly lit displays of replicated art and artefacts. A space is literally created to surround the art; some narrow, others wide. Each chamber the visitor passes through has the appropriate taped audio commentary activated by electronic movement sensors. Individual headphones feed 40 minutes to one hour of multi-language commentary plus a special channel for children. Information accompanies the displays in different media, by the spoken part, written text on panels or short films in small cave-like studios with seating. The films inform on techniques, dating, the evolution of research and archaeological investigations, some recorded in the original settings of the art with the commentary by the archaeologists and speleologists who discovered the art, their personal theories and contributions in research.

Lighted panels with representations of abstract images such as claviforms, dots and fingerprints align the narrow walkway on replicated rock surfaces into the Salon Noir chamber, accentuating awareness of the power of the image and signifying the ancient origin of symbolic thought. Throughout, the didactic nature of an underground museum unobtrusively upheld and inside the Salon Noir chamber exhibits of portable art is displayed in illuminated glass cases so as not to dissociate the portable art from wall art (Clottes 1996; 1998). Casts of children's footprints found in the cave of Niaux is also on display on ground level. The visitor can light up each footprint in turn to create the effect of a person walking over the glacial sand.

An awe-inspiring effect is achieved in visitation and although only a portion of the cave's 104 animal figures are reproduced here, the visitor emerges into the bright sunlight again with a feeling of having had a moment's share of a life in the distant past. The interpretation centre at Groenefontein, Little Karoo, will aim to create these types of experiences. However, the rock art of the Little Karoo does not occur in underground dark caves as in Europe, and therefore presentation will be adapted to reflect the geological context of local art.

6.2.2.2 *Altamira Cave*

A visit was made to *La Neocueva* at Altamira in Spain. Replication was once again inevitable to protect the paintings at this well-known international heritage site. In 1979, due to the problems encountered at Lascaux cave in France of the growth of the fusarium fungus spreading over rock paintings and threatening to destroy it altogether, government authorities at Altamira cave in the north of Spain anticipated similar problems, restricted entry and closed the cave to tourism. At the time tourist numbers of almost 180 000 a year endangered the Altamira cave and paintings. As at

Lascaux and Parc Pyrénéen d'art Préhistorique, a replica of part of the cave as an alternative for tourists barred from visiting the real cave was planned and constructed at Altamira. The cave and art of Altamira is a World Heritage Site. It is situated near Santillana del Mar, Cantabria, on the north coast of Spain, 156m above sea level. The Museum building, inaugurated in 2001, houses the replicated *neocueva*, further displays and installations to purport the life, art and artefacts of the Palaeolithic hunters of the Solutrean age of 18 500 years ago and of the Magdalenian era of 16 500 to 14 500 years ago. The museum complex provides facilities for information, research and conservation of the Palaeolithic and the art. Facilities for research include a laboratory, storeroom, documentary archives, as well as a conference room and library specializing in prehistory and museography. There are guided visits for the public, workshops in prehistoric technologies, an events room, a restaurant/coffee shop, a museum shop and a play area for young children. The buildings that house the museum and the replicated part of the original Altamira cave are situated in the natural woody setting of the original cave of which the entrance is only 300 metres away (Figure 6.17).

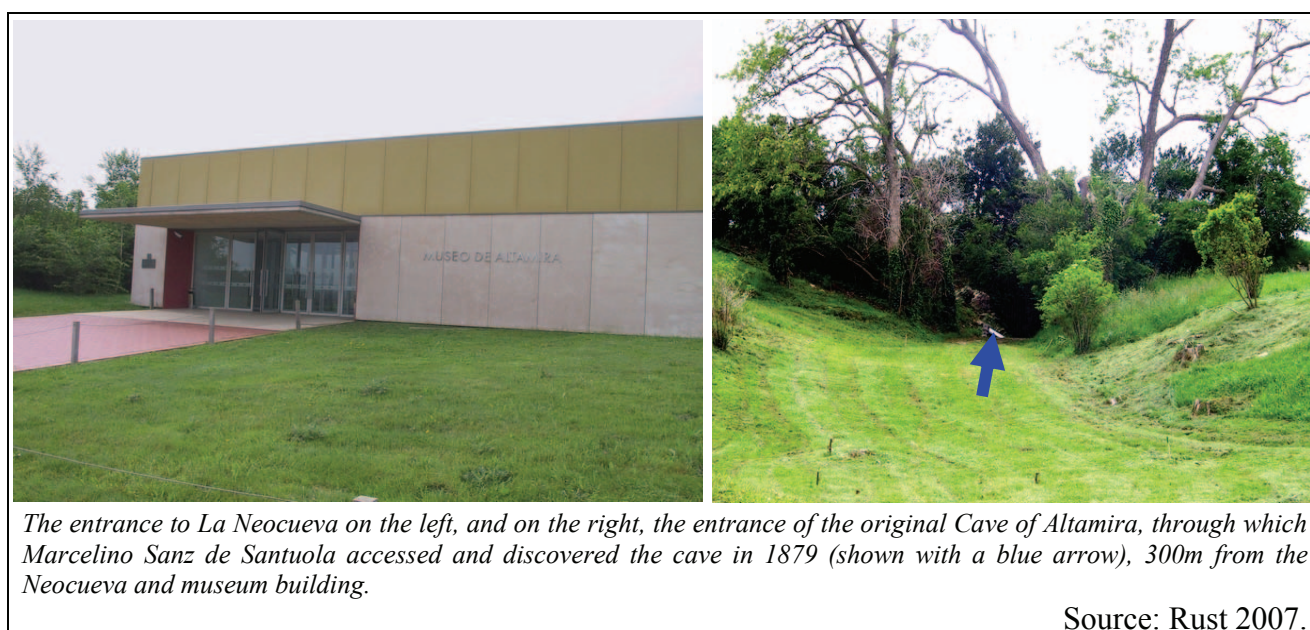


Figure 6.17 View of the exterior and entrance of the museum building at Altamira, and the original cave entrance

The museum houses a fine display of Palaeolithic archaeology with more than 400 original objects from the Cave of Altamira and other sites in Cantabria and the rest of the Iberian Peninsula. The displays are cased and well-lit and exhibit a variety of implements and objects. The museum offers opportunities for the visitor to experience reconstructions of the daily life of the prehistoric hunters of the Solutrean and the Magdalenian, how they made their stone tools, hunted a bison, made a fire or lived as a group in the harsh cooler conditions at the time. The Bushmen from southern Africa as

well as Eskimos and Australian aborigines are also represented as early peoples who lived sustainably and painted, hunted and gathered. Their ways are shown in interactive films.

6.2.2.3 The Origins Centre and Didima interpretation centre in South Africa

The Origins Centre and Didima rock art centre are examples of South African interpretation centres. The Origins Centre is advertised as an experience for the visitor to partake in a ground breaking, multi-disciplinary approach based on the biological and cultural dynamics that all human beings share (Origins Centre 2007). The Origins Centre, at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, is a museum and gallery presenting the origins of the human species and that of human culture in Africa through displays. The exhibits come alive with the use of sound, lighting, and virtual reality technology. The beginnings of technology, art and language, are shown in the form of creative exhibits of stone tools, rock art, ritual and storytelling. Presentation is highly interactive (Origins Centre 2007).

Interestingly, the Didima rock art centre presenting the San rock art of the uKhahlamba Drakensberg Park, KwaZulu-Natal, presents a visitor's journey in terms of the significance of an animal. The theme of the eland is presented throughout and explores the myth and legend surrounding this animal and its spiritual significance in San life. Life size replications of the eland are part of the exhibits (Figure 6.18). Audiovisual presentations are screened in an auditorium which is also a venue for other events such as choir performances. The 'Valley of the eland' multimedia show highlights the visit and presents the myth and legend surrounding the rock art. Replicated Clarens sandstone panels shape and clad the interior of the auditorium which provide an apt backdrop to an exact scale replication of the rock art site, Botha's shelter in the Gorge (Figure 6.18). Displays present and interpret the culture and lifeways of the San and the cultural heritage of the rock art in the region. The narrative is presented by a multi-media presentation with a wide range of light, sound and sensory effects to maximise visitor impact (Didima 2007).

The Ndumeni craft centre sells indigenous craft products and endorses local community participation and economic growth. Local people are part of the management of the centre and act as guides and interpreters to the rock art and the environment. The Ukhahlamba Drakensberg Park is renowned for the exceptional beauty of its mountainous landscape and is a popular attraction to visit for this alone. However it is much more and has a high occurrence of rock art and as such is listed as South Africa's first cultural and environmental World Heritage Site; the significance being that it has both natural and cultural values of outstanding universal importance.



On the left, a life size eland frieze introduces the theme of this significant antelope in displays at the centre. The photograph on the right shows the exact replicated panel of the imagery at Botha's Shelter in the Didima Gorge, here sited along the simulated sandstone backdrop in the auditorium.

Source: Rust 2007

Figure 6.18 Displays at the Didima Rock Art Centre at the uKhahlamba Drakensberg Park

The focus on the theme of the eland enhances the importance and essence of this antelope in San myth and displays it as the prominent image it is in the rock art and myth of the San of the Drakensberg. It poses an interesting example of displaying a theme to interpret rock art and this may be a fine model to undertake in presentation and interpretation at the PPIC. The replication of the imagery of Botha's Shelter is of a high standard and effectively highlighted and displayed – it sets a valuable example to follow at the PPIC.

6.3 Presentation and structural principles at the PPIC at Groenefontein

These international and local examples have served as case studies to develop themes and structures at the PPIC at Groenefontein. It was found that at all these centres surveyed the rock art and other resources were replicated and presented in appropriate design, some subterranean, to create the atmosphere and place nearest to the original resources. The purpose for this as revealed in the case studies was to locate the simulated presentations as near as possible to location(s) of the primary art so that the visitor could sense the meaning of place and 'see' the replications as if original. The principles of high quality scientific presentation and interpretation were identified and incorporated into the concept and planning of the PPIC. Local initiative and participation are paramount and

direct the principles of presentation and interpretation of at the PPIC to establish the relationship between local culture, folklore and the heritage resources.

6.3.1 The *People and Place* of the PPIC at Groenefontein

The People and Place Interpretation Centre (PPIC) is located in immediate proximity to archaeological resources, especially the rock art, and 17km from Calitzdorp, and 40km from Zoar and Amalienstein; historical villages where past communities have been living in prehistoric and historic times. The proposed centre will facilitate information, consolidate data and expertise, and promote policies for sustainable development in tourism in partnership with local communities and local custodians of the resources.

Current tourism trends will inform the planning principles of the PPIC but education, stimulation and creating awareness among children and local communities in heritage knowledge and conservation of resources will remain the chief aim and function of a proposed PPIC. Knowledge is empowerment for local people in particular as proved at other centres of interpretation of heritage and natural resources. In this lies the impetus and rationale for government, local and national, and private enterprise to validate, support and finance the PPIC at Groenefontein. Within the South African context economic empowerment of poorer communities has become a key requirement for managing business opportunities in the country (South Africa 1996). The focus of the PPIC initiative is to create a business encompassing local community development, essentially within tourism opportunities in the area. The new Biodiversity Act 842 of 14 July 2004, controls access to biological resources and stipulates that benefits arising from the commercial use of resources are to be shared in communities. Benefit sharing will be written into the policy of the PPIC. Charitable intentions will continuously develop communication and public education.

The examples of other interpretation centres show that a variety of activities that add to the existential experience of the visitor enhances the attraction value of the centre. A potential of the PPIC is to become a centre from where or to where pilgrimages take place in combination with presentation at the Interpretation Centre. If rock art is presented through a pilgrimage the wayfarer or pilgrim may experience a connection to ancient knowledge and spirituality of the past, especially if the walker is informed at the PPIC *en route*. Tuan (1974) postulates that the sense of place takes time to evolve for the tourist, and that knowledge and understanding infuse value on the space. Active meta-tourism of this nature is a good way to give tourists insight into a locality's heritage as they become aware of the landscape they walk through.

6.3.2 The structures of the PPIC at Groenefontein

Existing buildings can be incorporated into the structures. These structures are of heritage significance as they are representative of the early architecture of the region and cultural development of the earlier European settlers (Figure 6.19). The main superstructure of the centre may be developed as a hub of galleries, each designed around respective scientific/disciplinary themes; that is, archaeology, botany, geology, palaeontology, zoology to name a few. This structure will promote a multi-disciplinary approach to presentation. These galleries would be interlinked and approached and accessed from any of a network of pathways (Figure 6.20).

An auditorium, as venue for local functions, special shows or educational and interpretative sessions, is the central point in the structural complex. An atrium circling the auditorium, leads off to all the galleries. The construct of the paths may be such that visitors can visit any theme gallery from different access points and proceed from there to the other galleries or back onto the pathways – paths facilitating movement and information. The structures at other centres, as case studies have shown, have central designs necessitating visitors to move along from one section to the next as if on a journey through spatial presentation to eventually returning to the entrance to exit. The idea at the PPIC is to restore and utilise the historical buildings at the site as the entrance from where the visitor would have a choice of which path to take. This allows for a feeling of familiarity with the known at the entrance to accessing information on a pathway of choice to ‘enter’ the unknown.



These historical buildings at Groenefontein date from the 1850s and will be incorporated into the structural design of the PPIC. They will be restored and utilised as the entrance to the PPIC.

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 6.19 The historical buildings at Groenefontein

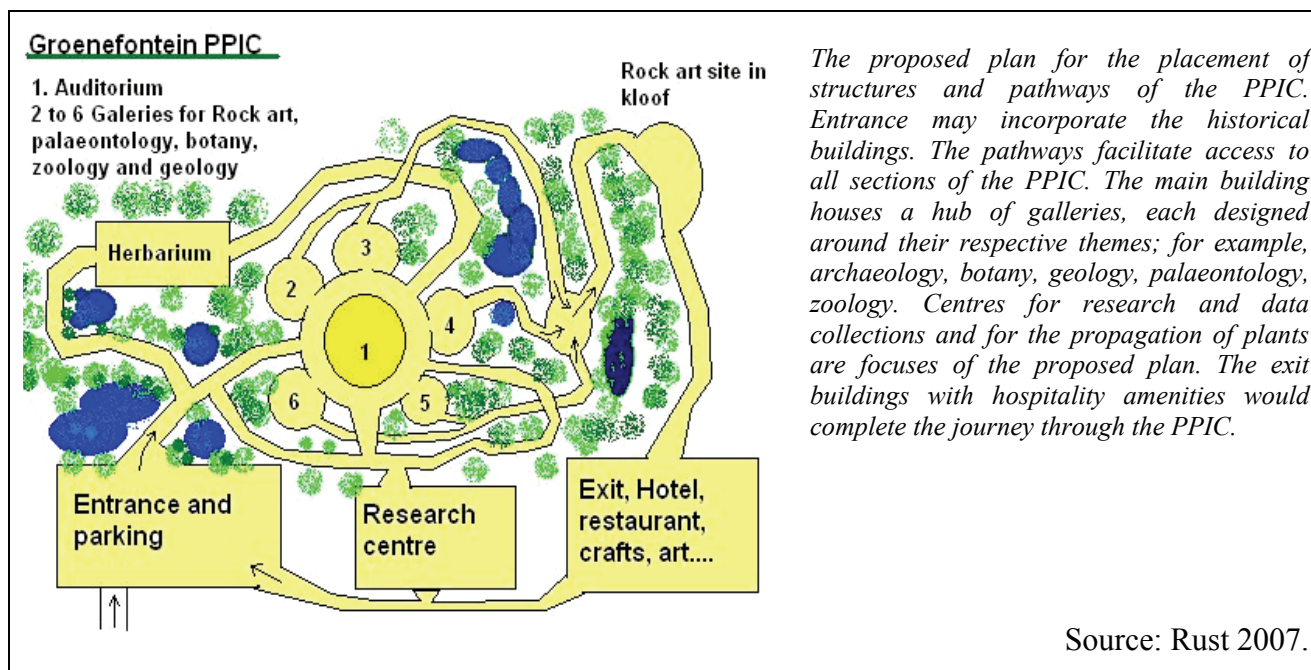


Figure 6.20 The proposed structural plan for the People and Place Interpretation Centre (PPIC)

The pathways may facilitate movement in and out of the central complex and join together at the entrance to Waterkloof (Figure 6.21), behind the main building complex to continue on one pathway that leads past an archaeological site with paintings further up the *kloof*. At this site (cf. Figure 6.8), a representation of an archaeological excavation may be indicated in the display as part of interpretation. Several metres of deposit at this site may be substantial for an excavation of Later Stone Age occupation. Further research is needed to establish this. An access ramp leading off from the pathway to the site may place the visitor above the floor of the shelter so that any excavation would be clearly visible from a higher elevation. Replication and *in situ* displays will form a crucial and large part of the presentation at the PPIC.

The main structure may be dome shaped, adhere to eco-architectural principles and blend in design with the environment. A series of quad-shaped designs incorporating the main structures may be effective in climate control in the extreme weather conditions of the Little Karoo in that air flow from the one to the other may average out temperatures (Fathy 1986). Conservation of energy and water would be given priority in design as initiated and established in other parts of the world (Earthship Biotope Structures 2007). The permanent water flow in Waterkloof may be utilized in water features at the centre and recycled to conserve this supply. The design and structure of the buildings must convey values of conserving and sustaining resources and the environment and form part of interpretation and display. However, natural and local products would be used for building material such as clay, stone, ochre and reed. These are sourced locally and have been used in early

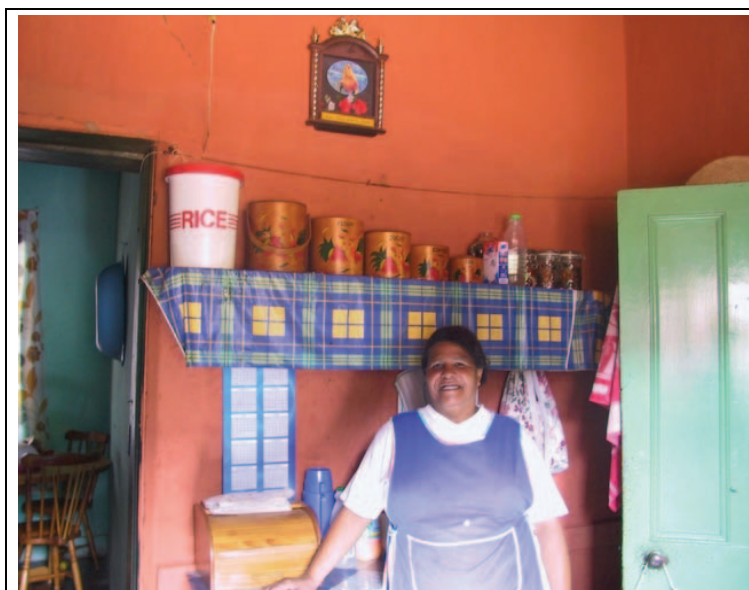
colonial times (Backhouse 1844), and probably in prehistory times as well in the Little Karoo. Ochre as a substitute for industrial paint is still used to this day (Figure 6.22).



View of the Waterkloof ravine from the east, with rock art sites, near the proposed site for the PPIC at Groenefontein. The white arrow points to the entrance to the kloof. The suggested system of pathways will collect here and form one path into the kloof past the large site with rock art (cf. Figure 6.8) and back. The sites will be protected in the planning.

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 6.21 Waterkloof ravine from Groenefontein *opstal*



The inside clay walls of this Amalienstein dwelling is coloured with local ochre dug out in a quarry in the hills surrounding the settlement. The ochre layering does not trap the dampness of the clay walls. Local people are skilled in using these materials in building and decorating their homes.

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 6.22 Ochre use on interior clay walls at Amalienstein

Analysing artistic manifestations on the rock faces of shelters in the surroundings to the PPIC and elsewhere in the Little Karoo is a key part of any presentation at the PPIC, but of equal importance are all the other scientific surveys that reveal the geological and biological strata in which the resources are found, the fossils, the plant and animal life, and how knowledge, technology and social organisation provided the means to exploit and conserve an environment - still to this day. The construct of the PPIC will accommodate a facility that will present holistic presentation and interpretation and utilise modern technology and means to achieve this.

6.3.3 Presentation at the PPIC

The main thrust of the PPIC is to inspire the local community by presenting their culture in relation to the rock art. The myth of water creatures that live in the rivers and water holes of the Little Karoo will be an important part of the presentation and will be connected with the prehistoric rock art in the region through the narrative. Presentation at the PPIC will use one of the oldest and most tried forms of communication, storytelling. Stories existed long before the written word and has provided, through prehistoric to historic times, a sense of meaning in a world where factual interpretation is not enough to explain an environment and things in the landscape. The following wording may be an interpretive example of *how* to indicate place and awareness of a heritage that may inspire the imagination and linger in the memory: *“Prehistoric man, the hunter-gatherer was here at the foothills of the Rooiberg near Calitzdorp, a few thousand or even as recent as 400 years ago. In groups or alone they hunted and gathered in these hills and plains, and painted on the rock face you are facing in this ravine ... the chances are they gathered right where you are standing now”*. The visitor will look around at this point and the prehistoric peoples who traversed these plains and kloofs are then much closer in time and space, in fact under their feet and their thinking. The aim would be to carry the stories across to provide an experience for all ages, abilities and backgrounds – an important goal of meta-tourism.

6.3.3.1 The presentation of folklore at the PPIC

Presentation of the *watermeid* myth at the PPIC may take the form of traditional fireside storytelling. To locate the storytelling, a creative approach may be to stage the place in a replicated cave-like room with light, sound and sensory effects to maximise the impact of the story. A multimedia show with voice recordings or real performances of informants may be part of the presentation. The shelter with rock art in Grysmanskloof (cf. Figure 5.2 and Figure 5.3), in the foothills of the Swartberg, near where Maans Fourie of Amalienstein (Fourie 2005, pers com) ‘sees’ the *watermeid(e)* at the water source, may be replicated as an enthused backdrop to presentation of the storytelling. The rock art imagery which includes therianthropic ichthyoids-like figures and shows spiritual transformation in image at this shelter is also the subject of the poem by Hendrik Januarie from Zoar. An added interpretive effect in exposition may be readings of the poems written by Januarie as he interprets these rock art figures. These effects bring authenticity closer to explanation as the beliefs and feelings of people are involved in presentation. The presentation can follow a progressive staging of interpretation with the first stages of the present-day stories and

gradual build-up to connect to presentation of the rock art; that is from the sighting and story of the *watermeide* to the actual rock art and how ichthyoidal figures in the rock art have been informed on as the rain's people and creatures and how water has always held a sacred significance in the past which correlates with the sacredness of the *watermeid* and water today. This would be evolving presentation of the stories and the rock art to progressively higher levels of complexity to include ethnographic and documented material. The visitor to the centre may then discover the connection of the rock art to people and environment at their own level of explanation.

The cultural asset, in this case the myth and rock art, must be made appealing and relevant to the tourist (McKercher & Du Cros 2002). Transforming the asset into a tourism product must be done without diminishing the spiritual significance of the myth and legend in the prehistory and history of the local people. The myth of the *watermeide* is a well-known theme in the indigenous communities and is located at specific geographic locations which enhance its prospects at being attractive to tourists seeking meaning in the landscape. The existing knowledge and the levels of awareness of the story have been affected by the westernizing and modernising of the concept of the *watermeid* to that of 'mermaid' standing. This has changed the evaluation of the image among the broader public and this misdemeanour needs to be addressed in presentation. Western concepts of mermaids are universal while the myth of the *watermeide* has power relationships with a local identity and is not a 'mermaid' in concept. It is not necessary to create a myth to fabricate a connection to cultural heritage – the myth has roots in prehistory and is already in place which bodes well for meaningful presentation. It is easier to create an association between place and such a strong existing myth if exposed to tourism (McKercher & Du Cros 2002).

6.3.3.2 *Relating the folklore to the rock art*

The tourist to the PPIC may be motivated to hear this story as it also explains some of the rock art imagery in interpretation. The connection must be made in presentation, and as discussed, it may be done in a simulated cave of the rock art at Zoar in Grysmanskloof where an informant 'sees' the *watermeid* and where the rock art of therianthropic figures are present - this points to a power relationship with place in interpretation of myth and the rock art. McKercher and Du Cros (2002: 128) list procedures to follow to transform a cultural asset into a consumable tourist asset – these tactics were evaluated, adapted and applied to presentation of myth and rock art at the PPIC:

- Mythologize the asset
- Build a story around the asset

- Emphasize its otherness
- Show a direct link from the past to the present
- Make it a spectacle
- Make it a fantasy
- Make it fun, light, and entertaining

These tactics apply in presentation of the *watermeid* myth which will then follow on to the rock art. Firstly, the asset is already a well-known and respected legend in the communities where the *watermeide* are ‘seen’. It is focused at precise geographic places. The myth is also identified in the spiritualism and sacredness of water in interpretation and ethnography of the rock art. Secondly, the story is embedded in the long-term memory of the people in the local communities and is a regular and singular theme throughout the region. It can be described as a destination with a story, with heritage tourism presented at the PPIC “as the process of telling that story” (McKercher & Du Cros 2002: 124). Its ‘otherness’ is formulized in the connection to a culture in the past which differs in tempo and core from the culture of the tourist. However, the tourist can relate to it because it is a legend set in a landscape. Considering the fourth point; the *watermeid* is ‘seen’ by Maans Fourie of Amalienstein (Fourie 2005, pers com), four kilometres from the historical village, in Grysmanskloof in the foothills of the Swartberg, within a thirty metre range of the rock art imagery at the site (cf. Figure 5.2 and Figure 5.3) close to the water source in the narrow ravine. The myth and the rock art are located in a sacred place in the landscape and facilitate a link from the past to the present. The last three tactics are grouped in considering presentation: the mythical figures are highly spectacular and presentable as they are magnificent in image with long hair and perfectly shaped and well-endowed human upper body and lower fish tail. The spectacle can be carried over to the rock art as therianthropic figures with fish tails are superbly painted in the rock art. The subject of the myth is fantastical due to where the figures are found (near where people have lived all their lives) and how it affects people in the communities. These are places with accrued mysticism due to local belief fixing the images in the landscape. The legend of the *watermeid* has already been popularised and utilized as a theme in entertainment in the media and has a status of recognition beyond the borders of the Little Karoo. These assets and considerations will authenticate presentation at the PPIC.

6.4 Summary of principles and evaluations of the PPIC

If evaluated in terms of other established centres of interpretation the fundamentals of the PPIC measure up well. Table 6.1 lists the criteria that embody the centres surveyed in the case studies as

Table 6.1 Principles that compare positively with those advanced for the PPIC

<i>Lascaux II; Ariège; Altamira; Didima; Origins Centre</i>	versus	<i>The PPIC</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The promotion of an identity with the past close to heritage in landscape • The preservation and exposure of a heritage asset where access is often difficult • The creation of elements which give the public access to keys of understanding • Creating opportunities for local participation in conserving a heritage 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A unique site with on site resources • Located in a pristine environment – borders onto large conservancies, private and state reserves • The cultural and natural elements are varied and rare • The local communities share a landscape with the ancient past of the rock art

described in Section 6.2.2, and how parallel opportunities present similar principles to be advanced in the structuring and planning of the PPIC. The evaluations equated with the setting of the PPIC:

- Archaeological sites with rock art are present on the Groenefontein land. Sites with rock art are found within 800m of the farm buildings in the ravine, Waterkloof. One frequently visited and debased site (cf. Figure 6.8), with paintings destroyed, is situated in this kloof within 500m of the *opstal*. This site may be excavated and the processes revealed in presentation. The rock art site 300m higher up in Waterkloof (Figure 6.23), is visually singular and its interpretation complex, but vulnerable as it is a small shelter with a lot of dust deposit. An artificial site with replication of these paintings may be considered at the PPIC. A close up of these images is shown in Figure 6.7.
- The outbuildings on the *werf* are of historical value. These date to the early nineteenth century. These must be restored and incorporated into the planning and structures of the PPIC.
- Palaeontological sites are present on the Groenefontein property as well as on the Gamkaberg Nature Reserve. There is a variety of invertebrate fossils of the Bokkeveld Group strata in these areas found in the shale deposits in the foothills of the Rooiberg and along the Gourits River.



These paintings are well preserved and show complex superimposing (cf. Figure 6.7 for close up of imagery). Some of the human figures transform into animals. This site can only be exposed to visitation if limited and specialized, if at all.

Source: Rust 2007.

Figure 6.23 The complex rock art at a site in Waterkloof at Groenefontein

- The area is interesting from a geological and geomorphologic perspective. Viewpoints along the Rooiberg Pass and on Groenefontein would allow interpretation and research of the geology and geomorphology of the Cape Fold Mountains as well as the Little Karoo basin.
- Local private investment in the conservation of the faunal and floral resources in the area manifest in the establishment of the Rooiberg Conservancy of 70 000 hectares, which borders on Groenefontein. Private initiative from landowners may be crucial for the project to succeed in concept and management.
- A partnership with the GI could stimulate the ideas and concept of the PPIC and advance growth in tourist initiatives.
- On tertiary level, studies *in situ* in various disciplines may have rich impetus for research. An interest from the University of Stellenbosch has been expressed. A database for multi-disciplinary research projects has important implications as this may facilitate a need lacking at present. This may advance partnerships in research between the sciences, institutions, public and private conservation efforts.
- An interpretive centre located in the vicinity of the rock art and in natural surroundings means that heritage items can be viewed *in situ* or close proximity. This adds to meaning and counters the present system of museums as disembedded centres where displays have been taken away from their original location.
- These evaluations equate with the principles and application of meta-tourism according to this dissertation.

The dynamic aspect of a people living in an evolving environment is part of presentation at the PPIC. The structural functioning of the centre will be divided into sections, yet representing the contextual whole. Reconstruction of prehistoric and historic lifeways will convey interactions and relationships. The setting of the PPIC is within an area of pristine ecological resources which will appeal to the post-modern meta-tourist. Visitation to pristine areas enhances the spiritual experience of which the rock art is part. When coupled with traversing specific routes, whether natural or built, it extends the spiritual journeying. A replication of suitable examples of rock art in combination with the stories and myths of the *watermeid* will be the source of themes presented at the PPIC.

Protection of a heritage is inextricably linked to interpretation. The PPIC will facilitate the link. The PPIC will furthermore facilitate the link to the local populace of the Little Karoo to accept and respect their heritage. Local re-evaluation of a heritage exposed at the PPIC to presentation will enhance local awareness and pride. It follows that authenticity of the heritage asset(s) should be self-evident in presentation. The tourist will then have been exposed to the human spectacle of a culture.

CHAPTER 7: A ROAD AHEAD FOR HERITAGE IN THE LITTLE KAROO

“Stop, look, and listen ...” (Schumacher 1974: 200)

Chapter 7 concludes by discussing and reiterating the importance of interrelating ecological and social values between visitor and host to protect the rock art and its associated intangible heritage in tourism. In the Little Karoo in the rocky outcrops and shelters where the rock art is found, the paintings echo a world and place of social relations, mythology, rituals and beliefs and offer an opportunity if interpreted and presented responsibly to the observer. It has been discussed how these rock paintings can be linked to the stories of the *watermeide* that occur in places near water sources in the same landscape. Thus an ancient landscape and its social circumstance are connected to the living heritage of local legends. The rock art offers an authentic experience when viewed *in situ* along a route or as a replicated commodity in geographical proximity to the real images on the rock face. A pilgrimage may be routed along the course of these sacred sites and to include a visit to an interpretation centre.

7.1 The research objectives revisited

The research objectives of this dissertation are concerned with responsible tourism development of the heritage, the rock art in particular, and reaffirm in conclusion its commitment to conservation through interpreted and staged presentation at an interpretation centre near the resources. Local folklore substantiates ancient memory that continues to be present if it can relate to the mystique of landscape. But this must be interpreted. The objectives emphasise most strongly the significance and necessity of research and developing and consolidating data sets at a PPIC.

7.1.1 An outline of changing perspectives and new ideas for presentation of heritage in tourism

In Chapter 2 the development of new tourism consumption trends caused by socio-political changes were examined from the perspective of heritage tourism. Varied and extensive data was drawn on to get a global perspective of changing needs in tourism and to compare these with local needs of heritage tourism in South Africa. Social developments examined in Chapter 2 showed the growing need of exposing natural heritage and cultural heritage to tourism. Rock art as a cultural heritage product has been exposed to tourism in recent decades and it is argued that as a fragile and non-renewable resource it is in dire need of protection if exposed to visitation. Interpretation of the rock art can be improved by presentation that actively seeks to involve local intangible knowledge.

The twenty-first century is the century in which the world's long-term sustainability will be decided. Tourism globally has taken up the challenge, and concern for people, heritage, the environment, nature has become institutionalised in the tourism industry. The principles of meta-tourism of concern, protection and exposure of heritage assets are suggested in Chapter 2 as a framework in which rock art in conjunction with current and ancient myth be presented. Opportunities for significant interpretation whilst conserving are not always accessible to tourism. To fill this caveat it has been suggested that interpretation centres in places where the heritage occurs are used to facilitate meta-tourism experiences whilst promoting conservation of the heritage.

7.1.2 The content, extent and analysis of the rock art of the Little Karoo

A great deal of effort in this dissertation has been directed at sourcing and documenting of the rock art imagery of the Little Karoo and the results are presented in Chapter 3. Knowing where the rock art occurs is the first step in conserving this heritage. The methods of locating and recording the imagery are given in Section 1.5. The significance of the therianthrope half human half fish figures in the rock art of the Little Karoo and on its borders is established in this context. A problem-orientated hermeneutic approach was followed to reveal and interpret specific categories of images to show to what extent and where these therianthrope figures are found. The results of this research showed that there are significant numbers of therianthrope half human half fish figures. These figures appear to be specific to the Little Karoo, border areas and Eastern Cape. The results of the survey further show that depictions of these water creatures are found mostly in the Little Karoo at rock art sites located near water sources.

7.1.3 The setting and link of rock art and local traditions

There are commonalities between ethnographic data on water beings, stories told by San informants a hundred or more years ago in the Little Karoo, and stories of the *watermeide* of present local people. The details and nature of the stories of the water creatures remained the same throughout time and this allowed a link to be made between the local stories of *watermeide*, the ethnographic tales of mythical water creatures and the half fish therianthrope features in the rock art. The importance and significance of past folklore which link to the rock art are discussed in Chapter 4. The link establishes the rock art as part of a living intangible heritage of local people living in a landscape that has meaning beyond the visual. The landscape and things in it are part of the story, as

elements of the myths are related to the availability of water, to waterholes in the ravines and natural places.

Accounts and information related by individuals as key role players in the local communities of the Little Karoo and up keepers of traditions were recorded and incorporated in making the connections discussed in Chapter 4. It is fascinating that the stories collected from the /Xam people more than a hundred years ago are so similar to those of the local people from Zoar and Amalienstein, Calitzdorp, Gamkaberg, Oudtshoorn, and Baviaanskloof. This gives more credence to local belief in mythical water creatures and the *watermeid* legend.

7.1.4 The synthesis of rock art, myth and local traditions

Chapter 5 unlocks heritage to tourism in the Little Karoo through the interpretation of the local myth of the *watermeide* in the landscape. Interpretation that facilitates a connection to past traditions is the essence of an authentic experience in presentation to tourism. It relates the human manifestation of a history and this is what makes the experience for the visitor authentic. This is transferred to place in the encounter of the visitor with the local heritage of which the rock art is part. Access to the local social and cognitive systems through ethnographic based interpretation makes the visit authentic. The visitor is engaged and consumes the asset at a deeper level. It is argued that if the stories are told and heard the traditions live on. This engenders meaning in a local sense and sustains the heritage. The chapter introduces the concept of an interpretation centre in geographical proximity to the heritage to facilitate this process of presentation. The centre's aim is to disseminate knowledge to the public and to make a connection to the past and the cultural resources. Local participation is introduced as an essential part of the concept of a People and Place Interpretation centre (PPIC).

7.1.5 The vision of presentation of cultural and natural resources at an interpretation centre

The concept and design of an interpretation centre at Groenefontein, near Calitzdorp in the Little Karoo, is considered in Chapter 6. Visitations and case studies in foreign countries and in South Africa were undertaken to assist in the formulation and design of an interpretation centre, the PPIC. Local, private and state conservation initiatives were drawn into the precepts of an interpretation centre. A steering committee with local representation has been formed to facilitate the initial processes of establishing a centre and the project is registered with CapeNature and the Gourits Corridor. Chapter 6 explores the use of replication in presentation as the tool at such centres to

ensure that the heritage asset is protected and conserved if exposed. The capturing and exposure of the living heritage, for example the stories and legends, knowledge of environment and plants, can be conveyed to the public in live performances at the centre or on film, from recorded material, photographs, exhibited or displayed. The presentation of live recordings and multimedia compilation of the myth and the rock art is suggested at the PPIC at a replication of the shelter with rock art imagery of therianthropic fish-like creatures in Grysmanskloof where Maans Fourie, one of the storytellers in the Little Karoo, ‘sees’ the *watermeid(e)*, and Hendrik Januarie finds inspiration for the subject of his poetry and describes the water as a ‘being’ with a power that may flood the *poort* and drown the people. Januarie speaks metaphorically of water as being a creature.

7.2 The evaluation of local knowledge and how to introduce this to tourism

Research has shown that gaps between rich and poor countries, in particular in Africa and South Africa, generate adverse short-term undertakings to enable the current growing flux of global travel to nature places and places of local heritage character. Even in large tourism ventures the problem remains as moneys ‘leak out’ of these societies when profits go elsewhere. The knowledge, skill and service facilities to access the benefits of the economical growth in tourism are lacking. Learning about heritage and interpretation on the one hand and how to guide and present local experience and knowledge to the tourist on the other will be facilitated at an interpretation centre. The local people must ‘see’ solutions in tourism and not be left in the cold. Januarie (2004, pers com) pointed out that the people of Zoar and Amalienstein do not reap significant benefits from tourism on the Route 62. A rethink of the relationship among local people to heritage has become a necessity. Januarie includes a sad note at the end of his poem *Reünie*, when the stories of the elders have no meaning as the young of the local communities had lost the need to know about this heritage and knowledge:

Maar die vertellings
 kon die kinders
 van die kindskinders
 nie gom nie,
 want die wortels lê vaster
 in vergete kontinente,
 ver van die verbasterde
 nageslag
 van slawe.

(Januarie 2007: 11).

If heritage, the storytelling, the traditions and legends, the rock art, the environment and things in it, has economic value as a tourist attraction, it generates revenue. Earnings from tourism facilitate stringing together the memories, establishing the pride of place and re-rooting the heritage. This is what meta-tourism strives to do and what needs to be forged at an interpretation centre. Much-needed income in local communities will be generated at the PPIC. Modern tourism trends of retreating to places where indigenous cultures live and the narratives lie resonate with the social needs of local people. This furthermore stresses the essentiality of establishing a PPIC in the area of origin to present a heritage in danger of being lost. However, such an interpretive venture will only be viable and sustainable if the local people have made the connection to the past and this is reasoned and presented for all to acknowledge and respect. The experience and product in presentation then has a bigger chance of being authentic and ‘real’ for the tourist and conserving a palpable outcome.

7.3 The past and the living heritage are linked by the spiritual nature of ‘things’

The objective of making a connection to the past is possible because of the mystical nature of the rock art and mythology that can be related to it. The spiritual aspect of the rock art in the Little Karoo is shown in the high number of rock depictions of therianthropes, half human half animal, fish or bird, and eldritch spiritual images, and ritual depicted in humans transforming in procession from animal to human or human to animal. This singular interpretation of transformation and ritualised behaviour in the procession depicted in Figure 7.1 is shown again (previously shown as Figure 3.5) as this imagery so distinctly illuminates transformation which is associated with altered states of consciousness and accentuates the trance hypothesis as explanation for some of the rock art. This enhances the spiritual nature of the rock art. Here specifically the transforming is depicted in the ichthyoidal features of the rock art images.



Whale-like figures transform into human figures with forward bending postures and arms held out as in ritual dancing (on the left shows a close up of the same procession). This example of transformation is shown again as it so clearly illuminates the spiritual aspect of rock art interpretation. If some of the art was not showing altered states of consciousness why the transformation and ritual procession and poses of the figures? Source: Leggatt 2007.

Figure 7.1 Human figures transforming from whale-like images into men, at Outeniqua, Little Karoo

The spiritual nature of the rock art underscores water as life-giving. This theme has been illustrated in Chapters 4 and 5. The San rock art in the Little Karoo relates to mystical water creatures in the form of therianthropic figures, half human half fish and snake figures. These mystical creatures, in turn, can be related to ethnographically recorded myths, as discussed above. For example in /Xam myth water is personified as !Khwa, the easily provoked water deity. Water has power, it can influence the weather, at times so strong that it can kill. Yet there is a feminine side to the power of water and if leanings of !Khwa is more to a gentler female side the rain is soft and penetrates the earth so that renewal and growth will be forthcoming. There are thus strong associations between women, procreation and rainmaking in /Xam narratives which also suggests fertility and renewal of life.

Afrikaander, the old Bushman from Oudtshoorn, tells of the feminine side of water in the story of the *watermeid* which was still related and believed in hundreds of years after the last San shaman painted on the rocks in the Little Karoo and produced the paintings at Ezeljagdspoor and Minwater. Today the stories of the *watermeid* are told all over the Little Karoo. The story and descriptions of the *watermeide* have remained the same as told by Afrikaander and has archetypal qualities. The *watermeide* are mystical water creatures that live near water sources, in waterholes and rivers in the Little Karoo. Their spiritual influence in local communities is strong. Their powers lie in their ability to transform into water creatures especially snakes. They have powers to make people ill or to heal. They can cause life-giving rain but if provoked can cause waters to flood and harm people. They are therianthropic in having fish tails. They are light in colour and shimmer. They live underwater and draw people into their watery domains to live with them. If these people return they are given shamanic powers to heal and to foretell the future. The words of Hendrik Januarie make a strong linkage to living heritage when asked about the embodiment of the flooding waters in his poem, *Noue ontkoming*. He describes the water(s) as “’n ... *watergevaar*” (Januarie 2007: 20) [a danger]. He stated: “*Dit is ’n water wese ... soos die watermeid gevaar kan inhou, so is water ook ’n krag*” [It is a water being ... as the *watermeid* may be dangerous, so water is a power] (Januarie 2007, pers com). Personification of the water creatures in *all* the stories weaves like a golden thread making the link. /Han=kassō, Afrikaander’s, the informants of the Northern Cape and the Little Karoo, all infuse their stories and descriptions of water entities with personification of a spiritual force.

7.4 The implication of linking the stories and the rock art

The stories of the *watermeide* with its connection to the past represent authenticity. If this connection is presented to tourists it leads to the *meta* experience of tourism to access the beyond in interpretation of heritage. The local communities can relate to the interpretation and envision a function for their mythology and heritage. Within this perception lies the much needed awareness of protection of a heritage. The rock art having been connected to living heritage may lead to the awareness of the need for protecting the non-renewable heritage. The stories are embedded in the life-giving qualities of water and this has a link to the conservation of water in the present. The water source must remain uncontaminated otherwise the *watermeid* goes away.

Storytelling can be used to communicate the link to the past. A sense of place is promoted by presenting the links between the past and the present in the same landscape where rock art occurs. At the PPIC the rock art is presented within a landscape where the *watermeid* also presides. The tourist identifies in this *meta*-experience with what he/she perceives as origins and human spirituality; an authentic event in presentation in a place. Therein lies a social linkage which bodes well for introducing concern in the tourism experience.

7.5 Recommendation for heritage tourism development

In essence, meta-tourism deals with the health of the tourist and health of the environment. The digital tools today have opened up the world and also the concerns people have with the poor state of preservation and protection of resources. Global society is fluid with demands in travel to access places where other cultures occur. People are drawn away from cities to travel to nature places in a return, so to speak, to access *original* sensing and awareness. The search is for accessing serene places, where travellers can ‘stop’, ‘look’ and ‘listen’ and attain a healthy equilibrium. The creation of spirit pathways or pilgrimages will facilitate a key area in linking these feelings to tourism without engaging mass-tourism that blights the vast open spaces for which the Little Karoo is well-known and sought after in travel. It is argued that physical features, sounds and echoes, affect bodily experiences of place, even at rock art sites, and these are vital for interpretation of place and what is at that place. Feelings and senses are evoked in the tourist experience. Meta-tourism aims to use tourism experiences of rock art and related myths to enhance traditions and to promote “indigenous modes of coherence” in southern Africa (Chidester *et al.* 2003: 1a). The acknowledgement of the intellectual rights (Ouzman 1998b; George & Van Staden 2000), the

interpretation of their heritage and a right to the restoration of these identities and values is at the core of this dissertation.

Tourism is not simply a tool to expose a heritage to public – it also has a powerful heuristic capacity if utilised in a controlled setting such as an interpretation centre. The tourist's interest is high and the concern develops with the knowledge of the heritage. The study of the resources and consumption of these can be directed to include choice and awareness beyond 'looking'. The products need to be understood as to how and why they were produced and this once again needs specialized exposure and interpretation. For example, understanding the individual in production as this enhances the function of the local role player and participant in heritage – the shamans who probably painted the images on the rock face and who were powerful in their communities, and as they appeared in the mystical world, and the storytellers, were the controllers of access and consumption of the heritage. How these powers shifted even in colonial times and at present in local communities is part of the interpretation. Any tourism development must acknowledge hegemony in the local communities, an ownership of the intangible and that they may 'speak for themselves' like Hendrik Januarie and others have done. As is the case with the intangible in heritage tourism product, the future of rock art and exposure to tourism is still unclear and unformulated in the Little Karoo and this is a grave concern and may be addressed in responsible tourism practices that rely on the sustainability of the resource.

7.6 Recommendations for future research

This dissertation has its roots in the documentation of the rock art in the Little Karoo. Its scale and setting has a yet-to-be documented commendation. There is also a need to establish comprehensive links between excavated material (some sites only contain surface finds making the link more difficult) and the painted images in the Little Karoo to establish a more accurate trajectory in the sequence of the rock art. The documentation is an ongoing research process as not all the sites have been found or documented. The principle aim of future research in the region would then be to continue recording and interpreting rock art sites. This could be facilitated from the research unit of the PPIC. This research must go hand in hand with establishing relationships – with CapeNature, other institutions of research, local people, local government and tourism initiatives. Future discoveries and interpretation may extend the presence of distinctive rock art images or supplement the occurrence of the therianthropomorphic fish tail figures now restricted to the Little Karoo and border areas, and may suggest a further trajectory and use of a mystical landscape. Rock art research on the borders of the Little Karoo and southern coast shows similarities and continuation of imagery, and

subject matter evidence final phases in the rock art tradition of indigenous people in the region. Rock art research links to other fields of research that may be taken forward at the PPIC – centring on *man* in the landscape and use, abuse or conservation of resources and how this may relate to human actions today. This would facilitate a broader outline of future research which may interrelate the cultural and natural processes. In any future research programme it remains crucial to incorporate local initiative, drive and need as this knowledge and empathy for heritage and environment must not be lost to science.

Today, the tranquil antiquity of the Little Karoo lies in the undisturbed and quiet strata of its mountains, fossilised beds in the basins and ravines with folded and sheltered hollows where the rock art is found. Man is represented in the ancient environment of which the rock art is one authentication. Geographers must make this connection to ancestral beginnings and take this legacy further into the distant geological past to show that all processes are living and connected – from stone to tool to life itself. Geographical presentation at the PPIC must put forward this connection through the layers literally, explaining the geological journey and man's link to it. This would facilitate a setting to holistic presentation at the centre. The pendulum of life is in motion and man remains at its epicentre. If life's processes are balanced the extension of the human mind to the past must balance the need to ensure a future. The three C's evolve – continuation concern conservation. But an educational programme must facilitate this thinking process in presentation and make the link to landscape. Educationalists and conservationists have to work together to facilitate this balance. If the intangible attains a mythological eminence it has a life of its own and will sustain the asset – as it was preserved in the psyche of local people in the past so it will continue the story in the present. The neuropsychology and mythology of the intangible are inseparable, and this is the ultimate connection of the past to people and place by 'telling' the story which minds have been evolving for hundreds, maybe even thousands, of years in a geographical defined region like the Little Karoo.

This dissertation is dedicated to people like Hendrik Januarie, Maans Fourie, Tokkie Hefke, Sappie Kleinbooi, Jan Magani and others who invite visitors through poems and stories into their landscape to 'stop, look and listen'. They make the connection of their living tradition to the past through the narrative and events in the landscape. In conclusion the poem, *Grens* (Januarie 2007: 35) encapsulates this credence; to access beyond what can be 'seen', the essence of heritage that pervades the senses, stimulates the feelings and proposes a knowledge that can be accessed through the story. Poetically Januarie is saying that before the knowledge of what lies unseen is covered by

'the darkness' and lost, it must be accessed and an opportunity not missed to 'see' deeper into the 'night' and unveil the unknown.

Die nag lê gevlek
tussen die maanverligte bome
en waar die walle,
die rivierlope, die vlaktes
na die berge plooi,
vertoon dit al hoe swarter
en wis verder uit,
dít wat ek graag
nog sou wou sien.

(Januarie 2007: 35).

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APPENDIX A: A SURVEY OF LOCAL KNOWLEDGE AND FOLKLORE

The following transcriptions are from tape recordings of interviews conducted with informants of the Little Karoo, over a period of two years, from 2004 to 2006. The interviews ranged from informal talks to formalized tape-recorded discussions. The purpose at the time was to gather information on local knowledge, views and ideas, and local stories, in particular of the sightings, descriptions and places of the *watermeid* mythical figure(s). The researcher and interviewer, Catharine Rust conducted the interviews, and was assisted at times by Liezl van Pletzen-Vos, a colleague and co-researcher of a survey of Strategic Tourism Development Plans in and around Calitzdorp region in the Little Karoo, March 2004; and Johan Cloete, a retired farmer from Calitzdorp. Hendrik Januarie also convened in gathering information in the course of interviews held in Amalienstein and Zoar. The interviews were conducted in Afrikaans, the lingua franca of the area and the transcribed text is given in Afrikaans to capture the trust in the discourse, and the authenticity, essence and nuance present at the interview. The syntax and use of words are colloquial. Direct questions asked, and perceptions of the interviewer or relevant information to clarify a point are shown in parenthesis. Italics are used in the parenthesis when questions are asked and where emphasis is given in the interview. A pause in the narrating of the stories/events or loss of words, phrases, shown thus in the sentence structure transcribed; The questions were posed by the interviewer, Rust, except where indicated if Cloete posed the question. The anecdotal verbatim data given below is endorsed by the interviewer/researcher to be authentic and correctly transcribed. The use of the word *watermeid* is an accepted vernacular term and not used pejoratively. These conventions apply to all the transcriptions in Appendix A.

Interview with Hendrik Januarie recorded on 5 March 2004 at Zoar

Ek is 'n digter ... Kyk, my digwerk het eintlik begin in Kaapstad ... ek is hier gebore op Amalienstein 16 Oktober 1941, daarna getrek na Laingsburg, in Koueveld vir 'n tyd gebly ... my inspirasie vir digwerk het ek natuurlik gekry toe my familie baie betrokke was in die berg en Seweweekspoort en so aan ... het ek baie van my inspirasie daar opgetel maar my skrywe werk gaan nie net oor die natuur nie, dit gaan oor enigiets. Ek ken Seweweekspoort baie goed ... een van my gedigte handel oor die poort, ek ken elke draai, elke landmerk, as iemand vir my sê waar hy loop dan weet ek presies waar dit is in die poort. My digwerk het eintlik in Kaapstad begin ... 'n goeie onderwyser gehad by Elsiesrivier Hoërskool, ons het 'n jaarblad gehad, en daar het ons geleer om dit wat ons in ons omdra, om dit weer te gee in opstel of gedigte, en ek het dan daar begin met my gedigte. Nadat ek so 'n bietjie deur die land gereis het na verskillende plekke ... dit is al 'n goeie tyd

terug ... het ek by Kleurlingsake gewerk in Johannesburg. Ek het baie met uitgewers geskakel maar toe ek hier kom toe het die uitgewers, PersKor, my genader en die boekie van my gedigte gepubliseer, in 1989, Pro Rata. Opgeneem in die Senior Keur, dit is voorgeskryf ... hulle doen dit in matriek en ook in die Groot Verseboek. Die poort [Seweweekspoort] staan deesdae so gesluit. Die poort het nog nie sy regmatige plek ingeneem vir toerisme nie. Dit is omstandighede wat daartoe lei. Dit word nie bemark nie en Zoar word ook nie bemark, wel by Amalienstein, maar nie deur Zoar self nie, en ons mense wat eintlik toeriste daar kan lei of tot daar kan bring is nie toegerus nie. Daar is 'n groot behoefte. Amalienstein en Zoar moet nog 'n stilhou plek word vir die toeriste op R62. Dit is so naby die pad ... daar kom wel toeriste veral Duitsers na Amalienstein en dan help die plaaslike mense, soos my seun en vrou is vandag soontoe om met 'n bus vol toeriste te help. Mense word gevra om te help. [*Wat moet in plek kom: watter vermoëns kan aangewend word vir toerisme?*]. Baie van ons mense wat vermoëns gehad het is uitgesteef, ek dink byvoorbeeld aan mense wat kon mandjies vleg ... hulle is uitgesteef. Mense wat kon tuie maak ... ons het donkies, ons het nog die lewenswyse van die verlede. Maar 'n ander ding wat belangrik is ... ons is landboukundig, ons is 'n landbou gemeenskap, maar ons kon nog nooit regtig ons landbou produkte bemark nie. Hier word goed gekweek wat jy nie op ander plekke kry nie. Ek dink byvoorbeeld aan vye, daar is min plekke waar jy droë vye kan kry ... daar is min plekke waar jy so 'n soort ertjie kry soos ons hier kweek. Orals waar ek gegaan het het ek dit nog nooit gesien nie. Hierdie soort ertjie wat 'n heerlike sop maak en dit is 'n ertjie wat nie siektes kry nie ... waar dit vandaan kom, of dit deur die slawe gebring is of dit uit Asië uitkom, maar dit is 'n soort ertjie wat 'n soort woestyn ertjie is, hy het min water nodig (Fig. A1).



Hendrik Januarie displays the dried peas in the palm of his hand that he speaks of in the interview on 5 March 2004 at Zoar

Source: Rust 2007

Figure A1 Display of unique local pea variety

Hier is nog net twee of drie mense wat dit nog kweek. In die tyd is die plant al uitgetrap [met donkies], maar hy groei anders as 'n gewone ertjie, as hy min water gekry het is hy baie op 'n hoop, maar sy peule is daar [hy dra nog], en as hy baie water kry dan gooi hy 'n bietjie wind, dan is sy

peule baie verspreid dit is een van die produkte wat ek gedink het 'n mens kan bemark vorentoe ... dit is eie aan die mense en die plek. Ons het 'n water probleem ... en histories is ons mos maar uitgesluit ... ons kon nie bemark nie ...jy kon nêrens jou produkte verkoop kry nie. Daar was nie 'n belangstelling om die mense te help nie dat hul ook kommersieel kan word nie. Die ertjie noem hul 'n kies-ertjie ... hy lyk soos 'n kiestand en hy is 'n lekker melerige ertjie ... as hy fyn gekook is en as hy 'n bietjie oorgestaan het dan smaak hy eers lekker ... môre as hy eers 'n bietjie oorgestaan het dan is hy op sy beste. So dit is goed/produkte wat kan bemark word ... daar is verskeidenheid, granate, kwepers, as dit [sulke produkte] net weer uitgebou kan word. [*Het iemand al so met u gesels oor die dinge in die omgewing en u standpunt gevra?*]. Nee, nog nooit nie. Ja, julle is seker die eerste mense wat na my toe kom. Daar is mense wat van my weet, wat weet dat ek 'n skrywer is ... ons het in die begin toe toerisme begin het was daar 'n geskarrel van verskeie mense uit Kaapstad uit om toeriste op die pad te kry en dan is daar net gespook dat die dinge om homself draai en so word die mense wat werklikwaar kan help misgekyk ... word op die kantlyn geskuif sodat dit later moet lyk dat jy die persoon is wat die [ding aan die gang gesit het] kennis het ... dit is nog 'n probleem. [*Met ander woorde u soek erkenning vir die kennis, die vermoëns en fyn kultuur wat onder die mense van Amalienstein en Zoar was en nog bestaan. As dit nou gaan oor kultuur erfnis, hoe sien u dit ... die kennis wat u dra en deernis en die passie?*]. Ja, hier is onder ons mense, mense wat vir jou stories kan vertel en hier is mense wat vir jou geskiedenis dinge kan uitbring ... nou Zoar is 'n voormalige sendeling stasie, met 'n ryk geskiedenis ... die sendelinge van Europa was baie betrokke hier. Nadat die slawe vrygestel is het slawe ingetrek in plekke wat ons nou noem sendeling-stasies, ontvlugtings-plekke, wat vandag nog ontvlugtings-plekke is, want die plekke was heeltemal anders geadministrateer is as enige ander plek, maar dit [die sendeling-stasies] het agtergebly want dit was maar net 'n plek waar arbeiders, werkers gesentreerd was ... waarvandaan elke organisasie, sê maar boerdery of wat ook al, mense kon kom uittrek het, en dan kom laai maar net weer af as hulle klaar was met die werk. So dit is eintlik wat die agterstand veroorsaak het ... die agterstand het net altyd meer en meer geword, tot nou toe nog. As jy deur die plek ry dan kan jy dit sien. [*Die R62 wat nou in ander lande bemark word, het dit iets vir u en Zoar beteken?*] Nee nog niks vir ons nie. Hier is nog geen persoon wat kan sê dat hy baat gevind by toerisme nie, afgesien daarvan dat een of twee persone is wat onder 'n sekere departement is of vir semi-staat werk, wat betrokke is, is daar nog nie een individu wat kan sê dat hy het daardeur gebaat nie. [*Is daar nog hoop ... daar is nog mense wat dinge kan doen ... wat kan tuie maak en donkerkarretjies bou ... vermoëns wat nog nie verlore is nie?*]. Ja ... [maar die probleme is nog daar]. Ek verwys ook na mense wat so tien jaar gelede ingekom het in jou huis en ou meubels ensovoorts opgekoop het, en die geldjie was welkom, en so is baie van die oudhede verlore ... iemand het nog 'n ou wa gehad maar omdat die wa so stukkend was en van die oorspronklike hout ingehad het is mense met die wa

weg. So waar ons iets kon opgebou het het dit ook verlore gegaan ... ons mense was slawe gewees [Verwys na foto van twee vroue wat in die voorkamer hang]. Die vrou aan die linkerkant het 116 jaar oud geword en het blind geraak, en sy was 'n slaaf gewees ... sy is een van my groot grootjies ... die foto is 'n foto van een van my oorlede ma se oumas of grootoumas, maar hulle is altwee van my ma se familie. Dit is waarvandaan ons kom, en nou sê ek, van ons het na die slawe vrygestel hiernatoe gekom [*refer to Figure 4.18 in Chapter 4*]. So in die verlede was ons heeltemal apart en toe apartheid kom toe was ons apart en daar was nie nodig om iets te doen om ons te skuif nie, terwyl in ander dorpe 'n mate van vooruitgang was het hierdie plekke stilgestaan. [*So mense is al vir geslagte hier in Zoar en Amalienstein?*]. Ja ... Eers die slawerny, toe die oorlog; hier is baie mense wat uit Amalienstein in die oorlog gesterf het, daar is baie grafte van soldate in Amalienstein ... toe kom apartheid daar is toe nie gekyk na ons nie want ons was klaar apart ... toe kom die nuwe SA en daar is nog dinge wat na gekyk moet word ... hier gaan dit nog maar nie goed by ons nie. [*Die kennis van die veld en omgewing ... is daar nog mense wat die kennis van die bossies dra en dit gebruik?*]. Ja daar is nog baie mense wat bossies gebruik, daar is ook nog 'n vroedvrou. [*Gaan die jong kinders weg uit Zoar om 'n ander heenkome te soek?*]. Ja, taamlik as jy matriek gemaak het moet jy uitgaan ... hier is nie werk nie ... self die onderwysers is ook maar net soos dit was want daar is nie die aanwas om getalle hoër te hou nie en daar is geen uitbreidings nie. Inname by die skool bly beperk ... so die mense gee maar pad soos ek ook moes pad-gee, maar kom ook weer terug en kom hier aftree. [*Mense wil weer graag terug kom na hul wortels en plek?*]. Ja, dit is so. Ek wil ook 'n boek skryf en wil graag 'n rekenaar bekom want ek tik nog op 'n tikmasjien ... as enige iemand vir my so iets kan skenk sal ek deur die dak spring! Storie-vertellers soos my niggie Anabel Van Wieling [van Amalienstein] is baie goed. Jy kan heeldag by hulle sit en luister, maar jy ontdek hulle nie as jy nie kom daar waar hulle werk nie ... dan vind jy uit dat hier maak die manne vuur! Langenhoven het ek eers leer ken toe ek op skool by Elsiesrivier was ... daar het ek verneem dat hy van ons area af kom en het ek al sy boeke gelees. Langenhoven kon 'n invloed op my gehad maar nie die manier van skryf nie, en sou ek ook nooit naby hom kon kom nie want ek het maar net matriek. Daar is nog verder interessante stories in die omgewing, ook oor die watermeide wat mense hier sien naby Seweweekspoort. Daar is drie teorieë vir die naam ... die een is dat dit sewe maande geneem het om die pad te bou en toe klink dit te lank toe maak hul dit sewe weke. Ander teorie is die manne wat gesmokkel het met witblits en brandewyn, het die doeanes misgeloop op die Barrydale pad, as hul deur die poort gegaan het na Laingsburg, en dan na Kaapstad en dan het dit vir hulle 'n hele sewe weke ekstra tyd geneem om by hul bestemming uit te kom ... die tog is verleng met sewe weke. Eintlike die regte storie is dat die persoon wat aan die spits gestaan het met die maak van die poort was glo 'n ene Zwernick, maar die ou mense kon sekere name nie so lekker

uitspreek nie en toe het die naam Zwernick verander na Seweweeks en so het die poort sy naam gekry.

Interview with Hendrik Hefke (Tokkie) recorded on 10 March 2004

[*Meneer Hefke mag ons u Tokkie noem?*]. Ja, ek is 'n boorling van Calitzdorp ... van kindsbeen af ken ek die omgewing en het ek grootgeword in dié huis. Ek is die oudste [afgetree] van dié wat kennis het, wat die agtergrond kan gee en die omgewing ken soos ek dit ken ... hier was 'n witman ... hy het altyd gese 'Tok-tokkie, jy daar en die skilpad agterna' en van daardie tyd is my bynaam Tokkie. [*Cloete vraag: vertel ons so 'n bietjie van veld medisyne?*]. Ja, baie soorte medisyne ... hier in die koppies staan plante ... klipdagga [*Leonotis leonitis*] hy groei hoog ... blom is puntjies ... jy trek hom net maar jy moet hom gereeld drink. Daar is verskille van hom, die wat jy in die berg kry en die wat jy hier langs kry. Hier agter die berg by Eerste Plaas kry jy sommer goeie plante ... as hy ryp is is hy op sy bitterste maar op sy gesondste. En dan kry jy die ghwarrieson [*Pegolettia baccharidifoli*]. 'n Klein bossie ... jy kan hom sommer ruik. En dan die hotnotskooigoed [*Helichrysum odoratissimum*], en 'ou-meid op die berg' [klipbokbuchu, *Acmadenia sheilae*] ... sommer so 'n vaal bos ... ook pienk blommetjie ... kry hom op die Gamkasberg [Rooiberg] by Sandlaagte. Plante kan jy sommer ruik as dit 'n medisyne plant is. Hier op die berg staan 'n ander plant ... hulle sê vir hom katjiedrieblaar, [*Knowltonia capensis*] weggesteek in 'n bos, en dan swartstorm, [*Cadaba aphylla*] goed vir kopseer. Jy moet die bossie bind met 'n lappie [doek] ... so 'n bossie met lappie gedraai is by die drumpel van die voordeur in 'n gatjie begrawe in die tye van siekte soos die grootgriep. Die ou mense het baie gelowe gehad ... die gelowe was reg gewees.

[*Weet jy iets van die watermeid, Oom Tokkie?*]. Ja, Philip Antonie [bestuursraadslid van Zoar in 1997] het op Amalienstein gewoon en het vertel van die watermeid. As ek nou moet vertel van die watermeid, dan weet ek nou nie of ek verkeerd is nie, maar duidelik gaan dit nou vir my, dat as die Here jou sê jy moet geen gelyke hê wat op die aarde en onder die water, onder die aarde is nie, dan is my uitgangspunt nou net, maar wat is daar? ... wat is dan onder die water, onder die aarde? Nou hier [by die Gamkarivier] het die mense op 'n kant gesê was 'n watermeid ... daar is so groot klip in die water en iemand het haar daar gesien. Maar 'n man van Mosselbaai het hier gewerk 'n hele paar jaar gelede, en toe gaan dit ook eendag oor die watermeid en toe vra ek, is daar so iets soos 'n watermeid? Ek gaan volgens die Bybel dan en wil amper glo daar is so iets soos 'n watermeid, maar ek wil nou weet. Toe sê hy vir my daar is so iets soos 'n watermeid. Toe het hy by my [vertel] van 'n klong wat hulle [watermeid(e)] ingeneem het [onder die water in]. Toe vra ek hoekom vat sy jou in? Hulle kies net iemand wat vies is. Hulle vertel die klong het net weggeraak vir ses maande. Toe kom hy uit maar hy het nie vertel waar hy was nie. En hy het 'n merk gehad ... 'n merk waarmee hy

nie gebore is nie ... wat hy nie vantevore gehad het nie ... iewers aan sy been het hy 'n merk gehad wat hulle [die watermeide] hom gegee het. Die klong het my vertel wat met hom gebeur het. Hy sê hy is, ek weet nie hoe dit gekom het nie maar, hy is net by die water in en dan het hy afgegaan ... hy sê onder is pure water. En hy sê ... dan was daar vroue gewees, en soos hulle sê, die vrou sê jy moenie ... jy moet als eet, maar jy mag nie sê jy eet vis nie want dan maak hulle [die watermeide] jou dood. Dan kom jy daar ... als is net pure water so ver soos jy kyk en dan vat hulle hom, die een het hom gevat nadat hy daar gekom het, en dan vat hulle hom en dan vat iemand anders hom en dan gaan hulle met hom verder ... maar dit is vreeslik mooi sê hy ... altyd verder en verder. En na ses maande ... jy moet ook nie sê jy verlang of so nie, altyd sê dit gaan goed ... en na ses maande het hy uitgekom, maar wat van hom is, hy sê, as jy uitkom ... jy weet als wat more gaan gebeur ... jy weet als. Enige iets wat daai kind sê kan jy maar sê want hy weet als. En hulle sê as hulle jou kom haal en as hulle jou graag wil hê ... dan moet jy weer gaan ... hulle sal jou niks maak nie dan moet jy net kom. Op 'n tyd dan raak daai klong net weg en dan weet hulle [sy mense] waar hy mos is. So ek weet nie werklik of dit so is nie maar volgens soos ek nou die Bybel verstaan dan is my gangspunt wat is in die water onder die aarde. Nou, ken Meneer [Cloete] ou Petrus September wat by ou Piet Vosloo gewerk het? [Cloete antwoord bevestigend]. Petrus se dogter ... sy het weggebly ... sy het weggebly ... sy het weggebly ... toe sê my Pa maar die ou moet gaan kyk waar sy is ... toe hy [September] by die rivier kom toe is daar 'n roos op die water ... die roos kom nou uit, en as sy aan die roos moet vat dan gaan hy [die roos] nou in, maar nou is sy net te bang om in die water te trap, maar die roos wil eintlik hê sy moet vat aan hom. Nou toe sê hulle ook nou dit is 'n watermeid ... ek weet nie of dit so is nie. Maar nou hier by die gat [in die Gamka rivier] daar het ... 'n perd verdrink. 'n Perd verdrink mos nie maklik nie ... hier het 'n perd verdrink en dan sê hulle daar was ook 'n roos daai dag op die water. Ek weet nou nie daarvan of dit nou so is nie. Maar my standpunt is nog ... as ek gaan op die Bybel ... kyk daar is mos baie goete, mense glo nie aan spoke nie of hulle sê daar bestaan nie so iets nie maar nou is my standpunt weer, hoekom het die Here dan ... mense sien dan die Here vir 'n spook ... waar kom hulle dan daaraan? Ek meen daar sal seker 'n dwalende gees wees of so iets van die aard. Mense sê ook jy is maar jou eie spook maar as ek [moet] sê wat my oor gekom het; en dan sê ek daar is so iets ... dan ken Meneer [Cloete] seker vir Van der Berg wat hier by Assegaaibos [in die Rooiberg] gebly het ... daai tyd toe werk ek by Jan Brits ... twee uur die nag stap ek ... en toe kom daar een aan agter my ... ek hoor dit ... dan kyk ek. Maar die ding kom ... nou kom ek by die hek en ek dink nou sal ek uitvind of dit een is wat aankom of wat ... en maak die hek toe en toe kom daar iemand en maak die hek oop ... die ketting het ek gehoor. Dan is ek mos reg, daar klink die ketting ... daar brand 'n lig maar soos hy aangaan so gaan dit weer dood en dit is net asof iets my so stoot ... dit voel asof ek so gelig word. Die mense daar sê dat die spook hul oupa was.

[In 'n daaropvolgende gesprek met Hendrik Hefke in Mei 2007, het hy bygevoeg by die vertelling van die watermeid]. Kyk dit is nou so ... die ou mense het gesê jy gaan af op tafels [stadiums]. Dan kom jy daar ... als is net pure water. As jy nou daar onder kom is daar 'n bul by die watervrou ... die bul lek jou spierwit ... dit is hoekom jy wit is as jy daar uit kom en jy weet als ... jy weet wat gaan vorentoe gebeur.

Interview with Sappie Kleinbooi recorded on 12 November 2004

The following text is transcribed from tape recordings of interviews conducted with Sappie Kleinbooi (77 years old) at his home at Zaaimanshoek in the Baviaanskloof, Little Karoo, over a period of two years. The interviews ranged from informal talks to formalized tape-recorded discussions. The purpose at the time was to gather information on the sightings, descriptions and places of the *watermeid* mythical figure(s). The first interview with Sappie Kleinbooi was recorded on 12 November, 2004. Present were the researcher and interviewer, Rust, and Cloete from Calitzdorp who assisted with the interviews. The interview was conducted in Afrikaans. The questions were posed by the interviewer, Rust, except where indicated if Cloete posed the question.

[*Oom Sappie vertel ons van die vrouens wat in die water woon?*]. 'Seker oor die watermense né? Ja, ek kan net so 'n bietjie aangee ... ja, so iets. Daar is so iets ... ek het haar self met my oë gesien. Sy is baie mooi ... ek weet nie waar leef sy nie maar sy is baie mooi. [*Nou as jy sê sy is baie mooi - hoe lyk sy? Het jy haar mooi gesien*]. Ja, ek het haar mooi gesien ... sy het haar hare gesit en was in die water hier agter by die fontein. Toe verwonder ons ons aan haar nou ... ek en my swaartjie, aan haar. Sy is baie fyn [*vinnige persepsie - reaksie*]. As sy jou gewaar is sy weg. Nou ja, nou was sy haar hare ... hare is op die water ... dit is 'n klomp hare wat sy het ... dit is toe onder die hare ... dit dryf so. Wat sy ons gewaar duik sy in die water ... sy is baie vinnig. Wat sy opstaan wat sy induik, is sy so ver mens, [*wys half-bo lyf*] soos julle nou ... mens! Stywe borsies, stok styf ... [*Was dit nou hier naby waar sy gesien is?*]. Ja, by die fontein ... hier is fonteine hier agter ons. Diep water ... daar was baie water dié slag [*Waar sy gesien is?*]. Ja. [*Cloete vraag: Oom Sappie, as jy nou na die fontein toe gaan, kan 'n man nou maar gaan soontoe en water skep, water drink en selfs swem?*]. Nee, sy is mos dadelik vererg, want as sy nou eers [*vir jou*] sien dan skep jy om haar uit te lok ... as ons nou opgaan om daar skoon te maak, dan moet jy haar eers groet ... die manne moet groet [*Hoe groet jul haar?*]. Met klippies. Een vir haar, dan een vir die man, een vir haar en dan vir die kinders. Ja, klippies ... jy gooi dit in die water. [*Is dit spesiale klippies?*] Ja, dit is ... wat ons optel, dat sy darem weet van jou [*in 'n opvolgende onderhoud het Sappie genoem dat die klippie wit moet wees*].

Sy is baie gevaarlik ... baie gevaarlik, as jy haar nie groet nie, dan vererg sy haar so gou ... dan vang sy jou ... ek weet nie waarmee sy jou vang nie, maar sommer nou is jy grys uitgeslaan ... koors! Dan moet jy weer vra om medisyne by haar te kry. Die medisyne staan nie ver van haar nie. [*Is dit plante?*]. Plante, ja. [*Hoe lyk die plante?*]. Die fonteinplant⁴. [*As sy nou so kwaad is kan sy jou nie in die water intrek nie?*]. Ja, as jy nou verkeerde dinge doen, sien, want sy is daar ... want hier anderkant is 'n bees ook ingetrek ... toe kry ons hom nie eers uit nie. Ons het ook donkies gekry om hom uit te trek ... hoe meer jy trek hoe kwaai sak hy in, dat hy wegraak. Toe moet ons hom maar los. Weet nie waarheen die bees is nie maar hy is weg. [*Is daar enige blomme naby haar?*]. Ja, jy het hier van die fonteinblomme ... varings en daai goete. [*Gooi sy blomme op die water?*]. Ja, ek weet nou nie hoe werk die speletjie nie, maar as sy hou van jou gee sy vir jou 'n pop ... ek weet nie waar sy die speelgoed kry nie ... koppies [dryf] op die water ... as jy nou wil vat van dit [*Die speelgoed?*] ... ja, as jy nou vat daaraan dan kry sy jou nou mos maklik in die hande. Maar die mense ken haar so goed ... die mense loop nie daar nie. [*Is daar mense wat gevang is, wat weggeraak het,?*]. Ja, ... nie mense wat weggeraak het nie, maar jy moet betaal om weer mense gesond te kry.

[*Cloete, vraag en vertelling; Het sy 'n uitwerking op die sterkte van die fontein of sou jy dit nie sê nie, want hoekom ek dit vra ... ek en werksmense (werksmense in Calitzdorp op die plaas) het ons baie keer gery en gaan visvang in die Gamka Rivier. By ons grond was 'n dam in die Gamka en op die bo-punt van die dam het 'n groot klip gelê ... nou sien jy die klip. Ons spreek nou af, ons gaan visvang en dan op 'n Vrydag betaal ek hulle vroeër ... en dan vieruur ry ons viswaters toe. Maar dan het dit nou gebeur dat as ek op 'n Donderdag na brekfis by die manne kom, dan sê hulle vir my ons kan nie meer gaan visvang nie. Dan vra ek hoekom – dan sê hulle vir my die watermeid was op die klip gewees (Sappie beaam dit met 'n, Ja, ja!) ... dan vra ek nou maar, hoe weet julle die watermeid was daar?. Dan is daar nou sluik op die klip of krapdoppe lê daar ... ek het altyd vir hulle gesê, 'Ag man, dit is die otter wat daar geëet het'. Hulle het dié nie geglo nie want hulle het altyd gesê as jy nou gaan visvang ... sy het beheer oor die vloedwaters ... sy kan maak dat dit in die Karoo reën en dan kan die vloed (waters) ons nou daar vaskeer, daar waar ons visvang. So dink jy sy kan reënmaak?*]. [*Sappie; hervat hier die gesprek na Cloete se vertelling en die feit dat die watermeid beheer het oor waters en reën. Sappie stem saam dat sy beheer het oor die waters*]. Ja! ... sy het beheer oor die fontein se water ook ... hy [die water] raak weg ... hy loop droog. Sy kan die water ook sterk maak. Sy kan ook die water skuim maak. As jy nou nie groet nie kan sy jou aandagtig maak ... daar verskyn 'n groot klip of jy hoor daar krap al weer 'n groot vis ... jy moet

⁴ This plant has been identified as *Berula erecta*, tandpynwortel (Afrikaans), water parsnip (English). This is a herbaceous plant common in wet areas, growing in shallow water and in mud on the banks along rivers.

aandagtig wees ...jy moet. [*Cloete vraag: Nou sê nou vir my, is daar meer plekke in die kloof waar hulle, die watermense, nou is, soos byvoorbeeld by Sewefontein?*]. Ja, dit is 'n groot fontein daardie, maar ons het nooit daarheen gegaan nie. Ons is baie versigtig want hy [die fontein] is baie vuil. [*Cloete vraag: sê jy dit is vuil?*]. Ja, vuil ...sy [die watermeid] hou nie van mense daar nie. Dit is nie 'n goeie plek om na toe te gaan nie. [*die word vuil word hier gebruik soos die word 'bad' op Engels; in die sin dat daar negatiewe dinge heers by Sewefontein*]. [*Oom Sappie is daar nog Boesman tekeninge in die klowe?*]. Ja, daar is by Sewefontein as jy oor daai randjie kom ... die manne weet natuurlik almal hier waar die tekeninge is wat daar staan. In die berge is [nog] maar 'n mens kan natuurlik nie sommer daar gaan nie ... dit is staats [eiendom]. (*Cloete vraag: nou sê vir my, as Mevrouw Rust nou weer hiernatoe kom en sy gaan weer kom, sal jy nou vir die manne wat weet vra om vir haar te gaan wys in die berg?*). Ja ek sal. [*Oom Sappie, dink jy die watermeid weet van die tekeninge?*]. Ja, natuurlik, seker moet sy van hulle af weet". [*Oom Sappie, sy moet darem baie oud wees?*]. Ek weet nie, maar sy moet tog baie oud wees ... ek was nog dom kind ... [*Hoe oud was Oom Sappie toe jy geweet het van haar?*]. Ek was darem in die twintigs gewees. [*Hoe het Oom Sappie geweet van haar? Het jou ma-hulle vir jou vertel? Jou Oupa ...?*]. Ja, hulle het vir my vertel. Hulle het my vertel jy moet baie versigtig wees by die fonteine want as jy daar wegraak dan kom jy nooit weer uit nie. [*Cloete vraag: Oom Sappie as jy vir hierdie kleinkinders van jou vertel glo hulle dit?*]. Ja ...hulle glo dit ... hulle is versigtig. Ja, daar sal baie wees wat dit nie glo nie, maar ons wat nou weet dit is so, jy kan nooit sê nie [sê dit is nie so nie] ... sy spoeg jou papnat. Dan moet jy weer vir jou gesond maak en betaal om vir jou gesond te kry. [*Is daar mense wat nie weer gesond geraak het nie?*]. Ja, daar is tog wat nie weer gesond geraak het nie. Ek het hier met 'n ander vrou hier gesukkel ... ek het nou nie geweet wat het sy [gedoen] nie maar sy het iets groots verkeerd doen, maar ek kon haar nie gesond kry nie en het haar fonteinplant gegee. Maar as sy [die watermeid] jou nie wil gesond maak nie dan aanvaar sy nie daai geld nie. [*Jy moet geld gee?*]. Ja, nie baie nie, so 'n daller stuk ... as jy dit ingooi en dit raak nie weg nie dan aanvaar sy nie daai stuk nie. Hy moet wegraak [onder die water]. [*As 'n mens nou meer betaal?*]. Nee wat, dit sal nie help nie. Sy [die watermeid] moet daai aanvaar wat jy ingegooi het. As jy betaal dan kan jy die [fonteinplant] plant pluk. [*Hoe berei jy daardie bossie voor?*]. Gooi kookwater op ... soos 'n tee. Ja, dit is reg. Hy is nie gal bitter nie, maar jy kan proe hy is frank. Dan was jy jou ook. Hy is baie goed. [*As die kinders nie luister nie dan raak hierdie stories en kennis weg?*]. Ja, dit is so ... die siektes wat die mense kry by die fonteine is definitief soos daai vrou wat ek nie kon gesond maak nie ... sy het in sere uitgeslaan ... maar [ge]wag tot sy afsterf.

[In 'n daaropvolgende onderhoud met Sappie Kleinbooi in Augustus, 2005, het hy die fonteinplant, *Berula erecta*, uitgewys waar dit groei langs die Baviaanskloofrivier in waterslote, naby sy huis,

waar die drie fonteine is waar hy die watermeid sien. Ons het dié gedeelte van die rivier besoek waar die fonteine is. Hy het by die geleentheid die storie vertel van die jong meisie van hul gemeenskap wat water geskep het by die rivier. Hy het nader gestap en gesien hoe die water borrel, vol blare en takke spoel en modderig voorkom. Die ‘ongewone’ toestand van die water het die taak om die water in die emmer te skep bemoeilik. Sappie het dadelik besef dat die oorsaak van die vertroebeling van die water die watermeid was en dat daar groot fout was. Die meisie bevestig toe dat sy haar maandstonde het. Sappie verduidelik dat die tekens op die water gewys het dat die watermeid ‘omgekrap’ en ‘kwaad’ was omdat die meisie ‘vuil’ was. Hy het die emmer weggeruk en die meisie dadelik weggestuur en verbied om weer naby die fontein en rivier te kom as sy menstrueer. Hy noem dit ook dat die watermeid die water self is en dat die water lewendig word. Sy kan ook van gedaante verander, soms in die van `n slang].

Interview with Sappie Kleinbooi recorded on 19 March 2006

The following interview, transcribed below, with Sappie Kleinbooi was recorded on 19 March, 2006, at his home at Zaaïmanshoek in the Baviaanskloof, Little Karoo.

Die gesprek tussen Kleinbooi en Rust begin oor die fonteinplant en die feit dat die wortel van die plant, die *Berula erecta*, ook gebruik word in die aftreksel wat persone gesond maak as die watermeid hul siek gemaak het:

Ja, jy moet die wortels by gebruik om hom [die aftreksel] sterk te kry. Ek was hom [die plant en wortels] nie af nie. Ek gebruik hom net so met sy worteljies [en modder] wat aan hom is. [*Is daar plante wat vir jou kan help om die watervrou te sien ... hoe gaan ek vir haar sien?*]. [Sappie is onseker en noem dit dat dit nie maklik is om haar te sien nie]. Jy sien haar ook sommer nie so maklik nie ... sy weet presies ... tot ek wat vir haar vra vir die plant sal haar nie [altyd] sien nie ... sy sal nie uitkom nie ... sy stoot die plant uit [na Sappie toe] ... uit die water uit. En dan kan ek maar die plant gebruik wat sy uitstoot. [*Dit lyk asof dit 'n groot voorreg is om haar te kan sien want dit is net 'n handjie vol mense wat haar kan sien?*]. Ja, dit is baie min mense wat haar kan sien ... ek het oor die randjie gekom toe sien ek haar sit ... en toe kom ek haar mooi sien [*Wanneer het jy haar laas gesien?*]. Ek dink dit was nou ... ja dit was laasjaar ... laasjaar het ek haar gesien, toe die water so sterk was toe sien ek haar ... die water was bo-op skoon. [*Maans Fourie van Zoar het my vertel dat dit 'n baie mooi ondervinding is. Jy voel baie goed. Sou jy sê dat dit korrek is?*]. Dit is reg ... jy kan amper sê dit is geskiedenis om haar te sien. [*Jy het genoem dat 'n mens sien haar as die water sterk is. Wat gebeur as dit soos nou so droog is. Gaan sy weg?*]. Nee, sy kom net nie uit

nie ... dit lyk asof sy haar sekere tye skoonmaak soos as die water sterk is ... nou spoel sy haar af. Sy het mos lang hare ... nou dit lyk my sy maak haar daai tyd skoon. [*As die water opdroog wat dan?*]. Nee sy gaan nie weg nie ... sy gaan nooit weg nie ... waar sy is is daar altyd water. [*Ek het nou weer by Sewenfontein hier in die Baviaanskloof aangegaan waar 'n watermeid woon en 'n klippie in die water gegooi*]. Ja, dit is doodreg. [*Is dit 'n ander watermeid wat daar is?*]. Dit is 'n ander vrou daardie, want as ek hier is is die watermeid hier. [*Is die watermeid by Sewenfontein sterk of anders gestel 'vuil'?*]. Ja sy is sterk ... in die poort by Raaskrans was sy eers gewees, sy het speelgoed uitgegooi, uitgeskop ... hier ook by ons hier ... sy het daardie kalf gevat ... ons kon hom nie uitkry nie. [*En sy het 'n visstert?*]. Ja, sy het 'n visstert ... sy is net so ver vis [wys na sy onderlyf tot by sy middel]. Sy is baie mooi. [*Is daar klanke as 'n mens haar sien?*]. Nee dit is baie stil ... maar jy moet haar vra. Daai tyd moet jy nou vra ... natuurlik as jy nou nie antwoord kry nie moet jy vra ... dan gooi jy die geld in ... as sy dit nie vat nie dan stem sy nie saam nie ... sy moet dit vat [voor daar effektiewe genesing sal kom]. [*Kan jy haar in die dag enige tyd sien?*]. Ja, as ek die medisyne nou wil gebruik, dan vra ek nou, gooi die geld in ... as dit nie ingaan nie dan weet ek sy stem nie saam met daai een se siekte nie. [*Wat soort geld gooi jy in?*]. Ons gebruik die outydse geld. [*Die mense in die Sederberg noem die watermens die waterbas – het u al so 'n naam vir die watermense gehoor?*]. Nee, ek het nog nie van die waterbas gehoor nie. [*Daar skyn 'n lig ook wat jy sien by die watermense – het u al so iets gesien?*]. Ek verstaan ... nee, om die regte waarheid te sê [het ek nog nie van so iets gehoor nie]. [*Dan verstaan ek dat die watermeid neem mense in na waar sy woon onder die water?*]. Ja, soos 'n mens nou sê sy trek jou nou mos in ... dan moes jy nou iets baie groots gedoen het. [*Woon jy daar? Kan jy weer terug kom?*]. Nee ... ek weet nou nie of jy onder die water in nie ... maar ek is nou seker daarvan jy sal nie weer terug kom nie, jy sal daar [onder die water] bly ... maar jy eet vis anders sal hul jou doodmaak. ... Maar ek weet sy is 'n mens, net soos ons, maar die ondergedeelte is 'n vis ... pragtig gemaak. [*Is sy geskape?*]. Ja, dit is reg, ja. [*Het die kerk 'n probleem met die watermeid?*]. Nee, die kerk het nie 'n probleem nie. [*Is u op die kerkraad?*]. Nee, [nie nou nie] ... ek was 'n kerkraad lid, toe bedank ek want ek moes orals heen gaan. [*Hoe oud is u nou?*]. Ek is nou 77. [*Ek dokumenteer die rotskuns, die Boesmankuns, en ek sien half-mens, half-vis figure op die rotse geskilder. Sou u sê dat die oumense het die watermeid geskilder op die rotse?*]. Dit kan wees, dit kan wees ... [*Het u al die rotskuns gesien?*]. Ja, ... ek het al, al die berge geloop.

Interview with Maans Fourie recorded on on 30 March 2005

The following transcribed text is from a tape recording of an interview with Maans Fourie (76 years old) at Amalienstein, near Seweweekspoort, Little Karoo, on 30 March 2005, about sightings of the

watermeid(e) at a water source in Grysmanskloof at Amalienstein/Zoar in the Swartberg mountains. Fourie grew up in Amalienstein and has been living there most of his life. Present at the interview were Rust and Hendrik Januarie from Zoar. The interview was conducted in Afrikaans. Perceptions of the interviewer and questions asked are shown in parenthesis.

[*Op vraag oor die storie van die watermeid in die Swartberg en omgewing antwoord Fourie*]: Die watermeide was vroeër dae hier ... hier onder by die fontein in Zoar [die onderdorp], daar waar ons altyd ons diere gelaat suip het en so aan, en met die ontaard van die mense hierso ... verstaan ... het hulle haar verhinder en op daai manier is sy toe weg ... die water het vuil geword. Maar sy was ook vroeër dae hier by ons en dan daai in die berg, soos ek gesê het reeds, en daarom is die kloof genaam Watermeidekloof, [Grysmanskloof] omdat sy het daar ook gewoon. Nou ek kan nie juis sê vanwaar sy oorspronklik vandaan kom nie, maar soos ons maar gehoor het soos die oumense ook gesê het, dat hulle [watermeide] kom eintlik saam met die natuur, het hulle gekom ... dit is die skeppingswerk natuurlik, en saam met die fonteine het hulle ontstaan ... en dit is soos ons maar verneem het by die oumense. [*Weet jy hoe sy lyk Oom Maans?*]. Ja nee ... nee maar sy was geel, wit met lang hare ... maar dit was 'n mooi mens. [*Hulle vertel my in die Baviaanskloof dat sy het ook so gelyk*]. Ja, sy was 'n verskriklike mooi mens met lang hare ... dit nou net dat die onderste gedeelte is nou dan vis ... die onderlyf was vis gewees, en dan nou die bo-liggaam is mens, maar komplete blanke [wit] vrou. [*Was die mense dalk versigtig gewees vir haar?*]. Nee, hulle was nie versigtig gewees nie, want sy het niks gemaak nie. [*Januarie vraag: Daar is mense wat sê sy trek jou onder water in?*]. Nee ek weet nie ... sy het altyd op 'n klip gesit ... die klip is seker nog vandag daar waar sy op gesit het, en dan het sy altyd haar hare daar gesit en kam daarin daardie kloof [Fourie wys in die rigting van Grysmanskloof in die Swartberg]. [*Watter kloof is dit nou?*]. Meidekloof, ja. [*Jy sê nou sy het op die klip gesit, maar die klip was dit naby water?*]. Ja, daar op die kant van die fontein, buitekant van die fontein, bo-op die varings. [*Oom Maans het jy al die watervrou gesien?*] Ja! ... Ja! [*In watter omstandighede, in die aand of dag?*]. Nee, in die dag, in die helderdag! [*Het jy geskrik toe jy haar sien?*]. Nee, ons het mos baie gaan hout haal daar. [*Nou wat doen sy, praat sy met jou of ...?*]. Nee, sy kyk net, sy kyk net. [*En dan ... verdwyn sy in die water in?*]. Ja, sy gaan in die water in [*Jy gee nie vir haar 'n teken dat jy aan die kom is nie?*]. Nee, nee sy sien mos jy kom aan, sy sien jy kom aan. [*In die Baviaanskloof het hulle vir my vertel dat sy jou kan siek maak as jy verkeerde dinge doen en dan moet jy weer die fontein-plant gebruik en 'n tee te maak daarvan om vir jou gesond te maak*]. Nee ek dra nou nie kennis daarvan nie. [*Oom Maans dink jy sy is vandag nog daar?*]. Nee daardie fontein is droog, hy is toe. [*Nou waarnatoe is sy nou?*]. Nee, die vader sal alleen weet waarnatoe ... kyk hier by ons [Amalienstein] is daar nog water maar sy is ook nie meer hier ook nie by ons nie ... soos ek gesê het, die mens het haar natuurlik

gehinder, daarom is sy toe weg. [*Hoe lank terug het jy haar gesien Oom Maans?*]. Die man [verwys na 'n jonger man wat saam met hom werk] was nog nie gebore nie ... die man wat hier sit was nog nie gebore nie, dit was in daai jare. [veertig jaar gelede]. [*As ek mag vra hoe oud is jy nou Oom Maans?*] Ses-en-sewentig jaar oud. [*Is daar ander mense wat ook 'n kennis van die watermeid dra?*]. Ja hier is baie mense wat weet daarvan, mense wat groot geword het hierso ... hier is baie wat nog weet ... wat sal kan onthou en wat sal kan sê soos ek sê. [*Vertel jy vir die kinders, glo hulle dit?*]. Ja, hulle moet dit glo, want ek het dit werklik gesien ... dit is nie stories nie.

Interview with Jan Magani recorded on 30 Augustus 2005

The following text transcribed is from a verbatim account recorded in an interview with Jan Magani (70 years old) at his home on Rietfontein, in the Baviaanskloof, Little Karoo, on 30 Augustus 2005 about sightings of the watermeid(e) at watersources in the mountains of Baviaanskloof. Magani has lived for the most part of his life in the Baviaanskloof. Present at the interview were Rust and Cloete from Calitzdorp. The interview was conducted in Afrikaans. Perceptions of the interviewer and questions asked are shown in parenthesis.

[Op vraag na die stories van die watermeid]. Mense gaan dood, en die oumense sê nie altyd van dié [watermiede] dinge nie. Ek sien die watermeid in Ou Berg. [*Cloete vraag: Op die bo-punt van Johan van der Mes se plaas?*]. Ja, dit is reg. In die kloof kry jy so 'n lang gat. [*'n Watergat?*]. Ja, hy sak nie en hy raak ook nie vol nie. Miskien as dit gereënt het ... kyk die water loop deur dit ... hy is nie hoog nie. Nou daardie gat, as jy hom so kyk dan gee hy 'n blou kleur. Die gat is bruin as jy hom so skep dan is hy skoon, maar onder daardie bruinkleur is ou water; kan jy maar 'n klip vat ... sê nou maar soos daardie klip [wys na 'n klip van 50mm in deursnee], so lê hy in die gat, so wyd onder die waterval uit, maar as jy die klip hier ingooi [wys na waar Rust en Cloete staan in verhouding met die distansie na die draad wat vergeleke die wydte van die gat aandui], daai klip gaan aan, hy gaan nie hier in nie, waar jy hom gegooi het nie. Daai klip gaan aan totdat jy hom nie [meer] kan sien nie. [*Hy loop as te ware op die water?*] Ja, hy gaan nie in nie, hy loop so tussen die water in ... jy kan hom nie sien nie, nes 'n slang, kyk, enige klip as jy hom gooi, hy sak af ... dit is mos 'n swaar ding, maar daai klippe ... ek het hom al verskillende tye getoets. Maar toe die ou mense wat nou daarin die Kwaggas vlak gebly het, hulle het gesê ... daai man is nou dood. Hy het gesê hy het een môre ... hy het nou self dit vir my gesê ... hy is gevang. Hy het nou self een môre toe hy gaan donkies soek ... so net toe die son begin uitkom, hy sê toe kyk hy so daar na die gat toe ... hy sê toe staan die mooi meisiekind so op die kant van die water, maar toe sy hom gewaar toe spring sy in die gat, en ... maar nou sê die ou mense, voorheen het daar 'n jong seun daar verdwyn

by daai water, hy is daarin, met die gevolge is dit is 'n lewendige fontein daai. Hy is lewendig. Nou ja, jy kry verskillende mense, hulle kan nie by so 'n gat kom nie ... nou slaan hulle nou uit, waterpuisies en so-aan maar die fontein maak my niks. Ek hoef nie klip te gooi nie, ek kan maar net ... maar as ek nou weet hierdie fontein is lewendig gooi ek maar 'n klip in, 'n mens weet nie. [*As jy nou daardie klip gooi, is dit nou 'n klip wat jy gee aan die fontein? Hoe lyk die klip?*]. Nee, ek toets hom mos nou ... ek toets hom ... Ja ek groet. As jy daardie klip ingooi dan doet hy [die fontein] jou niks. [*Hoe moet die klip lyk?*]. Nee, enige klip. Baie mense sê jy moet 'n wit klippie gooi ... dan gooi jy dit daarin maar as jy daardie klippie daarin gegooi het dan is jy vry ... nou waar is ek nou ... Dieselfde Kwaggas-vlak aan hierdie kant teen Boskloof daar was ek eendag by 'n fontein ... hy gee sommer so 'n klein dammetjie, maar hy droog nie op nie, hy is nie so 'n groot gat soos daardie ander een nie, maar eendag toe ek daar was daardie dag toe word daardie watertjies vir my kwaad; hy maak sommer so waterblasies, waterblasies, so waterblasies ... toe, toe sien ek daar so 'n klein slangetjie in die water, hy hardloop so op die water. Jy kan in die harde droogte daar gaan water drink ... hy het water maar daai dag toe ontdek ek dat ek nie vir hom kan roer nie want ek het nog nooit regtig so iets gesien nie.

[*Hoe lyk die watermeid? Die mense wat haar sien, hoe word sy beskryf?*]. Ja, dit is 'n mooi meisie ... sy is wit ... die hare is lank. Dit is 'n mens. [*Die sere wat sy jou gee, word jy siek?*]. Ja, jy word baie siek, jy word siek, jy word interdaad siek. Dan moet jy weer gaan en weer 'n klip gaan ingooi ... en dan moet jy nou sê sy het *gemakoe*, soos die Xhosas sê, sy het *gemakoe*. Dan moet jy nou daai modder vat wat daar om die water is en dan moet jy jou smeer. [*Wat beteken die Xhosa woord gemakoe?*]. *Gemakoe* beteken nou vrede want jy het oortree. [*Is dit dan 'n goeie ervaring. Is dit goed om haar te sien en by haar water te wees?*]. Presies, presies [met beklemtoning beaam dat dit 'n goeie ervaring is om die watermeid te sien].

[*Cloete vraag. Maar, Jan, is daar hier in die kloof op ... is hier nog ook 'n fontein? Want Boetie Terblance het my vertel dat by hom het eenkeer 'n man gewerk wat net tot op 'n sekere plek gewerk het as hulle die fontein sloot skoon gemaak het ... hy wou nie tot by die fontein gaan nie ... want hy het gesê daar is ook 'n watermeid?*]. Ja, ons noem dit mos die fontein ... dit is waar ons water vandaan kom [Magani wys na die kloof]. Daar is net so 'n blou gat ... kyk jy gaan mos so sommer so in die bos in ... ons maak hom nou skoon maar ons het nou nooit rêrig nodig om te gaan tot daar waar hy [sy, die watermeid] nou is nie. [*Cloete vraag. Tot by die oog?*]. Ja, ja want dit is wit water soontoe, maar die ou mense het baie gesê, my oorlede vrou, sy is nou dood, maar sy het vlekke gehad en dit is nou blykbaar waar sy gespeel het daar waar die lewendige waters is ... toe het daardie slang ... kyk 'n fontein het 'n slang en daar in Loxton se wêreld, daar kan jy dit nou sien veral as die wêreld reën; as jy nou die outydse treine gesien het met steenkool dan het hy mos

daardie swart rook [maak 'n vergelyking] ... ek het dit nou self gesien ... ek het daar gejag ... dan gaan jy nou deur Beaufort-Wes, dan gaan jy Komerant se Berg ... dan gaan jy daai berg daar uit dan gaan jy op pad Carnarvon toe ... voor jy Carnarvon kry swaai jy soontoe, maar daai plek is sommer so ... gelyk, maar daai mense weet presies wat daar aangaan ... die wêreld reën dan sê hulle vir my; 'Oom Jan, jy moet nou enige tyd daardie fonteinslang sien, en dan staan ek nog so dan kom die rook, so by 'n berg uit ... maar hy gat so [wys met 'n op en af beweging van sy hand en arm] net soos daardie wat by die trein uitkom. Net so gat hy tot by half lyf vorm hy 'n slang; hy is breed ... hy het 'n breë stert ... dan sien jy net daai stert, kom hy so, maar die voorkop sien jy dit is net rook. [*Is dit ook naby water?*]. Ja, dit is reeds by die waterfontein, maar dit is mos nou ver. Jy sien hom nou agter daardie berg en dan sien jy hom agter daai berg ... kom die rook uit. Nou sê hulle vir my; nou daar wat hy uitkom [uit die berg uit] is hy nou in die wolke. Nou sê hulle vir my; 'Oom Jan, jy moet nou kyk hy gaan nou na daardie punt toe ... om daar uit te kom. Hy sê, hy gaan nou met daardie reënwolk soontoe, solank hy nou soontoe trek reën die wêreld en so nou en dan gee hy 'n dreun, en dan gaan hy nie altyd daarin nie maar gee hy so 'n punt, daar gee hy so 'n punt, so 'n swart wolk, so 'n punt, en dan reën dit net daar en dan ... ek het nou self [dit] gesien.

[*Oom Jan, sal jy sê die watermeid kan ook reën maak?*]. Ek weet nou nie dit nie, maar hulle sê ... kyk hulle sê mos water is 'n lewendige ding. Ek verstaan hierdie berg is 'n fonteinberg ... waar hierdie varswater kom, daar is daardie fonteinberg ... hulle sê jy moet opkyk ... die berg waar die meeste mis is, vernaamlik sneeu lê, dan moet jy weet dit is die slang [waterwese] se berg.

[*Vraag Cloete: Jan, bo by Rondeklippies, Mevrouw Terblanche het vir my gesê daar was 'n ou vrou, Sannie, wat daar by die dam, ook 'n waterval, as kind gespeel het en of 'n blom of 'n speelding het daar op die water gelê?*]. Ja, hulle het dit baie gesê ... en dan kom die water nou. Hier waar hy [die water] by die dam inval ... nie almal kan by dié water gaan nie ... dan slat [slaan] hy uit. Selfs daar by Boskloof, waar ons gaan water haal het, daar altyd as jy nie daardie klip gooi nie dan maak hy [die water] daai blaas [puisie op die vel] ... of dan sien jy blomme.

[*Dit word vertel dat 'n man hier by Mispoot in die water verdwyn het. Het hy ooit terug gekom?*]. Hy het terug gekom maar hulle moes 'n bees injaag. Hy het terug gekom ... maar as hy daarin [in die water] is dan moet sy mense niks sê nie. [*Cloete: Rêrig, Jan, ons het dieselfde storie by Tokkie Hefke op Calitzdorp gehoor*]. Ja, dan moet jy nie huil nie, as jy nou huil dan kry daai mense hom maar dan is hy dood. As jy nie huil nie dan maak hulle [die waterwesens] hom nie dood nie ... dan betaal jy en dan kom hy lewendig. [*En ... daardie man, het hy 'n ervaring gehad terwyl hy onder die water was? Wat het met hom gebeur?*]. Ek weet nou nie wat hy daar gemaak het nie. Kyk, jy kry van die fonteine ... hy trek jou ... hy trek jou in ... jy moet nie orals sommer ingaan nie. Jy kry van die fonteine wat nou kwaai is ... soos ek sê ... ek het eendag gedroom dat ek moes weghardloop [van die fontein af] want toe spoeg die water ook so. Maar op pad langs te sê, daardie mense

[waterwesens] is lewendig. Ons Maganies, ons is fontein mense ... ek het Sondag daarvan gepraat ... Ons moet eintlik 'n geloof doen ... jy moet gaan vrede vra want hulle [die waterwesens] is nou kwaad. Kyk, van die mense is al lank al dood. Nou baklei hulle. Jou hele huis kom enige ding oor ... siektes en al daardie klas van dinge. Ek was eendag na Uitenhage toe na my kleinpa toe om die dinge te gaan uitvind. Toe sê hy ... julle Maganies, julle is doktor's mense ... julle werk met die wit krale en nou tussen julle was 'n vrou ... sy is al jare dood ... en daardie vrou is ontevrede ... dan moet jy bok slag en kafferbier maak en dan moet jy die vredesproses reg maak ... koffie, suiker, kafferbier, die *hydingies* ... sit jy langs die water neer en dan vat hulle [die watermense] dit. Maar as hulle nou die slag uitkom daar dan moet jy wat die werk gedoen het nie bang wees nie toe daai mense [die watermense] daar uitkom, hulle woel met die water. [Is daar dan meer as een vrou?]. Daar is meer ... daar is meer. ['n man het vertel aan Magani se kleinpa dat hy nie bang was by so 'n reinigingsproses nie want hy het by die watermense gebly]. Toe sê vir my kleinpa ... "nee ek is nie bang nie ... ek het vir 'n maand of wat gebly ... was ek onder die water" ... hy gaan bly daar. Maar as jy daarin gaan moet jy nie sê jy eet vis nie ... jy moet ander goed inneem ... sodra jy eet vis maak hulle [die watermense] jou dood. [*Hoekom sal dit so wees, Oom Jan?*]. Hulle is seker visse ... 'n ander slim man ... hy was nou 'n wettige slim man ... hy was Basotho ... hy het my vertel, hy was *daar* [by die watermense]. Hy sê daardie mense hulle het sommer goeie medisyne, kruie ... hy sê daar waar daai mense is ... hy sê, jy gaan deur daai water soos daai klip deur die water gaan ... jy gaan deur daai water. Daar waar daai mense is is dit kurkdroog ... dit is kurkdroog. Daar is nie water waar daai mense is nie. As jy daar aankom dan sit hulle [die watermense] so kop onderstebo. Dan kyk hulle jou so onderdeur. Hy sê, daai groot slang lê ook daar. Hy is so opgerol. Nou jy moet ook medisyne hê om hom mak te maak. [*Is die watermeid ook daar saam met die slang?*]. Dit moet wees want hulle is ook daar. [*Is dit hoekom die water so lewe?*]. Presies, presies ... presies. [*Is die Magani familie al lank al hier in die Baviaanskloof?*]. Ja, al lank al hier ... eintlik van Uitenhage ... my Pa het hiernatoe gekom. [*Is daar Boesman tekeninge hier naby?*]. Ja, in die kloof net waat hy nou word is daar rooi tekeninge.

APPENDIX B: LIST OF RECORDED SITES AND EXAMPLE OF A COMPLETED ROCK ART SITE FORM

This list of sites gives the site number and local name as reference markers. According to conservation policies the co-ordinates of the site locations have been removed. These reference indicators are given on the site recording forms and marked on the tracings to coordinate the general site information and relate the tracings to the site forms. The site recording forms and tracings of the rock art imagery at these sites are lodged with the author until such time as the data might be given to an appropriate institution.

List of recorded sites

SITE NO.	LOCAL NAME	CO-ORDINATES
Gamkaberg		
V1	Merrie se Kloof	
V2	Tierkloof	
V3	Tierkloof	
V4	Tierkloof	
V5	Tierkloof	
V6	Merrie se Kloof	
V7	Jagkloof	
V8	Tierkloof	
V9	Jagkloof	
V10	Skelmskloof	
V11	Suiwerwaterkloof	
V12	Waterkloof	
V13	Grootfonteinkloof	
V14	Trib. Jagkloof	
V15	Trib. Jagkloof	
V16	Tierkloof	
V17	Tierkloof	
V18	Tierkloof	
V19	Tierkloof	
MIN1	Droëvlakte/Minwater	
A1	Grootkloof	
A2	Grootkloof	
A3	Boskloof	

A4	Graskloof	
A5	Kershoutkloof	
A6	Boskloof	

SITE NO.	LOCAL NAME	CO-ORDINATES
Towerkop/ Klein Swartberg		
TK1	Besemfontein	
TK2	Besemfontein	
TK3	Besemfontein	
TK4B	Besemfontein	
TK4/5	Besemfontein	
TK6/7	Besemfontein	
TK6	Balmoral	
TK7E	Elandsvlei	
TK8	Kliprivier	
TK9	Kliprivier	
TK10	Vleiland/Hartland	
TK11/12	Van Zyl's Damme	
TK13/14	Dwarsrivier	
TK15	Dwarsrivier/Toorkloof	
TK16	Balmoral	
TK17	Modderrivier/Vleiland	
TK18	De Meule/Vleiland	
TK19	De Meule/Vleiland	
TK20	Waterval	
TK21	Voorbaat/Vleiland	
TK22	Van Zyl's Damme	
TK23	Seweweekspoort	
TK24	Sandrivier	
TK25	Seweweekspoort	
TK26	Seweweekspoort	
TK27	Bergplaas/Matjiesvlei	
TK28	Seweweekspoort	
TK29	Elandsberg	
TK30	Toringberg	
TK31	Grysmanskloof/ Zoar	

SITE NO.	LOCAL NAME	CO-ORDINATES
Rooiberg/Caledonkloof		
RB1/2/3	Rooiberg Bewarea	
G1	Waterkloof/Groenefontein	
G2	Waterkloof/Groenefontein	

G3	Waterkloof/Groenefontein	
G4	Groenkloof/Groenefontein	
CALK 30	Rooielsbos	
CTZ1	Voetslaanpad/Calitzdorp	

SITE NO.	LOCAL NAME	CO-ORDINATES
Groot Swartberg		
CGO1	De Hoek/Swartberg	
SBG1	GouekransA/Swartberg	
SBG2	GouekransB/Swartberg	
PAL1	Scholtzkloof1/Prince Albert	
PAL2	Scholtzkloof2/Prince Albert	
PAL3	TierbergW/Prince Albert	
PAL4	TierbergE/Prince Albert	
RS1	Redstone Hills/Calitzdorp	

SITE NO.	LOCAL NAME	CO-ORDINATES
Attakwaskloof (ATK)		
ATK1	Carbonaatjieskraal/Attakwaskl.	
ATK2	Perdekop1	
ATK3	Perdekop2	
ATK4	Bonniedale	
ATK5	Attakwas1	
ATK6	Attakwas2	
ATK7	Bymanskloof	
ATK8	Spitskop1	
ATK9	Spitskop2	
ATK10	Spitskop3	

SITE NO.	LOCAL NAME	CO-ORDINATES
Attakwaskloof/ Koumarivier		
KMR1	Koumarivier1	
KMR2	Koumarivier2	
KMR3	Koumarivier3	
KMR4	Koumarivier4	
KMR5	Koumarivier5	
KMR6	Paardekraal	
KMR7	Koumaskloof1	
KMR8	Koumaskloof2	

SITE NO.	LOCAL NAME	CO-ORDINATES
Baviaanskloof		
BKL1	Uitslag, Bo-Kloof	
BKL2	Uitslag, Bo-Kloof	
BKL3	Uitslag, Bo-Kloof	
BKL4	Beako's Neck	

SITE NO.	LOCAL NAME	CO-ORDINATES
Kammanassie/Outeniqua		
KAS5	Uitkyk	
KAS6	Uitkyk2	
KAS8	Kleingeluk2	
KAB10	Buffelsdrift	
KAB22	Kerterivier	
KAS24	Elandsrivier	
KAS29	Slawedam	
KAS34	Rietfontein	
KAS36	Marnewicks	
KAS30	Kleingeluk1	
KASL	Water Spirits	
LKF1	Eseljagtpoort	
HLD1	Falling Buck shelter/Herold	
HLD2	Mermaids/Herold	

SITE NO.	LOCAL NAME	CO-ORDINATES
Anysberg		
AA2	Anysberg	
AA3	Kleynspreufontein	
AA4	Matjiesgoedkloof	
AA6	Prinskloof	
AA8	Tapfontein	
AA10	Grafkloof	
AA13	Soogdierkloof	
AA14/15/16	Sankloof	
AA17	Sankloof	
AA21	Sankloof	
AA18	Meulkloof	
AA19	Meulkloof	
AA20	Meulkloof	
AA22	Tapfontein	
AA24	Janpieterskloof	

AA25	Janpieterskloof	
AA26	Soogdierkloof	
AA27/29	Sankloof	
AA28	Sankloof	
AA30	Sankloof	
AA31	West of Goede Hoop	
AA34/35	Allemorgenskloof	
AA36	Klipfontein	
AA40/41	2nd Kloof West of Prinspoort	
AA42	3rd Kloof West of Prinspoort	
AA45/46	4th Kloof West of Wolfhuiskloof	
AA48	Goede Hoop	
AA51	Anysberg se Kloof	
AA52	Witdam se Kloof	
AA53	1stKloof West of Witdamkloof	
AA59	1stKloof West of Weirkloof	
AA57	2nd Kloof West of WesternANR	
AA60	2nd Kloof West of WesternANR	
AA62	1st Kloof West of Prinspoortdam	
AA63	1st Kloof West of Prinspoortdam	
AA68	Meulkloof	

ROCK ART SITE RECORD FORM**1. General site information**

LOCAL SITE NAME	: Gamkaberg/ Merrie se Kloof	RECORDER'S NAME	: Catharine Rust
MAP SHEET	: 3321 DB/ Vleirivier	ACCOMPANIED BY	: T. Barry L. Groenewald G. Loos H. Loos J. Dippenaar C. Julies
GPS POSITION	: 33°42,16' S 21°55,26' E	CONTACT PERSON / OWNER	: T. Barry Gamka Mountain Nature Reserve
ALTITUDE	: 434m	POSTAL ADDRESS	: Private Bag X21 Oudtshoorn 6620
SITE NO.	: V 1	TEL. CODE	: 044
ACCESS TO SITE	: Descend into Kloof to site	PHONE	: 2133367
RECORDING METHODS	: Tracings/ digital/slides	E-MAIL	: gamkanr@mweb.co.za
NO. OF TRACINGS SITE PREVIOUSLY RECORDED	: Oct. 1997		
DATE OR RECENT RECORDING	: April 2002		

Additional information

- ✓ Management of the site – is it in need of cleaning up? Is there a fire hazard? *No*
- ✓ Is the site checked regularly and a checklist filled in? *Yes*
- ✓ Possibility of eco-tourism *Yes*
- ✓ Possible utilisation of site – is there a presence of rubbings? *Palettes, finger-painting*
- ✓ Effects of sound – rushing water, echoes, beehives? *Echo sounds*
- ✓ Is it a living site? *No*

2. Description of the site

- GRADIENT : **30°**
- ORIENTATION : **West**
- TERRAIN : **rocky**
- TYPE OF SITE : **overhang**
- SIZE OF CAVE /
OVERHANG : *Width – 19m*
Depth – 7m
Height – 4m
- NATURAL
SCREENING OF SITE : *Visibility on approach – open view of site on approach*
Visibility from the site – view of ravine below in kloof
- EXPOSURE TO
SUNLIGHT : **afternoons**
- NATURE OF DEPOSIT : **rocky, sandy**
- ARTEFACTS PRESENT : **charcoal; ostrich eggshell fragments; pottery shards, burnished**
- ACCESS TO WATER : **seasonal flow of water 30m in kloof (ravine) below**



The photograph shows detail of the site, positioning of the paintings, and the rocky floor.

A general view of the site

3. Condition of paintings

- % OF SEEPAGE / DRIP /
LICHEN / MOSS AND
VEGETATION ON PAINTINGS : **50 %**
- ARE PAINTINGS IN DANGER
OF DISAPPEARING? : **Yes**
- VANDALISM / GRAFFITI
PRESENT ON THE PAINTINGS : *Paint chipped off - /*
Charcoal - /
Paint - /
Scratches - /
Smoke - /
Other – exfoliation

4. General description of paintings

- ESTIMATE NUMBER OF
PAINTED IMAGES : **> 100**
- CLARITY OF PAINTINGS : *Colours – poor to good*
Outlines – moderate to good
Detail – poor to good
- COLOUR OF PAINTINGS : *Red – 70,5 %*
Yellow – 0,5 %; orange 9 %
White - /
Black – 20 %
Bi / Polychrome – orange and black

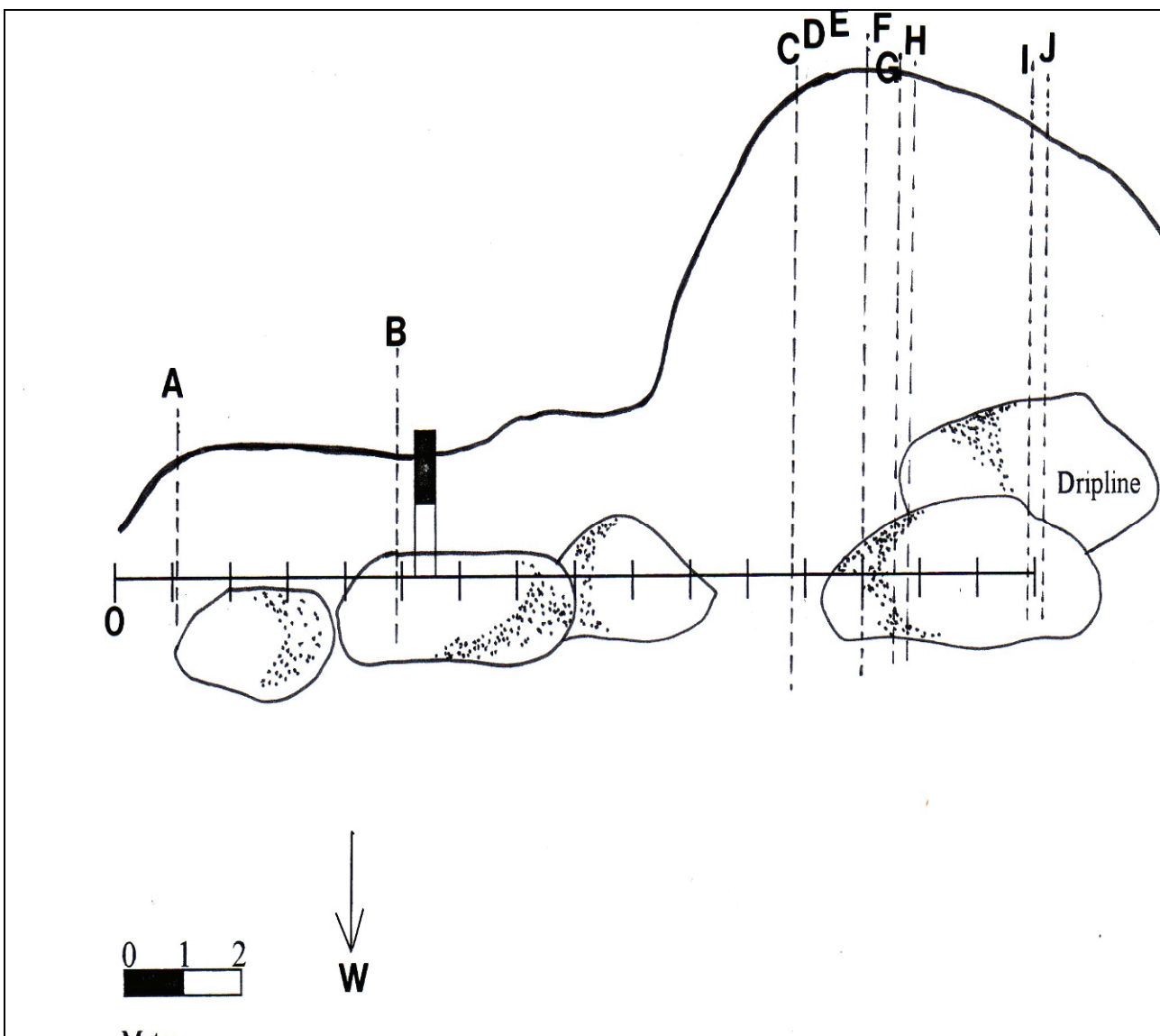
General description of paintings (continued)

- SUBJECT MATTER : *Human* – male figures, some indeterminate
Animal – elephant, eland
Handprints – present, positive
Palettes/Smeared areas – present

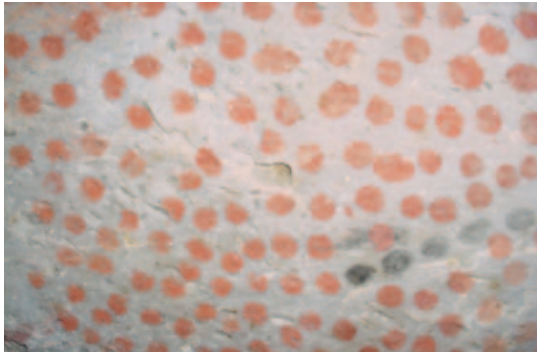
Finger dots/strokes – present
Lines – U-shaped phosphenes
Therianthrope - /



5. Record of images

Plan view of site with positions of paintings indicated



Description of paintings, location, tracing and/or digital image

Map pos.		No. of tracing	Description
			<p>Two phases of art form are distinguishable at this site. The one is fine line paintings while the other is finger painting. The fine line paintings are considered older than the finger paintings. This site has 70 and more individual images; the clusters of finger dots are counted as one collective image. This is an interesting site as there are literally hundreds of finger dots, red and black, some superimposing older fine line paintings. Some of these dots may be applied with an implement. These dots are arranged in four clusters of 180, and more dots, in each.</p> <p>An interesting feature is the use of colour in the application of these dots (Fig. 1). A few black dots are applied over red paint, but then again red dots appear to be superimposed over black dots. This form of application in the use of alternative colour is continued in the art form even where the images are finger-painted and appear to be of a more recent date.</p>  <p>Fig. 1 Red and black dots grouped in one cluster.</p>
A – 1m		a	<p>Tracing a - to the extreme left of the site are five male figures (average size, 120 mm), hook heads, arms held out and carrying equipment. The three figures on the right face the figure(s) to the left, the one with arms held out towards them, and the other, faded and partially preserved, appear to be holding its body horizontally stretched forward. One figure on the right appears to have a slight projection from the navel area; the legs intertwine with the figure in front.</p>
B– 5m		b	<p>Tracing b1 - here there are four positive handprints (120mm to 140mm from palm to finger tips), applied with red paint. There are three or more U-shaped red phosphene images (140mm in width), the one superimposed on another and possibly over a handprint (Fig. 2). These are partially preserved. There is a large sausage-shaped stroke-like smear to the left of the phosphenes. <i>See digital photograph below to this record</i></p>

			 <p>Fig. 2 Handprints and U-shaped phosphenes.</p> <p>Tracing b2 - two metre up from floor level, immediately above the handprints in <i>tracing b</i> are three human figures (100mm on average height) in a row, with penises showing, arms held out and carrying equipment. These are partially preserved.</p>
<p>C – 12m – 13m</p>		<p>c</p>	<p>Tracing c - here there are 17 male figures (130 mm on average height), partially preserved. All of these face right and appear to walk in a row. Some are depicted naked with penises showing, some are depicted with kaross-shaped torsos with no arms, some have arms held out and one is depicted with an arm held to the nose on the left of the frieze (Fig. 3). Most of these figures have hook heads. Some carry equipment.</p>  <p>Fig. 3 The partially preserved human male figures on the left of the frieze.</p> <p>A large elephant (220 mm in length), partially preserved, is depicted amidst these figures and faces left (Fig. 4). It has well-</p>

defined feet and the lips of the trunk are visible. The two figures, closest to the head of the elephant, appear to be slouching and bending forward and have claw-like feet and toes. The head and shoulders of these figures have disappeared. *See the digital photograph below to this record*



Fig. 4 The elephant is present in the centre of the frieze and the figures with claw-like feet to the left of the animal.

Level with the figures, as described, on the left of the frieze, are 23 male figures (cf. Fig. 4); 13 of these in a row. These all face to the left. They have hook heads and the yellow 'fill' of the faces are distinguishable in three figures (Fig. 5). Some have arms held out, some 'touching' the figure in front. The legs of some of the figures are intertwined (Fig. 6).

Below these figures is a large cluster of about 470 red dots (cf. Fig. 5) (included in *Tracing f*). Ten black dots are present among the red dots, arranged in a row in the centre of the cluster, and it appears that some of the red dots may have been superimposed over one or two of the black dots (cf. Fig 1).

It is uncertain whether these red and black dots were produced by the finger or painted with an implement. It appears that the holistic shape formed by the dots may have held a more prominent significance than the exact number – a significance that is in the marking of an area on the rock face. The shape is circular as well as angular and the dots lie in unison. *See digital photographs below to this record*



Fig. 5 The figures with yellow fill-in faces.



Fig. 6 the red male figures are arranged in a row and their legs are intertwined.

Tracing c - near the hind legs of the elephant described above (cf. Fig. 4), two human figures (120mm in height) are depicted in sloughing postures, have their arms joined and are superimposed by 17 black dots; grouped in an angular shape and the dots arranged in linearity. The elephant is superimposed by 27 black dots arranged in a similar angular shape and linearity. Immediately above, are more images, but too indistinct to trace or describe.

Tracing d adjoins *Tracing c* - here are two red animals (210 mm in length); the one on the left appears to be an eland with no head visible as its head terminates in a crack in the rock face (Fig. 7). Its back is outlined in black. The other animal is indeterminate and appears to have a similar stance, that of a lowering of neck and head. Here 58 black dots are superimposed on the faded human


		<p>d</p>	<p>figures below the eland and on the eland itself, while 110 red dots continue and complete the cluster of dot images above the eland. See digital photograph below to this record</p>  <p>Fig. 7 The red animal figures and clusters of black and red dots.</p>
<p>E – 13m</p>		<p>e</p>	<p>Tracing e - here an eland (110 mm in length) is also depicted with little neck showing and no head, as if partially ‘hidden’ in a crack in the rock surface (Fig. 8). A small red dot probably painted with an implement is present above the withers of the eland. The human figure (160 mm in length) below the eland is finger-painted in a rather crude style (Fig. 8). The torso is black, executed in stick-like manner with the arms held in an akimbo fashion. The legs are in orange with black paint applied over a lower portion of the leg and feet to represent ‘boots’. The orange legs are depicted in a wide stance. The black neck-head shape has an orange protuberance, which resembles a tassel or hanging tuft shape. A positive handprint of 120 mm from palm to fingertips is superimposed over this figure. A palette of red paint is in close proximity to the left.</p>
			<p>The eland and the positive handprint appear to have been executed at the same time while the finger-painted black and orange figure is a later addition and superimposed over the handprint. This is an interesting use of colour and the style continues at the site and is used in the other more recent finger-painted images at this site.</p> <p>The images recorded in <i>Tracing e</i> are positioned immediately above <i>Tracing d</i>. <i>Tracing f</i> adjoins <i>Tracing c</i> on the right above, and continues the red dots in the cluster at this position.</p>



Fig. 8 The eland and positive handprint superimposed by the finger-painted human figure.


			 <p>Fig. 8 The eland and positive handprint superimposed by the finger-painted human figure.</p>
<p>G – 13,5m</p>		<p>g</p>	<p>Tracing g - on the roof of the shelter, at this map position, in the centre of a frieze of large black dots is a human figure (150 mm in length) executed with the finger, and resembling the figure in <i>Tracing e</i>. This figure has an orange torso and legs, a black tassel on its head, black arms held akimbo and black boots (Fig. 9).</p> <p>About 180 black finger dots surround this human figure. It appears that the figure is superimposed over a black dot, which may suggest that the figure was painted at a later stage than the dots. The dots are large and may have been applied with the full head of the finger and some instances the paint applied may have been drawn down with the tip of the finger. The dots disperse from a centre core, an area close to the figure where more dots are concentrated, and then ‘run’ in rows parallel to each other and at times grouped in pairs. The collective shape of these dots may be seen as ellipsoidal. <i>See digital photograph below</i></p>



Fig. 9 The orange and black finger-painted human figure with black dots surrounding it.

<p>H – 14m</p>		<p>h</p>	<p>Tracing h1 - close to the above described dots and figure (cf. Fig. 9), on the roof of the shelter, are more human figures resembling the human figures in <i>Tracing e</i> and <i>Tracing g</i>.</p> <p>Nine figures (170 mm on average height) executed by finger are grouped in a row and all hold their arms in an akimbo posture (Fig. 10). The colour coding of these figures once again alternates between orange torsos with black extremities or a black torso with orange extremities. The first figure of the left has an orange head, torso, and legs and black arms. The next one in the row has orange legs and black torso with an orange tassel-like head. The third from the left has a black torso, arms and legs with orange boots and an orange tassel protruding from its head. The fourth figure has a black tassel on its head and an orange body, arms akimbo, with black boot-like feet. The fifth figure has a similar stance, with an orange tassel from its head, a black body and orange boots.</p> <p>Immediately above there are partially preserved figures in the same style. These are all executed in orange paint and appear to have no other colour while one figure has black boots. They all hold their arms akimbo. <i>See digital photograph below to this record</i></p>
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Fig. 10 The orange and black human figures on the roof of the shelter.

Below these figures is a large cluster of black dots (Fig. 11). The count tallies 154 dots. These are arranged in parallel rows and some pair off. *Tracing h2* continues the black dots.





Fig. 11 The orange and black finger painted figures with rows of black dots.

I – 16m

i

Tracing i - here another figure is present with orange legs, black torso and arms, in akimbo stance, with an orange tassel protruding from its head. This figure is partially preserved. Immediately above there are very small stick-like orange human figures with arms held out and depicted in a running posture. The one figure is 20 mm in height while the other one is 40 mm in height. These are also executed on the roof of the shelter.

<p>J – 16,5m</p>		<p>j</p>	<p>Tracing j - close to the above described figures, a large human figure of 350 mm in height is present, with well-defined torso, buttocks and legs, with arms held forward and the right arm painted drawn across the chest (Fig. 12). It has a hook head and appears to be carrying a bag.</p>  <p>Fig. 12 The red human figure with hook head.</p>
			<p>A pottery shard was found at this site resembling the lug of a possible Khoekhoe vessel (Fig. 13). It is housed in the display of artefacts found on the Gamkaberg Nature Reserve at the office building of the reserve. The lug has two holes set horizontally and its walls measures to a thickness of 6 – 8 mm. There appears to be no decoration.</p>  <p>Fig. 13 The pottery lug found at the site.</p>

APPENDIX C: THE RESULTS OF THE CRITERIA OF THE HERITAGE ASSET SENSITIVITY GAUGE (HASG) AS APPLIED TO THE ROCK ART SITE MERRIE SE KLOOF, ON GAMKABERG NATURE RESERVE

The results of the criteria of the Heritage Asset Sensitivity Gauge (HASG) as applied to the rock art site Merrie se Kloof, on Gamkaberg Nature Reserve

The application of the HASG criteria measures the values of the heritage aspects of the site and contents, and by implication reflects the degree of necessity for management measures to be put into effect (Wurz & Van der Merwe 2005). Analysis and appropriate scores are given according to the three HASG criteria sets:

MARKET APPEAL

1. The scenic and setting appeal is of outstanding quality retaining the ambience of the original setting – *scores 3*
2. It has universal uniqueness and prominence as national icon or symbol – *scores 3*
3. It holds place evocativeness, with the rock art images showing a sequence of events that could tell of a happening in interpretation – *scores 3*
4. Product package potential with both natural and cultural assets in the vicinity – 25km from Calitzdorp and the Route 62 – *scores 3*
5. Appeal for special spiritual needs – the integrity and intactness of the asset allows for high connection – *scores 3*
6. The tourist profile of the region is medium with the archaeological importance of the setting on route across the Gamkaberg and near other rock art sites – *scores 2*
7. As economic potential it rates medium – ambiguity exists about new income generation capacity – *scores 2*
8. Potential financial support is limited although it has official commitment – *scores 1*
9. Cost distance accessibility is reasonably easy - the road to site access is via secondary provincial roads and 4x4 tracks and on foot - >15km to the nearest town – *scores 1*
10. Number of site amenities - none – *scores 0*

Sub-total count for market appeal set = 21

CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

1. Aesthetic significance of the asset is high – as cultural asset it has distinctive and exceptional aesthetic attributes, composition, design and technical integrity in the rock art imagery – *scores 3*
2. Experiential significance of the landscape surrounding the asset is pristine, despite the presence of farming activities and towns within 20km distance – it is original and provides an optimum experience – *scores 3*
3. Historical significance – high as there are major national historical associations - historically the ancestors of indigenous peoples are the producers of the art – *scores 3*
4. Educational value and potential – the information is of high importance for man to understand roots and the setting facilitates the learning experience – *scores 3*
5. Social significance – the significance is low as awareness among the local people is low and place not associated with any recent events – *scores 1*
6. Scientific research value is high due to universal significance for international scientific community as the site is intact and has noteworthy meaning – *scores 3*
7. Uniqueness of the asset is intact as it has moderate similarities with other sites in the vicinity – *scores 2*
8. The indigenous spiritual significance has little awareness among the local communities as links are not traceable – *scores 1*
9. Significance as potential national unifying socio-cultural symbol has limited significance – interpretation is lacking – *scores 2*
10. Representation of the product type has noteworthy spiritual significance– *scores 2*

Sub-total count for cultural significance set = 23

SITE VULNERABILITY (robusticity)

1. Risk to natural damage is high – some protection is afforded to the paintings at the site but exposure to the elements and water seepage allow for a high natural damage risk - *scores 3*
2. Low fragility if at risk to human damage. It is always present at rock art sites but this site is well protected as visitors to the site are controlled by the management of the Gamkaberg Nature Reserve - visits are guided and implications of visitor actions explained – *scores 1*
3. Level of irreversible damage already present is relatively low – the floor surface is rocky and the site has little artefactual content – *scores 2*

4. Potential for negative impacts of frequent visitation on the fabric of the assets is low although limitation on the number of visitors is necessary – *scores 2*
5. Potential for negative impacts of high visitation on the social fabric of local communities has little or no impact – *scores 0*
6. Guidance provision is already in place and local guides are in the process of being trained by Rust, researcher, and accompany visitors to the site by appointment - *scores 0*
7. Level of site management plan initiation has been taken - the site is digitally documented, a site form completed with relevant information and the rock art imagery traced and photographed where possible as the conditions of the images are poorly preserved at this site – information on the site and a copy of the completed site form and data material are lodged with the management of the Gamkaberg Nature Reserve - *scores 0*
8. Implementation level of a conservation management plan is in place and actively implemented by the management of the Gamkaberg Nature Reserve - *scores 0*
9. Implementation of exposure *monitoring* measures are in place – regular site visit by the management of the Gamkaberg Nature Reserve is done, and visitor number recording and notification of protection violations at the site are recorded - *scores 1*
10. Potential/ongoing involvement of or consultation with key stakeholders – CapeNature, as facilitator of the conservation of natural and cultural assets, keep active contact with SAHRA, other protection agencies, the landowners, the local community and tourism authorities throughout the district. Rock art sites in particular are protected by this combined and interactive protection initiative- *scores 0*

Sub-total count for site vulnerability set = 9

Total count = 53

This allows for a total count of 53, giving *Merrie se Kloof* Site a rating of Grade B status. This reflects that current protection and management measures are in place and applied, and that its site vulnerability is not over-sensitive. It can thus be exposed to the public successfully as it is of high cultural significance ensuring market appeal with the proper measures in place to counter its site vulnerability.