

Landscape art and the territorial ontology: a call for landscape restitution

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Ingold has used Marx's distinction between exchange value and use value to distinguish between land and landscape. Land, Ingold suggests, is abstracted, quantitative and interchangeable. Landscape, by contrast, is qualitative and emerges as habitation's embodiment of the history of inhabitants' activities, projects and livelihoods. We use this distinction to argue that the 1913 Land Act effectively created a white monopoly on the production of landscape. By closely considering some of the resulting landscapes, we argue that a significant consequence of this monopoly has been the emergence of what we call the territorial ontology. We characterize this ontology as a world in which land and landscape are collapsed into territory – a bounded, possessed collection of qualities value can be extracted from. This is the world of colonial modernity's racialized relations of production. In the second part of our article, we examine the North-West University's landscape art collection and using Ingold to illuminate the relationship between landscapes and representations of landscapes, we argue that these representations draw attention to the world and as such form a part of the complex holding the territorial ontology in place. After demonstrating that the territorial ontology has been central to the racialization of the relations of production in South Africa's colonial modernity, we call for landscape restitution and suggest that universities are the spaces from which to lead this initiative.

Keywords: landscape, territory, belonging, sovereignty

'n Beroep op landskapkompensasie

Ingold het Marx se onderskeid tussen ruil-/wisselwaarde en verbruikerswaarde gebruik om tussen land en landskap te onderskei. Ingold suggereer dat land is geabstraheer, kwantitatief en verwisselbaar. Landskap daarenteen is kwalitatief en ontwikkel as bewoning – 'n konsep wat die geskiedenis van die inwoners, hul aktiwiteite, projekte en leefwyse beliggaam. Ons gebruik hierdie onderskeid om te argumenteer dat die Grondgebiedewet van 1913 suksesvol daarin geslaag het om 'n wit monopolie te skep ten opsigte van die produksie van landskappe. Deur 'n noukeurige inagneming van sodanige landskappe argumenteer ons dat 'n unieke gevolg van hierdie monopolie dui op die begin van wat ons die territoriale ontologie noem. Ons beskryf hierdie ontologie as 'n wêreld waarin land en landskap verval het in 'n bepaalde gebiedsbesitting van waaruit kwaliteitswaardes afgelei sou kon word. Dit is die wêreld van koloniale moderniteit se rasgebaseerde verhoudings van produksie. In die tweede deel van ons artikel ondersoek ons die Noord-Wes Universiteit se landskapskunsversameling en gebruik ons Ingold om die verhouding tussen landskappe en representasies van landskappe te belig. Ons argumenteer dat hierdie representasies die aandag vestig op die wêreld en as sodanig deel vorm van die komplekse instandhouding van die territoriale ontologie. Nadat ons gedemonstreer het dat die territoriale ontologie sentraal tot die rasgedrewe verhoudingsproduksie in Suid-Afrika se koloniale moderniteit, rig ons 'n versoek vir landskapkompensasie en stel ons voor dat universiteite die ruimtes is van waar hierdie inisiatief gelei moet word.

Sleutelwoorde: landskap, gebied, besit, soewereiniteit

The year 2013 marked the centenary of the 1913 Land Act that removed from black South Africans the right to own or inhabit land in the South African Union. Sol Plaatje understood that this act would place mastery over the movements and activities that would constitute the events of black South Africans' lives in the colonial order's hands. He thus described the Act as a casting out - as a type of displacement. "Awakening on Friday morning,

June 20th, 1913”, he remarked, “the South African Native found himself, not actually a slave, but a pariah in the land of his birth” (Plaatjie 1916: 21). This is a curious turn of phrase. What does it mean to be a pariah in the land of one’s birth? Pariahs are outcast, they move through a world they do not belong in. In Plaatjie’s (1916) phrase, however, pariahs remain “in the land of their birth”. This seems contradictory. Black South Africans were not yet removed from the place where they belonged, rather, the ability to produce place and the belonging that accompanies that production was removed from them.

The theme of black South Africans as aliens at home resonates with Njabulo Ndebele’s (2007) description of his experience at a game lodge in Kwazulu Natal in the 1990s, at the end of the century the Land Act opened. Ndebele (2007: 99) describes game lodges as “the ultimate leisuring of colonial history”, a “precious cleared space in the middle of a frightening, threatening forest”. These bounded landscapes, he suggests, are manifestations of conquest offering white South African guests a taste of power once possessed. Offering the image of South Africa as the game lodge writ large, he describes black South Africans as waking up in a ‘vacation house’ now supposedly theirs, but that they do not recognize and to which they do not belong. The vacation-house metaphor illuminates Plaatjie’s (1916) use of pariah. In Ndebele’s (2007) image of waking in a vacation house, black South Africans’ pariah status is a result of their birth land being transformed into the liminal ‘vacation house’; into a colonial world created amid and against the inscrutable wilderness beyond. In Ndebele’s (2007) description, black South Africans move into and out of this world only to facilitate it, they are transitional figures who are momentarily part of it, but only inasmuch as they work to maintain the distinction between this world and the wild chaos beyond it.

Ndebele’s (2007) vacation house metaphor also importantly shows that the pariah status Plaatjie (1916) attributed to the Land Act resulted from more than the legislative complex the act formed part of, but also that it outlasted that legislative complex. The Land Act has long-since been repealed and a fraught restitution process is in place. Within the confines of the game lodge’s bounded landscape, however, Ndebele (2007) nonetheless felt a pariah in the land of his birth. His paper stands as a call for scholars to recognize that what South Africans become is bound up in questions about what we do with game lodges and, we will argue, other instances of this colonial world.

Coetzee (1988) considers the problem of landscape and belonging within the South African context from the opposite side of South Africa’s racial spectrum. Commenting on passages about the landscape in white South African writing, he asserts: “In the words he throws out to the landscape, in the echoes he listens for, he is seeking a dialogue with Africa, a reciprocity with Africa that will allow him an identity better than that of visitor, stranger, transient” (Coetzee, 1988: 7). Coetzee (1988), writing ten years earlier than Ndebele (2007), is seemingly suggesting that the bounded landscapes black South Africans find so alienating are themselves the product of alienation experienced by white settlers. White settlers, he asserts are appealing to the landscape in their literary works because of their own liminal status as no longer European and not yet African. Moreover, these writers listen for echoes, the reciprocity they hope for is a false one, the landscapes they construct do not allow them an identity better than pariah.

Between the arguments of these two literary figures, white and black South Africans are pariahs, visitors, strangers, transients. White writers and, we will suggest painters, motivated by their own out-of-place identities construct landscapes that make pariahs, visitors, strangers, transients of black South Africans. Is South Africa, then, a land in which no one belongs? We

think so, and argue that this is because of how coloniality reforms landscape into territory so a landscape restitution programme is required as a decolonial gesture.

Landscape as representation

Before we clarify exactly what we mean by such a call, we need to recognize that Ndebele (2007) and Coetzee (1988) are not talking about landscape in the same way. Ndebele (2007) is talking about a place, a game farm, while Coetzee (1988) is talking about a passage of text. Our first task is, thus, to bridge the gap between these two notions of landscape. We do so by first illustrating how these notions are related to one another and second, showing how the unbelonging both authors refer to emerges from that relatedness. Only then will explanations of territorial ontology (a world of qualifiable and lootable qualities) and landscape restitution be possible.

Etymologically speaking, landscape originates in the seventeenth century as a term for “a particular experience of seeing a landscape, namely its representation in painting” (Rossler, 2009: 299). In this guise, landscape refers to a representation. Coetzee (1988: 7) is, thus suggesting that white South African writers are producing landscape *representations* in an attempt to develop a reciprocity with Africa that will confer belonging upon them. As such, they are constructing textual spaces that are doomed to be echo chambers that reflect the gestures that create them in an endless chain of reiteration. According to Coetzee’s argument, white writers’ sense of belonging is thus a misrecognition. Their misrecognizing the echoes of landscape construction as reciprocal dialogues between themselves and the spaces they moved through confers belonging along two axes. First, it translates spaces through which settlers move into versions of European landscapes, thus domesticating them by inserting them into a familiar aesthetic continuum. Second, the echo chamber of landscape representation confirms settlers’ assumptions about their right to mastery over the landscape, what Coetzee (1988: 85) terms the “myth of natural right”.

The two axes along which Coetzee (1988) suggests landscape literature confers the sense of belonging settlers crave are visible in South African landscape painting too. They, in fact, supply the logic governing the continuum that characterizes South African landscape painting. For one thing, European colonial explorer art renders the landscape dominatable, whereas the Claudian¹ inspired European landscape tradition of the 18th and 19th century renders the landscape familiar. This continuum encompasses both initial vistas of explorers’ sublime ‘wilderness encounters’ and the later Romantic picturesque framing of African scenery (cf. Coetzee 1988: 39; Garrard 2004: 60; Labuscagne 2007: 432).

Echoing Coetzee (1988), Boehmer (1995: 94-95) asserts that colonisers’ motive for documenting the colonised landscape and its inhabitants stemmed from two main pretexts. On the one hand there was a desire to understand and control the unfamiliar, and on the other, there was a need to fight, shy off and demarcate what seemed uncontrollable. In the process, the coloniser employed a number of strategies such as highlighting the unfamiliar as strange and exotic or, conversely, omitting the inscrutable altogether. Whatever the motives behind the documentation of the colonised peoples and lands, such representations reinforced the “myth of natural right” by making imperialism seem part of the natural order of things (Boehmer 1995:2-3).

Boehmer (1995: 92) argues that the colonisers faced a difficult task in their attempts to graft their own hermeneutic structures onto the colonised environment. By employing

different authoring strategies colonial artists could represent foreign landscapes in ways that seemed familiar and believable to themselves and their audience. Pictorial devices such as linear perspective, elevated vantage points and other illusionistic artifices (cf. Ashcroft 2001: 15, 141) acted as strategies that abetted these artists' persuasive imaging of the colonised landscape. 'Persuasive imaging' is a term used by Hills (1991: 100) to describe how the viewer may be convinced of the reality of a particular depiction through the artist's employment of the conventions of naturalism, in spite of the fact that the pictorial information in question is mediated by the artist's selection and manipulation thereof. We will return to this notion in a later section to try to understand what makes persuasive imaging persuasive.

Europeans' attempts to fully tame their colonial surroundings through persuasive imaging did incur a sense of unease pictorially. Hence, artists documenting those surroundings constantly depended on their own familiar concepts, narratives and metaphors in order to describe and encompass their unsettling new surroundings (Boehmer 1995: 92). This reliance on familiar tropes drawn from the Claudian tradition is a prominent component of the echo chamber Coetzee (1988) mentions. Jacobs (1995: 9) suggests that Europeans' perceptions of foreign lands invariably incorporated both factual and fictitious conceptions. And so, when confronted with the non-native aesthetics of their new milieu

...[European] travellers adapted the familiar concepts of hill, meadow, brook and so on to give shape to their experience. They sought out features conforming to their own aesthetic schemes – misty tones, a heterogeneity of natural and geological features, the idealized landscapes associated with the seventeenth-century French painter Claude. So, it was as we now tend to believe, that the reality most feasible for a colonial culture to occupy was one of its own making, described in its own language (Boehmer 1995: 92).

Just how art assisted the European exploration fantasy is persuasively illustrated by Carruthers and Arnold's (2000: 22) narration of a landscape depiction by colonial artist Thomas Baines.

...spaces uninterrupted by mountains and rivers which, when crossed, permit further territorial exploration. The viewer (and by allusion the explorer/coloniser) is invited to enter and travel through pictorial space, and – through the gaze – to take possession of a real spatial situation. By using illusionistic devices such as linear perspective, the artist convinces the viewer that space can be traversed and conquered, imaginatively and literally.

Again, the question arises as to what the relationship is between conception and perception. Jacobs (1995: 9) asserts that settler perceptions of the landscape are constructed out of factual and fictional conceptions of landscape. This is another iteration of Coetzee's (1988) echo chamber, but it more pertinently makes the point that perception follows from conception, and that confers great significance upon landscape art. To begin to understand that potential significance, we need to outline how a tradition of conceiving the landscape made its way into South African landscape paintings.

Labuscagne (2007: 434) argues that the relationship between landscape conceptions and the representational strategies that early colonial European artists brought with them to South Africa can be traced to a configuration of the picturesque and the pastoral. The notion of the picturesque was introduced alongside established aesthetic categories such as the 'sublime' and the beautiful as a result of the increased popularity and broadening of the landscape genre (Chu 2003: 176). The term derives from the Italian word *pittresco*, which literally translates as 'from a picture' (Clarke 2001: 187). One of the first exponents of the picturesque was William Gilpin (1724–1804), for whom the picturesque was not as awe-inspiring as the sublime and lacked the perfect refinement of the beautiful, but instead served to charm and delight the viewer (Chu 2003:

179). The picturesque is an aesthetic modality characterised by visual appeal, sentimentality, nostalgia, amazement, impulsiveness, ephemerality and what relates to the mind's eye. Auerbach (2004: 48) suggests that the picturesque presupposed that nature was imperfect, and therefore had to be reorganised by the artist in order to paint it.

According to Clarke (2001: 187), the types of Italian landscape painting typified by Claude provided the canon whereby the picturesque was judged. Van Eeden (2004: 27-28) concurs with this, stating that the picturesque was reliant on presupposed pictorial models that determined how nature was to be looked at. According to Van Eeden (2004: 28), the picturesque formula utilised the Western notion of planar recession based on pictorial perspective where-by the landscape is translated into foreground, middle-distance and background in order to make it understandable for the viewer. To this she adds that, "the picturesque usually is envisioned as a series of planned and composed static pictures that are meant to be seen from specific viewpoints" (Van Eeden 2004: 28). In light of this, Van Eeden (2004: 27) refers to Delmont and Dubow who suggest that the picturesque was a thoroughly coded form of representation that presented the foreign landscape for the colonial gaze so that the picturesque becomes a boundary creating practice; "a method of spatial organisation that encompasses the creation of bounded colonial spaces".

This analysis is also applicable to the depiction of colonised peoples in picturesque landscape paintings. Boime (1990: 188) suggests that the Other presented a, "picturesque and pathetic folk" who provided profoundly tantalizing subject matter for foreign artists, thus supporting Chu's suggestion (2003: 179) that the picturesque served to charm and delight the viewer. We will argue is that this picturesque imagining of the Other is so tantalizing precisely because it is represented as a transitional figure framing the colonial world and the chaotic wilderness beyond. This transitional position is crucial in making possible the system of permanent primitive accumulation characteristic of the Apartheid political economy.

Apart from the picturesque, the sublime is one of the most enduring aesthetic modalities within the landscape genre. Together these two aesthetic modalities were instrumental in shaping the attitudes that would eventually lead to Romanticism (Chilvers 2003: 574). The notion of the sublime, a term referring to sensory experiences that transcend the conventional binary category of beautiful and ugly, first entered popular European thought during the eighteenth century (cf. Chu 2003: 72; Clarke 2001: 234). The sublime elicits overpowering emotions in the viewer and rouses the imagination through the power of suggestion. It does this by the use of awe-inspiring epic vastness and the exaggeration of nature in some form or another (Clarke 2001: 234; Chilvers, 2003: 574; Van Eeden 2004: 27-28). As an aesthetic modality the sublime encompasses a pleasurable attraction to the notion of fear, but in a way that enhances the appreciation of one's own relative safety in relation to the depiction. At the same time it reassures the viewer of his/her mental capabilities to overcome nature's seemingly overwhelming powers (cf. Cochrane 2012: 125, 134-135).

Sublime colonial depictions have long been seen to function as an allegory of imperial control (cf. Ashcroft 2001: 141) a notion supported by Edwards (2009: 96) who states that "all aesthetic modes are [the] sites of struggle and shift in context of social upheaval". Thus, contemporary considerations have added ethical dimensions to the notion of the sublime that include political and sociological concerns (Holmqvist & Pluciennik 2002: 718).

Labuscagne (2007: 438) traces a continuum of landscape representations in South Africa starting with the 'wilderness moment' followed by the 'colonial moment'. The wilderness moment represents the instance when the colonial artist is confronted by a foreign landscape and

attempts to graft his own hermeneutic structures onto it by trying to Europeanise it. The types of landscapes painted by explorer artists such as William Burchell G.F. Angus, Thomas Bowler, Frederick I'Ons, Thomas Baines and Charles Davidson Bell corresponds with this notion (cf. Coetzee, 1988: 36; Labuscagne 2007: 436). Bell's early representations of the Cape landscape, for example, are telling of his own foreignness to this country (Godby 1998: 141). Godby (1998: 141-142,144) cites several examples of Bell's pictorial interventions in his depictions of the South African landscape. In *Sketch on the border of the Kalahari Desert* (1835) (figure 1) Bell appears to have introduced elements associated with the European landscape tradition à la Claude with specific expressive intent, such as the balanced structuring of space and arcadian depiction of indigenous people in the landscape. Indeed, many nineteenth-century South African landscape depictions conform to Claudian principles of pictorial arrangement which includes the separation of foreground, middle-ground and background through the use of light and tonal perspective (cf. Lipschitz 1992: 67). In another example of Bell's work, *Scenery of the Kashaan Mountains: the poort of the Urie River* (1835) (figure 2), a low viewing point greatly exaggerates the actual height of the mountains. A nod towards the picturesque is evident in Bell's decision to draw two vultures near the centre of the picture plane, which Godby (1998: 145) suggests, also complements the sublime attributes of this depiction. Godby (1998: 144) points to the symbolic significance of Bell's depictions by proclaiming that Bell's use of a "single controlling viewpoint" provides the means to measurable space that is the pictorial equivalent to the role that scientific measurements play in the surveillance of the landscape.

As the settlers invaded foreign land, their control over the landscape found articulation in pictorial representations of unblemished natural environments such as favored by Romanticism (cf. Brown 2001: 416). Europeans often ascribed to the myth of a *terra nullius* (Van Eeden 2004: 25-26). In light of this, Ryan (quoted in Van Eeden 2004: 32) suggests that the colonial gaze spatially fixes the colonial landscape "as a blank text, ready to be inscribed by the impending colonial process." As we have argued above, however, it is not so much the disembodied gaze that fixes the colonial landscape, it is, rather, the picturesque as a boundary making practice out of which a colonial world emerges as separated from the chaotic wilds beyond. The completed subjugation of the foreign land by such boundary practices heralds what Labuscagne (2007: 436) refers to as the 'colonial moment'. At this point the representational practices derived from European traditions frame the landscape as domesticated.

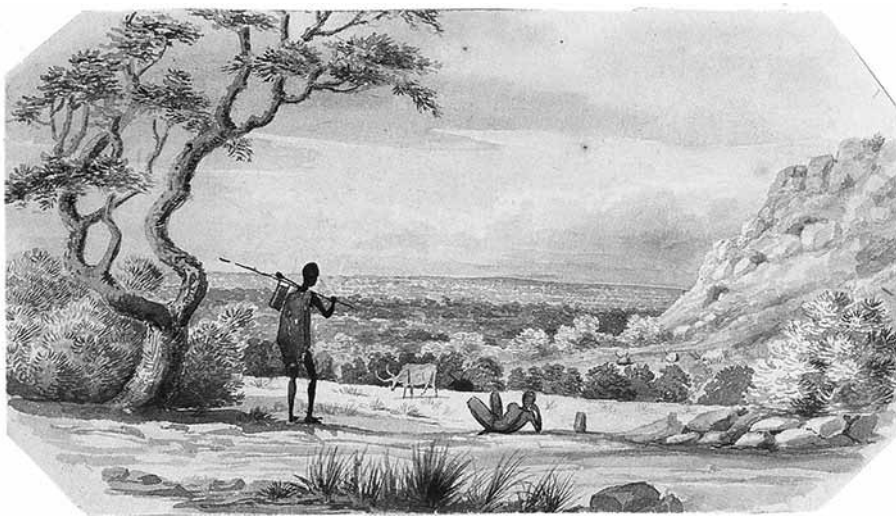


Figure 1

C. D. Bell, *Sketch on the border of the Kalahari Desert*, 1835, watercolour (monochrome), 10 cm x 17,8 cm, MuseumAfrica Collection (source: Brooke Simons:1998, figure 4: 142).



Figure 2

C. D. Bell, *Scenery of the Kashan Mountains: the poort of the Urie River*, 1835, watercolour, 14 cm x 24.2 cm, MuseumAfrica Collection (source: Brooke Simons: 1998, figure 5: 143).

In the North-West University Art Collection the boundary making representational practices discussed above are evident in a number of early twentieth century landscape paintings by J.H. Pierneef (1886-1957), Jan Ernst Abraham Volschenk (1853-1936) and a work by Pierre Volschenk (b. 1926) from the early 1980s.



Figure 3

J. H. Pierneef. *Bosveldlandskap*, 1947, oil on canvas, 41cm x 56cm, North-West University collection (source courtesy of NWU Gallery).

In *Bosveldlandskap* (1947) (figure 3) Pierneef, an artist closely associated with Afrikaner Nationalism (cf. Lamprecht 2011: 32), utilises typical pictorial devices that evoke the picturesque. This painting depicts a *terra nullius* devoid of all but botanical life. In a typically picturesque

manner, the scene is framed by a set of trees in the middle foreground creating a balanced composition that leads the eye from the foreground along a meandering path into the hazy distance (cf. Auerbach 2004: 48). Although naturalistic, the image is painted in the signature style that has become synonymous with Pierneef. In spite of the stylised nature of Pierneef's depiction, the use of perspective in this work is characterised by a single controlling viewpoint. It recedes from the foreground to middle-distance and distant background, thus suggesting an intelligible and believable space for the viewer. Carruthers and Arnold (2000: 22) argue that perspective in colonial paintings may be translated into real spatial situations whereby Europeans translated their control of space into military and cultural control and ultimately possession. Artists' use of a single controlling viewpoint is an aspect of persuasive imaging, and as such can be as a complicit part of the boundary making practices that construct the scene as bounded and possessable. Thus, Pierneef's fixing of his subject by means of a single controlling viewpoint affirms his imperial mastery over the landscape.

Pierneef further employs the picturesque to encode a controlling gaze. According to Freschi (Standard Bank 2012; Freschi 2009: 34) Pierneef's landscapes are "...redolent of the controlling gaze of the Afrikaner nationalist" that was expressed through, among other ways, a picturesquely depicted *terra nullius*. The gaze in that sense emerges from the boundary making practices alongside the bounded landscape that is its object. Pierneef, along with contemporary W.H. Coetzer (1900 -1983), was instrumental in establishing a canon of Afrikaner Nationalist art that was conservatively figurative in style and subject matter. Their *oeuvres* had an enduring aesthetic influence on their contemporaries as well as later generations (cf. Freschi 2009: 34) – as evidenced in Jan Ernst Abraham Volschenk's *Meiringspoort* (1926) (figure 4) and Pierre Volschenk's *Oos Transvaal berge* (1980) (figure 5) – works that deploy the same boundary-making gestures to create bounded colonial worlds awaiting habitation by settlers.



Figure 4

J. E. A. Volschenk. *Meiringspoort*, 1926, oil on canvas, 18,5cm x 20,5cm, North-West University collection (source courtesy of NWU Gallery).



Figure 5

P. Volschenk. Oos Transvaal berge, 1980, oil on canvas, 61cm x 90cm, North-West University collection (source courtesy of NWU Gallery).

To understand the dynamics of these boundary making practices and the role of the native figure within them, it is worth considering Bunn's (2001: 7) discussion of an 1860s Thomas Baines painting. Bunn argues that the effect of the sublime in this work is to mark the Romantic reciprocity between the subject and the landscape. The painting in question is *Eastern Portion of the Victoria Falls* (1863) (figure 6), which depicts a "white explorer [leaning] forward over the Sublime abyss, as though bent against a great wind caused by the rushing curtain of water" (Bunn 2001: 7). Baines is remembered as an "explorer and painter" - his reputation, according to Jacobs (1995: 149), based more on his bravery than his artistic prowess. Carruthers and Arnold (2000: 22) argue that Baines, through his involvement in scientific expeditions, helped to advance the scientific notions of the time by means of descriptions and observations of his encounters. Thus, Baines, like other explorer artists, not only conformed to hegemonic European scientific and artistic conventions of the time, in many ways they contributed towards and entrenched these.

From his own writings it is evident that Baines was familiar with the notion of the picturesque, also as a means to articulate his own responses to natural scenery. In his depiction of the sublime Baines' emotional response tends to be mitigated by his scientific endeavour (Carruthers & Arnold 2000: 94, 98-99). We argue however that Baines' various depictions of the Victoria Falls are expressions of the sublime experience of nature, in spite of the artist's attempt to temper his sensory response with scientific observation. In *The 'spray cloud' of the Victoria Falls* (1863) (figure 7), for example, human figures are dwarfed by the landscape. The entire composition is dominated by a plume of vapour caused by the Zambesi River's fall into the natural fissure – and forms the paintings focus point. According to Carruthers & Arnold (2000: 95-97) Baines extended his colour palette and enhanced his hues and tones in *Devil's Cataract* (1862) (figure 8), a depiction of one of the falls' main streams, to convey what he experienced at the site, rather than what he saw. In both these artworks the sense of the sublime is intensified by the artist's picturesque framing of the scenery, which draws attention to the scale and power of this natural phenomenon.



Figure 6

T. Baines. Eastern Portion of the Victoria Falls, 1863, oil on canvas, 45.8 cm x 66.7 cm, MuseumAfrica Collection (source Carruthers & Arnold: 2000, figure 13: 103).



Figure 7

T. Baines. The 'spray cloud' of the Victoria Falls, 1863, oil on canvas, 45 cm x 62 cm, First National Bank Collection (source Carruthers & Arnold: 2000, figure 14: 89).



Figure 8

T. Baines. Devil's Cataract, 1862, oil on canvas, 66 cm x 45.7 cm, Collection National Archives of Zimbabwe (source Carruthers & Arnold: 2000, figure 4: 95).

The effect of the sublime in *Eastern Portion of the Victoria Falls*, Bunn suggests, is the construction of a reciprocity between the colonist and the landscape, a point that echoes Coetzee's (1988) echo chamber. What is significant in Bunn's argument is the effect of the ensuing reciprocity on the black bodies in the painting. Bunn (2001: 7) argues that "the apparent absorption and projection of the white subject into the landscape has a wider impact: it appears to drain life from the other figures in the painting".

One effect of the distinction the sublime introduces between the colonist and nature is to remove vitality from black bodies and render them torpid and trapping them in the realm of "service or use value" (Bunn 2001: 7). In effect, we argue, the black body becomes a *corpus nullius*. Once constructed as such, these constructions of the *other* tend to crystallise into a cultural projection of negative concepts and may then serve as justification for a number of material practices such as colonisation. Moreover, in time such negative constructions assist in naturalising said material practices (Childs & Fowler 2006: 165; Edgar & Sedgwick 2006: 266). This is evidenced in Baines' *Eastern Portion of the Victoria Falls*. Crouching on the edge of the painting, beyond the encounter and reciprocity between colonist and nature, they "remain in the realm of drives". Bunn suggests that they remain this way as long as they are not harnessed to the larger project. We will take this further and suggest that the representational practices create a bounded colonial world, the object of the colonial gaze, in which the natives are indistinct transitional figures so long as they remain unharnessed to the colonial project.

Bunn (2001: 8) contrasts the effects of the Sublime in the painting discussed above with the effect of a picturesque framing trope in a photograph taken several decades later. In the photo, two Swazi warriors exaggeratedly posing in the foreground frame a petty railway official's house - their spears and shields poised ready for action. Through the loyal ethnic figures framing the scene, Bunn argues, the relationship between the colonist and the landscape is harmonized. The presence of the transitional figures as what frames the colonial project, harmonizes and justifies the colonial engineering project (Bunn 2001: 8-9).

These two images mark different points in a "genealogy of bodily representation" (Bunn 2001: 9). This genealogy runs along the continuum from encounters with sublime nature to picturesque representations of cleared and now safe colonial spaces. Through this genealogy the black bodies reduced to indistinct anonymous figures in Baines's painting of Victoria Falls, and the ethnically exaggerated framing bodies of the photograph each become the necessary condition for the other's emergence.

Returning to Ndebele's (2007) game lodge, we see a movement that reinforces this conditional dependence. Ndebele (2007) describes black South Africans as moving into and out of the clearing as faceless while in the clearing serving the larger project of (leisure) colonialism, but who ultimately remain as inscrutable as the bush beyond the carefully maintained boundary of the clearing. It is the movement of these transitional anonymous figures into and out of the cleared space that, more than anything else, marks the boundary between the safe cleared colonial setting in which natives serve - and the inscrutable dense bush beyond in which inscrutable natives loom threateningly, weapons poised. In the painting, the photograph and the game lodge, the line between the social, understood to be that enclosed within the cleared colonial spaces, and the natural, understood to be a threatening and inscrutable zone beyond that space, has the wider effect of constructing black South Africans as framing of and in service of the colonial project.

Tellingly, the representational strategies that effect this construction do not seem to follow from a conception of the landscape. Rather, a particular conception of the landscape as the object of an objectifying gaze emerges out of a set of representational strategies aimed at bounding the colonial landscapes settlers encountered in order to render them familiar and dominatable; in order to domesticate them to the colonial project. A notion of landscape as domesticated and bounded thus emerges out of the representational practices intended to confer upon settlers an identity better than pariah. These practices deploy familiar tropes to activate the myth of natural right. One very important consequence of these representational practices is the transformation of natives into transitional figures that move between the Nature settlers confront in paintings of the Sublime, and the harmonized relationship between settlers and landscape depicted as the cleared colonial spaces characteristic of picturesque landscape art as discussed above.

Landscape as place

In order to make this claim, we must do away with the notion that perception (a colonial gaze) follows from conception. Focusing on the representation of colonial spaces, as we do in our discussion of landscape paintings, risks leaving opaque the relationship between paintings or passages of text and ordered spaces such as the game lodge. We cannot simply assume that European conceptions of the landscape dictated settlers' perceptions and thus direct their behaviour. To avoid this fate we need to return to the landscape discussed by Ndebele (2007) and ask what the relationship is between it, Coetzee's (1988) understanding of landscape prose and the preceding discussion of landscape paintings.

Plaatjie (1916) and Ndebele (2007) did not refer to representations of bounded colonial spaces. They, rather, referred to landscapes through which bodies can move. How these landscapes are bounded, how they delimit and prescribe those movements, through such measures as the 1913 Land Act, are what lie at the heart of the pariah status of black South Africans. A useful way to understand the mechanism that lies behind the pariah status that Plaatjie (1916) recognized so early on, and that Ndebele (2007) experienced at the game lodge, is Ingold's (2000) understanding of landscape as something other than a representation.

Ingold (2000: 190) distinguishes between land and landscape, arguing that land is a quantitative concept and that landscape is a qualitative one. For example, one can ask how much land a person has, but not about what that land is like. Its basic unit is abstract and perfectly interchangeable: the square metre, the hectare, the acre. Land is an alienated and measurable commodity. It can belong to someone, but someone cannot belong to it. Landscape, by contrast, is qualitative. One cannot ask how much landscape a person has, but one can ask what a landscape is like. As soon as one asks about the qualities of an area of land, about its soils, its minerals, its biota, its vistas, one moves into the realm of landscape. Ingold uses the Marxian distinction between exchange value and use value to further inform this distinction. Exchange value is the perfectly interchangeable value of a commodity. Use value, by contrast, is the value that accrues as a result of a commodity's incorporation into a system of meaning. For Ingold, then, landscape is nothing other than the congealment of what he terms the *taskscape*, which he describes as the patterns of production, consumption, movement and exchange that constitute lives lived locally on the land (2000: 198).

The landscape by this definition emerges from patterns of habitation. Ingold's notion of the landscape thus, enables the suggestion that Ndebele's (2007) game lodge similarly to picturesque colonial landscape paintings, emerges out of a series of domesticating practices. We can begin to suggest that what paintings and game lodges have in common is that both emerge out of the colonial imperative to create a world of extractable and exploitable qualities.

To understand this domestication it is useful to turn to Mbembe's argument that domestication is one of two traditions of violence at the heart of the impunity and unconditionality that lay at the heart of such injustices as the land act. Mbembe (2001: 25) suggests that the colonial sovereignty that rendered black South Africans pariahs as reflected in the Land Act and the game lodge rests on three sorts of violence. The first is what he terms *founding violence*. This is the violence of conquest, the violence that constituted a space over which colonial sovereignty could be exercised. Through this violence, colonial sovereignty assumed its own supreme right, and the supreme denial of right. This brings together rather poignantly the Land Act's denial of rights to own land and the myth of natural right that Coetzee (1988: 85) identifies, and that we have argued is evident in South African landscape painting. Paintings, passages of prose, game lodges and the Land Act all exercise the violence of conquest to simultaneously open up bounded colonial spaces of supreme right for a settler elite while exercising the supreme denial of right over the bodies of black South Africans.

The second sort of violence Mbembe refers to is the violence that functions to give meaning to the bounded spaces opened up by the violence of conquest. It is the violence of legitimation. In Mbembe's (2001: 25) words, it converts the "founding violence into authorizing authority". The third type of violence, is the violence intended to harmonize the imaginary of colonial sovereignty with that of broader society. It is the violence of reiteration in the realm of the everyday, the banality of a multiplicity of gestures that perform colonial sovereignty,

the taskscape of colonial sovereignty out of which bounded colonial landscape emerges, in Mbembe's (2001: 26) words:

Colonial sovereignty only existed from a area where these three forms of violence were deployed, forming a seamless web. This violence was of a very particular sort, immediately tangible, and it gave the natives a clear notion of themselves in proportion to the power they had lost.

We want to suggest that the Land Act, the game lodge, landscape painting and prose have in common is that they all generate bounded colonial spaces under the power of colonial sovereignty, all give to those spaces a meaning that is no more than the rendering of the founding violence in the form of an authorizing authority, and they all are part of a complex of reiterative violence that reciprocally confirms the legitimacy and correctness of the boundary making practices through which natives recognize themselves in proportion to the power they have lost. Here we can see Coetzee's (1988) insight into the echo chamber, the violence of the representation becomes the reciprocal confirmation of the legitimacy and correctness of the boundary making representational practices that it emerged out of and that it obscures. These three seamlessly blended sorts of violence are what create natives as pariahs at home.

It would, thus, be a mistake to suggest that bounded colonial landscapes, such as the game lodges critiqued by Ndebele (2007), followed from representations of colonial landscapes as simple manifestations of the colonial gaze. Rather, we use Ingold to suggest that these bounded landscapes are each the result of a colonial mode of habitation; a complex of domesticating boundary practices. The ordering strategies that the game lodge emerges from as a bounded precious and safe space amidst a frightening jungle of unfamiliarity, and the picturesque representational strategies that landscape paintings emerge from as bounded colonial spaces both stem from the colonial drive to create a world of extractable qualities. In the following two sections, we will first draw from historical and ethnographic material to illustrate what we mean by domesticating boundary practices.

Treating the colonial landscape as the congealment of all the embodied activities that make up the domesticating colonial taskscape (Ingold 2000: 198), we argue following Mbembe (2001), that the body of the native is as much the raw material of colonial government as what Wolpe (1972) and Magubane (1979) described as the raw material of colonial production in a system of permanent primitive accumulation. The aim of acts of government such as the Land Act was to remove black South Africans' power to produce use value, to produce landscapes of their own. Natives became pariahs as a new world was created around them, one in which they were framed by domesticating acts of government as objects in a colonial territory.

Black South Africans became pariah as colonial patterns of production, consumption, movement and exchange, what Lefebvre (1991) might term colonial capitalist social space, slotted into place another piece of government fixing them as an exploitable quality of one of its territories. In that new world, the native, having lost the right of habitation, could move, produce, consume and exchange only insofar as these activities ministered to the needs of colonial modernity (Magubane 1979); insofar as these activities confirmed the native as an extractable quality of colonial territory.

As an object in the taskscape of colonial modernity, the high price of movement, production, consumption, was the black South African's deepening of his own pariah status as an object in that taskscape; was the entrenching around himself of a horrifying landscape to which he could never belong and from which escape is proving very difficult. The Land Act thus constituted part of an apparatus that removed from black South Africans the power to produce landscape. This

act finally brushed aside the landscape they belonged in on Thursday evening, June 19th, 1913 and damned them to a landscape they could move upon but where their movement could never matter beyond its confirming and reiterating colonial sovereignty.

Wolpe (1972), Magubane (1979) and other political economists of race and class in South Africa have, however, reminded us that the landscape of the native was not utterly destroyed. A caricature of it was preserved in bounded spaces called bantustans or homelands, within South Africa's broader modern colonial landscape. Magubane (1979) argues that the boundaries of the bantustans were not intended to keep them separate from colonial South Africa. Rather, these boundaries were intended and shaped to keep these areas subordinated to the broader colonial capitalist system as reservoirs of labour. These boundaries were intended to keep the native a quality of colonial territory. The caricature of ethnic sovereignty that was cultivated in these bantustans is thus best understood as part of colonial government, part of a complex pressing black bodies into the position of pure labour. Magubane (1979) argues that the purpose of these bounded landscapes was to racialize the relations of production and build a system of permanent primitive accumulation.

What the bantustans show well is that black South Africans were made invisible – *corpus nullius* - interchangeable so that their bodies could be looted, and that this was done by simultaneously making them highly visible as sovereign ethnic subjects. Their ethnic sovereignty was the necessary foundation for their reduction to an extractable quality of colonial territory. It is as if black South Africans were made to embody the distinction between value and use value, land and landscape, inasmuch as they had thrust upon them a caricature of ethnic sovereignty in order that they might be reduced to pure commoditized labour in service of colonial capitalism. These, indeed, are the two modes of presence in colonial landscape art.

These two modes of incorporating Africans into bounded colonial landscapes encountered in landscape art through the sublime and picturesque aesthetic modalities are again evident in the history of Etosha National Park in Namibia and Matobo National Park in Zimbabwe. Ranger (1989: 223) describes the Matobo area as falling into the European zone as defined by the Land Apportionment Act of 1930. There were, however, no Europeans living in the area, and the area was listed as a preservation area after the 1933 London convention. What followed this initial commitment to declaring the area a nature reserve was a struggle between romantic and scientific versions of conservation. In 1949, R.H.N Smithers, then chairman of the National Parks Committee testified that the board would like to include natives (200 permit holding families with 2000 head of cattle to be precise) picturesquely in the park, living 'traditional' pre-colonial lifestyles amidst scenic roads, hotels and rest camps (Ranger 1989: 226). It was envisioned that the labour for essential Park work such as the building of dams would be drawn from these 200 families (Ranger 1989: 226).

The argument for the depopulation and destocking of the Matobo area for ecological reasons that lay behind the decision to reduce the area's population to 200 families gained force as scientific conservation increasingly displaced romantic considerations. By the mid 1950s a formal National Parks Department was well established, and what Ranger (1989: 230) terms a purist parks ideology rose to the fore, with the director of national parks returning time and again to the question of finally removing all permit holder families from the Park. This proved an impossible prospect, but in October 1960, all kraals were removed from the scenic tourist roads and other tourist infrastructure. By 1962 the Park was a wilderness area, places where Africans had raised crops and livestock were now "secret valleys filled with rivers of tall grass and clad with some of the most variegated vegetation in Zimbabwe".

What was first envisioned by Rhodes as a retreat that the white people of Bulawayo would frequent, was thus transformed from an area inhabited by Africans, to one in which Africans were accommodated as picturesque additions to a white tourist experience, and finally to a wilderness from which Africans were completely removed. What is clear in Ranger's argument is that scientific conservation came to be the dominant approach because it was the approach that best curtailed the possibility that an African taskscape involving the raising of crops and livestock might interfere with the taskscapes of colonial capitalism – be that the flow of water down to the commercial farms below, or the tourist trade based on the idea of a pristine wilderness.

P.J. Schoeman, youth novelist, *volkekundige*, game warden and staunch Afrikaner Nationalist found himself at the centre of a similar contest in Etosha National Park in Namibia in the 1950s. While the Matobo example seemed to hinge predominantly on ecological concerns, the case had hinged more simply on questions of ethnic authenticity. Schoeman resigned his chair of *Volkekunde* at University of Stellenbosch in 1946 (Gordon 2007: 98) in order to take up writing full-time. Due to financial difficulties, he was however, forced to accept the position of chief game warden in South-West Africa in 1950 (Gordon 2007: 110).

As a consequence of this appointment he also found himself at the head of the Commission for the Preservation of the Bushmen. The then government in Windhoek tasked the commission to determine whether the San living in Etosha were sufficiently 'traditional' as to allow them to continue living there. In 1950 Schoeman wrote that they were not and recommended that they be removed (Gordon 2007: 118). As with Matobo National Park, the decision was between allowing people without history, and as such unable to effect any agentive transformation on the landscape, to remain, or removing them because their habitation resulted in a taskscape at odds with colonial taskscapes. Schoeman's novels tell a completely different story. Here an imaginary version of San culture moves through the pages of his stories in seamless harmony with nature. The romantic trope of ethnic villages in pristine nature, both uncorrupted by civilization, thus lived on in the pages of youth fiction.

From landscape to territory

In each of the instances discussed in the preceding section, landscape literature, landscape painting, bantustans, game lodges and national parks, black South Africans' dual nature emerges from a boundary making exercise that forces them to embody both exchange value (faceless anonymity and exchangeability as potential labour) and use value (meaning acquired via their position in the colonial project as having a harmonizing framing function). The boundary that is characteristic of cleared colonial landscapes is, therefore, central to the emergence of the dual nature that positions black South Africans as lootable in the system of permanent primitive accumulation described by Wolpe and Magubane. We argue that this is because the boundary is that thing in terms of which land and landscape are collapsed into the dual natured 'territory'. To understand this dual nature, we need to understand how the notion of territory encapsulates both land and landscape, subordinating the latter to the logic of the former. Mbembe describes the colonial territory as follows:

The colonial territory had its space, its shape, its borders. It had its geological make-up and its climates. It had resources; it had its soils, its minerals, its animal and plant species, its empty lands. In short, it had its qualities. There were, above all, the people who inhabited it, their characters and their customs...their ways of acting and thinking, their habits, the events they have lived. It is these people who were labelled native. They constituted the raw material, as it were, of government (2001: 33).

The notion of territory, then, collapses Ingold's (2000: 190) notions of land and landscape into one another, as a territory is an area over which a possessing agent has rights. One can only have rights over the qualities within the boundaries of that area, and the qualities are anything that can be transformed into value. This includes natives (as pure labour) and their way of life (in terms of a caricature of which their status as pure labour is cemented). Territory is the space of colonial modernity in terms of which quality is quantified, and the violence of the quantification is qualified and reiterated. Landscape art is part of that reiteration.

Returning to where we started, we can now assert that Plaatjie's (1916) understanding that the 1913 Land Act made pariahs of natives is a recognition of what happens to a landscape's inhabitants when the mode of habitation, the taskscape, out of which the landscape to which they belonged emerged is rendered impossible through an act of colonial government; is reduced through colonial domestication to its qualities, which in turn are quantified and commoditized to make of it a territory. To understand how Plaatjie's pariah emerges, we need to treat the Land Act as one domesticating gesture alongside the representational strategies that made landscape paintings into bounded colonial spaces and the ordering strategies that make game lodges into precious cleared and bounded spaces amidst a frightening jungle. We need to treat the Land Act, colonial artists' representational strategies, game farmers' ordering principles, as well as white writers' descriptive passages as parts of the mode of habitation that makes possible the commoditization and quantification of landscape – all stem from the territorial ontology at the heart of coloniality.

The first part of our argument is thus that the pariah status Plaatjie (1916) described, resulted from the destruction of the world-in-progress in which the native played a human part and its replacement by another, in which the native was no longer an agent of landscape, but an object of territory. We argue this based on a consideration of a set of boundary making practices out of which a territorial ontology emerges. We have argued that landscape, in painting, in literature and as material process, emerges as a world of extractable qualities from a set of boundary making practices characteristic of colonial modernity. We have termed this world of extractable qualities the territorial ontology, a world known through, and as extractable qualities.

The persistence of the boundary making practices of colonial modernity is an example of the ongoing violence of colonial sovereignty and is at the root of South Africa's ongoing status as a land of pariahs. Our plea is, thus, for a larger decolonial collaborative project between artists and humanities and social science scholars to identify, interrogate, problematize and reimagine the constellations of everyday boundary objects and practices out of which the territorial ontology emerges daily. It is, we feel, only through confronting the reiterative power of the boundary practices that underpin the territorial ontology that we can begin to reverse the decentering consequences of the Land Act in 1913. Landscape art and processes raise to view the practices of boundary making, but they are not exhaustive. A broader and more sustained interrogation of the boundaries reiterated in everyday life is required. Perhaps this is where ethnographic research can revitalize itself.

Note

¹ Claude Gellée (1604/5? – 1682), better known as Claude or Claude Lorraine, after his place of birth (Chilvers, 2004: 154). As a painter of 'ideal' landscapes, Claude was much revered in

Britain with his reputation enduring for much of the nineteenth century. French born, Claude

spent most of career in Rome. Stemming from the northern European tradition of landscape painting, Claude blended the picturesque aspects of his training with the classical and

ideal landscape painting of the Italian tradition (cf. Chilvers, 2004: 154-155).

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