

sources for the history of the south-eastern San during the nineteenth century, and between them they contain most of the information available on this period of the south-eastern San's history. I have consequently drawn heavily on their work in this chapter, although they record this history in much greater detail than it was possible to do here. Information was also obtained from other authors, such as Ergates (1905), Stow (1905) and a range of other researchers as well as many non-academic authors.

## **Chapter Six**

This chapter is based to a large extent, on my Masters thesis (Jolly 1994) and the subsequent publication of an augmented section of it in the *South African Historical Journal* (Jolly 1996b), in which many sources, and the studies of many researchers, are cited and can be found. Some of the publications that post-date 1994 when my thesis came out and that also deal with San-Nguni/Sotho interaction include: Prins (1994), Hammond-Tooke (1998, 2002), Thorp (2000), Ouzman (2003), Hobart (2003); Blundell (2004), Challis (2008), Mallen (2008), Whitelaw (2009) and Mitchell (2006/2007, 2008, 2009, 2010).

## **Chapter Seven**

This chapter begins with a brief discussion of the earliest evidence for the production of paint and art in southern Africa, and indeed the world. Henshilwood et al (2011) present evidence for an ochre processing kit found in an abalone/perlemoen shell dated to about 100,000 BP, and Henshilwood et al (2009) discuss engraved ochre from Blombos dated to c. 78,000 BP. Texier et al (2010, 2013) discuss engraved ostrich eggshell found at Diepkloof shelter dating to between at least 100,000 BP and about 50,000 BP. Rudner (1982) is the main source for information on the physical properties of the paints. The subject matter of the south-eastern paintings and their interpretation is dealt with in detail by Pager (1975a), Vinnicombe (1976), Lewis-Williams (1981, 1982 etc.) and Lewis-Williams and Dowson (1988, 1999), as well as other publications, by these and other authors. Werner (1908) was the first to point to the prominence given to the eland in San art and to suggest that this prominence derived from the fact that the eland was in some sense a sacred animal for the San. The importance of patterning in the subject matter of the art, and, in particular, the importance of the eland in the religious ideology of the San was subsequently emphasised by Pager, Vinnicombe and Lewis-Williams. Analyses of the Maloti-Drakensberg paintings by these rock art researchers led them to the conclusion that most of the art had an important religious or symbolic dimension for the San. Vinnicombe pointed to the relationship between certain features of the art and rites performed by San shamans or "sorcerors". All these ideas were developed by Lewis-Williams, who was able to show that the trance dance, and the experiences and religious symbolism associated with this dance, are depicted in many, probably the great majority, of San paintings.

Other writers have examined different aspects of the art. Skotnes (1994), who approaches the art from the perspective of the art historian and practising artist, stresses the importance of style, colour, form and the positional context of the paintings. Deacon (1988) has discussed the relationship between places of spiritual or mythological significance and engravings executed near or at these places by the /Xam San of the Northern Cape. In a similar vein, Ouzman (1995) has argued that San people perceived certain places to be imbued with a particular power that made them appropriate sites for engraving and ritual activity. I have analysed and discussed the symbolism attached to paintings of therianthropes in some detail (Jolly 2002), as have Hollmann (2003) and Parkington (2003).

Some researchers have interpreted the paintings in terms of San rites and religious ideas, but rites

and ideas which are not necessarily related to trance. Parkington et al (1996) and Parkington and Manhire (1997), for example, suggest that initiation rites may be symbolised in the art, and Stow (1905), Bleek (Stow and Bleek 1930), Woodhouse (1968, 1979), Pager (1975b), Vinnicombe (1976) and Solomon (1994, 1998) have all explored the possibility that mythological beings and people of the Early Race may be depicted or symbolised in rock paintings. Notions of gender and sexuality in the art have been explored by Solomon (1992, 1994), Parkington and Manhire (1997) and Parkington (2003).

The changes brought about in San art as a result of contact with Khoe herders and Nguni, Sotho and European farmers have been discussed and analysed by a number of researchers. Parkington et al (1986) and Yates et al (1994) have discussed the impact of the arrival of Khoe herders on the society and art of the San of the western Cape. The main sources for the discussion of paintings of handprints and finger dots, which occur almost exclusively in the south-western Cape, are van Rijssen (1994), Yates et al (1994) and Manhire (1998), who, besides offering their own interpretations, discuss the work done by other researchers on these paintings. Vinnicombe (1976), Mazel (1982), Manhire et al (1986), Campbell (1987), Hall (1994) and Loubser and Laurens (1994) all discuss and analyse paintings of cattle, sheep and horses.

While no systematic recording or survey has yet been made of paintings which depict Nguni and Sotho farmers, the history of interaction between Nguni and Sotho farmers and south-eastern San communities has been researched in depth by myself (Jolly 1994, 1996b), and the distribution patterns of paintings of cattle, sheep and Sotho shields have been analysed by Loubser and Laurens (1994). Paintings of Europeans and their associated weaponry and equipment in the south-western Cape are discussed by Yates, Manhire and Parkington (1993).

In discussing the interpretation of the contact art I drew on the work of a number of rock art researchers, including my own work. Campbell (1987) has interpreted paintings of cattle and horses in terms of the trance experiences of south-eastern San shamans and in terms of the changes in the powers and roles of these shamans brought about by the arrival of European and Nguni and Sotho farmers. He, Hall (1994), Loubser and Laurens (1994) and Ouzman (2003) have suggested ways in which cattle were incorporated into existing San religious ideologies and symbolic systems, including the art. More recently, I have presented data to show that some San groups kept cattle on a permanent basis and have argued that the symbolism of cattle in Nguni and Sotho societies is expressed, in whole or part, in some of the San paintings of cattle (Jolly 2007).

I have also drawn attention to the possible connection between San paintings of serpents and the development of symbiotic relationships between the San and Nguni and Sotho groups (Jolly 1996c, 1998), as has Woodhouse (1992). Ouzman (2003) has suggested that paintings of water serpents and rain animals would have had particular resonance in Nguni and Sotho cultures, and were, for this reason, emphasized in the art of some contact period San groups. He and Loubser also posit the existence of an apocalyptic phase in the art of the south-eastern San (Ouzman and Loubser 2000). Dowson (1994) has suggested that the increased ritual and economic powers of San shamans may be represented in the art by paintings of prominent, elaborately-attired and -decorated figures. Hammond-Tooke (1998, 2002) has suggested ways in which the rites of Nguni diviners may have been influenced by those of the San. Thackeray (1988, 1990) has remarked on similarities in some ritual practices of San and Nguni farmers, and Botha and Thackeray (1987) have suggested that a comparative study of ethnographic and linguistic data from both San- and Bantu-speaking people may have a bearing on concepts expressed in San rock art.

Schofield (1949), Walton (1956), Woodhouse (1992), Prins (1990, 1994) and myself (Jolly 1994, 1996c, 1998, 2005, 2006, 2007) have all, in greater or lesser depth, explored ways in which religious concepts associated with Nguni and/or Sotho cultures, adopted and/or adapted by the San, could have been expressed in some later rock paintings. Dowson (1994, 1995), too, has pointed to the need to employ the ethnography of Bantu-speakers as well as San people when interpreting the contact art. Blundell (2004) has made a detailed study of the history of a small nineteenth century San band who roamed Nomansland under Nqabayu. He has tracked changes in their art and cosmology as they became increasingly creolised. Mallen (2008) identified Type 3 paintings, a new tradition of art practised by later, creolised, short-lived San groups. Henry (2010) identified another short-lived tradition in the art in the Maclear-Tsolo area, which she links to other late traditions in the south-eastern mountains identified by Blundell and Mallen. Challis (2008, 2012) has investigated the formation of new identity forged by the Thola - a late, multi-ethnic San group of the south-eastern mountains, who, he argues, adopted the horse and baboon as their “totem animals”. Smith (2010) has critically surveyed and assessed research done on the contact period art in the south-eastern mountains.

## **Chapter Eight**

In this chapter, which deals with the last years of the independent San and their incorporation into other groups, I have drawn on a variety of sources. Edith Kelly’s account of her encounter with San in 1878 is cited by Rogers (1937) and the discovery of the San hunting kit in Eland Cave is described by Vinnicombe (1971). Stow (1905), Dornan (1909), Ellenberger (1953), How (1962), Wright (1971) and Vinnicombe (1976) all provide details of late reports of San individuals and communities in the south-eastern mountains. Szalay (1995) provides much information on the incorporation of San into the labour force on European farms and their subsequent acculturation. For accounts of the later history of the /Xam San I drew on Anthing (1863) Marais (1962), Findlay (1977) and Strauss (1979), with some details from Deacon (1986). Deacon (1996a,b), Bank (2006) and Skotnes (2007) were the sources for the section dealing with Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd’s /Xam San informants. Neville (1996) discusses the movement of Seekoei River Valley San onto farms and into the town of Colesberg. I have discussed the incorporation of residual San into Nguni and Sotho communities during the nineteenth century and the history of some of the last San rainmaker families who lived amongst the Mpondomise under Mditshwa (Jolly 1986, 1992, 1994). For accounts of late San communities living in the Tsolo area I have drawn in part on unpublished fieldnotes, copies of which were given to me by the late David Hammond-Tooke. Mditshwa’s massacre of San rainmakers living within his territory is described in JNO (1876) and Stanford’s meeting with one of these families is described in Macquarrie (1962). Yates et al (1993, 1994) and Hall and Mazel (2005) have studied the late finger paintings in the western Cape. Accounts of the last painters living at Ngcengane Cave in the Transkei are given by myself (Jolly 1986, 1999), myself and Prins (Jolly and Prins 1994), Lewis-Williams (1986) and Prins (1990, 1994). Finally, accounts of the “commissioning” of two Phuthi artists to paint at the British Residencies at Qacha’s Nek and Quthing in Lesotho are provided by How (1962).

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