VISUALISING SOUTHERN AFRICAN LATE IRON AGE SETTLEMENTS IN THE DIGITAL AGE

SIKHO SIYOTULA

ABSTRACT: VISUALISING SOUTHERN AFRICAN LATE IRON AGE SETTLEMENTS IN THE DIGITAL AGE studies the visualisation of Southern African Late Iron Age Settlements (LIAS) (c. 900–1800) across the late nineteenth, twentieth, and early twenty-first centuries (1871–2020), as found in a survey of the cultural production, circulation, reproduction, and theorisation of illustrations accompanying archaeological, anthropological, and historical Southern African LIAS research. A valuable contribution of LIAS research is its continuous demonstration of a pre-colonial hub of cosmopolitanisms on a scale never imagined in colonial histories of 'indigenous' communities – thought of as the ultimate 'other' of global modernity.

This study focuses on the visualisation of four settlements, namely: Mapungubwe, Khami, Great Zimbabwe, and Bokoni. It is proposed that as with the authority of Eurocentric 'formative interpretations' of LIAS research currently under review, visualisations accompanying LIAS also need to be critically relooked at within appropriate visual cultural methodologies informed by postcolonial, decolonial and critical race theory. The study follows a two-fold methodological framework involving a textual analysis and an image-making process. On both accounts, the study focuses on the cultural politics of representation, asking: who and what is being made visible in the visualisation of settlements accompanying LIAS research; what forms of materiality and spatiality are pictured and performed; what is the affect such visualisations have on the people that experience them; and finally, what do they mean in the context in which they are made?

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Visualising Southern African Lage Iron Age Settlements In The Digital Age,

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Visualising Southern African Lage Iron Age Settlements In The Digital Age

Sikho Siyotula

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CHAPTER ONE

VISUALISING SOUTHERN AFRICAN LATE IRON AGE SETTLEMENTS IN THE DIGITAL AGE

I want to go to where the files are kept. I also want to take a look at the future – seeing a future. I want to greet it *sawubona*. I want a go at laying my senses on it, at disrupting its path – its image, its visuality. Un-shelve and scan or click open: place, crop, turn horizontally, trace, and transform. This is the 'design job' for the batch of images in these pages. My filter of choice: a particular tint of yellow, a tilt of the head, and a slight squint of the eyes. The files that are the subject of these pages are not located in a particular place. They are, instead, images scattered across numerous publications. As a collective, or visual archive, such files can be seen as a single record or memory, as well as a record with various complexes, each complex producing a particular kind of looking and /or seeing.

In an attempt to visualise a 'usable'[1] African history, remains of Southern African[2] Late Iron Age Settlements (900–1800) have been animated through illustration, across the late nineteenth, twentieth, and early twenty-first century (1871–2020) by researchers as well as in African nativist and nationalist rhetoric. As with current critical research of Southern African Late Iron Age Settlements (hereafter LIAS) (Lane 1994; Hall 1998; Beach 1997; Chirikure and Pikirayi 2011, 2015; Chirikure et al, 2012), Eurocentric 'formative interpretations' stemming from colonially inscribed ethnographies remain embedded in this animation.

Archaeology has a very noticeable visual culture. It produces a number of different types of illustration. By illustration, I mean the drawings that accompany

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[1] By 'usable' history, I point here primarily to African 'prehistory' and 'prehistoric' sources and evidence. It has been argued that prehistory refers to history studied from pre-textual literary sources and that history began when people started recording their experiences in some form of inscription. These assumptions make history in some places very long and in others very short. In this study, I thus insist on recognition of a long, or distant, Southern African past. There has been a prejudice implicating communities with written records as having 'evolved to a certain level of civilisation', having acquired history. This is problematic. 'Prehistoric' sources and evidence do not fall by the wayside once members of a community commence with writing.

[2] Throughout this study, I refer to 'Southern Africa' as both a region and concept. For this reason, I prefer to capitalise the term.

archaeological texts, including illustration produced by surveying instruments, photographs of archaeological sites, the illustration of artefacts, and finally reconstructions and artistic impressions. This study is primarily concerned with archaeology's artistic impressions. Such images hold an ambivalent position as both (re)presentations of an imaginary scene or setting, yet they possess the authority that comes with scientific artefacts.

The visualisation of Southern African LIAS has multiple meanings and uses in contemporary Southern Africa. My understanding of visuality is not focused solely on analysing the visible images but also on the non-visual aspects of visuality. To be clear, the primary concern of all visual research, including this study, is what can be seen. However, what can be seen and how humans "see" is governed by perception. Perception is mediated physiologically, culturally, and historically (Mitchell1994a, 2005; Mirzoeff 2001; Reavey & Prosser 2012; Hook 2005, 2012,2013). There is, as a result, an unshakable duality in visual research. Visual research concerns both the object of what can be seen as well as the perception of that object. Engaging this duality, Scholars Paula Reavey and John Prosser describes three critical terms related to visual research as follows (Reavey & Prosser 2012:177):

> Visual researchers use the term, visible ontologically in referring to imagery and naturally occurring phenomena that can be seen emphasising the physiological dimension and disregarding their meaning or significance. Visual, however, is not always about an image or object in and of itself but also concerned with the perception and meanings attributed to them. The term visualis[s]e and visuali[s]ation refer to researchers' sense-making attributes that are epistemologically grounded and include concept formation, analytical processes and modes of representation.

By visualisation, I mean the consideration of both the object — the 'physical' visual interpretation of LIAS ruins and its imaginary reconstruction — and the interrogation of the function and meaning thereof.

LIAS here refers to settlements 'discovered' in Southern Africa from the late nineteenth century onwards. Located on the borders of modern-day Botswana, Zimbabwe, and South Africa, stretching north into Zimbabwe and east to Late Iron Age trading posts in Mozambique, this northern part of Southern Africa has buried in its landscape the ruins of the earliest known settlements in the region. Circular stone wall architecture has come to characterise such settlements. Stonewalled settlements like K2, Mapungubwe, Khami, Great Zimbabwe, Bokoni,

and Manyikeni are believed to have belonged to complex societies involved in the cultivation of crops, working of ivory, mining of gold, and long-distance trade (Fouché 1937; Voigt 1983; Huffman 2001; Pikirayi 2001; Pikirayi and Schoeman 2011). This collection of settlements is attractive to efforts in postcolonial nation building as a regional sequence building up to the modern states and capital cities of Southern Africa.

Capital cities, which precolonial hubs of power can be interpreted as being, are centres of regional and sometimes global power. They offer paths to success, wealth, and privilege (Bekker and Fourchard 2013). Cities, in general, are also symbols of modernity. For a wide range of reasons connected to acquiring access to goods and services, the majority of the world's people live in cities. The field of studies related to African cities and politics is a blossoming one. Literature has focused on the capital cities of African countries, tracing how the power accumulated within such cities has evolved through different colonial backgrounds and different kinds of regimes after independence (Bekker and Fourchard 2013; Bekker and Therborn 2012.)

Johannesburg, South Africa's largest and wealthiest city and a critical economic powerhouse on the African continent, continues (curiously) to refer to itself as "a world-class African city" (Gotz and Seedat 2006; Johannesburg A World-Class 2020). The notion, 'world-class African city' insinuates its standard — the 'African city' — as failing, nonessential, sunken, and second-class. Size, wealth, and power elevate Johannesburg from a standard African city, to one that is world-class. Modifying Johannesburg from an 'African city' to a 'world-class African city', rides on an oxymoronic effect. This phrasing seems to indicate a contradiction between the terms 'world-class' and 'African city'. It emphatically ensures that Johannesburg is understood as both 'world-class' and African; world-class with African flair; or 'world-class' despite being located on the African content.

The majority of modern African cities were established during European imperial and colonial expansion (Bekker and Fourchard 2013; Bekker and Therborn 2012). The idea of the city in Africa remains connected to the Europeanisation of the continent. The 'world-class' city — in this context — is arguably a place holder for the 'Europeanised' and more broadly 'Westernised' city. The failure of the standard African city is, thus, its failure at successfully being Westernised. If cities, in general, are symbols of modernity, the 'African city' seemingly also fails at modernity. The reference to Johannesburg as 'a world-class African city' purports South African exceptionalism whilst perpetuating the idea of Africa as the complete other of global modernity. The 'African city' may not have the same oxymoronic effect it once would have had during European imperial and colonial

expansion. 'The pre-colonial Southern African city', however, does still have some of this effect. More specifically, the tracing of continuities and ruptures between pre-colonial African settlements and modern-day African cities is a persistent blind spot in the literature. The calling upon pre-colonial African settlements to do some heavy lifting, on the contrary, remains a standard.

In the change from an apartheid state to a democratic one, the visualisation of Mapungubwe in South Africa becomes important to a nationalist rhetoric in search of usable pasts and other alternatives to dominant, Eurocentric, and colonial history as well as visual culture (Bouwsma 1990; Pikirayi and Chirikure 2011). Mapungubwe was an Iron Age settlement and kingdom which flourished between the 11th and 13th century CE. Within the context of nationalist rhetoric it is thought of as southern Africa's first state. The pyramids and sphinxes of Egypt, the ruins of Great Zimbabwe, San rock paintings, Benin bronzes, and African masks have similarly been used (Mbeki 1998; Mbembe 2002; Pikirayi 2011).

As ancient capitals, Mapungubwe and Great Zimbabwe, in particular, symbolise past political power and pre-colonial African presence in Southern Africa. As such they speak to contested questions of land and ownership in Southern African democracies. The artefacts discovered here attest to pre-colonial achievement and demonstrate human, regional, and global interregional connectivity. Finally, such visualisations present a pre-colonial hub of black poleis of power.[3] In so doing, they propose a multipolar or cosmopolitan world, that is a world with a cosmos of possibilities in terms of where and with whom power is and can be located. They propose black cosmopoleis on scales never imagined in colonial histories of 'indigenous' communities thought of as the ultimate 'other' of global modernity. As a tool in nationalist rhetoric, such visuals are used to destabilise discourses of colonial power including that of the apartheid state, particularly its hold on the writing and framing of Southern African history.

Lively debates have taken place between scholars of LIAS with regard to an over-reliance on 'formative interpretations' of such ruins. Such interpretations, most notably by Peter Garlake (1966; 1968) and Thomas Huffman (1996; 2001; 2007; 2009; 2010) have been critiqued for having a hold on Southern African archaeology and consequently stagnating understandings of pre-colonial Southern Africa (Lane 1994; Hall 1998; Beach 1998; Anderson 2009; Chirikure and Pikirayi

[3] When referring to blackness in this study I lean on the following scholars: Franz Fanon (1967); Steven Bhantu Biko (1978); Stuart Hall (1986a; 1986b;1989;1990 and 1992); and bell hooks (1996). This is in continuum with my master's thesis that examined practices of blackness in a selected group of black contemporary South African artists (Siyotula 2015).

2011; Chirikure *et al* 2014; and Chirikure and Pikirayi 2015). Huffman in particular has been accused of depending on problematic colonially inscribed ethnography, inappropriate theoretical frameworks, and speculative positions (Lane 1994; Hall 1998; Beach 1998; Anderson 2009; Chirikure and Pikirayi 2011; Chirikure and Pikirayi 2015). Current research encourages a move away from the authority of early formative interpretations and a return to the material culture of the ruins.

Regardless of the uncertainty resulting from the debates in LIAS studies about the appropriate interpretation and representation of ruins, the settlements which these ruins are the remainders of do nevertheless carry with them usable (visual) histories. Archaeologists, anthropologists, and historians involved in this field of research continue to supplement their findings with visualisations. Beyond purely archaeological, anthropological, and historical reports and findings, the visual gains prominence and importance in a variety of new forms. The visual space is connected to a political space of possibilities. In this way, the visual archive directs a viewer's sense of politics and political possibilities.

This study is located within and informed by the 'pictorial or visual turn'. The visual turn is marked by the advent of visual culture as a site of power and social control (Mitchell 1994a; 1994b; Margaret 2005). The visual turn puts an emphasis on the role of images in the modern world and locates the picture as the subject various disciplines end up converging on. It asks what pictures are, what they mean, what they do, and how they move amongst other questions (Mitchell 1994a; 1994b; Margaret 2005). Emerging post colonialism, the visual turn coincides, and is supported by globalisation and the digital age. The digital age has developed new visual technologies allowing for the sharing of image and text on an unprecedented scale and pace. Visual cultural studies is the study of this context and phenomenon. In visual culture studies, the emphasis in today's sharing economy is on compiling new visual archives and mapping connections between them (Mirzoeff 2011 and 2016; Rose 2016).

Part of the core reason why the link between pre-colonial and modern-day Africa remains at best thin and at worst non-existent is a problematic, sometimes absent, archive of literature and material culture related to the subject (Hamilton and Leibhammer 2016). As suggested by visual cultural theorists, archives are indeed exploding everywhere, representing both local and global ambitions.

Projects such as The Five Hundred Year Archive[4] as well as The Arctic World Archive[5] are examples of this eruption. Regardless of shortcomings[6] The Five Hundred Year Archive is committed to addressing the gaps in Africa's long past. It is exemplary in its favouring of an unapologetically located way of seeing, and interdisciplinary modes of working. This is noteworthy because although it would benefit the research of the long Southern African past, it is by no means a standard.

While the visualisation of Southern African LIAS is of an interdisciplinary nature, for instance, the involvement of disciplines with methodologies designed for research into visual materials is only starting to take flight. When acknowledged and implemented, visual methodologies in Southern African LIAS research often act as supplements to primary methodologies and are seldom engaged with critically.[7] Working outside of frameworks that are critical of image

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[4] The Five Hundred Year Archive was conceived as a resource that would facilitate research of deep pre-colonial Southern Africa. The archive is a digital research tool that allows users to explore the Southern African past up to five centuries before colonialism. It holds a diverse selection of materials online including texts, images, recordings, excavated items, and botanical material as well as early vernacular publications. The materials are drawn from personal collections as well as local and international institutions. As a digital tool, the archive is aimed at supporting historical inquiry leasing between research institutions, and building a public community of users interested in how history was shaped and made in Southern Africa (The Five Hundred Year Archive).

[5] The Arctic World Archive claims to be a "secure world archive to help preserve the world's digital memory and ensure that the world's most irreplaceable digital memories of art, culture and literature are secured and made available to future generations" (Arctic World Archive 2017). The Arctic World Archive (AWA) can store any digital file or object from music files to databases, 3D virtualisations, and documents. It cites a large number of factors related to technology, societal change, wars, and potential natural disasters as making the preservation of digital memories for centuries necessary. The AWA is framed as an intervention, providing an opportunity to pass information on to future generations so that those with knowledge of their past can have a meaningful present and future. Archive repositories are stored in its underground Arctic Code Vault, located on a Norwegian island in the Arctic Ocean, favoured for its cold climate and security features as a demilitarised location after World War II. Although the AWA prominently hosts a collection of Brazilian life stories and deposits from the National Archive of Mexico, the project is arguably focused on Euro-American perspectives purported as a worldly way of collecting and seeing (Arctic World Archive 2017). This becomes more evident when the rest of the collection is scrutinised. The idea that people have to pay to store information also sets up a skewed archive primarily reflecting wealth and power.

[6] Despite the fact that the northern region of South Africa (spilling into its neighbouring countries) — which is the focus of this study — has some of the earliest known settlements in the country, the test run of The Five Hundred Year Archive was launched using materials concerning the area of KwaZulu-Natal with a note that the archive would expand outwards from its narrow geographic focus to include materials from across the region. The dominance of history related to the Southern African region of KwaZulu-Natal highlights the difficulties, biases, and historical gaps in Southern African academia and history. Such adversities are reflected in older archives as well as on to utopian spaces like The Five Hundred Year Archive.

[7] Most of the images dealt with throughout this study come from archaeological publications. In their original setting, such images are often used as a supplement to primary archaeological findings.

and representation, and what images 'do' (Mitchell 2002b; 2005), the problems with formative interpretations of the sites here in question are easily replicated and perpetuated through the further uncritical circulation of the image in favour of more disciplinary focused concerns.

As with the authority of 'formative interpretations' of LIAS currently under review — the visualisation of such settlements needs to be critically re-looked at within visual cultural methodologies. Visual cultural methodologies allow for a critical engagement with the cultural politics of representation, the material culture of images, image processing, and visualisation, looking and seeing. Visual cultural principles, tools, and practices that are critical of images — what they want, and what they do — intervene in the uncritical reproduction, documentation, and circulation of 'formative visualisations'. There are examples of this kind of sensitivity to visual cultural methodologies in archaeology and social anthropology; however, few such examples exist in Southern African LIAS research.

The Southern African distant past can be broken up into three moments: The Kho-San complex; the Mapungubwe and Zimbabwe estate; and the Nguni estate or Shakan period which saw the rise of the Zulu Kingdom. The last period is well documented, and historians know quite a lot about it. Little is, however, known about the first two. The long or distant Southern African past is the concern of archaeologists (Hamilton and Wright 2016:36). I turn to archaeology in this study not as an archaeologist but as someone located within visual cultural studies and as an artist. I turn to archaeology because this field of study is the major contributor to the imaging of the long Southern African past. The purpose of this study therefore is not to make a contribution to archaeology as a discipline or a field of specialisation, but rather to contribute to something that archaeology is a significant stakeholder in: the visualisation of the Southern African Late Iron Age.

The purpose of this study is to advance the ways in which research on the Late Iron Age in Southern Africa is presented and disseminated. It is targeted at participating in a critical reconsideration of the visualisation of research on the Late Iron Age in Southern Africa. Its contribution includes a historical overview of the visualisation of Southern African LIAS from a postcolonial visual cultural perspective. The overview is located within new orders of reality presented by developments in the digital age. It sensitively pays attention to this location in relation to postcolonial visual cultural theory. Informed by the politics of Southern African greeting practices, the study contributes to a pluralising and thus a decentralisation of ways of looking and seeing. This study offers a critical re-look at the visualisation of Southern African LIAS within a set of appropriate visual cultural principles, tools, and practices located within the Southern African context. From this, the study engages in an image-making process.

My image-making process is, in a way, a means of self-writing. Philosopher and political scientist Achille Mbembe argues that, in their respective attempts to hypothesise African identity, nativist and radical modes of self-writing invoke all-purpose signifiers constituted by slavery, colonisation, and apartheid, which Mbembe describes as "spectres" (Mbembe 2002). A struggle in African modes of self-writing as evidenced by Mbembe is how to "deal" (Mbembe 2002) with such spectres. Of particular interest is their reproduction in democratic African laws and systems (and inevitably representation), at the very time when other orders of reality are being established (Mamdani 2001, Mbembe 2002, Lonsdale 2002). The image-making process engages with how to deal with the "spectres" (Mbembe 2002) of Southern African LIAS — invoked, and possibly reproduced, through their visualisation, while other orders of reality are being established (here I have in mind developments in the digital age).

1.1 Ways of Looking and Seeing

This study investigates dominant media, in the form of colonial histories, and its impact on the construction of local memory and possibilities of pasts. It deals with images of the distant past that have been interpreted by and through European colonialism. There are workspaces in visual culture studies — where this study is primarily located — that have long been developing both languages and strategies regarding how to engage with the colonial image critically. A genealogy of this work space could start with literary professor and public intellectual Edward Said. Said's *Orientalism* (1978) launched a cultural project that would explore, in addition to its military might, the 'West's' cultural domination through what Said saw as its creation of the 'other' — how European culture gained its strength and power by setting itself off against the 'other'.

Said insisted throughout his career that the 'Orient' was a term like the 'West' without any ontological stability but made up of human effort that included the identification and affirmation of the 'other' (Said 2003:xii). In the Preface of the 2003 reprinting of *Orientalism* (1978) Said writes, "[m]y argument is that history is made by men and women, just as it can also be unmade and rewritten, always with various silences and elisions, always with shapes imposed and disfigurements tolerated, so that 'our' East, 'our' Orient become 'ours' to possess and … I should say again that I have no 'real' Orient to argue for" (Said 2003:xiv). The objective with *Orientalism* was not to get to an original orient. *Orientalism* was not envisioned as a project about truth but exteriority and representation. Said saw *Orientalism* as a cultural project that would be completed not by him alone. He envisioned the

study as a volume of many, encouraging other writers to write about other orients and so they would.

Orientalism as a cultural project has had an explosive afterlife; it has been discussed and revisited several times. Most importantly to the African context in which I work, historian and philosopher of African Studies, Valentin-Yves Mudimbe wrote *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge (African Systems of Thought)* (1988) and *The Idea of Africa (African Systems of Thought)* (1994). Almost anticipating the wide discourse that *Orientalism* would make space for, Said noted in his 1978 introduction that "[p]erhaps the most important task of all would be to undertake studies in contemporary alternatives to Orientalism, to ask how one can study other cultures and peoples from a libertarian or non-repressive and non-manipulative perspective" (Said 1978).

Like Mudimbe, Professor of visual cultural studies and visual cultural theorist Nicholas Mirzoeff can be thought of as successor of Said's Orientalist thought. Mirzoeff's professional career has been dedicated to actively developing and growing visual cultural studies as an independent field of study. Part of this task has been a contemplation of how to speak about various aspects of the ever-growing visual archive. Mirzoeff has substantially dedicated thought to the part of the visual archive that illustrates subaltern histories: "I may be wrong, of course, but the use of the visual archive to 'speak' for and about subaltern histories of this kind, as opposed to simply being illustrative of them, seems to be an important methodological question" (Mirzoeff 2011:xv). This methodological question is directly linked to what Said (1978) saw as the crucial task of how to fairly study others. It informs thinkers like Stuart Hall and his theories of race, his use of popular, and visual culture as a tactic for social change (Hall 1986a; 1986b; 1990; 1992; 1998; Morley & Chen 2006). It has also informed thinkers like William John Thomas Mitchell –who greatly informs Mirzoeff– in thinking about the experience of landscape and visual objects as autonomous agents (Mitchell 1994; 2005).

In *The Right to Look: A Counterhistory of Visuality* (2011), Mirzoeff develops a decolonial theoretical and methodological framework for visual culture studies which is later elaborated on in his subsequent *How to See the World: An Introduction to Images, From Self-Portraits to Selfies, Maps to Movies, and More.* (2016). In both explorations of looking and seeing, Mirzoeff understands modernity and the thought patterns or paths it produces as the constant negotiation between visuality and countervisuality**.** With some calibration of terms, I follow Nicholas Mirzoeff in my use of these terms, namely modernity, visuality, and countervisuality. Visuality is understood here as a nineteenth-century concept meaning the visualisation of history. It is claimed as central to the legitimisation of Western hegemony.

This way of seeing maintains a posture that purports authority and power as interchangeable terms. It attaches authority to power, making the association between the two look natural. Power is made to seem self-evident through techniques of classification, separation, and aestheticisation.

Visuality includes not just the visual image but also the written text and all other apparatus – maps, paintings, drawings, stories, infrastructure, and even laws – which may be used to order the world through its mind's eye. Mirzoeff insists that visuality is that which orders the world in its own image. Where seeing is the active mutual creation of the other or the external world, leaving no excess or remainder, visuality is that which looks but refuses to see. All visuality is imperial. It is to extend one's self and by default one's power by acquiring territory. Acquisition here extends past the physical acquisition of geographic territory to include potential pasts and futures. No space that can be inhabited is immune to this gaze as it pierces into the imaginary and dream spaces too. According to Mirzoeff, countervisuality in the form of claiming "the right to look" (Mirzoeff 2011:4) disrupts the path of visuality challenging its authority and in the process producing modernity (Mirzoeff 2011).

Mirzoeff identifies three "complexes of visuality" across the modern world: plantation slavery (1660–1860), imperialism (1860–1945), and the present-day military-industrial complex (1945–present). He assigns a metonymic figure for each complex: the overseer in the plantation complex, the missionary in the imperial, and the counterinsurgent in the military-industrial. He marks out visuality's practices of looking within each of these complexes: oversight and visuality in the plantation complex; imperial visuality and fascist visuality in the imperial complex; as well as areal visualisation and post-panoptic visualisation in the military-industrial complex. Finally, and most importantly for his compilation of a counterhistory of visuality, Mirzoeff asserts that every complex of order in the modern world is challenged by countervisual currents. Some of the currents outlined by Mirzoeff include revolutionary realism and abolition realism to challenge the oversight and visuality of the plantation complex; indigenous countervisuality and antifascist neorealism to challenge the imperial visuality and fascist visuality of the imperial complex; and decolonial neorealism and planetary visualisation to challenge the areal visualisation and post-panoptic visualisation of the military-industrial complex (Figure 1).

Using the framework outlined in Figure 1, Mirzoeff tracks a steady flow of right claims that oppose the visuality imposed by each complex, describing these forces as countervisual — a reaction to the order imposed by visuality. He proposes that more than the headline revolutions of history, it is through a steady

Table 1. Complexes of Visuality 1

COMPLEX	METONYMIC FIGURE	PERIOD OF DOMINANCE
Plantation Complex	Overseer	1660–1860
Imperial Complex	Missionary	1860–1945
Military-Industrial Complex	Counterinsurgent	1945–present

Table 2. Complexes of Visuality 2

	VISUALITY	COUNTERVISUALITY
Plantation Complex (standard form)	Oversight (1660–1838)	Revolutionary realism (c. 1730–1838)
Plantation Complex ("intensified" form)	Visuality (1802–1865)	Abolition realism (1807–1871)
Imperial Complex (standard form)	Imperial visuality (1805–1914)	Indigenous countervisuality (1801–1917)
Imperial Complex ("intensified" form)	Fascist visuality (1918–1982)	Antifascist neorealism (1917–present)
Military-Industrial Complex (standard form)	Aerial visualization (1924–present)	Decolonial neorealism (1945–present)
Military-Industrial Complex ("intensified" form)	Post-panoptic visuality (1989–present)	Planetary visualization (1967–present)

stream of right-claims that huge complexes of order are brought to their knees. This is because such complexes are built on their sovereign right to look and, in so doing, order the world. Mirzoeff names the claiming of a right one is not given by a sovereign power as the claiming of 'the right to look'. He develops this claim as an active decolonial way of challenging a policed version of history, one in which we are told to 'move-along-there-is-nothing-to-see'. Except, he insists, the police know there is something to see, and so do we. In *How to See the World*, Mirzoeff follows up on this, adding that moving along works well in a traffic jam where drivers probably should move along, but if "it's a question of how to see history as a whole, then surely we should be looking" (Mirzoeff 2016:10).

Figure 1: Complexes of visuality: Table in the book *The Right to Look: A Counterhistory of Visuality*. (Mirzoeff 2011:35).

The genealogy outlined above — from Said, to Mudimbe, followed by Mirzoeff — is essentially the workspace as I inherit it. I will now take a moment to slightly readjust it. In adopting Mirzoeff's decolonial theoretical and methodological framework for seeing the world, I will not be claiming the right to look. As he is, I too am suspicious of the language of jurisprudence in a decolonial framework: "How can a right to look framed in the language of Western colonial jurisprudence be sustained as a place of the decolonised" (Mirzoeff 2011:241). In Chapter Five, I explore the intersection of jurisprudence or legally inscribed identity and visuality. For now, I wish to keep an arm's length away from Mirzoeff's claiming of rights. I do wish, however, to link his decolonial framework with affirmations that I am far more familiar with: *ngiyakubona* (Zulu for 'I see you'), *siyakubona* ('we see you), and *sawubona* ('we see you'; 'greetings'). To a policed version of history, I want to say, *sawubona*! I see you. We see you. Greetings.

1.2 The greeting sawubona

In Zulu, people say sawuBona to greet each other. It loosely translates as 'I/we see you', where ukuBona is 'to see'. A person entering an inhabited space is expected to acknowledge the presence of others already present by acknowledging sight of them:

"sawubona [name of greeted]".
A person would usually say, "I or we see you".
"yebo, sawubona [name of greeter]".
Another would reply, "yes, I or we see you".
"uNjani?" "What state are you in or, how are you?"
"ngiYaphila. Wena, unjani?"
"I am alive, awake or, without illness. What state are you in?"
"ngiKhona". It could also be answered; "I am present or, am here".
"Name ngiyaphila". "I too am alive", the greeter would reply.

This acknowledgement of sight and enquiry into the states of being is taken very seriously, even on a seemingly inconsequential one-to-one level. At a grocery store, for instance, if a customer enters the presence of a teller and says nothing by way of greeting but immediately dives into an interaction of business, it is not uncommon for the teller to cuttingly retort, *sawubona sisi* (sister), *bhuti* (brother), *mta'na'mi* (my child), or whatever appropriate noun is needed for an added level of politeness. The added level of politeness here is phatic expression designed to highlight the offender's impoliteness. The retort version of *sawubona* is not a non-combative greeting like the first, but a reprimand or a curse. Layered in this

reprimand or curse is the affirmation: I see you even though you may not see me. By jumping into business with a person, before an acknowledgement of the teller's presence, existence, and state of being, that person – the teller in this case – becomes the equivalent of an object – the till itself. They become as (seemingly) inconsequential to a landscape as a pile of rocks. Some piles of rocks as will become clearer are quite consequential. As a reprimand, *sawubona* becomes a claiming back of autonomy. The act of seeing, here, affirms life and presence even when that presence is denied when a person who is looking decides not to see.

In Sotho, all lights are referred to as *maBona* as in 'seeing things' or apparatus for seeing. Johannesburg (the 'world-class African city') is referred to as the city of gold *Gauteng*, but also *maboneng*, as in the city of lights.

Ukubona in the languages of Southern Africa is not just about the perceived image but is also multisensory with a particular auditory impression. It is well known in Xhosa villages that when a child, who was fearful of being swallowed by the abyss of night was sent out into its darkness – to go and get this, that, or the other in the vicinity of the home – could be soothed by hearing the words *ndiyakubona* as in, 'I see you'. In an exercise of auditory vision, a familiar voice shouts from inside a rondavel, '*ndiyakubona!*[8] *ndiyakubona!*' (I see you! I see you!) to be heard by the body in the darkness. This exercise insists on seeing as something beyond solely the perceived image. It extends seeing to include an auditory impression. In this exercise, an auditory impression replaces and or acts in place of the perceived image. In this case, it is the audible voice — without the visible image — that does the seeing, so that the ability to hear renders the person in the darkness as real and autonomous as the perceived image of this person would. In the abyss of darkness that renders everything within it invisible, presence and a connection to life is reified through the ability to hear. Membership of the body, walking in the abyss of darkness to the world of sight, is affirmed by an auditory impression of sight. The body's ability to hear that it is seen, even when it is not perceived by sight, is enough of an affirmation of sight and, by default, presence and reality.

Unlike the singular *ndiyakubona* (I see you) – *sawubona*, the greeting, has a plural ring – 'we see you'. This plural, if accepted, does not claim individual autonomy but the autonomy of the group. It affirms an individual's ability to act as a member of the group, to see with the group, and add to the group's body of sight. When a person says *sawubona*, they are not only seeing the other by themselves or for themselves, but also seeing the other with the group and through the group.

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[8] The Zulu ngiyakubona becomes ndiyakubona in Xhosa.

An individual encounter of sight is treated as if the whole group were present at that moment, acknowledging the presence of another. Individual autonomy, if at all possible, conceptualised in this context is gained by the ability to individually act as an agent for the group and with the group. *Ukubona* in the way of greeting is something that cannot be given, taken, or lost. It can be enacted or not. In this way, choosing to greet or not is an exercise of power. It either reifies presence or renders those present of no consequence.

Akangiboni, as in "she or he does not see me", is a common expression used to mean she or he does not respect me, or does not encounter me with an appropriate level of gravitas. I use gravitas here in reference to the person with *isithunzi* –a shadow — in mind. A person with *isithunzi* is a person with presence or dignity. To 'not see'' a person would also be not to see their shadow, their shadow being that which anchors their reality. Their presence in this scene would be shared with the presence of the group they would be part of in the response: *yebo*, *sawubona* ("yes, I and we see you").

The affirmation *sawubona* is something that should only be affirmed by another. Similarly, Mirzoeff's right to look is based on the mutual gaze that has no surplus. It draws on Jacques Derrida's description of Marie-Françoise Plissart's photo essay depicting two women in pursuit of each other as lovers, where Derrida coins the term, "The right to look. The invention of the other" (Derrida interpreted by Mirzoeff 2011:1). Derrida draws on Jean-Paul Sartre's and Jacques Lacan's notion of the look and the gaze (Sartre 1956b; Lacan 1973a). The look between two lovers is one that Sartre proposes is equally creating the other (Sartre 1957:252-271). Sartre's and Lacan's assumptions of equality within the gaze are later vigorously challenged by Franz Fanon. In *Black Skin White Masks* (1967), Fanon emphasises that although the look and gaze may be as argued by Sartre and Lacan as something that is entirely mutual, that which has no surplus, not all bodies are met with the same gaze.

Fanon sees Sartre's and Lacan's look and gaze with no surplus but also simultaneously sees and shows the altered effect of the look and gaze directed at the visually marked other or black body. Fanon's insight makes way for an understanding of both the workings of the racial and or cultural stereotype and its effect on the lived experience of the body reflecting that stereotype (Biko 1978; Hall 1986b,1989, 1990, 1992; and hooks 1996). Fanon makes visible how the gaze changes from one body to another thus, how the affirmation of sight is not always distributed to all others as fairly as Sartre and Lacan propose. This distribution becomes important when looked at in relation to Southern African greeting practices. In terms of Southern African Greeting practices, the affirmation

of sight is something that should be done by others. Self-seeing or *ukuzibona* is seen as an abuse to order. The creation that is produced by the greeting *sawubona* is mutual and can only be executed in relation to another. The reprimand version of *sawubona* is, in fact, a reprimand of "I see you seeing yourself". This reprimand is a disruption of behaviour that wishes to reorder the world in its own image.

1.3 The politics of ukubona as greeting

Read with Mirzoeff's *The Right to Look*, the personal encounter of *ukubona* and *ukubonwa* (to be seen), to see and to be seen, develop into an intricate political theory. In a counter-history of visuality Mirzoeff systematically presents an opportunity to show how the tools used in the reprimand version of *sawubona* and the *ndiyakubona*, have been used in what Mirzoeff calls the claiming of the right to look throughout various complexes of visuality. Mirzoeff insists that the consistent flow of right-claims, claiming of the right to look, or what I would like to see as affirmations of *ngiyakubona* – I see you – and *sawubona*, – we see you – both as greeting and reprimand, are the building blocks of the revolutions of history. Mirzoeff's right to look confronts the authority that tries to look on society's behalf and in turn force society to adopt this view as its own. European imperialism and racism are built on order and classification reliant on the acceptance of the logic of its sight.

Mirzoeff's method is anchored by the visual world, implications of the image and what is seen and not seen; all of these bring to light the disruption of visuality. I propose this kind of vision can be interpreted as *ukuzibona* (to see one's self), vision that looks but does not see: a kind of looking that tries to order the world in its own image. Mirzoeff's aim is to show that this kind of vision was never just accepted. Instead, even before the major revolutions of history, *ukuzibona* was at every point challenged and at other times outright rejected immediately or eventually. Mirzoeff does this through visually examining the politics and negotiation of power involved or implicated in the smallest glances and stares.

Ultimately, Mirzoeff asks what it is to look at history from the space of the other, the global south, or at the very least – if this is an impossibility – how strategies of and from such a position can be adopted. In his explanation of how visuality joins authority to render the association natural, Mirzoeff, along with a number of post-colonial and decolonial thinkers considered in this study, can be seen as interpreting Foucault for the visual domain. He mines through the archive as an archaeologist would through layers of ruin, to uncover genealogies of knowledge, genealogies of visuality, and the genealogies of right claims opposing that visuality.

The Right to Look is understood here as asking how to create and invent with and against visualised histories, imaginary constructs, stereotypes, fetishisations, and history itself or that which is created from information, images, and ideas. It is understood as asking how to create and invent in a world with those that greet *sawubona* and those that do not. What is at stake for Mirzoeff is autonomy and perhaps more precisely the ability to confirm that autonomy.

Mirzoeff's project of claiming the right to look is a project about subversion; its aim is the production of a countervisuality that challenges the authority of the visuality of the day. It is a project that prompts, validates, and facilitates protest culture. The affirmation *sawubona*, with which I wish to drive my argument, is not about protest but about negotiation. *Sawubona* is in the first instance a greeting and only in its second instance a reprimand. As a greeting, its aim is a negotiation of power when a new element posing a threat to the stability of the status quo that has already been negotiated is disrupted, as is the case with all moments of encounter. The aim of this negotiation of power is to foster a politics of trust. Entering into this negotiation is a giving up of the visuality that one has known before this encounter in favour of the negotiated grounds which may be a new order with its own negotiated visuality.

The right to look tries hard to position itself to see the world from the perspective of those whom power is exercised on – it tries to see from the space of the other. It is a theory from the global north to the global north. Mirzoeff sees himself as exterior to subaltern histories — this is made evident in statements like "I may be wrong, of course, but the use of the visual archive to 'speak' for and about subaltern histories of this kind, as opposed to simply being illustrative of them, seems to be an important methodological question" (Mirzoeff 2011: xv). Mirzoeff extends himself to speak for and about such histories as an alternative to being illustrative of them. The right to look thus maintains exteriority from the scene of the accident — to maintain Mirzoeff's traffic jam analogy. The other remains unknown. Some scholars have suggested that the other is unknowable (Visker 1999; Hook 2005).

I do not see myself as exterior to the histories I am talking about, thus I am still compelled to think about Said's (2003:xiv) conundrum of making: "'our' East, 'our' orient becomes 'ours' to possess and direct". If Mirzoeff's project is taken to its full extent, it is a project that highlights a degeneration of trust in authority. If no one can trust the authority attending to a car accident everyone has to demand the right to look in protest. Of course, a theory informing protest specifically from and to the global north is useful and necessary. Admittedly, a culture of

constant protest does make for endless delays in traffic. Mirzoeff himself admits the potential of traffic jams connected to endless claims, but he insists that if it is a matter of history, then it is still worthwhile. More than the potential traffic jams caused by the degeneration of trust in authority, there is clearly a disjuncture between a claiming of 'the right to look' (Mirzoeff 2011) and contemplation of 'how to see the world' once that right has been claimed (Mirzoeff 2016). I am interested here in the affirmation, *sawubona*, used as both a greeting and a reprimand as a theory to bridge this disjuncture.

As a greeting, *sawubona* aims at a negotiation of power when new elements posing a threat to the stability of a status quo are introduced. Thus, *uknubona*, as it is proposed here, is an acceptance that disruption is an inevitability in all moments of encounter as the person who sees also negotiates that which is seen. This negotiation is a negotiation of power. The aim of the negotiation of power facilitated by the order of *ukubona* is to foster a politics of trust. The entering into this negotiation is a giving up of the visuality that one has known before the current encounter in favour of the negotiated grounds with its own visuality.

The files to be unshelved and scanned, or simply clicked open, will be worked on through and between the workspaces outlined above. These are workspaces that ask how to speak for and about other histories as opposed to merely being illustrative of them, workspaces that are interested in the politics of looking and seeing. Furthermore, these workspaces insist on the thrill of the real. I will from time to time pull back, tilt my head, squint my eyes, and through a particular tint of yellow, use *sawubona* as both greeting and reprimand, contesting the disruption of the order of *ukubona*. The tint of yellow I propose here reflects off of South African born writer Besie Head's second novel *Maru*.

At the beginning of *Maru*, the rains are described as having come late for the season. Despite this delay, the main character — Maru — is described as preparing a bed of yellow daisies in anticipation. The flowers are important to him, because "they were the only flower which resembled the face of his wife and the sun of his love" (Head 1971:5). The symbolism of this bed of daisies works on several levels beyond this opening scene. Maru, we quickly find out, is a man of dreams. His field of yellow daisies is his dream for the future for his people. In the image-making component of this study, I expand on how the works of Besie Head were important to the study. The tint of yellow referred to, here, is a reference to *Maru* the novel and its use of this the colour as a symbol of hope for the future. As stated in the opening lines of this study, I too want to take a look at the future. Like Maru, I have tried to look at it through a tint of yellow.

1.4 Methodological framework

The study explores the visualisation of Southern Africa's Late Iron Age Settlements across the late nineteenth, twentieth, and early twenty-first centuries with interest in the visualisation of four settlements, namely Mapungubwe, Khami, Great Zimbabwe, and Bokoni. The study focuses chiefly on Great Zimbabwe – I owe this dynamic to the literature on Southern African LIAS. Great Zimbabwe is the first and most extensively surveyed Southern African LIAS. Designed to explore a progression of images across time, this study takes its lead from literature and deals mostly with Great Zimbabwe. It has one chapter on Bokoni, engages one image of Khami, and briefly touches on Mapungubwe. The Late Iron Age Settlement of Manyikeni in Mozambique is mentioned as part of a cluster of settlements across Southern Africa but not engaged with directly. I have noted where Manyikeni is mentioned that it is mentioned to show the extent of Late Iron Age Settlement across Southern Africa. I have also indicated that I mention it as an anchor for future research.

To readers with narrower perspectives on and expectations of visual analysis, the data used to support this project – drawn from a study of Great Zimbabwe, Bokoni, Khami, and Mapungubwe – may seem mismatched unfocused, and even meandering through peripheral terrain. Moreover, to readers expecting a survey of archaeological imaging from within the field of archaeology, the scope of the study may also be disappointing. To avoid such disappointment, readers should understand two fundamental approaches adopted in the study:

Firstly, this study does not situate itself in archaeology or archaeological imaging but rather within visual cultural studies. The study maps and animates a story of the visualisation of Southern Africa's Late Iron Age Settlements across time. It works with the category of archaeology's artistic impressions as a springboard to this end. This category is approached with the awareness that the images it encompasses, draw from a diverse body of visual media using an eclectic range of images employing conventions and techniques borrowed from multiple disciplines like geology, geography, art history, and architecture. These complex images and the complex records they draw from work to support the ideas explored in the study.

Secondly, this study takes on a broad conception of visuality that embraces both the visible and non-visible aspects of visuality. I lean on Mirzoeff, who insists and systematically shows that any analysis of visualisation and visuality should consider its multiple aspects. Mirzoeff argues that it is indeed in small and peripheral activity on the outskirts of historical accounts that substantial complexes of order

are brought down. By mentioning this I do not suggest that the information in this study can, on its own, challenge, let alone bring down a currently-standing complex of order. Instead, I am asking the reader to accept a broad conception of visuality that has the capacity to accommodate examples from ethnographic, pedagogic, popular, propagandistic, journalistic and contemporary art contexts and music sources. I understand such examples as neither contradictory nor in conflict with what the study sets out to do. Instead, I understand such examples as working together towards revealing something about the visualisation of Southern Africa's Late Iron Age across a vast amount length of time.

This study follows a methodological framework largely shaped by visual cultural studies as a response to an increasingly visual world. Visuality and its related terms visual, visible, and visualisation – outlined earlier – have become ever-present in a world dominated by visual rather than verbal and textual culture. Given the differences between visuality and textuality as modes of knowing and making meaning, in such a world, an observer and reader of images could be tempted to make crude distinctions. Textuality and visuality, however, are closely bound; it is thus not a mistake that this study engages in textual analysis of visual images. The method followed in this study is two-fold. It involves both textual analysis and an image-making process. On both accounts, visual cultural methodologies for researching with visual materials are followed (Mitchell 2002, Mirzoeff 2011, Rose 2016).

In the study, I survey and interpret the cultural production, circulation, reproduction, and theorisation of illustrations accompanying research into Southern African LIAS. I ask who and what are being made visible in such visualisations, and how. I follow how, if at all, such visualisations respond to late twentieth-century challenges to 'formative interpretations' of Southern African LIAS, how they travel and are translated through different media systems, and practices in response to technological developments. I am interested in these images as material objects: objects that have material lives that are both real and imaginary; objects that travel and are replicated, that are changed and erased through cultural practices. I am also interested in the effect of such images on the people that experience them.

The archaeologists, anthropologists, and historians, whose production of images is the focus of this study, are actors in the production of images. Their creative outputs have a hand in directing what is seen and how it is seen. This is so even when the images they create are secondary to the research presented. As a way of engaging with their creative outputs beyond critique, a creative component is an essential methodological aspect of this study. In an image-making process,

drawing from the surveyed images and material ruins of the first component, I engage the second component through an image-making process. The techniques used in this process include computer-aided drawings, photo-documentation, and photo-manipulation of documentary and artistic images of the selected sites.

The two-fold methodological approach followed in this study concurrently curates and creates an archive of images related to the Southern African Late Iron Age. Surveying and reviewing the literature related to the Southern African Late Iron Age, alongside working towards a body of work that would disrupt or intervene in some way, ensured a sizeable, curated archive of images to inspire a small body of work. This archive of images was gathered from archaeological, anthropological, and historical texts. Played out in sequence, the changing images in the archive animate the changing history of Southern Africa across time. Reflecting the late nineteenth, twentieth, and early twenty-first centuries, the archive in motion is a stop-frame animation of the history of imperialism. In isolation, the images capture the political agenda of the complex of order in which the images were created. Played out as a successive sequence, the images track shifts and turns in the visualising of the history of others as a tool for domination across time. Carefully examined, alongside this history of visuality, is a history of countervisuality.

Archaeological, anthropological, and historical ''artistic impressions'' of the Southern African Iron Age are often cautious and restrained. Encouraged by expectations of the disciplines that create them, such images often oscillate between embracing the 'artistic impression' and masking its true nature as fiction. In an exploration of how other disciplines engaged with fleshing out the Southern African pasts, I turned to fiction, specifically, the fiction of Bessie Head from which I drew so much. Trying hard to keep myself in check — that is, keep in mind the politics of landscape and what landscapes do (Mitchell 1994a) — I travelled extensively to get a feeling of the phenomenology of the settlements.

Between 2016 and 2019, I visited the Bokoni, Mapungubwe, Great Zimbabwe, and Khami landscapes, in a time period set aside as field research. I experienced the spaces I visited as a member of the public arriving and signing up for all the tours offered. Most of the spaces were attached to museums. In the museums, as in the landscapes on tours, I spent time just following what curators had set up, noting how each space used images — many coming directly from archaeological texts — to narrate the significance of its relevant past.

After visiting an LIAS at Bokoni, I spent time in the Lydenburg Museum to contextualise the ruins and view a rock engraving found there. I visited

Mapungubwe and took part in the Mapungubwe Museum Tour, Heritage Tour, and finally the Guided Morning Walk. I visited Great Zimbabwe. At Great Zimbabwe, I took a guided tour of the museums and monuments. Following this, I visited Khami and its museum and was shown around the landscape by a guide. Where feasible, there were detours from these trips. As a conceptual detour — a commitment to fiction in the creation of the idea of the Southern African Iron Age — I also visited Serowe, the village from which Bessie Head wrote. At Serowe, I visited the Serowe Museum and took part in a tour of the village. Serowe is an urbanising village. Here I experience a sense of an ancient architectural logic seeping into and out of the modern world.

More than anything that I could physically hold on to, being in the field gave me access to personal histories and anecdotes told by guides. It put me in contact with literature I would never have read. It also got me up close and personal to the people to whom the landscapes I was studying meant everything on a day to day basis. At Serowe, the tour guide remembered Bessie Head from his childhood. At Mapungubwe, a tour guide's family had a close relationship with Mapungubwe and the Mapungubwe hill before, during, and after its 'discovery' by European archaeologists. The book, *Mapungubwe: Place of the Ancestors* (Masalesa 2014), written and sold by Kgomotso Masalesa, the cultural tour guide at Mapungubwe, describes the historical, cultural, and spiritual story of Mapungubwe.

In contrast, other guides were not interested in the histories attached to the landscapes and focused instead on the significance of the fauna and flora of the landscapes. This was a reminder that as well as being a historical gem, the Mapungubwe landscape is also a significant game reserve that works on conservation. Moreover, forming the border between the three countries South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Botswana, the landscape links the histories of these three modern states as well as negotiates new questions related to illegal migration and the meaning of the border.

As well as visiting several landscapes as a member of the public, during my field research I had extensive meetings and field trips with artists, curators, archaeologists, and historians. I travelled with archaeologists and historians Simon Hall, John Wright, Thomas Huffman, Carolyn Hamilton, and a few of their students. We were all interested in various aspects of the Iron Age, including archaeological forensics, economy, and application in the curriculum in primary and secondary education. Again, I must emphasis, I was a part of this group not to make a contribution to archaeology as a discipline or a field of specialisation, but to contribute to something that archaeology is a significant stakeholder in: the visualisation of the Southern African Late Iron Age. As a group, we visited

Molokwane, a Tswana town near Rustenburg. We also travelled to the Shashe River, in the Limpopo region, where we explored the Iron Age landscape. I was privileged to revisit the Mapungubwe landscape with this group after having visited it alone. The archaeologists and historians we travelled with are responsible for a wide selection of the research related to Mapungubwe and other Southern African Iron Age settlements. Being part of this research group allowed access to areas that were restricted in my visit as a member of the public. Again, even in these restricted areas, images played an essential part in relaying the significance of the landscape.

I was also part of the research training group Minor Cosmopolitanisms. This group has had an invaluable effect on my study. We have travelled together to various places around the world, including Delhi, India, and Sydney, Australia. In every space we travelled to, we explored what effects and affects various post-colonial manifestations had on the peoples living there. Each member of this group had different interests, including literature, law, and ecology. Looking at the world from these multidisciplinary perspectives, as well as getting feedback from this group, has profoundly influenced not only my study but how I think and work.

I documented the processes outlined above on various levels, setting up such documentation as a possibility for later use: I photographed the spaces extensively, actively worked in a visual diary and documented my experiences in drawing. I went through several notebooks between my survey of the literature and taking notes on my visits. The margins of these notebooks, more so than my visual diaries, are teeming with life in the form of quick sketches and doodles. Besides drawing, taking notes, and photographing the landscapes I visited, I also collected rocks. Revisiting a personal archive; surveying the literature related to the Southern African Iron Age; reading fiction that flirts with such ideas; phenomenologically experiencing the landscapes in question; and documenting this process curated a substantial collective of images and insights. The synthesis of these impressions is the foundation for what became the body of work titled *On Other Poleis*. *On Other Poleis* is a body of work that is part of and developed out of this study.

The interest in the visualisation of Late Iron Age Settlements pursued in *On Other Poleis* resumed where a much older body of work left off. I created *Remainders of The Ephemeral* in 2011 and 2012. The body of work is made up of a number of ephemeral sculptures. The work examined the fetishised nature of remainders of cultural history. Because of its ephemeral quality, the work was performative in nature and was primarily documented through photography and video. Video footage documenting a performance using some of the sculptures

from the larger body of work was revisited for the image-making process of this study. A 2011 video titled *Crying Over Spilled Milk* is used as a starting point into new exploration of the significance of cultural remains. While *Remainders of The Ephemeral* looks at the fetishised remainders of cultural history, the image-making process designed as a second component to this study intercepts and disrupts the repetition and reproduction of a problematic archive. In this conception, the production of new images — in the body of work *On Other Poleis* — playfully encounters the old from a different location.

On Other Poleis visualises the Southern African Late Iron Age in the digital age. It reimagines four Southern African LIAS, namely Mapungubwe, Khami, Great Zimbabwe, Bokoni[9] within the context of this time. Located between modern-day Botswana, Zimbabwe, and South Africa, and stretching to the Late Iron Age trading posts in Mozambique, this collection of settlements is attractive as a cosmopolitan regional sequence. With a focus on the passage of time in a particular area or landscape *On Other Poleis* examines this region's pre-colonial connectivity as well as pre-colonial intercontinental trade routes. It does so with the hope of compelling a reassessment of accepted ways of knowing and being in the world: ways of looking and seeing.

Embracing both the visual turn and its location in the digital age, I have tried throughout this study to adopt and embrace a vocabulary from digital editing and imaging in my dealing with both image and text. This has included a contemplation on the meaning of habitual movements adopted from my daily use of Microsoft World and Adobe's Indesign, Illustrator, and Photoshop. I have reckoned with my daily use of the actions of and shortcuts to control-copy-pasting, and control-edit-undoing in Microsoft's Word and Apple's Pages. I have considered what it means to cut, copy, warp, erase, crop, and place images in Indesign, Illustrator, and Photoshop. These actions inform and shape the way in which I order the world and ideas in it. The adoption of a vocabulary fit for the digital age is one way to somehow better reflect this.

1.5 Overview of chapters

My re-looking at the visualisation of LIAS is an exploration of a pre-colonial

[9] Contrary to what I had intended at the onset of this study, I never made it to the late iron age settlement of Manyikeni in Mozambique — neither in my reading nor in my field research. I keep Manyikeni in mind here as a symbolic linking of the Southern African region and a key frame in the sequence of images I engage with. I also keep it here as an anchor for future research.

African past — 900–1800 — mediated through a colonially based archive of illustrations — 1871–2020. Mirzoeff's decolonial framework for seeing the development of the modern world helps structure the vast amount of time dealt with in this study. Large stretches of time are organised into complexes of visuality: plantation, imperial, and military-industrial. Mirzoeff's framework punctuates the chapters of this study. It also links a located study of Southern African archaeology to global politics, which played a significant role in its formation. While some chapters — like Chapter Two and Chapter Four — are long and do the hard work of grounding concepts like visuality and countervisual ity, other chapters are shorter and conceived more as bridges or pauses between major ideas.

In Chapter Two of this study, I re-open images created and curated by scholars of archaeology as well as those related to the works of scholars who have maintained authority in the study of the Southern African Iron Age. Through a selected group of images, I describe how people — early travellers, merchants, sailors, missionaries, scientists, politicians, and business people — shaped the visualisation of the deep Southern African past through their production of images. Based on modernity's complexes of order, I show how the selected images carry distinctive characteristics in line with the particular complexes of visuality in which they were created. These images include the early maps of Southern Africa which give prominence to the strongholds of an unseen interior, the first recorded sighting of its rumoured strongholds, and, finally, the first recorded archaeological investigation of such a stronghold. Together they respectively represent three moments of visuality: oversight, visuality, and imperial visuality. Alongside the establishment of essential terms, the chapter is ultimately about imperial visuality as a force of erasure. It follows how visuality controlled-copied-and-pasted ideas from one context into the next as a way of batch processing knowledge production. A focus on visuality in a study about its opponents clears the way for the latter.

In Chapter Three, I introduce the idea of countervisuality as a curse to the force of visuality. Cecil John Rhodes and the British South Africa Company played a key role in the British colonisation of the Zimbabwean plateau. Most cunningly, archaeological discourse using imperial visuality was heavily implicated in creating the smokescreen that would give legitimacy to this occupation. Long after the independence of African states, Rhodes remains an enduring image in Southern Africa and the world. The 2015 Rhodes Must Fall movement, once again, put the public memorialisation of Rhodes — a widely written about figure in Southern African history — within critical popular public discourse. Images of Rhodes, once hailed as a hero of Empire, remain a dime a dozen. The figure of Rhodes is iconically memorialised in an enduring image of imperial visuality and

European colonisation on the African continent in *The Rhodes Colossus: String from Cape to Cairo* (Sambourne 1892). Rhodes is pictured a victorious giant towering over the African continent. The image gets to the crux of what motivated early archaeological discourse in Southern Africa.

Occupying Zimbabwe, Rhodes and the British South Africa Company, backed by dubious archaeological quests, looked at but did not acknowledge seeing Southern African pasts. In the politics of *ukubona* they chose not to greet a people upon setting foot in their presence. In a bid to follow the reprimand versions of s*awubona* that followed and thus introduce the principle of countervisuality in the study, *The Rhodes Colossus*, of which much has been discussed, is examined alongside the lyrics of a popular song of protest sung by Southern African Jazz musician Hugh Masekela *Stimel* (1974). By contrasting emotional and physical hardship, exploitation, and filth, with the commodities of iron, gold, and machinery *Stimela* reminds listeners of the elusive cost that modernity is built on. Chapter Three brings Rhodes face to face with the opponents of the imperial visuality; visuality and countervisuality are described and discussed side by side.

On the back of two chapters describing imperial visuality and its influence in Southern African archaeology, Chapter Four exclusively explores its opponents. In the chapter, I first outline how mining, gold mining in particular, is a long marker of modernity in Southern African states, permitting pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial order. Following this, I describe how opponents of visuality have dived into colonial files and control-edit-undone them in an attempt to save and retrieve overlooked gems. Chapter Four is divided into two parts: one dealing with the context of countervisuality within Zimbabwean archaeology and the next dealing with the countervisual practices within this space. I turn to African Nationalism, specifically Zimbabwe's wars of liberation from colonial rule. Alongside this, I follow the life and life works of archaeologist Peter Garlake, specifically the publications of *Great Zimbabwe: New Aspects in Archaeology* (1973) and Life at Great Zimbabwe (Garlake 1983). I describe how the two publications firstly outlined the reality of the conquest of Zimbabwe during British colonialism, exposing its use of archaeology as a tool of war and not science or art. Secondly, I detail how they offered imaginative alternatives. I show how two images of mining, found in the publication *Life at Great Zimbabwe* (Garlake 1983) unassumingly enact a counterpoint to imperial visuality. Following up on the politics of greeting, I insist that the countervisuality expressed in the images is necessarily achieved through the claiming of a space from which existence can be affirmed with an 'I see you'.

While Chapter Four spends a considerable amount of time describing the contexts of the books that produce the utopian images of mining that the chapter

is ultimately anchored on, Chapter Five does the opposite. Slowly building towards the second component of this study, namely an image-making process, Chapter Five turns its attention to the images that wander out of books. The attention of this chapter is on images that are file-edit-placed from one place into the next — out of context with no leash. The particular image dealt with in this chapter is an artwork at the reception of the University of Pretoria's Africana collection. I argue that although the image postures as a visualisation of Southern Africa's distant past, in its use of iconic patterning to ascribe ethnicity and belonging, it is directly linked to colonial processes of 'tribing' colonial subjects. In addition, I maintain that image makes visible colonial desires to distil political identity into a single visual code or print. I propose that this is achieved later in the visuality of the military-industrial complex using fingerprints in biometric forms of identification in public administration. Juxtaposing Pretoria's academic complex, engulfed within the military-industrial complex, with an image underpinned by colonial administrative reasoning, makes visible continuities of colonial reasoning in the military-industrial complex. Thus, it stresses the need for critical visual cultural interventions when images travel, and moreover it highlights the reach of archaeological images in their creation of visual archives.

The problem grappled with before Chapter Six is that of having to interpret a pre-colonial past through a problematic, colonially inscribed archive of images. Recognising that a search for countervisual moments presented by the archive of Images related to the Late Iron Age is simultaneously a search for countervisual ways of making as well as seeing, I use Chapter Six to reflect on strategies that may be used in a move towards an image-making process. Chapter Six, is short. It is a break from the timeline followed in the study. It focuses on a different location, namely Late Iron Age Settlements of Bokoni in the Mpumalanga Escarpment. I follow the discussion of the rock engravings found in the Mpumalanga Escarpment held by archaeologists Delius, Maggs, and Schoeman in the publication *Forgo en Worlds: The Stone-Walled Settlem nts of the Mpumalanga Escarpment*. From their discussions, I insist that the rock engravings of Bokoni represent a countervisual Southern African Late Iron Age vernacular.

As previously stated, the method followed in this study is two-fold. It involves textual analysis and an image-making process. The first six chapters of this study survey selected literature related to Southern African LIAS. A result of this survey is a curated body of images representing the changing image of the Southern African Late Iron Age across time. The last two chapters present an image-making process as an intervention springing from the first six. The image-making process undertaken in this section of the study is conducted as a convivial means of engaging with the images encountered in the first six chapters.

In terms of approach, Chapter Seven takes a drastic turn from the chapters that come before it. The chapter is a critical engagement with my own working process. I begin with the framing of this process within the architecture of Adobe's desktop editing tools, Illustrator and Photoshop, in which I create. I outline how I conduct an image-making process, drawing from the surveyed images of the last chapters, the material ruins of a number of visited settlements, and fiction related to the visualisation of the deep Southern African past. I describe the techniques used in this process which include drawing from life, computer-aided drawing, photo-documentation, and photo-manipulation of documentary and artistic images of the selected sites. The image-making process engaged with for this study resulted in a body of work titled *On Other Poleis.*

Chapter Seven is structured by a discussion of the body of work's three major components, namely a video installation, rock installation, and a collection of digital prints put together on Adobe's desktop editors, Illustrator and Photoshop. In engaging with my own work process, I emphasise its multiple components, including both the technical realities of working within a digital world as well as artistic musings on its meaning. I end the chapter with a reflection on the politics of Photoshop from an embodied user experience or what I have named Adobe translating the Southern African Iron Age.

Chapter Eight of this study is a photo essay. This photo essay presents the results of my image-making process with no text apart from the captions of images. The essay presents complete work as well as preparatory sketches form visual diaries as well as sketches digitally rendered.

Chapter Nine, the final chapter, provides a conclusion for the study. It reiterates the thesis statement and methodological approach of the study; it insists on the study's contribution to knowledge; describes what went wrong with the study, reviews the study's chapters and gives possibilities for future research.

CONTROL-COPY-PASTE: VISUALISING THE SOUTH BY NUMBERS

Controlled, copied, and pasted, a section of a blog post explaining the curious practice of Painting by Numbers, states; "Painting by Numbers is a system where a picture is divided into shapes, each marked with a number that corresponds to a particular colo[u]r. You paint in each shape, and ultimately the picture emerges as a finished painting" (Boddy-Evans 2018:[sp]). Paint by Numbers kits are predesigned batch formulae. Generated once, all the components of an image — contours, numbers, and colours — are known. A kit followed according to instruction drives a painter down a set path with a set outcome.

Advocates of Painting by Numbers see the practice's advantages as helping to get across the concept of painting as structured: built up of multiple shapes in different colours and shapes. Individually, these shapes and colours often do not make sense or look like anything 'real', but when considered as a whole, they create the image. In this understanding, completing a Paint by Numbers project helps a practitioner learn to analyse a subject by observing structure. Painting by Numbers arguably assists practitioners to move away from focusing on what the finished image will look like. Practitioners are guided to look at smaller sections of work as opposed to being overwhelmed by a large unfinished work. A painter eventually learns how to see colour shapes without aid. While advocates see Painting by Numbers as a structured way of learning how to see the world, critics underline the practice as simplistic, uncreative, and formulaic (Connelly and Wolf 2007, Haugnes and Russell 2016).[10] Either way, when painting by numbers, colour from a given pot is control-copy-pasted onto a given canvas, between given lines, to reproduce a given image.

Painting by Numbers is a visual technology. It is a technique of ordering the world. Embedded in this technique are asymmetric power relations between

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[10] Educators Connelly and Wolf (2007) along with Haugnes and Russell (2016) use the art of Painting by Numbers as a metaphor for using rubrics to assess the work of art students at art school. At the end of their explorations, they all see the rubric as a communication tool which encourages active learning and development by providing a common language between student and teacher for learning.

creators and users. Parallels can be drawn between the visual technology of Painting by Numbers and visuality. Visuality, as interpreted by cultural theorist Nicholas Mirzoeff, is the means of seeing a battlefield through the mind's eye using ideas, information, images, and intuition (Mirzoeff 2011, 2016, Mirzoeff in Barreiros 2017). It was used by European colonial forces as a visual technology and social technique of ordering the world of The Atlantic Slavery Trade from the domain of the slave plantation. This was done in unison with other developing visual technologies like drawing, painting, photography, film, and print media. The world of The Atlantic Slavery Trade as ordered from the domain of the slave plantation, along with its distinct visualising technologies, categorised by Mirzoeff (2011) as the plantation complex of visuality. Mirzoeff categorises this complex as active between 1660 and 1865. This time period, he argues, is the foundation of the modern world (Figure 1).

Visuality was used in the plantation complex as a tool in the art of war. Claiming this tool and the art of war for the West, Mirzoeff (2011) argues that the concept of visuality has been central to the legitimisation of Western hegemony and has been the primary means by which Western civilisation set itself apart from others. This claim is later qualified, "War became known as an art in the West, as it long had been in China, requiring a specific new visual skill, which later came to be called visualizing" (Mirzoeff 2016:98). In order to use visuality as a way of mapping out a battlefield, early practitioners — much like those of Painting by Numbers — adopted a standardised point of view. Their own perspectives were diminished and just about replaced with those based on the standards of empire, with set paths and set outcomes. Painting by Numbers can be seen as a practice of visuality and, in a sense, imperial.

According to Mirzoeff (2011:196), because all visuality is shaped from the imperial power's point of view, all visuality, in a sense, is imperial. It is *ukujonga* as opposed to *ukubona;* to look as opposed to seeing. It is that which looks but will not see. Between the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, a particular way of visualising history, imperial visuality, painted the peoples of the world using a single batch formula based on the standards of empire. This way of looking control-copy-pasted colour from one context to the next. In many cases, this forced a square peg into round holes. Describing the distinctive characteristics of this practice, Mirzoeff (2011:197) writes:

> [I]mperial visuality is an abstracted and intensified means of ordering biopower. It understood history to be arranged within and across time, meaning that the 'civilized' were at the leading edge of time, while their 'primitive' counterparts, although alive in the same moment, were understood as living of the past. This hierarchy ordered space and set boundaries to the limits of the possible, intending to make commerce the prime activity of humans within a sphere organised by Christianity and under the authority of civilisation. Imperial visuality imagined a transhistorical genealogy of authority marked by a caesura of incommensurability between the 'indigenous' and the 'civilized'.

Modernity, between 1857 and 1945, was shaped by advocates of imperialism with such great force that Mirzoeff (2011) argues that the complex of visuality produced at this time can schematically be represented as imperial. Key global events that marked this period include the abolition of slavery in the United States of America and the rise of European colonialism which saw newly united Great Britain rise to be the world's dominant colonial power. The imperial complex of visuality was also plagued by never ending rebellions in its colonies, notably the 1857 Indian Rebellion. The period culminated in World War One and declined — although ongoing — with the aftermath of World War Two.

The imperial complex of visuality saw the establishment of archaeology as a discipline in Southern Africa. The earliest archaeological investigation conducted in Southern Africa was that of Great Zimbabwe. The first authoritative archaeological publications reporting back on excavations of Late Iron Age Settlements (LIAS) including Mapungubwe are published between the years 1892 and 1937. They include Theodore Bent's *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland* (1892), David Randall-MacIver's *Medieval Rhodesia* (1906), Richard Nicklin Hall's *Pre-historic Rhodesia* (1909), Gertrude Caton-Thompson's *The Zimbabwe Culture: Ruins and Reacti ns* (1931), and Fouché's *Mapungubwe: Ancient Bantu Civilisation on the Limpopo* (1937). Deeply involved in visualising the history of others, the discipline of archaeology has been responsible for shaping — with authority — ideas about Southern Africa's deep pre-colonial past, particularly the Iron Age since its establishment. Like painting by numbers, the imperial visuality adopted in the imperial complex, became a form of automated batch processing — in a manufacturing sense — of which archaeology was not immune.

For global imperialism, batch processing was a tool of visuality that allowed it to quickly acquire new knowledge and make judgements to meet specified targets. Similar to Painting by Numbers, which introduces students to a particular aesthetic, imperial visuality's automated point of view had the grave consequence of making visible others only according to the empire's logic, while simultaneously erasing local ways of looking and seeing. The plantation complex of visuality (1660–1865) gave birth to the imperial complex (1805–present), and finally the modern military-industrial complex (1924–present). Visuality in the plantation complex and in all the complexes of visuality it made way for, did not, of itself, acquire new knowledge but rather confirmed the point of view of empire. The violence involved in erasing local ways of looking and seeing triggered a fluctuating in intensity but nevertheless permanent resistance. Discriminately, control-copy-pasting ideas of what 'civilised' and 'uncivilised' meant for peoples and spaces around the world, often poleis apart, failed time and time again.

The enslaved in the plantation complex, the colonised in the imperial complex, and the opponents of war in the military-industrial complex all resisted erasure by diverging from visuality's set paths with set outcomes. In the case of Southern African archaeology the excavated landscapes themselves resisted erasure. Performing autonomy, along with the people, they resisted being made to match imperial logic. Using theory developed in Chapter Three, in Chapter Four I engage with how — to hide the permanent resistance of the oppressed and to stay true to its hierarchies of ordering space — practitioners of imperial visuality in Southern Africa embellished and at times outright fabricated the visualised past in varying degrees. Nevertheless, resistance against erasure left residues that can sometimes be traced. An examination of imperial visuality's exercise of painting the world history by numbers is an opportunity to see how the colour control-copy-pasted from one context to another by colonial visuality and visual technologies was coloured by the spaces that it tried to conquer.

In this chapter, I trace the development of visuality as a social technique of ordering the colonial world from the domains of the slave plantation and the ongoing imperial complexes of vitality, as they pertain to Southern Africa. The complexes of visuality here outlined are traced along with visuality's practices of looking over these two complexes namely oversight, visuality, and imperial visuality. I re-open images created and curated for, as well as those related to, the works of scholars who have maintained authority in the production of knowledge about the Southern African Iron Age.

The images engaged with describe how people — early travellers, merchants, sailors, missionaries, scientists, politicians, and business people — shaped the visualisation of the Southern African past through their production of images. They include the early maps of Southern Africa, which give prominence to the strongholds of an unseen interior; the first recorded sighting of its rumoured strongholds; and finally, the first recorded archaeological investigations of these stronghold. The images respectively represent oversight and visuality in the plantation complex of visuality, and imperial visuality in the imperial complex (see Figure 1). The images discussed here carry distinctive characteristics in line with the particular complexes of visuality in which they are created. Splattered across the discourse on the significance of the Southern African late Iron Age is visuality's style of ordering the world.

Racial prejudice is a key example, described by Mirzoeff as the hierarchy of ordering space which delimited what was possible (Mirzoeff 2011:197). Racial prejudice is a key characteristic of visuality's practices of looking in the plantation complex. And, as I will show in Chapter Three, the geography in which racism is conceived is the contested ground from which the modernity is produced. Racial prejudice is implemented at the foundation of modernity, in the plantation complex, through a removed objective bird's eye view. This prejudice transformed itself in overt and covert ways remaining pre-set and shaping the world right up to the digital age coinciding with the military-industrial complex of visuality.

The larger study, ultimately, pieces together a catalogue of countervisual imagery in relation to the discipline of archaeology. This chapter, however, is primarily interested in visuality and its development. Re-opening, re-looking, and attempting to see the files of archaeology's early visual culture — as I will do in this chapter — tracks this development. It reifies visuality's characteristics as outlined by Mirzoeff and other postcolonial theorists (Said 1993, Mamdani, 2001, 2012, Mirzoeff 2011, 2016) along with the 'working of its mind' as explored by Hook (2005). I will proceed with the chapter chronologically following the dates of events as they unfold in historical time as opposed to how they unfold in archaeological discourse. Residue of a pre-colonial world used for their countervisual potential in the imperial and military-industrial complex of visuality are therefore chronologically placed first in order to respect historical time as opposed to how time is erased, or otherwise bent, and moulded by visuality.

The chapter begins with accounts of residues preceding visuality. Residues of precolonial Southern African are followed by a highlighting of China's Ancient links to the continent. From this basis, the chapter then focuses on the revisionist practices associated with oversight, visuality, and imperial visuality. The three moments of oversight, visuality, and imperial visuality are discussed primarily in relation to three artistic impressions of Southern African Late Iron Age Settlements (LIAS): namely John Speed's 1627 *Map of Africa* capturing "Zimbaos", identified today as Great Zimbabwe; Karl Mauch's 1872 *Sketch of Great Zimbabwe*, recording the first known documented sighting of Great Zimbabwe; and Theodore Bent's 1891 dipiction of Great Zimbabwe made during the first excavation of a LIAS in Southern Africa. As in the rest of chapters that follow, the images come from or have travelled widely within archaeological discourse.

2.1 Africa's residues preceding visuality

The origins and decline of what I refer to as the early, long, and distant history of Southern Africa has been historicised by historian and archaeologist Thomas Pikirayi in a book titled *The Zimbabwe Culture* (2001). As explained by Pikirayi, the Zimbabwe Culture is an archaeological term including at least five different, prehistoric and historical, political formations on the Zimbabwe plateau and adjacent lowlands. The Zimbabwe culture, dated from the eleventh to the late nineteenth century, is divided into three main cultural periods: the Mapungubwe phase from 1040 to 1270, the Great Zimbabwe phase from 1270 to 1550, and the phase I will refer to as the modern era (following Mirzoeff). In the modern era, the Zimbabwe culture spreads through two reagents or entities: the Mutapa state, which claimed the northern plateau from 1450 to 1900 and the Torwa-based polity at Khami that claimed the southwestern regions from 1450 to 1650. The polity at Khami was replaced by Rozvi-Changamire lineages that ruled the plateau from 1680 to 1830.

Tracing the origins and decline of southern Zambezian States, Pikirayi (2001) distinguishes six moments: the first pastoralist cultures that emerged around 150 BC; state formation in the form of political centralisation in the Southern African interior at Mapungubwe; a shift of power from Mapungubwe towards the Zambezi basin in the late thirteenth century; the rise and fall of the Mutapa empire as well as their encounter with the Portuguese from the 1450s to the

1900s; the rise of the Torwa and Rozvi-Changamire State as well as the Mfecane wars of the interior in the early to mid 1800s; and finally, the arrival of Merchant Capital, Karanga Migrations and the arrival of the British on the plateau in the late 1890s and 1900s.[11]

Pikirayi (2001:246) reminds readers that although archaeologists have tended to spend their time at the major *Zimbabwe* or 'houses of stone', they know today that the plateau consisted of a multiplicity of micro-environments. Although

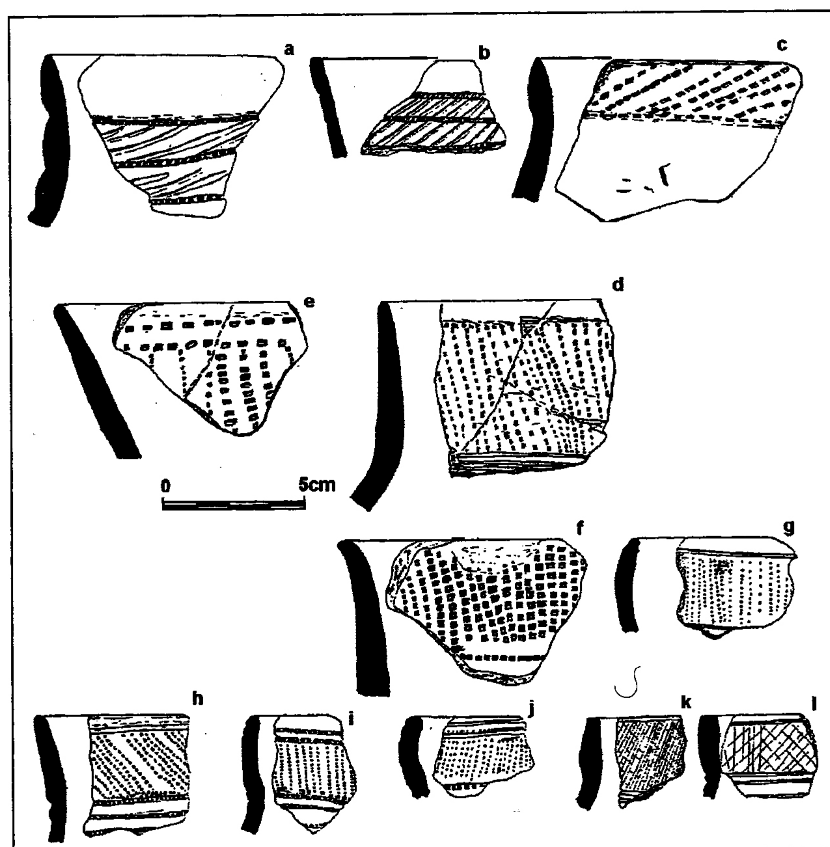


Figure 2:
Paul Mupira, *Early Farming Community po ery from Mabveni (a, c, d, e) and Great Zimbabwe Hill (b, f). Compared with that recovered from early pastoral sites such as Bambata (g, l), Gondongwe Cave (h), and Tshangula Cave (i–k) in southwestern Zimbabwe, Table in The Zimbabwe Culture: Origins and Decline of Southern Zambezi State,* [sa]. (Pikirayi 2001:74).

[11] See Pikirayi (2001) for a detailed account of the origins and decline of the Southern African Zambezi States.

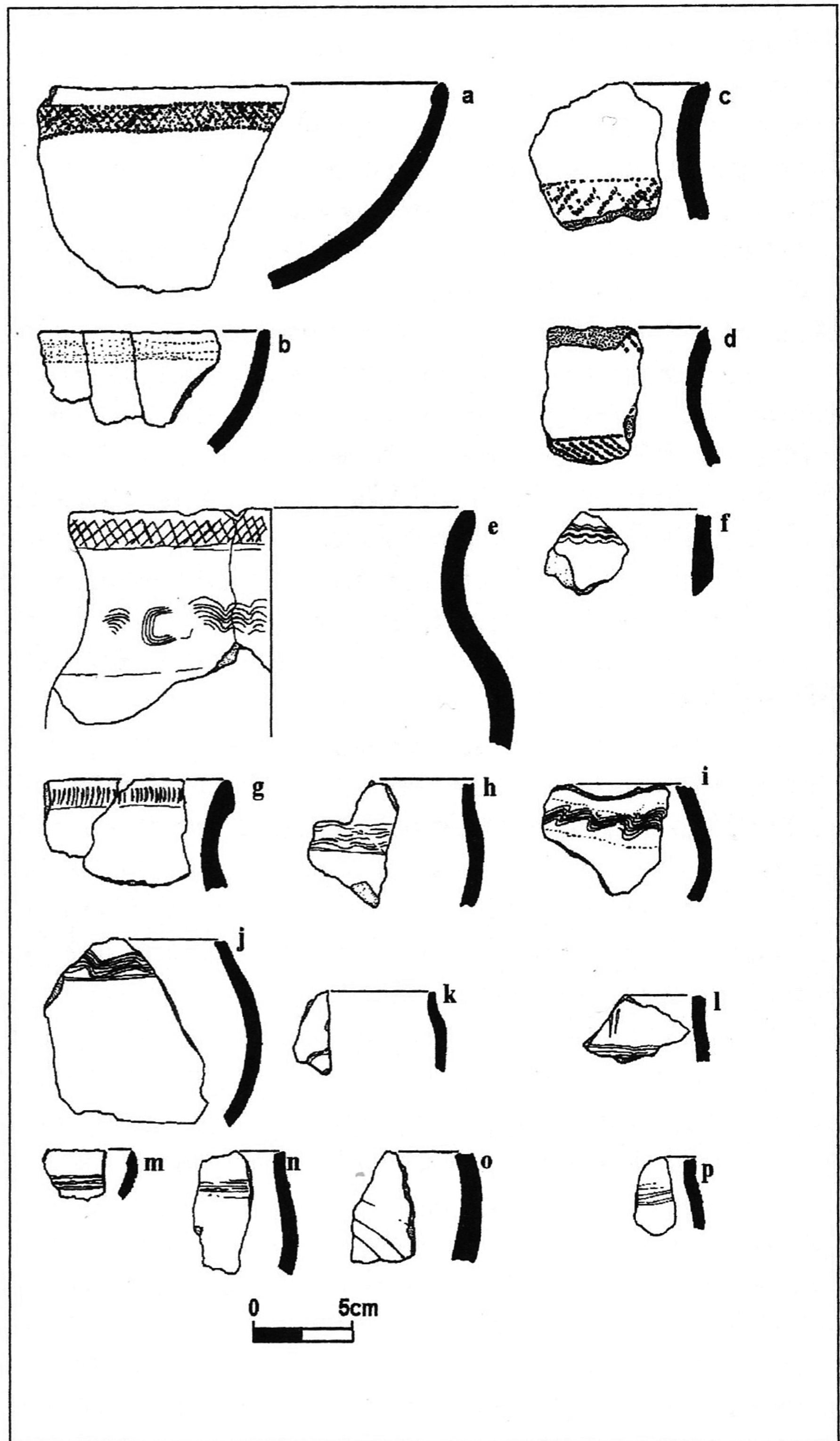
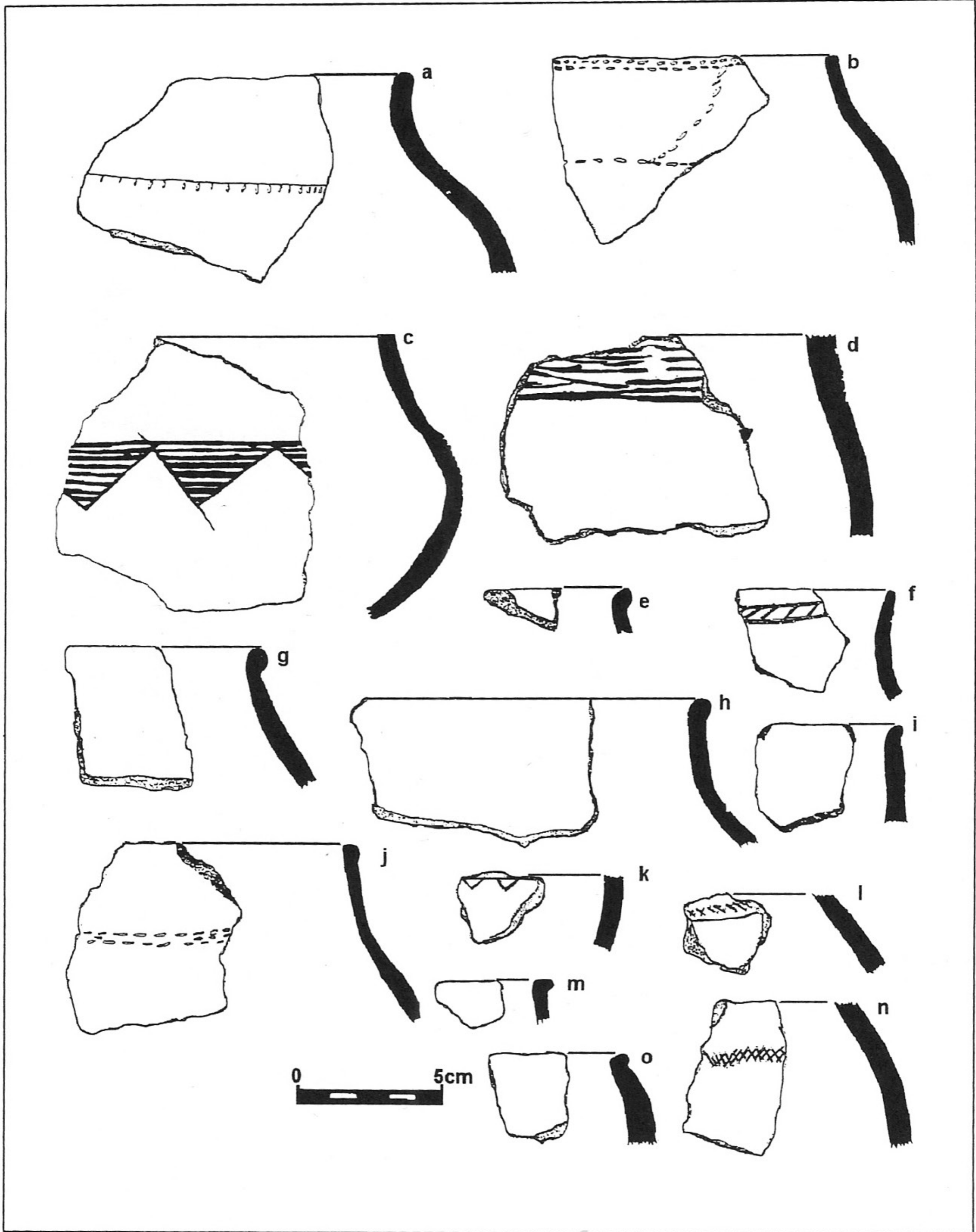


Figure 3:
Gilbert Pwiti, *Early Farming Community Po ery Attribu ed to the Kadzi Tradition, orthern Zimbabwe*, 1996. (Pikirayi 2001:82).

Figure 4:
Archaeology Unit at the University of Zimbabwe, *Mapungubwe and Zimbabwe-Phase Po ery from the Mateke Hills*, [sa]. (Pikirayi 2001:120).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organised structures on the plateau tapped into a global economy via the Indian Ocean, often headlined by the trading of gold and ivory, the development of plateau and everyday economic and social life took place at small ephemeral settlements away from the centres of power often studied. Residents spent their time there, herding cattle, shifting cultivation, and producing iron, copper, and pottery. It is from the remainders of the activities of these ephemeral settlements — alongside the presence of massive stone walls and a distinct settlement pattern — that a more comprehensive world can be mapped out beyond the headlined centres of power (Pikirayi 2001:3).

Archaeologists studying the history of these settlements have primarily used bits of pottery as visual markers of distinct moments in the Early History of the plateau. The distribution of pottery is especially crucial for earlier periods where there are no other competing markers. The graphic patterning styles on pottery become signatures of identity. Identities fixed onto clay pots are distributed across space by the travelling nature of pottery. Figure 2 compares pottery distributed across space. Archaeologists compare early farming community pottery from fixed centres of power with pottery recovered from pastoral sites and caves, suggesting a movement of people from centres of influence to pastoral areas and other outer lands like caves.

Figures 3 and Figure 4 work to establish a particular graphic mark with a specific tradition. A stubbled cross hatch at the brim of a pot, a succession of wavy lines at its curve become signature patterns attributed to a particular practice, like a fingerprint would be to an individual identity. Following the method of attributing identities based on graphic patterning on pottery, graphic patterning has been used to trace incoming identities. Figure 5 visualises a change in graphic patterning across different eras and attributes it to the influence of incoming identities, suggesting that Zihzo pottery slightly changed through its interactions with the incoming K2 cultures.

In a step further than just looking at the graphic marks on pottery, archaeologists are also beginning to study pottery recipes — the composition of clay and sand — as signatures of identity. Identities here are tied to geographic locations through the firing of specific clays and sands distributed across space alongside the graphic marks inscribed on them. Three of the six moments ordering the early history of Southern Africa on the Zambezi plateau coincide with Mirzoeff's

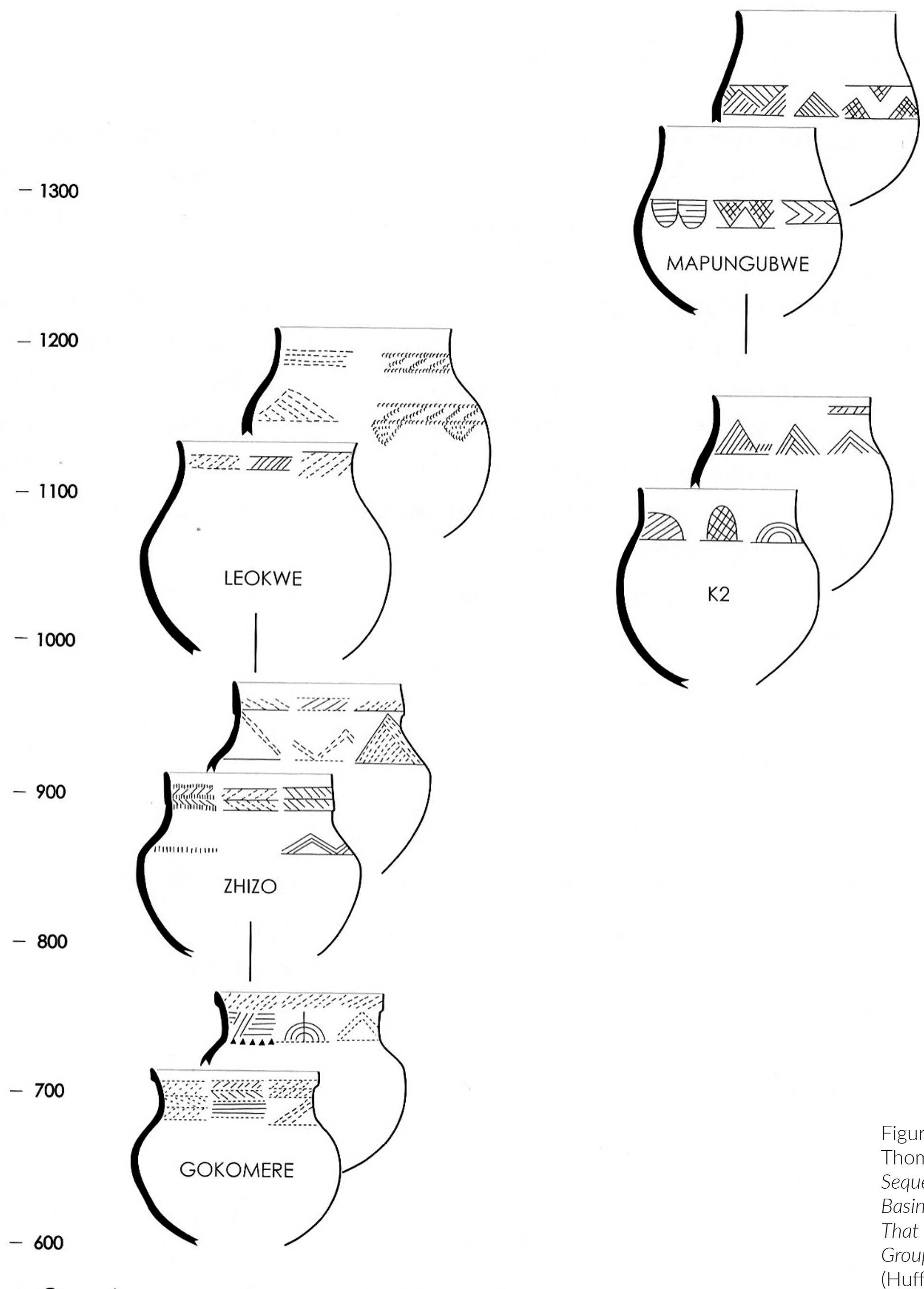


Figure 5:
Thomas Huffman, *Ceramic Sequence in the Shashe-Limpopo Basin. The Di erent Styles Show That Leokwe and K2 Were Separate Groups of People*, 2001.
(Huffman 2001:29).

Moments Ordering the Early History of Southern Africa: Innocent Pikirayi

Complex?	Visuality?	Countervisuality?
The First Herdsmen of the Southern Zambezi	-	?
Shashe-Limpopo Basin	(950-1280)	?
Great Zimbabwe	(1290-1450)	?
The Mutapa State and the Portuguese	(1450-1900)	?
The Torwa and Ro-zovi-Changamire States	(c.1450-1860)	?
Karanga Migrations, and the Arrival of the Nguni and the British	(1840-1900)	?

Complexes of Visuality : Nicholas Mirzoeff

Complex	Visuality	Countervisuality
Plantation Complex (standard form)	Oversight (1660 – 1838)	Revolutionary Realism Countervisuality (c. 1730-1838)
Plantation Complex (intensified form)	Visuality (1802-1865)	Abolition realism (1807-1871)
Imperial Complex (standard form)	Imperial visuality (1805-1914)	Indigenous countervisu-ality (1801-1917
Imperial Complex (intensified form)	Fascist visuality (1918-1982)	Antifascist neorealism (1917-Present)
Military-Industrial Complex (standard form)	Aerial visualisation (1924-Present)	Decolonial neorealism (1945-present)
Military-Industrial Complex (intensified form)	Post-panoptic visuality (1989-present)	Planetary visualisation (1967-present)

Figure 6:
Three of the Six Moments Ordering the Early History of Southern Africa on the Zambezi Plateau Coincide With Mirzoeff s Complexes of Visuality, 2021.

complexes of visuality (Figure 1); Figure 6 visualises this overlap. Within these overlaps conflicting views of the world struggle to focus seemingly blurred vision. The overlap of these moments marks the end of Antiquity and the beginning of the Modern era. In terms of visual residues connected to Southern African

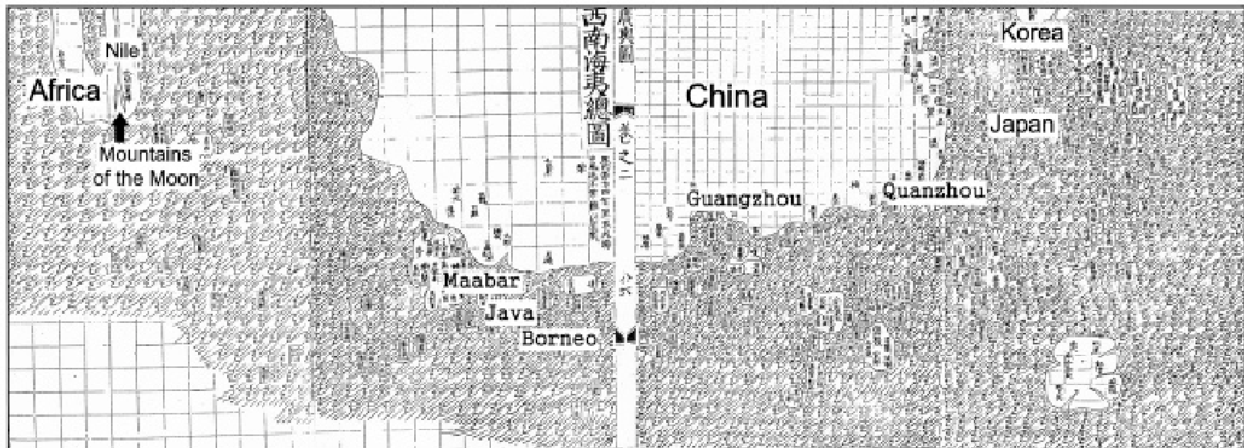
archaeological discourse, this overlap is marked by the first documentations of Southern Africa in historical cartography. Cartography represents, in this way, the first moment of modern visuality — oversight.

2.2 China's ancient links to Africa

In postcolonial and decolonial theoretical and methodological approaches — as those adopted in this study — it is important to make an effort to engage with narratives and histories outside of Western cultures. Where possible, it is also important to see the long-standing relationships between such cultures. Such engagements allow for a recognition of multiple histories which is important, particularly when the narratives engaged with relate to or have significantly influenced the cultures engaged with. The acknowledgement of a multiplicity of history allows for a broader understanding of events and influences and is in line with a mission of this study, to bring light to a multipolar or cosmopolitan modern and pre-colonial world. Although seemingly dislocated, it is with this in mind that I find China's precolonial links to the Southern African Iron Age important to a montage on the visualisation of LIAS.

Western and Western colonial history books have made much of Europe's early charting of Southern Africa. Such texts link this early charting to Europe's circumnavigating of the globe during the European Age of Discovery. Scientists now know, however, that ancient Sino-African trade relationships produced valuable accounts of East Africa in the Chinese imperial archives. It is also increasingly becoming clear that the Chinese were circumnavigating the globe earlier than was propagated by Western colonial narratives. Through this navigation, the Chinese were able to chart large parts of the globe, including Southern Africa (Harris 2017 and Abraham 2015). Due to the difficulty of translating ancient Chinese texts, scholars have not been able to utilise such archives to their full potential. In other cases, scholars have misused the translations to derive conclusions that may not be supported by the original text, as Shen (1995) has shown. Regardless of these misinterpretations, Chinese texts along with archaeological findings have offered an important point of departure for this project's attempt to rethink the long Southern African past.

In 130 B.C., the well-known Silk Road routes were established. The routes resulted from the Han Dynasty in China's official opening of trade with the West. The Silk Road routes remained in use until 1453 A.D. At this time, the Ottoman Empire boycotted trade with China and closed them. The trade route connected China with parts of the world unknown to China at the time, getting its name from



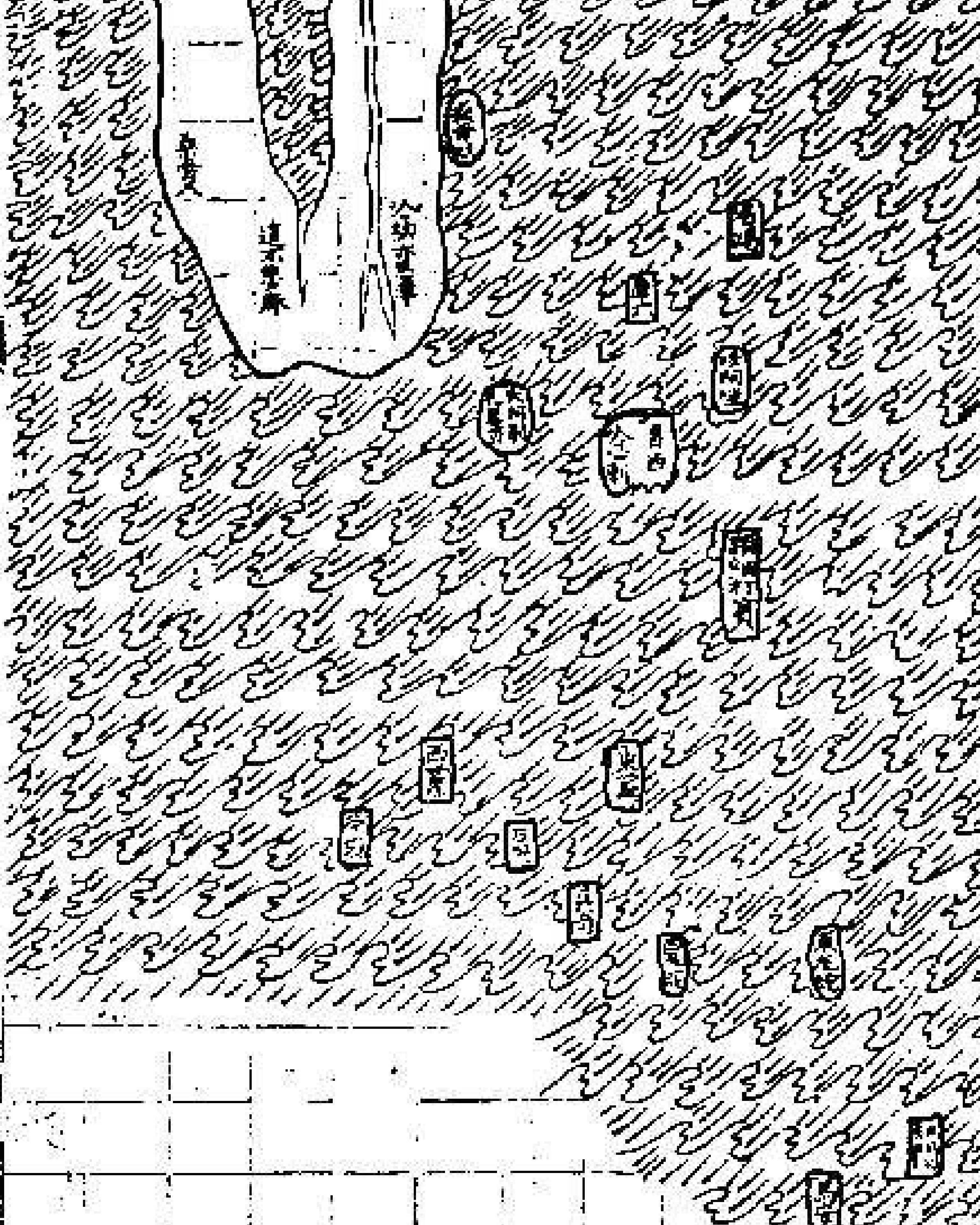
the lucrative trade in Chinese silk that made new connections possible. The Silk Road connected China to Europe across Eurasia including Rome and Ethiopia as well as to the more expansive Indian Ocean including East and Southern Africa. This region developed a reputable spice trade route centred around India. The trade routes which sprung from the Silk Road encouraged not only trade but also cultural exchange. Some evidence showing Imperial China's early arrival on the East African coast points to dates as early as the tenth century (Harris 2017 and Abraham 2015).

According to Abraham (2015), during the Chinese Song Dynasty (960–1279), official and private contacts between Africa and China increased maritime routes from China to Africa. This increase is attested to by archival material from that period, as well as archaeological findings. By the Yuan Dynasty, 1271–1368, there had been several maritime routes from China to Africa, including passages from China to North Africa, East Africa, and Madagascar. Such courses, encouraged by the emphasis on foreign trade and public policy to advance foreign exchange, facilitated ongoing contact between China and Africa. It is during the period of the Yuan Dynasty that Zhu Siben made a map of the African continent (which is now lost) including Southern Africa (Figure 7). It is recorded in the literature that in 1418, Zheng He, an administrator and diplomat during the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644), led a fleet of at least 62 ships with 37,000 soldiers on board across the Indian Ocean, or "Western Ocean" as it is referred to.[12]

Figure 7a (Above):
The Map of Foreign Lands in Southwest Sea (Xinan haiyi tu) (left) and the map of Forein Lands in Southeast Sea (Dongnan haiyi tu) (right) (Park 2012: 166).

Figure 7 (Right):
Zhu Siben's, *Zhu Siben's Map of Southern Africa or Barbarians of the Southwestern Seas*, c. Fourteenth Century (Akin 2016:51).

[12] See Abraham (2015) and Park (2012) for a detailed account of China's long history in Africa and one of China's long interaction with the Islamic world.



In an examination of the eight centuries of contact and exchange prior to Da Gama's 1492 voyage (from 700 -1500) historian Hyunhee Park (2012) maps the Chinese and Islamic worlds and the maps that made Da Gama's voyage possible. Diving deep into the world preceding European maritime domination and mapping the Chinese and Islamic worlds Park helps a reader see the world carved out form a different location. A vital part of the marvel of Park's work is her curation of a changing world. The images she manages to curate within the book play a key role. Presenting the influence of Zhu Siben map in shaping the Chinese and Islamic worlds Park shows Figure 7a displaying Zhu Siben map as a collaged onto a map of the broader Chinese and Islamic world.

The 2014 conference, Exploring China's Ancient Links to Africa, in Addis Ababa, reminded the scientific community of the history laid out by scholars like Abraham and Park, namely China's long past as a globalised and globalising power. (Exploring China's Ancient … 2014). With the well-documented experience of European imperialism, however, scholars are rightfully concerned about the nature of the growing Chinese economic influence on the African continent. In contrast to a complete embrace of Figure 7, the scholar Alexander Akin has stressed that cartography, divorced from its original context as in the case of Zhu Siben's Map of Southern Africa (Figure 7), is being used to suit modern needs, namely, to deflect anxieties about the nature of Chinese economic influence in South Africa (Akin 2017). What this influence means in terms of global shifts in visuality should not be taken lightly; likewise, evidence enriching historical understandings of the globalising world should not be side-tracked by political disdain for the political power that is China. Nevertheless, Zhu Siben's *Map of Southern Africa* (Figure 7) exists, and as shown by Akin, has been used to foreground diplomatic relations between South Africa and China in recent years (Akin 2017).

Figure 7 is a line drawing on striped paper. It depicts only the southern part of the continent. In the maps ordering of space and prominence is given to the sea over the landmass, perhaps signalling the experiential prominence of the sea at the time the map was created. The bodies of water surrounding the continent are differentiated from the landmass by a pattern recalling the crashing of waves. Waves are depicted upside down, peaks on top, body at the bottom, as if the image follows different conventions about top and bottom or North and South. The pattern of the waves continues into the landmass, suggesting the great lakes of the interior. A line moves down to the bottom of the page starting from the vast body of water depicted in the middle of the landmass. The line stream splits into a

Y shape towards its end, suggesting the Nile River. The island off the east coast is marked "Zung slaves", suggesting a slave trade with that region. The marking of the location also signals an ordering of space which follows imperial maps elsewhere.

Archaeologists believe China traded glass beads in exchange for gold and ivory with the Southern African interior. Glass beads and Chinese poetry found at Great Zim and Mapungubwe respectively calibrate Zhu Siben's map of Africa with on the ground archaeological findings. China thus not only has visible ancient links to Africa, it also participated in the visualisation of the distant Southern African past. In view of this thesis' interest in countervisual histories, this influence cannot and should not be ignored. In depicting a multipolar or cosmopolitan pre-colonial world, they offer an important point of departure for my investigation into the possibilities of imagining a different Southern African past. China's maritime powers declined over time due to internal political struggles. In a continuum of Zhu Siben's map of Africa visualised from a bird's eye view, the European Age of Discovery, which would follow, visualised Southern Africa into modernity through practices of oversight.

2.3 The European Age of Discovery and its ordering of the heard

Oversight is a form of looking. It is an authoritative view from above associated with the eyes of the overseer in the plantation complex of visuality (Mirzoeff 2011). Overseers were the middlemen or general managers of farming operations. In the hierarchy of the slave plantation, authority comes from God. It is given to the crown by God. On the slave plantation, the overseer possesses authority. The crown gives the authority to the overseer. The overseer uses this authority to oversee or to look over slaves below from above.[13] The objective of oversight is the ordering of biological power in space: the naming of 'who's who in the zoo' if one may and, moreover, the deciphering of how biological power can be of use in accomplishing the ultimate goal of making commerce the prime activity of human beings.

[13] See Mirzoeff (2011) for an explanation of the role of the overseer in the ordering of slaves.

I extend here an understanding of the eyes of the overseer to those of the cartographer in early map-making. Like the overseer of the plantation complex, cartographers had an overview of 'who was who' in the zoo of power. They ordered biological power across geographic space and created maps which were used as tools in making commerce the prime activity of human beings. Early European mapmaking involved the consolidation of disjointed written, often second hand, accounts of space. Herded together by history, this assemblage of rumours, hearsay, dislocated word of mouth, and more precisely word of sight became the main stock of a practice. As the fragmented experiences of its informants — traders, travellers, diplomats, and scholars — were stitched together, cartography gradually became more sophisticated. John Speed's 1627 *Map of Africa* (Figure 11) capturing "Zimbaos", identified today as Great Zimbabwe. Speeds image discussed below in a sequence with various images, shows how, over time, the persistent herding of rumours and hearsay, the documentation of the word of sight, and the charting of the site of word lead to detailed maps of the world.

2.3.1 Herding rumours and hearsay

After the conquest of Constantinople, in 1453, the East Roman Empire, Byzantium, Europe, became a part of the expanding Ottoman Empire. The new Ottoman Empire blocked off the silk and spice trade routes, which crossed Eurasia by land, from the old Western Roman Empire. The Western Roman Empire had by this time declined into several smaller polities that, before the blockage, still had access to old Roman trade routes. The blockage of the silk and spice trade routes caused an economic crisis in western Europe by driving up the prices of valuable goods from the eastern world. As a cost-cutting exercise — set on bypassing the disputed and dangerous Mediterranean and Arabian Peninsula and directly tapping into the lucrative Indian space trade — the Kingdom of Portugal, a small polity with grand ambitions, made it a mission to find the Sea Route to India.

From 1497 to 1499 — passing the coast of Sierra Leone, the Cape of Good Hope in modern day South Africa, Mozambique, and Mombasa and Malindi in modern day Kenya, before reaching his destination of Calicut in India and returning to Portugal — Vasco da Gama founded the renowned Sea Route to India. Following da Gama's maiden voyage to India, an annual fleet of ships was sent out by the crown of the Kingdom of Portugal. The second of such fleets led

to another renowned voyage, the Western world's discovery of South America and the claiming of modern day Brazil for the Kingdom of Portugal. The claiming of Brazil for Portugal is a very prominent detail of history. As a result of this, other details around that voyage are often overlooked. One such detail is that one of the multiple objectives of the fleet sent to India was to find the port of Sofala. The port was to be found along with consolidating a working relationship with the Kingdom of Calicut in modern day Kerala, India. Sofala was a known trading port on the south-east coast of Southern Africa. Sofala was rumoured, in Europe, to be the port linking a gold mining state in the interior with the East Coast Africa–India trading routes and larger commerce of the Indian Ocean (Rhodesian 1960:11).

Following da Gama's rounding of the southern Cape Peninsula of Africa, the Portuguese slowly worked their way up the east coast of Africa and later up the Zambezi. Armed with military and naval forces, their ultimate goal was to capture the gold trade of South-central Africa, rumoured to be controlled by a king from strongholds in the interior (Rhodesian 1960:11). The Mwene Mutapa was the title rumoured to be given to a line of kings ruling a confederation of states or empire dominating Southern Africa from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. This domain ruled by this line of kings was often called the Empire of the Mwene Matapa, simply Matapa, or Mutapa (*Evolution of the Map ... 2007) of Africa* [sa a]). The states are said to have stretched from the Kalahari Desert to the Indian Ocean (Rhodesian 1960:13), some accounts say from Cape Corrientes, located at the southern entry of the Mozambique Channel, to the great Zambezi River (Diego de Couto, cited in Pikirayi 2001:8).

In line with what was rumoured, the Mwene Mutapa ruled from the interior, trading with Swahili traders at the coast. After setting up a fort at Sofala, the Portuguese made regular contact with Swahili traders who in turn made regular contact with the interior. For a while, such traders acted as middlemen between the interior and the coast. Penetrating the Southern African interior was a difficult task because of its inland strongholds as well as the potential for sickness resulting in death. The Portuguese therefore initially stayed along the coast.

While military and naval forces strategised about how to penetrate the interior to find the Mwene Mutapa, Christian missionaries were also set on finding them. On a converging diplomatic quest, their mission was to convert the Mwene Mutapa to Christianity, linked to a broader task of converting the entire world. As

part of this global mission, missionaries had already set up camp in Goa, India, and were travelling between Goa and Sofala in Southern Africa — a trip made possible by the trade now taking place between India and Portugal. The conversion of a King would be a massive success for the church as well as ease diplomatic relations between Portugal and the converted king.

Rumour pointed to Monomotapa, whose capital lay far up the Zambezi, as the most influential ruler in Southern Africa and therefore as the way to a Christian Africa. A mission, headed by the missionary Gonçalo, was extended from Goa to Sofala to convert Africans to Christianity (Rhodesian 1960:13). By the time Gonçalo came to Africa, the Portuguese were sending regular expeditions to Inhambane on the coast, much further south (Rhodesian 1960:20). Gonçalo had ambitions of converting all of Southern and Central Africa to Christianity. Gonçalo thought — from European experiences of the conversion of Kings and the response of their subjects — that the best way to achieve this was to convert the most powerful king he could find, and his subjects would follow. Before Gonçalo left Europe, he had seen that when Henry of England became schismatic, his kingdom followed; when his Protestant son succeeded, England became Protestant. On his death, it became Catholic again. The idea of the religion of the ruler dictating the faith of those ruled was a typical way of thinking for the time.

2.3.2 Documenting the word of sight

Between accounts of those who set up camp at the coast and those penetrating the interior from missionaries, amongst others, Portuguese reports on the Mwene Mutapa's country and their later historicization are the earliest written accounts of the Southern African interior and its rumoured strongholds. Very few of the reports extending deep into the interior are thought to come from first-hand accounts. Instead, they are considered to come from word of mouth accounts shared by third parties whom themselves had seen the strongholds in the interior. Either way, such reports imported into European imaginations of mysterious walled fortresses, hidden in the Southern African interior, connected to the gold mining industry of Antiquity. Portuguese reports refer to 'zimbabwe' as royal capitals of the Mutapa state, stone-walled buildings in the Southern African interior, where the court was held. Significant and original discussions of these capitals are limited by vast gaps of time between them. Moreover, they give little detail as to where the capital towns were located.

Chronologically, in 1506, Diego de Alcaravea in a letter to the king of Portugal wrote about the city of 'Zunbanhy', capital of the Mutapa's kingdom made of stone and clay, where the king resides.[14] De Alcarova wrote about multiple towns and villages within the same the kingdom. In 1511, Gasper Veloso — describing the journeys made by explorer, Antonio Fernandes, into the interior — reported a fortress of the king of Menomotapa, an 'Empire' also called Camanhaya, made of stone without mortar. In 1552, João de Barros published the first decade of Da Ásia, the most complete account of the Portuguese conquests at the time. Included was a detailed description of the seventeenth-century Mutapa state, most notably Duarte Barbosa's description of the 'Zimbaoche' found in the town of the king Benametapa, fifteen or twenty days inland from Sofala in the southern territories of the Mwene Mutapa.

In 1609, João de Santos, who worked as a missionary at Tete in the Mwene Mutapa's country from 1586–1595, published *Ethiopia Oriental*, a description of the Portuguese colonisation of Africa at the end of the sixteenth century as well as an account of the manners and customs of Bantu people. De Santos also reported, allegedly from the native peoples of the land, two biblical accounts for the origin of stonework in the Southern African interior. The first names the ruins as the factory of the Queen of Sheba and the second as the factory of Solomon. In the year 1616, responding to the publication of de Santos's accounts of the authorship of the ruins, Diogo de Couto, a successor of de Barros as the historian of Portuguese conquests, added the speculation of the Queen of Sheba in relation to the ruins in the ninth decade of *Da Asia.*[15]

Limited discussions of the Southern African interior circulated the Western world, copied from one space, pasted into the next. Each new space moulded the imported idea to fit into its own parameters and point of view. The vast amount of time between original discussions and the repetition of the known world created discrepancies between each copy and each paste toward, but not quite, the generation of a real without origin or reality: a hyperreal (Baudrillard 1983). Written, rewritten, and written again, accounts of the Southern African interior are the basis on which early cartographic maps, of Southern African, were rendered. Thus, cartographic practices can be looked at as mapping the site of word.

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[14] See Garlake (1973) for a detailed account of the chronology related to the first writings about Great Zimbabwe.

[15] See Garlake (1973:51-64) for a more detailed account of the original discussions related to stone buildings in the interior of Southern Africa. Also see Pikirayi (2001:170-176) for a detailed description of the Mutapa state.

2.3.3 Charting the site of word

John Speed's *Map of Africa* (Figure 11) is widely noted in Southern African archaeological discussions for its early recording of Great Zimbabwe, captured as "Zimbaos". Published in the year 1627, the map comes from a long genealogy influenced by the herding of rumours and hearsay as well as that of documentation of all leads regarding possibly inhabited places of the world. The map followed in a tradition of charting and eventually mapping with great detail the continents of the world. John Speed's *Map of Africa* builds on a multitude of maps that came before it, including Martin Waldseemüller's 1513 map, Lorenz Fries's 1541 reproduction of the same map, and Abraham Ortelius's 1570 production of *The Standard European Map of Africa*.

The maps listed above should not be seen as objects primed for long discussions of formal, iconographic, or political detail as is done with selected images in other sections of this study. They should instead be seen as isolated frames in a fast moving animation where the sequence is more important than any isolated image. A historic pause button stops on John Speed's *Map of Africa*: it is the constant stream of images each making and remaking the last that creates the traceable residue. A single image is not sufficient to show the effects of the trickling stream on the river, let alone on the ocean. Similarly, I find no need to focus on the single image when the flow of images was more important for showing how the idea of Africa shifted from one moment to the next.

Martin Waldseemüller's 1513 map is the first known separately printed map of Southern Africa. The map, like Waldseemüller himself, was very influential. First featured in the 1513 edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia* — a gazetteer, atlas, and theory on cartography —the map was one of twenty "modern" maps. Waldseemüller worked on monumental projects influencing the cartographers that came after him. Thought to have worked as an editor on the cartographic corpus created by Waldseemüller from about 1520 to 1525, Lorenz Fries, in 1541, reproduced Waldseemüller's 1513 map from his experience of Waldseemüller's work and added several embellishments (Figure 8). In line with an early genre of cartography typical of the age of exploration, the map of Africa includes drawings in it and on its margins of notable elements related to the map. The map shows the legendary 'Mountains of the Moon' (Mone Lune) as the source of the Nile River. And the African coastline is full of names given by the Portuguese. What was Waldseemüller's empty interior, however, is now occupied by images connected to disjointed and at times misplaced legends about the African interior (Evolution of the Map ... *2007)*.

Three seated rulers sit are placed on various locations on the content. The rulers all wear gold crowns and carry sceptres (Figure 8). All are depicted as white men. The furthest north on the east coast wears a short red garment and is bearded. The king lower down the coast holds a sceptre without a head that differs from the other two seated kings. The third king, furthest south, sits between two rivers; he is seated facing west unlike the other two who face east. The King of Portugal, Emanuelis, is featured in the lower right corner, bearing the royal banner of Portugal and a sceptre like the other kings. He rides a sea monster like a horse. Emanuelis, reigned from 1495 to 1521, occupying the throne during the expansion of Portugal's mercantile empire (Evolution of the Map … 2007). It was during his reign that Vasco da Gama discovered the route to India — toward which the figure on the map is facing.

Figure 8:
Lorenz Fries, *Tabula Noua Partis Africæ: Reduced version of Waldseemüller, Marti 's 1513 Map of Southern Africa*. Woodcut map with added colour, 29 x 40 cm, 1541. (Evolution of the Map … 2007).

The Portuguese king is depicted as set apart among kings. While the other kings are fixed onto land, the King of Portugal is pictured as comfortably in motion on the water, far from his own kingdom. The king's riding of a bridled sea monster portrays his domination over foreign territory as well as the sea. Not only does the king ride horses on land but other sea creatures out in the wilderness. It depicts him as having a lead in a race. So far ahead is the king in this race that he is pictured on route to his destination while the other kings have not yet thought of moving. He wears a cape, a different crown, and is depicted as much larger than the other kings, marking him as extraordinary in comparison. Nevertheless, despite the three kings being depicted as white men, and having blue eyes to make them appear European eyes, they are still accepted as kings. Although looked at as lacking in the race of the seas, they are still held in some regard as worthy contenders, something which changes in later shifts of visuality.

The idea of the three kings, located on the east coast of the continent, the location and source of the Nile, is repeated time and time again in early European cartography of Africa. Along with this, early maps are often embellished with either myths associated with a particular place on the map or animals that could be found in that specific location. The earliest map of the continent as a whole (Figure 9) is exemplary of these tendencies featuring a number of visual legends and, more accurately, the source of the Nile as being in the centre of the continent. Most interestingly for scholars of LIAS, it features three crowns on the east coast referencing the three kings acknowledged in previous decades.

The standard European map of Africa for the last quarter of the sixteenth century (Figure 10) was first published in 1570 in what is considered the first real atlas, *Theatrum*. The maps in *Theatrum* were produced by Abraham Ortelius, an authority on historical cartography in the sixteenth century. Ortelius travelled to many book fairs, established contacts with literati in many countries, collected maps, and became an authority on historical cartography (Evolution of the Map … 2007). In 1570, he published the *Theatrum*, an atlas of fifty-three maps, the first collection of uniform-sized maps depicting all the countries of the known world — the first real atlas. Each map had text on the back describing the country depicted and listing Ortelius's sources of information. The work was well received, respected as a source of authority, and republished with multiple editions in several languages until 1612, with an increasing number of maps (Evolution of the Map … 2007).

Figure 10 comes from a 1584 edition of the atlas. Copied and pasted from one place to the next, it still bears the 1570 date. Learning from the copies that came before it, the map made many improvements on the first maps of the continent. Notably, it establishes a more recognisable shape for the continent. It did, however,

still carry grand mistakes. While the island of Zanzibar is correctly placed on the east coast, the coastland is incorrectly featured on the west (Evolution of the Map ... 2007). This misplacement speaks to the disconnect between map makers and the multitude of sources that they consulted to create maps. Some sources proved to be correct while others proved distorted, whether through word of mouth or misreading of a source or both. The presence of a king in the south-east coast named the Mene Motapa is noted in Ortelius's map. This remains a standard from the sixteenth century onwards. Figure 10 features a Motapa state on the east coast that stretches into the interior of Southern Africa. Multiple cities are also noted in the interior. Most significantly for archaeological discussions,

Figure 9:
Sebastian Münster, *Totius Africæ tabula, and description uniue salis, Etiam ult a Ptolemæi limites extensa*, c.1489-1552. Woodcut map, with added colour, 26 x 35 cm. (Evolution of the Map ... 2007).

Ortelius's map notes a "Simbaoe", today recognised as Great Zimbabwe, along the Zambezi River. The noting of "Simbaoe" and the Motapa state correlates with European expansion in commerce and religion around this region at the time.

Following on the images created by Waldseemüller and Fries, and Ortelius's production of the standard European map of Africa, John Speed's 1627 map of Africa bears visible distortions of space but is recognisably the African continent as we know it today. The map follows traditions of decorative and popular early maps of Africa. Speed used a format called *carte à figu es*, where views of, presumably, the major cities and trading ports of Africa, including its peoples, make up the border of the image and the interior decorated with exotic animals (Evolution of the Map…2007).

Figure 10:
Abraham Ortelius, *Africae Tabula Nova*, 1570. Copperplate map, with added colour, 37 x 49 cm. (Evolution of the Map … 2007).

Figure 11 was published in a world atlas compiled by Speed. It was the first map of Africa to be published in England, and it was thus responsible for visualising

Africa for the English-speaking world. In Speed's take on mapping out the African content, Ortelius's "Simbaoe" — a royal centre amongst other centres in the kingdom of Monomotapa — is modified to "Zimbaos" for the English-speaking world. Although preceded by Ortelius's map by nearly a century, the popularity or preference for the John Speed's map in Southern African archaeology makes visible discrepancies and lapses in knowledge influenced by power. By the time the business of archaeology took hold, the Portuguese empire responsible for the large production of maps charting the world had given way to English expansion. As such, research also favoured English historical texts or preferred such texts due to language barriers.

Streamlined by time through 'difference and repetition', what these maps have in common, that is of interest to this study, are their authority, their reference to Southern African LIAS, and finally their pursuit of the place in the map. The maps highlighted here where authoritative to the audiences they were designed for. As well as changing considerably over time, all the maps listed above etch and re-etch particular ideas about the continent along with particular features. They repeat markers like the Nile and its source and the idea of inland strongholds ruled by Kings in the southern and east African interior. The maps visualised a space which, up to that moment, had only been heard of, but not seen. As space that was heard of but not seen, the Southern African interior became part of the "intellectual baggage of the West" (Pikirayi 2001:8). The careful stitching together of this baggage mapped out central Southern Africa. By all indications, most early Portuguese documentation of the Southern African interior was based on second-hand accounts from Swahili traders whom themselves had long-standing relations with the Mutapa State before the Portuguese (Pikirayi 2001, Garlake 1982). The fortresses, hidden in this interior, were nonetheless an accepted part of the known world. In seeing the Swahili, by this I mean greeting and thus acknowledging them in all that they were; all that the Swahili had seen, heard, and acknowledged as part of the known world became part of what the Portuguese had seen, heard, and accepted as part of the known world.

Maps like those of Waldseemüller, Fries, Ortelius, and Speed are testament to Europe's mapping of auditory impressions. The practices involved in the making of such maps are examples of the auditory impression of *ukubona*. Here we have examples of how *ukubona* as greeting works. As explained in Chapter One, I understand *ukubona* to mean openness and willingness to see others and their history. Taken literally as a utopian ideal, it is a fantastic absorption of the other's vision. Vision is not perfect; it is always mediated with various silences and alterations. It is these mediations, silences and alterations that I will address in the next chapter.

2.3.4 The auditory impression of ukubona

As previously mentioned, *ukubona* in the languages of Southern Africa is not just about the perceived image but is also multi-sensory providing a particular auditory impression. Following an auditory impression of vision, the Xhosa child in darkness is reassured of the presence of others through sound as opposed to perceived vision, yet this sound is orated and accepted as vision. This section thus looks as at auditory impressions of vision and yet remains focused heavily on vision through sigh in language and direction. The birth of visuality during the colonial expansion that would make clear Europe's intentions of using visuality as a war would go hand in hand with a fixation on seeing in order to believe. European cartographers in the early charting of the African content, although moving towards this absolute position, seemingly worked like the Xhosa child walking in darkness.

Figure 11 (Above):
John Speed, *Map of Africa*, 1627.
(The Old Map ... [sa]).

Figure 11a (Right):
John Speed, *Detail of John Speed's Map of Africa,* 1627. (Garlake 1973:94).

The Kingd. of Damute here is gold digged up in great quantity
Anziкana
Cóngo
Vamba
Goiame
Harode
Nilus fluvius
Agag
Giara
Tacui
Marauma
Nova
Girat
Quara
Fungi
Ambian
Gorada
Bilibrano
Melinde
Orgabea
The Vallie of Aquisagi
Gorga
Bara
Quiloa
Sibit
Casates here the Amazons are sayd to inhabite
Casates
Quara mont.
Gavi
Zaire Lake
Zembre lake
Zembre
Zet
Gasabe la
Maboga
Tirut
Falacia
Legula
Dangae
Elisie
Agisimba
Zoca
Zaire
Lake Aquilunda
Malemba
Ypeople of Bagamidri
Matama
Bagamedri
Bagame
Gallila
Lunæ Montaine
Mozambique
Dud
Agog
Astagoa
Leuma
Agag
Gamoa
Camur
Quilimance
ANGOLA
C. Ledo
Loanda
Angra Praya
Terra Baxo
C. Negro
Angra das Arcas
P. das Baxas
Praia
zibil mont
C. de Rui piz
das Noires
G. Frio
Base Desert
Praia das Pedras
G. d. S. Ambrosio
Praia dos Neves
Golfo da Serra
P. do Ilheos
Sachaf lake
tro
Zet
Armeta
Maitachasi
Dodel
Augesa
Bera
Gebage
Amara
Zefala
Calburas
Cast Portogal
Ruenea
Giero
MONOMO
Bafat
Tialso
Quitic
Degher
Iotama
Hagala
Degme
Dege
Cuama river
C. de Pichel
Manica
Meacho
Baixos dos I
C. d. S. Sebastian
Costa d. S. Thomas
G. d. Conception
Caveo
Francisco Gedeho desert
As Serras
G. Iuntas
Punta d. Ilh
G. das Voltas
Monta das Bramidos
Serra do penadat
Moros da pedra
Cequos Iland
Adia
Vaby lake
Zedaia
Butua
Enggi
Agrasele
Mogar
Zimbaos
Buro mina de Oro
Rio d. Reis
Bazaruta
Rio de Spirito Santo
C. das Correntas
Agoada de boa paz
Garma
Ionros
Monomotapa
Davagul
Milangana
P. de S. Maria
Terra dos Fumos
TAPA
Mosbata
Vallonta
Samot
Vigitimagna
Beleguras
Medaos do Oro
Ponta da Pescaria
Cortada
Terra do Natal
Montes alombada das Areas
G. de S. Elena
C. d. S. Luzia
Ri. d. Infanto
Penada das Fontes
Ilheos Chaos
The Cape of good Hope
C. de S. Francisco
C. Content
Fish Bay
Mossel B

With only scattered auditory impressions as markers of existence, rumours and hearsay for cartographers replaced the perceived images of sought-after strongholds. Rumours and hearsay thus became the *ndiyakubona!* shouted in the darkness as an 'I see you' in response to peoples that had in fact not been seen at all. By trusting and responding to this call the membership of the cartographers walking in the abyss of darkness to the world of the interior strongholds was affirmed. In other words, even though European historical accounts would later make distinctions and put into doubt the humanity of the peoples they visualised, in the theory of *ukubona*, by acknowledging those people's presence — through an acknowledgement of their auditory impression — European cartographers joined their world view to those they 'saw', through what is referred to here as the auditory impression of *ukubona*.

The significance of distorted Portuguese accounts of an interior based on their relationship with Swahili traders is not to demonstrate the workings of 'broken telephone' or turbulent network communication but rather to show the possibilities of vision. The Portuguese could see some — that is they would acknowledge and embrace the presence and worlds of some — but, as will later become evident, would not be able to see others. This openness to the perception of some and not others is an essential gap in vision related to the workings of the racial stereotype as observed by Hook (2005, 2013). One of the first drawing lessons at art school concerns suspending ideas of what the world looks like and embracing what is seen at a particular moment. I remember being told as a drawing student, "there is a big difference between what your hand looks like and what you think your hand looks like". Similarly, in postcolonial studies, visual cultural studies, and critical race theories (Fanon 1976, Biko 1978, Said 1978, Hall 1992, hooks 1996, Mitchell 1994, Mamdani 2001,2012,2018, Mirzoeff 2001, 2016, and Hook 2005, 2013), it is demonstrated time and time again that, the *idea* of the other, as opposed to the, other otherwise, easily become incorporated into ways of seeing. This distortion of sight also pertains to objects of material culture as insisted on by W. J. T Mitchell (1994, 2002) in early visual culture studies and as demonstrated by multiple Southern African archaeologists (Lane 1994, Hall 1998, Beach 1998, Anderson 2009, Chirikure and Pikirayi 2011, Chirikure and Pikirayi 2015) as pertaining to LIAS

Early charts, and later maps, of Africa from China and Europe are about the ordering of space through the abstraction of territory into a concept (Baudrillard 1983). The objective is to know by seeing and naming; the mastery of territory was the attainment of a congruent double. Yet even as this seems within grasp, it

becomes clear that this is not the primary concern of the images. The images stake a claim on the ideas they visualise, while simultaneously maintaining a posture of having a handle on the landscape they picture, by having mapped it out. What is shown and omitted is closely aligned with the value associated with particular places. Portuguese accounts of the Indian trade route gave prominence to the kingdom of Mwene Mutapa or Monomotapa because of its suspected gold mines (see Chapter Three). The reputation of Monomotapa assured Zimbabwe a place in prominent Portuguese historical accounts of Southern Africa which translated into the prominence of the name on early European maps of Africa.

Far from seeing the peoples of the Southern African interior, early maps of Africa from China and Europe begin a process of batch processing. Here, information is eventually copied and pasted form one place to the next with the set outcome of domination. How the world was shaped, in early fifteenth-century cartography, was dependent on what discussions those that were shaping it had access to: whom and what cartographers saw and did not see. The further away societies were from the interests of those shaping a particular world, both in terms of distance and reputation, the more invisible they became. Some peoples, along with whole continents, were rendered invisible as a result. Maps detailing the presence of a mysterious, fortified, gold-producing Southern African interior were mainly completed from Portuguese accounts of that space. As a result of the limited discussions circulating the Western world — of which first the Portuguese had a monopoly, latter taken over by the Dutch and then the British — how these European powers saw the world became the world as it was.

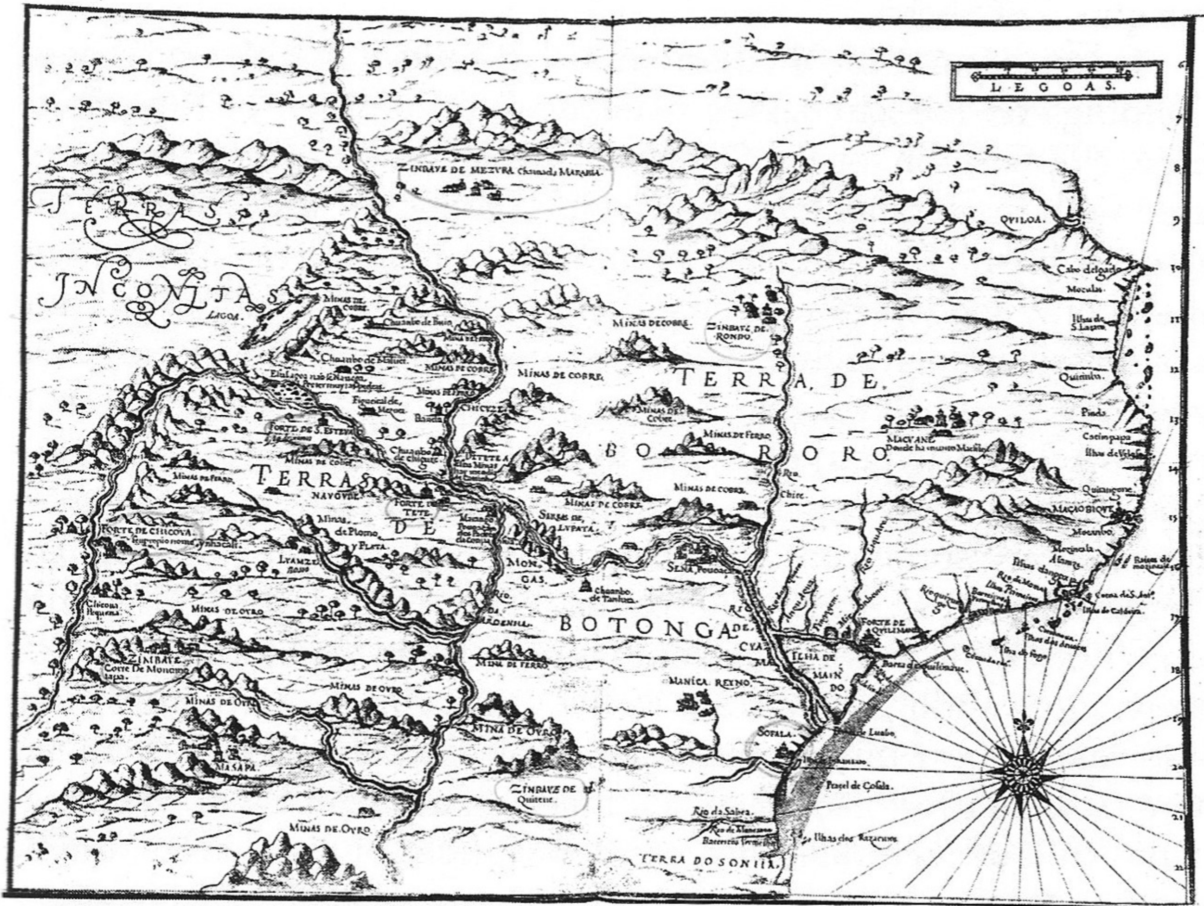
By the time the Portuguese first made contact with the Southern African interior, the Mutapa state was an established part of the eastern trade route with India and China. The Mutapa State dominated the southern territories of this route. As the sixteenth century progressed and the Portuguese gained power over the Mutapa state, cartography was able to slowly improve maps and document several inland strongholds. The Portuguese initially spent some time at the coast based at Sofala but in 1531 got their first hold of the interior with the foundation of Sena up the Zambezi. From here they later spread to Tete (Rhodesian 1960:13). By the 1630s the Portuguese had infiltrated the economy of the Eastern trade routes. Reflecting this infiltration, João Teixeira Albernaz I's map of the seventeenth-century Mutapa state in Southern Africa (Figure 12), published around 1630, three years after Speed's map of Africa, demonstrates a good understanding of the northern parts of the Zimbabwe plateau on the part of the Portuguese.

The view from above as well as the naming of space, exhibited in early European cartography, established control over it; European eyes, however, had no access to the spaces it claimed from intimate perspectives. Even when the Portuguese did gain more control of the interior and through this started understanding its layout, with only a single aerial dimension of that interior visualised through the technology of mapping, its ruins and strongholds remained elusive. In the 1670s the Rozwi emerged in Zimbabwe. Within a decade they overthrew the Torwa dynasty and expelled the Portuguese. By 1693 South East Africa was a united territory under indigenous rule. At the time of their eviction, the Portuguese had successfully infiltrated the Indian ocean economy and disrupted the economy of the Southern African interior. The Portuguese invasion, in combination with the internal Mfece wars of the time, wreaked havoc, uprooting and displacing societies across Southern Africa. Europe's charting of Africa had seemingly come to a standstill.

Close to three centuries divide the first documented references to Great Zimbabwe and its first reported sighting. The first references to the site were during the reign of the Portuguese Empire in the 1600s; its first sighting took place during the reign of the British Empire in the late 1800s. By the time the British Empire had a go at ruling the world, significant changes in the business of ruling global empires had taken place. The Mutapa states, renowned in early Portuguese accounts of Southern Africa, had collapsed. The power of the Portuguese around the globe was on the verge of collapse, as were the ideas that gave wind to the boats of the Enlightenment that charted sea routes towards a globalised imperial world. Old ideas were replaced by new ones, fit to meet the challenges and interests of the day. The reign of the British Empire brought with it the birth of visuality as it would be claimed in visual cultural theory — visualising the history of the peoples of the world with a certain claimed authority.

2.4 Visuality: the war with a view

In the sixteenth century, European travellers in Africa longed to find the sea route to India. In the nineteenth century, they set themselves three tasks: to travel to Timbuktu, locate the sources of the Nile, and relocate the lost city of Ophir and King Solomon's mines. Vogel (in Pikirayi 2001: xv) notes that "the first quest ended in frustration in a dusty trading town on the southern fringes of the Sahara, the second in rancour and an unseemly death, and the third in denial and fantasy". The Age of European Discovery, from the 15th century to the 18th century in European history had charted the circumference of the African



continent and established a bird's-eye view of the landscape. From this, it had waged war and disrupted, as planned, the Indian Ocean Economy. Knowledge of the continent from first-hand perspectives was elusive.

While three centuries had significantly changed some ideas and shifted particular interests, there were continuities with the past. Distorted considerably by time, distance, and repetition, the legend of old strongholds existing deep in the Southern African interior persisted. They persisted between the rise of racism in scholarship and the birth of visuality as war. The rise of racism in scholarship and the birth of visuality as war coincided with the first documented sighting of Great Zimbabwe. This influenced the significance of the recorded sighting. Images of Great Zimbabwe within this context turned a war with and abstracted Birdseye view, into one possessing an eye level on the ground alternative.

Figure 12:
João Teixeira Albernaz I, *The Twenty-Sixth Chart of João-Teixeira, c.* 1630. (Pikirayi 2001:7).

2.4.1 The rise of racism in scholarship and the birth of visuality

The rise of racism in European scholarship coincides with the birth of visuality. At the beginning of the nineteenth-century racism was on the rise and with it new ways of seeing the word took root. As a tool of war, initiated in the plantation complex of visuality as a means of ordering slaves, race divided and defined biological power to rule and reign supreme (Mamdani 2001, 2012, 2018). It infiltrated into every sphere of life. Scholarly endeavours within the plantation complex of visuality were not immune; instead, they became its primary agents. The alignment between prehistoric archaeology and ethnology, the study of different peoples and the differences and relationships between them, was active in the 1860s and 1870s just before Great Zimbabwe was interpreted by archaeologists for the first time. From this, it was accepted that arranging modern cultures in a series, from simplest to most complex, illustrated the stages through which the most advanced cultures had developed in prehistoric times. A persistent problem in the theory of cultural evolutionism, which believed in an ordering of modern cultures, was to explain why some societies had developed rapidly. In contrast, others had remained the same for thousands of years.

While this conundrum was debated by scholars, a close relationship between prehistoric archaeology and ethnology developed in Western Europe and America. Some of the Enlightenment's foundational ideas were undergoing significant changes. The Enlightenment had advocated for the equality of human beings, that all human beings, regardless of culture or race, share the same basic psychological and cognitive make-up (Trigger 1989). The nineteenth century witnessed a slow decline, in western Europe, of this belief. In the place of the rationalism of the Enlightenment, a new conservatism favoured the romantic idealisation of national and ethnic differences. This encouraged intellectuals to view alleged national characteristics as being rooted in the inequality of human groups. Some scholars began to consider these differences as rooted in biological factors that were invariable.

Scholars, as well as writers outside the academy, began invoking alleged racial elements instead of environmental ones to explain variations in the degree to which different groups had evolved in the course of human history. Charles Darwin's evolutionism was appropriated for this racist agenda, giving scientific credibility to the growing belief in the inequality of the races. Evolutionism was interpreted as supporting the idea that less civilised peoples were also less developed intellectually and emotionally (Trigger 1989). Europeans were thus framed as biologically leading the human race. Such interpretations provided a

biological parallel to the belief in race and ethnicity, in this case, biology, as the underlying commonality of a nation — which ultimately superseded a belief in psychic unity (Trigger 1989). As has been shown here through the mapping of the African content, visuality and visual technologies as social techniques of ordering the colonial world were used in the plantation complex by European interests for European domination.

Although visuality existed in the plantation complex of visuality and its techniques helped shape a transforming image of Africa, Mirzoeff asserts that visuality comes into its own during the imperial complex in the early to mid-nineteenth-century with a new era in modern warfare. According to Mirzoeff, the Napoleonic conquests of the early nineteenth century usher in this new era, setting a precedent for the role of vision in it (Mirzoeff 2011:126). Following English by historian Thomas Carlyle, Mirzoeff (2011:123-127) links the origins of visuality to the images used by generals to direct combat far away from the actual physical battlefield. Generals in modern warfare were expected to visualise the battlefield that could not be seen from a single point of view.

In his reign as the first consul, Napoleon initiated a revival of military painting constructed from the perspective of the general. Napoleon's revival bureaucratised visuality as a tool of the imperial government. Along with his use of propaganda, Napoleon would become a shining example of heroic visuality. Visuality as a concept is named as such by Carlyle in 1840 to refer to what he called the tradition of heroic leadership, which visualised history to sustain autocratic authority. Carlyle coined the terms visualise and visuality and used them to describe the dominant view of the Hero over History.

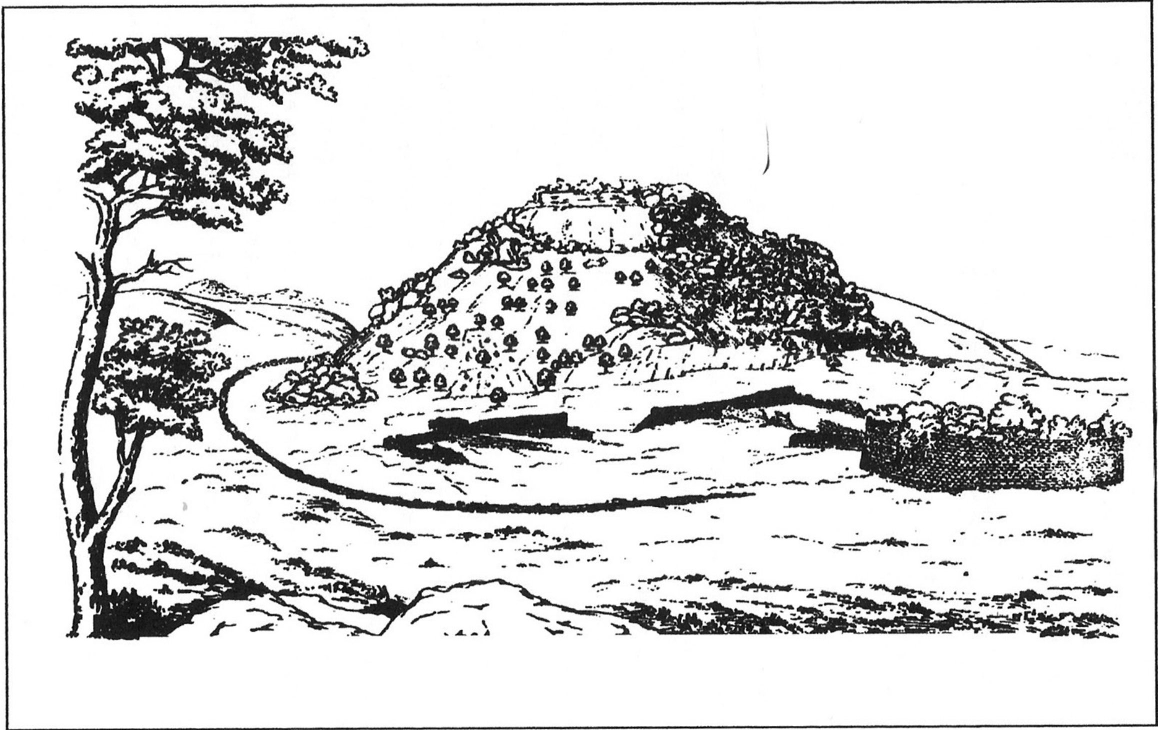
Speaking of the Hero as a poet – in praise of Shakespeare's Dante – Carlyle notes, "no work known to me is so elaborated as this of Dante's. It has all been as if molten in the hottest furnace of his soul. It had made him 'lean' for many years. Not the general whole only; every compartment of it is worked out, with intense earnestness, into truth, into clear visuality"(Carlyle 1841: 87). Along with Dante and other Heroes of Western Tradition, Carlyle admired Napoleon, also attributing him with "clear visuality". He admired Napoleon for several reasons. Napoleon, as Carlyle saw it, had to begin in skepticism because he "lived in an age when God was no longer believed" (Carlyle 1841: 191). Alongside reinvigorating a sense of divinity in his followers, Carlyle particularly admired Napoleon's overt use of visuality on and off the battlefield. He saw Napoleon's use of visuality not just as a tool of war but as war itself (Mirzoeff 2011:123-127). With this, the image as war comes entirely into being.

To keep track of tracing a countervisual history of Southern African archaeological visuality, two key factors have to be kept in sight alongside understanding globally the context birth of visuality: firstly, the visualisation of the Southern African interior far predated archaeological visualisation of the space. Secondly, although the oversight practised in the mapping of the African interior can be considered visuality, visuality as a term is only theorised and coined by Carlyle in the nineteenth century. Visuality comes into being around the same time as the birth of archaeology as a discipline, the first recorded sighting of Great Zimbabwe, and the early archaeological investigations of the space.

2.4.2 The first recorded sighting of Great Zimbabwe

In 1876, German geologist Karl Mauch— facilitated by Berlin missionary, Alexander Merensky — located and documented the ruins of Great Zimbabwe: "Merensky gathered and passed on stories about a vast, ruined stone city in the interior—a ruin that he thought must be Ophir, a city mentioned in the biblical accounts of Solomon and Sheba" (Hall and Stefoff 2006:13). Mauch's find represents the first recorded European sighting of one of the inland strongholds, etched into legend. Along with maps of south-central Zimbabwe, the territory of Great Zimbabwe, and floor plans of the Great Enclosure, Mauch's documentation included a sketch of the landscape (Figure 13). The 1871 sketch of Great Zimbabwe drawn by Mauch triggered a shift in the visualisation of Southern African history.

Hill Ruins in the background, Great Enclosure in the middle ground, and a cropped tree, framing the image on the left-hand side in the foreground; the image invites a viewer to sit on one of the two rocks just underneath the canopy of the tree. The second rock suggests a second presence, an equal, to sit and strategise with perhaps. Perched on one of these two rocks, a viewer can imagine the way up to the top of the hilltop, via a sharp c curved line connecting the Great Enclosure in the middle ground to the hilltop ruins in the background. A viewer can imagine themselves deep in the landscape in the rolling hills even further in the background than the Hill Ruins. This point of view is a far cry from Zhu Siben's black line drawing on striped white paper. It is not a record of hearsay and dislocated words of sight. There are no white men on chairs wearing gold crowns and carry sceptres. Great Zimbabwe in this image, its hilltop ruins and great enclosure, are not guesstimations between fictitious mountains and rivers. It is a picture as real as the physical world around me and you.



If the early maps of Southern Africa were by-products of the wars that were being fought far away from European centres of power, they embodied this distance with the oversight practised in cartography. Far from the detached hovering perspective of the map, Figure 13 presents a first-person graphical perspective. Viewers may not understand themselves as standing on the battlefield, but the battlefield stands before them.

In taking it in, a viewer embodies the first-person shooter. From the shade of the tree, a viewer has a wide angle of the action. In this scene, they can be seen more as the director or the general in modern warfare who visualises the action of the battlefield through the eyes of the director from a single point of view. The landscape is depicted as abandoned and ready to be conquered. The director watches over the scene; the image stirs in anticipation for the action that is about to unfold.

Mauch's documentation of Great Zimbabwe dramatically shifted the coordinates plotted by early cartography. The aerial view of oversight, which slowly

Figure 13:
Karl Mauch, *Sketch of Great Zimbabwe,* 1871. (Pikirayi 2001:2).

mapped out the Southern African interior in the cartography of earlier centuries, is calibrated with a perspective from the ground. Mauch's find would trigger a new era of gold prospecting that would stop at nothing to occupy the space. Just as in modern warfare, with the change in perspective presented by Mauch's documentation, visuality overtly becomes war. Mauch's image would mark a new kind of war, in which archaeologists creating images of the past would be deeply involved, a war of histories and origins. Considering Mauch's first documented sighting of Great Zimbabwe in context of the rise of racism in scholarship, and the birth of visuality which it coincided with, illuminates a significant shift in visuality. Figure 13 echoes visuality's newfound war of images. Mauch's finding, along with Figure 13, ushered in a new era of interpreting the Zimbabwe Ruins. They cemented this new era with a new kind of war, the war with a view.

2.5 Imperial visuality: filling in the gaps

James Theodore Bent was the first scholar to excavate and subsequently interpret the Ruins of Great Zimbabwe in 1892. Despite a long European awareness of the presence of an African empire on the south-east coast with prominent inland strongholds, the leading question at the beginning of the twentieth century was "who built Great Zimbabwe". This was informed by the racist turn that scholarship had taken and a visuality that saw incompatibility between the "indigenous" and the "civilised". The "indigenous" people of Zimbabwe were thought incapable of building remarkable symbols of "civilisation" like Great Zimbabwe. Admitting that indigenous peoples built such a marker of civilisation would challenge the visuality of the day which propagated otherwise. Sponsored by and therefore writing to appease an imperial agenda (see Chapter Three) Bent — who had previously worked on Phoenician archaeology — interpreted the ruins as being of Phoenician origin.

Theodore Bent (T. Bent) was accompanied by his wife, Mabel Bent (M. Bent) on his expedition to the Great Zimbabwe Ruins. M. Bent was an accomplished photographer and herself an archaeologist. She took most of the photographs of the site at Great Zimbabwe. Her photographs accompanied T. Bent's findings, recorded in an 1892 book titled The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland: Being a Record of Exploration. T. Bent (1892:4-5) wrote fondly of his wife:

> Serious doubts as to the advisability of a lady undertaking such a journey were frequently brought before us at the outset; fortified, however, by previous experiences in Persia, Asia Minor, and the Greek Islands, we hardly gave these doubts

> more than a passing through, and the events proved that they were wholly unnecessary. My wife was the only one of our party who escaped fever, never having a day's illness during the whole year that we were away from home. She was able to take a good many photographs under circumstances of exceptional difficulty, and instead of being, as was prophesied, a burden to the expedition, she furthered its interests and contributed to its ultimate success in more ways than one.

Contemporary anecdotes of the expedition as well as retrospective understandings of its meaning reveal some of those multiple ways M. Bent contributed to its ultimate success. Writing about the denial and fantasy surrounding Great Zimbabwe's relocation as the lost city of Ophir and King Solomon's mines, Joseph O. Vogel (in Pikirayi 2001) draws attention to contemporary anecdotes of M. Bent serving tea to people visiting James's dig. Vogel underlines the irony of such anecdotes by contrasting them with retrospective understandings that her work would be more significant than anything else that took place during the expedition. Scientifically, Vogel notes, M. Bent's early photographs predate all the misguided removal of vital evidence motivated by racist readings of the site that would follow, "Her early photographs, and the etchings made from them, may represent the only real legacy of the Bents' travels and their early attempts to explain the past of the plateau" (Voegel in Pikirayi 2001:xvii). Such an observation aptly brings attention to the value of images in archaeological discourse.

As well as being the only visual legacy of the Zimbabwe Ruins before the misguided clearances of Great Zimbabwe, M. Bent's images in T. Bent's (1892) *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*, capture the spirit of imperial visuality in nineteenth-century Southern African archaeological discourse. As such, M. Bent's images, as well as her influence on T. Bent artistic renderings should be engaged critically through appropriate visual cultural methodologies.

2.5.1 The first excavation of Great Zimbabwe

My encounter with the first excavation of Great Zimbabwe is through a digital print copy of T. Bent's (1892) *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*, downloaded from the online library Internet Archive. The online scan I read tells the story of a book that is worthy of a century. Some pages having aged more gracefully than others. The mark of the author, the publisher, the anonymous thoughts of a reader, pencil scribbles that can best be described as graffiti or wild signs, the markers of a book passing from one library to the next, and now the virtual library. All these marks

are testament to the roads these books have travelled. Inked library stamps read as passport controls. It is obvious that this book or more precisely this body of knowledge is monitored and subjected to border controls as they pass from one authority to the next, like all other bodies in the modern world. Barcodes, stickers, and numbering systems that were once meaningful to an order now only speak of that order. The book is the work of a number of hands and has passed through a number of other hands.

There are visible finger marks on the book, but there are also other marks that are not influenced by the hands through which the book has passed but seem to talk to the tension between a book and the physical world in which it exists. The yellowing of paper and the transfer of ink between pages. An inked image on the one side of the page transfers onto the other. The transfer is certainly not the bold pronounced image it sits next to. It is, however, identifiable as of that image. A hazy rectangle transfer sits on what a publisher had once signed off as an empty page. Hard pressed for a century, a hazy rectangle now occupies that empty page. Two images, original and transfer, sit next together in a book still imprinting on each other perhaps for the centuries to come. Here, in the Portable Document File (PDF) of the book — the version of the book I read— something new happens.

The transfer of ink from one page to the next and the yellowing of pages is seemingly frozen. A snapshot in the time of the book has become the books virtual double. As the book continues in its predicted trajectory of decay. The Portable Document File takes on new lives. Viewing the book as a PDF allows me to see in ways that would not at all be possible using the original print source. The digital PDF of the book rolls out like scroll, or I find myself clicking through pages. I can zoom in on images until only pixels can be seen. After clicking through pages and pages of text, something different appears. I can take in this difference with one sweep, seemingly, without nearly as much effort as it takes to decode the text of the previous pages. This image is far more familiar. It is in likeness to the material world around us, you and me. Pictured are trees, hill, rock grass, and sky. The image sits apart from the text. It breaks with the logic of the previous pages in both its form and its orientation. I try not to be too seduced by the familiarity of the image, because an image like text should not only be looked at but seen.

All markers of Figure 14 point to the image being an etching made from an original watercolour attributed to T. Bent. The visible embossing on the sides, the fine drawing, and the structured smudge on the reproduction — the pressure of a roller as the etching went through the press — are all characteristic of etched drawings. T. Bent's original watercolour by T. Bent is speculatively made from live observation with the help of photographic references. More than being a

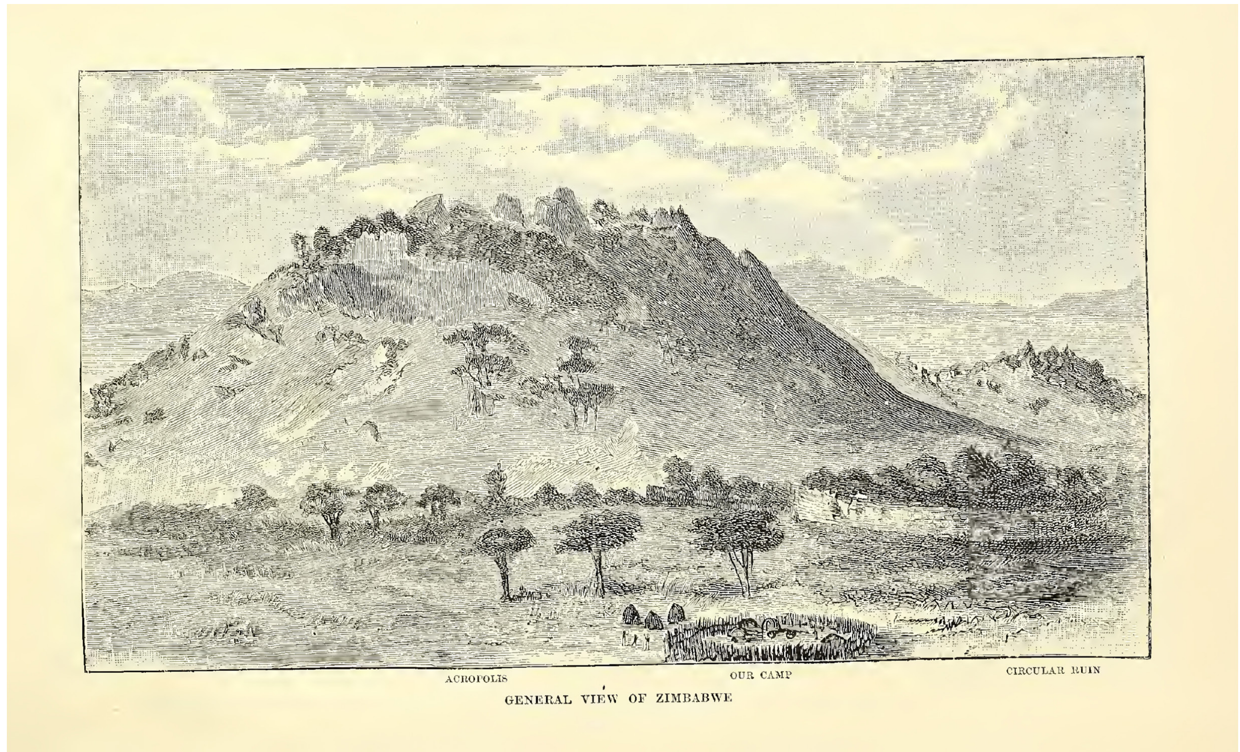


Figure 14:
Theodore Bent, *General View of Zimbabwe*, 1892. (T. Bent 1892:90-91).

reproduction of a scene as it was seen, there is deep ideology at work in the image. This ideology mirrors the era it was made in and serves to demonstrate that even as scholars relook at overlooked images, such images should be read critically.

Two large prominent circles sit on a page at the foot of a mountain (Figure 14). It is a cloudy day, but the vastness of landscape rolls on in the visible distant background. A title underneath the image reads *General view of Zimbabwe*. Inscriptions hover around the vicinity of the title. They are positioned in such a way that they read as a subtitle, *General view of Zimbabwe: Acropolis*, *Our Camp*, *The Ruins*. The inscriptions work as labels labelling the three prominent structures in the image. The structure of the mountain top, the circular enclosure at the edge of the page, and the one to the far right. These three prominent structures are thus put into sequential comparison from foreground to background. “Our Camp” at the foot of the mountain, the circular enclosure closest to a viewer in perspective is built of sticks; “The Ruins” to the right is built of stones; and “Acropolis” in the background is made of rock.

“Our Camp” is depicted as a dwelling space with a prominent circle closest

in perspective and arguably in time to the viewer. The ring is placed off centre to the right of the picture plane. It sits so close to the edge that it brings tension to this section of the image—only having made it into the image by the skin of its teeth. The circular enclosure forms *isibaya*. An essential gathering place in classic Southern African homesteads, i*sibaya* is a place where ceremonies take place, livestock is kept, and people are sometimes buried. To the Southern African people of the Iron Age, it had economic, social, and spiritual significance. This significance has continuities as well evolved meanings to contemporary groups in Southern Africa. In Figure 14, the circular enclosure of *isibaya* pictured as a shelter made of sticks appears a temporary dwelling for wanderers. It would have been the camp where the Bents set up a shelter with their informants to study the ruins.

The circular enclosure at "Our Camp" stores several objects. On zooming into Figure 14, I first recognise the objects as ox wagons but decided that this is a projection and not an account of what the lines mean, only to finally settle on an ox wagon once again — in line with how travellers moved through the landscape at the time. Outside the circular enclosure, to the left of the image, are three more enclosures. The Bents' excavation teams, including its native informants, would have stayed here while working on excavating the Ruins. The three enclosures outside are of a type thatched from the floor. Standing in front of the three enclosures are three figures. The figures are grains of sand in comparison to the vastness of the landscape around them. I zoom into the image to try and get a closer look at them, but the figures abstract into line.

"The Ruins" are pictured overgrown and abandoned; shrubbery overflows their walls from inside. The lush nature in which the natural world — dense trees and grasses — has taken over the ruins implies their virility. There is a romanticism in the way the space is pictured. It is pictured as a place of prosperity and life. No doorway or entrance is visible. The enclosure thus reads as a closed space. Because it is shown as closed and overgrown, it also exudes a sense of mystery, containing a secret. There is no other human presence other than the three stick figures in the foreground. The landscape is pictured as waiting patiently to be explored. Isolated from the world, it can and will be exploited.

Figure 14 positions the stone enclosure as superior to the stick dwelling in the foreground labelled "Our Camp". "The Ruins", like "Our Camp", are placed at the edge of the picture plane. Unlike the circular structure of *isibaya* at "Our Camp", almost cropped out, the enclosure comfortably makes it into the image. In comparison to "The Ruins", "Our Camp" looks dry and arid. While "Our Camp" is made of sticks, "The Ruins" are built from stone. The repetition of pattern and the apparent precision in which the stones have been stacked speak to the

technological achievements of the enclosure that the wall protects. The value of the two spaces is put into comparison where "Our Camp" comes off last. The comparison is directly linked to the idea sustained in literature at the time that black, contemporaneous Africans were nowhere near as technologically capable as the originators of the architecture found at Zimbabwe.

"Our Camp" in the context of the image can be seen as a projection of how the Bents considered the current dwelling places of Africans in Zimbabwe compared to the two other structures in the picture. The image seems to point to an inferiority of their current dwelling space — a circular enclosure built of sticks — in comparison to the circular enclosure just behind them built of stones. By setting up a comparison between the structures, the image creates a distance between them. This distance speaks to the perceived cultural and technological differences between their perceived builders. The distance negates or ignores the relationship between the two forms in terms of architectural continuity. The historic spiritual, economic, and cultural significance is reduced to a temporary and cheap dwelling place for wanderers.

Figure 14 contains some historical accuracy, namely the living conditions of the informants, the ruins themselves, and the presence of the overgrown Great Enclosure and mountain top acropolis. It gives some idea of important architectural properties such as scale and placing. It could also work as a site map accurately drawn to scale. At the centre of Figure 14 is, however, ideology. Going beyond drawings concerned only with conveying architectural accuracy, the drawing is about the ordering of power. It is an image of its time capturing ideas about race. When the image was created, and in the context of the findings supported by the book, Great Zimbabwe was built by Phoenicians, a race thought of as superior to the race of Africans. Even while adopting the architectural achievements of Africans and ascribing this wonder to a race of Phoenicians, the image subliminally maintains the European race as above other races.

The racist hierarchy encoded in Figure 14 could be lost on a viewer if the image is understood only as an archaeological or architectural mapping of structures on sight. This is also arguably true if key descriptions such as "Our Camp", "The Ruins", and "Acropolis" are taken at face value and not questioned and interpreted further. In the book, The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland (1892), T. Bent describes the space labelled "Our Camp" as his and M. Bent's dwelling space for the trip to the ruins. Bent's identification with the temporary camp and a reading of the image as simply mapping space may persuade some viewers to interpret Bent's language as showing solidarity with native building styles, the larger landscape, and its people. However, in descriptions of the area by T. Bent,

it becomes clear that this is not the case. A reading of the image as encoded with racist hierarchy is confirmed by T. Bent's description of the various ruins in general and camp life in particular. Reading reports of how contemporaries understood the trip at the time, it is also clear that contemporary audiences, if only subliminally, understood and replicated the racist messaging carried by Figure 14 and its accompanying descriptions. Describing the various ruins encountered in Zimbabwe in The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland, T. Bent (1892:87) writes:

> During our stay in Mashonaland we visited and carefully examined the sties of many ruins, a minute description of which I propose to give in this chapter. A feature in the country they are most remarkable – ancient, massive, mysterious, standing out in startling contrast to the primitive huts of the barbarians who dwell around them and the wilderness of nature.

Detailing his and his wife's camp life and dwelling space for the duration of the trip, T. Bent (1892:57-59) reports:

> Our tent was our drawing-room; and in addition to these places of shelter there were the photographic dark tent, five feet six square, the kitchen and the white men's sleeping-room, cleverly constructed out of the sails of our wagons, with walls of grass. In the centre was an erection for our cocks and hens, but even from here the jackals occasionally contrived to steal one or two. Around the whole camp ran skerm, or hedge, of grass, which latter adjunct gave a comfortable and concentrated feeling to it all. Outside our circle the native workmen erected for themselves three or four huts, into which they all huddled at night like so many sardines in a tin. Around us in every direction grew the tall, wavy grass of the veldt, rapidly approaching the time when it can be burnt. This time was on of imminent peril for our camp; the flames, lashed to fury by the wind, approached within a few yards of us. Men with branches rushed hither and thither, beating the advancing enemy with all their might; our grass hedge was rapidly pulled down, and we trembled for the safety of our Indian terrace. Suddenly a spark caught the huts of the natives and in a few moments they were reduced to ashes, and the poor shivering occupants had to spent the night in a cave in the rocks behind.

The racist hierarchy encoded in Figure 14 screams out at a viewer when read alongside these descriptions. Here, there are "white" and "native" circles; native men are cramped in three to four huts like sardines in a tin, then later sleep in caves. This is contrasted with the charming, “cleverly constructed” camp life of the Bents. Lady's Realm, a British women's magazine published from 1896 until 1914/15, reinterpreted the above-quoted description of the Bent’s camp life for its audiences as follows (Tooley 1896: 480):

> Mrs. Bent had quite a romantic camp life when working amongst the ruins of Zimbabwe. Two waggons served the expedition as bedrooms; an Indian terrace, constructed of grass and sticks, made a novel and charming dining-room; a tent formed the drawing-room; and the suite were decorated by Mrs. Bent with a wealth of brilliant flowers which no conservatory at home could have supplied. She also had a dark tent for photography, and improvised kitchen, and a poultry-house. A hedge of grass surrounded the whole, and gave a picturesque finish to the camp. Outside this royal domain were the huts for the native workmen. Alas! however, for the delights of gypsy life. One day the long grass of the veldt started into flames, which, lashed to fury by the wind, came within a few yards of the camp, and were only beaten back by frantic efforts on the part of the little colony; the small huts were, indeed, burnt to ashes.

The Bents became well known for their travels and were socialites of sorts. The above-quoted narrative is taken from an account of M. Bent at Great Zimbabwe featured in Sarah Tooley’s article on famous women travelers. Descriptors like the “Indian terrace” and “delights of gypsy life” make the exoticism that audiences attached to travel accounts like those of the Bents evident. It is clear from such narratives that an allure of this exotism was its temporary nature. After their excursion and dabbling into ‘native life’, the Bents would have always gone back to England as they did.

Contrary to what the description “Our Camp” may imply, the feeling of connectedness with ‘the natives’, if it indeed existed, was conditional and temporary for the Bents. After all, the round enclosure of sticks was exclusively for the Bents and their white counterparts. The native informants that accompanied the Bents slept outside the stick enclosure in the three huts visible to the left of the image. The tale about the native houses burning down may, at first glance, read as a frivolous relaying of day-to-day camp life. However, looked at more critically, the tale communicates something about the inferiority of the dwelling

space of the natives: namely, its ability to burn down in a short time while the other areas built of stones are still standing after many, at the time unknown, years.

Read along with the above-quoted descriptions; the image recalls the fable of the three pigs who build three houses of different materials. A Big Bad Wolf blows down the first two pig's homes, made of straw and sticks, but cannot destroy the third pig's house made of bricks. In comparing "Our Camp" to the first two pigs, T. Bent underlines what he sees as foolishness in the built environment of the natives he currently lives amongst, and admiration and wisdom for the pig who builds with stones or, even better, the one who builds on a rock.

In Figure 14, three trees below the centre of the image anchor the composition and restore the balance offset by the two circles to the right. The directional lines of the three trees and other trees behind them pull a viewer's eyes upwards towards a mountain top. They work along with the side shadows of the mountain so that all the primary directional lines in the image lead to the mountain top. On the mountain top, it is not clear what a viewer is looking at but, primed by the structures at the bottom, the eyes fumble to create human structures. What the eyes struggle to turn into a form on the mountain top is labelled "Acropolis".

"Acropolis" could be interpreted more generally to infer the top of a hill. Indeed, there are ruins on the mountain top at Great Zimbabwe. It is also, however, reasonable to argue that this Acropolis refers to The Acropolis of Athens in Greece. Looking at the pasts and presents of Zimbabwean people, the Bents saw the ruins of Athens, an ancient European capital. The ruins appear imprecisely, but they are a certainty, a sanctuary on a mountain top. The European race above all other races; this is the fantasy mediating the reality of the ruins of Great Zimbabwe. It is this fantasy that orders the image. "Our Camp" at the bottom of the page, "The Ruins" above it, and "Acropolis" top: Africans at the bottom, Phoenicians above them, and Europeans on top.

The settlement placed on the mountain top is not seen with the physical eye but envisioned by the mind's eye. Along the lines of the fable of the three little pigs, it recalls the Biblical house on the rock (from the Gospel of Matthew), where storms come and go, but the Truth of God is known. Taking up most of the picture plane, the mountain top settlement hovers above the valley, whereas "Our Camp" and "The Ruins" are dwarfed below. The weight of the Acropolis seems to displace all other possibilities around it, settlements cross, hatch, scribble, and dot. They scramble, smudge, and erase each other as they compete for the real estate of the picture plane. In the context of the mountain top, it becomes even more evident

that the settlement labelled "Our Camp" only just makes it into the image. Made of stick and thatch, it barely had a chance. Pulling back from the rumble and tumble of the image, Acropolis takes the background, the centre, and the foreground. The roots of the trees in the foreground, directing a viewer's eyes, stay fixed to their location but grow towards Acropolis.

Positioned in the background and built on a mountain top, Acropolis is the oldest, sturdiest, and fittest. It has the all-seeing eyes of God; it has oversight. It guarantees itself the future that is just escaping the settlements below it. The image argues that the future has already fled the overgrown circular ruins to the right and will surely not be possible for "Our Camp" considering its temporality. "Our Camp" has just made it into this image but who knows if it will survive the next vision. The image positions itself as belonging to the mountain top. It wages war on the settlements at its feet. It is visuality. Its visuality is imperial in the way it pushes and rubs up against all other possibilities around it. Come what may, it argues, Acropolis is a sturdy house on a mountaintop: it comes first, and it stays for the future.

Imagine a line drawing of shapes where the task is to paint a designated colour into designated shapes for a fixed image to ultimately appear as a finished work. This is the relationship between Mauch's sketch *Sketch of Great Zimbabwe* (Figure 13) and the M. Bent's *General View of Zimbabwe (*Figure 14). Imagine a white canvas with marked parameters — black lines outlining each aspect of a landscape. Imagine the marked perimeters are designed to be filled by an assigned colour: the set colour of a given shape staying within its assigned border never to touch the other. This is how imperial visualisation tried to order the world. The obsessiveness and outcome of this exercise is apartheid: a world designed to be apart, never to mingle for too long without returning to an assigned camp. Indeed, in Southern Africa, apartheid was the product of imperial visuality.

Challenged by the specificity of Great Zimbabwe and motivated by an imperial racist agenda, the Bent's — desperately trying to fill in the gaps — applied automated batch processing in the interpretation of the Great Zimbabwe Ruins. Indiscriminately, control-copy-pasting ideas of what 'civilised' and 'uncivilised' meant for peoples and spaces around the world poles apart, imperial visuality sorted and grouped an "us" and a "them" as visualised in Figure 14. Far from learning how to see the world, this way of looking applies an automated point of view. This automation had the grave consequences of erasure: an erasure that would not go unchallenged.

2.5.2 When images step out of books

The era of colonial expansion culminated in the First and Second World War during which the development of airborne cameras dramatically changed the aerial visualising of war. Information was now gathered by aircraft that could fly over enemy lines and observe activity with precision. From this point forward, visualising becomes a technology at the service of military leadership, rather than leadership being the ability to visualise. The technology became so advanced that by 1919, " it was possible to take photographs from [5,4864 km] which, when enlarged, could reveal a footprint in the mud" (Mirzoeff 2016:105). Mirzoeff argues that human visualising of war was now redundant. He shows nevertheless how images continue to be valuable in war. In fact, how the concept of war as politics by other means has made visual images the key to modern political issues at stake. Mirzoeff notes "[i]f visualising was the task of the nineteenth-century general, today images are frequently used as weapons in the war of ideas… the primary task of the image here is to accomplish political goals because they cannot do physical damage like conventional weapons". In both *The Right to Look* and *How to See the World*, Mirzoeff never wanders far away from the image of war as visuality, particularly as visuality becomes more contemporary. In Zimbabwe, as I will continue to show in Chapters Three and Four, images very clearly became part of the war being waged in Southern Africa particularly in relation to that territory.

Five books represent the early digs related to Southern African archaeological research between the years 1892 and 1937: Theodore Bent's *The Ruined Citi s of Mashonaland* (1892), David Randall-MacIver's *Medieval Rhodesia* (1906), Richard Nicklin Hall's *Pre-Historic Rhodesia* (1909), Gertrude Caton-Thompson's *The Zimbabwe Culture: Ruins and Reac ons* (1931), and Fouché's *Mapungubwe: Ancient Bantu Civilisation on the Limpopo* (1937). For close to two decades following Bent's first 1891 archaeological interpretation of Great Zimbabwe, several scholars had asked the same question, "who built the Zimbabwe or 'The houses of stone' found across Southern Africa?" and all reached the same conclusion, "surely not Africans" despite all indication otherwise. These Five books form the basis on which a war of images was spearheaded.

The books are authored by a combination of 'archaeologist with questionable levels of education' and 'an amateur archaeologist'. The literature historicising

Great Zimbabwe, to a readers confusion, tends to make a strong distinction between, the first explorers, archaeologists, and 'professional archaeologists'.[16] Bent is accepted as the first archaeologist to excavate the plateau. His level of education is often questioned. Hall on the other hand is repeatedly referred to as an "amateur archaeologist" (Garlake 1973; Koff, f 1997; Pikirayi 2012). Others, hired with the task of challenging scientific findings that went against the political interests of the day have also been referred to as "pseudo-archaeologists" (Garlake 1973; Koff 1997; Pikirayi 2012). It is only the first archaeologists to make positive findings, that is to say what is known today to be the correct interpretation of the ruins as being of African origin, that this literature accepts as professional. The swich between categories of archaeologist in the literature about Great Zimbabwe throws a reader. The difference between an 'archaeologist with questionable levels of education' and 'an amateur archaeologist' is unclear. Irrespective of the fraught logic of such distinctions, they are repeated so often that they read as a defence of a discipline rather than an indication of its growth, the inherent nature of archaeology, or "a discipline in search of its methodologies" (Pikirayi 2005:13).

Disputes about 'archaeologist with questionable levels of education' and 'an amateur archaeologist' aside, as early as 1905 the ruins of Great Zimbabwe were interpreted, by Randall-MacIver through excavation, as being of African origin and projected as having a medieval date. Disputing this, in 1909, Hall challenged Randall-MacIver findings (Pikirayi 2005:14-16). Hall's challenge of Randall-MacIver excavation is noted as making explicit the racial theories motivating the denial of Zimbabwe ruins as being of African origin (Koff 1997:50, Pikirayi 2005:14, Hall 1909:237-253). This realisation within the scientific community initiated a new era of investigation into Great Zimbabwe. In 1931, the ruins as in 1905 were interpreted as being of African origin by Gertrude Caton-Thompson's in the book *The Zimbabwe Culture: Ruins and Reaction* . Utilising new scientific techniques, an eighth to tenth-century date was estimated for parts of the settlement (Caton-Thompson 1931, Pikirayi 2005:17). From here onwards, more and more archaeologists accepted interpretations of Great Zimbabwe as being of African origin. Although Pikirayi (2012) insists that the ruins were widely accepted

[16] I return to this idea in a discussion of archaeologist Peter Garlake's contribution to the archaeology of Southern Africa in Chapter Four of this study. As well as supporting the claim that Great Zimbabwe was indeed of African origin, it is Garlake's opinion as a 'professional archaeologist' that would give his work currency in the decades that followed the fall of colonial rule in Zimbabwe.

as being of African origin in the scientific community as early as 1914, as shown by Garlake (1973), Koff (1997:50) and Pikirayi (2012:224) himself, many sections of society chose to perpetuate earlier findings which suited their purposes. A large sum of the settler population, including the government, of what was then Rhodesia, along with individuals in the scientific community, strongly contested the estimated dates findings long after this date.

Archaeological findings rejecting a "black race" as the builders of great Zimbabwe justified the sanctioning of the black population — the Shona — around the ruins as subservient. Funded archaeological research alongside biblical legend had lasting value in the visual arena. In a Rhodesian Government poster of 1938 (Figure 15), the ghost of the Queen of Sheba steps out from a wall in front of the canonical tower at Great Zimbabwe with a black African slave kneeling at her feet with an offering. The poster is titled 'The Riddle of Rhodesia' with a question mark above the image of one of the soapstone birds found at Great Zimbabwe.[17]

The biblical interpretations of the ruins of Great Zimbabwe embraced in Figure 15 being the source King Solomon's mines and residence of the Queen of Sheba were projected onto Great Zimbabwe ruins by the public following fragmented scientific findings. The 'scientific' evidence and images from the Bents' first investigation, which found the ruins to be of an incoming outsider race, supported Biblical speculation. The ruins having a Christian lineage positioned colonial powers as heirs of a lost civilisation. Rather than conquering uncharted territory they would be returning home. This was used as a justification for the British occupation of Zimbabwe. The ruins became a symbol of the righteousness of colonisation. British colonisation, according to this understanding, was bringing civilisation back to where it had been lost.

All five of these books representing the early digs related to Southern African archaeological research create, curate, and contain images, images that have wandered and continue to wander out of the contexts of these books and into the world at large. Images go for walks. They entrance readers who control-copy-past them and, just like that, they are gone. Wandering, out of context, they carry a misleading level of familiarity. Images can, and often are, used for a myriad of purposes other than those for which they were created. Archaeological images are no stranger to long walks. By 1938 the Rhodesian Government was entrenched in war with the indigenous people of Zimbabwe for land that had prospects of gold (see Chapter Four). An image like Figure 15 moves beyond speculation by aligning itself with archaeological images with authority. It sets up a hierarchy of

Figure 15:
Rhodesian Government Poster of 1938. (Garlake 1973:97).

[17] See Peter Garlake's (1973:97) discussion of this image.

THE RIDDLE OF RHODESIA
?
CENTURIES HAVE PASSED . . .
ZIMBABWE

biological power along racial lines where the indigenous black people are slaves and the Phoenician Queen of Sheba royalty. Far from speculating about the past, the image sets a precedent for the present day in which it is made and viewed. The ideas of grading civilisation embodied by Figure 14 seem to have gone for a walk in Figure 15 because images step out of books, off of walls, and travel to all sorts of other places — often without leashes.

2.6. Conclusion: the first recorded accounts

The first recorded accounts of the Southern African interior, the first recorded sighting for a European audience, and the first recorded archaeological investigation of Great Zimbabwe represent three moments of visuality: oversight, visuality, and imperial visuality. Speed's map of Africa featuring "Zimbaos"; identified today as Great Zimbabwe; Mauch's line sketch of Great Zimbabwe from an intimate perspective; and M. Bent's interpretation of the same scene, filling in detail where created in each moment respectively. The images carry distinctive characteristics in line with the particular complexes of visuality in which they were created: oversight, visuality, and imperial visuality. They represent traces of an older non-European visuality, but they are made available to us, in present-day archaeological publications, according to the visual logics of the Military-Indutsrial complex. Never the less, the ceramic remains of the Zimbabwe landscape (Figures 2, 3, and 4) represent something both inside and outside of these complexes as illustrated in Figure 5. Using different examples, I pursue the self-representation offered by archaeological objects like Figures 2, 3, and 4 further in Chapter Six.

For now, what I wish to bring attention to is how, as a stop-frame animated sequence — distorted by time through difference and repetition spanning over half a millennium — the images dealt with in this chapter play out as a montage, zooming in and focusing on the subject in ever greater detail. This montage reflects visuality's practices of looking over three complexes. Throughout this time, the images that make up this montage are cited in archaeological discourse, both critically and affirmatively. As this chapter shows, the practice of visuality and its abstracted form, imperial visuality, had distinct characteristics. These include the racist ordering of biological power for material gain, the organisation of space by Christianity under the authority of civilisation, and the erasure and denial of local ways of looking and seeing and thus competing histories.

Following some of the practices that shaped visuality over three complexes reifies the nature of visuality, particularly its tendencies of erasure. Visuality is a form of looking that does not see. It replaces what is presented with ideas. Ideas

control-copy-pasted from a known world into an unknown world, in an attempt to steer that unknown world towards certainty. Speed's map of Africa visualised a sought after space from above using oversight. Through it and maps like it, embracing rumours and hearsay, Mauch was able to locate the Great Zimbabwe of legend. It becomes clearer and clearer following the changing images of Great Zimbabwe, that visuality was a way of visualising a battlefield using ideas. Mauch's line sketch of Great Zimbabwe thus can be seen as a huge development in the ability of Europe to visualise the battlefield that was Zimbabwe. Through it, the birds eye view of early maps is replaced by the eyes of a first person shooter. M. Bent's detailed depiction solidified a mastery of the battle field. In Southern Africa, specifically in Zimbabwe, the wars waged though visuality spearheaded the wars that would be fought with spears, guns, and boots on the ground — alongside wars by other means.

Images from or inspired by archaeological discourses are part of a greater world. They travel inside as well as outside of the discourse. Some travel alone. Where the meaning of an individual image is relevant therefore can and should be unpacked in detail. Other images travel as packs, where the flow of the images and the general ideas they etch into the minds of viewers is more important than any detail in the image. Either way, images are used again and again for purposes beyond archaeology. Images travel quickly and widely because of their deceptive familiarity. As such, they deserve to be looked at critically and seen as texts in their own right. When images travel beyond their created contexts, as they often do, they need to travel critically so as not to unconsciously reproduce narratives that could be problematic for the new context. Visuality needs to be — and very often has been — countered and disrupted. More times than not, this force of change has been triggered by a reaction from the people on which the power of visuality is exercised.

CHAPTER THREE

AND WHEN THEY HEAR THAT CHOO-CHOO TRAIN, THEY CURSE!

Used as a means of scrambling for agency in the face of an all-consuming force, the curse functions within the same realm as the retort version of *sawubona* laid out in Chapter One of this study. It is a form of reprimand designed to claim back the autonomy threatened by those who, in entering an inhabited space, do not give recognition to those present. Layered in the reprimand version of *sawubona* is the affirmation: I see you even though you may not see me. The act of seeing, here, affirms the life and presence of the offended when that presence is denied by a presence who is looking decides not to see. The curse in this context is a ceremonial utterance. It is a performance, intended to invoke a supernatural power to inflict harm or punishment on someone or something. The use of the curse is an understanding of the mental image in bringing about a shift in power.

As explained in Chapter One, the 'right to look' for Mirzoeff is the claiming of a right not given by a sovereign power. According to Mirzoeff (2011:78), the decisive action in disputes over right claims comes when a person who is not given a right claims as if they already do: "It is a performative claim, validated only by the act of making it" (Mirzoeff 2011:78). Mirzoeff argues that this claim was a catalyst in the production of the modern world. He traces this claim back to the concurrent occurrences of the Haitian and French revolutions. The claim that the Haitian and French Revolutions were "produced in the visualising and understanding of the psychic economy in equal measure with that of the political economy" (Mirzoeff 2001:78) is fundamental to Mirzoeff's insistence on the 'right to look' as a decolonial strategy used by the oppressed to countervisual ity and maintain autonomy against its influence.

The Haitian Revolution (1791–1804) was the successful rebellion of slaves against French colonial rule. The revolution challenged and overturned the ordering of the plantation complex, defeating both monarchy — in the metropole — and slave-owning authority — on the plantation. While the Haitian revolution challenged and overturned the ordering of the plantation, the French Revolution (1789–1799) simultaneously overthrew the monarchy in the metropole of France. The overthrow of monarchs had precedent in the form of previous revolutions; plantation slavery, however, had never been reversed. Mirzoeff makes a point of putting the closely aligned Haitian and French Revolution in context of each other.

Haiti, then Saint-Domingue, was a colony of France (1659–1804) thus connected to France and its future. The simultaneous igniting of revolution

in Haiti and France thus came like a candle burning at two ends, colony and metropole: absurd, seemingly naive, but nevertheless lit for the hope of rapture its light may bring. As it happened, perhaps for its seemingly naive absurdity, it was unimaginable to the authorities both on the plantation of Saint-Domingue and in the Metropole of France. The active perception of the space of liberty by the enslaved created through imagery texts, and discourses — what Said developed as the concept of imaginative geographies — brought that space into being. The image of the imagination thus became — as observed by Said in the case of orientalism — something that was something, it produced something real.

In the first days of the Saint-Domingue revolution, a planter claimed to have captured an enslaved rebel with “a little sack full of hair, herbs, bits of bone, which they call fetish” Mirzoeff (2001:91). The fetish in this context is an object of power carried over the Atlantic to the Americas by the enslaved. The fetish or voodoo works by producing an “imaginative geography” (Said 1978:49) where power is then claimed. Along with the fetish, the planter claims the rebel also had a pamphlet of *The Declarati n of the Rights of Man and of the Citi en*. This pamphlet is a human-civil rights document from the French Revolution. At the time it was written, the declaration was a visionary statement about human rights rather than reality. It defined individual and collective rights for all men. The declaration included, amongst other declarations, the assertion that “[m]en are born and remain free and equal in rights” and moreover that “[s]ocial distinctions may be founded only upon the general good” (*The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citi en*). Mirzoeff (2001:91) argues that the declaration in relation to its use by the enslaved should be seen as another primitive fetish. Like the fetish, the Declaration produced an imaginative geography with, at the very least, along with other visualised strategies, gave support to the enslaved and their claims.

It was not only the enslaved of the plantation or the oppressed of France that projected their desires within the geography produced by the declaration but other parties within this constellation too. Mirzoeff (2001:91) notes how, on May 1790, the colonial assembly in Saint-Domingue claimed that the *Declaration* which came to the colony through pamphlets printed in France, gave the planters the right to supervise all the internal affairs of the colony, meaning above all their right to continue to own human property. The Haitian revolution completely overturned the order of the day. A new order now existed within the old. Mirzoeff argues that this new order was made up of a tension between new ‘liberty’ and old ‘slavery’ in both Haiti, the now old colony, and France, the metropole.

The Haitian and French revolutions put two worlds in one world. Unlike the plantation imaginary dominated by a single authority — empire in the form of

the crown — the revolutions were structured around (and similarly produced) a world centred on division: division of the enslaved from their owners and the people in the French metropole, as well as plantation owners, from the crown. The Haitian and France revolutions produced what Mirzoeff sees as the modern imaginary, a new imaginary of the imaginary itself. Modernity would be distinct in its use and understanding of the power of what Mirzoeff (2011: 78) calls the "psychic economy". The psychic economy and imaginative geography are the places in which the curse is constructed and claimed; it is also the place from which European and Western civilisation would locate modern warfare.

In virtual aesthetic discourse, cultural theorist Jean Baudrillard similarly argues for the existence of a new creation apart from what came before the "simulation" and "the hyperreal" of the virtual world. He states, "abstraction today is no longer that of the map, the double, the mirror or the concept. Simulation is no longer that of a territory, a referential being or a substance. It is the generation by models of a real without origin or reality: a hyperreal" (Baudrillard 1981:1). As indeed revealed by Chapter Two, the territory no longer precedes the map. Instead, it is the map or the idea and imagination of the territory that precedes the territory and brings the territory into being. It is this real without origin, and not the map, whose remainders survive fragmented. As argued by Baudrillard, these remainders no longer lie in the "deserts of empire" — what I interpret as old discovered or undiscovered territory of empire — but our own territories, our own being; our own deserts.

The image, as theorised by Baudrillard (1981) has gone from being a reflection of a primary reality to masking and perverting a primary reality; it has masked the absence of a primary reality, and now it bears no relation to any reality whatever. It is its own pure simulacrum. In postcolonial discourse, this image that moves away from its primary relation, which at its extreme bears no relation to any reality whatsoever, is the racial stereotype. Said discussed this removed image as the orient in Western fiction in *Orientalism* (1978). In visual cultural studies, Mirzoeff proposes the mechanism by which such images are created is visuality. Derick Hook's resolve to the problem of visuality — simulacrum or, in Hook's own theorisation, orientalism as a projection of the West — is to theorise the workings of the mind of the projector as a form of resistance (Hook 2005). Hook proposes this theorisation as a decolonial strategy to maintaining or establishing the autonomy threatened by orientalism and similar projects in areal studies. While the workings of fantasy are invaluable to an engagement with the colonial archive, the material reality of the archive and that of the people it imagines cannot be ignored. I have here an eye on what Fanon (1967) emphasised as [t]he fact of blackness'.

It has been argued in critical race theory in pursuit of the workings of race that racial stereotype is anchored on the fantasy is based on the fantasy's foreclosure of difference (Hook 2005:29). It is known, however, that despite the foreclosure enacted in the racist mind closing off the material reality of the black body, the black woman and black man do exist. They exist not in romanticised versions of self that are original and must be kept as such to affirm the self as progressive, but as living, breathing, growing, embodied beings capable of both looking at and seeing the world. They exist as beings that desire to be looked at, seen, and greeted. It is from this embodied perspective that an active response to visuality, by the enslaved, the colonised, and the opponents of war, in the plantation, imperial, and military-industrial complexes of visuality is respectively launched. Visuality is countered and contested in all of modernity's complexes of order. The nature of this contestation is, however, birthed in the plantation complex through revolution: a claiming of right not given by a sovereign power by claiming it first in the imaginative geography which Baudrillard calls abstraction.

By imagining that which did not exist into being, the Haitian and France revolution claimed the right to look. The enslaved and their allies used the power of the imaginative geography through the power of fetish — a visualised manifestation of power. Through this — amongst other visual strategies — they renamed themselves as 'the people'. Leaping further into the use of the imaginary to manifest power, they strategically aestheticised themselves — 'the people' — into the single figure: the hero. The figure of hero was constructed as a tactic for revolution within the realm of the imaginative geography. The figure was the leader elected by the people to stand as a symbol of the people (Mirzoeff 2001:79). There was later a disparity between the people and their elected heroes. Those designated as heroes would sustain the nation-state against the desires of the people. This disparity between the people and the hero allowed for figures like Napoleon to emerge and attempt to remaster the popular imagination (Mirzoeff 2001:78-79).

Napoleon used the space of the imaginative geography in the form of propaganda and images in many forms as part of his military artillery. This space was also differently articulated by Benedict Anderson who developed the concept of the imagined community. Anderson described the nation as a community, imagined by 'the people' who perceive themselves as part of a group. Such uniform imagination across a mass group of people is made possible through print media and mass reproduction (Anderson 1993). As with the concept of the imagined community Napoleon's rise to power revived, in Europe, the value of visualising the battlefield in modern warfare. For this, British historian and writer Thomas

Carlyle (1837; 1841; 1849 and 1894) linked the origins of visuality to the images used by generals like Napoleon to direct combat far away from the actual physical battlefield. Carlyle saw such images as war itself.

In this chapter I follow how Mirzoeff frames Carlyle's reverse engineering of the hero and the imaginative geography for counterrevolution and pacification of 'the people'; I track how Carlyle's ideas influenced a generation of British imperialism giving rise to figures like Rhodes, a figure fit for Carlyle's conception of the 'hero'; I follow how the future of the Zimbabwean plateau coincided with the figure of Cecil John Rhodes and his imperial dreams of laying down train tracks and extracting gold in that area. Finally I put this 'hero's' dream face to face with 'the people's' curse. The chapter clarifies this study's use of visuality and imagined geographies by outlining their modern histories; it also introduces the idea of counterpoint to visuality, an important concept going forward. As an embodiment of this concept, the subjects of this chapter are the enduring image of the contested 'hero' Rhodes — a widely written about figure in Southern African history within critical and popular public discourse — and an image of his opponents, embodied in the lyrics of Southern African Jazz musician Hugh Masekela's, *Coal Train (Stime a)* (Masekela et al1974). Ultimately, this chapter is about the relationship between visuality and the currents that countervisuality.

3.1 Reverse engengering the hero

Before understanding what Mirzoeff described as Carlyle's reverse engineering of the hero and the imaginative geography for counterrevolution and pacification of 'the people' (Mirzoeff 2006), it is important to understand visuality and the use of images within this context as a tool of war. In *The Right to Look* and 'The World of War' – Chapter Three of *How to See the World* (2016) – Mirzoeff is interested in a particular kind of image, the image with authority. For him, these kinds of images are often seen only in part and at times not at all, yet they are always projected as a whole. These images are not necessarily seen with the physical eye but envisioned by the mind's eye. They are accepted as imaginaries, artistic impressions, and renderings but, nevertheless, seem to add value or be of value to the 'real'. The construed qualities of such images do not seem to obstruct their authority. These kinds of images have authority because they come from authority. Mirzoeff theorises such images as tools of war, linking their origins to images used by generals to direct combat far away from the actual physical battlefield.

For Mirzoeff (2016: 13) seeing is "a system of sensory feedback from the

whole body, not just the eyes". Visuality on the contrary "uses airborne technology to depict the world as a space of war" (Mirzoeff 2016: 13). The opposite of the right to look here is not censorship but visuality, a form of seeing mediated by an authority that has an exclusive claim to looking and therefore ordering the world and, moreover, naturalising that order. The implications of such authority and power are the ability to look and or see someone in the now but also the ability to both visualise and reify a future for the looked at and or seen. The ability to visualise in this way manifests the authority of the visualiser.

Visuality includes not just the visual image but also the written text and all other apparatus – maps, paintings, drawings, stories, infrastructure, and even laws – which may be used to order the world through its mind's eye. Mirzoeff insists that visuality is that which orders the world in its own image; where seeing is the active mutual creation of the other or the external world, leaving no surplus. Visuality is that which looks but refuses to see. It is *ukuJonga* but not *ukuBona*. It is to extend one's self and by default one's power by acquiring territory. Acquisition here extends past the physical acquisition of geographic territory to include potential pasts and futures. No space that can be inhabited is immune to this gaze as it pierces into imaginary and dream spaces too.

The images that accompany scientific findings of LIAS research from the mid-nineteenth century to the present are examples of (counter)visuality. The visuality employed is not used to visualise the physical battleground but rather the future of Southern African history. The future of an unknown perhaps unknowable past becomes the battle ground. The images discussed in this study work together with all other devices in the concept of war as politics by other means that have made visual images key to contemporary politics. They belong in history, and cultural positioning in history in this sense is a war. Just as in the intensified imperial complex which saw the rise of fascist regimes, with the visualisation of precolonial and 'prehistoric' Africa there is always a threat of erasure.

In a regime of scientific proof supported by a regime of archiving, archaeology has been (mis)used to prove the existence of a historic precolonial Africa. Here, the landscape acts as the archive which archaeology then excavates. Along with this excavation, there are images that visualise the past. As projections based on 'true' stories, such images order to the past. They order this past for the moment in which they are relooked at, as well as for the future to which they will travel to. The visualisation of Late Iron Age Settlements in the context of the current image wars are actors in a war ultimately against 'Western' hegemony and colonisation of territory. What is at stake, therefore, in these kinds of images is not necessarily the past itself but the future of the past and use of the past in the future.

Said (1993:126) points out that "all cultures tend to make representations

of foreign cultures the better to master or in some way control them. Yet not all cultures make representations of foreign culture *and* in fact master or control them". This is the distinction that Said believes sets modern Western cultures apart from others. There is the concept of visualising power but what modern Western culture exhibits are the consequences of having it. Similarly, Mirzoeff (2011) — claiming the tool of visuality for the West — argues that the concept of visuality has been central to the legitimisation of Western hegemony. In *How to See the World* (2016), Mirzoeff qualifies his claiming of visuality and the art of war for the Western, and specifically the English world, in his preceding *The Right to Look* (2011). He readjusts, "[w]ar became known as an art in the *West*, as it long had been in China, requiring a specific new visual skill which later came to be called visualising" (Mirzoeff 2016:98).

Theorising visuality as a tool of war, Mirzoeff links the origins of visuality to the images used by generals to direct combat far away from the actual physical battlefield. He traces the Anglo-French-American mid-nineteenth century development of visuality and visual technologies as a social technique of ordering the colonial world from the domains of the slave plantation, the imperial complex which he acknowledges as ongoing, and finally present day modern military-industrial complex. Although present and used in the plantation complex, as has been shown here through oversight, visuality comes into its own in the imperial complex.

As touched upon in Chapter Two, visuality as a concept comes into being in the early to mid-nineteenth century. It is named as such in English by historian Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881) in 1840 to refer to what he called the tradition of heroic leadership, which visualised history to sustain autocratic authority. Carlyle theorised visuality at a turbulent time for the British Empire and the Imperial world at large. In 1847 slavery is abolished in St. Thomas in favour of the twelve-year apprenticeship; 1857 sees an uprising in India; in 1865 there is another rebellion in the colonies, this time at Morant Bay, Jamaica; and in the 1870s yet another uprising in Bahia Sudan. On the European continent, Napoleon's war against Prussia ends in defeat. Slaves in colonial plantations were rejecting slavery. The native people in British colonies, through a number of uprisings and revolts, were clearly rejecting the 'civilising' mission. The English mission to shape the subjectivities of natives' elites through missionary education had clearly failed.

As a response to the political upheaval in the British Empire, and the permanent revolt in the colonies, there was a shift in British colonial policy and government. Natives shifted from being considered common citizens and governed by common law to being governed by 'traditional law'. So it is said that

Britain moved from direct to indirect rule (Mamdani 2012). I pick up on the visual implications of this shift for colonial subjects from Chapter Five onwards. For now, I wish to simply highlight the anxiety of the British ruling class in connection with the mounting counterpoint to imperialism in almost every place they ruled during colonial rule.

Carlyle was an advocate of British imperialism in the nineteenth and twentieth century. As a historian, he had his eyes on what had taken place in past imperial ventures. How the Haiti revolution shifted "the ontological order of the West" (Mirzoeff 2001:77) was not lost on him. He did not want the British Empire to fall to the same fate that the French did. Thus, Mirzoeff sees the rule of the British Empire as the counterrevolution of the Haitian and France revolution. What was thought to be the permanent revolt of the colonies Carlyle knew had led to the ultimate independence of Haiti from French colonial rule. Carlyle became a central figure in the capturing of the popular imagination though his theorisation of the hero and the use of images as weapons in war, as had been mastered in the Haitian and French revolutions. He, however, traces this capacity to mobilise a people through vision to Napoleon and other 'heroes' of the Western imagination and not at all to the Haitian and subsequent antislavery revolutions. Mirzoeff frames this as Carlyle's blind spot (Mirzoeff 2011; 2016).

Carlyle and other apologists for colonial rule were unable to see past the racial prejudice so ubiquitous in imperial Britain sustaining significant discourse like that on 'The Nigger Question' (Carlyle 1849). In such discourse it was quite clear that Black people are forever doomed to the status of subhuman (Said 1993:126-130). Carlyle and imperial Britain in general dared not to imagine otherwise. The active imaging and visualisation of the 'right to look' and not just behold the leader or power in general produced modernity as the (visualised) contestation of this right between rulers — authors of the world as it was — and 'the people' — who in their mind's eye saw the possibility of a different future (Mirzoeff 2011). The modern imaginary produced by the revolutions of Haiti and France, as argued by Mirzoeff, is a product of not only visuality as outlined by Carlyle but its corresponding counterpoints.

Carlyle celebrated the hero. Through the figure of the hero he managed to reverse engineer the exceptional capacity for vision and imagination first formulated as a tactic for war – visuality – into a mode of governance in imperial visuality. In Carlyle's view, the agent of the war that is visuality was the hero and not the people that that hero represented, as it was in the revolutionary visuality he unintentionally referenced. Visuality and the use of imaginative geographies was thus repurposed to serve the counterrevolution of the ruling British Empire.

Because of the ways in which Carlyle nurtured the idea of the hero, that would eventually inspire the age of the 'big men' of twentieth century fascism, Mirzoeff names Carlyle the father of visuality (Mirzoeff 2001:125).

The spectre of African communism originating from the successful overthrowing of slavery in Haiti has haunted modern empires ever since the fall of Saint-Domingue (Mirzoeff 2001:77). Carlyle worked hard to not see history repeat itself, as outlined above, but not to avoid the oppressed use of vision but to avoid the overturning of empire. Although Carlyle saw the revolutions of France and Haiti as the epitome of all that was wrong with modernity, he nevertheless implemented the tactics of visuality used in these revolutions to unify those in the British Isles and pacify the oppressed in its colonies around the world. The appropriated revolutionary strategy of the hero for anti-emancipation goals led to a fierce contestation over the hero.

3.2 The rise of the contested hero

Carlyle, through his celebration of the hero in his writing, in combination with the general racial prejudice of imperial Britain, is noted as instrumental to the rise of the fascists of the twentieth century (Mirzoeff 2011:125; Said 1993:130). Ideas supporting racial hierarchy, a particular brand of Christianity, and of the role of the hero for empire were so widespread in the British Empire, that "no area of experience was spared the unrelenting application" (Said 1993:127). Retrospectively scholars are sometimes shocked to discover that even figures who were thought to be critical of Victorian England were fundamentally influenced by its worst ideas and perpetuated them freely. Esteemed art critic John Ruskin is such a figure.

Ruskin is as an example of the particular kind of colonial discourse that permeated British society in the second half of the nineteenth centry, and its omnipresence. I choose to discuss Ruskin, and cite him at length over other possible authors because of his role as an art critic and theorist. His writing offered readers an instruction into a particular way of seeing the world with conceps such as the picturesque and the sublime. Through Ruskin's writings it becomes visible how seemingly innocent aesthetic categories are deeply entangled in colonialism.

Author and great contributor to studies of William Morris,[18] Peter Faulkner, talking about the post colonial revelations of Ruskin's racism describes: "To many, like myself who thought they knew Ruskin's work reasonably well before Said's book, and who read him … as a radical critic of Victorian society, they came as a surprise and a disturbance. For they suggest … that Ruskin was, at least in some ways, closer to the belligerent imperialist Carlyle then to the anti-imperial [William] Morris" (Faulkner 2000:54). Exposing the culture of domination embedded in English society during its colonial rule, Said (1993:130) highlights Ruskin's 1870 Slade lecture at Oxford as fuelled by racial prejudice, belief in a English destiny charted by a Christian god, and rhetoric of the hero as framed by Carlyle (Ruskin 1870:[sp]):

> There is a destiny now possible to us – the highest set before a nation to be accepted or refused. We are still undegenerate in race; a race mingled of the best northern blood. We are not yet dissolute in temper, but still have the firmness to govern, and the grace to obey. We have been taught a religion of pure mercy, which were must either now betray, or learn to defend by fulfilling …
>
> And this is what she [England] must do, or perish: she must found colonies as fast and as far as she is able, formed of her most energetic and worthiest men; — seizing every piece of fruitful waste ground she can set her foot on, and there teaching these her colonists that their chief virtue is to be fidelity to their country, and that their first aim is to be advance the power of England by land and sea: and that, though they live on a distant plot of ground, they are no more to consider themselves therefore disenfranchised from their native land … So that literally, these colonies must be fastened fleets; and every man of them must be under authority of captains and officers, whose better command is to be over fields and streets instead of ships of the line; and England, in these her motionless navies (or, in the true and mightiest sense, motionless churches, ruled by pilots on the Galilean lake of all the world), is to "expect every man to do his duty;" recognising that duty is indeed possible no

[18] William Morris was a British Artist, designer, writer, and activist associated with the British Arts and Crafts Movement initiated in reaction against the perceived decline of the decorative arts in the ninetieth century. The Arts and Craft Movement argued that the age of mechanical reproduction made artists less creative and argued for the return to more hands-on manufacturing and craftsmanship.

> less in peace than war; and that if we can get men, for little pay, to cast themselves against cannon-mouths for love of England, we may find men also who will plough and sow for her, who will behave kindly and righteously for her, who will bring up their children to love her, and who will gladden themselves in the brightness of her glory, more than in all the light of tropic skies.
>
> … The England who is to be mistress of half the earth, cannot remain herself a heap of cinders, trampled by contending and miserable crowds; she must yet again become the England she once was, and in all beautiful ways … she must guide the human arts, and gather the divine knowledge, of distant nations, transformed form savageness to manhood, and redeemed form despairing into peace.
>
> You think that an impossible ideal. Be it is; refuse to accept it if you will; but see that you form your own in its stead. All that I ask of you is to have a fixed purpose of some kind for your country and yourselves; no matter how restricted, so that it be fixed and unselfish.

Said (1993:132) notes that most, if not all, discussions of Ruskin avoid this speech. Said notes that Ruskin's speech was well recorded and given in public at an important institution. Yet, like Carlyle, Ruskin at this event did not skimp on his racial prejudice and believe in the superiority of England at all costs to the people in its colonies around the world. Said concludes that Ruskin connected his ideas about English domination both to his aesthetic and moral philosophy. Moreover, Said concludes that Ruskin's political views expressed in public speeches become an integral part of how his writing should be seen and written about. Said (1993:132) insists that it cannot and should not be ignored that England's "art and culture depend, in Ruskin's view, on an enforced imperialism".

British racism permeated every corner of society during its colonial rule — even the most critical. Despite Said's exposition and explanation as to how figures like Ruskin did not escape the views of the world which shaped them, Faulkner concludes his defence of Ruskin by returning to his initial argument that Empire "is by no means one of Ruskin's major preoccupations; he never visited any overseas part of it except Ireland, and only a very small part of his huge written oeuvre refers to the topic. This does not of course prove that he had no assumptions about it, but it does mean that we have to look carefully for evidence, and we will find it only sporadically" (Faulkner 2000:1).

The palpable atmosphere in the British Empire's metropole — full of racism, heroism, and the support of an enforced imperialism — still defended by contemporary scholars like Faulkner but also made clear in debates about the fall of the Rhodes sculpture at Oxford — gave rise to the contested Hero, Cecil John Rhodes. Rhodes attended Ruskin's 1870 Slade lecture at Oxford. Responding to Ruskin's call, he would become a hero of Empire.

Carlyle, who capatalised the "Hero" linked the Hero to divinity, the poetic and tradition. He saw the Hero as someone with foresight who manipulated the physical world from within by tapping into an invisible one. He insisted: "the Hero is still worshipable" (Carlyle 1841:31); "Worship of a Hero is transcendent admiration of a Great Man. I say great men are still admirable; I say there is, at bottom, nothing else admirable!" (Carlyle 1841:28); "The Hero is not now regarded as a God among his fellow-men; but as one God-inspired, as a Prophet" (Carlyle 1841: 51); "The Hero is he who lives in the inward sphere of things, in the True, Divine and Eternal, which exists always, unseen to most, under the Temporary, Trivial: his being is in that; he declares that abroad, by act or speech as it may be, in declaring himself abroad" (Carlyle 1841: 133). The Hero, as theorised by Carlyle, "was tradition, could visualise visuality, and lead with authority. The mystical and unclassifiable Hero was nonetheless separated from all others by his ability to visualise history as it happened, thereby gaining an authority that was aesthetic" (Mirzoeff 2016: 123).

Whereas Carlyle and Ruskin were part of the commentators and advisers that steered British colonialism from the metropoles of Empire on various sides of one spectrum, Rhodes was a figure on the ground, writing and implementing its policies and visions for the future. Located differently in their roles in empire, the unapologetic belief in Empire at all costs — sustained by and within an imagined community — is where the lives of Rhodes, Ruskin, and Carlyle meet.

3.3 The hero's dream

When Carlyle said that history is a book of 'great' men, he was referring to figures like Rhodes. Rhodes is one of the most written about figures in South African history. Animated in what appears an endless mass of literature, he is noted as a businessman, mining magnate, and politician who served as Prime Minister of the Cape Colony from 1890 to 1896. Rhodes was and remains a figure not bound by the borders of modern-day South Africa but the imagination of the British Empire. At his most successful, his influence was far-reaching. On account of his share in the South African mining industry, there was a time where

he was one of the wealthiest people in the world. He lived a controversial life, characterised as stopping at nothing in fulfilling his dream of empire. His rampage through Zimbabwe and the claiming of that country for Britain, as well as that territory being named after him, speaks volumes to his fascism.

The fascism of the early twentieth century in Europe is associated with social oppression and suppression and is almost always led by a 'hero' of the people. Much like Rhodes, the fascist dictators of the early twentieth century were looked at by their followers as possessing vision and foresight. They were seen as beacons of light — heroes — capable of leading society away from the malice of the day and resolving the problems of modernity. They were the heroes at the epicentre of visuality.

The violence inflicted by these leaders and the societies which they led were widely depicted as art. Mass gatherings, public sculpture, literature, and many forms of popular culture and science were hijacked for the purposes of violence. Considering Rhodes within a lineage of fascism, it has been suggested that modern fascism could indeed be said to have begun with Rhodes: "A book could be written, 'from Rhodes to Hitler'. He [Rhodes] was the first man to organise business politically, his diamond industry was the first great cartel. His was the dream of an élite, a secret society that ruled whole continents by money controlled by a single source. His hope was for a great British Reich" (Maylam 2015:10).

More and more the Southern African popular imagination, through movements like the Rhodes Must Fall campaign, becomes decisive about its negative opinions with regards to the figure of Cecil John Rhodes. The Rhodes Must Fall movement of 2015 brought to the foreground once again the ambivalent legacy of Rhodes. The movement resulted in the removal of a public sculpture — Rhodes, mounted on a plinth overlooking the rugby field — in the centre of the University of Cape Town. It reiterated the enduring nature of imperial visuality, starring 'heroes' capable of solving the problems of the day. In a constellation somewhat echoing the relationship between the revolution of Haiti and France and the role of vision and the visualised future in it, the successful deinstallation of the public sculpture of Rhodes in Cape Town has reverberated around the world, asking postcolonial societies everywhere to reconsider the visuality of public spaces.

In 2020, four years after Rhodes was removed at the University of Cape Town, the University of Oxford voted in favour of removing its statue of the Rhodes not without initial resistance (Mohdin 2021a; Mohdin 2021ab; Elgot 2016). Historically and in the present Rhodes remains a contested figure. He has been seen, by some, as driven by a blur between a noble vision of imperialist

expansion and the pursuit of material gain (Maylam 2015, McFarlane 2007). Rhodes had a dream. Applying the reverse engineering of Carlyle, his was the 'Hero's' dream; it was not mandated by the people but by Empire and self-interest. Rhodes' dream was one mechanised for counterrevolution against all ideas of the natural rights of freedom, liberty, and equality for all, ideas that propelled the revolutions of Haiti and France.

I have thus far, through following Said and Mirzoeff, discussed how the revolutions of Haiti and France changed the order of the West through the use of imaginative geographies and what Mirzoeff discusses as claiming the right to look. I have discussed the overthrowing of the power by the oppressed in France, and the overthrowing of power by the slaves of Haiti. These revolutions overthrew the monarchy and simultaneously colonial order. Those who led them renamed themselves as 'the people'; and to capture popular imagination 'the people' aestheticised themselves into the hero. I have reiterated from the second chapter how Napoleon revived this capturing of the popular imagination in his campaigns across Europe. Mirzoeff aptly refers to the reign of the British empire as the counterrevolution of the revolutions of Haiti and France. Following this train of thought, I have described how Carlyle, inspired by Napoleon, reverse engineered the idea of the hero and the use of the imaginative geography. This was done as part of a counterrevolution and pacification of 'the people' across the British Empire, giving rise to contested 'heroes' like Rhodes. I now turn to how the of the Zimbabwean plateau — where the pinnacle of the Southern African Late Iron Age is located — became entangled with Rhodes plans.

The end of the eighteenth century culminated in what is commonly known as the 'scramble for Africa'. During this scramble, supremacy in Southern Africa was a cardinal British imperial ambition (Alao 2012:14). In 1891, fuelled by centuries of hearsay, and rumours conjuring images of vast amounts of gold — as discussed in Chapter Two — Rhodes and his newly amalgamated exploration company, the British South Africa Company, barged into and occupied the territory today referred to as Zimbabwe. Along with imagined gold reserves, the Zimbabwean plateau was valuable because it stood in the path of a British conceived railroad project that was to link Cape Town in Southern Africa to Cairo in the north across British occupied territory. Its occupation played a key role in seeing this project come to life. Zimbabwe was seized by force in a strategically planed out war against its native people and their leaders.

Along with armed forces, archaeological discourse using imperial visuality

was heavily implicated in creating the smokescreen that would give legitimacy to this quest. Following the Age of Enlightenment in Europe, political entities in the form of empires supported scientific advancement specifically geared towards the conquering of new land for mineral and other resources. The legitimisation of British colonialism through the use of archaeology is an expression of a broader pattern of the marriage of science and empire characteristic of this time. I expand on the details of this smokescreen implicating archaeological practice in a string of unjust wars in Chapter Four. The large reserves hoped for in Zimbabwe were never found. What was found was fertile land and a key building block to a dream fit for Carlyle's heroism.

A year after Rhodes' occupation of Zimbabwe in 1891 Rhodes announced his intention to pursue a dream that invigorated imperial ambition. For pursuing this dream, Rhodes, was seen by some as a hero of British ideals. He was indeed coming to epitomise a hero of imperial visuality; what Carlyle (in Mirzoeff 2016: 123) saw as the mystical and unclassifiable hero, "separated from all others by his ability to visualise history as it happened thereby gaining an authority that was aesthetic". By putting forward his railroad dream, Rhodes attempted to visualise history as it happened by making it happen.

The railroad tracks running in Africa, would never in Rhodes' lifetime connect Cape to Cairo through British colonial territory as Rhodes had imagined. Rhodes' dream, nonetheless, remains a material manifestation of British aspiration. It cannot simply be disregarded as a failed dream but should rather be understood as one deferred. I mean this in the sense that the project produced its own life with agency, in Said's conception, it became something that was something. In figure drawing it is said that a figure does not need to be complete for a viewer to understand and accept it as a figure. A three legged dog in an image bites the same way a four legged one would. The railway tracks that did connect in Southern Africa functioned in the way Rhodes had dreamed. They carried men, young and old, from their homes in the hinterlands of Central and Southern Africa towards its metropoles as cheap labours for difficult work.

Rhodes' dream brought to life Ruskin's 1870 call to the future heroes of Empire — which Rhodes attended — to get men, for little pay, to plough and sow for England and to bring up their children to do the same. In Ruskin's speech, Ruskin was talking about English men. Southern African men, at the height of colonialism, could very well have seen themselves or were thought of— when it was convenient— as subjects of the British empire and thus English men. An

irony that can only fully be appreciated post colonialism, is that the men that were now living Ruskin's vision, perhaps as a nightmare, were not English but Southern African men. This is arguably true of the 'hero' Rhodes but undoubtably so for masses of um-named black laborers.

Based on his claiming of Zimbabwe for Britain and the announcement of an unprecedented railroad project, Rhodes is memorialised as a victorious giant towering over the African continent in an enduring image of European colonisation on the African continent, *The Rhodes Colossus: Striding from Cape to Cairo* (Figure 16). Figure 16 is an iconic image, a remainder of Rhodes' dream. It represents the sense of absurdity of the domination of commerce and the superiority of the British as a people. In the image, a uniformed Rhodes stretches out his hands and feet over the continent of Africa. One boot touches its southern tip and the other disappears toward Cairo in the north. The strong triangle created by Rhodes' wide, spread legs in the image guarantees that Rhodes' head — the apex of the triangular shape — becomes a focal point in the image. With his head in the clouds and feet on the ground, the figure of Rhodes keeps his eyes fixed on the future of lofty ideas.

Published by Punch in 1892, two years after Rhodes claimed Zimbabwe for Britain, the image satirically comments on Rhodes' announcement that he would revive and continue a project initiated earlier on in the century, to link a telegraph line as well as a railroad track from Cape Town to Cairo. *The Rhodes Colossus: Striding from Cape to Cairo* — a gigantic unmovable figure fixed to the ground despite lofty ideals — is a visual pun. The image is illustrated in the tradition of depicting the giant statue of the Greek sun god with wide-set legs across the Rhodes harbour under the title, the *Colossus of Rhodes*.[19] According to Western tradition, a gigantic statue was raised in 280 BC to celebrate Rhodes' victory over the ruler of Cyprus. Understood as the tallest building in the world at the time, it is today considered one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. The victory of Rhodes, monumentalised through the gigantic sculpture of the sun god with legs stretched out over the Rhodes harbour, has been illustrated a number of times through history (Petsa-Tzounakou 1996; Sørensen 2019). The illustration of [Cecil] Rhodes draws a visual line between two victories. The first over the ruler of Cyprus and the second over Africa, its rulers as well as its terrain.

The framing of the image positions [Cecil] Rhodes as a visionary and heir of a victorious people. It visualises him as a sun god – a bringer of light walking on

Figure 16:
Edward Linley Sambourne, *The Rhodes Colossus: Striding from Cape to Cairo*, 1892. (Punch 1892:266-267).

[19] See, Constructing the Colossus: the Origins of Linley Sambourne's Greatest Punch Cartoon (Scully, 2012) for an in-depth analysis of the visual history of *The Rhodes Colossus: Stridingfrom Cape to Cairo*.

THE RHODES COLOSSUS

STRIDING FROM CAPE TOWN TO CAIRO.

earth. It does carry with it an undercurrent of irony. The Rhodes colossal after all, forming part of the seven wonders of ancient civilisation, is said to have toppled over not long after its construction. Moreover, it belongs to a bygone time and a lost civilisation. However, published and republished in magazines, textbooks, and numerous blog posts, Figure 16 is the something that is something of Said's conception. Unlike the sculptures at in Cape Town, Oxford, or Cyprus this image will likely not fall. Although it is positioned well as a critique of Rhodes' ambitions, he is visualised a hero nonetheless. A three legged dog in a drawing, he is pictured seeing the future, and making it happen.

Figure 16 critically represents Rhodes, but also endorses the erasure of the African bodies that characterised his vision. White, male, European bodies and world views are visualised as progressive and belonging to the future while those erased are looked at as dragging behind the move towards modernity. The underlying drive behind this move is commerce. The idea of black bodies as more primitive than Europeans is not challenged, thus legitimating their exploitation as cheap labourers to subsidise the world that followed the end of Atlantic Slave trade. The wealth of South Africa and its connected spheres of influence, in European hands, and sustained by war, is not explicitly made clear. The punch of the image focuses on Rhodes wishful thinking. Looking past all that is clearly more urgent to postcolonial scholars.

Satirical or not, Figure 16 does not escape the visuality of its day but is located within. Even while being critical, it does not escape the violence of the imaginative geography in which it is created. Said discusses this as the ease with which violence was taken for granted even by some of the most critical members of the British society. The image of Rhodes is a taste of how British campaigns across the world were consumed critically in the popular imagination in the British metropoles. Said (1993:133), following a similar picture references short list of the global reach of British expansion through campaigns across the nineteenth century:

1839–42	Opium wars in China
1840s	wars against South Africa's [black people], New Zealand Maoris; conquest of Punjab
1854–6	the Crimean war
1854	conquest of lower Burma
1856–60	second China war
1857	attack on Persia

1857–8	suppression of Indian Mutiny
1865	Governor Eyre case in Jamaica[20]
1866	Abyssinian expedition[21]
1870	repels of Fenian expansion in Canada
1871	Maori resistance destroyed
1874	decisive campaign against Ashantis in West Africa
1882	conquest of Egypt

Rhodes' occupation of Zimbabwe was in line with the modus operandi of the British Empire. The figure of Rhodes is the epitome of how the Hero was reengineered to counter the revolutions of Haiti and France. Through an invigoration of the popular imagination. Rhodes in a project like his railway line from Cape to Cairo linked tradition with the future using visuality as a medium to speak to English hearts. However, the mandate did not come from 'the people' represented by the hero; instead, here, the hero acts as an agent for personal and colonial interests.

This brings me to what I earlier named the subjects of this chapter: the opponents of Rhodes heroic vision, as embodied in the popular lyrics of Southern African Jazz musician Hugh Masekela's, *Stimela*. And that ultimately, this chapter is about the relationship between visuality and the currents that counter it. At this point, you may be asking yourself what the image of Rhodes, let alone the Hugh Masikela's *Stimel* have to do with the visualisation of Late Iron Age Settlements in Southern Africa. I reassure you that your reading will not be in vain, and that these two seemingly unrelated streams of thought do clearly meet. The Late Iron Age, the image of Rhodes, and Masekela's *Stimela* do not meet in historical time but conceptually as pertaining to visuality and its counterpoints.

The system of ideas developed in this section of the study, particularly those pertaining to the tactical essentialising of black experience, the appropriation of this experience by those with power, the use of popular modes of engagement to capture audiences, and the value of shifting perspective in relation to power clears the way for a deeper engagement with countervisuality in the chapter that follows, Chapter Four. These ideas are developed through clarifying the larger

[20] John Eyre's harsh measures for suppressing the Morant Bay rebellion, in Jamaica which split English opinions at home with some seeing them as too harsh and others supporting him as a hero who had saved Jamaica from disaster.

[21] The armed forces of the British Empire against the Ethiopian Empire.

study's use of visuality and imagined geographies and outlining the modern histories of these terms. This study will now introduce their counterpoints and bring imperial visuality face to face with its opponents as a conceptual transition to countervisuality in Southern Africa.

A focus on visuality, as was engaged with in Chapter Two, implies one on countervisuality. Countervisuality is a response to the violence of visuality. It is an affirmation of the reality of self and a claim to an existence despite an authority claiming otherwise. As laid out in the Chapter One of this study, it is the retort version of *sawubona*. The act of seeing, here, affirms life and presence even when that presence is denied by a person who is looking decides not to see. It is a reprimand layered with the affirmation: I see you even though you may not see me. It is a curse; an understanding of the value of the mental image in bringing about a shift in power. It is resistance.

Historically, visuality was always met with resistance. The list of wars outlined above map British colonial expansion, and the gains of visuality; they are also a map of the resistance countering visuality's attempt to order the world in its own image. As a result of visuality's tendency to create a revisionist history, countervisuality is consistently acknowledged after long periods of time marked by the erasure and denial of competing histories: at times, to a point where it seems as if visuality may go unchecked.[22] Visuality was challenged within the British Empire as shown by the Punch depiction of Rhodes. However, as supported by Said's examination of the literature of that time period, even the most critical within its society could not escape crucial underlying assumptions of this visuality. In an attempt to track visuality's counterpoints I thus move away from what I see as a detached critique of Empire from the comfort of its metropole to the ground reality of British campaigns — Maskela's song claims this position. Thus, *The Rhodes Colossus: Striding from Cape to Cairo* — an enduring image of colonisation by Rhodes and Europeans on the African continent, of which much has been discussed — is now discussed alongside the lyrics of the popular but less analysed

[22] For instance, anthropologist and historians Carolyn Hamilton and Nessa Leibhammer (2016) aptly point out that in South Africa retributive justice has focused on recent history, with cut-off dates that indeed seem to let visuality get away with its abuses. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission that was tasked with investigating and documenting gross violations of human rights during apartheid — in the period immediately following apartheid — did not address atrocities before 1960. The restitution of land rights in South Africa — formulated postapartheid — is constitutionally limited to land dispossessed after 1913 (Yanou 2006:1778). It is known, however, that the Southern African deep past is also full of injustice that needs redress. Limited archives need expansion to account for historical disavowal (Hamilton and Leibhammer 2016).

song of protest by Southern African Jazz musician Hugh Masekela, *Stimel* . The hero's dream is put face to face with the people's curse.

If indeed as proposed by Maylam (2015: [sp]), modern fascism could be said to have begun with Rhodes and his rampage through the African continent, then modern antifascism could be said to have begun in Zimbabwe in the wars for the land after British invasion. Rhodes and the British South Africa Company invaded Zimbabwe in 1891 armed with guns and stories of revisionist pasts about that country. In the early 1970s — when *Stimel* was released — almost a century later, Zimbabweans were still fighting for an account of the historical disavowal of their history rooted in this invasion. The people of Zimbabwe, like the people everywhere around the world whom visuality was practiced on, did not just sit and do nothing in the face of an all-consuming power. Armed and in war they cursed. Digging for gold they cursed. They cursed the 'hero's' dream.

3.4 The people's curse

In 1974 on an album titled, *I am not Afraid*, South African jazz musician, Hugh Masekela, released a memorable contribution to anti-apartheid, resistance, and protest art and literature, *Stimel* or Steam Train. Masekela along with song writers Emile Dernst and Diana Wynter Gordon wrote *Stimel* four years earlier while Masekela was in exile from South Africa in the United States of America. At the time of *Stimel 's* release, tensions where high in both Zimbabwe and South Africa. Both countries were in the midst of armed wars of liberation. Masekela's *Stim la* exposes the violence of imperial visuality and fascist claims to Southern Africa from a black miner's point of view.

Stimel echoes the legacy of Rhodes' dream of a railroad that would connect Cape Town to Cairo. The song presents an embodied view of how Rhodes' dream moulded the landscape as well as the people onto which the dream was exerted. Although often spoken about as a failed dream, from this perspective Rhodes' dream was one already in progress. *Stimel* starts with the image of young and old black men brought by train, from Namibia, Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Angola Mozambique, Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, and "From all the hinterland of Southern and Central Africa" to work under harsh conditions in the gold mines of Johannesburg (see Figure 17 for full transcription of lyrics).

Rhodes did not succeed in his dream of connecting railroad tracks of commerce from Cape to Cairo through British occupied territory on the African

Transcript of coal train (Stimela)

There is a train that comes from Namibia and Malawi
There is a train that comes from Zambia and Zimbabwe
There is a train that comes from Angola and Mozambique
From Lesotho, from Botswana, from Swaziland

From all the hinterland of Southern and Central Africa
This train carries young and old, African men
Who are conscripted to come and work on contract
In the golden mineral mines of Johannesburg
And its surrounding metropolis, sixteen hours or more a day
For almost no pay

Deep, deep, deep down in the belly of the earth
When they are digging and drilling that shiny mighty evasive stone
Or when they dish that mish mash mush food
Into their iron plates with the iron shank
Or when they sit in their stinking, funky, filthy
Flea-ridden barracks and hostels
They think about the loved ones they may never see again
Because they might have already been forcibly removed
From where they last left them
Or wantonly murdered in the dead of night
By roving, marauding gangs of no particular origin
We are told –.

They think about their lands, and their herds
That were taken away from them
With the gun, and the bomb,
and the teargas, the gatling and the cannon
And when they hear that Choo-Choo train:

A-chugging-and-a-pumping-and-a-smoking-
and-a-pushing-a-pumping-a-crying-and-a-steaming-
and-a-chugging-and-a-
whooo-whooo!

They always cuss, and they curse the coal train
The coal train that brought them to Johannesburg.
Whooo whooo!

Figure 17:
Transcript of *Coal Train (Stimela* ,
Hugh Masekela, 1974. (Masekela et
al 1974). Translation by Author.

x2	
Stimela Sihamba ngamalahle!	Steam train is fuelled by coal!
Sivel’ eDalagubhayi	Coming from Delagoa Bay, morning or utopia
Sangilahla kwaGuqa	Leaves me at a place of kneeling
Bathi sizoba amalahle	They say we will become coal
sizoba amalahle	Will become coal
Iyohhh...	Oh my ...
Sidl’ inyol' enkomponi	We eat the shit of the company
(Stimela!)	Steam train
Sihleli njengezinja, siyelele, mame	We live like dogs, we go in, oh my
Emikodini, mama	Inside holes, mother
Bathi stimela	They say steam train
Sikhalel' izihlobo zethu	We cry for our relatives
Masibuyele le! eDalagubhayi	Let’s go back to Dalagubhayi
Sikhalel’ izingane zethu wololo!	We cry for our children oh my!
(Masibuyele le! Dalagubhayi)	Let’s go back to Dalagubhayi
Sikhalela macheri wethu, mama oh!	We cry for our cherries [lovers], mother oh!
(Masibuyele le! eDalagubhayi)	Let’s go back! to Dalagubhayi
Sikhalel' abazali bethu!	We cry for those who birthed us [parents]
Yelele yelele yelele	Oh my, oh my, oh my,
yelele yelele	oh my, oh my
x3	
Stimela	Steam train
Sihamba ngamalahle	Steam train is fuelled by coal
Sivel' eDalagubhayi	Coming from Dalagubhayi
Helele bathi Stimela mawo	Oh my, they say steam train mother oh
Stimela	Steam train
Sihamba ngamalahle	Is fuelled by coal
Sivel' eDalagubhayi	coming from Dalagubhayi
Bathi, Stimela mawo	They say, steam train mother oh
Stimela!	Steam train
Sihamba ngamalahle	Is fuelled by coal
Sivel' eDalagubhayi	Coming from Dalagubhayi
Whooo whooo!	Whooo whooo!
x2	
Stimela	Steam train
Sihamba ngamalahle	Is fuelled by coal
Sivel' eDalagubhayi	Coming from Dalagubhayi

continent. Masekela's *Stimela* however, reifies the traces of Rhodes' dream etched into the Southern African landscape. It brings to life the lived consequences of imperial visuality. Lyrically, in line with the tradition of liberation movements, Masekela claims the name of Zimbabwe, ignoring the official name of Rhodesia at the time. With this claim, Masekela asserts his presence, and existence, and with this imagines into being a future state. Written from exile, the song is in the genre of anti-apartheid protest music. It pictures the lived experience of apartheid on black bodies, emphasising the connected violent realities of black Africans, through the metaphor of the train.

Against the backdrop of moving towards a place from which there is no easy return (Levi & Bethlehem 2018), *Stimel* nostalgically yearns for *Dalagubhayi*, a faraway place where relatives, children, lovers, and parents are left behind. *Dalagubhayi* is expressed as a utopia, an agriculturally fuelled world left behind, a place outside the violence of apartheid. *Dalagubhayi* has been translated as the morning (Somi 2018), and as, "the Zulu phonetic name for Delagoa Bay which is present day Maputo in Mozambique" (Stimela: The Coal Train [sa]:[sp]). The train described by Masekela came from Mozambique to Johannesburg, the railway line was called the Delagoa Bay railway line (Stimela: The Coal Train [sa]).

Understood as morning or dawn, the dawn left behind by the train as it moves towards Johannesburg, the song longs for the freedom of a new start imagined as both the dawn left by the steam train and a new dawn all together. Similarly understood as the Zulu phonetic name for Delagoa Bay, the sone longs for the beginning it longs perhaps to be washed ashore familiar waters. Masekela and his music – in context of *Stimel* – have been described as the "train that leads us back to ourselves, unearthing our own tongues and ancestry, our own rhythms and magic, reminding us of our pains and our progress" (Somi 2018:[sp]). *Stimel* describes a journey from the utopia of *Dalagubhayi* to a place called *kwaGuqa*. *KwaGuqa* is literally the place of kneeling. On arrival, the train does not offload but it throws the narrator out, leaving them on their knees. The narrator triggers with this line the image of a slave or a subject begging. This image is strengthened by the description of how men live and are treated at this place.

The chorus of the song, specifically the line "*Stimela Sihamba ngamalahle!"* or 'Steam train is fuelled by coal!', is a powerful line because of the simple and clear manner in which it captures the sentiment of the song without compromising the poetry of its imagery. The steam train is fuelled by coal. In another way it is fuelled by the cheap labour of black bodies. *Stimel* protests apartheid as well as a world order which exploits whole societies and environments — digging and drilling into both for maximum profit at all costs. By contrasting emotional and physical hardship, exploitation, and filth, with the commodities of iron, gold, and machinery, Masekela reminds listeners of the elusive cost that modernity is built on.

With the line, "We are told –" Masekela brings the attention of the listener to the violence of this world, highlighting its sinister nature which constantly lurks in the background. This links back to the ideas developed in Chapter Two on the phatic potential of speech. Speech that serves a social function or function outside of that which is stated; like the reprimand version of *sawubona*. "We are told –" highlights the violent nature in which the imperial world officiates what is remembered even when it is not so or when other valid possibilities exist. The line gives voice to the thoughts of loved ones who may never be seen again, "they might have already been forcibly removed from where they last left them or wantonly murdered in the dead of night by roving, marauding gangs of no particular origin". "We are told –", is followed by a pregnant pause before the statement is closed to take up the next thought. It is ironically sung as political posturing in response to an unforgiving violent world where those who contest the official versions of events are murdered in the dead of night. The space created within this pause carries those known yet officially unspeakable versions of events.

3.3 Conclusion: they curse!

The violence that was spearheaded by oversight, visuality, and imperial visuality reverberated through multiple generations on the African content affecting African people by disrupting their way of life through permanent states of war by multiple means. War by multiple means over generations meant resistance by multiple means over generations. *Stimel* counters the image of Rhodes as a hero

of empire purported by even critical depictions of Rhodes by his contemporaries. The train lines mentioned in the song may not run from Cape to Cairo as Rhodes had imagined, they do nevertheless do the same work. Rhodes' vision was not just about linking the English world throughout Africa as a symbolic consolidation of British domination. The train tracks also had a very practical application — as would be seen in the mines of Johannesburg — of bringing biological power from the hinterlands of Africa to dig for gold. The train tracks of *Stimel* are thus the train tracks of Rhodes' 1890 dream deferred to 1970. This manifestation of a dream, the dream that becomes something that is something shows the power of visuality. The people on which this power is exercised are easily its opponents by default of the place from which they experience the world. Masekela's *Stimel* is written from the perspective of those on which power is exerted, in this case the black miners of Southern Africa. It links the experience of these miner to their pasts, present, and future.

Stimel remembers and curses a moving train carrying the bodies of men towards the hope of modernity. It contemplates that the train and its tracks may be in place long after the ephemerality of the body and its hardship. The miners described in the song are shown to be in in an asymmetric relationship with power nevertheless they remain active bodies: when they hear that Choo-Choo train the miners always curse! The impulse to curse and protest despite unrelenting circumstances remains — even if it is to be swallowed by the void of a chugging-and-a-pumping-and-a-smoking-and-a-pushing-a-pumping-a-crying-and-a-steaming train. It is implied that the train and the curse are linked in destiny. The latter, however, lacks power — which of course, is the opposite of what a curse should do. Masekela's lyrics give power back to the spoken words and curses of miners through song. The agency gained by the popularity of the song ensures that the miners' curses gain meaning beyond the void of a chugging train.

Whereas the curse could be framed as an intuitive response of the oppressed to their oppressors, Masekela's song is not. Instead it is a strategic use of this tool. It essentialises the black experience of miners, into a popular format promoted by Masekela and chanted and repeated by the people. The miner's curse is the people's curse. It is a prelude of what is to come. It wills the future into being. It is the springboard on which a utopia will be built and a dystopian reality reimagined.

It is countervisuality. An imaginative geography is accessed to animate a future that does not yet exist. This is possible through understanding the power of this geography in bringing about change. Most importantly, in relation to the LIAS, it is possible though remembering the past. The hinterlands left behind in combination with the lived experience of black miners that propels the curse and confronts the present moment.

The song lodges counteraction against the visuality of the Rhodes's dream. The reverse engineered hero's dream is confronted with the people's curse. Implicitly the song disrupts a conjured and forced modernity through the mechanism of visuality. This confrontation, and the resolutions it triggers into being, is at the basis of countervisuality. As shown by Mirzoeff, in the case of the revolutions of Haiti and France this confrontation gives birth to the modern imaginary. The modern imaginary in this way is a product of not only visuality but its corresponding counterpoints. The sum of these counterpoints has historically consistently challenged — and continues to challenge — visuality's claim to authority; these counterpoints anchor, drag, and transform the path of modernity and birth the modern imaginary: a new imagination unimaginable to those holding authority.

CONTROL-EDIT-UNDO:- MINING THE IMAGED PAST

If visuality, like Painting by Numbers, control-copy-pasted batch formulae as a means of efficiently looking at the world, countervisuality employed a strategy of control-edit-undoing imperial files in an attempt to see the world. After the curse, comes a scramble to retrieve the lost. One of the objectives of countervisuality has been to mine the imagined past to find, and not look but see, overlooked gems. Here, I follow the path of modernity by following its by-products, specifically the images it produces. As the path of modernity is shaped and bent by the currents of visuality and countervisuality, the images produced respond accordingly. From this back and forth between visuality and countervisuality, control-copy-pasting and control-edit-undoing, modernity and the modern imaginary emerge.

Mining, gold mining in particular, is a significant anchor to modernity in Southern Africa, literally but also figuratively so — at least if modernity is accepted as an ongoing contest between visuality and countervisuality. In terms of the literal, the 1866 discovery of diamonds in Kimberley pushed Southern Africa towards an industrial revolution. This revolution exploded with the discovery of the Witwatersrand Basin and the establishment of Johannesburg. The Witwatersrand Basin is an underground geological formation holding large gold reserves. The basin stretches out from the Johannesburg area where it surfaces. This geological phenomenon ensured that Johannesburg became the centre of the 1886 Gold Rush. The Gold Rush of 1886 continued the industrialisation of South Africa which had been triggered twenty years earlier by the diamond industry in Kimberley. It developed the country's financial services and made many people a fortune within the context of an increasingly racialised world and a Southern Africa inching towards apartheid as a system of governance. Johannesburg grew into South Africa's largest and most prosperous metropolis and remains a symbol of its modernity. Known as the city of gold, what Johannesburg's modernity is literally anchored in is not forgotten.

In terms of the figurative, things are a lot messier. Long after the gold rush of 1886, the Witwatersrand remains the site of the largest gold reserves ever found on earth. However, in the 1890s – fuelled by centuries of images, hearsay, and rumours – modern-day Zimbabwe was tipped to be the next Witwatersrand. Images of vast amounts of gold and land drove the hopes of Cecil John Rhodes and his newly amalgamated exploration company, the British South Africa Company, to occupy Zimbabwe in 1891. The motive and means by which this invasion would be executed is clearly stated in a letter written by accomplice and friend of Rhodes, W. A. Jarvis (in Alao 2012:13), to his mother about the occupation which was to take place:

> The last thing to do is to wipe them all out as far as one can – everything black … I hope the natives will be pretty-well exterminated … There are about 5,500 niggers in the district [Gwelo] and our plan of campaign will probably be to proceed against this lot and wipe them out then move on towards Bulawayo, wiping out every nigger and every kraal [house] we find. And then you may be sure there will be no quarter and everything black will have to die.

Rhodes had made a fortune from the diamond mining industry in Kimberley earlier on in the century. His hopes this time around were to strike gold at all costs. As discussed in the previous chapter, at the time of its conquest the Zimbabwean plateau was not just imagined to have large gold reserves, it was also land in the path of a track of the British conceived railroad project that was to link Cape Town in the south to Cairo in the north of Africa across British occupied territory.

Although driven by images of gold mines and railroad tracks yet to be laid down, with clear motives of war the British South Africa Company, headed by Rhodes, claimed the Zimbabwean plateau for the British Empire using the pursuit of a scientific question as justification for their presence in that area. Images, hearsay, and rumours, even during the colonial era, "could have little lasting propaganda value without at least some sort of scientific support" (Garlake 1973:66). The question, "was Great Zimbabwe the unaided work of indigenous Africans?", was therefore used as scientific smokescreen for the prospecting of gold and the claiming of a strategic building block for the amalgamation of the British Empire on the African Continent. The discipline of archaeology and the images it created thus worked alongside physical warfare in the form of forced removals, the burning down of homes, and the 'confiscation' of cattle in the colonial conquest of Southern Africa.[23]

It is not a coincidence that the global rise of professional archaeology in the 1890s coincided with the British South Africa Company's occupation of the Zimbabwean plateau. The first archaeologists researching the plateau, and the images they created, were deeply entrenched in the foundations of imperial claims to the area. The occupation of the Zimbabwean plateau crucially depended on archaeology and resulted in the employment of the majority of professional archaeologists in Southern Africa within colonial administration. Theodore Bent (see Chapter Two) and subsequently Richard Hall, two of the first archaeologists

[23] See Mlambo (2005) for a detailed historical account of Zimbabwe's wars around the question of land.

to excavate at Zimbabwe, were both employed by the British South Africa Company after its occupation of Zimbabwe as curators of the Great Zimbabwe ruins. The company also funded their excavations of the area. Unsurprisingly, both archaeologists found the ruins to be of an outsider race. As discussed in Chapter Two, a leading question in European discourse at the beginning of the twentieth century was 'who built Great Zimbabwe'. 'Scientific' evidence from archaeological investigations, supported by images, found the ruins to be of an incoming outsider race. Such findings supported Biblical speculation: the ruins having a Christian lineage positioned colonial powers as heirs of a lost civilisation.

Discourses around the 'foreign' origin of Great Zimbabwe inspired by Bent, Hall, and others persisted for close to a century. Through dubious projections, the Ruins of Great Zimbabwe were used as a symbol of the 'rightness' of colonisation and the sanctioning of Shona subservience long after substantial evidence to the contrary had become available. The occupation of the Zimbabwe plateau was screened as the pursuit of a scientific question. In parallel, the ongoing presence of foreign influence in the area was screened as a mission to deliver 'civilisation' back to where it had been 'lost' to the 'primitive'. As I will show in this chapter, archaeology's visualisation of Zimbabwean history added to a catalogue of images about gold mining in Southern Africa, further substantiating the mining of gold as a significant anchor to the ongoing contest between visuality and countervisuality and thus the modern imaginary.

In Chapter One, and developed in Chapters Two and Three — with some calibration of terms — I followed Nicholas Mirzoeff in my use of visuality, countervisuality, and modernity. Visuality is understood as a nineteenth-century concept meaning the visualisation of history claimed as central to the legitimisation of Western hegemony. This way of seeing maintains a posture that purports authority and power as interchangeable terms. It attaches authority to power, making the association between the two look natural. Power is made to seem self-evident through techniques of classification, separation, and aestheticisation. Mirzoeff (2011) identifies three 'complexes of visuality' — plantation slavery, imperialism, and the present-day military-industrial complex.

The authority of power over the three complexes of visuality has been consistently challenged by those whom it is exercised on, namely the enslaved, the colonised, and opponents of war. Mirzoeff maintains that such groups have maintained autonomy from authority by claiming the right to look. Countervisuality is thus also understood as the 'the right to look' (Mirzoeff 2011). Following scholars such as Edward Said and W.J. T. Mitchell, Mirzoeff fleshed out his concept of the right to look and thus developed a comparative decolonial framework for

visual culture studies around the claiming of this right. In this context, modernity is understood as an ongoing contest between visuality and countervisuality, or 'the right to look'. This contest, according to Mirzoeff, produces the modern era and the modern imaginary.

As mentioned in Chapter One I keep an arm's length from Mirzoeff's language of rights and his idea of 'claiming the right to look'. In its place, inspired by the idea of *ukubona*, I flesh out a South African greeting practice as political. Here the greeting *sawubona*, 'we see you' or 'I see you' is used as both affirmation and reprimand (see Chapter One) in the place of claiming 'the right to look'. Other than this, I largely maintain the terms and frameworks developed by Mirzoeff. I expand instead on their geographic, temporal, and conceptual contexts to consider Southern African archaeology, Southern African LIAS, and the images produced thereof, specifically from the first archaeological excavation at Great Zimbabwe in 1891 and onwards. In line with what visuality does as shown by Mirzoeff, archaeology's visual culture visualises pre-colonial Southern African history in ways that no other discipline can, by visualising this history with authority (Hamilton and Leibhammer 2016, The 500-Year Archive project). Through the aestheticisation of the Southern African past under the auspices of archaeology, the power of imperial forces was made to seem self-evident.

As Chapter Two sought to demonstrate, the imperial visualisation of Late Iron Age Settlements undertaken by archaeologists working in Southern Africa from 1891 onwards was carried out in support of the hypothesis of a foreign culture shaping Great Zimbabwe. This understanding of the site has been consistently contested by the countervisual histories of local communities, who insisted on Great Zimbabwe and its surrounding landscape as constructed by a black African people, specifically their ancestors, the Shona (Wright in Hamilton and Leibhammer 2016). In the context of efforts of decolonisation and nationalist nation building, the countervisual accounts of local communities concerning 'dZimba dZemabwe' — Shona for 'Houses of Stone'— were used to imagine the modern nation state into being (Moyo 2014).

Countervisuality was never just a matter of the people of Zimbabwe opposing foreign archaeological claims. Counter currents of visuality existed within archaeology itself from the beginning of the twentieth century onwards. One could ask if countervisuality could ever come from within the dominant power. This is a question grappled with in this chapter. For now I would like

to maintain that the origin of countervisuality is not mutually exclusive to its existence in a space. Imperial archaeology understood Great Zimbabwe and its achievements as remnants of a modern proto-nation state. As such, they could not be found to belong to the people of Zimbabwe and so they were not; even though they did. The archaeological excavations of D. Randall MacIver (1905) and Gertrude Caton-Thomson (1929), for instance, both found the ruins to be of African origin, but their findings were long ignored by a public blinded by racial prejudice and by the altering of 'professional' opinion through the archaeologists employed within colonial administration (Pikirayi 2005). Archaeological discourses were deeply entrenched in the foundations of imperial claims to Southern Africa. This remained the modus operandi in Zimbabwe from the 1890s to as recently as the 1970s and 1980s.

It would take the independence of Zimbabwe to radically shift imperial visualisations of Zimbabwean history. Two images found in a 1982 book titled *Life at Great Zimbabwe* (Garlake 1983) embody this shift. The images primarily serve as illustrations projecting archaeological findings: one illustrates the process of alluvial mining at Great Zimbabwe and another the process of reef mining. Outside of the historical context in which the images were created and envisioned, a viewer could easily overlook their significance. The images do not just illustrate but re-imagine gold mining as an aspect of life at Great Zimbabwe in the thirteenth century or earlier in a manner that responds to the political discourses of the time. Their re-imagination of the Zimbabwean past demarcates a radical shift in the visualisation of the Late Iron Age.

In this chapter, I track the changing images of gold mining within Southern African archaeological discourses. I show how two images of mining, conceived immediately after Zimbabwe had become an independent nation state in the 1980s, unassumingly enact a counterpoint to imperial visuality. I assess that countervisuality in Southern African archaeology was accessed through the avenues of anti-racist, protest, and resistance art. To underline the chosen images of mining as countervisual to the imperial visuality that precedes them, the violence of imperial visuality is firstly exposed as violence and not science or art; the images are then discussed as alternatives to this violence. Following up on the politics of greeting introduced in the first chapter, I insist that the countervisuality expressed in the images is necessarily achieved through the claiming of an alternative location. A space beyond that designated to African bodies as units of labour. by colonial power to limit and control what such bodies could and could not be, and become.

4.1 Countervisuality in context

African nationalism was the central countervisual force on the African continent in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. The resistance to imperial visuality launched by African nationalism permeated multiple sectors of society, including academic research. As African nationalism gained momentum, in anticipation of the African states winning their independence, there was a growing interest in African history. The post-World War II era saw a growth of museums, antiquities services, and university departments employing archaeologists on the African continent. There was also a demand to teach African and not solely European and colonial history in African schools. Prior to this, the teaching material in colonial schools was aimed at telling children about their place in the empire. The work (that is by now well established) on the development of late precolonial West African states like Benin, Gedi, and Kilwa was introduced into school curriculum on the African continent only on the eve of African states winning their independence from colonial rule, in what was then the British colony of Nigeria (Trigger 1989:137).

While African writers had already started writing up their own histories during the colonial era, scholarly programmes in African History, would come into being in Britain and not on the continent itself (Oyebade 2000). African history was created by a small group of prominent English academics, a few Americans, as well as some Africans form the 1940s and 1950s. In 1960, British academics John Fage and Roland Oliver — of the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London at the time — launched the *Journal of Africa History*, a peer-reviewed academic journal published by Cambridge University Press. The journal was the first history journal to embrace a multidisciplinary approach to the African historical past. It included articles by archaeologists, anthropologists, and linguists, as well as by historians (Watterson 2008) and addressed huge gaps in Africa history.

As academic research began to reflect and vocalise the racism of its time, including gross historical disavowal, it remained the pursuit of a small elite group of white men.[24] This small group would come to shape the history of the African continent for a new generation post colonialism. In archaeological discourse, while archeologists Peter Garlake and Roger Summers worked to reform the research around Great Zimbabwe by fostering a research culture that was localised in

[24] In a study reviewing the Journal of African History from 2008–2012, Amisah Bakuri (2013) found that the dominance of a particular group in the shaping of Africa history, at least in relation to the Journal of African History, had not changed. Bakuri noted that the editorial board and the international advisory board are both dominated by North American and European board members, specifically USA and UK based.

purpose, historians Kenneth Murray and Bernard Fagg were concurrently involved in similar work in Nigeria. Connected — as I will now show — via the British colonial network they all moved within, this small group helped in the steering of resistance to imperial visuality on the African content.

The publications *Life at Great Zimbabwe* and *Great Zimbabwe: New Aspects in Archaeology* are the works of archaeologist and historian Peter Garlake. Garlake was born in the year 1934 in South Africa. His worldview was shaped during the rise of African nationalism. Both he and his work moved between South Africa, England, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, and Nigeria. He studied architecture at the University of Cape Town from 1952 to 1957 and worked as an architect in London and Salisbury from 1957 to 1960. Following his work as an architect, Garlake completed a postgraduate diploma in Prehistoric Archaeology from the Institute of Archaeology at the University of London. From this training in archaeology, he was awarded a research studentship at the British Institute of History and Archaeology in East Africa. Garlake was associated with Dar es-Salaam between 1961 and 1962, where he continued to pursue archaeology. Following this, he was employed as Senior Inspector of Monuments in Rhodesia[25] where he worked closely with archaeologist Roger Summers to reform archaeology in Zimbabwe (at the time Rhodesia). The common denominator in his movement and research was the British Empire and its connected spheres of influence (Garlake1973; Pikirayi 2012).

Before Garlake and Summers started their work in Zimbabwe, Murray was appointed the first Director of the Nigerian Antiquities Service in the British colony of Nigeria in 1943. Prior to this appointment, Murray worked as an art teacher and was interested in indigenous traditions and culture within the schooling system. As the first Director of Nigerian Antiquities, he was quickly joined by trained archaeologist Bernard Fagg. Murray, with the help of Fagg, founded a number of regional museums throughout Nigeria. The work of Murray and Fagg aligned the study of 'traditional art' with an emerging African nationalism. This coincided with World War II and the collapse of colonial holds on the African continent that would follow.

Garlake conducted several excavations related to the Iron Age of South-Central Africa, including Great Zimbabwe. In 1968, Garlake supervised the excavations of a newly discovered group of ruins at Bindura which formed part

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[25] Zimbabwe at this time was referred to as Rhodesia. Rhodesia was the successor state to the British colony of Southern Rhodesia. Following the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980, it is unrecognised as an independent state and considered instead as an extension of the British colony that preceded it.

of the Zimbabwe culture expressed at Great Zimbabwe. From this excavation, alongside the new technologies of radiocarbon dating, it was clear that the ruins of Zimbabwe were of African origin. The state of Zimbabwe rejected this view as did large numbers of the white minority in Zimbabwe. State employees were informed by a secret government order that they would be dismissed if they credited Africans with the Zimbabwean culture. They were also told that they should not discuss the ruins' radiocarbon dates and that they should only distribute guidebooks censored by the Minister of Internal Affairs. In 1970, Garlake left his position as Senior Inspector of Monuments after a dispute with the government over that country's political use of archaeological research (De Baets 2000).

Garlake moved from one English sphere of influence, Zimbabwe, to another, Nigeria. An autobiography of Garlake featured in the 1973 publication of *Great Zimbabwe: New Aspects in Archaeology* — closer in time to Garlake's move — omits the detail of Garlake's exit from Zimbabwe to Nigeria. In biographies with later dates it is noted that Garlake was in fact forced into exile (Koff 1997:50; Trigger 1989:134; Pikirayi 2012:224). One publication argues that Roger Summer and Peter Garlake resigned and left the country as a result of not being able to work under the Rhodesian regime and simultaneously sustain their intellectual integrity (De Baets 2002:71-72).

Southern Africa at the time of Garlake and Summers exit from Rhodesia was a deeply radicalised world practising apartheid and versions of it as a system of order. Even while counter histories were quickly being awakened to, such a world actively hosted violent imperial visualisations of Southern African history to suppress the black majority. Staying in Rhodesia under a government order that asked Garlake and others to go against their own research findings, knowing that government's vicious intentions, would have indeed jeopardised the intellectual integrity of both Garlake and Summers. Their departure from Rhodesia reverberated throughout the region, inspiring revolt within academia. Raymond Inskeep, an archaeology professor in Cape Town, South Africa, and thus a colleague to Garlake and Summers in the broadest sense, left his professorship on the back of Garlake's and Summer's exit.

Garlake's work regarding the proto-history of Rhodesia had relevance within nationalist liberation movements fighting to claim back the continent from colonial rule. In a major conflict of interest, he was employed by the state. He occupied this position as an academic in pursuit of knowledge as well as a professional in service of protecting the unstable foundation of British colonial occupation of Zimbabwe. The justification of British colonial occupation of Zimbabwe can be traced back to the discipline of archaeology and the findings of Theodore Bent (see Chapter

Two). Bent's findings attributing the ruins to an incoming 'Phoenician race' formed an integral part of the foundation of the Rhodesian government (Bent 1892). As state employees, the actions of Garlake and his colleagues Summers and Inskeep were a direct confrontation with the foundations of the Rhodesian state from within. They were the beginning of a clear breakdown in the long-standing alliance between the power of the state and the authority of archaeology.

Although, as shown previously, only a small group of individuals from above if you will, participated in the steering of resistance to imperial visuality on the African content on the academic front, countervisuality against imperial visuality-turned settler-government visuality, was organised both from above and from below. The resistance emanated from liberal elites and intellectuals as well as from organised black labour. The National Union of Mine Workers would become a front for the still-banned Africa National Congress in the 1980s. With growing strength of unions in the region, a 1970s Zimbabwe would have seen Garlake's and his colleagues' actions within this wider context of unionisation and counteraction against the white minority states of Southern Africa.[26] Work unions in South Africa played a key role in the mass mobilisation of black Africans for underground counteraction during apartheid.

As unionisation became a part of work politics in South Africa, Zimbabwe in the 1970s was faced with the Second Chimurenga. The Second Chimurenga, as it is known in Zimbabwe, was the guerrilla warfare or armed liberation war that took place between 1966 and 1979. The war waged resistance against white minority rule based on apartheid. It ended with Zimbabwe's liberation. The Second Chimurenga is seen as a continuum of The First. The First Chimurenga took place at the end of the nineteenth century between 1896 and 1897 in response to the occupation of the Zimbabwe plateau by Rhodes and the British South Africa Company (Mlambo (2005). Garlake's strike action together with his subsequent exile was a clear message of protest to both the Rhodesian and South African governments' claims to Southern Africa. Its enactment is a facet of the countervisual currents within Southern African archaeology challenging imperial visuality.

[26] The modern trade union movement in South Africa was launched in the 1970s. It grew out of so-called advice centres for workers. The majority of them were for White, Coloured, and Indian people as was typical of Southern African operation at the time. The unionisation of workers led to a series of strike actions in 1973. A few years later, amendments were made to the Labour Relations Act which resulted in the establishment of an Industrial Court and the concept of unfair labour practices. This allowed Black unions to be able to organise legally for the first time. Thus the labour union and strike action became an integral part of work and politics in Southern Africa (South Africa in… 2012).

The tensions caused by conflicting imperial and nationalist interests necessarily forced some views to give way to others or confront them head-on. In the cases of Garlake, Summers, and Inskeep, maintaining intellectual integrity meant not wavering on personal interpretations of truth even in the face of the state and its power. With only a handful of 'professional' archaeologists in the region, the resignation of three at the same time would have been seen as significant and connected to the broader mass strike action griping South Africa at the time. As such, it was a clear counteraction to imperial visuality. Garlake would continue to work with movements abroad through varied forms of counteraction.

There is an ease to the way white academics were able to move around in a cosmopolitan landscape set up for their whiteness through the age of European colonialism. There is also an ease to the way in which their successors, also white academics, pressed on with a new agenda just as the tides of history were about to change, boarding the right ship at the right time if you may. Nevertheless academics like Garlake, Summers, and Inskeep did use the privilege that their society provided them with to work against a system that laboured for centuries to put such individuals ahead. Albeit conceivably for self-preservation amongst other more noble motivations, the work of a small group of Southern African archaeologists would become important to both African nationalist liberation movements and the age of nation building that would follow.

4.1.1 Imperial visuality exhumed: New aspects in archaeology

Three years into his exile from Zimbabwe, Garlake worked as a Senior Research Fellow in Archaeology at the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ife in Nigeria. In line with the research that was taking place in that country and in other parts of the continent, Garlake published a scholarly 'I see you' to the Rhodesian government titled *Great Zimbabwe: New Aspects in Archaeology*. When the book was published, in 1973, the leading questions related to the ruins of Zimbabwe remained "was Great Zimbabwe the unaided work of indigenous Africans?" This question had been the leading question since the ruins came to be known to the international community in the late 19th century. *Great Zimbabwe: New Aspects in Archaeology* was written with the aim of finally putting this question to rest.

The claims made in the book challenged the foundations of the whites-only administered British colony of Southern Rhodesia as well as its de facto successor-state Rhodesia, including its then prime minister, Ian Smith. It distanced the authority of archaeology from the power of the state even further than the strike

action of key archaeologists had three years earlier. The book has been described as showing how Rhodesian colonists manipulated research and the interpretation of the Great Zimbabwe Ruins as part of a "colonial agenda to remain 'alien' against the rising tide of African nationalism" (Pikirayi 2012:224).

When *Great Zimbabwe: New Aspects in Archaeology* was published, Garlake argued that the Great Zimbabwe Ruins — the largest of the ruins pertaining to Zimbabwe — could have been sub-Saharan Africa's largest and most dramatic ancient site. The scandal of the situation was to be illustrated by the fact that only a small a group of researchers were invested in the proto-history of that area. At the time of the book's release, there was mounting archaeological knowledge of other related ruins in the area, Garlake having participated in the excavation of some. The question of whether Great Zimbabwe was the unaided work of indigenous Africans, however, remained controversial (Garlake 1973). Moreover, the historical evidence on the origins and purpose of the site remained incomplete and inconsistent. In *Great Zimbabwe: New Aspects in Archaeology* Garlake re-examined and re-assessed the work of early investigators of Great Zimbabwe to account for how this came into being.

The book exhumed archaeology's entanglement with imperial violence, specifically imperial visuality. It exposes how archaeology told the distant history of Zimbabwe with a posture of scientific authority. It shows how archaeology, backed by warring agents in the form of Rhodes and the British South Africa company, attached its purported authority to power, making the association between the two look natural. Most importantly to this study, Garlake uses a number of images. Through them he shows how the association between authority and power was aesthetised. Garlake follows the strategies of imperial visuality used in archaeological discourse and systematically exposes its violence as violence and not as science or art, as it was postulated as being for close to a century.

Great Zimbabwe: New Aspects in Archaeology details how the British South Africa Company — with the help of The Royal Geographic Society and the British Association for Advanced Science — chose Theodore Bent to excavate at Great Zimbabwe with the false aim of finding the origins of the ruins. In reality, Bent's archaeological investigation was a veneer for the prospecting of gold and the claiming of territory for the British Empire. The book engages with the chaos that took place within a decade of the British South Africa Company's occupation of Zimbabwe and The First Chimurenga against this occupation.

Events specifically elaborated on in the book include Bent's pseudo-

archaeological enquiry aimed at legitimating British presence in Zimbabwe; Rhodes' sponsorship of the comprehensive publications of historical records related to Zimbabwe so as to use this knowledge for personal gains in wealth and power; the prospecting of gold in Zimbabwe led by Rhodes and his associates which resulted in the raiding of old graves for gold; the subsequent formation of a company, Rhodesia Ancient Ruins Ltd., to professionalise the raiding of these graves for profit; and, finally, the publishing of archaeological text recording the raiding of ruins as archaeological excavation to cover up the damage that the company was causing to prehistoric remains as news of this gained international interest. Garlake describes and contextualises the raiding of graves of gold by gold prospectors W. G. Neal and G. Johnson noting that "[t]o meet the criticism of his former company and to try and give his work some retrospective scientific respectability, Neal gave all the information on its work to a local journalist, Richard Nicklin Hall, who from this material compiled, The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia". In the book Hall, describes every ruin that had been found by Neal (Garlake 1973:63-75).

Great Zimbabwe: New Aspects in Archaeology is arguably Garlake's most important contribution to archaeology. It remains, long after it was first published, a core academic reference for scholars and conservationists working on the site and other associated sites across Southern Africa (Pikirayi 2012:224; Trigger 1989). In the literature, it is considered the definitive scholarly work in terms of affirming the Shona as the rightful owners of the Zimbabwe ruins, as opposed to a non-African outsider civilisation. The book renewed and sustained a multifaceted counterpoint to imperial visuality initiated by the significant strike action that led to Garlake's exile three years earlier. Most notably for this study, the book exposed the violence of imperial visuality and provided academic research which would enable a shift away from this violence.

4.1.2 Alternatives to imperial visuality: Life at Great Zimbabwe

This section engages with the link between archaeology as a tool for nation-state building and pedagogy. For clarity, this section briefly focuses on the post independence pedagogical practices. Just as archaeology was used as a legitimating strategy in the colonisation of the Zimbabwe plateau, it also played an important role in the reform that followed independence. After gaining its independence in the 1980s, the independent nation state of Zimbabwe dived into a socialist nation-state building project, of which the school syllabus was a key part. Detailing the school curriculum policy in Zimbabwe between 1980 and 2010, Nathan Moyo insists that the dissemination of nationalist historiography

was "[w]ork that had to be done" (Moyo 2014:6). It had to be done as a reaction to Eurocentric perceptions that Africans had no history prior to the arrival of Europeans on the continent. Great Zimbabwe, its history, and the manipulation of this history over the years needed to exist not only in the distant memory of the Zimbabwean people and the imaginary of liberation movements. This knowledge also needed to be spread to the country's official archives and general imagination.

Transformative, postcolonial, and, in recent times, decolonial agendas remain a concern of post-independent African States. South Africa, like Zimbabwe, has historically been subjected to repeat rejections of its history. The argument that South Africa was never an excessively Black country was repeatedly used to justify apartheid and the white occupation of the country during colonialism. The idea that Bantu tribes from Central and East Africa invaded South Africa at the time when Europeans landed at the Cape, in 1652, has long been used to exclude black or Bantu Southern Africans from speaking from an authoritative indigenous position (Gawe and Meli 1990:100). Accepting this argument would leave only a 'minority' of the Khoe-Sān[27] with this speaking position. Some representatives from this community have popularly take up this argument.[28] Taken to its full consequence, this line of argument concludes that the Bantu — the majority of the black peoples of South Africa — have no greater claim to the land of Southern Africa than its white population.

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[27] Khoe-Sān is a general term used to describe the indigenous peoples of Southern Africa who do not belong to the Bantu peoples. The term combines Khoekhoen — the traditionally nomadic pastoralist indigenous population of southwestern Africa — and San, the indigenous hunter-gatherer groups that are the first nations of Southern Africa it is also sometimes spelled Khoisan. I expand on depictions of the Khoe-Sān in Chapter Five of this study.

[28] There has been "Khoisan revivalism" (Sato 2018) in South Africa accompanied by ongoing questions of land and traditional leadership in relation to the Khoe-Sān of South Africa (Cousins 2016).

In line with some discourse around Khoe-Sān leadership, authority and speaking at a debate organised by the Cape Chamber of Commerce and Industry about South Africa's Land Question land, a member of the audience very basically rehashed the core of the argument that the Khoe-Sān are the only authentic voice that can talk about land ownership in South Africa to Political party leader of the Economic Freedom Fighters, Julius Malema: "Mr Malema, you have no authority to talk about land ownership. The Khoe-Sān is the only authentic voice, that can talk about land..." (Woman Tells Malema 2016).

Malema responded by avoiding the 'truth' of blackness and looked at it only as tool used to defeat colonial legacies: "I think you are extremely missing a point. ... I'm not from Europe, my ancestors are not from Europe, this Africa, belongs to Africans and that is what the Khoe-Sān are. Don't isolate yourself my sister, this solidarity will help us to defeat colonialists and Apartheid legacy" (Woman Tells Malema 2016). I expand on the visual implications of this line of argument in Chapter Five.

In 2012, professor in archaeology Innocent Pikirayi expressed the belief that devising a conscious and passionate transformation agenda in archaeology is "something South Africa is embarrassingly failing to embrace, nearly two decades after the 1994 elections that brought an end to apartheid" (Pikirayi 2012:224-225). On the contrary, this is something that the post-independent Zimbabwe recognised and excelled at shaping. For the purpose of shaping a new era in education, the post-independent Zimbabwean school syllabus needed verified research to be disseminated to the people of Zimbabwe. It drew from historiographies like those presented by Garlake's research for its contents. Within this context, Garlake's professional opinion was frequently utilised. After initially protesting against a colonial government set on 'protecting' its people — the white minority — from certain research findings while peddling those that suited it, Garlake's work is now associated with the post-independence reformation of thought in an independent state.

In an obituary of Garlake, Pikirayi, states that "Peter Garlake died on 2 December 2011. He leaves behind an academic legacy that successfully challenged Rhodesian colonial settler ideology and defined a postcolonial archaeological research programme in Zimbabwe" (Pikirayi 2012:224-225). When talking of successfully challenging Rhodesian colonial settler ideology, Pikirayi refers to Garlake's life work in general. In defining a "postcolonial archaeological research programme in Zimbabwe", he refers specifically to the publications *Life at Great Zimbabwe* and *Great Zimbabwe Described and Explained*. Thus, he underscores the importance of the two books in the dissemination of the idea of Great Zimbabwe to the post-independent Zimbabwe nation.

Garlake promoted his body of work between British colonialism in Zimbabwe under the guise of an independent state — Rhodesia, desperately clutching on to power — and a rising African nationalism, fighting against this grip. The imperial era had used the discipline of archaeology and the images it produced to support and justify its missions of domination. With the shift in visuality that took place following the independence of Africa from colonial rule, the discipline of archaeology and the images it produced continued to be used as a tool in nation-building efforts of the postcolonial state.

Life at Great Zimbabwe's front cover states that the book is devised and written by Peter Garlake, illustrated by the Zimbabwe Cooperative Craft Workshop LTD, and published by Mambo Press. On the back cover, the book's copyright belongs to P.S Garlake; illustrations are credited to Michael White, and the hand scripting to Barbra Strachan. The involvement of the Cooperative Craft Workshop as a collective vs Michael White as an individual is unclear. I would have liked to dive

deeper into the cooperative, specifically to find out about the artist(s) that worked on the book, where they drew inspiration from, and how they found and worked with such sources specifically concerning the work with Garlake on reimagining the deep past of Zimbabwe. This is a project that can and should be pursued in future research.

I found little information about White or the The Zimbabwe Cooperative Craft Workshop LTD. in the literature. Based in Harare, the Cooperative illustrated both *Life at Great Zimbabwe* and *Great Zimbabwe Described and Explained* in 1982 and *Early Zimbabwe* in 1983. In a doctoral dissertation entitled 'Following Postcolonial Monuments and Public Sculpture in Zimbabwe', Biggie Samwanda (2013) refers to local artists John Takawira, Barnabus Ndudzo, and David Mutasa of The Zimbabwe Cooperative Craft Workshop. Another point of interest or starting point is a discussion on the history of craft development in Botswana, reflecting on the history and efforts of people working in craft development and on the craft sector in general (Terry 2000). I would have liked to dive deeper into the cooperative, specifically to find out about the artist(s) that worked on the book Life at Great Zimbabwe, where they drew inspiration from, and how they found and worked with such sources specifically in relation to the work with Garlake on reimagining the deep past of Zimbabwe. This is a project that can and should be pursued.

Founded in 1957, Mambo Press, who published *Life at Great Zimbabwe*, started as a press concerned with religious content under the name Catholic Mission Press of the Diocese of Gweru. Envisioned as a supplier of literary needs to the local Catholic missions and schools, the press provided some of the first translations and prints of vernacular liturgical books for students. The name Catholic Mission Press was changed to Mambo Press in 1962. With this name change, the press also expanded its focus from printing exclusively religious literature to including literature that reflected the aspirations of the emerging African nationalism, the state of affairs in race as well as church–state relations. This expanded focus is described on the their website as a commitment to "the broad vista of Christian humanism seen against the background of both traditional and modern Africa" (Mambo Press). The press maintained this commitment; by the time Mambo Press published *Life at Great Zimbabwe*, it had a history of supporting intellectual engagement in the form of critical reviews of current affairs as well as analysis and research related to the objectives of African nationalism.

Published in 1982, just two years after the independence of Zimbabwe, Life at Great Zimbabwe is entangled with the hopes of the new nation it worked to shape. Comprising of thirty-four A4 pages, Life at Great Zimbabwe is a thin

book. It has a clear structure and repetitive layout. Storytelling is a pedagogical strategy used by the book. With an audience ranging from children to the general public, the book is written in accessible language. In a bid to make scientific findings accessible to a younger audience and the general public, archaeological findings are narrated alongside a generous number of illustrations.

As suggested by the title, *Life at Great Zimbabwe* explores life at Great Zimbabwe. It moves past the compulsive question of 'Who built Great Zimbabwe' that dominated the archaeological endeavours of the preceding generation by taking for granted that Great Zimbabwe was the unaided work of indigenous black Africans. Seventeen spreads present seventeen headings which flesh out the theme of the book. Each heading encapsulates an aspect of life at Great Zimbabwe or an aspect related to the archaeological study of the settlement. The book played a significant part in the dissemination of reformed knowledge seen as essential following the independence of Zimbabwe.

It took the independence of Zimbabwe and the accessible format achieved through *Life at Great Zimbabwe* and *Great Zimbabwe Described and Explained* to disseminate to the people of Zimbabwe, a view they, the people, long maintained: one shared by all professional archaeologists since 1914 and that was rendered irrefutable through Garlake's *Great Zimbabwe: New Aspects in Archaeology* by 1973 (Pikirayi 2005). In another way, it took the independence of Zimbabwe to disseminate to the white elites of Zimbabwe, Southern Africa, and the world at large what the people of Zimbabwe had known from the beginning in their opposition to imperial visuality, namely, that Great Zimbabwe was constructed by black African people, specifically, their ancestors (the current inhabitants of that area, the Shona) as opposed to a non-African civilisation (Wright in Hamilton and Leibhammer 2016).

The editorial line taken by its publishers embodied the book's spirit of political reform. The clearest example of this is the fact that *Life at Great Zimbabwe* was published in Shona as well as in English. I read this not just as a matter of logic, printing Shona books for a Shona speaking population, after all English remained and remains an official language in Zimbabwe. I read the choice to print the books in Shona as well as in English as a political statement about whose language will be used to disseminate what knowledge. The book is positioned as servicing a mass grass roots audience, making clear to everyday Zimbabweans what the discipline of archaeology is about, and what it had been studying about the Zimbabwe plateau. These strategies realign the structure of power in favour of the people. In line with that which was unthought of by European imagination before the anti-slavery revolutions and remained an anxiety of the British colony ever since, the people of Zimbabwe confronted and overpowered British colonial rule. They refused to be told who they were and would be.

Although written ten years apart under different political climates, it is beneficial to read Garlake's 1983 *Life at Great Zimbabwe* in relation to the earlier 1973 publication *Great Zimbabwe: New Aspects in Archaeology*. The former can in many ways be seen as a streamlined version of the latter. One was written in the midst of a war for liberation, the other at the dawn of independence from white minority rule. One was written for an academic audience, the other for children and the general public. While the former primarily aimed at contesting colonial and imperial claims of authority through power, the latter aimed at furthering consciousness within a newly independent Zimbabwe. The two publications differ most significantly in their attempts at resolving imperial visuality. While *Great Zimbabwe: New Aspects in Archaeology* exposes the violence of imperial visuality; *Life at Great Zimbabwe* offers alternatives to this violence. Projections of the deep Southern African past — made possible through the scholarly research published in *Great Zimbabwe: New Aspects in Archaeology* — open up new possibilities.

4.2 Countervisuality in practice: The mines of Great Zimbabwe re-imagined

Life at Great Zimbabwe illustrates a Great Zimbabwe in use; it conveys a city with multiple components of life. Because the images in the book move past the compulsive question of "Who built Great Zimbabwe" they offer different possibilities of being and thinking for black Africans postcolonialism. In taking for granted that black Africans were the builders of Great Zimbabwe, *Life at Great Zimbabwe* presents a shift from the images related to the Southern African Late Iron Age Archaeology.

Under the heading "Gold Mining" in the book Life at Great Zimbabwe, Figures 18 and 19 illustrate the process of alluvial and reef mining that took place at Great Zimbabwe. The images re-imagine life in general and gold mining in particular as an aspect of life at Great Zimbabwe in the thirteenth century. Through projections from archaeological evidence about how gold could have been mined in the thirteenth century at Great Zimbabwe, the processes of alluvial mining and reef mining are illustrated alongside text.

A small community works along a riverbed (Figure 18). Some people pan for gold in the water close by. Others, working behind them, dig pits in the ground with hoes, while others still walk towards the riverbed balancing vessels on their

heads. A person sits on the floor with legs stretched under a tree anchoring the image off centre. The person sits overlooking two pots, one on an open fire. They are pictured breastfeeding a small baby. An older child stands in the vicinity watching and playing with an unidentified object.

Similarly, Figure 19 illustrates a small group of people mining rock. A person is pictured inside a gold shaft hammering while another lowers a vessel. A large boulder hangs above the figure reminding the viewer of the dangers associated with mining and the prominence of rocks in the Zimbabwean landscape. In the far distance, the process of weakening rocks with fire before they are split with iron wedges is illustrated. A large stone sits on an open fire. Two figures tend to the fire: one with hands on hips and the other carrying firewood on the head. The figures are drawn side by side using the same mark so that one would not be managing the other. In the foreground closer to the figure inside the mine shaft, more figures are at work. Men and women stand, bend over, and are seated side by side, all holding a tool and hard at work mining for gold.

The small-scale mining illustrated in Figures 18 and 19 is executed within a community where old and young — perhaps relatives, children, lovers, partners, and parents — work within the same vicinity. What is pictured is the utopia of *Dalagubhayi* longed for in *Stimel* (see Chapter Three). Although the text accompanying the images describes reef mining as difficult and dangerous compared to alluvial mining (Garlake 1983:12), both images are a far stretch from contemporary late twentieth-century mining in Johannesburg, the type of mining cursed by Masekela's Stimela.

As poetically described in Masekela's *Stimel* , part of what apartheid did on the African continent was separate the idea of work and home for black bodies by decoupling industry from residence. To be part of industry, black people — black men in particular —had to leave the 'homelands' to go to the city to work. In the programme of apartheid the city, representing modernity and the future, was to remain white and the hinterlands as native reserves that labour would return to. Figures 18 and 19 picture an ambivalent space that is both the hinterland where black bodies are said to exist and the place of industry that is said to be a marker of the future.

The breakdown of communities and family structures for purposes of work, profit, and industry was targeted at black bodies and communities on the African continent. In post-apartheid South Africa, and the world at large, the idea of work, how people work, where people work in relation to where they live, and how work affects family and health are subjects that concern a lot more people. Thus, the image is not only a depiction of the past for black bodies in the thirteenth

century but a vision of what a future could look like for all.[29] In Figures 18 and 19, black bodies are humanised and depicted not as labour units but primarily as people. The bodies in the image are captured both at work but also as busy with the business of life. They perform the daily activities of life with ease, at home, away from the demanding eyes of an overseer, making food and raising children, working for and with their community. Men and women, old and young, are not separated by work but are joined by it.

Colloquially referred to as *magayen* or *amamakhaya* for places of home in Sotho and Xhosa respectively, the 'homelands' of black people were designed in apartheid policies to socially engineer labour, ensuring the economic and political dominance of white Southern Africans.[30] Such homelands also go by the names 'Bantustan', 'native', or 'coloured' reserves and have been euphemistically

[30] During my writing of this study, there was an outbreak of the Coronavirus (COVID-19) disease. The coronavirus outbreak has been labelled a pandemic by the World Health Organisation (Adhanom 2020). With people losing their jobs and others creating home offices, the structure of modern work has more than ever become a subject of serious discussion. Amongst the many aspects of life the pandemic has asked modern work to re-evaluate, the very basic assumptions like where work should take place and the place of family life in relation to work have been questioned.

[31] Homelands are not to be confused with locations or ghettos which, during apartheid, were more like a halfway house. These were spaces that housed black labour in the city before then being returned to where they were from, the homelands.

Figure 18:
Alluvial Mining, Ink on news print, 17 x 7,5cm. In Life at Great Zimbabwe. (Garlake 1982:11).

renamed ‘communal areas’. Post-apartheid, these spaces have become ambivalent spaces, simultaneously zones of exclusion that embody the opposite of the hopes of modernity that cities represent and spaces in which pride for ethnic identity is maintained, symbolised, and expressed freely. In terms of the former, ‘homelands’ are characteristically overcrowded or deserted, ecologically challenged, and unbalanced as a result of the middle-aged leaving in search of better lives in the city. Here the old — mostly women — look after young children, while those of working age move to the city to find occupations (Mlambo 2005, Cousins and Walker 2015). In terms of the latter, homeland pride has made a comeback in South Africa. Proudly Venda bumper stickers are a common sight in Pretoria.[31] Flaunting Zulu pride, supporters of President Jacob Zuma during his 2005–2006 rape trial infamously wore T-shirts with the slogan “100% Zulu Boy”.

After initially having dismissed tribalism, the African National Congress government embraced traditional leaders as potential political allies in the 1990s, and increasingly so in the years that followed. Researchers have asked about the recent state of communal land and traditional leadership in relation to politics. Potent questions include whether the former homelands are spaces for expressing ethnic identity or voting banks for bargaining with the governing party (Buthelezi and Skosana 2019). What such areas have in common, no matter how they are currently rejected or embraced, is that they were designed and implemented as spaces for black bodies under a policy of racial and ethnic segregation.

By reconciling black African bodies and their homelands with industry and the city, Figures 18 and 19 present what seems a paradox to the logic of imperial visuality. Imperial visuality works to visualise a movement from the primitive towards modernity. According to this logic, Masekela’s *Stimel* moves from the hinterlands of Africa towards the City of Johannesburg. Here the City is the symbol of modernity, with the assumption that the hinterland of *Dalagubhayi* is its opposite. Figure 18 and 19 picture black Africans in relation to the Zimbabwe ruins not as workers at archaeological digs or as native informants at expeditions in quests for lost cities — as imperial visuality did — but as figures belonging within those cities. Black bodies work without the visible presence of an overseer prominent in images imagining the distribution of work in the ordering of slaves and cheap labour.[32] Unlike in abusive labour practices inflicted on black bodies in

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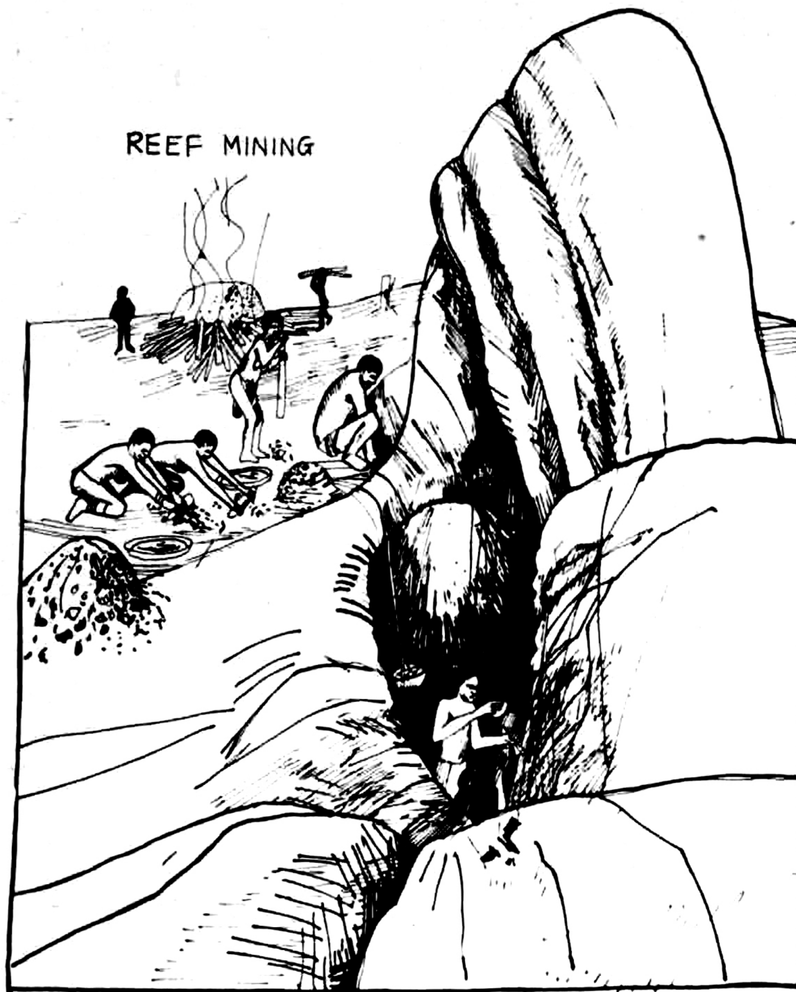
[32] The Venda are a Southern African Bantu people. Considered as a distinct people or group, the Venda are a minority group in post-apartheid South Africa. Venda was a Bantustan or native reserve in northern South Africa designated for this group.

[33] See Mirzoeff’s (2001) engagement with the ordering of slaves in plantation slavery.



Southern Africa during apartheid,[33] there is no apparent master of the farm that flexes his authority on *his* labourers in these visualisations.

The text accompanying Figures 18 and 19 is narrated in a fun and palatable manner maintaining distance from the academic work that informs it. The accounts of the gold raids, general brutality, and impunity of imperial visuality in the 1890s detailed in *Great Zimbabwe: New Aspects in Archaeology* (Garlake 1973) are streamlined for a young audience and the general public (Garlake 1983:12):

> When people think of Great Zimbabwe they always think also of the gold that was found there. ... Foreign traders were

Figure 19:
Reef Mining, Ink on news print, 10 x 12 cm. In Life at Great Zimbabwe.
(Garlake 1982:12).

[34] See Krog's discussion of the relationship to land and labour (Krog 2015).

> envious of the gold riches that they imagined. They never found them because Great Zimbabwe relied much more on cattle.

On the surface and out of context Figures 18 and 19 are very simple drawings. Considered with the texts that accompany them, they could be looked at as pure illustrations projecting archaeological findings for children. Figures 18 and 19, however, do much more than this.

Critiquing the reformation of Zimbabwean historiography for a postcolonial Zimbabwe, Moyo observes that the backlash of a syllabus deployed to serve the socialist nation-state of the 1980s was nationalist historiography, primarily concerned with demonstrating that "Africa had produced organised polities, monarchies, and cities, just like Europe" (Moyo 2014:6). Moyo observes that such historiography eulogised Africa's past without subjecting it to critique. In Zimbabwe, nationalist historiography took the form of tracing the roots of African nationalism and its connections with the uprisings of the First and Second Chimurenga of 1896–97 and the 1960–70s, respectively.

In their presentation of a thirteenth century at Great Zimbabwe, Figures 18 and 19 are partly guilty of praising a utopian African past: tranquil and relaxed without any of the problems of modernity. The strength of the image these two illustrations present, and what is of interest here, is not in what it proposes as the past and how it does this. It is rather how this imagination of the past simultaneously holds value for past, present, and the future. The next paragraphs go on and explain what the strength of the images are at length. Before getting to this, some context sheds light on the significance of the shift presented by the images.

Modern day South Africa has been estimated as the country with biggest income inequality in the world, with the Southern African states of Namibia, Botswana, and Zambia following closely behind (Piketty 2013). Neighbouring Zimbabwe sustains an economic, social, and political catastrophe as a direct result of the crude ways in which it attempted to address land reform post colonialism (Mlambo 2005). South Africa, like many other Southern African states, has not managed to address the disposition of land leading up to, as well as during, its apartheid era in a suitable manner. The mining industry of the late nineteenth century, which visualised land as an economic resource, vividly captured and put into motion the two biggest problems facing post-apartheid South Africa in the twenty-first century, namely economic inequality and unsatisfactory land reform (Piketty 2014, Cousins and Walker 2015, Delius 1983). Economic inequality and unsatisfactory land reform have been responsible for a number of flashpoints

post-apartheid. The Marikana Massacre of 2012 is a clear example of the dramatic turn that such flashpoints can produce.

The Marikana Massacre of 2012 was the killing of 34 striking mineworkers by the South African Police Service. The violence of Marikana flagged the consequences of inequality in Southern Africa. The massacre resulted from a revolt of miners against Marikana platinum mines, just outside of Johannesburg, and its owners, the stockholders of Lonmin plc., with headquarters in London. Miners protested their insufficient wages and the excessive difference between the compensation of mine management and miners; South African Police opened fire.[34] Grappling with the economic drivers and consequences of the Massacre, economist and author of *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, Thomas Piketty (2014), draws parallels between Marikana and earlier occurrences of violence related to the mining industry.[35] Piketty asks whether this kind of violence between labour and capital "belongs to the past, or will it be an integral part of twenty-first-century history" (Piketty 2014: 39).

The images connected with the Massacre are a continuum of the images of protest and revolt connected to countervisuality. Black miners gather on open land in their numbers. Crowds are captured holding sticks, knobkerries, machetes, and knives, their fists are raised up in the air signifying power to the people (Figure 20). A protest placards reads "R12500" (Figure 21), and another "R12500 OR PACK YOUR BAGS ND LEAVE DE COUNTRY VIVA GOLD VIVA!!!" (Figure 22).[36] It is 2012 and not the late nineteenth century, neither is it the twentieth century. Yet the relevance of the 'utopia' is clear. Unjust mining practices, particularly the fair remuneration for work, remains relevant.

By re-imagining gold mining as an aspect of life in Great Zimbabwe in the

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[35] It should be noted that reporting on a Marikana widow's hope for justice eight years after the massacre, reporter Naledi Shange (2020) of the South African *Sunday Times Daily*, when framing the story, reported that several police officers and a security guard were also gunned down or hacked to death in the days leading up to the killings.

[36] At Haymarket Square in Chicago on May 1886 and Fourmies in France on May 1891 police fired on workers striking for higher wages (Piketty 2014: 39).

[37] The miners were striking for an increase in wages from R 6,250 to R 12,500 (Piketty 2014: 39). In December 2020 the exchange value of this request equated to an increase from 500 euros to 1,000 euros a month. To give some perspective on other salaries in South Africa, between 2009 and 2017 the lowest skilled members of the South African police service were paid in a range of R 7, 880 per month and a higher-skilled police officer were paid in a range of 139, 000 per month (Law enforcement salary). In 2020, workers of the lowest skills level were paid c. R 20, 800 per month, senior management and executive employees were paid c. R 115, 000 per month, and the average salary across all levels was R 34,000. (Writter 2020).

thirteenth century, the images in *Life at Great Zimbabwe*, primarily, speculate about the reality of the thirteenth century through projections; the images rebuke the imperial visuality of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century; they also, importantly, offer the possibility of real existence. In the case of Marikana this existence had a price.

The re-imagining of gold mining as an aspect of life at Great Zimbabwe echoes Said's (2014) insistence that the project of Orientalism is not just about exposing European imperialism, racism, and hegemony; it is also not a project of truth; rather it is a project of trying to "make 'our' East, 'our' Orient become ours to possess and direct" (Said 2003:xiv). Some of the *Life at Great Zimbabwe*'s concluding thoughts concord with this aim (Garlake 1983: 12):

> Above all, guided by our knowledge, we must again people the deserted ruins, reconstruct the houses and fill the city with the industry, colour and life that once it had. For by recreating the people and [their] society they made, in our imagination, we will start to understand the past.

Figures 18 and 19 are not about truth. More than distilling or streamlining the scientific findings of *Great Zimbabwe: New Aspects in Archaeology*, the images produced in *Life at Great Zimbabwe* are about making 'our' Africa ours to possess and direct.

The reprimand version of *sawubona* used as a means of claiming back authority from an all-consuming force who in looking refused to see, is claimed from the same position from which 'our' Africa is also claimed, possessed, and directed. *Life at Great Zimbabwe*, being devised and written by a 'professional' archaeologist; and being illustrated Cooperative Craft Workshop, is an important aspect of the book. This quality of co-operation between power and the people is one that the book needed to possess to be taken seriously at the time it was published. In a postcolonial independent Zimbabwe, the book needed to be easily accessible to the general public but also come from a credible source within archaeology. By the time *Life at Great Zimbabwe* was published, Southern Africa had a long-speckled history of fabricated claims and visualisations from 'archaeologists' about the origin of the settlement. Many of such claims had the political endorsement of the Rhodesian Government and were problematically accepted as credible by those whom they benefited.

As discussed in the second chapter, the literature historicising Great Zimbabwe tends to make a strong distinction between the first explorers,

Figure 20:
Simphiwe Sibeko, Protesters sing as they hold weapons outside a South African mine in Rustenburg 100km northwest of Johannesburg, 2012. (Fletcher 2012).

Figure 21:
Photographer unknown, R12500 or Pack Your Bags Nd Leave De Country Viva Gold Viva, 2012. (Forslund 2018).

Figure 22:
Photographer unknown, Police Advance After Shooting Striking Workers With Live Ammunition on 16 August, 2012. (Tau 2016).

archaeologists, and ‘professional archaeologists’, ‘amateur archaeologist’, ‘pseudo-archaeologists’, and the like. Such distinctions are repeated so often that they often overcompensate for the discipline’s historic blunders as if to distance ‘real’ archaeology from the destruction that early archaeology participated in. *Professional* archaeologists in Southern African archaeological discourse are thus distinguished from archaeologists in general.

As well as supporting the claim that great Zimbabwe was indeed of African origin and not wavering in this opinion, it is Garlake’s opinion as a *professional* archaeologist that would give his work currency in the decades that followed the fall of colonial rule in Zimbabwe. *Life at Great Zimbabwe* was devised and written by Garlake but illustrated by Michael White and The Zimbabwe Cooperative Craft Workshop LTD. Over a decade and throughout the course of his career Garlake integrated the disciplines of visual art, architecture, history, and archaeology into his work while also allowing such disciplines to shape the ways in which he worked. Garlake stands apart from his predecessors in this conscious consideration of multiple disciplines. Most important for this study, he is sensitive to the importance of visual sphere and the speaking position of the author.

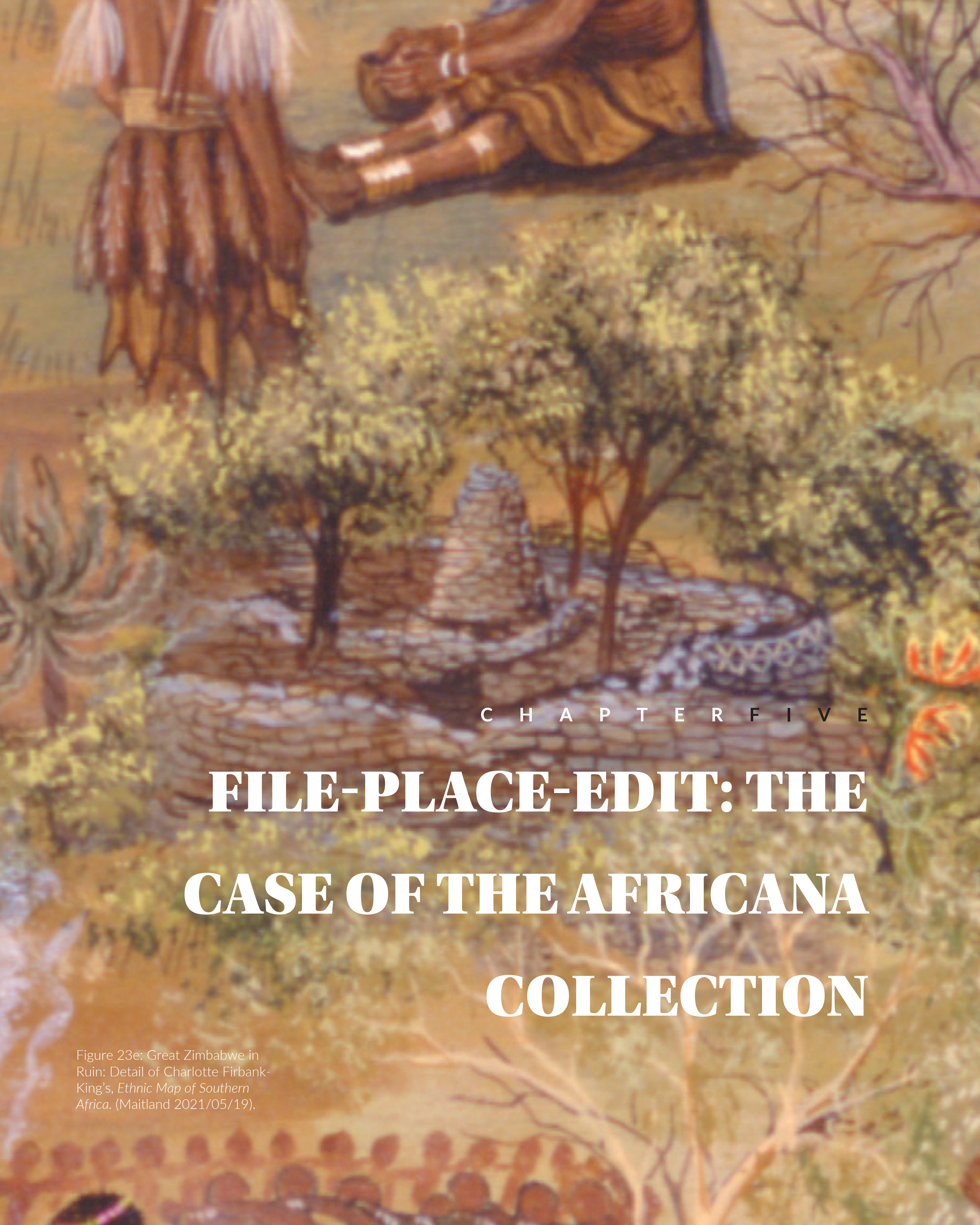
The speaking position accessed in *Life at Great Zimbabwe* is not the authoritative voice of the archaeologist but one of the people; arguably accessed through collaboration. By allowing this shift to happen, the images produced are put together from a different point of view. From this point of view, the reprimand version of ‘I see you’ can be fully claimed. *Great Zimbabwe: New Aspects in Archaeology* is arguably Garlake’s most important contribution to archaeology. It would, however, take the political climate of a 1980s Zimbabwe and the accessible format achieved through *Life at Great Zimbabwe* to disseminate this knowledge on a mass scale with authority as well as appropriate tone.

Southern Africa’s path to modernity was and remains anchored by mining and the mining industry. Images of Southern African mining produced by and through imperial conquests such as those led by Rhodes and the British South Africa Company aestheticised the path to modernity. The re-imagination of gold mining as an aspect of life at Great Zimbabwe in the thirteenth century is a radical shift in the visualisation of Zimbabwean history. Within the context of African nationalism, the images contest imperial visualisation of Zimbabwean history which precede them. As such, Figures 18 and 19 mark modernity’s production of a new way of seeing, they produce the modern imaginary.

4.3 Conclusion: A re-imagination of life

The illustration in the book *Life at Great Zimbabwe*, the events leading up to the publication of *Great Zimbabwe: New Aspects in Archaeology*, and the publication of both works– together — perform a multifaceted counteraction to imperial visuality. In the context of a growing African nationalism, this counteraction displaced the foundations of imperial visuality in Zimbabwe. Firstly, it depicted the reality of the conquest of Zimbabwe, exposing its use of archaeology as a tool of war and not science or art. Next, it confronted the fascist claim that only the leader (or hero as discussed in Chapter Three) could resolve the problems of modern society by offering different possibilities of real existence. This was achieved by claiming a space from which existence can be affirmed with an 'I see you', or what Mirzoeff (2011, 2016) refers to as claiming the right to look and not just behold the leader. The first step was achieved by the book *Great Zimbabwe: New Aspects in Archaeology*. The next was achieved by the images produced in *Life at Great Zimbabwe*.

Figures 18 and 19 in *Life at Great Zimbabwe* re-imagine life in general and specifically gold mining as an aspect of life at Great Zimbabwe in the thirteenth century. The images in the book are tasked — complicatedly so — with rebuking the imperial visuality of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century as well as speculating about the reality of the thirteenth century through projections. They fulfil both these tasks. More than this, as I have shown, the images serve as imaginations of an alternative to the realities of colonialism and apartheid in the post liberation climate of Zimbabwe. The images simultaneously imagine what freedom may have looked like in the past. The images are laced with the hopes of how a freedom to come may look. They are thus not only about the past but grapple with the future too — a space that would contrast the violent reality of colonial mining. This contestation of the future of the Southern African is one that continues as new impressions are created based on older images.



C H A P T E R F I V E

FILE-PLACE-EDIT: THE CASE OF THE AFRICANA COLLECTION

Figure 23e: Great Zimbabwe in Ruin: Detail of Charlotte Firbank-King's, *Ethnic Map of Southern Africa*. (Maitland 2021/05/19).

Archaeological findings contain an array of images. 'Artistic impressions', reconstructions, or projections — the primary concern of this study — are one kind of image alongside many others, including images produced by surveying instruments, photographs of archaeological sites, and images depicting artefacts. All such images work together in reifying a pixilated past. I have throughout this study tried to bring attention to and articulated the Southern African past as an abstracted past; and in the language of the digital age that this study takes place in, a past which is pixilated. That is, an image broken up into visible pixels indicating a loss of original quality in image editing software, a subject I engage with in Chapter Seven. A pixilated image is one in need of reification. Through the process of reification, particularly in relation to images related to historical pasts, an archive with authority is created, curated, and re-created. The images that appear in publications of archaeological findings are different from all other depictions of the past because of the authority that such images hold — even only as projections or 'artistic impressions'.

In my travels, I have found that the images that appear in archaeological findings, particularly the 'artistic impressions', project the past repeatedly travel back to archaeological sites. They are used at these sites to make sense of what can, frequently, barely be seen. At times, the images travel as they are; other times original images are updated with more recent findings. In some instances, images that are harder to trace travel into assemblages. Here, older images are file-place-edited anew as cut-outs or backdrops to more speculative work. Images like these nevertheless use the authority of archaeological discourse. They thus add to the visual archive of the Southern African past. New impressions based on older images inherit or appropriate the authority of the images they reference. Such is the image dealt with in this chapter.

5.1 An image at the University of Pretoria's Africana Collection

All across an image at the University of Pretoria's Africana Collection, "tribal" figures are placed beside "tribal" homesteads and fixed to particular geographic locations — that is, figures are represented in a manner that visually locates them as belonging to specific ethnic groups. In a small section of this image, a woman stands smoking a long pipe with a baby on her back. Tilted hip, body weighted to the right, her chin angled slightly to the ground, there is an ease about her posture. With her right hand, she reaches into a bag hanging from her left — possibly putting away the tools she used to light her pipe. She is pictured drawing in smoke. Her straw-sucking-like technique transforms her face into a pout. One imagines smoke rolling into the hollow of her mouth and filling its depths with toasted aroma. She and her pipe are one body. A puff of white cloud comes out of the pipe's chimney. She wears a clay face-mask, with a dry white finish. The baby on her back wears a similar mask, also with a dry white finish. The mask is heaviest around the eyes and lower jaw, emphasising the facial structure, particularly the openings of the eyes. With no pupils visible, these openings appear as deep hollow caves: doorways into inhabitable space—a space walled off by the circular structure of the skull.

Elaborately decorated, the older masked figure wears a white layered ankle-length maxi skirt with black striped patterning towards its bottom hemming. Beaded black cloth wraps the woman's head. Bracelets run down her arms, others stick out from under her skirt. Ochre-brown fabric wraps around her breasts and fastens the masked baby to her back. A web of beadwork covers her upper shoulders and collar bone—beads tailored to the curve of neckline. They rest on her body like skin. A similarly dressed figure following an ochre colour scheme sits to the left, also smoking a long pipe. The breath of the two bodies appears aligned. Their chimneys smoke in tune. Both wear oversized head-wraps that sit on their heads as roofs do on the walls of houses.

Behind the two figures, above them on the picture plane, are two rondavels. *uDhaka* — clay soil, crushed rock, and sand cemented with cow dung — is solidified to create a circular dwelling. A foundation roots the house to the ground. From it, an architectural skeleton is rammed together and plastered with the stone, sand, soil, and cow dung mixture. Following the circular foundation, an enclosure with a doorway appears raised from the ground. A conical thatched roof covers the circular structure creating an inhabitable space. The outer walls of the dwelling are smeared with clay leaving a sandy finish. Crushed pigments from clay turn the façade of the dwelling space into a replica of the woman's face and that of her baby's. Similarly, the lines at the bottom of the woman's skirt correlate with the thick black line emphasising the foundation of the dwelling space.

Figure 23a:
Woman and Child: Detail of Charlotte Firbank-King's *Ethnic Map of Southern Africa* (Maitland 2021/05/19).

A plane of colour, overlaid with horizontal lines gravitating toward its bottom appears on clothing, on flesh, and on the built environment. This iconic pattern, symbolic of a cultivated identity, is fixed to a particular geographic location and used as a key in the claiming of visual space. Possession and belonging are claimed through visual code. The dwelling space belongs to the figures around it, not only through proximity but also by means of iconic patterning and marks. These marks have become iconic in the process of "tribing and untribing the archive" (Hamilton and Leibhammer 2016).

The term "tribing and untribing the archive" is adopted from historians, Carolyn Hamilton and Nessa Leibhammer (2016) to describe the processes in which societies encountered by Europeans in Southern Africa were marked out as tribal and traditional and sharply distinguished from modernity. Moreover, how they were denied a changing history and archive, and attributed with a timeless culture. Hamilton and Leibhammer underline the combination of tribe and tradition as continuing to tie modern South Africans to ideas about the region's remote past as primitive, timeless, and unchanging. They also stress that any knowledge or understanding of the past before European colonialism remains unstated, even denied, in the face of a limited or narrowly prescribed archives and resilient stereotypes. To counter such narratives, Hamilton and Leibhammer aim to make visible a scattered archive of material culture related to the Southern African past. They seek to release images and other materials from the trap of being looked at and understood only as tribal into settings that enable them to be used as resources for thinking critically about identity in the long past and the present (Hamilton and Leibhammer 2016). The term "tribing and untribing the archive" (Hamilton and Leibhammer 2016) and the strategies around the identity trap associated with images related to the Southern African past find a home in this section of my analysis.

In previous chapters, I have dealt with visuality as a complex of order built on the sovereign right to look, where the acts of looking and seeing create the world as it is known and felt to be. I have calibrated Mirzoeff's decolonial framework for visual culture for the Southern African context on which and from which I focus. Applying this calibrated framework to a curated group of images I have — like Mirzoeff — set out to get to terms with how, against all traditions of photojournalism and other modes of visual revelation that came with the visual turn, visuality continues to work as a weapon or tool of authority and not against it, as some developments within the visual turn had promised was possible. With the visual turn, — described in Chapter One as distinguished by the advent of visual culture as a site of power and social control (Mitchell 1994a; 1994b; Margaret 2005) — photojournalism, for instance, became a tool of resistance against authority in South Africa during the twentieth century. The

power of images was well understood and feared by the apartheid government. Documentary photography was illegal and, to prevent possible leaks of everyday life to the international world, foreign journalists were eventually banned from the country. Nevertheless, photojournalism became a powerful way in which messages about the oppressive situation in the country were exposed both to South Africans and the world at large (Bianucci [sa]).

The image dealt with in this chapter — an artwork currently hanging at the reception of the University of Pretoria's Africana Collection — presents a visualisation of belonging, the right to space and mobility in the long Southern African past. The image poses as a visualisation of a Southern African distant past focused on belonging in space. It uses archaeological impressions placed into the image alongside other images, like a collage, to achieve this. Although the image postures as a visualisation of Southern Africa's long past, in its use of iconic patterning to ascribe ethnicity and belonging it is directly linked to colonial processes of 'tribing and untribing the archive'; the image brings to life the desire, in colonial visuality, to distil political identity into a single visual code or print, achieved later in the visuality of the military-industrial complex using fingerprints in biometric forms of identification in public administration.[38]

The image at the reception of the University of Pretoria's Africana collection therefore highlights and is underpinned by colonial administrative reasoning. Understanding the image as making visible colonial administrative reasoning — as opposed to solely a representation of belonging and the right to space, belonging, and mobility[39] in the long Southern African past — exposes how visuality, following the immediate downfall of apartheid in South Africa, struggled to dream Southern African history anew without slipping into colonial tropes and reasoning. An embodied account of how to get to the image located in the main library at the University of Pretoria, through what I refer to as Pretoria's luscious educational complex, further illuminates this point. By juxtaposing Pretoria's academic block, fully engulfed by the military-industrial complex, with an image highlighting and underpinned by colonial administrative reasoning, the continuities between the two are made visible and broken.

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[38] Professor of History, Keith Breckenridge, deals with this line of research. Breckenridge (2014) traces how the origins of the biometric identification systems being developed around the world — most rapidly in countries across Africa and Asia — can be found in a century-long history of biometric government in South Africa. He follows how such systems affect the workings of democracy and authoritarianism.

[39] The right to mobility despite your race or ethnicity is an important one in Southern Africa. Apartheid South Africa created a situation in which freedom of mobility due to race and ethnicity was not always possible. Thus, when thinking about the right to belonging in space it is also important to think about the right to mobility.

5.2 The grass at the University of Pretoria's gates

As the current capital of post-apartheid South Africa, Pretoria has a potent geographic and urban history. What I present here, is a personal account of my experience and observation; it is my walking the University of Pretoria's main campus, informed by the practice of everyday life. The emphasis is on an embodied experience and the practice of everyday life (de Certeau 2011).

The grass at the University of Pretoria (UP) is kept a lush green. This manicured look is maintained by gardeners using manure and timed underground irrigation systems. The hissing of raised sprinkler heads is part of the beat of the campus. Students are often disrupted from naps and lunches on the grass by pop-up sprinkle heads that rise from the ground unannounced, spitting water from left to right. In South African urban vernacular, grass together with cheese refers to a suburban manicured life of wealth, access, and excess. A 'cheese girl' or 'cheese boy' comes from 'grass' in reference to the opulence of manicured lawns of grass and cheese as an expensive, rich commodity consumed by a wealthy few who can afford lunches on grass. The University of Pretoria and its surrounding suburbs take grass and gardening in general very seriously.

In front of the Merensky Library[40] at the University of Pretoria is a forest of flat top Acacias. It canopies over those walking below. The Acacia tree is indigenous to the Pretorian Savana and more regionally to the water-stressed country of South Africa. In particular postcard imaginations of the African safari, lions lounge in the distance between overgrown dry, brown grass and scanty trees which appear here and there. In these ideas of the African landscape, it is the flat top Acacia

[40] Hans Merensky (1871–1952) was a South African geologist, prospector, scientist, conservationist, and philanthropist. His philanthropic work came on the back of a fortune gained in prospecting for diamonds in the Southern African western Cape. Merensky sponsored the building of many schools, libraries, hospitals, charities, and cultural organisations, including the Merensky Library at the University of Pretoria (Hans Merensky 2019). The Hans Merensky Foundation (The Hans Merensky Foundation [sa]), frames Merensky as indebted to South Africa, quoting his speech at the opening of the Merensky Library at the University of Pretoria as affirmation of his indebtedness: "This country has given to me so much, that I am only too happy to be allowed to help it to develop in some way, and I am grateful to be able to give back to it a fraction of what it has given to me" (Introduction). In Chapter Three, I discuss the mining that resulted from Merensky's geological work. Hans Merensky was also the son of Berlin missionary Alexander Merensky, who had facilitated Carl Mauch's trip to Great Zimbabwe. I discussed Mauch's drawing of the hilltop at Great Zimbabwe (Figure 13) in Chapter Two.

that populates the imagination.[41] At the University of Pretoria, Weaverbirds birds ferociously nest under the arms of a number of these trees in early September. Their presence turns the paved corridor below into the bickering of chirps from above. Not too far away, jacaranda trees stretch their arms toward Acacia trees.

The jacaranda tree flowers an iconic purple in late Spring. Watery purple flowers drip from trees showering the city purple. As a result of this spectacle, Pretoria is affectionately known as the purple city. Indigenous to the tropical and subtropical regions of the Americas, the jacaranda was introduced to Southern Africa in the nineteenth and early twentieth century with the expansion of colonial gardening. The jacaranda continues to be a prominent feature in garden cultures with British colonial influences where the climate allows. In Southern Africa it populates cities, most notably in South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Zambia. In developments of the twenty-first century, the tree is marked by the Department of Forestry, Fisheries, and the Environment in South Africa as a 'category three' declared invader plant because of the invasive way in which it uses up scarce water supplies and displaces indigenous plants in this region. The Department of Forestry, citing conservation concerns, declared that -though an iconic symbol of Pretoria- no additional jacaranda would be planted, propagated, sold, or transported in and around the city in the future (Denny-Dimitriou 2010).

The history of the jacaranda recalls the history of colonialism and its attempts to control space with preconceived understandings. The current academic and military-industrial complexes are entangled with this colonialism and its legacies. Artist Leora Farber, exploring the life of Bertha Marks, makes this point about Mark's Rose Garden: "Perhaps in response to Bertha Marks's homesickness … not only the rose garden but also the house was created according to English conventions. Like other upwardly mobile Victorians who had made their money in South Africa, Marks emulated the lifestyle of the English upper classes and was keen to acquire the trappings of gentility" (Faber 2012:57). Similarities could be drawn to the jacaranda tree's propagation across Southern Africa. A discussion of Pretoria's trees relates to my discussion of an image at the University of Pretoria's Africana collection by making clear the legacy of colonialism in a post-apartheid Pretorian urban landscape.

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[41] Examples of this imagination are the books of author Kuki Gallmann such as *I Dreamed of Africa* (1991). Gallmann's memoir *I Dreamed of Africa* was interpreted into a Hollywood film with the same title in the year 2000. The translation of the book *I Dreamed of Africa* (Gallmann 1991) into film *I Dreamed of Africa* (Hudson 2000) further perpetuates the romantic vision of Africa established in the book, tropes like the Acacia tree are flashed scene after scene.

The University of Pretoria attracts a good population of birdlife because of its lush gardens and those of its surrounding suburbs. Hadedas, pigeons, weavers, and Indian myna birds are a noticeable presence on all its surrounding campuses. The range of bird and plant life romantically represents an urban jungle at peace with itself. The arrangement recalls the highly critiqued idea of the rainbow nation, particularly its symbolic use of indigenous and alien plant life. South Africa's nation-building efforts in its early years of 'transition' and later 'transformation' were inaugurated in a language mobilising nature, animal, and plant life to describe the various peoples that made up South Africa.

Nelson Mandela's 1994 inaugural speech stated, "I have no hesitation in saying that each one of us is as intimately attached to the soil of this beautiful country as are the famous jacaranda trees of Pretoria and the mimosa trees of the bushveld" (Mandela 1994).[42] This reference to nature in the building and defining of a people was later taken up with a differing emphasis by Thabo Mbeki in his 1996 *I am an African* speech at the passing of the new Constitution of South Africa.[43] It has been argued the rainbow has faded, having promised inclusive dreams and delivered excluded realities (Khushal 2020). Some question if it ever existed, criticising it as a symbolic multi-culturalism that presented unity and equality at the expense of engaging several material issues in the country (Myambo 2011).

Post-apartheid South African universities, as have many of the country's institutions, have undergone a massive transformation process in line with post-apartheid South African policy. The shift in visuality that comes with the fall of apartheid has in recent years pushed universities to reconsider the symbols and artwork on their campuses. Universities have by and large employed the visual arena in service of such agenda. Preceding the most recent Rhodes Must Fall movement that would lead to the removal of the Rhodes statue at the University of Cape Town, Brenda Schmahmann (2013) wrote *Picturing Change: Curating Visual Culture at Post-Apartheid Universitie* , examining the reconsideration of the signs and symbols of power and domination at post-apartheid universities.

[42] Mandela's inaugural speech was held in Pretoria at the Union Buildings in close proximity to the University of Pretoria. Pretoria is the seat of the South African Government. It is the former apartheid capital and now post-apartheid capital. Pretoria has a large diplomatic core — diplomatic residencies, embassies, and consulates surround the University of Pretoria. It also has a large civil servant middle-class. In apartheid South Africa the idea of going, walking towards, and reaching Pretoria — the capital city and heart of Afrikaans nationalist ideology — is a recurring allegory, captured liturgically in songs of protest. The wider Pretoria much like the University f Pretoria's main campus is surrounded by jacaranda trees.

[43] Mbeki later picked up on this in his *I am an African* speech at the United Nations University (Mbeki 1996). The speech launched Mbeki's ideas about 'The African Renaissance' which would be cultivated during his succession of the presidency from Mandela.

Schmahmann fleshes out the tensions in several buildings and artworks at South African universities, including the Rhodes statue at the University of Cape Town. Following the Rhodes Must Fall movement and the eventual removal of the Rhodes statue in Cape Town, many public institutions in Britain and America are continuing the conversation about signs and symbols of power and domination in public spaces postcolonialism.

Walking around the University of Pretoria, I am aware of discourse around its political charge. The visuality of colonial order laced within the natural world makes that order inescapable. Political drama is embodied by the landscape, making sure there is no outside to visuality. Everything within that landscape becomes a character with a visual impact on the meaning of the space.

I am at the University of Pretoria, South Africa, conducting field research. I left Potsdam, Germany, — where I was based for most of my study — to embark on this research after completing a draft of Chapter Two. A section of Chapter Two examines the five books that present the archaeological excavations related to LIAS between 1892 and 1937. In Potsdam, I had access to all but one of the books through the internet archive: Fouché's 1937 *Mapungubwe, ancient Bantu civilization on the Limpopo: reports on excavations at Mapungubwe (Northern Transvaal) from February 1933 to June 1935*. In Potsdam, I learned that The Merensky Library's *Africana Collectio* at the University of Pretoria keeps a copy of this book. I landed in South Africa, and one of my first missions was to access this book.[44]

The Africana collection was founded in 1934. It is, to date, the most extensive collection at the Merensky Library. Since the 1980s, the emphasis of the collection is on the Southern African region with a special interest in Pretoria. In line with this focus, the Africana Collection holds the Fouché book documenting one of the first archaeological excavations of Mapungubwe. In the early 1930s, students of the university carried out the excavation; today the University of Pretoria curates the Mapungubwe Collection which houses some artefacts found at the time.

The Merensky is a library I know well and a collection I have visited more than once. The entrance of the Merensky is situated close to several key locations on campus: the university's main entrance, its towering Human Science Building (HSB), and the main cafeteria. My mission is executed during the semester break,

[44] In 2021, the University of Pretoria, specifically The Mapungubwe Archive in collaboration with the Department of Library's Special Collections and Digital Scholarship Services, announced that due to multiple requests for access the publication, a digitised copy is now available online (Mapungubwe: An ancient civilization 2021)

so what is usually swarming with students is light and airy. In these conditions, I hear the shuffling of shoes and the chirping of birds in trees and on lawns close by.

Two security guards are seated at the library's gates when I enter. I know for sure I am in South Africa. I have been told while in Potsdam, Germany, that the presence of security on South African campuses is perceived as threatening — this is true in some ways but to me it is a familiar place, and I feel at ease. I left South Africa for Germany at the height of the Rhodes Must Fall movement in 2015.[45] The movement initiated a global socio-political protest which has spread to cities worldwide and is characterised by the occupying, modifying, and pulling down of monuments in public spaces. In the time I have been away, there have been several university student protests connected to the movement. The Rhodes Must Fall movement of 2015 has been said to have triggered other movements such as the 2017 'Fees Must Fall' protests. In the midst of protests, the University of Pretoria has tightened its security. A new security feature is the addition of biometric identification devices at its gates. The devices work to make sure that only the registered owner of a student card is let into campus.[46] Officially, the installation of biometric identification devices at the university's gates was initiated in the first semester of 2015 to upgrade what the university claims was an outdated access card system. Apparently, the phasing out of this system only coincidently coincided with the 'Fees Must Fall' protests.

The addition of biometric identification devices at the university's gates requires that the holder of a student or faculty member identity card swipe their card, then verify this card with their fingerprint. A cardholder also uses the card to access other controlled areas on campus like the library. With my card, I can access the Visual Arts Department where I am registered and the main library which houses the university's general catalogue, but not the Law Library. I would need authorisation for this.

The University of Pretoria knows how many hours I spend on campus, when

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[45] In March 2015, an activist movement 'Rhodes Must Fall' demanded and succeeded in pulling down the Rhodes sculpture that towered over campus at that university. In South Africa, it sparked the Fees Must Fall campaign that focused on that country's high university fees. Students asked that the country subsidise all university costs, making university institutions accessible to all.

[46] On the ground, there are murmurs that protests are being filled by students or private persons that do not belong to the University, and the student card biometric identification system works towards curbing this breach of security.

I arrive, what time I leave, and the times I return books. The University of Pretoria could easily track all my movements on campus. In smart cities that collect and share large sums of data, all of this could be used by the university in many ways to make life easier – we are told. The university is not alone in such efforts (Breckenridge 2014).[47]

At the University of Pretoria, thinking back to my time at the University of Potsdam reminds me that I have never seen a security guard on duty in Potsdam. This is not to imply that Potsdam, Germany, is unfamiliar with the security complex of gates and biometric identification that engulfs me in Pretoria. Potsdam, Berlin, and Hamburg, which have become Germany for me, have access-controlled doors for their own set of threats. Their set of threats are just not perceived to be at the University of Potsdam. I try not to focus on this when moving around in Germany. Still, there are several breeding grounds for my imaginings of where the threat could come from when I am in that country. I cannot help but feel threatened, for instance, by the presence of police officers at train stations. Their presence reminds me of that which is being kept out; who is being kept out. Such moments illustrate the nature of the peace I live within. In these moments, the Schengen border is not an imaginary place far away at the South African Embassy in Pretoria or the airport check-in but here, in front of me, at the Central Station. In such moments I cannot help but feel threatened because the border feels threatened. As I write, a shortlist of threats for me includes mass public gatherings, a Christmas market,

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[47] In 2016 South Africa's Department of Home Affairs launched the Automated Biometric Identification System (ABIS) in a bid to keep up to date with the 4th industrial revolution and its demand for big data to keep a good handle on the delivery of services, the economy, and security (Gigaba 2018). ABIS was established as an upgrade to the outdated and manually operated Home Affairs National Identity System. ABIS is designed to serve as a single source for biometric authentication of citizens and non-citizens across state institutions and private sector entities. The system integrates information systems, inside and outside Home Affairs. This allows for a single holistic view of the status of individuals. Along with the implementation of smart Identity Documents (smart IDs) the system promised to benefit the delivery of services, the economy, and security, notably through technologies allowing for seamless verification.

In 2018 First National Bank (FNB) announced that the latest version of its mobile app would make use of facial biometrics, allowing customers to open a bank account using a selfie. New biometric technology and integrated systems, which seamlessly verify selfies loaded onto the FNB Banking App against records of the Department of Home Affairs, as well as new verification requirements, have made this possible. The bank explains that the upgraded app "allows you to switch with a selfie, schedule your courier card delivery and verify your address using maps, while keeping track of your application process with in-app messages all from one app" (First National Bank 2018). Similar systems are used by Apple making biometric forms of identification a part of our everyday lives, integrating fingerprint and facial recall features into our phones (Breckenridge 2014).

the Beyoncé concert in Berlin, and the packed train ride home. My sister whispers, “Sikho, you know, this is the perfect spot for those attacks” — I know! I repeat her fears as mine in hushed tones: “Shhh” she hushes me even further, “don’t say it so loud!”. On 19 December 2016, a truck was deliberately driven into the Christmas market next to the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church at Breitscheidplatz in Berlin, leaving 12 people dead and 56 others injured. I had recently moved to Berlin at the time and frequented Christmas markets. I later moved to Potsdam, half an hour away; this had to do with the practicality of life and not the threat to Berlin. Potsdam is the capital of the state of Brandenburg and directly borders the German capital of Berlin to the east.

In Potsdam, on what feels like an ordinary day, the city centre comes to a standstill while I am in train. The deviation of my tram from its usual route sends me on to the web for answers. I read Google’s translated headlines: “Residences are asked to vacate as specialists defuse a bomb from the Second World War”; “Seven duds suspected to be still present in Potsdam from the bombing raids of the city on April 14, 1945”. On most days in Germany, I could be walking on grass anywhere, on days like this, I am reminded of exactly where I am. I am reminded of a history of turmoil and war.

“Are you not scared of living in Brandenburg?” I was asked several times when I initially moved to Potsdam from Berlin. Concerned colleagues warned me to be careful, especially now with the rise of the right: “It’s the old east, and there are still Nazis on some of its streets”. My balcony in Potsdam faces the lawns of the police headquarters in Brandenburg. My backyard is at the foot of the Potsdam forest. From time to time, I hear what sounds like a police drill – the shouting of unintelligible instructions over an intercom, the landing of a helicopter. All these moments are breeding grounds for my imaginings of where the threat could come from when I am in Germany and illustrations of the cultivated nature of the space I live within.

Here, at the University of Pretoria’s library gates, I am not threatened by the two security guards in front of me. Moving around Pretoria and Johannesburg can at times be a curation of movements between pockets of ‘secure spaces’. This is visible in the number of keys and cards related to a particular constellation of activity. I know my constellation and can pre-empt deviations. I know the difference between a car guard and a security guard; the security guard at the library gates; and the private guards that were added on campus at the height of the Fees Must Fall movement in a bid to tighten university security. I can tell ordinary police officers apart from an officer from the metro police. My sense of alarm responds accordingly. In the presence of these two security guards, I feel

relaxed. Having studied at this campus, I know them well, and they know me. They have been the security guards at this library for many years. They are an extension of the life on campus and as non-threatening as all these other lives.

The eyes of the guards greet me with a phrase I heard earlier on in the day from another encounter, "*Methl'amaDala*!", "Old-eyes!" for someone you have not seen in a long time. I return the exclamation and explain that indeed I have been away. "Germany!", they repeat in excitement. My eyes have travelled with theirs, and in seeing me, they now see all that I have seen. I am now a part of their story as they are a part of these pages. "We're so happy that we too can go to those faraway places"[48], they agree as they release me from questioning.

I swipe my student card, presenting my identity to a set of glass turnstiles and walk into the library. I walk through the second set of turnstiles, in place to detect stolen books. A sign reads, "Quiet in the Library please"; another tells me "This is a surveillance zone", and I am being watched. I stand at an open computer and log on to the university's intranet with my student number and password and then the library's catalogue to locate the book I am looking for: Available, Merensky Library Special Collection Africana, Level 5, ZA 968.203 MAPUNGUBWE. I jot this down in a book and make my way towards the book.

Walking across the open floor in an automated fashion, I continue my observations of the university's art collection. I walk up to the Africana collection and arrive at an empty reception desk. While waiting for assistance, my eyes dart around the room. Off-white textured wallpaper and wooden furnishing make the room feel dated. A bench and stool from the early days of the campus are on display at the door — perhaps a reference to the age of the collection, I conclude. The printer in the room makes a humming noise that fills the space. Hanging on the left of the reception desk is a large painting of what seems, at a distance, to be just a map of Southern Africa. Above it, four smaller works on paper of 'tribed' figures are framed behind glass. The Africana collection holds some rare books. It is an access-controlled space where only the receptionist I am waiting for has access to its shelves. The receptionist arrives and takes my request. Then, as she disappears into the collection, I return to the map to my left.

I have narrated this meandering route to Fouché's 1937 report on the early excavation of Mapungubwe as an attempt to expose how visuality, following the immediate downfall of apartheid in South Africa, struggled to dream Southern

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[48] By the "we" I understand the guards to mean 'we' as black people on one level, and 'we' 'the people' on another.

African history anew without slipping into colonial tropes and reasoning. An embodied account of how to get to the image, through an access, controlled and patrolled, luscious educational complex, illuminates this point long before getting to the book. Walking through the built environment of the educational complex is an experience of power. It is bizarre that in post-apartheid South Africa, I should work so hard to excavate some understanding of the Southern African past. It is bizarre that this quest should send me from policed national borders between Germany and South Africa to spaces where I am policed to get hold of a book, a book kept in a location that is also policed and access controlled. An access controlled world that monitors an individual's movements from the monumental to the mundane; one which tells an inhabitant where to go and not to go is birthed by a colonial logic of control and the control of human capital in particular. Pretoria's academic block is fully engulfed by the military-industrial complex, underpinned by colonial administrative reasoning. This reasoning is both continued and broken in the embodied experience of power I describe above.

Colonial reasoning is made visible by the gated and access controlled world I describe above, the grass that it attempts to fortify and its response to threat. Colonial reasoning is also broken by the presence of the jacaranda trees, Indian myna birds, and curious relationships with power exhibited in my interaction with the security guards at the Merensky Library. The guards were both protectors of power but saw themselves and me the policed as 'the people'. 'We' black people, they insinuated or recognised, did not or have not belonged to this place. Such presences and interactions disrupt the clear order that colonial power attempts to establish by clearly designating space, embodied by the apartness of apartheid. The legacies of this apartness continue through Pretoria's and indeed the wider world's built environment and organisational structures. I see all of this in the gates that confront me, but at this moment, I am intrigued and continue to be drawn in by an image to my left.

5.3 Picturing the Africana Collection

The Fouché book I am at the University of Pretoria's Africana collection to find is related to my study about the visualisation of the Southern African past, with a particular interest in archaeological texts. The image encountered at the entrance of this collection (Figure 23), animates the contents of the pages I am waiting to open. In the painting, the Southern African archive of material culture

Figure 23b:
Snippets of Design Motifs: Detail of Charlotte Firbank-King's *Ethnic Map of Southern Africa*. (Maitland 2021/05/19).

comes to life as a topological map, Southern Africa, showing its wider ocean borders and populated by many figures both on land and in its seas.

Figures 23b shows a close up of the collage of images that frame Figure 23 as a whole. The 'frame' of Figure 23 is made up of snippets of design motifs: chevrons, crescents, circle, beaded pixel points, a giraffe, eland, shield, spears, handprint, comb, headrest, and stylised figures on the hunt. By now, these motifs are iconic. Out of time and with no context or meaning seemingly all that is left is the 'Africanness' of the images — a fictitious essence that connects them to an origin in Africa (Mudimbe 1988 and 1994; Said 2003). The Africanness that frames this image works to Africanise its contents. Shapes jump out from one end of the map and move the eye towards the other. On the bottom right-hand corner of Figure 23, an Africanised compass gives orientation to the viewer. Intricate motifs weave this compass together. A beaded knobkerrie points south and the arrow of an iron spear-head north.

5.3.1 Artistic and Political Developments

To find out more about Figure 23, hanging at the Africana collection, I contacted the University of Pretoria and the artist. At the University of Pretoria, I spoke to curator Gerard de Kamper[49] about the image and its presence in the Africana collection. De Kamper confirmed that the work is a blocked poster of an original painting by South African artist Charlotte Firbank-King (de Kamper 2021/04/09). Describing the poster of the original painting as a "decoration", de Kamper expanded that it was not part of the official UP Art Collection and that it was unclear how the work ended up at special collections (de Kamper 2021/04/09).

Charlotte Firbank-King is an artist who describes herself as working with, "African-inspired wildlife, marine and ethnic paintings" (Firbank-King 2020). The artist was born in South Africa in 1944 and completed a three-year diploma in art at the Pretoria Art College (South Africa) in 1965 (Firbank-King 2021/04/15). Figure 23 — the main subject of this chapter — is signed Charlotte fk, making space for possible confusion. The image is without doubt a 1991 blocked poster reproduction of a 1990 painting, *Ethnic Map of Southern Africa*. I reached out to

[49] De Kamper, in 2021 is the Curator of Collections at the University of Pretoria.

Firbank-King about Figure 23 and the original painting.

The transcript provided below is taken from interviews conducted via email with the artist and later, the artist's daughter Vanessa Maitland (Firbank-King 2021/04/15; 2021/04/16; Maitland 2021/04/19):

- What is the title of the work, the medium it is executed in, and its dimensions?
The work is titled, Ethnic Map of Southern Africa—completed in 1991 and exhibited in the same year. The medium used is gouache, a water-based paint on watercolour paper, Bockingford 300 gm. The original painting is about 1.5 x 1.5 meters.

- I know that the original painting was reproduced and sold as a poster and puzzle set. How did this come to be?
Most of my work is reproduced in print form and the Ethnic Map was no exception. It's basically the only way to make a profit from art on a continuous basis. A puzzle company called Smile first requested the use of the map for puzzles. Now, RGS makes puzzles from it.

- Who distributed the image and when? Are you aware of how widely this image has been disseminated?
The Ethnic Map was first printed in 1991 with an indication map, telling one what was in the painting, a little info on each tribes' customs and a brief history. There is information on the plants and animals in the painting. Thousands have been sold all over the world. The South African government bought a map set for each of their embassies world-wide.

- Was the image perhaps produced to promote tourism towards the end of apartheid / the beginning of democracy?
I'm an artist, and don't think about things like promoting tourism. I love South Africa with all its diversities. The varied cultures and our incredible wildlife.

- What is the message you intended with this image?
To make people aware of how rich our history is and how beautiful each

ethnic group was originally, and still are, to this day.

[Explaining her work process, Firbank-King said the following]:
I guess the Ethnic Map was a challenge at first. How to represent all our indigenous tribes in the correct landscape with the correct animals. I spent the first two months planning it—working out how to paint mountains in one perspective then have the animals, houses and people seen from another perspective. Each figure on the painting is about 8 cm high.

Figure 23:
Charlotte Firbank-King, *Ethnic Map of Southern Africa*,1990.
Gouache on paper, 150 x 150cm.
Photograph by the author.

- Who was the intended audience?

The world. I needed to portray the magnificent diversity of our country. About halfway through the painting, I developed another motive. I approached Professor Hammond Tooke a social anthropologist at WITS [The University of the Witwatersrand] and asked him if my information on all the people I was illustrating was correct. He said it was, but why bother to do the painting. it will never sell because indigenous people were becoming detribalized and moving away from their original cultures.

I knew this was not true. I'd visited every tribe I could find. Many still had their ancestral costumes and were more than happy to dress up in them so that I could take photographs. Some had no costumes from their ancestors, but I found the information and drawings by explorers in old books dating back to the 1700s.

I frequently referred to Barbara Tyrrell's amazing paintings for accuracy. What the professor said, drove me to complete the painting and convince young Africans that they had a wonderful and rich cultural legacy in each of their tribes and to never lose sight of your roots.

- What were some of the academic sources you used for Great Zimbabwe, specifically, and the northeastern region of the map in general?

My middle child, Vanessa is a maritime archeologist and obviously had to study land archaeology for the first 4 years, and she is an amazing source of information—she has an entire study with wall-to-wall books on archaeology, history of Africa, ships, Boer war, WW II, you name it. She will have a ton of info on iron age settlements. I have the art and ethnic books. I have a file full of copies of pictures from books that I wasn't allowed to take out of WITS Africana library.

- Do you see or understand the image differently now in 2021 than in 1990, in terms of its meaning or message, specifically in

relation to the change of political context in South Africa and the world? Or does the 'message' remain the same, regardless?
The intention and meaning stays the same. The Ethnic Map wasn't my idea at first. A game ranger/entrepreneur, Mark Valentine[50] approached me with the concept. And I ran with [it] enthusiastically.

These questions are optional as I understand you may have no idea.

- Please comment on how people generally respond to the map.
I've never met anyone who doesn't like it. They are fascinated by the diversity of our indigenous people. Strangely, at first, African people didn't respond at all. One very old Zulu woman was delighted and said the married Zulu woman I painted looked just like her mama. But it was just at the end of Apartheid and I suppose most Africans were suspicious of my motives for painting it. Now, the young Africans are very interested and that always delights me.

- Do people for instance respond by pointing out where they are from, and are proud of the traditional dress?
Yes, over the years many have said that.

- Do they for instance say: "I am not from there because no one from that area really looks like that"?
No, because I research everything meticulously. For example, the academics had found what they thought was a new tribe, the Tlokwe. I was given photographs of them at the time dressed in their ethnic costumes. Something struck me about a married

[50] Mark Valentine is indeed a game ranger turned entrepreneur. He is best known as the owner of Amatuli. Amatuli is a gallery which sells African & Asian furniture, art and décor. It has also has an on-site restaurant. A South African online newspaper with its headquarters in Johannesburg describes the relevance of Amatuli to Johannesburg with the line, "Everyone knows, if it's African or Asian artefacts you're after, then Mark Valentine's Amatuli in Kramerville, Joburg, is where you head" (Crewe-Brown 2019). Valentine, through the vehicle of Amatuli is responsible for curating, prompting, and thus sustaining a very particular 'African' or 'Ethnic' aesthetic present in many art spaces in Johannesburg. Everard Read Gallery, CIRCA, as well as 44 Stanley are prime examples.

woman’s necklace. It was broad and made of beaten metal—copper, I think. Anyway, I’d seen the same necklace on Zulu women. I pointed this out and it threw the academics into a quandary. When they went back to the Basotho tribe, it transpired that in the early 1800s a few Zulus escaped, probably from Shaka, and integrated with the Basotho, yet retained some of their Zulu traditions.

- Have you had any total rejection of the message of the image?
Only from right wing fanatics and I ignore them. One young black guy asked me what gave me the right to paint his people. I asked him what tribe he was from. He said tribes didn’t matter anymore. I told him it mattered to me and that’s what gave me the right. He just walked away. You can’t win all the people.

For the sake of the study’s focus on LIAS, I wanted to be clearer on Firbank-King's specific academic references for Great Zimbabwe. Following up on this, I contacted Charlotte’s daughter, a maritime archaeologist affiliated to the African center for Heritage Activities, Vanessa Maitland. Maitland was in her early 20s when the image was released (Maitland 2021/04/19). I wanted to be clearer on Firbank-Kings specific academic references for Great Zimbabwe, dealt with in this study. Responding to her mother’s reference to her study of archaeology and extensive library in this field, Mailand said, “My mom seems to remember me being more involved than I was. I was more involved after the fact it was a strange time and I was trying to complete my undergraduate degree” (Maitland 2021/04/19). This clarification be taken as fact or read as modesty. In a follow up email Charlotte K. cleared this up saying, “Vanessa said Mark gave me the information, but she does have books on it” (Firbank-King 2021/04/16) .

At the dawn of democracy in South Africa, the image was used as a means of embracing the land as belonging to the people. When it was first printed, it was printed with an indication describing the figures painted (Firbank-King 2021/04/15). At the Africana collection more than twenty years after the original painting was painted, Figure 23 stands alone. In the absence of a curatorial or artist statement or knowledge of how the image was received in the past, a signature and a date — Charlotte fk, 1990 — gives context to the image and contributes to a reading of its significance at the Africana collection. The image slips into the University of Pretoria’s visual collection as just a “decoration” (de Kamper 2021/04/09); yet the consequences of its presence at the reception of an important collection ensures that the image is much more than an embellishment. Considered in context, it makes visible a particular logic, an inherent

structure — its continuities and ruptures. I will now shift towards a description of this context describing particularly the larger art world in relation to South Africa's political climate at the time.

The year 1990 marks a turning point in South African history. The artistic and political developments of the decades that immediately precede and follow it are sharp and polarised. A student uprising marked 1976, while 1994 saw the country's first democratic election. Following the student uprising in South Africa, political pressure grew internally and abroad. Political turmoil and anti-apartheid activities reached unprecedented heights. In the mid-1980s, a state of emergency was implemented as a means of pacifying resistance against apartheid rule as it did in the 1960s.[51] Alongside the development of political turmoil, cultural institutions experienced shifts.

Progressive white movements, who at the time had a monopoly of access to public cultural institutions like universities, galleries, and museums, increasingly joined in and engaged in anti-apartheid activities. The agenda taken on by many cultural institutions in South Africa was an intensification of efforts to acknowledge the black African contribution to cultural and social life (Hamilton and Leibhammer 2016:58). The Johannesburg Art Gallery (JAG), under the leadership of director Christopher Till, increased its holdings of pioneer modern and contemporary black South African artists. Till was also interested in representing what collector Jonathan Lowen, in correspondence with Till, described as "the range and context of aesthetic qualities which make the Southern African tribal art so distinctive" (Lowen cited by Hamilton and Leibhammer 2016:58). It was under the directorship of Till that the first items of what is considered today an 'indigenous, southern African aesthetic', previously classified ethnographic, were acquired by the JAG in 1987 (Hamilton and Leibhammer 2016:58).

An embracing of indigenous material culture as art taken up by the JAG at this time is interwoven with cultural shifts that were simultaneously taking place abroad. Internationally, tendencies in the art world had moved away from exhibiting African and Oceanic art objects – like masks and sculptures in illustrations of the triumph of modernism – in shows where such works would be displayed alongside canonical modernist painters. The art world began embracing previously 'othered'

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[51] South Africa's first ever State of Emergency, in 1960, saw the banning of the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan African Congress (PAC), as well as the arrest of both parties' leaders.

cultural objects as art objects in themselves.[52] Internally, between the 1980s and the early 1990s, contemporary South African art grappled with resistance art against apartheid, an art that would celebrate the fall of apartheid as well as an art that would embrace a neglected past which included the embracing of indigenous material culture (Maihoub 2015).

Figure 23, dated 1990, marks the era of Nelson Mandela's release from prison and the unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC). Three months before this, art critic Sue Williamson (1989) published the controversially received *Resistance Art in South Africa.* The publication was and remained a seminal survey of resistance against apartheid in the visual arts. However, by 1996 Williamson, in a book authored alongside journalist, and playwrighter Ashraf Jamal suggested that the resistance narratives that had been so controversial in her earlier work had lost their potency post-apartheid. Resistance narratives where no longer viewed as cutting edge. Moreover, there was critical pressure for artists to reflect the triumph of South Africa against apartheid.

Artists, as noted by Williamson and Jamal, responded to this pressure by continuing to address socio-political issues and began, amongst other impulses, "pulling old ethnographic materials – often the scientific rationale for apartheid – out of museum storerooms and subjecting them to revisionist scrutiny" (Williamson and Jamal 1996). Artist Wayne Barker, working from the early 1990s, made a career of scrutinising the works of landscape artist H. J. Pierneef, who worked in the early twentieth century. Pierneef is canonical in Southern African landscape painting, recognised for his vast, idyllic, and mostly empty landscapes. Barker's scrutiny revisits the classic work of Pierneef, particularly Pierneef's omissions including black bodies, human settlement, and the presence of mineral extractive industries in Southern Africa (Peffer 2005).

It is within these artistic and political developments that Figure 23 comes into being. It is also within this context that the Africana collection has shifted its curatorial focus. According to the University of Pretoria's library website, "[t]he Africana collection consists of books in all disciplines limited to Africa south of the Sahara. Since 1980, the emphasis is on the Southern African region with a special

[52] This is exhibited in exhibitions like *Primitivism in 20th century Art: Affini of the Tribal* exhibited at The Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1984 and *Magiciens de la Terre* exhibited at the Pompidou Centre in Paris (Williamson and Jamal 1996, Martin *et al* 1989).

interest in the material, published or unpublished, on Pretoria" (Department of Library Services (2020). Seen alongside contextual historical developments, Figure 23 – fittingly for where it is placed – addresses this gap by referencing images from the visual archive of LIAS. The image displays overtly what the published mission statement of the Africana collection describes in nonchalant terms, namely a shift towards addressing gaps in the collection concerning black African contributions to cultural and social life, safeguarded by the collection as a cultural institution. The image and this shift would have been in sync with the wider political developments and curatorial changes that were taking place within the visual arts and cultural institutions in South Africa and abroad at the time. As the mission statement of the collection neither confirms nor denies a shift towards addressing gaps in the collection concerning black African contribution to cultural and social life, Figure 23 hanging at the reception of the Africana collection works towards creating this impression.

As a topological map of Southern Africa, Figure 23, presents an animation of the material culture associated with an "indigenous Southern African aesthetic" (Hamilton and Leibhammer 2016:58). It references an early genre of cartography typical of the age of exploration whose maps often included drawings in its margins of notable elements related to the map. This is a format I described in Chapter Two called *carte à figu es*, (Evolution of the Map … [sa a]). While in earlier depictions of Africa, like Figure 11 discussed in Chapter Two, the interior was not well known and 'tribed' figures waited patiently on the border, in Figure 23 such figures are meticulously and confidently located. Figure 23 brings to life the large territory or kingdom Monomotapa (all of Southern Africa) imagined in earlier charts, but it also it keeps it apart by insisting on the uniqueness of the various ethnic tribes depicted.

Five sailing ships surround the Southern African coastline. The vessels reference the first historical European expeditions to Southern Africa. Two curious shadows on the left horizon are painted with silhouettes that seem to reference dress-codes out of place and time by the standards of the image. Apart from these figures, the pictured space is presented as occupied exclusively by black African bodies. Figure 23 is also arranged to imagine a particular kind of precolonial African aesthetic that appears to have been appropriated from ethnographic records and expressed through ethnographic drawing.

5.3.2 Drawing, Ethnography, and Authority

Ethnographic drawing can be mistakenly thought to have inherent authority. The unquestioned authority of ethnographic images harks back to the possibility of a time where social scientists were freely granted methodological authority based on the objectivity, invisibility, and thus reliability of the scientist in the field (Wellman 1994). With the event of the visual turn and the scrutiny of the visual world this is no longer the case. Scholars are making it clearer that all drawing are constructed. The constructed nature of drawings is applicable to drawings that may have previously lingered in the realm of possibly capturing something immediate, an unmediated response, or thought of as documentary practice (Mirzoeff 2011; Geismar 2014; Wellman 1994; Trigger 1989; Garlake 1973).

Anthropologist Haidy Geismar insists — in line with this broader study — that critical attention needs to be paid to ethnographic drawing from the field of anthropology. She notes some movement in this direction but underscores that current critical conversations tend to focus mainly on writing, film, and photography and less on other kinds of images including drawing (Geismar 2014). She argues that a critical engagement with images produced by the discipline would allow the anthropological project of ethnography to continue to explore what she expresses as its base namely: the mediation between cultural worlds.

Discussing 'ethnographic drawing in the field', Geismar outlines that the model of fieldwork in anthropology — from which an explosion of drawing comes into being — emerges in the late nineteenth century. Drawing 'in the field' grew as part of the expanding colonial mission, working hand in hand with science and developing new methodologies for research as a result (Mirzoeff 2011; Geismar 2014; Wellman 1994; Trigger 1989; Garlake 1973). Geismar (2014:98) notes that "[b]y the turn of the 20th century, colonials, missionaries, and traders were encouraged by training manuals, such as *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, published by the British Association for the Advancement of Science and the Royal Anthropological Institute, to systematically gather diverse evidence in the field" as part of supporting the emerging science of human beings. With this understanding, along with other scholars, Geismar engages with anthropological drawings from the field as part of a method encompassing a number of other methods in the constitution of scientific authority.

On the back of this mandate, ethnographic drawings were used to illustrate the dress, skills, crafts, and technologies of indigenous peoples for European and other audiences outside of the cultures depicted. Although ethnographic drawings did decline in importance, they remain tied to European scientific research of the

A

B

Figure 24:
Example of a formling [A] painted to resemble a San hut [B], 2015. (Mguni 2015:151).

nineteenth and twentieth century. Next to photography, ethnographic drawings are a mainstay feature of early Southern African archaeological literature. Archaeologists frequently used ethnography to draw analogies to the past. The consequences of this for academic disciplines is that archaeology and anthropology are still amalgamated into one scholarly department at the University of Pretoria. At the University of Botswana, archaeology is paired with history.

Geismar, describes sketching as both a medium for gaining authority and a cultural practice with multiple visual genres. She describes field sketches as "an embodied dialogue with multiple knowledge and aesthetic systems" (Geismar 2014:97). This dialogue teaches a reader not only about what the anthropologist was seeing, and perhaps thinking, but also about how they were trained to see and think, both by their teachers — during training, and interlocutors, uring field research. Geismar follows ethnographic sketching as a visual culture packed with convention and style and embodying a multiplicity of cultural perspectives. Geismar's considerations about anthropological and ethnographic sketches relate to Figure 23 because, in its illustration of everyday activities, Figure 23 references this kind of drawing. It particularly replicates a style employing detailed line drawings using clean non-hairy lines. Granite or fine liner ink on white paper is often the medium of choice. Composition in this genre of drawings makes use of a central figure or specimen drawn out of context, that is with no background but the white page it is drawn on. Finally, this style of drawings often uses minimal colour, and when colour is used, it is used to describe the observed world as opposed to 'decoration'. Artists Barbra Tyrrell's life work, discussed at length later in this chapter, is an example of this kind of drawing (Tyrrell 1974; 1996, Tyrrell and Jungens 1983). Geismar's example of the fieldwork sketches of artist Arthur Bernard Deacon, made in Vanuatu in 1926–27, also make use of this genre of drawing.

Ethnographic drawings are laced with nostalgia. Although they sharply declined in importance with the development of photography and film, such drawings have yielded and continue to generate incredible power amongst the public at large. Favoured in early drawings of Southern Africa, ethnographic drawing and drawing styles refer to a particular version of the Southern African past. They do this in such powerful ways that much later imaginations of any distant Southern African past, such as the painting I am discussing here, instead of other possible genres, choose the ethnographic drawing. They arguable choose this genre as a means of inheriting its implied authority and thus legitimating

content. Ethnographic drawing styles have established visual conventions that even highly critical studies struggle to shake. A good example of this is the use of this type of drawing style in the book *Termites of the gods: San cosmology in Southern African rock art* (2015).

Figure 24 shows a page from this publication targeted at the general public and exploring new understandings of Khoe-Sān[53] rock paintings (Mguni 2015:151). Khoe-Sān rock paintings are the oldest known paintings in Southern Africa. Referring only to the 'San', in *Termites of the Gods*, archaeologist Siyakha Mguni explores the category of 'formling' in San rock painting along with its accompanying botanical imagery (Figure 24a). Mguni expresses that this particular category Khoe-Sān rock painting has long evaded understanding in Southern African archaeology. In the Khoe-Sān rock paintings in question, circular forms encase circular forms which then encase other circular forms. To explore and interpret formlings and botanical imagery from Khoe-Sān rock art, Mguni systematically takes the reader through benchmarked understandings of formlings, arguing previous interpretations have been simplistic descriptions rather than interpretations of the drawings. Mguni convincingly describes formlings as termite hills. He systematically proposes layers of possible symbolism surrounding termite hills and trees in San understandings of the world.

Termites of the Gods ultimately argues that that the termite hill and the tree are the two symbols at the core of San cosmological ideas of creation, fertility, and supernatural potency which the San associate with God. In exploring San rock art and the possible meaning of its formlings, Mguni necessarily engages with the visuality that orders the images that are his subject. In so doing he engages with a visuality that far precedes imperialism, colonialism, and apartheid. *Termites of the Gods* is conceptually valuable in the way it lays out an alternative visuality in

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[53] In the literature, the term Khoe-Sān is based on the Khoekhoegowab (Khoekhoe language) terms for "real people" and "gatherers" (Barnard 1999, 2011; Penn 2005; Mailand 2022). Anthropologist Barnard defines the Khoe-Sān as a cluster of southern African peoples who share territorial organization, gender relations, kinship, ritual, and cosmology features (Barnard 1999; 2011). The hyphen in Khoe-Sān acknowledges both Khoekhoe herders (or pastoralists) and Sān hunter-gatherers (or foragers). There are many different versions and spellings of these names: Khoikhoi, Khoi, Khoekhoen, Khoe-khoe, Khoen, "Hottentot" (derogatory), pastoralists; and San, Saan, Sān, Bushman (derogatory), "Boesman" (derogatory), hunter-gatherers, foragers, and "strandlopers" (derogatory as a noun but used as a verb, "strandloping" or beachwalking, describes a way of life). The different spellings of Khoi or Khoe result from a change in orthography. Although the combined term Khoi-San retains some old spellings, Khoe-Sān is, in the literature, generally accepted as a correct modern spelling (Maitland 2022).

which Late Iron Age visualisation can be imagined. By exploring San cosmology, Mguni thus presents a way of seeing anew. Similarly, this is what is offered by archaeologists Delius, Maggs, and Schoeman's discussion of rock engravings in the publication *Forgo en Worlds: The Stone-Walled Settleme ts of the Mpumalanga escarpment*, which I expand on in Chapter Six.

For now, the point I want to make is about the dominance of a particular imperial visuality (expressed here in the dominance of ethnographic drawing styles), and about the potential existence of an alternative archive of visuality to widen understandings of knowing and being. Figure 24, shows a cropped Khoe-Sān rock painting on top (Figure 24a) while the bottom half shows a line drawing (Figure 24b). The line drawing appears computer-generated from a photographic source. It depicts a dwelling space with a group of figures sitting in front of it in a circle. The figure in the publication is captioned:

> Understandably, formlings have been suggested to depict a variety of subject matter based on superficial resemblances. For instance, this formling [Figure 24a] has been said to echo a traditional hunter-gatherer hunt, as shown in the artistic rendition [Figure 24b]. While such a resemblance is difficult to substantiate in these examples, Mguni's study has shown that there is a strong conceptual [congruence] between the worldly termitaria and the supernatural dwellings of gods in the spirit world (Mguni 2015:151).

By juxtaposing two different drawing styles to make a point about two divergent ways of seeing the world, a question of style is pulled into an observation about content. The publication had a variety of styles and genres to choose from to relay its message about what the older image may represent. A staged photograph of the same scene could have made a similar point and involved a different politics without compromising the point made. The politics of the line drawing settled on would, however, be lost.

As a lone standing image, there is no problem with Figure 24b per se. The problem with the image arises in how the image is used in Siyakha Mguni's book, *Termites of the Gods* (2015), namely, put in relation to the image above it, Figure 24a. Here I problematise how a colonial mode of representation is used, as in this instance, to speak for and about an 'indigenous' one even when it is not necessary.

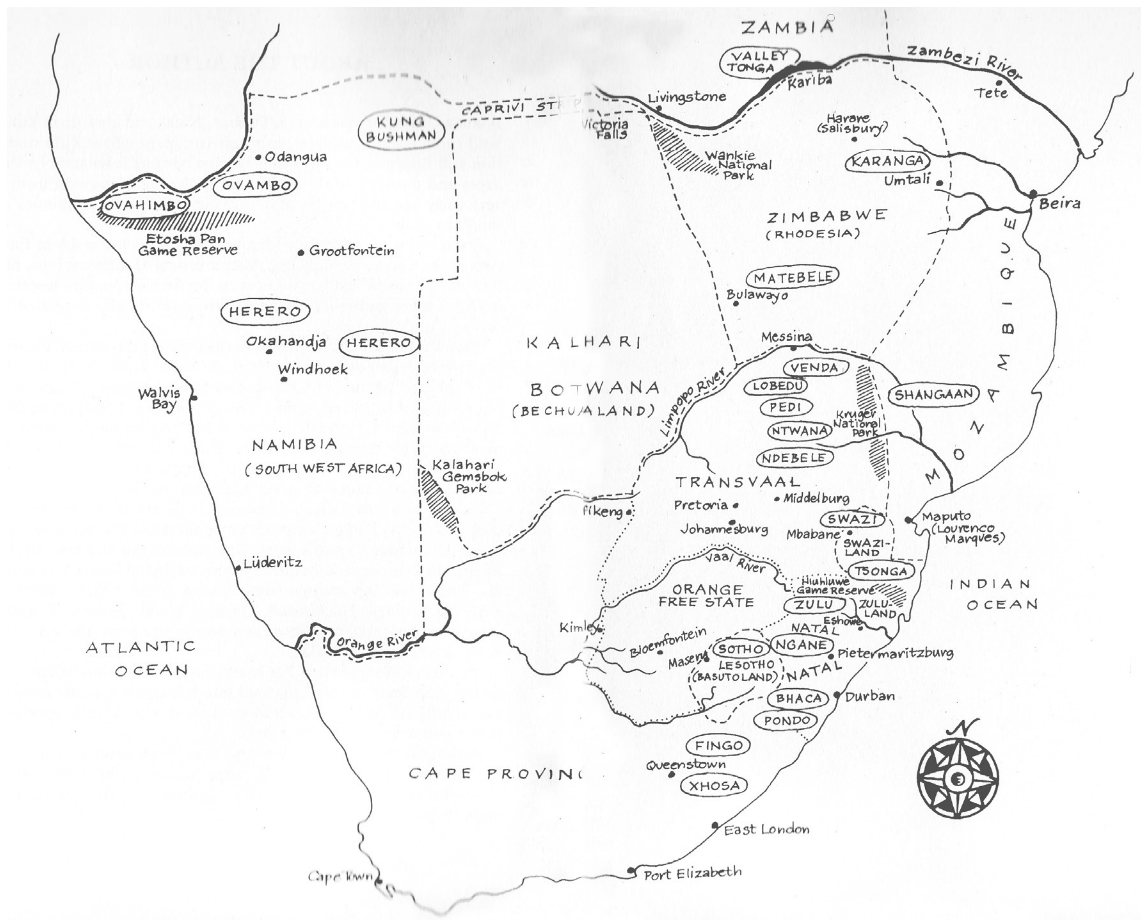

Figure 25:
Inside cover of the 1974 edition of Tyrrell's *Tribal Peoples of Southern Africa*, 1974. (Trrell 1974: Inside Cover).

In this case, a San rock painting is explained via a two-point perspective sketch drawing which, as I argue, draws from earlier-accepted ethnocratic conventions influential to the field of archaeology. The assumption here is that viewers do not understand the former but will understand the latter. It is this logic I wish to underline and critique.

I do not, by this critique, assume ill intent by the artist or the author. Figure 24b is credited to the archaeological illustrator Wendy Voorvelt, who would have followed her client's instructions on how to illustrate the image to achieve what author Mguni would have wanted. Moreover, by this critique, I do not attempt to discredit the book as a whole. In fact, I see the book that the image appears in as constituting an exception to colonial approaches, as I state in the next chapter. Finally, I point out the use of Figure 24b in relation to Figure 24a as a way of showing how even in instances where there is an attempt to challenge colonially accepted modes of representation, such modes of expression have a way of slipping into newer methods, thus replicating themselves into more recent ways of thinking and being or, in this case, (re)presentations of the past.

The image brings attention to archaeology's impulse of shoehorning older genres of painting made by cultures with entirely different ways of seeing. Similar to Mguni's Termites of the Gods, Firbank-King's Ethnic Map of Southern Africa (Figure 23) makes extensive use of ethnographic drawing styles. Such styles bear striking similarities to the works of artist Barbara Tyrrell.

Figure 23 references Barbra Tyrrell both in the figures placed in space and in its composition. The composition of the image matches up to a map of Southern Africa on the inside cover of the 1974 edition of Tyrrell's *Tribal Peoples of Southern Africa* (Figure 24).[54] Firbank-King was admittedly well aware of Tyrrell's work in 1990 (Firbank-King 2021/04/15). This map was widely distributed and remained relevant to Tyrrells work over at least two publications including the 1996 Publication of *Her African Quest*. While Tyrrell was only interested in the 'tribal' and 'tribed' people of Southern Africa, Firbank-King's take on the Southern African ethnic map deviates outside of Tyrrell's original lines by adding a European presence on the image's coastline in line with Southern African colonial history. This presence is only implied in Tyrrell's work.

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[53] I will not engage with this image further but have included it in this study, as with other images I discuss only briefly, for convenience of the reader and as a key frame in the stop frame animation of the unfolding and shifting picture of Southern African LIAS that I attempt to sequence with this study.

Barbra Tyrrell died an established Southern African illustrator and made full use of the authority of ethnographic drawing. Tyrrell's significant contribution to knowledge is the extensive cataloguing of dress codes related to a wide range of Southern Africa's 'indigenous' peoples. Tyrrell's work has been described as "among the most important historical documentation of tribal life in Africa" (Barbara Tyrrell Biography [sa]). She was born in Durban, South Africa, 1912. Her father and grandfather were both interpreters between England and various African tribes (Barbara Tyrrell Biography [sa]). Her exposure to the Zulu world became her primary source of inspiration in art. The artist spent her childhood in rural KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. Here, she became fluent in the language and familiar with the culture of the Zulu people. After her studies in Fine Art at the University of Natal, she spent many years travelling rural Southern Africa and drawing. Her travels covered an area stretching from the Cape to Angola and the Zambesi Valley in Zimbabwe (Berman 1970:460).

Tyrrell's work has been described as based on scientific observation: "the creative aspect is secondary to the information offered. She does not seek to promote her studies as pure art; nevertheless, they demonstrate accomplished craftsmanship and often rise above their objective function by her able handling of decorative forms" (Berman 1970:460; Tyrrell 2015). Her illustrations visualise Southern Africa as made up of distinct and distinguishable ethnic units. Although categorised as simply illustration or craft in her lifetime, the power of Tyrrell's works is manifested in the edge they hold as artistic impressions and the sense of authority they possessed as scientific observations.

By 1991, the year Figure 23 is dated, Tyrrell had already published the third edition of a book titled *Tribal Peoples of Southern Africa* (Tyrrell 1963, 1971, 1974) followed by *African heritage* in 1983 (Tyrrell and Jungens, 1983).[55] Both books are lusciously illustrated and have been influential in shaping contemporary imaginations of colonial and precolonial Southern Africa, no doubt helped by their visual presence in an ever visual world. A quick Google image search of drawings related to Southern African 'traditional' dress often ends on a Pinterest or Tumbler blog page with one of Tyrrell's drawings. Because of the ubiquity of Tyrrell's illustrations during her life and after her death, it is not a far stretch to link the source material of Figure 23 to her popular illustrations (Figure 26 and Figure 27).

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[54] In 1996, post-apartheid, Tyrrell's *Her African Quest* was published.

Figure 23c (Above):
Woman and Child: Detail of Charlotte Firbank-King's, *Ethnic Map of Southern Africa*. (Maitland 2021/05/19).

Figure 26 appears to be the visual prototype for the Xhosa women illustrated in Figure 23a. While Figure 27 appears to be the visual prototype for the Zulu warrior illustrated in Figure 23c. In terms of the latter, it is interesting to note that while Tyrrell illustrated her figures from life and photographic reference, Figure 26 inserts a drawing with the idea of the Zulu warrior form the Shakan era (early seventieth century). This inset calls for comparison of similarities and deviations in dress between various time periods. Tyrrell retrieves an image form the past, presumedly from the colonial archive, to imagine a Zulu warrior of the 1800s–1830s. This image is compared with contemporary dress codes — contemporary at least to 1968 when *Tribal Peoples* was first published. Then, in 1991, Firbank-King looks to Tyrrell's work to represent an image of the Zulu warrior. Figure 23c is ambiguous about which warrior is described. For moments in the image, time ceases to exist. As a result of the placement of the figures, a viewer becomes unclear about who belongs where and when.

Firbank-King, using drawings of Tyrrell's work, an extensive reference library, numerous research trips, and photographs from these trips, achieves an idea of Southern Africa and the people who live in it. Figure 23 is an assemblage of files from a variety of sources selected, edited, and placed in scene. This method of assembly corresponds well with the idea of the work being eventually turned into puzzle pieces and disseminated to a wider audience in this popular format. Figure 23 pieces together not only images about the people of Southern Africa but also the attitudes of the archives it pursues.

Figure 23d (Above):
Man with spear and shield: detail of charlotte Firbank-King's, *Ethnic map of Southern Africa*. (Maitland 2021/05/19).

Figure 23 links ethnicity to place and fixes ethnicity in place. In Southern Africa where political identity is and has historically been linked to ethnic identity, the association between ethnicity and particular spaces directly speaks to contested questions of land and land rights (Buthelezi and Skosana 2019; Mamdani 2012 and 2018; Cousins and Walker 2015). By using ethnicity as a means of claiming the right to land— as is done with the 'tribed Xhosa' figures discussed in the opening parts of the chapter — the image visualises ethnic identity as a political identity. I will now make this clearer by following how ethnic identity developed into a political identity in Southern Africa laying the ground for tense postcolonial and post-apartheid land right claims. Through this I arrive at how Figure 23 defines and fixes a staged political identity in the form of ethnicity.

Figure 26:
Barbara Tyrrell, Xhosa Married Woman Wears a Braided Skirt Cut on a Semi-Circle and a Long Apron. Orchard Cloths are for Daily Wear and White for Festive Occasions. The Gala Head Cloths are Very Spectacular, 1974.
(Tyrrell 1974:184).

Figure 27 (Left to Right:): Barbara Tyrrell, modern warrior. An old man in head-ring and wearing wood necklace denoting valour in war. A youth in courting dress wearing love tokens. The chief wears a leopard skin cloak. Inset: warrior in Shaka's time, 1974. (Tyrrell 1974:114-115)

Barbara Tyrrell

5.3.3 The Development of Ethnic Identity Into Political Identity

What makes Figure 23 potent in its placement at the Africana collection in a post-apartheid South Africa, at a time when decoloniality is high on the agenda is its translation of an ethnic identity into a political identity. The development of ethnic identity into a political identity is a cornerstone in colonial administration. In heated discussions about land and land rights in a post-apartheid Southern Africa, the ordering of races and ethnicities is revisited again and again (Buthelezi and Skosana 2019; Mamdani 2012 and 2018; Cousins and Walker 2015).

In Chapter Three, I described the permanent revolt in the British Empire's colonies around the world during British colonial rule. I discussed how the English mission to shape the subjectivities of native elites, as an attempt to curb such revolt through missionary education, failed. Moreover, I described how, as a response to political upheaval that could not be tamed, there was a shift in British colonial policy and government. Natives shifted from being considered common citizens and governed by common law to being governed by 'traditional law'; Britain moved from direct to indirect rule. Professor of political science, African studies, and anthropology, Mahmood Mamdani's academic work is located at this particular transition. Most importantly for this study, Mamdani (2012) follows the influence of the work of British jurist and historian Henry Maine on African colonial politics.

Maine cautioned during revolt and uprising in the colonies that the English were mistaken to think the natives had no agency and, moreover, that any kind of stable rule would have to understand the history through which that agency had been forged. With this understanding, Mamdani argues that the English shifted their focus from trying to shape the subjectivities of elites to trying to shape the subjectivities of ordinary people by defining custom via the vehicle of 'traditional law'. From this, Mamdani deduces that African identity is not something that was invented, but something filtered and subsequently fixed.

In the change from direct to indirect rule, Mamdani argues that custom was defined by carefully sifting through a history of a people, identifying and then fixing the most authoritarian elements in that history. Custom or 'traditional law' in the colonies was therefore built on an authoritarian legacy, where authoritarian elements of custom were separated from the emancipatory. Indirect rule identified allies, who had legitimate but little power, to enforce imperial interest. Very often these allies were kings and chiefs. In this way, Mamdani argues, a regime of

difference was initiated: a regime based on legally inscribed identities. The legally inscribed identity Mamdani shows is different to all other identities in that it is enforced by the state.

In relation to ideas already fleshed out, legally ascribed identities form part of, and are in themselves, visuality. They are identities with authority. In the same way that visuality orders the world, so too do such identities order the world. Legally inscribed identities are reproduced by institutions, they structure citizens' participation in the state and its institutions. I am most interested in Mamdani's argument because of its leaning on the pull of the 'real': the idea that a 'real' can be sifted through and isolated and its pull used as an authority in a mutated and fixed version of custom. Using comparative methodologies between South Africa and other English colonies, most notably India and Uganda, Mamdani shows through his work that far from being an exception as it is sometimes seen, apartheid was the preferred rule of the English empire. A reading of Mamdani acts as a catalyst to a number of questions directly relevant to this study. Particular to this chapter a reading of Mamdani largely informs my understanding of the development of ethnic identity into political identity on the African continent during colonial rule . It is of crucial relevance for my analysis of Figure 23.

Drawing on ethnographic visual conventions, Figure 23 portrays Southern Africa as a patchwork of distinct ethnicities with clear features and distinct boundaries. As such, the painting silences the complex and oftentimes contested history of ethnicity in Southern Africa. While Figure 23 visualises a well categorised landmass in one sweep, the history of Southern Africa and the development of ethnic identity into political identity progressed over centuries (Landau 2010). Unsurprisingly, ethnicity is a contested term in this context.

Archaeologist Thomas Huffman, who holds a prominent and controversial place in Southern African archaeology, describes ethnicity as involving "the interplay between minorities and dominant groups with the same political system. The ethnic groups themselves consist of people who form a limited social and historical entity, distinct from other similar entities through such aspects as customs beliefs and material culture" (Huffman 2001:28). Anthropologists John and Jean Comaroff highlight vernacular anthropology in contemporary South Africa distinguishing between 'Ethnicity' and 'Ethnicism'. In an analysis of the commodification of human identity in contemporary South Africa, they explain, "Ethnicity refers here to membership in a culturally constituted 'people,' one with customary ways and means that it takes to be distinctive and to which it is affectively attached; ethnicism alludes, negatively to 'tribalism'... as propagation of apartheid" (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009:10).

To facilitate the colonial administration of the mid-nineteenth century and later apartheid, ethnic units in Southern Africa were developed through various processes of tribing peoples and groups (Buthelezi and Skosana 2019; Mamdani 2012 and 2018; Wright in Hamilton and Leibhammer 2016; Crais 1992; Dyzenhaus 1991; Lapping 1987). The definition of precise ethnic units would form a crucial part in a governing structure designed for races and ethnicities. This structure slowly tightened its grip over the century. It created and methodically perpetuated deeply ingrained social, political, and economic inequalities (Mamdani 2001, 2012, and 2018). In the long list of racial laws that developed in Southern Africa from 1760 to the fall of apartheid, a few directly involve the legal definition of ethnic units.

The year 1809 marks the passing of the 'Caledon Code'. The 'Caledon Code' legislated that, from then on, all members of the nomadic Khoikhoi were to have a fixed 'place of abode' and that if a member wished to move, this member had to obtain a pass from their master or from a local official (Lapping 1986:36). The passing of The Kaffir Pass Act of 1857 similarly prohibited Xhosa people from entering the Cape Colony except to work (Crais 1992:212). In the next century, the Population Registration Act of 1950 provided for the compilation of a register of the entire South African population (Dyzenhaus 1991:40). Through the Population Registration Act of 1950, the South African population became divided into three racial groups: Black, White, and Coloured. The Black peoples of South Africa were further subcategorised into ethnicities. In the technology of race used to administrate a growing Southern African population, classification was determined according to physical appearance and social acceptability, including linguistic skills. Over time, curated racial and ethnic identities were developed and officiated into political identities by inscribing them into law (Buthelezi and Skosana 2019; Mamdani 2012 and 2018; Cousins and Walker 2015).

Figure 23 ties ethnicity to place. In the 1990s, these very categories became the basis for post-Apartheid caims to land rights, as illustrated in the surge in traditional leadership claims alongside insistence on land rights and land restitution (Buthelezi and Skosana 2019; Cousins and Walker 2015). The image visualises the right to land as claimed through visualised ethnicity. In using tribed bodies as visual tropes to claim belonging, the image turns ethnic identity into political identity. Distinct and distinguishable patterns and markers become critical differentiators of this identity. For those fluent in identifying the ethnographic units of Southern Africa, determining who is who in Figure 23 is an easy task. Tribal units are signified by dress code, hairstyles, building style, and geographic location.

The Xhosa figure with a baby on her back on the south-east coast of the map is placed south of the Thukela River. The Zulu figure holding a large shield and spear naturally is put to its north. The cloaked Sotho figure on horseback is placed up in the Drakensberg and so on. The image visually fulfils the desires of one of the first racial and pass laws of Southern Africa, ordering every member of a Khoikhoi community to have a fixed 'place of abode' and to obtain a pass in the event that any member wanted to move. In Figure 23, bodies are fixed to their geographical place of abode in line with visualised ethnic identities. Using similar logic to the logic used in pass systems of control, ethnic identity becomes the visual tool through which access to space is claimed.

A dwelling space, in Figure 23, can be considered to belong to the tribe of a woman with a baby on her back not only because of the proximity of that women to that dwelling but also through the recognition of named and catalogued patterns and marks. Post-apartheid South Africa has been noted as coinciding with the commodification of human identity (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009:10). Within this context, patterns marking identity have become iconic. For example, one can consider a plane of colour overlaid with horizontal lines gravitating toward its bottom. In Figure 23, this pattern appears on clothing, on flesh, and on the built environment. The pattern has become symbolic of and synonymous with the identity of the Xhosa people. The same is true of particular patterns connected to particular groups including the 'Venda', 'Zulu', and 'Pedi'. Never changing, these patterns are fixed in time. In the case of the image at hand, an iconic pattern is fixed to the south-east coast of Southern Africa where the Xhosa were said to have resided shortly before colonialism, during colonialism, and apartheid. Thus, Figure 23 becomes a graphic visual code with which belonging is claimed.

Using recognisable visual codes, Figure 23 first frames itself as African. It establishes a relationship between tribed figures and their homesteads. It fixes this relationship onto geographical locations; it then naturalises this fixity by naturalising a staged political identity. The image strategically avoids the complicated textured and coloured history of Southern Africa. The image is devoid of the grapevines that populate the Western Cape of contemporary Southern Africa; of jacaranda trees; and Indian myna birds so present in Pretoria. Only 'indigenous' vegetation and animal life are depicted. Figure 23 is meticulous about the regional specificity of the fauna and flora it represents. African daisies flower in the Karoo, aloe grows along the south-east coast, baobabs around Zimbabwe, and flat top acacias north of where Pretoria would be. Two blue crane birds – culturally significant to the Xhosa people – are pictured above the heads of the figures established as Xhosa. By setting up a relationship between indigenous vegetation and wildlife in this way, the quality of indigenousness and uniqueness assumed by these species is

transferred onto the tribed figures and built environment around them so that their tribed state is also implied as indigenous, unique, and natural.

The Khoe-Sān figures on the western side of Figure 23 (except for two placed on the east) are placed between an assortment of wildlife. Pejoratively referred to as Bushmen or Hottentots, there are long histories and ethnographic writings recording 'first encounters' and negative ethnographic descriptions of the Khoe-Sān (Hook 2005). A line from the fiction of author Bessie Head aptly captures the continental attitude of contempt towards this group: "In Botswana, they say: Zebras, Lions, Buffalo and Bushmen live in the Kalahari Desert" (Head 1971:7). Although an arid west does represent the reality of the Southern African landscape, the placement of the figures representing the Khoe-Sān in this setting also invokes their decline. This decline is juxtaposed with the vitality of the population and vegetation on the east coast.

The eastern side of the landmass is pictured not just in vibrant colours but also around lush vegetation with primarily no wildlife between human settlements. With the wildlife chiefly placed on the western side of the image, there seems to be a notion of the farming east encroaching on the wild west. This idea is not taken to its full extent because the east itself is presented as natural, but there remains a clear separation between how the Eastern and Western Capes of the landmass are depicted. This could be read as a reflection of the vegetation of South Africa, which consists of lush forests and subtropical savanna on the east coast, gradually changing to desert or semi-desert on the west coast; it could also be read as depicting the eastern tribes — having some kind of civilisation encroaching on the uncivilised west.

Suppose the above reading of the image is accepted. In that case, the visual trope of a more civilised east encroaching on a wild west simultaneously reinforces and is reinforced by arguments present in colonial depictions of Southern Africa. It recalls ideas of South Africa never being an excessively black country but one of settler communities where Bantu tribes from Central and East Africa invaded South Africa at the time when Europeans landed at the Cape. As pointed out in Chapter Four, this argument has been used to divide the black struggle for social, political, and economic freedom in South Africa.

In line with some discourse around Khoisan leadership and authority, speaking at a debate organised by the Cape Chamber of Commerce and Industry about South Africa's 'land question' a member of the audience re-hashed some key points in a popular argument that the Khoe-Sān are the only authentic voice that can talk about land ownership in South Africa to political party leader of the Economic Freedom Fighters, Julius Malema (Woman Tells Malema 2016):

> Mr Malema, you have no authority to talk about land ownership. The Khoe-Sān is the only authentic voice, that can talk about land. We were the first freedom fighters, fighting the colonials when they came here 360 years ago. We were the first people of this nation. We were the first people of Southern Africa, and today we still face oppression. This country's history did not start in 1910 when the ANC was established. Nor did it start, in 1994 when we went to a democratic dispensation. We lived here. And you, your ancestors, and the white ancestors found us here, so we can only talk about land ownership as you found us here. The [land of the] indigenous people of South Africa and Southern Africa needs to be restored, [the land] that was taken from them by the invaders.

Referring to Southern African liberation thinkers like Steve Biko (1976) about using Black unity as a tool in the face of oppression and attempts to break up the black struggle for social, political, and economic freedom Malema responded (Woman Tells Malema 2016):

> I think you are extremely missing a point. Me and you are Africans and, this land you are referring to and the whole of Africa was one thing until the colonialist came to divide us. So you must never see yourself as being something different from what I am. Otherwise you are inviting self-isolation. We the black African majority and the Khoe-Sān were one thing. And we're the only ones who can speak with authority about the, the Africa, the content of African Majority, so don't take away. I'm not from Europe, my ancestors are not from Europe. This Africa, belongs to Africans and that is what the Khoe-Sān are. Don't isolate yourself my sister, this solidarity will help us to defeat colonialists and apartheid legac[ies].

In calling for a united black struggle, Malema follows thinkers like Biko (1976) who also upheld that dividing the black struggle for social, political, and economic freedom is a political ploy that has been used across the African content. Here, solidarity is a means of counteraction and can be used to help overcome colonial legacies. There are nevertheless complex problems in South Africa with the acknowledgement and retribution of the Khoe-Sān struggle (Cousins 2016).

In dividing the black society of Southern Africa into neatly distinguishable tribes, and giving life to narratives of the late arrival of the Bantu to Southern Africa, Bantu land claims on Southern Africa post apartheid are equated to that

of Europeans. This implication is veneered behind anxieties about the decline of the natural world. Indigenous, vulnerable, endangered, and extinct species are referenced repeatedly. Extinct species are brought back to life. The quagga, a subspecies or regional variation of the zebra which became extinct in the ninetieth century, is pictured on the Karoo's Great Escarpment. The edge of the escarpment forms a line which also serves as a line of comparison. The lone quagga is compared to a lone Khoe-Sān figure sitting inside a rock shelter on the left. The relationship set up by compositional proximity compares the fate of the lone quagga to that of the lone Khoe-Sān figure. The figure holds up a hand to the surface of the rock in a gesture of painting. The figure, rock shelter, and painting are used as visual metonyms for the presence of the Khoe-Sān paintings that remain across the Southern African landscape. Building a case for ethnicity as a part of the natural world, the image depicts ethnicity as something endangered and as such something that should be protected from extinction.

Figure 23 glosses over the implications of an 'endangered' minority as a convenient means of dividing black Southern African societies and fixing that minority in place. The painting's depiction of the Khoe-Sān is, on one level, yet another example of the particular manner in which a particular tradition of visualising LIAS works to project timeless, stable identities onto particular regions of Southern Africa. The image moreover reproduces the confusion of the discourses it draws on. This is exhibited in at least three instances in the image and my discussion of it thus far:

Firstly, even though there is evidence of Khoe-Sān paintings across the Southern African landscape, in the image this presence is limited mostly to the west-coast with one exceepton in the east. The location of the Khoe-Sān exclusively on the west-coast of Southern Africa is characteristic of a very distinctive discourse on the Khoe-Sān. The colonial discourse that the image draws from confusingly and problematically speaks of present-day Khoe-Sān as concurrently representing the deep Southern African past— as the first nation of Southern Africa— and as fixed to teir encounter with the first European settler communities at the coast. Such discourse speaks of the Khoe-Sān as a people both in 'decline' and 'close to extinction' or as 'people of the past' who make way for the nation's modernity, but do not co-exist with it.

Secondly, through its depiction of vegetation, the image visually endorses a narrative of a more civilised (Bantu) east invading the rest of Southern Africa. The image however also endorses the idea of the Khoe-Sān as the first nation thus excluding the Bantu and reserving authority exclusively for a Khoe-Sān 'minority'. The (non-)representation of the Bantu works by depicting the Khoe-Sān 'minority'

as having authority in the image yet also showing Khoe-Sān group as a group in 'decline', 'close to extinction', or as 'people of the past'. The Bantu are (non-) represented by the images embrace of this group as a people of the land with no authority in it.

Finally, the confusion of the discourse Figure 23 draws on is exemplified in the quoted discussion between politician Julius Malema and a member of the public. The exchange between these two parties illuminates some of the ways in which confusing, streamlined and neatly packaged pasts and lines of debate play out on a day-to-day basis in post-apartheid South Africa. In quoting this exchange I attempt to speak to the particular position of the Khoe-Sān while trying to avoid the divisions between ethnicities that the painting endorses.

5.4 Placing the Mapungubwe and Zimbabwe Estate

With various ruptures and continuities, the Southern African distant past is often broken up into three moments: namely, The Khoe-Sān complex; The Mapungubwe and Zimbabwe estate; and The Nguni estate or Shakan period which saw the rise of the Zulu Kingdom. The first two periods are materialised through rock paintings and the ruins of rock settlements distributed across Southern Africa; these are the concern of archaeologists. The last period is well documented, and historians know quite a lot about it (Hamilton and Leibhammer 2016:36). Figure 23 represents these complexes of order as well as the range of time they imply — from the figure placed inside a rock enclosure defining the Khoe-Sān complex to the woman with a baby on her back typifying the Shakan period. The image primarily appears as a vision of precolonial Southern Africa where everything is in place as it should be. Three complexes of order spanning thousands of years neatly fold into each other with no overlaps in geographic space. What is implied is a version of the Southern African distant past devoid of movement, displacement, or conflict. There is one explicit exception to this rule in the north.

In the north, a depiction of the Khami ruins from the Mapungubwe and Zimbabwe estate is overlapped by three men with spears and shields from the Shakan period (Figure 23d). The men are pictured as either in battle or sparring. An army of around twenty spears and shields is arranged in a long line. To the left of the army are three rondavels made of thatch. Two young women with pots on their heads stand to the right of the group of three men. Their bodies echo the shields from the pictured battleground to the left. What their bodies overlap and disrupt a viewer from fully seeing are the ruins of Khami in their background. This

overlap points to the historical migration of soShangani to that region. Fleeing the 'Shakan wars' in the south, soShangani migrated north and settled close to what is now called Bulawayo. Bulawayo is also the location of the Khami ruins of the Mapungubwe and Zimbabwe Estate. The Khami ruins mark the pinnacle of the Zimbabwe tradition.[56]

The apparent displacement of complexes is an anomaly in the broader context of Figure 23. The way pattern and marker are naturalised as a marker of ethnic identity is consistent with the rest of the image. A tribal unit in the north (Figure 23d) is identifiable as related to one in the south (Figure 23c) because of the spear and shield it is pictured with. Zulu shields in the Shakan period were made from cowhide. Tyrrell describes (1983:29) this shield categorisation as follows: "When the Zulu were a warring nation, each regiment was recognisable by the characteristic hide marking on their fighting shields". In Figure 23, the shield and spear similarity function as visualised marks through which ethnic identity is claimed. Ethnic identity is further used in the claiming of geographic space in the northern region, as it is in the south.

The northern region of Figure 23 expands on the ethnic map set up in the south with a shift in focus. More than the obsessive differentiation of tribal units pictured in the south, this part of the image also elaborates on ideas related to economies of exchange and social activity: a Domba dance in front of an open fire and the stomping of grain at the confluence of the Shashe and the Limpopo. A figure ploughs a field and another herds livestock into the horizon. The landmass fades into this haze. The haziness in this section of the image speaks to its significant omissions.

How ethnic units are recognisably distributed across the Southern African landmass in Figure 23, including the shift in focus in the northern region, reflects the omissions in the visual legacy of colonial administration embedded in its archive. The source material for Figure 23 is this archive. It is not a coincidence that the coastal regions of Southern Africa, where ideas about tribes and ethnic units in colonial administration first took hold, are the most elaborate. Apart from the east coast being the most fertile land in Southern Africa and thus naturally the most populated, it also holds an extensive archive left behind by the first processes of tribing the black societies of Southern Africa.

The literature on 'the Xhosa' and 'the Zulu' at the coast is much denser than

Figure 23d: Northern Interior: Detail of Charlotte Firbank-King's, *Ethnic Map of Southern Africa*. (Maitland 2021/05/19).

[55] See Pikirayi (2001) for a history of the Zimbabwe tradition; see Wright (2006) and Khumalo-Seegelken (1995) for an account of the making of the history of the 'Shakan wars' also referred to as *iMfecane*.

the literature on 'the Pedi' and 'the Venda'. Moreover, general histories of South Africa (used to) dwell a lot more on 'the Xhosa' and 'the Zulu' than the African polities encountered and conquered later in time located in the northern inlands. The imbalances are in the process of being addressed, but you can still find many examples of these in 'general histories'. In general, for both coastal societies and the polities encountered on the inland, the result of centuries elaborating on difference is catalogued through differences in dress codes, pattern, and embellishment of various ethnic units. Iconic patterns correlating with those units emerge.

In Figure 23 to the right of the Khami ruins from the Mapungubwe and Zimbabwe estate overlapped by three men with spears and shields, the Great Enclosure at Great Zimbabwe is pictured as overgrown and abandoned (Figure 23d). The assemblage of scenes depicting battle, dance, and other social activity all happen around the ruin. A body hovers uncomfortably above the enclosure, legs cut off, so as not to cause an overlap. The enclosure is devoid of bodies around it, acknowledging the existence of Great Zimbabwe and showing this space as empty and overgrown in a visualisation of the long Southern African past. Figure 23 echoes the central ideas fought against in the work of archaeologist Peter Garlake.

As expanded on in Chapter Three, early Southern African archaeology's omission of black bodies from Great Zimbabwe and its related settlements was propagated by Southern African colonial regimes. Archaeology and its authority were actively used as a tool for the oppression black societies. Through archaeological research, Garlake worked to expand understandings of Great Zimbabwe and populate historical imaginations of that space with black bodies. He was an advocate for visual materials and the power they had to disrupt the status quo as well as to teach. Using images, he integrated the disciplines of visual art, architecture, history, and archaeology for this purpose. In *Great Zimbabwe: New Aspects in Archaeology*, published in 1973, and *Life at Great Zimbabwe*, published in 1982 archaeological findings are narrated alongside a generous number of images.

Images from Garlake's publications, like those of Tyrrell, are living memories that shaped and continue to shape public imaginations of the long Southern African past. In the year 1990 at the fall of Apartheid in South Africa, the countervisual images of a Great Zimbabwe populated with black bodies were cutting edge and controversial. While the vibrant drawings of Tyrrell influence the reference material for the coastal regions of Figure 23, the northern region reflects the unawareness and violence that Garlake's images worked to challenge. Visuality in Garlake's work is used to expand ideas about a distant past and populate that past with black bodies; it is used as a weapon against authority. The omission of black

bodies from inside the Great Enclosure in Figure 23, on the other hand, implies that black bodies do not belong in that space. In the language of the image as a whole, they do not come from that space and cannot claim to belong to it.

This is contrary to what the image was intending to do or how it was immediately received at the fall of apartheid. This non-belonging has little to do with the intent of the new image but is a slip in the archive. It is a logic passed on from the source material it references. Small moments like this in the image exposes the dangers in the uncritical reproduction of authoritative sources. Moreover they expose how visuality, following the immediate downfall of apartheid in South Africa, struggled to dream Southern African history anew without slipping into colonial tropes and reasoning. Figure 23, in context of the space in which it hangs and the time in which I receive it, is underpinned by colonial administrative reasoning. Located deep inside the University of Pretoria, it is fully engulfed by the military-industrial complex, a contemplation of the meaning of this context makes visible how colonial the continuities in it are made visible and broken.

Historians in the 1980s and 1990s — at the time the image was created — were engaged in fiercely debating the particulars of the source material that made up the Southern African past. Speaking about the 'Shakan wars', also referred to *iMfecane*, particularly the widespread idea that these wars were solely a result of the Leader Shaka ignoring the wider context. The context stressed as important, yet ignored in such discussions, was that of expanding European colonial settlement and commerce in Southern Africa (Khumalo-Seegelken 1995): specifically, the expansion of slave-raiding and slave-trading from the borders of the Cape colony in the south and from the Portuguese trading outpost at Delagoa Bay in the east (Khumalo-Seegelken 1995). Concluding his plea to engage more vigorously with this wider context, historian Khumalo-Seegelken (1995:[sp]) writes:

> My concern here is to make the point that to understand the issues at stake in the current debates on the iMfecane we need to be aware of how, over a long period of time, certain events of the 1820s and 1830s have been objectified, fetishized even, into a nameable 'fact' of southern African history. In the 1990s it is time to turn away from this idol and develop more critically founded notions of southern Africa's pre-colonial past.

Over the years, historians, though vigorous discourse, have come to broader, more nuanced understandings of the Shakan era of the pre-colonial Southern African past (Wright 2006). Similar vigour needs to be afforded to images of the long past that are often produced taking into consideration historical and

archaeological discourse. Curiously, as historical discourse shifts the images that old discourse made way for are not necessarily revisited.

5.5 Conclusion: An ethnic map of Southern Africa

The omissions in the *Ethnic Map of Southern Africa* (Figure 23) and the way in which the image is presented overtly makes clear its source material in some instances. In other instances the image relies on its visualisation of the distant Southern African past is only slightly hinted at. Figure 23 represents the violence of colonial visual practices through its inheritance of such properties from its source material. Like the older images it referenced, the image becomes a weapon for authority. The space presented in Figure 23 is an imaginary ideological one. It is neither an image of the year 1990 it was created in nor of the distant pre-colonial Southern African past it attempts to represent. South Africa at the end of apartheid was and largely remains an economy built on systematically enforced racial division in every sphere.

Figure 23 tries to present a compartmentalised pre-colonial visualisation of Southern Africa where everything is in place as it should be and encourages participants to piece this past back together. It uses the authority of archaeological impressions to add to the visual archive of the Southern African past. Identities are presented as natural and naturally in place. The image relies on colonially inscribed ethnographies entangled with colonial administrative ideas about black bodies and their place in space to visualise a precolonial Southern Africa. Principles such as the development of ethnic identity into a political identity, the distillation of identity into a graphic pattern, the naturalisation of a linkage between ethnic and political identity, and the use of a distilled pattern of reference as a key to access space are mastered in the colonial administration of Africa and other regions. This is the core subject of Figure 23 at the entrance of the Africana collection. Yet at the dawn of democracy, South Africa saw it as fitting for its embassies around the world.

It is important at this point to emphasise, if not made clear, that the analysis given in this chapter should not be seen as criticism of the individual artist. Neither should it be understood as consciously motivating the making of Figure 23. The aim of this chapter as initially stated is rather to zoom in on particular files that have been opened, placed and edited; it is to examine how such assemblages assist in the propping of colonial constructs. What is ultimately highlighted within this context is that intention is not immune from the waves of centuries of oppressive visuality.

Retrospectively, where Figure 23 fails in reifying a precolonial past or a present with racial bodies at bay, it succeeds in reifying a set of principals underlying the arrangement of elements in the biometric forms of identification of the military-industrial complex it hangs in. On the surface, the image at the reception of the University of Pretoria's Africana Collection claims a presentation of belonging and the right to space and mobility in the distant Southern African past. The image hangs as a celebration of a democratic South Africa where all of its cultures are celebrated and given a place under the sun. This is in line with the rhetoric of the era in which it was created and the shift towards addressing gaps in the collection concerning black African contributions to cultural and social life. Far from merely celebrating the cultures of Southern Africa, however, the image highlights and is underpinned by the colonial administrative reasoning, which gave birth to apartheid and the contemporary military-industrial complex.

So inescapable is the modality of visuality produced by the image at the entrance of the Africana collection, it matters little what is actually inside the Fouché book documenting the first archaeological excavations of Mapungubwe that brought me to the collection and by coincidence the image. What lives in the imagination of Southern Africans and the world at large are the images that the Fouché book and books like it produce. What lives in the imagination of Southern Africans and the world at large, are the images that the Fouché book and books like it make space for. The images that appear in archaeological findings, particularly 'artistic impressions' projecting the past, travel back to archaeological sites as well as travel forward into more popular artistic assemblages as exhibited in Figure 23.

The fact that, Figure 23 ended on the walls of an important collection at the University of Pretoria, despite not being part of the official UP Art Collection and instead, what has been referred to as a "decoration", emphasises the slippery nature of how images move. Figure 23 hangs at the reception area of the University of Pretoria's Africana collection as a symbol of this archive's reformation. Contrary to reformation from colonial prescriptions, the image tribes the Southern African past using a limited or narrowly prescribed archive. The image primarily visualises the right to land as claimed through visualised ethnicity. Ironically embedded within the labyrinth spun by the military-industrial complex, the image sits quietly perched within the everydayness of a highly manicured and surveyed complex of order at the University of Pretoria. What is most curious about the image is the way it hides in plain sight. To contemporary Southern African viewers, the image holds an emancipatory potential of addressing a disavowed African past. Only a closer look entraps a viewer and confronts them with a logic that is alive and well in the complex of order they find themself in.

CHAPTER SIX

LATE IRON AGE VERNACULAR FORMS OF MAKING AND SEEING

Figure 27.1: Google Maps, Boomplaats, Outside Lydenburg, Bokoni, 2021. (Google Maps 2021).

The problem grappled with thus far is that of having to interpret a precolonial past through a problematic, colonially inscribed archive of images and ethnography. An exception here is archeologist Siyakha Mguli's *Termites of the Gods: San Cosmology in Southern African Rock Art* (2015), touched upon in Chapter Five. Nevertheless, the problematic archive of images thus far engaged with is a manifestation of visuality. Mirzoeff describes visuality and its three complexes of plantation slavery, imperialism, and military-industrialisation as shaped by the experience of plantation slavery in the Americas. This visuality, he argues, produces its own way of seeing, that comes to shape the modern world. The god of the Christian world — who in earlier times gave people their first laws — later gives custodianship of divine authority, 'the right to look', to supposedly rightful kings on earth. This custodianship is manifested in the sovereignty of the crown, interpreted through the language of Western jurisprudence. In the context of plantation slavery in the Americas, from which Mirzoeff speaks, 'the right to look' is given by the crown to overseers in the new settlement. It is with this right — as custodian of the sovereignty of the crown and ultimately the eyes of god — that the overseer is able to crack the whip. Visuality as understood by Mirzoeff permeates into all ways of conceiving of the world, affecting abstractions like law, order, and justice but also the physical world in the form of the built environment. It is designed as a blueprint from which other colonies in different contexts could be and indeed were ordered.

A primary goal of this study is to disrupt a canon of images created within archaeological discourse that visualises the Southern African past with authority. In response to archaeology's visual culture, and as a way of engaging with its creative outputs beyond critique, an artistic intervention is crucial. Thus, the study has pursues a two-fold methodology, involving textual analysis followed by an image-making process. As I move towards the second fold of this study, the first concern is what visual language can be used to describe the Southern African Late Iron Age considering the critique of visuality thus far sustained. In the survey of the literature and textual analysis engaged with, the images dealt with are informed by a particular visuality that also dictated a very particular way of seeing the three-dimensional world: a linear perspective, creating an illusion of depth on a flat surface. Linear perspective is used in early archaeological drawings from the imperial and colonial era but also in later anti-colonial visualisation. A search for countervisual moments presented by the archive of images related to the Late Iron Age also means looking for countervisual ways of making as well as seeing.

Southern African vernacular ways of making and seeing are used in the context of the modern world to complicate visuality by making visible its counterpoints. As implied by the idea of counterpoint, they impose the simultaneous seeing of multiple views or visualities, in competition or conversation with each other. In Chapter One, I have discussed how, as ancient capitals, Mapungubwe and Great Zimbabwe symbolise past political power. They speak to contested questions of land and ownership in Southern African democracies. Moreover, the artefacts discovered at these sites attest to pre-colonial achievement and demonstrate human, regional, and global interregional connectivity. Finally, such visualisations present a pre-colonial hub of black poles of power. They propose black cosmopoleis on scales never imagined in colonial histories of 'indigenous' communities thought of as the ultimate 'other' of global modernity.

My re-looking at the visualisation of Late Iron Age Settlements is an exploration of a precolonial African past (900–1800 AD) mediated through a colonially based archive of illustrations (1871–2020). Throughout this study, I have drawn on Mirzoeff's *The Right to Look* to theorise visuality and countervisuality as they have structured modern power relations. This chapter will now enquire into visualities that exist outside of this logic, or rather have pre-existed it, and that might constitute the archive of images from which new visualities might become imaginable.

Given the trajectory of this chapter, it is important to elaborate for a moment on the differences between textuality and visuality as epistemological modes. In Chapter One, I noted that the terms visual, visible, and visuality or visualisation have become ever-present in a world dominated by visual rather than verbal and textual culture. Moreover, given the differences between visuality and textuality as epistemological modes, an observer and reader of images could be tempted to make crude distinctions. Nevertheless, the terms are closely bound, often slipping into one another.

Grappling with the distinction and relationship between visuality and textuality, literary critic Elisabeth Bronfen settles on illustrating the mutual implication of the two terms, particularly the inability to separate one from the other completely. Bronfen insists, "We can only grasp images by virtue of reading them, which means walking around in them, turning what we see into stories." Bronfen points to an inescapable duality in visual research and pins this down to the duality between meaning and form. Bronfen draws on the older work of literary theorist Roland Barthes. Barthes insisted that there is never any contradiction, conflict, or split between meaning and form but rather a matter of focus. Barthes likened this phenomenon to a viewer looking at a landscape through a glass window, noting that a viewer could, at will, focus either on the glass or the landscape; implying that a reader of an image can, at will, focus on either meaning or form without contradiction (Barthes 1957).

Accepting Barthes's explanation it could similarly be argued that there should not be any contradiction, conflict, or split between textuality and visuality; the visible and non-visible aspects of visuality; object and subject; or object and perception – rather a matter of focus. Drawing on visual cultural theorist Mirzoeff, I have adopted a broad conception of visuality that considers the visible and non-visible aspects of visuality throughout this study. I have described this as from the first chapter as considering both the object and its imaginary. Although Mirzoeff does not draw exclusively on visuality's non-visible aspects, such elements are rested on to draw fundamental conclusions –for instance, the visualiser's ability to order the world through the mind's eye through abstract ideas like the law (Mirzoeff 2001:140).

This broad conception of visuality stays true to the foundations of visual cultural studies. Visual culture as a field of study was inspired by British cultural studies that drew from multiple disciplines and methods of analysis. Traces of this

influence arguably linger in visual cultural studies, feeding into the field's most significant criticism. The success of British cultural studies was its exposition of deep hierarchical and intersecting structures of society (Oleksy & Golańska 2009:5). This exposition of hierarchy continues in visual cultural studies, particularly in Mirzoeff's conception of vision. A reader could understand Mirzoeff's particular interpretation of visuality relating to the complete understanding of an object that a subject can control. This interpretation is consistent with a common critique of vision as imperialist and bent on mastery (Marks 2000:191). For Mirzoeff, there is always a power hierarchy in the relationship between subject and object.

There are, however, other ways of thinking about vision where the object of our vision remains mysterious and elusive as opposed to something to be controlled. For example, in an article titled Visual Studies and the iconic turn, Keith Moxey (2008) unpacks two main approaches to thinking about images. First, Moxey differentiates between images interpreted as representations – as does Mirzoeff (1999, 2006, 2011, 2016) – and images interpreted as presentations – as do other visual cultural theorists like Mitchell (1994, 2002, 2005) and Belting (2005). It is this latter thinking about images as presentations, as resistant, as possessing something beyond hidden ideological agendas, and as something that is something that I will now explore further.

In this chapter, I particularly show where, and how, visualities outside of modernity's complex of order exist and are accessed through cultural remains and archaeological artefacts. The chapter begins with a theoretical musing on projections, stereotypes, and visuality, asking what happens to the real event in the light of the erasure caused by visuality. Arguments held in Delius, Maggs, and Schoeman's Forgotten World: The Stone-Walled Settlements of The Mpumalanga Escarpment (2014) are then used to point to complexes of order outside of those that shape modernity.

The landscape of the Mpumalanga Escarpment acts as an archive for older ways of seeing and making from which new imaginaries can be formed from the remains of a visuality gone by. I argue that although the Southern African vernacular ways of making and seeing presented by such settlements are used in the context of the modern world to interweave counterpoints to visuality.

Within such settlements one still finds 'the thrill of the real'. It is this 'thrill of the real'— produced by tangible traces of an older visuality— I argue, that makes archaeological images different to all other images. At the same time, as explained in Chapter One, archaeological images possess an inherent scientific authority. Thus, all archaeological images aredeeply ambivalent in nature: they are products of a particular visuality that possesses the authority of science, and they nevertheless offer thrilling glimpses of an older, alternative visuality.

6.1 Projection, stereotype, and the pull of the real?

There are workspaces in visual cultural studies that this study has drawn on that have developed both languages and strategies regarding how to engage with the colonial and postcolonial image critically. Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) launched a cultural project that would explore, in addition to its military might, the 'West's' cultural domination through what he saw as its creation of the other. Additionally, Said considered how European culture gained its strength and power by setting itself off against the other. Said exposed the network involved in generating this power and how, more than revealing anything about the orient, Orientalism was rather a reflection of European imperialism and racism. Said clearly stated that his objective with *Orientalism* was not to get to an original, that his project was not about truth, but about exteriority and representation.

Said insisted throughout his career that the 'orient', like the 'West', was a term without any ontological stability but made up of human effort (Said 2003: xii). Orientalism as a cultural project has had an explosive afterlife, and it has by now been discussed and revisited several times. I return to *Orientalism* to make a point about the source material Said based his core argument on. Said surveyed a wide range of European imaginative depictions of the other in literature. Bearing in mind that while Said did not discuss painting in *Orientalism*, his argument is nevertheless thoroughly visual. Said (2014:103) argues that "[t]he Orient is watched, since its almost (but never quite) offensive behaviour issues out of a reservoir of infinite peculiarity; the European, whose sensibility tours the Orient, is a watcher, never involved, always detached, ... The Orient becomes a living tableau of queerness".[56]

[56] Said did eventually turn to visual culture in *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), in the set designed for the first performance of Verdi's Aida in Egypt. Nevertheless, in *Orientalism* his argument was based on the artefacts of fiction, and from this he argued that the orient is a created figment.

In line with Said's notion that Orientalism is a Western projection, professor of psychology Derek Hook accepts that colonial documentation or 'looking' tells us little about the visualised and more about the visualiser. As already discussed briefly in Chapter Three, Hook also examines 'scientific' or ethnographic documentation. His opening example towards a theory of the workings of the racial stereotype comes from the earliest Western writings to be recorded in Southern Africa. In 1652, Hondirus' observation of the Khoi-San is published in Amsterdam for a reading European audience (Hondirus in Coetzee 1988:12). Responding to this documentation in relation to unpacking the racial stereotype, Hook (2005:1; 2012:157) observes:

> One here is confronted with a near ethnographic mode of exposition, an ostensibly detached set of observations that aims to contribute to the growing body of knowledge. Nevertheless, this is a form of documentation that seethes with anxiety at the radical otherness it witnesses and struggles to contain. So different is the world thus entered, in physical appearance, in the smell, foods, religion and sexuality of its peoples – in all important dimensions of human life – that the text becomes a catalogue of what can barely be believed. The otherness in question is loathsome, deplorable and yet also stable, the result of constant reiteration and repetition; hence, one might conclude, its stereotypical nature.

These are not strictly speaking visual representations of the other, but they do contribute to the understanding of the other. This kind of documentation, for Hook, tells us more about the author than the person being documented. Unpacking the workings of the racial stereotype, he writes the following: "This is a form of protection against difference — a continual foreclosure of the object of difference — rather than an actual engagement with the difference in question" (Hook 2005:732). Hook resolves that if the unconscious fantasy plays a dominant role in structuring our lives, what is required is not just the ability to see the real through the fantasy but to see the fantasy in the real. For Hook, if the unconscious fantasy conditions what counts as reality, then it seems pointless to try and grasp the true real, because it is always already an effect of fantasy. The other remains unknown, and some scholars have gone so far as to suggest that the other is unknowable (Visker 1999).

Again, my re-looking at LIAS is as an exploration of a precolonial African past mediated through a colonially based archive of illustrations. It is by now largely agreed upon that the colonial archive is full of ambivalent, biased, and overtly

racist images (Hartman 2008; Hamilton and Leibhammer, 2016; Said 1978; 1993). Through the critical psychology offered by Hook it becomes possible to see not only the operation of the racial and cultural stereotypes in individual texts within the archive but also the whole archive as stereotypical in nature, as "a catalogue of what can barely be believed" (Hook 2012: 157).

Hook's solution to the problem, of Orientalism as a projection of the west, is to theorise the workings of the mind of the projector as a form of resistance. Seeing the west see itself in the archive would affirm the reality and autonomy of the observing entity. As a decolonial strategy for maintaining or establishing the autonomy threatened by Orientalism and similar projects in area studies, this works well. Hook's pursuit of the workings of fantasy is based on the fantasies' foreclosure of the difference. Based on this, Hook reasons a pursuit of the true real seems pointless. It is known, however, that despite the foreclosure enacted in the racist mind, that 'black women' and 'black men' do exist – not in romanticised versions of self that are original and must be kept as such to affirm the self as progressive but as living, breathing, growing, embodied beings capable of both looking at and seeing.

Hook's analysis of the workings of the racial and cultural stereotypes is based on documentary images, accounts of memory, postcolonial theory, and, like Said, imaginative depictions of the other. Although using a wider range of source material than Said, including 'scientific', and documentary images, Hook partly reaches the same conclusion: in short, that truth and the real cannot be reached. Said's project is thus not about truth but exteriority and representation; and Hook gives up on the true real, because the images used to sustain such pursuits tell us little concerning who the imaginings are about, and more about the imagination of the imaginer. Can the documentary image or the image of science, however, be equated with that of memory and/or the imaginary? This is an important question for this study because archeological images hold a different authority because of the weight of the documentary image or the image of science.

Visual cultural theorist Amanda du Preez's exploration of Baudrillard moves towards answering this question. Prompted by Baudrillard's question, "what happens then to the real event, if everywhere the image, the fiction, the virtual, infuses reality". Du Preez (2010:394) asks, "How matter comes to matter?" Du Preez asks this in an exploration of the value of materiality in the work of five South African visual artists. She argues that despite the reality principal being lost and understood only as a part of the virtual – fantasy, stereotype, visuality, or the image – the real still does have a pull or, in the words of du Preez (2010) the real at least is still a by-product of simulacrum.

Du Preez notes that, as the by-product of visuality, the real adds a thrill to the image of terror and could also be understood as that which gives the line 'based on a true story' currency. If in fantasy our disbelief is suspended, the thrill added by the line 'based on a true story' is, for du Preez, the oozing out of the real. An interest in the real here is to highlight that it continues to matter even in the world of fantasy. The value of this matter is the currency that whole disciplines are based on, and such is the case in the discipline of archaeology. The discipline of archaeology, specifically in relation to its artistic impressions of material pasts, is in constant negotiation between the reality of matter and projections or fantasies based on that matter.

Mirzoeff's understanding of the workings of visuality can and should be put in relation to Hook's understating of the workings of the racial stereotype. The racial stereotype and visuality as discussed by Hook and Mirzoeff are seemingly related entities with similar functions. They are both entities that mediate and order the world. They rely on the enforcement of an authority's point of view. In visuality, an individual willingly, by force, or by manipulation gives away the autonomy of her or his eyes to an institution with authority. This institution's point of view and version of events is then accepted as true. Both visuality and the workings of the racial and cultural stereotype can be used to explain how a slave comes to be viewed as a tool and in the case of *ukuzibona*, self seeing, how a teller becomes the till.

Whereas Mirzoeff advocates for a claiming of the right to look as a decolonial visual cultural agenda — not yet contemplating how one may see when in possession of those eyes — Hook suggests that it seems pointless to try and grasp the true real because it is always already an effect of fantasy. Hook instead looks to a study of the mind of apartheid — the development of a critical psychology of the postcolonial — as a strategy of regaining autonomy and/or remaining autonomous. In relation to *ukubona* and the right to look, to imagine the mind of apartheid is to claim not only the right to look but also to naturalise the exteriority of the place from which that looking takes place. If Hook's theory of the mind of apartheid is applied to the colonial archive, going back to the colonial archive is not at all about, in this case, a Southern African past, its recreation, or affirmation of its place under the suns of history. The colonial archive, understood via Hook, becomes an opportunity for Southern Africa to remain autonomous and real and to confirm this reality, by seeing Europe see itself in the archive. While this seeing would tell Africa nothing about itself, it would affirm the fact that Africa can see and in this way is autonomous.

There are clear similarities between Mirzoeff's visuality and Hook's under-

standing of stereotype. There is nevertheless a crucial difference between visuality and the stereotype. While visuality may be of a stereotypical nature, not all stereotypes are visuality. Hook uses images from memory, theory, the imaginary, and scientific documentation alongside each other to come to a theory of the workings of the racial and cultural stereotype. Mirzoeff is concerned only with images with authority. Applied to the colonial archive, Hook's theory proposes that colonial documentation or 'looking' tells us little about the visualised and more about the visualiser. On this basis, Hook turns away from an already under-represented subject, or any reminder thereof, to instead study the workings of the mind of the dreamer – the mind of apartheid. As I have already discussed, as a decolonial strategy for maintaining or establishing autonomy, this works well.

New thinkers in the field of Late Iron Age research, contemplating interpretation in their field, insist on a return to material culture — the physical ruins of settlements (Lane 1994; Hall 1998; Beach 1997; Chirikure and Pikirayi 2011, 2015, Chirikure et al, 2014). If such researchers are believed, a theory — like that developed by Hook — taking into consideration how certain bodies see is important. Hook, however, seems to abandon embodied materiality with an abandonment of the real: "If it is fantasy that conditions what counts as reality for us, then it seems pointless to try and grasp the 'true real', for it is always, *already* an effect of fantasy" (Hook 2005:17). I understand forgoing the real in the context of the colonial archive as forgoing the idea that that archive has anything of material substance to offer postcolonial readers outside of seeing Europe see itself. This notion I disagree with. The subject of these pages is not about using the colonial archive to see Europe see itself but the colonial archive for the files it holds files that have material presence and carry with them the thrill of the real.

There are discussions in memory studies and related fields that similarly ask, what can still be done with the archive of colonialism and slavery? What I try to do, and highlight other scholars as doing, for the visual domain, is comparable to what writer and academic Saidiya Hartman does in fictional narrative. Hartman's concept of "critical fabulation" (Hartman 2008:11) grapples with a writing methodology that combines historical and archival research with critical theory and fictional narrative. Critical fabulation attempts to bring the suppressed voices of the past to the surface by means of research and scattered facts. What the concept allows in context of this study is a passage around, with or through the 'real'. It advocates for the importance of research and the academic endeavour without insisting too much on the real yet still recognising its value.

As with the files grappled with by Hartman (2008), the files that are the subject of these pages are files with missing links, with flattened and or hidden

layers, files with images that are distorted, low resolution, or pixelated. Such images in other circumstances should be discarded because of quality and reliability. This kind of image — for communities whose existence and cultural pasts have actively been distorted and at other times erased — cannot so easily be disregarded. Here, where there is no clearly defined image, every pixel becomes useful and something to hold onto and work with in creating the image anew.

Said's *Orientalism* argues that the production of imaginaries comes into the world and becomes something that is something: something that has an effect on people. In this way, the imaginary becomes material or at the very least comes to have a material effect on the bodies that experience it. I propose that visuality, or the image with authority, is beyond just something that is something; it has, more precisely, embedded in it a reminder. As a result, it also carries with it the pull of the real, the by-product of the world of simulacrum, that thing which adds thrill to the line 'based on a true story'. Mirzoeff's argument follows that visuality or the image with authority is not just useful as a means of demonstrating European or 'Western' cultural hegemony, but the very basis from which a counterhistory of visuality can be imagined. In this way, a decolonial framework for understanding images is conceived. Visuality adds thrill because it is 'based on a true story', its ultimate pull is its approval by an authority. To return to the question at hand, can the documentary image be equated with that of memory and or the imaginary? Visuality would be interested in whether or not the documenter has authority. The pull of the real in visuality is authorised. Whether it does or does not exist is of no concern. Authority thus becomes the real.

The images that accompany archaeological findings and attempt to make sense of excavated sights or sites are examples of the visuality that have the thrill of the real: the kind of visuality that has both the potential of a remainder and holds authority. Images of the past also compete vigorously to populate the future. As has been maintained in this study, these images frame a viewer's sense of politics and direct political possibilities. Images with authority, like archaeological illustrations, even as 'artistic impressions', invite viewers to see a world they do not and/or cannot have access to. Here viewers directly engage with the authority of artists and archaeologists and have (or are given) few options outside of giving over their eyes. As seeing becomes ever more complex in an establishment of technology, authority remains with the entity that has both the right to look and the ability to see – that is the ability to make sense of looking. For these reasons, such images cannot simply be ignored or, dare I say, disavowed as fantasy.

In the section that follows, I discuss four images interwoven with the ideas discussed above: an aerial photograph of the Bokoni landscape; a rock engraving

found in the landscape which I will discuss as a rare example of self-representation; an artistic impression rendered from a rock engraving; and finally, the artistic impression rendered from a rock engraving used at the foot of the ruins of Bokoni to help viewers understand its significance.

6.2 A Meeting of worlds and the re-ordering of sight

A tarred road slices through a landscape (Figure 28). The landscape is pictured photographically from above. It is cropped so that the image of the road captured reads as a thick grey graphic line. The line separates two green plains of colour. Primed by a recurring pattern in the book, a viewer recognises the faded brown circular lines on the green plains as ruins of the Koni homesteads — a Late Iron Age Settlement on the Mpumalanga Escarpment in South Africa. The graphic line cuts through the heart of a homestead, separating one side of a home from the other. The thick straight line formed by the tarred road is perforated by a broken white line. In the rules that govern the road, the broken white line communicates the right of a motorist to change lanes when it is safe to do so. Three arrows, indicating left in the image, indicate to the fact that it is safe to do so.

On either side of the broken white line are solid yellow lines. According to the same traffic rules, the road ends at this point. The solid yellow line which would forbid motorists from entering in this image visually sections off the road from the remains which lie on either side of it. From the aerial view offered by the image, however, the eye is able to wander freely and, as a result, to stitch together the cleaved settlement. The view is a restorative one. It stitches together a forgotten world. Speaking about the power of the aerial view, the image also makes a claim about modernity. Modernity, here symbolised by the straight line of the tarred road, is visualised as a path whose trajectory cannot be captured, with no beginning and no end. Whereas the image captures an entire homestead, the road is only a brief moment captured here out of context. It does not attempt in any way to go around these worlds, instead it moves straight through them, regardless of what stands in its way. It, modernity, drives on smooth paths with yellow blinders on either side of it. It orders those on its path to move along.

The arguments sustained in Delius, Maggs, and Schoeman's *Forgo en World: The Stone-Walled Settleme ts of The Mpumalanga Escarpment*, along with the publication's luscious images, present a complex of order that precedes but nevertheless influences modernity. Within a Southern African context, the whispers of landscape cannot be ignored. The landscape of the Mpumalanga Escarpment acts as an archive for older ways of seeing and making from which new

Figure 28:
Graeme Williams, *A Road Runs Through the Heart of a Koni Site*, 2014. (in Delius, Maggs, and Schoeman 2014: 147).

imaginaries can be made visible. From the ground, a driver within the landscape of Figure 28 may miss that there is so much to see. The aerial view makes this apparent. There are other photographs featured in the book that attempt to show the vastness of the Bokoni Landscape (Figure 29). I choose to focus on Figure 28 because it visualises the idea of a counterpoint; more cynically, it documents the end of an old order. From the view presented in Figure 28, a viewer witnesses visualities folding into one another. The more recent visuality is more pronounced than the older it imposed itself on. The patterns formed by the stone-walled settlements fight to be seen. There, on either side of a bulldozing path, the eye is able to piece together different pasts from the remainders of a fading time.

The Southern African vernacular ways of making and seeing preserved in the archaeological remains of LIAS, like those of the Mpumalanga Escarpment, are poised in counterpoint to the visuality of the modern world. Nonetheless, they interweave and converse with modern visuality, having themselves — arguably — been pervasive ways of seeing, innate with their own power, a complex of order in their own right. Within this context there are inevitably projections and stereotypes. The material culture of the ruins, however, also holds something more powerful, that is the thrill of the real. The analysis of the material culture of these ruins, as undertaken by archaeology, also holds something powerful that no other discipline has access to. This thrill of the real makes archaeological images different to all other images. Delius, Maggs, and Schoeman's publication *Forgo en Worlds* brings to the general public the significance of the archaeological findings of Bokoni — a Late Iron Age Settlement on the Mpumalanga Escarpment. The book offers vibrant aerial photographs which begin to give an idea of the scale of the settlements in question and how such settlements intersect and are interwoven with the Escarpment today. Figure 28 shows aerial views of the Escarpment that

Figure 29:
Graeme Williams,
cal 29 Stone Walls - Aerial Views.
Mpumalanga, South Africa, 2009;
Also the *Cover of the Book Forgo en World: The Stone-Walled Settleme ts of The Mpumalanga Escarpment*,
2014. (Williams 2009).

everyday users of the landscape could go through without noticing. The image shows an almost unconscious weaving together of two worlds. One visuality inscribes itself onto another, but the older one still shines through. Figure 28 and 29 demonstrate how aerial photography is used in our present-day visuality to survey landscapes old and new. The areal surveying of landscapes most recently in real time is a key mode of visuality characteristic of the military-industrial complex.

Perhaps the most significant contribution of the publication is its discussion of rock engravings found in the landscape. Delius, Maggs, and Schoeman's discussion of rock engravings in the publication offers an alternative visuality — that is a complex of order — in which Late Iron Age Settlements can be imagined. The engravings found in the Mpumalanga Escarpment are of value to this study as visual 'self accounts' of the settlements in question. Visualisations of a people by the people with the acknowledgement that such images in themselves have their own inbuilt hierarchies and silences. Such images are not perfect but rather are called on at this time as a tool. They offer windows to contemplate visualities beyond European colonial influence. They offer ways of seeing the world that may not involve Europe at all. Delius, Maggs, and Schoeman and Hall (2014) agree that the engravings record, if nothing else, the social ordering of the world amongst Bantu farming communities of Southern Africa. They deduce that the shape of a settlement in this context closely reflects the structure of the family in terms of each person's age, gender, and status. The shape of the settlement emphasises the importance of the family cattle herd. The cattle herd for farming communities is valuable as food. It also has symbolic, monetary, and religious value. The settlement's spatial planning reflects the centrality of cattle in this world. Circular kraals, where cattle are kept, are always at the centre of a homestead. The shape of the settlement, captured in the floor plans recorded by the engravings, reflects the order of a people.

Figure 30a and engraved boulders like it (Figures 30b, c, d, e, f, g) can be found across the Mpumalanga Escarpment. I was informed whilst visiting the Lydenburg museum that many rock engravings from the Bokoni culture remain on private farms in the area. A google search of such engravings reveals a multitude of such rocks (Williams 2009; Stidoph 2019; Dyll 2019). The boulders found in the landscape act as readymade surfaces. On them, the drama of the day unfolds. They are windows into a different mode of seeing. They are generally flat, smooth in some areas and rough in others. They also have subtle, washed tonal variations of brown, beige, mushroom, fawn, ochre, and ash. Highlights of colour emphasise the natural erosion of the boulder. The boulders have slightly indented areas, perhaps the gentle grinding of a pebble stone on the boulder. The engravings on

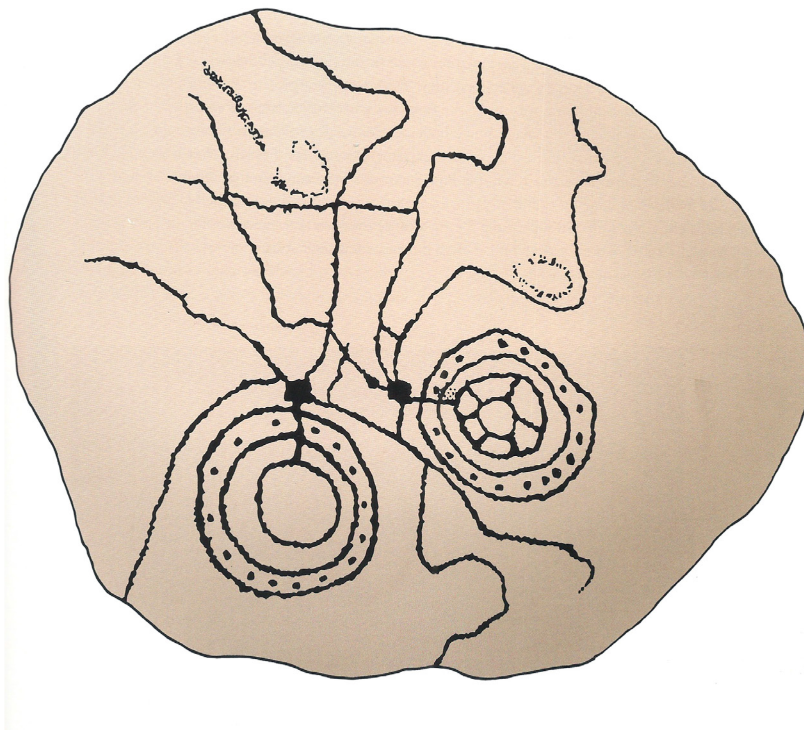


Figure 30 (Above):
Tim Maggs, *Rock Engraving Showing Two Homesteads Connected by Paths or Roads*, 2014. (Delius, Maggs, and Schoeman 2014: 76).

Figure 30a (Left):
Tim Maggs, *Tracing of an Engraved rock, 'Rock Engraving Showing Two Homesteads Connected by Paths or Roads'*, 2014. (Delius, Maggs, and Schoeman 2014: 77).

the boulders are layered. In some areas, engravings are less prominent: perhaps an engraver that changed their mind. The rock engravings at Bokoni can be seen as miniature landscapes. They combine the readymade surface of the rock with human intervention in the form of the engravings.

The engravings provide a seemingly familiar way of seeing, an aerial view from a different location, on the ground as opposed to up from above, and, most significantly, by occupants of Late Iron Age Settlements. A different visuality informs these engravings. The world is seen from a different point of view. Like much of the photography featured in the book, the engravings describe the landscape from an aerial perspective. Far from the vibrant colour images achieved by the photography, the rock engravings are map-like images. They provide highly abstract(ed) representations of the landscape of which they form part The boulder is embedded into the ground. The images are not taken by aerial photography using planes or drone. The engraved images on large boulders, nevertheless, show homesteads and settlements as seen from above.

There are examples of various cultures around the world and their use of the aerial view, further expressing a particular way of relating to the world that is different from modern, western, and imperial ways of seeing. Australian Aboriginal art employs an aerial view (Ravenscroft 1985). The Nazca lines and effigy mounds in the Americas do too (Devereux 1993). Like the line drawings on rocks in the Mpumalanga, Aboriginal art in Australian and the Nazca lines and effigy mounds in the Americas speak to ways of seeing outside of modern visuality. More than this, they show that different cultures around the world have been imagining aerially long before flight had made the actual viewing possible. Such images reinforce the notion of visuality as a tool of imagining the future into being through the mind's eye and ordering the world accordingly.

As much as the pull of the real is embedded within rock engravings like Figures 29 and 30, the imaginary of their interpretation — as my own — outside of the complex of order in which they were made and understood, always lurks close by. The imaginary of projections is always potentially accompanied by harmful and limiting stereotypes. Interpreting the rock engravings of Bokoni, Delius, Maggs, and Schoeman observe that the rock engravings visualise the walls of the settlement alone and omit granaries and individual houses. From these omissions the archaeologists suggest that the primary engravers must have been young boys: "Since the management of cattle in these societies was exclusively reserved for males, this suggests (and this is the dominant explanation) that engraving was mainly done by boys and young men whose responsibility it would have been to look after the livestock as they moved around the grazing area" (Delius, Maggs, and Schoeman 2014:12).

Contrary to Delius, Maggs, and Schoeman's interpretation of the engravings,

Figure 30b (Top Right):
Graeme Williams, *Crl27 Engravings On Rocks Found at Boomplaats*, Outside Lydenburg, Mpumalanga, *South Africa*, 2009. (Williams 2009).

Figure 30c (Bottom Right):
Graeme Williams, *Crl28 Engravings On Rocks Found at Boomplaats*, Outside Lydenburg, Mpumalanga, *South Africa*, 2009. (Williams 2009).

Figure 30d (Top Left):
Graeme Williams, *Crl32 Engravings On Rocks Found at Boomplaats*, Outside Lydenburg, Mpumalanga, South Africa, 2009. (William 2009).

Figure 30e (Bottom Left) :
Anthony Stidolph, *Photograph of Rock Engraving Found in the Mpumalanga Escarpment (1)*, 2019. (Stidolph 2019).

Figure 30f (Above):
Anthony Stidolph, *Photograph of Rock Engraving Found in the Mpumalanga Escarpment (2)*, 2019. (Stidolph 2019).

Figure 30g (Left):
Anthony Stidolph, *Photograph of Rock Engraving Found in the Mpumalanga Escarpment (3)*, 2019. (Stidolph 2019).

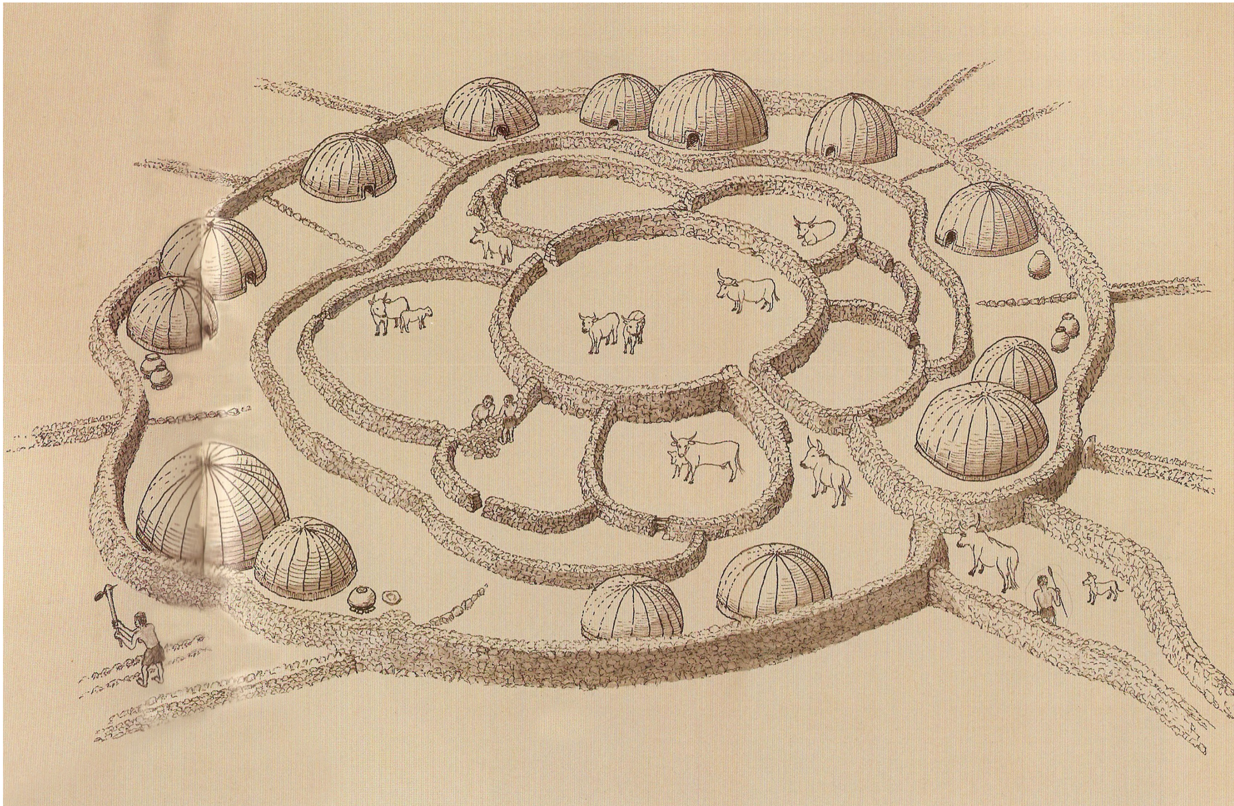


Figure 31: Tim Maggs, *Artist imp ession of what the homestead in a plan of Bokoni might have looked like during its occupatio* , 2014. (Delius, Maggs, and Schoeman 2014: 75).

archaeologist Simon Hall describes the engravings as being made by young girls while playing in the field. Both agree that such engravings are explorations by inhabitants, whether male, female, both, or neither, of the cultural spaces in which they live. Both interpretations are nevertheless limited by their categorisation of male and female: women's work and men's work. These forcefully maintained interpretations are ultimately projected back onto the landscapes visualised. A demarcation of male and female spaces seems a forceful and arbitrary insertion in the interpretation of images that show no clear evidence of it themselves. They speak to and of the paradigm organising the projections of Hall and Delius, Maggs, and Schoeman. What is of concern here is why scholars did not conclude that both boys and girls — or groups of boys and groups of girls if they were socially separated — may have engaged in engraving. What is also not clear is why the engravers are assumed to be youth; why these representations were not produced by older people with authority? That the interpretations both assumed that boys worked and girls played is something to be look into. This may be a transpositioning of an almost Victorian view of gender roles onto LIAS societies. Could boys and girls both have worked and played? The images and text are not clear about this.

Figure 31 perpetuates the idea of the gendered nuclear family. In the image, this idea is projected onto the human beings, animals, and the built environment depicted. The staged nature of the Figure 31 is an example of what Donna Haraway grappled with in the 1984 article Teddy Bear Patriarchy. Namely, how scientific models were built in ways that made those models seem more “natural” and “universal” than they actually were (Haraway 1984). While the speculation about whether it was boys or girls who made the engravings is in itself not yet evidence that Hall and Delius, Maggs, and Schoeman are working with a nuclear family blueprint, their projections in some ways point towards this. Given their knowledge of LIAS societies, I put a conscious perpetuation of this tendency aside. The discrepancy I do wish to pursue is between the textual information and the image made visible in Figure 31. In Figure 31, Maggs offers a projection of what the plan of a homestead might have looked like during its occupation.

Figure 31 pictures four human beings within a built environment. From left to right, a figure works with a hoe, two figures work at rebuilding a wall, and another figure holds a spear while seemingly herding animals. The animals depicted appear in groups of one, two or three. The built environment follows a similar pattern in terms of its grouping of structures.

The two figures in the image are depicted holding gendered objects—a man with a spear herds cattle on the right side of the image. Outside the enclosure of the walled settlement, a bare-breasted woman works with a hoe in the garden. The woman in the image is visualised outside the circular enclosure, closest to the hut, granaries, and cooking pots. The iron objects found in the landscape, spear and hoe, are gendered because, according to Delius, Maggs, and Schoeman, such observations are informed by logical projections from the material culture of the ruins contemplated alongside ethnographic evidence. A feminine hoe and a masculine spear, mother and father within the logic of the nuclear family, work on the family homestead alongside their two children, presumably the two other figures in the image.

As well as pointing toward the ideal of the nuclear family through human figures in the image, the animals and built environment also echo this logic. Calves are lovingly attended to by the presence of a larger cow, except for the calf closest to the figure with a spear. The sizes of the rondavels with the pots placed next to them match culturally and historically specific norms; the difference in the dimensions of the huts fit society's ideas about male and female pairs. The tiny pots alongside these huts can be read as children next to parents. By all indications and admission by Hall and Delius, Maggs, and Schoeman, the family structures followed in the Late iron age were more complex than the standard

nuclear family. The image theoretically – alongside the text that accompanies it – works towards depicting this; however, different norms are shown in execution. The human beings and animals illustrated sparsely fill the environment. The environment, as a result, could be read as sterile and empty; all indications of the scale of human beings that lived in such settlements are muted. The image thus is contrary to the text that accompanies it.

An excavated floor plan informs Maggs' artistic impression of what a homestead at Bokoni might have looked like during its occupation. How the homestead is populated in the image, however, contradicts its interpretation as accounted for in the text. The text notes, "[a] large homestead such as this must have been made up of several households within an extended family — an important man with several wives and their children, probably outer closely-related families and perhaps also some unrelated families. We suggest this because it was the normal family composition in larger settlements among the neighbouring Pedi people, as well as many other black farming communities" (Delius, Maggs, and Schoeman 2014:74). The visual patterning of Maggs' artistic impression, on the contrary, echoes the nuclear family. It silences the large, vibrant society made of multiple family configurations into small clusters of two to three homesteads and granaries, human beings, and animals. The image thus stands in stark contrast to the textual description of the large household made up of extended family, several wives, and their children.

The favouring of the nuclear family structure as a standard is revisited later in the text. According to Delius, Maggs, and Schoeman, "[t]he evidence from these engravings, as well as the complex homestead plans that we have surveyed, shows that we can expect to find as many as fifteen to twenty (or more) households situated in the outer ring of a large homestead. If we estimate an average of three people per household, there may have been as many as forty-five to sixty people living in one of the larger homesteads" (Delius, Maggs, and Schoeman 2014:76). The nuclear family structure, as a standard, in this case, affects more than just the assigning of gender to space, it also affects population projections. I do not assume here that the archaeologists fall into this trap but rather speak for viewers of their images who may never read the text as the image becomes decontextualised through travel. Conversely, someone may read the text, but have that interpretation sublimated by the image. Although the demarcation of space in artistic impressions is justified as informed by logical projections from the material culture of the ruins contemplated alongside ethnographic evidence,

a perpetuation of the nuclear family through the image is unaccounted for. The ideology of the nuclear family — a Western nineteenth-century middle-class 'invention' — is simply projected onto the past through image.

What is at stake in the creation of images by archaeologists — even only as artistic impressions — is the propagation of particular ways of seeing the world. Hall's and Delius, Maggs, and Schoeman's divergent interpretations of the rock engravings found in Bokoni, as well as Maggs' artistic impression of a homestead in the area, are a testament to this. Whether true to the way that space was organised in the Late Iron Age or not, their interpretations and findings align with the new artistic impression. Moreover, as stated time and time again in this study, archaeologists not only lead interpretations of archaeological landscapes, they are also often at the forefront of the creation of the images that interpret their findings. Artistic impressions, directly out of archaeological texts, often travel back to archaeological sites and various other cultural institutions. They are used here to make sense of what can frequently barely be seen.

Figure 32 is an image I took myself at Bokoni. The curator of the Lydenburg Museum leads me through the ruins of Bokoni. Maggs' artistic impression from the *Forgo en World* is used at Bokoni out of context. Placed at the foot of a valley, the image helps visitors imagine the significance of the landscape visited. In the moment of encounter with Maggs' artistic impression, the underlying messages in the archaeological text about gender, the family structure, and population projections are not latent but rather overt in the artistic impressions presented about the space. Such ideas are particularly disturbing when looked at in relation to the self-representation of the settlements in the form of the engravings found in the landscape. Contrary to the ideas perpetuated in Maggs' artistic impression of what a settlement at Bokoni may have looked like, the self-representations of the settlements are abstracted forms that focus on lines, engraved into rock. They tell a story about the social ordering of the world amongst Bantu farming communities of Southern Africa, steering far away from some of the ideas Maggs' artistic impressions seem to project onto them. In the context of how Maggs' artistic impression is used at Bokoni, I see no reason why a rock engraving — even if it were a replica — could not have been maybe better: for the same purpose. Instead, LIAS self-representation is re-presented and reinterpreted by present-day archaeology. A meeting of worlds results in a re-ordering of site and sight which affects both medium and meaning.

Both Maggs' artistic impression and the rock engravings are visuality. Maggs' artistic impression is visuality in the way that it depicts family, gender, and societal organisation in the past with authority. Moreover, it is a depiction that reinforces those power relations in the present. The image's disavowals of past possibilities reinforce present-day realities and aspirations. It purports these realities and aspirations as natural, timeless, and without context even when evidence suggests otherwise. Likewise, the rock engravings found at Bokoni in a different context could very well have been objects ordering the world around them with authority. The engravings materially manifest their vision of the world. They claim the rock on which this vision is engraved while also claiming the landscape represented. The rock engravings found at Bokoni demarcate and command space. The engravings are inescapably influenced by the visuality of the world that produced them. They are constructed by a complex of visuality, producing particular patterns of the society it orders. While the rock engravings found at Bokoni are visuality, they are countervisual to our present-day order that interprets them. While the significance of the engravings is contentious, what the engravings guarantee is a glimpse into another way of seeing and ordering the world.

Circular forms encased in other circular forms which in turn encase other circular forms, grouped and specked. Engraved forms produce areas that are sometimes entirely closed off and at other times have slipways, like doors, that allow entrance into other areas. Areas are joined by lines or pathways that move from one form to another. This pattern is the thread that joins together engravings found on boulders, aerial photographs of settlements, artistic impressions, and the scaled architectural plans of archaeologists. As dug up foundation, these patterns or circular forms engraved on rock are the fact of archaeology. These patterns are also the only things that seem to be of significance to the engravings on the borders. This abstracted pattern is what has become iconic of this time. It is what remains and that which refuses to be forgotten. The abstracted form gives a glimpse into a countervisual vernacular.

When the visuality that orders the modern world is peeled away, new layers of seeing the world, informed by different visualities, begin to appear. Old objects which come into being within a multitude of other visualities are reinterpreted. The objects encountered in the peeling away of time and understanding are interpreted within the visuality of our present-day; they are re-seen and studied. Thus, old artefacts from forgotten worlds can be used — in the context of the modern world and its tendency of erasure — to counterpoint visuality. This is possible regardless of those objects having been imbued with power to order their world with authority in a different time. The images that are the subject of this chapter — like the rock engravings at Bokoni, are different from the images of

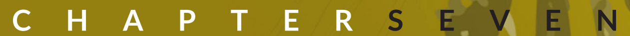
Figure 32: Tim Maggs' Artist impression of what the homestead in a plan of Bokoni might have looked like during its occupation, used at the foot of the Bokoni Ruins close to the Lydenburg Museum, Lydenburg, 2018. Photograph by the author.

mining discussed in Chapter Four — images that are clearly designed as attempts of erasure, to overwrite an overlay and make unseen older layers of being in the world. Even when perceived in counterpoint to the present visuality, in the new space, the rock engravings remain objects that carry with them old orders of thinking and being.

6.3 Conclusion: Rock engravings found at Bokoni

Far from being just projections and/or stereotypes, archaeological images, specifically archaeological objects and remains, are attractive because of the pull or thrill of the real. In a regime of scientific proof, supported by a regime of archiving that orders the modern world, archaeology is often the only way to prove the existence of a deep Southern African past. Here, the landscape acts as the archive which archaeology then excavates. These images bring order to the past, reordering it anew not for use in the past but the future. They order this future with the pull of the real.

The images examined within my broader study either propagate or challenge a Eurocentric visuality. Delius, Maggs, and Schoeman and Hall's analyses of the rock engravings present an opportunity of tapping into an alternative way of seeing outside of Eurocentrism. A search for countervisual moments presented by the archive of images related to the Late Iron Age has simultaneously been a search for countervisual ways of making as well as seeing. The rock engravings found at Bokoni are precisely this. I outline that this way of seeing could very well, within its own contexts, have been visuality. This precolonial visuality is, however, called upon, in our postcolonial present, to act in counterpoint to modern visuality. As such the rock engravings at Bokoni are used later in this study as a countervisual archive of Southern African Late Iron Age vernacular. Lines engraved into rock poetically tell the story of a people and their way of life and moreover their effect on the built environment. The engravings break the mould dealt with thus far in terms of how the landscape is imagined. A vast Late Iron Age landscape is ordered on a single rock embedded within that very landscape. In search of a visual language to accompany a shift from a critique of images related to the Late Iron Age, into the making of such images, the vernacular of the rock engravings seems apt.



ADOBE TRANSLATING THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN IRON AGE

This chapter is a significant departure from Chapters One to Six. In it, I engage with my image-making process employing the help of Adobe software. Leaning on my training as an artist, I am inclined to analyse and make images to think through a problem. From the onset of this study, I had planned on a two-fold methodological approach involving in the first fold, textual analysis and, in the second, and image-making process. Following this design, in preceding chapters, I have systematically worked through textual analysis of selected images from or related to archaeological publications about the Southern African Late Iron Age. In this endeavour, in Chapter Six, I described Hartman's concept of "critical fabulation" (Hartman 2008:11) as a means of overcoming, working with, and through a problematic archive. The concept advocates for a two-step methodology involving academic rigour and imaginative play. It proposes bringing together historical and archival research, critical theory, and fictional narrative in creative interventions attempting to move beyond problematic archives. Hartman works particularly through the archive of Atlantic Slavery. Moving between an academic endeavour and one outside of this space, Hartman refers to working with the archive of Atlantic Slavery as an impossible task that can and should never the less be fruitfully undertaken.

I arrived late at the concept of critical fabulation while struggling to write a fitting conclusion to my image-making. I had from the start set out to create images that would, as well as critique, be creative interventions in the visualisation of the Southern African Late Iron Age. After working on Adobe Illustrator and Photoshop to do this, my conclusion was that, in the digital age, for at-home users, Adobe translated the Southern African Late Iron Age. Hartman's concept became helpful in confronting the limits of the colonial archive I was working with and through. It helped with acknowledging the effect that this archive had

on the work I was making and the limits of all tools, including software. It has helped me think deeper about the overlapping locations of image-making and academia. It has allowed me to contemplate what these worlds create, but also their value standing alone. After all, Hartman comes to the academic format to describe what she could not resolve in fiction—allowing her to tell the story she wanted or needed to tell of an elusive archive, honestly—accepting the unknown and the unknowable. I have let my reading of Hartman effect a similar acceptance and persistence.

The following chapter is a record of my experience of making images of Southern African Late Iron Age Settlements in the digital age and the use of Adobe Software, particularly Photoshop, Illustrator and InDesign, in this endeavour. I do not claim the expertise of these programmes; what I engage with below is the experience of at-home users who know more than the average person but are still part of the world of 'how to' *YouTube* tutorials. This chapter records my experience of their use, in making a body of work that would act as an intervention in a study about the visualisation of the Southern African Later Iron Age.

As leading graphics computer software applications for desktop editing, Adobe's Illustrator and Photoshop hold a powerful position in the world today. They are a significant part of the technologies and techniques used to practise visuality and countervisuality in the military-industrial complex which coincides with the Digital Age. Advances in Illustrator and Photoshop have allowed users to create more refined drawings, designs, and layouts than was ever possible before the advent of vector-based programming. The applications have changed perceptions of reality by remarkably changing photo editing techniques, specifically the digital production of images.

February 2020 marked thirty years of Adobe's Photoshop. Photoshop has participated in directing a generation's sense of politics and political possibilities. This has been possible through its dominance in techniques able to manipulate visual space. Thus, over thirty years Photoshop has managed to create aesthetic standards unattainable in real life, prompting opponents of its visuality to be more critical of what they see (Brändlin 2015). Outside of shifting beauty standards the manipulation of images has had several other political implications, including the racist darkening of images, unethical cropping by new outlets and in general the world's awakening to 'fake news' and in turn fake history.

Photo manipulation, through advances in Artificial Intelligence, is beginning to take on a life of its own — heavily dependent on big data analytics and algorithm design. More than this, photo editing applications designed for mobile phone

users, and which let users add filters on Instagram and other such platforms, are also now widely used. Although graphics computer software applications Illustrator and Photoshop are expensive and difficult to use, they still dominate the world of desktop editing. In a world deeply affected by the ubiquity of images and with social media allowing for the sharing of such images at unprecedented rates in large quantities, Adobe holds a powerful position.

Being a significant part of how images are produced by home users in the digital age, Adobe's software applications have creeped into our homes, onto our screens, and into our languages. So engraved is the idea of the digitally manipulated image in contemporary culture, that the trademark Photoshop is now commonly used in urban vernacular to imply manipulation and deception (Kastrenakes 2020). The photoshopped image is one with negative implications of deception. To the trademark's dismay, 'Photoshop' was officially accepted and classified in the English language as a verb meaning 'to alter', especially in a way that distorts reality. Adobe as a corporation of course prefers more positive connotations for its products: "Don't say "Photoshopped"; say "The image was enhanced using Adobe® Photoshop® software" (Arya 2011: [sp]).

The Adobe System powering Illustrator and Photoshop was founded in 1982 by mathematicians John Warnock and Chuck Geschke. Adobe's development of a language interpretable by personal computers in order to display a document on screen was a breakthrough that revolutionised graphic design. The page description language PostScript, used lines defined by mathematical formulae, as opposed to individual bit or pixel-based descriptions. PostScript's success allowed Adobe to turn its attention to graphic design. The PostScript language was used for Illustrator, Adobe's first software application. Conceived as an easy-to-use drawing programme that would allow users to create complicated page layouts, Illustrator was released in 1987 for the Apple Macintosh. Among its most significant features was its pen tool, which enabled the user to draw smooth curves and create high-resolution shapes and images. In time, more complex drawing tools were added, including the use of "layers" which can be quickly undone (Dill 2017: [sp]).

Following the success of Illustrator, Photoshop was conceived as a subsidiary component. As opposed to the vector graphics of Illustrator — described in mathematical formulae which allowed images to be resized with no pixellation — Photoshop images were raster images, described in dots or pixels. The demand for Photoshop rose as computers improved and digital photography technology advanced. The use of Photoshop grew and became a significant part of many industries, including publishing, web design, medicine, film, advertising, engineering, and architecture.

Although Adobe's Photoshop is understood and ubiquitously used as a verb, its politics are often linked with the end results of the images the desktop editor is known for. Discussions about the politics of Photoshop include Photoshop's role in redefining beauty in cosmetic advertisements (Brown 2014); Photoshop's role in political iconoclasm in the Digital Age (Dill (2017:[sp]); and the role digital memes play in the framing of public discourses about several subjects including police injustice (Bayerl and Stoynov 2016). The politics of Photoshop are discussed in ways that reduce the political implications of the editor relative to those of the images the editor creates. Few discussions engage with the politics of the process of photoshopping: that is, the process of editing itself.

On the user end of Adobe's software it becomes clear that the politics of Photoshop are at work at the onset of making. Photoshop and Illustrator can be complex and difficult to use. Long before the final image is published, a maker using the Adobe system negotiates multiple parameters set up by the software. Such parameters like all tools delimit the possible. Of interest here is the significance of photo manipulation and editing in the Digital Age for the broader concerns of the study, namely the visualising of the Southern African Late Iron Age in the Digital Age. What does it mean to photoshop the Southern African Late Iron Age? To respond to this question, it is important to work with conceptual frameworks that are critical of representation and what it does (Mitchell 1994b; 2002a; 2005).

The University of Cape Town's (UCT) Zamani Project and the University of Pretoria's (UP) Rebuilding Mapungubwe Project are examples of new forms of visualisation being used in the research of Southern African Late Iron Age settlements, and that respond to their location in the Digital Age. Both projects make use of digitally born images in the form of 3D computer models and other computer-aided drawings used to generate Geographic Information Systems. In the case of the Zamani Project the objective is to record physical and architectural structures of world heritage, of which Great Zimbabwe and Mapungubwe form a part (Rüther and Palumbo 2012). In the case of the UP project, the objective is to digitally rebuild Mapungubwe based on "oral data from the kings of local tribes, combined with different authors' published ethnographic records" (Rebuilding an ancient …2012).

In the rebuild Mapungubwe project, it is easy to see how working outside a framework that is critical of representation and what it does, the problems with formative interpretations of the sites, described in can easily be replicated and perpetuated in postcolonially conceived representations as exhibited in Chapters Two and Five. Working only with the material ruins, UCT's Zamani Project seems

more resistant to interpretation. Nevertheless, the medium itself adds meaning. Manifested in a variety of new forms, propelled by developments in the Digital Age, such images present new forms of being. It is thus beneficial to unpack these added meanings within frameworks that are sensitive to both the digital frameworks in which they come into being and those critical of representation and what it does.

The archaeologists, anthropologists, and historians whose production of images is the focus of this study are actors in the production of images. As a way of engaging with their creative outputs beyond critique. The study has until this point focussed on a textual analysis; I will now turn to a reflection of my own artistic practice. As a maker of images in a study about images I find this a convivial way of working. It speaks to the politics of *ukubona* outlined in the first chapter. In the logic of *ukubona*, the creative component of this study is an affirmation of my individual ability to act as a member of the group, to see with the group, and add to the group's body of sight. I have created my images with the understanding that my individual encounter of sight is treated as if the whole group were present in that moment of greeting, acknowledging the presence of another.

The body of work produced as a result of this study is a mode of self-writing. It is an invention, in attempt to make what is 'ours', ours.[56] It has been observed that — in their respective attempts to hypostatise African identity — nativist and racial modes of self-writing have invoked all-purpose signifiers constituted by slavery, colonisation, and apartheid, described as 'spectres' (Mbembe 2002). African modes of self-writing have been noted as struggling with how to "deal" with such spectres. Of particular interest has been their reproduction in African democratic laws, and systems (and inevitably representation) at the very time when other orders of reality were being established (Mamdani 2001; Mbembe 2002; Lonsdale 2002). The body of work engaged with in this section of the study may be guilty as charged. Colonial structures and hierarchies, racialised bodies, and problematic modes of working are all inevitably imported into the "new" realities presented by the Digital Age in which I work. It is my hope that, through all the artists and scholars that have informed my understanding of

[56] In the sense that Said notes the project of Orientalism as one not about truth but one about reclaiming the Orient.

practices in 'Blackness',[57] 'Africanness', and the reclaiming of past for the present and the future (Hartman 2008), I do this consciously following critical thinkers on race (Fanon 1976; Biko 1971; hooks 1996; Mbembe 2001; 2002; Hall in Morley & K Chen 2006). This chapter is an attempt to; 'deal' with the 'spectres' of Late Southern African Late Iron Age settlements by greeting them at the door: that is, in the process of creation. It is the greeting *sawubona* as both greeting and reprimand.

In an image-making process, I drew from the surveyed images of the last chapters, the material ruins — from visiting a number of the settlements — and fiction related to the visualisation of the deep Southern African past. The techniques used in this process have included drawing from life, computer-aided drawing, photo-documentation, and photo-manipulation of documentary and artistic images of the selected sites. In order to better engage with the process of working and its politics, which are not always accessible or available when discussing the politics of the final image, I have focused here on my own process of work. I hope to show how I negotiated older forms of images with new digital realities. In engaging with my own work process, I hope to emphasise its multiple components, including both the technical realities of working and artistic musings on meaning. Landscape is the primary source material for all the components that make up the body of work made for this section of the study. It is the heaviness of rocks. Lots and lots of rocks. A quarry of rocks. A graveyard of rocks. Rocks stacked high to create inhabitable enclosures. Rocks stacked high as marks of presence.

7.1 *On Other Poleis*: A body of work

Rocks: those things that stay put for centuries, never moving until picked up. In this body of work, they are plentiful. They have been picked up. They have been washed, studied, and flown across the world to sit on tables. They look at and watch those that look at and watch them. These rocks are what anchors the body of work titled *On Other Poleis*. *On Other Poleis* was first shown at the Haus

[57] I have discussed "practices of blackness" at length in a Master's thesis titled, *Practicing (De)assemblage: Upcoming Black Artist on the South African Scene*. Blackness here oscillates between Steven Biko's conception of black people as "those who are by law or tradition politically, economically and socially discriminated against, a group of the South African society identifying themselves as a unit in the struggle towards the realization of their aspirations" (Biko 1971:52) and bell hooks' Blackness as a sign of never being enough: "What does that black subject do, how does it act, how does it think politically, ... being black isn't really good enough for me, I want to know what your cultural politics are." (bell hooks in Hall 1992:474).

der Kulturen der Welt (HKW) as part of the Minor Cosmopolitan Weekend.[58] Here rocks were rolled across tables, elevating them in importance; they were well lit and labelled as artefacts, photographed, and digitally reproduced. Isolated from

[58] Curated by Zairong Xiang, the Minor Cosmopolitan Weekend is an event that took place in Berlin, Germany, 2018 at the Haus der Kulturen der Welt (HKW). The weekend was premised around the collapse of cosmopolitan hopes of a united world and was executed in collaboration with the research training group Minor Cosmopolitanisms. The press release addressing the curatorial position of the show describes how "the cosmopolitan ideal, as articulated during the European Enlightenment, embraced the promises of a globalizing economy, yet has remained oblivious to and even complicit with, capitalist exploitation, slavery, and colonialism" (Minor Cosmopolitan Weekend [sa]). The works that make up the body of work titled *On Other Poleis* were brought together with the idea of bringing to the Minor Cosmopolitan Weekend the imaginative as well as the material presence of centres of power outside of Europe, thus insisting on a plurality of cosmopolitanisms across time and geographic location.

Figure 33:
Sikho Siyotula,
Crying Over Spilt Milk, 2013,
Video still.

their whole, they were relocated to a seemingly more sterile environment: the gallery space, the picture plane, and the digital world.

Rocks are symbols of that which remains in the face of isolation and relocation. They are an object of science, fragments of a whole, perhaps landscapes within themselves. They are the basis upon which changing regimes of power have made cultural and political claims. Rocks, what they oppose and imply, are central to the three major components that make up the body of work *On Other Poleis*: a video installation, rock installation, and a collection of five digital prints put together on Adobe's desktop editors, Illustrator and Photoshop.

7.1.1 Crying Over Spilt Milk

In a video installation, milk slowly drips and eventually pours into buckets made of flesh (Figure 33). The buckets appear on a grey concrete floor — brick paving in the background. Only a single bucket is visible in the first frame, and various other sizes appear in quick succession as the video progresses. Some appear close-up, others further away. Buckets catching drops of milk at first and then torrential downpours flash across the screen. The liquid seeps out of the buckets, leaving puddles on the floor. As some buckets disappear from the frame, pools of milk on the concrete floor remain. The puddles reflect their environment. Glazed onto the concrete, the puddles of fluid are reminiscent of fat stains on paper. They are a reminder of the passage of time and what this passage transfers and leaves behind.

The porous buckets of flesh in the video are made of caul fat. Caul fat is the fatty membrane that encases the digestive system of cows, sheep, dogs, and other mammals, including human beings. Sandwiched between thin films, a network of veins runs between the fat, giving the material a translucent lace-like quality. Outside the body, the material is a medium visibly in flux. Responding to its environment, it softens in the heat and hardens in the cold. At the moment when it comes straight out of the body, the fleshy material wobbles like jelly but holds together like hide. As hide does, the material moulds itself around structural forms, hardening once outside of the body. Depending on the thickness of the fat between the membrane, the material also holds the form of objects it was left to harden on. The material is often a significant part of cultural ceremonies in Southern Africa (Kuper 1944; Ebewo 2011). For example, Zulu maidens shoulder the material from sheep or cows slaughtered as part of a ceremony celebrating a rite of passage.

Crying Over Spilt Milk or ukuXhwala emSwaneni is a re-edit of an older version simply titled *Crying Over Spilt Milk*. The re-edit rethinks the significance of the original. Shorter and more focused, the re-edited cut transforms the video into a portal — a portal transporting a viewer into the past and bringing them back to the importance of the present. The past of the show and that of the Southern African Iron Age are interwoven into the image of porous buckets of fat unable to contain a downpour of milk. The shorter, fast-paced re-edit, including a lot more close-ups of the milk gushing onto the concrete floor, focusses on the consequence of the porous buckets. It highlights their absurdity. The buckets are buckets made of caul fat; they are containers that cannot contain; they are organs with no body. There is also something to be said about repurposing this fat as an object of art. Caul fat does its job within the body adequately, but extracted out of context not so much, which is a somewhat like some of the images or material ruins I deal with in this study. In *Crying Over Spilt Milk or ukuXhwala emSwaneni* downpour of milk — a precious nutritious substance designed to feed life — flows out of dislocated buckets. The buckets are porous, so the milk will come out, but it is slowed down.

The re-edited cut recalls the Xhosa saying *ukuXhwala emSwaneni* ('mourning at the site of slaughter') from which the re-edited video extends its title. In the saying, it is observed that cows, sensing death, gather to "weep" where other cows have died or have been slaughtered. For this reason, *umSwane*, or 'dung', and all other animal remains are buried after slaughter so as not to draw attention to the site of slaughter and trigger communal mourning. Fetishised cultural remains do the opposite of this. They display the remains of death and slaughter. Thus, in the logic of the saying, such objects become the site of deep mourning. Cows, sensing the death of other cows, gather to weep. As reminders of the ephemeral, remains become leaky vessels unable to contain a precious downpour designed to give life.

Crying Over Spilt Milk or ukuXhwala emSwaneni is the logical conclusion of Merit Oppenheim's 1936, fur-lined porcelain teacup, saucer, and spoon titled *Object*. The object is designed to engender madness. Two incompatible materials are brought together to create a problematic container — one which cannot contain. Like the fur cup, the porous buckets of fat, and their inability to contain fluid as vessels like buckets do, force a viewer to create new meanings for the buckets. Caul fat, an organ designed to hold the digestive system in its original context within the body, turns into an absurd vessel outside of this body compelling an extension of meaning. Such is the nature of the remainder, the stain or residue of the Southern African past. *Crying over spilled* (2011) is related to my earlier body of work *Remainders of the Ephemeral* (2011). Remainders of the Ephemeral examined the fetishised remainders of cultural history (Siyotula 2011).

On Other Poleis continues to question what it means to remain and the practices of staying put. It is a musing on the Southern African Late Iron Age through the process of making.

7.1.2 The Naming of Rocks

On the seemly opposite end of a spectrum of ephemerality exuded by leaking buckets were a collection of rocks. The rocks that anchor the body of work *On Other Poleis* were picked up, washed, and dried. Like the buckets of flesh they appear amongst, they speak of displacement and incomplete memories. Conversely, they speak of steadfastness and surety. Out of context, and imprecisely labelled, the rocks create new meaning. In a show that features video as well as digital drawings — which flirt with forms of immateriality — they insist on the value of matter as the source material for the digital work that follows.

A collection of rocks was spread across a long narrow table opposite the video Crying Over Spilt Milk or ukuXhwala emSwaneni, playing on loop (Figure 34). The collection of rocks, amassed during field research in Southern Africa, stands in for that landscape. Southern African Late Iron Age landscapes of archaeological significance are often protected landscapes, meaning removing anything from them, including rocks, is illegal. The geological specificity of landscapes in question often continues kilometres outside the protected landscapes. Not necessarily interested in the specificity of the protected landscape but that of its geography, the collection of rocks is a collection of rocks from the fringes of Iron Age Settlements: malls, petrol stations, and the sidewalks of roads. Some of the locations are Iron Age Settlements, others are locations in books or my own life, like my grandmother's house and the river that flows in front of it. The rocks come in a variety of sizes and shapes. In the body of work, as it was shown at the HKW, the rocks were all named, as if standing in the place of the location they were taken from. Some of the rock labelsmatch up to the locations they were taken from, others do not. The act of naming rocks is designed as open-ended; it is both real and imaginary. Here is a list of names for rocks:[59]

Tankwa Town Karoo
Bokoni
Serowe
Cape Point
Mapungubwe
K2

[59] The list given here reflects the list shown at the HKW in 2018.

Zhizo
Leokwe
Rustenburg Platinum Mine
Rustenburg Platinum Mine
Great Zimbabwe
Koi-San Rock Shelter
22 Tolbanie Heuweloord Centurion
Maru’s House
uGogo’s House
iQotiga
iTina
Modjadji’s Kloof
Where Rain Clouds Gather
Serowe: Village of the Rain Wind
ebuThongweni
Carl-Dahner Str Potsdam
kwaNumba 22
Sekhukhune’s Capital
KwaNomvula
Puleng

Figure 34: Walk with the Artists at The HKW, 2018, Sikho Siyotula talks to Irene Hilde and Sundar Sarukkai as she gives a tour of her work in the exhibition.

In the absence of rocks from the settlements themselves, rocks collected from the peripheries of significance come to matter. Similarly, this applies to the history of the settlements themselves. The rocks worked as a place holder for certainty while the language around them slipped in and out of fiction. I turned specifically to the life work of Bessie Head for writing that might help flesh out the rocks. Although Head's works of fiction are seemingly on the margins of the focus of this study, their contribution was invaluable. Born in South Africa, Bessie Head fled the oppressive environment of apartheid South Africa for Botswana. In Botswana, she settled in the village of Serowe. From Serowe, Head produced a considerable oeuvre including novels, short fiction, and autobiographical works. Her works grapples with the monotonous reality of the everyday. They deal with exile, loneliness, and making sense of the remainders of African histories for ordinary people. An influential writer, Head's work features in the ground-breaking African Writers Series. Like many other writers featured in this series, and is reknowned for its sustained engagement with Southern Africa's postcolonial predicaments.

Head's fictional, as well as autobiographical musings on the remainders of African history through fiction animated the archaeological texts in the first component of this study and gave life to its image-making process. I read Head's entire oeuvre of literature — including gems like *The Collector of Treasures*, a collection of Botswanan village tales; *Serowe: Village of The Rain Wind*, a telling of the history of Botswana from Serowe, the village she settled in on arrival to Botswana; and *Maru* and *When Rain Clouds Gather* which muse on the future of the past. Head's life works and biography served to flesh out a pixellated Southern African deep past. They were helpful in not only seeing or thinking about this past but also contemplating how it could feel, smell, and sound. Head's writing, specifically about the village of Serowe, animated the landscapes I was engaging with through gossip, legend, love, politics, and chitter-chatter. Reading about Head's life, indulging in her work, and visiting her grave in the village of Serowe as a detour from my field research put me in a trance. In this state, I embarked on a journey towards a phenomenological experience of the Late Iron Age Settlements I was engaging.

In addition to the naming of rocks, fragmented lines from Bessie Head's fiction as well as settings from these fictional texts were used to bringing the Iron Age to life. Fragments from disjointed literature, the selected lines were intended to weave together images of the Southern African pasts that were inaccessible through the material fact of the rocks, the surveyed images of the last chapters or the material ruins from visiting the settlements. The selected fragments bring myth, politics, poetry, love, and an embodied sensory experience of the

landscapes in question to life. Recording autobiographical experience and opening up imaginative spaces of fiction, the scattered fragments bind past and present to materiality and ideology. Some of the quotes that were presented together with with a selected group of rocks include:

> Botswana is so close to South Africa that barely a night's journey by train separates the two countries from each other. Botswana was the former British Bechuanaland Protectorate which became independent in 1966. In my eyes, Botswana is the most unique and distinguished country. It has a history that is unequalled anywhere in Africa. It is a land that was never conquered or dominated by foreign powers and so a bit of ancient Africa, in all its quiet and unassertive grandeur, has remained intact here. It became my home in 1964. (Head 1979)

> Long ago when the land was only cattle tracks and footpaths, the people lived together like a deep river. (Head 1977)

> I am more familiar with the rain pattern of drought years. It rains sparsely, unpredictably, fiercely and violently in November, December and January. Before the first rains fall, it gets so that that you cannot breathe. Then one day, the sky just empties itself in a terrible downpour. After this, the earth and sky heave alive, and there is magic everywhere. The sky becomes a huge backdrop for the play of the rain – not ordinary rain but very peculiar teasing rain. (Head 1981)

> The rains were so late that year. But throughout that hot, dry summer those black storm clouds clung in thick folds of brooding darkness along the low horizon. There seemed to be a secret in their activity, because each evening they broke the long, sullen silence of day, and sent soft rumbles of thunder and flickering slicks of lightning across the empty sky. (Head 1971)

> He wanted a flower garden of Yellow Daisies because they were the only flower which resembled the face of his wife and the sun of his love. (Head 1971)

> The little Borolong village swept right up to the border fence. One of the huts was built so close that part of its circular wall touched the barbed-wire fencing. (Head 1968)

The rock installation with fragments from Head's writing was related to the video through its proximity to each other during the show. The ephemeral quality of the milk video when compared with the rock installation sets up a stark juxtaposition. If the milk puddles in Crying Over Spilt Milk suggest the remainder of a fleeting moment like fat stains on paper, then the rocks and text that make up the rock installation are the bones from which that fat is drawn. They speak of remainders more tangible than the stain, remainders that could sit in the same place for thousands of years until moved. Photographs of the show have tried to capture this juxtaposition. Figure 34 captures the material fact of the rock installation in its foreground and a moment of the milk video in the far distance. From this perspective, a viewer is invited to come into the world the rocks stand in place of; the rocks transform into miniature landscapes that hint at the geological essence of the spaces they reference.

7.1.3 Digital Age Realities

Four digital drawings were featured at the HKW as part of the body of work *On Other Poleis* (Figures 35, 36, 37, 38). The digital prints are the final component of this study. They are my offering to the discourse on visualising Southern African Late Iron Age settlements. In an appreciation of the rock engravings found at Bokoni, a Late Iron Age landscape, the prints attempt an interaction with a particular way of seeing the world. The drawings grapple with this vernacular in relation to the Digital Age in which they are made. Below, I record some of the negotiations that took place, while I was producing this work.

My process of making a digital drawing often starts with a preliminary drawing in life. This preliminary drawing is usually a piecing together of bits and pieces that guide the direction of the drawings later: composition, mark, and colour. This preliminary drawing pulls together for the first time, in some concrete way, different aspects of work that have been taking form in the margins of various other workbooks. In these early stages, I am usually moving around a collection of marks, colours, and shapes; these include doodles from the margins of workbooks, old drawings in visual diaries, and also photographs and the stock of curated archaeological images gathered throughout the study. Once I have some concept of the composition and palette that will be used, including marks and colour, I transition into the digital space and work further from there. Planning and order are significant parts of processing images though programmes like Photoshop and Illustrator.

Transitioning into the digital space involves the cleaning, labelling, and filing of what the programmes refer to as 'objects'. When an object or image is scanned or downloaded into the digital world, it retains a lot of other detail or noise that one may or may not be interested in using. It is also scanned with a different cataloguing system, usually in a different file than that which one would preferBecause such images are linked to

programmes like Photoshop and Illustrator from external files, an ordered set of stock images clearly labelled in an organised filing system is crucial to avoiding missing links, especially when working on an image over several days, weeks, months, or years. "Linked Objects" are objects in a Photoshop document which are not stored within the file being worked on but instead reference an external document. They allow a creator to have one file that controls one specific object in documents linked in from elsewhere. If the linked file is edited, then all the other documents referencing it will reflect the change. The cult of order that informs the digitisation of images is reminiscent of visuality and its ordering of the world.

'Objects' are essentially the images that are manipulated, enhanced, or used to create a final image in Photoshop. Apart from ordering the objects into files that can be recalled and linked to during the process of work, the objects are also cleaned or edited. This cleaning may involve cropping the image, colour correction, noise reduction, sharpening edges, and getting rid of all other components of the image that will not be useful in the final image. Some of the drawing marks in the final digital prints are adapted doodles from the margins of books. Cleaning these kinds of marks involves editing out the lines from the books and all other elements I do not wish to use in the final image. The rocks that form the central subjects of the image are photographed on a white background. I usually edit this background out, leaving just the rocks, before I start with the final digital drawing. The clean or prepared objects, the decontextualised rocks for instance, are saved and filed to be linked later to the file of the final image. Again, in terms of the larger study, cropping or decontextualising a historical image about an under-researched settlement takes on different meanings to editing other images.

Some objects in my method of working migrate into the digital space through scanning or being imported from other locations, making them digital interpretations of work on paper. Other images are "digitally born", that is created directly in Illustrator or Photoshop. To create this kind of image, I use Wacom's Intuos Pro pen tablet. Wacom claims that the pen tablet mimics drawing. From experience, this is not precisely true. The tablet does, however, give a certain kind of freedom primarily related to the ability to draw directly into the digital space. When working with a digitally born image using the pen tablet, the first noticeable difference to working in life is the idea of scale.

Drawing or painting from life, a draftsperson has a clear understanding of scale; a mark made on a page is made in scale with the final image. In digital drawings, destined to be much larger than the format one creates them in, the result of a mark cannot be entirely understood until the day of print when the image has long been flattened. For instance, I worked on images that were

destined to be printed (60 x 100cm), yet never interacted with an image larger than the screen of my laptop. This distortion in scale is one of the many aspects of working within the digital space that creates distance between an image being created and the final image.

Adobe's Photoshop and Illustrator came to dominate the world of desktop editing because of what they allowed desktop users to do using a variety of tools. Known colloquially as software that alters and manipulates images, Photoshop ironically makes provision for non-destructive editing. A unique feature of digital painting and drawing on Photoshop, as opposed to painting and drawing in life, is the idea of working in layers. Working in layers on Photoshop, when done with meticulous order, allows the user to test alternative editing strategies without altering the original picture. Layers are thus simultaneously separate and integrated in a way which cannot be achieved in a 'normal' painting

Painters and craftspeople have to continually kill their underdrawings. Photoshop layers allow a user to leave the 'flattening' out of underwork to the final stage, when layers are eventually flattened. The result of working in layers is an awareness of opacity and translucence. The effect that otherwise isolated objects have on each other becomes more obvious, allowing somewhat of an instant replay button. Working in layers allows a person working to have a clear reference point. Having a reference point in clear sight throughout the image processing turns the sometimes necessarily destructive process of creation into a game of masking and unmasking. Killing an underdrawing has different consequences than it does in painting and drawing because there is always a point of return — or so it appears.

Working in Photoshop, a creator is always aware of what they can and cannot do. Limits are made visible through constant error reports and commands. Report and commands include "Could not save as … because file was", "…can't be opened because its integrity cannot be verified", "This software cannot be verified", or "This smart object must be rasterized before proceeding". What such reports and commands make visible is the invisible architecture of the software. The impersonal static nature of the command or report purports the impartiality of the software. These software programmes are, however, far from impartial to their users. Instead, they are deeply entrenched in the architecture of the world they are created. Photoshop and Illustrator innovate working methods and conventions long developed in painting, drawing, and photo editing.

As users are constantly aware of their limits within the software offered by Adobe, the experience of using the software becomes an experience of power.

This is even more clear when working with historical images related to an underrepresented part of the world about an underrepresented part of the past. Here, every pixel of an image seems to carry that much more value. Suddenly, seemingly mundane tasks like the scanning, placing, cropping, layering, warping, distorting, erasing, transforming, and, eventually, the flattening of images have so many other implications. As original images move through the programmes, the architecture of the programmes directs how images gain and lose quality. Suddenly there is the acute awareness that the images created may not the sole product of the artist's imagination, butt he result of a process that is also significantly shaped by Adobe.

The politics of software like Illustrator and Photoshop are at play long before the flattening of an image for print or its publication on news or social media sites. They are at play from the moment the eraser tool turns into a violent object; when the opacity of an image dictates who or what will in the end be seen; when the collapsing of layers in the final image profoundly speaks of loss, because it speaks about the flattening of histories and time. A maker comes to the architecture of Photoshop with what seems a radical imagination, and that imagination is brought to life only within the constraints posed by the software's architecture.

In virtual aesthetic discourse, the persistence of matter, in spite of the hegemony and ubiquity of virtuality presented by the Digital Age, speaks of being, thinking, feeling, and creating in a globalised world from a particular (minor) perspective. Postcolonial and critical race theory are similarly interested in various practices of transgression of the limits placed on the space of the other (Bhabha 1994; Hook 2005; Deleuze 1968, Baudrillard 1983, 2002, Diodato 2012). The attempt to understand how postcolonial cultures resisted the power, homogeneity, and ubiquity of colonial domination, in ways so subtle that they transformed both coloniser and colonised, is sometimes seen as the heart of postcolonial studies (Loomba 1998, Ashcroft 2001, Young 2001). I see an intersection between these two discourses: namely, the aesthetics of the virtual and postcolonial theory. The two discourses provide a productive lens through which to consider the visualisation of Late Iron Age Southern African settlements in the Digital Age.

The intersection of postcolonial theory and an enquiry into the aesthetics of the virtual borrows from psychoanalyst and scholar Derek Hook who, in unpacking the racial stereotype (touched upon in the Third Chapter, as well as in Chapter Six) reasons, "[t]his is a form of protection against difference – a continual foreclosure of the object of difference – rather than an actual engagement with the difference in question" (Hook 2005:732). Hook briefly notes a virtual quality about such interactions with the racial other. From this he concludes that, as a

result, it matters little what the racial other actually does or is: such factors will not ease the other's perceived worthiness of hate. We do know, however, that, despite this foreclosure, the black woman, black man, and the subaltern exist, not in romanticised versions of self that are original and must be kept as such to affirm the self as progressive but as living, breathing, growing, embodied beings made of matter, beings that desire to be seen and heard.

Re-writing colonial, dominant, or 'global' history from this space as well as reviving or, at the very least, revisiting the memory of indigenous knowledge systems is a priority in postcolonial discourse.[60] Postcolonial discourse has emphasised the embodied perspective of oppressed peoples over the often faulty representations of such bodies. The virtual quality of interactions with the racial other observed by Hook, is comparable, in the proposed study, to critiques of 'formative interpretations' of Southern African Late Iron Age Settlements in relation to the materiality of Iron Age ruins (Hook 2005). There is a virtual quality about interactions with such ruins. Despite this virtuality, remains of ancient Southern African settlements exist and carry with them usable visual histories.

In the case of the study of Southern African Late Iron Age Settlements, there is a close relationship between the physical concrete aesthetic object and its imaginary: the latter has often served to legitimate formative interpretations. In their critique of formative interpretations of Southern African Late Iron Age settlements archaeologists Pikirayi and Chirikure thus stress a need to revisit the material culture of ancient ruins and to base all interpretations of the Southern African Late Iron age on the evidence from these material ruins (Pikirayi and Chirikure 2008, 2013).

Virtuality, mimicry, copy, origin, simulation, agency, abstraction, and materiality are concepts that postcolonial discourse and inquiries into the aesthetics of the virtual have in common. In both postcolonial discourse and the aesthetics of the virtual, there is a continuous negotiation between a homogenising, seemingly ubiquitous virtuality, and the reality of inhabiting diverse material bodies of which the phenomenon of virtuality forms only a part. I find the intersection of postcolonial theory and an enquiry into the aesthetics of the virtual exciting and conceptually useful in an engagement with precolonial Southern African pasts.

It has been argued that the virtual body in the form of avatars, immaterial

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[60] Franz Fanon (1967) speaks of "*black* skins in white masks" ; Stephen Bantu Biko (1978) insists: "*I* write what *I* like"; and Homi Bhabha (1994) speaks of transgression from the space of the other and Gayatri Spivak (1995) asks: "Can the *subaltern* speak?". All these thinkers consider colonial history from the embodied perspective of the oppressed.

sculptures, holograms, and virtual environments presents new ontological realities (Diodato 2012). Digitally born images, according to this understanding, exist in ways that are only recently developed. From another angle, it has also been argued that reality increasingly becomes dependent on technologies that make entities and spaces available, inscribing them in our field of experience (Wallenstein and Jeong A 2019). As the techniques of sharing are developing at a phenomenal rate, both material and immaterial bodies become more and more visible. At the same time, technological developments are developing techniques to better articulate these realities.[61]

I see a similarities between the historic image edited in programmes like Illustrator and Photoshop and the experience of the racialised body throughout imperialism, colonialism, and apartheid. The racialised body as shown in chapters Three and Five through images of mining and the ethnic map of South Africa, like images of the deep Southern African past, has been copied, cropped, pulled, dragged, transformed, distorted, and then flattened into a single image. Similarly countervisual movements have mounted resistance from this single image, working towards making it theirs to possess and direct within a located architectural landscape.

The three components of the exhibition *On Other Poleis* follow the visualisation of the Southern African Late Iron Age in the Digital Age as a practice of negotiating Iron Age vernacular forms of making and seeing and digital realities. This practice is made visible by following the act of making. As well as creating images that add to a canon of images related to the Southern African Iron Age, I understand my artistic work as an enactment of ukubona.. *Ukubona* is a located form of seeing that mutually creates the other to affirm the reality of the self. It bridges the gap between claiming the right to look and learning how to see the world. This bridge is crucial to societies dealing with the aftermath of a breakdown of the trust and order that holds any society together. *Ukubona* re-establishes order and rebuilds trust when the order of an unjust world is necessarily disrupted to transform it.

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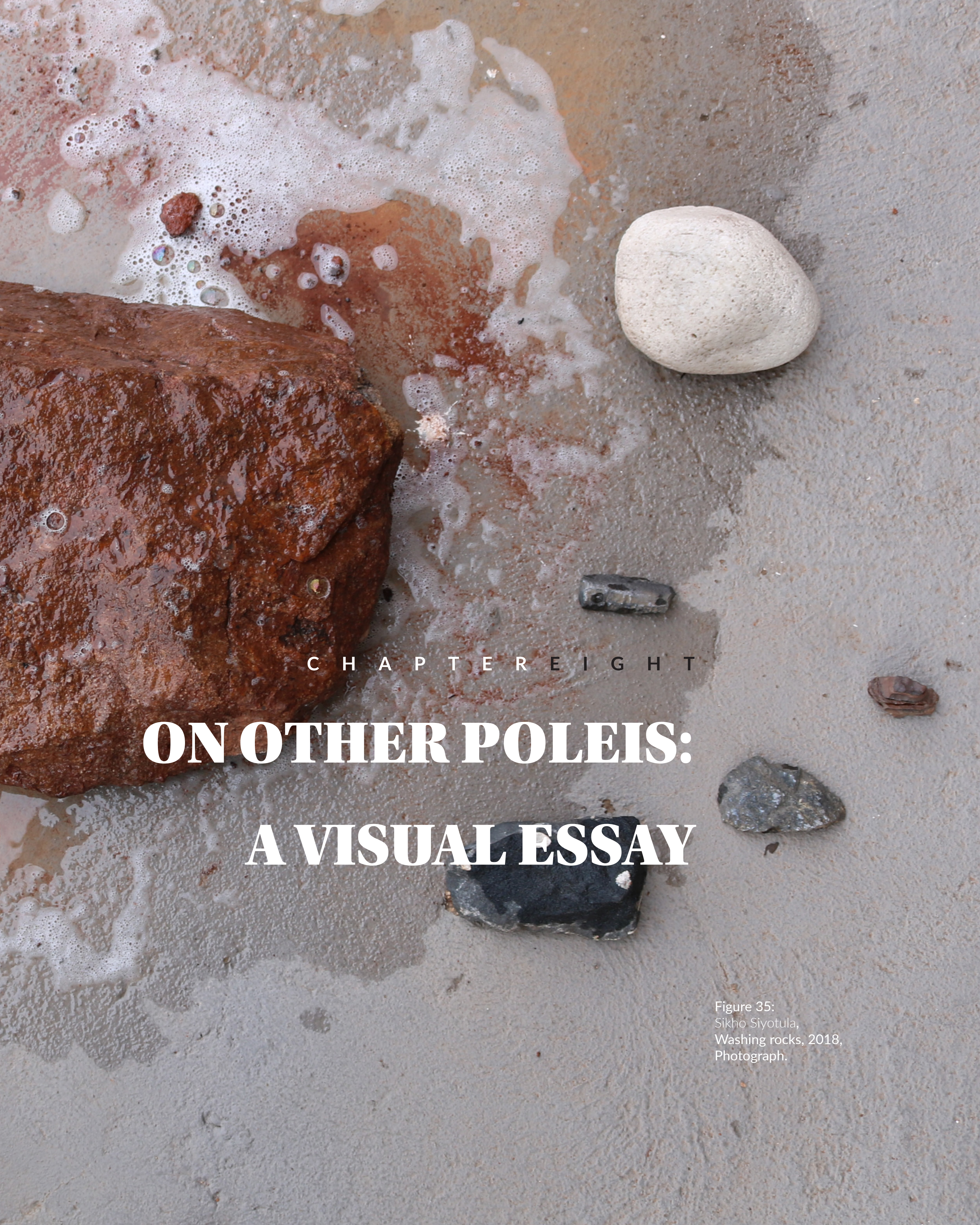
[61] Using software called Blender, artists Daniel Birnbaum and Koo Jeong created the augmented reality artwork *density* (2019) hovers in the air in Regent's Park, London. Nobody can see it without the correct device and software, yet it is there (Wallenstein and Jeong A 2019).



CHAPTER EIGHT

ON OTHER POLEIS: A VISUAL ESSAY

Figure 35:
Sikho Siyotula,
Washing rocks, 2018,
Photograph.

Figure 36:
Sikho Siyotula,
Preparatory Sketch: Missing Links,
2018, Ink on Cotton Paper,
15 x 21cm.

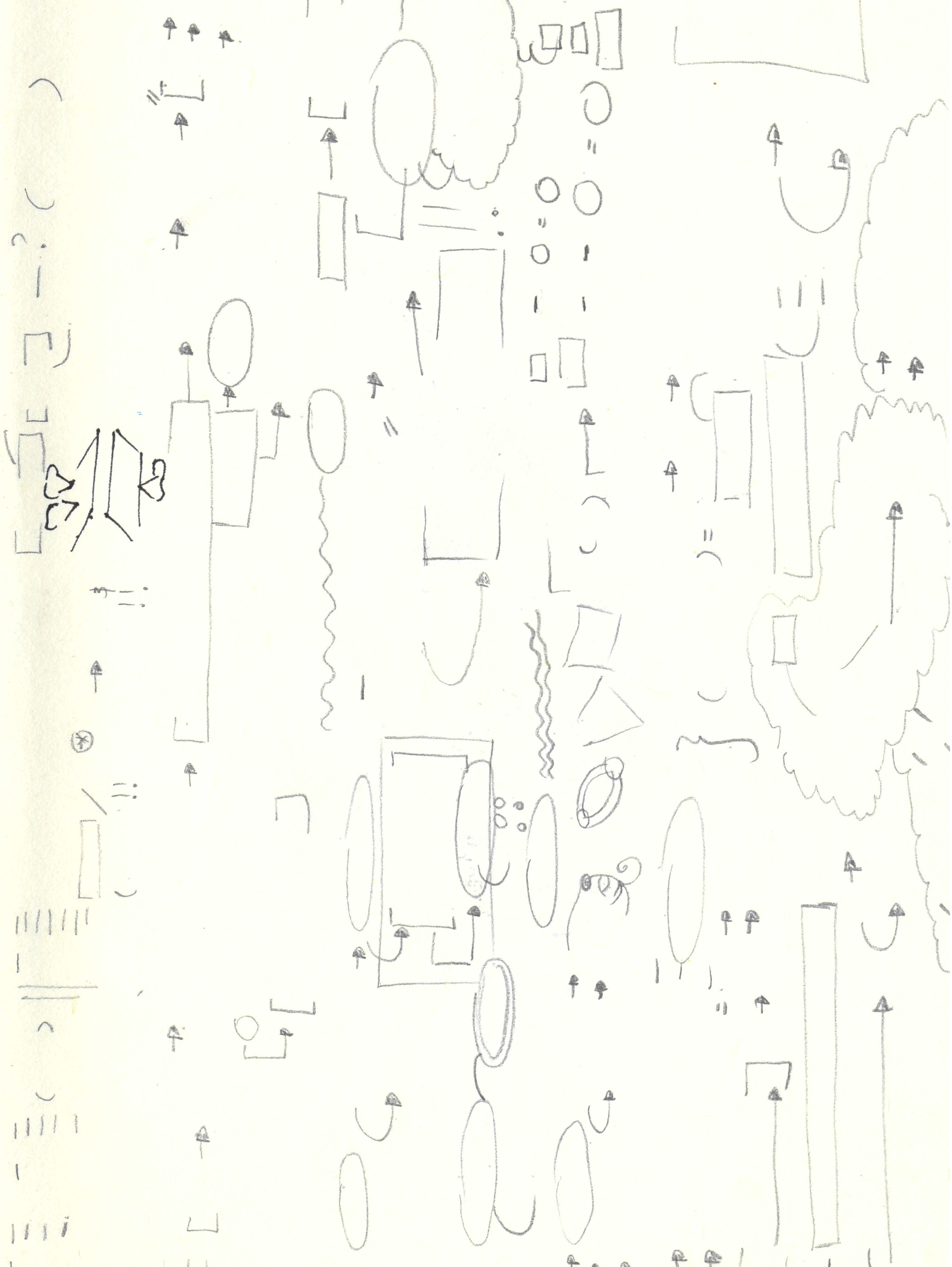
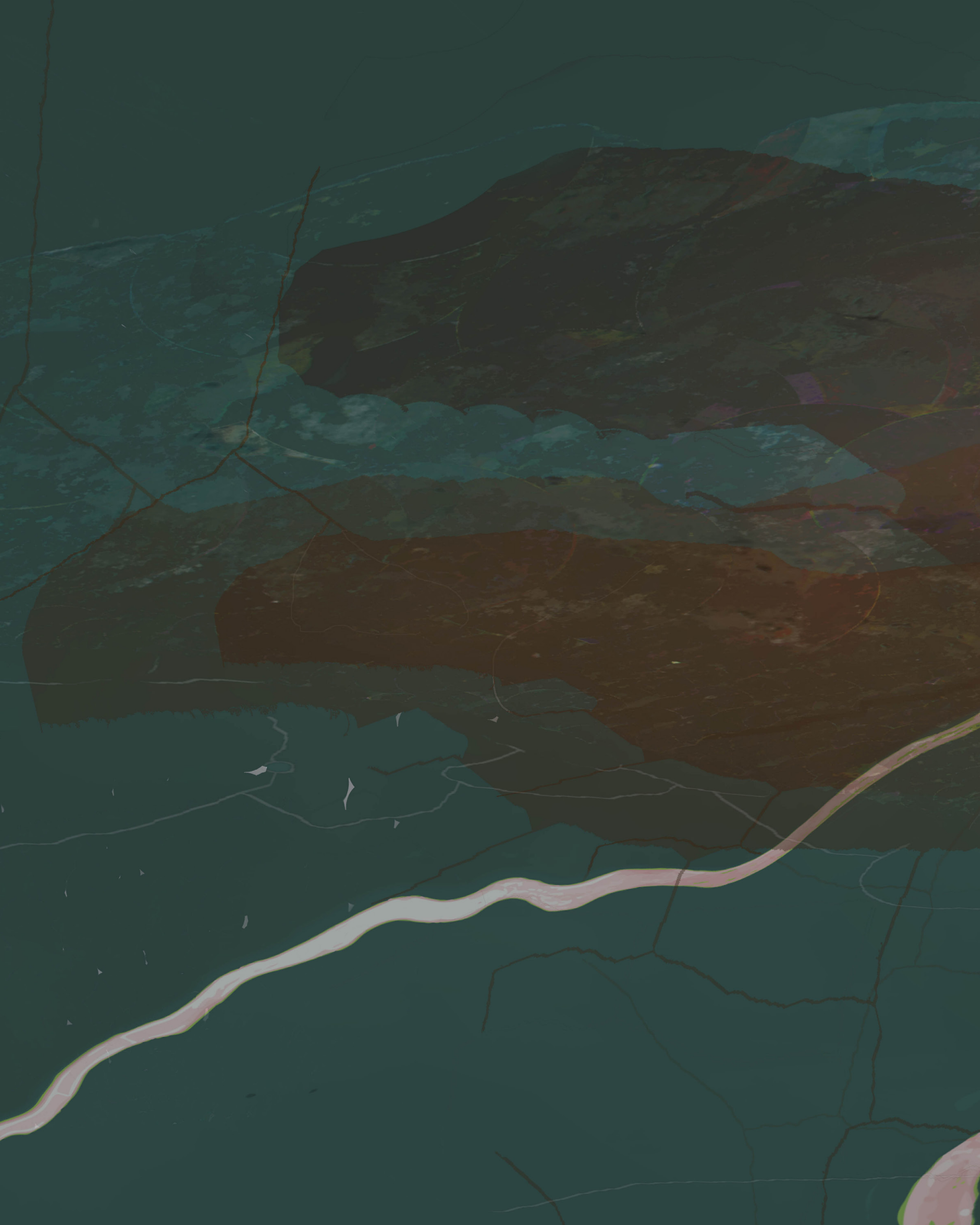


Figure 37:
Sikho Siyotula,
Crying Over Spilt Milk or ukuXhwala emSwaneni, 2018,
Video still.



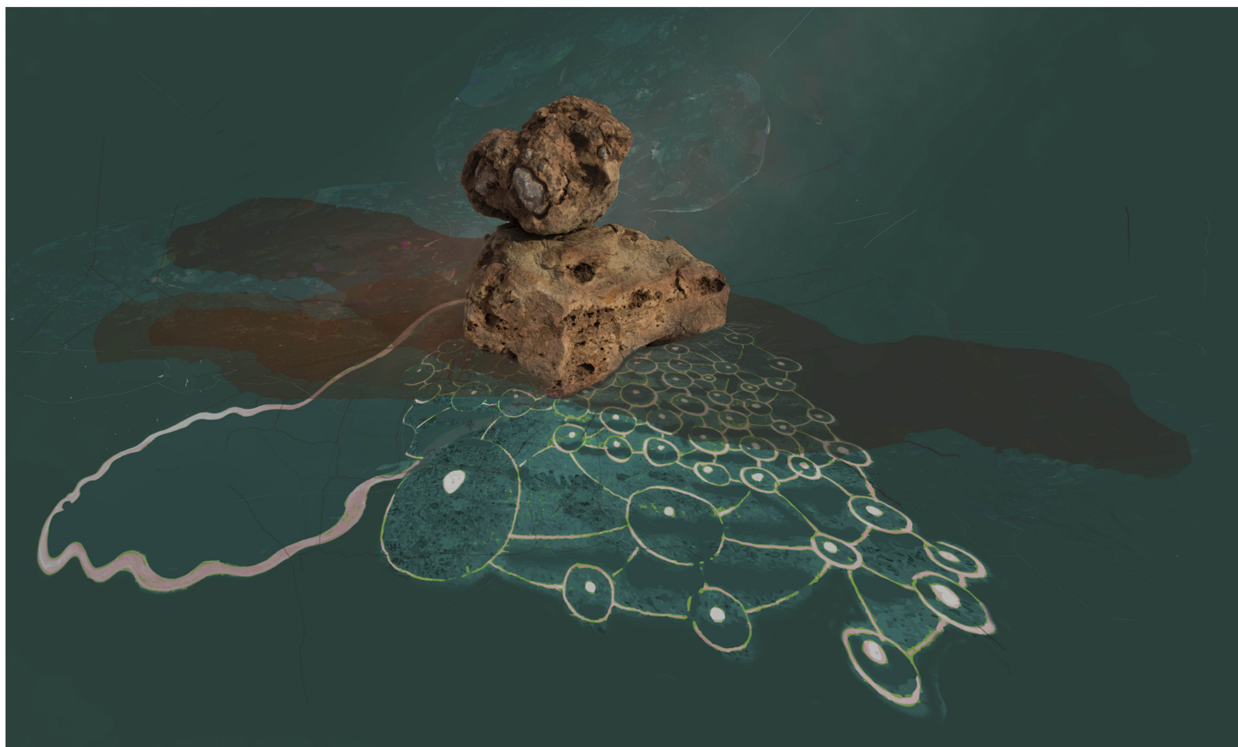


Figure 38:
Sikho Siyotula,
Cosmic Dust at Mapungubwe, 2018,
Inkjet Print on Cotton Paper,
60 x 100cm.

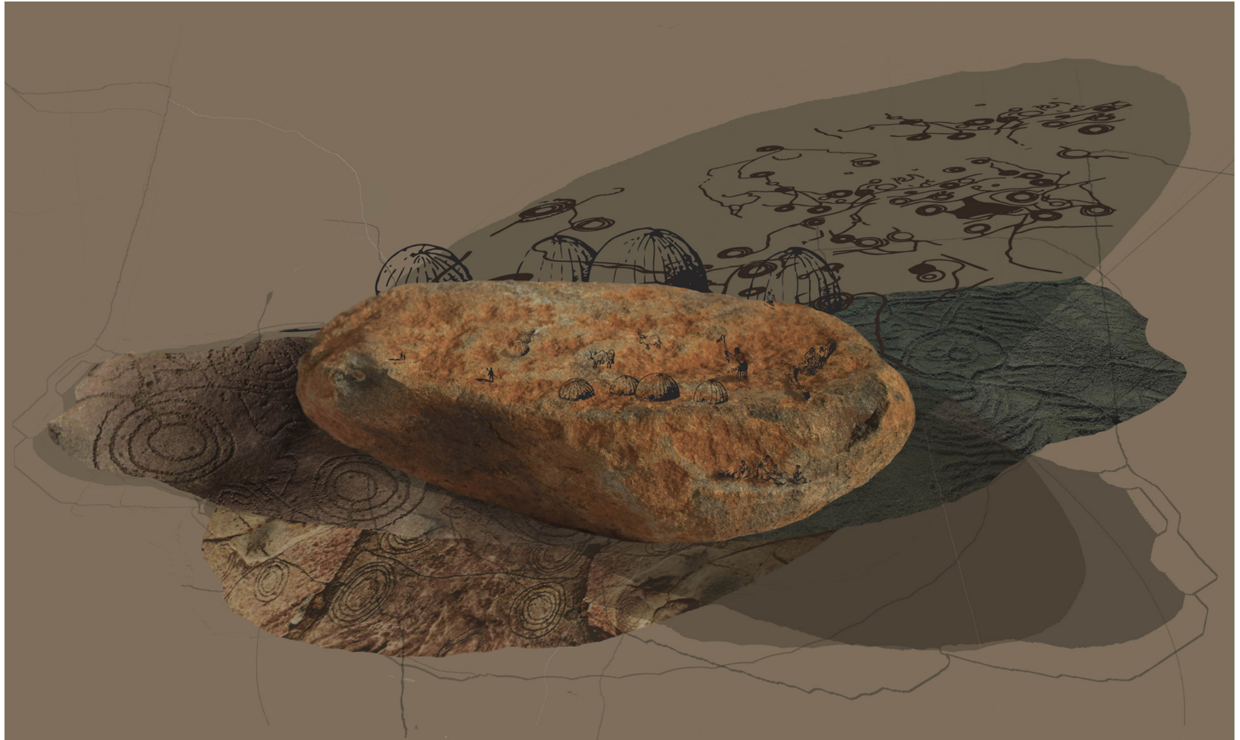


Figure 39:
Sikho Siyotula,
Bokoni, 2018,
Inkjet Print on Cotton Paper,
60 x 100cm.

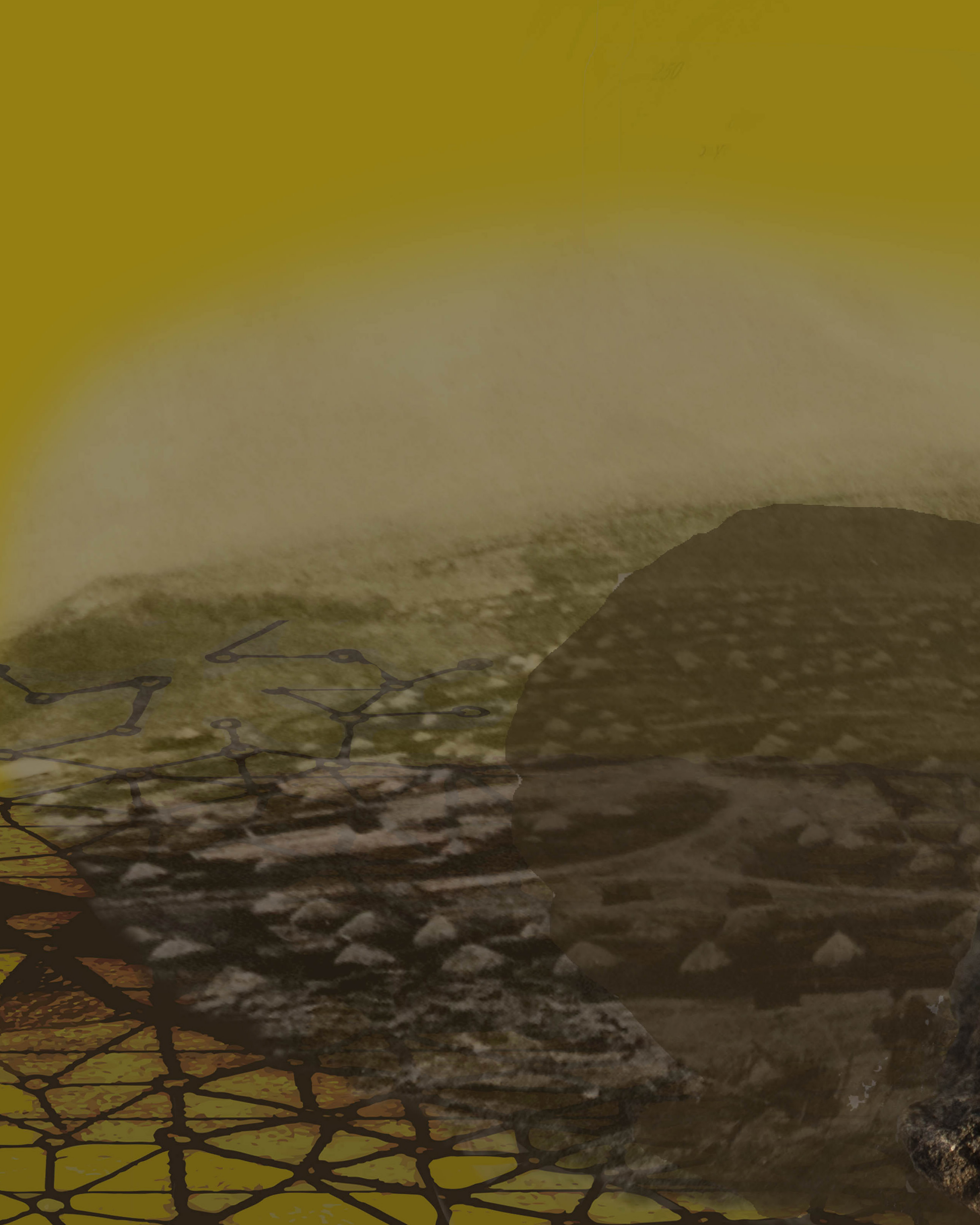
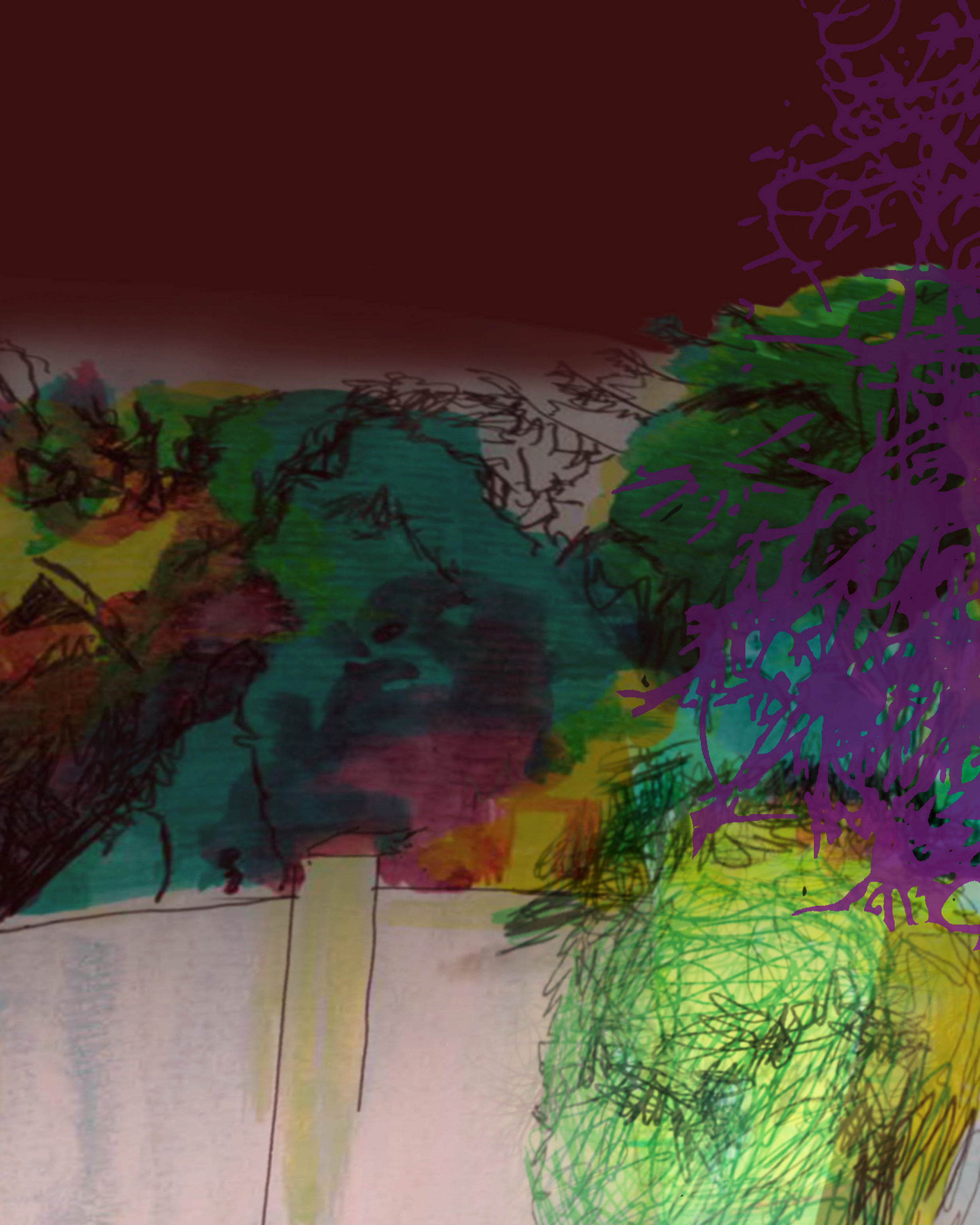


Figure 40:
Sikho Siyotula
Maru's House, 2018,
Inkjet Print on Cotton Paper,
60 x 100cm.



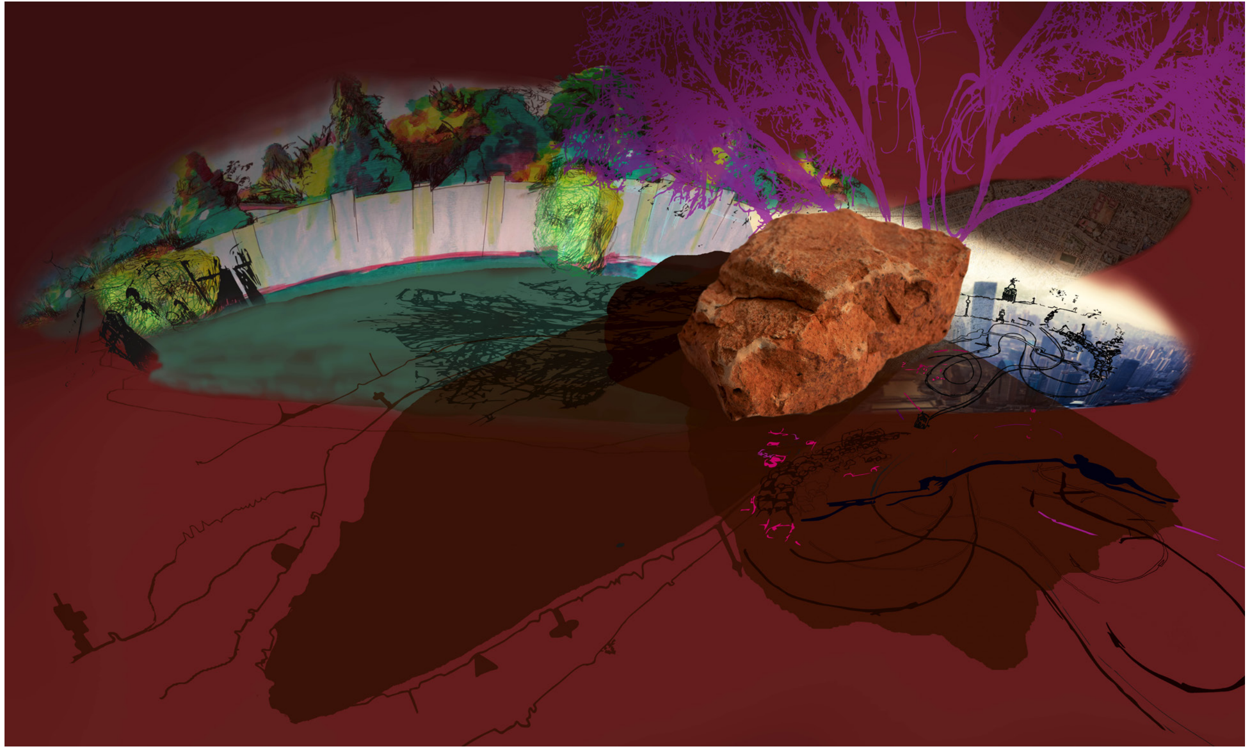
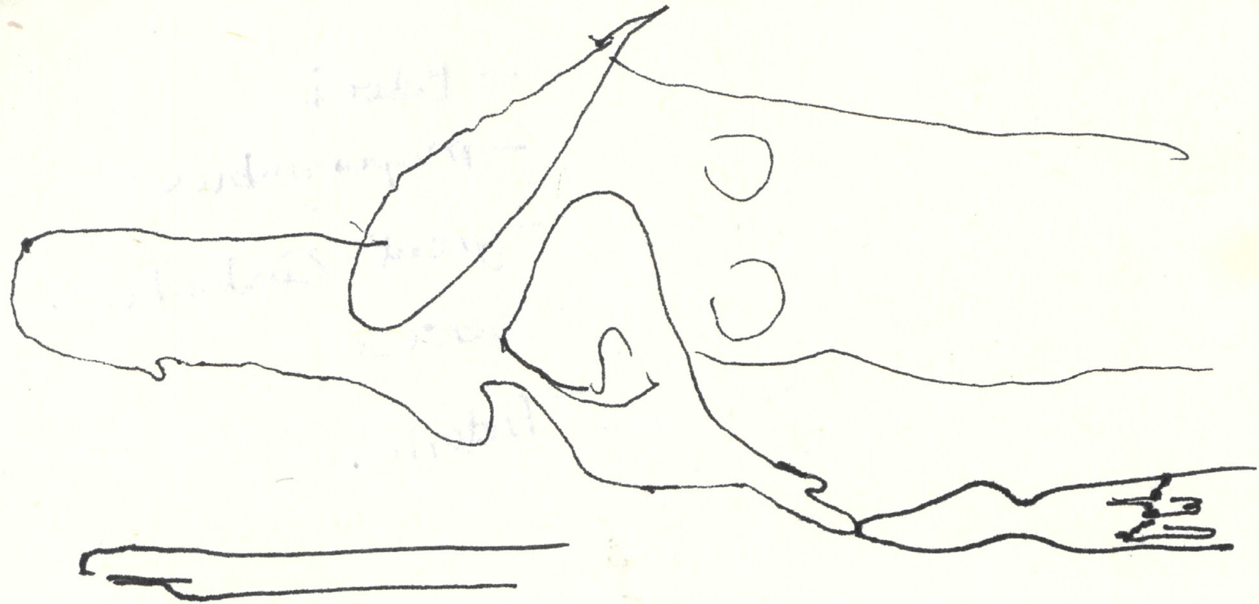
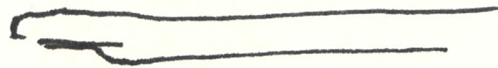
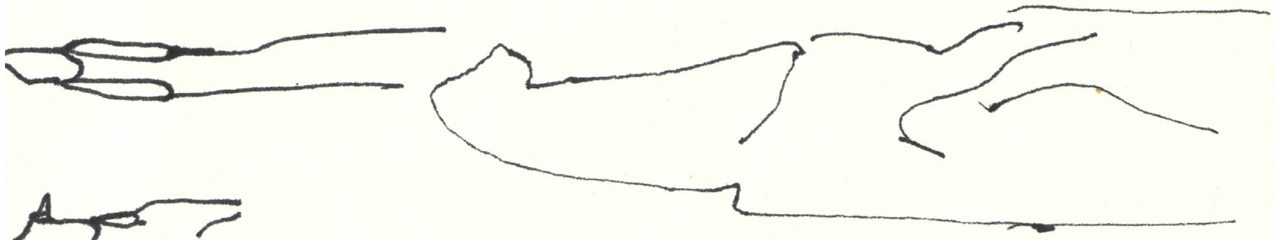
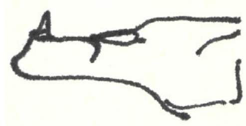


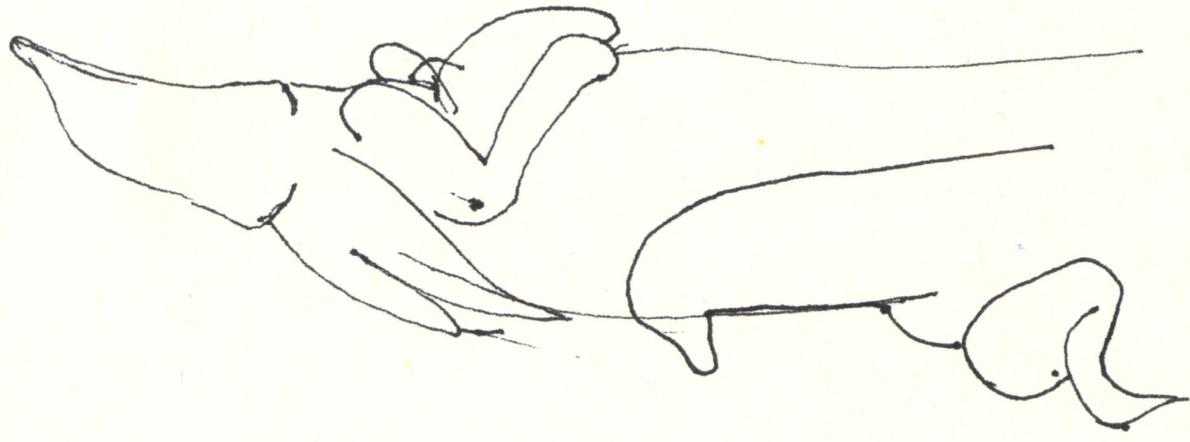
Figure 41:
Sikho Siyotula,
Pretoria, 2018,
Inkjet Print on Cotton Paper,
60 x 100cm.



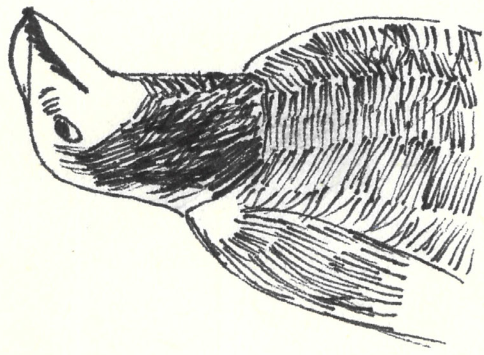


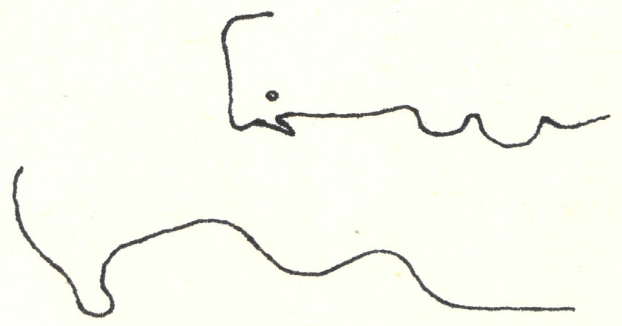






Great Cormorant





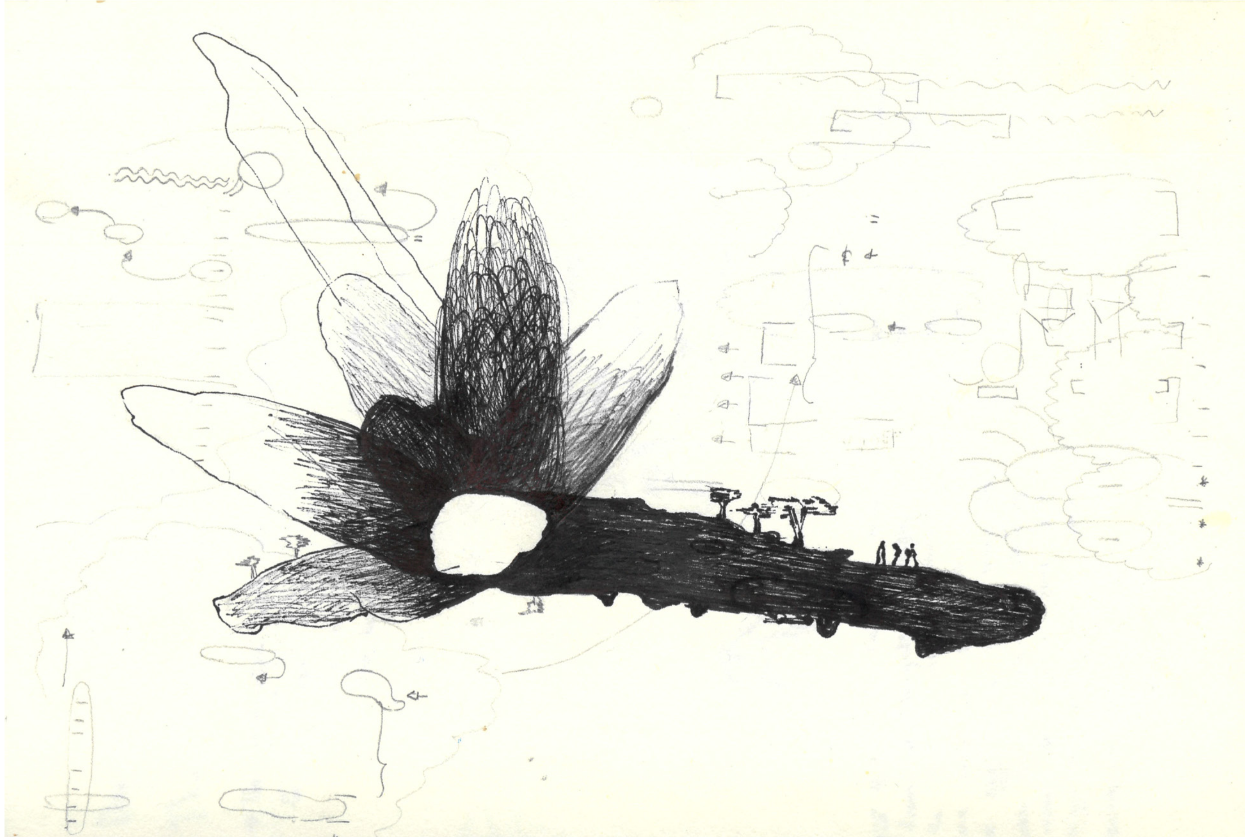


Figure 42:
Sikho Siyotula,
Preparatory Sketch: Great Zimbabwe,
2018, Ink on Cotton Paper,
15 x 21cm.

pg 33

pg 29

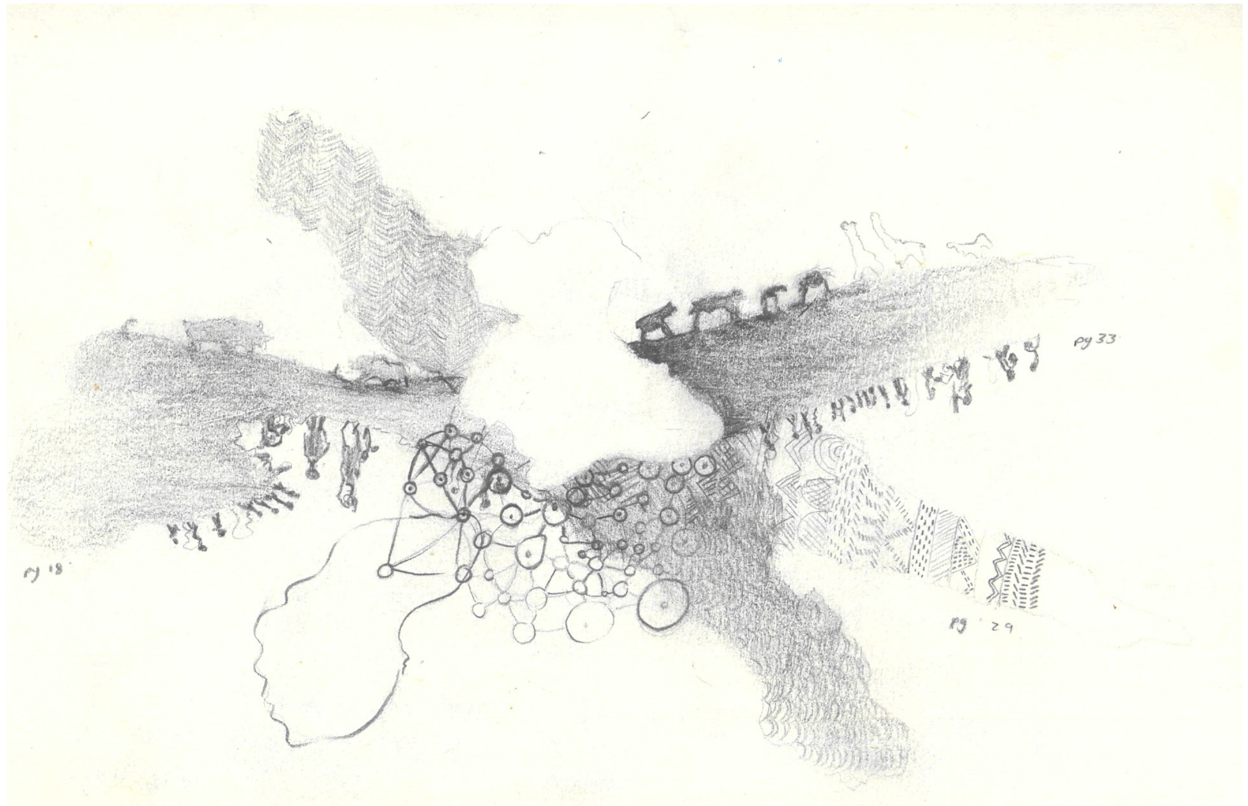


Figure 43:
Sikho Siyotula
Preparatory Sketch: Cosmic Dust at Mapungubwe, 2018,
Graphite on Cotton Paper.
15 x 21cm.

pg 1 Mary

I am more familiar with the rain pattern of drought years. It rains sparse[ly] unpredictably fiercely and violently in November, December and January. Before the first rain fall, it gets so hot that you cannot breath. Then one day the sk[y] just empties itself in a terrible down pour. viii Sorowe Village of the [illegible]

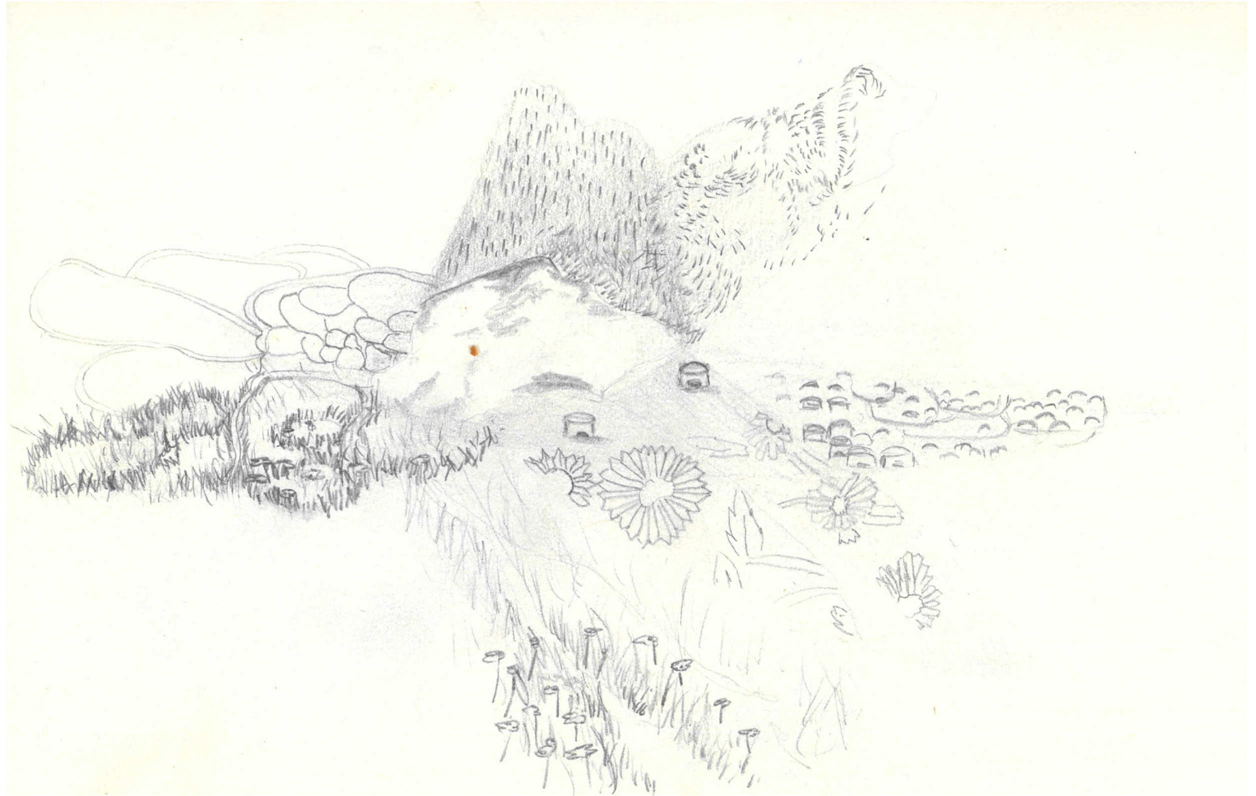


Figure 44:
Sikho Siyotula,
Preparatory Sketch: Maru's House,
2018, Graphite on Cotton Paper.
15 x 21cm.

my tools and how they work

Ajusting the threshold:

defined · solid lines → presets · speeds

outline → coulering in book like

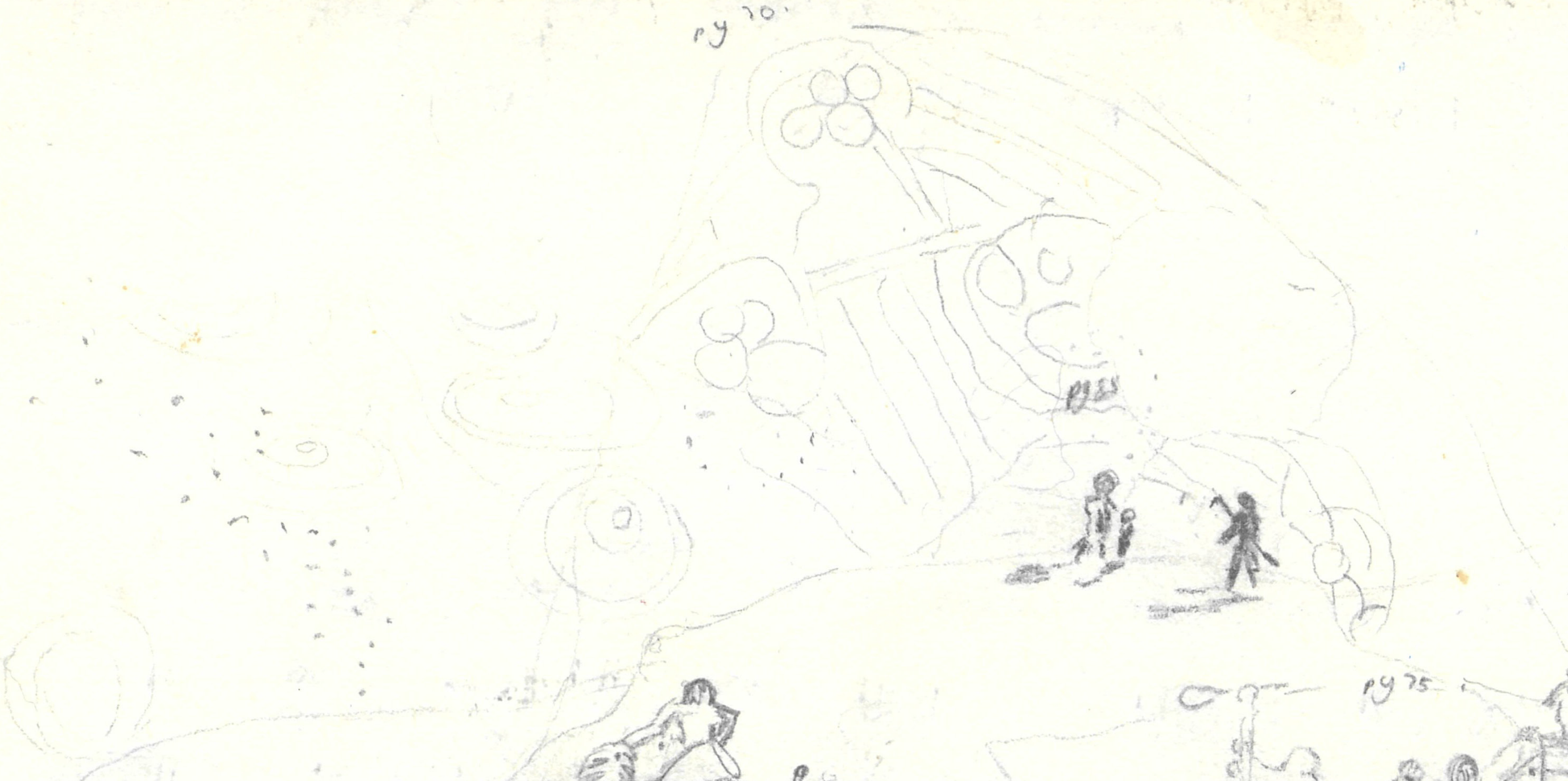


Figure 45:
Sikho Siyotula,
Preparatory Sketch: Bokoni, 2018,
Graphite on Cotton Paper.
15 x 21cm.

= (rasterisation) that is not being used.)

u rasterise the object loses

quality of (vector) (now) pixels — why rasterise

t lost!!

→ The problem → (editing) → trade off u ~~that~~ to edity
you will loose the calculation

(Defects)

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to keep [on

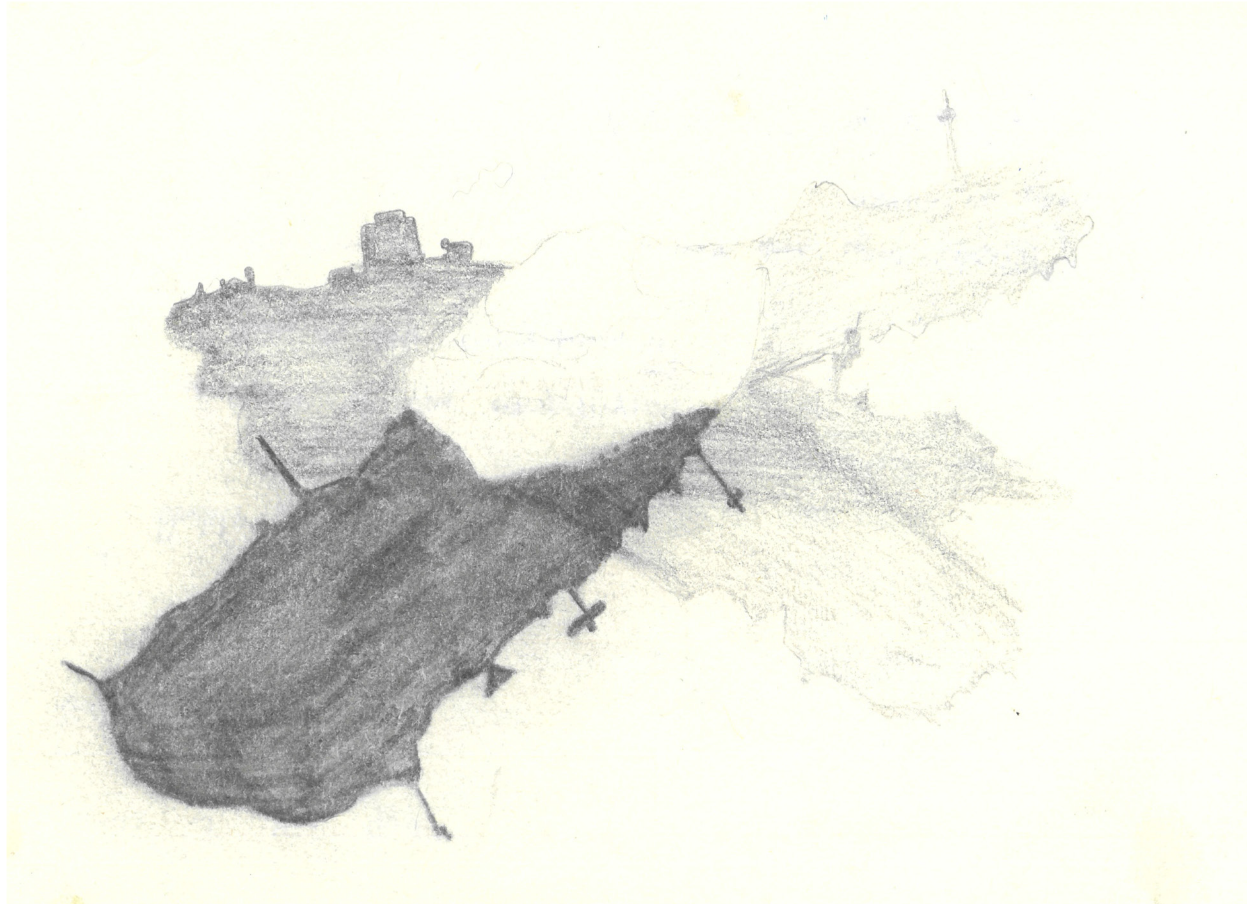

Figure 46:
Sikho Siyotula,
Preparatory Sketch: Pretoria, 2018,
Graphite on Cotton Paper.
15 x 21cm.

Figure 47:
Sikho Siyotula ,
Minor cosmos doodle 1, 2017,
Digital Darwing.

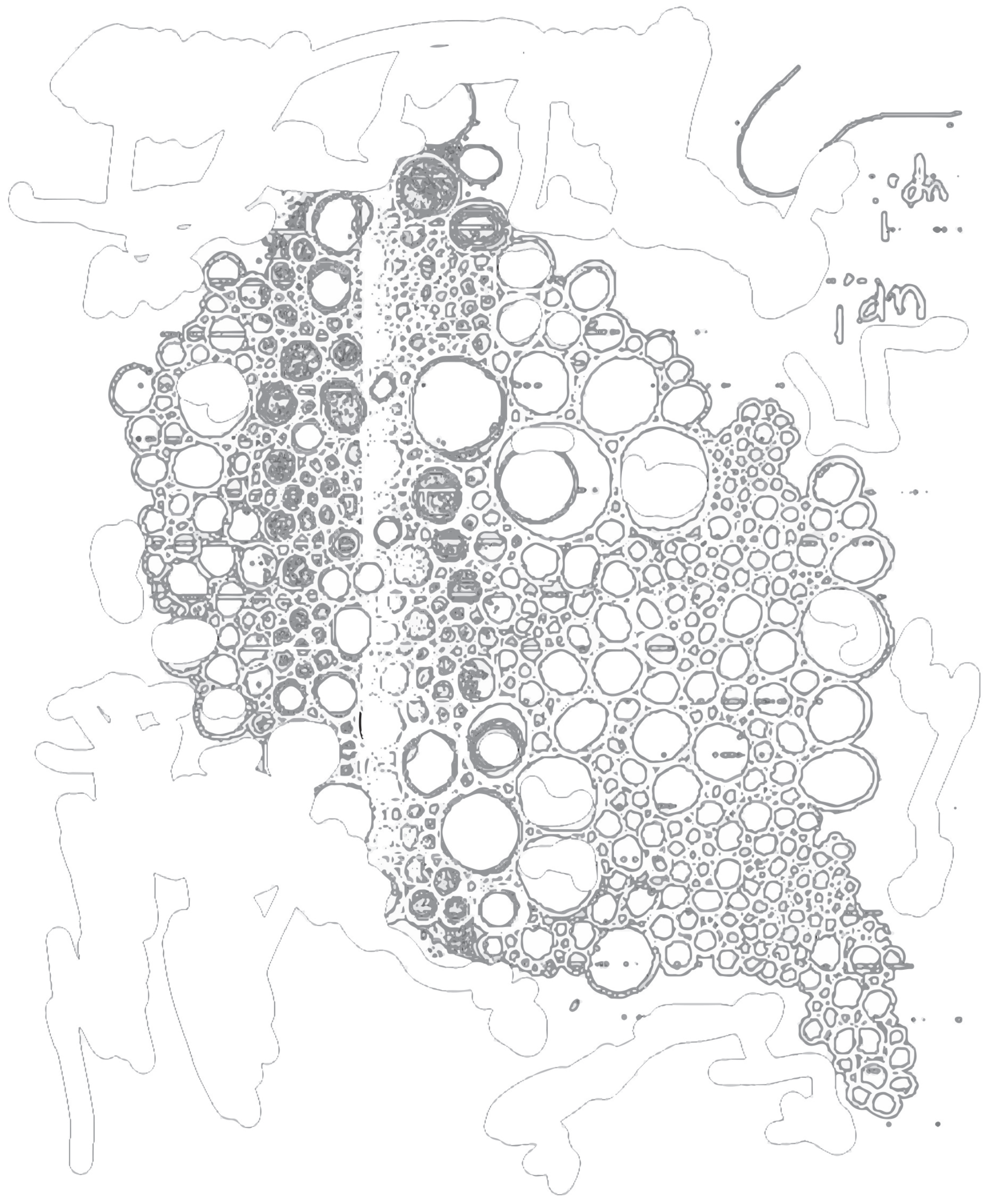

Figure 48:
Sikho Siyotula,
Minor cosmos doodle 2, 2017,
Digital Darwing.

Figure 49:
Sikho Siyotula,
Minor cosmos doodle 6, 2017,
Digital Darwing.

Figure 50:
Sikho Siyotula,
Minor cosmos doodle 5, 2017,
Digital Darwing.

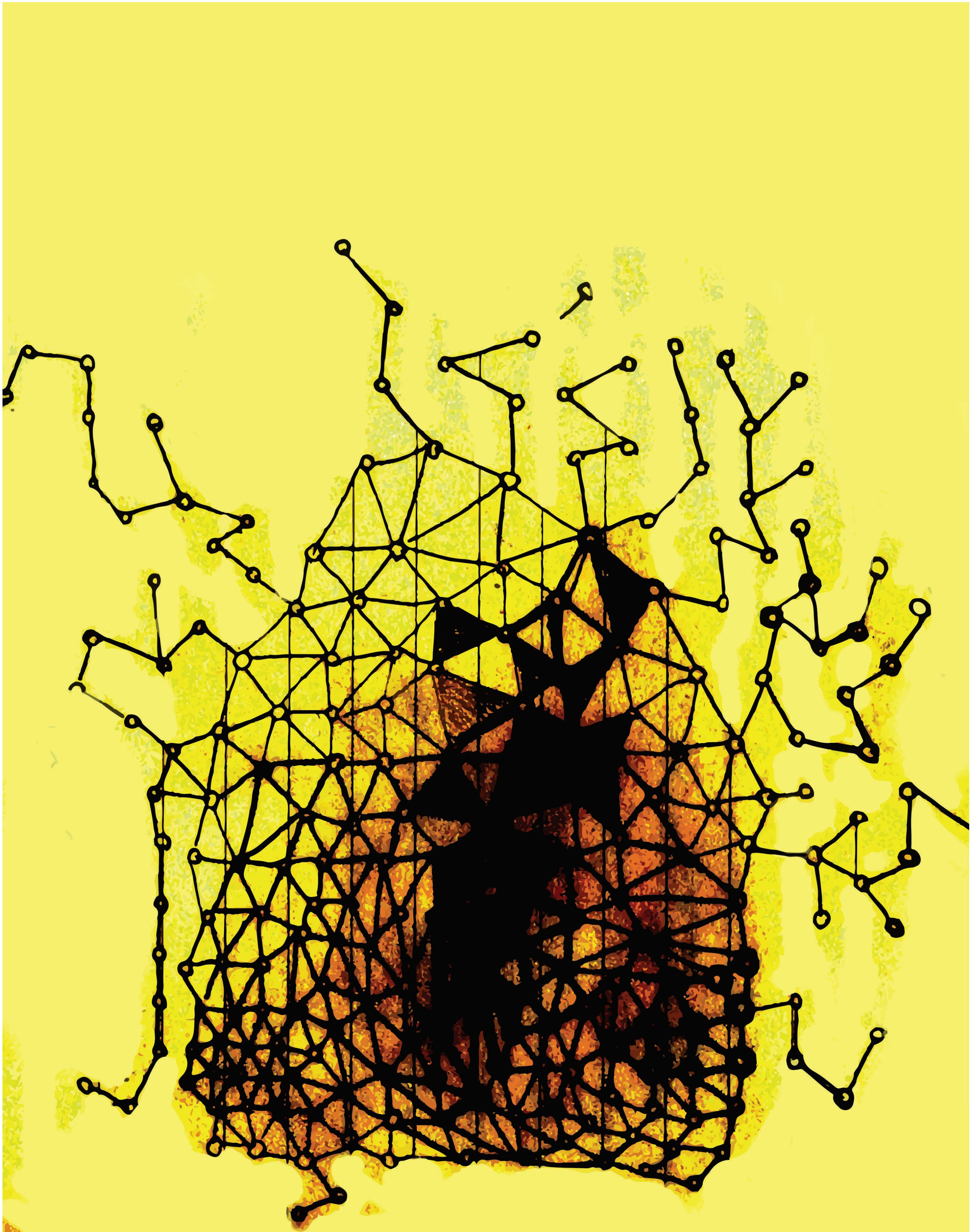

Figure 51:
Sikho Siyotula,
Minor cosmos doodle 4, 2017,
Digital Darwing.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

This study investigates the visualisation of the Southern African Late Iron Age and the authority such images hold in archaeological discourse. It is interested in how such images impact on the construction of local memory and possibilities of pasts. I am interested in the patterns created by particular archives and their changing paths; what such paths emphasise and what they help a viewer to forget; what they erase and in that erasure what remains. I am interested in mapping out the things that refuse to be forgotten and insist — despite all attempts to erase, hide, bury, and forget — on being seen.

I have argued that the visualisation of Southern African Late Iron Age Settlements needs to be re-looked at critically within appropriate visual cultural methodologies. To intervene in the uncritical reproduction, documentation, and circulation of 'formative visualisation', methodological frameworks that are critical of images (what they want and what they do) need to be taken into consideration. Such methodologies allow for a critical engagement with the cultural politics of representation. The method followed in this study is twofold. It involves textual analysis and an image-making process. For both aspects of the study, I followed visual cultural methodologies for engaging with visual materials. The approach simultaneously curated and created an archive of images related to the Southern African Late Iron Age across the late nineteenth, twentieth, and early twenty-first centuries. It entailed back and forth movements of collecting images; reading related fiction and non-fiction in an attempt to bring those images to life; experiencing the landscape and then documenting those experiences; and, finally, the interpretation of all of those experiences through the desktop editors Illustrator and Photoshop.

The study works across the disciplines of art, visual cultural studies, archaeology, and history. Although the focus of this study is the visualisation of the Southern Africa past in archaeological texts, I am not an archaeologist and neither have I had any formal training in this field. My training informs me as a visual artist, I have also studied practices of blackness in contemporary visual arts. My training as a visual artist includes the making and interpretation of images. In my time as a student — through the pressures of postcolonial studies and the increasingly prominent decolonial studies — art history was disavowed as problematic by visual cultural studies. My training has nevertheless had a lasting impact on how I work. As part of a single working process, the making of images is valued as a way of thinking; the interpretation of images is valued as a way of making.

Making is an integral part of this study; this study is, however, not practice-led. Rather, images form part of the examinable artefacts in the same ways they would appear in the archaeological texts this study reviews. They slip in. They are designed as space in which all kinds of gems lie. Ultimately this study is envisioned as making visible the counter histories of visuality and as such acts as a counterpoint in itself. As argued throughout this study, counterpoints to visuality are enacted by firstly exposing visuality as violence and not science or art; from here, alternatives to this violence are offered. The images produced in this study are my offering of an alternative. They are a bid to intercept and disrupt the repetition and reproduction of a problematic archive of images. They are a means of engaging with the artistic outputs of archaeologists beyond critique.

My original contribution to knowledge is a critical re-appraisal at the visualisation of Southern African Late Iron Age Settlements within a set of appropriate visual cultural principles, tools, and practices. Specific arguments include, firstly, the expansion of an already existing decolonial theoretical and methodological framework for dealing with images and, secondly, a curated body of work arranged into a sequence charting the development of the Southern African Iron Age through changing currents of visuality and making countervisuality visible. The former is achieved by re-contextualising visual cultural theorist Nicholas Mirzoeff's 'Right to Look' within Southern African vernacular ways of seeing conceptualised as, *ukubona* or seeing as both greeting and reprimand. The latter is realised through the study's twofold methodological approach, involving a textual analysis of a curated body of images and an image-making process. The study is of value to a general public interested in the Southern African distant past as well as to students of visual cultural studies, art, design, architecture, and archaeology.

In adopting and adapting Mirzoeff's decolonial theoretical and methodological framework, I stay clear of his claiming of rights. Instead of using a language of jurisprudence, I adapt his decolonial framework with an affirmation that I am far more familiar with: the affirmations *ngiyakubona*, Zulu for 'I see you', *siyakubona*, 'we see you', and *sawubona*, 'we see you; greetings'. As a greeting *sawuBona* acknowledges and verifies a living presence and, thus, a person's reality. It can be enacted or not. Choosing to greet or not is an exercise of power. In the politics of *ukubona*, not greeting a living presence renders them of no consequence. As a way of dealing with instances where the presence of a living entity is not acknowledged, s*awubona* can be used as both greeting and reprimand. It is used as reprimand by those looked at but not seen: what the literature has come to understand as subalterns of history. As a reprimand, *sawubona* becomes a claiming back of autonomy. The act of seeing here affirms life and presence even when that presence is denied by a person who is looking but decides not to see.

I tied the idea of *sawubona* as greeting and reprimand to Mirzoeff's ideas of visuality and countervisuality. Visuality has been addressed in this study as a form of *ukuzibona* or self-seeing—a way of ordering the world in to an aggressor's own image. Here the world is controlled, copied, and pasted from one context to the next without consideration of these contexts. Countervisuality is then the reaction to being looked at but not seen: to being spoken at as opposed to being spoken to. It is a reaction to speaking and not being heard. Countervisuality is the reprimand version of *sawubona*. As a form of seeing and making, it goes into the files of visuality, mining for and through overlooked gems of history or planting such gems for future generations. *Sawubona* as reprimand is an attempt to intercept, intervene, and ultimately undo the non-sense of non-sight.

Patterns of greeting and not greeting in line with those of visuality and countervisuality have been been mapped onto the twofold methodology involving a textual analysis and an image-making process. This approach makes visible the changing currents of visuality and countervisuality; patterns of greeting and not greeting; and patterns of greeting used as greeting and greeting used as reprimand.

A critical engagement with the changing images of Late Iron Age Settlements across time was undertaken by archaeologist Peter Garlake in the early 1980s. Garlake stands out amongst scholars of the Late Iron Age for his commitment to the power of images in the discipline — that is a consideration of not just material culture but an attention to the power of the ideological power of the images he was creating, too. Garlake's commitment to visuality led him to projects beyond the archaeological discipline. *Life at Great Zimbabwe* (Garlake 1983) is a project that drew on archaeological research and harnessed the power of images to participate in the shaping of a Zimbabwean past for a people newly liberated from British colonialism and its erasure of African pasts. It proactively participated in the search of where the image of Southern African archaeology should go next and what shape this should take.

A study similar to Garlake's state of the art overview of Late Iron Age Settlement was again undertaken in 2011 by Innocent Pikirayi. Joseph O. Vogel's foreword to Pikirayi's overview highlights the undervalued nature of the images of early Southern African archaeology, specifically those made by Mabel Bent in the early 1890s. M. Bent's early photographs of Great Zimbabwe predate all the misguided clearance of vital evidence motivated by racist readings of the site that would follow. This observation sparked the discussion of Theodore Bent's depictions of Great Zimbabwe in this study. Pikirayi's overview itself systematically details the rise and fall of Late Iron Age societies. It organises the history of

Southern African Late Iron Age settlement in a pragmatic and thus useful manner. Although the book makes use of images, as most archaeological texts do, the study forgoes a critical engagement with visuality in favour, understandably, of an archaeological emphasis.

The study of Southern African Late Iron Age Settlements has come a long way since Garlake's intervention into its dominant modes of visualisation. Developments in postcolonial and decolonial movements continue to push toward reforming a world shaped by corrosive colonial structures that persist and evolve in a postcolonial world. African pasts have continued to be of value to the reclaiming of political possibilities on the continent and the monumental task of writing back to empire. The visual space is connected to this political arena of possibilities. The dawn of the internet, the rise in social media, and advances in a staggering number of visual technologies have moulded a highly visual world. Huge strides have been made by continental African writers and artist alike to steer the visual space onto favourable land. The task set out by theories of postcolonialism — motivated by a reclaiming of the steering wheel; an effort to make 'our' Africa becomes 'ours' to possess and direct— still prove relevant.

I cannot stress enough that this study, firstly, does not situate itself in archaeology or archaeological imaging but rather within visual cultural studies; secondly, it takes on a conception of visuality that embraces both its visible and non-visible aspects. The study's distance from archaeology as a field of specialisation combined with the study's embrace of a broad understanding of visuality may have resulted in the data set for the study not necessarily being representative of the archaeological field. To some expectations, this study may not include what are considered archaeological images at all. Instead, the project may travel widely through an eclectic range of examples across ethnographic, pedagogic, popular, propagandistic, journalistic and contemporary art and music contexts without focusing on archaeological imaging. Primed with expectations of a study situated within archaeological imaging, the data set for this study may seem simultaneously narrow and sprawling, thus difficult to corroborate with the study's aims. All the data engaged within the study are nevertheless – as set out from the beginning – directly from, related to, or inspired by archaeology's visual culture.

This study matters because images are not innocent. Images and visual archives of all kinds direct a viewer's sense of politics and political possibilities. The distant Southern Africa past largely remains the domain of archaeology. The

archaeologists, anthropologists, and historians whose images are the focus of this study are actors in the production of images. Their creative outputs, in the form of the images they create, direct what is seen and how it is seen. This is so even when the images they create are secondary to the research presented.

Due to the centrality of images and the force they exert in shaping politics, archaeology as a discipline bears an immense amount of power. It participates in directing how whole societies and generations see themselves, their past, and their future possibilities. The study has shown that images of pasts are never just about the past they visualise. Instead, images are used by regimes of order — referred to throughout this study as complexes of visuality — to frame the present they are made in and the future they long to reach. The images that accompany archaeological studies tend to go on long walks. In this small study, they have been found at museums, on blog posts, in other books, and as fragments in artworks. Dislocated and relocated from the original locations they continue to exert power over how the Southern African Late Iron Age can be imagined long after the colonial ideology that informed their production has been debunked.

Limitations of the study

I initially planned on surveying a broad scope of images made by the archaeological discipline. I quickly realised that there are many different types of archaeological drawings, including the illustrations produced by surveying instruments; the photographing of archaeological sites; the illustration of artefacts; and artistic reconstructions and impressions. In order not to lose focus, I could only, primarily, manage to speak about one type. The type of drawing I found most interesting was the artistic reconstruction and impression. Such images hold an ambivalent position as both objects of an imaginary yet possessing the authority that comes with scientific artefacts. They have what I refer to in this study as the pull of the real. They carry with them something that could have been. This makes them seemingly matter more than other imaginations of the distant past.

A survey of the literature revealed that artistic impressions are more prevalent in earlier archaeological investigations. More recent studies become highly specialised and arguably stay clear of the imaginaries they perpetuate. Such impressions nevertheless do still feature in popular genres of archaeological publications: the 2015 publication *Forgo en Worlds: The Stone-Walled Settleme ts of the Mpumalanga Escarpment* and *Termites of the Gods: San Cosmology in Southern African Rock Art* are good examples. Considering how images were used in these two publications to direct political possibilities, I was convinced that a study could

still be undertaken focusing solely on the artistic representations. The focus on artistic impressions complemented the image-making process vital to this study. Limiting the scope of images considered also allowed me to follow those images' impact through history more thoroughly.

Along with surveying a broader scope of images, when I began the study I also planned on focusing on a cluster of Later Iron Age Settlements to give an impression of how the distant past of Southern Africa as a region was visualised across time. The study, against this vision, ended up being focused chiefly on Great Zimbabwe. This was owing to the fact that in the literature, Great Zimbabwe is the first and most extensively surveyed Southern African Late Iron Age Settlement. This focus is also the result of having settled on a study that surveyed the historical progression of images. The earlier part of this progression is located in Zimbabwe. I did manage to get around to other sites but not in nearly as much detail as I would have preferred. Despite the focus on Zimbabwe, the study still has considered to a lesser degree other settlements like Mapungubwe, and Bokoni. It is perhaps sensible to state, at this point, that my work is not immune to the affect of visuality. I may have very well overlooked significant 'remainders' in focusing on the 'main' archaeological site. Future researchers could take such remainders further with this study as a starting point.

This study follows a curated group of images across a vast period of time, covering both the history and the 'prehistory' of Southern Africa. It maps and animates the story of the visualisation of Southern Africa Late Iron Age Settlements (900–1800 AD) across the late nineteenth, twentieth, and early twenty-first centuries (1871–2020) by researchers as well as in African nativist and nationalist rhetoric. The ambitious time span covered, using a tight number of illustrations as data, was not done with the assumption that a small curated group of images could tell a reader something conclusive about the visualisation of Southern African Late Iron Age Settlements. The study is rather imagined as an offering of a dataset to a — thus far — open-ended global study of a counter history of visuality. The dataset dealt with is limited, I do nevertheless trust that through it the core concerns of the study where adequately addressed.

At the onset of the study, I had imagined a more prominent intersection of postcolonial theory with an enquiry into the aesthetics of the virtual. An enquiry into the aesthetics of the virtual seemed pressing in a digital world that had made them ubiquitous. Instead, by engaging a countervisual theoretical and methodological framework for dealing with images that structured research into complexes of order, the study only slowly built towards this. Such an intersection, I found, could only really be applicable to a military-industrial complex of visuality

that unfolds within the Digital Age. The study primarily worked chronologically — with the exception of Chapter Five, which focuses on Southern African vernacular forms of making. Thus, a consideration of an intersection of postcolonial theory and an enquiry into the aesthetics of the virtual is only engaged with towards the end of the study, particularly within the image-making process.

I had hoped to make more images as part of the second methodological fold of this study. The making process was slow and technically challenging. Moreover, a considerable amount of time went into the first component of the study. This included collecting, curating, and interpreting the images featured in the study. I assess that the second fold of the study, the image making component, has great potential to be expanded upon. Furthermore, in the end, layers and layers of phenomenological experiences of the archaeological landscapes, photographs, drawings, and images amassed from personal, private, and public archives and the reading of literature are seemingly collapsed and rendered into flat images. I hope that the textures that went into making them find a way of permeating through the flat surfaces of digital printing. These four intricate images and their making are of importance to this study as they demonstrate the value of image-making alongside thinking about images. They represent meeting images on the level of images. They enhanced my working method by making more pronounced the movement between thinking and doing. At the very least, they allowed me to better consider the location of the image-makers in the political context in which they worked. By insisting on making images as an important component, I insisted on adding meaning beyond my immediate grasp and sites for possible future interrogation to the academic work that this study has undertaken. I have referred to this as an intervention beyond critique.

An alternative approach that would prove a valuable study in the future is a change of dataset. As opposed to focusing on a vast amount of time — so as to see the movement of images related to the Southern African Iron Age across visuality's complexes of order — future studies could focus on a particular place. This could be a lesser known archaeological site. This would limit the dataset and perhaps allow for an investigation into how Southern African archaeologists use a variety of images.

On the whole, this study has made several accomplishments: a historical overview of the visualisation of Southern African Late Iron Age Settlements from a postcolonial visual cultural perspective; a location of this overview within new orders of reality presented by developments in the Digital Age; and an image-making process as a way of grappling with the 'spectres' of Southern African Late Iron Age Settlements, invoked and possibly reproduced through their visualisation,

even in the postcolonial present. Informed by the politics of Southern African greeting practices, the study embraces vision as an embodied, located practice. It contributes to a pluralising and thus a decentralisation of ways of looking and seeing. A changing of images as they move through different regimes of power is reflected in the results of its chapters.

Chapter review

It was invaluable to this study to consider a counterhistory of visuality. This consideration anchored the study to a decolonial theoretical and methodological framework. It linked the study firmly within the concerns of visual cultural studies as well as to trends in global historical understandings. Here modernity and the thought patterns or paths it produces are understood as the constant negotiation between visuality and countervisuality. This is done through a comparative study of visuality in what Mirzoeff outlines as three complexes – plantation slavery, ongoing imperialism, and today's military-industrial complex. As well as outlining the problem addressed in the study, getting to grips with the theoretical and methodological frameworks is the subject of the Chapter one. Adopting and adapting visuality as a form of self-seeing structured the chapters that followed into chapters of visuality (or ukubona as greeting), and chapters of countervisuality (or ukubona as a reprimand. The chapters went back and forth between these two modes of seeing, until the final chapter offered imaginations of a past now located in the digital age.'

In Chapter Two of this study, I follow practices that shape visuality over these three complexes, reifying the nature of visuality and its tendencies of erasure. My focus — as in the chapters that follow — is on artistic impressions of Southern African Late Iron Age Settlements (LIAS) within archaeological discourse. The images selected and discussed in Chapter Two, were selected for their travels within and without archaeological discourse. Amongst the places which the images have travelled to are: John Speed's 1627 map of Africa capturing "Zimbaos", identified today as Great Zimbabwe, featured in Peter Garlake's 1973 *Great Zimbabwe: New aspects of Archaeology*; Karl Mauch's 1871 Sketch of Great Zimbabwe, recording the first known documented sighting of Great Zimbabwe, featured in Innocent Pikirayi's 2001 *The Zimbabwe Culture: Origins and Decline of Southern Zambezian States*; and, Theodore Bent's 1891 depiction of Great Zimbabwe made from photographs of the space, during the first excavation of a LIAS in Southern Africa. The drawing is featured in T. Bent's 1892 *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland: Being a Record of Exploration*

The results of examining these three images in progression show a stop-frame animated sequence distorted by time through difference and repetition spanning over half a millennium. They play out as zoom-in-and-focus montage. John Speed's map of Africa charts out an unknown world; Karl Mauch's line sketch of the same location acquires a more intimate perspective; finally, T. Bent's interpretation fills in the details left out by Mauch. Word of mouth becomes sight of word; areal visualisation makes way for the eye level close up. This montage reflects visuality's practices of looking over three complexes of visuality: plantation, imperial, and the military-industrial complex respectively. The change in perspective represents technological advances, the ever-approaching proximity of empire, and the intensification of the disruption on an old order on the African continent.

What may seem like efficiency and favourable progression in scientific research can instead be viewed as in fact a form of batch processing as is argued here. Visuality is interpreted as a form of looking that does not see. Instead, ideas are control-copy-pasted from a known world into an unknown one in an attempt to steer that unknown world towards certainty. Filling in the gaps of an already mapped out route in Southern African archaeology increasingly forced round pegs into square holes. The circular stone walled settlements of the Southern African Late Iron Age were thus interpreted in a number of bizarre projections. Throughout archaeological discourse, these images are cited again and again both critically and affirmatively, depending on what authors were trying to achieve.

Archaeological discourse, using imperial visuality, was heavily implicated in creating the smokescreen that would give legitimacy to the occupation of the Zimbabwean plateau by Cecil John Rhodes and the British South Africa Company. A year after the occupation of the Zimbabwean plateau, Rhodes announced his ultimate imperial dream of a railroad that would connect Cape Town at the southern tip of Africa to Cairo in Egypt at its very north. Rhodes' dream was not achieved; it did nevertheless have a lasting physical impact on the landscape and the people who lived in it. More than this, the images that this single dream cleared the way for are still very much alive long after the project's failure — *The Rhodes Colossus: Striding from Cape to Cairo* being exemplary. In the enduring image of imperial visuality and European colonisation on the African continent, Rhodes spreads out his arms and legs, with his head in the clouds and boots on the ground. The dwarfing perspective of the image noticeably omits the people on the ground of the African content.

In Chapter Three, I begin to populate the images of visuality discussed in the first two chapters with the people on the receiving end of visuality's authority. *The Rhodes Colossus*, which has been widely discussed in the literature, is examined alongside the lyrics of the popular but less analysed song of protest by Southern African Jazz musician Hugh Masekela, *Stimel* — written in the midst of Southern Africa's armed wars for liberation. Masekela's *Stimel* exposes the violence of imperial visuality and fascist claims to Southern Africa from a black miner's point of view. While expanding on the idea of archaeology's imperial visuality introduced in the first and second chapters, the third chapter begins to flesh out the reactions to its erasure.

Chapter Three is much shorter than the chapter that precedes it. In the context of the more extensive study, it works at bridging the ideas of visuality and countervisuality. This is achieved by describing and discussing visuality and countervisuality side by side. Visuality is discussed by means of a comment on the global rise of professional archaeology in the 1890s that coincided with the British Empire's colonisation of the Zimbabwean plateau. The first archaeologists researching the plateau and the images they created were deeply entrenched in the foundations of imperial claims to the area. British colonisation of the Zimbabwean plateau crucially depended on securing these foundations, which in turn were built on questionable archaeology. This resulted in the employment of the majority of professional archaeologists within colonial administration. The chapter then highlights a countervisual image that challenges imperial visuality's claims to authority. The image of the imperial hero Rhodes is brought face to face with the opponents of his vision. Using the reprimand version of ukuBona, Masekela's Stimela curses a moving train carrying the bodies of men towards the hope of modernity. Against the backdrop of Rhodes's failed dream and the image of The Rhodes Colossus, Stimela exposes the continuities and implications of archaeology's imperial visuality. The song also exposes and fleshes out the perspective from which countervisuality can be produced.

Chapter Four expands the concept of countervisuality further. It shows how three images of mining — featured in Garlake's *Life at Great Zimbabwe* — unassumingly enact a counterpoint to imperial visuality. The image of mining discussed in this chapter re-imagine life in general, and specifically gold mining, as an aspect of life at Great Zimbabwe in the thirteenth century. Through such re-imaginings, the images rebuke the imperial visuality of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They speculate about the reality of the thirteenth century through projections; they also offer a different possibility of real existence confronting racist claims to Southern Africa in the 1970s and 1980s.

The images discussed in this chapter were conceived after Zimbabwe became an independent nation-state in the 1980s. They are analysed, in this chapter, after a critical discussion of imperial visuality has exposed the violence inherent in archaeological visualisations from the colonial and Apartheid eras. Garlake's images are then introduced as alternatives to this violence. The images are discussed within the context of antiracist, protest, and resistance movements. The illustration in the book *Life at Great Zimbabwe*; the events leading up to the publication of *Great Zimbabwe: New Aspects in Archaeology*; the publication itself; and the publication of *Life at Great Zimbabwe* — together — perform a multifaceted counteraction to imperial visuality. The chapter maps out how, in the context of growing African nationalism, this counteraction displaced the foundations of imperial visuality in Zimbabwe.

The countervisuality expressed in the images is necessarily achieved through a change in perspective. It is achieved through the claiming of a space from which existence can be affirmed with an 'I see you'. If visuality, like Painting by Numbers, control-copy-pasted batch formulae as a means of efficiently looking at the world, countervisuality employs a strategy of control-edit-undoing imperial files in an attempt to see the world. Garlake's countervisual agenda challenged early Southern African archaeology and mined the imagined past to find, and not look but, in the sense of *ukubona*, see overlooked gems.

Chapter Five focuses, therefore, on decontextualised archaeological images – images that, according to the study, step out of books and go for long walks. Images walk into files that are themselves filed and then one day placed somewhere out of context with no reference about the place from where they came. The subject of the chapter is an image currently hanging at the reception of University of Pretoria's Africana collection, *Ethnic Map of Southern Africa* by artist Charlotte Firbank-King. At first glance, the image presents a vision of belonging. The right to space and mobility for black bodies, in this past, uses archaeological impressions placed into the image alongside other images.

The chapter presents an important interview with Firbank-King establishing the back story of *Ethnic Map of Southern Africa* revealing the image as highly influential for the time it was created for and received in. Through analysis, it demonstrates that, the image postures as a visualisation of Southern African's long past. It uses iconic patterning to ascribe ethnicity and belonging; however, it is directly linked to colonial processes of 'tribing' the archive. Thus, the space presented is an imaginary ideological one. It is neither an image of the year 1990, when it was created, nor of the distant pre-colonial Southern African past it plays at representing. It is underpinned by colonial administrative reasoning and brings

to light the desire, in colonial visuality, to distil political identity into a single visual code or print. This is something that is achieved later in the visuality of the military-industrial complex using fingerprints in biometric forms of identification in public administration. The chapter begins with a phenomenological description of this military-industrial complex, proceeded by its analysis in the educational complex represented by the University of Pretoria and encapsulated in the artwork hanging at the Africana collection.

The image at the reception of the University of Pretoria's Africana collection makes visible colonial administrative reasoning as opposed to solely acting as a representation of belonging and the right to space and mobility in the distant Southern African past. Thus it exposes how visuality, following the immediate downfall of Apartheid in South Africa, struggled to dream Southern African history anew without slipping into colonial tropes and reasoning. The image also demonstrates how, if not reassessed appropriately, formative visualisation of the Southern African past are uncritically reproduced and circulated into new contexts. What is most curious about the image is the way it hides in plain sight. To contemporary Southern African viewers the image holds an emancipatory potential of addressing a disavowed African past. Only a closer look entraps a viewer and confronts them with a logic that is alive and well in the complex of order they find themselves in.

Deviating from the chapters that come before it, in Chapter Six, I focus on Southern African vernacular forms of looking in an attempt to traverse the colonial archive of images. This is done in an attempt to traverse the colonial archive of images. Chapter Six follows the discussion of rock engravings found in the in Mpumalanga Escarpment held by archaeologists Delius, Maggs, and Schoeman in the publication *Forgo en Worlds: The Stone-Walled Settleme ts of the Mpumalanga Escarpment*. From their discussions, I insist that the rock engravings of Bokoni represent a countervisual Southern African Late Iron Age vernacular. They break visuality's mould in terms of how the landscape is imagined. I also entertain the idea that, in their own context, the rock engravings found at Bokoni could very well have represented another form of visuality. A vast Iron Age landscape is ordered on a single rock embedded within that very landscape. Lines are engraved into rock, poetically telling the story of a people, by a people. This way of seeing the landscape profoundly influenced the image-making process that follows in Chapter Seven. It provided a visual language in which I could make a shift from a critique of images to the making of images.

Chapter Seven discusses the significance and the process involved in an engagement with the second methodological fold of this study, namely, an image-

making process. It is concerned with both the technical realities of working as well as artistic musings on meaning. Designed to intercept and disrupt the repetition and reproduction of a problematic archive, the body of work, *On Other Poleis*, is conceived as an intervention beyond a critique. The images created for this body of work combine computer-aided drawings, photo-documentation, and the photo-manipulation of the documentary, archival, and artistic impressions of selected archaeological landscapes.

The image-making process involved a synthesising of my phenomenological experience of selected Southern African Late Iron Age Settlements with images from the archive. Images were scanned, placed, cropped, layered, transformed, erased, and then eventually flattened in Adobe's graphic editors Photoshop and Illustrator. The exercise added and enhanced a particular way of seeing. Through it, I acquired another perspective, the perspective of the desktop editor and more broadly the maker of images. From this perspective, the ebbs and flows of visuality and countervisuality become even more evident. An original image moves through the architecture of the software, which crucially directs how images gain and lose qualities. I think of this process as Adobe translating the Iron Age. The study slowly built towards a consideration of an intersection of the aesthetics of the virtual (made ubiquitous in the Digital Age) postcolonial, and decolonial modes of thinking and making. Chapter Seven and the images played out in the final chapter are the pinnacle of this build-up.

Chapter Eight presents the results of my image-making process in the photo essay titled On Other Poleis. The work was partly shown in December 2018 at the HKW Berlin, as part of the minor cosmopolitan weekend. This chapter, the ninth and final, presents the study's conclusions.

Possibilities for Future Research

Overall, it would have been helpful to establish or have found a digitised archive of images related to the Late Iron Age. What is demonstrated by this study is that context matters; A digital library is convenient but (more than convenience) clears the way for more visible relational possibilities between images, thus encouraging different stories to emerge. Starting with a digital archive of images conveniently correctly referenced to there sources, future studies could dive into details about the images' makers. In Chapter Four for instance, I found little information about The Zimbabwe Cooperative Craft Workshop LTD in the literature. Based in Harare, the Cooperative illustrated both *Life at Great Zimbabwe* in 1982 and *Early Zimbabwe* in 1983 – two books that are a central turning point in this study. Future studies could explore the co-operative and specifically find

out about the artist(s) that worked on the book *Life at Great Zimbabwe*, where they drew inspiration from, and how they found and worked with such sources. The absence of the artists that worked on creating the images in these two books sets up a hierarchy between the author Peter Garlake and the artists that worked with him. While he remains named historically, those that worked with him and who are in fact the subject of the counteraction followed in this study, remain unknown.

In Chapter Six, covering vernacular ways of making, I engage with rock engravings of the Mpumalanga escarpment. Such engravings are a cultural treasure. As I was told when visiting the museum, many remain on private farms in the area. A Google search of such engravings reveals a multitude of rocks. Future curatorial projects could work towards bringing representations of these rocks engravings as well as the rocks engravings themselves into databases, visitor's centres, and national curricula.

The tracing of continuities and ruptures in pre-colonial African settlement in relation to modern-day African cities is also a field of research touched upon in this study that can and should be taken forward in future studies. Serowe, the village in Botswana from where Bessie Head wrote after leaving South Africa, is the largest traditional settlement, as opposed to settler towns, in Botswana. As part of my field research, I visited a number of Southern African Late Iron Age Settlements and archaeological sites. Serowe was one of the places I visited not because it was an archaeological site but a place of interest. Firstly, it is the place where Bessie Head — who had inspired so much of the earlier part of my project — settled after leaving apartheid South Africa for good. And secondly, the way Head wrote about Serowe drew attention to the place for its own sake.

Head saw Botswana as having a past, a history, like no place else on the African continent, noting it as a land that was never conquered or dominated by foreign powers and thus had a bit of ancient Africa within. As confirmed by my visit, modern-day Serowe did indeed have a bit of ancient Africa in it. Head's description about the town in which she settled intrigued me. As a point of interest to a study about Late Iron Age settlements in the digital age, Serowe formed organically out of the traditional settlement. This is reflected in its built environment. At the grave of King Khama located on a hill looking out onto Serowe, the circular settlement pattern, that I come to understand as a signature of Late Iron Age settlements, is still present.

Conclusion

The research for the study has revealed a shifting archive of images across the late nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries. Played out in sequence, such images read as a stop-frame animation that pushes and pulls with and against political tides. Images are control-copy-pasted by regimes holding power and control-edit-undone by their opponents. Files are placed onto both default and highly modified workspaces. Here they are transformed, translated, cropped, layered into complex objects, and then flattened only for the cycle to begin yet again.

I have travelled to where some of these files are kept. I have greeted them *SawuBona*. I have tracked those that have done the same and those that have not. Using the address as both greeting and reprimand, I have had my go at laying my senses on a future, at disrupting its path — its image, its visualisation. I am currently unsure of its response. In the meantime, I have unshelved and scanned and clicked open: placed, cropped, turned horizontally, traced, and transformed images. I have zoomed in on images until there were only pixels. I have stacked multiple images onto each other and watched shadows change as the years went by. I have eventually also collapsed layers into singular images as if to lock infinite possibilities. I have tilted my head and squinted my eyes to make sense of images before me. I have throughout this process kept my filters, as set out from the start a particular shade of yellow.

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Appendices

DEUTSCHE ZUSAMMENFASSUNG DER STUDIE

(Summary of the study in German)

VISUALISIERUNG VON SIEDLUNGEN DER SPÄTEN EISENZEIT IM SÜDLICHEN AFRIKA IM DIGITALEN ZEITALTER

Zusammenfassung:

VISUALISING SOUTHERN AFRICAN LATE IRON AGE SETTLEMENTS IN THE DIGITAL AGE untersucht die Visualisierung von Siedlungen des südlichen Afrikas aus der späten Eisenzeit (LIAS) (ca. 900-1800) im späten 19., 20., und frühen 21. Jahrhundert (1871-2020), wie sie in Studien über die kulturelle Produktion, Verbreitung, Reproduktion und Theoretisierung von Illustrationen zur archäologischen, anthropologischen und historischen LIAS-Forschung im südlichen Afrika zu finden ist. Ein wertvoller Beitrag der LIAS-Forschung ist der kontinuierliche Nachweis eines vorkolonialen Zentrums von Kosmopolitismen in einem Ausmaß, wie es in kolonialen Geschichten von "indigenen" Gemeinschaften - die als das ultimative "Andere" der globalen Moderne angesehen werden - nie vorstellbar war.

Diese Studie konzentriert sich auf die Visualisierung von vier Siedlungen, nämlich: Mapungubwe, Khami, Great Zimbabwe und Bokoni. Es wird vorgeschlagen, dass ebenso wie die Autorität der eurozentrischen "formativen Interpretationen" der LIAS-Forschung, die derzeit in Frage gestellt wird, auch jene Visualisierungen, die LIAS begleiten, im Rahmen angemessener visueller kultureller Methodologien, die durch postkoloniale, dekoloniale und kritische Rassentheorie informiert sind, kritisch neu betrachtet werden müssen. Die Studie folgt einem zweifachen methodologischen Rahmen, der eine Textanalyse und einen Bildherstellungsprozess umfasst. In beiden Fällen konzentriert sich die Studie auf die Kulturpolitik der Repräsentation und fragt: Wer und was wird in der Visualisierung von Siedlungen, die die LIAS-Forschung begleiten, sichtbar gemacht; welche Formen von Materialität und Räumlichkeit werden abgebildet und aufgeführt; welche Auswirkungen haben solche Visualisierungen auf die Menschen, die sie erleben; und schließlich, was bedeuten sie in dem Kontext, in dem sie gemacht werden.

Zusammenfassung der Studie:

Diese Studie untersucht die Visualisierung der späten Eisenzeit im südlichen Afrika und die Autorität, die solche Bilder im archäologischen Diskurs haben. Sie

interessiert sich dafür, wie sich solche Bilder auf die Konstruktion der lokalen Erinnerung und die Möglichkeiten der Vergangenheit auswirken. Ich interessiere mich für die Muster, die von bestimmten Archiven und ihren wechselnden Ausrichtungen geschaffen werden; was solche Ausrichtungen betonen und was sie dem Betrachter helfen zu vergessen; was sie auslöschen und was bei dieser Auslöschung übrigbleibt. Ich interessiere mich für die Dinge, die sich weigern, vergessen zu werden, und die trotz aller Versuche, sie zu löschen, zu verstecken, zu vergraben und zu vergessen, darauf bestehen, gesehen zu werden.

Genauer gesagt untersucht die Studie die Visualisierung der späteisenzeitlichen Siedlungen des südlichen Afrikas (LIAS) im späten neunzehnten, zwanzigsten und frühen einundzwanzigsten Jahrhundert, wobei sie sich auf die Visualisierung von vier Siedlungen konzentriert, nämlich Mapungubwe, Khami, Great Zimbabwe und Bokoni. Die Studie konzentriert sich vor allem auf Great Zimbabwe, eine Dynamik, die ich der Literatur über LIAS im südlichen Afrika verdanke. Great Zimbabwe ist das erste und am umfassendsten untersuchte LIAS im südlichen Afrika. Die vorliegende Studie ist darauf ausgerichtet, die Entwicklung der Darstellungen im Laufe der Zeit zu untersuchen und befasst sich hauptsächlich mit Great Zimbabwe. Sie enthält ein Kapitel über Bokoni, beschäftigt sich mit einem Bild von Khami und geht kurz auf Mapungubwe ein. Die späteisenzeitliche Siedlung Manyikeni in Mosambik wird als Teil einer Gruppe von Siedlungen im südlichen Afrika erwähnt, aber nicht direkt behandelt.

Ich argumentiere in der gesamten Studie , dass die Visualisierung der späteisenzeitlichen Siedlungen im südlichen Afrika im Rahmen einer angemessenen visuellen Kulturmethodik kritisch betrachtet werden muss. Um in die unkritische Reproduktion, Dokumentation und Zirkulation der "formativen Visualisierung" einzugreifen, müssen methodologische Rahmenbedingungen berücksichtigt werden, die kritisch gegenüber Bildern sind (was sie wollen und was sie tun). Solche Methoden ermöglichen eine kritische Auseinandersetzung mit der Kulturpolitik der Repräsentation. Die in dieser Studie angewandte Methode ist zweigleisig. Sie umfasst eine Textanalyse und einen Prozess der Bilderstellung. Bei beiden Aspekten der Studie habe ich mich auf visuelle kulturelle Methoden gestützt, um mich mit visuellem Material auseinanderzusetzen. Mit diesem Ansatz wird gleichzeitig ein Archiv von Darstellungen zur späten Eisenzeit im südlichen Afrika aus dem späten 19., 20. und frühen 21. Jahrhundert kuratiert und kreiert. Der Arbeitsprozess beinhaltete ein Hin und Her zwischen dem Sammeln von Darstellungen, dem Lesen von damit zusammenhängender Belletristik- und Sachbüchern, um diese Darstellungen zum Leben zu erwecken, dem Erleben der Landschaft und der anschließenden Dokumentation dieser Erfahrungen und schließlich der Interpretation all dieser Erfahrungen mithilfe der Desktop-Editoren Illustrator und Photoshop.

Die Studie arbeitet disziplinübergreifend mit Kunst, visuellen Kulturwissenschaften, Archäologie und Geschichte. Obwohl der Schwerpunkt dieser Studie auf der Visualisierung der Vergangenheit des südlichen Afrikas in archäologischen Texten liegt, bin ich keine Archäologin und habe auch keine formale Ausbildung in diesem Bereich. Meine Ausbildung macht mich zur bildenden Künstlerin, ich habe auch Praktiken von Blackness in der zeitgenössischen bildenden Kunst untersucht. Zu meiner Ausbildung als bildende Künstlerin gehört die Herstellung und Interpretation von Bildern. In meiner Studienzeit - unter dem Druck der postkolonialen Studien und der immer stärker in den Vordergrund tretenden dekolonialen Studien - wurde die Kunstgeschichte von den visuellen Kulturwissenschaften als problematisch eingestuft. Nichtsdestotrotz hat meine Ausbildung einen nachhaltigen Einfluss auf meine Arbeitsweise. Als Teil eines einzigen Arbeitsprozesses wird die Herstellung von Bildern als eine Art des Denkens und die Interpretation von Bildern als eine Art der Herstellung geschätzt.

Die Herstellung ist ein integraler Bestandteil dieser Studie; sie ist jedoch nicht praxisorientiert. Vielmehr sind Bilder Teil der zu untersuchenden Artefakte, so wie sie auch in den archäologischen Texten erscheinen, die in dieser Studie untersucht werden. Sie fügen sich ein. Sie sind als Raum konzipiert, in dem alle Arten von Schätzen liegen. Letztlich soll diese Studie die Gegengeschichten der Visualität sichtbar machen und als solche selbst einen Kontrapunkt setzen. Wie in dieser Studie argumentiert wird, werden Kontrapunkte zur Visualität gesetzt, indem Visualität zunächst als Gewalt und nicht als Wissenschaft oder Kunst entlarvt wird; von hier aus werden Alternativen zu dieser Gewalt angeboten. Die in dieser Studie produzierten Bilder sind mein Angebot für eine Alternative. Sie sind ein Versuch, die Wiederholung und Reproduktion eines problematischen Bildarchivs abzufangen und zu unterbrechen. Sie sind ein Mittel, sich jenseits der Kritik mit dem künstlerischen Schaffen der Archäologen auseinanderzusetzen.

Der ursprüngliche Beitrag der Studie zum bestehenden Wissen ist eine kritische Neubewertung der Visualisierung von Siedlungen der späten Eisenzeit im südlichen Afrika mit Hilfe einer Reihe von geeigneten visuellen kulturellen Prinzipien, Werkzeugen und Praktiken. Zu den spezifischen Argumenten gehören erstens die Erweiterung eines bereits bestehenden dekolonialen, theoretischen und methodischen Rahmens für den Umgang mit Bildern und zweitens ein kuratiertes Werk, das in einer Sequenz die Entwicklung der südafrikanischen Eisenzeit durch wechselnde Strömungen der Visualität nachzeichnet und Gegenvisualität sichtbar macht. Ersteres wird durch die Rekontextualisierung von Nicholas Mirzoeffs „Right to Look" innerhalb der volkstümlichen Sehgewohnheiten

des südlichen Afrikas erreicht, die als ukubona oder Sehen als Begrüßung und Tadel zugleich konzipiert sind. Letzteres wird durch den doppelten methodischen Ansatz der Studie realisiert, der eine Textanalyse eines kuratierten Bildbestands und einen Bildherstellungsprozess umfasst. Die Studie ist sowohl für ein allgemeines Publikum, das sich für die ferne Vergangenheit des südlichen Afrikas interessiert, als auch für Studenten der visuellen Kulturwissenschaften, der Kunst, des Designs, der Architektur und der Archäologie von Nutzen.

Indem ich Mirzoeffs dekolonialen theoretischen und methodologischen Rahmen übernehme und anpasse, halte ich mich von seiner Forderung von Rechten fern. Anstatt eine Sprache der Rechtsprechung zu verwenden, passe ich seinen dekolonialen Rahmen mit einer Affirmation an, die mir weitaus vertrauter ist: die Affirmationen ngiyakubona, Zulu für "Ich sehe dich", siyakubona, "wir sehen dich", und sawubona, "wir sehen dich; Grüße". Als Gruß erkennt sawubona eine lebendige Präsenz und damit die Realität einer Person an und bestätigt sie. Er kann vollzogen werden oder nicht. Die Entscheidung, zu grüßen oder nicht, ist eine Machtausübung. In der Politik des ukubona bedeutet die Nichtbegrüßung einer lebenden Präsenz, dass diese keine Bedeutung hat. Um mit Fällen umzugehen, in denen die Anwesenheit eines Lebewesens nicht anerkannt wird, kann sawubona sowohl als Gruß als auch als Tadel verwendet werden. Als Tadel wird es von denjenigen verwendet, die angeschaut, aber nicht gesehen werden: die, die in der Literatur als Subalterne der Geschichte verstanden werden. Als Verweis wird sawubona zu einer Rückforderung von Autonomie. Der Akt des Sehens bekräftigt hier das Leben und die Präsenz, selbst wenn diese Präsenz von einer Person verweigert wird, die zwar schaut, aber beschließt, nicht zu sehen. Ich habe die Idee von sawubona als Gruß und Tadel mit Mirzoeffs Ideen von Visualität und Gegenvisualität verknüpft. Die Muster des Grüßens und Nicht-Grüßens, die mit denen der Visualität und der Gegenvisualität übereinstimmen, wurden in einer zweifachen Methodik abgebildet, die eine Textanalyse und einen Bildherstellungsprozess umfasst.

Eine kritische Auseinandersetzung mit den sich im Laufe der Zeit verändernden Bildern der späteisenzeitlichen Siedlungen wurde von dem Archäologen Peter Garlake in den frühen 1980er Jahren unternommen. Garlake zeichnete sich unter den Forschern der späten Eisenzeit durch sein Engagement für die Macht der Bilder in seinem Fachgebiet aus - das heißt, er berücksichtigte nicht nur die materielle Kultur, sondern auch die Macht der ideologischen Kraft der von ihm geschaffenen Bilder. Garlakes Engagement für Visualität führte ihn zu Projekten außerhalb der archäologischen Disziplin. Life at Great Zimbabwe (Garlake 1983) ist ein Projekt, das sich auf archäologische Forschungen stützte und die Macht der Bilder nutzte, um an der Gestaltung einer simbabwischen Vergangenheit für

ein Volk mitzuwirken, das gerade erst vom britischen Kolonialismus und dessen Auslöschung der afrikanischen Vergangenheit befreit worden war. Er beteiligte sich proaktiv an der Suche nach dem Weg, den das visuelle Imaginäre der Archäologie des südlichen Afrikas als nächstes einschlagen und welche Form es annehmen sollte.

Eine ähnliche Studie wie Garlakes jüngerer Überblick über die späteisenzeitliche Besiedlung wurde 2011 von Innocent Pikirayi durchgeführt. Joseph O. Vogels Vorwort zu Pikirayis Überblick hebt die Unterbewertung der Bilder der frühen Archäologie des südlichen Afrikas hervor, insbesondere derjenigen, die von Mabel Bent in den frühen 1890er Jahren gemacht wurden. M. Bents frühe Fotografien von Great Zimbabwe liegen zeitlich vor all den fehlgeleiteten, durch rassistische Interpretationen der Stätte motivierten Beseitigungen von wichtigen Beweisen, die später folgten. Diese Beobachtung gab den Anstoß für die Diskussion von Theodore Bents Darstellungen von Great Zimbabwe in dieser Studie. Der Überblick von Pikirayi selbst beschreibt systematisch den Aufstieg und Fall der Gesellschaften der späten Eisenzeit. Er gliedert die Geschichte der späteisenzeitlichen Besiedlung des südlichen Afrikas in einer pragmatischen und daher nützlichen Weise. Obwohl das Buch, wie die meisten archäologischen Texte, auf Bilder zurückgreift, verzichtet die Studie verständlicherweise auf eine kritische Auseinandersetzung mit dem Visuellen zugunsten eines archäologischen Schwerpunkts.

Die Erforschung der späteisenzeitlichen Siedlungen im südlichen Afrika hat seit Garlakes Intervention in die vorherrschenden Darstellungsformen einen langen Weg zurückgelegt. Die Entwicklungen in den postkolonialen und dekolonialen Bewegungen drängen weiterhin darauf, eine Welt zu reformieren, die von zersetzenden kolonialen Strukturen geprägt ist, die in einer postkolonialen Welt fortbestehen und sich weiterentwickeln. Die afrikanische Vergangenheit ist nach wie vor von Bedeutung für die Rückgewinnung politischer Möglichkeiten auf dem Kontinent und die monumentale Aufgabe, an das Empire zurückzuschreiben. Der visuelle Raum ist mit dieser politischen Arena der Möglichkeiten verbunden. Die Anfänge des Internets, der Aufstieg der sozialen Medien und die Fortschritte bei einer unglaublichen Anzahl von visuellen Technologien haben eine hochgradig visuelle Welt geschaffen. Sowohl Schriftsteller als auch Künstler des afrikanischen Kontinents haben enorme Anstrengungen unternommen, um den visuellen Raum auf ein vorteilhaftes Terrain zu lenken. Die Aufgabe, die von den Theorien des Postkolonialismus gestellt wurde - motiviert durch die Rückforderung des Steuerrads als ein Versuch, "unser" Afrika zu "unserem" zu machen, um es zu

besitzen und zu lenken - erweist sich immer noch als relevant.

Ich kann nicht genug betonen, dass diese Studie sich erstens nicht in der Archäologie oder der archäologischen Bildgebung verortet, sondern eher innerhalb der visuellen Kulturwissenschaften; zweitens übernimmt sie eine Konzeption von Visualität, die sowohl deren sichtbare als auch nicht sichtbare Aspekte umfasst. Die Entfernung der Studie von der Archäologie als Fachgebiet in Verbindung mit dem weit gefassten Verständnis von Visualität könnte dazu geführt haben, dass der Datensatz für die Studie nicht unbedingt repräsentativ für das archäologische Feld ist. Es ist zu erwarten, dass diese Studie überhaupt keine archäologischen Bilder enthält. Stattdessen kann das Projekt eine breite Palette von Beispielen aus ethnographischen, pädagogischen, populären, propagandistischen, journalistischen und zeitgenössischen Kunst- und Musikkontexten durchlaufen, ohne sich auf archäologische Bilder zu konzentrieren. Ausgehend von den Erwartungen an eine Studie, die sich mit archäologischer Bildgebung befasst, mag der Datensatz für diese Studie gleichzeitig eng und weitläufig erscheinen, so dass es schwierig ist, ihn mit den Zielen der Studie in Einklang zu bringen. Alle Daten, die in die Studie einfließen, stammen jedoch - wie von Anfang an dargelegt - direkt aus der visuellen Kultur der Archäologie, sind mit ihr verbunden oder von ihr inspiriert.

Diese Studie ist wichtig, weil Bilder nicht unschuldig sind. Bilder und visuelle Archive aller Art lenken das Bewusstsein des Betrachters für Politik und politische Möglichkeiten. Die ferne Vergangenheit des südlichen Afrikas bleibt weitgehend die Domäne der Archäologie. Die Archäologen, Anthropologen und Historiker, deren Bilder im Mittelpunkt dieser Studie stehen, sind Akteure in der Produktion von Bildern. Ihr kreativer Output in Form der von ihnen geschaffenen Bilder bestimmt, was gesehen wird und wie es gesehen wird. Dies gilt selbst dann, wenn die von ihnen geschaffenen Bilder im Vergleich zu den präsentierten Forschungsergebnissen zweitrangig sind.

Aufgrund der zentralen Bedeutung von Bildern und der Kraft, die sie bei der Gestaltung der Politik ausüben, hat die Archäologie als Disziplin eine immense Macht. Sie trägt dazu bei, wie ganze Gesellschaften und Generationen sich selbst, ihre Vergangenheit und ihre zukünftigen Möglichkeiten sehen. Die Studie hat gezeigt, dass es bei Bildern von Vergangenheiten nie nur um die Vergangenheit geht, die sie visualisieren. Vielmehr werden Bilder von Ordnungssystemen - die in dieser Studie als Komplexe der Visualität bezeichnet werden - verwendet, um die Gegenwart, in der sie entstehen, und die Zukunft, die sie anstreben, zu gestalten. Die Bilder, die archäologische Studien begleiten, neigen dazu, weite Reisen zu machen. In dieser kleinen Studie wurden sie in Museen, in Blogbeiträgen, in

anderen Büchern und als Fragmente in Kunstwerken gefunden. Sie wurden von ihren ursprünglichen Standorten verlagert und üben weiterhin Macht darüber aus, wie man sich die späte Eisenzeit im südlichen Afrika vorstellt, lange nachdem die koloniale Ideologie, die ihrer Produktion zugrunde lag, entlarvt wurde.

Kapitelübersicht:

Für diese Studie war es von unschätzbarem Wert, eine Gegengeschichte der Visualität zu berücksichtigen. Diese Überlegung verankert die Studie in einem dekolonialen theoretischen und methodologischen Rahmen. Sie bindet die Studie fest in die Belange der visuellen Kulturwissenschaften sowie in Trends des globalen Geschichtsverständnisses ein. Hier werden die Moderne und die von ihr hervorgebrachten Denkmuster oder Wege als ständige Verhandlung zwischen Visualität und Gegenvisualität verstanden. Dies geschieht durch eine vergleichende Untersuchung der Visualität in den drei von Mirzoeff skizzierten Komplexen - Plantagensklaverei, fortschreitender Imperialismus und der heutige militärisch-industrielle Komplex. Das erste Kapitel befasst sich nicht nur mit dem Problem, das in der Studie behandelt wird, sondern auch mit dem theoretischen und methodologischen Rahmen. Die Annahme und Anpassung der Visualität als eine Form der Selbstbetrachtung strukturiert die folgenden Kapitel in Kapitel der Visualität (oder ukubona als Gruß) und Kapitel der Gegenvisualität (oder ukubona als Tadel). Die Kapitel wechseln zwischen diesen beiden Arten des Sehens hin und her, bis das letzte Kapitel Vorstellungen von einer Vergangenheit bietet, die heute im digitalen Zeitalter angesiedelt ist.

Im zweiten Kapitel dieser Studie verfolge ich die Praktiken, die die Visualität in diesen drei Komplexen formt, indem ich das Wesen der Visualität und ihre Tendenzen zur Auslöschung offenlege. Mein Schwerpunkt liegt - wie auch in den folgenden Kapiteln - auf künstlerischen Eindrücken von Siedlungen der späten Eisenzeit im südlichen Afrika (LIAS) innerhalb des archäologischen Diskurses. Die Bilder, die in Kapitel zwei ausgewählt und diskutiert werden, wurden aufgrund ihrer Reisen innerhalb und außerhalb des archäologischen Diskurses ausgewählt. Zu den Orten, die die Bilder bereist haben, gehören: John Speed's Karte von Afrika aus dem Jahr 1627, auf der "Zimbaos" eingezeichnet ist, das heute als Great Zimbabwe identifiziert wird und in Peter Garlake's 1973 Great Zimbabwe: New aspects of Archaeology vorgestellt wird; Karl Mauch's Skizze von Groß-Simbabwe aus dem Jahr 1871, die die erste bekannte dokumentierte Sichtung von Groß-Simbabwe aufzeichnet und in Innocent Pikirayi's 2001 The Zimbabwe Culture: Origins and Decline of Southern Zambezian States; und Theodore Bents Darstellung von Great Zimbabwe aus dem Jahr 1891, die während der ersten Ausgrabung eines LIAS im südlichen Afrika anhand von Fotos des Ortes angefertigt wurde. Die Zeichnung erschien in T. Bents 1892 Werk The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland: Being a Record of Exploration.

Die Ergebnisse der Betrachtung dieser drei Bilder nacheinander zeigen eine animierte Stop-Frame-Sequenz, die durch Differenz und Wiederholung zeitlich verzerrt ist und sich über ein halbes Jahrtausend erstreckt. Sie spielen sich als Zoom-in-und-Fokus-Montage ab. John Speeds Afrikakarte zeichnet eine unbekannte Welt; Karl Mauchs Strichskizze desselben Ortes erlangt eine intimere Perspektive und schließlich füllt T. Bents Interpretation die von Mauch ausgelassenen Details aus. Die Mundpropaganda wird zur Sicht des Wortes, die räumliche Visualisierung weicht der Nahaufnahme auf Augenhöhe. Diese Montage spiegelt die Praktiken der Visualität wider, drei Komplexe der Visualität zu überblicken: die Plantage, den imperialen und den militärisch-industriellen Komplex. Der Wechsel der Perspektive steht für den technologischen Fortschritt, die immer näher rückende Nähe des Empires und die Intensivierung der Störung einer alten Ordnung auf dem afrikanischen Kontinent.

Was als Effizienz und günstige Entwicklung in der wissenschaftlichen Forschung erscheinen mag, kann in Wirklichkeit als eine Form der Stapelverarbeitung angesehen werden, wie hier argumentiert wird. Visualität wird als eine Form des Sehens interpretiert, die nicht sieht. Stattdessen werden Ideen aus einer bekannten Welt in eine unbekannte Welt kopiert, um diese unbekannte Welt in Richtung Gewissheit zu lenken. In der Archäologie des südlichen Afrikas wurden zunehmend runde Nägel in eckige Löcher gezwängt, um die Lücken einer bereits kartierten Route zu füllen. Die kreisförmigen Steinsiedlungen der späten Eisenzeit des südlichen Afrikas wurden auf diese Weise in einer Reihe von bizarren Projektionen interpretiert. Im archäologischen Diskurs werden diese Bilder immer wieder sowohl kritisch als auch bejahend zitiert, je nachdem, was die Autoren erreichen wollten.

Der archäologische Diskurs, der sich der imperialen Visualität bediente, war maßgeblich daran beteiligt, die Besetzung der simbabwischen Hochebene durch Cecil John Rhodes und die British South Africa Company zu legitimieren. Ein Jahr nach der Besetzung der Hochebene von Simbabwe verkündete Rhodes seinen ultimativen imperialen Traum von einer Eisenbahnlinie, die Kapstadt an der Südspitze Afrikas mit Kairo in Ägypten ganz im Norden verbinden sollte. Der Traum von Rhodes wurde zwar nicht verwirklicht, hatte aber dennoch nachhaltige Auswirkungen auf die Landschaft und die Menschen, die in ihr lebten. Mehr noch, die Bilder, für die dieser Traum den Weg ebnete, sind noch lange nach dem Scheitern des Projekts sehr lebendig - The Rhodes Colossus: Striding from Cape to Cairo ist ein Beispiel dafür. In dem bleibenden Bild der imperialen Visualität und der europäischen Kolonisierung des afrikanischen Kontinents breitet Rhodes

Arme und Beine aus, mit dem Kopf in den Wolken und den Stiefeln auf dem Boden. Die zwergenhafte Perspektive des Bildes blendet die Menschen auf dem Boden des afrikanischen Kontinents merklich aus.

In Kapitel drei beginne ich damit, die in den ersten beiden Kapiteln besprochenen Bilder der Visualität mit den Menschen zu bevölkern, die die Autorität der Visualität zu spüren bekommen. Der in der Literatur viel diskutierte Rhodes-Koloss wird zusammen mit dem Text des populären, aber wenig analysierten Protestsongs des südafrikanischen Jazzmusikers Hugh Masekela, Stimela, untersucht, der inmitten der bewaffneten Befreiungskriege im südlichen Afrika entstand. Masekelas Stimela entlarvt die Gewalt der imperialen Sichtweise und der faschistischen Ansprüche auf das südliche Afrika aus der Sicht eines schwarzen Bergarbeiters. Während die im ersten und zweiten Kapitel eingeführte Idee der imperialen Visualität der Archäologie weiter vertieft wird, beginnt das dritte Kapitel damit, die Reaktionen auf ihre Auslöschung auszuarbeiten.

Das dritte Kapitel ist wesentlich kürzer als das vorangehende Kapitel. Im Rahmen der umfangreicheren Studie versucht es, die Ideen von Visualität und Gegenvisualität zu verbinden. Dies wird durch die nebeneinanderstehende Beschreibung und Diskussion von Visualität und Gegenvisualität erreicht. Die Visualität wird anhand eines Kommentars zum weltweiten Aufstieg der professionellen Archäologie in den 1890er Jahren erörtert, der mit der Kolonisierung des simbabwischen Plateaus durch das britische Empire zusammenfiel. Die ersten Archäologen, die das Hochplateau erforschten, und die Bilder, die sie schufen, waren tief in den Grundlagen der imperialen Ansprüche auf das Gebiet verwurzelt. Die britische Kolonisierung des simbabwischen Plateaus hing entscheidend von der Sicherung dieser Grundlagen ab, die wiederum auf fragwürdiger Archäologie beruhten. Dies führte dazu, dass die meisten professionellen Archäologen in der Kolonialverwaltung beschäftigt waren. Das Kapitel beleuchtet so ein gegensätzliches visuelles Bild, das den Autoritätsanspruch der imperialen Visualität in Frage stellt. Das Bild des imperialen Helden Rhodos wird mit den Gegnern seiner Vision konfrontiert. Masekelas Stimela verflucht in der tadelnden Version von ukubona einen fahrenden Zug, der die Körper von Männern in Richtung der Hoffnung auf die Moderne transportiert. Vor dem Hintergrund von Rhodos' gescheitertem Traum und dem Bild des Rhodos-Kolosses zeigt Stimela die Kontinuitäten und Auswirkungen der imperialen Visualität der Archäologie auf. Das Lied zeigt auch die Perspektive auf, aus der heraus eine Gegenvisualität erzeugt werden kann, und vertieft diese.

In Kapitel vier wird das Konzept der Gegenvisualität weiter ausgebaut. Es zeigt, wie drei Bilder des Bergbaus, die in Garlakes Life at Great Zimbabwe zu

sehen sind, auf unaufdringliche Weise einen Kontrapunkt zur imperialen Visualität setzen. Die in diesem Kapitel besprochenen Bilder des Bergbaus stellen das Leben im Allgemeinen und den Goldabbau im Besonderen als einen Aspekt des Lebens in Great Zimbabwe im dreizehnten Jahrhundert neu dar. Durch solche Neuvorstellungen weisen die Bilder die imperiale Visualität des späten neunzehnten und frühen zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts zurück. Sie spekulieren nicht nur über die Realität des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts durch Projektionen sondern bieten eine andere Möglichkeit der realen Existenz angesichts der rassistischen Ansprüche auf das südliche Afrika in den 1970er und 1980er Jahren.

Die in diesem Kapitel besprochenen Bilder wurden konzipiert, nachdem Simbabwe in den 1980er Jahren ein unabhängiger Nationalstaat wurde. Sie werden in diesem Kapitel analysiert, nachdem eine kritische Diskussion der imperialen Visualität die Gewalt in archäologischen Visualisierungen aus der Kolonial- und Apartheidzeit aufgezeigt hat. Die Bilder von Garlake werden dann als Alternativen zu dieser Gewalt vorgestellt. Die Bilder werden im Kontext von antirassistischen, Protest- und Widerstandsbewegungen diskutiert. Die Illustrationen in dem Buch Life at Great Zimbabwe, die Ereignisse, die zur Veröffentlichung von Great Zimbabwe: New Aspects in Archaeology führten, die Veröffentlichung selbst und die Veröffentlichung von Life at Great Zimbabwe bilden zusammen eine vielschichtige Gegenbewegung zur imperialen Visualität. Das Kapitel zeigt auf, wie diese Gegenbewegung im Kontext des wachsenden afrikanischen Nationalismus die Grundlagen der imperialen Visualität in Simbabwe verschoben hat.

Die in den Bildern zum Ausdruck kommende Gegenvisualität wird notwendigerweise durch einen Wechsel der Perspektive erreicht. Sie wird durch die Inanspruchnahme eines Raums erreicht, von dem aus die Existenz mit einem "Ich sehe dich" bejaht werden kann. Wenn Visualität, wie Malen nach Zahlen, durch das kontrollierte Kopieren und Einfügen von vorgegebenen Formen ein effizientes Mittel ist, um die Welt zu betrachten, so setzt die Gegenvisualität eine Strategie des Kontrollierens-Bearbeitens-Vernichtens von imperialen Dateien ein, um zu versuchen, die Welt zu sehen. Garlakes kontravisuelle Agenda forderte die frühe Archäologie des südlichen Afrikas heraus und untersuchte die imaginäre Vergangenheit, um nicht nur zu schauen, sondern im Sinne von ukubona übersehene Schätze zu sehen.

Kapitel Fünf konzentriert sich daher auf dekontextualisierte archäologische Bilder – Bilder, die der Studie zufolge aus den Büchern heraustreten und lange Reisen unternehmen. Bilder wandern in Akten, die ihrerseits archiviert und dann eines Tages irgendwo außerhalb des Kontextes platziert werden, ohne einen Hinweis auf den Ort, von dem sie stammen. Das Thema des Kapitels ist ein Bild,

das derzeit im Empfangsraum der Africana-Sammlung der Universität Pretoria hängt: Ethnic Map of Southern Africa der Künstlerin Charlotte Firbank-King. Auf den ersten Blick vermittelt das Bild eine Vision von Zugehörigkeit. Das Recht auf Raum und Mobilität für schwarze Körper in dieser Vergangenheit wird anhand von archäologischen Eindrücken dargestellt, die neben anderen Bildern ins Bild gesetzt wurden.

Das Kapitel enthält ein wichtiges Interview mit Firbank-King, in dem die Hintergrundgeschichte der Ethnischen Karte des Südlichen Afrika dargelegt wird und das Bild als äußerst einflussreich für die Zeit, für die es geschaffen und in der es rezipiert wurde, enthüllt wird. Die Analyse zeigt, dass das Bild eine Visualisierung der langen Vergangenheit des südlichen Afrikas darstellt. Es nutzt ikonische Muster, um Ethnizität und Zugehörigkeit zuzuschreiben, steht jedoch in direktem Zusammenhang mit kolonialen Prozessen des "Tribing" des Archivs. Der dargestellte Raum ist also ein imaginärer, ideologischer Raum. Er ist weder ein Bild des Jahres 1990, in dem er geschaffen wurde, noch der fernen vorkolonialen Vergangenheit des südlichen Afrikas, die er zu repräsentieren vorgibt. Er basiert auf kolonialen administrativen Überlegungen und verdeutlicht das Bestreben der kolonialen Visualität, die politische Identität in einen einzigen visuellen Code oder Druck zu destillieren. Dies ist etwas, das später in der Visualität des militärisch-industriellen Komplexes durch die Verwendung von Fingerabdrücken in biometrischen Formen der Identifizierung in der öffentlichen Verwaltung erreicht wird. Das Kapitel beginnt mit einer phänomenologischen Beschreibung dieses militärisch-industriellen Komplexes, gefolgt von einer Analyse des Bildungskomplexes, der durch die Universität von Pretoria repräsentiert wird und sich in den Kunstwerken der Africana-Sammlung niederschlägt.

Das Bild im Empfangsraum der Africana-Sammlung der Universität Pretoria macht koloniale administrative Argumente sichtbar, anstatt nur als Repräsentation von Zugehörigkeit und dem Recht auf Raum und Mobilität in der fernen südafrikanischen Vergangenheit zu fungieren. So zeigt es, wie die Visualität nach dem unmittelbaren Ende der Apartheid in Südafrika darum kämpfte, die Geschichte des südlichen Afrikas neu zu erträumen, ohne in koloniale Tropen und Argumente abzugleiten. Das Bild zeigt auch, wie prägende Visualisierungen der Vergangenheit des südlichen Afrikas unkritisch reproduziert und in neue Kontexte übertragen werden, wenn sie nicht angemessen neu bewertet werden. Das Interessanteste an dem Bild ist die Art und Weise, wie es sich im Verborgenen abspielt. Für den zeitgenössischen Betrachter aus dem südlichen Afrika birgt das Bild ein emanzipatorisches Potenzial, indem es sich mit einer verleugneten afrikanischen Vergangenheit auseinandersetzt. Erst bei näherer Betrachtung wird der Betrachter gefangen genommen und mit einer Logik konfrontiert, die in dem Ordnungskomplex, in dem er sich befindet, sehr lebendig ist.

Abweichend von den vorangegangenen Kapiteln konzentriere ich mich in Kapitel sechs auf vernakuläre Formen des Sehens im südlichen Afrika, um das koloniale Bildarchiv zu durchqueren.. Kapitel Sechs folgt der Diskussion von Felsgravuren, die im Mpumalanga Escarpment gefunden wurden und von den Archäologen Delius, Maggs und Schoeman in der Veröffentlichung Forgotten Worlds: The Stone-Walled Settlements of the Mpumalanga Escarpment beschrieben und abgebildet wurden. Auf der Grundlage ihrer Diskussionen behaupte ich, dass die Felsgravuren von Bokoni eine kontravisuelle südafrikanische Sprache der späten Eisenzeit darstellen. Sie sprengen die Grenzen der Visualität in Bezug auf die Vorstellung der Landschaft. Ich spiele auch mit dem Gedanken, dass die in Bokoni gefundenen Felsgravuren in ihrem eigenen Kontext sehr wohl eine andere Form der Visualität darstellen könnten. Eine riesige eisenzeitliche Landschaft ist auf einem einzigen Felsen angeordnet, der in eben diese Landschaft eingebettet ist. Die in den Fels geritzten Linien erzählen auf poetische Weise die Geschichte eines Volkes. Diese Art, die Landschaft zu sehen, hat den in Kapitel sieben beschriebenen Prozess der Bilderzeugung tiefgreifend beeinflusst. Sie lieferte eine visuelle Sprache, mit der ich von der Bildkritik zur Bildgestaltung übergehen konnte.

Kapitel Sieben erörtert die Bedeutung und den Prozess der Auseinandersetzung mit der zweiten methodischen Ebene dieser Studie, nämlich dem Prozess der Bilderstellung. Dabei geht es sowohl um die technischen Realitäten der Arbeit als auch um künstlerische Überlegungen zur Bedeutung. Mit dem Ziel, die Wiederholung und Reproduktion eines problematischen Archivs abzufangen und zu unterbrechen, ist das Werk On Other Poleis als eine Intervention jenseits der Kritik konzipiert. Die für diese Arbeit geschaffenen Bilder kombinieren computergestützte Zeichnungen, Fotodokumentation und die Fotomanipulation von dokumentarischen, archivarischen und künstlerischen Eindrücken ausgewählter archäologischer Landschaften.

Der Prozess der Bilderstellung umfasste eine Synthese meiner phänomenologischen Erfahrungen mit ausgewählten Siedlungen der späten Eisenzeit im südlichen Afrika mit Bildern aus dem Archiv. Die Bilder wurden gescannt, platziert, beschnitten, überlagert, transformiert, gelöscht und schließlich in den Grafikprogrammen Photoshop und Illustrator von Adobe reduziert. Die Übung fügte eine besondere Art des Sehens hinzu und verbesserte sie. Durch sie erlangte ich eine andere Perspektive, die Perspektive des Desktop-Editors und im weiteren Sinne des Bildermachers. Aus dieser Perspektive wird das Auf und Ab von Visualität und Gegenvisualität noch deutlicher. Ein Originalbild bewegt sich durch die Architektur der Software, die entscheidend dazu beiträgt, dass

Bilder Qualitäten gewinnen und verlieren. Ich betrachte diesen Prozess als die Übersetzung der Eisenzeit durch Adobe. Die Studie entwickelte sich langsam zu einer Betrachtung der Überschneidung der Ästhetik des Virtuellen (die im digitalen Zeitalter allgegenwärtig ist) mit postkolonialen und dekolonialen Denk- und Herstellungsweisen. Das siebte Kapitel und die Bilder, die im letzten Kapitel gezeigt werden, sind der Höhepunkt dieses Aufbaus.

Kapitel acht präsentiert die Ergebnisse meines Bildherstellungsprozesses in dem Fotoessay mit dem Titel On Other Poleis. Die Arbeit wurde teilweise im Dezember 2018 im HKW Berlin gezeigt, als Teil des minor cosmopolitan weekend. Dieses Kapitel präsentiert die Schlussfolgerungen der Studie.

Declaration of originality

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Deutsche Plagiatserklärung

Ich versichere, dass die von mir vorgelegte Arbeit selbständig verfasst wurde und bei der Abfassung nur die in der Dissertation angegebenen Hilfsmittel benutzt sowie alle wörtlich oder inhaltlich übernommenen Stellen als solche gekennzeichnet wurden.