STRUCTURE AND MEANING IN THE PREHISTORIC ART OF ZIMBABWE

by

PETER S. GARLAKE

Seventeenth Annual
Hans Wolff Memorial Lecture
April 15, 1987

African Studies Program
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

ISBN 0-941934-51-9

PETER S. GARLAKE

Peter S. Garlake is an archaeologist and the author of many books on Africa. He has conducted fieldwork in Somalia, Tanzania, Kenya, Nigeria, Qatar, the Comoro Islands and Mozambique, and has directed excavations at numerous sites in Zimbabwe. He was the Senior Inspector of Monuments in Rhodesia from 1964 to 1970, and a senior research fellow at the Institute of African Studies, University of Ife from 1971 to 1973. From 1975 to 1981, he was a lecturer in African archaeology and material culture at the Department of Anthropology, University College, University of London. From 1981 to 1985, he was attached to the Ministry of Education and Culture in Zimbabwe and in 1984-1985 was a lecturer in archaeology at the University of Zimbabwe. For the past year, he has been conducting full time research on the prehistoric rock art of Zimbabwe. He is the author of Early Islamic Architecture of the East African Coast, 1966; Great Zimbabwe, 1973; The Kingdoms of Africa, 1978; Great Zimbabwe Described and Explained, 1982; Life at Great Zimbabwe, 1982; People Making History, 1985; and is currently writing The Painted Caves. Peter Garlake is a contributor to the Cambridge Encyclopedia of Archaeology, the Longman Encyclopedia of Africa and the MacMillan Dictionary of Art, and is the author of many journal and newspaper articles.

I am the second archaeologist who Indiana University has honored through this Memorial Lecture. I am particularly conscious of the honor, for I follow Thurstan Shaw, an example to me and to many archaeologists in Africa in the absolute integrity of his scholarhip, his steady awareness of the obligations of the archaeologist to the people among whom he works and his patience, equanimity, tenacity, and quiet refusal to compromise his standards amid the many strains of African fieldwork. Professor Shaw demonstrated to you the contribution that our discipline has made to the recognition of early African artistic creativity and of skills in craftsmanship and technology. I now seek to look further and try to interpret a much older but nevertheless very African art within the systems of cognition, symbolism and belief of a particular society.

The art occurs throughout the granite country that covers a great deal of Zimbabwe: on the smooth unweathered surfaces of overhanging boulders, in shallow rock shelters and on the deep curved walls of large domed caves. There are probably tens of thousands of painted sites in the country. Almost all are unrecorded and known at most only to local farmers. There have been no systematic or comprehensive surveys of even the most limited areas. The sample on which every study has been based, including my own, has been small and subjective, determined by personal interests.

It is an ancient art, the work of a Late Stone Age people. The latest substantial occupation debris in every important painted site can be attributed to this period, which began in Zimbabwe at least 10,000 years ago. Dating can only be by indirect inference. Slivers

of painted granite from cave walls have been found in archaeological deposits whose dates range from 8500 BC to 2000 BC: evidence that painting of some sort was practiced before these dates (Thackeray, 1983). The major painted caves that have been excavated appear to have had no substantial occupation after 2000 BC (Walker, 1980). A few Stone Age groups were herding domesticated sheep in Zimbabwe by 200 BC (Walker, 1983) and there are a few paintings within the tradition depicting this. There is nothing in any painting which shows unambiguously that the artists had any knowledge of any other domesticated stock, of farming, of villages or of metal working: all of which had been introduced to Zimbabwe by at least 2000 years ago and were widespread, pervasive and dominant by at least 1000 years ago. There are no paintings whatsoever of historical subjects like the many known in South Africa. It seems safe to assume that the existant paintings are all at least 1000 years old and that most are probably between 4000 and 10,000 years old.

The paintings are in natural earth pigments which can be found on the surface of the ground over many parts of the country. Experimental work suggests that the most probable medium was animal fat, rather than water, blood or plant juices. The delicacy of many paintings could only have been achieved with a brush of fine hairs.

The art is related to the rock art of the rest of southern Africa: Namibia, Lesotho, Natal and the Cape. This can be seen in technique, style and subject matter. The correspondence is, however, far from complete. There are consistent regional differences in details of clothing, equipment, treatment and in the relative emphasis give to different subjects. Paintings of trees, plants and a range of

abstract patterns exist only in Zimbabwe. It is relatively easy to distinguish any Zimbabwe painting from one from elsewhere even if it is tedious to define the differences. In the absence of any systematic comparisons, I have a firm impression that the art of Zimbabwe is older, more abundant, more varied, more densely layered and more complex than any elsewhere in southern Africa.

Within Zimbabwe it is possible to recognize significant regional variations. One can presume that temporal differences are also distinguishable. Attempts to define phases have been unsatisfactory for they have failed to isolate significant features, to achieve precise definition or to prove generally valid. They are at best crude generalizations applicable only to limited parts of the country (Cooke, 1959). I do not consider the definition of phases and styles a priority at this stage. My work is therefore synchronic and ahistorical. It does not concern itself with chronological change within the art.

Two years ago to the day I began to study the prehistoric art of Zimbabwe. My reasons were, firstly, the quality, variety, accessibility and abundance of the data. The hundreds of thousands of paintings seem to me to constitute one of the richest and least known or studied art traditions of the world. This gives my second reason. Little has been written about them that carries any conviction or any awareness of the ways that contemporary developments in the fields of cognitive or structural anthropology, of art history or of semiotics might be able to help in understanding the art. I have enjoyed the paintings for many years and shared this pleasure with a great many visitors of different backgrounds. Through this, I have become more

and more aware of how inadequate and inarticulate our responses to the art are and how rapidly every viewer is reduced to doing no more than admiring the realism with which animal character and movement are depicted or identifying the species represented. There has to be more to the art than this and there were no convincing sources to which one could turn.

However recent work on the paintings in the same broad tradition in South Africa provides my third reason for turning to study the art. It seems for the first time to provide what seems to me to be a coherent, credible, explicit and scientifically respectable theoretical framework within which to approach the art.

My concern has been to try to penetrate something of the meaning, significance and purpose of the paintings through an examination of the organizing principles, the structure, of the art; as well as attempting to follow the recent South African work and correlate recurrent themes, images and motifs in the art with the beliefs of the Bushmen or San who, in a broad sense, can be accepted as the artists.

Archaeologists have generally been concerned less with interpretation and meaning than with classification, with assigning the paintings to phases or styles (Cook, 1969) or, more recently, with the numerical analyses of subjects and motifs that they consider significant (Pager, 1971; Vinnicombe, 1976).

Interpretation has been dominated by popular writers, photographers and copyists in South Africa with little apparent scientific or academic training. Their work has been heavily criticized for its empiricist, sujective and speculative nature (Vinnicombe, 1972; Lewis-Williams, 1983, 1986a).

It shares a more specific set of defects. The stultifying isolation of all this work from the mainstream of anthropological or art-historical analysis can be illustrated by the enduring influence of a single seminal text. The English critic, Roger Fry, wrote in 1910 of how Bushman paintings showed that 'the lowest of savages' ...'certainly the least civilisable' retain 'a perfection of vision', because they are at a 'stage of intellectual development where the concepts....the conceptual view of nature and its representation....were not so clearly grasped as to have begun to interfere with perception and where therefore the retinal image passed into a .... picture with scarcely any intervening mental process' (1937:84-5). Much of this passage is reproduced exactly and almost 75 years later to 'explain' the paintings of the Drakensberg (Willcox, 1984:49-50).

In all this work the paintings of Zimbabwe are seen as a minor appendage to the South African art. They are all considered the comparatively recent work of the San people. The San are seen as simple child-like primitives, scarcely capable of abstract thought (Pager, 1975:52). Their culture must have been as simple as their technology. Artists are seen through 19th Century European Romantic eyes as isolated geniuses cultivating their innate gifts entirely divorced from their society (Cooke, 1969). Art has no social role. It is produced solely for pleasure, for art's sake (Willcox, 1963:84). From these assumptions it follows that the paintings can only be simple direct attempts to recreate immediate and predominantly visual stimuli: naive, unstructured, individual resposes to transient experiences. There is not even the possibility that the art can have any depth or ambiguity of meaning, any allusive resonances or any

symbolic content. This means that anyone of any background or period will find it very easy to understand every painting because meaning is simple, trivial, obvious and directly expressed with no cultural barriers (Woodhouse, 1979). Doubt about what is represented will only arise when the artists have failed to devise an adequate method of realistic representation.

Along with almost everyone else, I reject all this. There is no reason why a technologically simple society may not have complex cognitive structures and beliefs or why these may not be expressed in part through complex artistic traditions, using all sorts of cultural signs, symbols, metaphors and allusions. All artists are an integral part of their society; their art articulates and expresses the perceptions of that society; it follows that any art will only be understood through a knowledge of the society within which it was created and whose modes of thinking and seeing and knowing and believing it expressed.

A position in agreement with these obvious and fundamental premises was first outlined for southern Africa by the early and energetic ethnographer, Leo Frobenius, who studied the prehistoric art of Zimbabwe and South Africa with a team of copyists in 1929. He recognized that a significant element in the art of Zimbabwe, in contrast to the simpler and more purely descriptive and illustrative art of the south, was 'a symbolic art' concerned with 'symbolic concepts', that it depicted an 'invented world' through a 'prescribed vocabulary of forms' which followed a 'rigid, canonically strict code' that produced, for example, highly conventional representations of the human body (1931). Unfortunately, he went on to identify these

'conceptual' paintings as the relics of an offshoot of an ancient culture complex that derived from Western Asia and north-east Africa, concerned with divine and sacrificial kings. It was these aspects of his interpretations that were emphasized by both his followers and his opponents and have overshadowed his much more basic and interesting analysis of the basis of the art (Goodall, 1959).

The later South African studies of the art were first questioned by Vinnicombe (1972) who sought a more satisfactory and less speculative basis for interpretation in San ethnography and came tantalizingly close to success (1976). Subsequently Lewis-Williams (1981) used a substantial body of information on southern San culture collected in the 19th Century and recent studies of the Kung San of north-western Botswana to show in detail how many paintings in the Drakensberg express the central beliefs of San society, especially beliefs in a personal potency activated during trance induced by prolonged communal dancing and used by trancers (whom he describes as 'medicine-men' or 'shamans') to cure, to control game or weather, or enable the spirit to travel outside the body. Subsequently (1984) he has tried to show that the basic beliefs of the Southern San were shared by all San groups over a wide area and a very long period of time. A tradition so widespread and of such duration can be expected to include the art of Zimbabwe.

Lewis-Williams has come increasingly to believe "that the art is 'essentially', 'predominantly' or very possibly 'entirely' associated with the work of medicine men or shamans" (1985:47) and that it is "principally symbolic and hallucinatory" (1986b:172).

On this basis he proceeds to interpret many details in many

paintings. Many he interprets as direct illustrations of the equipment used, the postures adopted, the physical effects, the sensations experienced and the hallucinations seen during dancing and trancing. Others are interpreted as common San metaphors for trance. However, much of the equipment that is used in dancing or trancing - such as bows, fly-whisks, short sticks or eared caps - is obviously not associated exclusvely with trance. The same can be said of many postures and gestures. Scenes therefore have to be considered in their entirety. One cannot simply isolate particular elements that in some circumstances indicate trance and take these as invariable and diagnostic evidence of trance (Yates et al. 1985). The methodological faults that nullify so much of the earlier interpretative work on the art, such as biased samples; misreadings of images; the arbitrary or tendentious selection or isolation of particular motifs from complex images or panels to support an argument; broad cross-cultural generalizations deduced from an author's subjective response to an image; the use of isolated, distant or false analogies, have not disappeared in the face of the new interpretations. They can all be found in studies that seek to support and extend Lewis-William's approach (Huffman, 1983).

This raises the question of the extent to which Lewis-William's trance interpretations can be shown to be correct. He claims (1986b) that they are validated by the 'quantity of data', the 'vast number of different paintings' that can be explained through a single interpretative hypothesis; by the 'diversity of data' that is explained; by the 'consistency' of the interpretation, its applicability not only to the art, but to other aspects of San culture; and by the 'heuristic

value' of the interpretation, its ability to generate further explanations and knowledge. It is debatable whether his approach is in fact thus validated in any absolute sense or only shown to be more effective than other current theories or than the early random and piecemeal speculations. In either case, interpretation of the paintings now has something outside the art: a social, cultural and cognitive system - which generates hypotheses - and against which interpretations can be tested. It gives a theoretical framework that earlier workers lacked. Interpretation of rock art need no longer be simply speculative or rely on the empirical accumulation of data that is described and categorised in extremely crude and general terms and subjected to a series of statistical tests and analyses in the hope that significance and meaning will emerge. Study may now be a constant process of interpretation, adjustment, testing, refining and elaborating within the framework of San belief. This requires the repeated examination of one's overall position and a constant awareness that the paradigm cannot really be tested and may be deeply flawed or inapplicable.

At this point we can start to examine the art of Zimbabwe. The first notable feature is that the images that Lewis-Williams has isolated as crucial to identifying trance scenes in the Drakensberg are in fact rare and insignificant features of the art of Zimbabwe. The commonest and most important southern metaphor for trance, the eland, is almost never painted. There are very few if any of the diagnostic crouched and sweating human figures, figures holding their hands to their bleeding noses, dancers with rigid arms, figures with lines rising from their heads (representing the spirit leaving the

body), figures joined by 'lines of potency', kneeling figures bent double with feathered arms and animal heads. If Zimbabwe's art is about trance, the representation of trance must take a different form.

A general overview of the art shows that it was organized and governed by a clear, pervasive, comprehensive and rigid set of principles and rules. It is highly structured both in what may be depicted and how it was to be depicted. Colour appears to have had no significance. Monochrome human and animal figures may be in any colour, with no regard to realism. In many and perhaps most images the colours are now incomplete. White, a fugitive pigment that faded or fell from the surfaces of all but the most protected paintings, was used for many details. Some were realistic, such as the light colouration of zebra, kudu and sable stripes and underparts. Some were geometric grids. On many human figures white lines and dots represent bead bracelets, necklaces and girdles. Identical decorations were added to many species of animals in many caves, a hitherto unnoticed and extremely significant aspect of the art (Garlake, 1987: Figs 84, 87, 89, 91). It demonstrates that animals were in some sense equated with humans, that they were not conceived of as separate from people, that nature was in some way equated with culture, that animals had a human equivalence.

All figures are described through their outline alone. Flat two-dimensional images without modelling are the easiest images to recognize and the most efficient way of conveying basic information. All the elements of a figure are viewed from their most descriptive aspect. Animal bodies and heads and some antelope horns are best described in profile from the side. So are human faces, buttocks,

legs and feet. A person's shoulders are best known from the front, so are some antelope hooves and horns. Warthog tusks are shown from above.

Flat monochrome paintings cannot show one object in front of another. This caused many problems of representation. Detail within the outline is almost never indicated; thus there are no paintings showing, for instance, eyes or nostrils. Indicators of sex, female breasts and male genitals, were significant elements in the art and had to be shown free of the body outline. The legs of an animal lying down had to be represented free of the body and below it, rather than tucked against the animal's sides (Garlake, 1987: Fig 9). Elephants' ears were particularly difficult to represent (Garlake, 1987: Figs 52, 88). Sometimes only the tip was shown, sticking up above the back. Sometimes two odd 'mop-like' shapes were added above the animal's head. Very occasionally an artist would attempt a more satisfactory and realistic solution. People lying in a close embrace on a skin posed almost insurmountable problems. The people and the skin were continually shown separately and one above the other and the whole enclosed in a circle, almost a diagram or hieroglyph of what was intended and an extremely difficult image to decipher (Goodall, 1959: Fig 29). One unusually skilled and innovative artist solved the problem by introducing hatching for the skin blanket (Fig 7). The lovers' bodies still had to be placed side by side, separated by a narrow line although arms and legs could intertwine and overlap.

In this extremely restrictive and conventional mode of representation, there is no pictorial overlapping of image, no use of geometric perspective to indicate distance, no modelling of form

through changing colours or tones except in rare shaded polychrome paintings of animals. There is very little foreshortening; no ordered composition in the sense of high and low, big and small; no attempt to convey setting, field, background or landscape. Relative size may have been used to denote importance in some instances but regularities are difficult to identify or define.

The range of images was also very restricted. Most animal species were depicted. They were not seen in the paintings as food. Numerous statistical studies (Cooke, 1964) have demonstrated that their relative proportions in the paintings bear no relationship to the meat actually eaten, as evidenced by the bone debris in the occupation deposits within painted caves. They do not seem to represent the animals that were the most desirable eating either. One notices the rarity of the eland, the almost total absence of the wildebeest, the concern over the details of the sable's markings, the great numbers of kudu, especially kudu cows. One recognizes that a strong selection process was at work.

Animals are shown in characteristic positions: standing, walking, lying down, very occasionally cantering. A few collapse, heads down bleeding from the nose or mouth. They are generally never shown in dramatic momentary action. There are no images of animals giving birth, fighting, mating, drinking, eating, hunting, playing. These restrictions did not prevent many artists from depicting animal movements and actions with a realism that is the result of intense, penetrating and prolonged observation and that captures variety, vitality and essential character.

In human representations, movement and posture were used to

convey information. Body and limbs could be distorted, often very greatly, to convey sensations, emotions, sexuality and spiritual states, in ways that we do not yet fully understand. Paintings of people could become almost caricatures in the sense that elements were distorted, altered and exaggerated to capture and communicate some essence. The image of the body carried a heavy symbolic load.

Generally there is no attempt to depict individual idiosyncracies or characteristics. The artists were perfectly capable of showing the profile of a face with precision and assurance and to convey individuality, character and emotion (Garlake, 1987: Fig 24). They were generally inhibited from doing so because of the canons of the art. The head was reduced to a circular or oval shape, sometimes with a pronounced bossed forehead and muzzle. Incidentally, this demonstrates how futile it is to attempt to recognize racial characteristics from the skull shapes or the steatopygia, steatomeria lumbar lordosis or semi-erect penis which are said to be physical characteristics of the San. The artistic tradition was seeking to convey information about things other than physical appearance.

The most important quality of the paintings is that they deal exclusively with standardized stereotypes or archetypes, with the general and not with the particular. The images of people in the art share, in many ways, the qualities of the earliest icons of the Eastern Christian churches: a timeless quality, free from all topicality or ephemeral distractions, an economy of detail, an indeterminate setting and a generalized character that is found even in portraits of specific individuals.

Human stereotypes are defined by clothing and equipment and

probably by bodily proportions and postures. The hunter is recognized by his bow, bundle of arrows and small bag slung high on one shoulder with more arrows and a fly whisk in it (Fig 4). Men are shown naked and displaying energetic or violent movements and gesticulations never found in women. Their bows and arrows are always exaggerated in size. Women wear aprons and sometimes capes and tassels on their arms and legs (Fig 2). They carry sticks and may have large tasselled bags slung at their waists. Children are rarely shown. Some are on their mother's backs or holding their hands. Most often they stand between their parents as diminutive adults with no clothing or possessions. Thin limbs and small heads give them an ethereal quality that brings into question whether they are children at all. I know of only one painting where children are shown with the correct bodily proportions (Fig 15).

Characteristic scenes show small family groups relaxing. Their possessions are all carefully arranged beside them: pouches, narrow slung bags, wide two-handled bags, sticks and weapons: a catalogue rather than a realistic depiction, and a catalogue so careful and complete that it must have some defining function (Figs 7, 15). Paintings of recumbent couples embracing each other can be seen as images of the basic role of men and women as generators of new life and parents (Fig 7). Dancers are defined by posture. The curve of the lower part of a dancer's back is often exaggerated. They may also carry small round objects with short handles that seem to be rattles (Fig 3). These may also be tied to arm, shoulder or neck (Fig 9). Variations on the rattle, held by a special group of dancers, look like crescents or triangles with horizontal elements, tapering towards

the top (Figs 11, 12). Male dancers may have tufts at the base of the spine or tails.

More specific human activities are almost never shown: lighting fires, preparing food, cooking, eating or drinking, making or repairing equipment, clothing or shelter; the actual killing, trapping or butchering of an animal; the carrying of meat, the digging or collecting of plants. A particularly odd omission that has never been commented on before but which I believe is extremely significant, is that no one is ever shown painting or with an artist's equipment. Hunting is sometimes illustrated but, as we shall see, in a particular and symbolic sense. I know of one instance of a man picking and eating fruit, another drawing his bow, a few of women pounding food, a few of men with sticks crawling down animal burrows or cutting down trees. That is all.

Recurrent scenes seem to be making general and moral statements. Strong compositions, in which couples facing each other are deliberately juxtaposed with couples back to back and leaning outwards, suggest moral statements that contrast concord and discord. Two men, usually hunters, carrying the opposite ends of long poles are a stereotype of co-operation. The only fights shown depict two men who raise short clubs against each other with one hand and hold each other at arm's length with the other: they are still united though in discord (Garlake, 1987: Figs 29, 39, 40, 61). In one instance fighters are juxtaposed with pole carriers (Garlake, 1987: Fig 63); in another, two recumbent antelope, back to back, are superimposed on pole-carriers (Garlake, 1987: Fig 62): further statements contrasting co-operation and discord.

Every significant element in the canon thus emphasizes that the art is not primarily concerned with realistic representation: that the paintings do not depict particular animals, people or events: that they deal always with symbols and stereotypes and that they express general statements about abstract social and moral concepts. They are not about what people do but about what they are, about their nature and essence as they act various roles. The essence of the art ensures and its structure demonstrates conclusively that its real significance does not lie in realistic representation. Consequently it cannot deal in the illustration of events be they in narrative, anecdote, history or myth. This also means that, contrary to most assumptions and many claims, the paintings can have only a limited and incidental value as ethnographic descriptions or records. All this does not of course preclude realism (although it does inhibit individuality in portraiture). Delight in life, character, vitality, action, movement and expression are apparent in all skilled paintings. This is what we, from alien cultures, respond to most easily and completely. More sober analysis persuades us that it was not the essential purpose of the art.

It has gone largely unrecognized how many human images contain one or more of a limited set of motifs that have no resemblance to anything real or natural. These particular motifs define particular qualities that particular and specific classes of people have in particular and specific circumstances. A great many, perhaps most, people have one or more of a circumscribed range of shapes attached to their heads: vertical lines across the crown (Fig 5); the same lines but parted in the middle; lines over the back of the head to the nape

of the neck (Fig 9); lines covering the whole face; inverted triangles on the crown; a series of small triangles on top of short stems across the head (Fig 1). None of these motifs can represent hair and it is most unlikely that they represent head dresses. The longer lines cannot represent arrows in a fillet tied round the forehead, as is usually suggested, because they occur on figures without weapons and on women.

Male figures may have a bar across the penis. Others have a long line, ending in a crescentic shape, emerging from its tip. These lines may be long and sinuous or thick, bent and bifurcated at the end (Fig 6). This motif seems to be particularly associated with large supine figures or with hunters with elaborate arrow heads. Additions to the penis cannot be interpreted, as is popular, as realistic representations of infibulation or penis sheaths, both of which were quite unknown in the Late Stone Age or among the San.

Figures can have long thin lines emerging from almost any part of the body, particularly curving downwards from the chest and stomach or as zigzags coming from the hand. Lines are occasionally shown coming from the armpits (Fig 1) sometimes ending in the same crescentic device as that found on the penis (Fig 3). Some figures have pairs of precisely drawn lenticular shapes attached to the chest or single lenticular shapes attached to the shoulder (Fig 5). A rare and distinctive device is two short thin curved lines with a vague superficial resemblance to tusks or horns that come from the open jaws of people (Fig 1), animals or composite creatures or, in one case, rise from the head of a supine man.

All these linear bodily emanations are widespread, diverse,

precise and carefully drawn. They are clearly diagnostic of a series of specific human qualities and conditions that were precisely defined and must have been easily recognized. They can usefully be labelled signs as distinct from symbols, in the sense that they are arbitrary, conventional and univocal with a single iconographic meaning. They were in some sense systematically interconnected in a single coherent abstract system of signification.

When we come to consider whether the central spiritual experiences of the San are illustrated, we obviously need further description of San belief. The central element is a belief in a personal energy, power or potency, num, that many people in any community can acquire and develop (Katz, 1982). It is encouraged and given to them by a master of num, who shoots it like arrows into the gebesi, roughly the belly. It is activated during long communal dances, when the dancers circle round a chorus of singing and clapping women seated round a fire. As he dances, a person's num heats up, the stomach tightens and the num 'boils over', rises up the spine and 'explodes' or 'bursts open like a ripe pod'. At this stage the dancer enters trance, kia, sweats, trembles and may bleed from the nose, convulse, stagger and fall. As he enters trance he experiences feelings akin to sleepwalking, drowning, being stretched out and attenuated or flying. Trance is considered a form of death. The trancer can become rigid or violent, jumping, running, and somersaulting. Attendants lead him from the dance circles, soothe and massage him with sweat, fat or warm coals.

The trancer then cures, twa, by fluttering his hands over the patient. Among the southern San in the 19th Century, the trancer put

his nose to the patient and inhaled the sickness into himself. Num passes to the patient and sickness to the trancer, who then throws and expels it from himself and the community. Trance healing is not only about curing individuals but about healing the whole community, releasing social tension and reinforcing a group's cohesion and unity. In trance the spirit may leave the body and travel to distant groups, struggle with supernatural forces to conquer sickness and take control of game and lead 'rain animals' to their deaths over parched lands. Trancers see with a particular intensity of vision or hallucinate, seeing supernatural creatures, ghosts, gods, sickness and num. Trancers are extremely concerned that they are able to control and manipulate their potency so that it is a disciplined, constructive, positive and less fearful force. Trancers with dangerous and uncontrolled potency were believed to take the form of a lion.

The San are concerned to share their experiences of num, kia and twa. They take a pragmatic and practical, a casual, relaxed and even humorous attitude to potency, trance and the supernatural. They do not see them as distinct and special things, set apart from the rest of life. Beliefs are not codified or even consistent. They are more happily expressed in action rather than words.

Are these beliefs illustrated in the paintings? One remarkable, highly skilled and idiosyncratic artist in Zimbabwe painted what seems to be a large group of hunters in violent action (Fig 7). These figures are unique in many ways. They have strange discs or circles on their upper arms, like bunched or knotted biceps. Their knees and ankles are stretched and narrowed into a bony line. Their backs have an exaggerated length and curvature, with a narrow blank line up them

like a spine or channel. An artist uniquely concerned with anatomy, bone and muscle seems here to exactly reproduce many of the key sensations that the Kung use to describe trance: the knotted muscles, the feeling of stretched bones, and the feeling of potency rising up the spine. In one of the few other identified works the same artist, the same images and motifs occur (Fig 6). Here some of the hunters have some of the signs described above including staffs with crescentic ends (the motif usully associated with the penis), or lenticular shapes attached to their shoulders or the tufts at the base of the spine that identify them as dancers not hunters. Most striking however are the curious hooped, tripartite necks of some figures. These too can be taken as symptoms of trance, emphasizing the exaggerated pumping of blood and the dilation of the veins and arteries of the trancers, especially if one recalls the problems of description within the established canon of the art in which details within an outline, in this case the neck outline, are impossible to show. The problem was circumvented here by showing the arteries as hoops on either side of the neck proper.

Two figures, one on each panel have been left deliberately incomplete. One is crouched and reduced to a narrow horizontal line or spine above the waist (Fig 7). The other lacks arms and legs (Fig 6). The first seems a striking image of a trancer whose spirit has left his body; the second seems 'spoiled', 'incomplete', 'dead', in the sense that the body is no longer viable: all images of trance. Incomplete bodies are in fact a significant element in Zimbabwean art.

These two scenes show how one innovative artist was able to describe trance in his own idiosyncratic way. There were many more

general, widespread and conventional ways of representing trancers. Particularly striking are images of male figures falling down or lying supine (Garlake, 1987: Figs 68-70). Some are relaxed, their hands under their heads. Others are more rigid and contorted. Many have extremely long thin limbs and a long thin sinuous line, ending in a crescent, coming from the penis. Many are unusually large and have smaller figures sitting or kneeling beside them. Often they are pierced by a great many arrows (Fig 8). If their assailants are shown, they are usually a great deal smaller than their victims and their arrows are often unusually and unrealistically elaborate. If there is a context, it is that of a camp or dancing. These figures can all be seen in terms of many of the characteristics of San trancing: their size reflecting their spiritual and social importance, the recumbent position, the attendants, the sensation of elongation and attenuation and the belief that trancers are shot with arrows of num.

We have seen that the San believe that people have different amounts of num, that some healers are 'masters of num', that num is located in the area of the stomach and that as num expands, it swells before it bursts out, that it passes to others and may induce trance in them. Many images, including some of the most detailed, complex and striking human images in the art, seem to portray these beliefs.

The only figures in the art to be depicted from the front squat with their legs bent and apart and their arms raised in the same position (Figs 9-12). They are remarkable for their enormously swollen stomachs: clearly the feature the artists wanted to emphasize and the reason that they were painted from this aspect. Most but by

no means all of these figures are female. They are not pregnant. Pregnancy, a temporary condition, was unlikely to be depicted and if it were, the most descriptive aspect from which to show the swollen womb would have been from the side. If these figures have any identifying feature, it is the spherical rattles held in the hand or attached to their shoulders. This shows they are dancers. A regional variant depicts them with narrow heads, long ears and long, pointed muzzles.

The most elaborate are almost always shown in pairs, holding more elaborate types of rattle, crescentic or lenticular objects. They have lines coming from their upper bodies and long zig-zag lines coming from between their legs. Small figures may be attached to these lines (Fig 11). Most characteristically these small figures are crouching, with knees bent, grasping the lines with both hands and otherwise floating free of them. Using the imagery of num, the distended figures can be seen as filled with powerful quantities of energy, masters or rather mistresses of num. Their energy is activated and released in dance. It passes to and affects lesser figures who, from their crouched floating postures, also experience trance, as a result of their contact with the energy of the masters. The lines that come from the distended figures are associated only with people, whom they may completely entwine and capture (Fig 10). They never connect with animals, suggesting that they transmit a particularly human form of energy.

Figures with distended stomachs were painted in great numbers, a feature that has been previously overlooked because attention has been concentrated on the more elaborate versions. Smaller and simpler

variants include female figures, generally shown from the side and bent over, often superimposed on or juxtaposed with couples making love. They often have relatively tiny limbs and bodies so distended as to be spherical. Lines fall from every part of their bodies. Another common image shows women with what seem to be large tasselled bags to their waists: a realistic image of a gatherer except that some are clearly dancing, which suggests that the bags are more likely to represent stomachs swollen with num and the tassels its release.

The most important consideration is whether num, the quality of power or potency, is represented in itself rather than only in its vessels, agents and effects. It is in its essence an abstract quality, multifarious in its effects but visible only to trancers. Everyone who has studied the art has always assumed that it was all intended to depict as accurately and realistically as possible the physical appearance of the visible world even if the resulting images included metaphors for a supernatural world. Every image is therefore examined as a more or less successful representation of reality, a portrayal of things seen. Given the structure of the art this is a naive and mistaken view of the artist's intentions. This is particularly so with a range of abstract patterns.

One large, recurrent and striking abstract motif dominates the art. It is based on an oval motif (Fig 15). At their most characteristic and elaborate, these designs have a dark rectangular core covered in lines of white dots with white semi-circular caps at both ends. Often only the plain rectangles of the cores remain. Many ovals may be grouped together, usually arranged in lines horizontally or vertically. They can be enclosed in circles and their shapes

adjusted and curved to fit within the circles. Lines of dots or dashes may lead out from them, often in long lines or wide streams. In its most elaborate form, this stippling may take the form of our conventional sign for an arrowhead.

Looked at in simple representational terms, these designs have been seen as boulders, grain bins, xylophones, aprons and much else, including the now generally accepted view that they represent bees' nests or honey combs. This interpretation has the attraction that for the San, honey is a particularly valued food and an aid to activating potency. It was first applied to patterns of concentric semicircles in South Africa (Pager, 1971). Attention then focussed on Zimbabwe (Huffman, 1983). The interpretation depends on a variety of viewpoints having been chosen by different artists to show different aspects of the nests: an approach that I have shown is contrary to the canons of the art.

Rather than seek representational correspondences, I prefer to approach the interpretation of these designs through their contexts and associations. We have already seen an oval design attached to a trancer's stomach, with white stippling extending from the oval to cover the whole body of the trancer (Garlake, 1987: Pl v). Ovals almost completely obscure his recumbent companion. In a very similar painting, an oval shape is left blank in the trancer's stomach and an equivalent oval set beside him (Garlake, 1987: Fig 69). In another, the body of a man standing beside an oval design is so swollen and misshapen that it reflects the shape of the design (Goodall, 1959: pl 55). Ovals form the core of tuber-like plant forms with sprouting ends (Garlake, 1987: Fig 67). Trees and animals stand on ovals. In

one case, the legs of a large animal are 'trapped' in the gaps between a row of ovals (Goodall, 1959: Pl 8). Many ovals are set within large outline animals or beside smaller animals. Many form the background of complex panels and have grown with the panels as more and more images and ovals are added to them (Fig 15).

In the cave that contains the most numerous and elaborate sets of variations, the designs are enclosed in a red circle with triangular spikes round its exterior (Garlake, 1987: Pl vi). 'Arrowheads' fill the gaps between the cores and the circle and emerge from a gap in the latter. In simpler versions, the ovals are missing and the circles are filled with stippling, which emerges from a gap in the circle and streams across the face of the cave.

Using Kung metaphors and descriptions, these paintings seem to represent num and its release. The circles represent the stomach, seat of num; the spikes on the circles, the sensation 'like thorns' when num is inserted into a person's stomach; the arrowheads, the feeling of pricking and stinging when num is activated; the streams of stippling, num bursting from the stomach.

We have in the oval designs the dominant symbol in the art. They are part of people; they are especially associated with the stomach; they fill people's bodies, altering and taking over their whole person; they control (or 'trap') men, animals and plants; they are at the core of some plants; they are the source of stippling. Ovals form the background to a whole range of human activities. In their careful massing, in their orderliness, in their abundance, in the repetitive similarity of their elements, they suggest unity, community, the incorporation of the individual entity into a greater whole.

Num is activated through prolonged and intense activity in which the whole community participates; it is carefully manipulated, ordered, controlled and used to benefit the whole community. The ordered, communal aspects of num find particularly strong resonances in the massing of the ovals. They thus are no longer entirely conventional and abstract signs but have a representational, iconic quality. They are powerful symbols, signifiers with a multiplicity of signata, with series of associations, growing and changing, able to gain and shed meaning in an open-ended system, ambiguous, evoking emotion and feeling and impelling action. Polysemic, multivalent, key or core symbols like this are instruments for making abstractions, for thinking with; they are instruments of control, triggers for social and personal action.

Within this sign system, we are thus also given an interpretation of stippling, the most pervasive, if not the most striking, abstract element in the art: the apparently random areas of dots, dashes and arrowheads that cover so many panels (Fig 14). As with the ovals, interpretation of stippling has always been sought within the assumption that all the paintings are more or less successful representations of reality. Stippling has thus been seen as representing flocks of birds, swarms of bees, rivers, pools, smoke, pollen, footprints and so on. There is no reason to suppose that stippling may not just as well represent invisible qualities such as sounds, smells or influences. The associations now demonstrate the real significance of stippling. It represents released and hence uncontrolled num, energy. This interpretation is supported by one of the more complex panels covered in stippling (Fig 14). A lion, the

image that has been associated in San belief and in the art with dangerous, fearful and uncontrolled energy (Lewis-Williams, 1985) stands in the centre of complex patterns of stippling, some of which form gridded or ladder-like lines. Small crouched figures, like those on the lines of energy emerging from the distended stomachs of the potent figures, grasp these lines and bring the diverse symbols into further significant associations. As uncontrolled energy, an energy feared by those who are unable to manipulte it, and also as the energy within nature, random stippling contrasts with the controlled communal power represented by the oval patterns: a basic dichotomy.

Within the system of the art, I think it is beginning to be possible not only to recognize and interpret the key themes but to recognize transformations of the most significant themes from one set of images to another. We have seen recumbent trancers, pierced with arrows fired by hunters whose arrows have elaborate heads (Fig 8). The same cluster of motifs characterizes a set of hunting scenes (Figs 4, 6, 16). Only larger creatures such as rhino and elephant are hunted. Their size relative to the hunters is usually enormously exaggerated. The beasts are pierced by many arrows. Stippling, blood, emerges from trunk, nostrils or mouth (Fig 4). The energy of the hunters is also exaggerated as they gesticulate, flee and fall. Their arrowheads have so many elements that they would in a real world be quite useless. These are certainly not realistic scenes. Specific activities like hunting have almost no place in the art; creatures like these could scarcely be hunted with bows; the relative sizes are unnatural; the arrowheads are unreal. Many features common to all these images thus suggest that these paintings of hunts are another

way or representing trance and trancers.

In the only other recurrent set of images of hunting, the prey are smaller creatures that belong to an invented world: often with bristles or stippling along their backs, long, straight, relaxed, and formless limbs and clawed feet (Fig 6). They are hunted with the same weapons and hunters as before. Their juxtaposition with figures that seem to be trancers or healers (Fig 6) suggests that here too we have metaphors for another form of trance experience.

The crouched figures clasping lines are found not only on the zig-zag lines coming from the distended stomachs of women (Fig 11) or on gridded lines of stippling (Fig 14). In two separate scenes on one panel, they grasp lines stretched between verticals (Goodall, 1959: Pl 21). Beside both these scenes are snakes with zig-zag bodies and eared, animal-like heads which are very similar to the heads of many of the women. In another case the crouched figures grasp the body of one of these snakes (Fig 13). In another case, a snake whose head has animal ears and whose open mouth reveals animal teeth, has people standing along its undulating back, which stretches across the greater part of the cave wall (Cooke, 1974: Pl 10). 'Animal-headed snakes' are a recurrent feature of the art. They can now be associated with the zig-zag lines that come from figures with distended stomachs and as seen as a transformation of the same symbol. They must therefore carry the same or a very similar meaning.

I have attempted to isolate, identify and define clusters of the most widespread and recurrent motifs in the paintings on the basis of their complexity, specificity and clear non-representational nature - figures with bodily additions and emissions, large supine figures,

figures pierced by complex arrows, figures with distended stomachs, crouched figures attached to lines, animal-headed snakes, stippling and oval designs - and thus to identify the major themes and relate these to San beliefs. I believe that a close correspondence can be established. I also believe that a satisfying amount of disparate data is explained within a single coherent framework, derived from an appropriate cognitive system, that appears to be related culturally and historically to that of the artists. The explanations have also generated further explanations. In this case, interpretations of trance imagery generate explanations for the 'ritual' hunts; zig-zag lines generate an explanation for stippling. I do not believe that these interpretations are therefore necessarily correct. They are simply the best existing correlation between the art and San belief.

I have approached the art through an analysis of its structure, of how it was conceived by the society that produced it, the rules that prescribed the subject matter and governed the mode of representation. The structure demonstrates that virtually none of the art is illustrative; that, by definition, it cannot deal with mythical, historical, anecdotal or personal narratives or with transient, particular or topical events. It has larger and simpler concerns: the fundamental nature and roles of men and women in society.

The structural approach leads in part to somewhat different emphases and conclusions than those proposed by researchers like Lewis-Williams who approach the art only through ethnography. If all the art is concerned with significant social roles and states, with social and moral statements rather than with temporary, transient and

mundane records of activities, the roles of trancers and healers are bound to find abundant expression within it and so they do. The supernatural power and energy that they depend on receives even greater emphasis. This is exactly what an analysis of the structure of the art would lead us to predict. I therefore believe that in San art statements about trance take their place alongside statements about many other significant roles in society, those of hunters, gatherers, parents and families. I am therefore not persuaded that the art is concerned only with trance. It has a much broader and all-encompassing social, moral and ideological relevance.

It is startling that no painting anywhere has ever been identified as representing an artist at work. This suggests that the role of artist was subsumed in and identical with another and more significant role which is portrayed. The most likely such role was obviously that of the trancer. There is thus structural support for the hypothesis (Lewis-Williams, 1982: 434) that artist and trancer were one. The absence of painters from the representations incidentally also demonstrates that the art is most unlikely to be the result of artists simply painting what interested and pleased themselves and their circle, to illustrate personal anecdotes. If this was the case, there would certainly be illustrations of themselves and their work, as in any artistic tradition where artists have social status or paint for themselves.

I am using intuitive, inductive and conventional art-historical techniques to make a detailed iconographic analysis of the art. It is based on the premises that one can seek direct correspondences between some painted images and some conceptualized experiences, that one can

pair the one against the other and that this will establish the 'meanings' of some of the paintings and assist in an understanding and appreciation of them. This simple representational approach to the symbolism of the art will be considered by many as a trivial and superficial way of dealing with symbols and a symbolic system. It is, of course, naive to seek 'meaning' in any symbols. Symbols do not 'mean' anything. They are much too complex to be reduced to a system of exact equivalences. The correspondence between a symbol and its meaning can never be exact, total and unchanging. Context will always change meaning. This was, in fact, the cardinal principle that determined the composition of the art, its superpositions and juxtapositions.

The symbolic system is part of a cultural whole. It derives its meaning from its relationships with other parts of the system. It operated in conjunction with ritual and belief. It reflected the way that the artists and their society perceived, ordered, categorized and structured their world and thus the way that they could give it meaning. The art is thus an entry into the heart of a prehistoric culture and society if we are able to develop the theoretical stances, models and techniques to realize this entry.

The question of the purpose, function or motivation of the art is separate from questions of meaning and interpretation. A conventional functional approach to the purpose of any early art would suggest that the paintings record and transmit information, make the abstract concrete and the supernatural real and immediate. It generally would go on to suggest that the paintings may be a form of magical power or a means of reducing tensions, healing disruptions and restoring a

balance. Paintings of antelope are seen, for instance, as a means of redressing the supernatural balance upset when an animal that is loved and desired by gods or men is nevertheless hunted and killed.

Lewis-Williams (1982) interprets the art in more precise functional terms. For him it illustrates the experiences of trance and thus reduces the fear of trance, ensures the efficient passage of novices into trance, brings unity and conviction to the experience of trance, makes the experience more real, more public and more shared and makes trance experiences a visible concrete reality and a backdrop to daily life. Representations of trancers in all their various guises show such knowledge of the trance experience that he suggests that the trancers and artists were one: a point which, as we have seen, other arguments support.

I accept these ideas as probable but speculative and undemonstrable. I prefer to see trance imagery as one aspect of the imagery of num, personal supernatural potency, and to set this imagery in a larger and more general context, that of an art devoted to making much more fundamental and wide-ranging statements about the roles of men, women, animals and plants in society, while recognizing that these statements were conceived and made by people who perceived their world very largely in terms of potency and its activation, manipulation and control.

I do not think we can yet make any detailed statements about the artists but some general points should be made, if only to refute the popular ideas that the artists were 'geniuses' working in 'isolation' from their societies and also 'specialists' supported by the work of other members of the community. We can surely assume that, like all

traditional artists, these artists were entirely integrated into their society. They shared the perceptions of that society and expressed and articulated them through their art. Art was an aspect of society and reflected its deepest beliefs. It was thus bound to give expression to ideas about personal spiritual energy in all its manifestations.

The artists were most unlikely to have been full-time specialists. Culturally the San could neither envisage or allow such a concept. The conventions of the art were so strong and the range of subjects so small and clearly defined that anyone who wished could achieve a reasonable level of competence as a painter and produce legible and convincing images. Any large site will display a great range of painting skills. Many small, rudimentary and ill-considered sketches contrast with works of great perception, refinement, delicacy and individuality which sometimes achieve great expressive power and manipulate, change and extend the canons of the art.

It seems reasonable to suppose that skill in painting was treated like skills in trancing or healing. They were skills that could be developed by anyone within the community who chose to do so (Katz, 1982). Proficiency in them was encouraged. There was nothing esoteric to the crafts. Children could play at painting, watch painters at work, imitate them and participate on the fringes of the craft, just as they could do with trancing. Learning was through example, imitation and repeated practice. Novices were brought to full realization of their skills by experienced and competent masters. The craft was public and communal, developed and used for the benefit of the whole community. Painters were also supported by conventions

of the art so pervasive that they ensured an identity of the perception and representation.

I am optimistic that the prehistoric art of Zimbabwe is capable of significant analysis, that its signs, symbols, metaphors and transformations can be interpreted, to some degree at least, through an examination of what we know of San cognitive systems. I think that even within a short period of research we have already begun to penetrate the art and began to recognize some of its conventions, coherence and system of meaning. I find it exciting that a degree of communication can be established across such a span of time and that the art of a prehistoric people can begin to yield part of its significance.

REFERENCES

Cooke, C.K. Rock art in Matabeleland in Summers, R. ed. 1959.

_____. Animals in Southern Rhodesian rock art. arnoldia 1, 13, 1964.

_____. Rock art of Southern Africa. Books of Africa, Cape Town, 1969.

_____. A guide to the rock art of Rhodesia. Longmans, Salisbury, 1974.

Frobenius, L. Madsimu Dsangara. Atlantis, Berlin, 1931.

Fry, R. The art of the Bushmen. Burlington Magazine, 1910 reprinted in Fry, R. Art and design. Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1937.

Garlake, P.S. The painted caves. Modus, Harare, 1987.

Goodall, E. Rock paintings of Mashonaland in Summers, R. ed. 1959.

Huffman, T.N. The trance hypothesis and the rock art of Zimbabwe in Lewis-Williams, J.D. ed., 1983.

Katz, R. Boiling energy: community healing among the Kalahari Kung. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1982.

Lewis-Williams, J.D. Believing and seeing. Academic Press, London, 1981.

_____. The social and economic context of southern San rock art. Current Anthropology, 23, 4, 1982.

_____. Introductory essay: science and rock art in Lewis-Williams, J.D. ed., 1983.

_____. Ideological continuities in prehistoric southern Africa: the evidence of rock art in Schrire, C. Past and present in hunter-gatherer studies. Academic Press, London, 1984.

_____. Testing the trance explanation of southern African rock art. Bollettino del Centro Camun di studi preistorici 22, 1985.

_____. Cognitive and optical illusions in San rock art research. Current anthropology, 27, 1986(b).

_____. and Loubser, J.H.N. Deceptive appearances: a critique of southern African rock art studies. Advances in world archaeology, 5, 1986(a).

_____. ed. New approaches to southern African rock art. South African Archaeological Society, Claremont, 1983.

Pager, H. Ndedema. Akademische Druk, Graz, 1971.

_____. Stone age myth and magic. Adkadmische Druk, Graz, 1975.

Summers, R. ed. Prehistoric rock art of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, National Publications Trust, Salisbury, 1959.

Thackeray, A.I. Dating the rock art of southern Africa in Lewis-Williams, J.D. ed., 1983.

Vinnicombe, P. Motivation in African rock art. Antiquity, 46, 182, 1972.

_____. People of the eland. Natal University Pres, Pietermaritzburg, 1976.

Walker, N.J. Later Stone Age research in the Matopos. South African archaeological Bulletin, 35, 131, 1980.

_____. The significance of an early date for pottery and sheep in Zimbabwe. South African archaeological Bulletin, 38, 138, 1983.

Willcox, A.R. The rock art of South Africa. Nelson, Johannesburg, 1963.

_____. The Drakensberg Bushmen and their art. Drakensberg Publications, Winterton, 1984.

Woodhouse, H.C. The Bushman art of southern Africa. Purnell, Cape Town, 1979.

Yates, R., Golson, J., Hall, M. Trance performance: the rock art of Boontjieskloof and Sevilla. South African archaeological Bulletin, 40, 142, 1985.

CAPTIONS

The scale is given by the quartered circles which are 2cm in diameter.

1. Four male figures with open mouths, slender curved fangs and triple lines emerging from their arms, armpits and the discs they carry. The Rivers, Mazowe district.

2. Two gatherers wearing aprons and tassels and carrying sticks. Chisewe, Mutoko district.

3. A dancer, holding rattles with others probably attached to his shoulders and elbows. Two lines and a lenticular shape are attached to this chest. Kisanzi, Lomagundi district.

4. Elephant hunters. Beyond the bleeding trunk only faint traces of the outline of the animal remain. Gwangwadza, Murewa district.

5. A ritual hunt by the same artists as Figure 7. Several figures have bunched biceps and tripartite necks. Cairnsmore, Mazowe district (169).

6. The killing of three small creatures by hunters with unusually elaborate weapons. Two figures probably trancers, one holding and massaging the other, have lines coming from their mouths. Chisewe, Mutoko district.

7. Embracing couples lying on hides, their equipment beside them; hunters with bunched biceps, elongated knees and narrow stripes up their bodies. Kentucky, Lomagundi district.

8. Hunters. One has elaborate arrows; one is a fantasy figure and one is pierced by many arrows. Beta, Murewa district.

9. Two female figures with bobbed hair, holding a lozenge rattle and crescent and with rattles attached to their shoulders. Manemba, Mutoko district.

10. Lines emerging from a female figure encircle one of two animal-headed figures. The women have aprons with serrated ends, standing out from their waists. Ayrshire, Lomagundi district.

11. A figure with long ears, decorated with white stripes holding a rattle. Small formless human figures crawl up the triple zig-zag lines. Manazwa, Wedza district.

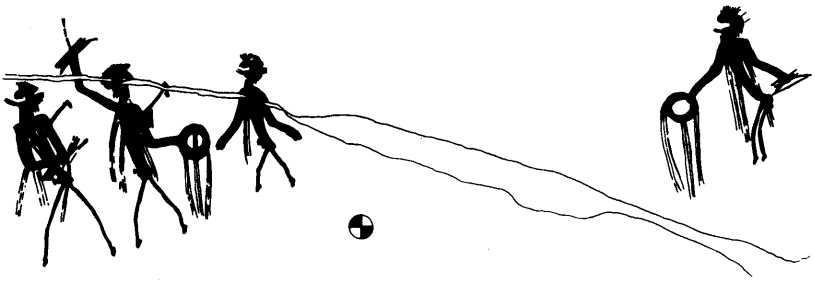
12. A female figure holding rattles. Arrow-shaped stippling crosses the zig-zag lines. Liwonde, Goromonzi district.

13. A long polychrome line, sinuous and snake-like at the top ending in a head with large ears. Small human figures crawl up it. Waltondale, Marondera district.

14. Marengoa. A feline surrounded by stippling which forms lines, tree shapes and, top left, a grid to which crouched human figures are attached. Marengoa, Lomagundi district.

15. A camp scene, consisting entirely of women and children, superimposed on an oval design. Bags lie beside the families. This is the feminine counterpart of Fig 16. Kingsdown, Marondera district.

16. The hunt of a typical heavy but unidentifiable creature. All the figures have been moved slightly inwards. This panel is on a boulder next to that of Fig 15 and appears to be its male counterpart. Kingsdown, Marondera district.



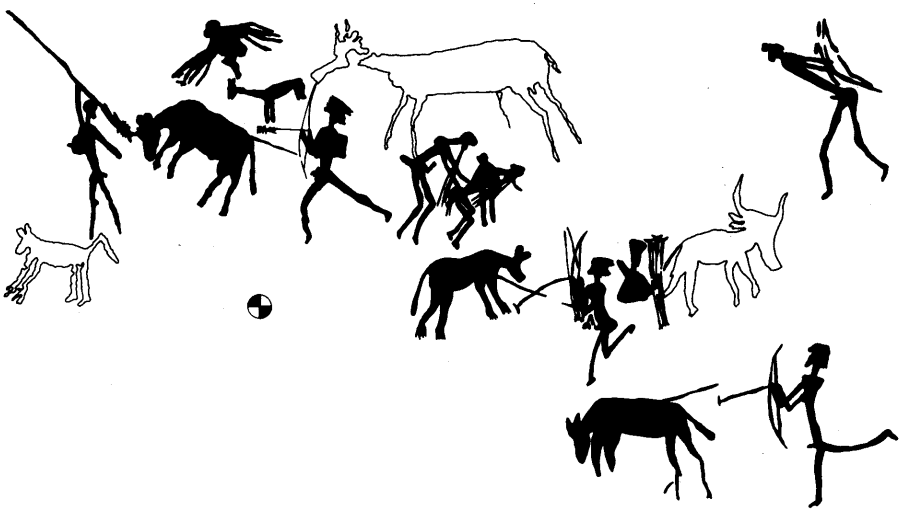
1.

2.

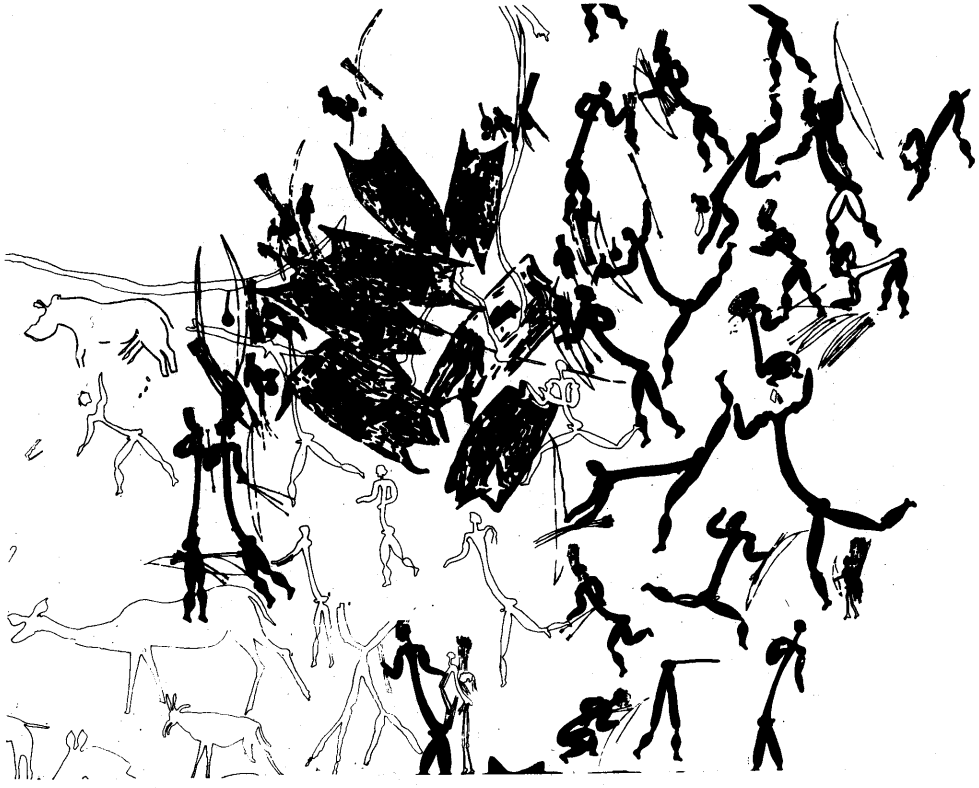
3.

4.

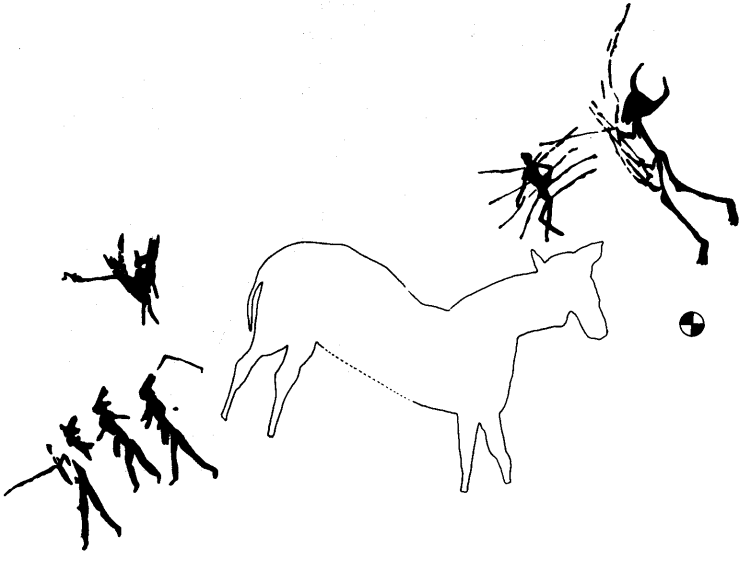
5.



6.

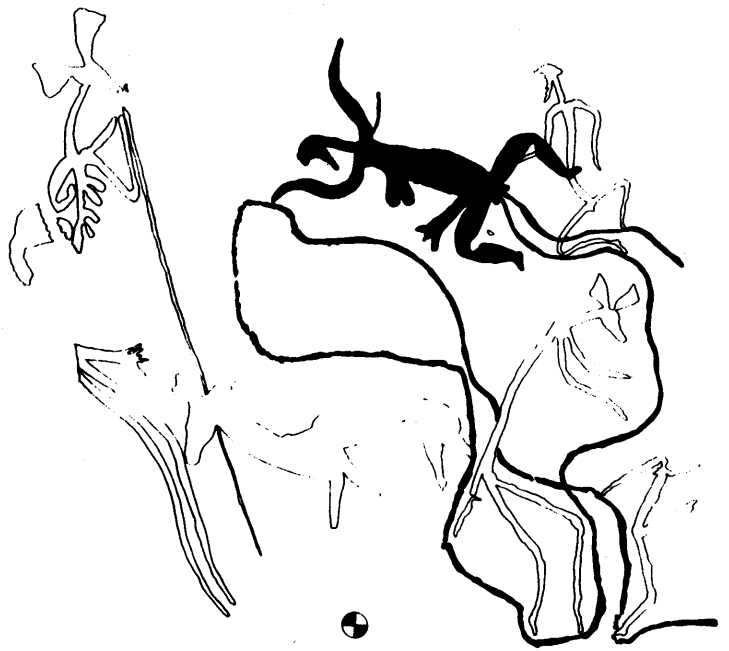


7.



8.

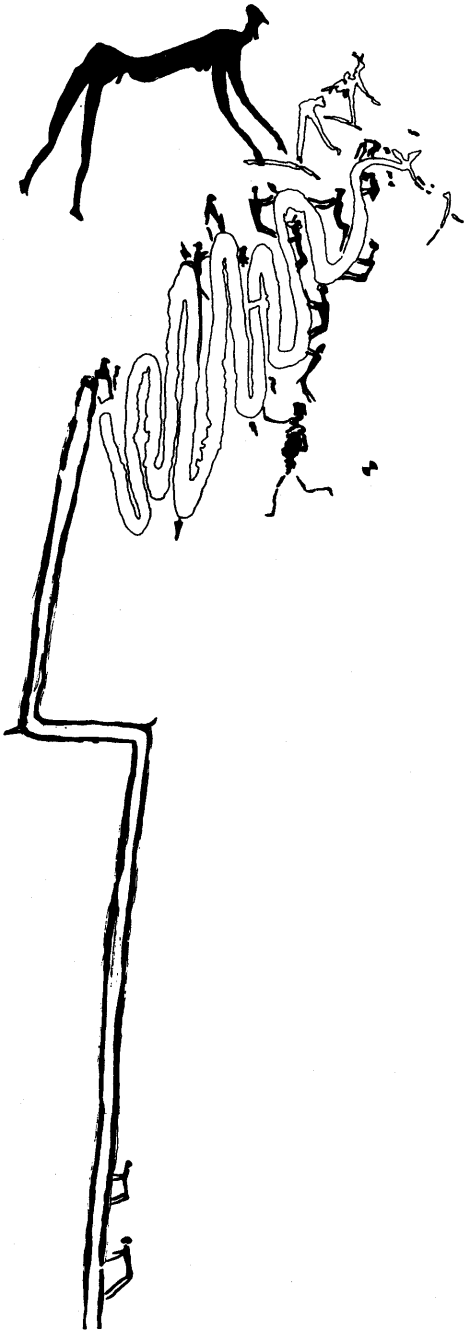
9.



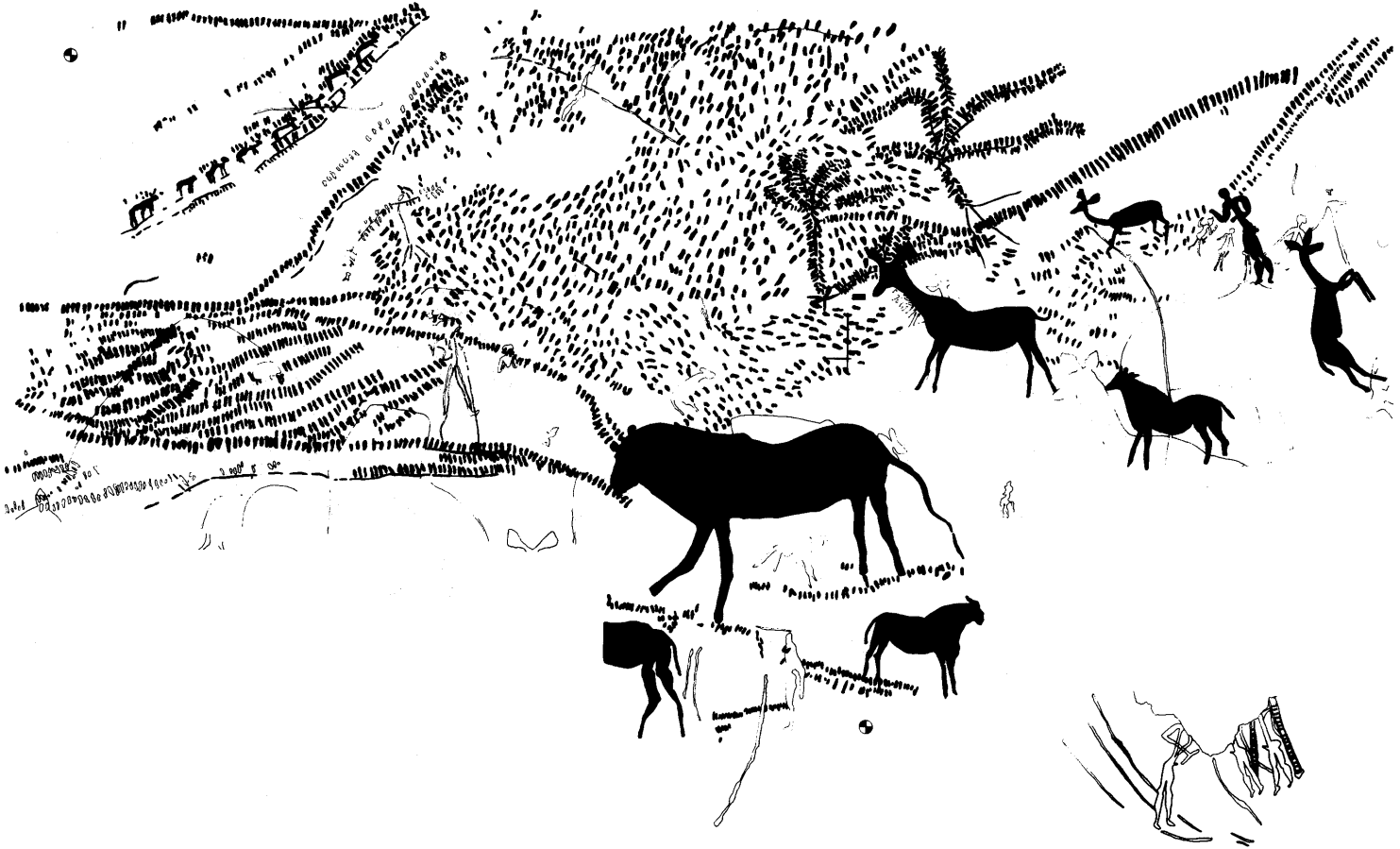
10.

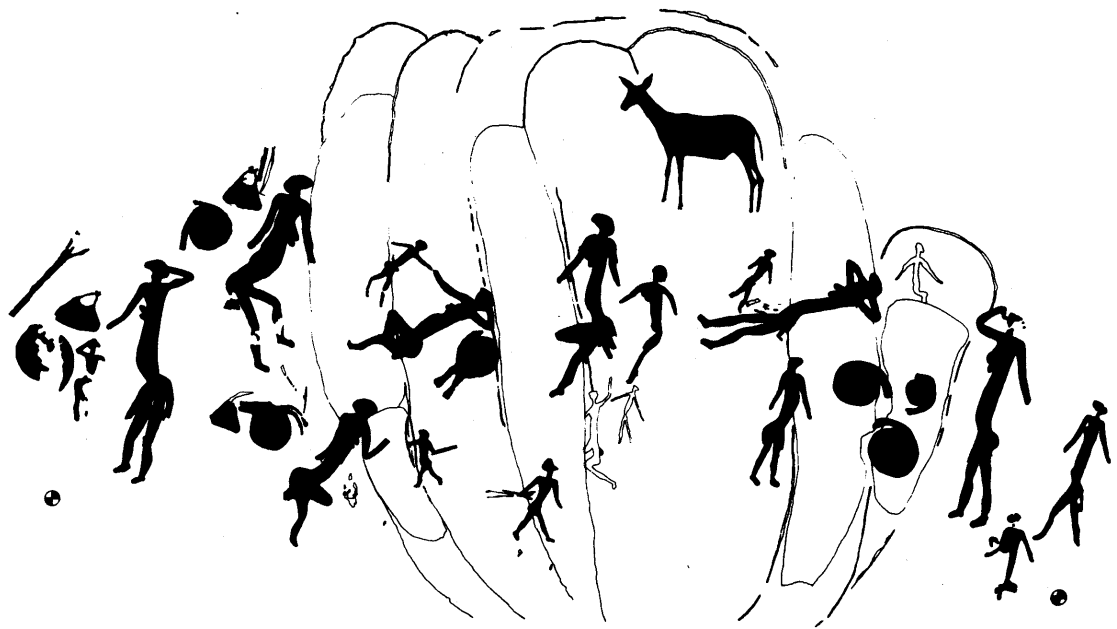
11.

12.



13.





ix.

HANS WOLFF MEMORIAL LECTURESHIP

Hans Wolff was born on April 6, 1920 in Mainz, Germany. He immigrated to the United States in 1937, attended Queens College, New York from 1939-1941 and then transferred to Indiana University. From 1942-1946 he served with the Military Intelligence Corps. After the war he returned to Indiana and in 1946 the B.A. magna cum laude in Linguistics, he was awarded the M.A. in Linguistics in 1947 and in 1949 a double doctorate in Anthropology and Linguistics. In 1949 he was appointed to the faculty of the University of Puerto Rico where he taught for eleven years. His early work was in Amerindian languages, especially in Siouan studies, and in the teaching of English as a second language. While still at the University of Puerto Rico, he was invited in 1953 to visit Nigeria, and from that time his interest in Africa and African languages grew. He published widely on the languages and language problems of Nigeria, and became one of the leading authorities on Yoruba. He helped to found and to edit the Journal of African Languages, assisted in the early development of the West African Language Conference, and for several years served as Chairman of the African Linguistics Committee of the African Studies Association. At the time of his death in September 1967, he was Professor of Linguistics at Northwestern University.

The Hans Wolff Memorial Lectures were established at Indiana University to honor his considerable contribution to African Studies.

1968-69	David Dalby (United Kingdom), University of London. Linguistics. "Black Through White: Patterns of Communication." (24 March 1969).
1969-70	Emile Snyder (United States), University of Wisconsin. African Literature. "Tradition and Modernism in African Literature." (4 March 1970).
1971-72	Wilfred H. Whiteley (United Kingdom), University of London. Linguistics and Anthropology. "To Plan is to Choose: The Rationale and Consequences of Language Choice in Eastern Africa." (7 April 1972).
1972-73	Anthony H.M. Kirk-Greene (United Kingdom), St. Anthony's College, Oxford University. Political Science and African Studies. "Mutumin Kirkii: The Concept of the Good Man in Hausa." (11 April 1973)
1973-74	A.E. Meeussen (Belgium), University of Leiden and Royal Museum of Brussels. Linguistics. "Africanisms." (18 April 1974).
1974-75	Sembene, Ousmane (Senegal). Novelist and film-maker. "Man is Culture." (5 March 1975).

1975-76 A. Teixeira Da Mota (Portugal), Centro de Estudos de Cartografia Antiga, Lisbon. History, Geography. "Some Aspects of Portuguese Colonization and Maritime Trade in West Africa in the 15th ad 16th Centuries." (5 March 1976).

1976-77 Nathan M. Shamuyarira (Zimbabwe), University of Dar es Salaam. Political Science and Journalism. "The Political and Economic Crisis in Southern Africa." (14 April 1977).

1977-78 Batourou Sekou Kouyate (Mali), National Ensemble of Republic of Mali. Kora soloist. A concert of Mande poetry and song. (19 April 1978).

1978-79 L. Adele Jinadu (Nigeria), University of Lagos. Political Science. "Structure and Choice in African Politics." (5 April 1979).

1979-80 Leo Kuper (South Africa), University of California-Los Angeles. Sociology. "South Africa: Human Rights and Genocide." (18 April 1980).

Hilda Kuper (South Africa), University of California-Los Angeles. Anthropology. "Biography as Interpretation." (21 April 1980).

1980-81 Ruth Finnegan (United Kingdom), Open University, Milton Keynes. Folklore and Anthropology. "Short Time to Stay: Comments on Time, Literature and Oral Performance." (1 April 1981).

1981-82 Francis M. Deng (Sudan), Ambassador from Sudan to Canada. Law, Jurisprudence, and Anthropology. "Security Problems: an African Predicament." (23 October 1981).

1982-83 B.W. Andrzejewski (Somalia), Emeritus Professor of Cushitic Languages and Literatures, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. "Islamic Literature of Somalia" (11 November, 1983).

1983-84 Thurstan Shaw (West Africa), Ph.D., CBE. "Filling Gaps in Afric Maps - Fifty Years of Archaeology in Africa" (29 February 1984).

1985-86 Bernd Heine (Cologne), Ph.D. "The Rise of Grammatical Categories. Cognition and Language Change in Africa" (4 April, 1986).