

Acta Academica 2003 35(1): 31-65

Dirk van den Berg

Narrative temporalities in a Bushman rock painting site

First submission: December 2001

Proposing narrative readings of Bushman rock painting in terms of historical time-frames and narrative temporalities, this investigation of the consequences of musealisation at the Tandjesberg rock art site examines certain discursive functions of museum metaphors as emplotment schemes in historiography. In particular, the quasi-neutral use of the “panel” category for defining rock paintings in archaeology is critiqued. The final additions to the Tandjesberg rock paintings and possible connections with the politics of millenarian resistance receive special attention. Though the approach is essentially that of the history of art, it would seem that archaeology is subject to related ideologically charged discourses.

Narratiewe temporaliteite in 'n skulping met Boesmanrotsskilderinge

Narratiewe lesings van Boesmanrotsskilderinge in terme van historiese tydramwerke en narratiewe temporaliteite word in hierdie artikel beredeneer. Die uitwerking van musealisering op die Tandjesbergskulping word ondersoek en die diskursiewe funksies van museummetafore as intrigeskema in die geskiedskrywing ontleed. Die kwasi-neutrale aanwending van die begrip skilderkunstige “paneel” in die argeologie word vir kritiek uitgesonder. Spesiale aandag word gewy aan die laaste skilderinge by Tandjesberg en die moontlike verbande wat dit het met die politiek van chiliastiese verset. Die benadering is basies kunshistories, maar dit blyk dat die argeologie aan verwante ideologies-gelade diskoerse onderworpe is.

Prof DJ van den Berg, Dept of History of Art and Visual Culture Studies, University of the Free State, P O Box 339, Bloemfontein 9300; E-mail: vdbergd@hum.uovs.ac.za

The basis underlying the following ruminations of an art historian unskilled in archaeology is the assumption that the disciplinary discourses of these fields are intertwined in rock art studies.¹ They indeed share crucial elements in this convergence of archaeology, history and art — the material and affective image and its interpretation, the reading of visual narration, a history of musealisation and institutions of museum display. Most importantly, however, scholars in both disciplines have to content with entrenched disciplinary practices and ideologically charged discourses. How do we recognise and counter the distortive effects thereof? One aim of interdisciplinary debate is to learn from each other new ways of answering these crucial questions.

The Tandjesberg rock art site on the Ligouri family farm between the eastern Free State towns of Ladybrand and Clocolan is renowned for its 10 metres of painted rock face containing over 530 images. More than merely an archaeological site with layered deposits from the past, Tandjesberg persists as a site of ideological conflict in the present as South Africans face their heritage of recent strife. Various strands of history are twisted together here, so that people of diverse antecedents may come to terms with their identities at this place. Small pieces of a larger pattern, Tandjesberg's events are brief episodes in the tragic history of the Bushmen,² a key example of the empowered Bushman landscape but also of their violent demise. Documented in the South African National Gallery in the *Miscast* exhibition (cf Skotnes 1996), their fate has recently been described as that of having been "civilised off the face of the earth" (Skotnes 2001). Under the

1 This article is an expanded version of ideas first presented at the sixteenth annual conference of the SA Association of Art Historians at Rhodes University in September 2000 (cf Van den Berg 2001). The paper was dedicated to the memory of Angelo Ligouri, the owner of the farm Tandjesberg, who had passed away a month earlier. It was he who by chance rediscovered the site in 1941, devoted himself to its care, and regularly accompanied visitors to the shelter. I thank Sven Ouzman of the Rock Art Department at the National Museum, Bloemfontein, who has closely been involved with Tandjesberg over many years, for his assistance. As always he has been most helpful in answering questions, providing photographs, references and views of tracings. I am also grateful to the referees for their stimulating comments.

2 In light of several variants advanced in recent publications I have elected to retain the traditional "Bushman" for South Africa's first indigenous people.

fateful shadow of this all too recent history we are reminded that the passage of time at Tandjesberg is not merely accelerated and decelerated by musealisation,³ but is indeed marked by transience, finality, loss and human mortality. Recalling the site's history and identity in the present calls for a work of mourning and of restoration — picking up and reweaving the threads of unravelled time.

Rather than writing a history of Tandjesberg, with the passage of time neatly parcelled into phases or periods, my preference as an art historian is to keep the significant changes in this history as a complex narrative in distinct, co-existent time frames. Historical events succeed each other in serial chronological order, but diachronic time frames are embedded in one another, historically interlocked in a complex “non-simultaneity of the simultaneous”. Take for instance the most expansive of time-frames. In 1990 Gail Emby and Lyn Wadley, archaeologists from the University of the Witwatersrand, excavated the deposit within the shelter and found traces of about 700 years of episodic human habitation below the site's surface archaeological layers (cf Emby 1990; Wadley 1995; Wadley & MacLaren 1998). The evidence supports a first or millennial time-frame for the shelter — a sweeping and haunting archaeological vista of the land with its past and present inhabitants, notably including the former living presence and the gradual silencing of the First People of Southern Africa as well as the fossilising of their ancient culture whose powerful visual residue still has the capacity to return our gaze.

According to archaeological evidence the First People abandoned the shelter around AD 1650 when Bantu-speaking agriculturists first settled in the Tandjesberg area, at more or less the same time that European settlement began in the distant Cape of Good Hope. Imbricated within the first, this second time-frame (often improperly restricted to a “contact” or “colonial” period) is characterised by interaction between various groups of indigenous and settler peoples (cf Campbell 1987, Dowson 1995), including the unresolved compe-

3 A paradoxical situation resulting from the opposing curatorial ideals that museums have to reconcile — enclosure and exposure, or protection by means of conservation and restoration measures versus deterioration and the risk of damage due to hordes of museum visitors.

tition for the control of land and the use of natural and cultural resources. With the emergence of this time-frame, Bushmen apparently continued to visit the shelter, on occasion adding paintings to the rock face. The striking ambience of the setting, dominated by the teeth of the towering Stormberg's Clarens Formation sandstone ridge, heightens the awareness of a spiritual sense of sheltering.⁴ In the empowered Bushman landscape the site acquired a pilgrimage function that distinguishes it from other sites in this area — it was a place of spiritual power and sustenance, a pastoral haven of regular homecomings, affording refuge and revival and thus giving a sense of continuity to people whose very existence was under threat.

The progressive displacement of the Bushmen eventually led to the fateful demise of their ancient culture. Their silencing may be seen as another time-frame at Tandjesberg, a third and catastrophic one in the aftermath of the *Mfecane* or “shattering” that was particularly pronounced in the Caledon River Valley between about 1790 and 1840 (cf Hamilton 1995), and which I will be examining for signs of Bushman resistance. In 1992 the Tandjesberg site was declared a national monument, one of South Africa's twelve Rock Art National Monuments and Public Rock Art Sites, perhaps heralding a fourth time-frame in the “new” South Africa. Jannie Loubser, the then Head of the Rock Art Department at the National Museum in Bloemfontein, directed the installation of a wooden boardwalk and handrail that transformed the shelter into an open-air museum display of rock art. The shelter and its paintings suffered serious damage in 1998 when the wooden boardwalk unfortunately conducted a veldfire into the shelter. Sven Ouzman of the National Museum has been directing the rehabilitation of the site with a new installation, using non-flammable materials such as sandstone. The site was officially re-opened as a National Monument and open-air museum on 3 March 2001 by a San man, Mario Mahongo, an indication of ongoing participation in the site by Bushman descendants in the fourth-time frame (Morris *et al* 2001).

4 The current Dutch name Tandjesberg (“toothed mountain”) derives from the dramatic appearance of this toothed ridge.

My interest in Tandjesberg began in 1998 with the research project of a postgraduate student in art history, Listie Rossouw (1998), who undertook a narrative reading of the shelter's paintings. We explored the applicability of Ricoeur's idea that the passage of time and its narrative emplotment are features common to fictional storytelling and history-writing (cf Ricoeur 1984-88, Burke 1991 & Kreiswirth 2000). The study also called attention to a final addendum to Tandjesberg's major image clusters. This consists of a number of minute idiosyncratic figures in white pigment, scattered across the rock face. Ms Rossouw's interpretation associates these spectral or phantasmagoric figures with the third time-frame, proposing that this marginal visual commentary on the major image clusters be read as signs of chiliastic resistance or millenarian politics among the Bushmen (cf Beyers 1993).⁵ The case of Nongqawuse and the Xhosa cattle-killing of 1865 is the most renowned but not the only South African instance of this remarkable phenomenon in colonial history (cf Adas 1979).⁶

The disastrous consequences of the well-intentioned and officially sanctioned initial transformation of the Tandjesberg site into an open-air museum serve to highlight the pertinence of narrative history. Such circumstances demonstrate the uncertain and precarious past-present-future fabric of history and its narrative emplotment — before and after, continuities and reversals, actions and their unsought sequelae, twisted concatenations of purposeful deeds entailing un-

5 The hypothesis of Rossouw's reading has since been substantially expanded and incorporated into a major article by Jannie Loubser and Sven Ouzman on the periodisation of rock art in the eastern Free State, soon to be published in the *South African Archaeological Bulletin* (Ouzman & Loubser 2002) but at present not yet available for citation and commentary.

6 Note the contrast between the visions of the Xhosa prophet, Makana, before the battle of Grahamstown in 1819 and Nongqawuse's apocalyptic visions of 1864-65. Chiliastic resistance is not confined to indigeneous black cultures subjected to colonialisation. It becomes an option in extreme conditions of imperilment when a community's survival and identity are at risk. It appeared in rare cases of pentecostal revivalism among isolated, sectarian Boer communities towards the end of the Anglo-Boer war, as in the case of the "Church under the Cross". Christoffel Coetzee's novel *Op soek na Generaal Mannetjies Mentz* (1998) may be seen as signalling a new awareness of these phenomenon.

foreseen consequences and perplexing human responsibilities. Despite commendable aims, conservation projects may prove harmful; careful restoration work may have damaging results; the laudable desire of countering the silencing of the Bushmen at a monumental level may be frustrated. Such considerations urge a change in focus — from the mere reconstruction of past events to the decisive import of musealisation in the present and the future. Ideological pressures on the fractured processes of musealisation evidently also distort procedures aimed at reconstructing history.

A call to ideological vigilance assigns the historian the Benjaminian task of “stroking history against the grain” (Benjamin 1999: 246). We have to question the self-evident authority of the Western, and, progressively global art system, dispute its appropriation of Bushman painters or other categories of formerly “outsider” artists into its characteristic categories of exhibition artists (cf Bättschmann 1997) and, in general, be wary of the consequences of musealisation in the construction of cultural memory. Wolfgang Zacharias (1990) describes the consequences of musealisation in temporal terms as a disappearance of the present — a “vanishing present” in Gayatri Spivak’s (1999) critique of postcolonial reason. Johann Gustav Droysen, the nineteenth-century German historian, presents an early and instructive case of such issues coming to a head. The historicist position of this inventor of “Hellenism” as a Western historiographical category is a cautionary tale, not only for interpreters of Tandjesberg.

A celebrated passage in Droysen’s *Historik* (1937) demonstrates a curious repression of the present in the retrospective construction of the past. He unfolds an elaborate museum metaphor as explanatory analogy for historiography’s disciplinary operations in constructing and memorialising the past. The visual features of this metaphor foreground certain traits of the present, specifically a bias in favour of unifying (“collecting”) and homogenising (“exhibition”) strategies. These have the effect of obscuring the present’s fractured temper, suppressing its different time-frames and ideological dynamics — once again an instance of the “non-simultaneity of the simultaneous”. Objects excluded from collections (as well as those included at the cost of having their identities silenced by the exhibition format) are relegated to the domain of the unseen and the unsaid. Har-

nessing a counter-metaphor for our own time's multicultural and pluralist present, Homi Bhabha (1996: 56) offers a timely reminder: "History has taught us [...] to be distrustful of things that run on time, like trains". His critique of the simultaneity inherent in "the level playing field" notion (the "exhibited collection" in Droysen's terms) is directed against Charles Taylor's politics of recognition and the liberal presumption of equal respect for cultural diversity (cf Taylor *et al* 1994).

Droysen's conservative museum or picture-gallery metaphor was itself predicated on the unsaid and unquestioned legitimacy of two Western categories in modern art history. The first involves the picture gallery as an institutional frame, including special building types, exhibition spaces and curatorial practices, and disregarding the proliferation of ethnographic collections in imperialist metropolises as well as the rise of advanced modernism's countering, avant-gardist display space, the "white cube" (cf O'Doherty 1986, Fisher 1991). The second category comprises the manifold genres of independent panel painting, the ubiquitous portable, framed and commodified "work of art" (cf Baumgart 1935). "Gallery piece" and "timeless masterpiece" are ideas with paradigm status in the Western discourse on autonomous works of art and high culture, again disregarding modernist developments such as non-representational and non-narrative art (cf Belting 1998). These two directive ideas represent items of ideological belief whose legitimacy "goes without saying" in modern discourse and practice. Essential for the construction of Western cultural history — determining its boundaries, indexing its civilisational values, excluding its opponents, silencing its "others" — these categories escape any critical awareness that they are themselves products of that history (cf Vattimo 1997).

The aim of Droysen's picture-gallery metaphor was to illustrate the historian's typical retrospective survey and disciplinary construction of historical order. The picture gallery gave historical accounts (*rerum gestarum memoria* or *Geschichte*) a powerful metaphorical scheme for the narrative employment of past events (*res gestae* or *vergangene Geschehen*). Droysen says that art history:

arranges the hundreds of pictures in a picture gallery in a [historical] coherence they do not have in themselves, for which they were

not painted but from which arises a sequence, a continuity that influenced the painters of the pictures, even though they were not aware of it.⁷

Clearly this imaginary model of historical learning does not fit a rock shelter with its complex clustering and layering of painted images. To uninitiated Western eyes, the distribution of images on the rock face seems haphazard; the disposition of image clusters has a random appearance. Their puzzling compositional continuities evince narrative sequences entirely unlike any Droysenian picture gallery, with narrative temporalities that might rather be likened to episodic telling by a chain of ancestral voices. Two recent titles are evocative of such an endless spinning of tales, without apparant reference to founding myths or grand-narrative iconographical conventions: *Stories that float from afar* (Lewis-Williams 2000) and *Splinters from the fire* (Fourie 2000).

The overall picture changes, however, once the historicity of the Western categories is granted and as soon as the possibility or even the likelihood of their historical collapse or demolition becomes conceivable. Hence, rock art was not the sole victim of the blaze at the musealised Tandjesberg site. In ironical reversal, its widening scope has ramifications for the museum itself — whether as a modern social institution, Malraux's (1954) mental construct of reproductive imagery, a way of seeing (cf Alpers 1990), a disciplinary schematic of discourse or an emplotment metaphor of narrative history (cf Goehr 1992). This latter inference may be illustrated in greater depth by comparing two images of Tandjesberg ("before" and "after" photographs of the shelter) with three examples from the series of Louvre Grande Galerie paintings completed by Hubert Robert in the aftermath of the French Revolution (cf McClellan 1994: 53-60, 70-7).

7 "Die Hunderte von Bildern einer Pinakothek, — sie haben jedes für sich ihr Sein, bieten jedes für sich dem Kunstfreund, dem Ästhet, dem lernenden Künstler usw. andere und andere Seiten der Betrachtung. *Die Kunstgeschichte stellt sie in einem Zusammenhang, den sie an sich nicht haben, für den sie nicht gemalt sind und aus dem sich doch eine Reihenfolge, eine Kontinuität ergibt, unter deren Einfluß die Maler dieser Bilder standen, ohne daß sie sich dessen bewußt waren*, und die in der Wahl der Gegenstände, in der Art der Komposition, selbst in dem Technischen der Zeichnung und Farbe dies bunte Vielerlei und verschiedene Zeiten und Länder uns erst zeitlich scheiden läßt" (Droysen 1960: 35, my italics).

Van den Berg/Narrative temporalities

The “before” photograph of Tandjesberg records the shelter transformed into a picture gallery (Figure 1). It shows an existing place being put to new use as a public display space and a tourism resource,



Figure 1: Photograph showing the wooden boardwalk and handrail installed in the Tandjesberg shelter, creating an open-air museum (National Museum, Bloemfontein)



Figure 2: Hubert Robert (1733-1808), *The Grande Galerie of the Louvre* (1794-6).
Paris: Musée Louvre

introducing an ambiguous faultline between its past and its present — one of musealisation's typical effects. At a distance, this photographic image of the unlit rock-shelter space recalls one of Hubert Robert's first paintings of the Louvre Grande Galerie (Figure 2). The interior gallery space depicted in this painting, though dark and gloomy in appearance, launches a new narrative frame for the display of visual art. Donald Preziosi (1984, 1992, 1994 & 1996) describes this frame as one of the modern museum's *trompe l'oeil* effects.

One might well call this ideological effect the "Droysen illusion". It functions to obscure present realities when a canonic past is being reconstructed in museological terms, by excluding certain artefacts, including others and grouping together certain works of art as representative of supposedly universal yet in fact Western aesthetic norms. Present realities relegated to oblivion include the museum's ideological alliance with the rise of the modern nation-state, the political formation of ethnic/national identities and schools of art, the formation of colonial empires and subaltern cultures, the plundering of indigenous objects and their display in ethnographic collections. More is at stake than a mere listing of compromising contemporary realities. The linear narrative frame implicit in the museum metaphor in fact embodies nineteenth-century modernity's master narrative, embracing past, present and future in its secular vision of universal progress from allegedly primitive origins towards a utopian destiny. The extraordinary visual sophistication of the Tandjesberg paintings clearly confounds such a relegation to "primitive" origins.

Musealisation frequently entails physical modifications for the renovation and refurbishing of exhibition spaces. Thus the topic of a second Hubert Robert painting is the projected toplighting of the Grande Galerie (Figure 3). In this vision of the sunlit museum interior — the bright display of paintings as a new construction site of history — is suffused with the Enlightenment's "natural light of reason" mythology. The Tandjesberg parallel is altogether more sinister and violent, evoking connotations of rape and pillage. Here the mechanism of a time-machine for the construction of modern museum space, as well as the creation of cultural memory, forcefully penetrates right into the shadows of the rock shelter, with flames soon to follow on the heels of the intruding tourist public. In the

Van den Berg/Narrative temporalities

absence of measures to relativise the colonising effects of the museum frame, the Bushman legacy was to become the victim of the very project launched to celebrate it as a national heritage site for the construction of a new multicultural national identity and future.



Figure 3: Hubert Robert (1733-1808), *Project for the disposition of the Grande Galerie, Louvre* (1797). Paris: Musée Louvre

The third example is one of Hubert Robert's architectural *capprici* (Figure 4) — an imaginary view of the Louvre Grande Galerie rendered in the manner of his Roman and Parisian ruins, with the Apollo Belvedere statue as the solitary survivor of classical antiquity.⁸ The primary device of pictorial ruination in this image is a wedge-like section of open sky at the top, bordered by irregular, rocky, overgrown shapes evoking the forces of nature reclaiming their domination over human constructions. I was reminded of this fateful gash in the wounded body of the demolished museum edifice when looking at the “after” photograph of the fire-ravaged Tandjesberg site, which records a similar view of the sky from inside the shelter's fire-blackened ruins (Figure 5).

8 Hubert Robert painted a number of Parisian ruins in the manner of Roman ruins, as well as fragmented statues from classical antiquity (cf Held 1990: 139-251 and 277-326).

The three Hubert Robert paintings may be read in sequence as a serial narrative on museum history, visually recounting the rise and fall of heritage institutions in the formation of general art history (cf Karlholm 2001). As far as the Louvre is concerned, the story would include a chapter on the formation of art history as a modern historiographical discipline between the French Revolution and the Restoration. In general this is a story dominated by violence, plunder, uprootment, interference and disruption rather than by accommodation, restoration and civilising progress. It resonates with Walter Benjamin's theses on the philosophy of history, and specifically the renowned thesis VII about victors and barbarians: "There is no document of civilization which it not at the same time a document of barbarism" (Benjamin 1999: 248). The historical significance of any cultural product of the past has to be recovered and restored in persistent critical opposition to opinions prevailing in the mainstream present. By turning towards a cataclysmic future (rather than a reconstructed past as the retrospective Droysen proposes), Hubert Robert had, at the time of its birth, already imagined the possibility of the modern museum's collapse. Despite initial impressions of disjunction between the Tandjesberg photographs and the Louvre series, the fate of the musealised Tandjesberg site seems to corroborate the Benjaminian tale told by Robert's three Louvre paintings.

A largely successful attempt has been made to restore the fire-damaged Tandjesberg paintings. The site's rehabilitation has even been heralded as a world first (cf National Museum 1999 & Ouzman 1999). However, the virulent and entrenched discourses of modernisation that sustain the irreversible processes of musealisation resist easy rehabilitation and critical revision. This is noticeable in certain features of the text and illustrations of Jannie Loubser's standard publication "Guide to the rock paintings of Tandjesberg" (1993) which appeared at the time of the initial transformation of the site into an open-air museum. They foreground the second category singled out as implicit in Droysen's extended museum metaphor — independent panel painting, a divisive category notorious in art history and visual theory, if not in rock art studies, for its multiple, ideologically charged meanings.

Van den Berg/Narrative temporalities



Figure 4: Hubert Robert (1733-1808), *Imaginary view of the Grande Galerie as a ruin* (1798). Paris: Musée Louvre



Figure 5: Photograph recording the veldfire damage to the Tandjesberg shelter, taken on 25 September 1998 (National Museum, Bloemfontein)

Loubser begins his report with a diagram of the rock shelter (Figure 6). From an art historian's point of view the array of horizontally aligned and numbered squares is evidently meant to resemble a display of framed paintings hanging at more or less eye level in a picture gallery. He describes the painted areas of rock face as "panels" in accordance with the standard terminology of rock art studies.⁹ Striking discrepancies between this ordered array of squares and the reality of uneven rock surfaces covered with clusters of painted figures pass without commentary. This silence merely corroborates the efficacy of the "Droysen illusion" attending the museum metaphor. Equally unmentioned is the archaeologist's unavoidable usage of randomly cut-and-paste skeins of acetate strips with tracings of rock art images — visual material typically "squared" into "panels" when transferred onto standard paper sheets (Figure 7). In accordance with the reproducibility of images — one of the cardinal modern references associated with the panel concept — these graphic intermediaries provide a platform from which the display trajectories of the intricately interwoven rock art images, transformed into an "independent panel" format, are catapulted into the reproductive mass media. The condition of reproducibility, to which all images are now subjected, has the media effect of promoting dissemination at the cost of dissolving the materiality, affective presence and contextual links of images.

Inasmuch as tracings on acetate¹⁰ resemble rubbings and contact prints, they record the material carriers of rock paintings with a greater degree of accuracy than Loubser's "museum schematisation". Uneven rock surfaces containing apparently random image clusters are evocative of the movement of game in the veld. To modern Western eyes such apparently "aleatoric" groupings are not readily legible in terms of human meaning intentions. Nonetheless, we are charged as readers to make contact with the rock paintings at a spiritual level

9 Contrary to its merely technical or procedural meaning in rock art studies, the importance of the "square" in Western art history may be surmised from the fact that Stoichita (1997) begins his study of early modern meta-paintings with an analysis of the *quadro*.

10 "Tracings" here refer only to a species of image formed by direct physical contact, like rubbings and contact prints. It is in fact illegal to record fragile rock art by means of rubbings.

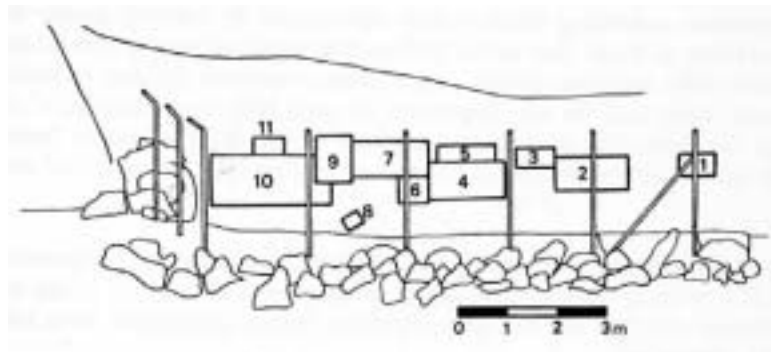


Figure 6: Diagrammatic representation of Tandjesberg shelter showing the location of panels (Loubser 1993: 353)



Figure 7: Photograph showing a paper version of Panel 10, Cluster 2, copied from tracings on acetate sheets, displayed in front of the original rock face (National Museum, Bloemfontein)

as well — opening ourselves to their alterity, respecting rather than violating their human integrity, curbing the desire to control their imaginativity by scientific means. Loubser's text suggests to its readers that one should survey the shelter methodically from right to left, scanning the painted rock face by numbered panels and, within each panel, by numbered clusters or layers. The aim of the research report is to create the impression of an exhaustive description and objective dissection of the paintings, without motivating the consistent reading direction, the division of imagery into units (panels, clusters and layers) or the comparative significance accorded to each unit.

The procedure is based on unspoken yet scrupulous adherence to the authority of archaeological discourse and to the disciplinary tradition of investigating dead cultures and their material remains. At Tandjesberg, however, the procedure seems unpalatably close to a vivisection of complex and vital wholes. We are reminded of similar faultlines in the foundational assumptions of theological hermeneutics. Reverence for the spirit or canon of "holy scripture" as divine revelation does not obviate its manipulation for dogmatic purposes. Each scripted jot or tittle, each painted mark or figure, is considered equally meaningful and cross-referenced, equally inspired and authoritative within textual or textured wholes. A rich and allusive diversity of languages, orthographies, writings, text families, literary forms, translation conventions and interpretative traditions comprising centuries of redaction history, has been consolidated into the seamless whole of a single canonic text. On the other hand, the discursive flow of text has been divided and parceled into numbered units like books, chapters, pericopes and verses.

We face comparable phenomena in reading the rockshelter paintings — especially when readers follow a model of autonomous art derived from the canonical scriptures. A gigantic leap separates the apparently chaotic clusters of images from their interpreted meaning. Daunting hermeneutic gaps must be negotiated in proceeding from singular marks and motifs to framed panels of image clusters and layers. The picture gallery diagram (Figure 6) seems the product of an archaeologist's sleight-of-hand in fabricating legible pictorial units. Called "panels and clusters" or "panels and layers", they transport us from weathered humps and hollows of rock, layered traces of flaking

and fossilised pigment, and arrays of more or less densely clustered figures finally to panels or framed pictures. The picture gallery metaphor's display of panel paintings has been inserted into the hermeneutic gap.

The "guide" in the title of Loubser's report also derives from the museum metaphor. By electing to treat the eleven "panels" in strict numerical order, following the sequence from right to left, his text adopts a standard collection catalogue or inventory format. Since the numerical order coincides with the spectator's passage along the boardwalk, the report indeed turns out to be a visitors' guide to an exhibition — though once again nothing at all is said concerning the display or framing conditions. A counter-argument might be that nothing need be said in this regard as visitors would be in the immediate presence of the original rock paintings. Such a position divulges the fact that rock art has indeed already been assimilated into the Western category of independent "panels" or "masterpieces" with the self-revelatory and context-creating authority of canonical texts. On the other hand, Loubser would undoubtedly express the archaeologist's predictable horror at the implication that independent "panels" could also connote portable resources, exploitable as marketable commodities, by nature amenable to display and ideological appropriation in museum installations — yet another set of meanings conceptually associated with "panels". He seems to have the impression that close adherence to the austere discipline and scientific neutrality of archaeology naturally elevates the scholar above such mundane concerns.

Loubser maintains a strictly neutral stance in pretending that the term "panel" denotes merely a painted area of rock surface, analogous to squared-off diggings at archaeological sites. Hence his utilisation of Harris diagrams or matrices of stratigraphic analysis for the purpose of deconstructing or decomposing "panels" into layers of pigment. Panel 2, with its renowned elephant hunt scene (Figure 8), for example, is analysed by means of Harris diagrams (Figure 9). Loubser detects at least three successive layers of motifs superimposed on one another. The layers are the result of a series of separate episodes of painting, created when Bushman painters revisited the abandoned Tandjesberg shelter on various occasions — second time-frame events when different hands added images in the formation of this "panel".

Note, however, the small group of spectral figures at the top in the centre (Figure 8) — omitted from the Harris diagram (Figure 9) — to which I will return below as third time-frame additions.

This idea of repeatedly modified and continuously amplified clusters of figures in expanding narrative configurations first prompted me to speak of temporalities that might be likened to episodic telling by an ancestral chain of voices. Emplotment schematises temporality with the aim of creating a vital narrative differentiation — in the words of Paul Ricoeur (1985: 77):

a time of narrating, narrated time, and a fictive experience of time projected by the conjunction/disjunction between the time it takes to narrate and narrated time.

Thus these dimensions of time and narrative must be carefully distinguished from one another, and we should be especially mindful of possible conjunctions or disjunctions between them. The first comprises a series of separate occasions of painting or episodes of telling (since successive hands may be traced by decomposing the paintings). The second is a sequence of temporal episodes or storied events emplotted within larger configurations of visual narration, linked in a chain of narrating voices. The interplay between these dimensions creates the narrative conundrum of history and fiction. However, in order to identify strategies of figurative narration we need (in addition to decomposing analysis) to be able to read rock paintings as compositions of visual narration.

Loubser indeed identifies a number of narrative episodes. Thus the stratigraphic analysis of Panel 2 (Figure 9) proposes a layered narrative of growing complication and transformation for this epic cluster of superimposed images comprising the rain animal, eland and elephant hunt episodes, and implying narrative connections between human interactions with these powerful and dangerous beings. Yet the narrative meaning remains nebulous, because Loubser either misses or avoids one of the most significant meanings of panel-painting categories in Western art history. I am, of course, referring to the theory of history painting or visual narration first elaborated by Alberti, who applied to panel painting the complex notion of *compositio* which Renaissance humanists had constructed from various elements of classical grammar, Ciceronian rhetoric and Euclidian geometry (cf



Figure 8: Copy of the tracing of Panel 2 showing the elephant hunt scene (Loubser 1993: 356)

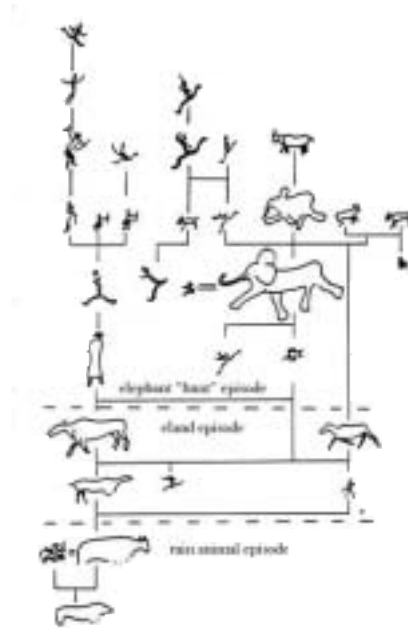


Figure 9: Stratigraphic analysis of Panel 2 (Loubser 1997: 18)

Spencer 1957). This concept of composition (as a “vital organic whole to/from which nothing can be added or removed”) was one of the primary discursive sources for independent panel painting’s evolution in early modern Western art history. Only with the rise of modernism was its normative value challenged by experimentation with various processes of fragmentation, montage, serial and combinatory production, culminating in the minimalism of the 1960s.

The suggestion is definitely not to confine visual narrative to paintings with a unified perspectival space, to the recycling of classical compositional types or to only the most elevated genres of academic painting. Notwithstanding the wide currency of the term “panel” in rock art studies, these art-historical conventions are of course absent from rock art image clusters. The special Renaissance sense of composition, already outdated by the end of the eighteenth century, has since

Van den Berg/Narrative temporalities

been replaced by more inclusive categories of narrative configuration for the interpretation of visual imagery as well as more profound framings of narrative, both within and beyond art (cf Burwick 1999, Kreiswirth 2000). I cannot on this occasion substantiate this point with full-blown narrative readings of the image clusters at Tandjesberg. Suffice it to say that, though the paintings are the cumulative outcome of many hands over extended periods, some of the image clusters exhibit powerful narrative conjunctions of episodic temporality, while the final addition of the phantasmagoric figures is marked by a poignant narrative disjunction.

Take for instance Panel 9, located in an alcove-like recess in the rock face. A copy of the tracing gives us some idea of this intricate image cluster of eland, humans and theiranthropes (Figure 10). Formally, it does not conform to classical compositional rules (cf Kuhn



Figure 10: Copy of the tracing of the mythic vision in Panel 9 (Loubser 1993: 376)

1980). Yet even eyes schooled only in Western conventions will recognise here a cultic image of the visionary kind associated with classical temple pediment reliefs or early Christian absidal mosaics. The niche-like isolation seems to corroborate its resemblance to “holy images” in which *symbolion* or *credo* functions are prominent. The beings in such festive revelations (whether god, shaman, hero, angel, prophet, saint or martyr) are depicted as belonging to exalted levels of epic existence and mythic action. Here narration means ritual repetition: “Die Rezitation der Epien war gleichbedeutend mit einer Realisierung kosmischer Vorgänge auf dem Weg sympatischer Magie” (Kemp 1994: 78).

Comprising approximately seven layers of motifs (or seven successive painting episodes), this impressive narrative configuration is the cumulative result of a trans-generational series of conjunctive tellings of a common mythic vision, at once primordial, intricate and refined. The central *credo*'s increasing authority and articulation with each successive recounting in the chain of voices is truly extraordinary. Its powerful effects of cosmic and mythic unity, of collective and ceremonial communion are remarkable, considering its prolonged gestation by incremental layering and an increasingly dense clustering of motifs. The underlying reciprocity and mutuality of marks and motifs augment and reinforce the metaphorical resemblances and fusions of figures transformed into exalted beings. The image cluster summons forth a mythical world, an interrelated and intermingled whole of spiritual, natural and cultural forms participating in a single ontic reality of sympathetic bonding and cyclic recurrence. Beyond mere clustering, the compact rhythms and interwoven coherence of nameless figures represent a meaning configuration we might well regard as a Bushman master narrative.

Rather than superimposed layers of motifs, the narrative configuration of Panel 4 is composed of an array of figure groupings or narrative episodes unfolding in epic space (Figure 11). The trance dance scene depicted in the upper lefthand area (Figure 12) is a fine example of the potency-raising trance ritual of shamanistic transformation, celebrated in the wake of research by David Lewis-Williams *cum suis* as the central theme of and hermeneutic key to Bushman rock art. The group of female figures exhibits trance dance attributes, in-



Figure 11: Copy of the tracing of Panel 4, showing the configuration of the trance dance group with eland, rhebok, rain-animal, theiranthropes and the final addition of wild dogs (Loubser 1993: 364)

cluding digging and dancing sticks, skin-rugs and feathered or horned headpieces, as well as crouching postures due to the stomach cramping associated with the painful rising or boiling of potency. Viewed in formal isolation, the sophisticated composition of the three circles of figures in contrary motion generates a tremendous visual power and pulsating imaginary vitality, recalling Breugel's dancing peasants rather than classical Greek vase paintings of choric dancers whose uniform movements are often depicted in an order of regulated harmony.

Reading the prancing, crouching, rising and floating figures in Figure 12 as a single action or narrative episode, the variety of scale, movement, posture and action evokes successive stages of shamanistic transformation. As a strategy of visual narration, formal variation



Figure 12: Copy of the tracing of Cluster 5 from Panel 4: the trance dancing women (Loubser 1993: 366)

evokes a sense of temporality, events unfolding with the passage of time. Spectators grasp the image cluster as an emplotted configuration of visual narration, with empowering transformation as the likely metaphorical scheme of telling and reading. Such an imaginative “grasping together” (Ricoeur 1985:7) of formal variety as emplotted configuration creates a text of visual narration — a narrative unit of interpretation radically different from Loubser’s descriptive or reconstructive “panels, clusters, and layers”.

As a form of ritual action (“things done, redone”) the trance dance’s “narrated time” unfolds in the narrative perspective of “things told, retold”. It was painted in an episode of *Erzählzeit* — one of a series of separate painting episodes in the drawn-out history of the shelter, one “time of narrating” from the second time-frame, when nameless Bushmen sustained and elaborated their never-ending story with continued recountings. As “narrated time”, on the other hand, the trance dance presents an episodic node of proleptic and analeptic relations to other narrative episodes in the unfolding of a fictional whole — the narrative configuration designated as Panel 4 by Loubser. The transformative effect of the trance dance as a ritual source of communal power reverberates in neighbouring episodes in which eland, rhebuck, rain animal and theiranthrope figures dominate. The whole is configured as connected areas of rhythmic contraction, fields of energy dispersal or trance-related episodes, recounted as variations on the trance theme that affirm its communal benefits.

This conclusion raises questions of some importance in the study of Bushman rock art. Does this visual form of narrative coherence (told by means of variable degrees of dense cohesion among figures and between clusters and layers) produce larger narrative configurations that are comparable with the framed units typically described as “compositions” in Western art history? An affirmative answer raises further questions. Did the individual human links in the chain of voices — the finite, broken and silenced foil to their resilient, resisting and never-ending story — grasp, either as narrators or as readers, the narrative ratio between levels of episodic temporality (time of telling and told time) in a conjunctive or a disjunctive manner?

These questions direct our attention towards a final feature of the image cluster of Panel 4 (Figure 11) — the diminutive and strangely

elongated motifs in white pigment, with the haunting appearance of flying wild dogs, superimposed as a spectral apparition on the upper section of the central figure cluster. Though absent from the mythic vision of Panel 9, similar phantasmagoric motifs make their presence felt at the upper margins of most panels, for example in Panel 2, where similar motifs can be seen above the centre of the elephant hunt scene (Figure 8). These examples of disjunctive narration are part of the final addenda to the paintings in the shelter. Some viewers may read the disjunction as depicting of the aberrations of a dying culture making way for civilising progress — the once potent social institution of communal trancing supposedly deteriorating into “bad hallucinatory trips” endured by individuals in the third time-frame.

Listie Rossouw, however, touched a raw nerve when she associated the narrative disjunction with self-destructive chiliastic resistance among certain Bushmen, transforming the site into a kind of “*Götterdämmerung* in the veld”. In her reading, the phantasmagoric motifs are taken as traces left by acts of desperate but futile resistance on the part of the defeated First People. Sensing the imminent fate of their cultural world in its confrontation with latecomers to this country, they resorted for a final time to their own sources of power and historical agency, not merely to oppose the looming threat against their way of life but to wager all in a decisive spiritual battle. Being cast among their enemies, for us these narrative disjunctions do not make easy reading.

The final addenda’s marginal presence strikes a disjunctive note and exerts a curious effect on deliberations concerning ways of reading the paintings.¹¹ These phantasmagoric motifs draw on the earlier image clusters’ sedimented and ageless transformative power, appropriating it in acts of desperate resistance with paradoxical consequences, both positive and negative — ultimate affirmation and empowerment as well as fatal self-immolation, displacement and erasure. From a reader’s perspective, their spectral presence as sutures across the rift between past and present prompts a “grasping together” of the narrative. It draws the multitude of image clusters

11 The choice of musical metaphor is meant to call to mind the profound Adornian import of the dissonant, “wounded body” of the work of art as giving voice to human suffering.

together into a shifting collection by drawing the visual narrative to a close, introducing into the episodic image clusters and the chain of voices “the sense of an ending” (Kermode 1967). Once again this hinges on the interplay between temporalities — the passage of time between the earliest and the last painting episodes and, on the other hand, the unfolding temporality of a fictional world whose narrative openings and closures are provisionally projected and completed with each occasion of telling and reading.¹²

Visual storytelling at Tandjesberg probably began with one of the earliest or bottom-layer depictions in the shelter, visible as figures rendered in black pigment beneath an image cluster in the left section of Panel 10 (Figure 13; cf also Figure 7). It consists of a row of twelve cloaked, theiranthropic figures with the appearance of silhouetted beings. Their orderly regularity and scale give the impression of spiritual distance and dignity, in comparison with the energetic actions of the surrounding figures from later layers. Cued by conventions of visual narration in perspectival compositions — succinctly captured in Wolfgang Kemp’s (1996) phrase “Renaissance narrativisation of depth” — Western spectators may see the row as a stately procession of distant figures withdrawing into the background. But Bushman painters had other means of narrativising spatial relations as “things told, retold”. A number of figures superimposed on the bottom layer — a feline predator in ochre and white pigment and, later still, a gigantic shaded eland, accompanied by elongated tracing human figures — imbricate the dark row as a ritual palimpsest into evolving narrative configurations. Bearing in mind the rock face’s veiling role in the transmission of power (cf Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1990), the layered accretion of superimposed figures may also serve to ratify the dark figures’ affinity with the sources of spiritual power behind and beyond the rock face.

Since the dark figures’ anteriority and superiority are thus iterated and confirmed by subsequent reopenings, episodic retellings and elaborations of an unfolding story, it makes narrative sense to read

12 In archaeological terms this time sequence is registered in the material series from the bottom to the top layers of pigment on the rock face, interpreted in historiographical terms as a diachronic order of time-frames — two disciplinary hypotheses concerning temporal continuity and discontinuities at this site.



Figure 13: Copy of the tracing of Cluster 2 from Panel 10: the row of ancestral figures (Loubser 1993: 364)

them as ancestral figures.¹³ They appear to be First People or ancients in a never-ending epic story with innumerable inflections, told by a chain of descendant voices until its closure by the last resisting generation of First People. Reconfiguring the narrative, present-day readers nevertheless sense that they are shown as always already withdrawing. Is this just a Western twist imposed by latecomers, contrary to Bushman beliefs concerning the perpetual and powerful presence of a spirit world beneath the surface? Or is it perhaps an outcome of the last generation's resistance, in that the closure of their story also has an impact on its opening, by debilitating the narrative projection of authoritative origins?

Though essential to any narrative, beginnings and endings remain narrative *aporia*:

The tying/untying, the turning point, is diffused throughout the whole action. Any point the spectator focuses on is a turning which both ties and unties. This is another way of saying that no narrative can show either its beginning or its ending. It always begins and ends still *in medias res*, presupposing as a future anterior some part of itself outside itself.

The *aporia* of ending arises from the fact that it is impossible ever to tell whether a given narrative is complete. If the ending is thought of as a tying up in a careful knot, this knot could always be untied again by the narrator or by further events, disentangled or explicated again. If the ending is thought of as an unraveling, a straightening of threads, this act clearly leaves not one loose thread but a multitude, side by side, all capable of being knotted once more (Miller 1978: 4, 5-6).

Pertinent in view of a fourth time-frame (the site as a National Monument and open-air museum), Hillis Miller's reasoning reveals the prospect of latecomers reopening the story in the future (cf Taha 2002). Visiting this cultural heritage site and mourning the irretrievable break in the chain of ancestral voices, readers find themselves repositioned *in medias res*, entangled in a conundrum of concurrent but divergent time frames, with the task of reconfiguring the story's enigmatic turning-points in the light of a violent past and new historical circumstances.

13 Referring to paintings from other shelters where "cloaked figures feature prominently in processions where they repeat a limited range of rather static postures", Parkington *et al* (1966: 225) call them "initiated men".

The broken chain of story-telling voices at Tandjesberg has been violently assimilated into the secular parameters of the Western master-narrative of a universal civilizing progress. This history includes the Western discovery of indigenous peoples and the colonial construction of stereotypical identities. In its wake follow the traumatic events of the destruction of the Bushmen and the silencing of their memory but also, in a recent development, their recognition and resurrection as the First People. As episodic tellings of cyclical history, these rock paintings belong to genres of mythic narrative, subsequently assimilated into narrative genres that originated from Judeo-Christian traditions. *Kyklos* has been replaced by *cursus* in the employment of religious master-narratives pertaining to the irreversible course of history from first (*proton*) to last things (*eschaton*), turning between fall and redemption, and with the identities of the human actors rooted in unique, historically situated responses to its messianic temper.

An inveterate visual “Ineinander von Folge und Figur” (Kemp 1994: 75) distinguishes the narrative consequences of this idea of history as revelation. Progressively and at last fully secularised, this sequentiality of narrative motion and consequentiality of narrative structure emerged not only as a typical feature of modern Western narratives but also as a set of expectations informing the reading of other, non-modern and non-Western narratives. Notwithstanding the effects of decay and damage, of traumatic assimilation and musealised domestication, Tandjesberg’s mythic narrative embodies a rival religious vision whose power is redoubled by the final addenda. It confronts present-day visitors to the open-air museum site with an undeniable critique of our secular history and its secularised narratives. Its alterity alerts latecomers to the fact that such visions, including our own unspoken convictions, refer us to something we do not master, something that is always already there in our deliberations.

Bibliography

- ADAS M
1979. *Prophets of rebellion: millenarian protest movements against the European colonial order*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- ALPERS S
1990. The museum as a way of seeing. Karp & Lavine (eds) 1990: 25-32.
- BÄTSCHMANN O
1997. *Ausstellungskünstler: Kult und Karriere im modernen Kunstsystem*. Köln: DuMont.
- BAUMGART F
1935. Zur geschichtliche und soziologischen Bedeutung des Tafelbildes. *Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 13: 378-406.
- BELTING H
1998. *Das unsichtbare Meisterwerk. Die modernen Mythen der Kunst*. München: Beck.
- BENJAMIN W
1999. Theses on the philosophy of history. *Illuminations*. Ed with an introduction by Hannah Arendt. London: Pimlico: 245-55.
- BEYERS H
1993. Primêre weerstand, chilia-tiese verset en nasionalisme: 'n vergelykende studie. *Acta Academica* 25(2&3): 42-61.
- BHABHA H K
1996. Culture's in-between. Hall & Du Gay (eds) 1998: 53-60.
- BRUNETTE P & D WILLS (eds)
1994. *Deconstruction and the visual arts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- BURKE P
1991. History of events and the revival of narrative. Burke (ed) 1991: 233-48.
- BURKE P (ed)
1991. *New perspectives on historical writing*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- BURWICK F
1999. Lessing's 'Laokoon' and the rise of visual hermeneutics. *Poetics Today* 20(2): 219-72.
- CAMPBELL C
1987. Art in crisis: contact period rock art in the south-eastern mountains of southern Africa. Unpubl MA dissertation. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand.
- DEACON J & T A DOWSON (eds)
1996. *Voices from the past: /Xam Bushmen and the Bleek and Lloyd collection*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- DOWSON T A
1995. Hunter-gatherers, traders and slaves: the Mfecane impact on Bushman, their ritual and art. Hamilton (ed) 1995: 51-70.
- DROYSEN J G
1960 (1937). *Historik. Vorlesungen über Enzyklopädie und Methodologie der Geschichte*. München: Oldenbourg.

Acta Academica 2003: 35(1)

DURO P (ed)

1996. *The rhetoric of the frame: Essays on the boundaries of the artwork*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

EMBY G

1990. Unpublished BA Hons dissertation. Dept of Archaeology, University of the Witwatersrand.

FISHER P

1991. *Making and effacing art. Modern American art in a culture of museums*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

FOURIE F

2000. *Splinters from the fire: Bushman stories collected and edited by Cora Fourie*. Pretoria: Protea Boekhuis.

GOEHR L

1992. *The imaginary museum of musical works. An essay in the philosophy of music*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

HALL S & P DU GAY (eds)

1998. *Questions of cultural identity*. London: Sage.

HAMILTON C (ed)

1995. *The Mfecane aftermath: reconstructive debates in the southern African history*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

HELD J

1990. *Monument und Volk. Vorrevolutionären Wahrnehmung in Bildern des ausgehenden Ancien Régime*. Köln: Böhlau.

KARLHOLM D

2001. Reading the virtual museum of general art history. *Art History* 24(4): 552-77.

KARP I & S D LAVINE (eds)

1990. *Exhibiting cultures: the poetics and politics of museum display*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

KEMP W

1994. *Christliche Kunst: ihre Anfänge, ihre Strukturen*. München: Schirmer/Mosel Verlag.

1996. *Die Räume der Maler. Zur Bilderzählung seit Giotto*. München: Beck.

KERMODE F

1967. *The sense of an ending*. New York: Oxford University Press.

KNOX C (ed)

2001. *Art: spaces and contexts of display. Proceedings of the 16th annual conference of the South African Association of Art Historians, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, September 2000*. Grahamstown: Rhodes University.

KREISWIRTH M

2000. Merely telling stories? Narrative and knowledge in the human sciences. *Poetics Today* 21(2): 293-318.

KUHN R

1980. *Komposition und Rhythmus: Beiträge zur Neubegründung einer Historischen Kompositionslehre*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Van den Berg/Narrative temporalities

- LEWIS-WILLIAMS J D (ed)
2000. *Stories that float from afar. Ancestral folklore of the San of Southern Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip.
- LEWIS-WILLIAMS J D &
T A DOWSON
1990. Through the veil: San rock paintings and the rock face. *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 45: 5-16.
- LOUBSER J H N
1993. A guide to the rock paintings of Tandjesberg. *Navorsing van die Nasionale Museum Bloemfontein* 9(11): 345-84.
1997. The use of Harris diagrams in recording, conserving, and interpreting rock paintings. *The International Newsletter on Rock Art (INORA)* 18: 14-21.
- MALRAUX A
1954. *Museum without walls. The voices of silence, 1*. London: Secker & Warburg.
- MCCLELLAN A
1994. *Inventing the Louvre: art, politics, and the origin of the modern museum in the eighteenth century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MILLER J H
1978. The problematic of ending in narrative. *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 33(1): 3-8 (special issue: Narrative endings).
- MORRIS D, S OUZMAN & G TLHAPI
2001. The Tandjesberg San rock art rehabilitation project: from catastrophe to celebration. *The Digging Stick* 18(1): 1-4.
- NATIONAL MUSEUM, BLOEMFONTEIN
1999. Rock art rehabilitation: A world first! <<http://www.nasmus.co.za/rockart/news.htm>>
2000. Data basis of the Rock Art Department. <<http://www.nasmus.co.za/rockart/rockart1.htm>>
- O'DOHERTY B
1986. *Inside the white cube. The ideology of the gallery space*. Santa Monica: Lapis.
- OUZMAN S
1999. Damage to Tandjesberg rock art national monument, Free State Province, South Africa. Report for the National Monuments Council (Head Office; Free State & North-West Office). Bloemfontein: National Museum, 7 May 1999.
1999. A world first in rock art rehabilitation for the National Museum's Rock Art Department! (22/10/99). <<http://www.nasmus.co.za/rockart/news.htm>>
- OUZMAN S & J H N LOUBSER
2002. The religious, political and apocalyptic Bushman rock arts of south-eastern Southern Africa. *South African Archaeological Bulletin* [at press].

Acta Academica 2003: 35(1)

PARKINGTON J, T MANNHIRE &
R YATES

1996. Reading San images. Deacon
& Dowson (eds) 1996: 212-33.

PREZIOSI D

1989. *Rethinking art history. Meditations on a coy science*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

1992. The question of art history. *Critical Inquiry* 18(2): 363-86.

1994. Modernity again: the museum as *trompe l'oeil*. Brunette & Wills (eds) 1994: 141-50.

1996. Brain of the earth's body: museums and the framing of modernity. Duro (ed) 1996: 96-110.

RICOEUR P

1984-8. *Time and narrative*, 1-3. Translated by K McLaughlin, K Blamey & D Pellauer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

ROSSOUW L

1998. Van stemme en stilte: Mitologie en die San-rotsskilderinge van Tandjesberg, distrik Ladybrand in die Caledonvallei. Ongepubl Honneurs Kunstgeskiedenis-verslag.

SKOTNES P

2001. "Civilised off the face of the earth": museum display and the silencing of the /Xam. *Poetics Today* 22(2): 299-321.

SKOTNES P (ed)

1996. *Miscast: negotiating the presence of the Bushmen*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.

SPENCER J R

1957. Ut rhetorica pictura. A study in Quattrocento theory of painting. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 20(1/2): 26-44.

SPIVAK G C

1999. *A critique of postcolonial reason: toward a history of the vanishing present*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

STOICHITA V I

1997. *The self-aware image: an insight into early modern meta-painting*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

TAHA I

2002. Semiotics of ending and closure: post-ending activity of the reader. *Semiotica* 138(1-4): 259-77.

TAYLOR C *et al*

1994. *Multiculturalism: examining the politics of recognition*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

VAN DEN BERG D J

2001. The shape of time at Tandjesberg: temporalities on display at a San rock art site. Knox (ed) 2001: 93-102.

VATTIMO G

1997. *Beyond interpretation: the meaning of hermeneutics for philosophy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Van den Berg/Narrative temporalities

WADLEY L

1995. Review of dated Stone Age sites recently excavated in the eastern Free State, South Africa. *South African Journal of Science* 91: 574-79.

WADLEY L & G MACLAREN

1998. Tandjesberg shelter, eastern Free State, South Africa. *Natal Museum Journal of Humanities* 10: 19-32.

ZACHARIAS W (Hrsg)

1990. *Zeitphänomen Musealisierung: das Verschwinden des Gegenwart und die Konstruktion der Erinnerung*. Essen: Klartext.