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Together in Excellence

The Rock Paintings of Southern Africa: Volume One

THE WHITE LADY
OF THE BRANDBERG



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THE WHITE LADY OF THE BRANDBERG is the first of a series of volumes planned by the Abbé Breuil Trust to record the Abbé Henri Breuil's researches on the Rock Paintings of Southern Africa.

The first edition consists of 2,187 copies.

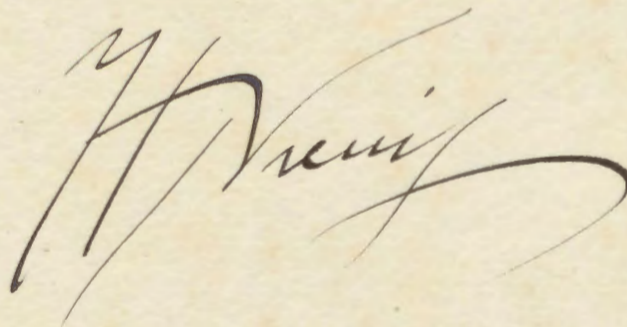
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ABBÉ HENRI BREUIL

Member of the Institut de France

THE WHITE LADY

OF THE

BRANDBERG

with the collaboration of

MARY BOYLE

and

DR. E. R. SCHERZ

Published by

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

THIS volume is the first of a Series to be devoted to the Rock Paintings of Southern Africa and to record in print and colour her most ancient archives. Let me gratefully record at its opening that I owe the six years of research, the fruits of which this Series will chronicle, to the privileges generously offered me as a member of the Archaeological Survey of the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

In 1942 my secretary and assistant, Miss Mary Boyle, and I were called to Johannesburg to collaborate in the activities of the Survey, and from the outset every help was given to us to enable us to carry out our research for as long as we wished and to record the results. The lively interest of the late Field-Marshal Smuts and the support of the Director of the Archaeological Survey, Professor C. van Riet Lowe, made it possible for us to devote all our time to our task.

I also wish to record my appreciation of the help we received from the late Field-Marshal Smuts's successors in office up to the very last moment of our stay in their country and to express my sincere thanks for their authorisation to take away temporarily to Europe the collected copies of the Rock Paintings, which remain the property of the Government of the Union of South Africa.

I will not attempt here to catalogue the names of all those whose unsparing help has made possible the production of this volume and the active planning of its successors. But I must express my heartfelt thanks to the Chairman and Board of The Consolidated Diamond Mines of South-West Africa Limited, whose generous gift has enabled the Abbé Breuil Trust to publish this initial volume. Not less gratefully I thank all others who have

contributed towards the publication of future volumes in this Series and to the aims and objects of the Trust. Let me name here:

Mr. L. Cabot Briggs
The British South Africa Company
Companhia de Diamantes de Angola, Lisbon
H.R.H. Princess George of Greece and Denmark
Mr. C. S. Gulbenkian
Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, D.C.L.
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Brussels
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I express my gratitude not less warmly to all those to whose help in the field I owe it that I was able to secure the material of which this volume presents the first-fruits. I have already mentioned the invaluable support of the late Field-Marshal Smuts and the encouragement of Professor van Riet Lowe. I am indebted to His Honour Colonel Imker Hoogenhout, Administrator of South-West Africa, for his unfailing interest, kindness and assistance in the arrangement of our expeditions. I also tender my grateful acknowledgments to Dr. and Mrs. Scherz for their help in the field and for the excellent photographs which Dr. Scherz has contributed to this volume, to Dr. Martin for placing at my disposal the result of his researches, which are partly described in this volume, and to Mr. Strey for his generous hospitality and untiring help in our travels.

To one and all who made these volumes possible I wish to express my deep appreciation.

H. BREUIL



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PREFACE

THE Abbé Breuil, in response to a personal invitation from the late Field-Marshal Smuts, began in 1942 a six-year study of widely distributed rock paintings in the Union of South Africa, South-East Africa, Basutoland, South-West Africa and Southern Rhodesia. He addressed to the task an experience and an authority which no other man could have brought to it. His findings pointed to the existence in Africa of a prehistoric civilisation, distinctive and hitherto unsuspected, of high artistic accomplishment.

Here, dealing with a single site in South-West Africa, is the first of a series of about ten volumes designed to present the fruits of that remarkable enterprise. The material here assembled consists essentially of the Abbé's own report, with skilled reproductions of his own expert drawings. It includes his estimate of the period in which that mysterious civilisation flourished, and some speculations offered by his assistant, Miss Mary Boyle, and prefaced by himself, about its possible kinship with Mediterranean cultures. It includes not least a detailed account by the Abbé of the practical methods of tracing rock and cave paintings and engravings to which his unique experience in Europe and Africa has led him.

The Abbé and his internationally famous work on the primitive cave paintings of France and Spain need no commendation to any country of the world, but he himself felt that this first record of the extension of his work to southern Africa should be briefly introduced to its readers. It is a task which, if Field-Marshal Smuts had still been alive, the Abbé would have invited him to undertake, and which his son and biographer, Mr. J. C. Smuts, allows me to say that his father, he feels sure, would have been happy to fulfil. I am honoured by the Abbé's personal request that, in default of that more appropriate sponsorship, I should undertake it.

This book is published under the authority of the Abbé Breuil Trust. When offers of financial help to secure the publication of detailed accounts of his work in Southern Africa reached the Abbé from a number of distinguished sources, he desired Mr. Wilfrid J. M. Synge, now Managing Trustee and Chairman of the Trust, to undertake responsibility for the control of these contributions and their effective employment. On accepting the responsibility, Mr. Synge set himself to secure a broader than personal basis for its discharge. He sought authoritative

advice; and, as the outcome of his consultations, the Abbé Breuil Trust was formed in 1953.

The deed which created the Trust includes also, among the purposes to which its resources may be applied, the general promotion of archaeological studies. It is hoped that the Trust may be enabled to undertake hereafter the publication of certain hitherto unpublished material relating to the Abbé's work in France. It is hoped, too, that it may be able in due time to offer discriminating support to the work of a younger generation of archaeologists in any part of the world. But the first charge upon its energies and its funds is to present the results of the Abbé's work in Southern Africa. In so doing it is encouraged by the insistence of leading archaeologists that such a presentation would be invaluable to all archaeologists. Its value to those concerned with the study of African antiquities is evident; for in Africa a wealth of kindred material remains yet to be discovered, yet to be recorded and assessed.

The orders for this volume from many different countries, which reached our Trust before its publication, testified to the sure welcome which awaited it in the archaeological world. My fellow trustees and I are confident that it will appeal also to a wider audience than that of the archaeologists alone. I am myself no archaeologist. I have never set eyes on an African rock painting or indeed set foot on the Continent of Africa. But an advance reading of this book in manuscript and a sight of its illustrations convinced me that his account of the arduous pilgrimage to the White Lady, "whose mystery and charm," as the Abbé here tells, "drew us across the world to her feet," will, by virtue of its exciting content and its vivid quality, appeal to many others as compellingly as it has appealed to me.

I have indicated above the wide range of the Trust's terms of reference. One other purpose, implicit but not expressed in the deed which provided for its foundation and conduct, the Trust can also fulfil. The publication of this volume has been made possible by generous gifts elsewhere recorded in these pages. The Trust has also been equipped to proceed methodically with the preparation of the next volume. It continues to offer, to all those who may be moved to record their debt to a gallant pioneer and an acknowledged master, an opportunity of forwarding in his honour a cause which he unselfishly desires to see unflaggingly promoted.

STEPHEN TALLENTS

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which encircle it, were earlier than the Late Stone Age, to which they had been attributed. Later excavations at Bambata, Southern Rhodesia, by the Reverend Neville Jones, corroborated my belief.

At Cape Town Miss Bleek showed me many magnificent copies of rock paintings made eighty years earlier by George Stow, a pioneer in this field as well as in the field of geology. I induced Miss Bleek to publish these paintings, and, some years later, they were issued by the Oxford University Press and produced with far more care than were the charming copies by Miss Helen Tongue published in 1909.

In the Ethnographical Department (directed by Mrs. Hoernlé) of the Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg, I was shown a water-colour copy by Herr Reinhardt Maack of a strange painting of a white woman. Although this copy did not appear to have been made by an expert, it displayed an extraordinary beauty in spite of its clumsy execution. I enquired about the possibility of visiting the site of this painting, but I was told that a visit was out of the question, as the painting was on a rock hidden in a ravine somewhere in the Brandberg, a range very difficult of access in the midst of the deserts of South-West Africa. The time required to make this expedition would have far exceeded our three months' stay, so I returned to Europe haunted by the thought of the strange woman, whom I later called "The White Lady of the Brandberg."

Herr Maack's water-colour plate, together with others, was reproduced by H. Obermaier and H. Kühn in their book, *Bushman Art: Rock Paintings of South-West Africa* (Oxford University Press, 1930). In this book there is a selection of paintings copied in South-West Africa by Herr Maack, a prospector and topographer, who has since emigrated to Brazil.

In 1931 Leo Frobenius published two important volumes on Southern Africa, *Madsimu Dsangara* (Atlantic Verlag, Berlin, 1931), which contain 144 plates. Volume one is on Southern Rhodesia. The second volume includes seven plates from South-West Africa, plates 78-84 (Maack Shelter, plates 78-79). These are reproduced from the copies executed with excellent draughtsmanship by Fräulein Maria Weyersberg. Among these plates I found a far more careful and complete copy of the White Lady rock, but it was on a very small scale and the printing was poor. Fräulein Weyersberg made an expedition to the Brandberg in 1928, and she was the first to realise the singularity of the features of the White Lady, which had been unnoticed by Maack. To reach the rock Fräulein Weyersberg had to overcome serious difficulties, and indeed she failed to find it at her first attempt; but her second expedition, which she made accompanied only by natives, was successful. Her drawings are generally

satisfactory, although, like Maack, she was unable, probably for lack of water, to moisten the rock, so that the colours are dull and do not stand out.

In 1952 I met Herr Maack, who told me how he found the rock which, thanks to my intervention, made him celebrated thirty years after its discovery. In 1917 he and a companion were sent to make a map of the Brandberg range. They travelled by ox wagon until they reached the Königstein, where the tallest peak rises to a height of 8,700 feet. Here they remained until both food and water were exhausted. Maack then came down to try to find water and to return to civilisation. The descent was hard and the heat overpowering; so, when darkness fell, he lay down and slept in a shelter—the White Lady shelter. When he awoke in the morning he was amazed to see the marvellous cortège of the White Lady on the rock face in front of him. Maack realised at once that this was quite unlike any other rock painting he had ever seen; so, though he was still exhausted and had only one page in his notebook and a few ends of coloured pencils left, he made an attempt to copy this astonishing picture. It is not surprising that his copy was poor, with the features indistinct and the colours dim. In such conditions, few men in his exhausted state would have been able to do as much and no man could have done more. Later he made several copies of this hasty sketch, one of which was acquired by the Witwatersrand University; but unfortunately he was never able to return to the Brandberg and make a more accurate copy. Nevertheless, his later drawings, which gave the scale of the figures and their approximate colours, were of immense service to the study of rock painting in Southern Africa. Without them this treasure of rock art in Damaraland would still be unknown, and I should never have made the expedition which, when publicised in the Press, aroused world-wide interest. Its echo even reached Herr Maack in the depths of the Brazilian "Parana."

Although I had no prospect of returning to Africa, I never gave up hope that one day I might learn more of this mysterious painting. In 1937 it happened that Mrs. Alice Bowler Kelley decided to return to South Africa and to spend a year there studying Prehistory. She came to me for information, and half-jokingly I said to her: "Madam, if you do not go to Windhoek, and take the necessary guides to the Brandberg to the painted rock discovered by Maack, and bring me back good photographs, I shall never forgive you." She agreed to do this. When she arrived in Windhoek, Dr. E. Scherz, a young man who loved the great desert solitudes, and who was an excellent photographer, undertook to be her guide. At that time he had no particular interest in painted rocks; but, as he was a methodical man, he consulted the considerable notes left by Maack in the local archives



and found valuable indications of the position of the rock.

They set off by car and ascended the Tsisab ravine. After leaving the spot where the river divides near a dry waterfall, they climbed the slight slope on the left as high as the platform overlooking the waterfall. As they passed between two rocks a magnificent view attracted them, and several rock shelters became visible along and behind the platform; but the particular painted rock which was the object of their search is protected and screened by another rock, so unwittingly they missed it by only a few yards.

For four long hours they searched; then, tired and disappointed, they sat down to rest for a few minutes before returning down the ravine to find their car. Wearily they looked around them; then suddenly, from the angle where they sat, they perceived the eagerly-searched-for painted rock, half hidden by its protecting screen. Overjoyed they hurried to the site and hastily took some photographs before the light failed.

Mrs. A. Bowler Kelley showed me the tiny negatives when she returned to Paris in 1938. They were very clear, but they required considerable enlargement to enable all the details to be easily deciphered. War came, however, and I never received these enlargements, because, after a short stay in the Dordogne and at Toulouse, I was obliged to leave France for Portugal, where I lectured in the University of Lisbon until July 1942.

My secretary and assistant, Miss Mary E. Boyle, had been working in the Bermudas in the service of the British Government since February 1941. One morning a young airman came up to her desk and without any preamble said: "General Smuts would be much obliged if you would fly the Atlantic, go to Lisbon where the Abbé Breuil is working, board a neutral ship with him and travel to Lourenço Marques, a neutral port. For the Abbé's very specialised knowledge is needed in South Africa." He then saluted and left her.

It was not an easy mission to fulfil. Miss Boyle was not a diplomat; she had no priority for an air passage, and she was not personally acquainted with the Premier of the Union of South Africa. Nevertheless, one August evening two months later, she stood before me in my little boarding-house in Lisbon, ready to take the next boat with me. The Government had freed her from her war service so that she could accompany me, and I had received a personal invitation from the great South African to proceed to Johannesburg as soon as I landed at Lourenço Marques.

On arrival at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, Miss Boyle and I were attached to the Archaeological Survey of which Professor van Riet Lowe is now the Director. The foundation of this Survey was in part due to me, as in 1929, at the suggestion of the Professors of the Universities of Johannesburg and Cape Town, I had submitted to General Hertzog, then Premier of the Union of South Africa, a report advocating its establishment and recommending the appointment of the Director.

Six months later, while examining the documents on rock paintings in the Archaeological Survey of the Union of South Africa at the Witwatersrand University, I chanced to find an envelope containing a set of the enlarged photographs taken by Mrs. Bowler Kelley, which she had sent to the Survey. I examined them with the greatest care and discovered that the central and evidently the most important figure in the painting was a very young woman with a singularly beautiful profile reminiscent of a figure on a Greek vase.

Without any comment I held out the print to Miss Boyle, who was working at a neighbouring table, and casually asked her if she saw anything of interest in it. After a short silence she said: "I see a Cretan woman." "Why Cretan?" I asked; "I thought she was Greek." "Because of her jerkin and trunks," was the reply. "Until modern times these garments have been worn only by girl athletes in the Palace of Minos at Knossos in Crete." "That is indeed a good reason," I said. "I do not know whether she is Greek, Cretan or Egyptian; but that she is of Mediterranean race is certain."

A further enlargement was made of the head of this girl, whom we called "The White Lady," and I sent it to the Premier with these words: "I send you the portrait of a charming young girl, who has been waiting for us on a rock in the Brandberg range for perhaps three thousand years; do you think it well to keep her waiting much longer?" His answer soon came—"We are at war: we must wait till it is over, and then I promise you that you shall go there." So in 1945 Miss Boyle and I returned to Europe without having reached the South-West.

In 1946, a year after our return from Africa, Field-Marshal Smuts came to Paris for Peace consultations (that Peace for which we are still waiting) and Miss Boyle and I were invited several times to lunch with him. "When are you coming to visit our Lady of the Brandberg?" he asked us. "Field-Marshal," I replied, "I await your orders." "Come then during the next South African winter (1947)," was his answer. We kept this tryst.



II

OUR WORK IN THE BRANDBERG

I. JOURNEY TO THE SITE

ON July 28th, 1947, we left Johannesburg for South-West Africa. After our three days' journey we rested for forty-eight hours. On August 1st we paid our respects to His Honour the Administrator, Colonel Imker Hoogenhout, and discussed the trip with our two guides, Dr. H. Martin, a geologist, and Dr. Scherz. Finally, on the morning of August 3rd, we set out for the Brandberg. Our two guides, Miss Boyle and I travelled in a station wagon with the small luggage, and a lorry followed with Mr. Powell, the driver, three boys, tents, camping equipment and stores. We reached Omaruru that night.

We left Omaruru on August 4th at 8.30 a.m. and halted twice, first at a granite rock round which were strewn Middle Stone Age tools, and then at the granite "Twin Kopjes" at Kaukausib to study the painted rocks on the right—one near the road, the other higher up facing the road. On the first are badly preserved paintings of giraffes and buck; on the second, human figures and a python are depicted. There are many other shelters; but only in one on the left are a few paintings still visible, including one of a polychrome buck. On the floor of this shelter there are quantities of Middle Stone Age and Smithfield tools.

Our next stop was the tin mine of Uis, the last inhabited place on our route. While we waited for the lorry to overtake us, we made arrangements to hire a boy and a donkey to carry water and stores into the Tsisab ravine, where at that time there was no road. When we left Uis we struck across the plain, the home of ostriches, springbok and zebra. As we approached the Brandberg Range we crossed a sandy river bed. The lorry stuck several times in the deep sand; everyone scattered to search for bushes so that branches might be placed under the wheels to provide grip. But bushes were scarce, and it was some time before the caravan started again, and then only for the same thing to happen a second time. As we got out of our cars, a herd of zebra appeared between us and the sunset. Led by a great stallion, they were strung out along

a sandy ridge and were stamping to frighten us off. As this had no effect, the mares and the foals were ordered away, and we watched them gallop towards the sunset. The stallion then issued orders, and the herd whirled around us, first four abreast, then two; then, halting a minute, they formed a battle front, stamped in unison and finally, in single file and at full speed, followed their leader in the direction of the sinking sun.

During our halt I picked up several tools on the right bank of the river (a confluent of the Ugab), including one Victoria West core.

As it was now too late to find the entrance to the Tsisab ravine, we pitched our camp and talked long of the painting hidden in the blue mountains to our left.

Brandberg, the "burnt mountain," is so called because of the burnt appearance of the black basaltic rock underlying the granite. The Tsisab ravine is filled with a mass of granite boulders which crashed down from the cliffs in pre-human times. Here and there grow an *Acacia caffra* or a *Cassia* with bright green leaves, which is known locally as the "curry bush." Honey birds dart about by day and small owls call by night. Dr. Martin told us that there were mice with whiskers as long as themselves, but we saw none.

The next morning, August 5th, we left the lorry to find its own way during the day to the mouth of the Tsisab ravine, some two or three miles distant, and drove ahead in the car. When we entered the ravine we parked the car on a terrace near some small trees and went up the ravine on foot. For part of the way a zebra track, which has two ruts like a cart track, made walking easier. The zebras either run in pairs or they make one track going up and another coming down. At the end of this track huge boulders blocked the way. In full sunshine the reflected heat burned our eyes, faces and hands; the only shade to be found was between boulders sometimes as high as houses, for the light foliage of the *Acacia caffra* afforded practically no cover.

Reeds were growing in the river bed, but the season





had been dry and there was no sign of water at the entrance to the ravine. The entrance is wide and terraced and, on the upper flat terrace, there are masses of basalt in complete collapse on the right bank. The sand among these fallen blocks is full of small worked white quartz tools of the Middle Stone Age, the makers of which certainly lived in shelters long since crumbled. We followed the quaternary terrace where we saw Old Palaeolithic tools in the terrace gravels and Later Palaeolithic and Smithfield on the terrace itself.

Between our camp and a quartzitic ridge projecting from the left bank, there are three painted rocks, but the paintings are small and poor. On the face of this ridge there is a small cave almost blocked near the mouth with the droppings of rock rabbits. The top of the ridge is horizontal and on it there are several remains of round huts. These and the ground round about are strewn with tools, both Middle Stone Age and Smithfield, in quartzite, white quartz and indurated shale. This point overlooks the whole entrance to the valley and a great stretch of the ravine.

We left the ridge by the left bank and followed a well-preserved horizontal terrace on which were several hut circles. Here we found tools of the same industries as those on the ridge, where we picked up the lower half of a very fine laurel leaf. Higher upstream only ragged fragments of this terrace remain at the foot of the cliffs on

the left bank. The "thalweg" is littered with the remains of a more recent terrace, with heavy boulders sunk in the sand. In time of flood the river flows across this terrace and carries away the lighter material.

After slow progress through sand and among small boulders, we reached a narrow part of the ravine strewn with fairly large, rounded, granite boulders; and then, following the river bed, we came to the first semi-permanent water-hole—two deep basins in the granite, with water coming from the sand and flowing through. From here onwards the boulders on the right bank become more and more chaotic and, between and under them, there are many rock shelters, several of which show signs of past habitation (stone tools), but contain no paintings. The route continues in this way as far as a point just above the division of the river bed into two branches, between which is an island.

A few hundred yards upstream from the point where the river divides, on the left bank of the right fork of the river, there is a splendid rocky waterfall, dry in the winter season and dry also when we were there. To reach the top there is a climb between two massive rocks on the left up the first slope of the ravine side, which leads to a flat platform near the waterfall. From this point the view is so splendid that there is an instinctive urge to hurry towards it, and the Maack shelter, which is hidden behind two rocks, is never noticed. We camped at this site for two weeks.

In the distance the immense granite blocks on the island resemble a huge, collapsed stone town. Though there are paintings on the sides of many of the rocks, none of them are of the importance or the interest of those in the Maack shelter, nor have they the same high artistic value. As we approached the place, the impression it conveyed of a great fallen acropolis or palace was intensified; between the granite slabs and boulders there are flat sand-covered surfaces like squares or courts between dwellings.

At noon on the day of our arrival in the ravine, we climbed a natural stairway and passed two boulders. We then found ourselves confronting the painting which had been haunting me for eighteen years and which we had come so far to see. One glance was sufficient to show me that not only the Lady herself, but every figure accompanying her, was of supreme interest. My decision was soon made; I would not move from the shelter until every figure was copied.

Dr. Martin remained with me as guard, and Dr. Scherz and Miss Boyle stumbled through the burning-hot ravine to the lower camp to arrange for messengers to be sent to us with food and bedding before dusk fell. That night the only lion encountered during the expedition prowled round Miss Boyle's tent unheard, but it left its spoor on the sand.



Gradually everyone but the men in charge of the cars settled in the camp near the White Lady, and the work of copying went on steadily for ten days. During this period Dr. Martin and Dr. Scherz explored all this part of the ravine and found nineteen painted rocks showing a great variety of subject. My work in the Maack shelter kept me from visiting all the sites, but we saw enough to realise that there were more mysteries to be solved.

Beyond the island lies the longer half of the ravine, which none of us had sufficient time to explore; but from the work of Lieutenant von Jochmann and Herr Maack, and later those of Dr. Martin, it would appear that it contains no paintings, although there are paintings in the Amis ravine on the western slopes of the Brandberg.

The following account of the Tsisab ravine was written by Dr. Martin at the time of our first expedition:

"The rock paintings of the Tsisab ravine in the Brandberg are grouped around a big spring, which is due to an old (Tertiary) rock slide, which brought down one of the northern mountain spurs and dammed up the valley with huge blocks to a height of about 200 feet. This spring is the best freshwater spring for more than fifty miles around.

"Behind the dam, the valley was later filled with sand and gravel, and the whole filling became cemented with calcrete. The dam acts as a sand dam and at its base the water seeps out between rushes, reeds and wild fig-trees and fills the ponds between the white granite boulders. Across the rock-slide the river has divided into two arms, and the island between them, which is a chaos of tremendous blocks with many shelters and caves, was the most settled part of the area. Stone implements lie all around between the boulders and in the shelters. It is perhaps no accident that the Maack shelter with its extraordinary paintings is set apart from the other dwelling sites."

As Dr. Martin had another engagement, we were obliged to leave the Brandberg on August 15th after working there for ten days. Instead of going down to the valley of the Uis river, which is difficult to cross below the entrance to the Tsisab ravine on account of the deep sand, we took another track leading south-east immediately after passing the basaltic spur which borders the plain of Tsisab on the right. There, on an older, higher level than the quaternary terraces, the ground was covered for several acres with deeply iron-stained old gravels from the foothills. During the Old and Mid-Palaeolithic Ages, these quartzitic gravels were intensively exploited: all the stages of Stellenbosch and the later Levalloisian industries, including that of the Middle Stone Age, are to be found there, each with its distinctive patina. We made a fine collection of these tools; but, owing to the difficulties of transport, we were able to take

only a selection, which we left in Windhoek for the Museum.

We then returned to the Uis mine to visit the quarries of tin-bearing gravels, where we picked up several specimens. This site was discovered in 1937 by Mrs. Bowler Kelley, who was the first to collect many Victoria West cores there. We, too, found a great number of these, the flakes struck off them, and also "horse-shoe" cores, but very few bifaced tools.

From the Uis mine we went to Okombahe, where Mr. Shipman, the Health Officer, entertained us all to dinner.

On the morning of August 16th we set off due south along the western edge of the granite Erongo mountains, a range which covers twice the area of the Brandberg. Half-way between Okombahe and the Erongo range, the road passes near a low granite ridge called Gaub, where there are a few shelters. We stopped to examine them and Dr. Scherz found a very small group of tiny painted human figures. On the far side of the rock we picked up a considerable quantity of implements, mostly of the Middle Stone Age.

As we passed a cluster of huts of the Berg-Damara people, which is called Ukerenz, Dr. Scherz asked the village headman to show us any painted rocks in the neighbourhood. He guided us to two. The first lies to the south-east of the village on the plain below the foothills of the Erongo. There is an enormous boulder standing alone, which is called *Naub* or "the rock which talks," because of the echo it produces. This rock is very deeply undercut on the side facing the mountain, and the surface is covered with red geometrical drawings entirely different from the ordinary naturalistic paintings, of which there are a few older, faded remains. The ash-covered floor contained no worked tools, but there is a great deal of pottery considered by Dr. L. H. Wells of the University of Witwatersrand to be Hottentot.

The second site is near by in a shallow gorge on the other side of the village. The paintings cover the greater part of the sheltered surface of a rounded granite boulder detached from the mountain face. We had not enough time to make a copy and only sketched a fine python 1.20 metre in length; but there are many giraffe, various antelopes and a great number of human figures. I returned to copy these paintings in 1948 and these copies will be published in a future volume.

After leaving the native reserve we stopped near the middle of the west slope of the Erongo range to look for a shelter on the south-eastern slope called Tumib. We had been told that on a granite outcrop detached from the mountains there was a painting of a horse; but we saw only a group of human figures, a few of the most interesting of which we copied, and the horse turned out to be a headless buck. Around the shelter, and as far as



the neighbouring stream, there were many moderately heavy Middle Stone Age and Smithfield tools.

We then followed the road to the south-west angle of the Erongo, where we turned full east and skirted the southern foothills near the farm, Ameib. Here we stopped a few minutes on the gravel terrace near which Mrs. Bowler Kelley had collected many Old Palaeolithic tools. We picked up a few of these, then continued eastwards for about three miles until we reached a remarkably picturesque gorge on the edge of the Erongo, where a fresh-water stream flows. Several shelters look down on this gorge and its rocky slopes are strewn with fairly heavy stone tools, mostly Middle Stone Age; even the gravels in the stream contain Old Palaeolithic implements.

That night we slept at Karibib and arrived back in Windhoek the next morning, August 17th.

From Windhoek we visited a few unimportant sites towards the centre of South-West Africa (in the Naukluft) under the guidance of Mr. R. Strey, who also kindly received us in his home from August 22nd to September 1st.

On September 19th we returned to Johannesburg, where I devoted myself to making clean copies of my tracings of the paintings in the Brandberg.

* * *

On November 2nd, 1947, we were summoned by the Premier to his farm, Doornkloof, Irene (Transvaal), to show him my copies of the paintings. It was Sunday and he was in his book-lined study with Mrs. Smuts and an aide-de-camp. One after another the water-colours—more than twenty sheets—were unrolled in complete silence. Then—"You have upset all my history," said General Smuts; "and you think you are going back to Europe! Well, you are *not*; you will go out there again and put history right; for, when you publish these paintings, you will set the world on fire and nobody will believe you."

The Premier was not the only person to be astonished. Professor Leo Fouché, one of the most enlightened and brilliant of South Africans, came into our little office in the Witwatersrand University one day to see the beautiful White Lady and her companions. The importance of the painting quite overwhelmed him. First he laughed and said: "I am like the English soldier who saw a giraffe for the first time and kept muttering: 'I don't believe it.'" Then he became very serious and exclaimed: "You just can't leave us like this; you must go back there and tell us more!"

II. THE SHELTER: INTRODUCTORY

The little rock shelter housing the paintings which absorbed my attention for so long is only about 18 feet long and 7 feet high, the highest painting being about

Both the Field-Marshal and Professor Fouché continued to urge us not to leave the task unfinished. They insisted that we had a moral obligation to continue our research in South-West Africa and, since similar paintings existed in Southern Rhodesia, they wished us to carry our search into that country also. In August 1948, therefore, the party set off once more for the Brandberg. This time Dr. Martin stayed only one night; but Dr. Scherz acted once more as our guide and his wife came with us again to take photographs. Mr. Strey, a botanist and farmer, also joined us.

We camped on the island between the two branches of the dry river. It had not rained since we left the ravine the year before and the struggle to find water was continual: we never had more than two buckets a day to share between seven people. This time we had no tents, but we arranged a dining-room under overhanging rocks, with a big slab for a table and rocks for seats. Only a brief revision of the previous copy of the White Lady was made. The rest of the time was spent in copying paintings previously discovered by our companions, or those on fresh sites found from day to day. Details of these will be given in a future volume. We stayed in this astonishing "Leopard's Ravine" for more than three weeks.

* * *

In August 1950 we returned to the ravine, this time to keep an appointment with the Administrator of South-West Africa, Colonel Hoogenhout, who had always welcomed us and helped us in every way. As we repeatedly came from Europe to return to the Brandberg, he became more and more curious. "Who is this woman, this White Lady, who can draw the Abbé Breuil three times from the other side of the world?" he asked. "How can a Bushman painting be so entrancing?" One morning in August a shot rang out announcing his arrival in the ravine with his staff and two American prospectors. Up they toiled, oppressed by the heat and muttering at the difficulties of the way. They overtook Miss Boyle, Mrs. Scherz and me, although we had made an earlier start; and when the natural rock stairway was reached, we let them go on ahead so that we could see what effect the painting would have on them. There was a moment's silence. Then Colonel Hoogenhout turned towards us. "You are absolutely right," he said. "This is no Bushman painting: this is Great Art." The Lady had made yet another conquest!



of the sun on the soil is reflected on the rock and this is probably the chief cause of the deterioration; but it may also be that ash from hearth-fires covered the lower paintings originally, and destroyed their surfaces through chemical action. Both ends of the shelter are less protected than its centre and are consequently more weathered, so that the paintings become progressively less visible the further they are from the centre.

The panorama can be divided into three parts; an upper

Height of some of the more important figures:

| | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| The Lady | 15½ inches = 40.0 centimetres |
| Skeleton-man following.. | 19 inches = 48.0 centimetres |
| Youth preceding the Lady | 11½ inches = 28.5 centimetres |
| Attendant above | 12½ inches = 31.3 centimetres |
| Youth with two bows | 11½ inches = 29.2 centimetres |
| Man in helmet | 8½ inches = 22.0 centimetres |
| Crocodile-man | 14 inches = 35.5 centimetres |

zone, a middle zone comprising the procession with the most important figures, and a lower zone. Some of the figures in the middle zone intrude into the other zones, particularly the upper one, where the animals are mostly gemsbok in polychrome. It should be noted that the principal group is superimposed on fairly numerous remains of older paintings of different phases and dates in black, dark brown, red-brown and a more or less faded reddish-brown and white. The procession is approximately sixteen feet in length.

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| Red-haired youth | 10½ inches = 26.5 centimetres (the feet are faded) |
| Leader of procession | 13 inches = 33.0 centimetres (including hat) |
| Lower musician | 17½ inches = 43.7 centimetres |
| Higher musician | 14 inches = 35.5 centimetres (from top of head-dress) |
| Musician in centre | 11½ inches = 28.5 centimetres |

III. IMPLEMENTS AND TOOLS FOUND

At the wide Uis river three terraces were observed. The highest one, which is partly connected with the mountain sloping conglomerates, contains no implements, but lower down, where it merges into the 300-foot terrace of the Ugab river, implements of every age are to be found on the surface. The long slope below the high terrace north of the mouth of the Tsisab gorge yielded single pieces, which were distributed over the slope.

Nearer the river, remains of a 15-foot calcrete cemented gravel terrace of at least two different periods are preserved at several places. All the Stellenbosch implements that we collected were found *in situ*, within an area of about 200 square yards. In the Tsisab valley there is a corresponding 15-25-foot terrace.

The Victoria West site is situated on a small tributary of the Uis river near the crushing plant of the Uis mine. The calcrete-cemented gravels which fill the river bed at this point are probably the extension of the 15-foot terrace of the lower Uis river. Most of the tools found came from gravel dug in mining operations, although a

few were obtained from undistributed gravel from the upper part of the deposit. These were of quartzite belonging to the Damara series, of which the mountains around Uis are formed.

ROCK-SHELTER FINDS

A trench 39 inches long was dug by Dr. Martin in the lowest part of the Maack shelter. The layers were found to be less important than those in the other shelters, because in this part of the shelter the deposits are mixed—probably on account of erosion coming from the higher slopes. No type of tool was found that was not present in the other shelters, but we did find one bead made from the shell of an ostrich egg. As far as I am able to judge, the quartz industry encountered in the excavations is not different from the usual Middle and Late Stone Age quartz industry found in other parts of South-West Africa. I am indebted to Dr. Martin for information in section III.

(The "Description of the Plates," which could logically have followed, has been placed at the end of the volume for convenience in studying the coloured plates and photographs. The reader may wish to turn to them before proceeding to the following chapters.)



III

FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN THE MAACK SHELTER PAINTING

MY thanks are due to my assistant, Miss Mary Boyle, for the effort she has made to establish the connections between these frescoes and those of Egypt and Crete, and the results of her research are embodied in the following pages. Although I share the belief, which is generally expressed at the first sight of these paintings, that there are definite artistic and ethnological links between them, and possibly a religious affinity also, I am nevertheless unable to state their exact relationship. Even when there is evidence of such links between several different artistic documents, it is still impossible to trace the connection of one to the other if the ages of the documents to be compared are not known. It is equally logical to regard one as the parent of another, or to regard all as having independently inherited similar characteristics from a common ancestor. In the case of the similarities between these paintings and the frescoes of Egypt and Crete, it is as yet too early to draw conclusions.

When a painting is seen for the first time, two questions are usually asked: "Who painted it?" and "What does it mean?" Ever since the Abbé Breuil finished his water-colour copies of the Maack shelter painting, these two questions have constantly been put to us; but the important and remarkable facts are the existence of this painting in the Tsisab ravine of the Brandberg, less than seventy miles from Cape Cross on the sea coast, and its astonishing resemblances and similarities to other paintings elsewhere. For example, the costume worn by the White Lady, the principal female figure, is very similar to that worn by the girl bullfighters of the Palace of Minos at Knossos in Crete, which was excavated by Sir Arthur Evans. The clothes of the White Lady are more decorative; but she wears a similar short-sleeved jerkin and trunks strapped with colour, and her head-dress, which covers the head and passes under the chin, resembles those of the ivory figurines of young athletes in the Palace, although it is more elaborate.

This White Lady of the Brandberg is depicted as striding forward, carrying in one hand a bow with one arrow at the ready and three more in reserve, and in the other

hand a flower, or maybe an ostrich egg-shell cup. There are men of various races before and behind her, which seems to indicate an equality of status with men recognised only by advanced civilisations such as those of Crete and Etruria. In the arena of the Palace at Knossos the girl bullfighters were greatly respected and, as was customary among women held in honour, they wore the dress of men. The Greeks were surprised not only by this custom, but also by the fact that women were allowed in the arena at all, even as spectators.

Two outstanding features in the painting are the richness of the dress and the frequent carrying or wearing of flowers by the people marching in the 3-yards-long procession. In this respect also a comparison may be made with Knossos, for the Palace life was extremely luxurious: the costumes were elaborate, and flowers were so much admired that they were painted on vases and frescoes and fashioned in gold for ornaments.

Some of the figures in the procession wear a short, fringed scarf hanging from one arm. In the religious ritual at Knossos such scarves were worn attached to the back of the neck in a loop with two ends. They are sometimes seen on Cretan pottery figurines and in Cretan paintings. One example of this Sacral Knot is to be seen on a figurine found in the Fourth Shaft grave belonging to the III Middle Minoan period.¹ It is very probable that these scarves were worn in connection with some ceremony of initiation. A similar practice is observed to-day in certain European Catholic countries, where boys making their first Communion wear white scarves tied round their arms.

There is a further point of resemblance to Knossos in the variety of races portrayed, for the Palace frescoes show black guards (Nubians) led by Minoan officers, whose skin is painted copper-red.

The Cretans, by reason of their geographical position and their seafaring habits, were bound to be much influenced by other civilisations, both in practical matters and in thought. Like the Sumerians, they seem to have been ruled by a combined Priest-King; they also built

¹ *Palace of Minos at Knossos*. Sir Arthur Evans. Macmillan & Co., 1921. Vol. 1: p. 430, figs. 308-9; p. 433, fig. 311.



ossuaries with domed vaults, the finest being that known as the "Treasury of Atreus" at Mycenae. These ossuaries are believed to have been modelled on early Libyan houses, which were built in a beehive shape with the upper part corbelled and the top sealed by a flat slab. Similar ossuaries were also built in Libya, so the Cretans evidently borrowed this burial custom from there.

From 3400 B.C. there is positive evidence of Cretan sea-going trade, for much gold was used by the Cretans, although it is uncertain from whence they obtained it.¹

As Egypt is only 400 miles from Crete, it is likely to have had a great influence on that country. The ethnographical relationship between the different regions of black Africa and Egyptian civilisation has often been emphasised, and has been attributed to Egyptian influence; but it must be borne in mind that Egypt is herself in Africa and her civilisation must be considered as the highest expression of African civilisation, for, according to Egyptologists, Asiatic influences did not reach Egypt until the second half of the Copper Age. No denial of the influence of Egyptian civilisation upon Africa is involved in the suggestion that many spiritual and material analogies between Egypt and Africa are explained by their closely related mutual origin.

Several features in the White Lady painting have counterparts in Egyptian painting. For example, the straight, beaded shoulder-straps and chest-band worn by the youth with a red flower (rose?) in his mouth; the Crocodile-headed man; and the notched pole, carried by the skeleton figure behind the White Lady, which is touching her. Indeed, the Crocodile-headed man with the gemsbok horns suggests that the problem is not to be solved by a mere study of the dress and weapons of the figures—a deeper, more comprehensive knowledge is required. In Egypt the Crocodile-man took a principal part in the "Mysteries"—ceremonies enacted for religious instruction. In the White Lady procession he is the third principal figure. To the Egyptians, Sebek, the Crocodile-man, was a monster in the service of Set, the God of Evil, and his cult lasted until Roman times. In Egyptian religious art he is shown wearing a pair of oryx horns. It is said that the messenger of the infernal gods in a religious procession was partly black and partly golden yellow, and that in his right hand he shook palm branches. The forearms of the Crocodile-headed man in the White Lady procession are black; his thighs are yellow and in his hand he carries some twigs.

On misty mornings a special litany was repeated by the Egyptian priests to assist the sun, Ra, to overcome the crocodile, who was believed to be the darkest part of the eastern sky. If the priests wished to stop heavy rain or

¹ *Corridors of Time—Priests and Kings*. Fleure and Peake. Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1927. Vol. IV, p. 98.

tempests, or to prevent "black-red" clouds from stealing over the sun's disc, they performed a ceremonial killing and burning of the crocodile, three times a day. The story of the war against this monster is told in the hieroglyphics on the walls of the chapel of Mesnet, at Edfu. Horus, the midday sun, is shown leading a band of followers. These priests or "harpooners" are represented as his companions in his battles against Set and derive their name from the fact that two harpoons were preserved at Mesnet as sacred relics of these struggles.² They carry spears held head earthwards and a metal weapon, possibly a harpoon. Similar weapons are held point upwards by two lioness-headed goddesses sitting immediately above two seated crocodile-headed figures to the east of the entrance of the second Hall of Osiris in the temple of King Sethos at Abydos.³ On one of the ceiling blocks of the same temple, and in the same hall, two divinities, a lioness and a frog, are seated on thrones holding these big knives upright.⁴ On another ceiling block from the same temple, though not *in situ*, there are similar animal-headed gods carrying similar knives, one in either hand, also pointing upwards.

In a reproduction of the Papyrus of Nesi-Ta-Neb Ashru, which shows Osiris seated on his throne, the door of the shrine is guarded by a serpent-headed goddess holding such a knife in either hand. These knives point upwards.⁵ Horus is sometimes shown with this type of knife in one hand and a crocodile on his shoulder.⁶ This manner of holding the knives upright emphasises the fact that, when Horus led the war against the Crocodile-god, the arms carried by his men were pointed earthwards, as are the weapons carried by some of the figures in the White Lady painting. For instance, the youth with the flower in his mouth carries what appear to be two long daggers, or hunting knives, with button heads. As we have seen above, Horus' followers carried a harpoon-like weapon. The skeleton figure behind the Lady carries a strange weapon with triangular teeth inset on the shaft and forming barbs. This may well be a sacred harpoon. A similar long pole is shown in many Egyptian paintings: sometimes it is held by the god Thoth, and sometimes by Isis as Queen of Sirius, the Dog Star, whose

² I am indebted to Dr. Etienne Drioton, until recently Director of the Cairo Museum, for this valuable information. *Vide also Le Culte d'Horus d'Edfou au temps des Ptolémées*. Alliot. The French Institute, Cairo, 1949-1954. Vol. I, fascicles 1 and 2.

³ *The Temple of King Sethos at Abydos*. Copies by A. M. Calverley and M. F. Broome. London and Egypt Exploration Society. Vol. III. Plate 12.

⁴ *Op. cit.* Plate 59.

⁵ *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*. E. A. Wallis-Budge, London. Philip Lee Warner, New York. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1911. Vol. I, p. 43.

⁶ *Horus, Royal God of Egypt*. S. A. B. Mercer. Society of Oriental Research, Massachusetts, 1942. Fig. 63, p. 128.



pole has forty-seven notches.¹ Sometimes notches were used to represent the years of a man's life. The Egyptians also used such a notched pole to show the increases of the swelling Nile. Later this measure became Mercury's wand, an ensign of office, or a staff of honour.

The crocodile was also connected with the rising of the Nile. The devastation caused by the overflowing river was represented in Egypt by the figure of a crocodile or dragon, or a water-monster called Ob. Canob was the fathom of the dragon, the measure of the overflowing, from cane, a fathom, a rod or measuring cane, and Ob, a dragon.²

The White Lady, the principal figure in the procession, is sometimes described as Diana, and there is some foundation for this assumption. In the *Golden Ass* of Apuleius,³ for example, Isis says to Lucius—"The whole world worships my godhead, one and individual under many changing shapes, with varied rites and by many diverse names." After reciting the names given her by the Phrygians, Athenians and Cypriots, she says: "but, to the archer Cretans, I am Diana of the hunter's net." Following the White Lady, at the rear of the procession, there is a band of archers. The enigma of these red-haired archers cannot be fully investigated until the paintings of similar figures in Southern Rhodesia and the Gross Spitzkopje are studied. A style of haircut similar to theirs is seen in an Egyptian sculpture, *Man & Wife of the Vth Century*, and there are many other examples.⁴

It seems likely that Isis in her Cretan form of Diana may have carried either a flower or a cup, such as the one carried by the Lady. Different objects were associated with her worship as the seasons changed; for example, she carried a cup when she indicated autumn. In Egypt it was the custom to heap lotus flowers on the altar of Isis. A woman holding a flower near her face is also sometimes depicted in Phoenician art. One example of such a figure is shown on an ivory box for holding bottles of perfume.⁵

If the painting depicts a Mystery procession, it may seem curious that it should have been painted on an open unprotected rock, where it would be visible to all and where it might come to harm. But, when referring to Crete in his *World History*, Diodoros Siculus says: "At Knossos it was provided for by an ancient law that the Mysteries should be shown to all and that those things,

which in other places were delivered in secret, should be hid from none which were desirous of knowing them . . ." The Cretans laid bare the great secret of the Mysteries and destroyed polytheism by teaching the origin of the gods, telling of their mortal birth and their advancement to divine honour in recompense for the benefits which they had brought to mankind or to their country during their lifetimes. They also taught the existence of one Supreme Being.⁶

The two musicians who are playing musical bows and awaiting the oncoming procession have their counterparts in paintings of Egyptian religious processions. Clemens, Christian Bishop of Alexandria, who was well versed in ancient Egyptian learning, says—" . . . In that country every individual cultivates a different branch of philosophy—an arrangement which applies chiefly to their holy ceremonies. In such a procession the singer occupies the first place, carrying in his hands an instrument of music . . ."⁷

Above the procession there is a frieze of oryx, which includes some individual types, three of them semi-human. A strange skeleton figure with red hair, which is drawn in thin red lines, stretches out his skeleton arms behind the oryx, as if urging them on. It has already been noted that the Crocodile-man wears oryx horns. In Egypt the oryx was regarded as a form of Set, the God of Evil, who was associated with all kinds of "Typhonic" animals, including the crocodile. The Christian fathers in Egypt shared this belief and associated horned animals of the oryx class with the Devil.⁸ In the month of Pachons an antelope was sacrificed to prevent Set from attacking the full moon, and the followers of the god were known as "Red Devils." Plutarch reported that the Egyptians only sacrificed red-coated bullocks—even one black hair rendered the animal unsuitable. On a stele of the XI dynasty at Boulak there is an oryx led on a leash.⁹

The most recent animal in the painting is a dark-coloured eland. Most of the animals are oryx (gemsbok). Six specimens form a continuous line in the upper frieze, and another similar band formed part of the lower register, but this has mostly disappeared. There is left one springbok in good condition, and a fine hartebeest of the same date; towards the base of the painting there are traces of an older frieze of springbok.

The painting in this shelter does not include the whole of the pictorial animal elements of the region. The absence of elephants and carnivorous animals is noteworthy. The oryx with their bichromatic painting show the same

⁶ *The Mysteries of Freemasonry*. John Fellows, A.M., London. Reeves & Turner, 1860. P. 126.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 95.

⁸ *From Fetish to God in Ancient Egypt*. E. A. Wallis-Budge. Oxford University Press, 1934. Pp. 86-7.

⁹ *Op. cit.* (footnote 5), Fig. 86, p. 121.

¹ *From Fetish to God in Ancient Egypt*. E. A. Wallis-Budge. Oxford University Press, 1934. P. 223.

² *The Mysteries of Freemasonry*. John Fellows, A.M., London. Reeves & Turner, 1860.

³ H. E. Butler's translation of Apuleius' *Golden Ass*. Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1910, Vol. II. Book XI, p. 126.

⁴ *History of Art in Ancient Egypt*. G. Perrot and C. Chipiez. Chapman & Hall Ltd., 1883. P. 138, fig. 88; p. 139, fig. 89; p. 26, fig. 15; p. 14, fig. 18; p. 265, fig. 173.

⁵ *History of Art in Phoenicia*. G. Perrot and C. Chipiez. Chapman & Hall Ltd., 1885. Vol. II: p. 270, fig. 206; p. 397, fig. 335.



technique which, used mostly on elands, characterises the culminating period of the art of the south-east province (on two slopes of the Drakensberg). Nothing similar is known in Rhodesia or Tanganyika.

Except for the Crocodile-man, the composite figures are not masked men with animal heads, as they are in most of the Bushmen paintings, but animals with human legs, probably Genii or Spirit Beings. There are three examples—an antelope with curved horns (sable antelope?), whose four legs are human arms and legs; a very well drawn oryx, with crupper and legs forming human hindquarters (above the Lady); and a hartebeest with human hindlegs, probably more recent than the true animal figure placed below it.

In the procession the only human figure painted all at one time is the man with a crocodile's head who appears almost at the beginning of it. His mask has two oryx horns and an enormous giraffe's ear placed towards the back, which is attached to a large inverted funnel (possibly of basket-work) fitting round the shoulders.

The white-painted man was later transformed into a baboon by the addition of a muzzle and a bent tail. The red, white-beaded bands were also added at a later date. This figure, which was incorporated into the procession, is of an earlier date. The small human figure with a jackal head, who appears to have been arrested by two normal human figures, is also an addition.

It is uncertain whether the three half-human oryx are mythical beings or whether they represent disguises for hunting or for magical ceremonies, but they certainly play an important part in the planned arrangement of the procession.

The pagan idea seems to have been that certain gods presided over animals, for Iamblicus says: "To those gods who preside over animals and are proximately connected with them invocation through animals is properly made."¹

A careful study of the painting shows that much thought was given to its composition. Each figure in the procession is of a different height, and the eye is drawn instinctively to the main figure, the White Lady. She measures $15\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height, her skeleton follower 19 inches, and the lower musician greeting the cortège $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches; the other musician (whose feet are missing) measures 14 inches, and the Crocodile-man 14 inches. The rest of the figures are smaller, although they are all of different heights. This difference in height, and the

¹ *History of Art in Ancient Egypt*. G. Perrot and C. Chipiez. Chapman & Hall, Ltd., 1883. P. 275.

great variety of human types and expressions, suggests that some of the paintings may be portraits.

In the lower register the black man, part of whose figure has scaled off, has some characteristics in common with the god Ptah, the patron of artists and of all workers in stone and metal. Like the god, he has a pair of horns; he wears a fillet with a streamer flying behind and he carries a bunch of twigs or a whisk in his hand. What is remarkable in this case is that three separate profiles, all with open mouths, seem to have been painted at three different levels.

We still have no clue as to the identity of the skeleton figure behind the Lady. If the Lady is Isis, he may represent Osiris, her husband, whose skeleton played such an important part in the second Mystery of Egypt.

The youth preceding the Lady carries a child's bow in his hand. The men of Horus (the child of Isis and Osiris) carried bows, and his "spirits" were cranes and storks. In the top register there is both a crane and a stork (of an earlier age).

The study of this painting in the Maack shelter makes it clear that no one country alone influenced and inspired it, and that more than one race is represented in the procession. Certainly no primitive, uncultured people would depict such ceremonies or give such a central position to a woman. Although many figures carry bows, this is no representation of an expedition for the pursuit of game, of which there are so many examples in Bushman art, on some remains of which this remarkable procession is superimposed.

The very fact that a considerable distance separates this painted rock from the other nineteen painted rocks in the vicinity suggests a reason for its remoteness. Several features of the painting reproduce so precisely the details mentioned as forming part of the ceremonial in the religious procession of the second Mystery of Egypt, the resurrection myth of Isis, Osiris and Horus, that it may reasonably be regarded as a sacred painting—the work of an initiate, who was also a great artist. If this is the case, the artist must have known that, in painting such a picture outside sacred precincts, he risked the death penalty imposed on all initiates who revealed a Mystery.

In the chapters on the superimposition of paintings in this rock shelter (Chaps. VII and VIII), we have shown how many generations of artists left traces of their work and of their ideas before an unknown genius painted this scene of Beauty spurred on by Death, with Evil hurrying before, to delight and mystify modern eyes.



IV

DATE AND RACE

IN an effort to date this art, research has lately been undertaken on the carbon content of charcoal collected in certain painted rock shelters of Southern Africa. The resulting evidence has dealt a blow to all those who, against all evidence to the contrary, have maintained that these paintings were only a few hundred years old.

In the *South African Archaeological Bulletin*¹ of December 1953, Dr. R. Dart published the results of an examination of charcoal from the painted rock shelter of Solwezi, on the Chifubwa stream in Northern Rhodesia.

Dr. Dart has described this site to me as a cliff 26 feet long and 10 feet high, painted with stylised human figures, hooded and square shouldered, somewhat Egyptian in appearance, which have been sculptured and then painted over with ochre. The higher part has been almost obliterated by lichen, but the lower half has been protected by a layer of sterile redeposited Kalahari sand. Mr. Desmond Clark,² director of the Museum of Livingstone, has found under this sand an 18-inch layer of Nachikufu I (Late Stone Age) in which, together with pieces of ochreous pigment, there were many chipped Smithfield implements, many bored "bolas" (like those that are still used for giving weight to digging sticks), and polished axes. A great deal of charcoal was found there; samples examined by Dr. W. F. Libby in Chicago give the age as 6,300 years, with a latitude of approximately 250 years either way. In Dr. Dart's own words: "The Solwezi site was occupied (or being deserted) somewhere between 4600 and 4100 B.C., about the time that the Solar Calendar was discovered in Egypt and the Sumerians were becoming organised in Mesopotamia."

A further important test has since been made of material collected by Dr. Martin of the Geological Survey,

¹ "Rhodesian Engravers, Painters and Pigment Miners of the Fifth Millennium B.C." Dr. Raymond A. Dart, *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, December 1953. Pp. 91-96.

² "Nachikufu Culture of Northern Rhodesia." J. Desmond Clark. *Ibid*, 1950. Pp. 86-98. Mr. Desmond Clark has told me that he could not give the same interpretation to the figures as Dr. Dart. As I have not seen them, I cannot give a personal opinion.

Windhoek, South-West Africa in the Philipp cave, Ameib, in the south-east of the Erongo range.

I had noticed the great quantity of charcoal enclosed in tufa on the left-hand side of this large rock shelter; and, as a result, Dr. Martin went there and made an excavation which allowed him to study three separate levels. I am indebted to him for the following particulars of the site.

"The cave filling studied was deposited in three levels:

1. The lower level, which contained insufficient charcoal to make a study of that material.
2. A thicker middle level—a calcareous tufa formation, which coated a great deal of charcoal as well as the stone tools. This charcoal was exceptionally well preserved and was examined by Dr. Libby. No spring or water infiltration exists in this level to-day.
3. An upper level of dusty ash, too disturbed for serious study."

All the tools found in Dr. Martin's three levels belong to the Smithfield type of the local Late Stone Age. Although the horizontal granite surface forming the threshold of the cave is strewn with stone tools apparently all of Middle Stone Age, it is curious that these were not found in the section opened up. This is probably due to the very acute slant of the cave floor; all the material on the floor must have moved forwards before the Late Stone Age.

The results of Dr. Libby's analysis of the charcoal from the middle level examination, which were received just as this book was going to press, revealed an age (with a margin of 200 years either way) of 3,300 years, which is equivalent to 1300 B.C. Obviously this date does not refer to the oldest paintings (the white elephants and the giraffe with red heads), nor to the most recent ones (black drawings of small Bushmen), but to the mass of painted figures in this cave, including springbok, a badly-drawn elephant and an ostrich, a great many "foreigners," two of them very tall, and ranks of soldiers wearing helmets and armed with triple-curve bows. Although painted in a stiffer style than the figures in the White Lady procession, they are sufficiently like them to



belong to approximately the same period. In my opinion the White Lady and her companions are painted in a much better style and are slightly older. They may, therefore, be contemporary with Rameses II and Moses.

If it is borne in mind that the White Lady procession is the eleventh layer of painting in her cave (elsewhere somewhat similar figures are covered by a number of later paintings), it is clear that the oldest phases of this art may be of a far earlier date.

Attention must be drawn to the great number of these painted rocks in South-West Africa. There are so many that, although I had copied sixty rocks in 1947 and 1948, I decided to return in 1950. In that year I copied about another ninety rocks; so that, in the course of three expeditions which lasted six months in all, I studied and traced 150 painted rocks. I realise that there is still a great deal of work to be done, and Dr. Scherz and Mr. Strey have already taken up this task.

As regards race, we found a number of typical Europeans, mostly Semitic, depicted in the paintings. They wear fewer ornaments than the Brandberg figures. In many cases they wear helmets and carry weapons, such as bows of a type which is not to be found in Southern Africa, except on the shores of Lake Nyassa, in Northern Rhodesia. The most characteristic of these weapons is the triple-curve bow and the straight bow with its ends upturned, or in a C-shape. Occasionally a lance (not a javelin) is shown, but there are no quivers or shields. Waterskins of various shapes (in many cases the skins of small animals) are often depicted. This proves that water was already scarce.

Military scenes, showing either a return from some expedition or prisoners surrounded by armed guards, are frequent. In two instances the prisoners are smaller than their guards and of a different colour. One of these scenes shows local dark-skinned women, some of whom are pregnant. All of them carry long walking-sticks as if they were on a journey and look weary. One painting portrays an attack by a column of "foreigners" armed with the triple-curve bow and accompanied by women and children. These "foreigners" are attacking a Bushman rock shelter, and the Bushmen, taken by surprise, are surrendering unconditionally. To the left of the scene the men are shown lying on the ground with wrists and ankles bound; the women seem to have been added to the breeding stock of their assailants.

Other paintings show family scenes, some of them naively intimate. Files of porters carrying corded packages on their heads are depicted in two paintings; they obviously had to travel far across waterless regions, for each carried a swollen water-bag made of the skin of a small animal.

There are also scenes of burial, adoration and the evocation of spirits; but, inasmuch as masks are seldom worn by the participants, they differ from similar scenes in Bushmen paintings.

The drawing of the human figures is more static than it is in Bushman art, and so much attention is paid to form that the style might almost be described as academic. The perfection of some of the animal paintings, however, makes them far superior to Bushman animal paintings in the same region. This very remarkable art was preceded, accompanied and followed by other simpler styles of painting which I think to be Bushman in origin.

It would appear that the new arrivals were not always at war with the Bushmen, for, in the Tiara cave (Brandberg), a painting shows a Bushman accompanying a "foreigner," who is a Semitic type. In the Bushman's Paradise (Gross Spitzkopje) another, with a pale face, is visiting the Bushmen. In this painting the Bushmen seem to be dependants, for they are saluting the "foreigner" with great respect, whilst one of their women presents her child to him. The invaders and the original inhabitants of the country were therefore apparently now living in peace together.

Other large paintings, far older than all the small frescoes, once existed, but traces of them are rarely found. In the Jochmann shelter (Brandberg) there are some enormous buffaloes drawn in brown; in the Philipp cave there are large white elephants and giraffe; a painting of a big man with a large stomach drawn in thin lines was discovered almost by chance on the Big Beacon (Ameib). These paintings do not belong to any one epoch, but all of them are older than the other paintings.

If we try to trace the final period of this beautiful art, we find that, at a certain moment, it gives place to an inferior one, which often consists of mere black-line drawings of groups of many small human figures. Apart from a painting in a lateral valley of the Brandberg of a bichromatic red and white sheep, and other later monochrome paintings of sheep with the characteristic fat tail of the Hottentot breed, there are only a few late pictures of oxen (?), which I assume are domesticated, although there is no herdsman with them. It would appear, therefore, that the fine artists packed up and left one day in little groups within a military organisation, as they had come; evidently they had not been part of a mass invasion. The analogy between the polychrome animals of South-West Africa and those in the evolved (though not final) stage of rock painting in South-East Africa leads one to suppose that the South-West African tribes, the creators of the beautiful frescoes of that region, emigrated one day to the South-East. If they painted as they travelled, these paintings cannot have been preserved, owing to the absence of rock shelters and to the basaltic character of



the rocks. It might be submitted, however, that extremely delicate engravings, such as those in the Magaliesberg, could not have been properly seen unless they were painted, and that therefore their engraved lines may be considered as merely the preparation for a painting.

The academic perfection of certain drawings of human figures at Leribe (Basutoland) is in violent contrast to other drawings there of hideous little Bushman figures whose projecting stomachs suggest a prolonged diet of grasshoppers. This may imply that the fine art of the South-West continued, but gradually degenerated. From the paintings, it would seem that the higher human type was gradually eliminated by too much crossing with coloured races (as occurred in Ethiopia), so that the white elements, which were already mixed before they arrived in Southern Africa, gradually disappeared.

I have attempted to trace in time these painters of South-West Africa, and I shall now try to define their frontiers and regional expansion. Since 1947 I have endeavoured to establish their southern limit by a study of twenty rather unremarkable painted rocks in the Naukluft Dolomites, 250 kilometres to the south of Windhoek, which were shown to me by Mr. Strey, who owned a farm in the neighbourhood. Amongst them only the older ones, which are limited in number, recalled the art of the Brandberg. In 1950 I continued my search northwards into the Kaokoveld, a desert region covered with bushes, as far as the Unguati river, a tributary of the Ugab. Here the art had been rapidly modified and its character changed. It was evidently outside the range of the Brandberg influence, in spite of the fact that a few different foreign elements are shown. Without any doubt, this region was beyond the chief zone of "Great Art."

In the same year I decided to continue this study farther south to the edge of the southern Kalahari Desert, including several sites of which Dr. Scherz had spoken to me. On the other side of the Kalahari, I visited the vast cave of Wonderwerk near Kuruman (Bechuanaland), which has been excavated by Dr. B. Malan of the Archaeological Survey, Johannesburg.

The results of my research there were highly significant. None of the shelters contained any paintings which showed the slightest connection or contact with those of the Brandberg, 500-600 kilometres away. The zone of paintings which show the characteristic style of the Brandberg is, therefore, rather limited even in South-West Africa; it appears not to extend beyond a distance of 150 kilometres to the north, south and east of the Brandberg. On the other hand the paintings of this zone show certain similarities to a third group in Southern Rhodesia. Our second volume will be devoted to a study of this group.

Apart from the sea route, which was unlikely to have been used for South-West Africa, there is another route from the Upper Nile with trails to the west of the Great Lakes, between them and the Virgin Forest, to be considered. I have already stated that there was a very old commercial route there, and some recollection of it has survived amongst local peoples between Uganda and the upper region of Southern Rhodesia. I am inclined to consider this route as the most likely one to have been used by both immigrant strains to Northern Rhodesia—the "foreigners," who were neither hunters nor warriors, and their "cousins," the invaders of South-West Africa, who were hunters and warriors. The Nilotic character of many of their features and accoutrements corroborates this view. I here use the term "Nilotic" not as implying either an exclusively Egyptian or an exclusively Cretan origin, but as signifying, by many similarities, a relationship both with Egypt and Crete. That relationship may be due as much to a remote, possibly Libyan, origin common to both as to later influences. The Egyptians probably owe their naturalistic animal art to a prehistoric Libyan origin.

With what period in Egyptian history are these migrations, no doubt carried out by little groups, contemporary? It is difficult to judge. The total absence of domestic animals in this art may equally well be explained by the destruction of flocks and herds during these migrations, as by the possibility of the migrations taking place before the possession of such a form of wealth. The art which the immigrants brought with them is closely linked to the Libyan and south-east Saharan frescoes. Their paintings portray human types markedly superior to the local African peoples, but show the same liking for scenes of everyday life as, for example, those at Tassili-n-Agger (Sahara).

I therefore feel justified in regarding those new characteristics, which both immigrant strains added to the artistic resources of the earlier stock of Libyan origin which they found already in Southern Africa, as contemporary with similar characteristics found in older Egyptian art. The most conservative would date back the establishment of that stock to an earlier date than 1500 B.C.; but it may go back as far as 3000 B.C.—perhaps even to the last pluvial age, dated by Professor Husayyin about 7000 B.C. This stock was a southern branch severed from the Libyan trunk, perhaps at the same epoch as was the Egyptian branch, before the Sahara dried up.

Whatever the exact date, I believe it can confidently be inferred from these paintings that, long before the arrival of the Bantus two or three centuries ago, the new elements entered from the north and by continuous interbreeding on their journey and subsequently in the country of their choice, ultimately blended with the mass of indigenous races in Southern Africa.



V

TECHNICAL OBSERVATIONS

I. MY METHOD OF COPYING ROCK-PAINTINGS

I HAVE often been asked what procedure I follow when copying rock-paintings, so a brief description of my method may be helpful.

My first step is to study the painting to see exactly what it portrays. In principle, this should be done in the shade, because in sunlight the reflection from the rock is dazzling and the varying gradations of colour make a far less sensitive impression both on the human eye and on a photographic plate. Should there be no shadow, it must be contrived, either by the use of a parasol or by stretching canvas or a sheet, to shade not only that part of the rock which is being copied, but also the paper and the worker.

If the light falls from one side only on to the rock to be studied, even if it is very diffused, it will be found that every minute grain of the rock produces a spot of shadow which hampers the study of each figure. This side-lighting must therefore be neutralised by placing a screen between the painting and the sun, or by lighting the rock from the opposite side by means of a white cardboard reflector.

In Africa the water-colour copies had to be made with the materials available in Johannesburg immediately after the last war, when imports were considerably restricted, and I had to use strong paper which was probably not specially adapted to take water-colour. It was of a yellowish shade, not very different from the colour of the oxidised rock-surfaces on which many paintings were made. I did not trouble to copy the variations of tint on these surfaces, or the stains, which had neither artistic nor scientific value, as this would have involved a very long stay on the site. Sometimes the paper I used was resistant to the absorption of water-colour; white paint particularly was very irregularly absorbed and adhered badly, so that I was obliged to repaint it many times. The white in the paintings is usually less pure than the white in my copies and often passes into cream-white or greyish shades with a hint of blue. If a chemical analysis were made (a task which I did not attempt but left to local experts), it would

be found that the white paint is not homogeneous for, while it is often the first colour to disappear, in some cases it is the only one to remain. As I have said, it usually vanishes temporarily when wet, but it occasionally shows no change at all when damped. In any case, I did not take samples, as I considered that, too, to be the business of local experts.

Certain faded paintings are visible in very dim light only and do not show up well except in twilight. Usually it is necessary to damp the paintings in order to judge their true colours, as the shades vary according to whether they are wet, dry or half-dry. White, as a rule, though not invariably, becomes invisible when damp, and only reappears when the rock surface is completely dry. The exceptions to this rule are due to the variety of materials from which the white paint is made.

The copies should obviously show each colour at its best, and, to attain this, the paintings have to be examined many times to verify the original colours. It is sometimes difficult to estimate to what extent the colours have faded or altered. I believe that ochres, for example, follow a definite range of tints as they fade: bright red passes to orange-yellow and brown-red to brownish-yellow or bistre, so that many paintings now light in colour must once have shown much warmer and stronger tones.

In my descriptions of the paintings I have decided to use the term red to describe all the various gradations of the colour found, for example, vermilion, bright red, red, orange-red, red-brown, red-brown (purplish), brown-red, etc., because, in the first place, as I have already pointed out, colours vary appreciably according to whether they are wet, dry or half-dry and, secondly, because the coloured plates, which are careful reproductions of my original copies, clearly show the different shades of red.

The first step is the actual copying. Unless the paintings are inaccessible, I start by making a direct trac-



ing. For this purpose I use a sheet of more or less transparent paper, but not cellophane, because an ordinary pencil makes no mark on it, and special pencils, not easy to find in Africa when I was there, are needed. A fountain pen is also unsuitable. In addition, cellophane cracks in great heat and soon perishes. I prefer sulphurated paper, because it is very strong, is not affected by damp or dryness and remains intact almost indefinitely.

The first step is to hold the paper firmly on the surface to be traced; it must never be allowed to slip sideways, so the help of someone trained for this work is needed, and sometimes two people are required (fig. d). When it is necessary to release the paper, which is often, because arms become tired and sheets of paper are quickly covered, the person making the tracing raises the unheld edge of the paper for a moment and marks the place in the line he is drawing with a finger of his left hand; then the sheet is replaced, or a fresh one is put in position, and the work continues. The paper must never be released by the assistant without warning.

It frequently happens that a sheet of paper is not large enough to cover the whole of a panel which should be copied as a single plate; so, when the tracing of the first sheet is completed, a second one is placed, slightly overlapping the edge of the first, and both sheets are marked to show where they should meet. This system is followed until the whole painting has been copied. While the tracing is being made, the rock must be kept damp.

At the top of each sheet on which I am tracing, I put the letter "H" (*baut*). This identification is essential, as it enables the sheet to be quickly and correctly placed, when I begin to make the fair copy. The lines of the first tracing are so faint that they are scarcely visible; therefore, if this precaution and the marking of the overlapping sheets are neglected, it is not easy to put the complete tracing into position. I also extend the horizontal line of the letter "H" to show the true horizontal of the panel copied, irrespective of the angle at which the sheet of paper was held against the painted rock face.

When the tracing is finished, the second step is to redraw each figure by eye, emphasising the essential lines and showing every detail. As each one is thus drawn, bit by bit, its peculiarities—colour, state of preservation, super-impositions and variety of tint—are noted on the sheet by means of certain code initials. Should it be necessary to bring scattered figures nearer to each other, a note must also be made of the actual distance between them on the rock face.

As a general rule, it is not practical to paint on thick

paper at the site itself; the tracings made there must be retraced by means of a carbon sheet on the paper chosen for the final copy and the colour then applied. In my studio this work usually takes two or three times as long to do as the tracing on the site. I spent ten days tracing the figures in the White Lady shelter¹ for instance, whereas I should have had to stay in the Brandberg a month at least in order to make a coloured copy on the site. In 1948 I spent two months tracing approximately sixty rocks in this neighbourhood, whereas I should have been obliged to camp six months amongst these rocks, had I completed my copies there. As for the ninety rocks copied in 1950, a stay of ten months in the South-West African deserts would have been needed to complete the work on the spot and, in addition to the serious difficulties which we should have encountered due to seasonal variations of climate, such a prolongation of our expeditions would have involved excessive expense.

In the composition of the plates several figures have sometimes been brought closer together, but I have kept their position in relation to other figures as unchanged as the size of the paper permitted; although I have also sometimes grouped together figures which were isolated on the rock face, I have always carefully noted in the text such changes in position.

When I was tracing the painted figures in the White Lady shelter, I was careful not to interrupt the contour-lines except where intense scaling of the rock had destroyed them; but, if the scaling was so slight that there could be no doubt of the continuity of the line on the painted surface, I ignored the defect. Where scaling in the body of the figures did not affect their contour, I did not reproduce it, unless, by its extent or position, it seemed likely that interesting details had been lost. In the White Lady shelter scaling is seen on the left arm of the figure (the fifth to the right in the Procession) who is dancing backwards, on the lower part of the body and one thigh of the black devil, and at the top of the White Lady's left arm.

WHITE PAINTINGS

As I have already mentioned, white usually vanishes completely when the paintings are damped, and reappears gradually as the rock dries. Other colours, on the contrary, are at their most brilliant when wet. It is impossible to see the maximum values of both white and coloured paintings at the same time; therefore, before beginning his work, the copyist must study the paintings at several successive stages from wet to dry. If, however, the parts painted in white are very faded by reason of age, or the variability of that particular colour, they may pass

¹ The terms "White Lady shelter" and "Maack shelter" are both used to refer to the same place.



unnoticed. In many cases they have vanished completely, for white is usually the first colour to fade. Certain white paintings are only occasionally visible. When copying the hair of certain figures at Dandabari (Southern Rhodesia), for example, both Walter Battiss and a pupil of Frobenius put white streaks in the russet hair, whereas, when I copied the same figures in 1948, I could not see these streaks. Since others had copied them, however, I took advantage of my return there in 1950 to verify their existence; but I was still unable to see them, whether the

painting was wet, dry or half-dry. Nevertheless I did not dispute their existence, but concluded that they were not visible in every season of the year. I know of a similar instance at Albarracin, Teruel, in Spain, where a certain white bull, which I saw clearly and copied in early May, is usually invisible. On the other hand, in a neighbouring site, I missed various white painted animals, which were discovered later by Professor Almagro. Such peculiarities can only be observed when one is able to remain in a locality for an extended period.

II. PHOTOGRAPHY

I am most grateful to Dr. and Mrs. Scherz for the photographs which have been reproduced in this volume.¹ As far as possible we have tried to include one photograph for each plate.² Dr. Scherz had to contend with many problems. Most of the paintings are located on rather overhanging rocks, so that photographs have to be taken at a more or less oblique angle, which distorts the values of the upper and lower parts of the figures. The position of the figures with regard to the lighting must also be considered; even in shadow their visibility is much reduced if the lighting is lateral.

In 1948 (a year after my copies had been made) Dr. Scherz used a very small ultra-violet lamp to photograph some of the figures in the White Lady shelter. The prints generally showed a marked exaggeration of those parts painted white and a reduction of the value of the reds. They also showed that the modelling of one figure was

less stiff and more artistic than I had supposed; this was the figure which we called the Captain of Archers, on whose European profile a negro profile had been superimposed in white paint at a later date.

Generally speaking, the margin of error in my copies is likely to be very small, as they are traced directly on the rock face (figs. d to f). In view of the long years of training in this process which my assistant, Miss Boyle, and I have undergone, I feel that the copies record the proportions and contours of rock paintings more exactly than photographs. This is also true of my copies of European cave-paintings.

On account of the generally small size of the figures in these rock paintings, there was no need (as there is elsewhere) to correct the silhouettes traced directly on the rock in order to establish the aspect of a figure engraved by the artist on an undulating surface. I had to do this at a few sites in France—at Font-de-Gaume, for example, where the hindlegs of the large reindeer snuffing at his mate ripple across the deep folds of the rock surface. A similar peculiarity is noticeable in the painting of the “chignons” and humps of certain bison at the same site. In these instances it was evidently preferable to copy the figure as seen by the eye rather than to develop a tracing made on the irregular surface. Such conditions are not usual in Africa.

¹ Fig. c is reproduced by the courtesy of Col. Le Rumeur. The text accompanying this plate is from the “Profile” of the Abbé in the *Observer* and is reproduced by the publishers with the permission of the proprietors of the *Observer*.

² For convenience of reference, the same numbers have been used for both plates and photographs—roman numerals for the coloured plates and arabic for the photographs. (As no photograph of the drawing reproduced on Plate IX is available, no “Fig. 9” is included.)



VI

THE MAACK SHELTER: DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES

PLATE I. MUSICIANS HERALDING THE ONCOMING PROCESSION

This panel on the extreme left of the shelter has but little protection from the overhanging rock and is therefore rather faded. I have slightly advanced the gemsbok in the left lower corner; it was close to some extremely faded gemsbok, which I have not copied.

The oldest figures on this painting are three small black figures, one of them partly hidden by an antelope, whose white parts have vanished. The sharp, hooked angle of the horn suggests that this might be a hartebeest. Further to the left there is a similar buck, which still shows some white on a hindleg. Below, there is another more bulky, faded antelope, perhaps a gemsbok.

The main human figures (which are certainly connected with the main group centred round the White Lady) are two musicians facing to the right and playing on musical bows as if welcoming the oncoming procession. The one on the left is playing on a large white bow¹ with a red² cord. He wears a red head-dress with an upstanding brush in front, and red material swathes his neck under the chin. The rest of his clothing consists of red knee-bands and a girdle with several red tassels. His legs are visible as far as the ankles, but his feet are missing.

The second musician is much faded, but one arm-band with four rows of beads, and another with two rows, can be distinguished. A bead circle near the wrist and an elaborate red hat with what appear to be black feathers jutting out from the brim—four on one side and five on the other—are also clearly visible. Red knee-bands also can be seen, but only the lower part of one leg and its foot have been preserved.

PLATES II and III. THE FIRST SIX HUMAN FIGURES HEADING THE PROCESSION

These plates are a continuation of Plate I (to its right). The panel contains six large human figures leading the procession. Before studying these figures, the earlier paintings, which are quite unrelated to the procession, should be examined. First there is a large black figure of a man running to the left. This figure of the first series³ is painted in very poor style and is more faded than it appears to be in my copy. The right leg of the woman leading the procession and a very small pale-red man are superimposed on this figure. The small man is very rudimentary in style and belongs to the third series.

The lower part of the plates shows the red hair of three figures of the latest series, which have been almost completely obliterated by climatic changes, for the action of sun, wind and rain is very

¹ This type of bow with the string fastened down in the middle can still be seen in South Africa, where, however, there are many other varieties of musical bows. The bow of the second musician, which is far more faded, is of a different shape. Both musicians play their bows with a rod.

² *Vide* Chapter V, para. 7, for use of the term "red."

³ "First series" means that it belongs to the oldest level of paintings in the shelter. *Vide* Chapter VII.

evident on the lower left part of this rock. Two of these figures may have been musicians, since one is facing to the right like the better preserved figures on the previous plate. To judge from the symmetrical arrangement of the hair, the third figure was probably painted full face.

Low on the right (Plate III) a very faded gemsbok and an armlet or leg-band ornamented with two rows of beads are visible.

A few figures, much destroyed, are to be seen under the procession.

The leader of the procession is a clearly steatopygous woman with a string hanging behind her buttocks. Her hair is straight and she wears a plumed hat. The only part of the face which is well preserved is dark and looks native, but it may have been repainted. In her hand she carries a little wand with a split top. On her left arm, wrists, breast, waist and buttocks, there are rows of beads; she wears knee-bands and anklets and her feet are shod with red and white slippers. A red leaf-shaped object with white cross-bars is stuck into the left arm-band and may have been used for wiping perspiration from the brow.

The second figure⁴ has shoulder-length red hair cut with a straight fringe. The white face shows secondary retouches and the details are not very clear. No sex is shown. The clothing consists of a short reddish coat, and the only ornaments shown are red knee- and ankle-bands. The feet have faded. All visible parts of the body and the three limbs are white.

This painting is superimposed on the right leg of the figure behind it, which has orange-yellow thighs. This colour is repeated on the left arm and neck. The right arm is black, the breast is yellowish, and the other parts of the trunk and buttocks are filled in with white and partly outlined in red or black. A plain red belt is worn. There are no arm-bands and the bands on the legs have faded, except for the beaded one on the left leg. The feet are shod. A curved object is held in the right hand, and the left hand held behind the back carries a bow, two arrows and a black object like a broad, incurved knife with its point directed downwards. The strangest feature of this figure is the mask surmounted by two oryx horns and an enormous ear. The mask covers the head and neck and rests on the shoulders; it resembles the head of a giraffe with the teeth of a crocodile. The teeth are painted in white. The sex is male and, like that of many of the other male figures, is infibulated. A big phallus in erection is line-drawn on the belly.

The next figure (Plate III) is only half the size of the preceding one; it is walking briskly in the same direction. Either the head is covered by a red helmet of "Roman" type, or the hair is cut in this shape. The face is white and looks European. Those parts of the trunk and thighs not covered by the garment are white. This garment seems to be a tight-fitting red jacket, cut away below the breast-band and covering the salient part of the buttocks. Red gaiters or stockings cover the legs from knees to feet (unless this is

⁴ When making a clean copy of my original tracing in my studio I realised that I had not left sufficient space between the arm of the second person and the leg of the woman leading the file. These should not touch.



a conventional treatment of flesh), and the shoes are white. The only object carried by this figure is a small, forked stick similar to the two arrows carried by the masked figure.

The fifth figure is shown walking in the same direction. He is a very attractive youth painted almost entirely in red. The reddish hair has a "page" cut. The face is a lighter shade and the eye and eyebrow are well drawn with a fine black line. The profile, which is outlined by a thin white line (probably a later addition), shows a comparatively short nose (juvenile?) and looks European. This figure wears many ornaments; on his breast, waist, arm, wrist and knee-bands there are several rows of beads and there are also rolls at the ankles (rolled-up trousers or booties). In his right hand, on which is an archer's gauntlet, he holds two leaf-shaped, black-painted objects by their "stems" or tangs. (These are perhaps castanets.) In his left hand he holds two bows behind his back; the wood is painted white and the string red, like all the others painted at this site. He also holds two white arrows with red points and forked bases. Various objects protrude behind the shoulder, namely, two red spatulas edged with white tufts (the one on the left thrust in the arm-band), which were perhaps used to wipe off perspiration, and a lance-headed object.

The sixth figure is facing to the right and is rather faded. He would appear to be a musician, for he is blowing a long straight tube ending in a round bulb and bent at the top to form a broad mouthpiece. He wears a hat with a speckled wing at each side. In his right hand he holds two long leaf-shaped objects¹ (like those held by the preceding figure), one ending in two prongs. Sticking out of his left arm-band is a spatula-shaped object edged with white tufts, similar to those carried by two of the preceding figures. There are many beads on the breast-band (which a little scaling of the rock has left incomplete) and on parts of the leg and arm-bands. A curious scarf with a fringe hangs down below the right armpit. The hair is reddish, the arms and upper part of the body black, and the lower part and legs light reddish, rather pink. (It is possible that this figure is a woman.)

PLATE IV. THE HORNED DEVIL

The position of the figures on this plate is between the figures at the head of the cortège (Plates I-III) and the central figures (Plate V).

Remains of earlier paintings unrelated to the chief procession are to be seen at the top of this plate. For example, two (or three?) small red figures underlie the legs of a strange semi-human buck.

The very faded, but still recognisable, white zebra, partly striped with thin red lines, belongs to the polychrome series; but it is older than the masked and horned man at the foot of this plate, who is the principal figure. This zebra is similar to two others in the Brandberg—one in the "Ostrich Cave," and another in the "Girls' School." A very faded red-haired figure to the right of the zebra seems to be mopping his face with one of the spatulate objects, which are seen thrust into the arm-bands of the most important figures of the procession. One of these objects is also shown in his left arm-band. Behind his back he holds a bow and a bundle of arrows. The faded condition of this figure is evidence of the great length of time during which this procession was painted and repainted; for it is clear that no restoration of this figure was ever attempted. His colour is brown-red and he has richly beaded hair and bands at knees, ankles and waist. His feet have completely faded.

Close to the upper frieze of gemsbok there is a sable or roan antelope (or only its hide, for the hindlegs are entirely human). The forelegs look woolly and may be those of a carnivore. Like similar figures on Plates V and VI, this figure is probably a ghostly or semi-

¹ There is another leaf-shaped object, also black, superimposed on a gemsbok lower down. It resembles the Cypriot dagger. A similar object was known in Lower Egypt in the Bronze Age. Some people have suggested to me that it might be a rattle.

ghostly being. There are very few figures in South-West Africa or elsewhere to compare with these, except the two in the Eastern Cape Province which were shown by Walter Battiss (Plate X, pp. 160-1) in his *Artists of the Rocks*. Both these figures are at Cloebert (owner P. G. Nel), in the Upper Karmeelspruit in the Lady Grey district (Cape Province).

The dark-brown, masked and horned devil is the most important figure on this plate. At the side of my first copy I painted a new version of his head, for my tracing made in 1947 did not satisfy me. I wrote to Dr. Scherz asking for an enlargement of the good photograph taken at that time, and from this enlargement and my tracing I drew this first approximate version of the head. In 1948, when I returned for the second time to the White Lady shelter, I made a new tracing as carefully as I could, and I give this in the lower left-hand corner of the plate. It is apparent that on the lower part of the face a new white native mask has been superimposed on the original European-like face.

This figure is running forward, for his body is set at an acute angle. A white lunular band edged with elaborate white beading crosses the chest. The red leg-bands are not beaded and the feet are badly faded. In his right hand he carries a switch with eleven strands, and in his left hand are two implements edged with white tufts similar to those carried by other figures in the cortège. In his left arm-band two such implements are inserted, and there is one in his right arm-band. From his left hand hangs a long double rod, which is possibly another version of the leaf-shaped objects previously mentioned, which may be castanets or clappers. The head shows signs of various alterations. On it there are two curved horns, and a red fillet is tied at the back of the head possibly to hold the horns in place. He has a tail and the sex is infibulated.

To the left of this horned figure there is a pink and white leaping gemsbok, which forms part of a lower frieze of gemsbok.

PLATE V. THE WHITE LADY, HER PAGES AND THE SKELETON-MAN

This double plate joins Plate IV on the left and shows the central and most important figures in the whole composition. Here in the centre of the painting is the White Lady, whose mystery and charm drew us across the world to her feet. On this plate there are also remains of older paintings, which have no connection with the more recent ones. These are as follows:

On the left, at the extreme edge, some remains of black painting; below the right foot of the White Lady a palmette of a faded orange colour; four very small, light-red buck, three in single file to the left of the White Lady and one nearer the chest of the oryx with human hindlegs. A bow and something like a hand with four fingers on a vertical arm are visible between the legs of the White Lady, and there is a small, black male figure alongside the lower part of her left leg.

Behind the left hindleg of the "Oryx Ghost" there is a vague patch of pale red and, below the right hindleg, a small brownish-red archer. There are also other fragments here and there. For the most part, these have been destroyed by natural causes or by the artists themselves before they executed the existing figures. They are as follows:

A band ornamented with two rows of white beads between the first figure and the White Lady; a similar band near the right arm of the White Lady and, beneath it, a basket and a little stick at the level of her girdle. Two shoes of the type worn by most of the figures in the procession lie to the left and below the advancing foot of the Lady. To the right, near the foot of the Skeleton-man behind the Lady, there remains only the reddish hair of a figure which has disappeared.

The White Lady wears a white-beaded crimson head-dress, which ends at the back of the neck in three scallops with an edging of white beads. Her body is covered to the waist by a short-sleeved, brown-



red jerkin, streaked slantwise with brighter red bars and beaded in three rows across the chest and on the edge of the sleeves. Her shoulders are outlined with a heavy white line, as is one side of each arm. A broad white fold of cloth is seen under the chin. Her red belt, an inch wide, is ornamented with four rows of white beads. Five white arrow tips are thrust into the right arm-band. On her left hand she wears an archer's gauntlet of as bright a red as her hair and on this are five rows of white beads. A white bow with a red cord and three white arrows, part of their shafts painted red, are held in her left hand; one longer arrow is "at the ready." When comparing the length of the arrow "at the ready" with the three in reserve, which are much shorter, I came to the conclusion that a poisoned tip had probably been added to it, whereas such points had not yet been added to the other three, although they were held ready in her right arm-band. A reason for the bow's absurd position behind the thigh is put forward later. A small piece of paint has scaled off her left arm-pit.

Her legs are clad in what appear to be flesh-pink tights, which are also striped slantwise with thin red lines. A light red girdle decorated with a row of white beads, which branches out into two lines towards the back, is worn round her hips. Strappings of light red edge the trunks at the top of her thighs. The red knee-bands are broader than those worn by the other figures and are trimmed with four rows of white beads. Below the knee she wears leggings which end in a roll at the ankle. These leggings are flesh-pink striped with red. Her feet are shod in white moccasins edged with red.

In her right hand she carries what looks like a cup-shaped flower. It has been suggested that this is an ostrich egg-shell cup, but the curved reddish stalk by which it is held seems rather to indicate a flower. No flower of such a type exists nowadays in South-West Africa.

A flower bud (?) is thrust into her left armet, together with one of the objects already mentioned (strigils), which are used for mopping the brow.

She strides forward with a certain frontal twist to her shoulders and bust, but her legs and head are in profile. Her face is clearly of the best Mediterranean type with a straight nose.

From the top of her head to the tip of her right foot, the White Lady measures 17½ inches (44.5 centimetres).

Miss Boyle has suggested that this woman may be Isis-Diana in the Lesser Mystery of Egypt and her reasons are given in the article mentioned below.¹ Another interpretation was suggested by Field-Marshal Smuts. In this ceremonial procession he was inclined to see the preparation for a human sacrifice, similar to those offered in Southern Rhodesia to invoke rain, which are cited by Frobenius. I myself do not think that a stage has been yet reached when the full meaning of this painting can be interpreted.

Immediately behind the Lady walks a sinister and curious figure. He wears an elaborate head-dress with what appear to be guinea-fowl feathers in front. A cheek-piece passes under the chin and there is a small peak at the back. It bears some resemblance to the hood which Dante wears in his portrait in Florence. The top of his face seems to be masked, or he wears a visor, but the jaw and teeth are painted in white and red. It is probable that the white jaw-bone and the white eye, which looks like the eye-socket of a skull, were added at a later date, when several of the profiles were disfigured by broad white lines.

This figure is very elaborately dressed in a red-brown jerkin with short sleeves, white-beaded near the edges. The right forearm is edged with six black knobs and the left with five. A lunular black gorget covers the base of his neck. A double row of white beads passes under each arm and curves upwards towards the chest. One row then continues at each side down the front of the garment to some little way above the girdle and outlines a darker brown panel, trimming the front, which suggests a spinal column seen through transparent clothing. At the bottom of the dark red-brown jerkin

¹ "The White Lady of Brandberg (S.W.A.)—Her Companions and Her Guards." *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, III (1948), No. 9.

there are two rows of beading, which form a sharp V (unless they mark the lower edge of a shaped girdle). The leggings, of the same shade as the jerkin, are held by beaded bands at the knee and, on one leg, at the calf also. On one ankle a black object protects the heel; on the other foot a similar black object protects the right side of the ankle. The shoes have white edges and red uppers.

Like all the other figures in the procession, this man is striding forward, but almost in a fencing attitude, with both arms extended to their full length, the right hand holding a double-barbed pole with ten or eleven barbs fixed in either side for almost a third of its length. The tip cannot be seen, as this formidable weapon passes behind the body of the Lady, as if to urge her forward. The first part of this pole has a double rippling edge; a red line runs down the centre and the barbs and rippled edges are black. I believe that the little barbs may be sharp stone points. A comparable weapon, a staff edged with sharp, obsidian teeth, was used like a sword by the Mexican army in the time of Cortes. In the Caroline or Admiralty Islands, staves edged with rows of sharks' teeth, and other similar weapons, varying from the size of a knife to that of a lance, were used.

In his left hand this figure holds point downwards two of the puzzling, black, pointed objects (castanets?) which are carried by several of the other figures. In addition he carries two copper and black fans or knobs, or more probably rattles, and a black ball.

The topmost human figure on the left is not a woman. What appears to be a breast is the left hand in a long gauntlet covering the forearm, which is held across the chest. The male sex is clearly shown. This man is painted brown-red with white diagonal lines on thighs and legs, and white slanting lines on the brown upper garment, which ends just above the waist like the jerkins worn by other figures. There are beaded bands at knees and ankles, white-beaded armllets and a beaded girdle with a tail hanging down behind. One of the red and white moccasins is also beaded. His right arm is outstretched, and his double-jointed thumb is bent backwards in a curious manner. His head seems to be protected by a helmet with a tassel attached. A short, fringed scarf hangs from the left arm-band.

This man is dark-skinned, and the Australoid character of the head, especially the deep depression at the root of the nose and the marked projection of the eyebrows arch, suggests the Korana race.

The very dark adolescent below this man shows very strong Egyptian characteristics. His phallus is infibulated and his clothes are markedly Egyptian, with a red, white-beaded breast-band and shoulder-straps.

There is a white line on his face at eyebrow level, another on his cheek and another outlining the back of his head.

A gorget outlined in white covers the base of his neck between the shoulder-straps. Between his lips he holds a flower, and there are two round buds or pompons in his red hair. He wears a lightly-beaded red girdle and knee-bands with three rows of beads. On one leg the beads from knee to ankle are so spaced as to give the impression of a buttoned legging, and on the other leg there is a roll around the ankle. His shoes are red, with a thick red-white sole.

In his right hand he carries a very small red bow with one red-tipped white arrow at the ready. In his left hand he carries two long, pointed, dark rods with button heads.

The fifth important figure on this plate is the gemsbok placed high above the White Lady and the strange figure following her. The hindlegs are human, as are also the buttocks, which look like those of a Bushwoman. Perhaps this is a ghostly spirit, like those on Plates IV and VI.

The most complete figures have been painted and repainted many times over. A clear example of this repainting is seen in the absurd position of the bow carried by the Lady: it is held in her left hand behind her left thigh. The lower part of her body, including her legs, was first painted a strong pink; this was repainted in white later, covering part of the bow's wood and the string. In South-West



African rock paintings I have seen many superimpositions of figures, but I have seen no other site where the figures have been systematically retouched. This is a proof of the great importance attributed to the figures in this shelter by the people of the Brandberg, and possibly by the inhabitants of the whole country.

PLATE VI. THE TWO HARTEBEEST

On the right of Plate V, at a higher level than the White Lady procession, there are two paintings of the same date as the White Lady group. In addition, there are the following which belong to a much earlier period:

(1) Some very faded blackish-brown bands passing behind the shoulder of the lower hartebeest.

(2) A medium-sized white male figure running. This figure is painted in good style. In his left hand he holds a forked branch and in his right hand a stick; there are four bright-red spots on his raised open left hand.

(3) Two small red men running to the left towards three men of a similar type on Plate XI, who have the same flowing hair.

The two large polychrome hartebeest were painted later. The lower one would seem to be older than the other, because of its more faded condition. It is outlined in sepia and filled in with orange-red; the horns are white, the face partly white, and there are some white lines on the body and legs. This figure is very well painted.

The higher hartebeest is red-brown, partly outlined in black. The eye is white, as are the hindlegs, which are human. They have one bright red-beaded knee-band and another brown-red one on one ankle. On the feet are white and red shoes. This hartebeest is of later date than the other and is far stiffer in style. It is of the same type and conception as those on Plates IV and V. Possibly it represents the spirit of a hartebeest.

PLATE VII. THE CAPTAIN OF ARCHERS

Above and to the right of Plate VIII, and extending to the main level of the White Lady procession, there is a large male figure leading the archers. To the right there are many fragments of older paintings which have no connection with the main subject. On the upper right-hand side there are two small pale-red buck, and it is evident that the topmost one once had white legs and a white belly. Above, below and in front of these buck, there are in all four heads of red hair, or wigs, which are perhaps of later date. Two of them are shown above some indefinite and faded figures. The arms, thorax and hips of one of these figures are probably not much older than the principal figures in the procession.

The brown-red footprint of a monkey, or a man, was painted much later than any figure in the shelter, although it is not of recent date.

The large male figure (he is about 48 centimetres high from the top of his head to the sole of his right foot) is very faded, although the outline is still clear. The head has thick, straight red hair falling almost to the shoulder and cut like a page's with a fringe. The painting of the profile is of great interest. Of the original European features, only the forehead and the very long nose remain; a negro profile with a flat nose and with thick, very projecting lips has been painted in white over the original mouth and chin. (In 1948 we noticed a similar repainting on the devil on Plate IV.) I am inclined to think that the right arm (on the left) was repainted at the same time. In his right hand he holds a small stick. This archer wears striped trunks and leggings and plain knee- and arm-bands; one shoe is white and the other is red.

I made my tracing and my painted copy of this very faded figure before Dr. Scherz had taken an ultra-violet ray photograph of the subject. This photograph revealed a more artistic body contour than was visible to the human eye in ordinary light. The poor state of

preservation of this painting makes it impossible to describe the details of his hands and sex.

It may be asked why later painters of the same tradition changed the original racial type of some of these figures. After my visit in 1948 I came to the conclusion that these foreign people had already a mixture of negro blood in their veins when they arrived, as interbreeding had probably taken place during their long migration from the Nile Basin. In South-West Africa this miscegenation continued; the immigrants interbred with the Koranas, Berg-Damaras and Bushmen, so that, in time, the coloured elements may have become more numerous than the originally white "foreigners."

In view of the fact that the rock paintings of people of foreign origin are so numerous and so widely dispersed, it is clear that they must have remained in South-West Africa much longer than was at first supposed.

PLATE VIII. YOUTH AND FINE GEMSBOK

This painting below and to the left of Plate VII is on a somewhat lower level than the axis of the procession. The lower parts show very faded, reddish, indeterminate surfaces. The horrible smoky-black pachyderm is the oldest figure on this panel and it, and the vestiges of small black human figures at a higher level, are of no great interest. On the left is a reddish springbok of later date, but most of its white paint has vanished. The large polychrome figure of an adolescent is superimposed on it. This youth is walking with slightly bent knees and looks tired. The painting is well done, but there has been some repainting in white. The right arm is an addition: in the original drawing only one arm (or probably two tied behind the back) was painted. His face has been thickly outlined in white and its racial type completely changed. It is now dark and African in character. The figure is richly decorated with rows of beads on his arms, ankles, waist, knees and chest. A long spatula-shaped object edged with white beads is attached to his left wrist-band. His red hair is cut like a page's and is also lavishly decorated with beads; a small, spherical object projects above his forehead.

There may once have been a bow behind the youth, for, though the white painting of the wood has faded, the red bow-string is still partially visible.

A large gemsbok superimposed on the blackish monster in the lower-centre of the plate has its head half-turned to the spectator; it is the best-painted gemsbok in this rock shelter.

Amongst the older figures we note a red and white line-drawing of a heavy animal in the lower right-hand corner. The drawing of the belly and part of a hindleg is comparable with that of the rhinoceros of Plate XVII.

PLATE IX. THE PINK DANCERS

This group of figures lies just to the right of the Skeleton-man following the White Lady, and slightly to the left of the Captain of Archers of Plate VII. This plate shows two large ugly human figures: on the right a man, on the left a woman. They are both extremely faded, smoky-black in colour and belong to the older series of paintings of this site. Two small white and black figures, one above and one below the male figure, have no connection with the main procession. The upper figure shows signs of having had the reddish, straight-cut hair added later.

As Miss Boyle has suggested, it is quite possible that the two youths walking to the left, who are painted in deep pink, have also been repainted and that originally they were short-legged little figures, similar to the upper small figure. Both these youths wear tight, yoked garments. The jerkin on the right-hand figure shows an oval yoke on which gleams a necklace of white plaques; the left-hand figure wears a jerkin with a triangular yoke and an oval pendant or brooch of vermilion and black. Both have red, page-cut hair, and two rows of white beads decorate the hair of the youth on the right.



PLATE X. ELAND, CHEETAH AND OTHER FIGURES

These figures belong just below Plate V in the lower part of the main procession. At the bottom of the plate there are five black human figures which belong to one of the earlier phases of painting, and to the right there is a very badly drawn, short-legged, red-brown figure. The white figures were painted at a later date. One of these, the cheetah, shows through the dark-red paint of a polychrome eland, whose legs were never completed. Its chest and neck are blackish. To the right of the eland there is a white and pink human figure with an animal's head or mask, which is older than the eland. Elands are not frequently seen in the rock paintings of South-West Africa, especially in the Brandberg range. I believe this eland to be a late—perhaps the latest naturalistic figure in the White Lady shelter.

The remaining animals belong to the faded lower frieze. There are two white and orange antelopes, that on the right being possibly a gemsbok. The one on the left with black stripes on its head has slightly curved horns and relatively long legs: it may be a roan antelope.

Between these animals and the small black human figures there are three half-faded, brown-red springbok with black details, which are the remains of an earlier file of springbok. They show a striking similarity to others in the Tiara and Ostrich caves, and to those in the Girls' School shelter. This resemblance will be discussed in later volumes dealing with these sites.

PLATE XI. FOUR SMALL RUNNING BUSHMEN AND OTHER FIGURES

This plate forms the continuation of the upper part of Plate XIV. No figure on it bears any relationship to the procession of the White Lady. Some of the paintings shown on this plate are very old. These are:

(1) Smoky-black bands and a large, clearly steatopygous human figure.

(2) The yellow legs of a small, running man, who was repainted when the brown-red figures were first painted.

(3) Three small human figures and two small pale-red buck. One of the buck is foreshortened and was probably painted by the artist who painted Plate XVIII. Some parts of these buck may have been painted white, but these parts have now faded; in any case, white is invisible when the rock is wet.

(4) A small black archer shooting with a large bow. This figure is more recent than the small red buck.

(5) Superimposed on the older yellow legs, there is a brown-red man running. On his head there are hair ornaments or protruding strands of hair.

PLATE XII. LARGE BICHROME GEMSBOK AND SMALL BUSHMEN

This plate shows a well painted polychrome gemsbok moving to the left like the others. It is certainly of later date than the small white Bushman with exaggerated sex, who is immediately above it, and the adjacent fragmentary remains of two others, which consist of two legs in one instance and a head in the other.

Lower down, on the left, three pale-red men are running to the right: they are all very faded. Both the white and the red small figures are of earlier date than the main procession and are quite unrelated to it. It has been moved from its real position in the panorama, Plate A.

PLATE XIII. THE BABOON-MAN, DANCERS AND POLYCHROME ARCHERS

This plate lies to the right of Plate VI and, on one side of it, the scene of the pink dancers of Plate IX is continued.

The paintings are of various dates. For example:

(1) The small sepia man is older than the two figures with very slender joints: he may be a Bushman.

(2) A faded figure in the style of those of the main procession lies below the legs of the second and third dancers. The red-brown head seems to be covered by a helmet, and one leg of the middle dancer crosses it. The chest and one arm are just discernible, but no other part of the figure survives, except one complete white leg with one red knee-band. The sole of the shoe is black. I am unable to interpret the red painting with a big arched handle superimposed on the thigh.

The long oblique red line between the second and third dancers is the string of a bow, of which the white-painted wood has faded. It is not clear whether this bow was carried by the last dancer or by the prostrate figure.

In the lower corner on the left there is a sepia-coloured head of hair—all that is left of another figure.

From their attitudes the three naked red dancers seem to be climbing, since the hand of the second one touches the foot of the first, and the hand of the third one is near the foot of the second. These medium-sized youths are following the procession, and the white human figure with an added baboon snout, who carries a "bull-roarer" in his hand, runs below them. The first youth has one foot on the triangular head of an older, nude brown man. Both his arms are outstretched; one is bent at the elbow, and the thumb and a finger of the upraised hand are held apart. The second youth wears arm-bands and there are signs of one knee-band; but there are no beads or clothing. The third youth wears a girdle, arm-bands and knee-bands. One hand (now faded) must have touched the foot of the preceding youth.

The very curious running figure in the lower left corner was formerly human with a yellowish profile, which can still be seen. It is possible that this figure wore no ornaments originally, and that, like the white man on Plate XV, it was embellished later by the addition of wrist-bands, knee-bands and the brown-red hood on which are affixed five white flowers or plumes with red-brown stems. Later still, perhaps, the baboon tail and muzzle were added. The figure is now a "Baboon-man." In the right hand, where the fingers are detailed, he holds a "bull-roarer," a curious spindle-shaped implement tied by a string to a stick with a handle. As is well known, this implement, if gyrated in the air, emits very strange sounds, believed by many peoples to be a supernatural voice. Such an instrument is used by the Ovambos in the adjacent country to invoke rain, and Bushmen use it to direct honey bees when they are swarming. On another rock in the Brandberg, but on the left bank of the stream, there is another "bull-roarer" painted on a boulder. It is carried by one of three men walking in single file, each one wearing a helmet crowned by an enormous ostrich plume.

Probably the "Baboon-man" once had a bow on his back, of which only the red string now remains. As he occupies the centre place between the three dancers on this plate and those on Plate IX, it may be assumed that he is their master and chief. Following these figures, there are four more human figures that form the end of the procession. The first figure on the left is in a very bad state of preservation and consists only of two very twisted legs (probably the sole remains of a painting belonging to the smoky-black period) which were later adorned with two red knee-bands. The other vague vestiges of painting are too indefinite to be interpreted.

The two running archers are completely white, except for red arm- and leg-bands, red belts and a red shoe on one foot of each figure. The black arm (part of an older figure) of the first archer carries a big bow of white wood with a red cord, similar to all the others depicted in this shelter. The beaded hair of these archers is red and falls on their shoulders in a straight "page" cut. On the chest of the first figure there is a faded brown plastron, which seems to be composed of two tiers of three partly beaded little bags. A small lozenge-shaped point on a straight stem (perhaps an arrow?) protrudes from behind his back. The faded, curved red band adjoining



his profile is all that remains of an older painting quite unrelated to this one. Also behind his back there is a row of six arrows, which are unfeathered, with notched ends and curved tips.

The next man wears a wide waist-band and a broad girdle round the hips, two wrist-bands and one arm-band. Both his arms are outstretched and his body is slanting forward at a curious angle, as if he were almost falling over in his hurry.

The last figure on the right, who is perhaps marshalling the end of the procession, appears to be of earlier date; he is of another palette and technique. His hair is dark red with a "page" cut, and he wears a coronet of two rows of white beads. The face with its long, straight nose is of European type and light red in colour. At the base of the neck his robe is cut in a circle, which is edged with orange and white; on his right arm an arm-band defines the edges of the sleeve. Below it the arm is white, but the arm-band is the same colour as the hair. He carries in his hand a little wand with a knob on top. The left arm is line-drawn in red-brown; possibly it was painted at a much later date by another artist. Behind his back he holds a curious clustered object which resembles an uprooted plant, with small scroll-shaped roots and with short stems, each ending in a bud-like point. He wears a broad red waist-belt and seems to have been clad in a long robe with some black and white stripes, but the robe is now very faded. His white shoes are still visible.

This part of the panel was already very faded when the neighbouring archers were painted. The leg with a broad, red-brown band, which is thrust forward across the archer's body, was evidently added at the same later date.

PLATE XIV. UPPER FRIEZE: THE FILE OF GEMSBOK

This plate shows the whole of the upper frieze which runs above Plates I-V, along the left half of the procession. The higher figures have been brought lower, so that they may be included on this plate. The most spectacular part of this frieze is the file of six polychrome gemsbok, which are painted orange-red, white and black, except for the small one (probably added later), which is red-brown, white and black. The existence of this frieze was first made known by Maack's rough copy (Plate X, H. Obermaier and H. Kühn, *op. cit.*) and subsequently confirmed by Fräulein Weyersberg's excellent drawing (Frobenius, *op. cit.*, Plate VII).

These gemsbok appear to be urged forward by the strange spirit figure behind them. This spirit has red hair, and his figure is sketched in red-brown lines and filled in with white, which has partly faded. The face is white, partly outlined in red, and the eye is red. The neck is abnormally long. The meaning of the lines on the body is obscure, but they may be ribs. The arms are outstretched. I was unable to see the little cherub wings shown on other copies.

On this plate there are many other figures of various techniques. With the exception of one, they are all earlier than the White Lady procession and the gemsbok. The indeterminate red patches are earlier than the black or blackish-white figures. Between the gemsbok there are about six very small pale-red buck, although some of them are not very visible. They also are of earlier date than the procession and the gemsbok.

Many of the other small figures are of earlier date: the stork, the crane, one other bird and six small, red-brown human figures. One of these figures (in front of the second gemsbok from the left) holds, point downwards, two of the curious objects (perhaps daggers or castanets) which are carried by some of the White Lady's companions. None of these small figures has the hair or other characteristics of the people of the foreign strain; they are probably Bushmen.

There is a larger figure painted in sepia, except for red-brown arms and a subspherical head which is partly covered by a red plume; the one shoe shown is of the same red colour. The legs of this figure are covered with fine, red transverse lines.

On the higher central part of the plate there is a strange, medium-sized, polychrome figure of which only the shoulder is well pre-

served, but the arms in faded grey-white are visible and parts of a leg, the body and the head. The two objects on the shoulder cannot be identified with any certainty, but, as there are no quivers in these paintings, they are most probably waterskins. On top of the figure is a shape which looks like a white turban surmounted by a red ostrich feather, but it is more likely to be the lid of one of the waterskins.

PLATE XV. FINE SPRINGBOK AND LITTLE WHITE ARCHERS

This plate comes just below Plate XIII and depicts a second row of archers parallel to the first.

There are four white archers in the row. The two on the left are very small and the two on the right are badly faded. The first is the only one with black hair with a "page" cut, but there are some white scrolls on it. He wears a red belt and there are cross-stripes of red and black on the arms and legs and vertical stripes on the chest. The male sex is well marked. In his right hand he holds a short stick, and across his left leg are a large bow and some indeterminate shapes. His shoes are black with white soles.

The second archer shows very few details; a curved red line around his head indicates hair, there are some slanting red strokes across one thigh and on his body, and another red line indicates the string of a bow.

The third figure is much larger, but it is very faded. He is looking backwards. He wears a neck-band of oblique strokes and there are vestiges of various objects painted in red.

The fourth archer, who is no bigger than the first two, seems to be a steatopygous woman on whom are painted various red strokes which have now partially faded. Near the breast is some object showing two rows of short red strokes.

Between these archers and the figures of Plate XIII there is a very well painted polychrome springbok. The curve of its white horns has been most accurately studied and it is perhaps the best springbok in this ravine.

PLATE XVI. WILDEBEEBEE AND SMALL HUMAN FIGURES

The position of this plate is just below Plate VII, near the foot of the right wall of the shelter. It would appear that a separate scene is depicted.

The oldest part is the smoky-black elongated mass on the right, which is crossed by the leg of a dark-brown man. I am inclined to think that this represents a seal, for the shore at Cape Cross is only 70 kilometres distant and, at certain periods of the year, a great many seals are found there. On photographs I examined, these seals frequently had this shapeless aspect.

Of the pale-red figures, only one, a little diagrammatic man with a triangular body and rudimentary arms and legs, can be distinguished in the centre of the plate.

Three of the five remaining figures are of the Lady family and have the typical red hair (one may be wearing a helmet). The larger figure on the right, whose leg cuts across the seal, is painted in sepia from the feet to the middle of the body, but the upper part passes from brown-red to red-brown.

The small figure wearing the helmet (?), whose head is imposed on the leg of the last-mentioned figure, is probably a woman; she is somewhat more recent than her white-faced neighbour, but both figures are painted in sepia with some red for one arm and the hair or helmets.

The white-faced figure seems to be arresting a red man with the head of a jackal, who is carrying a ball-headed stick and walking in a strange manner with knees bent and shoulders hunched. There are very large ruffs round his ankles and, like both his neighbours, he has a drooping tail (or perhaps it is the hanging end of a belt).



Probably he is wearing a mask, although masks are very rarely seen in South-West Africa.

The last fairly large man bears a certain resemblance to a wading bird. He is perhaps of earlier date than the fine wildebeest.

This wildebeest is painted in black on a white background, and there is some red on the head. It is shown in profile, except for the head, which is very well drawn and is shown full-face. It seems to be the most important and the most recent figure in this group.

There is a first (and very poor) copy of this scene by Maack in the book by H. Obermaier and H. Kühn (*loc. cit.*, Plate 12).

PLATE XVII. RHINOCEROS, GEMSBOK AND OTHER ANIMALS

This plate comes below Plate XV.

The rhinoceros in line-drawing with one white ear and the other in black and white is probably an early polychrome. The horns, which possibly were once white, have now vanished, as has the colouring of the red-outlined body. The head, legs and upper part of the hindquarters are pale red. From the upper lip it would appear to be a white rhinoceros. The painting is of very good style.

This is the only rhinoceros painted in the Brandberg; but there are many in the Erongo and the two Spitzkopje ranges, although these are probably of the black species.

The other animals in this plate are:

A good polychrome gemsbok, a polychrome springbok with its white paint gone, and some vague fragmentary remains of other paintings. Two small white buck at a higher level than the rhinoceros were omitted from the copies made in 1947, but they were copied later (see Plate XX).

PLATE XVIII. OSTRICH AND SMALL STARTLED BUCK

Beneath Plate XVII, which depicts the rhinoceros, a faded but very well painted white ostrich is shown in a very low position on the wall close to the leg of another, the rest of which has completely faded. This remaining leg is painted in good style. These birds are certainly older than the procession of the White Lady.

White and black ostriches of excellent style are to be seen in the Tsisab ravine in the Girls' School shelter, and there are others in the Ostrich cave, although these are badly faded. Ostrich paintings are more numerous, however, in the Erongo and Spitzkopje ranges.

There are also five small pale-red buck on this plate. They are in a reasonably good state of preservation and they are amusingly grouped. One of them is depicted partly in line-drawing; one is foreshortened and shown full-face, and another is shown full-face

with the body in profile. Some of the outlined parts are filled in with red. At the left there is a headless figure, possibly human, in pale red.

I could not see the white which is shown on the small buck in Maack's copy (Plate 14, *op. cit.*, H. Obermaier and H. Kühn), although it may, nevertheless, exist. As I have already pointed out, the visibility of white paint is dependent on the degree of humidity present.

This whole scene is full of humour.

PLATE XIX. GEMSBOK

This plate shows a well painted gemsbok in a fair state of preservation.

PLATE XX. LITTLE BUCK AND FRAGMENTS

This plate shows two small white and pink buck. The one on the right has been repainted in red. These paintings were overlooked in 1947 and traced in 1951 together with a small, pale-red, faded man above them, who has one white leg with a red shoe.

On the same plate I have grouped several faded polychrome gemsbok, which are outside the protecting cage of the shelter.

PLATES XXI. GEMSBOK AND WIGS

On these plates there are several more or less faded polychrome gemsbok and, above them, there are three red-haired "wigs," the sole remaining vestiges of other figures. These "wigs" are of the same date as the White Lady and her companions, the most recent paintings.

I brought these fragments a little closer to each other in order to group them on the plate.

PLATE XXII. FRAGMENTS

The plate shows other faded paintings of buck and men on the extreme right of the White Lady shelter (outside the protecting cage). I have brought these paintings a little closer to each other than they actually are.

In the corner there is a very poor blackish drawing (line-type drawing), which has nothing in common with the other rock paintings of South-West Africa. It is evidently the work of some later artist—a Berg-Dama, a Nama (Hottentot) or Ovambo, who visited the Tsisab ravine at a relatively recent date. This drawing is of a man with what may be a feline head. He holds a bow. On his right is a shield-shaped object.



VII

SUCCESSIVE LEVELS OF PAINTING IN THE MAACK SHELTER

SERIES I. SMOKY BLACK

The oldest series of frescoes in the Maack shelter seems to consist of remains of rather large, faded black figures showing shapeless, wide surface washes and bands. These can be seen on the following plates:

PLATE II. A fairly large human figure partly under the leg of a polychrome figure.

PLATE III. Vague traces underneath polychrome figures.

PLATE V. ditto ditto

PLATE VI. Fragments of wide, faded black lines underneath red-white line-drawings and a fine polychrome hartebeest.

PLATE VIII. A large recumbent black pachyderm superimposed on a completely formless red wash. This is the single exception to the general rule that the black paintings are the oldest. The painting is in bad style. Superimposed on the pachyderm are the legs of a fine polychrome oryx.

PLATE X. Two very big, faded human figures underneath the polychromes and older in appearance than the other small white and black human figures.

PLATE XI. The remains of large, black indeterminate figures (one of them steatopygous) with small red ones superimposed.

PLATE XIII. Faded blackish bands, which seem to have been used anew in the portrayal of a very faded polychrome figure.

PLATE XVI. A black, legless animal, very faded, with a short tail (a seal? or waterskin?), underneath the legs of a moderately tall, brownish-black and red figure of a style preceding the development of the large polychromes.

In this series, except for the red wash surface mentioned, the black, blurred paintings are certainly the oldest. They are rough and heavy in style and the drawing is extremely poor.

On neighbouring rocks we found several even older series of paintings, details of which will be given in later volumes.

SERIES II. YELLOW LINE-DRAWINGS

This type of drawing is extremely rare: there are only two examples in the series.

PLATE V. A small horizontal palmette at a low level on the rock wall. This is possibly all that remains of a figure, but it has no connection at all with the two neighbouring polychrome figures. These are undoubtedly of very much later date.

PLATE XI. Yellow legs under those of a small brown-red figure and superimposed on a black band of Series I.

This series is too limited to warrant any conclusions; it is probably an old part of Series III.

SERIES III. SMALL, RATHER LIGHT-RED FIGURES

There is a considerable number of these under the big frescoes, and there are still more round about them.

PLATE II. Small, elementary human figure superimposed on Series I.

PLATE V. A number of very small buck, all earlier than the big polychromes. Indeterminate remnants, earlier than a red-brown man and the polychromes.

PLATE VI. Two small, running men, of an earlier date than the fine polychrome hartebeest below them.

PLATE VII. Very small buck under remains of very faded polychrome (animal) figure.

PLATE X. Low down on the right a small human figure with short legs. The style is bad.

PLATE XI. Two buck, one of which is foreshortened, and a small man running.

PLATE XIV. Various small human figures and animals, one to the left of an oryx, three beneath them, and one between the polychrome man (or spirit) and the last oryx. An indeterminate waterbird, later than the black remnants of Series I, one stork, one crane (?), and fragments. All are older than the polychrome oryx.

PLATE XVI. Small triangular shape with legs between the bigger polychromes.

PLATE XVIII. On the left, a stooping man, and, on the right, five small buck, one of which is shown foreshortened. Another buck is depicted full-face with body in profile. Maack's copy showed white paint on these figures, but I did not notice any, nor was any visible on the photograph. Their relation to the extremely faded white ostrich is not clear.

The drawing in this Series III is rudimentary and often spider-like, but it shows considerable vivacity and humour in spite of the simplicity of its technique, which is probably Bushman.

SERIES IV. SMALL BLACK LINE-DRAWINGS

PLATE I. Three small figures, one of them underneath a faded polychrome springbok.

PLATE X. Towards the base of the rock there are four small black human figures, which are older than the rather faded polychrome springbok.

PLATE XI. A small archer of a later date than a red buck of Series III.

PLATE XIV. A very bad drawing of a small human figure over another small red-brown one.

There is little to be said about the few remaining drawings of this series: they suggest no advance on Series III.

SERIES V. SMALL BROWN-RED OR RED-BROWN FIGURES

PLATE V. A small male figure of earlier date than the bichrome Oryx-man (spirit).

PLATE XIV. Small human figures, one very elongated. These are later than those of Series III and earlier than the polychrome oryx.



PLATE XI. Small, running men, more recent than the yellow legs and the remains of Series I. Some of these human figures show careful attention to detail, and they are superior to Series III, which they seem to succeed.

SERIES VI. FIGURES WITH CONTOURS IN LINE-DRAWING

PLATE VIII. On the right of the rock, at a low level, there is the outline of the pale-red belly of a heavy grazing animal. This is certainly earlier than the neighbouring polychrome oryx, but it is later than the pachyderm of Series I. There are some vestiges of white on the outline.

PLATE XVII. A hornless rhinoceros. The horns and the white body-colour have probably faded, as now a few traces only are left. This animal is earlier than the neighbouring polychrome antelopes. One of these, a rather faded oryx, is seen at the top of the plate.

It is impossible to be precise about the relation of Series VI to some of the following series (except the polychromes), or about the relation of these series to each other. There are very few examples of this series, but it marks a definite advance: the drawing of the body contours of the rhinoceros is very accurate and a sense of volume is conveyed which is lacking in the preceding series.

SERIES VII. BLACK AND WHITE FIGURES

PLATE IX. This shows a small white figure partially outlined in black. The style is mediocre. The white head with red hair may have been added later. This figure is far more recent than the big man of Series I, but is older than the polychrome figure on the left, which was perhaps built up from a first sketch, such as the one we are examining. A second small figure, rather diagrammatic, with a white body and black head and legs, is seen lower down.

PLATE X. A rather small man turning to the left. The centre of the body is black; the outline, head and limbs are white. The foot is like a bird's. Mediocre in style.

PLATE XVI. A wildebeest of very good style shown with the body in profile and the head full-face. It is later than a brownish-red man of good style and medium size related to the good polychromes and is seemingly a forerunner of them. It may be that the white silhouette was first drawn and that the black lines were added later. Its superimposition on a good figure of Series V (which is very like Series IX and may even belong to it), shows how imperfect is our effort at classification, since we lack a standard of comparison with the other uncopied painted rocks.

SERIES VIII. WHITE FIGURES

PLATE V. A photograph revealed a very blurred white painting of a man, which I had not noticed, at the top of the rock face on the right. This figure is certainly much earlier than the polychromes and the style of painting is poor.

PLATE VI. The figure of a man running to the left is certainly older than the neighbouring polychrome hartebeest. He carries various rods—probably a bow and two arrows. The red marks may indicate the fingers of a hand. The rendering of movement and mass is markedly superior to that of the preceding silhouettes and suggests the final development in the portrayal of the human figure.

PLATE X. The carefully-drawn silhouette of a cheetah without any detail is veiled by the polychrome eland superimposed upon it. A moderately large male figure, with the head of a hornless antelope with drooping ears, emerges to the right of the hindquarters of this eland: this figure, who holds a small rod, is either a spirit or a masked person. The white paint is almost completely washed over with red. The style is poor. On this figure is superimposed a faded polychrome oryx.

PLATE XII. A figure of the same artistic quality as the one on Plate VI.

PLATE XVIII. A large, very faded ostrich of good style. There are ostriches painted in other shelters, but they are white and black. This ostrich is clearly earlier than the neighbouring polychromes.

The date of this series in relation to both Series VII and IX is uncertain, but it is undoubtedly earlier than all the polychromes. It is probable that other very faded white figures, all earlier than the polychromes, have escaped my notice.

SERIES IX. FIGURES PAINTED IN GOOD STYLE IN BROWN, BROWN-RED AND RED-BROWN

PLATE XIII. Very fine human figures of medium size shown running towards the left. These are more recent than the large, prone polychrome figure.

PLATE XIV. A comparatively large brown-black and red human figure, a precursor of the grand style about to develop and more recent than the first six series, although probably earlier than the neighbouring polychrome oryx. A connection with polychrome art is evident from the red hair, the remains of a faded leg and of a shoe on the only foot visible.

PLATE XVI. A moderately large brown and red male figure. This figure is older than the small polychrome figures, but is more recent than an indeterminate figure (seal or waterskin?) of Series I and an equally large, elegantly-drawn red man, who is older than the white and black hartebeest. As the face of this brown and red figure is faded, he would appear to be of slightly earlier date than the large polychrome oryx of Plate XVII.

This group of figures appears to herald the development of the grand polychrome style, but Plate XIV leads one to believe that the style of this series continued for a time during the development of polychrome painting.

SERIES X. POLYCHROME FIGURES ON WHITE BACKGROUND

PLATE IV. A white zebra finely striped in red, with a red head. Its outline was either not drawn at all or was drawn in red, of which colour faint traces are still visible. A large brownish-black polychrome man is superimposed on it. The zebra is of far earlier date than this figure, but would appear to be of the same age as the polychrome figure on the right and possibly the faded jumping oryx on the left.

PLATE XIII. The "Baboon-man." In spite of its bad style, the red wristlets, leg-bands and girdle link it to the polychromes. The face has been retouched to change its human type and subsequently overlaid with a baboon muzzle. The tail also may have been added at the same time. The figure is wielding a bull-roarer, an instrument known to Bushmen and used by the Ovambos to invoke rain.¹ He holds a bow which is superimposed on a brown figure of Series V. His silhouette resembles the bad style of the white figures in Series VIII, to which it may have belonged before it was altered. The two figures on the right have red hair and wear similar ornaments on arms, legs and body to those worn by the group of polychrome figures, to which they indeed belong. They are, however, of inferior style, either because they were painted earlier and then altered, or because they were painted at a later date, when the style of painting was degenerating.

PLATE XIV. Behind the frieze of oryx there is a Skeleton-spirit, drawn in fine red lines with white body-colour, which is in very bad condition. The red hair links this figure to the polychrome people, and its fine red outline to the figures of Series VI.

¹ *The Musical Instruments of the Native Races of South Africa*. P. Kirby, Johannesburg Museum, 1934.



PLATE XV. The four small polychrome men on a white background may be the alterations of pre-existing white figures which were carried out at the same time as the big polychromes. These small polychromes are of very bad style. One of them has brown-black hair and a belt.

SERIES XI. POLYCHROME FIGURES

To make an analysis of the superimpositions of the polychrome series is not simple. On different panels, each equally exposed to natural destructive agencies, we find figures in very varied states of preservation and showing marked differences in age. The frieze as we now see it is certainly the result of alterations and additions to the original painting, and possibly also of obliteration of parts of it. To deal with the animal figures first,¹ those which have suffered damage are as follows:

PLATE I. Two oryx. These figures are much exposed to the atmosphere and the white paint has vanished.

PLATES III-IV. Near the foot of the rock, in an even more exposed position, are the very faint remains of a frieze of at least two oryx.

PLATE X. There are three springbok in a similar low position. Two oryx were painted later; one of them is clearly superimposed on a springbok. These oryx belong to a frieze painted parallel to the upper one, and they follow the procession in the middle register. These partly faded springbok (the white has gone) and faded oryx are in a low and unprotected position. There are elsewhere six other springbok, probably older than the oryx; these are identical to those next described.

Some of the animal figures are in fine state of preservation:

PLATE VI. Hartebeest filled in with rust-red and apparently older than the nearby man-hartebeest painted in brown and claret-red.

PLATE VIII. A very fine oryx, turning its head.

¹ In view of the extreme importance of the polychrome human figures, these are dealt with separately in the next chapter.

PLATE X. A legless eland of distinctive colouring—black, brown-black and deep red. In spite of its low position, it is well preserved and is probably the most recent antelope painted here.

PLATE XIV. Six oryx—five adults and a young one. The young oryx has been superimposed on one of the legs of an adult and is painted red-brown instead of rusty-red.

From our too hurried observation of the neighbouring rocks there would appear to be few or no oryx on them; but there are many springbok and gazelle earlier than the human figures in similar polychrome. On these other Brandberg rocks, and on those of neighbouring ranges, there is a level of painting which is absent from the Maack shelter rock. On this level there are some magnificently drawn giraffe. For example, on one of the painted rocks of the Brandberg near the Maack cave (called the Girls' School because a row of girls carrying musical bows are following a figure who appears to be their mistress) there are some giraffe which seem to antecede the springbok and the polychrome human figures. If it is possible to come to any conclusion about the dating of the animals in the Maack shelter and on the neighbouring rocks, it may be supposed that ostriches were painted first of all (there are only two on the Maack rock), then polychrome giraffe, then springbok, then oryx. The artistic style of the paintings of giraffe in the Tsisab ravine (there are no giraffes in the White Lady shelter) and on other sites in the mountain ranges of South-West Africa is reminiscent of the polychrome frescoes at Nswatugi (Southern Rhodesia), while the bi-chrome technique (or polychrome with white and various reds predominating) of the oryx is similar to that of the elands and other big antelopes of South-East South Africa (South-East Orange Free State, Natal, Basutoland and Eastern Cape). I have already stated that these polychromes of the South-East are very clearly pre-Bantu, except for the latest and most degenerate specimens, and that they are superimposed on or mingled with figures of "foreigners" of a type different from those seen on the frescoes of Damaraland. The artistic style of the best of these paintings forms a link between the frescoes of Southern Rhodesia, those of South-East Africa and those of South-West Africa.



VIII

POLYCHROME HUMAN FIGURES

Series XI

The following examination of the figures is based on the present state of the superimpositions.

PLATE I. The musicians are very faded. This is due to their unprotected position on the extreme left of the rock shelter.

PLATE II. Near the base of the wall some figures have entirely disappeared and only a few traces of others remain. Similar traces can be seen at the same level on Plates III and V.

Of the three important human figures, two are superimposed on each other and one leg of the masked man passes under the figure on the left. These two figures are painted in markedly different colours; the masked man is painted in yellow, white and black, whereas the superimposed figure is coloured white (a less durable colour), except for two wide splashes of rusty-red, the hair and a garment covering the major part of the body.

PLATE III. The musician (probably seated), who is turning to the right (as are the two people on Plate I), is rather faded, although he is just as much protected. This figure is therefore evidently older than those on either side of it.

PLATE IV. The brownish-black horned man is painted on a rather low wall level and is certainly more recent than the figure to his right, which is on a higher level and therefore better protected. This figure was originally painted white or a pale flesh-pink.

PLATE V. Of the four figures, the Lady is in the best state of preservation. Between the Lady and the two figures on the left of the plate, only the shoes and girdle of a further figure remain. Another isolated girdle, touching the Lady's arm, and a basket or bag are all that remain of other vanished polychrome figures; or perhaps they were deliberately washed off, so that the principal persons of the central group could be painted in their place. Each of these figures seems to be the work of a different hand and palette, although it is impossible to say definitely that they are of a different date. Except for the lower half of the Lady, which is rosy-white, the colours of all three figures and of the tall male on the right of the Lady are dark.

PLATE VII. A large, very faded figure except for the head, some red lines and washes. The filling-in is very faint, as it was once flesh colour. There has been considerable redrawing of the face; originally it was European with a straight forehead, a long straight nose, etc; but at some later date the lower half of the face was hidden by a broad white patch, which formed the nose, lips and chin of a negro profile. This alteration can be classified with a similar one on Plate XIII, which transformed a man into a white baboon, and another on Plate IV (the "Horned Devil"). There are also other less obvious retouchings of the youths' faces in order to render them more African in type.

PLATE VIII. The very beautiful polychrome on this plate (probably a prisoner) is similar in technique and dark colouring to the two youths preceding the Lady, except for one arm, painted in white and in a bad style, which was obviously added later. This is a noteworthy point, as similar additions to various other figures may be considered as contemporaneous.

PLATE IX. The colours of the two boys or children—pink and black with red hair—are exceptionally fresh. When dry, the shade of

bright pink is similar to that on the lower half of the Lady when damp. These are almost certainly the most recent figures in this part of the painting.

PLATE XIII. The two figures, already described in Series X, appear to have been repainted; the figure on the right with a "European" face seems to be brandishing some kind of sceptre (?) and carrying what is apparently a small plant torn up by the roots. The very faded colours recall the large male figure on Plate VII.

PLATE XIV. On the panel at the extreme top of the rock wall there is a very faded, greyish-white figure, no part of which is visible unless the rock is damped, except some red and white accessories carried on his back. One of these is an enormous quiver-like object from which protrudes an ostrich feather of the same colour: the bottom of this object is visible to the right of the man's chest. A second similar object, also red, has a white and red top shaped like a turban.

PLATE XV. The white figures carrying accessories are either modified human figures (see Series X) or belong to a later degenerate phase (compared with the fine, large figures). Their poor state of preservation is explained by the fact that this part of the shelter has been affected by dripping rainwater.

PLATE XVI. Except for their red hair, the two small polychrome figures on the right are of similar colouring to the large figures on Plate V, but they have not the same ornamental bands.

RACIAL TYPES

If the chief polychrome figures of the Series XI are studied closely, it is clear that the racial types are mixed: six figures are certainly not indigenous, but Europeans or Mediterraneans of various types. Some are fair-skinned and others olive-coloured or even darker. Five figures are definitely negroid and the faces of two of them have been painted in white over the original faces of different types. One is Australoid (Plate V); none of them is Bushman or Hottentot. Most of these figures (twenty-seven in all, if we include figures of which the head is the only part preserved) have red hair cut with a fringe in front; others have hair which looks like a wig or a helmet-shaped head-dress similar to a Roman helmet or to the "tin hats" of modern warfare. It is interesting to note that hair is still worn in this way in Ovamboland.

This mixture of races can be explained by assuming that groups of foreigners settled in the country for some length of time, or made frequent trips there and perhaps camped amongst the rocks near the fresh-water spring. I am inclined to think that, when the expedition started forth, a mixed band of foreign adventurers was recruited, and that, in the course of the expedition, negroes (some of whom are painted here), also foreign to the region, were added to the company. Some of these "foreigners" may have brought with them customs and beliefs similar to those of Egypt and Crete, and artistic gifts inspired by these civilisations. People of various races are often seen in examples of Egyptian or Cretan art. In any case, the characteristics of the figures in the White Lady procession are foreign to all native African races; and on the Girls' School rock, also in the



Tsisab ravine, bodies clearly steatopygous carry heads with hair cut in a similar style to that of the companions of the White Lady, but worn longer.

History tells us little of ancient voyages and, indeed, records only two around the continent, but I am not convinced that all the documentation is complete or that it provides exhaustive information of the extent or early voyages and journeys of exploration (*vide* Chapter IV).

TWISTED PERSPECTIVE IN HUMAN FIGURES

The manner in which human figures are drawn in twisted perspective—bust full-face, body in profile, as in Egyptian art (a style which is used here in the evolved figures)—is common to all Southern Rhodesian paintings, which differ in style from those of the South-East. On the other hand, in the region of Fort Victoria, there are various rock paintings of white people which are closely related to those of South-West Africa.

CLOTHING

Most of the people in this procession are dressed in closely-clinging costumes, girdles and with bands about their chests, arms, elbows, wrists, knees and ankles. Several wear on the right wrist a gauntlet, which undoubtedly has some connection with archery. The third youth and the Skeleton-man wear a form of harness around their chests, which is clearly of Egyptian origin, particularly the beaded "braces." The Lady's costume, embroidered in beads similar to those in her hair, would appear to be Cretan in style. The upper opening of the garments worn is indicated in some instances by coloured bands, whereas in others it is triangular and extends over the top part of the chest. Several figures wear a form of leggings, and others wear tights which end in a roll round the ankle. In many instances the garment covering the torso and arms is separate from the leg-covering. A moccasin type of shoe is shown wherever the painting of the feet is still preserved.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS AND WEAPONS

Among the musical instruments shown, two bows are definitely African: variations of this instrument are known to all Africans, from Bushmen to Zulus. The bull-roarer is also in general use in Africa. The type of wind-instrument carried by the third musician has not been determined.

Bows and arrows are carried by only nine people in the procession. The fact that the White Lady is the best-armed figure, and the only one with an arrow at the ready, tends to support a theory that she may be the Diana-Isis known in Crete and Egypt. The Brandberg bow is far more convex than that of Rhodesia and is closer in shape to those of South-East Africa. The bows depicted here are of medium size, except for the very small one carried by the third youth. The Egyptian bow varies in shape, but the sinuous type frequent in Egypt, and probably Asiatic in origin, is not shown in this painting.

No figure in this procession carries a quiver. Although apparently never found in Rhodesian paintings, quivers—either small and cylindrical in shape, or handled—are common in South-East African paintings. When they are shown carried by "foreigners" (not the "foreigners" of the Brandberg and Southern Rhodesia), they are big and very wide. The quiver was not in general use in Egypt, although the kings used them (or rather bow cases), and are sometimes shown with both bows and arrows fixed to their chariots. The ordinary large quiver was carried in Mesopotamia. Bands of archers very seldom carried them and those shown here hold arrows with a Y-base and a movable end with poisoned tips (it is uncertain whether or not they were feathered). The White Lady has a reserve of three poisoned tips in her right arm-band.

I am indebted to Mr. A. S. Stamelman, Q.S., M.I.A., an architect of Johannesburg, for information on certain of the musical instruments depicted. With his permission, I quote below the relevant extracts from his letter to me of May 13th, 1948.

"I should like to make some comments, principally on the musical instrument which seems to have puzzled you. I refer to the wind-instrument carried by the third musician, that is the figure immediately behind the Egyptian-like figure holding two bows behind his back, and the fourth behind the Crocodile-man. In principle, this instrument strongly resembles the ancient *aulos* of the Greeks. This was a form of *obos*, frequently represented in double form, and with a very characteristic bandage, the *phorbeia*, which was bound behind the player's head, passing across the cheeks and supporting them. The cavity of the mouth acted as a windbag, and the double reed was completely inserted therein. No effort was made to control the action of the reeds by the lips, and in consequence the compass of the instrument was limited.

The instrument shown on the fresco seems to be of a similar type, but the variations are noteworthy. In the first place, the *phorbeia*, which would be difficult to use on account of the musician's mask, is replaced by a rigid boat-shaped member which could also be useful in augmenting the mouth cavity, while retaining the function of the *phorbeia* in preventing undue fatigue of the cheek muscles. The mouthpiece is shown in profile, doubtless in the same familiar convention that depicts the torso of a side-facing figure in a full front view.

I have never seen an illustration of an ancient wood-wind instrument with the dog-legged break in the tube, but we have its analogy in the modern basset horn, a form of alto clarinet. Here this mode of construction is adopted in order to bring the finger holes of the long instrument within convenient reach of the performer. I have no doubt that the form of our instrument was dictated by similar considerations, since the tube is a long one, very much longer than those usually shown by the ancients. With the reeds projecting deeply into the mouth, they would have to lie roughly parallel with the tongue in order to vibrate unhindered. This achieved, an angle would then be found necessary to enable the lower part of the tube to be fingered. Two finger holes, one having a step of a minor, and the other of a major third, could bridge the interval of a fifth on this instrument and still permit of its being played with the one hand as shown. Finally, the tube terminates in a bulb, which we may interpret as a bell, probably formed by a gourd. Here again is an interesting feature: The ancient Greek *aulos* had a conical tube without a bell; and this form was retained by the shawms and pommers of Mediaeval Europe until about the thirteenth century.

The leaf-shaped objects, always occurring in pairs, also seem difficult to interpret. The narrow or handle portions are too thin to be grasped firmly enough if your reading as 'daggers, knives or swords' is correct. Might they not be dried gourds used as rattles? The recurved ends might represent portions of the vine. The fact that they are always shown in pairs strikes me as significant, and another suggestion might be that they are a form of cymbals or perhaps clappers, like castanets or 'bones.'"

UNCLASSIFIED OBJECTS

Seven of the group, including the White Lady herself, carry an object whose use is uncertain and which is of variable shape and size, with sometimes a long stem painted red, and sometimes a stem reduced to the size of a small rod edged all round with white spots or strokes (fur or feathers?). It is usually stuck in the arm-band, but it is sometimes seen in the wristlet. The faded archer behind the zebra (Plate IV) lifts one to his face—possibly, as Dr. Jeffreys suggested to me, to wipe away the sweat and dust. It might be described as a *strigil*.

The pointed objects, which are generally shown carried in pairs, may be daggers or knives or other objects; they are always held point downwards. The first youth in the procession holds two leaf-shaped examples with long stems curling back at the end like a metal tang flattened by hammering (Plate III). Another example of this type is painted by itself in the lower register (Plate III). All three resemble the Cyprian type of dagger well known in Egypt and used



by most of the Mediterranean peoples. The third musician holds two of these objects in her lowered right hand; one resembles a bronze sword, the other has a double-pronged tip. It has also been suggested that they may be zebra tails used as fly-whisks. I record this, although I think it improbable. If not weapons, I think they are more likely to be clappers.

In his left hand the Crocodile-man (Plate II) grasps a wide ripple-edged knife as well as his bows and arrows. The left hand of the Skeleton-man (Plate V) also holds two big, straight knives, similar to those often seen, also in pairs, in Egyptian frescoes.

The objects resembling skewers, a pair of which is carried both by the third youth in his left hand and by the black-horned man seen in the lower register (Plate IV), have obvious hilts; one pair is button-shaped, the other is incurved. They also are held point downwards. In Egypt the weapons carried by the "Men of Horus" when hunting the Crocodile God of Evil were always held point earthwards (vide Chapter III).

FLOWERS

The floral element, which is introduced several times in the fresco, is also notable. Examples are the small flower with white petals and red heart held between the lips of the third figure—the Egyptian-looking youth (Plate V)—and the globules or buds adorning the cap of the Baboon-man (Plate XIII), the Egyptian-looking youth and the last weary-looking boy (Plate VIII). Similar globules, often in pairs, are frequent in Rhodesian paintings.

If the white cup-like object held to her face by "Diana" is a flower, it may be compared to similar objects held in the same position in paintings of Cretan or Egyptian ladies. It may, however, be an ostrich egg-shaped cup.¹

The tuft, or little plant with leaves and roots, held in the left hand of the small European figure in a robe at the end of the procession should also be noted.

This technical examination of the polychrome human figures

¹ A fragment of an ostrich egg-shell cup in which an animal was painted was found at a Capsian site in Oued Mengoub (Southern Algeria) and has been described by me: "œuf d'autruche gravé et peint, etc. . . . du territoire de Ouled-Djellal". "Sahara Septentrional"—*L'Anthropologie*, 1931. Pp. 316-321.

furnishes too few details to establish any precise chronological order of the various series of paintings found in the shelter. Further evidence may be discovered which will determine this. It does, however, establish the following facts:

(1) The beautiful fresco of the procession was preceded by humbler ones of people belonging to the same ethnical group. These two groups are very different from the elementary or very simple type of the first series.

(2) Considerable time passed before the large frescoes were completed, since many figures had time to fade and others were restored or altered—perhaps several times—by subsequent artists. It is clear that, in some cases, European profiles were replaced, although not completely obscured, by African faces.

(3) Although the issue is complicated by the slightly different dates at which the polychrome figures were painted, the original artists intended to portray a ceremonial procession moving towards the rising sun. The shelter runs from east to west and the figures on the lower part of the wall are exposed to the reflection of the sun's rays all day and are less well preserved than the others.

The position of the shelter, at a distance from the other painted rocks and the main inhabited centres of the ravine, seems to suggest a sanctuary.

SUMMARY

It seems certain that the scene depicts some kind of ceremonial ballet. This was suggested by the late H. Obermaier, although he had only imperfect and incomplete copies available for study. A direct or indirect foreign influence—even perhaps the hand of a foreign artist—is indicated. Frobenius and Fräulein Weyersberg believed the painting showed a Mesopotamian influence, but Miss Boyle and I are more inclined to look to Crete and to Egypt. Clearly, no single influence is dominant: there is a close blending of various elements—some African (but not local); others Mediterranean, Egyptian and Cretan. It is recognised that Egyptian civilisation, though it received material and spiritual gifts from Asia and Crete, yet had its roots firmly planted in Africa. It is, therefore, reasonable to seek some clue to the enigma in the affinity of that civilisation to this magnificent flower of African art.



LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

COLOUR PLATES

- Frontispiece.* The White Lady
 A. Panorama of the Maack Shelter Frieze (reduced to $\frac{1}{16}$)
 I. Musicians heralding oncoming procession (reduced to $\frac{2}{3}$)
 II and III. The first six human figures heading the procession (reduced to $\frac{2}{3}$)
 IV. The Horned Devil (reduced to $\frac{2}{3}$)
 V. The White Lady, her pages and the Skeleton-man (reduced to $\frac{7}{8}$)
 VI. The two hartebeest (reduced to $\frac{2}{3}$)
 VII. The Captain of Archers (reduced to $\frac{2}{3}$)
 VIII. Youth and fine gemsbok (reduced to $\frac{2}{3}$)
 IX. The Pink Dancers (reduced to $\frac{2}{3}$)
 X. Eland, cheetah and other figures (reduced to $\frac{2}{3}$)
 XI. Four small running Bushmen and other figures (reduced to $\frac{2}{3}$)
 XII. Large bichrome gemsbok and small Bushmen (reduced to $\frac{2}{3}$)
 XIII. The Baboon-man, dancers and polychrome archers (reduced to $\frac{2}{3}$)
 XIV. Upper Frieze: The file of gemsbok (reduced to $\frac{2}{3}$)
 XV. Fine springbok and little white archers (reduced to $\frac{2}{3}$)
 XVI. Wildebeest and small human figures (reduced to $\frac{2}{3}$)
 XVII. Rhinoceros, gemsbok and other animals (reduced to $\frac{2}{3}$)
 XVIII. Ostrich and small startled buck (reduced to $\frac{2}{3}$)
 XIX. Gemsbok (reduced to $\frac{2}{3}$)
 XX. Little buck and fragments (reduced to $\frac{2}{3}$)
 XXI. Gemsbok and wigs (reduced to $\frac{2}{3}$)
 XXII. Fragments (reduced to $\frac{2}{3}$)

PHOTOGRAPHS

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 Fig. d. The Abbé, Mary Boyle and Dr. Scherz tracing on the rock
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 Fig. 3a. Detail of Plate III, young Nubian
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 Fig. 5e. Detail of the White Lady
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 Fig. 6. A "mixed Being," hartebeest with human legs, Plate VI
 Fig. 7. Captain of Archers, Plate VII, and wildebeest group, Plate XVI
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 Fig. 8. Plate VIII; possibly a prisoner
 (Fig. 9. *No photograph available.*)
 Fig. 10. Plate X
 Fig. 11. Bushmen and wading birds, Plate XI
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 Fig. 15. Springbok, Plate XV, and little buck, Plate XX (Fig. 16. *See fig. 7.*)
 Fig. 17. Plates XVII and XVIII. Rhinoceros and ostrich group

(Each plate has, as far as possible, a corresponding photograph. See also page 18, footnote 2.)





Plate A. PANORAMA OF THE MAACK SHELTER FRIEZE.

The face of the shelter is curved (see figure b). The relation, therefore, between the various figures when reproduced on a flat surface necessarily undergoes a change. The horizontal axis of the frieze is a natural concave curve, the base of which is the central group, plate 5. The plates have been placed as accurately as possible, taking into account the curved surface of the rock.

Plate IV. The head of the devil repeated in the left lower corner is a more accurate reading than that of the original plate.

Plate XX. This is made up of two small pink and white buck (under Plate 13) and fragments of gemsbok (under Plate 18).

Plates XII, XIX, XXI and XXII. These do not form part of the main frieze and have been brought closer to it and placed arbitrarily around the panorama.

Series 1. Oldest frescoes in the shelter; mostly faded black figures and fragments, difficult to classify. The style is poor.

Series 2. These are remnants of yellow line drawings, and are extremely rare; they possibly form part of Series 3.

Series 3. Small numerous pale red figures of running men and animals. The style is animated like that of Bushman Art.

Series 4. Small black line drawings of human figures, which show little advance on Series 3.

Series 5. Small brown-red human figures, showing careful attention to detail; superior to Series 3.

Series 6. There are very few examples: a very fine line drawing of a rhinoceros, and several fragments.

Series 7. Small black and white figures and a fine wildebeest with head full face.

Series 8. White figures of small men, showing movement and expression; also a cheetah and a fine ostrich.

Series 9. This series heralds the grand polychrome style; human figures and animals in brown-black and red.

Series 10. Polychrome figures on white background. Closely related to Series 11, and in some cases repainted afterwards.

Series 11. The main series of polychrome figures which form the "White Lady Procession", repainted at various times.

Arabic numbers have been used to identify the various Series for convenience in the limited space available, and to avoid confusion with the plate numbers.



PL. I



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Pl. II





Pl. III



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PL. VI



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PL. VII



PL. VIII





Pl. IX



Pl. X



Pl. XII



Pl. XI





PL. XIII



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PL. XIV



PL. XV



PL. XVI



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PL. XVII



PL. XVIII





Pl. XX



Pl. XXII



Pl. XIX



Pl. XXI

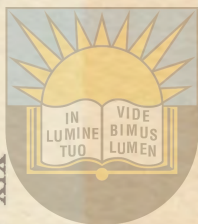




Fig. a. View looking into the Tsisab Ravine taken from the entrance.



Fig. b. Side view of the White Lady shelter. The Abbé and Mary Boyle.



Fig. c. THE ABBÉ HENRI BREUIL

The Abbé, whose first discoveries were made over fifty years ago, has revolutionized our conception of prehistory. He has fought and won many an academic battle and is now at the age of 77 the acknowledged and supreme authority on the interpretation of prehistoric art. The Abbé is a member of the Institut de France and an Honorary Doctor of Oxford, Cambridge, and other Universities. This photograph was taken in the Abbé's flat in Paris in 1952.



Fig. d. The Abbé, Mary Boyle and Dr. Scherz, tracing on the rock.



Fig. e. Close-up of the Abbé's hands tracing.



Fig. f. The Abbé correcting tracings. Mary Boyle taking notes.





Fig. 1. Parts of plates I and II.



Fig. 3 a. Detail of pl. III, young Nubian.



Fig. 3. Pl. III and parts of plates II and XIV.



Fig. 2 a. Detail of woman leading the procession, pl. II.



Fig. 2. Pl. II and parts of pl. III and frieze, pl. XIV.





Fig. 6. A "mixed Being", Hartbeest with human legs, pl. VI.

Fig. 8.



Fig. 10.



Plates VIII and X. Figure 8 is possibly a prisoner.

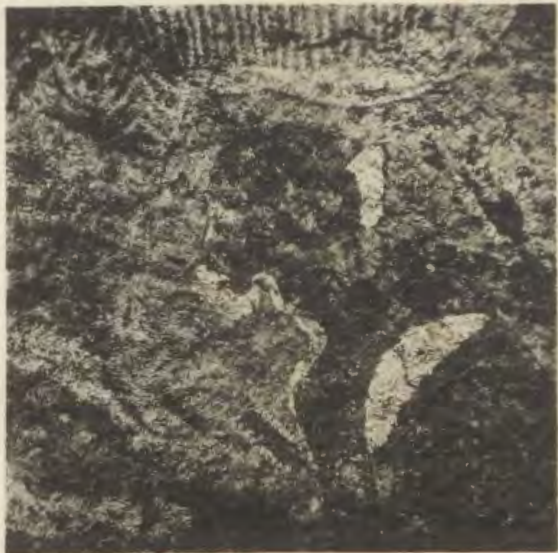


Fig. 4a. Detail of horned devil.



Fig. 7a. Note profile repainted as negroid type.



Fig. 4. Horned devil, Zebra and half-human Oryx, pl. IV.



Fig. 7. Captain of Archers, pl. VII and Wildebeest group, pl. XVI.





Fig. 5a. Attendant, apparently of negroid type, preceding the White Lady.



Fig. 5c. Detail of the young Egyptian.



Fig. 5e. Detail of the White Lady.



Fig. 5g. Detail of the bust of the "skeleton" man.

Fig. 5. General view of the White Lady group, pl. V.



Fig. 5b. The young Egyptian.



Fig. 5d. The White Lady.



Fig. 5f. The "skeleton" man.



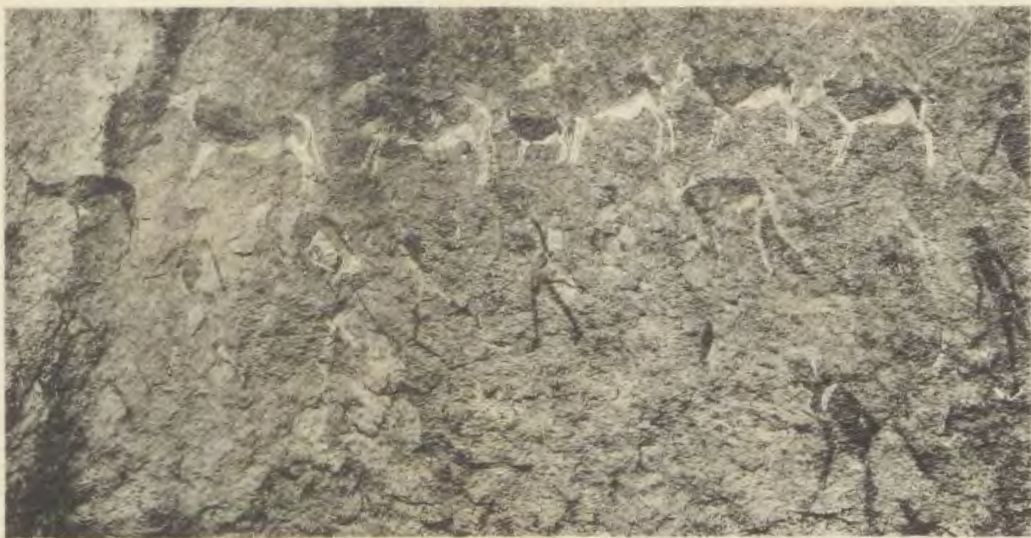


Fig. 14. The Gemsbok frieze, pl. XIV and parts of plates I to IV.



Fig. 12. Gemsbok, pl. XII.



Fig. 11. Bushmen and wading birds, pl. XI.



Fig. 13a. "Baboon" man, pl. XIII.



Fig. 13b. Archer, pl. XIII.



Fig. 17. Plates XVII and XVIII, Rhinoceros and Ostrich group.



Fig. 15. Springbok, pl. XV and little buck, pl. XX.

