



MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY FACULTY OF ARTS

**DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY CULTURAL HERITAGE AND MUSEUM
STUDIES**

THE INTERPRETATION OF CARNIVOROUS ANIMALS IN THE ROCK ART OF
JAHUNDA

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DECLARATION

I Hatumisoë Thabang Tlou(R135235j) declare that “The interpretation of carnivorous animals in the rock art of Jahunda” is my own work and it has not been submitted before for any degree or exam in any other university. I declare that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references. I authorize Midlands State University to lend this dissertation to other institutions for the purposes of scholarly research only.

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APPROVAL FORM

The undersigned certify that they have supervised the student, read and made a recommendation to the Midlands State University for acceptance of a research project entitled “The interpretation of carnivorous animals in the rock art of Jahunda”. The project was submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Bachelor of Arts Honors degree in Archaeology, Cultural heritage and Museum studies.

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my beloved parents who have supported me in my academic pursuits at Midlands State University. I believe that they have passed down to me the same passion they have for in their academic endeavors. I also exceedingly bestow this research with exceptional love to Azania Naledi.

ABSTRACT

The rock art of southern Africa, Zimbabwe included, depicts a variety of symbols and characters that portray humans, animals, ceremonies and motifs of a spiritual nature. A lot of explanations have been proposed as to the function and meaning of rock art in general with the most accepted explanations linking the art to shamanism. This hypothesis (shamanism) argues that rock art paintings were created by shamans depicting dreams or visions of an individual seeking medicine or participating in a particular ritual. This hypothesis largely relied on an elucidation of the significance of the eland (and in some cases, other herbivorous animals such as the kudu) in the rock art of the hunter-gatherers thereby downplaying the significance of other animals especially carnivorous animals. Field surveys in the Jahunda have shown how carnivorous animals such as the jackal, hyena, leopard and lions are a common occurrence in the rock art of the area thus the carnivorous animal paintings are investigated under the assumption that their depiction attests to their significance in the cosmology of the artists. This study investigates differences in motif representation as well as style of the carnivorous animals the in the rock art of Gwanda as a way of examining different meanings of the art thus giving an insight into the social, economic and possibly political circumstances that gave rise to the paintings. Although the primary focus is on interpreting carnivores' paintings in the Jahunda area, there is also an accurate documentation of sites under study. Using both ethology and ethnography, it was the conclusion of this study that the carnivorous animals hold a special place in the rock art of Jahunda as it attests to the belief systems, economic organization as well as social organization of the artist. This study also advocates for further research which would establish the place of carnivores in the rock art of Zimbabwe and possibly southern Africa if any meaningful conclusions are to be drawn.

Definition of key terms

Formal Analysis-It is the examination of the forms utilized in a work of art paying particular attention to colour, shape and other attributes(Barrows 2013:1). Thus, in rock art formal analysis refers to the study of the shape, colour used and the relationship between depicted images

Theriathropes/Anthropomorphs -refers to beings that combine human and non-human features. They can be for example a human body with a head of an animal (Jolly 2002:85)

Interpretation- refers to assigning of meanings to concepts, symbols or objects under consideration. (Webster 2008)

Characterisation- the act of describing distinctive elements on a painting focusing on the style and motif used. (Webster 2008)

Formlings- a form of image with a range of composite shapes (Goodall 1959:62)

Motif- a single repeated design (or colour) or any other element (Webster 2008)

Shamanism-is a practice that involves a practitioner reaching altered states of consciousness in order to encounter and interact with the spirit world (Hoppal 1987:76).

Style-refers to the unique features that make up an artifact (Marufu 2008).In this study thus style refers to how the rock art images are presented on the rock canvas.

Totemism-refers to the use of an animal, bird or plant as emblems or guardians of social groups celebrated in ritual (Layton 2000:179).Totemism is a very important aspect in Bantu Culture and societies place importance on the totems and this is manifested in praise poetry especially among the Shona .(Mahla .S 2013)

Documentation-refers to gathering and integrating all relevant information about a site .This includes written ,graphic and photographic information and can include the recovery of oral information .(4th Technical Course on Conservation of Rock Art :2006)

Carnivorous animals- is an animal that eats and digests the meat of other animals. (oxford dictionary).

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CHAPTER 1.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Rock art refers to human made marks or symbols that were executed on rock surfaces that are not portable and immovable (Summers 1959). Rock art can either be in paintings and engravings, paintings are referred to as drawings, daubing, prints and motifs. Engravings are made by removing the top surfaces of rocks through carving, scratching, drilling or sculpting and the marks can be dyed or they can be painted, or enhanced through polishing (Williams 1982). In Zimbabwe as well as most southern African countries, rocks painting are mostly distributed in granite areas (Gangaidzwa 2005) and this has therefore seen to a wide distribution of rock art as granite dominates in most of these countries. This wide distribution has made it possible for scholars to argue that rock art definitely represents a common heritage and illustration history of human experiences in the prehistoric societies of Southern Africa (Genge 1990). This made scholars to come up with different interpretive models.

Interpretation is a communication process designed to reveal meaning and relationships of cultural and natural resources (Verveka 2002). Tildan (2005) notes that interpretation can also be defined as an educational activity which aims at revealing meaning and relationships through the use of objects by illustrating the media to implicate factual information. The formal and informed approach have been used in rock art studies to give meaning to rock art studies. The formal analysis argues that it is the art itself that should inform meaning, looking at issues of patterning, analysis of motif styles, superimposition, landscape location, types of motifs depicted as well as the depicted activities. Informed approaches mostly rely on the use of ethnography of communities that are directly and indirectly related to the artists so as to understand the meaning of art (Vinnicombe 1976). Interpretation of rock art in Southern Africa has greatly relied on informed approaches with the use of San ethnography to help in understanding issues such as religion (shamanism) and gender. Both approaches have been used in trying to make sense of the meaning set in animal paintings chiefly when looking at carnivores' animal motifs.

Rock art in Zimbabwe expose numerous themes with the depiction of several motifs such as plant images, aquatic life (e.g fish), animals (both carnivorous and herbivorous) as well as human motifs depicted in different postures such as dancing and hunting scenes. Different motifs have resulted in different interpretations with regards to gender and religion dominating the interpretations of rock art for Zimbabwe (Summers (1959), (Manyanga and Zhou 2009). The most common motifs depicted in Southern African rock art have looked into is the interpretation of herbivorous animals such as the giraffe, eland and kudu. Manyanga and Zhou (2008) incorporated in understanding the antiquity of giraffes in the Gwanda area that links to the Limpopo valley, Nhamo (2007) looked at the significance of the kudu in Zimunya area, and Vinnicombe and Williams (1976) looked at the eland in the Drankensburg. The shamanistic framework was largely centered on the study of herbivorous animals and likewise hence most scholars have greatly studied the aspects to do with herbivorous animals omitting carnivorous animals in their researches. Carnivorous animals are referred to as meat or flesh eaters, that derives its energy and nutrient requirements from a diet consisting mainly or exclusively of animal tissues, whether through predation or scavenging.

Very few scholars have looked at the issue of carnivorous animals with the likes of Solomon (1998) studying the relationship between carnivorous and herbivorous animals making inferences to gender issues. Solomon (1992:292) therefore postulates that carnivores represented male figures who were hunters and herbivorous animals represented the female species who were gatherers. Animals are an intrinsic part of the Bushman belief systems especially the carnivorous animals they were believed to offer divine protection to people and the environment thus the need for the interpretation of animals such as lions and leopards. Beissel and Forssmann (1978) are of the opinion that carnivores have a special spiritual power embedded within them thus the need to interpret them.

Ethology is the scientific study of animal behavior which can be used in the interpretation of different animals such as carnivorous animals in the rock art of Zimbabwe. Eastwood (2003) presents an argument that ethology has the ability to combine with ethnography to have great contribution towards enhancing our understanding of carnivores animals. In this dissertation the author focuses mainly in the interpretation of carnivores such as lions, jackals, hyenas and leopards in Gwanda area in a place called Jahunda. Recent studies in rock art have not been able

to interpret the carnivorous animals, hence by this ethology and ethnography will be used in the interpretation of carnivores' animals in the rock art of Jahunda.

Rock art is a way of communicating that explains the social and ethical's of the community. The interpretation of the art has been the subject of great academic conjecture and discussions for decades and major advances have been made ornamental in understanding and appreciating the rock art in Southern Africa. It has been argued that this art is a record of experiences related to the belief and religious systems of the day and Shamanism has helped in interpreting of San rock art (Lewis-Williams, 1979, 1983, 1984, 1990; Tacon and Chippindale, 1998). The success, and subsequent wide acceptance of this approach, is due to both the evidence between the ethnography of northern and southern San people and the fit between the ethnography and the art (Lewis-Williams 1981, 1982, 1992b; Lewis-Williams & Biesele 1978) with inferences being made between the ethnography and ethological studies relating to the carnivores animals.

1.1.BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY.

Most scholars have looked at interpretation of herbivorous animals in Southern Africa such as the eland, kudu and the giraffes. The keen observations of animal behaviors and attributes by San hunter gatherers has long been recognized (Biesele 1993; Lewis-Williams and Biesele 1978; Vinnicombe 1976), and these are frequently incorporated into San cosmology and rock art. There is therefore great recognition that the art makes reference to details of animal appearance and behavior, which can be observed today in the same ways as they were in the past. There has been a significant focus on the representation of eland in southern African rock art, almost to the complete exclusion of other animals that are most represented elsewhere in other parts of the region, they looked at the eland in interpreting the issue of shamanism, potency, puberty in young boys and girls in Southern Africa. Recently, Nhamo (2007) carried out research into the significance of the kudu in the Zimunya area after realizing that the kudu was the most depicted animal in the area. Lewis Williams and Vinnicombe (1976). In Zimbabwe scholars such as Nhamo (2007) looked at kudu in the Zimunya whilst Manyanga and Zhou (2008) sought to understand the significance of giraffes in the Gwanda area that links to the Limpopo valley.

Little has been done when looking at interpretation of carnivorous animals; a few scholars have done justice in the interpretation of carnivorous animals. Scholars like Anne Solomon have

looked into the issues of gender with carnivores representing males whose gender role was hunting whilst women were represented by herbivorous animals (Solomon 1992:292). Eastwood (2003) also attempted to interpret felines looking at the bleeding leopards on the nose, which he argues to represent the angry Gods. Blurtton (1976) notes that carnivorous animals were used to represent shamans who had the ability to control evil spirits and it was believed that shamans had the heart of a lion thus they did not fear anything. In this dissertation the author would like to look at different interpretations made in carnivorous animals since it has been left out by different scholars. The author will use the formal and the informed approaches in the interpretation of rock art studies. The author will look at the significance of carnivores animals and their importance, the physical, behavioural attributes of these carnivores animals and how style has been used in the interpretation of carnivorous animals in the Gwanda area.

1.2 AREA OF THE STUDY

The Jahunda area is located about 20km south of Gwanda town in Southern part of Zimbabwe (see Figure 1). Manyanga and Zhou (2008) integrated the Jahunda area as an extensive transect that links the Limpopo valley and the Zimbabwean plateau thus greatly contributing towards understanding the remains of human and the interaction in the broader Shashi-Limpopo landscape. The Jahunda area is a cultural landscape that contains both cultural and natural attributes which are of cultural, aesthetic, scientific, educational and religious value. It is an area with a diverse cultural heritage which has the ability to stand as evidence to a never-ending settlement from the Stone Age period, the Iron Age up to the present. As a result of these settlements, there are therefore plentiful Stone Age sites (Middle Stone Age, Later Stone Age, and rock art sites), Iron Age deposits, religious sites, burial sites and historical sites.

The natural environment encompasses of a geological structure and a miscellaneous biological assemblages. This is mainly because; the geomorphology of the area supports an exclusive landscape which consists of widespread open grasslands with rock outcrops which are scattered with wetlands. The hills are the innermost to the religious beliefs and practices (intangible heritage) and sites like the Cave of Hands are of utmost importance shrines in the Jahunda area and the local community visit the place for their rituals, prayers to seek for assistance from the

Gods, intangible heritage is used interchangeable with tangible heritage, with the ancestral spirits inhabit in the caves and forests of the Jahunda area.

There are certain sites that represent the Stone Age and these have been identified on the foundation of assemblages such as the stone tools, bones, ash and rock art (Cooke 1959). Remarkably caves in this period include sites such as the Cave of Hands, Mankukubi Farmhouse rock art site, Mwale Dam and the Mucheli Fish rock art sites. The cultural landscape is therefore very important in the study of the Stone Age period for Zimbabwe and Southern Africa as a whole. There are also important Iron Age sites that have been discovered in the area, these Iron Age communities were characterized by the use of iron tools and weapons as opposed to their ancestors who used stone tools. Their subsistence was mainly dependent on agriculture thus the beginning of a settled way of life. The study of the Jahunda has managed to give the progression of state complexity in the Iron Age era.

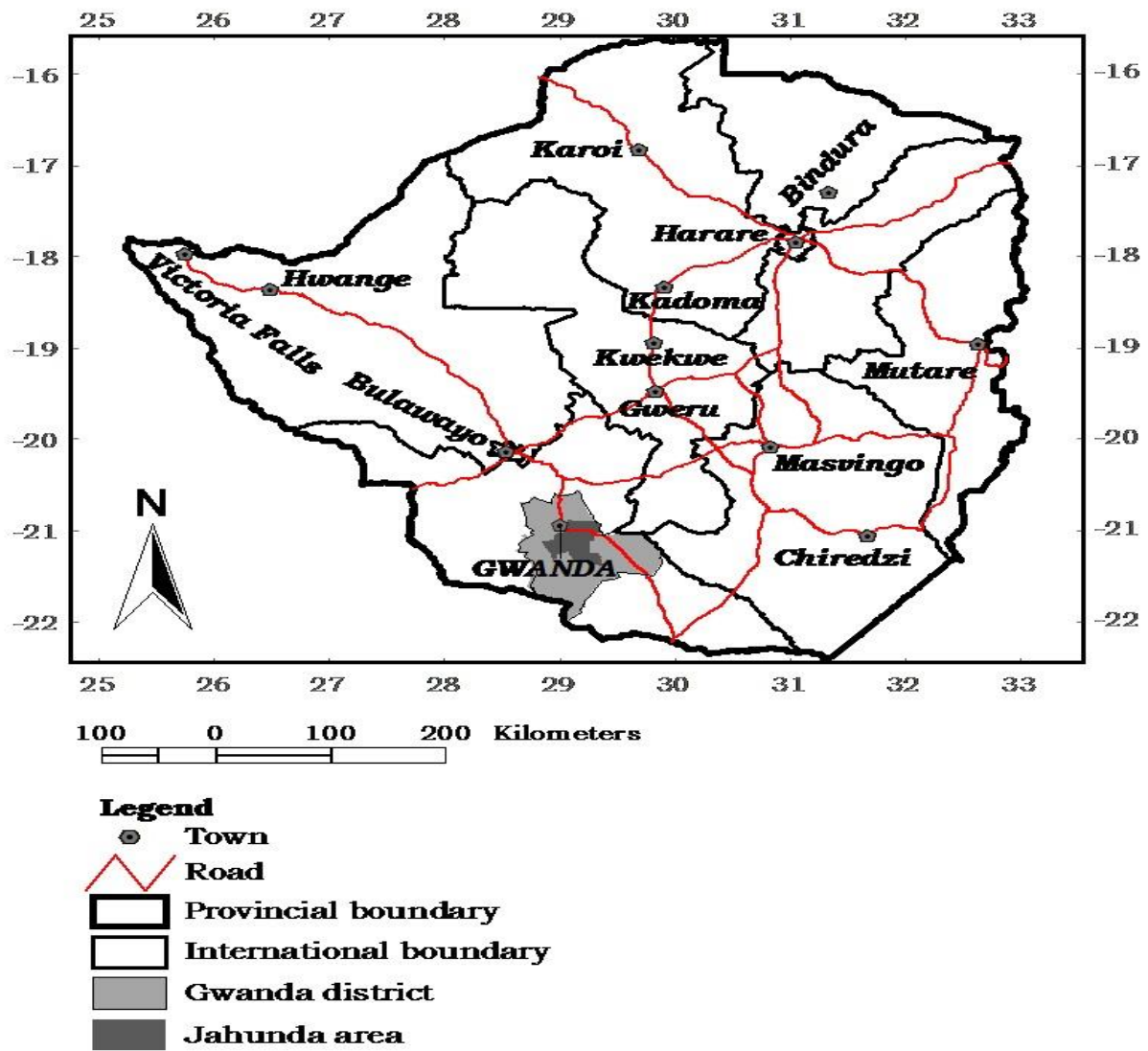


Fig 1 map showing the location of Jahunda in south western zimbabwe. Adopted from Muringaniza (2013)



Fig 2 Photo showing the general topography of Jahunda cultural landscape. (Muringaniza 2013)

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Very little has been done in the interpretation of carnivorous animals in the rock art of Zimbabwe especially in the Gwanda area. The prominence of carnivorous animals such as the lions, jackals, and leopards is well documented in the Gwanda area but little has been done in trying to understand the significance of these animals.

1.4 AIM

This study aims at understanding rock art motifs of carnivorous animals that are depicted in the Jahunda area of Gwanda.

1.5 OBJECTIVES

1. To document rock art motifs of carnivorous animals in the Gwanda area. Documentation of these components will therefore act as a catalyst in the interpretation of rock art.
2. To analyse issues of style for the depicted carnivorous animals
3. To note the physical and behavioral attributes of the animals under study
4. To interpret the art using San ethnography pertaining to the significance of carnivorous animals

1.6 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. Which carnivorous animals have been depicted in the area?
2. How have carnivorous animals been depicted in the Gwanda area and
3. Which physical and behavioral attributes have been depicted for the carnivorous animals?
4. What is the meaning of the carnivorous animals depicted in Jahunda rock art?

1.7 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

Zimbabwean rock art studies are working towards covering voids which were left by previous researchers with the aim of attaining a full appreciation and understanding of Zimbabwean rock art. Most researchers have focused on the interpretation of herbivorous animals with the most dominant being the eland, kudu and the giraffe. This research is therefore of importance in that it will offer an opportunity for the analysis and interpretation of carnivorous animals allowing for a much comprehensive understanding of Zimbabwean rock art. The author will look at the role played by carnivores animals in rock art studies ,looking at issue of religion potency, socio economic organization and the political organization and lastly but not least the issues of gender will be justified in the study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTERPRETATION OF ROCK ART

Rock art research in Africa has been based on a number of theoretical frameworks and Amongst the frameworks are ethnography; formal and informed. The uses of the different frameworks in rock art study depend on the area or subject of study, and these have helped in the interpretation of rock art studies. These frameworks have been of outmost importance in conservation, interpretation, in management and in the heritage management of rock art sites. The study will look at the motifs and themes depicted using the formal analysis, informed and ethnographic approaches in the interpretation of carnivorous animals.

2.1 FORMAL ANALYSIS

Formal analysis attempts to study the rock art through the analysis patterning and it can be satisfied through methods such as analyzing motifs, superimposition ,landscape location ,inter and intra site relationships , colour, shape and style ,this helps in understanding the meaning of the art(Barrows 2013:1). Formal analysis therefore seeks to explore the depicted styles and motifs in the rock art after which an analysis can be made. Barret (1994:1) argues that a formal description of the art involves the pure description of the object without value judgments, analysis or interpretation .Description answers the questions like: What do you see? , how are the motifs presented on the rock canvas? , what pigment was used in the execution of the rock art Thus, description is viewed as the first level in the interpretation of rock art. This research after description and documentation of depicted motifs employed a follow up approach to discern the meaning in the rock art of the Central Region within the diverse views and scholarly awareness rooted in San rock art in Southern Africa. According to Namono (2004) formal analysis is the research depends on general knowledge .The technique obtain its value from images and different motifs. The study will get its interpretation from the depictions of formal analysis is and by this knowledge can be obtained from the formal analysis. According to Garlake (1994:346) formal analysis and ethnographic correlation are two separate processes.

The scholar argues that this latter approach seeks to explore the interaction between imagery and concepts can only be achieved after formal foundations (characterization) have been undertaken. Various theories have been put forward in respect of the rock art in Southern Africa and even in Zimbabwe. This research follows a formal analysis to reveal what the art is through characterization paying particular attention to style and motif. It is only after characterization that this research has attempted to correlate the results with interpretations of paintings developed in South Africa or what has become known of San perceptions and their complex religious life. Thus the research attempts to isolate symbolic meanings, what the rock panel represents and the meaning that can be deduced from the rock art (Churcher 1978). Formal analysis as a research method concentrates on the shape, arrangement and placement of images and their inter-relation on rock panels. Nomano (2004:48) argues that the meaning and interpretation of rock art can only be reached at through the use of a formal approach. The scholar also argues that in rock art research images are seldom interpreted in isolation thus use of formal analysis to recognize stylized patterns is the major step towards an effort to interpret the rock art.

Rock art has been viewed as representational and thus their interpretation can only be simplified through the use of San art iconography. Icons take centre stage in this research because they form the basis through which meaning can be discerned. Nomano(2004:48) argues that icons are an enduring form of presentation. Using comparative iconographic analysis, Garlake(2009:348) made an attempt to determine the nature of imagery in San rock art of Zimbabwe. The scholar discovered that the rock art through the style and motifs depicted was undeniably ritualistic in nature. He argued that in as much as San rock art styles fits into the 'shamanism theory' developed by scholars like Lewis-Williams (1981), Zimbabwean rock art has its own peculiarities. This research will follow a formal analysis approach to try and make an inference of the style and motif analysis of the rock art so as to gain understanding on the rock art. According to Garlake(1994:346) iconographic analysis allows researchers to escape from what she calls a 'tyranny of ethnographic research'. Garlake (1994:346) is of the view that Zimbabwean rock art research is different from that of the Drakensburg where much has been looked into because in Zimbabwe there are no San for ethnography study and according to the scholar this sets the paintings in Zimbabwe apart from elsewhere in Southern Africa. However,

research by Mguni (2002: IV) suggest that there are commonalities between rock art of Zimbabwe and the rock art of Southern Africa.

Iconographic analysis will be used in the determination of the essential elements, variations within rock art images at the same time trying to ascertain the nature of the imagery depicted. According to this approach every image has something to reveal. Garlake (1994: 346) argues that in rock art research formal analysis and ethnography are two separate research approaches. He argues that formal analysis is the foundation within which other concepts of imagery will be laid. It is from such analysis that rock art specialists have argued that the themes and subject matter depicted in most of the art is largely a result of the interaction between humanity, the natural environment and the world beyond characterized by the sophisticated cosmology and belief systems of hunter-gatherer societies.

2.2 INFORMED APPROACH

Informed according to Nomano (2004:47) is a research approach that depends on some source of insight passed on directly or indirectly from those who made and used the rock art through ethnography, ethno-history and historical record. Archaeological analogies are a vital research tool in the study of prehistory because they allow for the identification of art that is like the one attained in a research as this one and try to link it with the same kind of style and motif and then make an interpretation of the art. This research will take an informed approach in the characterization exercise because it is vital in making a comparative analysis in the rock art of other parts of Zimbabwe, in Southern region of Africa, in Africa and on the International arena. Since this research is concerned with rock art characterization and interpretation of depicted images this cannot be successfully undertaken without use of an integrated approach which does not only take a formal approach to reveal what the art is but also tries to answer questions posed after identification through ethnographic study. This entails engaging with the communities around the rock art sites and trying to make an assessment of how they relate to the rock art sites. The research circles around the analysis of the themes and techniques depicted and how the communities relate to the sites and the depicted icons.

2.3 ETHNOGRAPHY

Vinnicombe cited in Ndlovu (2009:3) articulates that the use of ethnography in rock art research is inevitable. The use of such a probing approach in rock art research was influenced by the processual movement which rose as a challenge to traditional approaches of understanding archaeological phenomena. Lewis Williams according to Ndlovu(2009:3) used this approach in the interpretation of rock art in the Drakensburg Rock Art Landscape. He argues that Williams used the ethnography on! Xam prisoners captured by Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd. He worked with the prisoners to get an insight into the anthropology and ethnography of the hunter-gatherers. Ethnography has been used previously by researchers like (Van Schalkwyk 2002; Eastwood and Tloumma 2003; Hall and Smith 2000) to understand Northern Sotho rock art traditions quoted in Namono (2004). Most of if not all recent rock art researchers have used ethnography in the interpretation of rock art of Southern Africa because of its ability to be in touch with the people responsible for execution of the art and getting first -hand information on beliefs and ideologies. Nomano (2004) used Northern Sotho ethnography to establish the link between the rock art and Northern Sotho initiation ceremonies. Nomano (2004) argues that the use of ethnography in archaeology has made significant contributions by enabling the understanding of rock art by looking at the contemporary cultures like the Khoisan of the Kalahari. Ndlovu (2009:4) however argues that the use of the Kalahari ethnography has been subject to debate that has been termed the 'Kalahari Revisionist Debate'. Scholars argue on the applicability of use of the Kalahari ethnography to the rest of Southern Africa.

Other scholars like Garlake (1994:346) argue on the use of the Kalahari results to generalise about the rock art of Southern Africa. Garlake (1994) argues that the Zimbabwean rock art research has its own peculiar problems and argues that iconographic analysis is primary in understanding the art. The application of San ethnography is very difficult especially in Zimbabwe and Burrett (2002: 30-42) argues that researchers north of the Limpopo need to be cautious when using ethnography from South Africa. The scholar argues that there are regional differences in ideologies rooted in hunter-gatherer traditions as expressed in the art of different countries. According to Huffman (2001:49) the scholars who dispute that the rock art and the metaphorical interpretations made by Lewis Williams in the Drakensburg cannot be correlated to the rest of Africa are making a gross intellectual error. Huffman (2001:49) argues that Lewis-

Williams (1981) noted other supernatural potency elements in the Drakensburg Mountains entrenched in San rock art besides dying eland that can also be used in the interpretation of rock art even north of the Limpopo. Huffman (2001:49) is also of the view that the 'trance explanation' applies to the rock art of Zimbabwe just as how it applies to the Drakensburg. Garlake (1994) appreciates the symbolism attached to San rock art but however argues that the rock art of Zimbabwe should be treated cautiously when basing interpretations on the ethnography studies done in South Africa.

Ethnographic study is an important research tool that is applied in this investigation since it will enable the researcher to get an 'inside view' on how the people habiting areas close to rock art sites interact with the 'past'. Ndlovu (2009) argues that the lack of oral information on rock art amongst the Bantu speaking people who live in most parts of Africa is a testimony that the rock art was the work of earliest people. This, however, does not mean that the 'spirituality' at major cultural heritage sites has not been perpetuated despite the fact that the people responsible for making the art are long gone. Ndlovu (2009) argues that the international application of ethnography does not place importance on the areas inhabited by people hence it is a research tool that can be used anywhere. So, this research will look at the art styles (formal analysis) of the Central region rock art and try to correlate it to the ethnographic analysis employed in the rock art of South Africa and the way how the contemporary societies relate to the sites. The use of ethnography has enabled researchers to get the information on San rock art from the 'horse's mouth'. Thus this approach allowed researchers to have an insider's view of the religious implications rooted in the life of hunter-gatherer communities. Ndlovu (2009) argues that it is the use of this method that led to the dismissal of earliest interpretations of San art like the art for art's sake interpretation. This approach involves the use of information on human behavior obtained in the present that is used to interpret the past. Ethnography was developed in the 20th century and proponents of this research framework argue that symbols in culture emphasizes how indigenous people perceive the world and how cultural ideas serve particular political, religious, social and economic interests.

The use of ethnography can also be noted in the interpretation of rock art of the East African rock art landscape. Ndlovu (2009) argues that the ethnography of Southern Africa is vital in

learning more about the rock art of East Africa made by the Sandawe .The use of the Southern African ethnography was an attempt to make up for the lack of ethnographic information in East Africa since scholars noted that the Sandawe people shared some ideologies with the hunter-gatherer communities in the Kalahari. Lewis –Williams (1987) cited in Ndlovu(2009) argues that the Sandawe shared linguistic and physical similarities with the San thus their art was also embedded in shamanism and ritualistic behavior thus the use of ethnography was a major milestone achieved in understanding of prehistoric rock art phenomena of the Sandawe .This study follows an integrated approach to the characterization and interpretation of rock art .The integrated approach takes a formal, informed and ethnographic approach to meet the objectives of the research.

2.4 INTERPRETIVE MODEL VS ANIMAL MOTIFS

Early efforts towards interpretation in Southern Africa were largely influenced by Eurocentric viewpoints that largely advocated for aesthetic interpretations (the art for art's sake) as well as narrative approaches (Garlake 1993). In the early part of the 20th century, prehistoric art was therefore seen as a gallery of pictures that were simply done for pleasure and displayed for aesthetic purposes with no other meaning (Davis 1990), thus all other efforts for the interpretation of rock art was regarded as absurd and misguided (Garlake 1997).The interest of interpretation was triggered by the integration of ethnographic analogies to the interpretation of rock art being largely influenced by Vinnicombe (1972,1976) and Lewis-Williams (1981,1983). The interpretive model argues that there is no realism in paintings but that every painting or engraving on the rocks has symbolical significance to the artists who made them. The model therefore posits that paintings can be understood very well by looking at the religious way of the life of the communities associated with the art (Lewis-Williams 1983).

Ethnography became 'the key to the art' when archaeologists turned to indigenous people's beliefs for understanding of rock art (Smith & Blundell, 2000: 11). This approach to the ethnography of rock art is based on the notion that rock art data should be treated as part of broader cultural systems of meaning and, as such, should be analysed in a similar manner to other archaeological data, that is, in terms of spatial and temporal patterning and relationship to other archaeological material. The argument here is that the basic archaeological problem of

establishing links between material evidence and the original cultural context remains the same regardless of whether the evidence being examined consists of stone artefacts, food remains, sediments, or rock art. The necessity of understanding the religious and spiritual beliefs of a people in order to understand their art is communicated by Lewis-Williams and Dowson through the analogy of Leonardo da Vinci's artwork in *The Last Supper*. Quantification of images present in the artwork does not bring the viewer closer to understanding the significance of the artwork within a Western Christian context; neither does an aesthetic, the discussion of the use of colour and composition or narrative (the art as a record of the customs, dress and so on of the time) description of the artwork. Knowledge of the role of Christ, the Last Supper and Christian or Western symbolism transforms the artwork from being merely a record of a group of men eating to the representation of an important Christian ritual (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989; Lewis-Williams, 1990).

The work of Patricia Vinnicombe in 1976 made the significant contribution of breaking away from the narrative approach to rock art research that sought to understand the deeper meaning embedded in art. Quantification studies in most parts of South Africa indicated that the eland as the most frequently depicted animal (Lewis-Williams, 1990) and as such it had to be of importance in the cosmology of the artists. Ethnographic collections in South Africa revealed the eland as an integral part of San/Bushman rituals and thought (Smith & Blundell, 2000). As mentioned previously, multiple meanings influenced the interpretation of rock art in the 1970s, particularly with regard to the frequent depiction of the eland in rock paintings and engravings in southern Africa (Lewis-Williams, 1990). Narrative interpretations had previously read the depictions of animals in specific places as indication of the prevalence of that type of animal within that area, but in the 1970s the influence of research into the beliefs of the artists led to the eland gaining multiple meanings, including religious symbolic status.

2.5 Interpretation Of Herbivorous Animals

Garlake (1987a, 1989, 1990,1995) postulates that the shamanistic approach was used when dealing with certain motifs especially the eland. These early studies looked at the special relationship that existed between shamans entering into trance and specific behavioral and morphological attributes of herbivorous animals such as the eland. 'Shaman' is a Tungus word

from central Asia and it has been accepted in the anthropological literature to mean someone in a hunter-gatherer society who enters a trance in order to heal people, foretell the future, control the weather, ensure good hunting, and so forth (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989: 30-31). Rock art in Southern Africa was therefore interpreted as having been influenced by these medicine men who go in trance and who had the power to talk to the gods thereby attaining supernatural powers that would ensure the healing of people and the success of ritual ceremonies (Williams 1983). Depending on the ritual, the shaman can harness the potency in different ways; for example, during a trance dance the shaman would, trembling, place hands on a sick person to draw out the illness. In rainmaking ceremonies, when the shaman collapses, his spirit leaves his body to harness a rain animal and bring it across the mountains and the blood or milk would provide rain.

The eland is one animal that has been greatly looked by scholars as having represented a shaman getting into trance. Shamans and the eland (and parts of the eland such as its fat and blood) were considered to be full of potency, which the shaman was required to control particular elements for the good of all people (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989:32). The eland was also part of the most important rituals of the San/Bushmen's lives, namely: the boys' hunting rituals, the girls' puberty rituals or Eland Bull dance, the curing and rainmaking dances. All these rituals were important for the unity of the people and therefore the eland brought with it connotations of 'fatness, well-being and rain' (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1989: 82). In the initiation rituals the fat of the eland was used on the initiates (Lewis-Williams, 1990) and in the paintings the eland blood was used in the ingredients (How, 1970).

Lewis-Williams and Dowson regard the eland as a metaphor for the trancing shaman; that is, a symbol of entering an altered state of consciousness, entering the spirit world with the rock face as the veil between the real and the spiritual world (Lewis-Williams & Dowson, 1990). These scenes were depicted in rock paintings in which Lewis-Williams and Dowson read the eland, the favorite animal of the San (Deacon & Deacon 1999), as mirroring the shaman in trance with buckled crossed knees, blood from the nose and potency indicated by continuous or dotted lines emitted from behind the neck (Lewis-Williams, 1990). Shamans drawn in association with eland, in postures such as touching their tails, are read as drawing strength from the potent animal. The depiction in rock art of therianthropes creatures with animal and human features is also read in

the trance hypothesis as an indication of an altered state of consciousness and therefore supportive of the shamanistic model.

In Zimbabwe, Nhamo (2005,2007) focused on the imagery of the kudu in Zimunya in Eastern Zimbabwe presenting the argument that these animals can give an insight into the social meaning of the art of the Zimunya area. Muringaniza (2013) looked at the Giraffe in Jahunda area and he presents the argument that the giraffe paintings of Jahunda attests to the beliefs of the communities associated with the art. using both ethology and ethnography, Muringaniza (1013) notes that rock art motifs are a combination of insightful symbols embedded in an environment of San religious ideology thus rock art depicts how San ritual specialists translated and articulated aspects of the physical and spirit worlds thereby making the natural into the spiritual. Most scholars have put much effort in the interpretation of herbivorous animals, leaving the aspect of carnivorous animals, hence the focus of this study.

Huffman (1983) has shown how sheep in Zimbabwean rock art, like eland, carried symbolic connotations of power because of their fat. He (Huffman 1983) notes how most pre-European sheep in southern Africa were of the fat tailed variety with both males and females possessing fat tails. These fat tails are emphasized in paintings at Surtic Farm near Mazoe, Lion's Head near Shamva and Ruchera cave in Mutoko. Huffman (1983) therefore is of the opinion that the sheep paintings are complex statements about the control of potency thus the argument that the sheep paintings were concerned with trance and medicine men. A similar example is drawn from the Drakensberg where herds of cattle are depicted with eland in their midst (Campbell 1987; Hall 1994) and they were placed within a similar conceptual framework as eland, that is, as cattle became increasingly important for the San, they acquired theoretically an equivalent symbolic status to the eland (Campbell 1987).

San rock art is therefore charged with symbols of supernatural potency. The animals associated with these motifs have special symbolic status in San religious beliefs and cosmology. The eland, giraffe, kudu and elephant are believed to possess particularly powerful potency (Marshall 1969). Biesele (1993) is of the opinion that these animals possessed powers that helped the ordinary humans to transcend through ordinary boundaries into the spiritual world and these animals chosen from a range of possible subjects because of their special attributes.

2.6 INTERPRETATION OF CARNIVOROUS ANIMALS

Most referral points in Zimbabwean rock art comes from areas such as Matopos, Limpopo Valley, Mutoko and Murewa. Eastwood (2006) notes that these areas are rich in herbivorous animals and most scholars have put much effort in the interpretation of such motifs with an almost total exclusion of carnivorous animals despite their presence in those areas. It is therefore the main reason why this study seeks to give different interpretations about the carnivorous animals, the formal and the informed approaches will be used in the interpretation of carnivorous animals (Chippandale and Tacon 1998). A lot of aspects will be brought out in looking into the interpretation of carnivores animals in the dissertation.

One of the carnivorous animals that have been interpreted is the lion that has been associated with the theory of shamanism. According to Huffman (2001:50) Lions symbolize the angry, aggressive and dangerous aspects of trance which according to the scholar is an aspect of magic travel. Huffman (2001:50) gives an example of the Bohwe Cave motif at Matopo of a lion tearing off the arm of a man .Lee (1968:48) argues that such attributes point to the transformation of a medicine man into a lion during the ‘spiritual journey. Crocodiles have also been noted as trance metaphors as they were the water based_carnivorous animals depicted in an upside down position suggesting death and being underwater_which are two ways in which the San people describe trance. Huffman (2001:50) and Lewis(1981:112) argue that men in trance have a feeling of weightlessness that has been linked_to being ‘underwater’. Huffman (2001:50) uses the McIlwane rock art depicting two upside down crocodiles to argue for trance in Zimbabwean rock art. It is argued that just like how_crocodiles move in and out of water medicine men do the same. Lewis –Williams (1981)argues that the medicine man just like crocodiles go underwater while in trance in order to capture the ‘rain animal’.

Two aspects of snake behaviors, namely the fact that they shed their skins completely and that they spend much time underground under rocks and in subterranean holes and passages are strongly reminiscent of travel to the spirit world and transformation. These behavioural characteristics of snakes have also been used as a reason for their strong associations with transformation and shamanic travel. Thomas Huffman (1983) has noted that the ability ascribed

to San shamans to travel underground, entering and exiting it through holes in the earth's surface is strongly reminiscent of snake behavior. In addition to this, the shedding off of the skin has been argued to be akin to the death and rebirthing process associated with trance.

Snakes in San belief and art Research on the ritual and social significance of snakes for San and KhoeKhoe people in Southern Africa has been extensive (e.g., Orpen 1874; Bleek and Lloyd 1911; Lewis Williams 1988b; Schmidt 1979, 1997; Dowson 1994; Hoff 1997; Mallen 2004). Moreover, it has been widely noted that there is an obvious similarity between the beliefs of San and Khoe-speaking peoples regarding the symbolic role of snakes, and those of their Bantu-speaking neighbours (e.g., Hammond-Tooke 1962; Schapera 1971; Schoffelleers 1979; Dowson 1994; Mallen 2004). The result of these publications is a widespread idea amongst researchers that the ritual and symbolic meaning of snakes is somewhat similar amongst the three indigenous groups within southern Africa (San, Khoekhoen and Bantu-speakers), particularly in the associations between snakes and rain-making rituals (Schmidt 1979; Dowson 1994; Hoff 1997; Mallen 2004). However, a review of the ethnography indicates that while there are many similarities in beliefs about snakes between groups, there are also some important differences. These differences are noticeable when one compares various San and Khoekhoe ethnographies relating to snakes, in particular their role in rain-making. These differences highlight the complicated perceptions of snakes held by San and Khoe speakers, illustrating that while connections between snakes and rain were significant, rain was not the only phenomena indicated by the use of snakes in oral literature and rock art. Indeed, given the influences and interpretations of the Khoe beliefs about rain I try not to use them much in this dissertation as they seem to have been highly affected by Bantu speaker belief systems.

Much has been made of the links between snakes and rain symbolism in the interpretation of San rock art (Dowson 1994; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004; Mallen 2004), the fact that there are differences in the beliefs of various San groups regarding snake symbolism means that some depictions of snakes in San rock art may not automatically qualify them as related to rain and its rituals. Interpreting the depictions of snakes as carnivorous animals in the rock art of Gwanda therefore requires consideration of all known aspects of the semantic spectrum regarding snakes,

before it can be ascertained whether or not they were related to rain-making as some of the images of snakes in other parts of southern Africa appear to have been.

Very few scholars have looked into the symbolism of carnivorous animals especially in southern Africa. Just like the herbivorous animals, carnivorous animals have also been linked religious ideologies of the artists such as shamanism. Issues of potency and symbolic power as well as the utilization of space both at an intra and inter site level have played a pivotal role in the interpretation of rock art motifs of carnivorous animals. San communities believed that shamans had the heart of a lion which feared nothing and lions depicted in different postures depicted different aspects of the san cosmology, for example, lions with horns were taken to depict the angry Gods (Jones and Konner 1976). Carnivorous animals therefore have great potential in shedding light on issues of potency and religion in the Southern African rock art studies.

Moreso, this helps to know how past societies survived hence ethnography and ethology helps in the interpretation of different motifs. Early researchers have played a significant role in the documentation of rock art in many parts of the country, according to Genge (1987), he documented rock paintings in the Matopo area and the documentation was done in order to appreciate the availability of rock art as a form of archaeological heritage among the Zimbabweans, through documentation also helped in knowing the significance and the role played by different motifs in the painting and this helped in interpreting and obtaining more knowledge in rock art studies. He noted that there are paintings of groups of arrows and perhaps reeds. In addition at a rock art site called Necked Antelope in the Matopo area.

Many archaeologists believe that studies of early art are either of no relevance to 'proper archaeological practice or that they can only be of very limited use in archaeological interpretation. Indeed, the ideas some archaeologists have about the purposes of animal especially carnivorous animals and fish motifs studies seem absurd when one considers the sort of models they have in mind. These include the iconographic identification for example using one's own cortical processes of matching neural patterns of objects with visual graphic input of objects supposedly depicted in the arts, such as tools, weapons, animal species such as carnivores animals in understanding different concepts such as religion, gender roles, potency and shamanism which is scientifically untenable (Clegg 1983; Tangri 1989 Cameron 1993), or the

determination of 'interpretation' and other perceived distribution patterns which are seen as encoding various types such as the eland, elephants, sheep, cultural information. Some archaeologists have adopted a distinctly a historical approach to rock art, they regard the assemblage of a site as belonging to a single tradition unless otherwise demonstrated (Bednarik 1988). The culturally crucial function of rock art, in that of a cultural determinant (Bednarik 1991-92). This remains ignored, the issue of carnivorous animals focusing mostly on the herbivorous animals. Statistical approaches are favored, but they provide a false sense of security, producing unreliable results of generally limited relevance. Thus archaeologists have not only neglected the true scientific potential of carnivorous animals, they have utilized them for comparatively trivial purposes, and in schemes for which they are poorly suited. Rock art its interpretation they have not been able to give more detail about carnivorous animals such as jackals, lions and lions which have great impact on the interpretation of ethnography of certain people especially in Gwanda, more concentration has been done on herbivorous animals. Most scholars have only been concerned with herbivorous animals leaving out carnivorous animals especially in Zimbabwe.

2.7 ART FOR ART'S SAKE

Earliest research argued for an 'art for art's sake' theory that treated art of prehistoric societies as mere art with no symbolism attached to it' (Burke 1928: Cooke 1969) quoted in Pwiti et al (1996). This is also another explanation that has been given to explain the rock art motifs images of the Bush man and herder communities of Southern Africa. This Interpretation treats rock art as an activity of leisure time. According to Colton (1960:81-83) the abstract designs that were made by the Kayenta were doodling or an art for art's sake that is art that doesn't have any motive beyond killing time.

Animal paintings for most of Southern Africa have therefore been used to model beliefs and concepts central to the cosmology of the artists. Hollman (2005) argues that the specie of choice varies according to geographical areas. The behavioural details exhibited by the art in these different geographical areas are of crucial significance in the identification of images with symbolic inferences. Morphological attributes, animal groupings and behavioural attributes in animal paintings can all be used in inferring meaning to the rock art of southern Africa. From the

study of carnivores animals in the Jahunda area of Gwanda, I therefore present the argument that artists chose to depict only those animals which meant something to their belief systems as well as the different social, economic and political values. Ethology (knowledge of animal behavior) can therefore play a very crucial role in the identification and interpretation of rock art.

Southern Africa has thousands of rock art sites with the region's best known rock art tradition being that of hunter-gatherer communities (San communities). A lot of issues have taken the centre stage in the quest for meaning of the art, with shamanism, gender, landscapes and politics having been addressed by the art. All these interpretations can however be fully comprehended through the study of animal motifs thus the need to use ethology in the validation, verifying and/ refuting the existing interpretations. Ethnography has for a very long time been responsible for the construction, application and testing of debates in rock art and ethological studies can definitely aid to these debates if systematically employed. An explicit awareness for the behavior of animals under study can provide for a few waypoints in the interpretation of rock art and can be used to suggest possible arguments in rock art interpretation.

2.8 TOTENISM

Ethnographic analogies have also been used, with varying degrees of success, to develop ideas about the meaning of rock art. Early 20th Century attempts to interpret rock art sometimes lifted concepts of totemism from published ethnographic analyses). This resulted in the interpretation of much rock art as deriving from totemic magic. Smith (1968, p.21) warns about work that has used ethnographic data: "Ethnographic data is notorious for revealing at times as much about its observers as its makers", he also postulates that animals such as lions, leopards and jackals might have been used to portray the issue of totemism, totemism refers to the use of animals or plants as emblems or guardians of social groups celebrated in ritual. Chikonamombe (2010:1) argues that the Bantu speaking people of Zimbabwe use a number of cultural markers to identify themselves and to show where their ancestors came from. Totems are one of the cultural markers used by the Bantu and the totems will be in the form of an animal, bird or any other creature that a social group identifies itself with. According to Magelah (2010:1) a totem represents a ritual bond within the group and were key symbols of religion and cohesion of society. Totems were protected by cultural beliefs and norms, it was regarded a taboo to kill, hunt or injure or cause

any damage to a plant or an animal totem. In rock art, totemism has been argued to be the depiction of 'totem animals' or 'totem plants' of the groups responsible for the execution of the art.

The above approaches were however discarded as scholars made detailed inquiries into the rock art through ethnography .Ndlovu (2009:3) argued that these simplistic values overshadowed the ritualistic importance inherent in San rock art symbolism .Walker (1996:8) argues that contrary to popular belief the images depicted in the rock art of Africa were neither simplistic impressions for direct records of the artists of the real world. Processual archaeology also ushered in a turn-around in the understanding of archaeological phenomena .The processual thought brought about cognitive analysis of the lives of prehistoric people .According to Owen (2009:1) cognitive archaeology looks at how people thought in the past and how they came to think about it .It is these aspects which ushered in the need to understand the religious ideas people had and how they affected their lives. The changes and developments in rock art research cannot be undertaken without the mention of ethnography ushered in by developments in archaeological theory which assisted in the unveiling of the life of prehistoric people which was previously perceived as 'obscure' . In this respect, this research also seeks to explore how the religious beliefs and ideas that people had impacted on the images they painted .Hirst (2013:1) argues that in this time frame there was more to the analysis of artifacts than previously perceived .A cultural-historical approach was launched, this approach called for the analysis of the natural and cultural processes that involved in the coming up of sites .It also looked at how people do things and opened new avenues in the understanding of rock art and thus giving birth to new interpretations and understanding about the rock art of prehistoric societies that of the art, hence the depictions of carnivores animals resemble totemism, and it has given a great meaning to the portrayal of carnivores animals .

2.9 Environmental reconstructions

Eastwood (1999) argues that there are great regional differences in the rock art of Africa and this variation can even be seen from the variation in the animal motifs depicted in Southern Africa. Rock art derives from diverse social and cultural contexts and have endured varied circumstances. Major advances have been made in the interpretation and understanding of the meaning of rock art in southern African. However, most studies have been conducted to understand the general character of the art (e.g. Lewis-Williams 1983, Lewis-Williams and 131 themes (e.g. Vinnicombe 1976, Lewis-Williams 1981, Garlake 1990, Mguni 2002, 2004, Eastwood Dowson 1989, Garlake 1987a, 1987, 1994, 1995, Pager 1971) or to study specific areas or and Eastwood 2005 and Nhamo 2007). As already noted before, there are variations in the motifs that are depicted in the art with great regional differences. Nhamo (2007) notes the presence of kudus in large numbers in the rock art of Zimunya whilst Lewis-Williams notes the presence of elands in the rock art of the Draakensberg.

This study therefore argues that a unified approach to the study of rock art in southern Africa might not be possible. Such an approach might not even be possible for the interpretation of rock art in the different regions of Zimbabwe. The depiction of different animals in the different regions can therefore be used to reconstruct the past environmental conditions. It is the assumption of this study that the different animals were depicted in their areas of natural habitation. The use of both ethology and ethnography can therefore offer such dimensions in the interpretation of the art not only in Jahunda but in the southern African region as a whole. It is the argument of this study that ethological studies also allow for the reconstruction of past environmental conditions present in the area where the rock art sites have been documented

2.10 Mythology

Rock art is a physical remnant of prehistoric behavior related to subjective experiences and products of the human mind such as myths, institutions, beliefs, etc. (Whitley 1992:61-62) carnivore attributes, while they appear less frequently as therianthropes than men, suggesting different gender roles in ritual. The interpretation advanced here, which incorporates mythology and contextualizes San testimonies, satisfies the criteria outlined by Lewis-Williams (1983, 1984, 1985:49-50): verifiability, compatibility with well-established anthropological theory, internal evenness, compatibility with relevant ethnography, diversity of data explained. The complex of beliefs and the model outlined form the basis of a new approach to understanding

San art. Such an approach permits incorporation of a far wider range of San beliefs, ranging from the ideas which links things to do with birth, death, weather, gender, religion, initiation and illness, to beliefs about stars, to notions of space, time and history.

San mythology may be seen not just as a set of religious beliefs, but also as an indigenous history, incorporating culturally specific spatial and temporal representation Solomon (1995), on phenomenological approaches to time and rock art, and the linear notions of time and history which infuse archaeological thinking. The San seems to centre on ideas of the living and the dead; yet this represented and conceptualized in spatial terms (underwater and the underworld). Mythology rather than trance embodies the patio-temporal “map Ideas about reversion may be related directly to beliefs about the people of the early race, which were considered “primitive”, uncultured, uncivilized and ignorant. Descent into the water hole is conceptualized both as “death” and as a passage into “the past”, the underworld of the spirits of the dead. Both Qing’s and Dia!kwain’s comments on the Lesotho therianthrope paintings suggest that the “First Bushmen” or people of the early race were the inhabitants of the underworld, or underwater; they are San “ancestors”, who are now dead, and as spirits dwell underground (or underwater), surfacing in various forms in order to enact their magic on the living. A key parallel between the spirits of dead people and the ancestral San is their capacity to be both human and animal; on the basis of Dia!kwain’s comments, the spirits of dead beings with magical powers may were both mythical on the ancestors of the San or people who had died but continued to survive in the present.

The therianthrope figures are not necessarily shamans, as has commonly been argued; they may be either the spirits of dead people who were considered powerful while alive, or the spirits of the ancestral San. The references to death, underwater and the spoiling of the eland are all explicable from this perspective: the therianthropes can indeed be men who have died and now live in rivers, and were spoilt at the same time as the eland, rather than products of hallucinatory experience. Beliefs about mortality and life after death and their spatial-temporal forms allow Qing’s comments about the trance dance to be accommodated, in terms of the notion of temporal conflation. Trancers were believed to have been travelling to the mythological “past” and the realm of the dead; present and past are inseparable. When Qing said that the rhebok-headed men

had been “spoilt at the same time as the elands and by the dances...” he may have been referring to the trance-battles waged by curers with the illness-causing spirits, or to the experience of trance as temporal reversion, and a journey into the past.

Huffman (1983) has shown how sheep in Zimbabwean rock art, like eland, carried symbolic connotations of power because of their fat. (Huffman 1983) notes how most pre-European sheep in southern Africa were of the fat tailed variety with both males and females possessing fat tails. These fat tails are emphasized in paintings at Surtic Farm near Mazoe, Lion's Head near Shamva and Ruchera cave in Mutoko. Huffman (1983) therefore is of the opinion that the sheep paintings are complex statements about the control of potency thus the argument that the sheep paintings were concerned with trance and medicine men. A similar example is drawn from the Drakensberg where herds of cattle are depicted with eland in their midst (Campbell 1987; Hall 1994) and they were placed within a similar conceptual framework as eland, that is, as cattle became increasingly important for the San, they acquired theoretically an equivalent symbolic status to the eland (Campbell 1987).

Lions in general were believed to have some of the shaman's accomplishments: they knew things that ordinary people could not possibly know, they could become invisible, and they could cause things to happen by supernatural means. They could also transform themselves into hartebeest and then, when the hunters appeared, revert to their feline form, hence felines played a pivotal role in the rock art studies even though it has been ignored by different scholars, therefore the research will help in understanding the key role played by felines in rock art studies (Solomon 1992).

Not surprisingly, Bushmen believe shamans could turn themselves into lions. It was also believed that shamans obtained lion-power by eating a lion's gall, which is believed to be the seat of its potency. When malevolent shamans roam in feline form, the shamans in the camp would enter into trance and chase them off. Dowson (1998) argues that since social practices are necessarily grounded in social, economic and political relations, rock art cannot be seen in isolation from these dominant social relations. In the San society, it can therefore be argued that the dominant relations have largely been related to myths and rituals (Solomon 1999). As such, it can be argued that the meaning in san rock art cannot be seen in isolation from the dominant

social relations, belief systems and religious activities. In the San society, a number of practices are construed through the use of metaphors. Solomon (1992;294) gave an example on the use of metaphors relating to hunting in the San society. The San use poisoned arrows when hunting for game and two types of poison are used for their arrows, with the most toxic being considered to be female. This construction of a dangerous female sexuality is well documented in the San ethnography and as such, female initiation takes precedence over male initiation.

Solomon (1992;298), argues that there is an association between femininity and herbivorous animals, as well as masculinity with carnivorous animals. These results in what she terms the male carnivorous hunter and the female herbivore prey. This is a sexualized metaphor which has been argued to represent the division of labor in the society, males hunting and females gathering. This metaphor therefore places rock art within the dominant social relations of the society as well as the religious systems. A study of animals such as giraffes as metaphors of potency, gender relations and belief symbolism therefore offers a very important approach that gives a deeper meaning to San rock art. Both ethology and ethnography help in shading more light to such mythological studies.

CHAPTER 3

3.0 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

According to Hussey and Hussey (1997) a research design is a master plan which specifies the methods and procedures for collecting and analyzing needed information while according to Green and Tull, (2010) “A research design is the specification of methods and procedures for acquiring the information needed. The research design entails the operational pattern of a research framework stipulating the information to be gathered to be collected where and using what procedures. In this rock art research a formal analysis approach was taken where both quantitative and qualitative methods of data enquiry are to be employed. Formal analysis has been defined by Nomano (2004:48) as a research design which involves recording of style and motif depicted in an artwork. Thus the main focus of the research is to use the style, motif, use and symbolism attached to rock art of the central region.

Kumar(2008) postulates that a quantitative research method uses numbers, statistics, and facts whilst the qualitative research focuses on the explanations for a social phenomenon through discovering the different ways in which the study population relate to their art in their societies . The quantitative and qualitative made the interpretation and association to be possible to rock art in the area of study . The methods used sought a wider context in which rock art is used which greatly helped in reconstructing and giving the possible meaning about the educational set up in which the prehistoric painters which managed to give archaeological identity to the rock art of the past societies people through the religious practices and belief systems rooted in the rock art of Jahunda.

3.2 SITE SAMPLING

The target population in this research was defined by sampling .Mulder (1989:55) defines a sample as, “a group which is selected from the population and is less than the population, while remaining as representative as possible”. The sample provided a reasonable precise estimate of the entire population at a much reduced cost in a short period of time. Sampling is a cheaper and economic approach towards attaining data in research. According to Haque(2013:3)sampling can be defined as the selection of some part of an aggregate or totality on the basis of which a

judgement or inference about the aggregate or totality is made .It can also be viewed as a process of obtaining information about an entire population by examining only a part of it .Thus , this research made an analysis of the selected sites in an attempt to generalise the results to the region noting the similarities and differences in the motifs depicted in the rock art .

In this research, purposive sampling was used. In purposive sampling the sample will be selected on the basis of the researchers' judgment through handpicking participants to be included in the study. Purposive sampling according to Haque (2013:4) is a non-random sampling method which selects the sample arbitrarily which he considers important for the research and considers important for a research and believes is representative of a population .Purposive sampling allows the researcher to deliberately select respondents possessing a set of desired competencies and characteristics. For example, the researcher will deliberately interview the chief, headman, traditional leaders and the community members both male and female.

The research targets people who are directly involved in the traditional practices. These people include the chief, headmen, traditional leaders and the general local population. The total number of respondents per site irrespective of their levels of literacy will be ten then all in all they will amount to a number of sixty. From the set of about 10 people per site, this enabled the researcher to get to the bottom of how these communities in the selected areas relate to the rock art sites in the Jahunda Area.

3.3 RECORDING THE ROCK ART SITE

Rock art documentation involves three main activities, that is, site mapping, narrative recording of the art and graphic documentation of the art itself (Whitley 2011). The value of extracting numerous forms of empirical data through documenting the physical aspects of a rock art panel including visual observations, physical properties and metric measurements should not be understated. It is through the evaluation of these objective datasets that scientific inferences can be made. At first glance, many of these observations may seem basic or irrelevant. However, due to the progressive nature of archaeology and that of science in general such notations are critical for analysis and re-analysis in future studies.

3.3.1 PHOTOGRAPHY

This implies taking of pictures on the relationship of motifs depicted in each and every panel. I am going to take photographs which will provide objectively timed information about the overall views of the sites, the size, height and probably clearly showing the type of the rock on which the art is executed. As already noted, the overall advantage of photograph is that it is objective (although some points of interpretation may vary between observers), yet the process is repeatable. (Clark 2001). Photographs will also help me to give a detailed profile about the Fauna and Flora around the site. Basically, photographs will help me achieve an objective documentation of the sites in my area of study.

3.3.1.1 Advantages of using an Nikon Camera.

A nikon camera is not difficult to operate and it can be adjusted easily especially when taking photos in dark places like caves with rock art. In addition it is portable and can be handled easily. In terms of its performance it is very fast when shooting photos. Nikon Camera is good to use when taking photographs due to its color accuracy and sharpness. Best (1991) indicate that reflectors and large plastic mirrors can also be used to improve the possibilities of recording and photographing rock art which is complicated to view. Although photographing have got some disadvantages when used during the documentation of rock art .It is still considered as essential when recording rock art because it serves the time of the researcher. As result the researcher will also employ this method when recoding rock art in the Jahunda area.

3.4 MAPPING

As a data collection method, mapping will capture all the data about the geographical location of the site. This will consider the issue of directions and locations of the site that will assist in easy access of the site.

The pigment used also looked into to tell how the people responsible for the execution adapted to their environment through the use of the resources to create the art .Taking note of the pigment depicted also entails discerning the people who made the art. Mapping will therefore help me achieve showing routes that leads to the site from the main roads as well as proximity of these sites to water bodies. Global Positioning Systems are going to be employed to point out specific coordinates.

Mapping in the documentation process therefore will act as a plan which will be a salient tool for monitoring the condition of the sites. Walton (2009) highlighted that where mapping is properly done during the documentation period there is no need for re-surveying the in future research. He suggested that re-surveying will disadvantage the potential adoption of a plan for monitoring.

3.5 FIELD WALKING / FIELD SURVEY

A field survey is one the essential method which the researcher is going to use when conducting her studies. Through surveys, the researcher will use the GPS in order to locate the coordinates, distributions of the rock art sites in Jahunda area. The researcher will do field walking in order to identify some of the sites and also familiarizing with the site.

3.6 NARRATIVE DOCUMENTS.

The researcher will use the narrative stuff like field notebooks for data capturing, rock art site recording forms, pencils, rulers and pens when documenting rock art in Jahunda area. The advantage of using a field note book is that, the researcher will have a hard copy of the details of the archaeological record in Jahunda area which can also be used for future reference purpose and for recapping what the researcher found at the site (Walker, 1996).The rock art site recording forms have got details which encompasses the site name, location, recorders name, name of the nearest access point, vegetation type of the site for example cave, overhang, rock shelter, orientation, estimated number of painted images, clarity of paintings, outline, detail, colour of the paintings, subject matter .For instance human, patterned, state of preservation, access to drinking water, recording for instance photography ,site previous recorded whether yes or no, rock type, threats, general site description and other finds.

3.7 OBSERVATIONS

Observations were also used to cover up the gaps left out by the desktop survey. This is one of the qualitative research tools which involve serious participatory approaches on the part of the researcher in order to come up with affluent quality data. Personal observation as another way of collecting qualitative data helped the researcher to come up with information concerning how the communities relate to rock art. The researcher also physically counted and noted the motifs depicted on the panels through observation. This enabled the researcher to count the number of animals placing them on a table depicting the art shown in its various forms.

3.8I NTERPRETIVE FRAMEWORKS

The formal and informed approaches will be engaged in the transmission of this research. The formal approach will use the quantitative data that will be used in linking to the number of carnivorous animals depicted in the Gwanda area. This approach will also allow for a relative analysis with herbivorous animals. The informed method and qualitative data will be used using the San ethnography which gives deeper meaning to the rock art. This is an especially important consideration for recording significant sites like rock art. They should be the recording of all the data that will allow for precise site explanation, since all the data will be jotted down. Rock art sites represent a unique type of archaeological site in that the approach to recording them requires the use of traditional archaeological recording methods along with techniques of analysis that quantify their dynamic presence.

Ethology and ethnography have therefore been closely put together in enhancing the interpretation of prehistoric rock art. Researchers have used natural models and they have established the potential for natural modeling as an applicable and useful tool for the interpretation of some images in the rock art (Vinnicombe 1976; Lewis-Williams 1981; Eastwood 1999; Mguni 2004 and Mallen 2005). A lot has been made in the interpretation and understanding of the meaning of rock art in Zimbabwe. In light of these advances that have been made in interpreting and understanding prehistoric art, this study attempts to explore the variations depicted in the art of Zimbabwe by looking at the behavioural and attribute variations of carnivores paintings depicted in the Jahunda area of Gwanda. This approach would definitely aid to our understanding of the social organization of prehistoric in the hunter-gatherer societies.

3.8.1 MOTIF ASSOCIATION

Motif association has been the key method in appreciating and studying rock art. The study of the motifs and how they are presented on the rock art panels was vital in the interpretation of rock art. Rock art image association analysis has been the major analysis that has been used in the characterization and interpretation of rock art because it enables to understand the rock art as a book and not a word in a sentence. Nomano (2004) argues that in rock art research images are seldom interpreted in isolation thus use of formal analysis to recognize stylised patterns is the major step towards an effort to interpret the rock art. Nomano (2004) used this stylistic attribute

to discern the depiction of images in linking them to the initiation rituals in the Northern Sotho setup.

3.8.2 IMAGES DEPICTED

The research also discovered the images represented on the rock art paintings (lions, jackals, leopards, hyenas and snakes). The style was different hence one can say, the people who made the paintings were different since the style is not the same. Forming of the art were said to be of the San people Mguni(2002). The analysis of whether the images were geometric or picturesque were vital in the interpretation of rock art images in this research.

3 8.3 PIGMENT USED

The pigment used was also looked into to tell how the people responsible for the execution adapted to their environment through the use of the resources to create the art. Taking note of the pigment depicted also entails discerning the people who made the art.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION

4.0 Introduction

.This chapter focuses on presenting field data on the motifs and styles depicted in the various rock art sites under study .The chapter presents results of the interpretation of carnivores animals in the rock art of Jahunda in the Gwanda from the knowledge haggard from these sites that were used for this research:Muchele cave, Mankunkubi farm house , homestead ,Cave of hands,Mwale dam and Nsimbi church panel. All these six sites were sampled from ward 13 and ward 22, in Gwanda area in a place called Jahunda (distribution map of the sites under study is on the map below).

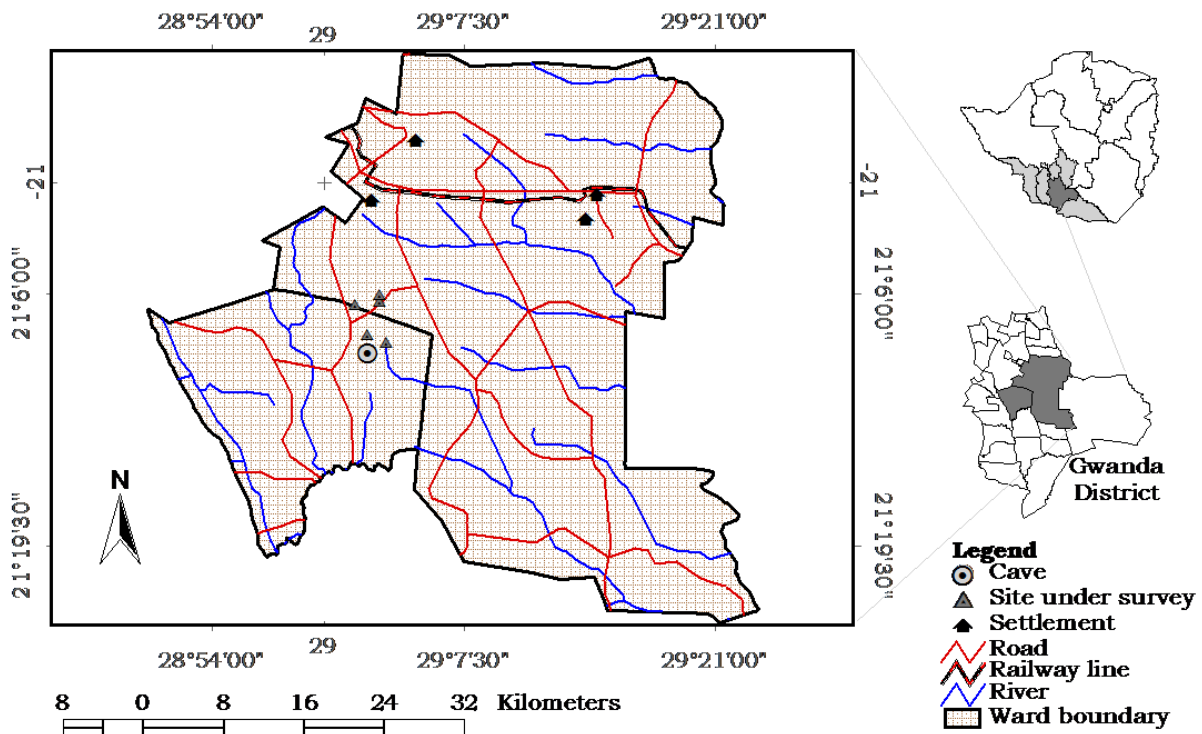


Fig 3. Map showing the sites under study. Adopted from Muringaniza (2013)

4.1 MANKUNKUBI FARMHOUSE (GPS 0712932 & 7665072)

This site is located granite hill approximately 1km south west of Mwale Dam. It is a very small shelter situated near the road to Mwale Dam and one has to walk for about 800 meters from the road (to Mwale Dam) in an north-easterly direction. . It is located about 1.3 Kilometers from the old Mankunkubi Farmhouse. Agents of deterioration have affected this site, and some paintings have faded, sunlight, rainfall and human activity at the site, activity such as the lighting of fire is responsible for the smoke deposits on the art are the major agents affecting this site.

The painters of the art made use of the fine line technique, red and yellow paintings which consist of human figures and animals in order to achieve a smooth finish to the art. Thick vegetation, the Mopani tree is the most dominant tree in the site.

4.1.1 MANKUNKUBI FARMHOUSE PANEL 2

Mankunkubi panel 2 is depicted with ten human figures one jackal. A total of 19 motifs were depicted on the panel. This panel shows a clear 72 mixture of different colours with Yellow and yellowish red being the most dominant of the colours. The jackal is depicted in red (10R/4/6). Carnivorous animals are represented in the panel in the form of one jackal is trotting around an area and sniffing for its prey on the ground, that's what jackals do when hunting.



Fig 4 Mankunkubi Farmhouse Panel 2 showing the jackal.

4.2 NSIMBI CHURCH SITE (0711770 & 7661748)

This is a site that is located about 400 metres west of Nsimbi primary school and just 100 metres from Nsimbi church. The site is located close to the Nsimbi shops as well. There is evidence of the site receiving regular visits and this is not surprising given the proximity of the site to a school, a church and the local shops. Nsimbi church rock art site is an all painting type site, located west of Nsimbi church on a hill. At the site, there were only two panels which were recorded. The two panels were located on two different boulders. However, there is evidence of graffiti at the site, probably because of the site's closeness to both Nsimbi church and Nsimbi primary school.

One of the panels is located facing south west and there are 9 humans, 2 jackals, 3 giraffes, 1 hyena, 2 kudus and one undeterminable animal. The giraffe is in association with a hyena this is depicted in the panel. There are also two jackals closely depicted in association with the aforementioned fat bellied female, this jackal could have represented the male species who impregnated a woman –rock art can also portray issues to do with sexuality and issues that happened on a daily basis In the society, this could have been another interpretation of this rock art representation on the rock surfaces. One hyena is depicted in a standing position in association with a giraffe-one might say the hunter gatherers might have seen the hyena hunting for meat from the giraffe ,hence carnivorous animals survived on other animals ,some scholars such as portray that the painters portrayed the activities and the things they saw happening in the societies . Sunlight was one of the major agents of deterioration this is noted by the fading of rock art sites.



Fig5 showing two jackals in association with other animals



Fig 6 depiction of a leopard

4.3.1 NSIMBI CHURCH PANEL 2

This panel is facing south west, with two human figures and two undeterminable animals all depicted in red. The male figures are depicted in a standing posture in association with an unidentifiable animal that is depicted above his head, this animal though indeterminable resembles a possible feline, possibly a leopard due to the long legs. The depiction could be signifying a mythical figure as it combines a human figure and the possible feline, this could also portray shamans in trance ,that have changed into half man half animal. The site is greatly affected by surface run off and sunlight causing other paintings to be faded.



Fig 7Nsimbi Church Panel 2 showing a human in association with anundeterminable animal which resembles some form of a feline

4.4 MCHELA CAVE/CAVE OF HANDS/NSELE (GPS 0713500 & 7660900)

Dense vegetation surrounds the site and the back of the cave is lined with boulders. The site was reported and confirmed by Cooke (1964) as the 'Cave of Hands' on Mtshela Hill in the Gwanda area. The site is recorded on the museum data base as Mchela Cave. Archaeologists prefer to call it the Cave of Hands because of the large number of hand prints on the rock surface. However the local community refer to the site as Ntsele. Erosion and human activities in the cave have exposed lithics, ceramics and shell beads. The cave also has a burial at the left corner of the cave opening and Cooke (1964;41) described the body in the grave as 'lying on the granite bedrock with the knees flexed up to the chest, the head pointing inwards and the orientation being in the region of north and south.' Cooke (1964;41) postulates that burials are associated with rituals and rain making ceremonies ,this was a sign to show that rituals were made at the cave of hands. The cave, like many others in Matabeleland, has been and still continues to be used for rain-making ceremonies. Nsele Cave has the widest variety of wild animals for example the felines, elephant, sable, kudu, eland, wildebeest and giraffes. The site is however threatened by both natural and human induced factors. What probably used to be one of the most extensive and impressive rock art sites in Zimbabwe is now in a sorry state of preservation with most of the paintings having been obliterated by modern graffiti and vandalism. There is evidence of deliberate pecking of the pigments used in the execution of the art and from as early as 1953, Cooke (1971) reported on this removal of pigments from the paintings on the site. The local communities however allege that the flaking of the pigments was done by researchers who took pigments in the name of scientific investigations whilst others concur with the view that the pigment is used for traditional ceremonies as it is associated with great potency and spiritual significance. Currently the site continues to be used by various Christian church groups like Masowe, ZCC that used the shelter for their prayer meetings and the accumulation of fine dust on the paintings is evidence for this popularity of the site as a meeting place for the community. Graffiti is also a common feature whereby charcoal was used to draw the stone painting causing some paintings to lose meaning. Charcoal is the most common media used for the graffiti. The site has a deep ash surface that is probably as a result of contemporary fire making by members of the community using the site as a church or for ritual activities.

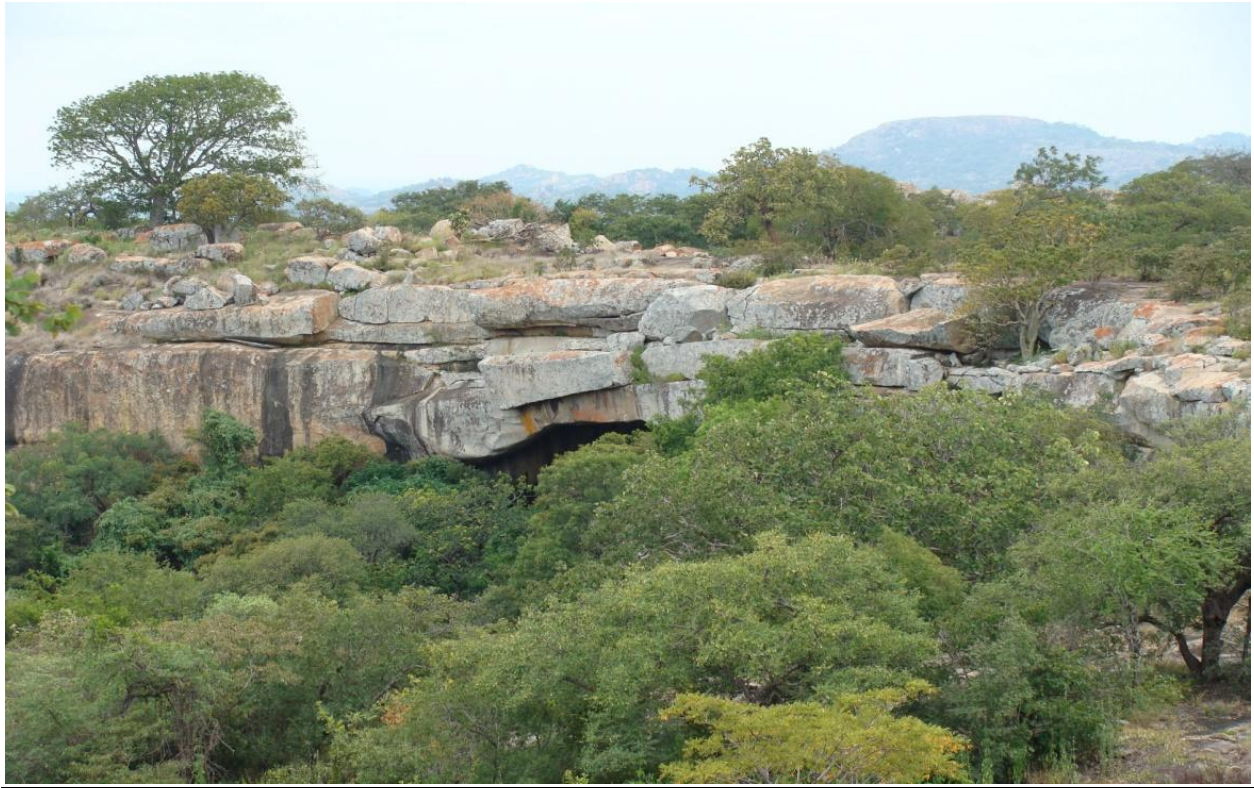


Fig 8*Photo showing the northern view of the mouth of the Cave of Hands and the thick vegetation that surrounds the site*

4.4.1 CAVE OF HANDS PANEL 1

This panel measures about 15 meters from left to right and it depicts different animals that range from lions, a jackal giraffes, elephants, kudus, wildebeests and some unidentified antelopes.. One of the depicted lions is in a yellow colour (2.5Y/7/8) whilst the other three are depicted in dusky red (10R/3/5). The jackal is depicted just below the yellow lion, this portray the issues of association in the society.



Fig 9 photo from cave of hands showing 2 lions

One of the lions is superimposed on top of a giraffe painting as attested by the photo in. The giraffe is depicted in a yellow colour whilst the lions were depicted in Dusky red. These motifs could therefore represent two different painting periods thus the use of two different pigments.



Fig 10Cave of Hands panel 1 showing a highly stylized lion depicted in yellow pigment that is executed in association with a jackal.



Fig 11 Cave of Hands panel 2 showing males in a possible hunting procession of jackals. Panel affected by graffiti and pecking of the paintings.

4.4.1.1 Frequency of animal motifs representation at the Cave of Hands.

The cave also has a fair representation of animal figures especially the herbivorous animals which constitute 90.3% of the total animal frequency at the rock art site. Also with a 27.5% representation. The remaining Carnivorous animals got a representation of 9.7%.

4.5 MUCHELI (G.P.S 0711062 and 7661731)

Mucheli fish painting site has a big snake with a therianthrope just underneath it which is depicted like a baboon like human figure that is holding a stick (figs 12-14), these might have depicted the issues of potency and shamanism, since snakes were associated with powers in bringing the rain in the San ethnography. There is a fishing view with humans surrounding the

fish, as well the fish seem to be moving in the same direction. Some of human figures depicted seem to be doing something else because they are depicted in different postures like the one kneeling, walking and standing. The colors used are brown and red are the pigments used. On this site there is also a panel that depicts a feline in a walking posture together with dotted lines



Fig 12 fishing paintings surrounded by human figures



Fig 13 big snake in association with a therianthrope.



Fig 14 leopard with its characteristic long tail.

4.5.1 General

Therianthrope	1
Geometric Abstracts	1
Animals	2
Humans	17

4.5.2 Animals

Leopard	1
Undetermined Animals	2
Fish	52
Pigments: Red, brown	

4.6 STYLES DEPICTED FOR CARNIVOROUS ANIMALS

The rock art of the Jahunda area displays various motifs and styles that are typical of hunter-gatherer rock art found in most parts of Zimbabwe and Southern Africa. The animals are shown in different outlines but there is clarity in their detail. In some instances animals are just

portrayed as outlines (see fig 14) whilst in other cases there are outlines with a solid infill (see fig12). There are also cases where the outline is in a different color from the infill (see fig 10). The motifs are mostly depicted in dark dusky red pigment. The other style which was employed at this is of half human and half animal; the style of painting represents therianthrope which is regarded as shamans or human disguise to be animals. Most of these animal paintings are highly stylized showing great detail (see fig 10). I argue that the rock art of Jahunda shows a major emphasis on stylistic variation for the animals that were depicted within a particular site or between different sites. This can be taken to suggest the importance of style in the depiction of carnivorous animals in the rock art of Jahunda.

The rock art of Jahunda is executed in different styles which can be categorized in monochrome, bio chrome. Different pigments have been used in the execution and the main colour which has been used is brown, dark red and yellow. These different execution techniques can resemble different societies which had resided the same place conclusively it can show interactions between hunter gatherer and farming communities or different execution methods to show authenticity of the artist which can be hunter gatherer or farming communities. Deacon (2012) mentioned that different pigments attributed to certain traditions which can be San, Khoi and Farming communities. The art in this region is most executed in fine line method which could probably suggest that the art is attributed to the San people. An appreciation of execution methods at the different sites therefore has the potential to help in the interpretation designed for each tradition and avoid the interpretation of the art on a different tradition. The execution methods put value on the interpretation of the motives and to know the themes associated with the different cultures responsible for the execution of the art. In the case of Jahunda, it can be argued that different san groups must have executed most of the art though a few painting can be attributed to the farming communities due to different pigments used and execution methods especially the hand prints.

It is the argument of this study that 'style' plays an integral role in the analysis of rock art. the study therefore agrees with the observation that style should be considered as the principal organisational rule for the structuring of rock art (Mguni 2001). Understanding stylistic analysis leads to insight into the rock art imagery of the southern African region.

4.7 COLOUR

Rock paintings are most common and are executed in monochrome, bichrome, polychrome and shaded polychrome though monochromes and bichromes dominate. Different techniques were used in the execution of the art with some motifs depicted as outlines whilst in some cases; the outlines are filled in (with a different colour at times). The last technique is that of the stylized depiction of different shaded colors to represent the skin of an animal and this was mostly common in the case of carnivorous paintings. Although the significance of use of colour in hunter-gatherer rock art has been downplayed by many researchers in some instances colour was used to emphasize certain parts of the motifs e.g. the ears of kudu images in the Limpopo/Shashi basin (Eastwood and Cnoops 1999). In the case of the paintings in Gwanda, colour was used to emphasize on the back line of animals such as the giraffe. This proves that the use of colour is meaningful in some cases thus an understanding of the significance of such colours could prove to be very useful in interpreting the art. The relationship between colour and motifs should therefore be one area of investigation that has great potential in informing the past.

4.8 ANIMAL REPRESENTATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Lions and jackals were the most depicted carnivorous animals in the rock art of Jahunda. In terms of associations, at almost all the sites where carnivorous animals are depicted, they are always in association with herbivorous animals such as the kudu and the giraffe. Carnivorous animals were also depicted in association with human motifs, especially male motifs who appeared to be in a hunting procession carrying hunting weapons.

It is my opinion that these animals should be taken as metaphors that were used to communicate special symbolic messages to members of the society. These motifs were depicted in different postures which could be used in coming up with sound interpretations of the art. I therefore concur with the argument by Whitley *et.al* (1999: 223) that that rock art was derived from natural models which were then made to represent complex social phenomena and therefore 'natural models' provide an interpretative key for unlocking aspects of prehistoric belief systems and religions.

San ethnography postulates that the depiction of animals on the rock painting portrays the issues of totemism, different painters depicted their totems on the rock art paintings, lions, leopards

,hyenas depict different totems among the San people ,hence this will help the future generation in knowing which totem they belonged into through the depictions of the art in the rocks.

4.9 GENDER REPRESENTATION

San ethnography also postulate that female figures were represented by herbivorous animals and carnivorous animals represented male figures; as noted by leopards, lions and jackals in the paintings of Cave of hands (Solomon 1997).

When contrasting between males and females, it was noted that males are mostly depicted as tall, narrow and slender, whilst women are depicted as round, broad and short. These are therefore the most prominent gender conventions in the San texts with slender and roundness representing masculinity and femininity respectively in a variety of contexts. Fat (roundness) of the female figures has been noted to signify the desirability of females in the African context. In the rock art of Jahunda, females are depicted having a much bigger stature than that of males. In most cases they are depicted being very fat or with huge buttocks as is the case with Mankunkubi Farmhouse site. Most of these paintings of females can be argued to be stylized unlike those of males which were merely sleek and slender figures. Great effort is therefore made towards making them fat and round. Lewis-Williams (1981) noted that the maiden (female) were always linked to the hyena as both were fat and good, that is, a signifier of the sexual attractiveness. This contrast between males and females and the metaphorical gendering of such images in the San society is therefore prominent in the rock art of the Jahunda, this was postulated at Nsimbi where a fat bellied woman was associated with a hyena ,hence this portray the issues of gender in the rock art studies as postulated by different scholars, hence carnivorous animals represent the male figures in the society.

The depicted carnivorous animals are argued to portray the issues of potency and religion with animals such as lions, snakes and jackals being associated with rainmaking ceremonies as noted by scholars Dowson (1998) , Eastwood(2006),they postulate that these animals play a pivotal role in the issues of rituals ,a lion is said the animal that had more powers in rituals as postulated by (Eastwood 1999). The rock art sites have always been argued to be a veil between the spiritual and the natural world where important traditional ceremonies (such as the rain making ceremony) were conducted.

4.10 SHAMANS

The Cave of Hands site shows a possible therianthrope associated with a snake in fig 15 which is noted by half human half animal figures which is critical in the understanding of southern African rock art paintings, as the meaning ascribed to the many depictions of carnivorous in Zimbabwe. Images that exhibit features of both humans and animals have been implicated in the shamanistic interpretation of rock art imagery. The suggestion is that such conflation reflects the transformation of a shaman into the spiritual world with the help of the depicted animal (Parkington 2003). If this is the case, then the rock art of Jahunda can surely contribute to current debates in rock art studies.

Jahunda rock art can be interpreted as highly shamanistic. This is because images depicted show some of the hunter-gatherer belief systems. This can be supported by the therianthropes at the Mucheli cave especially the baboon-like human figure (Lewis-Williams 1984). Depiction of supernatural snakes in hunter-gatherer art is also associated with trance. This is because snakes have also been depicted as some of the motifs showing shamanism in the rock art of the Bushman. Huffman (2001:52; Garlake 1987:178) asserts that the metaphorical link between the snakes and medicine man is based on the natural movement of snakes. Lewis-Williams (1981) argues that in trance medicine men are viewed as beings who can travel underground entering the earth at one place and coming out another. It is also argued by Huffman (2001:52) that snakes could have been chosen as an appropriate tool in rock art interpretation because they slough their old skins thus replicating the cycle of death and rebirth experienced by medicine men.

4.11 RITUALS AND POTENCY

Ritual scenes – these are mostly dancing scenes with human figures depicted with a bent knee and with one or two arms raised. In some cases, they would be holding their heads whilst in others they would be holding their hips, the issue of the therianthrope and snakes portray the issues to do with potency and the snakes portrayed at Nsimbi portray the issue of rituals portraying the issue of rain-making ceremonies and the depiction of lions and leopards depict the issues to do with the rain-making ceremonies, they hold the supernatural powers. , a leopard at the cave of Hands with the long legs in association with human figures. The depiction could be

signifying a mythical figure as it combines a human figure and the possible feline, this could also portray shamans in trance ,that have changed into half man half animal.

Shamans obtained lion-power by eating a lion's gall, which is believed to be the seat of its potency. When malevolent shamans roam in lion form, the shamans in the camp would enter into trance and chase them off. Dowson (1998) argues that since social practices are necessarily grounded in social, economic and political relations, rock art cannot be seen in isolation from these dominant social relations. In the San society, it can therefore be argued that the dominant relations have largely been related to myths and rituals (Solomon 1999). As such, it can be argued that the meaning in san rock art cannot be seen in isolation from the dominant social relations, belief systems and religious activities. In the San society, a number of practices are construed through the use of metaphors, hence the lions seen the Cave of hands portray the issues of myths and rituals in the san ethnography.

CHAPTER 5

5 CONCLUSION

5.1 Importance of the study for carnivorous animals

The study was to establish the significance of carnivorous animals, in Gwanda area. By understanding the ethological behavior of the carnivorous it helped in understanding the significance of the carnivores and the contributions that they made to the social and cosmological setting of the painters in the Gwanda area. Using the carnivorous paintings of Jahunda, this dissertation demonstrates that rock art was not just a narrative and straight forward record of life events or material phenomena. The images in the paintings brought in the aspect that San ethnography brought the issue that the natural world was converted into the spiritual world.

Ethological studies can definitely be successfully employed in the interpretation of rock art depicting animal motifs. A combination of ethological and ethnographic information has great potential in enhancing our interpretation of rock art. Various aspects could be established as a result of using both the ethology and the ethnography of the felines, One such aspect which was demonstrated is the idea of gender whereby the associations of the carnivores on the rock art panels was used to discuss the social process of the negotiation of gender relations in the San society. The study therefore managed to establish that gender and sexual symbolism was an important aspect in the San rock art of the province. The theme of gender was postulated in the dissertation where carnivorous animals portrayed.

Religion in the rock art of hunter-gatherers was portrayed through the ritual scenes in the paintings and hence this shows that religion played a pivotal role in the hunter gatherers societies (Churcher 1978). The rock art of Jahunda cannot be separated from the belief systems of the artists and carnivorous paintings clearly made this fact clear. Ethnographic proved that carnivorous were of outmost importance in symbolizing motifs in the rock art studies. Ethnographic helped a pivotal role in understanding cultural diversity of the hunter-gatherers as to how else carnivorous paintings were interpreted in the rock art of Jahunda through the use of

metaphors (Bleek 1932) . This study of metaphors proved just how spiritually significant carnivorous were in the San community.

In conclusion carnivorous were very important motifs in the execution of the rock art of Jahunda. The study also proved that the study of natural phenomena such as animals and plants depicted in the rock art of Jahunda cannot be seen in isolation of ethnographic records as these have the capacity of giving us an insight on issues of spiritual symbolism, which might otherwise be silent on the surface. The carnivorous and fish motifs for the rock art of Jahunda has to be greatly researched on to give an insight meaning on other parts of the continent. The kudu has definitely dominated rock art research in Zimbabwe (Nhamo 2007, Eastwood 1999, Eastwood et al. 1998) but the carnivorous animals is one aspect that has been left out by many scholars that should be looked into because it has some rich paintings in different areas and hence it should be researched about like other animals in Southern Africa..

5.2 PROSPECTS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The research project in the Jahunda area was an eye opener and it managed to prove the usefulness of both ethnography and ethology in the interpretation of paintings from the natural world. Natural modeling is definitely of great significance if we are to clearly interpret the art.

this researcher however noted areas that are still in need of further research and these aspects could be taken up in future research given more time and resources. These include

The need for research that will look at the significance of the carnivore's paintings in Zimbabwe as a whole without necessarily looking at one region. It is my understanding that the carnivorous are of symbolic significance and the employment of both ethological and ethnographical studies in Zimbabwean rock art can help in appreciating the cultural diversity of the hunter-gatherers in the country.

The need to take into account the ethnographic analogies from different groups on the significance of the carnivores, not necessarily depending on the Kalahari ethnography. Hunter-gatherers reported in Tsholotsho and the Shashe –Limpopo province. These hunter-gatherer groups are much closer home and their ethnographies might surely shed more light on the cultural significance that the carnivorous animals holding in the belief systems.

The need for further survey in, the Gwanda area so as to discover new sites and these can be used for research. Gwanda is rich in rock art sites, hence if much effort is put in surveying these sites and more interpretation will come up in the understanding of rock art studies in Zimbabwe especially the interpretation of carnivorous animals.

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ROCK ART SITE RECORD

Site location

Site type

Rock art technique

Associated features

Associated artifacts

Number of panels _____

Method of determination

Number of motifs

Condition of the site

Vandalism

Documentation

Recorder _____

Date _____

Appendix 2

Rock art panel record

Panel number _____

Panel size _____

Orientation _____

Inclination _____

Weather Conditions

Number of motifs present

Super-positioning

Motif associations

Motif attributes (eg, postures)

Medium used (brushes, feathers or palettes)

Condition of the panel

Comments

Documentation

Recorder _____

Date _____