



# Colour in the past: shaded polychromes in the hunter-gatherer history of the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg, South Africa

by Aron D. Mazel\*

## ABSTRACT

*Recent developments in the absolute and the relative dating of the paintings of the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg in South Africa (Mazel & Watchman 1997, 2003; Russell 2000; Swart 2004), along with a re-assessment of earlier sequencing work by Pager (1971) and Vinnicombe (1976), has made it possible to begin investigating the age of painted imagery in a way which was not possible previously. The focus of this paper is on the shaded polychrome technique which has been regarded by many researchers as representing the climax of San hunter-gatherer art in the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg. Applied mostly to eland and rhebuck, it is first suggested that the use of this painting technique by San hunter-gatherers is older than previously thought, and secondly the relationship between the new chronology for these shaded polychromes and social interpretations of hunter-gatherer history that are based primarily on the excavations of rock shelter deposits in the Drakensberg and adjacent areas is explored. In the conclusion possible suggestions for future research are offered.*

## RIASSUNTO

*Recenti sviluppi sulla datazione relativa ed assoluta delle pitture di uKhahlamba-Drakensberg in Sud Africa (Mazel & Watchman 1997, 2003; Russell 2000; Swart 2004) insieme ad una rivalutazione della prima cronologia eseguita da Pager (1971) e Vinnicombe (1976), hanno permesso di avanzare nuove ipotesi di datazione delle raffigurazioni simboliche attraverso l'uso di una metodologia finora sconosciuta.*

*L'articolo si concentra sulla tecnica di ombreggiatura policroma che è stata interpretata da vari ricercatori come il culmine dell'arte dei San cacciatori-raccoglitori del uKhahlamba-Drakensberg.*

*L'utilizzo di questa tecnica da parte dei San cacciatori-raccoglitori, soprattutto per le rappresentazioni di antilopi e gazzelle, ci suggerisce che probabilmente questa tecnica pittorica è più antica di quanto si pensasse e ci permette di esaminare le relazioni che intercorrono tra la nuova cronologia di queste ombre policrome e la storia sociale dei cacciatori-raccoglitori che finora si erano basate sui depositi ritrovati nei rifugi di pietra di Drakensberg e delle aree adiacenti. Nelle conclusioni si offrono degli spunti di riflessione per ulteriori ricerche.*

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## INTRODUCTION

The shaded polychrome paintings of the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg mountains of south-eastern Africa have long been considered to represent the highpoint in the San hunter-gatherer artistic tradition (Figures 1 & 2). Already in the 1930s Mason (1933) referred to the 'beautiful polychrome period' and fifty years later Campbell (1987: 130) commented that the shaded polychrome antelope paintings, along with associated imagery, 'are unrivalled in southern Africa, and, indeed, elsewhere.' Many commentators have highlighted that the eland, the most celebrated of all animals in San hunter-gatherer art, were 'lavished [with] most care. More paintings of eland are done in the complex and time-consuming polychrome technique than of any other animal' (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 2000:120).

Despite extensive acknowledgement of the splendour and extraordinary beauty of these paintings their position in the archaeological record has not been sufficiently explored. Considering the chronology of shaded polychrome eland, Vinnicombe (1976: 143) believed that the 'Ages of approximately 200-300 years

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for shaded polychrome eland support the view that the technique of intentionally shading two or more colours was adopted in the central mountain region during the 18th century.' About a decade later, Campbell (1987: 131), drawing on the work of Willcox, Pager, Lewis-Williams and Vinnicombe, argued that the 'general consensus' is that shaded polychromes 'belong to the contact period' [i.e. during the 19th century].

New information generated during the last two decades allows us to review Vinnicombe's and Campbell's conclusions regarding the age of shaded polychromes. This includes the relative and absolute dating of uKhahlamba-Drakensberg rock art by Mazel & Watchman (1997, 2003), Russell (1997, 2000) and Swart (2004) as well as the excavation of rock shelters (Maggs & Ward 1980; Mazel 1984, 1990, 1992a). An assessment of the earlier rock art sequencing work done by Pager (1971) and Vinnicombe (1976) complements this new data. Drawing together these different strands of evidence I propose that shaded polychrome paintings are considerably older than previously thought and, with few exceptions, are between ca. 2000 and 1600 years old.

This paper has three main sections: (i) a brief overview of the hunter-gatherer occupations of the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg; (ii) a review of the dating of shaded polychrome paintings; and (iii) a brief discussion of the age of these paintings in relation to their social context.

#### HUNTER-GATHERER OCCUPATION OF THE UKHAHLAMBA-DRAKENSBERG: EVIDENCE FROM ROCK ART AND EXCAVATIONS

The excavation and rock art dating research that reveals the timing of hunter-gatherer occupation of the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg has, with the exception of the excavation of Good Hope 1 (Cable et al. 1980), been done in the north of this mountain range. From Good Hope 1, we learn that Holocene hunter-gatherers first occupied the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg around 8000 years ago. Thereafter, our knowledge about hunter-gatherer settlement of this region derives almost exclusively from the north, which they appear to have first inhabited around 5000 years ago. This habitation seems to have been rather ephemeral until 3000 years ago when a more intensive occupation is revealed through the increasing number of lived in rock shelters, the increasing quantities and variety of food and cultural remains recovered from excavations (Maggs & Ward 1980; Mazel 1984, 1989, 1990, 1992a), and the production of rock art (for example, Mazel 1989; Mazel & Watchman 2003). Dating of the excavated deposits and the rock paintings indicates that hunter-gatherers abandoned the northern uKhahlamba-Drakensberg around 1600 years ago for about a thousand years. This break in occupation appears to coincide with the settling of the farming communities in the central Thukela basin (Table 1; Figure 1)<sup>1</sup>. It is likely that the hunter-gatherer re-occupation of the northern uKhahlamba-Drakensberg around 600 years ago was associated with the farmers establishing themselves in the areas adjacent to the mountains at roughly the same time.

#### DATING THE SHADED POLYCHROMES

I have arrived at the position where I argue that the shaded polychrome paintings are from an earlier period than once thought by examining evidence from the excavation of Collingham Shelter, by analysing the radiocarbon dating of the paintings, and by assessing the painting sequences constructed by Pager (1971), Vinnicombe (1976), Russell (1997, 2000), and Swart (2004). This evidence will be addressed in this section.

The excavation of Collingham Shelter in the late 1980s represents a turning point in our understanding of uKhahlamba-Drakensberg hunter-gatherer history. Not only did the site yield extensive food remains which shed new light on the diet of the hunter-gatherers but it also produced a rich cultural assemblage. This included a painted slab which was recovered from securely dated 1800-year-old deposits (Figure 3) and a collapsed ceiling with paintings identified on the underside (Figure 4) (Mazel 1992a, 1994). While the painted slab provided the first indication of the greater antiquity of the region's painting tradition, previously thought to be less than a thousand years old (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1992), the paintings on the collapsed ceiling showed that shaded polychromes were older than previously believed.

One of the images on the ceiling was the neck and head of a shaded polychrome eland (Figure 4). A minimum date of 650 years ago for this painting was obtained from the radiocarbon dating of a piece of wood lying on top of the deposit beneath the collapsed ceiling (Mazel 1992a). Of course the possibility exists that the ceiling collapsed long after the piece of dated wood was left in the rock shelter. However, the general condition of the wood and the assessment of the archaeological remains recovered during the excavation led to the conclusion that the final occupation of the site was curtailed by the collapsed ceiling, around, or shortly after, 650 BP (Mazel 1992a).

Of further relevance regarding the age of the paintings on the collapsed ceiling is that the seven radiocarbon dates processed from Collingham Shelter show that possibly over 90%, but certainly more than 85%, of the deposit dates to 1880-1770 BP, with ephemeral deposits - presumably representing short-lived occupations - from around 1260 and 650 BP (Mazel 1992a). It is tempting to conclude that the paintings on the collapsed ceiling, including the shaded polychrome eland, were done during the intense period of occupation of the site shortly after 2000 years ago. This view is supported by the fact that the early deposits yielded an abundance of ochre (n=467), including ground specimens (n=7), and many artefacts used for processing ochre (for example, ochre-stained grindstones and palettes). The ephemeral 1260 BP deposits yielded only 14 pieces of unground ochre. These items were represented in considerably lower densities than in the underlying deposits.

The AMS radiocarbon rock painting dating project (Mazel & Watchman 1997, 2003) in the northern uKhahlamba-Drakensberg has produced two sets of dates. The initial phase of dating yielded dates of  $330 \pm 90$  BP and  $420 \pm 340$  BP; the latter date was rejected because of the large standard deviation. The 330 BP date, from Esikolweni Shelter, was obtained on a piece of plant fibre in the paint of a bichrome orange and white eland.

During the second research phase a further seven radiocarbon dates were obtained on carbon in salt-rich crusts that underlie and overlie paintings. Excluding the Barnes Shelter date, the carbon in four crusts overlying the paintings at Main Caves North and Highmoor 1 yielded dates between 2300-2900 years ago, while the crust underlying a painting at White Elephant Shelter has been dated to 1930 year ago. These radiocarbon dates provide estimates for the formation of the salt, providing a minimum age for a painting where the salt was deposited above the paint and a maximum age when the salt formed prior to painting. The time lapse between the formation of the crusts and the painting is not known, but Mazel & Watchman (2003) believe that it is likely to be hundreds rather than thousands of years. On this basis they concluded that these paintings predate 2000 years ago, especially when considering that the minimum date for the White Elephant Shelter painting is 1930 years ago.

Of particular interest for the argument that the shaded polychrome paintings are older than previously thought are the dates on a bichrome eland (Figure 5) and shaded polychrome rhebuck from Main Caves North (Figure 6). Two dates were obtained on the eland: 2900 BP on the crust overlying red paint from the torso and 2760 BP on the crust overlying white paint from the neck. The crust overlying the shaded polychrome rhebuck has been dated to 2360 BP, indicating that it is several hundred years younger than the bichrome eland. Given the time lapse of hundreds of years between the formation of the crusts and the execution of the paintings it can be concluded that this shaded polychrome rhebuck was painted around 2000 years ago.

Next we turn to the sequencing of the paintings. Assessment of this information shows that: firstly, the shaded polychrome paintings occur, with few exceptions, in the middle of the painting sequence; secondly, that their appearance was accompanied by other innovations in the art and the introduction of new subject matter; thirdly, that these paintings disappeared suddenly; and, finally, that there are marked differences between the layers which contain shaded polychrome paintings and the overlying layers where they are absent. Information supporting this aspect of the argument derives from the work done by:

- Pager (1971; Cathedral Peak and Cathkin Park, northern uKhahlamba-Drakensberg);
- Vinnicombe (1976; southern uKhahlamba-Drakensberg);
- Russell (1997, 2000; Main Caves North, central uKhahlamba-Drakensberg); and,
- Swart (2004 Ngwangwane 8, southern uKhahlamba-Drakensberg and Eland Cave, northern uKhahlamba-Drakensberg).

The latter two have used the Harris-Matrix methodology in the construction of their sequences. All except for Pager investigated the full range of painted imagery. While Pager focused exclusively on eland, he believed that the establishment of a relative sequence for these paintings would 'elucidate the sequence of most of the other paintings' because (i) these paintings showed the greatest range in colour schemes and (ii) their large size and 'ubiquity' were involved in the 'majority' of superimpositions (Pager 1971:353). Reference to these various schemes has enabled the development of an overall interpretation of some of the notable changes that have typified the development of uKhahlamba-Drakensberg paintings, although it is appreciated that there are likely to be regional and possibly even site and intra-site sequences within the general scheme (Russell 1997, 2000; Swart 2004; see also Mazel 2007 in press)

Comparing the sequences developed by herself, Pager (1971) and Vinnicombe (1976), Russell (2000; Table 2) has shown that shaded polychromes enter the archaeological record at the same point in all three sequences. It is noteworthy, however, that Pager has the introduction of shading in two colours in a previous layer (i.e. his Style 3) for which Russell and Vinnicombe have no equivalent (Table 2). Excluding Russell's Layer 4, which comprises monochrome white rhebuck, and which has not been recognized as a distinct layer by Pager, there is agreement between their respective sequences about the temporal distribution of shaded polychrome imagery. These paintings are absent in the upper two layers identified by both Russell (2000) and Pager (1971), except for what Pager (1971: 354) refers to as 'a few exceptional shaded specimens' in his uppermost layer. Considering the incidence of shaded polychromes at Main Caves North, Russell (2000: 64) comments that they 'are neither the earliest type of painting nor the latest. As a category, they are found predominantly in the middle of the sequence of paintings at Main Caves North.' The same insight applies to Pager's scheme.

While Russell (2000) was able to place the dated Main Caves North bichrome eland (i.e. 2900 and 2760 BP) in Layer 2, she was unable to securely allocate the dated shaded polychrome rhebuck (i.e. 2360 BP) to a



painted layer because it was painted directly onto the rockface and lacked superimpositioning. However, given that the difference in age between these paintings is several hundred years, it is not unreasonable to conclude that the polychrome shaded rhebuck either belongs in Russell's Layer 3, which saw the introduction of shaded polychromes, or one of other two overlying layers which contained these paintings (Table 2).

Russell (2000; Table 2) summarises the differences in the paintings between Pager's (1971) and her uppermost layers, which lack shaded polychromes, and the underlying shaded polychrome layers. Additional differences between these layers identified by Pager include:

- 'strikingly fresh appearance of the vermilion' which he believes is 'noteworthy since such bright red is not found in the older paintings' (Pager 1971: 354);
- the return to the flat painting technique (i.e. unshaded);
- the introduction 'of other colour schemes which are not encountered in the older schemes' (for example, the combination of red and black (Pager 1971:354); and,
- while large and small eland occur in all the layers he identifies 'a noticeable increase in size during the period of the shaded polychromes...and a subsequent decrease with the return to the more simple techniques of painting' (Pager 1971:356).

While it is practicable to compare the early and middle part of Vinnicombe's (1976) sequence with those of Russell's (1997, 2000) and Pager's (1971), the same cannot be said for the upper half of her sequence because she appears to have lumped several phases together (Table 2; see also Mazel 2007 in press). Nonetheless, it is pertinent that Vinnicombe (1976) identifies a decrease in shaded polychromes and the increasing range of colours used by the painters in her uppermost layer.

Swart (2004) conducted Harris Matrix analyses of the rock art at Eland Cave and Ngwangwane 8, but unfortunately has not specifically identified shaded polychromes in her sequences. Nonetheless, Swart (2004) notes that shaded paintings are present from mid-sequence and comments that they occur 'to the end'. Considering her individual sequences, shading is absent in the Eland Cave Z8PD panel, but occurs roughly in the middle of her five phase sequence in the Z8PB panel at this site. Of note is that many decades before Swart did her research at this site, Mason (1933) had already noted that shaded polychromes occurred in the middle of the Eland Cave painted sequence and that, in the upper half of the sequence, there was a clear break between the stages which contained shaded polychromes and those which did not. He commented that the stage immediately overlying the final shaded polychrome stage 'is in marked contrast to the previous one. Less attention has been paid to detail, but the figures, mostly of eland, are strongly impressionistic. The colours used in this series have faded more rapidly than those of earlier series. The technique of pigment preparation had therefore also deteriorated' (Mason 1933: 134).

At Ngwangwane 8, shaded paintings occur in the middle of the sequence and then, after being absent in the two overlying phases, re-appear in the penultimate layer. Swart (2004: 24) describes it thus: 'Towards the end of this phase these colours [i.e. red, red and white, maroon and white] are combined with orangey-reds, and shading occurs.' It would appear from the latter comment, tacked on to the end of the sentence, that shading is not a particularly significant feature of the layer. The possibility exists that its presence in this layer is commensurate with Pager's (1971) reference to 'a few exceptional shaded specimens' in his uppermost painted layer. No information is forthcoming from either Pager or Swart as to whether the nature of the late shading identified by them differs from the earlier occurrences.

The advent of shaded polychromes coincides with other innovations in the painted record. Vinnicombe (1976) links it with the introduction of elements of perspective while both Russell (2000) and Swart (2004) indicate that it coincides, sequentially at least, with the appearance of rhebuck. Furthermore, Swart (2004) also suggests that shading was accompanied by the introduction of other animals into the painted record, such as bushpig, hartebeest, reedbuck and felines.

Drawing together the different strands of evidence it would appear that shaded polychromes, with few exceptions, occur in the middle of the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg painted sequence. The exceptions aside, they appear to have been first made around 2000 years ago and disappeared before 600 years ago. While Pager (1971: 356) believes that their sudden disappearance may relate to 'the waxing and waning of confidence of the painters' it is argued here instead that this disjuncture is associated, in the northern uKhahlamba-Drakensberg at least, with the hunter-gatherers abandoning the mountains for a thousand year period from around 1600 years ago when farmers began settling in the central Thukela basin. When the hunter-gatherers re-occupied the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg a thousand years later they no longer produced shaded polychrome paintings save a few exceptions. It is, therefore, likely that the shaded polychrome phase of painting relates to a period between ca. 2000 and 1600 years ago.

#### PLACING THE SHADED POLYCHROMES IN SOCIAL CONTEXT

While the northern uKhahlamba-Drakensberg hunter-gatherers experienced a process of ongoing social and economic intensification between 3000 and 2000 years ago, it would appear that the period between ca. 2000 and 1600 years ago was a period of even greater change and flux in hunter-gatherer society as evidenced by the material cultural record. Especially noteworthy was the advent of pottery around 2000 years ago and the possible related introduction of copper and iron beads (Mazel 1992a, 1992b). Another significant item from the period is the open bowl carved out of talc schist from Driel Shelter as the nearest talc schist source to this site is some 160 km away (Maggs & Ward 1980).

This talc schist bowl indicates that before the abandonment of the northern uKhahlamba-Drakensberg the hunter-gatherers had widespread networks and they may even themselves have moved about a larger area as the recovery of marine shells and the bones of impala and blue and red duiker, from even earlier deposits in this region, shows that they already had contact with the coast – even further to the east than the source of the talc schist – before 2000 years ago. It is therefore highly likely that the hunter-gatherers were fully aware of the movement of farmers down the African east coast well before they actually arrived on the KwaZulu-Natal coast around the beginning of first millennium AD (Whitelaw & Moon 1996). It would thus seem that the production of shaded polychrome paintings between ca. 2000 and 1600 years ago along with associated features, such as the introduction of perspective and a greater variety of animals represented in the art, strengthens the already identified pattern (Mazel 1989) that this was a period of great change and flux in uKhahlamba-Drakensberg hunter-gatherer society.

Of particular interest is that the early hunter-gatherer pottery predates the arrival of the farmers on the KwaZulu-Natal coast by several centuries and it is very different from the pottery associated with those farming communities (Mazel 1992b). Additional research is required to establish the source of the pottery, but the possibility exists that the hunter-gatherers obtained it through an extensive network of contacts that extended far to the north and west. Another option that has been raised is that pottery was possibly introduced by the pastoralists, who may have moved quickly through the region, or nearby, without leaving an archaeological imprint. Either way the advent of pottery would have been a significant episode in hunter-gatherer history both in terms of mechanisms through which it reached this region and the subsequent impact that it had on the lifestyles of the hunter-gatherers.

Up to now I have shown through the evidence of copper and iron beads, the advent of pottery, and the existence of a talc schist bowl that it was very likely that the hunter-gatherers had extensive networks and moved over substantial distances. It would seem that they would have been aware of the southward coastal movement, and eventual arrival, of the farmers. We should not, however, overlook the fact that the social and economic intensification processes that characterised earlier hunter-gatherers would have been ongoing and are likely to have been influenced by these factors. It is not possible to fully explore their impact here, but it would appear that the period from ca. 2000-1500 BP was one of great flux and uncertainty for the hunter-gatherers and that it is likely to have been associated with heightened stress. Furthermore, it would seem from the rock art dating evidence, the excavated evidence and the rock art sequencing work that this was also a period of fine and more complex artwork.

Observations among Kalahari hunter-gatherers indicate that they increase and elaborate their trance dances to alleviate the rise in stress in their lives. Guenther (1976: 50) comments as follows: 'As the tensions and pressures in the farm Bushmen's everyday existence have grown so has the importance of ritual through which it is partially elaborated. Ghanzi people observe that there has been rise in trance dance performances over the last decade...Not only have dance performances increased in incidence but the ritual has also become more elaborate and more esoteric and the role of the shaman-dancer more specialized.' The insights developed by Guenther have previously been used to explain that the abundance of horses, cattle and colonial paintings in the southern uKhahlamba-Drakensberg are associated with the stress and trauma that hunter-gatherer society experienced during the 19th century (Manhire et al. 1986). It is suggested that their forbearers, some 2000 years earlier, had used the same, or similar, ritual mechanisms to ameliorate and manage stressful situations, and that this influenced both the increased painting production and the efflorescence witnessed in the content of the art.

It is noteworthy that Mason had already in the 1930s identified a shaded 'polychrome period.' He commented that during 'this period the artists utilised a wide variety of pigments, they improved their draughtsmanship and they depicted scenes comprising many figures making a tableau. This was a period of great religious fervour evidenced by the winged antelopes, the ritual scenes, the masked dances; a time too of social organisation for we see portrayed those who are in authority' (Mason 1933:149). While some of Mason's conclusions would rightly be dismissed nowadays (for example, the representation of 'foreign' people in the art), it is nonetheless of great interest that he already then related the 'polychrome period' to a phase of 'great religious fervour.' This conclusion would seem to be borne out by the research and insights presented in this paper. More research is required, however, to confirm whether the advent of the shaded polychromes - and associated features - were also associated with an upsurge in painting activity, which I suspect they were.



**CONCLUSION**

New information generated during the last two decades has enabled the development of new perspectives on one of the celebrated components of southern Africa and world rock art: the shaded polychromes of the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg. Not only has it been shown that these paintings are probably, with few exceptions, much older than previously thought, but it has been proposed that they owe their existence to some of the dramatic changes that took place in subcontinent around 2000 years ago.

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I thank Ann Macdonald for her editorial input.

**LIST OF FIGURES**

Figure 1. Location of the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg mountains and the key sites.

Figure 2. Shaded polychrome eland from Eland Cave.

Figure 3. Painted slab from deposits dating to 1800 years ago from Collingham Shelter (drawing: Paul den Hoed).

Figure 4. Piece of collapsed ceiling with paintings on it from Collingham Shelter (drawing: Paul den Hoed).

Figure 5 Main Caves North: eland overlying dated crust. Sticks show where samples were taken. Scale in centimetres. (photo: Aron Mazel).

Figure 6 Main Caves North: rhebuck overlying dated crust. Stick shows where sample was taken. Scale in centimetres. (photograph: Aron Mazel)

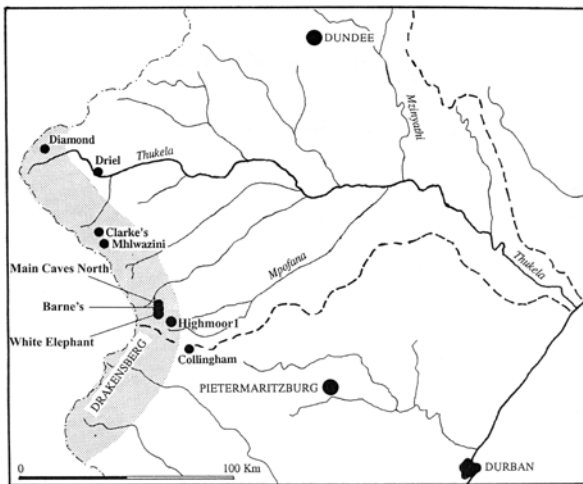


fig. 1



fig. 2

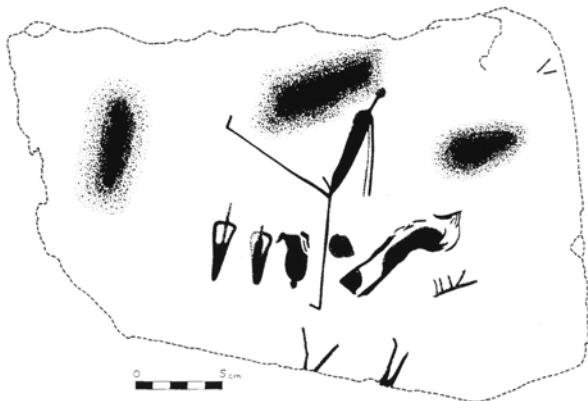


fig. 3

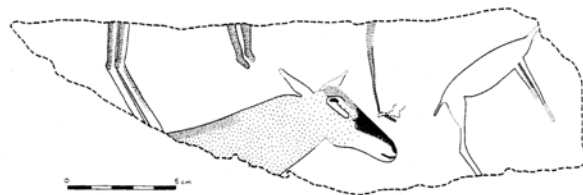


fig. 4



fig. 5



fig. 6

Excavation Dates (BP)	Painting Dates (BP)
190	
320	330
580	
650	
<hr/>	
1260*	1060**
<hr/>	
1580	
1770	1930
1800	
1810	
1830	
1880	2310
2180	2360
2280	
2380	
2570	2760
2760	2770
2810	2900
3020	
4900	

Table 1 Comparison of the northern uKhahlamba-Drakensberg uncalibrated dates obtained from the excavations and the dating of the paintings.\* = Collingham Shelter date of 1260 BP which relates to the ephemeral occupation of the site; \*\* = Barne's Shelter date of 1060 BP on a crust overlying the painting and is therefore a minimum date. It is likely that the painting was done several hundred years earlier.



PAGER	VINNICOMBE	MAIN CAVES NORTH
<b>Style One:</b> Monochrome dull red.	<b>Phase One:</b> Dark red/maroon stain. Possibly monochrome. Horizontal blocks (animal).	<b>Layer One:</b> Monochrome dark purple bovids and human figures. Monochrome orange paint and monochrome brown human figures. Bichrome dark purple and white bovids. Paint is stained into rockface.
<b>Style Two:</b> Bichrome dull red and white.	<b>Phase Two:</b> Human figures and animals in shades of red with white details. Stain or thin film of paint. Some blending.	<b>Layer Two:</b> Bichrome human figures (red and white). Polychrome eland (purple/ maroon, white and black).
<b>Style Three:</b> Shaded in two colours: dull red and white. Black introduced for human figures.	No equivalent.	No equivalent.
<b>Style Four:</b> Shaded polychrome only. Black used for horns, hooves and back stripe.	<b>Phase Three:</b> Shaded polychromes (rhebuck and eland). Use of perspective. Fine details on human figures. Unshaded monochromes, bichromes and polychromes persist. Paint is thick and brushstrokes show. Lots of colours and blending. Black for details.	<b>Layer Three:</b> Polychrome shaded eland and bovids (pink, brown, purple, orange, black and white). Human figures bichrome (orange and brown). Black for details. Thick paint and brushstrokes.
No equivalent	No equivalent	<b>Layer Four:</b> Monochrome white (rhebuck).
<b>Style Five:</b> Shading continues with the addition of yellow and orange.	<b>Phase Four:</b> Shaded polychromes decrease. Black, yellow and orange increase. Red less common. Paint is powdery and lacks binding medium. No brushstrokes show. Eland are stylised, (stiffer, more block-like representations), polychrome or bichrome in yellow/orange with white heads, necks and bellies.	<b>Layer Five:</b> Shaded polychromes.
<b>Style Six:</b> Unshaded polychrome eland in bright yellow, red and orange with black and white. Black and dull red are combined.	Equivalent to Phase Four.	<b>Layer Six:</b> Monochrome pink (rhebuck and ovals*) and monochrome brown-red (therianthropes).
<b>Style Seven:</b> Unshaded monochromes and bichromes in white, black, bright red, yellow and orange. A few shaded motifs.	Equivalent to Phase Four.	<b>Layer Seven:</b> Bichrome (yellow and white) and polychrome (yellow, white and black) eland.

Table 2 Comparison of the sequences proposed by Pager (1971), Russell (2000) and Vinnicombe (1976) (from Russell 2000).



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