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ARTICLE

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ABSTRACT

Telperion Shelter is a multi-component rock art site in western Mpumalanga, South Africa. The shelter's back wall contains the artwork of Bushman foragers, Kheokhoe herders, Sotho-Tswana farmers and South African War-period (1899–1902) occupants, amongst more recent graffiti. Thus, the site was used by culturally disparate communities who left their mark on the wall. The site presents an interesting space to examine place-making over the last several thousand years. Referring to Manuel Castells (2000, *The Rise of the Network Society*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers) and his 'space of flow' concept, we test his theoretical approach as a framework for examining place-making and archaeological palimpsests, which in Telperion's case is a multi-cultural rock art panel. In this framework, space, defined as a material product in relation to other material products, is a changing variable with its significance determined by its connectivity and nodality, and the influence people with power placed upon it. We consider the landscape biography of Telperion and its immediate surroundings in a way that captures the shifting functions and roles of the site as it was used by culturally different groups over time. The site and its painted back wall becomes an articulatory channel through which the disparate, culturally dependent, shifting meaning of 'place' can be explored.

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Introduction

Sociologist Manuel Castells (2000) created the term 'space of flow'. With this, he referred to 'space, time, and their dynamic interaction with society in the digital age' (cf. Roos 2010, 50). Castells (2000) argues that within this modern sense of space is synchronicity and real-time interaction existing without the need for proximity. Although Castells' theory is designed for the understanding of space in the modern digital age, an archaeological redressing of the manner in which he approaches space provides us with a framework through which to consider different phases of a site's history. Its consideration of spaces and place, which are culturally meaningful areas

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with localised and shared experiences (Harmanşah 2014), leads to understanding the landscape (Casey 2001, 404; Ullmann 2014) as comprising many shifting variables even though it is static (e.g. Ouzman 1995; Namono 2008). A space's cultural existence is tied to the use or memory of the space, without which a 'place' may cease to be as its symbolic association and interpretations are no longer inherent. Tangible material culture and intangible indicators, such as stories or poems (e.g. van Schalkwyk and Smith 2004), are often all that remain as a reminder that this space was once an important place to people. Through the study of these remains we can resurrect a site's significance. Because of the temporality of place, multiple places can occur at the same site over time. It was recreated, reimagined and revisited with each use (Dean and Millar 2005, 14; Harmanşah 2014). A place can thus be recycled between cultural groups, sometimes without the one even knowing of the other. Spaces of flow are thus spaces that become important because they attract culturally distinct and often dissimilar groups who converge upon it, at different times, but use it in ways that instil the site with meaning.

Our reading of Castells' (2000) theory led us to question its potential application in an archaeological context; using a post-digital-world theory in a pre-digital-world study. Here, we show its applicability as a framework when examining space, and specifically place-making. It is also a useful model when dealing with rock art palimpsests and provides a structure to our investigation of the overlapping rock art sequence at our study site of Telperion in western Mpumalanga, South Africa. The co-occurrence of Bushman, Khoekhoe and Sotho-Tswana rock art, as well as historic period 'graffiti', creates a unique spatial and temporal dynamic that is entangled through the sharing of a single space. Disparate communities visited and used the site from possibly before the appearance of livestock in southern Africa until the twentieth century; although we do not consider this latter use here, the site is presently used as a tourist and research 'space'. While some groups might have used the site in similar ways, to each the site became a culturally meaningful place, which can be interpreted from the shelter's rock art sequence. In this way, we examine the site's changing 'flow'. By studying these reimaginings of place, we begin to develop a historiography and landscape biography for Telperion and the region (see also Forssman and Louw 2016). This type of approach, we suggest, is applicable to many other archaeological sites where multiple archaeological traditions or uses are present, allowing the investigator to examine place-making. By framing sites within Castells' (2000) theory, the interconnectedness of archaeological spaces and places, as well as living heritage, can be examined and helps shed light on power relations, social alliances, the organisation of space, and cultural change.

Social theory and the space of flow

> 'Space is a material product, in relationship to other material products – including people – who engage in (historically) determined social relationships that provide space with a form, a function, and a social meaning' (Castells 1972, 152).

To Castells (1972), one cannot define space without referencing social practices (Castells 2000, 441) or time-sharing social activities (Castells 2000, 441). Space, therefore, is a medium in which simultaneous actions are brought together and at which, over time, dissimilar practices performed by different agents may occur (Harvey 1990, 204). In this sense, space has both tangible and intangible features, with the former acting as a signifier of the latter. For instance, we can use archaeological material culture to interpret how the space functioned to those responsible for producing the artefacts. By examining rock art sequences and using ethnography to relate specific imagery to what it may have symbolised (e.g. Lewis-Williams 1981a), we can interpret the site's uses. In doing so, tangible material remains are used to indicate aspects of the site's social meaning. While we cannot expect to achieve this in its entirety, nor should we assume that all intangible features would have material correlates, it does bring us closer to understanding a site's shifting function. We are, in this way, dealing with several articulating features: material culture, spatial construction, spatial conceptualisation and chronological change.

Castells (2000) views society as constructed in a series of flows. He defines 'flows' as 'purposeful, repetitive, programmable sequences of exchange and interaction between physically disjointed positions held by social actors in the economic, political, and symbolic structures of society' (2000, 442). This is in terms of capital, information, technology, interactions, experiences and symbols. Those arrangements of both organisations and institutions that play a role in structuring the internal logic of society and shape social actions and consciousness are referred to as the dominant structures. As such, it is these structures in society that are responsible for the ensemble of material culture and symbols that manifest in space. That these are not static and change over time instils a sense of fluidity in the way we are able to conceptualise the articulation of activities in spaces. Hence the idea of spaces of flow. Understanding the abstract concept of a space of flow, according to Castells (2000, 442), is best achieved by examining and specifying its content, since it is defined by the material support (e.g. material culture) dictated by the dominant processes in society (but not always adhered to). Castells (2000) does this by considering three key aspects of space.

One aspect of Castells' (2000) approach is to consider the *circuit of exchanges* that constitutes a material basis through which society's networks function. Since Castells' theory deals with the digital age, to him this is electronic-based equipment, telecommunications, computer and broadcasting systems, and high-speed transport. For our purposes, we consider two aspects

of the archaeological site as network platforms. The first component of communication is the network, which is considered fundamental to the feature's spatial configuration. As such, the infrastructural system (e.g. telecommunication lines or pathways connecting villages) is an expression of the network of flows. Changes in these systems alter the geography of space. For example, van Schalkwyk (2015) examines the geography, interconnectedness and systems that communication bridges offer. Using a railway bridge across the Vaal River near Vereeniging as an example, he shows that by removing one aspect of a connected system the entire network's ability is diminished. He draws on two scholars: Immanuel Wallerstein's (1974a; 1974b; 1974c; 1974d) concepts of 'world-systems', which, like Castells' (2000) framework, emphasises connectivity and fluidity between points but refers specifically to cores and peripheries, is further expanded through the work of Arjun Appadurai (1990), who breaks down the complex global economy into a series of 'scapes' (vistas) that are dependent on the relationship between the economy, culture and politics. In a similar sense, Castells' (2000) framework captures the microcosm of relationships occurring across time and space and between people. Archaeological sites, and specifically rock art panels, exemplify the flow and change of social meaning over time. In the absence of electronic relays, we consider the people who produce material culture as vessels for informational flow, travelling along these networks in the same way an electronic message might travel along a copper cable.

Another aspect is *nodes and hubs* orientated on the landscape. Differentiating between them requires a vast dataset of interconnected sites, which, unlike a digital network, is often not available for archaeological sites. We therefore consider the general nodality of the site to be indicated, first, by its centrality in the available archaeological connective network, through which communication and expression is coordinated, and, second, by its function as an exchanger, passing on information contained in material culture. While it is tempting to view the archaeological site itself as a node, this may be an oversimplification. Castells (2000, 443) considers nodes as central places linking the locality with the entire network. Not all places perform this role and, more importantly, the same site may not always necessarily perform this role over the course of its use history. Therefore, before an archaeological site can be considered a node, it needs to be understood within both its physical and social context.

Physically, to be a node a site should be a prominent, networked and central place that is used on a regular basis. This determination cannot be established on an inter-regional scale (e.g. Barham 1992). Differentiating sites as nodal or peripheral, as well as in terms of whether they fall in between, can only be done by examining the sites within their immediate geographic surroundings and considering it in relation to the established communications discussed in Layer 1 (above). Nodality and the physical features that allow for a

site's networking must, however, be considered in light of the cultural and social aspects that are at the root of how people understand landscape. Deacon (1986; 1988) shows this in her study of the Bleek and Lloyd collections. From their discussions with /Xam informants such as Dia!kwain, //Kabbo and /Han≠kass'o, it is clear that not all features of a landscape are given significance. Deacon (1986) used a sketch map probably drawn in 1871 by Wilhelm Bleek to link the informants to the landscape. The map was, in a sense, the exchanger in this study and provided culturally meaningful information as it was presented by the informants on how they viewed their home-range. For example, in their view the Strandberg in the Northern Cape was formed by an agama that had been cut in half, with each portion becoming a hill. Around this hill a high density of rock markings were made, and it was explicitly linked to the rain. Similarly, Canepa's (2009, 57–78; 2014) work in Iran discusses the place-making of a landscape and how this represents the 'topographies of power', which Ullmann (2014) adds are used by people to conceptualise the landscape as they move through it. Deacon's (1986) study captures the place-making of the /Xam landscape and how geographic features are conceptualised and given powerful connotations through cultural practice and indigenous knowledge systems.

Connectivity 'through the mobility of bodies, things, stories, and knowledges' is central to the study of places (Harmanşah 2014, 10). Castells (2000, 444) draws on the production of narcotics and its distribution as an example. He examines the structural connectivity between production areas in Bolivia and Peru, refineries and management centres and the Medellin and Cali headquarters in Columbia, the drug trafficking centres in Mexico, and eventually the consumption centres in America and Western Europe. These relate to one another in terms of stratified hierarchies based on function and specific geographies. This analogy provides a direct 'place-based orientation of the space of flows in nodes', demonstrating the need to link up different places with assigned roles (Castells 2000, 445). Connectivity between locales and examining the flow of meaning, use and power relates strongly to the use of landscapes by communities.

The final aspect Castells (2000, 445) discusses is *the direct influence people with power* have on the spatial dynamics of a place. Although people are bound by the available resources and social structures, some groups or individuals possess a greater understanding of their physical or social environment, making them more capable of manipulating it (Lewis-Williams 2001, 33). As such, the informational elites manifest themselves on the landscape. Spaces are arranged around the dominant interests of a specific group, which are acted out by those members of society who hold the power to act according to its interests. The group itself may be elite or managerial, and if so are responsible for organising the function and rules that govern a place. From this, people's lives and experiences, their culture and history, become rooted in

the 'place'; these are 'animate and inanimate entities, residues, materials, knowledges, and stories' (Harmanşah 2014, 1). This imbues the place with meaning and importance (Dean and Millar 2005, 14), tying communities to a location serving as connections of social interactions (Harmanşah 2014) and a place of shared (and contested) memories (Olivier 2011). Cultural codes are therefore embedded in social structures, which are attached to places (Castells 2000, 446). These associations, however, are not static. They themselves can be changed by the dominant group, and with successive occupations by new or culturally disparate groups are reimagined and recreated within the new dominant group's social structures (e.g. Namono 2008). However, cultural distinctiveness can also be used to unite members of a community. The symbolic environment is unified to the specifications of the dominant powers, such as in the repetitive use of common imagery. Castells (2000), because of the nature of his analysis, relates this to a globalised information economy whereby those engaging with symbols need not be members of a specific society. Archaeologically this is less likely, and symbols, although transmutable and non-static, are expected to be shared by members of the same cultural group or between interacting communities (e.g. Eastwood 2003). Nonetheless, power relations within groups control, manage and dictate symbolic systems, whether historically based or based on current members of either a community or super-structure. This links and unifies members of a community across space and time, and is what we consider a 'spatial-scape' (as in Appadurai's (1990) 'vistas').

The theory behind spaces of flow, we argue, presents a way to view a rock art panel containing multiple traditions produced in the same space but not at the same time. The panel itself transcends this dynamic, to a certain extent, in that geographically (spatially) the art forms are linked and chronologically, even though produced at different times, are perceived by the viewer together, regardless. The symbolism, meaning and social structures through the sharing of space, even if reimagined, are linked.

Telperion Shelter's artists and their rock art traditions

Before presenting Telperion's rock art sequence and showing the applicability of Castels' (1972; 2000) theory, the identity of the artists and their occupation of the region must first be examined. While it is not the focus of this paper *per se*, it is necessary to briefly situate the artists within their broader contexts. While we acknowledge the problems with such essentialist terms, for the purpose of our study they are sufficient to capture the different uses of Telperion regardless of cross-cultural interactions.

The Bushmen were southern Africa's only hunting and gathering community at the time of European occupation (Mitchell 2002). Prior to the appearance of livestock and domestic grains (between 200 BC and AD 350), these

communities lived by entirely subsisting off of local environments. In some instances this included harsh desert landscapes, such as the Kalahari, or mountainous regions like the Maloti-Drakensberg range (Mitchell et al. 2008). It is generally thought that their ancestors were the producers of the Later Stone Age, which spans the last 20,000 years. However, as Mitchell (1997) notes, it is only during the last 10,000 years that we see something resembling cultural homogeneity within the Later Stone Age, possibly indicating cultural similarities between different producers, to some extent. And yet, the earliest art known in southern Africa is from Apollo 11 Cave, Namibia, dating to c. 27,500 to 25,500 BP (Wendt 1976), and which is stylistically similar to much later art associated with Bushmen.

Bushmen painted fine-lined rock images using twigs, quills and brushes and may have used their fingers to paint solid areas within outlines (Eastwood, Blundell, and Smith 2010, 79). Bushman rock art includes human figures (male and female) in various postures and with a wide variety of artefacts or items. They also painted animals and the species depicted are linked to their spiritual beliefs and symbolism. Eland, kudu, giraffe, elephant, lion, rhino, hippopotamus, roebuck, ostrich, tsessebe and red hartebeest are a few examples of painted animals, but their frequency varies between regions (e.g. Forssman and Gutteridge 2012); in the Maloti-Drakensberg eland are depicted more than any other animal, whereas in northern South Africa and Zimbabwe it is the kudu (Eastwood 1999). Although this tradition is regarded as representational, it is not a record of everyday activities but rather an account of the ritual experts' experiences of the transcendental world (Lewis-Williams 1981a; Lewis-Williams 1981b). The rock face is thought to act as a 'veil' between the spirit world and the immanent world that can be passed through by spiritual specialists during altered states of consciousness (Lewis-Williams and Dowson 1990). Painted also are non-realistic or geometric forms that are thought to relate directly to the spirit world, including shamanic experiences therein, and these include rain animals, formlings and threads of light, amongst many other categories (see Forssman and Gutteridge 2012). This spiritual link is generally accepted, although there is some debate as to its scope (see Lewis-Williams' 2006 review).

From the last centuries BC (Sealy and Yates 1994), sheep/goat bones appear in some archaeological sites in Botswana, the Western Cape, South Africa and Zimbabwe (see Smith and Ouzman 2004). The identity of the communities responsible for bringing these domesticates into southern Africa has seen some debate. They are viewed either as a distinct cultural group that migrated from the north, or as hunter-gatherers or 'hunters-with-sheep' who adopted livestock and pottery through diffusion and trade with Bantu-speaking farmers (Smith and Ouzman 2004; Sadr 2008). Even this, it seems, is too simplistic. Evidence from European accounts, archaeological excavations and rock art studies appears to suggest that there were at least three herding communities,

including Khoi-speakers, as well as full- and part-time Bushman herders (e.g. Loubser and Laurens 1994; Morris 2003; Smith and Ouzman 2004; Challis 2012). Whereas the earliest appearance of herders is debated, their presence is irrefutable. When Europeans arrived in the Cape of South Africa, they encountered Khoekhoen along with Bushmen. In appearance, the Khoekhoen are very similar to Bushmen and their language is related, but they lived in semi-permanent open-air settlements with their livestock. They too produced stone tools and various other items of material culture, and it is notably difficult to separate their products from other Later Stone Age remains (Smith and Ouzman 2004, 501).

Khoekhoe rock art, however, is markedly different to Bushman art, comprising engraved and finger-painted geometric motifs, dots, strokes, handprints and aprons (Van Rijssen 1984; 1994; Manhire 1998; Eastwood and Smith 2005, 63). Geometric designs or shapes are diverse and include 'tridents', squares, rectangles, circles, 'stitch' designs and 'combs', as well as rayed circles, divided circles and shapes with internal divisions (such as crosses and vertical or horizontal lines) (Smith and Ouzman 2004; Eastwood and Smith 2005). Anthropogenic and zoomorphic images are rare in Khoekhoe rock art but have been reported from various parts of southern Africa (e.g. Fock et al. 1980; Smith and Ouzman 2004; Lenssen-Erz and Vogelsang 2005; Morris 2016).

By the end of the third century AD, eastern Bantu-language-speaking farmers began settling central southern Africa. They brought with them livestock, domestic cultivars, iron production, thick-walled ceramics, and lived in sedentary settlements (Huffman 2001). Our interest here is with Sotho-Tswana groups, but unfortunately it is not possible to establish which Sotho-Tswana group based on the rock art alone. The Sotho-Tswana moved south of the Vaal River between AD 1550 and 1650 and then north into the present Gauteng/Mpumalanga region between AD 1650 and 1680 (Huffman 2000). Therefore, the first farmers on the landscape surrounding Telperion probably first settled the area after the mid-second millennium AD. Walled settlements near to the shelter exist, but these have not been subjected to any archaeological investigations.

Of the farmer art traditions, that of the Sotho-Tswana is probably the most frequent in southern Africa (Namono and Eastwood 2005). Sotho-Tswana art can be divided into two phases, each produced within their own contexts: the art of initiation and that of conflict (Hall and Smith 2000; Smith and van Schalkwyk 2002; Namono and Eastwood 2005). Most were painted in a white paste using the finger, but sometimes include additional colours (e.g. van Schalkwyk and Smith 2004; Namono and Eastwood 2005; Smith and Zubieta 2007). Art from the colonial period includes animals, such as horses and baboons, and trains, vehicles, soldiers, wagons, towns, scenes of conflict; in one instance it even includes a camel (Smith and van Schalkwyk 2002; van Schalkwyk and Smith 2004). The initiation art is thought to be generally older because it often underlies contact art in the

Makgabeng Plateau and includes at least 20 animal species, human forms, a small proportion of geometrics and *kōma* or crocodile designs directly linked to boys' initiation (Namono and Eastwood 2005).

The South African or Boer War was declared on 11 October 1899, and ended late in May 1902 (Smurthwaite 1999, 170). It included, at most, approximately 450,000 British troops, including those from the colonies (Evans 1999, 13), who fought against 88,000 Boer soldiers (Warwick 1983, 1). The British lost 22,000 troops, whereas 7,000 Boer soldiers died. However, most devastating was the 27,000 Boer woman and children and between 14,000 and 20,000 black men, women and children who died in British concentration camps (Kessler 1999; Smurthwaite 1999; Grundlingh 2013). In addition to the camps, a scorched earth policy was implemented and nearly 6000 km of barbed-wire fencing and 8,000 blockhouses were established to restrict and control commando movements beginning in early 1900. These policies had a devastating impact on domestic life; incarceration, the loss of property, and death were all likelihoods if those at home were not able to avoid the British. As a result, many families fled into the *veld* (bush) to hide from the British and support the commandos (Van Heyningen 1999, 34; Bradford 2013).

Such was the case with those using Telperion. According to an oral account the site was used by Boer women and children during the war to hide from British soldiers burning farms and sending black and white families to concentration camps. Telperion's occupants, however, were captured when tending their fields and sent to a nearby concentration camp. An investigation of the graffiti's context and the validity of the oral account led to a well-developed historiography of the war-time occupation and the site's occupants (see Forssman and Louw 2016 for details).

Telperion Shelter and its rock art

Telperion is approximately 80 km east of Pretoria and located within 50 m of the Saalboomspruit and Wilge River's confluence, the latter separating Gauteng and Mpumalanga Provinces (Figure 1). The deep riverine valley is blanketed in thick vegetation, which is at its densest along the river and in the small valleys leading into the surrounding rocky zone. Preliminary surveying along the river indicates that Telperion is the only large and accessible flat-floored shelter in the area (opening 20 m in length, 4 m in depth and 8 m in height) (Figure 2), but two other known rock art sites were identified in small shelters west of the river's confluence. Recording the rock art took place during three field trips between October 2014 and May 2015 (see Forssman et al. 2016). The analysis identified 279 independent motifs represented by four separate traditions (Figure 3): fine-lined Bushman, finger-painted Khoekhoe and Sotho-Tswana artwork, and historic period graffiti. Below, we present each of Telperion's painted traditions separately, with a brief interpretation.

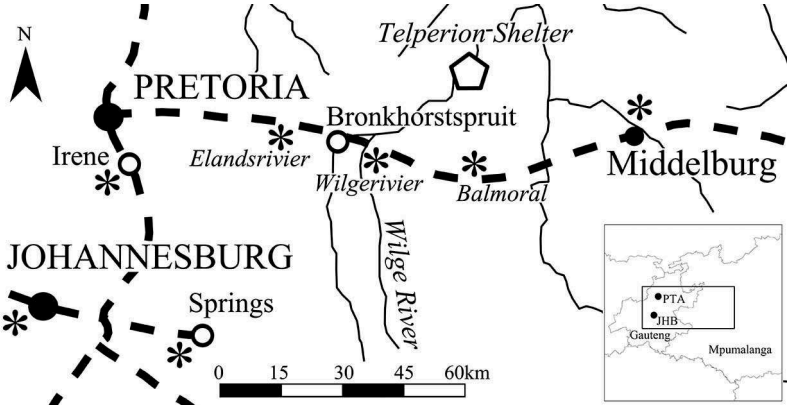

Figure 1. Telperion Shelter is situated east of Pretoria in the Mpumalanga Province of South Africa. (Authors).

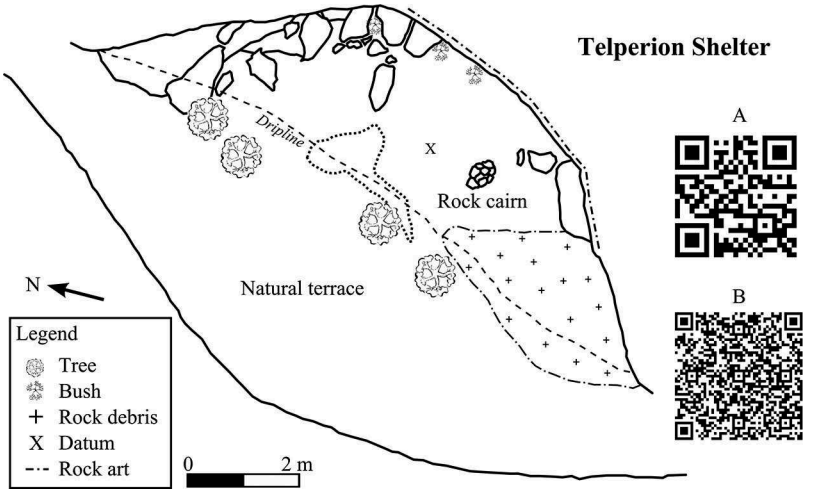

Figure 2. A plan view of Telperion Shelter with the rock art zone indicated by a dashed line along the back wall. Scan QR code A to view a Google Earth image of the site and B to view a schematic of the rock art panel. (Authors).

Bushman art

In Telperion, the earliest artwork is likely that of the Bushman because it has in all cases been painted over by either herder or farmer art and more recent graffiti. Very few Bushman-authored motifs were identified (n = 11), and of them most are depictions of animals. The single non-zoomorphic form is what appears to be a bichromatic (red and white) formling or castellation, but is poorly preserved and has been overlain with finger dots and graffiti. Formlings are currently reported from Zimbabwe into northern South Africa and eastern Botswana (Mguni 2001), northern central South Africa in the Makgabeng,

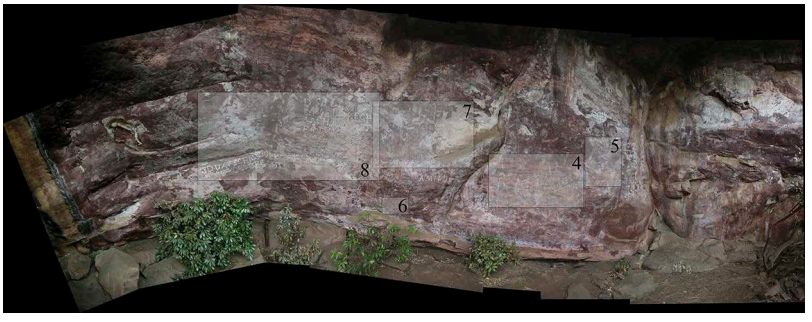

Figure 3. A composite image showing Telperion Shelter's rock art panel. The blocks superimposed over the panel mark the approximate location of Figures 4–8. (Authors).

Soutpansberg and Waterberg (Eastwood and Eastwood 2006), in the cape Cederberg (Mguni 2006) and also nearby in the eastern Mpumalanga region (Hampson et al. 2002). This, therefore, would extend that distribution westwards.

The zoomorphic images include two eland, an elephant and seven possible kudu. While the identification of the elephant outline is obvious (Figure 4) and the two eland's dewlap and horns, as well as the bichromatic colouration (red body, white neck) of one, are clear (Figure 5), the kudu images are less easily recognised. Kudu are identified by their large ears and often-prominent nuchal hump and dewlap, a robust muzzle and neck, and spiralling horns in males. In addition, they are often painted in a procession, possibly emulating mating behaviour (Smithers 1983; Eastwood and Cnoops 1999), as can be found at

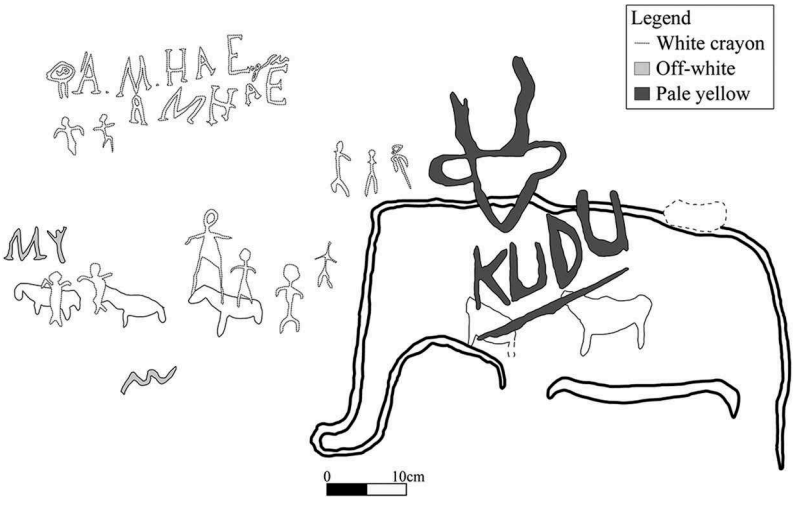

Figure 4. The elephant outline and kudu (horns visible in digitally enhanced images) overlain by modern graffiti. The 11 humans to the left are thought to be South Africa War-period art depicted alongside 'A. M. H. A. E.', being the initials of one of the Boer women who lived in the shelter. (Authors).

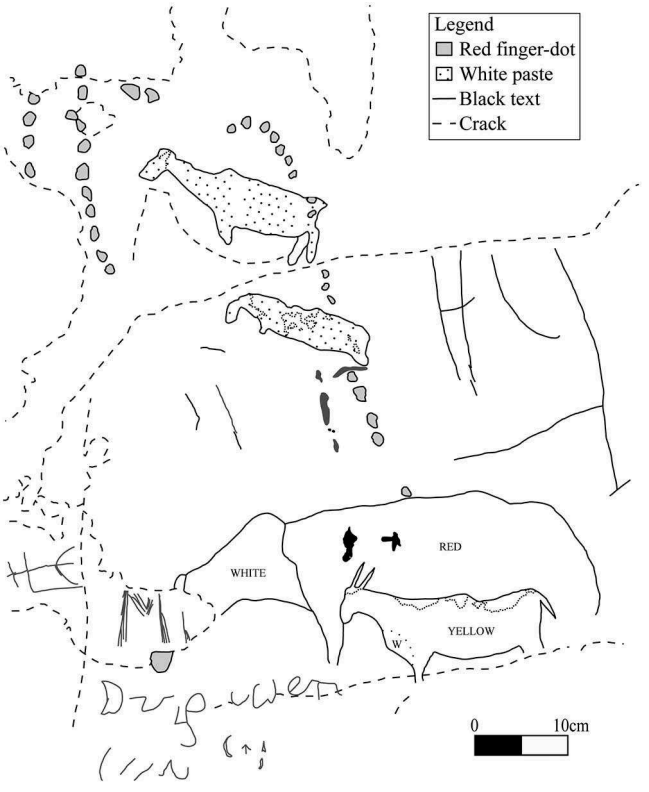

Figure 5. Although damaged, the two eland are clearly visible at the bottom of the image, with a single row of finger dots curving upwards and possibly connecting to a cluster in the upper right corner. Two Sotho-Tswana eland have been painted over the finger dots and graffiti can be found over much of the panel. W = white. (Authors).

Nswatugi Cave, Matopos (Jones 1933). At Telperion, the possible kudu are in a similar procession and have nuchal humps but no ears or horns, hence the uncertainty. More recent graffiti of a kudu's head and the word 'Kudu' overlies these antelope, partially obscuring them.

Finger-painted Khoekhoe art

The site's Khoekhoe artwork (n = 14) comprises seven finger-dot and -stroke arrangements each. This includes two rayed circles and two aprons that appear to consist of finger dots. All images, barring a single rayed circle that is bichromatic, are painted in a single colour: either red, white (each n = 4), orange (n = 3) or yellow (n = 2). All of the images are consistent with Khoekhoe imagery found elsewhere in southern Africa (see Smith and Ouzman 2004; Eastwood and Smith 2005; Orton 2013). The finger dots are arranged in collections, referred to as clusters, or to form geometric shapes (see Eastwood and Smith 2005 for a typology), whereas finger strokes are found in either clusters or two parallel rows. The meaning of finger dots and strokes,

as with the rayed circles and geometrics, remains elusive, but in one instance the finger dots are arranged into an apron-like design, which might offer a clue as to the importance or use of the site by Khoekhoe herders along with the two confirmed aprons (discussed below).

Sotho-Tswana art

The Sotho-Tswana art is perhaps the most enigmatic tradition within the shelter, and by far the most common (n = 125) and diverse. The majority of the artwork is located in the centre of the back wall, with lower densities of images on both sides. Furthermore, the art is mostly situated between about 1.2 to 2.2 m above the ground, with isolated examples nearing 3.5 m from the ground and only a few near to floor level. The majority of the Sotho-Tswana art is painted exclusively in white, with one unidentified image painted in black and white and two kudu or waterbuck depictions in white with black outlines. The only image with no white paint at all is a yellow eland, but this could be due to weathering and deterioration.

Motifs were separated into animals (n = 69), humans (n = 20), geometrics (n = 9) and other (n = 30), which includes unidentified motifs (n = 28), a smudge and a finger line. Not only are animals the most numerically dominant, but they are also the most diverse. While some images can only be identified as unknown antelope (n = 26), animals (n = 5) or small animals (n = 2), others can be placed into species. Eland and zebra are the most frequent (each n = 7), followed by *kōma* (each n = 4; Figure 6) and a possible roan antelope. There are also sable, sheep/goat (each n = 3), a roan, possible kudu/waterbuck and a gemsbok. One other creature with an elongated antelope body and a feline-like head and tail has also been identified. Humans, depicted in most sections of the panel, are of interest. They have been painted as if facing the author,

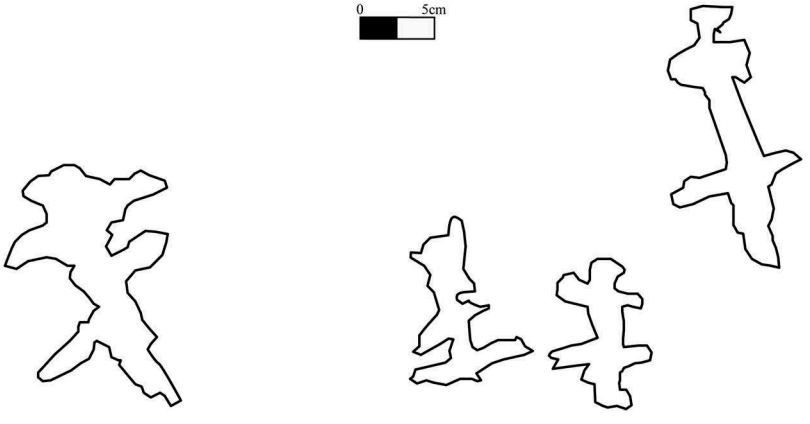

Figure 6. The four *kōma* motifs depicted at the site. Although poorly preserved and faded, the spread-eagled design is evident (painted in white paste). (Authors).

with their arms stretching away from the body and curving downwards (Figure 7). It is not possible to determine sex. The shape category is fairly diverse, with seven types: two unknown shapes and zigzag lines, a cross, grid and triangle shape, a T-shape and an unidentified geometric form. Due to poor preservation of the art, a large portion of images cannot be identified at all or beyond group categories, such as animal, small animal or antelope.

South African war-period graffiti

The initials 'A. M. H. A. E.' are repeated at least five times in the shelter, either by itself (n = 2) or followed by 'ENGLEBRECHT', 'ENGBHT' and 'E. G. B. T.'. 'ENGELBRECHT' is also repeated a number of times in the shelter, but in all cases in white paste, unlike 'A. M. H. A. E.', which is in white paste as well as white crayon (Figure 8). Initials associated with 'ENGELBRECHT' other than 'A. M. H. A. E.' are 'D. S. J.', 'A. M. E.' and 'A. M.'. British concentration camp records were consulted to determine to whom these names might refer. One Alida Maria Hendrika Aletta Engelbrecht was recorded at the Balmoral concentration camp, captured on 1 April 1902 and transferred to the Middelburg concentration camp on 21 May 1902. She was interred in both camps with her eight children, one of which was Anna Magdelena Engelbrecht. Her husband, Danial Stephanus Johannes Engelbrecht, was captured on 17 March 1902 and joined the National Scouts based in Middelberg on 21 May 1902, the same day Alida and her family were transferred to the Middelberg concentration camp. While

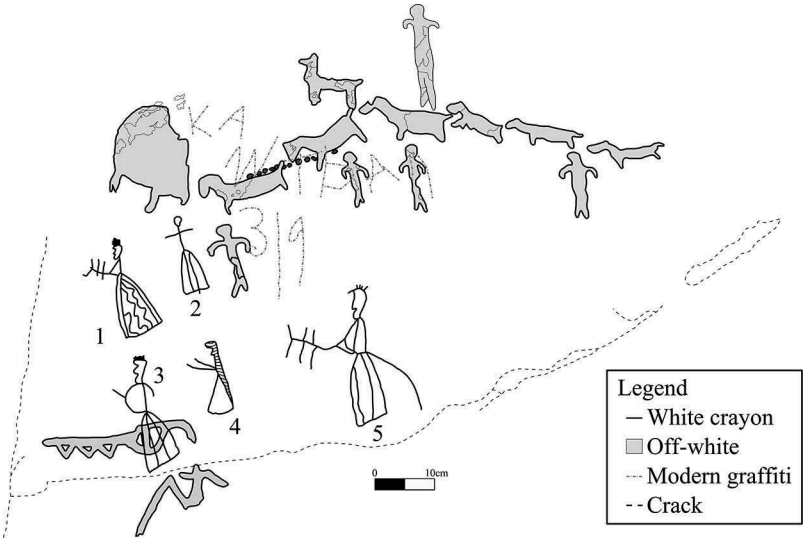

Figure 7. Sotho-Tswana depictions of humans, a procession of zebra, an unidentified antelope (above and ahead of the upper human) and what may be an apron, and in the bottom left are two Sotho-Tswana zigzag designs. The humans labelled 1–5 are possibly Boer women wearing crinolines (see below). (Authors).

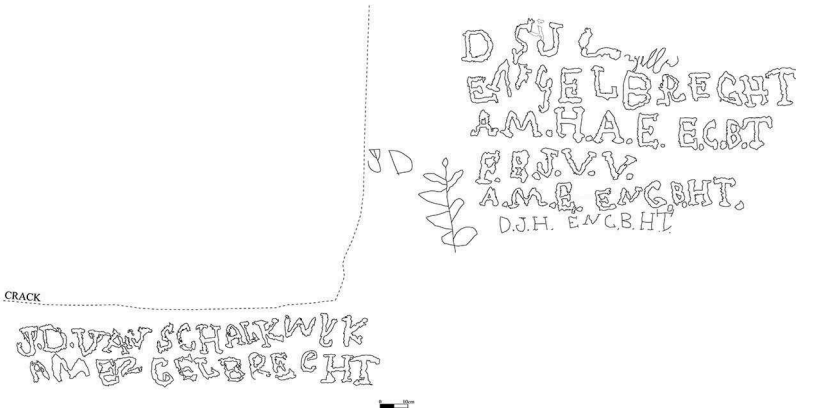

Figure 8. Names painted in white paste with additional text and a leafed stalk in white crayon in the central northern portion of the shelter. Note the similarity in the letter 'N' within each name. (Authors).

other names were discovered in the concentration camp records that appear in Telperion, the appearance of Alida's and Daniel's initials in the shelter, and possibly those of one of Alida's daughters, appears to place them at the site.

Two stylistically different human clusters have also been identified and are believed to be from the site's war-period use. Both are in white 'crayon', but one cluster is drawn in profile with large crinoline dresses and headdress, and four of the five women are holding branch-like objects. The second cluster of humans is painted facing the artist, without dresses, and their arms are horizontal and curve downwards (n = 11). These figures strongly resemble those depicted by the earlier Sotho-Tswana artists (compare Figures 4 and 7). The clear differences between the two human clusters suggests either separate authorship or the intentional depiction of two different groups. The cluster of women in crinoline dresses might depict, and could have even been painted by, the Boer occupants and the other human cluster, or by the site's black African occupants. If correct, the association of 'A. M. H. A. E.' with the black African-painted humans all depicted in white crayon (see Figure 3) possibly indicates a connection between the Boer and black African inhabitants using the shelter.

The recycling, reuse and reimagining of place

Castells (2000) sees both the space and time dynamic as considerably altered in the digital age. Space is no longer geographically based, or at the very least we need to rethink what we mean by the geography of digital mediums, and time can be viewed in singularity when looking backwards, regardless of when something was created. Everything online, for example, is immediately available. The Internet in this sense is capable of transgressing the way we

traditionally view space and time. We believe that Telperion's painted wall operates in much the same way. Upon it are images possibly spanning a broad chronological period, and yet we see them as a palimpsest; all appearing together. We are able to perceive them all at once despite their production sequence. The site not only connects art from several time periods, but also groups who would otherwise have been unrelated. Regardless of where they came from or their reasons for being at Telperion, the site links and connects these disparate cultural groups. We are of course not suggesting that we should ignore chronology, or that a site is an archaeological island, but rather that the framing of such cultural mosaics in this way leads to a deeper understanding of a site-specific historiography and landscape biography. Specifically, it helps us interrogate the place-making of a site and the flow of meaning, function and imaging of a space. We show this by examining the key features in Castells' (1972; 2000) spaces of flow approach within the context of the different rock art traditions. We do so by first examining the role played by people in positions of power, followed by the network of communications and lastly place-making.

People in positions of power: iconography and spatial structure

Cultural signifiers come to fill a space through the decision-making of people in positions of power, and this is predicated by the intended function of the space. Castells (2000) relates this to the globalised information economy and communication requirements, but archaeologically the sharing of symbols and hermeneutics is more likely restricted to a single group, and possibly only members of an elite, managerial or authoritative section therein. At Telperion it seems that each artist was governed by a specific superstructure when painting the site, which appears to correspond with Castells' (2000) views.

It is generally accepted that Bushman artists were members of the community that were familiar with the spirit world, namely shaman (Lewis-Williams 1981a; Lewis-Williams 1981b). As such, they depicted scenes and symbols that related directly to trance experiences or signifiers of associated features, such as *n/om* (from the Ju/hoansi; Biesele 1995, 12) or supernatural potency (see Mguni 2006). For example, as found in Telperion, formlings are argued to be representative of termite mounds and linked to various creation beliefs, possibly reflecting God's multifaceted realm (Mguni 2006). Correspondingly, the motif augments the overall importance of the site; as an image strongly associated with supernatural power, creation and the spirit world, it suggests the site was a culturally meaningful place. Scholars have also shown the important role eland and kudu play in some Bushman beliefs. Their presence in Telperion further signals the spiritual power associated with the rock shelter. That the production of such iconographic and powerful images is controlled by shaman demonstrates the important role played by community members in

positions of power in constructing and unifying the symbolic environment (see Castells 2000).

Both Telperion's Khoekhoe and Sotho-Tswana art seem to refer to initiation. The site's apron motifs were deeply symbolic devices to their Khoekhoe authors (see Eastwood 2003). New clothing was given to initiates on completing their rite of passage as a symbol of growth and cleansing (e.g. Hoff 1997). Thus, the Kheokhoe's use of Telperion appears linked to a sacred and important part of entering adulthood. Similarly, the Sotho-Tswana's *kōma* motifs and the various animal species, including eland, zebra, sheep/goat, roan antelope, waterbuck and gemsbok (oryx), are explicitly linked to boys' initiation (e.g. Prins and Hall 1994; Smith and van Schalkwyk 2002; van Schalkwyk and Smith 2004; Moodley 2008; but see also Namono and Eastwood 2005). As an initiation site, the space becomes gendered and relevant to not just specific members of society but the larger social group whose interests they represent. However, initiation authorities control the symbolic-scape of the site and its space (Castells 2000; and see Appadurai 1990).

In a somewhat different way, production of the war-time graffiti relates to a larger social structure or authority; the attempted smothering of Boer families and their incarceration by the British army. While living at Telperion, the occupants may, like many other families subsisting off the *veld*, have assisted Boer commandos, thus aiding the Republic's war efforts, as noted by Bradfield (2013). In a social climate dominated by men, women now contributed to Boer attempts to retain autonomy over their land. Through depicting their names, the family also marked the landscape and associated themselves with the territory despite the possibility of persecution. Successive visits, possibly to commemorate the families who used the site, were also marked on the wall with names of land tenants associated with dates. The production of this art and its contents, specifically the names, was a direct consequence of the British and their attempts to enforce their authority over the South African landscape and people. Viewed as such, the role people in positions of power could play in the production of space need not come from directly within the community, but could be emic.

Network of communications: informational exchangers

Communications are essential in Castells' (1972) theory. They provided interconnections between urban centres, landscapes and different communities. Like the postal network routes in the United States described by Castells (2000), river networks such as the Wilge and Saalboomspruit offered communication and access routes. To Bushman it is not clear how these waterways facilitated communications or movement, but scholars argue that the Khoekhoe migration into southern Africa followed river networks (e.g. Smith and Ouzman 2004; Orton 2013). The confluence of these two rivers at the site

therefore provided a central point in communication channels along which the Khoekhoen could travel, knowing that they would have a constant source of water for their livestock. Equally so, for the Sotho-Tswana the river was likely a valuable resource for their livestock.

The restriction of communications might also have played an important role in site selection. To the Sotho-Tswana, this would have been immensely important. As an initiation site, context, and specifically proximity to water, is very important (Moodley 2008). In addition, the site is difficult to view from the river and difficult to access from the hinterland. Therefore, access and communications are restricted to those who have the knowledge and authority to enter the site. In a similar sense, for those hiding in the site during the war, restricted communication was essential because it aided in avoiding persecution. For example, it was mentioned in the oral account that the rivers were used to move in hiding during the night, and the noise the water made helped mask any sound coming from the shelter (Forssman and Louw 2016). If accepted, it seems both open and closed communication networks contributed to site activity choices.

The most obvious information-sharing aspect of the site is the back wall itself. Alone, the wall provides no cultural information. However, it has been imbued with social meaning and messages through the artwork. As we will show, the images specific to each group convey a message, and thus communicate with the viewer. In this sense, it is possible to view the back wall as a communication device or network. We believe that both of these features fulfil Castells' (1972) definition of an 'exchanger'.

Place-making: space as active

The final aspect we discuss here is place-making (e.g. Deacon 1986; Canepa 2009; Ullmann 2014). Space is not passive, but an active expression of society (Castells 2000), and its cultural form is dictated by people in positions of power and informational exchange signifiers or networks of communication. The physical features of a site such as Telperion, including its spatial structure, the nearby rivers and its prevalence on the landscape, also influenced the range of functions the site may come to fulfil. These aspects combined to provide a superstructure for the culturally constructed place. At Telperion, place-making among the different occupants falls into two general categories: public and private.

The Bushmen use of the site could be considered a public phase of place-making. At this time, it seems, Bushmen occupied or visited the site repeatedly based on surface finds. However, until excavations are conducted little can be said of the extent of their use (for each phase). Needless to say, being the only large site in the area and one with the highest density of rock art, the site was likely a nodal point for local Bushman communities.

The private phases at Telperion can be divided into ritual and refuge uses. Both the Khoekhoe and Sotho-Tswana appear to have used the site for initiation, based on the presence of specific rock art signifiers, namely aprons and *kōma* designs, respectively. Additionally, the symbolic, spiritual or ritualistic importance of the site might have been augmented by the presence of Bushman rock art, which was considered to possess inherent supernatural power (Hall and Smith 2000). As an initiation site it was not part of the domestic or residential cycle, and access to the site would have been restricted.

While also private, the refuge phase represented an intentional war-time hide-out from ensuing conflict and persecution occurring in the region (Forssman and Louw 2016). To the occupants the site may have been nodal, since, according to the oral account, they continually returned to the shelter, but it could not be considered as such in the broader war context, in which many families used the *veld* and sites therein as refugee camps. However, the site served a specific purpose for a short period of time; the occupants used the site for hiding because of specific war-time events,but lived and performed their normal domestic duties elsewhere. Therefore, there is a duality to the site's use in that it appears to have become nodal and then, when the necessity to take refuge disappeared, it became increasingly peripheral.

Conclusions

In this paper, we have attempted to show how the use of Castell's (2000) tiered approach and 'spaces of flow' logic assists in the analysis of place-making in the archaeological record. In studies where multiple cultural repertoires co-exist and overlap it contributes to distinguishing archaeological or historical phases at the site or in the rock art panel, and it assists in examining the role of cultural logics in the process of place-making. Importantly, it also has the potential to aid the investigation of regional interactions in terms of social, site and landscape biographies. Using Telperion, we have shown the disparate yet connected motivations for using the site by people of different cultural backgrounds. Sites like this are unique and deeply rooted in multiple histories. As is clear at Telperion, where Bushmen likely used the site for an extended period, while Khoekhoen, Sotho-Tswana and South Africa war-period occupations used the site for private purposes over a shorter period. Thus, the rock shelter is practical, powerful and nodal, and it is ideal for various uses. That it is the only large rock shelter in the area does not detract from its value as a 'place', since it is people with their own knowledge, production and symbolic systems and cultural perceptions that make it so. From our perspective – that of viewing the full historiography of a site – we see a network of interconnectedness. These linkages are made through space, and more specifically its recycling and reuse. However, each use was culturally incongruent and

reimagined by the occupying community. These 'reimaginings' adhered to cultural processes, spatial attributes, knowledge systems and historical contexts. They were not static or bound to a site. In this sense, Castells' (2000) idea of flows within space encapsulates an archaeological site and animates it as a device of material culture with contested, shared or overlapping uses of space. For these reasons, we believe spaces of flow to provide a useful 'spatial-scape' upon which to survey archaeological pasts.

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