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Editorial

The theme of this issue of the South African Journal of Art History (SAJAH) is the representation and interpretation of identity in the visual arts, architecture and the design disciplines, media, photography, film, craft, aesthetics, and visual culture.

Authors were invited to produce articles that engage with aspects of visual identities within a wide range of suggested topics, including: images of past or present cultural and political contexts dealing with the representation of personal and communal identities; the philosophical and aesthetic interpretation of specific visual expressions of identity; the representation of gender and/or racial identities; the role of the visual disciplines in the formation and politics of communities; monuments in the historical memory of individual communities; the identities of individual artists, architects, and other practitioners of visual arts; the built environment as a manifestation of communal identity or the loss of identity, and migration and the loss or visual re-establishment of identity.

In pre-industrial (and pre-colonial) times identity was narrowly associated with a region and the customs of its inhabitants. Since globalisation resulted in the "abolition of distance and time" according to the legendary historian, Eric Hobsbawm (*The New Century*, 2000), the historically entrenched definition of identity has become obsolete. In fact, Hobsbawm argues that globalisation has resulted in the recombination of previously independent cultural aspects into new socio-cultural concepts with their own distinct identities. Identity is, therefore, no longer a culturally inherited condition, but the inevitable consequence of a system of beliefs, behaviour, perceptions and taste that can be invented, shaped and modified, whether as a result of popular movements or of top-down manipulation. The search for and reconstruction of identity is especially prevalent in a post-colonial context, which includes nearly all of Africa.

Because the process of globalisation is permanent and accelerating, the formation and transformation of identities are in a perpetual state of flux and reinterpretation. Ever since Antiquity have scholars tried to analyse and explain the dynamics of identity in a rapidly changing social and political world, but have so far failed to produce any convincing prediction of the future. This lack of stability and clarity resulted in a serious representational dilemma for the visual arts and design. They serve to signify and proclaim identities, but because of the state of intrinsic instability that shapes these identities, both the production and critique of the visual arts and all forms of design are often rapidly obsolete or even irrelevant.

The articles published in this issue confront concepts of identity through a wide range of topics that affect contemporary society, including painting, conceptual art, photography, architecture and interior design, and advertising.

G.S. Steyn

Visualising the merging of culture from an ‘other’ perspective

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This paper reflects on the challenges of cultural identity in an increasingly globalised society. As the individual questions their identity within a surge of globalisation, and with it a dominant Western viewpoint, so visual studies of imagined visual identities emerge. In an attempt to understand the implications of emerging cultural identities that question Western dominance, the work of the following visual artists working in the medium of photography are considered, namely Cristina de Middel, specifically her work *The Afronauts*; Andrew Putter, specifically his work *African Hospitality*; and Sarah Keogh, specifically her work *Multi-culturally Modernised*. In order to address globalisation and cross-cultural appropriation or multiculturalism, the paper firstly reflects on the understanding of cultural identity and cultural integration. It secondly reflects on an understanding of the visual as a form of cultural identity and discusses examples of appropriation of culture within imagery displaying a cross-cultural visual communication context. These visual communicators predominantly use photography within a context that does not afford the Western perspective prime position. The significance of the study lies in the fact that the visual message being communicated has the ability to reflect on both political and cultural ideologies giving advantage to a non-Western perspective.
Key words: cultural identity, globalisation, visual communication

Visualisering van die ineensmelting van kulture van ’n ‘ander’ uitganspunt
In hierdie navorsing word die uitdagings van kulturele identiteit in ’n toenemende globale samelewing gereflekteer. Soos die individu sy eie identiteit bevraagteken binne die opwelling van globalisering vanuit n oorheersende westerlike oogpunt, so verrys die visuele ondersoek na denkbeeldige visuele identiteite. In ’n poging om die gevolgtrekking van ineengesmelte kuturele identiteite wat Westerse dominasie bevraagteken te verstaan, word die volgende visuele medelers wat in die medium van fotografie werk, naamlik Cristina de Middel se *Afronauts*, Andrew Putter se *African Hospitality* en Sarah Keogh se *Multi-culturally Modernised*, in ag geneem. Om sodoende globalisering en die toe-eiening van ’n kruis kulturele of veelsoortige kultuur aan te spreek, beoog die navorsing eerstens om kulturele identiteite en kulturele integrasie te begryp. Tweedens word die begrip van die visuele as ’n vorm van kulturele identiteit bepeins en bespreek dit die toe-eiening van kultuur wat kruis kulturele visuele kommunikasie uitbeeld. Hierdie visuele medelers gebruik oorwegend fotografie binne die konteks wat nie die Westerse perspektief as aanvangspunt aandui nie. Die belang van die studie lê in die feit dat die visuele boodskap wat uitgebeeld word die vermoë het om beide politieke en kulturele ideologieë te weerspieël wat nie ’n Westerse uitgangspunt bevoordeel nie.
Sleutelwoorde: kulturele identiteit, globalisering, visuele medeling

Visual communication via electronic media has altered the ‘geography of social life’, allowing people to become ‘direct’ audiences to performances anywhere in the world and giving them access to audiences that are not ‘physically present’ (Meyrowitz 1985). In addition, media has recreated the terms that are used to define individuals through the blurring of physical settings, social situations and the division between private and public domains.

In her book *Vision, Race, and Modernity: a Visual Economy of the Andean Image World*, published in 1997, Debra Poole stresses unequal flows and exchanges of images using the term 'economy' rather than 'culture'. Poole (1997: 8) states that economy 'suggests that this organization (sic) has as much to do with social relationships, inequality, and power as with shared meanings and community'. The use of economy is further used to reinforce the globality of image flows that exceed the locality that the term 'culture' may imply. The traditional approach to portraiture, or the reflection on the individual, is based on a Western perspective. While the approaches of other societies are valid, historical evidence suggests that the concept of the recorded portrait originated in Egypt and worked its way through Europe to the Americas.

This paper reflects on the potential of cross-cultural visual communication evident in the appropriation of culturally specific visual identity, and so questions the predominantly Western perspective. In order to address globalisation and the increasing reach of Western viewpoints, as well as cross-cultural appropriation or multiculturalism, the paper firstly reflects on the understanding of cultural identity and cultural integration. It secondly reflects on an understanding of the visual as a form of cultural identity and discusses examples of appropriation of culture within imagery displaying a cross-cultural visual communication context. While there are many understandings of the terms culture, globalisation and identity, this discussion endeavours to 'contain' these explanations within a context that is particular to the visual communicators and their work under discussion.

The concept of cultural identity

The concept of cultural identity can be a reference to the collective self-awareness that a particular group embodies and reflects: 'The cultural identity of a society is defined by its majority group' (Bochner 1973: 23). Nation, culture and society exert considerable influence on the individual, modeling values, engineering a particular view of the world, and shaping responses to experience.

According to Allan and Skelton (1999: 2) there are three potentially different meanings of culture within the social sciences. (1) The crucial difference between humans and animals is culture. (2) Culture as a value laden individual – 'what a person ought to acquire in order to become a fully moral agent' (Barnard and Spencer 1996: 136), for example a well-educated English gentleman, or a human product such as a classical piece of music (Allan and Skelton 1999: 3). (3) Culture as explained from a 'plural and relativistic perspective' (Allan and Skelton 1999: 3): 'Any particular person is a product of the particular culture in which he or she has lived, and differences between human beings are to be explained (but not judged) by differences in their cultures (rather than their race)' (Barnard and Spencer 1996: 136). In many instances the discourse of referral can overlap between these basic concepts of culture. In an attempt to perceive culture in its broadest sense, Allan and Skelton (1999: 4-5) define culture in the following way:

> We reject conceptions of culture as fixed, coherent or 'natural', and instead view it as dynamically changing over time and space – the product of ongoing (sic) human interaction. This means that we accept the term as ambiguous and suggestive rather than as analytically precise. It reflects or encapsulates the muddles of living. We recognise that there are ideas and practices which may be maintained over long periods of time, from generation to generation, but culture is always contingent upon historical processes (extremely important in the context of development debates and historical legacies of Empire). It is also influenced by, influences and generally interacts with, contemporary

> social, economic and political factors. Geography too is significant. It is not just about where you are on the world map, for example but about the ways in which space and place interact with understandings about being a person. Moreover, any one individual's experience of culture will be affected by the multiple aspects of their identity – race, gender, age, class, caste position, religion, geography and so forth – and it is likely to alter in various circumstances.

The understanding of cultural identity can be likened to the idea of a national character that describes a set of behaviors that members of a given community share with one another above and beyond their individual differences. 'In its collective sense, the concept of cultural identity includes typologies of cultural conduct that is appropriate and inappropriate for various situations, values, beliefs and the daily patterning of activities' (Rahim and Pawanteh 2009: 226). This supports the argument that cultural identity is socially constructed, bestowed and sustained (Allan and Skelton 1999; Adler 1975; Berger 1963).

Electronic media has allowed an increased awareness of visual culture: 'In the past decade, visual culture has become a global field of critical practice… its referent as the assemblage of visualities, images and ways of seeing in a given place and time is now a common place in museums, universities, art galleries and even journalism' (Mirzoeff 2013: xxviiii).

Cultural identity in a sense is an association or identification with a specific culture or sub culture, as well as a shared common interest with other cultures, or what distinguishes it from other cultural groups. Stuart Hall's (in Voicu 2013: 162) outlook on cultural identity is always in transformation, 'never complete, always in process' within itself as a production rather than a purely defined static form. Hall (in Voicu 2013: 162) is of the opinion that cultural identity is always in transformation and points out that there are two principal ways of thinking about (cultural) identity. Firstly Hall (in Voicu 2013: 163) disapproves of the view of cultural identity as something that can be defined 'in terms of one, shared culture, a sort of collective one true self' hiding inside the many others or more; secondly he defines cultural identity as 'what we really are', or rather 'what we have become'.

Cultural identity can also be relevant to the individual and Voicu (2013: 161) brings into question the 'unique sense of self', implying a first person perspective. This definition can be constituted from a whole diversity of factors, for example one's language, place of birth and age. The definition can also be constituted from one's typology and even one's geographical location – from regional to national. The way somebody is identified and categorised – by others and by self – does influence an individual's identity.

In Hauser's (1998: 8) opinion, 'between the past and the future, there is the temporal aspect of cultural identity'. In essence 'What man is, is told only by his history' (Dilthy in Hauser 1998: 8). Furthermore Graumann (in Hauser 1998: 8) then states that 'cultural identity almost always has problematic connotations because it must first be searched for (in the past), then must be found and developed, respectively (in the present), or because it threatens to be lost (in the future).'

In the new era of rapidly expanding globalisation, society has become more concerned with creating exclusivity for one's self and their culture. Deng (2005: 40) points out that cultural identity answers the questions 'who am I?', 'where are we going?' and 'what do we have?' Globalisation, in this sense, has brought more openness or bridging of localised knowledge and global significance. Therefore the more the world becomes globalised, the more opportunities one has to communicate, interact and learn, which can result in trans-cultural relationships and interconnectedness. McGrew (in Tomlinson 1999: 2) supports this theory, reflecting on globalisation as 'simply the intensification of global connectedness and stresses the multiplicity of linkages it implies'.

There are others who are wary of rapid globalisation, reasoning that the process of globalisation began in the West, and has mainly fostered the expansion of Western ideas, values, lifestyles and technology. According to Nederveen Pieterse (2009: 59), 'contemporary globalization (sic) is westernization (sic) or Americanization (sic) writ large, a fulfilment in instalments of the classical imperial'. Globalisation is a concept of uniformity, preferably following the Western model (Sotshangane 2002: 22).

As Western domination becomes increasingly apparent, so the individual reacts to the their loss of identity. Progressively the personal voice is heard as technology and social media provide both the platform for domination as well as the individual response. It is this ability to respond that is reflected in the work of the three visual communicators discussed in this paper. All three of these visual communicators question Western hegemony in their work; as 'white' visual communicators they grapple with the question of a predominant 'other' perspective in an attempt to interrogate how cultural identity has been bestowed. These visual artists enter the dialogue on cultural identity, a complex field that is highly disputed.

Cristina De Middel: the Afronauts

Cristina De Middel is a Spanish photographer whose body of work The Afronauts questions the original concept of truth and realism in photography. In order to understand the context from which De Middel comments, we reflect on the perception of Western media and the role that it plays in cultural identity formation. According to Hariman and Lucaites (2007: 2), 'photojournalism might be the perfect ideological practice: while it seems to provide objects as they are in the world, it places those objects within a system of social relationships and constitutes the viewer as a subject within that system.' In Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen's (1998: 1) opinion, news can be regarded as 'a process that lies at the heart of modern capitalism and which also illuminates processes of globilisation (sic) which modern capitalism has helped to generate'. They are of the further opinion that over a period of approximately the past hundred and fifty years, 'news contributed to processes of the construction of national identity; to imperialism and the control of colonies… the collection and dissemination of this commodity was organized (sic) and rationalized (sic) on behalf of media and non-media clients by a small group of powerful agencies, acting globally as a cartel' (Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen 1998: 2). According to Williams and Newton (2007: xv), when referring to contemporary photojournalism, 'no form of visual communication has a more profound effect on the private minds of individuals or the development of the public mind and culture than the visual imagery of today's media'.

De Middel, originally a photojournalist, became disillusioned with the practice of the media '[p]utting photography, which apparently has such an honest approach to reality – a mechanical intervention in reality – in the hands of people that deliberately want to manipulate the public opinion and truth' (De Middel in Chiocchetti 2013). De Middel's work brings home the fact that the African continent is often treated unfairly by the media. De Middel's series *The Afronauts* is based on a true story people don't believe. The work questions the prejudice in thinking that Africa could not go to space or even have a role to play in the 1960s space race. According to De Middel (in Lavalette 2013):

> One of my intentions with *The Afronauts* was to raise awareness of how we consume the image of Africa that is given in the media, and how a whole continent has been stigmatised. This uncomfortable reaction and prejudice belongs to the viewer as it is not literally included in the images.

The series *The Afronauts* is based on the story of Edward Makuka Nkoloso, a Zambian science teacher who decided that his country could take part in the space race during the 1960s. He designed a rocket and catapult system and trained ten men and a woman as astronauts. Nkoloso wanted the woman and some cats to be the first to reach the moon. Unfortunately the programme did not work out when Unesco refused his application for funding, and the woman became pregnant by one of the other astronauts and returned to her village. According to De Middel (in Andreasson 2014), ‘People I have spoken to who met Nkoloso say he was very charismatic: a dreamer who took his project very seriously, maybe even with the same serious approach Nasa (sic) and the Soviet Union had. He went on to become an important personality in the politics of Zambia and even received a state funeral.’

De Middel (in Andreasson 2014) emphasises that the point she wanted to make was ‘not that the project failed because it was the work of a poor African country, but that Nkoloso tried and believed it was possible’.

Figure 1
Cristina De Middel, 2012, Hamba from the series *The Afronauts* (reproduced with permission from Cristina De Middel).

Figure 2
Cristina De Middel, 2012, *Iko Iko* from the series *The Afronauts* (reproduced with permission from Cristina De Middel).

De Middel visually creates an identity for the African astronauts (see figures 1 and 2), playing with the question of truth of documentary and providing an alternative reality. The series is staged photography in a photojournalistic manner. De Middel is creating a scenario of the astronauts as if the space programme resulted in success. De Middel (in Chiocchetti 2013:30) suggests that the series is a ‘re-design of reality and filters it to make it more fantastic and believable’. Her work deliberately challenges the audience to ‘question the language and the veracity of photography as a document, and plays with reconstructions or archetypes that blur the border between reality and fiction’ (Schwendener 2013).

She has created a positive identity for the Zambian 1964 space programme, with colourful African space suits and interesting compositions reflecting a questionably realistic and alternative outlook on Africa as a continent (see figures 1 and 2). Alongside these fabricated moments, she places images from her archive, and includes a mixture of genuine and faked documents relating to the story: 'I used an original press cutting, but changed Edward's face. The letters are real letters I found on the internet, but I retyped them with an old typewriter. To make the story understood, I needed all these different parts' (in Davies 2014). Rather than deriding Zambia's ambitions, De Middel compares them to dreams of other nations and peoples: 'The Afronauts is based on the documentation of an impossible dream that only live in the picture' (in Chiocchetti 2013: 1). Through the series, De Middel gives a different approach to African reality. De Middel (in McCracken 2013: 3) stresses that she wants to portray the fact that although there may not be the same level of technology all around the world, sharing of similar dreams can be a reality. The point that she brings across is not so much based in actual Zambian identity but rather that identity is constructed by offering an alternative to the traditional ways of representing Africa.

Andrew Putter: African hospitality

During the 1870s, when the colonial powers laid the foundations for new administration, ethnologists, geologists, geographers, soldiers and merchants all needed images to understand, describe or organise the colonial countries. They were not interested in individuals but concentrated on social groups, their physical environment or their customs (De Gouvion Saint-Cyr 1999: 17). Africa was seen as the Dark Continent, historically cut off from the European Enlightenment and racially inferior. Social Darwinists misinterpreted Darwin's theories to mean that people and societies that had not developed in the manner of Western culture were inherently inferior. Africa, particularly sub-Saharan Africa, was seen as a prime example of timeless backwardness (Marien 2002: 220).

Late in the 19th century, as photographic technology progressed, the image became easier to make and reproduce and photography became more diversified. The representation of black Africa became more complex and more precise, but it was still 'an interpretation by white men for white men' (De Gouvion Saint-Cyr 1999: 19).

The late 1800s saw the recording of ethnological approaches and emerging ethnic consciousness as a technically powerful means for imposing positivist classifications on non-industrial cultures worldwide. Photographers made images from their own view, as outsiders, and distributed them; thus they established and controlled another group's visual identity (Hirsch 2000: 272). These images are iconic in that they represent a particular period and mind-set. They are therefore highly controversial and 'are widely recognized and remembered, are understood to be representations of historically significant events' and accordingly therefore 'activate strong emotional identification or response' (Hariman and Lucaites 2007: 27). When appropriating the particular approach to documenting visual identity the appropriated image therefore assumes a continuing tension within the public memory between historical accountability, continuing trauma and identifying with a particular set of visual codes.

Andrew Putter appropriates the visualisation process evident in the work of A.M. Duggan-Cronin, a pioneer of anthropometrical photography in South Africa, aimed to document the cultural, social and economic life of all the various indigenous inhabitants of Southern Africa (Grundlingh 1999: 244). According to Putter (2012: 6), Duggan-Cronin's work stands apart from most other anthropological studies of the time:

Duggan-Cronin's work both affirms difference, and seeks out commonalities across racial difference, doing so within a particular Western European aesthetic framework at a time just prior to apartheid beginning its particularly intense denigration of native life and history. He disrupts the assumptions apartheid required its subjects to make about the lowly status of native Africans, using all of the tools in his aesthetic arsenal to seduce and convince his viewers of their equality.

Figure 3
Andrew Putter, 2009, Bessie, from the series *African Hospitality* (©Andrew Putter, courtesy of Stevenson, Cape Town and Johannesburg).

Figure 4
Andrew Putter, 2009, *Joao the Portuguese*, from the series *African Hospitality* (©Andrew Putter, courtesy of Stevenson, Cape Town and Johannesburg).

Putter first viewed Duggan-Cronin's work in 2009 and later that year Putter produced African Hospitality, a series of portraits styled within the tradition of Duggan-Cronin's work. Putter (2012: 5-6) acknowledges that Duggan-Cronin's approach to documenting his subjects had a profound impact on him:

> Something in the photographs made me see the black, tribal, primitive, African, native sitters in them as singular, cultured human individuals. There was something shockingly dignified about them, a bearing and a styling of costume which ran at puzzling odds to my received ideas about what to recognise as culture. Most importantly, these works appeared as cyphers to me, as indicators of local lives and histories of which I suddenly realised I was completely ignorant. A compulsion to start learning about these lives that had previously been invisible to me was initiated by that first encounter.

The series (see some examples of the work in figure 3 and 4) is named after a painting titled *African Hospitality*. The artist, George Morland, painted the work in 1790 interpreting the event of castaways from the Grosvenor (an English ship wrecked on the Wild Coast in 1782) being rescued by the native Mpondo. According to Theal (in Carter 1968: preface), ‘this wreck has been a favourite theme for poets and romance writers, and to the present day speculations are frequently put forward as to the fate of the lady passengers’. Stephen Taylor’s account of the eighteenth century shipwreck, *The Caliban Shore: The Fate of the Grosvenor Castaways*, published in 2005, speculates that some of these European citizens formed deep ties with their African hosts, learning the language, marrying into the tribe, and dying as Africans. Putter creates a visual identity for the much speculated upon characters in an attempt to comment on cross-cultural merging.

Putter’s series presents a set of European portraits that have been heavily influenced by the local African tribes that they were reportedly integrated into. ‘The survivors in Putter’s works are drawn from three historical wrecks – the earliest being the Portuguese Nossa Senhora de Belem in the mid-1600s, the latest the Grosvenor’ (Michael Stevenson Gallery 2009). There is no solid documentation of the castaways’ physical appearances, so Putter produces a creative interpretation of identity for these Europeans, creating a visual representation of their existence. This series consists of five artworks and visualises these characters, as seen in figure 3 and figure 4. Through precise execution, Putter portrays an interesting visual perspective and proposes that ‘it is not inevitable for one culture to thrive at the expense of another, but that it is possible for new forms to emerge through the interplay of dissimilar cultures’ (Putter in Michael Stevenson Gallery 2009). Putter’s work reflects that this ‘interplay’ is in fact already present in colonial history, and serves as a reminder to purists that the concept of cross-cultural merging is apparent even in the earliest years of colonisation. *African Hospitality* makes the European coloniser the ‘subject’ of an ‘anthropological’ study and in so doing questions the integrity of early Western visual representations of the ‘other’. The message conveyed is complex in nature as Putter deals with the sensitive issue of cultural identity and historical accountability revealed in the personal viewing experience.

Sarah Keogh: *Multi-culturally Modernised*

Keogh’s series, *Multi-culturally Modernised*, is an exploration of cultural identity, interconnectedness and possible cross-cultures. The portraits portrayed in the series are in many ways a futuristic possibility, and the photographer’s creative interpretation of how the individual may choose to represent themselves as ‘other’ to the predominant Western influence. Again the visual appropriation of the anthropometrical approach to imaging creates tension and possible ambiguity in the viewing process.

The work is based on the principle that globalisation allows cultures all around the globe to gain knowledge about one another, and allows a platform for communication between them: ‘Globalization (sic) is an on-going process of the formation of world-wide social relations’ (Nederveen Pieterse 2009: 7). The knowledge gained allows society to learn about other cultural belief systems and how people adopt religion, diets and travel, allowing for an adaptation of these aspects. Various cultures manifest different identities. Even though individuals are exposed to a multitude of cultural influences, these subjects can sift through various influences and either reject or integrate them (Wang 2007: 84). The principle of an imperial Western cultural domination is therefore called into question.

Modern societies are multicultural in themselves, encompassing a multitude of varying ways of life and lifestyles of people. Today most people’s identities, not just Western intellectuals, are shaped by more than a single culture. People, not only societies, are multicultural. The concept of globalisation on the other hand, assumes that cultures are becoming the same as the world. 'Globalization (sic) is a concept of uniformity, preferably following the Western model' (Sotshangane 2002: 22).

Figure 5
Sarah Keogh, 2013, *Fulani Woman* from the series *Multi-culturally Modernised.*

Figure 6
Sarah Keogh, 2013, *Fulani Woman* from the series *Multi-culturally Modernised.*

Multi-culturally Modernised is a visual journey through a multitude of predominantly African cultures, an assimilation of localised individual characters (see figures 5 and 6), which in some ways can be seen as a new reflection on 'inter-national'. The emphasis is not on being inclusive of all cultures, but rather a comment on the Westernised view of society emphasised by the anthropological approach to 'documenting' the subject's portrait. Keogh did extensive research into cultural dress, artefacts and rituals in order to fabricate identities that are based on a view of multicultural society that emphasises the alternative (in this case African) or 'other' than Western society as a predominant futuristic portrait. This work directly comments on giving a voice to those whose identities have been formed by Western perspective. This imagined identity was inspired by the way that social media has allowed an alternative perspective to global communication. It is no longer only news networks that have the ability to channel a particular perspective on the understanding of an event, as the social networking that allows a voice from the average citizen now challenges them.

According to Keogh, 'for generations, tribes and cultures have practised the same or similar ways of life, therefore this series is not necessarily a major twist in what each and every culture believes and lives for, but rather adds a multicultural identity by mixing aspects of existing cultural identities within a modernised perspective'. Keogh conducted research into cultural identity prior to the execution of these images. 'This body of work is merely a possibility, a creative interpretation, and in no way a pure representation of what the future may hold through globalisation from a predominantly individualised perspective' (Keogh). Within this series there is a study of over twenty-two different tribes and cultures within Africa, focusing on aspects such as customs, annual carnivals and/or festivals, as well as rituals for rites of passage. In a sense, the portraits look at the diverse lives of cultures in Africa, but also attempt a deeper look at the influence globalisation has on multiculturalism and attempt to offer an alternative to Western dominance. The work also allows the individual to emerge from the constructs of any one particular culture.

By appropriating symbols of cultural identity as well as the implementation of the anthropometrical approach to imaging a strong emotional identification or response is (possibly inadvertently) activated. As Keogh sets out to comment on the visualising of culture, the images that emerge are often (and unavoidably) stereotypes themselves, for example the African skin markings evident in Keogh's work. The complexity of the appropriated visual coding and the personal viewing experience therefore has the potential to reinforce 'othering' rather than 'undoing' them as was the original intention of Keogh.

Conclusion

These visual communicators predominantly use photography within the context of the 'other' and so do not afford the Western perspective prime position. The work reflected on in this paper questions prejudice, the language and veracity of photography as a document, the interplay of culture as well as purist attitudes. There is no wrong or right or indeed a clear distinction of black or white, but rather a questioning of identity construction. It has become evident that the individual is no longer a silent 'other' or visual consumer; rather, they actively question how identity is constructed or created and challenge the 'normal' visual conventions of culture.

The significance of the study lies in the fact that the visual message being communicated within the appropriated context has the ability to reflect on both political and cultural ideologies giving advantage to an 'other' or non Western perspective. However, unintentionally this reversal has the power to strengthen the dichotomy of the West versus the 'other'. By attempting to 'advance' a non-Western perspective, the reversing of roles generates irony that serves to 'other' the 'other' even further via the 'strangeness' of the reversal. This paper has predominantly concentrated on the particular perspective of the visual communicators under discussion. What has not been elaborated on, and can perhaps become a topic for further research, is the possible reading of the images that extend beyond the intentions of the photographers. The very nature of the subject matter is controversial, with the ability to elicit uncomfortable reactions. The viewer can in fact be constituted as a subject within the larger social relations of the image, and so varied readings expressed.

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The representation of women as a competitive self-objectified image: a new design identity of misleading slimming advertising

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Misleading slimming advertisements are a prominent visual feature in South African magazines that target young women. These commercial messages are particularly pervasive in magazines that focus on health, fitness, and beauty. An analysis of slimming advertisements in the *Fitness* magazine has identified a trend to avoid using overt misleading claim-based messages in favour of competitive self-objectification. This new design identity differs from traditional slimming advertisements in that it features the objectified as the primary graphic element and makes fewer, if any, contestable textual claims. Reading these objectified images through the female gaze as well as from a positivist paradigm predicts two contrasting and opposing outcomes. Objectified imagery may trigger negative body esteem, causing viewers to reject the message and form a negative brand association. Viewers may succumb to the explicit visual call for competitive self-objectification, adopt this as the norm and so accept the marketing message. Objectified imagery without measureable textual claims allows marketers to circumvent the Advertising Standards Authority of South Africa's Code on Slimming and enables them to use these images as misleading visceral graphic elements.
Key words: objectification, misleading advertising, design identity

Die voorstelling van vroue in die vorm van 'n self-objektiewe beeld: 'n nuwe ontwerpidentiteit gevorm deur misleidende verslankingsadvertensies
Misleidende gewigsverlies-advertensies is 'n prominente visuele verskynsel in Suid-Afrikaanse tydskrifte gemik op jong vroue. Hierdie handelsboodskappe is veral volop in tydskrifte wat fokus op gesondheid, fiksheid, en skoonheid. 'n Ontleding van gewigsverlies-advertensies in die tydskrif *Fitness* dui op 'n vermyding van openlik misleidende aanspraak-gebaseerde boodskappe na een gekenmerk aan mededingende self-objektivering. Hierdie nuwe ontwerpsidentiteit verskil van tradisionele gewigsverlies-advertensies in soverre dat dit die geobjektiveerde as die primêre grafiese element bevat en minder, indien enige, aanvegbare tekstuele aansprake maak. 'n Vertolking van hierdie geobjektiveerde beelde vanuit die oogpunt van 'n vrou sowel as vanuit 'n positivistiese paradigma stel twee kontrasterende en opponerende resultate op die voorgrond. Geobjektiveerde beelde mag aanleiding gee tot 'n negatiewe waardering van die eie liggaam, en wat daartoe aanleiding kan gee dat ontvangers die boodskap verwerp en 'n negatiewe assosiasie met die handelsmerk vorm. Daarenteen mag ontvangers swig voor die eksplisiete visuele oproep tot mededingende self-objektivering, dit as die norm aanneem en sodoende die bemarkingsboodskap aanvaar. Geobjektiveerde beelde sonder meetbare tekstuele aansprake stel bemarkers in staat om die Owerheid vir Advertensiestandaarde se Verslankingskode te omseil en om hierdie beelde subtiel in te span as misleidende grafiese elemente.
Sleutelwoorde: objektivering, misleidende advertering, ontwerpsidentiteit

Marketers who promote inert substances as slimming[1] products often target the negative body esteem harboured by many young women through the use of unsubstantiated promises in misleading advertisements. Advertising regulators, in turn, address this misleading practice by holding advertisers accountable through issuing adverse rulings as well as calls for sanctions by the media industry. South Africa's advertising regulator, the Advertising Standards Authority of South Africa (ASASA), is an independent body that is established and funded by the South African marketing communication industry. It is a reactive body and only acts in response to a complaint from a competitor or from a concerned member of the public. An analysis of the ASASA's rulings with regard to slimming advertisements from June 2012 to June 2014 revealed that the lack of substantiation is one of the main reasons why the ASASA issues adverse rulings against advertisers of slimming products. Further detail and explication surrounding this analysis is presented later in this paper. In an attempt to evade possible adverse rulings and the concomitant negative publicity, some marketers avoid using text that contains measurable product claims. As a result text that could be in contravention of the ASASA's Code of Advertising Practice[2] and exaggerated product claims in an advertisement that a consumer could use in a complaint, are either minimal or absent. In addition, some of these text-restricted advertisements feature an objectified model as the main graphic element in the advertisement in order to make an exaggerated (and thus unsubstantiated) visual claim as regards the product's efficacy. Product claims that could be in contravention of the ASASA's Code on Slimming[3] are thus minimal or absent. The focus of these objectifying advertisements is on competition, body toning and sculpting, fitness, and weight control, rather than an assertive call for losing weight. Marketers emphasise the "after" image, and use a positive health approach, rather than misleading textual claims with traditional "before" and "after" photographs. These objectified images act as strong hedonic and misleading visceral testimonies of the advertised product's self-styled efficacy claims. This new design identity differs from traditional slimming advertisements in that viewers must now infer the (misleading) marketing claims of slimming in the absence of contestable textual claims.

This new approach raises a two-part question: What is the potential effect of this new design identity when viewed through a positivist lens, and does using an objectified image as a visual testimony enable marketers to circumvent the Advertising Standards Authority's Code on Slimming and their requirements on the use of testimonials and endorsement? This investigation first considers empirical studies for an answer to the first part of the question, and reviews an ASASA ruling to answer the second part of the question. A thematic and frequency analysis of advertisements in the *Fitness* magazine and a critical visual content analysis of a slimming advertisement provided additional data for the proposed answers.

There are four parts to this article. The first part considers objectification and the process of self-objectification, the second part reflects on the design identity of objectified slimming advertisements, whilst the third part interrogates the ASASA's position regarding objectified images as misleading testimonials. The paper concludes by reading these objectified advertisements through a positivist lens and answers the two-part question posed above.

Objectification and self-objectification

An objectified image is the portrayal of a person where the emphasis is not on the person's ability, intelligence or opinion, but rather on depicting the person or part of the person as a sexual object. This is often achieved overtly, such as using a pin-up calendar girl who draws attention to, for example, a replacement part for a vehicle, or by utilising sexual innuendoes in deodorant and fashion advertisements. These objectified images are entrenched in Eurocentric media trends and have become the norm for projecting women in commercial messages. An analysis of fifty-eight magazines published in the United States of America found that one of every two images of women in advertisements is objectified and just under ten per cent is depicted as sexualised victims. The highest frequency, however, is in men's magazines where three out of four images depict objectification and adolescent girls as opposed to women's magazines that depict two out of three images as objectified (Stankiewicz & Rosselli, 2008). Although this project did not investigate the frequency of objectification in South African magazines, one could reasonably expect a similar trend and frequency in South African magazines with a Eurocentric and American cultural predisposition.

A number of studies indicate that this predisposition of objectifying the female figure leads to a number of harmful outcomes, namely self-objectification, a lower self-esteem, negative body esteem and the associated drive for thinness which in turn may give rise to eating disorders. Objectification is not only an external process where a marketer portrays a woman as a sexualised object, it is also an internalised process that takes place within a viewer when encountering an objectified image. The viewer firstly reads the image as a sexualised object and only then judges the qualities and competencies of the objectified person. Scholars have also established that some women, for example, may judge women who dress in sensual clothes as less intelligent and less competent (Gurung & Chrouser 2007), and that they may even dehumanise the person they have objectified (Puvia & Vaes 2013). Scholars, in addition, have also established that it is possible to reduce this objectification effect by emphasising the competence of the person portrayed in an image. Women tend to judge women who are portrayed as competent (i.e. portrayed as doctors, scientists and the like) as more capable than women portrayed otherwise. They also tend to objectify women portrayed as professionals to a lesser extent, even if they are provocatively dressed (Johnson & Gurung 2011). In addition to the external and projected process of objectifying others, sexist imagery also affects viewers' self-esteem through a social comparative process. An extensive pan-European survey revealed that both women and men exposed to sexist television commercials regarded their own body size as too large or too thin. This seminal study surveyed 15 239 subjects from fifteen European Union member states and found that respectively only 46% of males and 31% of females were satisfied with their weight. Even more alarming is that 20% of underweight females expressed a desire to be even thinner. Amongst the females, the biggest single group that were satisfied with their weight (58%) were actually underweight. This negative body esteem and the associated drive for thinness appears to be an integral part of the Eurocentric psyche (McElhone et al 1999).

Objectified imagery not only triggers negative body esteem within the same gender, but it may also even intensify this effect when a viewer encounters scantily dressed models of the opposite sex (Dens et al 2009). A tentative explanation for this is the *possible partner* effect (Dens et al 2009: 375). A viewer may subconsciously view the objectified person as a possible partner, realise that this is unrealistic, and so experience negative body esteem. Images of scantily dressed models, in addition to objectification and triggering negative body esteem, may even evoke a negative response towards the product associated with these models. A study indicated that some women even experience tension and fatigue when viewing nudity in advertisements (LaTour 1990) and show a significantly more favourable attitude towards an advertisement and brand when the model is demure rather than nude or semi-nude (LaTour & Henthorne 1993).

Given the pervasiveness of objectified imagery in Eurocentric media, despite its reported negative effect, it is not surprising to find explicit calls for self-objectification from within the entertainment industry. Well-known American actress Cameron Diaz expressed the opinion that every woman wants to be objectified (Breines 2012), and thus advocates self-objectification. This self-objectification process is triggered when an individual makes a deliberate decision to become a gazed-at sexual object and takes active steps towards objectification. Media trends, relationship expectations and Eurocentric societal influences, in turn, support this practice (McKay 2013). It is not just attracting the male gaze, but it is also a self-surveillance practice of turning a self-objectifying gaze inwards (Calogero 2013). This introspective, self-evaluating gaze is further encouraged by objectifying images in the media, actual life experiences, and the objectifying theme of some companies that encourages viewers to practise self-objectification

(Kroon Van Diest & Perez 2013). A fitting example of a company that uses self-objectification as their marketing tool, is Victoria's Secret. This company, possibly the most famous distributor of sensual women's attire, uses sexual objectification as the focus point of their promotional material and fashion shows. They teach "and [normalize] self-objectification" and project "normalized pornography as desirable, self-chosen, and empowering." Their media campaigns encourage women to become desirable sexual objects (Kite 2011a) and celebrate the idea that sexual self-objectification is normal and acceptable (Kite 2011b).

Economou, a graphic designer who considers herself a feminist, aptly accuses the media of being complicit in stereotyping this identity, and that the media is responsible for wrongfully encouraging a culture of glamour and sexualisation, a culture that is in conflict and contrast with the traditional culture and values of many young people in South Africa. She goes further and asserts that this construct is problematic for young people who wish to establish their identity and in particular for those from materially disadvantaged communities in that it reduces adolescent opinion regarding sexuality and relationships to an "exchange of material and the acquisition of status" (Economou 2012: 39).

One could even suggest that there are hidden parallels between self-objectification and the fourth wave of feminism. Whilst there are varied perspectives on the fourth wave of feminism, Leupold (2010) describes it as modern women who do not want to be equal to men, but that they want to be like men with "casual sex to cut-throat boardroom deals." She defines the HBO's popular television series *Sex and the City* as an example that reflects this movement. This series portrays single, independent women as sexual predators where lines of hunting for shoes and men become blurred (Leupold 2013). This promotion of self-objectification is in stark contrast to the ideals of feminist writers who call for practitioners to be more "constructive in the positive modelling of gender identities" (Economou 2013: 60). Whilst it appears to be bizarre to equate self-objectification to a form of feminism, objectified images in slimming commercials and in Victoria's Secret's *feminist empowerment* campaigns attempt to do this. They guide women to become unknowingly subservient to self-objectification by using a feminist empowerment disguise. Although objectification is mostly about the female form, one must be aware that self-objectification is gender blind (Frederick et al 2005) and that self-objectification is applicable to both male and female viewers when they interact with hedonic imagery.

From the work of the scholars mentioned above, we can summarise the effect of objectified images, and the link between objectifying and self-objectification, as follows: Objectified imagery in Eurocentric media may trigger, in some women, a negative body esteem and an unrealistic drive for thinness; viewers judge the objectified of lesser importance and may even dehumanise the portrayed individual; it affects a viewer's self-esteem through a social self-comparison process and the possible partner effect, and it may even trigger a negative response towards a product associated with the objectified imagery. Media trends, as well as the explicit and implicit call for self-objectification by marketers and the entertainment industry, however, encourage self-surveillance, and normalise a self-objectifying practice. The self-objectifying person now in turn tends to objectify others (Gurung & Chrouser 2007). Advertisers who market slimming products (inadvertently) exploit self-objectifying viewers by using objectification and imagery that encourage and support self-objectification to market their inert substances. The section that is to follow reflects on the design identities in slimming advertisements that encourage self-objectification.

Design identities of objectified images in slimming advertisements

A visual examination of seventeen popular South African women's magazines[4] from March 2013 to March 2014 revealed that slimming advertisements targeting young women are particularly prominent in magazines that advocate health, wellness, nutrition, and fitness and magazines that target younger women. These health and fitness magazines contain a higher proportion of slimming advertisements than magazines that target older women or magazines that promote home, cooking, wedding, outdoor and/or gardening activities.

A South African magazine that stood out with a high proportion of slimming advertisements is the *Fitness* magazine. This magazine featured 303 advertisements over a period of one year of which 205 (68%) were slimming advertisements. The mean number (29.3) of slimming advertisements per edition is significantly more[5] than the mean number (14) of advertisements that promote other products and services that appear in this magazine ($p = 0.00$). This magazine targets young women that are health and fitness conscious. The look and feel of the magazine is aptly summarised by a section in the editor's letter where she informs the reader that the magazine will put the reader "on the path to a lean and strong athletic physique" (Carruthers 2014: 6). The difference between this magazine and other health magazines such as *Shape* and *Women's Health* is the high proportion of objectified images that accompany their health, slimming, and fitness articles in addition to the high proportion of slimming advertisements. *Shape* and *Women's Health* feature more articles and advertisements about topics such as food, relationships, fashion, hair and cosmetics than the *Fitness* magazine.

It is for this reason that this paper uses objectified imagery in slimming advertisements from *Fitness* as the objects of analysis. These objectified images mirror imagery in their international counterpart magazines, such as the North American *FITNESS*, and are stereotypical of the thin-ideal female figure promoted by Eurocentric media and cultural norms. A frequency analysis of weight-loss advertisements that appeared in the bi-monthly *Fitness* magazine from March/April 2013 to March/April 2014 revealed that 157 slimming advertisements (76%) objectified women. Although not included in the scope of this article, one must note that most images of women in this magazine that accompany articles and features are objectified. This is due to the nature of this magazine and its articles on exercise, fitness and achieving a slim figure. The thematic analysis identified four different design identities, namely the sexualised-objectified; the fitness-objectified; the product-feature; and the text-based identity advertisement. The frequency of these design identities are presented in Table 1 below. An analysis of the data indicates that the mean frequency of sexualised-objectified imagery per edition (13.9) is significantly higher[6] than the mean frequencies of the fitness-objectified (8.6), the product feature (6) and text-based (0.9) weight loss design identities ($p = 0.00$). Similarly, even the mean fitness-objectified identity advertisement (8.6) appears significantly[7] more than the mean product feature identity advertisement (6) per edition ($p = 0.02$). The analysis categorised advertisements of clothing that is meant to control a figure and to project an image of slimness under *Advertisements, other than slimming*.

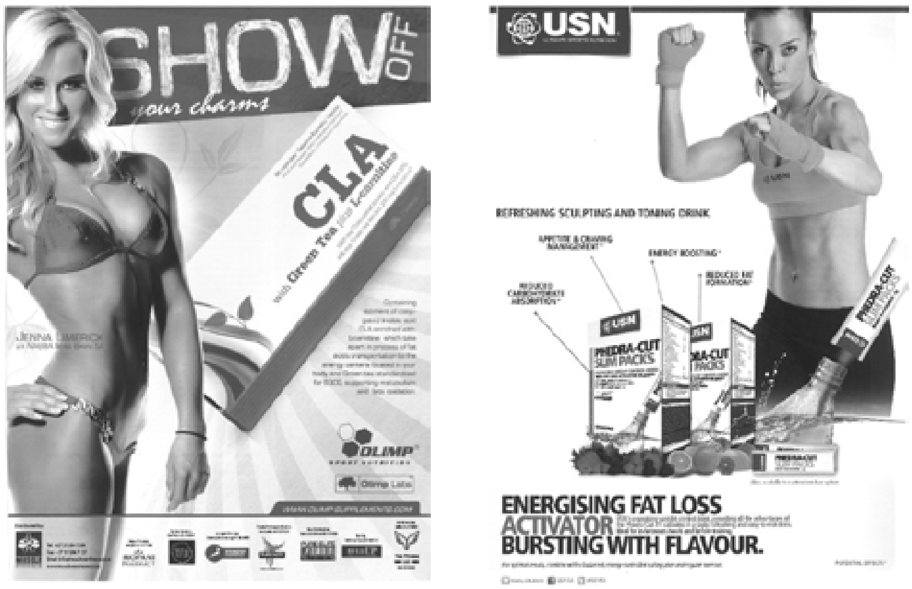
The sexualised-objectified identity typically features a pin-up type photograph of a model as the main graphic feature, an image of the product with accompanying headline, a sub-heading and maybe some text to describe the product. These pin-up type images normally feature a model in a suggestive pose such as with an arched back, or a model with a flirtatious facial expression. These models differ from the archetypal pin-up burlesque images of Marilyn Monroe and Bettie Page in that they are not dressed in lingerie nor in stiletto heels, but in modern two-piece bathing costumes and draw a viewer's attention to the thin-ideal body shape of the featured models.

There is normally little or no text connecting the model to the product and neither do marketers use text to explicitly claim product efficacy. These highly sexualised-objectified images visually portray the physique that an advertiser would want a viewer to believe is possible to attain through using the advertised product. Marketers could easily substitute the slimming product with another (almost random) product and still use the same image to endorse or attract attention. Ninety-seven (47%) slimming advertisements in a year's editions of *Fitness* use this identity. An example of a sexualised-objectified identity is subsequently presented in Figure 1(a) below.

	Mar/ Apr 2013	May/ Jun 2013	Jul/ Aug 2013	Sep/ Oct 2013	Nov/ Dec 2013	Jan/ Feb 2014	Mar/ Apr 2014	Total n	Means	%
Sexualised-objectified	6	12	14	15	19	19	12	97	13.9	32%
Fitness-objectified	10	10	7	7	8	9	9	60	8.6	20%
Product feature	4	6	5	8	5	7	7	42	6.0	14%
Text-based	0	1	2	0	1	1	1	6	0.9	2%
Sub-total slimming advertisements	20	29	28	30	33	36	29	205	29.3	68%
Advertisements, other than slimming	11	11	13	15	17	19	12	98	14.0	32%
TOTAL	31	40	41	45	50	55	41	303	43.3	100%

Table 1
The frequency, total advertisements per edition, means and proportion of different design identities in the *Fitness* magazine advertisements from March/April 2013 to March/April 2014.

The fitness-objectified identity, similar to the sexualised-objectified identity, uses an image of an objectified model as the main graphic feature, an image of the product, a supporting headline and with or without accompanying text regarding the ingredients and the product. These objectified images, in contrast to the pin-up type images, portray models as athletes or models in a training or in an exercise environment. The focus with the fitness-objectified identity is on fitness, health, physical performance, and a competitive atmosphere. The model or models often wear product branded two-piece gym clothes, and text next to a model identifies the model as the product's ambassador or as an athlete sponsored by the advertiser. The main difference between the highly sexualised-objectified identity and the fitness-objectified identity is that the latter veneers the objectified woman as an athlete rather than a perspicuous pin-up calendar girl. It is this fitness-objectified image that advertisers use as a new design identity in slimming advertisements. Sixty (29%) slimming advertisements in a year's editions of *Fitness* use this identity. An example of a fitness-objectified identity may be seen in figure 1(a) and figure 1(b) below.



Figures 1(a) and (b)
Examples of highly sexualised-objectified and fitness-objectified identities in slimming advertisements,
(source: *Fitness*, March/April 2013: 23 and 17).

The product-feature identity, in general, provides an image of the product, a supporting headline, supplemented with text about product efficacy and occasional photographs of the ingredients. These identities do not use models to buttress their claimed efficacy but rather depend on attractive graphics and informative text to sway a potential consumer. Only forty-two (20%) slimming advertisements in the seven editions of *Fitness* are product-feature identities.

The traditional text-based identities could include a variety of image and text elements. They typically promote a slimming programme, provide textual testimonies, include small "before" and "after" photographs, and bolster their product claims with promises such as rapid or permanent weight loss. These traditional advertisements feature significantly less in *Fitness* than the highly sexualised- and fitness-objectified advertisements. Only six of these advertisements (3%) appeared in the twelve-month period of analysis. The most frequent misleading elements that these older and traditional advertisements use are consumer testimonials, the stereotypical "before" and "after" photographs, claims of rapid slimming, that no exercise nor a diet is required, that the promised slimming is permanent, that they provide a money-back guarantee, that their product is guaranteed to work, that it is made or derived from natural products and is safe to use, and that it is supported by scientific research or endorsed by the medical fraternity (Cleland et al 2002). It is in particular the product-feature and traditional text-based identities that provide sufficient grounds for a consumer to lodge a complaint with the ASASA. These identities normally provide measurable textual claims which advertisers cannot substantiate. These advertisers invariably receive an adverse ruling from the ASASA after a consumer complaint regarding the lack of substantiation. The highly sexualised and objectified design identities, however, are more difficult to attract adverse rulings due to the lack of measurable misleading textual claims accompanying the otherwise objectionable image. These objectified images act as strong hedonic and visceral visual testimonies of the product's claimed efficacy and relies on the viewer to make this obvious inference. The question that now arises is whether an objectified image that explicitly portrays the desired outcome of the slimming product enables marketers to circumvent the Advertising Standards Authority's Code on Slimming and their requirements concerning the use of testimonials and endorsement.

The position of the Advertising Standards Authority of South Africa pertaining to objectified images as misleading testimonials

The Advertising Standards Authority of South Africa (ASASA) has made several adverse rulings against advertisers of slimming products. Advertisers would typically not hold substantiation for their claims, they often mislead consumers, and misuse statistics and scientific information. A review of rulings available on ASASA's website from June 2011 to June 2014 indicates that consumers lodged seventy-one complaints against advertisers of slimming products. Only nine complaints were either dismissed, a no ruling was given or the complaint was rejected. The rest of the complaints were upheld and received adverse rulings in favour of the complainant. The most frequent claims that advertisers make are about losing weight (50), that the product has fat burning properties (19), that their product suppresses appetite (16) and that it increases one's energy (13). The nature of the complaints were about the lack of substantiation by the advertiser (51), that they mislead consumers (31), and allegations of breaching a previous ruling (23) where an advertiser had to amend or remove an advertisement. There are nine complaints regarding the issue of using testimonials in the advertisements.

The ASASA's position towards implied claims imbedded as testimonials in images is not what one would expect given the Code of Advertising Practice. Although the section on testimonials makes it clear that an advertisement "should not contain any statement or visual presentation" that is likely to mislead a potential consumer and that testimonials – which must be genuine – "should not be used in a manner likely to mislead" (ASASA 2004), they do not always rule in favour of a consumer complaint with regards to visual testimonials. A recent case entailed a complaint lodged by a consumer against an advertiser promoting Garcinia as the key ingredient in a slimming product (ASASA 2014). One of the complainant's concerns is that the image of the model is in contravention of a section of the Code that deals with testimonials. This particular section requires testimonials to be genuine and that testimonial claims require substantiation. The complainant argues that the image of the (objectified) model serves as a testimonial, and the impression is that one may achieve similar results when using the product. A section of the advertiser's website is presented in Figure 2 below. ASASA, however, did not share this view. They regard a testimonial as a formal statement from an individual (according to the Code) and view the person in the advertisement as "merely an attractive model. No mention is made of her having used the product, or her perceptions of its efficacy" (ASASA 2014). Whilst it is true that a testimonial must come from an identifiable person with an expressed opinion or claim, such images do in fact act as implicit claims for the advertised product. The ASASA did acknowledge that these images reinforce the unsubstantiated slimming message, but did not uphold this specific aspect of the consumer complaint. However, they did rule against the advertiser on grounds of substantiation, misleading claims, and contravention of the Code on Slimming. Such an interpretation of the Code allows advertisers to employ objectified images as visual testimonials in slimming products as long as they do not use unequivocal text to link the image to any product claims.

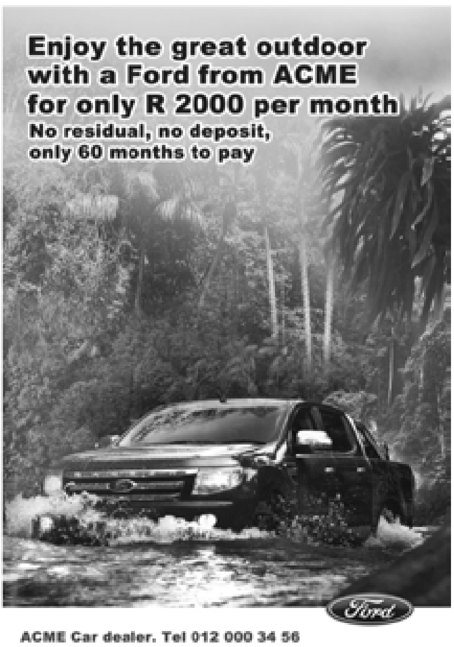
Figure 2
A section of a marketers' website that uses an objectified image as a testimony of a slimming product's claimed effect (source: http://garciniaslim.co.za/).

The question that we can justly ask is whether a reasonable consumer would interpret a model next to a product, in the absence of text to support the visual claim, as a testimony to the product's efficacy and whether such an image is likely to mislead a consumer. In this question lies the conundrum. Even if a reasonable viewer accepts a model as a visual testimony of a product's claimed efficacy and even if it is likely to mislead a consumer, the ASASA will not rule against an advertiser if there are no explicit claims by the visual testifier as regards the product. Advertisers therefore have, in South Africa at least, the liberty to use visual statements as testimonies, and so mislead the consumer. The next section provides a reflection on two possible outcomes when reading objectified images that act as a testimonial for a consumer product such as a slimming product.

Reading of self-objectifying images through a positivist lens

This paper posed a two-part question, namely: What is the potential effect of an objectified identity in an advertisement and would advertisers be able to circumvent the ASASA's code that regulates advertising? Based on one of their rulings, the answer with regards to circumvention of the ASASA's Code on Advertising is clear. The South African regulator does not view an image of a model as misleading, even if it functions as a visual testimony and promotes a measurable effect of the advertised product. Even though clause 10 in Appendix 11 of the ASASA's Code states that a testimonial or endorsement must be genuine and must be related to a personal experience over a reasonable period, they still require a definitive textual claim by the model to link him or her to the product's claimed efficacy. If we accept this interpretation as correct, then we must also accept this principle as appropriate (and, by extension, applicable) for other products and services. Transferring this, what I argue to be a flawed testimonial requirement, to other products creates an apparent dilemma that we cannot ignore and forces us to question the ASASA's position pertaining to testimonials.

I argue that the ASASA erred in their ruling and that even a silent endorser, a visual testimony without measurable and direct claims, has the ability to mislead a viewer. A visual testimony of a product's efficacy does not have to explicitly state that the endorsing testifier's opinion or physique or state of health, for example, is the result of the advertiser's claim. I argue that a viewer implicitly views and accepts a visual testimony as representing the advertiser's claim. This implicit viewer acceptance of a visual testimony is demonstrated in Figure 3 below. This figure is a simulated and exaggerated example of a vehicle advertisement. The image on the left is an example of a company advertising a vehicle at a low price. Suffice to say that a consumer expects to obtain this vehicle at the advertised price. The vehicle must also be able to perform according to the suggested ability as indicated by the photograph in the advertisement. The price indicated on this advertisement for that particular vehicle at the time of this article appears to be unrealistically low. It is obvious that when a dealer supplies a vehicle as depicted in the image on the right, it would not be unreasonable from a customer to reject the offer and to expect the vehicle depicted in the first image. If we now argue, by using the ASASA's ruling that the vehicle on the left is *merely an attractive* [vehicle] *model,* it becomes obvious that this line of arguing is untenable.



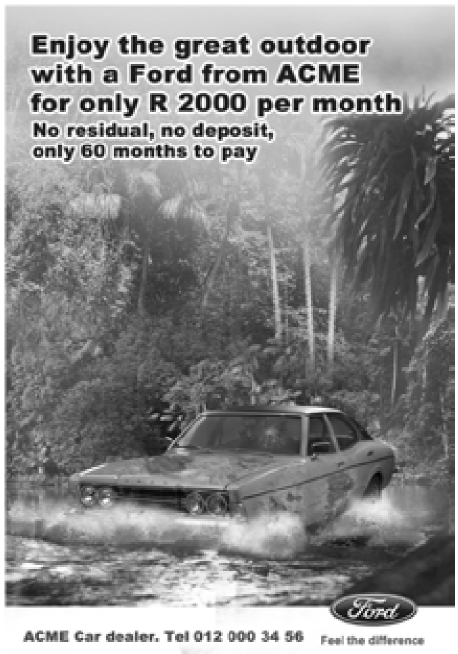


Figure 2
A simulated vehicle advertising in the spirit of the "merely attractive model"
(source: adapted from a Ford Ranger advertisement by Lezanne vd Walt. The original ad is by Ric Smith of Smudge Digital Design and Art Direction http://www.ricsmithdesign.com/index.html).

A reasonable consumer, when confronted with an image of a vehicle in an advertisement that displays a certain ability, expects to obtain such a vehicle with that ability even if the text makes no mention of this. Whilst it is obvious that the *merely attractive model* principle may not be appropriate for a vehicle advertisement, slimming advertisers have relative freedom to use the *merely attractive model* principle in sexualised-objectified and fitness-objectified imagery as misleading graphic identities in their marketing material. Reading objectified slimming advertisements through a positivist lens could produce two contrasting results. The first is a negative association and a concomitant rejection of the advertising messages. The grounds for this prediction is deduced from the empirical work of a number of scholars who indicate that women view other women in objectified imagery as less intelligent and less competent, may dehumanise them, it may induce negative body esteem and even lead to a negative product association (Gurung & Chrouser 2007; Puvia & Vaes 2013; Lavine et al 1999; McElhone et al 1999; LaTour 1990; LaTour & Henthorne 1993).

The second prediction is a more positive effect in favour of the advertiser. This prediction is also a deduction from published empirical work. Placing an objectified image in a professional environment such as a gymnasium, or projecting the objectified person as a professional model or fitness instructor, may lessen the objectification process and make it easier for an individual to accept self-objectification as appropriate. Viewers are inclined to view the professional portrayed as competent and will objectify them to a lesser extent (Johnson & Gurung 2011). In addition, social and media trends (McKay 2013) as well as objectifying trends from companies such as Victoria's Secret make self-objectification acceptable and a desirable trait (Calogero 2013; Kroon Van Diest & Perez 2013). Advertisements that employ sexualised-objectification and fitness-objectification as an identity could possibly persuade some viewers to adopt self-objectification as a norm, competitively rise to the "challenge" of a fitness-objectified identity, and respond favourably to the advertiser's wishes.

Concluding remarks

This paper reflected on the design identity of slimming advertisements in a selected South African women's magazine. A thematic and frequency analysis indicated that advertisers portrayed women as highly sexualised and fitness objects in 52% of the magazine's advertisements through the use of objectified images. These objectified images act as silent visual testimonies of the various products' unsubstantiated efficacy claims. Although the ASASA Code of Advertising requires that testimonials must be genuine, they do not regard an objectified image as a misleading visual testimony. They view such an image as a *mere attractive model*. This mere attractive model principle allows advertisers, and in particular marketers of slimming products, to effectively use objectification as a visceral and hedonic misleading graphic identity.

Although my earlier argument that some viewers may respond favourably towards sexualised- or fitness-objectified imagery in slimming commercials is a hypothetical conjecture, objectification theory may offer partial support. Objectification theory suggests that viewers, when exposed to objectified imagery, may adopt objectification as the norm and start a process of self-objectification and self-surveillance (Fredrickson & Roberts 1997). Viewers who consent to self-objectification may accept sexualised and fitness-objectified images as the norm and, consequently, a desirable outcome. What we do not know, however, is if typical South African viewers would respond accordingly to the objectified imagery hypothesis, and if they do, to what extent. This is a question that needs validation through experimental work.

Notes:

1 I use the term slimming (as opposed to the term weight loss) in this article in the same context as ASASA's Code on Slimming, namely to indicate the loss of mass, to limit mass, and to control mass.

2 The ASASA's Code of Advertising Practice consists of 5 sections and 10 addendums. The Code is based on international norms, prepared by the International Chamber of Commerce (ICC). The Code is drafted by the ASASA and representatives of the marketing communication industry and is adjusted from time to time to meet local demands. The ASASA Code is available at: http://asasa.org.za/Default.aspx?mnu_id=11. The ICC Code is available at: http://www.iccwbo.org/advocacy-codes-and-rules/areas-of-work/marketing-and-advertising/.

3 Advertisers who market slimming and related products must conform to the requirements as set out in the ASASA's Code on Slimming, also known as Appendix D – Advertising for Slimming. This particular code lists twenty-one items under five headings, namely: Introduction; Mass loss; Diet plans; Aids to dieting; Foods and appetite depressants. Appendix D is available at: http://asasa.org.za/Default.aspx?mnu_id=108.

4 I reviewed seventeen South African magazines that are most frequently found and readily available in franchised retail and book stores. They are *Fitness*, *Women's Health*, *Glamour Hair*, *Fair Lady*, *You*, *Your Family*, *Shape*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Glamour*, *Weigh-Less*, *Real*, *Sarie*, *True Love*, *Elle South Africa*, *Bona*, *Destiny* and *Rooi Rose*.

5 I used a t-test to compare the two means at 0.05. The calculated t statistic of 13.5 > than the two-tailed critical value of 2.45. The p value is 0.000001.

6 I used single factor ANOVA to compare the mean frequency of the four identities with each other. The calculated F value of 33.4 > than the F critical value of 3.0. The p value is 0.000000001.

7 I used a t-test to compare the two means at 0.05. The calculated t statistic of 3.1 > than the two-tailed critical value of 2.45. The p value is 0.021.

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Interpreting images from South African family photographic collections of the Anglo-Boer War period 1899 to 1902

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Photography's truth telling technology enticed early photographers to capture images of war such as the Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902. Many of these images include family photographic collections that were taken in and around the concentration camps. These images offer us valuable messages. Photography performs an important role in expressing people's complex relationships in the identity of cultural groups and a national belonging. This study strives to unravel the potential reasons for the way that society chose to visually represent itself. The question of why a photograph was made involves an understanding of the social, cultural and historical relationships figured in the image, as well as a larger set of relationships outside and beyond the frame. The social aspects of a photograph incorporate the purpose of both the sitters and the photographers as reflected in their decisions to take particular styles of pictures. Posed photographs in particular, provide reliable evidence of how people want to express their identity. Many of the Anglo-Boer War family and portrait photographs are formally posed and could provide evidence of the sitters' ambition, their dreams and their relationship with processes and people outside the picture frame. A heuristic interpretation of a sample of posed family photographs of the Anglo-Boer War indicate that the sitters sought an identity of respect, and projected a unified family despite their somber adversary. These images reflect a relationship between history and memory and present the past as it was. This research will contribute to our understanding of the value of photography in the lives of South Africans, why time and funds were spent on this activity and why family photographic collections were seen as valuable.
Key words: Anglo-Boer War, interpretation, family photographs

Interpretasie beelde van Suid Afrikaanse familie-fotoversamelings gedurende die Anglo-Boere-Oorlog-periode 1899 tot 1902
Fotografie se waarheidsvertellingstegnologie het vroeëre fotograwe genoodsaak om beelde gedurende die Anglo-Boere-Oorlog 1899-1902 vas te vang. Baie van die fotobeelde sluit in familie versamelings wat in en rondom die omgewing van die konsentrasiekampe geneem is. Hierdie beelde bied aan ons waardevolle boodskappe. Fotografie voer 'n belangrike rol om mense se komplekse verhoudings in die indentiteit van kultuurgroepe en nasionale belang uit te beeld. Hierdie studie poog om die moontlike redes te ontbloot hoe en waarom die gemeenskap hulself visueel wou uitbeeld. Die vraag waarom die foto gemaak is, beklemtoon ‘n begrip van sosiale, kulturele en geskiedkundige verhoudings, verbeeld in ‘n foto, asook die breēr verhoudings buite en verby die raam. Die sosiale aspekte van 'n foto inkorporeer die doel van beide die gefotografeerde en die fotograaf en dit reflekteer hulle besluitneming vir die spesifieke aard van foto's. Met spesifieke geposeerde foto's word betroubare bewyse gelewer van hoe mense hulself en hulle identiteit wou uitdruk. Verskeie van die Anglo-Boere-Oorlog familie- en portretfoto's wat geneem is, is amptelik formeel geposeer om die model se ambisies, hulle drome en hulle verhoudinge met mense buite die raam te voorsien. 'n Heuristiese interpretasie as ‘n voorbeeld en openbaring van opgestelde familie foto's gedurende die Anglo-Boere-Oorlog, om aan te dui dat die modelle gehunker het na ‘n identiteit van respek, en 'n geprojekteerde verenigde familie ten spyte van hul somber teenstand. Die foto's se verhouding tussen geskiedenis en herinneringe en met die verlede word hierin gereflekteer. Die studie sal bydra tot ons begrip en waarde van fotografie in die lewe van Suid-Afrikaners, hoekom fondse en tyd op die wyse aangewend is en waarom fotografiese familieversamelings as waardevol gesien is.
Sleutelwoorde: Anglo-Boere-Oorlog, interpretasie, familiefoto's

The camera, as a critical eye and recorder, is a valuable instrument which gathers accurate visual information with the potential to extend the viewer's awareness of and insight into the visual information thus collected (Collier & Collier 1992: 1-5). A photograph's meaning is not only to reveal what is not there anymore, but to also reflect on what has been (Barthes 1993: 85). It is therefore possible to reason that the content and message of a photograph can approve authenticity, which in turn may relate to the truthfulness of photographic evidence. Photographs reflecting on society convey evidence of when they were captured. Stated differently, photographs may prove to be even "truer" than a human witness of those events (Rose 2003: 11). Throughout the Second Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902 (also referred to as the South African War), cameras were widely used for documentation purposes relating to personal as well as official matters.

In interviews conducted with, by Gillian Rose, she reflects on the significance of family photographic collections and their role in society (Rose 2010: 25). Rose argues that photographs are objects that are "powerful and transformative". Family members view their photographs as objects representing togetherness and as part of their home within the domestic space (Rose 2010: 45). Togetherness reflects on how family members see their family photographs, where photographs are displayed and how the photographs are looked at (Rose 2010: 43-45). Furthermore as regards the viewer, photographs have the ability to evoke certain memories, which further motivates the action for creating and preserving family photographic collections (Rose 2010: 50). In Rose's writing, she often refers to and supports the viewpoints of the French sociologist and philosopher Pierre Bourdieu. Her research further highlights complexities in relationships and the advantages or shortcomings in the exchange of photographs in a visual context. American philosopher Kendall Walton (2008: 22) comments that photography allows viewers to observe the past by, inter alia, enabling them to see or observe their ancestors and past scenes and occurrences as and when they were photographed.

Photographs, moreover, can provide evidence in both a formal and in an informal context. For example, informally photographs may, reflect on a past photograph of a loved one or loved ones. Photography can substantiate the object or subject being photographed. It reflects on the object or subject photographed in relation to the world and may signify knowledge or even power (Sontag 1977: 174). Written text concerning a person or an event may be viewed as an elucidation, but a perspective on a photograph may represent a part or portion or segment of the world, a miniature slice of an occasion (Williams 1997: 1). In this regard, John and Malcolm Collier (Collier & Collier 1992: 8) state that; "man always used photographs to give form to his concepts of reality". Rose (2010: 47) supports this notion by referring to family as a tincture of the family member's presence, to "bring an awareness of absence and distance".

Three family photographs

It is the intention of this paper to reflect on three families that were photographed within the concentration camps of the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902. In this war the Boer guerrilla warfare strategies allowed the British forces to act with drastic action against the Boer and their families. The original ideas communicated to the Boer families regarding the establishment of concentration camps were as follows. In the first place, if the Boer families put down their weapons and signed the oath of neutrality they would be protected and their private property would be respected, this however did not happen (Grobler & Grobler 2013: 1). Secondly, the camps were the result of Lord Kitchener's scorched-earth policy and the concentration camps were one of the consequences thereof. All men, women, children and workers that could be found were brought in and camped (Lee 1985: 163). Countless farmhouses were burned down, infrastructure destroyed and live stock stolen or killed. Some British soldiers objected to this destruction of property and other belongings, but they were forced to follow their superiors' orders. On the other hand others enjoyed doing this (Grobler & Grobler 2013: 5-7). The aim of this policy, as photographic records reflect, was to cause maximum damage to property on farms and to the lives of the Boer families (Kessler 2012: 14). In addition this was done to punish the Boer which were on the battlefields, to intimidate them and to prevent any logistical support to them from farms. This all had a significant effect on food supplies in the rural areas (Grobler & Grobler 2013: 1).

Role of photography during the Anglo-Boer War

Amongst the concentration camp photographs taken, are records of families. These photographs offer us valuable insight into the Boer families held in camps of what was photographed and why many families were photographed. Rose (2003: 30) refers to this as the site of production. The three chosen photographs will strive to unravel the reasons for the way that the families visually represent themselves within these camp records. This paper will contribute to an understanding of the technology of that time and the value of photography as a record of the Boer families. Photography performs an important role in articulating people's multifaceted relationships in the identity of cultural groups and national belonging. In this reflection the British records of Boer families in the camps provides an opportunity to understand how families were recorded, how they chose to represent themselves and insight into the significance of photography during this period.

When analysing the images this paper uses Rose's (2010: 30) proposed "productive methodologies" include sites (site of production, site of audiencing and site of photograph itself), modalities (technological modality, compositional modality and social modality) and methods for interpreting found visual materials. This study reflects on Rose's (2010: 217) interpretation of the family photograph by tracing the social practices within the photographs of Boer families.

During the Anglo-Boer War, photographs relating to the war were predominantly disseminated in the British press and were used to create an impression of British invincibility – with many photographs, nonetheless, being posed and not an actual account of the war. At the same time photographs of concentration camps where families were interned, as well as the devastation and havoc wreaked by the British on the battlefield, were recorded by photographers sympathetic to the Boer cause. This paper will further comment on why the Boer families were photographed and who was the audience at that time. These photographs, however, did not receive much attention during the conflict itself and were only published after the war in publications such as To the Bitter End (Lee 1985). It is of value to note how these photographs are used today and who is the intended audience. New publications, including photographic content are still published today.

Photographs of society during and emanating from the Anglo-Boer War period, in particular family photography, can be considered as archival documents which leave a paper trail of the lives that individuals led (Fachry, Kamps & Zhang 2008: 102). Blanco (2010: 4) rightly states that family photography contributes to the importance of concrete moments in the lives of a family and adds to making those moments memorable. It is these types of photographs that this paper focuses on in an attempt to create a more nuanced and distinctioned understanding of South African society's heterogeneous character at the time of the Anglo-Boer War. Society here refers to people from various cultures and convictions, for example, farmers, women, children, labourers, teachers and soldiers. However most of the mentioned categories will be used in the larger study. Not only women and children were held in the concentration camps, but men from various cultures too. A variety of these families and other individuals were photographed for many reasons, weaving an intricate pattern of social interaction during the period in question and countering the more publicised visual reflection.

In reference to early painters, the likes of Jan van Noordt and the Nineteenth Century, impressionist artists such as Vincent van Gogh influenced the people constructed family portraits. Van Noordt's family paintings were formal and structured and Van Gogh's paintings were of common people in common situations resulting in a movement of informal portraiture. Similar changes happened during the photographic period in the early Twentieth Century. Due to this the posing and the clothing became more relaxed and the backgrounds became more meaningful. These kinds of photographs became the forerunners to a more casual type of the family photograph (Williams 1997: 2).

In the 1889 George Eastman commercialised his roll-film on transparent celluloid photographic emulsion (Cole 1978: 13). During 1899 to 1902 the older sheet film, glass negatives and new roll film cameras were used. The roll film was used in the Kodak cameras (Cole 1978: 48-49). This resulted in a more mobile camera technology where handheld photographers could capture people and families in an informal environment. The result of these developments was that more people were able to afford photography and more were visiting a photographic studio.

One can read from earlier photographs that the photographic event was important and a well respected occasion. Even with advancements of technology in the photographic industry the exposures times were uncomfortable long for people, which requires subjects to remain motionless for the time of the exposure (Williams 1997: 3).

By viewing family photographs, much can be discovered, interpreted and analysed about family structures and family relationships. One purpose of family photographs are to remind people of certain good times with loved ones, but in contrast to the above, many family photographs taken during the Anglo-Boer War period remind us about cruel events against families.

I hypothesise that by using a hermeneutical approach to uncover forgotten meanings of family photographs from the Anglo-Boer War, that it is possible to formulate interpretations of these photographs. Photographs are prosthetic devices that empower us to see things that otherwise would remain unknown. It is a kind of a mirror or telescope assisting us to see remote things (Walton 2008: 78).

Research methods employed

This study adheres to archival research principles and focuses on the interpretations as the primary analysis perspective in order to uncover new and forgotten meanings. This will assist in the understanding of meaning and to probe deeper into reality. In Rose's (2010) research similar principles were used to interpret family and domestic photographs rely on the collection, recording and analysis of materials. Photographs for the purpose of this paper represent focused samples of three families which reflect on the society, interpretations and the technology used to record them.

The emphasis of the proposed study will be on formulating the analysis model to interpret and to help come to an understanding of the photographs of the Anglo-Boer War period. For the purpose of this study, a judgement sampling method was used.

From these categories of photographs, noticeable characteristics are evident and consequently the main categories can be subdivided into additional sub-categories, such as single portraits, family groups, males, females, children, poses, clothes, setting, animals in photographs, camera techniques and so forth. This process will be refined as the selection of photographs occurs and continues.

As far as the photograph analysis procedure is concerned, the majority of family photographs are likely to have a dominant subject within the photograph and this will most likely form the basis of a narrative meaning of the specific photograph (Blomgren 1999: 27).

Photographs as a model of social life

Saayman-Hattingh (2013: 248) comments that photographs signify an example or model of social life; this takes place when such photographs are viewed at a date in the future and it may support a historical indication or a specific mind set of cultures and social situations.

In the Anglo-Boer War, mobile or location photography became another option, as mentioned this was mainly due to the advancement and mobility in photography. It was also noticeable during the time of the Anglo-Boer War; not all photographs were taken in the studio and some of the poses became more relaxed.

There appears to be a "performance" when people request a photographer's services, they make provision for their presentation in a photograph and how their friends and families will view them. Photography conduct is a performance or presentation in which the model will take on a technique or pose, to give people the impression of who they are or how they would want to be seen. This can be understood as impression management, on purpose people attempt not to project the wrong impression of themselves to others. The question may be asked, is this always the case? Photography allows people to present their family to others and to themselves (Boerdam & Martinius 1980: 109).

Seeing that photography can be regarded as a technique of impression management, one can notice that people on purpose present themselves in a positive way. People mostly use photography to selectively show their family.

For family photography this means that a family presents an idealised version of itself by means of photographs. This change of ideals into pictures is a complex social process in which the influence of visual images in art and photography must not be underestimated (Boerdam & Martinius 1980: 110). To reflect on the above statement one can argue that paintings in the 1800s and 1900s had the same effect on how people wanted to present or reflect themselves in a photograph.

Apart from simple to general aesthetics; the distinctive attitude of the typical informal photograph is the way the model posed. Many times the photographer directs the arrangement for family or single portrait photographs. In this way we can speak of arranging and directing of the people in the photograph. Posing may be understood as "assuming a specific attitude", more so for artistic purposes, thus having one's photograph made or captured by a photographer, artist of even a sculptor. This explains to a certain extent the ties between photography and painting, this tie was more evident in the initial years of photography which resembled posing for a painter. It was the duty of the photographer to determine and direct the facial expression and the best lighting and the attitude for the model. Posing means for the model to sit still (Boerdam & Martinius 1980: 111-112).

Boerdam & Martinius (1980: 112-116) claim that outside the studio the people are more inclined to make-up their poses. People in a photograph that are posed appear more formal when they look directly into the camera lens. We also witness the beginning of another kind of photography where people are involved in an activity and it becomes more relaxed and informal, namely snapshot photographs. In the life of a family it appears that family photographs has an important role to play. Photographs can bring memorable moments to light for those who were part of them and to everyone else concerned.

Family photographs

This landscape format photograph of the Van Deventer family was taken in a concentration camp situated in the town of Kimberley (Nasson & Grundlingh 2013: 57) (figure 1). The camp was established on the De Beers property in Newton, on the town's outskirts. This camp was known for its shortage of water and poor health conditions (Heyningen).

Figure 1
Van Deventer family (source: Anglo-Boer War Museum, number 04858).

The photograph represents a large family with ten children, the children range from a fairly young age to their mid twenties. From this photographic record it comes across that this family took pride in the way they were photographed. They appear dignified and respectable. An assumption is that they required the photographer to document them as a family as a reference and for future audiences who will view them. It was not uncommon for families to own a family album. It was also a way to document and record families and family life in the camps.

Most of the families photographed in the concentration camps do not include a father figure with older brothers. These men were normally on the battlefields, in prison camps, wartime casualties or on the run from the British. Possible reasons for the men's presence in this family photograph could be that they were "hensoppers" meaning surrendered burghers or that they probably signed the oath of neutrality (Nasson & Grundlingh 2013: 29-32, 59).

This family was photographed against a makeshift outdoor studio arrangement. A vertical fabric backdrop was positioned as the studio's background, including a groundsheet to try and follow the portraiture convention that was popular at that time. The background contributes to strong compositional and vertical lines; this puts emphasis on the frame around the family grouping. One can presume the arranged studio set-up in the Kimberly camp was for the purpose to document the different family groups held captive in the camp for record purposes of their captors. The convention of family photography has therefore been appropriated for record purposes where the traditional role would be for family consumption. In reference to this paper's discussions, this photograph is one of the few where a studio on location was established.

The family appears formal and rigid with the two parents seated. This reveals its own character regarding the social status of parents in a family, as senior family members they are seated and surrounded by their children. The father and mother's hand gestures illustrate some affection with the youngest daughter. Four of the children are brothers, with their six sisters. Another possibility could be that the elder sons in the back row are standing with their wives, but this information is unknown. Statistics indicate that nearly a third of the adults in camps were men, mostly of a young age (Nasson & Grundlingh 2013: 101). The three photographs as discussed in this paper supports that notion.

The formal clothing of each family member appears neat and in good condition. The males are dressed in white-collar shirts, mainly long trousers and jackets. All the females are dressed in long black dresses; some of the females are wearing white rounded collars. The mother's dress is finished off with a black ribbon at the top, possibly the significance of this is for the Victorian dress. They are formally dressed for the purpose of documenting them as the family. The black coloured dresses could reveal their pain for what they have lost. One can reason that the purpose for this event was to record and document them as a family. It could also be to illustrate and prove that they were alive at that point in time. Some photographic records reveal that dead children formed part of the family photograph. Their mood reflects a dismal attitude possibly revealing on their unbearable situation being held against their will in a concentration camp. As the photograph illustrates – none of them are smiling.

The camera's vantage point is rather high, pointing down at the family group with a bit of lens flare from the top left hand corner. The camera could have been secured on a tripod for stability purposes. Due to this formal set-up and arrangement with significant photo detail, the camera most likely exposed an image on a large format glass negative. The sensitivity of these glass negatives was low resulting in longer exposure times. The photographer took care in arranging each family member. All of them are visible in the three composed rows and some of the children sit comfortably, securing themselves for the long exposure time. Everyone has a specific body language they are portraying. The negative space areas in the photograph inform the viewer of certain living conditions of the Boer families. The tent represents the kind of homes in the camp; a zinc tub in the background is normally used for washing purposes. This bit of information provides the viewer with a visual input of a setting in a concentration camp.

The dark coloured clothing and formal outfits are similar in most of the other concentration camp family photographs. This could refer to the selective show of the family and the impression management to avoid representation by making a wrong impression. These kind of photographs account to a similar comment from Saayman-Hattingh (2013: 248) that the viewer is exposed to a model of social life when this photograph is viewed at a future date. This photograph reflects on what the people in concentration camps dealt with in their world of tents and barbwire fences, this was where they were forced to stay. The formal character of the photograph is a time slice moment in the life of the Van Deventer family.

This informal family photograph of the Faure family was exposed in the Norvals Pont concentration camp located on the banks of the Orange River (figure2). This camp was established to accommodate Boer families from the overcrowded Bloemfontein camp (Grobler & Grobler 2013: 22). The family originated from the town of Smithfield in the Orange Free State province, currently known as Free State. The visual evidence reflects fourteen family members who represent approximately three generations.

Figure 2
Faure family (source: Anglo-Boer War Museum, number 02079).

The stand appears large enough to accommodate the everyday rituals of cooking, washing of clothing and family interactions without being in direct contact with the family positioned directly next to them. This large tent size was not the standard when compared to tents in other documentary photographs taken of the concentration camp at the time. In the foreground there is a number of lime painted white stones and timber poles, indicating boundaries and a pathway; this could signify structure, stand sizes and uniformity throughout the camp. The photograph clearly indicates a certain form of basic lifestyle against a strong rural backdrop. It is assumed that families had a say in how they were presented in their photographs. This display is in contrast to the first photograph in figure 1. It appears less formal, with some family activity-taking place. One assumes that the family required to be photographed reflecting the position of their tent and to record them at some open kitchen action. In similar consumptions this photograph could be initiated by the British for their records and media purposes in the United Kingdom.

The content of this photograph also reflects a large family. On the man's right hand side sits a woman, which could be the grandmother. There are seven young children, three boys, four girls, and three or four elder sisters. The wife is looking away from the camera and the husband, smoking a pipe appears if he has just arrived from somewhere else. Two women do not form part of the grouping; they are positioned in the background on the right hand side. The one with her hands on her waist shows possible dissatisfaction with the event, this is reflected through her body language. Both ladies are dressed in white dresses, which are in complete contrast to the other female's clothing. The reason for this is not known, it could be that they were just visiting. It is interesting to note the photograph has elements of an informal arrangement; this is prompted by the way the photographer composed the grouping. The appearance of the family's clothing is mostly formal and arranged, meaning this photograph was planned and staged. Two women are wearing their aprons, which enhances the less formal arrangement. A few family members appear to be preparing food for the family. There is some open-air kitchen activity in action.

The photographer included a wide view of the family and their surroundings. His camera's position indicates he is far away from the family. The camera is at about waistline to the family grouping. The style of photography is not only a portrait photograph of the family grouping, but the family in their environment, resulting in a documentation of the family life. In comparison to other discussed photographs this one portrays a type of documentary style. The hill in the background indicates their position in the landscape of the concentration camp; they are possibly slightly higher than their neighbours. The sharply focused tent ropes in the background indicates that there is sufficient depth of field for focusing purpose.

One purpose for these kinds of family photographs is to be looked at and possibly in the company of others to bring back reminiscences in a way that outsiders can be initiated in the family history (Boerdam & Martinus 1980: 95).

Reference material indicates that this photograph of a mother and child was taken in an unknown concentration camp (Pretorius 2001: 36) (figure 3). We do not know the names of these individuals. Due to limited information it is possible they were in a transit or temporary camp. The wagons in the background standing close to the tents could support this finding. The previous two images are visually structured and of a permanent base. The availability of recorded information of family names and the camp's location supports this. In some of the concentration camps attempts were made to keep an accurate record of all residents. It appears if the British photographers have documented the families in a specific structured way, even in this transit or temporary camp.

Figure 3
Surviving child of seven with mother (source: Anglo-Boer War Museum, number 00054).

In the rectangular format framing of the photograph there is a definite open distance between the family's position in the framing and the tents in the background. This space isolates them form the camp's living environment and can read as a metaphor, illustrating their sorrow, loneliness and loss. The space creates a dividing line putting them in the foreground with all the visual attention on them. The division is further supported by the strong separation line marked by stones, almost in the centre of the frame, separating the background from the mother and child grouping. The photographer created a compact composition with the viewer's attention focused onto the foregrounded family.

The background in this image is very different to the backgrounds portrayed in the first two images discussed. This is the most informal and portrays elements of the living circumstances of the concentration camp, a few closely pitched tents are visible as well as a wagons, which could have transported them to the camp. In both the other photographs discussed the photographer has taken time with organizing the families, either in front of a background or posed within the family's living environment. The families have been provided with the opportunity to present themselves to be photographed and appear to have dressed for the occasion. In this instance the everyday clothing and cropping of the subjects being recorded seem to indicate a less formal occasion for the photographic activity.

Looking at the child, her small figure posture and body weight makes one wonder how she survived, and did she stay alive until the end of the war. Her legs and arms are thin, most likely due to malnutrition or illness. The glare from the little girl's big eyes and thin face are touching. The child's expression shows no pretence and no emotion. She is seated on a wooden chair lined with a softer material to make her more comfortable. Due to no body fat it must have been strenuous to sit on a hard chair. She sits slightly into the chair – that could reflect on the marginally sagged strap (riempies) material used for the seated sections of chairs. One can argue the child could not stand still for the exposure time and is therefore seated. The mother is positioned in a kneeling pose, on her left knee next to her daughter. She lowered herself to the same level of her child. In this tough camp situation she is not portraying herself as mother on a higher level. This could reflect on her empathy and love for her child. Here is no physical touch of comfort between the two of them, not even her right hand, which is close to her daughter's arm. The absence of physical demonstration of sentiment or affection is clearly visible. She appears emotional about her losses and she is aware of her child's pain and suffering, knowing the road that she already walked.

In comparison to her mother the little child appears to portray a slight untidiness, her hair is cut short and she is not warmly dressed. Her mother is neatly presented and dressed in a formal black outfit. The mother's face is slightly lowered and her glance is upwards, almost respectfully looking up at the photographer. Boerdam & Martinius (1980: 95) maintain for many people their photographic collections are the only biographical material that they leave behind after their deaths.

The camera's viewpoint is slightly higher than eye level, pointing down at a slight angle. The grouping is close to the camera in the foreground and therefore the camera's focus is on the two members with the background out of focus. This further enhances and focuses the viewer's attention onto the mother and child. The lighting conditions for the photographs appear with a slightness of softer and diffused light. There are some shadow areas visible on their bodies, some of the highlighted facial features are over exposed; their eyes are semi-blocked and are hidden in shadow. The black clothing carries some detail, which assists in seeing the fabric and textures. Due to the camera's settings and overexposure the tents in the background lost their textures and detail.

Conclusion

In this paper attention has been given to a specific selected three photographs. These photographs represent a time slice moment of the life of specific families. This article demonstrates that in the initial years of photography and during the time of the Anglo-Boer War, people attached the greatest value of a respectable dignified past. This is supported by the overwhelming evidence of many photographic records in museums and archives nationally and internationally. One can state the way in which families presented themselves, contribute to the notion that they appear dignified and respectable. The composition, dress code and body language support this. However, much of the visual and background information reflect upon the circumstances in a concentration camp. The photographs are the evidence of that viewpoint. This paper provides insight of captured families and how they presented themselves in their society. The role of family photographs played an important, it was seen as a valuable commodity. The research of these photographs argued to make past conditions visible for those who took part in them and for future viewing.

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Flip du Toit's current field of research is about the hermeneutical aspects of family photographs that were recorded during the time of the Anglo-Boer War. This article comes from a doctoral research study currently conducted.

Identity in architecture and art: Versailles, Giverny and Gyeongju

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This paper explores the different "identities" projected by the palace and gardens of Versailles, the house and garden of Claude Monet in Giverny (France), and Mount Namsan in (South) Korea. It is argued that the palace and gardens at Versailles are the embodiment of what Deleuze and Guattari call "striated space" — a specific modulation of space according to lines of power that organise, hierarchize or exclude. Monet's estate, while not devoid of a subtle kind of striation, may be seen as an exemplary instance of fusing it with "smooth space", where the freedom of nomadic exploration breathes a welcoming aroma in the midst of gentle spatial striation. Ranciére gives one another, complementary perspective on Versailles with his evocative phrase, "the distribution of the sensible", which is the manner in which the extant world is organised, arranged, and ordered according to what is visible, audible, admissible and sayable. In the 17th and 18th centuries this meant a hierarchy of classes from royalty through nobility and the bourgeoisie down to the fourth estate, or proletariat, whose absence from this elevated space is conspicuous in that they are not represented in the artworks surrounding one. Compared to Versailles, the home of Monet is gentleness incarnate; here the "distribution of the sensible" operates according to inclusion, not exclusion. What Ranciére labels the art of the "aesthetic regime" is conspicuous here, in contrast to the hierarchical art of the "representative regime" at Versailles. The paper focuses on the distinctive cratological "identities" of Versailles and Monet's estate, respectively, through the lenses of Deleuze/Guattari and Ranciére, and then shifts to a different cultural context as a comparative case: the fusion of striated and smooth space on Mount Namsan near Gyeongju, Korea.
Key words: architecture, art, identity, smooth space, striated space

Identiteit in argitektuur en kuns: Versailles, Giverny en Gyeongju
Hierdie artikel ondersoek die verskillende "identiteite" wat deur die paleis en tuine van Versailles, die huis en tuin van Claude Monet in Giverny (Frankryk), en die berg, Mt Namsan, in (Suid-) Korea geprojekteer word. Die paleis en tuine by Versailles is die toonbeeld van wat Deleuze en Guattari "gelaagde ruimte" noem – 'n besondere modulering van ruimte wat dit volgens magsbeginsels van eksklusiwiteit en hiërargie organiseer. Ofskoon Monet se huis en tuin ook 'n subtiele soort "gelaagde ruimte" vertoon, smelt dit hier saam met "gladde ruimte", waar die vryheid van nomadiese eksplorasie hand aan hand gaan met die struktureringsfunksie van gelaagde ruimte. Ranciére bied 'n alternatiewe perspektief op Versailles met sy suggestiewe uitdrukking, "die verspreiding van die sintuiglike", wat 'n beskrywing is van die wyse waarop die wêreld volgens kriteria van sigbaarheid, hoorbaarheid, toelaatbaarheid en beskryfbaarheid georganiseer is. In die 17de en 18de eeue het dit die vorm aangeneem van 'n klasse-hiërargie vanaf koninklikes en die edelstand tot die middelklas en die proletariaat, waarvan die afwesigheid in die hoë ruimtes van Versailles opvallend is deurdat hulle nie in die kunswerke wat 'n mens omring verteenwoordig is nie. In vergelyking met Versailles, word die tuiste van Monet deur vreedsaamheid gekenmerk; hier funksioneer die "verspreiding van die sintuiglike" in terme van insluiting in plaas van uitsluiting. Wat Ranciére as die kuns van die "estetiese regime" bestempel, is opvallend hier, in teenstelling met die "kuns van die representatiewe regime" by Versailles. Die artikel konsentreer op die onderskeibare kratologiese "identiteite" van Versailles en van Monet se huis en tuin aan die hand van Deleuze/ Guattari en Ranciére se teoretiese invalshoeke, onderskeidelik, voordat daar op vergelykende wyse na 'n ander kulturele konteks oorgegaan word, naamlik na die sintese van "gladde" en "gelaagde" ruimte op die berg, Mt Namsan naby Gyeongju, Korea.
Sleutelwoorde: argitektuur, kuns, identiteit, gladde ruimte, gelaagde ruimte

A 'method' is the striated space of the cogitatio universalis and draws a path that must be followed from one point to another. But the form of exteriority situates thought in a smooth space that it must occupy without counting, and for which there is no possible method, no conceivable reproduction, but only relays, intermezzos, resurgences (Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*: 377).

What is it that makes one feel at home in certain spaces, and somehow unsettled, out of sorts, in others? To be sure, it could be the company you happen to be in, or the temperature, or humidity, but here I am thinking particularly of the distinctive qualities of the spaces in question. In no uncertain terms, these experiential qualities contribute to the likelihood, or lack of it, of "identifying" with them, in other words, with the manner in which spaces are structured, organized, textured or modally marked by certain of their features. What does this amount to? The question regarding "identity" in architecture and art can be approached from various angles, the most obvious one being the psychoanalytical one, deriving mainly from the work of Freud, Lacan and Kristeva. Here I have chosen to avoid this "obvious" approach, and focus instead on the fecundity of the work of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, on the one hand, and that of Jacques Ranciére, on the other.

First a methodological observation is called for, however. At a time when "discourse" is the chief theoretical matrix for approaching and (linguistically) conceptualizing phenomena from identity to power, it is salutary to consider that, while human beings are demonstrably discursive beings – that is, their subjectivity is linguistically articulated – discourse is not the *only* register in which this occurs. Even for a language theorist like Lacan (Lee 1990: 30-60) two other registers, in an uneasy intertwinement with the symbolic (discourse), comprise human subjectivity, namely the imaginary (the register of the ego or *moi*, and of images) and the (enigmatic) "real" (that which surpasses the symbolizable as an "internal limit"; Copjec 2002: 95-96). These three registers arguably cover everything human beings experience – in the case of the real in the form of what Lacan (1981**:** 55) calls a "missed encounter" – but taken at face value they also hide aspects of non-discursive levels of experience, such as space, for example. Because space is so often neglected in relation to questions surrounding identity, the present investigation will concentrate on ways to approach this fraught question "spatially", as it were.

What does this entail? In his penetrating study of *(Post)Apartheid Relations* (2013: 18-46) Derek Hook provides a paradigmatic instance of a space-oriented approach to issues of identification. In his analysis of the ideological significance of Strijdom Square, with its gigantic, sculpted head of the politician (J.G. Strijdom), in Pretoria, during apartheid, Hook focuses precisely on the non-discursive qualities of space. This enables him to demonstrate how unconscious identifications with certain spaces, or more particularly, places, are inscribed on subjects' bodies when they experience these with affective intensity. Drawing on the work of Gaston Bachelard and Henri Lefebvre (two largely neglected voices in the French intellectual tradition), Hook explores the link between specific places and "psychic investment", thus providing a way of understanding subjects' subliminal identification with certain spaces, particularly at an ideological level. In light of Lefebvre's work on the socio-historical "production of space" he points out that monumental spatial ensembles comprising architecture and sculpture might be expressly interpretable through language, but *not* reducible to it. Hence Hook's insistence that discourse-analysis has its limits when it comes to comprehending the "inter-subjectivity of (body-)subject and space". This insight informs my approach to the question of identification in relation to qualitatively diverse spaces in this article, although I shall pursue it in different registers, namely those encountered in the work of Deleuze and Guattari, and of Ranciére, as indicated earlier.

Deleuze and Guattari's characterisation of smooth space, as opposed to striated space is evocative, and puts the observer in a position from where she or he can decipher experienced spaces in a manner compatible with Hook's non-discursive approach to spaces with which individuals identify ideologically at an affective level (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 474-475):

> Smooth space and striated space—nomad space and sedentary space—the space in which the war machine develops and the space instituted by the State apparatus—are not of the same nature. No sooner do we note a simple opposition between the two kinds of space than we must indicate a much more complex difference by virtue of which the successive terms of the oppositions fail to coincide entirely. And no sooner have we done that than we must remind ourselves that the two spaces in fact exist only in mixture: smooth space is constantly being translated, transversed into a striated space; striated space is constantly being reversed, returned to a smooth space. In the first case, one organizes even the desert; in the second, the desert gains and grows; and the two can happen simultaneously. But the de facto mixes do not preclude a de jure, or abstract, distinction between the two spaces. That there is such a distinction is what accounts for the fact that the two spaces do not communicate with each other in the same way: it is the de jure distinction that determines the forms assumed by a given de facto mix and the direction or meaning of the mix (is a smooth space captured, enveloped by a striated space, or does a striated space dissolve into a smooth space, allow a smooth space to develop?).

This description will provide part of the interpretive grid to be implemented in relation to specific spaces in this article. In the case of Ranciére's work (2010: location 499), the expression, "the distribution of the sensible" will furnish interpretive direction in both an aesthetic and a political-cratological sense. What this means, is that Ranciére thinks of the world of the senses, which is first and foremost also the "sensible" world of common sense assumptions, as being "distributed" or "partitioned" along axes of power-relations, which may be (and in most cases are) hierarchical, marked by "vertical" domination, and in others incline towards various degrees of egalitarian relations. Hierarchical power-relations correspond roughly to Deleuze and Guattari's "striated space" while spaces which tend in the direction of equality correspond more or less with mooth space".

Two countervailing spaces

In France one has access to many qualitatively different spaces. Two of these, which diverge fundamentally as far as cratological spatial quality, or (in other words) power-related experiential distinctness is concerned, are those of specific places at Versailles and Giverny. They are, in fact, diametrically opposed, or mutually exclusive. The first is the palace and gardens of Versailles, known as the residence of a succession of French kings, of whom Louis XIV and Louis XVI are probably the best known (the latter with his equally well-known queen, Marie-Antoinette, who was beheaded nine years after her husband, in the wake of the French revolution). The second is the house and gardens that used to belong to Claude Monet, the artist, (one of) whose paintings gave the Impressionist movement its name.

The spatial differences between these two places are almost tangible, which should surprise no one, given humans' inalienable "spatiality". While Monet's house and gardens, including the famous Japanese garden, with the Japanese footbridge that Monet painted several times, exude a sense of peace and tranquillity, the palace at Versailles strikes one as the embodiment of the "striated space" that Deleuze and Guattari (1987: 474-475) describe (above) — that is, a specific modulation of space according to lines of power that organise, hierarchize, exclude or hem in. In fact, compared to Versailles, Monet's estate, while certainly not devoid of a subtle kind of spatial striation, or the kind of gentle power that is peculiar to some kinds of art, including impressionism, struck one almost as an exemplary instance of "smooth space", breathing a welcoming aroma. Monet's paintings hanging in his house, as well as the layout of his gardens allows for freedom of nomadic exploration on the part of visitors via multiple ways of traversing them.

Versailles

Arguably not even the most ornate Baroque buildings in Europe, or the most flamboyant palaces in China — with their penchant for red and gold — can boast such excessive opulence as (the interior of) the royal palace of Versailles. In the face of striated space on this scale it is small wonder that the impoverished masses of France launched a rebellion that eventually turned into a full-scale revolution in 1789. Confronted with such an ostentatious display of financial wealth and political power, one is struck by the thought that, had the people of France in the 18th century been familiar with the interior of Versailles palace, they would probably have rebelled much earlier. Although it had started out as a mere hunting lodge used by Louis XIII in the early 17th century, about three hours on horseback from Paris, he eventually turned it into a brick and stone palace, which was enlarged and completely transformed by his son, Louis XIV, who also decided to move the royal court as well as the seat of government to Versailles in 1682. He may not have read Machiavelli's *The Prince*, but he certainly knew that you had to keep those who might undermine your power close to you; within view, as it were. And without the benefit of having read Deleuze and Guattari, he knew what to demand from his architects and artists as far as the spatial and visual embodiment of the striated space peculiar to the state was concerned.

Whether one approaches the palace from the direction of the gardens or from the city, it addresses the spectator as striated, monolithic slabs with an air of austerity, but there is a qualitative difference between the two approaches. The formal layout of the gardens makes of them a homogeneous extension of the striated interior and exterior of the palace, but the qualitative barrier between the palace and the city has the effect of relegating the space adjacent to the latter to one of subordination. The palace therefore exemplifies what was known in the 18th century as "absolute monarchy"; Franklin Baumer (1977: 96-116) goes as far as alluding to the French king of this era as a "mortal god". Louis XIV was called the "Sun King", and everywhere around this well-preserved palace the iconography – in sculpture, painting and metal ornamentation – confirms his reflexively glorifying self-conception, which is not unrelated to the question of identity in relation to this hierarchical space.

As an aside I should point out that it is true that, if it had not been for this inflated idea of his own importance, the palace would not have been the repository of as much outstanding art from the 17th and 18th centuries as it is today. Louis XIV died in 1715, and the further embellishment of the palace continued under Louis XV and Louis XVI in the 18th century. The latter and his family had to leave Versailles during the first few days of the revolution in 1789. Although French democracy was arguably born with the advent of the revolution, it was soon followed by "the terror" in the guise of the persecution of everyone suspected of not having the requisite amount of revolutionary fervour, and ironically it did not take too long before the monarchy was reinstated, with King Louis-Philippe opening a museum dedicated to "all the glories of France" in Versailles palace in 1837.

What particularly interests me is the paradigmatic embodiment of political power in the discrete elements that make up this palace and its enormous gardens and parks. I have already mentioned the notion of "striated space" — space qualitatively marked by the imprint of power — here, "absolute" power, which is imprinted in the many sculptures of the "sun king" on his horse, or posing in regal paraphernalia in many paintings, usually dressed predominantly in red (the colour of royalty; even people's shoes were colour-coded at the time: red for royalty, blue for nobility, etc.). At first sight it seems obvious that identity, or processes of identification, to be more precise, would happen exclusively by way of identifying with the variously framed images of the king – a process persuasively described in Lacan's analysis (1977: 1-7; see also

Olivier 2009) of the "mirror-stage", which comprises the foundation of all subsequent acts of identification. To some extent this is no doubt the case: spectators "identified" with the image of the king, not in such a manner that they experienced themselves as being in his position of power, even vicariously, for a fleeting moment (although such fantasies probably did occur in Louis XIV' time, and do so even today). Identification in this case would imply, first and foremost, an experience, on the part of the onlooker, of being placed in a position of subordination to the king (represented by the images in question), insofar as the act of identification confirms the unassailable authority of the king, simultaneously constituting the spectator as his relatively powerless subject.

However, it is not only the large number of painted images of the king and of the queen, either in the form of portraits, or surrounded by their courtiers or by ambassadors of other countries, that afford the iconic means of identification for spectators. The non-discursive, spatial register that Hook invokes (above) in his study of spaces of or for affective identification, functions in this space where royal absolutism is elaborated in architectural terms, too. Hence, while identification with representative images certainly does occur, the fact that this happens in the broader context of an architecture which is exhaustively (and hierarchically) striated, reinforces the mode of identification immeasurably. In the case of the various rooms comprising the king's *grand appartement du roi*, the sumptuously decorated walls and high ceilings (on which the supposedly heroic actions of Louis XIV were depicted in the form of allegories based on events which putatively occurred in the ancient world) comprise spatial surroundings redolent with the feeling of expansiveness, reciprocally constituting the visitor as small and insignificant. The non-discursive, primarily spatial identification which takes place under such circumstances would unavoidably have interpellated the visiting nobleman or diplomat as a subject in awe of the royal power of the "Sun King" – something which is unlikely to occur in the same way in our secular, liberal democracies, except at the level of fantasy, perhaps. That subject-identity could be constituted in this way is not surprising, if one reflects on Deleuze and Guattari's remark, that (1987: 370):

> Homogeneous space is in no way a smooth space; on the contrary, it is the form of striated space. The space of *pillars*. It is striated by the fall of bodies, the verticals of gravity, the distribution of matter into parallel layers, the lamellar and laminar movement of flows. These parallel verticals have formed an independent dimension capable of spreading everywhere, of formalizing all the other dimensions, of striating all of space in all of its directions, so as to render it homogeneous.

Accordingly, the architectural space(s) of Versailles – and the surrounding gardens and parks may be understood as a continuum of this space – is recognizably homogeneous, as all striated space is, and presents itself as a pervasive "space of pillars" which extends beyond the buildings into the formal gardens. The metaphor of "pillars" is appropriate here – doesn't an autocratic form of government as instantiation of the "state apparatus" rely on an architecture of striated space as ideological spatial "support" or "mainstay"? Interestingly, the presence of thousands of 21st-century tourist-visitors streaming through the palace on a daily basis with their cameras and mobile phones could be seen as representing the incursion of nomadic, "smooth space" into what used to be the striated space of monarchical rule, were it not for the fact that, as a premier French tourist attraction, it exemplifies what has today become the striated space of (here, French, but ultimately international or global) capital — no one gets to enter the palace grounds without paying a hefty entrance fee. It is justifiable as being necessary to maintain the palace in pristine condition, but it is also aimed at turning a handsome profit. Hence the cratological "pillars" in question no longer coincide with the architecture of the Chateau Versailles, but are entirely invisible or abstract in the form of the monetary values that encircle the globe.

When I used the phrase, “representative images”, above, I had in mind Ranciére’s (Tanke 2011: 75-85) very specific sense of the term “representative”, insofar as it fits into the category of what he calls the “representative regime of art”. The latter denotes the conception of art that correlates with a hierarchically structured society (where tragedy is a “nobler” dramatic genre than comedy, and paintings of great historical events are preferable to those depicting everyday scenes), as opposed to the “ethical regime of images”, which proscribes the use of images in the interest of a metaphysically structured society, and the “aesthetic regime of art”, which treats all images as equal, and can therefore be described as a truly “democratic” conception of art. Ranciére therefore gives one another, complementary perspective on Versailles, highlighting the hierarchical implications of the “representative” character of the artworks in the palace. Whether it is a portrait of the Sun King and his entourage, or an allegorical painting depicting Louis XIV as a mythical hero performing heroic deeds, or (in the War Room) a painting of the king on the battlefield, accompanied by his officers, while wounded soldiers look up at him for succour, this is truly the “representative” art that Ranciére writes about – the art that finds its exemplary objects among royalty and nobility, and in a kind of fusion of historical and mythical events, depicted in idealising images that show a blind spot for ordinary, everyday social reality.

This interpretation of the art at Versailles is enriched in the light of his evocative phrase, “the distribution of the sensible” (referred to earlier; Ranciére 2010: location 499), which is the manner in which the extant world is organised, arranged, and ordered according to what is visible, audible, admissible and sayable. The “representative regime” of the arts instantiates one such “distribution of the sensible” insofar as this “distribution” changes in every era according to the parcelling out of social spaces by the dominant powers of the time. In the 17th and 18th centuries (specifically in France) this meant a hierarchy of classes from royalty through nobility and the bourgeoisie down to the fourth estate, or proletariat, whose exclusion or absence from this elevated space is conspicuous in that they are not represented anywhere in the artworks surrounding one (except in the paintings collected in the War Room, where they feature as soldiers ready to die, dying, and having died, for the king). In other words, the proletariat was pretty much invisible, and inaudible, until they made themselves heard in the clamour of the revolution, which was a disruptive manifestation of what Ranciere calls “equality”, the gist of the political. Violence by itself would not qualify as a manifestation of equality in the sense of a quasi-transcendental political category (that is, as the condition of the possibility, as well as the impossibility of the political; of its possibility *and* its ruin, simultaneously); as Ranciére (2010: location 523; 1999: 22-23) reminds one, the assertion of equality, in principle, must be accompanied by the *logos*, or the assertion of the ability to speak, no less so than those in power.

Giverny

Compared to Versailles, the home of Monet at Giverny is gentleness incarnate; here the “distribution of the sensible” operates according to inclusion, not exclusion. What Ranciére labels the art of the “aesthetic regime” – which instantiates “equality” in terms of artistic object-choice, style and medium, with no privilege accorded to any particular variety – is conspicuous here, in contrast to the hierarchical art of the “representative regime” at Versailles. Accordingly, Monet’s paintings, replicas of which are everywhere in the house (the originals being stored elsewhere for preservation purposes), are of flowers, trees, mountains, ordinary people; that is, objects of interest selected from the endless spectrum of what offers itself to artists, and not as dictated by conventional rules — as it was the case in Monet’s day by the French Academy of Fine Arts, from which artists like Monet broke away.

His love of Japanese prints, which adorn many of the walls in his house, reflects his openness to the world around him, and simultaneously testifies to the fundamentally organising function of the “aesthetic regime”, which does not privilege any artform above any others, in his oeuvre. The famous Japanese footbridge in his garden, rendered with loving attention to the detail of a particular “impression” in several of his paintings – with the consequence that a “dialogue” of sorts ensues between the real bridge and the redoubled bridge(s) in the paintings – is a particularly poignant case in point. Even if spectators were unaware of the cultural provenance of this type of bridge, its unusual shape would strike one’s vision as something that binds the two banks of the stream together by means of a charming cultural artefact that does no violence to the stream or surrounding trees and flowers. On the contrary, in Heidegger’s (2001: 150) phrase, the bridge “…brings stream and bank and land into each other’s neighborhood. The bridge *gathers* the earth as landscape around the stream”. It is true that Heidegger was talking about a different bridge, but his phenomenology of its being applies to Monet’s bridge just as much.

In fact, Monet’s house and everything it contains, together with his garden, embody the “aesthetic regime”, and therefore instantiate an aesthetic model for true democracy — everything is treated with equal attention, love and gentleness, which pervade the aesthetic space(s) concerned, and this effectively prevents a hierarchization of any kind. Versailles, by contrast, represents a model of what Ranciére (2010: location 499; Tanke 2011: 42-43) calls “the police”, a symbolic constitution of the social according to hierarchies of exclusion. It is interesting to note that the French “absolute” monarchy may be long gone, but in its place today, as noted above regarding the rule of capital in Versailles as privileged “tourist space”, we have an equally ruthless, globally extended, dominant power that perhaps deserves the epithet of “absolute” more than Louis XIV did. (As historical events showed, “absolute” was a misnomer in the Sun King’s case; it will inescapably prove true of globalized capital, too, as of all contingent historical phenomena.)

How does identity – or rather, identification – work in the aesthetic surroundings of Monet’s home? To be sure, it is no less subject to the striation brought about in the space of tourism as subdivision of the space of capitalist power – one pays an entrance fee to imbibe the aesthetic space at Monet’s house as in the case of Versailles. Hence exclusion of those who cannot afford the entrance fee operates at both sites, and already contributes to a sense of identity inseparable from global consumerism. But while striated space as architecturally articulated at Versailles is conducive to identification in terms of the relation between unquestionable power and subordination – where the lingering imprint of the “Sun King’s” “absolute” rule is still discernible by 21st-century visitors, and may even be apprehended by some in its new incarnation as the superimposed rule of global capital – Monet’s art-rich house and garden display a different kind of striation. One could even discern elements of spatial smoothness there, considering Deleuze and Guattari’s (1987: 474-475) observation, quoted earlier, that the two kinds usually appear in an admixture of sorts, and one that is not stable, but oscillates between smooth space invading striated space and *vice versa*. Smooth space, they further point out (1987: 380-381), is the space of the nomad, as opposed to sedentary striated space, which belongs to the migrant, among others. Because of its walls and garden paths, Monet’s house and garden constitute striated space, and one visits this locale as a “migrant”, but the countervailing force of nomadic, smooth space asserts itself in the fact that its layout and inviting aesthetic qualities encourage one to “distribute” oneself in this space, wandering “aimlessly” like a nomad, without the teleological burden of the migrant. Hence, at a non-discursive, affective spatial level, the identification to which entering this space is conducive, is that of the nomadic wanderer, temporarily freed from the constraints of striation, which one therefore surpasses from within. Small wonder that one gets the impression that visitors are loathe to leave, and roam or amble through the extensive garden into the house and back again, stopping intermittently to admire a flower, lean on the Japanese footbridge, or gaze (appropriately) at an impressionistic painting. "Impressions" seem to characterize such quasi-nomadic behaviour, so that one could perhaps speak of "impressionistic" identification in this singular place, stretched between striated and smooth space.

Gyeongju, Korea

When visiting (South) Korea with a view to investigating the area where some of the oldest Korean cultural artefacts are to be found, one's destination(s) should include the famed city of Gyeongju, two hours South-East from Seoul by rapid train. I used the word "famed" deliberately, given the city's reputation as an "open-air museum" — walking through the city one comes upon many huge mounds of earth that just happen to be the ancient burial sites, or underground burial chambers, of Korean royalty dating back more than 10 centuries. In Gyeongju one gets a first taste of Eastern, specifically Korean, "spirituality" when wandering through the grounds of Anapji (Wild Goose/Duck) Pond, where the royal residence known as Eastern Palace, was built during the reign of Silla King Munmu in 647 CE as a "pleasure garden" (Paxton 2013: location 5587). The way that the buildings, the vegetation and the "pond" nestle in one another's embrace adumbrates the more all-embracing sense of "connectedness" that awaits one elsewhere in the country.

A visit to the Gyeongju Cultural Museum is likely to reinforce the feeling experienced at Anapji Pond. Walking from one hall to another, overawed by the rich cultural history of the Korean people, one's sense of having a "western" identity is relativized in the face of a very different set of cultural markers for judging personhood. Most literate people are aware of the fact that the Roman Empire lasted for centuries, but it is unlikely that many westerners know about the "golden" Silla kingdom on Korean soil that lasted almost 1000 years (from 57 BCE to 935 CE), with Gyeongju being its capital city continuously for most of that time (Paxton 2013: location 5100). As a measure of the level of Silla civilization, it is informative to note that the gold artefacts discovered in the royal burial chamber in Gyeongju are the Korean counterpart of those found in the tomb of the Egyptian pharaoh Tutankhamen. From the existence of these artefacts used by people of royal rank one can already infer that ancient Korean society was no less marked by hierarchical power relations than any western society. This is apparent in light of Ranciére's notion of power relations as something aesthetically as well as politically inscribed – in fact, the aesthetic has direct political import, and *vice versa* (Ranciére 2007: 560), along the axis of the "distribution of the sensible". Art structures the world of political affairs, and political actions leave their imprint on the manner the social world is perceived, and therefore also on the arts. The gold artefacts from the Silla burial chambers are no exception to this rule; they represent an index of the supreme political and cultural power of the Silla royal class, and therefore carry within them the memory traces of ancient striated space.

If exploring the city of Gyeongju on foot allows one to imbibe the distinctive spirit of this corner of Oriental culture to a certain degree, it may prove to be but a pale version of what awaits one when ascending Mount Namsan, a few kilometres outside the city. Here a tangible sense of "oneness with nature" asserts itself – not in any mystical way (although someone sensitive to the mystical aspects of experience may well be privy to such an experience in these mountains), but precisely because of the specific "distribution of the sensible" by the unique intertwinement of nature and culture. What one witnesses here is indeed "intertwinement" and not mere juxtaposition of cultural artefacts and natural entities like trees and rocks.

The way in which space has been modulated in the great churches of Europe sometimes allows one to get a sense of the "spirituality" that it engenders, even now, in a visitor – centuries after the demise of the theocentric world of the Christian Middle Ages. In the mountainous region around Gyeongju on the Korean peninsula one encounters something comparably "spiritual"– in fact, Mount Namsan is truly suffused with what one can only describe as a pervasive sense of spirituality. But there is a difference between these two experiences, phenomenologically speaking. Upon entering a Gothic church like St Vitus cathedral in Prague, one's "spirit" is directed upwards, towards what medieval Christianity believed to be the direction of heaven, simultaneously uplifting one's being. This is significant, because for Christianity what matters is the immortal soul, which is virtually synonymous with spirit, and whose "home" is located in an otherworldly realm. This axiological (value-) prioritisation of the soul above the body in the spatial design of the cathedral - its characteristic "distribution of the sensible" - explains the fact that, from the moment of entering such a Gothic cathedral, your gaze is directed upwards along the verticals to the vault, high overhead. One's spirit soars, metaphorically speaking, and one experiences it almost tangibly in those hallowed spaces. Interestingly, the flipside of this is the countervailing awareness of what one might call "demonic" forces surrounding these churches, attributable, perhaps, to the ever-present array of gargoyles hovering above one on the building's exterior. After all, in addition to their technical-practical function as water-spouts, gargoyles simultaneously represented and (supposedly) warded off evil.

The experience of "spirituality" is very different in the Eastern spaces of Korea and Japan, however. Mount Namsan in Korea, with its beautiful rocks and forests, breathes spirituality, not least because of the many Buddhist shrines, statues and rock engravings dotted all over it. One moment you would be climbing up a steep slope to where the trail vanishes on a ridge, and the next you would gasp with astonished surprise when you cross the ridge and come face to face with a seated Buddha smiling benevolently at you despite its stony, centuries-old features (in most cases about 1400 years old), with one hand in a giving gesture and the other lifted reassuringly. Here it is not otherworldliness that impresses itself on the receptive visitor, but a paradoxical transcendence-in-immanence: the manner in which cultural markers or signs in the form of images engraved on, or carved into, or out of rocks function to impart a sense of "spiritual" meaning to the mountain space. By "spiritual" I mean that it instantiates the fusion of nature (the mountain) and culture (the engravings and sculpted images, usually of Buddha figures), bringing about something qualitatively different from the spaces of Gothic church interiors. In the case of the latter, the striation of the space is one of vertical, spiritual hierarchy and divinely sanctioned authority, as articulated in the form of an encompassing architectural-cultural edifice or work, imposed on the natural landscape, instead of being fused with it. By contrast the mountain spaces in the East (specifically Korea), while also partly striated, were no doubt smooth space before the presence of human beings brought about a striation through the appearance of mountain paths and the creation of images and sculptures inscribed on the very "flesh" of the mountain. The difference is therefore that the striation is not unilaterally impressed upon the natural landscape, but is somehow interbraided with what one still experiences as the co-presence of smooth mountain space as one negotiates the mountain paths (that sometimes tend to merge with the qualitatively heterogeneous landscape) on foot. This is made more comprehensible in the light of Deleuze and Guattari's observation (1987: 371):

> Smooth space is precisely the space of the smallest deviation: therefore it has no homogeneity, except between infinitely proximate points, and the linking of proximities is effected independently of any determined path. It is a space of contact, of small tactile or manual actions of contact, rather than a visual space like Euclid's striated space. Smooth space is a field without conduits or channels. A field, a heterogeneous smooth space, is wedded to a very particular type of multiplicity: nonmetric, acentered, rhizomatic multiplicities that occupy space without 'counting' it and can 'be explored only by legwork.'

In terms of the "distribution of the sensible" the space peculiar to Gothic church architecture is of an unmistakeably hierarchical (if ultimately otherworldly) kind, while the mountain space in the East (in this case in Korea, although the same holds for the mountain space around Kyoto, Japan) displays a much less hierarchical quality by virtue of the intertwinement of nature and culture, "spirituality" (in the sense of a distinctively human "presence" through artefacts) and materiality. Primarily, regardless of the signs of human interaction with nature, these are mountain spaces that embrace you with a welcoming Gaian gesture, drawing you close to them without any feeling of being suffocated.

It is not difficult to understand why this particular mountain (Mount Namsan) attracted Buddhist adherents, inviting them to adorn nature with images of the Buddha, which they believed was ubiquitous throughout nature, anyway. While the Christian cathedrals elevate the spirit, infusing it with a feeling of being ethereal, these spaces do not propel the spirit "heavenwards", as it were; instead, it is as if "spirituality" is diffused throughout the mountain landscape: the streams, rocks, trees and even the human visitors to this place of refuge are imbued with it. It is this-worldly, not otherworldly like the spirituality of Christian spaces. It therefore functions therapeutically by divesting the receptive visitor of cratologically structured aspirations, inducing a sense of tranquillity and stillness instead, as one walks along the mountain paths or rests in the shade of the forest trees. As in the case of Monet's art-pervaded house and garden, the kind of identity that is configured on the visitor's part via their identification with a domain that is a blend of striated and smooth space, is consonant withRanciére's notion of the subject of the aesthetic regime, or (in political as well as aesthetic terms) of "equality", without hierarchy or subordination to dominant interests, as in the case of Versailles.

A concrete example of such a therapeutic experience of the "distribution of the sensible" in the space of Mount Namsan would probably be conducive to understanding what was described above. On one's way down from the peak one comes upon something that draws the awareness of pervasive "spirituality", or "oneness" of nature and being-human, together like a beautiful, intricate knot in a tapestry. At first hidden by a thick curtain of leaves, it suddenly emerges into one's field of vision like an unexpected, unwelcome visitor who has unwittingly spoilt one's daytime reverie — a feeling that is soon dissipated, however. It is a modest little structure — two houses at right angles to each other, overlooking the undulating, cascading waves of leaves and trees below them. A hermitage, where a wrinkled old lady offers one green tea and gestures into one of the two houses that happens to be a Buddhist temple, resplendent with a golden Buddha figure and oriental paintings adorning its walls. Drinking one's tea and looking out towards the sea of green below, it would not come as a surprise to be overwhelmed by the feeling that one could happily spend the rest of one's life there, in the bosom of the mountain spirit, untroubled by the everyday worries, chores and irritations that punctuate an ordinary working day in the striated space of a world dominated by economic and political power-struggles.

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As an undergraduate student, Bert Olivier discovered Philosophy more or less by accident, but has never regretted it. Because Bert knew very little, Philosophy turned out to be right up his alley, as it were, because of Socrates's teaching, that the only thing we know with certainty, is how little we know. Armed with this '*docta ignorantia*', Bert set out to teach students the value of questioning, and even found out that one could write cogently about it, which he did during the 1980s and '90s in opposition to apartheid. Since then, he has been teaching and writing on Philosophy and his other great loves, namely, the arts, architecture and literature. In the face of the many irrational actions on the part of people, and wanting to understand these, later on he branched out into Psychoanalysis and Social Theory as well, and because Philosophy cultivates in one a strong sense of justice, he has more recently been harnessing what little knowledge he has in intellectual opposition to the injustices brought about by the dominant economic system today, to wit, neoliberal capitalism. His motto is taken from Immanuel Kant's work: '*Sapere aude*!' ('Have the courage to think for yourself!') Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University recently (2012) conferred a Distinguished Professorship on him.

Globalisation, vernacularisasion and the invention of identities

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Architects are adamant that academic qualifications are a prerequisite for design competence. It is therefore ironic that vernacular architecture is having a significant impact on contemporary architectural design world-wide. In remote, rural communities, vernacular architecture is often culturally entrenched, as well as being the only available construction solution due to technological constraints. Because of the distinctive and unique characteristics of such structures, the people and places concerned are usually immediately identifiable. However, globalisation resulted not only in the dissemination of indigenous solutions – often particularly relevant and aesthetically pleasing – but also in their commodification. Such de-contextualised, vernacular ideas are the essence of vernacularisastion; a formal movement subject to individual interpretation and variously motivated by economic exigencies, fashion crazes, or pragmatic concerns. This article analyses the impact of vernacularisasion when stripped of its original ideals and used to create new identities. The aim is to explore its value as a contemporary generator of form. The findings could determine the extent to which vernacular studies should be incorporated in architectural scholarship.
Key words: globalisation, identity, regionalism, vernacular architecture, vernacularisasion

Globalisering, verinheemsing [vervolksing] en die versinsel van identiteite
Argitekte hou vol dat akademiese kwalifikasies 'n voorvereiste is vir ontwerpbevoegdheid. Dit is derhalwe ironies dat volksargitektuur wêreldwyd 'n beduidende impak het op hedendaagse argitektoniese ontwerp. Volksargitektuur is in verafgeleë landelike gemeenskappe dikwels kultureel-ingeburger, sowel as die enigste beskikbare konstruksie-oplossing as gevolg van tegnologiese beperkings. As gevolg van die besondere en unieke eienskappe van sulke konstruksies is die mense en plekke gewoonlik dadelik herkenbaar. Globalisasie het egter nie net die verspereiding van inheemse oplossings – dikwels besonders toepaslik en esteties aantreklik – moontlik gemaak nie, maar ook die gebruiksnuttigheid daarvan. Sulke volkseie idiees is die wese van verinheemsing; 'n formele beweging wat afhanklik is van individuele interpretasie en by tye gemotiveer word deur ekonomiese vereistes, modegrille, of pragmatiese oorwegings. Hierdie artikel ontleed die impak van volksargitektuur as 'n hedendaagse bron van vorm. Die bevindinge bepaal in watter mate die studie van volksargitektuur by argitektoniese studies ingesluit behoort te word.
Sleutelwoorde: globalisering, identiteit, streeksgebondenheid, verinheemsing, volksargitektuur

The architectural profession insists that academic training alone prepares practitioners to do design. However, the irony is that the vernacular – the building tradition practiced by communities without professional intervention – has had and is still having, a considerable impact on what practising architects design; essentially in response to the sameness, placelessness and concomitant lack of identity characteristic of almost all globalised, contemporary architecture. This reaction has not necessarily emanated solely from the profession; the public has also been insisting on a built environment with which it is able to identify.

Oliver Marc (1977: 121) enquires, "Why is modern architecture so ugly?" before proceeding to expand on "why our [vernacular] villages are beautiful". Even Juhani Pallasmaa, unquestionably a Modernist architect, "lamented the fact that few modern buildings (in contrast to almost any rural farmhouse) have any emotional appeal" (in Mallgrave & Goodman 2011: 102), asking for an architecture of "regional sensibilities", and citing Luis Barragán, Alvar Aalto, Álvaro Siza and others; well-known and celebrated architects who reinterpreted their local vernacular idioms in varying levels of abstraction.

Pallasmaa (1988: 129), further protests that that contemporary buildings “that have become only too familiar everywhere impair our sense of locality and identity”. He adds: “Meanwhile, we have learned to admire unique and authentic forms of indigenous and vernacular architecture.”

Due to the writings of Bernard Rudofsky, Paul Oliver and Amos Rapoport, “vernacular architecture research became a mainstream academic activity” (Özkan 2006: 100), but as a relatively freestanding stream; the integration of the vernacular with contemporary architecture constitutes an insignificant portion of the architectural and design theory as taught in academia. The “regional sensibilities” Pallasmaa refers to constitute the raison d’être of Critical Regionalism and, while its chief proponents, Liane Lefaivre, Alexander Tzonis and Kenneth Frampton emphasise that Critical Regionalism is not a nostalgic resuscitation of the vernacular, the one unquestionably extends into the other. Although a literal interpretation of the vernacular will rarely be accepted in an academic design project, there are many examples of very popular architect-designed built projects that clearly draw inspiration from vernacular precedent, such as the work by the revered Hassan Fathy. However, an inevitable result of globalisation is that, as Nezar AlSayyad (in Heath 2009: xi) avers, there are “vernacular forms that emerge in the crucible of specific building traditions but that quickly move outside of these traditions.”

Under circumstances where the vernacular is reconceptualised and relocated, it is usually applied as a normative position stripped of the context that generated it in the first place. Although such vernacular forms are often reduced to superficial stylistic imagery, such a position should be a strictly intellectual construct, hence the term “vernacularism” (Özkan 1985/2007: 104).

The central principle is that whereas vernacular traditions constitute bottom-up collective, communitarian conventions, vernacularisasion is usually an individualised process and is implemented top-down. In response to the anonymity of the Internationalised Styles, one of the objectives of vernacularisasion is to create identities with which users and spectators are able to identify at a personal and societal level. Most pre-industrial vernacular architecture immediately allows outsiders to identify the people and places concerned. As Nezar AlSayyad (2013: 136) writes, “[vernacular forms of settlement] reflected, possibly at the subconscious level, the identity of their inhabitants.” Therefore, whereas vernacular forms used to be ethnic markers (Rapoport 2006: 192), Paul Oliver (2006: 265) states that, due to globalisation, “the distinction between the world’s cultures will cease to have relevance. They will eventually become unrecognizable ...”; but he also adds that “the loss of identity, both of the individual and of the group, will lead to a striving for the reclamation of cultural identity.” Vernacularism, therefore, offers the opportunity to invent identities, whether of place or people.

Aim and method

This article investigates the use of relocated vernacular traditions as inspiration and precedent. Although this practice has produced some “kitsch” (Lefaivre & Tzonis 2012: 142), some quite literal interpretations (such as those by Hassan Fathy) have been hugely significant. Recognising the apparent prominence of Vernacularism as a design doctrine in practice, but the reluctance of academia to accept its theoretical tenets, this article attempts to narrow the gap by exploring the nature of the tension.

Three instances which represent the invention of identities using elements of the vernacular outside of their original settings are discussed. The first is the use of Vernacularism to create identities for fantasy destinations. The second is to create houses that proclaim the desired identities with which the homeowner hopes to be associated, while the third is the interpretation and application, critically and pragmatically, of local vernacular concepts and elements.

The selected, representative cases in each of these three domains are briefly described in terms of (1) origin; (2) taxonomic qualities vis-à-vis vernacular precedent; (3) impact on the public (and society); (4) impact on the profession; (5) contribution to the intellectual milieu; and (6) resilience and prospects.

Relevant theoretical concepts

Although Frampton (2007: 378; originally published in 1987) maintains that "Regionalism should not be sentimentally identified with the vernacular", and while Lefaivre and Tzonis (2012: 178) regard Post-Modernism as "indifferent to regionalism", the indisputable fact remains that these three phenomena exist in a triangular, intrinsically interdependent relationship.

The writings of Suha Özkan, onetime secretary general of the Aga Khan Award for Architecture, are considered definitive in the field of Regionalism (Canizaro 2007: 102). Özkan (2007: 107; originally published in 1985) describes Regionalism as a rejection of Internationalism, rather than of Modernism.

Charles Jencks (approximately contemporary with Özkan), in his seminal *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* (1977) and subsequent publications, tirelessly promoted Post-Modernism, identifying three categories that, to some extent, involve the vernacular, although his categories are not perfectly aligned with those of Özkan's four (figure 1). Jencks uses the term "contextual", rather than Özkan's "regional". It is significant that Özkan (2007: 107) associates Concrete Modern Regionalism with Post-Modernism as a whole, which he claims has not "yet developed its own ethos", resulting in an "anything goes" situation.

<table>
<tr><th>PROPONENT</th><th colspan="3" align="left">LITERAL/EXACT</th><th>ABSTRCT/
FIGURATIVE</th></tr>
<tr><td>Jencks
(born 1939)</td><td>Straight Revival-
ism
[Fathy, Spoerry]</td><td colspan="2" align="center">Neo-Vernacular
[Darbourne & Darke,
Moore, Van Eyck]</td><td>Contextual
[Kriers, Erskine,
Stirling, Ungers]</td></tr>
<tr><td>Özkan
(born 1945)</td><td>Conservative
Vernacularism
[Fathy]</td><td>Interpretive
Vernacularism,
or Neo-vernac-
ularism [habita-
tion & tourism:
Spoerry]</td><td>Concrete Mod-
ern Regionalism
[Post-Modern
copying at all
scales]</td><td>Abstract Modern
Regionalism
[Correa, Badran]</td></tr>
</table>

Figure 1
Jencks (1977) versus Özkan (2007): Post-Modernism versus Regionalism (source: table by the author).

In reference to Özkan's classification, the focus of this article is on cases of Vernacularism which intermittently overlaps with Modern Regionalism. Özkan's (2007: 107) Modern Regionalism is related to both "the monumental architecture of the past, as well as to the civil architecture to which Vernacularism has to confine itself". Using Vernacularism as an overarching term for the concept does therefore, not seem contradictory or problematic.

"Identity", in terms of this article, spans two aspects. The first is the topic of a chapter in Unwin's (2009:25-34) *Analysing Architecture,* dealing with "Architecture as Identification of Place". The second is the pre-industrial notion that architecture also serves to identify its inhabitants or users.

The fabrication of identities to announce fantasy destinations

Coinciding with a sense of general disillusionment with Modernism in the 1960s, or more specifically Internationalism, developers realised that entertainment destinations needed to be more imaginative, inevitably resulting in a break from the then prevalent Holiday Coast International tradition (figure 2). An early Post-Modern manifestation was that of casinos, holiday resorts and malls designed to resemble historical precedents.

One of the first examples of this was Port Grimaud, near St Tropez, designed by Francois Spoerry in 1965, described as "the lively and popular neo-Venetian 'lagoon town'" (Einzig 1981: 34). Another was the development of the Costa Smeralda, a coastal part of Sardinia, as an upmarket coastal resort. In the 1960s, the Aga Khan commissioned Jacques Couëlle (later joined by his son, Savin) to develop the virgin territory and design buildings that would harmonise with the landscape. Most notable is the Hotel Cala di Volpe, described in marketing brochures as appearing to be "an ancient Mediterranean fishing village" (Camillio 2000). Significantly, prior to this development there was no unique, cohesive indigenous architectural tradition on the island; the architects in fact invented the now ubiquitous Sardinian style, with its irregular, curvilinear plan forms and sections.

Charles Jencks (1977: 94) contends in his *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture,* "[W]hen compared with Modernist new towns, or even modern seaside resorts, these fabrications ["ersatz" towns] are clearly more humane, appropriate and enjoyable—hence their commercial success". He adds (1977: 95) that "the variety of spatial experience is well above the modernist counterpart", and (1977: 103) that "such comfortable and cosy images [like Port Grimaud] ... cut across many social lines and appeal to the rich and poor in different countries".

Özkan (2007: 103), referring to interpretive Vernacularism as Neo-vernacularism, notes that "Neo-vernacularism approaches have dominated a vast amount of design activity to mainly accommodate habitation and tourism functions. It must be due to them being 'taken for granted' or to their less innovative, more conformist nature that they did not generate any noteworthy or great architecture." This case can easily deteriorate into what Lefaivre and Tzonis (2012: 142) call "kitsch, irresponsible analogies". Özkan (2007: 105) nevertheless admits: "During the short-term experience when tourists take their vacation, the regional vernacular becomes an integral part of the anticipated ambience."

For the Lost City at the Sun City resort (at Pilanesberg, east of Tshwane), the architects not only invented an ancient African architecture, but their clients, Sun International, also fabricated the history of the people that built it (Van Eeden 2004). This is an extreme example of the Neo-Vernacular idiom, and certainly "kitsch" with its grossly exaggerated elements of a supposed African style. In spite of the fabricated identities of both the place and its purported inhabitants, it is, nevertheless, an immensely popular venue.

Figure 2
Advertisement for the Istanbul Hilton in 1956 (source: Lefaivre & Tzonis 2012: 146).

On the other hand, Avianto, described as "honest, yet unpretentious European architecture" on the company website (www.avianto.co.za), is an understated and elegant wedding and function venue near Muldersdrift (figure 3). The general renstraint of the forms and finishes, and the quality of its spaces, both indoor and outdoor, make this a tranquil and memorable place. Here a Eurocentric setting was created in an African landscape.

The Neo-Vernacular is outside mainstream academic architectural debate, but has had a tremendous influence on local residential architecture, and arguably contributed to the popularity of the eclectic neo-Vernacular Italianate, Tuscan and Provencal styles.

Figure 3
Avianto Wedding and Function Venue, Muldersdrift (source: photo by the author).

The manipulation of housing styles to proclaim the identities with which the homeowners hope to be associated

Towards the end of the 1960s, many people, including certain architects, began to reconsider the International Style (figure 4). Christian Norberg-Schulz (2000: 8) argues that the Modern Movement neglected "memory and symbols" and stressed the need for Regionalism to create "place". Oliver Marc (1977: 122) succinctly explains the consequent quest for such housing:

> There is still one kind of building today which, if one overlooks its meagre scale, gives satisfaction: the suburban villa. These structures are ugly and often pretentious, of course, but here each owner has created his own clearly defined world in the dimensions of today's psyche ... In this architecture of individual dreams, these retired people have built the model of their own particular paradise as they see it, and not as others would make them see it.

Of course, "retired" in this instance means "withdrawn" or "reclusive" rather than "on pension". The demand for individual expression and to recreate "memory and symbols" was the theme for Robert Venturi's *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture,* his seminal work published in 1966. He reintroduced traditional elements, such as gables and arches, and completely changed the course of modern architecture. His partner, Denise Scott Brown (1980: 45), referring to "taste publics" and "taste cultures", asserts in an issue of the highly influential *Harvard Architecture Review* entitled Beyond the Modern Movement that "Town house developments tend to be highly styled, as if to create a stage set for a newly defined way of life. Styling may be 'traditional', for example, French Provincial, Colonial, or Spanish Colonial or 'Modern'." In fact, Jencks (1977: 55) points out that according to a survey done in 1976 "the Ideal British Home was Colonial". He (1977: 58) suggests that the popular vernacular house styles (mentioning Colonial, French provincial and Old English) are mostly Ersatz, that is "there is almost no pretence to historical accuracy" and "few of them are serious, scholarly revivals". Figure 4 also demonstrates that clients are often prepared to compromise functionality and good practice, such as proper orientation, to achieve the desired effect (figure 5).

Henri Lefebvre (1996: 80) proposes that these households "entrench themselves into the make-believe of habitat". Developers of themed housing estates exploit this tendency by marketing a "new lifestyle" (Lefebvre 1996: 84), and by implication, an identity that differentiates the inhabitants from other people, mainly emphasising higher status.

Figure 4
A 1960s International Style house in Britain by Michael Manser (source: Park 1971: 76).

Cornelis van Peursen (1974: 9) defines culture simply as "the expression of man's mode of living". This is an all-encompassing statement, which may include a sense of social justice that is shared with the majority of the earth's population, or one's worldview as a product of religion and belief systems. It may also simply refer to one's taste for material things and art, which may be compartmentalised (that is, subdivided into items and events) and shared with only a few.

An important principle is that the image projected by the owner's choice of style reflects the household's material taste and not necessarily its world view. The design of a house in Saudi Arabia is in a Mediterranean, rather than typically Middle-Eastern style, but the layout embodies all the requirements of privacy for women entrenched in Muslim residential architecture (figure 6). It also embraces contemporary technology; the multi-purpose courtyard – traditionally the women's domain for domestic activities – is now replaced by air-conditioned living and dining rooms and separate kitchen. Although the owner is clearly adhering to Muslim domestic patterns (the high walls), he still strives to be identified with Greco-Roman sophistication.

Figure 5
Examples of "Tuscan" houses in southern Africa (source: photos by the author).

Figure 6
Saudi Arabian house transformation from vernacular to speculative
(sources: drawing of vernacular house by the author after Talib 1984: 56;
plan of contemporary house redrawn by the author after Dar Al-Arkan company brochure;
perspective view from company brochure)

The integration of vernacular elements critically outside their area of origin

In Botswana, towns resembling those in pre-colonial South Africa were built until the mid-20th century. Isaac Schapera (in Comaroff et al 2007: 61) remarks that "the larger chiefdoms retained strong architectural traces of the past; they still do". To this day, every small town and village features a *kgotla,* the traditional meeting place of the Batswana people where community affairs and customary laws are dealt with.

When architects Bannie Britz and Michael Scholes were commissioned in the early 1980s to design the government buildings in Mmabatho (then the capital of the homeland called Bophuthatswana and still an inherent part of the Batswana heartland), their brief stipulated that they base their design on the concept of the kgotla. They subsequently consulted the head of archaeology at the University of the Witwatersrand, Professor Revel Mason. They transformed an essentially small-scale rural homestead into a monumental urban edifice by adopting the vernacular spatial organisation with its central open space and meeting places, and the circular and scalloped geometrical motif of traditional, pre-colonial Tswana settlements. The architects used the elements that identify the rural homestead, and reconfigured it into an institution that is identifiable as a Tswana place of power. The complex, known as Garona, was completed in 1983 (figure 7).

This building substantiates a statement by Sigfried Giedion (2007: 317; originally published in 1954): "[I]t has not been necessary for the architect to be a native of the country in which he is working in order to be able to express its specific conditions." Britz and Scholes, as white, supposedly Eurocentric architects, have been particularly sensitive and, by avoiding superficial styling, they have managed to design a complex that has been appreciated by the community ever since.

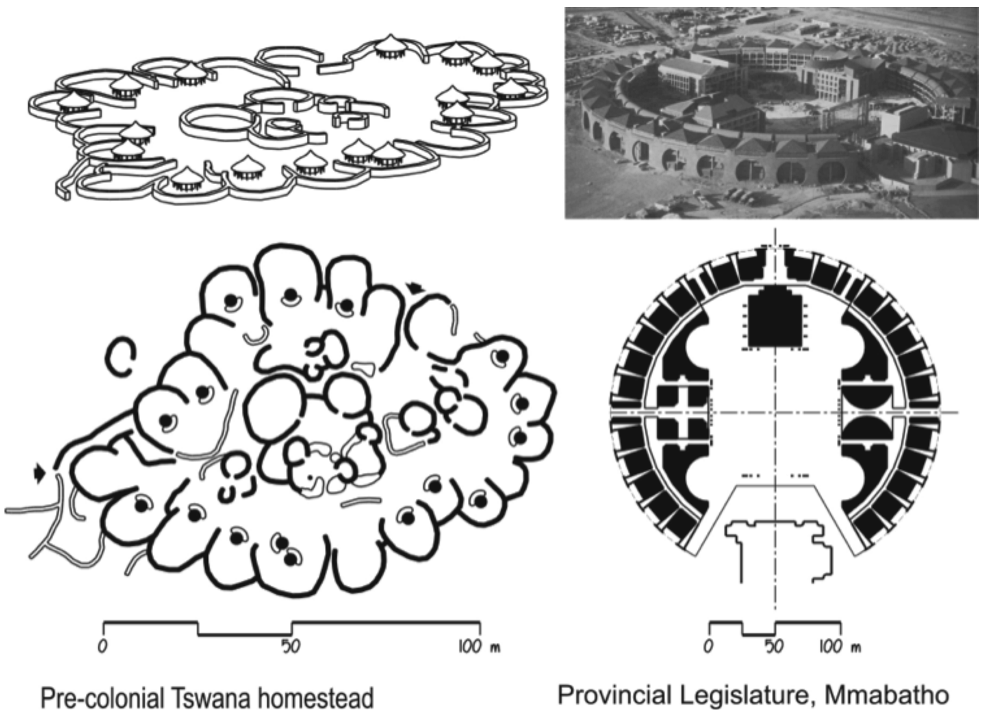

Figure 7
Molokwane and Garona, Mmabatho (sources: photo from Beck 1985: 30; plan by the author after Pistorius, 1992: 18; isometric view by the author projected from the plan).

Eden-on-the-Bay at Bloubergstrand, north of Cape Town, was designed by Stauch Vorster Architects and completed in 2009. It is a compact, mixed-use development, consisting of ground floor shops, restaurants and offices, with 172 one- to four-bedroom apartments above. The site is 2.1 hectares in size, giving a commendable density of 81 units per hectare. The architect who conceptualised the scheme has since left that practice, but apart from the fact that mixed-use schemes are quite rare in South Africa, the morphology reminds one of the vernacular of Stone Town on Zanzibar Island (figure 8). Eden-on-the-Bay complies with all the New Urbanist precepts, but its typology and land use intensity also correspond more to those of Stone Town than of the quintessential New Urbanist project, Seaside in Florida, USA (figure 9).

Rob Krier (1988: 314) comments that "It is a long time ago that ... the house of the poor and the house of the rich were easily comparable in terms of elegance, despite the difference in expenditure and embellishment." Eden-on-the-Bay offers a configuration that is able to serve the entire socio-economic spectrum, from social to exclusive upmarket housing, as well as mixed-income communities. The pedestrian permeability, informal layout, mixed use and human scale staircases and balconies all contribute towards creating an identity of egalitarianism and inclusivity.

Figure 8
Eden-on-the-Bay, Bloubergstrand, Cape Town (source: courtesy Stauch Vorster Architects).

The resilience and prospects of Vernacularism

The fundamental assumption of this article is not unique. Kingston Heath (2009: 12), declares "Sometimes, a vernacular resource is the result of the reworking of pre-existing elements that have been transplanted from elsewhere and are adapted to a new environment and new social circumstances". This is precisely how the Tuscan phenomenon evolved in South Africa, vigorously promoted by the house-and-garden orientated popular press. However, the dynamics and validation of this relocation and adaptation have not been studied extensively.

Robert Maguire, a practising British architect, declared at a RIBA conference in 1976 quite simply that "Vernacular is not a style…it can't be copied. The significance of the vernacular is as a learning tool" (cited in Jencks & Kropf 1997:172-173). Rapoport (2006: 183) stresses that “There can also be lessons about responses to climate and energy use, sustainability, the variability of standards and the notion of environmental quality, the nature and attributes of distinctive ambience, preferences for various product characteristics and many other topics.” But, he cautions, “The ability to derive useful lessons [from the study of vernacular design] requires a certain level of abstraction, and requires moving away from the ‘natural history’ stage to a more problem-oriented, conceptual way of addressing the topic.”

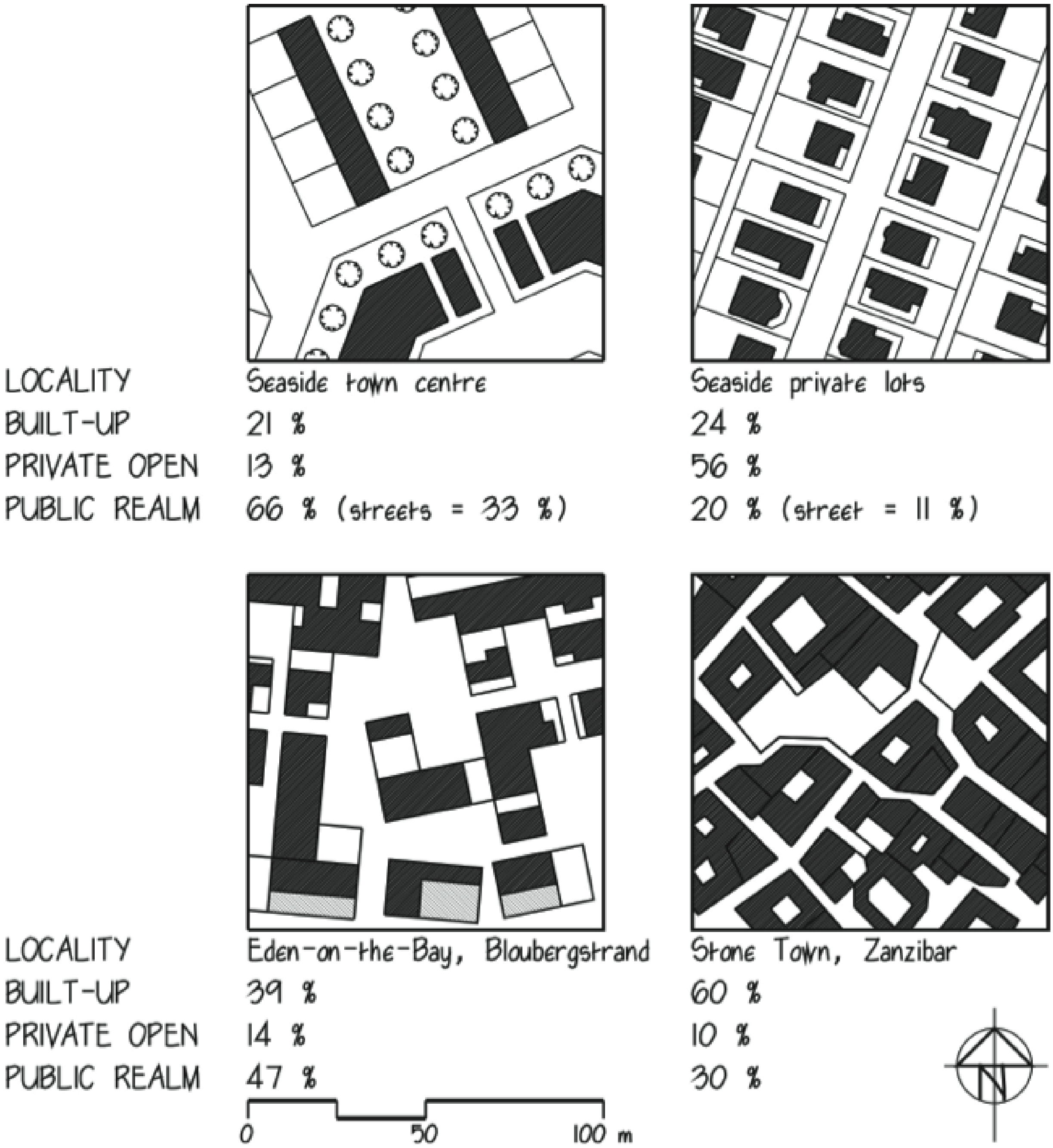

Figure 9
A comparison of 100 m² fragments (source: the author).

Interestingly, this principle is clearly demonstrated in the design by Manser offered as an example of a bland, International Style box (figure 3); the plan was in fact indisputably based on the classic vernacular courtyard houses of the Middle East and North Africa (figure 10). There are many other examples where lessons from the vernacular have been applied in a competent way; whereas Barragán, Aalto and Siza are unmistakably Modernist in their work, the German architect Heinz Bienefeld (1926-1995) used ordinary face bricks and tiled roofs to produce extraordinarily timeless, practical and contextually-convincing architecture, achieving precisely the "level of abstraction" to which Rapoport refers. Both the plan form and the aesthetic wrapping can be derived from vernacular sources, and they do not have to be aligned. The former reveals how the household wishes to inhabit domestic space, and the latter asserts the households desired public identity.

It is important to accept that vernacular imagery (the aesthetic dimension) is subservient to its spatial organisation (the behavioural dimension). Considering just how inappropriate the model for the provision of low-income housing in South Africa is, in spite of the local vernacular being a spatial product with a long and responsive lineage, it is paradoxical that conceptual solutions exist elsewhere that simply need to be imported and unfolded (figure 11).

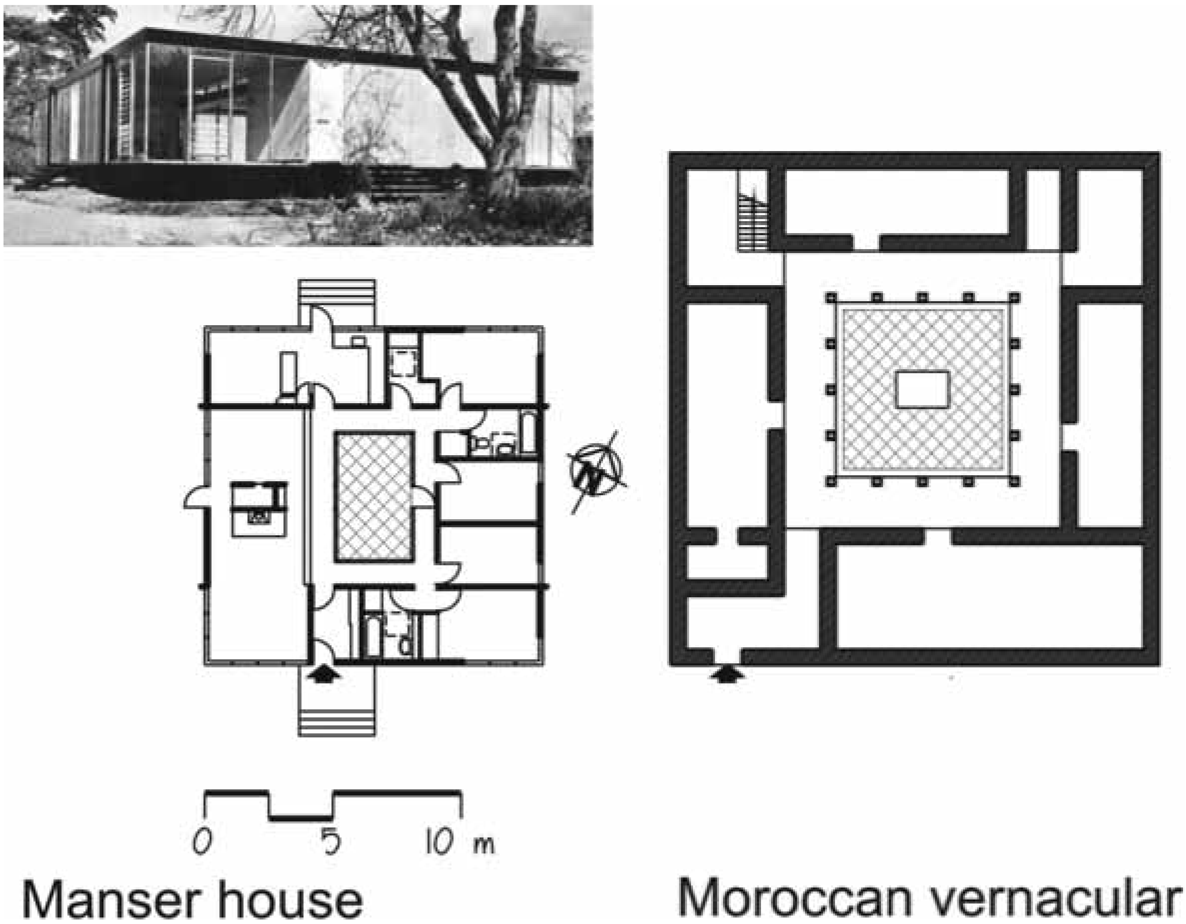

Figure 10
Michael Manser's plan compared with a classic North African courtyard plan (source: drawing by the author).

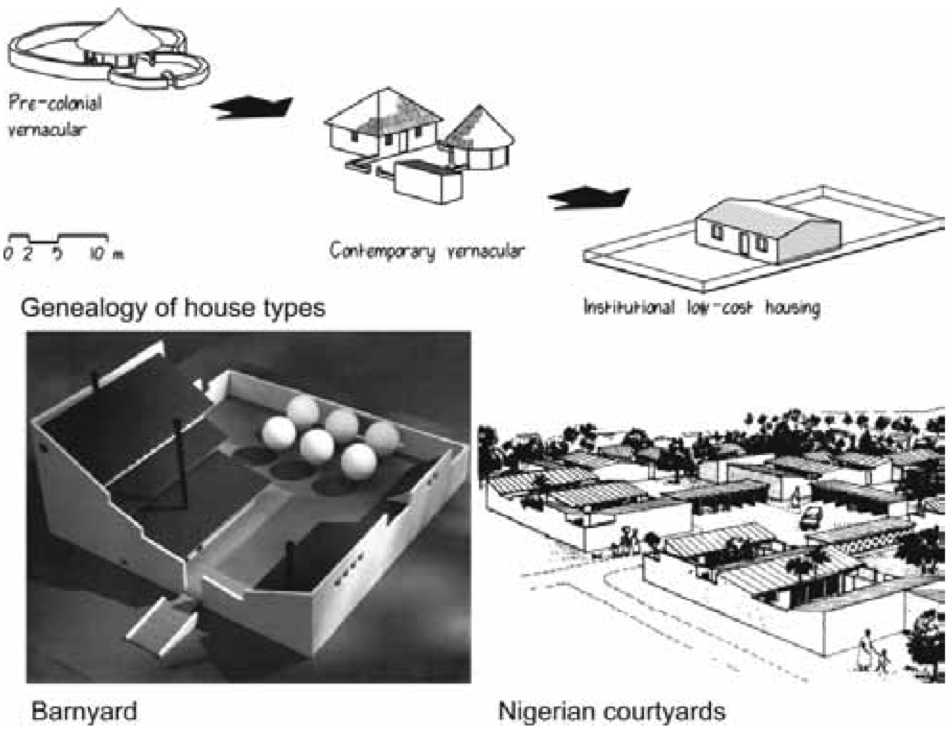

Figure 11
The inappropriateness of low-cost housing in southern Africa, and concepts worth exploring (sources: drawing by the author; barnyard from *The Harvard Architecture Review* 1980: 247; Nigerian courtyards from Saini 1979: 96).

Conclusion

There can be no doubt that vernacular elements were, generally, clumsily applied during the Post-Modern era, due simply to the fact that architects often derived their inspiration from images only, and without any understanding, or appreciation, of the spatial significance. Critical Regionalism, with its purported focus on climate, geography and culture has fared somewhat better, arguably because it takes a more analytical approach.

As Britz and Scholes, and Stauch Vorster plainly demonstrate, lessons from the vernacular may certainly augment a purely programmatic and contextual analysis in a very positive way. In both instances the architects applied conceptual solutions developed over an extended period, even if they were from another locality and time, or even embedded in another culture. The result was architecture that has the rare distinction of being lauded by the profession and appreciated by the users/inhabitants and the public.

Considering the vast extent of the vernacular as a source of ideas and formative concepts, and its potential to create identity of place and people in a world increasingly characterised by universal architecture, it makes sense to move vernacularism from the fringes of architectural training and fully incorporate it into the scholarship of and research on architectural theory, history and precedent. More helpful than detailed knowledge of the wide range of traditions, would be a general overview and proficiency in analytical methods. With proper insight and information, combined with sensitivity and humility, the worst excesses of the Tuscan phenomenon could possibly have been averted.

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The impact of climate phenomena on attitudes toward traditional earth construction and decoration

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In the Sesotho culture, mural decorations on dwellings are strongly identified with the woman that created them. This traditional practice of decorating earth constructed dwellings is disappearing from the South African landscape. A recent survey conducted by the University of the Free State's Earth Unit focused on respondent's attitudes and perceptions of building materials and methods used to construct houses. This study found overall negative perceptions for earth construction as a building method. The acceptability of traditional earth-constructed houses was low, with the most important reasons for dislike being the fact that these houses collapse, are not strong and stable and cannot withstand climate factors such as rain. The effect of climate phenomena on acceptability of earth construction as a building method is discussed. Storms lasted for several days, ended in floods, and caused damage to many earth constructed houses. Through quantitative analysis, the differences in attitudes and perceptions of different building materials before and after the large rainstorms were examined. Results indicate that residents' perceptions of traditional earth construction were more negative after the storms. In addition, most people selected aesthetics as the main reason for preferring a certain type of building material before the storms, but focused on strength, safety, and durability after the rainstorms. If traditional Sesotho *litema* is to be conserved as art form then the impact of climate phenomena should also be considered in the conservation of this art form and not only the changes in culture that endangers it for many years.
Key words: attitudes, earth construction, climate phenomena, heritage, housing.

Die impak van klimaatverskynsels op houdings ten opsigte van grondkonstruksie en versiering

In die Sesotho-kultuur word muurversierings van huise sterk geassosieer met die vrouens wat dit skep. Hierdie tradisionele gebruik om grondhuise te versier is reeds aan die uitsterf in die Suid-Afrikaanse landskap. 'n Onlangse opname deur die Universitiet van die Vrystaat se Grondeenheid was gefokus op die houdings en persepsies van gebruikers op die boumateriale en metodes. Die studie het in geheel negatiwe houdings teenoor grondkonstruksie bevind. Die aanvaarbaarheid van tradisionele grondkonstruksie huise was laag met die mees belangrike rede hiervoor dat die huise inmekaar tuimel, nie sterk is nie en nie die klimaatverskynsels soos rëen kan weerstaan nie. Die uitwerking van klimaatsverskynsels op aanvaarbaarheid van grondkonstruksie as boumateriaal word bespreek. Dae lange storms het geeindig met vloede wat baie skade aan grondhuise aangebring het. Met behulp van 'n kwalitatiewe ondersoek is die houdings voor en na die groot rëenstorms ondersoek. Bevindinge dui daarop dat die inwoners se persepsies van tradisionale grondkonstruksie meer negatief was na die storms. Verder het meer persone estetiese redes aangevoer vir hul materialkeuses voor die storms, maar het gefokus op sterkte, veiligheid en duursaamheid na die storms. Hierdie bevindinge dui daarop dat die uitwerking van klimaatverskynsels mense se houdings oor grondkonstruksie beïnvloed. As traditionele Sesotho *litema* kunsvorm bewaar moet word, moet die uitwerking van klimaatsfaktore ook in ag geneem word tydens die bewaring van hierdie kunsvorm en nie net die kutuurverandering wat dit jare lank bedreig nie.
Sleutelwoorde: houdings, grondkonstruksie, klimaatverskynsels, erfenis, behuising

Sesotho mural art form in South Africa

The early San nomads and semi-nomadic Khoikhoi have left tens of thousands of paintings and engravings in caves, overhanging cliffs and rocks all over southern Africa. These images of hunting, tribal wars and spiritual connections with ancestors, preserved for ages against adverse weather conditions whose semi-nomadic existence, resulted in relatively temporary settlements (Matthews and Changuion 1989: 3-17), are of great cultural value. When these indigenous groups from central and east Africa moved further south and constructed permanent structures like huts and houses in settlements, domestic art made by women became associated with their dwellings (Matthews and Changuion 1989). In many traditions such as the Sesotho culture, mural decorations on dwellings are strongly identified with the woman that created them. Women are traditionally responsible for the construction and decoration of the hut and in turn, to create and preserve life within the home's womb-like interior, where fertility is "manifested in painted decoration" (Matthews and Changuion 1989: 13). However, every season the art work painted on mud walls, is exposed to the elements and then reclaimed by nature. This mural art is intertwined with the history of indigenous groups in southern Africa. The influence of climatic phenomena on the building processes in southern Africa has been a significant factor in shaping the building processes themselves, especially since indigenous groups started to settle in a single location for longer periods of time.

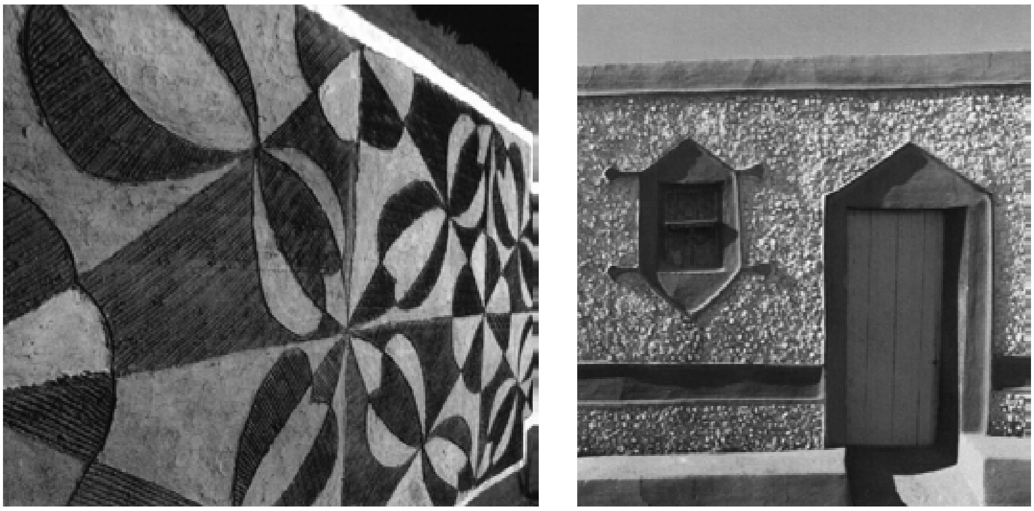

Figure 1
Details of Sesotho litema walls: a textured flower design made by scraping the surface with a knife or setting pebbles into damp plaster (credits: Matthews, Changuion, 1989).

Background

Today the processes of home-making using traditional materials and seasonal decoration are still strongly linked with rural earth construction. Unfortunately the quality of the current earth building techniques and the cultural decorations and murals are waning (Bosman 2006). The historical and sustainable practices are being replaced by temporary urban shacks built from reused and recycled materials and government-provided RDP (Reconstruction and Development Programme) housing that reflects little indigenous references, personality or character. The objective qualities of earth constructed buildings can only be considered part of the problem. It is argued that the perceptions of the durability of earth construction may largely be responsible for this shift in building culture.

Several studies in Africa have looked at people's perceptions of earth construction techniques (Hadjri *et al.* 2007; Ngowi 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 2001). A recent study in Scotland examined two culturally distinct groups to see what role location had in their understanding of materials. Nine common construction materials were included in the study. One key finding was that the two groups differed significantly in the way they perceived construction materials, suggesting that location may influence people's attitudes towards materials. An overwhelming preference for wood, stone, and glass and a distinct dislike for concrete, plaster, mud and plastic was established (Stevenson 2006: 259-262). These variances in perceptions are linked to location is comparable to the study where South African urban respondents perceive materials differently than rural respondents.

The specific location linked with natural occurrences also impact people's perceptions of building materials and their qualities (Marsh 1996) as well as their behaviour responses (Shanahan 2000). For example, a study using data from Scotland and England showed that unusually hot summer and warm weather can affect people's perceptions, and that regional differences can only partly explain behavioral responses (Palutikof *et al* 2004). A large body of research has been conducted on people's perceptions of climate change (Dunlap 1998; Bord *et al*., 1998; Kempton 1991; Seacrest *et al*. 2000), although fewer studies looked at the perceptual and behavioral changes associated with climate phenomena. The limited number of studies conducted under the theme of climate change has mostly focused on the psychological impacts of grief experienced as a result of losing one's home due to natural disasters that resulted in forced relocation. Also, the psychological impacts of environmental degradation over time are rarely acknowledged (Rogan, O'Connor and Horwitz 2005: 147) as well as the gradual loss of traditional skills, such as decorating mud walls yearly. The effect that natural disasters such as cyclones, tornadoes, floods, and earthquakes have on heritage buildings has also been a concern for decades (Bosman & Van der Westhuizen 2014: 120).

James Gibson's theory of affordances offers one way of viewing this relationship between how people perceive building materials and the climatic conditions in which these building materials are applied. His theory was developed to describe how people perceive objects in their surroundings as having latent use value and experience purposeful relationships with these objects (Gibson 1979). In this study, such an interactive relationship between people's experience and the objects in their surroundings suggests that there is a metonymic interaction between materials and how they are perceived to fulfil their purpose as a construction material. For example, stone offers strength through its appearance of resistance, while wool offers comfort through the appearance of warmth and softness. The idea that physical materials are perceived to have inherent qualities and characteristics fit for their intended purposes for example, whether materials are viewed to be 'good' enough to allow for permanent shelter, would become pivotal in understanding why earth construction as a building method may be disappearing.

Method

This study is based on data from a face-to-face survey conducted in 2004 and 2006 in central South Africa for the SANPAD (South African Netherlands Research Programme on Alternatives in Development) project. The survey contained both qualitative and quantitative response items. The survey respondents were interviewed about their perceptions of earth construction and building materials. Several questions were asked to respondents concerning general demographics. Specific questions were asked to establish the past exposure to earth-constructed houses: 1) who built these houses, 2) the tenure of the houses, and 3) the respondents' acceptability of traditional earth constructed walls. The aim of the SANPAD study was to determine whether providing information on the positive aspects of earth building could influence attitudes and acceptance of earth construction methods and materials. Survey I was conducted, interventions in the form of workshops and community plays were presented and then followed up with survey II (Steÿn et al 2009: 94). The acceptability of earth as a building material was ascertained by asking about the building materials that people prefer to use to construct their houses. Participants came from poor households where basic services like running water, a flushing toilet and electricity constituted acceptable living standards (Steÿn 2009: 95). The researchers of the SANPAD project only realized the impact of the climate events on the acceptability of earth-constructed houses when the two data sets were compared. This flaw in the conditions of the methodology presented an opportunity to study the impact of climate events on attitudes (not aimed by the SANPAD project). The acceptability of traditional earth construction in central parts of South Africa reflecting on the human factor from a social and cultural perspective (Bosman 2003, 2006, 2009, 2012; Wessels & Bosman 2014; Steÿn & Bosman 2010) have been reported on and is not the aim of this study.

For the study, the longitudinal data of the SANPAD project was re-analysed to determine if there were changes in residents' perceptions of earth construction between the first survey and the second survey, which occurred after storms and flooding. Survey I (time 1) and survey II (time 2) were conducted in four of the nine target communities included in the original SANPAD project. An examination of the differences in perceptions of earth construction between time 1 and time 2 allows one to see if these differences were likely related to the impact of the climatic phenomena of heavy rainfall (Bosman & Van der Westhuizen 2014).

Study locations were selected within a logistical limiting four-hour drive from Bloemfontein (figure 2). Earth-constructed dwellings were present at all sites, were located in both urban and rural settings, and consisted of both formally and informally built structures. Survey I (n=782) was conducted during the 2004 dry season from 12 June – 1 July, and Survey II (n=608) was conducted during the end of the 2006 rainy season from 3 – 7 April. Staff members and Sesotho and Setswana speaking students from the University of the Free State conducted the survey. Every fourth house was interviewed (Steÿn et al. 2009:4) using Stoker's formula (1981). In cases where nobody was home, those in the previous or next house were interviewed. The correctness of the completed questionnaires were spot checked to ensure data quality. After the codification process and data entry, the results from both surveys were published in January 2009.

Nine locations were originally surveyed, but the study analysed only four of those areas and compared the responses for selected questions between Survey I and Survey II for Bankhara Bodulong (Survey I – n=237 and Survey II – n=137), Botshabelo (Survey I – n=388 and Survey II – n=155), Manokwane (Survey I – n=91 and Survey II – n=148) and Tsiame (Survey I – n=72 and Survey II – n=168). The four study locations are situated in a summer rainfall area with annual rainfalls between 200mm and 800 mm, mostly late afternoon showers or thunderstorms. Respondents in both surveys were asked to rate how they perceived the quality of earth constructed buildings. Then they were asked which qualities they preferred in building materials used to construct walls. Respondents' preferences were grouped in the following categories based on their responses: 1) aesthetics; 2) strength, durability and safety; 3) fewer problems/ lower maintenance; 4) temperature/ comfort/ climate; 5) quick building process/ size; 6) cost/ finances and 7) other.

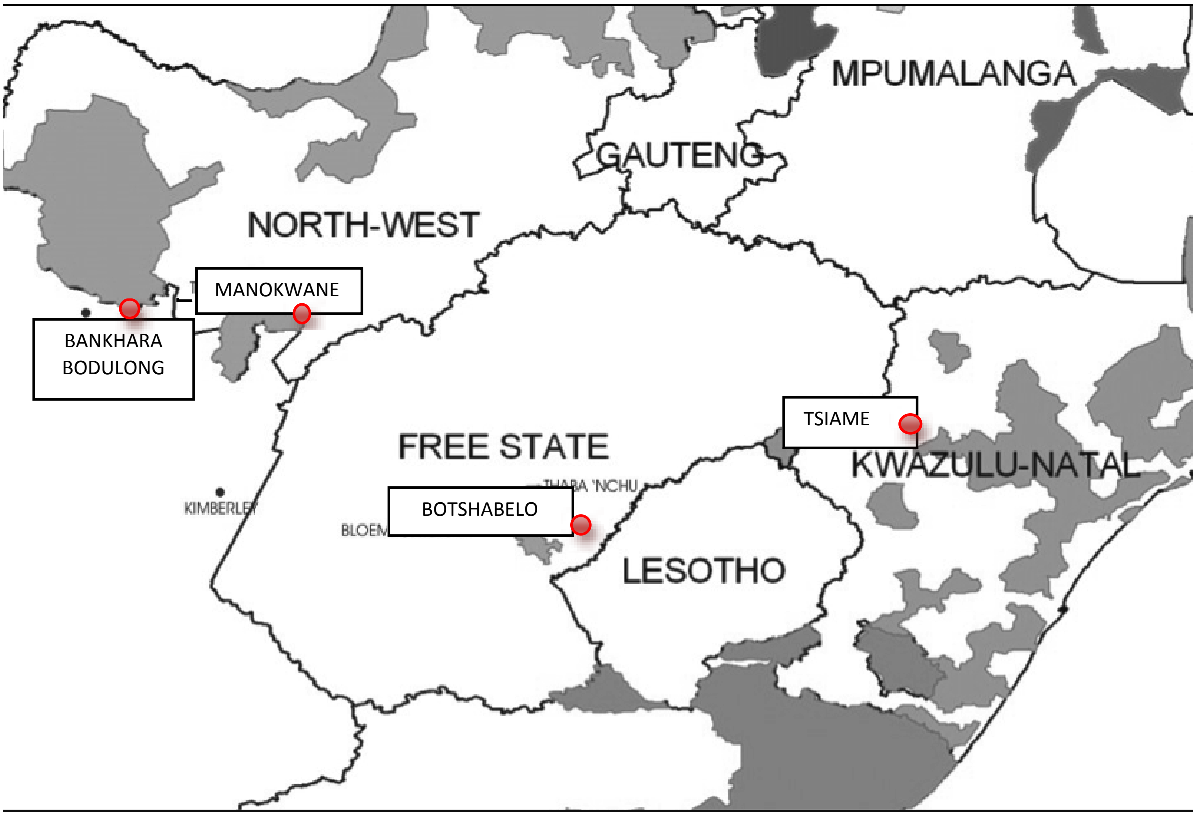

Figure 2
The four research locations selected for the study (credit: Bosman, 2006).

Findings

The findings of the SANPAD project found negative perceptions of earth construction as a building material. The acceptability of houses constructed from earth brick was low, with the most important reasons cited for dislike of this construction method being that the houses 1) collapse, 2) they are not strong or stable and 3) they cannot withstand rain. The questions about the two most preferred materials for walls indicated that cement blocks at 60% and burnt bricks at 38% were by far the most popular (Steÿn 2009: 86). The SANPAD project could not measure to what extend climatic phenomena could influence acceptability, furthermore was this not aimed with the project.

2004 (Dryer months)						**Survey I**
Location	Jan	Feb	March	April	May	**June**
Bankhara Bodulong	87.9	46.2	57.2	28.5	2.0	**0.25**
Tsiame	40.1	109.0	95.2	30.5	0.7	**2.0**
Manokwane	68.0	41	88.5	21.7	0.5	**1.0**
Botshabelo	130.3	49.6	not avail.	not avail.	1.8	**7.0**

2006 (Wetter months)				Survey II		
Location	Jan	Feb	March	**April**	May	June
Bankhara Bodulong	128.5	242.6	104.6	**84.6**	6.85	4.0
Tsiame	168.1	72.6	95.5	**35.8**	26.92	0.0
Manokwane	4.4	79.1	92.0	**30.4**	20.1	20
Botshabelo	257.2	210.0	58.0	**48.7**	20.9	0.2

Table 1
A comparative table of the rainfall (in mm) in the four locations before Survey I (2004) and Survey II (2006).

After the SANPAD project results were published in November 2009 some inconsistencies regarding the different times (seasons) were found, the researchers realised that uncommon higher rainfall occurred over most of the areas shortly before Survey II and that this survey was conducted in a different season from Survey I. The current study set out to analyse the data to focus specifically on this observation, and associate people's responses with the rainfall figures in 2004 and 2006. Figure 3 shows rainfall figures for the four areas prior to Survey I. The rainfall is considerably lower in all the areas before Survey I was conducted when compared to Survey II (figure 4 compare January to June in both areas). The rainfall season differences between time I and time II in Manokwane and Tsiame are less, especially during March of 2004 and 2006, although overall the months prior to the 2006 survey were considerably wetter (compare figure 3 & figure 4).

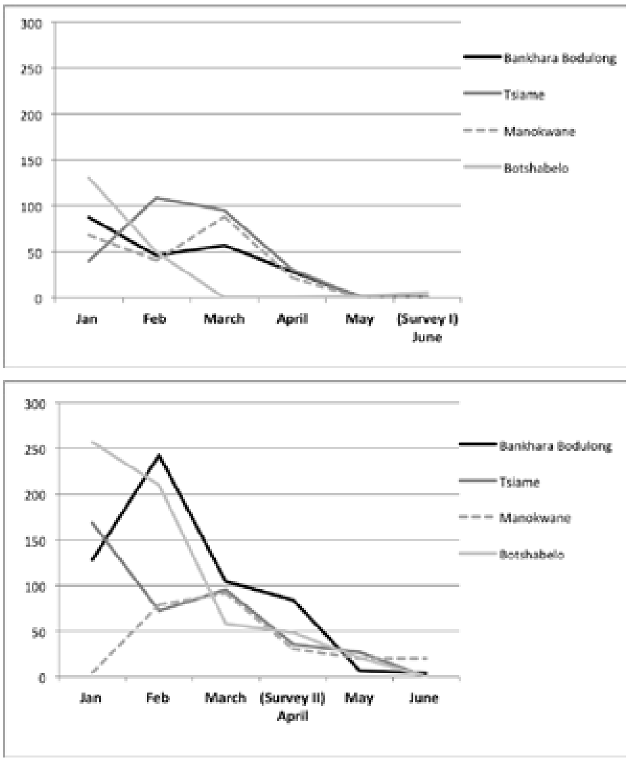

Figure 3 & Figure 4
Rainfall between January and June 2004 (Survey I) and 2006 (Survey II) in the four locations.

Data from the South African Weather Service shows that the rainfall during the same period in 2006 were between 25.6mm and 324.44mm higher than in 2004. During time 1 (lower rainfall, 37.5% to 45.1% respondents considered aesthetics to be the most important consideration of a building material. However, during time 2 (heavy rainfall) 42.3% to 52% respondents chose strength/safety/durability as the main consideration in a preferred building material.

It was anticipated that the occurrence of torrential rains would be associated with negative attitudes in all of the target areas, since people may be more likely to expect durability and strength from a building material during seasons of higher rainfall. This hypothesis was tested by comparing Survey I (during the dry season of 2004) and Survey II (at the end of the 2006 rainy season). See Table 1 for rainfall figures from the study areas. Other factors also played a role, since the responses differed somewhat by area. In Bankhara Bodulong, people's consideration for aesthetics decreased by 30.8%, while their preference for strength/safety/durability shows a negligible decrease of 1.7%. With an increase of 8.9% (from 3.5% to 12.4%) in perceptions of temperature/comfort/climate between time I and time II, it seems likely that the summer high temperatures in Bankhara Bodulong also affect people's perceptions. The peak summer average daytime temperature of 32.6°C is associated with almost 9% more people in Bankhara Bodulong reporting temperature/comfort/climate as an important factor during the summer survey (time II) (see table 2).

Preferred qualities of building material %	**Bankhara Bodulong**		**Botshabelo**		**Manokwane**		**Tsiame**	
	Average Time 1 (n=231)	Average Time 2 (n=137)	Average Time 1 (n=388)	Average Time 2 (n=155)	Average Time 1 (n=91)	Average Time 2 (n=148)	Average Time 1 (n=72)	Average Time 2 (n=168)
Aesthetics	**41**	10.2	**44.6**	25.2	**45.1**	14.2	**37.5**	20.1
Strength/ safety/ durability	**44**	**42.3**	39.7	**46.5**	36.3	**52**	36.1	**46.7**
Less problems/ lower maintenance	2.6	3.6	2.3	5.8	7.7	12.2	2.8	11.2
Temperature/ comfort/ climate	**3.5**	**12.4**	3.8	3.9	2.2	6.8	**13.9**	**4.1**
Quick building process/ size	0.9	0.7	0.5	0.6	1.1	0.7	2.8	0
Cost/ finance	2.2	7.3	2.8	4.5	2.2	3.4	0	2.4
Other	**3.9**	**17.5**	**2.1**	**13.5**	**2.2**	**10.8**	**2.8**	**14.8**
Missing	2.6	5.8	4.1	0	3.3	0	4.2	0.6

Table 2
The most preferred qualities of building materials at time 1 and time 2, broken down by the four locations.

The annual rainfall in Tsiame is the highest at 529mm per year (compared to the annual rainfall in Bankhara Bodulong = 266mm, Botshabelo = 427mm and Manokwane = 325mm), and 46.7% respondents in this area report strength/safety/durability to be an issue. The data also supports the idea that the temperature/comfort/climate is an important consideration during the winter months. The average daytime high temperature during the winter is 14.7°C, making Tsiame the coldest area compared to the others. 13.9% of survey I respondents chose temperature/comfort/climate as their most important factor during the winter survey compared to 4.1% of respondents during the summer survey (time II). This is a decrease of almost 10% fewer respondents reporting on the temperature/comfort/climate in the summer (time II) compared their initial reporting in the winter (time I) (see table 3).

Respondent reports in Manokwane indicated the highest increase in the importance of strength/safety/durability between time I and time II from 36.3% in June 2004 (winter) to 52% in April 2006 (summer) compared to the other areas. This suggests that people in Manokwane became more aware of problems of earth construction related to strength/safety/durability. One possible explanation for this is the lower average annual rainfall of 325mm compared to the other areas (Bosman & Van der Westhuizen 2014).

The personal characteristics of the respondents including location, ethnic background, tenure, socio-economic status and size of household where also considered but do not show any associations with the measures of the acceptability of earth construction. In another survey question, respondents specified the problems that, in their view, were related to the use of adobe blocks. These qualitative responses were also divided into categories which include: 1) collapses; 2) cracks; 3) maintenance; 4) climate/ rain; 5) not safe/ strong and; 6) other.

During Survey I, 55.9% of respondents indicated that the main problem with adobe is that it collapses, while 40.9% of respondents stated that the problem with adobe results from the climate or rain. During Survey II, however, only 23.2% of respondents cited collapsing as the primary problem, while 60.8% gave climate/rain as the main problem. This is a significant difference that may be due to the occurrence of heavy rainfall, because traditional adobe is influenced by the presence of water and/or moisture. Structural failure occurs due to a loss of compressive strength that results from a weakening of the connections between the soil particles. The presence of a stabilizer (natural or chemical), the lack of a structural soil component (gravel, sand, silt or clay), and the mechanical process of stabilisation (compaction) all influence the structural integrity of adobe (Houben & Guillaud 1994).

Problems with adobe blocks as given by respondents	**Frequency [n]**		**Percentage [%]**	
	T1	**T2**	**T1**	**T2**
Collapses	864	133	**55.9**	**23.2**
Cracks	337	13	21.8	2.3
Maintenance	224	23	14.5	4.0
Climate/rain	663	348	**40.9**	**60.8**
Not safe/ not strong	189	36	12.2	6.3
Other	209	19	12.1	3.3

Table 3
Respondents' problems with adobe blocks at time 1 and time 2.

Discussion and conclusion

This study attempts to understand why negative perceptions were found. For the comparative part of the analysis, it was hypothesised that rainfall would affect people's perceptions of earth construction (especially in terms of durability). This analysis confirmed the hypothesis since for the first time rainfall patterns (before survey I and survey II were conducted) was compared with respondents' preferred qualities of building materials in all four locations.

The change in using traditional earth construction as a result of cultural changes is influenced by urbanization, upward social mobility and expectation common in welfare states (Bosman 2012). This study confirms that the affects of climate phenomena also affected the acceptability and how dwellers perceive the qualities of earth-constructed walls. Specifically, the focus is on how changes in rainfall patterns can also be considered as a factor associated with the acceptability of indigenous earth construction. The study shows respondents' stated priorities, when considering building materials, changed for the most part from aesthetic qualities to that of strength, safety and durability over a period of 22 months, possibly as a result of increased rain and flooding. In some areas, temperature/comfort/climate also played a role where the climatic conditions are more likely to create discomfort.

At the time that the two surveys were conducted, climate phenomena such as rainfall were not considered as important factors that might influence perceptions of building materials. However, these findings suggest that environmental factors such as rainfall and other climatic conditions should be considered in how earth construction is perceived. Apart from the role that rainfall seems to play in the perceptions of the suitability of earth construction as a contemporary building material, we may also need to pay more attention to how perceptions differ by geographic location as a result of a range of climatic conditions. In order to improve people's perceptions of earth building techniques and materials, people in areas with high year-round rainfall may need more training programs about the benefits of earth construction than those in arid regions. On the other hand, it is also possible that people living in areas with consistent levels of rainfall are less concerned about the structural soundness of earth buildings than people living in drier areas that experience unexpected storms and flash floods. Whatever the case may be, interventions targeted at both the needs of specific communities and the regional climatic conditions are needed for the successful preservation and promotion of earth construction and decoration.

The heritage of earth construction in South Africa is under constant threat. Local technologies, cultural beliefs, art and heritage all need protection through a holistic strategy. This is only possible with a multi-disciplinary team of dedicated people and organizations. The global effort of organizations, governments, building contractors, architects and self-help builders constitutes a collective endeavour to educate people regarding the strengths, limitations and correct applications of earth construction.The growing consciousness around earth construction in South Africa has resulted in some modest long life, low energy buildings (Buchanan 2006) during the past few years. The Earth Unit (EU) at the University of the Free State is developing capacity building and training programs for various stakeholders such as small builders, community members, students and professionals. The EU has demonstrated that economically and ecologically sustainable buildings of a high quality can be built by upgrading existing earth building skills and techniques (Bosman 2006: 297).

Visual evidence of the importance of this effort comes from Tom Matthews' (1989) photo essay, which pleads for the conservation of indigenous earthen heritage in South Africa. Rural houses with murals and decorations are disappearing as a result of lost indigenous knowledge and cultural identity and the effects of urbanization. In a tribute to the mural artist Malvel Dani, Matthews describes her adobe house as decorated in traditional Sesotho fashion with some Ndebele influences from the northern part of the Limpopo province (figure 5). He recalls his first visit to her home in the mid-1970s while travelling through the Free State province. The decorative built heritage created by this exceptional woman was captured through photo documentation over a number of years. Although the design evolved over time - sometimes bolder and more graphic with strong contrasting colours, while at other times consisting of a central theme with gentle variations - it was always harmonious with the surrounding landscape. The following quotation and photos from Matthews' book highlight the importance of preserving and promoting southern Africa's earth construction heritage.

> For years we were unable to visit her but finally we decided to make a special effort... Eagerly we anticipated a new delight, a new example of her outstanding artistry. Imagine our feelings as we stumbled through the veldt and looked in vain for her home. We could find nothing... Her home had melted back into the soil... In a few months the bush would completely cover all traces of its existence. We are grateful to have met Malvel Dani (Matthews, 1989: 145-147).

Figure 5
The shimmering walls of Malvel Dani that reflect the colours of the open field (source: Matthews & Changuion, 1989: 142).

Note

SANPAD (South African Netherlands Research Programme on Alternatives in Development) consisted of staff from the Unit for Earth Construction at the Department of Architecture and staff from the Department of Urban and Regional Planning at the University of the Free State, South Africa, in collaboration with staff from the Faculty of Architecture, Building and Planning at the Technical University of Eindhoven in The Netherlands.

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Starways Arts: a built environment expressing holistic lifestyles dedicated to visual and performing arts in Hogsback, Eastern Cape, South Africa

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In 1992, Anton van der Merwe and his life partner Gwyneth Lloyd moved from Randjesfontein Pottery in Midrand, between Johannesburg and Pretoria, to an undeveloped smallholding in the densely forested rural village of Hogsback. The past twenty-two years have seen an ongoing process of settling down and construction of necessary buildings. This article seeks to explore aspects of philosophical and architectural influences that served as some of the foundation stones for creation of an eclectic series of buildings, including their home, visual arts studios, a gallery, a community theatre and guest accommodation. A review of these buildings will show that Van der Merwe and Lloyd have developed an idiosyncratic construction style that incorporates alternative technology with empathetic use of natural resources, which results in organically flowing living and working spaces that are fit for purpose, have substantial presence and have minimal environmental impact.
Key words: alternative technology, Anton van der Merwe, ceramics studio design, Goetheanum, Hyme Rabinowitz, low carbon footprint, self-built homestead

Starways Arts: 'n beboude omgewing wat 'n holistese lewenswyse uitdruk en toegewy is aan die visuele en uitvoerende kunste in Hogsback, Oos-Kaap, Suid-Afrika
In 1992 Anton van der Merwe en sy lewensmaat Gwyneth Lloyd verskuif van Randjesfontein Pottery in Midrand, tussen Johannesburg en Pretoria, na 'n onontwikkelde hoewe in die dig beboste landelike dorpie Hogsback, Oos Kaap. Die afgelope twee-en-twintig jaar het die proses van vestiging die konstruksie van noodsakklike geboue geveg. In hierdie artikel word ondersoek ingestel na die filosofiese en argitektoniese invloede wat bygedra het tot die oprigting van 'n reeks eklektiese geboue, met inbegrip van 'n woning, visuele kunsateljees, 'n galery, 'n gemeenskapsteater en gasteverblyf. 'n Oorsig van hierdie geboue lewer bewys daarvan dat Van der Merwe en Loyd 'n idiosink.... styl ontwikkel het wat van alternatiewe tegnologie gebruik maak om empatie met natuurhulpbronne te bewys. Die resultaat bevorder 'n organies-vloeiende lewenswyse in funksionele werkruimtes wat meelewing bevorder en nie 'n nadelige invloed op die omgewing het nie.
Sleutelwoorde: alternatiewe tegnologie, Anton van der Merwe, pottebakkersateljee, Goetheanum, Hyme Rabinowitz, laekoolstofvoetspoor, selfgebou opstal

The lifestyle and architectural programme of potter/painter Van der Merwe and performance artist Gwyneth Lloyd at their Starways smallholding (figure 1) in the village of Hogsback give insights into ways in which their evolving individual and collective identities are expressed by the spaces they are creating. This article will also show that the Starways Arts built and landscaped environment firmly reflects both a visionary and innovative approach to the provision of shelter, as well as work and public entertainment spaces, and that these uniquely express both personal and local Southern African identity.

The natural setting for Starways Arts is spectacular – a 2.4 hectare forested smallholding is nestled along a winding country road on a rising site in the Amatole Mountains, within the outer reaches of Hogsback village. Hogsback is near the town of Alice and about a 90 minutes' drive inland from East London in the Eastern Cape (Steele 2014). The nearby mountain, known as Gaika's Kop, overlooks the site. In a recent interview (24 May 2014: 10), Van der Merwe described that upon finding this plot in the early 1990s, both he and Lloyd "got a sense of *déjà vu* … an immediate strong feeling of rightness … I could immediately see where our potential home and ceramics studio could go".

Figure 1
Left: Watercolour and ink layout of Starways Arts 2.4 hectare plot and structures. As of 2014, buildings E: Hub; and V3: Rosemary Cottage, have not yet been constructed (layout: Anton van der Merwe 2010).

Right: Vale, Gwyneth Lloyd, and Anton van der Merwe at Starways Arts (photo: John Steele 2013).

Mira Engler (1990: 222, 228) has noted that special places often "evoke strong emotions", be they horrifying or pleasing, and can put an "individual within visual contact of earthly and celestial elements - such as sky, sun, moon, water, mountain, or forest - [in such a way that viewers] are imbued with the symbolism of the universe and of being". During my visits to Starways, I have had the strong sense that Van der Merwe thrives on a feeling of being intimately and profoundly connected to both the tempestuous aspects, as well as the gentle growth promoting features of his surrounding natural environment. For Van der Merwe, the Starways Arts environment is conducive to artistic practice (Steele 2014) - a "setting for expanding consciousness and introspection; for putting life into perspective, gaining insights and for solving inner conflicts" (Engler 1990: 222).

Early influences

Van der Merwe is a fiercely independent owner-builder, for whom the value of a structure may be found in functionality "rather than in the resources required to construct it". For him, construction processes are "gradual … as resources and time" become available (Mehlomakulu & Marais 1999: 1). He has related (Interview of 24 May 2014: 1-2) that his interest in construction probably goes back to the mud buildings and villages that he created as a child in the backyard of his Pietersburg home in the 1950s. His father, Louis, was at that time a banker and hobby woodworker, so there were always piles of wood with which he could build.

Other early formative influences include a move to Kimberley, at which time his father acquired Gothic windows from a corrugated iron church that had been pulled down to make way for a more modern structure. He then helped his father install these into a workshop and garage that they were building in the backyard. Van der Merwe relates that this was significant because this workshop (where smart and special things were made) proved to be a happy and memorable place, thanks to the presence of his father, the resources within and these Gothic windows. His father always involved him in whatever building or woodworking was being undertaken. Van der Merwe relates that he was "like an apprentice, holding the other end and passing things … that is … [how] … one learns" (Interview of 24 May 2014: 2).

Other recollections include that one of his father's significant achievements as both an engineer and woodworker was to construct one of the first South African caravans in 1955 (Interview of 24 May 2014: 9), with which his parents and six offspring would go on holiday, much to the amazement of some onlookers. These interests also rubbed off and, during adolescence, Van der Merwe found himself picking up engineering skills, which led to him fixing and souping up vehicles. At that time, he was making his own furniture and embarking on an interest in painting pictures for pocket money, often of houses in the neighbourhood, thereby indirectly getting a sense of ways in which structures occupy space (Interview of 24 May 2014: 4).

Van der Merwe relates that the furniture restoration project that probably influenced him most profoundly took place once his family had moved to Pretoria (Interview of 24 May 2014: 5-6). His father undertook to restore the "throne of the First Bishop of Pretoria … made in about 1305, and presented in 1878 … to Henry Brougham Bousefield at St Albans". In describing the restoration process, his father says that "the ancient work is easily recognised by its spontaneity and freedom. There was no obsession with geometric precision. Plainly, this was a labour of love, unfettered by commerce" (Van Der Merwe, L. 1979: 358-359), thereby valorising traits that he admired, and would probably have passed on to his son in one way or another. The project of restoring and recarving sections of this medieval piece of furniture transported both father and son into the Middle Ages. A burgeoning interest in Cathedral architecture became further consolidated for Van der Merwe when he spent quite a lot of time at St Albans Cathedral in Pretoria, where he enjoyed Leo Theron's *dalle de verre* stained glass panels, careful attention to construction detail and sense of awe that can be conveyed by soaring arches over a central nave culminating in an apse.

Another very significant strand of influence took place at about this time, in the form of Clinton Harrop-Allin, an inspirational History of Art teacher at Pretoria Boys High School. Van der Merwe relates (Interview of 24 May 2014: 2) that this teacher had a flair for architecture, and would bring it alive by transporting his pupils verbally and visually to European Medieval and other architectural wonders.

So, in summary, Van der Merwe experienced a childhood that encouraged him to act on his creative impulses, both as a woodworker and engineer, and painter of watercolours. He also notes that books such as Helen Gardner's 1959 edition of Art Through the Ages, David Macaulay's Cathedral: The Story of its Construction, as well as Lawrence Lee *et al*'s Stained Glass were available at home and enjoyed.

After finishing at Pretoria Boys High, he eventually moved to Cape Town in 1976, became interested in ceramics (Steele 2014), and embarked on a lifelong career as a visual artist. The first structures that he built were kilns (Interview of 24 May 2014: 7) of the type made from welded heavy metal frames into which the kiln bricks are laid, culminating in an arch. Soon after arriving in Cape Town, he began work on setting up a self-built ceramics studio in Rondebosch Park Estate, and recollects having to figure out how to lay proper foundations from a DIY book. For the next 15 years, he developed about 700 square meters of "renovated dwelling, ceramics studio, teaching facility, kiln rooms and clay preparation and recycling spaces" (Van der Merwe email of 6th February 2014). Towards the end of his stay in Cape Town, he spent six months running Kiln Contracts for Paul Pepworth. During this time, he further developed his interest in arches and new ceramic kiln design, and found himself consolidating knowledge about procurement of materials and the importance of quantity surveying. He maintains that these experiences are what set him on a lifelong path of confident self-building and architectural design.

In due course, Van der Merwe and Lloyd moved to Midrand (Interview of 24 May 2014: 8-9, 11), between Pretoria and Johannesburg (Steele 2014). There he set up the Randjesfontein Pottery in an old cowshed, and negotiated to self-build a home on rented land alongside. Their young family initially lived in his father's caravan, and then, despite having virtually no cash, they established themselves more securely by acquiring a 2.4 x 3 metre prefabricated wooden Wendy House each for the three children - Pearce, Vale and Eliot - to sleep in. They also began construction of a simple L-shaped main dwelling based on the principle of a fuel stove in an alcove on one wall – a simple Cape Labourer Cottage design he had seen previously in Swellendam. All cement mixing and building work was done by hand with very little help. After the slab and solid wall for the stove had been built, Van der Merwe brought his woodworking skills to bear and constructed the rest of the house on American-style light timber frame and panelling principles. They lived in this house for five years, and then when things became complicated with the landlord, they dismantled it in three days and put it into storage for use at a later stage. Van der Merwe recollected, with a laugh, that the labourer who helped dismantle the house was perplexed, but when he had received the explanation that the standard size 1.2 x 2.4 metre sections of house that were being unbolted would be put up elsewhere, he commented: "Ja, ek verstaan … jy is soos die skulpad, jy vat jou huis saam." [Yes, I understand … you are like a tortoise, you take your house with you.] Which is exactly what they did.

Waldorf: legacy

During this time, Van der Merwe's stepson, Eliot Short, had been attending the Waldorf School in Bryanston in Johannesburg (Interview of 24 May 2014:11-14). It is at this school that he first noticed seemingly arbitrary roof angles and organically shaped human scaled architectural designs inspired by Rudolf Steiner. Subsequent reading and investigation led him to a realisation that Steiner had a fantastic architectural impulse that chimed with his own feelings and interests. Van der Merwe describes the First Goetheanum, completed in 1922 under Steiner's direct guidance (Biesantz & Klingborg 1979: 54) at Dornach in Switzerland, as a structure that grabbed him architecturally like nothing else had done before or since.

Strikingly, the entire structure, apart from a concrete base, had been made of wood, and featured intersecting, differently sized domes made of wooden planks swirling in every direction. Furthermore, it had been created from ideas initially established by means of sketchily created plasticine models, and the organic shaping arrived at in these models had been continued through to both the interiors and exteriors of this building. Biesantz and Klingborg (1979: 21, 29) observed that this structure expressed more than "architectural enlivenment seeking expression in undulating lines - Nouveau Art - but rather [expression of an innately] organically plastic structure". This building, both within and without, revealed "contrasting expressions of load and support … making visible in every detail the forces and their relationships inherent in the building".

Van der Merwe said that his inner being resonated with symbolisms expressed by the First Goetheanum, wherein the "merging of the cupolas indicates how the world of the senses meets and penetrates the world of the spirit" (Biesantz and Klingborg 1979: 34). He found himself relating intimately to such expressions of tension and creative energy between spiritualising and materialising forces (Interview of 24 May 2014:13). He also expressed admiration for Steiner's determination shown in immediately embarking on a course of rethinking then rebuilding after the First Goetheanum had been burnt down to its concrete base as a result of arson. The redesigned Second Goetheanum, completed within a decade, retained elements of the cruciform-like plan of its predecessor (Biesantz and Klingborg 1979: 59). It was constructed using shutter concrete as main material, incorporated tighter angles, was inward looking, and had a much more aggressive stance, indicating protection of what happens inside.

Arriving at Starways

Van der Merwe and Lloyd arrived in 1992 at the unserviced and undeveloped Hogsback smallholding that has become Starways Arts. He said (Interview of 25 May 2014: 32, 34) that they had experienced gooseflesh when discovering this place, and their arrival put them on the verge of acting on ideals of self-reliance. Parts of their Midrand home were offloaded, they set up temporary accommodation in one of the Wendy Houses and their VW Auto Villa, and despite a difficult political climate and various trials and tribulations (Steele 2014), a new phase of self-design and self-building, using timber from their own smallholding, began.

Reconstruction of their home had to wait while other matters were attended to, including the initial establishment of the bare bones for a ceramics studio (figure 2), which more or less began with the gas-fired kiln that he had built in Cape Town, then used in Midrand, being offloaded at a specific spot in the forest (Interview of 24 May 2014: 21).

Figure 2
Clockwise from top left: Establishing the ceramics studio in the early 1990s; entrance to the showroom; kiln area; clayworking area; showroom (photos: John Steele 2013 and 2014).

Influenced by the roof on posts and open-to-the-elements Eagle's Nest ceramics studio of Hyme Rabinowitz of Cape Town, among others, Van der Merwe began establishing his first entirely self-built ceramics studio. The remaining two Wendy Houses brought from Midrand were placed on either side of what was to become a central nave-like space, thus fashioning, conceptually at least, an initial cruciform shape, with kiln at apse position, thereby creating a satisfyingly sacred place (Interview of 24 May 2014: 4) within which to conduct visual arts related activities.

Trees cut on site were footed in metre-deep holes, then hoisted and walked up to form two rows of poles as columnar initial framework for the centre space. Significantly, Van der Merwe had placed his written intentions in the hole that received the first pole, thereby casting his aims into the base of the building. These intentions included to create work that is honest, not to exploit anybody, to have a good work ethic and to pay or exchange immediately for purchases rather accrue debt (Interview of 24 May 2014: 21). In due course, ceramics were created on a kick wheel, gas fired in his kiln in the forest, then displayed for sale on tree stumps left over from the trees that had been cut to create the studio.

With the passing of time, in organic ways as needs arose, the initial spaces have been refined, kilns built and moved, structures added, the original cruciform shape adapted, and most of the areas were enclosed and roofed with corrugated iron in order to keep cold wind and rain out. The northwest-facing public entrance to the ceramics studio is arrived at through a secluded forest pathway. The façade is dominated by a Victorian doorway that was one of the first elements erected after the structural poles had been placed. Entrance through this threshold brings one into the original nave-like centre space, which is now a visual arts showroom that incorporates a small Starways history section, a tea and coffee preparation space, a counter and places for people to sit.

Access north easterly to the actual clayworking studio is from the south easterly end of this showroom. The clayworking studio has large windows overlooking much of the property, as well as the Gaika's Kop Mountain. The south westerly end of the central showroom also gives access westerly to the glazing, clay preparation, woodworking and metalworking sections. Several kilns and firing paraphernalia extend out from the glazing room in a south easterly direction, towards more private spaces such as the family's home, cottages and gardens. This long firing area is roofed and mostly walled on the westerly side, but is still largely open to the elements.

Building style

Totalling about 200 square metres, the Starways ceramics studio and associated workshops give a good idea of some of the main elements of Van der Merwe's building style. His basic approach is as if building a kiln: first the framework, then the surrounds and roof. He envisions a building as it grows rather than being entirely dependent on drawings conceived at a single point in time. He is just as comfortable building on or above ground, as is evidenced by parts of the structure being located on solid earth, whereas the clayworking studio section is partly on wooden piles. Interior and exterior walls are made up variously of wattle and daub, wattle and stone, as well as wood panelling.

His construction materials are relatively lightweight, which means that making changes such as adding rooms or moving walls to shift heavy equipment can be easily achieved. By using corrugated iron for roofing, he can cover large or small sections, at any angle, at any point in time, and he is flexible with flooring types. He actively seeks out low carbon footprint construction options, and is very keen on using local building materials as far as possible. He also maintains (Interview of 24 May 2014: 23) that a building needs good shoes and a good hat, and to that end ensures that there is substantial roof overhang so that the walls and other structural components are protected from excessive direct rain. Another principle that quickly becomes evident is that, unlike the Second Goetheanum, the structures built by Van der Merwe are not intended to last for hundreds of years. In fact, he maintains (Interview of 24 May 2014: 23) that by building lightweight organic structures for a particular purpose, it does not matter if that structure ends up as a pile of wood and stone after several decades. Anyway, there is also always the possibility that intensive maintenance can be undertaken to sustain certain buildings if required by coming generations.

In creating Starways ceramics studio and associated workshops, Van der Merwe has made extensive use of local knowledge pertaining to vernacular construction techniques as well as engaged with alternative, sustainable, and ecologically aware building methods that seem to tap into a worldview of "humanity and nature working together as one interconnected intelligence" (Du Plessis 2006: 1). Other factors that reveal this sensitivity to the environment include the practice of exchanging trees felled on Starways property - about 90 so far - for sawn timber to be used for construction work in progress, as well as by careful siting of structures within the landscape rather than to dominate the landscape. Furthermore, he treats raw timber on site in a long metal trough using a home-made, non-poisonous mixture of water, borax, tobacco and chopped aloe, heated to 60° Centigrade. Interior timber is scorched with a blow torch to reduce vulnerability to borer beetles and other potential problems. These alternative approaches to wood treatment, combined with a complete absence of asbestos and fibreglass of any sort, means that Van der Merwe creates healthy structures, and one can breathe deeply in safety (Interview of 24 May 2014: 18).

Just as it has taken more than 20 years for the Starways ceramics studio to take the shape it has now, so too is the main dwelling, Brynaserren - sited in the uppermost southerly corner of the smallholding - a work in progress (figure 3). Like their home in Midrand, it started out in a basic L shape, with a single solid wall with a centrally placed wood stove, upon which most cooking and water heating still takes place. Like the ceramics studio, this structure is largely roofed with corrugated iron, and rests partly on solid earth and partly on piles, and the majority of floor is wooden. Some walls are made up of wooden panels dismantled from the family's 1987 home in Midrand.

This house has a well-rooted and pleasantly balanced feel, with two bay window type projections on either side of the central solid wall. The bay type projection towards the east is actually a doorway from the kitchen/dining room out into a biodynamically energised organic orchard and vegetable garden. The kitchen/dining area also connects directly in an open-plan configuration with a northerly lounge/family living area, and southerly with a cosy guest bedroom. The kitchen/dining/lounge area is anchored by the hearth and woodstove, and on the other side of that solid wall are the bathroom and main bedroom with a bay window that hovers westerly over the garden space between home and ceramics studio. This west wing also features a northerly study/office space, as well as a home-based visual arts studio, which gets flooded with strong light. A storeroom and single car garage are positioned on the south side of the west wing.

Figure 3
Starways Arts main residence, Brynaserren. Clockwise from top left: Rough floor plan, drawn by Anton van der Merwe in 2014; north facing façade; looking northwards from lounge; kitchen (photos John Steele 2013, and bottom right by Anton van der Merwe 2014).

All the main rooms have an abundance of natural light, and many doorways and window frames feature a special type of lintel that has slopes on either side prior to connecting with the posts (figure 4). This segmented arch lintel style has specific connotations for Van der Merwe and Lloyd, thereby contributing to their joint and individual expressions of identity. Despite sometimes causing serious construction complications, the segmented arch lintel has become a significant characteristic of Starways Arts architectural programme, introducing a feminine aspect, especially when compared to upright/horizontal juxtaposition of the more usual post and lintel construction technique (Interview of 24 May 2014: 16). Segmentation of these arches also hint at states and places of balance between verticality of growth and horizontality of rest, within a swirl of perpetually realigning forces. Thus entrances and exits are intentionally presented as liminal thresholds, traversed by light and occupants.

Van der Merwe has pointed out (Interview of 24 May 2014: 14) that his use of the segmented arch style and other principles throughout the Starways architectural programme has been directly influenced by Rudolph Steiner's intentions in both the first and second Goetheanum structures, about which Steiner (Biesantz & Klingborg 1979: 65) writes:

> One should be able to see … the expression of downward pressure [of roof as well as] the portals and window cornices respectively. At the same time, I would like to achieve the inward spiritual impression of a portal that receives one, or of a window that takes light into the inner space. I also want to achieve with this form in a certain way the revelation of the way in which the Goetheanum is to offer a kind of protection for the person who seeks the spiritual within it.

The intentional alteration of loads and forces by using segmented arch doorway and window lintels brings about a calming transition from vertical to horizontal, in the same ways as the whole Brynaserren structure seems to bring about gentle changeovers from exterior to interior, and between interior spaces.

Figure 4
Segmented arches as seen, left to right, from the dining room of the Brynaserren residence; entrance to Gate Cottage; and entrance to Rose Theatre (photos: Anton van der Merwe 2014).

The feeling of structural peacefulness that the main dwelling conveys may also have something to do with sensations arising from the relative absence of concrete and hard substances such as brick and stone in favour of most of the structure being raised off the earth on piles supporting wooden plinths and walls. The structure feels alive. It gently vibrates and resonates, and has been known to intermittently resettle and restabilise. Such structural aliveness is sought by Van der Merwe, and can be characterised as both arising from his design and construction style, and as an expression of ecological awareness. He has explained (Interview of 24 May 2014: 17) that he is reluctant to pour tons of concrete into the earth for foundations because the resulting long-term solidity impacts adversely on the integrity of the prevailing eco systems, and cement has a very high carbon footprint compared to timber sourced on the property.

Place and identity

Van der Merwe and Lloyd's dwelling, in as much as it may also on occasions be a site of contradictions and "unavoidable tensions surrounding the use of domestic spaces" (Sibley 1995: 94), is geared towards being an inspiring place into which they "can retreat" (Moore 1984: 32) and be creative. It is thus "a private … realm clearly differentiated from public space" (Mallett 2004: 71), conducive to fruitful living.

Shelly Mallett (2004: 83) has pointed out that Martin Heidegger (1971) stressed "the importance of building, or making, to our notion of home and our very existence". Making expresses sense of identity, or at least aspects thereof. Thus "the forms that we build, whether they be material or imaginary, arise out of our immersion in the world – the very homeland of our thoughts" (Merleau-Ponty 1962: 24; Ingold 1995: 76). Centrality of home-making to both expression of aspects of identity and making sense of the world is further emphasised by Ginsburg (1998: 31), who suggests that "we build the intimate shell of our lives by the organisation and furnishings of the space in which we live. How we function as persons is linked to how we make ourselves at home". Structural elements, such as the segmented arch lintels, serve as reminders of an ongoing search for inner-core stability aimed at, among other purposes, living of balanced, holistic lifestyles that encourage expression of artistic impulses.

Rudolf Steiner's influence on the architectural programme of Starways Arts was consolidated by Eliot Short's contribution to construction of Gate Cottage, begun in 1994 (figure 5). He had studied some of the Anthroposophical movement's architecture, and had experienced first-hand some particular architectural impulses such as using local natural materials, "rounding off of corners … [avoiding straight lines, and] creating undulating surfaces" (Kraftl 2006: 494). Gate Cottage, which makes extensive use of those organic influences, was constructed on wooden piles and plinths. It incorporates carefully shaped tree trunks for upright posts, and features two interlocking arches as well as widespread use of segmented arch shapes for doorways, windows and gambrel roof. Eliot Short (email of 10th August 2014) has explained that he used the idea of an L-shaped log cabin as point of departure, and aimed to get rid of as many corners as possible. This impetus resulted in creation of many facets and angles that were tricky to design, cut and knock together, especially when connecting the logs that made the frames for two doorways sharing one central upright. Furthermore, each corner where the walls met was cut off, creating yet more facets and angles in the roof.

Figure 5
Eliot Short, above and middle: Beginning work on Gate Cottage. Right: Interior (photos: left and middle courtesy of Anton van der Merwe; right: John Steele 2013).

This roof required, according to Van der Merwe (Interview of 24 May 2014: 18), incredibly complex multifaceted, undulating, wooden rafter support systems, topped by plywood, and was eventually completely covered with heavy plastic and about 15 centimetres of organic material composed mostly of soil and grass. This was the first so-called 'green' roof in Hogsback, and has the advantages of thatch. The building is cool in summer and has good insulation properties to retain warmth in winter. The curvaceous Gate Cottage, located close to the road, has "gestural, performative qualities" (Kraftl 2006: 485) well suited to Starways Arts intentions and somewhat idiosyncratic presence within the larger Hogsback village environment. The structure organically arises from and blends with the landscape, and acts as an entry and welcoming point currently featuring a visual arts gallery and multipurpose space for visitors to, and residents of, Starways Arts. This building and surrounds serve as a hub from which all other structures on the property can be accessed. The forested pathway leading up to the ceramics studio, for example, commences from the south westerly side of Gate Cottage, and the extraordinary Rose Theatre is placed alongside in a north westerly direction.

Other Starways buildings

The Rose Theatre (figure 6) is a roundish structure, with enclosures that include a roofed kitchen, bar section, seating areas and stage, all surrounding a central arena type of space open to the sky. It was conceived by Van der Merwe as an entertainment venue with extensive catering facilities. In fact, he recounts (Interview of 24 May: 29-30) that he envisioned the structure while initially building the pizza oven under a tree near Gate Cottage. So, the Rose Theatre was built between 2000 and 2009 around a pizza oven in order, initially, to protect it from prevailing winds! There were no drawings whatsoever for this building. It grew organically as needs arose and time permitted, and has an extraordinary entrance that incorporates two huge live pine trees, between which a segmented arch doorway is set into wattle and daub walling with small windows on either side that hint at facial features, but also serve to emphasise the curvature of the surrounding structure to give a sense of walking into a welcoming and safe earthy womb-like space.


Figure 6
Rose Theatre, exterior and interior views (photos: John Steele 2013).

The multifaceted 'green' roof incorporates many directions and angles, and flips up towards the sky over the stage area, thereby emphasising the focal point of the entire structure. The Rose Theatre has hosted many events, including opera, trance parties, play performances, workshops and poetry readings, and continues to serve as a base for large public events as well as being a site for intimate gatherings of family and friends, even if just for a pizza evening and fireside chats.

The Rose Theatre echoes the basic principles of Shakespeare's Globe Theatre in the sense that it surrounds an open central space, thereby conceptually linking this contemporary theatre to an entertainment oriented past. Furthermore, there is also an "intended harmony between the building and its natural surroundings", and the overall design of The Rose Theatre promotes a "sense of harmony between the building and those who use it" (Kraftl & Adey 2008: 214, 216).

The human proportion and scale of all elements within the interior of this structure facilitates the sense of congruence between components, and encourages "touching, smelling and listening to the building … allowing the human body to interact with" (Williams 2002: 2) the spaces rather than to just occupy or pass through.

Such interaction with the built environment is encouraged by each of the quirky and unique structures of Starways Arts. Wattle Cottage, for example, located on the top ridge of the property, east of the main dwelling, is an agglomeration of spaces and structures that constituted Van der Merwe and Lloyd's first living area prior to erection of their present dwelling. It incorporates one of the original Wendy Houses brought from Midrand, and is currently being revamped and re-roofed. Next to this is a small single room plus bathroom Volunteer Cottage on wooden piles and platform, and then down, towards the bottom toe of the smallholding - past Gate Cottage and The Rose Theatre - are Granadilla and Birch cottages, as well as a Bath House, and an enclosed caravan for overflow guests.

Granadilla and Birch cottages (figure 7) were conceived as hiker/visitor cottages, and each easily sleeps six people. These structures, based on two rough sketches, embody a by now well-matured building style aimed at maximising use value on a minimised footprint. Construction procedures are visible in the new dwelling being constructed for incoming permanent residents Kevin Vye and Taryn Wong Chong. A timber platform is first built upon piles, then the cement fibre board and timber walls are assembled on this floor, lying flat, before being lifted up and joined together to form the structural shell and ground-level living space. The over-arching gambrel roofing method allows for spacious upstairs sleeping areas located on an internal platform.

Figure 7
Top left: Birch Cottage, which is similar to Granadilla Cottage; Top right and bottom row: New dwelling under construction (photos: top left, John Steele 2014; top right and bottom row, Anton van der Merwe 2014).

Furthermore, plans are at quite an advanced stage for utilisation of an already partially excavated, centrally located open space overlooking both Gate Cottage and the Rose Theatre. Initially conceived as an enhanced performance and exhibition space, notions for this structure are influenced by both Goetheanums and Shakespeare's Globe Theatre, as well as a love for the sinuous qualities evoked by Rudolf Steiner, Antoni Gaudi and elements of Art Nouveau. The main idea is to create an auditorium with a thrust stage, perhaps large enough for a game of badminton or to seat up to 1000 people. These ideas have come about in discussion with others, and Eliot Short has drafted a basic plan that incorporates a "conservatory area which will heat the building naturally, even in winter, using a system of external vents. There will be a kitchen on one side of the building, and a bathroom on the other" (email of 11th July 2014).

Van der Merwe (Interview of 24th May 2014) has explained that this "earthship" building has been conceived of as an entirely self-sufficient, off-the-grid and ecologically sound 'green' structure. It will be snuggled into the earth bank, make extensive use of recycled building materials, probably have a 'green' sod-type roof, utilise low voltage solar powered lighting and power points, and have strategically placed water harvesting tanks.

Conclusion

A lot of hard work and visionary foresight have seen Starways Arts evolve from an undeveloped and unserviced smallholding in 1992 into a site now featuring a built environment of ten interrelated buildings and associated structures, despite chronic lack of cash. Most of these buildings already at least partially incorporate ecologically sound practices of water harvesting and use of renewable resources such as firewood and solar energy for water heating and power. Plans are afoot to further gradually decrease dependence on municipal services and eventually convert to an entirely self-sufficient energy and water reticulation grid.

Working in conjunction with Lloyd, Van der Merwe - artist, architect, builder, spouse, father and entertainer - has created structures in much the same way as if building a kiln. Furthermore, he is remarkably open to suggestion and intuitive adaptation to circumstances, does not usually rely on detailed architectural drawings, and is quirky in his consistent incorporation of facetted gambrel roof and segmented lintel shapes. His use of alternative technology and adaptation of vernacular building methods have resulted in eco-friendly structures with a low carbon footprint that rest lightly upon the surface of this earth. Consequently, the Starways Arts built environment and the embracing gardens and landscape blend and integrate with each other, and purposeful use thereof for living, creating art, as well as entertaining and hosting others, seamlessly intertwines with and expresses their respective evolving identities.

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Environmental management as a touchstone of modern identity: Hans Hallen's St Olav church, Berea, Durban, 1966-68.

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St Olav church was designed almost 50 years ago by Hans Hallen, major architectural talent in Durban during the three decades 1960s -'80s. Conceived in response to its constrained urban setting, St Olav became the first modern centralised church in Durban, designed as an auditorium, and the first large-volume use-space in Hallen's oeuvre. Due to its constricted surrounds, the auditorium was planned windowless; thus ventilation and daylighting, which in a longitudinal church would both have been provided by windows, had to be separated by function, with the former effected through diaphragm walls and the latter by a light atrium integral with the roof design. It is argued that this innovative approach to environmental management, which subscribes to the theories expounded by Reyner Banham, may be a more valid test of modern identity than style, in this case an accomplished example of Brutalism.
Key words: Hallen, auditorium church, Banham, environmental management, material honesty, *dalle de verre*.

Umwelt-Management als Prüfstein moderner Identität: Hans Hallens St. Olav Kirche, Berea, Durban, 1966-68.
Die St. Olav Kirche wurde vor fast 50 Jahren von Hans Hallen entworfen, der zu den talentiertesten und wichtigsten Architekten Durbans während der Jahrzehnte von 1960-80 gehört. Bezug nehmend auf die beengte städtebauliche Situation entstand die in Form eines Auditoriums konzipierte Kirche als erste moderne zentralisierte Kirche in Durban und bildet gleichzeitig den ersten grossvolumigen Raum im Oeuvre von Hallen. Angesichts des schwierigen Unfeldes wurde das Auditorium fensterlos geplant; daher mussten Belüftung und Beleuchtung, für welche in herkömmlichen langgestreckten Kirchenbauten üblicherweise Fenster zum Einsatz kommen, der Funktion nach getrennt werden, wobei erstere durch Schächte in der Mauer erreicht wurde, und letztere durch ein in die Dachkonstruktion integriertes Licht-Atrium. Im Artikel wird erörtert, daß diese Neuerungen im Umwelt-Management, die den Theorien von Reyner Banham entsprechen, wohl eher als stichhaltige Prüfsteine der modernen Gesinnung als des Baustils, in diesem Falle als vorbildliches Beispiel des Brutalismus, angesehen werden können.
Kennwörte: Hallen, Auditorium-Kirche, Banham, Umwelt-Management, Ehrlichkeit von Baumaterialien, *dalle de verre*.

St Olav church on Durban's Berea is a 1960s' landmark place of worship (figure 1), yet was accorded only minor coverage on completion (Theron: 1969)[1] and a single article since (Nuttall: 2005). Its architect, Hans Hallen, was then approaching 40, the age at which most architects produce their mature works. Unlike some of his illustrious counterparts, Hallen did not have the advantage of a master class under Louis Kahn or Paul Rudolph, but a Gold Medal, the highest acknowledgement by the South African Institute of Architects, came his way at 50 in 1980.

The church was inserted into a constricted built context, which prompted the concept of a windowless octagonal cylinder. The auditorium within the centralised plan has daylight coming from above, giving light, but not affording a view out and in the absence of openable windows has ventilation effected by convection. This was a revolutionary way of designing churches in Durban, as was the use of ordinary bricks and shuttered concrete left bare, the application of adjustable louvres and the incorporation of *dalle de verre* glass artistry. Amazingly, the design proposals, radical for the time, encountered no resistance from the congregation (Hallen: e-mail, 3 September 2014).

This article explores the design complexities of the church within its cultural, ecclesiastical and environmental contexts, as well as the concurrent architectural discourse including the use of materials and building products. It does so by studying the architect's drawings, referring to contemporary developments, corresponding with the architect, inspecting the premises and interrogating the techniques designed for tempering the internal climate.

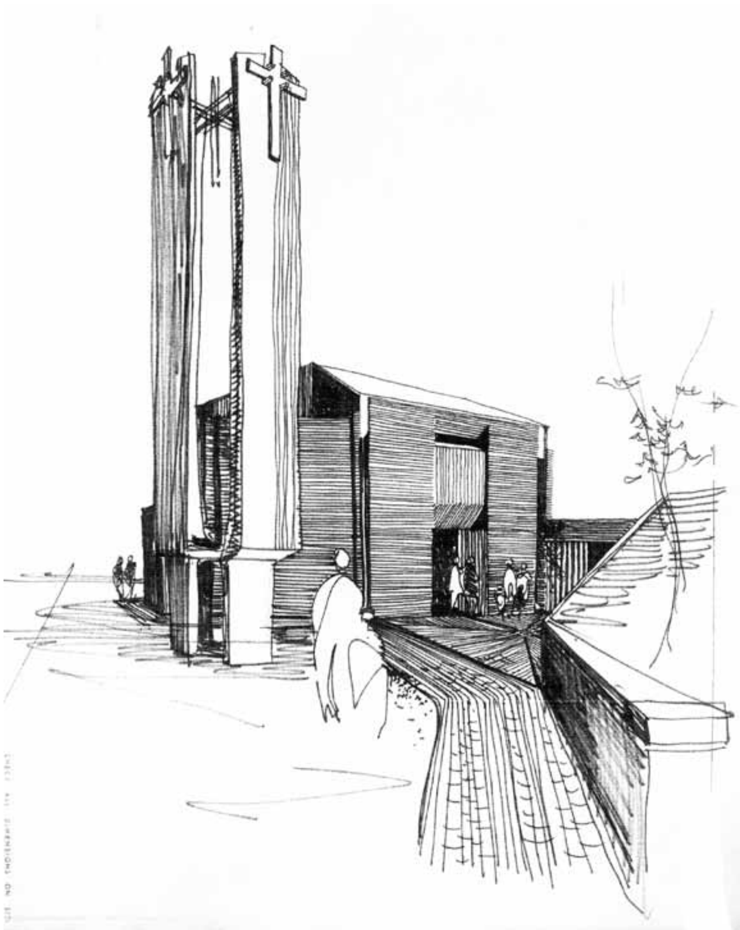

Figure 1
Perspective drawing of campanile, auditorium and parvis of St Olav church, 214 St Thomas Road, Berea, Durban, 1967-8 (source: Hallen drawing collection, Biermann Architecture Library, UKZN).

A new church for Norwegian Lutherans in Durban

The creation of all architecture is dependent upon a client who provides the commission and brief. Because of the particular ethno-religious circumstances of the client body, the context for St Olav church will first be put.

Norwegian Lutheran missionaries were active in Zululand from 1843. A sizeable community of Norwegian immigrants settled on the South Coast of KwaZulu-Natal and established the town of Marburg south-west of Port Shepstone in 1882. The Nordic association rests in the name of nearby Oslo Beach, but it was shipping and whaling[2] which attracted the community to Durban and these settlers brought with them their culture and faith.

Lutheranism had spread throughout Scandinavia during the 16th century and became the state religion of Norway. It follows that with a sizable expatriate community in Durban and the high volume of seamen of the merchant navy passing through, that the spiritual needs would result in the establishment of a congregation in 1880. A corrugated iron chapel in lower West (today Dr Pixley kaSeme) Street served as its first place of worship before, in 1892, a replacement was built in brick and plaster in Winder (today Dr Langalibalele Dube) Street, proximate to the harbour. The church was designed in "Norwegian-Gothic" by architect Frederik Eckhoff, a member of the congregation (*Natal Mercury*, 18 January 1892, cited in Lear 1980: 20).

In the early 1960s the search began for a site more central to the places of residence of the congregation. An approach was made to the Norwegian Association, which had already erected a community hall on a flat piece of land at 214 St Thomas Road, between Musgrave and Essenwood (today Stephen Dlamini) Roads in central Berea and an arrangement was reached whereby each party held an equal share in a holding company (Lear 1980: 55).

Again, the architect was a member of the congregation. His proposals for the new church to seat 200 were approved in August 1966; the first sod was turned in May 1967 and no less a dignitary than the Bishop of Oslo and Primate of Norway laid the foundation stone in September 1967. St Olav church, named after the patron saint of Norway, was dedicated after ten months of construction (by congregation member Olaf Lervik) in March 1968 (Lear 180: 56-58).

Architect Hans Hallen

Hans Heyerdahl Hallen was born in Durban on 31st August 1930 to Norwegian parents. Hallen studied Architecture at the fledgling 'Natal School' (1949-53), to which inaugural head Paul Connell (1915-1997) had recruited as lecturers South Africa's foremost architectural historians Barrie Biermann (1924-1991) and Ronald Lewcock. On graduating, Hallen gained experience in the Architects' Department of the London County Council (LCC), there making "credible reinterpretations of Le Corbusier's seminal ideas" like Roehampton Estate (Curtis 1996: 530). While in Europe, Hallen toured the Greek isles before spending a period in Rome as a Union Scholar.[3] The sensitivity to architectural history instilled at the 'Natal School', the experience gained on Brutalist architecture at the LCC, and the educational journey in Europe were to exert a decisive influence on the development of Hallen's oeuvre.

Back in Durban, Hallen commenced independent practice in 1959. Not unnaturally, his first client was a member of the Norwegian community, however, the medium-rise apartment blocks on the Berea for the developer Pieter Engelbrecht, literally a stone's throw apart, define what Biermann has termed his "soft" phase (1987, 409). In these blocks Hallen merged the vernacular of Greece with characteristics of the late works of Le Corbusier, especially Unité d'Habitation, Marseilles (1947-53), while balancing the requirements of the municipal bye-laws in grouping internal ablutions around light wells (Stellenberg 1962; Drostdy 1963; Musgrave Mews 1963; and Riebeeck 1965) (figure 2).

In the words of Biermann, the "soft" period was followed by "an intense investigation of in situ concrete structure and finish of uncompromising angularity" (1987, 409), a perdurable, Roman approach. This period, coinciding with the partnership with Maurice Dibb 1963-69, produced the Voortrekker Monument at Winburg, Free State, won in a national design competition in 1964. With Connell relinquishing the chair in Architecture and being appointed Planning & Development Officer to the University of Natal (Croft: 1997), Hallen & Dibb landed in succession and produced as a triad what are arguably the best examples of Brutalism in South Africa: John Bews residence, 1964; Scully (dining) Hall 1965; and Mabel Palmer residences, 1966, on what is now the Howard College campus of University of KwaZulu-Natal (figure 3). Following these commissions came, in 1966, House Shaw and St Olav church and both combine brick and reinforced concrete.

Figure 2
Stellenberg, Musgrave Road, 1962, and Riebeeck, Problem Mkhize (Cowey) Road, 1965. Hallen & Dibb Architects (photo: Angela Buckland).

Figure 3
John Bews (female) residence, 1964; Scully (dining) Hall, 1965; and Mabel Palmer (male) residence, 1966, exterior and interior, Howard College campus, UKZN, Durban. Hallen & Dibb Architects (photo: Angela Buckland).

Lutheran liturgy and modern church architecture

Lutherans believe that humans are saved from their sins by God's grace alone (*sola gratia*), through faith alone (*sola fide*) and on the basis of scripture alone (*sola scriptura*). Thus their churches do not provide for a single, strong focus, but for a sanctuary space with several foci, font, altar and pulpit, respectively and stained or coloured glass windows are integral pieces to the setting. However, as the reformer, Martin Luther, extolled music as a 'precious gift of God', sacred music has always been a defining characteristic of Lutheran services, with communal singing and choirs, the accompaniment of piped organs and sometimes wind and brass instruments. Hallen was "deeply embedded in the Durban Lutheran community" (Hallen: e-mail, 7 January 2014); to him the challenge was the design of an appropriate contemporary space for worship.

In the 20th century, increasingly, architects aimed to design spaces for worship as auditoria with a numinous synthesis and Wright's Unity Temple at Oak Park (1904-06), Le Corbusier's Ronchamp (1950-4) and Kahn's First Unitarian church at Rochester (1959-62) provide primary examples for emulation. The last with 'light towers' rising from each of the four corners of the cruciform-shaped roof to the rectangular auditorium, has particular relevance. However, none of those mentioned is composed as a pure geometric form for which precedent one must look to MIT Chapel in Cambridge, Mass (1953-55), a brick cylinder by Eero Saarinen. It should also be noted that in South Africa Gerard Moerdijk had been on the forefront of merging auditoria with cruciform-shaped churches.

The conceptual design of St Olav church

The existing hall of the Norwegian Association had been built on the inner side of the long leg of the L-shaped site facing St Thomas Road, with vehicular access on the outer side leading to the parking lot on the short leg at the rear (figure 4). The space available for building suggested a centralised church behind the hall, which Hallen positioned in the fulcrum of the L, with a campanile to mark the entrance and create a sense of place and the parking lot behind screened from sight. Located in such a prominent position, the church would be the focus to the whole.

Hallen chose an octagonal plan, a favourite Early Christian variation of the circle, deemed to represent eternity. He is quoted as having described the form as "basic rather than modern"; however, with 15.85m (52') length and width and height at 7.9m (26') (Lear 1980: 59), the 2:1 proportions of the drum were geometrically perfect, which, in conjunction with a centralised plan, are reminiscent of the Renaissance paradigm. Centralised plans with geometrically perfect forms were considered as the appropriate spaces in which to worship and the exteriors literally reflected this arrangement (McCarter 2005: 79), a basis Hallen was to echo in St Olav church.

However, as the historic precedents have shown, it is difficult to liturgically reconcile the centralised form, hence the functional plan of St Olav is axial and the auditorium has both a central aisle and two side aisles, with the pews in the latter diagonally angled to enhance a sense of community (figure 5).

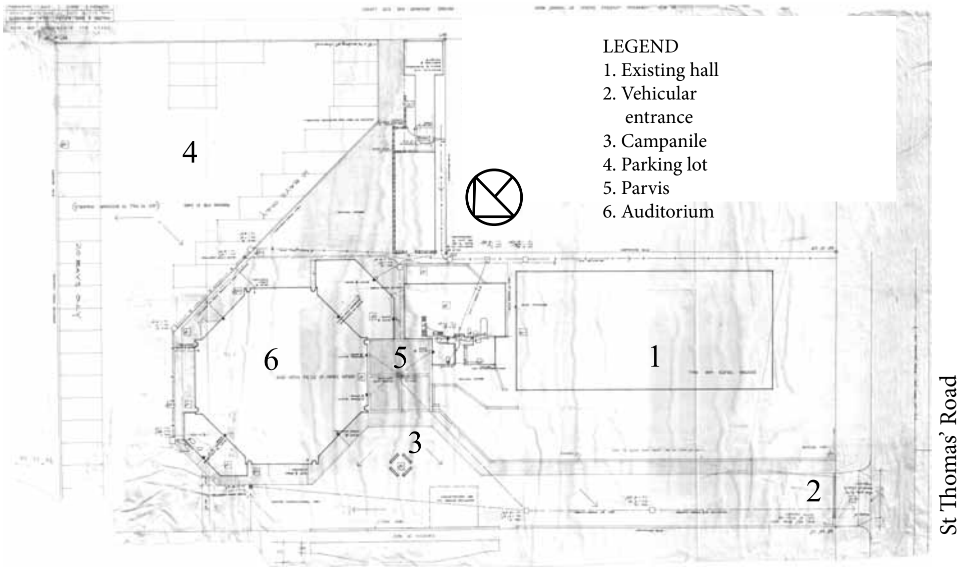

Figure 4
Site plan (Hallen drawings collection, Biermann Architecture Library, UKZN) edited by author.

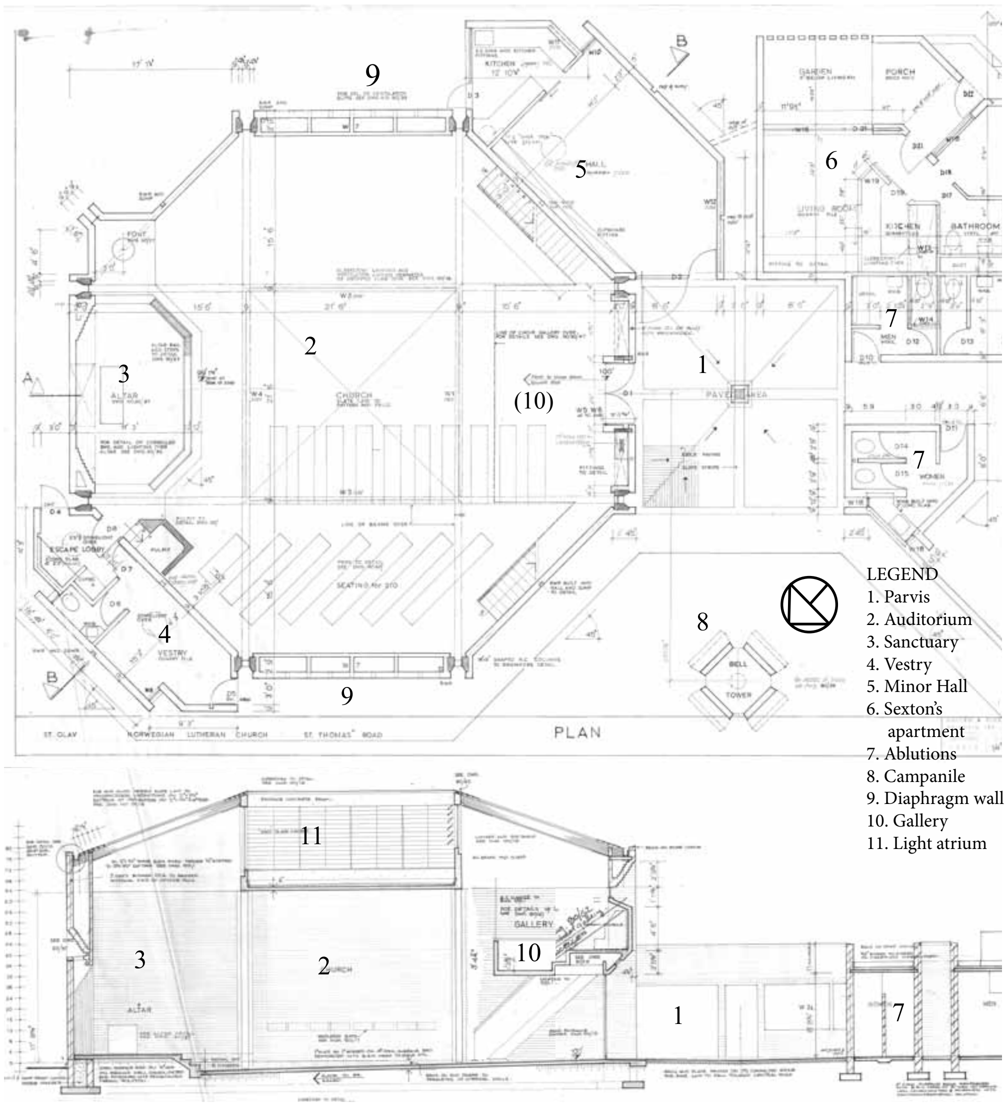

Figure 5
St Olav church, plan and section, 1967 (Hallen drawings collection, Biermann Architecture Library, UKZN) edited by author.

Auditorium interior

On entering from the parvis, conceived as an atrium-like court and only 6.5m square, the auditorium with 'Transvaal slate' on concrete floor, slopes gently to the sanctuary, one step up (figure 6). This level and finish reaches to the pulpit at left, the vestry at the rear and the baptistery, which is recessed in a triangulated niche, but in full view of the congregation, as per Lutheran tenet, and haloed in light by the slit window. The altar space itself is raised by a further two steps and defined by the rail at which communicants kneel and by the articulation of the thick rear wall, symmetrically stepped about the chancel cross, from head-height corbelled in section, with a shaft of natural light for which penetration the outer wall above is corbelled, falling on the cross (figure 7).

Figure 6
Interior as seen from gallery. Altar and font (removed) are of concrete but not built-in, which the pulpit is, and it is clad in vertical *afrormosia* strips. This photograph also shows the ventilation principle with the in-flow of air by way of the ribbon of wooden louvres, bottom left, now covered with a valance, and exhausted by convection through the sizeable louvre windows to the clerestory. (photo: Roger Jardine).

To either flank of the entrance, stairs lead up to the organ and choir loft over the vestibule, supported structurally from the coupled columns of the wall and by two steel hangers suspended from the ceiling. The loft, replete with projecting conductor's balcony, is on two levels, with the higher reserved for the organ, which inversely is of benefit spatially to the vestibule beneath. The Paul Ott organ, imported from Göttingen, Germany, was installed in 1969 and a console of pipes is integrated with the balustrade wall (figure 8).

Figure 8
Organ and choir loft over vestibule with built-in cupboards astride the entrance door.
(photo: Roger Jardine).

Ancillary spaces

Ancillary spaces are attached to the octagon, but defer in scale. The vestry hugs the northern wall of the auditorium and a minor hall with kitchen is opposite on the south. Both spaces were conceived as compressed hexagons on plan, articulated to accommodate full-height slit windows for reflecting light off the side walls, with angled scoops to their flat roofs for general lighting. The minor hall is accessible from the parvis to which it could fully open as the larger of its two doors was conceived as a pivoted leaf (figure 15), while the hall is separated from the sexton's apartment by a walkway from the parking lot.

The south-western side to the parvis is marked by ablutions and bisected by the path to the hall, with the side to the north-west opening to receive parishioners being dropped-off. This space is defined by a side of the auditorium and a diagonal screen wall, raking as it meets with the ablutions, and by the campanile on the cross-axis of the parvis, also diagonally aligned, which shields the space from motor vehicles driving to and from the parking lot.

Structure: cross in octagon

A reinforced concrete structure of beams in the outline of a Greek cross is raised on eight coupled columns placed in each of the outer corners, which in turn define the geometry of the octagonal brick cylinder. The square defined by the crossing of the two sets of beams to the Greek cross marks the position of the clerestory, the principal means of lighting for the auditorium. These beams of concrete are shaped as trusses, pitched and solid on either end with the ridges truncated over the crossing and literally 'hollowed out' for accommodating the clerestory windows. The roofs to the Greek cross are raked as mono-pitches and covered in slate, while the square of the crossing and the triangulated spaces between the Greek cross and the perimeter octagon are of flat concrete slabs without beam drop, the soffit of which Hallen had cast to a tartan pattern to give scale.

As it is an important design consideration, the slab at the crossing, which defines the clerestory light atrium and is of identical size to the parvis, drains to each of the four flat triangulated roofs. From here square downpipes, recessed centrally in the respective side walls to the octagon, discharge rainwater across an open channel shaped in the circumambient paved apron, while the pitched roofs discharge into box gutters with downpipes concealed in the depth of the end walls to the Greek cross.

Environmental management

While the publication of *The Architecture of the well-tempered Environment* followed the dedication of St Olav by a year, its author the late British architectural historian and critic, Reyner Banham (1922-1988), in this book drew from a decade of his own writings about 'environments fit for human activities' while working at *The Architectural Review*. His central thesis was that a building's form and construction can and should provide the primary means for controlling the internal environment. To prove the point that little progress had happened on this front over 55 years, Banham dissected Frank Lloyd Wright's Larkin company administration building in Buffalo (1906) and Louis Kahn's Richards Laboratories in Philadelphia (1961), both of which used brick shafts to circulate air for controlling the interior environment. Numerous other examples, especially by Wright, demonstrate that buildings can, by their form and construction, perform well environmentally and that energy-consuming mechanical controls should be secondary, for fine-tuning.

Hallen would have been familiar with Banham's earlier book *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (1960), his writings in *The Architectural Review* and later book *The New Brutalism* (1966) and had in his Durban apartment blocks taken care that the internal environments perform well, for which reason the habitable rooms of most face due north, the optimum orientation, and that the plans and sections are conducive to cross-ventilation, most important in the humidity of Durban. What is more, Hallen joined the staff at the 'Natal School', 1966-78, a time in which Banham's thesis became a dictum[v].

However, Durban's climate is characterised not only by high humidity during the summer months but also by a low diurnal temperature range, to counter which structures and spaces should be shielded from high levels of solar radiation and, where possible, shaded. A method used historically was the 'roof above the roof' principle, whereby an upper roof would be erected to 'provide a ventilated layer of shade', a parasol roof, a device used by Abbot Franz Pfanner, founder of Mariannhill mission station west of Durban in his first corrugated iron abode of 1882 (figure 9). While the top roof would usually have been of a lightweight material, Hallen had applied this principle with two parallel, flat concrete roof slabs at House Bassudey, a collaborative project with A.J. Diamond, 1961 (figure 10), and this principle was also applied in Louis Kahn's project for the US Consulate buildings in Luanda, Angola (1959-62), in a climate similar yet more severe than Durban.

Figure 9
Replica of Abbott Pfanner's cottage of 1882 with parasol roof at Mariannhill.

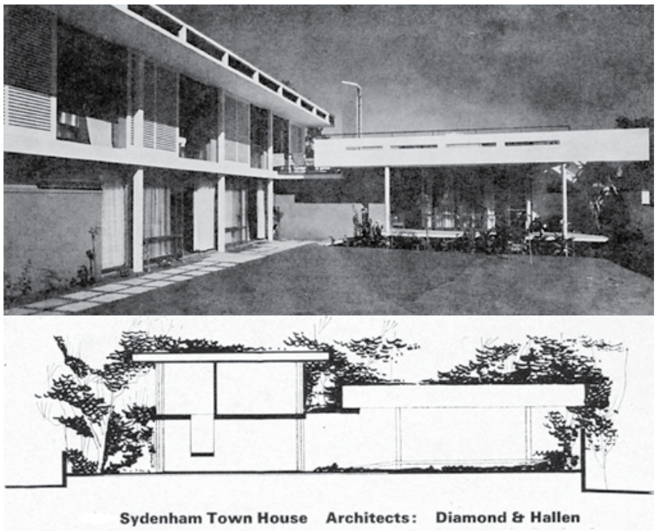

Figure 10
Modern parasol roof with double slab and through vantilation: House Bassudey, Crescent Street, Sydenham, Durban. Architects: Diamond & Hallen, 1961. ***South African Architectural Record*, July 1963.**

St Olav is without a parasol roof, but the four mono-pitch roofs with raked ceilings - the apexes of which mark the crossing of the Greek cross - act as towers and provide the conduit for a natural updraft through the clerestory windows of the auditorium; the effectiveness thereof must be seen in conjunction with the fresh air intake details of the auditorium. For these, Hallen designed the two end walls to the cross-axis of the Greek cross diaphragmatic, 838mm (2'9") wide, and each was compartmentalised into four capacious ventilation shafts (figure 11 & 12). Ingress of fresh air from outside is through three perforated courses of brickwork at low level, which by convection naturally rises in the shaft to egress externally at the top by way of a single perforated course (at soffit level of the concrete roof slabs). Air from this upstream is diverted into the auditorium at pew height and the flow can be adjusted and angled by way of vertical wooden louvre blades set within horizontal 'ribbon' apertures to the internal skins to the two diaphragm walls, four bricks high (figure 13). As the air heats up in the auditorium, it would exhaust naturally by convection through the clerestory windows over the crossing of the Greek cross.

The design of the clerestory infusion of light by way of the 'roof atrium' is nuanced by orientation, with a fixed glass pane to the altar facing the inclement south-west weather and 1.8m full-height glass louvre bands to both sides of the cross axis, the degree of opening being adjusted manually from the gallery by way of built-in remote control cables. The louvre band is reduced to 1143mm (3'9") over the organ loft and, as this elevation faces north-east, additionally fixed horizontal asbestos louvre blades were fitted externally to mediate the sun as a *brise soleil*.

Acoustics

A cylindrical drum has to contend with acoustical challenges, of which the octagonal variant is not free. Surprisingly, no acoustical consultant was appointed; instead Hallen expanded his role of environmental manager and relied on his own calculations. He sought a balance between the reverberation sequence of the organ and the human voice and only the undersides of the mono-pitched roofs were damped with timber slats on soft board. However, a vindication might be the fact that organists in search of a baroque organ for their own concerts were regularly permitted the use the Paul Ott at St Olav (Hallen e-mail, 4 September 2014).

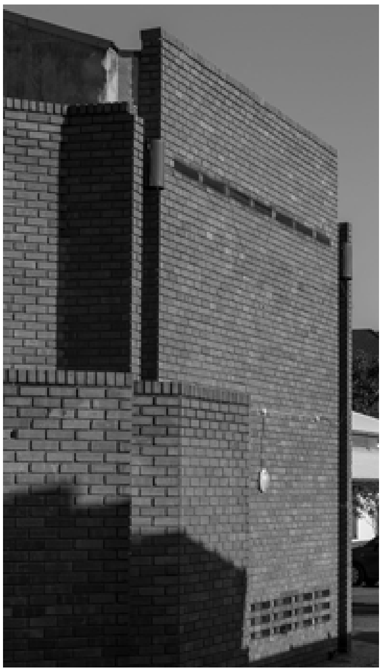

Figure 11
Diaphragm wall facing north-west. Note fresh air inlets by way of the perforated brickwork at the bottom and the outlet at the top (photo: Roger Jardine).

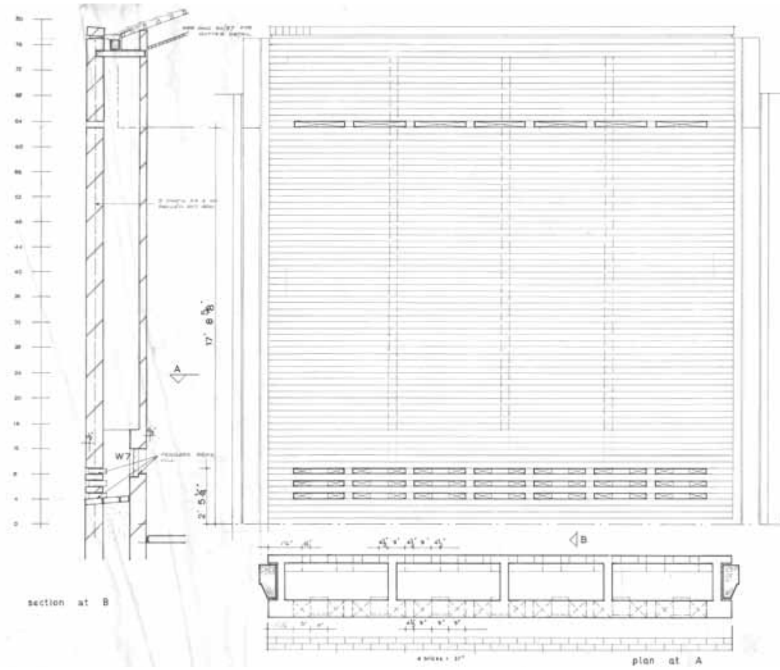

Figure 12
Ventilation details of the diaphragm wall in section (left), plan (bottom) and elevation (source: Hallen drawing collection, Biermann Architecture Library, UKZN).

Brickwork

The thick, massive structure of concrete and brick offers better sound, thermal insulation and storage capacity and retards the passage of heat to the interior. However, having opted for exposed brickwork internally and out, the whole of the design had to subscribe to brick dimensions both horizontally and vertically. Besides the obtuse external corners to the walls of the vestry and minor hall, which are mitre-cut, no bricks are cut and all joints are brick-bonded.

Reconciling the coupled columns spaced on the outside corners of a Greek cross with the octagonal plan called for a careful resolution at the junctions of which there were two types. At the end walls to the Greek cross (entrance, sanctuary and diaphragms), the columns were partly recessed by the extension of both the inner and outer brick skins, while the inner skins of the walls on the diagonals touch the columns at their centre and leave the outer skin to describe an obtuse corner in open brick bonding (figure 14) before enveloping the column. The ensuing deep recesses externally, created an ideal positioning for down lighters fixed at high level to illuminate the stained glass of the slit windows.

Figure 13
The ingress of fresh air inside the auditorium is controlled by adjustable vertical timber louvre blades at pew height (photo: Roger Jardine).

Figure 14
Obtuse corner in open brick bonding (photo: Roger Jardine).

The same clay bricks, commons, were consistently used in stretcher bond, but Hallen made a distinction between the wall surfaces with recessed joints externally, which the sunlight would enhance, with flush joints internally being "easier on touching" (Hallen e-mail, 12 Sept 2014).

Louvre windows

During the 1960s *Naco* louvre mechanisms were introduced to South Africa from Australia. These were particularly well received in Durban where, for comfort in the high humidity and moderately hot temperatures, the most effective resort lies in evaporative cooling by moving air across the perspiring body. Louvres allow for the control of airflow by adjusting the degree of opening and angle of blades and, if of 100mm wide regular glass, the maximum width of a panel of louvres approximates a door width, which has unifying architectural consequences. Besides, as the mechanisms were of aluminium they would not rust, the usual problem of metals in the coastal climate of Durban.

Hallen exploited the new possibilities. In the clerestory, vertical louvre mechanisms were screwed directly to the shuttered concrete reveals and aluminium T-strips to the soffits and cills, also of shuttered concrete, while for stability across the composite panel 6.5m wide, every alternate back-to-back mechanism was stabilised by a vertical timber rail on the inside (figure 6). The same frameless detailing was applied to all louvred windows.

Joinery

South Africa of the 1950s and 1960s imported *afrormosia* (African teak) from West Africa for the use of standard or stock joinery. For doors and pews Hallen chose this crimson-brown, fine-grained and uniform hardwood, often lightened by bands of bright golden brown, but he specified ‘selected’ timbers because afromosia is notorious for its reverse grain.

Following on from the Brutalist precept of ‘truth of materials’ and the use of louvre windows without frame, the important doors were pivoted and also frameless. The leaves consisted of horizontal rails at top, middle and bottom, with vertical fins on both sides chamfered on plan and spaced for infilling with timber or glass, except for the ends where the panels were of clear plate glass held in place by thin bronze strips (figure 15). To fully open the doors, Hallen designed full-height half-brick recesses in the wall to accommodate the equally high pull handles, designed as projections of the fins.

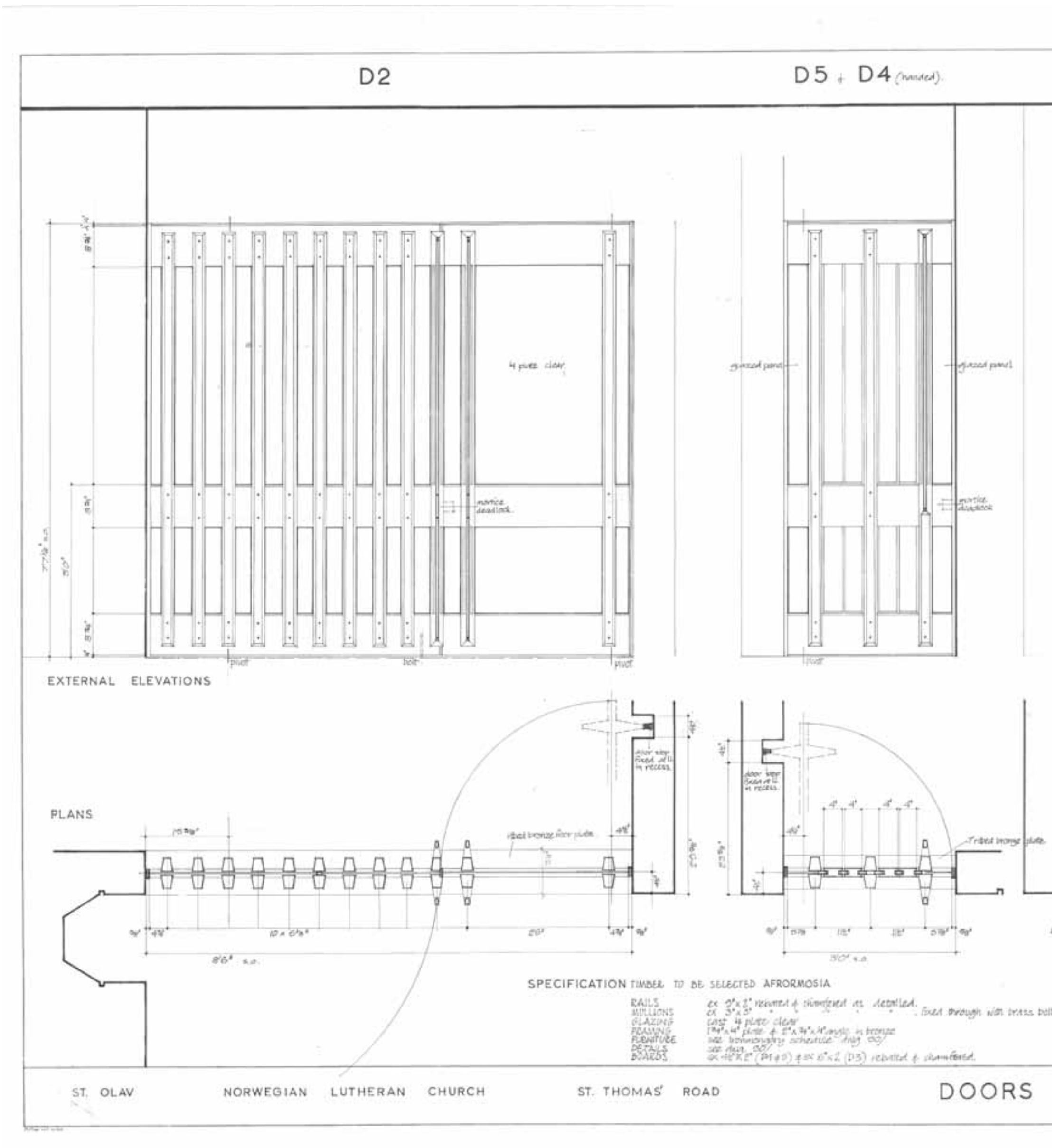

Figure 15
Joinery detail to minor hall opening to parvis (left) and vestry door (right) (source: Hallen drawing collection, Biermann Architecture Library, UKZN).

Campanile

The octagonal basis for the design of the church is followed through in the campanile, which in counterpoint to the solid brick exterior of the church, is conceived as an open, structurally expressive sculpture of monolithic reinforced concrete. Akin to an obelisk, the four-sided base is square in plan though the corners are slit, and in deference the structure does not taper but cants at head height, like the generic section Hallen used at John Bews Hall (figure 3). This cant transforms the square into a regular octagon of which four sides reach up for some 12m and terminate in broken gables of the same rake as the mono-pitch roofs to the auditorium that serve to accommodate a Greek cross of tubular steel on plan with Latin crosses of steel U-channels suspended from the ends on each of the four faces to the campanile (figure 16). In addition, a 3-dimensional Latin cross, also of tubular steel, is affixed at the crossing of the Greek cross, effectively suspended in the void of the campanile yet surmounting its height. Obviously, the steel crosses were finished by hot-dip galvanising but left bare as per Brutalist precept. However, strategically placed to provide the church set well back from St Thomas Road with a focal point, this campanile is perhaps architecturally more appropriately classified an obelisk and like the examples of Baroque Rome has a cruciform at the tip.

Contrary to the perspective (figure 1), for structural reasons, the sides are tied at the cant by a slab with central aperture for the bell-ringing ropes; at the level of the bell and at the apex, however, the vertical planes of the sides are continuous while the octagonal ring beam is recessed and the scrupulous approach to the detailing of the church is followed through in the campanile where the imprints of the shutter boards were carefully considered to scale the tower.

Environmental management: a critique

Unlike the shafts powerfully articulated of the exterior of Wright's Larkin administration building and Kahn's Richards laboratories, at St Olav environmental technology did not dictate the forms of the structure. Instead, the ventilation shafts were subsumed in the resolution of the building's envelope, by having thick walls to the ends of the Greek cross structure and recessing the single skins of the diagonal walls to maintain the pure octagonal form within. As already mentioned, in the sanctuary the wall was articulated for daylight penetration, while those astride the entrance doors accommodate in their depths cupboards for the vestibule. But, how effective for interior comfort the ventilation and daylighting systems performed remains to be discussed.

In summer the low-level fresh air intake across the hard surfaces (tarmac and paved apron) would probably see warmed air enter, which is unlikely to have cooled before being distributed into the auditorium. However, the vitiated air should cool the ambient temperature of the auditorium as the updraft rises towards the light atrium, when the flow could be controlled by the degree of opening of the louvres. Provided air moves and cross-ventilation becomes effective, the humidity of summer can be kept in check. In winter the intake of warmed air should not present a problem and closing the atrium louvres would retard convectional flow, but the frameless louvre detailing to the apertures in the internal walls meant that the inflow could never be fully stopped, allowing for the possibility of draughts.

While horizontal *brise soleil* was affixed to the north-east face of the light atrium, the side with 1.8m full-height glass louvre bands facing north-west was designed without any protection from the harsh penetrating mid-afternoon sun, affecting especially the right hand stalls. It is probably for this reason and glare, that the two large louvred sides of the light atrium have long been given additional sun control baffles.

Of concern are the monumental external brickwork planes and flat concrete roofs behind the sanctuary which face the sun all day, the surfaces and mass of which absorb and store heat that gradually enters the auditorium space, where the low diurnal range has little chance of providing cooling (figure 17). This results in uncomfortable ambient conditions in the height of summer, until the louvres to the light atrium are opened and the fans switched on. However, the conditions could be somewhat mitigated if the surrounding tarmac road and parking area, a veritable environmental liability, could be replaced with permeable paving and trees on the perimeter.

Figure 19
***Dalle de verre* in slit window left of pulpit facing north-west by artist James Hall (photo: Roger Jardine).**

Figure 7
External corbelling to illuminate the altar (photo: Roger Jardine).

Modern church design in Durban and *dalle de verre* artistry

The only other centralised church in Durban is Sacred Heart chapel at Mariannhill of 1921. Whether for reasons of liturgy, symbolism or site, longitudinal or Latin cross plans became the norm in Durban. Architects Woodrow & Collingwood chose the concept of a modern basilican church for Holy Trinity on the corner of St Thomas' and Musgrave Roads, 1958, a stone's throw away from St Olav, with minute loop windows on both side aisles to shield the interior from traffic noise, and tall windows between angled fins over.[6]

Hallen could have followed suit with high level openable windows to the octagon of St Olav, but from inception, his design had solid, windowless walls with low-level ventilation apertures and daylight streaming in from above (figure 18). Besides the general association of the church bringing light into the world, the precedent is undoubtedly Kahn's First Unitarian church. However, a numinous quality appears to have emerged only as the structural resolution with double columns surfaced, in which the intercolumniations could serve as frames for coloured glass. Like a loop window or embrasure in reverse, for best illumination the opposite corner of every pair of columns was chamfered on the outside.

The use of stained glass in churches emanates from the middle ages when the exteriors of the skeletal structures of Gothic cathedrals were sealed by huge windows, technically impossible to produce as panes and therefor filled with small pieces held in place by lead frames. In this way it became possible to convey biblical messages to the illiterate while controlling daylight. But, without doubt, stained glass also served well to block views out, which in the hemmed-in situation Hallen probably wanted.

During the 1950s and 1960s a glass technique using pieces of coloured glass set in a matrix of black epoxy resin came into vogue. Hallen, an artist of note[vii], decided upon the main colours for each orientation and took it upon himself to import glass, epoxy resin and sand filler from France as he thought to undertake the task himself. However, time did not allow and he recommended the services of the late James Hall "because in addition to his skills as an artist, he was a superb technician" (figure 19). The sanctuary elevation is red, the colour of the chasuble (vestment) worn on high days (Hallen e-mail, 30 August 2014), while green, blue and yellow dominate the other sides. The *dalle de verre* windows were dedicated in December 1968.

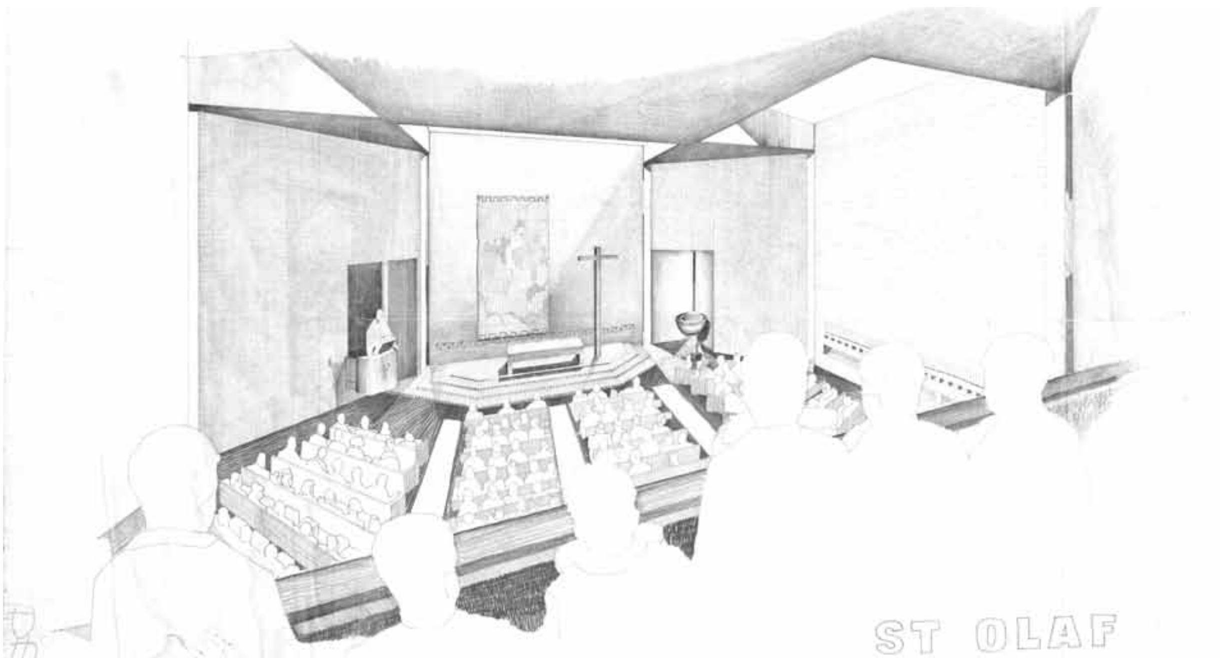

Figure 18
Perspective of interior proposed in August 1966. Note the absence of *dalle de verre* slit windows (source: Hallen drawings collection, Biermann Architecture Library, UKZN).

Conclusion: environmental design as a touchstone of modern identity

St Olav was neither the first nor last place of worship Hallen designed, but it was the most important, not only due to his membership of the congregation and maturity as an architect, but because it broke the mould of church design in Durban.

That St Olav became the first modern centralised church in Durban, designed as an auditorium is interesting, as is the assessment that it is an accomplished work of architecture in form, construction, detailing and *dalle de verre* artistry, and a distinctive example of Brutalism. However, while in Holy Trinity, the near contemporary and not insignificant work of modern ecclesiastical architecture the traditional image of a church and its symbolic function still loomed large, Hallen produced an objective modern exemplar with plan and section focused on the environmental control of the internal climate: ventilation, cross-ventilation, humidity control and daylighting. Whether the design succeeded in creating the most equable environmental performance for a place of worship in Durban is debatable, but this innovation distinguishes St Olav and gives it a particular identity. It is submitted that environmental design considerations may be even more valid touchstones of modernism than style, especially in churches, because in this building type symbolism retains an important function.

As an application of Banham's passive environmental design theories for controlling the internal environment, St Olav stands at the beginning of the green revolution. The paradigm gradually changed to a broader conception with the search for a rooted architecture, a pursuit put into an historical context and an intellectual framework in *Towards Critical Regionalism* (1983) by the Anglo-American architectural academic Kenneth Frampton. Hallen's subsequent works reflect this, see especially Hulett's Head Office, La Lucia Ridge, 1973-7 (now Glass House), with its deeply oversailing roof, or the courtyards and colonnades of what is today Mangosuthu University of Technology, Umlazi, 1982-83. But, neither the parasol roof nor convective ventilation by diaphragm walls resurfaced in Hallen's design vocabulary. These experiments had been concluded and were progressively replaced with integrated landscaping designs.

Postscript

In late 1987 Hallen opted for immigration to Australia. Writing from his adopted country a decade later he famously headed an article "Buildings stand still, people move" (Hallen 1997, 8). St Olav church building may have 'stood still' but neither the worshipping community nor its spatial demands have.

The dedication of St Olav church in 1968 reinvigorated the congregation, but that was also its apogee. Whalers were repatriated from the mid-1960s on (Lear 1980, 64) and despite the Norwegian Seamen's Mission building its own premises on Mansfield Road, simultaneously designed by Hallen and also on the Berea, shipping declined and Nordic seamen became a rarity in Durban. The Norwegian community of Durban, which once numbered some 2000 (Lear 1980, 45), has been assimilated, and while the language of service had long been supplanted by English, St Olav remained a congregation of the diocese of Oslo, a situation untenable to Norway of the 1980s and not without distressing consequences for the congregation in Durban.

Since the mid-1990s, 'St Olav church' is a congregation of the Church of England in South Africa. Many Norwegian descendants have returned, now as parishioners of another denomination in the familiar walls and the congregation has grown substantially. However, designed without a narthex, in 2003 St Olav 'grew' a flat-roofed foyer over the parvis (figure 20), while to extend the seating capacity in the auditorium, the bottom half of the south-eastern diaphragm wall was simply 'cut through' to open to an extension (Architect S.T. Magni) (figure 17). To boot, the opposite diaphragm wall now has a valence covering the internal adjustable louvres effectively putting paid to the inflow of fresh air, but obviously the extension more than compensates for ventilation needs. And, fortunately, the baptism font of concrete is not built-in as a fixture, for the baptistery now accommodates musical instruments.

Figure 17
Photograph of auditorium from east. At left are multi-purpose rooms, and abutting the auditorium, the nave extension of 2003 (photo: Roger Jardine).

Figure 16
Details at the tip of campanile (photo: Roger Jardine).
Figure 20
St Olav church today. The parvis has been transformed into a flat-roofed foyer; the building at right is the hall of the Norwegian Association (photo: Roger Jardine).

Notes

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1 Editor and author of Credo, October 1969, Danie Theron, Hallen's partner in practice, 1969-1981, was somewhat dismissive in the paragraph: "Planning and functional organisation of the individual spaces and the direct way in which the building visually relates to the streetscape context, points more to European rationalism" (In die planvorm dui die funksionele organisasie van die afsonderlike ruimtes en die direkte wyse waarop die gebou visueel aan die straatomgewing skakel meer op Europese rasionalisme). However, a definition of Adolf Behne clarifies: "…the rationalist looks for the most appropriate solution for many cases" [cited in Colquhoun, A (2002) *Modern Architecture*. Oxford University Press, p169].

2 With about 2000 whales landed at Durban each year, whaling was the biggest fishing industry in Natal with R3.1m as the value of production in 1972 (Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa. Cape Town: NASOU, 1975, 11). There were two whaling companies, Union, owned by Norwegians, and Premier, owned by Lever Bros, but both were under the direction of Norwegian citizens (Lear 1980, 28).

3 Hallen's studies and travels, August 1955-July 1957, were documented in a ten-page report entitled 'The treatment of changing levels in buildings, their environs and the open landscape', characteristics which would later distinguish his work.

4 See Peters, W. 2012. The women at Winburg's Voortrekker Monument, *South African Journal of Art History* 27(2): 220-236, as well as Peters, W (2012) Voortrekker Monument at Winburg. Threshold for a new generation of commemorative architecture. *Journal of the South African Institute of Architects* (55, June/July): 36-45.

5 As a student at the 'Natal School' during 1967-72, the author of this article can vouch for the passive environmental design emphasis in the curriculum, which also saw the incorporation of the courses in Building Science, delivered by John Templer and Brian Kearney, and later Derek Wang.

6 It might be interesting to note that this church has recently been installed with air-conditioning, a situation not yet reached at St Olav church.

7 Compare the sculptural reliefs and panels in the former restaurants of Durban's Ocean Terminal (with Warunkiewicz, 1962), unfortunately since destroyed.

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On the question of architecture and identity, in post-apartheid South Africa

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Considerations as to personal and group identity seem to be everywhere these days, in the national news, in the latest pop/rap video and with respect to the very clothes that we choose to wear. Significantly, in post-apartheid South Africa, topical questions of 'identity' are driven from the racial politics of our past, and are mobilised toward our need to symbolise a new inclusive space of belonging. This paper looks at ways of representing and re-imagining collective identities through architectural design – that is design as process and product alike. The paper opens by introducing our political and social context before moving to consider more theoretical questions of subjectivity and of collective identity. Where after, the paper considers how architecture might contribute to questions of identity via three related lines of enquiry: 1) democratic judgement and creative process; 2) public space, both political and architectural; 3) and lastly, tectonic materiality and cultural memory. In so doing, the paper develops its discussion in dialogue with the work – amongst others – of Hannah Arendt, Paul Ricoeur and Couze Venn.
Key Words: architecture, identity, subjectivity, post-apartheid, Hannah Arendt, Paul Ricoeur, Couze Venn

Dit wil voorkom of persoonlike en groepsidentiteit deesdae oral is: in die nasionale nuus, in the nuuste pop/rap videos en in terme van die klere wat ons kies om te dra. Baie belangrik is die aktuele vraag oor 'identiteit', wat aangepor word deur die radikale politiek van ons verlede en ingespan word om ons behoefte om 'n nuwe ruimtelikheid van behoort, te simboliseer. Hierdie artikel kyk na wyses waarop kollektiewe identiteite uitgebeeld en heruitgebeel work deur middel van ontwerp in argitektuur – dit is, terselfdertyd ontwerp as proses en produk. Die artikel spring weg met 'n inleiding oor ons politieke en sosiale konteks voordat die fokus verskuif word na teoretiese vrae oor subjektiwiteit van die gemeenskaplike. Daarna beskou die artikel hoe argitektuur moontlik 'n bydrae lewer tot vraestukke oor identiteit deur na drie verwante rigtings van ondersoek te verwys: 1) demokratiese oordeel en die kreatiewe proses; 2) publieke ruimte, beide polities en argitektonies; 3) and laastens, tektoniese materialiteit en kulturele onthou. Deur dit te doen, ontwikkel die artikel 'n bespreking in dialoog met onder meer die werk van Hannah Arendt, Paul Ricoeur en Couze Venn.
Sleutelwoorde: argitektuur, identiteit, subjektiwiteit, postapartheid, Hannah Arendt, Paul Ricoeur, Couze Venn

This paper concerns ways of mediating public and personal identity through architectural design. From the start I wish to discuss some important aspects about the social and political context we find ourselves in today. Considerations of our identity seem to be everywhere these days, in the national news, in the latest pop/rap video, in the very clothes that we choose to wear. The question of identity appears to cross a wide range of scales, from the most personal ('who' am I?), to the various groups we associate with (we know that we behave differently for different groups), to national affiliations and, indeed onto the circuits of an emerging 'global' world order. The truth is we live through multiple identities, identities that help us to negotiate with others within various social scenarios and across differing scales. When speaking of 'identity' we should, perhaps be quite specific – with respect to public or private, this or that affiliation. On the other hand, the very notion of 'identity' seems to slide across these various modalities and scales. We bring something of 'who we are' (or of who we imagine ourselves to be) in the most personal sense of the term, into our various group and public oriented associations. Identity appears to slide from the personal to the collective and back again, and we shall return to this important feature in due course.

On the public front, our politicians seem especially concerned to renew a sense of South African identity – that is a symbolization of our democratic belonging within the space of the nation. We may choose to be critical of certain assumptions that underlie, for instance, concepts such as Mbeki's 'African Renaissance' (Mbeki 1998), but I think we would be very foolish to dismiss what lies at the heart of the call to collective rediscovery. Since national governance today, must surely seek to mediate between the demands of a global economy and the more localised needs of a people, the formation of a national persona, of national identity or identities, must play a part in contributing to the well being of our existence together. The legitimacy of the will toward a common national/cultural identification is highlighted when we give consideration to the post-colonial, or if you prefer post-apartheid context of South African experience. Naturally, colonial rule and apartheid are not identical, yet there is much that coheres between them. We might say that our post-apartheid context is a rather particular species of post-colonial experience, and a consideration of post-coloniality seems appropriate if we are to locate the role that architecture might play in our present situation.

> "Expansion is everything," Said Cecil Rhodes, and fell into despair, for every night he saw overhead "these stars … these vast worlds which we can never reach. I would annex the planets if I could." He has discovered the moving principle of the new, the imperialist era (Arendt 1967: 124).

An unfortunate fact of our colonial heritage is that the right to cultural autonomy and self-determination of local peoples, was severely curtailed by the impositions of Western modernity. Modernisation – its technology, economy and incumbent set of cultural forms and values – emerge and develop in tandem with the very same historical process that seek to conquer and to exploit the peoples of the so called 'under-developed' world. The success of modernity was sponsored by the massive economic gains that were appropriated during the colonial era, whilst the formerly colonised have, in many cases, continued to struggle in the twilight of economic exclusion. In our own country, the imposition that was wrought during the colonial era, then perpetuated under apartheid, had the effect of suppressing, and often times erasing many aspect of local, indigenous culture. Post 1994, however, the democratic turn in South Africa polity understandably sparked a need to examine questions of identity, to re-discover a common African heritage and to re-construct our various senses of personal and collective belonging. And I feel it is also safe to say that the desire to discover the particularity of this condition must go beyond trite arguments, such as a binary logic, which narrows choice between modernisation or tradition. A sense of belonging, although linked to the past, is a formation which exist within the present and must adapt itself to aspiration of the future. Honoring the past does not necessitate the nostalgic return to some idealised origin, nor should it require an abandoning of modern freedoms.

Identity and subjectivity

In recent years we have seen a return to philosophy and social theory that raise questions of identity in relation to the social forms of modernity and post-modernity at large (Hall & Gay 1996; Rajchman 1995; Rutherford 1990). Couze Venn's *Occidentalism: Modernity and Subjectivity* (2000), for instance, provides a useful discussion of contemporary theories of the subject that are pertinent to questions of post-colonial identity. Venn makes the assertion that each era within human history is "… fundamentally about the institution of a particular form of subjectivity …" (Venn 2000:14). Insightfully he links post-modernity to post-coloniality, because, in his view "… the 'post' marks a hiatus in the history of the modern, the index of a crisis as much as a point of transition towards an indeterminate transmodern future." (Ibid.) From this vantage, "… the questioning of who we are in the present should encourage us not only to challenge the narrative of a hegemonic modernity and its foundational discourses, but to endeavor to transcend the limits that seem imposed on us: a paradoxical modern gesture." (Ibid. 16)

Following Venn we may, broadly, distinguish between *universalised, modern* conceptions of the human subject and the more *heteronomous* and *embedded* conceptions of the subject that emerge as part of a forensic assessment of modernity – criticism of various kinds that may be aligned with the 'post' of post-modernity (Ibid. 38-43). And he illustrates the philosophical development and eventual crisis of the 'unitary, rational, self-sufficient' (Ibid. 39) assumptions of the subject. Venn writes:

> the discourse of modernity transforms the idea of journey [i.e. Christian salvation] into the progress of reason … Descartes proposes a method for this progress which already grants to the subject the autonomy of a self-sufficient being … Kant, as we know … redefines the purpose of the journey in terms of the coming to maturity of humanity as a whole … Hegel … historicizes the process by way of the working of the dialectic … Marx changes everything and too little: he introduces the political at the heart of the system, but he keeps the Hegelian logic, and thus the totalising ambition … [which ultimately] produces the imaginary we know as Stalinism …
>
> The history of the subject after Hegel is the history of crisis and triumph … marked by the accomplishments of an imperialist modernity … in transforming the whole world, materially and culturally …The project of modernity and of Enlightenment imagined it could authorize a civilizing mission (Ibid. 39-40).

Venn weaves between the work of Emmanuel Levinas, Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, Paul Ricoeur and Jean-François Lyotard, admittedly diverse thinks, yet whose concerns with questions of the the subject nevertheless, help to unpack the historical couplet of universality and imperialism. The hermeneutic philosophy of Paul Ricoeur, in particular, seems especially relevant for dealing with post-colonial/post-aparthied questions of personal and collective identity.

In his discussion of 'narrative identity', Ricoeur makes a crucial distinction between two senses of the word identity – for which he uses the latin word *Idem*, to designate identity in the sense of the self-same (what am I?), and *Ipse,* in the sense of self-hood (who am I?) (Wood 1991: 188-199). Ricoeur submits that his distinction is ontological, "I agree with Heidegger that the question of selfhood belongs to the kind of entity that he calls Dasein and which he characterises by the capacity to question itself as to its own way of being and thus relate itself to being *qua* being" (Ibid. 191). And, it is with the second sense of this word identity, *Ipse* or selfhood, that we are primarily concerned, when we raise questions as to personal or public identity. For Ricoeur, the question 'who am I', is one that requires a hermeneutic dialogue of the self with itself. The self, in order to know itself, must endeavor to interpret itself, to transfer the character of its imagined self back onto itself. And, the dialogue is one that requires external symbolisation, especially in the form of narratives,

> the self does not know itself immediately, but only indirectly by the detour of … cultural signs of all sorts which are articulated on the mediations … [i.e.] the narratives of everyday life … Narrative mediation underlies this remarkable characteristic of self-knowledge – that it is self-interpretation (Ibid. 198)

Identity is constituted through the stories we tell about ourselves. Stories – like life itself – reveal their hopes, promises and secrets through the unfolding of narrated time. And so, observes Ricoeur, it is primarily the property of an emplotment that portrays the passage of time. Narrative mediation allows for a open and dynamic unfolding of human persona – of characterisation –

through time. One might say that narrative identity is a continuing hermeneutic loop of self-interpretation. It is, if you will, a 'live' play where one actively partakes in the formation of the plot that constitutes the projected motion of the self, as a being that lives in time. We have here a notion of identity that respects the harmonies and dissonances of time.

> narrative constructs the durable properties of a character, what one could call his narrative identity, by constructing the kind of dynamic identity found in the plot which creates the character's identity. So it is first in the plot that one looks for the mediation between permanence and change, before it can be carried over to the character … The narrative identity of the character could only correspond to the discordant concordance of the story itself (Ibid. 195).

It is noteworthy that in *Time and Narrative* (1984), Ricoeur had distinguished between historical and fictional narratives. A significant feature of his later suggestion – as to a narrative identity – is the way it positions the narration-of-selfhood as a site upon which fictional and historical narratives cross, converge and ultimately combine – "… narrative identity … was the sought-after site of this fusion between narrative [historical] and fiction (Wood 1991: 188)." This 'fusing' of fiction and of history means that identity flows between domains of the public and the private, the imagined and the social, as well as between time-scales of past, present and future. In this, Ricoeur's formulation helps us to see that the sense of 'who we are' is produced within an imaginative space of narrative interaction – a space formed between the self and that of others. Our varied senses of subjective and collective belonging are inter-twined, and crucially, remain open to a poetics of re-imagination. Indeed the aesthetic work of re-imagining, of re-identifying with ourselves and with others, is what we in present day South Africa so desperately require.

Artistic works such as architecture, feature in the narrated mediation of life. As Hénaff and Strong elsewhere maintain, "… forms of expression [such as architecture] lie at the core, as constituent elements, of the social bond, as the genesis of the symbolic order by which communities come into being: that 'us' whose identity is tied to a territory, a memory, a language, customs, symbolic figures" (Hénaff & Strong 2001: 25). Ricoeur's considerations are significant in this light, because the work that architectural design does is one that projects from an imaginative subjectivity – the imagination of the architect. Since subjectivity/identity is a narrative construct – part historical and part fictional – our contribution as architects need not be an overly rationalised one. We don't require formulas or prescriptive principles, the hasty assumptions of 'politically correct' protocols. Rather, we should try to discover the particular sense of who we are, what it means to live in the here and now, to be conscious of who it is that we may wish to become, to be open to projections of new identity/identities and to trust our deepest intuitions.

Having sketched some ideas concerning the politics of identity in present day South Africa, I now wish to ask how identity might be established through architecture. There are many ways to approach this fascinating question, but for the purpose of this paper I wish to open a discussion along three related lines of enquiry pertaining to *language*, *space* and *materiality*, namely: 1) democratic judgement and creative process; 2) public space, both political and architectural; 3) and lastly, tectonic materiality and cultural memory.

Democratic judgement and creative process

By the term 'design process', I take to mean the full range of interactions with ideas, representations, technical documents, and most importantly humans that make up the daily task of a working architect. This array of multi-dimensional tasks, which add together to form a working process, is hardly unique to architecture. Architects are, however, educated to understand this process in a somewhat special way. One is trained to see the process of making as being an open ended one, an opportunity to transform contingency into purposeful action. One might even go so far as to say that this is what architecture is. Now it seems to me that this imaginative process is exactly what we need, if we are to address issues of social identity in design. The new South African architecture is an emerging one, it is still rather young. It grows from a confrontation with the truly contingent and particular circumstance of our time. For me this is very important, because an open engagement with the others and ourselves has bearing upon the way we conceive political democracy. Looking to traditions of political thought it is possible to roughly speaking, distinguish between institutional or super-structural accounts of polity, versus those that aim to understand the more operative and embedded nature of political conduct. With the former we would be concerned with the values, social orders and/or institutions that enable democracy – Jürgen Habermas (1984) is perhaps a paradigmatic case, but also various positions within the liberal/communitarian debate, arguably, belong here (Mulhall & Swift 1996). And its certainly not my intension to belittle the important contributions that may be gleaned from this body of thought. For the purpose of this paper, however, I am more interested to ask questions as to the way of 'being' of the political – and diverse thinkers such as Hannah Arendt, Jean-François Lyotard and Bruno Latour, among others, have in my view, done interesting work upon this terrain.

Arendt's political philosophy is especially relevant to the question at hand, indeed her way of approaching political theory is refreshing. For Arendt, the operative life of a democratic polity is essentially performative rather than institutional in nature. As Parekh explains:

> [u]nlike a state or a legal community, a political community cannot be created once and for all, and nor can its existence be guaranteed by creating a specific set of institutions. For her, representative institutions, free elections, free speech, free press, and so on are only the preconditions of politics and cannot by themselves create or sustain a political community […] legal and political institutions stimulate but do not guarantee a political life […] politics refers not to the state per se, but to a particular manner of constituting it and conducting its affairs (Parekh 1981: 140).

For democratic politics, in its operative sense, has to do with thought and with action, with participation and conversation, These ingredients, observes Arendt, presuppose a public space that allows for the flowering of public culture – what she describes as a 'space of appearance' where citizens can meet in the discussion of public concerns, and we shall return to the issue of space under our next point. As Parekh puts it, "… political life is the realm of action *par excellence*" (Ibid. 116), and "… action is both an expression and a vehicle of freedom … freedom consists in interrupting the given and starting something new … " (Ibid. 118).

A leading feature of Arendt's thought is her recognition of human plurality. As she writes in her book *The Human Condition*, "[p]lurality is the condition of human action because we are all the same, that is human, in such a way that nobody is the same as anyone else who ever lived; lives, or will live" (Arendt 1998: 8). Hence, politics must trade in opinions, perspectives and views – more so than 'truth' – because to live is to fulfill the particularity of a human life, and society is enriched in equal measure by the plurality of a shared world.

> With the birth of a human being a potentially new source of creativity makes its appearance in the word. By acting a man [/woman] activates the potentiality, redeems the promise inherent in his [/her] birth, and makes it an event of worldly significance" (Parekh 1981: 115).

Yet for Arendt, this abundant uniqueness and plurality of human life, also requires confirmation, in the response and tacit understanding that issues from others. Public Space allows for forms of public expression, where the plurality of perspectives are " … de-privatized and de-individualized, as it were, into a shape to fit them for public appearance" (Arendt 1998: 50). And, our sense of reality requires " the 'confirmation' and 'tacit acknowledgement' of others" (Parekh 1981: 88). It is in this sense that our "moral, philosophical, literary, aesthetic, political and other judgements" are intersubjectively derived (Ibid. 89).

Arendt argues that the kind of vital and free action constitutive of public life, requires an equally vital and free mode of human judgement and, surprisingly perhaps, she looks to Immanuel Kant's third critique, his *Critique of Judgement* (1951), to elaborate on this question. It must be said, that deriving a politics from Kant's third critique is to think Kant against Kant, because it is well known that Kant established his politics upon a theory of right, informed by moral judgements that are derived from his second critique, his *Critique of Practical Reason* (1949). Arendt's political, counter-reading of Kant is novel and of far reaching consequence, for it opens the door to indeterminacy and the logics of a circumstantial pragmatics.

Kant's third critique deals with aesthetic and teleological judgements, and it is the former – namely aesthetic imagination, indeed the Kantian notion of 'reflexive' judgement – with which Arendt is concerned. In her discussion of Kant's imaginative or 'reflexive' judgement, from the third critique, Eva Schaper explains:

> In [Kant's first critique] the Critique of Pure Reason, to judge was to apply a concept or a rule to particulars. Now, rethinking this in the introduction to the third Critique, Kant wishes to call that kind of judgement 'determinate' judgement and to distinguish it from 'reflexive' judgement, where the particular is given and the rule or concept under which it falls has to be found or discovered … aesthetic judgements are treated as reflexive judgements or judgements of reflexion (Guyer 1992: 369).

Arendt structures her highly particularised, positioned and embedded conception of political action under this principle of reflexive judgement, derived from the third critique – as opposed to Kant's own politics derived from the determinate judgements of his second critique. And, it is noteworthy here, that Jean-François Lyotard has initiated a parallel motion, with his philosophical concern for a "politics of indeterminate judgment" (Readings 1991: 106) which also springs from Kant's third critique, as elaborated by Lyotard in *Just Gaming* (1985) and *The Differend: Phrases in dispute* (1988).

There are two important aspects to Kant's conception of reflexive judgement that must be highlighted here. First, we should note the imaginative and projective creativity that, according to Kant, is involved when one is required to judge a unique and particular instance, such as a work of art, or following Arendt, such as a political circumstance. In linking public matters with reflexive judgement, Arendt wishes to declare the 'art' of politics – that is, a public art of purposeful enactment, which must often times confront unique and uncertain circumstances. The second point is to note that reflexive judgement works to establish or to estimate a rule, that is a regulating principle which transcends mere personal perspective, one that is constitutive of a common sense. For Kant, this common sense is achieved by weighing up and judging between the respective merits of various possible judgements, to arrive at the one that would be most valid, or applicable for all. Reflexive judgement is a second-order judgement, a judgement among possible judgements. As Schaper clarifies, "[i]t is the combination of the subjective status with the universality and necessity claim that makes judgements of taste [these being reflexive judgements] what they are … (Guyer 1992: 371).

Arendt's appropriation of this double move – an imagination receptive to a particularity, and the equally imaginative weighing up of the best common sense for dealing with it – is elegantly expressed by Hansen, when he writes:

> For judgement [in the political sense] to be both assertive and persuasive … certain conditions must be realised. It is these conditions which Arendt seeks to articulate in her use of the Kantian notion of the enlarged mentality, or the 'enlargement of the mind.' This enlargement is achieved by 'comparing our judgement with the possible rather than the actual judgements of others, and by putting ourselves in the place of any other man.' Only in this way can our judgement possess the genuinely persuasive power that comes from participation in a common situation, a 'common sense' … The faculty that allows us to put ourselves in the place of another is the imagination …" (Hansen 1993: 210).

And we may add that imagining ones way into an enlarged mentality in the hopes of estimating a common sense is a challenging undertaking. Indeed, it is one that replicates the very risk of politics. Arendt does not contend that one's attempt at this will always work – for who can guarantee the fulfillment of freedom? She does believe, however, that a persistent 'enlargement of mind' is the better, the more hopeful and therefore the more reasonable path toward an inclusive and democratic polity. As Hansen puts it, "[a]ttempting the necessary frailty of the public realm means accepting the frailty of judgement, a frailty which, to use the words of Paul Ricoeur, is more powerful and secure than any metaphysical guarantee" (Ibid. 216).

Democracy envisaged as a fragile and open ended question, a question with which we must all be concerned, models a picture of the political that has some striking similarities to the kind of creative processes that are required when doing design. If we apply this Arendtian insight, regarding reflexive judgement, to design processes – and more specifically to the question of public architectural identity – then we are liberated to see the democratic potential that is always available within contingent realities. If we are following Arendt here, then we are freed from overly censoring concepts that all too often try to guarantee success in matters of public design – be they via prescriptions of style, cultural or expressive essentialism of various kinds, narrow rationalisms derived from ideal or sociological models as well as romantic arguments as to the genus of people and of nation.[1] Rather, the embedded opportunities for authentic public expression are to be found in the making of discrete choices, set in relation to the imaginative capacity to estimate appropriate action. A new South African identity in design, should therefore not in any sense, be reduced to debates over prescriptive models or 'correct' protocols. Here again, I wish to concur with Venn who aligns the post of post-coloniality with the post of post-modernity – a post-colonial architecture should be a truly creative, emancipated and inter-subjective type of design.

Having established the crucial role of imagination on the non-prescriptive and indeterminate side, we should add that this need not equate to an un-thoughtful, selfishly irresponsible or merely subjective form of freedom, because the necessity for an imaginative estimation of a common sense is paramount. I wish to argue, that in our present context, we need this kind of emancipated and responsible openness if we are to succeed in the formation of successful political action, and of course we must add in architecture here also. Architectural design, examined in accordance with these ideas would, I believe, align itself with a democratic and risky adventure into honest and robust conversation with others.

Public space

Another important way in which architecture can contribute to the building of public identity is through the framing of public space. We need, however, to distinguish between actual, or *physical* *space* versus the communicative or *discursive spaces* that are so crucial for contemporary politics (Noble 2010). With the term *physical space* I am referring to the space that architecture inscribes. No doubt my reader is reading this paper whist occupying a physical space or locale – perhaps it's a home, a library or possibly an urban square. The architecture of this environment defines the limits of the space that my imagined reader is occupying, and it is in this sense that the actual space/place of the reader may be identified as an architectural space. But we may also refer to another kind of space, that is a *discursive space*, a space or opportunity for dialogue and discussion. A discursive space is not necessarily located at any fixed local, because as we know, it is a primary feature of our contemporary experience that communication and association are mediated through media – be it via printed media, broadcast media, cell phones, internet or email.[2] That said, contemporary political theory has tended to use the word 'space' to designate modes of participation in communication, because a communicative interaction is always 'between' – a relation between participants is required, as are the subject/object dualities of language, or if you prefer, of mediation through symbolisation. Space, in the sense of discursive or communicative space, perhaps implies a somewhat more metaphorical usage of the word 'space'. In any-case, I think it is clear that architectural space and discursive space are not the same. Indeed, I believe we might say that discursive space and architectural space are ontologically distinct, even though there may be geographies and times wherein they co-inside. What I have termed discursive space may also be described as public political space, a notion which features widely in contemporary political theory of various persuasions – for instance in the work of Jürgen Habermas, Seyla Benhabib, Iris-Marion Young, Ernesto Laclau and Chantalle Mouffe, amongst others.

As already noted, Hannah Arendt describes the public political sphere as a 'space of appearance', where humans appear before each other, a space of togetherness in plurality. As Parekh explains, "… public space or space of appearance is the intangible 'in-between' or 'interspace' that exists between men [/women] formally assembled to talk about objects of common interest" (Parekh 1981: 92). Public space is performative and transitory in that it, "… comes into being when men [/women] formally meet to talk about public objects, and disappears when they disperse, do not discus public objects or somehow abandon the formality of the meeting" (Ibid. 96). Marcel Hénaff and Tracy Strong in their introduction to *Public Space and Democracy* (2001) prefer to use the term 'theatricality' to specify what they deem to be a primary distinguishing characteristic of public space. They maintain, "[f]rom the beginning, public space was associated with theatre … [public space] is theatrical, in that it is a place which is seen and shows oneself to others" (Hénaff & Strong 2001: 5). Debate within much contemporary political philosophy seeks to understand the nature, capacities and limits of discursive/public space. Various perspective as to the operative nature of public space are currently disputed, but many writers implicitly accept that democratic polity is implicated upon some concept of a discursive/public sphere, a space which must, notionally, be opened to all.

In our earlier consideration of Ricoeur, I introduced his idea of a narrative identity, one that weaves between historical and fictional narratives, between public and private realms. An important point to note, from this earlier discussion, is that we all enter the public realm with our cultural background and personal memories firmly in place, and for this very reason the subjectivity that positions our respective differences is itself an issue of public political significance.[3] From these considerations I hope we can gain a somewhat expanded conception of public space, a space complexly plural, personal and collective all at once.

Numerous opportunities for inter-personal engagement are available within the processes and pragmatics of a design process. These many interactive moments, which inform the making of architecture, adhere to its public character. Architectures' identity, however, must also be debated on a wider public stage. If the new South African architecture is to make a contribution to the formation of genuine public identity/identities, then we require the widest possible level of public interest and debate. Genuine public identity in design must evolve from the practices of a genuine public discourse. The question of a new South African architecture needs to be phrased as an open one, that is, a question which allows for the interests and views of all concerned. As practitioners, theorist, critics, politicians, artists, builders and members of the public at large, we must all position ourselves, we must argue our respective points of view, but at no time may any of us lay claim to the certainty of some pre-given truth. The 'reality' must be allowed to emerge from among us. These consideration are also important because they expand the number of questions we that can ask of architecture.

In his book *Architecture, Power, and National Identity* Lawrence Vale (1992) presents an important study of new government building in various developing countries around the world. Vale notes the relations that exit between the architectural design of space and its locality within the town. His point is that the siting of a public building tell us about its true democratic effect or otherwise. His historical studies demonstrate that there is often a contradiction been the formal/architectural design of public open space and its, sometimes, in-accessible urban character which tends to squeeze out public participation in favor of a distinctly separate, institutionalised and at times even authoritarian inscription of space. A building may do its bit to construct a public identity, and to build fine architectural public space, but what good is this if the public are excluded. The question here, is one that hinges upon the particular relation that exists between categories of the *political/discursive* and the *physical/architectural* aspects of open public space.

The Mpumalanga Legislature in Nelspruit, for instance makes a grand arch-like gesture, embracing a welcoming space at its front. Walkways curve around symbolically joining the many together (see figure 1). The Union building and Great Zimbabwe are cited by the architects as presidents in this regard (Noble 2011). A privileged space for gathering is appropriately provided in front of the Assembly, here located on the southern side of the building complex. Entrance to the square is well considered, as are the opportunities for seating and shade, devices which seek to ensure that a visitor's experience is an inviting one. But the legislature complex is re-moved from the town, and entrance to the complex is controlled on the distant northern side. The architects original intention was to supplement the controlled northern entrance with a more public oriented entrance which would open the legislature, and its art gallery, directly onto this public square. The doors to the legislature that allow for this, however, are closed to the public, with security cited as the primary cause. Yet the architects insist that the clients security concerns were designed for. As a result this well designed space has been distanced from the life of the town, and is hardly used. The design of this space may well provide a cogent architectural identity for the province of Mpumalanga, but the identity in question is tarnished by the fact that public access has been curtailed (Ibid.). This example demonstrates the complex relations that often occur between what I have called the architectural/physical and discursive/public aspects of space, and it appears that architecture, alone, is often powerless to ensure that space is indeed public, at least in the sense that Arendt requires of the term.

Figure 1
Public square in front of the Assembly, Mpumalanga Legislature in Nelspruit, by Meyer Pienaar, Tayob Schnepel, 1997 (photo: Jonathan Noble 2010).

Tectonic materiality and cultural memory

I now wish to consider a third and final suggestion as to how architecture may embody public identity, and I have left this till last for it is the most distinctively architectural of the three – hence we move onto the register of tectonic materiality and cultural memory.

Following Ricoeur, we have noted how narrative identity holds the semblance of discord and of concord, the dynamism of time, of past, present and future that are woven into the emplotment of a narrated life. In the early post-apartheid period, nevertheless, we find a certain gravitation that links identity with questions of remembrance and of heritage – the veneration of indigenous histories, mythologies, practices and material cultures. This concern with Africa's past is, in part, related to nationalistic myths of origin. But, there is also a more ethically oriented project here, concerned with the recognition of formally subjugated narratives and traditions. The past, of course, is always appropriated from the perspective of the present, where precisely, present and future aspirations converge and cross-fertilise – such that a past is never merely a past, an observation which holds for the present and future alike. In addressing the issue of heritage, I am in no way suggesting that this is the only way to approach the question of architectural identity.

In his address at the launch of the Freedom Park in Pretoria, then president Thabo Mbeki cogently reminds that,

> [i]n some instances, the colonists succeeded in obliterating the memory and identity of the local people. Hence, another illustrious writer from our continent, Ben Okri, in his book, "Astonishing

> the Gods," succinctly captures this tragedy: "He was born invisible. His mother was invisible too … Their lives stretched back into the invisible centuries … It was in books that he first learnt of his invisibility. He searched for himself and his people in all the history books he read and discovered to his youthful astonishment that he didn't exist … He traveled the seas, saying little, and when anyone asked him why he journeyed and what his destination was, he always gave two answers. One answer was for the ear of his questioner. The second answer was for his own heart. The first answer went like this: "I don't know why I am traveling. I don't know where I am going." And the second answer went like this: "I am traveling to know why I am invisible. My quest is for the secret of visibility" (Mbeki 2002).

The issues of visibility, of recognition, of the veneration and vitality of African cultural traditions is a leading theme that informs the emerging public architectures of the post-apartheid period, which requires architectural depictions of the past (Noble 2011). The ideational abstraction of literary narratives – with respect to narrative identity – arguably allows for a seamless depiction where past and future flow upon the present. This is possible because narrative is both in time and a representation of time – narrative is both literal and imagined time. Architecture, however, when conceived as a representational medium, is not always so seamless with respect to the depiction of time – because architecture is largely static, outliving its own time. Yet what is required here is precisely a contemporary architecture that depicts, or that resonates with African motifs and themes that are gleaned from the past. And as we shall see, the identity of time, in an imaginative/architectural sense, may be mediated through materiality – rather than through literal time, as is the case with language/narrative. Hence we can link materiality to the notion of narrative as time.

In the present case, the relation of the *modern* with the *past* my also be stated as a relation of *hard* to *soft* – where the contemporary medium of concrete, glass and steel is set in relation to older aesthetic motifs derived from grass, mud, bone, egg shells and reeds. And, I content that this relation of hard to soft – as a mediation of present to past – has posed a unique challenges for contemporary South African design. In this respect, the work of German architectural theorist, Gottfried Semper (1803-1879) is illuminating. Indeed, Semper's thought provides an insightful study of early manufacture and craft, which opens a helpful alternative to the scenographic approach of much uninspired post-modern design – where certain Africa themes are, for example, reduced to mere surface treatment.

Mallgrave reconstructs the two central theses that underpin Semper's thought, "1) there exist certain basic types of motives for art, sometimes clearly and distinctively seen, which are older than the existing social organizations in which they have been formally interpreted" (Mallgrave 1996: 284) – or to put this in contemporary terms, that leading artistic motifs and themes contain an archeology of traces, or a lineages of transformation that issue from the past. And, "2) these types or motives are borrowed from the primeval technical arts, from the very earliest times … [and that through time such] … became agents for the transformation of architectural forms" (Ibid. 284) – and this, Semper's second thesis, emphasises the underlying influence of early forms of manufacture and of craft.

It is well known that Semper defines the 'four elements of architecture' as the *hearth* which he associates with metal work and ceramics, the *roof* which he associates with carpentry, the *mound* (or floor) which he associates with water and masonry, and the *enclosure* which he associates with the weaving of mats and carpets (Semper 1989:102-103). Semper observes that early enclosures of space began with mats and carpets before being transformed into the surface articulation of walls. For Semper, the material substance of the wall – in most cases masonry – belongs to structure, and not enclosure as such, whilst the architectonics of enclosure, of drapery and surface articulation, retain a memory of the tectonics of woven mats and carpets. As Semper explains:

> … perhaps the oldest substitute [for carpets] was offered by the mason's art, the stucco covering or bitumen plaster … [and] … the panels of sandstone, granite, alabaster and marble that we find in widespread use in Assyria, Persia, Egypt, and even in Greece … For a long time the character of the copy followed that of the prototype. The artists who created the painted and sculptured decorations on wood, stucco, fired clay, metal, or stone traditionally though not consciously imitated the colorful embroideries and trellis work of the age-old carpet walls (Ibid. 104).

I have argued, elsewhere, that the Semperian transformation of artistic motifs derived from one material – such as woven carpets – into the styalised formation of a new medium – such as stucco, or ceramic tiles – introduces a notion of a material metaphor, where one material is suggestive of another (Noble 2013). And in the present context we are concerned with material metaphors, of hard in relation to soft. Naturally, Semper's thesis is historical, his claim being that wall treatments replaced carpets, and the tectonic memory of the carpet that he describes may not have been intended. In applying Semper's ideas, however, we do of course render them self-conscious, in the sense of a design approach that may be applied.

To illustrate the notion of material metaphors, I wish to consider the South African Chancery in Addis Ababa, designed by Mphethi Morojele, of MMA Architects, and completed toward the end of 2008 (Morojele 2009). In interviews with the architect, Morojele explained that his design for the embassy required something of a symbolic handshake between Ethiopia and South Africa, and for which reason he had wanted to refer to long surviving cultural and tectonic traditions that are associated with each region (May & November 2013: Johannesburg). Evidence for this is shown in his lecture presentation of 2013 which assembles images to demonstrate how he had intended to make reference to the traditions and material cultures of Ethiopia and South Africa (Morojele 2013). Slide 13 (see figure 2 top) and 14 (see figure 2 bottom) of this presentation show design references derived from rock art, a rock hewn church from Lalibela, a fallen stelae from Axum, the decorative metalwork of an Ethiopian Orthodox cross and a woven basket (Morojele 2013). In particular, the theme of woven textiles would prove to be a leading influence on this design. Early sketch explorations of textile like surfaces would later inform the large stainless steel sunscreens that protect portions of the eastern, northern and southern facades. Designed in collaboration with South African artist Usha Seejarim, these large screens achieve the sense of a liminal materiality, where the fine grain of the mesh plays between degrees of opacity and translucency, of presence and absence, through the reflecting and dissolving of steel into light (see figure 3). These beautiful screens achieve a remarkable sense of subtlety and of depth for the facade. They provide a metaphoric sense of woven textiles, of Ethiopian garments such as the veil and without reducing the former to mere scenographic images. A more explicit reference to South African heritage is also introduced by iconography derived from rock art, through the affixing of pop-rivets that Seejarim used to draw upon the screens. Her work with pop rivets creates the sense of an embellished textile or tapestry.

This building derives much of its expression from an insightful use of material metaphors, one that parallels relations of time (present/past) with materiality (hard/soft). And finally, in observing this, I do not mean to say that the architect consciously applied Semper's thought to his design, but rather to argue that Semper's theories are remarkable and illuminating in this context. And I want to suggest that material metaphors – of hard and soft – are a recurrent feature of post-apartheid designs.

Figure 2
Material cultures of Ethiopia and South Africa, from 2013 lecture by Mphethi Morojele (source: Morojele 2013: slide 13 & 14, courtesy MMA Architects).

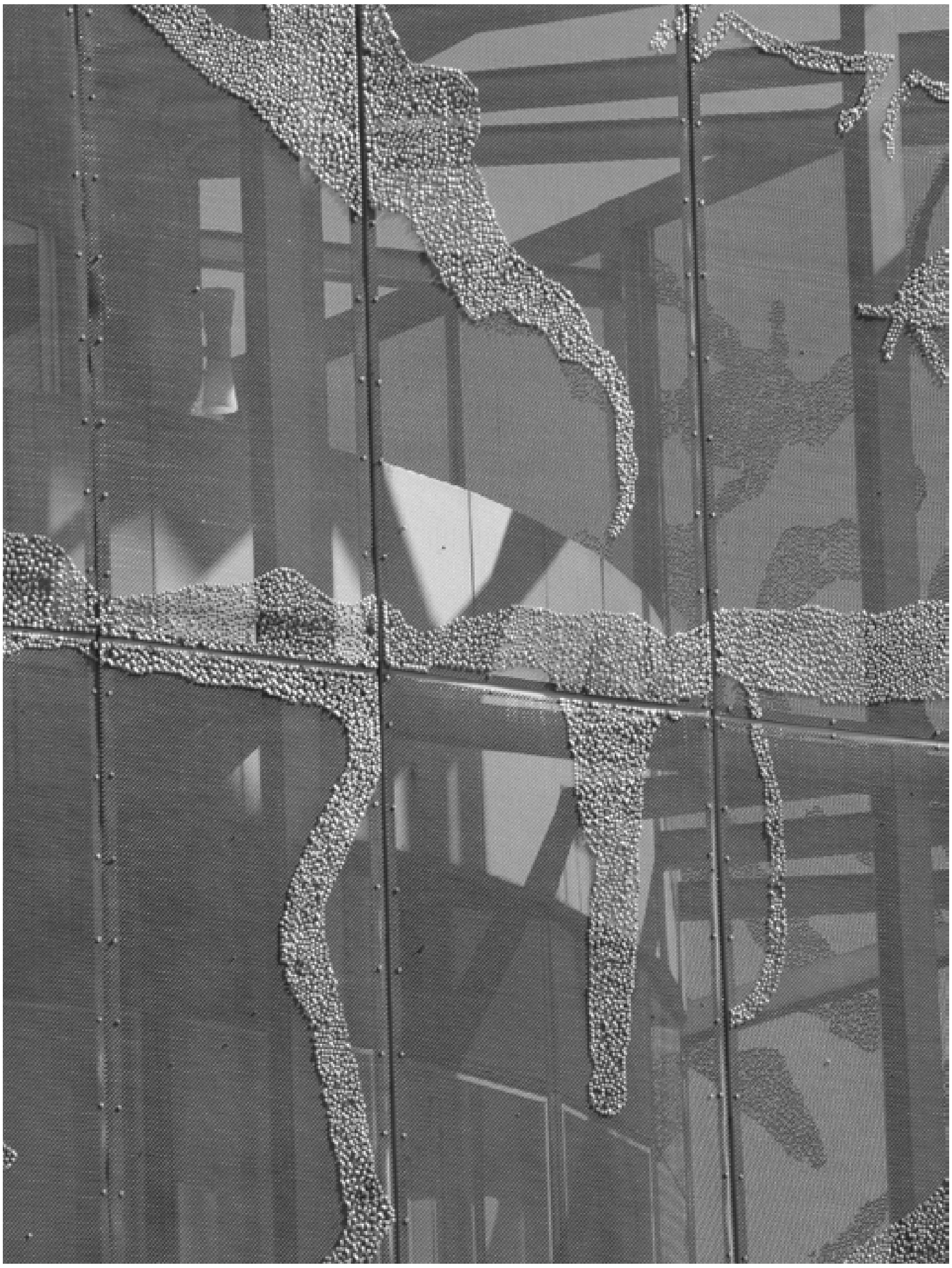

Figure 3
Stainless steel sunscreen at the South African Chancery in Addis Ababa, by Usha Seejarim in conjunction with MMA Architects, 2008 (photo: Jonathan Noble 2013).

Conclusion

In this paper I have explored three related lines of inquiry which link architecture to questions of identity – subjective and public alike. The first inquiry (pertaining to imaginative processes in design) is perhaps the leading motion, for it introduces questions of discernment and of reflexive judgement, here positioned as a pre-condition for democratic polity – i.e. of *language*. The second point regarding public space, flows from the first, for democratic action should be supported by space, and should, in turn, secrete architectural space – i.e. of *space*. The last line of inquiry, into questions of tectonic transformation and the veneration of heritage, attempts to translate themes derived from narrative identity to the domain of material culture, from time to materiality – i.e. of *materiality*. It is my hope that these interrelated themes – linguistic, spatial and material – may contribute to imagination, for history awaits a new and worthy black architecture as we glide into a transmodern future.

Notes

1 In resting her case for the political upon an indeterminate form of human judgement, Arendt does not close the door to empirical evidence derived, for example, from economics, statistic or sociological study – all of which, naturally, may influence political judgement. Her point is that evidence pertaining to society, or economy, must pass through the space of human judgement in order that an interpretation of the same might become actionable. And since what we might call the 'facticity' of circumstance allows for a variety of response, the Kantian reflexive principle – of weighing up to find the better among a series of possible judgements – holds. The inverse of which is also to say that an economics and a sociology cannot directly be transformed into a thoughtful politics – and indeed direct attempts to do so, would be dubious and potentially totalitarian in character.

2 Hence, for instance, Benedict Anderson's related notion of 'imagined communities' (Anderson 1983).

3 It was observed, following Ricoeur, that subjectivity is never merely constituted within itself, but rather in relation to others. It is in this sense that the public and the private overlap, intertwine and cross-fertilise. Although no clear cut limit should be set between public and private spaces, I would argue that we nevertheless still require, for practical reasons, a concept of public discourse, or domain, which is orientated toward matters of public interest.

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Being and becoming in the Late Anthropocene

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Colonisation as an ongoing process continues to obfuscate the real identity of a culture "becoming" in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In writing about aspects of my arts practice I touch upon certain Hericlitean, Platonic, and Aristotelian frameworks in this context, along with related ideas of Bataille and Foucault. I also review our unravelling past as a subspecies to colonise (i.e., cannibalise) the "other", as well as the environment; discussing binaries like the "special" myth that fuels acts of genocide; along with the colonial construct of "being", in order to project fixed culture as prelude to disenfranchisement, dismemberment, and dispersal.
Key words: post-colonialism, genocide, "other", formless, being and becoming, Aotearoa/New Zealand

Syn en wording in die Laat-Antroposeen
Kolonialisasie is 'n aanhoudende proses wat saamwerk om die ware ontvouiing van kulturele identiteit in Nieu-Zeeland/Aotearoa te verdoesel. Waar ek skryf oor aspekte van my kunspraktyk, raak my gedagtes ligtelik aan verskeie idees in die denke van Heraklitus, Plato en Aristoteles. Hul teoretiese raamwerke word gesuggereer naas die van Bataille en Foucault. My skrywe reflekteer ook gedagtes rakende ons spesies se geskiedenis van kolonialisering en hoe dit ons as 'n subspesies help om te oorleef. Ons kannibaliseer die "ander" en ons omgewing; ons skep binere konstruksies rondom "uitsonderlike" gevalle van volksleiding wat dan volksmoord van die "ander" verskoon; ons skep mites rondom die "ander" in kontras met ons eie idees oor onsself as synde "in plek" sodat ons die "ander" kan verplaas, kan fragmenteer, en kan ontmag."
Sleutelwoorde: post-kolonialisme, volksmoord, die "ander", vormloos, wees en wording, Nieu-Zeeland/Aotearoa.

A boa constrictor doesn't have to squeeze; it patiently suffocates its prey by taking up the slack each time the enfolded animal breaths out. This is how it operates. As an artist, I am interested in post-colonial theory in the larger context of how we operate as a subspecies in relation to each other and the environment.

The coloniser constricts "othered" cultures into tight definitions, re-projecting them back to themselves and to all the world as though they exist in a fixed state of "being". In reality, culture never arrives; it never ceases to learn, in an ongoing process of adaptation and "becoming". I see contemporary Māori and Pasifika artists giving voice to a rich amalgam of cultural identities particular to Aotearoa/New Zealand. But as I am an outsider, before I engage in this discourse, I must first locate myself to the reader.

I grew up inside the U.S. "othering" apparatus. When I was a child in the early 1960s, neighborhoods were still racially and culturally segregated; not by law, but by a quiet sort of grass root social enforcement. There was no thought or mention given to the First Nation people who had lived, hunted, and thrived there for centuries. My neighborhood was an upwardly mobile, fab, pre-fab, post-war, suburban ghetto, paved on featureless farmland, once primeval forest, surrounding the industrial city of Detroit on its arc to nadir.

It was nice, like a shiny new Teflon pan. Someday perhaps children growing up on Mars will replicate my childhood. We were shuttled to Hebrew School three days a week, after regular school and on Sunday. The designer synagogue we belonged to operated in many ways like a country club. In retrospect it seems like the school curriculum was organized as a gesture of respite for our mothers, who landed on the wrong side of feminism. It was a good place to learn how to smoke.

Figure 1
Still image capture from Google Earth, 2014.

This was a time of economic boom balanced by undercurrents of anxiety and guilt in the wake of the recent attempted genocide of our fellow Jews in Europe. (Genocide is the ultimate "othering".) For our elders, there were conflicted feelings around the lack of timely intervention by our communities, and our leaders. Maybe this was just magic thinking, maybe not. One symptom of a generalised emotional and psychological malaise in our community, was the projection of films, shown to us repeatedly from about the age of eight, documenting the dead and near dead, "discovered" and "liberated" from concentration camps.

Regular exposure to graphic violence directed at your cultural subgroup can be distracting for a child. To my recollection, when any discussion ensued, the violence was squarely blamed on: specific cult figures; those operating under certain political rubrics; and/or people belonging to particular nationalities. The groups and individuals involved were characterised as being uniquely capable of these acts. Despite this simple algorithm I felt uncertain. I could never manage to resolve my cognitive dissonance.

To add to the situational complexity, some of our teachers at the religious school were themselves survivors of the death camps. In the psychological and emotional turmoil that followed, it may not have helped their healing process to put them in front of a room full of overfed suburban kids from never, never land, whose worldviews were largely informed by Warner Bros. Cartoons.

My childish perception was that our newly arrived teachers hated us. My adult view is that, despite everybody's best intentions, my childhood perception was probably right. So they "othered" us, and we "othered" them, and if we did somehow manage to jump the hurdles of a normal psyche and identify culturally with the dead and dying, suspended as a final insult in silver halide shadows, perpetually re-performing their objectification and victimization; we "othered" ourselves from ourselves.

As I grew older and became aware of prior and concurrent genocides, and as we continue to witness highly focused efforts to destroy diverse human subgroups, I have come to understand how disturbingly unremarkable such efforts are for our species. If you take an even longer view and consider that we are the last surviving hominine on the planet, it seems like this behavior may actually be more modus operandi, than notable exception. It just wasn't recorded on film until last century.

One thing you can say about the leaders of the National Socialist Party is that they seemed extraordinarily certain of themselves. Our entire subspecies missed a critical learning opportunity when Hitler's act of mechanised cannibalism was revealed with the film documentation of his concentration camps. Tempting as it is, the danger of choosing to construct the narrative of a "special" genocide is that it reinforces the very same kind of binary thinking. One should never forget that "specialness" is at the heart of every etiological myth driving genocide in the first instance.

More disturbingly, from my own experiences in corporate culture I have to agree that these programmes of eradication operated as amplified and unbridled extensions of the same quotidian institutional violence anyone in the corporate world would be relatively familiar with. As Hannah Arendt famously wrote in her book, Eichmann in Jerusalem: *Report on the Banality of Evil:*

> The trouble with Eichmann was precisely that so many were like him, and that the many were neither perverted nor sadistic, that they were, and still are, terribly and terrifyingly normal. From the viewpoint of our legal institutions and of our moral standards of judgment, this normality was much more terrifying than all the atrocities put together (1963: 253).

When large-scale acts of violence are subdivided into many small acts, no perpetrating individual can manage to feel personally responsible anymore. It's the contemporary version of stoning. We have adopted and perpetuated the same convoluted system whereby the person pulling the trigger - while looking straight in the eyes of the victim - can still blame the bean counters, who can blame the boss (who always seems to go missing when the smoke has cleared).

Unlike the message I was given as a child, this behavior is not exclusive to National Socialists, Germans, Poles, or Ukrainians. It is behavior exclusive to no particular tribal or political subgroup of humans at all.

It is Our behavior. The behavior of Homo sapiens sapiens.

Even now, even here, in relatively benign and far flung places like Aotearoa/New Zealand, we are fully implicated in this now globalised behavior through complexly interwoven international political and economic systems.

I am implicated. In my 20s I lived and worked in Manhattan for ten years mostly at a studio that specialised in motion picture visual effects. I shot and directed tv commercials and visual effects for feature films. I fervently collaborated with the multinational corporate culture. I became an economic refugee of the financial crash in the late 80s, and unlike most of my fleeing film colleagues, I overshot Los Angeles in search of a better fantasy. When I said to my work friends I was planning to move to New Zealand, they looked at me as if I just told them I was planning my suicide.

Finding work directing television commercials in New Zealand and Australasia, I lived between Auckland and Wellington for a couple of years, before settling in Dunedin. After my daughters were born, it felt impossible to justify work that required travel and long periods away. So I transitioned into the local economy, eventually teaching at the Dunedin School of Art.

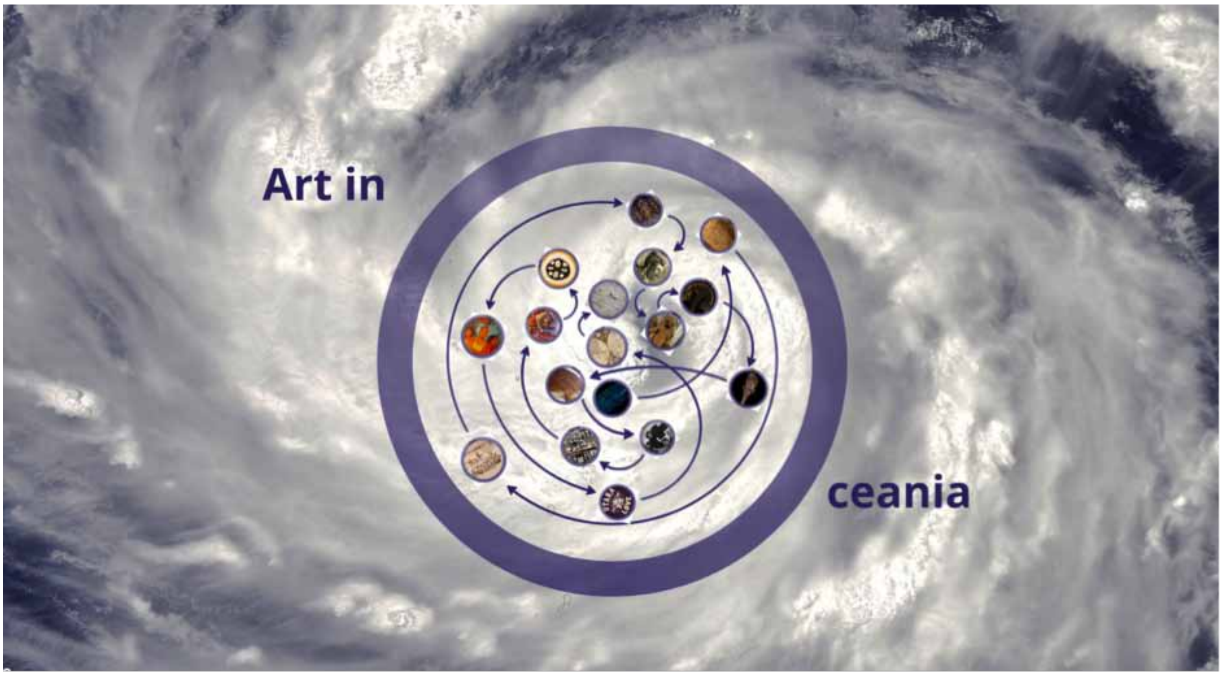

Figure 2
Key Frame from "Art in Oceania". Dunedin School of Art web delivered course prototype, 2013.

Around 2010 I started collaborating with Peter Stupples on a development project to design a web-delivered course on the history of art in Oceania for our Head of School, Leoni Schmidt. Early in the project Peter and I flew to Auckland to interview a number of Māori and Pasifika artists who spoke about their practices. These artists included Rachel Rakena, Tracy Tawhiao, Lonnie Hutchison, Shigeyuki Kihara, Bridget Inder, and Reuben Paterson. Our intention was to record comments relating to particular issues, in order to present them as "video quotations" in the course lecture material - "talking heads" that would emerge between text and image. Thanks to the artists' comfortable rapport with Peter, the interviews were rich with content and had relevance beyond the themes originally intended for the on-line course. I saw an opportunity to collate the material into a larger video "document" that would be valuable for our students at the Dunedin School of Art.

A vibrant informe emerges from the embedded cultural views expressed by these artists. Recurrent themes around colonisation arise; their diverse cultural identities are reflected directly in their arts practices. Their artworks locate our emergent culture far more accurately than the market forces that hold captive our eyes and ears through a variety of media. As I spent days listening to the artists speak while working through the edit, the name "Paranesia" coalesced for me from a gathering wordcloud[1].

(The artists in Paranesia all have practices based in Aotearoa/New Zealand and embody a multiplicity of cultures. Therefore, part of this discourse diverges from the current bicultural negotiation around the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi between the Māori tribal leaders and the British Crown, which remains the priority discussion, from a legal and material perspective, in Aotearoa/New Zealand at this time.) The title "Paranesia" was also a comment on the fixed proto-colonial misnomer of "Pacific" bestowed on one fifth of the earth by a wannabee conquistador in a weather bubble. Personally, I prefer the word “Moana” as name for that immense body of water, as put forward by the artist, Siosiua FP Tofua’ipangai, at a gallery talk in Sydney in 2009. However I only just read in the google flotsam that in late 2013, The Walt Disney Company, announced that they had co-opted this rubric for the title of a new feature-length musical cartoon.

Figure 3
Digital Video Document “Paranesia”. Promotional poster, 2012.

In Paranesia the artists interviewed illustrate the Heraclitian fluidity of real culture that sits in direct opposition to the Platonic obbligato of rigid cultural performance; the expectation that fixes and sections culture into bite-sized segments for boxing, commodification and redistribution. Real culture never stops learning, adapting and growing; it never arrives in a “formless” process of Aristotelian “becoming”. Colonisation as “othering” performs a series of violent severances. It’s a framework strategically applied to first make alien, and then alienate people from their resources. It operates through a process of trivializing, distorting, and subsequently disintegrating cultural heritage; in the simplest terms: it’s a “smash and grab”.

In Aotearoa/New Zealand centuries of identity, knowledge, wisdom, and experience embedded in Māori cultural taonga (cultural treasures) are bottled and shelved, then switched with an ersatz cultural rebranding by multinational commercial interests. The remarkable thing is that after dumping real content their meager swap consists of pavlovas (a kind of meringue), buzzy bees (a friction-driven wooden pull toy), kiwiburgers (cow and beetroot, thankfully, not flightless bird), and hobbits. In order to keep the money and resources hemorrhaging out they construct and broadcast this drunkard’s view of Aotearoa/New Zealand with advertising onslaughts that make this culture look like 100 monkeys fighting over a pile of rags. Doubtless you could extend this boilerplate to virtually every economy on the planet. It all seems like harmless fun, and we all thoughtlessly whistle the jingles while we disenfranchise our children for fizzy drink.

So on the one hand, we have the enforced myth of “being”; the insistence that labels can stamped on the fixed identities of the colonised body, like a frozen carcass on the chain of the mechanised abattoir; against the real life informe of “becoming”; the living, breathing, surviving, quotidian, of people engaging in new experiences, sifting through fresh data, informed by cross-cultural, contemporary, as well as traditional ideas; a post-modern vanguard voicing, and thereby driving, a perpetually emergent culture. To look at the work emerging from the artists of Aotearoa/New Zealand is to sense a flowing, dynamic cultural identity. It speaks of a unique mix of voices and place, despite the impediment to economic efficiency that difference poses to the multinational dispositif[2].

As a result of collating the voices in Paranesia, I have begun to include making “video documents” as part my arts practice. I define these as one-man-band micro-productions that operate within a writer’s budget. These are content-rich visual documents for select audiences, free of the invented narrative and production structures required for commercial distribution.

Figure 4
Still frame from “Confluence: The Art and Practice of Simon Kaan”. Digital video document, 2014.

Following Paranesia we thought that closely documenting the practice of one artist would add valuably to many of the discourses the first document touched upon. A locally residing artist named Simon Kaan came to mind immediately because of his extensive arts practice and his strong cultural ties. The Dunedin School of Art has a memorandum of understanding with Kāi Tahu iwi (Ngāi Tahu tribe) who are the local tangata whenua (“people of the land”). Simon has equally strong cultural ties with the local iwi, and the local Chinese community that established here in the Otago Region at the same time as European settlement; together these strong connections richly inform Simon’s practice which extends from painting and printmaking to electronic arts.

A digital video document titled, “Confluence”, coalesced without pre-scripting or a pre-defined narrative blueprint. It details in greater depth some of the ideas touched on in “Paranesia” as well as themes unique to Simon’s practice. This document illustrates a practice and a culture “becoming” through a production process that was also not predetermining.

Figure 5
Still frame from drawing project “Split-Level Colonial IV”. Single Channel Video, 2014.

While I was working on Confluence, a small architectural feature embedded in the face of the mudstone cliffs I have been driving past on my way home for over two decades started to demand my attention. I was aware that prisoners, including some taken in the Māori wars, constructed Portobello Road, which winds for 28km around the Otago Harbour, during the late 19th Century. I was also aware of ongoing disputes as to whether or not these forced labourers were held in the secured caves rudely fashioned beside the road they were forced to build. (There seems to be no argument that a disproportionate number of Māori prisoners died of diseases caused by hypothermia and exposure wherever it is they kept them).

The contemporary amnesia surrounding the caves is symptomatic, and pales in significance to the contemporaneous cultural lobotomies, legislated and performed by the New Zealand government, during the years that followed the military actions around the imprisonments. By simply travelling this road I am directly implicated in the processes of colonisation in Aotearoa/New Zealand. I studied the cave faces, making a couple of drawing projects in a series I called “Split-Level Colonial” to begin to consider the forgotten processes that inhumed living cultures beneath the freshly paved world I was born onto.

Colonisation is highly staged. It asserts “being” in order to fix, arrest, dissolve, commodify, and capture every constituent part of the “other”. These small architectural insults are one of the many faces of that process. The lateral relationship of these abject spaces to the innovative and world transforming strategy, arising from a peace loving community's response to state sanctioned incursions at Parihaka, only became clearer to me later.

Parihaka is a place in the Taranaki region on the west coast of Te Ika-a-Maui (The fish of Maui) or North Island of Aotearoa/New Zealand where 1600 volunteer and Armed Constabulary troops besieged a peaceful community in 1881 during a state sanctioned land grab. The community chose to respond to the incursion with a disciplined pacifist strategy of non-violent, non-cooperation. Singing children greeted the soldiers with flowers. The acts of violence that were perpetrated upon the entire community were horrific. The men, young and old, were rounded up and shipped far away from the area to work as slave labourers. Despite the terrible cost this community paid for enacting this novel strategy, Ghandi recognised the power of it, and re-applied it to remarkable result.

Wherever these men were actually incarcerated, I have been told that the Parihaka prisoners in Dunedin were kept in strict isolation from all others, both Māori and European. Given the special care taken to keep these prisoners from communicating with others, it seems clear that somehow the apparatus was able to intuit great danger in the pacific strategy that was to lead directly to the dismemberment of a leviathan empire. Perhaps it already knew that the community at Parihaka had invented the only parry from which a colonising power has no riposte.

Figure 6
Composite still image from Ron Bull's workshop. Research documentation digital video, 2014.

In July of this year Simon Kaan invited me to film Ron Bull, Senior Lecturer Treaty Education & Training Unit at the Otago Polytechic, preparing a hangi for a workshop during their International Food Symposium. This process and its associated rituals follow Māori protocol, but the mechanisms are fully contemporary. This is not a staged reenactment, it is a view of a culture "becoming." Ron demonstrates a process of food preparation, but doesn't cleave it from its critical role as a nexus for group bonding and the strengthening of the social narrative.

Figure 7
Still image from “Kā Honoka” collaboration project. Research documentation digital video, 2013.

The somewhat disturbing, but well-meaning, origins of institutions like the Otago Museum still publicly promote the view that Ideal Forms are to be found tagged, preserved, and suspended in hermetically sealed vitrines. Although the contemporary institution, in its search for relevance, is clearly determined to enter a state of “becoming”, the proposition of fixed cultural identity is still performed in dated displays on show there. As such, perhaps despite themselves, these remain temples of “being”.

On the 8th of August in 2013 I documented a research trip to the basement of the Otago Museum organized by Simon Kaan for a group of Māori artists from Kāi Tahu iwi. There, two huge rooms are filled with diverse Māori cultural taonga stored in floor to ceiling rolling cabinets. The objects, held in safe storage by the museum, date from pre-European contact through to the early transitional period. The collection itself presents a hidden but unmistakable archeological record of culture “becoming”.

What the group encountered were everyday tools, weapons, adornments and ritual objects. Each intimate piece seemed to speak with the voice of its maker. Many of these objects were broken, irregular, unfinished, imperfect, quotidian. They felt far warmer and more accessible than the “supermodel” cultural specimens on public display in the “Tangata Whenua” hall on the museums first floor. The resonance of each unique voice added to the discourse as piece after piece was brought into the light, one box at a time. From an observer’s point of view, these encounters between artists and treasures reminded me of a film that documented the reunion of octogenarian siblings who had been separated since early childhood by war and politics. This was also a liberation; a vision of Aristotelian “becoming” inside the Platonic catacombs of “being”.

There is a robust bicultural discourse in Aotearoa/New Zealand. I grew up in a place where ghosts whisper from beneath the concrete but can’t speak; where a holocaust went unfilmed. I find great hope in whatever shreds of justice that can be found in a treaty being recognised and re-negotiated 175 years after the fact. For me, first and foremost, the fact that this discourse is happening here is the most remarkable thing about living in these islands. This culture is able.

Our brain evolved as our principle weapon in the race for survival on a robustly competitive planet. Highly developed neural networks allow us as individuals and collectives to identify and act on the "other", including the environment, first by identifying non-self and then abstracting to misperceive discontinuity. As a species we are "winning" all the way to the systematic destruction of our own platform for living and every identifiable "other" in between. Colonisation, as an extension of this "othering" has robbed people of invaluable aspects of their past, but not of their present or their future.

Through federal regulations, German Senior School children are also taught about death camps (from a different angle than the one I described earlier) in history lessons, or actual visits to the remains of these institutions. I wonder if every 16-year-old in our subspecies shouldn't be given the benefit of a firsthand look at a local site where one of these events has transpired as a global inoculation against ongoing reoccurrences. (I doubt any contemporary human settlement sits very far away at all from an historic episode of this nature.) Perhaps controlling our behavior can only be possible through a blanket acceptance of our hard-wired intolerance of the "other", as well as through mindfulness, vigilance, and healthy levels of uncertainty.

In the last 60 years it has become undeniably clear to us that our planet is itself only an island; the extraterrestrial options are looking pretty bad, and we are fresh out of "new worlds" to displace. We are incredibly fortunate to have centuries of hard-won knowledge that survives in the island cultures of the world like those of Moana - to begin to help us understand how to navigate this unforeseen predicament.

Notes

1. Green, David (2011: 56-67).
2. "What I'm trying to pick out with this term is, firstly, a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions–in short, the said as much as the unsaid. Such are the elements of the apparatus. The apparatus itself is the system of relations that can be established between these elements" Michel Foucault 1980: 194–228

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When five artists' identities seem as one

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In general the production and appreciation of visual art has been considered to be a cultural phenomenon, but lately the possibility of a biological, leading on to a neuroscientific basis, for making art has been considered. This article investigates the brain wave activity of five prominent Pretoria artists, during the act of making art. In this study data was captured using electroencephalogram featuring the brain wave clusters of delta, theta, alpha, beta and gamma. Receptors were placed on the artists' heads at four sites representing the frontal, parietal, left and right areas. A rise or decline in brain wave activity during art making indicates the activation (or deactivation) of significant cognitive and neural function. Whilst artists' individual brain waves are idiosyncratic, clearly indicative of highly personal visual and perceptual interpretations, when compared with each other overall they present similar brain wave patterns. It is indeed as if the five artists' identities seem as one.
Key words: identity, art making, brain wave activity

Vyf kunstenaars se gelykvormige identiteit
Oor die algemeen word die maak en waarderding van visuele kuns as 'n kulturele uiting beskou. Deesdae word die moontlikheid van 'n biologiese, inleidend tot 'n neurologiese, basis tot kunsskepping wel oorweeg. Hierdie artikel gee verslag oor 'n ondersoek aangaande die brein golf aktiwiteit van vyf gerespekteerde kunstenaars woonagtig in Pretoria, ten tye van kunsskepping. Brein golf inligting was deur middel van elektroenkefalografie met betrekking tot delta, theta, alpha, beta en gamma groepe verkry. Reseptore was op die kunstenaars se koppe op vier verskillende plekke geplaas, naamlik frontaal, pariëtaal, links en regs. Die styg of daal van die brein golf aktiwiteit gedurende kunsskepping dui aktivering (of deaktivering) van beduidende kognitiewe en neurologiese funksies aan. Alhoewel die individuele kunstenaars se brein golf aktiwiteite uniek is, bestaan daar oorkoepelend gelykvorminge brein golf patrone. Dit wil inderdaad voorkom asof die vyf individuele kunstenaars 'n neurologiese identiteit ten tye van kunsskepping deel.
Sleutelwoorde: identiteit, kunsmaak, brein golf aktiwiteit

One can assume that artists, like all human beings, value their identity highly, as this provides a sense of being self-situated within a socio-cultural environment (Noland 2009). However, following Noland (2009) as well as Stets and Burke (2000) one can assume that for the artist, there exists a continuous flux/tension between the idiosyncratic or unique and the artist community. So why are we, in a sense, reducing the utterly incomparable uniqueness of five visual artists by suggesting that they have a shared identity? In deference to the artists who are the focus of this article, we do not propose that their private, poetic or artistic identities are shared. The focus here is on similar neuroscientific patterns which create a 'shared' identity.

In a previous article (van Heerden & Munro 2012:295), we referred to the debate that C.P. Snow initiated in the 1960s when he compared the two cultures, best understood as art (in particularly the literary) versus science (the physical sciences). We mentioned Snow, amongst others, to prepare the reader for what followed in that article - reporting on art making and the physiological data that was captured of the same art-making events. The empirical methods that we employed were skin conductance, peripheral skin temperature, respiration and heart rate. We have expanded on those methods and previous findings and now report on salient aspects of art making and brain-wave activity.

Objectivity and subjectivity in research on art making

Berteletti, Hubbard and Zorzi (2010) refer to a fundamental question in the study of consciousness as being the connection between subjective reporting and the objective measures thereof. Similarly, if art making is considered to be in the domain of consciousness (or possibly altered consciousness), the fundamental question in the study of art is the subjective experience and objective measures thereof. Studies in art making, consequently, require the same rigorous inquiry (as do studies in consciousness), yet there is a paucity of studies combining the artist's subjective experiences with objective measures of the same art making events. Liu and Miller (2008:472), when cautioning against potential subjectivity involved in interpreting studies of art making and the brain, refer to no less than 150 physicians and art historians who retrospectively diagnosed Vincent van Gogh (1853-1890) with temporal lobe epilepsy, Ménière's disease, porphyria, depression, bipolar illness and absinthe poisoning, to name a few.

It thus seems that the difficulties surrounding inquiry about visual art *per se* have their roots in the difference between objectivity and subjectivity, which is often due to the exclusive use of either quantitative or qualitative measures of inquiry. Van Heerden and Munro (2012: 296-297) add:

> Thus, the notion is not new that research as to the lived experience (such as art making) expressed as science, is viewed with circumspection. Ernst Heinrich Weber and Gustav Theodor Fechner were the first to measure how sensations vary systematically as a function of physical stimulation, and could thus be viewed as the founding fathers of experimental psychology.

Experimental psychology can thus be viewed as first attempts to quantify a human experience that could be regarded as essentially qualitative in nature (Hergenhahn 2009: 251). In this regard studies about *responses* to art preceded studies of *art making.* Up until the 1950s experimental psychologists had shown very little interest in the study of aesthetics – "with such noteworthy exceptions as Arnheim, Farnsworth, [T] Munro, and Schoen" (Wallach 1959). Aesthetics, in this article, refer not to philosophical concepts of beauty, as such, but rather to visual art and responses thereto. Munro, T (1948: 226) referred to 'the psychology of art' as a branch of 'applied psychology', which in turn was considered to be an outgrowth "…of the older subject known as "aesthetics", which in turn was derived from philosophical speculations on beauty and art". According to Munro, T (1948: 226), it was the German psychologist Fechner, who, in 1876, first proposed a scientific approach to aesthetics with empirical studies of observable data, and a procedure based on experimentation and quantitative measurement. These included, for example, studies on geometric shapes and individuals' aesthetic preferences. Chandler (1928) was one of the first psychologists of art to publish in English on 'experimental aesthetics' which included statistical and laboratory experiments involving quantitative measurement, which included methods such as skin conductance.

Munro, T (1948) offers a comprehensive discourse on American, British and German philosophic and scientific approaches to aesthetics and the psychology of art, inclusive of the various data capturing methods used from 1918 onwards. The methods included, amongst others, questionnaires, self-observation and case studies.

Studies of emotional responses to art (which did not include recorded responses of art *making*) became noteworthy with Daniel Berlyne's 'new experimental aesthetics' in the 1960s and 1970s. This led to the development of a tradition in research on art which emphasized controlled laboratory research. In a review of developments vis-à-vis emotional *responses* to art (but not of art *making*), Silvia (2005) explains that both art and emotion resurfaced in psychology more or less simultaneously during the 1960s and 1970s, when psychologists began developing theories of basic emotions where experimental studies were conducted focusing on hedonic qualities of art (Silvia 2005: 342). Silvia (2005) refers to appraisal theories (where the central assumption is that subjective evaluation of events, not events themselves, is the local cause of emotional experience). With reference to emotional aspects of aesthetics, *interest* seems to be the emotion most central to the aesthetic experience, however, typically, interest increases with training and knowledge.

The experimental studies referred to above focused on the emotional aspects of aesthetics. Empirical studies in neurocognitive approaches to the psychology of aesthetics (Chatterjee *et al.* 2008; Höfel & Jacobsen 2008; Brandt 2009); reviews of studies of comparative neurology involved in aesthetic appreciation (Nadal & Peters 2008); neurocognitive approaches to art observation (Fairhall & Ishai 2008) and neurobiological approaches to aesthetics (Zeki & Lamb 1994; Zeki & Marini 1998; Zeki 1998, 2001, 2002; Ramachandran & Hirstein 1999) have expanded the context for explaining responses to art. However, studies of art by neuroscientists are not always readily accepted – an example is the art historian Gombrich's (2000) disagreement with the neuroscientists Ramachandran and Hirstein's (1999) theory of human artistic experience and the neural mechanisms that mediate it. Recently Hyman (2010) responded with a scathing philosophical critique of both Zeki and Ramachandran's understanding and explanation of visual art.

Responses to art may have expanded the context for understanding art, but do not equate to responses whilst *making* art. Bhattacharya and Petsche (2002, 2005) conducted EEG studies on 'healthy' artists and non-artists and posit that

> art and cognition are deeply interrelated, acting like two convex mirrors each reflecting and amplifying the other; yet, despite numerous research developments in both aesthetics and cognitive science, the connection between the two has not been studied systematically except for some preliminary investigation (2002: 179-180).

Studies on the connection between art and the brain in healthy artists are few compared with studies by neurologists, psychologists, psychiatrists and cognitive scientists who report on cases of artists and non-artists who suffer from localised brain injury or disease (Liu & Miller 2008; Liu *et al*. 2009). Such studies do not necessarily demonstrate a decline in artistic ability of the artist – on the contrary, some studies demonstrate a newfound interest in the visual arts following left frontal or temporally predominant brain degeneration, whereas other studies demonstrate marked changes in the artists' preference of subject matter or use of colour (Liu & Miller 2008). Liu and Miller (2008: 472) report that "[S]ome [researchers] argue that following the natural history of established artists provides a richer understanding of the neurological substrate of art-making…" – this is particularly edifying when studying changes in art making that occurred when 'healthy' artists experience dementia or lesions, compared with their prior work.

Cognisance is taken of the above. However, the focus of this article is not to *analyse* the art produced by artists, nor is this study about longitudinal studies of artists and changes in their art making over the span of a career. This is a non-laboratory study about a non-clinical population (healthy artists), reporting on objective measures of some art making events. In general, information could be gained through 1) neurophysiology (anatomical structure related to mental functions); and 2) neural and cognitive processes (how complex properties of the brain allow behaviour to occur and information processing in the brain). In this study data-collection was done through electroencephalographic (EEG) recordings to learn more about brain activity during art making.

Data capture using electroencephalography (EEG)

Teixeira *et al*. (2008: 506) refer to invasive, precise (and even dangerous) methods used to analyse biometric data where emotions and physiological responses are coupled in experiments. The same authors suggest non-invasive methods such as EEG, fMRI, galvanic skin response (GSR) and oximeter. Teixeira *et al.* (2008: 506), who tested emotional responses by using EEG, mention that EEG is considered by sceptics in the medical community of being a gross correlate of brain activity. Fink *et al.* (2007: 69) report that "[W]hile fMRI enables insights into the neuroanatomical bases of creative cognition with high spatial accuracy, the primary advantage of EEG lies in its high temporal resolution (in the range of milliseconds) and the availability of different parameters". Dietrich (2003: 243) refers to EEG as a crude method that measures summed postsynaptic electrical activity of a large area of the cortex. Bekhtereva *et al.* (2001), in a creative task-related experiment comparing EEG with PET, found both methods to be generally adequate, yet they suggest that the spatial resolution of the standard EEG and its sensitivity to deep brain processes are insufficient for adequate detection of the area of the predominant activation. EEG does, however, offer good temporal resolution (Croft *et al.* 2002: 101), has the advantage of being relatively inexpensive as a method, and furthermore, can be used in a non-medical environment.

Since the discovery of the EEG by Hans Berger in 1929, oscillatory patterns can be observed in the electrical activity of the brain (Herrmann & Demiralp 2005). Berger considered the basic rhythm in the frequency band of 8–12 Hertz (Hz), and named it a- (alpha) rhythm. The next chronological identified frequency range between 12 and 30 Hz was b- (beta) rhythm. Faster oscillations in the human EEG, between 30 and 80 Hz were later identified and named g (gamma) activity. Slower waves below the a range were named 'd', and were later divided into delta (0-4 Hz) and theta (4-8 Hz) ranges. Decreased oscillations with increased frequencies, such as the omega range, were later identified (Herrmann & Demiralp 2005:2719).

The conspicuous presence of various brain wave phases is typically associated with certain neural and cognitive states, or behaviours, a few of which are summarised as follows:

•Delta: 1-4 Hz – sleep (Belkofer & Konopka 2008:57), deeper levels of meditation and awareness (Stinton & Arthur 2013:4);
•Theta: 4-8 Hz – creativity, spontaneity, daydreaming (Demos 2005:113); memories, visualising, peak performance, associations (Thompson & Thompson, 2003:38); cognition, depression. (Egner, Zech & Gruzelier 2004).
•Alpha: 8-12 Hz – alert awake (Thompson & Thompson, 2003:10); meditation, inner calm, peacefulness (Demos, 2005:115); viewed as 'cortical idling', preventing internal information processing to be disturbed by external input (Fink *et al.* 2007); relaxed concentration, resting state, open awareness; deeper creativity, visualisation, meditation, relaxation (Stinton & Arthur 2013:4); shifts in consciousness, relaxed yet alert mental states (Belkofer & Konopka 2008:57).
•SensoriMotor-RhythmStrip (SMR): 12-16 Hz – internal orientation, decreases with movement (Demos, 2005:117); calm mental state, internal orientation, decreased movement and impulsivity (Thompson & Thompson 2003:248).
•Beta 1, 2, 3, 4: 16-34 Hz – focused, analytic, problem solving, alert, logical, externally oriented, relaxed thinking (Demos 2005:118); anxiety, emotional intensity, ruminating (Thompson & Thompson 2003:10); increased alertness, concentration (Stinton & Arthur 2013:4).
•Gamma: 34-42 Hz – Near 40Hz may have unique role of 'event binding rhythm', feelings of satisfaction, gratitude, love and compassion (Rubik, 2011:109-110); problem-solving, promotes

learning, mental sharpness, brain organising (Demos 2005: 120); peak performance (Thompson & Thompson 2003: 40).

The EEG can track the way in which the brain functions through the energy- consuming activation of neurons. The brain does not have inherent brain waves – electrical activity is produced by the underlying neurons or nerve cells in the brain. "The EEG picks up this flow of electrical activity through electrodes strategically attached to the scalp…Each electrode connects to a wire that conducts the electrical activity from the head to a designated connection on an electrode board" (Belkofer & Konopka 2008: 57), where the signal is amplified. Such electrodes act as sensors and are made conducive by using an electrode paste between the electrode and the surface of the scalp.

In principle the electrodes comprise a positive (+ve) lead (active lead) which is usually placed over the area to be recorded and measured, a negative (-ve) lead (reference electrode) which is usually placed over an area that is relatively inactive electrically, and a ground. The EEG instrument measures the potential difference between the positive and the negative leads. More than one active electrode site can be measured on the scalp – up to 20 leads at active sites are referred to as a 'full cap assessment'. Figure 1 indicates the standard placement of electrodes during EEG recording, where electrodes over the left hemisphere are labelled with odd numbers, those over the right with even numbers and those on the midline with a 'z'. The uppercase abbreviation indicates the location of the electrode: A, auriole; C, central; F, frontal; Fp, frontal pole; O, occipital; P, parietal; and T, temporal.

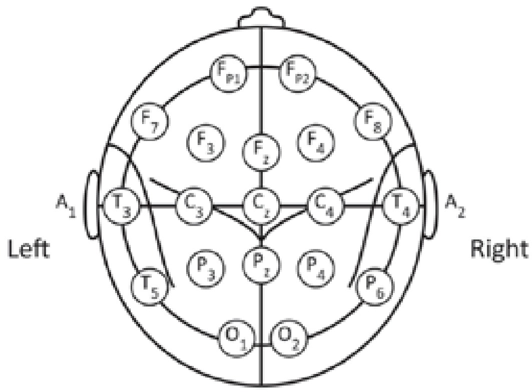

Figure 1
Standard placement of electrodes during EEG recording – also known as the International 10-20 System (source: Banich, 2004: 87).

"The raw EEG shows the morphology (shape) of the waves, the amplitude (how high the waves are from peak to trough) and the frequency (how many waves there are in one second)" (Thompson & Thompson 2003: 4). The QEEG, in addition to recording the EEG, transforms the raw EEG into quantitative displays by using computer algorithms. The QEEG quantifies data with regard to the amount of electrical activity occurring at particular frequencies or across defined frequency bands. "The electrical activity is usually expressed either as amplitude, measured as microvolts (μV) or millionth of a volt, or as power, measured as picawatts (pW) (Thompson & Thompson 2003: 4). Raw EEG data, transcribed into numeric data, can further be transcribed to a 2- or 3-dimensional graph and is referred to as the compressed spectral array (CSA) (Demos 2005: 90). The CSA provides an overview of frequency band distribution acquired from a single channel of EEG.

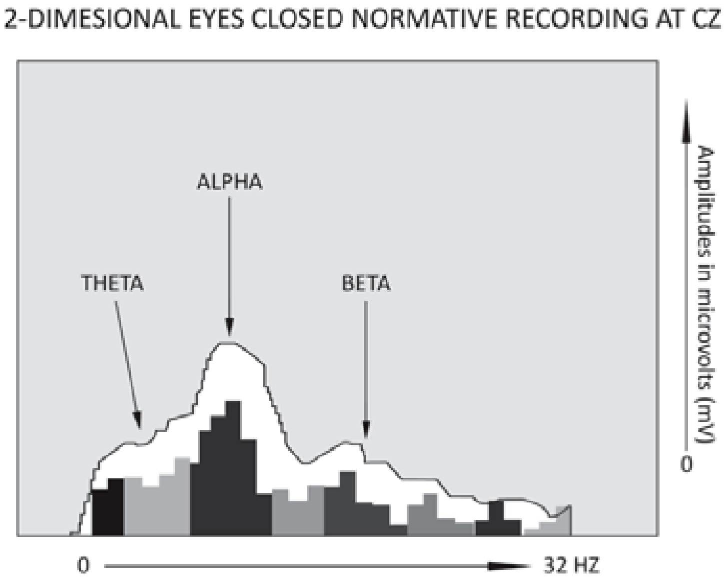

Figure 2
Example of compressed spectral array (CSA) - 2-dimensional eyes closed recording at receptor site Cz (source: Demos (2005, figure 5.1).

The CSA makes it easier to observe which brain wave frequencies are at high or low amplitudes during mental activities at a particular receptor site, or during EEG recording segmentation. Thompson and Thompson (2003: 36-37) describe the spectral array as "…a histogram showing the amplitude for each frequency usually from 2 to 32 Hz or more". The rise and fall in amplitude is the key descriptor of the spectral array, or histogram, and generally has recognisable patterns, such as that "…amplitudes usually decrease fairly uniformly as you move from 2 Hz to 62 Hz in part because the skull attenuates the faster frequencies more than slower frequencies". In short, the raw EEG data is transcribed to numerical data, where after it is transcribed into a histogram in the form of a bar graph. The bar graph (or chart) provides an overview of frequency band distribution acquired from a single channel of EEG and also facilitates the reading of patterns in the data.

Artists and art making

The artists who participated in the study are practicing or professional artists with a 'tried-and-true' *modus operandi* of fine art painting and/or drawing, conversant with disciplined and focused habits that result in sustainable practice and expertise. This points to a certain maturity, or chronological age. The authors are in agreement with Sheldon and Kasser (2001: 492) that chronological age is an imperfect indicator of a person's position within his or her unique life course – however, chronological age has cultural meaning and also provides an unambiguous temporal metric upon which to compare different individuals, or, as pertains to this study, a group of artists. As artists do not generally peak during their career formative years, maturity is considered to be an advantage, rather than the converse (Gardner 1993; Sawyer 2006: 51-53).

The research population was initially guided by information sourced from a reputable, professional art website of long standing, of South African artists. In Pretoria environs, where the research was conducted, 25 male artists were identified who potentially reflected the homogeneous profile – aged 50 to 70, skilled, practicing, professional artists who work two-dimensionally. In order to minimise variables in the data, sculptors were excluded as they generally use electrical equipment and heft weight in the execution of their work (and would thus be more prone to producing measurement artefacts). As a small team of practitioners performed the time-consuming EEG experiments and sensitive equipment had to be transported and set up in artists' studios, the sample was further reduced to artists who have studios within a radius of five to ten kilometres of the researchers' residences, predominantly in the Eastern part of Pretoria. Five healthy (no history of prior neurological or psychiatric diseases), right-handed male artists, mean age 61 years, with no less than 35 years of professional art making experience, were considered appropriate to meet the full complement of participants.

In order to further limit variability, all five artists were required to produce a drawing or painting whilst sitting or standing at an easel. Thus the body movements would be typical of, and limited to, those resulting from the artist using a tool such as a pencil, pastels or a brush dipped in paint. The artwork produced during the study differed in size from approximately 30 cm to 120 cm, with drawings on paper tending to be smaller compared with paintings on canvas. Some artists at times used one or more fingers as a tool to smudge or rub the medium on the surface of the 'ground'. If the artist was sitting during the first session of the main study, the artist was requested to sit during the remaining sessions. The same applied to artists who stood during the first session. Each participant completed three sessions. A studio of personal choice was used for each artist. The same studio initially chosen by the artist was used for all three of his sessions. Each participant's sessions took place during more or less the same time of day (all artists preferred a morning session) in order to limit the variability of cortisol secretion throughout the day – Huppert (2009: 141) refers to a healthy pattern involving a post-awakening peak and a 20-fold decrease later in the day. The investigations were conducted in a real-life (natural) setting – in this case a studio of the artists' choosing.

EEG data capture and art making

The objective for the use of EEG data collection was to gain insight into of brain wave activity of the artist whilst the artist is making art. This was achieved by observing idiosyncratic brain wave activity of the artist in delta, theta, alpha, SMR, beta and gamma brain wave ranges during five recording segments, over three recording sessions. This was facilitated by placement of gold electrodes (9mm in diameter) placed at recording sites C3, C4, Fz and Pz, representative of left, right, frontal and parietal regions of the cerebral cortex, according to the international 10-20 system (see figure 1). Idiosyncratic data for each artist over the three recording sessions were pared down to averages and then all five artists' results were compared with each other. The overview of the brain wave activity facilitated the establishment of patterns in the brain wave activity of all five artists which could lead to generalisations.

In Figure 3 below, a participating artist can be seen with the four gold electrodes correctly positioned at the chosen receptor sites on the scalp. He is connected to electronic devices that transform the raw data into algorithms that are presented as data.

Figure 3
Placement of electrodes at receptor sites C3, C4, Fz and Pz during EEG recording.

Artefacts may result due to technical factors (cable movements or electrode paste variations) as well as artists' physiological uniqueness (skull thickness, body temperature or bodily movements). A way of minimising the production of artefacts is to check and limit the impediment to the flow of alternating current, which is measured in ohms at a given frequency. In this study recordings only commenced when impedance was below, or as close to 5 kΩ. Impedance checks could not be carried out after the recording sessions had commenced, however the raw EEG data was continuously monitored during recording sessions so that any aberrations could be identified. Belkofer and Konopka (2008) refer to a pilot study in which they did not include multiple baseline measures over more than one recording session, as having no significant reliability and validity. In this study the replication of recording sessions (three per artist) contributed to the reliability and validity of data capture. The replication also served as a cautionary measure to observe whether recordings (and thus also impedance), inclusive of bodily movements during art making, were within a similar range. What is meant by a similar range is that somatic movements during art making were observed to be similar per artist, per recording session. The occurrence of impedance differences between the individual receptor sites, as well as across the three recording sessions, required the analysis of the data to be based on the identification of patterns in the data, rather than the use of inferential statistical analysis.

Raw EEG signals were recorded in 1-Hz bins using two 2-channel EEG amplifiers (ProComp Thought Technology Ltd. Encoder, Montreal, Quebec). Data was captured at 256 samples per second – up to a maximum of 64 Hz. The channel sets accommodated the bandwidth frequencies (or groupings) as delta (1 – 4 Hz); theta (4 – 8 Hz); alpha (8 – 13 Hz); sensorimotor rhythm (SMR) (13 – 15 Hz); beta (15 – 24 Hz) and gamma (34 – 41 Hz). The brain wave phases were recorded concurrently, whereas five segments were recorded and followed after each other sequentially:

- Segment 1 – 3 minutes of eyes closed and inactive (referred to as 'eyes closed before' [ECB]);
- Segment 2 – 3 minutes of eyes open and inactive (referred to as 'eyes open before [EOB]);
- Segment 3 – 30 minutes of eyes open and drawing or painting (referred to as 'active' [A]);
- Segment 4 – 3 minutes of eyes open and inactive (referred to as 'eyes open after' [EOA]);
- Segment 5 – 3 minutes of eyes closed and inactive (referred to as 'eyes closed after' [ECA]).

The raw EEG data expressed in microvolts (µV) was captured by an EEG amplifier and transcribed algorithmically as numerical 'means'. The transcribed numerical data was then transferred to MS Excel© (version 2010) into histograms in the form of spreadsheets and bar graphs. The bar graph (or chart) provides an overview of frequency band distribution acquired from a single channel of EEG and also facilitates the reading of patterns in the data. The pattern constitutes the spectral array of the various brain wave phases for the predetermined duration of each recording segment. Interpreting such data allows one options to assess (or zoom in to) artists' brain wave activity during a particular brain wave phase or recording segment.

Figure 4 indicates a pattern of delta phase activity of artist AA in 1-Hz bins (2-3 Hz and 3-4 Hz) at receptor sites C3, C4, Fz and Pz of one recording session.

The bar chart indicates the five sequential recording segments that are demarcated in different shades of grey from left to right of each Hertz bin:

- ECB, left, is pale grey;
- EOB is slightly darker;
- A is black;
- EOA, to the right of the black bar, is slightly darker; and
- ECA, on the right, is slightly lighter.

Brain wave activity is thus considered as a change from one recording segment compared with the next segment.

Data readings were thus done by way of patterns indicated by the bar graphs (or charts) and not the numerical data as such. These could be referred to as spectrographic readings of the mean peaks and troughs of the brain wave activity at particular receptor sites, representing the duration of a particular segment, over the three recording sessions. From these spectrographic readings patterns and emerging themes or trends were identified. The particular area of interest to us was what transpired during the art-making segment of the recordings.

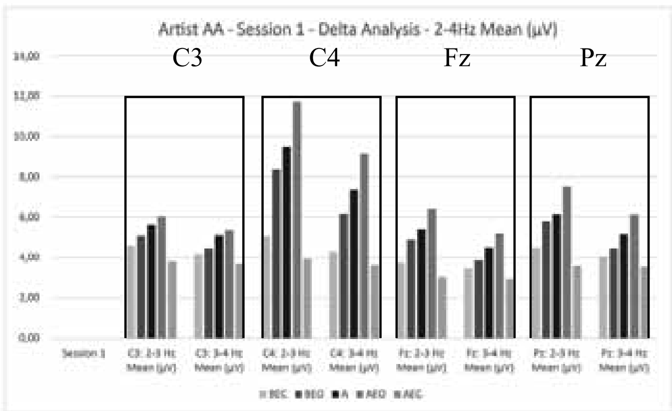

Figure 4
2-Dimensional display of EEG of artist AA in 1-Hz bins (2-3 Hz and 3-4 Hz) at C3, C4, Fz and Pz.

Data analysis

In order to analyse the data, means (averages) of the three recording sessions were obtained. In deference to limitations of space in this article, an example is offered in Figure 5, representing the means (averages) of artist AA's delta brain phase profile, representing the four receptor sites of C3 (right), C4 (left), Fz (top) and Pz (bottom). The five recording segments can be distinguished by their colour and order: from the left, blue represents the artist's brain wave activity during 3 minutes of eyes closed (and inactive), at the start of the recording session. Next to blue, moving to the right the red bar represents three minutes of eyes open (inactive). The middle bar (green) represents thirty minutes of art making activity (with eyes open). The purple bar to the right of the green bar represents eyes open for three minutes (inactive), followed by a turquoise bar representing eyes closed (inactive). Note that even though the green bar is the only recording segment that captured art-making activity, there is clearly brain wave activity occurring during the inactive recording segments. Such bar charts were created of each artist, of each of the recording sessions, representing delta, theta, alpha, SMR, beta and gamma. Comparing artist AA's bar chart with artist AB's (figure 6) it is evident that each artist's spectral array is highly individualistic.

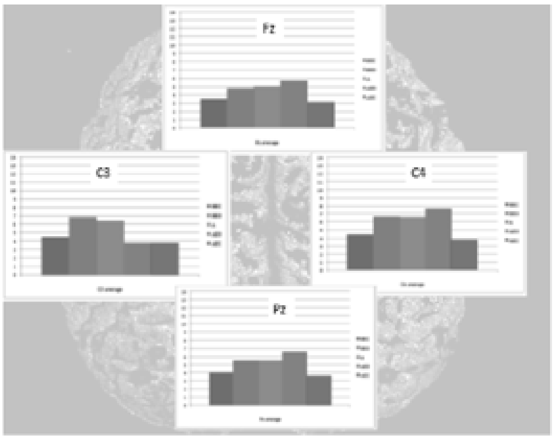

Figure 5
This bar chart represents the means (averages) of artist AA's delta brain phase profile over three recording sessions. The four receptor sites of C3 (right), C4 (left), Fz (top and Pz (bottom) are represented, as well as the five recording segments.

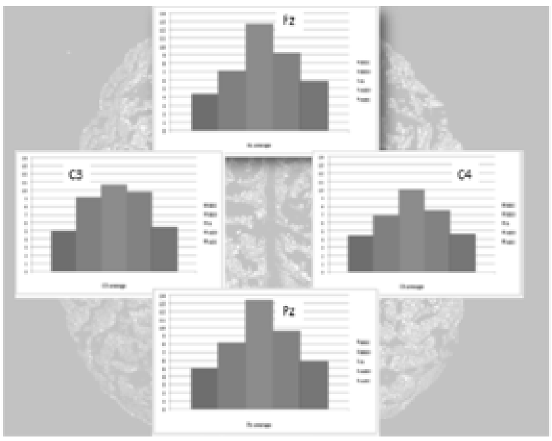

Figure 6
This bar chart represents the means (averages) of artist AB's delta brain phase profile over three recording sessions. The four receptor sites of C3 (right), C4 (left), Fz (top and Pz (bottom) are represented, as well as the five recording segments.

Themes in the data

Once we had compared all five artists' spectral arrays, a few very distinct overlaps started to emerge from the data. Figure 7 summarises brain wave activity before, during and after the art-making recording segment of all five artists.

Artist AA

Recording segments	BEC Before eyes closed	BEO Before eyes open	A Active	AEO After eyes open	AEC After eyes closed
Wave phase delta		Increase ↑	Stable ⇔	Increase ↑	
Wave phase theta		Increase ↑	Increase ↑	Increase ↑	
Wave phase alpha		Increase ↑	Increase ↑	Increase ↑	
Wave phase SMR		Decline ↓	Decline ↓	Increase ↑	
Wave phase beta		Decline ↓	Decline ↓	Increase ↑	
Wave phase gamma		Decline ↓	Increase ↑	Increase ↑	

Artist AB

Recording segments	BEC Before eyes closed	BEO Before eyes open	A Active	AEO After eyes open	AEC After eyes closed
Wave phase delta		Increase ↑	Increase ↑	Decline ↓	
Wave phase theta		Increase ↑	Increase ↑	Decline ↓	
Wave phase alpha		Decline ↓	Increase ↑	Decline ↓	
Wave phase SMR		Increase ↑	Increase ↑	Decline ↓	
Wave phase beta		Increase ↑	Increase ↑	Decline ↓	
Wave phase gamma		Increase ↑	Increase ↑	Decline ↓	

Artist AC

Recording segments	BEC Before eyes closed	BEO Before eyes open	A Active	AEO After eyes open	AEC After eyes closed
Wave phase delta		Increase ↑	Decline ↓	Increase ↑	
Wave phase theta		Increase ↑	Stable ⇔	Decline ↓	
Wave phase alpha		Decline ↓	Increase ↑	Increase ↑	
Wave phase SMR		Decline ↓	Increase ↑	Increase ↑	
Wave phase beta		Stable ⇔	Stable ⇔	Stable ⇔	
Wave phase gamma		Increase ↑	Increase ↑	Decline ↓	

Artist AD

Recording segments	BEC Before eyes closed	BEO Before eyes open	A Active	AEO After eyes open	AEC After eyes closed
Wave phase delta		Increase ↑	Stable ⇔	Decline ↓	
Wave phase theta		Decline ↓	Increase ↑	Decline ↓	
Wave phase alpha		Decline ↓	Increase ↑	Decline ↓	
Wave phase SMR		Decline ↓	Increase ↑	Decline ↓	
Wave phase beta		Decline ↓	Increase ↑	Decline ↓	
Wave phase gamma		Increase ↑	Increase ↑	Decline ↓	

Artist AE

Recording segments	BEC Before eyes closed	BEO Before eyes open	A Active	AEO After eyes open	AEC After eyes closed
Wave phase delta		Increase ↑	Stable ⇔	Decline ↓	
Wave phase theta		Decline ↓	Increase ↑	Decline ↓	
Wave phase alpha		Decline ↓	Increase ↑	Decline ↓	
Wave phase SMR		Decline ↓	Increase ↑	Decline ↓	
Wave phase beta		Decline ↓	Increase ↑	Decline ↓	
Wave phase gamma		Increase ↑	Increase ↑	Decline ↓	

Figure 7
A summary of brain wave activity of artists AA, AB, AC, AD and AE indicating increased or decreased brain wave activity during recording segments and brain wave phases.

The themes that emerged can be described in terms of similarities observed of all five artists. During the art-making segment all five artists experienced an increase in alpha (8-13Hz) brain wave activity as well as gamma (34-41Hz). A propensity for increase was observed in delta and theta (2-8Hz), as well as SMR (13-15 Hz) and beta (15-24 Hz). In deference to limitations of space, only the significance of the complete overlaps will be discussed.

Increased alpha brain wave activity

An increase in alpha is associated with meditation, relaxation, lack of cognitive processing, contemplation, visualisation, problem-solving, deeper creativity (Stinson & Arthur 2013: 4). Increased activity in alpha provides sensory input and illustrates the content through imagery and sensualisation; it links the conscious mind to the subconscious (Wise 2002: 140). Increased alpha denotes a resting or reflecting state, creative state, daydreaming (Thompson & Thompson 2003: 38). It is generally found in relaxed yet alert mental states or shifts of consciousness (Belkofer & Konopka 2008: 57). Increased alpha is associated with a cortical 'idling' phenomenon; also an active inhibition of task-irrelevant brain regions – preventing internal information processing to be disturbed by external input or conflicting operations (Fink *et al*. 2007).

It implies that during art making alpha waves could be activated because they are related to the unconscious and the sub-conscious; they could be activated because of the act of visualisation. Alpha could also be activated because the artist's past, or collective memories are 'tweaked' during art making. Artists have related feeling relaxed yet alert when making art, focusing on the task at hand – such observations concur with prior research. Some artists note that during art making it seems as if they experience shifts in consciousness, even feeling 'high'. This observation also concurs with prior research on increased alpha brain wave activity.

Increased gamma brain wave activity

Higher phase synchrony (occurring in both hemispheres) in gamma bands indicates focused creativity (Demos 2005). Increased gamma activity denotes enhanced binding ability (Bhattacharya & Petsche 2002) This can be explained as a rather unique role that gamma plays as the "event binding rhythm" – binding together neural representations of simultaneous events in a unified whole. Demiralp et al. (2007) concur when they refer to gamma being associated with multiple sensory and cognitive processes, especially memory functions. Thompson and Thompson (2003) associate enhanced gamma with peak performance. In addition, increased gamma activity is associated with feelings of satisfaction, gratitude, compassion and love (Rubik 2011: 109-110).

It implies that during art making, one can assume that increases in gamma indicate focused creativity (Demos 2005). Enhanced binding ability (Bhattacharya & Petsche 2002) indicates that a person is able to distinguish patterns from an array of information and are able to recognise representations of simultaneous events in a unified whole - artists have reported that they seem to go into 'big picture' mode, where one can act beyond, yet on, what you see. Perhaps because the artists who participated in this study are all highly experienced, they reported working 'intuitively', which could be explained as the brain engaging implicitly, rather than in the explicit mode.

Conclusion

It must be noted that despite conducting a comprehensive literature review on previous studies on EEG experiments and art (broadly speaking), which included studies on creativity and insight, no previous studies recorded artists or focused on art-related activities of artists in 'real-time', whilst engaged in the act of art making (recall the brief discussion on the potential creation of artefacts in the data when somatic movement is involved). For example, Belkofer and Konopka (2008) used EEG to measure patterns of brain activity of a single participant pre and post an hour spent drawing and painting, but not during art-making activities. This renders the study which is the topic of this article unique, but also makes comparisons difficult.

It must further be noted that three pilot studies were conducted prior to the series of main experiments. Following a heuristic trajectory, various components of the computer 'scripts' that were designed for the EEG data capture (such as the amount of recording segments, the duration of the recording segments and the placing of the scalp receptors) were interrogated and commensurately adapted to establish the most optimal and effective combination of components that would yield meaningful data. The script that was ultimately used during the main experiments is thus fit-for-purpose and unique; it could be regarded as a component for a future model for studies across various disciplines. As such, the study is ongoing and has not been tested with a similar sampling population, for example five female middle-aged artists, nor with covariate groups. Further areas of research could include an art critical study vis-à-vis the art produced by the artist-participants of this study and linking this with the EEG data. More than one group (for example artists producing art that is mimetic versus spontaneous) could participate to test whether neural and cognitive activity can be linked with the specific artistic output. Where EEG is concerned various possibilities for further research arise, for example the effect of art-making artefacts on the gamma range, or to ascertain the statistical significance of increases or decreases in brain wave activity.

As it was evident that there were shifts in brain wave activity between the various segments in the recording process (before, during and after) of this study, we were curious to observe the overall patterns of all the brain wave activity during the entire recording session, inclusive of all five the recording segments. We thus created bar charts of the three sessions of each artist's brain wave activity, at each receptor site, represented in single Hz bins from 2Hz through to 41 Hz. An agglomeration of all recorded brain wave activity per artist was created which offers an overall pattern of the data representing the brain wave activity during art making in the data. Figure 8 represents artists AA, AB, AC, AD and AE over three recording session, representing all four receptor sites. To facilitate the reading of patterns, such single Hertz bar charts were further grouped into averages of all three sessions recorded per artist, per receptor site and per brain wave from delta through to gamma (Figure 8).

In this article we have not suggested that the idiosyncratic and artistic identities of the five artists who participated in this study are shared. Observing the five artists attests to highly idiosyncratic art practice – the way that they individually prepare their studio environment (such as planning and arranging the tools of their trade); the way that they apply media to their chosen ground (such as applying small marks that build up to larger shapes on paper, or alternatively applying a large area of colour on canvas, upon which smaller areas of colour are added later); or the individualistic manner in which they activate the space between the art work and the body. Yet, there are similarities that identify them as a homogenous group in that they are all male, middle-aged, have at least 35 years of expertise and experience in art making and all happen to be right-handed. Furthermore, even though the art that they produce is highly individualistic (which speaks to their unique identity) they are all artists who transform their reference material for their paintings and drawings away from a mimetic representation of what they observe.

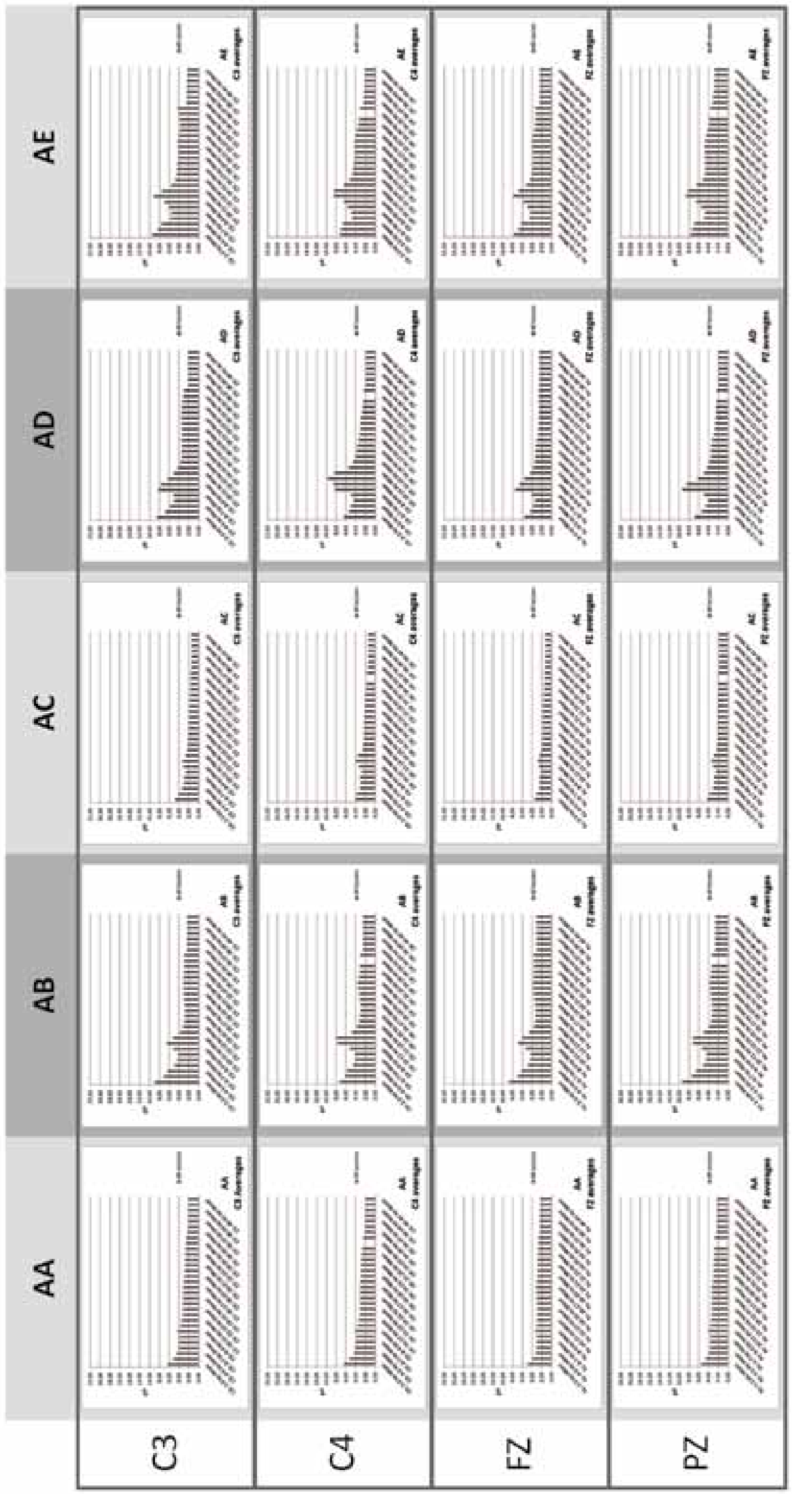

Figure 8
Patterns representing averaged 2 to 41 Hz brain wave activity of artists AA, AB, AC, AD and AE at C3, C4, Fz and Pz receptor sites.

However, the spectral array of the five artists' brain wave activity yields a type of template with a markedly comparable contour. The emergence of this recognisable contour, or pattern, may be as a result of art making, specifically, or due to the fact that it represents *means* of all aspects of the study (as yet not tested, or compared with five participants of another discipline such as music). The patterns, rather than the numerical data of cortical activity as read in µV, indicate that the five artists' cortical brain wave activity indicated an elevation at 2Hz (delta), which gently decreased at 7Hz (theta), rising again slightly at 9Hz, (alpha) then gently dipping and rising again at 17Hz (beta 1). Thereafter there was a gradual downwards sloping and rise, ending at around 41Hz (gamma). Thus, even though the actual cortical activity recording levels as measured in µV differ per artist attesting to their unique selves, the brain wave patterns are similar, attesting to a 'shared' identity of their socio-cultural environment (specifically the community of the five participating artists). The five artists' brain wave/neuroscientific identities during art making do, indeed, seem as one.

Notes

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1 Strayer (2008) offers an overview of art and the aesthetic, and the debates surrounding contemporary philosophical aesthetics where art and the aesthetic are separated.

2 In particular, Munro, T (1948) discusses work done by Chandler, Müller-Freienfels and Plaut.

3 For more on experimental psychology and aesthetics see Dessoir, Fechner, Witmer, Legowski and Thorndike (Munro, 1948).

4 An alternative theory of emotional responses to art is a prototypical approach, which proposes that preference for a work of art is determined by the perceived typicality, and not by the work's collative features (Silvia, 2005).

5 Experience refers to "something that happens to somebody or an event that somebody is involved in" or "direct personal awareness of or contact with a particular thing" (Encarta, 2001). The sum total of an individual's experience is acquired through "thoughts and feelings" and knowledge acquired through "the senses rather than through abstract reasoning" (Encarta, 2001). Experience in art making or flow is thus both a noun and a verb. Schindehutte, Morris and Allen (2006:350) posit that the experiential mode is intuitive, automatic, natural and based on images to which positive and negative affective feelings are attached.

6 An example referred to by Teixeira *et al.* (2008) is electrocorticography (ECoG).

7 Hertz units refer to the numbers of cycles per second.

8 The pattern of electrode placement on the scalp is referred to as the International 10-20 System and is relatively standard in clinical practice (Zillmer & Spiers, 2001:203).

9 A segment refers to a demarcated time-related event (which can be of any time duration) during the EEG recording. For example, the first segment could require the participant to have eyes closed; the second segment could require eyes to be opened.

10 See http://www.art.co.za.

11 Linked earlobes served as reference and ground.

12 EEG recording times (in minutes) did not emulate the actual studio time that artists employed to make art, as these differed per artist and were dependent on individual artists' circumstances, work programmes and individual needs. For example, even though all five artists tended to have regular and disciplined working hours, these would change during the run-up to an exhibition, or when an artist was sourcing reference for a new body of work away from the studio environment.

13 The various experiments form part of an unpublished doctoral thesis by Ariana van

Heerden which focused on the brain state referred to as 'flow'.

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"I paint, therefore I am": self-portraiture in the era of the self-aware and self-reflexive artist

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The focus of this research is a group of portraits by Western painters who painted themselves painting. These paintings are analysed in terms of what the selected artists communicate about themselves as self-aware and self-reflexive artists. An overview of two identifiable phases in the Western paradigm of visual representation explains the difference between images with a functional or cultic purpose and autonomous art, largely free from the restraints of patronage. What is collectively called "art" within the long-lasting paradigm of visual representation of reality comprises images created by craftsmen with a lowly social status, as well as works created by acknowledged visual artists who confer an artistic identity on themselves. This paradigm originated with humanity's earliest endeavours, more than thirty thousand years ago, and lasted until the early decades of the twentieth century. The first identifiable phase of visual representation is that of the pre-modern era of images that were created to serve a symbolic, magical or functional purpose, by craftsmen who most often remained anonymous. The modern era of autonomous art appeared in the West at the dawn of the Renaissance in the fourteenth century. Emancipated from the status of being craftsmen or -women a gradual shift occurred and self-aware and self-reflexive artists moved away from the crafting of functional images to the creation of autonomous works of art. This shift is most remarkable in self-portraiture, especially in the category of painters who painted themselves painting.
Key words: identity, image, self-aware and self-reflexive artists, autonomous art, self-portraits

"Ek skilder, daarom bestaan ek": selfportrette in die tydvak van die selfbewuste en selfoordenkende kunstenaar

Die fokus van hierdie navording is op 'n groep portrette deur Westerse skilders wat hulself besig om te skilder, geskilder het. Hierdie skilderye word ontleed ten opsigte van wat die geselekteerde kunstenaars as selfbewuste en selfoordenkende kunstenaars oor hulself kommunikeer. 'n Oorsig van twee onderskeibare fases in die Westerse paradigma van visuele voorstelling, verklaar die verskil tussen afbeeldings met 'n funksionele of kultiese doel en outonome kuns wat grootliks vry is van die beperkings wat borgskappe meebring. Wat allesomvattend as "kuns" in die langdurige paradigma van visuele werklikheidsvoorstelling bekend staan, omvat afbeeldings wat deur vakhanderwerkers met 'n lae sosiale aansien geskep is, asook werke deur erkende visuele kunstenaars wat 'n kunstenaarsidentiteit aan hulself toeken. Dié paradigma het tydens die mensdom se eerste pogings, meer as dertigduisend jaar gelede ontstaan en het tot die vroeë dekades van die twinstigste eeu geduur. Die eerste uitkenbare fase van visuele voorstelling is dié van die voor-moderne tydvak wat deur vakhanderwerkers wat meestal anoniem gebly het, geskep is om 'n simboliese, magiese of funksionele doel te dien. Die moderne tydvak van outnomome kuns het in die Weste met die aanbreek van die Renaissance in die veertiende eeu 'n verskyning gemaak. Bevry van die status van vakwerkers het daar 'n geleidelike verskuiwing plaasgevind en selfbewuste en selfoordenkende kunstenaars het wegbeweeg van die vervaardiging van funksionele afbeeldings na die skepping van outonome kunswerke. Hierdie verskuiwing is besonder opmerklik in selfportrette, veral in die kategorie van skilders wat hulself besig om te skilder, geskilder het.
Sleutelwoorde: identiteit, imago, selfbewuste en selfoordenkende kunstenaars, outonome kuns, selfportrette

The focus of this article is a selected group of Western painters' self-portraits depicting themselves painting. This group includes a self-portrait by a Medieval craftsman and selected self-portraits by Renaissance and Baroque painters: Michelangelo, Pieter Bruegel, Goya, Diego Velázquez, Artemisia Gentileschi, Rembrandt Harmenz. Van Rijn and Judith

Leyster. Five modernists are represented: Gustave Courbet, Vincent Van Gogh, Paul Cézanne and Pablo Picasso. The selected self-portraits by these self-aware, self-reflexive painters before the era of postmodernism, are designated autonomous works of art and will analysed in terms of what the subjects convey about the artists' self-esteem and their status as painters, taking into consideration the fact that in self-portraits the contextual issue of patronage is less relevant than in commissioned portraits.

Paradigmatic phases in visual representation

What is historically called "art" collectively comprises artefacts and images and, since modern times in the West, autonomous works of art created by self-aware, self-reflexive artists (Adajian 2012: 12). Images and autonomous works of art, of which the selected group of self-portraits are prime examples, can all be grouped within the paradigm of representational or figurative art which lasted unchallenged until the early decades of the twentieth century. In this article "paradigm" will not be used strictly according to the definition of its originator, Thomas Kuhn (1962), who defined the term with reference to scientific revolutions, but in a broader sense to include art that, according to Root-Bernstein (1984: 117), who critiqued Kuhn for underrating the creativity of artists compared with scientists, "can be, like science, a form of knowledge". In this article the form of knowledge of the "noble art of painting", which is based on the representation of objective reality, will be limited to knowledge of painters' views of themselves as represented as subjects in their art.

In order to arrive at an understanding of the advent of autonomous art which initiated a new phase within the tradition of Western figurative art, but did not cause a complete paradigm shift in terms of representation, the preceding phase of the image need to be surveyed.

The image (imago)

Artefacts were created by *homo sapiens* as long as the species inhabited the planet and objects that serve a symbolic, magical or functional purpose are still being designed, manufactured and decorated. For modern beholders many prehistoric or stone age artefacts that are well crafted are aesthetically pleasing and may also have been so for their makers and users.

Images originated when *homo sapiens* first created representations of the visible world, more than thirty thousand years ago in caves and rock shelters. Such images not only aspire to a resemblance of the natural world, especially of stylised animal and human figures, but are both symbolic and functional in the sense of supporting some cultic system or magical purpose. Hans Belting (1990: 9) explains that "unter einem Bild […] fornehmlich das personale Bildnis, die *imago*, verstanden ist. Sie stellte gewöhnlich eine Person dar und wurde deshalb auch wie eine Person behandelt". Belting (1994: xxi) refers to the image of a person as one of several possibilities, when "understood in this manner, not only represented a person but was also treated as a person". Referring to the substitutive value of images David Summers (2003: 252) answers the question why the earliest images were made and argues that "images are fashioned in order to make present in social spaces what for some reason is not present. Images do not simply represent, rather they inevitably make present in determinate ways, situating, continuing and preserving." Likewise, Eva Brann (2001: xii) nuances the phenomenon of personalising a figural depiction or representation: "Imagining makes a presence of absence; an image is the presence, internal or external, of what is *not* here and now and confronting the senses, and it can therefore be said to be a mixture of Nonbeing and Being. The image is not the original, and then again it claims to be just that... ."

During past ages images of gods and religious figures were considered sacred in the sense that they were imbued with a life force to be venerated by rulers' subjects or religious believers. Imperial rulers, such as Caesar Augustus (64 BCE-14 ACE), could enforce all subjects to pay homage to his effigy (figure 1). Both the venerators and detractors of such depictions clearly believed that the person or persons represented in images were in some way present to viewers. Therefore images were vulnerable and could be destroyed by detractors as happened during periods of iconoclasm.

Figure 1
Statue of Caesar Augustus (source: http://en.wikipedia.org.wiki/Augustus).

Most images created in the West until the end of the Middle Ages served a religious purpose in the form of Kultbilder and icons that were often venerated in ritual practices (figure 2). Leonardo da Vinci (1956: 10) succinctly describes the superstition that was still prevalent in Renaissance Italy: "Do we not always see paintings that represent deities in their divinity always covered with draperies of very great price? When they are uncovered, great ecclesiastical solemnities are first celebrated, with many chants and sounds of music. And when a picture is unveiled, a great multitude assembles there and the people immediately throw themselves on the ground adoring and praying to Him whom the painting depicts and praying for the return of health and for eternal salvation, just as though the living divinity were actually present." We do not know which images Leonardo actually referred to, but perhaps the *Crucifixion* by Fra Angelico (*circa* 1390-1455) could be a candidate (figure 2).

Enlightened thinker that he was, Leonardo adds: "This does not happen in the case of science and other human endeavour." Nevertheless, he acknowledges the power of cult images: "Certainly you will admit that it is the painted image that causes [in unenlightened minds] something which all the writings about the subject could not do but which the image can accomplish by representing the appearance and the power of the Deity. Therefore it appears that God loves painting and loves him who loves and cherishes it, and He delights to be adored in it rather than in any other form representing Him, wherefore He grants grace and the gifts of health, according to the belief of those who assemble to view His image" (1956: 10). Of course, Leonardo is being cynical by emphasising extreme beholders' response not to the aesthetic values of the image, but to its supposedly cultic value. He nevertheless clearly asserts the fact that the representational effect of painting is superior among the arts, which one may surmise can be ascribed to values not accessible to the ignorant. In practice Leonardo diverges from the cultic aesthetic; instead "he expounds a bold and highly developed conception of painting as a 'science', a systematically self-reflexive mode of engaging and knowing the world" (Williams 2002: 75).

Figure 2
Fra Angelico, Crucifixion, circa 1420, 64x49 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (source: http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/43.98.5).

One may conclude that, as in the case of artefacts, the image as an historical phenomenon was not contemplated with "interesseloses Wohlgefallen" in Immanuel Kant's sense. We now regard icons and Kultbilder as works of art without being bogged down by the consideration of their original function, but this is a fallacy of aesthetisizing works without knowledge of their origin and purpose. In opposition to this approach David Freedberg (1989) focuses on the "power of images", that is on their functions, not exclusively on their aesthetic value. He considers the image to be an ever-present reality to which mankind has ever responded in the same way. That may be so, but during the Renaissance "new-found […] illusionism could be seen as an artful device, an admission that art is a mere fiction, but it could also be seductively, even dangerously convincing, a way to make art come alive" (Von Bonsdorff 2008: 289). In this regard Fredrika Jacobs (2005) demonstrates the significance of lifelikeness in art for Renaissance artists and viewers. As a consequence of this interest artists initiated a new approach to images by initiated the cult of self-referential art, which comments on itself and its creator.

The phases of representation co-exist as a continuum since the creation of the images did not cease after the historical transition to the new mode of representation, called autonomous art. Monumental sculptures are still created to honour the dead and – venturing a guess – many viewers experience these representations as if they represent a personal presence of the deceased.

Autonomous art

While his or her status as artist was usually conferred by society, the self-reflexive and self-referential artist who initiated an autonomous manner of visual art as a humanist and liberal occupation, not as merely a craft, appeared in the West at the dawn of the Renaissance in the fourteenth century, characterised by a specific personal artistic identity conferred on him or herself. This creative attitude initiated the era of art, which, according to Belting (1994: xxi) "lasts until this present day. From the beginning of the modern period, it has been characterized by a particular kind of historiography which, although called the history of art, in fact deals with the history of artists". Art as autobiography has a first interpretation in the words of Cosimo de' Medici: "Ogni dipentore dipigne sé" (Every artist paints himself [or herself]). Giorgio Vasari initiated this trend with his *Le vite de'più eccellenti pittori, scuttori e architetti*. This trend has been revived in contemporary art history – and is also relevant in the present research.

According to Victor Stoichita (1997) modern painters invented the "self-aware image", obviously referring to the self-awareness of the artists projected into their works. He states:

> Compared to early images that had a very specific cultural function and exact location, the painting as an object that is not primarily defined either by its liturgical function or by a predetermined exhibition space. It is an object made for a different kind of contemplation than, let us say, an icon, whose history developed at the heart of what Hans Belting recently called the 'Art Era' which chronologically followed that of the 'Image Era' (Stoichita 1997: xiv).

Stoichita (1997: xiv-xv) avers that "the birth of the 'modern' conception of the image and, finally, the appearance of the artist's image, peremptorily demonstrate that before it embodied the dream of purity the painting was invented out of a blazing confrontation between the new image and its own status, its own boundaries". According to Stoichita (1997: 247) such self-portraits that became a major topic of modern painting is a form of "authorial self-thematization".

To avoid confusion the idea of two kinds of images – "early images" and "the 'modern' conception of the image" – should be avoided. Rather, as Christopher Wood (1999: 1) explains, the modern "is about the ways that paintings themselves commented on representation, on the techniques and signifying strategies of oil painting… ." Thus the artists practicing the noble art of painting explored an innovative, personal manner of creativity by projecting their ideals in their works, with the seeming effect that "the paintings themselves commented on representation".

The self-reflexive artist who paints his or her self-portrait, and more specifically paints his or her self-portrait while painting or holding the tools of his or her craft, is involved with his or her individual self as the sitter and his or her identity as a painter exploring and contextualising his or her psychological projection and artistic expression. This self-awareness is aptly described by Virginia Woolf as "states of the soul in creating".

Painters' self-portraits as painters

As a way of motivating the grouping of the paintings that convey the painters' message that they are self-aware and self-reflexive practitioners, I propose to exhibit them in a "museum without walls". I borrow this idea from Stendhal's *Le musée ideal* and André Malraux's *Le musée imaginaire* (1967) to designate a collection of works of art that are nowhere housed in a single museum. The exhibition of the noble art of painting that I am curating will tell a history of artists from the Middle Ages to the middle of the twentieth century.

Frater Rufillus

It seems appropriate to start with a quotation by the Swiss historian Jacob Burckhardt (1958: 87 and 90-91) who argued that the Renaissance was the time in which, for the first time, “man became a spiritual individual”, capable of defining an identity in terms of personal excellence, free from constraints imposed by society. I do not wish to refute Burckhardt’s reasoning, but to qualify it somewhat. Even though rare, there exists a self-portrait by a Medieval decorator of manuscripts depicting himself fashioning a decorated letter “R” which contains his figure and refers to his name (figure 3). Besides the paraphernalia of his trade, such as brushes and pots of paint, he wrote his name, “Frater Rufillus”, above the line of his brush. This craftsman who deserves to be designated an artist was a monk in Weissenau Abbey in Ravensburg, Germany, near the end of the twelfth century. This lone genius defined himself by celebrating his personal excellence as a self-reflexive artist commenting on his craft.

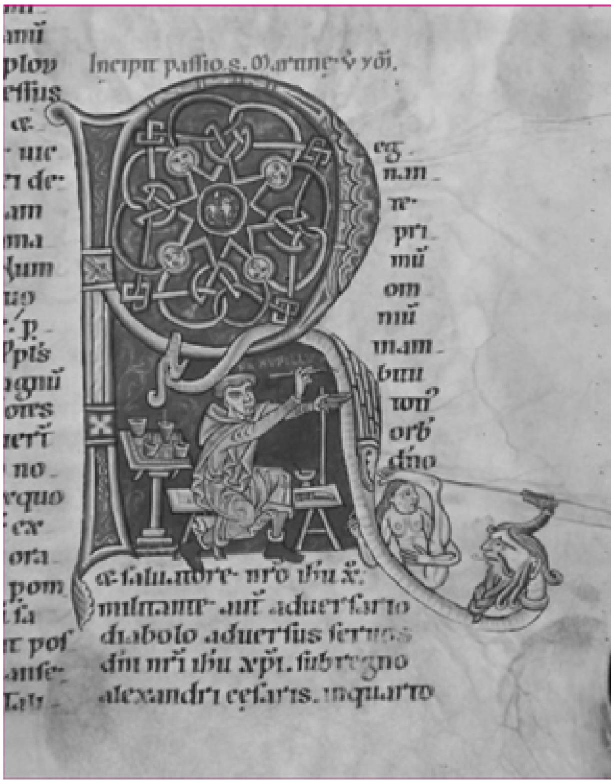

Figure 3
Frater Rufillus decorating the letter “R” in a Medieval manuscript (source: http://erikkwakkel.tumblr.com/post/68811597264/rare-self-portrait-of-a-medieval-artist).

Michelangelo Buonarroti

Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475-1564) included a caricature-like sketch of himself painting the figure of a saint on the Sistine Chapel ceiling in a letter to Giovanni da Pistoia in 1509. It shows him as a physical being, not exalted by his spiritual endeavour (figure 4). It is so remarkable in that it seems to negate the striving of Renaissance artists to be admitted to the ranks of the Humanists who never got their hands dirty with their sole preoccupation with books and discourses. In contrast, the craft of fresco painting is physically demanding and messy, as Michelangelo testified in the letter containing the sketch and also in one of his poems describing his four years of physical labour painting the ceiling. In the act of painting he had to stand on a scaffold almost fifteen metres in the air with his head turned upwards so that his neck ached continuously and paint dripped all over his body. When mould formed on the fresco Michelangelo wanted to quit the job, reminding his patron, Pope Julius II, that he had confessed his incompetence in the craft of fresco before accepting the commission: "I told you I wasn't a painter". However, like all Renaissance artists who mastered Humanist studies, he was not considered to be a craftsman, but the honest sketch of himself shows him as such, belonging to the great unwashed. Indeed, "he was notoriously slovenly in his appearance, and seemed almost to rejoice in living in the most squalid conditions". Nevertheless, he was designated *Il divino* by GiorgioVasari, his admiring biographer.

Figure 4
Michelangelo Buonarroti, pen sketch painting the Sistine Chapel ceiling, 1509 (source: http://100falcons.wordpress.com.2010/07/25/how-michelangelo-painted-the-sistine chapel

Michelangelo nevertheless contributed to elevate the status of artists from mere craftsmen to the creators of autonomous of art, not entirely bound to cultic imagery and dependent on the wishes of a patron. His contemporaries and predecessors likewise contributed to exalt art as a Humanist and intellectual occupation. Most memorable amongst Renaissance artists who also wrote books are the sculptor Lorenzo Ghiberti (1378-1455) who wrote a three-part *Commentarii*, comprising a history and theory of the figurative arts; the architect Leon Battista Alberti (1404-72) who wrote various treatises on art and architecture; the painter and mathematician Piero della Francesca (*circa* 1410/20-92) who published scholarly works on perspective, and, most importantly, Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) who wrote extensive notes about painting and visual studies and expressly argued for the separation of the art of painting from craftsmanship, designating it as a "noble art" (Richter 1939: 654).

To establish the development of the artists in the outlined category of autonomous art, a selection of sixteenth to early twentieth century painters who painted themselves painting will be treated in more or less chronological order. The aspect to be emphasised in the subjects' self-portraits is their self-esteem as painters. Directed at the viewers – because a visual meditation on the self implies a dialogue with the participant – the selected paintings visually communicate a personal assessment of their authors' genuine abilities, as craftsmen, craftswomen and as intellectuals.

Pieter Bruegel the Elder

In a drawing by Pieter Bruegel the Elder (1525-69) of himself painting, he stands facing a canvas, but seems unaware of the viewer gazing over his shoulder at what he is occupied with. Manfred Sellink (2007: 221) comments that "*The Painter and the Connoisseur* highlights the contrast between the proud, self-confident painter with an almost visionary expression in his eyes and the literally and figuratively short-sighted 'connoisseur' gaping over his shoulder". However, Bruegel does not present himself as the gentleman painter, but rather as a craftsman wielding a brush, who has to put up with a potential, rather inquisitive, but idiotic looking gentleman, most probably because of his dependence on the potential buyer's patronage (figure 5). This view of the artist focussing on his craft, trying to ignore the ignorant outsider, is the complete opposite of the generous approach to his clients and the presentation of his own gentlemanly stature by the Spanish painter Diego Velázquez and the self-expression of later Baroque painters.

Figure 5
Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Painter and the Connoisseur*, *circa* 1565, pen and grey-brown ink, 25.5x21.5 cm, Graphische Sammlung, Vienna (source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pieter_Bruegel_the_Elder).

Diego Velázquez

Diego Velázquez (1559-1660) painted *Las meninas* in a large room of the Royal Alcazar of Madrid in 1656, during the reign of his patron, King Philip IV of Spain, in whose service he was designated palace chamberlain (*aposentador mayor del palacio*) in 1651. The theme of the large canvas is the visit of members of the court to the room where the painter is occupied with a portrait of the royal couple. The young Infanta, Marguerita Theresa, takes centre stage, surrounded by her maids in waiting, while the painter steps back from his large canvas and the royal couple is seen in a mirror on the wall behind the painter (figure 6). However, no such portrait of the king and queen exists on a canvas the size in front of Vélazquez (also considering the fact that a part of it was cropped).

Generations of art historians have tried to interpret this painting which is "one of the greatest representations of pictorial representation in all of Western painting" (Alpers 1983: 31). While there is consensus about the greatness of the work, there are differences of opinion about the subject matter. Charles de Tolnay (1949: 34) was quite honest about this:

> It is not simple to define what the subject matter of the canvas is. Is it a portrait of the Infanta Marguerita with the Meninas and the court personnel, or a portrait of the royal couple Philip IV and his wife, Marianne of Austria, whose half-length figures are reflected in the mirror of the background? Or is it chiefly a portrait of the painter himself at the very moment of the execution of the work?

Figure 6
Diego Velázquez, *Las meninas*, 1656, oil on canvas, 318x276 cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid (source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Las_Meninas).

The painting has multiple subjects and the spatial ambiguity of its setting has given rise to various scholarly studies of which those by Michel Foucault (1973), John Searle (1980) and Joel Snyder (1985) deserve special mention, even though they are not in agreement about the meaning of *Las meninas* as a painting in which all elements are integrated.

Besides the setting and the persons present in the painting, it is clearly a self-reflexive painting. Even as he displays his palette and brushes – the materials of his craft – the artist asserts the status of his art as the quintessence of naturalism, not equalled by any other painter of his time. Jonathan Brown (1986: 261) writes in this regard: "Executed when Vélazquez was nearing sixty years of age, *Las Meninas* is a monument to painting as a noble art. Yet, as we know, the picture was created just at the time when Vélazquez' aspirations for personal nobility were being put to a hard test." After an appeal to the Pope, King Philip V granted Vélazquez knighthood of the Order of Saint James on 27 November 1659, the year before his death. Two years after Vélazquez's death the emblem of knighthood was painted on the chest of his figure in *Las meninas*.

Artemisia Lami Gentileschi

Artemisia Gentileschi (1596-1651) has been variously judged by her contemporaries, but present day art historians and feminists have assessed her as one of the great Italian Baroque painters. In her remarkable oeuvre she established a personal and artistic identity, as Mary Garrard (2001: 22) explains:

> Artemisia's artistic identity was shaped not only by professional experience but also by a spectrum of attitudes about the relationship between her personal history and her art. The most conspicuous and widely-known event in her life was the rape trial of 1611-12. This event cast a long shadow on Artemisia's subsequent reputation, which it ultimately deformed, defining her as a woman in primarily sexual terms. Of greater importance, notably to the painter herself, was her ambition to succeed as a painter.

Artemisia's *Self-Portrait as the Allegory of Painting*, is, according to R. Ward-Bissel (1999: 65), a "profession of self-worth" (figure 7). This self-portrait entails more than a celebration of her membership of the Florentine Academy of which she became an official member in 1616 – a remarkable feat for a woman. Fourteen years later, with reference to Ripa's *Iconologia*, Artemisia paints herself according as the personification of painting, *La Pittura*. Busy applying paint to a canvas she aptly depicts herself as slightly dishevelled craftswoman, but with a golden chain hanging conspicuously around her neck to indicate her rank conferred by a ruler, since she attracted the sponsorship of rulers and nobles.

Artemisia's self-assessment of her worth as a painter is aptly described by Garrard (2001: 68-70):

> The artist now openly and boldly claims the identity of Pittura, investing the allegory with living female form. […] Artemisia reveals in this *Self-Portrait* a theoretical sophistication and mature commitment to both art and craft, theory and practice. The artist's vigorous engagement in her work dignifies studio practice, while her thoughtful meditation on the invisible mirror alludes to art's cerebral aspects. Her gestural expression sets the two aspects of art in hierarchical relationship: the upstretched hand holding the brush alludes to the ideal, while the hand on the table, holding the physical materials of palette and paint, refers to craft. Manifestly both aspects are essential to the art of painting, and they are joined in this painting through the practicing artist, Artemisia herself.

Figure 7
Artemisia Gentileschi, *Self-Portrait as the Allegory of Painting*, 1630, Collection Kensington Palace, London (source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Artemisia_Gentileschi).

Rembrandt Harmenz. Van Rijn

Rembrandt Harmenz. Van Rijn (1606-69) was certainly the greatest painter of the Baroque era in The Netherlands. At the age of 59 he painted himself holding a palette and brushes. The self-portrait shows him turned away from the canvas he was presumably working on, and in a full-frontal pose he looks out of the painting, exposing himself directly to the viewer (figure 8). The painterly craftsmanship of this portrait and the manner in which Rembrandt interprets himself as a painter is not all that keep viewers occupied. Looking past the figure of the painter at the background one's attention is occupied by two large circles drawn on a wall in the background. What do they mean? Art historians remain somewhat baffled. One explanation is that Rembrandt identified with the skilful craftsmen of previous centuries, such as Giotto and Raphael, who could draw perfect free-hand circles. Perhaps the circles are included in the painting as symbols of eternity and transcendental spirituality which appealed to the aging painter. According to James Hall (2014: 159), "Another interpretation suggests itself when we notice that if the arc of the 'circle' behind Rembrandt's head were continued downwards, it would pass through the painter's right eye, which is illuminated. It would then be a visualization of a credo attributed to Michelangelo, and cited by van Mander in his life of the artist, which stressed that it was necessary 'to have compasses in the eyes and not the hand'." The message Rembrandt conveys in this self-portrait is that he is not following artistic rules or conventions, but trusts the judgement of his eye to present himself self-consciously portraying the creative act in painting.

Figure 8
Rembrandt, *Self-Portrait with Two Circles*, 1665-9, oil on canvas, 114.3x94 cm, Kenwood House, London (source: http://www.mystudies.com/ rembrandt/rembrandt-paintings-two-circles.html).

Judith Leyster

Even though not attaining the artistic heights of Rembrandt, Judith Leyster (1609-60) has been elevated to a noteworthy representative of the seventeenth century golden age of Dutch painting. Renowned in her lifetime, but forgotten after her death, her works were ascribed to either her husband, Jan Miense Molenaer (1610-68), or Frans Hals by whom she was influenced, she was only rediscovered as a superb artist in he own right in 1990. The first retrospective of her work was organised as a joint venture by the Frans Halsmuseum and the Worcester Art Museum in 1993.

Leyster was the first woman artist to become a member of the Haarlem Guild of St. Luke, a status she celebrates in her *Self-Portrait* was probably painted as a representation piece submitted to the guild (figure 9). Leyster's first biographer, Frima Fox Hofrichter (1989: 52) notes that the pose of the artist painting and turning to face the audience may have been inspired by Frans Hals and other contemporary painters, but nevertheless evaluates the exceptionally striking pose of the woman painting herself painting as follows:

> She indicates her artistic prowess by wielding eighteen brushes, without a *mahlstick*. And the play of angles within the painting (from the bodice, collar, canvas, elbow, arm, brush and bow) is truly a *tour-de-force*. She shows herself as a spirited, confident woman; casually leaning back, elbow hooked over her chair and looking out at us with assurance and ease. Leyster is dressed as one of her own patrons might be, in keeping with the trend at this time for the artist to be both painter and courtier.

Figure 9
Judith Leyster, *Self-Portrait*, circa 1630, canvas, 74.4x65.3 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. (source: http://art-now-and-then.blogspot.com/2012/03/judith-leyster.html).

Up to this point in the argument two aspects of artists' self-portraits painting become clear: the aspect of craftsmanship and the celebration of the "noble art of painting" that elevate the painter as an intellectual worthy of the highest social status. The self-reflexive artist makes a statement about his or her art. Artists after Rembrandt asserted themselves in a similar way, as the continued discussion will prove.

Francisco José de Goya

In the early 1790s Francisco José de Goya (1746-1828) painted a unique self-portrait working on a large upright canvas, presumably painting a portrait since his gaze is turned toward his subject. The painter stands in sharp outline in front of a sunlit window. What has attracting much comment on this self-portrait is the painter's dress, especially his curious hat with candle holders. Robert Hughes (2003: 81) comments that the painter "is not likely to have worked in that embroidered, red-braided bullfighter's jacket, which together with Goya's direct and level gaze, makes its statement clearly: I can't be fooled, I'm tough, I am a man of the people, I know what I see". That may be what he conveyed about himself as a man, a macho-like bull-fighter. What did he convey about his art as a portrait painter? It is known that he painted portraits in one session, often standing at his easel for ten hours at a time and when daylight faded he lit candles in the holders in his hat. However, Goya's physical endurance did not last and his later life the vicissitudes of illness and the disasters of war deepened his artistic vision.

Figure 10
***Self-Portrait in the Studio*, 1790-95, oil on canvas, 42x28 cm, Museo de la Real Academia de San Fernando, Madrid (source: http://www.wikiart.org/en/francisco-goya/self-portrait-in-the-studio).**

Jean Désiré Gustave Courbet

Introducing the artist's career Michael Fried (1990: 1-2) states that

> [I]n the aftermath of the Revolution of 1848, from which he had first stood apart, Courbet produced a series of monumental, realistic canvases, […] that mark his emergence both as a major painter and a disruptive force in French cultural life. The disruptiveness was partly a function of Courbet's public personality, which combined unbridled self-confidence ("I paint like *le Bon Dieu*" he once said), disdain for officially constituted authority, and republican political sympathies.

Gustave Courbet (1819-77) was clearly an artist free from academic restraints when he painted the monumental *Artist's Studio*: *A Real Allegory of a Seven Year Phase in my Artistic and Moral Life* in 1855, in which the artist represents himself in the centre of the painting seated at his easel, painting a landscape, flanked by friends and admirers to the right and opposition to the left, an ambiguous presence he did not shun. Likewise, Courbet asserts his power over the meaning of art as simultaneously "real" and an "allegory", as the title implies.

Courbet, the anti-romantic is quite rightly understood to be a naturalist who renders subjects from everyday life. However, he also asserts his imaginative understanding of his work as a continuation of the old masters by emphasising the allegorical ideal, even though "real allegory" is a contradiction in terms. Paul Crowther (2002: 118) ventures an interpretation of the planimetric emphasis in Courbet's key works, such as the *Artist's Studio*: "This emphasis may, in Courbet's mind, have accentuated the delivery of these works' narrative content, but it could also be the case that, in his commitment to the materiality of painting as an artisanal practice, he had intuitively found the means of affirming this through pictorial structure."

While being the artisan, Courbet is also the intellectual artist who heralds an innovative phase of picturing, positioning himself at the centre of both trends that have roots in the past. Freed from patronage he acknowledges his foes and friends and expresses his understanding that art reconciles the dichotomies of reality and illusion.

Figure 11
***The Artist's Studio*: *A Real Allegory of a Seven Year Phase in my Artistic and Moral Life*, 1855, 359x598 cm, oil on canvas, Musée d'Orsay, Paris (source: http://www.en.wikipedia.0rg/wiki/The_Painter's_Studio).**

Paul Cézanne

Paul Cézanne (1839-1906) famously said that he wanted to recreate Poussin after nature, a statement that revealed his dual passion: the observation of nature and the allure of classical composition. This ideal is emphasised in his statement: "I want to make impressionism something solid and lasting like the art in the museums." So how did Cézanne achieve the solidity he aspired, combined with his vision of nature? The solution is in the treatment of nature, as he instructed Emile Bernard in a letter, dated 15 April 1904: "treat nature by the cylinder, the sphere, the cone, everything in proper perspective…" (Cézanne 1941).

With nature as the invisible scaffolding there is an abundance of geometric forms in Cézanne's paintings. The solidity of figural forms that he achieved is different from the naturalism of Velazquez or the realism of Courbet. In his *Self-Portrait with a Palette* he conceived of his own person, constructed of different hues to define the surface and form-directed brushstrokes that gives it a sculptural presence of a combined cylindrical body and a spherical head. His gaze is directed at the canvas, absorbed in his own art.

Cézanne gave a new direction to painting and his legacy endured in the various -isms of modernism, especially Cubism with its reduction of objects represented on a flat canvas to forms reminiscent of his advice to treat nature.

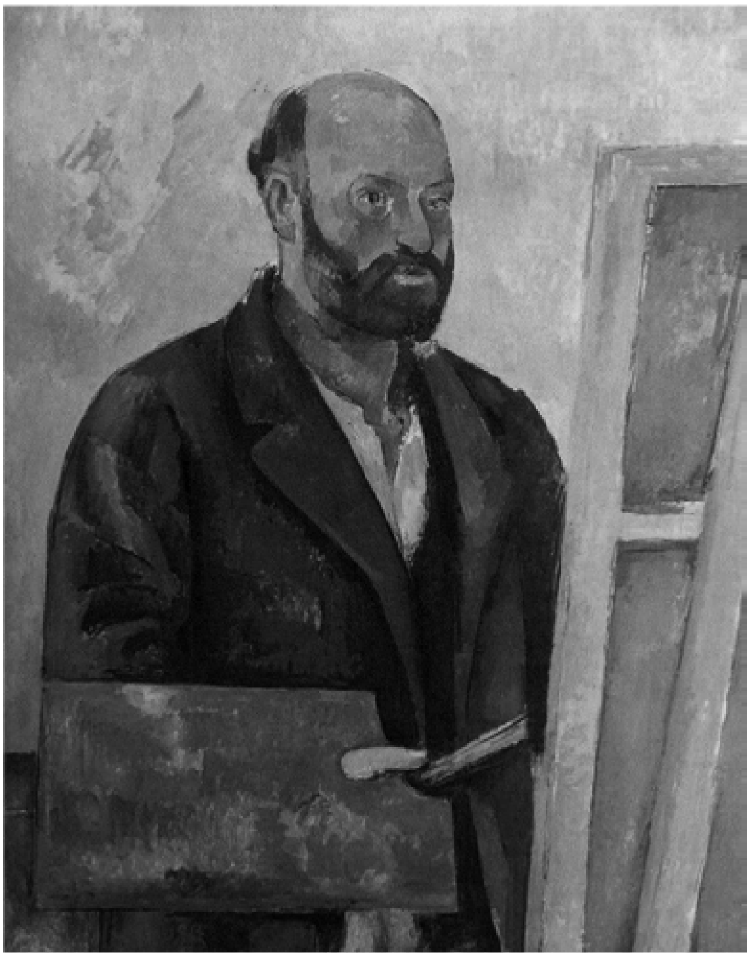

Figure 12
Paul Cézanne, *Self-Portrait with a Palette*, 1885-87, oil on canvas, 92x73 cm, Private Collection (source: http://www.ibiblio.org/wm/paint/auth/cezanne/ portraits/self/self-palette/cezanne.self-palette.jpg).

Vincent Van Gogh

Vincent Van Gogh (1853-90) painted masterpieces in spite of the fact that success as a painter seemed to evade him. The vicissitudes of his life also seemed to underline the inevitability of failure. However, Ingo Walther and Rainer Metzger (1993: 11) emphasise Van Gogh's "tireless ambition for recognition, even if only in the image society had fashioned and could accept, the image of the outsider, the isolated genius. If ever there was a genius against his own will, it was Vincent van Gogh".

There is a family likeness between Cézanne's self-portrait and Van Gogh's *Self-Portrait in Front of the Easel* of 1888, since his gaze is likewise not directed at the viewer but at the work of art he is preoccupied with. Like Cézanne Van Gogh was aware of tradition of his great predecessors who mastered the noble art of painting, not wanting to recreate them after nature, but in psychological terms. While painting this self-portrait, in isolation and without a patron, he was most probably hoping that his works belong in the gallery of self-reflective painters. Instead his works influenced self-expressive painters in the era of Expressionism that modified the way in which artists practicing the “noble art of painting” represented themselves.

Figure 13
Vincent van Gogh, *Self-Portrait in Front of the Easel*, 1888, oil on canvas, 65.5x50.5 cm, Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam (source: http://www.vggallery.com/painting/p-0622.htm).

Pablo Ruiz y Picasso

Pablo Ruiz y Picasso (1881-1973) painted his *Self-Portrait with Palatte* in 1906 (figure 14). The twenty-five year old painter portrays himself as robust figure with a palette in his left hand. He had already mastered the lessons of the great masters of the past and established himself as a painter with a new vision. Not confronted by an easel he holds a palette but no brushes, his face is mask-like and his eyes, which are not directed at the viewer or a mirror, stare into an indefinite future.

Then, in 1938 *Self-Portrait* he bade farewell to the tradition of the noble art of painting and pursued his quest for an uncertain future of figurative art that is no longer naturalistic, oscillating between art and non-art (figure 15).

Figure 14
Pablo Picasso, *Self-Portrait with Palette*, 1906, oil on canvas, 91.9x73.3 cm, Philadelphia Museum of Art (source: http://www.philamuseum.org/collections/permanent/50947.html).

Figure 15
Pablo Picasso, *Self-Portrait*, *circa* 1938, charcoal and pencil on canvas, whereabouts unknown (source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/32357038@N08/3134087782).

Figure 16
Paul Gauguin, *Where do We Come From? What are We? Where are We Going?* 1897, oil on canvas, 139x375 cm, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (source: http://www.mfa.org/collectios/object/where-do-we-come-from-what-are-we-where-are-we-going-32558).

During the early twentieth century the Western artistic tradition moved into an era of experimentation in which traditional ways of visual representation were challenged, for example by the short-lived phase of abstract painting. In the twenty-first century we have moved into an era beyond postmodernism in which visual expression is characterised by experimentation and a search for new paradigms in multimedia and venues that technology opens up. A third, contemporary phase is occurring in the twenty-first century. In the era after postmodernism, visual expression and communication is now characterised by further experimentation made possible by the application of fast-developing multimedia and technological aids that may lead to a new visual paradigm, not limited by the representation of reality as in the past, neither by the fate of entombment in museums. It will be recalled that in a letter to his son Paul Cézanne famously called museums "the necropolis of art" (quoted from Tuma 2002: 80). Contemporary living artists' creations may avoid the fate of burial in museums now that their acts of creation are often ephemeral, but more open than ever to direct viewer participation, and requiring photographic or video documentation to be detained as a recorded event.

The artistic paradigm of the past – figurative originating in the representations of images, with a shift to self-reflexive personal expression – is *passé.* In future, groups such as Gutai in Japan may replace the focus on the individual, autonomous artist (figure 17). If we follow the footsteps in the photograph of a detail of their 2013 installation in the Guggenheim Museum, Venice, Gauguin's question regarding where we are going may be answered.

Finally, a lasting future paradigm for art with a high level of cognitive abstraction will surely deny any resemblance to the preceding phases, even though existing in continuum with figurative art which may still find adherents.

Figure 17
Gutai Group, Detail of the installation *Splendid Playground*at the Guggenheim Museum, Venice, 2013 (source: http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Gutai_group&oldid=617191353).

Notes

1 The nature of representation in art has become a central topic in philosophy as postulated by Kulviki (2014), even though theories about depiction and resemblance remain inconclusive For a survey of definitions of art, see Adajian (2012: 1) who contends that "The definition of art is controversial in contemporary philosophy. Whether art can be defined has also been a matter of controversy".

2 For a discussion of the concept of a paradigm, see Bird (2011).

3 The terms "representational" and "figurative" art are used interchangeably. Both deal with the very same paradigm which is based on symmetries or isomorphisms between object and its representation of a real subject or natural source.

4 Leonardo da Vinci argued the case for the superiority of painting as a "noble art " in his *Paragone*: *Of Poetry and Painting*, included as a first chapter in all editions of his *Treatise on Painting*. See also Lee (1967) for an overview of the status of painting during the Italian Renaissance.

5 See Stewart (2006) for a discussion of the image of the emperor as a political presence.

6 See note 4.

7 "Interesseloses Wohlgefallen" is translated as "disinterested pleasure", which basically refers to a subjective mode of free delight in form in the arts. See Kant (2008).

8 The subject of the status conferred on artists by their societies is discussed by Barker, Webb and Woods (1999).

9 For a discussion of the ambition of Renaissance artists to elevate painting and sculpture as belonging to the Liberal Arts, see Garrard (1980).

10 Quoted from Garrard (2001: 18 and endnote 35).

11 Virginia Woolf formulated this phrase when she struggled to shape the novel, *The Waves*, in an appropriate form. See Woolf (1984).

12 See Fernandez (1995).

13 The honour of discovering the painting by Frater Rufillius is due to Erik Kwakkel (2014), a Dutch scholar of Medieval manuscripts.

14 Quoted from Lee (2013: 20) who refers to Paolo Giovio, Michelangelo's biographer for details on Michelangelo's life.

15 The painting is discussed in more detail by Garrard (1980: 103).

16 See also Garrard (1989: 337-70).

17 For a discussion of the rediscovery of the art of Judith Leyster, see Hofrichter (1993: 115-21).

18 See: http://www.en.epopteia.gr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=66:cezanne-letters&catid=10:portraits&Itemid=84, retrieved on 16/09/2014.

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