MISCAST

Preis-Verzeichniss

der

zoologischen Sammlung, von C. F. Drege in Süd-Afrika zusammengebracht

und in Hamburg für beigesetzte Preise zu beziehen.

July 1840.

Das Stück in Hamb. Ct.	℔	ß
I. Säugethiere.		
Buschmann Frau	400	—
Cercopithecus pygerythraceus	20	—
Cynocephalus ursinus	35	—
" " *jun.*	8	—
Vespertilio frons	2	—
Sorex capensis	2	—
" *spec.*	2	—
Buthygerus capensis	5	—
" *caecutiens*	8	—
" *maritimus*	10	—
" *Hottentottus*	6	—
" *spec.*	4	—
Chrysochloris aurata	4	—
" *holosericea*	5	—
Rhynomus jaculus	6	—
Lutra lapensis	15	—
s. C.		
Canis mesomelas	20	—
" " *jun.*	6	—
Proteles Lalandii	50	—
Hyaena villosa	50	—
Viverra Genetta	8	—
" " *s. Cr.*	5	—
Herpestes griseus	8	—
" *s. Cr.*	5	—
" *madagascariensis*	10	—
" *s. Cr.*	5	—
" " *jun.*	1	8
" *paludinosus*	10	—
Mephites Zorella	8	—
Felis capensis (Tigerboschkat)	20	—
" *coligata* (roode Kat)	10	—
" *Leo fem.*	150	—
" " *masc. s. Cr.*	100	—
" *Leopardus*	40	—
" *jubata jun.*	15	—
Sciurus capensis	5	—
" *spec.*	7	—
Mus pumilio	2	—
" *spec.*	2	—
" *spec.*	2	—
" *spec.*	2	—
" *spec.*	2	—
" *spec.*	2	—
" *spec.*	2	—
" *spec.*	2	—
" *rattus? spec. Natal*	3	—
Otomis capensis	2	—
" *spec.*	2	—
" *spec.* (Vlakmaus)	3	—
Hypodeus spec.	2	—
" " " (Klipmaus)	3	—
Dipus caffer	18	—
Hystrix cristata	25	—
" " *jun.*	4	—
Lepus capensis	5	—
" " *jun.*	1	8
" *rufinucha* (Kliphaas)	6	—
Sus aethiopicus. (Vlaktevark)	35	—
" " *jun.*	10	—
Hippopotamus amphibius jun.		
s. Cr.	25	—
Hyrax capensis	8	—
" " *jun.*	3	—

Das Stück in Hamb. Ct.	℔	ß
Equus Burchelli	150	—
" *Quagga*	80	—
" " *jun.*	10	—
" *Zebra*	150	—
" " *jun.*	15	—
Antilope Oryx. (Gemsbock)		
" " *jun.*	100	—
" *Pygarga* (Bontebock)	60	—
" " *jun.*	15	—
" *Gnu* (Wildebeest)	90	—
" *jun.*	18	—
" *Caama* (Hartebeest)	80	—
" *Oreas* (Eland)	200	—
" " *jun. s. Cr.*	25	—
" *sylvatica* (Boschbock)	50	—
" *albifrons* (Blesbock)	100	—
" " *jun.*	20	—
" *Euchore* (Springbock)	35	—
" *Oreotragus* (Klippspring.)	40	—
" " *jun.*	10	—
" *Eleotragus* (Rietbock)	100	—
" *Grimmia* (Kulfduiker)	20	—
" " *jun.*	8	—
" *Capreolus* (Rehbock)	30	—
" " *jun.*	8	—
" *Lalandii* (roode Rehbock)	40	—
" *melanotis* (Grysbock)	20	—
" " *jun.*	8	—
" *scoparia* (Orlbi)	25	—
" *rufescens* (Vlaksteenbock)	20	—
" " *jun.*	8	—
" *pygmaea* (Blauwbock)	15	—
" " *jun.*	7	—
" *spec.*	40	—
Ovis steatopyga	30	—
" *guineensis?* (Damara Schaap)	40	—

Nachschrift:

Nur wobei *s. Cr.* bemerkt, fehlt der Schädel, die übrigen sind alle mit Cranium.

II. Vögel

in trocknen Bälgen.

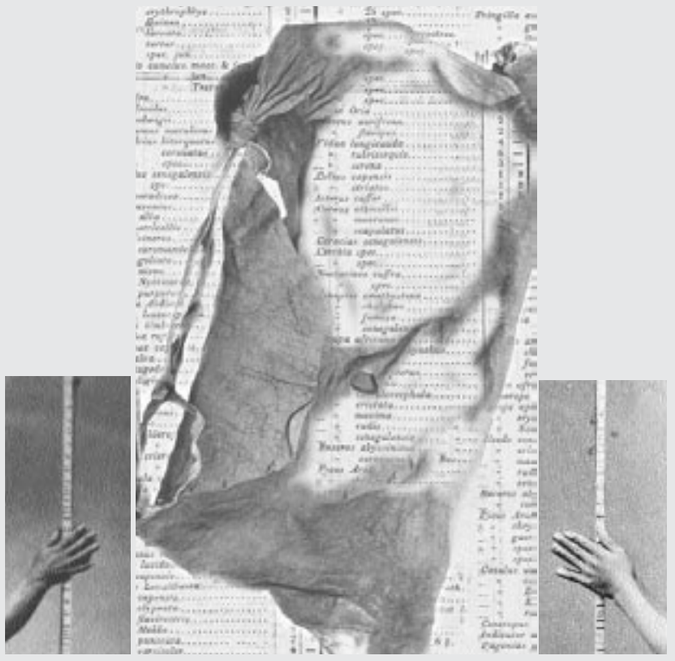
Das Stück in Hamb. Ct.	℔	ß
Vultur Kolbii	25	—
Cathartes perenopterus	10	—
Falco capensis	4	—
" *chiquera*	6	—
" *ecaudatus*	16	—
" *exilis*	6	—
" *gabar*	8	—
" *Jackal*	8	—
" *melanopterus*	10	—
" *musicus*	8	—
" *niger*	4	—
" *voifer*	15	—
" *vulturinus*	20	—
Milvus parasiticus	5	—
Gypogeranus secretarius	50	—
Strix africana	2	—
" *flammea*	2	—
Bubo lactea	20	—
Lanius atrococcineus	6	—
" *Bakbakiri*	1	8

Das Stück in Hamb. Ct.	℔	ß
Lanius Bulbul	1	8
" *colluris*	1	8
" *Cublan*	1	8
" *Fiscal*	1	8
" *icterus*	2	—
" *olivaceus*	6	—
" *senegalensis*	2	—
Edolius forficatus	1	8
Muscicapa paradisi	2	—
" *stricta*	1	8
" *torquata*	1	8
" *spec.*	1	—
" *spec.*	1	—
" *spec.*	1	—
" *spec.*	1	—
" *spec.*	1	—
" *spec.*	1	—
Ceblepyris caesia	2	—
Turdus capensis	1	8
" *erythacus*	1	—
" *griseus*	1	8
" *reposcens*	1	8
" *rupestris*	1	8
" *spec.*	1	—
Lamprotornis Aenea	4	—
" *bicolor*	1	8
" *morio*	1	8
" *nitens*	2	—
Pastor galinacea	2	—
Oriolus auratus	3	—
" *larvatus*	2	—
Motacilla capensis	2	—
Saxicola cachinans	2	—
" *pileata*	1	8
" *rubicola*	1	—
" *semirufa*	1	8
" *spec.*	1	—
Crithagra chrysopyga	1	8
Sylvia madagascariensis	2	—
" *spec.*	1	—
" *spec.*	1	—
" *spec.*	1	—
" *spec.*	1	—
Malurus spec.	1	8
" *spec.*	1	—
Anthus capensis	1	—
Cypselus caffra	2	8
" *pygurgus*	2	—
Hirundo capensis	2	—
" *nigra*	1	8
" *panayana*	2	—
" *rufifrons*	1	8
Caprimulgus infuscatus	2	—
Alauda africana	3	—
" *capensis*	2	—
" *magnirostris*	1	8
" *rufocapilla*	1	8
" *spec.*	1	—
" *spec.*	1	—
" *spec.*	1	—
Parus afer	1	8
" *capensis*	1	8
" *leucoptera*	3	—
Emberiza flavigaster	2	—
Euplectes capensis	2	8

MISCAST

Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen

Edited by Pippa Skotnes



UCT PRESS

MISCAST

at the South African National Gallery

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Assistant Curator
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Curatorial Committee
Marilyn Martin (SANG Director)
Emma Bedford
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Previous Page (facing)
A price list for an auction of skins (1840) the first entry of which, under the heading "Saugethiere" (mammals), is the skin of a ' Bushman woman'.
Courtesy Patricia Davison.

Dedicated to the memory of
Lucy Lloyd

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Running Before That Wind

Forewords

On 14 December 1995 Cecil le Fleur asked the South African parliament, on behalf of the Griqua people, to intervene in the return of the plaster cast and skeletal and other remains of Saartje Baartman, the young woman who was publicly displayed at salons, fairs and animal acts in London and Paris from 1810 to 1815, when she died. This plea followed a letter sent to the French government in which the authorities were requested to return Saartje Baartman to the Griquas, the "guardians and custodians of continuous, uninterrupted and unbroken Cape Aboriginal Khoikhoi heritage" (*Cape Times* 12 December 1995). The Griqua National Conference of South Africa is the latest group to join in the campaign demanding her return and burial. Why has the pitiful life, and fate after death, of Saartje Baartman become the focus of so much concern and action?

Saartje Baartman is a potent symbol of the humiliation suffered by indigenous people in general and indigenous South Africans in particular. I knew something of her history through Penny Siopis' research and her paintings; I knew that the Musée de l'Homme in Paris housed the plaster cast made upon her death, as well as her skeleton and sexual organs. None of it, however, prepared me for the encounter with Saartje Baartman's death cast at Musée d'Orsay, in May 1994, on an exhibition entitled *La sculpture ethnographique de la Venus hottentote á la Tehura de Gauguin*. The naked horror of her plight and suffering, the sense of untold pain and shame, and the knowledge that it was part of my own history, were overwhelming.

Saartje Baartman has become a focus of the way in which human beings were used by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century theorists of race to prove the superiority of Europeans; she stands for all those who were reduced to specimens and scientific information. Her people were regarded as closer to the animal kingdom than to humankind, or at least among the most primitive of human types. As a result, they became the most brutalised people in the history of southern Africa—victims of genocide and slavery, stripped of their land and the fabric of their lives and their culture. Until recently, Khoisan[1] resistance to the colonial powers and settler developments has remained unrecorded in our history books, their interaction with and cultural influence on other groups has been ignored, and the astonishing art created on the surfaces of rocks excluded from art history books and art museums. The people were portrayed as wild, as murderers and robbers without intellect or history.

Saartje Baartman puts the decendants of the Khoisan populations at the centre of contemporary political and cultural debates—debates with national and international implications and ramifications. The retention, display and repatriation of human remains and other sensitive material are matters of concern in many countries. So are natural-history museum displays of naked body casts and objects that are associated with nature rather than with culture, with primitivism rather than civilisation—and forever relegated to the past. Her odyssey of exploitation and public exhibition finds a poignant echo in the lives of people who are displayed for tourists.

Some see the situation of 'Bushmen' living on the Kagga Kamma reserve as no more than "a modern version of the old freak shows of the past" (*The Sunday Times* 25 June 1995). Saartje Baartman is becoming an icon (hopefully not a pawn) in fractious post-apartheid coloured politics.[2] There is a growing pride in having indigenous roots, and people are choosing to identify with the original inhabitants of southern Africa. Many will claim her. For all of us she stands as a reminder of the agonies of the past, of our need to face and deal with history and memory, and of our collective responsibility to resist a desire for historical amnesia. The debates around her also impact on issues of redress and restitution of land, and land is inextricably linked to place and identity.[3] Facing history, and accepting the challenges to work through the past and find solutions for the present, reside in the exhibition *Miscast*.

A number of ground-breaking exhibitions have been curated at the South African National Gallery (SANG) over the past few years. These involved working hand-in-hand with the people whose histories and/or visual culture we were representing, or engaging individuals in the production of the exhibition and written documentation.[4] Guest curator Pippa Skotnes went to considerable effort to consult with San groups in the preparation for *Miscast*, but there are few voices around to articulate this particular past, and consultations with groups took place through the medium of attorneys and other agents. What we hope to achieve through the catalogue, the exhibition and associated education programmes, is to begin the process of dealing with the complex issues, to tell the story of genocide in southern Africa,[5] to reveal the extraordinary cultural and artistic achievement of the San, to focus on the need to acknowledge and preserve rock art as part of our heritage, and to raise and stimulate awareness of the conditions, aspirations and interests of Khoisan descendants in southern Africa.

Apart from the co-operative projects between museum curators and members of specific communities mentioned above, in the past six years we have explored ways of curating and presenting exhibitions which drew directly on the skills and talents of people living in our immediate environment, but with SANG staff functioning as

curators.[6] That changed with the exhibition *Face Value: Old Heads in Modern Masks*, which took place from November 1993 to February 1994. Artist Malcolm Payne produced a book which had as its stimulus seven terracotta hollow modelled heads found near the town of Lydenburg in the Transvaal in the 1950s, and estimated to be about 1300 years old. He conceived the installation which comprised the Lydenburg Heads, his own works of art in two and three dimensions, and a row of supermarket trolleys. Not only were the Lydenburg Heads—held in custodianship by the South African Museum on behalf of the University of Cape Town—removed from their archaeological context and exhibited with Payne's own work, the artist also usurped the curatorial authority of the host institution. With *IGugu lamaNdebele—The Pride of the Ndebele*, the dynamics were different. Peter Rich, architect and expert on Ndebele art and architecture, designed the exhibition and directed the construction and installation. Six Ndebele women—sa Kabini, Emma Mahlangu, Betty Masanabo, Lia Masilele, Sophie Masiza and Anna Matshiye—worked with him and SANG curators over a period of one month, thereby providing a pertinent voice and real intervention in a process which was open to the public.

Pippa Skotnes details the challenges facing her, and the ways in which she approached the project, in her *Introduction* to this volume. *Miscast* is informed by ten years of research which saw the publication of papers and books and the curation of two other exhibitions. Unlike the exhibition at the South African Museum in May 1991, which launched her book *Sound from the Thinking Strings*, this exhibition does not include her own art works. Curatorship itself becomes the creative act, and the sense of sight and interaction with the visual presentation and the material become the prime vehicles for reading and revealing, interpreting and celebrating. Spaces and objects are pierced by the imagination to release and raise the voices from the past. Skotnes confirms—in the most potent and poetic way—that knowledge resides in the visual exploration of things, and that culture is a site for human sharing and understanding. Shifting definitions of art, and their concomitant effects on the status and meaning of objects, as well as the relocation and movement of objects across boundaries, have been examined and explored in exhibitions and publications in South Africa and abroad. For the SANG this has meant an overlap with discourses and disciplines other than our own, and the creation of new and unexpected partnerships. We have drawn on the expertise of colleagues in museums and universities and we have borrowed objects from many diverse sources. But this exhibition marks the first formal association of the South African National Gallery with the University of Cape Town and the South African Museum. It is a major step in the process of pooling our resources, energies and expertise and in crossing the traditional divides. I am profoundly grateful for the initiative, support and collaboration which have made this project possible, and wish to thank everyone concerned, but in particular the staff of the SANG who worked on the exhibition, and Pippa Skotnes, for their passion and commitment.

Miscast constitutes a significant contribution to the appreciation of the cultural and aesthetic expression of the people of southern Africa, as well as to a re-evaluation of the way in which this expression is viewed and assessed world-wide.

Marilyn Martin
Director, South African National Gallery

HELD IN TRUST

Museums are places of memory, entrusted with holding collections, and empowered with the authority to interpret and exhibit them for public viewing. Although often concerned with things past, museum practice is situated in a continually changing present. None of the essential museum processes—collecting, classifying, keeping, studying and exhibiting—is static or value-free. All are historically contingent and shaped selectively by theoretical, aesthetic and pragmatic concerns. By examining the politics and poetics of presentation at a particular time and place it is possible to gain insight into the less obvious, sometimes entangled, motives behind making exhibitions. A reflexive understanding of museum practice, however, does not reduce curatorial responsibility.

Given the power of museums to shape and disseminate knowledge, curators have a responsibility to adhere to certain ethical principles in relation to the way collections are made and used. This is specially pertinent in the case of human remains and sacred objects, where the principle of respecting the dignity and privacy of individuals and communities is of paramount importance. In the case of anthropology collections from communities that have no known living representatives, museum curators have the uneasy role of trying to be sensitive to their interests, albeit removed in time, space and cultural context. Curators of collections classified as southern San find themselves in this situation.

Discussions leading up to the South African Museum's contribution to this exhibition brought into sharp focus some of the contemporary dilemmas facing curators of anthropology collections and photographs dating back to the early years of the discipline. The proposed installation stimulated discussion that extended far beyond the usual boundaries of exhibition-making. This interdisciplinary engagement remains an important dimension of the project. Among other issues, it focused attention on complex historical relationships between coloniser and colonised, and the difficulty of representing these relationships without unintentionally reinforcing misconceptions or indulging in yet another form of cultural exploitation. However, the exhibition set out explicitly to challenge stereotypes and evoke respect for the /Xam and other southern African hunter-gatherers. From a curatorial perspective, the project was unconventional and provoked discussion on custodial responsibility. It was recognised that, when re-presented by an artist, artefacts from research collections would evoke an unstable array of new meanings for viewers. In practice, curatorial responsibility was shared, and the interaction between museum professionals and Pippa Skotnes proved creative and rewarding, as did the collaboration between institutions. Through this process, museum objects were re-envisioned and thus revitalised.

Currently in South Africa there is an openness to redressing past injustices, but in rethinking colonial practices and relationships it is important to pay attention to the historical and intellectual contexts in which they were situated. In this regard, Saul Dubow's recent volume on scientific racism in modern South Africa is essential reading. He makes the point that in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, scientists concerned with questions of race were often prominent intellectuals, widely supported by their peers. The epithet 'racist' was not necessarily regarded as a term of contempt. Intellectual discourses on race were part of mainstream science, until World War II showed the dire consequences of politicised racism. Dubow also cautions against reducing scientific concepts of race to a uniform expression or ideology. For example, although both comparative philology and anatomy were concerned with relationships among races, they constituted different intellectual traditions.

German philologist Wilhelm Bleek, although by no means free of nineteenth-century assumptions about race, set out to demonstrate the romantic ideal of a common genealogy for all languages, and thereby illuminate affinities among human groups. The quest for a single root language did not succeed, but Bleek's pioneering work resulted in an extraordinarily rich ethnographic record of /Xam language and culture, the full importance of which only began to be recognised a century after his death. In recent decades, the work of Bleek and Lucy Lloyd has animated interpretations of rock art and /Xam cosmology. Their shades, together with those of //Kabbo, Diä!kwain, /Han≠kass'o and many unnamed /Xam, must surely grace this exhibition.

Unlike philologists, comparative anatomists were more concerned with human variability and essential biological differences among races. Museums in South Africa and elsewhere amassed skeletal collections that formed the basis of morphological studies and the construction of racial typologies. In the early twentieth century, physical anthropology arose as a branch of the emerging profession of anthropology that was specifically concerned with human origins and the classification of physical types. Louis Péringuey, director of the South African Museum from 1906 to1924, was responsible for assembling a large collection of crania, which he sent to London for morphological analysis, in the hope of characterising physical differences between 'Bush' and 'Khoikhoi' people. After detailed craniometric study, it was concluded that no morphological distinction could be made.

In 1907, Péringuey also initiated a project to make life-casts of 'pure-bred Bushmen and Hottentots'. The motivation for the project was a combination of science and salvage. The influential anthropologist A.C. Haddon had described Bushmen and Hottentots as "very primitive varieties of mankind", who were "rapidly diminishing" in number. The former attribute gave the project scientific validity, the latter lent it urgency. Over 60 casts were produced in subsequent years. When placed on public display in the Museum, they immediately became a major visitor attraction. However, the prominence accorded the casts was out of proportion to any proven scientific significance, and the emphasis on racial primitiveness reinforced existing stereotypes. In 1960, some of the casts were rehoused in a diorama depicting an idealised hunter-gatherer camp. This remains the most popular exhibition in the South African Museum. It is hoped that the present exhibition will set up a dialogue, as it were, with the diorama.

While academic anthropology has undergone a number of significant paradigm shifts during the past century, early museum collections are tangible reminders of past scientific concerns and curatorial practices. Although, with hindsight, the ideas that gave rise to early physical anthropology collections may now seem misguided, they have historical and epistemological significance. How these collections from the past are used in the present constitutes an ethical challenge to museums. Curators have a responsibility to acknowledge the history of collections without necessarily justifying past practices, and to work towards increasing awareness of the ways in which cultural identities are shaped and reshaped. As Jonathan Benthall has said of the photographic collections of the Royal Anthropological Institute, museums hold "precious deposits of human understanding and misunderstanding".

A number of the objects shown in this exhibition were originally housed in the ethnological collection of the School of African Life and Language at the University of Cape Town. However, interest in material culture waned as evolutionism and diffusionism lost academic credibility in favour of functionalist social anthropology. The collections eventually fell into neglect and disrepair. By the 1960s, anthropologists at UCT were conscious that an emphasis on culture and ethnic identity was open to political abuse, and consequently there was little theoretical or practical interest in material culture. Most of the collection that remained was placed in the care of the South African Museum on permanent loan. A recent revival of interest in cultural studies has not only revealed the significance of the collections, from a number of different perspectives, but has underlined the immensely valuable curatorial role played by the South African Museum. Had the collections exhibited here not been cared for with dedication, despite changing intellectual tides, the historical narratives inscribed in these artefacts could not have been told with the poignancy and power of their material presence.

Patricia Davison
Assistant Director, South African Museum

Acknowledgements

During the preparation of this exhibition and the compiling of this volume I have relied, indeed depended, on the goodwill and co-operation of a large number of people. I have also encountered many, some of whom I have met only on the Internet through the beguiling world of e-mail, whose generosity, kindness, advice and help have immeasurably assisted the processes of planning both exhibition and book, and the negotiating of challenging issues. By some extraordinary stroke of good luck, I found Rob Gordon on the 'net' early on in the planning of this project and to him I offer my grateful appreciation for his humour, wit, sense, endless stream of suggestions and references, and his friendship. Others who hardly knew me were nevertheless equally generous, and I owe special thanks to Ed Wilmsen for his support, encouragement and editorial advice, and for giving me a unique view into life in the Kalahari as an anthropologist and poet.

Closer to home, Martin Hall, always busy, was never too busy to tease out various concerns with me, offer support and tackle difficult issues head-on. His intervention in a number of instances made things easier for me. Alan Morris provided wise counsel and I must thank him for his wonderful generosity, which was offered even in the face of disagreement about some of the issues we discussed. His insight immeasurably improved my understanding of some of the problems associated with the care and curatorship of human remains. Human rights lawyer Roger Chennells kindly facilitated my access to San opinion in the Cape and elsewhere.

I have also benefited from exposure to the ideas of many interesting scholars, whose work is both important and compelling. My contact with Stephen Greenblatt has been stimulating and rewarding and I thank him for both his warm generosity and his friendship. His work has made me think about things differently, as has that of Greg Dening, to which he introduced me. Nigel Penn's extraordinary doctoral thesis on the northern Cape frontier zone and his scholarship have been inspiring, and his support has been greatly valued; Malcolm Payne has frequently offered the shrewdness of his critical eye and shared with me his inimitable creativity; Carmel Schrire and Tony Traill have regularly punctuated hours of work on the computer with their witty brilliance and practical help in e-mail messages; and John Parkington, Royden Yates and Ciraj Rassool have frequently shared their opinions and insights with me. All offered me interesting discussion on a number of ideas and issues. Joe Alfers, Megan Biesele, Phil Bonner, Maude Brown, David Chidester, Patricia Davison, Janette Deacon, Thomas Dowson, Saul Dubow, Michael Godby, Stephen J. Gould, Paul Landau, Braam and Willemien le Roux, David Lewis-Williams, Peter Limb, Robert Ross, Andy Smith, Anne Solomon, Helmut Starcke, Bill Steiger, Axel Thoma, Nick van der Merwe, Stephen Watson and Sylvia Williams all helped, encouraged or advised in important ways.

My special thanks go to those friends, family and colleagues who were forced to make this project part of their lives too: my colleague Stephen Inggs for his consideration and support; Cecil and Thelma Skotnes, the two most generous people I know; Terry Kurgan, who also took over my teaching responsibilities at a crucial time and has been wonderfully encouraging; Sandra Prosalendis, friend and confidant *extraordinaire*; and, most importantly, Dave Brown, who has been supportive in countless other practical and creative ways too. My little boy Jules has been nothing other than a pleasure.

The practical planning of the exhibition and production of this book has involved the co-operation of a number of people. I was extremely fortunate to have met architect and designer Jos Thorne, who has worked with me on every aspect of this project for over a year. In addition to discussing, indeed, arguing over many issues with me, from design to ethics, she provided invaluable practical and curatorial support and her extraordinary competence in many areas was positively enabling. Fritha Langerman's engagement with many research, practical and creative problems was similarly indispensable. Thanks, too, to Lindy Sales for her help.

I had no idea what our decision to scan the images and lay out this book would actually entail. Jos and I spent hundreds of hours scanning and retouching photographs, particularly where the originals we had to work with were in bad condition or were third or fourth generation copies. Some of the texts and the images in the parallel text have been photo-edited; that is, texts have been reorganised to fit into the columns, and some images have been cropped or extended. My thanks to the photographers from the many archives on which I drew who took care to produce the best possible prints for us, and to Neville Gray of Hirt and Carter for his consideration and assistance. My thanks too, to Shauna Westcott, Glenda Younge, Leonie Twentyman-Jones and particularly Rose Meny-Gibert of UCT Press for being so good to work with.

I was particularly fortunate to have met Paul Weinberg early on in the planning stages of the exhibition. Apart from his wonderful skills as a photographer, his experience and insight into many aspects of this subject were refreshing and immeasurably useful. He shared all this with me on numerous trips we undertook to scavenge and photograph in museums around the country. I am grateful, too, for his witty tolerance of my obsession with certain objects of material culture, such as skin bags, which he photographed for me by the dozen.

Museum professionals, the curators of collections and library staff in the various institutions that I drew on were helpful beyond all expectation. First and most importantly I must thank Marilyn Martin, Director of the South African National Gallery, who saw the possibilities of this exhibition and enthusiastically agreed to commit the gallery to it. I am also grateful for the curatorial freedom she allowed me. At the gallery I had the pleasure of working with John Weinberg, Kim Siebert, Carol Kauffman, Len Armstrong and members of the education department. To all of them I am extremely grateful.

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I must also thank Sandra Prosalendis, Bill Batson and Sarah Winter of the District Six Museum for their help and the students of the Museum Post-Graduate Diploma at UCT for their enthusiasm and assistance.

Finally, I must acknowledge the benevolent support of the sponsors who have made both this publication and exhibition possible. Most importantly, the University of Cape Town has generously funded my research, and provided me with a sympathetic and stimulating environment in which to work. In particular, I must thank David Woods for his support over many years.

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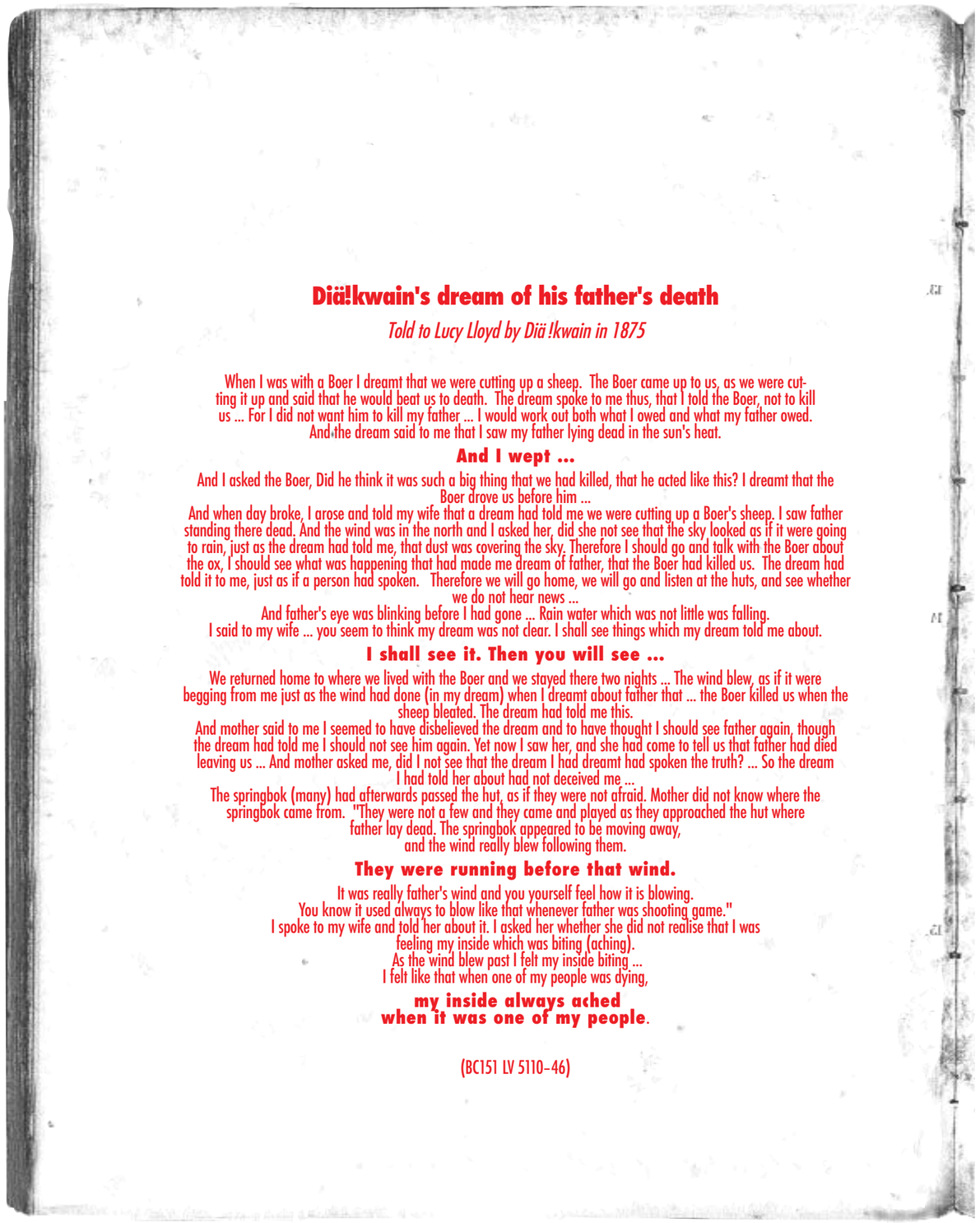
It is in the nature of such a project that many people will contribute to it in one way or another after this book has gone to press, but before the opening of the exhibition. To those, and to any others whom I may, through oversight, have neglected to mention, I give my heartfelt thanks.

Pippa Skotnes
January 1996



Diä!kwain's dream of his father's death

Told to Lucy Lloyd by Diä!kwain in 1875

When I was with a Boer I dreamt that we were cutting up a sheep. The Boer came up to us, as we were cutting it up and said that he would beat us to death. The dream spoke to me thus, that I told the Boer, not to kill us ... For I did not want him to kill my father ... I would work out both what I owed and what my father owed. And the dream said to me that I saw my father lying dead in the sun's heat.

And I wept ...

And I asked the Boer, Did he think it was such a big thing that we had killed, that he acted like this? I dreamt that the Boer drove us before him ...
And when day broke, I arose and told my wife that a dream had told me we were cutting up a Boer's sheep. I saw father standing there dead. And the wind was in the north and I asked her, did she not see that the sky looked as if it were going to rain, just as the dream had told me, that dust was covering the sky. Therefore I should go and talk with the Boer about the ox, I should see what was happening that had made me dream of father, that the Boer had killed us. The dream had told it to me, just as if a person had spoken. Therefore we will go home, we will go and listen at the huts, and see whether we do not hear news ...
And father's eye was blinking before I had gone ... Rain water which was not little was falling.
I said to my wife ... you seem to think my dream was not clear. I shall see things which my dream told me about.

I shall see it. Then you will see ...

We returned home to where we lived with the Boer and we stayed there two nights ... The wind blew, as if it were begging from me just as the wind had done (in my dream) when I dreamt about father that ... the Boer killed us when the sheep bleated. The dream had told me this.
And mother said to me I seemed to have disbelieved the dream and to have thought I should see father again, though the dream had told me I should not see him again. Yet now I saw her, and she had come to tell us that father had died leaving us ... And mother asked me, did I not see that the dream I had dreamt had spoken the truth? ... So the dream I had told her about had not deceived me ...
The springbok (many) had afterwards passed the hut, as if they were not afraid. Mother did not know where the springbok came from. "They were not a few and they came and played as they approached the hut where father lay dead. The springbok appeared to be moving away,
and the wind really blew following them.

They were running before that wind.

It was really father's wind and you yourself feel how it is blowing.
You know it used always to blow like that whenever father was shooting game."
I spoke to my wife and told her about it. I asked her whether she did not realise that I was feeling my inside which was biting (aching).
As the wind blew past I felt my inside biting ...
I felt like that when one of my people was dying,

my inside always ached
when it was one of my people.

(BC151 LV 5110–46)

Introduction

Pippa Skotnes

There is now no Native past without the Stranger, no Stranger without the Native. No one can hope to be mediator or interlocutor in that opposition of Native and Stranger, because no one is gazing at it untouched by the power that is in it. Nor can anyone speak just for the one, just for the other. There is no escape from the politics of our knowledge, but that politics is not in the past. That politics is in the present.

Greg Dening *Mr Bligh's Bad Language: Passion, Power and Theatre on the Bounty* (1992:178–9)

When foreign ships arrived in southern African waters, they brought with them cargoes of strange objects and strange people with alien ideas, unimagined practices and unintelligible languages. By then, the middle of the second millennium, the country had been settled for many thousands of years. In fact, some say the origins of modern humans are in southern Africa. Before 2000 years ago, the indigenous people had lived as hunters and gatherers, as medicine men or women, as painters or engravers, as storytellers; exploring an intellectual world that no doubt penetrated many complex levels of consciousness; and an economy that relied on concepts of inclusiveness and sharing.

Around 2000 years ago, farmers began to move into the country, bringing with them new concepts of space, amplified ideas of storage, and expanded settled villages; and pastoralism arrived in the Cape bringing with it animal domestication and ceramics. Soon after, metal working was introduced from the north. The European strangers who arrived at the Cape competed initially with those pastoralists, whom they called Hottentots or Strandlopers or, occasionally, Quena (though these later became known as the Khoikhoi). As their settlements expanded, the strangers became the colonists and they moved further inland, taking the land and using the resources of the people who lived by hunting and gathering, and who owned the water, but who had little to trade and so not much with which to negotiate. Adopting a Khoi term, they called these people the Sonqua or Soaqua (which, perhaps became San), or the Bushmen.

For more than 130 years the San, or Bushmen, saw a gradual invasion of their land, and in some areas fought a desperate guerrilla war with the colonists. They resisted the seizure of their land and the depletion of their resources, often choosing death rather than offers of peace and compromise. They robbed the colonists of their stock, and filled them with fear of their poisoned arrows. In the 1770s, traveller Robert Gordon wrote that a famous "bullet-escaper", the "Bushman chief" Koerikei,

> standing on a cliff out of range, shouted out to [Veldwagmeester Van der Merwe]: "What are you doing on my land? You have taken all the places where the eland and other game live. Why do you not stay where the sun goes down, where you first came from?" Van der Merwe asked why he did not live in peace as before, and why he did not go hunting with them . . . and whether he did not have enough country as it was? He replied that he did not want to lose the country of his birth and that he would kill their herdsmen, and that he would chase them all away. As he went off he further said that it would be seen who would win. (quoted in Penn 1995b:243)

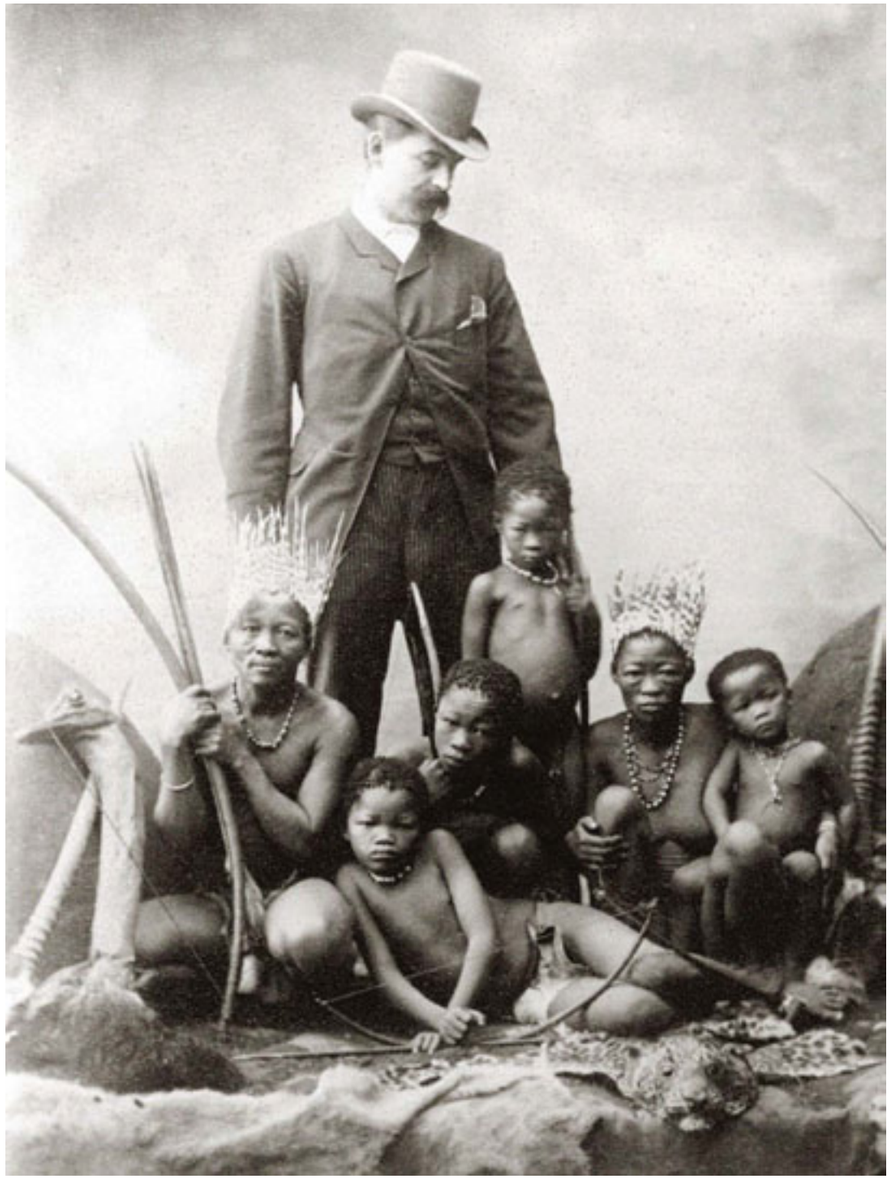


Figure 1 **Farini' s "African Pygmies or Dwarf Earthmen", exhibited in England in the 1880s. Admission was advertised at one shilling and "viewing" was from 2.30 to 6.00 and from 8.00 to 10 p.m. The programme included "Stalking the Ostrich", "Shooting with Poisoned Arrows" and "Exciting Torture Dances over War Captives".** PRM B11:4

This was a battle the San would not win and by the beginning of the twentieth century their culture and society was devastated and they were hunted, killed or taken into servitude. Many of those that escaped the genocide died of disease or starved to death because of the destruction of the land and the game that were their livelihood. By 1863 Louis Anthing, magistrate of Namaqualand, could write to the Cape Parliament:

> during the last ten years a wholesale system of extermination of the Bushman people had been practiced. Corannas from the Orange River, Kafirs from Schietfontein, coloured and European farmers from Namaqualand, Bokkeveld, Hantam, Roggeveld, the districts of Fraserburg and Victoria, and doubtless Hope Town too, all shared in the destruction of these people . . . [and] that the killing of the Bushmen was not confined to the avenging or punishing of [stock] thefts, but that, with or without provocation, Bushmen were killed . . . sometimes by hunting parties, at other times by commandos going out for the express purpose. (Anthing CA A39–63)

San groups in Namibia and Botswana survived into the twentieth century and have since been the subject of major research projects by anthropologists, psychologists and linguists. But the patterns of exploitation that began hundreds of years ago are still a painful legacy in their lives today. In South Africa, however, the destruction of people and the death of San culture and language was almost complete by 1910. Much of this destruction was visited upon the Khoikhoi as well, and the widespread use of the term Khoisan today acknowledges the shared fate of the Khoi and San.

While European colonists were, by and large, responsible for the destruction of Khoisan culture, they were also responsible for homogenising the many San and some Khoi groups into a single unit, a specific physical type, who lived a primitive life outside of history and were supposed to offer a view into a deep human past. This type became reified as 'the Bushmen' and included a diversity of peoples, speaking different languages, observing differing customs, participating in differing intellectual traditions, and sharing different histories. The /Xam, the //Xegwi, the /A'uni≠Khomani, the !Xo, the Zu/'hoasi, the Hai//om, the Nharo, the Hietshware, the G/wi and many others, were distinct groups, geographically separated, and yet they were forced to assume a common identity with one name: 'Bushman'.

This constructed quality of primitivism was to originate a tradition of exhibiting the Bushmen. Bushman families were taken to Europe for display on small shows and on great multi-nation exhibitions (Figure 1). Visitors were invited to view the "primitive pygmy savages" and a special emphasis of interest in these exhibits was on the Bushman body and its perceived peculiarities. Some individuals died in Europe, the most famous of these being the so-called 'Hottentot Venus', Saartje Baartman, whose continued presence in the Musée de l'Homme in Paris is being made a symbol of oppression and an important part of the politics of identity in South Africa today.

Most South African museums include sections on the Bushmen. These are usually devoted to revealing them as timeless, ahistorical hunter-gatherers, cast all but naked and set in dioramas, which show a pristine landscape in which no foreign intrusion is evident. This image is further exploited by advertisers and popular film-makers, who perpetuate the image of the Bushmen as cast out of time, out of politics and out of history—**miscast** (Figure 2).

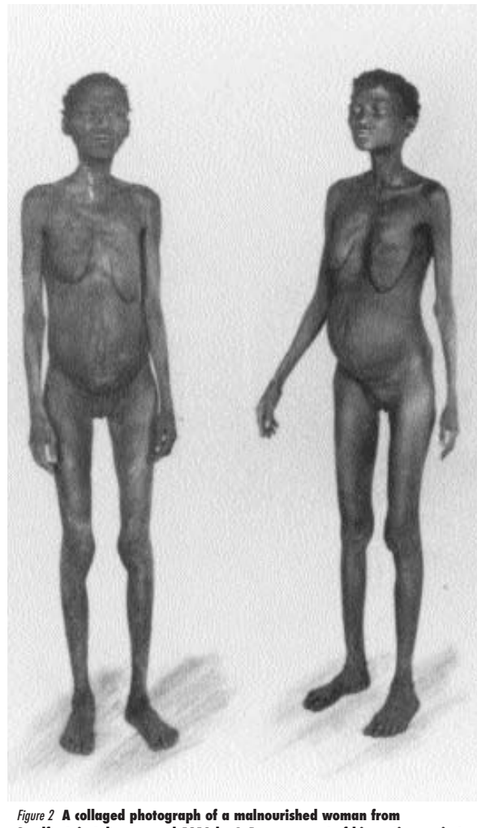


Figure 2 **A collaged photograph of a malnourished woman from Sandfontein taken around 1910 by J. Drury as part of his casting project which resulted in the plaster body-casts of ' Bushmen' on show at the South African Museum. Drury' s endeavour was to find ' pure' , ' wild' examples of ' the dying race' , though he had to search the villages of dispossessed, often starving people, and strip them of their rags and tatters, to contribute to this stereotype.** SAM 30b

Figure 3 **Trophy head reproduced from Fester, C. 1914. *Rassenanatomische Untersuchungen an 17 Hottentottenkoepfen.* In: *Zeitschrift fur Morphologie und Anthropologie*, vol.16:95–156.** Photograph courtesy Rob Gordon

Figure 4 **Trophy head with glass eyes, mounted on wooden base. The circumstances of its collection are unknown.** Photograph courtesy Duckworth Collection, Cambridge

The exhibition that this book accompanies, is not, strictly speaking, about 'Bushmen'. The exhibition is a critical and visual exploration of the term 'Bushman' and the various relationships that gave rise to it. These relationships were conducted on many levels, between strangers and indigenes, between colonists and resistance fighters, between researchers and their objects, and, more rarely, between individuals whose mutual respect for each other brought about mutual understanding. Although the category 'Bushman' is a European construction, it does not necessarily follow that the images and representations of Bushmen which survive are all merely products of the European imagination. It is true that an examination of these images tells us more about the Europeans than about the people they sought to represent. But what they tell us most about is those relationships that existed between Khoisan individuals and white settlers: relationships that were fluid and changing, governed by differing needs and criteria, to which both parties contributed, and by which each party was irrecoverably altered. As much as the Bushmen of the colonial period can be seen only through European eyes, so too, do we understand the Europeans differently because of the way their relationships with the Khoisan influenced their actions.

The representations that form the substance of this exhibition, and the images and articles that constitute this book, are representations of relationships. That these relationships were severely imbalanced in terms of power is witnessed by the extreme objectification of many individuals in, for example, the anthropometric studies of the late nineteenth century. That these relationships resulted in the tragic loss of thousands of lives and communities, in multiple language death and cultural genocide, is evidenced by the images of trophy heads (Figures 3 and 4), hangings (Figure 5), prison victims (Figure 6), and starvation (Figure 7). That these relationships also reflected the rarer moments of mutual respect and a common humanity is witnessed in the life work of, for example, Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd, which resulted in the photographs of /Xam and !Kung individuals, and an archive which is the closest thing we have to a 'Bushman voice' from the nineteenth century (Figures 8 and 9).

Each of these sets of representations, like those Stephen Greenblatt has discussed in his study of early European responses to the New World, are "relational, local and historically contingent" and reflect "not knowledge of the other but practice upon the other" (Greenblatt 1991:12). This project, then, is about how different people encountered each other, and about some of the consequences of those encounters.

Numerous challenges have attended the mounting of this exhibition, and the compiling of this book. Most of these centred on my attempts to present a Bushman or San voice (or, better still, many voices). However, the processes of dispossession and marginalisation have been so successful that this was exceedingly difficult to achieve.

In the end I worked through various organisations which represent San interests in South Africa, Namibia and Botswana, through legal advisers and through anthropologists.

Another issue I was at pains to decide upon was which of the hundreds of images I had collected were "unsuitable" for publication or exhibition. All institutions I approached for photographic material (with the exception of the Natural History Museum in London) gave me unqualified access to their material and permission to reproduce images. In the end, and despite the horror of some of the images, I decided to include examples of the full range of the material I have collected, believing that these images are the material evidence of the attitudes people held toward each other, and that this evidence should be exposed for all to see. One exception, was the decision not to feature any of the many photographs of women's genitals.

Of all the institutions I approached, the British Museum (Natural History) was alone in its decision to withhold images of human remains in its collection, and, for me, this attitude foregrounded some of the important issues this project is attempting to highlight. In its collection of human remains, the museum has a small group of dried heads. The flesh of each head has been preserved, the skin of the neck cut and wrapped under the jaw, the hair disguising at the back the stitched scalp which was cut apart to remove and clean the skull. Glass eyes were inserted between the lids in the sockets, though now, most of the eyes have been lost, and those remaining have the appearance of owls' eyes, too small to fill the cavities and surrounded on each side by the darkness of the interior of the cranium.

The faces are well preserved. The ears have shrunk a little and the noses pinched, the hair of one head is falling away from its scalp, and the skin exfoliating. One of the heads, with no number, has pierced ears and must once have worn earrings. The incisors of another, possibly a woman, are sharply worn on the front and lower surfaces, as if she once drew long sinew through her clenched teeth to cure and stretch it into thread or twine. Her lips are drawn together slightly, the lower lip protruding forward, as if articulating a gasp. Her skin is deeply sunk beneath the cheek-bones, her eye sockets empty and her number, Af62.415, is painted in ink on her forehead.

These individuals are part of a collection of Khoisan heads and skulls described by George Williamson in 1857. They came to the Natural History Museum via the Department of Anatomy at Oxford University and before that were part of the collection in the Museum of the Army Medical Department at Fort Pitt, Chatham (Williamson 1857). I was first alerted to the existence of these heads by Alan Morris, who suggests that they were more than likely trophy heads, collected in military action or after executions. Indeed, many of the other skulls in the collection are documented as such (Morris 1987:14). But

Figure 5 **Undated photograph (probably taken around 1914) of Bushman executions.** SAN 7579

Figure 6 **Bushmen prisoners of war in Windhoek.** Wenke, SAN 1876

Figure 7 **Undated photograph, *c.*1912, of emaciated women and a child.** SAN 7025

Figure 8 **David Lewis-Williams, who, in the 1980s, pioneered a new understanding of southern African rock art, lays flowers on the grave of Wilhelm Bleek at the Wynberg Cemetery in Cape Town, after a conference to honour the contribution made to the understanding of San culture and intellectual traditions by Bleek and Lucy Lloyd.** Photograph courtesy of Alan Barnard

Figure 9 **A !Kung boy, !Uma with musical bow, photographed in Cape Town in the 1870s.** Part of the Bleek Collection SAM 1957

the current custodians have no evidence that can testify to their provenance, nor the circumstances under which they came to be collected and preserved.

I saw the heads in the museum in London, but was not allowed to draw or photograph them. To this date the museum still refuses to release photographs of the heads. Their curators have stated that they may yield DNA and therefore have scientific potential, and at the same time have stated that they will not release images of the heads since they "wish to avoid the offense that may be caused" (letter dated 2 November 1995 from Dr R. Cocks, Keeper of Palaeontology).

Apart from the more obvious issues of power and control over the material evidence of the past, the attitude of the Natural History Museum points to a perceived hegemony of knowledge; one that values scientific enquiry (the value of the heads for DNA sampling, for example) over other kinds of knowledge (the value of the heads as symbols, as material evidence, or as means to encode knowledge in visual form in the attempt to understand the past). In suggesting that images of the heads may cause offence, the Natural History Museum is not suggesting that the heads should not be 'used'. On the contrary, it asserts the rights of science to use them. What is denied, however, is the value of any other context in which the heads might provoke insight or stimulate understanding.

One of the important assumptions of this installation, and of the parallel text, is that knowledge is powerfully embedded in the visual, and in various forms of representation; but that the nature of this knowledge requires careful scrutiny. The drive by science to describe, measure, record and dissect Khoisan bodies in the nineteenth century found expression in diagrammatic drawings, anthropometric photographs, casts and collections of body parts. The image conjured up by the term 'Bushman' is generally not one which is contextualised by a specific history, or by heroic acts, by literature, or by political or power struggles. The image is one of physical type or specimen, defined under the rubric of science and of physical anthropology, and then rendered immutable through photography, museum exhibits, popular films, advertisements, novels and popular histories.

The contributors to this book were each invited to produce an article that would reflect an aspect of their research. My intention was to include scholars working in a variety of disciplines, so as to suggest some sense of the complexities of this subject, and the value of multiple approaches. My hope was that the intersections between disciplines would provoke new insights. The article that begins this volume, Stephen Greenblatt's *Mutilation and Meaning*, may at first be read as an alien ship in the murky waters of the Khoisan past, but it is crucial in doing two things. The first is to identify a shift, in the early Enlightenment, from a reading of the marked body in terms of an opposition between the sacred and the abominable, to a reading of the same marks in terms of a distinction between the natural and the unnatural. The second is to make a link between this shift and the origins of ethnography, where, on the one hand, there was a disgust at the 'unnatural' bodies of the barbarians, and, on the other, the recognition that these same 'unnatural' marks or practices had their equivalents at home. It therefore provides some deep background to the European impulse to collect information about strange bodies or parts of bodies. David Chidester's parallel article, *Mutilating Meaning*, brings some of these issues into a focus on the Khoisan body.

Many of the articles in this volume reveal the extraordinary European fascination with the Khoisan anatomy. Some deal with neglected aspects of history. Others expose some of the richness of the intellectual traditions constituted by the art, the language, and the symbolic and ritual practices of the Khoisan. In a number of papers, the contribution of linguist Wilhelm Bleek and linguist and ethnographer Lucy Lloyd is powerfully felt.

I have constructed this book as a tribute to Lucy Lloyd. All too often ignored in the face of the achievements of Wilhelm Bleek, or cast into the role of his sister-in-law assistant, Lucy Lloyd was responsible for the creation of an archive which is both extraordinary for its scholarship and

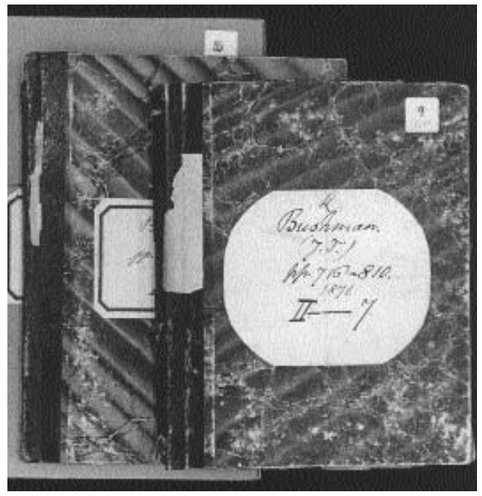


Figure 10 **A few of Lucy Lloyd' s notebooks which are part of the Bleek and Lloyd Archive at the University of Cape Town.** UCT BC 151

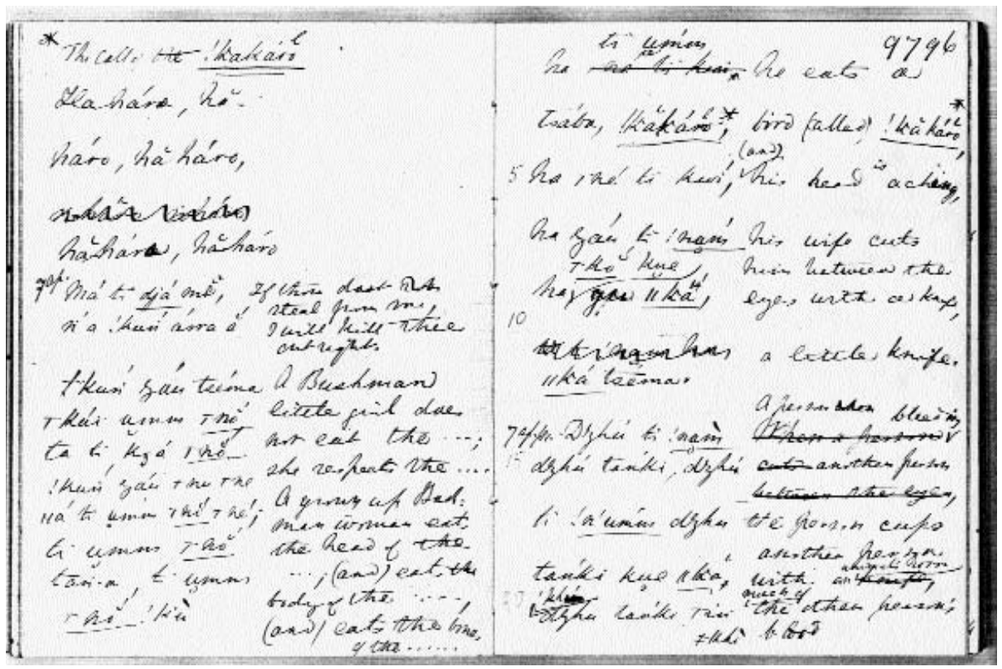


Figure 11 **An open page from one of Lucy Lloyd' s notebooks.** UCT BC 151 Book 114 1880

Figure 12 **N' Arbecy and her son, N' Arki, two of Farini' s "African Pygmies or Dwarf Earthmen" exhibited in England in the 1880s.** PRM B11:4

ethnography, and remarkable for its formal innovation in the face of intellectual traditions of people that were fundamentally different from her own. The Bleek and Lloyd archive is a 13 000-page record of a series of relationships between two European scholars and a group of /Xam and !Kung individuals whose common aim was to preserve the memories of cultures and traditions which were fatally threatened.

But the archive is much more than that. It has a visual presence, and its structure requires that it be read, not as a narrative or a set of narratives, but as a complex network interweaving ideas and stories that link one with the other, that confound a sense of chronology, that throw into doubt one's sense of time and, ultimately, one's sense of what is real.

On the surface, the books in which Lloyd recorded her interviews are ordered and linear. A /Xam text runs down a right-hand column of the page, and an English translation accompanies it on the left. But the stories she was recording were not linear, and neither was the method of measuring the time frame of their occurrence. To accommodate the qualities of these oral traditions, she would often introduce a parallel text which would run alongside the story on the left-hand page (Figure 11). The result was to give a new dimension to the story, to make the process of reading an active and mobile one, and to give a materialising life to the notion of //Kabbo, one of her principal informants, that stories his people told were like the winds that came from far off, and could be felt.

In the construction of her archive, Lloyd gave substance to the idea that meaning is present in the formal arrangement of things, and it is through that arrangement that knowledge which cannot be realised by the written word is to be found. In the exhibition, the articulation of the gallery space is crucial in the exploration of that knowledge. In this book, the parallel text functions in a way that implies that there is much that lies beyond the pages of the book, and that images and representations serve less to illustrate texts, than to irritate the boundaries of the knowledge those texts are capable of encrypting. But it also serves to suggest, as Lloyd's archive does, that there is not just one narrative, nor one history, nor even one past, but that our knowledge of other realities is most severely limited when we limit the formal frameworks that we choose to employ in understanding them.

Figure 13 **Photograph taken *c.*1910 by Dorothea Bleek in the Prieska area of the northern Cape. Bleek reported that of all the relatives she met of the /Xam who had worked with her father and Lucy Lloyd in the 1870s, none remembered any of their stories. "The folklore was dead," she said, "killed by a life of service among strangers and the breaking up of families."** UCT BC151

Mutilating Meaning

European Interpretations of Khoisan Languages of the Body

David Chidester

Intercultural contact between Europeans and Khoisan people in the Cape of southern Africa obviously posed a communication problem. Since any hope of intercultural communication was frustrated by their ignorance of Khoisan languages, Europeans had to rely upon practices of observation rather than conversation to draw their conclusions. Significantly, the earliest European observers justified this reliance upon visual observation by insisting that the Khoisan actually lacked a human language. Indigenous people of the Cape were frequently described as producing animal sounds rather than human speech. John Milward reported in 1614 that "their speech [is] a chattering rather than language" (Purchas 1905 IV:208). Edward Terry claimed that "their speech it seemed to us inarticulate noise, rather than language, like the clucking of hens, or gabbling of turkeys" (1777:16). Thomas Herbert stated in 1627 that their language "is rather apishly than articulately sounded" (1677:18). Chattering, gabbling, and clucking, rather than speaking a human language, the 'Hottentots' were represented by such reports in bestial terms, signifying an 'uncivilised' rudeness perhaps most abruptly formulated by Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, who observed in 1649 that "when they speak they fart with their tongues in their mouths" (1678 II:206).

The problem of communication in the Cape, therefore, could not merely be traced back to the confusion and multiplication of languages at the biblical Babel. The problem of intercultural communication was initially posed as an extraordinary situation in which human language was totally absent. This European discovery of people who allegedly made animal noises, rather than producing articulate speech, represented a rupture of human unity even more serious than the disaster of Babel. If the Khoisan lacked a human language, European observers could feel that they were entirely justified in abandoning any attempt to engage them in conversation.

Body language in the Cape

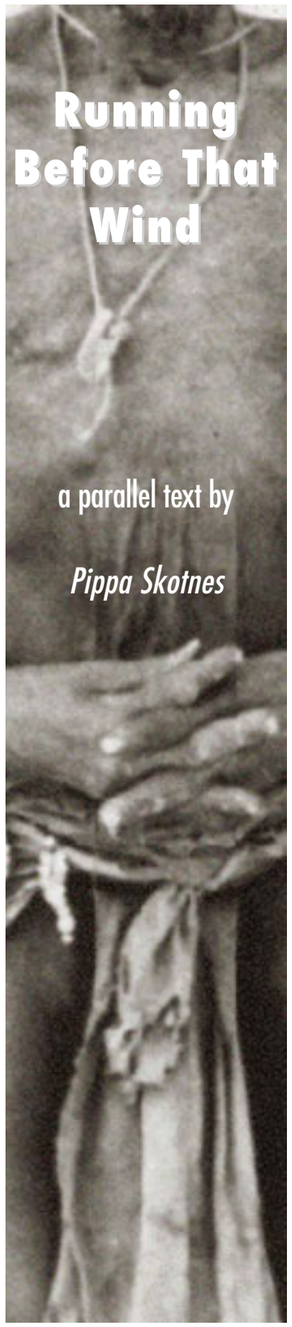
Mutilation and Meaning

Stephen Greenblatt

I want to begin by recalling a conversation I had some years ago at a dinner party in honour of a celebrated anthropologist. We were talking about grandparents, and I asked the anthropologist whether he had been much influenced by his grandfather, a distinguished rabbi. Not at all, he replied; he was the spiritual heir to Chateaubriand and not to Moses Mendelssohn. Since we had earlier been speaking about ritual scarification and since the anthropologist had done some of his most brilliant work on tattooing, I ventured to ask him if his own sons had been circumcised, in accordance with Jewish law. Yes, he replied, but quite by accident. By accident? In the case of his younger son, the circumcision had been performed routinely and, as far as the anthropologist could remember, without parental consent, in a New York hospital just after the Second World War. As for his older son, the circumstances were less routine. German troops had occupied Paris, and the anthropologist and his wife had fled to his rabbinical grandfather's house in the south of France. It was there that his child was born and, in compliance with the religious sensibilities of the grandparents, had been circumcised.

The term 'accident' seems rather strange as a description of either of these cases.[1] It was meant, I suppose, to convey the absence of a personal religious intention, a willed identification with the tribal practice and its traditional meanings. But, though such voluntary and self-conscious choice is unquestionably important and was immediately relevant to our conversation—about lines of intellectual and spiritual influence—it seems singularly inadequate to the transmission of heritage in general and to these instances in particular. I will not venture an explanation of the public health policies of New York hospitals in the late 1940s or early 1950s, but we can be certain that routine circumcisions were anything but accidental, while the exceptional (if, for Jews, hardly unique) circumstance of a flight from persecution only partly obscures one of the most familiar and least accidental motives for the maintaining of traditional practices, often despite overt scepticism and revulsion: compliance with the wishes of the elders. Those wishes frequently have the power to override not only ideological resistance but also prudence and even self-preservation. In the dangerous historical situation sketched by the anthropologist, it would have been wise, if not for the parent's survival prospects then at least for their child's, to leave the newborn son uncircumcised.

More important for the purposes of this essay, the anthropologist's odd characterisation of the deliberate mutilation of his children as an accident points us to the peculiar way in which the marks on the body, like marks on paper, may be distinguished from the particular explanations, justifications, and chains of historical causality that led them to be made.[2] The local accounts—hygiene, aesthetics, family feeling, tribal customs, institutional procedure, fantasies of propitiation or fertility—are crucially important, but the mark or mutilation seems independent of any of these accounts, in a way that an image is detachable from even the most scrupulous and circumstantial textual interpretation of the image. In the case of male circumcision, which appears to have been a widespread practice throughout the ancient Middle East, Judaism provided a myth of origin that was in effect the expression of this detachability. Without narrative rational-



Instead of interpreting Khoisan utterances, therefore, European observers were primarily engaged in analysing Khoisan "languages of the body". In the earliest reports, a biblical frame of reference was evident in European attempts to read these embodied signs. For example, based on their physical appearance, the Khoisan could be located in a biblical chronology as descendants of Noah, and, more specifically, as cursed offspring of Ham. "The Natives being propagated from Cham," Thomas Herbert insisted in 1634, "both in their Visages and Natures seem to inherit his malediction" (1634:14). In this reading, the Khoisan body revealed a genealogy that led back to the cursed son of Noah. In other instances, however, European readings of the Khoisan body were based on a comparative morphology that also depended upon the Bible. For example, facial scarification, perhaps the result of ritual initiation, could be interpreted according to a biblical analogy. As the visitor Patrick Copland proposed in 1612, "they cut their skinnes like Baal' s priests" (Purchas 1905 IV:148). Similarly, the excision of a testicle in male initiation ritual could be read as analogous to Christian baptism (Schreyer 1681:58). During the seventeenth century, therefore, the Bible provided a template against which Khoisan embodied signs could be read. The Khoisan body and embodied practices could be read as signs of a genealogy or a morphology based on the Bible.

Gradually, ritual dance emerged as the most important embodied vocabulary that had to be interpreted by Europeans in reporting about Khoisan cultural life. Again, meaningful human speech was alleged to be entirely absent. In ritual dancing, the Khoisan would not speak; rather, they would "shriek and rave" (Vogel 1716:75). Instead of producing significant utterances, the Khoisan reportedly produced only strange bodily postures and incoherent noise. As Johan Christian Hoffman observed in 1672, "They came together in their horrible cloaks in front of their Krales, and the men passed the whole night doing strange and wonderful posturings, with leaping, hopping and dancing; but the women made a continual hand-clapping and did other such rare antics, and sang only ha, ho, HO, HO, until one almost lost hearing and sight because of the terrible noise" (Hoffman 1931:20). At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Peter Kolb, who emerged at that time as the most popular and convincing commentator on indigenous life in the Cape, corroborated this assessment of Khoisan ritual dance by describing it as an extravagance of "Shouting, Screaming, Singing, Jumping, Stamping, Dancing, Prostration on the Ground, and an unintelligible Jargon" (Kolb 1731:97).

Here was a "language of the body", with its postures, motions, gestures, and sounds, unsupported by speech, because it only allowed for "unintelligible Jargon", that both demanded and defied interpretation. Although the observer confessed to having been rendered nearly deaf and blind by the event, he still had to ask: what could all this mean? Confronted with an apparently meaningless exercise, meanings could nevertheless still be extracted. In European interpretations of Khoisan ritual dance, two readings were advanced, one proposing that these embodied signs should be interpreted as religious, the other insisting that they should be read as merely expressions of pleasure.

On the one hand, this embodied language could be interpreted as significant evidence of an indigenous religion. Johan Christian Hoffman, for his part, was sceptical. "Whether this now is a part of their religion," he wondered, "I do not know" (1931:20). But if any religion were to be found among people in whom, according to this observer, "nothing in the least human is to be detected", that religion consisted in the embodied signs that were displayed during their dramatic, all-night dances under the moon. Other commentators were more insistent that the "strange and wonderful posturings" of Khoisan dancing

isation or doctrinal justification, God simply commands it of Abraham and his descendants: "This is my covenant, which ye shall keep, between me and you and thy seed after thee; Every man child among you shall be circumcised. And ye shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin; and it shall be a token of the covenant betwixt me and you" (*Genesis* 17:10–11).

An awareness that the practice extends beyond the boundaries of a single tribe, however, complicates even this absolute and absolutist command, if only by exciting the desire to grasp the underlying logic, the secret code, registered in the bodily mark. For the Hebrew prophets and for the author or authors of *Deuteronomy*, that code seems to have been moral: circumcision serves as a metaphor of cleansing or repentance. "Circumcise therefore the foreskin of your heart," says *Deuteronomy*, "and be no more stiffnecked" (10:16).[3] The similar Pauline moralisation of circumcision—"For he is not a Jew, which is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision, which is outward in the flesh: But he is a Jew, which is one inwardly; and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter; whose praise is not of men, but of God" (*Romans* 2:28–9)[4]—is a gesture toward this logic, and it has the advantage, from the male infant's point of view inestimable, of obviating the cut itself.

But, though its Hellenistic allegorisation of circumcision enabled it to abandon circumcision as an actual practice, Christianity did not thereby abjure the language of wounds. On the contrary, for St Paul it is in the body, in the visible sign, that meaning must continue to reside if it is to cross the boundaries of radically distinct cultures. Circumcision ceases to be the sign of the exclusive, tribal covenant with God—"For in Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision; but faith which worketh by love" (*Galatians* 5:6)—but the saviour invoked here is an incarnate God, a God made flesh. And that flesh was repeatedly, spectacularly, and, as it were, crucially wounded. The root perception, and it is one that Christians embraced far more than Jews, is that there is a link between mutilation, as a universal emblem of corporeal vulnerability and abjection, and holiness. Pauline Christianity saw the physical marks on Jesus's body, from his circumcision to his scourging, piercing and crucifixion, as the signs of an exalted sanctity, the expressions of divine will and the keys to salvation. What looks at first like a move away from the ritual shedding of blood—the metaphorisation of circumcision—is intertwined in fact with a more radical, literalising insistence on the meaningfulness of sacrificial wounds.

For Jews, God manifested himself principally in a text, the *Torah*, but for Christians, God's flesh was itself a text written upon with universal characters, inscribed with a language that all humankind could understand since it was a language in and of the body itself, independent of any particular forms of speech. An early sixteenth-century sermon by John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, eloquently rehearses this widespread medieval way of understanding Christ's wounds. For Fisher, St Francis's stigmata vividly demonstrate that the saint has been reading that most sacred of books, the crucified body of Christ: the "two boards of this booke is the two partes of the crosse, for when the booke is opened & spread . . . the leaves of this booke be the armes, the handes, legges, and feete". This is, to be sure, an unusual book, not so much because it is flesh but because it has no blank spaces:

> there was no margent lefte in all thys booke, there was no voyd place, but every where it was eyther drawne with lynes, or els wrytten with letters, for these scourges fylled not onely his most precyous bodie with lynes drawne everie where, but also left many small Letters, some blacke, some blewe, some reade . . . And for bycause no parte of thys booke shoulde bee unwritten, hys head also was pearsed with sharpe thornes.[5]

The text thus written in the flesh, Fisher makes clear, is for everyone to read with ecstatic pleasure: who "may not be ravished to hope and confidence" at the sight of "all his bodie stretched, forcesing him selfe to give it wholly unto us" (Fisher 1876:411).

Such a belief in the universal grammar of sacred wounds had a powerful effect on Christian attempts to understand other cultures and their ritual practices. Thus, for example, Odoric of Pordenone, like Marco Polo before him, mentions that the body of St Thomas, the apostle whose doubt drove him to put his hand into Christ's wound, is buried in the province of Maabar or Mobar in India. The Christians of Mobar, Odoric reports, are Nestorians, "that is to say Christians, but vile and pestilent heretics" (Yule 1866:142) and their churches are full of idols. He then turns to the description of one such idol, a gold and jewel-encrusted figure "as big St Christopher is commonly represented by the painters", to whom Indians go on pilgrimage "just as Christian folk go far on pilgrimage to St Peter's" (143). Some of these pilgrims arrive, he reports, "with a halter round their necks, and some with their hands upon a board, which is tied to their necks; others with a knife stuck in the arm, which they never remove until they arrive before the idol" (143).

What is happening in effect is that Indian religious practice, or rather a fantastic vision of such practice, is being processed as at once a continuation and a reversal of Christian observance. The temples are churches, the

under the moon should be interpreted as religion. In this reading, the embodied signs of ritual dancing were rendered religious as a way of suggesting that they were in fact meaningful, even if the meaning could not be penetrated or explicated.

On the other hand, however, this same ritual activity could be read as an absence of meaning, as an empty exercise in pleasure, and, accordingly, as evidence of an absence of religion among the Khoisan. During the 1680s, reports about the Khoisan returned to the denials that had dominated European discourse about their religion between 1600 and 1654. Instead of being moon worshippers, they were once again characterised as lacking any religion at all. Not meaningful in religious terms, Khoisan dances under the moon were only a pleasurable form of entertainment. In 1694, for example, this denial of the religion of the moon was certified by Christoffel Langhansz, who contradicted all previous reports that the Khoisan danced because they "reverence the moon". He acknowledged that the Khoisan danced under the moon, but that activity held no religious significance, since "dancing is done only for their pleasure" (1705: 634–8). This denial of Khoisan religion was further confirmed in 1698 by Francois Leguat, who suggested that Khoisan dances under the moon were not mysterious ceremonies, denoting a belief in a sovereign being, or the worship of the planet, but were better understood as simple demonstrations of joy. "In truth," he insisted, "they have no Religion" (1708:230).

A more detailed review of European readings of Khoisan body language during the seventeenth century might suggest a tentative conclusion. As we have seen, European observers initially justified their exclusive attention to Khoisan bodies and embodied practices as a necessity, not merely because they were unable to engage in meaningful communication with Khoisan people, but because the Khoisan allegedly lacked any kind of human language. However, that denial of the existence of any Khoisan language could not be sustained for very long. European observers were therefore forced to reconsider the problem of meaning. The Bible provided one frame of reference for rendering strange embodied signs familiar. In terms of biblical genealogy or morphology, Khoisan bodies could be made meaningful. However, the Bible did not actually provide a compelling justification for the European practice of focusing only on the body. That justification resided, not in the Bible, but in the body itself. The conceptual opposition between religion and pleasure in European discussions of Khoisan embodied practices reflected a tension between meaning and desire that arguably fuelled the entire enterprise of discovery and colonisation. If it did not justify focusing on the body, this tension between meaning and desire animated European struggles to understand the process of encounter, the people encountered, and, reflexively, the encountering subject who was actually not a detached visual observer, but an embodied physical presence in the intercultural exchange.

Certainly, European preoccupations with observing and reporting on the distinctive character of Khoisan genitalia revealed this tension between a quest for meaning and embodied desire. A Khoisan woman's genital ' deformity' a Khoisan man's excised testicle–these embodied signs were read with a ' scientific' attention to detail, but also with an erotic voyeurism (see Gilman 1985a). Significantly, genitalia received more attention than did faces. As Van Wyk Smith has observed in an essay on European iconography of the Khoisan, "the early texts say almost nothing about facial features" (1992:289). Whether smiling or frowning, laughing or crying, Khoisan facial expressions were generally erased in European interpretations of their body language.

In many instances, sight was displaced by smell as the primary sensory vocabulary for interpreting Khoisan languages of the body. For example, when Peter Kolb observed

priests bear some relation to Christianity, and the images resemble familiar saints, but where Christian worshippers go to seek health, the Indian pilgrims welcome disease. Indeed, some of these pilgrims go further in their single-minded pursuit of holiness:

> One will come saying: 'I desire to sacrifice myself for my God.' And then his friends and kinsfolk, and all the players of the country, assemble together to make a feast for him who is determined to die for his God. And they hang round his neck five sharp knives, and lead him thus to the presence of the idol with loud songs. Then he takes one of those sharp knives and calls out with a loud voice: 'Thus I cut my flesh for my God'; and cutting a piece of flesh wherever he may choose, he casteth it in the face of the idol; and saying again: 'I devote myself to die for my God', he endeth by slaying himself there. And straightway they take his body and burn it, for they look on him as a saint, having thus slain himself for his idol. (145)

Such a ceremony, Odoric makes clear, is "detestable"—a perverse and damnable worship in the service of a false god—and yet its sacrificial character echoes and evidently derives from the worship of a god who sacrificed himself for mankind. So, too, is there a resemblance between the annual procession of religious images with which Odoric must have been familiar in Italy and the monstrous procession he describes in the same Indian city:

> Then the king and queen and all the pilgrims, and the whole body of the people, join together and draw it forth from the church with loud singing of songs and all kinds of music; and many maidens go before it by two and two chaunting in a marvellous manner. And many pilgrims who have come to this feast cast themselves under the chariot, so that its wheels may go over them, saying that they desire to die for their God. And the car passes over them and crushes and cuts them in sunder, and so they perish on the spot. And after this fashion they drag the idol to a certain customary place, and then they drag him back to where he was formerly, with singing and playing as before. And thus not a year passes but there perish more than five hundred men in this manner; and their bodies they burn, declaring that they are holy, having thus devoted themselves to death for their God. (Yule 1866:145)

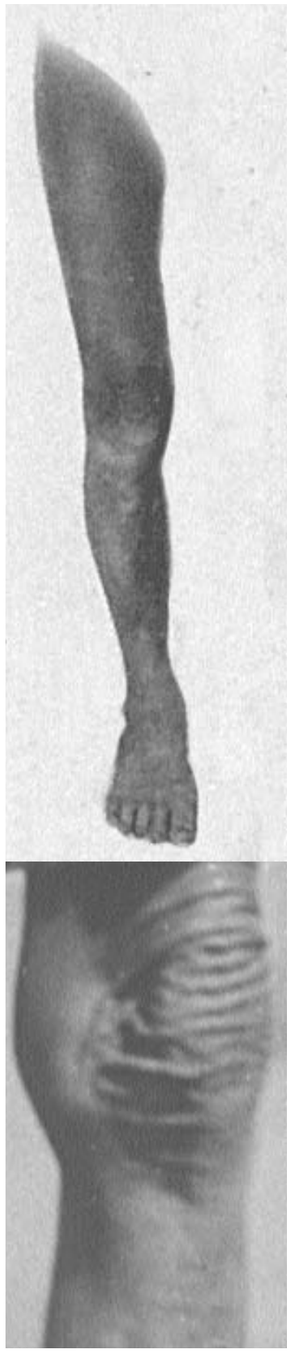
This passage may be the earliest European description of the procession that came to be known as the Juggernaut, the emblem of all that was strangest, most incomprehensible and horrible in the religion of the East, the sign of a fundamental lack of respect for life, a crushing (here literal) of the individual, a fanatically misguided devotion of art, wealth, and existence itself to the service of a bloodthirsty god who delights in mutilations.[6]

The term Juggernaut—in Sanskrit, "Lord of the World"—refers to the god Krishna, whose enormous image at Puri in Orissa is annually dragged in procession on a huge chariot. Presumably, it was this procession, whose religious fervour and vivid spectacle continue to fill observers with wonder, that was represented, in a distorted form, in Odoric's narrative. But, apart from the accidents that inevitably attend vast throngs pulling the immense cart, no deaths beneath the wheels, no acts of self-slaughter, no deliberate mutilations have been reported in modern times, nor do there appear to be Indian accounts of such practices. Either the ultimate expression of faith has changed since Odoric's time, or he is reporting (or inventing) a fantasy, an account of worship that is, in any case, built out of the language of holy wounds.

It is this origin that enables the most influential travel book of the Middle Ages, *Mandeville's Travels*, to rehearse Odoric's vision of a horrendous perversion of Christian devotion as an indictment of the weakness of Christian devotion. Mandeville characteristically elaborates upon and exaggerates the gruesomeness of his source—for example, the pilgrims now slay their own children and sprinkle their blood upon the image; so great is the desire to die beneath the wheels of the chariot that "two or three hundred in a single day will kill themselves for love of that idol". He also characteristically intensifies its exoticism: the Juggernaut is the custom of those who live on the earth's margins in a bizarre world of deformity and inversion. But at the same time Mandeville intensifies the resemblances to Christian worship: people approach the idol with great devotion, "as frequently as Christian folk come to Saint James"; the devout "bring with them incense and other sweet-smelling things to cense that image, as here we do the Host"; "And just as among us a man would think it honorable if among his kindred a confessor or holy martyr was canonized, and his virtues and miracles written in books, even so it seems to them a great honour when any of their cousins or friends kill themselves for love of that idol."

The echoes of Christian belief are most striking in the speech that Mandeville says that his friends and kinsmen make when presenting the martyr's body to the god:

> Behold what thy loyal servant has done for thee! He has forsaken wife and children and all the riches and pleasures of this world, and his own life, for love of thee. He has made sacrifice unto thee of his own flesh and blood. Wherefore, we pray thee, set him beside



in 1719 that the Khoisan were "nauseous", he was not describing their medical condition but his own revulsion. "What makes the Hottentots still a nastier Generation," Kolb continued, was their practice of smearing their bodies with a mixture of sheep's fat, butter, and soot, which "renders them offensive to the Nose of an European, who may smell them at a considerable Distance" (Kolb 1731:49–50). In this idiom of odour, European commentators were definitely not detached observers; they were confronted with unfamiliar olfactory messages that they translated as physically offensive.

Taste could also open up a medium of communication in European relations with Khoisan. As Peter Kolb observed, Khoisan people were particularly resistant to offering any explanation for a customary practice. When asked "the Meaning of it", Kolb reported, "they only laugh". In such an exchange, laughter must certainly register as a meaningful, if perhaps uncontrolled, embodied utterance, a bodily eruption that announces the incongruity of contact. However, regarding the sound of laughter as vacant of any significance, Kolb moved into the sensory medium of taste to open lines of communication, noting that "for a Pipe of Tobacco, or a Dram of Brandy, you will now and then find One who will give you an account of the Matter" (Kolb 1731:103). In this exchange, the language of the body, modulated through the vocabulary of drink and smoke, becomes the basis for a kind of communication in which the hidden meanings of Khoisan practices might be revealed.

In Peter Kolb's account, the most remarkable bodily practice enacted by the Khoisan occurred during their rituals that attended birth, initiation into adulthood, marriage, and funerals. On these occasions, according to Kolb, a male elder of the community urinated on all who were present as a sign of gratitude and respect. "I took Abundance of Pains, and spent not a little Money," Kolb recalled, "to come at the Meaning of the Pissing." His informants revealed that this "Pissing Ceremony" was performed "by Way of Compliment". Baffled, Kolb complained, "How! said I: The Thanks on this Occasion run in a Stream of Urine! Pray, Why for? Why is not the Compliment deliver'd by Word of Mouth?" Here we are at the heart of the matter. Why would anyone communicate, Peter Kolb demands, through the body instead of through speech? Why would anyone send a message in the medium of urine instead of by means of words? How can urine be translated into meaningful speech? His informants, Kolb reported, only deferred to the authority of custom when they were asked to explain this act of communication. But they also noted that the message of thanks, gratitude, and respect implicit in the ritual was actually received by all those who were ceremoniously pissed upon because the act "'tis always taken for a Compliment of Thanks".

Peter Kolb drew his own conclusion from the body language of this Pissing Ceremony. According to Kolb, it marked the absolute and definitive embodiment of the difference between Europe and Africa. "To be piss'd upon in Europe", Kolb noted, "is a Token of the highest Contempt: To be piss'd on in the Hottentot Countries is a Token of the highest Honour." Here was an embodied language that announced an extreme cultural difference, a heterology, to employ Michel de Certeau's term, that reinscribed Africa as the opposite of Europe. However, in the work of interpreting the embodied language of this Pissing Ceremony, Peter Kolb was not concerned with the sight, sound, taste, or smell of it. In other words, Kolb's depiction of the Pissing Ceremony, while he declared that "Pissing is the Glory of all the Hottentot Ceremonies", was divorced from his immediate situation in the Cape. As he described the ceremony, it was immediately transported to Europe, not necessarily as what Stephen Greenblatt has called a "filthy rite", but as a sign

thee among thy dear friends in the joy of Paradise,
for he has well deserved it. (Moseley 1983:126)

In the light of this devotional language, it is not surprising that Mandeville observes that "they suffer so much pain and mortification of their bodies for love of that idol that hardly would any Christian man suffer the half—nay, not a tenth—for the love of Our Lord Jesus Christ". As so often in *Mandeville's Travel*s, what begins as a reassuring vision of the centrality, reasonableness, and truth of Christian belief threatens to become a humbling vision of the strangely moving piety of others.

The powerful, destabilising account of holy self-mutilation begun by Odoric and expanded by Mandeville reaches its climax in *The Travels of Mendes Pinto*. The great Portuguese traveller provides the most extensive early description of the Juggernaut festival which he locates in the kingdom of Calaminhan (identified by modern scholars as the Laotian territory of Luang Prabang) in a pagoda called *Tinagogo*, "god of a thousand gods". It is not at all clear that Mendes Pinto actually saw anything resembling what he describes—the location, the recycling of Odoric and Mandeville, and other improbable details should provoke scepticism—but he characteristically gives what he claims to be an eyewitness account based on a 28-day stay in the company of an ambassador. Combining Odoric's horror and Mandeville's sly moralism, Mendes Pinto writes that he offers his account "in order to show the Christians—and I am including myself among them—who are as careless about their lives as I am, how little we do to save our souls, in comparison with all that these blind wretches do to lose theirs" (Catz 1989:339). Mendes Pinto, then, is reflecting the moral vision of his medieval sources, but, as I hope to show, his version, in its elaborateness and wealth of phantasmagoric detail, marks the early stages of a new way of conceptualising what I have called the universal language of wounds.

The ceremony has, in Mendes Pinto, expanded to gigantic proportions and is linked, in keeping with his highly developed commercial interests, to a description of an enormous fair where "they sell everything that nature has created on land and sea, in such highly abundant quantities that for every kind of thing sold there are ten, twelve, fifteen, twenty streets lined with houses, huts, and tents stretching as far as the eye can see" (339). This vast trade arouses Mendes Pinto's intense admiration: it is a utopian dream of economic and social organisation, a perfect vision of prosperity, security, and orderliness. But the whole great fair is organised around the temple, at whose centre there is the monstrous idol, and the entire spectacle, both in its opulence and its horror, is enough, he writes, "to make a man fall speechless" (339).

Speechlessness, however, is the one thing to which Mendes Pinto never seems to succumb, and he proceeds to describe the cult of *Tinagogo* and the climactic sacrificial procession in elaborate detail. His understanding of the alien ritual is deeply shaped by the language and symbols of Christian belief. The idol is accompanied by priests in vestments, attended by people with censers and thuribles; those who pull the carts by the long silk-covered ropes are "granted plenary remission of their sins" and the faithful crowd forward in order to receive "absolution" and "indulgence"; the streets of the procession are adorned, as they would have been in Mendes Pinto's native country, with palm fronds, woven branches of myrtle, and silken flags and banners; people make offerings in the fulfilment of vows and purchase religious souvenirs "much the same way as among us it is the custom of the pilgrims returning from Santiago to bring back those trinkets of jet" (Catz 1989:345). There are performances of religious interludes and a charitable distribution of food and clothing. As in a jubilee year (to which Mendes Pinto likens the event), feuds are reconciled and debts forgiven, "and many other pious deeds were performed, so much in keeping with Christian ethics that had they been done with faith and baptism in the name of Christ our Lord, without the intrusion of worldly matters, it seems to me that they would have been acceptable to him" (Catz 1989:342).

But, of course, these pious deeds were not done with faith and baptism—"the best was wanting in them," he writes, "for their sins, and for ours"—and, with a horrifying clamour of music and shouts, the procession lurches toward an orgy of self-slaughter. Mendes Pinto further increases the grisly statistic already augmented by Mandeville—"well over six hundred" threw themselves under the chariot wheels, he reports—and he adds baroque details of ritualised self-mutilation. Those who cut off pieces of their own flesh shoot the pieces from bows toward heaven in honour of various of their kin; the frenzied crowd rushes forward to seize what they regard as holy relics, while in the meantime the "poor wretches would go staggering about, dripping with blood, without noses, or ears, or the semblance of men, until they finally fell to the ground dead" (Catz 1989:343). Other penitents involve the bystanders in a different way: they threaten to kill themselves if they are not given alms, and, if the alms are not produced quickly enough, they slit their throats or disembowel themselves. Still others go about holding copper pots filled with a mixture of human urine and faeces. "Quick, give me some alms," they say, "or I will eat the devil's food and spray you with it so that you will be as accursed as the devil himself." If the bystander does not immediately comply, the horrible penitents make good on their threat.

of absolute difference that had to be confronted. In Europe, such an embodied language, based on that strange grammar, syntax, and pragmatics that was revealed through ceremonial pissing, could not be meaningfully interpreted; it could only be regarded with incomprehension and perhaps with the kind of wonder that Kolb himself encouraged by observing, "Strange! The different Notions different Nations entertain of the same Thing!" (Kolb 1731:316; see Greenblatt 1982).

Body language in Europe

By the middle of the seventeenth century, European scholars were able to incorporate reports about Khoisan people into their systematic reflections on human identity and difference. For the English savant John Bulwer, whose text, *Anthropometamorphosis* (1653), is recovered by Stephen Greenblatt in this volume, travellers' reports about the indigenous "Inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope" provided incidental, but nevertheless valuable supporting evidence for his global account of the different notions held by different nations about the same thing, the human body.

Drawing upon the texts of ancient authorities, medieval churchmen, and modern travellers for his "many strange and National Examples", Bulwer advanced a "Corporall Philosophy" that contemplated the varied uses and abuses of the human body. As Greenblatt has noted, Bulwer sifted through all these examples of 'unnatural' alterations of the body–the various arts of piercing and scarring, shaving and cutting, painting and decorating, exposing and concealing–in search of a 'natural' image of the human body. However, that 'natural' image could not be revealed, but only suggested, by imagining that all artificial practices, all the strangely 'unnatural' and distinctively 'national' customs that Bulwer so diligently displayed, could actually be erased.

In accounting for the different "shapes of men", Bulwer considered four possible causes: religion, propagation, diet, and art. Consistently, Bulwer favoured an explanation of bodily dispositions as art, emphasising artificial ornamentation, rather than the meaning of religion, the inheritance of biological propagation, or the effects of diet, as the most important cause of the varied "shapes of men" throughout the world. Given a choice between religion or art as a motive for some bodily practice or embodied form, Bulwer clearly preferred art, not only because he wanted to argue that human shapes were artificial, but also because they were entirely arbitrary, since art "wee have just cause to accuse of a ridiculous activity" (1653:174). Accordingly, one way Bulwer found to erase all the artifice that distorted the natural body was to subject strange bodily practices to ridicule. As Bulwer demonstrates in his genealogy of the bodily practices of the "English Gallant", no one was exempt from being shaped and formed by the "ridiculous activity" of art.

In general terms, there was nothing distinctive about Bulwer's use of Khoisan evidence; it was merely added to his collection of promiscuous citations from the available literature. The "Inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope" offered anecdotes that were in principle interchangeable with those derived from reports about any other people. They could be made to look just as ridiculous as anyone else. For example, at one point Bulwer observed that the Khoisan "have all their bodies rased and seared with Irons, and all figured like rased Sattin, or Damaske, wherein they take great pride, thinking there are no fairer people than they in all the world" (1653:457). In this citation, the Khoisan illustrated an artificial decoration of the body that signified a particular national identity. However, Bulwer found nothing uniquely Khoisan in this bodily practice or national pride.

The mention of the devil here is not for Mendes Pinto an accident, since these and similar acts of grotesque penitence and piety are in his view the consequence of the lack of true belief in this part of the world. He recognises that the people he is encountering in many cases have good judgement and wit, but their "blind spots and brutish customs . . . are so far beyond all reason and human understanding", he writes, "that they serve as a great motive for us to offer thanks continually for the infinite mercy and goodness He has shown us, by giving us the light of true faith wherewith to save our souls" Catz 1989:343). Without this light, all of the observances Mendes Pinto describes seem to him either "humbug" or service to the devil. He ends his account with a further reflection on the lesson he wants his readers to draw:

> So that all these people who practice these different forms of terribly harsh penitence become martyrs of the devil, who rewards them with everlasting hell, and it is indeed an extremely pitiful and painful thing to see how much these poor wretches do to lose their souls and how little most of us Christians do to save ours. (347)

The last remark, which closely resembles a similar observation that I have already quoted from *Mandeville's Travels*, could be taken as evidence to support Rebecca Catz's thesis that *The Travels of Mendes Pinto* is a satire. "How can the Portuguese, whom Pinto paints in the darkest colors," Catz writes, "hope to convert the Asians who live in accordance with God's laws and who are prepared to go to greater lengths, to make greater sacrifices—as in the case of the heathens of Calaminhan—than the greatest Catholic saint of his time, in an effort to apprehend the eternal?" (Catz 1989:xliii). But, though there are unmistakable currents of Mandevillian irony in Mendes Pinto, his account of the Juggernaut hardly holds up the hideous self-mutilators of the Juggernaut ceremony as a model for Christians to follow.[7] On the contrary, they are, in his view, losing their souls, and their filthy, wounded, defiled bodies are in vivid contrast to the miracle of St Francis Xavier's incorruptible body with which Mendes Pinto brings his long peregrination to a close: "They found the body completely intact, with no sign of decomposition or defect of any kind, so much so, that not even the shroud and the cassock he wore were found to have any spots or blemishes, for both were as clean and white as if they had just been washed, with an extremely sweet smell about them" (498).

This contrast would seem to locate Mendes Pinto securely within the medieval conceptual framework that mapped cultural difference along the axis of the sacred and the demonic. But the problem is first that his graphic description of the demonic rites seems to leave very little space for the traditional Christian valorisation of penitential wounds—that is, the perception of resemblance is continually undermined by the horror of the ceremonies described—and second that his imaginative investment in the Asian peoples and their customs seems to bespeak not piety alone (or even principally) but rather what medieval writers condemned as curiosity. In short, Mendes Pinto is on a border between the medieval travellers' tales and something else. That something else, in my view, is not so much satire as what we might call, borrowing a term from Michel de Certeau, heterology.

Early modern heterology is constructed, I propose, out of what appear to be contradictory impulses: a fascination with the singularity of particular customs and a fascination with the universal meanings that are disclosed in those same customs. Both of these impulses are present in Mendes Pinto, but they are still held within the overarching framework of sacredness that governed the accounts of Odoric or Mandeville. But in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this framework begins to crumble. The axis of sacred and demonic is gradually displaced by an axis of natural and unnatural. I want in the time that remains to sketch briefly the emergence of heterology by considering the work of a little-known English savant, John Bulwer. In 1649 Bulwer published in London a book called *Pathomyotomia, or A dissection of the significative muscles of the affections of the minde*.[8] The author was a physician, and the title might suggest a medical text, but Bulwer's "dissection" is figurative rather than literal. His concern is with somatic signification. How does the body naturally convey meanings? How are commands conveyed from the spirit to the muscles? How do "affections"—passions, ideas, responses, projects—pass from the silent and inaccessible inner reaches of the mind to the world? The obvious passageways, of course, are speech and writing, but central to Bulwer's inquiry is his conviction that speech and writing are only part of the signifying resources of human beings, and not the most reliable part at that. For language is notoriously slippery, deceptive, and unstable—notoriously, from the point of view of both theology and science.

The Hebrew Bible relates the fall of language in the wake of the attempt to build a tower that would reach to heaven. "The whole earth was of one language, and of one speech," the Bible says, when the tower was undertaken; its builders proposed to "make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth" (*Genesis* 11:4). God's response is to shatter humankind and scatter the fragments across the face of the earth. The tower gets a name, but the name signifies the splits, gaps, opacities and multiplicities in language and in human culture: "Therefore is the name of it called Babel; because the Lord did there confound the language of all

Rather, Bulwer used Khoisan evidence as just another occasion for ridicule.

However, if isolated for analysis, Bulwer's use of Khoisan material does reveal some of the preoccupations we have already considered in reports from the Cape. In particular, the tendency to displace Khoisan faces by genitalia can be discerned in Bulwer's text. Certainly, Bulwer cited evidence of peculiar Khoisan practices with respect to the head, showing an interest in the heads of the "Inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope" that he underscored by reminding the reader that they lived in a region "which Pomponius calls the Head of Aphrica" (1653:96). Accordingly, Bulwer observed three features of the Khoisan art of altering the head.

First, he noted that "some shave one side of their Heads, and leave the other curled and long" (1653:54). In commentating on this curious custom, Bulwer made a rare reference to biblical analogy. Although "the inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope offer no affront to Nature in shaving one halfe of their Heads, and letting the other grow," Bulwer observed, "David was very impertinently angry with Hanun for serving his Ambassadors after that manner, and they needed not to have staid at Jericho until their Haire was grown" (1653:55–6). In this instance, Bulwer invoked biblical precedent, not to condemn an unnatural Khoisan practice, but to illustrate its arbitrary character. The comparison between the Cape and ancient Israel only demonstrated, once again, that different nations entertain different notions about what constitutes an affront to Nature.

Second, Bulwer twice reported that the Khoisan removed facial hair in order to paint their faces. They "pull of the Haire of their Eye-lids", he notes, "and therein they paint divers things in a manifold colour, as white, black, skie colour, and red" (1653:96). Khoisan men "eradicate their Beards, painting their Chins with divers colours, white, black, red, and skie-coloured" (1653:203). Here bodily art was explicitly exemplified. The artistry of face painting both displayed and disguised Khoisan faces in a range of colours.

Third, Bulwer observed that the Khoisan "have their lower lips bored, and in the hole they put little stones, that their Lip seems beset with gems" (1653:180). By engaging in this practice, Bulwer apparently suggested, the Khoisan were implicated in an act of deception. The little stones that they set in their lips only seemed to be precious gems. In addition to illustrating the arbitrary character of custom and the artistry of facial display, therefore, Khoisan evidence was used by Bulwer to demonstrate the artifice of appearances.

The picture that slowly emerges of a Khoisan man, with one side of his head shaved, the other flowing with long and curly hair, with multi-coloured eyelids and chin, and with little stones displayed in his lower lip, can only be assembled by linking together the disconnected references that are scattered throughout Bulwer's text. Clearly, Bulwer had no interest in assembling such a coherent depiction. Rather, he was preoccupied with the broader, more general task of illustrating a cultural anatomy of the artificial human body. Nevertheless, just as a distinctively Khoisan face begins to appear, it is almost immediately erased when Bulwer turns his attention from heads to genitalia. Like travellers to the Cape, Bulwer was interested in two Khoisan practices–the excision of a testicle among men, the circumcision of women–that were deemed worthy of specific and detailed attention.

According to traveller's reports, the men of the Cape region had only one tes-ticle. As we recall, some commentators saw a religious motivation for this practice of removing a testicle, even interpreting the custom as an analogue to the Christian ritual of baptism. Bulwer, however, expressed scepticism about the religious character of this practice. "They in the Bay of Soldania," he recounted, "have but one stone naturally, or Ceremonially, my Auther indeed knoweth not" (1653:353). Since the absence of one testicle could not be

the earth: and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth."

To this melancholy account of the fracturing of human unity through the confounding of language was added, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the searching epistemological scepticism of Montaigne and Bacon. The problem was not, Montaigne recognised, simply the multiplicity of languages; a single, familiar, apparently shared language is in fact deeply unreliable: "Our speech has its weaknesses and its defects, like all the rest," he writes in *The Apology for Raymond Sebond*; "Most of the occasions for the troubles of the world are grammatical" (Frame 1958:392). For Montaigne, the acknowledgement of the defects of language leads to an acceptance of human limitation, an awareness of all that will remain unstable, unresolved, imperfect, incomplete. To grasp the inherent weaknesses of speech is to give up the grand ambitions of the human mind, the dreams of perfection and certainty, and to accept the pervasive, shaping force of custom. For Bacon, by contrast, a sceptical critique of language is the necessary precondition of a programmatic advancement of learning. Only by liberating oneself from the fraudulence and sloppiness and myth-making of ordinary language can one begin to acquire a genuine and well-founded knowledge of things, a knowledge that will initiate the long road back to the unity and the power possessed fully in Eden and lost definitively at Babel.

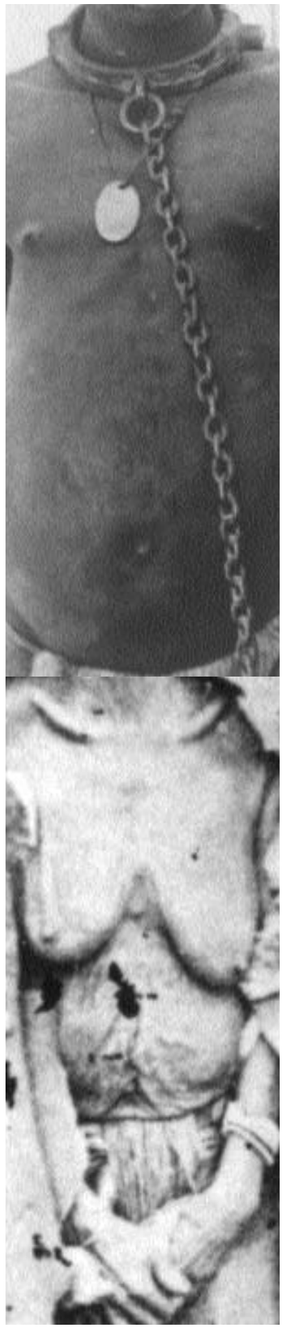
With Bacon we return to the obscure John Bulwer. For Bulwer was a Baconian, not one of those followers who refined the experimental methods or who pondered the epistemological problems of the emerging science, but one who responded to the utopian element implicit in Bacon's programme, the dream of recovering the primal power whose key was the primordial language spoken before the confounding of tongues. The revolutionary ferment of the mid-seventeenth century sparked many searchers for this ur-language or at least enabled their ambitious projects to surface in print. Often their hopes led them to Hebrew or to some version of Hebrew cleansed of its post-Babel corruptions. Hence, in 1655, Thomas (TheaurauJohn) Tany informed the world that he had received a revelation of "the pure language".[9] Tany's response to his revelation was to circumcise himself. Others similarly sought not only the primordial spoken language but also the root and origin of writing, the so-called "Real Characters" that would not merely represent things but express in direct and unmediated form the essence of reality itself.

Bulwer's project in the *Pathomyotomia* and other works is clearly related to this search, but there is a significant difference. Where Tany and others were searching for the universal language in speech and in writing (including a kind of writing directly on the body), Bulwer had the idea of looking elsewhere in what, following Aristotle, he takes to be the highest perfection of a living creature: motion. The qualities and attainments that characterise human identity depend on the muscles; without them man

> would be left destitute of the grace of elocution, and his mind would be enforced to dwel in perpetual silence, as in a wooden extasie or congelation; nay his Soul which is onely known by Action, being otherwise very obscure, would utterly lose the benefit of explaning it self, by the innumerable almost *motions* of the Affections & passions which outwardly appear by the operation of the *Muscles*. (Bulwer 1649:3)

The muscles, then, are the link between the soul—"being otherwise very obscure"—and the known world. Human expression demands motion, and for Bulwer the principal sites of significant motion are the head and the hands. In 1644, he published *Chirologia; or the Naturall Language of the Hand*, an achievement that prompted him thereafter to wish to be known as "the Chirosopher". Words are conventional, slow, and often misleading, but the signs made by the hands are "part of the unalterable laws and institutes of nature" (Bulwer 1644:16;19).[10] The natural language of the hand, Bulwer writes, "had the happiness to escape the curse at the confusion of Babel" (Bulwer 1644:19).[12] Bulwer's passionate interest in what he called "manual rhetoric" led him to a singular achievement: in 1648, in a book called *Philocophus: Or, the Deafe and Dumbe Mans Friend*, he published what appears to be the first English hand-alphabet for the deaf.

But if this accomplishment would seem from our vantage point to be the triumph of Bulwer's career, he himself would no doubt have regarded it as a minor bypath on the road to what the *Pathomyotomia* calls the "universall and naturall Language" (Bulwer 1649:55), now not of the hand but of the head. That is, Bulwer does not consider facial expressions to be merely conventional; they are voluntary—that is, the product of muscular movements under the guidance of the soul—but the expressive system they articulate is not bound by the particular will of either individuals or cultures. After all, Bulwer observes, we do not actually think about most of our facial expressions, nor are we generally aware of commanding them (though they are not, in his view, less voluntary for that). But we are able to read those facial expressions; indeed, we count on doing so as part of understanding our social interactions. A face condemned to one fixed posture "would be like a Cabinet lockt up, whose key was lost" (40). There would be no access then to the subjectivity of the other, "no certaine way of entrance into his mind".



"natural", Bulwer might have concluded that it was removed in the course of some kind of religious ritual. However, he rejected this line of interpretation by concluding that the excision of a testicle was performed either as a mark of social distinction or as an attempt to diminish sexual desire. "Most of the men of the Cape of Good Hope are Semi-Eunuchs," Bulwer reported, "one stone being ever taken away by the Nurse, either to distinguish them from ordinary men, or that mistris Venus allure them not from Pallas" (1653:354).

If these were the motives for removing a testicle, what were the effects of the practice? Bulwer embarked on an extended digression in response to Khoisan excision of a testicle by asking "whether the Testicles be required to the forming of the Voice" (1653:354). On the authority of Galen, Bulwer found that the testicles act as the fountain of heat that supports the heart which in turn is responsible for forming the distinctive quality of the male voice. However, in the case of Khoisan men, "the testicles being taken away, and so the heart affected, the Voice and very forme becommeth womanlike" (1653:355–6). On physiological grounds, therefore, Bulwer suggested that Khoisan men were like women.

At the same time, Khoisan women were like men. "The women of the Cape of Good Hope also excise themselves," Bulwer reported. According to Bulwer, female circumcision, like the male excision of a testicle, should not be regarded as a religious act. It was performed, "not from a notion of Religion", he insisted, "but as an Ornament". Bulwer's dismissal of any religious significance in this practice is consistent with his treatment of circumcision in general. For example, in an extended exposition of male circumcision among the African "Ginney and Binney", Bulwer reported that "it is done without any religious Ceremony, and the word in their Language is expressed unto us by no other signification than cutting of pricks" (1653:375). Regarding circumcision as essentially a male bodily practice, Bulwer implied that its performance on females of the Cape made Khoisan women, in effect, "manlike".

As they were incorporated into Bulwer's "Corporall Philosophy", therefore, Khoisan men and women signified a certain gender ambiguity. Through their practices of genital mutilation, the "Inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope" appeared as womanly men and manly women. By insisting that these practices lacked religious motivation or content, Bulwer concluded that they were devoid of any meaning. Khoisan gender ambiguity only signified an extreme example of the "ridiculous activity" of the unnatural art of the body. Nevertheless, through that art, according to Bulwer, the Khoisan had produced themselves as unnatural human beings.

Conclusion

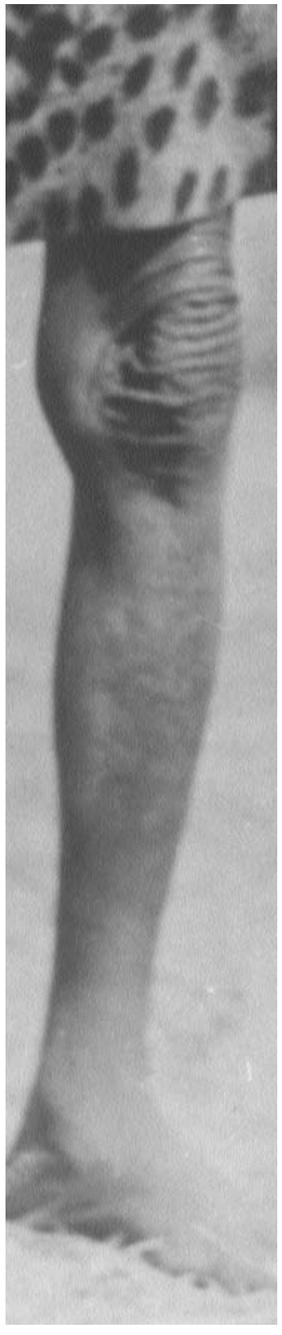
As Stephen Greenblatt has demonstrated in another context in remarkable and convincing detail, European explorations of alternative worlds–in the Americas, as in Africa–were not only fuelled by greed, desire, lust, and violence; they were also stimulated by an impulse that can be redescribed as a sense of wonder in the face of the marvellous diversity that these ventures disclosed of unimagined possibilities that exist for being human in the world (Greenblatt 1991). This sense of wonder, as Greenblatt has shown, was not merely the intellectual occupation of academics involved in thinking about or through differences. It was an intercultural engagement with the embodied signs of humanity, the scars and wounds, the postures and dispositions, the gestures and motions, of human beings who were facing each other in the moment of contact. In that moment, the fragrance of tobacco signified; the taste of brandy signified; the smell of sheep's fat signified; and the sound of laughter, reverberating throughout these relations and

The *Pathomyotomia* intends to systematise this entrance by performing what it calls "dissections"—isolating, analysing, and naming the muscles of the head that govern the range of human expressions. Hence, for example, "When we would bow low, as in *assenting with reverence*, or to *adore*, *worship*, or *profess a submissive respect*, the whole Neck with the Head is inclined and lowly bent forward" (Bulwer 1649:51–2). This motion is performed, Bulwer writes, by two pairs of muscles, the first called *Longus* and the second called *Triangulare*. After describing these in some technical detail, he proposes to rename them in keeping with "the naturall Philosophy of Gesture": "The first long Muscles which so appeare active in these Declarations of the Mind might by our scope of Denomination be called *Par reverentiale*, the Reverentiall paire; The other commonly called *Triangulare*, for distinction, *Par adorans*, the Muscle of Worship or Adoration, or the Muscles of the yoke of submissive obedience" (53). This is the basic form for dozens of "dissections", from the "Muscles of Rejection", to the "Muscles of Supplication", to "the Arrogant paire or the Muscles of Disdainfull Confidence" which work in tandem with "the Insulting or Bragging paire or the Muscles of Insolent Pride, and fierce Audacity"—that is, the proud stiffening of the neck and elevation of the head produced "when all the hinder Muscles of the Neck and Head and that confused Chaos and heape of Muscles in the Back, which are like a Labyrinth of many waies, work together" (78).

As Bulwer is fascinated by the movements of the head, he is equally fascinated by the subtlety and range of facial expressions: "the pleasant Muscle of Loves pretty Dimple" (109), "the Severe and Threatning Muscles" (148) that cause the brows to contract; "the Muscles of Wonder or Admiration" that lift the eyebrows; "the Muscle of Staring Impudence" that "draws the superior Eye-lid upwards" (158); "the Dastard Muscle, or the Ranke cowards Sphincter" that causes "the affrighted Eyes to twinkle, that is to open and incontinently to shut more than is convenient" (159). No movement—the pursing of the lips, the twitching of the ears, the slight rounding of the eyes—is too small for his attention, but he is particularly taken with that exuberant, convulsive spectacle unique to humans, laughter. Bulwer conceives of laughter as a great "Dance of the Muscles performed . . . upon the Theater of Mirth, the Countenance" (106), and he analyses its component parts for many pages. What particularly strikes him is the extent to which laughter is not only an effect of the mind or the heart or the body but "of *totius conjuncti*, of the whole man" (128). Accordingly, "in laughter the Face swells; for, the whole Countenance is powred out and spread with the Spirits that then swell the Muscles" (110).

If laughter is the very heart of the universal and natural language of the head, it is also the limit case of the claim that this language is essentially voluntary. For Bulwer himself recognises that by his own account laughter resembles the experience that, at least since St Augustine, had been recognised as the very emblem of the involuntary, the male erection: "So that the Muscles of the Face are filled with Spirits after the same manner as a certaine member directly opposite unto it which importunately sometimes lookes us in the Face, which being filled with Spirits growes stiff and is extended" (110). The only reason that the laughing face—"at the highest pitch and scrued up to the very Ecla of mirth"—does not actually stand erect is that the facial muscles "adhere most firmly to the bone and skin". Why then does Bulwer continue to insist on the principle of voluntary motion—not only in the case of laughter but even of sleepwalking? The answer seems to lie in the utopian impulse with which we began: Bulwer is determined to recover and to analyse the pure and unfallen communicative system of humankind, and this system must by definition enhance the power of the human will.

Bulwer's analysis of the signifying power of the muscles then is haunted by two demons that he must hold at bay. The first is the demon of involuntary or nonsignificant movement: all of the twitches, tics, swellings, and contractions that do not seem to express meanings or that cannot be performed at will. And the second is the demon of culture, the possibility that the expressive motions of the muscles are not primordial, pure, pre-Babel, but rather, like any other language, determined by the varied and changing customs of peoples. The possibility surfaces on occasion in his books on the hands and the head, as when he writes that the Cretans make the sign of refusal or denial by moving their heads straight backward "not as we *refuse* and *denie*, who drive the head about him a circumduction" (54). But somehow such observations never compel Bulwer to abandon or even substantially to modify his conviction that the muscles speak the true language of nature. There is some indirect evidence, however, that he was aware of the problem and troubled by it. In 1650, he published yet another study of the body, but this time his point was not that the body did not lie. The work's full title in the expanded 1653 edition sketches its principal argument:
Anthropometamorphosis: Man Transform'd: or, The Artificial Changling Historically presented, In the mad and cruell Gallantry, foolish Bravery, ridiculous Beauty, filthy Finenesse, and loathsome Loveliness of most Nations, fashioning and altering their Bodies from the mould intended by



exchanges, signified something that could only be guessed.

According to John Bulwer, as Greenblatt notes, laughter is a body language that involves the whole person. Perhaps Bulwer's catalogue of bodily customs, which often seems as if it were intended to provoke laughter, was designed to involve the European reader in an embodied engagement with embodiment by laughing at the "ridiculous activity" of the art of bodily practices. Subject to that ridicule, Khoisan people in the Cape responded with their own body language. When he read Peter Kolb's account to a group of Khoisan people in the 1780s, the traveller Franç ois le Vaillant recalled, "They openly laughed in my face," (1791 I:82).

The languages of the body, which were felt, tasted, smelled, seen, and only vaguely heard, provided the most immediate and powerful contexts in which the intercultural relations between Europeans and Khoisan people took shape and form. To understand those relations, we must all return to the incomprehension, and the wonder, that animated those contacts and exchanges. We cannot return to those initial contacts, however, as if we were uninformed by the knowledge, the profoundly painful knowledge, that has been acquired through the long and tortuous legacy of intercultural exchanges that have taken place among people with very different dispositions towards their own bodies and towards other bodies. We know that story, and we cannot forget it, because it is written in our present, it is intimately inscribed in our own physical bodies, it is carved into our most subjective experiences of embodiment that signify–through seeing and hearing, through smelling and tasting, through moving, gesturing, and touching–the kind of human beings that we are in a world of human beings.

Natvre; With Figures of those Transfigurations To which artificiall and affected Deformations are added, all the Native and Nationall Monstrosities that have appeared to disfigure the Humane Fabrick. With a Vindication of the Regular Beauty and Honesty of Nature. The body in its natural state is impeccably "honest" but, as Bulwer makes clear, in more than 500 pages of closely packed and often zany citations, there is virtually no culture in the world that does not fashion and alter the body "artificially".

Bulwer's obsession with the body's natural language has, in effect, generated a counter-obsession with all of the things that cultures do to change the body from its natural state. In this classic of heterology—a strange precursor of ethnography written out of loathing and disgust—he comes close to imagining the virtually limitless malleability of the body: heads drastically change shape, the genitals are cut and resewn, the skin is made into a canvas, lips, ears, nose, and nipples are pierced, the thighs are artificially fattened or thinned, breasts are enlarged or reduced or removed altogether, feet are crushed or elongated. Bulwer recognises that many of the motives for these transformations of the body are religious, but approximations or departures from Christianity are no longer the way in which his observations are organised. The *Anthropometamorphosis* regards all attempts to reach the sacred through the mutilation or reshaping of the body as instances of what it calls "tampering with Nature" (Bulwer 1650:218). There is no place in Bulwer for the pious contemplation of Christ's wounds, the celebration of the stigmata, or the mystical interpretation of circumcision. On the contrary, there is nothing unique about Jewish circumcision—"The *Colchians*, *Ethiopians*, *Trogloditians*, *Egyptians*, *Syrians*, and *Phoenicians*, were wont to circumcise their new-born infants" (209)—and Bulwer's account of the practice incorporates it into a larger discussion of genital mutilation, including castration in Turkey, female circumcision in Africa, artificial attempts in Guinea to lengthen or enlarge the penis, and the piercing of the male genitals in Siam in order to insert jewels or bells.[11]

For Bulwer, then, the search for the sacred has been displaced by an investigation of the natural and the unnatural, but the natural is not to be found, or at least not reliably found, among primitive or uncivilised peoples. On the contrary, it is precisely those peoples who tamper the most systematically with their bodies and make themselves into "artificial changelings". The stage is set for the self-congratulatory conclusion that European culture, and English culture in particular, is at once the most civilised and the most natural. But that is not the conclusion that Bulwer draws. In an appendix which seems less an afterthought than the disclosure of the work's hidden agenda, Bulwer gives what he calls "the Pedigree of the English Gallant". He argues that contemporary English clothing at its most fashionable actually reproduces many of the transformations that are carried out in other cultures on the flesh itself. Hence, for example, sugar-loaf hats express "the same conceit that the *Macrones* of *Pontus*, and the *Macrocephali* once had, among whom they were esteemed the best Gentlmen who had the highest head" (531); "the slashing, pinking, and cutting of our Doublets, is but the same phansie and affectation with those barbarous Gallants who slash and carbonado their bodies" (537); and codpieces are "the shadowed imitation of the reall bulke of the great Privy Membred *Guineans*" (539), and the ribbons that "our modern Gallants hang at their Cod-piece, want nothing but Bells instead of Tags, to be allied in their Phansie to the yard-balls" (540) of the Siamese.

Bulwer, then, is one of the first to give an anthropological account of dress as well as of the body: like Mendes Pinto he draws upon classical and medieval accounts of distant peoples, but his work no longer conceptualises the body's transformations in the mythic terms encouraged by Ovid and his followers, or in the terms of folk-belief sanctioned in the trials of witches or in the theological terms developed by the Christian discourse of sacred wounds. He wants to understand what is actually done systematically and culture by culture to change the body's shapes. But he can only have this perception in the mode of horror: after all, he longs for the body in its natural state, a state he imagines precisely as a single, universal norm from which virtually all cultures have fallen away. He stands, then, in some sense, for a turning away from the multiplicity of the languages of the body, even at the moment that this multiplicity is first powerfully acknowledged, precisely *because* it is the moment in which it is first powerfully acknowledged.

Farini' s "African Earthmen". A family "from the Orange River" who had been persuaded by Mr W. A. Healey with sugar and coffee to travel to London for exhibition in the 1880s. Some of the group had escaped in Cape Town, but were later recaptured and brought to England as the possessions of their exhibitors, who claimed to have saved them from slavery. PRM Moseley Collection B11 4b (See Dell 1994)

The Bushman in Early South African Literature

Ian Glenn

What did early writers of imaginative works about South Africa understand by the term 'Bushman' and how did they use the relevant group or individuals in their works? I consider here two related aspects of this large question: François le Vaillant's accounts of the Bushmen and the Houzouânas (who in English became the Houswaana) and their influence on the place of the Bushmen in what one might call a moral economy of the Cape; and later accounts, influenced by Le Vaillant, that focus on captivity: either of a Bushman child by Europeans or a European child by Bushmen.

Le Vaillant and his heritage

It is difficult to overestimate the influence of Le Vaillant on early English writing on South Africa. White South African culture has resented his cutting criticisms of the behaviour of the colonists and has neglected him, but for half a century he shaped British literary responses to the Cape. In his first *Voyage*, he points out that the term "Bossismans" referred to two very different groups:

> Boshmen is a name composed of two Dutch words, which signify bush-men, or men of the woods: and it is under this appellation that the inhabitants of the Cape, and all the Dutch in general, whether in Africa or America, distinguish those malefactors or assassins who desert from the colonies in order to escape punishment. In a word, they are what in the French West-India islands are called *Marroon Negroes*. These Boshmen, therefore, far from being a distinct species, as has been even lately asserted, are only a promiscuous assemblage of mulattoes, negroes, and mestizos, of every species, and sometimes of Hottentots and Basters; who all differing in colour, resemble each other in nothing but in villainy. (Le Vaillant 1790 II:343–4)

Le Vaillant continues to describe this group as men who inhabit mountainous areas from which they raid travellers, and to describe some of their tricks. They walk backwards or put their sandals on back to front to throw people off their track, and divide up after stock thefts to make pursuit difficult. Le Vaillant continues:

> Another nation, entirely different from that of the Hottentots, is confounded also under the name of Boshmen. Though these people in their language use the same clappings as the Hottentots, they have however a particular pronunciation and expressions peculiar to themselves. In some cantons they are called Chineese Hottentot, Chinese Hottentots, because their colour approaches near to that of the Chinese found at the Cape; and, like them, they are of a small stature. On account of the affinity of their language, I consider these people, as well as the great and lesser Nimiquas, of whom I shall have occasion soon to speak, as a particular race of Hottentots; and though the planters confound the former under the general denomination of Boshmen, it is nevertheless true that the savages of the desert, who have no communication with the Dutch settlements, know them only under the name of Houswaana.

EGYPTIAN HALL,
PICCADILLY.

EXHIBITING DAILY,
The most Extraordinary
EXHIBITION OF ABORIGINES,
THE
BOSJESMANS,
Or BUSH PEOPLE,
They are the most SINGULAR SPECIMENS of that deteriorating
RACE OF HUMAN BEINGS,
THE BUSHMEN OF SOUTH AFRICA,
TWO MEN, TWO WOMEN, and A BABY,

From the "TIMES," May 19th, 1847.

Hours of Exhibition, from 11 in the Morning until 9 in the Evening.
ADMISSION, ONE SHILLING.

THE BUSHMEN HOTTENTOTS

Lo! there he crouches by the kloof' s dark side
Eyeing the farmer' s lowing herds afar;
Impatient watching till the evening star
Lead forth the twilight dim, that he may glide,
Like panther to the prey. With free-born pride
He scorns the herdsman nor regards the scar
Of recent wound; but burnishes for war
His assegai, and targe of buffalo-hide.
Is he a robber?—True it is a strife
Between the black-skinned bandit and the white.
A savage?—Yes; though slow to aim at life,
Evil for evil fierce he doth requite.
A heathen?—Teach him, then, thy better creed,
Christian! If thou deserv' st that name indeed.

PRINGLE

This nation, whatever name may be given it, inhabited formerly the Cambedo, the Bock-Veld, and the Rugge-Veld; but the usurpations of the whites, whose victims they have been like the other savages, compelled them to take flight, and to seek shelter in very remote places. At present they inhabit that vast country comprehended between Caffraria and the great Nimiqua land; and of all those people, whom the avarice of Europe has treated with cruelty, there are none who preserve a stronger remembrance of the injuries they have sustained, or who hold the name of the whites in greater detestation. They will never forget the perfidies of the planters, and the infamous return made to them for the signal services which they have rendered upon more than a hundred occasions. Their resentment is so violent, that they have always the dreadful word vengeance in their mouths, and an opportunity of giving vent to it always happens too late, though they are continually watching for it. I propose to give some farther account of these Houswaana when, passing under the tropic, I come to visit their hordes. (Le Vaillant 1790 II:345–7)

In the second *Voyage*, the meeting with the Houswaana and the description of them takes over 50 pages of Le Vaillant's text. Margaret Shaw's chapter on Le Vaillant in the two volume parliamentary study concludes that the details suggest that he really did meet them, but her study suffers from the general shortcomings of the parliamentary sponsored study: it leaves out sex and politics (Quinton & Lewin-Robinson 1973). Or, worse, it imposes, without admitting it, her politics on to Le Vaillant, as when she confidently asserts, as though she were paraphrasing Le Vaillant, that this group was in trouble because they found it easier to hunt livestock than wild animals and thus brought down on themselves the wrath of their neighbours.

Le Vaillant's analysis of this issue, as was often the case, was rather too sophisticated and morally troubling for white South African comprehension. When he meets the Houswaana, he finds, to his surprise, that their leader is a Hottentot who has escaped from servitude in the Cape and can speak to him. This man follows Le Vaillant back to his camp and a lengthy discussion between them ensues:

> I forgave him his desertion, which seemed legitimate to me, but I could not understand how he had chosen to live with robbers, whose profession was theft and murder, and on this subject I reproached him on several counts. This is what I understood of his response.
>
> The Houzouânas are not at all murderers by profession, as you believe, he replied. If occasionally they spill blood, it is in no way a thirst for slaughter, but a justified vengeance that gives them the means to do so. Attacked and hunted by other nations, they have seen themselves reduced to fleeing into inaccessible spots in the bare mountains where only they can live.
>
> If they manage to kill antelope or hares, if the pupas of ants are abundant, if good fortune brings them lots of grasshoppers, then they rest in the shelter of their rocks. But if supplies start to run out, the neighbouring nations should beware. From their mountain heights, their eyes roam over the countryside around them. If they see herds there, they go to rustle them, or to cut their throats, depending on the circumstances. But if they steal, they never murder except to protect their lives, or in reprisal and to revenge some ancient injustices.
>
> Sometimes, nonetheless, it happens that after an exhausting hunt they come home without any spoils, either because the prey disappeared, or because they have been repelled. Then the women, exasperated by hunger and the cries of their children who are in need, come furiously onto the scene. They spare the men nothing: reproaches, insults, threats. They want a separation, they want to leave these husbands without courage and go and find others who would be able to feed their wives and children. At last, having used all the means that rage and desperation suggest, they take off their little shame-tabliers, and hit their husbands in the face with them.
>
> Of all the insults possible, this is the most outrageous, and the men can never resist it. They become furious in their turn, put on their war hats (a sort of helmet made with the neck of a hyena whose long hair forms a sort of floating mane) and rush off like madmen, not returning until they have stolen some livestock.
>
> When they return, the women come to stand before them, stroke them and praise their courage. Then they think only of amusing themselves and feasting, forgetting the evils of the past—at least until hunger once again produces the same scenes.
>
> These, in essence, were the details through which my guide tried to justify the behaviour of his companions, behaviour necessitated by need, and that the Savage state makes legitimate enough. With laws, a police, manners, and the prejudices all these produce, it is to us horrible that brigands, even among the savages, ceaselessly pursue theft, even war, with all the consequent dangers, to escape hunger and find means to dull its pangs. But who is the most truly savage? The one who cultivates, raises herds, prefers to stay in one place, knows how to barter and even the beginnings of commerce, or the one who counts simply on his force, and waits for the moment to get what he needs? Laws, police, and manners are certainly worth more, but the ills that they often bring in their train to my mind infinitely diminish the misfortune of living in a desert and not having them. (Le Vaillant 1790 II:197–8, my translation).

Though there is a lot more in Le Vaillant's lengthy account of this group that is worth attention (Shaw points out, for example, that he seems to have been the first to record their use of signal fires), this passage is of great interest because it is driven by a variety of moral perspectives and discourses—driven to the point that the French original lacks a key verb.

Le Vaillant's first line of defence, given in the *First Voyage*, and repeated in the *Second Voyage*, is that the Houswaana were reacting to their shameful treatment by the Dutch colonists and had sworn revenge. This, of course, does not explain their treatment of other tribes or neighbours. But here Le Vaillant produces another line of enlightenment self-querying. A typical feature of debates on the noble savage and the state of nature

Figure 1 **Housouana man, armed with his arrows. Detail from the water-colour of Franscois Le Vaillant.** LP

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THE

EARTHMEN!

The only Specimens of this Extraordinary Race ever beheld in Europe, distinguished by the utmost Intelligence and Symmetrical Beauty, offering a direct Contradiction to the Theory lately set forth, of the Impossibility of Rendering the Savage a Thinking, Feeling Being—having been exhibited before

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ADMISSION, 2s. 6d. CHILDREN, 1s. 6d.

And from Seven till Ten,

Admission, One Shilling

The Natural Graces of the Children, added to the Musical Talent they evince, elicited the Warmest Expressions of Approval from

Her Majesty and the other Members of the Royal Family.

OPINIONS OF THE LONDON PRESS

(From *The Times*)

"A group of these "interesting" people was exhibited on Monday evening, at Exeter Hall, Strand, to a large assembly of the curious, and a lecture delivered on their nature, properties, propensities, and habits, by Dr Knox . . . Without saying that Europe will be, or not be, profited by their arrival, it may be affirmed that nothing, even in this age of "strange and unnatural" importations, is more curious than this stunted family of African dwarfs. In appearance they are little above the monkey tribe, and scarcely better than the mere brutes of the field. They are continually crouching, warming themselves by the fire, chattering or growling, smoking &c. They are sullen, silent, and savage–mere animals in propensity, and worse than animals in apppearance. The exhibition is, however, one that will and ought to attract . . . In short, a more miserable set of human beings–for human they are, nevertheless–was never seen. They are about to perform, at the future exhibitions of them, some curious feats of activity, and of their modes of attack and defence, which will be worth attention."

History of The Bosjesmans, or Bush People; The Aborigines of Southern Africa. London: Chapman, Elcoate and Comany 1847 (page36). (KCAL BRN 216045)

opposes man in his policed, European state, to man in nature, who is at once better and worse. Here it seems that the Houswaana are more true to their 'savage' nature by not accommodating to the pastoral ways of the Hottentots or others around them. Le Vaillant can't actually say it would be justified to rob and murder, but he does argue for something attractive in the Houswaana and move towards identifying them as having the archetypal power and purity of the savage state.

In his travels with the Houswaana, he notes with approval their stamina in comparison with his Hottentots, and concludes that with 50 of them, he would be confident of crossing Africa quite easily. He notes also how attractive their sense of communal property is but, in a move later film-makers could surely have used, has the men shoot their arrows at a target to win four knives he offers them as presents.

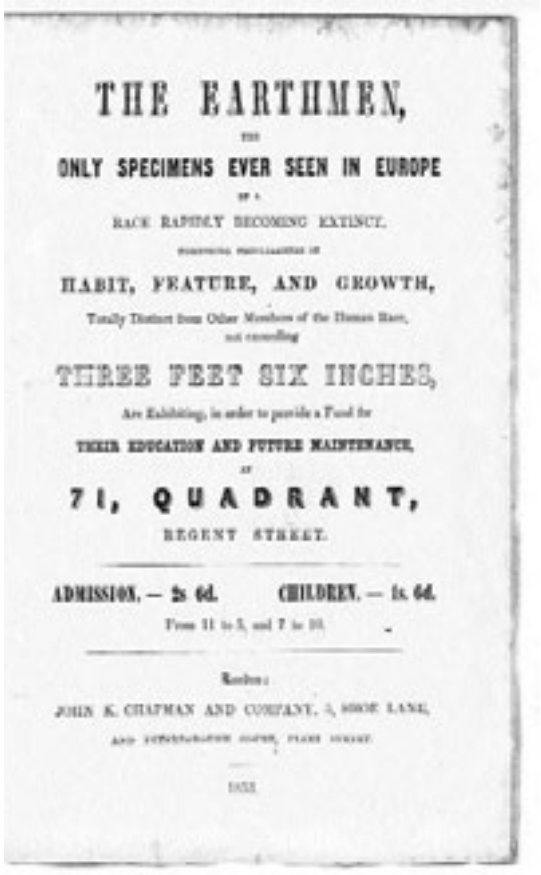
Le Vaillant also propagates an idea that was to be of widespread importance when he says that he would be "inclined to see the Houswaana as the primitive source of the nations that people Southern Africa today and perhaps all the Hottentot races from west to east descend from them. I think I see the proof in their physical resemblance and in the click of the language, which they have in a much more pronounced form." He continues that "These are only slight indications, and to know the truth, one would need decisive demonstrations"(Le Vaillant 1790 II:206).

Another crucial event is the attack on one of his followers in the first *Voyage* by one of the renegade Bushmen with a poisoned arrow—this means of attack became generally associated with the Bushmen-Houswaana and a staple of descriptions of them.

The contribution of Le Vaillant to the beginnings of modern anthropology has yet to be satisfactorily established. Copans and Jamin (1978) in their study do not pursue several tantalising suggestions of his importance, in part, one suspects, because they, like Duchet (1977) and Pratt (1992), have recourse only to the wholly unsatisfactory Boulenger contracted version of Le Vaillant. Here we can at least say that Le Vaillant left his readers with certain key ideas or impressions. Among the group of the dispossessed who have been robbed of their "imprescriptible" rights to land, the Bushmen are marked by the wish for revenge, but a revenge that always seems to be inadequate, too late, missed. Their original harmony and identity have been destroyed; they are alienated, disturbed. And yet, their resistance to being civilised gives them a certain power over the land. They are the original aboriginals.

We need now to continue to see how other writers reacted to and developed these ideas.

Figure 2 **Head of a Housouana woman. Water-colour by Francois Le Vaillant.** LP



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RACE RAPIDLY BECOMING EXTINCT,

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OPINIONS OF THE LONDON PRESS

(From the *Morning Herald*)

"THE BOSJESMANS—An exhibition involving an interest of a peculiarly instructive kind, is that of the Bosjesmen, at the Egyptian Hall, consisting of two men, two women, and a child of this aboriginal African race, having been recently brought over by a Mr. Bishop. The Bosjesmen or Bushmen, as they are termed by the Dutch colonists of the Cape of Good Hope, belonged originally to the common Hottentot tribe from which it is supposed they separated, wandering into the interior of South Africa, where they have increased and multiplied. These people are probably the very lowest in the scale of creation, sleeping in caves, and possessing no arts to distinguish them from the wild beasts of the desert. They are of mean looking aspect, and cruelly deficient of all the attributes which belong to human beauty. The account which travellers have given of this nomadic race are justified by the examples which Mr. Bishop shows us. They seem dull and apathetical, but have an expression indicative of latent craftiness and suspicion. The two women are terribly ugly, and will not be likely to challenge the attention of gallants in this country and provoke the jealousy of their flat-nosed partners. They occasionally harangue the audience, and exhibit the "clacking sound of the tongue, and the drawling way of ending their sentences," which historians have described. These curious specimens of an uncouth and uncivilised humanity occasionally interchange civilities with the spectators, and receive little presents from them."

History of The Bosjesmans, or Bush People; The Aborigines of Southern Africa. London: Chapman, Elcoate and Comany 1847 (page 39). (KCAL BRN 216045)

Racism, writing and the Bushmen

Let me make a general, and probably fairly contentious claim. In my view, the influence of Le Vaillant and the spirit of enlightenment of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century meant that writing about indigenous peoples was far less racist than it was to be for the century afterwards. Patrick Cullinan points to how surprisingly enlightened Gordon's view of the Bushmen was:

> . . . Gordon was a rational and civilized man. He was humane but never sentimental—in essence, a true exemplar of most of the qualities admired in eighteenth century Europe. He was, after all, a son of the Age of Reason and the Age of Enlightenment. (Cullinan 1992:69)

Cullinan, I suggest, states the rule rather than the exception—or, the rule for most writers on South Africa at that time. Le Vaillant's account of the moral position of the Bushman rings out in account after account. Let us take the first three South African novels in English, all published in the 1830s, as evidence.

The first English South African novel is a treatise on political economy by Harriet Martineau (1832). In her story the British settlers are reduced to penury and artificially cut off from colonial society and capital so she can show the benefits of the division of labour on their climb back to prosperity.

The agents of this disaster are the Bushmen who here seem to be a compound of Le Vaillant's brigands and the Houswaana. They take their revenge on the helpless English settlers:

> [A] race of men, more fierce than wild beasts, and full of cunning, inhabit the mountains on the northern frontier of the European settlements, and descend, from time to time, upon the lonely farms or small villages scattered over the plain, and slaughter the inhabitants, burn their dwellings, and carry off their cattle and their goods. It is nearly impossible to guard against the attacks of these savages; and as a considerable force is required to resist them, it is no wonder that settlers are disposed to sacrifice many advantages of climate, soil, and productions, rather than be subject to the continual dread of a visit from the Bushmen, as these people are called. The settlements towards the northern frontier are therefore few and small, and consist of those whose poverty induces them to brave danger, and whose courage is improved by constant exercise.
>
> The Bushmen were the original possessors of much of the country about the Cape which the British and the Dutch have since taken for their own. The natives were hunted down like so many wild beasts. This usage naturally made them fierce and active in their revenge. The hardships they have undergone have affected their bodily make also; and their short stature and clumsy form are not, as some suppose, a sufficient proof that they are of an inferior race to the men they make war upon. If we may judge by the experiments which have been tried upon the natives of various countries, it seems probable that if Europeans were driven from their homes into the mountains, and exposed to the hardships of a savage life, they would become stunted in their forms, barbarous in their habits, and cruel in their revenge. They might, like the Bushmen, visit the sins of the first invaders upon their innocent successors, and cause as much undeserved distress as that we are about to relate. (Martineau 1832:3–5)

For Martineau, the story becomes a way of arguing the key issue in Le Vaillant's attempt to contrast the savage state with civilisation. We see the characteristic ambivalence whereby the Bushmen are at once violent brigands, yet justified if misguided seekers after revenge.

The Bushmen are never mentioned after this role in causing the economic disaster, so one can only speculate that, in her view, what distinguishes the two groups is the ability of the British group to become more productive through specialised labour and co-operation. The Bushmen, if they return, will eventually be the victims of a more productive and better armed group, which in the inexorable process of industrial logic and progress, must displace them. Why can the Bushmen not exemplify this progress? Here Martineau's imagination fails her—history has stunted the Bushmen physically and morally, and they can serve only as a trigger for the real development of the country.

Images of captivity

One of the little noted themes in early South African writing is that of capture, especially the capture of a white Englishwoman by locals. This theme draws largely on the wreck of the *Grosvenor* and is centrally concerned with questions of miscegenation and local identity, but at least two narratives involve Bushmen figures and attempt to incorporate them into the political and imaginative landscape. In *Makanna,* the first major South African novel, the Bushman boy captured by the Dutch farmer is called Javan, the word signifying the Hebrew for "deceiver", so the child is marked by the Dutch Christians as a heathen, his name a true sign of perfidy. He grows attached to Bertha Falkland, the Englishwoman whom the farmer is holding captive. Her sympathy wins the boy's affection, and he is eventually instrumental in saving her.

What is most interesting in this novel, and shows how strongly early South African writers were under the influence of an enlightenment effort at sympathetic understanding of the colonised, is the effort to understand the psychological shock of capture by the Dutch farmer Hugo van Drakenstein:

> The first sounds that Javan remembered were the agonizing groans of his kindred;—and the rude hands of the stern Hugo, when they tore him screaming from the bosom of his dying mother, were reeking and purple with his father's blood!
>
> Perchance it was the gnawing recollection of those horrors, that had given a premature growth to his infantine faculties; but however that might be, every day brought its unrequited injury, and the passion of revenge—one, it must be remembered, nearly allied to virtue in the breast of a savage, who knows no other form of justice,—gave to the young 'Bosjeman' a stoical fortitude, and a quickness of perception, which might have challenged a milder fate. (II:229–30)

Javan's later words to his captor, "Vengeance is more than life" (II:264), and his use of the poisoned arrow show how strongly these two elements had become synonymous with the Bushman. But the Shakespearean ring of these passages shows that the author tried to give powerful expression to the tragedy of the Bushman; many of the other servants speak an embarrassing comic dialect.

In Edward Kendall's *The English Boy at the Cape* (1834), the plot turns on the young English lad's exploration of South Africa after the death of his father. He moves through a series of surrogate families and particularly father figures in what seems to be a staple theme of colonial fictions like *Huckleberry Finn* or *Kim*.

The influence of Le Vaillant makes itself felt in Kendall's general account of the "armed cattle-stealers, composed of mixed Caffres and Hottentots; the latter, the domesticated, or the civilized descendants of the Bosjemanns, or Bushmen, already spoken of " (Kendall 1834:29). Kendall continues, in the critical vein we have already noted as typical:

> The Bushmen, too, have many present, and still more traditionary wrongs to resent against the Dutch settlers generally. The time has but lately passed away, since the latter, whether under Dutch or English dominion, were accustomed to hunt and destroy the Bushmen, precisely as they also hunted and destroyed wild beasts and vermin. They made hunting-parties for this purpose; and, when they surprised the craals, or circles of bee-hive cabins in which these people preferably live, or broke into the caves, or into the holes in the rocks, to which they fled for concealment and security; they killed the grown Bushmen, male and female, and brought

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Seventeen to engage a long and liberal [illegible]

OPINIONS OF THE LONDON PRESS

(From the *Liverpool Standard.*)

"THE BUSH PEOPLE—This interesting exhibition is to close in a few days. The continued excitement which prevails amongst the scientific, as well as all others, to see these strangest of human beings ever exhibited in this country, is unabated, and every visitor expresses high gratification.

It is impossible to look at the specimens thus brought before us without feeling a strong conviction, from their defective physical and mental organization, that they are of a race sentenced to speedy extinction. The tribe to which they belong is rapidly diminishing, and it is no wonder that they are, being located between races on the north distinguished by greater development of physical power, and on the south by European intellect. They are doomed to extinction. They cannot compete with stronger minds and stronger bodies. They can live only in the bush—when that is invaded they will become extinct."

History of The Bosjesmans, or Bush People; The Aborigines of Southern Africa. London: Chapman, Elcoate and Comany 1847 (page 48). (KCAL BRN 216045)

away the children, or young ones, just as they would have treated old and young lions, or old and young jackals and hyenas. From these Bushmen young ones, have been bred the Hottentots, who are the general servants at the Cape. (Kendall 1834:30–1)

The Bushmen once again take a belated revenge by killing the sympathetic Dutch figure because of his father's sins. When the Bushmen kill the man, the dying Bushman is brought to account for himself. The fairly operatic exchange concludes:

"What did you want, then, vermin?"

"We wanted to kill, hyenas!"

"To kill whom or what, blood-sucker?"

"To kill the great, the strong-limbed Land-drost, whose father killed the chief of our people, and killed his wife, and stole away their little ones! But I see that our arrows have prospered, and I die content. If the Dutch fiends cannot be just, at least let them be fearful!"(Kendall 1834:34).

Kendall's exploration of the moral complexity of the issue does not stop here. The next scene shows the Landdrost in his death throes reverting to his childhood, where he is vainly pleading with his father not to attack the Bushmen. Kendall at once shows him as a truly innocent and Christian figure, but explicitly makes the motive for vengeance clear. He follows this with a long discussion, initiated by Charles's questions, on the rights and wrongs of colonial settlement and the extent to which any racial or colonising group has to accept shared responsibility for the historical atrocities of the past. (The moral and historical complexity of this passage makes it rather more sophisticated than what passes for historically daring textbook revisions in our enlightened times.)

Later Charles runs away from the unpleasant Dutch farmer's wife under whose control he falls and wanders in the wilderness for several days. He is near death and dreaming of his mother when he is saved by a Bushman girl. Once again, Le Vaillant is the inspiration, or, more accurately, the inspiration of the positive part of the description:

> the girl was about sixteen years of age; and her proportions were all of that unquestioned beauty which is the general dower of the younger females of the Bushman, or wild Hottentot people. But while her small and delicate feet and hands were cast, as we might say, in the most exquisite moulds, and while the form and motion of her arms satisfied every idea of grace; her head and features, instead of so worthily finishing an image in other respects so pleasing, were so truly Bushman, as to agree with all that has ever been said of
> "The wondrous hideousness of these small men!"—"the pygmy wretches of unearthly ugliness." In place of hair, the Bushman-girl had tufted wool; and beneath a high forehead, sunken in the middle, and two high and obtruded cheek-bones, lay the small and deep-set eyes; to which was to be added a mouth of immeasurable width, and a nose, or rather a skin stretched over the broad nostrils". (Kendall 1834 II:189–90)

Le Vaillant's Narina, described at the end of the first volume in the first *Voyage*, is the major inspiration for the portrayal of the young Bushman girl, as some excerpts from his description of her show:

> I noticed a young girl of sixteen . . . I found her figure charming. She had the healthiest and most beautiful teeth in the world, she was elegant and slender, and the sensual curves of her body could have made her a model for the brush of Albani. She was the youngest of the Graces in the guise of a Hottentot.

Le Vaillant's description of Narina's beauty turns into brotherly admiration and in Kendall she becomes a mix of idealised sister and mother, but Le Vaillant's highly sensual portrayal has been compounded with other negative racial stereotypes, though Kendall does follow his negative physical description with an account of the young woman's inward kindness and beauty.

Almost all the other groups (English, Dutch, Jewish, Malay, Irish, Xhosa, even Afrikaans at the end) offer alternative father figures for the colonial child who has to search for a new colonial order, but with the Bushmen Charles experiences something more feminine, almost pre-paternal, or pre-patriarchal, as when he goes with the girls, looking for flowers.

Kendall's imaginative portrayal of Charles's life with the Bushmen lasts nearly 100 pages and portrays the Bushman feeling of danger from surrounding groups, as well as showing their hunting, entertainment, and games, and entering into a lengthy discussion of their theological beliefs.

Kendall resolves the moral ambivalence towards the Bushmen by dividing the group into good and bad. The father of the young woman who saves Charles is good but ineffectual against the most important male, the evil Dassick, whose raids on the Caffres bring down their revenge raid on the Bushmen, a raid which leads to Charles being taken back to Cape Town. The Bushman girl escapes and, in a rapid tying up of the plot at the end, is saved by Charles, and she marries a good Hottentot, the keeper of his flocks.

Conclusion

What can we conclude from these narratives and imaginative attempts? I would start by repeating the general point that portrayals of the Bushmen influenced by Le Vaillant were less racist, more interested in the political and personal reality of indigenous persons in South Africa, than later writing would be.

In writing on the Bushmen, the early accounts I have discussed try to enter imaginatively into the moral universe of the Bushmen. Much of that effort may be misguided, as it starts with the idea that this is a people wanting a revenge that can never be sufficient, but this idea is itself a moral critique of colonial behaviour. Writers try to imagine an individual reality behind the horrifying accounts of colonial raids and captures of children, or to imagine sympathetically the life of a Bushman community. These writers were trying to incorporate the Bushmen into some imagined South African community by offering for them a moral and psychological status that colonial policy had denied. While that status may have been limited or condescending in certain ways, it seems to me better than most of what came in the century after, and as good as anything we have had since.

Detail of a painting from the Western Cape, Cedarberg area. Photograph: Royden Yates. UCT Archaeology Department. Date unknown.

Bushman Religion: Open, Closed, and New Frontiers

David Chidester

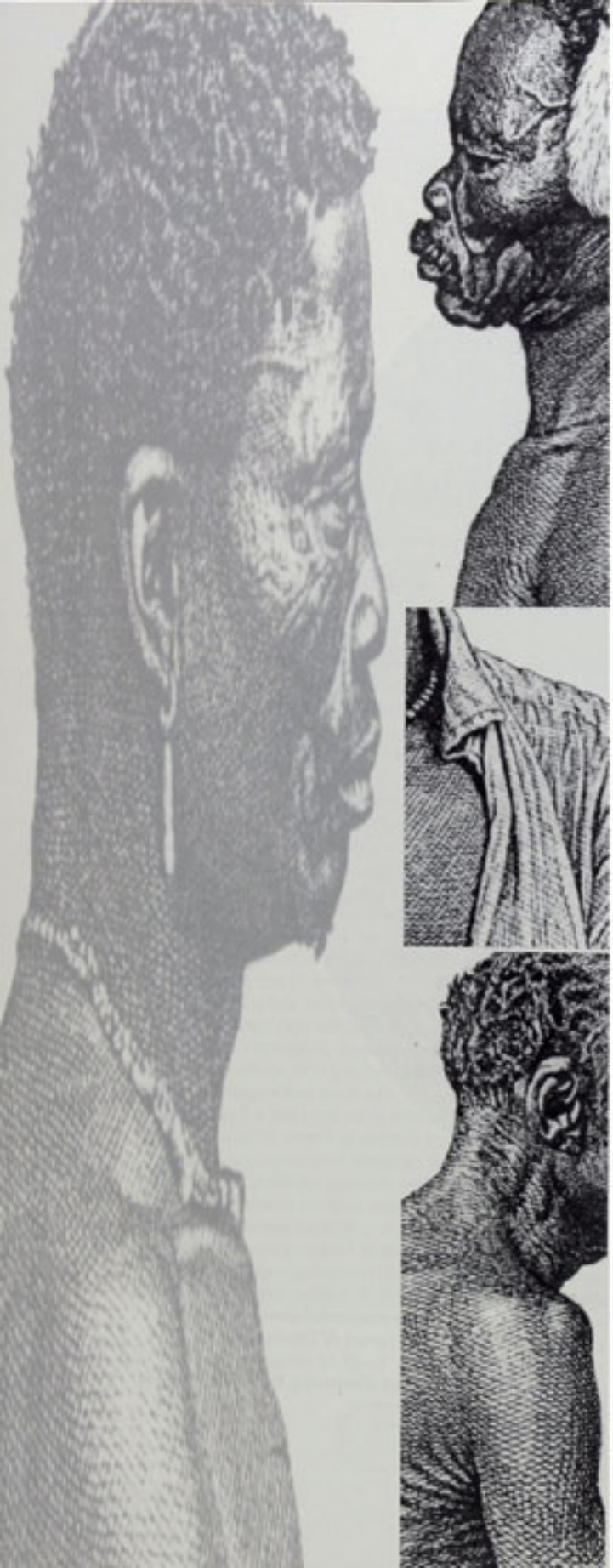
"The religious system of the Bushmen is very difficult to discuss," observed anthropologist Isaac Schapera in 1926, "for there has been no systematic study of the cult of even one particular tribe" (1926:847). Systematic study, he suggested, would eventually reveal the nature of the Bushman religious system. In the meantime, Schapera could use a common rhetorical device, the inventory, to represent the contours and contents of that system. He could produce an inventory of basic religious elements—beliefs concerning the dead; worship of heavenly bodies; stories about the supernatural being, /Kaggen, associated with the mantis; and rituals of healing—to capture the underlying structure of the Bushman religious system (Schapera 1930:160–201).

Obviously, the notion of 'system' was crucial to Schapera's reconstruction of Khoisan religion. By distinguishing between Khoi and San religion, he was able to distil the fragmentary evidence into two religious systems, noting that "there appear to be the same features underlying both systems of religion" (1926:853). However, systematic study over recent years has not resulted in the emergence of a clear picture of a Bushman religious system. Instead, the very notion of 'system' has been called into question. According to Mathias Guenther, we must regard "the religion and cosmology of the Bushmen as deeply and pervasively ambiguous and heterogeneous, as fluid and lacking in standardisation" (1994:267). Bushman religion is ambiguous because the narratives of myth and folklore do not necessarily coincide with the practices of ritual and art (Guenther 1990a); it is heterogeneous due to regional differences in religious beliefs and practices (Barnard 1988); it is fluid because symbolic resources are deployed and adapted to meet the challenges of changing historical, social, and economic situations; and it lacks standardisation, not only because of its apparent diversity, but also because its anti-structural impulses resist any formulation into a single, uniform, or consistent Bushman religious system (Guenther 1979).

What kind of a religion is this? What kind of a religion cannot be distilled into a system? What kind of a religion is inherently ambivalent, internally diverse, subject to historical change, and open to inter-cultural exchanges and inter-religious interchanges?

Recent advances in the study of Bushman religion have certainly expanded our understanding of the production of meaning and power in Bushman culture. But they have also challenged many of our assumptions about religion itself. As an inherently ambivalent, diverse, and contested category, the very notion of 'religion' has been produced through processes of historical change and inter-cultural exchange. In southern Africa, the category of 'religion' has been fashioned in specific frontier situations. Rather than marking a fixed line, border, or boundary, a frontier is a zone of contact, a region of intercultural relations between intrusive and indigenous people. Those cultural relations, however, are also power relations. In basic terms, a frontier zone opens with the contact between two or more previously distinct societies, and remains open as long as power relations are unstable and contested, with no one group or coalition able to establish dominance. A frontier zone closes when a single political authority succeeds in establishing its hegemony over the area (Lamar & Thompson 1981:7).

Instead of the 'system,' I will be using the 'frontier' as an organising metaphor for discussing Bushman religion.



As I will try to suggest in what follows, we can resituate Bushman religion within the power relations of opening and closing frontiers in southern Africa. In very broad outline, I hope to highlight the strategic nature of representations of Bushman religion in frontier situations. We will find European strategies of denial, containment, and displacement. But we will also find inter-cultural and inter-religious negotiations over the meaning and power of sacred symbols. As cultural analyst Homi Bhabha has proposed, the production of cultural meaning resides precisely at the interstices of such relations. In frontier situations, adapting Bhabha's argument, "it is the 'inter'—the cutting edge of translation and negotiation, the inbetween space—that carries the burden of the meaning of culture" (1994:38–9). The 'in-between' space of frontier relations is also the location of Bushman religion.

Denials and discoveries

The earliest European reports about the Cape of Good Hope asserted that the indigenous people lacked any trace of religion. As Pyrard de Laval maintained in 1610, they "live without law or religion, like animals". Although they recognised the existence of religions other than Christianity, European observers consistently reported the absence of any religion among the Khoisan people of the Cape. In 1612 a traveller proposed that the Khoisan had "little or no Religion". In 1614 they were "most miserable, destitute of Religion in any kind". In 1615 it was asserted that they "know noe kind of god or religion". In 1620 a traveller was "unable to discover in them any religion". In 1629 another observed that "no laws, policies, religions or ordinances can be discerned to exist among them". In 1634 a traveller reported that they were "without any Religion, Lawe, Arte or Civility that we could see". And in 1644 the Khoisan were alleged to have "hideous Countenance, scarce use of Reason, and less of Religion" (Raven-Hart 1967:47, 57, 60, 70, 77, 101, 128, 140, 156).

The cumulative effect of these categorical denials of Khoisan religion during the first half of the seventeenth century was overwhelming, representing the unanimous judgement of all European observers, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, whether English, Dutch, German, French, or Portuguese. Even the testimony of an indigenous Khoisan, Coree, who returned to Saldanha Bay after a visit to England in 1613, was added to this chorus of denial. "I asked Coree," the chaplain of the fleet Edward Terry recalled, "who was their God?" Lifting up his hands, Coree reportedly responded, "England God, great God, Souldania no God" (Terry 1777:22). Without religion, the indigenous inhabitants of the Cape appeared in all these accounts as less than fully human beings. As a subtext to these denials, European commentators concluded that people so depraved and bestial as to lack religion had no right to possession of the land. As one journal recorded in 1612, it was "a greatt pittie that such

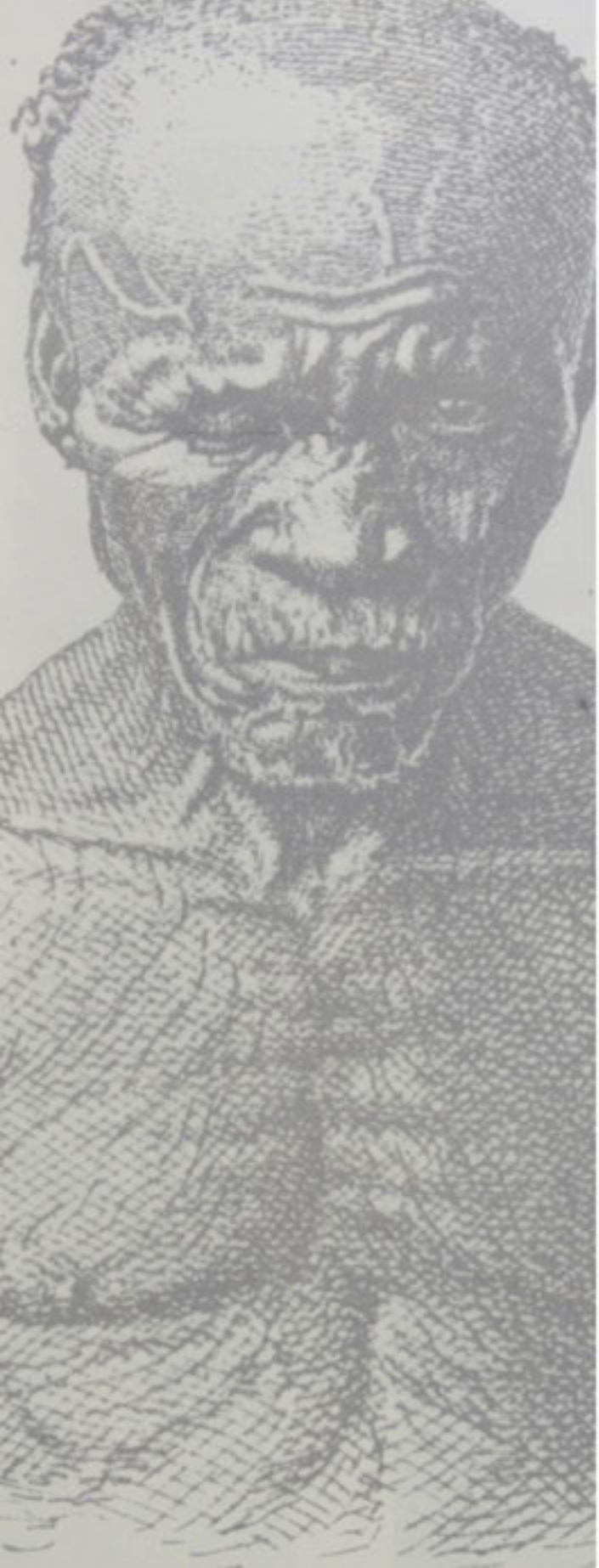
Figure 1 **European interpretations of Khoisan dancing under the moon alternated between recognising the practice as religious and dismissing it as entertainment.** Engraving by Peter Kolb *c.*1705–13

creattures as they bee should injoy so sweett a counttrey" (Raven-Hart 1967:58). In Europe, the influential cosmographer Peter Heylen repeated this sentiment in 1621 by observing, "pity 'tis that so beautiful and rich a country should be inhabited by so barbarous and rude a people" (1677:64). The denial of Khoisan religion, therefore, must be read in the context of an opening frontier zone. Without religion, like animals, the indigenous people of the Cape could have no right to land.

Over the next 300 years, European discussions about Khoisan religion fluctuated between denials and discoveries that can be correlated with frontier situations in the Cape. Two years after the establishment of the Dutch settlement, the first report to affirm the existence of a Khoisan religion was submitted by the traveller Johan Nieuhof. In 1654 Nieuhof reported that the Khoisan had a "natural" religion that was based on the worship of the moon (Nieuhof 1682:14).

Accounts of Khoisan moon worship continued into the 1680s. However, as the Dutch settlement expanded into Stellenbosch and the Drakenstein, the Khoisan were once again reported to have absolutely no religion at all. In an open frontier zone, European observers returned to denying the existence of Khoisan religion. Even their dances under the moon were now cited as evidence of their lack of religion (Dampier 1697:541; Ovington 1696:489; Langhansz 1705:634–8; Leguat 1708:230; Raven-Hart 1971 I:192).

These denials continued to be issued until about 1700, when Khoisan resistance had been largely subdued. Having established new colonial boundaries around Khoisan people, European observers rediscovered the existence of their religion. The most authoritative account of that religion, which was provided by the German visitor, Peter Kolb, depicted a religious system that revolved around the notorious 'Pissing Ceremony' that required a male elder to urinate on all participants in rituals for birth, marriage, and death. In Kolb's account,



the Khoisan had an indigenous religious system that could be inventoried and analysed within the relatively secure boundaries of a closed frontier (Kolb 1731 I:37, 90–111, 316–7).

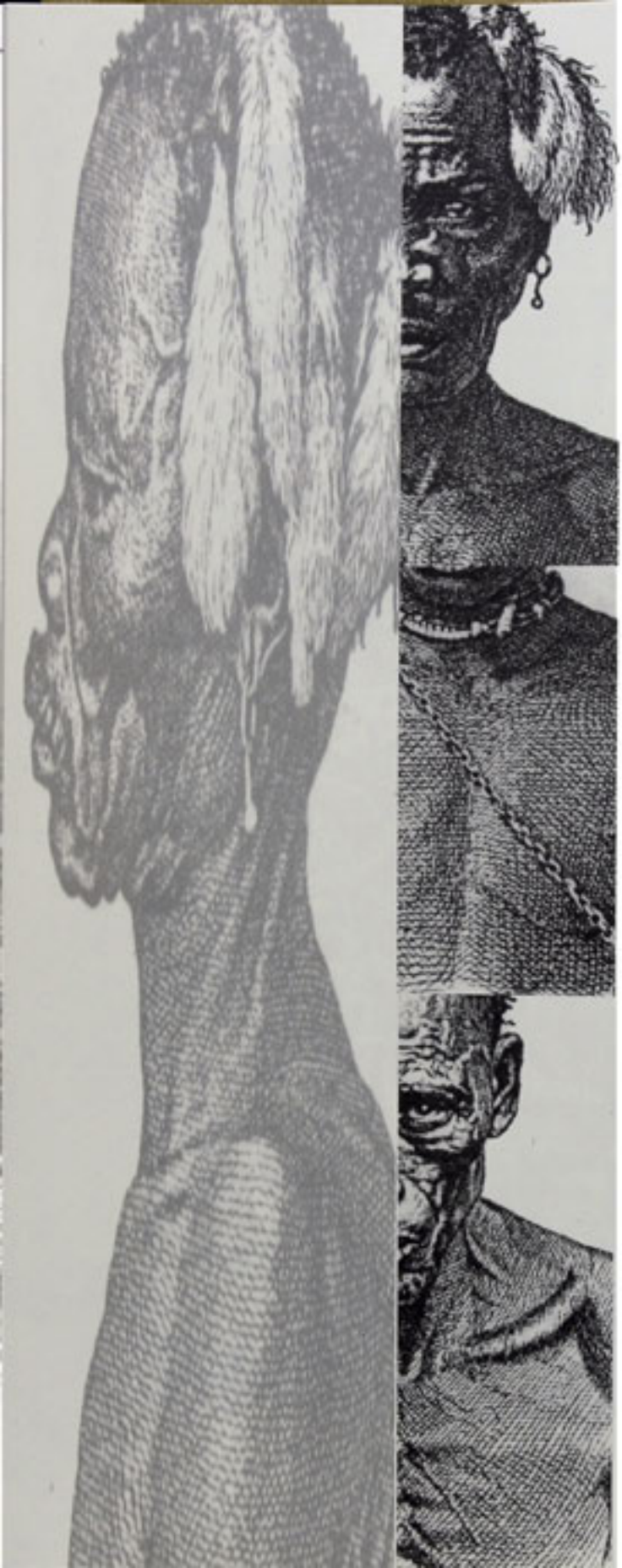
Kolb's version of Khoisan religion remained authoritative until the 1780s, when the western Cape again became a contested frontier. In the context of genocidal warfare against Khoisan people, every European commentator went back to denying that they had any religion (Mentzel 1944 III:281; Le Vaillant 1791 I:82). New scientific voices certified that denial. For example, Anders Sparrman, a student of the natural historian, Linnaeus, reported that the Khoisan held a concept of "some evil being", but they did "not worship him or anything else" (1786 I:207–8). Another student of Linnaeus, the botanist Carl Pehr Thunberg, supported this finding by observing that "they have no temples, pay no kind of worship to any divinity, and give themselves no thought about rewards or punishments after death" (1793 I:317). Interested in classification, these natural scientists reinforced an emerging colonial distinction between 'Hottentots' and 'Bushmen', in which colonists referred to 'Bushmen' as 'Chinese' or 'Chinese Hottentots', terms designating what colonists perceived as their absolute strangeness (Sparrman 1786 II:113; Gordon 1988 I:71, 79; see Wilson 1986; Smith 1990). Although distinguished as a separate people, 'Bushmen' shared with 'Hottentots', according to all reports at the end of the eighteenth century, this common feature: They lacked any trace of religion.

This long history of alternating denial, discovery, and denial reveals two basic features of inter-religious relations in the frontier zone of the Cape. First, European denials of Khoisan religion effectively denied the humanity of Khoisan people. Because they allegedly lacked religion, "like the beasts that perish", the Khoisan had no human rights to life, land, livestock, or even their own labour. Accordingly, these denials of religion were ideological interventions in material conflicts on open and contested frontiers. Second, however, the discovery of the existence of an indigenous Khoisan religion was not a sign of human recognition. Rather, it followed directly upon the establishment of colonial containment. In the process of establishing and enforcing colonial boundaries around the Khoisan, European observers defined and analysed their religious system.

Open frontiers

The open frontier was not only a region of denial and difference. It could also be a zone of religious exchange (see Moore 1985). Certainly, religious exchange was evident in relations between Khoisan and Xhosa religion. Khoisan rain makers, for example, were employed by the Xhosa in the eastern Cape as ritual experts (Alberti 1968:52; Macquarrie 1962:128–30). Tswana patrons also had recourse to Bushman ritual specialists for rain making and healing (Kuper 1970:45). Such exchanges did not end

Figure 2 **Frontier situations created violent oppositions, but they also produced zones of inter-cultural and religious negotiation over sacred symbols of meaning and power**
Engraving by Peter Kolb *c.*1705–13



with the establishment of Christian missions. At the Kat River settlement, for example, Khoi converts sought the services of Bushman shamans who performed healing rituals (Kay 1833:480–2). The religious rituals of the Bushmen were especially valued to the extent that hunters and gatherers were regarded as the original inhabitants of the land and thereby able to intervene in its natural rhythms (Hall 1994:64–5). In addition, their marginal social position endowed Bushmen with sacred associations in frontier situations (Gordon 1992a:213–4). On open frontiers, therefore, while Europeans were denying the existence of African religions, those denials were issued in a fluid context of inter-religious relations.

Between the 1830s and 1870s, the northern frontier zone became a complex field of inter-religious relations among Tswana, Bushmen, and European representatives of an expanding Christian mission. Although missionaries in that open frontier zone denied the existence of any Tswana or Bushman religion, they nevertheless appropriated terms from a Sotho-Tswana religious vocabulary and deployed them in the interests of their missionary project. They took the term *Morimo* and translated it as the God of the Christian mission; they took the term for ancestors, *barimo*, and translated it as demons (Brown 1926:103; Comaroff & Comaroff 1991:218). As elsewhere in Africa, these missionaries eventually succeeded in imposing their translations of indigenous religious terms. Backed up by colonial authority, literacy, and guns, they enforced their translations upon an entire field of religious discourse. As Rosalind Shaw has recently observed, "The kind of cultural translation which characterised the Christian missionary enterprise was very much a translation 'from above', a process of authorising, selecting, editing, privileging and promoting certain African religious forms in favour of others" (1990:342–3). In response to missionary translations 'from above', the Tswana found new, creative ways to reappropriate crucial religious terms. However, inter-religious translation was not the sole preserve of European Christians and Tswana traditionalists. Held in contempt by both, Bushmen advanced their own appropriations of the terms that were floating in the religious vocabulary of the open frontier, developing, in the process, a kind of translation 'from below' that revealed the complex nature of symbolic negotiations over sacred meaning and power.

In the battle over *Morimo*, Bushmen advanced their own claims. As the missionary John Mackenzie reported, Bushmen practised divination by casting and interpreting a set of bones. When asked about these 'divining dice', Mackenzie found that Bushmen explained them, in Setswana, as things of *Morimo*, or even by saying, *"Se se Morimo, se"*—"This is God" (1871:137). By invoking that term, these Bushmen diviners asserted an alternative claim on legitimate access to and ownership of the power of *Morimo*.

In their efforts to make sense out of the new religion of the Christian mission, Bushmen translated its strange practices into familiar terms. For example, as the missionary John Mackenzie reported, Bushmen compared the Sunday worship service of the mission to their own rituals of purification and protection. According to Mackenzie, Bushmen observed that the Christian ritual of prayers, sermons, and songs was "the white man's way to make his encampment pure and safe" (1871:134). For the Tswana, these strange religious activities at the Christian mission were often interpreted as rain making rituals (Kirby 1940:I:262; see Reyburn 1933; Grove 1989). If Mackenzie's report can be trusted, however, Bushmen showed a greater interest in ritual purity and protection.

Rites of passage also seem to have been subject to different translations in these frontier relations. As Mackenzie observed, male Bushmen compared their own ritual transition into manhood, which was marked by piercing the cartilage of the nose, with the Tswana ceremony of circumcision. They used the same Setswana term, *rupa*, for both rituals, indicating, as Mackenzie reported, that their ritual scarification was to the Bushmen "what circumcision is to the Bechuanas" (1871:136). Mackenzie added a third ritual practice to this mix by insisting that what circumcision was to the Tswana, baptism was to the Christian mission (1871:378).

Apparently, Bushmen also drew an analogy between their own ritual regard for goats and the Sotho-Tswana vocabulary of sacred animals. In Sotho-Tswana practice, animal emblems defined a network of allegiances, cutting across chiefdoms, that bound people together under the sign of a common object of communal reverence, honour, and praise. To have a sacred animal was to dance (*go bina)* that animal. Observing that the Bakuena, for example, said that they *bina* the crocodile, Bushmen seem to have observed that they *bina* the goat. In Mackenzie's account, at least, this analogy was explicit:

> The Madenassana Bushmen 'bina' the common goat; that is to say, it is their sacred animal, as the 'kwena' or alligator is to the Bakwena. Now just as it would be hateful and unlucky to the Bakwena to meet or gaze upon the alligator, so the common goat is the object of 'religious' aversion to these Bushmen; and to look upon it would be to render the man for the time impure, as well as to cause him undefined uneasiness. (1871:135, n.1; see Mackenzie 1883:65–8)

As these multiplying analogies illustrate, inter-religious translation was not only practised by representatives of the Christian mission. From different perspectives, Bushmen, Tswanas, and European missionaries made claims and counter-claims about a common stock of religious symbols. The appropriation and transposition of these terms defined 'religion' on the open frontier.

The closed frontier

In 1905, W. Hammond Tooke, who was serving as Assistant Under-Secretary for the Department of Agriculture of the Cape Colony, provided a chapter on 'Uncivilised Man' for a scientific handbook. Tooke explained that he intended to describe Africans only "as they were before they were influenced in their character and habits by intercourse with the white man". Religion played an important role in that description. According to Tooke, 'Bushmen' worshipped animals; the 'Hottentots' worshipped the sun, moon, and stars; and the 'Bantu' worshipped their ancestors. In a systematic manner, Tooke described the traditional beliefs, dispositions, and customs of the 'uncivilised' as they supposedly had lived in a distant precolonial past. As Tooke advised, "To describe them as they now are—in Reserves, Locations, or Compounds—is foreign to the writer's present purpose" (1905:79).

For our purpose, the reserve system, the location system, and the compound system can stand as emblems for the closed frontier in southern Africa. Once contained within these colonial administrative systems, Africans were credited with having traditional religious systems. On the closed frontier of the twentieth century, European commentators tried to fix Africans in place, and to freeze them in time, by reconstructing the contours of their traditional religious life. In the process, the notion of the religious system duplicated the effect of the reserves, locations, and compounds by simultaneously containing and displacing Africans. Contained within the terms of their traditional religion, Africans were conceptually displaced from southern Africa by scholars who traced their religion back to some other space or time in which it allegedly belonged.

In southern Africa, scholars seemed most concerned with the issue of space. Historian George McCall Theal, for example, devised a formula for representing a Bushman religious system that was based on displacement. According to Theal, the Bushmen had a religion that featured a belief in a powerful being, known as 'Kaang or 'Cagn, an expectation of immortality that was demonstrated by their regard for the dead, and the performance of ritual dances under the moon. However, according to Theal, this religious system was evidence of an ignorant and childish mentality. Although Theal compared this mentality to the credulity of a European child, he was also interested in tracing Bushmen back to some distant point of origin outside of southern Africa. Bushmen had much in common, he argued, with the Philippine, Andamanese, and Semang people of the Malay Peninsula. According to Theal, they shared common physical and linguistic traits, but it was their common mentality, as revealed in their religious system, that suggested that the Bushmen originated with the "pagan races of the Malay Peninsula" in a "common primeval home" (Theal 1919:12; with reference to Skeat & Blagden, 1906).

Significantly, this conceptual removal of the Bushmen from the distant past of southern Africa resonated with Theal's settler interpretation of their historical destiny. As Theal insisted, the Bushmen were destined to be removed from southern Africa in order "to satisfy God's law of progress". Under this divine law, entitlement to the land depended upon a higher intelligence than was evident in the religious system of the Bushmen. Explaining the demands of God's law of displacement, Theal wrote:

> A struggle for the possession of the fairest tracts of country took place, and the more intelligent and consequently the stronger races were the victors. It was for the good of all the world that it should be so. It seems to be God's law that man must raise himself constantly higher, and he who cannot as well as he who will not conform to that law must pass out of existence. (1919:19)

In his account of Bushman religion, therefore, Theal conceptually displaced Bushmen from southern Africa, not only by tracing their past back to Malaysia, but also by erasing their future. On the closed frontier, the religious system of the Bushmen appeared to certify their disappearance.

In Europe, metropolitan scholars seemed most interested in the issue of time. While Theal could remove Bushmen from the past and future of southern Africa, he could also displace them from the present by defining their religious system as a fossil of human prehistory. For example, in his introduction to W.H.I. Bleek's collection of Bushman folklore, Theal remarked that "our own far remote ancestors must have had beliefs similar to those of the Bushmen" (Bleek 1911:xxxviii). Certainly, this appropriation of Bushman religion as evidence of human prehistory preoccupied leading European scholars of comparative religion at the end of the nineteenth century. In different ways, they displaced Bushman religion from the present by relocating its beliefs and practices at the beginning of human evolution. They used evidence from reports of Bushman myth and ritual to explain the origin of religion as a product of language, as a primordial stupidity, as an original monotheism, or as a development from magic. For all their academic disagreements, however, these metropolitan scholars at the centre of empire reinforced the position of a local historian like Theal by supporting the assumption that Bushman religion was the religion of Europe's "own far remote ancestors". In those terms, Bushman religion was not only displaced from southern Africa; it was displaced from the modern world.

New frontiers

"The frontier is a 'zone of death'", as Robert Gordon has observed (1992a:213). People who were constructed as Bushmen under frontier conditions were deconstructed—through the forces of displacement, dispossession,

marginalisation, and extermination—under those same frontier conditions. In this brief sketch, I have tried to suggest some of the ways in which frontier discourse about religion contributed to producing and reproducing that zone of death.

First, the denial of Khoisan religion in effect negated the humanity of those denied, casting them as less than fully human beings by virtue of their lack of religion. From the beginning of the seventeenth century, European reports about the Cape testified to remarkable absences. The indigenous people lacked such basic human features as language, the institution of marriage, and organised political life. Most often, however, they were characterised by their lack of religion. By tracking that absence, European commentators produced a multi-layered discourse of denial. In the earliest reports, the absence of religion signified that people who lacked such a basic human institution had no human right to land. As frontier trading relations expanded, however, the absence of religion came to signify that people who lacked religion were unable to evaluate objects. Without religion, they had no standard that would enable them to assess the exchange value of trade goods. Therefore, they overvalued worthless objects, but undervalued objects of worth. Finally, a third layer of significance was added when Europeans tried to incorporate Khoisan people as labour. Any resistance to being incorporated was interpreted as an absence of the necessary industry that supposedly came with religion. In complex and shifting ways, therefore, the European denial of Khoisan religion was an ideological intervention in material conflicts over land, trade, and labour relations on contested frontiers.

Second, the discovery of Khoisan religion depended upon colonial containment. Under relatively stable conditions of colonial control, Europeans were willing to acknowledge the existence of Khoisan religion. Before the nineteenth century, the Khoisan were credited with having a religion—even with having a coherent religious system—between 1654 and 1685, and between 1700 and 1780. Subdued and subjected, the Khoisan were recognised as having a religion. As I try to show elsewhere in much more detail, this correlation between colonial control and the discovery of religious systems can be established throughout southern Africa (Chidester 1996). Although all Africans were subjected to European denials, European discoveries of indigenous religious systems coincided with the uneven, but inexorable establishment of colonial administrative systems. Under the location system, the Zulu were first credited with having a religion in the early 1850s; under the magisterial system, the Xhosa were first acknowledged as having a religion in 1858; under the reserve system, the Sotho-Tswana were not discovered to have a religion until the last independent polity had been destroyed in the 1890s. This evidence indicates, I would argue, that the discovery of an indigenous religious system was not the result of prolonged contact, acquisition of local languages, or increased familiarity with strange beliefs and customs. It was a direct corollary of the establishment of a colonial administrative system. Therefore, the very notion of a religious system duplicated the structures and practices of colonial containment.

Third, the displacement of Khoisan religion in space and time followed directly upon its colonial containment. On the closed frontier, scholars of religion, whether they were located at the southern African periphery or the metropolitan centre in Europe, used evidence from the Khoisan religious system to remove Khoisan people from the world. In the starkest terms, we must recognise that scholarship about Khoisan religion on the closed frontier at the end of the nineteenth century produced knowledge about living people who were represented as if they were already dead. A local scholar such as George McCall Theal erased Bushmen from the past, the future, and the present of southern Africa; metropolitan scholars in Europe displaced Bushmen to the remote beginnings of human evolution and thereby removed them from the modern world. Nearly a century later, we continue to live with that legacy of displacement.

However, we also live in a new frontier, perhaps still a 'zone of death', but also, like any frontier, a region of unexpected possibilities, surprising improvisations, and creative interchanges. On this frontier, Bushman religion is still often discounted, contained, or displaced. However, it is also emerging as a new frame of reference for recognising what counts as religion. Rather than constituting a 'system', Bushman religion appears as a cultural repertoire of discourses and practices for negotiating the meaning and power of being human. Significantly, the religious resources that are now receiving attention in the academic analysis of Bushman religion are precisely those resources that were contested within the inter-cultural relations that we have briefly examined on the northern frontier—power, protection, initiation, and the role of animals in myth, folklore, and art.

In recent research, Bushman religion has been redefined as the deployment of shamanic trance techniques for achieving sacred potency (Biesele 1978). In healing rituals, sacred specialists utilise those techniques for creating a zone of protection that embraces an entire community (Marshall 1969; Katz 1981). Ritual initiation into adulthood plays a crucial role in the transmission and reproduction of religious knowledge (Heinz 1975). Instead of being 'worshipped', animals provide a complex symbolic vocabulary for indicating 'ownership' of the land (Lewis-Williams 1988) and for negotiating symbolic relations between the 'same' and the 'other' (Guenther 1988). Within these discourses and practices, Bushman religion appears as an open set of strategies for negotiating sacred meaning and power in contested frontier situations. In these terms, Bushman religion is being recovered, not by attempting to inventory a religious system, but by returning to the intercultural relations of the frontier.

Portrait of a woman from Ghanzi in Botswana, made in 1936. She is wearing a necklace made from beads and spent bullet cartridges. Photograph by Duggan-Cronin. MM 2160A

The Self-Image of Jacob Adams

Robert Ross

During the early nineteenth century, the debate began among the colonists as to who the Bushmen were (Ross 1993; Raum forthcoming; Bank 1995). On the one hand, Dr John Philip argued that those who were then known as Bushmen were in fact Khoikhoi victims of colonial oppression. As he put it, "Deprive [a pastoral people] of their flocks and herds, and you scarcely leave them any alternative but to perish, or to live by robbery" (Philip 1828 II:1). Others on the liberal wing of Cape society, including Thomas Pringle (1834), would agree. On the other hand, Donald Moodie, paid by the Cape government as in effect a colonial apologist, tried to show that the *bosjesmans-hottentotten* were from the beginning of European records "a very different people" from the "Hottentots", that "they were then, as they still are, the scourge of every people possessing cattle", and that as a result "the theories which would trace the origin of this people to European oppression, are fully and satisfactorily disproved" (Moodie 1841;1855). This was almost certainly the majority view among whites in the Cape Colony. A third, intermediate position was argued by Dr Andrew Smith (1831), in an unjustly neglected article. He claimed, probably with more insight than either of his competitors, that "very great oppressions have been extended to the natives by the white population" which had led to the increase in the number of Bushmen, and that these oppressions were not "instrumental in giving origin to a peculiar community of individuals, which there is every reason to believe existed long before European influence approached even the confines of their country."[1]

This is a debate which resonates with arguments still going on today—and represented in this book. Indeed, current disagreements are in a very real way continuations of the exchanges of the early nineteenth century, even though the modern participants may not be aware of the fact and, believe it or not, are considerably less vitriolic towards each other. Modern authors, too, have the advantage that they can make use of a variety of texts which derive from, for instance, the Ju/'hoansi of the northern Kalahari. They can even directly ask the modern 'Bushmen' for their opinions on academic theories (for example, Lee forthcoming). Historians of the more distant past did not have this option, and no European at the time, except perhaps Andrew Smith, seems to have imagined that the Bushmen themselves would have had anything to say on the matter, or that they should be anything other than the objects of an academic-cum-political argument.

The direct testimony of Bushmen before the middle of the nineteenth century is limited in quantity. There are a number of sentences, no more really, which the Bushmen protagonists in the long guerrilla war between them and the colonists are recorded as uttering. Thus, in the 1770s, Koerikei in the Sneeuwberg harangued the commando following him as follows:

> What are you doing in my territory? You occupy all the places where the eland and other game are. Why did you not remain where the sun sets, where you first were?

Questioned further, he commented that "he did not want to leave the area of his birth, and that he would

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Burchell W.
A.M. Mrs Burchell 1965

Miss E.H. Blackwood,
Demonstrator in Ethnology,
Pitt Rivers Museum,
University of Oxford,

Dear Miss Blackwood,

I must apologise for the very long delay in answering your letter - this was brought about because I was trying to find out some more about Mrs. Freeman.

It appears she was an old Dutch Settler Lady who was interested in the Kaffirs and copied them in this way by making dolls and possibly selling or giving them to travellers. How did you come by your dolls of this?

She possibly met Burchell in 1811 and he bought the dolls or she gave them.

The first story her Granddaughter an old lady who gave them to me, said that they had been given to her Grandmother by an early traveller - but after hunting about I found that this old Grandmother was. Freeman made these dolls herself.

That all I can let you know now should I check up any further information I shall do so and let you have it as well.

With Best Wishes for Christmas, may 1965 be a Prosperous Year for everyone.

Yours Sincerely,

Nineteenth Century Leather Dolls

Top left: Described as a *female Bushman*, this figure wears a finely pared red cap and cloak; green, white and blue bead earring, strings of black and white beads and an ochre-stained fringed skirt. A small navel is stitched on to the body and under the clothing are finely sewn and attatched breasts and genitals. Collection of the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford

Top right: *Man in War Dress (Bushman)* Similar in dress to the female, the ears of this figure are sparately stitched on, and he carries a small quiver containing arrows over the right shoulder. Collection of the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford

Middle right: A letter in the collection of the Pitt Rivers Museum, kindly sent to me by Jeremy Coates

Middle left and lower right: Dolls, labelled Gaikhe, female and male in the collection of the Museum of Mankind, London. The dolls are finely stitched, each toe and finger separately articulated. The apron of the left figure covers a small penis and scrotum.

kill their herdsmen and that he would drive them all away" (Gordon 1988 I:81). Two generations later, with a different sort of poetry, Aventeur, a 'Bushman' who had been brought up on a farm in the Nieuwveld, sent a message to its owner, one Viljoen, that when he was away, Aventeur would return and "cut [Viljoen's wife] up for bill-tongue" (Steedman 1835 I:104–5).

Other direct comments by Bushmen are sadly lacking. Even that great standby of historians of the eighteenth century, the criminal records, are surprisingly bare of material on the Bushmen, despite the fact that they contain an enormous amount of information on the slaves and those known as 'Hottentots'. I know of only one unequivocal occasion when an individual described as a 'Bushman' was interrogated by order of the Court of Justice. This case relates to one David, who in 1768 was tried for sodomy. Nine years old at the time, together with a 'Hottentot', Suyverman, alias Couragie, he had run away from the farm in Outeniqualand where they had been held more or less captive. They had then been taken up by a runaway slave, Apollo van Mallabar, and repeatedly raped by him.[2] Like all such testimonies, David's interrogation, which runs to about a page and a half of manuscript, is thoroughly matter of fact, but the facts to which it relates only have to do with what was then considered his crime, and sheds no light on his circumstances or his opinion of them. For the rest, Bushmen do not seem to appear as witnesses or defendants, not even in the remarkable case of 1753, in which Jacobus Botha was accused of having arranged with the local Bushmen under Captain Nemnathe to raid the cattle farms of those of his fellow colonists with whom he was embroiled in a dispute over land.[3]

The reason for this particular silence seems obvious. The Court of Justice could deal only with those within the orbit of the Colony, and Bushmen were, almost by definition, outside that orbit. Either they were outsiders, to be fought, exterminated or treated with, as the occasion demanded, or they were no longer Bushmen. Whatever their origin, those who were living on the farms were considered to be 'Hottentots', and individuals who by other criteria might have been thought of as 'Bushmen' were not so described.[4]

In these circumstances, the best place to look for the early testimony of Bushmen is in the records of the various missionary organisations which worked at the Cape from 1792 onwards. In particular, the Moravian missionaries are likely to provide valuable material, not only because they were the first group to set up mission stations in the Cape Colony but also because the Moravian tradition encouraged the recording of life histories by its adepts. One of the spiritual disciplines by which Moravians attempted to deepen their understanding of their own faith was the writing, and

regular rewriting, of their own autobiographies, which would later serve as their own auto-obituaries and, in particularly edifying cases, be published as such. This was perhaps rather too much to demand of the Khoisan converts who flocked to Genadendal in the early years of the mission but, nevertheless, the regular questioning of missionaries could lead to extensive testimonies.

This was indeed the case in the remarkable discussions held by Jacob Adams, a man who "by every information we could obtain, as well as by his whole appearance" appeared to be 100. The conversations took place through the medium of an interpreter, since Adams had never learnt Dutch, on 25 July 1808, some six days before "he departed gently into a happy eternity". They were then recorded in the Genadendal diary, and later published in the *Periodical Accounts* (Vol IV, 421–3). They are, I believe, worth citing *in extenso*.

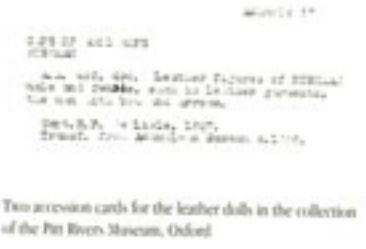
Jacob Adams, the missionary[5] recorded,

> . . . is a genuine Bosjeman, which we did not know hitherto, and a son of their king. That the power of their kings is absolute, and they have a right to dispose of the lives of their subjects, who are under the most complete subjection to them, he showed by saying, that if they only moved their finger in anger, the people died. The nation of the true Bosjemans live beyond the snow-mountains, in the so-called Pampus mountains.[6] They never suffer any stranger to come to them and if any of their people go away and become Christians, they dare not return, or they would be murdered. They are divided into various clans or hordes, each of which obeys the oldest as their chief, but these are subordinate to the king. They live chiefly by plunder. Formerly they, as well as all the other Hottentot tribes, were a quiet and well-disposed people, but being deprived of their land, and robbed of their cattle by the Europeans, they became, in their turn, savage, and given to plunder. Their religion consists merely in this, that they worship two rocks, which they implore chiefly for help in hunting. One of these rocks represents a woman, and the other a man. When they are going out to hunt, they first go to these idols, and entreat them for food. First they go to the male rock, and strike against it with a stick. If it sounds, they believe the report is heard in heaven, and that they will have success. But if it so happens, that they get nothing, they repair to the female rock, of which they pretend, that it is inhabited by a malicious spirit, and beat it well, upbraiding it, saying: "Why do you, by your hidden arms, cause all the game to be shot dead, so that we can find none". If they have succeeded, they extol the virtues of these stone gods. They have no sacrifices like the wild Hottentots . . . The Hottentots and Bosjemans have however the same species of superstition, concerning certain influences. Jacob Adams related, that formerly, when a wild heathen, he had a tyger and fox, by which he could injure any man he hated. These creatures he had never seen, but they were running, wild in the wood[7] like all others; but if he wished to hurt his enemy, he only gave notice to them, and the victim was obliged by some means or other to meet them, when they would fall upon him, and tear or kill him. They also pretend, that such creatures inform them of the ways of people at a distance, and likewise about the decease of their friends or relations, or bring word to their distant connexions, of their own affairs or death.
>
> The Missionary wished to hear more of the singular customs of the Bosjemans, but Jacob Adams desired his interpreter to tell him that he did not like to remember and relate such bad things, having at his baptism renounced the devil and all his works, and therefore wished to have nothing more to do with his old customs. When the Missionary perceived that he disliked the conversation, he broke it off, and entered into a pleasing and comforting review of the means of grace, by which our Saviour had delivered him from the service of sin and Satan, and translated him into the glorious liberty of the children of God.

What, then, should we make of all this? In the first place there is the ethnography. It is very dangerous to say that a witness, who had no evident motive for lying, is mistaken. Such arrogance is all too common among historians and others, who should rather be much more worried about why something was written which does not agree with what other people report. In this case, what Jacob Adams said about the powers of the Bushman king—even the very existence of such an individual—is not consonant with other descriptions of Cape Bushman ethnography. The egalitarian premise in our analyses of Bushman societies is very strong, which means that there is a bias against such sorts of descriptions, even when, as in parts of Namibia and the Ghanzi district of Botswana, the evidence is stronger (Gordon 1992a:25–8; Passarge 1907, cited in Lee & Guenther 1993:215). But in this case, perhaps Adams was merely, and probably unconsciously, attempting to give the impression that his own status within Bushman society was higher than it could have been. On the other hand, what Adams has to say about the forms of magic and religion in which the Bamboesberg Bushmen believed, though no doubt garbled by his own old age, by the misunderstandings of the interpreter and, probably above all, those of the

"LEATHER DOLLS of this kind are known from various European museums. They appear to have been collected in two stages, one group before 1840 and another after 1862, when some may have been exhibited in the Great Exhibition in London. The earliest documented examples were collected by William Burchell and were probably made by a Mrs Fronemann who gave them to Burchell when he passed through Bedford in the Eastern Cape in 1812. Although some museum records in Europe claim that dolls of this type were made by the 'natives', i.e. implying black indigenes, the dolls themselves follow the pattern of cutting and sewing used for contemporary European leather dolls and are undoubtedly of European inspiration. The dolls appear to have been made to represent black indigenes, but again, the documentation of the dolls is not very precise. European records claim that the dolls represent ethnicities as diverse as 'Zulu', 'Bushman', 'Betschuaan', 'Galika' and 'Hottentot'. There are some dolls which appear to emphasise anatomical characteristics such as steatopygeia and drooping breasts on the females and these may specifically represent Khoisan-speakers. The dolls are all dressed in ubiquitously 'African' or, to the nineteenth century viewer's eye, quintessentially 'primitive' clothing—karosses, aprons and loincloths of leather, but they are generally of little use in identifying the intended ethnic identity of the people represented. Most of the dolls appear to have been taken back to Europe by visiting travellers, missionaries and military men, as souvenirs of the 'savage' Africans whom they had encountered. Some of these dolls were then used in displays to represent the colonised 'other', and their similarity to, but emphasised difference from the generally gendered but sexless, dressed and 'white' leather dolls of the period in Europe would have been inescapable to a viewer of the period."

Anitra Nettleton
(1995 personal communication)



Two accession cards for the leather dolls in the collection of the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.

Leather dolls in the collection of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden.
Above: "Hottentotman" no. 255"–1
Below: "Kafferwoman" no. 24""–70
Right: title not recorded no. 360–580a

DOLLS.

Leather dolls described and illustrated in J.G. Wood, 1868. *The Natural History of Man*. London: George Routledge. Wood describes the dolls as having been made by "the natives" (26).

missionary, are at least understandable in terms of what is known about Cape and Drakensberg Bushman practices (Barnard 1992b:77–97).

Secondly, there is what Adams has to say on the relations between the "Bosjemans" and the "other Hottentot tribes", and on the changing patterns of interaction between both of them and the Europeans. Two points are notable. First, Adams maintains that a distinction between the two groups of Khoisan existed, and that each had their own, slightly different, customs. In this sense, he does not agree with the point of view expressed two decades later by Dr John Philip—and a variety of modern researchers, though in somewhat nuanced form—that the Bushmen were in fact 'Hottentots' who had lost their cattle, and thus had been forced to take up a hunting, gathering and raiding life-style. On the other hand, Adams clearly agreed with Philip that the Bushmen had been brutalised by European colonisation. They lived by plunder because they had lost their land. Indeed, Adams's descriptions of the drastic measures taken against those Bushmen who had, for a time, gone to live with the colonists can best be interpreted as attempts by the Bushmen to enforce solidarity in what was a very bitter struggle. After all, deserters in warfare anywhere in the world are likely to suffer such fates on recapture, particularly if they have joined the enemy.

It is in its last paragraph, though, that Jacob Adams's description is of most importance. In his rejection of his old pagan ways and his wholehearted acceptance of the ideals propounded by the missionaries, Adams seems to have been the perfect convert. Indeed, it would be tempting to see such statements as attempts on Adams's part to curry favour with the missionaries—or, if it was thought that a man who seemed to be a hundred years old and no doubt knew that he was within a week of his death would be unlikely to do that, on the part of his interpreter. This, then, would be yet another occasion for historians and anthropologists to rail at the cultural imperialism of missionaries, and to regret their role in destruction of indigenous cultures, or at the very least, and more trivially, in the partial recording of what was known about them.

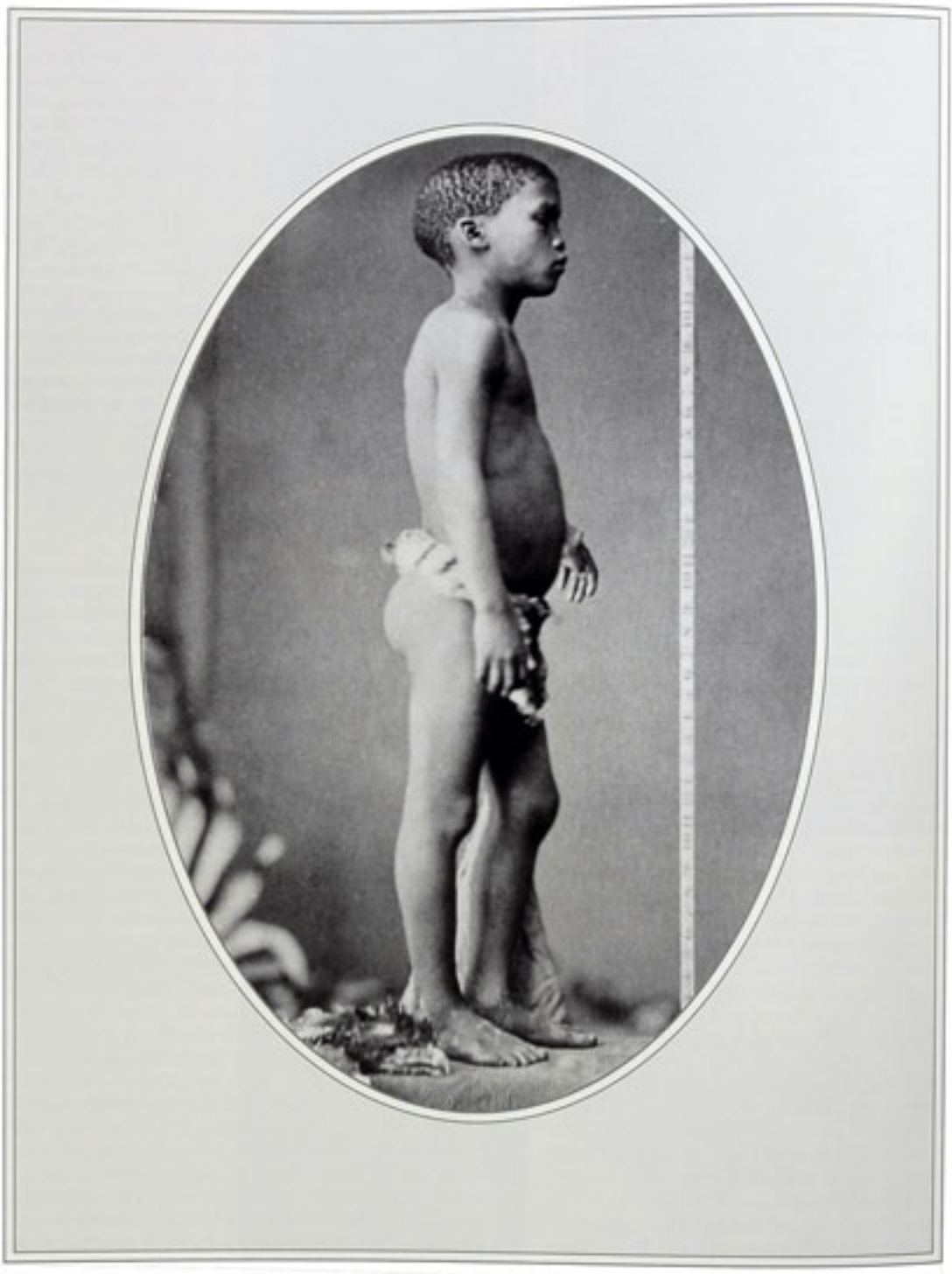
Such arguments are not merely arrogant. They are also unjustified. Obviously, missionaries had to present the conviction that their own visions of this world and the next were superior to those their potential converts had held. A relativising missionary is certainly only a product of the twentieth century, and probably a contradiction in terms. For all that, there are enough examples of missionaries becoming sympathetic ethnographers, and indeed seeing their ethnographic work as a precondition of successful evangelism, for generalisations on the matter to be out of place. There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of the missionary's desire to "hear more of the singular customs of the Bosjemans".

What is clear, however, is that at Genadendal a culture had developed in the interaction between the missionaries and the town residents in which reference to the pre-mission customs and history of the Khoisan was discouraged. In 1821, H.P. Hallbeck, the outstanding Moravian missionary in South Africa of his generation, wrote that he was attempting to collect their traditions respecting their origins and early history:

> Our Missionaries here always thought that they knew nothing about it, but the fact is, that they were ashamed and afraid to tell their tales, as on their conversion to Christianity, they were led to despise their old sayings and customs . . . As the questions I put to [three old men] convince them, that I feel interested in their history, and that they need not fear rebuke, if they reveal to me their former national customs, whatever they may have been, they are quite unreserved (*Periodical Accounts* VIII, 197).

Nevertheless, the rejection of the old and the internalisation of the new was real, even if, of course, not everyone lived up to the ideals set by the missionaries all the time. (Neither did the missionaries.) Jacob Adams and others did not act as they did because they misunderstood what the missionaries demanded of them. They did so because of a genuine shame at their past actions, and because of a genuine wish to forget their old lives and to put them behind them (cf. Elbourne 1992).

Why should this be? It seems tragic that people should deliberately deracinate themselves, and graft themselves on to a foreign culture. This tragedy, though, is only a symptom of a far greater one. During the eighteenth century the invading colonists waged continual and very bitter war against the Khoisan peoples of the Cape. Land and stock was taken from them. Hunting grounds were cleared of game by people with weapons of destruction much more efficient than anything the Bushmen ever owned. At one stage, the Cape government gave the frontier boers permission to 'extirpate' the Bushmen. The psychological effects of this terror on those who survived cannot be underestimated. Many of them found a short-lived solace in brandy and dagga. Others again, the lucky ones, came to the mission stations, and found there another discipline by which they could give meaning and structure to their broken lives. It was in this context, we can assume, that Jacob Adams's last testimony should be interpreted. Expressed as a rejection of his Bushman heritage, it was a rejection of the experiences he suffered, whatever they may have been, as he ceased to be a Bushman.



Young boy photographed with measure, possibly 1877, on "Set A". The set included a dead raptor at his feet. SAL INIL 24222

Trophy Skulls, Museums and the San

Alan G. Morris

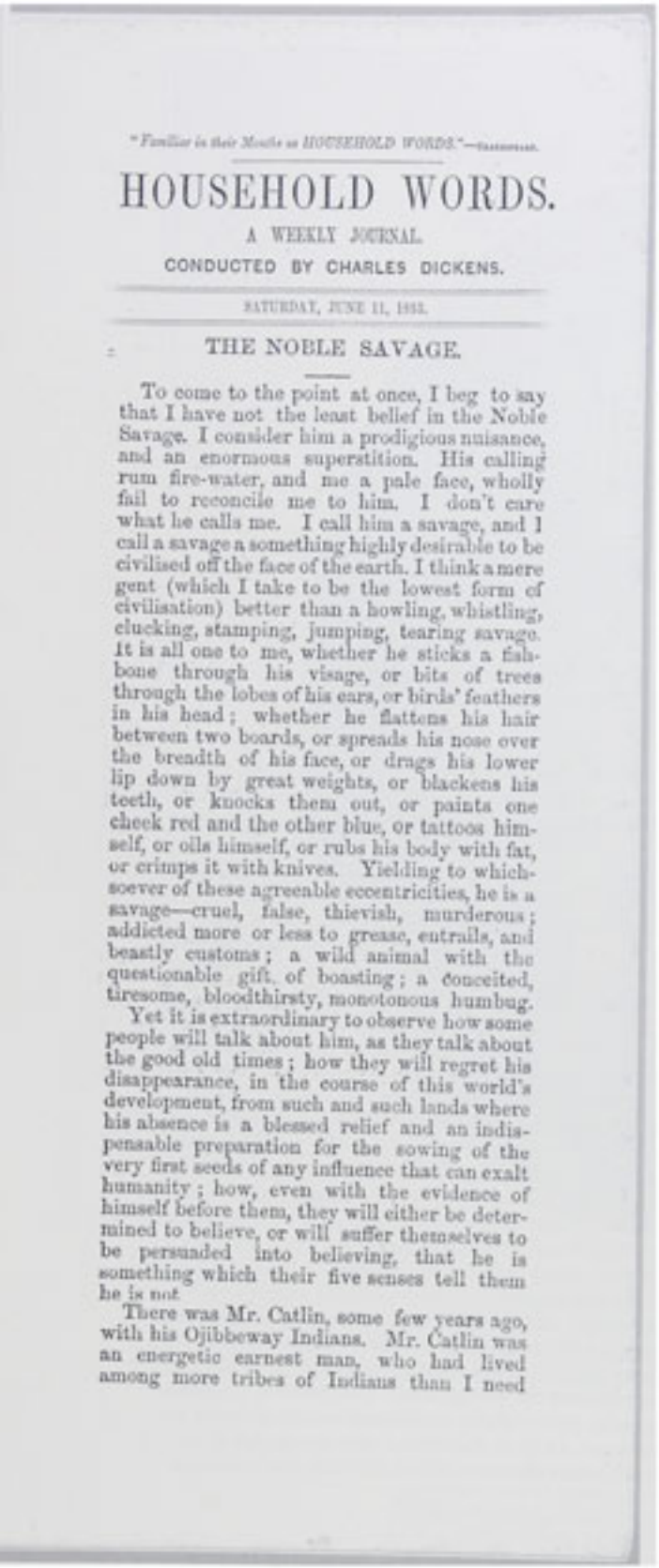
So he had John beheaded in prison. The head was brought in on a dish and given to the girl, who took it to her mother.
(*Matthew* 14:10)

When Herod had John the Baptist killed and his head presented to his sister-in-law, Herodias, he was following what was already a time honoured tradition. In war or in villainy it was not enough just to vanquish your enemy, but there was also a need to publically defame and even dehumanise the opposition. Rarely was a human body-part a trophy of honour to its original owner. Invariably the trophy honoured the victor. The great anthropological museum collections of Europe and South Africa contain much in the way of skeletal remains of the native populations of the region. The major part of these collections was excavated by archaeologists or assembled by amateur naturalists of the last century. The value of the skeletons in teaching us about prehistory is undoubted, and there remains a great deal more that they can teach us. Some of these bones tell us another story, for on the back shelves of some museums lie the last mortal remains of historic San killed in the genocide of the last two centuries in South Africa. Fortunately there are not many, but the tale they tell is one oft heard in the halls of history, from the Judaea of Herod's day to current events in Rwanda. This is the tale of people's inhumanity to one another.

The 'known-in-life' club

Why have the remains of Khoisan people been such a focus in the anthropological collections of European and South African scientists? Part of the fascination stems from the nature of colonial rule. The colonisers separated humanity in the metropole from humanity in the colony. 'Civilised' people were above nature, while the 'primitives' in the colony were members of the animal kingdom to be classified and listed amongst the weird and wonderful fauna of distant lands. The collection of human skeletons was part of the colonisers' duty to assemble as complete a record as possible of their new land's natural history.

The wide range of scientists, administrators, naturalists, missionaries and amateurs of all descriptions, who were involved in the collection of Khoisan skeletal remains, were very interested in the 'purity' of their specimens (Morris 1986, 1987). This was a central theme of anthropological theory from the eighteenth to well into the twentieth century. From the scientific perspective, 'purity' was a notion derived from the Linnean system of classification. Linnaeus considered each race to have been homogeneous at its creation. Variations seen by the anthropologist were impurities, but the characteristics of the type could still be teased out through careful observation. In this, Linneaus was following the philosophy of Plato whereby each species (or individual) had an 'essence' or 'archetype' that reflected the eternal ideal. The best way to assess the racial purity of any individual was to compare it to a 'type', an ideal individual who possessed all of the important characteristics of the race. The technique



"Familiar in their Mouths as HOUSEHOLD WORDS."—SHAKESPEARE.

HOUSEHOLD WORDS.

A WEEKLY JOURNAL.

CONDUCTED BY CHARLES DICKENS.

SATURDAY, JUNE 11, 1853.

THE NOBLE SAVAGE.

To come to the point at once, I beg to say that I have not the least belief in the Noble Savage. I consider him a prodigious nuisance, and an enormous superstition. His calling rum fire-water, and me a pale face, wholly fail to reconcile me to him. I don't care what he calls me. I call him a savage, and I call a savage a something highly desirable to be civilised off the face of the earth. I think a mere gent (which I take to be the lowest form of civilisation) better than a howling, whistling, clucking, stamping, jumping, tearing savage. It is all one to me, whether he sticks a fish-bone through his visage, or bits of trees through the lobes of his ears, or birds' feathers in his head; whether he flattens his hair between two boards, or spreads his nose over the breadth of his face, or drags his lower lip down by great weights, or blackens his teeth, or knocks them out, or paints one cheek red and the other blue, or tattoos himself, or oils himself, or rubs his body with fat, or crimps it with knives. Yielding to whichsoever of these agreeable eccentricities, he is a savage—cruel, false, thievish, murderous; addicted more or less to grease, entrails, and beastly customs; a wild animal with the questionable gift of boasting; a conceited, tiresome, bloodthirsty, monotonous humbug.

Yet it is extraordinary to observe how some people will talk about him, as they talk about the good old times; how they will regret his disappearance, in the course of this world's development, from such and such lands where his absence is a blessed relief and an indispensable preparation for the sowing of the very first seeds of any influence that can exalt humanity; how, even with the evidence of himself before them, they will either be determined to believe, or will suffer themselves to be persuaded into believing, that he is something which their five senses tell them he is not.

There was Mr. Catlin, some few years ago, with his Ojibbeway Indians. Mr. Catlin was an energetic earnest man, who had lived among more tribes of Indians than I need

of racial description which developed from these ideas became known as typology.

The best 'type' specimens were skeletal remains that had been obtained from individuals who were 'known-in-life' as pure 'Bushmen' or 'Hottentots', so such specimens were the most sought after and treasured. Despite this, the skeletal remains of a known individual would be relegated to the lesser category of "mixed race" if its morphology did not fit the preconceptions of the race scientists.

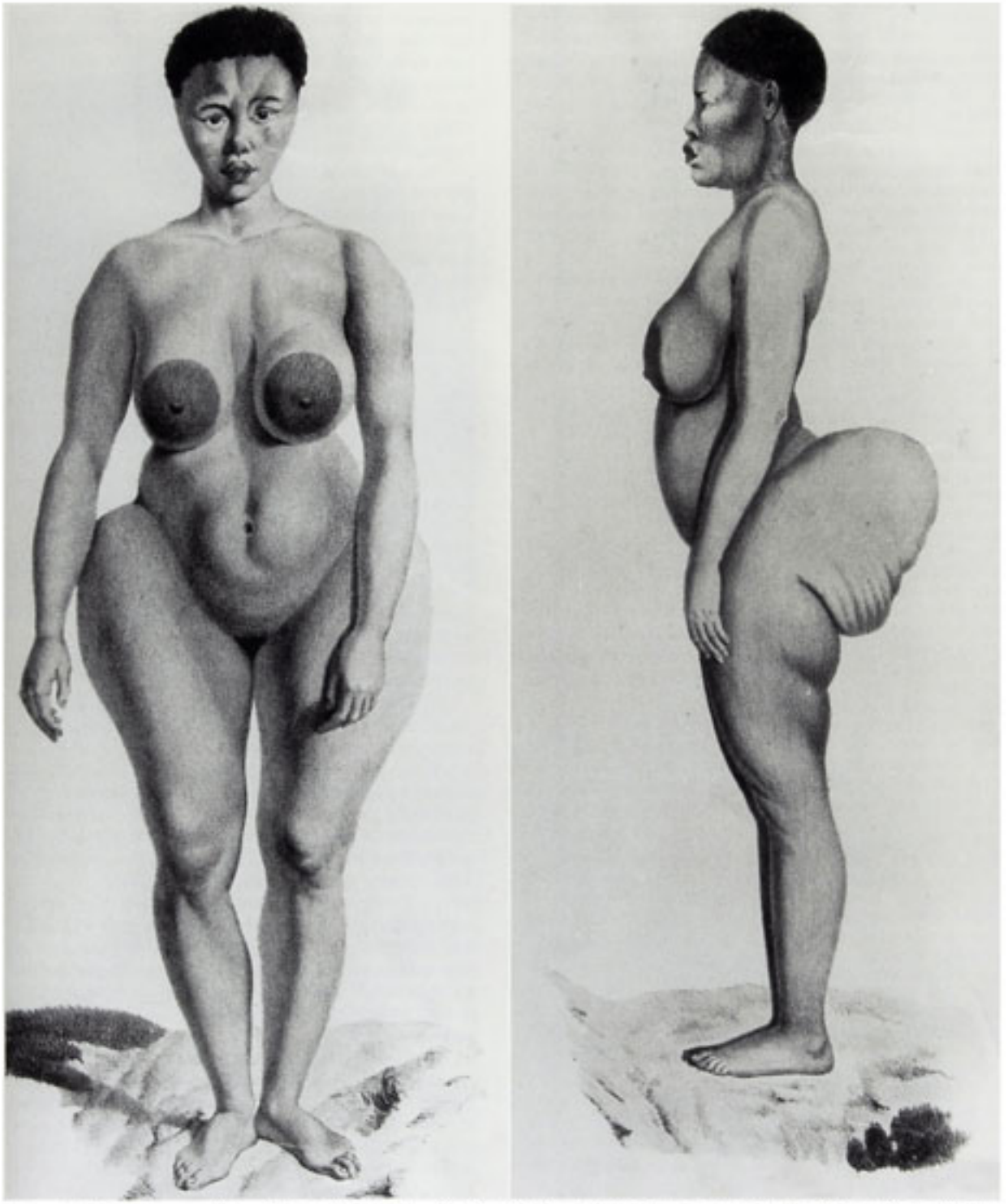
Individuals whose pedigree fitted the 'known-in-life' requirements were indeed rarely obtained by collectors, and it is here that the intersection between science, museums and genocide occurs.

Anatomy and the three Khoisan ladies

European physical anthropology was founded as part of the study of anatomy. Today the field of human structure is very much the poor relation in medical studies, surpassed in research potential by the new fields of cell biology and genetics. But a scant one and a half centuries ago, anatomy was still the most important of the medical fields. In an age when physiology and biochemistry were essentially unknown, and clinical methods were often experimental or worse, scientists chose anatomy as a subject where they could make 'objective' contributions to knowledge. Much of their focus was on finding the 'essence' of humanity, and in this task they needed first to understand the foreign 'primitives' before they could enquire about their own honoured European ancestors.

Since examination of individuals of 'pure' ancestry was a prerequisite for their studies, when opportunities arose to examine pure 'Bushmen', they grasped them. In the conventional knowledge of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the 'Bushmen' were among the most primitive of human 'types' and would, therefore, be sure to provide a wealth of information.

The first person of Khoisan ancestry to have the 'honour' of dissection was Saartje Baartman. Born on the borders of Caffraria (the present day Eastern Cape Province near the Great Fish River), Saartje lived at least part of her life in a small shack near to Cape Town. She was taken to England in 1810 by an English ship's surgeon who wished to publicly exhibit her extraordinary steatopygia (Kirby 1949). The unfortunate woman was displayed as the 'Hottentot Venus' in public shows throughout England and became somewhat of a celebrity (Altick 1978). She was similarly exhibited in Paris during 1815, and finally died there of an 'inflammatory and eruptive malady' on 29 December 1815 at the age of 26 years. In March 1815, Saartje had been examined by several leading French scientists and her nude portrait had been drawn. Amongst these scientists was Baron Cuvier, the most noted



Figures 1 and 2 **Nineteenth-century lithograph, of Saartje Baartman drawn from life, entitled *Femme de race Bochismane*, and published in St Hilaire and Cuvier's *Histoire naturelle des Mammifères* (1824).**

reckon up here, and who had written a picturesque and glowing book about them. With his party of Indians squatting and spitting on the table before him, or dancing their miserable jigs after their own dreary manner, he called, in all good faith, upon his civilised audience to take notice of their symmetry and grace, their perfect limbs, and the exquisite expression of their pantomime; and his civilised audience, in all good faith, complied and admired. Whereas, as mere animals, they were wretched creatures, very low in the scale and very poorly formed; and as men and women possessing any power of truthful dramatic expression by means of action, they were no better than the chorus at an Italian Opera in England—and would have been worse if such a thing were possible.

Mine are no new views of the noble savage. The greatest writers on natural history found him out long ago. Buffon knew what he was, and showed why he is the sulky tyrant that he is to his women, and how it happens (Heaven be praised!) that his race is spare in numbers. For evidence of the quality of his moral nature, pass himself for a moment and refer to his "faithful dog." Has he ever improved a dog, or attached a dog, since his nobility first ran wild in woods, and was brought down (at a very long shot) by Pope? Or does the animal that is the friend of man, always degenerate in his low society?

It is not the miserable nature of the noble savage that is the new thing; it is the whimpering over him with maudlin admiration, and the affecting to regret him, and the drawing of any comparison of advantage between the blemishes of civilisation and the tenor of his swinish life. There may have been a change now and then in those diseased absurdities, but there is none in him.

Think of the Bushmen. Think of the two men and the two women who have been exhibited about England for some years. Are the majority of persons—who remember the horrid little leader of that party in his festering bundle of hides, with his filth and his antipathy to water, and his straddled legs, and his odious eyes shaded by his brutal hand, and his cry of "Qu-u-u-u-aaa!" (Bosjesman for something desperately insulting I have no doubt)—conscious of an affectionate yearning towards that noble savage, or is it idiosyncratic in me to abhor, detest, abominate, and abjure him? I have no reserve on this subject, and will frankly state that, setting aside that stage of the entertainment when he counterfeited the death of some creature

anatomist of his day, and, after Saartje's death, Cuvier had her body cast in wax, dissected, and the skeleton fully articulated. When his scientific paper was published in 1824, Cuvier included the colour portrait as an illustration of type. The skeleton today remains in Cuvier's old institution, the Musée de l'Homme in Paris.

The sad tale of Saartje Baartman was repeated in the 1860's. Two young San children, a boy and a girl, were brought to England in 1851 from somewhere along the Orange River (Anonymous 1852). The boy died within a few years of his arrival in England, but the girl lived until June 1864, dying at the age of about 22 years. Her body was sent to the Royal College of Surgeons where it was dissected by the English comparative and human anatomists, W.H. Flower and J. Murie (1867). Her skeleton was kept and, although many of the bones were destroyed during the bombing of the College in World War II, the remains that have survived now reside in the British Museum of Natural History.

The third case of the anatomised San women happened in twentieth-century Johannesburg. The cadaver catalogue refers to this body as that of Keri Keri, a 35-year-old 'Bushwoman' who died on the 15 September 1939 at the Royal South Western Hospital at Oudtshoorn, Cape Province. The cause of death was listed as septic pneumonia. Her body was transported to the Department of Anatomy at the University of the Witwatersrand, where it was dissected by the Science class during November 1939.

Two years previously, Keri Keri (or more correctly /Keri/Keri) had been studied in life by a team of researchers on an expedition to the junction of the Auob and Nossob rivers in the southern Kalahari. The object of this expedition was to secure some San groups for public display, as part of the 1937 Empire Exhibition in Johannesburg and Cape Town. In all, 77 people from three family clusters visited urban South Africa. Dart (1937) provided a long list of /Keri/Keri's physical characteristics, her place in the clan genealogy, and her photograph, all taken from life in the Kalahari and in Johannesburg. Dart gave no explanation of how an individual from the southern Kalahari came to die in a hospital at Oudtshoorn, nor of how he managed to obtain permission to claim her body.

Cuvier, Flower and Dart were all presented with cadavers of people well known in life and they used these opportunities to dissect and describe what were in effect 'type' specimens. Each of these anatomists dissected many humans in their years as researchers and teachers, but the first two of these San women were considered to be so rare that each warranted her own published scientific study.

Figure 3 **"Flora and Martinus, children of the earthmen tribe", reproduced from *The Illustrated Magazine of Art*, 1853:445. These two children, who were exhibited on the Great Exhibition of 1851, were said to originate from along the Orange River. This is consistent with the Boer raiding parties that were 'pacifying' the Karoo and upper Orange River (Zeekoi Valley) in the 1830s to 1850s.** KCM PAM 30x0890x019 ERD

Resurrectionists and bones from the veld

Although dissections were rare, there were other opportunities specifically to obtain skeletal material. In Europe of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, cadavers and skeletal material for study were so hard to come by that a new category of employment developed—the Resurrectionists. These 'dig by night' operators provided fresh and not-so-fresh bodies for anatomists. Although such activities were against the law in Europe, various people in South Africa used the same technique to increase the availability of Khoisan skeletons. None of these excavators would ever have classed themselves alongside the Resurrectionists of Europe, for the occupation was considered to be quite legal as long as it was non-European bodies that were being exploited.

When the Cape returned to Dutch rule in 1803 after the First British Occupation, along with the new governor arrived Dr Hinrich Lichtenstein, the German tutor for the governor's son. Lichtenstein used every opportunity to travel through the colony, and his published descriptions provide some graphic representations of the inhabitants. May 1805 not only found Lichtenstein on the Sakrivier in the northern Karoo, but also in the midst of a war between the colonists and the native Khoisan populations. He relates the tit-for-tat raids which cost the farmers their cattle, and often cost the San their lives. Sometimes the San weren't shot outright and captured miscreants might be held for trial by the colonists. Lichtenstein introduces us to one such group at Sakrivier:

> Among the new prisoners, was one who had for a long time been the terror of the neighbourhood, and who, though often taken, had always found means to escape. He was known to the colonists by the name of the beard-man [Baardman], since he was the only Bosjesman ever seen with hair on his chin and lips; and this was supposed to be from his age, which might be between fifty and sixty: his wife, and two children of four and six years old, were taken prisoner with him. (Lichtenstein 1929:239)

Old Baardman was subsequently transported to Tulbagh for trial, but Lichtenstein was to cross paths with him again. This time the German doctor was taking what was to be his final journey away from Cape Town, and after a brief visit to Riviersonderend and the Baviaanskloof, he passed through the small village of Tulbagh in November 1805.

> A few days before I arrived for this last time at Tulbagh, the old beard-man had died in prison. I got his corpse taken up, that I might have his skull, which, while he was alive, I had observed to be in many respects very remarkable. At my return to Europe, this, with the skin of his face, was deposited in the admirable collection of Counsellor Blumenbach, at Gottingen. (Lichtenstein 1929:453)

The mind reels at the picture of the man of letters supervising the exhumation and decapitation, and then carefully dissecting the facial skin from the decomposing head

The Revd H. Kling provided a total of seven skeletons of known Khoisan individuals to the South African Museum in Cape Town and the Albany Museum in Grahamstown between 1909 and 1912. Kling was minister at the Steinkopf Rhenish Mission station from 1893 to 1899, and again from 1907 to 1919 (Strassberger 1969). His first appointment at Steinkopf overlapped with the severe Namaqualand drought of 1895–7, and it was during this period that many of the people died whose skeletons Kling later

he had shot, by laying his head on his hand and shaking his left leg—at which time I think it would have been justifiable homicide to slay him—I have never seen that group sleeping, smoking, and expectorating round their brazier, but I have sincerely desired that something might happen to the charcoal smouldering therein, which would cause the immediate suffocation of the whole of the noble strangers.

There is at present a party of Zulu Kaffirs exhibiting at the St. George's Gallery, Hyde Park Corner, London. These noble savages are represented in a most agreeable manner; they are seen in an elegant theatre, fitted with appropriate scenery of great beauty, and they are described in a very sensible and unpretending lecture, delivered with a modesty which is quite a pattern to all similar exponents. Though extremely ugly, they are much better shaped than such of their predecessors as I have referred to; and they are rather picturesque to the eye, though far from odoriferous to the nose. What a visitor left to his own interpretings and imaginings might suppose these noblemen to be about, when they give vent to that pantomimic expression which is quite settled to be the natural gift of the noble savage, I cannot possibly conceive; for it is so much too luminous for my personal civilisation that it conveys no idea to my mind beyond a general stamping, ramping, and raving, remarkable (as everything in savage life is) for its dire uniformity. But let us—with the interpreter's assistance, of which I for one stand so much in need—see what the noble savage does in Zulu Kaffirland.

The noble savage sets a king to reign over him, to whom he submits his life and limbs without a murmur or question, and whose whole life is passed chin deep in a lake of blood; but who, after killing incessantly, is in his turn killed by his relations and friends, the moment a gray hair appears on his head. All the noble savage's wars with his fellow-savages (and he takes no pleasure in anything else) are wars of extermination—which is the best thing I know of him, and the most comfortable to my mind when I look at him. He has no moral feelings of any kind, sort, or description; and his "mission" may be summed up as simply diabolical.

The ceremonies with which he faintly diversifies his life are, of course, of a kindred nature. If he wants a wife he appears before the kennel of the gentleman whom he has selected for his father-in-law, attended by a party of male friends of a very strong flavor.

had exhumed and donated to the South African and Albany Museums.

Another collector of exhumed skeletons was George St Leger Gordon Lennox. He was a frontiersman living under the pseudonym 'Scotty Smith' in the northern Cape Province for much of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Born in Perthshire Scotland, he came to South Africa in 1877 and moved to the northern border in 1882. He lived as a freebooter out of Taungs and Mafeking for a while, but moved westward in 1891 and settled on a farm at Leitland's Pan near Rietfontein. Collecting human skeletons was a money-earning enterprise that he set up in his latter years. The magistrate at Upington even provided him with a permit to exhume 'Bushman' skeletons, which remained valid from 1910 to July 1912. Much legend exists about how Lennox came by the bones, and it is even said that he shot the required number of 'Bushmen' whenever he needed their skeletons (Metrowich 1983). Lennox certainly was very familiar with the native peoples of the region, and a more likely explanation is that he excavated graves, based on information provided by local native informants.

Mr C.G. Coetzee of the farm *Kruis Rivier* in the Sutherland District presented six San skeletons to the Anatomy Department of the University of Cape Town between 1925 and 1927. These were the remains of people who had lived on the farm in the nineteenth century and were known in life to either Mr Coetzee or his father. Amongst these people were a San man and wife who died on the farm in approximately 1880. The woman, Saartje, was about 60 or 70 years of age and the man, Klaas, was 30 or 40 years at death. The age discrepancy may indicate that the relationship was mother and son rather than wife and husband. They were 'caught' by Mr Coetzee's great-grandfather in the region between Carnarvon and Sutherland. Another San individual was known personally to Mr Coetzee, and this old man, Voetje, was buried by him in 1913. Coetzee's testimony is consistent with known historical events. 'Wild' San individuals were 'caught' in the Karoo and adjacent regions during the first half of the nineteenth century (see below). These individuals were usually children because the adults were shot on sight, and they invariably ended up as domestics, shepherds or labourers on colonial farms.

The last of the excavators mentioned here is none other than the famous South African palaeontologist Robert Broom. Unlike, Kling, Lennox or Coetzee, Broom was too impatient to wait for decades before disinterring the remains of known individuals. In addition to the many archaeological skeletons he uncovered and stored at the McGregor Museum in Kimberley, was a San whom Broom had obtained as a

cadaver in 1921. This skeleton was that of an approximately 18-year-old male 'Bushman' from the Langeberg. He and his younger brother had been imprisoned at Douglas, where he was unfortunate enough to develop a fatal case of acute tuberculosis. Broom's method of obtaining 'fresh' skeletons is revealed in a letter he wrote to a colleague in 1925 in which he says:

> If a prisoner dies and you want his skeleton, probably two or three regulations stand in the way, but the enthusiast does not worry about such regulations. I used to get the body sent up . . . then the remains would be buried in my garden, and in a few months the bones would be collected. (Findlay 1972:50)

The battlefield also provided opportunities to add to the collections. For example, Lichtenstein picked up a few isolated bones in the Eastern Cape in 1804 and these ended up the Berlin Museum. Three crania were collected by Frank Oates on his ill-fated journey to the Victoria Falls in 1873 (Oates 1881), and were donated to Oxford University by his son. Oates had heard that a group of San people had been murdered at their encampment by the Matabele the year before his arrival. He visited the site on the Ramaquebane River and found the three skulls and a number of isolated human post-cranial bones and mandibulae scattered amongst the ruins of huts, game bones and pots.

War, the frontier, and trophy skulls

All of these Khoisan skeletons, whether from cadavers, from battlefields or exhumed from a multitude of graves, were collected from contexts where the direct cause of their death and the procedure of their accession were unrelated. But there are other human remains which have less savoury histories and are the real focus of this discussion.

In the Anatomy Department at Edinburgh University reside two crania, one of which is labelled as a 'Bushman' killed by a commando at Agtersneeuberg east of Graaff-Reinet during the 1820s, while the second skull is listed as that of a 'Bushman robber' donated by T. Pringle in 1824. L.H. Wells, the Witwatersrand-trained Cape Town anatomist, spent some time in the Edinburgh University Anatomical Museum in the early 1950s studying these crania. He commented that: "In every case, moreover, the skull showed no signs of having been buried or exposed to the elements, and bore some remnants of the soft tissues" (Wells 1957:289).

More of these skulls appear at the British Museum of Natural History. One is identified as the cranium of 'Arie, a bushman chief' presented by Mr Ford, assistant surgeon of the 72nd regiment, while the other two are the skull of a 'Bushman' killed by a commando in 1825, and the cranium of a 'notorious Bushman murderer' presented by Dr Andrew Smith. At Cambridge is a cranium labelled 'skull of a Bushman chief' presented by Dr Mathew, in 1893. Better documented are crania of Khoikhoi men in Oxford who were killed in the Eastern Cape during the Eighth Frontier War. One was of a 'Hottentot shot at Balfour, 22 February 1851', while the second was a 'Hottentot' male cranium listed as belonging to a rebel killed in the siege and capture of Shiloh by the British forces under Major Tylden in February 1851. All of these crania had been transferred to the British Museum from Oxford, but had originated as part of the collections of the Anatomical Museum of the Royal Army Medical Corps at Netley Hospital in the mid–nineteenth century.

More sinister, are half a dozen human specimens at the British Museum and one at Cambridge. Each specimen is a dried head covered with skin, and some of them have glass eyes inserted. None are labelled with more information than 'Bushman' or

Figure 1 **Two brothers from the Langeberg photographed before the death of the older brother in prison in Douglas. Broom obtained his skeleton in 1921.** Photograph courtesy Alan Morris (originally MSE).

who screech and whistle and stamp an offer of so many cows for the young lady's hand. The chosen father-in-law—also supported by a high-flavored party of male friends—screeches, whistles, and yells (being seated on the ground, he can't stamp) that there never was such a daughter in the market as his daughter, and that he must have six more cows. The son-in-law and his select circle of backers, screech, whistle, stamp, and yell in reply, that they will give three more cows. The father-in-law (an old deluder, overpaid at the beginning) accepts four, and rises to bind the bargain. The whole party, the young lady included, then falling into epileptic convulsions, and screeching, whistling, stamping, and yelling together—and nobody taking any notice of the young lady (whose charms are not to be thought of without a shudder)—the noble savage is considered married, and his friends make demoniacal leaps at him by way of congratulation.

When the noble savage finds himself a little unwell, and mentions the circumstance to his friends, it is immediately perceived that he is under the influence of witchcraft. A learned personage, called an Imyanger or Witch Doctor, is immediately sent for to Nooker the Umtargartie, or smell out the witch. The male inhabitants of the kraal being seated on the ground, the learned doctor, got up like a grizzly bear, appears, and administers a dance of a most terrific nature, during the exhibition of which remedy he incessantly gnashes his teeth, and howls:—"I am the original physician to Nooker the Umtargartie. Yow yow yow! No connexion with any other establishment. Till till till! All other Umtargarties are feigned Umtargarties, Boroo Boroo! but I perceive here a genuine and real Umtargartie, Hoosh Hoosh Hoosh! in whose blood I, the original Imyanger and Nookerer, Blizzerum Boo! will wash these bear's claws of mine. O yow yow yow!" All this time the learned physician is looking out among the attentive faces for some unfortunate man who owes him a cow, or who has given him any small offence, or against whom, without offence, he has conceived a spite. Him he never fails to Nooker as the Umtargartie, and he is instantly killed. In the absence of such an individual, the usual practice is to Nooker the quietest and most gentlemanly person in company. But the nookering is invariably followed on the spot by the butchering.

'Hottentot', and most will never be identified in any terms other than race.

The common feature of all of these specimens is that they consist only of crania. Who are these people and why are their skulls in the museums of England?

The clues are not hard to find. Historical descriptions of the process of the acquisition exist, and accompanying some of the skulls are affidavits compiled by the collectors.

Wells' search for documentation to identify the trophy skulls in Scotland identified some interesting background. Almost invariably, the skulls were identified in museum or published records as those of 'murderers' or 'robbers', and one, 'Matroos the Boschiesman', apparently had taken the time in his last earthly moments to dictate a confession of his crimes:

> I was a true Boschiesman, born in the Boschiesman's land. My name is Matroos, so given to me by one of my first masters. I was in the service of several cattle farmers, along the borders of the colony at the New Plantation; but never would I behave myself well to any of them, leaving their service and wandering about, preferring an independent life to servitude. I went marauding and murdering through the country, and for a long time I escaped punishment. But at length, stealing some horses from the farmers, I was pursued and surrounded, but scorned to surrender myself, though repeatedly called upon to do so. I defended myself with my assegais and poisoned arrows, as long as I had any left, and then made an obstinate resistance by hurling stones at my pursuers; but at length I was mortally wounded, and am now dying, being, as I believe, only about eighteen years of age. Agter Suenberg [Agtersneeuberg] 182– [exact date in the 1820s not recorded].
>
> This statement was drawn up by Major Rogers, guardian of slaves, who accompanied Mr Justice Burton on the circuit, when the skull of Matroos was presented to him at Graaff-Reinet—[collected by] W.M. Ford. (Wells 1957:289)

Matroos's undoubtedly bogus document tells us much of the colonists' view in the early nineteenth century. The robbed farmers were the victims. The San were incapable of 'behaving themselves' by living as servants in their own land. The farmers were humane in demanding surrender, yet the San were obstinate in their choice of death rather than incarceration. And the crimes of the San were beyond the pale—stock theft and murder.

The other side of story has been reconstructed from the historical documents of both the Dutch and

British colonial periods (Marks 1972, Elphick 1977; Newton-King 1986; Penn 1995b; Eldredge & Morton 1995). From the middle 1700's the Cape interior was a scene of open warfare as the Khoisan peoples resisted the incursions of the colonial *trekboers*. As the hunter bands were pressured and their water sources taken over for stock, they responded by raiding the farms, both for food and for revenge. The colonists' response was brutal. Commandos were assembled which, from 1774, systematically attacked San bands on the margins of the growing colony. At first the object was to recover the stolen stock, but it soon became apparent that only the complete destruction of San independence would stop the conflict. Invasion of San lands and Khoisan resistance continued well into the nineteenth century, but the constant pressure slowly reduced the San groups to servitude or extinction. Like the body counts of the Vietnam War, letters in the Cape Archives list the numbers of kraals destroyed and San killed or captured. Men were killed and women and children were taken prisoner to become labourers on the farms. Often only the children were spared. This was a nasty, vicious war in which neither side gave quarter, but at its end, it was the San who would pay the greater price.

But why collect heads? The essential fact was that the collection of the skulls emphasised that the opponents of the colonists were inferior to them. Almost invariably the heads were accompanyied by the labels 'murderer' or 'robber', justifying the execution and dismemberment. The heads represented the success in the mission of pacification. The fact that they were also useful for a scientific mission was simply an added payout.

By the 1830s, the northern frontier of the colony was becoming quiet, but the war of dispossession did not lessen. It switched instead to the eastern flank. When young Ensign Whitle of the 91st Regiment arrived in South Africa for duty in the 'War of the Axe' in 1847, he remarked that in Cape Town he had "seen a Kaffir's head for sale".[1] He declined the opportunity to buy one because he was convinced he could obtain one himself once he had reached his military post on the frontier. During the Eighth Frontier War of 1850–3, it was the turn of the Khoikhoi to provide the grisly harvest, as testified by the Oxford skulls from Shiloh and Balfour.

There is one description of the process in Sir Stephen Lakeman's memoirs of his time in the Eastern Cape. He was concerned one morning that he was unable to have his usual bath because the tub was being put to other uses:

> Doctor A--- of the 60th had asked my men to procure him a few native skulls of both sexes. This was a task easily accomplished. One morning they brought back to camp about two dozen heads of various ages. As these were not supposed to be in a presentable state for the doctor's acceptance, the next night they turned my bath into a caldron [*sic*] for the removal of superfluous flesh. And there these men sat, gravely smoking their pipes during the live-long night, and stirring round and round the heads in the seething boiler, as though they were cooking black-apple dumplings. (Lakeman 1880:94–5)

The doctor with scientific pretensions and the group of soldiers hardened by battle and bloodshed made a spine-chilling combination.

The story of Koos Sas

When did the genocidal mayhem finally stop? Some would argue that it never did and that the apartheid era was a simple continuation of the process which began with the settlement of the Cape. This may or may not be true, but the level of brutality decreased substantially, at least in South Africa itself, after the turn of the twentieth century. There were no longer any independent Khoisan groups who could operate beyond the confines of native reserves or conservation areas, and the remaining people were in no position to challenge the state.

But there were individuals whose actions continued to place them in the same category as the 'Bushman robbers' of the previous century. For them, the new republic decreed the same fate as their ancestors had experienced in the old colony. The last of these was Koos Sas.

The town of Montagu inherited Koos Sas' skull in 1950, when Professor Brink of the Department of Physiology at the University of Stellenbosch donated it to the municipality. The skull stayed in the Provincial Library until 1975 when Montagu opened its new museum. From then until 1993, when the changing political climate dictated that such a display was unwholesome, the skull sat in a glass case above a display in the Montagu Museum. The bilingual text told the story:

> Since many decades, the tale of Koos Sas has been told and retold. Of Bushman extraction, originally from the district of Touwsrivier, Koos Sas moved to Montagu, in the hope of obtaining better employment. It is said that like the legendary Dirk Ligter, he could out-run any horse. Permanent occupation he hated. His great love of mutton resulted in the theft of many a sheep and he and Constable Tonie Swanepoel were forever at daggers drawn. His cool impudence knew no bounds, and often he informed the police of the locality in which he intended operating, with the result that

Some of the noble savages in whom Mr. Catlin was so strongly interested, and the diminution of whose numbers, by rum and small-pox, greatly affected him, had a custom not unlike this, though much more appalling and disgusting in its odious details.

The women being at work in the fields, hoeing the Indian corn, and the noble savage being asleep in the shade, the chief has sometimes the condescension to come forth, and lighten the labor by looking at it. On these occasions he seats himself in his own savage chair, and is attended by his shield-bearer: who holds over his head a shield of cowhide—in shape like an immense muscle shell—fearfully and wonderfully, after the manner of a theatrical supernumerary. But lest the great man should forget his greatness in the contemplation of the humble works of agriculture, there suddenly rushes in a poet, retained for the purpose, called a Praiser. This literary gentleman wears a leopard's head over his own, and a dress of tigers' tails; he has the appearance of having come express on his hind legs from the Zoological Gardens; and he incontinently strikes up the chief's praises, plunging and tearing all the while. There is a frantic wickedness in this brute's manner of worrying the air, and gnashing out "Oh what a delightful chief he is! O what a delicious quantity of blood he sheds! O how majestically he laps it up! O how charmingly cruel he is! O how he tears the flesh of his enemies and crunches the bones! O how like the tiger and the leopard and the wolf and the bear he is! O, row row row row, how fond I am of him!"—which might tempt the Society of Friends to charge at a hand-gallop into the Swartz-Kop location and exterminate the whole kraal.

When war is afoot among the noble savages—which is always—the chief holds a council to ascertain whether it is the opinion of his brothers and friends in general that the enemy shall be exterminated. On this occasion, after the performance of an Umsebeuza, or war song,—which is exactly like all the other songs—the chief makes a speech to his brothers and friends, arranged in single file. No particular order is observed during the delivery of this address, but every gentleman who finds himself excited by the subject, instead of crying "Hear, hear!" as is the custom with us, darts from the rank and tramples out the life, or crushes the skull, or mashes the face, or scoops out the eyes, or breaks the limbs, or performs a whirlwind of

Figure 5 **The body of Koos Sas, photographed by Dr W. Steenkamp junior.**
Reproduced by courtesy of Stella Braca

he served many terms of imprisonment.

In 1917 he worked in the little country shop of Mr Boetatje Botha (son of the Revd S. Botha of Stellenbosch). It was situated at Hoek-van-die-Berg, in the Montagu District. After a short while, an argument with Mr Botha culminated in his hitting Mr Botha on the head with a stump of wood—and finally he cut Mr Botha's throat!

While awaiting sentence, Koos Sas broke jail and disappeared. Five years later on the 8th of January, 1922, Constable Jurie Dreyer, while on farm patrol, recognised him on the farm Droodaap near Springbok. Resisting arrest, Koos Sas was shot dead by Constable Dreyer.

The skull, so characteristic of the Bushman, was sent to the Department of Physiology at the University of Stellenbosch, where Professor Hercules Brink, a son of Montagu, held it in safe keeping. It was later transferred to the Montagu Municipality, and eventually it came to rest in our Montagu Museum.

The story of Koos Sas has many parallels with the 'confessions' of the 1820s. The criminal was incorrigible

with a distaste for 'honest' work and an uncontrollable desire to steal sheep. The mythology of the master hunter of the veld was emphasised. In both the text and the newspaper article reprinted as part of the Montagu Museum display, Koos Sas was described in an almost superhuman way. *"Sy voetjies was uitermate klein, maar met daardie einste voetjies kan hy hol soos die wind!"* (*Die Landstem* 23 September 1950). But the most striking parallel is the presence of Koos Sas' head as a trophy skull. The cranium is clean with no sign of dismemberment, but there is also no sign that it had been buried. How did the skull end up with Brink in Stellenbosch, and who was responsible for it's salvage?

We will never know all of the details, but much of the story has been handed down as oral history by the Namaqualanders. Central amongst these Namaqualand histories is the testimony of Dr W.P. Steenkamp and his son, Willem. Dr W.P. Steenkamp was a Dutch Reformed Church clergyman in Springbok between 1919 and 1923. With his son he journeyed to America to study medicine at the University in Louisville (Kentucky). They graduated together in 1928 and went on to Leiden to write the physician's examination, returning to South Africa in 1929. In that year, Steenkamp senior entered politics as the Member of Parliament for Namaqualand and moved to Cape Town, where he and his son practised medicine together.

Dr Steenkamp junior recorded the last events surrounding Sas' death in a manuscript written with the help of his daughter, Stella Branca.[2] He confirms the accidental discovery of Sas in the Springbok District, but notes that rather than his capture being the action of a single constable, Koos Sas was cornered by a police cordon mustered to search the farm after the siting. When called on to surrender, Sas shouted in reply: *"Julle sal nog baie brood moet vreet voor julle my vang!"* [You will still have to eat a lot of bread before you catch me!] Sadly for Sas, his prediction was wrong because moments later he was struck by a fatal bullet. Steenkamp believed that the shot had been intended to wound him in the legs, but struck him in the chest instead.

At the time, Dr Steenkamp and his son, Willempie, along with other interested parties, had come down to Droodaap with the police and Willem junior, then 12 years old, had brought his folding camera with him. He photographed the body and the policemen holding Sas's bloody shirt, and was then asked for a great many copies by all concerned in the manhunt. He developed these prints himself and sold them for a 'tickey' a time. Later, Dr Steenkamp had copies of the photographs sold as postcards and the profits from the sales went to the Afrikaanse Christelike Vroue Vereeniging [Afrikaans Christian Women's Organisation].

What happened next was told to Dominee G.S. Moller of Springbok by Johnnie van Niekerk, a local Springbok farmer, who was 17 years old when Sas was shot.[3] In Moller's words:

> The body was buried on the spot where he fell. Johnnie van Niekerk also went to see where he was buried. I believe Dr W.P. Steenkamp arranged to have the body exhumed and brought to Springbok. Apparently this was done a few months after his death so the corpse was already decomposed. Also that it was cooked in a large black soap-pot so that only clean bones remained.

At this point oral history and legend become confused. Willem junior's daughter, Stella Branca,

Figure 6. **A postcard made from a photograph taken by Willem Steenkamp junior of the dead Koos Sas. The postcard was sold in aid of the Afrikaanse Christelike Vroue Vereeniging (The Afrikaans Christian Women's Organisation).** Reproduced by courtesy of Stella Branca

atrocities on the body, of an imaginary enemy. Several gentlemen becoming thus excited at once, and pounding away without the least regard to the orator, that illustrious person is rather in the position of an orator in an Irish House of Commons. But, several of these scenes of savage life bear a strong generic resemblance to an Irish election, and I think would be extremely well received and understood at Cork.

In all these ceremonies the noble savage holds forth to the utmost possible extent about himself; from which (to turn him to some civilised account) we may learn, I think, that as Egotism is one of the most offensive and contemptible littlenesses a civilised man can exhibit, so it is really incompatible with the interchange of ideas; inasmuch as if we all talked about ourselves we should soon have no listeners, and must be all yelling and screeching at once on our own separate accounts: making society hideous. It is my opinion that if we retained in us anything of the noble savage, we could not get rid of it too soon. But the fact is clearly otherwise. Upon the wife and dowry question, substituting coin for cows, we have assuredly nothing of the Zulu Kaffir left. The endurance of despotism is one great distinguishing mark of a savage always. The improving world has quite got the better of that too. In like manner, Paris is a civilised city, and the Théâtre Français a highly civilised theatre; and we shall never hear, and never have heard in these later days (of course) of the Praiser *there*. No, no, civilised poets have better work to do. As to Nookering Umtargarties, there are no pretended Umtargarties in Europe, and no European Powers to Nooker them; that would be mere spydom, subornation, snaill malice, superstition, and false pretence. And as to private Umtargarties, are we not in the year eighteen hundred and fifty-three, with spirits rapping at our doors?

To conclude as I began. My position is, that if we have anything to learn from the Noble Savage, it is what to avoid. His virtues are a fable; his happiness is a delusion; his nobility, nonsense. We have no greater justification for being cruel to the miserable object, than for being cruel to a WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE or an ISAAC NEWTON; but he passes away before an immeasurably better and higher power than ever ran wild in any earthly woods, and the world will be all the better when his place knows him no more.

remembers a box under the stairs in her father's old house during the 1940s in which Koos Sas' bones were said to rest. She could never get up the nerve to look in the box, but she remembers it well.

Another informant, an amateur Namaqualand historian named Mrs du Plessis, recorded information from G.J. van Zyl in October 1962, in which it was told that the Steenkamps took Sas' skeleton to America to use it for their studies. On their return from the States, Dr Steenkamp "handed over a neat, sealed kiaat box to the Springbok church. This was placed very carefully in the vestry and I was told that the box contained Koos Sas' remains".[1] Mrs Moller, wife of dominee Moller and daughter of the minister who succeeded Dr Steenkamp at Springbok, remembers that as a child she saw a bag said to contain the bones of Koos Sas in one of the storerooms of the Springbok church. There is an obvious confusion here as the bones could not have been both in Cape Town and Springbok at the same time. Since the skull was certainly NOT in Springbok, the tales of the bones in Springbok probably indicate the speed at which a whole mythology was beginning to build about Koos Sas amongst the Namaqualanders.

At least some of the story is clear. Sas was killed by the police, but the case was of great interest to the locals. Amongst the visitors to take the brief journey from Springbok was the local Dr Steenkamp and his son, and it was these two who were to dominate the events after Sas' death. Steenkamp's son, Willem, took the photographs at the time, but it was his father who probably arranged for the exhumation of the body. Decomposition was still incomplete so the bones had to be cleaned. This accounts for the present clean appearance of the skull. We can assume that the skeleton went with the Steenkamps to America. Perhaps the skeleton was returned to the church at Springbok in the 1940s, or even possibly the 1930s, but the skull at least was kept in Cape Town. Dr W.P. Steenkamp died in 1951, and it may have been just before his death that the skull was sent to Stellenbosch. Although Stellenbosch had no medical school in 1950, and Brink was not an authority on anatomy, Steenkamp senior or his family may have decided to send the skull there because the University of Stellenbosch was his Alma Mater.

Can we say that the skull of Koos Sas was a trophy in the same manner as were those of his ethnic ancestors? The charges against Sas were not bogus and he had indeed committed murder. Violent crime was then, as it is now, a common phenomenon in the communities of the poor and dispossessed. In this sense, perhaps Sas was not very far removed from his ancestors of the previous century. But what of Dr Steenkamp? Was he in the same mould as Lakeman's soldiers? The Steenkamps neither displayed nor

demeaned the skeleton of Koos Sas in any obvious way. In their eyes, the body of the late Koos was that of a pauper, and the state to this day condones the dissection of such unclaimed individuals for the good of medical education.

Perhaps the most important parallel with earlier trophy skulls is the attitude of the state. The bureaucrats in Springbok had no qualms about allowing Sas's body to be exhumed. Sas did not conform to the role of the 'tame Bushmen' of the time and he had been a threat to the safety and pastoral life of the white farmers. As such he was as expendable as any other predator and the final disposition of his earthly remains was not of their concern. After the donation of the cranium to Stellenbosh, the Montagu municipality felt that the skull of Koos Sas was appropriate for a museum display because he had acted beyond the accepted norm of society. Although the Steenkamps had kept the skeleton for study, the museum kept it as a trophy—the last remains of the famous 'Bushman murderer'.

Lessons to be learned

What do these old bones tell us? The physical anthropologists of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries considered them to be examples of the natural world divorced from their social and cultural context. The San were creatures of the veld and the collector needed only a few good specimens to describe and label them for posterity. They were people who were not people, and it is this detachment that is most chilling to consider.

The trophy skulls and the known skeletons are really historical documents, not scientific specimens. They tell us about attitudes in times past, and they tell a sad story of dispossession and marginalisation in some cases, and conflict, death and desecration in others. These museum specimens are part of the history of the colonisers as well as the colonised. Saartje, Keri Keri, Voetje, Baardman, Matroos, Arie, Koos and the anonymous others, were real people, but so were the named and nameless collectors who dissected, disinterred and dismembered their bodies.

What should we do with these bones? Should we try to claim them back for reburial? If we do, who should claim them? Under what ceremony would we re-inter them? No living South African can attest a cultural affinity with these people as their beliefs and way of life are long gone, but a few have a shared genetic origin. But does sharing a portion of genetic make-up mean that living people can claim the full heritage of the past? These are difficult questions because the bones are symbols as well as specimens, and symbols have different meanings to different people. Certainly the Khoisan never saw

Figure 7 **The skull of Koos Sas, which was recently taken off display in the Montegu Museum.** Photograph: Alan Morris

themselves as a single people and unifying them into a single 'race' was a European, not a native, concept.

Whatever our decision, perhaps the greatest lesson is the simple fact that skeletons of the past are important in so many ways. There is nothing inherently wrong with studying the remains of the dead. We do this for clinical and medico-legal purposes, and also to satisfy our desire to learn about ourselves and our origins. The dead do indeed tell tales—tales about our history, our demography, our health and our evolution. But these tales must be tempered with the understanding that the dead have more meaning to the living than merely being sources of information. We, as scientists and historians, must recognise that a balance must be struck between the search for knowledge and need for moral sensitivity. The dead are not at issue here. It is the disposition of the living toward the dead that concerns us.

"Langeberg Bushmen", and Mr Lankman, photographed by Dorothea Bleek in c.1910–11. UCT BC151 J

"Fated to Perish": The Destruction of the Cape San

Nigel Penn

During the course of the eighteenth century the hunter-gatherer societies of the Cape interior found themselves involved in a desperate struggle for survival. As the Dutch settlement at the Cape burgeoned into a fully-fledged colony, its frontiers expanded deep into the arid heartland of southern Africa, disrupting and destroying the lives of those communities who had, over the centuries, made it their home. By the end of the century thousands of hunter-gatherers had been killed and even more had been incorporated into the colonial economy as captive labourers. Large tracts of land had been wrested from them by the armed and mounted semi-nomadic pastoralists—the *trekboers*—who spearheaded the advance of the colonial frontier. The invaders appropriated the watering-places and, with their death-dealing muskets, all but annihilated the great herds of game which were so important to the well-being of hunter-gatherer societies (Penn 1995b).

Yet, despite the heavy toll exacted by nearly a century of resistance to colonial encroachment, the eve of the nineteenth century found the hunter-gatherer societies of the Cape interior undefeated. Since the 1770s the colonial frontier had ceased to advance and, in some regions, had actually receded. True, hunter-gatherer societies could not take all the credit for these colonial reversals. On the eastern frontier, the *trekboers* had been halted by the superior strength of the Xhosa, and along much of the northern frontier, environmental conditions were so severe as to discourage any further colonial advance anyway (Van der Merwe 1937). But, without the fierce resistance of hunter-gatherer societies fighting to preserve their identity, white settlement at the Cape would have been far more extensive than it was when, in 1795, the rule of the Dutch East India Company came to an end.

The new, British, government of the Cape of Good Hope was horrified to discover the perpetual state of violence which characterised inter-group relationships within the colony's frontier zone. White farmers complained that neither their lives nor property were secure from the unconquerable marauders they called 'Bushmen'. It was clear to the British, however, that the 'Bushmen' (or, as current academic usage has it, the San) were more sinned against than sinning, victims of almost continuous commando attacks by frontier farmers whose aim it was to slaughter the men and make captives of the women and children. In an attempt to put a stop to the incessant bloodshed, the British authorities attempted to implement certain peace proposals. These involved encouraging the donation of gifts of livestock from the colonists to their enemies; the proclamation of present-day Bushmanland as a 'Bushman' reserve and the promotion of missionary labour amongst hunter-gatherer communities. All of these measures were aimed at 'civilising' the San who would, it was hoped, abandon their 'predatory existence' and adopt the life of pastoralists (Boucher & Penn 1992:178; Penn 1991; Penn 1993; Penn 1995b:387–460).

In the long run, although each seperate component of the British proposals failed, the wider objective—namely, the pacification of the San—was achieved. Bushmanland was not respected as a 'Bushman' reserve; the system of gift-giving broke down as individual farmers refused to make contributions; attempts to evangelise the San failed dismally; and the

In 1910 Dorothea Bleek, daughter of Wilhelm Bleek and niece of Lucy Lloyd, travelled to the Prieska district to interview the children and relatives of the people her father and aunt had interviewed in the 1870s. She photographed the people she met, and though some recalled some of the customs of their parents, the folklore was forgotten. These images are taken from photographs taken by Dorothea Bleek, now in the Bleek and Lloyd archive in the Manuscripts and Archive section of the library of the University of Cape Town. Another collection of her photographs, as well as many of the objects she collected on numerous trips to the northern Cape and the Kalahari, is to be found in the South African Museum, Cape Town.

San showed neither the ability nor the inclination to transform themselves into pastoralists in the almost impossible circumstances of the Cape thirstland. And yet, unsuccessful though these initiatives were, they played a decisive role in undermining San resistance. The shift from a state of continuous hostility to that of ambiguous peace helped to break the military stalemate of the frontier. Where commandos had failed to loosen the sinews of San resistence, the subtle infiltration of missionaries, merchants and government agents succeeded. Under the guise of peace, gift-giving farmers gained a foothold in previously disputed territory. When the peace broke down—as it often did—in recriminations, robberies and revenge, it was too late for the San to offer effective resistance. In the desolate obscurity of the nineteenth century *agterveld* the San were overcome by a piece-meal process of betrayal and defeat. By the 1870s the last remnants of the Cape San were being hunted to extinction by the Boer and 'Bastaard' usurpers of Bushmanland. Those who were not shot starved to death in the dusty margins of South Africa's most marginal land, whilst a handful, mainly women and children, lived out their days as captive labourers on their vanquishers' farms (Penn 1991; Penn 1995b:387–460; Findlay 1977).

These, then, are the broad outlines of the decline and fall of the hunter-gatherer societies of the Cape interior. From our vantage point in history, the destruction of the San looks inevitable, almost pre-ordained. As Theal observed years ago:

> They [the San] could not adapt themselves to their new environment, they tried to live as their ancestors had lived, and therefore they were fated to perish. The wave of European colonisation was not to be stayed from rolling on by a few savages who stood in its course. (Theal 1892–1919 IV:49)

"Fated to perish": the words have a comforting finality, evoking a mood very close to that of nostalgia. But the question of why the San perished has to be answered. Was it because of the fragility of the hunter-gatherer way of life? Was it because of inadequate political structures? Was it the result (as Theal suggests) of a lack of adaptability on the part of an essentially "savage" people?

The answer, if indeed there can be a single answer, is to be found in the years when the San's fight for survival was at its most intense. In the years between 1770 and 1800, throughout the length and breadth of the Cape's interior escarpment, the *trekboers* and the San were involved, literally, in a life or death struggle. The stakes were immeasurably high for both sides. Between 1740 and 1770 the frontier of white settlement had reached and extended along the fringes of the interior escarpment, roughly, the Roggeveld.

Nieuweveld and Sneeuberg mountain ranges. It was at this stage that colonial expansion was halted. The escarpment marked, very broadly, the transition between the summer and winter rainfall areas of the Cape interior. In the arid regions in question it was vital for pastoralists, such as the *trekboers* were, to be able to move from one rainfall area to another on a seasonal basis, practising a type of transhumance in order to obtain year-round water and grazing for their livestock. If such movement was prevented the entire *trekboer* economy would be placed under unbearable pressure. Demographic increase amongst the Dutch settlers was another force driving the *trekboers* into the dry world beyond the escarpment where, increasingly, they clashed with the hunter-gatherer societies which, over the centuries, had adapted themselves to its harsh environment (Penn 1986; 1989).

As for the San—whether they were the /Xam of Bushmanland or the Swy ei of the Sneeuberg—they could not tolerate the loss of vital watering-places nor the massive destruction of game caused by *trekboer* hunting parties. Seasonal incursions of *trekboer* livestock into Bushmanland destroyed the *veldkos* of the San as well as diminishing the grazing which the wild antelope needed. Just as pastoralists required the environmental resources of different regions, so too did the hunter-gatherers need to be able to exploit the seasonal variations of nature and move from areas of want to areas of plenty when necessary. As colonial occupancy of the land prohibited such movement, the pressures on the San increased, and so too did their resistance. By the beginning of the 1770s, throughout the Roggeveld, Nieuweveld and the Sneeuberg, widespread, large-scale and well-co-ordinated attacks were being made on the *trekboers* by the San. In response the colonists organised retaliatory commandos which had as their twin objectives the crushing of resistance and the capture of women and children for use as labourers (Penn 1989; 1995b:169–278).

The bloody and protracted war which followed was of crucial significance for the future of the San, not, as we have seen, because of any decisive military advantage which the *trekboers* gained but because of the manner in which the war was fought. War is a cultural activity, and in the crucible of conflict that was the eighteenth century northern Cape frontier zone, the colonial farmers developed a set of attitudes concerning the San which, combined with a set of customary actions directed against the San, fostered the conviction that San society should be eradicated. This conviction, deeply etched into the psyche of frontier farmers, was carried through into the nineteenth century, even after the San had dropped their guard. The San perished not because it was so fated but because of the legacy of violence inherited from the eighteenth century frontier.

The nature of the struggle

The chosen instrument which the colonists used to wage war against the San was the commando. The institution had emerged during the early decades of the eighteenth century as the pastoralist farmers of the Cape frontier realised that they needed some sort of military organisation to conquer and control the labour, land and livestock which they required. Initially the commando had been used to subjugate the Khoikhoi pastoralists of the western Cape, forcing them into the position of unfree labourers and stripping them of their land and livestock (Penn 1987; 1989). As the frontier moved into mountainous or more arid regions, however, the colonists began to encounter greater numbers of hunter-gatherers, people who were not, in other words, members of a pastoralist society. Although there was some blurring between Khoikhoi and San, and although the ranks of the San were no doubt augmented by Khoikhoi resisters who had lost their livestock to the colonists, it is not always appropriate to subsume both societies into the category of Khoisan. It is important to acknowledge that a great many of the indigenous inhabitants of the Cape interior were indeed San, that is, specialist hunter-gatherers whose societies were significantly different from those of pastoralists (Parkington 1991; Penn 1995b:179–86).

The colonists certainly believed that the societies of the Cape interior were different from the Khoikhoi of their experience. We may question whether they interpreted what they saw correctly. We may accuse them of exaggeration, misrepresentation and insensitivity. But it is unlikely that they imagined differences where actually none whatsoever existed. The frontier farmers of the 1770s believed that they were fighting against people they called 'Bushmen' (or 'Bushmen-Hottentots') and they believed these people to differ from the Khoikhoi or 'Hottentots' (of whom they had more than 100 years of knowledge) linguistically and culturally. A 'Bushman-Hottentot' was not the same as a 'Hottentot'. Nor did the colonists simply label every resister a 'Bushman'. When they encountered Khoikhoi amongst San groups (which they sometimes did) they were able to distinguish one from another. It was this perception of difference (which, once again, was not wholly imaginary) between Khoikhoi and San which played a crucial part in the different ways in which commandos treated Khoikhoi and San (Penn 1995b:211–52).

The Khoikhoi, in theory, were regarded as a free people and those who entered, or were compelled to enter, colonial service were supposed to do so for a limited period and for wages. In practice, however, the Khoikhoi were very often maltreated as their employers appropriated their livestock, restricted their freedom of movement and withheld their wages.

The treatment of Khoikhoi labourers deteriorated as the eighteenth century progressed and there is no doubt that the violence of the frontier zone encouraged violence in the workplace as colonial masters brutalised their servants (Newton-King 1992; Penn 1995b:253–78). But the Khoikhoi, being pastoralists, had essential skills which the *trekboers* required. They thus had a value which the San, as we shall see, were considered to lack.

Colonial attitudes towards the San came to a head in the crisis years of the 1770s, the same years in which the characteristic structures and features of the commando system were perfected. In this regard 1774 is an important date, for it is the year of the General Commando, a large-scale colonial attempt to destroy San resistance by means of a co-ordinated, three-pronged attack throughout the length and breadth of the frontier zone. The preparations for the General Commando are significant because of the light which they throw on the 'Bushman' policy of the time. The instructions issued to the General Commando were that those San resisters who were not "reduced either to a permanent peace and tranquillity or otherwise entirely subdued and destroyed" were to be taken captive. Initially it was ordered that women and defenceless males should be spared—the women were to be released and both young and adult males given to the poorest colonists for a "fixed and equitable term of years". In practice, however, very few adult males were ever taken alive. Moreover, it was argued that it was heartless to release widows and orphan children. They were to be incorporated into the labour force and the only stipulation was that they were to be treated the same as "the other free Hottentots who have entered the service of our inhabitants for hire", and that they were not to be maltreated, "(as has more than once happened with many) and thus excited to wicked revenge" (CA, C 655, 19 April 1774).

As it transpired, captive San were not treated like other "free Hottentots" but more like "*ingeboekte* Bastaard-Hottentots" (people of mixed slave and Khoikhoi descent). Their names and particulars were supposed to be entered in special rolls and most were to work for their masters until they were 18 years of age (CA, 1/STB 18/196). The surviving rolls date from 1776 to 1803 and list a total of 258 child captives officially recorded during this period. These figures need to be regarded as completely inadequate for there were many more San who were captured by colonists during these years of intense commando activity than are recorded here. The General Commando alone took 289 captives and in any given year individual commandos would admit to taking far more captives than the numbers entered in the landdrost's lists. It is not difficult to see that the

initial intention of treating captive San as "free" Khoikhoi was a casualty of the realities of commando warfare. But it may also be seen that the commando did not simply see its task as the extirpation of the San. From this early statement of policy it is clear that commandos had twin objectives in mind: the crushing of opposition and the acquisition of labour. The *trek-boers* had been given *carte blanche* to pursue their own interests. They could either sweep the San out of their path or incorporate them into their economy as unfree labourers.

The stated objective of the commando was to re-establish the colonists in "their" possessions and to maintain them, if necessary, by "*de sterke hand*". It was hoped that amicable peace negotiations would occur, for assorted trinkets were to be taken along as well as the copper-headed staffs of office that the Company cutomarily dispensed to subjugated kraal captains. More ominously, leg-shackles and handcuffs were also issued. If the San were not disposed to accept peace proposals, "and should necessity thus demand that they should be entirely subdued and destroyed", it was permissible to:

> attack and slay them in such a cautious manner, however, that our own inhabitants may be as little as possible exposed to danger, and not rashly led to slaughter; and also that no blood shall be spilled without absolute necessity, and that as much as shall be by any means possible, the women and defenceless males shall be spared. (CA, C 655, 19 April 1774)

The three sections of the General Commando left between August and September in 1774. The first section to leave was under the command of Nicolaas van der Merwe. It left the Bokkeveld with 27 Europeans and 38 Khoikhoi on 16 August. The commando searched the Middle and Klein Roggeveld but went as far east as the Koup and Nieuweveld mountains and as far north as the Sak River. It returned to the Bokkeveld on 7 November, having destroyed 17 kraals, killed 142 people and captured 89. Only one commando member was killed, dying nine days after being hit by a poisoned arrow.

The second section, under the leadership of Gerrit van Wyk, assembled at the Vis River in the Roggeveld

Figure 1 **Colonial hunting party.** Robert Gordon's *Kommo bergen in 1779*. CA AG 7146.77

on 2 September and proceeded to search the region to the north and north-east of the Sak River, that is, Bushmanland. This commando consisted of at least 31 Europeans and a slightly greater number of Khoikhoi. They killed 96 San and captured 21. None of this commando's members was killed although a 'Bastaard' had come close to death when an arrow pierced his hat.

The third section, under Opperman, left to crush resistance in the Sneeuberg, Camdeboo, Nieuweveld and Koup. It killed 265 San and captured 129. Some of the commando members, including Opperman himself, were wounded but none fatally (Moodie 1838–42 III:35–40).

A closer analysis of these facts and figures is in order for the high ratio of killed to captured needs to be explained, particularly in view of the Company's instructions that no blood should be spilt without necessity. The insignificant number of colonial casualties also has to be accounted for. Similar body-count, casualty and captive ratios were common to nearly all subsequent commandos and in this respect the General Commando proved to be typical rather than exceptional. Most of those captured were women and children. It would seem that the majority of captives, who were given as labourers to colonial masters, were children under the age of 12 (Penn 1995b:225). The women were either released or given as wives to the Khoikhoi commando members. Very few men were captured and the inescapable conclusion is that they were killed. Why?

In most cases the commandos attacked individual kraals. If one analyses the figures given by Nicolaas van der Merwe it can be seen that the average number of people per kraal was just over 13. The smallest group consisted of six people and the largest of 30. This is in conformity with an estimate, based on group portraits in the rock art of the south-western Cape, of the average size of a hunter-gatherer band (Maggs 1971:49–53). What this meant in military terms, however, was that a commando always enjoyed a numerical advantage. Thanks to their Khoikhoi scouts and spies, commandos nearly always achieved the additional advantage of surprise through dawn attacks on sleeping encampments. There was also the inestimable advantage of firearms over stone-age weapons and of horses over the unmounted. In these circumstances one would have expected rapid surrender but it became a commonplace of the frontier that the San "have never been known to demand quarter in any situation" (Moodie 1838–42 V: 33). The journal kept by the commando under Gerrit van Wyk is undramatically explicit on this point. Because of the open nature of the country in which Van Wyk's commando operated, it was less easy to take the San by surprise for they took refuge amongst rocky koppies and:

> 17 Sept . . . they shot briskly arrows and would not come out when called; shot five and took a child. 22 Sept . . . the Bushmen having ensconced themselves behind the fence of a kraal, shot Gerrit Bastert Minie through the hat, therefore shot 8; they would accept no peace . . . the commandant marched up to the first fire that was perceived, and had them called out to make peace, but instead of answering they shot their arrows, therefore shot 10. (Moodie 1838–42 III:37)

Attempts to find kraal captains with whom to negotiate a peace met with very little success, partly because the San did not have 'captains' in the sense understood by the Europeans and partly because of a deep-rooted determination to reject unequal terms. Nicolaas van der Merwe did manage to persuade a certain Joris, from a kraal at the Sak River, to accept a staff of office but only after he had been captured. Gerrit van Wyk was unable to find any captains to negotiate with him since they had all fled into a part of the interior where, for lack of water, his commando could not follow. Opperman "appointed two Hottentots, who evinced a peaceful disposition, Captains over their kraals, giving each of them a copper-headed staff, and presenting them with some beads, copper rings and some pounds of tobacco". But peace was not to be bought so easily and Opperman must surely have found it ominous that he had to give over to Adriaan van Jaarsveld a prisoner whom he had appointed as kraal captain "but he replied that he dared not undertake it, as his tribe would kill him" (Moodie 1838–42 III:37–40).

In most cases, therefore, San men spurned offers of peace and fought to the death, frequently displaying incredible heroism. "When a horde is surrounded by the farmers, and little chance is perceived by them of effecting an escape, they will fight it out most furiously so long as a man shall be left alive", wrote an emissary to the Sneeuberg San in 1797.

> It frequently happens on such occasions that a party will volunteer the folorn hope, by throwing themselves in the midst of the colonists in order to create confusion, and to give their countrymen, concealed among the rocks or in the long grass, at the expense of their lives, an opportunity of exercising more

Figure 2 **Robert Gordon's depiction of a San family in the 1770s.** CA AG 7146.77

effectually their mortal weapons upon their enemies, and at the same time to facilitate the escape of their wives and children (Barrow 1801–4:286).

The question, however, remains: what was it that provoked such suicidal resistance? On one level the intensity of resistance was probably a function of the desperate situation of the San. They must have realised that if they lost their country to the colonists their way of life was doomed. The more we learn about San culture, the more evident it becomes that there was a profoundly spiritual connection between particular places and the systems of meaning that the San had constructed in order to explain their world. The stories, myths and legends which are contained in the Bleek-Lloyd archives bear testimony to the fact that the San's narrative representations of reality were, in some ways, evoked by the landscape itself. Thus, to lose the land was to lose, literally, everything (Bleek & Lloyd BC151; Hewitt 1986; Lewis-Williams 1981; Parkington 1991). On a more mundane level, the San were already fighting in territory where the environmental balance was critical and where retreat could result in an irreplaceable loss of resources. The prospect of trekking into increasingly arid areas, or entering the hostile territory of Tswana or Xhosa societies, was unappealing. The Xhosa, in particular, were unlikely to accommodate refugee San. "What happens to a Bosjesman-Hottentot who is captured by a Hottentot or a Caffer?" asked a Capetonian of a frontiersman in the 1770s. "Is he killed or must he work as a slave?" "They kill him, otherwise he would again run away," was the reply (Schutte 1982:311).

It would be wrong to dismiss this observation concerning the relationship between Xhosa and San as being simply the inaccurate exaggeration of an ignorant *trekboer*. The colonists themselves thought that it was extremely difficult to keep a male San captive.

> Such as have been taken very young and well treated, have turned out most excellent servants; they have shown great talent, great activity, and great fidelity. An opposite treatment has been productive of a contrary effect; and the brutal conduct of most of the Dutch farmers towards those in their employ has already been noticed. The poor Hottentot bears it with patience, or sinks under it; but on the temper and the turn of mind of the Bosjesman it has a very different effect. He takes the first opportunity that offers of escaping to his countrymen, and contrives frequently to carry off with him a musquet, powder and ball. With tales of cruelty he excites them to revenge; he assists them in their plans of attack; tells them

> the strength of the whole, and of individuals; the number of their cattle, and the advantages and dangers that will occur in the attempt to carry them off; the manner in which expeditions are conducted against them; and, in short, every thing he knows respecting the colonists. (Barrow 1801–4:236)

These perceptions of the unsuitability of San males as captive labourers, shared by both Xhosa and colonists, draw attention to the ancient animosity which existed between pastoralists (or agro-pastoralists) and hunter-gatherers (Jolly 1994). The San probably expected, and in many cases received, death rather than captivity from the *trekboers* who, in common with other pastoralist societies, would have found it impossible to force hostile hunter-gatherers into becoming herders against their will. Opportunities for escape and a return to the wild were too numerous. This is not to say that the San were incapable of working as herders for pastoralists (the Tswana, for instance, had San servants), but that it was not possible to force them to become pastoralists—except where circumstances were so bleak as to jeapordise their continued existence altogether if they failed to submit to the demand of the dominant society (Wilmsen 1989; Morton 1994). Nor should the difficulty in making such a transition, even voluntarily, be minimised. It was not a case of making a simple economic adjustment but of being wrenched from a beloved homeland, losing one's kin and abandoning an ancient culture with its distinctive social and political systems (Smith 1986; 1991).

The possibility exists, therefore, that many male San were never given the chance to surrender but were shot because, unlike the Khoikhoi, they had no economic role to play in the *trekboer* economy. Women, once they had lost the protection of their menfolk, could be incorporated into the *trekboer* economy either directly, as domestic drudges, or indirectly, by becoming the wives of Khoikhoi servants. Children, especially infants, were even more tractable and could be brought up to accept the life of an enslaved herder. In this case the term "slave" is perhaps not as anachronistic as it would be elsewhere. By exterminating the parent society of a San child, the *trekboers* had achieved those necessary preconditions of enslavement: social death and natal alienation (Patterson 1982). Captive children in this condition could be 'given' by one colonist to another, or even 'ordered' as items to be acquired from commandos going into the field. The landdrost of Stellenbosch himself, Hendrik Bletterman, was 'given' two San children in April 1794 and another, by Veldwagtmeester Willem Adriaan Nel, in November of the same year (Penn 1995b:229). There are no records of money changing hands for such 'gifts' though this does not mean that it did not happen. Still, in the absence of a legal, visible market for San captives, it would be wrong to regard every commando as a razzia.

The casualty lists of the General Commando indicate that heartless attitudes towards the San were already in place but the escalating violence of the frontier led to even greater inhumanity before the century's end. San men were eventually perceived as a type of vermin, fit only for extermination, but even women and children were expendable. Nicolaas van der Merwe, for instance, did not think it unreasonable during the course of the General Commando to order wounded San women and children to be shot "in order that their death might not be still crueller" (Moodie 1838–42 III:41–2). In 1797 Barrow related how:

> A boor from Graaff Reynet being asked in the secretary's office, a few days before we left the town, if the savages were numerous or troublesome on the road, replied, he had only shot four, with as much composure and indifference as if he had been speaking of four partridges. I myself have heard one of the humane colonists boast of having destroyed with his own hands near three hundred of these unfortunate wretches (Barrow 1801–4:85).

It was not, however, merely the San's perceived lack of economic utility that provoked such cruelty towards them from the *trekboers*. The colonists had never had a high opinion of the Khoikhoi, whom they regarded as being far below themselves in civilised accomplishments, and they were even less likely to admire a people who seemed to live almost completely in a 'wild' state. To European observers, the San seemed to possess no property, political structures, religion, houses, literacy, decency or even an intelligible language. Somatically, too, they were as far removed from the European norm as any people the Dutch had ever encountered. Conscious of the achievements of their own nation, and imbued with a sense of their own superiority under God's guidance, it was hardly surprising that the colonists should imagine the San to be completely 'other' than themselves. Fear, contempt, hatred and the almost unrestrained licence to violence provided by the context of a legitimate war on the furthest frontiers of European expansion, ensured that the war against the San would be marked by genocidal atrocities.

However, the nature of the war waged against the San should not lead us into believing that they were passive, unsuspecting victims of colonial aggression. The General Commando was, after all, an attempt to crush a most threatening and no doubt concerted campaign of resistance. Nor was this resistance overcome by the General Commando. Although the great number of casualties suffered by the San and the negligible losses suffered by the colonists would seem to suggest that the commando had been an overwhelming colonial success, this was not, in fact, the case. The struggle

was far from decided and for many years the colonists were unable to find a military solution to the most effective guerrilla war that was being waged against them. A repeat of the General Commando would prove to be both impractical and impossible, since San resistance was too widespread to be snuffed out in one fell swoop. Nor were the *ad hoc* commandos raised by aggrieved farmers and local veldwagtmeesters an adequate response. At best such commandos could hope to recover stolen livestock and kill the people responsible for the theft, but complete success was rare because of the tactics employed by the San.

For the most part, the San chose to attack at night, sometimes killing the Khoikhoi or slave shepherds and drovers who guarded the livestock. Reports of the cruelties which San were capable of inflicting on their victims may not all be colonial propaganda for it would be naive to think that the San would never have retaliated in kind for the atrocities inflicted upon them. The normally sympathetic Barrow reported that:

> Should they seize a Hottentot guarding his master's cattle, not content with putting him to immediate death, they torture him by every means of cruelty that their invention can frame, as drawing out his bowels, tearing off his nails, scalping, and other acts equally savage. (Barrow 1801–4:286)

During the day the attackers would have to wait until the guard fell asleep or was overcome by the excessive use of tobacco or dagga—apparently a common occurrence—before creeping up and killing him. Increasingly there were attacks on the farmhouses or persons of the colonists themselves, but these were dangerous targets. Far more vulnerable were the sheep and cattle of the frontiersmen. It was reported that the San urged the livestock away by waving lion skins about, the scent of which caused the animals to flee precipitously. Their destination was usually higher or drier areas of the interior where the horses of the pursuing commando would find it difficult to follow. Many a commando had to turn back because of lack of water for the horses, or because the trail they were following disappeared in the stony mountains. The San were not hampered to the same extent by the scarcity of water for their stolen livestock. Their objective was not to conserve the stock, but to consume it at their leisure in a secure place. If they thought they were in danger of being overtaken, they would kill or maim the animals so as to deny them to the *trekboers*. Stealing animals was not aimed at setting themselves up as pastoralists—for the most part an impossibility in their environment—but rather at striking the colonists where they were most vulnerable (Moodie 1838–42 V:33–4; Barrow 1801–4:286–7; Forbes 1975 II:110–11; Lichtenstein 1930 II:57–66).

On an open plain, mounted commando members could keep a distance of 100 to 150 paces between them and their targets, dismount, and fire with fatal effect, well out of effective range of the San's arrows. It was estimated that a San could fire between five and six arrows a minute, with accuracy at up to 80 paces (Forbes 1975 II:111–12). The advantages which horses gave to the *trekboers* made horses a prime target and the San killed them whenever they could. Collins reported, however, that by 1809 the San of the Bamboes Berg had learnt how to use horses for pursuing eland and other game but that the San of Bushmanland had still not adopted the practice (Moodie 1838–42 V:3). Mountains offered the San a refuge which nullified the power and speed of the dreaded horses. From their vantage-points on high, the San could spy the approach of a commando and take evasive action. Sometimes they would roll boulders down upon their enemies. If the worst came to the worst and the San had to stand and fight, they preferred to do so from behind boulders or caves fortified with stone walls. Their poisoned arrows were not a match for muskets and the colonists protected themselves by wearing thick clothing or advancing behind a screen made of animal hides. Nonetheless, few farmers relished the idea of advancing against a hidden enemy and dying a long, agonising death by poison (Lichtenstein 1930 II:246–50). Usually they sent their Khoikhoi auxiliaries to prise the San out of their strongholds. The safest tactic of all was the dawn ambush of a sleeping kraal. Here again the skills of Khoikhoi commando members were invaluable since it was they who were most adept at tracking the San whilst themselves remaining unseen.

Both sides in the struggle came to gauge each other's strengths and weaknesses as the century progressed. The San soon realised when horse sickness had crippled the offensive capacity of their foes and became especially bold at such times. Periods of drought forced the San to steal from the colonists' livestock in order to survive, but drought was also a good time to attack because of the difficulties of keeping a commando in the field. Periods of rain, on the other hand, washed away the livestock's spoor and caused the colonists' muskets to misfire. The colonists liked to campaign in early spring. There was good grazing for the horses in most areas and, if it was cold, the San often gave away their position by lighting fires. Farmers in the winter rainfall areas would have ploughed and planted their crops and were therefore free to wage war. In the winter it was too cold and wet for such farmers to relish commando duty. Roggeveld farmers frequently had to trek out of their region to escape the extreme cold and at such times the San broke into their abandoned farmhouses. Surprisingly they seldom burnt the houses but confined themselves, for the sake of warmth, to burning any furniture that might have been left behind (Lichtenstein 1930 II:448–9).

Actions such as these suggest that, in the end, the defeat of the San owed as much to the inadequacy of their system of representation as it did to the military superiority of the colonists. There was, in fact, a remarkably long period during which the San seemed to have the upper hand. The effectiveness of the San's guerrilla tactics in this respect cannot be doubted. What is more debatable, however, is whether the San were ever able to conceptualise, adequately, the nature of the forces that were overwhelming them. The stories and myths of the /Xam, which were collected by Bleek and Lloyd, suggest an essentially ahistorical understanding, where events and things were fitted into a conceptual grid of essentially mythic significance. Theirs was a reality which included dreams, trance, out of body travel, therianthropic forms, spirit possession and shamanistic powers. Ancient stories had great explanatory power. Certain animals had magical properties and were much easier to understand than strange white men. In fact, they were used to explain the inexplicable. "They think we are lions," said Gordon, and here we should realise that sorcerers who worked evil at night were thought to assume the form of lions (Raper & Boucher 1988 I:194; Hewitt 1986:99–100).

None of this is meant to imply that the San's mental universe was inferior to, or more absurd than, that of a Dutch frontier farmer. It is merely to say that the focused drive of the Europeans, with a cluster of concepts based upon Christian certainties, a linear sense of historical progress and a notion of power derived from material gain, proved to be of greater utility, in the long struggle for survival on the Cape frontier, than a world-view in terms of which potency derived from the spirit of a dying eland. In the short term, these beliefs sustained San resistance but, ultimately, the San world-view was no match for the savage civility of their enemies. Time would unfold the paradoxical truth that peace could be as dangerous as war as far as the San were concerned, for in the former state the insidious ideas of the colonists penetrated the minds of the San more easily and contributed to the extinction of an entire culture. The colonists, for their part, never forgot the violent hatred which they had learnt in their struggle with the San during the eighteenth century. Thus, if we seek to explain why the San perished, the answer lies not only in their supposed lack of adaptibility, but in the murderous and unchanging ideas of their foes.

Family portrait, part of the Elliot Collection at the Cape Archives, and described as "Hottentot". History of this family or photograph are presently not known. CA E2353

A Tale of Two Families: Wilhelm Bleek, Lucy Lloyd and the /Xam San of the Northern Cape

Janette Deacon

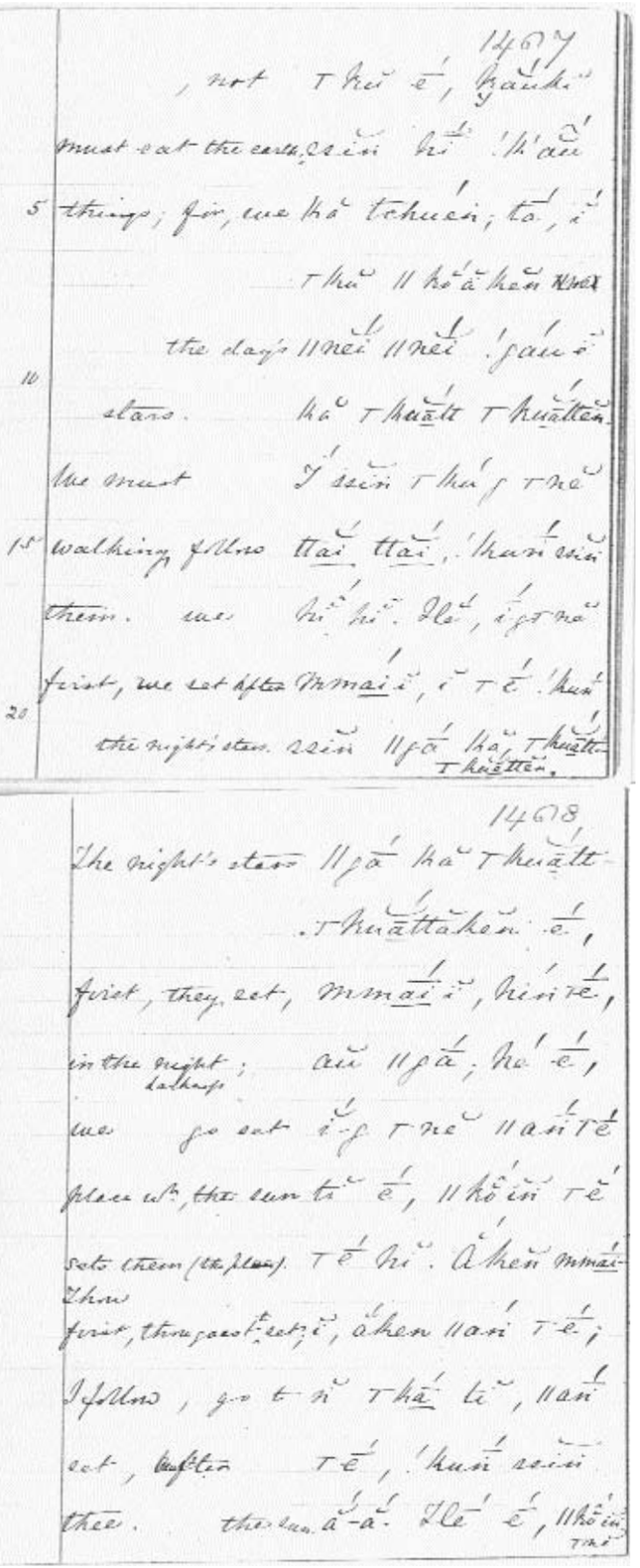
The 1870s saw the unfolding of a remarkable relationship between two families who, in the ordin-ary way, would never have met each other, much less come to know intimate details about each others' lives. On the one hand was a German immigrant and philologist Dr Wilhelm Bleek, his wife Jemima and their four daughters, and Jemima's unmarried sister, Lucy Lloyd. They lived at their home The Hill in Mowbray and moved in 1875 to Charlton House, later demolished to make way for the Mowbray Teachers' Training College.

On the other hand was an extended family of /Xam San from the north-western Cape, some of whom had been arrested for stock theft and had been sent to the Breakwater prison in Cape Town for the duration of their sentences. The patriarch was Jantje Tooren or //Kabbo, his son-in-law Klein Jantje or /Han≠kass'o, //Kabbo's nephew, Dawid Husar or Diä!kwain, and Diä!kwain's sister Griet or !Kweiten ta //ken and her husband Klaas Katkop or ≠Kásin and their three small children.

The project that drew them together was the record-ing of the /Xam San folklore and language spoken by descendants of the indigenous San of the northern Cape. Although some information on San languages had been collected earlier than the 1870s, the majority of the inter-views came from six /Xam-speaking people who taught their language to Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd and shared their folklore and personal experiences unstint-ingly. /A!kunta, //Kabbo, /Han≠kass'o, Diä!kwain, ≠Kásin and !Kweiten ta //ken were a very small sample of the descendants of the tens of thousands of Southern San who lived throughout southern Africa at the time of European contact. By the same token, in the 1870s Bleek and Lloyd were the only two, out of tens of thousands of Europeans in southern Africa, who took the trouble to learn a San language and then to write down what the San had to say. The only other recorders of the San language in South Africa were the traveller Dr H. Lichtenstein and two missionaries, the Revd C.F. Wuras and the Revd G. Krönlein, all of whom wrote down only short vocabularies and a few sentences (Bleek 1873a:2; Bleek & Lloyd 1911:441–2).

The relationship between an ethnographer or linguist and his or her subjects is a complex one. There is the inevitability of becoming involved with each other's lives and the danger of losing objectivity. Just how much 'the truth' is altered by such a process is difficult to quantify, but it is always affected in one way or another. Despite such problems, it is evident that the Bleek and Lloyd records were the result of remarkable mutual respect and co-operation between interviewers and inter-viewees. On the one side were individuals whose lives had been turned upside down by events beyond their control: colonialism and interracial conflict; on the other side was a family of scholars, committed to a cause that must have seemed esoteric in the extreme to many of their contemporaries. The thousands of hours they spent together probably led to tension and frustration as well as to a sense of achievement.

The responsibility the work placed on Lucy Lloyd and, later, on her niece Dorothea Bleek, both of whom spent a major part of their working lives on the texts, must have been considerable. This is hinted at by Lloyd in her preface to her final report (Lloyd 1889) when she apologises for the delay in submitting it, "caused by some years of overwork and many of ill-health". The


1467

, not ǂkĕ ē, ǂgaukĕ

must eat the earth, ssĭn hĭ ǂhʼaĕ

things; for, me hã ǂchuĕ, tã, ĭ

ǂhŭ ǁ hõ ā hĕn

the day's ǁnĕi ǁnĕi ǃgaĕ ĭ

stars. hã ǂkuălt ǂkuălten

We must ǂ ssĭn ǂhŭ ŋ ǂnĕ

walking follow ttăi ttăi, ǂhan ssĭn

them. me hĭ hĭ. ǁlĕ, ĭ ŋ nĕ

first, we eat after ǂmmaĭ ĭ, ĭ ǂ ē ǂhan

the night's stars. ssĭn ǁgā hã, ǂkuălten

ǂkuĕttĕn.

1468

The night's stars ǁgā hã ǂkuălt-

ǂkuăttăhĕn ē,

first, they eat, ǂmmaĭ ĭ, ǂnĭ nĕ,

in the night; aŭ ǁgā, hʼ ē,

we go eat ĭ ŋ ǂnĕ ǁnaĭ tē

place where, the sun tã ē, ǁhõ ĭŭ ǂē

sets there (the place). ǂē hĭ. ăhĕn ǂmmaĭ-

Khwe

first, the people eat ĭ, ăhen ǁnaĭ ǂē,

I follow, go ŋ ǂhă tĭ, ǁnaĭ

eat, keep tã ǂē, ǂhuĭ ssĭn

there. the sun ă-ă. ǁlĕ ē, ǁhõ ĭŭ

ǂnĭ

remarkable dedication of Lucy Lloyd and her sisters and nieces, no doubt finely honed by their Victorian sense of duty. Bleek's wish, written into a codicil in his Will (Spohr 1962:41), that they carry on with the work after his death, has meant that we are still able to use the records of /Xam folklore more than a hundred years later and to learn something new every time we read them.

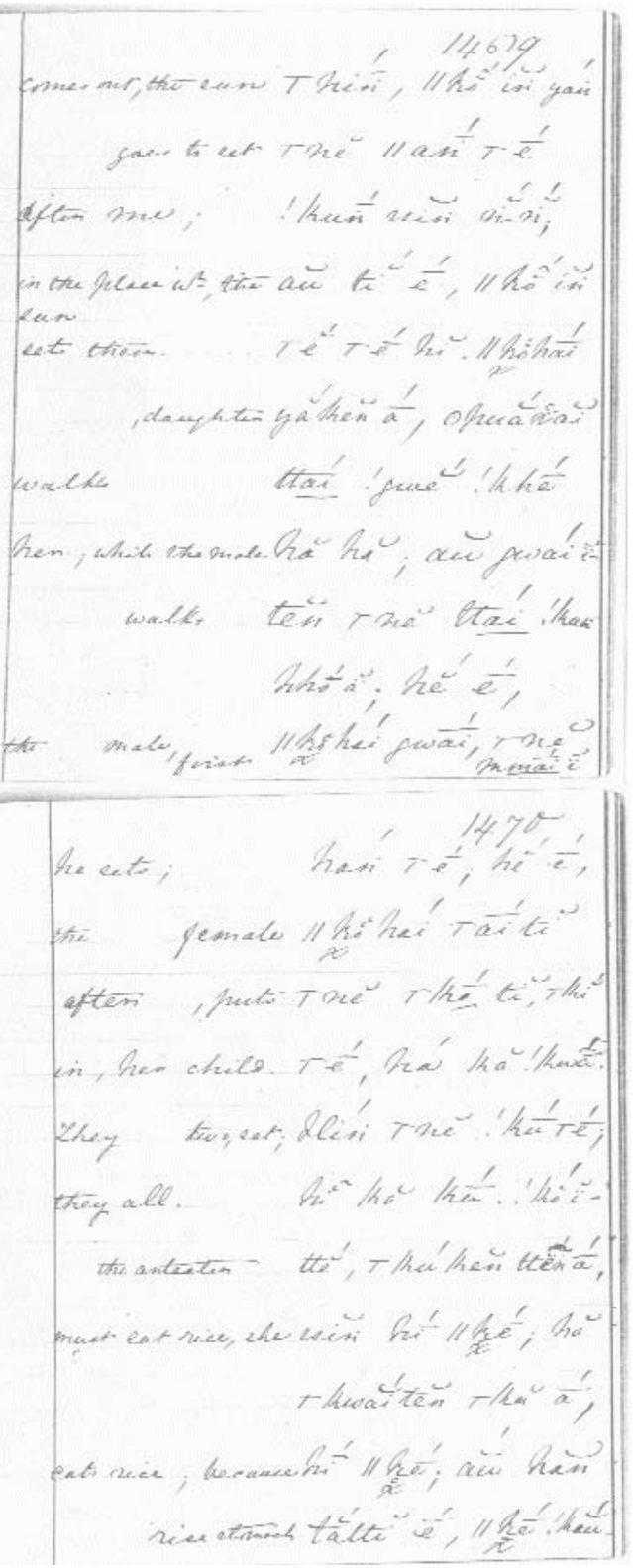
The Bleek family

Wilhelm Heinrich Immanuel Bleek, wrote librarian O.H. Spohr (1962:viii), "must have lived one of the most industrious and studious lives in nineteenth century Cape Town". It was largely the contribution that Bleek made to the recording of San language, folklore, beliefs and customs in the nineteenth century that drew these accolades. Had he not been so interested in the San while he was living in Cape Town in the 1860s and 1870s, it is doubtful that another person would have taken the same opportunities. His linguistic training led to the verbatim recording of more than 11 000 pages of testimony from /Xam San at a time when public sentiment was not in their favour and he and his family had to make many personal sacrifices.

W.H.I. Bleek was born in 1827 in Germany. His father was a professor of theology and the family was generally well connected in the academic world of the mid-nineteenth century. Bleek obtained his doctorate in linguistics at the University of Bonn in 1851 with a study that attempted to assign a North African provenance to the Khoikhoi (Hottentot) language (Spohr 1962:2). It was the idea that a single language had at one time been spoken by all African people from Egypt to the Cape that sparked Bleek's long-term interest in studying the San language, but once he began learning the San language he soon realised that there was, in fact, no connection at all between Ancient Egyptian and the Khoisan language family (Thornton 1983b). Bleek married Jemima, one of the daughters of Archdeacon W.H.C. Lloyd, in Cape Town in 1862. Her sister, Lucy, who never married, was to play a major role in the collection, publication and curation of the San texts when she came to live with Bleek and his family at their home in Mowbray.

As librarian for the Sir George Grey collection which had been presented to the South African Library in 1862, Bleek worked hard to make Grey's library "the most complete collection of material on aboriginal languages from all over the world" and particularly from southern Africa (Spohr 1962:17), taking whatever opportunities came his way to meet San and to attempt to learn something of their language. He wrote to several missionaries in 1861 asking for collections of "Native literature" and amongst those who responded was the Revd W. Krönlein with Namaqua texts that Bleek published a few years later (Bleek 1864:xi). His list of encounters with San-speaking people (Bleek 1873a:2) includes interviews in 1857 with people from the neighbourhoods of

Figure 1 **Dr Wilhelm H.I. Bleek in 1862 at about the time of his marriage to Jemima Lloyd.** SAL (courtesy of Dr K. Scott)



Colesberg and Burghersdorp, who were at that time at Robben Island and in the Cape Town Gaol and House of Correction. He concluded that the different San dialects spoken within the Cape Colony varied very little from each other, and that one language, quite different from Khoekhoe (Hottentot), was spoken by all the San.

Although not trained as an anthropologist or ethnographer, Bleek was very much aware of the techniques used by such researchers and tried hard to comply with their norms. He took pains, for example, to find out where the informants came from and to compile and cross-check their genealogies (Bleek & Lloyd 1911:437). He also arranged for photographs and measurements to be taken of the men at the Breakwater Prison "according to Professor Huxley's directions" (Bleek & Lloyd 1911:437–8). In his report to the Secretary for Native Affairs (Bleek 1875:1–3), Bleek wrote of the San literature he had collected thus far:

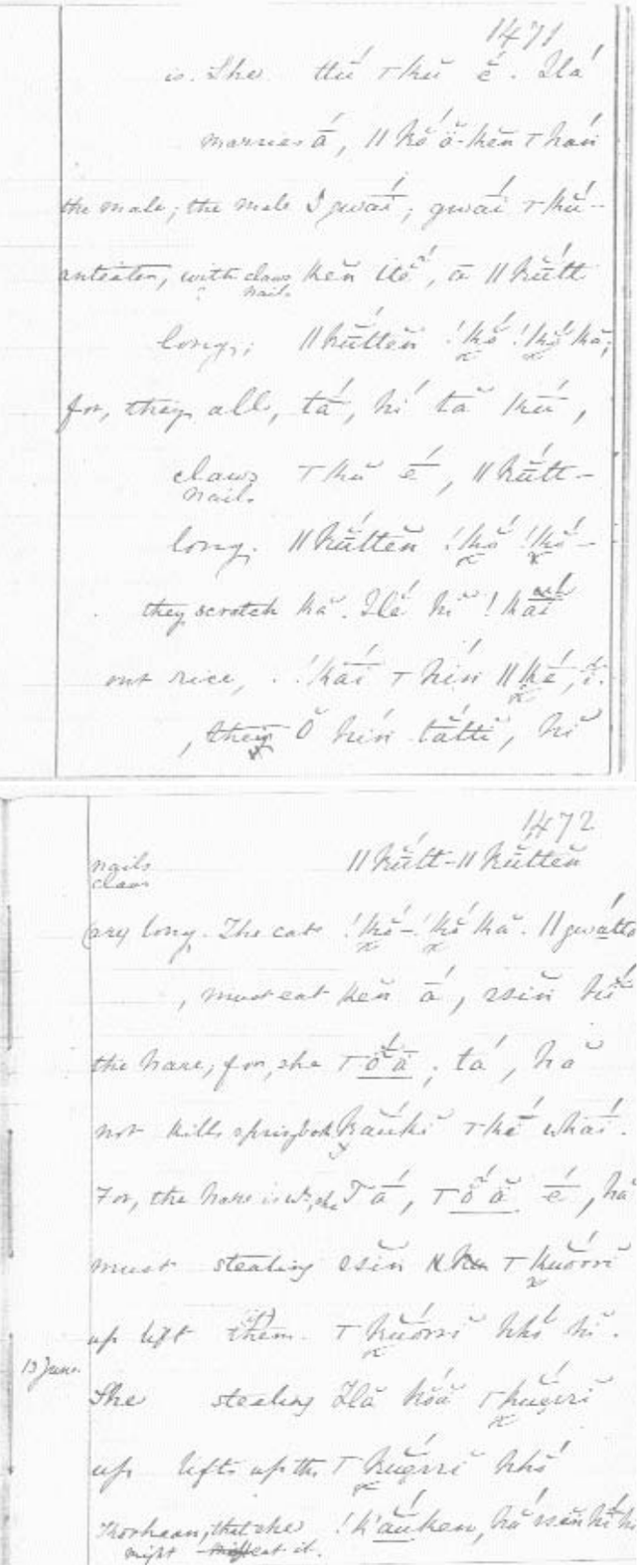
> Its richness has been a surprise even to me, although I have held the belief for many years that every nation, even the lowest, possesses an original literature, which is handed down from generation to generation.

Plagued by ill-health, Bleek passed much of the work of transcription and translation to his sister-in-law Lucy Lloyd (Spohr 1962:50 n.33). Wilhelm Bleek died at the age of 48 years on 17 August 1875 and was buried in the Anglican cemetery in Wynberg.

Lucy Catherine Lloyd was born on 7 November 1834 and was thus seven years younger than Wilhelm Bleek. Although she frequently cited ill health as a reason for not publishing the /Xam San manuscripts until nearly 40 years after the first interviews were held, she lived to the age of 80. She was in her late thirties when she began assisting Bleek with the /Xam interviews and texts. She showed a great deal of initiative in arranging for one more of the /Xam San, /Han≠kass'o, to live at the Bleek home in 1878 and 1879, for a family of four Koranna from Kimberley to be there in 1879 and for four !Kung boys from Damaraland to be there for varying periods between 1879 and 1884. She also interviewed several other San-speaking people who were in Cape Town for one reason or another in the late 1870s and early 1880s.

In accordance with Bleek's wishes, Jemima and Lucy continued with the /Xam San researches. They each wrote to Sir George Grey after Bleek's death and told him that Bleek had wished Lucy Lloyd to take over the work of cataloguing the Grey Collection at the South African Library as well. Soon after 1884, Lucy Lloyd went to live in Europe for about 20 years, returning to live again with Jemima and several of her daughters some time between 1905 and 1907. Jemima had left Cape Town in 1883 to educate the four girls in Germany with the assistance of Wilhelm's family (Eberhard & Twentyman-Jones, in press).

Figure 2 **Lucy Catherine Lloyd in the 1870s.**
SAL (courtesy of Dr K. Scott)



1471

is. She tkū ǂkŭ ē. Ila

marries ā, ǁkŏ ŏ-kĕn ǂkaĭ

the male; the male ǂgwaĭ, gwaĭ ǂkŭ

anteater, with claw kĕn kŏ, ā ǁkăllĕ

long; ǁkăllĕn ǂkŏ ǂkŏ ǂkŏ

for, they all, ta, ki ta ǂkŭ,

claws ǂkŭ ē, ǁkăllĕ

long. ǁkăllĕn ǂkŏ ǂkŏ

they scratch kŭ. Ile ki ǂkaĭ

out nice, ǂkaĭ ǂkĭn ǁkĕ

, they ŏ kĭn kăllĕ, ki

1472

nails claws ǁkăllĕ-ǁkăllĕn

very long. This cat ǂkŏ-ǂkŏ kă. ǁgwallĕ

, must eat kĕn ā, ǂkĭn ki

the hare, for she ǂŏā, ta, ka

not kill springbok kaukŭ ǂkĕ ǂkaĭ.

For, the hare is ǂkĕ ta, ǂŏă ē, ka

must stealing ŏ ǂkĭn

up left them ǂkŭrrĭ ǂkŏ kŭ.

13 Jan. She stealing Ila ǂkŭa ǂkŭrrĭ

up left up the ǂkŭrrĭ ǂkŏ

Morkeau, that she ǂkaukau, ka ǂkĭn

might suspect it.

Figure 3 **Dr Lucy Lloyd at the age of 78 when she was awarded an honorary doctorate at the University of the Cape of Good Hope in 1912.** UCT BC151 B12:37

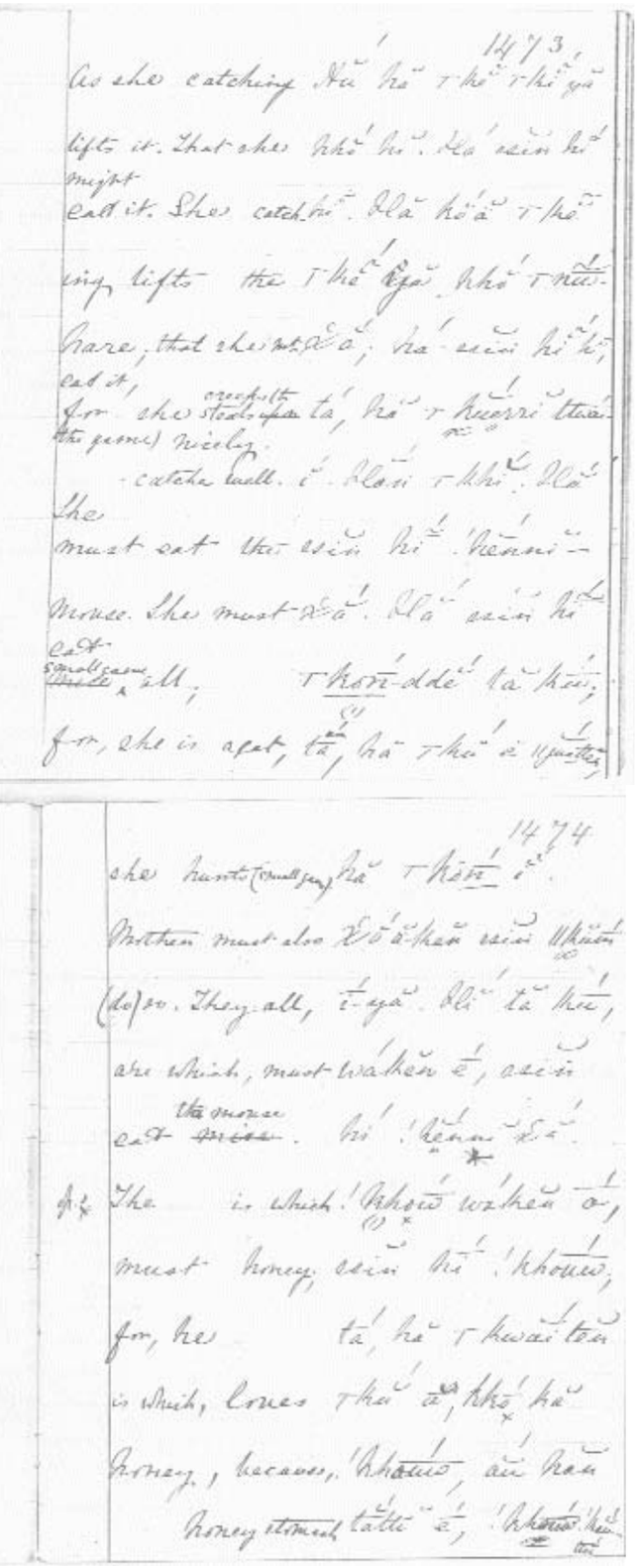
Some notion of the strictures this must have placed on the joint income of Jemima and Lucy is given in a charming description of their circumstances by Elizabeth Lees Price, a daughter of Robert Moffatt and sister-in-law of David Livingstone. She wrote to her children in February 1879:

> As we were coming away, I noticed a lady with two little girls pass us. She was dressed like a Quakeress for neat simplicity, only not the ugly bonnet—but a broad straw hat—and her little daughters were the same. I was so struck with them, because everybody else is so highly & foolishly fashionable, blackies and all, and there was such a chaste & a pretty simplicity about this trio. [The letter goes on to describe how they had visited Miss Lloyd in the Library and found that the 'Quaker-like lady' was Mrs Bleek.] Mrs Bleek immediately invited us out all together to her country house at Mowbray . . . These ladies are great students of Bushman & other African languages & habits. They just plied Papa with questions innumerable about Bushmen & Bechwanas & made notes of his answers sometimes. All the sisters (four) dressed in the same neat way, and the house was very very plain and simply furnished, with very little indeed in the way of ornament, a little too plain & bare I thought, but it was such a relief to feel in the company of people, refined, intellectual & cultivated, yet simple & homely as the humblest cottagers. Everything was *beautifully* clean, and strictly in order, and the food was just deliciously prepared & plenty of every thing . . . Mrs Bleek has a Bushman family—father, mother & two children—living on their premises, expressly for the purpose of learning & studying their language. (quoted in Long 1956)

Figure 4 **Dorothea Bleek surrounded by other delegates to an anthropological conference in Berlin.** UCT BC151 B12:18

Lucy Lloyd's interest in the San was not restricted to the people she and Bleek had interviewed, however. She was secretary of the South African Folklore Society for a time and was instrumental in purchasing Stow's manuscript and copies of rock paintings and then assisting G. McC. Theal in publishing the book as the *Native Races of South Africa* (Stow 1905). Her most important publication was undoubtedly *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*. It was prepared with the assistance of two of her nieces, Edith and Dorothea Bleek, and reflects her thorough knowledge of the material and her great attention to detail. In 1912 the University of the Cape of Good Hope

Figure 5 **Dorothea Bleek.** UCT BC151 B12:17


14473
As she catching ǂnu ǁhã ᵀkhẽ ᵀhĩ ŋa
lifts it. That she ǂkhẽ ǁhĩ. ǂla ǁeĩ ǁhĩ
might
eat it. She catch hĩ. ǂla ǁõã ᵀkhẽ
ing lifts the ᵀhẽ ŋa. ǂkhẽ ᵀnĩ
hare, that she ǁõã; ǁha ǁeĩ ǁhĩ ǁhĩ,
eat it,
for she ᵀsteal ta, ǁha ᵀǂkuri ᵀtaã
the game) nicely.
catch buck. ĩ ǂlaĩ ᵀkhĩ. ǂla
She
must eat the ǁeĩ ǁhĩ ǂhaĩ
Meat. She must ǂõã. ǂla ǁeĩ ǁhĩ
eat
small game
buck all, ᵀkhoĩ-dde ta ǁhaĩ,
for, she is apat, ta, ǁha ᵀkhẽ i ŋ
1474
she hunts (small game) ǁha ᵀkhoĩ i.
Mother must also ǂõ ǂ-khaĩ ǁeĩ ǂkhaĩ
(do)so. They all, ĩ-ŋa. ǂli ta ǁha,
are which, must-walken ĩ, ǁeĩ
the more
eat meat. ǁhĩ ǂhaĩ ǂõ.
The is which. ǂkhoĩ walkeĩ ŋ,
must honey, ǁeĩ ǁhĩ ǂkhoĩ,
for, he ta, ǁha ᵀkwai taĩ
is which, loves ᵀkhẽ ã, khõ ǁhẽ
honey, because, ǂkhoĩ, ãĩ ǂaã
honey stomach tatte ĩ, ǂkhoĩ ǂhaĩ

recognised her contribution and, at the age of 78, she became the first woman in South Africa to be awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature.

Lloyd trained her niece Dorothea (Doris) Bleek to take over the work of translating and publishing the /Xam and !Kung texts. Dorothea was born in 1873, about two-and-a-half years before her father died. She was the second youngest of the four Bleek daughters who reached adulthood, a son and a daughter having died in infancy. After attending school in Germany and Switzerland, Dorothea trained as a teacher in Berlin and also studied at the School of Oriental Languages in London (Eberhard & Twentyman-Jones, in press).

Dorothea, too, was in her late thirties when she began her San studies in earnest. She was the first member of her family to visit the northern Cape when, in 1910 and 1911, a few years before the death of Lucy Lloyd in 1913, she went to Prieska and Kenhardt to try to find descendants or relatives of the people her father and aunt had interviewed. The only such person she met was /Ogan-an who told her that they had disappeared from Salt River in 1884 because they walked back home. They had asked a policeman for directions and he had showed them the way (Bleek 1936b:202). None of those she met knew any folklore (Bleek 1936b:202), but they still sang and danced. She recalled later:

> Even at Prieska, the very old started the dance of former days after a feast of meat. (Bleek 1924:ix)

She was accompanied on that occasion by staff members of the South African Museum who took a series of photographs and casts of people whom "the elders themselves guaranteed" were of "pure Bushman descent" (Bleek 1936b:203). Some of the casts are still on display in the museum (Davison 1993).

In 1920–1 and again in 1921–2 she travelled across the Orange River into present-day Botswana with a team from the South African Museum, and later by herself with an interpreter, to study the Naron and their language. The results of this research were published in 1928. Apart from the collection published as *The Mantis and his Friends* (Bleek 1924), Dorothea Bleek was in her late fifties and early sixties before she began selecting for publication some of the /Xam texts entrusted to her care by Lucy Lloyd. They appeared in nine papers in *Bantu Studies* between 1931 and 1936, with a further contribution on photographs taken during her 1910–11 trip to the northern Cape. The *Bushman Dictionary*, begun by her father in the 1860s, was eventually published after Dorothea's death (Bleek 1956).

The /Xam family

The six informants whose histories are described later came from two dialectal groups: the Flat Bushmen who lived between Kenhardt and Vanwyksvlei, and the Grass

Figure 6 **Sonkia-bo, first cousin of /Ogan-an, the /Xam woman who visited Cape Town in 1884 and was photographed for the cover of *Specimens of Bushman Folklore* (Bleek & Lloyd 1911). This photograph was taken by Dorothea Bleek in Kenhardt in 1910.** UCT BC151 J2.1

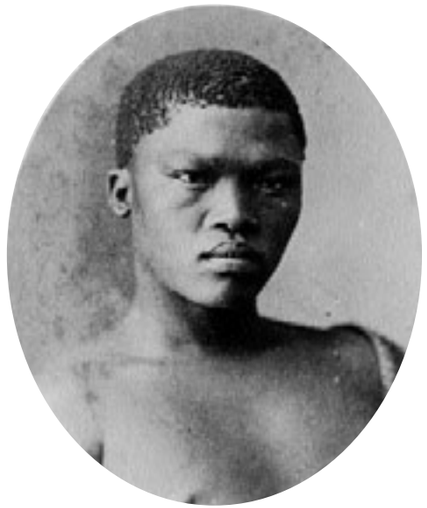


Figure 7 **/A!kunta (Klaas Stoffel) at the Breakwater prison in 1870.** SAL INIL 14141 (Album 167).

Bushmen who lived to the west between Kenhardt and Brandvlei. Between them were the Har (also called the Hardast or Hartbees) River Bushmen who lived along the Hartbees River in the vicinity of Kenhardt, and to the south were the Berg Bushmen who lived in the Kareeberg (Deacon 1986; 1988).

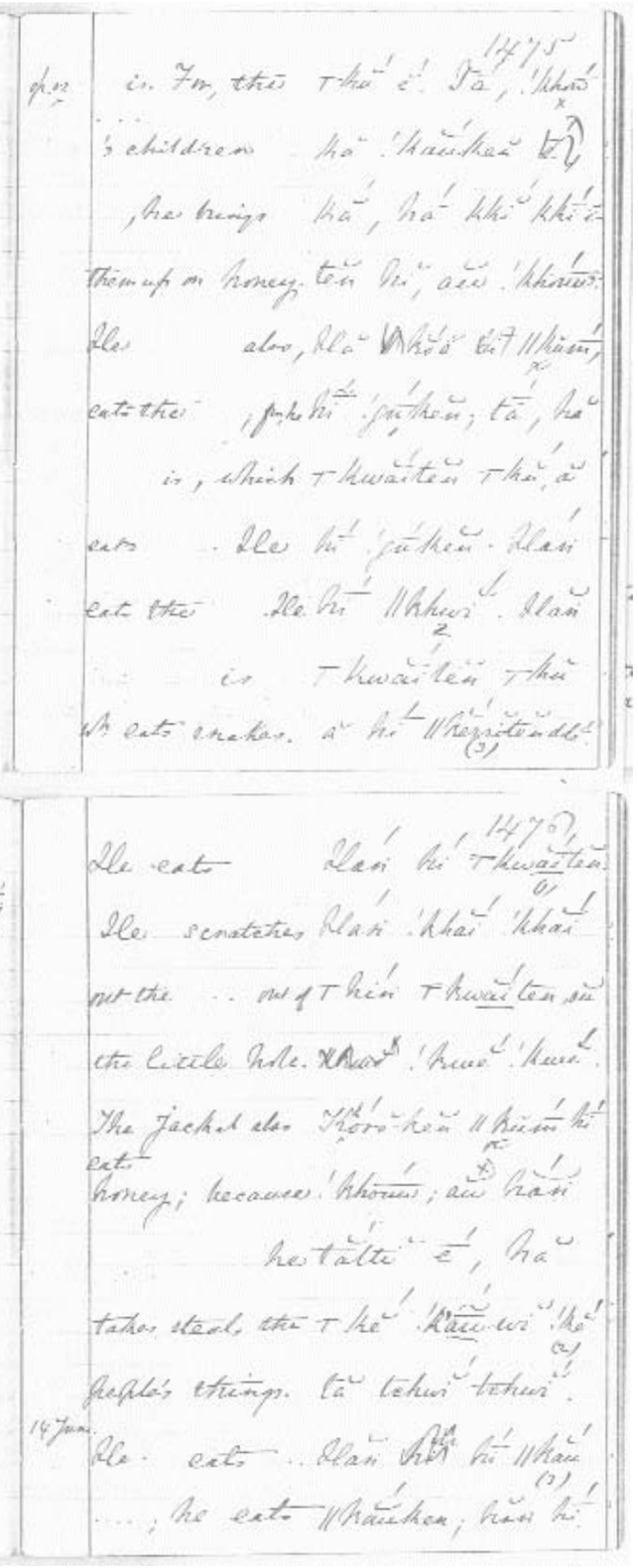
The boundaries between these groups were elastic. The informants knew individuals from all the neighbouring groupings, they intermarried, they used the services of the same rain makers and sorcerors and they conducted trade amongst themselves. While acknowledging different customs such as the materials used for making sieves, the animal skins used for clothing and the animals they ate (Deacon 1986:151), there was a feeling of cohesion amongst them that contrasted with the relative animosity they felt towards the Koranna and the Europeans (Deacon 1986:150).

Although the informants' home language was /Xam, they had all had some contact with European colonists by the time of their arrest and some had even worked for farmers for short periods. They therefore knew a little Dutch and it was through the medium of this language that Bleek and Lloyd were first able to converse with them (Lewis-Williams 1981:25–7). It seems, too, that they quickly learned to act out sentences to make their meaning clear and also learned some English. They were especially fond of music and the "*Dead March in Saul*" was a favourite (Bleek & Bleek 1909:40–1). Although they were all knowledgeable about hunting and collecting wild plant foods (Lewis-Williams 1981:28; Deacon 1986; 1988; Hewitt 1986:31 ff), their hunter-gatherer lifestyle had been impeded by the influx of settled farmers. Their artefacts, too, had changed and included items such as guns, knives, spoons and iron pots.

The 'Flat Bushmen'

It was //Kabbo who explained that the Flat Bushmen were so called because the country they lived in was very flat. It lies to the east of the Groot Vloer and Verneukpan, an internal drainage basin into which the Sak River flows from the south-west and the Hartogskloof River flows from the south. To the east of the pans, the Hartbees River bed leads northward to the Orange River. For most of the year, and sometimes for years at a time, however, neither the pans nor the rivers have any visible water although mirages are commonplace.

At the northern end of the Flat Bushman territory is the small town of Kenhardt and 150 kilometres south-south-east of the territory is the even smaller village of Vanwyksvlei. The Kareeberg range lies about 30–50 kilometres south of this village. The Flat Bushman country is traversed by a series of dry river beds or '*Leegtes*' and by dolerite dykes—low hills capped with large brown boulders. The weathered outer crust of the dolerite provides an ideal surface for rock engravings and there are at least



ten rock art sites in this vicinity. Semi-desert conditions prevail and as a result the vegetation is low, sparse scrub with a few thorn trees where the water-table comes close to the surface. After rain, the grass grows rapidly but does not last longer than a few months.

Not long after he arrived at Mowbray, //Kabbo gave Dr Bleek sufficient information to enable him to draw a sketch map indicating the position of //Kabbo's home, the Bitterpits (or Bitterputs), in relation to the places where other Breakwater prisoners and //Kabbo's friends and relatives lived. Details of the map have been published elsewhere (Deacon 1986; 1988).

/A!kunta

/A!kunta, or Klaas Stoffel, was described as a "youth" aged about 18 and was the first of the Breakwater prisoners to stay at the Bleek home. He was there from 29 August 1870 to 15 October 1873 (Bleek & Lloyd 1911:x), yet contributed only two folktales and a number of pages of words and sentences, presumably because he was too young to know much about story-telling (Hewitt 1986:49). His testimony is recorded in several of Bleek's notebooks and in those labelled LI amongst Lloyd's. In a list of /Xam prisoners at the Breakwater, probably compiled in December 1871 to accompany the photographs taken for Professor Huxley and the British government (see Bleek & Lloyd 1911:434 ff), he was measured as being 4 foot 11½ inches tall. His convict number was 4636 which indicates that he was one of the same party of /Xam admitted with //Kabbo and /Han≠kass'o. He was married to Ka (Marie), but they had no children at the time.

Several other men who came from the Flat Bushman area and were arrested with the two brothers were interviewed and photographed at the Breakwater in the early 1870s. Those whose genealogies were recorded included //Kabathin (Swartbooi or Saarbai) and his brother /Xaitatin (Lellerbay), !Gubbu (Koos Toontjie), Khaurru (Soopie), Kushi (Koos Pleitje), Tshorru (Cornelis), /Kan (Jacob Nijn), /Hankum (Marcus) and !Xwarriitten (Jacob Nel).

//Kabbo

//Kabbo or "Dream", also known as Oud Jantje Tooren, was estimated by Bleek to have been about 55 to 60 years old in 1871. Prisoner number 4628, he was recorded as being 5 foot tall. He stayed at the Bleek home from 16 February 1871 and left with /A!kunta on 15 October 1873. Lloyd tried, through the help of Mr C. St L. Devenish at Vanwyksvlei, to contact //Kabbo and ask him to return, but he died on 25 January 1876 (Lloyd 1889:1). His widow, !Kwabba-an, died in January of the following year before she could travel to Cape Town (op. cit.).

//Kabbo's genealogy goes back to his grandparents (BCA 151:1, 9, 5, 11, 12) and also includes mention of his

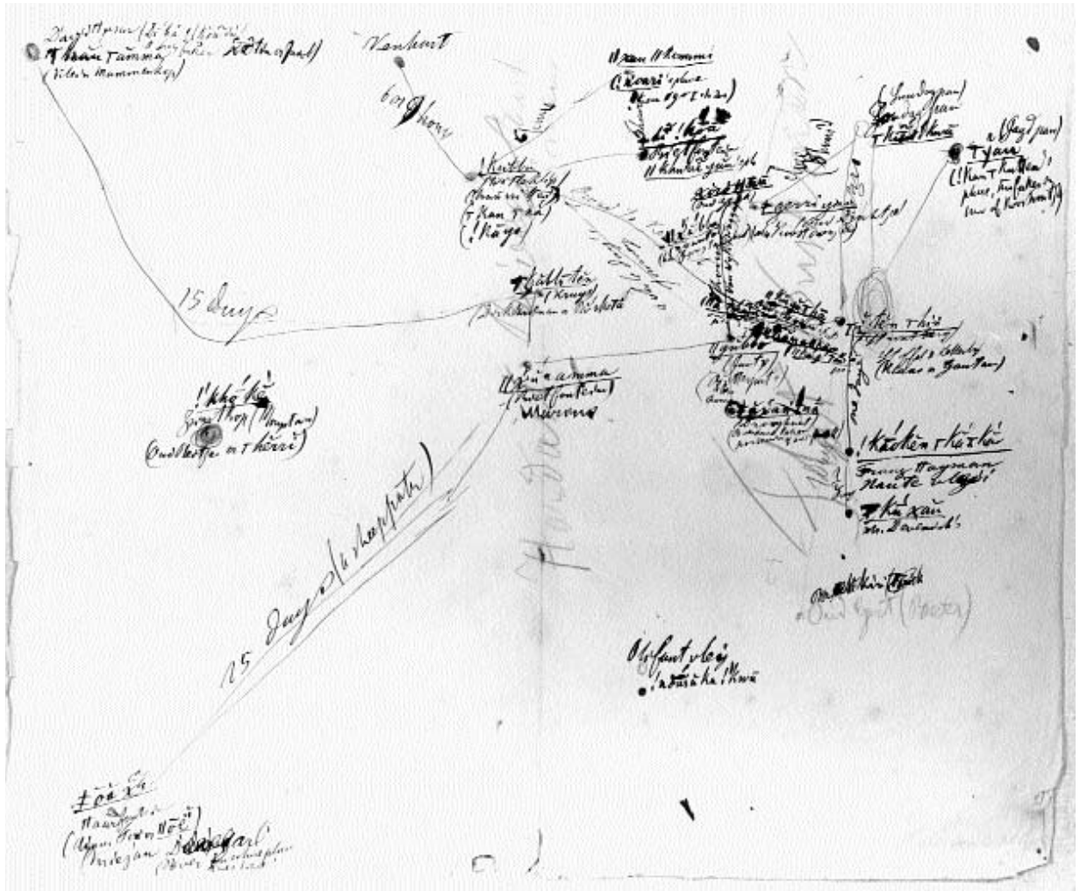


Figure 8 **Map of the area between Kenhardt, Brandvlei and Vanwyksvlei drawn by Bleek with information from //Kabbo in 1870.** UCT BC151

father's brother, //A/khain yan or Oud Bastard, who lived at the Blaauwputs and Oud Bastards Puts south of the Bitterpits (B–II:371) (Deacon 1986:142).

//Kabbo's father was Goa/ya (also spelled /Ku/ya) and his mother was !Kwi-an. Her mother, ≠Giri, was said to have been killed by a lion and ≠Giri's first husband and Goa/ya's father, /Torrono, was killed by a rhino. Her second husband, /To/na, died of starvation. ≠Giri was said to have been a *!gixa* or sorceress (LII–37:3337 rev). ≠Giri and /Torrono were not only //Kabbo's maternal grandparents, but were also paternal grandparents to !Kwabba-an, //Kabbo's wife. //Kabbo and !Kwabba-an were therefore first cousins.

//Kabbo and !Kwabba-an (also spelled !Kuobba-an), or Oude Lies, had two children: Suobba-//kein or Sarke (Sarah) who married /Han≠kass'o and died only a year after her mother, and //Goo-ka-!kui, "Smoke's Man" or Witbooi Tooren. Also amongst his household was Betje, the daughter of his elder brother, whose parents died when she was young. She was older than //Kabbo's children and moved away after she was married (Bleek & Lloyd 1911:307–9).

//Goo-ka-!kui does not appear to have been arrested at the same time as his father. /Han≠kass'o told Lloyd in 1878 that //Goo-ka-!kui had 'seen the wind' at Haarfontein while working at Hartogs Kloof for a Bastard farmer named Jacob Kotze and his wife Silla, a /Xam San woman (Bleek & Lloyd 1911:111–13). /Han≠kass'o had also lived there at one time. Hartogs Kloof is about 50 kilometres south-west of the Bitterpits where //Kabbo and /Han≠kass'o were living at the time they were arrested (see Deacon 1986).

Fragments from the "Dawn' s-Heart"

This story was told to Lucy Lloyd by //Kabbo in the early 1870s. It is a sidereal of some considerable length. Bleek described it as follows: "The Stars are divided into night stars and dawn stars. The latter are the subjects of some very fine and complicated mythological conceptions, of which we evidently possess, as yet, only fragments. –The "Dawn' s-Heart" (the star Jupiter) has a daughter, who is identified with some neighbouring star preceding Jupiter (at the time when we asked, it was Regulus or *Alpha* Leonis). Her name is the "Dawn' s-Heart-child," and her relation to her father is somewhat mysterious. He calls her "my heart", he swallows her, then walks alone as the only Dawn' s Heart Star, and, when she is grown up, he spits her out again. She then herself becomes another (female) Dawn' s-Heart, and spits out another Dawn' s-Heart-child, which follows the male and female Dawn' s-Heart. The mother of the latter, the first-mentioned Dawn' s-Heart' s wife, was the Lynx, who was then a beautiful woman, with a younger sister who carried her digging-stick after her. The Dawn' s-Heart hid the child under the leaves of an edible root (*!kúissi*), where he thought that his wife would come and find it. Other animals and birds arrived first, and each proposed herself to the Dawn' s-Heart-child as its mother; but they were mocked at by the child, until at last it recognized its own mother. Among the insulted animals were the Jackal and the Hyena, who, to revenge themselves, bewitched the mother (Lynx) with some poisoned "Bushman rice" (so-called "ants' eggs"), by which means she was transformed into a lioness. In the dark, the Hyena tried to take her (the Lynx' s) place in the hut, on the return of the Dawn' s-Heart; but the imposture was made known to him by his sister-in-law. The Dawn' s-Heart tried to stab the Hyena with his assegai, but missed her. She fled, putting her foot into the fire, and burning it severely. The bewitched wife was enticed out of the reeds by her younger sister, and then caught by her brothers, who pulled off the lion skin, so that she became a fair woman again. But, in consequence of having been bewitched by "Bushman rice", she could no longer eat that, and was changed into a lynx, who ate meat.–This myth, which contains many minor, and some beautiful incidents, is partly given in the form of a narrative, and partly in discourses addressed by the Dawn' s-Heart to his daughter, as well as in speeches made by the Hyena and her parents, after her flight home."

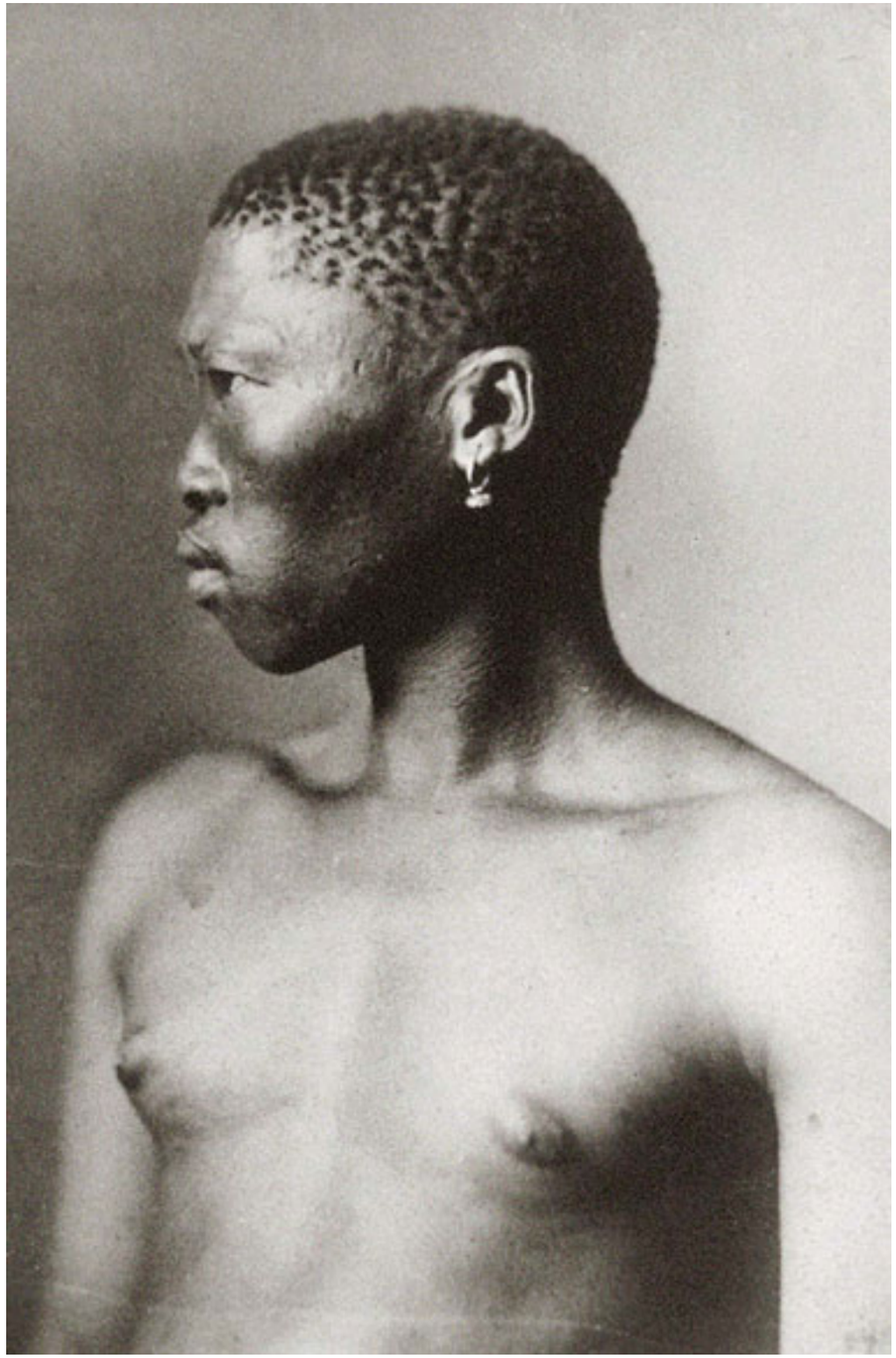
(Bleek 1875:11)

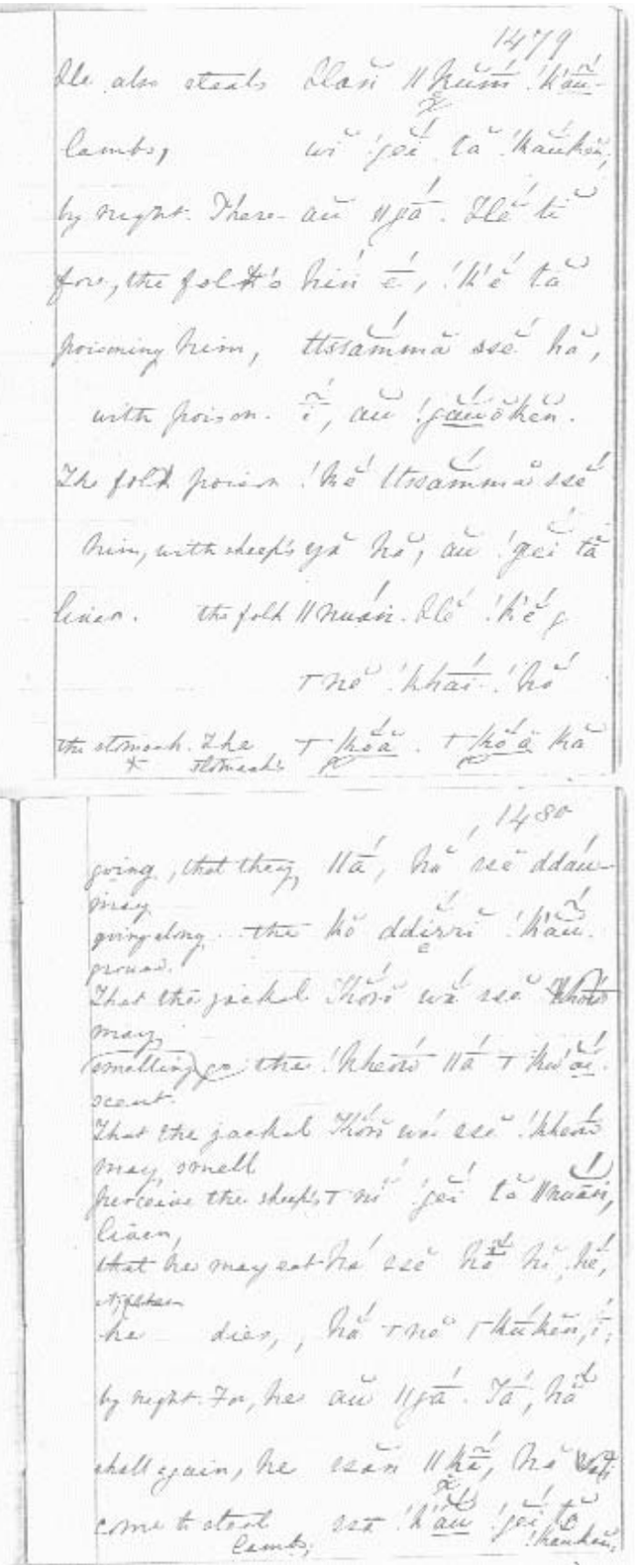
Figure 9 **//Kabbo (Oud Jantje Tooren) in Cape Town in 1870.** SAL INIL 14138 (Album 167): SAM neg no 683

//Kabbo's abilities as a story-teller were a great improvement on those of /A!kunta and his accounts were lively and entertaining. More importantly, many narratives came from his own experience. His name, translated as "Dream", his references to events in his life and his descriptions of rain making, presentiments and healing suggest he was a shaman and a rain maker (Lewis-Williams 1981:27). A highly respected rain maker, /Kannu or /Kaunu, was said to be "//Kabbo's person" (Bleek 1933b:391) who "possessed locusts and rain" (Bleek 1933b:388, 391). //Kabbo described how he himself had made it rain in Mowbray while in a dream (LII–6: 625–31) and /Han≠kass'o related that //Kabbo "had Mantises, he was a Mantis's man . . . !Gurritan-de was a springbok sorcerer, he had springbok" (Bleek 1936a:143–4; see also Lewis-Williams 1981:27).

//Kabbo spoke poignantly to Bleek and Lloyd about his home and his longing to return and "He much enjoyed the thought that the Bushman stories would become known by means of books," (Bleek & Lloyd 1911:x). The importance of the part that stories played in his life is related in a piece entitled //*Kabbo's Intended Return Home* (Bleek & Lloyd 1911:299–317), given in July and August 1873, a few months before his departure from Cape Town in mid October. He explained to Bleek that a story "is like the wind, it comes from a far-off quarter, and we feel it" and went on:

Figure 10
/Han≠kass' o or Klein Jantje in Cape Town in 1878.
CA M1034; SAL, PHA:Khoisan: modern; SAM neg no. 804b





The Flat Bushmen go to each other's huts; that they may smoking sit in front of them. Therefore, they obtain stories at them; because they are used to visit; for smoking's people they are. (Bleek & Lloyd 1911:301–3)

Further remarks in the same narrative give an inkling of the way in which he and Bleek worked together, of his perceived place in the Bleek household and of his expectations regarding the reward he might receive for the work he had done in Cape Town:

> I ought to talk with my fellow men; for, I work here, together with women; and I do not talk with them; for, they merely send me to work . . . (Bleek & Lloyd 1911:303)

> Therefore, I must sit waiting for the Sundays on which I remain here, on which I continue to teach thee. I do not again await another moon . . . For I have sat waiting for the boots, that I must put on to walk in . . . I should reach my place, when the trees are dry. For, I shall walk, letting the flowers become dry while I still follow the path . . . for, I must remain at my (own) place, the name of which I have told my Master . . . he knows, (having) put it down. And thus my name is plain (beside it). It is there that I sit waiting for the gun; and then, he will send the gun to me there . . . For, starvation was that on account of which I was bound . . . when I starving turned back from following the sheep. Therefore, I lived with him, that I might get a gun from him; that I might possess it; that I might myself shoot, feeding myself, while I do not eat my companions' food. For I eat my (own) game. (Bleek & Lloyd 1911:316–17)

/Han≠kass'o

/Han≠kass'o, or Klein Jantje, was not selected as a possible informant initially and went home in November 1871 after his sentence had been served at the Breakwater as convict number 4630. His prison record shows no misdemeanours, only a reward of 6 shillings given in November 1870 for good work at school (CA, PBW Vol 144, Reward and Punishment Book Vol 2: 1869–73). His age was estimated by the prison authorities at about 21 years in 1869, which would have made him 30 when he returned to Cape Town. His height was given as 5 foot.

/Han≠kass'o was at Mowbray for nearly two years, from 10 January 1878 to December 1879, but his journey there was a traumatic one. At the request of Lucy Lloyd (Lloyd 1889:3), /Han≠kass'o and his wife Suobba-//kein, //Kabbo's daughter, left their small son, !Hu!hun, with friends and travelled from Vanwyksvlei in April 1877 with an infant child. When they reached Beaufort West their baby died and in December Suobba-//kein, in poor health as a result of a brutal attack by a policeman (Bleek & Bleek 1909:41), could not travel further and also died. /Han≠kass'o went on to Cape Town alone but, throughout his time there, was worried about !Hu!hun and was anxious to return home. Edith and Dorothea Bleek recalled that:

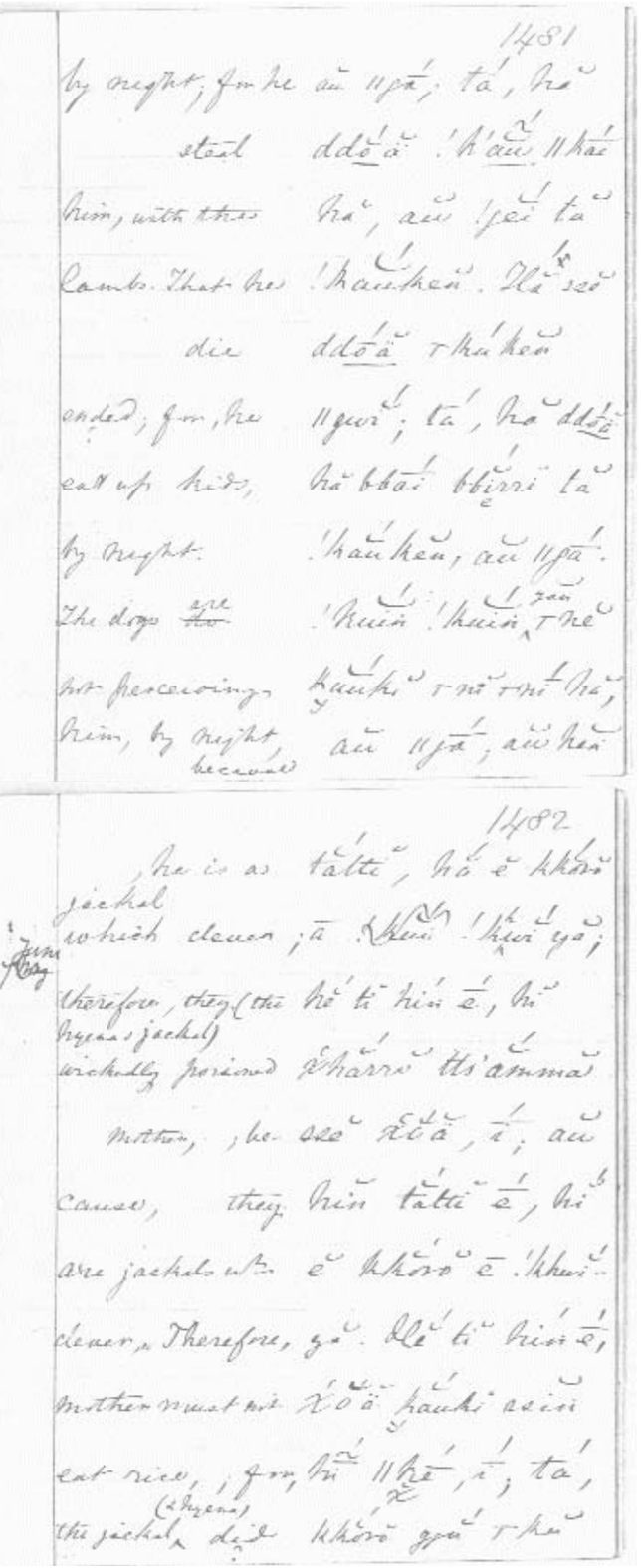
Figure 11 **Diä!kwain' s drawings of the Agama lizard** (top) UCT BC151 D2.6.1-61; **and /Han≠kass' o' s drawing (1878) of the lizard mountain (the Strandberg) into which the !khau (a lizard of the genus *Agama*) was changed when cut into two pieces. He names them as follows: 1. !guru-/na. 2. /xe !khwai. 3. /xe !khwai ta !kau ka ti-0 pua (Bleek & Lloyd 1911:215)** (middle) UCT BC151 D2:6; **and an aerial photograph of the Strandberg** (bottom) Trig Survey

> Jantje, . . . like the others, was gentle and kindly, but as a rule much graver. Children gave him great pleasure. He would play with the baby and make presents for the little ones' birthdays, a tiny bow and arrows, a doll's chair or a *!goin !goin.* (Bleek & Bleek 1909:41)

/Han≠kass'o's father was Zzorri or Zzorrittu, a Mountain or Berg Bushman from /khu kumm, who did not have a Dutch name as he died before the Boers came to that part of the country (LVIII-1:6052–3). His mother, /Kabbi-an, also spelled /Xabbi-an, or Oud Sarah, was a Flat Bushman woman from //-ku-ke (*ibid.*). Her father, Ts'ats'i, also spelled Tssatssi (Bleek & Lloyd 1911:372) and Tsatsi (359), was related to the rain maker //Kunn or Coos Groot Oog (Bleek 1933b:387) who lived at !khai /ku or Evicass Pits (Bleek & Lloyd 1911:323n). This place is probably the present-day spring at Abiquaputs about 30 kilometres east of Brandvlei. Ts'ats'i was also known to Diä!kwain (Bleek 1933b:385). Ts'ats'i's mother Ddorruken, was killed by a lion (BCA 151).

/Han≠kass'o's factual accounts of landmarks in the Flat Bushman country, as well as his additional information on people he and //Kabbo knew, have been useful in building up a picture of their life-style and customs (Lewis-Williams 1981; Deacon 1986; 1988; Hewitt 1986). His descriptions of the making of artefacts such as arrows and dancing rattles, and of the collecting of materials for artefacts reflect his practical nature (Bleek & Lloyd 1911:348–63). On the other hand, his description of the making of clay pots (Bleek & Lloyd 1911:342–7) leaves out the all-important stage of firing. Of particular interest are his interpretations of copies of rock paintings, such as the panel from Ezeljagdspoort (Lewis-Williams *et al.* 1993), which link the rock art unequivocally with rain making. An account of the way in which *//hara* (specularite) and *tto* (red ochre) were collected and the customs surrounding these practices underscores the ritual significance of paint (Bleek & Lloyd 1911:374–9).

Guenther (1989:29) votes /Han≠kass'o the best storyteller amongst the /Xam and Hewitt (1986:236, 243) praises the fluent way in which his narratives are constructed. He provided the largest number of songs and 'poems' and gave very lively performances, although he elaborated dialogue within the narratives to a lesser extent than //Kabbo. An insight into the intimacy between mother and child that led on occasion to stories being told was given by /Han≠kass'o when he related to Lucy Lloyd the story of *The Death of the Lizard* (Bleek & Lloyd 1911:214–17, 316–21; Deacon 1988). He was a child at the time and had a young leveret (hare) as a pet that his grandfather, Tsatsi, had caught and brought home for him. His mother wanted to kill it and eat it, but "I was not willing to kill the leveret, because I felt that nothing acted as prettily as it did, when it was gently running, gently running along" (Bleek & Lloyd 1911:319). His


1481
by night; fm he ǂaŋ ǁpā; ta, ha
steal ddŏā 'k'aŋ ǁkhā
him, with them ha, aŋ 'yei ta
lambs. That he 'hauken. Ha ǂxo
die ddŏā ŧku'ken
ended; fm, he ǁgui; ta, ha ddŏā
eat up kids, ha bbai bbiri ta
by night 'hauken, aŋ ǁpā.
The dogs are too 'kuiŋ 'kuiŋ ŧne
hot forecasings ǂkaukŏ ŧnŏ ŧnŏ ha,
him, by night, because aŋ ǁpā, aŋ ken
1482
he is as tatte, ha e khŏ
jackal
which clever, ā 'kkeŋ 'kuiŋ gu;
therefore, they (the he ti kuiŋ ē, hi
hyenas jackal)
wickedly pursued ǂkarro ts'amma
mother, he ose xoā, ē; aŋ
cause, they kuiŋ tatte ē, hi
are jackals e khŏ ē 'kkeŋ
clever, Therefore, gu. de ti kuiŋ ē,
mother must not xoā ǂkauki ǂkeiŋ
eat rice, for, hi ǁkē, ē; ta,
(ǂkhoena)
the jackal did khŏ gu ŧne

mother and grandmother told him to go and fetch water and he tied up the leveret so it would not run away while he was gone. In his absence, his mother killed and roasted the leveret. When /Han≠kass'o returned and discovered what she had done, he cried bitterly and asked her to get him another one, but his mother explained that "I should not play with meat". His mother and grandmother calmed and soothed him with the story of the lizard "when I had shut my mouth" (Bleek & Lloyd 1911:319).

The 'Grass Bushmen'

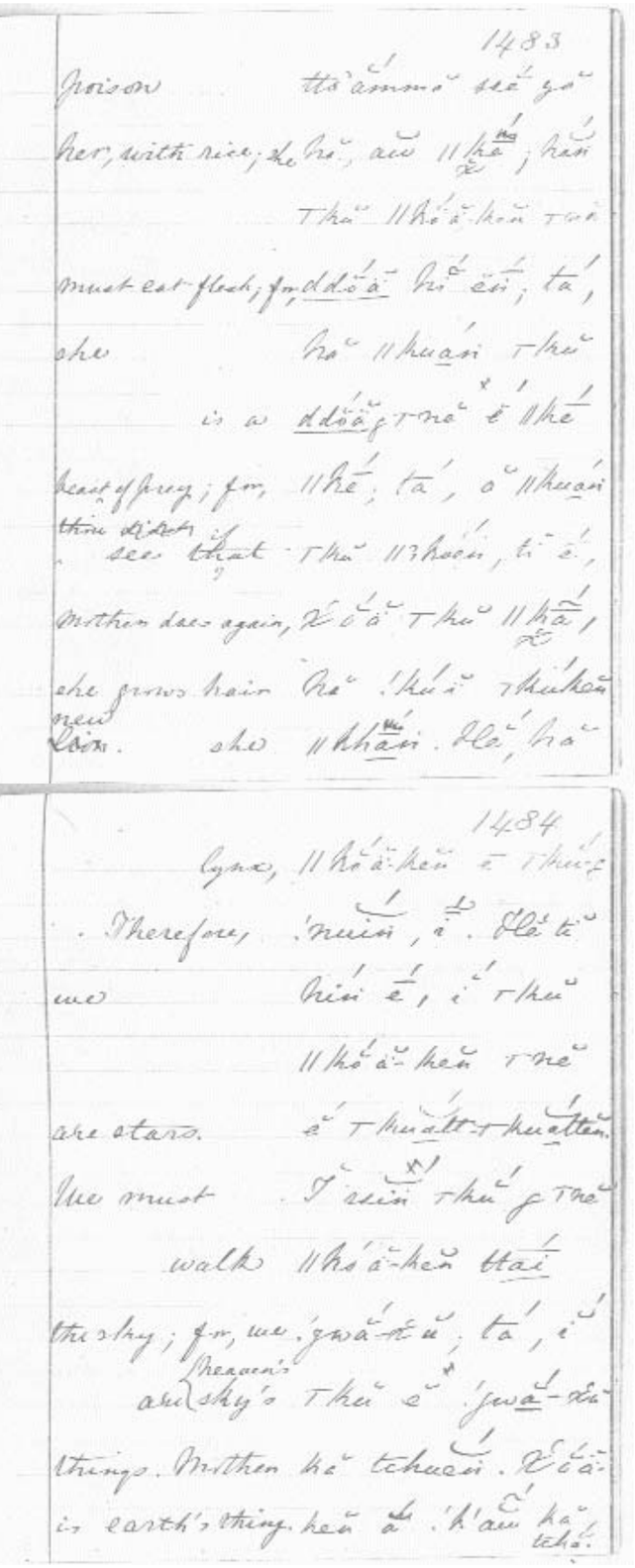
There is usually more standing water in the Grass Bushman territory than there is further east which perhaps explains why the grass in the west is such a feature of the landscape. Several reports by travellers in the region make mention of the fact that the /Xam relied on grass seeds as a food source. The seeds became scarce when the European settlers moved in with their sheep and cattle as these animals ate the grass and the seeds did not develop. People who called themselves Grass Bushmen were recorded as living in this area from the eighteenth century onwards. Gordon, for example, who travelled through here in 1779, makes reference to the Grassveld Bushmen between Nieuwoudtville and the Orange River (Raper & Boucher 1988:214, 298).

The three representatives of the Grass Bushmen, Diä!kwain, his sister !Kweiten ta //ken and her husband ≠Kásin, came from the Katkop mountains, dolerite hills about 100 kilometres south-west of Kenhardt and about 30 kilometres north-west of Brandvlei. Other members of their extended family came from a farm now known as Kans about 20 km west of Brandvlei, and from along the Sak River south of Brandvlei. A fourth Grass Bushman, //Oe or Adam Fix, estimated to be 67 years old, was also at the Breakwater and was photographed with the other convicts in 1871 (Deacon 1986:149). His genealogy records the fact that he had five children but the chart extends back only to his parents (BCA 151:24 & 25). He came from Haasfontein (also spelled Haarfontein) south-east of Brandvlei and was said to be "a Brinkkop man" (BCA 151:24, 25).

Diä!kwain

Diä!kwain or David Hoesar (also spelled Hoesaar, Hoezar, Hussar and Husar) was estimated to have been 25 years old when he was admitted to the Breakwater prison on 1 November 1869 as convict number 4434. His European surname is the same as that of a farm in the vicinity of Katkop, now known as Hoezar Wes. On the sketch map Bleek drew on //Kabbo's instructions, Diä!kwain's place is marked as Klein Mummenkop, a farm known today as Klein Lemoenkop Wes which is about 30 km south of Kenhardt (Deacon 1986:147). At 5 foot 2¾ inches he was relatively tall. His other distinguishing feature was a large scar on his right cheekbone.

Figure 12 **Diä!kwain or David Hoesar** (left) **in Cape Town *c.* 1870, photographed with Jan Rondebout** SAM neg no. 672


1483

Poison tti'ammi' tsa' gu'

her, with rice; he hu', aw ǂkhe', hau'

Thu' ǂkho'o-kheu' tsa'

must eat flesh; fm, ddo'o' hi' eu', ta',

she ha' ǂkhuasi Thu'

is a ddoo'g-na' e' ǂhe'

heart of frog; fm, ǂhe', ta', o' ǂkhuasi

thin dish if

see that Thu' ǂkhoasi, ti' e',

mother dies again, ai' o'o' Thu' ǂkha',

she grows hair hai' !kui' !kuikau'

new hair. she ǂkhasi. dla', ha'

1484

Cynos, ǂkho'o-kheu' e' !kuig'

. Therefore, 'nuisi, i'. dla' ti'

me hisi e', i' Thu'

ǂkho'o-kheu' Tne'

are stars. e' Thu'alt-kua'alten.

We must I'xsin' Thu' g Tne'

walk ǂkho'o-kheu' ttai'

thirsty; for, we gwa'-ka'u', ta', i'

(heaven's

abi shy's Thu' e' 'gwa'-da'

things. Mother he' tchuasi. ai' o'o'

is earth's thing. heu' a' 'k'au ha'

tcho'.

Diä!kwain's mother, ≠Kamme-an or Doro (Anneke), is said to have come from the same place as /A!kunta (BXXV:2415), that is, the Strandberg. Furthermore, //Kabbo told Bleek in September 1871 that ≠Kamme-an's brother married //Kabbo's wife's sister (Deacon 1986:151). Diä!kwain told Bleek that his mother had disappeared a few years previously and he thought she had probably been killed by the Boers (BXXV:2414).

Diä!kwain's father, Xatin (also spelled Xattin), came from the Sak River and the Brinkkop (Bleek 1933b:383). Besides their son Diä!kwain, Xatin and ≠Kamme-an had at least three daughters: Whai-ttu (Springbok Skin) or Griet whose daughter Kaitje Lynx married Jan Plat (LV–19:5446); !Kweiten ta //ken who married Klaas Katkop; and /A-kkumm who married Mansse (Bleek & Lloyd 1911:368). A second son, //Xwa:gan-te (Bleek 1933b:383), was married to Du-//hu (385). They seem to have been a close family for Diä!kwain was with all three of his sisters when they saw an apparition on the salt pan on their way home after burying his first wife. It was wearing the same cap that his wife used to wear and they all believed it was her at the time the "sorcerors" were taking her away (Bleek & Lloyd 1911:365–71). By contrast, /Han≠kass'o made no mention of his own brothers and sisters.

Diä!kwain's first wife, Mietche, died of an illness in about 1863 near the Sak River at Spreet, south of Brandvlei (Bleek 1932b:249). They were first cousins as Diä!kwain's paternal grandparents, !Xugen di and Twabboken !kanken, were also Mietche's mother's parents. Diä!kwain and Mietche had three children: a son, Booi, and two daughters, Troi and Griet. Griet was 'in service with Boers' at the time the genealogical information was recorded in March 1875 (BCA 151:29 & 1a). His second wife was Johanna, the daughter of Surritte (a /Xam man) and Johanna (a /Xam woman) who lived at Katkop.

Mietche's paternal grandmother, /Xarran-/Xarran, also lived at the Sak River and died when Diä!kwain was a youth. She seems to have had special powers as she was said to have a head like that of an ostrich and she walked like an ostrich. Even though she was dead, people still called her name if they wanted the wind to blow (Bleek 1932c:334).

Diä!kwain's character is perhaps the most enigmatic of the three main informants. On the one hand, he had shot and killed a farmer and, on the other, his mild nature had convinced the judge that he had acted in self-defence. Indeed, the Bleek sisters remembered him as "a soft-hearted mortal, who would not, unprovoked, have hurt a fly" (Bleek & Bleek 1909:40). Yet, in contrast to /Han≠kass'o, he was not a model prisoner. The prison records show that on 19 June 1870 he was given three hours extra labour for disobeying orders. On a second occasion, 24 May 1871, he was kept two days in the cells on a spare diet for having dagga (hemp or marijuana) in

his possession. No stranger to violence, Diä!kwain described how he had been cured of a swollen throat by the sorceress !Kwarra-an after an attack by a man who tried to steal spoons from his mother (LV–4:4200–30).

After his discharge from prison on 29 November 1873, Diä!kwain stayed at the Bleek's home from then until 18 March 1874 and Bleek's last interview with him was dated 16 March. He went home to fetch his sister and brother-in-law and returned for a second spell of nearly two years, from 13 June 1874 to 7 March 1876. It was during this visit that Wilhelm Bleek died in the early hours of the morning of 17 August 1875. No interviews appear to have been done either by Lloyd or Bleek between 13 June 1874 and early January of the following year. They may well have been working to prepare his second Report to Parliament at this time (Bleek 1875), or moving house from The Hill to Charlton House in early 1875, but Jemima Bleek remarked to Sir George Grey in a letter after her husband's death that he had been ill for some considerable time after March 1874 and this probably played a part too (Spohr 1962:40–1). The last date in Bleek's last notebook, BXXVII, is 7 January 1875. Lloyd, on the other hand, worked steadily with Diä!kwain from 7 January until 16 August 1875, after which there was a break of nearly a month when the family were no doubt in mourning. Her last interview with him is dated 5 March 1876.

When Diä!kwain left Cape Town for the second time, he went to work for Dr H. Meyer in Calvinia. Lloyd wrote to the doctor some time later asking if Diä!kwain could return to Mowbray. The doctor explained that Diä!kwain had left his home to visit a sister, expecting to return to Calvinia after three weeks and to proceed from there to Cape Town. However, he had not returned and all attempts to locate him proved unsuccessful (Lloyd 1889:3). According to an account of the incident recorded by Mr W.A. Burger, a former principal of the Kenhardt High School, it appears that friends of Jacob Kruger, the farmer who had been shot by Diä!kwain, had heard of his release from prison and of his return to the area. Taking the law into their own hands, they tracked Diä!kwain down and shot and killed him near Kenhardt in retaliation, angry that the court had given him what they considered to be a lenient sentence (Burger nd; Deacon 1986).

Like //Kabbo, Diä!kwain had had direct experience of rain-makers and //Kabbo referred to him as a Brinkkop man (BII:370), probably meaning that he had undergone some training as a shaman (Deacon 1986, 1988). His accounts of rain making are particularly graphic and detailed. !Nuin-/kuiten, said to be Diä!kwain's paternal greatgrandfather, was called on by Xatin when he wanted it to rain (Bleek 1933b:382), and by Xatin's father to make wind when the mosquitoes were biting him (Bleek 1932c:333). During the course of rain-making, they were instructed to climb the Brinkkop and look about for

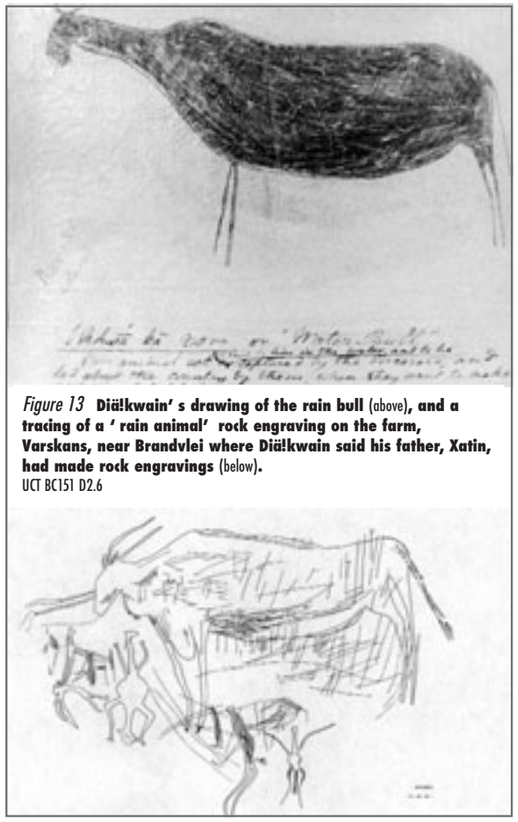


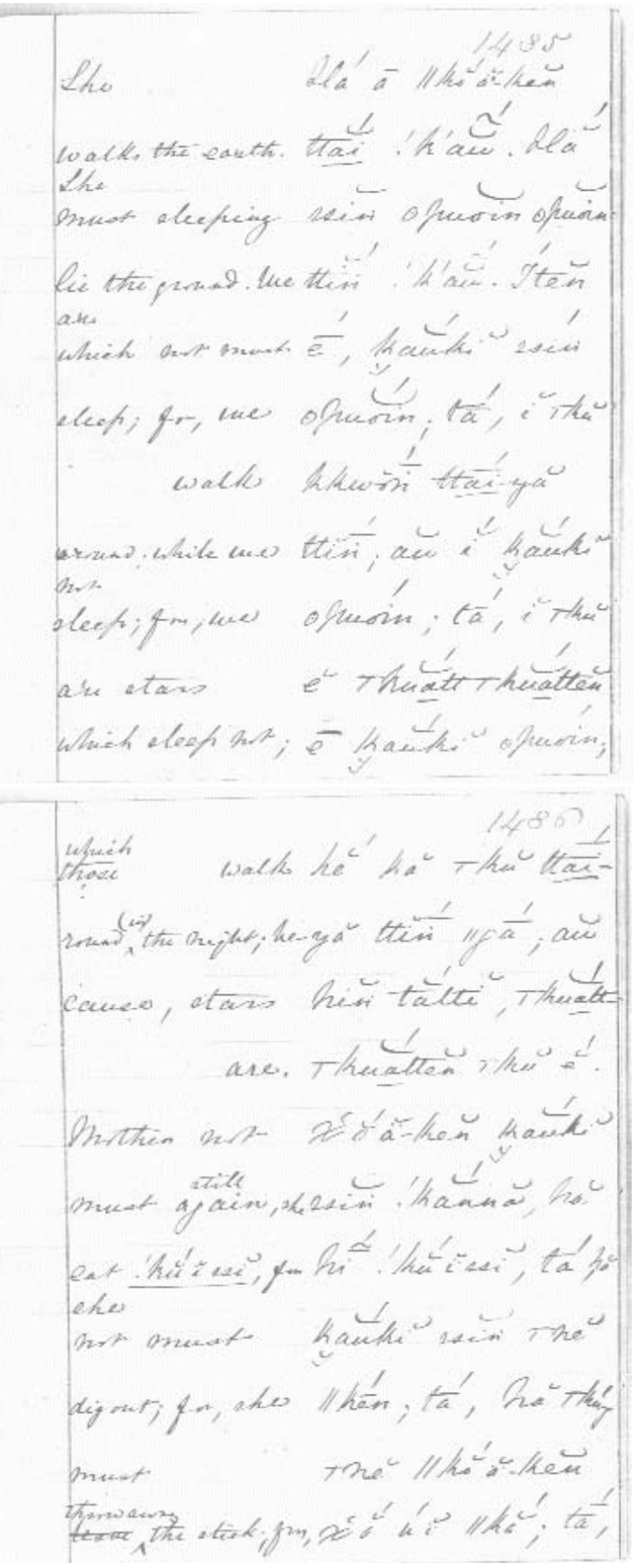
Figure 13 **Diä!kwain' s drawing of the rain bull** (above)**, and a tracing of a ' rain animal' rock engraving on the farm, Varskans, near Brandvlei where Diä!kwain said his father, Xatin, had made rock engravings** (below)**.**
UCT BC151 D2.6

springbok (Bleek 1933b:382–3). However, Diä!kwain said on another occasion that !Nuin-/kuiten was only a friend of Xatin's father and was not his blood relation (Bleek 1936a:131).

In one particularly tantalising note that Lloyd was not able to follow up, Diä!kwain mentioned in passing that Xatin had done rock engravings depicting animals at a place called /Kann. This is probably the present-day pan called Kans (Deacon 1988) west of Brandvlei. He was, therefore, the only informant who gave any acknowledgement of a direct link with an artist, although most of the others were able to offer comment on copies of rock paintings and engravings that were shown to them (Lewis-Williams 1981:27 ff).

!Kweiten ta //ken

!Kweiten ta //ken or Rachel was not in prison so there is no estimate of her age or height on record, but the Bleek sisters recalled that she "was a pretty little woman, lively and hot-tempered. Her feet were so tiny that the outgrown boots of a small child of eleven were just right for



her" (Bleek & Bleek 1909:41). She was at Mowbray for only seven months, from 13 June 1874 to 13 January 1875, initially with her two younger sons, aged six and two, and, after 25 October, with her two elder boys as well. The children were very well-behaved and a small field was set aside for them to play in. They were never heard to squabble and obeyed their parents implicitly (Bleek & Bleek 1909:41). Although Bleek was clearly worried about the increased expenditure that their stay incurred, !Kweiten ta //ken refused to stay without all the members of her family (Bleek 1875:5).

Bleek must have had little energy at this time as his health was failing (Spohr 1962:40–1) and it was Lloyd who used two notebooks for !Kweiten ta //ken's testimony, amounting to less than 200 pages. The interviews took place over a relatively short period from 6 December 1874 to 12 January 1875, or barely six weeks. The last few pages were translated only in 1911, according to a note on the contents page of the second book (LIV–2). !Kweiten ta //ken's narratives are amongst the shortest in the collection and she seldom elaborated them with dialogue or chants. It is possible that she felt uncomfortable in Mowbray and could not express herself as openly and freely as she might have done under different circumstances. Perhaps her hot temper also played a part and she may have lacked patience in the interview situation. The fact that Lloyd made no attempt to find !Kweiten ta //ken again and invite her to return to Cape Town suggests that she was aware that they had not formed the necessary bond for recording quality information.

Most useful amongst the comments given by !Kweiten ta //ken are those that relate to what women do: for example, what maidens do with the *//ka* or red stone and what is done with new maidens. Furthermore, several of her narratives deal with young women (*The Maiden who was Changed into a Frog; The Girl's Story; The Frog's Story; About a New Maiden*) and Lloyd could have deliberately encouraged her to focus on such subjects, anxious to have a woman's perspective and first-hand accounts of female rituals and beliefs. However, they also cover subjects dealt with by the male informants (*The Young Springbok who was Carried off by the Elephants; The Story of the Anteater, Springbok, Lynx and Partridge*) and all the other male informants, with the exception of /A!kunta, spoke about new maidens (see Hewitt 1986:279–86). This would suggest that narratives of all kinds were available equally to both men and women.

≠Kásin

≠Kásin, or Klaas Katkop, was estimated to be 37 years old in 1869 and was 5 foot 3/4 inches tall. His father was a Koranna captain named Oud Klaas and his mother was a Grass Bushman woman, Oud Griet or Wa≠ko (BXXI:2351 ff). The place Katkop is said to have been named after a Koranna 'captain' of the same name who must have been related to ≠Kásin, but his genealogy is incomplete so this cannot be verified. He spoke both Koranna and /Xam.

At the time of his admission to the Breakwater, as convict number 4435, ≠Kásin was described as having a double tooth in his front upper jaw and a fractured left wrist. He was not punished for any misdemeanours while in prison, but was instead recommended for removal from the Probation to the Good Conduct Class on 29 July 1870 (Cape Archives, Record Book of Convict Stations, Table Bay Breakwater 1870, Vol. 6315). Like Diä!kwain, he was supposed to serve five years for culpable homicide. In fact, they were at the Breakwater prison for only four years, although they were in custody for five if the full period from initial arrest in 1869 to departure from Mowbray in March 1874 is taken into account.

The Bleek children thought ≠Kásin was a fierce-looking man (Bleek & Bleek 1909:41). As noted above, he was married to !Kweiten ta //ken and spent two periods at Mowbray. The first began on 1 November 1873, about a month before Diä!kwain joined him, and lasted until 18 March 1874 when both returned home. Bleek remarked that they were so anxious to see their families after their sentence ended that they reached Calvinia, 270 miles away, on 30 March (Bleek 1875:5). They must have walked or been given lifts on wagons as a train journey would have been much quicker. The second visit was with !Kweiten ta //ken and their children from 13 June 1874 to 13 January 1875 (Bleek 1875:5). At one time he lived on the farm Nieuwepoort, said to be about half a day's journey on horseback north-north-east of Calvinia, but he also lived at Katkop and was with Diä!kwain in that vicinity when the farmer, Kruger, was shot.

More than a century later

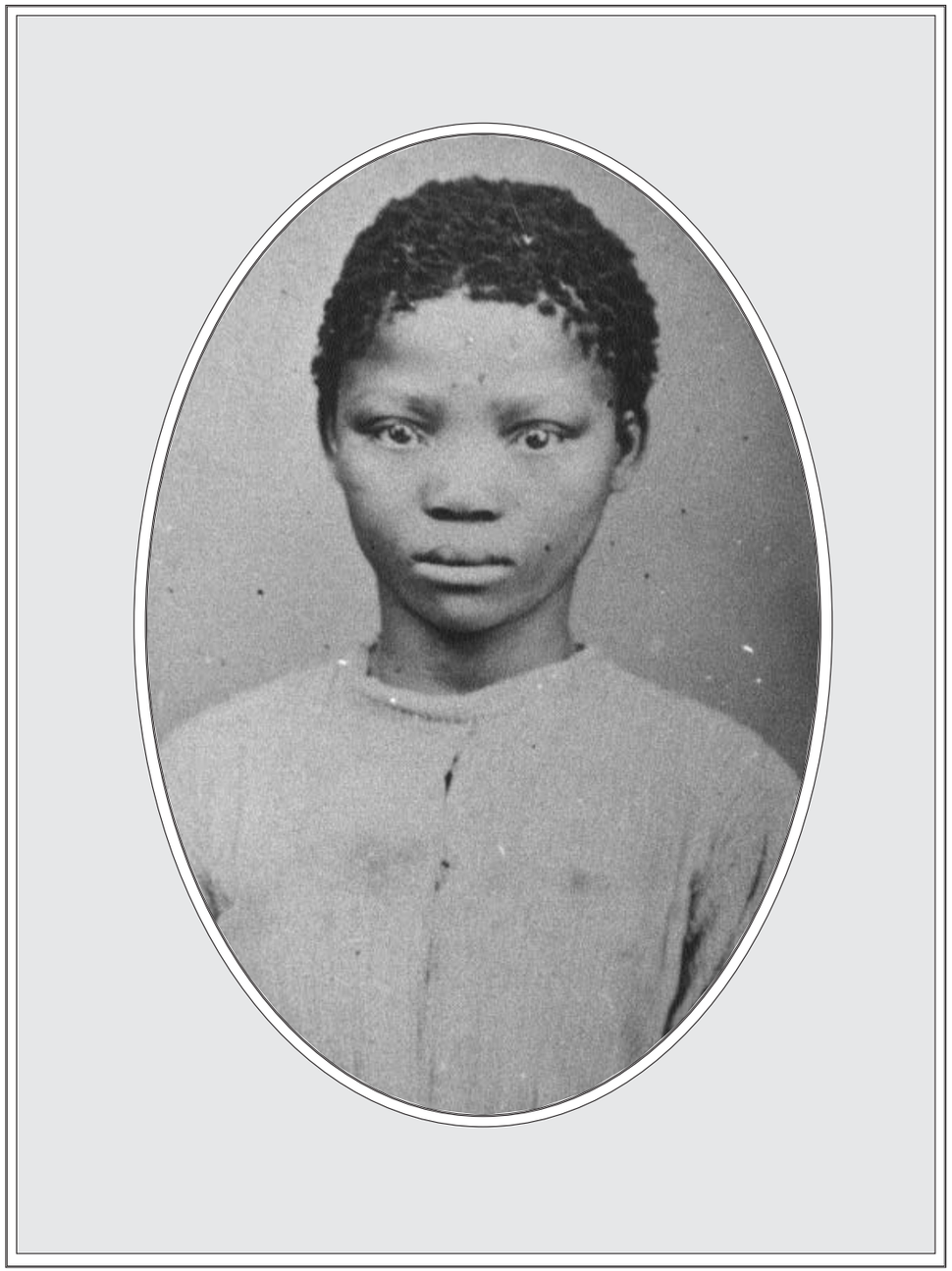
The joint effort of the Bleek and /Xam families to record the folklore and language of the /Xam meant a great deal of personal sacrifice on the part of all concerned, yet without this effort we would know virtually nothing of the /Xam and their cognitive system. The information that was recorded has been of immense value in understanding not only the relationship of the various Khoisan language families, but also such elements as the metaphors expressed in the rock art of southern Africa and the close bond that existed between these indigenous people and the landscape in which they lived. Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd, by faithfully recording the /Xam testimony verbatim before they translated it, passed on information that they understood, as well as nuances of which they were unaware. For this reason, the notebooks that have been so carefully preserved by Dorothea Bleek and the University of Cape Town library will continue to be a source of inspiration for researchers and for /Xam descendants for many years to come.

In 1985 I visited the northern Cape for the first time and have made about 20 more trips over the past decade to trace the places and the descendants of the people mentioned in the Bleek and Lloyd records, and to record something of their rock art and their history through archaeological methods. I have been able to locate the Bitterpits, the Strandberg or lizard mountain, the white stone in the *leegte*, the young man who was turned to stone by the glance of a new maiden, and the place where Diä!kwain shot the farmer who threatened his family (Deacon 1988). I met Oom Johannes Hendrikse who was born on the farm Katkop in 1906 and knew a 'wilde Boesman' named Klaas Katkop. Until he died in 1991, Oom Johannes had a scar on his face where Klaas Katkop had thrown a stone at him when they were children. He said that when he was naughty as a child his parents would threaten to send him to the Breakwater, but it was not until I told him the story of Diä!kwain's trial and sentence that he knew what this meant. Mrs Heila Reichert, who grew up in the vicinity of the Bitterpits, told me how Diä!kwain had died and confirmed what /Han≠kass'o had said when he told Lucy Lloyd that the Agama lizard watches the sky when rain is imminent and mysterious lights often appear in the veld. I met a man named Abraham Berend who local farmers believed to be at least 90 years old in 1985. His father had been captured by the Boers in the vicinity of the Strandberg in the 1870s when about 10 or 12 years old. He was taken to a farmhouse by wagon and put into a cage. The farmer fed him through the bars, but he was afraid that the food was poisoned so did not eat for several days. The farmer then 'tamed' him and taught him to look after the sheep and open the gates when they travelled by wagon to town. Abraham was born on the farm and worked for the same family for many years before retiring to the village of Zwartkop where he died in 1988.

I was unable to locate any people with the surname Katkop or Hoezaar or Tooren, and could find only one person who acknowledged that he could speak a few words of /Xam that had been passed on to him by his parents. He was an elderly man living on the farm Katkop and working for Johannes Hendrikse. I did not prompt him to identify the language as /Xam. He offered this information himself and it was later confirmed by Professor A. Traill at the University of the Witwatersrand who checked the words against Dorothea Bleek's *Bushman Dictionary*. Translated, Hendrik Goud's poignant message from the nineteenth century was:

> Here come the Boers, we must run away.

I planned to return to Katkop after the authenticity of the /Xam words was verified but, unfortunately, Hendrik Goud died a few months after my visit. He is buried on the farm but left no family members or friends to whom he had passed on this last /Xam message. His co-workers regarded him as a crazy old man and were amazed when, in January 1995, I told them how important he had been.



Rosina, a young woman from the Transvaal, aged 19, photographed in Cape Town by Lawrence and Selkirk. Rosina was captured as a baby in the war of 1853, in which she lost her family. PRM B11/1a-g and SAL INIL 14129 Album 167

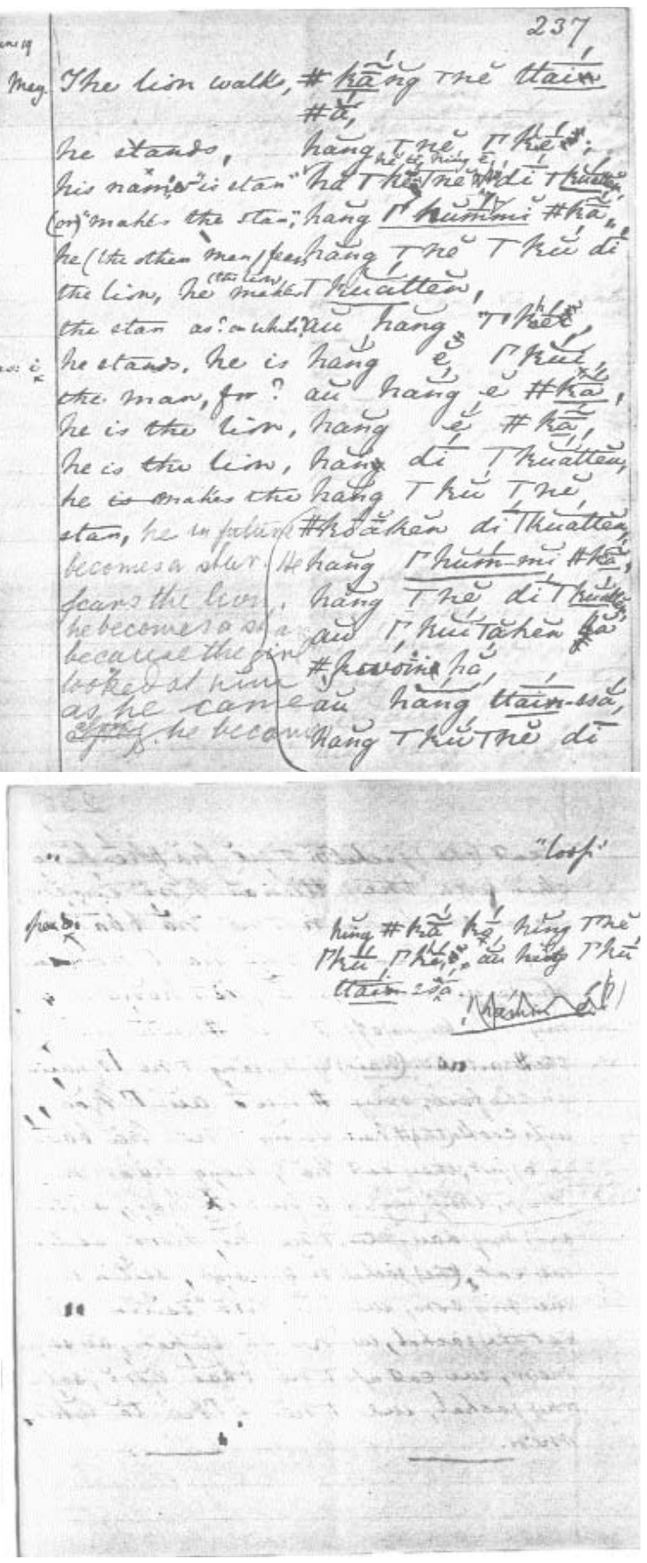
Images of //Kabbo

Michael Godby

In the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, there is a set of four photographs taken in anthropometric style of //Kabbo, a /Xam Bushman from the Strontberg district of the northern Cape, who in the early 1870s was the principal contributor to the archive of Bushman ethnology compiled by Dr W.H.I. Bleek and Lucy Lloyd (PRM B11/3 a–d: Figure 1a). The photographs show //Kabbo in full-face and profile, both full-length and head-and-shoulders. The set is one of ten sets of photographs in the Pitt Rivers Museum taken in the same style and apparently at the same time. Five sets depict /Xam Bushmen and five various other racial types in South Africa. The four other Bushmen subjects are identified as !Gubbu (of whom there are actually six photographs: Figure 1b), //Kabathin, Yarrisho and /Hankum. The photographs of //Kabbo and /Hankum are annotated with details of their measurements around the chest and between the tips of the fingers, as well as their height. The photographs appear to have entered the Pitt Rivers Museum from the collection of H.N. Moseley, Professor of Human Anatomy at Oxford, who is likely to have acquired them in December 1873 at the time of his visit to Bleek's house near Cape Town, during his voyage around the world (Moseley 1879:148; Edwards 1995 personal communication). Copies of nine of the ten sets of photographs are in the Ethnological Album (SAL Album 186) that Bleek sent to Sir George Grey in 1872, and which has recently been returned from Auckland. And versions of the head-and-shoulders studies are represented in a second Ethnological Album (SAL Album 167), confusingly inscribed 'Gray Library' (*sic*), that Bleek put together for the South African Library (for this album, see Schoeman 1992). Neither of these albums, nor, apparently, any other collection in Cape Town, contains a complete set of the four photographs of //Kabbo. In this paper I want to show, firstly, how this extraordinary collection of dehumanising photographs came to be made, and then how, under exceptional circumstances, the image of //Kabbo himself was transformed into a more humane portrait as his remarkable qualities became known to the Europeans who represented him.

The story of how the anthropometric photographs came to be made can be pieced together from fragments surviving in the Bleek and Lloyd archive at the Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, the Grey papers at the South African Library, and the Colonial Office and Government House papers in the State Archives in Cape Town. On 30 November 1869, Lord Granville, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, addressed a circular letter from Downing Street to all colonial governments, including the officer administering the government of the Cape of Good Hope, to request assistance in making a collection of photographs "having much Ethnological value as illustrating the peculiarities of the various Races within the British Possessions" (BC 151 D1.12.1). To his circular, Granville attached a letter from Thomas Huxley, president of the Ethnological Society, which explained how the project would be established on a scientific basis:

> in order that any information on the subject may be furnished in the most available form for scientific comparison, I invite your attention to the suggestions contained in the enclosed Letter, illustrated by the accompanying Photographs, and which will explain to you fully the nature of the information which it would be useful to obtain.



Unfortunately, the version of Huxley's letter that was sent to the Cape appears not to have survived: presumably it was given to the photographer who was chosen for the project and not returned. But Huxley's directions can be reconstructed from the draft he wrote at Lord Granville's request on 12 August 1869 that is preserved amongst his papers in the Imperial College archive (Huxley Papers [1869] 30:75–8). The fact that Granville's covering letter is preserved amongst the Bleek papers shows that the Governor of the Cape at the time did indeed pass on official documents to persons who would implement them and that, sooner or later, Wilhelm Bleek himself was involved in the project to photograph the 'various Races' of South Africa.

In the letter of 30 December 1871 that Sir Henry Barkly, Governor of the Cape Colony, wrote to accompany the photographs on their despatch to London, he stated that, on his arrival at the Cape in the second half of 1870, he found that "no steps had been taken to comply with the request for Photographs" (SA GH 23/31.155). The first dated communication connected with the project amongst the Bleek papers is a draft of a letter dated 5 February 1871, in which Bleek referred to his enclosure of photographs by Messrs Lawrence and Selkirk of the two Bushmen, //Kabbo and !Gubbu (BC 151 D1.12.4; for Lawrence & Selkirk, see Bull & Denfield 1970:203–5, 209–10). The apologetic tone of the letter suggests that the photographs had been taken only recently. For example, Bleek explained that //Kabbo is shown facing right, rather than left as Huxley's instructions required, on account of a large swelling on his left shoulder. (Incidentally, this document may serve as an object-lesson in caution because, while later drafts and letters invariably attribute this swelling to a blow from a knobkerrie, only this draft prevents the entirely reasonable inference that //Kabbo was wounded either at the time of his arrest or during the recent Koranna War by stating that the knobkerrie belonged to his wife.) The letter also apologised for the fact that "the heads are not as large as they ought to be, and are not sufficiently restricted to the head". Bleek then compared the photographs unfavourably with a profile portrait of a Bushman taken by S.B. Barnard (for Barnard, see Bull & Denfield 1970:186–7); and he expressed the determination that, if Mr Southey, the Colonial Secretary at the Cape, should agree to it, he would "try and get a still better specimen photograph of a native", because he had "no doubt that next time Messrs Lawrence and Selkirk will succeed better".

This letter confirms that the project was proceeding, at least in the manufacture of a specimen photograph for others to copy, by early February 1871. But the real significance of the date of Bleek's draft is that it precedes, if by only a few days, the date of 16 February 1871 when //Kabbo was transferred from the Breakwater Prison to Dr Bleek's house in Mowbray to assist him in his study

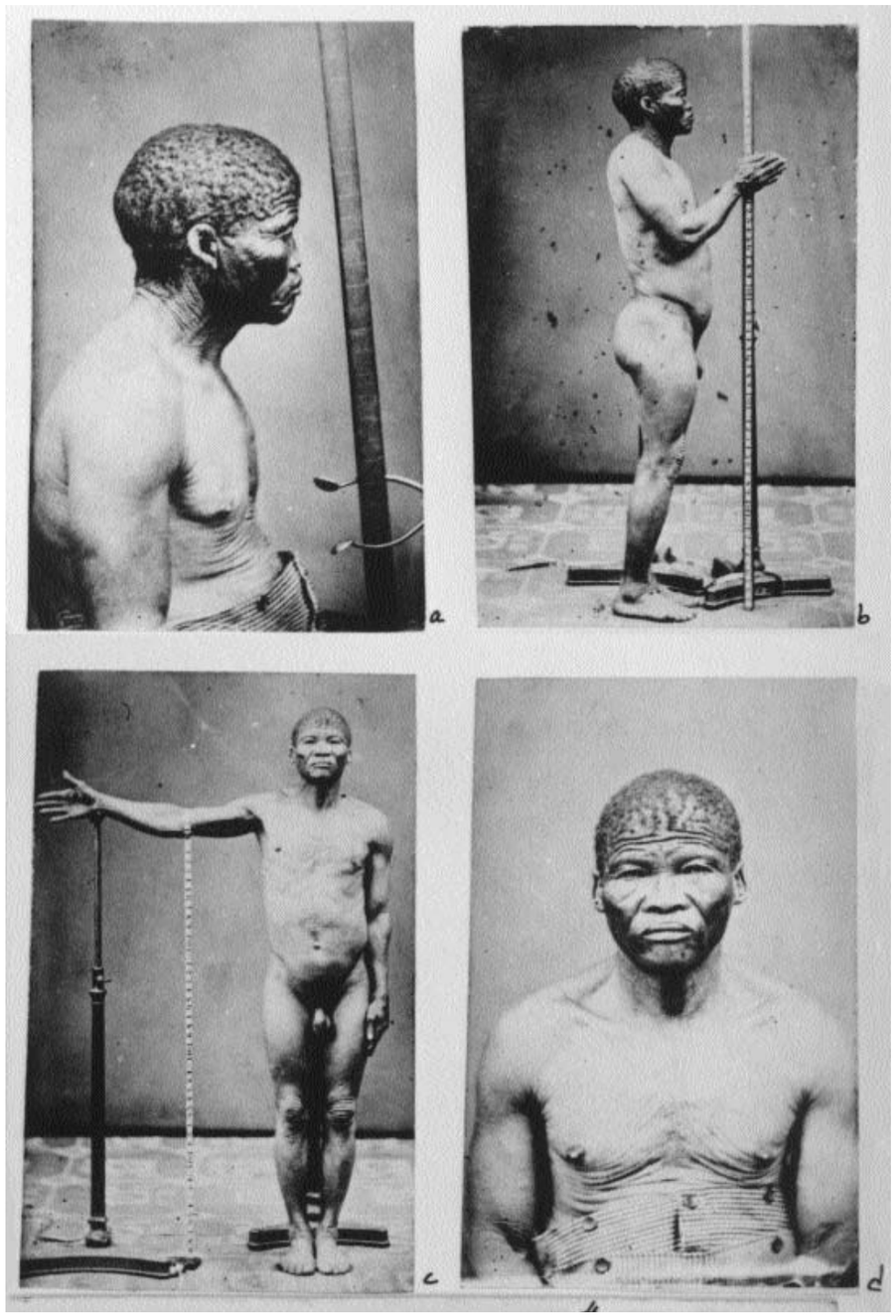
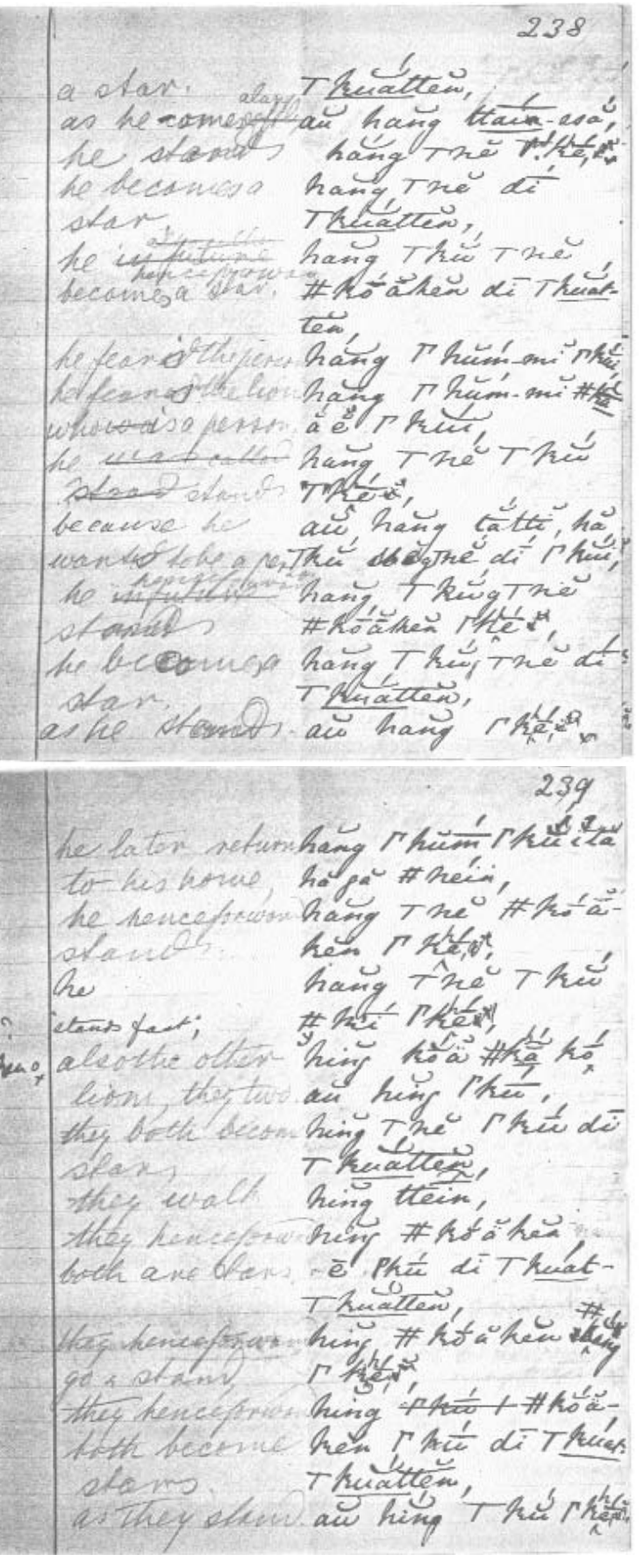


Figure 1a **Four photographs of //Kabbo by Lawrence and Selkirk, Cape Town, 1870–1.** PRM B11/3a–j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a star. stary
as he comes off
he stand
he becomes a
star
he is future
becomes a star.

he fear of the pers
he fear of the lion
who was so pers
he was also
stand stands
because he
wants to be a pe
he is future
stand
he becomes a
star.
as he stand

T!kuatten,
au hang t!aun-asa,
hang Tne !'ke,
hang Tne di
T!kuatten,
hang Tku Tne
#ko'aken di T!kuat-
tea,
hang T!kum-mi 'ke,
hang T!kum-mi #ke
a'e T!ku,
hang Tne T!ku
'ke,
au hang tatti, ha
Tku dde Tne di T!ku,
hang, Tkug Tne
#ko'aken !'ke,
hang Tku Tne di
T!kuatten,
au hang !'ke

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he later return
to his home,
he hence from
stand
he
stands fast;
also the other
lions, they two
they both becom
stars
they walk
they hence from
both are then

they hence from
go + stand
they hence from
both become
stars
as they shine

hang !'kum !'ku
ho'a #nein,
hang Tne #ko'a-
ken !'ke,
hang Tne Tku
#ku !'ke,
hing ko'a #ka ko'
au hing !'ku,
hing Tne !'ku di
T!kuatten,
hing ttein,
hing #ko'a'ken
e !'ku di T!kuat-
T!kuatten,
hing #ko'a'ken
!'ke,
hing #ku + #ko'a-
ken !'ku di T!kuat-
T!kuatten,
au hing T !'ku !'ke

of the Bushman language (Bleek & Lloyd 1911:x–xi; Deacon 1994b:19–21). In these photographs, therefore, //Kabbo and !Gubbu were still prisoners at the Breakwater. This fact, which is confirmed by the tiled floor and other details of the setting which reappear in photographs that were certainly taken at the Breakwater, surely explains why the subjects submitted to the humiliating process of being photographed in this way. But while !Gubbu remained a prisoner and never contributed to the ethnological archive, //Kabbo served the last part of his sentence as a house-guest in Mowbray, and chose to remain there afterwards to continue working with Bleek and his sister-in-law, Lucy Lloyd. In the period before his return to the northern Cape on 15 October 1873, //Kabbo seems to have earned the respect and affection of his European colleagues and, in the process, demanded an entirely new image.

When, eventually, on 30 December 1871, Sir Henry Barkly sent the photographs from Government House to the Earl of Kimberley, the new Secretary of State for the Colonies in London, he referred to "Some misapprehension . . . which occasioned delay" in carrying out his directions; and the copy of this letter that remained in Cape Town refers in the margin to the enclosure, *inter alia*, of "Replies of Civil Commissioners". It appears, therefore, that at some stage commissioners in the colony were asked to supply photographs for the project and that, for whatever reasons, they were unable to comply. An undated and unaddressed draft of a letter amongst the Bleek papers confirms that Bleek did, indeed, provide the model for the commissioners in citing no less than 20 copies of the four different views of the Bushman whom internal evidence allows to be identified as !Gubbu (BC 151 D1.12.3): clearly Bleek had obtained serviceable specimen photographs in a second session with this man. The draft letter also refers to four views of three other Bushmen. Reference to a separate, undated list of names and convict numbers of four Bushmen photographed by Lawrence and Selkirk for Her Majesty's Government allows the three other Bushmen to be identified as //Kabbo, //Kabathin and Yarrisho (BC 151 D1.12.9). However, it would seem that, unlike !Gubbu, //Kabbo was not rephotographed on this occasion because only one set of photographs of him is known.

At the time of the undated draft, therefore, it would seem that Bleek was involved in the photographic project to the extent of providing photographs of Bushmen of whom he "thought it advisable to photograph several . . . as the race is dying out"; and in the creation of the model for the photographs of other races to be organised by the civil commissioners. However, presumably as a result of the failure of the commissioners to obtain photographs in Huxley's style, at some point before 23 December 1871 when he wrote his *Notes to Accompany the Photographs* (Bleek & Lloyd 1911:434–9), Bleek was obliged by Sir Henry Barkly to take responsibility for the entire project.

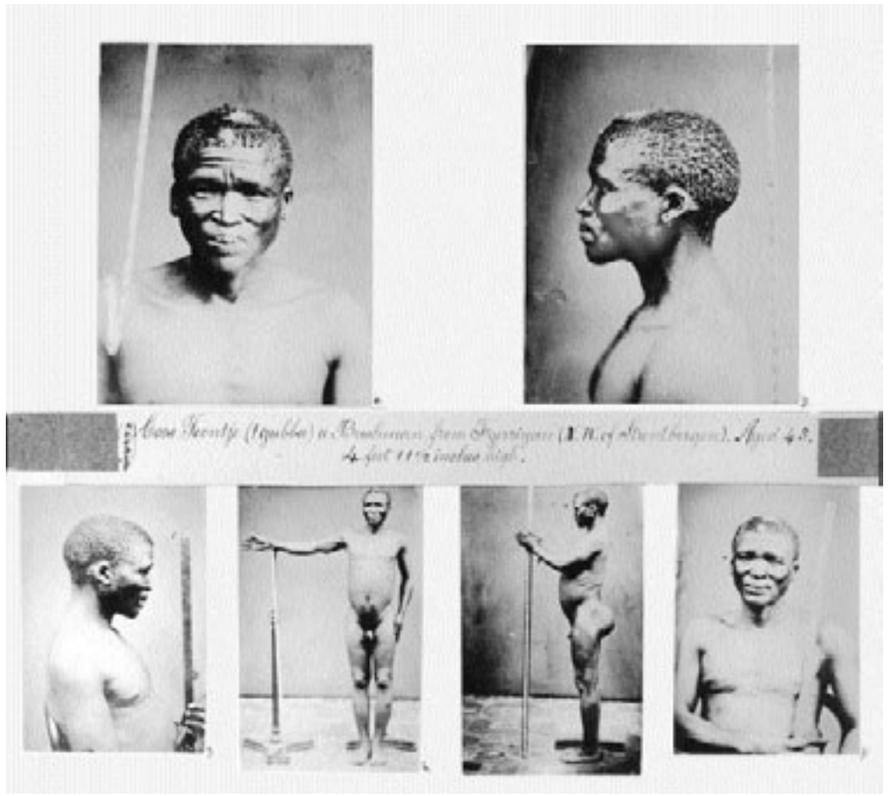
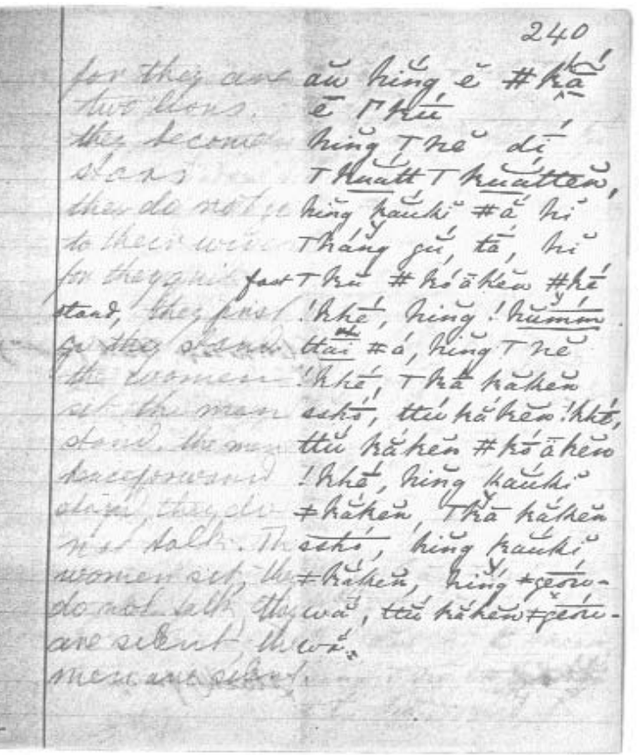


Figure 1b **Six photographs of !Gubbu by Lawrence and Selkirk, Cape Town, 1870–1.** PRM B11/3a–j

These *Notes* refer to the expansion of his original collection of four sets of photographs in three developments. First, such representatives of 'other Races' as were detained in the Breakwater Prison who could be compelled to submit to the process of being photographed in conformity with Huxley's instructions were included in the collection: in the event these amounted to only to three Bantu and two Khoi and Bleek expressed regret both that no other nations were "within our reach", as he put it, and that the absence of women and children rendered the collection incomplete for anthropological purposes. Second, as a "private undertaking not ordered by government" (BC 151 D1.12.2), Bleek had Lawrence and Selkirk make group portraits of Bushmen and others at the Breakwater. He enlisted the help of their chaplain, the Revd G.H.R. Fisk, to describe their "mental and bodily characteristics": Fisk's descriptions are preserved in the Bleek and Lloyd archive (BC 151 E4.6.10). In his *Notes*, Bleek invited his reader to refer between the Bushman group (Figure 2) and two of the sets in Huxley's style: "In this way, a standard of measurement is supplied to the Group, of which several other members stand in some relationship to one or another of the Bushmen individually photographed." One of the two Bushmen thus singled out was !Gubbu "whose photograph was used as a sample enclosed in the circular" (and who was described by Revd Fisk as "dull"). And the other was /Hankum whose set of photographs constitute the third development of Bleek's original involvement in the project and the fifth in Huxley's style. It is clear from the *Notes* that /Hankum was photographed at the direction of Sir Henry Barkly, to whom Bleek attributes the idea of supplying a few measurements even though they "had not been mentioned in Professor Huxley's circular letter, and so had not been taken at first". !Gubbu, //Kabathin and Yarrisho had gone home before they could be measured, leaving only //Kabbo to perform this service and, seemingly, to provide some substance to what must have appeared as a very imperfect report. /Hankum was both photographed and measured shortly before he too returned to the northern Cape. The different position of the tape measure in /Hankum's head-and-shoulders images tends to confirm



The Lion Star

The lion walks, he stands, his name is ' star'
(or 'makes the star')
he (the other man) fears the lion,
he, (the lion) makes the star as? on which? he stands
he is the man, for? he is the lion,
he is the lion, he makes the star,
he in future becomes a star.
He fears the lion
he becomes a star because the girl looked at him as he came along
He becomes a star
as he comes along, he stands, he becomes a star
he henceforeward (in the future)(altogether) becomes a star
he fears the person,
he fears the lion who is a person
he stands because he wants to be a person
he henceforward stands, he becomes a star
as he stands
he later returns to his home,
he henceforward stands, he stands fast;
also the other lion, the two, they both become stars
they walk, they henceforward both are stars,
they henceforward go and stand,
they henceforward both become stars,
as they stand
for they are two lions
they become stars
they do not go to their wives for they quite fast stand,
they first go, they stand
the women sit, the men stand
the men henceforward stand, they do not talk.
The women sit, they do not talk,
they are silent,
the men are silent.

–Told to Lucy Lloyd by //Kabbo in May 1871
(UCT BC151 II-1:237-40)

that these photographs were taken on a separate, undoubtedly later, occasion than the four other sets.

Bleek's *Notes to Accompany the Photographs* reveal an obvious interest in the anthropological purpose of Lord Granville's project. And on several occasions he involved himself in what might appear to have been the distasteful task of collecting the photographic evidence for it. Although only fragmentary, his surviving correspondence shows him to have been involved in the stages, first of having //Kabbo and !Gubbu photographed in an improved style, based on the example of yet more photographs that were taken for him by S.B. Barnard. Then, probably on at least two separate occasions, he had /Hankum and the five prisoners of other races photographed in the same style. Moreover, on his own initiative, Bleek had several group photographs posed in the compound of the Breakwater prison in such a way as to invite inspection of the subjects primarily as physical beings (Figure 3). He also complied with the Governor's suggestion that measurements be taken of the subjects that were still available. However, it is not really possible to deduce Bleek's attitude to his Bushmen subjects from this evidence without first exploring Thomas Huxley's instructions in the context of anthropological theory at that time.

The directions for photographs that Huxley devised at Granville's instigation and which, under Bleek's supervision, were used by Lawrence and Selkirk at the Breakwater, were designed to ensure that photographs of ethnological subjects provided information respecting the proportions and conformation of the human body that was both measurable and comparable (Huxley Papers [1869] 30:75–8; Edwards 1990; Spencer 1992). The subject was to be photographed naked in the four established anthropometric poses, with a plainly marked measuring scale placed in the same plane. For the full-length, full-face portrait, the subject was required to stand with heels together, the right arm outstretched horizontally, and the palm of the hand turned towards the camera. In the profile view, the subject should be turned to the left, the arm bent at the elbow so that it would not obscure the contours of the body, and the back of the hand turned towards the camera. Contrary to what is generally assumed (for example, by Edwards 1990; Spencer 1992), it may be that Huxley's participation in the photographic project was limited to supplying these rules, for, when Lord Kimberley wrote on 16 May 1872 to thank Barkly for sending the Breakwater photographs, he indicated that just two sets had been forwarded to Huxley and the remainder had been added to the collection in his department (SA GH 1/336:116–17). On the other hand, the Colonial Office is not known to have sponsored any other anthropological research at this time (Stocking 1987:266).

Although recent scholarship has doubted that Huxley's system could ever provide measurements of the necessary accuracy (Spencer 1992), many anthropologists and ethnologists of the time welcomed any scientific application of the camera to the study of the human body (see also Lamprey 1869; and, on Lamprey, Spencer 1992). As Edward B. Tylor wrote in his review of Gustav Fritsch's *Die Eingeborenen Sud-Afrika's* (1872), "The closer appreciation of race-types, which is now supplanting the vaguer generalities of twenty years ago, is in no small measure due to the introduction of photographic portraits" (Tylor 1874:479); and Tylor, amongst others, could look forward to the day when, with the aid of photography, it might be possible to calculate scientifically "the constitution of a race, on Quetelet's principle of a central type with gradually decreasing variants" (Tylor 1876:184–5). Huxley's system was designed to facilitate the craze for measuring different parts of the human anatomy, especially the skull, that went under the names of anthropometry, osteometry, somatology, craniology and cephalometry (Spencer 1992). In this climate, Tylor could report with approval Fritsch's claim to have discovered the average proportions of the Bushman skull and its relationship to the skull of the people then identified as 'Hottentot'. Such "elaborate anatomical data", suggested Tylor, "may afford the means of more fully working out the ethnological problems of the South African races" (Tylor 1874).

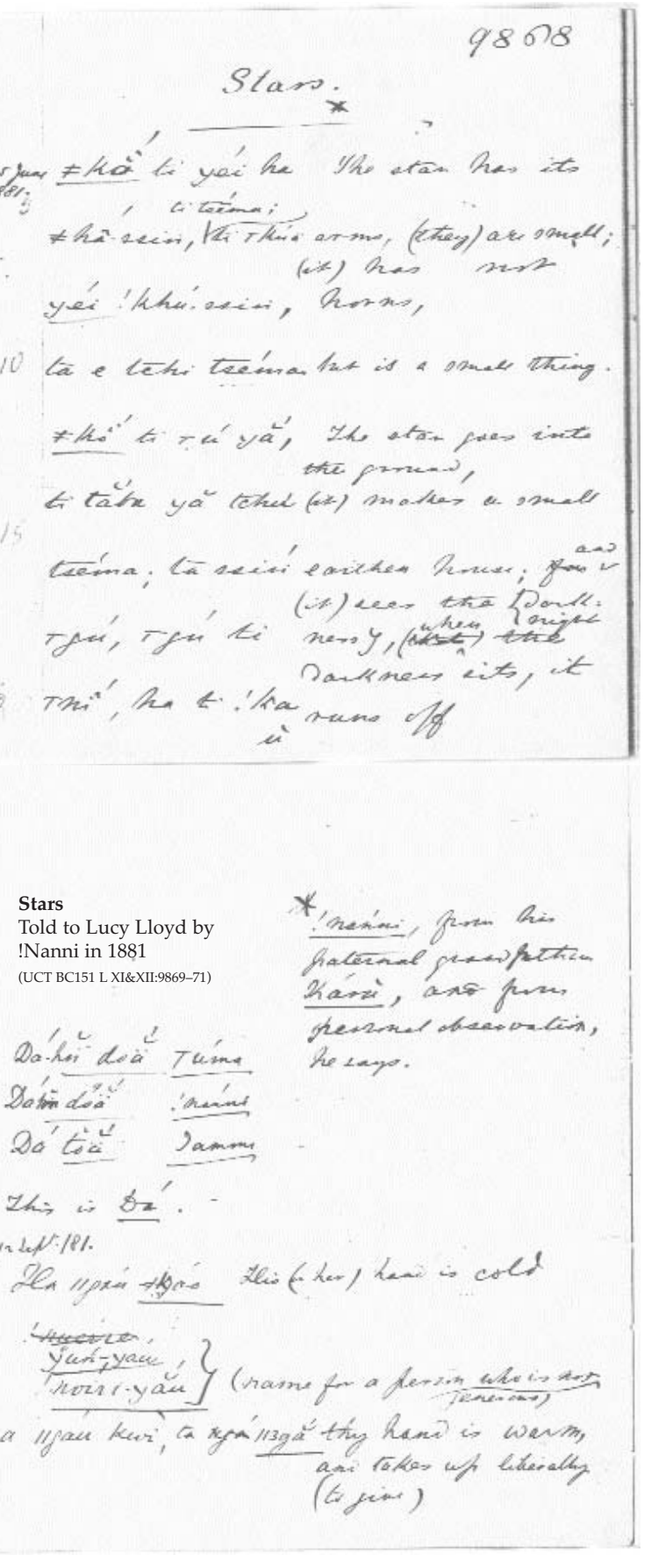
Needless to say, Wilhelm Bleek's own method was to use comparison in his study of different aspects of the culture of the several South African races. When he shelved his *Comparative Grammar of South African Languages*, he moved from his original discipline of linguistics to a more comprehensive approach to culture—but he clearly intended to retain the comparative method. His *Notes to Accompany the Photographs* sent to London in December 1871 compare, albeit summarily, the three native race types of South Africa in the anthropological terms of agricultural practices, marriage partnerships, social organisation and chieftainship, religion, literature and culture, counting systems, and language type. (Some of this information, of course, is greatly expanded in Bleek's other publications and his Reports to the House of Assembly in Cape Town.) Bleek's research allowed him to correct the crude early view of Huxley himself, that was still accepted by Tylor in 1874, that the race they all called 'Hottentot' was the result of crossing between the Bushman and Negroid peoples:

> It is possible that the Bushmen and Hottentots were originally one race, and that their languages are of common descent; but in any case they must have had a separate existence for many thousands of years; and until their relationship has been proved (which is not yet the case) it will be most in accordance with scientific principles to consider them as distinct races, with languages which have no traceable relationship with each other (Bleek & Lloyd 1911:435).

Figure 2 **Ten Bushman prisoners at the Breakwater Prison photographed by Lawrence and Selkirk, Cape Town, 1871.** UCT BC151 D1.12.10

Thus, although in the anthropology of the period the comparative method appears to have assumed a generally static image of racial types, it was clearly capable of very great subtlety and it was not, in the event, incompatible with the essentially dynamic theory of evolution that Darwin promulgated in *On the Origin of Species* (1859). Huxley himself was one of Darwin's principal champions, arguing as early as 1863 that "no absolute structural line of demarcation" separated the animal world from humankind in either physical or psychical terms (Vanderpool 1973:188; see also Di Gregorio 1984). The evolutionists' conviction that even intellectual and aesthetic faculties owed their development to natural selection afforded a completely new view of the mental capacity of Bushmen and other so-called primitives in relation to civilised people. As Huxley put it in *Mr Darwin's Critics* (1871): "In complexity and difficulty, I would say that the intellectual labour of a 'good hunter or warrior' considerably exceeds that of an ordinary Englishman" (Vanderpool 1973:181–6). Moreover, from the dispute at this time between the Anthropological Society under James Hunt and Huxley's Ethnological Society, it is clear that the Darwinians rejected racism as unacceptable on both scientific and political grounds (Stocking 1987:248–52).

Wilhelm Bleek's identification with Darwinian theory is apparent in the title of the work he published shortly before he began his intensive study of Bushman ethnology: *On the Origin of Language: Linguistics and Evolutionary Theory* (Bleek 1869; see also Spohr 1962:30). But his commitment to the understanding of the fundamental humanity of all races, which was one of the most revolutionary aspects of Darwin's theory, is evident in the entire ethnological archive. Thus, when Bleek referred, as he often did in one way or another, to the comparatively low state of Bushman civilisation in relation to, say, the Bantu-speaking peoples of the region (for example, in a letter dated February 1875 to Charles Brownlee, Secretary for Native Affairs: BC 151 D1.14.1), this term should be taken



98 68

Stars.

≠kâ' ti yái ha The star has its
ti-tséma;
≠kâ-sesi, ti ≠kâ arms, (they) are small;
(it) has not
yái !khu-sesi, horns,
ta e tehi tséma it is a small thing.
≠kâ' ti ≠u' yâ', The star goes into
the ground,
ti tâba yâ (that (it) makes a small
tséma, ta sesi earthen mounds; and you
(it) see the [Bush-
≠yú, ≠yú ti men by, (when) the night
darkness sits, it
≠kâ', ha ti-!ka runs off
ù

Stars
Told to Lucy Lloyd by
!Nanni in 1881
(UCT BC151 L XI&XII:9869–71)

*!Nanni, from his
paternal grandfather
Kássi, and from
personal observation,
he says.

Da-hĭ doâ Tsáma
Dáhn doâ !nanna
Da tâă Jammy

This is Bx.

Ha ngáu ≠kâ-a His (her) hand is cold

[illegible]
Jan-yau,
Nonni-yau } (name for a person who is not
generous)

a ngau kuri, ta ngá ngâ thy hand is warm,
and takes up liberally
(to give)

in its literal sense and should not be understood to denote any lack in intellectual ability—or, indeed, potential—of Bushmen. On the contrary, in a letter to Sir George Grey of October 1871, Bleek wrote that Bushmen were "the most interesting nation in South Africa, at all events they are the most surprising one" (SAL MSB 223,1.19A:15). Moreover, even in the summary *Notes to Accompany the Photographs*, Bleek described Bushmen as "poetical in their ideas, with an extensive mythological traditionary literature"; and he attached elaborate genealogical tables of the Bushmen who were photographed, specifically to refute the "many erroneous ideas entertained regarding this nation, and its social relations, or rather its alleged want of regular social relations". Bleek's evident respect for many aspects of Bushman culture may be contrasted with the caricatural image to be found in a contemporary report of a traveller through //Kabbo's home country in the *Cape Monthly Magazine* a supposedly liberal publication (E.J.D. 1873).

Over and above the problems of reification and 'othering' that are involved in any scientific examination of the human body (Davison 1993), it is perhaps more shocking to the modern sensibility to see a photograph in Huxley's objectifying, anthropometric style when the subject is known rather than anonymous, and more shocking still when the subject is a person like //Kabbo. //Kabbo's wisdom and generosity shine through the Bleek and Lloyd archive and his humanity has been celebrated recently in the work of Pippa Skotnes, John Samson and Stephen Watson.

Unfortunately, Bleek's review of the comparable project, *Dr Fritsch's Natives of South Africa* (Bleek 1873b), while confirming that the exact identity of the different race groups in South Africa was indeed a major topic in contemporary ethnology, reveals little of his attitude to the practice of ethnological photography in general. But Bleek must have been conscious of the invasive character of Huxley's particular version of this photography and aware of resistance to it, if not at first hand, then at least through the negative reports of the commissioners: elsewhere in the Empire, the project was resisted, both by the intended subjects and by certain colonial administrators who feared it might jeopardise their own efforts to introduce 'civilisation', in part through the medium of clothing (Edwards 1990:247–9). It is possible that Bleek agreed to participate in the project out of respect for the name of Thomas Huxley. Although Huxley was committed to the zoological, rather than philological approach to ethnology (Di Gregorio 1984:160–2), his respect for Bleek's work is apparent in his joining Darwin and others to write a memorial in support of Sir George Grey's application to secure a British civil pension for Bleek (Spohr 1962:31–2). Moreover, Bleek might even have met Huxley when he was in London in 1869, at the precise time that the photographic project was being formulated. Alternatively, Bleek might have felt that his future research depended upon

his preparedness to co-operate with the demands of the new Governor. In any event, Bleek must have known that the project was only possible in the dehumanising environment of a prison; and there is evidence that, as Bleek got to know individual Bushmen in the context of his own home, he developed a sympathy for them that would have precluded such treatment.

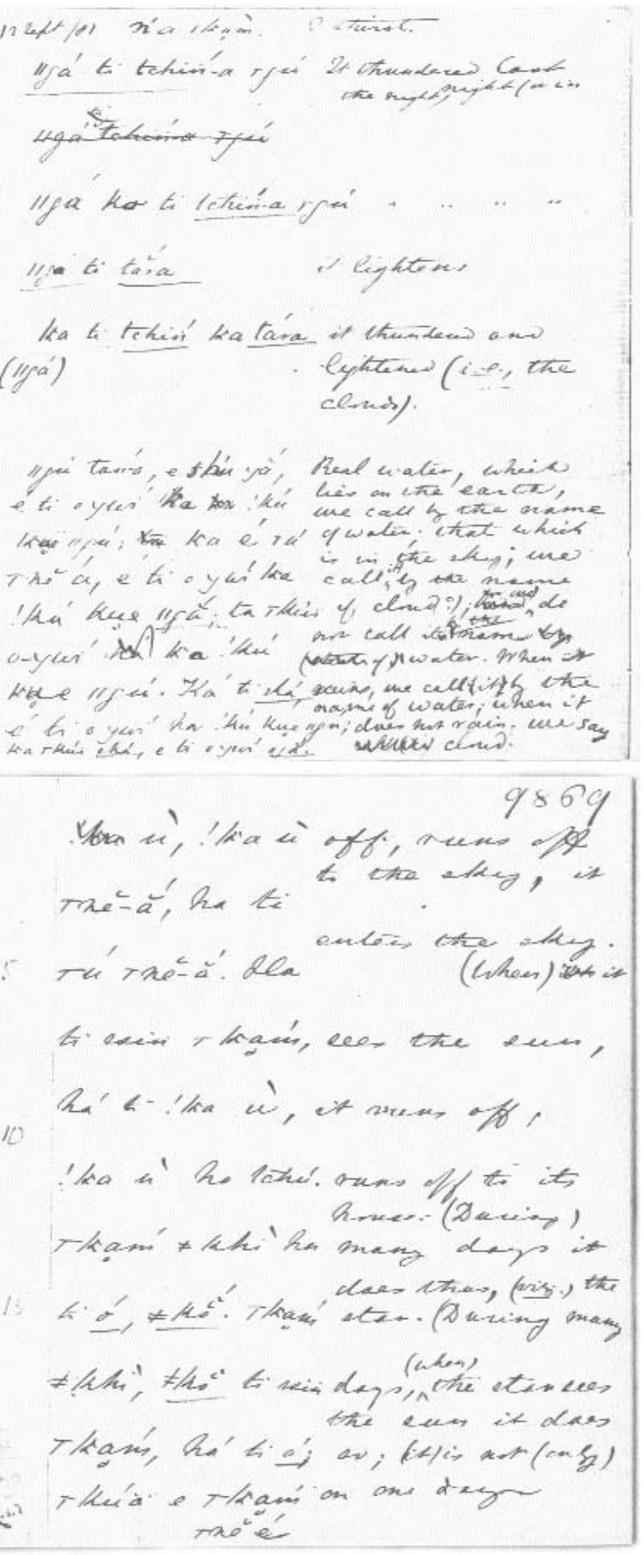
The first Bushman to stay in the Bleek household in Mowbray was the 18-year-old /A!Kunta, who had been arrested with //Kabbo and convicted to two years imprisonment at the Breakwater in October 1869 (Bleek & Lloyd 1911:x; Deacon 1994b:19). /A!Kunta was selected by the prison chaplain, G.H.R. Fisk, in response to Bleek's petition to Sir Henry Barkly in August 1870. But, although he stayed at Mowbray until October 1873, that is about two years beyond the end of his prison sentence, his contribution to the ethnological project was considered to be of limited value because, on the one hand, his isolation from his companions was thought to compromise his use of language and, on the other, his knowledge of folklore was limited on account of his youth: in the event, /A!Kunta contributed only two stories to the archive. Bleek sent photographs of "the younger one of the two Bushmen who is with us", along with one of his daughter and himself, to Sir George Grey on 9 October 1871 (SAL MSB 223,1.19A:15). These images are certainly identifiable with the *cartes de visite* by S.B. Barnard preserved in the Grey Album (SAL ALBX 19, INIL 15631–2), of which there are versions in the Ethnological Album (SAL Album 167, INIL 14141–2). It is likely that the profile view (Figure 3) was the Barnard photograph referred to in the draft letter of 6 February 1871 as the model used to develop a good specimen picture of !Gubbu, even though it may have been made before Bleek had seen Huxley's instructions (Bleek & Lloyd 1911:437–8). In any event, this photograph combines an obvious ethnographic purpose with a measure of concern for the personality of the sitter.

To make up for /A!Kunta's deficiencies as a research source, Bleek applied for and received permission for a second Bushman prisoner to join him at Mowbray (Bleek 1873a; 1875). On 16 February 1871 //Kabbo joined the Bleek household and remained until he left for the northern Cape with /A!Kunta on 15 October 1873. In this period, working with Bleek and, increasingly, with Lloyd, //Kabbo both taught his hosts the /Xam Bushman language and contributed the major part of the folklore archive. All parties were convinced of the impending extinction of the Bushmen people and it would seem that the shared sense of urgency threw the collaborators into an unusually close relationship. There was, of course, no question of friendship on equal terms, but during the period of //Kabbo's stay, Bleek described him in official documents as "most intelligent" and "an excellent narrator" and, in his *Report Concerning his Researches into the Bushman Language and Customs*, he referred to //Kabbo as "our elder

Figure 3 ***Carte de visite* of /A!Kunta by S.B. Barnard, Cape Town, 1871.** SAL ALBX 19, INIL 15632

Bushman" (Bleek 1873a:5). The familiarity and respect that these descriptions imply are reflected in Bleek's evident concern for //Kabbo's well-being on his return to the northern Cape. //Kabbo and /A!Kunta were sent by train to Victoria West and they made their own way home "to their possessions" from there. Bleek's *Second Report Concerning Bushman Researches* indicates that the Mowbray household followed their progress in returning home and finding their wives in a series of communications with officials in the area (Bleek 1875). After Bleek died in 1875, Lucy Lloyd tried to make contact with //Kabbo (but not with /A!Kunta) in the hopes that he would return to continue his work with the archive as he had promised, only to learn from a Mr Devenish of Vanwyksvlei that //Kabbo had died on 25 January 1876 (Lloyd 1889:1). In her account of this attempt, Lloyd referred to //Kabbo as "Dr Bleek's former Bushman teacher".

From two *Memorials Received* at the Colonial Office in Cape Town, in which Bleek gave some account of the expenses incurred in having /A!Kunta and //Kabbo stay with him, it is possible to gain a little insight into how the Mowbray household operated. In the first submission of 27 March 1872, Bleek claimed one shilling and sixpence a day for the upkeep of each Bushman and reported, by the way, that, because of his position at the Grey Library, and because he was not particularly strong, he could give no more than an hour in the



9869

ǂkoa ù, !ka ù off, runs off to the sky, it
ǂáe-ă, ka ti
entirs the sky.
ǂú ǂáe-ă. Ola (when) it is
ti osin ǂkąm, sees the sun,
ka k-!ka ù, it runs off,
!ka ù ka kolo. runs off to its
home. (Daring)
ǂkąm ǂkhi ka many days it
does stay, (stays) the
ti ó, ǂkhi. ǂkąm stars. (During many
ǂkhi, ǂkhi ti six days, (when) the stars sees
the sun it does
ǂkąm, ka ti oj ou; it is not (only)
ǂkuia o ǂkąm on one day
ǂkhi

Figure 5 **Photograph of Diä!kwain by W. Hermann, Cape Town, 1873–6, reproduced in Bleek & Lloyd 1911:5.** SAM neg. no 671

evening to the direct study of the language from the mouths of the Bushmen and that, in consequence, most of the work in both language and folklore was being done by Lucy Lloyd (SA CO 4172 B32). In the Supplement to this submission dated 9 April 1872, Bleek sought to substantiate the amount of money he had claimed (SA CO 4172 B42). Bleek mentioned the need for warm winter clothing and the expenses for nursing when the Bushmen became ill. Bleek further justified the claim for *1s. 6d.* a day:

> It was also necessary to make them fairly comfortable, so that they should be less anxious to return to their own country and friends; and we were obliged to keep them particularly clean and tidy, as they had to be for hours in the sitting room, when giving us instruction in their language.

Bleek claimed, moreover, that it was not possible to recover this expenditure by having the Bushmen work for

the household because, on the one hand, they were not very strong and, on the other, "It was also found necessary to keep the Bushmen tolerably fresh for the hours (sometimes four in the day) in which they taught us their language."

On 14 May 1872, that is, at about the same time as these submissions, Bleek made up a set of the photographs taken in Huxley's style and the four groups that he himself had initiated and presented it under the title of "South African Ethnology" to his patron, Sir George Grey, for his birthday (SAL MSB 223,1.19A:15; and Ethnological Album 186, INIL 24107–46). The collection is identical to that sent to London the previous year, except that no photographs of //Kabbo are included. Because of the many moves this collection has made—to London, Auckland and back to Cape Town—it cannot be certain that this omission represents a purposeful act of exclusion. It is tempting, nonetheless, to interpret it as Bleek removing the images of humiliation of a man he had come to respect. If this is the case, then this simple act of suppression may be seen as the first step in the creation of a more humane image of //Kabbo and his family.

The image of //Kabbo that Bleek selected for the Ethnological Album that he made especially for the Grey Library in Cape Town was a version of the original full-face ethnological study, but screened within an oval format (SAL Ethnological Album 167, INIL 14138: Figure 4): given the fact that Bleek did not send a photograph of //Kabbo to George Grey in October 1871 when he sent one of /A!Kunta, it is likely that there was no other image at that time. Because it was the practice of Lawrence and Selkirk, as with other professional photographers of the time, to retain their negatives and make prints on request, it is not possible to date these oval images with accuracy. The superimposition of the frame brings the image close to the conventions of photographic portraiture, both by softening the scientific linearity of the original and, most obviously, by masking the measuring instruments. Again, this treatment seems to have been reserved for //Kabbo alone amongst the ten people photographed in Huxley's style.

Although it is possible to discern an ethnological interest in some photographs taken of Bushmen people staying at Mowbray, even long after //Kabbo and Bleek had died (see, for example, the Hermann Album at the South African Library), images of //Kabbo and his family in the 1870s move perceptibly towards the conventions of European portraiture. Thus Bleek's daughter, Dorothea, wrote in 1909 of W. Hermann's photograph of //Kabbo's nephew, Diä!kwain, who stayed in the household between 29 November 1873 and 18 March 1874 and again, at the end of his sentence for murder, between 13 June 1874 and 7 March 1876 (Figure 5):

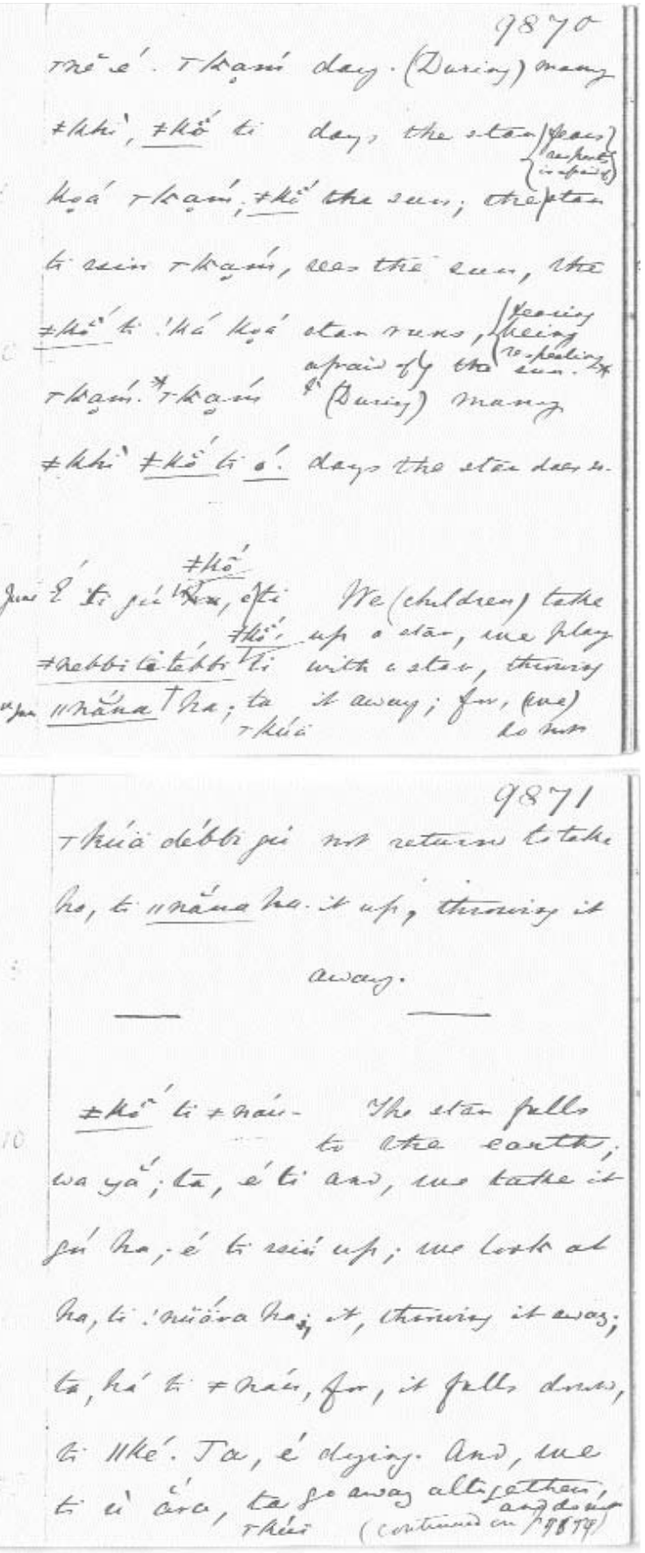
> There stands before me an old photo of a Bushman. It is David, or Daud, as the Dutch called him. He is looking down with a happy smile at his best hand, which

Figure 4 **Photograph of //Kabbo by Lawrence and Selkirk, Cape Town, 1870–1, screened in an oval frame.** SAL Ethnology Album 167, INIL 14138

> he holds gingerly, in order to display a brass ring on one finger. His best tie and suit have come out very well too. He holds his flute in his right hand. (Deacon 1994b:9)

The condescending tone of this memoir should not obscure the fact that, in absolute contrast to the ethnographic photographs, the photograph of Diä!kwain shows the subject actively presenting himself to the camera. And the passage also confirms not only that //Kabbo's relatives were treated with interest and affection in the Bleek household in the mid 1870s, but also that their image was understood to be able to recreate personality and, even, narrative. Dorothea Bleek's mention of the photograph standing before her, moreover, suggests that it may have been an independent image, rather than part of an album, and therefore considered capable of sustaining a relatively complex meaning.

At some stage, the image of //Kabbo himself transcended the perceived limits of photography and found



9870

ǂkhi', ǂkhú ti day, the stars (years, reckoned in spring)
kxoá ǂkxam, ǂkhi' the sun; the plain
ti sein ǂkxam, see the sun, the
ǂkhú' ti 'kha kxoá stars runs, (years being reckoned from the appearing of the sun.)
ǂkxam. ǂkxam (During) many
ǂkhi' ǂkhú ti o'. days the stars dance.

ǂkhú
ju ǂ ti ju' kxa, ǂti We (children) take
ǂkhú' up a star, we play
ǂkebbi ti ǂkebbi ti with a star, throwing
ju ǁnâna ǂka; ta it away; for, (we)
ǂkxa to run

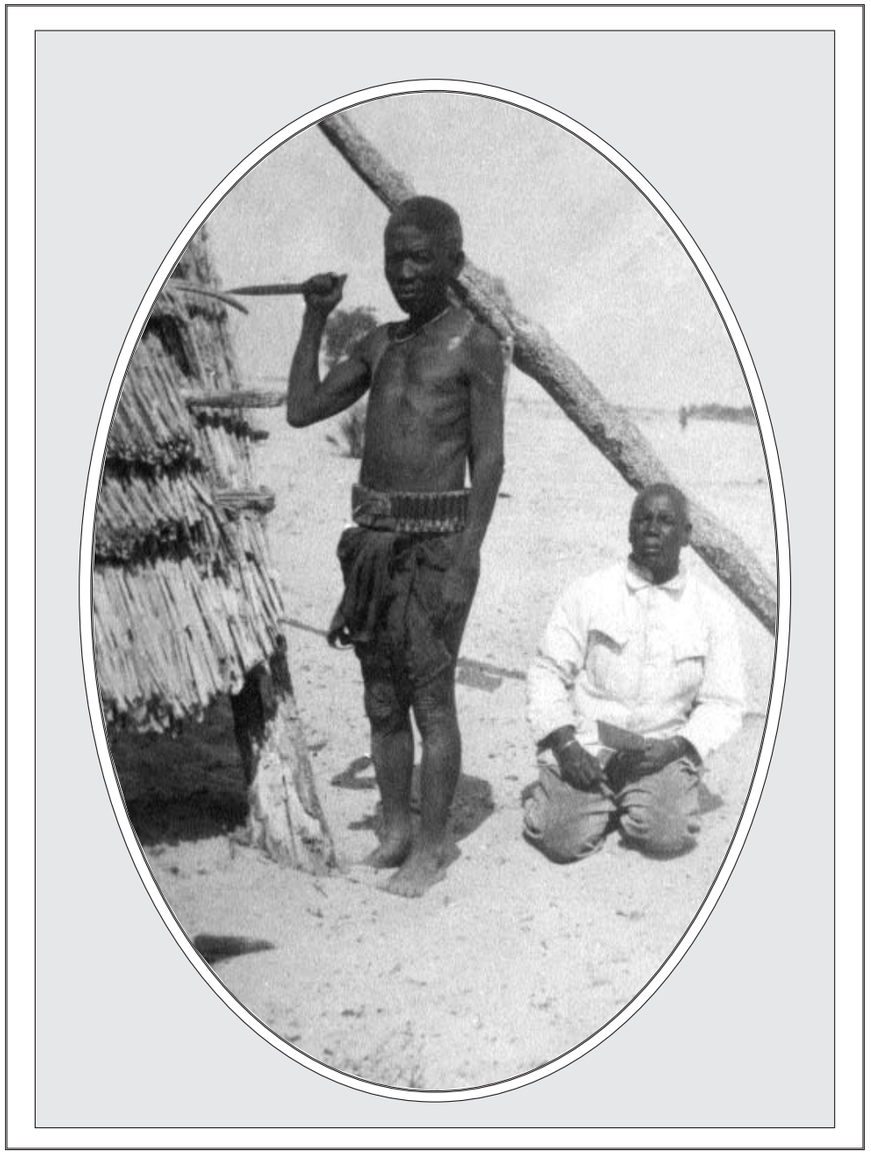
9871

ǂkxa debbi ju' not return to take
ka, ti ǁnâna ka. it up, throwing it
away.

ǂkhú' ti ǂnau- The star falls
to the earth;
wa ya'; ta, é ti and, we take it
ju' ka, é ti sii' up; we look at
ka, ti 'nâna ka, it, throwing it away;
ta, ka ti ǂnau, for, it falls down,
ti ǁke'. Ta, é dying. And, we
ti ú' ara, ta go away altogether, and die
ǂkxa (continued on 9874)

expression in the medium of art (Figure 6). The image survives in the chromolithograph that served as the frontispiece of *Specimens of Bushman Folklore* (Bleek & Lloyd 1911), but this is a reproduction of an earlier painting by William Schroeder (1852–92). This image is clearly designed as a portrait in the European tradition of affording dignity and status to the sitter. The original image can be dated before February 1876, for it is certainly the "coloured portrait" that appears in an extraordinary list of objects that was sent to an unknown destination "to accompany Dr Bleek's *Second Report Concerning Bushman Researches*" at that time (BC 151 D1.12.5). The reference on the list and its several drafts to packages of //Kabbo's and others' hair points to the same invasive methods of contemporary anthropology as the ethnological photographs themselves: in fact, the two are likely to be connected because, if the subjects' heads had not been shaved for the photographs so as to exhibit the cranial structure, they would have been shaved as a matter of course in the prison environment that had made the photographs possible. But the idea that useful information about an ethnological subject could be communicated in a "coloured portrait" suggests a totally new relationship between observer and observed. It is not possible to attribute with any certainty the inclusion of either item on the list to Wilhelm Bleek himself, because he died in August 1875. But Bleek certainly knew Schroeder, who contributed drawings of Kreli, Botman and others to his Ethnological Album (SAL Album 167). Moreover, soon after Bleek's death, Schroeder donated a commemorative portrait to the South African Library for the reason that "The Doctor has shown me much kindness" (SAL INIL 6575). Incidentally, this drawing is evidence in itself of the relative status of art and photography at that time, in that it was clearly considered an improvement on the S.B. Barnard photograph on which it was based. It is not possible to prove that Schroeder's portrait of //Kabbo was done from life, that is before 15 October 1873 when //Kabbo left Mowbray. But there is certainly no photograph surviving that could have served as a model; and in both costume and expression the portrait seems convincingly life-like. Schroeder's watercolour portrait of //Kabbo's son-in-law, /Han≠kass'o, which was also reproduced in *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, is preserved in the Bleek and Lloyd archive (BC 151 G1.2). This drawing cannot be dated before 1878, when /Han≠kass'o began his two-year stay in Mowbray (Bleek & Lloyd 1911:xi; Deacon 1994b:21–3), but this date is not binding for the portrait of //Kabbo. However, it is not necessary to demonstrate that Schroeder's painting was made directly to Bleek's instruction because it surely reflects, as best its rather feeble style permits, the extraordinary humanity of Bleek's last great project. The image of //Kabbo that is restored in this portrait, with his hair grown back to its natural length, an ear-ring that is not present in the ethnological photographs, and the great coat reflecting Bleek's concern for his welfare, is one of quiet assurance in his full human dignity.

Figure 6 **//Kabbo in a chromolithograph by Andre & Sleigh after a coloured portrait by William Schroeder. The portrait is the frontispiece to Bleek & Lloyd (1911).**



"Bushman executioner", photographed on Major Prichard' s visit to Ovamboland in 1915. SAN 7001

With Camera and Gun in Southern Africa: Inventing the Image of Bushmen, *c*.1880 to 1935

Paul S. Landau

Visual literacy is not a luxury, but an essential ingredient of modern life, affecting every member of society. Photography should therefore be popularised as an art form, and should be placed higher on the agenda of the arts.
(ANC Draft of National Cultural Policy, October 1994)

The way non-bushmen have imagined 'bushmen' has changed several times. Noble, bestial, vanishing, autochthonous, stone-age, little, impoverished: each attributed quality touched the fate of real peoples, in large and small ways. Not only did words and images affect imperial and settler policies, but they also helped determine which diverse groupings of people were visualised as 'bushmen' (Wilmsen 1989). Being a 'bushman' was, among other things, *a mode of expression* about disempowered people. As Coetzee (1988) and Pratt (1992) have shown, the necessities of imperial and settler policies plotted the general directions of such imaginings, just as they were shaped by them.

The discursive construction of bushmen, and the material interests of their observers, thus corresponded to each other: however, they did not make a closed system. Art is never closed. Speaking and picturing draw on a universe of potentiality, and beneath each dominant pattern are contrasting ones. The question is why some images persist in people's minds and actions, while others are ignored.

A critical, and surprisingly unexamined, dimension to the *imaging* of southern African bushmen[1] is their actual picturing. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, and alongside various consumer trends of the Victorian *imperium,* photography began to affect Europeans' idea of Africans. Intersecting with 'exhibitions', travelling shows, and museum displays, photography let great numbers of Western, urban people 'see' Africans living in far away, 'natural' habitats.[2] Previously, only travellers or academics could advance apparently well-informed opinions about 'remote' people in Africa; but now that pool was greatly expanded. Postcards, magazines, books by big-game hunters, illustrated travel stories, all ensnared Westerners in Africa's remit, and all did so in the metropolitan living-room and study.

This essay may also be read in the privacy of one's home. In it I attempt to locate the depiction of bushmen within a reasonably broad survey of this pictorial and consumer web. My central problematic is that bushmen, as they began to be viewed in photographs, changed their image among Europeans. They moved from appearing bestial and depraved, to become gentle, "harmless people" (Thomas 1959).[3] I wish to show that an important well-spring for the shift was the connection between photography and naturalists' valorisation of wild animals. I try to trace the shift mainly in two overlapping genres and the pictures in them: the twentieth century African travelogue, and the narratives of white hunters.[4] My argument is that the medium of photography helped to trap the image of bushmen in a discourse in which 'natural' animals and people both, were valued and worth preserving. Thenceforth bushmen stayed in a 'natural' aspect for the Western imagination—a position maintained, against all odds, even today.

Figure 1 Kolb 1741:288 (approx. 100x80)

Figure 2 **"Hottentot".** Daniell 1980: no. 2 (approx. 160x140)

Figure 3 **"T' Kaness".** Daniell 1820: no. 25 (approx. 160x140)

Picturing and writing

Before the advent of the photograph, positive notions about bushmen depended on not seeing them. The essential quality of bushmen was that they were forever 'vanishing.' One can even treat this as the *sine qua non* of the definition of the 'truest' bushmen: they are never actually encountered. From the seventeenth century, as Cape settlers conquered inland groups, they disparaged the people they drew into their predatory economy. More remote groups, in contrast, were 'pure' and exemplary. In this sense, what was positive in the discourse of being bushmen progressively replaced that for 'Hottentots', who were ever better known as they were killed, impoverished, and subjected by specific legislation. In the early travelogues the distinction between 'Hottentot' and bushman is one of status, sometimes language, but rarely generic or absolute (Dubow 1995:32–70). It became so later, through Europeans' ability to envision and racialise those people who lived far away from them.

A common motif in the representation of bushmen is an odd tension between text and picture. The idea of the 'noble savage', present in Montaigne's sixteenth century writings[5] but elaborated in the eighteenth century, was only sometimes applied to descriptions of bushmen. For example, as Van Wyke Smith shows in an excellent article (1992), the eighteenth century traveller Peter Kolb deliberately repudiated the romance of 'savagery' in his harsh description of bushmen as naked and filthy, clucking like "turkeys". Yet at the same time his illustrations betrayed his text, by ennobling bushmen (Figure 1).

Bushmen still met with warm appraisals in the nineteenth century when imperial observers like John Barrow wished to compare them with Boers. Alongside his depiction of Khoe and others as vanquished people, for instance, Barrow's illustrator Samuel Daniell drew highly sympathetic sketches of them (Barrow 1801; Pratt 1992). However, in 1820 Daniell published his drawings accompanied by text that glossed "bosjesmans" as "the lowest of the Hottentot race"; and he cojoins a comely young man (Figure 2) with Barrow's words describing Khoisan faces as "extremely ugly".

Daniell's drawings speak in a classical, painterly idiom, touched by the practices of contemporary portraiture. Compare Daniell's 1820 picture of "a Korah girl" (Figure 3) with a photograph of one of Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd's bushmen from the 1870s and 1880s (Figure 4).

In it the same conventions, now a staple of Victorian portraiture, are used: a three-quarter facial tilt and surrounding accoutrements.[6] More coquettish poses of African women appeared, especially in postcards, and, of course, the same theme persists today.

There were other popular iconographies as well. The book *Africa Illustrated* (1895) consists of a remarkable set of stagy, composite photographs, essentially duplicating the look of dioramas of an imperial exhibition. Its imputation of nobility to 'primitives', propelled by the liberal missionaries' milieu behind its production, may even be seen in pictures that are demeaned by their captions. The combination demonstrates the anxiety of lionisations of black male bodies, which were at the time a common show in circuses, exhibitions, and adventure stories (Coombes 1994:97). Its implicitly threatening 'virility' is extended to 'a real bushman' in Figure 5.

Behind such differing studio techniques lay a desire to 'preserve' a record of the present in an era of dizzying change. The iconography of this preservation tapped art-historical roots. For instance, shortly before the development of photography, the realist painter William Holman Hunt demanded that the Pre-Raphaelites travel around (Hunt went to the British 'Orient') and "see for themselves". As Hunt wrote to Rossetti, "Think how valuable pictures of the social life of the tribes of men who are in this age undergoing revolutions would be in aftertimes" (quoted in Landow 1982:653). Picturing was part of the Victorian drive to classify the world. The dawn of accessible, dry-plate photography only expanded the project. From Paul Augustus Martin's photos of 'London types' (Flukinger 1985:130), to Edward Curtis's creation of the 'American Indian' in his studios (Lyman 1982), nineteenth century photography obligingly followed Hunt's advice, and it drew on the prior iconography of depicting the human form.

Collodion dry-plates, prepared in advance of their use, were made in 1864, and in 1871, R. L. Maddox developed the gelatin dry-plate process (Jenkins 1975; 1977; Coe 1977). Only in 1878 were such plates rendered sensitive to snapshot speeds. Then came the first stage in the radical transformation of photography. Middle-class amateurs began to buy dry-plate cameras and take pictures (Sieberling & Bloore 1986; Tagg 1988). New cameras, often called "detective" cameras, were able to freeze movement outside the studio. The notion of "shooting" a picture, like shooting in a hunt, then commenced. In the studio, one had one's picture "taken", the verb lying passively with the hiring of the service. Outdoors, one "shot" pictures: the verb was active.

The best-known mobile photographers tended to make pictures in two places: in working-class city slums, and among non-Europeans of the new imperial world. Popular photography thus bore a complex relationship to colonial conquest. When reformers travelled to poor neighbourhoods to give salutary "magic lantern lectures", both pictures of labourers and pictures or 'specimens' from the colonised world,

Figure 4 **!Kweiten ta //ken** Bleek & Lloyd 1911(140x96)

Figure 5 **"A Real Bushman"** *Africa Illustrated* 1895:8 (136x93)

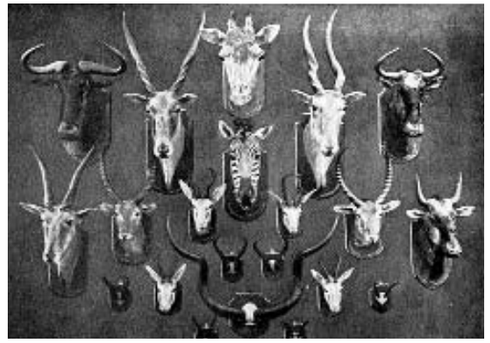


Figure 6 **"Some Heads of Game Shot on Botletli River Expedition 1800".** Bryden 1893:486 (125x152)

sometimes also appeared on screen (Landau 1994b; Pinney 1991). The imbalance of power in publishing photographs of various 'others' for middle class consumption, together with the realities of colonial exertions, eased the embrace between early investigative photography and coercive violence. And so photographers, already implicitly familiar with force (as argued below), accommodated the racialist interest of Victorian science (McKenzie 1987). From the 1860s, the increasingly invasive views of 'physical anthropology' were aided by photos for visually typing aboriginals in Australia, for instance (Edwards 1988). Cousin to the police "mug shot" (Tagg 1988), the anthropometric photo mapped measuring grids on bodies in a cartography of biological conquest (Banta & Hinsley 1986).

The point of such work continued to be to freeze images of 'primitive' people who were supposed to be disappearing in the path of universalised forces, as Holman Hunt had suggested to Rossetti. Now, however, science made things out of people. Such efforts reached an early peak in Watson & Kayes eight-volume *The Peoples of India* (1868-75), with seemingly exhaustive descriptions of every group and caste, and over 400 photographs. Francis Galton's book of racial composite photos, *Inquiries into Human Faculty*, came out in 1883, accelerating similar works. In 1904 Dudley Kidd published *The Essential Kafir,* with 100 of his own photographs. Such books provided the pattern for other articles and books concerned with racial identity. Their picture collections often have the feel of a trophy wall in a hunter's den (Figure 6).[7]

The parallel is more than fortuitous. In the middle of the nineteenth century, bushmen sometimes received high marks because they helped European hunters shoot elephants for ivory, and ostriches for feathers, north of the Orange River and up through Hereroland in the Kalahari. Few of the early explorers deplored bushmen's "bestiality". For example, Livingstone's artist Thomas Baines (1864:97, 116–29), while he evinces many prejudices, represents bushmen as useful fellows, and depicts them as similar to other Africans in his engravings. As Rob Gordon (1992a) has shown, especially the so-called 'pure' bushmen were valued as aides-de-camp, and hunters such as Gordon Cummings (Tabler 1973) held them to be better than "lazy" pastoralists. They were "excellent trackers".

Then, around 1880, the textual depiction of bushmen plummeted. As the ivory and ostrich feather trade decayed, the desire and price for bushmen's labour fell. Having outlived their usefulness, they were disparaged. Some white travellers began to denigrate them in animal terms, much as Boers and other settlers had long done. Frederick Sealous pronounced them "utter savages—joyless, soulless animals—believing nothing, hoping nothing . . . [often] the prey of the lions and hyënas that roamed the deserts as well as they" (Sealous 1893:112). After the turn of the century, the growth of banditry among bushmen prodded Namibian whites into adopting newly virulent practices and expressing the sentiments to justify them (Guenther 1980; Gordon 1992a:58, 101 ff.). Some of them, as well as some BaTswana and colonial officials, began increasingly to hunt and kill bushmen themselves with firearms.

In such a context, bushmen were cast as parasites, feeding off the mobile edge of civilisation, much as if they were animal 'vermin'. At the same time, most colonial writers felt that bushmen were vanishing "as a race", probably along with the peoples sometimes cast as their near relations: pygmies in central Africa, and aboriginals in Australia (Schwarz 1928:144, 152). After the new imperialism of the 1890s hit its peak, with the erasure of southern and south-central African kingdoms by force of arms, bushmen seemed like a left-over component of a doomed ecosystem. The naturalist George Stow and the historian George McCall Theal pronounced an evolutionary typology in which Bushman, Hottentot and Bantu succeeded one another, all implicitly cued to make way for white men (Dubow 1995:117). Theal's 1911 introduction to Bleek and Lloyd's book of bushman folklore compares bushmen to baboons (1911:xxxv ff.), a sentiment Bleek himself had certainly not shared in the 1860s.

It is critical to the argument here that the reader recognise that, although the image of bushmen subsequently 'improved' (begging the question of value for a moment), their comparison to animals never again ceased. One may sample any book on bushmen for zoomorphic tropes, and the issue is taken up below. Instead, it is the context for such comparisons, the meaning of 'nature' and animals, which shifted. Secondly, both bushmen and animals were shot, and both were exhibited, and continue to be so today. But the quality of the shooting changed, moving from the mortal to the representational.

Photographing and shooting

As photography flourished in the great stretches of territory taken by Europeans, it naturalised the 'possessibility' of those spaces. At the same time, from roughly 1885 to 1930, during the heart of the New Imperialism, photography changed in its practices and conventions. The photo was institutionalised in those professions that required the establishing of visual 'facts': the news media, law enforcement, and medicine. Photographs circulated among urbanites and reinforced the idea that accompanying texts were privileged and incontrovertible. The photograph became the ubiquitous 'truth-telling' thing that we know today.[8]

At the beginning of this period, in the 1880s, the way travelling photographers thought about cameras, and the way they made use of them, drew heavily on the use of firearms. The methods of sequencing exposures on the new plates were sometimes based explicitly on the mechanism of the Colt revolver (Lothrup 1982:no. 25). E. J. Marey created his stop-action "*fusil photographique*" in 1882 (Frizot n.d.:27). Much has been made of indigenes' fear of photos "stealing their souls", but people such as 'bushmen' were likely to have recognised metal devices as essentially aggressive (Sontag 1977:4, 7); again, in the colonial world, the same people who would be shot with cameras were shot with rifles. If one looks at hunting and travel literature in Africa from this period, and compares visual 'encounters' with bushmen and with animals, one finds a shared field of appropriation, a shared language of activity between killing and picturing.

G.A. Farini's book *Across the Kalahari Desert* offers such evidence. Farini's was perhaps the earliest account of the Kalahari (albeit a partly fraudulent one) to include illustrations based on photographs.[9] Farini was an American showman who in 1885 journeyed from Europe to the Kalahari to capture bushmen for a sideshow, to look for ranch land, and to search sensationally for diamonds (Clement 1967). In his text, his son, "Lulu", uses the camera as a substitute for the gun. Several times Lulu "levelled the camera" at people as they ran away, frightened (Farini 1886:124).[10] As in Lucy Lloyd's and W. H. Bleek's very different work, however, the pictures reproduced from Lulu's photos have not yet claimed a separate status as bearers of truth. They therefore perform diverse functions: they are variously stark (Figure 7), idyllic or picturesque, and irrelevant (Figure 8).

Farini portrays bushmen drinking fermented melon in this way: "drunken howls [made] the night hideous as they staggered around the fire . . . if there had been any hyenas or jackals looking on, how proud they must have felt by comparison" (Farini 1886:344). Bushmen are explicitly made verminous and bestial; they are game, and indeed Farini describes shooting one with a rifle (347).[11] Thus, while the *iconography* of bushmen photos in the 1880s was still incoherent (if also derogatory), Farini alerts us to the new *attitude* of travel photography (as opposed to Bleek and Lloyd's studio prints): its aggression. The pictorial effects of that aggression soon became commonplace and so, unnoticed. In the 1880s, however, portable cameras (with dry plates) were yet novel.

Aside from the influence of patterns of design, why did the gun impose its practices on the camera? There were very few hand-held mechanical devices for the colonial traveller before the 1880s. Field-glasses and firearms ranked foremost. The entrepreneur George Eastman, from early in his career, recognised photography's lack of portability as the signal obstacle to its achieving mass ownership. In the 1870s there were ever more exciting places 'open' to Western travel (including the American continent), and yet in contrast to the lightweight, new repeating rifles, a camera rig was quite unwieldy (Ackerman 1930:23). The solution was film. When Eastman developed his famous roll-film camera, he initially described it in terms of weaponry: "You pull the trigger, we do the rest" (Brayer 1994 pers. comm.). The term "snap" and "shot" both already had military currency (Brit. War Office 1892:110).

Until the later advent of the Leica, however, still photography was not best at capturing violent action. Some touring photographers therefore went to great lengths to introduce the violence of cinema into the photo shoot. Guy Scull's (1911) solution was to depict the action of the American rodeo in his absurd book *Lassoing Wild Animals in Africa* (Figure 9).

A similar effort led Farini deliberately to make play with the camera-as-gun; "Lulu" is charged by a lion, and while he is "making another exposure", Farini shouts ambiguities: "You fools! Fire! Shoot, or you will both be killed" (Farini 1886:307–8). More in the vanguard, C. G. Schillings in *With Flashlight and Rifle* (1905) aimed to capture African animals in their momentary disposition, in motion. His (relatively poor) "camera shots", which suffered "no retouching", required shooting in dangerously close quarters, which he touted as evidencing their authenticity.

Guns and cameras turned emblems of the wild over to urban consumers. Like the gun, the camera made its subjects safely motionless. Like breech-loading bullet cartridges, the photographic "cartridge" of 1888 soon removed the mess from the hands of the operator. Shooting was made hygienic. The entire process of photographing, and the power it implicated, was seemingly reduced to a single, repeatable action. Afterwards one sent the film or the whole camera away, and received pictures back. Eastman-Kodak's brilliant marketing redefined the nature of 'making a photograph', so as to obscure the manual labour involved.

In the Kalahari Desert, 'bushman trackers' hired by gentleman hunters understood this principle well. They insisted on carrying their employers' rifles, as they led the way to game, but then handed the gun to the white hunter whereupon he performed *the* action. Afterwards, it was often bushmen who stripped and transported the skins of game, out of view of the relaxing shooters. Early travel photographers also had bearers for cameras as well as guns (for example, Stoneham nd.:11). Kodak appropriated the same issue—a labour issue—and obscured it beneath a spurious identity: the moment of capture as the

Figure 7 **"King Mapaar and Wife"** Farini 1886:223 (160x95)

Figure 8 **"A Group of Kalahari Flora"**. Farini 1886:180 (121x105)

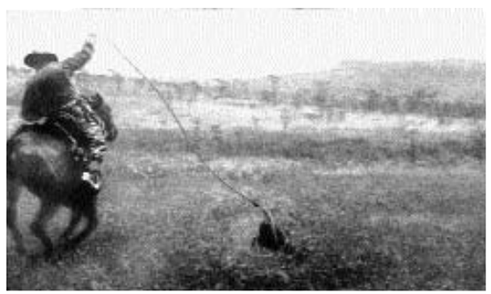


Figure 9 **"Roping a Serval Cat – A Difficult Task, As This Animal Travels Close to the Ground".** Scull 1911:40 (409x140)

complete episode of the hunt. This was marketed to the consumer, who in turn became the sole subject of the action.

Animals and people

By reading the meaning of 'shooting' in terms of class and violence, one may better understand why the late Victorian pictorial collection of 'vanishing types' paralleled the ongoing effort to collect 'specimens' of wildlife, and particularly, fine African trophies. Hunting big game simultaneously enacted the domination of Europe and America over their Empires, and the domination of men of leisure over Nature (Beinart 1990). Toward the end of the nineteenth century, Victorian ideas about animals shifted to accommodate such power: wild beasts lost their independent ability to do harm, and became entirely dependent on the "stewardship of men" (Ritvo 1987:252, 287). Animals, even dangerous ones, became acceptable—and even more, charming—in much the way that unseen, far away bushmen were. 'Nature' was that which utterly resisted the advance of Europe, and so it held out hope, in case modernity turned out to be a horrible mistake. Thus the cult of the lion in England hinged on a longing for the wildlife England had destroyed; and the valorisation of bushmen relied on whites' longing for a simple communal past. It was only when the 'natural' spaces on Africa's map had been entirely surveyed that 'real' nature (in other words, a nature forever gone) required protection. And it was only when the bushmen's physique had been surveyed that 'he' disappeared. Searching for 'true' bushmen took on the aspect of searching for any rare specimen, any talisman, of the 'lost world' (Wilmsen, forthcoming).

It was in such a context that white hunters started to become naturalists. Many hunters explicitly allied themselves to 'science', and sought to bring home 'new' species for zoos and museums (Heuvelmans 1965) as well as more perfect examples of existing species (Mackenzie 1988:139). These men took their modern rifles, shot animals in proper "sport", brought back carcasses or heads, and mounted or restored them to a copy of life. Their activities were usually understood as part and parcel of wildlife preservation, an extension of the founding of game preserves, the first of which appeared in the 1890s (MacKenzie 1987; Stevenson-Hamilton 1974). At the same time, photographers took pictures of human 'types' in those inaccessible places described as 'natural'.

Henry Anderson Bryden exemplifies this sort of trend. In his book *Gun and Camera in Southern Africa* (1893), Bryden creates a world of noble, anthropomorphised animals, all paired with official, scientific names — while he calls his servants "Piccanin", Dottie and Horse ("Pitse"). Steenbuck have "slender legs and feet, delicate heads and dark, melting eyes" (Bryden 1893:58) and giraffe, upon which he expatiates for a whole chapter, are "beautiful", "extraordinary", and have eyes of "melting tenderness" (Bryden 1893:328). It is the relentless hunting and killing of just these animals that fill the pages of Bryden's long book. At its end he weighs in for wildlife preservation, somewhat ashamedly. Yet the real problem is "the Boer, the skin-hunter, and the native sportsman . . . [who] have no aesthetic sentiments or compunction to hinder them" (Bryden 1893:487).

In contrast, the middle-class European drive to *represent* the remaining animals (and people) to itself, the middle class, was seen as unimpeachable, whether with their skins or their photos: it was one and the same thing (Bryden 1893:327–8) (Figure 10). As Michael Taussig has argued in another context (1993:ch. 4 & 102), mimesis is the "skin" of the thing represented. At the end of his book Bryden is a small step away from grouping bushmen with other vanishing life. Assuming an elegiac tone, he writes of "silent waterless forests of the Northern Kalahari—fitting sanctuary for the tall giraffe [of which Bryden kills four], the naked primitive races...and the wild, houseless Bushman hunters" (Bryden 1893:410–1) (Figure 11).

The prolific writer and hunter Denis Lyell exemplified Bryden's form of sentiment in the 1910s and 1920s. In Lyell's hunting "code," the proper hunter was an aesthete, capable of appreciating the beauty and "life force" of the animals he wanted to kill. "He should never succumb to 'buck fever' or ever fire indiscriminately into a herd" (MacKenzie 1988:299, citing Lyell).[12] Rather, the proper hunter handicapped himself in small but symbolic ways. It was but a small step to take from self-limited killing to no killing. As simple wildlife 'preservationism' bloomed into the colonial science of 'conservation,' photography, in its past collection of human 'types', was well positioned as a substitute for hunting. From the start Europeans had supplied pictures of the game they hunted alongside the people who came to their attention. The camera offered itself to the science of collecting both people and animals, since it killed no one. Moreover, from the 1890s on, photography staked an unmatchable claim to accuracy, which the computer's collages and morphing have only begun to dispel today. In one of his later books (1924:112), Lyell turns on Gordon Cumming and accuses his painted illustrations (Ritvo 1987:250) of exaggerating his exploits. Not so with photography, Lyell hints. His own photos serve the pedantic idea of ritualised, yet accurate and taxonomic, hunting (Figure 12).

From the 1890s through the 1920s, cameras and guns jostled one another in wildlife books. Teddy Roosevelt's *African Game Trails*, illustrated with his son Kermit's photos, ends with scientific identifications of all the bagged game, down to *rodentia*

Figure 10 **"Head of Burchell' s Zebra"**. Bryden 1893:380 (111x151)

Figure 11 **"Berg Damara and Bush Boys".** Bryden 1893:414 (111x151)

Figure 12 **"A Massive Bull Elephant".** Lyell 1924:facing 90 (112x155)

Figure 13 **"Masarwa Bushmen".** Bryden 1893:292 (110x153)

Figure 14 **"A Half-Caste Bush Girl".** Jones & Dokes 1937: plate 50 (84x102)

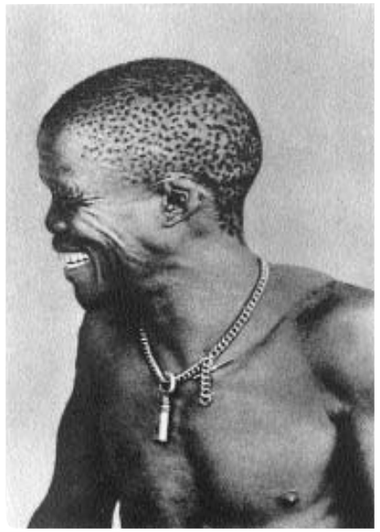


Figure 15 **"/Xam Man Taken at De Beers Mines, Kimberley".** Duggan-Cronin 1942:IV (160x105)

(Roosevelt 1910). By the 1920s a popular guide to "hunting with a camera" (Nesbit 1926) recommended "converting" from the gun.[13] Thus by 1920 an essential shift in the Western apprehension of 'the wild' was manifest.

Bushmen in pictures: the divergence of images from text

We may recall that it was the same period, 1880 to 1920, which also saw the most sustained abuse of bushmen, and the most committed attacks on their claims to be fellow human beings. While Bryden zoologised bushmen, others killed them as bandits. After 1900, scientific racism, eugenics, and the growth of vaudeville all accelerated and legitimised earlier racisms. The worst excesses of German and South African settlers in Namibia fell in the first decades of the century. Bushmen were also affected by larger shifts in the colonial mind-set. Whites' class-based phobias were freshly augmented by sexual and pathological models, out of which were constructed the view of the 'essentially' different African (Curtin 1964; Gilman 1985b; Comaroff & Comaroff 1992; McCulloch 1995).

Not every stereotype can be reduced to 'better' or 'worse', and many of them brushed each other at the edges. Still, on the whole, the bushmen's visual image, when presented to the world, spoke a language very removed from the hostility of settlers and the South African state, and far more like that evinced by H.A. Bryden. In part, the divergence must be connected to the fact that publishing and science—the two enterprises responsible for proliferating information on both animals and bushmen—were internationalist concerns. And yet this key difference in prejudicial interests was obscured by virtue of the great power of publishing and science to cultivate an image of 'the bushman', even in the minds of South Africans who would otherwise never see a 'real' one. This image, as was suggested above, diverged from earlier stereotypes of bestiality in that bushmen, like wild animals in the European view, lost their capacity for doing evil. In this context, anthropologists like Raymond Dart and Matthew Drennan provided a bridge to the new thinking in seemingly reactionary statements. Bushmen were, Dart argued, not only "survivals of humanity's infancy," (Dart radio broadcast, 27 April 1931, cited by Dubow 1995:46), but, according to Drennan, were themselves a "foetalised" people, forever stuck in a racial immaturity. It was such a paradigm that travel photographs of Kalahari-dwellers followed, in a delayed and sometimes diffuse fashion.

To state this central point a bit more sharply: although bushmen were hunted down and killed as predatory bandits by white settlers, they were not *pictured* as dangerous for audiences in Europe, America, and even South Africa; instead, they were drawn into a wider conservationist discourse about African flora and fauna. Moreover, even where period texts attack the supposed savagery or stealth of bushmen, pictures of bushmen do not convey such messages. We have noted similar discordances between textual descriptions and pictures in earlier centuries. The same rupture was abetted by the specific parameters of the photograph. It is thus the nature of photographs of bushmen that must now be discussed.

Africa meant animals to most Europeans and Americans, and still does; nature means animals to most South Africans. Photographs tamed the animals they touched, and made the unknown familiar. Bushmen lived, by the implicit definition of the term 'bush', in the spaces whites and many Africans designated as wild. Therefore, bushmen were brought to heel *merely by existing in accessible images*. Both photographs and trophies caressed their subjects, framed them, and set them down before the observer, safely flattened, or dead, or both (see Figures 10, 12 &14). The elephant and the bushman left their visual mark in the same formats, the same books and magazines one might handle in a sitting-room.[14] In his work on bushmen's material culture, E.J. Dunn (1931:6-8), recalling his experiences in the 1870s, writes about bushmen precisely as hunters wrote about their quarry: in the male singular, regardless of number. "I saw him in 1872 after there had been no rain for more than a year, and he was on the verge of starvation." Just as if he were mentioning gemsbok, Dunn is here referring to no particular individual. "The homing instinct was strong with the Bushman," he notes, because prisoners at the Breakwater made a habit of escaping (Dunn 1931:8). By placing 'true' bushmen on the 'natural' horizon, they were given over, in the Western mind, to the same space occupied by animals. All too typically, Bryden's later book *Wildlife in South Africa* (1936) sandwiches "Masarwa Bushmen and the Kalahari desert", Chapter 21, between two chapters on kinds of water fowl. Such examples could be duplicated. They rendered 'nature' accessible.

Secondly, and relatedly, the conventions peculiar to colonial photography did not permit bushmen to be presented as dangerous killers, or as sneaky or bandit people. Simply put, white men with cameras frightened rural southern Africans (for good reason). Photographs then *displayed their expectant faces* as if this were their normal disposition. As John Tagg writes, "the transparency of the photograph is its most powerful rhetorical device" (Tagg 1988:56, 35). For this reason it is difficult to analyse photographs, because they threaten to merge with the real.[15] What seems obvious, what has been most naturalised, often escapes analysis. But this is much the point! People and events were arrayed around the invisible photog-

Figure 16 **"Five-foot Osa lifts a Pygmy, the mother of five children".** Johnson 1940:311 (115x155)

Figure 17 **"Family of !Kuribe".** Jones & Doke 1937: pl 61(84x102)

Figure 18 **"=Ao //ein Maiden".** Fourie 1928:97 (156x84)

Figure 19 **"Mosarwa".** Shapera 1930: X:140 (147x93)

Figure 20 **"Bushmen wearing the Qhuai, or Apron. The woman in the centre is a San.".** Schwartz 1928:132 (90x105)

Figure 21 **"Bushman Types".** Photographs by A.M. Cronin. Dornan 1925: figure 72 (160x102)

rapher, *seemingly at his command;* and the resulting tableaux were taken as 'just how things are' (Figure 13).

Finally, in Tagg's words, what photographs picture is "measured against an ideal space: a clear space, a healthy space, a space of unobstructed lines of sight, open to vision and supervision" (Tagg 1988:64). It is significant that the openness of the Kalahari seemed especially to elicit this ideal, and that bushmen's lack of encumbrances and their mobility seemed to preclude any concerns about privacy. To an extent the same was true of other Africans, but bushmen were so thoroughly denied a productive life, not only in their image but often in their lived realities, that to Westerners they seemed to retain the totality of their 'culture' even as they were ripped from their homes. Their pictorial removal, in other words, paralleled their actual dispossession. (For another sort of 'removal', that of the exhibition, see Coombes 1994: 88ff.; MacKenzie 1986; & Gordon n.d.)

In this connection one must note again that photos can undermine textual discourses as well. People's facial expressions sometimes show fear (Vernay 1931:266) or disdain (Figure 14) or humour (Figure 15). Some contemporary viewers of the photo of Osa Johnson holding a Twa woman in the Ituri forest in 1929 (Figure 16) must have noticed that every face but hers registers disgust, in a silent indictment of her callousness.[16] Secondly, consider the following pictures, both of which could easily be multiplied: a seemingly nuclear family of bushmen posed in front of their house (Figure 17), and an attractive woman in a seductive portrait (Figure 18). Using pictorial conventions common to Western experience may, as Derridan scholars have argued, provide a discourse for allowing viewers to recognise 'differentness'. But surely they do not 'alterise' the subject as much as getting *rid* of familiar conventions would do. They say: bushmen are not so very other from 'us'.

Bushmen in pictures: the reconvergence of image and text

Without a doubt, however, by the 1920s and 1930s, with the further growth of photography, the conventions of 'encounter' pictures of bushmen began to congeal. Eventually, they drew various textual depictions into a new sort of discourse. What did this pictorial discourse do? First, it robbed its subjects of the attitude of agency, indeed of social intercourse, in making them serve illustrative projects. Increasingly, few bushmen were pictured talking to or 'acting upon' other people. Instead, small groups are often captioned according to their observed behaviour (the hunt, skills, dance, motherhood) in ethnographic fashion (Figure 19).

In many cases bushmen are visually subordinated by being low to the ground. When individuals are pictured who are perceived to be 'domesticated' to the needs of European or American parties, they are figures of scorn. The 'truer' the bushman, the more he or she corresponds to the ideal of being unrepresentable in socialised space. The 'truer' the bushman, the more scarce he or she must be. Just as naturalists searched for the best lion or most authentic silverback gorilla (Harraway 1989), Schwarz (1928:131, 147) pinpoints a few "true" San, distinct on grounds, among "ordinary" bushmen (Figure 20); and Hastings (1956) makes similar judgements in his vaguely comical *Search for the Little Yellow Men*; and still today. Even Duggan-Cronin's (1928–41; 1942) excellent pictures (see Figure 15), in which individuals' personalities often seem to jump from the page, are to be understood as specimens of racial forms (Figure 21).

Perhaps it was inevitable that the 'snapshot', in its great plenitude, would disrupt such ethnographic norms. In this regard it is instructive to compare W.T. Makin's book *Across the Kalahari Desert* (1929) to previous tour books like Bryden's, or Farini's. In contrast to Bryden's attention to species, local politics, required equipment, and so on, Makin lounges through the Kalahari with ironic detachment. For him the desert is a big spectacle, flitting past like a cinematic show; he is unsure even where he is, confusing the Protectorate with South Africa (1929:38, 56). His overriding aim is to find some cigarettes. In his casual racism, Africans are half-civilised figures of fun, and Kalahari whites merely pathetic. Makin wryly notes (1929:275) that even in the 1920s, bushmen were attracting a superabundance of photographers (like himself). Yet, in contrast to Farini, he feels it unnecessary to dwell on bushmen as a presence in themselves, and lumps them together with animals and fossils (Makin 1929:27–8). Most of Makin's pictures seem random in an oddly modern way: his terrier, some children, the Tawana chief, Millington the lorry driver washing his feet (Figure 22), a Kalahari woman (Figure 23).

Photography as a 'serious' ethnographic tool had been given over to the experts, while what was left was a new form of amateur, naturalist pictorialism. Makin's 'snapshots' (Makin 1929:232) illustrate the subjectivity and random apprehensions of Makin's own personal experience.

Isaac Schapera offers further evidence of a fragmentation of the 'text' of colonial experience, and therefore of photographic practice. He is content in his book *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa* (1930) to use pre-existing anthropometric-type photos, some by the anti-preservationist Leonard Schultze (Gordon 1992a:63). They rob bushmen of their personhood in an ugly way (Figure 24). Yet Schapera's own pictures

Figure 22 **"A Desert Bath".** Makin 1929:180 (140x87)

Figure 23 **"The women of the Kalahari grow old quickly, but never lose their sense of humour".** Makin 1929:168 (134x98)

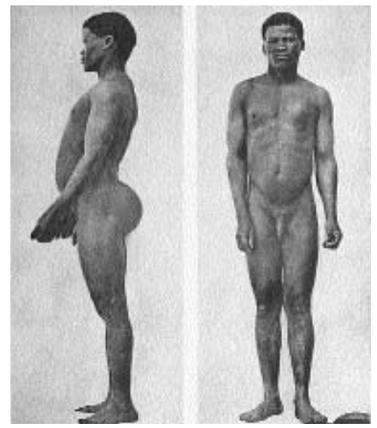


Figure 24 **"/Auni Bushman".** Shapera 1930:I facing 32 (143x102)

Figure 25 **"Our Bushmen Trackers"** Shapera 1932:281 (60x90)

Figure 26 **"One of the wretched Hottentots of the Richtersveld"** Green 1936:55 (111x70)

Figure 27 **"Kun Bushmen and their wives".** Dornan 1925:128 (110x152)

are different. In his chronicle of "A Lion Hunt" (Shapera, 1932) Schapera includes this image embedded in his text (Figure 25). It shows different 'races' of Africans standing up together, with two men shouldering weapons in a non-threatening manner. Like many of his photographs (at the Royal Anthropological Institute in London), it is a modern snapshot.

Nevertheless, when pictures focused on 'bushmen' *per se*, both informal and formal accounts of the Kalahari now displayed them as 'vanishing' wildlife. It is interesting, for instance, that while Dornan (1925) refers to Bleek's (Bleek & Lloyd 1911) very early pictures of bushmen convicts wearing shirts and pants, Dornan shows his readers only photographs of bushmen in a 'natural' state, with foliage and rocks, grass huts and skins. Schwarz (1928), Schapera (1930), Vernay (1931), and Bain (1936) similarly naturalise or desocialise bushmen's environs. In contrast, 'Hottentots' were soon separated entirely from bushmen. They were typified by their poverty, shown in their torn clothes and their desire for piece-work. How different were imagined bushmen, who eschewed European accoutrements entirely—we have come far from Lucy Lloyd's early photographs—and salved European consciences. To put the point differently: by divesting bushmen of the impoverishing marks of 'civilisation', and imagining 'them' far away, European observers firmed up the degraded margin of the colonial economy. It became an absolute border between the secular and the sacred other; between the present and the past; and between the social and the natural. Such clarity was comforting, in light of the actual ambiguity ("hybridity" is the term favoured by Bhabha [1984, 1985] and his followers) that bedevilled the colonial relationship. The 'true' (that is unseen and unreal) bushman was a form of hope; actual marginalised people, Khoe and otherwise, were a rebuke. Compare Lawrence Green's 1936 photo of a 'Hottentot' (Figure 26) with Dornan's 1925 picture of bushmen, an image which later photographers only refined (Figure 27). The two pictures differ as death differs from birth.

Concluding thoughts

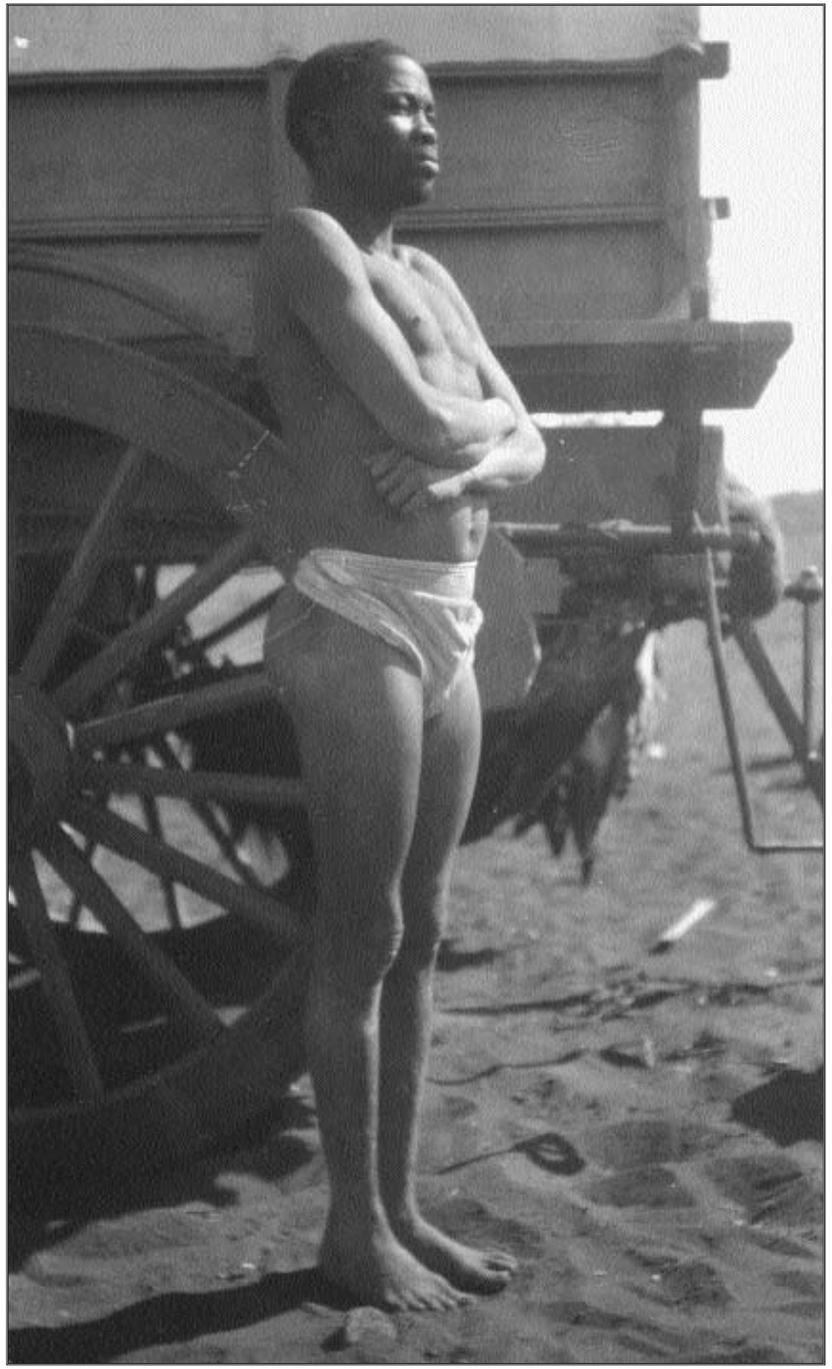
Once images get put into circulation, they move out beyond the orbits in which their initial meanings had placed them. Naming 'bushmen' within a discourse also generates facsimilies of the named status outside it (Wilmsen 1989:4). Commodity capitalism accelerates these detachments, tearing images from their previous contexts and making them serve first one master, then another.

Thus, visual images are often re-used or re-worked simply because they are recognisable. Re-used pictures can *implicate* a wide subject (say, 'Bushmen') in a powerful or fraught way before they say anything *specific* (say, "Bushmen are elegant people"). The initially specific 'messages' of pictures can then be silenced or even reversed. Pictures of bushmen served the 'bushman discourse' in this unpredictable way, carrying their pictorial properties forward beyond their initial purposes, and sometimes into contrasting textual domains. Bushmen images therefore tended to persist after their discursive life-support was ended, as we have seen both for the earliest accounts and for photographic ones. Such imagery seems to communicate on a different level than the text beside it.

Hence the iconography of bushmen's 'naturalness' never entirely disappeared, even though it was depreciated and attacked with a zoological tropology. Soon after, the supposed animality of bushmen was exhibited in their iconography, animals themselves came to be held dear, as the differences between Farini (1886), on the one hand, and Bryden (1893) and Makin (1929), on the other, suggest. Conservationism enfolded both the hunt and the camera-shoot in Africa. In effect, changes in European ideas about nature itself made animals precious, and also made bushmen worth "saving". The aforementioned time lag between pictorial discourse and text assisted this process. Subsequently, this essay has argued, the particular properties of visual images, and especially photographs, helped contain bushmen within certain parameters. Photographs tended to subvert the textual depiction of bushmen as depraved savages or as vermin. They subverted the fear of the unknown by familiarising the looker with the subject. They subverted objectification by allowing human expression to creep in. But most of all, photography placed people and animals in a common space, and normalised their removal to the comforting home of the observer. The camera, like the gun, isolated and stilled its objects, and rendered them discrete from their environments. Since bushmen appeared to float on top of their habitus anyway, they seemed especially easy to remove.

Representing 'the bushmen' as pristine people served to obscure a reality which was increasingly unpleasant for them. Photos recreated bushmen outside the inter-social relationships ensnaring Khoe, San and other people, relationships that some scholars (Schrire 1984; Wilmsen 1989; Gordon 1992a) hold produced bushmen as a *people*, not merely as a visual and textual category. Largely unrelated pastoralist, forager, and bandit peoples, it is argued, were marginalised in the colonial era, so that together they became 'bushmen'. If colonialism thus racialised an impoverished status, photography played an important role in creating it. After all, it is photographed bushmen, far more than any coherent group of real men and women, that have been popularly granted the homogeneous ethnic status 'bushman'.

As the 1930s passed, the visual 'effect' desired for bushmen was only that they stay true to this form. The specific sub-racial 'types' put forth by so many writers all faded, and gave way before the generalised Hunter and his blushing Gatherer, epitomised by the so-called !Kung, but scattered ahistorically all across the Kalahari.[17] The picture of bushmen settled in the groove of a *necessary* fauna, part of an elemental landscape. As they would soon be described by indefatigable post-war authors, bushmen dug roots in bleached landscapes, ran and hid, laughed and told stories, and enjoyed an easy life 'out there', albeit a vanishing, hermetic form of life. The common bond amongst these coffee-table-book peoples, however, was that they scarcely existed. Their image survived whatever component reality it had once, perhaps, reflected.



Masarwa man photographed by Dorothea Bleek in front of her wagon, Botswana *c.*1910–20 SAM 1559

The Proximity of Dr Bleek's Bushman

Martin Hall

On 7 April 1875 Sir Thomas Maclear, retired astronomer and neighbour to Wilhelm Bleek in the leafy suburb of Mowbray, wrote in his lamentable hand: "Disgusting . . . in the Paddock . . . The person, a Bushman of Dr Bleeks. Puks pulled him off. I always dreaded the proximity of Dr Bleek's Bushman."[1] Bleek and his family had only been at Charlton House for a few months, and the 'Bushman' involved in the incident was Diä!kwain, alias David Hoesar, a /Xam from the northern frontier and former convict from the Breakwater prison, who had been working with Bleek since November 1873.

Thirty-five years later, Wilhelm Bleek's daughter remembered Diä!kwain differently:

> There stands before me an old photo of a Bushman. It is David, or Daud, as the Dutch called him. He is looking down with a happy smile at his best hat, which he holds gingerly, in order to display a brass ring on one finger. His best tie and suit have come out very well too. He holds his flute in his right hand. (Bleek & Bleek 1909:40)

Savage, or gentle friend? In this essay, I look at the archaeology of the encounters between /Xam and settlers that took place in Cape Town and Mowbray between 1870 and 1884. I argue that material traces—books, photographs, buildings, paintings—were part of complex interactions. More than mere residues, such artefacts were, in their materiality, part of the way in which people saw themselves and others. But they were also more beguiling in that, although they were intended to inscribe meanings that were fixed and definite, such fixity was inevitably elusive and incomplete. The Bleek sisters' recollections were written to charm: memories of laughter as a 'Bushman' tried to mount a donkey, mock battles in Mowbray lanes, miniature arrows shot in child-like tantrum. Diä!kwain's sepia photograph—happy smile and innocent vanity—conformed to the memories. But the photograph, the tangibility of Diä!kwain's image, was also disturbing. We can imagine Dorothea and Edith turning from the old-fashioned picture frame with darker thoughts, leading them to write of the desolation of the frontier war that caught up Diä!kwain and other /Xam: ". . . bows and arrows had no chance . . . cruelty aroused cruelty. Bushmen shot the invaders with poisoned arrows . . . The settlers made up hunting parties and shot down the Bushmen like baboons" (Bleek & Bleek 1909). Artefacts such as Diä!kwain's photograph mean much more than is evident from their surfaces alone.

•••

Maclear's feelings about Diä!kwain were consistent with general public opinion in his time. There was a wide knowledge of 'Bushmen', both as curiosity and as objects of disgust and fear. For instance, Prichard's *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, first published in 1836, had concluded that "writers on the history of mankind seem to be nearly agreed in considering the Bushmen or Bosjesmen of South Africa as the most degraded and miserable of all nations, and the lowest in the scale of humanity" (quoted in Gordon, 1992a:15). 'Bushman' exhibitions had toured Europe, exciting widespread curiosity (Coombes 1994; Dell 1994). Closer to home, more practical considerations exercised public

1774. APRIL 19. Instructions,—according to which the newly-appointed Field Commandant GODLIEB RUDOLPH OPPERMAN shall have to regulate his conduct upon the Expedition about to attack the Bosjesmans Hottentots, who still continue to commit murder and robbery.

And, although it is, indeed, impossible here to specify and prescribe to you how the march is to proceed, and in which direction the attack shall take place, still your arrangements must be so made that the said three commandos shall set out upon their journey on one and the same day, in the manner following, to wit:

The first under your own command with the field corporals, D. S. van der Merwe, &c.—(*Distribution and names as in the preceding paper.*)—to assemble behind the Sneuwberg, and to make the attack in those districts.

The second, under the *Commando* of Nicolaas van der Merwe, to assemble at the Sax River, and make the attack in the surrounding districts.

The third, under the direction of Gerrit van Wyk, to meet in the Lower Bokkeveld, and to make an attack in the so-called Bosjesmanland.

So soon as this attack shall, in the manner stated, have been commenced, and when the robbers shall have been driven out of their dens and lurking places, beyond, or to the further side of the most remote dwellings of the inhabitants of the said districts, the commanders of the said parties shall not pursue them in an inconsiderate manner, and expose their men to needless danger, but, on the contrary, shall employ every possible means of entering into an amicable negociation with them, and thus endeavor to bring them to a cessation of hostilities and to a peace; to which end, on finding them so disposed, you will enter into a treaty with them, presenting to them, as a proof of our disposition to take them under our protection, a moderate portion of the said tobacco and other bagatelles and trinkets, together with a promise of giving to them, in the event of their conducting themselves peaceably towards our inhabitants, and leaving them unmolested, some farms to reside upon.

The object being attained in this respect, and peace having been concluded with the said people, you shall evacuate for them, and give to them for their occupation, as many farms, or tracts of country (*velden*) as, without too great injury to our own inhabitants, they may require for themselves or for pasture for their cattle. You shall also take the utmost care that our said inhabitants do not place themselves further than, or beyond the said Hodentots, nor molest them in any way or manner whatsoever, and thus again give them reason or inducement to revenge and murder. You shall, on the contrary, in such case, exert all your diligence and authority, and adopt what-

ever means may be deemed useful and necessary to avert or prevent the like. You may and shall also, should the object of making peace be accomplished, place over the said Bosjesmans Hottentots the so-called kraal captains or chiefs, and deliver to them, as proof and token that they are taken under the protection of the government, the said staves with copper bands, bearing the Company's mark.

In the event, however, of your being unable to dispose them in any way whatsoever to the proposals above detailed; and should necessity thus demand that they should be entirely subdued and destroyed, in such case it is left to your good management and that of the commanders of the other parties, so act therein according to the exigencies and circumstances of the case, and to attack and slay them, in such a cautious manner, however, that our own inhabitants may be as little as possible exposed to danger, and not rashly led to slaughter; and also that no blood shall be spilled without absolute necessity, and that as much as shall be by any means possible, the women and the defenceless males shall be spared.

And as it is evident that you will, in the attack, get possession of many of the wives and children of the said Bosjesmans Hottentots, and that they will become troublesome to you, it is therefore left to you again to release the women, but you will keep the adult and the young (*weerbaar en aankomende*) males in safe custody, until this expedition is ended and all is restored to quiet, when you will let them go, or divide them in proportion among the poorest of the inhabitants there, in order to continue to serve them for a fixed and equitable term of years, in consideration of their receiving proper maintenance, for which purpose some of them must be brought hither.

You shall, however, take good care and prevent their being—any more than the other free Hottentots who have entered the service of our inhabitants for hire—maltreated by them in an unlawful manner (as has more than once happened with many) and thus excited to wicked (*heidense*) revenge. You will also take care that the cattle plundered from the inhabitants, which may be retaken during this expedition and afterwards, be restored to the former possessors, in proportion to the waits of each person.

As it cannot be foreseen how long this expedition will last, or when it can be brought to a conclusion, it is left to you to act therein according to circumstances.

Trusting, now, that all will be managed by you discreetly, according to the duty of an upright and honorable man,—the authority of the government maintained, and the best interests of the colony and of the inhabitants duly consulted, we will recommend you the protection of the Almighty, and remain,

Your good friends,

Actum in the meeting of Heemraden and Military Officers, M. A. Bonau, &c. &c.
at Stellenbosch, 19th April 1774.

opinion; 'Bushmen' were stock thieves on and beyond the northern frontier, threatening the land claimed for pasturage by *trekboers* (Gordon 1992a). In the words of the *Standard and Mail's* Editorial for 18 December 1873, which Maclear may well have read on the veranda of 'Grey Villa':

> the wandering Bushmen are worse than the Kafirs . . . He neither ploughs nor sows, he does not rear cattle or sheep; he is, in truth, a wild animal in human shape, preying upon whatever he can lay hands on, now stealing sheep, now grubbing up roots, now feeding on mere garbage when nothing else comes his way . . . dress is to him a ridiculous superfluity; a cave is his dwelling, and his idea of marriage had better not be discussed.

Such ill esteem was consistent with a wider discourse, which differentiated in increasingly virulent terms between the 'clean' suburbs such as Mowbray—hygienic, civilised and English—and the 'dirty' city; disease-ridden, barbaric and foreign. The commonplace metaphors of the *Standard and Mail*, and most other newspapers of the time, associated the underclass and indigenous population of the Cape with contagion of all kinds (Bickford-Smith 1995; Grant 1991; Van Heyningen 1989).

Consequently, it is surprising to find that, with the exception of Maclear's private complaint, there was no evident criticism of Bleek's work with his /Xam servants. The first, /A!kunta, had been released into Bleek's custody from the Breakwater Prison on 29 August 1870, when Bleek, his wife, Jemima, and his sister-in-law, Lucy Lloyd, had been living on the other side of Main Road at 'The Hill'. /A!kunta had been followed by //Kabbo in February the following year, and by ≠Kásin in November 1873 and ≠Kásin's wife, !Kweiten ta //ken, in June 1874. Diä!kwain, who was to encounter Puks in Maclear's paddock, was first at Mowbray in December 1873 and, after returning north for a few months in 1874, was the only one of this first group of /Xam to move with the Bleeks to their new house in January 1875. Since Mowbray in the 1870s consisted of little over 50 'principal residences', closely linked by the social connections of its bourgeois families and the ebb and flow of their servants, everyone knew everyone else's business and the coming and going of 'Mr Bleek's Bushmen' were common knowledge (Figure 1).[2]

Indeed, rather than being criticised or even politely ignored as an eccentric, Bleek was widely respected for his enterprise. When he died a few months after the Diä!kwain incident, the *Cape Argus* offered the opinion that, had the funeral not been a strictly private ceremony, "it would have been attended by many hundreds", and mourned that this "typical representative of the German

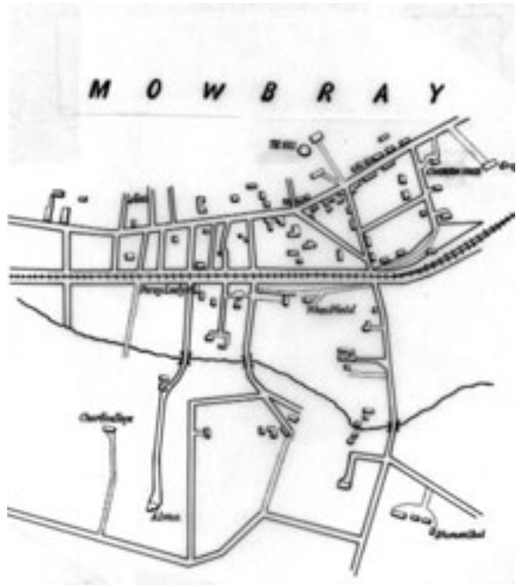


Figure 1 **Mowbray villas in the 1870s.** (Based on CA D1991/2134)

student and scholar" would be missed "by the numerous friends in South Africa to whom his name was a household world, but by whom his familiar visage shall be beheld no more."[3] Why do the newspapers of the time, then as always barometers of general prejudice, both condemn the 'Bushman' as inimical to civilisation, and yet praise Bleek for work that rescued their humanity?[4]

The key to Bleek's contemporary reputation was his standing as a philologist, an intellectual pursuit shared or admired by many, including Sir George Grey, one of the most influential politicians in the nineteenth-century Cape. Today, philology is a dead letter in the dictionary's graveyard: "no longer in scholarly use". But before the sweeping revolution of Saussure's structural approach, historical linguistics offered a world-view which subsumed ethnology, history, philosophy and science. The philologist's task was "to connect that postlapsarian moment just after language's birth with the present, then to show how the dense web of relationships between language users is a secular reality from which the future will emerge" (Said 1984:27–9).

Philology was unchallenged intellectually throughout the nineteenth century, and was the particular domain of German scholarship. For Cape Town to have Bleek ensconced at its heart, surrounded by learned volumes in a monumental public library with classical facade, was to own an invaluable emblem of cosmopolitan status. George McCall Theal, who had a caustic phrase for many things, was ecstatic: "the name of Dr Bleek should be uttered not only with the deepest respect, but with a feeling akin to reverence" (Theal 1911:xxxiv).

Bleek's own views on his work were consistent with the concept of philology as the universal, secular science of humanity. In the Preface to his *Comparative Grammar* he wrote that:

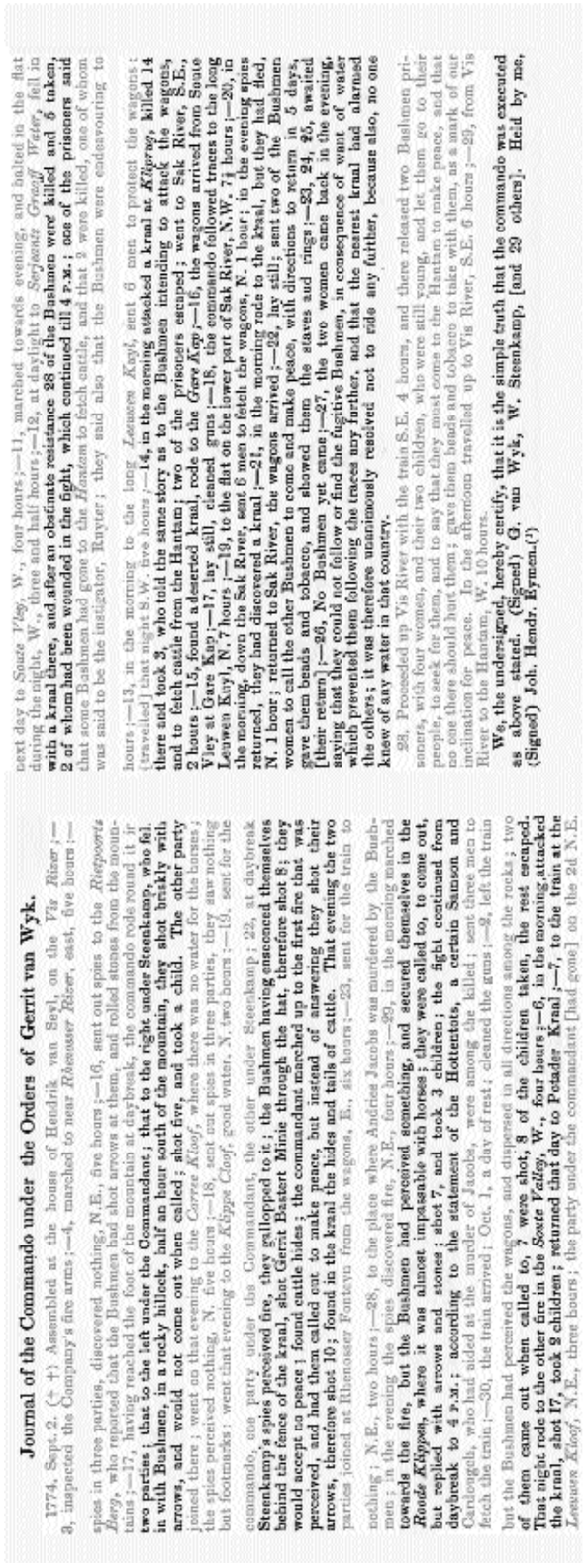
> The history of South Africa, as far as it can be learnt from written records, does not extend beyond a few centuries back, and refers only to some small portions of the coast line of this continent. But there is another kind of historical research accessible to us, which embraces thousands of years of the bygone times of *our race*. From the facts brought to light by Comparative Philology and Ethnology, a knowledge can be gained—superior in its certainty to that of the historical record—of the descent and mixture of the different nations inhabiting South Africa, their consanguinity with and influence upon each other, their gradual breaking up into several tribes, or the confluence of different tribes into one powerful nation. (Bleek 1862, emphasis added)

Bleek had an organic vision of humanity, hence his reference to "our race", and saw his task as the search for "the ultimate solution of the mystery which still envelopes the origin of speech" (Bleek 1869). Philology was a "master text" for the secular study of life (Said 1984), leading Bleek to establish and nurture scholarly connections with Huxley and other biologists, and to hold Charles Darwin in high admiration:

> The endowment of speech is the cement that binds together all the parts of the gigantic organism of humanity, and the expressions of this endowment bear a certain analogy to the circulation of the blood in the animal body. The individual man holds merely the same relation to the real unit of entire humanity as a single cell holds to the whole of a great organic being, whether it be a unit in the animal or in the vegetable world. (Bleek 1869)

Accordingly, Bleek sent anatomical photographs to Huxley in England (Godby, this volume) and the family spent holidays at Kalk Bay, collecting marine specimens to be sent to Europe (Spohr 1962). On at least one occasion, one of the /Xam went along as well, to hold the collecting bottles.[5]

But research costs money, and Bleek had limited financial resources and chronic bad health. He needed a patron, and found one in Sir George Grey, Governor of the Cape from 1854 to 1862. The two men first met in 1855, when Bleek was in Natal working for Bishop Colenso on the production of a Zulu grammar and the Governor visited Pietermaritzburg. Grey had well established philological interests and wanted to make in his



Journal of the Commando under the Orders of Gerrit van Wyk.

1774, Sept. 2. (+ +) Assembled at the house of Hendrik van Seyl, on the *Vis River*; —
3, inspected the Company's fire arms;—4, marched to near *Rhenosser Rivier*, east, five hours;—
next day to *Soute Vley*, W., four hours;—11, marched towards evening, and halted in the flat
during the night, W., three and half hours;—12, at daylight to *Seyberts Groot Water*, fell in
with a kraal there, and after an obstinate resistance 28 of the Bushmen were killed and 5 taken,
2 of whom had been wounded in the fight, which continued till 4 p.m.; one of the prisoners said
that some Bushmen had gone to the *Hantam* to fetch cattle, and that 9 were killed, one of whom
was said to be the instigator, Ruyter; they said also that the Bushmen were endeavouring to
hours;—13, in the morning to the long *Lemoen Kuyl*, sent 6 men to protect the wagons;
(travelled) that night S.W. five hours;—14, in the morning attacked a kraal at *Kliprug*, killed 14
there and took 3, who told the same story as to the Bushmen intending to attack the wagons,
and to fetch cattle from the Hantam; two of the prisoners escaped; went to Sak River, S.E.,
2 hours;—15, found a deserted kraal, rode to the *Grave Kop*;—16, the wagons arrived from Soute
Vley at Gare Kap;—17, lay still, cleaned guns;—18, the commando followed traces to the long
Leuwen Kuyl, N. 7 hours;—19, to the flat on the lower part of Sak River, N.W. 7½ hours;—20, in
the morning, down the Sak River, sent 6 men so fetch the wagons, N. 1 hour; in the evening spies
returned, they had discovered a kraal;—21, in the morning rode to the kraal, but they had fled,
N. 1 hour; returned to Sak River, the wagons arrived;—22, lay still; sent two of the Bushmen
women to call the other Bushmen to come and make peace, with directions to return in 5 days,
gave them beads and tobacco, and showed them the staves and rings;—23, 24, 25, awaited
[their return];—26, No Bushmen yet came;—27, the two women came back in the evening,
saying that they could not follow or find the fugitive Bushmen, in consequence of want of water
which prevented them following the traces any further, and that the nearest kraal had alarmed
the others; it was therefore unanimously resolved not to ride any further, because also, no one
knew of any water in that country.

28, Proceeded up Vis River with the train S.E. 4 hours, and there released two Bushmen pri-
soners, with four women, and their two children, who were still young, and let them go to their
people, to seek for them, and to say that they must come to the Hantam to make peace, and that
no one there should hurt them; gave them beads and tobacco to take with them, as a mark of our
inclination for peace. In the afternoon travelled up to Vis River, S.E. 6 hours;—29, from Vis
River to the Hantam, W. 10 hours.

We, the undersigned, hereby certify, that it is the simple truth that the commando was executed
as above stated. (Signed) G. van Wyk, W. Steenkamp, [and 29 others]. Held by me,
(Signed) Joh. Hendr. Eymen.(1)

spies in three parties, discovered nothing, N.E., five hours;—16, sent out spies to the *Rietpoorts Berg*, who reported that the Bushmen had shot arrows at them, and rolled stones from the mountains;—17, having reached the foot of the mountain at daybreak, the commando rode round it in two parties; that to the left under the Commandant; that to the right under Steenkamp, who fell in with Bushmen, in a rocky hillock, half an hour south of the mountain, they shot briskly with arrows, and would not come out when called; shot five, and took a child. The other party joined there; went on that evening to the *Carree Kloof*, where there was no water for the horses; the spies perceived nothing, N. five hours;—18, sent out spies in three parties, they saw nothing but footmarks; went that evening to the *Kloge Cloof*, good water, N. two hours;—19, sent for the commando, one party under the Commandant, the other under Steenkamp; 22, at daybreak Steenkamp's spies perceived fire, they galloped to it; the Bushmen having ensconced themselves behind the fence of the kraal, shot Gerrit Bastert Minie through the hat, therefore shot 8; they would accept no peace; found cattle hides; the commandant marched up to the first fire that was perceived, and had them called out to make peace, but instead of answering they shot their arrows, therefore shot 10; found in the kraal the hides and tails of cattle. That evening the two parties joined at Rhenosser Fontyn from the wagons, E., six hours;—23, sent for the train to nothing; N.E., two hours;—28, to the place where Andries Jacobs was murdered by the Bushmen; in the evening the spies discovered fire, N.E., four hours;—29, in the morning marched towards the fire, but the Bushmen had perceived something, and secured themselves in the *Roode Klippen*, where it was almost impassable with horses; they were called to, to come out, but replied with arrows and stones; shot 7, and took 3 children; the fight continued from daybreak to 4 p.m.; according to the statement of the Hottentots, a certain Samson and Cardoegeli, who had aided at the murder of Jacobs, were among the killed; sent three men to fetch the train;—30, the train arrived; Oct. 1, a day of rest; cleaned the guns;—2, left the train but the Bushmen had perceived the wagons, and dispersed in all directions among the rocks; two of them came out when called to, 7 were shot, 8 of the children taken, the rest escaped. That night rode to the other fire in the *Soute Valley*, W., four hours;—6, in the morning attacked the kraal, shot 17, took 8 children; returned that day to Potadet Kraal;—7, to the train at the *Leeuwen Kloof*, N.E., three hours; the party under the commandant [had gone] on the 2d N.E.

personal library the most complete collection on aboriginal languages yet seen. It was agreed that Bleek would travel to Cape Town to work on both antipodean and African material, and the following November found him engaged as an interpreter and working in Government House on Grey's collections (Spohr 1962). Five years later, Grey was dispatched to New Zealand. He donated his books and manuscripts to the Public Library on condition that Bleek was appointed their curator. The stipend—£250 per annum—was sufficient for Bleek to marry Jemima Lloyd, daughter of the Archdeacon of Durban. Although Bleek complained of financial hardship for the rest of his life, Grey's endowment underwrote both his research enterprise and, for a while, that of his sister-in-law, Lucy Lloyd. She continued to work with the /Xam after Bleek's death, and was to make the larger contribution to the exegesis of /Xam mythology.

Bleek held Grey in lifelong admiration, a view that has not been shared by historians. As Jeff Peires has shown, the Governor was a deeply ambiguous character (Peires 1989). Grey shared Bleek's philosophical convictions and was actively interested in botany, zoology, entomology, geology, linguistics and folklore. With Bleek, he believed in the organic unity of the human race and was fascinated in the cultures of those caught in the widening net of colonial expansion. But Grey was driven by a ruthless egotism and a complete belief in his right, as a 'hero', to absolute power: "Blessed with great gifts but cursed with an obsessive self-pride, Sir George Grey exploded on the South African scene, half Superman and half Devil" (Peires 1989:52).

While Bleek expressed his philological conclusions in scholarly treatise, such as his *On the Origin of Language* (1869), Grey made the colonies his canvas. Peires has shown how the Governor shaped his policy towards indigenous populations in Australia and New Zealand, bringing his outlook fully formed to South Africa. His philological view of the organic nature of humanity led him to reject the established principles of cultural segregation, arguing passionately for social improvement through integration and the replacement of savage aboriginal customs by the amalgamation of disparate conquered societies into an integrated whole modelled on Victorian Britain (Peires 1989). Stevenson's *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* serves as a metaphor for the pairing of Bleek and Grey. Where their shared intellectual interests took Bleek into the ethereal realm of northern scholarly discourse, Grey instigated some of the most brutal colonial subjugations of the southern hemisphere. It is symptomatic of the complexities of colonialism that each had the admiration of the other, and that both were revered in the Cape in their lifetimes.

Bleek's first contact with /Xam-speakers was with convicts brought to Cape Town in 1863 by Louis Anthing, Resident Magistrate of Namaqualand (Deacon

1991). But the possibility of getting closer to the 'ultimate solution' of the origins of language had been anticipated several years earlier:

> Since the Hottentots and Bushmen have in general retained, most faithfully, the primitive and original state of their race, in customs, manners, language, etc., a study of their peculiarities must be regarded as eminently important, nay, indispensable, for attaining a knowledge of the prehistorical condition and unrecorded history of their kindred nations . . . that such researches, if once properly made, will prove of great interest for the history of mankind in general. (Bleek 1857)

Thus, although Bleek's major 'Bushman period' began after Grey left the Cape, it was bedded in the wider philological project which had been the subject of intense discussions with the Governor, and about which Bleek was to report regularly to Grey. In one of his last letters, written to Grey in April 1875, Bleek summarised his frustrations and progress:

> Enclosed I send you the prefatory letter to my Bushman Report, which I had hoped long before this to have seen printed; but the printers hands are so full that I cannot get them to do anything, now that our Parliamentary Session has begun. I am making an earnest struggle as far as my very limited strength allows me, to get as much as possible saved of the Folklore of the Natives. I am hammering at the Missionaries, occasionally with good success; I am bombarding the Government here, in Australia and North America, not quite without result, but I see I must go on pelting them . . . I am afraid I shall have to appeal to friends of Folklore in England for means to enable me to reward Missionaries and for collecting Native Folklore before the fearful strides of civilisation due to our diamonds and gold, are doing away with all Native originality. They are spending here fifty thousand pounds upon a House of Parliament, and cannot spare a single thousand for such an object which does not brook delay. But yet I will not give up the matter, and fortunately I can get a little done here and there by people who take an interest in the matter. I am now mainly occupied with working at a continuation of my comparative Grammar. Yet the Bushman is not altogether neglected, although for the present the task of collecting its folklore is left to my sister-in-law, Miss L.C. Lloyd . . .[6]

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In their various enterprises, both Grey and Bleek pared down the complex, contradictory and confusing day-by-day world until they could see coherent meanings. For Grey, the extrovert hero, these were the skeleton of principles that enabled him to see consistency and purpose in his imperial policy. For Bleek, the introvert intellectual, they were the grammars that underlay the languages he studied. And it was crucial to these essential structures that they had material form.

True to the statesman with an eye ever to history, Grey made sure that his passage through the world was inscribed in as many different ways as possible: foundation stones, monuments, places on maps, and by the revolutionary technique of wet plate photography. Indeed, photography was particularly suitable for leaving an appropriate trace, combining the painterly, monumental and ceremonial in one posed moment. Grey had himself photographed on the grand scale. For example, he was recorded laying the foundation stone of the new Somerset Hospital before 12 000 people, although the demands of ceremony conflicted rather; there was difficulty with the collodion plates because of the billowing clouds of smoke from the artillery guns which had fired the salute (Bensusan 1966; Bull & Denfield 1970).

Bleek's passion was his books—the inscription of his view of the world in print. But, like Grey, he saw the possibilities in photography, and the material assemblage of the Mowbray 'Bushman project' includes a collection of prints, one of which is the portrait of Diä!kwain that Edith and Dorothea Bleek were to look at in remembrance many years later. Looked at closely, these artefacts seem inconsistent and sometimes contradictory, the work of women and men influenced by the prejudices of their times; sometimes exploiting the image of the savage for commercial gain, but at other times urgently trying to document the San and their life out of a sense of history passing by; sometimes complicit in colonial oppression, but also outraged by the reports of dispossession and murder from the frontier. To adapt the words of one of Bleek's scholarly contemporaries, an artefact "appears, at first sight, a very trivial thing, and easily understood. Its analysis shows that it is, in reality, a very queer thing, abounding in metaphysical subtleties and theological niceties" (Marx 1974:76).

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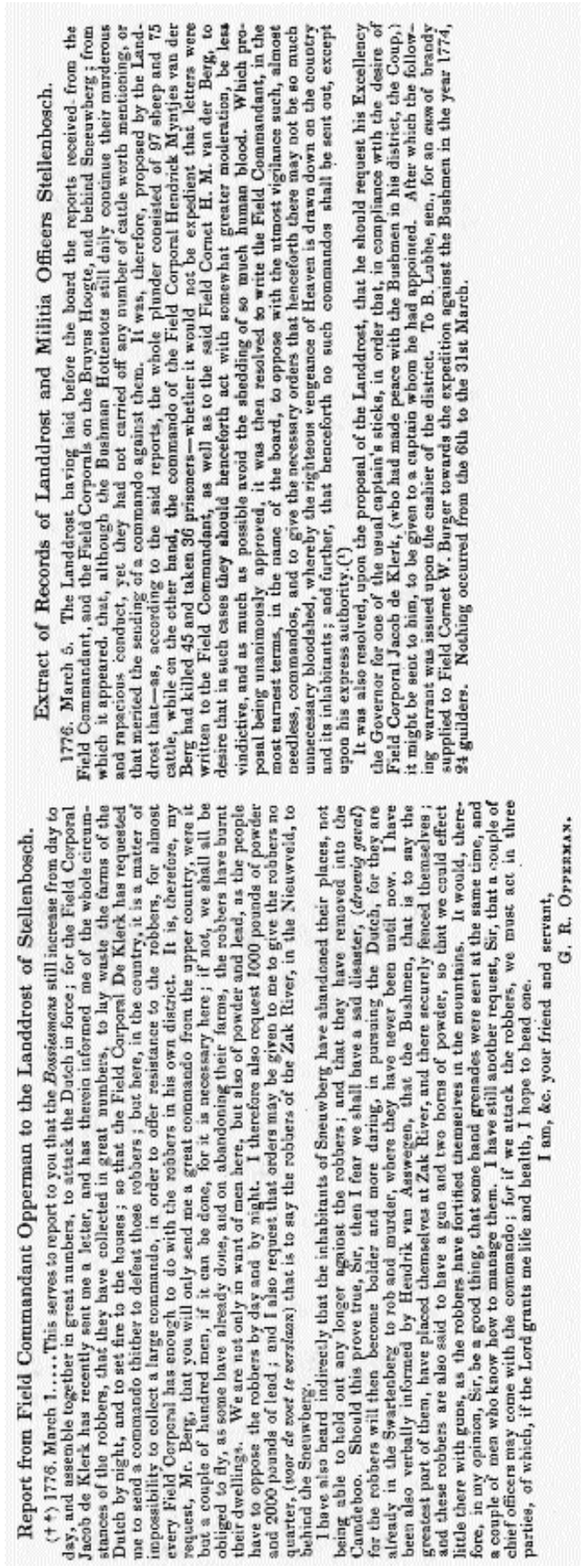
On the one hand, Bleek's project with the /Xam conformed to the colonial imperatives of containment, surveillance and subjugation. In seeking permission to have 'Bushman' prisoners sent to Mowbray, Bleek wrote that since he had taken up residence at The Hill, he now had "possibilities of keeping a Bushman under proper surveillance such as I have never had before."[7] Bleek must also have been in contact with Colenso about obtaining captives for his villa, for in December 1870 the Bishop replied:

> My dear Bleek. If once we catch a Bushman family, as you say, I do hope that I shall remember to plead



Extract of Records of Landdrost and Militia Officers Stellenbosch.

1776. March 5. The Landdrost having laid before the board the reports received from the Field Commandant, and the Field Corporals on the Bruyns Hoogte, and behind Sneeuwberg; from which it appeared, that, although the Bushman Hottentots still daily continue their murderous and rapacious conduct, yet they had not carried off any number of cattle worth mentioning, or that merited the sending of a commando against them. It was, therefore, proposed by the Landdrost that—as, according to the said reports, the whole plunder consisted of 97 sheep and 75 cattle, while on the other hand, the commando of the Field Corporal Hendrick Myntjes van der Berg had killed 45 and taken 36 prisoners—whether it would not be expedient that letters were written to the Field Commandant, as well as to the said Field Cornet H. M. van der Berg, to desire that in such cases they should henceforth act with somewhat greater moderation, be less vindictive, and as much as possible avoid the shedding of so much human blood. Which proposal being unanimously approved, it was then resolved so write the Field Commandant, in the most earnest terms, in the name of the board, to oppose with the utmost vigilance such, almost needless, commandos, and to give the necessary orders that henceforth there may not be so much unnecessary bloodshed, whereby the righteous vengeance of Heaven is drawn down on the country and its inhabitants; and further, that henceforth no such commandos shall be sent out, except upon his express authority.(†)

It was also resolved, upon the proposal of the Landdrost, that he should request his Excellency the Governor for one of the usual captain's sticks, in order that, in compliance with the desire of Field Corporal Jacob de Klerk, (who had made peace with the Bushmen in his district, the Coup,) it might be sent to him, to be given to a captain whom he had appointed. After which the following warrant was issued upon the caalier of the district. To B. Labbe, sen., for an oxwof brandy supplied to Field Cornet W. Burger towards the expedition against the Bushmen in the year 1774, 24 guilders. Nothing occurred from the 6th to the 31st March.

Report from Field Commandant Opperman to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch.

(†*) 1776. March 1..... This serves to report to you that the *Bossiesmans* still increase from day to day, and assemble together in great numbers, to attack the Dutch in force; for the Field Corporal Jacob de Klerk has recently sent me a letter, and has therein informed me of the whole circumstances of the robbers, that they have collected in great numbers, to lay waste the farms of the Dutch by night, and to set fire to the houses; so that the Field Corporal De Klerk has requested me to send a commando thither to defeat those robbers; but here, in the country, it is a matter of impossibility to collect a large commando, in order to offer resistance to the robbers, for almost every Field Corporal has enough to do with the robbers in his own district. It is, therefore, my request, Mr. Berg, that you will only send me a great commando from the upper country, were it but a couple of hundred men, if it can be done, for it is necessary here; if not, we shall all be obliged to fly, as some have already done, and on abandoning their farms, the robbers have burnt their dwellings. We are not only in want of men here, but also of powder and lead, as the people have to oppose the robbers by day and by night. I therefore also request 1000 pounds of powder and 2000 pounds of lead; and I also request that orders may be given to me to give the robbers no quarter, (*voor de voet te verslaan*) that is to say the robbers of the Zak River, in the Nieuweveld, to behind the Sneuwberg.

I have also heard indirectly that the inhabitants of Sneuwberg have abandoned their places, not being able to hold out any longer against the robbers; and that they have removed into the Candeboo. Should this prove true, Sir, then I fear we shall have a sad disaster, (*droevig geval*) for the robbers will then become bolder and more daring, in pursuing the Dutch, for they are already in the Swartenberg to rob and murder, where they have never been until now. I have been also verbally informed by Hendrik van Aswegen, that the Bushmen, that is to say the greatest part of them, have placed themselves at Zak River, and there securely fenced themselves; and these robbers are also said to have a gun and two horns of powder, so that we could effect little there with guns, as the robbers have fortified themselves in the mountains. It would, therefore, in my opinion, Sir, be a good thing, that some hand grenades were sent at the same time, and a couple of men who know how to manage them. I have still another request, Sir, that a couple of chief officers may come with the commando; for if we attack the robbers, we must act in three parties, of which, if the Lord grants me life and health, I hope to head one.

I am, &c. your friend and servant,

G. R. Opperman.

your cause with the Natal Government, and if possible, get them sent down to you . . . There was a Bushwoman captured in the last expedition, who died in Gaol, I believe, being perfectly innocent of any offence, and in fact sacrificed to the cause of civilisation, as our authorities wanted to get some information out of her. She would have suited your purposes very well, still such opportunities may recur.[8]

In other correspondence, the language is feral, the captive 'Bushman' part of the Victorian passion for collecting the exotic. Thus Lucy Lloyd described the 'Bushman language' as 'like nothing I have ever heard excepting the chattering of monkeys in the bush (Natal)',[9] and Bleek wrote to Grey that 'Bushmen' "constantly are chatterbugs in their monkey like speech".[10] Bleek's justification of his expenses to the Colonial Secretary reads like a report by the keeper of a zoological garden:

> The cost of the maintenance of the Bushmen has been great, chiefly because they were not strong to begin with, and required besides warm winter clothing, plenty of good food, as well as, at times, additional nursing and care. The younger Bushman particularly, was at first so weakly that we feared consumption for him, and although now much stronger, he still occasionally suffers from his chest. It was also necessary to make them fairly comfortable, so that they should be less anxious to return to their own country and friends; and we were obliged to keep them particularly clean and tidy, as they had to be for hours in the sitting-room, when giving us instruction in their language. It is also to be taken into consideration that they had to do regular brain-work, and that, frequently up to what, for them, were late hours. The average cost of keeping them has been ascertained by careful calculation.[11]

Thus the routine of having 'Bushmen' living in the garden can be read as conforming to the exigencies of restricting and codifying wild habits. Dorothea Bleek recalled her mother's housekeeping challenges: "You can imagine that a Bushman, who has not even learnt to live in a house, and who knows nothing about cultivating the soil, did not make a particularly good house-boy . . ." (quoted in Spohr 1962:35). Her father worked on the veranda, showing the prisoners everyday objects and listing the words in English and Dutch translation (Lewis-Williams 1981).

Bleek's manuscripts and books—2 621 notebook pages, reports and the *Bushman Dictionary* (only eventually published in 1956)—reduced the full texture of the /Xam narratives to word lists and the ligaments of grammar, capturing, limiting and diminishing this wildness on the frontier of civilisation. And the texts themselves were destined for containment within Grey's great collection. Daily, Bleek took the train from Mowbray to Cape Town, walking up Adderley Street to take up his position in the Public Library, "unquestionably at present the finest of all the buildings . . . artistically designed in the Roman Corinthian style." The connection with Sir George, who had laid the foundation stone, was marked by "a fine marble statue . . . [which is] of colossal size, and stands on a solid block of Cape granite" (Noble 1875:36–7). The solidarity of this archive of civilised knowledge is captured in Bowler's lithograph; in the foreground a sylvan scene of women and children on the lawns of the Gardens; behind, the statue of Sir George and the classical facade of the library (Bowler 1866).

Bleek commented on the value of photographs as a recording technique in the *Cape Monthly Magazine*, as an afterword on Orpen's seminal article on San mythology and rock art: "where a photograph is available, its help would be very desirable, as the general public is sceptical, and not infrequently believes that the drawings are too good not to have been vastly improved in copying, thereby doing scant justice to Bushman art" (Bleek 1874:13). This view was shared by Lucy Lloyd, for when *Specimens of Bushman Folklore* eventually came to be published, the six major 'givers of native literature' were introduced both by name, and by reference to their portraits (Lloyd 1911).

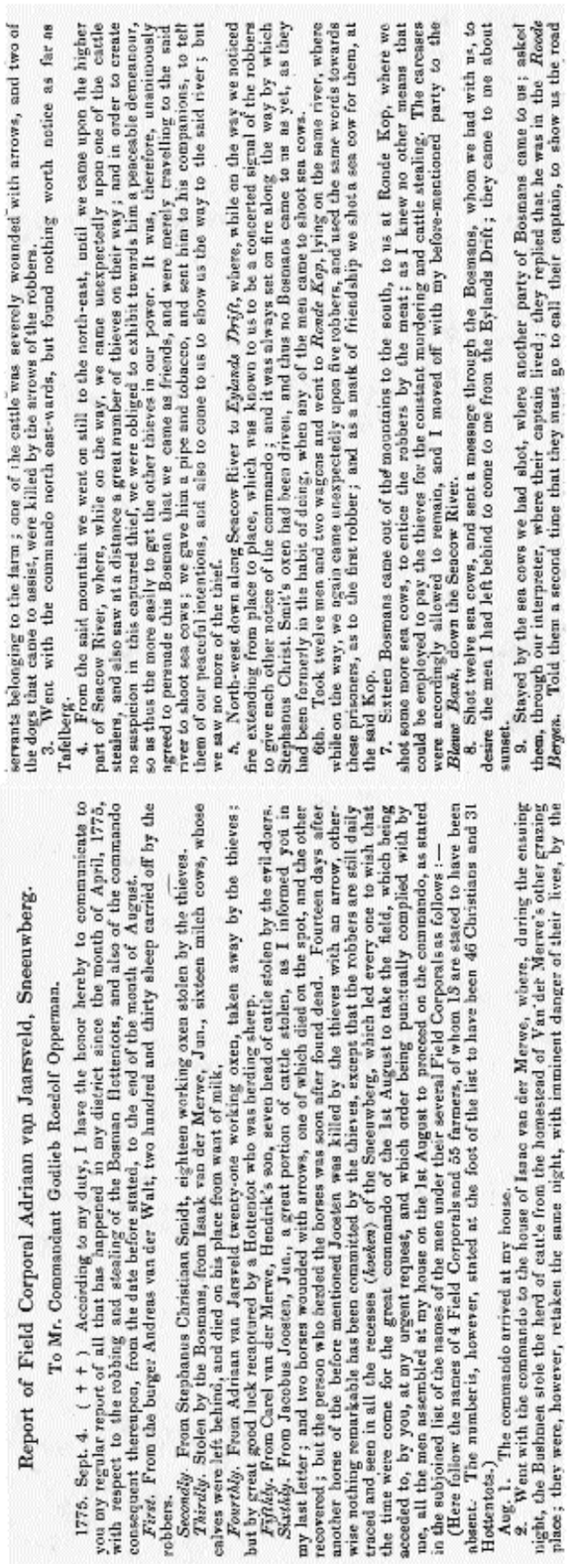
Again, the use of photography is consistent with the imposition of the colonial presence, and with the containment and control of the colonial subject:

> Africa meant animals to most Europeans and Americans, and still does; nature means animals to most South Africans. Photographs tamed the animals they touched, and made the unknown familiar. Bushmen lived, by the implicit definition of the term 'bush', in the spaces whites and many Africans designated as wild. Therefore, bushmen were brought to heel merely by existing in accessible images. Both photographs and trophies caressed their subjects, framed them, and set them down before the observer, safely flattened, or dead, or both . . . The elephant and the Bushman left their visual mark in the same formats, the same books and magazines one might handle in a sitting-room. (Landau this volume)

One of the first photographers to work with Bleek was David Selkirk, who, in 1871, took the two group compositions published in *Specimens of Bushman Folklore* (Bleek & Lloyd 1911, facing pages 436 and 437).[12] These plates show ten Breakwater prisoners, naked to the waist in convict-issue trousers and shoes, posed to show examples of full face, left and right profiles in accordance with "Professor Huxley's instructions" (Bleek 1911). Bleek also used the services of Samuel Baylis Barnard, established as one of Cape Town's most fashionable photographers, twice commissioned by the Duke of Edinburgh (Bull & Denfield 1970). It was perhaps because Barnard had artistic opinions that the results were not quite what Bleek wanted; the photographs of "three other Bushmen photographed by Mr Barnard [were] not in complete accordance with Professor Huxley's directions (they were partly done before their receipt) [but were] sufficiently near to help in illustrating the characteristics of this remarkable race" (Bleek 1911:437–8). Huxley's guidelines were designed to record full anatomical details to meet the requirements of comparative racial studies (Godby, this volume).

Barnard also took the photograph of !Kweiten ta //ken which Lucy Lloyd was to select many years later for publication in *Specimens of Bushman Folklore* (Bleek & Lloyd 1911:facing page 20). The portrait captured its subject in three-quarters profile, her hand to what is apparently a feather boa, drawn across her chest (Figure 2). A second picture—not published—reveals that !Kweiten ta //ken had been swathed in a sheepskin beneath the ostrich feathers.[13] Many contemporary

Figure 2 **Portrait of !Kweiten ta //ken by Samuel Baylis Barnard, Cape Town, June 1874–January 1875. Published in Bleek & Lloyd 1911, facing page 20.** CA E3262; SAM neg no. 674



Report of Field Corporal Adriaan van Jaarsveld, Sneeuwberg.

To Mr. Commandant Gottlieb Roedolf Opperman.

1775. Sept. 4. (+ +) According to my duty, I have the honor hereby to communicate to you my regular report of all that has happened in my district since the month of April, 1775, with respect to the robbing and stealing of the Bosman Hottentots, and also of the commando consequent thereupon, from the date before stated, to the end of the month of August.

First. From the burgr Andreas van der Walt, two hundred and thirty sheep carried off by the robbers.

Secondly. From Stephanus Christiaan Smidt, eighteen working oxen stolen by the thieves.

Thirdly. Stolen by the Bosmans, from Isaak van der Merwe, Jan., sixteen milch cows, whose calves were left behind, and died on his place from want of milk.

Fourthly. From Adriaan van Jaarsveld twenty-one working oxen, taken away by the thieves; but by great good luck recaptured by a Hottentot who was herding sheep.

Fifthly. From Carel van der Merwe, Hendrik's son, seven head of cattle stolen by the evil-doers.

Sixthly. From Jacobus Joosten, Jun., a great portion of cattle stolen, as I informed you in my last letter; and two horses wounded with arrows, one of which died on the spot, and the other recovered; but the person who headed the horses was soon after found dead. Fourteen days after another horse of the before mentioned Joosten was killed by the thieves with an arrow, otherwise nothing remarkable has been committed by the thieves, except that the robbers are still daily traced and seen in all the recesses (*hoeken*) of the Sneeuwberg, which led every one to wish that the time were come for the great commando of the 1st August to take the field, which being acceded to, by you, at my urgent request, and which order being punctually complied with by me, all the men assembled at my house on the 1st August to proceed on the commando, as stated in the subjoined list of the names of the men under their several Field Corporals as follows:—

(Here follow the names of 4 Field Corporals and 55 farmers, of whom 13 are stated to have been absent. The number is, however, stated at the foot of the list to have been 46 Christians and 31 Hottentots.)

Aug. 1. The commando arrived at my house.

2. Went with the commando to the house of Isaac van der Merwe, where, during the ensuing night, the Bushmen stole the herd of cattle from the homestead of Van der Merwe's other grazing place; they were, however, retaken the same night, with imminent danger of their lives, by the servants belonging to the farm; one of the cattle was severely wounded with arrows, and two of the dogs that came to assist, were killed by the arrows of the robbers.

3. Went with the commando north east-wards, but found nothing worth notice as far as Tafelberg.

4. From the said mountain we went on still to the north-east, until we came upon the higher part of Seacow River, where, while on the way, we came unexpectedly upon one of the cattle stealers, and also saw at a distance a great number of thieves on their way; and in order to create no suspicion in this captured thief, we were obliged to exhibit towards him a peaceable demeanour, so as thus the more easily to get the other thieves in our power. It was, therefore, unanimously agreed to persuade this Bosman that we came as friends, and were merely travelling to the said river to shoot sea cows; we gave him a pipe and tobacco, and sent him to his companions, to tell them of our peaceful intentions, and also to come to us to show us the way to the said river; but we saw no more of the thief.

5. North-west down along Seacow River to *Eylands Drift*, where, while on the way we noticed fire extending from place to place, which was known to us to be a concerted signal of the robbers to give each other notice of the commando; and it was always set on fire along the way by which Stephanus Christ. Smit's oxen had been driven, and thus no Bosmans came to us as yet, as they had been formerly in the habit of doing, when any of the men came to shoot sea cows.

6th. Took twelve men and two wagons and went to *Roode Kop*, lying on the same river, where while on the way, we again came unexpectedly upon five robbers, and used the same words towards these prisoners, as to the first robber; and as a mark of friendship we shot a sea cow for them, at the said Kop.

7. Sixteen Bosmans came out of the mountains to the south, to us at Roode Kop, where we shot some more sea cows, to entice the robbers by the meat; as I knew no other means that could be employed to pay the thieves for the constant murdering and cattle stealing. The carcases were accordingly allowed to remain, and I moved off with my before-mentioned party to the *Bloem Bank*, down the Seacow River.

8. Shot twelve sea cows, and sent a message through the Bosmans, whom we had with us, to desire the men I had left behind to come to me from the Eylands Drift; they came to me about sunset.

9. Stayed by the sea cows we had shot, where another party of Bosmans came to us; asked them, through our interpreter, where their captain lived; they replied that he was in the *Roode Bergen*. Told them a second time that they must go to call their captain, to show us the road

expedition photographs showed native subjects in animal skins, while the earlier lithographic tradition of 'Bushman' and 'Hottentot' paintings and published lithographs by artists such as Daniell and Le Vaillant showed subjects in skins and feathers (Landau this volume). Tablier's 'Hottentot Woman' in particular shows a strong resemblance to !Kweiten ta //ken's pose. Thus Barnard's studio photographs were probably conforming to an established tradition of ethnographic representation.

Photography and drawn or painted portraiture were closely allied in the second half of the nineteenth century. Barnard exhibited both paintings and photographs at his Adderley Street studio, and others moved easily between the different media. W.H. Shroeder, who was to become the most celebrated caricaturist and press cartoonist in nineteenth-century South Africa, started his career as a photographic colourist and often worked from photographs of his subjects (Bull & Denfield 1970). Photographs of two of Schroeder's portraits were included in *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*; of //Kabbo as the frontispiece, and of /Han≠kass'o, facing page 1 (Bleek & Lloyd 1911). In addition there is a third portrait, unsigned but clearly by Schroeder, of an unnamed 'young Bushman'.[14]

None of Schroeder's 'Bushman' portraits is dated, and their chronology is important in determining whether they were commissioned before Bleek's death in August 1875 or by Lucy Lloyd at a later date. It has been suggested that the 'young Bushman' was painted before 1870 (Spohr 1962), but this seems unlikely as Schroeder was only born in 1852 and his first work (a comparatively crude cartoon in a satirical magazine, *The Zingari*) was published in 1871. The portraits of /Han≠kass'o and //Kabbo are very similar, both with the same three-quarters head and shoulder pose, and dressed in greatcoats (probably convict-issue), and must surely have been commissioned as a pair. If the men were both painted from life, then this must have been in 1871, when both were in Mowbray together, and probably at Bleek's instigation.[15] If the paintings were executed in 1875 (Godby, this volume) then both must have been made from photographs; however, this does not explain why /Han≠kass'o's picture should be commissioned; as a narrator, he was only to assume any importance three years later. Alternatively (and most probably), both pictures could have been commissioned by Lucy Lloyd after 1878, in which case /Han≠kass'o could have been painted from life, and //Kabbo's portrait must have been based on a photograph (he had left Mowbray in 1873). This interpretation is consistent with the path of Schroeder's career; his reputation was established from portraits of leading Cape personalities published in *The Lantern* from 1877, and he established his own studio, as a cartoonist and portraitist, in 1878 (Cowen 1894).

Photography and painting were even more closely linked in the career of Wilhelm Hermann, a German settler who worked with Lucy Lloyd for nine years.[16] Hermann lived in Stal Plein, a short walk from the Public Library, and had a photographic studio on the ground floor and a 'painting room' above it (Anon. 1967). Although his first training had been as an artist, there is no evidence that he followed Schroeder in painting the /Xam. Hermann's surviving 'Bushman' subjects are all photographed, although in a diversity of genres.

Some of the Hermann pictures refer to Huxley's ethnographic records, although never with the strictness that Bleek would have required. In April 1880, Lucy Lloyd was granted permission to have four 'Bushmen' photographed in the Breakwater prison,[17] and it is clear that Hermann was behind the camera. Three of these pictures were included in *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, and are characterised by full-face or full-profile poses and the inclusion of measuring rods.[18] Other photographs by Hermann present the San as they would have been found in Cape Town and the colonised countryside, dressed in farm labourers clothes. These were taken in Salt River in 1884, when a group from the Kenhardt/Prieska area arrived in Cape Town from Port Nolloth by sea in circumstances that are now unclear (Deacon 1991). These were published as studio prints by Hermann, and four were chosen by Lucy Lloyd for *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*: a group of women and men sitting in the street (facing page 21), a 'Bushman Family' (facing page 164), a group of nine children (facing page 180), and 'Bushman woman with digging stick' (facing page 181). This last person was /X·ken-an, briefly and unsatisfactorily one of Lucy Lloyd's informants (Lloyd 1911).

In striking contrast are the studio photographs that Hermann took of Diä!kwain and 'Jan Rondebout' (Figure 3). Rondebout was sent to Lucy Lloyd from the Breakwater by the chaplain in November 1875[19] and Diä!kwain left Mowbray in March 1876, and so the studio session must have taken place at some time during the summer of 1875–6. Both men are dressed in contemporary fashion; Diä!kwain wears a dark three-piece lounge suit, a shirt with turn-down collar and a 'four-in-hand' tie, and carries a bowler, the acceptable alternative to the high silk hat. 'Rondebout' is in a matching short white jacket and waistcoat and dark trousers. In May 1861 *The Gentleman's Magazine of Fashion* had commented: "In Paris the short square jacket, where the entire suit is of one material, is quite the rage; they call it the *Jaquette Anglais* . . . In England this kind of jacket will be worn for travelling, for the country, and at the seaside . . ." (quoted Byrde 1992:104). Lloyd included a photograph of Diä!kwain taken at this session in the book (Bleek & Lloyd 1911: facing page 5) and Hermann, as usual, published prints from his studio.

With the apparent exception of the early, fully anatomical photographs and Schroeder's portraits, there seems to have been an alliance between Bleek and Lloyd's aims in photographic recording and the commercial interests of the photographers they worked with. This is hardly surprising, given the tenuous financial resources of both the Bleek household and many Cape Town studio photographers, including Hermann (Anon. 1967; Bull & Denfield 1970). Barnard and Hermann's 'Bushman' photographs were published in the 6 $^{1}/_{2}$ x 4 $^{1}/_{2}$ inch '*carte de visite*' format which had become widely popular from 1860, with the publication in London and the colonies of Mayall's *Royal Album*. Professional photographers found a market for a wide range of '*cartes*', including distinguished personalities, artworks and curiosities which collectors assembled in custom designed albums. Although *cartes de visite* were superseded in England by larger format 'cabinet photographs', they remained widely popular at the Cape for the rest of the century (Bull & Denfield 1970).

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In their unfolding of the 'Bushman project', then, Bleek and Lloyd, Selkirk, Barnard, Schroeder and Hermann could seem to be complicit in the diminution of the San; the degrading ethnographic photographs, studio parodies of contemporary fashion and the pandering to the commercialisation of the exotic and curious. But there is a greater complexity as well, ranging from hints of uncertainty in the manner in which images of the /Xam were inscribed, to explicit championing of their cause as victims.

A starting-point in exploring this other side is the very diversity of images included in *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*. Paul Landau has noted this variation, commenting that the book "mixes its iconography. In it, we find not only the photo ('!Kweiten ta //ken'), but ethnographic massings of people according to type. In a few cases, there is a seeming mixture of classical and scientific iconography" (Landau 1994b). Mixed iconography, particularly at the hand of a compiler as meticulous as Lucy Lloyd, is hardly accidental; it implies the absence of a monolithic view of the world. Looked at again, the work of Bleek and Lloyd's Cape Town coterie shows equivalent inconsistencies.

It was not that those involved in the creation of images of the Mowbray San lacked a coherence in their other artistic work. Schroeder's declared vocation was that of the caricaturist, and this is clearly revealed in his cartoons and drawings through the years, which show a strong consistency of style (Cowen 1894). Hermann's love was painting (he much preferred to be in his upstairs studio in Stal Plein, rather than downstairs with his cameras; Anon. 1967) and his surviving watercolours fall into two clear groups: landscapes of forests, trees and craggy mountain scenes, and town scenes in the tradition of Bowler, who had died in 1869. There are no human figures in the landscapes, while those in the

upon this intelligence, I sent out 9 other spies, and in the evening 6 mounted men, who returned towards daybreak, having seen nothing but fire lit by the thieves.

15. Went with the commando by night from the Schuyl Hook south-east to *Carolus Poort*.

16. Sent out 18 spies in two parties, each of six; we also made prisoners of two Bosman scouts, who came to spy our camp; asked them through an interpreter, where their Capt. with his people might be; on which they told us that they were on the said Roode Bergen, and that there was in the kraal a Bosman who lay wounded by a ball through the shoulder, which wound he had received upon the occasion before mentioned, when the cattle of Isaak van der Merwe were taken; still they were not frightened by this, but much more unanimous in repeating the former robbery. They further promised to show us the thieves; upon which promise, I that evening sent a party of my men with them, ordering them to return the same night. Soon after their departure, some of the spies returned, stating that they had found a kraal on one side of the Roode Bergen, about an hour and a half northward, on which I marched with my men that night towards the kraal pointed out by the said spies.

17. At daybreak surrounded the kraal, and when the day favoured us with more light, fired upon it, when not one of the thieves escaped, but fifteen fell on the spot, and eight little ones were taken. On examining this slain kraal, we found the hides of cattle, and fresh mutton and suet. One of my men was also bit by an arrow through his clothes.

18. Turned back with my men to the said Carolus Poort, where those men awaited me whom I had sent out on the 16th Aug. They stated that they had been wofully misled by the two Bosman spies. At last the second party of spies returned, having found the kraal, which the two deceivers should have shown, but the thieves had fled from it, in consequence of the two false guides having led the men with them hither and thither about the kraal, in order to apprise their companions of the commando, by the traces. On this information, I sent out seven other spies with the said two cheats, but strongly impressed upon them, through the interpreter, that if they misled us a second time, they should certainly be put to death; but that if they pointed out the hiding place of the fugitives, they should thereby save their lives; on which they promised to point out the hiding place of the fugitives without fail. I then let them depart, but they had only gone about an hour, when the two deceivers fell on the ground; our spies desired them to rise, but they lay as if dead, without making answer; they then tried to make them rise by means of some blows, but they still made as if they were dead; and seeing no means of getting these deceivers to leave the spot, and that they might not be any further betrayed by them, they were therefore killed on the spot by our spies, and quitting the dead bodies, and having come upon the traces of the fugitives, our spies kept the traces until they found them in a cavern in the Roode Bergen; when they came back further on to the *Groote River*; on this they said it would be trouble to no purpose, as they knew to a certainty that he would not come. I then immediately perceived, as all the plunder is mostly driven in that direction, that it [his reluctance ?] must be on that account. Soon after we all heard [sounds] as of the discharge of firearms, and therefore presumed that a party of thieves had passed through in our rear, and again stolen cattle, and that the men left at home had assembled, and overtaken them with the booty; and, as I thought, the same idea was entertained by the Bosmans whom we had with us, and my presumption was also next morning confirmed, as they all left us secretly during the night, and went to their dens.

10. Moved with the whole commando about two hours down the river, to a place which we soon after called the *Keerom* (Turn Back), whence the same evening I sent a party of spies back to the Blauw Bank, to see whether the fugitives were not at the sea cows; as I knew from experience of the habits of that tribe, that if they knew where carrion is to be found, they assemble there in the night. About midnight the party returned, with intelligence that they had seen there a great number of Bosmans, on which I proceeded in that direction with the commando, waiting for daylight, which soon appearing, I divided the commando into two parties, and thus—

11. Overthrew the robbers there; where on searching, we found one hundred and twenty-two dead, and five escaped, who saved their lives by swimming through the seacow pool. We also took of the defenceless, twenty-one prisoners, of whom three escaped the same day; and on our side Stephanus Vorie was wounded with an arrow, though not mortally; and four other of our men were bit with arrows through their clothes. After counting the dead, we examined their things, to see whether we might not find something from which their robberies could be perceived, thus there were found among their things, ox hides and horns, which they had brought with them for their use. After the examination, I sent eight men on horseback to the north-east, to see if they could find any thing of the traces or carcases of cattle, so that we might take our measures accordingly, whether to be satisfied or not.

The eight men having returned to me, reported that they had seen the traces of the oxen leading still farther to the north-east than the Keerom; there was also seen by them the head of an ox, which had been slaughtered by the Bosmans, but the flesh of which [had been] consumed; on which statement we resolved to go on still further to the termination of the *sees goer*; but upon examining our provisions, we found it insufficient to enable us to go further; and were thus

12. Sent out five spies, to the south-east from the Keerom to the Roode Bergen before mentioned; and in the night proceeded some distance in the same direction with the commando, to the *Schuyl Hook*.

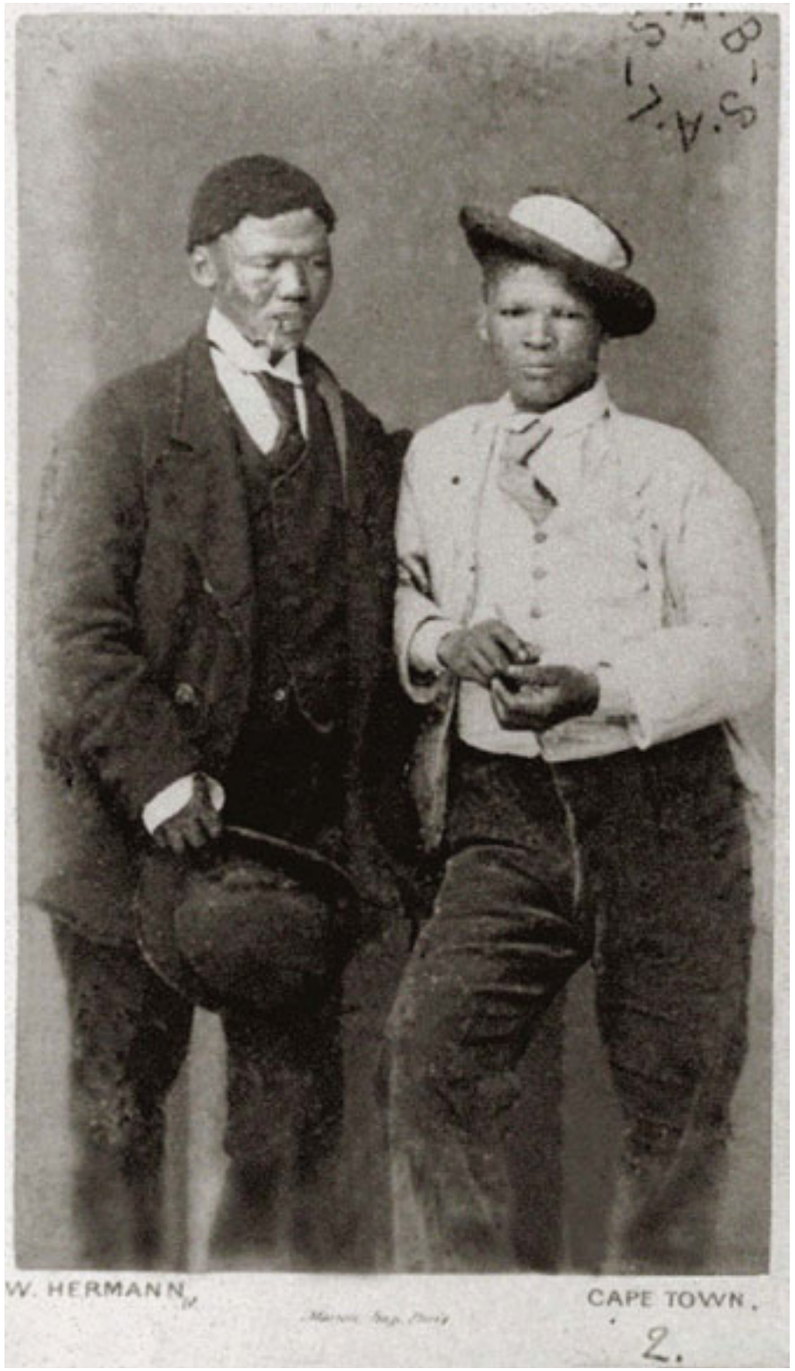
13. The five spies returned, stating that they had seen nothing but fire lit by the Bosmans;

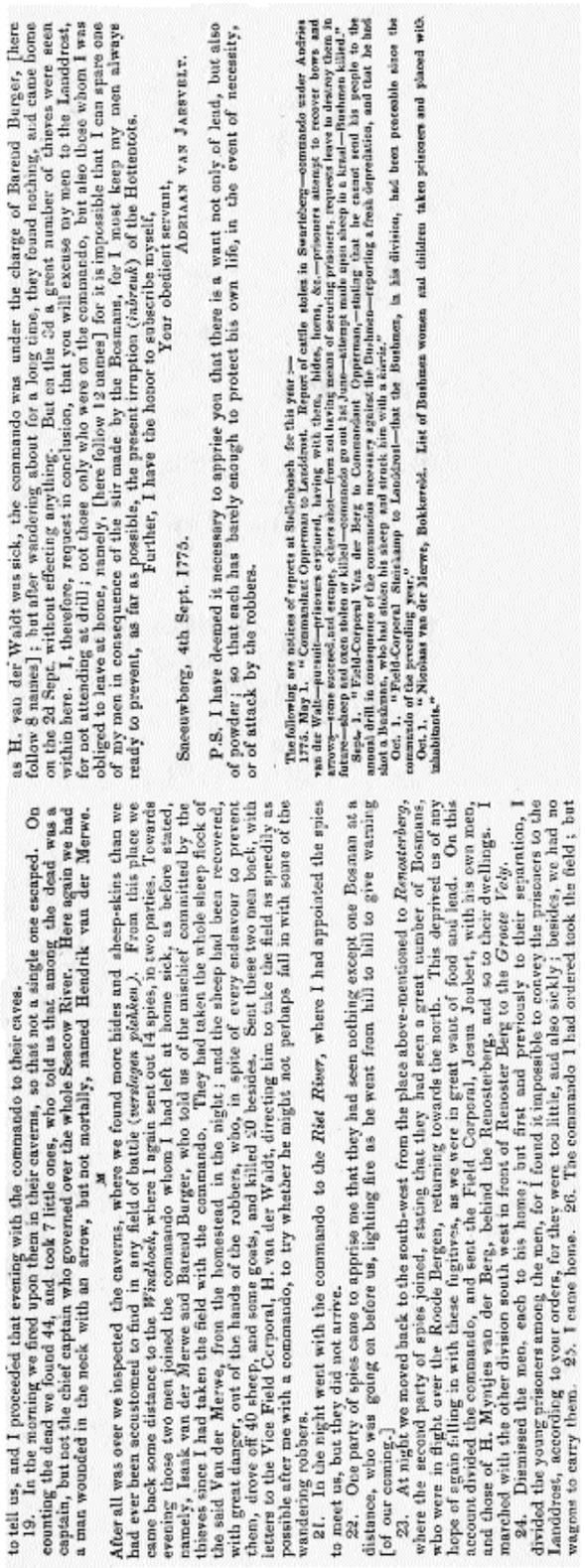
town scenes are invariably small, colourfully dressed 'Cape Malays'.[20] Studio photographs by Barnard, Hermann and other contemporary photographers show eminent men and solid bourgeois in highly repetitive poses. This genre is well represented by a photographic session in the gardens of 'The Hill' in 1873; the four women, all in plain black, looking beyond and to the side of the camera, hands resting on shoulders in a tight and conventional representation of family unity; Wilhelm and Jemima Bleek and their three children, he sitting, she standing (Figure 4).[21] Such conformity is not surprising, given the intimacy of 'respectable' Cape Town society, and the connections between some of the principle protagonists in the 'Bushman project'. Schroeder was long apprenticed to Barnard and learned many of the tricks of portraiture in the photographic studio. In addition, Schroeder was taught art by Hermann. Barnard and Bleek were both contributors to the *Cape Monthly Magazine*, and both Bleek and Hermann had German as their first languages (Cowen 1894; Bull & Denfield 1970).

Given this tendency towards standardisation, the diversity in the representation of the San is even more notable. Schroeder fixed //Kabbo and /Han≠kass'o in three-quarter profiles with dignified expressions which convey seriousness, insight and intelligence—hardly the contemporary caricature of the savage. The careful working of the prison-issue greatcoats which they both wear contributes an emphasised realism. It seems feasible that this commission was a conscious contradiction of the demeaning 'Huxley-style' anatomical photographs (Godby, this volume), either from a wish of Bleek's or (more probably) from Lucy Lloyd's intention of memorialising their most important informants. After Schroeder's death his biographer reported an inveterate tendency to playfulness and caricature (Cowen 1894), and his other work indeed reflects the prejudices of his age. But the "Bushman project" seems to have hit a different chord.

There is similar ambiguity in the photographs of !Kweiten ta //ken. Samuel Baylis Barnard was one of the leading aesthetic brokers in Cape Town (Bensusan 1966; Bull & Denfield 1970). In Cowen's glossy prose, his studio was "life intellectual, artistic life—the most pure, penetrating, refining, fructifying . . . The best of society, the most educated men and women in the country, distinguished visitors and strangers from all parts of the globe, there gathered from time to time" (Cowen 1894). The three-quarters profile of !Kweiten ta //ken, which Barnard published as a *carte de visite*, invokes the society woman, with feather boa, delicate earrings and careful facial lighting (Figure 2). The effect was further heightened in the book plate, where the feather boa has been retouched to give it more emphasis (Bleek & Lloyd 1911: facing page 20). In contrast, an unpublished photograph from the same session is far more the savage (Figure 5).[22]

Figure 3 **Photograph of Diä!kwain and 'Jan Rondebout' by Wilhelm Hermann, Stal Plein, Cape Town, November 1875–March 1876.** (SAL INIL 14154)





as H. van der Waldt was sick, the commando was under the charge of Bareud Burger, [here follow 8 names]; but after wandering about for a long time, they found nothing, and came home on the 2d Sept. without effecting anything. But on the 2d a great number of thieves were seen within here. I, therefore, request in conclusion, that you will excuse my men to the Landdrost, for not attending at drill; not those only who were on the commando, but also those whom I was obliged to leave at home, namely, [here follow 12 names] for it is impossible that I can spare one of my men in consequence of the stir made by the Bosmans, for I must keep my men always ready to prevent, as far as possible, the present irruption (*inbreuk*) of the Hottentots.

Further, I have the honor to subscribe myself,

Your obedient servant,

ADRIAAN VAN JAARSVELT.

Sneeuwberg, 4th Sept. 1775.

P.S. I have deemed it necessary to apprise you that there is a want not only of lead, but also of powder; so that each has barely enough to protect his own life, in the event of necessity, or of attack by the robbers.

The following are notices of reports at Stellenbosch for this year:—

1775, May 1. "Commandant Opperman to Leuddrost. Report of cattle stolen in Swartkops—commando under Andries van der Walt—pursuit—prisoners captured, having with them, hides, horns, &c.—prisoners attempt to recover bows and arrows—case sacred, and escape, others shot—from not having means of securing prisoners, request leave to destroy them in future—sheep and oxen stolen or killed—commando go out 3d June—attempt made upon sheep in a kraal—Bushmen killed."

Sept. 1. "Field-Corporal Van der Berg to Commandant Opperman,—stating that he cannot send his people to the annual drill in consequence of the commando necessary against the Bushmen—reporting a fresh depredation, and that he had shot a Bushman, who had stolen his sheep and struck him with a sjambok."

Oct. 1. "Field-Corporal Steinkamp to Landdrost—that the Bushmen, in his division, had been peaceable since the commando of the preceding year."

Oct. 1. "Nicolaas van der Merwe, Bokkeveld. List of Bushmen women and children taken prisoners and placed with inhabitants."

to tell us, and I proceeded that evening with the commando to their caves.

19. In the morning we fired upon them in their caverns, so that not a single one escaped. On counting the dead we found 44, and took 7 little ones, who told us that among the dead was a captain, but not the chief captain who governed over the whole Seacow River. Here again we had a man wounded in the neck with an arrow, but not mortally, named Hendrik van der Merwe.

20.

After all was over we inspected the caverns, where we found more hides and sheep-skins than we had ever been accustomed to find in any field of battle (*verslagen plekken*). From this place we came back some distance to the *Wadlock*, where I again sent out 14 spies, in two parties. Towards evening those two men joined the commando whom I had left at home sick, as before stated, namely, Isaak van der Merwe and Bareud Burger, who told us of the mischief committed by the thieves since I had taken the field with the commando. They had taken the whole sheep flock of the said Van der Merwe, from the homestead in the night; and the sheep had been recovered, with great danger, out of the hands of the robbers, who, in spite of every endeavour to prevent them, drove off 40 sheep, and some goats, and killed 20 besides. Sent these two men back, with letters to the Vice Field Corporal, H. van der Waldt, directing him to take the field as speedily as possible after me with a commando, to try whether he might not perhaps fall in with some of the wandering robbers.

21. In the night went with the commando to the *Riet River*, where I had appointed the spies to meet us, but they did not arrive.

22. One party of spies came to apprise me that they had seen nothing except one Bosman at a distance, who was going on before us, lighting fire as he went from hill to hill to give warning [of our coming.]

23. At night we moved back to the south-west from the place above-mentioned to *Renosterberg*, where the second party of spies joined, stating that they had seen a great number of Bosmans, who were in flight over the Roode Bergen, returning towards the north. This deprived us of any hope of again falling in with these fugitives, as we were in great want of food and lead. On this account divided the commando, and sent the Field Corporal, Jeans Joubert, with his own men, and those of H. Myntjes van der Berg, behind the Renosterberg, and so to their dwellings. I marched with the other division south west in front of Renoster Berg to the *Groote Vely*.

24. Dismissed the men, each to his home; but first and previously to their separation, I divided the young prisoners among the men, for I found it impossible to convey the prisoners to the Landdrost, according to your orders, for they were too little, and also sickly; besides, we had no wagons to carry them. 25. I came home. 26. The commando I had ordered took the field; but

!Kweiten ta //ken faces full camera, holding two children, one naked. The sheepskin is apparent and her breasts are largely exposed. Although the effect conforms with the widely disseminated exhibition image of the 'Bushman' (Coombes 1994; Dell 1994), Barnard seems not to have issued it as a *carte de visite*. Hermann showed a similar variability in his 'Bushman' work, moving between poses in a quasi-Huxley style and the fashionable studio portraits of Diä!kwain and 'Jan Rondebout'. All in all, the Cape Town photographs do not convey an institutionalised image of the 'Bushman' in the sense identified by Landau (this volume) in later expeditionary photography. That Barnard and Hermann's work was published commercially suggests that this variability was not the quirk of two individuals.

This discordance in the image of the Bushman can be found in written sources as well. In September 1875, a few weeks after her husband's death, Jemima Bleek wrote to Sir George Grey about Wilhelm's intentions, set out in a codicil to his will:

> The wish too, that he had so strongly, that, if possible, we (my sister Lucy and myself) should keep on the Bushman work in which he had been so deeply interested ever since we took the first Bushman prisoner to live on our place in August 1870, & at which my Sister Lucy & himself had ever since been more or less constantly employed, was of course an additional reason for my living on here. I to keep up the household & manage the practical matters connected with having Bushmen (men or women) on the place, & Lucy 'to continue & work well out' their 'joint Bushman studies', to quote his own words. (quoted by Spohr 1962:41)

Both the will, and Jemima and Lucy's reactions to Wilhelm's wishes, were consistent with a notable humanism in the Bleek's relationship with their /Xam co-workers (Deacon 1994a; Lewis-Williams 1981; Godby this volume). This is further confirmed by a contemporary description of the sisters at work. In 1879, Elizabeth Lees Price and her husband visited Jemima Bleek and Lucy Lloyd at Charlton House:

> These ladies are great students of Bushman & other African languages & habits. They just plied Papa with questions innumerable about Bushmen & other African languages and habits & made notes of his answers sometimes . . . it was such a relief to feel in the company of people, refined, intellectual & cultivated, yet simple and homely as the humblest cottages . . . Mrs Bleek has a Bushman family—father, mother & two children—living on their premises, expressly for the purpose of learning & studying their language. (quoted in Deacon 1994)[23]

Figure 4 **The Bleek family in 1873, Wilhelm, Jemima, Mabel, Edith & Margie,** photographer unknown. SAL PHA: Ports: Bleek, WHI.

The style of engagement with the /Xam at The Hill and Charlton House is well expressed by Lucy Lloyd in her Preface to *Specimens of Bushman Folklore* (Lloyd 1911). The /Xam are described as "givers of native literature", a term more nuanced than the later anthropological convention of the 'informant'. Lloyd recounts //Kabbo's interest in the work, Diä!kwain's pleasure at being asked about paintings, and /Han≠kass'o's concern about the weather in Mowbray. Her written style conveys the impression of a team, working together in serious dedication. The Preface is in stark contrast to the strident racism of Theal's Introduction that follows; "savages, though having the passions and the bodily strengths of men, are children in mind . . ."; "minds . . . like those of little children in all matters not connected with their immediate bodily wants"; "there is no longer room on the globe for palaeolithic man" (Theal 1911).

The inconsistency in Bleek and Lloyd's attitudes to the 'Bushmen' extends to what we know of the attitudes of the /Xam themselves. Most of them were initially prisoners who completed their sentences in Mowbray (initially under the supervision of an armed, if invalided, constable). And yet they elected to stay in Mowbray after their terms of imprisonment had been completed and, in some cases, to return. In many respects they were unhappy. Bleek noted their homesickness almost immediately and devised the strategy of bringing their wives to Cape Town in compensation; he was constantly anxious that they would leave before the work was completed. //Kabbo's yearning for the north is recorded in *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, in a conversation with Bleek which gives a sense of the interminable weeks in Mowbray:

> I must sit waiting for the Sundays on which I remain here, on which I continue to teach thee . . . I have sat waiting for the boots, that I must put on to walk in; which are strong for the road. For, the sun will go along, burning strongly. And then, the earth becomes hot, while I am still going along halfway. I must go together with the warm sun, while the ground is hot. For a little road it is not. For, it is a great road; it is long. I should reach my place, where the trees are dry. For, I shall walk, letting the flowers become dry while I still follow the path. (//Kabbo 1911:315)

It seems clear that the /Xam wanted their histories recorded by Bleek and Lloyd and were prepared to trade their freedom against this record. Introducing //Kabbo, Lloyd noted:

> He was an excellent narrator, and patiently watched until a sentence had been written down, before proceeding with what he was telling. He much enjoyed the thought that the Bushman stories would become known by means of books. He was with Dr Bleek from February 16th, 1871, to October 15th, 1873. He intended to return, later, to help us at Mowbray, but, died before he could do so. (Lloyd 1911:x–xi)

/A!kunta , //Kabbo, Diä!kwain, ≠Kásin, !Kweiten ta //ken and /Han≠kass'o were not merely passive victims of colonial hegemony. They knew why they wanted to be in Mowbray and, after the end of their sentences, were free to leave if they wished—given Bleek and Lloyd's intellectual dedication to their work, a source of considerable power in the Mowbray households. Indeed, when the group from the Kenhardt/Prieska area had had enough of Salt River, they asked a policeman the way to Bushmanland and walked out of town (Bleek 1936b).

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How are we to understand this ambiguity? We can start with an official letter, written by Lucy Lloyd from the 'Grey Library, Cape Town' to Sir Bartle Frere's daughter in February 1878:

> My dear Miss Frere,
> Mrs Bleek and I read with much interest the letter from Mr J.M. Orpen, which you left with us at Mowbray on the 17th instant. I now return it to you, and in reply to his Excellency's apparent desire for

their numbers, and their own weakness; on which Van Jaarsvelt removed to beyond De Bruyns Hoogte, which renders the inhabitants of Sneeuwberg very desperate, not knowing what to do, whether to remain or to remove; though many are of a mind to remove beyond De Bruyns Hoogte, for the inhabitants there, as yet, live in a desirable state of peace, while we, on the contrary, must daily live in the greatest danger of our lives. But there still remains for us one hope, that your superior power and authority may assist in procuring peace for us, according to the request we have made to our government, on which all depend for some alleviation; for otherwise there is no staying nor escaping, for deeds of violence are getting the upper hand more and more every day. Houses burned, Hugo's slave murdered and cut in pieces. Oh! must not the heavens tremble, and the earth shudder at the troubles with which your servants are oppressed, and we are daily becoming more fearful that we shall lose our own lives; for all that we have as yet done has been lost labour; and without the help of your authority we must at last lose every thing.

We, therefore, through necessity, take the liberty of addressing ourselves to you, and requesting a speedy answer to our petition to our government, according to which each will be enabled to regulate himself. And on account of the same truths, and seeing the approach of the same consequences of their ruin in Candebo, the inhabitants of the latter have also signed; the same troubles will reach them, for the Sneeuwberg is becoming weaker and weaker from the migration of its inhabitants.

We remain in hope and trust that you will not be dilatory with regard to our request, and have the honor, with all respect, to subscribe ourselves, and trust that we are, your willing servants, D. S. van der Merwe, J. Smit, J. J. H. van der Merwe, B. J. Burger, Schalk W. Burger, W. Burger, J. van der Merwe, jun., J. Joosten, jun., H. van der Walt, P. Venter, Hs., J. van der Walt, Carel van der Merwe, A. P. Burger, R. van Heeren, H. C. Herholdz, J. F. du Pree, J. van der Merwe, D. van der Berg, G. J. Korkemeer, A. Oberholzer, A. A. Smit, J. Obetholzer, A. P. van der Berg, Albertus van Jaarsveld, W. Basson.(†)

Extract from Resolution of Council.

1777, June 5. There was read a certain letter, with inclosures, from the Landdrost, Heemraden, and Militia Officers of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, addressed to this Council the day before yesterday as follows:—

[Here is inserted the letter as in May 6, supra.] which letter and inclosures having been attentively discussed, and it being taken into consideration of this subject, that all amicable means of bringing the rapacious Boajesmans Hottentots to a state of quiet had been tried in vain; we have accordingly

Letter from nine Inhabitants of Sneeuwberg to Commandant Opperman.

1776. (+) March 18. ....Sir,—The object of this my present letter to you is, that the best means may be employed to secure our temporal peace, that we may be thus preserved and restored. We have reason to desire this; for though peace is the best of all human enjoyments, the fury of the Bushmen still continues to our injury. Be pleased but once to think upon the great assemblages of these heathenish evildoers, and we doubt not but your reflections will devise some means to assist us. So many thousands of Bushmen have united their inward anger and rapacity, and now oppress and injure us as they have never done before, as you may see by the enclosed report. Therefore, as in all human probability no peace is to be looked for through the strength and means of the inhabitants of Sneeuwberg, as neither the trouble nor the expence we have incurred has produced any favorable change, but rather leads us to fear for our own lives, though we have been before consumed by the land-ruining Bushmen, by the stealing of our cattle, which daily increases, so that we are too weak to make commandos, and still more to fulfil our just obligations to the Company. We, therefore, in this desperate condition have recourse to our superiors. Oh! that the Almighty and our government might be induced by our sighs and prayers to assist us with such a force, that through their wise counsel we may preserve our farms; for some of us are already dying to save our lives and what little we have left. But with all this we still have confidence, particularly in you, that we may be a little encouraged and restored in the month of August by a powerful commando under your orders, and that, with the few cattle we still have left, we may yet prosper, so that one day or other we may be enabled to pay our just debts to the Company and to our neighbours. But alas! how does it stand with us! Some of us are almost entirely ruined, so that there is scarce any hope of recovery.

We, the undersigned, all continue in good hope that our humble request will be acceded to by you, and remain, &c. A. van Jaarsvelt, D. H. van der Merwe, Andries van der Walt, Hendrick van der Walt, Jan Albert Venter, Carel van der Merwe, Pieter Venter, Charel du Plessis, Frans Jooste.

Letter from Twenty-five Inhabitants of Sneeuwberg, &c.

1776. Nov. 17. (*+) To Mr. Commandant G. R. Opperman.—We your humble and obedient [servants] make known, with submission and respect, the melancholy condition in which we now live in Kandebo and Sneeuwberg, for the commando under the Sergeant Adriaan van Jaarsvelt has been of no effect, and the second under Charl Marais had done very little; they fell in, indeed, with a great multitude of robbers, but could not defeat them in consequence of

information, will briefly say, that the Bushmen who lived with us at Mowbray, used to make similar statements with regard to the treatment received by them from the generality of farmers. For instance, that their waterpits were taken from them, although they had belonged to certain Bushman families for generations; that the game had been driven from their hunting grounds; that the ostriches whom they seem to look upon as a possession, and to kill with a certain reserve and consideration, and whose eggs and flesh contributed greatly to their maintenance, were chased to death in the hot sun, and left dead and wasting on the ground, of no use to anyone; etc. etc. not having been killed by the farmers for food. The old Bushman, who lived nearly three years with Dr Bleek had himself possessed a certain waterpit, inherited by him from his father and grand-father before him, of which he had been deprived by some farmer (or farmers). He used earnestly to beg that Dr Bleek would ask the 'Groot Baas' (ie. Sir Henry Barkly) to 'drive away' the farmers from the water and the hunting ground which belonged to the Bushmen. The much younger Bushman, now with us, tells us that there are two farmers only (in his part of the country) who are good to the Bushmen and who do not drive them away from the water. I have also heard complaints regarding the honey-nests of the Bushmen; but the water and the driving away, or useless killing, of the game seemed to be the sorest points in their minds.

I was telling our present Bushman that we had heard of more Bushmen in Griqua-land East, and how much I should like to go and see them, but that I would go by myself, not with a Commando for fear of their poisonous arrows. He hastened to say, that if his two mistresses went to that part of the country, he should very much wish to be allowed to go too; adding that he would be as "careful for us up there, as we were for him down here". Were it possible (at present the defenceless condition of the Grey Library forbids me voluntarily to absent myself from the near neighbourhood of Capetown) there are few things which I would more gladly do than endeavour to make the acquaintance of the Bushmen in their own home. I fear, however, that one would be likely to see a good deal that would give much heart-ache, without the power to make things better. If only a wise kind of mission could be established among the Bushmen in the Western Province of the Cape Colony, and another in the Eastern, there would be some little protection for the people nearer at hand . . ."[24]

Sir Henry Bartle Frere ('His Excellency' in the letter) was Governor of the Cape, appointed the previous year; Lucy Lloyd's reply to the enquiry was clearly a considered intervention in the politics of the northern frontier. In his turn, Wilhelm Bleek, ever the quintessential

Figure 5 **Unpublished photograph of !Kweiten ta //ken by Samuel Baylis Barnard, Cape Town, June 1874–January 1875.** CA J 868; SAM neg no. 678b

the robbers had a gun); they have almost ruined this man. In pursuing the cattle the robbers threatened the men with 3 guns. After all this, on the 24th August, the Field Corporal A. P. Burger ordered a commando, but got only 7 men and 10 Hottentots, so that he dared not go out with so few, and as you may easily imagine this makes the state of matters still worse.(1)

Report of Field Sergeant Carel van der Merwe.

1780. Aug 25. Sir,—I hereby acquaint you with the mischief done by the rapacious Bushmen. Beyond the Rhenoster Berg, Johannes van der Walt's working oxen were taken, a few of them were recovered; on this a commando was made on the 27th June, and 32 robbers shot. In the month of March, many sheep of the widow Venter's were destroyed by the robbers, which they did not report to me until the 31st June. H. van der Walt had also some sheep murdered; whether this occurred recently or when they first went there, has not been stated. At the farm of Johannes van der Walt, they murdered 2 young Hottentots, took 60 sheep out of the kraal at night, and made off with them. Sir, your order, as to the men who have not been sworn in, did not reach me until the 24th August, when a commando was about to go out, it was, therefore, impossible to comply with it this year; it is my earnest request that they may be allowed to come up from time to time, so that I may not be deprived of too many men at the same time. Meanwhile, we had another commando to no purpose; we also applied to Camdeboo for help, but it was during the absence of the Sergeant D. S. van der Merwe, when Isaac van der Merwe was in charge, and not a single man came to help us. So bad, sir, is the state of affairs.

Copies of the Excise Letters.—Good friend, Mess. Andries Burger.—After wishing you good health, I inform you that I cannot send my son on commando, for my horse is too weak, and would be unable to return home; be pleased not to take this amiss, but I send you an efficient (lekasse) Hottentot. You write that I must furnish powder, but I have no powder.

J. A. Erasmus.

23d August, 1780.

Much respected Cousin Andries Burger,—I beg that you will for this time be satisfied with a Hottentot, for I am lying here in the fields with my cattle, and my wife, because my cattle are dying; for I am daily driven away by W. Lubbe and P. Jacobs. I have desired my Hottentot to catch a little one for me, and I beg that if he gets one, he may be allowed to keep it, and that you will see that the Hottentot has victuals, &c.

23d August, 1780. Dirk Kotze.

To the Field Corporal Mons. A. Berger,—I inform you that I cannot come on commando this time, for the Bushmen have been near my house, and also because I have not yet sown a handful of corn; it has been so dry, and I would fain sow some corn for myself, so I beg you will excuse me for this time, another time I shall do my best.

23d August, 1780. Cornl. de Fleur.

been constrained to accede to the proposition contained in the said letter, to attack them by stronger commandos, and root them out in that way; and to grant for this end the requested 1500 lbs. gunpowder, 3000 lbs. lead, and 3000 gun flints. The Landdrost shall be particularly directed to give immediate orders to send hither for the ammunition, the sooner the better.

But although the savage disposition of the said Bushman tribe (natie) has been known in all ages, and though when hard pressed they defend themselves in the most desperate manner, so that the utmost rigour is necessary in attacking them; it was notwithstanding deemed necessary to direct the said Boards of Heemraden and Militia Officers to cause all possible care to be taken that no kind of cruelty be exercised towards the wounded or prisoners, or the women and children, by the commandos sent out by these Boards, or by their Hottentot attendants, as these last, being in general very much ill-used by the Bushman tribes (natien) may be naturally inclined to take revenge.

With regard to the request in the said letter, in favor of such inhabitants as, through the violence and depredations committed by the said Bushmen, had been compelled to abandon their farms, and have thus become unable to pay the arrears of land rent due to the Company, it shall have due consideration.(1)

Mr. Landdrost,—When I had written this letter, I received this from Gerrit van Wyk; you may thus see, sir, how we are plagued here. I should write you further, but that I must go to collect a commando.

Inclosure. Cousin Adriaan van Zyl,—I inform you that the Bushmen stole my horses last night, they surrounded and shot upon all the straw huts, they cruelly murdered all of my people, and carried off my children, my wife being with them; the very dogs and the whole premises, which they have taken them, and they are off with them 340 goats; upon this I expect the most speedy assistance from you. Whether they have taken any sheep I do not yet know, I had enough to do to save our lives. From their work this night it may be easily seen that they were in countless numbers. (2)

Relying upon your help, with our hearty compliments,

Gerrit van Wyk, Ga.

Extract of a Letter from H. van der Merwe, Sneeuwberg, to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch.

1780. August, 20. I must not omit to inform you of the depredations committed since the month of July. Gysbert Roos robbed of almost all his sheep and cattle, and a slave who attended the sheep missing; from about the middle of July to this day, 600 sheep of M. de Beer destroyed, and in retaking the few that remained, the Bushmen fired from two guns upon Bloemerits and De Beer.

On the 3d August, a great multitude of them murdered two herdsmen of P. Swanepoel, (one of

scholar and recluse, was well aware of the context in which his philological researches were set. Writing to Sir George Grey in 1874, he had commented that

> Those disturbances in Natal which you so long predicted as the natural consequence of their unwise Native Policy, have begun in earnest, and both the Government and the White people have made matters worse by most injudicious wholesale butcheries, etc. We shall see worse killings still there.[25]

Bleek's judgement of Grey may have been clouded by the contingencies of patronage, but he was clearly concerned about the consequences of colonial expansion, and at one point contemplated leaving the retreats of suburban villa and library for a career in politics (Spohr 1962).

Bleek and Lloyd would have been well aware of the newspapers' diatribes against the San on the northern frontier, and of the controversy surrounding Anthing's policy of appeasement in Bushmanland; Anthing's prisoners were Bleek's first /Xam informants (Deacon 1991).[26] Bushmanland had been claimed in the name of the British crown in 1847, and annexed to protect the interests of merino sheep farmers in the Karoo, who were subject to cross-border raids by the /Xam. Following the annexation, the Koranna and /Xam engaged in a war of attrition to retain control of critical water resources. A treaty in 1869 resulted in Koranna prisoners and destitute San being sent to Victoria West for trial. After a period of hard labour, some were sent to Cape Town; these included /A!kunta, //Kabbo and /Han≠kass'o. The imprisonment of Diä!kwain and ≠Kásin had also followed disputes over land (Deacon 1991; Strauss 1979).[27] Given this political context /A!kunta , //Kabbo, Diä!kwain, ≠Kásin and /Han≠kass'o were surely more prisoners-of-war than credulous hunter-gathers caught up in an innocent misdemeanour.

Looked at from this point of view, Bleek, Lloyd and the Mowbray /Xam all appear as players caught up, one way or another, in the continual processes of violence, dispossession and annexation that were the day-by-day history of colonialism; a discourse as characteristic of the city, with its strident demarcation between underclass poverty and bourgeois affluence, as of the frontier, with the brutal conflict over land and water between /Xam and *trekboers*. Seen in close detail, this discourse appears as a mesh of contradictions and ambiguities, assertions and concessions; as the actions of people unsure in their relations with one another, sometimes taking one course of action, sometimes another.

Bleek was clearly an agent of that social Darwinianism that blanketed the rough tracks of colonial domination with intellectual garlands, while men such as Barnard, Hermann and Schroeder probably held the racist opinions of their age. Yet they expressed an ambivalence in authoring written and visual images of the San which reveal a contradictory humanity. Similarly, men such as //Kabbo, /Han≠kass'o and Diä!kwain had experienced colonial subjugation at first hand, yet trusted that their long weeks of self-exile beneath Table Mountain would help them regain their rights to the land. Instead, it destroyed them. //Kabbo died preparing to return to Mowbray. In turn, /Han≠kass'o came back at Lucy Lloyd's request. During the journey, his wife Suobba-//kein (//Kabbo's daughter) and their infant child were assaulted by a policeman and died (Bleek & Bleek 1909; Deacon, this volume). After he had returned north again, Diä!kwain was tracked down by friends of the farmer he had shot more than a decade earlier, and was murdered in his turn.

•••

Today, all that remains of the Bleek and Lloyd 'Bushman project' is an assemblage of artefacts, traces of 14 years work at the sites of the two Mowbray villas: some yellowed letters in different archives, various glass photographic plates, voluminous notebooks and the 468 printed pages of *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*. The Hill and Charlton House have both been demolished, although the Public Library and the statue of Sir George Grey still adorn the Gardens. Bleek and Lloyd's work sank into obscurity (Lucy Lloyd was dismissed from the service of the South African Library, and later struggled to find a publisher) and the /Xam were completely forgotten; Bushmanland was divided into stock farms, fenced and encapsulated in title deeds. The testimony recorded between 1870 and 1884 only regained significance a century later, when it was realised that the /Xam mythology could be used to interpret rock paintings that are often far away from the water sources that the /Xam were struggling to regain; ironically, not what //Kabbo and his kin had intended at all.

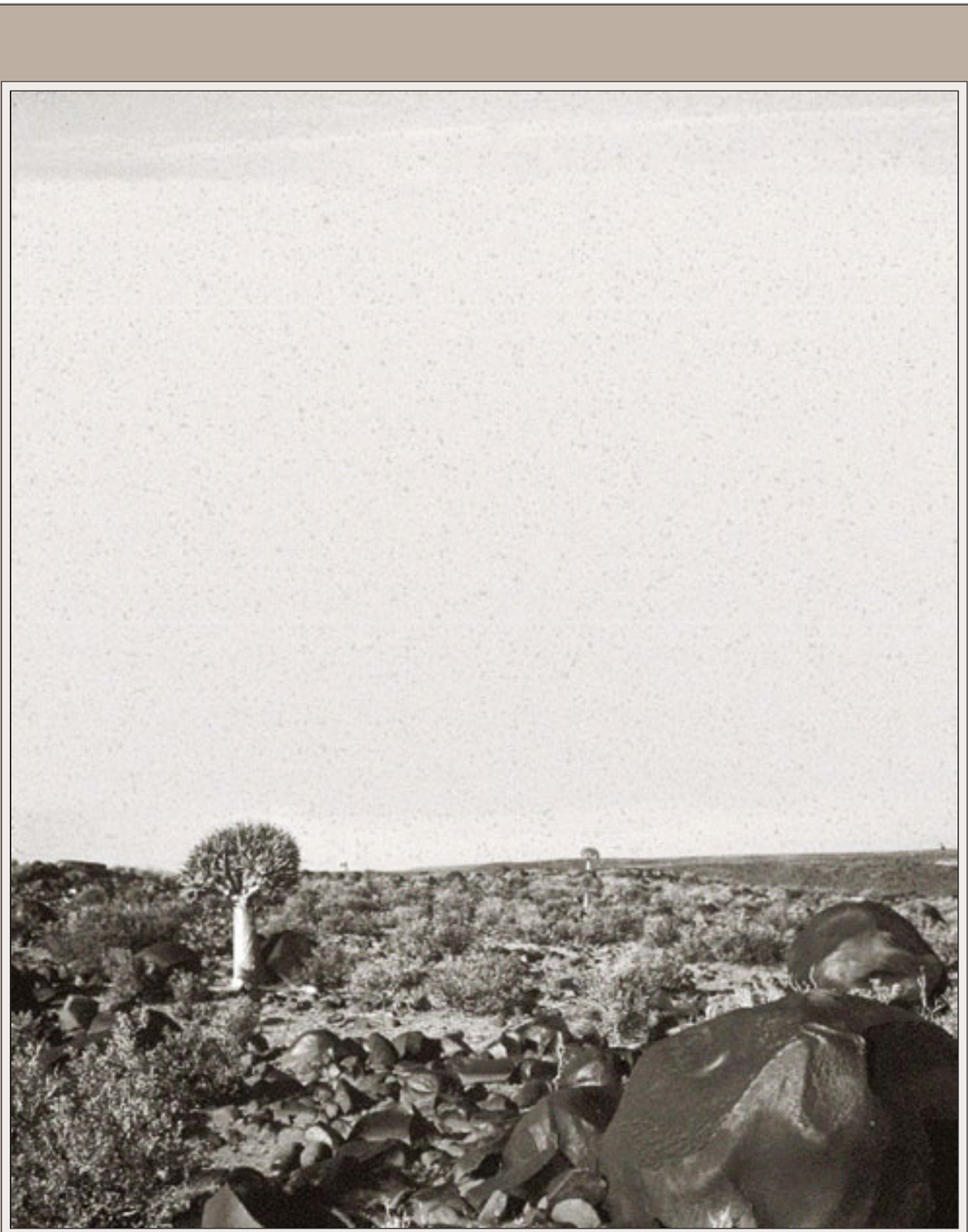
This assemblage is material—ink on paper, stone and brick or chemical changes to silver iodide. Together, these things have fixed the trace of the men and women involved in the project, and left a basis for the interpretation of their actions. But, in addition, their survival attests to the determination of those involved in this set of commonplace interactions to leave an inscription in tangible form—whether //Kabbo's wish to see his stories transcribed in Bleek's notebooks, Schroeder's commission for //Kabbo's portrait, or Lloyd's publication of the pictures of her co-workers along with the transcript of some of their mythology.

In contrast, our sense of the performance of these commonplace interactions—the spoken words, gestures, expressions and actions—has been lost from direct sight and can only be rebuilt through careful speculation. Such performances would have varied enormously. At one extreme would be //Kabbo's measured and patient story-telling on the veranda at The Hill, pausing while Bleek wrote out his lists of words and narratives such as "the mantis assumes the form of a hartebeest". At the other extreme would have been the angry exchange when Jacob Casper Kruger rode down Diä!kwain on the northern frontier, accusing him of stealing sheep and threatening his family, and the report of the gun as Diä!kwain shot the farmer, who staggered off and died a short distance away.

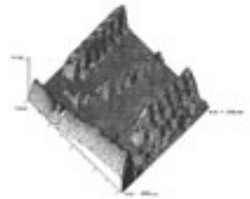
What was the place of this material assemblage in the world that /Xam and settlers occupied? Much more than a mere incidental residue monuments, books and transcribed stories were the tangible devices in which people objectified themselves, allowing them to stand outside the mundaneness or maelstrom of performance. Grey made sure that he was objectified quite literally, as a colossus before a classical pediment, a stone likeness in the Roman tradition. Bleek, more philosophically, saw himself in his projected *Bushman Dictionary*, a small but crucial part in the 'gigantic organism of humanity'. Hermann, perhaps, put himself on paper through the metaphors of knurled forest trees and craggy mountains. //Kabbo dreamed of the 'great road' and the place where the trees and flowers were dry, and watched as his words were formed in Bleek's notebooks.

But such objectification—attempts at achieving fixity—necessarily involved reduction. Grey's sculptor had to catch his entire public life in a gesture. The philologist sought to distil the diversity of verbal expression to a word list, and the landscape painter, the complexity of a forest in a set of brush strokes. The /Xam in Mowbray patiently simplified a complex, multivocal mythology to a monologue. Because such reduction was inevitable, inscribed meanings were inevitably incomplete and unsatisfactory; despite the wish for fixity, there was never the possibility of closure. Archaeological assemblages such as these are partial in two senses; they are a fragmentary record of the past, and also part of the incomplete attempts people made to determine the places that they and others occupied in the world.

In their recollections of life with their parents and aunt in Mowbray, Wilhelm Bleek's daughters described the /Xam whom they knew as children as gentle murderers (Bleek & Bleek 1909). This enigmatic epithet catches the confusion and contradictions in the traces that were left by this small group of people, and could well be extended to others caught up in the savage world of the colonial Cape.



Landscape of dolorite boulders with rock engravings, Carnarvon district, Northern Cape.
Photograph Pippa Skotnes.



!Khwa-Ka Hhouiten Hhouiten "The Rush of the Storm": The Linguistic Death of /Xam

Anthony Traill

The Khoe and San languages of South Africa are virtually extinct. With the exception of the Nama variety still spoken in the Richtersveld and a handful of speakers of ǂKhomani and /'Auni in the vicinity of the Kalahari Gemsbok Park, Khoisan languages are no longer spoken in South Africa.[1] They have joined the statistics of language death in Africa which will probably see the extinction of 200 more languages in the next generation (Sasse 1992:7). The general circumstances leading to the death of languages are well-known (Dorian 1989; Brenzinger 1992) and in many cases the social changes necessary for this are known or can be recovered from anthropological and historical descriptions of the speakers of the affected language. In the case of the speakers of South Africa's Khoisan languages, their historiography is a rich one (Elphick 1985; Elphick & Malherbe 1989; Engelbrecht 1936; Legassick 1989; Marais 1968; Penn 1995b; Ross 1975, 1976; Strauss 1979; Wilson & Thompson 1969; Szalay 1995) and, thanks to studies like these, we have a clear idea of the important social changes that attended the demise of their languages. Nevertheless, there are interesting perspectives to be gained on this process when questions of a more 'linguistic' kind are explored, such as bilingualism, lingua francas, language attitudes, language mixing, symptoms of language shift, language contraction, language maintenance, and language loss. Although the relevant evidence is mostly scanty and incomplete, it can be coaxed from a number of sources and it is the purpose of this paper to reconstruct some of the socio-linguistic conditions which led to the disappearance of /Xam or Cape Bushman, one of the San languages of South Africa which seems to have disappeared in the course of a single generation. It has been claimed that genocide practised on the speakers caused the death of this Khoisan language (Brenzinger 1992:3) but the available evidence requires a different analysis of the circumstances.

In 1652 the Khoekhoe pastoralists of the Cape spoke either an Eastern or Western Khoe variety (Nienaber 1963). In the space of three generations, these dialects began to disappear from their original locations along the eastern and southern Cape coast and immediate hinterland; their surviving speakers had shifted with dramatic speed to a distinctive form of Dutch, later to become a variety of Afrikaans, or to Xhosa on the eastern frontier. The Western Khoe linguistic tradition managed to survive until quite recently, however, in the form of !Ora (Kora) and Xiri (Gri) among groups of Cape Khoekhoe who had migrated from the Cape to the Orange, Vaal and Harts Rivers. Table 1 provides an intriguing glimpse into this aspect of Khoe linguistic history in a list of words comparing Cape Khoe, !Ora and modern Nama, showing that (one variety of) !Ora and Cape Khoe are essentially the same (Maingard 1932:152)

The descendants of the Koranna and the Griqua have a variety of Afrikaans as their mother tongue (Van Rensburg 1984; Webb 1993), having completed the process of language shift that began about 150 years ago, and today these Khoe languages are effectively dead. There are, nevertheless, a few individuals scattered about the northern Cape[2] who have retained some knowledge of the languages (Van Rensburg 1984:669). One such individual is Jas Verroei, a retired farm labourer living in the Colesberg district, who has some

Printed for the House of Assembly by order of Mr. Speaker.
16TH JUNE, 1863.

Cape Town, 21st April, 1863.

To the Honourable the Colonial Secretary, Cape Town.

SIR,—I have the honour to submit herewith a report of my proceedings in connection with the service in which I have been for some time engaged.

I started from Springbokfontein on the 12th of February of last year, in compliance with the instructions conveyed to me by your letter of the 10th of the previous month.

The object of my expedition was to take proceedings against persons who, it had been alleged, had at various times killed numerous parties of Bushmen, with their families, in the tract of country known as Bushmanland.

A correspondence had passed between the Attorney-General and myself on the subject; and a reference to the same will show what were the views entertained by Mr. Porter, and what were his directions to me, directions which your letter already alluded to confirmed.

The party consisted at starting of myself, six European constables, besides drivers and a boy in charge of loose horses; and we travelled with two wagons, carrying, besides the men and myself, forage and provisions.

We went in the first instance beyond the boundary, to Nisbet Bath, and thence by Blyderverwacht back to the colony. There were several reasons for making this detour. In the first place, I expected to obtain some important evidence from persons resident across the river, and, secondly, it was essential to the success of my proceedings that the parties who might be implicated should not be forewarned of my purpose, which the taking of a direct route into Bushmanland would have done.

There were also some matters to settle with the chief of the Boodelswarts, which could be conveniently attended to in the same excursion; and I accordingly resolved to visit him in the first instance.

It will be unnecessary here to give a repetition of my proceedings at Nisbet Bath with the chief alluded to. These were referred to in my letter to you of the 1st of April of last year.

After taking the evidence required of persons resident on the northern side of the Orange River, I recrossed that river on the 13th of March, and proceeded towards the Hartebeest River in Bushmanland, where the remainder of the Bushman race were said to be, and in the vicinity of which some of the persons alleged to have been implicated in the transactions which were to form the subject of investigation had taken up their abode.

On my way I met Mr. J. Nicholson, of Hondeklip Bay, from whom I ascertained further particulars bearing upon the subject of my inquiry. Mr. Nicholson informed me that he had made trading excursions into that part of the country during several years past; that from his observation he was led to believe that a system of extermination had been practised upon the aborigines (Bushmen) by the colonists and others during a period of ten or twelve years then past, in all the tract between the Orange River on the north and the vicinity of the town of Beaufort, southward; and that the same system was carried on even at the very time when he, Mr. N., was making these statements to me.

Mr. N. said that in the tract of the Hartebeest River there had resided no colonists until three years previously (i.e., 1859); that the year before that he had travelled through that part of the country and had found only Bushmen of whom there were a great many; that he (Mr. N.) had with him a number of sheep and oxen, and that the Bushmen in no way attempted to interfere with or injure him; that the following year he again visited the same part, when he found the colonists there (Bastards and Europeans), and he found but very few Bushmen, and that he was aware that between the time of the advance of the colonists to the Hartebeest River in 1859, and the time of our conference (March, 1862), the practice of hunting and killing the Bushmen had been pursued by the intruders in those parts.

For further particulars I beg to refer to Mr. Nicholson's deposition taken at the time.

I should add that Mr. N. gave his statement reluctantly, and the use I now make of it is doubtless not in accordance with his wishes. But the circumstances necessitate my so doing.

I took further evidence from Bushmen as I proceeded, which went fully to corroborate what Mr. N. had stated. It appeared from this that the deeds which the Attorney-General determined to prosecute were not confined to the particular cases already brought to his notice, but that they were of every-day occurrence, and that Mr. Nicholson had truly stated that during the last ten years a wholesale system of extermination of the Bushman people had been practised. Commons from the Orange River, Kafirs from Schietfontein, coloured and European farmers from Namaqualand, Bokkeveld, Hantam, Roggeveld, the districts of Fraserburg and Victoria, and doubtless Hope Town too, all shared in the destruction of these people.

Upon ascertaining these matters, I referred to you by letter of 1st April, 1862, for further instructions.

I recommended,

1. The establishment of a magistracy in that part of the country.
2. The forming of locations for the remnant of the Bushman race, and the sale of some of the land for the purpose of providing these people, who had been deprived of their means of subsistence, with some stock.
3. I asked instructions as to the prosecutions with which I had been charged, but which, under the circumstances of the disclosures, showing that such a large number of persons had been engaged in similar acts, had been stayed by me.

command of !Ora/Xiri. He is pictured in Figure 1 with his now-deceased wife, Katjie Geduld, who spoke only Afrikaans and who laughed at Jas when he spoke his '*Boesman taal*' or Bushman language (De Jongh, personal communication).[3] Jas's Khoe language is largely unintelligible to Nama speakers (W. Haacke, personal communication, 1995), a fact which may reveal less about differences between these two Khoe dialects (Beach 1938:181) than it does about the state of his knowledge of the language.

The socio-linguistic conditions that led to the death of the Khoe languages have been described in Traill (1995). For the western varieties, these include a rapid breakdown of Khoekhoe social structure, disintegration of their economy, a reduction in population size through a succession of smallpox epidemics, extreme linguistic prejudice from colonists, an official policy requiring the Khoekhoe to learn Dutch, and the influence of the Dutch-based creole of the slaves. In the eastern Cape, the chaotic conditions that arose during the

Figure 1 **Jas Verroei of the Colesberg district and his wife Katjie Geduld. Jas speaks Afrikaans and retains some speaking knowledge of Gri. Nama speakers are able to recognise only a few words of his Khoekhoe dialect.** Photograph courtesy of M. de Jongh.

!Ora	Cape Khoe	Nama	English
kx'a	kx'a, kaa	a	to drink
kx'am	kamqua, quamqua	am	mouth
kx'anis	k'anniqua	ani	bird
kx'eib	qu'ein	āib	liver
kx'omi	k'omma	omi	house
kx'oesibe	k'quoniaba	uitsaba	alive
thui //goab	thikwa	tsui //goab	God
bi !ãb	biqua, biquaan	tanas	head
tamma	tamma	nami	tongue
xoasaob	t'gwassow	/garub	tiger
/hukab	thouqua	≠hirab	wolf
bib	bib	deib	milk

Table 1 **Lexical comparisons of three Khoe languages showing the affinity of a dialect of !Ora and Cape Khoe.**

course of the struggle between Khoekhoe, Xhosa and Boers for control of the eastern frontier destroyed the Khoe-speaking Gona and Gqunukwebe chiefdoms and hastened the absorption of the remnants into the Xhosa (notice in the table above the traces of this Khoe source in the Xhosa words *ubisi* 'milk', *uThixo* 'God' and *ingcuka* 'hyena'), or caused a shift to Cape-Dutch. Xiri and !Ora succumbed to a combination of somewhat different conditions that developed along the northern border of the Cape Colony: social disintegration through warfare with the Cape government, fission through internal strife, dispossession of land and the tide of Cape-Dutch carried by the Trekboers, Basters and some Griqua themselves.

The San languages of South Africa were all members of the !Kwi group of Southern Bushman Languages (Köhler 1981). In historical times, the !Kwi languages were spoken throughout all parts of the interior of South Africa, from Namaqualand in the west through the northern Cape, the Orange Free State and Lesotho to Natal and the south-eastern Transvaal in the east . Undoubtedly, the best-known of these languages is /Xam, which was spoken mainly in the Karoo, south of the Orange River; indeed, in the South African context, /Xam and 'Bushman' have probably become synonymous. But it is worth stressing that there were a number of other !Kwi languages spoken not only in the Cape but elsewhere in South Africa, and these were more or less closely related to /Xam linguistically: ≠Khomani and /'Auni of Gordonia, //ng of Griqualand West up to the Molopo River, //Kx'au of the Kimberley and Pniel areas, //Ku //e of the Theunissen area in the Orange Free State, Seroa of the Orange Free State and Lesotho, !Gã !ne of the Transkei and //Xegwi of the south-eastern Transvaal. However, the linguistic unity of these !Kwi languages belies the differences between them. There is, in fact, clear evidence that in some cases the differences were radical enough to lead to mutual unintelligibility between neighbouring groups of San, a fact of great importance for patterns of language use. This evidence suggests that Bleek's remark that there was essential uniformity amongst San from as far apart as Nomansland, Lesotho, Colesberg, Burghersdorp, Katkop and the Strontberg (modern Strandberg) could be quite misleading (Bleek 1873a:2; Orpen 1874:12).

Some of the rather scanty evidence relevant to understanding why speakers of these languages shifted to other languages—Khoe-Dutch in the Cape, Sotho and Xhosa around Lesotho and the Transkei, probably Tswana in the north-west Cape, !Ora and then Khoe Dutch in the northern Cape, Free State and western Transvaal, and Swati/Zulu in the eastern Transvaal—has been assembled in Traill (1995). In almost all situations the common theme was intense persecution leading to a wholesale destruction of the social conditions necessary for language maintenance. This persecution was often violent and, in the case of the /Xam, thousands were killed; survivors were frequently distributed amongst frontier farmers as labourers, others fled their territories to join other groups of Bushmen or to ally themselves to Khoekhoe groups. It was also relentless for over a century from 1754 (Penn 1995b:222ff.). In the space of about four generations /Xam had reached a point of irreversible decline.

I wrote to you again, under date of 8th May, confirming my previous statements and informing you of certain occurrences which seemed to indicate that the Bushmen were becoming desperate, whilst the colonists were only restrained from pursuing their hostile course by my threatening them with serious consequences. I had gone to Springbokfontein, to meet your expected reply to my communication of the 1st of April, so as to be able to make the arrangements which that reply might render necessary.

I received at Springbokfontein your letter of the 2nd of May, stating that His Excellency had proceeded to the Kafir frontier without coming to a decision on the matters submitted. I then went back to the Hartebeest River, where I had left my party. In the uncertainty what might be His Excellency's decision, I was unable to act in any way.

In the mean time events did not remain in abeyance. On the 22nd of June I received a note from a coloured farmer, who was squatting about fifteen miles from our post, informing me that his two grandsons had been killed by Bushmen. I rode at once to the spot and inspected the bodies, which had just been brought in. I found them pierced with arrows. The deceased were young men of the ages of nineteen and twenty. They had been out with the cattle, and the first intimation of what had befallen them was the arrival of the cattle without them. The cattle had not been touched.

I could not view the deed as an insolent act of crime, which needed but to be treated as crimes are treated in an ordinary condition of society. All the attendant circumstances, and amongst them, the fact of the cattle having been left untouched, appeared to me to indicate a state of things from which more mischief might be expected. It was said that the Bushmen were desperate, and that a large band of them were associated for the purposes of mischief.

My first step was to call together a number of armed men (coloured and European farmers), and with these and some constables I went to arrest the murderers of the two young men alluded to. After some fruitless search, however, I dismissed the commando, perceiving unmistakable indications of an intention on their part to thwart my plans for inducing the Bushmen to surrender, and to massacre the whole party whenever they should be fallen in with. It was determined to endeavour to avoid such a catastrophe. After the dismissal of the commando, I employed certain Bushmen with whom I had become acquainted, and desired them to use their influence to bring the hostile band to reason, and to arrest the two of their number charged with the murders. This was eventually effected, and I took the two prisoners into custody at Kenhart. The band, upon the assurance that I had been sent to do justice to all, dispersed, relinquishing all plans of further hostilities.

In the mean time, another murder upon a Damara (or Kafir, as the black races are there indiscriminately called) was committed by other Bushmen in the same vicinity. The murderers in this case have not, to this day, been apprehended.

After the capture of the prisoners already mentioned and the dispersion of the band,—events which occupied some time and afforded us considerable anxiety and labour, the country in the vicinity of the Hartebeest River was restored to quiet; the measures we had taken to arrest only the actual murderers and to pacify the other Bushmen having had the desired effect.

I had in the meantime (on the 2nd of June) received your two letters of the 6th of June, the one informing me that it had been determined to waive the prosecutions against the colonists, and that the efforts of the Government would be directed to the preservation of the remnant of the Bushman people and the amelioration of their condition, and that His Excellency approved of my suggestion to establish a magistracy in that part of the country; the other forwarding correspondence with the magistrate of Victoria and the resident justice of the peace at Schietfontein, relative to the murder of a farmer, named Laureus, with some members of his family, by Bushmen, and the flight of the murderers, with the sheep and cattle and horses of the murdered man, in the direction of the Hartebeest River. The Bushmen accused, as also a Bastard, who, according to later evidence, appeared to have instigated and led the whole affair, were captured and brought in to our station at Kenhart, and the examinations were subsequently held there.

It was stated in the course of these examinations that the Bastard alluded to had expressed himself as intending to kill all the European farmers in those parts.

After these events, reports came in from another part of the country—the Enzelberg, near to the Orange River—of robberies committed by Bushmen upon the colonists, who had recently advanced to that part. Some of these Bushmen, it subsequently appeared, had formerly lived near the Hartebeest River, but had fled from there in consequence of the aggressions of the colonists.

At this time I wrote to you my letters dated 10th of August, repeating my suggestions as to the measures that seemed called for to remedy the state of things I found existing. I enclosed with those letters a communication addressed to me by parties resident near the Orange River, reporting the depredations committed by the Bushmen in those parts, and requested your instructions.

The evidence I had obtained respecting the past and existing state of things was, that the colonists had intruded into that part of the country which borders on the Hartebeests and Orange Rivers some years before, and that they had from time to time killed numbers of Bushmen resident there; that in some cases the latter had stolen cattle from the intruders, but that the killing of the Bushmen was not confined to the avenging or punishing of such thefts, but that, with or without provocation, Bushmen were killed,—sometimes by hunting parties, at other times by commandos going out for the express purpose. That in consequence of the colonists having guns and horses, and their being expert hunters (the pursuit of game being their daily occupation), the wild game of the country had become scarce, and almost inaccessible to the Bushman, whose weapon is the bow and arrow, having a comparatively short range. That ostrich eggs, honey, grass-seed, and roots had all become exceedingly scarce, the ostriches being destroyed by hunters, the seed and roots in consequence of the intrusion of the colonists' flocks. From these various causes, the Bushman's subsistence failed him, and in many cases they died from hunger. Those who went into the service of the new

It seems that /Xam was the first of the !Kwi languages to become extinct; by the turn of this century /Xam society had been destroyed and the shift to Afrikaans was almost complete. By the 1930s the last speakers of //Ng, //Kx'au, //Ku //e and !Gã !ne had been identified; these languages were in a terminal state then. By the 1960s the //Xegwi language was reduced to one or two speakers; it became extinct with the death of the last speaker in 1988. Within a few years ≠Khomani and /'Auni will finally disappear and this will end a linguistic tradition in South Africa that has existed for countless thousands of years.

The remainder of this paper will review the circumstances which led to the disappearance of /Xam, in an attempt to expand on earlier accounts (Traill 1995). It will show that although the death of /Xam was technically "abrupt" (Dorian 1989:9) or "radical" (Campbell and Muntzel 1989:183), the necessary conditions for language shift that preceded this had been evolving steadily for over 100 years. Indeed, the critical stage of "tip" (Dorian 1989:9) had already been reached when Bleek and Lloyd (1911) recorded what appeared to be a vital language in 1870. Much of the background to this has been described by historians and archaeologists, but it is worth revisiting from the perspective provided by an examination of patterns of language usage, in order to identify the evolution of the social factors that made the maintenance of /Xam impossible.

Conventional wisdom about the /Xam language is based exclusively on the work of W.H.I. Bleek and L.C. Lloyd. They began to record the language in 1870 from Bushman prisoners who were serving sentences of imprisonment and hard labour at Cape Town's Breakwater prison, chiefly for crimes of stock theft. The prisoners were from the vicinity of the Strontberg (Strandberg), Katkop , Kenhardt, Calvinia, Prieska, Colesberg and Burghersdorp and identified themselves as either Ss'wa ka (Plains or Flat), /nussa (Grass), !Kaoken ss'o (Mountain) or Brinkkop Bushmen (Bleek and Lloyd 1911:9,144,146). They spoke one language with minor dialectal differences and, if one examines the extensive texts that Bleek and Lloyd collected, there is nothing to suggest that /Xam was anything but a vital, well-preserved language in 1870. If one searches the texts carefully, one can find a few ambiguous signs of the linguistic dynamics of the time: the few loan words in /Xam from Dutch such as *ttronk* (jail), *tabacca* (tobacco), *Cap* (Cape) and *rieme* (thongs), and from a Khoe source (perhaps !Ora), such as *!kabbu* (gun) and *korohe* (wagon), as well as some older words which Bleek himself noted, namely the verbs 'know', 'teach', 'learn", "write', certainly do not suggest any advanced degree of bilingualism amongst the /Xam in 1870 (Bleek 1873a:8).[4] But other evidence does: Bleek and Lloyd's informants had some knowledge of !Ora usage. One of them, ≠Kásin, was fluent in /Xam and !Ora (Bleek

Figure 2 **Descendants of the /Xam: a group of "Karretjies Mense" from Colesberg district. Emma Sors, with her back to the camera, claimed that the only language she knew was "hierdie Boesmantaal van ons" (this Bushman language of ours), that is Afrikaans!** Photograph and permission to reproduce from M. de Jongh.

1875:5) and clearly knew some Dutch. Evidence of the former are the following remarks: "The Korannas call them *!kx'ã* (thongs)"; "the Korannas call *ssho ǀoã ǀu sshoa* (BCA 151, LV–2:3842); and, of the latter, a few words or phrases scattered through the texts: "*ǁgu*" means "*de bloem tijd*" (the flower-time), "*!uhai !ho !kwa* means Schildwacht", "*doorn boom*" (thorn tree), "*Krieboom*" (Kareeboom), "*werf*" (yard, ground), "the Bushmen are those who say *ǁgwi !k'u*, while the white men are those who say, '*verdwaal*' (i.e. *verdwalen*, to lose one's way)"; "they (the farmers) call it 'Harpís'" (*harpuis*, a resin); "*moff*" and "*va'rland*" (the names of types of sheep). In D.F. Bleek's *A Bushman Dictionary* (Bleek 1956) there are further glimpses of bilingualism in "Dutch" (Van Vuuren 1995). Also of some interest is the fact that all the /Xam whom Bleek and Lloyd met in Cape Town were recorded as having both /Xam and Dutch names. Their most famous assistant was //Kabbo (Dream) or Oud Jantje Tooren and there is the odd reference to social changes such as /Han≠kass'o's description of Jacob Kotzé, a Bastard of Haarfontein, who employed /Xam workers and whose wife spoke /Xam (Bleek & Lloyd 1911:111–3), and //Kabbo's desire for a gun from Bleek "for hunting" (Bleek & Lloyd 1911:317).

However, these glimpses utterly belie the actual sociolinguistic situation of the speakers of the texts and, as will be suggested below, of the process of data collection by Bleek and Lloyd. An explanatory note by Lloyd for a /Xam word used by Diä!kwain in his account of *The Thunderstorm* gives a disarmingly simple but telling glimpse into the current /Xam world view, and gives this paper its title:

> *!Khwa-ka hhouiten hhouiten*
> the rush of the storm*
> *The narrator compares this to the wind from a cannonball
> (Bleek & Lloyd 1911:324–5)

Diä!kwain's simile should be understood against the tumultuous social background of his times. During the period 1851 to about 1869, commandos of Boers, Bastards, Xhosa and Koranna had ruthlessly hunted the /Xam in Bushmanland, killing large numbers of men, women and children (Marais 1968:28; Bleek 1936b); surviving groups of /Xam joined the Koranna raiders of the colony as clients or scouts, and in 1867 they were raiding the border of Namaqualand with impunity (Ross 1975:569). It is probable that Diä!kwain's explanation, recorded in 1873, is based on first-hand experience

comers did not find their condition thereby improved. Harsh treatment, an insufficient allowance of food, and continued injuries inflicted on their kinsmen are alleged as having driven them back into the bush, from whence hunger again led them to invade the flocks and herds of the intruders, regardless of the consequences, and resigning themselves, as they say, to the thought of being shot in preference to death from starvation. But I cannot hear of a single instance of murder committed by the independent Bushmen living in their native land during the twenty-five years preceding 1862, though during that period many hundreds of their people were killed, though their country was invaded and taken from them, and they deprived of their means of subsistence. Whether it was that they were so cowed by the wholesale destruction of their people, or whether it was that the survivors after an attack were so few that they could effect nothing, it seems pretty certain that in the part of the country to which I am now alluding the facts are as I have stated them.

But at the very time that we were in the country, and whilst I was awaiting His Excellency's answers to my letter of the 1st of April, that career of desperation, which resulted in the murders already alluded to, was entered upon.

The tragedy of the murder of Mr. Loureus and his son and daughter, committed in a different part of the country by Bushmen who had not been living as independent tribes, but who had been all their lives in the service of the farmers is a distinct affair, having no immediate connection with the occurrences in the part of the country to which I have been alluding. I have already mentioned that a Bastard, a person who a year or two before had engaged in certain intrigues for enticing the class known as the Bastards from their allegiance to the Crown, whose subjects they are, and for handing the country over to the Griqua Chief Waterboer, had, as alleged, persuaded these Bushmen, residing near to Lourens, to aid him in killing the latter. Whatever other causes may have contributed to the consummation of that melancholy deed, the independent Bushmen living on the Harteberst River are not responsible for it.

To the causes which I have mentioned seems to be attributable the hostile attitude taken up by the band of independent Bushmen, who, under the leadership of one Hercules, commenced their career of vengeance by the murder of the two young men already mentioned. It was told me that they had intended, if an accident had not interfered with my reaching their kraal, as stated in my letter to you of the 8th May, to have killed me, as a great deed of revenge for their alleged wrongs. Whether that really was their intention is now immaterial. As already stated, we succeeded in disarming their animosity, contenting ourselves with the arrest of the two who had actually committed the murders, and telling the others that a colonial magistrate would in future reside in the country, to do justice to colonists and Bushmen alike and to afford protection to all.

I had scarcely succeeded in dispersing this body near the Harteberst River, before the other band of whom I have already spoken, on the banks of the Orange River, gave me cause of uneasiness by committing the depredations which I reported to you in my letter of the 10th of August. I had not yet come in contact with this band, and I was anxiously looking forward to further communications from Government to guide me as to the course to be pursued with regard to them.

Your letter of the 6th of June had spoken in general terms of the desire of the Government to take measures for the preservation and amelioration of the remnant of the Bushman people, but I was not warranted by it to hold out any definite prospects to them, so that I preferred to await your further instructions before communicating with those not in my immediate vicinity. I feared, too, that I might find complications and encounter difficulties if I attempted to interfere in affairs on the Orange River, in consequence of the encroachments of the colonists upon land claimed by the Corannas, in regard to which I had no authority to act and no indication of the views of the Government.

Your letters of the 6th September and 31st October conveyed the further instructions for which I was anxious. A reference to them shows that the views expressed in your letter of the 6th of June had not been, as yet, acted upon, and that they were, apparently, not likely to be immediately carried into effect.

In the meantime, before the receipt of the first-mentioned of these letters, matters, in so far as related to the Bushmen on the Orange River, had taken a course which called for my active interference. A report reached me, to the effect that one Jan Symon's cattle-post had been attacked by the Bushmen, a shower of arrows having been shot amongst the party belonging to the post, which, however, had not hit anybody, and all the cattle, sheep, and horses, besides a gun, shot-belts, and powder-horns, having been carried off by the assailants. Upon this I sent word that I would not interfere without instructions from Government, but that I advised all the colonial people to go back to a more protected part of the colony.

A week afterwards, however, I again received a report of an attack upon another post, that of Mr. Berning, a trader from Cape Town, on which occasion a shower of arrows had again been shot amongst the assembled persons, without, however, hitting any one; but a gun-shot (evidently from the gun taken at Symon's) had mortally wounded one of the party. The cattle had remained safe, in consequence, probably, of the persons belonging to the post having taken refuge amongst the cattle, for the double purpose of protecting these and sheltering themselves.

Upon my remonstrating with the parties for not having followed my instructions to retire to a more protected part of the colony, they answered that the drought and the exigencies of trade necessitated their going to the Orange River, and that as it was Government ground they considered they had a right to do so.

I now thought it necessary that I should act. It will be remembered that your letter of the 6th of June was the last I had at that time from you. I was in ignorance of the subsequent instructions which desired me to withdraw.

Your letter of the 6th of June seemed to me to make it clear that I should use measures to preserve the peace of the country. Indeed, my being there at all involved the natural obligation of an interference in case of a disturbance of the peace. I accordingly proceeded to the scene of these occurrences, but before I reached it the Bushmen had made another inroad upon the cattle of some other

of being under cannon fire a few years before.

In fact, retaliatory commandos against the /Xam had commenced further south almost 100 years before and between 1754 and 1798 thousands had been killed; surviving women and children had been distributed as slaves amongst farmers, and some women had been given as wives to Khoe members of commandos (Penn 1991). This effectively destroyed the basis of /Xam society in the southern Karoo, abruptly removing the conditions necessary for language maintenance (Traill 1995:10). Diä!kwain and the other /Xam whom Bleek and Lloyd met in 1870 had experienced the second wave of commandos some 50 years later. In the area of the Hartebeest River, the trader Nicholson found large numbers of /Xam in 1858 and no colonists. Within the space of a year, only a few /Xam were to be seen and he found mostly "Europeans and Bastards". This situation was the culmination of what Nicholson estimated had been ten to twelve years of sustained "extermination" of the /Xam by Koranna, Xhosa, Basters and Boers (Anthing 1863:2–3). Amongst those few remaining /Xam, described by Anthing (1863:5) as "the remnant of the Bushman people" was //Kabbo or Oud Jantje Tooren, who was to be sent to Cape Town as a prisoner ten years later and was to become Bleek and Lloyd's "best informant" (Orpen 1874:12). Between July and August 1873, 14 years after the genocide along the Hartebeest River, Bleek recorded these words from //Kabbo as he prepared to return home after completing his sentence:

> He only awaits the return of the moon;
> that the moon may go round, that he may
> examine the water pits, those at which he drank.
> He will work, putting the old hut in order,
> while he feels that he has gathered his children
> together, that they may work, putting the water
> in order for him; for he did go away, leaving the
> place, while strangers were those who walked
> at the place. Their place it is not; for
> //Kabbo's father's father's place it was.
> (Bleek & Lloyd 1911:305)

Those "strangers . . . who walked at the place" were the Boers and Bastards to whom Nicholson had referred, while //Kabbo's pedigree confirms the exclusive historical occupation of the area by /Xam.

The social and historical conditions lurking behind the Bleek and Lloyd texts have been explored from various perspectives (Deacon 1996 forthcoming; Hewitt 1986). Hewitt makes the observation that "the process of cultural disintegration was well under way" by the 1870s "and the life of the /Xam in the north-western Cape was being rapidly destroyed" (23–4). Nevertheless, "the dreadful conditions under which the /Xam lived at the time of the [Bleek & Lloyd] collection,

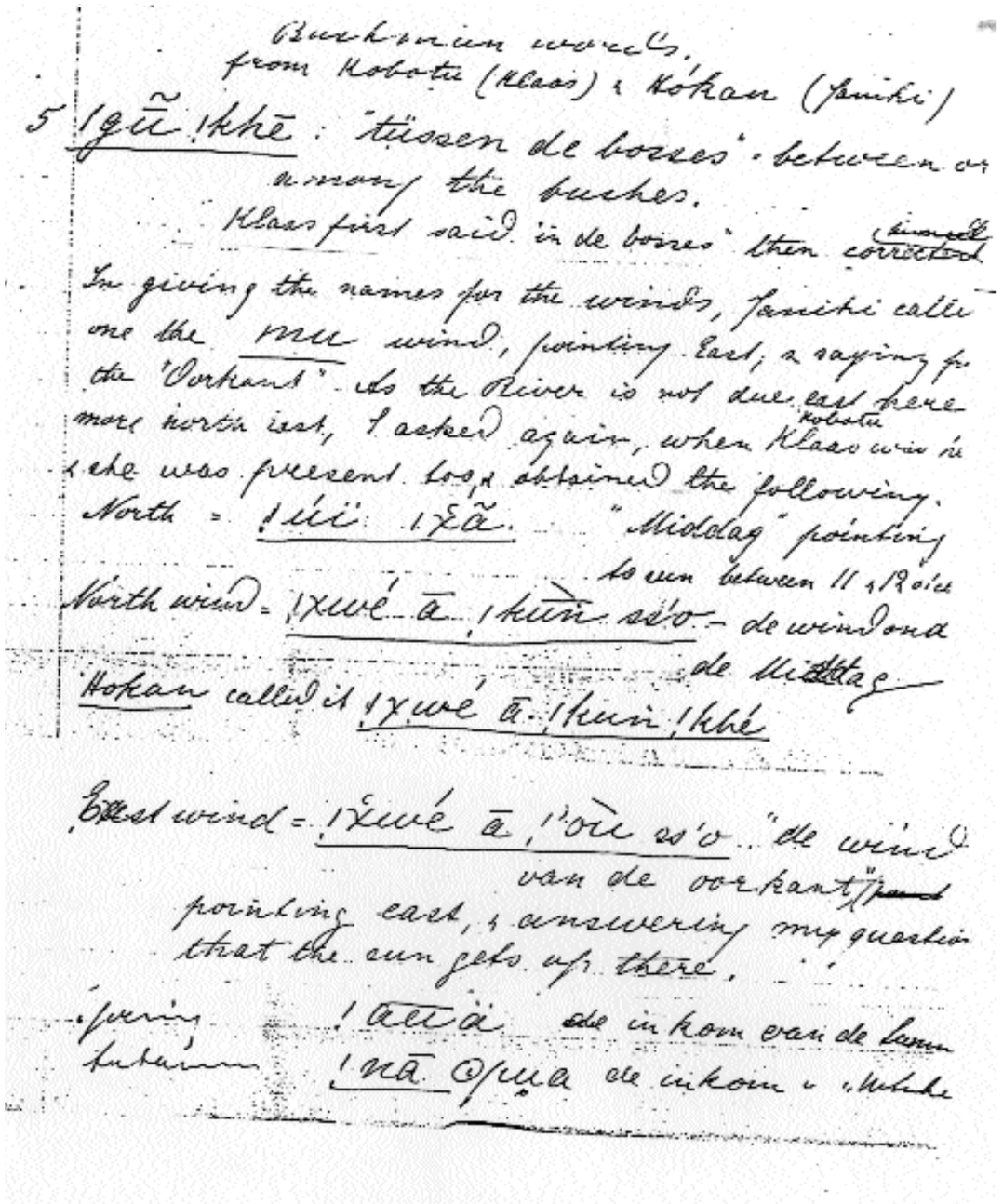

Bushmen words,
from Kobatie (Klaas) & Kókan (Jantje)
5 !gũ !khẽ : "tussen de boomen" - between or among the bushes.
Klaas first said "in de bosses" then corrected himself
In giving the names for the winds, Jantje called one the nu wind, pointing East, a saying for the "Oorkant" as the River is not due east here more north east, I asked again, when Klaas Kobatie was absent & che was present too, & obtained the following.
North = !úi: !xẽã. "Middag" pointing to sun between 11 & 12 o'clock
North wind = !xué-ã. !kuiⁿ-sí'o - de wind van de middag
Kokan called it !xué ã. !kuiⁿ !khé
East wind = !xué ã, !'oe si'o "de wind van de oorkant" pointing east, & answering my question that the sun gets up there.
!aeriⁿ !aiⁿ-à de in kom van de lucht
!nã. ©qua de inkom van [illegible]

Figure 3 **Research notes by Lucy Lloyd of an interview with some /Xam informants. The Dutch translations illustrate the bilingualism of these /Xam and the essential role of this medium for her investigations.** UCT BC 151

Figure 4 **The Strandberg from the southwest at Thys zyn Dam. //Kabbo and his accomplices were accused of stealing a total of 28 head of cattle from the Steenkamps and Witbooys, who were farming in this area in mid 1868. Thys zyn Dam is marked on the Topo-Cadastral Map 3020 Sak River, 1988.** Photograph courtesy of A. Traill

impinges only infrequently on the collected texts and in only one narrative are the settlers even mentioned" (44; emphasis added). Deacon adds fascinating detail to these remarks as well as historical depth: "it is clear this area had been a frontier zone between San, Koranna and Boers for at least 100 years by the time the Bleek and Lloyd informants were arrested" (Deacon 1986:150).

What were the concomitant socio-linguistic conditions? The abrupt disappearance of /Xam within some 50 years of Bleek and Lloyd's experience with fluent speakers of a language that showed no symptoms at all of contraction, shift or borrowing is suspicious; languages do not die like this unless every speaker dies (Dorian 1989). When D.F. Bleek visited remnant groups of /Xam in 1910–11 in Prieska and Kenhardt, the language was obviously on the point of extinction and it is clear that most of the individuals were bilingual in "Afrikaans" and /Xam while others had completed the shift to "Afrikaans" (Bleek 1936b:201–3) and spoke no /Xam. Soon after this, /Xam identity disappeared and today all the descendants of the /Xam are monolingual Afrikaans speakers. Numbers of them lead a semi-nomadic existence, as "nomads to nowhere" in their original homeland, seeking temporary work as farm labourers (Redelinghuis, 1987; De Jongh & Steyn 1994). Figure 2 shows one such group at their outspan on the Seacow River in 1993, camping in the ancient /Xam homeland!

But the critical element missing from this picture of language shift is its necessary condition, namely, some high degree of bilingualism amongst the speakers of /Xam interviewed by Bleek and Lloyd. Deacon has observed that all the informants "could converse to some extent in Dutch" (Deacon 1996, forthcoming), but, as discussed above, this is only vaguely evident in the texts that were collected and there is evidence of only slight lexical borrowing from Dutch, a factor which would naturally have accompanied the ongoing socio-linguistic change (Thomason & Kaufman 1991:66). Perhaps this influence was omitted from the texts. Let us examine the evidence.

An obvious question concerns the intermediate language used by Bleek and Lloyd to communicate with the /Xam. Dutch is the only serious possibility and it is clear that it was used extensively . The original cards for the /Xam lexicon that Bleek and Lloyd were compiling contain many examples of Dutch glosses, a handful of which survive in the notes to the published texts and in D.F. Bleek's *A Bushman Dictionary*. And in his 1873 *Report*, W.H.I. Bleek lists four /Xam texts as being translations from the Dutch (Bleek 1873a:5). These observations suggest that Bleek and Lloyd depended on their informants' knowledge of Cape-Dutch when they commenced their research; this was probably gradually reduced to some extent as their knowledge of /Xam increased (see Hewitt 1986:16 for a claim that English was also used). This receives support from a remark that "at first his [i.e. W.H.I. Bleek's] chief medium of communication with them was the broken Dutch they understood and spoke" (Bleek & Bleek 1909:40).[5] Figure 3, which reproduces a few lines from notes in Lloyd's hand, reveals this bilingualism in the interview situation.

However, it was not Bleek and Lloyd's task to document language change, and therefore the Dutch influence was largely omitted from the record (D.F. Bleek later exerted her own editorial judgement in this connection).

There is no need to squeeze the Bleek and Lloyd sources for evidence of bilingualism amongst the /Xam because it is clear from other sources that such a tradition was being established even before //Kabbo and his generation had been born. In fact, Dutch was formally introduced to some /Xam north of the colonial border from 1799, when the London Missionary Society established its first mission to the Bushmen on the Sak River. Its spread was soon aided by the rapid occupation of Bushmanland by farmers who spoke 'Dutch' and the shift was later dramatically accelerated by the destruction of viable /Xam communities. Indeed, the rapidity with which /Xam disappeared after Bleek and Lloyd's informants had been recorded suggests that by the 1870s their language was close to reaching the critical stage of abrupt cessation of home language transmission (Dorian 1989:9), and that the variety of Afrikaans used by bilingual /Xam was about to assume the status of dominant language.

If the Bleek and Lloyd texts give only superficial glimpses into the turmoil that was engulfing the lives of their informants during the 1870s, they provide no record of the circumstances which led to the arrest of their informant //Kabbo, or Oud Jantje Tooren. These

persons and had swept off some forty head, twenty of which were subsequently recovered; and a commando had gone to attack the Bushmen, but were obliged to retire after a little skirmishing, in which one of the commando party was slightly wounded by an arrow, whilst two of the Bushwomen received bullet wounds.

Although it was generally believed that the Bushmen, of whose probable number I got rather exaggerated accounts, would refuse to surrender and would offer a desperate resistance, it turned out otherwise. I sent word to them, as in the former case, that I was a magistrate, come to administer justice to all alike, which had the effect of bringing them to surrender without a resort to force.

I shall not lengthen this communication by giving the details of our proceedings. Suffice it that I marched all the prisoners, eighty in number (including women and children), to Kenhart, where I completed the examinations and forwarded these to the Acting Attorney-General by letters dated 17th of October.

I had now a hundred prisoners, who had to be guarded by night and day by armed men, the gaol which we had commenced building not having been completed. In spite of the guard, eight of the prisoners, those who were in arrest for the murders of the Lourenses and of the two young men near the Hartebeest River, and who were kept chained and handcuffed, effected their escape, and we had great trouble in getting them back.

I may mention that four of these escaped prisoners, murderers of the Lourenses, were, after a fruitless search of about fourteen days by a patrol I had sent out, eventually brought in by other Bushmen, their own kinsmen, who had at first supplied them with weapons, as they had been informed by the prisoners that they had been released, but who, upon learning that they had escaped from custody, sought them again in the desert, and there, where no white man was present to prompt them, but merely for the sake of justice, disarmed and arrested the fugitives and brought them back to me. I mention the circumstance as showing the influence which the report of our proceedings and our professions was spreading amongst the so-called intractable Bushmen.

In the midst of these proceedings, I received your letter of the 6th of September and confidential note of 29th August, and subsequently your letter of 31st October. The latter desired me to leave Kenhart, to send any prisoners to Springbokfontein, and to leave some constables at the former place. This letter had evidently been written in ignorance of my later proceedings as reported by me to the Acting Attorney-General by my letters of 17th October, which I requested that officer to forward to you for your information. I therefore felt it to be my duty to await answers to these later letters as to the disposal of the various prisoners, and the more so because the letter of 31st October had evidently been written under a misapprehension. The prisoners, being captured in the Beaufort circuit, would have to be brought to trial at Beaufort, not Clanwilliam, so that the order to send them to Springbokfontein appeared to me to be a mistake.

After some time, not hearing from the Attorney-General, and as the expense of keeping so many prisoners was very great, I discharged them, retaining only the murderers of the Lourens family, those of the two young men near the Hartebeest River, and the one whose shot in the attack on Berning's post, at the Orange River, had taken fatal effect.

Not having received answers to my letters, I resolved, towards the end of December, to go to Cape Town for instructions, and after a protracted journey in consequence of the bad state of the veld, reached this on the 9th February last.

Arrangements have since been made for forwarding the prisoners accused of the murder of the Lourenses, who are to be prosecuted, to Beaufort, for trial; and it now remains to give instructions as to the further steps to be taken in regard to the affairs of Bushmanland.

The Bushmen are now all quiet, and the country, so far as the influence of our proceedings has extended, is peaceful, and life and property secure. But as regards the prospects of the remains of the aboriginal tribes, unless something be done to provide them with means of subsistence, they must either steal or perish. As a consequence of the influx of the colonists into their country, they have, as already stated, lost those means of subsistence which had until that time sufficed for their wants. I believe that many of them will undergo a great extent of suffering before they will again touch the flocks of the farmers. Indeed, I think there are amongst them those who will *perish rather than steal*. They are very grateful for our interference on their behalf. They have submitted themselves wholly, and they look to us with the utmost confidence to save them from impending destruction. But hunger is a terrible prompter. Some may starve, but others will doubtless steal; and troubles cannot but, in that event, be looked for. They will then feel that they have broken faith with us, and they will expect no mercy.

If I may be permitted to do so, I would again venture to repeat the recommendation, which I have already submitted, namely,

1. To locate the Bush-people on certain places to be set apart for that purpose in the lands which their tribes have for many generations occupied.
2. To sell so much of those lands as may be sufficient to provide for the purchase of stock and some other necessaries for their future support.

The advantages of such a measure would be manifold. We should save from perishing the remnant of a poor and weak race of people, whose land has been appropriated by us, who have thereby been deprived of their all, and who have never received anything in return for what they have lost, and have never had anything done for them. We should, at the same time, give greater security to the occupation of the rest of the district, and thereby render the land more valuable.

I estimate the total number of the Bush-people at five hundred souls. A sum of five thousand pounds would probably be sufficient to carry out the purpose of forming a location and providing for their wants. Perhaps a smaller sum would suffice. Land to the required amount might be sold, there being plenty of it suitable for farms. The only difficulty would be that, whilst the necessary measures were being taken to sell the land, the Bushmen might starve. If the amount could be advanced on the security of the sales, that difficulty would be

No.	Prisoners	Defendants
57	Queen	Witbooy Touren, Jantje, Jakk, Jantje Touren, Witbooy Bastard and Swartbaai Bushmen
58	Queen	Witbooy Touren, Jantje, Jakk, Jantje Touren, Witbooy Bastard, and Swartbaai Bushmen

Crimes or Offences charged.	Day of which Charged with the Clerk.	Day of hearing	Judgment.	Sentence.	Remarks, &c.
Theft In that upon divers days between the 1st May 1868, and the 30th June 1868, and near Kings' Kaus in the District of the Northern Districts and within the jurisdiction of this Court, the said Witbooy Touren, the said Jantje, the said Jakk, the said Jantje Touren, the said Witbooy Bastard and the said Swartbaai did all and each or some of them wrongfully and unlawfully steal certain Cattle the property or in the lawful possession of Carl Steenkamp and Cornelis Steenkamp, farmers, &c &c &c	1869 22nd October	1869 22nd October	Guilty of Stealing &c. &c.	Each one year's imprisonment with hard labour.	Convicted before me M Jackson Resident Magistrate Sitting upon Circuit at the Loo
Theft In that upon divers days between the 1st May 1868, and 31st July 1868, and at Kings Kaus &c the said Witbooy Touren the said Jantje, the said Jakk, the said Jantje Touren, the said Witbooy Bastard and the said Swartbaai did all and each or some or other of them wrongfully & unlawfully steal Cattle the property or in the lawful possession of Carl Witbooy and Jan Witbooy &c &c &c	1869 22 Oct	1869 23 October	Guilty of Stealing &c &c &c	Each one year's imprisonment with hard labour, after the expiration of the former sentence,	Do. Do.

Figure 5 **Part of the court record of 23 October 1869 of *The Queen versus the Tooren gang*. "Witbooy Touren" was //Kabbo' s son, "Jantje" was probably /Han≠kass' o, his son-in-law, "Jantje Touren" was //Kabbo himself. //Kabbo and his accomplices were found guilty on two charges of stock theft and were sentenced to one year with hard labour on each count, the sentences to run sequentially. The record is signed by M. Jackson, SM.** CA

removed. I would advise that an upset price or something like five hundred pounds should be fixed upon the places to be sold.

The next measure to be considered is that of the establishment of a magistracy in that part of the country. Considering the number of the present population, the prospects of a large increase to that population (for there is a steady influx of people from the adjoining districts), and considering the great distance of the parts in question from the neighbouring magistrates (two hundred to three hundred miles), and also the probable increase in the value of the land if there be proper protection, I cannot but again recommend this matter for adoption. The place where we fixed our temporary station on the Hartebeest River might be as well retained for the purpose. Not that I would not, perhaps, if I had to make a selection again, give the preference to an adjoining place which lies higher and more open; but, as we have erected the necessary buildings at Kenhart, there would be no occasion to make further provision for these beyond a small sum for the doors and windows. It would be advisable that the magistrate should also be a civil commissioner, as the arranging of land questions would be an important part of his duties.

There are other matters which it may be advisable to mention here. Bushmanland, or that which is now known as such, is a very large tract, extending from the measured farms of the Namaqualand division to those of the division of Hope Town, and from the measured farms of the Calvinia, Fraserburg, and Victoria divisions to the Orange River, or within, perhaps, a mile of that river. As such, it extends about three hundred miles from east to west and about one hundred and fifty miles from north to south.

The present mode of occupancy of a great portion of this large tract of country is a very unsatisfactory one. Being left open, as is alleged, for the poor who have no farms, and also for the wealthy who require the use of the pasture at certain seasons when that of their own farms is withered, it affords at the same time a refuge for the idlers of all classes, gives scope for endless broils and acts of injustice, and permits only of a minimum degree of benefit being derived from the soil.

If this tract, instead of being occupied as a commonage, were subdivided, so as to allow of individual holdings, there can be no doubt that great advantage would accrue. Under the present system, there is little inducement for making improvements; people prefer to resort to natural pools after thunder showers to expending labour and money upon wells; there is absolutely no cultivation of the soil; great inconvenience is occasioned by overcrowding at particular spots which possess any natural advantages, and the pasturage is consequently abused, to the serious injury of all.

A difficulty in the way of the alienation of the ground will be the circumstance of the inability of a number of the coloured farmers, those of mixed European and Hottentot descent, to purchase land, their means not being sufficient for the purpose. Provision has to some extent been made for these people at the missionary institutions of Amandelboom and Schietfontein, and by the grant of the place Luriesfontein, in the Calvinia division. But it is alleged that the lands thus granted to them are insufficient for depasturing their flocks, and they have, in consequence, moved in considerable numbers to the open tract of Bushmanland, where they have, as has been shown, come in collision with and taken a large share in the destruction of the original inhabitants.

Possibly, the plan which I proposed in my letter to you of the 1st of April, 1862, of leasing the lands for a term of years, might meet the case; on the other hand, it is possible that the competition might be considerable, and might place this also beyond the reach of the parties in question.

Whether it might be expedient to make some other provision for these people, if not because of the recognition of any claim to it on their part, but to prevent the possibility of their becoming a disaffected and dangerous class, is a question which I think it right to submit for consideration.

But whatever the reality of this difficulty may be, it must become greater the longer the measure is deferred by which they may become settled occupants of the ground, and by which a limit would be placed to pretensions and claims which will inevitably increase with the increase of their numbers.

Another hindrance in the way of the alienation of the ground is the objections raised by the Bokkeveld and Hantam farmers. Many of them, however, who formerly urged these objections have altered their views on the subject. But, independently of this, there really seem to be no valid grounds for their objections. The sale of that portion which is the original trekveld would give all of them an opportunity of obtaining a place there, and they all admit that if each had a separate slice they would be much better off than under the present system. One of the principal objectors, Mr. J. Nel, told me that he had thought it was intended to exclude the European farmers from purchasing; but that, if it should be open to all to buy, he desired to see the ground sold.

The plan I have mooted of leasing land for a term of years was not meant by me to apply to the portion bordering on the Bokkeveld and Hantam.

To give an idea of the disadvantages of allowing the land to lie open, I may mention that on the banks of the Zak River not a grain of seed is put into the ground, whilst thousands of muids of wheat might be sown there with almost a certainty of a splendid return, the river overflowing its banks every year. Travellers, traders, and persons driving cattle and sheep to the Cape market have the greatest difficulty in getting through (or wherever there is water, there the grass has been eaten off by the flocks of the squatter, who can send his sheep to a distance to graze, which those who are merely passing through cannot do.

I have touched upon this subject because it naturally came under my observation during my recent tour; and it is also, to some extent, connected with the other matters submitted in this letter.

There is yet another suggestion which I venture to submit, namely, that of making some experiments, from public funds, with a boring machine, in different parts of Bushmanland. It is of such great extent, and the pastures are so good, that if such experiments should be successful, the gain in the increased quantity of land which might be occupied would be very large. Bushmanland can at present be only partially occupied because of the absence of water in some parts of it. Wells have been sunk in different directions with considerable success; but with the present commonage right there is no great inducement to undertake such works; and, in any case, individuals can never be expected to incur any

are worth recording because they lend some texture to the lives of //Kabbo and his family before he was transformed into the persona of Dream, the Narrator,[6] and they convey the extent to which these individuals were participants in the wider conflict between Boers, Bastards, Koranna and the colonial government. In the context of this chapter, details of this kind serve to reinforce the reality of a multilingual frontier in which /Xam, !Ora, and varieties of Dutch were competing.

The Strandberg was a distinctive feature on //Kabbo's horizon, lying some 30 km to the south-east of his wells at Blaauputs and Bitterputs (Deacon 1986). Figure 4 shows the view about 15 km west-south-west of the Strandberg from the place, Thys zyn Dam.

The scene cannot have changed significantly since 1868, even down to the detail of the small earth-dam wall which has replaced the original one that gave the place its name. Sometime between May and July 1868, //Kabbo, his son, son-in-law and three others would have been driving ten cattle which they had stolen from Gys Witbooy and Jan Witbooy across this plain. On another occasion, between May and June that year and in the same area, the gang would have been seen making off with 19 head of cattle belonging to Gert and Arie Steenkamp. Mid 1868 has been described as a time when "the Koranna and the /Xam were said to be in possession of most of the country north of the Kareeberg because farmers had deserted their lands for fear of depredations" (Deacon 1996, forthcoming). A few eyewitness reports from beleaguered farmers paint a vivid picture of the militancy of the /Xam and the Koranna in those parts.

J.J. Mostert, the lessee in 1867 of the farm Kruis, situated only 20 km north-west of Blaauputs, wrote to the resident magistrate at Fraserburg complaining that "six sheep were taken by force from my flock by two armed Bushmen, who threatened to kill the herd". When Mostert went to the Bushman camp, he "was informed that the grounds were theirs, and they would not remove. They had a trench dug, evidently for the purpose of defending themselves, and they have since threatened to kill me" (Cape of Good Hope, House of Assembly, Reports from various public officers in the Divisions of Victoria West, Fraserburg, Calvinia and Namaqualand A.25–'68, J.J. Mostert to F.E. Balston, Resident Magistrate, Fraserburg). Another lessee of a farm on the Hartebeest River, J.B. Roode, also writing in 1867, indignantly complained that "besides cattle stealing, they go further. Last Sunday there were ten armed Bushmen at Kenhardt, cursing and swearing [in 'Dutch? A.T.], and prepared to shoot anyone opposing them" (A.25–'68, J.B. Roode to F.E. Balston). In a report from a G.E. Sperling of the Hartebeest River in 1867, the Koranna are accused of inviting Mr Naylor, the Justice of the Peace "to come to 'battle'" (A.25–'68, Wm.L. Kingon to F.E. Balston) and J.B. Roode soon confirmed

that this was no posturing when he reported that the "Korannas have driven us wantonly away". G.P. Steyn, a "highly respectable farmer and trader" from the Hartebeest River, summed it up in a letter of complaint about depredations by Koranna and Bushmen to the acting resident magistrate at Calvinia in August 1868, in which he wrote: "it is a boast of the Bushmen and Korannas that they will not leave off their depredations until they have succeeded in retaking that part of the Colony which extends from the Bokkeveld to the Orange River. And unless Government renders us some assistance there can be no doubt that they will succeed . . . their temerity knows no bounds" (Cape of Good Hope, House of Assembly, Memorial from the Divisional Council of Calvinia to P.E. Wodehouse, Governor of the Colony. A.54–'68. G.P. Steyn to J.Calder, Acting Civil Commissioner).

This situation has been referred to elsewhere as a "war" (Ross 1975; Strauss 1979) and the Tooren gang were active participants in it to some extent. Of course, the activity of stock theft itself was nothing new to the /Xam. It had existed as a more or less permanent feature of their resistance to the invasion of their land by trekboers since about 1754.

It was some time before Maximilian Jackson, the Special Magistrate, and his Northern Border Police, established at Kenhardt in October 1868, were able to bring some order to the northern frontier and it took over a year to bring the /Xam and Koranna to book. On 23 October 1869, Jackson found "Witbooy Touren, Jantje, Jack, Jantje Touren, Witbooy Bastard and Swartbaai Bushman" guilty of the two crimes of stock theft referred to above and sentenced them to one year imprisonment with hard labour on each charge. Figure 5 reproduces the relevant court record signed by Jackson in Victoria West (Cape Archives, Northern Border Magistrate, 1/NBM Criminal Record Book, Vol 3).[7]

A month later, on 22 November, Jackson found Piet Rooy, Jan Cupido and about 63 other Koranna guilty of the "theft: (Shortform)" of some 150 head of cattle from Dirk, Carel and Hendrik van Wyk of Breipaal between 1 April and 15 May 1868 (Cape Archives, Northern Border Magistrate, 1/NBM Criminal Record Book, Vol 3). //Kabbo told Bleek how he and these Koranna had been in the stocks together at Totoriya (Victoria West) and how he and Piet Rooi, one of the Koranna leaders, had eaten Jackson's mutton rations together. One wonders what they said to one another and in what language. Interestingly, //Kabbo showed his

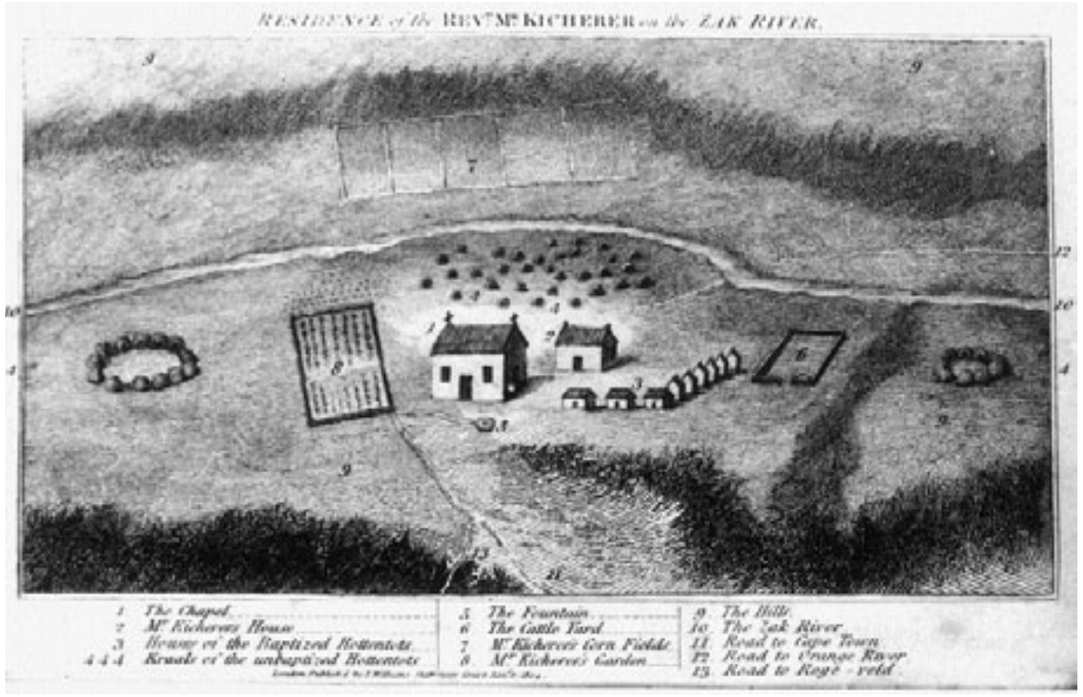
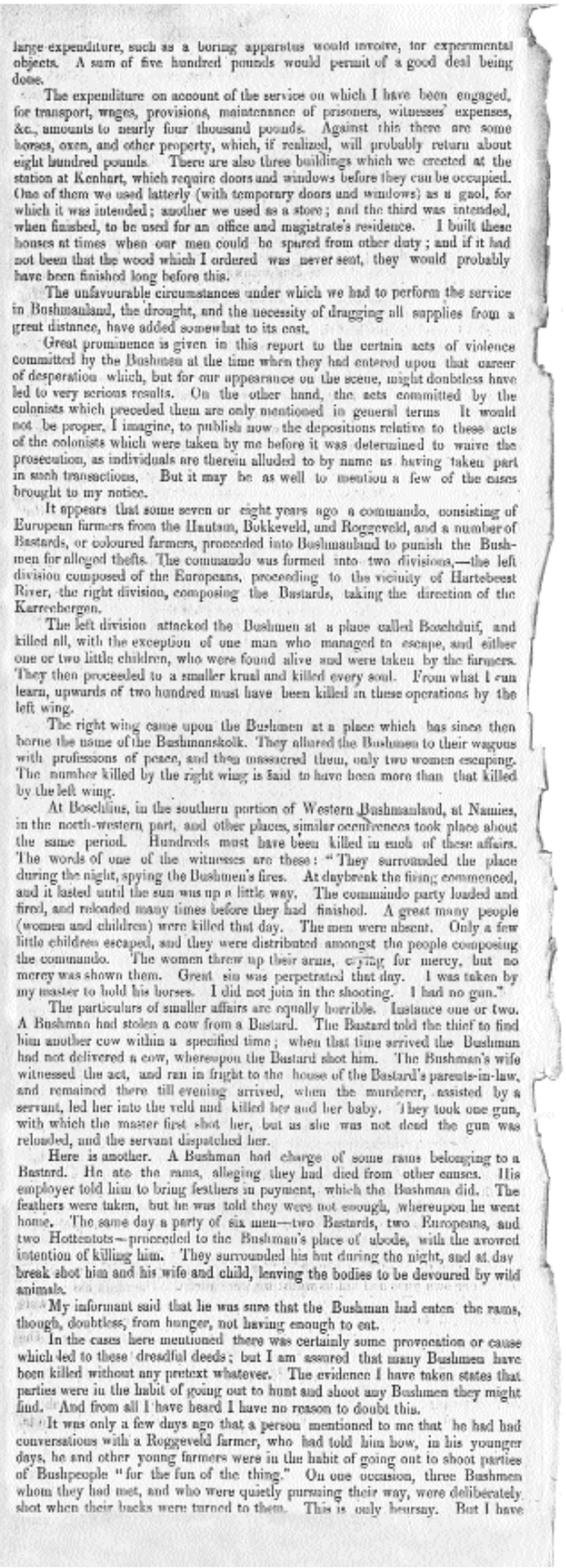


Figure 6 **The residence of the Revd Mr Kicherer on the Sak River.** Transactions of the Missionary Society in the years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806 Vol II. London: Bye & Law.



large expenditure, such as a boring apparatus would involve, for experimental objects. A sum of five hundred pounds would permit of a good deal being done.

The expenditure on account of the service on which I have been engaged, for transport, wages, provisions, maintenance of prisoners, witnesses' expenses, &c., amounts to nearly four thousand pounds. Against this there are some horses, oxen, and other property, which, if realized, will probably return about eight hundred pounds. There are also three buildings which we erected at the station at Kenhart, which require doors and windows before they can be occupied. One of them we used latterly (with temporary doors and windows) as a gaol, for which it was intended; another we used as a store; and the third was intended, when finished, to be used for an office and magistrate's residence. I built these houses at times when our men could be spared from other duty; and if it had not been that the wood which I ordered was never sent, they would probably have been finished long before this.

The unfavourable circumstances under which we had to perform the service in Bushmanland, the drought, and the necessity of dragging all supplies from a great distance, have added somewhat to its cost.

Great prominence is given in this report to the certain acts of violence committed by the Bushmen at the time when they had entered upon that career of desperation which, but for our appearance on the scene, might doubtless have led to very serious results. On the other hand, the acts committed by the colonists which preceded them are only mentioned in general terms. It would not be proper, I imagine, to publish now the depositions relative to these acts of the colonists which were taken by me before it was determined to waive the prosecution, as individuals are therein alluded to by name as having taken part in such transactions. But it may be as well to mention a few of the cases brought to my notice.

It appears that some seven or eight years ago a commando, consisting of European farmers from the Hantam, Bokkeveld, and Roggeveld, and a number of Bastards, or coloured farmers, proceeded into Bushmanland to punish the Bushmen for alleged thefts. The commando was formed into two divisions,—the left division composed of the Europeans, proceeding to the vicinity of Hartebeest River, the right division, composing the Bastards, taking the direction of the Karreebergen.

The left division attacked the Bushmen at a place called Boschduif, and killed all, with the exception of one man who managed to escape, and either one or two little children, who were found alive and were taken by the farmers. They then proceeded to a smaller kraal and killed every soul. From what I can learn, upwards of two hundred must have been killed in these operations by the left wing.

The right wing came upon the Bushmen at a place which has since then borne the name of the Bushmanskolk. They allured the Bushmen to their waggons with professions of peace, and then massacred them, only two women escaping. The number killed by the right wing is said to have been more than that killed by the left wing.

At Boschluis, in the southern portion of Western Bushmanland, at Namies, in the north-western part, and other places, similar occurrences took place about the same period. Hundreds must have been killed in each of these affairs. The words of one of the witnesses are these: "They surrounded the place during the night, spying the Bushmen's fires. At daybreak the firing commenced, and it lasted until the sun was up a little way. The commando party loaded and fired, and reloaded many times before they had finished. A great many people (women and children) were killed that day. The men were absent. Only a few little children escaped, and they were distributed amongst the people composing the commando. The women threw up their arms, crying for mercy, but no mercy was shown them. Great sin was perpetrated that day. I was taken by my master to hold his horses. I did not join in the shooting. I had no gun."

The particulars of smaller affairs are equally horrible. Instance one or two. A Bushman had stolen a cow from a Bastard. The Bastard told the thief to find him another cow within a specified time; when that time arrived the Bushman had not delivered a cow, whereupon the Bastard shot him. The Bushman's wife witnessed the act, and ran in fright to the house of the Bastard's parents-in-law, and remained there till evening arrived, when the murderer, assisted by a servant, led her into the veld and killed her and her baby. They took one gun, with which the master first shot her, but as she was not dead the gun was reloaded, and the servant dispatched her.

Here is another. A Bushman had charge of some rams belonging to a Bastard. He ate the rams, alleging they had died from other causes. His employer told him to bring feathers in payment, which the Bushman did. The feathers were taken, but he was told they were not enough, whereupon he went home. The same day a party of six men—two Bastards, two Europeans, and two Hottentots—proceeded to the Bushman's place of abode, with the avowed intention of killing him. They surrounded his hut during the night, and at day break shot him and his wife and child, leaving the bodies to be devoured by wild animals.

My informant said that he was sure that the Bushman had eaten the rams, though, doubtless, from hunger, not having enough to eat.

In the cases here mentioned there was certainly some provocation or cause which led to these dreadful deeds; but I am assured that many Bushmen have been killed without any pretext whatever. The evidence I have taken states that parties were in the habit of going out to hunt and shoot any Bushmen they might find. And from all I have heard I have no reason to doubt this.

It was only a few days ago that a person mentioned to me that he had had conversations with a Roggeveld farmer, who had told him how, in his younger days, he and other young farmers were in the habit of going out to shoot parties of Bushpeople "for the fun of the thing." On one occasion, three Bushmen whom they had met, and who were quietly pursuing their way, were deliberately shot when their backs were turned to them. This is only hearsay. But I have

familiarity with Piet Rooi, by referring to him by his !Ora (or /Xam?) name, Katten (Bleek & Lloyd, 1911:291, 297). It is unlikely that we will ever know the extent to which //Kabbo and his family were involved in this 'Koranna War' but it is certain that they, like other /Xam of that area, were embroiled in the turmoil of those times. The bilingualism of Bleek and Lloyd's informants should therefore be seen as a necessary adaptation to the major social changes of the times. The roots of this bilingualism in Bushmanland are to be found some 70 years earlier.

The first significant record of /Xam was provided by Henry Lichtenstein in 1815. During his travels between 1803 and 1806, he had collected 141 words and 21 phrases in "Coran" (that is, !Ora) and /Xam which he called "the Bosjemans dialect of Hottentot" (1930, Vol. 2:62,468). His uncomplimentary remarks about the latter are worth quoting:

> Among all the Hottentot dialects, none is so rough and wild, and differs so much from the rest, as that of the Bosjemans; so that it is scarcely understood by any of the other tribes . . . [It is] . . . disagreeably sonorous, from the frequent clacking of the teeth and the prevailing croaking in the throat; and it is extremely poor, no less in words than in sounds; they understand each other more by their gestures than their speaking . . . To avoid saying any thing [sic] about the language, I rather give a short vocabulary and modes of speech. I do not make it very simple, since no one who may happen, after me, to visit this people, will wish to learn so rude a language, except upon the spot itself . . .

Lichtenstein obviously did not regard /Xam as 'unlearnable', but he expressed the same sort of disdain for the language and, indeed its speakers, whom he described as "a class of savages", with lives "so near those of brutes . . . who are sunk so low, who are so unimportant in the scale of existence" (1930, Vol. 2:244) that had been shown toward Khoe at the Cape 120 years earlier. In the latter case, this contributed in a direct way to the pressure against the maintenance of Western Cape Khoe (Traill 1995:5); in the case of /Xam it expressed an attitude which probably explains why very few people "upon the spot itself" ever did learn the language. As is well-known, this sort of stigmatisation of the /Xam pervaded the attitudes of all groups with whom they came into conflict, involving contempt for their culture and justifying relentless persecution. Equally well-known are the linguistic responses of a stigmatised class: loss of language loyalty, language shift, language contraction and ultimately language death.

Evidence about early patterns of language use amongst the /Xam would be difficult to obtain were it not for the persistence of the London Missionary Society in establishing a series of mission stations amongst the /Xam between 1799 and the 1820s (see Schoeman 1993a; 1993b and forthcoming). Since the enterprise was critically dependent on language and bilingualism in the form of interpreters, the missionary record provides invaluable glimpses, albeit meagre, into the socio-linguistic situation of those times.

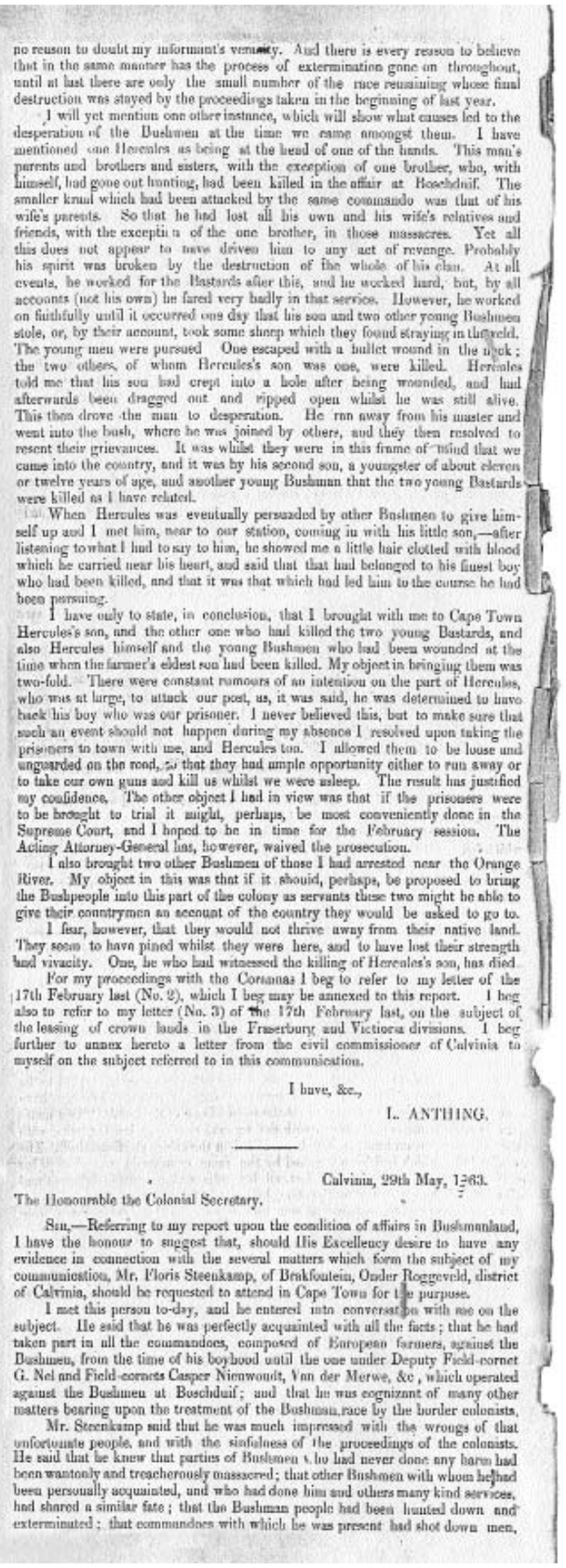
The first formal, intensive linguistic contact between Europeans and the /Xam was at Blyde Vooruitzichtfontein (Happy Prospects Fountain) on the Sak River, where the missionaries J.J. Kicherer and W. Edwards established the first mission to the San on 6 August 1799. Kicherer found "their manner of life . . . extremely wretched and disgusting . . . [In] . . . their huts . . . they lie close together like pigs in a sty . . . they are extremely lazy, so that nothing will rouse them to action, but excessive hunger" (Kicherer 1804:7). He described the language as ". . . so very difficult to learn, that no-one can spell or write the same. It consists mostly of a clicking with the tongue" (Kicherer 1792–1805:333). Undaunted, however, and in a response that was identical to George Schmidt's at Baviaanskloof 62 years earlier when he taught the Khoe to speak Dutch because their language was too difficult to learn (Du Plessis 1965:54), Kicherer and Edwards immediately divided the 'Boschemen' who had come to live near them "between us, some to learn Dutch and some English" (Kicherer 1795–1805). Both missionaries relied on the constant presence of an interpreter, Carolus Bastert, a 'Hottentot', who claimed to know /Xam better than 'Hottentot' (Berichten & Brieven 1801:99). Shortly afterwards, Edwards established his own station a few miles away "with his Boschemen people", thinking this advisable "as it would be more easy to instruct the people in the English language, when they were separated from those taught the Dutch . . . the only difficulty was, that he had no interpreter with him; but to facilitate his design we sent him occasionally ours" (Kicherer 1795–1805). Kicherer's own opinion was that this interpreter had a poor command of Dutch and one wonders what sort of linguistic Babel existed at Happy Prospects Fountain. The missionaries were also assisted by a Willem Fortuin and his /Xam wife, Catharina Dorothea, both of whom spoke Dutch and /Xam.

Kicherer described the daily routine (Kicherer 1795–1805:335–6):

> In the following manner we instruct the people: In the morning we all assemble together, when we sing an hymn, called the Morning Hymn, (which they know tolerably well), afterwards we all bend our knees; this being done, the old people depart, and the young people we instruct in the Dutch orthography, some of whom can already spell very well.* In the afternoon we assemble again, and read to them one or two psalms. After giving out two lines at a time, we explain the principal contents of what they sing, and then teach them, by the interposition of an interpreter, Dutch words, and also to count numbers, which they then repeat again in the Boschemen's language. At evening . . . we sing a psalm; then brother Kramer and I, each in our turn, announce, in the plainest manner, Jesus, his blood and righteousness, as the only ground for the salvation of a poor sinner; and take for a foundation some applicable texts, mostly historical, limiting ourselves chiefly to the walking about of the Lord Jesus upon earth, which we by experience see occasions the most attention . . . In our evening exercises we sometimes set the eldest, each in his turn, to pray aloud.
>
> * Elsewhere, Kicherer refers to this activity as "the School . . . [in which] . . . we teach the younger people to spell and read Dutch" (Kicherer 1804:9).

By 25 November Kicherer reported of his flock numbering 30–40 souls that "some of them have made considerable progress in spelling the Lord's prayer, and know many Dutch words" (Kicherer 1795–1805:329). It would be a mistake to exaggerate the impact of this language instruction on the patterns of /Xam linguistic behaviour because an insignificant number of /Xam were involved and the focus of the mission soon turned away from them to the large number of Khoekhoe and Baster residents of the station. There was also no sustained effort and the mission was abandoned in August 1806, only seven years after its inception. However, the Sak River Mission was the site of some early, incipient bilingualism between 'Dutch' and /Xam and it exposed the existence of bilinguals in the form of the interpreters Carolus Bastert and the Fortuins and Floris Visser, farmer and Veldwagtmeester of the Roggeveld, and his son Gerrit (Penn 1995b:422 fn.46). It also established a precedent for later missions to the /Xam, in which the missionaries made no effort to learn the language,[8] proceeding instead with instruction in Dutch which was *de facto* becoming the dominant language of the northern border.

The rapid spread of 'Dutch' in Bushmanland took place in the first half of the nineteenth century with the permanent occupation of the country by farmers, initially Basters in the west and later Boers throughout the area. The /Xam were relentlessly persecuted; many were killed and "those who were not . . . were incorporated into the farmers' labour force [or] retreated from the Sak River area to the even more arid Hartebeest River area" (Penn 1991). The evidence relevant to a reconstruction of the earlier socio-linguistic conditions



no reason to doubt my informant's veracity. And there is every reason to believe that in the same manner has the process of extermination gone on throughout, until at last there are only the small number of the race remaining whose final destruction was stayed by the proceedings taken in the beginning of last year.

I will yet mention one other instance, which will show what causes led to the desperation of the Bushmen at the time we came amongst them. I have mentioned one Hercules as being at the head of one of the bands. This man's parents and brothers and sisters, with the exception of one brother, who, with himself, had gone out hunting, had been killed in the affair at Boschduif. The smaller kraal which had been attacked by the same commando was that of his wife's parents. So that he had lost all his own and his wife's relatives and friends, with the exception of the one brother, in those massacres. Yet all this does not appear to have driven him to any act of revenge. Probably his spirit was broken by the destruction of the whole of his clan. At all events, he worked for the Bastards after this, and he worked hard, but, by all accounts (not his own) he fared very badly in that service. However, he worked on faithfully until it occurred one day that his son and two other young Bushmen stole, or, by their account, took some sheep which they found straying in the veld. The young men were pursued. One escaped with a bullet wound in the neck; the two others, of whom Hercules's son was one, were killed. Hercules told me that his son had crept into a hole after being wounded, and had afterwards been dragged out and ripped open whilst he was still alive. This then drove the man to desperation. He ran away from his master and went into the bush, where he was joined by others, and they then resolved to resent their grievances. It was whilst they were in this frame of mind that we came into the country, and it was by his second son, a youngster of about eleven or twelve years of age, and another young Bushman that the two young Bastards were killed as I have related.

When Hercules was eventually persuaded by other Bushmen to give himself up and I met him, near to our station, coming in with his little son,—after listening to what I had to say to him, he showed me a little hair clotted with blood which he carried near his heart, and said that that had belonged to his finest boy who had been killed, and that it was that which had led him to the course he had been pursuing.

I have only to state, in conclusion, that I brought with me to Cape Town Hercules's son, and the other one who had killed the two young Bastards, and also Hercules himself and the young Bushmen who had been wounded at the time when the farmer's eldest son had been killed. My object in bringing them was two-fold. There were constant rumours of an intention on the part of Hercules, who was at large, to attack our post, as, it was said, he was determined to have back his boy who was our prisoner. I never believed this, but to make sure that such an event should not happen during my absence I resolved upon taking the prisoners to town with me, and Hercules too. I allowed them to be loose and unguarded on the road, so that they had ample opportunity either to run away or to take our own guns and kill us whilst we were asleep. The result has justified my confidence. The other object I had in view was that if the prisoners were to be brought to trial it might, perhaps, be most conveniently done in the Supreme Court, and I hoped to be in time for the February session. The Acting Attorney-General has, however, waived the prosecution.

I also brought two other Bushmen of those I had arrested near the Orange River. My object in this was that if it should, perhaps, be proposed to bring the Bushpeople into this part of the colony as servants these two might be able to give their countrymen an account of the country they would be asked to go to.

I fear, however, that they would not thrive away from their native land. They seem to have pined whilst they were here, and to have lost their strength and vivacity. One, he who had witnessed the killing of Hercules's son, has died.

For my proceedings with the Corannas I beg to refer to my letter of the 17th February last (No. 2), which I beg may be annexed to this report. I beg also to refer to my letter (No. 3) of the 17th February last, on the subject of the leasing of crown lands in the Fraserburg and Victoria divisions. I beg further to annex hereto a letter from the civil commissioner of Calvinia to myself on the subject referred to in this communication.

I have, &c.,

L. ANTHING.

Calvinia, 29th May, 1863.

The Honourable the Colonial Secretary.

Sir,—Referring to my report upon the condition of affairs in Bushmanland, I have the honour to suggest that, should His Excellency desire to have any evidence in connection with the several matters which form the subject of my communication, Mr. Floris Steenkamp, of Brakfontein, Onder Roggeveld, district of Calvinia, should be requested to attend in Cape Town for the purpose.

I met this person to-day, and he entered into conversation with me on the subject. He said that he was perfectly acquainted with all the facts; that he had taken part in all the commandoes, composed of European farmers, against the Bushmen, from the time of his boyhood until the one under Deputy Field-cornet G. Nel and Field-cornets Casper Nienwoudt, Van der Merwe, &c, which operated against the Bushmen at Boschduif; and that he was cognizant of many other matters bearing upon the treatment of the Bushman race by the border colonists.

Mr. Steenkamp said that he was much impressed with the wrongs of that unfortunate people, and with the sinfulness of the proceedings of the colonists. He said that he knew that parties of Bushmen who had never done any harm had been wantonly and treacherously massacred; that other Bushmen with whom he had been personally acquainted, and who had done him and others many kind services, had shared a similar fate; that the Bushman people had been hunted down and exterminated; that commandoes with which he was present had shot down men,

of the period (roughly to 1850) relates to developments in eastern and south-eastern Bushmanland, found mainly in the reports of missionary activity there. From the 1860s the evidence relates to conditions further west, from the area of the Hartebeest River, the mission station at De Tuin, and the Calvinia and Katkop areas, and must be gleaned from diverse sources such as historical descriptions, missionary reports, traveller's accounts and, of course, the work of Bleek and Lloyd.

It is certain that some degree of bilingualism would have arisen, before the establishment of the Sak River Station, amongst the /Xam further east in the upper Seacow River valley, where they were recruited as farm servants during a temporary lull in hostilities between Bushmen and trekboers (Plug *et al.* 1994:33). There is even a sentence in Dutch recorded in 1803 as the reported speech of a Bushman to whom tobacco had been given: "*. . . dat zy blyde waaren, en dat niet zo smakelijk as tobak was*" [that he was so pleased, and that nothing was as tasty as tobacco] (Sampson 1993:4). And by 1809

> . . . every farmstead had its settlement of Bushmen hard by the farmhouse . . . some retainers were seen doing odd jobs in return for gifts while others were passing into more or less full-time service. In some homes they joined the Bushmen staff who had been captured as children by the trekboers and divided among the commando members as spoils of the Sneeuberg War. Many of these individuals became loyal and trusted servants, and some farmers developed trusting relationships with still unattached Bushman groups. (Sampson 1993:4)

These conditions would certainly have favoured the rapid development of bilingualism amongst those /Xam, but it is impossible to document either its pace or its spread. Moreover the bilingualism was complex and obviously involved the Khoekhoe language of that area too. There is even a suggestion that some Boers there spoke the "Bosjesmans" language (Lichtenstein 1930 Vol. 1:127).[9] When the Revd T.L. Hodgson spent a night at Carrol's Poort in this vicinity in 1822 he heard two young Bushmen girls, "servants to the Boor", singing a hymn in Dutch, which ". . . they could not understand . . . being the children of Bushmen . . . The Bushmen and their families are employed in this neighbourhood by the farmers as servants . . ." (Cope 1977:64). This shows that language transmission amongst the /Xam was still taking place and therefore that /Xam was still surviving, at least in this family. But one cannot generalise from this. /Xam bands and families had been fragmented during the frontier war and there was no overarching "speech community" which would have been subjected to uniform pressures leading to bilingualism and, ultimately, a shift from

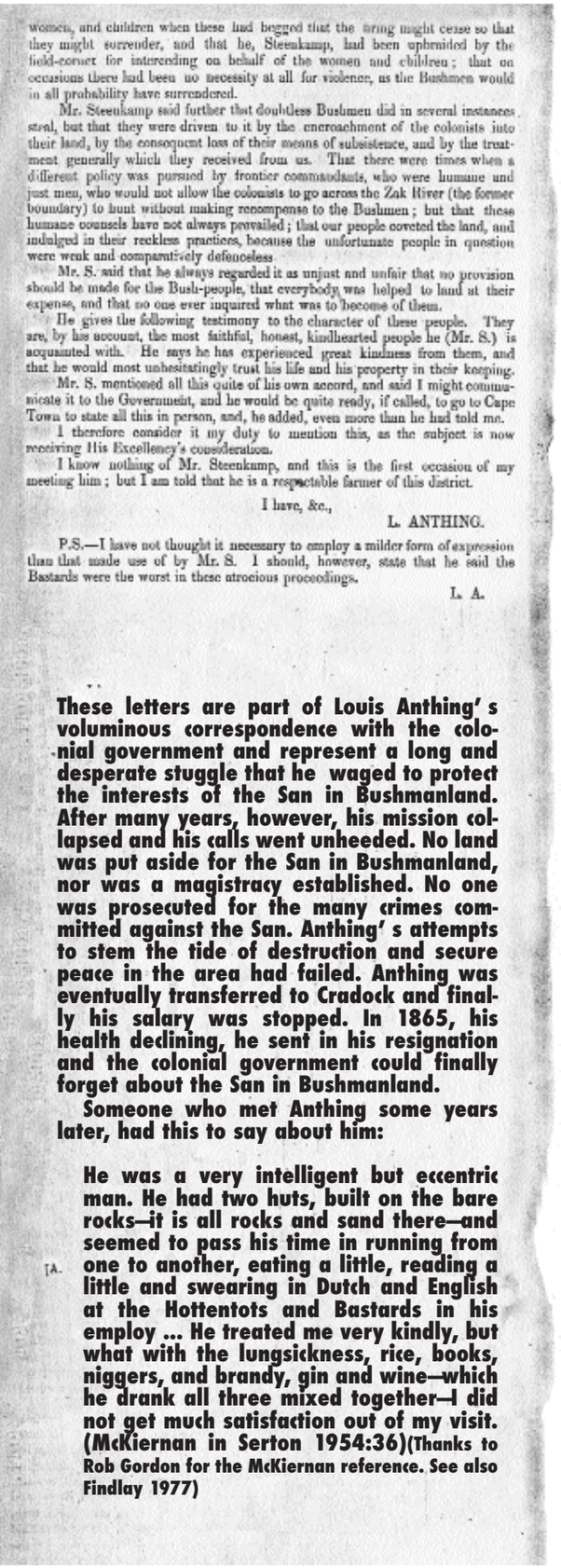
/Xam to "Dutch". Nevertheless, the conditions were set for this. Hodgson noted that between the Sneeuberg and the Orange River (near Philippolis) he came across only six Bushmen who were not in the service of farmers.

Further west the /Xam from across the Sak River were trading with Khoe in the Roggeveld before 1740 and a year later we even find that ". . . some of the Bokkeveld San were prepared to work for the colonists" (Penn 1995b:181). Again, the linguistic response to this situation would have been bilingualism in a number of directions and one can see its results in Kicherer's interpreters Carolus, the Fortuin couple and the Vissers, as well as in G. Thompson's guides from the Hantam (see below). As we shall see below, it seems likely that this general area must also have created conditions in which the children of farmers could learn /Xam.

The next important insight we have into the linguistic situation of the times comes from the activities associated with the Toornberg Institute (modern Colesberg), established for the benefit of the /Xam by the London Missionary Society in 1814. This was established just beyond the colonial boundary in the "country of the wild Bushmen" in order to pacify the area by teaching the /Xam animal husbandry and agriculture. Five hundred /Xam gathered to receive the missionaries on 29 September 1814. Evidently those /Xam were monolingual because the missionary, Erasmus Smit, had to wait for three days before someone could be found who could explain the intentions of the visitors. The identity of this temporary interpreter is not known and subsequent to this, Smit was unable to minister on spiritual matters because of the lack of an interpreter (De Jongh 1977:59, 60). After a serious initial setback involving the abandonment of Toornberg, Smit, his wife, three Baster/Khoekhoe "native agents", Jan Goeyman and Jacobus de Vries (both of whom had been at the Sak River mission with Kicherer), Cupido Kakkerlak, and W.F. Corner, a negro from Demerara, began their "great and dangerous enterprise, among some of the most rude and savage of the human race" (Schoeman 1993a:223–5) in June 1815. Although Cupido Kakkerlak was a 'Khoi', he spoke Dutch as a first language. He had spent a large part of his early life on the border of the colony in the Renosterberg and Agter Sneeuberg and at some stage had learnt /Xam; he also had a /Xam wife (Malherbe 1979:365, 367). His immediate function was to act as interpreter, but his service was soon interrupted and he spent over a year away from Toornberg seeking official permission from the colonial government to work there. Ultimately he spent only a few months there because of his transfer to Griquatown. The lack of an interpreter during his absence did not inhibit Smit from giving spiritual instruction. There were morning and evening prayer hours, evening services, Sunday service, catechism and Bible study, but this was directed to the resident 'Baster-Hottentots' and the neighbouring farmers and their slaves. The Bushmen understood none of it but enjoyed singing the evangelical songs they were taught, and the hand-outs of tobacco, dagga and food. Smit was able to reach them only through the occasional 'Hottentot' visitor who could interpret between Dutch and /Xam. He assessed this aspect of his ministry to have been reasonably successful, based on the tears that flowed during the preaching (De Jongh 1977:63). One wonders what the /Xam made of this linguistic treatment or whether, indeed they even cared. Whatever the case may be, it showed, once again that /Xam had a marginal status for the Europeans.

These bizarre linguistic conditions at Toornberg could not have promoted the spread of Dutch amongst the /Xam to any significant degree. To the extent that Dutch was learnt there, only a small number of people would have been directly affected and they would have remained part of the larger /Xam-speaking community which chose to live in villages around the mission. One reads of Smit teaching spelling and reading with the help of an interpreter and that good progress was achieved (De Jongh 1977:65), but there is no evidence that this led to proficiency in the second language. One of the interpreters used by Smit may have been the 12-year-old boy who had apparently learnt Dutch within a year of Smit's arrival; his services were sporadic and temporary, however, because he was regularly reclaimed by the farmer from whom he had absconded before leaving Toornberg to join Goeyman and Corner at their newly established station, Hephzibah (modern Petrusville). But his sort of rapid bilingualism must have been quite atypical for this time and, although its source is uncertain, one may guess that it probably arose in farmer-servant relationships in the nearby colony.

An intriguing piece of socio-linguistic information which surfaces for the first time at Toornberg is the existence of a !Kwi dialect which was not mutually intelligible with /Xam, and which was spoken by Bushmen from across the Orange River. We have assumed that the Bushman language spoken by the residents of the Toornberg area was effectively the same as that spoken in the Sneeuberg, the area of the Sak River Mission, the Katkop Hills and the Strandberg, with some insignificant variation, that is the /Xam recorded by Bleek and Lloyd and spoken by //Kabbo, Diä!kwain, /Han≠Kass'o and others. Bleek actually interviewed Bushman prisoners from Colesberg and Burghersdorp and found that "the different Bushmen dialects spoken within this colony vary little from each other . . . one language . . . is spoken by all these Bushmen" (Bleek 1873a:2). This has an important implication: there must have been complete linguistic mobility in this area [i.e. Bushmanland, A.T.] and thus



women, and children when these had begged that the firing might cease so that they might surrender, and that he, Steenkamp, had been upbraided by the field-cornet for interceding on behalf of the women and children; that on occasions there had been no necessity at all for violence, as the Bushmen would in all probability have surrendered.

Mr. Steenkamp said further that doubtless Bushmen did in several instances steal, but that they were driven to it by the encroachment of the colonists into their land, by the consequent loss of their means of subsistence, and by the treatment generally which they received from us. That there were times when a different policy was pursued by frontier commandants, who were humane and just men, who would not allow the colonists to go across the Zak River (the former boundary) to hunt without making recompense to the Bushmen; but that these humane counsels have not always prevailed; that our people coveted the land, and indulged in their reckless practices, because the unfortunate people in question were weak and comparatively defenceless.

Mr. S. said that he always regarded it as unjust and unfair that no provision should be made for the Bush-people, that everybody was helped to land at their expense, and that no one ever inquired what was to become of them.

He gives the following testimony to the character of these people. They are, by his account, the most faithful, honest, kindhearted people he (Mr. S.) is acquainted with. He says he has experienced great kindness from them, and that he would most unhesitatingly trust his life and his property in their keeping.

Mr. S. mentioned all this quite of his own accord, and said I might communicate it to the Government, and he would be quite ready, if called, to go to Cape Town to state all this in person, and, he added, even more than he had told me.

I therefore consider it my duty to mention this, as the subject is now receiving His Excellency's consideration.

I know nothing of Mr. Steenkamp, and this is the first occasion of my meeting him; but I am told that he is a respectable farmer of this district.

I have, &c.,

L. ANTHING.

P.S.—I have not thought it necessary to employ a milder form of expression than that made use of by Mr. S. I should, however, state that he said the Bastards were the worst in these atrocious proceedings.

L. A.

These letters are part of Louis Anthing' s voluminous correspondence with the colonial government and represent a long and desperate stuggle that he waged to protect the interests of the San in Bushmanland. After many years, however, his mission collapsed and his calls went unheeded. No land was put aside for the San in Bushmanland, nor was a magistracy established. No one was prosecuted for the many crimes committed against the San. Anthing' s attempts to stem the tide of destruction and secure peace in the area had failed. Anthing was eventually transferred to Cradock and finally his salary was stopped. In 1865, his health declining, he sent in his resignation and the colonial government could finally forget about the San in Bushmanland.

Someone who met Anthing some years later, had this to say about him:

He was a very intelligent but eccentric man. He had two huts, built on the bare rocks—it is all rocks and sand there—and seemed to pass his time in running from one to another, eating a little, reading a little and swearing in Dutch and English at the Hottentots and Bastards in his employ ... He treated me very kindly, but what with the lungsickness, rice, books, niggers, and brandy, gin and wine—which he drank all three mixed together—I did not get much satisfaction out of my visit. (McKiernan in Serton 1954:36)(Thanks to Rob Gordon for the McKiernan reference. See also Findlay 1977)

no internal pressure to develop bilingualism or a lingua franca for Bushmen to communicate with one another. The problem at Toornberg emerged one evening when the locals refused to attend a service because Bushmen from across the Orange had come to it and "this they did not like; *as there is no communication between them*" (quoted in Schoeman 1993a:226 fn. 21, emphasis added). Schoeman pursues this important information and stresses that it should not be assumed that the Bushmen formed a uniform group, and that in some cases they could even be regarded as "*verskillende 'volke'*" [different peoples]. He also cites other observations which point to the Orange and the Vaal Rivers being more than physical boundaries between groups of Bushmen, such as those of Hamilton (1822) and Hodgson (Cope 1977:348). To these could be added the comments of Kwa-ha, a Bushman from the Bethulie area (close to Toornberg), who said he could not understand the Bushmen of the nearby Riet River (Orpen 1874:85). The implication of these reported linguistic distinctions for patterns of language use amongst speakers of !Kwi languages is that there was no !Kwi lingua franca and, therefore, that bilingualism in some non-!Kwi language would have been necessary for communication between certain Bushmen groups. Of course, the choice of second language would have depended on local conditions, but there were only two serious candidates for communication between the /Xam and adjacent Bushman groups across the Orange, namely !Ora in the first half of the nineteenth century and, increasingly, 'Dutch'.

Across the Orange, relations between Koranna and Bushmen were traditionally hostile and the Koranna waged an incessant war against the Bushmen living there, as far north as the Langebergen and east of the Vaal River. The oral history collected by Engelbrecht contains a number of observations about linguistic communication between the groups. Thus, the Bitterbos Koranna clan had incorporated Bushmen and this qualified them to act as interpreters between other Koranna and the /Xau-sakwa Bushmen with whom they were in conflict (Engelbrecht 1936:17–18), and the "Bushmen who were captured in war or on other occasions were the principal means of establishing communication with their untamed bretheren" (Engelbrecht 1936:71). There is other evidence of !Ora-!Kwi bilingualism along the Orange River, in the form of Campbell's reports of the use of !Ora for preaching to Bushmen at the London Missionary Society stations of Ramah (still so named) and Konnah in 1820 (Campbell 1822:294–302).

> We held our worship . . . when a numerous congregation of Corrannas and Bushmen assembled . . . Kruisman prayed in the Coranna language . . . [He] preached in the evening . . . [he] spoke a few sentences in Dutch for the sake of the Hottentots, and then repeated them in the Coranna language . . . [At Ramah] in addressing the Bushmen the sentences were first repeated in Dutch, then in the Coranna language and last in the Bushman tongue.

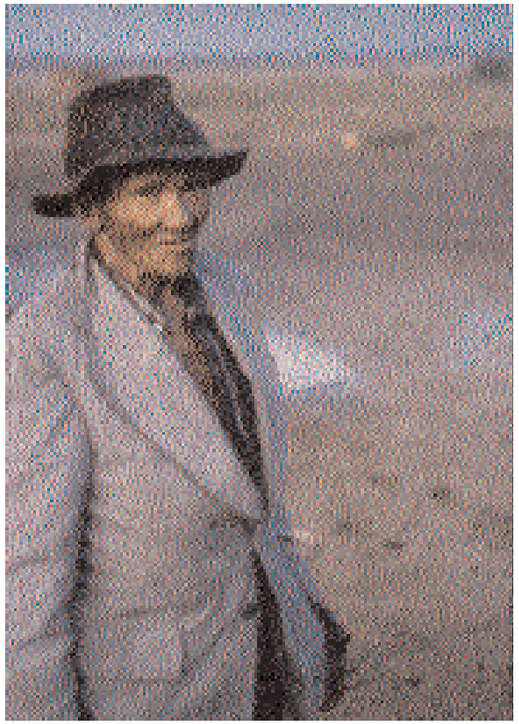


Figure 7 **Abraham Berend, photographed at Swartkop Village in Bushmanland in 1985. His age then was estimated to be 90. His father was caught as a young boy by Boers at nearby Boesmansberg and "tamed"** (David Morris, personal communication)**. Abraham grew up as essentially a monolingual Afrikaans speaker. He was probably the last person who could trace his lineage directly from the /Xam.** Photograph courtesy of David Morris.

Of course, these comments do not necessarily reflect typical language usage and they do not tell us who was actually bilingual, but they do indicate an important !Ora presence among the Bushmen of the area. The hierarchy of linguistic status evident in the last sentence must also be seen in its context, but it expresses exactly the wider socio-linguistic reality in which /Xam was always marginal.

Further west the Koranna had penetrated /Xam territory. They were found living along the Hartebeest River by Thompson in 1824 (Engelbrecht 1936:26) and they had killed many /Xam even in //Kabbo's time (Bleek 1936b:201). Indeed, as noted above, the Bleek and Lloyd texts contain evidence of some !Ora bilingualism amongst some of their informants. In the light of all this information, therefore, it is likely that some /Xam and some speakers of other !Kwi languages shifted to !Ora. But the Koranna had their own problems on the northern frontier and these were having linguistic consequences. It was the Koranna captains who had been described as having Dutch names and writing to one another in Afrikaans (Marais 1968:91), and it is reasonable to suppose that the Koranna themselves would have been one early source for the spread of 'Khoe-Dutch' that was about to become the dominant second language of Bushmanland. Another source, of course, were the Griqua.

The rapidly changing socio-linguistic situation in eastern Bushmanland and the adjacent area east of the Orange River is dramatically captured in the 33-year history of the Ramah and Konnah Mission Stations of the London Missionary Society, which were established in 1816 at 'wild' Bushman encampments located in Koranna territory. Two "native preachers", Piet Sabba, a Griqua, and Andries Pretorius, a Khoi from Bethelsdorp, commenced the work at Ramah. Kruisman and David, described by John Campbell as "Christian Hottentots from Lattakoo" [i.e. Dithakong, A.T.], originally also from Bethelsdorp (Schoeman 1993b:133; Wilson 1974–5:105; Campbell 1822:288), assumed duty at Konnah. Within a few months of their establishment, in November 1816, the Reverends F.G.W. Hooper and J. Read passed through this area and required the services of Cupido Kakkerlak as a 'Bushman' (Kakkerlak spoke /Xam) interpreter (Wilson 1974–5:104), suggesting that neither Dutch nor !Ora was a viable second language yet. Within four years, however, when John Campbell visited the area in August 1820, Griquas and Koranna were dominant and !Ora and Dutch were the main vehicles of communication, at least in the vicinity of the missions. Nevertheless, Campbell's sermon in English was translated into three languages: Dutch, !Ora and 'Bushman' (Campbell 1822:288, 294–5; Schoeman 1993b:135). In 1824 the traveller G.Thompson visited the area slightly further south and found one or two Bushmen who could "speak a little Dutch" (Thompson 1968, Part 2:10). By 1823 the missions had been abandoned and in 1824 the colonial border was extended to the Orange River near Ramah, allowing for the allocation of farms in that area.

The following year the San between Hephzibah and Ramah enjoyed the attention of one Abraham Kruger, "a sort of Coranna", whose gang murdered a number of them and carried off some women and children (Wilson 1974–5:106). From 1826 Ramah was under active Griqua control and, in 1828, almost became their capital. In 1839 the Ramah Mission was abandoned because the spring had dried up. It was re-established six years later and, by 1846, the church members were described as "mixed Griquas and Bechuanas". In 1849 J. Read

Bag made of buck or goat skin, acquired by Dorothea Bleek in c.1913, Gordonia. SAM Collection 1546

Woman' s bag, decorated with glass beads. Purchased from Dominee Weich, Tsumkwe, 1975. SAM Collection 10668

again visited Ramah and found "about 50 families, Griquas and Bushmen . . . The Griquas in this place are mostly from Namaqualand. We had worship . . . conducted entirely in Dutch" (Wilson 1974–5:104–10). Despite the obvious gaps in this local record of changing patterns of language use, in its essential features it reflects most of the important socio-linguistic changes that were found throughout Bushmanland: first a largely monolingual /Xam community, followed by a rapid occupation of /Xam territory, accompanied by population reduction, displacement and political subordination of the people and bilingualism; within a short period /Xam identity is no longer viable and language shift takes place to !Ora/Xiri/Khoe-Dutch.

This completes the reconstruction of socio-linguistic conditions in the eastern parts of Bushmanland to about 1850. The upheavals that were taking place some 300 km further west, in the territory of //Kabbo's 'Flat' /Xam, have already been described. An interesting perspective on this comes from J. Schroeder, the catechist at the Rhenish Mission Station at De Tuin, some 65 km north-west of //Kabbo's home. Schroeder was interviewed in November 1866 by a committee to assess a petition from the Bastards of Bushmanland for a land grant in that area (CA, A 8.–66, Petition of Bastards). He estimated that more than 200 families of Bastards, Hottentots and Bushmen lived there, trekking about mostly around De Tuin and sometimes towards the Hantam and the Bokkeveld, where they obtained supplies of corn, or Loeriesfontein where they sowed corn. Of these, between 60 to 100 were Bushmen families who "reside with the Bastards. They are very poor. The Bastards maintain them, and sometimes they work for the Bastards." *Trekboers* occasionally intruded in those parts in 1866 but did not reach De Tuin, always returning to the Hantam and Calvinia (CA, A 8.–66.:2–5). The 70 to 100 children in the school at De Tuin were taught "mostly . . . [in] . . . Dutch, because it is very difficult to teach them English; most of the children of the Korannas and Bushmen speak Dutch better; their tongue will not allow them to speak English" (CA, A 8.–66.:10). And preaching was in Dutch: "All the people there speak Dutch" (CA, A 8.–66.:10). These details are fascinating because they show unambiguously that 'Dutch' was the dominant language of the De Tuin communities and that it had been spread into those parts by Basters and Khoekhoe. The /Xam adults formed an indigent, dispossessed class of dependents who were bilingual (at least) in "Dutch" and their children were enjoying the status associated with an education delivered in Dutch, the language of their masters. These unsubtle psycho-social pressures would have placed these /Xam speakers under a great deal of pressure to change their linguistic loyalty.

Schroeder also described "*makke*" [tame] Bushmen

who lived "amongst the people" (that is the Bastards) but had nothing to do with the mission, as well as some hundreds of nomadic Bushmen east of the Hartebeest River who were "very wild". When asked whether these Bushmen spoke Dutch, Schroeder answered: "No, they cannot; and even the tame Bushmen, as a rule, cannot speak Dutch; only a few of them who have been brought up by the Bastards" (CA, A 8.–66.:14). The dominance of the 'Dutch' speaking Bastards in the area is left in no doubt. It is they who tamed previously wild Bushmen, not "the farmers" (that is trekboers,) (CA, A 8.–66.:14). There is the following exchange between the Colonial Secretary (CS) and Schroeder (S):

> CS: I suppose those Bushmen who have become civilised work well like other people?
> S: If they like, but the wild ones will not work, they run away.
> CS: I suppose these Bushmen [i.e the civilised ones, A.T.] have become a good deal uitgebasterd [i.e. 'bred out', A.T.]; they themselves become Bastards in a few years?
> S: Yes, they mix with the black Hottentots.
> CS: What do you call black Hottentots?
> S: Pure Hottentots.

Schroeder's description of conditions in Bushmanland at the end of 1866 is extremely valuable from a socio-linguistic perspective because it reveals all the conditions necessary for the shift to 'Dutch' and it even identifies three groups of /Xam at different stages in the process: the monolinguals in the form of the 'wild' Bushmen east of the Hartebeest River who speak no 'Dutch'; the incipient bilinguals in the form of the "*makke*" Bushmen, some of whom speak some "Dutch"; and the bilingual 'tame' Bushmen, all of whom speak 'Dutch'. Some 56 years after this, D.F. Bleek was still able to find examples of each type at Prieska and Kenhardt but by then a fourth group had evolved: "pure Bushmen" who were monolingual Afrikaans speakers (D.F. Bleek 1936b).

Implicit in the above conversation between Schroeder and the Colonial Secretary is a straightforward correlation between social and linguistic states: the ideal socio-economic state of 'civilisation and work' and the linguistic state of bilingualism in 'Dutch', on the one hand, and a wild, intractable, 'cursed' state (D.F. Bleek 1936b:14) and ignorance of 'Dutch', on the other. The ideal state was achieved by 'taming' the /Xam, a euphemism for extermination or subjugation. As history has shown us, the /Xam had no choice in this, as those remaining 'wild Bushmen' east of the Hartebeest River were soon to learn.

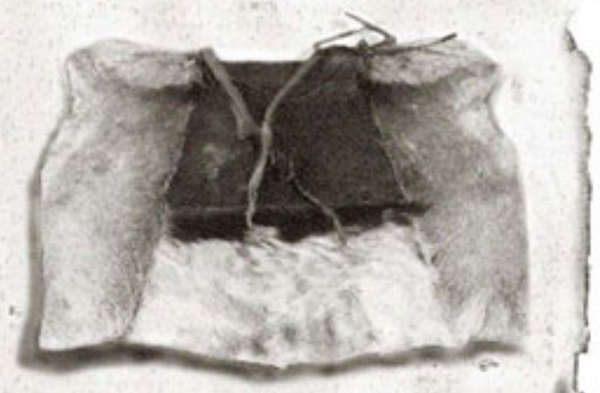
It seems likely that Schroeder was deceiving the Select Committee by concealing facts about the real nature of Bastard-Bushman relations. He surely knew that the Bastards had been trying energetically to 'tame' Bushmen along the Hartebeest River for some time, because only four years earlier Anthing had visited the area and reported a ten-year history of wholesale extermination of /Xam. In all likelihood, some of Schroeder's "*makke*" Bushmen were survivors of this onslaught. There is therefore a bitter irony in the implication of his remark that the remaining wild Bushmen were running away from the prospect of work!

There is also a question in relation to his choice of the Hartebeest River as the boundary between unassimilated and assimilated /Xam. This cannot be taken strictly because, as we have already seen, bilingualism existed there amongst the groups in //Kabbo's area, making them, in Schroeder's classification, '*makke*' Bushmen who knew some 'Dutch'. It was these and other Bushmen, together with the Koranna, who were about to unleash a war in Bushmanland, one consequence of which was to force the Bastards and the Rhenish Mission to abandon De Tuin in 1868 and leave Bushmanland for good.

The chronology of socio-linguistic changes affecting the western 'Grass' dialect of /Xam commences 100 years before Bleek and Lloyd interviewed informants from the area of Katkop between Brandvlei and Kenhardt in 1873. This whole area had been involved in the protracted struggles between Basters, Boers, Khoekhoe and /Xam along the frontier of the colony, with the same results for the /Xam seen elsewhere. The socio-linguistic conditions which gave rise to the patterns of bilingualism in the Hantam and Calvinia further south would have soon spread to the contiguous parts of Bushmanland. An early glimpse of this from 1824 can be found in Thompson's description of how his Khoekhoe guides from Calvinia could converse with the /Xam to the north: "a party of about 12 men and women approached . . . [and] . . . seated themselves beside us . . . and immediately entered into conversation with my guides", and at Katkop Mountains "Bushmen readily entered into conversation with my Hottentots" (Thompson 1968:20). It is possible that they spoke /Xam, but the evidence suggests it was almost certainly !Ora that was used: one of Bleek and Lloyd's informants from this area was ≠Kásin or Klaas Katkop, a fluent speaker of !Ora, whose father, moreover, was a Koranna. And //Kabbo told Bleek that the Grass Bushmen spoke Koranna (Deacon 1986:149). However, the Grass /Xam were situated between two groups of Dutch speakers who would 'tame' them and give them work and their language, the one being the Basters who first occupied Bushmanland, the other the Boers who were encroaching from the south. !Ora evidently ceased to be a factor after the 1870s.

The extensive sample of Grass /Xam collected by

Small skin pouch which contained the poisonous pupae of a grub. Collected by Dorothea Bleek in Sandfontein, 1921. SAM Naron 3782.



Skin apron, collected in Botswana by Isaac Shapera. UCT 41/22

Bleek and Lloyd contains no hint that the language was threatened, nor any suggestion that its speakers were about to abandon it. It would be tempting to interpret /Han≠kass'o's assessment of the speakers of this dialect as not speaking /Xam 'nicely' because they "stammer the language" (Deacon 1986:149) as evidence of typical deteriorating competence in a language prior to shift, but the texts do not support this. The 'stammering' must, therefore, have been a judgement of a distinct rhythm or intonation. E.J. Dunn travelled through Bushmanland in 1872–3 in the company of Jackson and his Northern Border Police. The fact that Dunn needed an interpreter (the sergeant who had spent many years amongst the /Xam spoke the language fluently) shows that he was meeting some people who were effectively monolingual. At Struis Pits (sic) (near the south-western tip of Verneuk Pan), he spoke to a very communicative and interesting old "Bush lady" who showed him how to make flint arrowheads and bore holes in digging stones. North of Onderste Doorns (sic) along the Sak River, he encountered a "group of five or six Bushwomen . . . and several children . . . All the men were away, either as shepherds or hunting springboks" (Dunn 1931:34–5). These observations give some idea of the /Xam caught between tradition and change. Dunn also reports a remark which shows that the /Xam actually had a sense of humour and could take ". . . a sly hit at their baas, the Boer": "Baboons could talk if they chose, but . . . they know that if they did so, the Boer would make them work, as in their own case" (Dunn 1931:7)! However, with the exception of remarks like these, which show that the /Xam had already been subjugated as labourers, Dunn's observations on the /Xam are selective, biased by his interest in recording the last of them who lived 'wild' (and dangerous) in their original, natural environment, using their primitive stone, bone and wood implements and their own pottery (Dunn 1931:v) (and, as implied by the need for an interpreter, still monolingual).

The bilingualism in 'Dutch', which would naturally have accompanied the social changes was recorded by G.R. von Wielligh, who accompanied his father on surveying trips through Namaqualand, Bushmanland and the Hantam between 1870 and 1883. He describes how "*baie van die oudjies . . . [het] . . . by ons wavuur kom aansit om te gesels . . . vir 'n geringe vergoeding was hulle te gewillig om aan die kleinbasie stories te vertel*" [many of the little chaps came and sat at our wagon fire to chat . . . for a small compensation they were very willing to tell the young master stories]. These stories were told in Afrikaans just as "*'n Boesman ons dit op sy gebrekkige manier vertel het*" [a Bushman had told it to us in his broken way] (Von Wielligh 1919, Vol. 1:11); sometimes the recorded versions required a little editing where the narrator had translated directly from /Xam (Von Wielligh 1919, Vol. 1:171). It is intriguing to think that some of these stories were being told to Von Wielligh at Katkop and Limoenkop (sic) (only a few kilometres away), by Grass /Xam, at the very time that Bleek and Lloyd were recording versions from ≠Kásin and Diä!kwain in Cape Town.

A telling remark was made in 1882 by Bles, one of Von Wielligh's narrators from Calvinia, which shows that the /Xam themselves were aware that theirs was likely to be the last generation of speakers: "*so kan die basie ook sien ons ou opregte nasie van Boesmans raak stadigaan gedaan, en die wat oorbly, sal naderhand nie meer ons taal kan praat nie*" [so the young master can also see that our old pure Bushman nation is slowly coming to an end, and those that remain, will gradually no longer speak our language] (Von Wielligh 1919, Vol 4:156). Bles's remark describes the critical situation in which language transmission was ceasing and /Xam children were finally losing their identity and shifting to Afrikaans. The motley collection of individuals found by D.F. Bleek 30 years later at Kenhardt and Prieska represented the terminal stage of the process described by Bles. Figure 6 is a photograph taken in 1985 of the 90-year-old Abraham Berend of Swartkop Village, central Bushmanland. At the time he was probably one of the last people alive who could, with certainty, trace his roots to the "*opregte nasie van Boesmans*" of Bushmanland, for his father was captured as a nine- or ten-year-old child by Boers and then "tamed" (Deacon 1986:146). The son, Abraham, grew up as essentially a monolingual speaker of Afrikaans.

Von Wielligh also provides fascinating and ample evidence of knowledge of /Xam amongst the farmers of western Bushmanland from 1860. This bilingualism must have been imported initially from the Calvinia area where, as we have seen, the /Xam had been working for farmers before the turn of the century, the men as herdsmen and the women as nursemaids. The latter situation gave Boer children the opportunity to learn the language "*van die lippe van Boesmans*" [from the lips of the Bushmen] (Von Wielligh 1919, Vol. 3:27). An interesting example of the linguistic dynamics of the time is provided in the description of a court case involving Bushmen: "*niemand kon die Boesmans verstaan nie; dus is hulle eie baas as tolk ingesweer*" [nobody could understand the Bushmen; therefore their own master was sworn in as interpreter] (Von Wielligh 1919, Vol. 4:13). This bilingualism is valuable evidence that, in some areas of the frontier, social relations between Boers and /Xam must have evolved beyond being exclusively hostile, and one can imagine that, where this had happened, a bilingual Boer would have had clear advantages in securing and managing his /Xam labourers over one who was not. From Von Wielligh's verbatim reports collected from farmers, this bilingualism seems to have been common and it is quite possible that some of the last speakers of /Xam were the descendants of the Boers who had worked so hard to exterminate the native speakers.

The death of /Xam was the linguistic response of its speakers to the wholesale destruction of their societies and the subsequent loss of a /Xam identity. In Bushmanland this finally happened like the rush of a storm, abruptly, without evidence of familiar concomitant linguistic symptoms like diglossia, creole formation, language contraction. The genocide practised on the /Xam for over a century was obviously an important contributory factor, and it is quite likely that numbers of /Xam actually abandoned their language out of self-defence in response to this. But it is not accurate to imply that it was the only (Brenzinger & Dimmendaal 1992:3) or even the main factor. The evidence that has been reviewed above also supports a more conventional explanation based on the social disintegration of the /Xam and their subjugation as a class of menial labourers. Under these conditions, language maintenance was threatened in the bilingual population that arose to the extent that "social subordination creates negative socio-psychological evaluations of the minority language by its speakers" (Dressler 1982:332). This was certainly the experience of the /Xam. Wherever they found themselves in their homeland, intruders either killed them or treated them with utter contempt and, through a process of 'taming', extinguished their /Xam identity. Even the missionaries, who employed non-violent methods, exercised their own form of 'taming' over a people whose manner of life they regarded as wretched and disgusting, through the disdain they showed for their language and culture and their manifest lack of a sustained commitment to the /Xam themselves. The message was not lost on the /Xam. Resistance was one response, but the enemy turned out to be too single-minded in its reply, and eventually it became obvious that mere survival depended on abandoning all the indices of their unique identity. So far as patterns of language use are concerned, we have seen that bilingualism was an early manifestation of adaptation, appearing earlier in some areas than in others and involving !Ora and/or 'Dutch'. The latter turned out to be the dominant language and, by the 1870s when Bleek and Lloyd and Von Wielligh recorded fluent speakers of /Xam who still had a rich knowledge of their mythology, the critical stage of language death must have been reached. Socialisation in /Xam must have largely ceased by then, which means that transmission of the language had ceased. The progeny of the surviving /Xam shifted to what was a form of Afrikaans and, silently, /Xam ceased to be spoken.

Hei//kum man bringing ochre wood to trade with the Ovambo, Oidimba, Ovamboland, Namibia. 1936. Photograph Duggan-Cronin. MM (2244).

Decolonising the Mind: Steps Toward Cleansing the Bushman Stain from Southern African History

Edwin Wilmsen

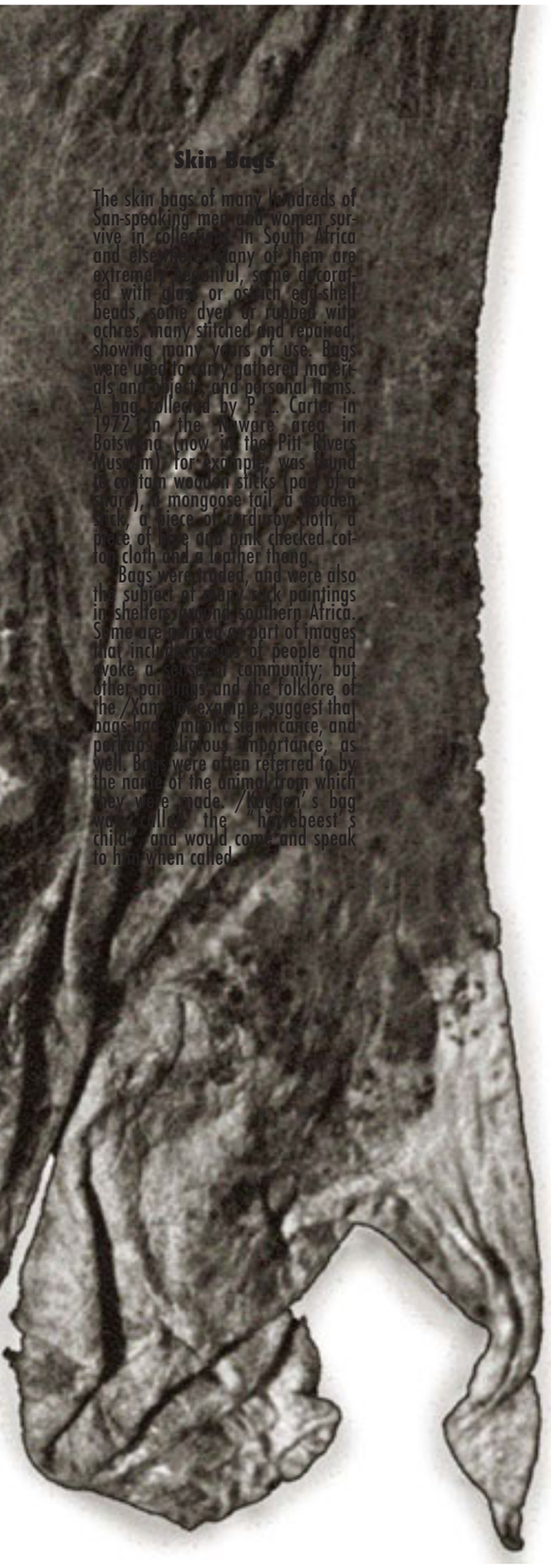
The conflicts between peoples cannot be explained in terms of that which is fixed (the invariables). Otherwise the problem between any two peoples would always be the same at all times and places.
(Ngũgi wa Thiong'o)

The line from one to the other is . . . but only a span between positions in which the mind may move.
(Hartwig Isernhagen)

The title of this essay is a direct appropriation of Ngũgi wa Thiong'o's *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*. This book is Ngũgi's manifesto of his decision, taken in 1984, to begin writing only in his languages, Gikũyũ and Kiswahili, after nearly two decades as a distinguished Kenyan novelist, essayist, and political activist writing in English. While, as a writer, his primary focus is on language, he grounds his decision in the broader terrain of colonial alienation. For, as he rightly observes, economic and political control can never be complete or even effective without mental control, and to control people's minds is to control their tools of self-definition in relation to others. The alienation achieved by this colonisation of the mind annihilates a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their heritage; it transfigures their past into one wasteland of non-achievement from which they wish, or should wish in the view of those who subjugate them, to distance themselves. What Ngũgi does not say—but which is symmetrically true—is that avenues of escape from alienation are too often perceived to lie in the elimination of other equally oppressed peoples, however they may be defined.

Ngũgi's theory was already suspect when he wrote. His ideas of culture and language are essentialist at base and thus can serve, ironically, to reinvigorate the oppressive forces of alienation he wishes to escape. But his compassionate wisdom in dissecting the damage done to colonised minds through language opens a space in which a parallel dissection of the colonisation of bodies through the mind may take place. What follows owes much to Ngũgi for this. He says to us: "I hope that some of the issues in this book will find echoes in your hearts" (Ngũgi 1986:3). In southern Africa, one of the loudest echoes assails us from the wall of alienation thrown up around an amalgam of peoples categorised as 'Bushmen'.

I cannot speak directly for colonised minds, nor for those of colonisers. But post-colonial minds—if claims that colonialism has passed rather than entered a more encompassing phase may be entertained—remain, I suggest, set in the ideological strictures of colonial categorisation of peoples. The category labelled 'Bushman' is inspired by just those strictures, complete with the notion that the category is permanently fixed in Ngũgi's terms. The logical entailment follows, therefore, that the category is only changeable through biological transformation of the actors who bear the label. Persisting ethnographic attempts to discover 'authentic', 'isolated', 'uncontacted' 'Bushmen' tacitly subscribe to this logic as surely and thoroughly as did



earlier attempts to find 'pure', 'tame', 'wild' ones. It is the essentialism of such categorial frameworks which homogenises diversity that must be challenged and changed. To do so, all three minds—that of the colonised, of the coloniser, and of the would be post-colonial—must be treated together before a non-colonial future may be enabled.

At first glance, Ngũgi's project of writing only in his native languages appears to be an exercise in isolation, but on deeper reflection it may be seen to be part of a necessary process of enabling more complete communication. Loss of historical memory has been a consistent concomitant of domination. This loss was quickened under colonialism, which denied equity of memory, expression, and representation to Africans. If the lost historic memory must be recuperated to endure, then the re-presentation of what formed that memory, compromised by the problematic of colonial representation, must resort to a strategic displacement. Ngũgi's displacement is to abandon the languages of domination, even though he knows that his struggle for equity must ultimately be intelligible in those languages. The undeniable fact remains, nonetheless, that African voices were forced into forms dislocated from the historical register in which they were generated and in which alone they make historical sense. In consequence we must reopen the space of historicity where those whose memories have been stolen can recover their memories for themselves.

Cartographies of the representation of power are hardly anywhere more clearly drawn than in the residue of colonial social asymmetry found in southern Africa today. Within this residue, the most tenacious metaphor of fixity—the very metaphorisation of the necessity for fixity—is that which engendered 'Bushmen'. Nostalgia for an innocent past before we Europeans were cast out into the sorrows of self-awareness spawned the current form of 'Bushman'; it is a negative form of metaphor predicated on an urge to retain a mythic image of the childhood of humankind. It was not always so. An earlier form of 'Bushman' was synonymously negative, but predicated on an urge to erase philosophically the childhood of human nature and physically its (sub)human remainder.

Nostalgia for 'Bushmen', both as existential presence and as available prose, arises from the European conception of the 'naturalness' of small-scale societies as opposed to the 'artificiality' of industrial society, often expressed in the fear that wherever 'civilisation' materialises the 'primitive' in people is attenuated. The coded content of the motive root terms—artefactual, natural, civil, primal—is configured around the concept of 'materialisation', especially the attendant concern that as inventories are gained the metaphysical capacity of humanity is lost in proportion. Civil society becomes associated with artefacts—that is, to unpack the code, with possessions and possessiveness; its obverse, primal society, with quintessence—that is, again, with adequacy and equity. Such cultural inertia is attributed to all peoples whose presupposed primitiveness precludes their having objective structures of agency through which to initiate premeditated action. A mythic time is reserved for them, while real time ticks on impartially for us all.

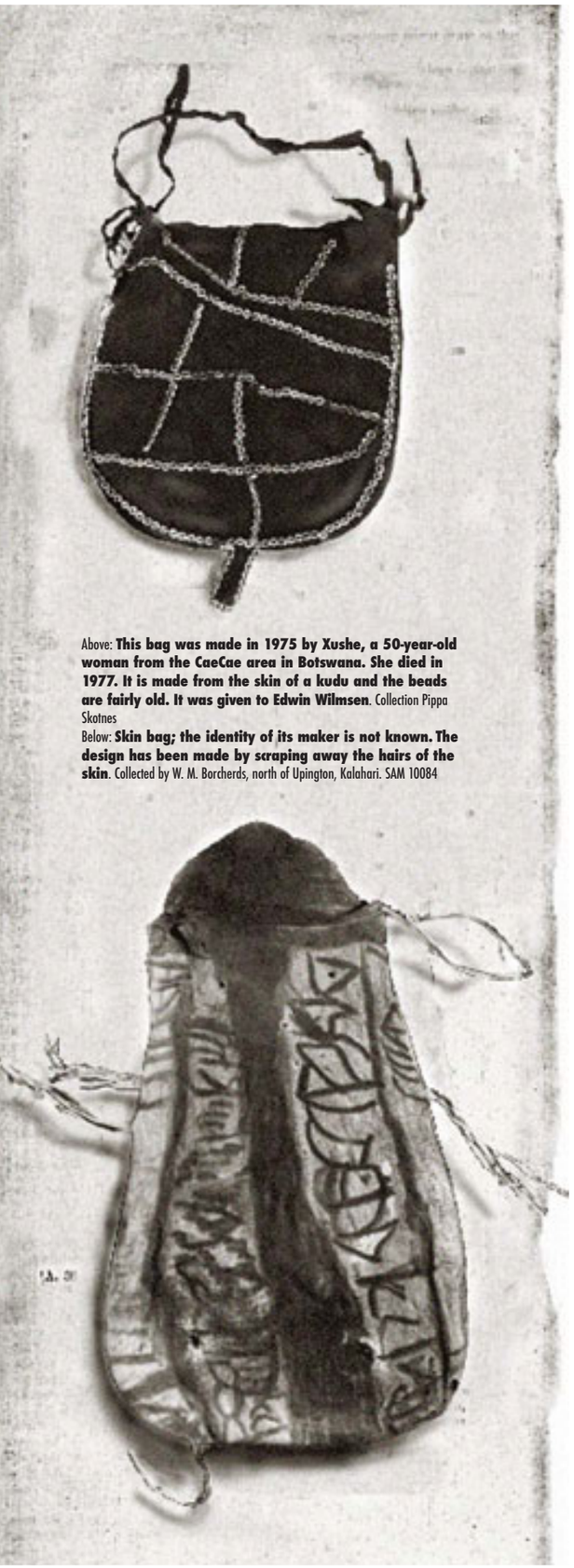
The antagonistic valorisation of this discordant syllogism hardly needed to be spoken to mid twentieth-century Europeans who had become all too aware of the fragility of existence in a violent environment of their own creation. In this atmosphere, the possibility of a place of primeval simplicity seemed to offer a degree of existential respite from the complex cares of the moment. As so often in their history, Europeans sought in this time of crisis a primitive foil against the burden of their modern condition. That the syllogism on which that search was based is false was easily set aside; the rural yearnings of nineteenth-century transcendental idealism were simply grafted on to contemporary concerns.

It fell to the nineteenth century to invent its nativity in ancient hunting savagery, which is quite a different thing from simply gaining awareness of its ancient hunting ancestors. In the profound and rapid social transformation of the later decades of that century with its attendant need to accommodate the aspiring political ambitions of an expanding bourgeoisie, invented traditions served a reassuring function. In this atmosphere, constructions of evolutionary stages and sociological forms moulded in imaginable configurations played important roles. These stages and forms established their own past which, in contrast to the constant change and innovation of the current world, offered an unchanging, invariant structure for at least some parts of social life; they provided sanction of precedent, social continuity, and natural law as expressed in history. This programmatic formula was revived in the mid twentieth-century search for primitive salvation.

In this search, ensconced as it was in an earlier evolutionary stage that witnessed the nativity of humanity, peoples who hunted and did little else except gather wild plants—or who could be plausibly reported to do so—were the ideal candidates for the role of quintessential exemplar. The modern 'Bushman' imago was created in this image. Those most primitive of primitives—who came before and remain as our alter ego, whose continued existence is a self-imposed rebuke to our self-defined failure as their successors—cannot be freed, even today when we know better, from their forager fate. Even if they do not subscribe to such a role for themselves. This reductionist tendency in European thought is bound up with twentieth century tendencies towards myth, ritual, and primitivism in the construction of which anthropologists have contributed significantly, but which depends for its amplification on resonance with broader public concerns. It constitutes an idealist search for human authenticity to be achieved by a return to an ideal(ised) original state of being through a shedding of historical attributes. In the process, ontological humanity is identified progressively more as ideal humankind, or even as humans have never been but should have been . . . less prehistoric than ahistorical, less the potential than the imaginable human being. 'Bushmen' were invented in this intellectual environment. They, or something like them, had to be made available to certify the ontological quest.

In the invention of the requisite categories, considerable effort was devoted to investing names with meaning. The epistemological status of these names, as of all categorial names, is constituted in the ideological valoration of their predicates. For example, living in a 'state of nature' was savagery to nineteenth-century evolutionists, so much so that savagery was considered to be the defining characteristic of the initial stage of human existence. In the later half of the twentieth century, however, living in this same state is again considered by some to be utopian, so much so that it has been called the original condition of affluent existence. In both cases, the terms are applied attributively to anyone or any group that satisfies the predicate requirements of the concept 'initial stage of human life'. Everything else about such individuals or groups is contingent, both as empirical fact and observational object. In this investment process, language—not only the names that as labels encode the predicates of the categories of discourse but the specialised lexicon of the discourse itself—carries the burden of the work of reification of those categories and helps to establish the authority which re-presentations require if they are to be seen as representative.

The discourse of alterity in southern Africa includes a nested set of contrastive pairs pertinent to our discussion: Bushman/Hottentot (European), San/Khoikhoi (Cape Khoin), forager/food-producer (anthropological), primitive/civilised (philosophical-colloquial). These pairing mechanisms automatically organise while they also distort the complexities of historical reality. All of these dichotomies have been reified in the agenda of European language practice where they now serve as abstract categories—signposts—authenticating knowledge claims made to the society in which that practice takes place. These categories are designed to segregate historically, economically, and politically the peoples they label and, thus, to isolate them socially—and, often, racially—from those who apply the terms. The explicit rationale for such categorisation is that it creates a set of criteria according to which those placed in it are thought to be more-or-less homogeneous and



Above: **This bag was made in 1975 by Xushe, a 50-year-old woman from the CaeCae area in Botswana. She died in 1977. It is made from the skin of a kudu and the beads are fairly old. It was given to Edwin Wilmsen**. Collection Pippa Skotnes
Below: **Skin bag; the identity of its maker is not known. The design has been made by scraping away the hairs of the skin**. Collected by W. M. Borcherds, north of Upington, Kalahari. SAM 10084

readily distinguishable from others whose assigned category predicates are different. In African indigenous classifications, these categories mark social distance; in academic classifications, they mark supposed prehistoric persistence as opposed to historic commutation. In European popular discourse, they interpellate natives as the ontological primitives required by an idealist search for human authenticity.

In fact, the terms 'Bushman' and 'forager' lump together more than a dozen living southern African peoples—plus several others who have disappeared under colonial pressures and introduced disease—who have distinct languages and traditions and whose economies cover the entire spectrum of indigenous forms from extensive foraging to intensive agropastoralism. They are imposed category terms that mark persons as belonging to social entities that nowhere exist. Thus, the term, and category, 'Bushman', has the same epistemological status as does the term and category 'tribe': both are colonial constructs created to control subjugated peoples in manageable, depoliticised, arbitrarily bounded enclaves of homogeneity in a previously flourishing landscape of political-social diversity.

Thus, names are not neutral earmarks; they carry the historical burden of their genesis and deployment. The term 'Bushman' when applied to persons must be seen in this light; it represents and re-presents not persons themselves, but the entire lexicon of the sordid discourse of dispossession inflicted on persons, that not only accompanied but underwrote the process of colonial dispossession itself, to which those persons, living as well as dead, are then automatically linked. This historicity of nomenclature cannot be erased, neither by academic nor vernacular valorisation of iconic images, no matter whether baptised with either positive or negative locutions. Thus, any attempts, scholarly or popular, to retain, or resuscitate, 'Bushman' terminology or imagery must be neocolonial extensions of colonial ethnographic naming practice. For such attempts do not undermine the discourse of colonial dispossession—even when they expose atrocities committed in its realisation—but enable the continuation of that discourse by validating its terms of representation of an iconic category and, in consequence of this validation, by re-presenting living persons as persisting predicates of that discourse.[1]

But we must not fall into the trap of nominalism and confuse the discussion of words with the discussion of concepts. It is important to diagnose the dependence of domination on, and the historical fabrication by domination of, powerful metaphors—along with the metaphoricising practices that sustain their production. Foregrounding marked behaviour as 'Bushman' (or even as simply 'forager' in the late twentieth century), in contrast to all other forms of social-cultural behaviour, highlights signs of

sociality that are themselves marked 'primitive' in the nineteenth-century sense of 'mechanical' society in which, as this term is meant to suggest, persons act not as independent individuals but as interchangeable parts. Modern ethnographies of 'Bushmen' are written in this segregating mode, notwithstanding the explicit recognition by some of their authors that constraints on personal action are attributes of all—some assert especially of modern—societies. These decultured practices then act at a second level as markers of civility, in contrast to a countervailing primitivity, and form a boundary between what is constituted as civil and evolved society and all else that is represented as neither civil nor evolved. It is this structure of oppositions—civility versus primitivity—that is culturally constitutive.

In nineteenth-century southern Africa, there was the added dimension of humanity versus animality; to be primitive was to be beyond all society and outside culture, perhaps in the realm of the purely animal. It was this demonisation that transfigured violent depredations upon human beings from slaughter to cleansing of the land. The actual field of struggle was a completely structured discourse of property. The land was envisioned as a place of ideal emptiness, a depopulated landscape. In its emptiness it was available. This notion was facilitated by a deracination in representation of the population defined as not being there. Should any persons be unlucky enough to be found to be in reality there, this deracination provided ample rationalisation for their elimination. In a further declination of representation, the imago of the land was formed into a desolate bush, readable as an absolute outside, beyond not only the frontier of civilisation but beyond the very signs of civility itself. It was a mutation and a mutilation of the land and its peoples. The disfigurement depleted the mind of the coloniser as it damaged the mind of the colonised.

Though modern ethnographers of peoples they called 'Bushmen' emphatically did not animalise while objectifying their subjects—indeed, strove to ennoble their humanity, they employed the same strategies of occlusion and exoticisation. Certainly, the explicit rationale for filling and exploring ethnographically a 'Bushman' category was to discover in it unevolved human authenticity. But encounters between 'natives' and the Europeans (academic and lay alike), who try to enter into intimate communication with a spirituality conceived of as essentially native, are problematic because of that very conception: they threaten to take away native beliefs and being in the sense that they attempt to universalise them. The last thing that distinguishes the oppressed from the world of the oppressors is thus made communal property. Borders are transgressed in the attempt to embody in the relationship some degree of awareness of an historical guilt that cannot simply be erased by a change of heart and attitude. Even in the sphere of interpretation, the power of the interpreter entails the power to interpret, to control interpretation, to limit or channel or deny the power of others to interpret.

For this reason, the undoubtedly true view that we inhabit, across all cultural boundaries, the same endangered world—a view, as I have shown, that motivates ethnographic searches among 'Bushmen' as well as other 'primitive' peoples—has to be made the basis of interaction in a very cautious, non-enthusiastic manner, and with great tact. Otherwise, it becomes another means of exploitation, whether material or emotional. Any attempt to bridge the gap against the basically separatist import of the gesture of essentialised difference must, in this perspective, be first of all suspect. Canonising peoples in a reified category 'Bushmen' as personifying ontologically authentic humanity is as damaging—to us and to them—as demonising them; the dehumanising effect is identical.

The sought-for paradise that has urged on fabrication of 'Bushman' imagery is not to be found in a return to the 'primitive', but will be a product of history in a future designed by humankind. But all humankind must participate—if not equally, at least equitably. We can remain—or, perhaps better, become—fully integrated human beings only when we can move freely between our natural and our social selves. Peoples in other societies may be asked to help define what those selves may be, but asked as themselves not as missing parts of ourselves. All are equally social—and at the same level—no matter how varied their sociality, all equally natural no matter how artefactual their landscapes. We must develop our ability to recognise inherent integrity in diverse attempts to come to terms with the conditions of social life. Our task must be to explain ourselves to those we meet as we ask them to explain themselves to us, not as others isolated in mutual alterity but as confrères in a sustaining landscape of diversity. To decolonise minds we must reseed a landscape of shared respect.

To return in closing to Ngũgi: "it is part of that struggle for that world in which . . . my humanity is not dependent on the buried humanity of others" (Ngũgi 1986:160).

Detail from a painted shelter in the Sebapala River valley, southern Lesotho. Photograph Joe Alfers.

In Pursuit of San Precolonial History in the Natal Drakensberg: A Historical Review

Aron Mazel

Up until several hundred years ago, San communities lived over much of what is now KwaZulu-Natal. We are uncertain what impact the upheavals of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had on the San in this region, but there appears to be some evidence to suggest that during the last few centuries the San were concentrated in the Drakensberg. British settlers and Voortrekkers increasingly populated KwaZulu-Natal during the 1830s and 1840s. As the colonists moved closer to the mountains and the Voortrekkers entrenched themselves in the north, so the San and their allies began to raid their horses and cattle.

Inevitably, these raids, which lasted from the 1830s to the 1870s, led to conflict between the San and the colonists. The colonists enlisted the help of black agriculturalists to combat the San. Buffer zones were established along the base of the Drakensberg, and were populated by black agriculturalists. San then began to raid the stock of these people, who were able to detect losses more quickly than white colonists living on large isolated farms, and mount hot pursuit operations. Many San lost their lives in these and other operations organised against them by the colonial authorities. Some San were also absorbed into Sotho-speaking society during this period. These events ultimately led to the disappearance of the Natal Drakensberg San.

Unconfirmed reports suggest that a few San survived in the Natal Drakensberg until the early 1900s. However, the occupation of this area by its first human inhabitants—the hunter-gatherers—was over by the 1880s to all intents and purposes.

This chapter traces the development of research into the precolonial history of the Natal Drakensberg San and highlights various influences on this process. It also examines some of the material about the Natal Drakensberg San and their precolonial history that has been communicated to the public. The chapter builds on previous work on the making of San hunter-gatherer precolonial history in the Natal Drakensberg, and on the relationship between data generated through excavations and surface collecting, on the one hand, and rock paintings, on the other (for example, Mazel 1992a, 1993).

In the beginning

British settlers' perceptions of the San would have been prejudiced before they left home by the sentiments expressed by authors such as Dickens (1853:337) who, after seeing a 'Bushman' exhibit in London, opined that, "he is a savage—cruel, false, thievish, murderous". According to Dubow (1987), there was a marked increase in racist discourse during the second half of the nineteenth century, and Stepan (1982:111) concludes that "the nineteenth century closed with racism firmly established in popular opinion and in science". Guenther (1980:135) believes that negative stereotypes of the San, which surfaced where ever struggles of this nature occurred, were part of the ideological package through which the white colonists justified "the denial of land, freedom and life to the Bushmen of their emerging colony or settlement".

It is therefore not surprising that initially white settlers showed little or no interest in San precolonial history. Recognising that the San had a history on the land would have meant acknowledging their claim to it and this would have been unacceptable, given that a key

component of the war these groups waged against each other was a struggle over the land. It was only after the San ceased to pose a threat to white settlement, which expanded into the Natal Drakensberg in the late nineteenth century (Pickles 1981), that scholars and lay persons in KwaZulu-Natal began to inquire about their history.

Early interest

During the late 1800s, writings on the precolonial history of the Natal Drakensberg San generally took two forms. Firstly, the San were mentioned in general texts on KwaZulu-Natal where, for example, the rock paintings seen were viewed as "testifying to their occupancy of the land" (Russell 1891:110). Secondly, archaeological inquiry began during this time. For example, Fielden (1883:170), concerned about the relationship between the stone artefacts that he had collected and the San, submitted that the excavation of rock shelters would "show a close connection between the users of prehistoric stone implements and the Bushmen". The first Natal Drakensberg rock shelter excavation was undertaken during the 1890s, shortly after Fielden made his comments, by Evans (1905:157) who "was prompted to visit the caves of the Drakensberg to try to find evidences of the history of the people, or peoples, who had in the past times inhabited these shelters". Evans concluded that the occupation was primarily by San and that the length of their occupation was probably considerable. However, the pioneering work of Evans was not built on and some 30 years passed before another excavation took place in the Natal Drakensberg.

During the late 1890s and early 1900s the Natal Drakensberg became increasingly settled by white colonists (Pickles 1981). Exploration of the area by white settlers began to take place and colonial authorities encouraged tourism to the province. Sections of Natal Drakensberg were included in general guidebooks and this led to an increase in writing on the San and their early history. As before, writers stretched their imaginations to find sufficiently negative adjectives to describe the San. Words and phrases such as "lazy", "cunning", "treacherous", "suspicious", "unlovable", "thieving", "ferocious manikins", "short yellow vermin" and "brutal savages" were the order of the day. Attempts were also made to blame the San for their own eradication, or, alternatively, to hold black agriculturalists responsible.

Concerning San origins, popular views included that they were descended from a Mongolian tribe or that they were a wondering branch of the "pygmy tribes" discovered by Sir Stanley in central Africa. Francis-Harrison (1903:215) remarked that "their history forms a strange study, for while they undoubtedly possessed a high degree of primitive artistic and imitative powers in a pictorial sense, they were and are in almost every other respect beyond the pale of the lowest class of humanity".

A low ebb

The resumption of archaeological excavations in the early 1930s was stimulated primarily by the desire to excavate burial sites and collect and describe stone artefacts, with a view to extending the Goodwin and Van Riet Lowe (1929) cultural sequence into the area, rather than construct San precolonial history as such. Yet only a limited number of excavations were undertaken between the 1930s and 1960s. Besides the seven sites excavated by a University of the Witwatersrand expedition in 1931–2 (Wells 1933), only another four excavations were done. As with Evans's work, the archaeological research done by the University of the Witwatersrand expedition, which ranked among the most advanced work in South Africa, was not extended. The paucity of information about the pre-colonial history of the Natal Drakensberg San led Sampson (1974:395) to comment some years later that "in the highlands of Natal, only Giant's Castle Shelter (Willcox 1957) has been analysed in any detail to allow any prognosis".

Between the early 1900s and the 1950s some interest was expressed in the San rock paintings, but mostly by people from outside the province (for example, Abbe Breui, Van Riet Lowe, Batiss). Researchers visited the Natal Drakensberg and theories about the paintings were advanced, but there was no sustained or systematic work. Furthermore, these researchers did not generally apply themselves to the pre-colonial history of the Natal Drakensberg San. Interest in the rock paintings picked up further in the 1950s and 1960s, initially through the investigations of Willcox and thereafter through those of Lee, Lewis-Williams, Pager, Vinnicombe and Woodhouse. However, as with previous investigations, these researchers generally focused on interpreting the paintings and did not address pre-colonial history

By the late 1960s little was known about the Natal Drakensberg San precolonial history. Addressing this disinterest, Wright (1978:3) argued that Theal "more than any other single figure . . . set the pattern of writing —or, rather, of not writing—San history which survived until the 1960s". According to Wright (1978:4), Theal displayed a deep revulsion for the San which no doubt influenced his "tendentious and dismissive" approach to their history. Concerning his impact on South Africa history writing in general, Saunders (1989:29) concluded that Theal, a social Darwinist and "the father of South African history, did more than anyone else to establish a tradition of strongly pro-colonist, anti-black historical writing, and to create the racist paradigm which lay at the core of that tradition and which served to justify white rule".

In keeping with contemporary South African attitudes towards the San precolonial past, historians in

KwaZulu-Natal maintained an indifference to San history through to the 1960s, prompting Wright (1972:1) to comment that "very few people today know or care anything about their history". San existence in the Natal Drakensberg was generally acknowledged by historians such as Bulpin (1954) and Hattersley (1936; 1950), but they mostly dealt with the San in terms of their interaction with white settlers. San history was not deemed worthy of study in its own right. The same pattern was evident in school history syllabuses in the 1970s and 1980s, and presumably before. The San and their early history were dealt with in conjunction with European colonists, giving the impression that these issues were only of worth when the San shared the stage of South African history with European colonists (Mazel & Stewart 1987).

Recent developments

Since the 1970s interest in Natal Drakensberg San precolonial history and rock paintings has grown. The increased interest in the rock paintings is clearly evidenced in Cherry's (1982) bibliography on the rock art of the Drakensberg and Lesotho. Concerning the Natal Drakensberg, there are more entries in the Cherry (1982) bibliography for the period from 1970 to 1981 than in the preceding 100 years. However, as I mentioned earlier with regard to previous rock art research, I believe that these endeavours generally concentrated on interpreting the rock paintings and did not address precolonial history as such.

During the last 25 years both professional and amateur researchers have been involved in the construction of precolonial hunter-gatherer history in the Natal Drakensberg. However, the increased professional archaeological involvement with San pre-colonial history in the area has coincided with the decline of the amateur role. For the most part the amateur archaeologist banner was flown by Willcox, whose initial work in the 1950s dealt with cultural stratigraphy (for example, Willcox 1957), but during the last two decades has incorporated an ecological element in line with general archaeological inquiry (for example, Willcox 1984).

The recent phase of professional archaeological research in the form of excavations and surface collecting was initially motivated by the suitability of the Natal Drakensberg and adjacent areas for studying the seasonal mobility hypothesis which was popular among ecologically orientated archaeologists in the 1960s and 1970s (Carter 1970). My initial work (Mazel 1984a, 1984b) and that of Cable (1984; Cable *et al*. 1980), which involved the collection of surface artefacts and excavations, was also informed by ecological, people-to-nature, considerations. The basic premise of our research was that hunter-gatherers were adapted to the environments in which they lived. I believe that, as with the 1930s and 1960s archaeological research, it is reasonable to conclude that the primary goal of the ecologically orientated research was not to elucidate San pre-colonial history but to test models and hypotheses. The earlier archaeologists were interested in cultural stratigraphy and we were interested in human relationships to the environment.

The ecological approach to hunter-gatherer history has been rejected by an increasing number of archaeologists, myself included, who argue that it promotes the view that people are helpless spectators always subject to external forces. During the 1980s, archaeologists focused increasingly on social perspectives, with the objective of constructing hunter-gatherer history within a people-to-people framework using social theory. I have pursued this aim in the Thukela basin, of which the northern Natal Drakensberg forms part, since the mid 1980s. Of note is that in some ways my present research aims are probably more akin to those of Evans (1905:157), who "was prompted to visit the caves of the Drakensberg to try to find evidences of the history of the people, or peoples, who had in the past times inhabited these shelters", than the aims of any other researcher during the last 100 years.

Irrespective of the different approaches used to interpret Natal Drakensberg hunter-gatherer history, the point needs to be made that our knowledge of this subject has been comprehensively transformed since 1980. I shall provide some examples of new information generated since then. To begin with, we have acquired a better understanding of when people occupied the area. A small number of Middle Stone Age artefacts have been found suggesting an ephemeral occupation of the area before 25 000 years ago, the end date for this period (Mazel 1982). Thereafter there appears to have been a lengthy gap in occupation, with the south being reoccupied around 8000 years ago (Cable *et al.* 1980) and the north some 3000 years later (Mazel 1984a).

In terms of my own research, I have proposed that the hunter-gatherers abandoned the northern Natal Drakensberg around 1500 years ago for some 1000 years. It would appear that this abandonment was related to the arrival of agriculturalists in the central Thukela basin. Hunter-gatherers reoccupied the northern Drakensberg about 600 years ago which, interestingly, coincided with the beginning of occupation of adjacent areas by agriculturist communities.

The presence of sea shells and remains of red duiker in archaeological deposits indicate that the hunter-gatherers occupying the Natal Drakensberg during the last 3000 years either had contact with the coast themselves, or were linked into networks that did. Finally, the Natal Drakensberg has yielded some of the earliest known pottery in southern Africa, dating back to around 2100 years ago (Mazel 1992b).

Before continuing, I should also briefly touch on another source of writing on the precolonial history of

Skin bag with a small pouch containing a claw. Collected by Dorothea Bleek, 1913, Gordonia. Maker not known. SAM 1545

Above: **Necklace attributed to ' Naron and Auen Bushmen' . Part of the Bleek Lloyd Collection**, UCT 35/135.
Below: **Necklace from Carnarvon, Cape, presented to the South African Museum by E. G. Alston in 1887.** SAM 2546.

the Natal Drakensberg San—popular texts and tourist guidebooks that emerged during the 1970s and 1980s in the wake of rapid tourist expansion in the area (Pickles 1981). These writings have probably influenced public opinion most. Between 1970 and 1975, three general works were published on the Natal Drakensberg (Dodds 1975; Liebenberg 1972; Pearse 1973), and these are still used today, especially the updated version of Pearse's book. Considering San origins, both Pearse and Liebenberg repeat old migrationist type arguments that the San replaced older populations, while Dodds entertains the possibility that they evolved locally.

Influenced by the writings of Thomas (1959) and Van der Post (1958; 1961), who portrayed the Kalahari San in a strongly romanticised fashion, Dodds, Liebenberg, Pearse and other writers also reflect the changed perception of San—from 'brutal savages' to 'harmless people' and 'noble savages'. The San have also been seen as people who lived in total harmony with the environment. For example: "The life of these Stone Age men and women must have been one of peace and happiness in a beautiful land where food and water were plentiful. Their needs were few but their pleasures many" (Dodds 1975:9); and: "Our greatest debt of gratitude to the Bushmen must unquestionably lie in the relatively unspoilt Little 'berg which he defended against invasions and exploitation" (Irwin *et al.* 1980:42). It is ironic that, a century after the San fought and lost their struggle for the Natal Drakensberg, they are being invoked by descendants of their white settler adversaries to promote the conservation of the area!

Rock paintings and precolonial history

Turning to the future, what are the most pressing needs of research into pre-colonial history of the Natal Drakensberg hunter-gatherers? This subject deserves a study in its own right but I would like to discuss the issue briefly here. To begin with, I believe that we need to increase the number of archaeological observations and to continue developing theoretical frameworks with which to interpret the research results. However, a major problem confronting archaeologists interested in developing a deeper understanding of Natal Drakensberg precolonial history is the question of how to effectively integrate the information derived from excavation and surface collecting with that derived from the rock art.

I have given considerable thought to how to integrate the rock paintings into the pre-colonial historical trajectory that I have developed for the northern Natal Drakensberg hunter-gatherers, but without much success. I have been continually stymied by, among other things, the lack of a chronological context for the majority of paintings.

I believe that the problem of integrating these two sets of data relates, to a large extent, to our inability to date the majority of the paintings and thereby place them in a historical trajectory. I am not alone in this view. Yates *et al* (1994:29), after acknowledging the advances that have been made in linking the art to ritual, commented:

> To some extent, we believe, this progress has been bought at the cost of down-playing or minimising the variety of expression and historical meaning of the paintings in different areas in favour of generalisation. In large part this derives from our inability to date systematically those paintings and engravings that remain, shifting us subtly into accepting a penecontemporaneity of production.

In contrast, Lewis-Williams (1993:49) has remarked: "Chronocentrism marginalises the most prolific and easily accessible (only in the sense that excavation is not required) body of data on the Later Stone Age rock art. In any event, much of the art can be sufficiently dated to allay the misgivings of all but the most incorrigible chronophiles."

I disagree with Lewis-Williams that much of the art can be dated. In relation to the Natal Drakensberg, he is presumably referring to the paintings of horses, sheep, cattle and colonial scenes which, for the most part, date to between 1830 and 1870. But he is overstating his argument; there are no paintings of horses or colonial scenes and few sheep and cattle in the north, where the majority of the Natal Drakensberg paintings. In my recording of 160 painted sites in the south, domestic animals and colonial scenes, although an important feature of the art, occur in less than 15 per cent of the sites (Mazel 1981; 1984c; field notes). However, there have been some encouraging developments concerning the dating of the Natal Drakensberg paintings. A painted rock, recovered from a layer dated to 1800 BP at Collingham, provides the earliest evidence for painting in the Natal Drakensberg. At the same site, a 650 BP date on a piece of wood which was recovered from between the painted, collapsed, ceiling and the top of the deposit, provides the earliest indication for the painting of wall surfaces in the area (Mazel 1992c; 1994).

I have embarked on a Natal Drakensberg rock art dating programme with Alan Watchman and this has begun to bear fruit. Two dates have been obtained: an orange and white eland from Esikolweni has been dated to 330 ± 90 years BP while an orangey-white eland from Clarke's has been dated to 420 ± 340 BP (Mazel & Watchman forthcoming).

The 420 BP date is clearly problematic and cannot be used. However, the 330 BP date is acceptable and, among other things, has interesting implications for the appropriateness of Vinnicombe's (1976) stylistic sequencing of the Natal Drakensberg paintings. Vinnicombe developed her stylistic scheme in the southern Drakensberg, but it is safe to assume that, for the most part, her scheme would also apply to the northern Drakensberg from whence the 330 BP date derives. Vinnicombe (1976) has distinguished four stylistic phases, with only the third and fourth containing orange or vermilion paintings. The Esikolweni orange and white eland appears to have been painted during Vinnicombe's final phase, which also contains paintings relating to colonial occupation, dated to the mid nineteenth century. Paintings with colonial elements do not occur in the northern Natal Drakensberg, but are present in the south. The Esikolweni eland predates the advent of colonialism by around 200 years. This suggests that Vinnicombe's fourth phase might, in fact, represent two phases and thus that more than four phases are represented in the paintings. I suspect that Vinnicombe has correctly identified the general sequencing of the paintings, but that the dating of the paintings will facilitate the creation of a more refined and more deeply understood painting sequence.

Conclusion

The advances mentioned above are exciting, but we have a long road to travel before we can effectively integrate the Drakensberg rock painting record with the 8000-year-old hunter-gatherer pre-colonial historical record known from excavations and surface collections. This will require considerable progress in terms of both dating the paintings and developing appropriate methodological and theoretical frameworks. I acknowledge that important advances have been made by South African archaeologists in attempting to integrate the rock art with the rest of the archaeological record as known from excavations and surface collections (for example, Hall 1986; 1990; 1994; Manhire *et al*. 1986; Yates *et al*. 1993; 1994). Central to this work has been establishing a chronological framework for certain images such as sheep, cattle and handprints. This has been done, in part, through investigating the distribution of these images over the landscape and linking them to material recovered from dated archaeological contexts. Armed with this information, archaeologists have sought to establish the relationship of these images to historical trajectories that have been constructed through excavation and survey programmes.

Despite these advances, the fact remains that the effective integration of the different sets of data discussed above will ultimately have to be based on a secure chronology for the rock paintings. This process has begun in the Natal Drakensberg, which is well endowed with both sets of archaeological remains.

I would like to encourage the direct dating of paintings and the development of regional chronological frameworks in as many areas as possible. Clearly, this process will not stand on its own and will need to be complemented by, among other things, work on the sequence of art production, determined by pigment analysis and combined with stylistic criteria.

Txobaku (/Auni) and /Hanaku (also Anako) (ǂkhomani), the latter photographed many times and ' exhibited' on the 1936 Empire Exhibition in Johannesburg. Her father, !Norike (Abraham), was the senior member of their group, and described as a chief (see page 274). /Hanaku' s body was cast in plaster during her visit to Cape Town *c.*1936, and this cast is currently in the Anatomy Department at the University of Cape Town. Photograph Duggan-Cronin. MM 2277

Between the Lines: Some Remarks on 'Bushman' Ethnicity

Pieter Jolly

I am not a black man and I am not a white man. I must be a Bushman.
(Farm worker, Dordrecht district, north-eastern Cape)[1]

The doctrine of maya is therefore a doctrine of relativity. It is saying that things, facts and events are delineated, not by nature, but by human description, and that the way in which we describe (or divide) them is relative to our varying points of view.
(Alan Watts)

The confusion of people of mixed descent when faced with a film-maker anxious to locate and film a San descendant is evident from the remark of the informant cited above. His statement neatly illustrates some of the problems surrounding the definition of San or 'Bushman' ethnicity from the time of first European contact with aboriginal hunter-gatherers in southern Africa until the present day. This article will explore some of the ways in which certain southern African groups came to be classified as 'Bushmen',[2] as well as problems underlying the continuing classification of certain individuals and communities, by themselves and by others, as 'Bushmen'.

A variety of traits considered to be typical of 'Bushmen' will first be presented, together with images which illustrate some of the traits which are often considered to define such a group. The category or type will then be deconstructed through the presentation of accounts drawn from the historical record, illustrated with other images, which demonstrate the difficulties sometimes associated with maintaining this category in the face of the documented overlap of 'Bushman' and other groups. Finally, I will return to the farm worker cited above for a discussion of the meaning behind his assertion of 'Bushmanness'. A closer examination of the context within which this man's statement was made suggests that particular individuals and groups may become 'Bushmen' as a result of the interest shown in this ethnic category by others. This may require us to assess the 'varying points of view' of those who have been given, or who have appropriated, the authority to determine where the lines of ethnicity are drawn and who is, or was, a 'Bushman'.

'Bushman' ethnicity

An important point which should be made at the outset is that the final authority for labelling particular groups and individuals 'Bushmen', as opposed to 'Hottentots', 'Kaffirs', 'Boochooanas', 'Zooloos' and so on, has lain with people other than the 'Bushmen' themselves. The first Europeans to encounter the hunters and herders of South Africa found this ethnic categorisation a difficult task. Ideally, it would have required all the aboriginal inhabitants to belong to discrete racial types, each associated with an easily recognisable package of cultural traits. This was not the case when Europeans arrived at the Cape, and it was certainly not the case by the end of the nineteenth century. By this time a great variety of new groupings, composed partly of people who had genetic links with earlier indigenous hunter-gatherer groups, but little or no cultural links with these people, had formed, many in response to pressures placed on hunter-gatherer

A Contribution from a Bushman.

PRELIMINARY NOTE.—It is gratifying to find from the Editor's introduction that "arrangements have been made for securing the narratives of such of our early 'pioneers' as are still living." This gives hope that the narratives of pre-pioneers will also be accepted. The orthography of the Bushman words is not guaranteed to be correct.

H. A.

I am called Toby: my Bushman name is Kwa-ha. My mother was a Bushwoman, and my father was a Gonah Hottentot named K'uh'akang, living with Bushmen. He was born at Seacow River, in the Colesberg district. I was born at a Bushman cave on the west side of Caledon River, opposite Tweefontein, and a little distance above the junction of the Caledon and Orange Rivers. I was a young man when the first missionary came to Bethulie. His name was Clark. He was followed by Mr. Kolbe. I had not taken a wife when the missionary came. My mother, K'houk'uha (Candass), was a Bushwoman, of Kraamberg, near Aliwal North. The chief of the Bushmen where I was born was Bartman Owk'uru'ke'n. His kraal was a little lower down the Caledon than my kraal, and a little above where the Orange and Caledon Rivers join. He had chieftainship to Aasvogel Kop (on the east side of the Caledon), and to the junction of the Caledon and Orange Rivers, and on the west side of Caledon he exercised jurisdiction from Badfontein to Bosjesspruit. He had a considerable number of subjects. He was my mother's uncle. He was a true Bushman, but a big man and fat. When I was young we lived on game and roots and fish. There were hippopotami in the rivers and elephants in the "kloofs" and "vleis," and all sorts of game in the country. Bushmen children are named from the place where they were born. I have four, and all are K'ouk'oo (Tk'outk'oo), meaning the place now called Bethulie. The eldest is Tk'ontk'oo Tn$_5$'oi, or the eldest Tk'outk'oo. The second is called middle Tk'oukoo, and so on. Children were not called after their father, but from a cave, river, bush, or tree they may have been born at. (Being asked if Bushmen had a God, Toby replied: "No; but we know where he is." He was asked where? and replied: "In heaven above.") I know, because my father used to say when we killed some game that we were not to waste the flesh, for God might not favour us again by giving more. God's name is, in Bushman language, T'koo (T'-koo). We considered he was good for all. We know also of a wicked spirit, T'ang (not with Tk). Bushmen called God the father, and did not like to speak of T'ang. Bushmen lived in great peace among themselves, but sometimes quarrel; but if a Bushman became outrageous and began to curse, he was quickly killed on the spot by the people of the kraal. Cursing is much more common and extensive in Dutch than in Bushman language. The Bushmen loved their chief very much, and he always gave advice toward peace. Our chief and his interpreter were killed by the people of Lepiri, who wrongly suspected him of killing a sheep of theirs. They were driven at a run from the Orange River "poort," near Bethulie, to the mission-station, and beaten severely on the way, so that the chief died in the evening and the

communities by European and black settlers. Faced both with relatively easily categorised groups, and with a whole variety of hybrid communities which appeared to be connected in certain ways with autochthonous hunter-gatherer societies as well as with other societies, the early European visitors and settlers were forced to expand their terminology to classify these groups—according to their points of view. Since, as Watts reminds us at the beginning of this paper, points of view are varying and relative, the same groups were often categorised differently by different writers.

To confuse matters further, some hunter-gatherers changed their subsistence strategies and cultural traits over time as a result of contact with herder and farmer communities. They acquired livestock and, probably in many cases, certain of the customs and associated ideas of these communities. It was these communities into which many hunter-gatherers were apparently absorbed and whose culture they adopted. Their genetic constitution and physical appearance may have been largely San, but their economy and culture had been transformed. In effect, they were in the process of changing, or had already changed, their ethnic identity.

This ambiguity, the existence of groups of a particular San physical type but with hybrid cultures, was difficult to accommodate. These groups fell between the lines which had been drawn separating the 'Bushman package' (small, yellow-skinned people with bent backs and large buttocks, who spoke a language with many clicks, were organised into small acephalous bands, lived in caves and crude grass shelters, gathered wild vegetable foods, hunted with bows and poisoned arrows, never kept livestock on a permanent basis like herders and farmers, executed the rock paintings and engravings of southern Africa, constantly fought with their farmer and herder neighbours, and so on) from the racial/ethnic packages associated with other groups. One response to this ethnic ambiguity appears to have been to ignore these differences and subsume all the variations within the single category of 'Bosjesman'. Another was to try and distinguish between the different hybrid groups, which led to a great variety of names being applied to groups considered to be connected in some way with aboriginal hunter-gatherers. There are many problems associated with the ways in which people associated with these groups were described and classified, and, as Parkington (1984:157) remarks, "Sherlock Holmes's talents are needed to discriminate between the false impressions and intentional misrepresentations by settlers and informants."

Some images of 'Bushman'and other people

A variety of images (paintings, engravings, photographs) illustrate the extent of overlap of the ethnic packages ascribed to 'traditional' San people with those ascribed to Khoi, Nguni, Sotho and Tswana groups. They can be used to demonstrate the difficulties associated with defining a

Figure 1 **"Bushmen Hottentots armed for an expedition".** MA AM2304

'Bushman' ethnic category and can provide us with clues as to the processes by which hunter-gatherer groups may have come to be incorporated into herder and agriculturist communities. Some of these images will be illustrated and discussed here. They will be employed as points of entry for analysis of the 'Bushman' ethnic category and discussion of the similarities between certain features typically associated with this category and features of other ethnic categories. In some cases they illustrate the transformation of aspects of southern African hunter-gatherer societies as a result of symbiotic contact with other groups. Possible changes in the religious symbolism and rites of hunter-gatherer groups which may have resulted from symbiotic contact with other groups in southern Africa, and which appear to have been expressed in a proportion of the rock paintings of the areas occupied by these groups, will also be briefly discussed.

The 'Bushman' type

The painting reproduced here (Figure 1) displays some of the elements which go to make up the 'Bushman' hunter-gatherer category. The people portrayed in these have the physical appearance as well as the weaponry and clothing which are customarily associated with 'Bushmen'. They are, nevertheless, defined ethnically as much by what the artist leaves out of the picture as by what he includes. Noticeably absent are the accumulated possessions associated with more hierarchically organised and settled groups. In particular, there is no sign of livestock such as cattle, sheep or goats, which are generally associated with the culture of Khoi- and Bantu-speakers. There is a hint, however, in Daniell's depiction of the mat huts in the background that the people depicted may have some affinity with Khoi pastoralists, and it is worth noting that Daniell does not term them 'Bosjesmans', but rather 'Bush-men Hottentots'. The similarity between some 'Bushman' and Khoi dwellings will be discussed below.

The people depicted in this painting, are defined as 'Bushmen' not only by their physical appearance and dress, but also by their demeanour. They are depicted in stylised, classical pose high above the surrounding countryside—primitive but proud lords surveying a wild domain. It is this portrayal of the 'Bushman' as noble savage, as much as the appearance and accoutrement of the subjects of Daniell's painting, which serves to define 'Bushman' racially and culturally for the viewer of the painting.

interpreter two days afterwards. The people of Lepiri were satisfied, however, that the chief had not eaten the sheep, because he vomited up nothing but fish. The Bushmen made nets, or baskets, to catch fish. I, although now blind, could make one. The nets or baskets were used for fishing in shallow water; the fish swimming up stream would swim into the opening. The nets or baskets were made of rushes and twigs of the "taaibosch." They would be about six feet long by one-and-a-half or two feet broad, and the fish were directed to the openings by filling up passages with stones, etc., etc.* The Bush people had dances of various kinds, and used to paint themselves with red clay, etc. One dance of the women was for, say, seven women to stand facing other seven about thirty or forty feet apart. One would commence throwing under her right leg a round ball made of a root, cut round, und about the size of an orange. The opposite woman would catch the ball and throw it back in a similar manner to the second in the row, and so on till all had had a turn. Then women would change sides, and so on till the game was over, when they would wait and begin again. The men had another play, with a ball made of the thick hide of the back of the neck of a hippopotamus. They would throw the ball, which had been hammered round when fresh and was elastic, on a flat stone lying on the ground, the players standing round and catching the ball alternately. Then suddenly one man would throw it with violence against the stone, so that it would fly up in the air and high, and while it was in the air they would go through all sorts of antics, imitating wild dogs and crying "che, che, che," like those animals, but watching the ball, which would be caught by one as it descended. The game would then be renewed. Sometimes two alternate throwers and catchers would play, and if the catcher missed his catch, one of those behind him would catch the ball and take his place. The Bushmen made round stones, with holes through them; these are called T'koe. They rounded and bored these stones with the black stone called T'wing. The borer acted as a chizel, and was used by grasping it in the hand and striking continuously. This chisel might be sometimes five inches long, and was pointed. The round stones were used to weight our digging sticks, as we used to dig for roots and for "rice," ants' eggs. I can speak Bushman language well, but I cannot understand the Bushmen of Riet River; their language is "too double." When I was young, the only inhabitants about Bethulie were Bushmen. I never heard a name for Bushmen as a tribe. One is called Kue, and they are in plural 'Kay. Griquas and Korannas are called K'uara. The sentence "Where is the chief?" would be, "Gosa haan tay." (The g of Gosa, not guttural, but soft, as in good, but pronounced a little sharp from throat).

* Memo.—"Albert Nyanza," by Sir S. Baker, p. 330 (written near Magungo, on Albert Nyanza):— "I went to the waterside to examine the "fishing arrangements of the natives, that were on an extensive scale. "For many hundred feet, the edges of the floating reeds were arranged "to prevent the possibility of a large fish entering the open water "adjoining the shore without being trapped. A regular system of baskets "was fixed at intervals, with guiding fences to their mouths. Each "basket was about six feet in diameter, and the mouth about eighteen "inches."

Orange Free State Monthly Magazine Volume 1 1887:83-5

Although this beautiful image represent a stereotype in some respects, it cannot be dismissed as necessarily inaccurate or misleading. There were many groups who appear to have conformed, to a large extent, to the ethnic category presented in this picture (see Parkington 1984). It would not be correct, however, to suggest that all 'Bushman' groups were as neatly and discretely defined as they appear in this image. What, for example, are we to make, of the people termed the "Tamakka" by Campbell (1815:214)—"a mongrel race between the Matchapees and Bushmen" who painted themselves red, were shorter than neighbouring Tswana, lived in round houses made of reeds in towns which were smaller than those of the Tswana, and who kept cattle and sheep? This example, and the other written and pictorial examples of the overlap of 'Bushman' and other peoples' cultures, which will be presented below, suggest that distinguishing between hunter-gatherer, herder and farmer communities in southern Africa was not always a simple matter.

Commonly held beliefs concerning Bushmen and some evidence which contradicts these

The following statements represent just some of the views of 'Bushmen' which go to make up the 'Bushman' type. In every case it can be shown that there were groups who were designated 'Bushmen' or similar terms, but whose lifestyle and/or culture differed from that of 'typical Bushmen' to a significant extent.

Bushmen occupied caves and crude shelters or windbreaks, rather than the more substantial dwellings of the Khoi and the huts of black farmers. They lived in small encampments rather than in villages.

Indigenous hunter-gatherers were considered by some early travellers to be quite distinct in their lifestyle from the Khoi, and Smith (1990:57) cites an account by Dapper in support of this dichotomy which includes a description of typical hunter-gatherer huts:

> Their huts, made only of branches twined together, without woven mats, and covered solely with rushes, are several thousand in number; for they move about from one place to another, and never break up the huts, but erect still others wherever they camp. (Schapera & Farrington 1933:33)

Although many temporary structures of the sort described by Dapper were doubtless constructed by people termed 'Bushmen', not all 'Bushmen' occupied dwellings of this sort. The structures in the background of Daniell's painting of 'Bush-men Hottentots', for example, are clearly not temporary and are almost identical to those of the Khoi, which were covered with mats and were dismantled and carried with them when they moved. If the description of the people described as 'Bosjesmans', and depicted in Figure 2, is correct, moreover, then it seems that some 'Bushmen' did dismantle their dwellings and transport them to new locations in the same manner as the Khoi. The sticks on the ox's back are probably those that make up the framework of the 'matjieshuis'—the Khoi customarily used oxen to move their huts and other possessions to new sites.

The pictures of the 'Bushman' Kaabi's kraal (Figure 4) illustrated by Burchell (1824) also make it clear that the dwellings of some San groups were quite similar to those of the Khoi. The 'matjieshuise' depicted in Figure 4, aside from their somewhat smaller size, strongly resemble those of Khoi groups described in the historical record and still occupied by some Nama people today. It may well have been difficult, therefore, for travellers to distinguish between 'Bushman' and 'Hottentot' groups purely on the basis of the dwellings they occupied.

Some 'Bushmen', moreover, had begun to move into villages with other groups by the early years of the nineteenth century, and, considering the length of time over which intermarriage between 'Bushmen' and other groups had occurred, probably much earlier as well. This had certainly occurred by the early years of the nineteenth century. As Humphreys (1975) points out, Campbell found 'Bushmen' living alongside 'Bootchanas' (Tswana), but 'as one family', in a small village in 1813, and in 1869 'Bushmen' were living in huts in Phuthi villages, while their kin lived in the surrounding hills (Wright 1971:175–6; Vinnicombe 1976:91–2).

Only 'Bushmen' were armed with bows and poisoned arrows.

While it is sometimes suggested that the use of bows and poisoned arrows was restricted to hunter-gatherer communities in southern Africa, and that these weapons served to distinguish the 'Bushmen' from other groups, Khoi armed with these weapons have been drawn by a number of early artists who visited South Africa (Figure 3). There are also several accounts by visitors to the Cape, before Van Riebeeck's arrival, in which it is mentioned that people with livestock, almost certainly Khoi herders, used bows and arrows as well as other weapons (Raven-Hart 1967:48, 60, 101, 133, 165).

That the Namaqua Khoi had these weapons is confirmed by Pieter Meerhoff, who journeyed to meet these people in 1661 and observed that they were armed with bows and arrows, as well as shields and assegais (Moodie 1838:232).[3] Johan Schreyer observed 'Hottentots' at the Cape in 1668 who were armed with bows and very small poisoned arrows (Raven-Hart, 1971 I:123), and Somerville (1979:89) reported around the turn of the eighteenth century that some Korannas learned the art of poisoning their arrows from the 'Bushmen'. Thompson (1968 [1824]:46) mentions that the weapons of Korannas and 'Bushmen' were similar, but that the arrows of the Korannas were occasionally feathered. Engelbrecht (1936:74) states that the Korannas had their own bows and arrows, which were originally not poisoned, but that they later adopted the bows and poisoned arrows of the 'Bushmen'. According to Andrew Smith, Korannas and 'Bushmen' fought together with bows and arrows against the 'Bechuanas' in the mid 1830s (Kirby 1939:368)—although Korannas and San also frequently fought against each other.

Black farmers also employed these weapons. Early nomadic Xhosa clans are said to have acquired bows and arrows which they were taught to use by the San (Webb & Wright 1976:98). A "Beetjuan (Tswana) prince" encountered by Lichtenstein at the beginning of the nineteenth century possessed a bow and a quiver full of arrows. He told Lichtenstein (1930:394) that the "Beetjuans" used these weapons against the San because they always came off worst in any conflict with them if they were only armed with assegais. At one time they burnt the bows and arrows of San whom they killed in battle, but they had learned to collect and use these weapons themselves (Godée-Molsbergen 1916:228). Burchell (1953 II:142) remarked, moreover, that San traded arrows to surrounding 'tribes', and a number of Sotho clans were also known to have possessed bows and arrows (Ellenberger & Macgregor 1912). Schapera (1930), too, mentions the use of bows and arrows by the Khoi. It would, therefore, not have been possible to distinguish between 'Bushmen' and 'Hottentots' purely on the basis of the presence or absence of these weapons.

Only Bushmen subsisted primarily by hunting and gathering.

As Marks (1972), Schrire (1980, 1984), Elphick (1985) and others have pointed out, Khoi are known to have become hunters and gatherers after losing their cattle. Nguni, southern Sotho and Tswana also became hunter-gatherers and sometimes joined up and integrated with 'Bushman' groups, subsisting by hunting and gathering and stock raiding. There are many documented examples of this having occurred.

Herders told Landdrost Starrenburg in 1705 that they were forced to take to the mountains and become bandits after being robbed of their cattle by a Dutch freebooter (Raidt 1973:25). This led Starrenburg to conclude in a well-known remark that the 'Hottentots' had had their society disrupted to such an extent by the depredations of the Dutch colonists that almost all of them had "become Bushmen, hunters and brigands, dispersed everywhere between and in the mountains" (Raidt 1973:41). Beutler met 'Hottentots' on his journey to the Kei River in 1752, who had been robbed of their cattle by 'Bosjesmans' and now lived by hunting and gathering (Godée-Molsbergen 1922:280). Korannas living on the Orange River at the turn of the eighteenth century were said by Barrow (1801 I:403) to have few sheep and cattle, moving from place to place and subsisting by hunting like "*the other Bosjesmans*". According to Barrow these Korannas appeared to be of the same 'tribe' as the Namaqua Khoi. They seem to have subsisted in a similar manner to a person whom Andrew

Smith referred to as a "Coranna Bushman" (Kirby 1939:150). Thompson (1968:33), too, remarks that those Korannas who inhabited the Hartebeest River (a tributary of the Orange) in the 1820s had no cattle and lived "precisely in the same manner as the Bushmen".[4]

Burchell (1953 II:226) states that poor "Bachapins" (Tswana) subsisted by hunting and gathering near Kuruman in 1812, and clients of Tswana near "Lattakoo" were said by Campbell (1815:218) to possess no cattle or sheep. They lived by hunting, and, like the 'Bushmen', they also ate locusts and dug pits in which to capture game. They constituted an underclass within Tswana society. People similar to these, who were inhabiting a particular stretch of country with the 'Bushmen', were termed "poor Bootchuanas" by Campbell (1815:220), who also refers to a settlement that he visited as a "Bootchuana Bushman village" (1815:228). Andrew Smith came upon 'poor Caffers' who occupied an area near the Kuruman River and subsisted by hunting and gathering. They trapped game in pits and ate locusts (Kirby 1939:307). According to Smith, poverty-stricken Sotho-Tswana ("Baquan" or Bakoena) also lived by hunting and gathering and were termed "Booroa" ('Bushmen') (Kirby 1940:203). The Sotho group, the Taung, subsisted for long periods almost entirely by hunting and gathering (Ellenberger and Macgregor 1912:56) and this probably facilitated, or necessitated, the establishment of close ties, including intermarriage, known to have existed between them and some autochthonous hunter-gatherers. As Andrew Smith remarked *c.*1835: "[I]n every district [in the area occupied by the Barolong] there are a sort of poor natives which approach to the character of the Bushmen near the Colony" (Kirby 1939:409).

Bushmen subsisted by hunting and gathering and did not keep livestock .

Many, probably most, of the people termed 'Bushman' by the early travellers did not keep livestock on a permanent basis. Others did, however, (Figure 2) and Burchell's illustration of two Bushmen from a kraal near the Zak River, mounted on oxen and armed with bows and arrows (Figure 5), suggests that they were quite familiar with livestock. While it is not clear from Burchell's account whether these oxen belonged to the 'Bushmen' riding them and were kept at their kraal, or whether they were the prop-erty of Dutch farmers who had employed them to carry a letter for them to the landdrost of Tulbagh, there are other accounts of 'Bushmen' riding oxen. Campbell (1815:153) reported meeting "Bushmen" who were mounted on oxen, and the missionary Lemue reported that "Bushmen" in the area of the Modder River conducted raids on "cowback" or "oxback" in 1838. While some galloped in on cattle, others ran behind in support of the mounted members of their forces (Letter from Lemue to Motito, 28 December 1838. *Journal des Missions Evangeliques*, 1839:332–3. Cited by Peter Sanders, personal communication.)

Figure 2 **Bushman family on the move.** Detail from Robert Gordon (1779) Godée-Molsbergen 1922, Plate 7.

Elphick (1985:25–7) mentions a number of accounts of 'Bushmen' with cattle and concludes that "[A]ll these testimonies clearly prove that at various points inside and outside the colony there were groups who were called [or in two cases, called themselves] 'San' or 'Bushmen', yet who held small numbers of livestock on a permanent basis." One of the best known accounts of 'Bushmen' who possessed livestock was provided by Burchell (1953 II). His descriptions of the San chief, Kaabi's kraals makes it clear that these people kept large numbers of cattle and sheep, some of which appeared to have been stolen from European farmers. It is possible that these represented temporary kraals, such as that described by Thunberg (Forbes 1986:302–3), but it seems that these people were accustomed to keeping significant numbers of cattle, sheep and goats. This is suggested by the fact that the layout of their huts was determined by their keeping this livestock, the openings of their huts always being directed towards the kraal where their cattle were enclosed (Burchell 1953 II:40; see Schrire 1980, 1984 for discussions of these people). Other 'Bushmen' encountered by Burchell, such as "Oud Kraaikop", who wore the head of a crow on top of his head, also kept livestock, in this case approximately 100 goats (Burchell 1953 II:62), and a Bushman told Andrew Smith in 1835 that his father had possessed cattle and goats (Kirby 1940:302).

Humphreys (1988) cites accounts of people referred to as 'Bushmen' or similar names who were living on the Riet River, some of whom kept large numbers of cattle. The arrangement of huts of these people, probably at least partially of 'Bushman' extraction (see Morris 1992 for a discussion of their physical characteristics), appears to reflect ideological changes associated with the accumulation of livestock, as well as material goods (Humphreys 1988).

Several writers have reported the keeping of livestock

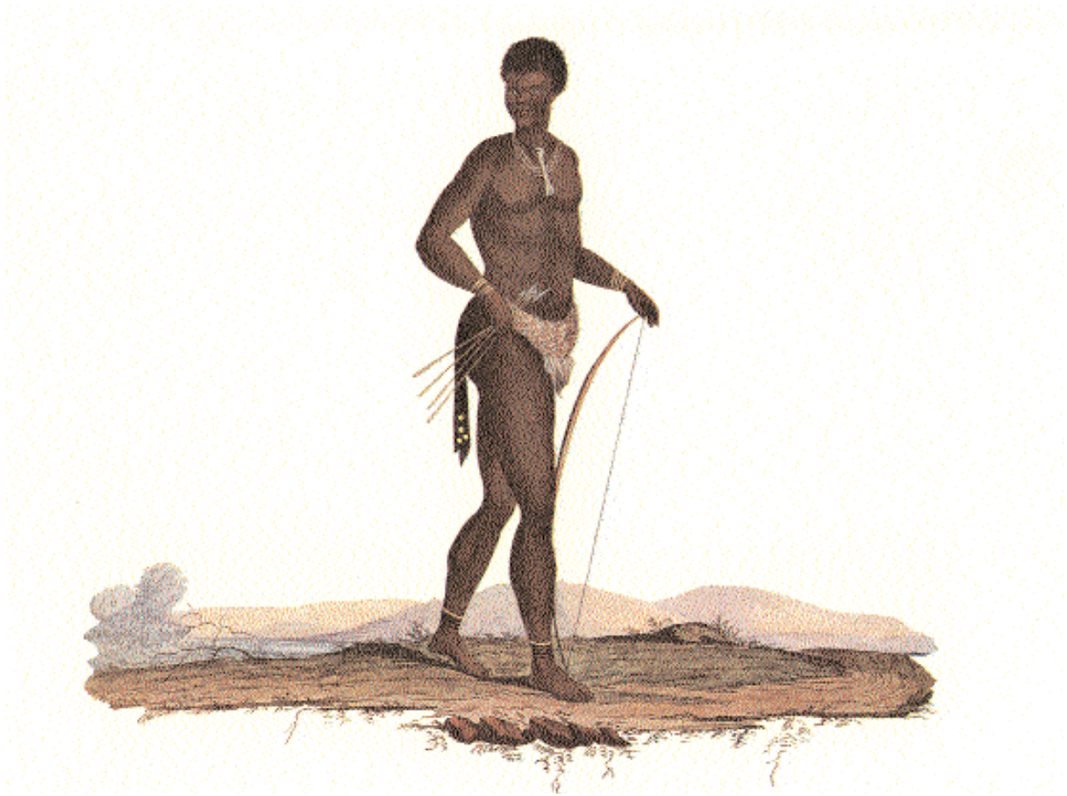


Figure 3 **Watercolour by Le Vaillant of a young Gonaqua Khoi man.** PL

Figure 4 **"View of a Bushman kraal". Burchell. W. J. 1824. *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa.* London: Longman. Plate 7.** MA B342

Figure 5 **"A Bushman chief and his companion on oxback."**. Burchell 1822:228

by San communities in the nineteenth century (Pellisier 1956:169; Wright 1971:66; Vinnicombe 1976:92; Ambrose & Brutsch 1991) and in earlier times (Humphreys 1972, 1988). Loubser and Laurens (1994) have detailed the manner in which many San groups acquired cattle and sheep, and while some may have done so only on an *ad hoc* basis, as Loubser and Laurens suggest, other groups were heavily involved in agropastoral activities. For example, social mechanisms existed for San near the Modder River to inherit cattle from their fathers (Loubser & Laurens 1994). 'Bushman' groups occupying Nomansland (East Griqualand) in the mid-nineteenth century, captured large numbers of cattle during raids on European farms. Some of these groups, like the Thola, appear to have slaughtered and eaten these cattle immediately. Others, however, kraaled their cattle near or with Nguni chiefs, such as Mandela, Mchitwa and Bhekezulu, to some of whom they were allied and with some of whose communities they had intermarried (Wright 1971; Vinnicombe 1976; Jolly 1994).

A good example of 'Bushmen' who had become part-time farmers are those who lived part of the year in huts in villages amongst Moorosi's Phuthi. They kept cattle and sheep, and also cultivated crops, but made frequent visits to their kin living in the surrounding hills. The way of life of these 'Bushmen' was detailed by a San woman and a Sotho man taken captive in 1869 by Captain Albert Allison, Commandant of the Natal Mounted Police (Wright 1971:175–6; Vinnicombe 1976:91–2) and confirms the close relationships reported to have existed between Moorosi and certain San groups.

Bushmen fought with black farmers and Khoi, and seldom mixed or intermarried with these people.

Some accounts which refer to groups who mixed or were fully integrated with 'Bushmen' have already been cited, and these can be supplemented with others. Campbell (1815:173) reported that some nineteenth-century groups consisted of Korannas and 'Bushmen', of mixed blood and languages. This is confirmed by Engelbrecht (1936) who states that many 'Bushmen' lived and intermarried with certain Korannas groups, and consequently differed in physical appearance from other 'Bushmen'. Hendrik Wikar also reported a wide variety of groups living on the Orange River in about 1779, many of whom appear to have intermarried with 'Bushmen' (Mossop & Van der Horst 1935).

Intermarriage between 'Bushmen' and black farmers has occurred from at least the early sixteenth century (Jolly 1994), and considering the length of time over which contact had occurred before this (at least one thousand years), it is almost certain that there were many instances of intermarriage well before this period. Some southern Nguni and Sotho groups, such as the Mpondomise, Thembu, Taung, and Phuthi, are known to have formed particularly close relationships with certain San groups, their chiefs and others intermarrying with the San (Jolly 1994). There are a number of accounts of groups composed of 'Bushmen' and Bantu-speakers who inhabited East Griqualand in the nineteenth century. Andrew Geddes Bain encountered a mixed band of 'Bushmen' and "Caffers" who were apparently living by hunting and gathering, as well as by trading ivory, in hills near the Mzimvubu in 1829 (Lister 1949:98–9, 118), and a variety of nomadic bands comprised of 'Bushmen' and Nguni people occupied Nomansland (East Griqualand) towards the middle of the nineteenth century (Wright 1971; Vinnicombe 1976; Jolly 1994). A large group of 'Bushmen', Khoi, Thembu, Mfengu and other people of mixed descent were under the 'Bushman' chief variously known as 'Madolo', 'Madoor' or 'Madura'. This man, amongst whose people a London Missionary Society station had been established north of the Black Kei River in 1839, had about 300 heads of families under his jurisdiction by the mid 1840s (Saunders 1977). A number of these were refugees from neighbouring tribes who had sought asylum with him from charges of witchcraft (Freeman 1851:112).

Bushmen also went to live in Nguni and Sotho communities. As has already been mentioned, 'Bushmen' had intermarried with black farmers and gone to live in their villages long before the nineteenth century. Nineteenth century accounts of 'Bushmen' living amongst Nguni and Sotho people include that provided by Orpen (1964 I:315), who reported that 'Bushmen' were living among the people of Nguni chiefs on and northward of the sources of the Pongola and Umkonto Rivers in 1855. The Phuthi had particularly close relationships with certain San groups and many 'Bushmen' were absorbed into Phuthi society or integrated with these people to a significant extent (Wright 1971; Vinnicombe 1976; Jolly 1994).

The San group portrayed in Figure 6 were living close to the Mpondomise under Mditshwa when they were encountered near the Tsitsa River by Sir Walter Stanford

Figure 6 Sir **Walter Stanford' s photograph of ' Bushman' rainmakers in the Tsitsa River area, 1886.** Stanford Papers Jagger Library.

in 1886 (Macquarrie 1962 II:28–31; Jolly 1992). Although they were distinguished in certain respects from the Mpondomise within whose territory they were living and for whom they acted as rainmakers, in other respects they appear to have been regarded as members of Mpondomise society. Most, or all, of the members of the group had Bantu names for example, and Stanford remarked that their leader, Luhayi, clearly was not "pure bred" (Macquarrie 1962). He appears to have been descended from Khoisan and Nguni people, as would have been the case, in all probability, for a great many of the people termed 'Bushman' in the historical record. The husband of one of the members of this group, who had died before Stanford met his wife and the other members of the group, had been a painter (Macquarrie 1962), and it is likely that the meaning and motivation underlying the paintings of San painters such as this man, changed as a result of their integration into Mpondomise society. Some of the possible ways in which the ritual practices and religious symbolism of San-Sotho and San-Nguni groups who were living in close association with black farming communities may have changed over time, with the subsequent expression of these changes in the overt and symbolic content of their art, are briefly considered below.

Bushmen had their own characteristic culture, different from that of black farming communities, and this culture is expressed in all rock paintings in southern Africa. Only Bushmen painted.

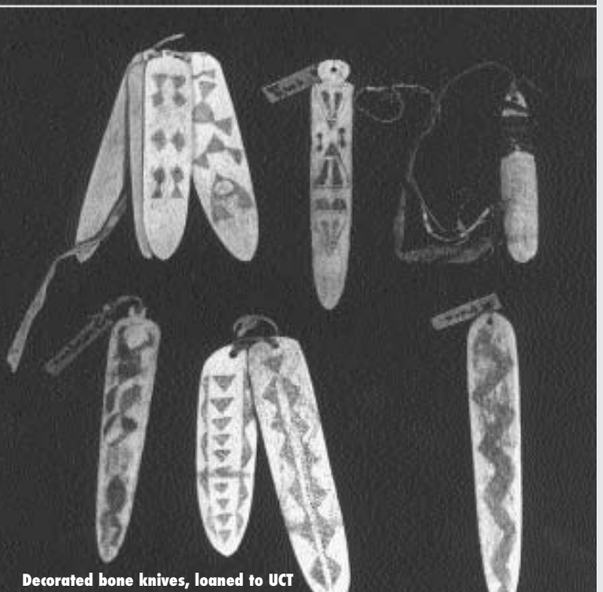
Although most rock paintings in South Africa and Lesotho appear to have been executed by people known as 'Bushmen' whose religious ideology may well have been relatively uninfluenced by Nguni or Sotho cosmology, we know that rock paintings were also made by people of Nguni, Sotho or mixed Nguni-San or Sotho-San descent. Ritual practices and religious beliefs may have been adopted from the Nguni and Sotho, and new, hybrid rites and ideologies which combined beliefs drawn from hunter-gatherer and other forms of societies may well have developed as a result of San contact with, and integration into, Nguni, Sotho and other groups. We can expect some of the paintings executed by Bantu-speakers, as well as the paintings of San in close symbiotic contact with black farming communities, to show the influence of Nguni and/or Sotho rites and religious ideology.

Some Sotho, for example, were well acquainted with the art of painting. Phuthi are reported to have watched San painting when their chief, Moorosi, who was of San descent and had himself intermarried with the San, visited the San chief, Soai, at Sehonghong Cave in Lesotho in the nineteenth century (Ellenberger 1953:148–9), and other Sotho claimed to have watched the San painting in caves around the turn of the nineteenth century (How 1962:15). Mapote, one of Moorosi's sons , painted with a San group, as did his "half-Bush" stepbrothers (How 1962:33). A rock artist who was partly of San descent continued to paint until a late date (Dornan 1925:188–9), and the painter mentioned by Stanford and referred to above may well have been of mixed San-Nguni descent. There are reports of Sotho, perhaps partly of San descent, painting during this century (Cawston 1931; Battiss 1948; How 1962). Dornan (1909) mentions that the Phuthi were known to have intermarried with the San and some of them knew how to paint. Although he states that the Phuthi's paintings were greatly inferior to those of the San, this was not necessarily the case. The paintings done on a rock at Quthing, Lesotho, by an 'old Mosotho', for example, were very well executed, as is apparent from the photograph taken of them by Cawston and reproduced here (Figure 7).

The ideologies of the many San groups in close contact or living with Sotho and Nguni communities are also likely to have been significantly influenced by the ideologies of the black farmers with whom they had established close relationships and with whom they were wholly or partially integrated. San appear to have been drawn into the ritual life of some black farming communities and participated in their rites—such as those concerned with initiation (Jolly 1994). It is more than likely that San youths were circumcised with youths from certain Sotho and other groups with whom they had close symbiotic contact. Arbousset and Daumas (1846:254) remark that San who had close relations with the "Caffers and Bechuanas" practised circumcision, and Norton (1910:242) cites a tradition that San 'took precedence' in the Sotho initiation lodge. Norton's remark should probably be understood as indicating that the San were circumcised before other youths in the initiation lodge because of their aboriginal status. This is suggested by the fact that the Fokeng, acknowledged as the first of the Sotho clans to have occupied the southern Highveld, are circumcised before youths belonging to other clans on account of their clan's status in this respect (James Walton personal communication).

The participation of San in the rites of black farmers may well have led to the dress and symbols associated with some of these rites being depicted in certain rock

Divining Bones, purchased from J. Carnegie in 1919. SAM 3255



Decorated bone knives, loaned to UCT by J. Knobel in 1938. Masarwa 38/37–40

Decorated bone pipes; d, f, g, h, i, j purchased from G. Wolter in 1989 (Kalahari SAM 13404-7); and a, b, c, e purchased from Donald Bain in 1931 (Kalahari SAM 5274).

paintings. It appears, for example, perhaps as a result of the joint participation of Sotho and San in initiation ceremonies, that the rites and religious ideology of San (or Phuthi-San) people such as Qing, a nineteenth-century informant interviewed by Joseph Orpen, were changed in certain respects to accommodate aspects of Phuthi ritual practice and religious ideology, including ideas relating to ancestors, symbolised by snakes and cattle. These changes appear to have been expressed in the paintings of some San groups occupying the south-eastern mountains (Jolly 1994, 1995) and we, therefore, may need to consider whether the ritual dress of Bantu-speakers is not depicted in the art (Walton 1957), and whether the ideologies of Bantu-speakers, as well as San-speakers, are not relevant to the interpretation of concepts expressed in some of the rock paintings of southern Africa (Botha & Thackeray 1987; Thackeray 1988, 1990, 1993).

Another possible example of the cross-fertilisation between the ideological systems of San-speakers and others may be the paintings said to have been executed by a Transkei San man in a rock shelter during the early years of this century (Jolly 1986; Lewis-Williams 1986; Prins 1990). It has been suggested that ideas related to 'sympathetic magic' were borrowed from the southern Nguni and expressed in paintings executed by this man (Prins 1990), and other concepts and rites usually associated with the culture of the Mpondomise may also have influenced the ideas and art of the San group to which this man belonged (Jolly 1992:90; Jolly & Prins 1994; Prins 1994). We need to bear in mind, however, that the evidence of the San descendant, upon whose testimony we rely for our information of this San group, was inconsistently presented, and we cannot be sure of her father's connection with the tradition of rock painting in the area.

Discussion

We have seen the plethora of terms employed to describe southern African hunter-gatherers. These include Soaqua, Sonqua, Obiqua, Fisherman, Strandlooper, Bushman and Hottentot, as well as a host of other names which demonstrate the difficulty of clearly defining an ethnic/racial/cultural entity corresponding to the hunter-gatherer category: Somquaas alias Bushmen, Bushman-Hottentot, Bushman Boor, poor Caffer, poor Bootchuana, Bootchuana Bushman, Bushmen-Kafirs, Coranna Bushman, and so on. We know that some 'Bushmen' were physically similar to herders and farmers, while some herders and farmers were similar in physical appearance to 'Bushmen'. Some 'Bushmen' had cattle and/or cultivated crops, while some herders and farmers had no cattle and subsisted by hunting and gathering. Some 'Bushmen' lived with herders and farmers while some herders and farmers lived with 'Bushmen'. Many Bushmen used assegaais or spears, while some farmers and many herders used bows and poisoned arrows. Some farmers as well as people of mixed descent executed rock paintings, while some rock paintings appear to depict rites and symbols associated with Nguni, Sotho and perhaps Khoi societies. Where, then, does this leave us? Between the firmly drawn lines demarcating 'Bushman' and 'non-Bushman' identity—territory which, as has become increasingly apparent from observations concerning the identity of southern African hunter-gatherers, we may need to visit more frequently (Marks 1972; Schrire 1980, 1984; Gordon 1984, 1990; Elphick 1985; Wilmsen 1989; Wilmsen & Denbow 1990).

Figure 7 **Rock paintings at Quthing, executed by an old Sotho man in 1929.** Cawston 1931 South African Journal of Science XXVIII:figure 2.

Let us now return to the farm worker who is quoted at the beginning of this article. His case, and the cases of other people in the area who claimed to be 'Bushmen', serve as interesting examples of the way in which people come to be labelled 'Bushman', or are unwittingly encouraged by others to describe themselves by this term. This man and his fellow 'Bushmen' told certain of their interviewers that they and their forebears, in certain significant respects, constituted an ethnic group distinct from other groups. They remarked, in the course of some of the interviews conducted with them, that they considered themselves to be 'Bushmen', descended from people who once hunted and gathered and who had possessed different customs from the blacks and 'Hottentots' of the area. Despite these claims, the statement by the 'Bushman' informant which has been cited, and other statements he and his fellow 'Bushman' informants made concerning their 'Bushman' ethnic identity, suggest that there are problems associated with their claims to this identity.

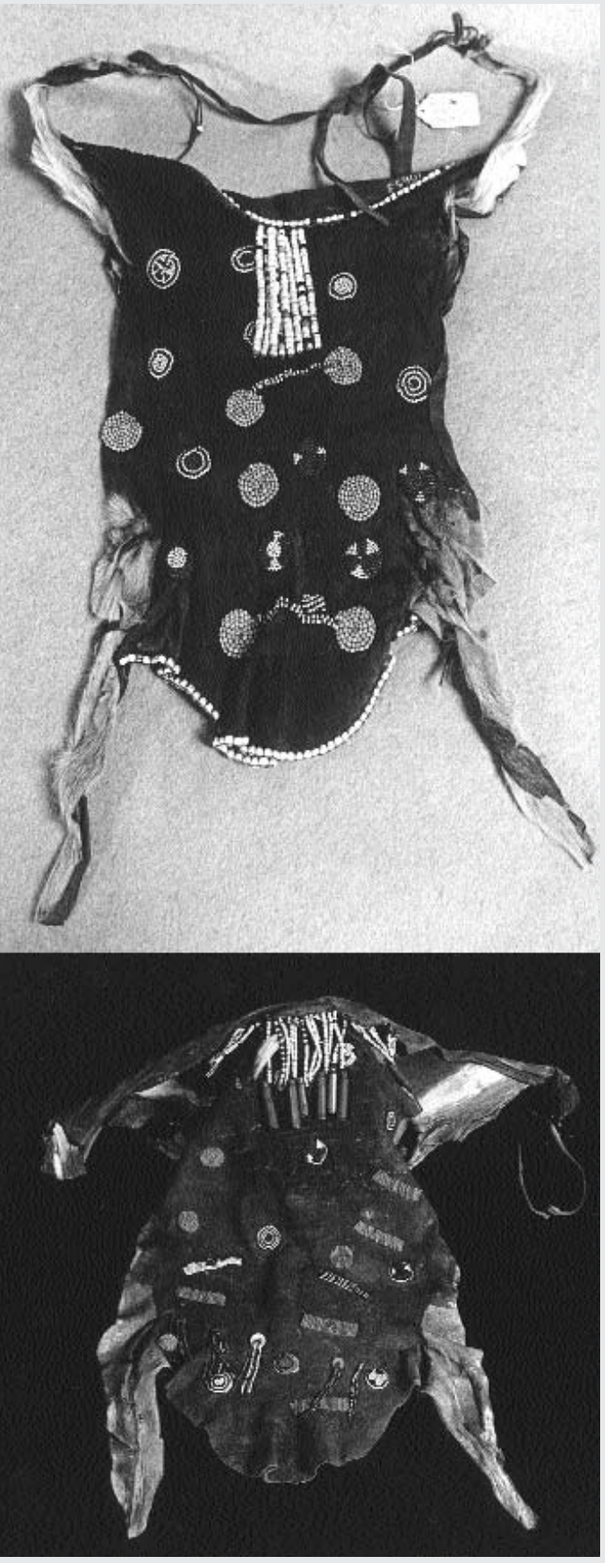
> *I am not a black man and I am not a white man. I must be a Bushman.*

What does his statement mean and in what sense can this person and other informants interviewed at the same time be regarded as 'Bushmen'? The reasoning behind this remark is clearly illogical and suggests that the informant felt required to place himself in the 'Bushman' ethnic category, rather than any of the other categories to which, as a 'non-black' and a 'non-European', he could belong. To understand his remark we need to place it within a variety of contexts: the manner in which 'Bushman' has been defined historically; the interview situation, and the perceptions of certain of their interviewers concerning the ethnic identity of the informants and their relations with other groups in the area; remarks made by this informant and some of the other 'Bushman' informants from the area concerning their 'Bushman' identity; and the increase in the value of 'Bushmanness' in recent years.[5]

The ambiguity surrounding the term 'Bushman' as it was used by early European travellers and missionaries in South Africa is clear from the material presented above. As Thornton (1983a) remarks, the ways in which these people conceptualised their subject matter was critical in determining how small-scale societies later came to be described by anthropologists, who now claim ethnographic work as their professional domain. In this case it appears that the notions of other people concerning 'Bushmen' played a significant part in determining the sense of 'Bushman' identity held by these informants.

An awareness of the context of the initial interviews with these people and the perceptions regarding their ethnic identity by their interviewers is important, as it can help us to assess the claim by these people that they or their forebears are 'Bushman' *rather than* 'Hottentots', blacks or 'Coloureds'. In the first place it appears that these people had been singled out as being 'Bushmen', rather than people of mixed Khoisan/Nguni/Sotho descent, by some of the farmers of the area who believed that they constituted a separate ethnic group, despite the fact that they formed part of a larger local community of mixed blood and cultures. This is likely to have signific-antly affected the manner in which they presented themselves to their interviewers, one of whom was a local farmer. We might consider, for example, the manner in which the following question, extracted from the start of a filmed

Figure 8 **The ruins of Sotho huts built within a rock shelter in Lesotho.** Photograph courtesy Pieter Jolly



interview between a farmer and one of the 'Bushman' descendants, was phrased:

> *Why didn't you Bushmen mix with the black people originally, but only later?*

This is as much an assertion as a question, and once this statement regarding the early relations of these people with black people has been made, it is very difficult for the informant to contradict it. The posing of leading questions, such as this one, suggests that there may be significant problems associated with accepting, at face value, the evidence of informants who have been carelessly interviewed by people with preconceived ideas concerning the ethnic identity of their informants and little or no knowledge of interviewing tecniques—particularly when, as in this case, this has occurred towards the beginning of the interviewing process and acts to influence subsequent interviews with the informants. The film-maker who was one of the first people to interview them was also untrained in interviewing techniques, and had a poor understanding of Afrikaans, the language in which the interviews were conducted.

These are just some of the serious problems associated with certain of the interviews conducted with these people. It is, nevertheless, worth considering what the informants themselves, faced with the need to define their 'Bushman' ethnic identity for a film on this category of people, stated to be 'Bushman' traits. They remarked that the following "typically Bushman" traits, amongst others, were possessed by their forebears. They sang "Bushman songs", such as "*Brandewyn laat my staan*" and "*Suikerbossie*"; they danced characteristically 'Bushman' dances, such as the "*vastrap*" (a dance typically associated with Afrikaner culture) in halls, the women dressing up in long dresses on these occasions; they spoke a 'Bushman' language—"Cape Coloured" slang; they made fire from bored stones. The following observations are also relevant and can be added to those made above: some of the 'Bushman' informants were related by blood to black people; Paulus, the main informant, initially stated that he regarded himself as 'Coloured' rather than 'Bushman', and a previous interviewer of these people concluded that this was the case, yet when one of the other informants insisted that Paulus was a 'Hottentot' later in the filmed interviews, he strongly denied this and claimed to be a 'Bushman'; the informants referred to themselves variously and indiscriminately as 'Coloured Hottentots', 'Hottentots' and 'Basters' during the interviews.

It appears that the 'Bushmanness' of these informants consisted, essentially, of one thing: they, their parents, and other people, probably of mixed Khoisan/Nguni/ Sotho blood, had in the past sometimes lived in sod houses built within rock shelters. They did so in the course of moving from farm to farm in the district, where they were employed as builders by farmers who had no accommodation to offer them. As a result, they constructed

temporary shelters on the farms where they were working, sometimes in the open and sometimes in the lee of rock shelters—although they occasionally also stayed in stone houses on farms. Their 'Bushmanness' was thus a product of an itinerant lifestyle directly related to their mode of employment. As the main 'Bushman' informant, Paulus, remarked: "Our parents and their parents lived in the krantzes because they didn't have fixed work. It was not like the situation today [where farm labourers have fixed employment and stay in houses provided by the farmers]. They moved from farm to farm working. That's why they lived in the krantzes." Sotho stone masons who constructed many of the houses on European farms in the Orange Free State probably lived in a similar manner, and many Sotho, at one time or another, are known to have built their huts within rock shelters (Figure 8). Some still live in rock shelters today. It would, therefore, be incorrect to suggest that these informants, or their parents, or their grandparents, formed a distinct ethnic group known as 'Bushman' because they constructed shelters in caves. In all likelihood they and their immediate forebears differed little from the mixed rural proletariat of the area other than in their adoption, in common with poverty-stricken herders and black farmers, of a peripatetic lifestyle related to their economic situation.

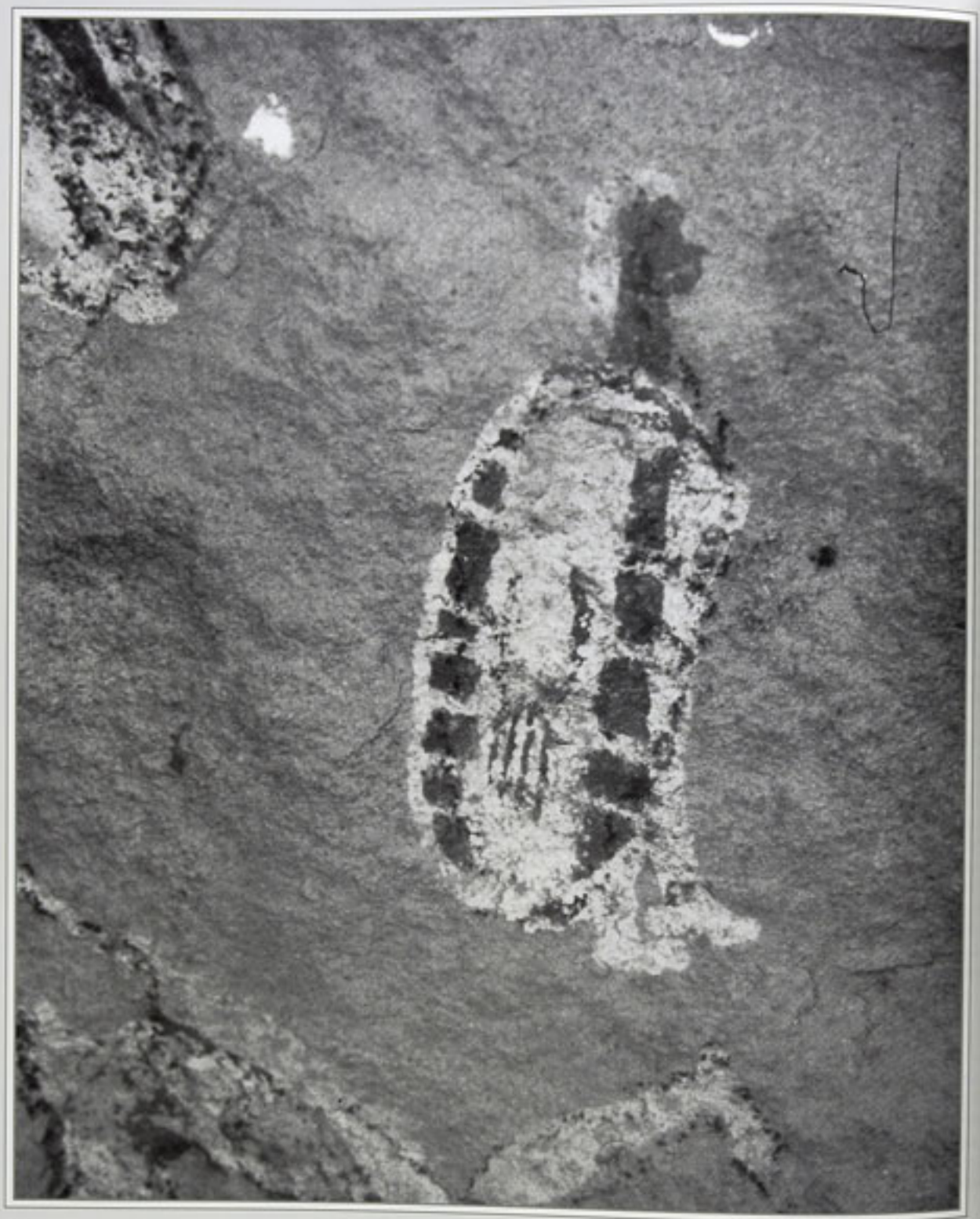
We therefore need to seriously question any claims these people make for their 'Bushman' ethnic identity. Aside from their unusual dwellings, everything points to their having invented certain links with a particular ethnic group for the benefit of those who wished to locate and interview members of this group. They were encouraged in this by the presence of important visitors and the great interest shown by these people in any comments they made which referred to 'Bushmen', and it appears that the statements of the informants concerning 'Bushman' ethnic identity, and their connection with this identity, were significantly mediated by their expectations concerning the notions they believed their employers and the important visitors to hold concerning this ethnic category. While they may have some genetic links with Khoisan people, their culture appears to be that of the mixed rural proletariat of the area,[6] and it seems that their 'Bushman personae' were adopted by the informants largely in response to the financial and other rewards which they perceived that the assumption of such an identity would bring.[7]

Anthropologists, and film-makers, need to be extremely wary of claims to ethnicity made by informants who may be engaged in what Clifford (1995:112) has described as "working the anthropological contact zone". Ethnicity can be invented and staged for a variety of reasons, ranging from political expediency to monetary gain. The former motive is highlighted by Sharp and Boonzaaier (1993), who point out that the presentation of ethnic identity to outsiders can become "performance . . . role-play formulated collectively through dialogue and modified according to context". A good example of the latter motive is provided by Fox (1969:151), who cites Seligmann's account of south Indian Veddas who dressed up as aboriginals for the benefit of tourists, whose generosity was greater the more primitive their mode of life appeared to be: "They no longer transacted in jungle produce; instead they dealt in their own supposed 'primitiveness' which they displayed as they might any other jungle commodity, that is, for a price."[8] The same can probably be said of the Dordrecht 'Bushman' informants discussed above.

Conclusion

The intention of this article has been to demonstrate the difficulties associated with defining the term 'Bushman'. In particular, I have tried to demonstrate the range of ethnic groups associated with a category, which, as Parkington (1984) remarks, should not be considered as synonymous with an ethnic group with its own cultural identity related to the culture of early aboriginal hunter-gatherers in southern Africa. Rather than invariably being synonymous with a particular culture which excluded non-Khoisan people such as the Nguni and Sotho, the term, as it was used in the early historical record, in many cases referred to a variety of people, of all colours and creeds, who chose or were forced to subsist in the bush. In this sense the Dordrecht informants are 'Bushmen', in common with poverty-stricken Khoi, Nguni, Tswana, Sotho and many people of mixed descent. It is important to make the point, however, that they are not 'Bushmen' in the sense of being members of a specific and distinct ethnic group—as they presented themselves in interviews held with them.

Although it is unlikely that the Dordrecht informants have any cultural links with aboriginal hunter-gatherers in South Africa or Lesotho, the search for close descendants of these people is not necessarily a fruitless one. It is possible that there are descendants of these people still living with some real connection to hunter-gatherers who were relatively unaffected by contact with herders and farmers. These people may well be able to provide us with important information concerning southern African hunter-gatherer communities. The case of the Dordrecht informants, and others like them, serves as a warning to us, however, of the pitfalls that research of this sort entails. As the value of 'Bushmanness' increases and as ethnic identity increasingly becomes the focus of land claims in this country, we are likely to see a rapid increase in both genuine and spurious claims to this identity. The problem that faces us is to separate the true from the false claims. This is something that is not new to any anthropologist who has worked in the field, but the pressures on him or her to confirm the 'Bushmanness' of people who have no claim to this ethnic identity, if such an identity, as we have seen, can ever be clearly defined, are likely to increase greatly in the coming years.



Detail of a painted rock in a shelter in the Orange River valley near Mount Moorosi, southern Lesotho. Photograph Pippa Skotnes

Praise to the Bushman Ancestors of the Water

The integration of San-related concepts in the beliefs and ritual of a diviners' training school in Tsolo, Eastern Cape

Frans E. Prins

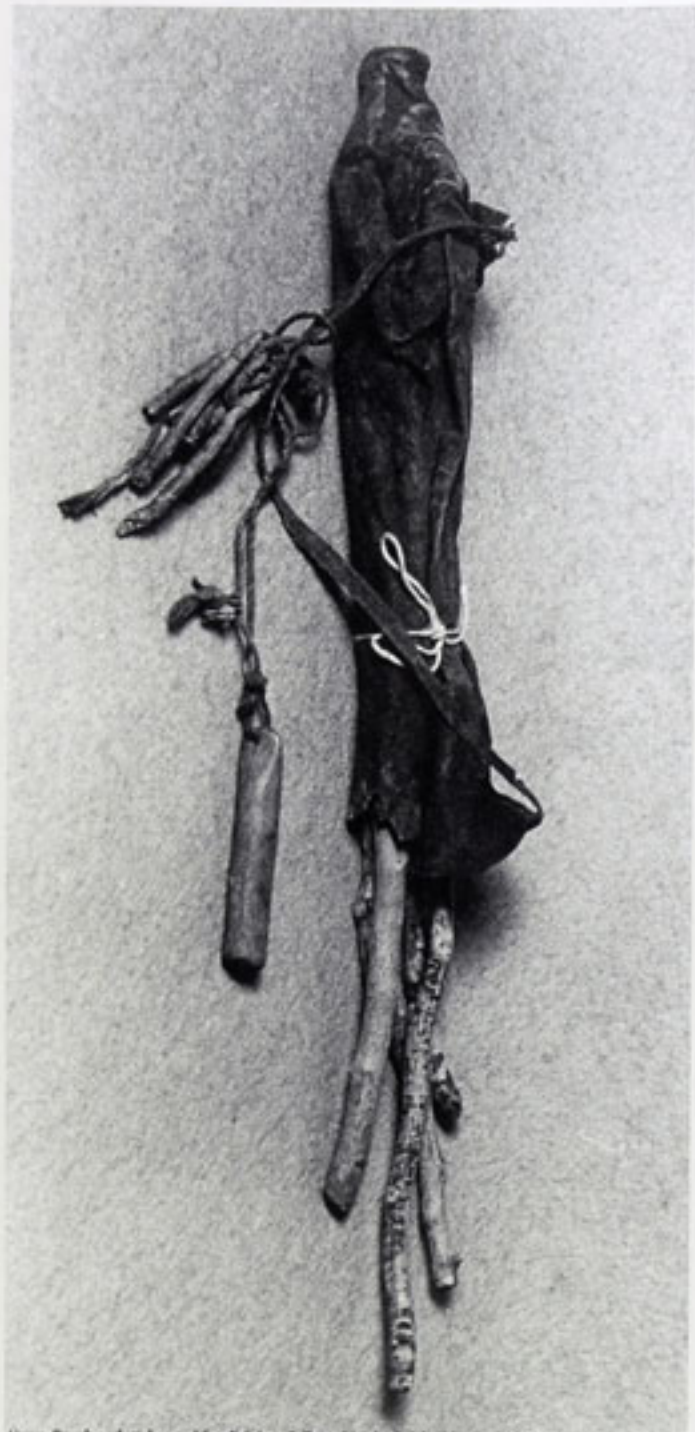
San-derived conceptual associations continue to inform diviners' activities in Tsolo, Eastern Cape. The organisation and use of space is paramount in these activities which are expressions of the ancestor cult. Present perceptions of the San are firmly based on the history of interaction between San communities and Mpondomise agriculturists. However, diviners as *bricoleurs* successfully manipulated these traditions, perceptions and associations in order to give them new meaning in the contemporary situation. This paper presents an overview of some of the more obvious constructs and argues that the supposedly extinct southern San are as relevant in this area today as has been the case in the historical past.

Introduction

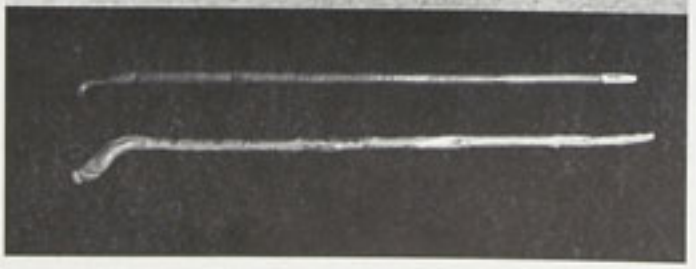
The southern San may be considered by some to be the only true indigenous and/or 'first' people of South Africa. Not only are they well-known for their fierce resistance to colonial encroachment (Wright 1971; Jolly 1994), but also the rock art produced by the southern San or their predecessors has earned international recognition for both its aesthetic qualities and interpretive potential. It is perhaps more than mere coincidence that a large percentage of pre-colonial archaeologists in South Africa research aspects of hunter-gatherer history (Deacon 1990:54). In fact, research programmes dealing with southern San history are as popular as ever, despite the belief in some circles that the supposedly extinct southern San have little relevance to the numerically dominant African population of South Africa. In fact, white liberal academics have taken it upon themselves to highlight the plight of the southern San—an approach which became more popular as South Africa entered into a new dispensation. The supposedly extinct southern San, through their past achievements, became a symbol of colonial and apartheid injustices against indigenous peoples of South Africa. These politically inspired writings created the impression that the southern San are 'dead' and that no one else may rediscover their relevance to contemporary society.

With the southern San assumed extinct, a question that has been raised is who may be classified as indigenous to South Africa. Whilst it appears that certain identities are being reinvented (White 1995), there are also those who claim to be the true descendants and therefore representative of historically known Khoi and San groups. Claims that Bantu-speakers are indigenous to the sub-continent have been supported, in some circles, by the view that the African population is descended from the San. Whilst it is academically possible to indicate that some Bantu-speaking groups had Khoisan ancestry, it is less easy to verify other views informed by 'traditional' African cosmology. In a recent SABC television programme, for instance, Nguni-speaking African diviners claimed that they were the indigenous people of southern Africa since they went underwater to communicate with the ancestral spirits—a statement left unanswered by academics and others who participated in the programme at the time. The following day I overheard colleagues of mine criticising these views: "Obviously those diviners did not understand the real issues at stake—and what do underwater spirits have to do with the San and other indigenous people anyway?". Ironically, it is precisely these 'traditional' ideologies, rather than academically informed statements, which keep the southern San alive and relevant to local communities in parts of southern Africa.

This chapter will attempt to show how concepts associated with the San form an integral part of the cosmology



Above: **Pouch and sticks used for divining. Collected in the Kalahari by Donald Bain in 1936** SAM 7556
Below: **Stick** (top) **collected in Prieska and presented by J. Drury in 1941. Stick from the eastern Cape** (lower) **attributed "Southern Bushman", purchased in 1936** SAM 9801



and ritual of a particular diviners' training school in Tsolo, Eastern Cape. Although considerable variation and difference between diviners and divining schools has been described, it is important to note that certain structural similarities underlie the 'traditional' cosmology of all Bantu-speaking peoples in South Africa (Hammond-Tooke 1994). This is particularly evident when dealing with diviners of the same linguistic unit, for example Nguni-speakers as opposed to Sotho-speakers (see Hammond-Tooke 1989:103–225). Some of the material presented here can therefore be extrapolated to include the diviners' cosmology of most Xhosa-speaking and, to a lesser extent, Zulu-speaking traditional healers. In this respect diviners act as the classic *bricoleurs*, skilfully manipulating culture in its broadest sense. Obvious differences relating to the incorporation of San-derived concepts in diviners' cosmology have more to do with historical factors than socio-cultural variations. Before we can deal with the divining school itself, a brief history of the Tsolo area is imperative.

Historical background: setting the scene

The Tsolo area is situated in the Eastern Cape in what was formerly the homeland of Transkei. Tsolo is located on what can be described as the inland plateau of Transkei, but the topography gradually merges into the foothills of the Drakensberg towards the west. Geologically the area is dominated by the Molteno Formation consisting of pebbly feldspathic and fine-grained sandstones, mudstone and shale (Feely 1987). The sandstone formations led to the use of rock shelters, especially in areas adjacent to rivers or streams, and some were occupied by hunter-gatherers in precolonial times. The area is mainly grassland with patches of Afromontane forest such as those at Khambi, and bushland in the lower-lying river valleys.

The early precolonial history of the area is not well-known but the presence of Later Stone Age artefacts and San rock art in shelters (Derricourt 1977), together with San-derived place-names in the area, (Kingon 1916) indicates that Tsolo has a rich history of San hunter-gatherer occupation. It is not certain when the first Bantu-speaking agriculturists arrived in the area. Feely (1987) suggests a date not earlier than 1850 for the occupation of the higher-altitude grassland areas of Transkei. However, Mpondomise oral history suggests their possible arrival at Tsolo around 1700, during Chief Ncwini's reign. Clearly, thorough archaeological investigation is needed to throw more light on early agriculturist settlement of this area.

The Tsolo area is significant, however, as it has produced some of the best historical documentation and oral data on interactions between black farmers and southern San during historical times (Jolly 1986, 1992, 1994; Prins 1990, 1994). It is also from this area that most material relating to the southern San as great rain-makers among black farmers has been forthcoming (Jolly 1986, 1992, 1994; Prins 1990, 1994). In fact, so close was the

relationship between the San and the Mpondomise that a popular saying in Tsolo still refers to the Mpondomise as related to the Bathwa. Although this saying specifically points to the marriage in Tsolo between the Mpondomise chief, Ncwini, and a San woman, it also refers to the many generations of symbiotic interactions and intermarriage between San and Mpondomise commoners in this area. In fact, several families of people who called themselves Bathwa (San) and acted as official rain-makers to the Mpondomise remained in Tsolo until the 1940's. The names of famous San rain-makers such as Nonqaba, Luhayi, Nomkhwena and Lindiso are still well-remembered among the older generation, some of who knew them as children. Maqhoqha, the last daughter of the rain-maker Lindiso, was interviewed as recently as 1988 (Jolly 1986; Lewis-Williams 1986; Prins 1990; Jolly & Prins 1994). It is against this background of intensive interaction with San communities in the recent past that aspects of present-day Mpondomise divining activities must be understood.

Today the Mpondomise are divided into two independent chiefdoms. The original division took place in the first half of the nineteenth century when Chief Sontolo's two sons each established an independent chiefdom. The western and minor chiefdom was situated in what is now the Tsolo district, under Chief Velelo. In 1877 the Mpondomise chiefdoms were annexed by Britain and the territory divided into two magistracies, Tsolo and Qumbu, each under a magistrate and coinciding roughly with the two chiefdoms. A few years later, Mditshwa, then chief of the western Mpondomise chiefdom, took part in the Mpondomise rebellion of 1880, but was captured in 1881 and sentenced to three years imprisonment. He was deposed from the chieftainship and the tribe was placed under a regent. Between 1904 and 1910 the colonial authorities appointed headmen in the Tsolo district, among them five of Mditshwa's sons and two of his grandsons. However, it was only in 1930 that his grandson Lutshoto was informed that, after a probationary period, the government would be prepared to consider the reinstatement of the Mpondomise chieftainship. This eventually took place on 1 November 1935 (Hammond-Tooke 1975a:42–55).

The wrath of Nonqaba

The year 1879 is generally seen as significant in the history of the southern San as it marked the end of an era of colonial resistance and intensive interaction with black farmers. At this date a long-time ally and the last protector of the Maluti San, Chief Moorosi, was defeated in his mountain stronghold by colonial forces. Several San died together with him and his bal'huti followers (Wright 1971; Jolly 1994). However, San families continued to interact and intermarry with members of the western Mpondomise chiefdom for at least another 60 years. It was only during the reign of Chief Lutshoto, well into the first half of the twentieth century, that families of people who still called themselves Bathwa (San) left their Mpondomise neighbours and the annals of history forever. This tragic happening is locally known as the 'wrath of Nonqaba'. It is still well-remembered amongst the older generation in Tsolo and it played a major role in subsequent actions and attitudes relating to rain-maker and divination in the area.

Local tradition has it that a large section of the Mpondomise did not favour Lutshoto as chief. He was reinstated by an unpopular regime and was therefore seen to be open to bribery and deceit. Some Mpondomise were also of the opinion that his brother, who was sent abroad by the missionaries at St Cuthbert's Mission Station to be educated, was a more suitable candidate for the chieftainship. It is said that Lutshoto continuously challenged traditional social, legal, and ritual institutions in order to shore up his power over an increasingly discontented following. In addition, Lutshoto felt threatened by the supernatural powers of the San rain-makers, most of whom were men, and was unhappy with their growing popularity amongst Mpondomise women. Rain-making had to be sanctioned through the chief who would send a deputation to the San requesting rain on behalf of the 'tribe'. The chief would then allocate to the rain-makers a special hut in his homestead where they would isolate themselves and experience altered states of consciousness until it rained. The rain-makers were also given presents for their services, usually a cow, goat or maize (Prins 1990). Not only were the San regularly rewarded for their rain-making services, but 'blood money' was also sent to the San by the chief, acknowledging them as the original occupants of the country (Hammond-Tooke in Jolly 1992:17). The San, like autochthonous groups elsewhere in Africa, lacked political power but could still influence the fertility of the land. They therefore had to be appeased in order to maintain prosperity and well-being for the land and its occupants. Certainly, as far as the supernatural realm was concerned, there was a sensitive understanding and balance in power relations between the chief and his San rain-makers (Prins 1994). Lutshoto, however, felt that this situation would compromise his position.

One day, in a show of power during a beer festival, Lutshoto openly challenged the San rain-maker Nonqaba to produce rain there and then. This peremptory action not only ignored 'traditional' protocol but also ensured that the proper rain-making techniques could not be performed. When Nonqaba failed to produce rain, Lutshoto beat him in front of all present. The following day an insulted Nonqaba called a meeting for all the San in the Mpondomise chiefdom. It was felt that Lutshoto's actions had been directed not only against Nonqaba but against all the San rain-makers and their families. The rain-makers decided to leave Tsolo forever and tradition has it that, before they left, Nonqaba cursed the chief and his land. Indeed the rain-makers' departure was followed by three

Above: Bandolier collected by Isaac Shapera in Botswana. Masarwa UCT 41/29
Below: Child's apron of leather and ostrich egg-shell beads, collected in Sandfontein *c.*1922. MM (E) 2163

years of drought. The large cattle herds of the Mpondomise shrank as the sweetveld, which once covered the flanks of the Inxu River valley close to the chief's homestead, became completely denuded of palatable grasses. The drought was followed by heavy rains and thunderstorms which washed away the bared topsoil, initiating extensive sheet and donga erosion. So extensive is the donga erosion that it has become a major focus of research by geomorphologists (Moon & Dardis 1988). Soon after the San left Tsolo, Chief Lutshoto fell ill and remained ill until he died. Today the large tracts of land in the Inxu River valley scarred by erosion (Figure 1), serve as a physical reminder of the San 'curse', which some believe has changed the good fortunes of the Mpondomise chiefdom forever. Older informants believe that the curse of Nonqaba continues and that the vexed spirits of San rain-makers still retain their grip on the land.

A few years after the San left Tsolo, San rain-maker Lindiso returned to the area with his Mfengu wife and two daughters. However, they settled in the mountains overlooking the Inxu River, removed from the immediate sphere of influence of the chief in the valley. Lindiso's oldest daughter, Chitiwe followed in her father's footsteps, becaming the last rain-maker in a long lineage of San ritual specialists. Lindiso, and later Chitiwe, continued to perform rain-making ceremonies but these were of a local nature and were not commissioned by the chief. With the departure of most of the San rain-makers, the active work of the missionaries at St Cuthbert's Mission eventually led to the abandonment of traditional rain-making ceremonies in favour of church prayer meetings. Some of these prayer meetings were called for by the chief, illustrating continuity in change. According to informants, however, these were never quite as successful in procuring rain as the San rituals had been. Chitiwe died in the late 1970s and with her a long tradition of San-inspired cosmology (Jolly 1986; Prins 1990), or so it has been thought. However, San magico-religious functionaries had an enduring influence on African traditional healers such as herbalists and diviners. The belief that many diviners and herbalists were trained by San magico-religious functionaries in historical times is widespread, occurring not only in the Eastern Cape but also amongst Zulu-speakers in KwaZulu-Natal. A large corpus of medicinal plants (*muti*) used by contemporary traditional healers is said to have been borrowed from the San and in the sphere of divination, the ancestor spirits of San rain-makers continue to be part and parcel of everyday existence in Tsolo. In fact, it is to diviners, rather than academics, that the southern San are most relevant. In depth examination of a divining school in Tsolo will illustrate the truth of this statement.

The divining school of Sipani Togu

The diviners' training school under discussion is situated

Figure 1 **Extensive soil erosion in the Inxu River valley has been linked to the destructive power of offended San rain-makers.** Photograph courtesy Frans Prins

at Gqaqala, high in the mountains and close to the boundary of Tsolo with the Maclear district. It is run by Sipani Togu and comprises his homestead and a few additional huts set aside for apprentice diviners. Togu is regarded as particularly successful in his profession and has clients in many parts of the Eastern Cape. His success and standing in the community is evident from his large cattle herd (about 20 animals), which makes him wealthy by rural standards. Presently he has eight students training at his homestead.

Sipani Togu grew up in the same area where Chitiwe practised as a rain-maker and knew her from his childhood. He first became aware of his calling as a diviner in 1952 when, as a young herdboy, he saw an eland grazing alongside his father's cattle. This was interpreted as a sign from his ancestors showing that he ought to be trained as a diviner. In his dreams his paternal ancestors told him that he should be trained in the Bushman way, as other diviners in this area had been before him. Indeed, his vision of an eland (an animal closely associated with the south-eastern San) clearly indicated that he was guided by San spirits. The eland, which was a physical manifestation of his ancestors, started to dominate his dreams. A particular diviner/trainer was shown to him in his dreams, and after a long period of apprenticeship under his trainer, Sipani Togu graduated as a full-fledged diviner himself. Sipani Togu likewise trains his students in the Bushman way which, in this area, is distinguished from the Xhosa or Zulu method of training aspirant diviners. The Bushman way is similar to other techniques but entails a greater emphasis on San-related imagery and symbolism, on visitations to physical features of the landscape historically associated with the San, and rain-making. I will now give a more detailed account of these.

San as ancestors in diviners cosmology

Borrowing from the insights of Levi-Strauss and others, Hirst (1990:156) has argued convincingly that southern Nguni diviners function as *bricoleurs*. Amongst other things, the diviner manipulates a repertoire of traditionalist

Figure 2 **The researcher, Frans Prins, interviewing Maqhoqho the daughter of the San rain-maker Lindiso.** Photograph courtesy Frans Prins

Spoon whisk (*ngha*) **used for eating liquids. Collected by Dorothea Bleek in the Kalahari c.1913.** UCT 35/117. **Fly and dancing whisk** (*tcli*) **purchased for the South African Museum by Dorothea Bleek in 1913.** SAM 1678

Carved and engraved sticks. Lower one "carved with a piece of iron by a herd-boy in the employ of the late Mr John Eaton and presented to Dean Barnett-Clarke in 1876". (See details: pp 226–86) SAM 5011. **Upper stick, presented by R.C. Camp in 1912.** SAM 1488

southern Nguni concepts concerning the ancestors, witches, and associated beliefs and rites to recreate, at one and the same remove, the social and symbolic orders of clients. Typical of the *bricoleur* is the use of whatever is handy and accessible—myths, beliefs, traditions, concrete objects, culture in the widest sense of the term—to communicate ideas and convey understandings to others. The *bricoleur* manipulates the received idiom and thus works predominantly with signs and symbols, metonymy and metaphor, switching between these codes to convey the requisite message (Hirst 1990:156). The *bricoleur* or diviner frequently repositions these elements and, in their new use, they become condensed expressions of necessary relations. The diviner thus builds up structures by fitting together the remains of events (Levi-Strauss 1966). The various elements, signs and symbols deployed by the diviner include ancestral spirits, sacred animals, medicinal plants and, among some diviners, a rich plethora of concepts associated with the San. In fact, the Xhosa word for a diviner *(igqirha)* is phonetically identical to the southern San term for a shaman *(!gi;teu)* (Botha & Thackeray 1987:72), suggesting a level of association between San magico-religious thought and southern Nguni diviners in general.

The San may be no more but they continue to influence contemporary society. Their status as the original inhabitants of the land is asserted in reference to the spirits of deceased San in certain rites relating to the well-being and fertility of the land. Southern Nguni cosmology generally associates the San with nature and natural features such as waterpools, shelters or rock formations, and forests. Indeed, similar association are common amongst most Bantu-speaking groups (Prins & Rousseau 1992). However, whereas the deceased of ancient autochthonous people typically are regarded as nature spirits amongst groups such as the Venda and Shona (Stayt 1931; Bourdillon 1976), the spirits of deceased San are firmly incorporated into the sphere of the ancestors among the southern Nguni.

The southern Nguni typically classify ancestors into two main categories:

- those commonly identified as pertaining to the family or clan—also referred to as home ancestors (and usually called 'shades' in the anthropological literature);
- communally identified ancestors of the forest or grassland, and ancestors of the water—also referred to as ancestors of the 'Great Place'—who are not known by their faces (Hammond-Tooke 1975b; Buhrmann 1984:28; Janzen 1992:96). Hirst (1990:165) sees both categories as paternal ancestors who symbolise the agnatic group. However, other researchers maintain a more rigid distinction (Hammond-Tooke 1975b; Buhrmann 1984:28; Janzen 1992:96) and some see a distinct relationship between the maternal ancestors and those of the forest and the water, since all are implicated in the diviner's calling (Hammond-Tooke 1975b:32).

In any event, the 'shades', play a large and ever-present role in the lives of all members of the family and clan. These ancestors retain many of their human qualities and individuals among them can be named (Kuckertz 1990:265). The ancestor cult as practised by ordinary members of the community (non-diviners) is directed at them. Their presence and participation in all activities of the household are subtly acknowledged. In terms of location they are usually associated with the area opposite the entrance door of the main hut called *entla* and with the cattle kraal—especially the area opposite the entrance gate. Sacrifices and ceremonies directed at these areas by members of a household or agnatic cluster are, therefore, usually directed at the clan ancestors. Although a large percentage of the present-day Mpondomise population has a strong San admixture, there is only one clan in this area which acknowledged a San founder, and its last member died in 1988. San ancestors revered today therefore do not belong to this first category.

The second category of ancestors is the more distant but also the more powerful and numinous. These are the ancestors who are intimately linked with the calling and training of a diviner. Unlike the home ancestors, they are not named and their manifestation, usually in the form of a wild animal (*isilo* or *ityala*), depends on the individual and not necessarily on his or her clan affiliation. Among Sipani Togu's students, the forest and grassland ancestors are represented by wild and non-domesticated animals, such as lions, leopards, elephants, bees and various antelope. However, with the exception of the eland and the bee, these ancestors are usually of lesser importance in the training of diviners than the water ancestors, who play a decisive role in the development of a special illness among candidate diviners called *thwasa*. The water ancestors include amphibious creatures such as hippopotamuses, otters, nile monitors, water snakes, crabs, fish and 'the people of the river', *abantu bomlambo*, who are said to have both human and fish-like attributes. They communicate with the living in various ways, mostly through dreams and visions, and are also instrumental in showing novice diviners the location of medicinal plants during training. Given the fact that the San are intimately linked with nature in Nguni cosmology, it is not surprising that they are commonly associated with this second category of ancestors.

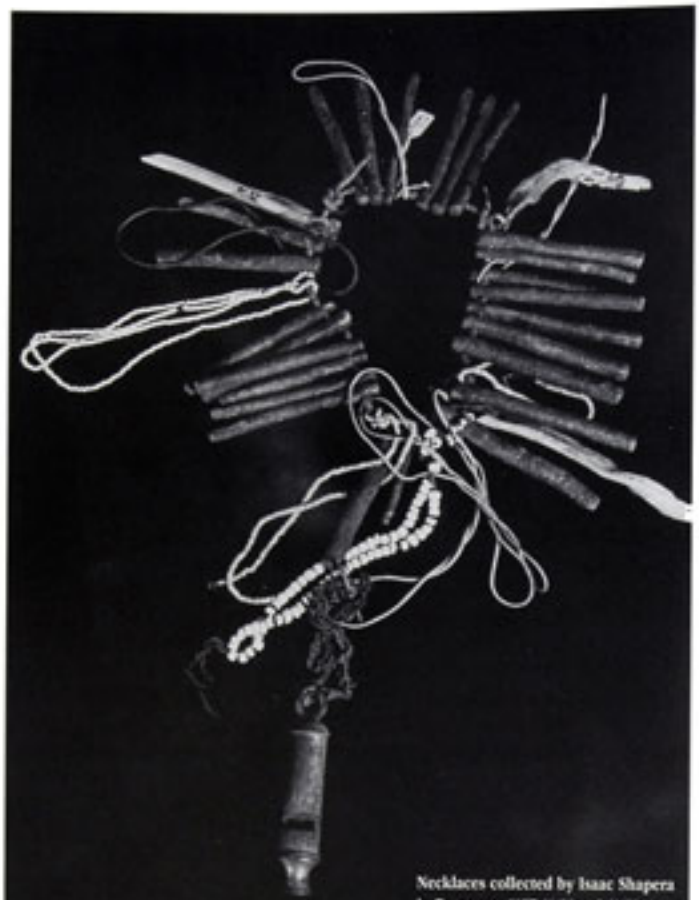
This is particularly evident in the Gqaqala area of Tsolo where the spirits of the deceased San are instrumental in the training of aspirant diviners and in maintaining the fertility of the land. Here the San, like certain animals and plants, serve as symbolic substitutes for the ancestors in dreams, myths and rites. It is the purpose of diviners, as mediators between this world and the 'other', to appease and communicate with the San ancestors and, in a sense, to continue with their function on this world. This particular perception and incorporation of the San in diviners' cosmology is informed by the long history of symbiotic interaction between San communities and Mpondomise agriculturists in this area. In fact, the continuation of this symbiotic relationship between diviners and San ancestors is crucial, the role of each being to keep the other happy, healthy and viable. In areas where there have not been similar symbiotic relationships in historical times, diviners usually link the San and animals associated with them, such as the eland, to witchcraft (for instance see Hirst (1990:188) for a discussion of Xhosa diviners' perceptions of eland).

However the role of diviners as *bricoleurs* has ensured that borrowed San-related concepts have been manipulated to become expressions of the ancestor cult, including the associated witchcraft ideology, rather than remaining linked to 'pure' shamanism. San-related concepts are therefore intelligible to novice diviners and other members of the community alike.

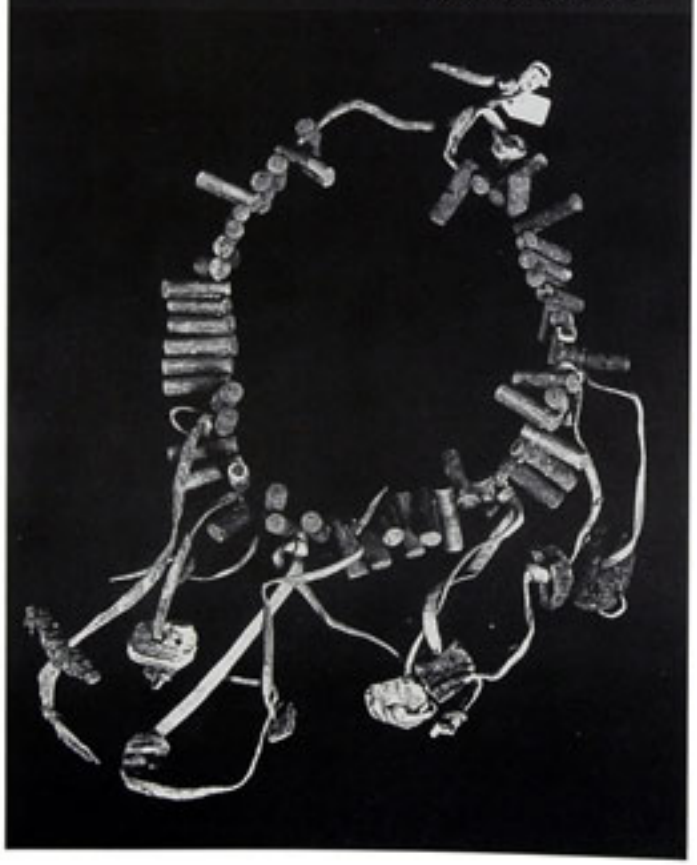
Dreaming

The importance of dreams and visions in the training of diviners has been highlighted by various authors and needs no detailed exposition here (Buhrmann 1984; Hammond-Tooke 1989; Hirst 1990). Because it is believed

Figure 3 **Togu Sipani addressing his ancestors through the medium of rock art. His two flywisks were shown to him by his San ancestors in a dream before he acquired them.** Photograph courtesy Frans Prins.



Necklaces collected by Isaac Shapera in Botswana. UCT 41/50 and 41/52



that dreams are guided by the ancestors, dream symbolism is pertinent to everything diviners and novice diviners do during treatment and training. The novice diviner experiencing *thwasa*, a period of mental turmoil associated with the 'call of the ancestors', is plagued by dreams of an obscure and upsetting nature and may be disturbed by their strangeness and the effect they have on him or her. It is especially in these dreams associated with *thwasa* that San symbolism is pertinent. Although San ancestors may 'appear' in dreams or visions as people, they most often manifest as bees or eland. They seldom, if ever, communicate their names to trainees and remain a vague, unrestricted, yet critically important component of those dreams dictating procedures, progress and the timing of rituals to be performed. Not only do San ancestors guide novice diviners to areas where medicinal plants may be found, but they also show them in dreams which beadwork and other regalia to acquire during the training process. For instance, Togu Sipani maintained that his two switches (Figure 3) and a special beaded skirt, worn exclusively during *intlombe* and *xhentsa* (ritual healing dances which may lead to trance-like states), were shown to him by his San ancestors. Likewise, the white 'head beads' worn by his students (Figures 6, 8, 9) symbolise their introduction to the ancestors of the water who, according to Togu Sipani, are closely associated with San spirits. It is said that San spirits share deep pools or rivers with the ancestors of the water.

Asked why pools or rivers are so favoured, Togu Sipani explained that the San were great rain-makers and that water in rivers or pools is associated with rain, as is the mythical snake *ichanti* who lives at the bottom of pools. *Ichanti* is associated not only with rain but also with the training of diviners. According to Togu Sipani, some novice diviners may enter pools where they will meet the *ichanti*. This may occur as a real event or as a dream. They usually spend some time underwater, during which period they are supposed to remove medicine—usually some plant or clay—from under the belly of the *ichanti*. When they surface again, they must present—his medicine or the skin of the *ichanti* to their trainers. Thereafter an ox must be slaughtered at the trainer's home. The process of going underwater is a sign to show that the trainee is ready to qualify as a full-fledged diviner. Interestingly, this 'capturing' of a water snake is also a common theme during the training of San shamans, notably those groups in contact with black farmers (Potgieter 1955; Jolly 1986). In fact, a common perception in Tsolo among all diviners interviewed is that underwater symbolism and associated ritual was borrowed and adapted from the San.

Unlike the San, whose religious world-view is informed to a large extent by hallucinatory imagery, most aspects of Bantu-speakers' religion is based on overt ritual with little or no reference to mental imagery (Hammond-Tooke 1974). It is therefore interesting that dreaming plays

Figure 4 **Qoposini, a place of power associated with the water ancestors and life-giving powers of the San.** Photograph courtesy Frans Prins

such an important role in the training of Mpondomise and, in fact, all Nguni diviners, and it is tempting to suggest that this aspect of diviners' training was also borrowed and adapted from the San. However, diviners have to function as ritualists *par excellence* in order to make religion accessible and participatory for commoners (non-diviners), especially in ceremonies directed at the ancestors of the home. Typically such ceremonies entail the sacrifice of an animal (cow or goat) in the cattle kraal of the homestead—a ceremony in which most symbolism inheres in the act of overt ritual. Some overt ritualism, however, is also directed at the San spirits, and the so-called river ceremonies are the most pertinent.

The river ceremonies

A central aspect of all ceremonies entailing San-derived concepts is their location in meaningful spatial contexts. In fact, the space-time dimension is a dynamic feature relating not only to perceptions of San in the past, but also to their continuous interaction with diviners in the spirit realm today. Like most people, Mpondomise diviners classify space primarily according to visual features of the landscape. The San, specifically, are associated with caves, pools, forests, and mountains and, in Tsolo in particular, also with soil erosion. Although these associations for the most part are based on historical factors—the San in historical times have been associated with all of these topographical features in one way or another (for example, see Prins & Lewis 1992)—they continue to evoke an emotive response in diviners today. The physical space-time dimension is therefore not separated from the mental space-time construct perceived by diviners the one informs the other. For diviners, the San are as relevant today, if not more so, as in the past. This feeling of kinship to the San is particularly strong in close proximity to the physical features mentioned earlier. These act as spiritual focus points for intercourse with San spirits and other related supernatural agencies. Such specific use of space informs and creates personal and corporate identities. The soil erosion in the Inxu valley, for instance, is associated with the rain-maker Nonqaba as an individual, but also with the supernatural power of the San as a collective, which continues to influence people today. Unlike the soil erosion, which is linked to the negative and destructive power of the San, pools and shelters, if utilised correctly, can provide focal points for harnessing the life-giving and healing properties of San spirits. In Tsolo, this is particularly evident in relation to the river ceremonies.

River ceremonies are performed for a variety of reasons. However, they are most often conducted by Togu Sipani when his students respond well to treatment of the *thwasa* condition and when rain is desired. Two topographical features are singled out for these ceremonies. The first and most popular is a cave situated behind the Inxu Falls overlooking a huge pool also known as Qoposini, referring to the sound of falling rain drops (Figure 4). The falls, which are relatively easy to approach, are visible from a distance and stand out as a prominent feature of the landscape. In fact, the metaphorical saying 'to see from afar', which refers to both the diminutive size of the San (Prins & Lewis 1992) and to the healing guidance of diviners, applies equally well to the Inxu Falls. While visible from afar, the Falls bestow their healing power only on the privileged who enter their sacred domain. Although the cave behind the falls is associated with the San, it is flooded during the summer months and would, therefore, have been unsuitable for occupation over long periods. However, this seasonal accessibility of the cave is reminiscent of the seasonal movements of early San. In a sense, the falls and the cave represent a microcosm of the San experience. These perceptions are strengthened by traditions which relate that San rain-makers approached by the chief, such as Nonqaba and Luhayi, were intimately associated with the environment of the cave.

The second topographical feature singled out for these ceremonies is the Ngcengcane Cave, situated about 3 km upstream from Qoposini. Ngcengcane, which is more secluded and difficult to approach, is associated with the

Figure 5 **San paintings at Ngcengcane illustrating a ceremonial trance-dance.** Photograph courtesy Frans Prins

last San rain-makers, Lindiso and his daughter Chitiwe, who specifically used this cave for their rain-making purposes. Although Ngcengcane does not overlook a pool, it is situated immediately adjacent to the Inxu River and, unlike Qoposini, is richly decorated with monochrome and polychrome examples of Bushman paintings (Figure 5). These paintings are the visual evidence for the continuing presence of San spirits at the cave. Togu Sipani believes that the paintings were produced by the San to show their descendants the way in which the San used to live on earth. This message is also directed at diviners, who see it as a crucial component of their intercourse with the ancestors. In addition, the San were generally associated with healing powers, a quality believed to inhere in the paintings themselves. Painted sites, such as Ngcengcane Cave, are therefore seen as significant places of power a power which can be experienced by the casual visitor even from a distance.

The ceremonies which I attended began at the Inxu Falls cave in the morning and then continued at Ngcengcane in the afternoon. The ceremony started as the procession approached the cave: Togu Sipani, dressed in full regalia, took the lead with his students following in single file, singing and praising the ancestors as they approached the cave. The footpath leading to the cave behind the falls is on a steep slope which is difficult to negotiate. The procession along this footpath symbolises the training and hardships experienced by novice diviners who are guided through their ordeal by the trainer, Togu Sipani. The waterfall and water spray is seen as analogous to the rain produced by San rain-makers. It is even said that one can smell the rain when approaching the cave. By entering the cave behind the falls one enters the 'real' world of the ancestors and of the San. Once inside the cave the visitor is secluded from the outside world, which is screened by the waterfall. From the interior of the cave, the outside world, the world of the living, assumes a new character seen through a curtain of water. The falls act as a barrier between the world of the living and the world of the dead, but can also function as a mirror, reflecting the enigmatic world of the San. From the outside one can barely capture a glimpse of the cave; in the same way complete knowledge of the mystical San is denied to all but the select few who may enter into its existence. Although it is possible to observe the outside world from the cave, one only glimpses the cave from the outside. In fact, the falls and cave become a microcosm of the world of the ancestors: it is possible for the ancestors to influence the 'living' but the 'living' can enter the realm of the ancestors only by becoming diviners.

Once in the cave, the students seated themselves in a half-moon formation around a symbolic hearth facing the pool—with the female students sitting on the right and the male students to the left. A natural ledge behind them took on the same function as the *cutla* (raised platform at the back of the hut associated with the ancestors).

Figure 6 **An *intlombe* at Qoposini: note the placing of traditional and commercial beer next to the symbolic hearth in front of the apprentice diviners.** Photograph courtesy Frans Prins

Offerings consisting of tobacco, dagga, sweets, and brandy were placed on this ledge (also called *entla*) by Sipani Togu while he addressed the San spirits, asking them to accept everyone into their 'home' (Figure 7). Traditional beer in a billycan and a box containing six bottles of commercial beer were placed next to the symbolic hearth in front of the students (Figure 6). In fact, the spatial patterning in the cave was similar to that adopted during a ceremonial dance (*intlombe*) in a round hut. With the students seated, Togu Sipani approached the pool with a bottle of brandy and, in a private manner, poured three cups or 'tots' of brandy into the water, addressing the ancestors of the water specifically.

After this libation, the scene was set for the *intlombe* which followed. The *intlombe*, which can be translated as a 'ritual healing dance', is an integral part of most healing and training procedures at the homestead, and specifically in the main hut of the trainer where the students live. The performance of the *intlombe* at the caves has the function of bringing the water ancestors (and by implication the San) closer to the students so that they can 'heal' them of the *thwasa* state. It is believed that frequent participation in these ceremonies promotes healing and maintains health for students and qualified diviners alike. With his students singing and clapping, Togu Sipani took the lead in the dances, stamping his feet rhythmically. The songs were initiated by Togu and consisted for the most part of phrases relating to the experiences of novices under training. At regular intervals Togu interrupted the singing to address the ancestors. On these occasions Togu introduced everyone present to the ancestors and asked for aid in the 'healing' of his students. During one of these intervals Togu poured some of the beer on the ground, 'so that the ancestors may eat', and offered the rest to his students and other observers present. With the *intlombe* in full swing the students also participated in the dancing, often taking turns as lead dancers (Figure 8). During this more advanced stage of the *intlombe* Togu suddenly interrupted the dancing. Bent forward and resting on his two switches in a way similar to some depictions in rock art (Botha & Thackeray 1987), he asked the San spirits for rain (Figure 9). No other rain-making ceremonies were performed, but the occurrence of rain following a successful *intlombe* at a cave is seen as a logical process—all part and parcel of the same thing. With the conclusion of the dancing, Togu undressed, entered the pool and washed himself all over.

This river ceremony was repeated at Ngcengcane.

Figure 7 **Togu Sipani offering a libation of brandy to the water ancestors.** Photograph courtesy Frans Prins

Figure 8 **Apprentice diviners dancing the *intlombe* in a shelter.** Photograph courtesy Frans Prins

Again, a ledge under some paintings was used to place an offering of tobacco, dagga, and sweets for the San spirits. Here, however, Togu poured a few tots of brandy on to the cave floor as a libation to the San spirits. Although Togu made several references to the paintings, he never referred to their actual iconography during the *intlombe*. Rather the paintings are seen to indicate the presence of the San ancestors at this cave. In a sense, the paintings are the ancestors and great care is taken to avoid damaging them during the procedures. Indeed, it is believed that one who causes damage may lose his or her senses. There is also a belief that some of the paintings were made by God and that any disrespect towards them may incur the wrath of the San as well as the supreme being. Again, Togu requested the San ancestors to produce rain reminding them that this cave had been inhabited and used by San for this same purpose in the past. Upon returning to Togu's homestead, we heard the characteristic noise made by ground hornbills and eventually saw a few. This was interpreted as a good omen, indicating that rain was on its way. At six o'clock that evening the first drops fell.

These ceremonies are an example of how the diviner as *bricoleur* demonstrates ingenuity by manipulating thoughts, beliefs, material objects and aspects of the

physical world into one cosmic unity. However, this is a two-way process in which the diviner absorbs the power of the San. By performing ritual and ceremony at these places, the diviners in return empower the cave in a perpetual reciprocal process.

Individual visitations

Visitations to pools or caves are not always a communal affair. Togu or one of his students may sometimes dream that the ancestors command them to go to a specific cave or pool individually. Togu's San ancestors usually 'appear' to him as bees. He then spends most of a day alone at these localities, looking at the paintings, searching for plant medicines, and communicating with his ancestors—usually in a dream state. He will also hear the buzzing noise produced by bees which indicates that his ancestors are close. Togu claims that his ancestors, through dreams, have shown him various other areas where rock art occurs, some of which he visits regularly. Unfortunately, some of this rock art is located on private land which makes easy access difficult. This state of affairs has become a cause of great concern to Togu who feels prevented from practising all his traditions in the way prescribed by the ancestors.

Conclusion

Concepts associated with the southern San have become an integral part of the thought patterns and ritual systems of at least some indigenous groups in contemporary southern Africa. Togu Sipani's training school may appear to be a rather extreme example, but similar perceptions have been documented in other areas as well (Prins & Lewis 1992). Among these diviners the southern San continue to be relevant, 'alive' and influential. Such contemporary perceptions are based on past historical events to a large extent. In Tsolo, as in other areas, the present and the past constantly inform each other in the maintenance and creation of ideologies to cope with a rapidly changing world. The San spirits are part and parcel of this modern world and the lack of due respect for them on the part of the present chief and other authorities is given as one of the reasons for the present environmental and political decay of the Mpondomise chiefdom. In contrast, the relative wealth and success of Sipani Togu is seen to be allied to his close association with the San. This association is also expressed in terms of the spatial setting of Togu Sipani's divining school—high in the mountains, close to the original habitation of the San in an area with high rainfall. The history and present relevance of the San is clearly interwoven with the landscape and contributes to the creation of a corporate identity for the present inhabitants of Tsolo. It is perhaps in this context that the popular saying in Tsolo, "we are of the Bathwa", should be understood.

Figure 9 **Togu Sipani asking for rain in the bent forward posture, out of respect for the ancestors.** Photograph courtesy Irene Staeheli

//Kau//en woman and her baby photographed in Ghanzi, Botswana, in 1956.
Photograph Duggan-Cronin. MM 2170

From 'Lords of the Desert' to 'Rubbish People': The Colonial and Contemporary State of the Nharo of Botswana

Mathias Guenther

In the course of my anthropological field-work in the Ghanzi district of Botswana of the late 1960s, I came across the occasional farm at which time seemed to have stood still. There were a handful of such places and they contrasted starkly with the rest of the Ghanzi ranches which were all more or less modern, efficient and prosperous operations. There was a palpable frontier flavour to these farms. They seemed like Kalahari Desert islands of arrested time and I felt myself in the presence of the early Dorsland Trekkers (De Klerk 1977) who, a century back, on their way north-west, to the Okavango and beyond, had settled down for a while, at one of the many Ghanzi wells.

These places were small, somewhat seedy-looking, with a non-functional windmill at the nearby dam. They were often owned either by a Boer farmer—one of the few poor Boers in the district—or, in a few cases, a coloured one. Typically, the farmer his wife he lived in a modest, self-made, tin-roofed and white-washed dwelling, surrounded by shade trees and a fenced yard. When chatting about their place, over a cup of tea, the farmer couple would likely point out to you that in the early, arduous days, after the thirstland trek across the Kalahari, they, or their parents, had lived in a native *haartebeshuis*. A few head of cattle, as well as goats, sheep and donkeys, were fenced in paddocks near the house. The bulk of the cattle herd was spread over several 'camps' where they were watered and looked after by one or two Bushmen who lived with their families at the camp. Every other year these farmers would embark on the six-week trek southward, through the Kalahari desert, to sell their cattle at the abattoir in Lobatse. Once or twice a year the farmer would go hunting, on horseback or in his decrepit *bakkie* (small open truck), to lay in a year's supply of biltong. These farmers would make his own *riems* (leather straps) from sections of ox-hide, suspended, with a boulder or iron weight, from a tall tree branch. Their wives made bread, butter, cream, boerewors and *gemmer* (ginger beer), and sewed most of their clothing.

A prominent and characteristic element of these pioneer-style farms were the farm Bushmen. A dozen of them milled about, either standing or sitting in the shade of a tree or shed wall, or around a dilapidated or disabled *bakkie*. Some, mostly women, would come and go, carrying chipped enamel buckets or American Peace Corps cooking-oil cans, to the dam or the water tap near the farmer's house and back to their sand-and-dung grass-covered huts in the village complex, a dusty distance from the farmer's dwelling. A handful would engage in some more or less toilsome tasks, as on such farms Bushmen constituted the sole or main labour force.

When seeing the farm Bushmen at these old farms—and later, when talking to them and learning more about their lives—I was reminded of an earlier generation of farm Bushmen, living over a century ago, on the above-mentioned Boer—as well as Baster and Koranna—frontier farms of the northern Cape. Some of them extended south-westward into 'Bushmanland' and had introduced the !Xam Bushmen living there to farm life as early as the 1820s (Dunn 1872/75; Theal 1911:xxxii, xxxv; Szalay 1983:208–13). A few glimpses into the lives of these earlier farm Bushmen can be obtained from the stories and memories of some of Bleek and Lloyd's !Xam narrators. These suggest that the farms they worked on four generations ago and the employment situation and patterns of social interaction with the Boer *baas*, were similar in many ways to those of the farm Bushmen I met in Ghanzi two decades ago (Deacon 1986; Guenther 1989:17–18, 1991a).

The /Xam Bushmen at the Bleek household in Mowbray were all 'colonial Bushmen'; indeed, at least one of them (Diä!kwain) had at one time been a 'farm Bushman', looking after the herds of the frontier Boers—or stealing cattle (the crime that had brought him as well as one or two of the /Xam narrators to Breakwater Convict Station). Each one of the /Xam Bushmen at the Bleek household bore a Dutch name, in addition to his or her Bushman name and two or three of them spoke some smatterings of Dutch. It is thus not surprising that the stories they told Bleek and Lloyd contained references to farm life.

Apart from its intrinsic interest, the account of the life situation of the contemporary farm Nharo of Botswana presented in this essay may, because of its similarities to that of the /Xam a century earlier and 1000 km distant, shed light on the lives of the colonial Bushmen of the north-western Cape. In appreciating the plight of the Ghanzi farm Bushmen, the social and existential environment of the narrators of the Bleek-Lloyd corpus becomes vivid and immediate. As shown elsewhere (Guenther 1991a), this comparative exercise enables one to flesh out some of the contextual elements of the /Xam narratives, and also helps one to understand more fully the motivations and personalities of the narrators.

Boers and Bushmen in Ghanzi

Most of the white Ghanzi farmers were, in the 1960s, third-generation descendants of the Boers who settled at Ghanzi at the turn of the last century. Most of these had been *Trekboers* from the north-western Cape. They transplanted into what was to become their new homeland the frontier ranching culture of Cape society (Van Onselen 1961). Some of the first arrivals were very poor, having lost many of their cattle during the 600-km trek through the Kalahari, and they remained small-scale ranchers, employing old-fashioned and outdated ranching methods and subscribing to traditional Boer customs and values right up to the time I arrived in the field (Russell & Russell 1979).

Indispensable to the farmer and his wife were the labour services of the Bushmen who lived on their farm, in the village complex near their residence or at the cattle camps. The work of the men consisted primarily of general labour around the farm, cattle work at the camps, or trekking cattle, cowboy-style, mounted on horseback. The womenfolk of the ranchers employed Bushman women as domestic servants in the house and kitchen. Having been taught needlework by the *miessis*, their tasks included sewing and mending. Once or twice a year, the Bushman women at a farm were driven out into the veld by the farmer to collect large supplies of *morauma* beans. This plant staple of the Ghanzi Bushmen also became an essential part of the early white settlers' food store for the winter season. Cash wages were token, as remuneration consisted primarily of rations. In addition, some employers allowed a trusted Bushman herder to keep a calf or two for himself. This enabled a handful of farm Bushmen to accumulate

small herds of their own. Not many were able to keep cattle for long, however, in view of the destitution of so many of their kin, coupled with the cultural demands of the sharing ethos.

In the recent past, a generation or two back, the economic and social relationship between the Ghanzi farm Bushmen and the Boer settlers was one of benign paternalism, vaguely reminiscent of the patron-client relationship also found among many Bantu-speaking people (Silberbauer & Kuper 1966). The Ghanzi Boer's practice of giving young stock to a Bushman labourer to enable him to build up his own small herd and, in the process, motivating him to look after the herd the more diligently, has similarities to the loan cattle arrangement of the Tswana with their Masarwa clients (called *mafisa*) (Lee 1979:79–80, 406–8; Wilmsen 1989:99, 133). Another traditional and vaguely feudalistic element of the *baas-jong* relationship, paralleled again by the African pattern, was for members of the same Bushman family or band to remain with the same Boer family for generations. The values of pioneer Ghanzi Boer society enjoined farmer and wife to 'look after' the Bushmen in their charge, to feed and house them properly and to provide treatment for them when they were sick. And on Sundays the *baas* and his wife would assemble their labourers and families to conduct an outdoor devotional service.

For all of its benign appearances, however, there were pervasive, systemic undercurrents of conflict within the relationship between the Boer settlers and the Bushmen on and around their farms. Inside the velvet glove of paternalism was a hard fist, and throughout the middle decades of the present century the glove was shed by many European farmers. The benign aspects of European paternalism were being eschewed, rendering blatant its inherent inequity, deprivation, exploitation and oppression. The farms were on land which, until the Boers' arrival in 1898, had been the *nlusa* or *n!ore* (band territory) of the indigenous Nharo and ≠Au//gei. It was taken from them without any regard to, or even awareness of, the fact that, as the autochthonous inhabitants of the land, these two Bushman groups were the rightful owners of its various territories. Treaties with native Africans had actually been entered into by agents of the British colonial government before the the settlers' arrival; however, the Africans in question were not the Bushmen of Ghanzi, but the Tawana of Ngamiland to the east, who, a few decades earlier, had extended their hegemonic sway into the region. However, for a number of reasons the Nharo and ≠Au//gei did not offer resistance to the early settlers. The Boers were initially few in number and poor; the few farms on which they settled were separated by many miles of veld through which nomadic game and folk could pass. The Boers hunted for the Bushmen, provided them with work, rations, milk, water and even stock, and afforded protection against the Tawana marauders from the east. Despite these favourable aspects, however, the relation between even the poorest Boer master and a farm Bushman was always dramatically unequal: for every calf or goat a Bushman labourer might come to own, his master owned 100.

On the rare occasion, the relationship between Boer and Bushman could also entail brutality, including the administration of corporal punishment. According to oral accounts from local Bushmen and farmers, this could entail tying the victim to a wagon wheel and lashing him with a *sjambok*, allegedly adding to the punitive act the bizarre twist of reading to the recipient of the beating such exhortative scriptural passages as the employer deemed appropriate to his labourer's offence. Such infrequent incidents of physical mistreatment were harsh and poignant reminders to the Bushmen of their own lack of status and power, *vis-á-vis* the white settlers.

A central element of paternalism is the dependence of the weaker party in the relationship. Dependency undermines the economic self-sufficiency of the dependent, in this instance farm-associated Bushmen. Moreover, severe environmental pressures contributed to the farm Bushmen's loss of economic viability and independence as the ecological basis of their previous hunter-gatherer economy was progressively destroyed by the farmers and their cattle. Later on in the century, when ranching practices underwent innovation and rationalisation, one after another patron-*baas* was to lay off his Bushman labourers, and

Figure 1 **Ghanzi. European farmer's house 1969.** Photograph courtesy R. de Hoogh

Figure 2 **Ghanzi. farm Bushman grass hut 1969.** Photograph courtesy R. de Hoogh

unemployment became the new economic hardship for the Ghanzi Bushmen. For the landless farm Bushman and his family, the loss of a job also meant the loss of a place to live; and it meant deprivation and destitution.

I will return later to the dependence and deprivation of today's farm Bushmen. I will also explore the existential, social and psychological impact of this oppressive contact on the Ghanzi Bushmen, as well as their coping strategies and their culture's adaptive mechanisms in the face of oppression and deprivation. These mechanisms include myths, tales and family memorates, whose narrative and emotional components—more extensive and explicit than in the /Xam stories—are the features, people, situations, events and problems of farm life (Guenther 1989:31).

Before dealing with these matters, however, I will step back in time, to a not-so-remote period in the history of the Ghanzi Bushmen, just prior to their expropriation and oppression by the encroaching settlers. This excursion into regional history will lend poignancy to the contemporary account, as it will show up the stark and sad contrast between what the farm Bushman are today and what they were a century-and-a-half earlier.

Independence and resistance: the Ghanzi Bushmen of the past

The Ghanzi Bushmen had to cope with encroachment and hostility from outside groups for generations prior to the arrival of the Boers in 1898. The Tawana around Lake Ngami had made inroads on the eastern stretches of the Ghanzi veld virtually since their arrival at the lake in the early decades of the nineteenthth century (Tlou 1976). The Ghanzi veld is well watered, and, at that time, was extremely rich in game; the stretches adjoining their land was therefore used by the Tawana as hunting territory. As revealed by the oral history of the farm Bushmen (Guenther 1989:152–6) as well as historical sources (Andersson 1856:437–8; Baines 1864:174–5; Passarge 1907:120–3), the Tawana mounted occasional raids against the Bushmen living in the claimed hunting grounds and abducted some of them into servitude. They also imposed a tributary dependency status on them. Their service consisted primarily of watching out for enemies in this remote corner of the Tawana realm, as well as acting as scouts, spies and hunters for their masters. As suggested by the oral and historical sources, this overlordship was extremely harsh and tyrannical at times, manifesting itself in the most gruesome acts of intimidation and retribution. The Tawanas' outmost reach was at Kubis (or Koobie as it is recorded on the old maps; Baines 1864:196, 217), at the north-eastern boundary of today's Ghanzi district. Tawana forays into the Ghanzi veld increased in frequency and intensity after Livingstone 'discovered' Lake Ngami in 1849. The lake almost immediately became one of the main ivory trade centres of southern Africa, drawing to it hundreds of white traders and hunters, some of whom established permanent stations at the lake (Andersson 1856:361;

figure 3 **Ghanzi farm border.** *Photograph courtesy of Mathias Guenther*

Vedder 1934:355). Their comings and goings to and from Lake Ngami took place with the eager permission and encouragement of the Tawana chief, Leshulathebe, who wanted European trade goods, especially guns, to buttress and expand his hold over the region (Wilmsen 1989:105). Leshulathebe needed ivory and obtained some of it in Ghanzi with the assistance of his Bushman serfs, whose task it was to hunt elephant for their overlord (Schinz 1891:381).

The Bushman claim to the western stretches of the Ghanzi veld, to Rietfontein and beyond, as far west even as Gobabis, was uncontested for the first half of the nineteenth century. However, in 1855 a commando of Oorlam 'Hottentots'—Nama-speaking, Europeanised Khoikhoi who had crossed the Orange into Namibia in several waves at the beginning of the century (Lau 1987)—settled at Gobabis (or Elephant Fontein, as they called the place, reflecting its point of attraction). Throughout the remaining nine years of his life, their leader, Amraal Lambert, consolidated his hold over his realm. This included the eastern Kalahari stretches, between Gobabis and Rietfontein (or Tunobis), into which he undertook raids. He subdued the Bergdama and Bushmen in this region immediately to the west of Ghanzi, and several thousand of them became his subjects (Lau 1987:35, 67). Equally important to Amraal were the many hunting expeditions he undertook into the eastern stretches in which elephant and rhinoceros were abundant (Andersson 1856:383, 385). On two occasions he went as far east as Lake Ngami, taking with him as many as 47 ox-wagons and 110 horses, returning with 6000 pounds of ivory (Andersson 1856:361, Lau 1987:91, 93). After a few years of such intensive over-hunting, big game species became drastically decimated (Baines 1864:112) and Amraal and his riders hunted further and further afield. To the east, beyond Rietfontein, they entered stretches of *terra incognita*, land which Galton had described as "a howling wilderness, with every inch on the ground ahead . . . unknown to Europeans" when Amraal had taken him there in 1851 (Andersson 1856:374).

By the mid 1800s the Bushmen of Ghanzi thus found themselves in a pincer position, with the Oorlam pressing on their lands and game resources from the west and the Tawana from the east. At this time a third group of outsiders made their entry into Ghanzi: European traders, hunters and explorers. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, one after another of these men would pass along what was to become the most important lateral trade route through the southern continent, enabling traders and hunters to take their wagons, goods and guns from the Indian Ocean at Fort Natal to the Atlantic Ocean at Walvis Bay (Lee & Guenther 1993).

The first European to set foot in Ghanzi was probably the Canadian elephant hunter, Frederick Green, who entered the region from the east, at Lake Ngami, in 1851 (Vedder 1934:361). In the same year two explorer-hunters, Andersson and Galton, attempted to reach Ghanzi wells

from the west. However, lack of water and guides and the inhospitableness of the "howling wilderness" that lay ahead forced them to turn back at Rietfontein (at the present-day Namibia-Botswana border). Two years later, Andersson returned to and passed beyond Rietfontein, through Ghanzi, to Lake Ngami, the first European to undertake that voyage along the westward route. James Chapman followed in 1855, moving from east to west by ox-wagon (the first European to do so as Andersson had used pack-oxen). Six years later he repeated the same journey in the opposite direction, taking—another 'first' for this tireless explorer—a "photographic apparatus" into the field with him. He was accompanied by the artist and cartographer Thomas Baines. This journey resulted in a detailed map of the Gobabis-Ngami route, as well as a thorough written, pictorial and photographic record of the landscape, the flora and fauna and the tribal peoples encountered on the way. The two men also ventured on an exploratory side-trip to the north-west of Ghanzi and the Groote Laagte river bed, charting a trail into the hitherto unentered country of the ≠Au//gei (Baines 1864:300–94; Chapman 1971:22–9). What they attempted to find, without success, was a trade route between the lake and the Omuramba Omatako that would bypass the Oorlam who, throughout Amraal's declining years and especially after his death had become more and more unruly and anarchical, holding the reputation of being one of the "*verruchtetes Räuberneste Südafrikas*" (Schinz 1891:406; see also Lau 1987:135 and Guenther 1991b). Other explorers who charted and recorded the human and natural landscape of Ghanzi were the Swiss botanist Helmut Schinz (1891), the Prussian geographer Siegfrid Passarge (1904, 1907), and the German colonial officer Hans Kaufmann (1910).

The European travellers only passed through or around Ghanzi, staying briefly to hunt, explore or trade. When traversing the Ghanzi stretch of their journey they were basically in transit, to the trade entrepôts of Lake Ngami to the east and Omaruru, Otjimbinue or Walvis Bay in the west. Only two or three whites, including a party of Trekboers on their way to Namibia and Angola, ever stayed in Ghanzi prior to the arrival of the Cape Boers at the end of the century. The latter were the aforementioned Dorsland Trekkers. One group of them, under the leadership of G.A.J. Alberts, passed through Ghanzi pan in 1876 and settled at Rietfontein to the west for two years (Tabler 1973:32; Lee & Guenther 1991:595–6). The European to stay the longest, and to make enough of an impact on the local Bushmen that he is remembered in their oral traditions to this day, was Hendrik van Zyl, legendary as elephant hunter, trader and intriguer (Palgrave 1991:315–16, 359–61, 375–87; Schinz 1891:385–7; Vedder 1934:532–8; Tabler 1973:113–15). Van Zyl had hunted in Ghanzi between 1868 and 1872 and managed to secure exclusive hunting privileges along the well-watered Ghanzi ridge from the Tawana chief in 1873. He built himself a large house at Kwebe Hills, and another one three years later between

Kobe pan and Ghanzi, where he lived with his two sons. He ruled the Bushmen around him and collected taxes from them. However, in 1879, Van Zyl's 'hunting licence' was revoked by the new Tawana chief, Moremi, because he had hunted to the north of his allocated hunting tract, and he was banished from Ghanzi by Moremi. Van Zyl had also earned the anger of the Gobabis Oorlams, who suspected him of being an ally of their Herero enemies and a friend of the Doorsland Trekkers. In addition, they accused him of turning the Tawana against the Oorlams (Tabler 1973:114; Vedder 1934:538). He was tried at Gobabis by the Oorlams and condemned to death. His wagons, stock and goods were confiscated. With the local missionary's help, Van Zyl managed to escape the night before his execution, but he was murdered a year later by one of his Bushman (or Hottentot) servants.

Assessing the social and political impact of these various incursions and encroachments upon the Nharo and ǂAu//gei Bushmen of the Ghanzi veld throughout the nineteenth century reveals a situation that, in striking ways, is the reverse of their subsequent socio-political situation in the twentieth century. Travellers were struck by the "manly independence" in the bearing of the Nharo Bushmen they met (Baines 1864:144). Encountering Khoi-speaking Bushmen somewhat further to the east, at Lake Ngami, Livingstone was impressed by their courage as lion hunters, and referred to them as "independent gentlemen" (Livingstone 1860:91). Returning to Ghanzi, Baines noted in 1861 that, by contrast with Bushmen met further west or east, in regions under Oorlam or Tawana sway, the Bushmen here "showed no timidity or distrust or want of confidence" towards the white explorers. He found them to be taller and more muscular than Bushmen elsewhere, echoing Andersson, who eight years earlier had described the Bushmen he met around Ghanzi pan as "very superior, in physical respect, to those in Great Namaqualand" (Andersson 1853:392). Moreover, the Bushmen "chatted freely with the Herero in the [travellers'] company", unlike Bushman groups or individuals further to the west who were wary and hostile towards the Herero and blacks in general. Indeed, one of the travellers felt some unease about the frequent visits by the Bushmen, motivated largely by their desire for tobacco, as he wondered about the effectiveness of his night-time guard (Baines 1864:110–12). The fact that they were well-armed, with better weapons than had been in the possession of the Bushmen back in Namibia, heightened this unease. Baines, the artist with an eye for beauty and strong leanings to the ideas of Rousseau, "could not help but admire" the deportment and apparel of these tall and handsome "manly fellows", who were bedecked with bird feathers and beads. So impressed was Baines by the sight of them that he broke into verse in his narrative of the journey, citing some adorational verses by Pringle who saw in the Bushmen "the lords of the desert land", the embodiment of the 'noble savage' (Baines 1864:144). Later on in their journey, travelling northward to and beyond the Groote Laagte, the two explorers came across several groups of ǂAu//gei Bushmen, speaking a language (!Kung) their interpreters could not understand. Again, they were struck by the confidence, even arrogance, of the people whom Chapman deemed "a much finer race of Bushmen than we had generally met with" (Chapman 1971:165). Indeed, he declared them to be "more independent and fearless than any I have seen, and are rather bold", adding that "we will have to keep them in their place" (Chapman 1971:27).

Baines's appraisal of the Ghanzi Bushmen as "lords of the desert", living "in a country where neither Hottentot nor Bechuana dare permanently settle", was probably quite apt, and would remain so for another couple of decades. Until the 1880s, the Bushmen appear to have been successful in keeping at bay the encroaching colonists at the eastern and western borders of their land. They were not, then, a "harmless—or voiceless and ineffectual—people", loosely organised, with labile political institutions. There is some ethno-historical evidence to suggest that, at the time Baines, Chapman and other whites were sojourning in the Ghanzi veld, its Bushman inhabitants might have been politically, and even militaristically, organised by powerful chiefs and sub-chiefs who led troops of warriors. The main source for this reconstruction of Nharo and ǂAu//gei social organisation, the Prussian geographer Passarge, refers to the Bushman polity at that time as a "Buschman Reich" and likens it to the feudal structure of the ancient Germanic tribes (Lee & Guenther 1991:599–600; Passarge 1907, 1906). He identifies the "*Oberh upthing*" (paramount chief) of the Bushmen as the ǂAu//gei man ǂDukuri, who had conquered the Nharo, was supreme judge of the Bushmen, and was ruthless and powerful as a war chieftain, exacting tribute and allegiance, punishing recalcitrant subjects and keeping out or repelling any Tawana or Hottentot intruders. Unfortunately, Passarge was not as good an ethnographer as he was a geographer, and his account of Ghanzi Bushman political organisation, which he obtained from his Nharo informant Kopach as something the latter had experienced as a child, must be taken with a grain of salt. Passarge also provides no information or explanation relating to when and why this Bushman realm came to an end. As to why it came into being, the ecologically-minded geographer explains its complex, state-like organisation in terms of Great Plains-style big game hunting, in an environment teeming with game, which provided the economic base for a strong and high-yield, male-driven hunting economy.

One can only speculate about what brought on the end of the period of Bushman rule in Ghanzi. In part it was doubtless the ever more determined and ever better-armed encroachments of their black and brown neighbours to the east and west. The ivory trade hit the Ghanzi veld with a vengeance in the latter quarter of the nineteenth century. It had been intense around Lake Ngami since 1849 and had escalated in Namibia after the 1860s, when the first outbreaks of bovine lung sickness reduced the viability of

cattle as the region's principal trade commodity (Lau 1987:88). Whereas Andersson had been awestruck in 1853 by the wealth of game in Ghanzi (Andersson 1856:383–5), later travellers commented on its scarcity, especially in the western stretches (Baines 1864:112; Passarge 1907:10, 58). By the 1880s, game was seriously depleted, undermining the ecological base of the Bushmen. Moreover, Bushmen were directly subjugated in the east to serve the Tawana overlords as scouts and hunters. Another factor was smallpox, which began in the 1860s to decimate the Bushmen between Gobabis and Rietfontein; Chapman saw the survivors of an outbreak in 1861 (Chapman 1971:183) and the disease was to remain a scourge in the region until the middle of the next century. During rainy seasons malaria could become a serious threat to the Ghanzi Bushmen; for instance, in 1908 Lieutenant Kaufmann reported an outbreak at Gobabis that reduced the ǂAu//gei population of 3000 by half (Kaufmann 1910:136). As reported by Passarge (1907:10), trader Müller noticed a drastic decline of the Bushmen around Rietfontein in 1897, a decline he attributed to hunger caused by the decimation of game.

No mention of any 'Reich' was made by Schinz when he visited the Nharo at /Noixas (probably Sandfontein, south of today's Kalkfontein) in western Ghanzi. The account he gives of the Bushmen, with whom he stayed for about three weeks (Schinz 1891:388–99), depicts their society very much as the foraging, egalitarian, small-scale band that we know from the Kalahari today. While he mentions that the use of game pits and big game hunting (elephant, rhinoceros, giraffe) had been practices of the past, the subsistence economy he observed depended heavily on plants and the skill of the Bushman gatherers impressed him as a botanist. Groups numbering around 300 to 400 (bigger than bands today) were led by a headman, a *primus inter pares*, whose power was "*sehr beschränkt*" (Schinz 1891:396). Passarge, too, describes the Bushmen he actually met—in contrast to those described to him from memory by Kopach—as living not in a feudalistic state but as small-scale, loosely organised foragers. However, he detected—probably incorrectly (Lee & Guenther 1993)—remnants of political centralisation and hierarchy amongst some !Kung Bushmen he met much further north, in the Dobe region. When Dorothea Bleek visited the Nharo at Sandfontein in 1921, possibly the same group Schinz had met, she found evidence of political centralisation, as well as of conflict and warfare in recent times (Bleek 1928:17, 37). Although there is no mention of an 'overlord' or paramount chief, she describes Nharo chiefs as exercising more authority than Bushman headmen do generally. Their political tasks included such activities as directing the movement of people from place to place, ordering veld burnings and leading men into war when hostilities erupted between the two opposing tribes of Ghanzi Bushmen, or against outside, non-Bushman tribes. One *casus belli* was territory, as according to Bleek, the Nharo declared ownership over their territory and defended its boundaries against trespass

(Bleek 1928:4,17). The office of chief was hereditary and chiefs typically had two wives. One of Bleek's informants, an old man named /Kukurib, also made reference to a former Auen (≠Au//gei) chief, his own father, who had led his people to victory over the Nharo (Bleek 1928:36). It is conceivable that this man was "the mighty ≠Dukuri" of Kopach's narrative.

During my own field-work in the late 1960s at Dekar, half-way between Ghanzi pan and Kobi, I gathered a number of legend-like tales and family stories about previous Nharo chiefs (*//exa*), in the context of narratives of heroic resistance against Tawana marauders. For example, an old man told me about his maternal uncle, a man named Tsabu, who, in the 1880s, was the headman of a Nharo band around Tsau, in the eastern Ghanzi veld. When his band was raided by the Tawana, he repelled the attackers, despite the fact that they had rifles while his own people had only bows and arrows. Tsabu also killed one of the Tawana raiders. However, the raiders regrouped and renewed their attack, overcoming the Nharo band and capturing Tsabu. He was tied to a tree and tortured and, after refusing to allow himself to be taken away into servitude, he was shot. The Tawana departed, taking Tsabu's people with them to Ngamiland.

Dependence and deprivation: Ghanzi Bushmen of today

Tales such as these ensured that the Nharo and the ≠Au//gei on the Ghanzi farms remained aware of their not-so-remote past, and the fact that life then was better. Stories like Tsabu's, set in a period of independence governed by powerful chiefs with sovereignty over their hunting and foraging grounds and waters, were a genre of the farm Bushmen's well-worn and much-used oral tradition (Guenther 1989:152–6). Features of the landscape—pans and wells and the farms or cattle posts around them, stretches of grassland and forest on which white-owned cattle now graze or to which Boers will drive their trucks to shoot antelope for biltong—were pointed out to me as places that had once belonged to one or another Nharo band. A man would be pointed out to me, a farm labourer no different from any of the others, whose fore-father had been an *//exa* (headman). The fact that they had hunted bountifully in those days, bringing in much meat, on land that was once theirs and free of whites and blacks, was an explicit component of such wistfully or grimly nostalgic discourse.

When I was in Ghanzi all of the Nharo, as well as the other Bushman groups found in the district, were—and largely still are—impoverished and hungry squatters on that same land. The exception today are those living at the pilot settlement the government set up during the 1980s (Guenther 1986b:296–320; Wily 1982). The farm Bushmen, now as then, hunt only infrequently, in part because there is very little game around the farms; it is now so scarce that even the snares men set in the vicinity of their huts for small animals duiker, maklohsi, mongoose, will as often as not be empty. This part of the Kalahari grassland, the one-time heartland of their hunting ranges, has become pasture for cattle. Instead of the thousands upon thousands of antelope and other game animals that roamed the Ghanzi veld a century ago and evoked astonishment in the early travellers, this well-watered stretch of the Kalahari came to support as many stock animals. Since cattle, unlike most of the Kalahari antelope species, are not migratory, overgrazing led to the deterioration, or even destruction, of many a stretch of grazing land. A related environmental problem has been the lowering of water-tables. The Ghanzi Bushmen's one-time robust hunting and foraging economy lost its ecological basis.

However, even if there were game to hunt today, farm Bushmen no longer have the time for what was once their principal economic task because they are, or wait to be, in the employ of the ranchers for whom they work six-day weeks. Such game as there now is in the district is found primarily at the periphery of the farms, too far to reach on a day off, even on donkey back. Hunting is now the preserve of people who own horses, such as some blacks, or truck-owning ranchers, who also own rifles and, ideally speaking, the required hunting licence. A handful of Bushman labourers might be invited to assist in the hunt and to skin and butcher the carcasses. Meat, the coveted food item, is in chronically short supply in the diet of the farm Bushmen.

Food, generally, is in short supply: perhaps the most pressing problem for the farm Bushmen is malnutrition and hunger. *//gabaraha* (I am hungry) is the most-heard Nharo sentence, along with *soreu mate* (give me tobacco). The principal source of food is labourer's rations, which consist primarily of mealie meal, along with sugar and tea, and, on the rare occasion (one of them Christmas), some meat. A source of meat is stock that has died of disease. During the calving and creaming season, residue milk is also made available to the labourers and their families.

Figure 1 **Fieldworker at work, Ghanzi (1969).** Photograph courtesy of R. de Hoogh

Rations are allocated by the employer in terms of a personal definition of what constitutes a man's dependents, that is, the nuclear family. However, given the massive under-employment and unemployment problem in the farm block, a labourer invariably has to feed more people than his wife and children. To supplement the inadequate food supply, women will gather as much as they can; however, once again, edible plants are scarce around the farms, partly because they are quickly depleted by the sedentary villagers and partly because cattle, too, eat them, or crush them with their hooves.

Unemployment became a problem some four to five decades into the twentieth century, after the farm Bushmen had finally managed to establish a degree of economic viability as farm labourers. The problem arose when increasing numbers of blacks from various neighbouring tribes to the east (Tawana), west (Herero), south (Kwena, Kgalakgari) and north (Koba and Herero), began settling in the farming block. Most Bantu-speakers came in hopes of work on the farms and, rightly or wrongly (Guenther 1977) deemed better labourers—'stronger', 'more reliable', 'better educated' and 'better with cattle'—increasingly came to replace the Bushmen as the principal labour force. Some of the black settlers also acquired farms of their own, especially after the country's independence in 1966, an event that was to increase the political influence and material wealth of some blacks in the district throughout the ensuing decades. 'Coloureds', too, entered the region from Namibia, buying farms and establishing their own ranches. Around the middle of the present century a new breed of white settlers arrived, English-speaking farmers from South Africa who had bought newly surveyed farms with capital which they also used to modernise ranching operations. One element of the 'rationalisation' trend was to dismiss, or refrain from hiring, Bushman workers, as the labour of these people was appraised as detrimental to the running of an efficient ranching business. To an extent, this assessment of the labour performance of the farm Bushmen as counter-productive was, and, almost two generations later, still is, a function of the stereotype entertained by many of the white English settlers: that hunting and roaming are bred in the Bushman's bone, that he will not ever be a herder or a reliable, punctual, manageable employee (Guenther 1977).

From the 1950s onwards, more and more farm Bushmen lost their jobs, and began to wander from farm to farm in small family groups akin to the traditional bands, with their belongings packed on the family donkey's back. As bands in pre-contact times might have searched for a permanent water-hole during an especially arduous drought period, so these unemployed Bushman bands or families search for work or a place to stay for a while with an employed kinsman. Often such visits are short-lived, since the white farmers do not usually allow unemployed Bushmen on their land and either chase them off themselves or call in the police to "send all of the loafers and squatters packing". There are few options for such destitute

Figure 5 **Farm boys with the family donkeys 1969.** Photograph courtesy R. de Hough

farm Bushmen: begging along the Ghanzi-Lobatse road that takes cattle trucks and the occasional tourist (or anthropologist) in and out of the district; milling around the hotel and the two general stores in Ghanzi town, either to beg or to sell 'love bows' and other trinkets to tourists and local expatriates; squatting or settling at the Ghanzi commonage or at the mission station at D'Kar; or congregating in large, multi-band groupings at one or another abandoned farm, until such time as they are, once again, evicted for trespass by the police or a returning or new landowner.

Hunger and malnutrition erode people's health and render them more susceptible to disease. The number and variety of diseases afflicting the Bushmen has increased drastically, in part because of their now largely sedentary life-style, in part because new, virulent diseases were brought in by the colonists, prime amongst them, tuberculosis (called */h ≠gei*, 'European disease', by the Nharo). Children and infants, especially, are vulnerable and most mothers have lost at least one child, many several. *Meloi* and *khaba*, the 'black arts' of sorcery and witchcraft, constitute yet another new affliction for the farm Bushmen (Guenther 1992a). They are vulnerable to these forms of human-generated malice that derive primarily from Bantu culture, as they are frequently victims of threats of sorcery from black fellow-villagers with whom, as indicated above, they compete for farm jobs. Alternatively, if not actually threatened with sorcery or whichcraft by an ill-intentioned black neighbour, a sick person will frequently suspect that the malaise that presently afflicts him or her has its source within the Kgalagari section of the village. A consulted diviner will often confirm such suspicions, intensifying the sick person's anxiety and jeopardising recovery. The tension and hostility between the Bushmen and the blacks may also be expressed openly, rather than with 'bad thoughts', through fist fights and beatings.

Tension and conflict also mark relations between the Bushmen and the white settlers (Guenther 1986b:50–60). The Bushmen are bitter about being dismissed from their jobs or not being hired and those that do get work feel exploited because their wages are usually lower than those of their black co-workers. At any time one can see a man, alone or with his family, donkey and few household goods, moving from farm to farm despondently, in futile search of work or for an employed kinsman who (and whose employer) will let them stay at his place and provide them with food. Run-ins with the police over alleged stock theft, trespass, poaching, drunkenness and mischief are common, and the jail at Ghanzi Town, next to the Kalahari Arms (the local bar and hostelry), is referred to as the 'Bushman hotel'.

The Bushmen describe their life situation, its powerlessness, despair and deprivation, with the term *sheta*. It is not, I believe, a Nharo word and its likely derivation is the English word 'shit', a frequent expletive which, along with *fok*, is part of the common parlance of both English- and non-English-speaking Ghanzi folk. As a summation of the lives of the farm Bushmen, it is poignant and appropriate. The oral culture of the farm Bushmen has found other means for expressing the same theme that are more explicit and as poignant. Their folklore includes tales and myths about their creator divinity, N!eri, deliberately making the Bushmen weaker, poorer and less intelligent than the other human races (Guenther 1989:65–71). Alternatively, a tale (Guenther 1989:50) may present N!eri as the creator of the whites, as well as such wholesome and noble animals as the horse and the cow and, perhaps on a whim, the baboon (a subtle and resourceful animal in Bushman faunal lore). The tale features the trickster-god //Gauwa as enviously

Figure 6 **N!sa, Nharo farm woman, Ghanzi 1996.** Photograph courtesy R. de Hough

copying the Creator's masterful work, but managing to produce only laughable, caricatural versions: a black person instead of the white, a donkey for the horse, a goat for the cow. //Gauwa's version of the baboon is the Bushman.

Such stories create in many farm Bushmen the sense that they have been forsaken by God. This theme receives reinforcement in the minds of those Bushmen who have been to catechism classes and Sunday services at the mission church. While some are heartened by the new faith, others I talked with feel all the more self-conscious and inferior. The conversion experience has reinforced in their minds not only the idea that the all-pervasive trickster-god is, in fact, Satan, but also the notion that the old myths and tales, the much-told *hua* that are so important an element of the Bushman's culture of meaning, are benighted and deceitful (Guenther 1989:65–70, 1992b). They present truncated, limp or bowdlerised versions of the old myths, prefaced with the comment that what is about to be related is one of the lies of the old people (Guenther 1989:23)

The collective self-designation for the Bushmen is *k'amka kweni*. Literally this term means 'mouth-less people', or, moving to more figurative glosses, 'people without a voice', 'weak and ineffectual, useless and dispensable people'. A yet more figurative and poignant gloss was given to me by one Bushman, namely, 'rubbish people'. He pointed to the garbage bins beside one of the farmer's storage sheds where, at that moment, some people were once again busily picking through the refuse, looking for edible or usable scraps.

However, not all people were stuck in the mode of quiet desperation or grim resignation. There were basically two other reactions I noticed in people, both young and old. One was anger and resentment, a determination to get something done to change things, to take a delegation to the District Commissioner's office with complaints and petition, to demand their own land with their own pastures and cattle and their own headman or chief, with authority similar to that of the D.C. Others, in a somewhat less angry and political voice, had started to develop a positive attitude towards themselves as an ethnic group and a distinct culture. Instead of the self-denigrating designation mentioned above, they referred to themselves by the neutral term *n/oa kweni* ('red people'), employing a 'chromatic' term equivalent in meaning and sentiment to terms referring to the two other population groups of the society. They told and retold the old stories, unselfconsciously, delighting especially in trickster tales, as this genre frequently casts Lion—or his modern cognate, the Boer *baas*—as the duped antagonist of the trickster. The latter, in the farm-set tales, is almost invariably the Bushman labourer (Guenther 1989:129–30).

One feature of Bushman culture that is particularly salient in this process of cultural revitalisation is the trance dance. As I have shown elsewhere (1975, 1975/76, 1986b:288–9) the performance of one of these night-long curing rituals instils within the performers and participants

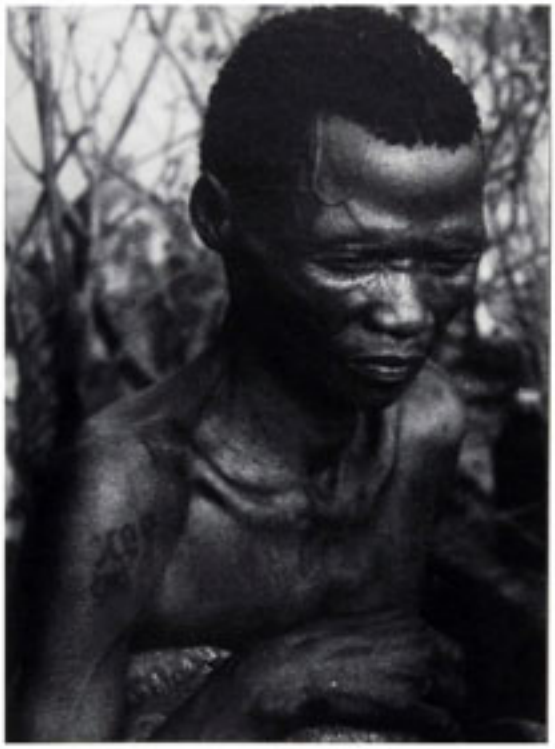


figure 7 **≠Unai, Farm Bushman, Ghanzi, 1969.** Photograph courtesy R. de Hough

a sense of fellowship, of cathartic release from anxiety, frustration and anger. The experience leaves them, in the morning, with a sense of well-being (perhaps marred only slightly by hoarseness of voice, from hours of singing). These rituals of communal healing, as they are designated by Katz (1981), are performed frequently amongst the farm Bushmen, in part because of the rise in the incidence of disease, which provides a constant stream of patients for the trance dancers, and in part because everyone, sick or not, benefits from the dance emotionally. Indeed, the efficacy of this ritual as a healing practice is acknowledged also by many of the Bantu-speaking peoples of the district, who normally are contemptuous of the Bushmen. They, not infrequently, attend trance dances or may even themselves hire a trance dancer to cure a sick relative

In my estimation the dance and its physically and emotionally therapeutic effects, as well as the dancer and his healing potency (called *tsso* by the Nharo and *n!um* by the ≠Au//ei), are for many farm Bushmen the driving force behind the process of cultural revitalisation that I found in progress at the time I was in Ghanzi. Even the 'political-radical' wing of the farm Bushmen found the trance dance a strong rallying point for their own agenda of social action. The trance dancer, with his shamanic, spiritual power, coupled with his independence and relative wealth—derived not from toiling for a Boer but from the proceeds (fees) of his curing work—and the charismatic bearing of the most successful and sought-after dancers, are potent symbols, as well as actual embodiments, of the worth and power of the Bushmen. Some even considered trance dancers as candidates for a Bushman chieftaincy.

The hapless /Xam of the Cape suffered oppression to a far greater degree than did the Nharo. Their existential and moral state, once the physical, genocidal assaults on them had subsided, likely remained locked in the despair mode until the last one of them had died, either up in Bushmanland or down in Cape Town jail. Happily, the Nharo are more fortunate and for them there is a future.

I saw some of them embrace that future, in part through positive action by some individuals to better their economic and political lot, and in part through their culture's ritual and oral traditions. Many farm Bushmen are redefining and reasserting both these symbolically and affectively charged branches of expressive culture. In the process they are also redefining and reasserting their own position and role in the new social order of contemporary Botswana. The celebration of the trance dance, its social and emotional impact and the activation of its inherent symbolic and mythological contents, instil in the Bushmen a sense of identity and self-confidence, rebuilding and reinvigorating the integrity of their culture. Much the same is accomplished by their oral tradition. Because its rich store of tales is frequently told and traded, folklore is an integral part of the social and recreational life of old and young. Stories articulate closely with social reality. *Hua*—'the old stories—restore and maintain awareness of the mythological, mystical and moral essences of Bushman culture. They also foster awareness of their history, as a strong and resourceful people, able to offer effective resistance to the inevitably irresistible onslaught of people vastly more powerful than they were themselves. More importantly yet, they reflect and engage the present life situation and its issues and problems.

Figure 8 **Liesbeth, Nharo Bushwoman, Ghanzi 1993.** Photograph courtesy of Mathias Guenther

Masarwa women from Malatswai, Botswana, photographed in 1954, filling ostrich egg-shell flasks with water. On the right is a wooden mortar for grinding seeds or locusts. Photograph Duggan-Cronin. MM 2195

Laurens van der Post and the Kalahari Debate

Alan Barnard

In anthropology today there is a great awareness that writings about culture and society create an imagery as well as present facts. This chapter concerns two arenas in which the image of the 'Bushman' is exposed. The first is the writings of Sir Laurens van der Post, who is perhaps the best known of all writers on Bushmen. The second is the set of books and articles which comprise what has come to be called the 'Kalahari debate'. That debate is between those who see Bushmen as exponents of a hunting-and-gathering culture and essentially isolated until recent times (the traditionalists), and those who see Bushmen as an underclass and part of a larger social system (the revisionists).

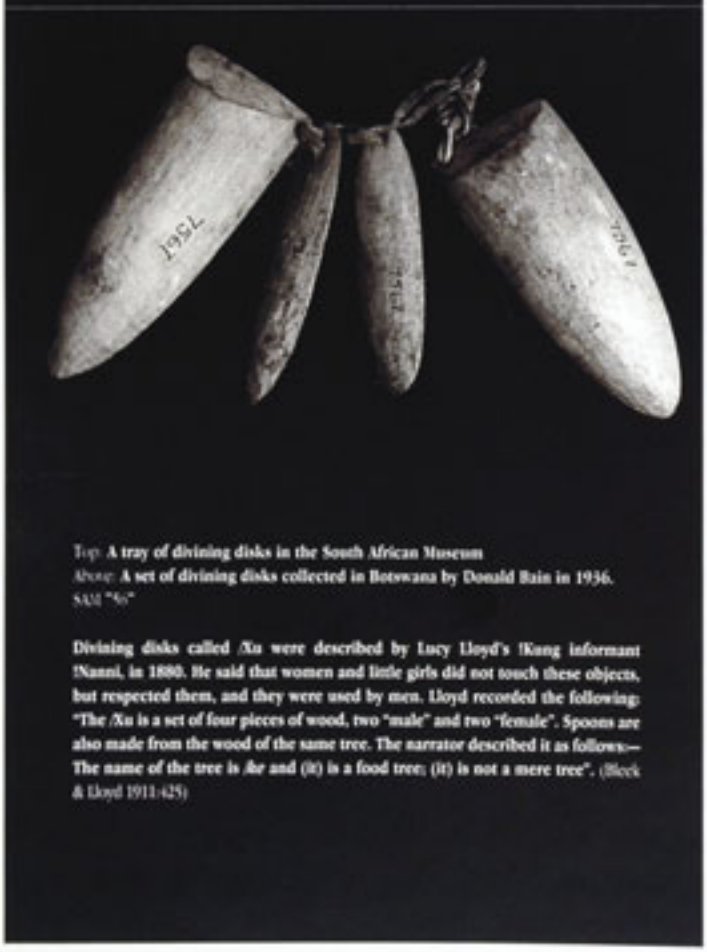
Anthropologists often distinguish sharply between the 'self' and the 'other'. The self includes people like the author and his or her reader, while the other includes people who are different, or who are heuristically defined as 'different'. The 'Bushman' is both the ultimate self and the ultimate other. This is why 'his' image is so powerful, both in academe and in the mind of the public. The 'Bushman' is the ultimate self for Van der Post because Bushman thought is depicted as 'primeval'—the mentality which underlies all human consciousness. In this sense, Bushmen are portrayed as better manifestations of humanity in general than non-Bushmen. Yet contradictorily, the 'Bushman' is the ultimate other because of 'his' difference. Precisely because the 'Bushman' is a 'better' human being than others, 'the Bushman' is different from other human beings.

In the Kalahari debate the images are different and much less explicit. Nevertheless, they are there all the same. The traditionalists unwittingly echo Van der Post in their search for a purer humanity in Bushmen than can be found elsewhere. Yet they construct this humanity in a very un-Van-der-Postian, 'scientific' way. The revisionists describe Bushmen in sociological terms, as a product not of the natural environment but of a hostile outside world. This, too, is an image, and one in which Bushmen are represented as incapable of controlling their own destiny.

Sir Laurens van der Post

Laurens van der Post was born to an Afrikaans-speaking family in the Orange Free State in 1906, and was partly raised by Klara, his nanny of Bushman descent. Other notable dates in Van der Post's contact with Bushmen include 1950 when he made his first government-sponsored expedition to the Kalahari, 1955 when he made the expedition which yielded his famous BBC film *The Lost World of the Kalahari*, and 1982 when he returned for a further series of films. The film, *The Lost World of the Kalahari*, was first shown in 1956 on British television. His later series included six short films in collaboration with Jane Taylor, called *Testament to the Bushmen*, released in 1984.

Van der Post has written over 20 books. Not all of these deal with Bushmen or even with Africa. Several deal with his travels and the fictional exploits of his characters in other parts of the world. Some tell of his passion for Jungian psychology; others play more on adventure through war, exploration, or both. Nearly all of them touch on the depth of the human spirit, either implicitly or explicitly. I shall concentrate here on those which do describe Bushmen, with a summary of the books themselves and with some key examples of the



Top: **A tray of divining disks in the South African Museum**
Above: **A set of divining disks collected in Botswana by Donald Bain in 1936. SAM "56"**

Divining disks called /Xu were described by Lucy Lloyd's !Kung informant !Nanni, in 1880. He said that women and little girls did not touch these objects, but respected them, and they were used by men. Lloyd recorded the following: "The /Xu is a set of four pieces of wood, two "male" and two "female". Spoons are also made from the wood of the same tree. The narrator described it as follows:— The name of the tree is *ǂae* and (it) is a food tree; (it) is not a mere tree". (Bleek & Lloyd 1911:425)

image of the Bushman revealed through Van der Post's words.

Let us start with the travelogues, the genre for which Van der Post is most famous. Van der Post's African travelogue includes *Venture to the Interior* (1951), *The Lost World of the Kalahari* (1958), and *The Heart of the Hunter* (1961).

Venture to the Interior is not about Bushmen, but it is important for our purposes because in it Van der Post first established the genre of the dual journey. This journey is dual in that it is both physical and mystical, through both space (landscape) and time (evolution). *Venture* describes an expedition to Malawi (then Nyasaland) in 1949. It begins with an autobiographical introduction, then leads on to the story of the expedition. Although he encounters no actual Bushmen in *Venture*, Van der Post finds both himself and something of primal humanity in his journey. As his biographer Frederic Carpenter (1969:82) notes: "past experiences interact with present circumstances, until the exploration of the interior wilderness of Africa becomes also the exploration of the interior wilderness of the heart of man". Thus *Venture to the Interior* serves as a prelude to Van der Post's first Bushman narrative, *The Lost World of the Kalahari*.

In *The Lost World* the mystical journey is more subdued, but it is there all the same. The first chapter is entitled "The Vanished People", but it is actually Van der Post's autobiography, interspersed with fragments on Bushmen encountered by his grandfather and others. The second chapter tells "The Manner of their Going". In almost revisionist style, Van der Post recounts not only clashes between whites and Bushmen, but also, for example, raiding activities of Bushmen on Sotho, and the dispossession and extermination of the Bushmen by the Sotho. In the next chapter, he returns to his grandfather's dealings with Bushmen, and only in Chapter 4 does he set off to find their 'lost world', deep in the Kalahari Desert of Botswana (then Bechuanaland).

The narrative of the journey itself is kept simple, and Van der Post is sparing with detail. He emphasises instead the dialogue he has with his companions and the images which come to him along the way. Towards the end of the book he recounts troubles with his cameraman and then with the spirits of the 'Slippery Hills' (in fact, the Tsodilo Hills of north-western Botswana). The latter troubles are particularly important for creating a sense of the 'Bushman mind' within Van der Post. After members of his party violate a Bushman taboo, the local spirits take revenge. In order to appease them, he writes them a letter, which is placed in a crack in hills near sacred rock paintings. Only at this point in space and time can Van der Post and his companions truly gain access to the 'lost world'.

Another significant element of the narrative is the

figure 1 **Photograph taken during Laurens van der Post's expedition to the Kalahari.** MA (Bi men Dancing). Photograph by H. Abrahams

'tame' Bushman, who contrasts with the purer, 'wild' version but, nevertheless, retains his Bushman spirit. In this case, Van der Post's imagery is the opposite of that of the revisionists. As we shall see, they argue that supposedly 'traditional' Bushmen have long been contaminated by dominant outsiders, whereas here Van der Post emphasises the cultural continuity between the 'wild' and the 'tame', and sees the Bushman mind in both:

> I feared also that the return to the desert in the summer of the so-called 'tame' Bushman who is reared in the service of the tribes and colonists impinging on the Kalahari might complicate my task. For the 'tame' Bushman, no matter how irrevocably wrenched from the pattern of his past, cannot entirely live without the way of his fathers. From time to time he refreshes his spirit by going deep into the desert. (Van der Post 1958: 70)

Towards the end of the book, the generic 'tame' Bushman is replaced by an individual one, Dabe, Van der Post's guide for the second half of his journey. Dabe was almost certainly a Nharo from the Ghanzi area, where Afrikaners have shared Bushman land now for nearly a century. As a literary device, Dabe (like Van der Post himself) stands between 'us' and 'them'. He is necessary not only as Van der Post's interpreter, in a literal sense, but also as a figurative mediator between the thought processes of the 'wild' G/wi and G//ana of the central Kalahari and the thought processes of Van der Post's readers. Sometimes too, differences are intensified by physical descriptions and comparisons:

> He [Nxou, a 'wild' Bushman] was taller than Dabe but slighter, with fine bones and, of course, much younger . . . All in all he [Nxou] had a wonderful wild beauty about him. Even his smell was astringent with the essences of untamed earth and wild animal-being. (Van der Post 1958:207)

In the sequel, *The Heart of the Hunter*, Van der Post continues his story, with Dabe (now styled Dabë) as his constant companion through the first of the three parts of the book. This part, "Lost World", offers a narrative description of the central Kalahari. The second, "World Between", portrays the peculiar position of those who are neither fully in one world nor in the other (including a white settler with a Bushman wife and, in a different sense, Van der Post himself). The third, "World

Top: **Divining bones collected in Botswana by Dorothea Bleek in 1913.** SAM 1096
Below: **Dancing sticks.** MDI 3(MK)(E) 252

Divining disk collected by Isaac Shapera in Botswana. UCT 35/11

Regained", reveals the hunter's heart through the mythology recorded by Bleek and Lloyd (for example, 1911). The narrative of *The Heart of the Hunter* often gives way to Van der Post's mystical dreamworld, as the story shifts between modern and mythological times. The idea seems to be that the reader is brought closer and closer to the Bushman world-view, in which the natural and the human merge into one:

> It is our own shy intuitions of renewal, which walk in our spiritual night as Porcupine walked by the light of the moon, that need helping on the way. It is as if I hear the wind bringing up behind me the voice of Mantis, the infinite in the small, calling from the stone age to an age of men with hearts of stone, commanding us with the authentic voice of eternal renewal . . . (Van der Post 1961:256)

The images created through Van der Post's travelogues are replicated in his fiction. Here again, three books are worth mentioning: *Flamingo Feather* (1955a), *A Story like the Wind* (1972), and *A Far off Place* (1974).

As with the travelogues, the first book here deals not with Bushmen but with Bantu-speaking peoples, and it establishes the genre. The hero is an anthropologist researching the 'myth and mind' of the Amangtakwena, but he is the son of a white hunter in the tradition of Rider Haggard's *Allan Quatermain*. Instead of plodding through mere travelogue, the narrative is allowed to express itself through action-packed adventures with a backdrop of communist conspiracy and the confused loyalties of the Amangtakwena. The book has an autobiographical flavour, and Van der Post apparently uses his characters to reveal both his own beliefs and his own images.

Seventeen years later Van der Post plays out similar themes through his Kalahari novels. In *A Story like the Wind* , the fictional François Joubert and his Bushman companion, Xhabbo, go through various adventures together. Like Van der Post, Joubert has a Bushman nanny, and he claims a greater understanding of African cultures than can the other whites with whom he deals. Xhabbo amplifies this understanding, as Joubert helps him return to the sacred cave of his people where he has to inform Mantis (the Bushman god) that with the death of his father, he (Xhabbo) is now the leader of his people. The relationships between Joubert and Xhabbo, and between Joubert and his dog Hintza, compete with witchcraft, intrigue, and armed conflict in the north, for the reader's attention.

A Story like the Wind ends with Joubert, Xhabbo, Hintza, Xhabbo's wife, and the daughter of a retired colonial governor murdered by terrorists, all hiding in a cave. *A Far off place* tells of their escape across the waterless dunes. At least to me, it seems that Xhabbo is portrayed as one whose wisdom and insight into

nature is as great or greater than his overt knowledge of fact. Yet he is caught up in struggles not of his own making, with Chinese communists, just as his ancestors had to fight off or flee from the encroachment of both black and white settlers. Although these two novels taken together share the narrative structure of Van der Post's two Kalahari travelogues, they allow the imposition of such a 'revisionist' theme upon the earlier 'purity' of the hunter's heart.

Another set of three books is *The Dark Eye in Africa* (1955b), *The Creative Pattern in Primitive Africa* (originally published as an essay in 1957; reprinted in book form in 1987), and *A Mantis Carol* (1975). The first two originated in lectures, both presented in Switzerland in the 1950s. They retain their qualities of verbal delivery, especially the first, which records the spontaneous question-and-answer session which followed Van der Post's lecture. The last is a mystical tale of the spirit of a circus Bushman who inhabits the dreams of a New York woman. The spirit is of a 'tame' Bushman who, contradictorily, is really "the purest of pure Bushmen you could ever possibly meet" (1975:56), "born to the last of what was left of a Stone-Age culture" (1975:77–8).

Essentially all three of these books are about the search for the depth of the human soul, which for Van der Post lies in the African interior. In the latter two books, it lies especially in the Kalahari and within the archetypal Bushman. This comes out best, perhaps, in *The Creative Pattern*: "I have chosen the Bushmen because I believe with them the primitive pattern is at its purest and most mature" (1987:8). The Bushmen are represented as both the oldest inhabitants of the world, and as a living people with whom Van der Post has a special relationship. As in other works, mythology plays a significant part in the revelation of the human spirit, and it is a mythology of anthropomorphic animal-deities whose interaction echoes the human condition.

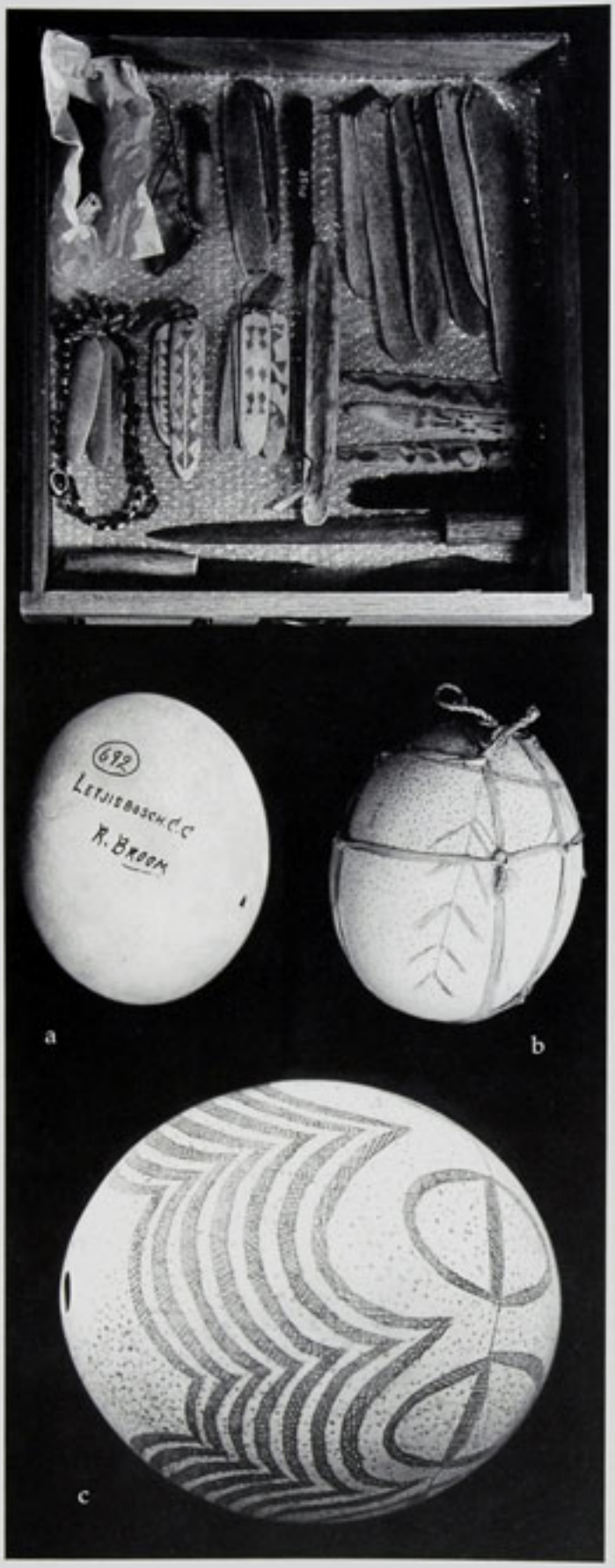
My final choice of three books is *First Catch your Eland* (1977), *Testament to the Bushmen* (with Jane Taylor, 1984), and *A Walk with a White Bushman* (in conversation with Jean-Marc Pottiez, 1986). The first is a mixture of travelogue, ethnography, and cookery, from Djibouti to Timbuktu, Dar-es-Salaam to Cape Town. Bushmen do not figure at all, but Van der Post's beloved Kalahari appears as a backdrop for his autobiographical encounters. The second book accompanies the 1984 television series of the same name. Those films, and Van der Post's concluding essay within the book, give a vivid reflection on the state of Bushmen today, on the death of Bushman traditions, and on what all this implies for the rest of the human world. The third book is an autobiographical interview with a French journalist. What unites these otherwise very disparate works in my mind is the way in which autobiography and ethnography, travel and armchair reflection, are intertwined. Although their subject matter is very different, each clearly comes from the same mind, a mind which is not out of tune with the problems of anthropological reporting. Anthropology, too, is based on an intertwining of these elements, and Van der Post's writings give us a more extreme version of the literary task with which ethnographers, indeed especially Bushman ethnographers, have to cope (see also Barnard 1989). We are not so different from him as we like to think we are.

The Kalahari debate

The Kalahari debate proper erupted in the late 1980s, with the publication of Edwin Wilmsen's then long-awaited *Land Filled with Flies* (1989). Yet the debate had already been simmering for some ten years, after it became common knowledge among Khoisan specialists in anthropology that there were serious theoretical flaws in the received views of the Ju/'hoansi (central !Kung) and other Kalahari groups. While Richard Lee and others had always been careful to mention the presence of Herero in Ju/'hoan country (for example, Lee 1979:401–31), most members of their general readership took little notice. Lee had described relations with such outsiders, but he had de-emphasised them and placed them in a context of 'social change'. The problem here, of course, is: when does 'traditional' life end and 'social change' begin?

One of the earliest to point out flaws in the implicit line of reasoning followed by the ethnographers of the 1960s was Shula Marks (1972). Writing, not on the Kalahari as such but on 'hunters' and 'herders' of the Cape in past centuries, she provided evidence of people shifting, back and forth, between these two means of production, depending on whether or not any specific small group, at any one time, had access to cattle. The 'San' of the Cape were not necessarily a distinct ethnic group from their Khoe neighbours, but rather simply Khoe who had lost their cattle and been forced to hunt and gather or to raid other people's cattle for a living. Marks' and Wilmsen's argument was a challenge both to the established mode of discourse in Bushman ethnography and to the 'liberal' tradition in South African historiography.

In the years which followed, a great number of writers, including historians, archaeologists, and social anthropologists, entered the discussion. Two sides emerged. One side, the traditionalists or isolationsists (epitomised by Lee), defended with varying degrees of flexibility the received view that Bushman groups represent cultural isolates which can be analysed as such. The other side, the revisionists or integrationists (following Shula Marks but more often nodding to Karl Marx), argued that any view of the Bushmen which retained a cultural isolate model was ill-founded.



Rather, the revisionists came to see the Bushmen of the Kalahari as an underclass in contact with and subjugated by a host of outsiders. Moreover this was perceived as a long-standing rather than a recent phenomenon.

The very core of the Kalahari debate consists of a series of articles and short comments published in the journal *Current Anthropology* . The complete list, in chronological order, is Solway and Lee (1990), Casimir (1990), Wilmsen and Denbow (1990), Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Hitchcock (1991), Lee and Guenther (1991), Wilmsen (1993), and Lee and Guenther (1995). Works within the debate proper but published in other journals include pieces by Lee (1991) and Lee and Guenther (1993). There are also various commentaries (for example, Barnard 1992a; Kent 1992; Kuper 1992; Lee 1992; Shott 1992). Space does not allow full treatment of all this material here; indeed the thrust and counter-thrust of debate often focuses on minute and trivial details which are of little interest to anyone except the protagonists themselves. The complexities of changing viewpoints and subtle differences between authors of the same school need not overly concern us either. What is important is to understand the imagery rather than the detail, for it is in the imagery that the real importance of the debate lies.

Therefore, consider now some of the key texts. Let us start with the great traditional ethnographies, then look at Wilmsen's book and some of the more important articles. As with Van der Post's books, I shall summarise them very briefly and present examples of how Bushmen are portrayed, in order to give the flavour of the arguments.

Outstanding examples of traditionalist ethnography include monographs by Lorna Marshall and Richard Lee (on the Ju/'hoansi of the Botswana/Namibia border area) and George Silberbauer and Jiro Tanaka (on Khoe-speaking G/wi and G//ana in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve of Botswana).

Marshall's *The !Kung of Nyae Nyae* (1976) comprises mainly a set of papers published originally in the journal *Africa*. The ethnography is meticulous and unpretentious, and it tends to represent the Ju/'hoansi as a collectivity, rather than as individuals. In these aspects it is typical of good traditionalist ethnography, and it is written in a very accessible style—a style which befits an author trained in English literature rather than social anthropology. Still, there is also a discernible functionalist premise, in that Ju/'hoan kinship, band organisation, and especially sharing practices, are portrayed as socially adaptive:

> The custom of gift-giving, in my opinion, comes second only to meat-sharing in helping the !Kung to avoid jealousy and ill will and to develop friendly relations . . . The dealings in gift-giving are only between individuals, but they are numerous and

provide occasion, perhaps more than any one other activity does, for visits which bring groups of people together. (Marshall 1976:303)

Lee's ethnography (for example, 1979; 1993) is similar in some respects, but adaptation is seen in a more dynamic and theoretical way, as Lee's thinking on the Ju/'hoansi is more influenced by the social theory of Karl Marx and of the great ecological anthropologist Julian Steward. More interestingly, Lee frequently admits that his interest in Bushmen has come from his desire to reconstruct something of the foraging way of life of early humanity:

> Foraging was a way of life that prevailed during an important period of human history. The modern foragers do offer clues to the nature of this way of life, and by understanding the adaptations of the past we can better understand the present and the basic human material that produced them both. (Lee 1979:433)

Elsewhere in *The !Kung San* (1979), Lee identifies benefits from this 'past' way of life, for example, communalism and sharing, but he also picks out problems. The most obvious is the high level of violence reported to him, within Ju/'hoan society and not between ethnic groups, in his own field-work area during the preceding decades (on this he is in disagreement with Marshall). Yet Lee takes foraging for granted, as a basic and adaptive way of life, an assumption which is anathema to the hard-line revisionists. He also takes for granted the fact that Ju/'hoan society is a relevant unit of analysis, in spite of the presence of members of other groups (Herero and Tswana) within their territories and at their waterholes. The Ju/'hoansi and their cattle-herding neighbours, although by Lee's frequent admission they do interact, seem to occupy different ecological niches almost as if they occupied different places.

Tanaka, in *The San* (1980), presents a finely-detailed account with an emphasis on daily activities, material culture, and residential groupings. He then goes on to a more general discussion of the lessons to be learned from studies of foragers or hunter-gatherers of Africa. He disclaims the notion that modern hunter-gatherers are identical to ancient ones (as do Lee and others), but he notes the utility is using data from Bushman societies to piece together elements of prehistory. For example,

> . . . there is no doubt that the ethnographic facts of the present-day hunter-gatherers hold many important keys for us as we try to reconstruct man's past history. Particularly concerning the early stage of evolution of human society, our only resources are the modern hunting and gathering societies. Surely the common mode of subsistence of modern hunter-gatherers and the fluid group structure common to most of these societies must represent elements of primeval human society. (Tanaka 1980:138)

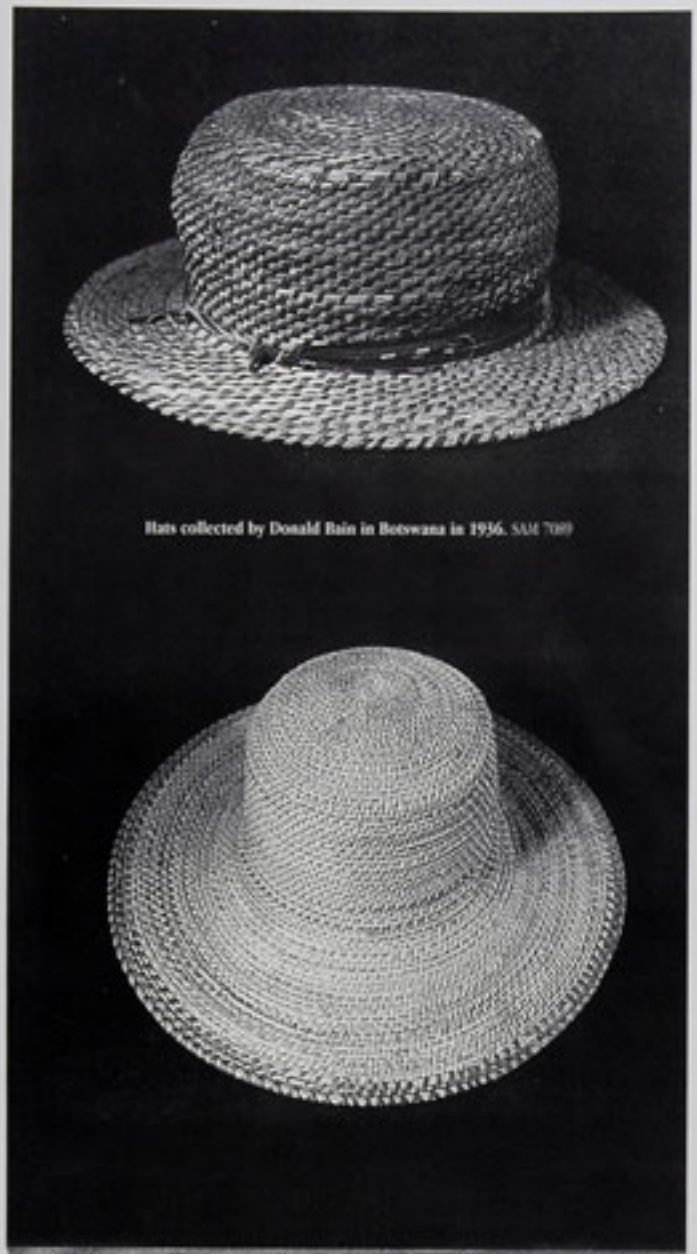
Silberbauer's *Hunter and Habitat* (1981), except in the preface, avoids such explicit comparisons between modern and ancient foragers. Yet implicitly it too portrays G/wi society as highly adapted to the very harsh conditions of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve. More than most of the other writers, Silberbauer presents a picture of society in harmony with nature and in dynamic equilibrium, prior to the great changes which have taken place since the early 1960s when he did his field-work. Most interestingly to me, Silberbauer also attempts an ecological account which is attuned to the G/wi understanding of their environment, where there is room for deities and spirits as well as humans, animals, and plants:

> The phenomena that constitute the environment and the order that prevails in and among these phenomena are all seen as N!adima's creation and as being subject to his will. An account of the beliefs and attitudes concerning N!adima is, therefore, necessary to an understanding of how the G/wi view their environment. (Silberbauer 1981:51)

All of these ethnographies have one thing in common. They portray Bushman society as unchanging until recently. What is at least implicit in them is that, until such recent times, Bushman society had forms of social organisation which were both ancient and adaptive, that outside forces were of minimal influence, and that egalitarianism was the prevailing ideology, and sharing, the observed practice.

For extreme revisionists, the truth is perceived very differently. Wilmsen's *Land Filled with Flies* (1989) demolishes all these premises simply through his assumption that Bushman society is not a relevant unit of analysis. He argues that the political economy of the Kalahari is a better unit, and that this unit has been a meaningful construct for more than a millennium—since livestock were first introduced to the fringe areas of the Kalahari. Much of his argument is based on archaeological evidence and nineteenth-century travellers' accounts of trade between groups. The apparent isolation of Bushmen observed by Marshall and the others, he says, is a product of the white domination of southern Africa since the late nineteenth century. To Wilmsen, the Ju/'hoansi and other Bushmen are not even 'traditional' foragers:

> Their appearance as foragers is a function of their relegation to an underclass in the playing out of historical processes that began before the current



Hats collected by Donald Bain in Botswana in 1936. SAM 7089

Leather sandals from Namibia in the collection of the Wellington Museum, Cape.

> millennium and culminated in the early decades of this century. The isolation in which they are said to be found is a creation of our view of them, not of their history as they lived it . . . A false dichotomy has crept in, a line drawn between those who produce their means of existence and those who supposedly do not, between those who live on nature and those who live in it, between those whose social life is motivated primarily by self-interest and those guided by respect for reciprocal consensus. (Wilmsen 1989:3)

For obvious reasons, Wilmsen's version has been attractive in the emerging, 'new South Africa'. His approach de-emphasises ethnicity in favour of class relations and brings to light the great disparity of wealth between supposed producers and supposed foragers. Wilmsen does not even refer to 'Bushmen' or 'San', but prefers the less culturally-loaded (if linguistically not quite accurate) term, 'San-speaking peoples'. He accounts for systematic aspects of kinship, land tenure, and internal exchange relations in terms of a larger politico-economic structure of which Ju/'hoan-speakers form but a part.

That, in essence, is what the debate is really about. The historical questions which have emerged in the *Current Anthropology* articles test the limits of evidence. The first such piece, by Jacqueline Solway and Richard Lee (1990), was actually an attempt by two traditionalists to bend slightly towards the revisionist line. However, they upheld the cultural integrity of entities such as Ju/'hoan society, and thus did not go nearly far enough for the revisionists. What is more, in their abstract, Solway and Lee accused the revisionists of 'imputing links where none existed and assuming that evidence for trade implies the surrender of autonomy' (1990:109). The main part of the article concentrates on two areas of Botswana—the western Kweneng (an area of much dependency) and the Dobe area (one of relative autonomy). Their discussion is based largely on the interpretation of late nineteenth-century literature with reference to the significance of agro-pastoralism, the fur trade and clientship, and the degree to which Kalahari groups can be said to be part of a world economy.

Radical revisionists construed, Solway and Lee's vehement defence of traditional definitions of cultural units as an attack. In their counter-attack, Wilmsen and Denbow argued that "'Bushman' and 'San' are invented categories and 'Kalahari foragers' an ethnographic reification drawn from one of several subsistence strategies engaged in by all of Botswana's rural poor" (Wilmsen and Denbow 1990:489). Their evidence, too, is based mainly on nineteenth-century sources, especially the writings of the traveller S. Passarge. Much also comes from archaeological work which James Denbow and Edwin Wilmsen have been engaged in for over a decade (see, for example, Denbow 1984; 1986).

More attack and counter-attack ensued, with Richard Lee and Mathias Guenther (1991; 1993; 1995) dissecting Wilmsen's translations of Passarge and redrawing Wilmsen's maps of early travellers and the trade routes they found from the diaries and published accounts of those travellers. To the amusement of many, they even argued that what one traveller recorded in his diary was the presence of 'onions' rather than 'oxen' in Ju/'hoan country in the 1850s. Apparently, Wilmsen had misread the diary of gentleman adventurer C.J. Andersson and thereby replaced the gathering of wild vegetables with the herding of livestock! Ironically though, this example showed that detail alone cannot solve even an ethnographic question, for what both sides have been trying to do is to establish time, degree, and significance of contact between many groups in what all protagonists, in fact, agree is a complex system of social and economic relations.

Really, there are two key aspects of the debate. To put it simply, one concerns the facts of interaction between Bushmen and others at particular points in time. The other concerns the interpretation of these facts in terms of what we understand Bushman society to be. Traditionalists emphasise cultural continuity and the cultural integrity of Bushman groups. They see Bushmen as the inheritors of ancient indigenous environmental knowledge, hunting techniques, kinship practices, religious beliefs, and so on. Revisionists de-emphasise these aspects in favour of greater concern with the integration of southern African politico-economic structures taken as a whole. It is tempting to see the traditionalists simply as echoing Van der Post, and the revisionists as offering a way out of Van-der-Postian imagery. Yet this view would be an oversimplification. The fact is that all theoretical perspectives are based on their own sets of images, and these images compete as frameworks for understanding the details—whether such details are agreed upon or not.

The imagery behind revisionism is the vision of an integrated framework of social interaction—not an egalitarian framework, but one in which Bushmen are firmly placed at the bottom of the social hierarchy. Whereas traditionalists often emphasise egalitarianism within Bushman society, revisionists emphasise the unequal relations between Bushmen and others. Revisionism replaces one set of outsiders' images with another, and at times it has misrepresented the twentieth- as well as the nineteenth-century history of the Kalahari. As Silberbauer puts it:

> Two world wars had not touched [the G/wi] directly. Whether or not Wilmsen and his fellow travellers like it, they interacted with the rest of the world very largely on their own terms, taking of—or rejecting—what was available when and how they chose. (Silberbauer 1991:98)

Neither view is necessarily at all close to a Bushman's own view of the world. This does not mean that they have no value, but merely that their value is contingent on a larger theory. For a Bushman it might be his or her place among those he or she meets. For a traditionalist it might be abstract relations between Bushman society and the natural environment at some specific point in time. For the revisionists it might be the set of trade relations which operate well beyond Bushman society, and of which Bushmen themselves may be quite unaware. Thus none of these views of Bushman society is, in absolute terms, superior to any other. Each represents only part of the whole. They are like snapshots—each taken at a different time and in a different direction. Only by putting them all together do we get the larger 'picture'.

Conclusion

All writing creates images, just as much as painting, photography, and museum exhibitions do. The problem is in creating an image which is close to the truth. Some anthropologists of postmodernist persuasion would even deny that we can ever get close to any truth, but I believe we can. The truth may be elusive, but we can approach it through a well-constructed and meaningful set of images.

Van der Post's image is one of a primordial mentality preserved in the Bushman mind, and in Van der Post's mind; he believes that he can help 'us' to access it and thereby better ourselves. The traditionalist anthropological view is of Bushmen as better exemplars of natural man for ecological reasons, whereas revisionist thinking has made them into an underclass. None of these views can tell the whole story. There is truth in all three, but what is missing in all three is serious attention to the views of Bushmen themselves on their relations with others. The details of such views are very rare in academic writings on Bushmen (an exception is Köhler 1989). Not all Bushmen are the same. Not even all 'farm Bushmen' of the same ethnic group are necessarily the same. Nharo Bushmen of the north-eastern Ghanzi farms, for example, differ in many ways from Nharo Bushmen of the south-western Ghanzi farms, and they may represent themselves differently (see for example, Barnard & Widlok 1996). Greater account needs to be taken of this diversity too.

Ultimately, we need an understanding of Bushmen which can be provided through a wider human vision, such as Van der Post has given us. We also need a scientific understanding such as the traditionalists have given, and a historical understanding like the one emphasised by the revisionists. When at last we take greater account of visions provided by Bushmen themselves, then, and only then, can the Kalahari debate be properly concluded.

Detail from a painted shelter in the Upper Brandberg, Namibia. Date unknown, though this painting could have been made at least 2000 years ago (see Pager 1989). Photograph David Brown

Khoi /San Relationships: Marginal Differences or Ethnicity

Andrew Smith

But as soon as the Saldanhars (called Quena among them), who are always moving short distances with their cattle from one good pasture to another, had moved away far enough, the Fishermen (called Soaqua by them) would come here with a small number of cattle. According to him we should have to be very much on our guard against these natives who would bring us cattle for sale, as they would, under the mask of friendship, seek to do us all possible harm, stealing and robbing us of as much as they could. After all, they lived on nothing else but what they stole: none of their possessions were their own. Everything had been stolen from the Saldanhars, who consequently pursued them at every opportunity and when they caught any of them killed them without mercy and threw them to the dogs.
(Journal entry 9 January 1653)(Thom 1952:127)

This quotation from the Dutch daily journal in the second year of the settlement at the Cape is the first indication of different groups in the landscape. It is a transcription of a statement by the Goringhaicona interpreter, Herry or Autshumato, who has his own axe to grind, since he has set himself up as the official go-between in negotiations between the Khoi and the Dutch. Nonetheless, it is a clear statement of two groups in opposition: Saldanhars (in this case the Peninsula Khoi, either the Goringhaiqua or Gorachoqua) whose collective name for themselves was Quena, or Khoekhoe (Khoikhoi), and the Fishermen, called Soaqua (Sonqua = San-qua)(see Elphick 1974; Parkington 1984) by the Khoi.

It has been suggested that these were the ends of an economic continuum of a single people by Elphick (1977), who created a cyclical model of fortune. On the upward part of the cycle, a person would have stock and be a pastoralist, however, through misfortune (drought, disease, theft, etc.) should he lose his stock, a man could revert to hunting for a living. The fact that the Fishermen had cattle to trade has been used as support for the cyclical model.

It is obvious that various groups were always raiding each other, but Elphick refuses to accept at face-value the statement of Herry that the Fishermen were more than just stock thieves. Not only were these people enemies who stole livestock, but they took everything else, and so were identified as being different from the Khoikhoi even though they had cattle. Soaqua was thus a pejorative generic term for 'the other', and people of lower social status than themselves.

How far did such 'otherness' extend? While the evidence is somewhat equivocal, there is a strong suggestion that the Khoi and the San of the south-western Cape spoke different languages. This is implied in the statement: "Among the Hottentot race there is also one language which all their great ones understand but which the common people do not" (Journal entry 14 December 1660)(Thom 1958:300). Again we see the explicit separation of two groups in the social landscape, this time on the basis of social distance as well as language spoken. There is no question that both groups were speaking click languages, but they were probably mutually unintelligible. Even the Dutch ear was able to separate the two, as seen in the report of the 3 April 1653 which

described the Soaqua as: "people of small stature, subsisting very meagrely, quite wild, without huts, cattle or anything in the world, clad in small skins like these Hottentots and speaking almost as they do" (Thom 1952:305). It is probable that the Soaqua of the south-western Cape spoke a dialect of southern San languages similar to that spoken by the /Xam of Bushmanland. The Khoikhoi, on the other hand, spoke a dialect of the languages to be found among the Khoe-speaking Bushmen of northern Botswana and Namibia (see Westphal 1963).

The archaeological evidence for different groups

Contrary to Schrire & Deacon's (1989:112) assertion that one cannot separate the archaeological assemblages of the hunters and herders of the south-western Cape, and "that it is the context of the artefacts rather than their form or typology that will inform on who made them", work done in the Vredenburg Peninsula over the past 15 years has shown that, despite similarities in the archaeological residues, there are, nonetheless, outstanding differences in the ratios of various cultural and economic elements to indicate two quite separate archaeological signatures.

A large volume of cultural material has been excavated at the site of Kasteelberg, a kopje, some 4 km from the sea overlooking the fishing village of Paternoster. It was chosen because its rich surface indications of ceramics and faunal remains might inform about human occupation of the area over the past two thousand years. It proved to have been occupied by people who, from the large numbers of domestic animals, were herders.

From the material culture excavated we can make a statement about the lifestyle and economy of herding people at the Cape from the first appearance of domestic stock, and how this developed through time. It is clear that the initial stock owners were shepherds around 1800 years ago, and it was only later, around 1300 years ago that cattle began to appear in ever-increasing numbers. We were also fortunate in finding a small cave (Kasteelberg 'C' site:KBC) on the kopje that gave us a sequence with a pre-ceramic/pre-herding industry belonging to hunters at the bottom (dated to *c.*2100 BP), and a ceramic/herder deposit at the top (dated to *c.*1250 BP). In the lower unit the dominant animal bones were that of the small solitary steenbok (Raphicerus), while in the upper unit sheep bones dominated.

From the major excavation at the Kasteelberg 'B' (KBB) site it was clear that the herders were really there to hunt seals. The bones of this animal are the most numerous, with sheep bones the next most prevalent. From this site 26 000 pieces of stone have been excavated, of which only 55 (0.2%) were formally retouched.

Potsherds were found in large quantities (up to 700 sherds/cubic metre). Ochre-stained portable grinding stones were also found in the deposit, along with bone tools and pendants, and large (greater than 5 mm. diameter) ostrich eggshell beads.

All this is in marked contrast to material excavated from the small rock shelter of Witklip, some 9 km south of Kasteelberg. Here, a sequence dating from 3000 years ago until 300 years ago, shows a similar occupation to that from the bottom of the small rock shelter at Kasteelberg. Small, finely made microlithic tools are found throughout the sequence (constituting 4% of the stone), along with tiny (2.5–4.5 mm.) ostrich egg-shell beads and a faunal component dominated by small buck. After 1800 years ago ceramics appear (10/cubic metre), as well as a few sheep bones.

Even this cursory examination of the different material remains from the two sites shows we are dealing with two quite separate archaeological signatures. It is important to recognise that the small beads, finished formal tools and the predominance of small antelope all pre-date the appearance of sheep and pottery, indicating that these latter items were intrusive into the aboriginal hunting economy. Of great interest is the fact that although the ostrich egg-shell beads continue to be small, after 500 BP there are a few larger beads showing up in the assemblage which did not appear before.

Permeability of cultural boundaries: ethnographic examples

Having suggested that there were two different archaeological signatures in the landscape, what can we infer about cultural distinction and separation?

Hodder (1981) gives ethnographic examples from East Africa of people moving across a cultural boundary. This is an interesting phenomenon since the boundaries are so permeable that marriage partners are taken by men from both groups. Hodder makes the point that the cultural symbols on both sides of the boundary are different, but that a woman 'crossing over' will adopt the symbols of her in-laws while with them, and switch back to her natal symbols when she returns to her family on visits. Thus while Hodder is cautioning us to be careful of assuming ethnic differences on the basis of material cultural, he is nonetheless showing that the material culture is discrete across the boundary, and separate symbols have to be maintained for correct decorum. He states (Hodder 1981:27) that: "it is insufficient to talk about material culture 'expressing' group identity because it does much more than that. The material culture constitutes the group differences and is actively articulated in relations of negative reciprocity".

The real questions to be asked are: how are the groups defined, and why is the distinction maintained? In Hodder's Baringo sample the groups were all food producers with similar relations of production, among whom there was a strong degree of equality. The 'negative reciprocity' he refers to means there is no mutual

dependency, thus each group can justify theft and rationalise the raiding of other groups.

How would this differ between groups who had radically different relations of production, that is between food producers and non-food producers?

Within pastoral Himba society there are women who were born into Tjimba hunting families (Jacobsohn 1995). These women who have crossed over try very hard to be 'Himba' in dress and in their huts, but occasionally do make minor mistakes which Himba women recognise, allowing them to look down on the Tjimba women. Tjimba women traditionally make small ostrich egg-shell beads, as opposed to the large ones made by Himba women. Since there is a lot of work involved in making these beads, which are worn for 'medicinal' purposes, a woman is most unlikely to have two sets. Perhaps more important is the status accorded to being a pastoral Himba, which would make it difficult for a woman to revert to being Tjimba once she had both crossed over and 'moved up'. Thus crossing over is uni-directional, and the bead sizes would be stressing material culture differences and would reinforce social distance.

Implications of the archaeological data

We can suggest that the same social distance was being maintained between the precolonial hunters and herders of the Vredenburg Peninsula by different material culture, particularly the beads, although it is equally difficult to conceive a complete change in the stone artefact inventory while pursuing different economies. The appearance of the larger beads in the top level of Witklip, dated to between 500–300 BP, suggests the hunters were in close contact with herders at about the time the Europeans were beginning to trade at the Cape. While this could be interpreted as greater homogenising of the cultural groups in the landscape, the continuing existence of the other material cultural and economic attributes suggests a more appropriate interpretation would be that there were different social formations taking place.

The trajectory of economic development and change within pastoral society at the Cape can be constructed from the faunal remains from Kasteelberg (Klein & Cruz-Uribe 1989). In the earliest period 1800–1600 BP there were low numbers of cattle bones from the excavated samples. From the minimum number of individual animals (MNI) the ratio was 18 sheep to 1 cow. Within the period 1300–1100 BP the MNI showed a ratio of 10:1. After 1000 BP the ratios approached that observed in the trade between the Dutch and the Khoikhoi 4:1 (see Deacon 1984). Thus it can be said that by 1000 BP the herd structure had approached that of the historic period when large herds of cattle were described at the Cape (Thom 1952–8; Raven Hart 1967, etc) and a hierarchical society was already in place.

The deposit at the top of the sequence at Witklip was therefore, laid down during the final phase of development when social distinctions between rich and poor were being overtly stated in the form of cattle wealth, and an incipient class structure. This hierarchical society would have had little or no place for people without stock, except as patrons for a degree of incorporation as low class menials, or as antagonists against stock thieves.

Conclusions

The picture of social relationships suggested here sees changes through time. At the earliest period of the introduction of domestic stock and ceramics between 1800–1600 BP there were distinct archaeological signatures in the landscape, indicating quite separate identities of people who lived by hunting on the one hand, and others whose life revolved around sheep herding (Smith *et al.* 1991).

As cattle numbers increased, so did the need for a more coherent land use strategy to be able to feed these large bulk grazers. Having to move camp often in the low nutrient status environment of the Cape may be why we see so few cattle bones at Kasteelberg, since the herders were not bringing the cattle onto the site in any great numbers.

Even though Khoikhoi ritual continued to involve the slaughter of sheep (see Wilson 1969; Smith & Pheiffer 1992), cattle would have been considered a 'wealth' resource (indicated by the reluctance of the Khoikhoi to part with them when the colony at Table Bay was first set up). It is suggested here that hierarchies developed as a result of increasing status of herd owners, creating a structured society with rich people at the top dominating the political arena.

The place of hunters would have been increasingly marginalised to that seen among other pastoral societies from Arabia to East Africa: almost 'unseen'. Having said this, their labour would still have been important, especially when herding cattle. As described in the historic records, a patron-client relationship would have developed between the Khoikhoi and some Soaqua groups: ". . . these Sonquas are just the same as the poor in Europe, each tribe of Hottentots having some of them and employing them to bring news of the approach of a strange tribe. They steal nothing from the kraals of their employers, but regularly from other kraals . . . possessing nothing . . . except what they acquire by theft" (Journal entry from Simon van der Stel's journey to Namaqualand, 16 September 1685) (Waterhouse 1932:122).

The maintenance of differences in the material culture, especially that of a decorative nature, such as ostrich egg-shell bead sizes, can be suggested as indicators of more than just economic separation. It implies a specific contrast of an ideological nature that may have forced separation, creating political boundaries, and delineating ethnicity (see Sharp 1988:80).

THE PUDENDAL PARTS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN BUSH RACE.

By J. DRURY, Modeller to the South African Museum, Cape Town, with Professor M. R. Drennan, of the University of Cape Town.

The Bushwomen of South Africa are characterised by having a peculiar elongation of the labia minora pudendi, known under the term "longinymph." Their buttocks also show an accumulation of fibrous fatty tissue, which is usually referred to as "steatopygia." The external genitals of the male Bushman are also somewhat different from those of other races.

These racial characteristics are of great anthropological and medical importance, yet our knowledge of them is far from satisfactory. As the material for the study of these peculiarities is becoming exceedingly limited and scattered, it seemed to us that it would be advisable to use the opportunity afforded to one of us, when taking casts of these people from the nude, to try to amplify our knowledge of the subject. Accordingly we are submitting the following observations.

THE NYMPHAE.

All the Bushmen and Hottentots who have been examined have had an elongation of the labia minora, more or less well marked. In the Bushwomen of Sandfontein, South-West Africa, both Naron and Auen, who were recently studied, the following condition was found.

On asking a woman of these tribes to remove her loin cloth or apron, one could not, at first sight, detect any difference between her and an ordinary woman, so far as the general configuration of the external genitals was concerned. On close observation, however, the vulva appeared to be situated more forward and higher up than in European women, whilst the outer lips (labia majora pudendi) were puffed up as if swollen. This phenomenon was due to the fact that the labia minora were concealed within the vagina. On separating the lips of the vulva it was easy to grasp the labia minora with a pair of forceps and pull them out for examination. This increased exposure gave rise to a distinct accession of shyness on the part of the women. It is possible that this habitual concealment of these parts may account for them having been described as absent in certain tribes where they would have been expected to be present.

The colouring of the external genitals was a livid brown, shading to a very dark brown with a tinge of black on the front edge. This colour faded away internally to a dull white in some cases, in others it was a bright pink. The shape of the two labia when separated was not unlike that of a butterfly with wings expanded. The anterior border was definitely thickened, and if held apart an inverted V or chevron figure was formed. In the natural position both elongations tended to cling together, and gave the impression of being only one organ (Fig. 1). The labia varied in length in different individuals irrespective of age. The length of those examined at Sandfontein ranged from about 1½ to 2½ inches.

These women had very little hair on the pubis, in some cases there was just a little of what could only be referred to as down. Another peculiarity which was observed in these women was that many of them had a wide open interval between the thighs as they stood erect, indicating a wider perineum than in other races. This condition was present to some extent in all the women examined.

The shape of the labia just described forms quite a contrast with that which was found in the Cape Bushwomen. The former may be referred to as the "Butterfly" type, whereas the latter may be described as belonging to the "Wattle" type, from their resemblance to the turkey's wattle. In nearly all the Cape Bushwomen the labia hung down together from the inside and in front of the vulva as two fleshy fingerlike pendants. They could very readily have been mistaken for a single organ. Their surfaces were rough and shrivelled. In colour they were a dull brownish yellow, with in some cases a livid pink tinge. Their usual length was from three to four inches.

The Bechuanaland Bushwomen, the Masarwas, showed a condition similar to that just described for the Cape Bushwomen, with this difference that the elongations were more slender, smoother, and darker. Both the Cape and the Masarwa Bushwomen had a certain amount of short curly hair on the pubis.

The Transvaal Bushwomen, at Lake Chrissie, had the butterfly type, but they were short compared with those of the Kalahari tribes, such as the Bushwomen at Sandfontein and Grootfontein described in the first instance.

At Prieska examples of the two types of nymphae were met with in different Bushwomen, suggesting a meeting of the races of the Kalahari and the Cape.

GROWTH AND FUNCTION OF THE LABIA.

It has often been stated that these appendages lengthen as age advances. This is true from infancy to puberty, but thereafter it does not seem to hold. Quite young girls often had labia which were much longer than those of older women.

A Bushwoman in the Prieska district stated that long ago these lapels were much longer than they are to-day. She stated that her mother and her grandmother had labia which hung almost to the knee. This diminution seemed to be general, as she considered that all the lapels were now small in contrast to what they were in the old people. Against this is the fact that at Sandfontein several of the girls had longer labia than their mothers. The authors have not seen a lapel over four inches in length.

Many people are of the opinion that the enlargement of the labia is not natural, but is due to artificial interference. The examination of these cases supports the view that the enlargement of the nymphae, such as was found, was quite natural and had not been brought about by any kind of personal abuse. In none of the cases examined, which included labia in many different stages of development, from young children and unmarried girls to old multiparous women, was there the slightest trace of injury or of artificial stretching.

In connection with this matter, it is worth noting that at each place where these people were examined the question was put: "What are the uses of this organ?" They invariably replied that "they did not know of any use for it; it had always been there." They considered that their labia, like their limbs, were just a natural part of their bodies. Judging from their expression, one had no reason to think that they knew anything further about them. On asking them if they or their mothers had ever helped to enlarge the labia, they replied that they grew naturally from the time when they were little girls, and that neither they nor their mothers ever interfered with them.

There is evidence that these lapels are erectile to a certain extent. On removing the plaster of paris from the vulva it was frequently found that the heat and irritation of the plaster had caused the labia to become considerably enlarged. This, as was to be expected, happened more often in the younger women, and it was specially well marked in the case of a young Hottentot, who was unmarried, but had two children.

Some of the medical men who have been consulted on this subject consider them to be erectile, others think they are not. Men who have cohabited with these women, on being questioned, gave conflicting replies. Some said that they did not differ in any way from those of other women, others have stated that the labia stand out rigid in the state of desire. A magistrate stated that on examining a Bushwoman, supposed to have been raped, he found the labia hanging out and quite stiff. On questioning a Bush girl, who had become a prostitute in Capetown, about her appendage, she could give no information about it except that it had proved attractive to her male friends.

A Bushman described one of their dances in which the men and women took off all their clothing. During the dance the women rushed up to the men of their choice, turned round and waggled their buttocks before them. This was repeated several times, and ultimately they bent down, separated their legs, and exposed themselves with their lapels hanging down. The men then copulated on the posterior aspect of the women. This went on till all were exhausted.

STEATOPYGIA.

The following notes were made with regard to the contour of the buttocks of the women who were examined. There seemed to be three types of contour, which are represented in the accompanying sketch (Fig. 3). All three shapes are to be found distributed throughout South Africa, but one or other type is usually predominant in each group.

Cape Bushwomen.—At Carnarvon (Cape Province) casts were made of two Bushwomen who had buttocks of the No. 1 type. These women were light coloured, and their buttocks of soft but firm india-rubber like consistence. At Prieska (C.P.) casts of several women were made, and their buttocks were all of the No. 1 type, but they were variable in size. A young woman from Victoria West (C.P.), who was almost certainly a bastard with a big infusion of white blood, as her skin was very light in colour, had the No. 2 type of buttock. At Britstown (C.P.) a young girl, who was pure Bush, had small buttocks of the No. 3 type; whilst at the same place a young girl, a Bush-Hottentot, had the No. 2 type. The former of these two was light in colour, the latter dark. A young Bushwoman of Caledon (C.P.) had the No. 2 type, and they were very pronounced in size. This woman was light in colour and resembled the Victoria West woman. At Kanye, in Bechuanaland, the Masarwa Bushwomen, who were dark in colour, had the No. 1 shape of buttock, but they were not so large as those of the Cape Bushwomen.

Transvaal Bushwomen.—At Lake Chrissie, casts were made of a few women, and the buttocks were of a different shape. These women were dark in colour, and they presented the No. 3 type of contour.

South-West Africa Bushwomen.—At Grootfontein the Kung Bushwomen, who were dark in colour, had small buttocks of the No. 3 type. At Sandfontein the Asen and Naron tribes, who were also dark in colour, had small buttocks, which were mostly of the No. 3 type. In one or two women they were fairly large and of the No. 1 type.

Cape Hottentots.—Only one Hottentot woman was examined, and she was dark in colour, with the No. 3 type of contour.

South-West Africa Hottentots.—At Bethany, Hottentot women of dark brown colour presented the No. 2 type. At Veldschondragen a Hottentot woman, of dark brown colour, had the No. 1 type. Talmor Hottentot women, of whom a large number were seen at Walfish Bay, but not undressed, had enormous buttocks of the No. 2 type. Two Damara Hottentots, from Possession Island, presented the No. 3 type.

MEASUREMENTS.

These measurements were taken from the deepest part of the lumbar curve horizontally backwards to a vertical plane touching the most projecting part of the gluteal region (Fig. 3):—

Cape Bushwomen varied from			3	to	6	inches.
Kanye	"	"	2	"	3¼	"
Lake Chrissie	"	"	1½	"	2½	"
Grootfontein	"	"	2	"	3	"
Sandfontein	"	"	2	"	4	"

DISCUSSION.

No complete explanation of the presence of this accumulation of fat on the buttocks has been advanced. They may have been developed as the result of sexual selection. On the other hand, the conditions of privation under which these women live as a rule may have accounted for them by natural selection alone. As in the case of the Cape fat-tailed sheep, they may have been developed as a means of storing a reserve of food to meet the all too frequent droughts and famines to which these people are exposed, and through which only the very fittest for the conditions could survive. The absence of this accumulation of fat in the male, however, shows that this is not the complete explanation. There must be some additional factor, and the most likely one is that it is an adaptation for the extra strain to which the female is subjected in carrying and nursing her children under adverse conditions. It is easy to understand how such an advantageous character would be likely to be propagated and intensified under the circumstances.

It is a well-known fact that when food is plentiful the buttocks develop to a great size, and that they rapidly diminish when food is scarce. The skin of these parts is smooth, taut and shiny in a well-conditioned woman, but when the woman is badly nourished it becomes dull, flabby and shrunken. The projection is not, as it is often supposed to be, a convenience for carrying the baby. As a matter of fact, these women carry their babies in a fold of their cloak, higher up on their backs. As one might expect, these women with their large buttocks do not appear ever to lie on their backs. They usually lie upon their sides, or on their bellies, when they are not sitting on their haunches, which is their favourite posture.

It is, perhaps, worth noting here that a study of the skeleton of the Bushman has not shown any exaggeration of the lumbar curve associated with the very pronounced lumbar curve of the living. Rather is the reverse condition found, in as much as the lumbar curve of the skeleton, as measured by the lumbar index, is flatter than in most other races, and approximates to the simian condition. So much is this the case that, whereas in Europeans the lumbar vertebrae are slightly wedge-shaped and adapted to the curve, in the Bushman what little curve there is is due entirely to a wedging of the cartilaginous intervertebral discs, as in the apes.

THE MAMMAE.

After puberty these become somewhat pendulous, and in the older and multiparous women they hang very low, and they are often in an extremely shrivelled condition. In the Cape, Bushwomen have a very dark brown areola with prominent granulations surrounding the nipple.

THE PENIS AND SCROTUM.

The condition of the penis was a very characteristic one in all the Bushmen and Hottentots who were examined. In young boys and even in young men the penis was short and projected in a semi-erect attitude. The prepuce covered the glans completely, and projected forward in front of this to form a point. The scrotum was drawn up close to and just under the root of the penis, and it looked as though it contained only one testicle, the other testicle not having descended completely into the scrotal sac.

In older men, and particularly in the old married men the semi-erect position was lost, and the penis hung down in a flaccid condition. In them also the whole penis seemed to be thicker and longer, whilst the glans was also enlarged, and the prepuce loose and relaxed. The scrotum was also more pendulous, and there was no difficulty in recognising the two testes.

It is difficult to account for this formation of the external genitals of the Bushman, unless it is regarded as a persistence of an infantile condition of these parts, an explanation which accounts to a certain extent for the enlargement of the labia in the female. The condition in the male may also be aggravated by the mechanical interference of the method adopted in dressing the penis.

When a Bush boy is first dressed by his mother in his loin skin, which is not unlike a bathing slip, the penis is strapped closely to the belly wall and pointing to the umbilicus. It is held firmly in that position by tying the loin skin tightly round the waist and between the thighs. Even in the older men it is sometimes found in this position.

Several cases were met with amongst both boys and men in which the penis showed a distinct kink without any apparent signs of injury. Such a deformity could be accounted for by the method of dressing the penis just described.

None of the Bushmen examined showed any evidence of having been circumcised.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

This paper contains observations on the external genitals, etc., of the Bush race, made in the course of a fairly extensive survey of surviving types. The investigation was undertaken primarily in order to obtain as life-like casts as possible of these people, but advantage was taken of the favourable opportunity of acquiring further data with regard to the characteristic formation of their sexual parts.

The results seem to indicate that there are two distinct types of the longinymph condition: the wattle type being characteristic of the Cape Bushwoman, and the butterfly type of the Kalahari Bushwoman.

There is no evidence that the elongation of the labia is anything but a natural and probably an infantile one in these existing tribes, whatever artificial methods, if any, of further elongating them may have been practised in the past.

The contours of the buttocks are described as belonging to three different types, and the incidence of these types and approximate measurements of them are given in the groups examined. The significance of steatopygia is briefly discussed.

Further data is adduced regarding the peculiar semi-erect condition of the Bushman penis.

The scope of the paper precludes any lengthy discussion of the observations of others, but for the convenience of those wishing further information on the subject a short bibliography is appended.

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TITLES OF FIGURES.

Fig. I.—A. Front view of the nymphae, showing labia separated. B. Labia together in the natural position. C. Side view of the Cape labium (Wattle type). D. Side view of the Kalahari labium (Butterfly type).

Fig. II.—Type 1. Type 2. Type 3.

Fig. III.—Showing the method of taking the measurements.

Reprinted from the Medical Journal of South Africa, November, 1926.

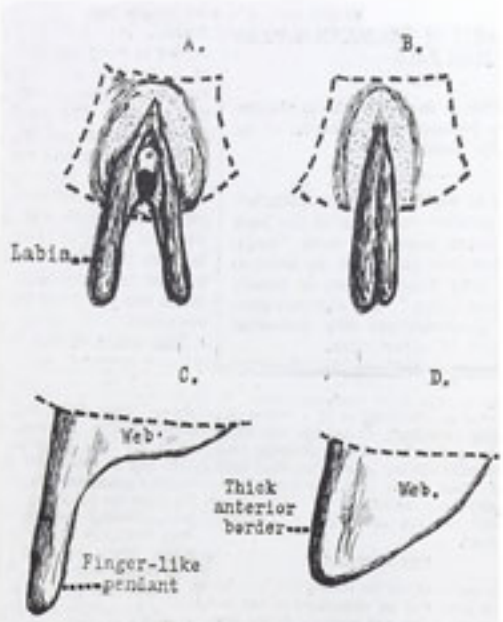


Fig. 1.

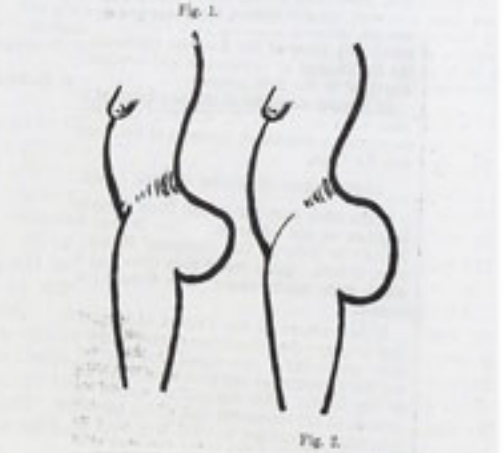


Fig. 2.

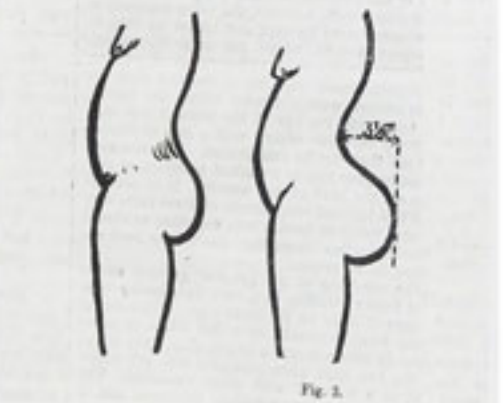


Fig. 3.

Left and previous pages: ***The Pudendal Parts of the South African Bush Race***, by J. Drury & Drennan (1926). Drury was the modeller at the South African Museum responsible for the body casts which people the museum's dioramas. Below: One of the multitude of photographs which focus on the "Bushman body". Rob Gordon suggests that the extraordinary European fascination with Khoisan genitalia revealed (amongst other things) white sexual anxieties (Gordon 1992c). Left: Three watercolours (LP) by Francois Le Vaillant (A, B and E), and an engraving (C) after Le Vaillant (CA E3256) exposing his view of (and interest in) Khoisan women's genitals. Left (D): A photograph from Seiner & Staudinger (1912) reproduced in Baker (1974), the latter, being a relatively recent publication to dwell on racial difference.

A

B

When Khoisan communities were first subjected to the European gaze, they were constructed, by and large, as barbaric, without religion, without morals. Their language was considered a babble, their behaviour beastly, their habits inhuman and their bodies were seen to reflect these qualities. Ideas of European moral, racial and intellectual superiority were promoted by the almost obsessive need to establish physical difference. At the same time as Europeans expressed disgust at the apparent moral corruption of southern African aboriginal people, they were almost absurdly fascinated with Khoisan genitals. Travellers such as Le Vaillant, in the eighteenth century, had painted images of women flashing long pendulous labia. Captain Cook had written that the "Hottentot" women had labia which "resembled the teats of a cow" (Gordon 1992b:187), and Drury reported on claims that some womens' labia hung down to their knees (Drury & Drennan 1926).

By the end of the nineteenth century, Khoisan bodies had been the subject of hundreds of photographic "essays". Most of these photographs were part of scientific projects that examined racial difference. Many of these photographs survive in museum collections and archives. Typically, they depict men and women, standing naked against a measuring stick, from front and side views. Many collections also included images which particularly focused on genitals, men being photographed most often to the side to show the tilt of the penis, and women were persuaded to grasp their labia to expose their length.

Dorothea Bleek wrote in 1911, that "It is exceedingly difficult to get photos of the natives without their clothes on" (Davison 1993:169), and so the profusion of these images must surely point to coercion that was part and parcel of the relationships in which Europeans were able to exercise power and domination. Today the images and the casts of Khoisan genitals have little "scientific" value, but they do provide a rich source of knowledge of how Europeans structured racial difference.

C

D

E

"A South African Bush Queen Speaks into the Microphone", was the caption in the German Press in 1936 (UCT Woldman Papers BC210), when /Hanaku (see page 196) sent a message to London for the King's Coronation. The caption continued: "This queen is the head of one of the most primitive people of the world, whose extinction, if a reserve is not created, can scarcely be prevented." (Translation Helmut Stanclie). *Cape Times* Collection SAL PHA Khoisan Modern

Fashioning the Bushman in Van Riebeeck's Cape Town, 1952 and 1993

Rob Gordon, Ciraj Rassool and Leslie Witz

In late November 1993 it was reported in the Cape Town press that a bushman family from the Kagga Kamma Nature Reserve had "set up home" in the city's tourist information centre (*Cape Times* 25 November 1993). They were there to welcome visitors to a mini-trade fair, held to celebrate the first birthday of the centre. Backed by images of the European founder, Jan van Riebeeck, they promoted the 'Cape heritage' to the tourist trade (*Argus* 26 November 1993). A few hundred metres away from the present-day Captour display centre, and little more than 40 years previously, another group of bushmen had been escorted to Cape Town. This group came from northern Namibia and were put on display at the Festival Fair held on the foreshore as part of the 1952 Jan van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival to commemorate 300 years of European settlement at the Cape of Good Hope.

These live exhibits at the Captour mini-indaba and the Van Riebeeck Festival are part of a genealogy of encounters with the bushman body on display. Raymond Corbey (1993) has demonstrated that live ethnological shows were a popular form of mass entertainment in Europe and the United States in the late nineteenth century until about the 1920s. In the case of Cape Town, the popular author Lawrence Green (1945:162) reports that his interest in Bushmen was first awakened when he saw live Bushmen on display at a missionary conference in the city in 1907. Also germane as a direct role model was Donald Bain's highly successful, live bushman Display at the 1936 Johannesburg Empire Exhibition, after which he had brought them to Cape Town to protest their lack of a homeland (Gordon forthcoming). Shortly after Bain, another commercial traveller-come- 'Big Game Hunter', Coenraad McDonald, brought another troupe to Cape Town. In 1968 some enterprising art students brought in a small contingent to participate in an arts' festival.

The displays at the Van Riebeeck Festival and Captour were moments in these visual meetings where the ethnographic gaze objectified and tended to make people into artefacts. Visibility was an important tool of education as people could be observed in motion as functioning objects. Yet the displays in 1952 and 1993, while part of this much broader genealogy, were also distinct from each other in their meanings and their engagement with issues of identity and nation(ality). This chapter examines these two displays and seeks to establish their location within both the framework of 'the bushman on display' and their specific visual codes as they separately designed and built a place for the bushmen in Van Riebeeck's Cape Town, in the purview of his statue in the city's main thoroughfare, Adderley Street.

The tourism indaba and the Van Riebeeck Festival

In November 1993, as South Africa prepared to enter the international tourist arena and its 'first democratic elections', frenzied preparations were made to package the country for impending image consumption. Hotels were spruced up, colleges began to consolidate and expand their courses in tourism and travel, and the elements of the discursive framework through which South Africa would be visited began to be put in place.[1] The first anniversary of the Tourist Rendezvous Travel Centre was an opportunity for the Cape tourist industry to 'pump itself up for the season'. The 'anchor tenant' in the centre, Captour (the Cape Tourism Authority), held a three-day mini-trade fair, the purpose of which was to bring the

6-5-1947

Office of the Station Commander,
South African Police,
Namutoni : 29/5/47.

The Native Commissioner,
Ondangua : Ovamboland.

Sir,

COLLECTION OF ANIMAL BONES IN
GAME RESERVE NO. 2.

With reference to the report of the Govt. Vet. Officer, Grootfontein, submitted for favour of my report under cover of your min. 9/15 dated the 22nd instant, I have the honour to inform you as follows:-

Dr. Zechokke and myself discussed this matter on the 12th May 1947, and he informed me that the export of raw bones from the reserve cannot be considered, as it is highly possible that some of the bones will drop on the road during transit, which when picked up by animals will cause the spread of desease.

The suggestions made by Drs. Zechokke are all from a veterinary point of view. The erection of a theft proof camp and incinerator will cause the government to go to expenses. It must also be taken in consideration the hiring of two boys, who under my supervision, has to attend to the burning process. Then there is also the problem of bags to place the bone ash in.

The removal of the bones from the grazing area in the reserve, will , in my opinion, be of definite benefit to the general health of the Game. I am therefore to suggest that the bones are to be collected as stated by Dr. Zechokke and place in a theft-proof camp, and that the burning of these bones should for the present be dispensed with until at such time when better arrangements can be made in regards to the disposal of these bones.

I

Sgt. 'B' 19468.
Station Commander:S.A.Police:Namutoni.

9/15.

Native Commissioner, Ovamboland,
Ondangua, 16th. June, 1947.

The Station Commander,
South African Police, NAMUTONI.

COLLECTION OF ANIMAL BONES IN GAME
RESERVE NO. 2.

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your minute, No. 3/D of the 29th. ultimo, with thanks, and to enquire what quantity of bones you estimate could be collected per year by the Bushmen. Please also state what you consider should be paid per bag, and how many dumping places would be necessary. How is it proposed to remove the bones from a dump situate a distance from Namutoni to the Incinerator? If the Bushmen were paid a reward for bones, would not this policy cause them to kill off more game than is normally required for their requirements?.
Please reply in duplicate.

NATIVE COMMISSIONER.

Cape 'alive'. 'Traditional Cape food' was prepared for guests and all exhibitors in the centre were encouraged to dress up in anything 'Cape', from safari suits, saris and scuba gear to Jan van Riebeeck costumes, and Gordon Oliver, former mayor of Cape Town and Captour chief, appeared as a British Commander. Over these three days the people of Cape Town and the travel industry were invited to partake of and make Captour's 'Spirit of the Cape' (*Cape Times* 25 November 1993; interview with Lauren de Wet, manager, marketing and public relations, Captour, 4 September 95; interview with Hester Lamprecht, formerly membership manager, Captour, 4 September 95.).

An integral component of the 'Cape Spirit' was a display of bushmen from Kagga Kamma Nature Reserve in the Cedarberg. Usually the exhibit of the Kagga Kamma in the Captour 'nerve centre' has two components. The first consists of a small-thatched hut amidst some reeds, with a few scattered plants and rocks in the sand incorporating photographs of the landscape, flora and fauna. A notice offers the visitor to the reserve "Game viewing and magnificent scenery", the promise of "6000 year old" paintings and an encounter with "nearly extinct bushmen". At the top of the stairs, in the path of the exhibition hall leading to the Captour head office, the second component is part of a display of what the Breede River has to offer. It consists of another small-hut, settled on an animal skin. Inside the hut, perched on a rock, a 37 centimetre Funai television monitor continuously plays a video entitled *Kagga Kamma Game Reserve*, which offers the visitor a promise of the real "Home of the Bushmen" in their "rugged unspoilt environment" where "their ancestors had hunted 2000 years before white civilisation drove them away".[2]

But the immediacy of the TV image is rendered otherworldly and almost unreal by the electronic process of its manufacture and presentation. On the other hand, real, seemingly unmediated knowledge of the world and its component parts can be gained only through the act of visiting, by "being there" or, in this case, by bringing the "static" exhibition to life. For, at the top of the stairs, in late November 1993, the bushmen from Kagga Kamma had "set up home". Sitting on animal skins, surrounded by beads and a backdrop of reeds, they were labelled as "nearly extinct Bushmen". In the gaze of the hand-held video and the instamatic camera, they demonstrated their skills from a "nearly forgotten past" and posed for visitors, showing them "how friendly the Cape can be" (*Cape Times* 25 November 1993).

In 1952, at the Van Riebeeck Festival, the bushmen went on display at the South West Africa pavilion of the festival fair. After some deliberation it was decided that this pavilion would consist of three parts: the exhibition ground, which featured largely the Karakul and mining (especially diamond) industries, a German beer-garden seating 120 customers, and a 'Native section' consisting of some Ovambo coppersmiths, a few Herero women

figure 1 **"Recalling the Past . . . a Bushman family from Kagga Kamma Nature Reserve, Mr David Kruiper, Mrs Samma Kruiper, Kalaai, 10, and Little Kalaai, 8, show Italian tourists Ms Lucia Vales and Ms Anna Valas how friendly the Cape can be at the Captour mini-trade fair in its tourist information centre in Adderley Street."** Photograph Anne Laing, *Cape Times* 25 November 1993:11

"adept at making dolls and dresses" and the *pièce de résistance*, the bushmen. Their participation was held to be dependent on modern technology which would afford the refrigeration of the large supplies of meat and veld foods sent ahead of the bushmen to Cape Town. The entrance was flanked on one side by a map of the 'territory' and on the other side, by an 'exact reproduction' of the famous "White Lady of the Brandberg" rock painting by the artist Otto Schroeder. "The White Lady" had recently achieved fame through the work of the world-famous French prehistorian, the Abbe Breuill, who had pronounced it to be of Phoenician origin, an interpretation which sat well with those who sought to legitimise white colonial possession of the Territory (*Windhoek Advertiser* 22 December 1951; *Cape Times* 10 December 1951).

Under the supervision of the Chief Game Warden of South West Africa, P.J. Schoeman, the bushmen crafted bows and arrows under the gaze of thousands of onlookers (*Cape Times* 8 March 1952). Long queues form outside the South West Africa pavilion as inquisitive crowds jostled one another for a vantage point from which to view the bushman and see their "childlike simplicity", hear their "animated clicks" and touch their "olive skins" (*Cape Times* 27 March 1952). During their stay in Cape Town their "natural skills" were also put to the test. The Polish National Archery champion competed with a bushman shooting at a bushman head painted on the target. The bushman won (*Cape Times* 27 March 1952). Likewise their "natural" dancing ability was much praised (*Cape Times* 29 March 1952).

By April they were reported by Schoeman to be a "little homesick", especially as they had run out of ostrich shell for making beads, and Cape Town was still a terrifying place to them, and, yes airplanes really existed. This despite their phlegmatism and Schoeman's efforts: "Everything was explained to them before they came down so that they would not be alarmed by so many strange things" (*Cape Argus* 1 April 1952). Three days later they were described as bored and the materials for making bows and arrows had also been exhausted. On 7 April, after having been seen by over 165 000 spectators the bushmen from Namibia packed their "meagre bundles" and, spurning the 'Spirit of the Cape', departed from the festival a week before its doors closed (*Cape Times* 3 April and 7 April 1952).

Both these events saw the bushmen form part of an exhibitionary complex which saw objects and bodies displayed in open and public arenas where, "through the representations to which they were subjected, they formed vehicles for inscribing and broadcasting the messages of power . . . throughout society" (Bennet 1988:74). According to McClintock (1995:58), the success of these messages in the exhibition derive from the fact that they "merge the pleasure principle with the discipline of the spectacle". This is made all the more possible by the Western empirical tradition which assumes that to "'visualize' a culture or society becomes synonymous with understanding it" (Fabian 1983:106).

The framework of celebration within which the bushmen were exhibited has four main components: performance, entertainment, a public character and participation (Manning 1982). Entertainment, as Victor Turner pointed out, converts the mundane into a symbolic playing field in which the audience-participants can act out their innermost attitudes, beliefs and values (Turner 1982). We ignore the impact of such celebrations at our own intellectual peril. In the bushman exhibits, in both 1993 and 1952, it was the spectacle of the live bushman body, organised generationally and sexually, that characterised the visual terrain. These were corporeal encounters in an exhibition space, si(gh)ted in a plane of knowledge which marked a boundary of 'civilisation', located in spatial and temporal terms in 'another time and another country'.

P.J. Schoeman and Van Riebeeck's bushmen

In many ways the Van Riebeeck Festival resembled a contemporary 'theme park' in its potent meshing of entertainment and education. It is no accident that some regard Walt Disney as the greatest educator of the twentieth century. Backed up by the resources of the state, events like the Van Riebeeck Festival, as Margaret King notes in the conclusion of her essay on contemporary "Instruction and Delight: Theme Parks and Education", can have a penetrating impact, made all the more invidious by the fact that those being socialised are unaware that they are being socialised:

> [The] presentation philosophy as taught by Disney, together with the whole cadre of themeing means and motifs, can flex to fill in the many gaps that continue to pop open between what is taught and what

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE.

Ref. No. 3/2.

Office of the Station Commander,
South African Police,
Namutoni : 2.7.47.

The Native Commissioner,
Ondongua : Ovamboland.

Sir,

COLLECTING ANIMAL BONES IN GAME RESERVE NO.2.

With reference to your minute 9/15 of the 16th ultimo, relative to the above, I have the honour to inform you as follows:-

The estimated amount of bones that would be collected in the Reserve per year will be from eight to ten thousand pounds. 2/6 per bag of 100lbs. is in my opinion a very reasonable price.

In regards to the number of dumping places, I am to inform you that it would be inadvisable to have more than one dumping place. A dumping place in the vecinity of Namutoni would suffice. It is suggeste that the incinerator be build near Namutoni and that the bones be dump ted there.

I am not of the opion that the bushmen will kill off more game should they be remunerated for the bones collected by them, seeing that there are more than enough bones in the reserve. I am however to suggest, that the collecting of bones in the reserve, should be only for a period of a year or two.

1/Sergt. 'M' 19488.
Station Commander:S.A.Police:Namutoni.

9/15

Native Commissioner,Ovamboland,
Ondangua,8th.December,1950.

The Secretary,
South West Africa,WINDHOEK.

COLLECTION OF BONES IN ETOSHA PAN GAME RESERVE.

With reference to your minute, No. A268/1/3 of the 10th. ultimo, I beg to inform you that there are large quantities of bones lying about in the Game Reserve. The statement made by the Manager of the Okahandja Bonemeal Factory is therefore correct.

I do not recommend that Representatives of the Factory be allowed to tour the Pan area for the purpose of collecting bones as the vehicles will unnecessarily disturb the game when they are operated off the defined roads. I think that the Namutoni scheme could be extended to the Okaukuejo area where there are usually considerable amounts of bones lying about - see your minute, No. A511/1 of the 2nd. January,1948, in this particular connection.

It might be mentioned that the scheme of bone collecting was intended primarily for the purpose of enabling the Bushpeople to obtain a little cash with which to buy clothing, foodstuffs, etc. It was not introduced to relieve the bonemeal shortage in South West Africa.

Since the inception of the scheme this office has purchased 48840 lbs. of bones for a total amount of £73.11.0. When purchased the bones are weighed on a Police spring scale which may not be strictly accurate. There will always be a discrepancy in the weights of bones in view of handling, repacking, losses in transport etc. etc. but as the Administration is paying 2/6d. per 100 lbs and re-selling at 7/- per 100 lbs. any difference in weights need not be regarded seriously. The Administration has already received a return of £186.1.9d. According to the first statement received from the Station Commander, South African Police, Namutoni, he has sent 490 bags of bones to the Factory, the weight of 442 being 44259 lbs. from which the weight of the bags may still have to be deducted. He has not yet received the weight of the last 48 bags of bones he sent. He does not weigh the bags of bones before despatch by Railway Bus from Namutoni, but obtains the weights from the Factory Manager who gets them from the Railway station - presumably Okahandja.

This office is not in possession of a copy of the permit authorising the export of green and dry bones out of the Prohibited area.

sgt.H.L. Kedes.
NATIVE COMMISSIONER.

The Station Commander,
South African Police, NAMUTONI.

For your information.

NATIVE COMMISSIONER.

needs to be learned. With the era of chalk and primer already far behind, the whole panoply of popular culture—private, nonprofit, business, and public—offers itself as a rich and accessible research collection.

Properly plumbed and connected, the resources of the theme park offer exciting channels for the transformation of education into the well-rounded, interactive, and integrated adventure it must become in modern life. (King 1994:239–40)

The Van Riebeeck Festival bushman exhibition was the first time that the state had become actively involved in sponsoring and arranging a live ethnological exhibit. In previous years the South West African administration had steadfastly refused to allow impresarios to use Namibian bushmen for "display purposes"; now it was itself engaged in such an activity. Moreover, the South African government's Native Affairs Department had prohibited excursions of live "Natives" for display or performance in other countries. Among others, permission had been denied to a company to transport "a number of Zulu dancers" to New York; to Captain Van der Loo from Holland, who planned to house his "25 *kaffers, en zoo mogelijk, enkele vrouwen en kinderen*" performers in a zoo in The Hague, and to Donald Bain, who wanted to take 'his bushmen' to the capital of empire, London (NAD, CAD, Pretoria, NTS 9629 505/400). Is the display of bushmen at the Van Riebeeck Festival then simply a case of cultural lag? Racist arrogance? Or does the lack of such rhetoric and the success of the exhibition presage something new?

The national zone of civilisation created at the Van Riebeeck Festival in the first week of April 1952 grew out of the uncertain conditions that the limited framework of political support afforded by Afrikaner nationalism gave the new government after 1948. To establish and consolidate the power base of the state required promoting a wider white settler nationalism, in which the right to rule stemmed from its self-proclaimed role as the bearer of 'civilisation', a role which started with colonial occupation in 1652. The foregrounding of Jan van Riebeeck in the 1952 festival was central to the broader political scheme, with Cape Town advanced as the founding city of the white nation (Rassool & Witz 1993:447–68).

Key elements in establishing the paradigm of the white settler nation with its own 'legitimate' history were historical pageants and the festival fair. The scale and spectacle of the pageant in Cape Town's streets on 3 April 1952 were colossal. It took 70 floats, 400 horses, 132 drummers, nine full brass bands, and, in total, 2000 participants to create a moving pageant of the past, which culminated in a procession around a 50 000 seat stadium specially constructed on the foreshore (*Die Burger* 3 April 1952).

Figure 2 **"Bushmans: A party of Bushmen from South West Africa stayed in the festival Fair for the duration and proved an immense attraction. Their home was the South West Africa pavilion".** *The Festival in Pictures. Cape Times*, Parow: Central News Agency.

Figure 3 **'Wild' Bushman at the 1952 Van Riebeeck Festival in Cape Town with P.J. Schoeman, chairman of the Commission for the preservation of the Bushmen (at the right).** *Cape Argus*

The festival fair appropriated the Van Riebeeck icon to establish a dichotomy in South Africa between 'civilisation' and economic progress, on the one hand, and 'primitiveness' and social backwardness, on the other. The festival grounds encompassed some 51 acres, 15 of which were covered exhibition halls; the 450 licensed exhibitors had spent over £2 000 000 on their displays. The organisers expected 27 000 daily or a total of some 700 000 visitors who would spend £3 500 000 (*Argus* 22 March 1952). This was an expensive operation, requiring the construction of an infrastructure virtually from scratch, and costing some £450 000 (A1646, Donges papers, CA). The choice of venue was not accidental. The foreshore had been recently reclaimed, as part of a massive centralised planning venture, as the port of entry to 'civilisation', the proposed 'Gateway of South Africa' (Pinnock 1989:150–68). The Van Riebeeck Festival was a presentation of the settler image of the nation on a massive public scale. "300 years of South Africa. We build a nation," was the rallying cry of the festival (Box 49, HB Thom Papers, US).

In essence, the Van Riebeeck Festival was an exercise in classification and, as a "classifying house", it became an institution of knowledge and technology of power. The meaning of the festival, as Mimi Kahn points out, is created through designed sites based on a logic: "Everything is arranged before an observer into a system of signification declaring itself to be a signifier of something further" (Kahn 1995:2). Objects are brought together to tell a story, most formally in the pageant but more informally in the relationships constructed in various displays which attack multiple senses of the audience.

One of the largest and most impressive presentations was the Department of Native Affairs village of "tribal natives". Representations of the "native population" were to emphasise "the Meaning of White Civilization for the Natives" (Rassool & Witz 1993:450) and what better way of doing this than having an exhibit of "wild Bushmen"? But the visibility of the bushmen was fundamentally different from the 'Native' displays. 'Natives' were cast as recipients of tutelage, manifest in the presentation of a narrative of progress, and a gradual move away from the tribalism of the 'raw native'. The bushmen's story in the South West Africa pavilion, on the other hand, was one of primordial timelessness and perpetual primitiveness, casting doubt over their humanity.

Planning for the Van Riebeeck Festival drew on experience gained from the Empire Exhibition and the 1938 Ossewatrek. The Afrikaner Broederbond cultural structures, set up for the 1938 centenary celebrations of the trek, were, in certain respects, prominent in the organisation and played a major role in the business of getting the Bushmen to the festival. Indeed, what is striking in this regard is how many of the Namibian organisers later emerged as prominent Broederbonders. Bruwer Blignaut of the Department of Native Affairs was the chief organiser, along with the Archivist, J. Esterhuyse. Dr P.J. Schoeman, himself, in addition to his interest in the 'wild' as Chief Game Warden, was a leading Afrikaner *volkekundige*. With these qualifications in the science of the primitive, he was personally placed in charge of all 'non-European' participants in the South-West Africa pavilion. These accorded him the authority which served to mark the bushmen as valuable.

The key linking and ideological role played by P.J. Schoeman emerges strongly from his biography. Born in northern Natal in 1904, he grew up speaking fluent Zulu and came to Stellenbosch to study divinity. Soon, under the sway of Werner Eiselen, later to be known as the 'architect of apartheid', he switched to *volkekunde*. After obtaining his doctorate in 1934, he spent a year at the London School of Economics with Malinowski, whom

South African Police. Ref.No.15/K.

Office of the Station Commander,
Namutoni, S.W.A. Tsumeb, 20/12/50.

The Native Commissioner,
Ovamboland,
O N D A N G U A.

COLLECTION OF BONES ON ETOSHA PAN : GAME RESERVE : NAMUTONI.

Your minute 9/15 dated 8 th instant on above subject refers.

I have the honour to report, that to-date the undermentioned bones collected at Namutoni, have been dispatched to the Okahandja Bonemeal Factory.

		Railway Weight.	Factory Weight.
23/10/50	106 bags	11,563	11,298
26/10/50	120 "	13,446	13,146
29/10/50	109 "	11,917	11,645
31/10/50	107 "	11,331	11,064
11/11/50	48	5,985	5,985
	490	54,242	53,138

According to the weights of the Railways and that of the factory there is a difference of 1,104 lbs which I presume is the weight of the bags alone.

According to my register I have only dispatched 52,000 lbs bones, which makes it that I have dispatched 1,138 lbs which were never bought. This mistake may have slipped in due to the defective scale in use at Namutoni.

I have at hand at Namutoni at present about 80 bags of bones which will be dispatched without delay.

No.19754(M)R/Sergt.
Station Commander.S.A.P.Namutoni.

9/15.

Native Commissioner,Ovamboland,
Ondangua,15th.February,1951.

The Secretary,
South West Africa, WINDHOEK.

COLLECTION OF ANIMAL BONES IN GAME RESERVE
NO. 2.

With reference to your minute, No. A511/1 of the 6th.January, 1950, and subsequent correspondence in connection with the above matter, I beg to recommend that the scheme be extended for another year as it is benefitting the Bushpeople.

H. L. P. EEDES
NATIVE COMMISSIONER.

he later claimed was the most important intellectual influence on his life (*Matieland* October 1985). He returned to be appointed senior lecturer at Stellenbosch in 1936 and was made professor in 1938 when Eiselen resigned. He rapidly established a reputation as an Afrikaans writer of hunting stories for youth, and a charismatic teacher. During his period at Stellenbosch the number of students in his department rose from 26 to 600. In 1947 he resigned his professorship and three years later was appointed to succeed another famous Afrikaner nature writer, Sangiro, as Chief Game Warden of South West Africa. He held this office until 1955, when he retired to Stellenbosch to write full-time (Lategan, n.d.). His influence in shaping the popular image of bushmen should not be underestimated. Books of his such as *Jagters van die Woestynland (Hunters of the Desert)*, first published in 1951, rapidly became a prescribed staple in high school Afrikaans courses. Other popular works such as *Trados—die Swerver-Boesman* (1963 first edition) followed and Schoeman served as a direct role model for another Afrikaans popular writer on bushmen, Jan J. van der Post.

In his time at Stellenbosch, Schoeman and his colleagues in *bantoekunde* (bantu studies) played a key role in shaping apartheid discourse. In the student journal *Wapenskou*, Schoeman criticised South African 'native policy' for not paying adequate attention to "the interests of the black race". He argued that blacks, especially women and children, should be isolated in reserves as far as possible so that Western influences could be controlled. "Let us give the blacks the opportunity to regain their lost self-respect and identity in their own areas, because only then will they refuse to intermarry with us" (*Wapenskou* 1941:22).

It was in this vein that Schoeman took up his duties as Chief Game Warden, and one of his first tasks was to serve as Chair of the Bushman Preservation Commission. The administration of South West Africa had been alarmed by a reported mass decline in bushman population and its international implications. This was made more visible by South Africa's refusal to place South West Africa under the United Nations trusteeship system, and white settler calls for harsh treatment of "vagrant Bushmen" (*Argus* 30 March 1951; Gordon 1992a). The administration therefore created a two-person commission to make recommendations. The interim report tabled by the commission in September 1951 recommended that two bushman reserves be set up on land that white farmers did not require. In their respective reserves the !Kung and the Heikom could be controlled and their race preserved (Gordon 1992a:165).

A few months after the interim report was tabled, Schoeman and R.F. Morris, the Chief Native Commissioner in Okavango, set about selecting a group of bushmen to take to the Van Riebeeck Festival. As befitted his status as major Afrikaans writer and his

Figure 4 **Van Riebeeck Festival, 1952.** SAL PHA Khoisan: modern

Figure 5 **'Females clap, males dance', Van Riebeeck Festival, 1952.** SAL PHA Khoisan: modern

Figure 6 **Van Riebeeck Festival, 1952.** SAL PHA Khoisan: modern

ideological connections, the mass-circulation Nasionale Pers' *Huisgenoot* magazine commissioned Schoeman to write about his experiences in bringing bushmen to the festival. The theme which interested both the editors and Schoeman is immediately clear from the subheading of the article: "Travel in a 'Centipede-thing which guzzles rocks and smokes'" (*Huisgenoot* 21 March 1952). This was the juxtaposition of ostensible 'pristine man' with one of the wonders of European progress or technology, the steam train. More towns in South Africa have steam engines as monuments than any other single item. This is not only the result of the generosity of the South African Railways; it is an important settler statement.

In the article Schoeman describes how, with the assistance of "Oom" Fanie Marais, the Agricultural Officer of the Department of Native Affairs, he organised the largest meeting of bushmen ever at Kaudum, some 60 miles south-east of the Kavango River. From the 140 bushmen congregated, he chose 17 to travel to the festival. He chose these particular people because "after much research, I as anthropologist, came to the conclusion that the Bushmen of this vicinity—smallish yellow-ones—were still the closest to the original Cape Bushmen of Van Riebeeck's time". He romanticised them: "The desert Bushmen have discovered the secret to be happy with an absolute minimum of clothes and other earthly possessions. They keep nothing more than can be carried with comfort when they must flee from their enemies or in times of great drought" and women walked with the grace of a "steenbok-ewe" (*Huisgenoot* 21 March 1952).

Despite his academic expertise, Schoeman saw dealing with "pristine people" as a challenge which, naturally, the anthropologist as hero successfully surmounts. Especially difficult was the problem of trying to explain through an interpreter, words and concepts which do not exist in their language, which is why the steam train was described as a rock-guzzling "centipede thing", while the motor truck was described as "grandchild of the train". He described the festival to the bushmen as a place "where people of all colours and types get together to stuff their pipes out of the same tobacco-pouch as a sign of peace in their hearts towards each other". He was convinced that these "pristine people" would happily venture to the "land where many Whites lived" because the men were keen to buy knives, axes and beads and the womenfolk were almost addicted to glass beads:

> we will pay everyone that goes two shillings and sixpence per day. So much money . . . Look . . . And we will give . . . everyone three new blankets. Such as like this . . . Look . . . We will give them tobacco, salt, meat, milk, mielie-meal and sugar . . . We will go with you and be with you all the time and come back with you and will unload you at this same sjivi tree. (*Huisgenoot* 21 March 1952)

Director of Agriculture,
P.O. Box 496,
WINDHOEK.
22nd October, 1952.

The Secretary for South West Africa,
WINDHOEK.

COLLECTION OF BONES : OTJOSA PAN NEAR KAOKOVELD.

With reference to your minutes A.511/1 of the 13th May 1952 and 19th June 1952, I beg to inform you that I have no objection to the collection of bones at the Otjosa Pan for processing at a recognised and registered boneseal plant. As you are aware, this has been done in the past and the Bushmen were encouraged to collect the bones.

According to the Native Commissioner Ondangua, as quoted in your second minute, the Bushmen have lost some of their enthusiasm for this scheme, but, if other arrangements can be made for the collection, there would be no objection provided suitable arrangements can be made for the conveyance of the bones.

In regard to the Kaokoveld, I doubt very much whether large quantities of bones are available, but if the Officer in Charge, Native Affairs, can arrange for their collection, the same principles would apply. I do not favour allowing private persons to enter the area for the purpose of collecting the bones. If the Officer in Charge could deliver the bones to Coetzee Brothers plant at Charon during his periodic visits to Outjo, there would be very little risk involved. This might not be a practical suggestion, but it was felt that, as the farm Charon is close to the main Outjo-Kamanjab road, and presumably Mr. Jonker comes down with a more or less empty vehicle, the slight detour would not inconvenience him very much.

Dr. le Riche is at present in the Kaokoveld and he has been asked to discuss the matter with Mr. Jonker. He has also been authorised to bring back a load of bones from Sesfontein if any are available and provided suitable arrangements can be made with Mr. Jonker.

If the bones are old, thoroughly sundried ones, no further treatment would be necessary, except bagging, but green bones should be boiled, both as a safety measure and to render them less unpleasant for transport purposes.

In regard to the exclusive rights asked for by Messrs. Coetzee Brothers, I believe that Mr. Saalmink's company has a prior right as far as the Otjosa Pan is concerned, but I do not know whether he is still interested.

DIRECTOR OF AGRICULTURE.

In answering please refer to number and
In reply please quote:

No. A. 511/1.

SUIDWES-AFRIKA. / SOUTH WEST AFRICA.

KANTOOR VAN DIE ADMINISTRATEUR,
OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR,
WINDHOEK.

The Native Commissioner,
Ondangua,
ONDANGUA.

COLLECTION OF ANIMAL BONES IN GAME RESERVE NO. 2.

In reply to your telegram No. 1, I have to advise you that the scheme of collection of bones by Bushmen in Game Reserve No. 2 [illegible] may be commenced with.

This authority is valid for one year when the matter will be reviewed.

Vote. 6 Z should be debited with any expenditure in this connection.

SECRETARY FOR SOUTH WEST AFRICA.

Eventually 30 bushmen volunteered for this hazardous adventure and Schoeman selected seven couples and a few children. With a three-ton truck loaded up with grass and materials to build "genuine skerms", the bushmen, "happy as teenagers", left for their long journey, first by truck to Rundu, where they were medically examined and given "some education", and then on to Windhoek where they caught the train to Cape Town. They were already used to mealie-meal as the administration had provided it during years of drought and they took happily to drinking black sweet coffee (*Die Burger* 10 March 1952). The only doubt which Schoeman confessed was: "What will happen when I trek through Adderley Street with my loin-clothed Bushmen to reach the reaches of Table Mountain to let them graze?" but apart from that, our hero was convinced of the appropriateness of his mission, and the media played along.

The railway police had to hold off crowds at the station when the bushmen arrived and their "carriage blinds were drawn to shield the near-naked bushmen from the curious" (*Cape Times* 8 March 1952). Within a week they were reported to have "stolen the show" and four men were required to marshal the crowds eager to glimpse the bushmen as they sat around doing "ordinary work—making arrows and beads" during the period the bushman section was open—from 10.00 a.m. to 5.00 p.m. except for a lunch break. They would not be dancing, as this would overtax them. Instead they would dance only for selected audiences (*Cape Times* 15 March 1952; *Die Burger* 10 March 1952).

Undoubtedly, *Die Burger* assured its readers, the two most popular attractions at the festival were the £1 000 000 worth of diamonds and the bushmen. Indeed shortly after officially opening the festival, Dr Malan, the Prime Minister, went to view the bushmen, reportedly having a "good chat" with them and being treated to an impromptu dance. Schoeman explained through an interpeter who Malan was, but his status apparently did not impress the bushmen who continued to sit and chop open their nuts—in sharp contrast to the fawning behaviour of "Williho"(Vilho Weyulu), senior headman of the Kwanyama (*Die Burger* 14 March 1952). Officials were worried that the bushmen were being spoilt and fondled. Cash, cigarettes and sweets were being given to them. Although they did not appreciate the value of money, they would swiftly gather coins and drop them into an old tobacco-bag (*Die Burger* 14 March 1952).

In answer to charges that the Bushmen were being placed under "unfair" pressure, Schoeman replied that he was "not troubled by visitors touching the Bushmen yesterday, although 6 784 adults and hundreds of children saw them" but he did hope that the public would stop giving them presents because they were well-fed and paid and it was "unfair that they should receive a gift and others not" (*Cape Times* 18 March 1952). Viewing times were also restricted from 10.00 a.m. to 12.30 p.m. and

Figure 7 **A cartoon in *The Guardian* at the time of the Van Riebeeck Festival.**
The Guardian, 2nd March 1952

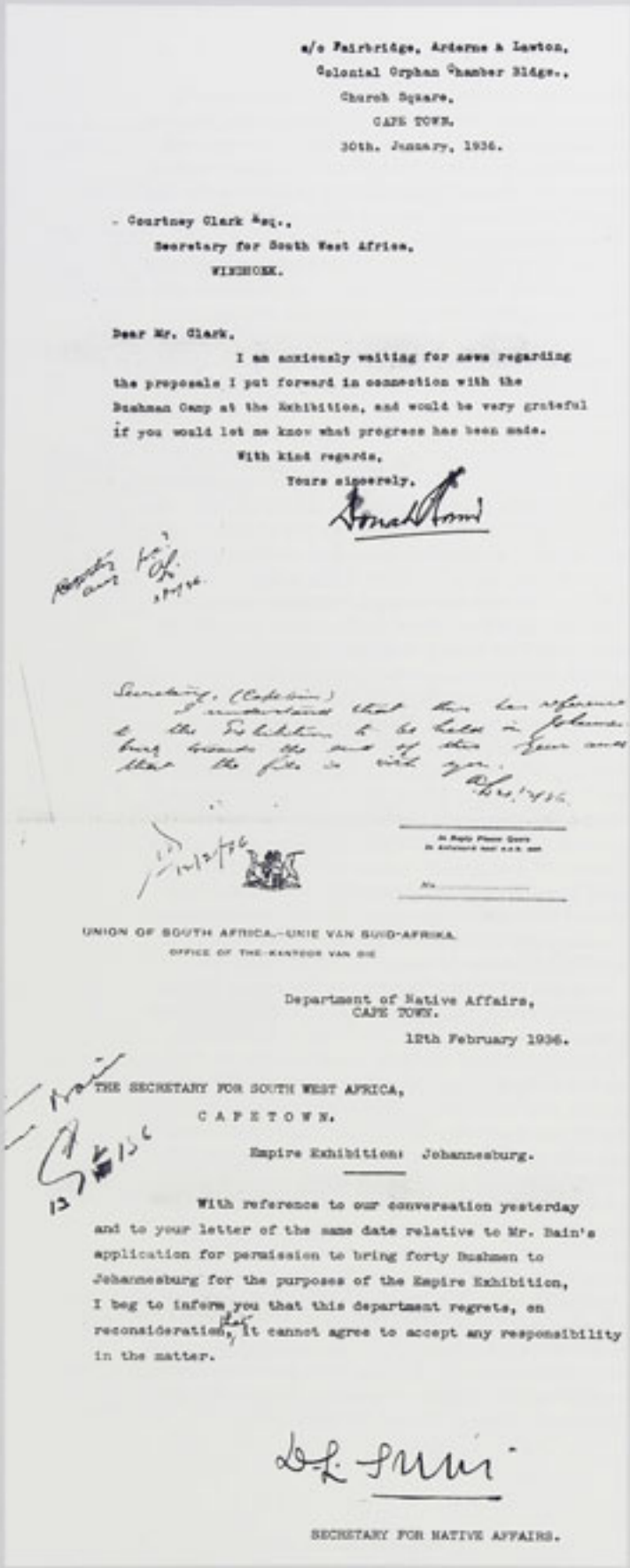
from 3.00 p.m. to 5.30 p.m. daily. Despite this pressure, the bushmen were enjoying themselves, Schoeman assured the press, as they found the spectators entertaining (*Die Burger* 17 March 1952). By 26 March they were being viewed by 1 500 spectators each hour (*Die Burger* 26 March 1952).

After three weeks on display, the Bushmen gave up their 'home' at the festival fair and returned to Namibia. However, the act of viewing and the monumental scale of the visual displays assembled for the festival, had constructed the bushmen into a relationship with Van Riebeeck's nation. On the one hand, the display fed into the debate about the future of the bushmen in Namibia and the discourse of social engineering that accompanied Schoeman's Bushman Preservation Commission. This commission presented its final report in 1955 and claimed that Bushmen were dying out because of contact—especially that which gave rise to venereal diseases. While the !Kung should have a reserve, the Commission did not regard it was worth the trouble to preserve the Heikom and Barakwengo, as they were too bastardised 'out' (*uitgebaster*) (*Die Burger* 23 July 1955).

On the other hand, and perhaps even more importantly, the bushman display, as public spectacle, served to provide a physical embodiment of what Van Riebeeck's nation was not. In the jovial atmosphere of the festival fair the relaxed onlookers gazed upon the bushmen as a form of entertainment. One schoolgirl found it all "*kouniklik*", while another, who represented her impressions vicariously through the eyes of "a little picannin", told how he came out of the exhibit with "his eyes full of dreams of spears and arrows" (Buxman & Mortelmann 1952:33, 35). In these seemingly playful acts of looking at difference, the nation was constructed as progressive, technologically advanced and the product of civilisation, whose past and future were along a path of history already preordained. The bushmen served to remind audiences of a primeval, savage Africa, lost in a stagnant, nationless world. The bushman construct was the antithesis of nation and the converse of history. Through the contrasting displays, Van Riebeeck's nation portrayed itself as the product as well as the producer of history. In this historical plane, 'Native' progress was potrayed, at the 'Native' pavilion of the Van Riebeeck Festival as possible only because of the benefits of the nation's tutelage. The bushman were seen as incapable of benefiting from tutelage and being taken along a path of history and progress. They were displayed and preserved as 'natural beings' to show that Jan van Riebeeck "*en sy helpers*" (and his helpers) were the initiators of history and "*die stigters van ons Suid-Afrika, die Suid-Afrika van die witman*" (the founders of our South Africa, the South Africa of the white man) (Gie 1940:51).

Yet it was not only in Van Riebeeck's image of the nation that the bushmen were displayed and viewed in 1952. The Van Riebeeck Festival provided an opportunity for the constructions and contours of the nation to be contested. The self-perceptions, images, icons and historical constructions of white domination that were being made on the foreshore and in Adderley Street were challenged by resistance movements through their newspapers and in mass meetings throughout the Peninsula. Specific representations of the festival were subjected to public critique and reassessment, much of which was directed against the bushman display. The Franchise Action Council protested against "Bushmen paraded as in a Zoo" and considered it an "insult and an affront to the dignity and self-respect of the 10 million non-European people" (*Cape Times* 20 March 1952). In the newspapers of the Non-European Unity Movement and the Congress movement, representations of the bushmen were inverted. *The Torch* and the *Guardian* turned the "wild and primitive people" into the world's "greatest hunters", communal owners of land, artistic geniuses, inventive craftspersons, and ecologically aware hunter-gatherers (*The Torch* 18 March 1952; *Guardian* 14 February and 27 March 1952). *The Torch* saw the 'Batwa' as resisters: "Not once did they negotiate for peace. The Batwa . . . preferred to die on their feet than live on their knees" (*The Torch* 18 March 1952).

These oppositional bushman images sought to challenge Van Riebeeck's nation and its portrayals of history. However, they were limited to acts of mere inversion. Van Riebeeck was made into the initiator of apartheid, Sheik Yusuf, icon of Malay ethnic history, was transposed into a guerrilla fighter and social bandit and the bushmen were given an historical place as instinctive non-collaborators. In these accounts, the bushmen were no longer outside history. However, in many senses these histories constructed around the opposition to Van Riebeeck replicated the festival histories. While previously the bushmen only had a place in the past, now they had a place in history. This historical place was still a measured one, placed in a comparative sequence, leading from backwardness to industrialised civilisation. As people, the bushmen were "a developing stage in the unfolding of human



c/o Fairbridge, Arderne & Lawton,
Colonial Orphan Chamber Bldgs.,
Church Square,
CAPE TOWN.
30th. January, 1936.

Courtney Clark Esq.,
Secretary for South West Africa,
WINDHOEK.

Dear Mr. Clark,

I am anxiously waiting for news regarding the proposals I put forward in connection with the Bushman Camp at the Exhibition, and would be very grateful if you would let me know what progress has been made.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely.

Secretary, (Cape Town)
I understand that the Commissioner
of the Exhibition is to be in Johannesburg
during the end of this year and
that he will be in visit you.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.—UNIE VAN SUID-AFRIKA.
OFFICE OF THE MINISTER VAN DIE

Department of Native Affairs,
CAPE TOWN.

12th February 1936.

THE SECRETARY FOR SOUTH WEST AFRICA,
C A P E T O W N.

Empire Exhibition: Johannesburg.

With reference to our conversation yesterday and to your letter of the same date relative to Mr. Bain's application for permission to bring forty Bushmen to Johannesburg for the purposes of the Empire Exhibition, I beg to inform you that this department regrets, on reconsideration, that it cannot agree to accept any responsibility in the matter.

SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS.

civilization, a stage back to which no return is possible, imaginable or desirable" (Mnguni 1952:8).

More significant than according the bushmen a place in history was giving them an independent framing ability, a capacity to view. The *Guardian* was impressed by a report in the *Cape Argus* that the bushmen thought of the white onlookers as curious wild animals. A cartoon in The *Guardian* depicted the bushmen gazing at the long-necked, short-limbed, white "baboons" clamouring for attention, while the bushmen remarked, "I believe if you annoy Baboons they're quite dangerous". The *Guardian* reporter remarked that the Bushmen, "in their human wisdom, had the last laugh, and their description of the gaping white crowds as baboons will be remembered in Africa for a long while" (*Guardian* 27 March 1952). The exhibitionary relationship between the viewer and the display was inverted and the logic of the colonial gaze at the 'other' reversed by according the bushmen power of representation.

Van Riebeeck's Cape Town and the tourist Bushmen

When the bushmen were put on display in Adderley Street in 1993, they had not travelled the 2000 kilometres from northern Namibia, but the relatively short distance from the Kagga Kamma Nature Reserve in the Cedarberg to the tourist information centre. They were integral to the new imaging of Cape Town for the international tourist trade. With the beaches, the sun, penguins, whales, township jazz, wine, the mountain and the port, they are packaged into an ethnic, multicultural "home of the Rainbow People" (1995 *The Western Cape South Africa: Travel Guide Brochure*, back cover).

Formerly, Cape Town had presented itself to international tourists as the 'Mother City', the old port of entry for foreign visitors, from early traders, explorers and colonists to those on recent voyages of discovery in the twentieth century. In this reverse chronology, the tourist goes back into the past in the footprints of the early colonists, to the "fairest Cape . . . where it all began". It is here that the roots of 'European civilisation' in Africa are said to lie: the "first church services", the "first printing press", the "first university", the "first parliament" and the "first trunk railway that would ultimately reach the equator". Here the tourist can relax in the familiar surrounds of a "pleasant resort with magnificent beaches, classy hotels and . . . breathtaking beauty", where the "impression" is that "the true heritage is not African but European" (Burman 1978:7; Rosenthal & Ryan 1973:2; De Villiers *et al.* 1992:95; *Cape Times* 8 July 1994).

This imagined heritage is embedded in the sought-after postcard view of Cape Town's Table Mountain from Bloubergstrand, the battle scene of British occupation in 1806. This vista is of a "grandiosely silhouetted" mountain with its "Table Cloth" covering of billowing clouds in the distance, while in the foreground the ships of the Dutch and British East India Companies sail, proclaiming

this to be the "fairest Cape in the whole circumference of the earth". Although "no giant as world peaks go", the mountain is depicted as an "unmistakable beacon" between the "two worlds of East and West", a "gigantic sign of an inn offering hospitality" and a "major landfall of one of the great shipping routes of the world". It has been given a past with European roots, through the "Portuguese admiral", Antonio de Saldanha, now proclaimed as the "first man to climb its slopes" (South African Tourist Corporation, *Introducing South Africa / Coup d'oeil sur l'Afrique du Sud*, Pretoria, n.d., colour picture no 27; Postcard: *The Fairest Cape*, Art Publishers, Durban; Postcard: *Table Mountain's 'Table Cloth' at Night, During a Black South-Easter*, Clifton Publications, Cape Town; Bulpin n.d.:13, 19; De Villiers *et al.* 1992:101).

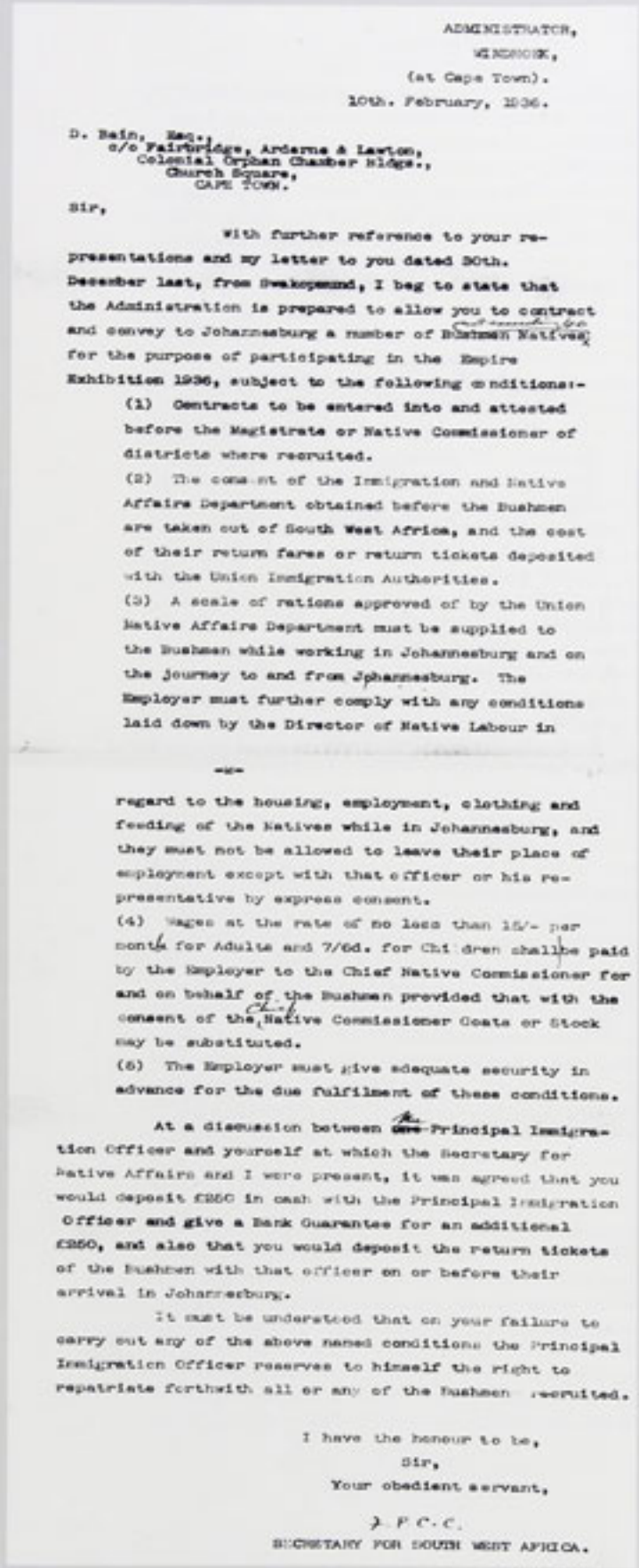
Table Mountain not only presents a vista of European discovery and exploration but also fathers European Cape Town. From the foot of the mountain, the city "oozes history from every pore and measures traditions and buildings in centuries". Where once "lions roared", "hippos wallowed" and people lived in "shabby huts", constructions of a European past with its gabled Cape Dutch homes, *broekie*-lace Victorian façades and scattered garden suburbs emerged. While these have largely given way to a more modern city of "tower blocks", "skyscrapers" and "streams of traffic flow", they still serve as "national monuments", proclaiming Cape Town as "not very African". When visitors "speak of the fabled 'charm' of the Cape", it is this "colonial 'Europeanised' atmosphere" that they are referring to, where the city's "Africanness is concealed beneath [the] . . . foreign patina" of a mountain evoking "awe, wonder and majesty" (De Villiers *et al.* n.d.:95; Rosenthal & Ryan 1973:2; Rassool 1993; *Cape Times* 8 July 1994:59; UCT Environmental Evaluation Unit 1994:59).

This resurgent colonial past takes on a maritime image at what is being proclaimed as "the country's most exciting tourist attraction", the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront. Here, where Cape Town harbour first began, a waterfront marina has been developed, modelled upon the recently reconstructed docklands in Europe and North America and the 'quaint old' ports of British colonial trade. Alongside these quayside images of "ships and legends" of imperial yore, the tourist is invited to enjoy the "best jazz in Cape Town", sample "every type of cuisine", sip a pint of Bosun's Bitter at Ferryman's and "shop till you drop" at dozens of boutiques, galleries and markets. In the shadow of Table Mountain, these glitzy representations, under the control of private capital, give the tourist a sanitised Victorian Cape Town of "British enterprise and industry", where the past gloom of hard labour, segregation and imprisonment has been declared "undesirable". Once proclaimed as the "gateway to Africa" for the foreign visitor, "Cape Town of the Waterfront has firmly turned its back on the African hinterland and its inhab-itants", allowing the visitor to retune to the rhythms and rituals of a European life of leisure (Van Rooyen 1991:back cover; *Western Cape Tourism Association* 1993–4:16; *South* 3–7 April 1993; Worden 1992:13, 17).[3]

Since the early 1990s these tourist images have been repackaged and recoded, turning Cape Town into "The Mother City of Africa" (*Captour Annual Report*, 1993–4, front cover). Exotic images are clothed in an emerging discourse of ethnic diversity and multiculturalism. At the Waterfront, tourists can listen to the Klopse rhythms and *goema* beats of Cape minstrels ('coons'). A short ride away, on the cobbled streets of the Bo-Kaap ("Little Islam") visitors are enticed by the herbs, spices and aromas of "traditional Cape cuisine": smoortjies, bredies and gently spiced salomis (*Weekly Mail and Guardian* 17–22 December 1993). Sightseeing jaunts, striving to reflect the experiences of the majority of South Africans, now promise a "first-hand experience of the township", where the tourist can "interact with the people" of Bonteheuwel, KTC, Crossroads and Khayelitsha (*Township Educa-tour*, One City Tours, Cape Town, 1994, pamphlet). The tourist will be "spoilt" with "African warmth", visit Guguletu, the "township that produced some of the finest Jazz music artists of the world", and imbibe "traditional beer" at a shebeen, an "African social place". A trip to the wine farms of the Boland can now be crowned with a pilgrimage to "Prison Gate", the entrance to Victor Verster Prison in Paarl, the "gateway the world saw on TV as Nelson Mandela took up a new role in national politics" (*Ubuntu Tours: The Intelligent Choice*, Ubuntu Tours, Cape Town, 1994, pamphlet). Even Robben Island, for centuries a place of banishment and incarceration, has been cleaned up as a site of tourist curiosity, "rich in history from Penguins to Prisoners".

The transformation of oppressive ethnic inventions and divisions of apartheid into local expressions of cultural diversity has not been an easy one for Cape Town. A perceived European past has weighed heavily on Cape Town's self-image. Constructing and managing a new-found Africanness replete with commodities and characterisations has therefore required a search through the nooks and crannies of identity. The results have not always been promising. All that could be made of the Cape Flats in the 1995–6 *Travel Guide to the Western Cape* was the location of one or two music clubs, educational centres, and food outlets in the "satellite towns". At times the only information provided consisted of translations of the 'quaint' Xhosa names (*The Western Cape South Africa: Travel Guide* 1995–6, brochure, p 17).

The Kagga Kamma Nature Reserve, although physically located some 260 kilometres from Cape Town, offers visitors to the city a 'slice of Africa', providing "nature lovers" with the "game reserve . . . of the Bushmen" (*The Western Cape South Africa: Travel Guide* 1995–6, brochure, p 55). As a "tourist magnet", Cape town in turn gives Kagga Kamma access to a portion of the more than half-a-million foreigners who visit the city annually (interview with Lauren de Wet, 4 September 1995). In its promotional material, it is its notional proximity to Cape Town that is always highlighted. It is simultaneously "Home of The Bushmen" and "Near



ADMINISTRATOR,
WINDHOEK,
(at Cape Town).
10th. February, 1936.

D. Bain, Esq.,
c/o Fairbridge, Arderne & Lawton,
Colonial Orphan Chamber Bldgs.,
Church Square,
CAPE TOWN.

Sir,

With further reference to your representations and my letter to you dated 30th. December last, from Swakopmund, I beg to state that the Administration is prepared to allow you to contract and convey to Johannesburg a number of Bushmen Natives for the purpose of participating in the Empire Exhibition 1936, subject to the following conditions:-

(1) Contracts to be entered into and attested before the Magistrate or Native Commissioner of districts where recruited.

(2) The consent of the Immigration and Native Affairs Department obtained before the Bushmen are taken out of South West Africa, and the cost of their return fares or return tickets deposited with the Union Immigration Authorities.

(3) A scale of rations approved of by the Union Native Affairs Department must be supplied to the Bushmen while working in Johannesburg and on the journey to and from Johannesburg. The Employer must further comply with any conditions laid down by the Director of Native Labour in

-2-

regard to the housing, employment, clothing and feeding of the Natives while in Johannesburg, and they must not be allowed to leave their place of employment except with that officer or his representative by express consent.

(4) Wages at the rate of no less than 15/- per month for Adults and 7/6d. for Children shall be paid by the Employer to the Chief Native Commissioner for and on behalf of the Bushmen provided that with the consent of the Native Commissioner Goats or Stock may be substituted.

(5) The Employer must give adequate security in advance for the due fulfilment of these conditions.

At a discussion between the Principal Immigration Officer and yourself at which the Secretary for Native Affairs and I were present, it was agreed that you would deposit £250 in cash with the Principal Immigration Officer and give a Bank Guarantee for an additional £250, and also that you would deposit the return tickets of the Bushmen with that officer on or before their arrival in Johannesburg.

It must be understood that on your failure to carry out any of the above named conditions the Principal Immigration Officer reserves to himself the right to repatriate forthwith all or any of the Bushmen recruited.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

J. F. C. C.
SECRETARY FOR SOUTH WEST AFRICA.

Cape Town, South Africa", only "40 Mins by Air" (The Kagga Kamma Game Reserve, promotional video, n.d.; *The Western Cape South Africa: Travel Guide* 1995-6, brochure, p. 57). This symbiotic relationship has led to Kagga Kamma co-sponsoring Captour's *Official Tourism Trade Kit* and creating images of its bushman products in the Cape Town tourist information centre. More than the somewhat tepid township presentations, with their almost total lack of imagination and creativity, it is the bushmen from Kagga Kamma who are used by Cape Town to make itself African.

In search of an ancient African essence, the visitor to Kagga Kamma ('near' Cape Town) can "observe a way of life that is reminiscent of the stone age", explore the reserve for a variety of wild species and may even be lucky to spot the "camera-shy, nocturnal leopard" (*Weekend Argus Sunday Magazine* 26 June 1994; see *Eco-Explorers, Tour Operators with a Difference*, Cape Town 1993; *Safaris to Kagga Kamma: Place of the Bushmen*, Paarl, 1992, pamphlet).[1] The lure of Kagga Kamma, though, lies in its displays of 'pristine' bushman culture which the tourist is made privileged to encounter. This is largely a created culture for a group of unemployed farm workers from the Northern Cape, who speak a "colloquial mixture of Afrikaans and Nama" and are called bushmen (White 1995:25). But bushman identity at Kagga Kamma is not simply an instrumental manipulation on the part of the management of the game farm, but arises out of a complex history and set of transactions around the experiences of dispossession, patronage and labour (White 1995; see Buntman this volume). Ultimately though, it is for the tourist that the bushmen are identified and come to life. In these performances, Dawid Kruiper, one of these former farm workers, becomes the bushman leader, who reveals, demonstrates and illuminates bushman life and culture to the gazing public as part of the act.

In Cape Town, at the end of 1993, Dawid Kruiper again assumed the role of interpreter and intermediary. Alongside staff dressed up in hired gowns to act the parts of Cape allegories, it was in Dawid and through him that access was granted to the 'authentic' Africa that Cape Town has to offer. He was there in body and in voice to take his place in Cape Town's offerings. With his wife and two children, he demonstrated and explained to the visitors at the mini-indaba the "culture and way of life of the bushmen" (interview with Hester Lamprecht). This was a role that Dawid was not unaccustomed to performing in Cape Town. He and the Kagga Kamma bushmen were "becoming used to visiting Cape Town to be displayed at shopping centres, hunting and gun shows, and other places" (*Weekend Argus* 21 June 1992).

In June 1992, Dawid Kruiper and 14 other Kagga Kamma bushmen, dressed in 'traditional gear' and tracksuits bearing the logo of the game reserve, were exhibited at the Western Cape's most popular and busiest shopping mall, Tyger Valley in Bellville. A bushman 'kraal' was set up amidst billboards advertising the Potato Board, the Department of Environmental Affairs and a local gun shop.

Figure 8 **"Human zoo? Clad in traditional gear, the 'exhibits' go about their traditional routines while shoppers stop over their kraal."** *Weekend Argus*, 21/6/92.

Some shoppers gawked and gazed in "fascination and surprise", while others ventured to stroke and closely examine younger members of the group as if they were specimens on display. In return for the bushman performance, their employers gave them bean soup in polystyrene cups and R10 each a day, while appreciative onlookers handed them cigarettes. Although there was some controversy over the exhibition, this was countered by the assertion of its supposed educational value. Indeed, vistors declared, "Goodness, they're really like the ones in the museum" (*Weekend Argus* 21 June 1992).

On other occasions, Dawid Kruiper had taken his bushmen to the bushman diorama at the South African Museum, to pay homage to the plaster cast behind the glass, perceived to be the image of their "*stamvader, Ou Makai*". Here Dawid Kruiper has assisted groups of schoolchildren in their encounters with the diorama, eagerly listening to the lesson and confirming the teacher's primordial account, often derived from school textbooks replete with racial stereotypes (*50/50* programme on Kagga Kamma, SATV, TV1, 1995).

In traversing the 240 kilometres from Kagga Kamma to Cape Town to perform on stage in Adderley Street, the bushmen were placed beside Van Riebeeck in the tourist "rainbow region" (*The Western Cape South Africa: Travel Guide* 1995–6, brochure, p. 1). Through the display they offered Cape Town a solution to its ambivalence about its Africanness, one that did not entail losing the comforts, modern facilities and orderly structure of the guided tour. In Cape Town, at the tourist information centre, at the Waterfront or at the seaside, the bushmen bearing Kagga Kamma's stamp of authenticity could transfer their Africanness on to the image of Cape Town. This hyper-real Africanness, reproduced through relations of tourism, is beginning to feed into a debate over appropriate structures for the social engineering of political transformation. Dawid Kruiper, the tourist performer, star of films and television advertisements, bushman interlocutor, has now asserted himself as a Khoisan traditional leader. Having put away his "traditional attire of small animal skins" in favour of "a jersey, khaki trousers and boots", he accompanies delegations from "the Khoisan community" to negotiate over "representation in local, provincial and national government levels" (*Argus* 13 September 1995). Moreover, Kruiper has turned this pattern of identity performance into a role model, and suggested to other "indigenous groups" how they may learn to make a life and "a living in tourism" (*Official Cape Town Tourist Trade Kit*, August 1995).

Conclusion

Schoeman's work in bringing the bushmen to Cape Town in 1952 to represent the visual past was part of an emergent larger project which "could package, market and distribute evolutionary racism on a hitherto unimagined scale "(McClintock 1995:209). Before any people can be successfully "displayed", they have to be exoticised and valued and consumption is enhanced by deploying a plethora of authoritative modifiers like "The world's most primitive people" or "Last Wild Bushmen". The audience believed that what they were seeing was authentic because they were living traditional lives. They had what Benjamin calls an "aura of the original" (Kahn 1995), which was created by a set of signs which marked the Bushmen as authentic.

In 1993, when Dawid Kruiper arrived to become part of the Cape heritage with the authenticity of his tourist identity, he granted the 'Spirit of the Cape' an African character. The bushmen were still "The world's most primitive people" and the "last pure Bushman community", but in the arena of international tourism and its perennial search for the exotic in safe surrounds, they were able to fashion an indigeneous cultural identity. In a city that was striving for a "tourism ethic and culture", this was found in a presentation of a timeless bushman past of "intrepid people". This history without time was transferred to its most potent symbols, Table Mountain and Van Riebeeck. Captour gave Table Mountain aKhoisan name, "Hoerikwaggo —Mountain of the Sea", and, in the process, Van Riebeeck was almost unnoticeably transformed into an African.

Photograph of a body cast, made by Drury *c.* 1910 for the South African Museum, as part of a casting project to record the "Bush Races". The casts are exhibited in the museum in dioramas (See Davison1993). CA E4626

Bushman[1] Images in South African Tourist Advertising: The Case of Kagga Kamma

Barbara Buntman

This chapter examines publicity material produced to advertise the Kagga Kamma Private Game Reserve in the Cedarberg mountains of South Africa and on the visit tourists make to meet 'Bushman' people living there. The material presents stereotyped images of pure ethnic Bushmen living happily in harmony with nature. The images are considered in terms of the socio-political practices which govern their production and for what they reveal about the ideologies of the producers, commissioners and the consumers.

> In ideological terms the public transcript will typically, by its accommodationist tone, provide convincing evidence for the hegemony of dominant values, for the hegemony of dominant discourse. It is precisely in this public domain where the effects of power are viewed. Relations are most manifest, and any analysis based exclusively on the public transcript is likely to conclude that subordinate groups endorse the terms of their subordination and are willing, even enthusiastic, partners in that subordination. (Scott 1990:4)

The people from Kagga Kamma, also known as the 'Place of the Bushmen', are a socially and politically marginalised and socially disadvantaged group.[2] Their current participation in tourism has opened up some new opportunities for them. Implicit in changes to their life-style is a debate which revolves around the actual preservation of the traditions and culture of the mythologised Bushman which, in turn, prompts questions with regard to the established Western image of Bushman people. Complex social and political problems which will have to be addressed by those groups involved in their welfare are prompted by the Bushman display. Some questions are: do they perceive themselves as 'authentic Bushmen'? do they want to change the status quo? what opportunities are available to them now and to future generations? In other words, is it in their interests and do they want to learn how to subvert the power that perpetuates the colonised image of themselves?

Two sets of analysis are uses to evaluate the images and representations. Firstly, the art historical methodologies employed uncover evidence which seems to point to a relatively straight-forward ongoing play of domination and subjection, between the voiced (the producers) and the silenced (the Bushmen). Whilst this is, to a large extent, an accurate assessment of the situation, the case of the Bushman at Kagga Kamma presents a far more complex case involving relationships of power, as the images do not reflect the dynamic struggles for power or, as Scott explains, "the public transcript is not the whole story" (Scott 1990:3). Consent, not coercion, binds the Bushmen to the owners of the reserve, but not to the overarching socio-political system. Secondly, by demystifying art production and the "staged authenticity" (MacCannell 1973) of touristic events, I explore the way in which people represent themselves and how their chosen agents see and represent them. This approach is encompassed by a sociological point of view which reveals some of the tensions implicit in the situation.

The Secretary for South West Africa,
WINDHOEK.

Your letter of the 10th ultimo (written at Cape Town) and addressed to D.Bain c/o Fairbridge,Ardarne & Lawton, refers.

MAGISTRATE..

8.March1936.

The MAGISTRATE,
GOBABIS.

SIR,

I am in receipt of your communication (without number) of the 25th ultimo, and in reply to state that I am willing to let old Saul accompany the party provided he is paid not less th an 1/6d per day and used solely for interpreting and using his influence in persuading the bushmen for the purpose desired by the visiting party, and not as a labourer.

I am sending old Saul into the Native Hospital Gobabis for treatment as he has lately not been too well. He is apparently suffering from lumbago.

Old Saul is very childish and does not know the value of money, he is also very kind hearted. To assist his earnings going astray, I desire (in my absence) that any moneys that may be due to him on completion of his mission is not to be paid to Saul directly, but either to you or Father Dohren. Saul is taking a letter from me to Father Dohren, wherein I have fully explained.

I must remind you that Saul is old, his health and sight is somewhat impaired, andhe does not to-day come up to the standard of his past reputation. He knows the Rietfontein Sandfontein Oliphant Areas. In due course I will collect Saulsearnings from you or Father Dohren and apply the same to his benefit.

Yours faithfully,
(sgd). P.Callaghan.

The SECRETARY FOR SOUTH WEST AFRICA,
WINDHOEK.
February
Your letter of the 10th/(written at Cape Town) and addressed to D.Bain.Esq,c/o Fairbridge,Ardarne & Lawton refers.

Kagga Kamma, is a privately owned 5640ha game reserve, 260 km from Cape Town, "[s]ituated amongst the rugged beauty of the Cedarberg mountains, high up on the Swartruggens range, that separates the Koue Bokkeveld from the vast stretches of the Karoo . . ." (Kagga Kamma brochure). The amenities offered include hiking trails and tours in 4x4 vehicles. The game reserve is relatively sparsely stocked with large game which has been reintroduced into the area. Accommodation offered to the tourist ranges from large, comfortable "luxury chalets" to two small, basic grass huts. For a fee, guides and vehicles are available to take guests on game drives to view the spectacular terrain, to provide meals and for the main attraction, to meet "authentic Bushmen".

The Bushmen who live there are part of an extended family, the Kruiper family. They rely heavily on their human rights lawyer, Roger Chennells, who fears that even as they adapt and mark out a social structure for themselves and are forced to accept such facts as geographical boundaries, they will continue to be abused by others. The following are some of his insights into the complexities of their situation. The group do not see themselves as helpless victims but rather see their role as partners in "a joint venture" with the farmer (owner). They do have complaints, and as they become more empowered they are "quite strong during negotiations over their conditions". It is acknowledged that they have massive problems which include lack of education, alcohol abuse, family rivalries, resentments and posturing which leads to tensions within the group. They accept being "marketed" to an uncritical, undiscerning public and, despite questions about the human zoo, feel they are benefiting as "they are managing to keep together as a family unit at Kagga Kamma, the only Bushman group in South Africa that is doing that successfully". They articulate a certain satisfaction with their basic material conditions at Kagga Kamma, as they are not materialist, but several assert that their spiritual needs can be met only in the Kalahari (from where they came). Nevertheless, they have learnt something about the value of the commercial enterprise that is Kagga Kamma and "happily dress up in their skins". Chennells stresses that this group cannot help themselves, as they do not assert their rights and consequently could be "wiped out". A special case has, therefore, to be made on their behalf as they live very much in the present and do not conceptualise the need "to plan for tomorrow". The group needs particular help because its members do not think it necessary to claim the land as they consider that "the land belongs to us" (Chennells personal communication 1995).

Essentially there are three major groupings of stakeholders who affect the power relations concerning these particular Bushmen. The first group is represented by the 'the system' that is South Africa, both past and present, the owners and management at Kagga Kamma;[3] the tourist industry which incorporates the tourist, the publicity, popular culture and some academics all of whom together could be said to encapsulate substantial political, economic and cultural forces. They are the people in a position of superiority who hold most of the power. The second group is the extended Kruiper family—an impoverished marginalised underclass, some of whom had already experienced conformity with the established Bushman image; who, having had few choices, consented to leave their home environment and elected to come to the 'Place of the Bushmen'. The third grouping represents the 'New South Africa' which, as it establishes an equitable Constitution and Bill of Rights, opens up new opportunities and allows for the existence of a Bushman Trust. Central to this is the energetic and compassionate human rights lawyer who, along with other academics and concerned individuals,[4] is seeking to empower the Bushmen people, thus increasing their strength, in establishing land claims and asserting their fundamental human freedoms.

It is internationally recognised that tourism is "an important contributor to gross national product, foreign exchange earnings, employment generation and for urban and regional regeneration" (Kinnaird 1994:15). South Africa's tourist potential is considerable, particularly in the light of the government's call for "the promotion of ecotourism and the enhancement of South Africa's unique cultural and political heritage . . . These afford opportunities for integrating traditional knowledge into tourism" (RDP 1994:106). Ecotourism is currently a popular concept which "conjures up images of purposeful travel to natural areas or reserves, with maybe some exposure to local cultures and an opportunity to buy local souvenirs" (Van der Merwe: 1995:3). Jenkins, however, suggests that it is a meaningless concept unless accompanied by appropriate structures for sustainable tourism because, tourism is one of the least regulated industries and "is already responsible for some devastating environmental and cultural changes" (Jenkins 1993–4:22).

As a social phenomenon, tourism has far reaching socio-cultural impacts. It is "not just an aggregate of merely commercial activities; it is also an ideological framing of history, nature and tradition: a framing that has the power to reshape culture and nature to its own needs" (MacCannell 1992:1). Tourism encompasses the interaction of several factors which, aside from the recreational aspect, offer tourists the opportunity to explore their personal interest in the experiences of otherness, satisfy a desire to witness difference and indulge in curiosity about the way other people live their lives. Observing other ways of life is fundamental to tourist activity and, as Urry asserts, social groups both construct the objects of the tourist's gaze and the social practices inherent in that gaze. This is constructed through signs which, by comparison, allow for an assessment of the associated so-called "normal society" (Urry 1990:2–3). MacCannell describes the touristic consciousness as being motivated by its desire for authentic experiences, but cautions that it is often very difficult to be certain if the experience is authentic (MacCannell 1973:597).[5]

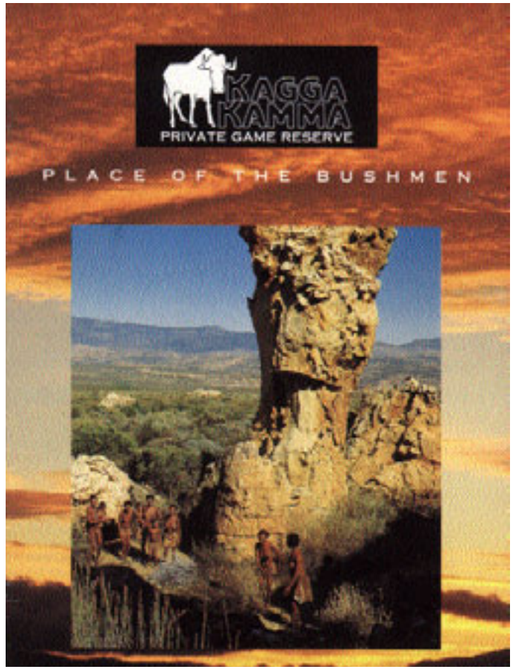


Figure 1 **Cover: Kagga Kamma Brochure.** Courtesy of Günther Komnick Studio, Cape Town

One of the dominant visual themes of the brochure is the representation of landscape which orders and structures the space in which tourists and Bushmen function. Landscape, as an established form of representation in South African art, has traditionally depicted emotional responses to impressive vistas of grandeur, often conforming to idealised images which evoke special qualities of a particular place. These so-called unblemished natural wonders invariably become objects of the tourist gaze. Mitchell suggests that landscape is an instrument of cultural power and

> thus has a double role with respect to something like ideology: it naturalizes a cultural and social construction, representing an artificial world as if it were simply given and inevitable, and it also makes that representation operational by interpellating its

400-MILE TREK HOME

MAY 1937

WHEN A BUSHMAN IS FREED FROM GAOL

Mr. Bob Buchanan

NO MONEY OR FOOD

"SO HE JUST HAD TO WALK"

NEWS out of the desert came last night by the first trunk telephone call made from Cape Town to the heart of the Kalahari.

Here are the tidings given by telephone from Witdraai, the remote trading post 280 miles north of Upington:

Old Abraham, the 109-years-old Bushman who, in accordance with tribal custom, has been left in the desert to die, is still alive.

The four Bushmen sent to gaol in Upington recently—a matter which attracted the attention of he Department of Justice—were released under the Coronation amnesty.

Word to this effect was given to The Argus to-day by Mr. Nicholas Jooste, the man who runs the trading post at Witdraai, where the camel police have a base. He telephoned his wife to tell her that, after safely bringing Mr. Donald Bain's troupe of Bushmen to Cape Town, he would leave to-morrow morning on his 800 miles return journey.

HARD TIME

"I am glad to hear that the Bushmen have been released from gaol," said Mr. Jooste in an interview. "These little people have a hard time in the desert.

"As a matter of fact, I have been wondering why no official investigation has been made into their position. Here is one instance of great hardship under which they suffer:

"The nearest place where Bushmen may be tried for even petty crimes is at Upington, 400 miles from Union's End, the border police post. Now if a Bushman is suspected of illegally killing a buck he is brought all that way down to Upington for the hearing of the case. I know, because I happen to have the contract for the transport of prisoners and witnesses down to Court.

"If found guilty of some petty offence and sentenced to imprisonment for a brief period—perhaps only two days—the Bushman is turned loose on the expiry of his sentence and he has to make his own way back to his home in the desert.

NO TRANSPORT

"He is given no money, no food, no transport. He may have 400 miles to travel if he comes from the Union's End area. So he just has to walk.

"Even if he is essentially honest, a day or two of walking through the sand must lead him into temptation. If he is starving and sees a buck or a farmer's sheep, can one really blame him for killing it? And if found out, he is probably dragged back to Upington for trial and sentence again.

"The position can arise that a Bushman brought down from the desert for one offence never reaches his home again. Without food or transport he simply cannot get back without breaking the law to get food. So it may go on, year after year; the moment the man is released, he must either die of starvation or break the law."

Meanwhile the party of 55 Bushmen whom Mr. Donald Bain brought to Cape Town to see the Minister of Native Affairs in an effort to have their wrongs redressed are having the time of their lives. They have more that enough to eat, and that is paradise to the Bushmen.

PLENTY OF FOOD

Whenever their stomachs are full they dance, and in their camp in the Rosebank Show Grounds now they are dancing all day and most of the night. The rain and cold are not worrying them, for they are used to colder nights in the frosty Kalahari each winter.

Extraordinary interest has been aroused by their visit. They were on view for three hours on the afternoon of Coronation Day, and over 2,000 people saw them. The show grounds were closed to visitors yesterday, but again to-day there were many people to see them, and it is expected that over the coming week-end there will be thousands of other visitors all anxious to see these

beholder in some more or less determinate relation to givenness as sight and site. Thus, landscape (whether urban or rural, artificial or natural) always greets us as space, as environment, as that within which "we" (figured as "the figures" in the landscape) find—or lose—ourselves. (Mitchell 1994:2)

The brochure produced to publicise Kagga Kamma operates as an instrument of power in that it conveys and re-enforces the cultural practices and attitudes of the producer, the owners/management and the sector of society of which they are an integral part.

The first full-page spread, showing vast landscape and details of rock formations, invites tourists not only to view nature but to enter a region removed from the (unstated) unpleasantness associated with urban lifestyle. The isolated terrain suggests not only supreme nature but also a wild, untamed quality. MacCannell, in writing about the structure of tourist settings argues that

> [t]he current structural development of industrial society is marked by the appearance everywhere of touristic space. This space can be called a stage set, a tourist setting, or simply a set depending on how purposefully worked up for tourists the display is. (MacCannell 1973:597)

His point is played out by Kagga Kamma's self-representation which claims to offer the tourist "an experience which is truly unique. The beautiful surroundings are matched with the amenities of a modern game reserve"(Kagga Kamma brochure). The publicity material asserts that time spent there allows the tourist to break away from his or her routine and to move into a different world. It offers its viewer the promise of several types of tourist experience, not only to photograph, as the brochure's lay-out implies, but, as Bunn suggests, to be that mobile presence who is free to wander and roam as part of the topographical landscape (Bunn 1992:8). These (and other) pages of the brochure offer the grandeur and spectacular effects of a particular landscape by presenting small photographs which range from the close-up of a single flower to the "weathered and cragged rock formations sometimes resembling mystical beasts and demons" (Kagga Kamma brochure). The next paragraph of the brochure informs the reader, firstly, that "here, amongst this solitude and crisp mountain air . . . you'll find a tribe[6] of Bushmen" who "as a privilege", will share "their age-old skills and traditions",[7] and, secondly, that paintings of the Bushmen's "ancestors" are to be found among the rocks and crevices. By linking the landscape, material culture and identity, the brochure asserts the symbolic values of the land wherein ancient and "primitive"[8] people are one with nature.

Figure 2
"Bushmen being Bushmen", including:

2. a
Rock paintings at Kagga Kamma

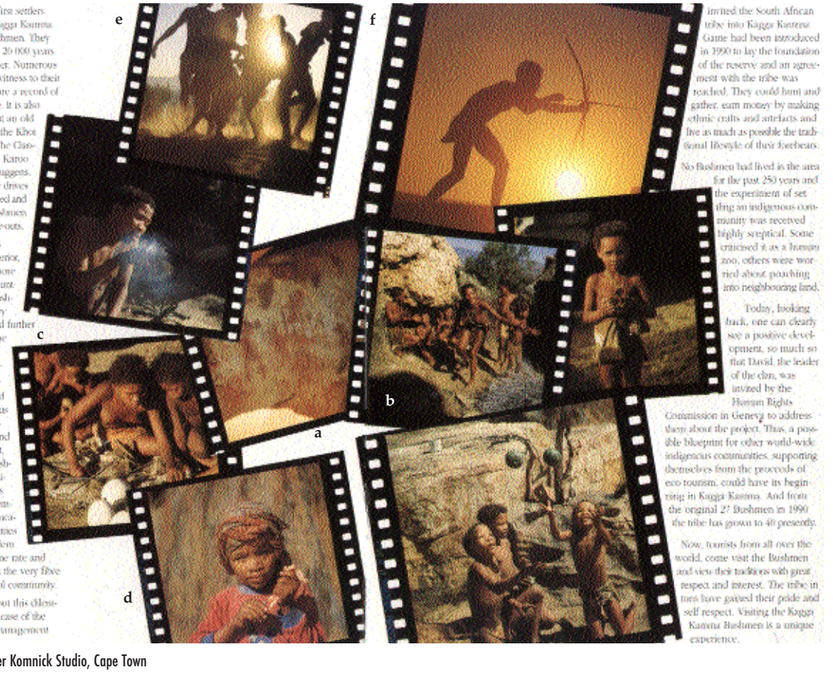
2. b
Woman and children

2. c
Woman with artefacts

2. d
Child with headdress

2. e
Silhouette: people dancing

2 .f
Silhouette: demonstrating technique with bow and arrow.



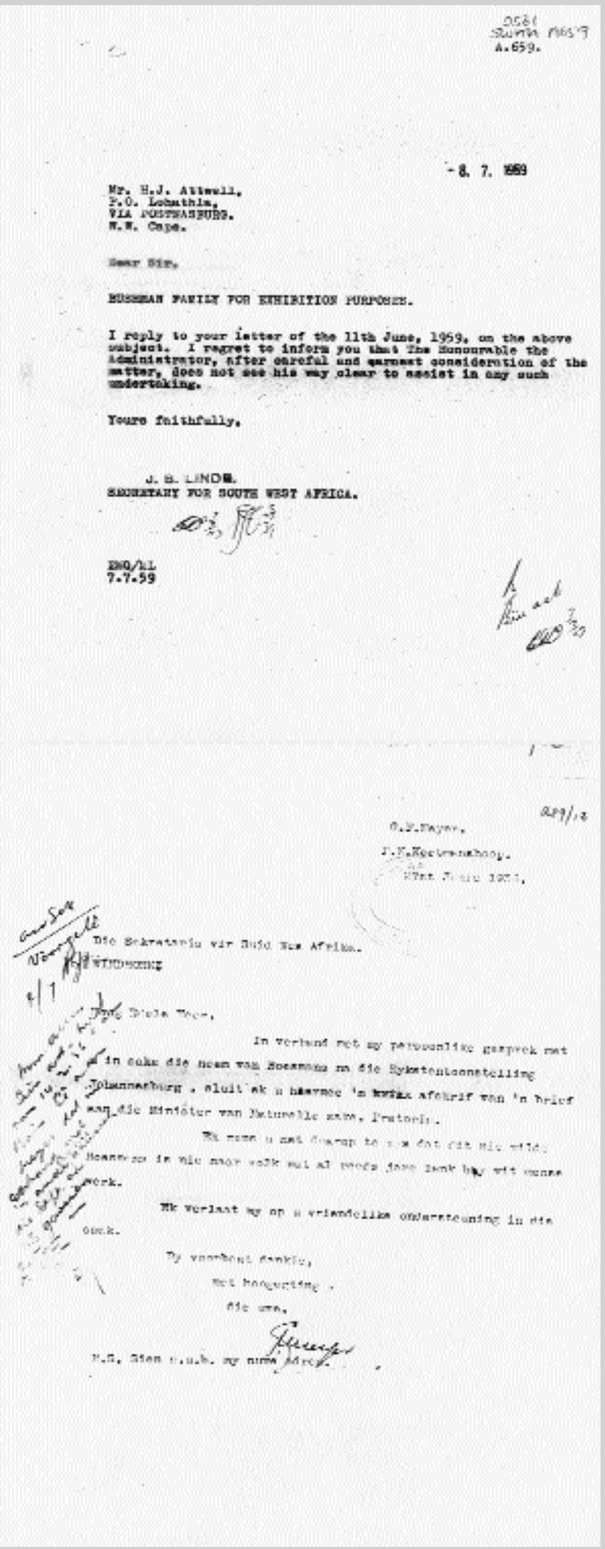
Brochure and photographs courtesy of Günther Komnick Studio, Cape Town

Whilst people may enjoy lingering over the landscape, capturing it on film is one of the central preoccupations of the average tourist for whom those images will serve as memories and status markers. Tourism promotes the notion that one should return from travel to far off and relatively obscure destinations with a selection of photographs that record not only the experience but, more significantly, serve as a personal view of the tourist's gaze. Recognising that tourism and photography go hand in hand, the advertising agency presents sets of images as if from a roll of film or a sheet of contact prints. This situation is what Urry describes "as a kind of hermeneutic circle":

> What is sought for in a holiday is a set of photographic images, as seen in tour company brochures or on TV programmes. Whilst the tourist is away, this then moves on to a tracking down and capturing of those images for oneself. And it ends up with travellers demonstrating that they really have been there by showing their versions of the images that they had seen originally before they set off. (Urry 1990:140)

The brochure cover (Figure 1) presents a combination of visual cliches: the dramatic African sunset as framing device, the place name with the logo which is the wildebeest signifying the "many species which roamed the landscape originally" (Kagga Kamma brochure) and the central image which locates the Bushman people as if they belonged to this particular space. The camera captures the seemingly spontaneous image of a group of happy women and children apparently within their 'natural setting'. They are dwarfed by the fantastic rock formations and rendered part of the vast landscape. Just as Bushman people are generally treated as a liminal group who are consciously regarded as different and other, so too "the African landscape is conceived as a liminal zone between the self and savagery" (Bunn 1994:128). This first view of the Bushman, then, is as the colonised subject: the generalised collective, constituted as a group other than the tourist, and marked out in their difference primarily by their close relationship to nature. Text and image entice the visitor to come and experience an encounter with the people as they "really are". This particular representation seems to set the Bushmen women and children like people in a museum, in the ethnographic display of the diorama, which is claimed as their cultural and historical setting. The visitor remains a spectator, part of the long view outside the frame, removed to the position of uninvolved photographer or recorder.

The general impression of the montage of images



2681
SOUTH WEST
A.659.

-8. 7. 1959

Mr. H.J. Attwell,
P.O. Lokatlha,
VIA POSTMASBURG.
N.W. Cape.

Dear Sir,

BUSHMAN FAMILY FOR EXHIBITION PURPOSES.

I reply to your letter of the 11th June, 1959, on the above subject. I regret to inform you that The Honourable the Administrator, after careful and earnest consideration of the matter, does not see his way clear to assist in any such undertaking.

Yours faithfully,

J. H. LINDE.
SECRETARY FOR SOUTH WEST AFRICA.

ENQ/AL
7.7.59

A29/2

O.B.Meyer,
P/Kaapmanshoop.
22st July 1959.

Die Sekretaris vir Suid Wes Afrika.
WINDHOEK

Geagte Here,

In verband met my persoonlike gesprek met
in Suid die noem van Boesmans en die Bykantoonstelling
Johannesburg , sluit ek u hiermee 'n kopie afskrif van 'n brief
aan die Minister van Naturelle sake, Pretoria.

Ek neem u met graag to e e dat ek nie wild.
Hoenders in nie meer volk wat al reeds jare lank by wit manne
werk.

Ek verlaat my op u vriendelike ondersteuning in die
saak.

Ty voorbeeld dankie,
Met hoogagting ,
die ware,

P.S. Sien u.a.b. my nuwe adres.

on the brochure's double-page spread (Figure 2, double page spread of 'Bushmen being Bushmen') repeats the technique suggesting the relationship between tourist and photograph. It consists primarily of images of women and children purporting to do the things that Bushmen do: dancing, hunting, blowing to start a fire, sitting surrounded by artefacts, playing, being sociable and happy.[9]

Inserted between the figural representations is an image of a rock painting (Figure 2a), the presence of which is supported by the text which states:

> Long before the first settlers arrived in the area Kagga Kamma was home to the Bushmen. They lived here more than 2000 years ago to hunt and gather. Numerous rock paintings bear witness to their lively existence and are a record of their nomadic lifestyle. (Kagga Kamma brochure)

This is a gross manipulation of the facts, as a close relationship between those so-called original inhabitants and the present clan is unknown and unlikely. The painting, which functions as a backdrop to claims of authenticity, is used to support an unfounded claim that the people have returned to their ancestral home.

The people portrayed in this image (Figure 2b; women and children, one woman dancing) are depicted as happy, joyful and seemingly enjoying the basic pleasures of life. There are, however, gendered and racial messages encoded within this and other images of women and children in the brochure. The bare-breasted, barely clad women who are subordinated ethnically as well, are constructed as images of sexually objectified women, available for the male and tourist gaze. Similarly, (Figure 2c) the young woman sitting with the traditional and easily recognisable artefacts of ostrich egg-shell, bows and arrows, is carefully posed to show her bare breasts. It could be argued that these are the traditional ways of dressing, but this state of undressing is part of the tourist show.[10]

The only representation of a Bushman in the brochure to show some form of western clothing is the image of the young child with headdress (Figure 2d). In reality he is, in many respects, a rural South African quotidian but he is presented as different from all Bushmen in the brochure. Despite being represented as an example of stereotypical racial physiognomy, he presents a contrast to the unclothed Bushmen whilst simultaneously portraying an exotic other when compared with the Westernised tourist. His somewhat romantic headdress and everyday Western sweatshirt ascribe a special identity to him; yet the tiny plucked bird in his hand places him back firmly in character as a hunter-gatherer and therefore different and 'other' from the viewer as well.

The producer of the publicity has employed the

Figure 3 **Silhouette: demonstrating technique with bow and arrow.** Günther Komnick Studio, Cape Town

Figure 4 **Silhouette: woman and child.** Günther Komnick Studio, Cape Town

technique of the silhouette which, in "eschewing the focus on human or humanitarian problems", avoids psychological meaning (Nochlin 1983:169). By using this simple reduced form, the representation is diminished to its bare essentials, which allows for generalisations and stereotypes. The group of people dancing in the soft golden light of the African sun (Figure 2e) conjures up images of mystery or 'primitive' ritual as the feet kick up soft clouds of sand. These people are merely emblematic, neither concrete nor specific. The photographer uses the technique to tell a story without any illusionistic detail to distract the viewer. The strange stance of the woman gesturing in the silhouette against the gold and blue sky (Figure 4), heightens the cold and remote mood and emphasises her sexuality and a racial stereotyping. The tip of her sharply defined breast is exaggerated by the tip of the young child's cap, whilst her facial features and peppercorn hair suppress any individual presence and locate her as clearly as "Bushman". The images of a man in typical hunting stance (Figures 2f and 3) repeat the cultural stereotype of the "First People" who it is suggested, at Kagga Kamma, still survive due to their unique hunting ability. Of course, at the resort this is not so as the financial cost of stocking the game reserve and the rocky terrain make hunting unviable for owners and Bushmen respectively.[11]

Once at the 'Place of the Bushmen', the tourist has the "opportunity to step into the life of the Bushmen in a sensitive way" (Tourism Blueprint; no date:4). This excursion is a carefully organised event.[12] The visitors are requested to meet in the bar-lounge area where the resident 'anthropologist' explains the procedure for the visit. He explains how the group of people the tourists are about to visit were invited in 1991 by the management to settle at Kagga Kamma, having been displaced from their homes in the Kalahari.[13] The talk indicates his sincere concern for the people, and he stresses that their appearance at the meeting place is voluntary; emphasising too, that the tourists are not invited to the secluded living space of the Bushman. Clearly, as much as this ostensibly protects their privacy, it retains the mystique of the authentic experience. However, tourists are encouraged to take advantage of the unique opportunity to meet with and talk to the Bushmen. He explains that most of the community speak Afrikaans[14] and enjoy engaging in conversation with visitors. The group then clamber aboard a truck and drive a short but circuitous distance to the meeting place. Here they find a large grass-roofed structure which serves as informal meeting area, shop for curios[15] and, it is stressed, most important of all, the informal school for the children of the group.[16] Close by, a small group of Bushman people, sit waiting under an overhanging rock (Figure 5: tourists meet the Bushmen). Arranged in a semi-circle facing them are several tree stumps which serve as seats for the tourists. Conversation is invariably slow, with the guide/anthropologist gently taking the lead in encouraging both groups to converse, or interpreting for non-Afrikaans speaking tourists. Depending on the dynamic of the particular gathering, people gradually break up into smaller groups, resulting in the possibility of animated discussions.

The visit, which is carefully orchestrated, is directed to the participants in the 'living museum'. The staged authenticity is more powerful than the cover which suggests museum diorama. The brochure offers the promise of unsullied nature and authenticity, but the visit offers the opportunity to be an involved spectator, unlike in a museum where one is the uninvolved viewer. The power relations here are unequal as the tourists

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Your ref:

Our ref: RSC/SAN/488

8th August 1995

Minister D Hanekom
Department of Land Affairs
Private Bag X 9130
CAPE TOWN
8000

Dear Minister Hanekom

BUSHMAN LAND CLAIM AND SUBMISSION:
KALAHARI GEMSBOK NATIONAL PARK AND ENVIRONS

I act on behalf of the approximately two hundred surviving adult members of the Bushmen of the southern Kalahari, descendants of the ǂKhomani and N/amani tribes, who originated in an area of the South African Kalahari that was proclaimed as the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park in 1931. The applicants are as is described in the attached submission now largely dispersed in areas of the North-Western Cape, with some in Botswana and Namibia.

I refer to my scheduled meeting with yourself and Mr Geoff Budlender regarding the land claim of the extended clan on the 21st June 1995, and again repeat my apology that the elected delegation of Bushmen were at the last moment indisposed and unable to attend.

I confirm that we discussed the land claim of the ǂKhomani and N/amani Bushmen in general, and that it was agreed that I should address you directly in writing providing relevant details and motivation for the claim in preference to launching a formal application in terms of the Restitution of Land Act.

The attached submission first provides a brief historical perspective, then attempts to set out the bare facts which support the claim, and finally proceeds to discuss some of the practical implications.

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A copy of this letter and memorandum has as discussed been forwarded to the National Parks Board as the party that would be most obviously affected by the claim. We envisage and would be prepared to engage in a process of consultation and negotiation involving your department and all interested parties in an endeavour to arrive at an appropriate, equitable and workable solution.

I look forward to receipt of your response in due course.

Yours Sincerely

Roger Chennells

cc The Chief Executive Officer
National Parks Board
P O Box 787, PRETORIA 0001
(Attention Dr Robbie Robinson)

cc The General Manager, Operations
Southern Parks, National Parks Board
44 Long Street, CAPE TOWN 8001
(Attention Mr Nic Geldenhuys)

cc The Office of the Premier,
Northern Cape Province
Private Bag X 5016
KIMBERLEY
8300

have the rights and power to determine their level of interaction, they enjoy the possibility of engaging or disengaging, whereas despite the guide's assertion, as a group responsibility, the Bushmen are obliged to ensure that several of extended family, and the ever popular children, are there to meet the tourists. Although the brochure offers friendly communication and interchange the people are not demystified; in fact, as the tourists embark upon a search for authenticity, the aura of difference is heightened. The management of this resort utilises a common desire people have to see and experience the unique and exotic 'other'.[17] Use of the notion of "privilege" is ambiguous as it implies a special advantage or prerogative for the tourist to be able to witness or participate in a unique experience, as well as giving the assurance that s/he will be treated in the fashion of an honoured guest. This visit to "South Africa's last Bushmen" who will "answer all your questions on the lifestyle, beliefs and culture of these endearing indigenous people" (Kagga Kamma brochure) plays into the myth of innocent noble savages, happy in their unselfconscious remove from the perils and stresses of contemporary life.

The brochure presents the tourist with a fictional reconstruction of a pristine ethnicity and culture which MacCannell refers to as "the kinds of touristic and political/ethnic identities that have emerged in response to pressures from 'white culture'[18] and tourism" (MacCannell 1992:159). The brochure and visit create the impression of an unsullied 'Eden in the Karoo' type of life-style, whilst behind the surface view is another reality, the hidden transcript of the harsher facts of life. There is a danger implicit in this, in that the people then begin to see themselves as representative of this seemingly authentic life-style, as representatives of the culture and not necessarily as themselves; what happens, in effect, is that the group tends to 'museumise' itself, or otherwise become a frozen image of itself (MacCannell 1992:178). (I return to this below.) MacCannell suggests that as long as 'white culture' accepts and encourages the smaller group to restrict itself to apparently authentic images of itself, in other words to legitimate the stereotypical image and, in this case play the part as the living museum, the smaller group lays itself open to further exploitation by others. A possible danger lies in the publicity and commercial success that has commodified 'Bushman-ness' and Bushman people[19] as we have seen in the proliferation of images of Bushmen in South African logos and advertisements (see Buntman 1995).

The images reveal the systems of thought and relations of power which frame the views of the producers of the publicity, the owners and the consuming society. The images reflect the way in which the Bushmen have been transformed into 'subject matter' by a long process of objectification. The construction of

'Bushman' in language, image and general discourse has resulted in groups of people having to submit to the broader authority and larger terrain of South Africa's social formation, which has consequently designated them 'marginalised others'. Analysis of the social context, the publicity and the visit, highlight the dangers of mythic representations of people. Reinforcing popular misconceptions and projecting unreal notions of cultural behaviour threatens the status of all Bushman people. By giving the group the tourist space, that is the opportunity to stage authenticity, the owner of Kagga Kamma and its supporters are further institutionalising Bushman liminality. By acting out 'being Bushmen', they have come to regard the role as a normal reality, so as a subordinated group, they accept their situation. The current generation of Bushman decision makers continues to be socially marginalised and consigned to the periphery keeping the future generation from the political, economic and cultural centre.

Currently the ongoing actions between the various stakeholders presents a situation more complex than the images reflect. Scott (1990:13–14) observes "that virtually all ordinarily observed relations between dominant and subordinate represent the encounter of the public transcript of the dominant with the *public* transcript of the subordinate", adding that what is missing is the knowledge of how the "*hidden* transcripts" of the Bushman people at Kagga Kamma "are formed, and what relation they bear to the public transcript". It is apparent that the people have been, and continue to be, persuaded that it is in their own interest to retain notions of timelessness and Bushman-ness due primarily to the (historical) position in which they find themselves. They have had severely limited opportunities to advance themselves and although the current social and political terrain might yield better options for their future, their status quo remains and they not only consent to, but seem to encourage (White 1995: Chennells 1995 pers. comm.) "social arrangements that reproduce their subordination" (Scott 1990:73).

Evaluation of the visual images and practices has revealed how representations are related to the power relations which govern the lives of the Bushman group of people at Kagga Kamma. The public transcript does not reveal the complete picture, but it has shown, as Scott asserts, that "the greater the disparity in power between dominant and subordinate and the more arbitrarily it is exercised, the more the public transcript of subordinates will take on a stereotyped, ritualistic cast (Scott 1990:30). Brief analysis of the images and personal presentation allowed for an exploration of functions and tactics that lie beneath the surface at Kagga Kamma which show, therefore, the means adopted by the various participants in the distribution of power. Despite the fact that they have little or no power to

Figure 5 **Tourists meet Bushmen.** Photograph courtesy of Barbara Buntman

alter their status quo, there is some resistance both "off stage" and in "hidden transcripts" (Scott 1990) so that, although not in the images themselves, opposition to domination can be discerned.[20]

The public transcripts offer the illusion of consent, whilst the hidden transcript is the script and dialogue of resistance, which is necessarily hidden. What is particular in this case is that this group of Bushmen both consent to and resist a dominant order. Given that power relations are not stable and that the articulation of power and knowledge is in the visual and textual discourse, absence is also significant. The Bushman do not seem to represent themselves; they are always represented by others, both to their advantage and disadvantage. In this way they remain a colonised subject, often abstracted, who are represented as a generalised whole and as a collective entity.

Bushman people have moved from a hunter-gatherer, Late Stone Age society to that of the underclass of the Third World, where their status ranges from isolates and curiosities, to marginalised, denigrated and seemingly unwanted people. This raises questions as to whether they do and, to what extent, want to be integrated and assimilated into the mainstream South African community. Keeping a popular idealised image of Bushmen alive, encourages the acceptance of a style of presenting history and human development as a view of a simple linear developmental model of social evolution. Here, the visitor remains enlightened, liberal and 'civilised' whilst the Bushmen are presented as ethnically and culturally pure so-called 'primitives'. They are misrepresented as part of nature—the small and innocent child-like people. Not only is this a patronising and disempowering process, it does not recognise the dynamics of the group or its social dilemmas and needs. The romanticised presentation of the lives of the Bushmen at Kagga Kamma and the images in the brochure help to keep them in a nostalgic role.

A frieze of eland, detail from a painting in Zimri shelter in the Cedarberg. Date unknown. Photograph Pippa Skotnes

What is an Eland? *N!ao* and the Politics of Age and Sex in the Paintings of the Western Cape

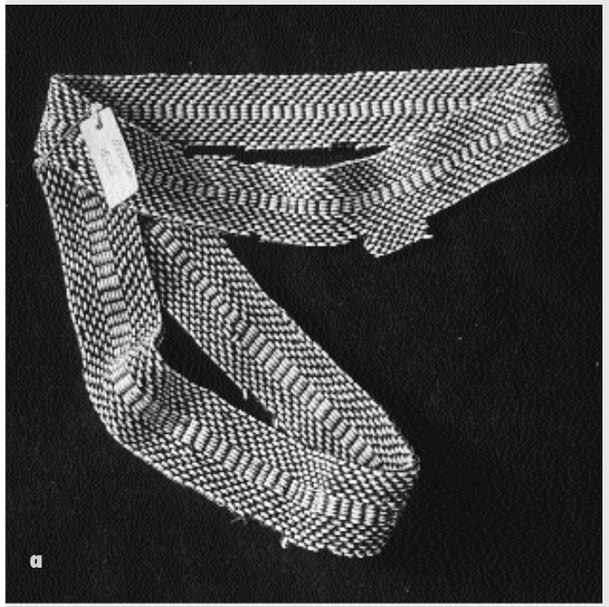
John Parkington

Mediation between the opposite sexual spheres centres around a comprehensive metaphor linking eating and intercourse. Men hunt and eat women as carnivores prey on herbivores.
(Biesele *Women like meat* 1993:196)

Eland, *taurotragus oryx*, are extremely beautiful, very large animals, with males weighing up to 700kg and females up to 460kg (Smithers 1983). They are predominantly browsers and are found, usually fairly dispersed, in most of the ecosystems of southern Africa. They are said to be among the fattest of the bovid family, a most significant feature given the great interest shown by all the hunter-gatherers of the sub-continent in obtaining fat. Fat is an effective alternative to carbohydrate in sparing protein and allowing diets fairly high in protein. The killing of such a large animal, whilst obviously a bounty of sorts, provides a great challenge to hunter-gatherers, who might have neither the technology, the social ethic nor the right environmental circumstances to store meat. The solution is to share the bounty with relatives, neighbours and friends, confident that the generosity will mean that others will return the compliment when possible. In many ways a more serious challenge faced by these same hunter-gatherers is that of explaining to themselves why their own continued well-being is so directly dependent on the death of so beautiful and graceful a fellow being.

The eland is one of the most frequently depicted animals in the paintings of the Western Cape, although we should acknowledge the large numbers of unidentifiable animals and small antelope. Because eland are always rare in African ecosystems and because eland bones are uncommon in archaeological sites, this selective focus requires us to look for an explanation not in natural abundances or dietary prominence but in the expressive culture of the painters. Previous workers are unanimous in thinking that the frequency of eland paintings reflects a deep affinity between people and eland. The most widely accepted view today (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1994) is that the art is religious, a manifestation of the shamanistic world-view of the painters and that the eland, polysemy notwithstanding, can be read as shamans transformed, or trance-formed, into the most powerful of animal helpers. Here, I argue that the Western Cape art is as persuasively seen as political, a manifestation of the pervasive strain in relations between people of different social categories, particularly between adult men and women, and that the eland are best read as a central component of the n!ao metaphorical system through which people identified their roles in society. In this I endorse a direction pioneered by Anne Solomon (1989, 1991, 1992, 1994).

The painters of Western Cape rock paintings have long since died, and none were interviewed or questioned about the meaning of their subject matter. However potential sources of inspiration do exist in the modern Kalahari ethnographies and in the fragmentary nineteenth century texts recorded by J.H. Orpen, W.H.I. Bleek and L.C. Lloyd. As a set, these ethnographies, texts and paintings cover a time/space block of some thousands of years, some millions of



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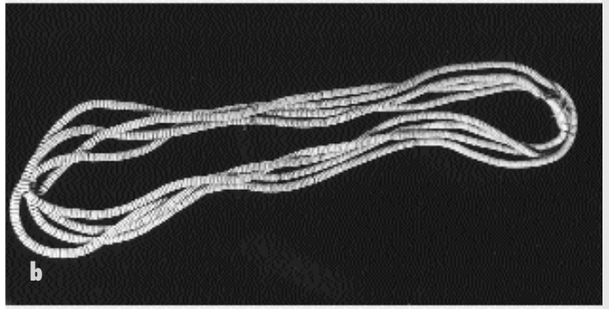


b

"The man wore around his neck attached to leather strings a couple of pieces of ivory like paper folders, intended for eating ... fruit ... On his right arm were many rings made of the hide of rhinoceros, lions, kudus, and other wild animals, and worn as trophies, amongst them were ... some teeth of hyaena ... The young woman wore a dangling bunch of red seed at the back of her head, ivory scoops and some leather rings on her arm" (Alexander 1838:19).

"Ostrich eggshell beads of various sizes ... are made by the women. With a stone the eggshell is broken into small pieces. These are pierced with an iron stiletto brought from Europeans or Ovambos, and then threaded on to a strip of sinew. The chain thus made is laid on the thigh or kaross and the rough edges chipped off with a horn. Then the women twist soft fibre from under the bark of some trees between the beads, making the chain very taut, and afterwards grind down the edged with a grooved stone.

These beads are used as single chains or worked into more complicated ornaments. Bands of them are worn on the hair, sometimes encircling the whole head, more often tied to the hair on either side, while a long narrow strip of beads may hang down the forehead or into the neck behind. Necklaces and bracelets of beads are to be seen and very long chains of larger beads are fastened three or four times around the waist.

Trade beads are not unknown and are often mixed with the others in making ornaments. I have seen girls with two chains of small glass beads tied to the hair, falling at either side of the face. They also wear various spicy roots suspended from the neck, partly as a charm, partly to nibble from.

...Women prize them highly, and as they grow old hand them down to their daughters. Eggshell beads are not buried with a woman; her people keep them."

Dorothea Bleek, 1922. *Report on Anthropological Research Among the Bushmen in the S. W. Protectorate.* SAN A198/3/1 SWAA1328

square kilometres and some of the most devastating of social changes. Only with caution can we speak of generalities ('pan-San') in expressive culture, and I return to the question of the history and geography of such expressive culture later.

My approach here is to begin with the work of Megan Biesele in the Kalahari in the mid-twentieth century, where the social context of performance could be observed, and where the significance of the eland in folk-tales is clearly located in a set of beliefs linking hunting and sex. I then proceed to the texts gathered by Orpen, Bleek and Lloyd from the Maluti and Karoo regions in the late nineteenth century, where performance and context are less clear, but where the same linkages are discernible. Finally, I turn to the paintings of the Western Cape made some thousands of years ago, where performance and context need to be constructed archaeologically. My conclusion is that the polysemy, or multiple meanings, of the eland has been exaggerated and that in all three contexts the eland has a quite specific connotation related to the parallels seen by hunter-gatherer people between hunting and sex, and the role these activities play in defining social roles.

Ethnographies

Megan Biesele's account of the folklore and foraging ecology of the !Kung-speaking Ju/'hoansi of the early 1970s (Biesele 1993), pertinently entitled *Women Like Meat*, makes it clear that "for the Ju/'hoansi power issues and gender issues are at the core of social reality" (1993:191). She argues that folklore plays a critical role in the perpetuation and manipulation of social forms by offering a medium of comment sufficiently oblique to avoid head-on confrontations. Indeed, she suggests that "certain social tasks may be accomplished exclusively in the special world of expressive forms" (1993:192). In the retelling of stories there is the opportunity to reinforce or challenge existing values, to situate newly emerged factors and to respond to newly felt pressure or tensions.

Central to the expressive culture of the Ju/'hoan is the equation between sex and hunting wherein "men's hunting is often symbolically opposed not to the complementary female activity of gathering but rather to women's reproductive capacity" (1993:41). This opposition is clearly reflected in the parallel trajectories of men and women as they pass through the sequence of roles expected of them (Figure 1), with the former marked by behavioural, the latter biological events. The significance of blood is hinted at here, in that it appears to be central to the metaphorical linkages built up by people to signify the framework of social roles. Interestingly, the life-cycle rituals that mark the onset of adult roles, the first kill ceremony for boys and seclusion for girls at menarche, both involve large game animals and specifically the eland. It is the first eland kill that signifies the transition from boyhood to manhood and an eland dance that accompanies the transition from girlhood to womanhood.

The activities associated with these initiation events underline the metaphorical identity of eland and people, especially women. Mature women imitate eland cows as they dance to welcome the young maiden into the herd. Older men scarify young men with marks that are equivalent to the markings of game animals, although not explicitly eland. This metaphorical system is completed by the "equation of women with meat animals and men with their hunters" which provides "a plentiful landscape for social comment" (Biesele 1993:187). Adult Ju/'hoansi are permanently locked into roles based on a metaphorical identity between women and game. The pervasive and comprehensive nature of this metaphor is shown by the fact that "it is hard to tell, even in this piece of everyday discourse, which meat—animal or woman—is being discussed" (Biesele 1993:197). At the core of the complex metaphor is the somewhat aggressive relationship between hunters and prey. So deeply entrenched is the metaphor that people use the expressions "to eat fat" or "to eat honey" as euphemisms for sexual activity.

The concept that seems to underpin this fruitful metaphorical system is called *n!ao* by Biesele and *n!ow* by Lorna Marshall (1957). *N!ao* is "a complex of ideas relating atmospheric conditions, men's hunting, women's childbirth and the great meat animals" (Biesele 1993:81). Marshall reported earlier that *n!ow*

> exists in all human beings . . . and in certain big animals, namely: giraffe, eland, gemsbok, kudu, hartebeeste, wildebeeste. Smaller animals do not have *n!ow* . . . no other things have *n!ow*—not earth itself, nor vegetation, nor other objects on earth; not water, clouds, rain, thunder or lightening, nor heavenly bodies. (Marshall 1957:235)

McCall, referring to Marshall (1957), added that "when the hunter kills a *n!ow* animal a process similar to that of a mother giving birth takes place. The hunter uses one of the same two verbs as appropriate to describe the event" (1970:5).

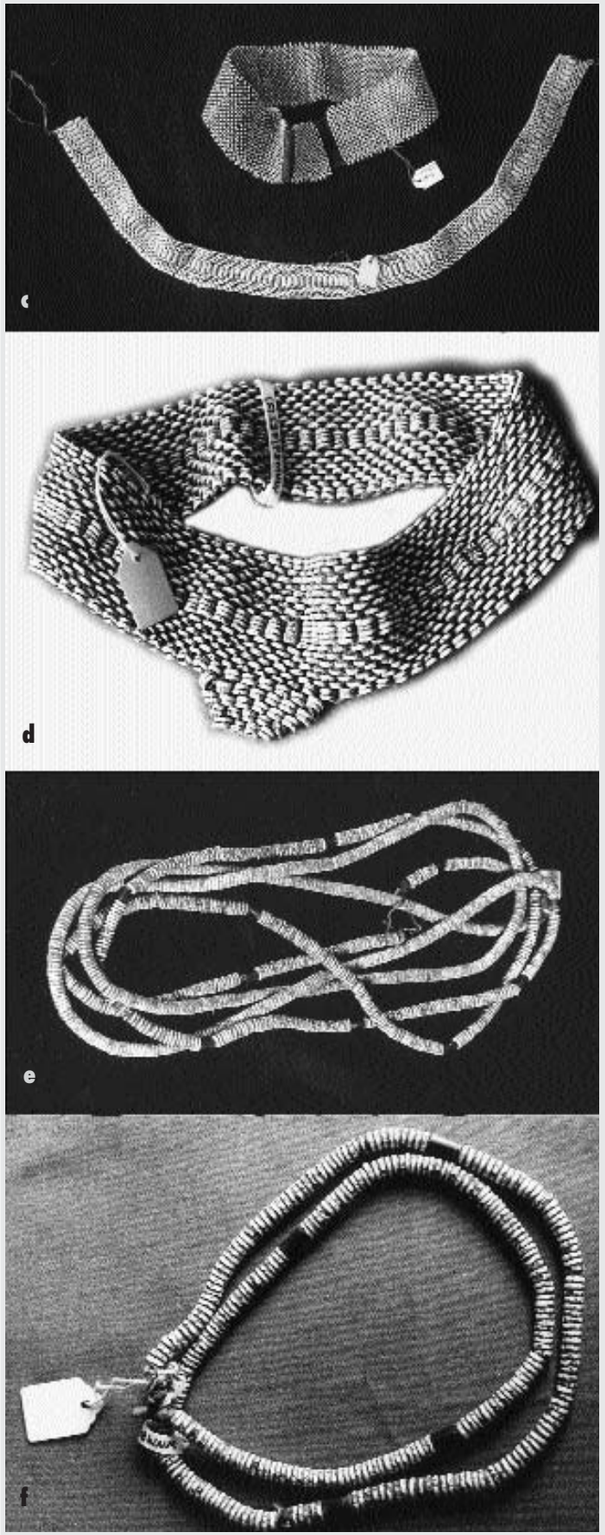
Although I focus here on the eland, other large game animals can stand in its place in the expressive system. Maingard (1937), for example, noted the centrality of the gemsbok in the world-view of local hunter-gatherers. "The gemsbok pervades every aspect of their communal activity, and forms, as it were, the focal point of their lives, the centre round which hinges all their philosophy, all their habits and customs. The Bushmen horizon, one might say, is bounded by the gemsbok" (Maingard 1937). Patricia Vinnicombe would have called them People of the Gemsbok.

Contemporary Kalahari Ju/'hoan, although living far from a purely hunting and gathering existence, identify with eland and eland hunters, herbivores and carnivores, as they negotiate their age- and sex-determined identities. "The metaphors of the *n!ao* complex permeate to the core the folklore of the Ju/'hoansi" (Biesele 1993:88) and with great impact on the lives of individuals, as "boys who do not successfully complete initiation . . . are likened to carrion eaters and do not enter society" (Biesele 1993:123). Marshall (1959:5), in a similar vein, noted that "a boy who had never killed a large meat animal would not be given a wife", a clear linkage of 'meat for meat'. Marriage is very much the arena in which the two parallel trajectories are united, with the man contributing game, the woman children. The period of bride service is transparently a phase when the ability of partners to deliver—game from the man, children from the woman—is assessed.

Texts

The Orpen (1874) and Bleek and Lloyd (Lloyd 1911; Bleek 1924; 1931; 1932a, b, c; 1933a, b; 1935; 1936a) collections of stories are almost exactly 100 years older and come from hunter-gatherers who had recently adapted to the loss of land to black or white farmers. Although the number of stories is quite large, the social context of their telling has been lost and an overview of their coherence has to be surmised from recurrent themes. Noticeably, though, the eland appears in a series of highly specific contexts, more especially that of 'creation'. In the two versions of *The Mantis Makes an Eland* and *The Hartebeest and the Eland* (Bleek 1924:1–12), the /Xam informants explain that "the hartebeest and the eland are things of the Mantis; therefore they have magic power" (1924:10) and "the Mantis does not love us if we kill an eland" (1924:12). The significance of the eland lies in its beauty in the eye of the creator and the problems hunters face if they kill the creator's favourite.

In the creation stories the general sequence of events is as follows. Cagn or /Kaggen, who may or may not be literally a mantis, creates an eland in secrecy and hides it from his family. "The eland grew up eating mantis's honey" (Bleek 1924:1), a phrase we can easily read metaphorically as implying sexual infidelity. His son, Kwammang-a in the Bleek and Lloyd stories, and grandchildren, concerned that /Kaggen is not bringing home honey, deviously discover the eland whilst he is away, and kill and begin to dismember it. /Kaggen returns and is distraught, largely because he did not give permission for his favourite to be killed. The eland, previously referred to as a person, has now become meat. /Kaggen says "Why could you not first let me come?"



And he wept for the eland, he scolded Kwammang-a's people, because Kwammang-a had not let him come first and let him be the one to tell them to kill the Eland . . . he said he had wanted Kwammang-a to let him come while the Eland was still alive, and not to have killed the Eland when he was not looking. They might have left the Eland to kill until he was looking on, then he would have told them to kill the Eland; then his heart would have been comfortable for his heart did not feel satisfied about his Eland who he alone had made. (Bleek 1924:8)

Orpen's informant Qing told him that Cagn eventually ordered his sons to "go and hunt them and try to kill one, that is now your work for it is you who spoilt them" (Orpen 1874:4).

These are clearly not simple creation stories because a wide range of animals (porcupine, dassie, blue crane, baboon, meerkat, springbok) already exist and participate in these early events. The real creation is that of the category hunter, or more generally the relationship between a hunter and his prey, and is expressed through the quintessential *n!ao* animal, the eland. The stories relate a primordial event that is very largely reproduced and re-enacted in the specific initiation rituals attended by young men who have killed their first eland. After initiation they have the necessary permission to kill eland and also to marry, two parallel and metaphorically linked activities in the *n!ao* arena.

A somewhat similar story, collected by Thomas in the 1930s from Namibia (Thomas 1950:17–19), is that of *Heiseb and his Gemsbok Wife*. Heiseb had a gemsbok wife to whom he took honey in preference to his 'real' wife. His sons deviously discovered this gemsbok and revealed his behaviour to their mother. She killed the gemsbok wife and said to Heiseb, "Oh, foolish man! Why do you marry that which is meat and call it wife?" . . . "From that day Gemsbok fear men and run wild. And Heiseb's mother said 'Hereafter those finding Gemsbok in the plains shall hunt and slay them, for they are food to be eaten of men'" (Thomas 1950:19). The metaphorical link between women and large game, in this case a gemsbok, is well made in the Heiseb story, and the jealousy that is caused by the preferential 'provision of honey' to the gemsbok wife is hinted at in the earlier tales recorded by Orpen, Bleek and Lloyd.

These nineteenth and twentieth century folk-tale references to eland clearly locate the significance of this animal in the origins of hunting as an enterprise for men. Although not recorded by name, the *n!ao* complex of beliefs is clearly reflected in the creation stories, which may well have acted as explanatory tales for the relationship between hunters and prey. The effect of the stories is to set up a competitive relationship between the creator and the hunter of the

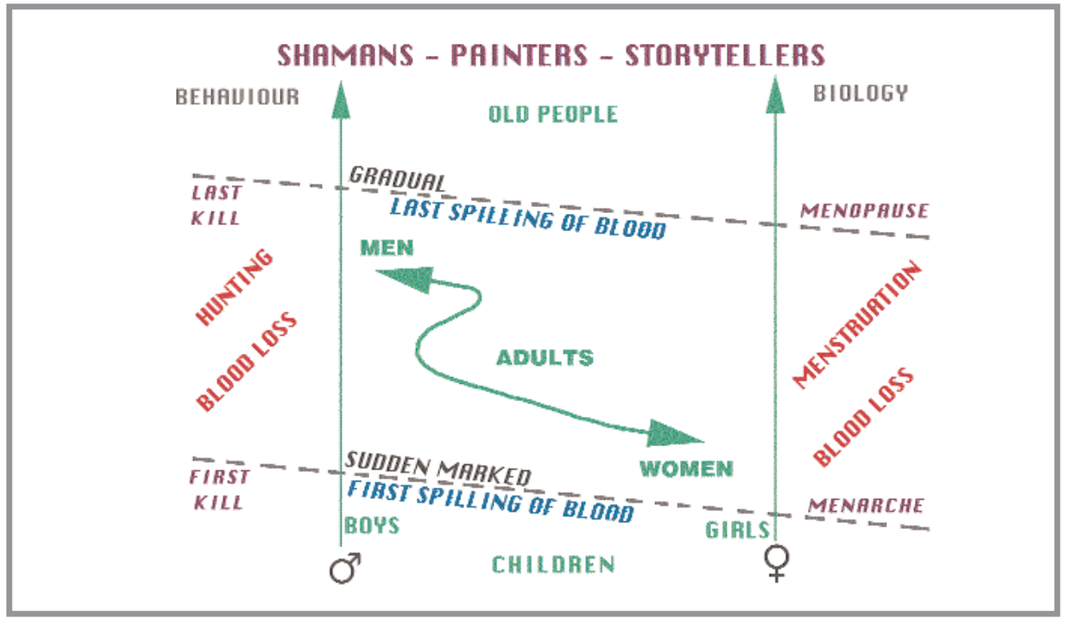


Figure 1 **Parallel trajectories for men and women.**

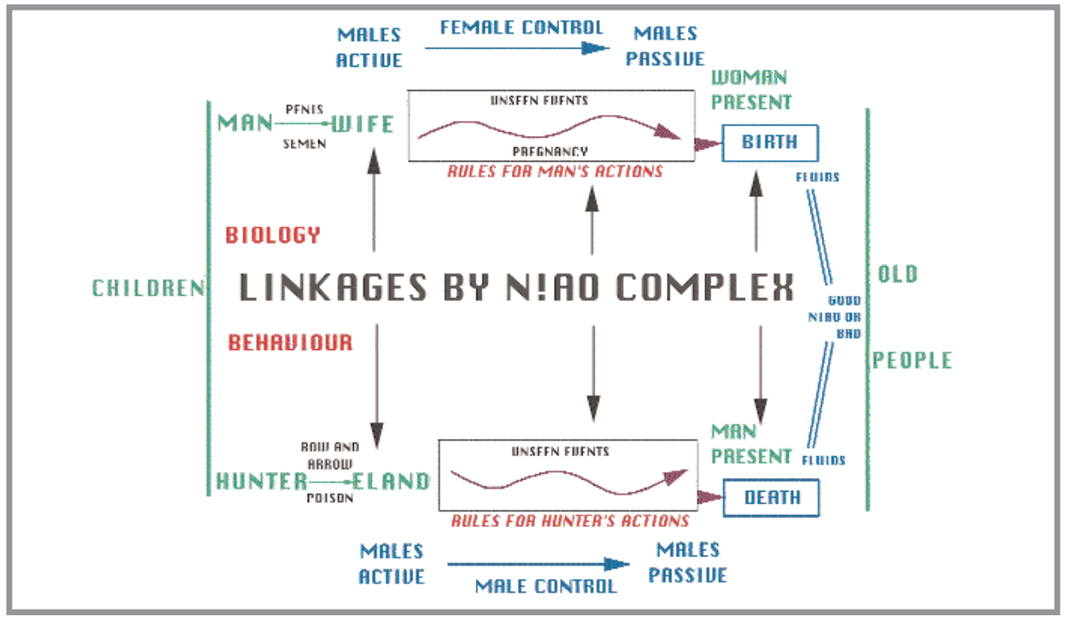
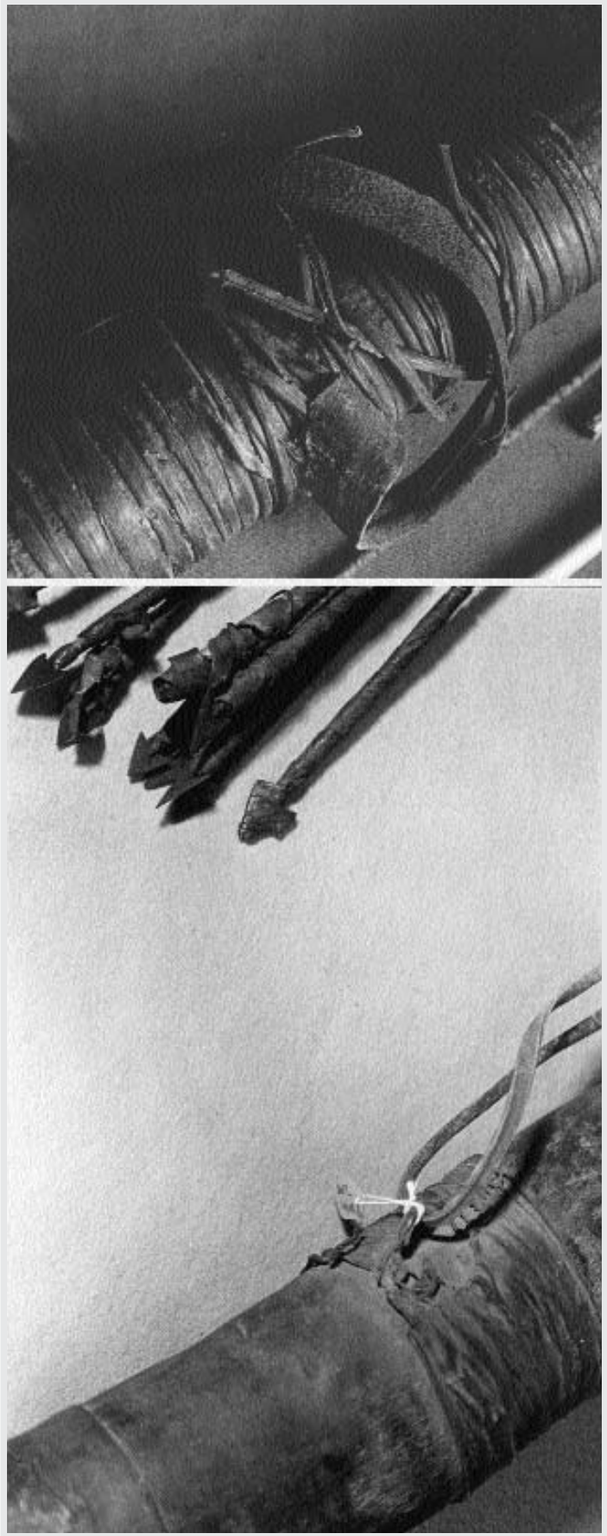


Figure 2 **Parallel trajectories for hunting and sex.**



large and very beautiful game animals. All the behaviours specified for the hunter after his arrow successfully pierces the eland are designed to offset the protective responses of the creator. The creator's protection may be a displaced reflection of the hunter's guilt or remorse on the death of the stately eland.

Paintings

Although it is commonly argued that the 'Bushman paintings' of southern Africa are remarkably uniform, I prefer here to write specifically about those of the Western Cape and refer briefly to the supposed similarities a little later. My comments are semi-quantitative in the sense that I describe patterns and regularities but provide no raw figures or counts. There are, for example, about twice as many paintings of people as of animals, and more than three times as many paintings of men as of women, emphases that require some explanation. The male figures, moreover, are often naked, with careful depiction of the penis, occasionally of exaggerated size, and sometimes the scrotum as well. Characteristically the males are often shown as having rather broad shoulders, a narrow waist, small buttocks but shapely, apparently well-muscled, calves. Women are almost always naked, reflected as rather more heavily set than men, with emphasis on rather ample thighs and, especially, buttocks. This attention to the sexual features of men and women is all the more remarkable in the complete absence of any scenes of sexual contact or copulation. It is hard to escape the conclusion that what is meant is a capacity for sexual engagement, a reference to sexually charged roles.

This is enhanced by the arrangements and groupings of human figures which, with one set of notable exceptions, are almost always composed of a single sex and very frequently processional. The occasions suggested by the lines of men or women are more persuasively those of dances than economic activities. We have found almost no paintings of women gathering shellfish or plant foods and certainly no paintings of such gathered items. Remarkably, also, we have thousands of paintings of men, bows and animals but almost none of men hunting animals with the bow and arrow. As with the sexual characteristics, the intention seems to have been reference to capacity rather than performance, and as with the folktales of the Kalahari, the choice has fallen on the hunting role of men but the sexual role of women. The impact of the repetitive choice of imagery has been to indicate to the viewer not only that sexually active men and women are depicted but also that the metaphor of hunting and sex operates in the visual arena.

There is a set of paintings that does not conform to this pattern. I refer here to the 'group scenes' (Maggs 1971; Manhire *et al*. 1983; Parkington 1989; Yates *et al*. 1985), where men and women are painted together,

often sitting and usually, if not always, below bags of various kinds, quivers and bows shown hanging from pegs. These pictures show people in their home context, a rock shelter or cave, and seem usually or at least occasionally, to include a single dancing figure. If, as is likely, these are healing occasions (Yates *et al*. 1985), at which all of the group are present, it is notable that there is never any suggestion of an animal involvement in the composition, whereas with processions there sometimes is. None of the figures at these 'group scenes' is animal-headed.

This occasion apart, the most likely events depicted are initiations. The lines of women with stereotypically accentuated buttocks are very reminiscent of the behaviour of women at the Eland Bull Dance, when, as Schapera has noted, "the younger women . . . dance with their arms outstretched before them, and have a peculiar slow sweeping step" (1930:119). The women are, of course, dancing to welcome the new maiden into the eland herd, to mark her entry into the category 'prey'. It seems likely that the convention of the plump, rounded buttock, noted by several workers including Solomon (1989; 1992), refers to the prey metaphor, rendering these women therianthropes of a kind.

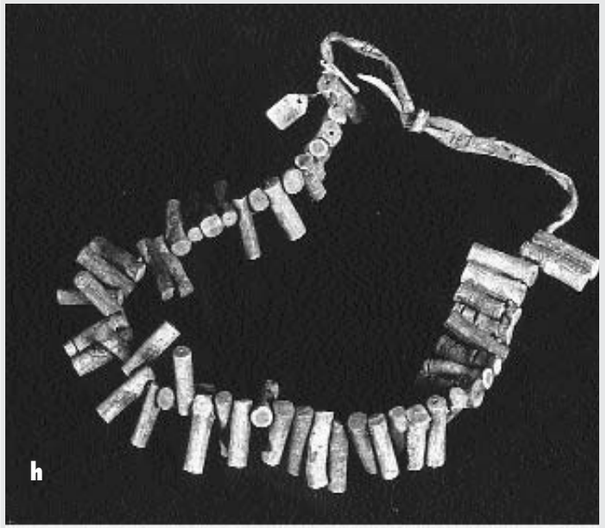
Another convention that relates people clearly to eland is that of the highly patterned depiction of a cloak or kaross (Lewis-Williams 1981; Parkington *et al*. in press; Parkington & Manhire in press). In the absence of breasts or penis, these figures are referred to as male because of the regular association of cloaks with bows, hunting bags, quivers and arrows, as well as the almost total absence of clearly female figures bearing bow and arrow. The cloaks are certainly not literal garments, having little resemblance to such clothing in ethnographic photographs or drawings, but are torsos from which head and legs emerge, usually in a second colour, and which have a visual integrity, never obscured by equipment such as bags and quivers, which are shown 'behind' the cloak.

This convention is extremely reminiscent of the way eland torsos are represented, also visually intact shapes from which head and legs emerge, also in a second colour. We have suggested that the cloaked figures denote initiated men who have become eland hunters through the rituals of initiation. "The meaning of the kaross may thus be 'the wearing of the eland'" (Parkington & Manhire in press) or, perhaps, conqueror of eland. In her monograph on the Naron, Dorothea Bleek reported that "the boys now wear an apron like those of the men, but no cloak of any sort till they are in their teens and are taken out to learn hunting" (Bleek 1928:9). This provides a context for the use of a cloak to denote a hunter, an adult male person.

At first sight, it is tempting to interpret this conventional link between cloaked men and eland as an identity between men and eland—the boys become eland/men. However it is possible to read the cloaked men as initiated but not as eland, rather as eland hunters (Yvonne Brink, personal communication). This might imply that the wearing of the eland uses the identity of women and eland to refer to men 'wearing' their wives in the sexual sense. From accounts of male initiation events, both hunting and sexual practices formed part of the instruction. On the other hand, older men *do* play eland bulls in the Eland Bull Dance and young men's scarifications *are* described in precisely the same words as the markings of the game animals. Although the possibility remains open that men identified after initiation with male eland, this would severely complicate a metaphor that also had them identify with carnivores and, thus, very definitely, '*not meat*'. Another issue not yet resolved is why the apparent link between men and carnivores is not specified as an identity between men and, say, lions. Much remains to be done.

Turning more specifically to the animal paintings in the Western Cape, the situation is complicated by the many indeterminate figures we have recorded (Maggs 1967; Manhire 1981; Van Rijssen 1981). It is clear, however, that there is a significant discrepancy between the frequencies of animal bones excavated and their representation on the shelter walls. Eland and elephant are painted far more frequently than they were caught, and smaller animals, such as dassies and tortoises, far less. In the choice of subject material and the use of conventions it is hard to avoid recognising a parallel between the painted images and the *n!ao* complex described from recent ethnographic contexts. There are, for example, no paintings of very small animals, no vegetation, no landscape features and no heavenly bodies, whereas the game animals, especially large ones, and people, explicitly adult men and women, are emphasised. Anatomical details and equipment are shown in order to denote and identify different categories of people, specifically the distinctions between men and women and between adolescents and adults. The transitions between the latter two categories are selected and repeatedly painted.

In the Western Cape there are very few clearly animal-headed human figures. Of those we have found, some are elephant-headed (Johnson & Maggs 1979; Maggs & Sealy 1983), whilst others are most likely to be conflations of small antelope and people. By contrast, any explicit reference to shamans or healers assuming the power of eland while in trance is hard to detect. As in the Kalahari, "animals are used as metaphorical operators" (Biesele 1993:88), but the painted imagery refers to an expressive vocabulary that is far broader than trance, and includes visual parallels between people and animals that are as hard to disentangle as those in the stories (Biesele 1993:197). Women and eland were permanently, not selectively or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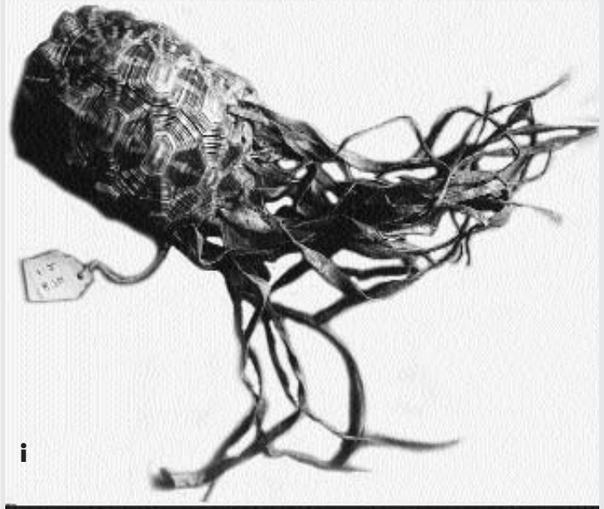
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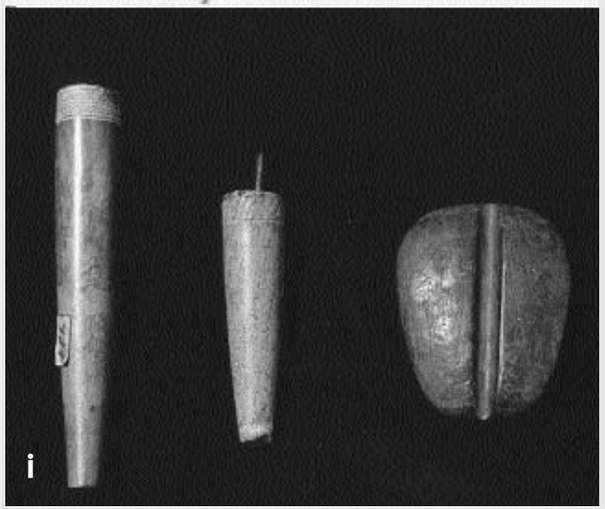
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occasionally, locked into metaphorical identity under the complex of *n!ao* ideas.

Blood and poison

At the heart of the metaphorical system that links men's hunting, women's reproductive capacity and the large game animals is the critical substance poison and its use with the bow and arrow, as both Vinnicombe (1972:303) and Biesele (1993:199) have noted. "The peculiarly intimate identification between hunter and prey in Bushman belief is traceable in part to the period of hunting during which a man can do no more, but must wait for the arrow poison to do its work" (Biesele 1993:90). George Silberbauer relayed this metaphor when he described women as having "a negative attitude to pregnancy (expressed in a statement that it follows on a man's having 'injected his poison into a woman')" (Silberbauer 1965:88). The metaphorical potential of the introduction of semen/poison into woman/game to result in life/death clearly cannot be older than the use of poison, and is rendered ineffective by other forms of hunting, such as the use of nets, snares and pitfall traps. This should remind us that the metaphorical system must have a history and that at least some of the paintings may refer to times or occasions where poison was not known or used.

Biesele's comment, following a personal communication from Lorna Marshall, that "Ju/'hoansi believe that the blood of menstruation combines with the semen to form a baby" (1993:93) underlines the parallels in biology and behaviour that make the metaphors so powerful and so explanatory. A man has two 'meats', his wife and his game, with the implication that the two must be kept behaviourally separate, though symbolically linked. "Submission to certain observances with regard to hunting and menstruation are widespread among the Bushmen groups" (Biesele 1993:92), who also reminds us that "the /Xam observed a hunting avoidance called *!nanna-sse* which forbade a hunter's eating the flesh of the fleet springbok during the time an arrow was in another animal" (1993:90). If food and sex are pervasively equated, then this could read as sex avoidance. Women, especially menstruating women, may not touch a hunter's arrows, a rule that probably also originates in the *n!ao* beliefs. The painted convention of a bar across the penis, often known as infibulation, presumably denotes a man in a *!nanna-sse* condition. "We suggest that the association of menstruation with hunting disaster is not that 'she is obviously at the height of her female procreative power' (Biesele 1993:93) at that time, but that, by the metaphor used, menstruation is a 'failed kill' and will sympathetically bring hunting failure" (Parkington & Manhire in press).

Menstruation and a boy's first kill, both associated with eland, link the pervasive metaphor with the life-

cycle rituals, and thereby with changing social roles and identities. Children are not yet real people, hence, perhaps, they are seen as undifferentiated as yet, living with few constraints on their behaviour and association. But at puberty the need to differentiate becomes strong, complementary roles need to be set out, rules made. At this time adolescents become people and, more specifically, either eland or hunters of eland. Initiation is in many respects a second creation, when boys and girls are born again into new roles and new rules. Similarly, in the stories there is a second creation which effectively establishes the modern world, where people are people, engaged in hunting, among other things, and where animals behave like animals. The 'people of the early race', like children, were 'without custom', unfettered by constraint.

Older people, in stories as in life often linked by easy relations to grandchildren, are also not clearly differentiated, with post-menopausal women the social equals of older men. Old men gather, collect firewood or hunt with snares outside the poison metaphor; old women gather, collect firewood and are no longer a threat to the hunting success of young men. Between menarche and menopause, between first and last kill, is where the tension lies and where the material for stories and paintings resides, in the relations between hunter and prey, between man and wife. Children are children, older people are older people, but adults are either men or women.

"Old people do in effect have a monopoly" (Biesele 1993:19) on story telling, and almost certainly monopolised painting. Although substantial social changes in the Kalahari of the twentieth century make this difficult to establish, it is likely that healing was another activity proscribed for women between menarche and menopause on the grounds that a 'dangerous condition' is a cause of, rather than a solution for, misfortune, real or potential. As in the economic sphere, the stratagem is to devise complementary roles for men and women so that as men heal and enter trance, women clap and sing. These roles are painted with some clarity.

The suggestion behind this essay is that Western Cape paintings are informed by a world-view consistent with contemporary Kalahari folklore in which "power issues and gender issues are at the core of social reality" (Biesele 1993:191). Developed from a conceptual linking of poison and semen, and using the eland or a large game equivalent, painters derived from the *n!ao* beliefs a visual vocabulary that allowed reference to appropriate roles for adults (Figure 2). The crux was the identity of women and eland. Anne Solomon has pointed to "the eland as a symbol of femininity and female sexuality" (1989:75). It is *n!ao* as much as *n/um* that informs the tradition of painting in the Western Cape. If this is correct, and if the parallels I have drawn between the expressive imagery of paintings and stories are acceptable, then the paintings—or some of them—have to be seen as political. The conflations of animal and human are as likely to point to the "mediation between the opposite sexual spheres" (Biesele 1993:196) as to the assumption of power on entering trance, although the latter is clearly and repeatedly painted.

But here we encounter a serious problem. The paintings in the Western Cape, like those elsewhere in southern Africa, are largely undated. It is conceivable that, in a world peopled only by hunter-gatherers, internal politics and specifically those of age and sex which provide the primary differentiations among hunter-gatherers, would dominate the expressive vocabulary. The arrival or emergence of powerful neighbours with competitive world-views could result in the replacement of these tensions by more potent threats or more complex opportunities for change. It is tempting to see the contrast between paintings in the Western Cape and those of the Drakensberg, where the recurrent imagery seems quite different and perhaps more hallucinatory, as a reflection of such changes. The opportunity presented by widespread settled farming may have differentially favoured men, perhaps those already vested with the responsibilities of influencing the weather, and may have caused an evolutionary shift in expressive forms and even performance context.

Indeed, such a shift does seem to be detectable in the Western Cape, where we have argued for a phase of fine-line image making followed by another in which handprints and finger-executed paintings dominate (Yates *et al*. 1993, 1994). The kinds of images made, the diversity of images and the potential for composition and metaphor seem to be very severely delimited in the later phase, which leads us to suggest that the circumstances and purposes of painting were quite different. Some comparisons of the kinds of imagery favoured in the different geographic concentrations of paintings in southern Africa would now seem required, and comparisons that are as alert to the differences as to the supposed similarities. The absence of dating controls, combined with the notion of pan-San polysemy, provides a dangerously loose framework for the interpretation of the meanings of paintings. I may have fallen into this very trap of over-generalising here but, following the inspiring leads of Lorna Marshall, Patricia Vinnicombe and Megan Biesele, I suggest that the evidence does favour the idea that the *n!ao* complex of beliefs was widespread, long-lasting and capable of being employed in a variety of contexts.

Bone, root, shell and bead necklace collected at Van Wyksvlei, Carnarvon, Cape. Presented to the South African Museum by E. Alston in 1887. Photograph Paul Weinberg. SAM 2546

Some Questions about Style and Authorship in Later San Paintings

Anne Solomon

San rock art is simultaneously markedly diverse as well as conforming to certain conventions. Each site presents the viewer with novel configurations and articulations in terms of iconography, spatiality, composition, style and texture, and yet many sites are strongly evocative of others. The tension between acknowledgement of the uniqueness of each painted site and the recognition of patterning and similarities is played out in the space between art historical and archaeological approaches to San art. Art historical approaches tend to emphasise the minutiae of image production and reception, focusing on small sites or panels and the construction of individual images or image groups. Archaeological accounts have been more concerned with iconography and with providing broader frames within which the art may be understood, based on the existence of contexts common to the artists, deriving variously from similar life-styles, economies and historical situations, social and cultural organisation and ritual or religious practices. Such approaches, though fundamentally dissimilar, are by no means incommensurable, as I will attempt to show in this account of certain nineteenth-century paintings from the KwaZulu-Natal Drakensberg and surrounds. Indeed, it may be argued that encounters between the two disciplines are of crucial importance for our understanding of San art.

Unlike more recent researchers in the academic realm, earlier rock art researchers were less invested in specific disciplinary paradigms, and although 'amateur' rock art researchers may display less theoretical range—or preoccupation—than their academic counterparts, many of their insights remain pertinent. For example, Lee and Woodhouse (1970) commented on marked similarities between paintings at Mpongweni North, in the southern part of the KwaZulu-Natal Drakensberg range, and those at Barnes' Shelter, some 60 km to the north in the Giant's Castle area. Lee and Woodhouse drew attention to the marked stylistic similarities between the paintings, suggesting that they might be the work of the same artist. The paintings in question depict distinctive dancing figures with 'plumes' on their heads. At both these sites the plumed dancers are associated with paintings of horses and cattle; this dates them to some time in the nineteenth century. Examination of these paintings permits a certain interleaving of archaeological and art historical approaches, illustrating the insufficiency of either discipline alone to offer an adequate account of the art.

Although the vast majority of rock paintings remain of unknown age, certain paintings may be dated by means of content. Paintings from this time period in the KwaZulu-Natal Drakensberg include wagons, horses, cattle and soldiers. Vinnicombe (1976:155) records that horses were prized by San in the eastern Cape as early as 1809; after the Boer trekkers reached Natal in the later 1830s, horses became primary targets in stock raids. Horse paintings in KwaZulu-Natal may thus be dated to approximately the mid-nineteenth century and after. Differences between nineteenth century and earlier paintings (content aside) have been described by Vinnicombe (1976:141) in relation to an extended palette, with "a greater use of black, yellow ochre and bright vermilion or orange at the expense of the more traditional dark reds. The paints lack a binding medium and often appear rather powdery. Brush strokes are never visible and the paint deteriorates rapidly".

The paintings at Mpongweni North and Barnes' Shelter (Figures 1 & 2) are both principally executed in a bright orange paint contrasted with black. At Barnes' Shelter a brownish pigment is also evident; this appears to be a result of mixing of the black and orange paints. At both

sites dancing human figures are associated with horses and cattle painted on the periphery of the panel portraying the dancing figures. Not far from Mpongweni North is another site, Good Hope 1, which also contains plumed dancing figures (not illustrated). Vinnicombe (1976:121) has documented the deterioration of the paintings at Good Hope since 1907, when a photograph was published in a geological report. The paintings are no longer visible, partly, it seems, due to the impact of visitors from the nearby Sani Pass Hotel, although it is likely that their disintegration stems also from the poorer quality paint used in the later art. Yet another site containing two panels of similar plumed figures is that of Makhenckeng 2 in Lesotho (Vinnicombe 1976). The first of these groups copied by Vinnicombe (1976: her Figure 218, not illustrated here) shows a number of figures with elaborate body decorations (this sets them apart from the other figures discussed). Another panel in the same site (Figure 3, after Vinnicombe 1976: her Figure 224) also shows plumed dancers, again in orange and black paint. In terms of colour and iconographic detail, the paintings in these sites are remarkably similar. However, similarities (and differences) go beyond these two characteristics.

Rock art research, whether in European palaeolithic art studies or in South Africa, has been criticised by art historians for the lack of attention paid to visual devices and the composition of the visual 'text'. Such criticisms must surely be accepted. Assessing the question posed by Lee and Woodhouse, as to whether the paintings at Mpongweni North and Barnes' Shelter might be the work of the same hand, requires an approach which focuses on the details of image production at these sites. From this standpoint it is necessary to consider not only iconography and colour, but also composition, perspective, form, line and technique.

The most obvious parallels between the paintings in the two sites are iconographic. Similarities include the plumed dancers, figures with sticks held over their shoulders and associated paintings of horses. The use of colour is similar and, in both sites, figures in the same colour tend to be grouped together. The technique of shading is found only at Barnes' Shelter on the single horse painting (Figure 5), and only at this site are the two colours combined to form a third colour. However, in most details the panels are, technically, virtually identical.

Beyond these parallels, other similarities may be discerned. The dancers in the two sites are shown in remarkably similar postures, bending backwards or forwards, giving a strong impression of motion and animated activity. Some have one leg raised. In both sites, the figures in the exaggerated dancing postures are interspersed with female figures, standing and clapping, rather than dancing. Both sites also include figures with an unusual treatment of the human body. At the top of the Mpongweni North panel is a black forward-bending figure, with exaggerated bulbous buttocks. Two similar, but seated, figures are found at Barnes' Shelter. One, in black paint, is part of a group of four figures associated with enigmatic 'streamers', towards the right-hand side of

Figure 1 **Plumed dancers at Mpongweni North, southern KwaZulu-Natal Drakensberg.** Copy by Anne Solomon after Lee & Woodhouse (1970: Figure 171)

the panel. Below this example is another, also apparently seated, in orange paint. This manner of depicting human figures is unusual in San art. Another formal similarity in the treatment of human figures in the two sites is the 'squaring off' of the mid torso, on both male and female figures. Vinnicombe (1976:317) describes the female figures portrayed in this manner at Makhenckeng 2 as wearing skirts, although some figures displaying this treatment may or may not be clothed; either way, it is a distinctive feature.

In terms of composition, both similarities and differences may be discerned. At Barnes' Shelter, the paintings are portrayed in a circular manner (compare Skotnes 1994 on circular perspective; and Solomon 1995). At Mpongweni North and Makhenckeng 2, there is further emphasis on the horizontal axis, and the paintings are more 'lateralised', but, nevertheless, sub-groups within the panel form circular compositions.

Also of relevance to the matter of composition is the association of the paintings of human figures with horses. Horses are painted in close proximity to the dancers at Barnes' Shelter, Mpongweni North and Makhenckeng 2. At the latter two sites, horses are portrayed beneath the panel of dancers (Figures 3 & 4) whereas at Barnes' Shelter, a single horse (Figure 5) and a group of faded cattle (not illustrated) are found immediately to the right of the panel of human figures. At this site, the horse is painted in the same orange and black paint, but the artist has combined the two colours to achieve a shaded effect. Despite this technical difference, the horse at Barnes' Shelter is remarkably similar to examples at Mpongweni North, if less finely executed on a lesser quality rock face. Both Makhenckeng 2 and Mpongweni North contain delicately painted horses, with slender legs and bowed heads. At Mpongweni North, these are markedly different from other horses and riders in monochrome black paint (Figures 6 & 7). Almost identical examples from Steel's Shelter, Giant's Castle, have been described as 'plunging' (Willcox 1957); another markedly similar 'plunger' is found in one of the caves which make up Giant's Castle Main Caves (Ward & Maggs 1994:163, their Figure 11).

These horses display various stylised features. They are laterally elongated; this and their 'plunging' diagonal orientation enhances the effect of movement. The bodily proportions and details of these black horses are markedly different, and somewhat distorted; one example at Mpongweni North shows extreme stylisation (Figure 7). For example, they have shortened legs and no ears. The latter feature suggests speed, with the ears lying flat against their heads as they gallop (Figure 6). Despite the difference in colour and style, one example of the horses and riders is reminiscent of the fine-line bichrome horses, being painted with similar bodily proportions, tail and legs.

Similar examples of black monochrome horses and riders are also found on the farm Beersheba (Vinnicombe 1976:25, her Figures 15a–c, not illustrated here); she describes the panel as a 'commando scene', in which 'irate farmers fire at Bushmen who have raided horses and cattle'. A group of horsemen at the top of the scene includes both bichrome horses and riders in the same style as the fine-line examples at Mpongweni North and black monochrome horses and riders in the more stylised and distorted form that characterises the plunging horsemen. In this scene the foreleg of one of the fine-line horses is painted over the tail of a monochrome black horse; its rider appears to have a plume on his head. In other words, this painting seems to combine the two styles of depicting horses—styles which appear to be more distinctly separated at the other sites.

At Mpongweni North, Barnes' Shelter and Makhenckeng 2, fine-line dancers and horses (and at the first two sites, cattle) form an associated set. The similarities in the image set, and in style, line, colour use, technique,

Figure 2 **Plumed dancers at Barnes' Shelter, Giant' s Castle area, central KwaZulu-Natal Drakensberg.** Photograph courtesy of Anne Solomon

composition and perspective, suggest that the compositions derive from the imagination and vision of a single artist; however, style alone is an insufficient criterion for such a proposition to stand and other possibilities require consideration in more strictly archaeological terms.

If the notion of the single artist is accepted, then differences may be seen as the product of the artist generating 'new' paintings using a similar repertoire and his or her own specific style and technique(s). However, such an interpretation incorporates various assumptions about image production, specifically the notion of the single artist and his or her vision. As noted above, San art clearly operates according to certain conventions with regard to subject matter and visual treatment, at the same time as it displays great variability.

Figure 3 **Plumed dancers and horses from Lesotho.** Copy by Anne Solomon after Vinnicombe (1976: Figure 224). Vinnicombe notes that some of the figures have been moved closer to the centre than in the original.

Figure 4 **Fine-line bichrome horses at Mpongweni.** Photograph courtesy Anne Solomon

Although the paintings at Barnes' Shelter and Mpongweni North might be seen as from the same hand, in view of the existence of conventionality in San art the possibility of artistic tradition requires consideration. If the art of painting was passed on from generation to generation, then both similarities and differences might be attributed to different hands trained in the same tradition. Unfortunately, scientific techniques are not suitable for shedding light on this problem. Even if radiocarbon dating techniques were sufficiently well developed in order to date the paintings directly, the nineteenth century paintings are too recent for reliable direct dates to be obtained from them. Moreover, even if dates could be derived, this would not necessarily resolve questions of contemporaneity or tradition, since such dating techniques are of limited utility in dealing with short time spans. In view of this problem, the spatial distribution of the paintings may be considered.

The area in which the plumed dancer paintings are found is extensive. From the Pholela River Valley, where the Mpongweni North paintings are found, to Giant's Castle is perhaps not an especially significant distance; it could be covered in less than a day by an experienced rider.

Figure 5 **A single shaded bichrome horse, alongside the panel of plumed dancers at Barnes' Shelter.** Photograph Anne Solomon

However, the Lesotho sites, although a similar distance away as the crow flies, lie on the other side of the Drakensberg, and would entail crossing some of the highest peaks in the range—almost without exception over 3000 m (Irwin, Akhurst & Irwin 1980). Archaeological and historical accounts, such as Vinnicombe's (1976) and Wright's (1971) accounts of the history of the Eastern San suggest a high degree of San mobility, which was probably enhanced in the context of stock raiding. In this light, it seems entirely possible that paintings ranging from Giant's Castle to Lesotho might be the work of one person or artists within the same tradition, reworking a standard theme and set of combinations. This putative reuse of an iconographic and stylistic repertoire is interesting in itself, since it highlights the role of convention rather than artistic imagination in San art.

The difference between the fine-line horses and the black riders raises the same question. Are we to interpret these markedly different representations as the work of different hands and, if so, are we to assume that they were painted at different times? As noted above, the paintings at Beersheba appear to combine both styles in a single panel, and there is some stylistic overlap in the paintings of black horses and riders at Mpongweni North. This raises the question as to whether a panel is the work of a single artist, or whether San rock painting might have been a co-operative endeavour, with different artists working simultaneously on different parts of a panel. Alternatively, are we seeing variations in a specific artistic tradition, localised in time and space? A further possibility is that the differences might represent one artist using different styles and devices to achieve different effects. At present, it is difficult to envisage how such an analysis might be carried further. Currently neither archaeology nor art history is equipped to address such questions. In order to do so, the insights of art history regarding the specific make-up of the visual text, and archaeological or anthropological insights regarding the social production of art need to be combined. Regardless of similarities between paintings, the assumption of the solo artist, working with his or her individual, authoritative vision, requires historical and cultural contextualisation.

One way in which such contextualisation might be provided is by an interdisciplinary approach to the nineteenth century paintings. Although Vinnicombe has provided a definitive outline of the differences between the nineteenth century paintings and those which appear to predate them, further investigation of these differences is possible. It might be instructive to ask how the tradition of San image-making changed with colonialism, beyond the incorporation of new images, the adoption of a different palette and technological change (namely, the use of paints lacking efficient binding media). Again, art historical and archaeological approaches may combine to address aspects of the question. For example, how far does the change in the later art extend beyond iconography? What is the significance of the alteration in the colour range used? Are we to postulate some kind of alteration in access to pigments, or suppliers of pigments?

Figure 6 **' Plunging' monochrome horses and riders at Mpongweni North.** Photograph courtesy Anne Solomon

Or are we to understand the changing palette in relation to contact with colonial society and an artistic preference for brighter colours? It is possible that artists sought pigments in new colours to represent new dimensions of experience; it seems appropriate that paintings of British soldiers should utilise less muted colours, such as the bright red which we know was part of a soldier's uniform, rather than the deep reds and browns which are more standard in those (older?) paintings in which the San imaged themselves, without reference to interactions with the colony.

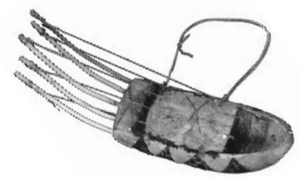
It would be simplistic to interpret changes in the painting tradition purely in terms of contact, changing life-styles, economies and access to resources, just as it is inadequate to attribute full authority to the artist (or artists) and to consider the visual texts without reference to a fluent historical situation. The prospect of integration (and argumentation) of disciplinary perspectives on the art is one of the most promising developments in recent research. Unfortunately, one crucial problem remains. Furthermore, it seems that this problem is deemed to be in the domain of the archaeologist, rather than the art historian. This is the challenge of the conservation and preservation of San art, and it is particularly acute in the case of the nineteenth century paintings.

Recent research (Ward & Maggs 1994) has confirmed Vinnicombe's assessment of the fragility of these paintings. Ward and Maggs located a number of nineteenth century copies of paintings at Giant's Castle, made by white travellers and settlers using ink, pencil and water-colours. These were compared with the paintings visible today. The absence of good binders, combined in some cases with a friable and crumbling rock face, as well as the impact of visitation, make the nineteenth century art a particularly endangered resource. The prognosis for these paintings is alarming. Ward and Maggs (1994:176) conclude that in less than a century, "55% of the late period paintings have apparently deteriorated beyond recognition", while surviving examples have "faded significantly". These researchers conclude that despite existing conservation measures, "we must face the inevitability that many if not most of the remaining nineteenth century paintings in the Giant's Castle area and the Drakensberg further south will continue to deteriorate and disappear at a far faster rate than most of the surviving earlier paintings" (Ward & Maggs 1994:177).

As Ward and Maggs argue, without measures to at least compile adequate records of the art, these paintings will vanish, just as those at the site of Good Hope 1 have vanished. At that point, disciplinary or interdisciplinary debates become entirely irrelevant. Without the co-operation of researchers across disciplines and "[c]oncerned individuals and organisations, as well as the relevant authorities" (Ward & Maggs 1994:177), a unique part of our cultural heritage will erode away silently, becoming little more than another component of the deposit on cave floors. In this light it should be a priority for all researchers with an interest in San rock art to work towards preservation and conservation, as a supra-disciplinary imperative.

Figure 7 **Other horses and riders at Mpongweni North. The panel shows one horse with some stylistic affinity with the fine-line bichrome examples, with a markedly stylised ' plunging' horse and rider directly beneath it. Horses in the same two styles dicussed here are all found in a number of other KwaZulu-Natal Drakensberg sites; further consideration of them is beyond the scope of this chapter.** Copy by Anne Solomon

!Ku woman' s bag decorated with glass beads. Collected in Tsumkwe, Bushmanland, Namibia in 1975. Maker unknown. Photograph Paul Weinberg. SAM 10666



Bushman Music: Still an Unknown

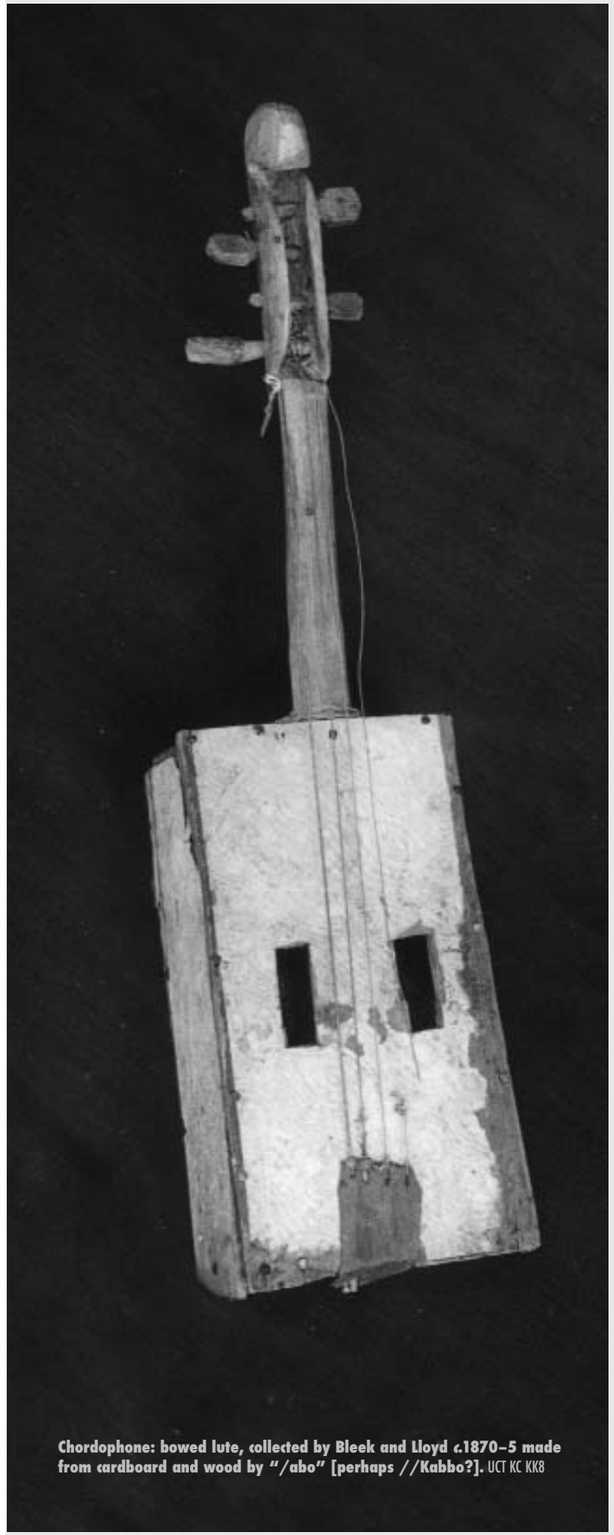
Deirdre Hansen

The aim of this article is to show that our knowledge of Bushmen music is still very incomplete. The age-old trance dance, a central theme in southern African rock art, continues to be the most important social and ritual event in Bushman communities, while the women's drum dance—of comparatively recent origin—is becoming increasingly important for women who wish to become healers. Yet there is very little available information on the oral polyphony which is so striking a feature of Bushman vocal music. The transcriptions which exist are fragmentary and incomplete. This is almost certainly due to the difficulties involved in recording and transcribing the music.

An attempt at a reconstruction of musico-historical information is problematic. In his mammoth work on the musical instruments of the indigenous peoples in South Africa, Kirby states that his main aim was to attempt to supply specific and detailed information, and to correlate, to some extent, the earlier and often rather vague generalisations on the subject which have appeared in the works of travellers (Kirby 1934 [1965]:vii). A meticulous scholar of history, Kirby provided his data on the instruments and associated music with personal observations and descriptions of the musical practices witnessed by early travellers, explorers, missionaries and others who came into contact with various indigenous musical performances. Their responses to the music make interesting—and even amusing—reading, but they are, most of them, subjective and biased. Of actual Bushman musical sound, what is available was acquired after the advent of sound-recording.

The earliest mention of Bushman musical practice dates from 1685, when Simon van der Stel made an expedition to Namaqualand, and encountered a group of Bushmen whose singing "resembled nothing so much as a herd of yearling calves just turned out of the cowshed" (Kirby 1936:275). As noted by Kirby, Van der Stel made no mention in his diary of sound instruments, possibly because they were not in use among the Bushmen, or perhaps he was unable to recognise what he may have seen as instruments (for instance, the hunting bow, which Bushmen are known to use as musical instruments). Subsequent accounts of Bushman musical practice were witnessed by the scientist-explorer William John Burchell in 1812, who also attempted to write down the vocal melody of a Bushman dance song he heard at Kaabi Kraal near Prieska. As Figure 1 shows, he notated the music and the vocables it accompanied using the syllables 'aye o' to indicate the vowel sounds he heard sung.

In 1837, while journeying through Namaqualand, explorer J.R. Alexander witnessed a Bushman dance at Ababis or Calabash Kraal, and noted that the women sang to the syllables of 'ei! oh!'. It was only in 1936, when Kirby joined the University of the Witwatersrand Kalahari Expedition to a Bushman camp located at Bains Camp, near the junction of the Aoub and Nossop Rivers in the Kalahari Desert, that the implications of both Burchell's and Alexander's attempted notations became apparent. The Bushmen were yodelling. Although yodel-style singing was already popular in London, the word yodel had not been incorporated into the English dictionary and Burchell and Alexander were apparently not familiar with it (Kirby 1936:393). It is quite likely that Van der Stel's "animal cries" were also yodelling, which is a characteristic feature of Bushman vocal music, as is also the absence of actual words.



Chordophone: bowed lute, collected by Bleek and Lloyd c.1870–5 made from cardboard and wood by "/abo" [perhaps //Kabbo?]. UCT KC KK8

Sound instruments of the Bushmen

A survey of the published literature on Bushman musical practices sheds light on two very significant trends which are basic to musical continuity and change the world over. These are:

1. the endurance of certain practices of great age and relative stability because (a) they are basic to known Bushman musical action generally, and (b) they are associated with the most important social and ritual events in Bushman communities, and
2. some changes and innovations in musical practices, largely as a result of the effects of socio-economic and political processes upon creative individuals who have broadened the traditional musical repertories to include music that is produced on instruments adopted from Bantu-speaking populations.

Idiophones

Traditionally, the Bushmen seem to have used indirectly shaken idiophones mainly for communal music-making, which was, and remains, essentially vocal. The wearing of strung rattles as adjuncts to the dance has been reported by Kirby (1934, 1936), by England (1967) and by Brearely (1982, 1988). These rattles are made from the cocoons of a species of moth (*Gonometa postica*) which is commonly found on mimosa trees. The grubs are removed and the cocoons are strung onto two cords of fibre (or strips of animal skin if available) and filled with fragments of ostrich egg-shell, small pebbles or hard seeds. These rattles were found in use among Kalahari Bushmen (Kirby 1936). The generic term for these rattles seems to have been */keriten*, and two specimens are on view in the Kirby Collection of sound instruments at the University of Cape Town (KK83 obtained from the ≠Khomani Bushman, Botswana in 1936 and KK 74 from the 'Red Dunes' Bushmen, western Kalahari Desert, Namibia in 1932). The term */keriten* possibly derives from the name of small earth berries called *//kerri*, referred to in a descriptive account of the making of another type of suspended rattle by Bleek and Lloyd (1911:353). These berries were originally in common use as rattle fillings, and the name came to include the cocoon strung rattles, even though their rattle making contents differed. The strung rattles were traditionally worn by men, each individual wearing one wound around the lower leg, beneath the knee. (Among the Kalahari Bushmen, Kirby observed women wearing such rattles when they danced alone.)

These sound-making accessories were used in combination with stylised movement patterns executed by the dancers, whose actions explicitly defined percussive rhythm patterns underlying the essentially polyphonic and polyrhythmic music (see Kirby 1936, Plate 1, in which the leg rattles are seen on a dancers legs). In a transcribed extract from a "Giraffe song" (*Koa-Tsi*) of the Zu/wasi [Ju/'hoansi], England provides a sonic rhythm pattern arising from the alternation of right and left foot movements of dancers wearing rattles. Although

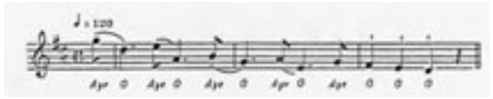


Figure 1 **Transcription of a Bushman melody by W.J. Burchell,1812**. In Kirby 1936:391 (Ex.22)

England does not include a description of the rattles, it seems reasonable to assume that they were of the strung rattle variety (England1967: Ex. 5). More recently, John Brearely witnessed the use of strung cocoon rattles among Bushmen (Basarwa) in Botswana, notably in performances of the ritual shivering (trance) dance. (For evidence of current use of these strung rattles see Lee 1984:112 and Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989: Plate 12:31 and Plate 13:33. Lewis-Williams also reproduces copies of paintings in which are depicted the ritual dancing of a number of shamans in characteristic bending-forward stance. Strung cocoon rattles are clearly evident on the legs of many of the dancers. These rattles probably had ritual as well as musical significance and importance. According to Lewis-Williams the rattles are considered to have potency and are sometimes shaken along a person's back to extract "arrows of sickness" (1989:44).

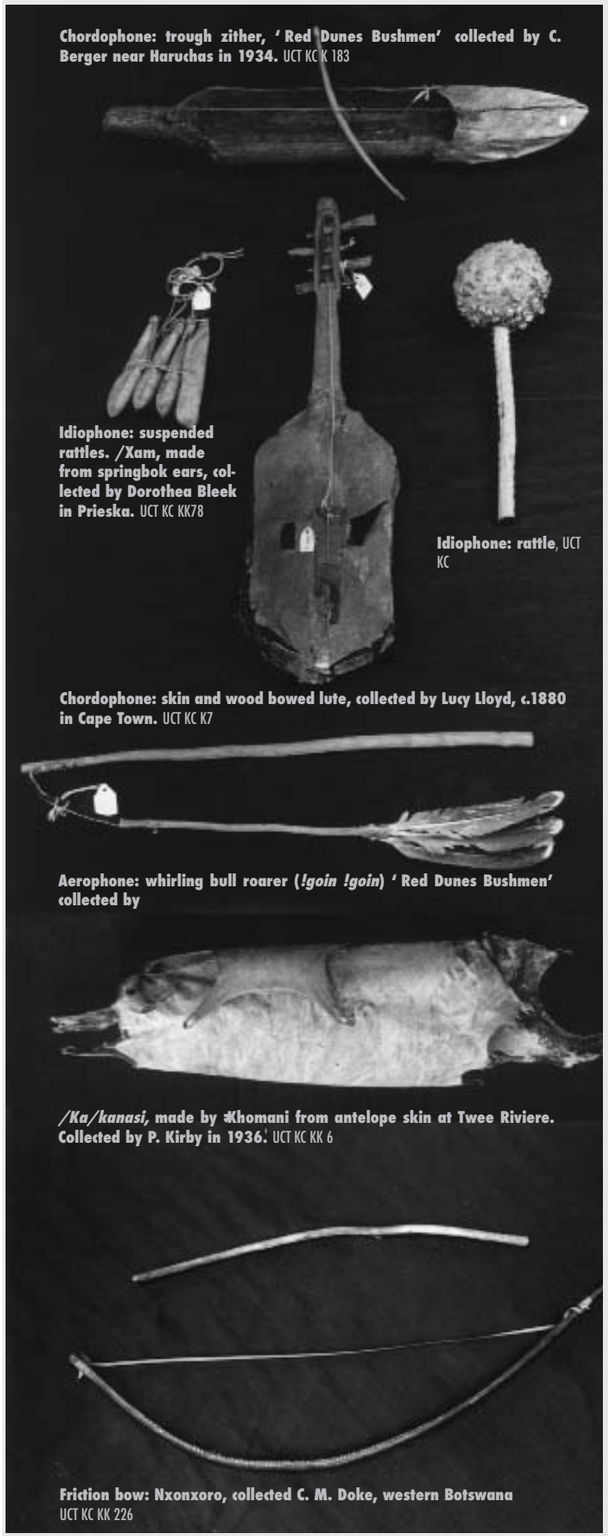
A rudimentary plucked idiophone, described by Kirby as "a temporary Jews harp", was found among the /'Auni Bushman, who called it -*//ku //kxa-si* (Kirby 1936:375). It was made entirely from a short length of tough, dry but pliant grass. The player held one end of the grass in the left hand so that the main portion of the grass length lay across the mouth, while the right hand gracefully plucked the loose end of the grass, either forwards with the back of the fingers, or backwards with the front of the fingers, while alternately exhaling forcefully and inhaling rapidly. The direction of plucking movement with corresponding finger areas ensured that some of the sounds were accentuated while others were not. The result was a rhythmic sequence of two indeterminate pitches approximately a whole tone apart. The Jews harp proper—a metal instrument—is a harmonic instrument, that is, it can produce the natural harmonics scale. Given the physical properties of the Bushman cognate, no such recognisable pitches can be elicited from the instrument. However, pitch differentiation is achieved by the performer changing the shape and, therefore, the size of his or her buccal cavity. Plate 2 in Kirby (1936) shows Klein /Ganaku playing the rudimentary plucked idiophone. She told Kirby that she was imitating the sounds made by a hartebeest while in full flight from a hunter who had shot at and missed it (Kirby 1936:376).

Among Bushman communities the lamellophone (an instrument type with distinctive organological traits) has become the basis for the performance of different but vital genres of music, both individual and communal. The instrument is very popular in Botswana, where John Brearely witnessed and recorded many performances by individual musicians. According to Nicholas England the instrument became popular with !Kung speakers from 1960 onwards, and it was subsequently adopted by others in contiguous communities. Brearely's accounts of his findings on his two visits to Botswana contain detailed description of painstakingly slow and meticulous tuning processes employed by certain musicians, whose procedures where not acceptable to other players in the area. Execution procedures were identical however, the two thumbs being used to stroke the lamellae. The use of resonators was not all that common and Brearely cites only two musicians who used resonators.

Rattling and buzzing devices are also characteristic traits of African lamellophones, and those of the Bushmen are no exception. The devices are made of small metal rings strung on a wire loop attached to the edge of the wooden frame, or pieces of ostrich egg-shell similarly attached and set in vibration when the instrument is played.

Another instrument, the Dongo, is commonly used for individual music-making, and most performances are strictly instrumental and do not accompany singing. Brearely witnessed two performers whose songs included yodelling and whistling, and singing respectively. Performances are often solitary and not always attached to public occasions, although individuals might agree to play for entertainment at beer-drinking parties and the like. Although song texts may consist of vocables and non-lexical syllables (which are not directly translatable), they cannot be regarded as meaningless syllables. As my own studies of African song texts have shown, such syllables are often denotative, that is, they have implicated meanings. From the little information available, it seems that Bushman self-delectative songs are generally intimate, personal, and even contemplative in their expression. In these, individuals formulate their experiences in a way of life, the quality of which is very fragile. If an intra-cultural, developmental study of Bushman music were to be carried out, based upon the people's knowledge, it would probably reveal unknown, and even unexpected processes that go into the production of that music, and what is has to say.

A very unusual sound instrument which may be conveniently classified as a scraped idiophone is the *sevwikivwiki*, which Brearely encountered in a small Humbukushu village situated near the Tsodilo Hills in north-western Botswana. The maker and player of the instrument, Sebata, told Brearely that he had acquired the instrument and playing technique from the Yei, a people living in the Okavango Delta (1988:55). The instrument is made up of a number of items, none of which is actually permanently attached: a disc woven from rushes, much like a flat bowl; the core of a maize cob; a sturdy stick just under a metre long, with notches carved along most of its length. To assemble the instrument, a hole is dug in the ground, and the woven disc is placed over it, with convex side uppermost. The maize-cob core is placed on the disc, and



Chordophone: trough zither, ' Red Dunes Bushmen' collected by C. Berger near Haruchas in 1934. UCT KC K 183

Idiophone: suspended rattles. /Xam, made from springbok ears, collected by Dorothea Bleek in Prieska. UCT KC KK78

Idiophone: rattle, UCT KC

Chordophone: skin and wood bowed lute, collected by Lucy Lloyd, c.1880 in Cape Town. UCT KC K7

Aerophone: whirling bull roarer (*!goin !goin*) ' Red Dunes Bushmen' collected by

***/Ka/kanasi*, made by ǂKhomani from antelope skin at Twee Riviere. Collected by P. Kirby in 1936.** UCT KC KK 6

Friction bow: Nxonxoro, collected C. M. Doke, western Botswana UCT KC KK 226

across it, at right angles, is placed the notched stick, with notches facing upwards. One end of this stick rests on the ground, being held in place by the player's foot, while the upper end points upward, resting on the maize cob. Thus the hole in the ground acts as a resonating chamber for the instrument, which is sounded with two short sticks which are rubbed vigorously across the notches of the sturdy stick. The player sits or squats before the instrument, leaning forward and over it to apply the friction sticks, the initial impact of certain strokes being deliberately heavy so that accentuated as well as unaccentuated strokes are produced. The impacted strokes contrast with the patterns of continuous, unaccented percussive sonority, and are very effective when aligned with patterns of polyrhythmic handclapping and yodelling. The instrument is used as an accompaniment to essentially vocal-choral music. Given the angle at which the player has to lean over the instrument, and the continual scraping of the friction sticks across the notches, it is not surprising that the instrument is strenuous to play.

Chordophones

Bushman musical bows may be conveniently classified according to broad musical bow divisions recognised by David Rycroft (1977):

1. bows without an attached resonator
2. bows with a resonator temporarily attached.

The majority of bows fall into division 1. They include the regular hunting bow used as a musical instrument, as well as modified bows used for purely musical purposes.

The evaluation and analysis of earlier and contemporary Bushman bow techniques, documented within the last six decades, provide irrefutable evidence of the continuity of most, if not all, of them to the present day. These are:

a). The use of musical bows, not only percussively but also in such a way as to produce melody. This is achieved by the player's mouth and cheek cavity, which serves as a variable resonator for the deliberate amplification of harmonic partials for melodic use.

b). Resonation may take place with or without finger-stopping, but it is achieved in three ways: (i) by inserting one end of the bow stave into the corner of the player's mouth; (ii) by passing the central portion of the bow along the lips, without the stave coming into contact with the player's teeth; and (iii) by passing the string across the player's mouth, the lips being stretched widely and slightly parted.

Regarding (a) above, this technique is commonly applied to regular hunting bows, which usually have a sinew string which is set in vibration by being struck with a light twig, or even an arrow (Kirby 1936); the player uses a light staccato action. The bows are, of course, unbraced, the string being allowed to vibrate as a whole. Since the lowest partials cannot be resonated because of the limited size of the player's mouth cavity, the string tension is carefully adjusted so that the player is able to amplify some of the upper harmonic partials from the open, unstopped

string. Bow staves are commonly made from the wood of a local tree (Kirby 1936; Brearely 1988). Kirby found three musical bows in use among the /'Auni Bushmen, one of which was a regular shooting bow, sounded by striking, or by plucking the string. The other two bows were modified specimens , all of them called */khou*, the /'Auni name for their hunting bow. The bows were played by males, mainly for individual music-making and personal expression, although audience participation in the form of singing was not prohibited. Players usually sat or squatted when playing. Of interest is Kirby's description of a player performing while lying down on his back, supporting the lower part of the bow stave with the raised knee, while the other end of the stave is inserted into his mouth (Figure 2).

Kirby also witnessed and documented performances on a modified bow with a temporary resonator, played by males, but few in number, probably owing to the skill needed to manipulate the resonator to amplify harmonic partials. The bow stave was longer than that of the regular hunting bow, and the string was a length of brass wire, a common feature of Bushman musical bows today.

The pluriarc or bow-lute is a chordophone that was traditionally found among Khoikhoi (Damara and Bergdama). The Bushman appear to have acquired the instrument from Khoi and Bantu-speaking peoples. As a Bushman sound instrument it is widely known by its !Kung names: *//gwashi*, or *!Gauka* (Brearely 1982). In

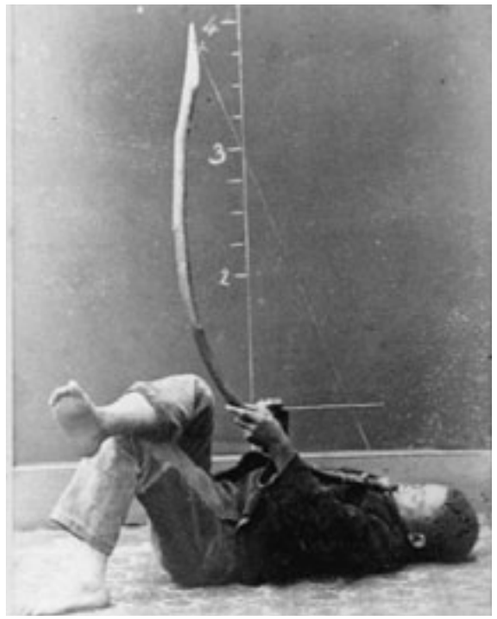
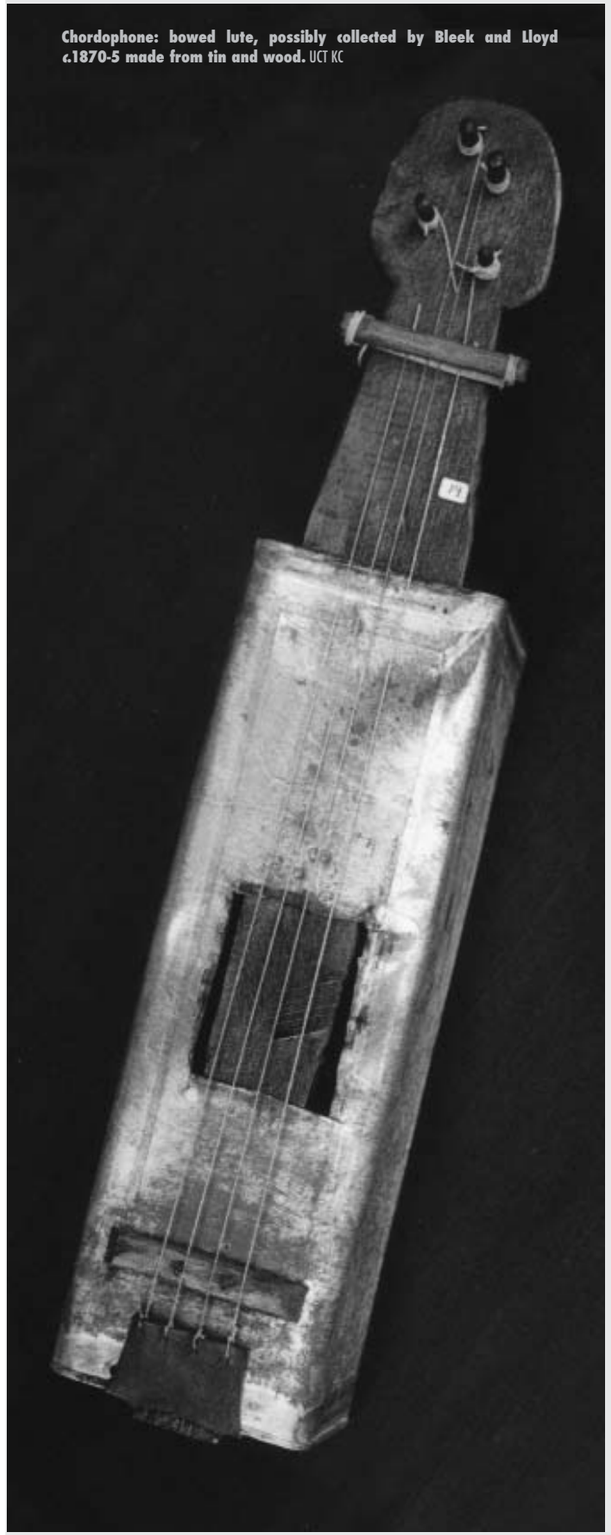


Figure 2 **Tuma, one of Lloyd' s informants in the 1880s playing his hunting bow as a musical instrument.** UCT BC151

Botswana it is also called *zhoma* or *goroshi* by Makaukau people, and is popular as an instrument for self-accompanied solo singing. The instrument has a boat-shaped resonator, traditionally made from the wood of a local tree, one end being partially covered for about two-thirds of its length by a thin piece of wood, pegged in position and prevented from rattling by the joints being sealed with resin or other equivalent substance. Nowadays the resonator is commonly made from a five-litre tin can, which is readily available in Botswana. A number of holes are made in the far end of the resonator a for the reception of tapered ends of thin curved rods of wood. Around these, strings of twisted sinew (or wire) are secured to the ends of the rods, the other ends being attached to the holes made in the thin piece of wood partially covering the resonator.

Kirby's expedition to the /'Auni and ≠Khomani Bushmen brought to light what he described as one of the most remarkable instruments he had ever seen. This was the */ka /kanasi*, which Kirby described as a sinew string with skin resonator. Reputedly of great antiquity, this instrument was made and played only by old women, and for self-delectative purposes only. Components of it include a long string made from sinew cut from the back of a goat, painstakingly subjected to processes of wetting, flaying and twisting, all of which were employed to make strings for all Bushman chordophones. On completion the final length of the sinew string was just under two metres. Other components were a knobbed stick obtained from the menfolk, a cocoon (taken from a strung rattle), a roll of dry hide from the stomach of an antelope, and a short leather strap.

The knobbed stick was placed on the ground before the seated player so that it lay immediately in front of her legs. The sinew string was looped around the knobbed stick, one half of it passing between the great and second toes of the left foot, the other half lying along the side of the right foot past the great toe, which kept the two lengths of string apart. The two ends of the string were attached to the tip of the cocoon rattle, through which the other tip of the strap of leather was threaded. This was then passed across the breast, its two ends tied behind the player's back. Finally the roll of dry antelope hide was placed between the cocoon rattle and the player's chest, to serve as a resonator. The player's body was thus the string bearer. By either leaning backwards or forwards, the player was able to alter the tension of the two string segments, tightening them to raise the pitch, or slackening them to lower the pitch. The string tensions, both originally and later, yielded only indeterminate pitches, which were somewhat obscured by the sounds of the cocoon rattle on the skin resonator. The player occasionally plucked the string segments with the thumb and two fingers of left and right hands alternately. There was no perceptible rhythmic or melodic result, merely rattling and buzzing sounds achieved through torso movements and digital manipulation (see Plates 3 and 4 in Kirby 1936). The instrument with all its components is on



Chordophone: bowed lute, possibly collected by Bleek and Lloyd c.1870-5 made from tin and wood. UCT KC

view in the Kirby Collection, College of Music UCT (KK 5&6).

Violins
Kirby obtained three specimens of violins made by one of Lucy Lloyd's !Kung informants at Mowbray, Cape Town in about 1880. The specimens were preserved by Dorothea Bleek, who subsequently gave them to Kirby. Describing the Bushman's handiwork, Dorothea Bleek noted that "his first savings were invested in a cheap violin, which he played by ear with great talent."

Other violins were constructed out of old paraffin tins and wooden cocoa boxes, the strings being made from cat-gut. The specimens are on view in the Kirby collection.

Ramkies
This is the name of an early form of a long-necked plucked lute with three, and later four strings, and tuning pegs, used by Cape and Koranna Khoi during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was not originally a copy of the guitar, although later in its development it acquired certain guitar features, notably a *capo tasta*. Kirby was of the opinion that the instrument was of Portuguese origin although, as Rycroft has pointed out, certain oriental traits were also apparent (1977: 241). The earliest description of the *ramkie* came from O.F. Mentzel, a resident at the Cape during the period 1733–41 who witnessed Khoikhoi makers and players of the instrument. Organological features were: a body made from the lower part of a gourd or wild pumpkin shell; a wooden stave and string bearer with a tapering end, the other end thrust into the half-gourd and secured to it; a piece of flayed sheepskin fitted over the gourd to serve as a resonator. This was the original structure of the instrument, which was three stringed, with as many tuning pegs. The accounts of early travellers in the region associate the instrument with the Khoikhoi. However, Thompson witnessed a Bushwoman playing the *raamakie* in 1823 at a place called 'Bloem Fonteyn' in the Roggeveld. The kind of music produced on the instrument was repetitive chord-playing, with finger-stopping, which frequently accompanied dancing. There is one specimen of a Bushman *ramkie*, original type, in the Kirby Collection (K 189 A), which was procured from 'Red Dunes' Bushmen living near Haruchas, Namibia (see Kirby 1965, Plate 72 no. 5). Later specimens acquired tin-can bodies, which replaced the earlier half-gourd and skin-string construction. Today the *ramkie* is obsolete, having been replaced by the western commercial guitar and 'homemade' versions.

!Goura
Unique to southern Africa was the breath-sounded 'wind-bow', a 'stringed-wind' instrument witnessed and described by many early travellers in the region. Essentially a Khoikhoi instrument, it was adopted by Bushmen and Bantu-speaking peoples, and cognates have been found among virtually all indigenous groups in southern Africa. Today the instrument is found only in Lesotho. The instrument is sounded by inhalation and exhalation, and no finger-stopping is involved, the harmonic partials deriving from one fundamental from the open string. The first reference to the instrument played by a Bushman occurs in the writings of W.J. Burchell, who described it correctly as a Khoikhoi instrument.

A fascinating story about the *!gora* was obtained by Bleek and Lloyd (1911:320–5). Briefly, a young boy decided to imitate a great shaman, who played his *!gora* to call the rain whenever he felt anger towards his people. The boy lay down and played the instrument, and rain fell so heavily that it threatened to flay alive the skin of the boy's mother, who screamed and begged him to stop playing. Eventually the boy's father came on the scene, and ultimately the boy was made to see the error of his ways, having called up a rainstorm that threatened to kill everyone.

There is one specimen of a Bushman *!gora* in the Kirby Collection (K 129), called *//ha* which once belonged to Lucy Lloyd. The instrument is incomplete, only a portion of the quill remaining on it. Highly unusual is the presence of a tuning peg, which was not a salient feature of the Khoikhoi instrument.

Aerophones
A globular flute or ocarina was the only 'true aerophone' observed among the Kalahari Bushman by Kirby (1936). Called *//nasi /khosike*, it was made from the fruit shell of the wild cucumber, and had two openings in it, one at each end of the fruit. Once the pulpy contents were removed the shell was allowed to dry, after which it was ready for use. The performer held the instrument horizontally to the mouth, directing the breath across one of the openings, while stopping the other with the palm of the hand. The instrument produced two pitches yielding an interval of approximately a fourth or a fifth apart. Women were the sole players of the instrument and regularly made specimens from fresh fruit. According to Kirby they regarded the instrument as a musical toy rather than a true sound instrument. (See Kirby 1936, Plates 3 and 4 showing a Bushman woman playing this globular flute.)

Reed-flute ensembles
Reed-flute ensembles in south-east Africa were observed by travellers and explorers from the fifteenth century onwards, notably among the Khoikhoi (the Koranna and Nama Khoi) the Tswana and certain Bushman people. Later authors and travellers noted the occurrence of such ensembles among the Venda, North Sotho and Ndebele, but they appear to have been non-existent among indigenous peoples located in KwaZulu-Natal, Lesotho, the eastern Cape, and the Kalahari Desert. Regarding the making and playing of these instruments, indigenous players fall into two distinct groups: those who use(d) instruments in which the pitch was altered by means of movable plugs, and those who used instruments of fixed pitch. The Khoikhoi, Bushmen and Tswana belong to the first group, while the Venda, North Sotho and Ndebele belong to the second group. Bushman reed-flute ensembles appear to have derived from Khoikhoi practice. Both peoples employed similar methods of making and tuning the individual flutes, and their nomenclature is almost the same.

Kirby acquired four sets of flutes from the 'Red Dunes' Bushmen located near Haruchas, Namibia , situated on the western edge of the Kalahari Desert. Two of the sets comprise four flutes, which are larger in size than the other two sets comprising six flutes respectively. They are made from relatively fragile and narrow-bored river reed, plugged with fibre and tuned with thin tamping sticks made from the *rosyntiebos*, and called *≠ou* in the vernacular. (Kirby Collection K 112–15)

Stopped flutes
Whistles made from the horns of small antelope, for example the duiker and springbok, were found all over southern Africa, not least among the Bushmen. Although they are included in Kirby's book on the musical instruments of South African indigenous peoples, they were strictly speaking not used for musical purposes. Stopped whistles of animal horn (the closed tip of the horn acting as a natural stop) were used as signal whistles in the hunt, or as decoys to attract antelope. Kirby Collection specimens, K10A and B are two flutes made of duiker horns called */garris* or */garras*, obtained from the 'Red Dunes' Bushmen, who claimed they could imitate the actual call of the antelope. Bones were also used to make stopped flutes. Such whistles were used by hunters to keep in touch with one another. Stopped flutes made from the barrel of an ostrich quill feather, the cut end being the embouchure, were similarly made and used by Bushmen (for example, Kirby Collection K5, 2). There is no evidence that these stopped flutes ever had musical significance.

The bullroarer, a whirling aerophone, was found among virtually all the authochthonous populations in southern Africa, but appears to have had no ritual significance, being commonly used as a toy. However, Bushman peoples apparently had a more practical use for the instrument; it was used as a decoy to attract bees away from their hives, allowing Bushman to harvest the honey. There are six specimens of Bushman whirling aerophones in the Kirby collection, two made by /Xam for Bleek and Lloyd, and later given to Kirby (KK52 and KK 59). Three of the specimens were obtained from 'Red Dunes' Bushman in Namibia in the period 1932–4, one of them having three quill feathers in place of the customary torpedo-shaped wooden slat (KK48). The sixth specimen is of questionable provenance but is certainly a Bushman instrument. The vernacular name of all the instruments is *!goin !goin*, possibly an onomatopoeic

Details of UCT KC K 183 (top); UCT KC KK 6 (middle); and UCT KC KK (below)

term imitating the sound of the instrument when it is set in motion.

Membranophones

Bushmen appear to have had no tradition of drums or drumming. However, a percussion plaque found by Kirby among Kalahari Bushmen, was used in women's musical performances, and functioned as a rudimentary drum. Called *dou* in the vernacular, it was the skin of an antelope or other animal which was used as a dancing platform. It was placed over hollows in the ground which served as resonators, and women dancing upon it wore ankle rattles (described earlier), which resulted in the production of percussive buzzing sound effects. Such performances also involved singing and handclapping. Within the past 35 years a certain women's dance has become popular among some Bushmen. This is the women's 'drum dance' which first emerged among the Dobe !Kung in *c.*1915, and today is a regular socio-ritual event. It is not a healing dance, but serves to introduce women to a trance state, and many of them ultimately train to become healers. The women dance and enter trance, while their menfolk play a long drum that is the central symbol of the dance. According to Lee (1984) the drum was borrowed from the Humbukushu people who live in the Okavango Swamps. By 1972 the dance had spread throughout the !Kung area, and had supplanted the 'giraffe trance dance' (Lee 1984:113–15).

Vocal polyphony

The 'trance dance' remains the most important social and ritual event in Bushman communities. It involves gender-based musical roles, women singing and clapping, while the men dance and wear strung rattles. The music is vocal and polyphonic, being accompanied by polyrhythmic handclapping. Dance songs are among the older traditional sub-categories of music encountered by Kirby in 1936 among Kalahari Bushman together with another sub-category of 'singing games'. Although Kirby mentions only one such game, called"Baboon", ethnographic publications provide evidence that song-games are prevalent among Bushmen today.

A second broad category of music identified by Kirby comprised songs acquired from Khoikhoi people, while a third category included songs acquired from Europeans: hymns, secular songs with Afrikaans words, and vocal imitations of western European musical instruments. Kirby has provided transcribed extracts of older Bushman vocal polyphonic music, and also more extended extracts of the borrowed music. The latter are detailed and easy to understand, since the music is clearly set in the major diatonic system. Less successful are the older polyphonic songs in which noticeable traits are yodelling, the absence of meaningful words and polyrhythmic clapping. Although Kirby had to work with very simple recording apparatus, and relied on on-the-spot transcriptions, he provided his transcriptions with technical musical analyses. In so doing he was unable to avoid a certain amount of ethnocentricism. This

is most apparent in his analysis of musical time in measures which are divided by bar-lines. This implies that the note immediately after the bar-line constitutes a strong beat, implying accentuation of that beat. Given our current knowledge of Bushman music, this interpretation cannot be correct. Possibly Kirby followed A.M. Jones' tendency to describe polyrhythmic performances in terms of the superimpositions of bars of different values, but the result is confusing and misleading.

Nicholas England's accounts of musical techniques used by Bushmen in their vocal polyphony is more successful and informative, although the vertical/harmonic aspects in the music receive little attention. Basic to Bushman technique is the interchanging of melodic phrases in what England calls "extended STIMMTAUSCH technique" (1967:60). Following Riemann's definition, this technique "involves the cross-exchange of melodic fragments between two or more voices in the same register". It was a technique known in the Middle Ages, but little used before the sixteenth century.

England's study of Bushman counterpoint (1967) also sheds some light on the ways in which Bushman arrange their melodic phrases in counterpoint. "There is absolutely no constraint on any participant to perform any one specific musical line at any one specific moment, and that applies to all repertoires"(1967:60).

What makes England's work so valuable and tantalising is the inclusion of some information on Bushman concepts about the origins of music, which are implicit in the notions about processes of composition. The Bushman healer or shaman is apparently the true composer; a musical idea (melody) comes to him in a dream, or while in a trance state, and once he obtains this, he must then transmit it to the women in his community. This musical idea would seem to concur with Kirby's 'tune pattern', which he identified as the simple, thematic basis of any song. The Bushmen women then rehearse the song, elaborating it according to their traditional techniques, until they arrive at a version pleasing to the composer. Further performances of the song result in more elaborations and variations, until the total musical structure emerges from what was initially a simple thematic musical idea, comprising long note (tone) values. It is this kind of local knowledge of a people's musical practices, based on their explanations and evaluations, which is needed for a deeper understanding of Bushman vocal polyphony, and Bushman music generally. The complex texture of that oral polyphony requires a special method of recording, and it is to be hoped that a method devised by ethnomusicologist, Simha Arom[1], and used by him very successfully, will encourage ethnomusicologists to take up the challenge and to research Bushman musical practices, in particular, their oral polyphonic music, taking into account people's notions and perceptions of themselves and their music in contemporary society, and their explanations of the functions which music plays in their lives.

This essay would not be complete without references to an intriguing and thought-provoking study by Gerhard Kubik (1988). It is based on musical material collected by him from !Kung-speaking Bushmen in south-eastern Angola in 1965, and samples of music of certain Bantu-speaking peoples, notably the Nsenga, Lala, Swaka, Lozi and others collected by other researchers. What stimulated Kubik's interest was the distinctive but extraordinary harmonic system of these peoples living south of the 14º–15º borderline that divides Angola and Zambia. The music of these peoples is, tonally and harmonically, radically different "not only from musical cultures north of that line, but also from any multi-part music elsewhere in Africa, Central and West Africa in particular" (1988: 44). The system is a hexa/hepta one in which part-singing proceeds in regular sequences of bichords in 4ths and 5ths, a combination that is very peculiar since studies in African music have shown that heptatonic people with multi-part singing generally use parallel 3rds, or 3rds and 4ths trichords in parallel, oblique and contrary motion "They would **not** combine a heptatonic system with the exclusive use of bichords in 4ths and 5ths" (Kubik 1988:44). The African peoples living north of the intersecting line sing in 3rds, and since some of them share cultural traits with the southerners, including language, it is difficult to understand why there is such an enormous musical difference among them (a musical mystery that has puzzled a number of investigators). Kubik's paper contains a detailed examination of the !Kung tonal system, which is based on the selective use of natural harmonics and which is valid for the vocal music as well. The system is a tetra/penta one. Three bow tunings (phenotypes) were elucidated, and an assessment of their combined tonal/harmonic material produced what Kubik calls a merger model that is also a theoretical model of a unified !Kung tonal system. This model was then compared with tonal/harmonic patterns in the music of the above-mentioned Bantu-speaking peoples, and it was found that the latter fitted neatly into the !Kung tonal/harmonic merger. Kubik's paper argues convincingly that one of the most peculiar harmonic systems of Africa could have a remote Bushman background. He cautions, however, that "the extent of the assimilation of San concepts by Bantu-speakers that took place in the remote past may still be arguable, but the fact that there is a San heritage in the music [of the Bantu-speakers] is hard to deny."

It is interesting to note that tunings and tonal/harmonic patterns described by Brearely in his 1988 publication of Botswana Bushman music, concur with those described by Kubik for the !Kung speakers of south-eastern Angola. It is almost certain that the same tonal/harmonic traits form the basis of Bushman oral polyphony. The exact nature of the system, and how it operates in the vocal polyphonic music, remains unknown. Given the continued existence of Bushman communities today, I believe it is still possible to put together a more detailed and comprehensive picture of their present musical practices, of which oral polyp-

honic music is of crucial importance, being a notable and enduring feature of their religious/ritual music.

Bead and shell necklace excavated at Oakhurst in the Cape by the University of Cape Town Archaeology Department. The necklace was found in an infant' s grave and may be as old as 8000 years. Photograph by Paul Weinberg. UCT Archaeology Collection

"The Ideas Generally Entertained with Regard to the Bushmen and their Mental Condition"

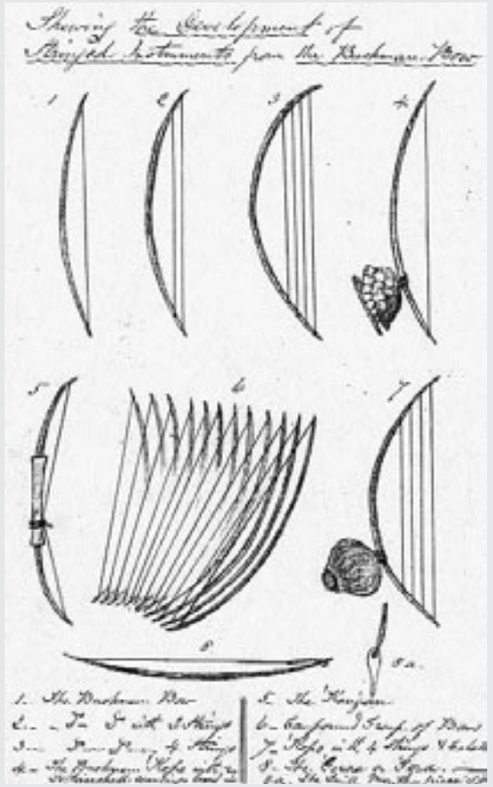
J. David Lewis-Williams

Shortly before his death in 1875, Wilhelm Bleek submitted a detailed and important document to the government at the Cape of Good Hope. It bore the rather cumbersome title *Second Report Concerning Bushman Researches, with a Short Account of the Bushman Native Literature Collected*. For more than five years he and his sister-in-law, Lucy Lloyd, had been painstakingly recording /Xam San texts verbatim in a phonetic script and preparing line-by-line English translations. Bleek's *Second Report* noted that the collection comprised 6600 pages; after his death, Lloyd raised this number to over 12 000. Today the Bleek and Lloyd Collection is recognised as one of the greatest repositories of nineteenth-century indigenous lore in the world and, certainly, the cornerstone of Southern San research.

Bleek was a remarkable man in many ways, not least in his prescience. Long before the phrase 'oral literature' became common in anthropology, Bleek called his texts, not superstitions, lore or myths, but, uncompromisingly, 'literature'. In choosing that word he was putting the rich and varied San material on a par with Western written literature and thus challenging the conceptions of his time relating to what were regarded as 'primitive' peoples.

Bleek's far-sightedness is evident in two, arguably even more remarkable, ways. First, he perceived something of the importance of San rock art to the San themselves. In the year before the publication of the *Second Report*, he had been greatly excited by copies of San rock paintings that Joseph Millerd Orpen had sent to the editor of *The Cape Monthly Magazine*. Orpen had made the copies in what is now Lesotho, some 600 km to the east of where Bleek's San helpers lived. Realising the importance of the copies, the editor at once passed them on to Bleek, and he showed them to the /Xam San people who were staying with him in his home in Mowbray, Cape Town. The copies and the oral material that Orpen had collected were published in *The Cape Monthly Magazine* in July 1874. In a note that accompanied them, Bleek said that the copies were no less valuable than the "mythology and . . . legendary lore". The /Xam San explanations of the paintings, though not exactly the same as those that Orpen obtained from his Maluti San guide, Qing, were close enough to persuade Bleek that the principal San beliefs were similar over much of southern Africa. Most importantly, he concluded that San rock art was something other than the idle daubing his fellow colonists believed it to be. Rather, the art had to do with what he called "the ideas which most deeply moved the Bushman mind, and filled it with religious feelings" (Bleek 1874:13). But, more than that, Bleek saw beyond the paintings themselves and perceived the importance of San rock art in southern African history and race relations as no one had ever done. This perception was based mainly on another and larger collection of copies. His excitement at the prospect of what this art could offer shines through his writing as he describes his "great longing to see that splendid collection of Bushman paintings which Mr. C. G. Stowe [G.W. Stow] is said to have made" (Bleek 1874:12). His longing was fulfilled when, some months before his death, Stow sent him 42 copies. Even more than Orpen's four copies, Stow's large, colourful cartoons were "of the greatest possible interest" and evinced "an infinitely higher taste, and a far greater artistic faculty, than our liveliest imagination could have anticipated" (Bleek 1875:20).

At once Bleek saw down the decades and realised that San rock art very possibly constituted the most powerful



argument against those who believed the San authors of these paintings to be simple, primitive and distasteful:

> The publication, which we hope and trust will be possible to Mr Stow ere long, cannot but effect a radical change in the ideas generally entertained with regard to the Bushmen and their mental condition. (Bleek 1875:20)

But it was not to be. There was much that Bleek did not know, that he did not foresee. He seems to have assumed that the publication of Stow's copies would almost automatically effect the "radical change" for which he hoped and worked. He did not know that the San were to become an ideological football and did not imagine that what he, with optimism bred of daily contact with San people, had come to realise about the art would be ignored. He did not foresee those images becoming the motifs of tea-towels, T-shirts and coffee mugs. Nor did he know that "the ideas which most deeply moved the Bushman mind, and filled it with religious feelings" would be denied even by some rock art researchers. Moreover, the terrible sufferings of the San people of Bleek's day would increase until their whole society would be destroyed. The cultural, ideological and political struggles of Bleek's and Stow's time were too deep for logic and reason; they rolled on inexorably into the next century and are still with us today.

Stow died in 1882. Soon after his death, Lucy Lloyd acquired from his widow his collection of copies and the manuscript of a book that he was writing, but her efforts to publish Stow's work were frustrated by public apathy. Eventually, she approached George McCall Theal to help with the publication. In 1905 Theal included four of Stow's copies in his heavily edited version of Stow's manuscript *The Native Races of South Africa*. Twenty-five years later Dorothea Bleek, Wilhelm Bleek's daughter, saw to the publication of 72 of Stow's copies in a magnificent book, *Rock Paintings in South Africa* (Stow & Bleek 1930). Colour plate after colour plate reveals the intricate detail of the images; they point, surely incontrovertibly, to deeply moving ideas and religious feelings.

Yet, even then, the influence of San rock art was not what Wilhelm Bleek had hoped for. Dorothea Bleek missed the import of the art and did not see what her father had seen. Her views are clear in her introduction to *The Mantis and his Friends*, a collection of /Xam myths that she published seven years before Stow's copies. Succumbing to the attitudes of her time, she wrote:

> The Bushman is a good lover and a good hater, very loyal and very revengeful. He remains all his life a child, averse to work, fond of play, of painting, singing, dancing, dressing up and acting, above all things fond of hearing and telling stories. (Bleek 1924:unnumbered page)

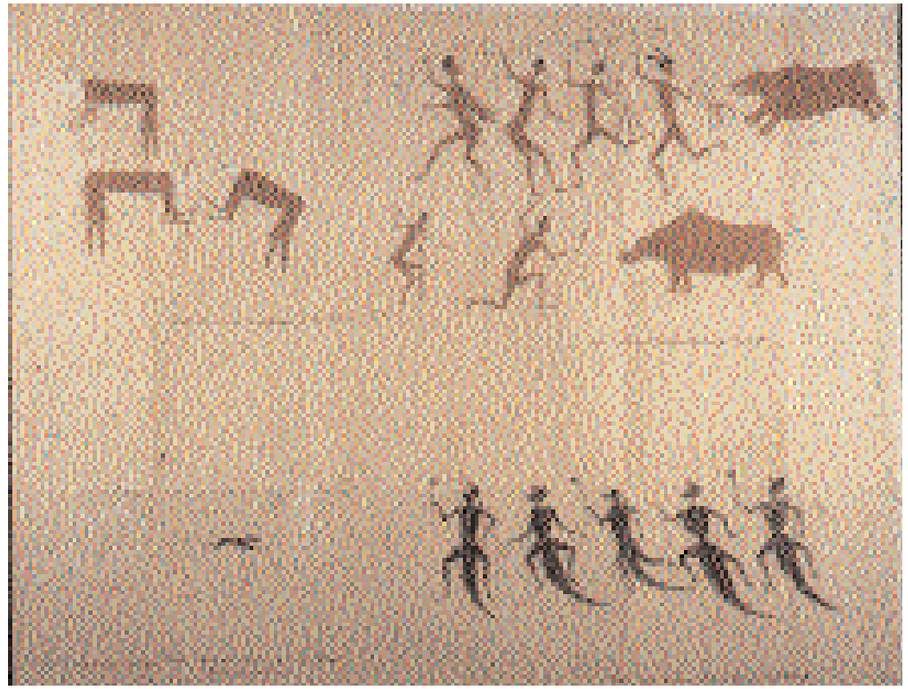


Figure 1 **J. M. Orpen' s copies of four sets of rock paintings, as published on a fold-out page in *The Cape Monthly Magazine* for July 1874. His original copies are in the South African Library, Cape Town. They show ' flecks' surrounding the human figures and the two fantasy ' rain animals' in the upper right group. Responding to this painting, /Xam people told Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd that ritual specialists believed that, if they killed such an animal, rain would fall.**
Photograph courtesy D. Lewis-Williams

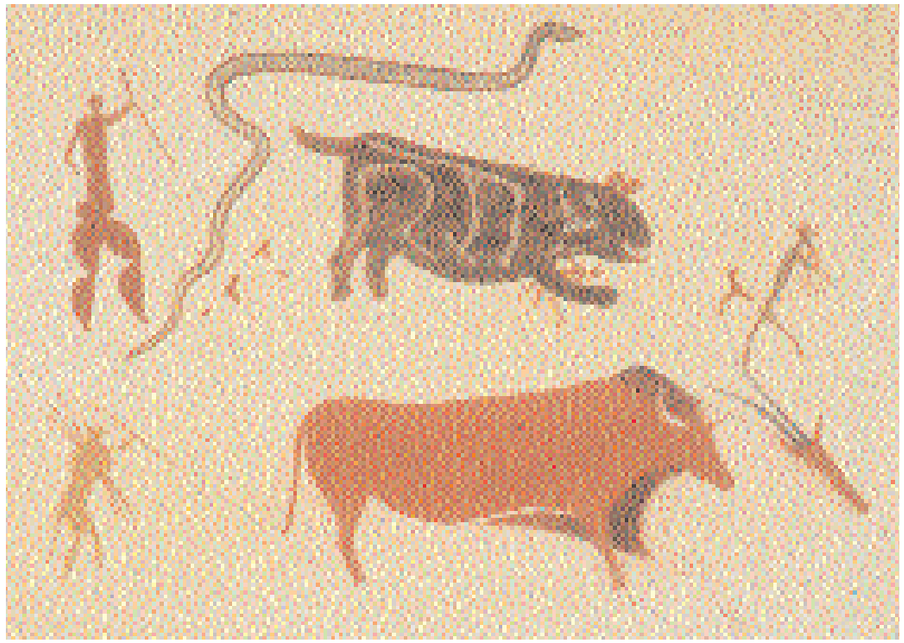
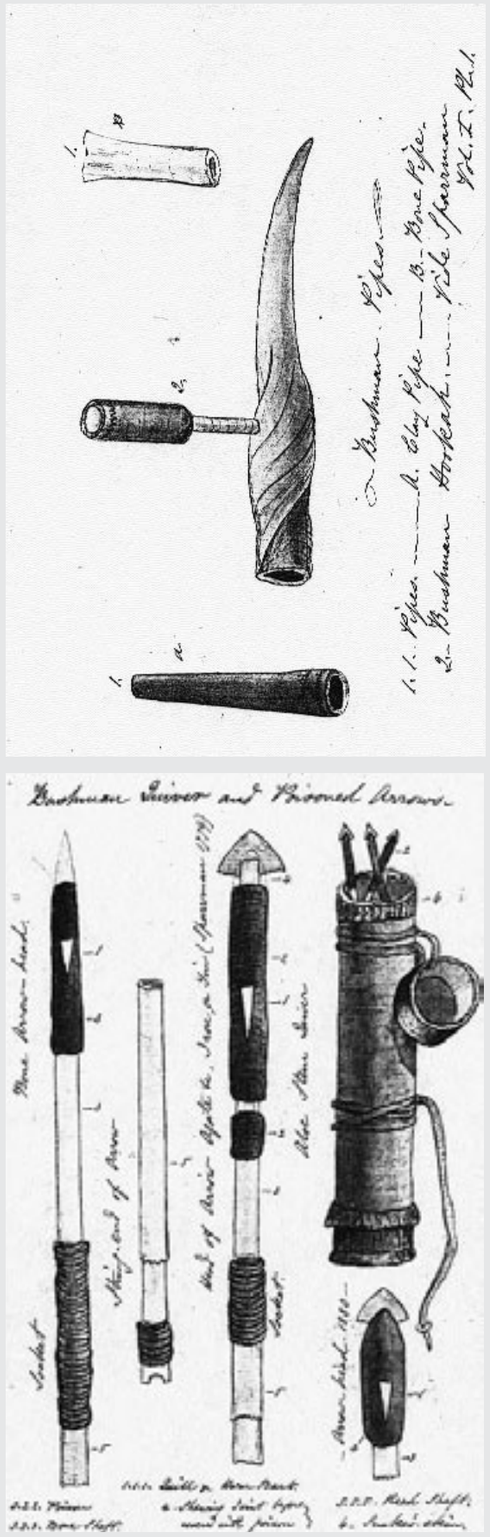


Figure 2 **Plate 49 in George W. Stow and Dorothea Bleek' s book *Rock Paintings in Southern Africa* (1930). Stow brought together paintings from different parts of an eastern Free State rock shelter. The strange animal may be a ' rain animal' . An examination of the actual paintings shows that Stow took the animal' s penis to be a second hindleg; he also omitted numerous human figures. The cow-on-eland superpositioning is now badly damaged by natural weathering. The snake has not been re-located (see Dowson *et al.* 1994).**
Photograph courtesy D. Lewis-Williams



For her, San painting was just another diversion, a manifestation of what she saw as the artists' childlike character and reprehensible laziness. Ironically, even as she wrote this, she was preparing for publication what her father had called Stow's "splendid collection" of copies. In her introduction to *Rock Paintings in South Africa* she wrote of "the lazy, improvident Bushman character" and argued that the making of pictures for "magic purposes" was "absolutely out of keeping with the thoughtless, care-free cast of mind of the race" (Bleek 1930:xxiv). Appealing to her experience of the art and her (limited) personal contact with the San, she concluded that

> only from love of painting would they ever have painted so much, only from a spirit of emulation would they have covered the same rock-surfaces over and over again. (Bleek 1930:xxiv–v)

Was she consciously challenging her father's view, or had she simply lost sight of what he had perceived about the art? Certainly, she devoted her life to San researches, published a great deal of highly important material and, in a number of ways, furthered the cause of San rock art. Perhaps she is one of the most notable instances of just how powerful the influence of a cultural milieu can be. Whatever the case, in her hands the art became evidence for, rather than a challenge to, "the ideas generally entertained with regard to the Bushmen". Certainly, given such treatment and such a milieu, Stow's copies did not—could not—effect the radical change for which Wilhelm Bleek had hoped.

Rock Paintings in South Africa was, of course, just one in a long line of books about the sub-continent's rock art. A successor to Stow's book was *The Artists of the Rocks* by the well-known South African artist Walter Battiss (1948). Not only did he publish his copies of rock paintings and engravings in this and other books, he also joyfully acknowledged the influence of San art on his own exuberant work. Yet, despite his personal sensitivity and his concern for San art, he too found it difficult to accept that the San, as he had come to think of them, had made the striking polychrome paintings of eland, and he ascribed them to mysterious "unidentified painters" and "pre-Bushmen" (Battiss 1948:99). He declared that the art of these pre-Bushman times "was an art of reverence". Then, ignoring "the ideas which most deeply moved the Bushman mind", he added that "the art of the little Bushmen [as he repeatedly called them] was one of illustration" (Battiss 1948:96).

Nevertheless, Battiss perceived more than many of his contemporaries. Considering what he saw to be "genuine Bushman paintings of the last period" (Battiss 1948:81), he rejected the generally held notion that the most recent art was 'decadent' and, perhaps responding to Dorothea Bleek's remarks about 'the Bushman' being all his life a child, asserted that the final paintings required "a certain intelligence which is far above that of children" (Battiss

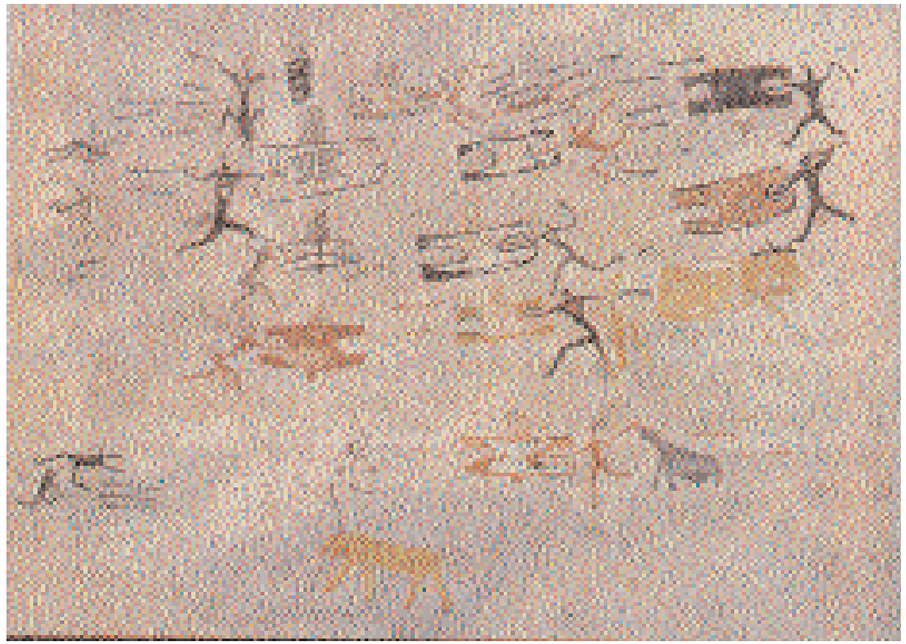


Figure 3 **Walter Battiss' s copy of a ' battle scene' painted in the eastern Free State (Batiss 1948: plate xiv). Citing G. Tylden, Battiss suggests that the painting may represent a fight between two "Batlapin" groups. George Stow' s copy of this painting (Stow & Bleek 1930: plate 37) shows more detail than Battiss' s copy. Dorothea Bleek, who relocated the painting in the 1920s, found that part of the scene had flaked away. She considered that Stow had correctly copied the parts that she could still see.**
Photograph courtesy D. Lewis-Williams

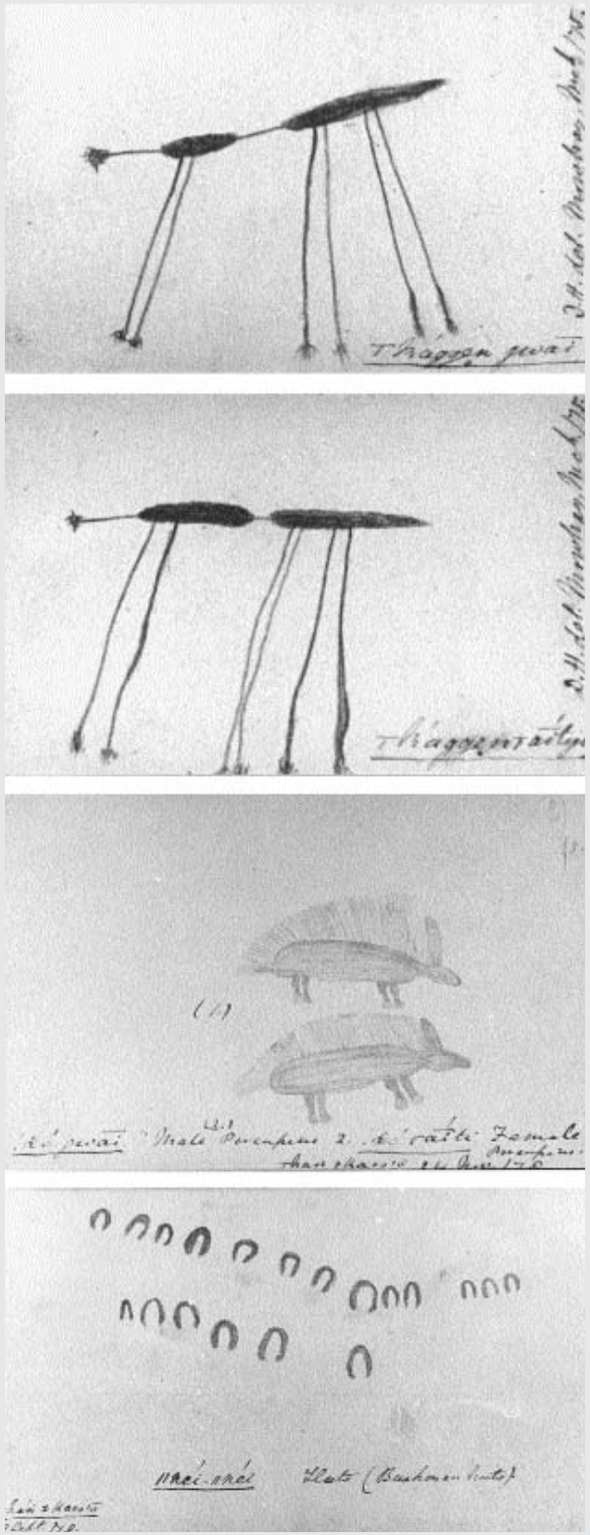
1948:88). His prose stirred readers of his time, but his challenge was to conceptions of the images as art; he did not go much beyond his remark about "a certain intelligence". His interests did not lead him to see the art as a powerful, political challenge to "the ideas generally entertained" about the San themselves, as Wilhelm Bleek had done 70 and more years before.

The influence of Battiss's book on the general public should not be overestimated. It was published at the end of the 1940s in a limited edition of 500 copies. Soon, his colour reproductions and black-and-white photographs were overtaken by colour photography, and a new wave of well-illustrated, widely disseminated but unfortunately often ill-researched books began to impact upon the public imagination. Many of the writers of these comparatively inexpensive books seem to have followed Dorothea Bleek. They presented the art as a somewhat trivial record of daily life and, sometimes, even as an object of fun and amusement. In doing so, they continued to reproduce, rather than challenge, pejorative notions of the San. By and large, these books told their readers what they wanted to hear and what they found congenial. Generally, the authors resisted the idea that the art could be 'symbolic' or that it could have a major religious content. Wilhelm Bleek's insights were forgotten.

Fully argued, explicit challenges to popular stereotypes of the San and their supposedly 'simple' art did not emerge until the 1970s, a century after Wilhelm Bleek's death. Soon a rich field of interrelated meanings became apparent (see Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1994). For instance, the eland was for the San a polysemic symbol associated with the Eland Bull Dance of girls' puberty rituals, boys' first-kill rituals, marriage observances and the supernatural potency that the San shamans activated in order to cure the sick, make rain, go on extracorporeal journeys, and guide the movements of antelope herds (Lewis-Williams 1981). Asked in 1974 about the benefits bestowed by the Eland Bull Dance, !Kun/obe, a !Kung San woman, replied thoughtfully,

> They do the Eland Bull Dance so that she will be well; she will be beautiful; that she won't be thin; so that if there is hunger, she won't be very hungry and she won't be terribly thirsty and she will be peaceful. That all will go well with the land and that rain will fall. (Lewis-Williams 1981:50)

Her eloquent reverie wove together many San values: physical beauty, fatness, freedom from want and from glut, beneficent rain, and peace, not only for the girl herself but for the whole community. Everyone was caught up in the event and the implications of the Eland Bull Dance. Each of the great San values was like a mosaic tile. Arranged together, they bore the unifying image of the largest and fastest African antelope—the eland (Lewis-Williams 1981; Vinnicombe 1976). Not surprisingly, the eland is the most frequently depicted animal in many regions of southern Africa. Stately herds of eland stride



across the walls of innumerable rock shelters. As !Kun/obe's remarks suggest, the values for which these images stood were indeed "ideas which most deeply moved the Bushman mind, and filled it with religious feelings".

Although the 'fit' between ethnography and the art was, for many researchers, persuasive, there were those who rejected the argument that complexities such as those that !Kun/obe expressed could be present in the painted and engraved images. Fierce controversy ensued because more than 'an interpretation' was at stake. At issue were self-images, as much as images of the San. Self-images of colonial sophistication had been constructed in antithesis to the San for centuries (Blundell 1995). 'They' are the opposite to everything 'we' are: 'they' are lazy, 'we' are industrious; 'they' are children, 'we' are mature adults. In today's language, the San are the quintessential 'other'. Attacks on pejorative notions of the San were therefore attacks on identities to which many people in southern Africa clung, though they themselves were not always aware of this reflexivity.

The controversy of the 1970s and 1980s thus concerned more than the art itself, and this may account, at least in part, for the bitterness of so many exchanges. Those writers who challenged the then-current notions about the art were fully aware, and indeed explicitly stated, that they were also contesting notions of the San as 'child-like' and 'primitive' and, by extension, conceptions of the sub-continent's past. Wilhelm Bleek was cited as the one person who foresaw the deeper nature of the conflict. Indeed, the rock art research of the 1970s and 1980s did much to kindle interest in the Bleek and Lloyd Collection (for example, Lewis-Williams 1972; Vinnicombe 1972).

Today there is increasing concern with conceptions, stereotypes and ideas about the San and with the ways in which those conceptions have changed over the years. The influence of specific writers and the effects of commercialisation are frequently assessed. But the part played by rock art publications and rock art research is seldom given the prominence it merits. It has not been sufficiently realised that the images, as they have been studied and presented to the public in easily accessible books, have had a powerful yet subtle influence on the formation of popular ideas about San. Partly, but only partly, as a result of the earlier trivialising publications, the simple, well known phrase 'Bushman paintings' has become invested with connotations of primitiveness and naïvity. The semantic inertia of the phrase is, of course, set in and supported by the wider pattern of thought of which it is a key part, and that pattern is, in turn, part of the historical trajectory of the sub-continent.

Yet the art does have power, as Wilhelm Bleek recognised, and there is far more to the images than the phrase 'Bushman paintings' at present suggests to many people. Revealed and celebrated, the wonder of the art, not its perceived triviality, will come to play the formative role for which Bleek hoped. There is today a growing appreciation of San art and greater acceptance of its religious and symbolic content (see, for example, Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989; Dowson 1992).

Unfortunately, a new danger threatens what has been accomplished. It does not come from ignorance and wilful obscurantism but from within academia itself. The relativism of that set of philosophical propositions called post-modernism is antithetical to reality. In the place of reality, so some post-modernists believe, there are only 'representations'. Without any reality by which to evaluate these representations, they must all be considered equal. All ideas about other groups of people, so the argument runs, are no more than 'constructs' made at particular times and for their makers' own ends.

Caught in the relativism of post-modernism, the San become no more than a congeries of representations; reality recedes to the vanishing-point of an infinite regression of images in parallel mirrors. In turn the new, post-modern advocates of the San are caught in their own philosophical trap of elitism and factitious subtleties. Inevitably, some academic writers see their role as deconstructors of representations and constructs rather than as arbiters and contestants, and there is a danger that more and more writing about the San will be of this kind. Of course, it could be said that the very notion that the San are no more than a congeries of constructs is itself a construct, one that serves intellectual jugglers and late-twentieth-century scholastics.

That there have been and still are numerous stereotypes and representations of the San is not in question. But the San are not simply stereotypes created by other people. There was and still is an irreducible reality that the relativism of post-modernism must not be allowed to obscure. In 1863, Louis Anthing wrote,

> We should save from perishing the remnants of a poor and weak race of people, whose land has been appropriated by us, who have thereby been deprived of their all, and who have never received anything in return for what they have lost, and have never had anything done for them. (Anthing 1863:7)

He was not writing of a representation or a stereotype. He was writing about real San people. Whatever else may be a representation, their suffering was not. To be sure, Anthing's contemporaries clung to stereotypes that represented the San as barbaric or childlike people who should make way for 'civilisation', but he passionately challenged those stereotypes, and he knew that there was a reality from which he could do so. He did not simply tell his readers how and why they had 'constructed' the San. He joined battle.

Today we, too, need commitment, not to a fashionable *fin de millénaire* philosophy of insubstantial representations, but to the will to distinguish between contradictory notions of the San and to sweep aside those that are, quite simply, wrong. Many representations of the San and their art are, it must be emphasised, simply wrong. They are not childlike, lazy people. Their art is not a trivial record of daily life. This is not to say that any one researcher has a monopoly on the truth, nor, indeed, that there is a finite number of discrete representations between which one must choose. Representations of the San overlap and interact. The task is not just to tease ideas apart but to use that process for the rejection of error. To fail to do so is an abdication of responsibility.

As Wilhelm Bleek realised 120 years ago, the rock art of southern Africa is real, as real as the people who made it and who suffered so greatly. The paintings and the engravings of southern Africa can therefore constitute a weapon with which to demolish demeaning and false ideas "generally entertained with regard to the Bushmen and their mental condition". To engage those ideas is not to enter a hall of mirrors and infinite representations. To speak of representations as if they are all equal and as if they are all insubstantial removes the ground for political action.

Figure 4 **A tracing of a southern Drakensberg rock painting showing a man playing a musical bow. The small animal on the top of his head may be a 'rain animal'. Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd recorded an account of a /Xam San ritual specialist's playing of a musical bow in order to call up a 'rain animal'. To the left, seated figures clap the rhythm of the power-filled music.** Copy by T.A. Dowson

Selection of a collection of engraved and decorated walking sticks in the South African Museum. See details pages 226–36. Photogaph Paul Weinberg. SAM 1488, 1489bis, 5011, 1495

Re-production and Consumption: The Use of Rock Art Imagery in Southern Africa Today

Thomas Dowson

In southern Africa today it is becoming increasingly difficult to escape from rock art images. Depictions that were painted on to or engraved into rock surfaces are becoming re-produced in a wide variety of contemporary contexts, so much so that southern African rock art is now also being used in foreign, and often quite unexpected, contexts that reinforce received images of Africa. Foreigners entertain certain ideas about Africa and what it is to live in Africa. Most of us continue to encounter what we perceive to be outdated, even ignorant views about Africa.

Rock art was used in the advertising campaign for The Aids Prevention Team in California. In Germany while walking in the streets of Bonn one can come upon a shop called *Moderne Zeiten*—(Modern Times) which has rock art images painted on one of its outer walls. The owner of the shop says he did not copy the images from any particular source; rather he . . . 'designed'. . . them from memory. This demonstrates just how universal southern African rock art images have become. The juxtaposition of rock art, which is commonly thought of as prehistoric or primitive art, with the shop's name, *Moderne Zeite*, deserves particular attention.

Back in southern Africa, rock art images are found on such common objects as T-shirts, postcards, writing paper, coffee mugs, table mats, fridge magnets, key rings, stamps and telephone cards. Artists have been using rock art depictions for a long time in their work, and, intended as a symbol of national unity, the logo for the 1996 South African Olympic Team is derived from a painted image in a rock shelter in the Drakensberg mountains of KwaZulu-Natal.

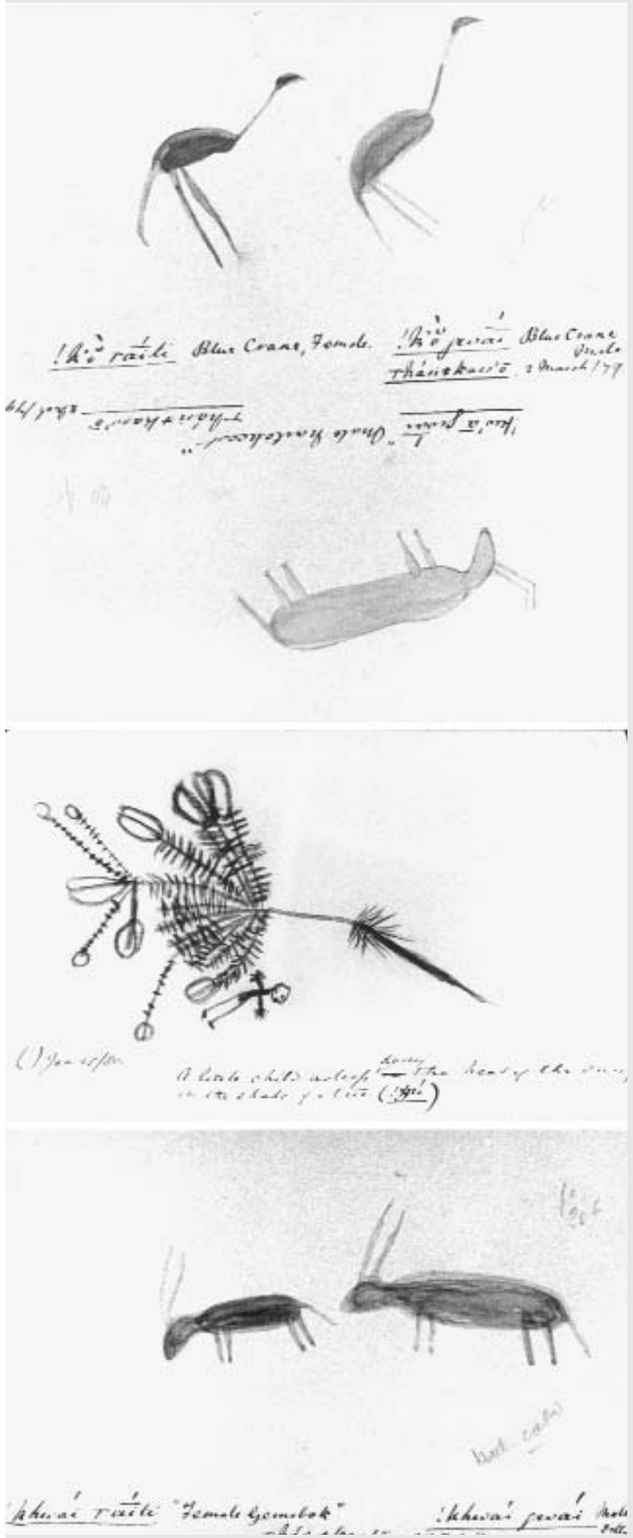
The fact that rock art images are used so frequently, perhaps reflects the idea that the social context of their production is so lost in the depths of time that they have become common cultural property. But this belief denies the possibility that the art was produced with specific intentions and that these intentions may be recovered. Surely we need to be thinking about how these images are being re-produced and how their appropriation in these various contexts is affecting perceptions about the art and its creators? These are, of course, contentious issues and opinions are often highly polarised.

In this short piece I cannot deal with all the issues involved. My intention here is to concentrate on southern African examples, exploring some of the consequences and the significance of the contemporary use of rock art, in order to provoke debate about some of the associated issues. In this preliminary exploration, I concentrate on two broad categories. The first concerns the use of rock art imagery for decorative purposes, and the second is the use of rock art by contemporary artists.

Rock art imagery as decoration

Rock art imagery has been used to decorate a great variety of objects in as many different contexts. Although this use has seen a great increase in the last decade or so, rock art as decoration has been around for many decades. One of the most recent and certainly the most striking example is to be found at the Sun City resort in the North West Province of South Africa.

In 1992 the Lost City was opened to the public at Sun City. The Lost City is a 26-hectare fantasy world with the theme being the ruins of a lost civilisation rediscovered in a densely jungled valley of waves. There is an enormous artificially created jungle, an artificial tidal pool and a renovated entertainment centre. But the centre-piece of the project is the Palace—a large, 'exclusive' hotel. The Palace is decorated with crystal chandeliers, expensive murals and mosaics incorporating stones from Italy and Spain. The suites are elegantly appointed and decorated with Africana prints and maps. The bookshelves contain the *Encyclopedia*



Britannica and the *Complete Works of Charles Dickens*. The emphasis in the Palace is clearly on 'high culture'.

Moving from the Palace to the entertainment centre, one passes through the extensive 'ruins' of the Lost City, including imitation ancient Greek architecture and the tidal pool. The entertainment centre houses a superbowl and gambling facilities. It is here that rock art is encountered. A number of walls of the entertainment centre have been given the appearance of rock shelter walls and they are adorned by relatively carefully re-produced images of rock paintings that have been taken from a wide variety of popular books. Rock paintings are also used thematically for certain signs to public facilities. 'Rock paintings' of women walking in a line lead female visitors to their toilets, while lines of male figures lead the men to theirs. 'Rock paintings' of male and female figures handing over karosses (animal skin wraps) signal where visitors may leave their coats. Despite an unequivocal rock art 'feel', none of these is a re-production of a real rock painting; they are composites.

The most striking and obvious issue arising from this contemporary use of rock art is, I feel, the accuracy or quality of the re-produced image. The notion of accuracy is itself problematic, and space limitations preclude a full discussion of this; but I suggest that the intention behind the production of the image is a crucial contributing factor.

No rock art image re-produced is the same as the original painted or engraved depiction. There are, however, degrees of difference. Some re-produced images attempt as accurate as possible a rendering of the original. Other examples, at the other end of the scale, bear no resemblance whatsoever to any original; indeed, it is difficult in such instances to know from which painted or engraved depiction or area the re-production originates.

The issue for me, here, is the sensitivity and faithfulness with which the image is re-produced. Nuance is crucial to an interpretation of the original paintings and an understanding of the art's complexity. An image which omits these nuances simplifies and reduces the art. For example, an eland with three front legs re-produced on a table mat (with an attempt at verisimilitude) includes only two of its front legs, destroying the meaning of that image. This is all the more so in view of the fact that this feature of polymelia is common in the art and we do know something about its significance (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989). There is no integrity to this unfaithfully re-produced image; it has been simply appropriated in the worst possible manner. Insensitively and unfaithfully re-produced images merely legitimate the simplistic and racist attitudes people have about rock art and its producers.

But there is more to re-producing an image than being sensitive and faithful to the boundaries of the image and what it represents. While at the Rock Art Research Unit, University of the Witwatersrand, I produced a series of notelets and cards. These incorporated monochrome images that were redrawn from tracings of original rock paintings. They were printed on coloured paper and card. Each came with the following note: "The reproduction on this card/notelet is an accurate copy of an original Bushman painting". This project was a response to

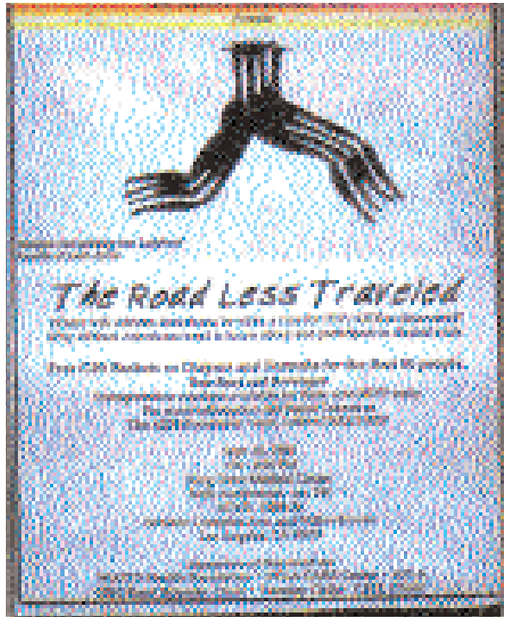


Figure 1 ***The Road Less Travelled* advertising campaign for The Aids Prevention Team in California.** Photograph courtesy of Thomas Dowson

Figure 2 ***Moderne Zeite*, a shop in Bonn, Germany.** Photograph courtesy of Thomas Dowson

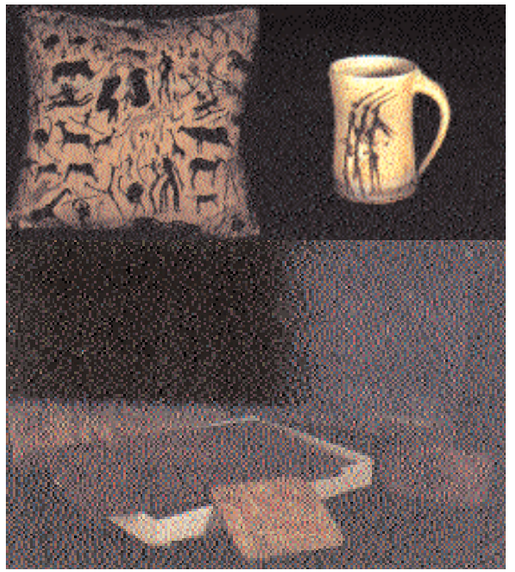


Figure 3 **T-shirts, postcards, writing paper, coffee mugs, table mats, fridge magnets, key rings, stamps and telephone cards.** Photographs courtesy of Thomas Dowson

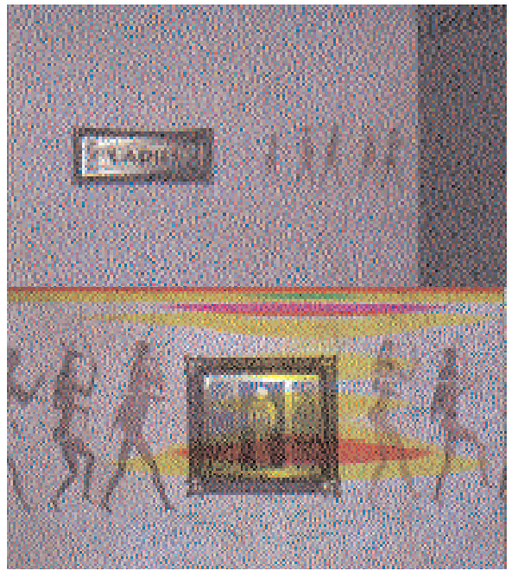
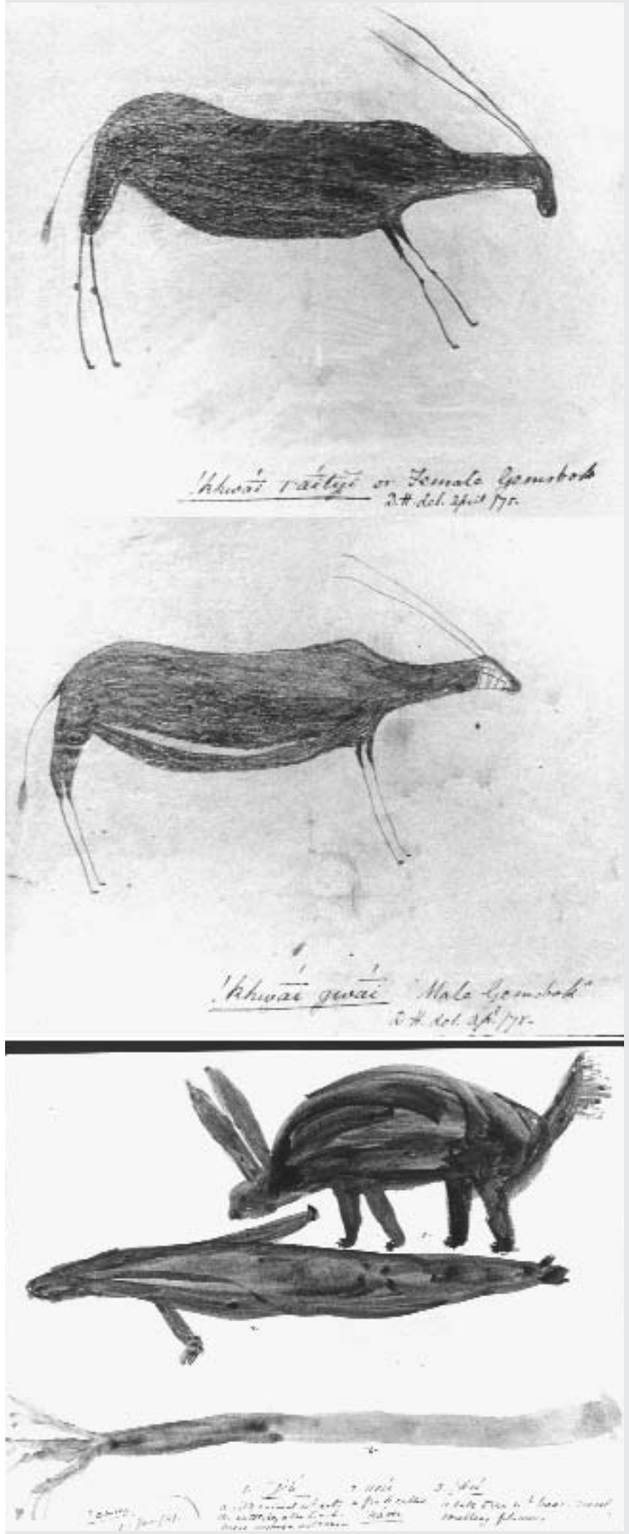


Figure 4 & 5 **Signs indicating the cloakrooms at the The Lost City' s Entertainment Centre, Sun City, South Africa.** Photograph courtesy of Thomas Dowson



the many insensitive re-productions currently deployed. I wanted to show how complex rock art images are, and how finely detailed they can be. So I used tracings of mine that accurately capture the outline and detail, that is, the iconographic content, of the image. But, in a sense, even these re-productions are highly inaccurate. For instance, they downplay colour (I used a diagrammatic system to represent different colours); the texture of the rock surface is missing; and they ignore numerous artistic skills, such as the use of brushstroke and shading. Certainly, it was quite wrong to state that the images were 'accurate' without some explanation.

We have to acknowledge, however, that the very technical nature of reproducing rock art images involves altering certain qualities of the image. Producers of popular material culture should be mindful of misleading claims about their re-productions, while at the same time reproducing the rock art image as sensitively and faithfully as possible. Although the technical nature of re-producing the image is an important consideration, it is, I believe, secondary to the kinds of messages these re-produced images give their viewers.

Perhaps the most common kind of image to be re-produced in popular material culture is a male human figure hunting an animal. In many cases the re-production is not straightforward. In some instances male figures with bows and arrows are in some association with animals, but the 'hunting' message is still there. Now and then, to balance men's role in society, we find images of women with bags, apparently gathering plant foods. Besides 'hunt scenes', many objects simply reproduce animals of various kinds, in various postures.

The images re-produced tend to support two popular misconceptions about rock art. First, that it is associated with hunting magic and, second, that it depicts aspects of everyday life—the animals depict the Bushman people's 'close to nature' existence. These two misconceptions, or stereotypical views, about the rock art artists lead craftspeople who use rock art in popular material culture to choose images that fit these views, so that the images can be read by their consumers. Often, for example, they juxtapose a male human figure holding a bow with an animal, with the juxtaposed images originating in sites that are many, many kilometres apart. By constantly choosing and, in fact, creating hunting scenes, artists and craftspeople are guilty of reinforcing and recreating popular and racist misconceptions about rock art and the societies within which it was produced. But they are also producing inappropriate messages about our own society. Concentrating on male hunting scenes, producers of popular material culture are making more of a statement about male dominance in Western society.

Not only are the stereotypes reinforced by the choice of images themselves, but there are also messages in how the images are used. The idea that rock art depicts aspects of everyday life has been put forward in a number of popular books. Authors collect photographs of unusual paintings and write the most absurd accompanying captions:

> The enema. The figure on the left is bending forward with buttocks in the air and hands on the ground. A second figure approaches from the right to administer the enema, apparently using a horn, fitted with a plunger, for the purpose. The apprehensive 'patient' raises one leg in the air in expectation of discomfort. (Woodhouse 1979)

Because readers have been subjected to highly imaginative and racist interpretations like this one, the use of rock art to indicate toilets and coat checks does not seem at all unusual. This is the level of ridicule we have been presented with and blindly accepted for so long.

The placing of rock art in the entertainment centre of Sun City, and not in the Palace, also reinforces certain misconceptions. There is a clear distinction between the Palace, with its great works of Western art, and the entertainment centre with its rock art. The result is to reinforce the old notion that Bushman people had a lot of free time and spent this time decorating their habitation sites.

The images re-produced in these various contexts not only influence and reinforce the way people think about the art, they also inevitably influence how new interpretations of southern African rock art are received by the general public. In an attempt to challenge long-standing Eurocentric and racist approaches to rock art interpretations, researchers proposed towards the end of the 1970s that the art was associated with the beliefs and experiences of medicine men and women. This major rethinking around the interpretation of southern African rock art was not confined to academia; popular books, public talks and radio and TV shows became forums for disseminating this new understanding.

Not surprisingly, one of the first objections raised to this new view was that the large number of hunting scenes surely indicated that the art was related to hunting or sympathetic magic, and other aspects of daily life. The amateur enthusiasts also claimed that the new approach failed to account for the depictions of hunting and scenes from daily life. But the truth of the matter is that hunting scenes are not an important component of the art. Harald Pager, a rock art researcher who worked in the Ndedema Gorge of the KwaZulu-Natal Drakensberg Mountains, found only 29 scenes in a total of 2860 paintings of human beings and animals that could be called 'hunting scenes'. Moreover only seven of these 29 actually show men shooting at animals, and there is only one wounded animal. While it is true that hunting is a theme depicted in the rock art, it is nowhere near as frequently depicted as we are led to believe.

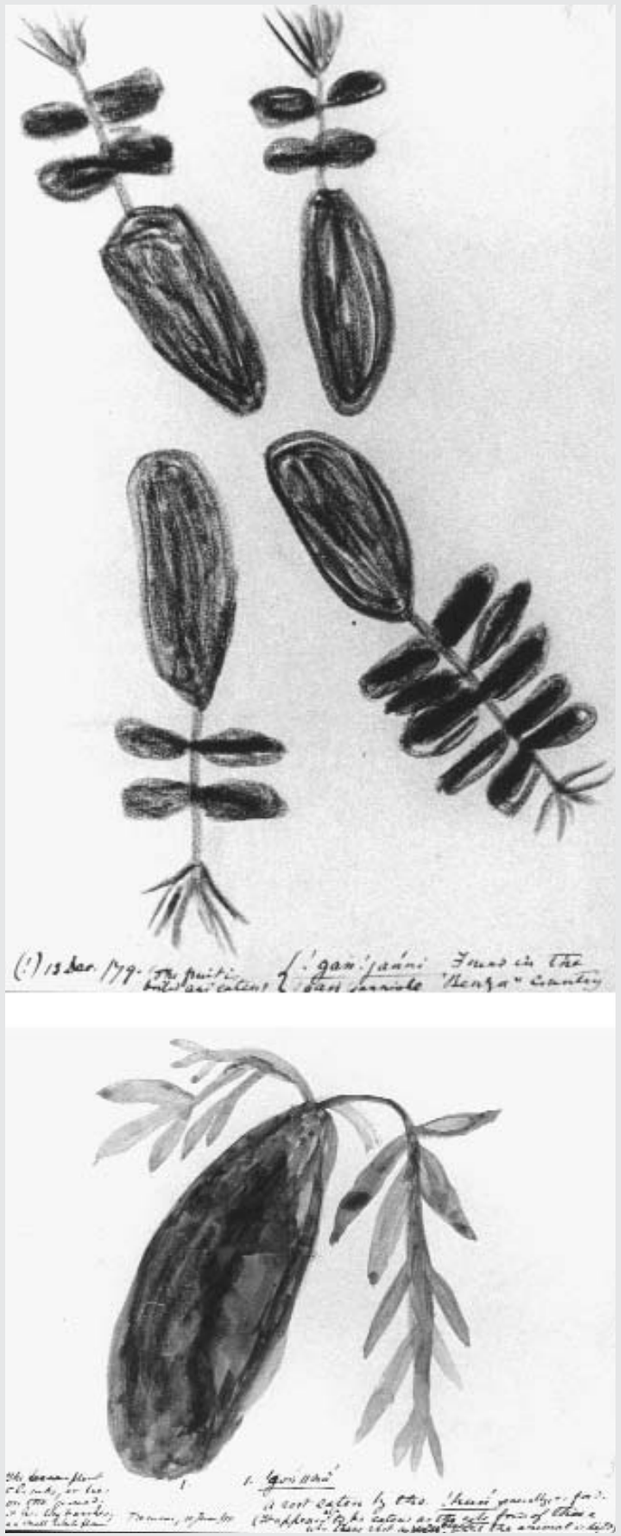
In retrospect, we know why the idea that the art was associated with hunting magic was (and still is to a certain extent—there are professional archaeologists who still cling to the idea) held on to so tenaciously.

It's not that the 'hunting magic' idea was well-formed or well-argued; indeed, the argument was always weak, illogical and without empirical evidence. Rather, the tenacity of the idea was rooted in a preoccupation with the Bushmen as hunters, a perception that was reinforced, not challenged, by the imagery re-produced in popular material culture. The general public believed the art to be associated with hunting magic because this idea fitted their received view of the Bushman people, but more importantly because T-shirts, coffee cups, stamps, and so on, told them it was. We can only wonder what the nature of popular beliefs might have been today if the hunting scenes had not been so frequently re-produced.

It was with a poster, "Images of Power" (1994), that I chose to use the active qualities of material culture to challenge the misconceptions and stereotypes mentioned above. Made for sale at exhibitions in two of Johannesburg's art galleries, everything about that poster was carefully and critically considered. First, I wanted an image that had not been used over and over again and one that challenged the popular misconceptions. One often thinks of the beautifully painted shaded polychrome eland when one thinks of Bushman rock art. I chose the image I did because it was radically different to the images that are used over and over again. Yet, despite its seeming peculiarity, the image I chose is as representative of Bushman rock art as any other would be. The image is clearly "Bushman rock art", yet very different from what we see on a daily basis in contemporary popular material culture. Second, the accompanying text was intended to challenge popular perceptions in relation to the image. The prominent "Images of Power" is meant to contrast sharply with the 'images of daily life' idea. In itself, the phrase poses questions and stimulates further thought, whereas something like 'images of daily life' answers all the questions and prevents further thought. But it was with the subtitle "Rock art: Africa's oldest artistic tradition" that I was attempting particularly to challenge viewers' perceptions about rock art, especially in relation to the place of rock art in African society and associated popular culture.

As I have mentioned, the poster was intended for sale at two exhibitions of Bushman rock art in two different Johannesburg art galleries—a souvenir, I suppose, much like one gets at major art exhibitions around the world. The first was an exhibition of Bushman rock art from the collection of the Rock Art Research Unit at the University of the Witwatersrand, which was staged in the university's Gertrude Posel Gallery. Given the priceless nature of the University of the Witwatersrand's rock art collection, the conditions under which it was, and still is, housed are simply unacceptable; these are not conditions to which the university's other art collections are subject. The exhibition displayed the rock art in the university gallery for the first time, and was intended to highlight the importance and magnificence of the collection. The second exhibition, "People, Politics & Power: an exhibition of Bushman art", was held in the Johannesburg Art Gallery and brought together for the first time in a South African art gallery Bushman art, past and present.

The exhibitions were preceded by publication, in 1993, of *Painting in South Africa*, by Esme Berman (Johannesburg: Southern Book Publishers). Given the political changes in the country, it was not unreasonable to expect that a book by someone described as the foremost authority on South African art would be more enlightened than previous art histories of South Africa. Unfortunately, this was not the



case. Rock art is dismissed by Berman as merely able to "tantalise archaeologists and to fascinate students of aesthetic form". Her story begins in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Up until 1994, rock art was excluded by the curators of South African art galleries and authors of popular art histories on South African art. Sadly, this has not changed much. The message is clear: rock art is not part of South Africa's 'real' art history. The subtitle of the poster was intended to challenge this: rock art is Africa's oldest artistic tradition.

So far I have discussed rock art that is re-produced in mass-produced arts and crafts and in other arenas of popular culture. I now turn to the use of rock art by artists producing limited editions of their work.

Rock art imagery and contemporary artists

Artists have been using rock art images in the production of contemporary artworks for decades; perhaps the most notable has been Walter Battiss. But most of these artists simply lifted formal qualities of rock art, insensitively transported them to another time and place, and in so doing reinforced racist stereotypes. Around 1910 and for some time thereafter, Picasso and other European artists began using ethnographic objects collected from various 'primitive' societies in their work. They believed they were discovering universal, ahistorical 'human' capacities, when in fact they were appropriating ethnographic objects for their own aggrandisement. The story, according to the literary critic James Clifford, is one of "the creative genius recognising the greatness of tribal works" but ignoring the original cultural context from which the artefacts were removed. For 'art imperialists' the social context was unimportant; in fairness, however, we must understand this as a product of the society of the time, and it is in this light that the re-use by Battiss and others of Bushman imagery must be seen. But this kind of use of rock art in contemporary art continues and must surely be unacceptable today. Artworks do influence popular perceptions and I focus on a recent example to demonstrate this.

Robert Slingsby, a practising artist, has been visiting the Richtersveld area of the Northern Cape Province and recording the rock engravings there. He also makes use of these images in his art. Although Slingsby has done much to bring the rock art of this region to our attention, the way in which this is done must be examined carefully. In one of his pieces, *Gateway*, he lifts an engraved image and places it, on a coloured background that bears no resemblance to the original rock surface. There is nothing in the artwork or the title to explain the significance of this brilliant background. When viewing Slingsby's oil and pastel on paper we are not challenged to think about this art or its producers; we are simply moved by Slingsby's use of artistic techniques and conventions. Further, the title *Gateway* is meaningless unless Slingsby is with us to tell us what it means. The challenging power of the rock art image in Slingsby's piece stops at the aesthetic qualities; but we do know there is more to the art than that.

One South African artist's work does, I strongly believe, stand out from this imperialist tradition of simply re-producing and re-naming images, and placing them in another context.

Pippa Skotnes, over the last few years, has produced a number of hand-made books and portfolios of copper-plate etchings that use rock art images. Her mission is forcibly seen in the *White Wagons* project (Skotnes 1993). This is a portfolio of seven etchings accompanied by an early twentieth century statement of a Hietshware (eastern Kalahari) man recorded by Dornan, an Irish Presbyterian missionary and amateur anthropologist. The statement was originally titled "What we thought of the White Man's wagons" and reads as follows:

> The first time we saw the wagons was when the Trek Boers went up to Lake Ngami [*Ngabee* meaning giraffe]. We thought the wagons were big animals. There were many oxen going before, and these big animals were going after, as we thought. Some of the old Bushmen had seen such things before. They looked like elephants, but they were white. We watched them a long time, and we saw that some of them stopped.
>
> There was not much rain that year, and the grass was not good. The oxen were thin and they died. Many died before they got to the lake, and sometimes we had some of the flesh. At last one day we saw some of the Trek Boers take all the cows out of the wagon and leave it on the veld. We were afraid to go near it. We thought they had left it to graze, but we saw that its feet did not move. Some got near then, and we looked in. There were lots of things inside, but we Bushmen did not know their uses, and so we left them. We found some dry meat, which we took. Then we went on after the others, and by and by we were near to the wagons, so the Trek Boers got their horses and they galloped after us. Three of us were caught. They tied up our hands, and they told us to take them to water. I was young then. They tied us up at night, but one of us got away in the darkness.
>
> After a time all the cattle died of sickness, and the Trek Boers got sick and died too. They left the wagons. At first when we saw them they were living in the wagons. Many of the Trek Boers were killed, many died, and others went away. Some of the women were taken by the Bechuanas, but I don't know what they did with them. We Bushmen never killed any of these people, but we took their cattle and ate many of them.
>
> The wagons died on the veld, and some of them were burnt. That is what I knew of the Trek Boers. It is the end of the tale.

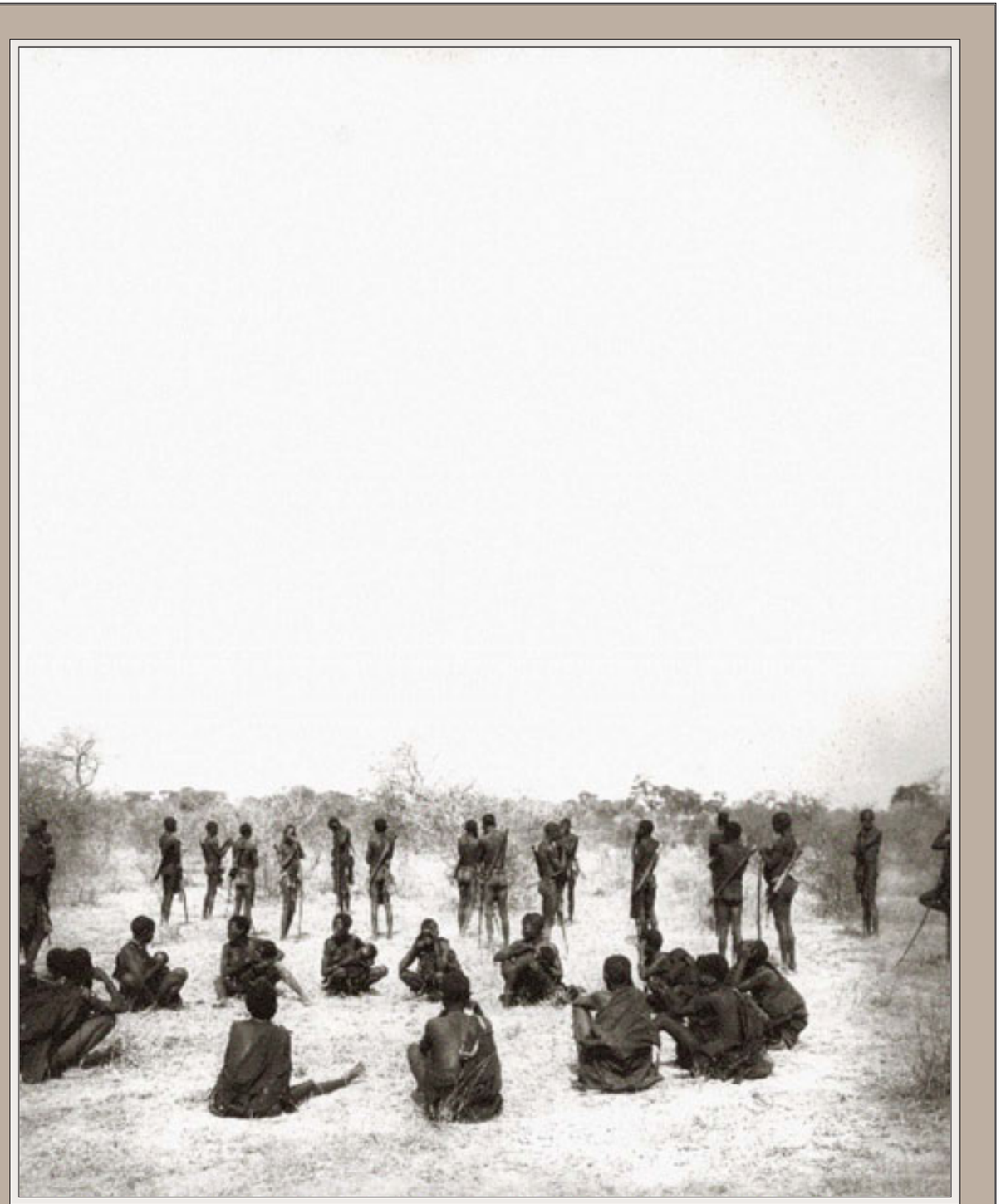
Figure 6 ***White Wagons*, Pippa Skotnes 1992.** Photograph courtesy Thomas Dowson

Skotnes relates the ideas expressed in this text to Bushman beliefs, rock art images, landscapes, wagons and other paraphernalia of white settlers to comment on the Bushman people's reaction to whites, their wagons and cattle, the drought and, most importantly, the conflict between the whites, the Bantu-speaking communities and the Bushman people. She says of her work: "The images are contained within four basic shapes that are polyvalent in reference. Suggesting wagon wheel and laager, gathering bag and shield, each shape evokes aspects of the conflict suggested by the text."

Skotnes's work does not transport aspects of Bushman life and belief into the present as so many artists have done and continue to do. She takes aspects of Bushman history, material culture, art and folklore and recontextualises them in the present to make a sensitive and powerful statement about human relationships of both the past and present. Skotnes does not simply appropriate Bushman rock art to make interesting and technically challenging etchings. Rather, she believes her etchings "focus on the specific confrontation, between Boer and Bushmen, that resulted in the latter being driven from their land and robbed of their livelihood". Through the juxtaposition of a text that captures a Bushman voice with Skotnes's etchings, viewers are challenged to think about their assumptions and perceptions in relation to the role of Bushman people in South Africa's history. Here the rock art images are not re-produced uncritically. The challenging power of the original rock art images in this contemporary context goes beyond the aesthetic qualities to embrace other intellectual properties, renewing aspects of the images, rather than uncritically re-producing them.

There is no point in trying to prevent the use of rock art imagery in diverse contemporary contexts. Doing so would be simply to deny rock art both its past and a future. We have to be mindful of the fact that painted and engraved images adorned the shelter walls and rocks of living sites; they were, in fact, a part of daily life. But this did not preclude them from having very powerful messages; indeed, it did not prevent them being powerful entities in their own right.

Just as rock art had a power for the original producers and scores of subsequent and diverse consumers, so too these images have a power to transform and re-negotiate popular perceptions, not only about so-called 'primitive art', but also the past, which itself is constituted in the present. Rock art need not be seen as an early stage in the origins of Western art, as it is often presented in the grand evolutionary histories of art from earliest times to the present. In its re-production and consumption today, rock art imagery can be used to challenge the prejudices of the past. The power of the images that resulted from the working of art in times past can continue to be harnessed by generations to come.



Hei//kum women sitting in the foreground with their babies, behind them the men are setting out on a hunting expedition. Oidimba, Ovamboland, Namibia, 1936. Photograph Duggan-Cronin. MM 2250

Prisoners of their Reputation? The Veterans of the 'Bushman' Battalions in South Africa

John Sharp and Stuart Douglas

Five hundred veterans of the South African Defence Force's (SADF) 'Bushman' battalions relocated from Namibia to South Africa in 1990. They were accompanied by 3500 dependants, and were placed in a temporary camp at the Schmidtsdrift military base near Kimberley. The motive for this relocation was highly ambiguous, as was the question of whether the people involved came to South Africa voluntarily or not. The SADF said that it gave people associated with the two battalions a totally free choice, yet claimed that it was necessary to save them from retribution at the hands of the new South West African People's Organisation (Swapo) government in Namibia (because they had fought against Swapo in the bush war throughout the 1980s). But nothing untoward happened to those members of the 'Bushman' battalions (more than half of the total) who remained, and it can, in fact, be said that those who came to South Africa have faced much greater uncertainty about their future than those who stayed in Namibia.

Why should this have been so? The SADF arranged for all 4000 people at Schmidtsdrift to be granted South African nationality within weeks of their arrival. On the other hand, the political transformation in South Africa since the time of their arrival has meant, first, that their jobs in the army have become uncertain and, second, that they have not yet acquired a place of permanent settlement.[1] By early 1995, 150 soldiers had been retrenched, and there are currently plans afoot to reduce the number employed to 120. The people have remained in a tent camp at Schmidtsdrift, because the army has refused to provide permanent facilities there on the grounds that there has been a dispute about the ownership of the Schmidtsdrift land.[2]

This chapter examines what the people at Schmidtsdrift have done over the past five years to combat this uncertainty. There are two groups in the camp which have employed very different tactics. The leaders of the !Xu have sought to court the army's favour, as well as their own public image as 'Bushmen'. On the other hand, Khwe leaders have displayed much more scepticism about the army, and the question of what it was likely to do for them, and have been more ambivalent about the image of being 'Bushmen'. This contrast in tactic is reflected in the spatial separation of the two groups in the camp (on which the people themselves insisted soon after arrival), as well as in the fact that the !Xu have sought to encapsulate themselves within the camp. !Xu leaders have attempted to maintain a much more cohesive group than their Khwe counterparts, and have shunned contact between their people and outsiders from beyond the camp. On the other hand, the Khwe have been less cohesive and, since their leaders have not kept such a tight rein, they have been able to establish relationships—including sexual and conjugal relationships—beyond the camp. Khwe leaders have not been as preoccupied with maintaining the boundary of their group's unique identity.

Schmidtsdrift before the 1994 general elections

Our first introduction to this contrast in tactic occurred in 1994, when we began field-work at Schmidtsdrift. We had been commissioned to do a survey to establish where people wished to go when, and if, they had to leave the military base. The survey found that well over half the people in the camp said, at that point, that if they were forced out of Schmidtsdrift, they wanted to leave South Africa and go back to Namibia.

The survey was done in March 1994, just before the first democratic elections, and those who wanted to leave were very much alive to the possibility that an African National

Congress (ANC) victory at the polls would have adverse consequences for their position in South Africa. These people were depressed by some of the pre-election rhetoric amongst Northern Cape politicians, who threatened to evict them from Schmidtsdrift, and South Africa, because they were 'unwelcome invaders'. They were also influenced by members of the !Xu and Khwe Trust, who were panicking about the necessity to secure funding for the Schmidtsdrift people before the Nationalist government was replaced by a government led by the ANC (which would not necessarily feel any obligation to people who had fought for the old SADF).[3] By the time of the survey in February 1994, it was clear, moreover, that the outgoing government was not going to provide for its old allies, and this led many people to decide to cut their losses and get out of South Africa.

But the striking point about the survey's findings was that it was the !Xu who wanted to return to Namibia (save for a few of the young soldiers), whereas the Khwe were willing to remain in South Africa under any circumstances. Why should there have been this difference? It was not as if the !Xu were Namibians whereas the Khwe were not, nor could the !Xu be said to have stronger ties to Namibia than the Khwe. Amongst the party that relocated to South Africa, most of the adult !Xu and Khwe (certainly those older than 20 years) originated not in South West Africa, but in Angola. Moreover, of the two groups, it was the !Xu who had built up fewer significant links with local people during their 15 years in South West Africa than the Khwe (as we will show below). Nor was it the case that the !Xu had been dragged reluctantly to South Africa by the SADF; on the contrary, a greater proportion of the !Xu had joined the relocation than the Khwe, many of whom had remained behind in Caprivi.

Clearly, as these preliminary findings suggested, the contrasting responses were the outcome of long-term differences between the two groups. But it took another three months of field-work, involving numerous discussions with people at the base, before we were able to puzzle out these historical differences. There are absolutely no written sources on these issues, since previous accounts of San involvement in the South African military, as we show below, have been rather superficial (see, for example, Uys 1993).

Recent revisionist writing suggests that the SADF virtually invented these people as 'Bushmen', or San, in South West Africa (Gordon 1992a). This is, of course, an exaggeration, although it is true to say that the !Xu and Khwe were not groups before the SADF got to them. The labels !Xu and Khwe (or the various synonyms that have been used, such as Vasekela and Barakwena) never referred to cohesive polities, but the categories were widely recognised and the people in these categories were differently situated in Angola. !Xu people told us they came from the region of central Angola around Serpa Pinto, where many of them had lived as cultivators and stockfarmers, alongside Bantu-speaking groups. Many of the men from all these groups had been recruited into the Portuguese colonial military in the late 1960s, largely to serve as guards at strategic installations and the fortified

villages into which the civilian population was concentrated.

On the other hand, most of the Angolan Khwe located their origins in the south-east, where they had lived along the rivers of the region as cultivators and cattle-keepers, and often as clients of the neighbouring Bantu-speaking people (such as the Kavango). Khwe men said that they had also been recruited into the Portuguese army in the 1960s, but that they had fulfilled an offensive role, since they had been organised into units that had been sent out to fight Unita, the main liberation movement in this area. Since the Bantu-speaking population of the south-east was solidly behind Unita, it seems that Khwe were more obviously pitted against their neighbours than the !Xu: the Portuguese authorities took advantage of the historical inequalities between the Khwe and those around them to recruit the former into their service in a fighting capacity.

When the Portuguese abandoned their colonial war in 1974, their Khwe allies wasted little time in getting out of south-east Angola. People fled to south-west Zambia, north-west Botswana and the Caprivi Strip in South West Africa, where there were other Khwe people amongst whom many of them had kin. The Khwe at Schmidtsdrift told us that the long history of their political subordination to Bantu-speaking peoples in south-east Angola, and the fact that they had played an offensive role in the Portuguese army, meant that there was little chance for them to join the Unita movement when the Portuguese left. On the other hand, many of the !Xu at Schmidtsdrift told us that when they were abandoned after the Portuguese coup, they had first sought refuge in the FNLA, at that time the major liberation force in the Serpa Pinto region. Several of them became officers in the movement. But the FNLA, which already had close links with the South African military, was on the point of collapse; when it finally disintegrated early in 1975, a number of the !Xu used these links to travel south and cross the South West African border. Some !Xu were indeed recruited by the SADF in Angola, and were brought across the border to the secret base at Omega.

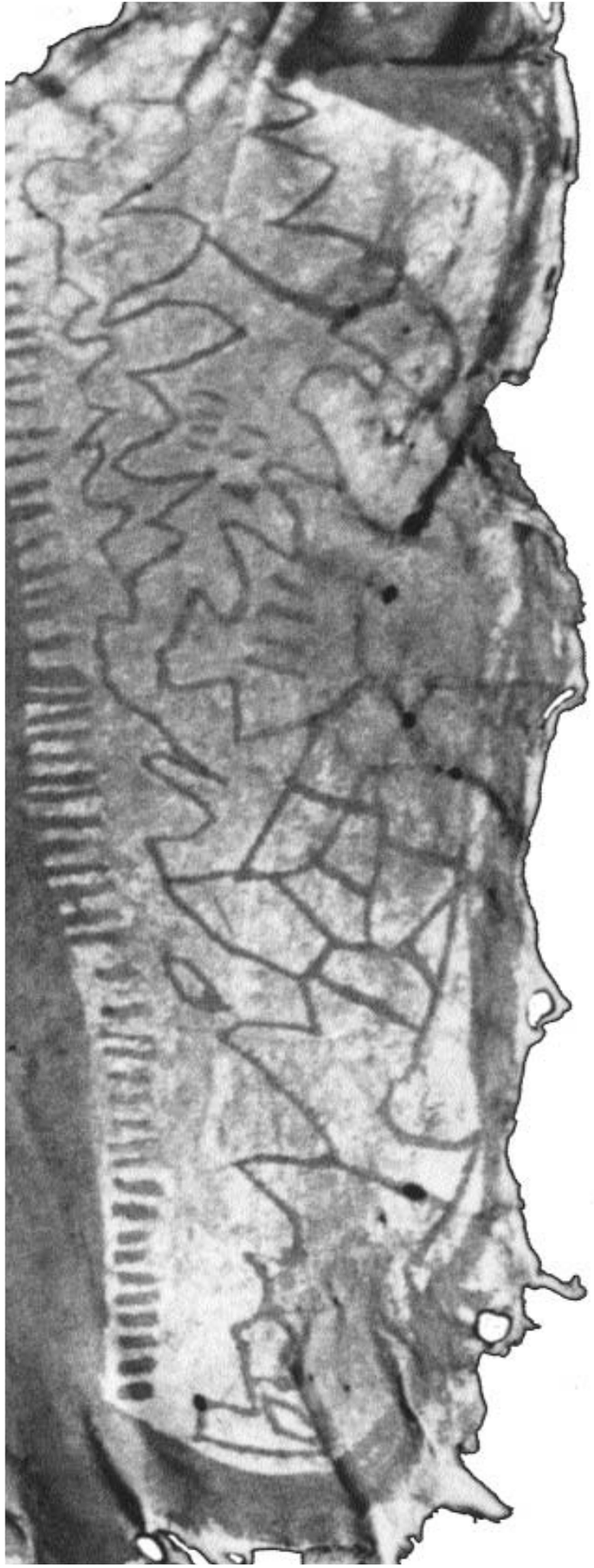
This difference in background meant that the two categories of Angolans had a different relationship with the SADF. The !Xu at Omega were more beholden to the SADF than the Khwe: the SADF had fetched some of them out of Angola, and there was no local population of !Xu-speakers in Caprivi. On the other hand, the Angolan Khwe blended into the local Khwe, and immigrant men and men from the local area joined the SADF at Omega because it was the only source of employment available. Because they had detailed knowledge of south-eastern Angola, as well as prior experience as offensive troops, the Khwe from Angola were included in the small South African force that invaded Angola in 1975, during Operation Savannah. It was in the course of this campaign that their officers came to see them as crack soldiers.

After the existence of Omega was revealed at the end of the 1970s, this reputation was elaborated—by the media and visiting politicians as much as the SADF—into what Gordon (1984; 1992a) described as the myth that 'Bushmen' were innately good soldiers. But the SADF encountered an image problem in this respect, because it was the !Xu, and not the Khwe, who fitted the public stereotype about 'Bushmen'. Although few, if any, of them had ever been nomadic hunter-gatherers, the !Xu spoke a 'proper' Bushman language, whereas the Khwe (whose language was of the Khoisan family) did not; moreover many of the !Xu had the small stature and the features of the stereotypical 'Bushman', whereas the Khwe closely resembled the Bantu-speaking population amongst whom they had lived in Angola. Of course, in the whole area in which Khwe were found, the physical boundary (as opposed to the political boundary) between them and the Kavango and Ovambo was indistinct. Indeed, if the 'Bushman' myth had not become important, the SADF might have had little reason to keep the Khwe separate from the large number of Bantu-speaking Angolans who had also crossed the border after 1974.

But the reason that the SADF kept the Khwe separate from the Bantu-speakers was that the !Xu did not, at least in the SADF's eyes, demonstrate the military prowess shown by the Khwe. !Xu soldiers did not rise above their past experience as a home guard in central Angola; and the army rarely used them in cross-border raids or its conventional incursions into Angola. Indeed, when the SADF began recruiting in Bushmanland (south of Caprivi) in 1978, it sent many of the !Xu down from Omega to serve as the core of the second 'Bushman' battalion, which until the very end of the war was deployed only on counter-insurgency duties.

The !Xu and Khwe were kept together as 'Bushmen' because the SADF needed them both to make up a composite image of a crack ethnic unit. But most of the !Xu and Khwe were divided between Caprivi and Bushmanland, and even those who were in the same bases were separated into different companies with different duties. The point is that, contrary to the impression of a homogeneous 'Bushman' myth that Gordon presents, the SADF's view of its 'Bushman' soldiers was actually highly ambiguous. 'Bushmen' may have been feted, for public consumption, as innately proficient soldiers, but many SADF personnel also thought of them as extremely backward and primitive people (a number of officers told us, indeed, that a posting to the 'Bushman' bases had commonly been seen as a form of punishment, certainly something that would be disadvantageous to one's subsequent career). SADF personnel resolved this dilemma for themselves by regarding the !Xu as 'real Bushmen' but poor soldiers, and the Khwe as good soldiers but dubious 'Bushmen'.

The irony is that the group that the SADF dismissed militarily was more dependent on them. When most of the !Xu were sent down to Bushmanland, they were meant to join up with the !Kung of Nyae Nyae (on the grounds of a common ethno-linguistic identity). But, as Marshall and Ritchie reported in the early 1980s, the !Kung disliked the !Xu because they saw them as invaders, and the army had to keep the !Xu at isolated bases in western Bushmanland.



Thus it was that a large number of the !Xu opted to come to South Africa in 1990—there was little reason to remain in Namibia. On the other hand, more Khwe remained in Caprivi, where they had extensive local contacts.

Khwe make up only about one-third of the people at Schmidtsdrift. From the outset, their leaders, who are, or have been, senior non-commissioned officers, seem to have made a fairly realistic assessment of their position in South Africa. These leaders told us that because they had never really been regarded as 'proper Bushmen', the Khwe had foreseen that the SADF and the South African government were unlikely to do a great deal for them. They were, of course, right: once the Schmidtsdrift people were in South Africa, their 'Bushmanness' lost much of its ambiguous appeal, and they became a burden that the army was reluctant to carry.

Like the other ex-Angolans who were evacuated from Namibia and settled at Pomfret, the people at Schmidtsdrift were revealed as former mercenaries who had outlived their usefulness. This was the reason for the army's (and the government's) reluctance to commit funds to secure their future, and also the reason for the establishment of the !Xu and Khwe Trust in 1993. The army wanted the responsibility for the civilians in the base to be transferred to the hands of civil society.[4]

By contrast with the Khwe, the !Xu had placed considerable faith in the likelihood of SADF and state patronage from the time of their arrival. Their leaders contrived to ignore the signs of diminishing interest in them, such as the disbanding of the special 'Bushman' battalion in mid-1993.[5] Having been feted as 'real Bushmen' in South West Africa, the !Xu believed that the army and the state were indebted to them simply because they were 'Bushmen'. This view was reinforced by much of the public rhetoric surrounding the Schmidtsdrift people: journalists, academics and, indeed, the !Xu and Khwe Trust itself frequently rehearsed the idea that the SADF's past actions (particularly in South West Africa) had been intrinsically wrong, and immoral, because they had taken advantage of a primitive people (see Kolata 1981; Lee & Hurlich 1982; Lee 1984).

The hollowness of the notion that the state was bound, on moral grounds, to provide for the people at Schmidtsdrift was finally revealed to the !Xu on the eve of South Africa's first democratic elections, when it became clear that the Nationalist government was going to leave office without providing any assistance. This is why our survey discovered that the !Xu wanted to get out of South Africa.

Schmidtsdrift after the 1994 general elections

But why did the !Xu want to go to Namibia? The obvious part of the answer is that there was nowhere else for them to go, since it was clearly impossible for them to return to Angola (and one must bear in mind that the large portion of the !Xu who were under 20 years of age had never known Angola in any event). But many people said to us that they wanted to go to Bushmanland specifically, where there were

other people who lived as 'Bushmen'. This was a reference, of course, to the !Kung (or Ju/wasi) of Nyae Nyae, the people who had been upset when the !Xu moved to Bushmanland from Omega in the late 1970s (Marshall & Ritchie 1984). Although the !Xu had not forgotten the problematic character of their relationships with the !Kung in this period, they were prepared, as they said to us, to chance !Kung animosity in order to get close to organisations such as the Nyae Nyae Foundation, which made resources available to 'real Bushmen'. In other words, they were hoping to take advantage of the fact that outsiders (such as the SADF itself) had frequently conflated the categories '!Xu' and '!Kung' (see Lee & Hurlich 1982).

The !Xu may have wanted to leave just before the elections, but they had no means to do so. They remained at Schmidtsdrift, and in the months that followed it became clear that none of the rumoured dire consequences of the ANC's victory at the polls was going to materialise: the new ANC-led government did not seek to expel them summarily from the new defence force, and nobody sought to harass them actively for their past collaboration with the apartheid state. The !Xu's earlier determination to leave began to waver.

This growing indecision was underlined, at the end of 1994, when the Namibian ambassador visited Schmidtsdrift in order to explain the terms on which his country was willing to accept the people back. The ambassador announced a number of stringent conditions relating to the documentation that would be required, and made it clear that the notion of a 'Bushman homeland' in Nyae Nyae was a thing of the past. He also explained that the Namibian state would accept returnees only as individual immigrants, and that there would be no special treatment for the Schmidtsdrift people on a group basis. In the light of these statements, many of the !Xu leaders decided, after some reflection, that they would prefer to remain in South Africa, and only a handful of their followers took the preliminary steps required to arrange their move back to Namibia.

As one might expect, few of the Khwe attended the Namibian ambassador's meeting, and none of them made any move to take up the offer of returning to Namibia. Throughout the whole period since the election the Khwe, in a sense, have been lying low. Many of them have said to us that they would be quite happy to leave the base at Schmidtsdrift and make their own way in the open society. These people are confident that, if necessary, they would be able to merge with the black, Afrikaans- or Tswana-speaking population of the Northern Cape without much difficulty, but they said they were remaining at Schmidtsdrift for the time being on the off-chance that the new state would provide some resources.

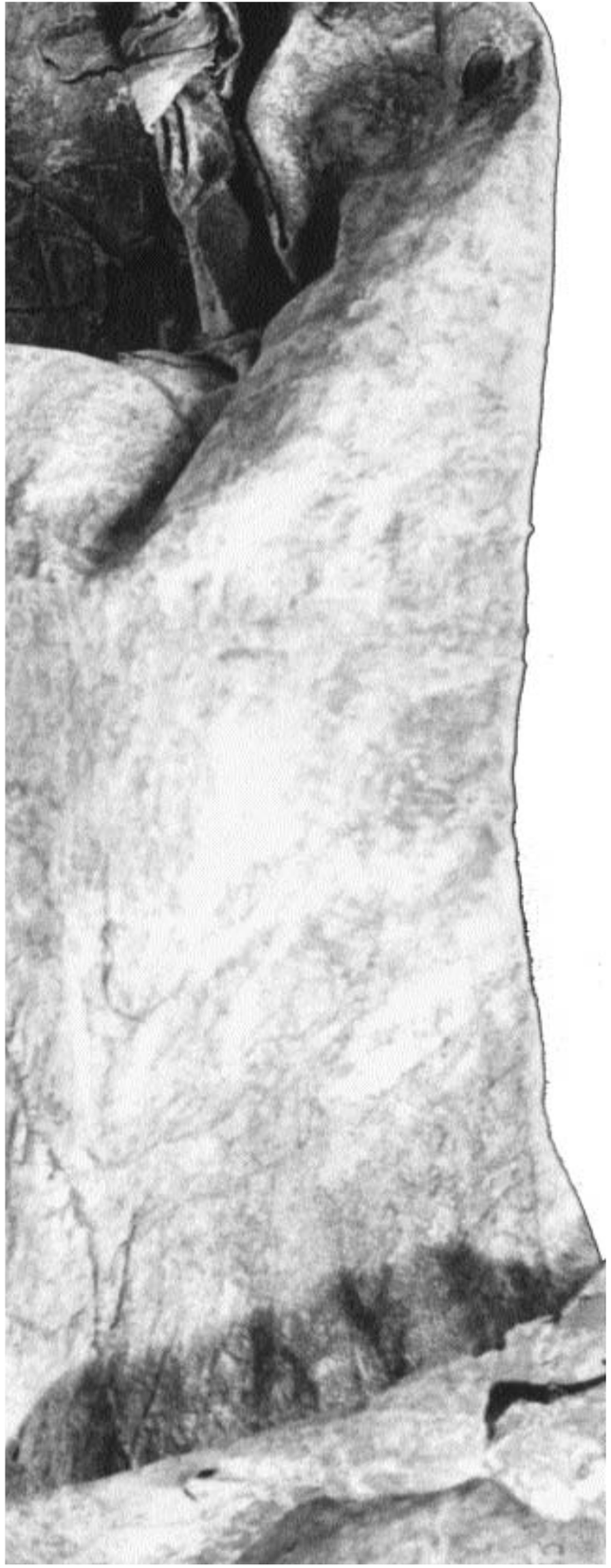
By contrast, the !Xu leaders have not been lying low. Their decision at the end of 1994 to stay in South Africa has not meant, however, that they have abandoned the notion that they are 'real Bushmen'; on the contrary, it has been followed by intensified public assertions of 'Bushmanness' (NNTV *Two Way* 27 August 1995; TV1 *Agenda* 31 July 1995).

!Xu leaders have sent one of their number off to meetings of the International Working Group for Indigenous Affairs and the United Nations Commission for Human Rights in Geneva, and they have taken every opportunity the local and international media have offered them to put their 'Bushmanness' on display, and, hence, to keep it on the public agenda. What is striking is that the meanings now being attached to 'Bushmanness' are rather different from those that made up the public image fostered by the SADF in the 1980s. The 'innate' military prowess of 'Bushmen' has been exchanged for a much softer, and in a sense more anthropological, version of 'Bushmen' as 'harmless people'. Indeed, the leader who presented his people's case in Geneva played creatively on the fact of the army's past disdain for the military weaknesses of the !Xu: he explained that since the !Xu were not 'by nature' aggressive, they had only ever been employed as trackers in non-combatant capacities.

!Xu efforts in this respect have been hand-in-glove with those of the !Xu and Khwe Trust, which has been obliged to play the 'Bushman' card in its efforts to negotiate with the new government and potential international donors on behalf of the Schmidtsdrift people. The trust can, of course, do nothing other than play this card, given that international donors, and indeed also the South African state, would have little cause to earmark special resources for a small number of ex-mercenaries who are not totally destitute.[6]

The extent to which the state is willing to respond to the presentation of 'Bushmanness' is not yet clear, however. The difficulties that the !Xu and the trust face in this regard are particularly evident in the state's current moves to return the Schmidtsdrift land to its original occupants, a Tlhaping clan that was dispossessed in the 1960s.[7] A plan has been devised to move the BaTlhaping back to Schmidtsdrift, and relocate the !Xu and Khwe (TV1 *News* 23 June 1995). It is clear that the latter are being dealt with as an afterthought in this exercise, since the bulk of the funding made available by the state is earmarked for the BaTlhaping. The state's priority, in other words, is to resettle the Tlhaping on their ancestral land. Since the Tlhaping refuse, quite legitimately, to share this land with the !Xu and Khwe, the state is obliged to find the latter somewhere else to live. With the assistance of the trust, the Department of Land Affairs has identified two tracts of land on which to resettle the !Xu and Khwe.

The differences between !Xu and Khwe political tactics have emerged, once again, in relation to these two areas. Khwe leaders have chosen to move to the land which is situated next to the headquarters of 3 SAI Regiment in Kimberley, whereas !Xu leaders have opted to move to the more isolated tract of land, some considerable distance from the city. The net result will be that Khwe soldiers will be living right next to their place of employment and Khwe civilians will have relatively easy access to Kimberley, whereas !Xu soldiers will effectively become migrants, with !Xu civilians likely to be extremely dependent on the soldiers and their wages.



Conclusion

We noted above that the !Xu, in particular, came to South Africa in 1990 with some relatively high expectations about the rewards they would get from the then government for the services they had rendered during the Namibian war. Even as late as 1994, ordinary people still believed that they had a right to permanent housing, facilities such as schools, and military pensions and pay-outs. What they have ended up with, thus far, is an undertaking (not yet finalised) to purchase two small pieces of land, and it is a moot point whether or not additional funds will be forthcoming to develop these areas into permanent settlements for 4000 people. It seems plausible to suggest that the !Xu area, in particular, is likely to turn into yet another isolated, impoverished 'Bushman reserve'.

In the light of this turn of events, should one not conclude, along with Gordon (1992a:188), that these people have simply remained trapped within their reputation as 'Bushmen'?

The findings presented above were intended to show that we have certain problems with the notion that the people at Schmidtsdrift are doomed to be 'prisoners' of their 'Bushman' identity. We also find it curious that the anthropologists who commented on their circumstances in the 1980s, when they were still in South West Africa, should have kept coming back to this theme—the notion that these people are helpless, passive in the face of superior odds—even though other aspects of their analyses differed very markedly (see Kolata 1981; Lee & Hurlich 1982; Gordon 1984).

Writing at the start of the 1980s, soon after the existence of the 'Bushman' battalions had been revealed, Lee (in Kolata 1981:563) castigated the SADF on the grounds that it had "half enticed, half compelled" a primitive, unsophisticated people into becoming involved in a situation whose dangers and long-term implications they were not equipped to grasp. Writing a decade later, Gordon adopted a fundamentally different perspective on the basis of the soldiers' identity as 'Bushmen'. In his view, of course, the people in the 'Bushman' battalions (along with the other people labelled 'Bushmen' in Namibia) were not members of a unique, isolated society that had only recently emerged from the Stone Age; instead they were people who, having been dispossessed and marginalised in the colonial era, had had the identity of being 'Bushmen' imposed on them. They were the victims of the 'Bushman myth'.

Gordon's insight was, without question, an important one, and it was very much in line with the tradition of exposé anthropology that developed, during the 1980s, in opposition to the iniquities of apartheid in southern Africa. His intention, as in the case of many other instances of exposé anthropology, was to show how a process of racial or ethnic 'othering' lay at the basis of the system of domination under apartheid. Making people into exotic 'others' was seen as the core of the exercise of dominance, which turned on the notion that these people could be used, and very seriously abused, because they were 'different'. Exposé anthropology set out to show, as in Gordon's analysis of the 'Bushman myth', that this quality of supposedly fundamental difference was, in fact, a fiction that was constructed discursively and imposed from above.

It seems to us that Gordon's (1992a) account probed the limits of this form of analysis. This is because what he achieved was, in one sense, to circle back to the very kind of analysis which he explicitly shunned. Whereas Lee and Hurlich (1982) had assumed that the people associated with the 'Bushman' battalions were members of a unique, unsophisticated society which really existed 'out there' in northern South West Africa, Gordon insisted that they were members of a society that existed only in the minds of those who had power. But there lay the catch, because if those who had power had all the power that there was, and could therefore visit the full consequences of their myths on those who were the objects of the myth-making, then it mattered little if the society in question was a primordial one or a discursive construction. In either case, 'Bushmen' were fated to be prisoners of their identity.

Our intention in this paper has been to counterpose some of the complexities uncovered by field-work to this rarefied discussion of the relationship between discourse and power. Our point of departure is that power has never lain solely with the SADF: it certainly used the members of the 'Bushman' battalions over the years, but, in different ways, they also used it. Moreover, the SADF never had a single, homogeneous discourse about 'Bushmen' or indeed about the members of the 'Bushman' battalions. Underlying its fulsome praise of the military prowess of these people was also a deep contempt for them as primitives. And bound up with both of these problematic interpretations was another vision of them, itself by no means unproblematic, as expendable mercenaries.

There were many occasions (such as after their relocation to South Africa) on which some or all of the SADF personnel associated with them regarded the Schmidtsdrift people as mercenaries, in the first instance, rather than 'Bushmen'. There is no reason to suppose that this particular interpretation was any less significant than the 'Bushman' myth, and one could argue that this notion of them as disposable mercenaries is the one that has prevailed in the long run. To the extent that this is so, it puts a very different complexion on the issue of the Schmidtsdrift people as mere 'victims'.

As noted above, Khwe leaders have long taken the view that the South African army was never going to go to extravagant lengths to reward them for their services. Armed with this hard-headed premise, these leaders and many of their followers were quite explicit, in discussions with us, about what they believed they had achieved for themselves by means of their association with the SADF. In addition to 20 years of army pay, not the least of the benefits was that they had managed to get themselves from south-east Angola, an area that was (and will remain) devastated by a long civil war, to South Africa, which they see (rightly or wrongly) as a land of great promise. And the Khwe, unlike many other people who share their faith in this promise, are not illegal immigrants—because their patrons provided them with South African citizenship. What has upset the Khwe, over the past year, is not so much the state's failure to deliver dedicated houses and facilities, but rather the state's inability to make up its mind. Many of the Khwe would be happy to make their way as South Africans, but they realise that they would be foolish to leave for as long as there is any possibility of special resources becoming available.

Where does this leave the !Xu, who appear to have expected so much, and who may get nothing more than a small 'Bushman' reserve? Is their situation not testimony to the misguidedness of internalising a hegemonic myth? Of course, many people in South Africa would like to believe that that is what they have done. Part of the tradition of exposé anthropology is precisely the presumption that racial or ethnic identities are simply false consciousness that has been imposed from above. From this perspective, the !Xu would be better off if they simply melted into the wider population of the Northern Cape.

But !Xu leaders know full well that foreign donors may invest in the future of the 'Bushmen proper' of the Western imagination, and thus donate money or other resources to the !Xu. International agencies interested in 'Bushman development' like to assist visible, distinct groups of people, and the !Xu (if they relocate to a tract of land some distance from Kimberley) are most likely to constitute such a group. Moreover, !Xu leaders have begun to forge links with other Northern Cape residents who are laying claim to a status as 'first people'. A regional coalition made up of Nama, Griqua and San, that was established in mid-1995, intended to lobby for state recognition of their 'traditional languages and leadership' (TV1 *Agenda* 31 July 95). !Xu leaders have also decided to appeal to regional and international networks of 'first people', and thus position themselves within a global 'fourth world' discourse of human and aboriginal rights (see Thoma & Le Roux, 1995).

One can only speculate about the outcomes of these activities. What needs to be emphasised is that these possibilities—what James Clifford (1988:7) refers to as "possible futures"—do not necessarily imply separatist claims to ethnic chauvinism and exclusivity that threaten the nascent 'rainbow nation'. If the above possibilities materialise (if calls for resources on the basis of aboriginality bear fruit), it is likely that the state will address a select few high-profile claims and disregard the more politically peripheral ones. People making these claims are aware that the state cannot afford to give attention to a plethora of claims. People like the !Xu are demanding attention on the basis of their 'Bushmanness', and are therefore anything but 'prisoners of their reputation'. 'Bushmen' are not simply independent or dependent, nor merely prisoners or opportunists. They are, at various times, in specific spaces, one or the other; they possess a well-honed ability to flip from one to the other and back again according to context.

M.64/3/16

Windhuk Goal
19th January 1916

The Military Magistrate
Windhuk

Sir

In reply to your Telephon communication I have the honour to report that a Bushman Prisoner named Johannes, Fritz, charged with Murder was received from Sergt. J. R. Verduby of Tsumeb on the 7th November 1915. The said Prisoner was completely chained and roped around Neck, wrist, & Body he left his teethmarks on the Chain.

On the 17th January 1916 the following Male Bushmans were admitted to Kotei, Jimmy Hendrick, Hanse, Fritz, Ludwig, Hanse, Karuppi and Isaac in charge of Riflem. Wenter from Grootfontein charged with Stock Theft, these Prisoner were chained together by the Neck 2 by 2.

I have the honour to be
Sir
Your obedient Servant

Letter (1916) from Windhoek Goal commenting on how a prisoner had left his teethmarks on his chains. SAN M64/3/16

Footprints in the Sand

Paul Weinberg

Playing g//uaci, Bushmanland, Namibia.

3823/8

Groot fontein,
21st Dec 1918.

My dear Mr Gorges,

I am taking the very great liberty of addressing you direct and privately instead of officially on a matter which, I can not help feeling, is one requiring the personal consideration of the official ultimately responsible for the administration of this Protectorate. I trust when you have read what I have to say, you will exonerate me for any breach of etiquette I may be committing in adopting this course.

I assumed duty here on a Monday + on Tuesday I went to inspect the Gaol, + I found there, amongst others, three Bushmen awaiting trial on a charge of murder (As regards the charge I gather there is little chance of proving it but a charge of robbery might be substantiated). These Bushmen when paraded with the other prisoners, were trembling so much that I remarked on it to the Gaoler. A couple of days later they were brought before me under an escort with a fixed bayonet (the charge being murder) for remand, and their terror was pitiful to behold.

At the risk, Sir, of incurring your displeasure, I say that it is nothing short of cruelty to keep these wild creatures confined in Gaols. It is like catching a bird in your hand when you can see its heart throbbing against its breast + you know that unless it is soon released it will die of sheer terror. These wild things have no idea what is going to be done to them, they see themselves surrounded + quite helpless, + what can they know of our humane + just treatment - to them it appears that any moment may be their last, + they live for days + weeks in this terrible suspense. Necessarily they do not know that I have not the power, if I saw fit, to order the guard there + then to plunge his bayonet into them. They have been living this life of torture now for some week +, and it will be weeks, perhaps months before it is possible to conclude even the preparatory examination. Meanwhile they have to live upon food to which they

Passing out, Bushmanland, Namibia.

Trance dance, Bushmanland, Namibia.

Melon dance, Gobabis, Namibia.

Weekend, Bushmanland, Namibia.

are totally unaccustomed, & they would have to be kept in confinement. This alone must mean misery to as wild creatures, but added thereto is their terror of what may possibly to their thinking be done to them.

Please forgive me if I have sketched a somewhat lurid picture & let the circumstances be my excuse.

And the remedy? I must leave that to you, Sir. With my limited knowledge of natives, I might even say absolute ignorance of Bushmen, I am not justified in even making a suggestion. But it almost seems to me that to flog these poor Bushmen, even most unmercifully & let them go free, would be more humane than the present treatment of them. Naturally I appreciate the difficulties of adopting a policy of summary trials & corporal punishment for Bushmen in particular, and I am completely at a loss to know what else could be done. But is it not recognised that Bushmen are a race apart, untamed & untameable, when among other natives in South Africa, including even the reserved Ovambos only recently coming into contact for the first time in their existence with white men, become amenable to some degree of civilisation however small. Would this not justify some special policy being adopted in regard to Bushmen only & not applicable to other natives?

I greatly fear I may have gone too far in my remarks & perhaps even deserve your displeasure, yet I felt I must risk it & trust you will receive what I have said as it is intended, namely by no means a criticism, but inviting your consideration of a question which perhaps has not yet received as much thought as it requires.

I am charmed with this place & cannot be sufficiently grateful to you for sending me here. I only hope I may prove worthy of your confidence.

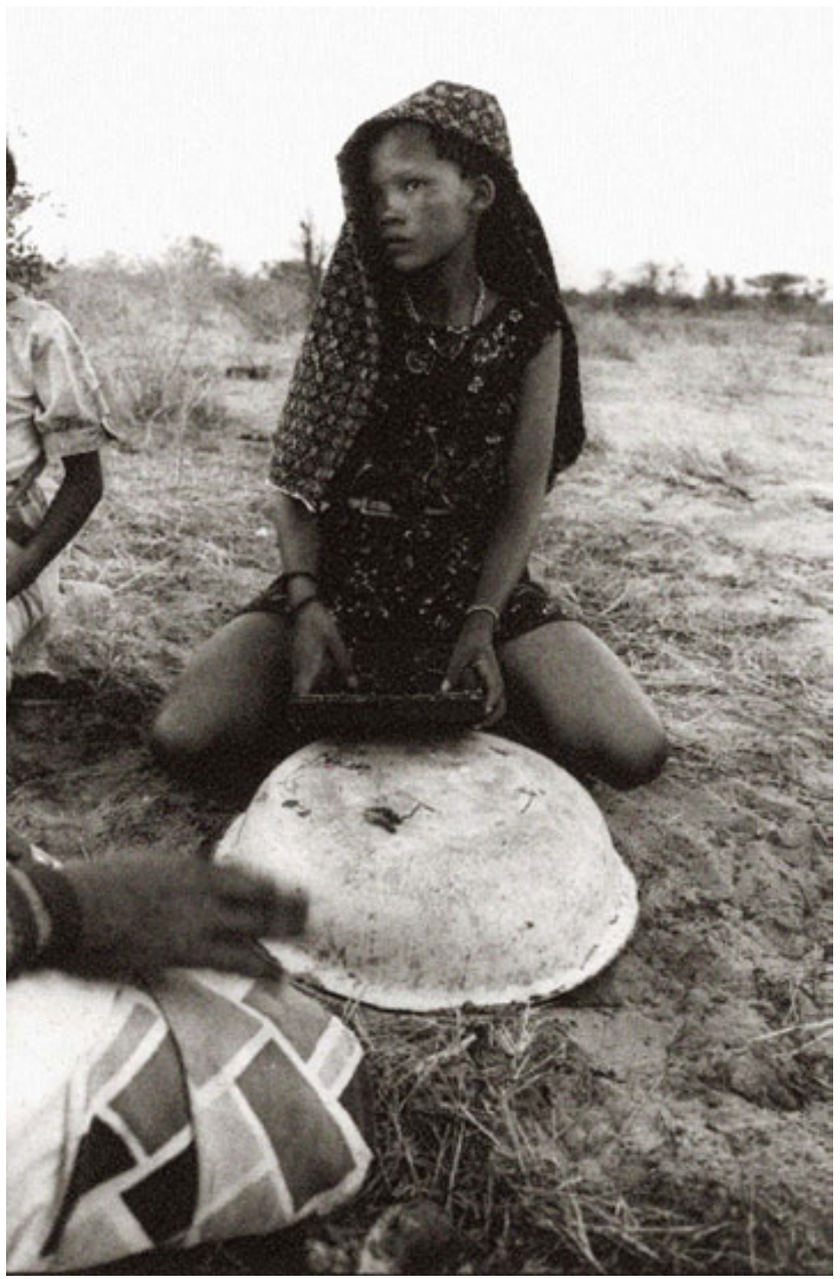
I wish you & Mrs Eyres all the compliments of the season,

Yours sincerely,

Rutherfurd

On a hunt, Bushmanland, Namibia.

Gathering roots, near Ghanzi, Botswana.



Playing the dongu, Bushmanland, Namibia.

So I asked the man, what do you mean that we should go where there's only a borehole surrounded by rocks and no natural water? If that borehole dies we'll have to leave. I have cattle, the cattle will die; and I will die. I won't move to a well where you can't count on the water. The thing to do is to move back to /Gautscha. God's water, *!Xu's* water, is there and I can dip it up and give it to my cattle. That's what I told him. That's what I told the whites.

≠Oma N!oa, born 1913 – died 1988

Those who say we should share our land with others shouldn't think they can come here looking for money. We say, 'Just because this place is a land of lions and other animals does it mean other people can make money here?' They say we have no government and we agree, asking what help we ever received from any government?

Tsamkxao ≠Oma son of ≠Oma N!oa, born 1941

The trees are ours, and the elephants are ours. This is our land. Our things we make come from it—ostrich beads, our bows and arrows.

/Kaece Kxao, N//haru≠'han, Eastern Bushmanland

When I pull this bow I feel very happy. It reminds me of the days when we lived well hunting and gathering and life was fine. Then the white man came and took our land. What life is this?

Ou Jacob ≠Oma, Pos 13 Hereroland

Why do we have to live like this? What have we done wrong? Growing up as a child I used to know the taste of meat. These days we do not even get to smell it very often.

Jan Seringboom, Tsintsabis

Texts reproduced from Biesele, M. & Weinberg, P. 1990. *Shaken Roots: The Bushmen of Namibia.* (above) and (below) from the film script of *N!ai: The Story of a !Kung Woman*, produced by John Marshall (1980) (with thanks to Documentary Educational Resources for providing a copy of the script).

N!AI'S ENGLISH VOICE
That's how it is now. People claw at me. When white people take pictures of me and pay me, everyone is jealous. They are hungry for food and money. You see, today we are not eating. Hunger is grabbing us all. Now we must go far to hunt. Tsamko, my cousin, was already a man when his father bought a horse. Now he is a horsehunter.

N!AI'S ENGLISH VOICE
From these white people in one day I made three Rand. I am a woman who can buy things. But people say I am hiding things. Sometimes I share but sometimes I don't want to give to other people because my children are full of wanting to eat.

≠TOMA (SUBTITLED)
SWAPO won't kill us. We're good with SWAPO, and good with these soldiers, too. SWAPO will shoot the soldiers' airplanes. The soldiers will bring the fighting here. We're good people. We'd share the pot with SWAPO. But these soldiers are the owners of fighting. They fight even when they play and I fear them. I won't let my children be soldiers, the experts at anger. The soldiers will bring the killing. This I know.

N!AI'S ENGLISH VOICE
Now the people mock me and I cry. My people abuse me. The white people scorn me. Death mocks me. Death dances with me. Don't look at my face. Don't look at my face.

Making crafts, Bushmanland, Namibia.

Bushmanland, Namibia.

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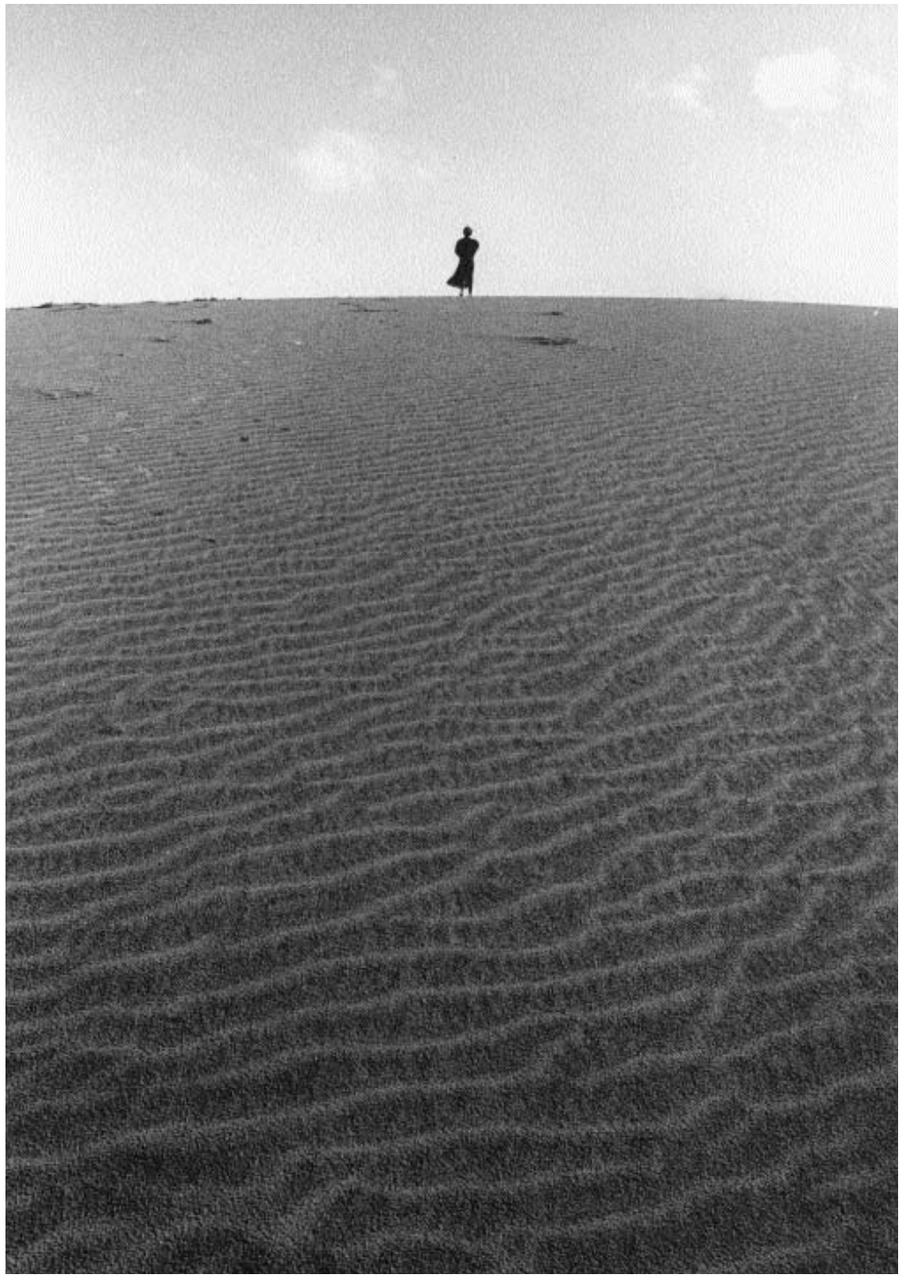


Anna Swarts collects roots, outside the Kalahari Gemsbok Park.

"The black people have closed us into one small area, and Hereroes have come and piled on top of us and didn't stay the number of miles away they should, and so when we get water it is only with difficulty. It's as if that well we dug were not ours. And that's why I want to be at my own well now, with my own cattle and my own people." !Xoma, 1987.

"When an Herero came to live with me once, he brought a bag of mealie, a bag of salt, and a bag of sugar. Then he went away for 15 months and I starved! Now they've (government) put me into the fire and I'm going to burn to death." N!aici Kha//'an, 1987.

"Let's listen to what the black people have to say. These people like Gautamas and Kwanyamas—they don't seem like good people to me. And it seems like Ju/'hoansi have no sense. People who can write have come to see those who can't write as being behind. Let's make sure our children go to school and learn to write. Today our people have no work and try to make their living by selling bows and arrows and tortoise shells . . . But we have to begin to work with other Namibian people to find a way to live. Let's not just reject people because we haven't met them before: we have been living apart. We're still waiting for their 'standing together' we've been told about. Long ago I was DTA but I've changed to SWAPO, but I'm still confused about what either of them means. It seems that the people holding the pencils [paper-sticks] are the men who have the say over everything, and we who have no pencils are behind." Oza !Kamace, 1987.

"We don't want a government which treats us like the woman who ate meat but only smeared her child's mouth with fat. When someone came to ask if the child had been fed she said 'Don't you see the fat around his mouth?' but in fact he was hungry." Anonymous, Botswana, 1991.

"We don't know how the [government] is dividing up the land. Their speech is confusing. We think they are actually using the land distribution system to take our land away from us." Anonymous, Botswana, 1991.

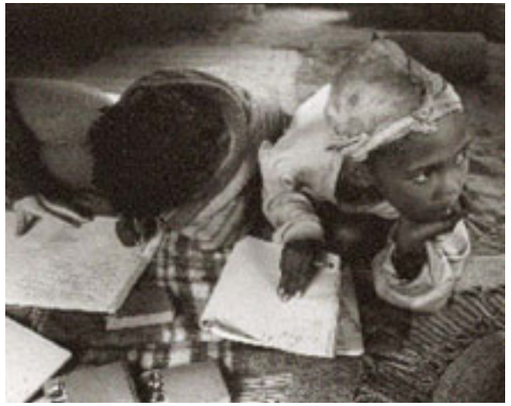
"I got my bow and arrows from my father. They are something I will never abandon . . . Your bow and your arrows hold you fast to your n!ore . . . Hold fast to your bows and arrows. If you drop your bow and arrows, you will just sit there with nothing, watching other people. It is our bows and arrows which have laid down our n!ores on the earth for us to live from." N!ani Kxao, 1991.

"What we have to do is get rid of the fences. Our children didn't use to die like they do now. People would split up and go off hunting different ways, and then come back with food. Today we're not eating! The Department of Nature Conservation said it came to help, but all we know of them is that they put us in jail." N≠amci Kxao, 1991.

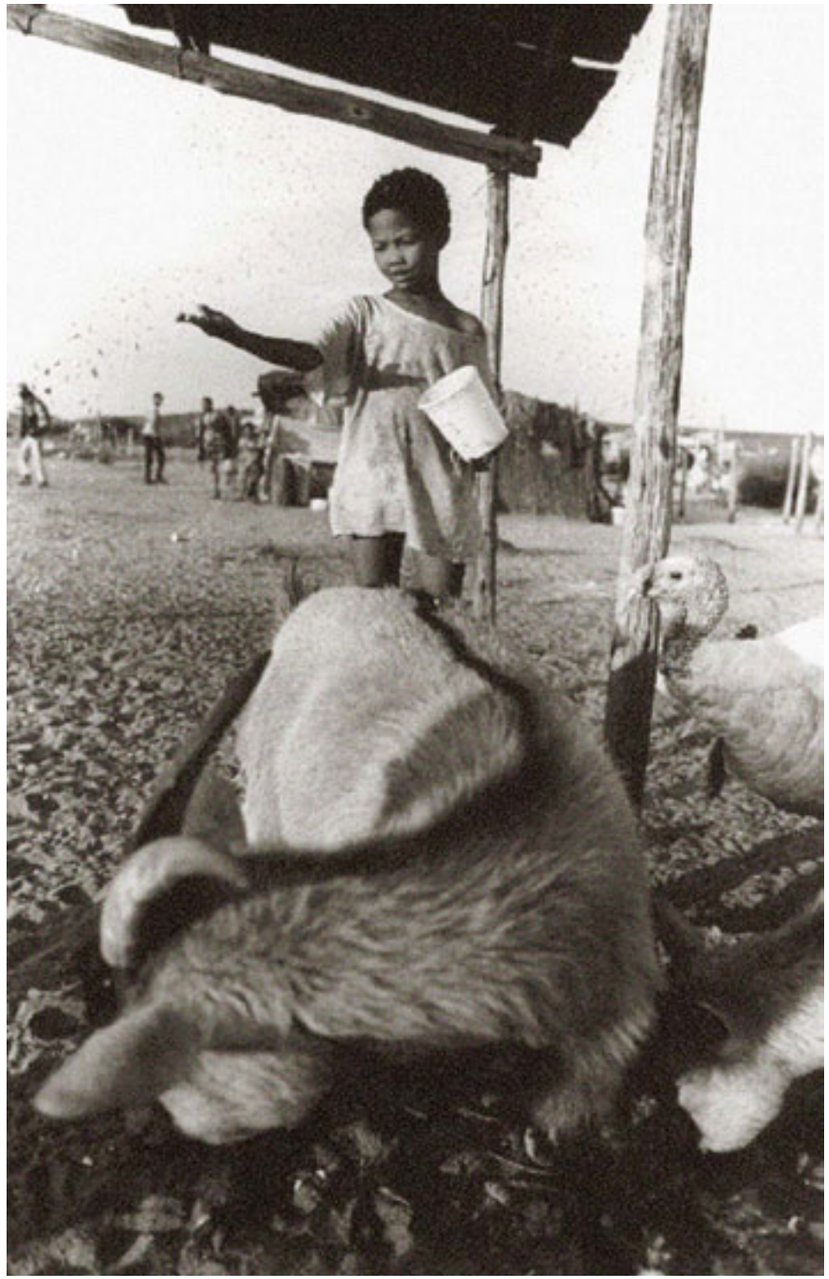
The Ju/'hoan People's Organisation has rejected the word "San" and seeks to ennoble the previously pejorative term "Bushman."

Quotes courtesy Megan Biesele

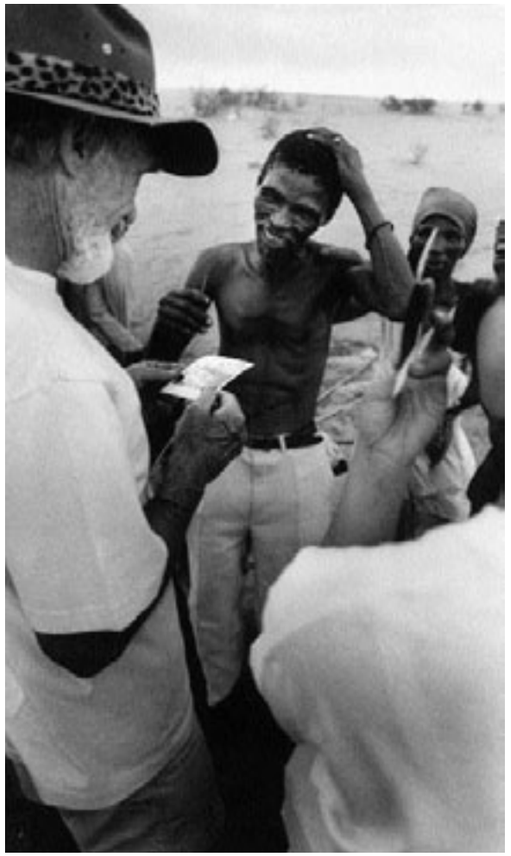
Feeding chickens, Kagga Kamma.



At the informal school set up in Kagga Kamma.



Feeding the livestock, Kagga Kamma.



Jamie Uys discusses the next day' s shoot with ' Hotnot' , outside the Kalahari Gemsbok Park.

On the trips I have taken to photograph San communities in southern Africa I have been conscious of being a witness to a culture in a serious state of transition.

On my first trip to Tshumkwe, the administrative centre of Bushmanland in Namibia, I was shocked to see people lining up at the bottlestore; drunken fighting; and men in army fatigues. A sense of social decay was very pervasive.

This jarred with much of the anthropological research I had read while at university. The once 'harmonious', 'egalitarian', hunter-gatherer culture no longer appeared to be 'at one with nature'. It was this sense of dislocation, the sense of a distance between my expectations, and the reality of what I saw that drove me to continue to explore the situation of the contemporary San.

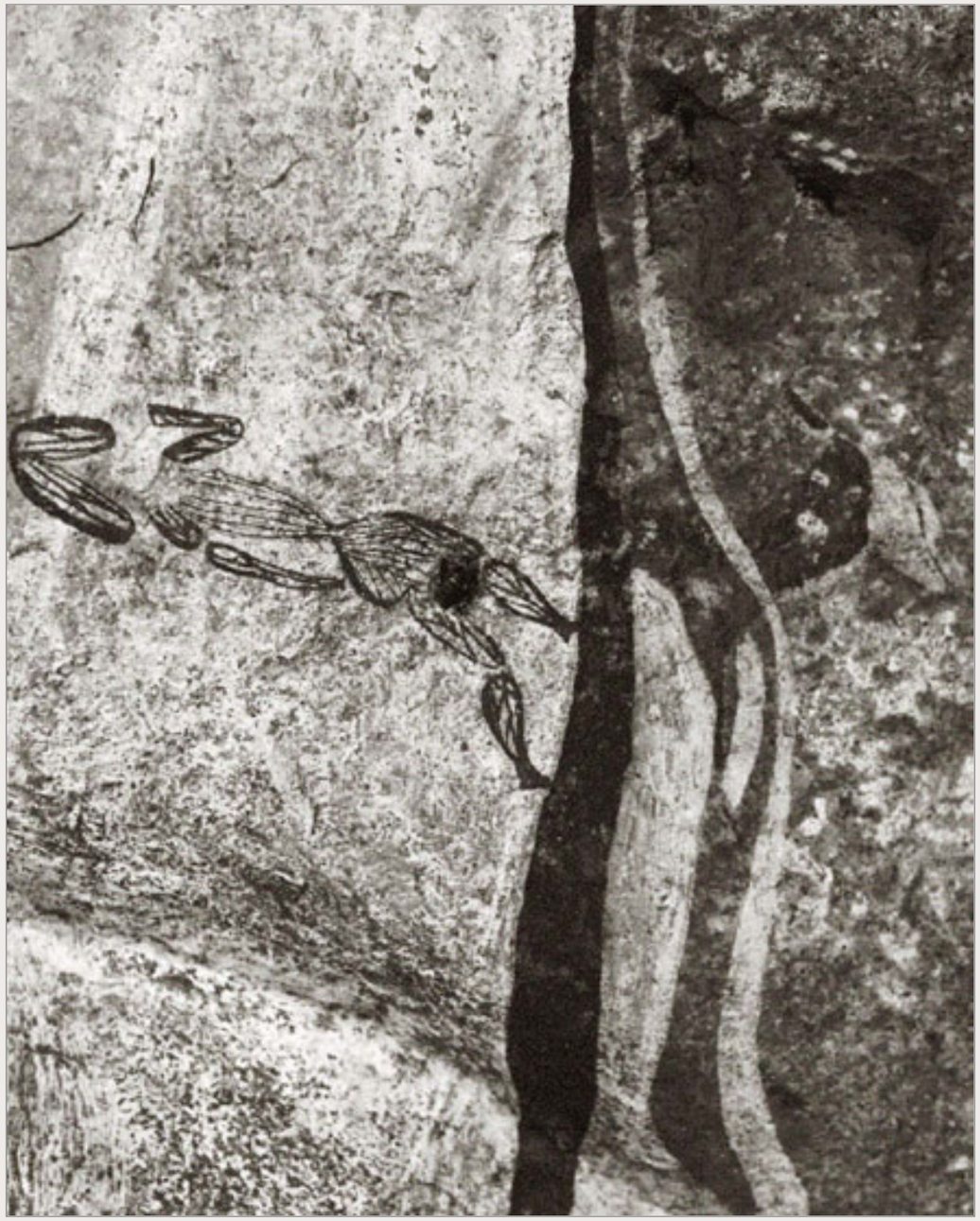
In a period of over 10 years I have visited many settlements in Namibia, Botswana and South Africa. The photographs I have taken are a record of aspects of the lives of the people whose ancestors once led a very different life.

These images reflect cultures in transition.

Filming *The Poison Butterfly*, Kagga Kamma.

A Thai film crew reconnoitres for an advert, outside Kalahari Gemsbok Park.

Main Caves, Bushman exhibit, Giant' s Castle, Drakensberg.



Detail from a richly painted shelter in the upper Brandberg. Date not known. Photograph David Brown.

Native Views of Western Eyes[1]

Carmel Schrire

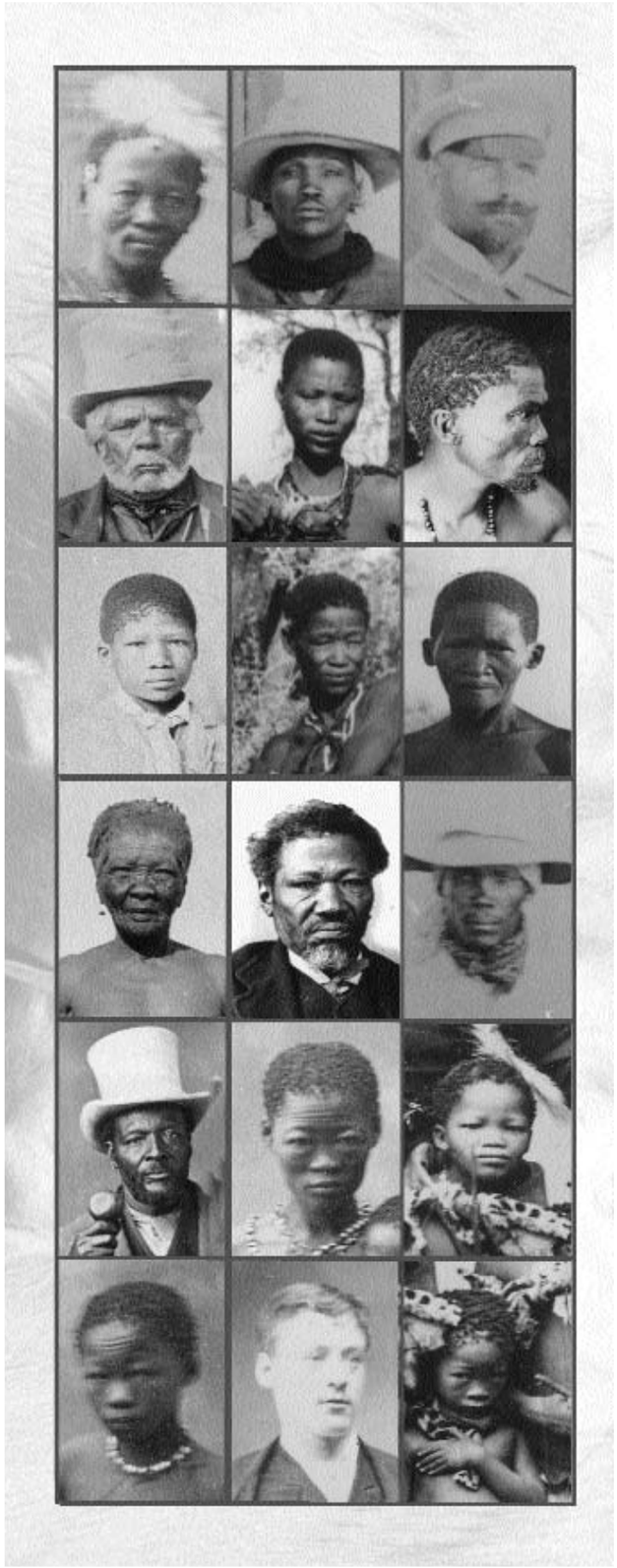
The Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert . . . have a few extra vertebrae that protrude and form a small but observable tail at the base of the spine . . . (Marks 1991:8)

This strange and false assertion was published in the United States in 1991 and it goes to show that, even today, some people believe that the Bushmen are not as human as the rest of us. Incongruous though it may be, it serves to contextualise a tale of Gothic practices and strange perceptions, set in the heyday of colonialism, when, in the course of the exchange of money, diamonds, gold, spices, porcelain, cloth and bodily fluids, certain interested parties came to cultivate exotic tastes for native skulls, on the one hand, and European bodies on the other. Both sides were avid to possess each other, and both became consumers, metaphorically and literally, buying and hoarding body parts and, on occasion, roasting, eating, and displaying them as well.

The geography of our brief review will circumnavigate the globe, echoing colonial ventures of that time, where primary producers from the ends of the earth were bound in commercial networks to the markets of Europe. We begin our tale at the Cape of Good Hope and circle round to Australia, Tasmania, Hawaii, Paris and Piccadilly, before homing in on the Cape. Our tale darts from the Australia First Fleet to the Last Tasmanian, from murder in Hawaii to grave robbing in Hobart, and from pornography in Cape Town to pantomimes in London, touching briefly on the genitals of Khoikhoi women, and the sparkling eyes of British men. Many though its meanderings may be, its moral is clear: what was sauce for the native goose was indisputably sauce for the European gander.

In the Age of Enlightenment and beyond, for so-called civilised colonists, amassing skulls became so commonplace as to almost be called a 'rage'. This passion arose, in large part, from an effort to answer the larger question of whether all humans belonged to the same race, or whether, as the polygenists would have it, some might belong to a more lowly order than others. Had humans been more like birds or dogs, attention might have focused on the colour of their plumage and the scent between their legs. But, being what they are, attention focused on the most identifiable part of the body, namely the face and head. Scientists concentrated on the shape and size of the skull, and classified living, as well as extinct 'races', accordingly. Since the skull reflected the shape and size of the brain within, it was but a short step to assume that certain folk with bigger, longer, or rounder skulls, were smarter, than those with smaller ones.

Such correlations were far from perfect. The more that experts like Paul Broca perfected their protocols, the more patent was the failure of results to conform with expectations. But lack of confirmation did not hinder the pursuit of measurements. People continued to collect specimens in the firm belief that they would finally hit upon the proof that certain people were inherently closer to the apes than others. Nor was this belief confined to Western science. Indigenous people throughout the newly discovered realms sought to accommodate their newfound colonisers into the native belief systems, by taking certain aspects of their



physical peculiarity as signifying something other, if not less than, human.[2]

Our venture into skulduggery begins at the Cape of Good Hope, with the aspirations of a would-be head-hunter of the Age of Enlightenment, a purveyor of supplies to the new British colony at Sydney Cove, Australia. In 1789, on the day before he was due to sail from the Cape to provision the new British colony there, Capt. Edward Riou R.N. of the frigate HMS *Guardian* wrote a letter to Sir Joseph Banks, president of the Royal Society of Great Britain and Ireland, about the exciting promises of one Colonel Robert Jacob Gordon who, though he did not realise it at the time, was shortly to become the last Commander of the Dutch garrison at the Cape:

> I mentioned to Col. Gordon, what you did me the Honour to write about respecting Human Skulls, & the Col. who shortly means to make a journey far Northward told me he would endeavour to get some of the Hottentots and different Caffres!" (Riou 1990:33)[3]

This was no mere aside. The exclamation mark denotes a flourish in intent, a triumph if executed. It would be a coup to make such a collection, at a time when men of learning greeted new discoveries with wonder and a sense of financial expectation. For most of the eighteenth century, the famous Swedish taxonomist Linnaeus sat like God on the day of creation, naming plants and animals, as well as those best-fitted in his learned opinion to carry on scientific work in foreign lands. Heads such as those that Riou hoped to collect would be but a tiny part of vast consignments of partial and intact life forms that were shipped to London, Paris, Berlin, and Amsterdam, where they were classified, drawn, waxed, set in microscopic slides, and even, on occasion, cast in glass, to create a vast comparative compendium of biological variation on earth. Passion for collecting spread far beyond these strict scientific circles, and efforts to own an exotic skull compelled would-be collectors to finger the object of their desire, even before its owner was dead. Around the turn of the century, a customs clerk in the Northern Territory of Australia kept a watchful eye on one Flash Poll, an old Aboriginal woman whose skull he longed to own. More successful collectors included a retired Cape Town policeman who, in 1960, was moved to donate to science one of his domestic ornaments. It was a pentagonal Bushman skull which had stood on his mantelpiece for many years, wired up to a red light bulb that cast a warm and, at the same time, scary glow, through the eye sockets and dental interstices (Searcy 1907:57–8).[4]

Skulls such as those Riou hoped to collect have since become *causes célèbres* in the late-twentieth-century efforts to re-enfranchise the dispossessed peoples of the old colonial world. Aboriginal Tasmanians are a case in point, and a particularly poignant one at that. More than 30 000 years ago, when sea levels were lower than they are today and Tasmania was joined to Australia by a land bridge, their ancestors were part of the larger, continental population. Then, when the post-glacial sea rose to form Bass Strait, they were isolated for 12 000 years, until the turn of the seventeenth century, when they were put on the Western map, by the mariners of the Dutch East India Company. Idealised by the French, they were then invaded by the British and, by the turn of the nineteenth century, Tasmania was deemed the perfect place to hold the most recalcitrant British convicts.

The shock of contact reverberated in bullets, brutality, and disease, as the Royal Navy debouched its unsavoury load into the Aboriginal land. Sterility and death followed fast as reproductive tubes and lungs were strangled with foreign pathogens. Half-crazed European prisoners escaped from the fortresses that were built to protect and contain them, and plunged barbarically into the world of so-called savages. It took around 75 years for the British authorities to declare the Aboriginal Tasmanian extinct. The announcement was premature, if not downright inaccurate. Through no good intent on the part of the invaders, intermarriage, concubinage, slavery, and rape served to preserve Aboriginal genes, and helped to promote, in more enlightened times, a rapid burgeoning of cultural consciousness.[5]

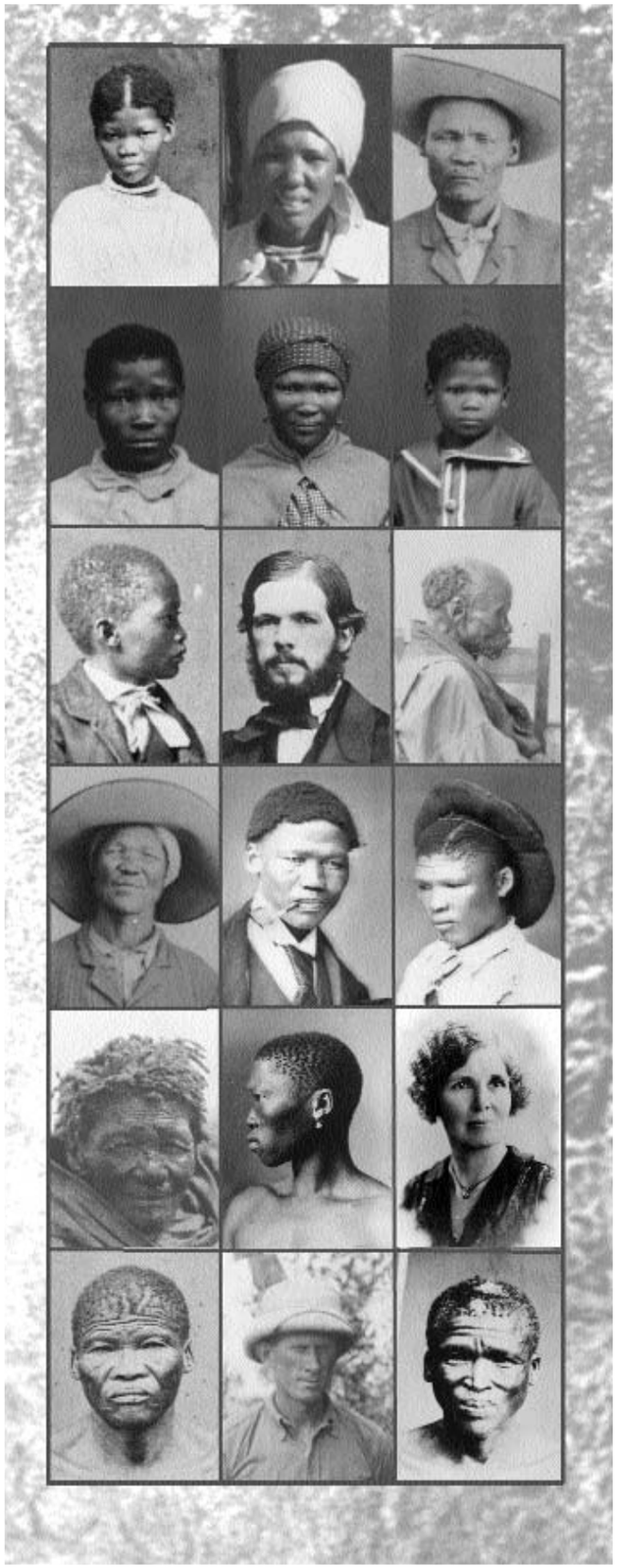
Today, descendants of the Aboriginal people demand reparations and, among other things, this involves the repatriation of their ancestral relics. An unpleasant skeleton in the cupboard this one: from first arrival of Europeans, human remains were shipped whole or piecemeal to the museums of Britain for scientific study. In 1869, when the supposedly last Tasmanian man on the mainland, William Lanne, died, competing head-hunters battled for his corpse on behalf of the Royal College of Surgeons in London and the Royal Society of Tasmania. The surgeons struck first. Their agent beheaded Lanne, and replaced the missing skull with that of a white man. Tasmanian scientists retaliated by snatching the hands and feet before burial: later they disinterred the coffin to get the rest.

William Lanne's wife, Trucanini, responding to these matters with appropriate horror, implored the Revd Atkinson to bury her remains intact in the deepest sea. Trucanini had good reason to fear her fate. As a young woman she helped the British Conciliator, George Augustus Robinson, to round up her people and relocate them in a series of squalid settlements. Although this was seemingly done for the protection of indigenous people, enforced containment provided a richer medium for fatal diseases than any of the groups, left to their own devices, might have found. Under the control of their benevolent conquerors, Tasmanians began to sicken and die with alarming speed.[6]

Trucanini's role in this precipitous decline did not escape the notice of her fellows. Having been instrumental in leading the Conciliator to remote tribes, to say nothing of sharing Robinson's blanket out in the bush, she must, willy-nilly, have shared his intent to concentrate people in houses and watch them die. Or so they figured. One imagines that they might also have wondered if she shared his taste for human relics. For around 1837, when the Aboriginal inhabitants of the Flinders Island settlement began dying in earnest, Robinson hit his stride as a collector. His early diaries show that he was always something of a collector, accumulating, as he did, the Aboriginal vocabularies and legends, but as the pace of mortality quickened, Robinson turned to the bones of the very people themselves. He started with the adult mandibles and childrens' skulls used as amulets against illness and pain, and graduated to skulls of newly-deceased folk. This required a little more effort than amulets, for the bodies had to be decapitated and the skulls defleshed by cooking them down. Robinson, who professed indifference to his own "earthly tabernacle", took a great interest in watching the post-mortems that mutilated those of his former charges, and even acted as an agent, dispatching two of them off to the Governor of Tasmania, Sir John Franklin, and his wife.[7]

Although these actions paint him in a macabre light, Robinson was perfectly in line with the popular, educated thinking of his time. Some scholars go further, and see him as a pioneer for Aboriginal rights, who advocated that the native people be allowed to treat with their colonisers. One paints him as a working-class hero, struggling in vain, in a sea of British prejudice, to convince his superiors that his Aboriginal charges were civilised enough to be moved from their Tasmanian death camps to more salubrious quarters on the mainland. But whatever efforts Robinson may have made on their behalf, no official move was made to mitigate the trajectory of death. Trucanini felt the cold wind of peer disapproval, with each successive passing. She feared that she was cursed to witness the death of every one of her people. Her dread was fully justified. She outlived all others to assume the epithet 'The Last Tasmanian' when she died in 1876. Her body was not buried at sea as she had wished, nor did it remain intact in the normal sense of the word. Instead, her bones were exhumed and packed off to the Launceston Museum, where some Victorian curator threaded them into position and hung them out to rattle in the foyer.[8]

After he died, Robinson's ethnographic collection was shipped to Britain and sold for a song. Fruits of labours such as his could be seen in the museum of the Royal College of Surgeons in London, where rows of



Tasmanian skulls stood grinning on display. Scientists viewing them as strangely atavistic speculated as to the origins of these folk. Some thought they were a palaeolithic race, others wondered whether they had come from Melanesia or the Andaman islands. Idle speculation was cut short by the Second World War, when Nazi bombers inadvertently replicated a Tasmanian Aboriginal traditional practice—in fact, if not in intent—by incinerating the college and cremating all the skulls. As for Trucanini, it remains a mystery whether her purported skeleton was truly hers. Some speculated that it came from a taller person. By 1976, however, Tasmania was caught up in the reparations of the Aboriginal Land Rights movement, and Trucanini's remains, genuine or spurious, were cremated in a state funeral. Her ashes were scattered at sea, according to her wishes.[9]

But enough of this sorry tale and back to our original would-be head-hunter. A water-colour shows Riou with a strong nose, thin upper lip, and large, dark eyes framed by perfectly curved brows, gazing into the distance with a certain sadness. At the time he penned his excited letter to Banks, Edward Riou was 26 years old and had been in the navy since he was 12. A web of contacts with explorers like James Cook, Joseph Banks, and William Bligh, bound him deep into the colonial enterprise. He first visited the Cape in 1776, on Cook's third and fatal voyage, as midshipman on the *Discovery*. After Cook was killed in Hawaii, Riou transferred to the flagship *Resolution*, where he served under Captain Clerke and the master, William Bligh. It was Bligh who, ten years later, at the behest of Royal Society president Sir Joseph Banks, set out to transport breadfruit from Tahiti to the West Indies, where their fruits would provide a cheap diet for slaves working on sugar plantations. His ship, the infamous HMS *Bounty*, called in at the Cape in 1788 and sailed thence to Tahiti and into one of the most dramatic incidents in naval history. Men mutinied and cast him adrift without a log or compass. It would have done in a lesser man, but Bligh was made of sterner stuff. He directed the castaways to row, and they sailed 5800 kilometres to Timor in the East Indies.

History having a way of repeating itself, Bligh endured a second mutiny before he eventually reached Batavia. Here he became a mere passenger on the Dutch packet *Vlydt*, and trans-shipped home, touching at the Cape five days after Riou posted his letter to Banks and set sail for Australia.[10]

So much for historical congruences and back to our hero at the Cape. Riou loaded his supplies, and 20 convicts that he had transported from Britain, and headed south to the Roaring Forties for a fast ride on the westerlies to Australia. He was in a hurry. The fledgeling colony was starving. Aborigines stood on the edge of this newly settled continent, watching with

mounting fear as birds of the sea sailed in from the Land of the Dead to disgorge their white, bloodless cargo. Things were edgy, what with the convicts, their keepers, and the vigilant watchers from the scrub. Clearly, Riou had no time to waste. He sailed into the cold, southern ocean, confident of a clear summer passage, only to strike an errant iceberg on Christmas Eve. Dispatching the crew to other boats, he held an erratic course for land. Six weeks later, everyone was safely back at the Cape and Riou found himself swopping yarns with the crew of the *Bounty*, *en route* to courts martial in England, and arranging pardons for his shipment of convicts, who had helped save the *Guardian* from sinking. Presumably, he found time, too, to renew his acquaintance with Colonel Gordon, commander of the Cape garrison, who, you will recall, was the would-be head-hunter to Captain Riou and his patron, Sir Joseph Banks. Riou managed to salvage some of the supplies and send them on to Australia, but the *Guardian* herself was destroyed in a storm in Table Bay. Her captain sailed home to a mandatory court martial for the loss of his ship. Like Captain Bligh the previous year, Riou was honourably acquitted of this loss, and promoted to commander and post-captain.

Colonel Gordon blew his brains out when his garrison surrendered to the British in 1795. His widow left his papers in Riou's care.[11]

Riou died enmeshed in the networks in which he had lived, at the battle of Copenhagen in 1801, fighting under Nelson, and alongside Bligh. Horatio Nelson put it this way: "In poor dear Riou the country has sustained an irreparable loss"(Ffolliott 1981:504).

And the heads? The heads were never delivered. They seem to have been lost in the rush. They are, in short, gone, setting us free to leave Riou and to turn to one of his many associates, the great British explorer Captain James Cook.

Among Captain Cook's interests (and truly there were many), was one he called the 'great question'. In 1770, Cook reached Australia in the course of his epic first voyage. Artists and naturalists charted these travels with great care, documenting every twist in a leaf, every kink in the hair of exotic natives. Cook mapped the east coast of Australia and, noticing a mouse-coloured animal that looked like a greyhound, except that it leaped in the air like a hare, and moved like a jerboa but was as big as a sheep, with the footprint of a goat—named it for its native appellation, 'kanguroo'. This didn't make as much difference to the marsupials, as his naming of the land '*Terra nullius*' did to the Aboriginal folk, who, by virtue of that announcement, were effectively dispossessed, by being declared mere occupants of land that no one owned. The rationalisation behind this declaration was that, having no apparent kings, borders, and countries, Australian aborigines had not yet evolved the necessary level of social organisation to entitle them to the land. This was the charter for centuries of oppression, unbroken by treaties or restitution, whose legal rule ended only recently, with a 1992 landmark judgment, recognising native title to the land.[12]

Cook's classical allusions continued when he stopped, *en route* home, to water at Cape Town in March of 1771. Writing in his log, he noted that he would use this occasion to explore "the great question among natural historians, whether the women of this country have or have not that fleshy flap or apron which has been called the *Sinus pudoris*"(Cook 1846:327).

The 'great question' to which Cook was referring, concerned a reported peculiarity of Khoikhoi women, namely, their elongated labia, also called '*tablier*' and 'curtain of shame'. It had been observed in the very earliest discourses on the Cape, and its functions and implications were a source of intense speculation for many people, from the great Linnaeus who classified all manner of life according to a multitude of peculiarities, to Colonel Gordon who examined at least two women with as much dispassion as the occasions allowed, to the famous philosopher Diderot, with whom Gordon later discussed his hands-on observations, right down to the lowliest sailor, who chatted or boasted about it with anyone who would listen. It was, in short, a great question, and the curiosity it engenders is active enough even today to generate discussion in anthropology, natural history, theatre, and even a chic volume on stereotypes of sexuality, race and madness.[13]

An actual sample of the object is housed today in the Musée de l'Homme in Paris. Although this is a public institution, not all curiosities are publicly displayed. Some are banished to dusty shelves in the ethnographic section, to be shown only with great reluctance to those petitioners who ask for them by name. I was reluctant to demand outright, because I was not certain whether the word I knew for female genitalia was acceptable, or even recognisable, in scientific circles. Instead, I asked to see the dissection of Paul Broca's brain that is reputed to sit on the shelf just below (Gould 1982:24).

The guide looked surprised.

"Wait a minute."

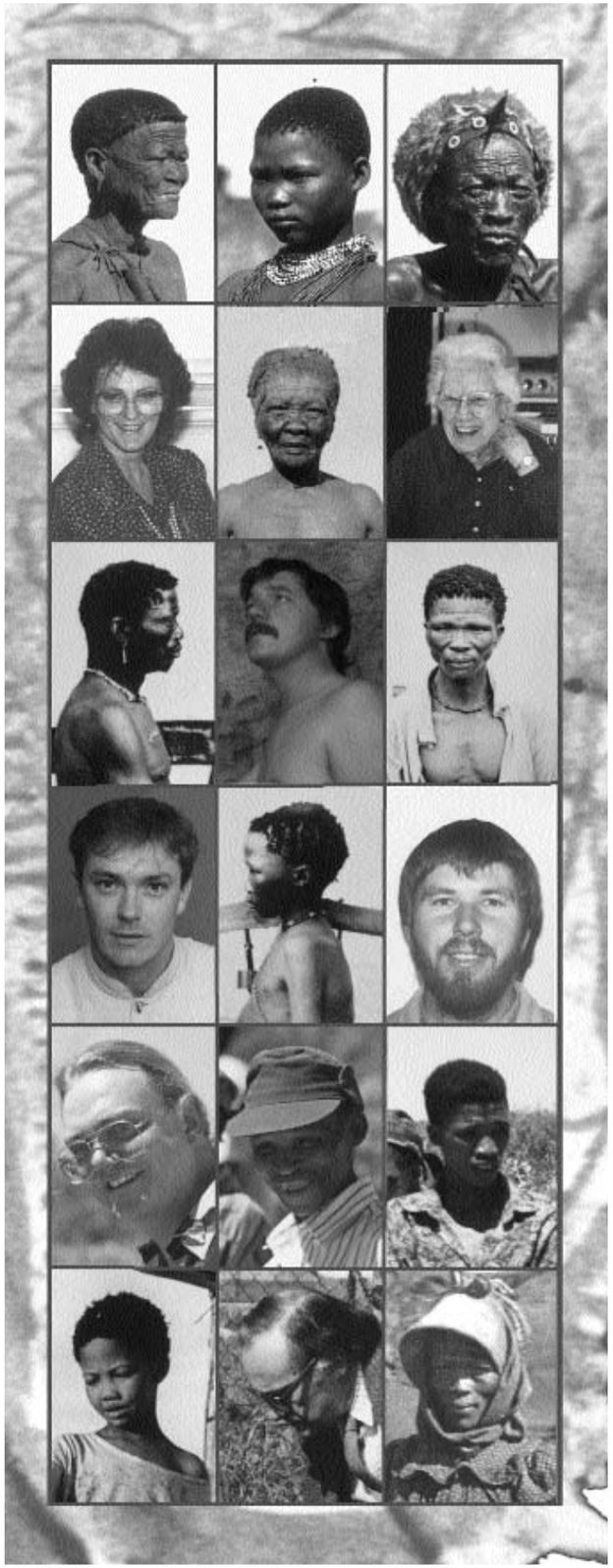
He walked away. Far down a dim corridor I noticed him gesticulating to another official. He returned, smiling gently.

"We are sorry, but we dropped Broca's brain last week."

He did not look sorry at all.

I pondered my next move, and then, remembering what the label on the genitalia read, I asked to see the 'Hottentot Venus'. A harried curator eventually appeared. She click-clacked down the corridors between the shelves and pointed into the gloom.

"There! See for yourself."



A plaster cast of a small woman, naked, with a very large rump, gazed sightlessly back. This was not what I was after.

I drew a deep breath and asked straight out.

She whirled on her heel and took off down a dim passage between the storage shelves. We passed a set of bell-jars containing, among other things, the severed heads of a Chinese pirate and a felon from New Caledonia. Eyes filmed with formaldehyde peered through the cloudy wash. A flattened nose, whitened at the tip, pressed against the glass. Fine hairs floated over the hack marks on the nape of the pirate's neck.

My guide shot me a look compounded of impatience and fear. The morning's papers had told of crowds of disaffected natives milling in the streets. They came from the last of the French possessions in the South Seas to demand the restoration of their dignity and political rights. One small aspect of their discontent involved repatriation of their relics. I was quite certain they had never seen these particular examples and, watching the expression on my guide's face, was equally certain they would never do so.

I followed her anxious prompting and turned my gaze to another shelf.

The Hottentot genitalia were not immediately recognisable as such. The specimen resembled a marine creature, an exsanguinated polyp, drifting in a pale, topaz sea. It carried no personal title other than "Hottentot Venus", but, given her fame, that was more than enough. It came from a Khoikhoi woman of the Cape of Good Hope. Her name, or rather, her Dutch name, was Saartje Baartman, and she must have been a child when Riou wrote his excited letter of 1789, because 20 years later, in the full flush of womanhood, she travelled to Europe for purposes of exhibition, scientific study, and personal gain. Her chief, and most obvious asset, was her large, steatopygous, buttocks. Her hidden asset, was her genitalia, which were assumed to include uncommonly long labia, dangling down to form what scientists called the 'Hottentot apron' or *tablier*. Saartje was exhibited at Piccadilly in a cage, which prompted abolitionists of the African Institution to raise the matter of her freedom in the popular press. Under legal interrogation, Saartjie explained the situation as she saw it. She had come to England of her own free will and was now the nurse, not the property, of her exhibitor. She garnered half the profits of the venture, which were sufficient, at any rate, to allow her to employ two servants of her own. True, she acted the role of a wild creature and she danced when her keeper held up a stick but, at the same time, this was all part of her show. Today, almost two centuries later, if one is so inclined, a visit to Times Square in New York City still affords views of working women offering their words and wares in cages or booths. It is still all part of a working girl's life on the

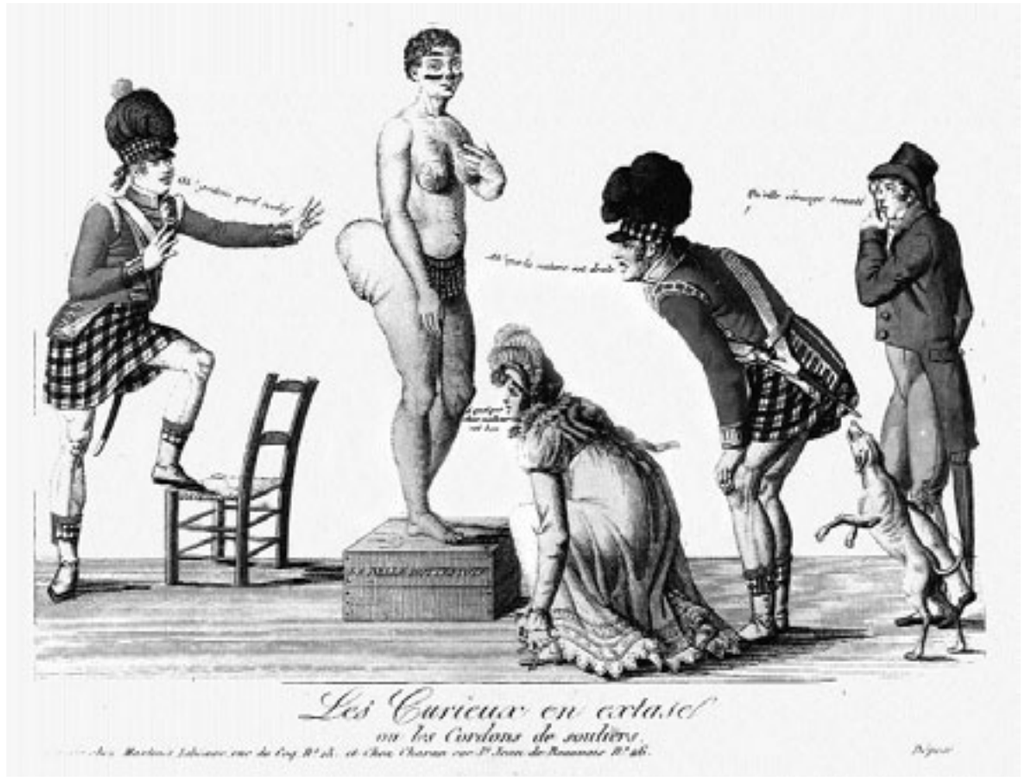


Figure 1 **The Hottentot Venus poses like her counterpart in Sandro Botticelli' s *Birth of Venus* (c.1484–6) on a plinth inscribed *"La Belle Venus"*, as viewers voice admiration and astonishment, and a dog inspects a kilted man with ill-disguised curiosity**. MA572:0 55/543

potential road to becoming a showgirl, perhaps even a star, and, for some, a more varied and amusing way to pay the bills than spending all day behind a more conventional counter.

Where Saartje was concerned, it is likely that the pleasures of life in London far outstripped the alternative, cooking and cleaning in the Master's house at the Cape, washing the Madam's feet, squatting on the stone floor next to the smoking hearth, keeping an eye on the heavy pots of rice, fish, and mutton stew, with only an occasional *dop* of wine on the Sabbath to sweeten the week's servitude. For all their legendary beauty, she surely saw more diverting sights than the Cape mountains and seas as she travelled from England to France, there to pose in Paris for science, as well as for the general public. But chilly Europe was not the sultry Cape, and in due course, she took ill and died. Georges Cuvier's table became her last pallet on this earth, and his dissection of her genitals was a landmark event in centuries of speculative lasciviousness that characterised the European encounter with certain native people.[14]

The fascination of the *tablier*, or apron, was possibly preceded and certainly rivalled by the belief that Khoikhoi men were monorchids, with only one testicle. Controversy bubbled over the meaning of this. Some said that having but one ball helped men run faster, a plausible conclusion if the owner failed to run away fast enough to save the first. Others thought excision was practised to cool the ardour but this seems less plausible, given that Khoikhoi women's attentuated sexual organs were said to denote unbridled lust. Still others suggested that it was done as a method of birth control, or, conversely, to help beget sons, and the learned Grevenbroek, in a veritable cascade of misplaced logic, linked circumcision and testicular evulsion to conclude that the Hottentots had learned this (and many of their other rites) from the Jews. James Cook visited the Cape in 1771 and denied categorically that semi-castration

was a general thing, but noted, nevertheless, that those who had endured the operation were said to be the finest warriors and particularly skilled in throwing stones. Linnaeus, who classified Hottentots as *Homo Monstrosus Monorchides*, placed them on a side branch of human evolution. Georges Cuvier demurred. Knowing Saartje personally, he probably felt bound to equivocate. On the one hand, she had a certain charm. He noted that she was gay, she had a good memory for faces, and she spoke Dutch, a little English, and a smattering of French. She danced, she liked music, pretty baubles, and brandy. On the other hand, her quickness reminded one of a monkey and she had the disconcerting habit of pushing out her lips like an orang-utan. If this were not enough, there was her huge backside and strange genitals. They could not be allowed to pass unnoted, so that although Cuvier saw her as fully human in most respects, some deep sense of her evolutionary position triumphed over his empirical observation. Nowhere is this more clearly seen than in his comments on her face. The illustration (Figure 1), shows a sweet visage, a woman, with a lush, curved mouth, and wide-set eyes, yet the opposite page declares: "The most disgusting part of this woman was her face, which displayed the characters of both the negro and of the Mongole countenance in its different features." In the end, therefore, whatever he might have known of Saartje herself, Cuvier spun a web between geography, skin colour, and sexuality, to create a trope of human behaviour and, by inference, human evolution, where the dark venery of southern people like Saartje yielded eventually to the pale constraints of northern ones.[15]

The point is that, despite all that he knew of her accomplishments, Cuvier could not entirely shake off the animalistic implications of Saartje's nether regions. He was, after all, descended intellectually, if not directly, from a long line of European observers, all of whom itched to examine the Khoikhoi sex, partly to see whether it was fully human, and partly for its own sake.

Centuries of travel ethnographies are full of it: it was the thing to see. Sometimes men paid to look, sometimes they saw it for free, but each entry has its special moment. First, the sailor Wouter Schouten at the Cape in 1665:

> They are avid, both men and women, for old iron, copper, tin, beads, and glass rings, but above all for tobacco, for which the women will even willingly let their privy parts . . . be seen by our coarse seamen who dare to demand such of them. Truly these sailors show by this that they are even more lewd and beastly than these wild Hottentots. (Raven-Hart 1971:85)

Next, David Tappen, an old dog of 80 years, who called in at the Cape with his teenaged wife in 1682:

Figure 2 **Love and Beaty vie for the attention as Cupid poses enticingly on the famous rump of the Hottentot Venus.** (Artist unknown, published October 1810 by Christopher Crupper Rumford) AM 55/541

> A Dutch woman of our ship had heard that the Hottentot women had over their privities a piece of flesh hanging such as turkeys have in front of the head, and that this covered the vulva. She wished to examine a Hottentot woman, but this was quicker, and lifted the Dutch woman's skirt up to her navel . . . the woman . . . perceived us and went off, but the Hottentot woman laughed. (Raven-Hart 1971:240)

Tappen decided to see for himself:

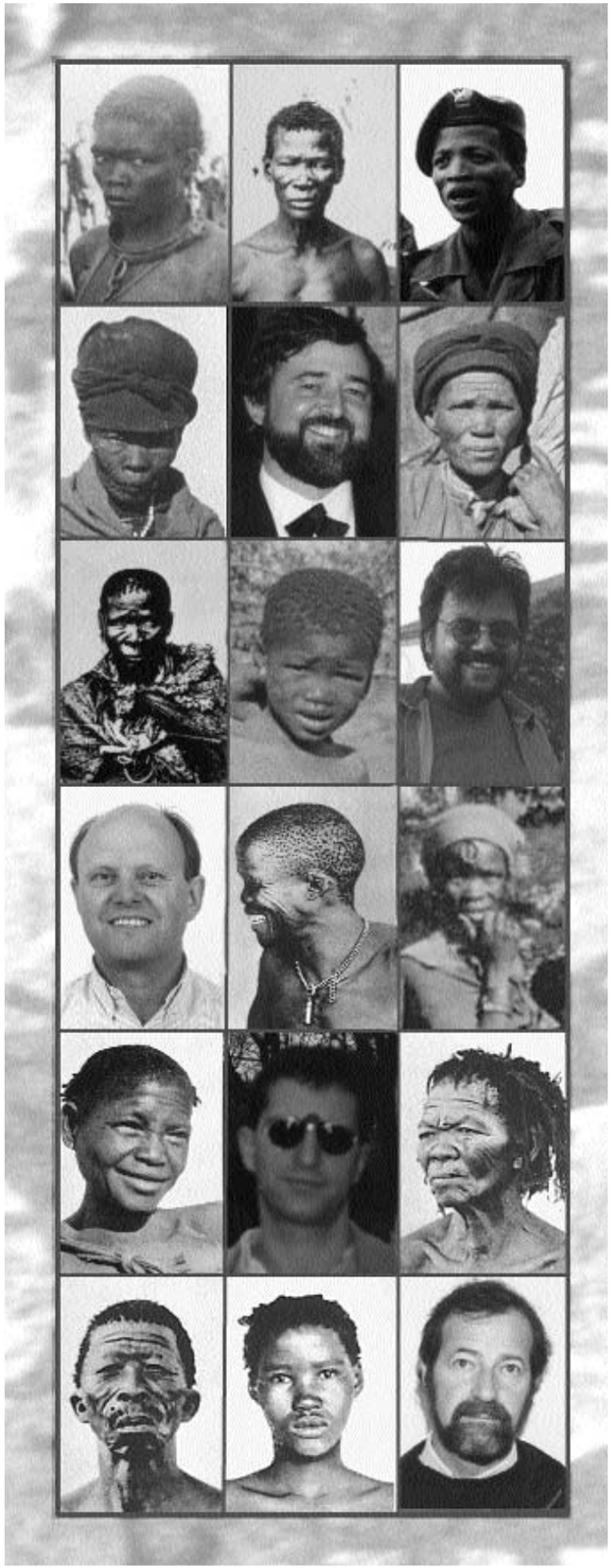
> I had often heard that if one said to them *Kutykum*, they at once lifted the sheepskin and showed their little under-parts. It happened early one morning that a Hottentot woman came in front of my lodging, to whom I said *Kutykum*; she stretched out her hand and said Tabackum, at which I went and got a scrap of tobacco, and came back and gave it to her. When she had it in her hand she asked *Kutykum*? I replied Yes, and therewith she raised her sheepskin high up and let me have a good look, and then laughed and went off. (Raven-Hart 1971:238)

Notice how the Khoikhoi laughed. It contrasted with the serious mien of travellers and scholars who stayed locked in debate of this great question. The famous, if flawed, biological statistician Francis Galton, who coined the term 'eugenics', had something to contribute here too. Following the family tradition of his cousin Charles Darwin, he travelled to remote corners of the world, recording his impressions of strangers that would later be integrated into a broader view of humanity as a whole. In 1850 he visited what is now Namibia. There he met a "Venus among Hottentots", possessed of "that gift of a bounteous nature to this favoured race, which no mantua-maker, with all her crinoline and stuffing, can do otherwise than humbly imitate" (Galton 1890:53). Galton wanted to trace her shape but was unable to speak her language or to ask the missionary's wife for assistance. The solution, when it appeared, constituted such a triumph of ingenuity over Victorian reticence as to justify quoting in full:

> The object of my admiration stood under a tree, and was turning herself about to all points of the compass, as ladies who wish to be admired usually do. Of a sudden my eye fell upon my sextant; the bright thought struck me, and I took a series of observations upon her figure in every direction, up and down, crossways, diagonally, and so forth, and I registered them carefully upon an outline drawing for fear of any mistake; this being done, I boldly pulled out my measuring-tape, and measured the distance from where I was to the place she stood, and having thus obtained both base and angles, I worked out the results by trigonometry and logarithms. (Galton 1890:54)[16]

Scientists taking a long, empirical look at these strange features concluded that the Khoikhoi men were always born with two testicles and probably never evulsed them at all. They noted, too, that steatopygia and elongated labia appear at puberty, with no artificial inducement. As for the function of steatopygia, Singer examined the evidence for its onset after puberty, its contribution in controlling heat loss in pregnancy, its failure to disappear with menopause, and its relationship to lumbar lordosis, and concluded that we have no idea why it exists! Clearly, since sexual selection has certainly not ruled against its survival, those who have it, like it (Singer 1978:120–4).

But, whatever the scientists may say, people reading between the lines of strange encounters with these nether parts all realised that Khoikhoi women laughed when they raised their skirts. Showing their genitals was the rudest insult the natives knew, and the failure



of strangers to understand this point rendered them all the more strange (Gordon 1992b:193).

Nor were the Khoikhoi alone in their view of invaders. On the other side of the world, Pacific islanders also regarded white and bloodless strangers as something other than fully human. In 1778, Captain James Cook returned on his third voyage to Hawaii and anchored in Kealakekua Bay. After a long and lively visit, he finally departed, only to make an unscheduled return ten days later for repairs to the foremast. In contrast to the earlier joyful greeting, his reappearance drew a strange hostility, marked by thefts and aggression. Tensions mounted. As Cook hastened to set sail, a confrontation developed on the beach. He managed to loose a shot at one offender but was overwhelmed by a deadly onslaught. Cook fell beneath a welter of stabbing and battering so deadly that his men could only mourn from the safe distance of their ship. The following evening parts of Cook's cooked and defleshed bones were formally returned to his men.[17]

Cook's passing struck deep into European visions of the noble savage. The scene was later painted by John Webber, the artist on board at the time, and also by Johan Zoffany, who had narrowly missed sailing as artist on Cook's second voyage. These powerful images of death drew heavily on Benjamin West's *Death of Captain Wolfe*, in its mingling of heroic pain and noble loss. Webber shows Cook an instant before the *coup de grâce*, his right hand outstretched as though to restrain his men from retaliation. Zoffany achieved a similar message, with all the figures struck in classical poses, the Hawaiian headgear echoing Greek helmets, as the tragedy echoes Greek proportions. Pantomimes and plays ran in London, Dublin, and Paris, with the stranger and native locked into webs of misunderstanding from which Cook emerged as the tragic hero.[18]

Numerous scholars have tried to reconstruct the death of Captain Cook, searching to reveal how the worlds of the native and the stranger converged, overlapped, and finally exploded in daggers and gunfire. Sahlins argues that Cook segued into the Hawaiian domain as the unwitting reincarnation of the ancient god Lono. The Hawaiian perception of this millenarian miracle was heightened and confirmed by the way the track of the *Resolution* re-enacted Lono's procession through his realm, and by the manner in which Cook's crew distributed and shared their cargo. Unaware of his role, Cook might well have survived had it not been for the intrinsic hazards of navigation that forced him to return. This broke the appointed and mandatory cycle of godly behaviour, and threatened the life of the king. Cook's demand that the king be held hostage to the return of a stolen boat was therefore taken as an ominous challenge by the god to

the king. It was answered by a lesser chief, rightly possessed of a valuable iron dagger, who struck the first blow, not to kill, but to stay the god temporarily by setting him on the intended track that would bring him back to the island, at the correct time, the following year. In other words, this was not murder, manslaughter, or self-defence but, rather, the Polynesian way of setting things back on track.[19]

A counter-argument by Obeyesekere suggests that the myth of Cook as god emanated not from the Hawaiians, but from the British themselves. Cook was worn out and, far from being the benevolent leader he has been construed to have been, had become increasingly violent and autocratic towards all. By the time he returned to Hawaii, he had had occasion to flog almost half his crew, to cut their supply of grog, and limit their shore leaves. His summary treatment of the natives was therefore so much on a par with that of his own men, that he was lucky not to have been murdered long before the final encounter on the beach. This reinterpretation of native testimony, emanating as it does from the pen of a self-confessed native Sri Lankan, has prompted a brilliant, if excoriating, response from Sahlins, who sees it as an ironic combination of "a dubious anthropology and a fashionable morality . . . that . . . deprives the Hawaiians of their own voice" (Sahlins 1995:5).[20]

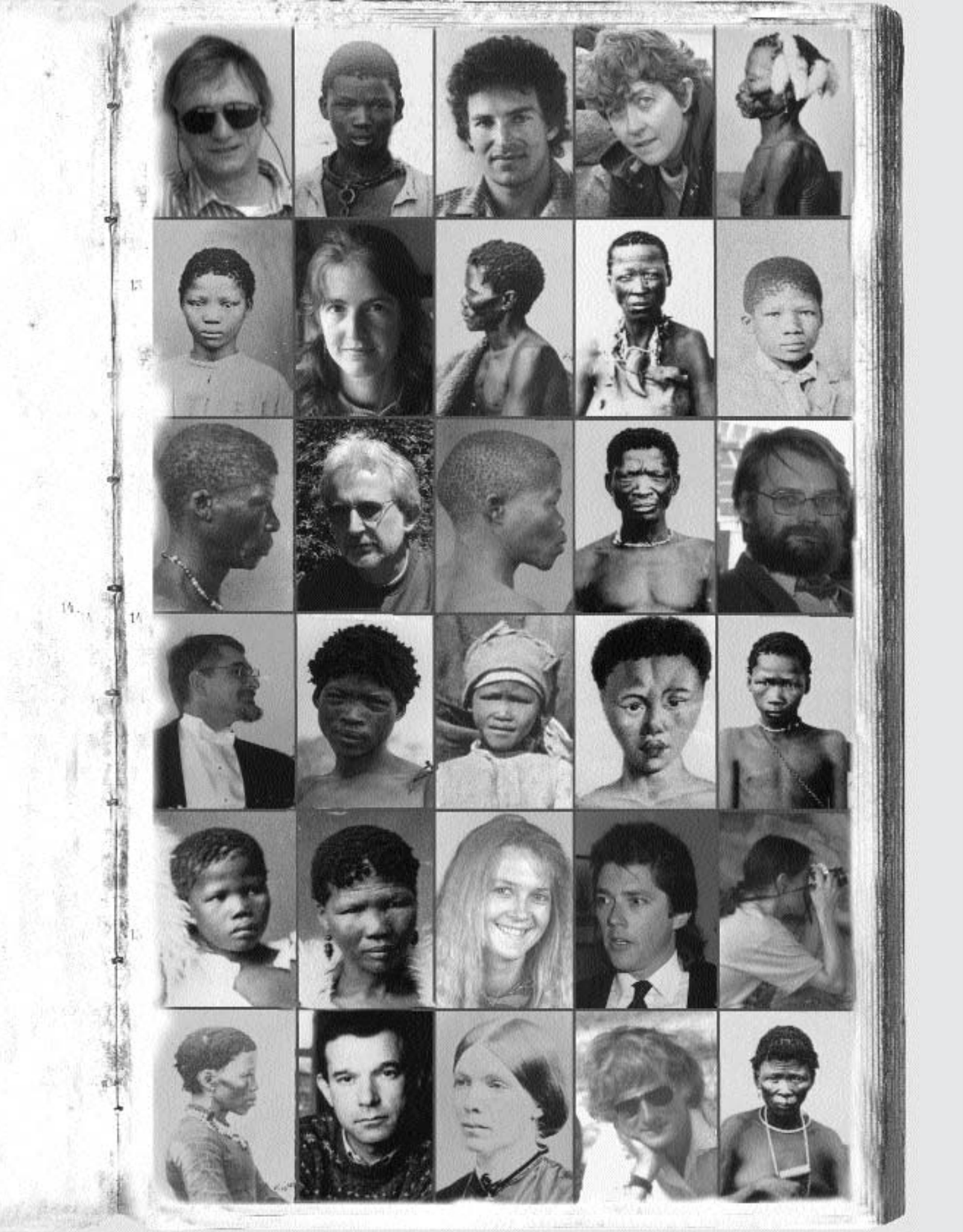
Debates such as this are central to the disciplines of anthropology, history, and their 'bastard child', ethno-history, because they address the thoughts and views of the otherwise silent 'Other'. The Talmudic attentiveness with which scholars like Sahlins and Dening dissect the native words in a sailor's log, furnishes the evidence for their case. The Cook debate will engage many scholars for many years but, for now, let us examine but one small detail that links Khoisan bodies and Polynesian minds. It concerns a Polynesian belief about eyes: the divine, creative power of chiefs is evident in their brilliance and their shining, which, in turn, is derived from the sun. Consequently, a distinguishing feature of gods, strangers, chiefs and sharks is their sparkling eyes, as opposed to commoners, whose folly in gazing upon a chief would render them 'burnt eyes', liable to have their eyes eaten in the course of sacrifice. Cook was said to have sparkling eyes, as were three other British victims, who were massacred 14 years later on the beach at Waimea, in Oahu. Only a few days before he was sacrificed, the young astronomer William Gooch wrote listlessly of sharks circling his boat. Gooch failed to recognise his commonality with the fish and he died for that ignorance, not because the Hawaiians were savage and the British lacking in savvy, but because Gooch was unversed in Pacific beliefs. With hindsight, then, Gooch, like Cook, might be said to have died for a somatic feature he never knew he had, but which his murderers recognised in him only too well.[21]

It is of little anthropological consequence to note that sharks have flat, dead eyes, whereas Europeans have regular human eyes, because, in the eye of the Polynesian beholder, both Gooch and Cook were invested with a dangerous commonality. Likewise, there was nothing in the hindquarters of the Cape Khoikhoi that was in any way remarkable among their own people at the Cape of Good Hope, until a new eye turned their way. Then, the size of their backsides, the length of their labia, and the number of their testicles became an issue. The supposed somatic oddness of the Khoisan people still pushes them to animality, so that even though they did not all display the same distinctions (indeed, none of them was born a monorchid), they could all be scientifically marginalised and socially ridiculed as if they did.

In the South African Museum in Cape Town is a series of photographs, mostly taken in the northern Cape, and filed generically as 'Bushman: genitalia'. It includes a few standard shots of naked women that show the thing quite blandly, as elongated labia, hanging down like tubes. Alongside these clinical examples is a sepia-coloured shot of a woman, partially clad in Western dress, with one foot resting on a chair. Her expression is bold, almost stern, its reproachfulness lending an air of eroticism to the purportedly scientific venture at hand. The inclusion of this picture in a scientific line-up is strangely shocking, and it provides a new focus for a series of intimate close-ups of some perfectly normal female genitalia. These were shot in the 1920s when close-ups required a greater proximity to the subject than is demanded these days by your average telescopic lens. Given that the photographer was a man, the bets are that he was also 'white'. This was no Francis Galton with a sextant, but a white man squatting with a camera between a Khoikhoi woman's legs. However 'scientifically engaged' he might have wanted to be, the photographer must have realised that there was an element of prurience in what he was doing.[22]

What we might be seeing here, is a mixture of legitimate anthropology and covert pornography. The combination is perhaps not as dissonant as it sounds. For power is more than wealth, more than goods and profits. In the end, it is physical control, control of breeding stock, of genes and the definition of who is whom in a competitive world. Implicit in these strange close-ups in the South African Museum files, is a mix of power, domination and sexuality that has marked the colonial venture from its sixteenth-century roots until the present day.

How Saartje would have laughed!



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John Parkington is Professor of Archaeology at the University of Cape Town. He has spent most of his research career establishing the precolonial history of indigenous people in the Western Cape. This has led him to excavate a number of caves and rock shelters in the Clanwilliam district and along the coast, particularly near to Elands Bay. He has also excavated open shell midden sites of various ages and has participated in the recording of several thousand rock painting sites. His objective is to integrate the different kinds of archaeological information into a history of human settlement.

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Edwin Wilmsen has worked with the people of Botswana as an anthropologist and in economic development since 1973. He has taught at the University of the Witwatersrand and lectured widely throughout southern Africa. His book, *Land Filled With Flies* is a detailed deconstruction of the colonial 'Bushman' image. He is currently a research fellow in anthropology at the University of Texas.

Leslie Witz is a lecturer in the Department of History at the University of the Western Cape. He is the author of *Write Your Own History* (1988), and is presently completing a doctoral thesis on the 1952 Jan van Riebeeck Tercentenary .

Notes

Foreword *Marilyn Martin*
Notes
1. Personally I prefer to use the collective term Khoisan where appropriate; as an Afrikaans-speaker I have heard the derogation in 'Boesman' too often to be able to use it.
2. The divisions and contestations reside in the very use of the terms 'coloured', 'so-called coloured' and 'black'. For insight into the current debates I refer readers to two articles in *Die Suid-Afrikaan* (55, December 1995/January 1996): Kadalie, B. *Coloured Consciousness: Building or Dividing the Nation?* and Van der Merwe, A. *Tweede Swart Afrikaanse Skrywersimposium*.
3. Recent legislation to restore land excludes San groups; the government of national unity has opened a desk for indigenous affairs to address the situation of the approximately 200 people who remain in the Karoo and Kalahari Desert (*The Sunday Times*, 25 June 1995).
4. These exhibitions were: *Ezakwantu: Beadwork from the Eastern Cape* (1993); *Muslim Art from the Western Cape* (1994); *Anne Frank in the World* (1994); *IGugu lamaNdebele-Pride of the Ndebele* (1994–5).
5. The photo-documentary exhibition, *Anne Frank in the World*, which came from the Anne Frank Centre in Amsterdam, traced the story of Anne Frank and her family; a complementary photographic exhibition, curated by the Mayibuye Centre, University of the Western Cape, described apartheid and resistance. But we missed the opportunity of telling our own story of genocide.
6. These exhibitions were: *Where We Live—Panels by the People of Cape Town* (1992); *Made in Wood—Work from the Western Cape* (1992–3); *Picturing our World—Contemporary Images of the Western Cape* (1993); *District Six—Image and Representation* (1995–6), organised in collaboration with the District Six Museum, Cape Town.

Mutilation and Meaning *Stephen Greenblatt*
Notes
1. On the problem of the term as used in ordinary speech, there is a remarkable footnote in J.L. Austin's "A Plea for Excuses": "You have a donkey, so have I, and they graze in the same field. The day comes when I conceive a dislike for mine. I go to shoot it, draw a bead on it, fire: the brute falls in its tracks. I inspect the victim, and find to my horror that it is **your** donkey. I appear on your doorstep with the remains and say—what? 'I say, old sport, I'm awfully sorry, etc., I've shot your donkey **by accident**? Or **'by mistake'**? Then again, I go to shoot my donkey as before, draw a bead on it, fire—but as I do so the beasts move, and to my horror yours falls. Again the scene on the doorstep—what do I say? 'By mistake'? Or 'by accident'?" (Austin 1979:185 n.1). In the light of this analysis, it would not be legitimate to call the circumcision of the anthropologist's sons either an accident or a mistake.
2. See Jacques Derrida (1982: 307–30). As will become clear, my interest is not in the indeterminacy that Derrida argues to be the condition of iterability but rather in the historical contests over meaning.
3. It is striking that *Deuteronomy* also explicitly forbids other ritual mutilations: "Ye are the children of the Lord your God: ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead" (14:1).
4. This moralisation seems based upon the passage in *Deuteronomy* 10 from which I have quoted: "Only the LORD had a delight in thy fathers to love them, and he chose their seed after them, even you above all people, as it is this day. Circumcise therefore the foreskin of your heart, and be no more stiffnecked. For the LORD your God is God of gods, and Lord of lords, a great God, a mighty, and a terrible, which regardeth not persons, nor taketh reward" (10:15–17). See also *Deuteronomy* 30:6 and *Jeremiah* 4:4 and 9:26.
5. I owe this reference to Lowell Gallagher.
6. The *Oxford English Dictionary* attributes the first printed use of the term Juggernaut to W. Bruton (1638) in *Hakluyt's Voyages*.
7. See the brief critique of Catz's thesis by Robert Viale in his French translation of Mendes Pinto (Viale 1991:22).
8. Subtitle: *Being an essay to a new method of observing the most important movings of the muscles of the head, as they are the neerest and immediate organs of the voluntarie and impetuous motions of the mind. With the proposall of a new nomenclature of the muscles.*
9. He provides a sample of this language which English was capable of rendering in utterances like the following: "obedient alma honasa hul; generati alvah ableuvisse insi locat amorvissem humanet rokoas salah axoret eltah alvah hon ono olephad in se mori melet eri neri meleare; okoriko olo ophaus narratus asa sadoas loboim olet amni Phikepeaa ebellrer elme bosai in re meal olike" (Tany 1655:54–5). I owe this passage to Thomas Luxon.
10. If we think that the hands are too limited a means of human communication compared with the tongue, Bulwer proposes to show us that their range of expressiveness is actually greater than that of words. In a flight of rhetorical enthusiasm that leads him to forget that he is himself, after all, using words, Bulwer offers his proof by launching into a list of what we do with our hands:

> Sue, entreat, beseech, solicit, call, allure, entice, dismiss, grant, deny, reprove, are suppliant, fear, threaten, abhor, repent, pray, instruct, witness, accuse, declare our silence, condemn, absolve, show our astonishment, proffer, refuse, respect, give honour, adore, worship, despise, prohibit, reject, challenge, bargain, vow, swear, imprecate, humor, allow, give warning, command, reconcile, submit, defy, affront, offer injury, complement, argue, dispute, explode, confute, exhort, admonish, affirm, distinguish, urge, doubt, reproach, mock, approve, dislike, encourage, recommend, flatter, applaud, exhalt, humble, insult, adjure, yield, confess, cherish, demand, crave, covet, bless, number, prove, confirm, congee, salute, congratulate, entertain, give thanks, welcome, bid farewell, chide, brawl, consent, upbraid, envy, reward, offer force, pacify, invite, justify, contemn, disdain, disallow, forgive, offer peace, promise, perform, reply, invoke, request, repell, charge, satisfy, deprecate, lament, condole, bemoan, put in mind, hinder, praise, commend, brag, boast, warrant, assure, inquire, direct, adopt, rejoice, show gladness, complain, despair, grieve, are sad and sorrowful, cry out, bewail, forbid, discomfort, ask, are angry, wonder, admire, pity, assent, order, rebuke, savor, slight, dispraise, disparage, are earnest, importunate, refer, put to compromise, plight our faith, make a league of friendship, strike one good luck, give handsel, take earnest, buy, barter, exchange, show our agreement, express our liberality, show our benevolence, are illiberal, ask mercy, exhibit grace, show our displeasure, fret, chafe, fume, rage, revenge, crave audience, call for silence, prepare for an apology, give liberty of speech, bid one take notice, warn one to forbear, keep off and be gone; take acquaintance, confess ourselves deceived by a mistake, make remonstrance of another's error, weep, give a pledge of aid, comfort, relieve, demonstrate, redargue, persuade, resolve, speak to, appeal, profess a willingness to strike, show ourselves convinced, say we know somewhat which yet we will not tell, present a check for silence, promise secrecy, protect our innocence, manifest our love, enmity, hate, and despite; provoke, hyperbolically extoll, enlarge our mirth with jollity and triumphant acclamations of delight, note and signify another's actions, the manner, place, and time, as how, where, when, etc. (Bulwer 1644:20).

This reminder that the Renaissance was the great age of lists is not likely to persuade many readers that "postures of the hand" exceed "the numerical store of words," but it is enough to license Bulwer's lengthy and painstaking analysis of gestures, from scratching the head with one finger (an "**effeminate** gesture bewraying a **close inclination to vice**" [130]) to putting forth the middle finger, the rest drawn into a fist ("a natural expression of **scorn** and **contempt**" [132]).
11. After giving an account of circumcision as a wide-spread practice, Bulwer carefully acknowledges that the Jews were not simply imitating neighbouring peoples: "Not that the **Hebrewes** took this fashion from the **Egyptians,** but from the Covenant God made with **Abraham,** *Genesis* 16. "But the Circumcision of Abraham was not new, but at length approved of and sanctified by God" (1650 ed.:210–11). Similarly, he cites the moralisation of circumcision in attempt to explain the departure from nature: "As for Circumcision commanded by God, it was for a moral reason, and had an expresse command; otherwise, as a Grave Divine expresseth it in the case of **Abraham,** as a natural man, it would have seemed the most foolish thing in the world, a matter of great reproach, which would make him, as it made his posterity after him, to seem ridiculous to all the world" (214).

The Self Image of Jacob Adams *Robert Ross*
Notes
1. As formulated, Moodie's essentialist, racist view is both unacceptable and false. Philip's more sociological position is basically right, but heavily exaggerated.
2. Case 13, 16 June 1768, ARA VOC 10968.
3. The documents on this case, some 500 pages long, are to be found in ARA VOC 10952, and also in the Cape Archives.
4. There is one other uncertain case. Heese (1994:227) refers to a certain Kees, sentenced in 1787, as a "Hottentot-Boesman." As I read the case, "Boschman" refers not to a social category, but to an individual with that name. See ARA VOC 10986.
5. Unfortunately it is not clear which of the three missionaries, Bonatz, Küehnel and Küester, then present at Genadendal held the conversation, but as they all worked very closely together, and were of much the same mind, this blemish is not very serious.
6. Presumably the modern Bamboesberg, the most south-westerly outlier of the Drakensberg escarpment, between modern Steynsburg and Sterkstroom.
7. This is clearly a translation of "Bosch", which in South Africa is normally rendered as "Bush".

Trophy Skulls, Museums and the San *Alan G. Morris*
Acknowledgements
I would like to thank all those curators of institutions in South Africa and around the world who have allowed me access to their osteological holdings and to the written documentation about the specimens. Rosemary Powers of the British Museum (Natural History) was especially helpful in providing me with a wealth of information about the origin of many of the Khoisan individuals stored in London. Professor Johannes Raum of Munich was kind enough to alert me to Lakeman's description of the boiling of skulls, and Mrs Elise Fuller of the University of Cape Town was most giving of her time to help in translation. Professor J.C. de Villiers was not only willing to search his own files about Namaqualand history, but was also very kind in gathering information from Dominee Moller. Stella Branca, her brother Willem Steenkamp and her nephew (also Willem Steenkamp) provided invaluable assistance in tracking the events which led to the arrival of Koos Sas's skull in Stellenbosch. Mrs Branca deserves special thanks for being kind enough to read through the manuscript and provide critical comment. She has also provided permission for the publication of Willempie's photographs of the dead Koos Sas.
Notes
1. From the original letter dated 9 November 1847 from Whitle to his parents. Letters are the property of Gordon Everson of England and the quotation concerning the heads was sent to me by Mr Denver Webb of King William's Town.
2. Steenkamp, W.P. & Branca, S. (1978) *"The half century"*, unpublished manuscript, property of Stella Branca of Mowbray, Cape Town.
3. Dominee Moller's testimony is in the form of a letter to Professor J.C. de Villiers dated 27 April 1995. The translation from Afrikaans was kindly provided by Mrs E. Fuller of the Department of Anatomy & Cell Biology.
4. The original transcript of this interview is in the possession of Professor J.C. de Villiers, and was signed by G.J. van Zyl on 5 October 1962. Again Mrs E. Fuller did the translation.

A Tale of Two Families: Wilhelm Bleek, Lucy Lloyd and the /Xam San of the Northern Cape *Janette Deacon*
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Images of //Kabbo *Michael Godby*
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With Camera and Gun in Southern Africa: Inventing the Image of Bushmen *c.*1880 to 1935 *Paul S. Landau*
Acknowledgements
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Figs. 14 & 17: Jones & Doke, 1937. Jhb.: Witwatersrand University Press.
Fig. 15: Duggan-Cronin, 1942. Kimberley: Alexander McGregor Museum.
Fig. 16: Johnson 1940. New York: J.B. Lippincott.
Fig. 26: Green 1936. London: Stanley Paul.
Notes
1. For the purpose of this paper I adopt the word bushmen without the exculpatory quotes, along the lines advanced by Gordon (1992a), not for people—I do not want to give a name to anyone—but for the *images* of various people in the perceptions of others. Bushmen thus includes not only many "San" and indigent Khoe-speakers, but "Sarwa"

people (Motzafi-Haller 1994), some Nama, subordinate BaKgalagadi, and other ethnic mixes. Bushmen did not mean San. Where necessary I have used the term "Hottentot", in quotes since it is universally considered offensive. But with "bushmen", too, I wish to stress that I am not discussing the attributes of the actual people. If readers, feeling constrained and yet implicated by the word, detest its use, then let them consider that this essay is a contribution to understanding why.
2. For a very useful overview, incidently noting the dearth of studies on travel photography, see Roberts (1988a). Geary (1988) remains the most impressive specific study of photography in Africa. For South Africa, Bensusan (1966) is not very helpful. It must be noted that a signal lacuna in the material of this paper is the postcard. Due to various constraints, I could not attempt to treat this important medium for the southern African photograph's disbursal (Roberts 1988b).
3. Mathias Guenther (1980) has treated the topic, and especially the denigration of bushmen, but he has less to say about why the supposedly *bestial* became "harmless". Maughan-Brown (1983) sees the shift as cloaking whites' racism from their own consciences.
4. By hunting literature I refer to the abundance of volumes devoted to southern and central African hunting, which form the subgenres sampled here. "Travel" literature is a more permeable rubric, whether in books or magazines. I wish it to signify a narrative perspective centered in mobility through an African landscape, mostly (but not necessarily) chronological in progression, and in which other people are "encountered" as objects of attention. It is in the same aspect, i.e. the "encounter", that such people are photographed—not, for instance, as personalities.
5. Montaigne, *Essays* (bk. 1, dated 1572–4), no. 31, "Of Cannibals".
6. Bleek died in 1875, and most of the photos (of Cape Town prison labourers) date from the mid 1880s. *Bushman Folklore* (1911) was a posthumous collection.
7. For more on the relationship between photography, "anthropometry" and colonial anthropology, see Pinney (1992) and in general Edwards (1992), Wright (1987), and especially Banta & Hinsley (1986). For typologies of the British, see John Beddoe's *The Races of Britain* (1885). *The Peoples of India* was compiled by John Forbes Watson & John William Kaye; see Flukinger (1985: 53); Pinney (1991, 1992); and Washbrook (1982). Sieberling (1986:47) describes the effect of such pictures as similar to an antiquarian's portfolio, but some of the more egregious examples surpass such an analogy by their violence.
8. See Sekula (1989) for a thorough discussion here; Tagg (1988); and Bourdieu (1990) [1965] whose argument foreshadows Tagg's. Sekula, Tagg and Umberto Eco strongly imply that because "the photograph" is subject to cultural definition as an "incomplete" message in a larger system of signs, it follows that verisimilitude cannot be said to exist as an independent quality. I disagree with this view.
9. It was economical to copy photos via lithography or etching before the introduction of the half-tone plate, which occurred about the time Farini's book was published.
10. Some girls fetching water, for instance, "dart[ed] into the bush as if shot" (214). Cf. Gibbons (1898:270) and Hunter (1952:232).
11. As if to put his action in contrasting perspective, Farini (1886) shortly draws attention to the "war of extermination" supposedly waged against Koranna by Bastaards, and comments that they "looked upon the killing of a black with no more compunction than on the destruction of some vermin" (369–70). Farini's real name was William Hunt. Hunt adopted an "ethnic" *nom de guerre* after he crossed Niagara Falls on a tightrope. Having seen one of the travelling bushman "exhibits" at Coney Island (cf. Parsons, 1992; Gordon, forthcoming), in 1884, the showman charged a shilling to view his own bushmen at the Royal Westminster Aquarium (Clement 1967:1).
12. T.R.H. Owen, in his 1960 book *Hunting Big Game with Gun and Camera in Africa*, calls for sportsmanship (meaning effort) in photography as well as hunting! "Each weapon has its peculiar fascination . . ." (1960:9–11).
13. Yet, tellingly, the section titled "Who's who in nature photography" included Teddy Roosevelt, who loved the gun, not the camera (ix, 191).
14. Both the photo and the trophy pointed *iconically* toward nature and the animal's or the person's 'natural' fellowship in 'the wild': they shared actual characteristics with the real beings far away, and so harkened toward them. But *indexically*, meaning as traces or imprints, the photo and the trophy diverged. The trophy was a "trace" left by the herd, a single being from a wider moment. The photo could and did bear the imprint of the entire environment.
15. For all its great merits, Lutz's and Collins's (1993) *Reading National Geographic*, is at times hurt by readings in which every pictorial element, even incongruous and contradictory ones, is seen to have hegemonic functions. Yet it is also good to bear in mind Patricia Hayes' general point that colonial photographs mostly display moments selected from the outcome of imperialism, not taken from its rougher establishment (Hayes 1994).
16. Thus photographic subjects participate in making photos, a point Jan Vansina raises (Vansina 1992). But a more significant issue here is that it does not really matter for our purposes whether the Ituri people were actually disgusted. They appear so to a viewer. Thanks to Tracy Jean Boisseau for this insight. Although it is not my focus here, a full analysis of gender in pictures of bushmen is called for, a point made separately by Deborah Posel and Patricia Hayes.
17. Those interested in the further elaboration of the figure 'bushmen' after the war should see Barnard (1989), Harraway (1988), and Wilmsen (forthcoming) for trenchant analyses.

The Proximity of Dr Bleek's Bushman
Martin Hall
Acknowledgements
I am grateful to Gavin Lucas for assistance with archival research, to the staff of Manuscripts and Archives of the University of Cape Town, the South African Library and the Cape Archives for their help and for photographic prints, and to David Bunn, Carolyn Hamilton, Michael Godby, Sandra Klopper, Paul Landau and Pippa Skotnes for invaluable discussions. Brenda Cooper read and reread versions of this paper, and improved it immensely with her comments.
Notes
1. Diary of Sir Thomas Maclear; Cape Archives A515/72.
2. "Traverse of the Roads between Mowbray and Wynberg, shewing the Principal Residences." A.A. Morshead, District Adjutant, 24th Regiment. Published by Saul Solomon and Co, Steam Lithographers, Cape Town. Cape Archives D1991/2134.
3. *Cape Argus*, 19 August 1875.
4. The only explicit criticism we have been able to find was by John Merriman in 1875. In the parliamentary consideration of the Estimates, Merriman objected to the continuation of Bleek's annual grant: "Mr Merriman objected to the item of £150 grant to Dr Bleek for prosecuting Bushman researches", which he though very nonsensical and absurd. "The money would be far better spent in keeping the sons of three Kafirs at school." *Cape Argus*, 24 June 1875.
5. Bleek, writing to Ernst Haeckel in Germany in April 1871: "In the parcel you will also find a hamper for bottles, which our young Bushman carried during our expedition." (UCT/BC151/C12.12.1). The "young Bushman" was /A!kunta.
6. Letter from Bleek to Sir George Grey, 21 April 1875. South African Library MSB 223/19A.
7. Bleek to the Governor, 23 August 1870: UCT Manuscripts and Archives BC151/C11.6.
8. 20 December 1870 Bishop Colenso to Bleek. UCT Manuscripts and Archives BC151/C13.129.
9. Lucy Lloyd to Dr Felice Finzi (Florence), June 1871. University of Cape Town Manuscripts and Archives BC151.
10. Bleek to Sir George Grey, 12 April 1872. South African Library MSB 223/19A.
11. Bleek to Colonial Secretary, 9 April 1872. Cape Archives CO 4172/B42.
12. Selkirk was a partner in the firm of Lawrence and Selkirk, which had been formed in Cape Town in 1866. Lawrence had gone north, diamond prospecting, in 1869 (Bull & Denfield 1970). As Michael Godby shows (this volume), Selkirk was also responsible for the "Huxley" style photograph of //Kabbo (Bleek & Lloyd 1911, facing page 452), captioned "photographed at the Breakwater, 1871", which must have been taken before 16 February 1871 when //Kabbo was discharged into Bleek's custody in Mowbray.
13. !Kweiten ta //ken arrived in Cape Town in June 1874 and left again in January 1875 (Bleek & Lloyd 1911), and so her photograph must have been taken in this period. For the second, unpublished pose in the same photographic session, see Cape Archives J868.
14. UCT Manuscripts and Archives: BC151.G1.1. Published in Spohr 1962:34.
15. It is often assumed that /Han≠kass'o only came to Mowbray in 1878. However, Lucy Lloyd reported that "he was . . . an excellent narrator and remained with us from January 10th, 1878, to December, 1879" (1911:xi). Bleek's statement of expenses for 1871 included the following entry: "Food etc. for Klein Jantje (old Jantje's son-in-law) from June 22nd to July 28th, 1871, 36 days at 1/6d per day £2 14s 0d" (UCT/BC151/C11.13). Clearly, /Han≠kass'o did not provide any testimony in 1871, and was probably brought to The Hill as part of Bleek's plan to get his informant's wives to stay at the house.
16. Hermann was born in 1841 in Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany. He was granted a travelling bursary to paint landscapes while on a sea voyage from Europe to the East and stopped in Cape Town in 1869, staying until about 1871 or 1872. Hermann returned to settle in the Cape in 1875.
17. UCT Manuscripts and Archives BC151.
18. Bleek and Lloyd 1911: facing page 101-male, right profile, measuring rod, dated 1880 and labelled as a "grass bushmen" (the photograph deviates from the ethnographic stereotype in that the subject is fully clothed; facing page 36-male figure, left profile, measuring rod, undated; facing page 52-three men, one left profile, two right profile, measuring rod, undated. These photographs were also published as 6½ x 4½ inch format cards, attributed to Hermann's studio (South African Library collections).
19. UCT Manuscripts and Archives BC151/C15.6.
20. The South African National Gallery has a recently acquired mixed album of watercolours and sketches, and a set of accessioned water-colours. Examples of town scenes are Cape Town waterfront from the front of the Castle (No.1428, dated 1884), Cape Town from the Old Quarry (No.1426), and Table Bay from Zonnebloem (No. 1429). There are also several views of the town across Table Bay, incorporating seascapes. Several of the landscapes are forest scenes and tree studies painted at Knysna.
21. South African Library Collection. The convention of the man sitting and his wife standing was established in about 1860, with J.J.E. Mayall's portrait of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, posed in order to disguise the great difference in height between the Queen and her husband. This remained a highly popular pose for the rest of the century (Heyert 1979).
22. Cape Archives J868.
23. Price's reference to the "Bushman family" suggests a reworking of hearsay as reportage; the family must have been (≠Kásin, !Kweiten ta //ken and their children, last together in Mowbray four years earlier.
24. UCT Manuscripts and Archives: BC151/C15.14. 28 February 1878.
25. Bleek to Sir George Grey, South African Library MSB 223/19A, 7 May 1874.
26. Anthing had been sent to Bushmanland to investigate the situation in 1862, discovering evidence for wholesale extermination of the /Xam over previous years, including massacres of groups of 200 /Xam, driving the /Xam to turn to banditry in their turn. As part of his attempts to deal with the situation, Anthing brought three /Xam to Cape Town in February 1863 (Deacon 1991).
27. Diä!kwain had been accused of stealing sheep by a farmer, Jacob Casper Kruger. Diä!kwain shot Kruger in self-defence, and the farmer died a few kilometres away. When apprehended by a posse of Special Constables (after being tracked for a month), Diä!kwain freely admitted shooting Kruger, explaining that Kruger had threatened to return and exterminate the entire /Xam camp (Deacon 1991).

***!Khwa-Ka Hhouiten Hhouiten* "The Rush of the Storm": The Linguistic Death of /Xam**
Anthony Traill
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I am indebted to K. Schoeman, Head of the Special Collection at the South African Library, Cape Town, for his generous help in sending me relevant parts of his forthcoming book, *J.J. Kicherer en die Vroeë Sending, 1799–1805*, for introducing me to the original record of the Questions to the Missionaries in the Krynauw Collection, and for sharing with me his knowledge of the London Missionary Society Missions to the Bushmen. Nigel Penn kindly sent me a copy of his outstanding Ph.D. thesis on *The Northern Cape Frontier Zone* and I have plundered that extensive intellectual frontier for many details. To Tim Couzens must go the credit for locating the records of the trial of the Tooren gang in the Cape Archives. Mike de Jongh has shared his knowledge of the "Karretjies Mense" with me and has generously provided a number of photographs which appear in this paper with his permission. Patrick Pearson provided me with copies of archival documents relating to the Rhenish Missionary station at De Tuin. Garth Sampson climbed into his attic to find a number of his papers that would satisfy my curiosity about evidence of early bilingualism amongst the /Xam of the Upper Seacow River. Helize van Vuuren gave me a number of references to /Xam bilingualism among the Boer farmers interviewed by G.R. von Wielligh. David Morris kindly sent me the photograph of Abraham Berend and gave me permission to reproduce it. The sample of L. Lloyd's research notes was compiled from material in the Bleek Collection in the Manuscripts and Archives Department of the University of Cape Town and is reproduced with the permission of the Principal Librarian. Janette Deacon, David Morris and Karel Schoeman provided valuable comments on an earlier draft of this paper and Lynne Murphy assisted with expert editorial advice. I am most grateful for all this assistance and co-operation.
Notes
1. The Khoe and San groups who served in the Bushman Battalion in Namibia and who moved to South Africa in 1990 do not belong to the South African Khoisan tradition.
2. Traditional names for areas of South Africa have been used instead of the current provincial names in the interests of historical transparency.
3. Permission to reproduce this photograph from M. de Jongh is gratefully acknowledged as is the copy of the tape-recording on which these remarks are based.
4. There are also a number of Khoe borrowings in addition to the four identified by W.H.I. Bleek (see above), including *ddebbi* "kapater", *ddoro* "tinderbox", *hagu* "pig", *kei* "grow", *ss'o* "lungs". It would be surprising if Khoe influences in /Xam were restricted to four words given the fact that "they had been in contact with Khoikhoi pastoralists for a millenium or more . . ." (Deacon, forthcoming). See also Penn (1995b:182) for a discussion of evidence of what must have been a tradition of /Xam-Khoe bilingualism in parts of the Colony arising from this extended contact; this would have been a potential source of a sustained linguistic influence.
5. Presumably Bleek had managed by then to learn the ". . . local Hollands . . ." which he had found so difficult to follow 15 years previously. He also ". . . did not understand much Hollands . . ." then (Spohr 1962:10).
6. He had another /Xam name, /Uhi-ddoro (Bleek & Lloyd 1911[1968]:303 fn.§). This probably means Smoke-firestick. One wonders whether Oud Jantje survives as Dream because Smoke-firestick is simply not evocative enough!
7. Deacon (forthcoming) places the Bleek and Lloyd informants in the group of over 200 /Xam who were "rounded up" as part of the Northern Border Police action against the Koranna in 1868. They were either convicted of theft or distributed amongst farmers as labourers. This suggests that the Tooren gang could have been victims of a miscarriage of justice. Of course, this is a possibility. E. and D. Bleek's idea that the informants had been sentenced merely "for eating part of a stolen ox, I believe" is dismissed by Schmidt (forthcoming). According to //Kabbo himself he was arrested with his son, Witbooi Tooren (//goo-ka-!ui), and son-in law, Klein Jantje Tooren (/han≠kass'o), when eating a spring-

bok in the company of members of his family (Bleek & Lloyd 1911[1968]:29, 295).
8. Kicherer claimed that he and Edwards had learnt some /Xam but not very well particularly because of difficulties with the clicks (Examination of Missionaries by the South African Missionary Society, Cape Town, February 1801. South African Library MSB 849,1 (36)). Given the nature of /Xam phonetics, this sounds like a gross overestimation of his and Edwards' linguistic progress and the fact that he always relied on an ever-present interpreter suggests he was aware of this.
9. Penn considers evidence that there was a good deal of linguistic communication between Khoe and San along the Frontier during this period (1995b:182). This must have involved bilingualism of some kind because of the radical linguistic differences between !Kwi and Khoekhoe languages. This bilingualism was not one-way (Kakkerlak, Smit's /Xam interpreter at Toornberg came from these parts), but one may assume that the relative status of the San, Khoe and Dutch communities would have dictated the patterns, and that the sociolinguistic pressure would have been primarily on the San to learn other languages. Penn assumes that the Sneeuberg Bushmen were not linguistically /Xam (Penn 1995b:185). This is possible, but the differences would probably have been of the order that characterised the minor differences amongst the /Xam dialects. After all, Kakkerlak was competent in a dialect of /Xam that he had learned in the "Achter Sneeuberg" and this served him in Bushmanland. In fact the name given to the Sneeuberg San by the colonists, Swey ei, is probably a derivative of ss'o !e which is part of the /Xam name for the Berg Bushmen, namely !kaoke-ss'o !e (Bleek & Lloyd 1911 [1968]:144).

Decolonising the Mind: Steps Toward Cleansing the Bushman Stain from Southern African History
Edwin Wilmsen
Acknowledgements
These ideas were expanded in my critique of the 'Bushman' paradigm in my book *Land Filled with Flies: A Political Economy of the Kalahari* (University of Chicago Press, 1989), but they are developed here in a more global form. Two essays by my long time friend and colleague, Hartwig Isernhagen, have been crucial in the crystallisation of these ideas: "A constitutional inability to say yes: Thorstein Veblen, the reconstruction program of The Dial, and the development of American modernism after World War I" (*REAL: The Yearbook of Research in English and American Literature* 1:153–190, 1982) and "Tribal and academic knowledge: constructing 'the West' and 'the Native'" (Zeitschrift fÅr Kanada-Studien 24:87–106, 1993). And, of course, Ngũgi wa Thiong'o *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (James Curry, 1986). More recently, my thinking has been greatly stimulated by Francis Barker, *The Culture of Violence: Essays on Tragedy and History* (University of Manchester Press, 1993). This essay also owes much to Leo Marx (1964), *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (Oxford University Press), to Ana Maria Alonso (1988), "The effects of truth: re-presentations of the past and the 'imaging of community'" (*Journal of Historical Sociology* 1:33–57), and to David Bunn (1994) "'Our wattled cot': mercantile and domestic space in Thomas Pringle's African landscapes" (W. Mitchell, ed., *Landscape and Power*:127–74, University of Chicago Press). I have drawn freely from these works without indicating specific paraphrasing (in three cases, short quotes) in order not to interrupt the discursive flow in an essay of this kind. A much longer version titled "God eats flies: ethnographic complicity in the construction of alien others" is in preparation which will carry full documentation of these intellectual debts. A fellowship from the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation gave me the freedom to read and think about the subject in ways that I could not otherwise have done. The essay was written while I was a Senior Simon Fellow in the Department of Social Anthropology, University of Manchester.

Between the Lines: Some Remarks on 'Bushman' Ethnicity *Pieter Jolly*
Acknowledgements
I am grateful to the Librarian, Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, for permission to photograph plates from books in this library and to reproduce the photograph of San rainmakers from the Stanford Collection. I thank Sandra Klopper for comments on some of the plates reproduced in this article, as well as for pointing me to the article by James Clifford which I have cited here, and Ben Maclennan for information related to his interview with Paulus, the principal Dordrecht informant.
Notes
1. This informant and others who claimed to be "Bushman" descendants were interviewed in 1994 for a film on interaction between San people, their descendants, and the relationships that were established between San and other groups. I was involved in the making of the film at the time, and evaluated their testimony from video tapes of interviews which were conducted with these people by others, as well as from other oral data collected earlier by Ben Maclennan from Paulus, the principal informant.
2. See Parkington (1984) and Guenther (1986a) for discussions of the ways in which the terms "Bushman", "Soaqua" etc. were employed in early accounts of the inhabitants of the Cape, and Humphreys (1995) on the construction of ethnic identities for precolonial populations in South Africa.
3. It is possible that these were "Sonquas", people living by hunting and gathering and attached to the Namaquas, but the point is that the two groups were so similar in appearance and weaponry that Meerhoff was unable to distinguish between them.
4. Interestingly, Thompson goes on to state that the situation of the Korannas at that time "exhibits the obvious process by which the Bushman race have been originally driven back from the pastoral state to that of huntsman and robber" (1968:33), a theory supported by Philip, Pringle and Buxton (Anonymous nd.:5–6) as well as Andrew Smith (1830:173), but strongly contested by others (Anonymous nd.). Current debates are often older than we realise.
5. A good example of the active promotion of "Bushmanness" for financial gain is that of Kagga Kamma, a well-known farm in the Western Cape, where "Bushmen" are displayed for the benefit of paying visitors to the farm.
6. This was also the conclusion to which Ben Maclennan had come after conducting an interview with Paulus, before this man had been interviewed by others.
7. See Spiegel and Boonzaaier (1988) on the promotion and invention of tradition and ethnicity in apartheid South Africa.
8. While recording oral histories in Lesotho, related to relationships which may have developed between the Sotho and San people, I was almost a victim of a similar scheme designed to entrap unwary anthropologists and ethno-tourists interested in the "Baroa" (San). I was taken to a small settlement by a person who told me that he knew of people staying there who could speak a San language and who had been living as hunter-gatherers in caves, where they painted, until very recently. One of these "Baroa" had gone to the lengths of fabricating a small bow and arrow as part of his act, and gave a quite convincing imitation of the manner in which a late twentieth–century "Bushman" might be expected to speak and behave. He took me to a shelter nearby and showed me paintings which he claimed that he and his fellow "Baroa" had made. My initial excitement was tempered, however, when I examined the testimony of these people more closely, and my consequent doubts concerning the authenticity of my informants' information were confirmed when translation of my interpreter's remarks to the "Bushman" informants revealed that he was cleverly leading the informants so that they gave the correct ethnographic information in reply to my questions concerning their supposed hunter-gatherer lifestyle.

Praise to the Bushman Ancestors of the Water: the Integration of San-related Concepts in the Beliefs and Ritual of a Diviners' Training School in Tsolo, Eastern Cape *Frans E. Prins*
Acknowledgements
I would like to thank David Wopula who acted as interpreter and assistant during the field–work. The inhabitants of Gqaqala for their courtesy and friendliness during my stay. Irene Staehelin for kindly lending me her photographs taken during one fieldtrip. This paper benefited from long discussions with Sian Hall on theoretical and conceptual issues.

From 'Lords of the Desert' to 'Rubbish People':
The Colonial and Contemporary State of the Nharo of Botswana *Mathias Guenther*
Notes
1. See Guenther (1990b) and Schott (1955), also see Fritsch (1906) who, in a review of Passarge's Bushman book, accused the author of fabrication, exaggeration and misconception.
2. For more on this point see Guenther (1992a:96–9).
3. It is to be understood that the conditions here described, in the "ethnographic present", pertain to the period when I conducted the bulk of my field–work, from 1968 to 1970. At that time the existential, economic and social situation of the farm Bushmen was considerable worse from than what it appears to be today (basing my impression on more recent times on two brief return trips to Ghanzi, one in 1983, the other in 1991). Throughout the ensuing two decades a succession of improvements came about, thanks to the oftentimes enlightened development policies and actions on the part of the Botswana government.
Most of these derive from a massive, multipart and phase omnibus development scheme that was conceived and adopted by government in 1975 (the so-called "Project Memorandum LG.32"). I have described some of these developments in detail elsewhere (Guenther 1986b:296–320; also see Wily 1982). Hopefully, these policies will continue to guide those officials charged with the social and economic welfare of what may be the nation's most vulnerable and most exploitable ethnic minority. Concern has been expressed by colleagues who have recently worked in Botswana about two schemes in particular, as capable of seriously undermining that welfare. One is the "Tribal Grazing Lands Policy" which was introduced the same year as the omnibus development project. It is a land and cattle ownership and management scheme that holds the threat of pauperising and proletarianising most of the country's Bushman citizens (Stephen 1983; Hitchcock 1982). Another is the more recent move to relocate forcefully the Bushmen who live and herd their few stock in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve, onto poorer land (Hitchcock 1985).
4. For more detailed accounts of the social and economic problems faced by the farm Bushmen of Ghanzi, see Guenther (1976, 1977, 1986b) and Childers (1976).
5. To some extent these demands and expectations became fulfilled about a decade later. One part of the massive Bushman development project conceived in the early 1970s consisted of setting aside a number of farms, near and at some distance from the farms, at which to settle Bushmen, and set up their own cooperative-style ranching operations as well as schools and stores. As reported elsewhere (Guenther 1986b:304–7), a number of such settlements have been created in the district.

Fashioning the Bushman in Van Riebeeck's Cape Town, 1952 and 1993 *Rob Gordon, Ciraj Rassool and Leslie Witz*
Notes
1. See C. Rassool & L. Witz, '*South Africa: A World in One Country: Moments in International Tourist Encounters with Wildlife, the Primitive and the Modern*. Africa Seminar, University of Cape Town, September 1994 for an account and analysis of the cultural politics of South African tourism.
2. See Hylton White (1995), *In the Tradition of the Forefathers: Bushman Traditionality at Kagga Kamma*, Cape Town, for a study of the complexity of Bushman identity at Kagga Kamma. See also the article by Buntman in this catalogue.
3. Tourists to Cape Town during 1994 have witnessed a series of history storyboards displayed at the Waterfront. In order to address criticisms and some misgivings about representations of Cape Town's past at the Waterfront, these histories had been commissioned by the Waterfront Company from the Cape Town History Project at the University of Cape Town (N. Worden, talk presented at Symbols for a Democratic Cape Town, conference organised by the Mayibuye Centre and the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa, 30 March 1993.) While these do go some way towards presenting an alternative history, these remain overshadowed by a pervasive set of British imperial codes.
4. Eco-Explorers, "guarantee the most interesting eco-experiences" and now undertake tours through the Cedarberg with Bushman adventures.

Bushman Images in South African Tourist Advertising: Representation or Misrepresentation? *Barbara Buntman*
Acknowledgements
Interviews were held with the following people in 1995. I acknowledge and thank each person for the time they gave me. This project would not have been possible without their help: Roger Chennells, Gunther Komnick, Louis Liebenberg, Fran Buntman, the people of Kagga Kamma, Caroline Schmidt-Gross.
Notes
1. The appropriate term, Bushman or San, remains a strongly debated issue. The people themselves, at both Schmitsdrift and Kagga Kamma (pers. comm. 1994, 1995), and the predominant view in current academic practices indicate an acceptance of Bushman (Gordon 1992a:4–8; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989:8–9). This issue is discussed more fully in Buntman 1995.
2. The group consisted originally of 27 people, "all patrilateral kin of Dawid Kruiper" (White 1995:9), who is generally held to be the spokesperson and leader appointed by the group, although his 95-year-old father, Regopstaan Kruiper, is the most revered (Chennells, pers. comm: May, 1995). The numbers of people resident at Kagga Kamma fluctuate somewhat as members of the clan move to and from the Kalahari, but currently there are about 40 people there (Chennells, pers. comm. June 1995).
3. Michael Duiber, who accompanied Dawid Kruiper when he was invited to address the United Nation's International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs in the early 1990s. Duiber's primary obligation seems to be attending to the well-being of the Kruiper family and to taking tourists to visit the Bushmen. He has an undergraduate degree with a major in anthropology, and is almost always referred to as 'the anthropologist'.
4. The specific contribution made by photographer Paul Weinberg is important. He has produced a significant body of work in which he has documented the changing lifestyle of the Bushman people. I examine these works in a forthcoming paper.
5. I use Walter Benjamin's ideas on "authenticity" and its authority as a basis for the use of the concept, as explained by MacCannell below. "The authenticity of a thing is the essence of all that is transmissible from its beginning, ranging from its substantive duration to its testimony to the history which it has experienced. Since the historical testimony rests on authenticity, the former too, is jeopardized by reproduction when substantive duration ceases to matter". When discussing "aura", Benjamin asserts that one cannot separate the 'authentic' from its basis in ritual function and original use value (Benjamin 1970:221, 224). MacCannell argues that "the progress of modernity ('modernization') depends on its very sense of instability and inauthenticity. For moderns, reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere: in other historical periods and other cultures, in purer, simpler life-styles. In other words, the concern of moderns for "naturalness", their nostalgia and their search for authenticity are not merely casual and somewhat decadent, though harmless, attachments to the souvenirs of destroyed cultures and dead epochs. They are also components of the conquering spirit of modernity—the grounds of its unifying consciousness " (MacCannell 1976:3). This is experienced in tourism: "The rhetoric of tourism is full of manifestations of the importance of the authenticity of the relationship between tourists and what they see: the typical . . . house, the . . . very place where . . . the actual pen . . . the original manuscript . . . (etc) . . ." (MacCannell 1976:14).
6. Graburn suggests that the use of 'tribe' is avoided by many writers who consider it a colonial category imposed on indigenous groups. It was criticised firstly because it implicitly divided people into those representing an early stage of human social evolution and the so-called modern nations.

Secondly it implied "significant additional dimensions such as culture, language, territory and even race" and thirdly it acted as a labelling device to "describe a broad range of phenomena that are assumed to result for basic 'tribal identities' "(Graburn 1976:69).
7. The use of the notion of "privilege" is ambiguous as it implies a special advantage or perogative for the tourist to be able to witness or participate in an unique experience as well as giving the assurance that s/he will be treated as an honoured guest.
8. The word 'primitive' is not used in the text of the brochure and the problematics of the term are recognised. It is used, however, in parenthesis, following Torgovnick, as it encompasses some of the unstated yet subtly suggested synonyms such as savage, tribal, Third world, underdeveloped, developing, traditional, ethnic, non-western, or other. "All take the West as norm and define the rest as inferior, different, deviant, subordinate and subordinatable (Torgovnick 1990:21).
9. The identity of this group of people at Kagga Kamma is closely aligned to their concept of labour. White asserts that they argue for their appropriateness to "Bushman work" to which "they are suited by virtue of their innate identity as people of nature and as heirs to the hunter-gather tradition. "Bushman-work"entails offering services that are founded in putative attributes of Bushman-ness, such as physical and cultural characteristics, and especially bushlore." He notes, further, that they reject certain forms of wage labour "which in the Bushmen's experience have entailed poverty, prejudice and diaspora" (White 1995:34).
10. For an insight into common attitudes as to whether the Bushman state of dress or undress is significant according to some Western and/or Christian needs, see Gordon 1992a:171, 179.
11. The owners of the reserve give the Kruiper clan a certain amount of food each month which is supplemented on shopping expeditions and with the products from their modest collection of livestock which is, of course, not visible to the tourists. The situation is very different from that in the Kalahari Gemsbok Park where food is very scarce. "In the Kalahari hunting requires great effort and in energy return, is a less rewarding activity than gathering vegetable foods, which provide the major part of the diet. Nevertheless, the hunt holds a central place in the community and camp life" (Liebenberg 1990:54). White quotes, but does not identify, one of the Bushmen from Kagga Kamma.
"The owners write in the brochure that this is the 'Place of the Bushmen', but it's not our place. We hear we can hunt, but they say hunt to a point and then stop. That can easily be said, because we aren't the owners. If this was our place, then if we left we could take the wildebees on the brochure with us . . . Abejol can hunt, but now he can't. There is something in front of his eyes. One presumes it's that this isn't his own place" (White 1995:45).
12. The account of the visit is based on my personal experience at Kagga Kamma in January 1995.
13. White (1995:30–3) describes how the Bushmen of the southern Kalahari and Kalahari Gemsbok National Park have been moved around by officials and white patrons since the 1930s.
14. The group is neither culturally nor linguistically homogenous. White (1995:25) asserts that none of the Kagga Kamma Bushmen "speak the ≠Khomani language they claim as their heritage, or indeed any distinctively Bushman dialect. Instead they all speak a colloquial mixture of Afrikaans and Nama—the 'coloured' lingua franca of the northern Cape".
15. Although the Kruiper family still practise some forms of hunter-gathering and hunting when they return to the Kalahari, they are no longer socially isolated from the modern conveniences of twentieth century life, so that they rarely produce traditional artefacts for their own use. They do, however, produce small items such as beads and bows and arrows which they sell to tourists in their little curio shop. Each person is entitled to keep the total proceeds of the sale for him or herself (Chennells pers. comm. 1995).
16. In addition to other duties at Kagga Kamma, Bets Hammon is the unofficial teacher at the informal school. She told a researcher in 1994 that the children were learning to read and write in Afrikaans, but that she did not want to teach them too much as this would "Westernize them". During my 1995 visit, the importance of maintaining traditional culture was emphasised by some white staff and my Bushman informant, Rick, stressed the need for children to learn about their own cultural heritage.
17. They are selling a particularly unusual and 'rare' form of ethnicity and difference, quite distinct from those attributes one might find at other tourist venues in South Africa, for example Shakaland in Kwa-Zulu Natal (Hamilton 1993) or Gold Reef City in Johannesburg (McKenzie 1994).
18. "'White Culture', as used here, is the structural (that is, social, linguistic, and unconscious) pre-condition for the existence of 'ethnic' groups. (MacCannell 1992:129). See Vogel (1989:11–12) on how the west shapes Africa when imaging Africa.
19. Academic interest in the Bushmen is also notable. "'Bushmen' represent the most heavily scientifically commoditised grouping in the annals of human science" (Gordon 1992a:186).
20. There is a very urgent need to question notions of a unified Bushman identity generally, and at Kagga Kamma specifically. Norton argues that "[i]n constructing signs of collective identity, people not only preserve the identity they represent, they also bind themselves—and that identity—to the images that signify it"(Norton 1988:97). Although analysis of the images and presentation does not allow for an investigation into areas such as gender relations, both within the group and in terms of relationships outside the group, it remains as an issue of concern. Other issues include tradition, questions of identity and struggles with particular ways of understanding their heritage.

What is an Eland? *N!ao* and the Politics of Age and Sex in the Paintings of the Western Cape *John Parkington*
Acknowledgements
I have been fortunate to have supervised Anne Solomon's MA thesis, to have worked closely with Royden Yates, Anthony Manhire and Pippa Skotnes and to have interacted regularly with David Lewis-Williams. Inescapably I have learnt much from these colleagues and I acknowledge a great debt. I acknowledge particular debts to Yvonne Brink and Royden Yates, who discussed with me some of the contradictions and weaknesses inherent in my argument. I am extremely grateful for their critical comments. I also want to thank Sandra Prosalendis and Pippa Skotnes for sustained encouragement to write this essay.

Some Questions about Style and Authorship in Later San Paintings *Anne Solomon*
Acknowledgements
Especial thanks are due to the staff of the Natal Museum, Pietermaritzburg, particularly Aron Mazel, Val Ward and Tim Maggs, without whose help visits to the sites discussed would not have been possible. Beth Wahl assisted on the trip to Barnes' Shelter, and John Morrison and Patrick Solomon assisted on the visit to Mpongweni North. Financial assistance from the Swan Fund, Oxford, made the trip to Mpongweni North possible.

Bushmen Music: Still and Unknown *Deirdre Hansen*
Notes
Simha Aroms method of recording polyphonic music involving instruments of fixed pitch (e.g. instruments tuned to one pitch, or voices) is essentially one of record-and-playback, and requires standard technical equipment that is readily available and easy for one person to operate: two portable sterophonic recorders (designated A and B) to be used for playback and recording respectively. Recorder B requires an input jack and a microphone jack, which can be used simultaneously, and applied to either of the two tracks. A cable is needed to connect the output jack of recorder A to the input jack of the other recorder B. Other essentials are a microphone with a connecting cable, several headphone sets (for individual performers), and a terminal box with cables so that the headphones can be connected to the appropriate jack of either Recorder A or B (cf. Figure 1 in Arom 1991:107).
Basic to the recording procedure is the recording of the total musical performance (what Arom calls the TUTTI recording.

Afterwards this tape is rewound back to the beginning, and inserted into recorder A, ready for play back. This recorder must be connected by cable to the input jack of recorder B, so that it will feed the bottom right-hand track.The microphone is connected to the jack on recorder B, so as to feed the top left-hand track. A clean tape is placed in recorder B.
The next stage involves the recording of individual performers (P1, P2, P3, P4 etc.). Each wears a set of headphones, so that all of them can monitor the TUTTI recording, and the playing procedures of each performer. Performer 1 listens to the TUTTI recording through his/her headphones, and performs his/her part in time with it, the performance being recorded through the microphone on the top track of recorder B, while the TUTTI recording is copied from recorder A onto the bottom track. At this point the researcher has made the TUTTI recording and this same recording on the bottom track, while Performer 1's part exists alone on the top track.
A similar procedure is followed for performer 2. The tape just recorded on recorder B is rewound and inserted into recorder A (the TUTTI tape being set aside) and a clean tape is inserted into recorder B. Thereafter performer 2 executes his/her part. S/he will hear performer 1's part through the headphones. Recorder B will record performer 2's part on the top track, and the synchronous recording of performer 1's part will be copied from recorder A onto the bottom track. This procedure will provide synchronised, but separately recorded individual parts of performers 1and 2. The researcher can now choose to hear a playback of either performer 1 alone (on the bottom, right-hand track), or performer 2 alone (on the top, left-hand track), or even both of the players together.
The third performer can opt to play with reference to either P1 or P2 (with recorder A playing both tracks simultaneously), or to the TUTTI recording, which can be placed on recorder A. Whatever his/her choice, the new recording will have Performer 3 alone on the top track, and his chosen reference music on the bottom track. As Arom rightly asserts, without this method of recording, the analysis of Central African polyphony and polyrhythm, which is the focus of his book (1991) would not have been possible. The advantage of this recording method is that it can be applied in different ways to suit a particular type and style of music. In much more diversified polyphonic music with fixed pitches, for example, music incurring xylophones, lamellophones and harps, an individual player will play two parts together simultaneously (using left and right hands), so the technical procedures—and the musical analysis—are more complicated. By extending the basic method described above, and by developing it, Arom has invented a method for recording virtually any kind of multipart polyphonic music. (cf. Arom 1991:109–11).

"The ideas generally entertained with regard to the Bushmen and their mental condition" *J. David Lewis-Williams*
Acknowledgements
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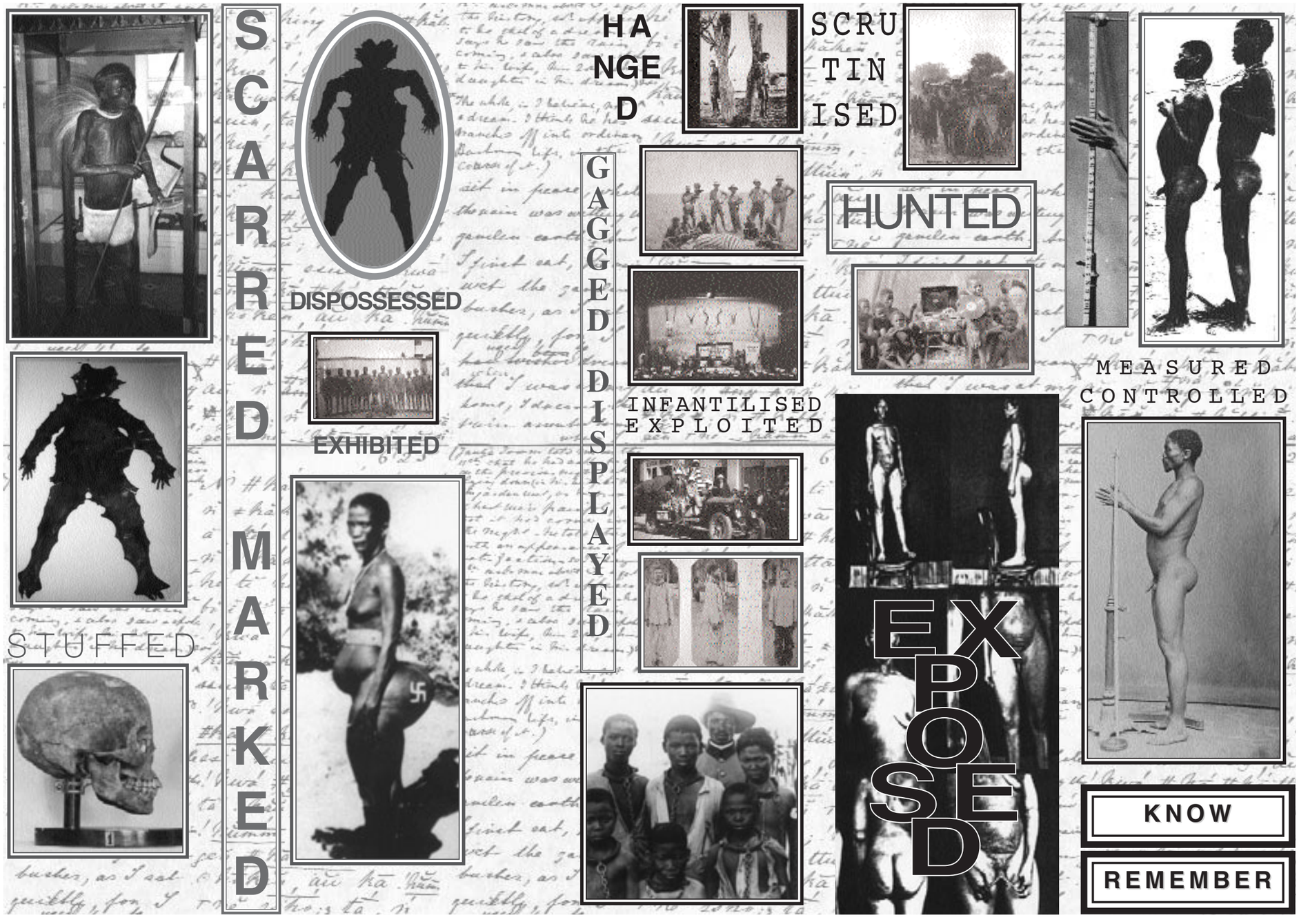
Prisoners of their Reputation? The Veterans of the 'Bushman' Battalions in South Africa *John Sharp and Stuart Douglas*
Notes
1. The erstwhile National Party government approved plans for a housing scheme at Schmidtsdrift in 1991. However, these plans were never realised as a result of uncertainty about imminent political changes.
2. The ownership of Schmidtsdrift base has been under contention since 1990, when the Tswana-speaking Tlhaping clan began to demand restitution on the basis of ancestral rights of occupancy. Members of this clan were forcibly evicted from Schmidtsdrift in 1968 as part of apartheid 'black spot' clearances. Tlhaping leaders lodged a claim for the return of Schmidtsdrift in 1992, and despite their success in this regard, they have, as yet, been unable to reoccupy the entire Schmidtsdrift base.
3. The !Xu and Khwe Trust was formed at the request of the South African army, with the express purpose of assuming the responsibilities previously carried out by the military.
4. See footnote 3.
5. Pressure from the ANC resulted in the Schmidtsdrift 'Bushman' battalion (31 South African Infantry Battalion) and 32 Battalion at Pomfret being disbanded. The ANC associated the 'Bushman' battalion with South African mercenary activities in Angola (in support of UNITA), and with the largely Angolan-constituted 32 Battalion's horrific activities in Phola Park (*The Star* 27 January 1993).
6. The Angolans who served in the SADF during the Namibian liberation war were, technically speaking, mercenaries fighting in a colonial war. Moreover, they have been relatively prosperous, in material terms, as soldiers. Their past political allegiances together with the fact that they are not absolutely poverty-stricken (nor have they been for the last twenty years) strongly militate against calls for assistance from the ANC government.
7. See footnote 2.

Native Views of Western Eyes *Carmel Schrire*
Notes
1. This essay is a slightly expanded version of Schrire 1995:168–83.
2. For the historical context of these studies, see Stocking 1987. For development of craniology, see Gould 1981:73–112.
3. A biographical sketch of Riou appears in Ffolliott 1981:504–5; Nash 1990:xv–xxxix. The quotation appears in Riou 1990:33.
4. Flash Poll's problems appear in Searcy 1907:57–8.
5. Tasmanian sea-level changes are discussed in Blom 1988; Chappell 1993; Jones 1977. For a history of Aboriginal people there, see Ryan 1981.
6. For details about the lives of William Lanne and Trucanini, see Ellis 1981:133–44; Murray 1993:513–16.
7. Trucanini's dealings are related in his extensive diaries, in Robinson 1966. Her intimacy with Robinson appears in Ellis 1981:38–9. For Robinson's interests in relics, see Rae-Ellis 1988:129–31.
8. For a spirited and convincing exoneration of Robinson in the light of Rae-Ellis's accusations, see Ryan 1988; for indications of Trucanini's feelings, see Rae-Ellis 1988:132–3; for treatment of her remains, see Ellis 1981:154–6, and plate 27, facing 56.
9. The sale of Robinson's goods appears in Rae-Ellis 1988:262–5. Early views of the origins of the Tasmanians are discussed in Kirk & Thorne 1976; Sollas 1924:107–32; and in its broader intellectual context, Jones 1992. The final disposition of Trucanini's skeleton is related in Ellis 1981:158–72; Hubert 1989:150.
10. For a portrait of Riou, see Nash 1990, facing xxii, and for his relationship with Cook, Nash 1990:xvi. Cook's voyages are described in Beaglehole 1968; 1974. Riou's presence on the third voyage is noted in Beaglehole 1974:499. For an account of Bligh, see Dening 1992, and for the close call between Bligh and Riou, Nash 1990:xxv.
11. The Australian Aboriginal reaction appears in Cook 1846:205; Swain 1993:114–15; note 5. For Gordon's estate, see Nash 1990:xxxviii.
12. The allusion to "kanguroo" appears in Cook 1846:234, 240–1. For a recent statement about *Terra nullius*, see Treaty 88 Campaign 1988. The landmark judgment recognising native title to land is *Eddie Mabo and Ors, Plaintiffs vs. The State of Queensland, Defendant*, High Court of Australia, 3 June 1992.
13. For Gordon's hands-on examinations, see Cullinan 1992:31, 35, Gordon 1988:56. The exchanges between Diderot and Gordon appear in Cullinan 1992:22–3, quoting Diderot 1875–1977:445–6. Other writings on this subject include Gordon 1992b; Gould 1982; Altick 1978:268–72; Gilman 1985b:76–108.

14. For Baartman's story, see note 16. I am grateful to R.J. Gordon and R. Ross for directing my attention to the discussion of her financial affairs in Drescher 1986:43–5.
15. Cited reasons for testicular evulsion include faster running, in Raven-Hart 1971:19; cooling the ardour, Raven-Hart 1971:56; birth control, Raven-Hart 1967:122–3; more sons, Valentyn 1973:63. For relationship of Hottentots and Jews, see Grevenbroek 1933:209; and for Cook's observations, Cook 1846:326. For classification, see Linné (Linnaeus) 1767:29; and for Cuvier's impressions, Griffith *et al*. 1827:196–201.
16. Galton 1890. The 'Venus' is Galton 1890:53; the crinolines, and the extended quotation, 54.
17. For an account of Cook's death, see Beaglehole 1968:301–7; 1974:637–77.
18. Joppien and Smith 1988:126–7; Smith 1985:108–23. For a detailed analysis of the mutual incorporation of European and Pacific islander cultures, especially with regard to pantomimes and shows, see Dening 1986.
19. For expositions of these ideas, see Sahlins 1981:9–32; 1987:104–35; Dening 1982a.
20. For Cook as tyrant, see Dening 1982a:430; and for a full exposition, Obeyesekere 1992. The passionate rebuttal of Obeyesekere is Sahlins 1995, and the quotation, Sahlins 1995:5.
21. The definition of ethno-history is Dening 1982b:35. For references to sharks, and burned or sparkling eyes, see Dening 1988:xviii–xix, 89, 94; Fornander 1969 II:25; Sahlins 1981, 20; 1987, 18–19. For Gooch's watching sharks, see Dening 1988:88.
22. The photographs in question are catalogued as SAM nos. 655, 655A, 1278–1307. They were taken by J. Drury, modelmaker to the museum, who made a large series of live casts for the South African Museum between 1907 and 1924. For particulars, see Drury and Drennan 1926, and for a comprehensive overview of this subject and an account of how the live cast collection was made, see Davison 1991:139–67; 1993.
The particular photograph described here is now missing. I saw it in the South African Museum in 1991. It was housed in a folder that contained those numerous other shots of female genitalia attributed above. When I returned the following year to check its acquisition number, the file was gone. My initial inquiries met with blank denial that any such pictures had ever been in the collection. When I persisted, I was told that since (but not on account of) my previous visit, all anatomical photographs had been placed in a special place to prevent them being used for pornographic purposes. A search of the newly hidden material failed to reveal the particular photograph that I was after, but it did elicit considerable concern from a senior curator, who was loath to imagine that the photographer (presumably Mr Drury), should ever be construed to have operated in a prurient way.



References

ABBREVIATIONS

BC Bleek/Lloyd Archive, University of Cape Town
CA Cape Archives (State Archives), Cape Town
CO Colonial Office
CTA Cape Times Archive
CUMAA Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology
DC Duckworth Collection, Cambridge
GH Government House (Cape Town)
INIL Index to Illustrations
JL Jagger Library, University of Cape Town
KC Kirby Collection, University of Cape Town
KCAL Killie Campbell Afrikaner Library, Durban
LP Library of Parliament, Cape Town
MA Museum Africa, Johannesburg
MM McGergor Museum, Kimberley
NM National Museum, Bloemfontein
PRM Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford
SA State Archives (Cape Archives), Cape Town
SAL South African Library
SAM South African Museum, Cape Town
SAN State Archives of Namibia, Windhoek
UCT University of Cape Town
WM Wellington Museum, Western Cape

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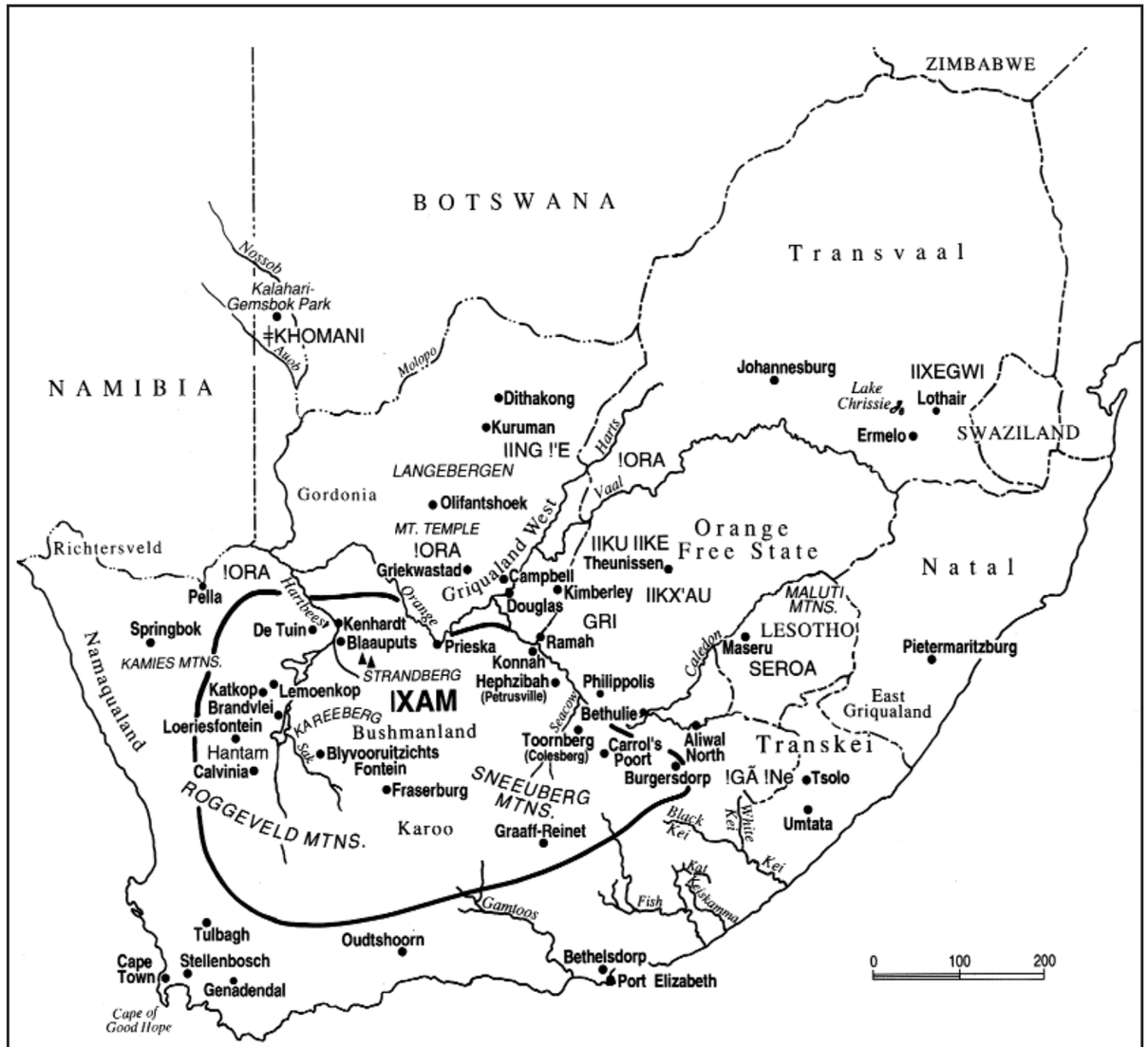

Distribution of /Xam and other groups in the nineteenth century. (See A. Traill p. 161–83)

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