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JU/'HOANSI BUSHMEN OF G/AM, NAMIBIA, AND THEIR PASTORALIST NEIGHBOURS: CONTACT, *HXARO*, CRISIS OF IDENTITY, AND IMPLICATIONS FOR THE PAST

By

Michael Scott SCTMIC009

Dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Archaeology

Department of Archaeology

Faculty of the Humanities

University of Cape Town

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This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature Signed by candidate Date 8/4/2003

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a case study, framed within the hunter-gatherer debate, of interaction between marginalised hunter-gatherers and dominant food-producers. The G/am Ju/'hoansi were chosen due to their long history of contact with Tawana and Herero pastoralists, and the fact that the settlement of the latter groups in G/am occurred within living memory. The results, structured in an historical trajectory, show how the Ju/'hoansi have gradually lost their autonomy due to enroachment. The Ju/'hoansi relationship with the pastoralists can be defined in part by increased dependence by the hunters on the herders. Comparing this work with other examples, I agree with others in saying that the subjugation of hunter-gatherers by food producers is near universal. Research done by Suzman (2000) in the Omaheke may represent an even greater state of dependence and domination than that witnessed at G/am today.

The thesis goes on to show the importance of internal exchange, or *hxaro*, relations to Ju/'hoansi. In the past, *hxaro* reaffirmed vital internal social ties and redistributed exotic goods acquired from neighbouring groups. It therefore allowed Ju/'hoansi to be in contact with, but independent of, 'others'. The decline of *hxaro*, due to several factors, has therefore been a major contribution to Ju/'hoansi dependence. I argue that *hxaro* has played a large part in the construction of identities. Before Herero domination, it would have been an important aspect of individual and group identities. Encapsulation and domination by food-producers has resulted in a shift to emphasising a 'pan-Ju/'hoansi' identity, with *hxaro* symbolising prior independence, and its decline symbolising subsequent loss of autonomy.

This case study is then applied to theories of the origins of herding in Southern Africa. Drawing from additional work, I argue that the shift from hunting and gathering to herding is complicated. Marginalised hunter-gatherers such as the Ju/'hoansi are denied breeding stock by dominant herders, who seek to keep the hunter-gatherers on the periphery of their society. Due to strict rules regarding sharing, even if livestock were acquired, the pressure to share would probably have negated the possibility of amassing a sustainable herd. I suggest the early occurrences of pottery and livestock on archaeological sites are probably the result of migrant groups of pastoralists, with stock being transferred from herders to hunters, as opposed to hunters becoming herders. It is suggested that the first herders in Southern Africa acquired stock through a long and complex history of association with pastoralists far to the north.

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1: INTRODUCTION

PROBLEM STATEMENT

In southern Africa today, hunters are almost universally marginalised by dominant farmers. The former now depend on the latter economically, and have mostly accepted their inferior status (Suzman 2000). These hunter groups are denied access to the dominant means of production so as to be kept on the periphery of farmer society. It has been proposed that this situation is the result of sustained interaction between the two groups.

Archaeological remains have indicated the arrival of livestock in Southern Africa just over 2000 years ago. Some (eg Smith 1998a, Smith et al. 1991) see two distinct archaeological cultures at this time, representing 'hunters' and 'herders'. Others (eg Sadr 1998, in prep a, in prep b.) see a more complex pattern with sheep remains on some sites representing hunters who owned a few sheep. This has prompted questions of how, if at all, hunters can overcome their egalitarianism and become pastoralists, which necessitates private ownership.

This thesis therefore aims to provide a possible analogue for the interface between prehistoric hunters and herders in general, by documenting a process by which hunters can become dependent on herders. It also aims to assess the effect of this process on the hunters, especially in terms of identity. This, in turn, should shed further light on the identity of groups in Southern Africa after the introduction of livestock.

The Ju/'hoansi Bushmen of G/am were chosen for this study due to the relatively recent occupation of G/am by Herero and Tawana pastoralists. This history of interaction has been made accountable through the memories of certain Ju/'hoansi elders. The following pages document and assess this interaction.

BACKGROUND

The Kalahari Debate

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When writing about contemporary Bushmen, or past hunter groups, it is vital to address the Kalahari debate, and usually to align oneself to one side of it, because the debate is about who the Bushmen are. Since this thesis deals with the Ju/'hoansi, who are central to the debate, it seems apt to frame it broadly within the debate itself. For a comprehensive summary of the debate see Barnard (1992b).

Beginning in the 1950's, with the Marshall family, extensive research was carried out among the Ju/'hoansi of Nyae Nyae Dobe, northeast Namibia and northwest Botswana. In the 1960's, this work was continued by the Harvard Kalahari Research group, led by Richard Lee. The criticisms of this early work is that it tended to treat the Ju/'hoansi as historical isolates, unaffected by outside influences until the mid 20th century.

These criticisms led to the revisionist school of thought triggered by Schrire (1980). Countering the traditionalists, such as Richard Lee, the revisionists have stressed contact between Bushman groups and others through history. Applying Wolfs (1982) 'global history' theories to southern Africa, Gordon & Douglas (1992:15-28) talk of Bushmen groups being part of trade networks prior to the colonial period, and playing a major part in copper and salt procurement.

Taking the revisionist argument to its extreme, Wilmsen (1989) claims that Bushmen groups have been simply an impoverished underclass from wider political systems, and that their hunting and gathering, gender relations, and egalitarianism arose as an adaptation to poverty. He accuses traditionalists of creating and perpetuating an image of 'Bushman' as "natural 'primitive man' in opposition to civilised humanity" to address the existential crisis created during the start of the cold war (Wilmsen unpublished ms b:2).

Yet, since early research in the Kalahari, traditionalists have also stressed historical contact between Bushmen and 'others'. However, they prefer to see regional variations in the type and intensity of contact, with some Bushmen being encapsulated at an early stage, and others, like the Ju/'hoansi, living an autonomous yet not isolated existence until relatively recently. They criticise the revisionists for asserting that Bushmen groups from all over Southern Africa had similar experiences of contact at the same time (Solway & Lee 1990). They stress the need for regional case studies, as opposed to the 'blanket' approach described above (Lee & Guenther 1993:187).

According to the traditionalists, the Ju/'hoansi represent a Bushman group who have remained independent of, but occasionally in contact with, other groups until the mid 20th century. The revisionists, on the other hand, see the Ju/'hoansi as forming an underclass in a broad political system that has lasted for over a thousand years. This is why the Ju/'hoansi are so central to the whole debate.

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Pre-Colonial Archaeology

Denbow and Wilmsen (1986:1509), using radiocarbon dates from a number of sites with ceramics, cattle, and ovicaprid remains, assert that food producing economies were situated around the Kalahari in the last 2000 years. They suggest that this represents a widespread pattern that penetrated, or at least greatly affected, all areas of southern Africa, with ceramics being found at the remote site of Magopa in the Nyae Nyae Dobe, for example, possibly dating to the 1st century BC (Wilmsen 1989:65).

Three later stone age (LSA) sites, south west of the Makgadikgadi Pans, on the Botletli River, contain ceramics with affinities to others found in the Motopos, Zimbabwe. The Bambata ware in Bambata cave itself has been dated to the 2nd century BC, and was associated with LSA tools, and sheep remains (Denbow 1986:8). The sites of Mirabib (Sandelowsky 1977) and Falls Rock (Kinahan 1990) in Namibia contained ceramics of a different type, dating to nearly 2000 years ago. The lowest ceramic bearing layer at Geduld, also in Namibia, was dated to around 2000 BP, while the first identifiable sheep were dated to approximately 200 years later (Smith & Jacobson 1995). Denbow & Wilmsen (1986:1510) see this as a period of economic change in LSA economies in the wider region, which was possible due to climate change.

The site of Divuyu, near the Tsodilo Hills, has been dated to AD550-730 from the ceramics. These ceramics suggest that it belongs to a tradition in Angola (Denbow & Wilmsen 1986:1511). It is also suggested, from a few tentative links, that the occupants of Divuyu migrated from somewhere near the Congo river mouth, and are the ancestors of the modern Herero (Wilmsen 1989:70-71). Divuyu represents a mixed economy, with sheep and goat dominating the domestic faunal assemblage, but only eleven specimens identified to *Bos taurus* (Turner 1987). Metalworking is evident from slag and bloomery waste, and a number of iron and copper ornaments (Miller 1996), while long distance trade is suggested from Atlantic coast marine shell, as well as fish and fresh water molluscs from the Okavango (Denbow & Wilmsen 1986:1511).

By the 9th century AD, many sites in Botswana were linked together in wide trade networks, which brought glass beads and marine shells from the Indian Ocean. Denbow & Wilmsen (1986a, 1986b, 1990), classify sites at the end of the first millennium AD in terms of a hierarchy of settlements. They identify three large towns, namely K2, Toutswe, and Mapungubwe, followed by secondary sites including Matlhapaneng, and Taukome, and numerous villages. From excavated exotic trade items, and kill-off patterns of cattle, they conclude that chiefs at primary sites were controlling trade from the Indian Ocean, and exacting tribute from subjects at lesser sites. Wilmsen & Denbow (1990:495)

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claim that 'Bushmen' groups played a major role in the above mentioned hegemony, particularly with salt and copper procurement and trade. They go on to say that the subjugation of groups at this time was widespread and relatively uniform (Wilmsen & Denbow 1990:497).

Nqoma, near Divuyu, and contemporary with Matlhapaneng, contained 'Divuyu' ceramics in its lower layers. However, the main occupation layers were dated to the 9th and 10th centuries AD, and represented by a different type of ceramic. Although Nqoma also revealed a mixed economy, cattle dominated the faunal assemblage (Turner 1987). Evidence for metalworking was again present, as well as copper, and iron ornaments (Miller 1996). Glass beads, marine shells, and worked ivory suggest that in the 9th century, Nqoma was a trade centre that connected with contemporary sites in Botswana, and, eventually, with the Indian Ocean (Denbow & Wilmsen 1986:1512).

Wilmsen (1989:72-73) identifies a number of smaller sites that he sees as contemporary with Nqoma, as well as the later occupation layers of Divuyu, although only one of these has been dated. Excavation at /Xai /Xai, in the Nyae Nyae Dobe, revealed ceramics, iron, and cattle remains contemporary with Nqoma. Qubi, Magopa, and Qangwa had similar ceramics and iron. Ceramics were also found at thirteen other sites in the Nyae Nyae Dobe, in a survey by Kinahan and Kinahan (1984). Wilmsen interprets these finds as evidence that Nqoma, equivalent to secondary sites in the eastern Sandveld, was an elite, with sites such as /Xai /Xai, Nqoma, Qubi, and Qangwa being subject to it. Recent archaeological remains from sites such as /Xai /Xai, in conjunction with ethnohistorical research, strongly indicates continued occupation by ancestors of contemporary Ju/'hoansi at these smaller sites. This, in turn, could be taken as evidence that Ju/'hoansi were subjects in a wider political economy as early as the 8th to 10th centuries, as opposed to living a relatively autonomous life. However, the archaeology of the Sandveld that Wilmsen refers to, and its implications, needs to be looked at more closely.

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Only ten potsherds, undecorated body pieces, were excavated at Magopa (Yellen & Brooks 1989:8). Of these, Yellen & Brooks (1989:8) suggest that eight can be placed within the last six hundred years. This is clearly not contemporary with the early Iron Age occupation at Nqoma in the 9th and 10th centuries. They further suggest that the particularly small size of the pieces, with respect to favourable preservation conditions, suggests that they may have been brought onto site as fragments. Similarly, only twelve small potsherds were recovered from /Xai /Xai. The metal that Wilmsen speaks of is represented by one small bead, and its stratigraphic association has been questioned (Yellen & Brooks 1989:8). Similarly, the representation of cattle at /Xai /Xai is sparse if it exists at all. The only possible cattle fauna was a maxilla, dated by Wilmsen by an associated piece of charcoal to 1150±60 yrs BP. However, this association has been questioned, due to the distance between the two. It is also still unclear whether the maxilla belonged to a buffalo or a cow (Yellen & Brooks 1990:18-19).

Yellen & Brooks (1989:10) have further demonstrated that unburnt bone from the area in question typically lasts for around fifty years. If this is the case, then it seems likely that the fauna in question can be given a much more recent date.

As mentioned, Kinahan and Kinahan (1984) conducted surveys in Bushmanland and the southern Kavango, and identified twenty-three sites, thirteen of which contained ceramics. At Homasi, a baobab grove, a minimum number of two vessels were represented, with one comb-stamped rim, and one cross-hatched rim, both associated with ostrich eggshell, bone, and eight wooden pegs, used in ladders for climbing baobabs. The latter rim was identified as Mbukushu ware from the turn of the century, and would most likely have come from the fisher-farmers living along the Kavango to the north or northeast. The comb stamped rim, the only known one of its type in the survey, has similar charcoal temper to ceramics found at Vungu Vungu on the Kavango, but may originate in Botswana.

Kinahan and Kinahan see this as a possible indication of sustained contact represented by two separate ceramic traditions. However, the numbers of potsherds recovered may be misleading. As Kinahan and Kinahan (1984:23) themselves point out, most of the finds were recovered from baobab groves where honey collecting was a major activity, so clay pots are more likely to be found at sites such as these than others. It is also likely that the comb-stamped rim is exceptional, and that most of the ceramic finds belong to the Mbukushu tradition to the north, within the last 200 years.

The pottery sherds, the metal bead, and the possible *Bos* maxilla show some kind of contact between Ju/'hoansi and their neighbours. However, the interpretation, by Wilmsen et al., from these few remains, that the Ju/'hoansi were subjects since the first millennium AD is highly debatable. A far more likely explanation of these finds is occasional trade between Ju/'hoansi and food-producers (Solway & Lee 1990:115). A look at the archaeology of the Nyae Nyae Dobe and its surrounds, in conjunction with historical accounts and ethnohistorical work, provides a good explanation for these food-producer residues on sites in or near the Nyae Nyae Dobe. The Mbukushu ware mentioned originates from fisher-farmers who have settled along the Kavango River in the last 200 years. What follows, is a description of the Mbukushu, as well as other fisher-farmers living on the river, and how they have interacted with the Ju/'hoansi in the past.

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The Fisher-Farmers

The portion of the Kavango from the area where the river becomes the boundary between Angola and Namibia, to the north of the Okavango Delta, is mainly comprised of five ethnic groups. These are the

Kwangari, Mbundza, Sambyu, Gciriku, and Mbukushu, and their approximate locations are shown on figure 1.

The oral histories of the Kwangari, Mbukushu, and Gciriku all state that they, as well as the Mbundza and Sambyu, migrated to the area from the Mashi region, a western tributary of the Zambezi river (Gibson 1981a:22). It is believed that these groups migrated to the area within the last 400 years. The Kwangari may have been on the river as early as 1600AD (McGurk & Gibson 1981:38-39). The land they settled on was, however, too far upstream from the Ju/'hoansi, and early contact would probably have been infrequent if at all. It is widely agreed by all informants that when the Sambyu arrived on the river, further downstream, they and local Bushmen were the only occupants of the area (McGurk 1981:99). It is likely that these Bushmen were Khwe, yet some may have been Ju/'hoansi.

The Mbukushu were established at Andara only from the early 19th century (Larson 81:214-215), and Gciriku oral traditions state that the Mbukushu and Gciriku arrived on the Kavango at the same time (Gibson 81b:163). When Andersson visited the Kwangari in 1861, he noted that only the north bank was cultivated, apart from a few fields, and that this was due to fear of invasion from the south (Andersson 1968:190). McKiernan made the same observation east of the Omuramba Omatako in the 1870's(McKiernan 1954:168). The southern bank of the Kavango river was only extensively settled and cultivated in the early 20th century (Gibson 1981a:30), when a form of slavery emerged, with 'Bushmen' sometimes employed as cattle herders (Gordon:1984:211).

This relatively recent occupation of the Kavango River by fisher-farmers is supported by the archaeology. The earliest ceramic bearing site on the Kavango is Kapako, around 25km west of Rundu, with Iron Age layers dating to 840AD. However, the vast majority of ceramics, found at a number of sites along the river have been dated to 1630AD (from Vungu Vungu) or even later (Jacobson 1986:149). The form and fabric of these sherds from Vungu Vungu are comparable to that of modern Kavango wares including Mbukushu ware (Woods 1984).

Kinahan (1986) conducted a survey along the south bank of the Kavango, between Dikuyu Island and Mohembo gate, where the Kavango runs into Botswana. Twenty-three sites were found with small numbers of ceramics and little else: Four sites contained glass beads, one had flaked stone, another some worked ostrich eggshell, and a further site yielded an iron awl point. The ceramics from the site where they were best represented, suggest that these sites were occupied in the early 19th century. It is likely that descendants of the Mbukushu occupied these sites.

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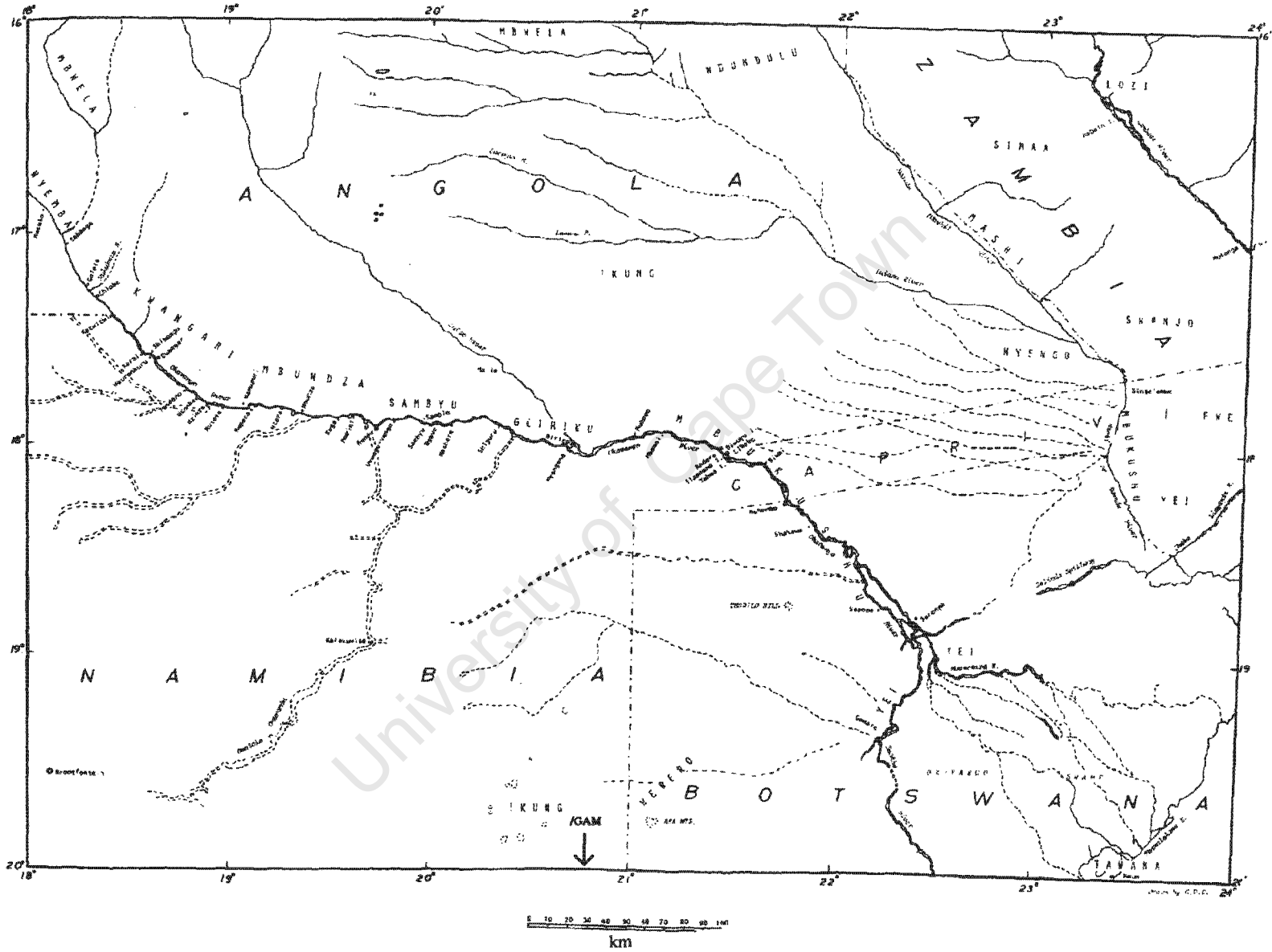

Figure 1: Map showing the locations of the Kavango Fisher-Farmers. (From Gibson et al. 1981)

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All five groups traditionally live on a combination of livestock produce, agriculture, fishing, hunting, and gathering. Although they came from tsetse infested areas, most kept varying numbers of cattle in the past. However, the numbers of cattle, which were never the prime resource, seems to have been fairly low. When Andersson visited the Kwangari in 1861, they had recently been robbed of their cattle. In the 1870's, the trader Gerald McKiernan documents how he found the trek boers in a destitute condition at Lion Fountain north of the Nyae Nyae Dobe, about three days from the Kavango. He describes the people living on the river as living from agriculture, with "very few cattle", and he had to travel far to the west (Ovamboland) to fetch cattle for the trek boers (McKiernan 1954:165). McKiernan goes on to say that "Goods were bought and property traded for, which are only saleable in Ovamboland". His observations suggest that large herds were absent among the fisher-farmers along the Kavango. In 1897, people on the Kavango lost much of what cattle they had due to an outbreak of rinderpest. However, the Kavango peoples have built up herds since, and some Mbukushu own enough cattle to necessitate distant cattle posts, sometimes manned by Bushmen (Larson 1981:219).

The Kwangari were observed at the start of the 20th century receiving bush food gathered by subservient Bushmen (McGurk & Gibson 1981:44). However, the Kwangari live far from the Ju/'hoansi, and the 'Bushmen' in question are more likely to have been Vasakela (northern !Kung). Contact between the Ju/'hoansi and fisher-farmers in the 19th century, seems to have consisted largely of trade.

Libebe, near Andara, seems to have been an important place for trade in the 19th century. Andersson (1967:505-506) describes Libebe as a "centre of great inland trade" with Mambari slave traders bringing cotton, beads, and sometimes cattle from the west coast in what is now Angola. He also mentions Kwangari and Ovapanyama, both far to the west, coming to Libebe to trade, and this trade seems to have extended to the Tawana state at Lake Ngami. Later, when Andersson first discovered the Kavango river, he again mentions the Mambari: They would make annual trips down the Kavango, trading slaves and ivory with the Kwangari, for beads, guns and ammunition, before moving on to trade with the Mbukushu (Andersson 1968:196-197).

Gordon (1984:207-208) speaks of Ju/'hoansi in the early 20th century, travelling to the Kavango river, usually at the end of the dry season, to trade with the fisher-farmers living along it. Ostrich feathers, Mohanka chains, which consist of a number ostrich eggshell beads on a string, forming a necklace, and animal skins would be given to the fisher-farmers in exchange for clay pots, metal tools, copper arm-rings and tobacco. He suggests that it was always Ju/'hoansi who travelled to the fisher-farmers to do trade, and never vice-versa. Larson (1981:234) states how 'Bushmen' would travel to Mbukushu

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towns such as Shakawe for trade as late as 1980. However, sources suggest it may have been !Xu (northern !Kung) who were involved in the early trade mentioned, not Ju/'hoansi (Guenther pers comm.).

Passarge (Wilmsen 1997:298-299) documents trade between the 'Kqung' and Mbukushu in the late 19th century: Mbukushu would typically trade with tobacco, iron tools, and grain, which would be exchanged for animal skins, meat, honey, ostrich feathers, and Mohanka chains. These Mohanka chains and ostrich feathers received from the Bushmen, were subsequently traded for unworked iron, or tools from the Barotse and other groups to the east. The Bushmen Passarge speaks of are probably again the !Xu (Guenther pers comm.), however, it is likely that Ju/'hoansi were also involved as will be shown.

Work done at Cho/ana by Smith & Lee (1997) provided further evidence for this trade on the Kavango. The site has evidently been an important meeting place for Ju/'hoansi, situated north of the Nyae Nyae, with the !Kaudom and Kavango further north, the Okavango to the east, and the Namibian highlands to the west (Smith & Lee 1997:52). Four Ju/'hoansi elders, who used to live at Cho/ana, related how they used to travel to the Kavango river to trade with fisher-farmers living in the area. They would exchange ostrich eggshell beads and animal skins for Mbukushu pottery and metal. These goods would be taken back to Cho/ana and passed on to other Ju/'hoansi via internal exchange networks in a process known as *hxaro* (ibid. 56). It seems likely that this trade between Ju/'hoansi and fisher-farmers may have existed since the fisher-farmers arrived. The four Ju/'hoansi elders stressed that the Ju/'hoansi would travel to the periphery to trade with fisher-farmers, and never vice versa. No fisher-farmers, or any other non-Ju/'hoansi, settled in the area until after 1930 (ibid. 56).

Excavation at Cho/ana revealed occupation for at least the last four thousand years. Contact was evident from fifteen pottery sherds, including a decorated Mbukushu rim, three glass beads, and several small pieces of metal (ibid. 54). The majority of these finds came from the upper layers, and therefore supports the ethnohistorical work mentioned above. A couple of 'Divuyu' type sherds, from around 1300 BP were also excavated, and probably represent a system of occasional trade and *hxaro* with the agropastoral society at Divuyu, similar to that which occurred within the last 200 years (Smith 2000:70). The fact that the Ju/'hoansi elders all thought that the first glass beads and metal arrived with the first Europeans, suggests that early Iron Age societies, particularly at Divuyu or Nqoma, had little effect on the Ju/'hoansi (Smith & Lee 1997:57).

Wilmsen (1989:76) sees a power shift further east to developing Zimbabwean states, beginning in the 11th century, designating peoples in the western Kalahari as producers in wider trade networks. Due to this shift, the power of the group(s) at Divuyu diminished, and relations between hunter-gatherers and

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agropastoralists subsequently became more egalitarian until the formation of a Tawana state to the east of the Nyae Nyae Dobe in the early 19th century (Wilmsen 1989:97).

The Tawana

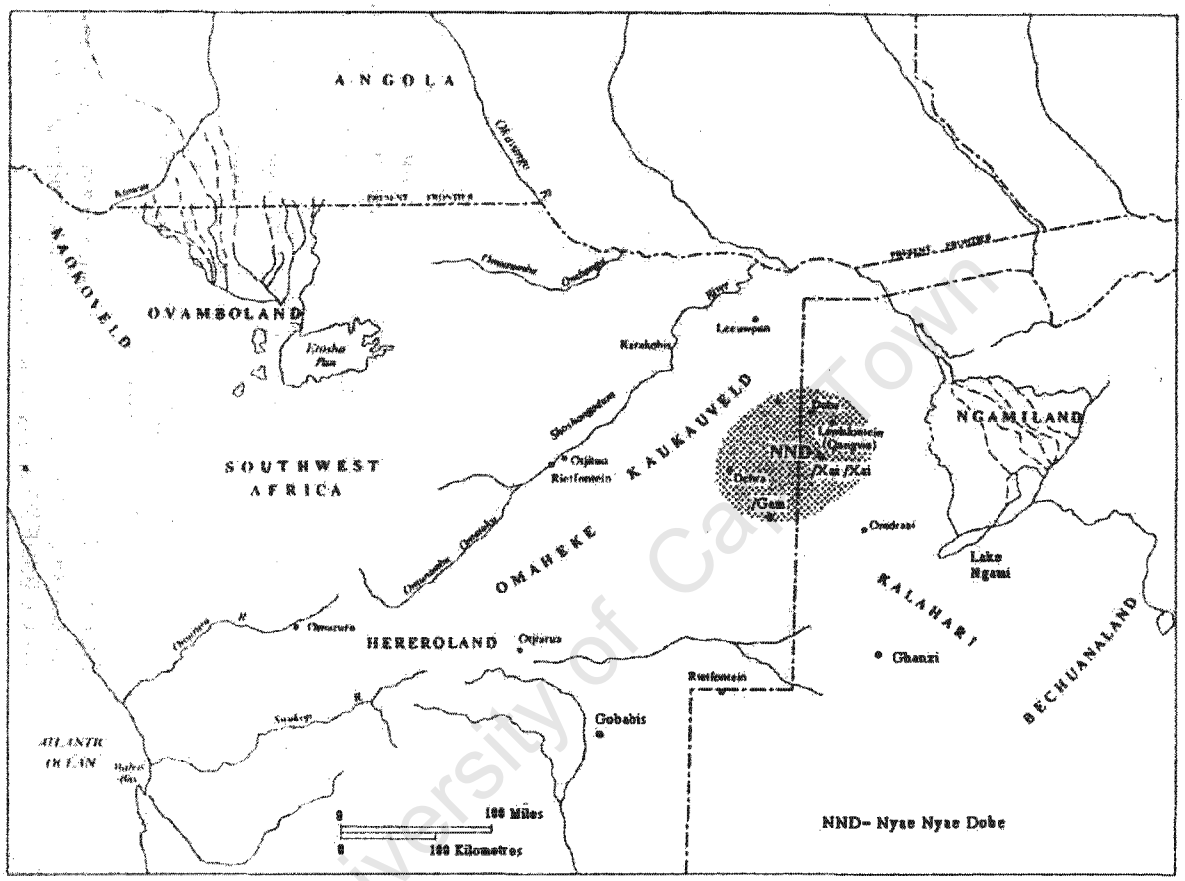

Figure 2: Map showing some places mentioned in the text in relation to the study area (From Lee & Guenther 1993).

In the early 19th century, the Tawana state was formed, near Lake Ngami, after the secession of a Bangwato prince called Tawana. The emergent state later incorporated the peoples of Ngamiland, northwest Botswana. Large-scale pastoralism became widespread, where small scale agriculture, as well as fishing, hunting and gathering had predominated (Tlou 1985:15). Wilmsen (1989:78) has been criticised for contradicting himself by asserting, in 'Land Filled With Flies', that Ju/'hoansi were at Lake Ngami at this time, and later, in the same book, saying that they weren't (Lee & Guenther 1993:208). More recently Wilmsen (unpublished ms a.:20) has stated that in one instance, he was talking of the Lake Ngami *region*, and in the other, its *vicinity*. However, in the first instance, he states that:

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> "When the Batawana arrived in the Lake Ngami region, Bantu-speaking Bangologa (Kgalagadi), Bayei (Yei), Ovambenderu, Hambukushu, and the San-speaking Zhu (Ju/'hoansi), Cexai (=Au//eisi), and Nharo were already settled there, many with substantial herds that the Batawana were at first not strong enough to confiscate (Tlou 1972:140)." (Wilmsen 1989:78).

Whether Wilmsen refers to the Lakes vicinity or the region is partly beside the point. The above quotation claims that, when the Tawana settled in the Lake Ngami region, they were in contact with the six groups above, who owned large herds of cattle, and were initially powerful enough to resist the Tawana. It also implies that these groups were eventually assimilated into the Tawana hegemony.

However, in the part of Tlou's Phd thesis mentioned above, from which Wilmsen draws these conclusions, Tlou states that, when the Tawana arrived in the Lake Ngami region, 'Kwena', 'Kgalagadi', and 'Sarwa' (ie Bushmen or San) were living there (Tlou 1976:140). There is no mention, in this part of Tlou's thesis, of the presence of peoples other than these three groups.

The first Bantu-speakers to enter Ngamiland were Yei, who first met 'Basarwa' from the BaKakhwe group. From around the mid 18th century, Yei gradually migrated from the north, and were soon settled in significant numbers on the eastern, western, and southern parts of the Okavango Delta (Tlou 1985:12-14). In the early 19th century, the Mbukushu were settled mainly around Andara, on the Kavango River far to the north, where Khwe were living. Later, only the mid 19th century, larger numbers of Mbukushu settled around Gabamukuni, Sepopa, and Shakawe in the north of Ngamiland, where Yei were already established (Tlou 1985:14, Larson 1970:30-33).

Wilmsen seems to assume that the category 'Sarwa' in Tlou's Phd thesis includes Nharo, Ju/'hoansi, and Cexai (=Au//eisi). The prevalent San group around the Lake, as Wilmsen himself states (1989:103) were the =Au//eisi. Khwe, including BaTeti (Deti), BaQanikhwe (//Kanakhoe), and BaGumahii, were also living in various parts of the Delta and along surrounding rivers. These were among those assimilated into the Tawana Hegemony, and were observed in the early 20th century living in Bantu style settlements. (Tlou 1985:8-15). Several Khoe groups, namely the Nharo, Ts'aokhoe, Qabekhoe, =Haba and N/haints'e, were also living in western Botswana (Barnard 1992a:136). The majority of Ju/'hoansi were living far to the west, and whether or not any were near the Lake when the Tawana first arrived, and how they interacted with the Tawana, is unclear.

Tlou makes no claim in his Phd thesis, that the Ju/'hoansi, or anyone else, were at the time in possession of large herds which the Tawana were too weak to confiscate. He states that, unlike in the

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Ghanzi area (see Guenther 1997), "No resistance to Tawana intrusion seems to have occurred because these disunited, stateless societies could not withstand the assaults of the mighty Tawana army" (Tlou 1976:139-141). However, he does say that the "the Kgalagadi had long lived close to the Tawana, and were already semi-sedentary, rearing small stock like goats, and raising sorghum on a small scale" (ibid.). But this does not suggest the presence of large herds, let alone among the Ju/'hoansi.

Wilmsen may have concluded that large herds were present in the area, as "The Tawana merely extended a kind of voluntary clientship which already existed between the Kgalagadi and the Sarwa. The possession of cattle enabled the Tawana to have clients." (Tlou 1976:140) and that, "Kwena and Tawana traditions claim that these people (Kgalagadi and Sarwa) were already Kwena subjects when the Tawana settled in the area." (Tlou 1976:138). This voluntary clientship is known as *mafisa*, and is documented by Ikeya (1999). However, that some 'Sarwa' and Kgalagadi were subjects, or clients says nothing of the Ju/'hoansi, and what part they played, if any, in the economy of the region.

Citing an article by Parsons, Wilmsen asserts that the Tawana state emerged partly in order to control "the aggregate herds of the different peoples of Ngamiland" which were "extensive" (Wilmsen 1989:78). However, the article in question is about the BaMangwato state based at Shoshong, far to the southeast. In this article, Parsons briefly mentions a split from the main BaMangwato polity, and then: "A major section moved off via the Boteti to the far north-west, to the cattle and possibly the mining of Ngamiland, where it consolidated itself as the Tawana kingdom." (Parsons 1977:114). The rest of the article is about the Ngwato state formation and its role in trade networks.

In fact, initial Yei and Mbukushu settlers, migrated to Ngamiland from tsetse infested country, and brought few cattle with them, but larger numbers of sheep, goats, dogs, and fowl. Before the Tawana arrived, Ngamiland society was stateless, consisting of scattered settlements. The primary subsistence strategies were fishing and agriculture near, or on, the floodplain, and hunting and gathering away from it (Tlou 1985:15-16), although Kgalagadi who were near waterholes in the sandveld, kept limited numbers of sheep, goats, cattle, and hunting dogs (Tlou 1985:21). The Mbukushu did migrate to the area with cattle, but they were not of prime importance in terms of subsistence, unlike agriculture (Larson 1981:217). Bayei migrated into the area after 1750AD with cattle, settling in dispersed cattle posts (Larson 1989:25-26). However, agriculture always seems to have been more important. Even in the 1850's, Andersson describes Yei as living principally from agriculture, growing corn, tobacco, calabashes, water-melons, pumpkins, beans, and small peas (Andersson 1967:503).

Both Yei and Mbukushu culture appear to be geared more towards subsistence economies other than pastoralism. Oral tradition has it that among the first Yei to reach Lake Ngami was 'Hankuzi' who has

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passed into legend as a "great hippo hunter and fisherman who went in search of new hunting and fishing grounds." (Tlou 1985:12). This is indicative of the importance of hunting and fishing to the Yei.

As for the Mbukushu, Larson (1966) has documented the importance of the rainmaking ceremony for them in the past: As well as having served as a political weapon, it gave people faith in sorghum and millet yields. After harvest, the Mbukushu would hold their most important ceremony, called 'Rengo', which would last for three days (Larson 1963, 1966). In the past, Mbukushu used grain or metal tools as bridewealth payments or for paying court fines. Only when they were subjugated by the Tawana did they begin to use cattle instead (Larson 1981:234).

Knowledge of the exact extent of Tawana control in the 19th century, in terms of both groups of people and geography, is limited. Guenther (1997:128-129) has shown how the Tawana were unable to subjugate people in the Ghanzi veldt to the west until the 1880's, which may have been due to the fact that they were raided repeatedly by Kololo to the south, and later Mandebele to the east. Prior to this, early explorers Chapman and Baines observed Bushmen between Rietfontein and Lake Ngami living independently of others, and that Koobie Wells, a short distance to the south west of Lake Ngami, was the extent of the Tawana control (Guenther 1993).

The Bayei to the north of the Lake were subjects of the Tawana by the 1850's (Andersson 1967:498). However Bayei living in the Delta itself, and in the far north of Ngamiland, were relatively independent of the Tawana during the 18th and 19th centuries (Larson 1989:26). It was sometime later that the Tawana were able to extend their control much further north: Siegfried Passarge visited Andara in 1898, and discovered that the Mbukushu had only been subjugated by the Tawana since 1889 (Wilmsen 1997:285-286).

However, the Tawana were eventually able to extract tribute and labour from various groups in northwest Botswana. Tlou states that it was mainly Kgalagadi, and less often 'Sarwa' who were appointed as cattle herders at Tawana cattle posts (Tlou 1976:140), and whether any Ju/'hoansi were involved in cattle herding at this time is unclear.

Many 'Sarwa' also fled from the Tawana to the sandveld where it was difficult for the Tawana to extract tribute or labour (Tlou 1976:138-156). Guenther (1993,1997) has also shown how Nharo, as well as other San groups, have mobilised politically in the past to resist foreign incursion, as opposed to passively succumbing to it.

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Under Chief Amraal Lambert, some Oorlams were established at Gobabis in the early 19th century, and were referred to as the 'Gobabis Hottentots'. They infrequently raided the Ghanzi veldt, taking Nharo as slaves. Although they claimed to own vast tracts of land, especially to the east, it has been shown that they had no control of lands further than 40 miles east of Gobabis, and that after Amraal' death, the Oorlams' power declined (Guenther 1997:127-128). Again, the Ju/'hoansi were too far from the Oorlams to have been greatly affected by them. The nature of contact, if any, between Ju/'hoansi and Oorlams is unknown.

The part that 'Sarwa' groups in north west Botswana played in trade during the early 19th century is also unclear, although some 'Sarwa' were involved in commodity exchange, trading karosses, ostrich eggshell jewellery, and meat, for iron-ware, grain and fish (Tlou 1985:26-28). Again, it is possible that Ju/'hoansi were involved in this trade, however, this was more likely carried out mainly by other San groups mentioned above. Passarge talks of Ju/'hoansi trading with the Tawana at the end of the 19th century, exchanging skins, ivory, and ostrich feathers, for grain and tobacco (Wilmsen 1997:202). It is possible that this kind of trade was established in the early, or mid 19th century.

In the mid 19th century, especially after the discovery, by David Livingstone, of Lake Ngami, and a route running from it to the west coast, trade in the interior rapidly escalated, focusing on the lake and Ovamboland. Various groups traded mainly ivory, cattle and ostrich feathers with Europeans in exchange for guns, ammunition, and a variety of western utensils and trappings. Wilmsen (1989:105-123) sees this as a period of intense trading and hunting, with many people frequently entering, among other places, the Nyae Nyae Dobe, where they found Ju/'hoansi, led by chiefs, owning cattle and playing a major part in an established interior trade. However, Lee & Guenther (1993) have shown that Wilmsen has misread maps and place names, and consequently mislocated historical figures. Therefore, many of the observations Wilmsen notes about the Ju/'hoansi, are in fact about other groups in other areas.

Due to ivory and feather demand in Europe, the increased availability of guns, and the cessation of attacks from the east, the latter half of the 19th century saw an increase and intensification of hunting trips to the west. Like the Oorlams, the Tawana used the Ghanzi veldt primarily for hunting and also slave raiding (Nharo), particularly from the mid 19th century (Guenther 1997:127). It is unlikely that many Ju/'hoansi were taken as slaves at this time, as the Batawana would have been focusing more on land to the south of the Ju/'hoansi, the Ghanzi veldt. Here, water was easier to come by, large game abounded, and both Oorlams and Tawana were competing for control of it, culminating in a battle between the two at Ghanzi in the late 1870's (Guenther 1993). Tawana also employed 'Sarwa', including Nharo, to hunt, track, butcher, and carry meat, and would take ivory from them as 'tribute' (Guenther 1997:127).

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As stated above, the Tawana state was unable to subjugate people in the Ghanzi veld, or the Mbukushu to the north until the late 19th century. It seems highly unlikely that the Tawana controlled the Nyae Nyae Dobe, far to the west, before this time. From the 1870's, Tawana would come from Tsau to the Nyae Nyae Dobe on hunting trips. They would employ Ju/'hoansi to track game and carry the meat, and gave balls of tobacco in payment (Lee 1979:77).

It seems that the Tawana were aware of G/am by this time: J.D. Hepburn, looking for a place to establish a mission in 1877, travelled to Ghanzi from Lake Ngami. Here he met the hunters Mr Bauer and Van Zyl, who told him of a "beautiful healthy country, lying to the North East of the town of the Batawana, called Gam (or by the Masarwa Ysgam). It is well watered, high-lying, free from fever, and in every respect answers to the kind of country we should desire to find... The Batawana also on our return established the truth of this. But we could not see it with-out waiting until the rainy season" (Hepburn 1895:64-65).

Passarge describes the Tawana state in 1898 as being divided into wards, each administered by a different Tawana headman: "Thus the Tawana, Killetibwe, ruled the Qabe of the Kwebe region, Mogalakwe the Tsere of the Hainaveld, Harry the Cauxai (=Au//ei) in the southern Kaukauveld, and Rabutuba the Zhu (Ju/'hoansi)" (Wilmsen 1997:204-205). He goes on to mention an instance where Harry, mentioned above, was hunting between /Xai /Xai and G/am. At this time, a =Au//ei headman tended Tawana cattle at Djarutsa in the wet season, and took them west to the Debraveld during the wet season (Wilmsen 1997:205-206).

This may be taken as evidence that the Ju/'hoansi were subject to the Tawana at least as early as the end of the 19th century. However, Passarge's observations fail to address the exact nature and extent of Tawana 'control' in the sandveld. The fact that a headman was herding Tawana cattle in the Nyae Nyae Dobe, does not mean that its occupants were all subjects of the Tawana State. Passarge does not mention the terms of this herding arrangement, or how it originated.

Speaking generally of subjugated Bushmen, Passarge talks about an annual tribute paid to the Tawana, consisting of animal skins and Mohanka chains (Wilmsen 1997:204-205). However, the problems of extracting tribute from the sandveld have been mentioned above. This tribute was also usually collected when 'Bushman' groups returned to the Lake vicinity for the dry season, and less often when Tawana went into the sandveld on hunting trips (ibid.). As the Ju/'hoansi dry season camps were far from the Lake vicinity, it seems likely that collecting tribute from them was more problematic, and less regular, than with other groups. Passarge's choice of language may reflect this: "*Even* the Ghanzi, Kaukau, and eastern Kungvelds are subject to tribute levies" (Wilmsen 1997:93,

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my italics). There is also a possibility that some 'tributes' witnessed by people like Passarge were actually gifts (see Widlok 2000).

Larson (1989:26) makes an important distinction between Yei living to the north of the Tawana, or within the Delta, and those living east, south and west of the Delta. The former lived "relatively independently of Tawana rule during the 18th and 19th centuries and paid them only an annual token tribute." (ibid.). However, the latter were subjugated to the extent that they were required to serve in the Tawana army, defending against Kololo and Ndebele invasion. It seems that some Ju/'hoansi at the end of the 19th century, may fall into the former category. The Tawana grip on the sandveld to the west was probably loose and variable at this time.

Later, probably during the early 20th century, some Tawana began bringing cattle into the Nyae Nyae Dobe themselves during the summer, and would trade with the Ju/'hoansi at places like /Xai /Xai at the end of summer (Lee 1979:78). Ju/'hoansi gave things like animal skins, honey, and biltong in exchange for clay pots, tobacco, beads, ironware, and modern clothing. After this trading, the Tawana would return to Tsau. Only from 1925 did any Tawana, or other non-Ju/'hoansi, begin to settle permanently in the Nyae Nyae Dobe. Oral histories, of both Ju/'hoansi and Tswana speakers, show that Ju/'hoansi were autonomous in the 19th century, and lived without domesticated animals or agriculture (Lee unpublished ms).

From the mid 1870's is there evidence for small-scale penetration of the Nyae Nyae Dobe by European Hunters and Explorers along minor wagon routes (Lee & Guenther 1993:194). Van Zyl who was based at Ghanzi to the south, periodically came to G/am, peripheral to the Nyae Nyae Dobe, on hunting trips. On these occasions he would employ Ju/'hoansi, supplying them with guns for hunting Elephant (Marshall & Ritchie 1984:35, L. Marshall 1976:56-58).

However, even in the 1880's, there is evidence that the harsh terrain of the Nyae Nyae Dobe was usually avoided: The hunter Erikkson would travel around the area, following the Omuramba Omatako and Kavango rivers, as opposed to travelling through it (Lee & Guenther 1993:202). Even routes such as these were arduous: McKiernan (1954:164) describes the journey between Okatjoruu and Karakuwisa, down the Omuramba Omatako, in the mid 1870's as having no "living water…This part of the country is not passable in the dry season". Wilmsen (unpublished ms a) has criticised Lee & Guenther for under-emphasising pre-existing trade and local knowledge of geography. However, colonial trade routes would have been partly based upon this local knowledge, and pre-existing routes, and can therefore be seen as a reflection of them.

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In the 1890's, land in the Ghanzi veld was taken from the Nharo and given to white settlers. Since this time, The Nharo have become squatters on their own land (see Guenther 1976, Suzman 2000). This will be discussed in chapter 4. However, it seems that Ju/'hoansi encapsulation and dependence on others occurred much later than that of their San neighbours in the Ghanzi veldt and around Lake Ngami. Hans Schinz, Hauptmann Müller, and Joachim Helmut Wilhelm all visited the Nyae Nyae region around the turn of last century, and documented their travels. They describe the Bushmen they encountered as using bone-tipped arrows, and being unfamiliar with, and afraid of whites and their modern equipment (Guenther pers comm.). Extensive oral histories confirm that no Bantu-speaking groups either visited or settled in the Nyae Nyae or Dobe regions before the late 19th century. Many Ju/'hoansi believe that metal first arrived in the region when Europeans arrived, suggesting a limited contact between Ju/'hoansi and others during pre-colonial times (Lee unpublished ms). Nevertheless, these regions have been increasingly settled by others since the turn of the 20th century, and Ju/'hoansi have become, to varying degrees, dependent and marginalised.

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FIELDWORK

Study Area

G/am lies in the Otjozondjupa region, Northeast Namibia. The region can be described as semi-arid, with low annual rainfall, droughts and high evaporation rates, with hot days and cold nights (Kibbassa 1997:5-9). G/am was (eventually) chosen as the place of study mainly for two reasons. Firstly, it was already known that the Ju/'hoansi living there had had a long-term history of contact with pastoralists. Part of the aim of the research was to ascertain the nature and effect of this kind of direct contact on groups such as the Ju/'hoansi. Initial and subsequent settlement by pastoralists in G/am all occurred within the memory of elder Ju/'hoansi, so first hand accounts were obtainable. Secondly, G/am is peripheral to Nyae Nyae, one of the core traditional Ju/'hoansi areas. Exactly how the Ju/'hoansi connected and interacted with other groups to the south and east needed to be ascertained.

Dates, Methods and Experiences

This thesis is based on research carried out during two periods, first in February 2000, and later for three and a half months from July 2001. The aim of my first trip was to elicit information on contact, in the recent past, between Ju/'hoansi and the various Bantu-speaking groups living along the

Kavango river. Due to numerous shootings and other violent incidents in the Caprivi and northern Kavango regions, I was unable to visit the Kavango River itself. Instead, I spoke to informants in and around Tjum!kui and Grasshoek in central Bushmanland.

I mainly spoke to older Ju/'hoansi, as well as other Bushman groups, who had previously lived near the Kavango or Omuramba Omatako rivers, or had visited these areas for work and/or trade. A total of fourteen elders were interviewed on this trip. Working with my interpreter /Ui =Toma, the interviews usually took place early in the morning or late in the day due to the heat. Sometimes only one elder would be present, sometimes the whole camp, with several people contributing to the interviews. This was beneficial in that it gave me an interesting mix of individual and group opinion.

On this first trip we fortunately had a car, which meant we were able to get to some fairly remote places. However, as it wasn't a 4x4, the deep sand in many places stopped us reaching the most remote places. When there were campsites or government guesthouses available we used them, otherwise we camped in the bush.

The second trip, on which the thesis is primarily based, was spent at G/am, south of the Nyae Nyae pans, as the Kavango region was apparently still unstable. (This was according to people in Windhoek. People on the Kavango later told me that the area was fine apart from a few isolated incidents).

While in G/am, I first worked with =Oma Tsamkxau and later with /Ui 'Berys', both of whom translated for me. This time we had no car, which meant getting around was more difficult. Consequently the entire time was spent working with one group of Ju/'hoansi. This allowed me to investigate their contact with others, as well as other aspects of their life, in greater detail than with my previous trip. Again the research consisted mainly of informal interviews, with a total of four Ju/'hoansi elders. The interviews were translated on the spot, and recorded with pen and paper. I would later mull over my answers and in doing so come up with new questions. As English and Ju/'hoan are such different languages, I found I continually had to cross check to see if both the questions and answers had been sufficiently translated. This cross checking basically involved asking questions in various ways, by changing the wording, or the context in which they were asked.

I focused on contact between the Ju/'hoansi and others in an historical perspective: *Hxaro*, work, trade, *hxaro*, subsistence, and seasonal movement were all strong themes in my questioning. The people I mainly spoke to, and whose names are mentioned in the text, are Kxau and his wife Sabe, both in their late sixties, /Xoan, who was also in her sixties, and her son /Eishe, in his early fifties. Sadly, since my stay in G/am, /Xoan has passed away.

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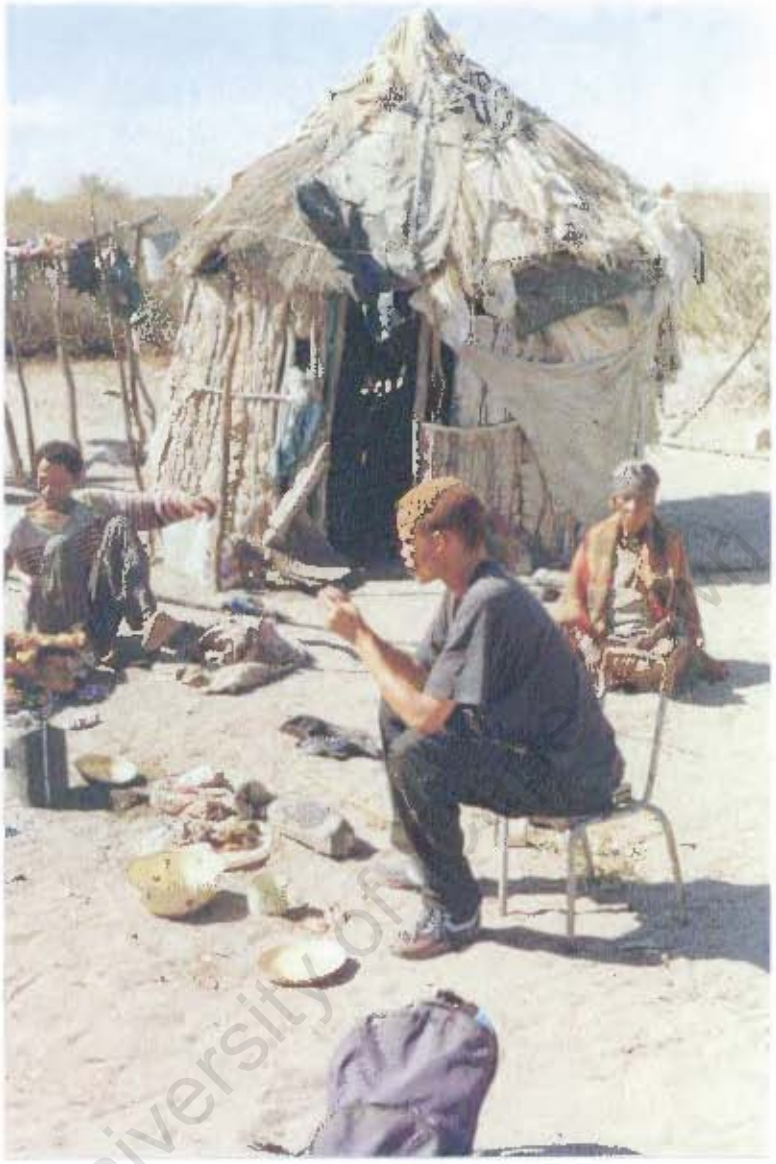

Plate 1. Working Conditions in G/am. My interpreter =Toma Tsamkxau, in the foreground, /Xoan, one of my informants, sitting behind him.

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While I feel that my intensive three and a half months research in G/am was very productive, I also realise some of its drawbacks. Firstly, short-term fieldwork is biased against long-term variation (David & Kramer 2001:65). For example, my observations would not have covered all the different seasonal activities, or even longer-term fluctuations in behaviour or circumstance. Having said this, my line of questioning was geared mainly towards the past.

Secondly, it is often assumed that ethnoarchaeologists will become "incorporated into the community, not as a native member but as someone enmeshed in its network of rights, duties, obligations, privileges, expectations...and friendships" (David & Kramer 2001:67). Where there was no common

language, I found that three months wasn't enough to achieve this. I gained many good friends during my stay, but these were either people working with me, or others with a fair standard of English. My informants, however, spoke no English, and my Ju/'hoan is still limited to formalities as well as the odd word or phrase. This was the main reason for a lack of quantitative data collected by myself in G/am: I didn't feel comfortable, for example, going through possessions of people whom I didn't really know.

Within living memory, contact between Ju/'hoansi and pastoralists at G/am, can be classified into three distinct periods- before 1949, during the early fifties, and from around independence, in the early nineties, until now. The reason for the gap between these last two periods is twofold. Firstly, as will be described, apart from a relatively brief settlement in the mid 20th century, no Herero or Tawana lived in G/am until around the early 1970's. Secondly, the Ju/'hoansi I spoke to were living elsewhere much of the time until shortly before independence. I will describe and contrast these three periods, and the factors that caused the changes from one to the other.

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2: CONTACT BETWEEN G/AM JU/'HOANSI AND 'OTHERS' PRIOR TO 1949

DETAILS OF CONTACT

General

Kxau was told by his father of some whites who periodically visited G/am in the past. They came to the area on hunting trips, and constructed a blind by the waterhole. These people were probably Afrikaans farmers from the Ghanzi farming area to the south. They may even have been Hendrik van Zyl and his sons, who hunted in the G/am area in 1877, killing four hundred elephants (Tabler 1973:114). Whites stopped coming to G/am well before Kxau was born, the next to visit the area being the Marshall family in 1951 (Lorna Marshall:xii).

Kxau's father, N!xam, would sometimes work for the white hunters while they were in G/am. He was responsible for skinning animals, shot by the whites, and was paid with some clothes, metal utensils, and given maize, sugar, tea, and coffee. It is unclear how many other Ju/'hoansi from G/am were also employed by the white hunters.

During the German-Herero war at the beginning of the 20th century, many dispossessed Herero fled their homelands to Ovamboland in the north, Botswana in the east, and to the Omaheke, south of Nyae Nyae Dobe. Some of those who fled to Botswana passed through Nyae Nyae Dobe, including their leader, Samuel Maherero who travelled through /Xai /Xai, Qangwa, then deeper into Botswana (Gewald 1999:176-180). A group of around two hundred Herero also established themselves somewhere due east of Grootfontein during the war (ibid:209). It is possible that these Herero were near Nyae Nyae Dobe.

However, no Ju/'hoansi in G/am had heard of any contact with Herero until 1949. Prior to this time, the only Herero near G/am were refugees fleeing war in the south, or small groups who settled very briefly if at all. Hauptmann Müller, mentioned a group of Herero who stayed at G/am and //Auru for a short time (Guenther pers comm.). Passarge also mentions a few temporary camps of Herero, who were fleeing the rinderpest epidemic (Wilmsen 1997:86). These early encounters apparently had little effect on the Ju/'hoansi. The first remembered contact with 'others' was with white hunters and Tawana.

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There is little recollection of any Tawana visiting G/am before some of them settled in 1949. Before the mid 20th century, but within living memory, only a few G/am Ju/'hoansi, who periodically travelled to Botswana to work, were actually in contact with any Tawana. There was no evidence of Tawana hunting parties, or their cattle being herded, anywhere near G/am before they settled in 1949. This suggests that herding of cattle in the Nyae Nyae Dobe, and surrounding areas, witnessed by Passarge in 1898, was small scale and irregular, and that Tawana influence in the area was slight until the mid 20th century.

Kxau's grandfather, who also lived in the G/am area, started working for Tawana in Namanani and Tsau (both in Botswana) when he was middle aged. His employers first came to G/am, claiming that they belonged to it, and asked him to come and work for them. Kxau knew little about the details of work, but said that his grandfather was lent a gun for hunting with the Tawana.

While white hunters were in G/am, some Tawana also came, and asked Kxau's father, N!xam, if he wanted to work for them. He wasn't forced, and accepted willingly. He worked until Kxau was born, and one of the Tawana he had been working for had died. N!xam, along with /Xoan's father, //Ao, and another man named /Ui, would usually work alternate years in Botswana, the rest of their time being spent in the G/am area. Work included skinning and drying meat from Tawana hunting trips. N!xam never used a gun, but would help Tawana hunt. They would also work in the fields, helping with the cultivation of maize, tobacco, and calabash, and were paid mainly with maize and tobacco, and occasionally clothes or blankets.

Every time N!xam, /Ui, and //Ao left G/am for Namanani, they would be given a number of animal skins, mainly of kudu, oryx, and gemsbok, from various relatives. These would be exchanged for tobacco from the Tawana, the tobacco eventually being given back to the original owner of the skin in G/am. Extra parcels of tobacco would also be brought back and exchanged for more skins. This trade was important to the Ju/'hoansi, as it was their prime source of tobacco, which was highly desired. It seems that tobacco and animal skins were the only commodities used in trade at this time by the Ju/'hoansi.

Prior to 1949, the large majority of G/am Ju/'hoansi were living independently of other groups. The only contact they had with others was indirect- through N!xam, /Ui, and //Ao, and through an internal exchange system called *hxaro*. I will now briefly describe the concept of *hxaro*, and subsequently the details of it with respect to G/am.

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***Hxaro:* An Explanation**

Hxaro has been extensively documented by Wiessner (1977,1982.1986,1994). It is basically an internal exchange mechanism between specific Ju/'hoansi. *Hxaro* partnerships link up to form networks extending well beyond the knowledge of the individuals involved. It takes the form of balanced, non-equivalent, delayed exchange of gifts. *Hxaro* partnerships can be between people in one band, but are frequently between people from different *n!oresi*, living far from each other. There is no rule regarding how soon a *hxaro* partner must reciprocate, and this can take anything from a few weeks to a few years.

Hxaro partnerships have a strong social significance; the relationship underlying gift exchanges is the principal reason for the exchange itself. The exchange of gifts solidifies bonds between individuals, who then have access to natural resources from each other's *n!oresi* (sing. *n!ore*), which are territories belonging to different groups of Ju/'hoansi. Partnerships also serve as convenient lines along which to arrange marriages. Because of *hxaro* partnerships, people have alternative places to live, which can be vital when, for example, a drought occurs. *Hxaro* networks therefore alleviate local risk by sharing it with neighbouring groups.

Although of secondary significance, a further important aspect of *hxaro* networks is the distribution of the gifts themselves. Wiessner (1994) has shown that *hxaro* paths, comprised of many linked *hxaro* partnerships, serve to access and redistribute goods from distant groups. From at least the 1900's, *hxaro* paths extended in order to import goods from colonial trade routes (Wiessner unpublished ms:6). Exotic items such as pottery and metal were particularly favoured in the past and had scarcity value. It is this aspect of *hxaro* that I mainly focus on in this thesis.

There is a strong aspect of 'demand sharing' (see Peterson 1991) involved in *hxaro*. My informants told me that the person receiving the gift often decided the type of gift given. However, it was considered unreasonable to ask for something if the owner only had one of these things. If they had more than one, and were asked, then they would be expected to share.

Kavango spears, perhaps because they were particularly desirable, were *hxaroed* in a different way than other *hxaro* gifts. A person would give a spear to someone, instructing them to go and hunt eland. Once the recipient of the spear had killed an eland, he would take the fat from the stomach, intestines and chest, and wrap them in the animal's skin and give the parcel back to the person who gave them the spear. Once this had been done, the spear could then be *hxaroed* on. It would follow a prescribed path, and whatever gift came back, would go back to the first person who *hxaroed* the

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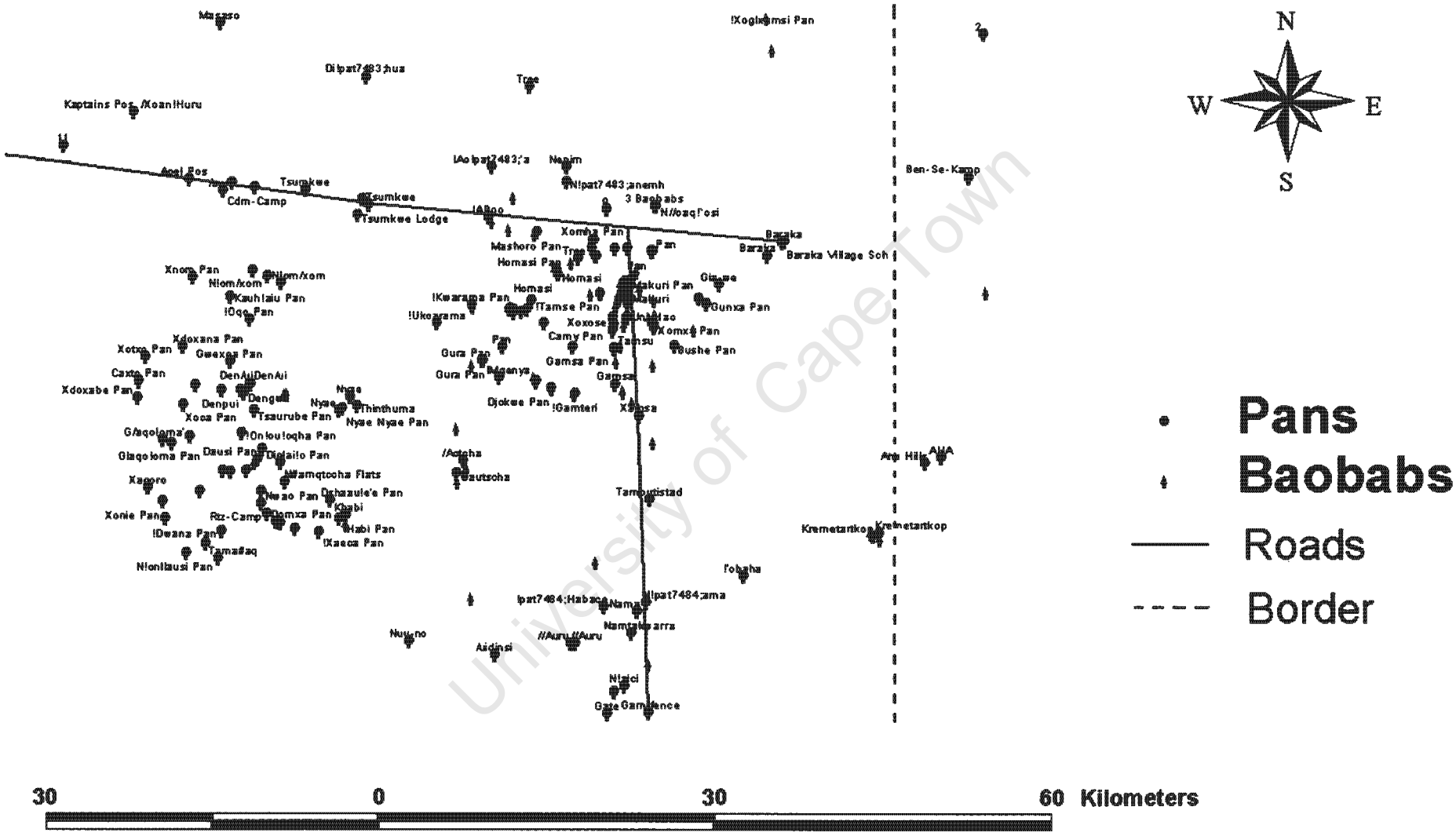

Fig 3 Map showing Baobabs and some important Ju/'hoansi places in the area around, and to the north of, /Gam.

spear. A typical reciprocal gift for a spear, would have been a headband, bracelet, and a kaross, all made with ostrich eggshell beads.

Hxaro through G/am: Between the Ghanzi area and the Kavango

I was told that at no time in the recent, or distant past, were places lying East or West of G/am particularly important in terms of *hxaro*. There was virtually no *hxaro* with the west as, due to the lack of perennial water, very few people lived there. Lee (1976) has documented *hxaro* ties between /Xai /Xai and G/am in the past, and states that before the arrival of Herero or Tawana, /Xai /Xai was a trading centre, with Ju/'hoansi from various places coming to visit and *hxaro* (ibid.86-88). Sabe, and her family, used to *hxaro* with family to the east at /Xai /Xai, and was an important link between G/am and /Xai /Xai. However, she, and all my other informants agreed that, in terms of *hxaro* gifts, places in the east were poor, often having nothing to give. There were a few examples given of things *hxaroed* east or west in the past, but knowledge of where exactly these gifts would be *hxaroed* to next was limited.

I asked about *hxaro* relationships between specific people, what was typically given and received, and where these things subsequently went next. Of the examples given, there was only one case where *hxaro* gifts were moving west: Kxau's father *hxaroed* with N=amce from !Um in the south, and would give him such things as ostrich eggshell necklaces, copper and arrows. N=amce would give Kxau's father copper and ostrich eggshell jewellery, which would then be given north. N=amce *hxaroed* gifts from Kxau's father to the west, but Kxau had no idea exactly where. The area directly west of G/am on map 3 has no pans, and must be the place referred to.

Although, as mentioned, *hxaro* with /Xai /Xai seems to have been limited, it certainly happened. Kxau's father did *hxaro* with people from /Xai /Xai. He would give things like ostrich eggshell jewellery, animal skin blankets, snake and animal skin bags, and arrows. In return, he would receive glass beads, Kavango knives, clay pots, copper jewellery, and arrows. This *hxaro* example relates to a time before Herero or Tawana settled in G/am, probably when Kxau's father was periodically working in Namanani, deeper in Botswana. When Sabe was younger, she recalls her parents' generation receiving small glass beadwork, copper jewellery, wooden bowls and spoons, some metal from Ghanzi, and arrows, all from /Xai /Xai. They would give back ostrich eggshell jewellery and water containers, small glass beadwork, metal plates from Ghanzi, animal skin blankets, clothes and bags, and arrows. /Xai /Xai apparently then *hxaroed* things north, but nobody could tell me exactly where.

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Before the Herero and Tawana settlement of G/am, Kxau's father was supplying people from G/am with tobacco, acquired from his employers in Botswana. Although it wasn't mentioned, it seems likely that some tobacco would also have come through *hxaro* from people at /Xai /Xai- If Kxau's father was working at a place in Botswana, it is probable that people from /Xai /Xai, who were closer to the Tawanas, were working as well. They also would have received tobacco in payment, some of which would have been *hxaroed*.

However, in the past, most *hxaroed* items moved along a path running roughly North to South, and it is this path which my informants were most knowledgeable about. Starting as far south as G!ae and Tzana in Ghanzi area, things such as ostrich eggshell jewellery, furs, and animal skin bags, would emerge from Nharo exchange networks and be *hxaroed* north. These *hxaro* gifts would pass through G!hanma !Um, /Un/a, G/am, N=ama, /Gautcha into Nhoma and places in !Kaudom such as Cho/ana.

The ostrich eggshell jewellery *hxaroed* north through G/am, always seems to have been made by Ju/'hoansi or Nharo living further south. I asked /Xoan if she had ever made ostrich eggshell jewellery in the past, to which she replied that nobody in G/am, including herself, had ever made them, and had only received them through *hxaro* from the south. This was later confirmed by her son, /Eishe, who told me that only Nharo Bushmen made ostrich eggshell beads at first, and that later, some Ju/'hoansi had learnt to make them. He had never seen any Ju/'hoansi in G/am making ostrich eggshell beads. Having said this there are documented examples of people making ostrich eggshell beads in the Nyae Nyae Dobe area. I argue that this was a result of tourist demand for curios starting in the 1960's and 1970's. There are many necklaces, bracelets and other jewellery items sold to tourists in Tjum!kui, and the quality of the beads is noticeably inferior to traditional ones.

Modern materials would also be *hxaroed* north from Ghanzi after the settlement of white farmers in the area at the beginning of the 20th century. Smaller, coloured glass beads of various colours became common *hxaro* gifts. Pieces of tin were *hxaroed*, and made into tobacco pipes or arrowheads, and metal utensils, usually plates, cups, and spoons, would also occasionally be *hxaroed* north. Metal pots were sometimes *hxaroed* north, but these were rare. Some of these modern materials would follow the same *hxaro* routes as the ostrich eggshell, furs and animal skin bags.

Kxau informed me that he used to receive metal utensils from Ghanzi. His brother-in-law would give these things to Kxau's sister, who would in turn give them to Kxau. I asked him which places he or his forefathers went to in the south for *hxaro*, and consequently received things from Ghanzi. He replied only G/am, G!hanma, and /Un/a. However, /Eishe talked of places further south such as //Ana, which /Eishe himself visited, and G!ae and Tzana even further south, which his parents visited. These three places, particularly //Ana, were places where Ju/'hoansi would meet Nharo (and //Au//ei) and

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exchange goods. Passarge passed through //Ana on his way to G/am from Ghanzi. After camping on the Groote Laagte, a riverbed on modern maps, they reached //Ana, the first pan with water on the journey (Wilmsen 1997:115).

Among the materials moving south along the same path were many things made by Bantu-speaking fisher-farmers living along the Kavango. Clay pots, metal tools, wooden kitchen utensils, jewellery made with large white glass beads, copper bracelets and headbands, and tobacco would typically move south through the places mentioned above, into the Ghanzi area. This can be seen as a continuation of trade patterns observed in the late 19th century (see pg 8-9).

On my first trip to Bushmanland, I spoke to several Ju/'hoansi living further north who related how they had *hxaroed* and traded for these Kavango materials. Dam, a close relative of informants from Cho/ana (Smith & Lee 1997) was born in /'Aoha in the !Kaudom valley, and lived there until the reserve was gazetted. In the past, his family would visit the Kavango to the north to trade. They would usually trade with Diriko, and less often with Mbukushu further east. Animal skins, mongongo nuts, and other bushfood were exchanged for maize, mahango (a crop similar to maize), clay pots, axes, knives and spears. Large white glass beads were sometimes acquired, from the Diriko alone. Some of Dam's forefathers had learnt to make boats from the Diriko whilst working for them, and would occasionally build these to be used in further exchange with the Diriko.

/Uisa, from a place near Karakuwisa on the Omuramba Omatako, gave me some typical examples of trade with Qwangalis living in the area: For a six inch knife, including the handle, five ostrich eggshell necklaces would be given, and for a knife twice this size, twice the number of necklaces would be given. One animal skin would be given in exchange for a small clay pot, while a larger skin, would fetch a larger pot.

Another Ju/'hoansi elder, also called Kxau, told me how his family used to acquire Kavango materials from the north. Kxau was born in Nhoma, and moved further south to N/omchacha when he married. Prior to the establishment of the !Kaudom reserve in 1960's, Kxau's family would do *hxaro* with relatives from his mother's side at Karakobis and Cho/ana, where they knew they could get metal tools, particularly spears and knives. It is likely that his relatives from Cho/ana were part of the same band that informants spoken to by Lee & Smith (1997) belonged to. When Kxau's family went to Cho/ana and Karakobis, they would take lots of ostrich eggshell necklaces, earrings, and belts, mongongo nuts and animal skins. In addition to spears and knives, they would also receive axes, clay pots and pipes, large white beads, and wooden bowls. Kxau thought that his family first acquired metal tools when his grandfather was younger.

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Ju/'hoansi from G/am would usually receive Kavango materials through *hxaro* in G/am itself, from visiting relatives, as well as places to the north. Kxau said that his father went to N=ama, //Auru, and /Gautcha most for *hxaro*, and that these were the best places for it. /Eishe believed that /Gautcha and Maxamis, a place west of //Auru, were the best places in the north to do *hxaro*.

/Eishe's parents would usually spend most of the rainy season in //Ana towards the Ghanzi area, where Tsamma melons were plentiful. Here they would trade with Nharo and *hxaro* with Ju/'hoansi, mainly giving them things from the Kavango, and receiving things from Ghanzi. In autumn, they would often travel north of G/am to a place with many Marimba beans. From here they would go to N=ama and //Auru, then possibly on to /Gautcha and Tjum!kui, doing *hxaro* all the way, giving things which they had received from the south. This example is a good illustration of the north- south *hxaro* pathway as a system, tapping into goods from both the Ghanzi and Kavango regions, and redistributing them among Ju/'hoansi.

Wiessner's *Hxaro* Paths: A comparison with my evidence

Wiessner (1994) has recorded *hxaro* networks in an historical perspective, focusing on the Dobe- /Xai /Xai area. She lists four *hxaro* paths leading out of /Xai /Xai that were particularly important in the past. The first ran east to the lake Ngami area, and possibly extended to other San groups between Ghanzi and Sehitwa. The second ran north from /Xai /Xai through Dobe to Nxau Nxau, then probably to the Tsodilo hills. The third route wound its way south through /Du/da (/Un/a) into the Ghanzi area, connecting with Nharo exchange networks. Further evidence for this route comes from Wilmsen (1989:199, unpublished ms a:5). His informants at /Xai /Xai told him of exchange with "friend Zhu (Ju/'hoansi), usually from around Ghanzi" (ibid.) who would exchange beads with Ju/'hoansi from near /Xai /Xai. Exchanged goods then passed through /Xai /Xai, Qangwa, and the Tsodilo hills. It seems clear to me that this corresponds with Wiessner's second and third *hxaro* paths, which then connect with Nharo ("friend Zhu") to the south. Lastly, Wiessner mentions a route that ran through Nyae Nyae to G/am, and continued SW into the Gobabis area in Hereroland. These last two routes are of particular interest when considered in conjunction with information gleaned from my informants at G/am.

There are two noticeable differences between my results and Wiessners. Firstly, my work shows a lack of evidence for a *hxaro* path running from G/am to the Gobabis area, whereas Wiessner suggests this was important. She states that it was prevalent until the 1970's, when many Ju/'hoansi relocated to Tjum!kui. It is possible that this path existed before my informant's life times, and that it was a

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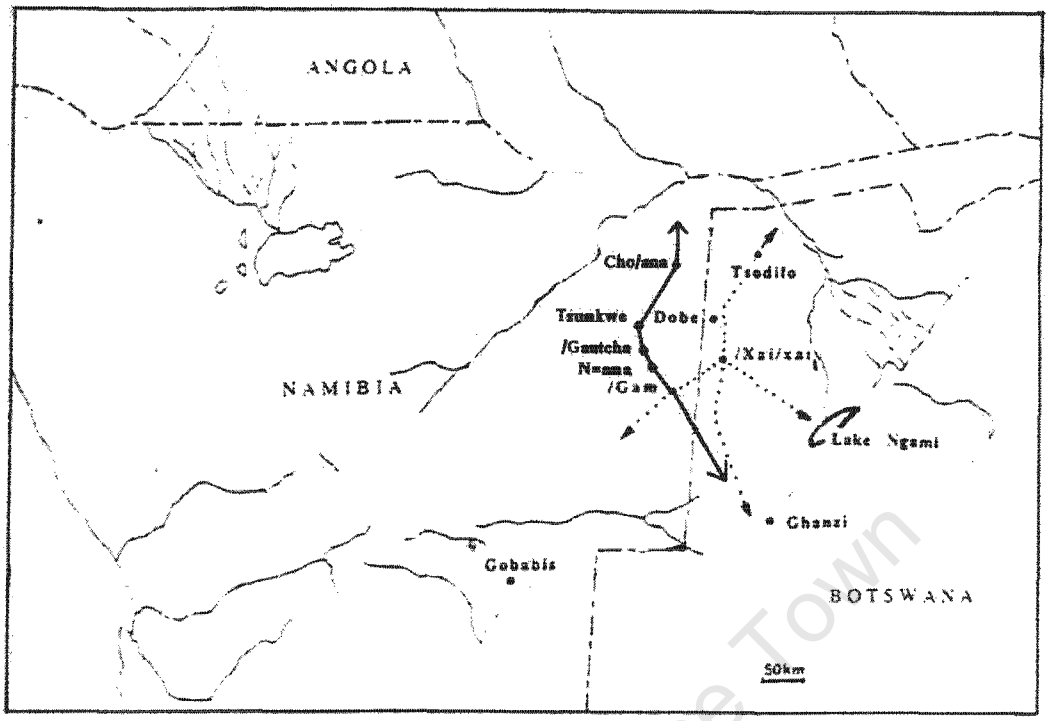

Figure 4: Map comparing my *Hxaro* path through G/am (solid lines), with Wiessners through /Xai /Xai (dotted lines). Map from Wiessner (1994).

residual path running to the Oorlams in Gobabis. The second discrepancy, which I will now clarify, is that where Wiessner, and Lee (1976), suggest a greater intensity of *hxaro* between /Xai /Xai and G/am in the past, the Ju/'hoansi I spoke to at G/am suggested that this connection was less important.

Wiessner's path going through /Xai /Xai to the Kavango passes through the Dobe area, Nxau Nxau, and then to the Tsodilo hills. In the examples above, Kxau talks of giving *hxaro* gifts to /Xai /Xai, which were subsequently *hxaroed* north, but he couldn't name any places. It is possible that these gifts passed along the path in question towards the Tsodilo hills. However, none of my informants in G/am mentioned any of these names other than /Xai /Xai. One possibility is that these places were too far from the Ju/'hoansi of G/am to be known or heard of. However, names equally far north, such as Cho/ana and Nhoma, frequently came up in conversation. Nobody I spoke to had been to, or knew anyone who had been to Cho/ana or Nhoma, but the significance of these places to G/am in terms of *hxaro* was often mentioned.

It is possible that the connection between G/am and /Xai /Xai was important in the more distant past, i.e. beyond living memory, and that G/am was part of the *hxaro* path leading towards the Tsodilo hills. Wiessner's research in question was carried out in the seventies, and her informants were talking

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of *hxaro* paths that were important at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. Their memories would have reached further back in time than those of Ju/'hoansi at G/am today.

Another possibility is that G/am and /Xai /Xai were part of two different *hxaro* paths running north allowing access to Kavango materials. On one occasion, I asked Kxau why there was little *hxaro* with /Xai /Xai in the past. He replied that people from both /Xai /Xai and G/am used to *hxaro* mainly to the north and south, and that as a consequence there wasn't so much *hxaro* between the two. However, it seems unlikely that two places so close together would have been part of different *hxaro* systems running parallel to each other.

I suggest that /Xai /Xai did form part of the *hxaro* path between the Ghanzi area and the Kavango, but its part was under-emphasised, due to its general paucity in *hxaro*. Kxau's dissatisfaction with /Xai /Xai as a *hxaro* source may have led to his explanation that it was not part of the *hxaro* path running north-south through G/am. Places such as /Gautcha, N=ama and //Auru, on the other hand, were frequently spoken of, as they apparently contributed much more in terms of *hxaro* gifts, to G/am. However, G/am may have been part of a major *hxaro* path running through /Xai /Xai to the Tsodilo hills in the more distant past.

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CONCLUSION

Before any Tawana or Herero settled in G/am, their contact with the G/am Ju/'hoansi seems to have been small scale and infrequent. It seems that at times, the Tawana were an important source of tobacco, with a small number of Ju/'hoansi working and trading in order to get it. The evidence presented, suggest that contact with the fisher-farmers living far to the north, compared to Tawana in the east, was more extensive and enduring. Having said this, the contact with the fisher-farmers also seems to have been limited and infrequent. The small number of potsherds found on archaeological sites in and around Nyae Nyae Dobe show that *hxaro* with the north, or elsewhere, was not common. Smith (2000:71) notes that European traders met Ju/'hoansi in the late 19th century who were using bone arrow points as opposed to metal. Informants at Cho/ana thought that the first metal came with the arrival of whites, which suggests that contact with the north wasn't of major significance (Smith & Lee:1997).

It seems clear that during this time, the Ju/'hoansi were living independently of others, engaging with them only selectively. Part of the reason that the western sandveld wasn't colonised at this time may be similar processes of political mobilisation to resist foreign incursion as that documented by

Guenther (1993). Passarge (Wilmsen 1997:201) mentions a group of Ju/'hoansi at Schadum who were led by a 'Hauptling' (probably meaning chief) who in turn answered to an 'Oberhauptling' called !Auka. However, it seems that Herero and Tawana paid relatively little attention to the Nyae Nyae Dobe and surrounds until bore-holes were sunk in the mid 20th century, allowing perennial grazing. However, the area has witnessed increased settlement by Tawana, Herero and other groups during the second half of the 20th century.

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3: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN G/AM JU/'HOANSI AND HERERO/ TAWANA IN THE EARLY 1950's

DETAILS OF CONTACT

General

Marshall & Ritchie (1984:38) state how in around 1949, a Mutwana and several Herero families established a cattle post at G/am. Kxau's story confirms this. He told me how two old Tawana men came to G/am and offered him employment, which he accepted. He then left with them for Namanani to fetch a number of cattle, which, along with the Tawana, were brought back to G/am.

The two old men, with their families, settled at G/am, around a kilometre northeast of the waterhole. A short while later, a number of Herero, who were subject to the Tawana, also settled at G/am, about 1 kilometre to the southwest of the waterhole. Around this time, many different bands of Ju/'hoansi would come and stay in G/am during the dry season. /Eishe mentions seven groups, from /Ain=un, //Ana, !Um, /Auru, N=ama, N=o//ana, and G!hanma. Lorna Marshall mentions five groups of around 158 people (L. Marshall 1976:4).

Both Herero and Tawana were quick to employ local Ju/'hoansi. The Ju/'hoansi were seen as socially and physically inferior to the Herero and Tawana, and while they were in G/am they accepted their subordinate position. Although they claim they were mistreated and exploited, it would be wrong to assume that the Ju/'hoansi were entirely dominated at this time. They still retained some autonomy, and were actively engaged in a relationship initially characterised in part by mutual dependence. Ju/'hoansi relied on Herero and Tawana principally for tobacco, but also for maize and some meat, while the Herero and Tawana needed Ju/'hoansi labour, hunting skills, animal skins, and a variety of bush food. It is important to remember that change is not simply dictated from the outside, as Ju/'hoansi are active agents in economic relationships:

> "In popular descriptions of 'Bushmen' in Namibia and abroad, wage labour is considered the exact opposite of living off nature. This, however, obscures continuities between the two, as former hunter-gatherers now forage on agropastoralist economies and on the State without changing their internal social organization drastically and without necessarily adopting new institutions." (Widlok 1999:107)

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I identified two distinct forms of employment that took place at this time. The first was casual, intermittent labour, for various people, with workers living separately and far from their employers. This seems to have been the most common form of employment during the period in question. The second type of employment was semi-permanent, with Ju/'hoansi working for specific individuals, often through the year, and living close to them. I will describe each form of employment separately.

Casual, Intermittent Labour

When the first Tawana and Herero settled at G/am, most Ju/'hoansi, while staying in the area, lived on a ridge overlooking, and a few kilometres to the south of the waterhole. This afforded them a good view of the waterhole and the surrounding area. One of the benefits of this, as I was told, was that the Ju/'hoansi could see any Herero or Tawana approaching their camp. On these occasions, the Ju/'hoansi would send their children to the bush to hunt and gather, as they didn't want them to be forced to work.

Nevertheless, many Ju/'hoansi ended up working for the Tawana and Herero. /Eishe explained how, on some occasions, when his relatives went to the waterhole, they were confronted and ordered to work the next day. However, the more common reason for working was due to the desire for tobacco: when Ju/'hoansi asked for tobacco, they were told they had to work for it.

Men would typically have to skin animals, cut grass for horses to eat, and for hut roofs, or help construct kraals. They would also make eland skin belts, called *hxore*, used to tie cows legs together while they were milked. Women would also cut grass, and fetch water from the waterhole for the fields. Payment for this kind of work was usually quite poor. Small amounts of tobacco, or enough maize for a meal would be given for a day's work.

Herero and Tawana would often take Ju/'hoan women as casual girlfriends, sometimes forcibly. Other than this, it seems that few relationships of any kind were created between Ju/'hoansi living along the ridge and the pastoralists. This suggests that the Herero and Tawana were the dominant groups. However, during the very early settlement of G/am by Herero and Tawana, Ju/'hoansi involved with the above work didn't initially learn to speak Herero or Tawana, and would just speak to them 'like they were Ju/'hoansi'. Sign language also seems to have been a common form of communication at this time.

Ju/'hoansi living along the ridge would work for various people, that is they were never employed by a specific individual or family for a long period of time. Work was arranged on a short-term basis:

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Usually, a Herero or Tawana would tell someone to come and work for them for around 1-5 days, and to bring some others to help. Of these, only a few would turn up, while others would opt out, due to the poor payment. Ju/'hoansi would still go hunting and gathering whenever they chose to. /Eishe said that people would sometimes take turns to work each day, as nobody wanted to work, yet they wanted tobacco and maize. This may be an illustration of Ju/'hoansi manipulation of Herero: By making themselves sporadically available for work, their labour would be valued more. Even though the payment was small, working in this way was a means of accessing produce from a delayed-return, pastoralist economy in an immediate return capacity. That is, they were able to access maize and tobacco without changing their economic strategies or social systems.

Ju/'hoansi from other areas also came to G/am, mainly to get tobacco, and would also end up working in order to get it. People from places like !Um and Zam to the south, would typically spend around two to three weeks working in G/am, before returning to their *n!oresi*. Even /Eishe and his relatives would often spend entire years away from G/am, spending the dry season at G!hanma to the south.

Herero and Tawana would often ask Ju/'hoansi to go hunting with them. While /Eishe was staying at G!hanma, they would occasionally send young Ju/'hoansi to G/am for more tobacco. On these occasions, the Herero or Tawana would ask about game around G!hanma. If it was plentiful, they would go back with the young Ju/'hoansi and hunt with other Ju/'hoansi. The Ju/'hoansi were needed because of their knowledge of the land, movement of game, and their tracking skills. Usually two or three Herero or Tawana, with horses and guns or spears, would hunt with around three times the number of Ju/'hoansi who went on foot. The arrangement was beneficial to the Ju/'hoansi, who were almost guaranteed meat due to the Herero mounts and weapons. They typically killed around three eland on a trip, of which, meat from the neck, forearms and legs, was given to the Ju/'hoansi.

When the rains came, /Eishe and his family would leave G/am to hunt and gather at various places in the south. They never asked permission from any Herero or Tawana, or even told them that they were going. They only returned to G/am when there was no standing water left at wet season places outside G/am. However, there were a few Ju/'hoansi, such as Kxau, who often stayed in G/am through the year, as they were involved in a more permanent type of employment.

Semi-Permanent Labour

While working for the Tawana, Kxau, with a few other Ju/'hoansi doing similar work, lived around 20-30m from the Tawana houses. At this place, Kxau lived in a round mud and dung walled hut with a thatched roof. The hut was typical of Tawana and Herero, and its remains were still visible during

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my stay. He would usually work for three or four days each week, and would sometimes go and stay with relatives living on the ridge to the south on his off days.

Kxau worked in fields of tobacco and maize, cleaning them ready for planting, and harvesting the produce. He would occasionally fetch firewood for the Tawana, but this was done more often by the Tawana wives. His main responsibility was herding. He was given 25 head of cattle to look after, and this was his main responsibility. He was allowed to drink milk from the animals, and eat meat from any that died. Kxau later also worked for one of the first Herero to settle in G/am, a man who had apparently been kind to his father. He also tended their cattle, as well as chopping wood to make poles for huts.

This patron-client arrangement in cattle herding, called *mafisa*, was common with Tawana, less often with Herero, and is well documented (see eg Lee 1979). Clients were typically paid with one female calf a year. However, this rarely led to the accumulation of livestock by Ju/'hoansi due to the obligation to share, and the fact that people are ostracised for accumulating surplus (Lee 1979). No Ju/'hoansi at G/am knew of any Ju/'hoansi in the past who had built up herds of any description. Apparently, Kxau was only given male animals in payment, and consequently never amassed a herd, being denied any breeding stock.

The main benefits of the *mafisa* system to the Ju/'hoansi was that it allowed them access to the by-products of pastoralism in a way that complemented their egalitarian social structure. As Widlok has demonstrated:

> "...the strategy that underlies lifestock-raising- the need to accumulate, to appropriate, and to secure delayed return in the way pastoralists do- is excorporated, because it remains in the hands of the pastoralists even when they are absent." (Widlok 1999:115)

Therefore Kxau was able to benefit from the products of cattle herding without having to adapt to a delayed return economy. Had the cattle been his, he would have been obliged to share them with friends and relatives. However, he was unable to give away any cattle, as they weren't his to give.

In Kxau's case, this type of employment was inherited- Kxau was employed by the Tawana as his father had served them well. His relationship with his employers was quite good. They often shared with him, and to some extent trusted and respected him. Kxau, and others working with him, soon learnt to speak some Herero and Tawana.

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Kxau spent long periods working for the Herero and Tawana. When his relatives left G/am in the wet season, he often asked his employers if he could join them. Sometimes they would let him go, but other times he was refused, as there was too much work to be done. In the latter case, he would either meet his relatives later in the year at N=o!obe, a day's walk to the south, or simply wait until they returned to G/am.

There were also other Ju/'hoansi working on similar semi-permanent basis at the time. /Eishe mentioned some Ju/'hoansi, whom he had never met before, that arrived with the first Herero. They stayed close to the Herero, herding and hunting with them. Later, when the Herero left, these Ju/'hoansi left with them.

Jobs such as these were beneficial to Ju/'hoansi in general, not only those who were employed. Many of Kxau's relatives, who didn't have direct access to milk and tobacco like Kxau, would often visit him and ask for some, and Kxau was always obliged to share. This meant that his relatives had direct access to these products, in an immediate return capacity, without having to work, or even be in contact with Herero or Tawana.

No Ju/'hoansi I spoke to had been jealous of Kxau's position, or had sought one like it in the past. Part of the reason was that they were afraid of the Tawana and Herero, and the responsibility that came with the work. But the main reason was that they could get some tobacco through trade (see below), or from Kxau, without having to work. In return for Kxau's generosity, he would be given many things from visiting relatives. Hunted meat and gathered food, plentiful at the time would be shared with him, and he probably would have received more of these because of his work.

By working for the Herero and Tawana, Kxau acquired a certain amount of power. As well as becoming a more popular *hxaro* partner, and having access to milk and tobacco, he became an intermediary, due to his ability to speak Herero and Tawana. For example, relatives often came to him and asked which people had tobacco to exchange for skins, and less often went straight to the Tawana or Herero themselves.

Due to his young age at the time, he was always obliged to share when asked to, as the people asking were usually older than he was. Therefore, as discussed, he was never allowed to accumulate a surplus of any kind. However, it was the very act of giving things away that afforded him a certain amount of status. The social aspect of sharing, particularly with Ju/'hoansi, is perhaps more important to the giver than the receiver; it is almost a display of generosity. This status would, however, have been limited to being recognised as a good *hxaro* partner, as people would be criticised for trying to appear to be too generous (Wiessner unpublished ms).

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Trade in the early 1950's

Nobody ever tried to trade for livestock in G/am, as they would have been too expensive. Ju/'hoansi did, however, get meat from domestic animals. Herero and Tawana would give Ju/'hoansi meat from animals that had died due to eating 'Gifblaar', a poisonous plant. They were usually given the animal's head, as well as meat from its neck and chest.

The only thing Ju/'hoansi traded for during early Tawana and Herero settlement, was tobacco. Although the Ju/'hoansi traded with berries, roots, and honey, animal skins were still exchanged most often, with different skins fetching different amounts of tobacco. When a skin was exchanged, one parcel of tobacco would be given in return, with an additional parcel given as a 'present'. However, when this 'present' was given, the recipient was informed that he consequently owed a further skin. My informants explained this as a way of trying to tie the Ju/'hoansi down and stop them from leaving G/am, so that the Herero and Tawana could exploit them for work and control them. However, this apparently didn't stop the majority of Ju/'hoansi from leaving G/am whenever they could.

According to the Ju/'hoansi, the first Herero and Tawana to settle in G/am were poor, and in the beginning had little food and few clothes. This trade would therefore have been an important source of food and clothes/ blankets to them. Their tobacco would have been invaluable to the Ju/'hoansi, as the only other way they received this was through *hxaro*.

I was surprised about the lack of variety in terms of goods, that Ju/'hoansi traded for at G/am. Ju/'hoansi I spoke to who had lived close to the Kavango river in the past, had traded for clay pots and pipes, various tools, metal, wooden bowls and spoons, and glass beads from the fisher farmers living along the river. G/am Ju/'hoansi, however, received none of these things from the Herero or Tawana, who had no jewellery and few tools. During initial settlement, G/am Ju/'hoansi were still receiving all of the goods from the Kavango mentioned above, through *hxaro*. Apparently, they didn't even want any tools from the Herero or Tawana as these were of inferior quality to those they already had from the Kavango.

***Hxaro* in the Early 1950's**

Herero and Tawana settlement at G/am seems to have affected *hxaro* little. As mentioned, most Ju/'hoansi would still move to the various wet season places to hunt, gather and visit relatives, and would *hxaro* all the way. The same materials were moving between the Ghanzi area and the Kavango,

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through the G/am area, although the large white beads seemed to be gradually replaced by the small ones of various colours.

Although Herero and Tawana seemed to have contributed little to Ju/'hoansi *hxaro* networks in terms of new materials, they apparently often forcefully asked for things from Ju/'hoansi that had been received through *hxaro*. The most sought after things were spears and knives from the Kavango, and ostrich eggshell jewellery from the Ghanzi area. They would offer tobacco in return, and some Ju/'hoansi, feeling intimidated, would occasionally go through with the exchange. However, most would refuse, but promise to bring skins to exchange instead. These *hxaro* gifts may have given Ju/'hoansi bargaining power in their relationship with the pastoralists. It's unlikely that the exchange of *hxaro* gifts for tobacco in G/am had a drastic impact on *hxaro*. I was told that there were many *hxaro* gifts running north and south at the time, and very few were going to the Herero or Tawana.

I asked Kxau whether, due to his restricted mobility, he did less *hxaro* with relatives living outside G/am. He replied that he actually did more *hxaro* at this time, but *hxaro* partners would come and do *hxaro* with him at G/am: People visited G/am more often during early Tawana and Herero settlement, mainly due to the availability of tobacco and maize. When Kxau reciprocated, he often did it at G/am, instead of travelling to *hxaro* partners *n!oresi*. Wiessner (unpublished ms:6) talks of central figures in *hxaro,* usually those with strong land rights. I assume this is due to the connection between *hxaro* and access to food and water. Therefore, Kxau may well have been one of these central figures due to his access to milk, maize and tobacco. It seems that *hxaro* may have intensified at this time, particularly in G/am, due to the availability of products from the pastoralist economies. More frequent visiting, mainly due to the desire for tobacco and maize, would have led to more frequent *hxaro*.

As mentioned at the end of Chapter 1, there is a gap of around thirty years between the last two phases of contact in G/am. Therefore, before I describe the final phase, I will first describe some important events and changes that have transpired since early settlement.

CHANGES SINCE EARLY SETTLEMENT

'Blackbirding'

From the early fifties, white farmers from the Gobabis area started coming to G/am, taking Ju/'hoansi back to their farms for cheap labour. (Ritchie 1987:42). A number of Ju/'hoansi were taken from G/am to Gobabis, and most never returned. The white farmers promised to provide clothes, blankets,

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food and drink, which proved to be too tempting for many Ju/'hoansi. Some Ju/'hoansi were told that they would only be provided with a lift to Gobabis, not back.

Taking Ju/'hoansi from their homes for cheap labour, or 'Blackbirding', took place on a large scale at this time. Elizabeth Marshall Thomas, writing of her visit to G/am in 1955, states how two entire bands from the /Gautcha area, and many individuals from G/am were taken for work. White farmers had offered them a ride in their trucks, saying they would soon come back, but they never did (E.M. Thomas 1959:Ch 10).

Ju/'hoansi were made to work on various farms in the Gobabis area, with traditional bands or kin groups often split up. Kxau worked on a farm for around five years, feeding animals, and watering fields, and was appointed foreman. His wife, Sabe, worked in the kitchen, on the same farm. They were given clothes, blankets, food, coffee, tea, sugar, and some money. They stayed working there for about five years before returning to G/am.

According to /Eishe, among the first Ju/'hoansi to be taken to the Gobabis area were most of the best hunters. This put a considerable strain on the Ju/'hoansi who remained at G/am. Not only did they often struggle to regularly kill animals (for food, blankets and clothes), they now found it harder to acquire tobacco, or pay off previous debts, as skins were the principle means of trading for tobacco. /Eishe said that at this time it was common for people to remove animal skins from their blankets to exchange for tobacco, or to pay off their debts. One year after the good hunters had left for Gobabis, /Eishe, and several others decided to join them. The reason he gave for this decision was that they didn't have enough blankets.

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The Departure of Herero and Tawana from G/am

After the first Ju/'hoansi, including Kxau had been taken to Gobabis, police evicted all Herero and Tawana from G/am in 1956, and sent them back to Botswana, leaving only Ju/'hoansi (Ritchie 1987:40). Subsequently, Tawana and Herero would occasionally visit G/am on hunting trips, and sometimes try and settle, however they were always forced to leave by the police. Ju/'hoansi were still in contact with both Herero and Tawana at this time. They would periodically visit /Xai /Xai in Botswana to buy tobacco, with skins, from a few Herero and Tawana who had now settled there. Apparently no work was done; they stayed with relatives and only traded with the Herero and Tawana.

Ju/'hoansi Dispersal and Re-Settlement

Under the Odendaal Commission in 1966, G/am was proclaimed part of Hereroland East as opposed to most Ju/'hoansi lands in Namibia which were designated as lying in Bushmanland to the north. It is unclear if this restricted the movement of G/am Ju/'hoansi. However, it must have had a psychological effect. More recently, following the Delimitation Commission in 1992, G/am became part of the Otjozondjupa region, which embraces Nyae Nyae. Although it didn't directly affect the people in G/am, the establishment of the !Kaudom game reserve to the north during the sixties meant the displacement of many Ju/'hoansi (Kibbassa 1997:5).

Later, in the late seventies/ early eighties, Kxau and many others from G/am went to a place northeast of G/am called N!ukon!au to work for the police, patrolling the newly erected fence between Botswana and Namibia, making sure that no people or livestock crossed it. Life for Kxau at this time seems to have been quite good. He was paid N$300 a month, and was able to keep small gardens of maize and mahango. Relatives from /Un/a and /Xai /Xai would often come and visit him. His job again made him a popular *hxaro* partner. He would often give visiting relatives money as well as food. Five years later, when the sergeant Kxau had been working for left, Kxau became afraid that his new boss would treat him badly, so he resigned.

In December 1959, an administrative centre was established at Tjum!kui in order to promote a more settled lifestyle for Ju/'hoansi, including animal husbandry and agriculture (Marshall & Ritchie 1984:4). As Tjum!kui developed, a number of job opportunities arose. Many people left their *n!oresi* either due to work, or because they were dependants of those working, indirectly benefiting from wage labour. /Eishe, for example, went to Tjum!kui to help construct a road to Grootfontein, and one from Aasvoelness to N=ama. This latter road was probably necessary for the South African Defence Force (SADF) army post established at Aasvoelness.

In 1978, SADF army posts, set up in western Bushmanland, started recruiting Ju/'hoansi, mainly from Tjum!kui. Around a thousand Vasakela were also employed, having been brought in from the northwest (Ritchie 1984:62). By 1981, men were earning around R350 per month on top of rations. Consequently, this led to tensions in Ju/'hoan society, in which sharing was so important (ibid.).

The lure of the army posts, as well as opportunities in Tjum!kui, led to Ju/'hoansi aggregation at these places. Places such as G/am, however, declined in importance to many Ju/'hoansi. Part of the reason may have been because of the Odendaal Commission discussed above. However, G/am was visited less than in the past, mainly as many of its previous inhabitants were dispersed, now living at the

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army posts, Tjum!kui, /Xai /Xai , and in the Gobabis area. G/am was also visited less because it no longer provided access to resources that were difficult to obtain elsewhere.

The Decline of *Hxaro*

The 'Blackbirding' that took place in G/am and elsewhere was extremely disruptive in terms of *hxaro* networks: Ju/'hoansi taken to the Gobabis area were too far to maintain *hxaro* with kin in Nyae Nyae, so gifts were saved to be given on a person's return to Nyae Nyae. However, many people never came back from their jobs on the farms. Consequently, many *hxaro* ties were effectively severed. I recorded a long list of names of people that Kxau *hxaroed* with in the past, of which forty-nine are still alive today. Of these, twenty people have done no *hxaro* with Kxau since the 1950's, which is the time when so many people were taken to the Gobabis area for work.

Kxau last *hxaroed* with sixteen of his *hxaro* partners who are still alive while he was working at N!ukon!au, patrolling the fence. This corresponds to the time when an increasing number of jobs were created by the army and in Tjum!kui, leading to aggregation, and a shift towards a more sedentary lifestyle. After this job, Kxau returned to G/am which was no longer a focal point for Ju/'hoansi or *hxaro*.

With the aggregation of Ju/'hoansi at Tjum!kui and the army posts, movement of materials along previous *hxaro* paths declined. By this time, the demand for material from the Kavango and the Ghanzi area had lessened considerably. Metal became more common in Bushmanland- from visiting whites, fences, or scrap from various sources in Tjum!kui or the army posts, enabling Ju/'hoansi to make their own tools. Clay pots were gradually replaced by metal, from handouts or from the shops. Ostrich eggshell jewellery was made more often to sell to visiting whites, and less often to be given in *hxaro*.

As mentioned, the opportunities provided by the army, as well as jobs in Tjum!kui, would have put a severe strain on sharing in Ju/'hoansi society. When the often high salaries were shared, through *hxaro* or other means, jealousy and conflict arose, due to the large number of Ju/'hoansi in a small area, and the availability of alcohol (Wiessner unpublished ms). *Hxaro* was now needed less as a way of securing access to food and water, as these were available in Tjum!kui. However, research has shown that *hxaro* ties, particularly with Botswana, were maintained at this time, in order to maintain alternate residences for times of conflict, and to redistribute wealth between those in and out of employment (ibid.).

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Since the mid 20th century, traditional Ju/'hoansi lands have seen increased settlement by other groups. Various Kavango peoples, Herero, and N=ama now live in the region. One consequence of this has been the decrease in seasonal mobility for Ju/'hoansi: due to overgrazing, much bushfood has been destroyed, so many places were travelled to less often. With increased settlement, due to numerous boreholes being drilled, visiting relatives, and therefore *hxaro*, became less frequent. Also, with groups such as those from G/am losing ownership of their own *n!ore*, *hxaro* diminished as a means of securing access to resources which no longer belonged to the Ju/'hoansi in question.

Figures 5 & 6, constructed using data from research carried out by Polly Wiessner, are a good indication of the general decline of *hxaro* among Ju/'hoansi. The average number of *hxaro* partners per person from a sample of 35 Ju/'hoansi at /Xai /Xai in 1975 was 14.6. 4% (1.5) of this figure is accountable for by hxaro partners living over 76km away from the individual in question, while 31% (7) represents those living 26 to 75km away, 25% (1.8) those living 1 to 25km away, and 40% (2.6) those living in the same camp. However, the average number of partners per person from fifty-eight Nyae Nyae Ju/'hoansi in 1997 was only 6.9. Only 1% (0.1) of this figure represents partners living over 76km away, while only 18% (2.1) of it accounts for those living 26 to 75km away, 24% (1.8) for those living 1 to 25km away, and 57% (2.9) for those living in the same camp (Wiessner unpublished ms). These figures show a clear decline in *hxaro*. A further indication of this decline is in the comparison of percentages of peoples possessions obtained through *hxaro* in 1974 (69%), and in 1997 (34%)(ibid.). However, the figures also show a considerable decline, more specifically, in *hxaro* outside individuals' own camps, indicating its diminishing importance as a means of maintaining access to food and water in alternate residences.

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Figure 5:Mean Distance of Hxaro partners from 35 people in /Xai /Xai, 1975

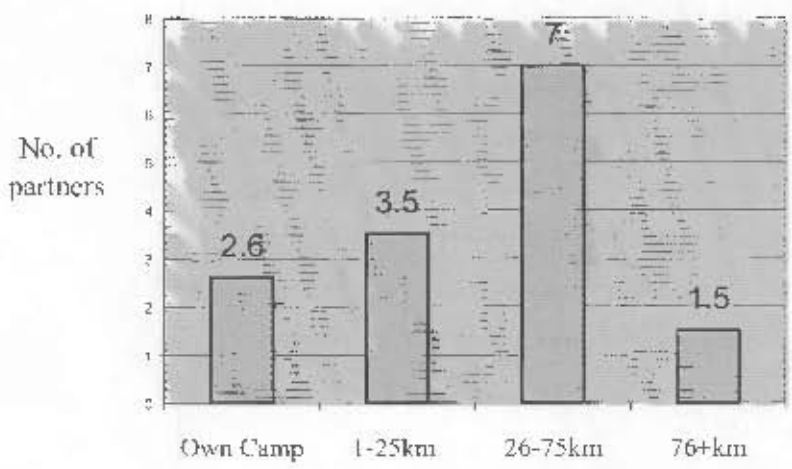
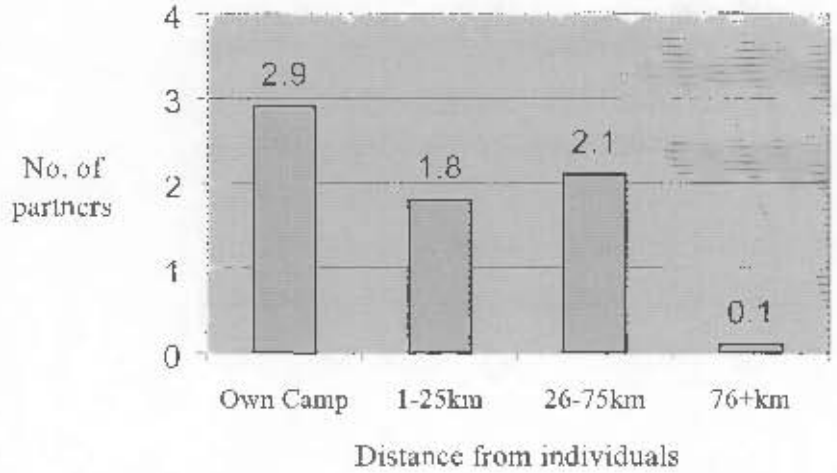


Figure 6: Mean Distance of Hxaro partners from 58 people in Nyae Nyae, 1997



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CONCLUSION

During the early 1950's, G/am was settled by a small number of Tawana and Herero, with Ju/'hoansi consent. However, most of the Ju/'hoansi living in the area were afraid of them, and avoided them whenever possible. The Herero and Tawana were the Ju/'hoansi's primary source of tobacco, and their only source of milk and maize, all of which were greatly desired. Consequently, an unequal relationship developed: Ju/'hoansi were made to work for tobacco, with pay being dictated by their employers. The Ju/'hoansi were seen as socially, politically, and physically inferior to the pastoralists.

However, I have shown how Ju/'hoansi at this time were not simply enserfed or made dependent at this time, and that, in many ways their relationships with the pastoralists was beneficial. Although they liked eating maize and drinking milk, they did not depend on them: the majority of their diet still came from hunted and gathered foods. Most Ju/'hoansi still moved seasonally at will, despite Herero and Tawana efforts to keep them in G/am.

The work arrangements to some extent complemented the Ju/'hoansi way of life, in that they were able to access products from a pastoralist economy without changing their social systems (Widlok 1999:107-135). Work was usually only done when Ju/'hoansi chose to, in order to get tobacco. However, tobacco was also acquired through trade.

The Ju/'hoansi, representing the vast majority in G/am at this time, were doing much *hxaro*, mainly with the same types of gifts used before pastoralist settlement. It seems that *hxaro* may have intensified in G/am due to the availability of tobacco, and food from the pastoralists. People with direct access to pastoralist products became more popular *hxaro* partners. Due to *hxaro*, some aspects of Ju/'hoansi material culture were superior to that of the Herero and Tawana. Things like spears, axes, knives, and jewellery from the north were better quality than those made or owned by the Herero and Tawana.

During this time, the relationship between Ju/'hoansi and pastoralists was one of dominance, to a certain extent, but not one of complete dependence; both relied on, but didn't need, each other. However, since the 1950's, due to a number of factors, this relationship has developed into one of increased dominance and dependence.

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4: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN G/AM JU/'HOANSI AND HERERO IN THE LAST TEN YEARS

DETAILS OF CONTACT

General

Around thirty years ago, probably when East Hereroland was established in 1966, a small number of Herero, different people from the original settlers, came and settled in G/am. They told Kxau and others that they knew G/am belonged to the Ju/'hoansi, but that they were going to settle anyway. This shows that while the Herero recognised Ju/'hoansi claims to land, they disregarded it. How long these Herero stayed in G/am is unclear, although it seems that at some stage, some Herero were again evicted from G/am.

/Eishe left the army a few years before independence, and decided to return to G/am. He was accompanied by his wife, Kxau, Sabe, and his brothers, with their wives. When they arrived at G/am there were no Herero or Tawana living there. No other Ju/'hoansi were in G/am at this time. Today, most of the previous Ju/'hoansi from G/am live 30km north of it, at the southern extremity of the Nyae Nyae conservancy (Wiessner pers comm.).

After independence, the Namibian government resettled hundreds of Herero refugees from the war with Germany, in G/am. The Herero, promised farms and boreholes, found none, and lived off government rations for two or three years, as they had in the 1960's. The Herero acknowledged Ju/'hoansi ownership of G/am, but told them that they were going to settle anyway. It was at this time that the natural resources around G/am quickly began to deteriorate. Due to communal grazing, the waterhole, and the lands for miles around it, became a dust bowl, with thorn bushes being the only common flora. Many of the new Herero settlers now had guns, and would hunt with no regard for conservation, killing as much as possible at any time. From the Ju/'hoansi point of view, this led to an increased dependency on the Herero for food, as they had to travel great distances to gather food or hunt with any success.

Since independence, G/am has been developed fairly quickly: a shop has been built, selling various food products, tobacco, alcohol, diesel, paraffin, and other essentials. A large school, with about twenty teachers has also been built. I only saw one Ju/'hoan boy attending the school, and the other pupils were almost exclusively Herero. A clinic, costing N$3 a visit, usually dispenses paracetemol

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and multi-vitamins for a wide variety of illness and injury. There is also a police station, and various ministry offices, including one for Agriculture, and Environment and Tourism.

Several shebeens have also emerged, selling traditionally brewed beer, for around 50c a cup, or bottled beer from Grootfontein. Consequently, drinking in G/am has become commonplace. Most Ju/'hoansi at G/am who are old enough, will spend any spare change on alcohol from either the shop or a shebeen. As in Tjum!kui, drinking at G/am has caused many problems (see eg Ritchie 1984:62).

Today, twenty-five Ju/'hoansi live in G/am, about 200m southeast of the waterhole, near the Ministry of Agriculture office. While they live quite a distance from the centre of G/am, they live close to several Herero households, which are now scattered around the waterhole in a radius of a couple of miles. The other bands that used to stay in G/am during the dry season have now either dispersed, or settled permanently elsewhere. /Eishe explained how most of them have settled in Tjum!kui or /Xai /Xai.

As mentioned above, returns from hunting and gathering, due to the large-scale settlement of pastoralists and their livestock, are far fewer than in the past. Nevertheless, hunted and gathered foods still play an important part in the Ju/'hoansi diet today. Hunted food consists mainly of the occasional porcupine and springhare. Large game is rarely caught these days, although a kudu had been recovered from a leopard kill during my stay. Mangetti nuts, and a few varieties of berry are often gathered.

Grewia berries are sometimes sold to Herero by the sack-full, and are eaten or used for making beer. Most of a day is spent collecting the *Grewia* berries. When I went with /Eishe and his daughter, he brought his bow and arrow, in case any animals were to be found. However, we only found a few cows, which is the norm these days. His daughter used a stick to dig for edible roots, which were cooked on a fire then eaten. The berries are collected, and after the leaves are removed, put in old maize sacks. On this occasion, two twenty-five kilogram maize sacks were filled with *Grewia* berries.

Every month, the Ju/'hoansi at G/am receive a twenty-five kilogram sack of maize from the government. Ju/'hoansi elders also receive a monthly pension in G/am of N$200, which is one of their main reasons for staying there. Much of this is effectively spent in advance, as the shop owner allows food, but no alcohol, to be bought on credit. I was surprised one day to find Kxau away from G/am when pension money was being handed out. However, I was told that he already owed more than a month's pension to the shop, so he was waiting until the following month, when he would receive $400. While he was away from G/am, he was at a distant cattle post where he has some small gardens in the care of some Herero. I was unable to elicit the exact details of this arrangement.

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Work today

Shortly before independence, after /Eishe, Kxau and others returned from Tjum!kui, they soon began selling firewood to Herero. With bushfood being scarce, they would use the money to buy food. They still do this today. A bundle of wood can fetch either a small amount of money, or some traditional beer, depending on what the buyer has, or decides they want to give. I believe that there is an important difference here in terms of the relationship between Herero and Ju/'hoansi: When the Herero (and Tawana) first settled in G/am in 1949, Ju/'hoansi were either forced to work, or more often coerced into working when they asked for tobacco. Now, however, Ju/'hoansi actively seek work from the Herero, asking them to buy wood from them. This shows an increased dependency on the Herero for the Ju/'hoansi livelihood.

When the Herero and Tawana initially settled in G/am in 1949, they tried, but were to some extent unsuccessful, to 'tie the Ju/'hoansi down' so that they were easily manipulated for cheap labour. Now, Ju/'hoansi are often indebted to Herero. When they are hungry or in need of tobacco, they sometimes ask certain Herero to give them maize or tobacco. The Herero will sometimes give them this but will make the Ju/'hoansi promise to come and help them with building a hut for example. Or, if Herero give Ju/'hoansi meat, they may tell them to prepare the skins of the animals in return. Now that Herero and Ju/'hoansi live so close together, it is hard for the Ju/'hoansi to avoid their obligations, as they are closely watched by Herero. During my stay, /Eishe was busy preparing goat skins owed for home brewed beer.

Other short-term employment included helping build the clinic, for N$30 a month. I noticed nobody in G/am who had a job similar to one like Kxau's in the early fifties, although towards the end of my stay I did see a Ju'/hoan, who could have been a herder, riding a donkey. Herders are more often Herero cattle owners, or their children. Although /Eishe did some herding shortly after independence, I noticed no Ju/'hoansi herding cattle during my stay in G/am. Work is almost exclusively casual and intermittent.

As the plan of the G/am Ju/'hoansi camp shows (fig 7), Kxau and Sabe now live some distance from the other Ju/'hoansi (H8). They moved shortly before I arrived. Plate 3 (photo) shows the fence constructed around Kxau's hut. He told me it was stop cattle from eating things from in and around his hut. However, /Eishe seemed to think that the fence was also to keep people out. Apparently, from working with Tawana and Herero for so long, Kxau had 'become like a black', particularly in terms of his attitude towards sharing.

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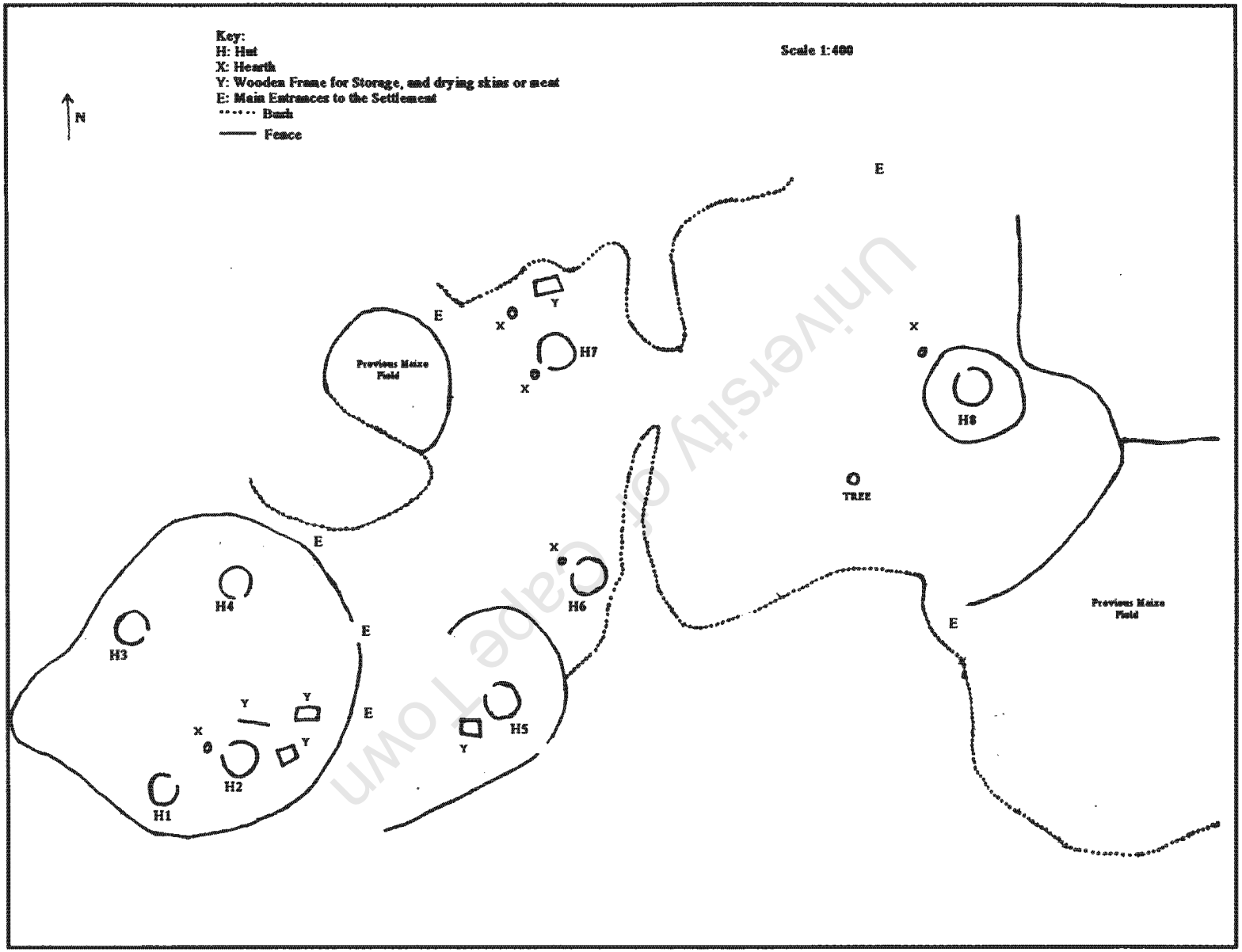

Figure 5: Plan of the Ju/'hoansi Settlement at /Gam

Plate 2: Kxau and Sabe's hut from the main settlement

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Plate 3: Shot showing the perimeter fence around Kxau and Sabe's hut

Hxaro today

People at G/am now do considerably less *hxaro* than in the past. As discussed, places such as N=ama, /Gautcha, //Auru, G!hanma, and /Un/a were frequently visited in the past to hunt, gather, and visit relatives, doing *hxaro* all the way. However, these places are now seldom visited. I asked if they still did *hxaro* if they did visit, to which they replied 'no', as there was nobody even staying at most of the places. Tjum!kui, now accessible by road, is sometimes visited, as many relatives from the above places now live there. Of the forty-nine people who *hxaroed* with Kxau in the past and are still alive today, only eleven have '*hxaroed*' with Kxau in the last four years.

The kinds of thing *hxaroed* are usually store-bought, utilitarian items. Around ten years ago, Kxau received a spear through *hxaro*, which has crosshatch decoration around the shaft. He thinks that it was made by people on the Kavango. However, these kind of *hxaro* gifts, so common in the past, are now rare. This decline, as discussed, is due to a number of factors, including 'blackbirding', and the creation of jobs. Also, with G/am effectively owned by Herero, Ju/'hoansi living there could not permit or deny access to its natural resources. Therefore, *hxaro* with G/am Ju/'hoansi was, in a sense, no longer worth while (Wiessner pers. comm.). However, perhaps the main factor of decline is the shift to dependence and sedentism caused by pastoralist expansion.

THE EFFECTS OF HERERO ENROACHMENT

The G/am Ju/'hoansi Marginalised

Woodburn (1997) talks about modes of subsistence in sub-Saharan Africa, namely agriculture, pastoralism, and hunting and gathering, being portrayed today as ethnic differences. Using several examples, he then argues that these categories actually existed as ethnic markers prior to the colonial period, and that they are indigenous and longstanding. He talks of agriculturalists' and pastoralists' discrimination of hunter-gatherers in the form of negative stereotypes, denial of rights, and segregation. Suzman argues that the Ju/'hoansi were a distinct ethnic group before incorporation. They were identified as being inferior, wild, and childlike (Suzman 2000). It therefore seems that subsistence strategies have been an important aspect in the formation of identities, ways of thinking, and the relationships between various groups.

In many societies in Africa there exists what Böllig (1987) refers to as the peripatetic niche. This is never occupied by the dominant group, but is filled by people who are usually despised, and avoided. Peripatetic people typically provide entertainment, ritual services, or construct handicrafts (including leatherwork). All peripatetic groups are denied access to the dominant means of production, i.e. they

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are not allowed to own cattle, or land on which to grow crops. In this way their peripatetic status is perpetuated.

Along the same lines, Smith (1998b) talks more specifically about hunters and herders, and the former's marginalisation by the latter. Using several examples from various parts of Africa, he illustrates how hunters are consciously kept on the periphery of herding societies. The hunter groups, while valued for special skills, are seen as low-status. They are denied any livestock, which allows the herders to keep the hunters 'tied down', so they can be exploited.

It seems that hunter groups in Africa are almost universally marginalised, and seen as inferior by food producers. The demand for land and labour leads to sustained contact between hunters and food-producers. This, in turn, leads to the hunters being encapsulated, and made dependent on the dominant food-producers. A look at the recent history of the G/am Ju/'hoansi is a good illustration of how this can occur.

Since the initial settlement of pastoralists at G/am, the Ju/'hoansi who have not left, have been increasingly marginalised, especially during the last ten years. A relationship of dominance and dependence has characterised the relationship between the Ju/'hoansi and Herero. The Ju/'hoansi, once valued for their knowledge of the land, tracking skills, and their contribution to the pastoralist diet, are now seen merely as cheap source of casual labour. Due to Herero take-over, the depletion of bushfood, the restriction of movement, and the denial of breeding stock, they have become increasingly dependent on the Herero and the state. This has enforced a sense of isolation and domination created by Herero encapsulation, the re-settlement of other Ju/'hoansi, and the inability of Ju/'hoansi to build their own herds due to their sharing rules.

Kxau thinks that the Herero took control of G/am in the 1980's, when a large number of them settled: the Ju/'hoansi told the Herero to allow them access to water, and give them food. The Herero agreed, but insisted that the Ju/'hoansi didn't stay too far from them, as they were afraid of cattle theft.

It is worth noting that Kxau perceived that proximity to the Herero at this time, as indicative of control. In the mid 20th century, Ju/'hoansi would generally spend most of the year away from G/am, living independently of Herero and Tawana, and rarely coming into contact with them. Even when they were in G/am, most lived far from the pastoralists, coming into contact with them usually only to work. Within the last fifteen years, however, the Ju/'hoansi have very seldom moved from G/am, and are surrounded by Herero households. They are constantly watched by Herero, who come in and out of their camp, requesting due labour, or just checking to see what the Ju/'hoansi are doing.

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When I asked /Eishe what it meant to him to be independent, he used, as an example, the availability of an edible root 'Sha', which is now hard to find, due to over grazing and over population. I also asked him what he would do if only Ju/'hoansi were in G/am today. He said he would leave hunting and gathering at various places, and eventually return to G/am, to find replenished and abundant bushfood. Today, bushfood does not regenerate due to the large numbers of livestock in the area. Both /Eishe and Kxau see decreased seasonal movement, and the depletion of bushfood as major components of the decline towards control.

Further south, in the Omaheke, Ju/'hoansi are even more dependent on others than the Ju/'hoansi are in G/am. Omaheke Ju/'hoansi may represent the next stage of dependence after that witnessed at G/am today. In the Omaheke, Ju/'hoansi have become a mobile labour force for black and white farmers (Suzman 2000). Today, Omaheke Ju/'hoansi either live and work on white owned farms, in 'communal areas working for Herero and Tawana farmers, in government resettlement camps, or in a squatter village outside Epako' (Sylvain 1999).

Increased settlement by white and black farmers has led to the Omaheke Ju/'hoansi becoming a marginalised underclass, squatters on their own land (Suzman 2000). Many are entirely dependent on the state and white or black farmers for food. Traditional bands have been broken up due to varying demands for labour in different areas, and many people now live far from their *n!oresi*. Hunting and gathering now play a minor role in their subsistence activities: Traditional skills now lie in the hands of a select few, referred to as 'old time people' (Suzman 2000:130).

It may be that the Ju/'hoansi in G/am will soon be in a similar state. The population of Herero and their livestock is increasing. Consequently, returns from hunting and gathering are becoming fewer, and without extensive kin networks to rely on, Ju/'hoansi are becoming increasingly dependent on the Herero and the state to survive.

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Hxaro and Dependence

Many relatives in neighbouring *n!oresi*, who were previously relied on in times of risk, have since been dispersed. As discussed, a consequence of this, plus decreased seasonal movement, as well the fact that the demand for previous *hxaro* gifts had diminished, was the decline of *hxaro*. Due to the lack of *hxaro* gifts entering G/am, the Ju/'hoansi material wealth subsided, while that of the Herero grew.

The *hxaro* gifts from the Kavango were previously objects of desire for the Herero and Tawana. They gave the Ju/'hoansi a certain sense of superiority over the pastoralists. They also, perhaps, gave the Ju/'hoansi some bargaining power, as the pastoralists could only get Kavango tools through the Ju/'hoansi. Now, however, they are only seen, and exploited, as a cheap labour source, as these goods can be acquired in shops.

The lack of semi-permanent jobs can partly be explained as a result of this relationship of increased dominance and dependence. Ju/'hoansi labour is no longer needed, and Herero can easily employ other Herero; the Herero community is much bigger and more established than in the past. /Eishe was paid only $20 per month for his herding job, which is the reason he gave me for quitting. However, there is another reason why jobs such as these are no longer worth while, namely the lack of *hxaro*. While Kxau was in a similar position, one of the main benefits was the fact that he became a more popular *hxaro* partner; more people did more *hxaro* with him. Consequently, he was receiving many things from the Ghanzi and Kavango regions. Much *hxaro* also meant he had more people to share with, or to resolve risk. However, obviously, without *hxaro*, these benefits of a semi-permanent job are absent.

In the past, *hxaro* was an important mechanism for maintaining independence of, and contact with other groups, due to the social bonds it perpetuated. Before Herero or Tawana settled in G/am, *hxaro* allowed Ju/'hoansi to access goods from distant groups without changing their economic or social strategies. These *hxaro* networks later had their benefits when Herero and Tawana first settled, allowing Ju/'hoansi to directly engage with them while still being to some extent independent.

The Ju/'hoansi themselves see *hxaro* as a symbol of independence, and the lack of it as a cause of dependence. *Hxaro*, in particular the *hxaro* path discussed, has played a part in an ideological structuring of the known world, which in turn contributed to the construction of identities, initially at 'individual' and 'band' level, later collectively, ie a pan 'Ju/'hoansi' identity across a large area.

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5: ASPECTS OF JU/'HOANSI IDENTITY AS A RESULT OF CONTACT

ORDERING THE LANDSCAPE

The importance of *hxaro* sources- structuring the landscape

During a conversation with /Xoan, I was trying to ascertain the exact whereabouts of one of the camps which she had told me was in the north. I questioned her further, pointing, and asking if the site was directly north of G/am, or slightly northeast. She then became slightly irritated, not understanding why I needed to pinpoint the place, and said 'north is north, south is south'. I later realised that this comment reflected a way of mentally ordering the physical environment, partly as a consequence of *hxaro* patterns.

The basic 'rules' of *hxaro* are that a certain proportion of gifts should be given to your spouse, and the rest given to their other kin (Wiessner pers comm.). However, when I asked Kxau about the 'rules', he explained how, passed down from parents to their children, they were basically that anything that was from the north, should be *hxaroed* to the south and vice versa. He illustrated his point with an example: If you marry a woman from the south, then things you receive from the north should be given to her, and she will give them to the south where she is from. This illustrates how Kxau visualised the north-south pathway as a fundamental component of *hxaro* itself.

Ju/'hoansi at G/am often saw places in terms of the types and amounts of things *hxaroed* to and from them. Most places were classified according to where they fit in to the north- south pathway mentioned above. For example, /Gautcha, N=ama, //Auru, Nhoma, and Cho/ana were frequently referred to as 'the north', as they all channelled materials from the Kavango south through G/am. Similarly, places in the south, both Nharo and Ju/'hoansi camps, were classified together as sites channelling traditional ostrich eggshell jewellery and animal skin clothes north. These places were often simply labelled as 'the south'. For example, when I asked about where certain *hxaro* gifts came from, I would nearly always be told either the 'north' or the 'south'. Only when I questioned further was I given a more specific answer.

As mentioned above, knowledge of *hxaro* to the east and west was limited. The Ju/'hoansi I spoke to, would speak of 'places in the east', and 'places in the west' less often than those in the north and south, and would usually refer to them in a dismissive way. How the Ju/'hoansi at G/am classified

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places in this way now needs to be ascertained, ie where, and how they drew boundaries between places in the 'north', 'south', 'east', and 'west'.

All of the elder Ju/'hoansi I spoke to about *hxaro* were very clear about this system, and retained knowledge of the people and places that were part of it. Yet, when we spoke about *hxaro* from north to south and back again, /Xai /Xai was only mentioned if I brought it up. /Xai /Xai appears, in terms of materials, to conform to the general pattern of *hxaro* running between Ghanzi and the Kavango. However, it is important to note that it wasn't perceived, by Ju/'hoansi at G/am, as being in the 'north' or 'south'.

Even though it lies northeast from G/am, /Xai /Xai was considered to be a place to the east, even by Sabe. One possibility for this is the relatively recent border fence between Botswana and Namibia, rendering /Xai /Xai on one side of the fence and G/am on the other. However, /Un/a, which was visited in the past by Ju/'hoansi at G/am, and lies on the Botswana side of the fence, is thought of as a 'place in the south'. I argue that /Xai /Xai was thought of as a place in the east as it did not form a major part of the *hxaro* path running north- south through G/am within living memory. As stated, /Xai /Xai was a relatively poor *hxaro* source in comparison with other places mentioned. It appears that in certain contexts, places were mentally arranged into groups, according to the *hxaro* path described above.

In terms of *hxaro,* places were mentally ordered into specific categories, the first two being 'places important to the north-south pathway', and 'places that were not'. The former category was divided further into 'the north', and 'the south', while places unimportant to the north-south pathway were sub-divided into 'the east', and 'the west'. Each of these categories carried its own implications about the specifics of *hxaro* in relation to its opposing category.

'Places important to the north-south pathway' channelled many things between Ghanzi and the Kavango, as described above. They were considered good places for *hxaro* compared to 'places unimportant to the north-south pathway' which contributed little, in terms of *hxaro,* to Ju/'hoansi at G/am. Places in 'the north' channelled Kavango materials south through G/am, and were usually considered better places for *hxaro* than 'the south' which channelled traditional materials, and later metal and small glass beads of various colours north through G/am. The categories 'east' and 'west' were simply considered poor *hxaro* sources.

This raises the questions such as what exactly a good or bad *hxaro* source is? Part of the answer is the importance of the resources, ie access to food and water, which the *hxaro* exchanges permit. However, natural resources from places in the north and south were valued equally, both being

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essential at different times of the year. The quality of *hxaro* sources was also defined by the *hxaro* transactions themselves. The type of gift given was obviously a strong determinant: generally, gifts from the Kavango were desired the most. While Kxau worked as a herder, the kind of things relatives asked for most, were copper, clay pots, knives, and tobacco. All of these, except tobacco, came from the Kavango.

However, the Ju/'hoansi I spoke to often referred to quantity of gifts when defining how important a *hxaro* source was. I once asked /Eishe if the 'north' or the 'south' was better, to which he replied that if someone had given you a spear, axe, and a knife, and you gave them back one ostrich eggshell necklace, you would be 'poor', because you hadn't given enough. However, a suitable reciprocal gift for a spear, would have been a headband, bracelet, and a kaross, all made with ostrich eggshell beads and animal skins.

I also asked about metal pots from the south, as I imagined these to be more desirable than clay pots, and whether these qualified sites to the south as better *hxaro* sources. They answered that metal pots came infrequently, whereas clay pots on the Kavango were easy to make, and therefore more common in *hxaro*. This meant that sites in the north were better than those in the south, due to the quantity of *hxaro* gifts. In fact, most materials from the south generally came in smaller amounts than those from the north. It therefore seems that quantity was important in terms of wealth of *hxaro* gifts.

I also questioned Kxau about whether or not G/am was a good source of *hxaro* in the past. He told me that it had been very good, because there used to be so many people living there, all doing *hxaro*, and that a place with lots of people (ie Ju/'hoansi) was a good source of *hxaro*. /Xai /Xai seems to be an exception in this respect. I was told by Sabe that there were only two families in the /Xai /Xai area who *hxaroed* lots, but other families had little to give. However, in most cases, I was told that with a large number of people in one place, there would have been a greater number of *hxaro* items being circulated than in a place with few individuals. So the importance of places in terms of *hxaro*, was defined on the intensity of *hxaro*, the types, and the amounts of things *hxaroed*.

All this implies discrepancies in wealth, as it suggests that people from places associated with good *hxaro* owned more than others. However, I argue that in the past these discrepancies were more perceived than actual, as they were more about things given in relation to ego as opposed to things owned. By giving generously, a person could have acquired some influence and respect, although this status would have been restricted as discussed on pg35. I believe these perceived disparities would also have been highly subjective, and would change according to people's position in *hxaro* networks. For example, people from N=ama, north of G/am, would probably have seen G/am as a place in the south channelling Ghanzi materials north, and therefore a poorer place for *hxaro* than places north of

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N=ama. Similarly, people from Zam to the south of G/am may have seen G/am as a better source of *hxaro* than it was perceived to be by people at N=ama. We also know from Lee (1976) that /Xai /Xai was an important place for trade and *hxaro* in the past, yet people from G/am didn't perceive it to be.

Nevertheless, it may have been possible for some individuals to have owned slightly more than others in the past, as long as they met their obligations in terms of *hxaro* or other sharing. However, individual accumulation through *hxaro* on a large scale in the past seems highly unlikely: *Hxaro* is structured around egalitarian relations which means that although even distribution is not essential, people are unable to use their accumulated goods to subjugate others or make use of their labour. There subsequently seems little reason to accumulate large amounts of goods (Wiessner unpublished ms). Disparities in wealth probably only became significant when people entered the cash economy, as cash can be used to buy goods. The high salaries from the army discussed earlier would have put a strain on sharing systems, resulting in accumulation, and discrepancies in wealth witnessed today.

I have shown that *hxaro* has contributed to the way in which Ju/'hoansi mentally structure the known world. However, to assume that Ju/'hoansi visualised the landscape in terms of Ju/'hoansi camps, ie static entities, would be a simplistic interpretation. The connection between kinship and tenure in Ju/'hoansi society must be taken into account.

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People or place?

Ju/'hoansi place names are usually named after natural features in the physical environment, as with the Hai//om (Widlok 1999:83). However, as will be shown, in some contexts these place names are often used to refer to the occupants of the places themselves. Kxau's above explanation of what determines a rich or poor *hxaro* source is revealing. It shows that he saw a places *hxaro* potential as dependent on the people living there. Another time, when I was trying to find out from Kxau the exact extent of G/am, he told me that there were Ju/'hoansi living at a place over the border called N=oam!ao. These people 'belonged' to G/am, that is it was their *n!ore*, which rendered N=oam!ao part of G/am. This shows that in many contexts, when a place name is used, the referent is the people associated with that place, ie the kin group that owns, and belongs to, that particular *n!ore*. When talking of how rich or poor a place was, in terms of *hxaro*, it seems logical that groups of people were the actual referents as opposed to the places themselves.

Particularly in the past, there was a strong link between kinship and land rights for Ju/'hoansi. Ownership of land was determined by inclusion in certain kinship networks. A person inherited rights to *n!oresi* from both parents, and weaker rights to the *n!oresi* of their grandparents. These rights

entitled the person to all natural resources within the *n!ore* in question. (eg Marshall & Ritchie 1984:33). People would therefore be associated with particular areas of land. The close association of people with land gave Ju/'hoansi social networks a material form in the physical landscape, and was an important means of articulating identities within Ju/'hoansi society.(Suzman 115:2000).

JU/'HOANSI IDENTITIES IN G/AM: AN HISTORICAL TRAJECTORY

Hxaro as an Influence of Band and Individual Identity

The dynamics of *hxaro* have played an important part in the construction of identities in G/am. A person, by belonging to a certain band, and therefore a certain place, would have inherent aspects of identity associated with what part they, and their band, played in terms of *hxaro*. For example, as mentioned earlier, Sabe told me about a rich family in /Xai /Xai who *hxaroed* a lot. However, /Xai /Xai was nearly always spoken of collectively as poor, by all my informants, due to the majority living there not *hxaroing* much.

However, this is not to imply that identity itself was innate and fixed. Identity is multi-faceted, subjective, and to some extent malleable (Jenkins 1997). People can play upon various aspects of their identity, accentuating and exaggerating some, while downplaying others. Ju/'hoansi kinship membership is characteristically fluid, and given that kinship was the primary means of articulating identities, it is clear that identities would have constantly changed. I noticed that when interviewing individuals, they emphasised certain *hxaro* ties depending on the situation, particularly when other Ju/'hoansi were present.

To illustrate the multi-faceted nature of Ju/'hoansi identity, the process of naming, and the 'universal kinship system' must be taken into account. Ju/'hoansi inherit names from their grandparents, and with a very small number of names being used, many people share the same name. Sharing a name with someone can mean that they are treated in every respect as close kin, even if there is no known genealogical connection (Lee 1993:71-74). A Ju/'hoansi could have manipulated the universal kinship system to accentuate certain ties to other kin groups. They could also, depending on the situation, accentuate inclusion in their wife's kin group, for example, which may have been a rich *hxaro* group, as opposed to the kin group they belong to from birth, which was perhaps poor. Sabe would usually downplay her connections with the east in favour of her connections, mainly via Kxau, with the north and south.

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The Emergence of a 'Ju/'hoansi' Identity

As discussed, despite Herero and Tawana efforts to control the Ju/'hoansi in the fifties, they still retained their independence, partly through *hxaro*. The actual *hxaro* gifts, particularly the Kavango tools, gave the Ju/'hoansi a sense of pride, especially as the Herero and Tawana desired them. The Ju/'hoansi I spoke to in G/am would laugh when we spoke about the pastoralists' belongings in the early fifties. Apparently, the things the Ju/'hoansi were receiving through *hxaro* were far superior to the equivalent items that the Herero or Tawana owned.

The north-south pathway started to signify Ju/'hoansi independence in the face of attempts from others to subjugate them. The category 'north-south' described above came to symbolise Ju/'hoansi independence, and a sense of superiority, while the categories 'east' and 'west' generally had negative connotations. The west was considered to be the poorest *hxaro* source, with virtually no *hxaro* occurring between places there and G/am. Ju/'hoansi in G/am associate poor, impoverished Bushmen with the west. The east was seen as the place where the Herero and Tawana were from, and also as a poor *hxaro* source. /Eishe was told stories by his parents of Ju/'hoansi being taken to the east to work for Tawana. The 'east' was referred to and gesticulated towards in such negative contexts, and seemed to symbolise dependence.

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A Reinforced 'Ju/'hoansi' Identity

Because Ju/'hoansi identity was primarily drawn from kinship affiliation to place, the loss of autonomous ownership of land had a marked effect on the way Ju/'hoansi constructed their identities. Suzman (2000) has made this observation with the Ju/'hoansi living in the Omaheke. Here, he observed that while Ju/'hoansi had lost autonomous ownership of their *n!oresi* due to white and Herero settlers, they still name people in the traditional way, and utilise universal kinship practices. With the break up of traditional bands, relocation onto different farms, and restricted movement, these traditional kinship systems appear to have little relevance. However, as he explains, this was a means of maintaining a broader identity of 'Ju/'hoansi' in relation to others, such as 'Herero', as Ju/'hoansi names are exclusive. Thus, the emphasis shifted from individual and inter-band identity, to collective identity.

Although the G/am Ju/'hoansi have not been removed from their land, or forced to live in groups other than their kin group, they have effectively lost autonomous ownership of their *n!ore*. They have also been marginalised, isolated in terms of other Ju/'hoansi, and have quickly become a minority group in G/am. Most *hxaro* partners have now moved elsewhere, and the movement of *hxaro* gifts

along the north-south path has ceased. Therefore, aspects of individual and inter-band identity influenced by *hxaro* have diminished. The emphasis has shifted towards collective Ju/'hoansi identity.

When I asked Kxau what his most important possession is today, he told me that he had nothing as all his *hxaro* partners were dead. Although he did own things, and all his *hxaro* partners weren't dead, this shows how important *hxaro* was to the Ju/'hoansi. It also shows how Kxau equates the decline of *hxaro* with poverty. This is despite the fact that the numbers of possessions owned by Ju/'hoansi does not seem to have declined since the 1970's: the average number of possessions for couples in /Xai /Xai in 1974 was 44.9, and for Tjum!kui and Nyae Nyae in 1997 it was 61.9 and 44.6 respectively (Wiessner unpublished ms). The relatively large number of possessions for Tjum!kui couples is due to several inter-related reasons, such as individuals engaging in cash economies, shops, decreased seasonal movement, and an increase in 'spontaneous' gift giving (ibid:15).

Kxau told me that the reason *hxaro* was so important in the past was that you could get things for free, without having to work for them. To G/am Ju/'hoansi, the north-south *hxaro* path that used to run through G/am, now symbolises independence in the past. It reminds them of a time when they still moved freely, and didn't depend on others for their livelihood. Kxau still keeps fragments of an Mbukushu pot received through *hxaro*. As he put it, "its good to remember the past". It is likely that the category 'north-south' has been reinforced, due to dependence and marginalisation. *Hxaro* today may in part be a manifestation of a Ju/'hoansi identity. It is worth noting that G/am Ju/'hoansi do not consider *hxaro* partnerships terminated, even those with people in Ghanzi, but consider them postponed. I see this as a way of linking the past, present and future, as a continuation of 'Ju/'hoansi' identity. Considering the association with particular places, I also see it as a way of laying claim to land in the face of Herero take-over.

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6: THE INTRODUCTION OF LIVESTOCK TO SOUTHERN AFRICA IN LIGHT OF THE G/AM JU/'HOANSI EXAMPLE

Using information from G/am, the role of social relations and the economics of *hxaro* may offer some clues to how early herding societies expanded into southern Africa. This kind of information sheds light on crucial aspects of the interface between hunting and herding economies, and the nature of the transition between the two.

Migration or Diffusion?

The most common theory with regards to early herding in southern Africa, is that it was a result of Khoekhoe migration from the north. The sites Situmpa and Salumano 'A' in Southern Zambia, revealed evidence of domestic stock dated to 2260±60BP and 2330±65BP respectively. If its association with a radiocarbon sample can be accepted, then the earliest pottery from Bambata, Southwest Zimbabwe, dates to 2140±60BP. These ceramics were found in a layer pre-dating Iron Age occupation (Bousman 1998). Early evidence for small-stock from sites on the South and West coasts of South Africa, such as Blombos (1960±50BP) and Spoegriver (2105±65BP) illustrate how quickly small stock fauna or pottery appeared in the area after their first appearances from the sites mentioned above.

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This sequence of dates seen in their geographical context led Smith (2000) to suggest a rapid migration of Khoekhoe from the north. The Khoekhoe would most likely have acquired stock from somewhere in the region of Situmpa and Salumano 'A', and subsequently moved through the northern Transvaal, and across the Karoo to the South West Cape. This correlates with independent linguistic evidence (Elphick 1977, Ehret & Posnansky 1982) suggesting a similar route inland, through the Transvaal, for the first pottery and domestic stock.

Smith et al. (1991) identified two distinct cultural signatures from various sites in the South Western Cape, dating to the 1st millennium AD. Smith (1998a, 1998b) uses two sites- Kasteelberg, an open-air site, and Witklip, a rock shelter site, as prime examples of these two different signatures. The first, Kasteelberg, contained a large number of sheep bones and pottery, large ostrich eggshell beads, and very few formally retouched stone tools. Witklip, contained few sheep bones, small ostrich eggshell beads, and the formally retouched stone tools which were better represented than at Kasteelberg. While there are many other examples of sites like Witklip in the western Cape, Kasteelberg is the only known site of its type. Smith (ibid.) suggests that Kasteelberg type sites represent fully developed

pastoral groups. Other sites of this type are unknown as they are hard to ID, hence the absence of any known pastoral sites between the Transvaal and the South Western Cape. Witklip type sites, due to 'cultural continuity before and after the introduction of ceramics and domestic stock' are interpreted as hunter sites, with ceramics and livestock being intrusive. The latter two would have been obtained through payment or theft (Smith 1986).

Not all authors agree with the idea of two persistent and distinct cultures of 'herder' and 'hunter', or 'Khoekhoe' and 'San'. Elphick (1977) proposed a cyclical model, where pre-Iron age groups oscillated between hunting and herding depending on circumstance. Sadr (1998, unpublished ms a.) has challenged the idea of a Khoekhoe migration ca 2000 yrs ago as an explanation for early sheep and pottery in the Southwestern Cape. Sadr (1998) instead interprets ovicaprid remains on hunter sites in the first millennium AD as indicative of hunters herding some sheep. These sheep would have come into the possession of the hunters, some of whom then became herders, through a general diffusion of ideas, animals and materials from the north, as opposed to a large Khoekhoe migration. Sadr (ibid.104) argues that sheep and pottery often don't appear on sites in the Cape as a 'package', which would be expected in the case of a Khoekhoe migration. Instead, they appear at rates on different sites, which ties in with the idea of diffusion. However, this may be the result of dating errors. Sadr (1998:105-110) argues that variability in LSA ceramic styles in southern Africa represent regional modifications of a general idea that was diffused from the north.

Sadr (unpublished ms b) sees Kasteelberg as comprised of several sites in the first millennium AD, which he divides into two types: a herder-forager economy with foraging based on inland resources, and a herder- forager economy with foraging based on coastal resources. Both groups of sites contain high proportions of small stock, but the former also revealed high proportions of steenbok and tortoise, while the latter revealed high proportions of seal and seashell. Unlike Smith et al. (1991), Sadr (unpublished ms b) sees changes in ostrich eggshell bead sizes as being related to time, not cultural groups. He concludes that there is no discernible difference between bead sizes from the two site groups he identifies at Kasteelberg.

Due to the absence of ceramics between the Transvaal and the southern Cape, Sadr suggests that pottery and sheep diffused down the west coast (Sadr 1998:109-110). Stow (1905) and Cooke (1965) (the latter using rock art) suggested this as the migration route used by Khoekhoe, with sheep and pottery, into South Africa. Sadr, however, suggests that a large scale Khoekhoe migration into the Cape would most likely have happened, if at all, in the late 1st millennium AD, when there is a major change in material culture from archaeological sites (Sadr 1998:116-117).

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Sadr would like to see the adoption of the term 'Neolithic' for southern Africa, as a time when "A period when these new ideas, words and animals were adopted in a variety of ways by a variety of local hunter-gatherer groups, some of whom assimilated more of these incoming traits than others, and most of whom changed little as a result, becoming what I have called hunters-with-sheep" (Sadr unpublished ms a.:17). One benefit of Sadr's model for early food producing economies in the Cape is that it allows us to look beyond the exclusive categories of 'pastoralists' and 'thieving hunter-gatherers'. Also that "Adopting the Neolithic may even have the desirable side effect of finally eliminating the obsolete and surely incapacitating notion that indigenous southern Africans never made it out of the Palaeolithic." (ibid.). However, this new model poses pertinent questions: If hunters had sheep, how did they get them? And how were they exchanged between hunter groups?

Social Obstacles

For a group of hunters to become herders doesn't just involve being able to get hold of the domestic stock. There are fundamental differences between pastoralist and hunter-gatherer groups. Smith (1998a:151) has demonstrated that herder societies use their stock in ceremonial life, with ritual slaughter of domestic animals. Forager groups, on the other hand, use wild animals in their ritual life. Kent (1992) illustrates that while many contemporary forager groups rely to some extent on domestic animals, their culture is still geared towards foraging, and their rituals are associated with wild animals.

Smith (1990) argues that due to their egalitarian social structure, their strict rules of sharing, and their orientation to the future, hunter groups couldn't have become herders. Since herding is related to private ownership, stratified society, and is a delayed return economy requiring investment for the future, ie building up and maintaining a herd, the change from hunter to herder requires major social changes. In societies based on immediate returns, with egalitarianism so important, building up surplus would have been difficult. Only after hunters had become incorporated as an underclass, subsequently losing their egalitarianism, could they be in a position to become herders.

Sadr (1998:123-127) argues against this for two reasons. Firstly, it assumes that prehistoric hunter groups had similar social and ideological systems to ethnographic examples. He states, for example, that some prehistoric hunter groups may have been less egalitarian. Sadr (ibid.) argues that various documented Kalahari forager groups share differently, and that in the past there would have been even greater diversity, as hunter groups were far more widespread, over various environments. It therefore may have been possible for livestock to be distributed, and kept as herds, among some hunter groups in the past, as they may have had different rules regarding sharing.

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Secondly, Sadr (ibid.) suggests that, in the first millenium AD, the majority of sites with livestock fauna represent hunter-herders. He draws a distinction between large-scale cattle herding groups, and small-scale hunter-herders. The former use their cattle as the primary resource. Accumulation of cattle leads to wealth, and class differentiation, and cattle are used in ritual. Hunter-herders, on the other hand, live primarily off hunted and gathered foods, keep some small stock, and conduct rituals associated with wild animals. It is argued that major social changes would not have been necessary for 'hunters' to become 'hunters with sheep' (ibid.). Sadr cites ethnographic examples (Ikeya 93) who herd their own goats, but still live primarily off hunted and gathered foods, conducting rituals associated with wild animals. This, along with the fact that first millennium sites in the western Cape with livestock, contain ovicaprid, but not *Bos*, could be taken as evidence that past hunters may have herded small stock.

Sadr's first point leads to questions such as what general assumptions, if any, can be made about forager or hunter-gather groups in general? Although present forager groups display much variety in all walks of life, there are also some basic similarities. All modern forager groups in the Kalahari are strictly egalitarian, with widespread sharing fundamental. Barnard (unpublished ms:4) talks about how foragers, in general, perceive the immediate consumption of goods (including sharing) as social, whereas they see accumulation of goods as antisocial. He goes on to say that where most non-forager groups in Africa share more widely than people in the western world, foragers share far more extensively (ibid.:5). In societies where unreliable food returns are characteristic, redistribution is critical in order to survive. Private accumulation in these circumstances is not feasible. If past hunter groups had similar ingrained egalitarianism and sharing practices, accumulation of livestock would be difficult, or impossible. However, is it necessarily the case that hunter groups in the past were the same?

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Sadr (1998:123) points out that coastal hunter-gatherers may have had a delayed-returns economy in the past, and were not necessarily egalitarian. However, it is thought that pre-historic hunter-gatherers living away from the coast would have had similar egalitarian social relations to contemporary forager groups in the Kalahari, due to less predictable food returns than those found on the coast (Smith 2000:72). A diffusion model for the introduction of livestock would therefore be plausible if it had happened among coastal hunter-gatherers, ie down the west coast. However, given the widespread marginalisation of hunters described in Chapter 4, it is hard to envisage how these hunters acquired sheep.

Dates from archaeological sites do little to support the introduction of small stock down the west coast. The area between the Cape and northern Namibia (Geduld) has produced virtually no pottery or

livestock from the mid-early 1st millennium AD Smith (2000:75). If it had, it may have indicated transfer of these things via this route.

The Ju/'hoansi Example

Hxaro provides an interesting analogy for exchange networks of hunter groups in the past. As stated in Chapter2, *hxaro* is an internal gift exchange mechanism in an egalitarian society serving to maintain vital social ties. These ties are essential as they are linked to the right to natural resources. *Hxaro* also serves to equalise access to materials from other Ju/'hoansi and outside groups. Thus, *hxaro* "links the sphere of subsistence extraction to that of the transfer of material wealth" (Barnard unpublished ms:6). It is a manifestation of egalitarian social relations. Sadr's exchange networks would probably have served a similar purpose if, as argued, the groups involved were similarly egalitarian.

Building up a herd of animals through *hxaro* is a contradiction: How can *hxaro* be used to accrue surplus when it serves to distribute it evenly? With the added pressure of demand sharing (described in Ch2), it would be extremely difficult to acquire and maintain a herd. The cows given to people at G/am by John Marshall were quickly eaten or sold.

In my 'phase 1', a few Ju/'hoansi were doing intermittent herding for Tawana. However, nobody had heard of any Ju/'hoansi who built up herds of their own. Livestock were never acquired through exchange- they were too expensive, and Ju/'hoansi usually didn't even try to do this. My work confirms Wiessners (1994) in that food or animals were never *hxaroed*.

By the mid 20th century many pots et al. were circulating in *hxaro* networks among Ju/'hoansi. This may have been due to the fact that some Ju/'hoansi were working on the Kavango, and living with their employers through the year. Before this *hxaroed* goods from outside groups were relatively infrequent. Nevertheless, pottery was easily obtained and *hxaroed*. It's quite possible that in the past, pottery and other items were *hxaroed*. The fact that *hxaroed* goods travelled all the way from Ghanzi to the Kavango indicates how far goods can be exchanged within *hxaro* networks. There is no reason to assume that they did not travel even further in past internal exchange networks.

Even during my phases 2 and 3, when Herero and Tawana were living side by side with Ju/'hoansi at G/am, and several Ju/'hoansi worked as herders, no Ju/'hoansi owned any animals themselves. As described in Chapter 4, they were purposefully marginalised, and eventually tied down and exploited

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as a cheap labour source. Even if they had acquired stock of their own, I argue that the pressure to share would have prevented accumulation. As described, the only instances where G/am Ju/'hoansi got any domestic animals, was when goats or cows had died from eating 'Gifblaar'. They received some meat from the dead animals that was quickly consumed. Goats were treated as a resource like other animals- the food would be shared, but not *hxaroed*. The cows given to the Ju/'hoansi at G/am by John Marshall in the 1980's were soon eaten or sold. However, there are ethnographic examples of foragers who herd some goats.

Many San at =Kade, in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve, keep goats (Ikeya 1993), as do Kutse living to the south of the reserve (Kent 1993). However, both groups may have had long histories of direct, sustained interaction with Kgalagadi (see pg 10-17), and are now relatively sedentary. Being sedentary has put strains on sharing systems in Kutse (Kent 1995).The =Kade use their goats as a form of cash to buy eg shoes, radios and horses, and are sold for money in times of need (Ikeya 1993:3). It therefore seems inappropriate to use such groups as analogies for prehistoric hunter groups who were living far from pastoralists, and supposedly receiving animals through internal exchange.

There is a further reason that the Kutse and San at =Kade are an inadequate analogy for the group(s) that occupied Kasteelberg in the 1st millennium AD. There is considerable evidence that Kasteelberg was used at least partly as a ceremonial site. A particularly high concentration of mongoose bones, along with ochre stained grindstones were recovered, both of which are associated with Khoekhoe pastoralist ceremonial activity. This all suggests we are dealing with fully developed pastoral groups, not 'hunters with sheep'.

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Shift in Relations Between Hunters and Herders

My work on the Ju/'hoansi shows how they have been encapsulated and made a dependent underclass. This process was caused by a demand for land and/or labour (Jacobson 1990:131). During this process in G/am, the Ju/'hoansi gradually adopted many aspects of the dominant group's material culture. This change occurred as they became more sedentary and dependent, and *hxaro* declined.

It seems likely that hunters in the past were also marginalised. Given the widespread peripheralisation of hunters/ foragers, and the fact that the terms 'hunter' and 'pastoralist' are indigenous and enduring (see marginalisation section), it seems very likely that similar processes of marginalisation leading to dependence occurred in the past.

The lack of evidence for occupation at Kasteelberg in the 2nd millennium AD can be explained as the result of the introduction of cattle into the local pastoral societies. Large-scale cattle herding would require frequent movement for fresh pasture, and would subsequently leave no easily identifiable archaeological sites.

Due to the prestige and value associated with cattle, a more hierarchical social structure, with increased wealth differentiation, would have emerged. This more stratified type of herding society, along with their demand for land, may have led to the already marginalised hunter groups becoming dependants on the herders. These changes in socio-economic relationships between hunter and herder may be manifest in the archaeological record.

Smith (unpublished ms:3) notes that a few sites in the Cape show an increase in large ostrich eggshell beads during the second millennium AD. He suggests that this may be an illustration of a shift in relations between hunters and herders, with the hunters becoming more dependent on the herders. This process would have led to the hunters adopting the material culture of the dominant group. It is possible that 'Sonquas' witnessed by early European explorers represent those who have been subject to the above process. Smith et al.(1991:88-89) notes how Simon van der Stel compared the poor in Europe to Sonquas, and said that each 'Hottentot tribe' had some Sonquas who ran errands for their masters.

Sadr uses a graph (1997:108 fig. 2) plotting percentages of formal tools in the lithic assemblages (FTI) against percentages of ceramics in the lithic and ceramic assemblages (CI) from successive levels on sites in the SW Cape, Namibia and Botswana. At the time, he used these indices to designate typical hunter sites (high FTI, low CI) and typical herder sites (low FTI, high CI). The graph indicates that levels from sites such as /Xai /Xai are all grouped at the far left of the graph (low CI), indicating a typical 'hunter' site. However, sites such as Geduld in Namibia, and Toteng in Botswana, show a change through time indicating a shift to a herder signature. This gradual shift in material culture is also well illustrated on fig. 3 (Sadr 1997:110). From the upper levels of Thamaga and Toteng, an increase in CI is matched by a decrease in FTI. These signature shifts in the archaeological record may represent similar processes to the one documented in G/am, with marginalised hunters becoming dependent on the dominant group. However, the problem with this evidence is that it is too sparse and scattered. One artefact type alone is not enough to indicate fundamental changes in the relationships

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between two groups. It would be useful to be able to show changes in ceramic index and formal tool index correlating with a change in ostrich eggshell beads from one site.

CONCLUSION

Information from G/am and elsewhere shows that the transition from hunter to herder is problematic. The marginalisation of hunters as well as their strict sharing rules, particularly food, make the accumulation of livestock (or anything else) difficult. Having said this, hunters obviously acquired stock somewhere, somehow. The answer to where, and under what circumstances, this happened, could be the key to understanding the whole problem.

Perhaps the first hunters to acquire stock had sufficiently different sharing practices to Ju/'hoansi, which allowed them to overcome the social obstacles described. Also important is the fact that the stock in question would have been sheep or goats as opposed to cattle, as is the case with Herero for example. As mentioned above, cattle ownership relates to considerable wealth. Therefore, the social 'gap' between cattle owners and those without, is large. This gap may be narrower where sheep are concerned. With a more balanced relationship between pastoralists and hunter-gatherers, accumulation of livestock is more feasible.

However, I believe a particularly long history of direct association with pastoralists can promote changes necessary for adopting pastoralism. A look at groups such as the Eastern and Northern Khoe, former hunter-gatherers, is particularly illuminating in this respect. In his introduction to these groups, Barnard (1992:117) states that "The salient characteristics of 'Eastern' groups, in this sense, are their association with herding peoples and their high degree of cultural and spatial hybridisation"

Long histories of association with Bantu-speakers has led to the Northern and Eastern Khoe adopting various cultural traits of the dominant groups: their settlement has become fairly sedentary, in some cases mimicking Tawana layouts. As well as hunting and gathering, these Khoe groups herd some animals, fish, and cultivate crops. Another effect of long term association with Bantu speakers is that the Khoe now display internal economic and social differentiation. This differentiation may have facilitated the shift to food-production, which requires some degree of private ownership (Barnard 1992a:117-133). If these are the circumstances under which the transformation from hunter to herder takes place, it is difficult to see how hunters living separately from herding groups could have made the transition. Having said this, it is still possible that the transition could have taken place under circumstances that we are unaware of.

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7: CONCLUSION

Information obtained from Ju/'hoansi elders in G/am shows how since early Herero and Tawana settlement in the mid 20th century, Ju/'hoansi have been kept on the periphery of pastoralist society and made increasingly dependent. Prior to pastoralist settlement in G/am, contact with the Herero or Tawana was occasional and small-scale. Indirect contact with fisher-farmers to the north through *hxaro* was more frequent and enduring, yet also limited. Thus a picture emerges of autonomous Ju/'hoansi living by hunting and gathering, selectively engaging in neighbouring economies.

In the 1950's, some Tawana and Herero began to settle in G/am. Although the Ju/'hoansi retained a considerable degree of autonomy, a relationship of 'dominant pastoralists' vs 'marginalised hunter-gatherers' was elaborated. Ju/'hoansi were initially needed for their skills and knowledge, but were forced to work for small amounts of tobacco and food. They were denied the dominant means of production, namely breeding stock, so their peripheral status was perpetuated. Partly due to the availability of pastoralist products, G/am became a strong focal point for *hxaro* by the Ju/'hoansi

In 1956, Herero and Tawana were evicted from G/am by Southwest African police. From this time, many Ju/'hoansi were taken to work in Gobabis, Tjum!kui or elsewhere. However, my informants returned to G/am shortly before a large-scale Herero resettlement program took place there. Due to Herero settlement, subsequent depletion of game and vegetation, displacement and increased sedentism of kin, and the decline of *hxaro*, G/am Ju/'hoansi have become more marginalised and dependent.

The importance of *hxaro* to Ju/'hoansi, particularly in the context of loss of autonomy, has been shown. *Hxaro* once solidified vital social bonds and redistributed exotic goods acquired from neighbouring groups. This allowed Ju/'hoansi to retain autonomy while engaging with other groups. As mentioned, the decline of *hxaro* was a major cause of Ju/'hoansi loss of autonomy. Partly due to this, *hxaro* has been an important facet of Ju/'hoansi identity. Initially, it would have been a strong marker of individual and group identities. Increased dependence and marginalisation led to a change in the way *hxaro* is used in the construction of identities in G/am. Now the emphasis is on a 'pan-Ju/'hoansi' identity. *Hxaro* symbolises independence in the past, and its decline symbolises subsequent loss of autonomy.

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The information from G/am, as well as other evidence, suggests that the transition from hunter to herder is complicated. As argued, small stock were difficult to acquire, given the universal marginalisation of hunters discussed. Even if hunter groups acquired domestic animals, it seems highly unlikely that they were exchanged from group to group in a process similar to *hxaro*, as animals are food, which is never *hxaroed*.

It is possible that coastal hunter-gatherers in southern Africa, with perhaps less egalitarian social systems, adopted pastoralism in the first millennium AD. Equally, it is possible that the first sheep and pottery in the Southwest Cape arrived by a process of diffusion down the west coast. However, the archaeology doesn't support this, and the ethnography even suggests that it wasn't the case. The ritual activity at Kasteelberg suggests that a pastoral group was living there, as opposed to hunters with small stock acquired through exchange. The archaeology suggests that pottery and sheep were intrusive into hunting economies, rather than local developments.

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