



STAND TOGETHER

//HA//XAE (!KUNG) MA/AOS (HAI//OM) GI!A !IKAE (JU'/HOANSI) TÊÊ /XAI (KHWE) DEA /XAE (NARO)



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Museums Association of Namibia
Making Museums Matter - Since 1990

NAMIBIAN SAN COUNCIL



This publication was developed by the Museums Association of Namibia



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In Collaboration with
the Namibian San Council, the National Arts Council of Namibia and Museum Africa

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Peabody Museum (Harvard University) - All images from the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (PM) are Gift of Laurence K. Marshall and Lorna J. Marshall. © President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology

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#ANGA ZAIHAN HA | AE

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INTRODUCTION

N#AI !'HAN

Author of Introduction: Namibian San Council

The motivation for this Handbook (and the mobile exhibition which accompanies it) was our concern that members of Namibia's San communities have faced prejudice and discrimination for many years. Many young people from our communities are 'losing' their mother tongue and once our languages are lost our cultural heritage will also soon be lost. In Namibia people have labelled us in many ways. For example, in English we were called 'Bushmen', whilst in Oshiwambo we were called 'Aakwankala', Ovakuruha in OtjiHerero and in Rukwangali 'Vaduni'. Calling us such names has contributed to low self-esteem amongst our young people. Theophilus Hahn, writing in the late nineteenth century, even reported that Nama communities used the term !Uri San ('White Bushmen') to refer to 'white vagabonds and runaway sailors' (Hahn, 1880: 3). The Namibian San Council uses the term 'San' as an umbrella name to encourage our diverse communities to 'Stand Together' so that our voice and common concerns can be heard.

Today we identify ourselves as belonging to eight different communities: !Xung, Ju|'hoansi, Naro, Khwe, Hai//om, #Akhoe, !Xoon and `Njoha (our people lived in many small groups which had different names, but many of these have disappeared today). The title of our exhibition is 'Stand Together'. We have written it in the languages of several of our communities. We did this to make the point that we 'stand together' as indigenous people of Namibia. Our cultural heritage and histories have many similarities, but also important differences, including language. This is not surprising as, in the past, our people lived all over Namibia and, therefore, we had access to different natural resources

#Xanulorekxao: Te Namibian Jul'hoansi rada

Te !oa #'ansara ko n#ai sea ke ko Nlaq'ara #xanu (mobile exhibition ko l!xam ka) Kahin koh o tih ko e sa o Namibia juasi ko Jul'hoansi khoea ko prejudice n#oahn l!xoa kota !aosi ko kuri sa #hai. Ju sa #hai he ciniha o da'abi ko e juasi si koh' n!aan' si taze dhari ko l!a n!ang nle'ea ko si dhari kota n!aan si !'hao- n!ang ko kuasi te cete n!aan si l!xoa n!angsi. Te Namibia juasi kxae ko #'ang g!a'amasi sa #hai. l!haellhae l'an, te inglici m l!a'ua ka ko ' Bushmen' , xabe tse ka o Oshiwambo m l!a'ua 'Kwangara ' Ovakuruha, ko Otjihero kota Rukwangali ' Vaduni'. !'Aua e ko tca khuin ka oo ta'ma te laoh kharu- ka l'ae te l!xoasi te ka gea e!a da'abisi. Theophilus Hahn, dinn!ang khoea ko nineteenth kuria, xabese n#oahn l'an ko Nama juasi he koh n#ai l!koa kuri sa to'a o !Uri San ('Jul'hoan sa !A'u ') te n#ai sea ko !'A'u vagabonds kota !aah u sailors' (Hahn, 1880: 3). Te Namibia Jul'hoan Radasi n#ai l!koa kuri ko ' Jul'hoan' te gla tcia !u he l'an kxalho juasi ko glaoh te o ' Glla l!kae' nlang kxoe m!a dohmsi !aihn ko tci sa l'an m koh tihsi tsa'a ka l'aesi.

l!A'ike ka m!a n!a #'ansara m!a l'aehasi gea ko ju sa o axa l!aq'in l!aq'ian ge juasi sa o: !Xung, Ju|'hoansi, Naro, Khwe, Hai//om, #Akhoe, !Xoon kota `Njoha. Te ka m!a n#ai l!koa g!a tcia ko m!a juasi wece m!a n!a tca m!a te o jul'hoansi. Te n#ai !oma ko e!a!xoanasi o `Glla l!kae ' . E!a du tciin ke ko l!haellhae l'an ko e!a ' Glla l!kae ' o ju sa koh n!aahn gea Namibia. E!a !'hao n!ang kota tci sa n!aahn ka sa #hai sin khuian khoe, ka cete o tci n!a'an n!a'an te cete l!aq'inl!aq'ian khuian, te l!ae l'u dharisi. Ka sin o #'angsi, koh n!aahn ju wece !xoana ko Namibia te. kahinto'a, e!a kxae glaoh ko tzi l!xoa l!aq'inl!aq'ian gesi, l!ae wece, si l!aq'ian !au nllhoo te ua n!oresi te n#ai n#haoha tci l!aq'inl!aq'ian ge sa si !'han ka tciasi. Te khoe

and, over time, different waves of immigrants arrived in each region leading to different types of encounter.

This publication includes a few stories which we call 'Hidden Histories'. We believe that they show the way in which our communities have been actively involved in Namibian history and, we hope, will encourage everyone to think about our history in new ways.

Whilst our history is important the main focus of this handbook is on a collection of objects that reflect the cultural heritage of our communities. The objects shown here are a hundred years old and, so, provide a connection with our ancestors. The collection was assembled by Louis Fourie and is the largest collection of objects from Namibia's San communities. Fourie arrived in 'German South West Africa' (Namibia) in 1916 as part of the South African army that occupied the territory after the defeat of the German Schutztruppe during World War One. In 1920 he became the Administration's Medical Officer, a position he held until he left Namibia in 1928. During this time he collected around 3,400 objects. Fourie worked with two interpreters, 'Saul' and 'Janties', to conduct interviews with the people that he obtained objects from. We have written all the direct quotes that we have used from his notes in italics. Words in the quotes that are not in italics have been inserted by us to make the notes into clearer sentences or to replace words that we felt were unacceptable in Namibia today.

The majority of the objects in Fourie's collection were taken from three communities: the Naro, #Xao-//Aesi [Who Fourie labelled as the #Ao//ein], and Hai//om. The objects and information that he collected, therefore, strongly reflect the experiences of these communities that lived in the Omaheke and around Etosha. Most of these objects are now held at Museum Africa in Johannesburg. However, we believe that these objects and the extracts from the information that he collected will encourage further discussion within all Namibia's San communities and encourage our San youth to get involved in researching our history and culture further.

wece kxae n#oahn mhi gesin sa l!koromh sa m l!a'ua' G!am o N!aahn'. E!a #om tca si te n#ai sea ko tca n!aahn e juasi koh du he l!haisau ko Namibia ko n!aahn, e!a #om tca, e!a l'an #'angsi ko ju nlui waqnhe ku #'ang tci sa n!aahn kota tci sa l!a'ike.

Xabe tse e!a tci sa o n!aahn koh tci n!a'an n!a'an te sin l!xam n!aq'ara #xanua he koh #'han l!kaellkae tcisi sa koh n#ai soan l'an !'hao n!ang l!xoa o e!a juasi ga.. Te tci sa kahinke o hondord kuria o n!aahn, e!a du l!ang l!kae ko e!a sa n!aahn. Te ju sa nlhui n#oahnsi koh l!kaellkae khoe ko n#oahnsi he ko Fourie te ka koh o n#oahn sa #hai tciasi sa l!ama Namibia khoea's ko jul'hoansi juasi. Fourie #aeha ' German South West Africa' (Namibia) ko 1916 ha ko !an o jua o South African sonda l!koa kxao ko n!ore ko dinn!ang si kxuia ko German Schutztruppe ko l!aea o N!ore N!aia Nle'e. Ko1920 khama Ha koh o l!orekxao o Nlomjua l!koa kxao, te ge te dinn!ang Namibia o 1928. l!Ae tcia kahinke ha nlhui tci sa gea ko khoe sa o 3,400 tciasi. Fourie koh, 'Saul' kota 'Janties', te kxae tsitsa'asi ko ju sa glla l'an ko tcisi. M!a sin lore ka wece ko tca sin to ko n#ai l!koa l!ama ko tca italics. loresi #xanua he loa o italics koh g!a'ama ko l'u l'an ko m!a ko #xanua kxae lore sa l'hom kana du mani lore sa loa ta'ma tca ma ni zaihan ko Namibia ko l!a'ike.

Te tci !aelae tcia sa haa Fourie's l!kaellkae ju !'hao sa o n!ani koh he nlhui: te o Naro, #Xao-//Aaesnsi [Hajoe Fourie du g#a ka ko #Ao//ein], kota Hai//om. Te tci sa ke o n#oahn sa l!kaellkae ha l'aesi, kahinto'a, glaoh #'anga o mi jua sa !xoana ko Omaheke kota khoe sa to'a o Etosha. Tci sa #hai he ke l!a'ike gea Museum Africa ko Johannesburg. l!Ae waqnsi, e!a #om ko tci sa ke koh l!ama ko n#oahn khoea te ko l!kaellkae ka l'aesi ko laoh ko gla'a-n!ang nlang nllhaa n#oahn tci wece sa ke ko Namibia wecesi o jul'hoansi juasi kota l'an glaoh ko jul'hoan da'abiasi ko l!haisau nlang se ce e!a !'hao-n!ang ko gla'a n!ang.

The Handbook has a parallel text in both Ju/'hoansi and English. We have used Ju/'hoansi as this is, at present, the Namibian San language that has been developed most in its written form. We believe that this project is also making an important contribution to keeping our languages alive. Unfortunately it was not possible to use the language spoken by every San community in Namibia and, therefore, we chosen one of the most widely spoken. Many San communities which were still distinctly identifiable a hundred years ago, such as the /Geinin - who lived in the Namib Desert to the north of !Nami#Nus (Lüderitz) or the !Gainin who lived in the Naukluft Mountains, can no longer be found. Fourie already noted, a century ago, that he had met a Hai//om man who no longer spoke his own language, but only Oshiwambo.

We believe the information in Fourie's notebooks is important because it was based on interviews with our past generations, but we have also discussed the photographs of the objects with community elders. We hope that the Handbook and the exhibition are the start of a process where our youth can engage elders to learn more and that, one day, we might have our own museum where we can tell our own stories and celebrate the tremendous creativity and knowledge of our ancestors.

We have supplemented the information recorded in Fourie's notebooks with some photographs from his collection. We looked carefully at these photographs as many presented people as if they were museum objects – for example, with people being photographed from the front, back and side. The photographs provide important historical evidence, but we selected photographs that, we felt, showed our ancestors as individuals, rather than a racial type! We are also happy that the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology has also provided us with photographs from the Marshall family collection from which we obtained additional photographs, mainly from the 1950s and the Ju/'hoansi communities. We have also been able to make use of photographs held by the National Archives of Namibia.

Te nllaq'ara #xanua he kxae lore sa o n#oahnsi ko khoe wece ko Ju/'hoansi kota English. E!a n#ai llkoa Ju/'hoansi ko khuinke, lla'ike, ko Namibian Jul'hoansi dhari he kaice llhaisau ka l'ae ko ka lore tci ooa.E!a #om tca projeka he te cete du tci n!a'an n!a'an ko laoh ko llae e!a dhari nlang ka ciniha l'xo. Te ll'a llkoa sa koh loa o sin ku n#ai llkoa jul'hoansi dhari ko kokxui ko jul'hoan nlui waqnhe ko Namibia, kahinto'a,e!a hin o ju sa kokxui dhari.Jul'hoan sa #hai ciniha ku #'ang l'an ko kuri sa o honderd ko nllaahn, n!ana ko /Geinin – Si sa !xoana Namib Desert ko #kao tzi ko !Nami#Nus (Lüderitz) kana !Gainin hajoe !xoana ko Naukluft Mountains, lla'ike loa ce ho ha l'ae. Fourie za'a lore, koh nllaahn, tca ha te koh ho Hai//om o !'hoan he loa kaice ce kokxui ha l'aeha dhari, mara sin kokxui Oshiwambo

E!a #om tca n#oahn he o Fourie's lore #xanu ma o tci n!a'an n!a'an khama ka gea tsitsa'asi khoea ko e!a tci sa o nllaahn, te e koh cete n#oahn llkae llxaosi ko tci sa o n!ausi gasi. E!a #'ang tca nllaq'ara #xanua he kota !xoanasi si koh tchoatchoa te ua gla'a-n!ang ko dhari tci ooasi ko ka n!ausi xoana ku kaice n!aroh, lam nlui, m!a xoana kxae m!a l'aehasi museum ko koa m!a n#oahn m!a l'aehasi n#oahnsi kota zoqin llkae ko n#om tcisi kota #'ang sa o nllaahn masi..

E!a koh kxae toansisi ko ll'a n#oahn sa koh ku nlhui ha l'aesi llama ko Fourie's #xanu ko llxao sa ke nlhui ka l'aesi. E!a cete llau ka !'uin ko llxao sa ke #hai he o lla'ike gasi ko tci koh o museum –ko llhae llhae l'an ko ju sa he gea llxao he o kxaice ko gla'a-n!ang !antzia. Te llxao ke o tci n!a'an n!a'an ko #om ko nllaahn, te e!a sam llxao sa ke, e!a kxae ta'msi, n#ai sea e!a l'aehasi ko koh tci sa o koh nllaahn gasi he llaq'ian ge, te taa sin koe !'ang lore ka l'aesi. E!a kasi nla'ng ko Peabody Museum ko Archaeology lota Ethnology koh xabe kxae ka te du l'an e!a ko llxaosi llama ko Marshall juasi koh llkaellkae tci sa glla l'an ko e!a ce laoh ko llxaosi, ka sa o tci glaohasi llama ko 1950s kota ko Ju/'hoansi juasi.E!a xoana n#ai llkoa llxao sa ke gea ko National Archives ko Namibia.

Photographs from the 'Denver Africa Expedition' that visited Hai//om communities in 1925 were included as these were communities that Fourie also visited around the same time".

Finally we have added some more recent photographs of our communities as we want this exhibition to be educational about our cultural heritage, but also to show that we are drawing strength from our roots to be active citizens in Namibia today.

"If you can't talk in your language, if you only speak other languages, you cannot know your tradition . . ." (Chief Frederik Langman, #Au | | eisi Traditional Authority)

"llXao he llama ko ' Denver Africa Expedition' he koh l'hoo Haill'om juasi ko 1925 he sin llae l'u ju sa o Fourie xabe koh l'hoo ko ll'a ll'ae nle'ea".

Toansi e!a xoana laoh ka gesin sa #hai he o goaqha llxaosi ko e!a juasi khoea te e!a kare !xoanasi ko n!aroh ko e!a !'hao0n!ang l'xo, mara te ka cete n#ai sea ko e!a ko n#omtciasi he llama !aihn llarisi te kxae glaoh ko ju sa llxao gea Namibia ko lla'ike.

"Ka a loa xoana kokxui ko a dhari, he sin kokxui ju doresin kokxuisi, a loa !'han a !'hao...." (Chief Frederik Langman, #Au | | eisi Traditional Authority)



This rather poor quality image of an unidentified San community shows the way in which different landscapes provided different building materials. Here the huts have been built with the branches of the Makalani palm trees that are common in northern Namibia (NAN 20955, Karl Angebauer, Buschtrecke, Leipzig, 1929)

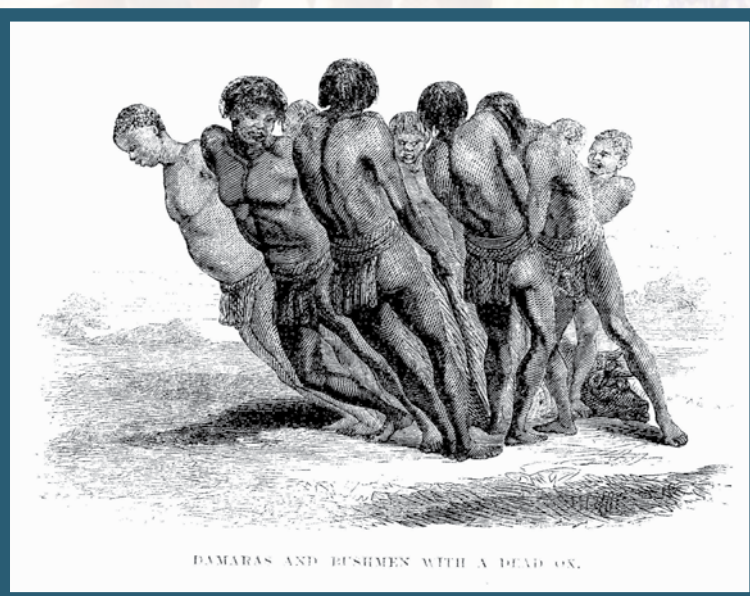
Khuinke llxaoa ke loa kaice kxae glaoh ko llau se ko jul'hoansi sa n#ai sea ko tca tcisi oo llaq'ian khuian ko n!ore nlangsi kota tca tcisi oo dua ka l'aesi ko tci llaq'ian ge sa o kuru tciasi. Khuinke o tju he kuru l'xo ka l'aesi ko !aihn ll'hausi he o !Hani !aihan he ku gea #kao tzi khoe ko Namibia (NAN 20955, Karl Angebauer, Buschtrecke, Leipzig, 1929)



Buschleute bei Kaukausib.

A family from an unidentified San community cooking at Kaukausib (a riverbed that runs through the Namib Desert) during the German colonial community. Perhaps they were members of the /Geinin, a community that can no longer be found. The prospector who first benefited from the discovery of diamonds in Namibia, August Stauch, named his diamond company the Kaukausibtal Diamantengesellschaft. (NAN 28586, Deutsche Kolonialblatt, nd)

Jusa o loa llau n'ai sea si l'aesi he o jul'hoansi sa nloa ko Kaukausib (Ixom llaihan tzi he laah u he glae !hara ko Namib Desert) ka koh o ll'aea o German colonial juasi. Khoe nlui si koah sin *'ang ko ju sa o /Geinin, o ju sa loa ce ho si l'aesi. Te llkoa llkae o jua kxaice l'xoa l'xoa ko laoh ko diamonds ko Namibia, August Stauch, ll'a !ua o diamond company ko Kaukausibtal Diamantengesellschaft. (NAN 28586, Deutsche Kolonialblatt, nd)



An early engraving shows San and Herero pulling the body of a dead ox (Baines, Thomas, From Explorations in South-West Africa, London, 1864, facing p.97) This provides early evidence of co-operation.

llxoea lom n'ai sea ko Jul'hoansi kota Tamah llhai g!xa ama !ai he o ox (Baines, Thomas, llama Explorations ko South-West Africa, London, 1864, facing p.97) lOa llau llkoa llkae.



SOME KEY DATES IN THE HISTORY OF NAMIBIA'S SAN COMMUNITIES

27,500-25,500 years

Before Present (BP) Estimated age of 'Apollo 11' rock art, some of the earliest mobile rock art in Southern Africa found in a cave at Goachanas.

October, 1885 Republic of Upingtonia announced.

31st August, 1895 Protection Treaty signed between Johannes Krüger (representing San and Damara groups around ||Gaub) and the German colonial administration.

14th October, 1898 Protection Treaty signed between Fritz #Arexab and Ludwig von Estorff at Outjo.

1911 The 'Bushman Relics Protection Act (No 22 of 1911)' first gives some protection to San rock art sites and is applied to Namibia after the South African occupation in 1915. Efforts to protect rock art sites marked the start of the heritage sector in southern Africa.

26th July, 1922 The Magistrate of Gobabis, Frederick van Ryneveld is killed during a police patrol to arrest 'Zameko'.

1954 Removal of Hai//om from Etosha National Park.

1976 Establishment of 'Bushmanland' as the last Homeland established under the Odendaal Plan with Tsumkwe as its capital.

1989 Abolition of 'Bushmanland'.

19th November 2015 Launch of the Namibian San Council to strengthen the voice of Namibia's San communities.

TCI GESIN N!UISI KOH N!IAAHN ||'A NAMIBIA'S JUL'HOANSI JUASI

27,500-25,500 years

Kxaice ||A'ike (K ||) N!obe kuri sa koh o 'Apollo 11' n!om tekent, ka gesin koh o kuri hin ke mobile n!om teken ko o Southern Africa koh ho ka ka l'ae ko n!om n!ang ko Goachanas.

October, 1885 Republic he koh o Upingtonia n#oahn.

31st August, 1895 !'Uin ko Treaty teken ko ||'ami n!ang ko Johannes Krüger (n#oahn koh o Jul'hoansi kota Damara xrupu gea | | Gaub) kota ko German ||'aea ko lorekxao.

14th October, 1898 !'Uin ko Treaty teken ko ||'ami n!ang ko Fritz #Arexab kota Ludwig von Estorff ko Outjo.

1911 Te 'Jul'hoansi Relics !'Uin Act (No 22 of 1911)' kxaice l'an !'uin gesin ko Jul'hoansi n!om teken tciasi ko g!a'ama ko Namibia ko ka to'a South African koh l!koa ko 1915. Glaoh l'an !'uin ko n!om teken tciasi ko n!ae ko tchoatchoa ko !'hao n!ang tci ooa ko southern Africa.

26th July, 1922 Te Magistrate o Gobabis, Frederick van Ryneveld koh !hun ha l'ae ko ||'aea parisi koh patoni he ||'ang ko 'Zameko'.

1954 !Xoe coe ko Hai//om ko llama Etosha National Park.

1976 N!obe ko 'Jul'hoansi n!ore' ka o toansit !Xoanasi ko n!obe l!ua ko Odendaal Plan ko Tjum!kui dorpa.

1989 Abolition ko 'Jul'hoansi n!ore'.

19th November 2015 Launch ko Namibian Jul'hoansi Radasi to l'an ko kokxui g!xa a dohm ko Namibia's Jul'hoansi juasi.

CARRYING OUR SUPPLIES

NIIAQ'M E!A TCIASI

It is interesting for us that the information stored by the museum does not include the names that were given to the objects by the original users. Throughout this exhibition we have tried to add the names in different San languages, but we hope that it will also encourage conversations in our different San communities about what these objects should be named.

Te e!a kaice kare n#oahn l'an ko museum te loa llae !usi te sin l'an tci sa hin ke ko n#ai l!koa ka. #Ang l!xam ko !xoansisi e!a duse ka laoh !u l!aq'inllaqian gesi sa o Jul'hoansi dhari, mara e!a #ang tca ka te xanbe l'an glaoh ko n#oahn kota Jul'hoan !'hao !'haosi ko tci sa hin ke l'akaa !usi.



Demi and a woman from /Tilkay's group by the fire. Woman's kaross decorated with cowrie shells

Demi kota dshau he l!ama /Tilkay's xrupu gea da'a khoea. Dshausi kaross ku ani ko tca koe gumi nlo (Photo. PM2001.29.14757)



MA1943-197C – Thazao - !Xung; Kho//oe – Khwe; !ae//oa Naro; Khana (N/hoa); (Bag); This is a leather bag that was used for carrying veldkos. It was also used by women to carry their babies. The original museum caption described it as 'Clothing: Northern San leather clothing, greyish, with tie thongs'.

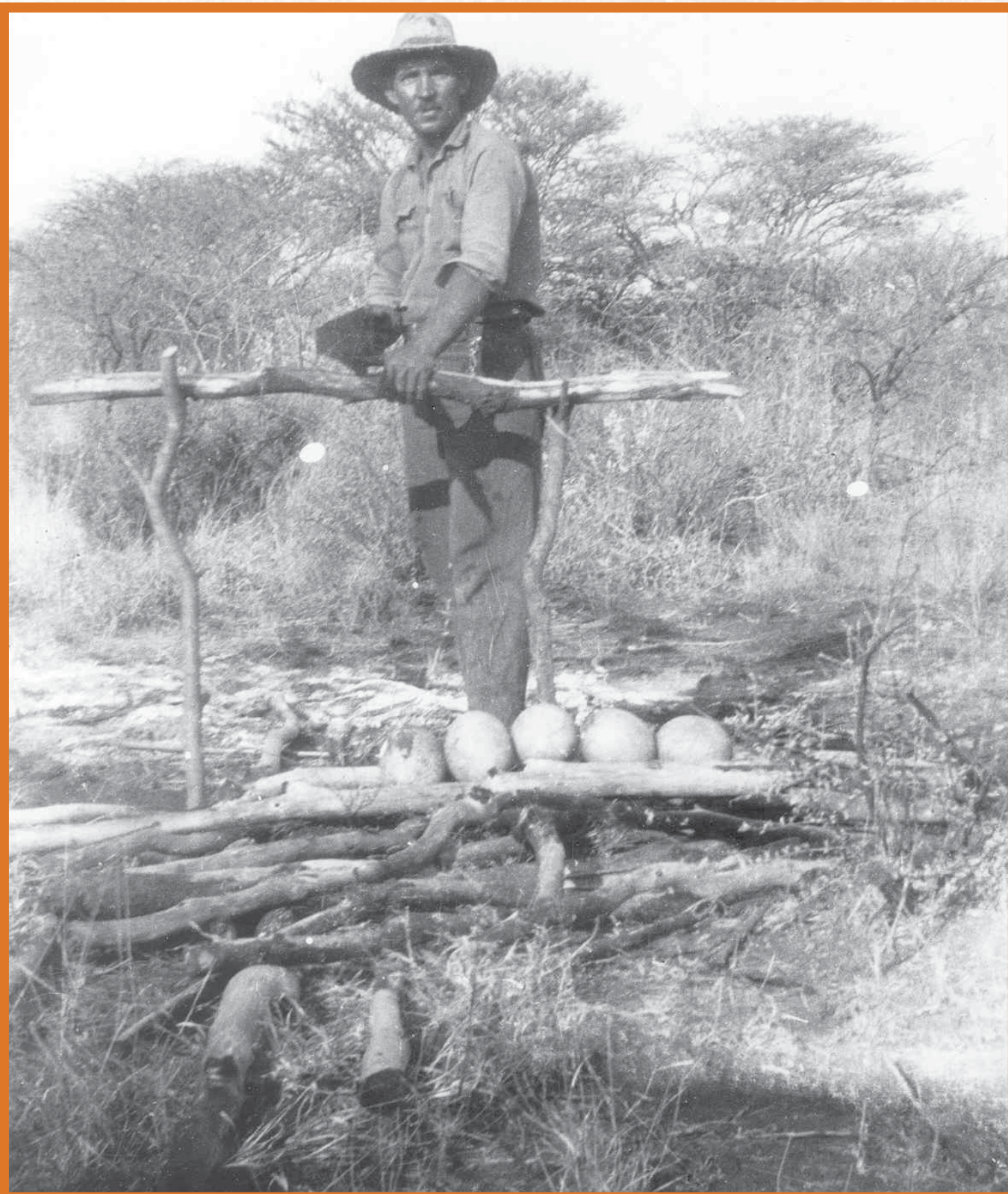
MA1943-197C – Thazao - !Xung); Kho//oe – Khwe (l!Hao); !ae//oa Naro); Khana (N/hoa); Te ka o nlo he n#ai l!koa ka l'ae ko nllaq'm ka #han tzi 'masi. Ka cete n#ai l!koa ka l'ae ko xabe tse dshau maq'a ha da'aba ko ka. Te l!xoasi museum ka l'ang n#oahn #ansara ka l'ae te ka o !'Xai: #Kao Jul'hoansi nlo !xaia, greyish, koe ku l'ang n#oqn'.



MM31-68-116 – Tsa'a xaba (Naro); #ung (N/hoa); Ostrich Egg Container

Ostrich eggs were very important for carrying water. The shells were sometimes decorated which also made it easier to identify someone's container. However ostrich egg shells would also play an important role in the ritual that would bring peace and good fortune after a death " . . . the deceased is believed to move about as a ghost at night. Buchu (tsã [≠Xao-//Aesi], tsãba [Naro] is therefore strewn over the grave at the burial in order to make the spirit of the departed happy so that s/ he may not move about at night and molest others. An ostrich eggshell containing water is left at the head of the grave (ao [Hai//om] howaba [Naro] and water sprinkled over the grave so that it may rain." (Photo. PM2001.29.14757)

MM31-68-116 – Dsuu N!u tan; Tsa'a xaba (Naro); #ung (N/hoa); Dsuu n!u koh kaice o tci n!a'an n!a'an ko llae ko glu.te ka n!osi koh l'ae gesin ka o !hui sa ku kuru ka l'aesi ko ka n!a sara ka ju ka o tan. l'ae wece dsuu n!u nlo xabe dua ka l'ae ko tci n!a'ana n!a'an ko ko ku tcoan l!xo ka te ka tani !ka n!ang he jan ko gla'a-n!ang ko ka to'a o !ai " . . .te l!hai kharu o #om ko !aua l'akoa te ka o tcururu o glu ma. Buchu (tsã [≠Xao-//Aesi], tsãba [Naro] is kahinto'a ka #aun te !oroh !om ka l'ae ka toto ka l'ae ko gl!aoan ko !ka n!ang ko ha/ ka ha n!lau n#haoha glu kota l!hang gesin.te dsuu n!u glu tan /ua ka l'ae ko koa !'aice ke o !oroh khoea (ao [Hai//om] howaba [Naro] te glu tcaq tsxautsxaru ko !oroh ko ka gla cua."



The caption in the archives indicates that these ostrich eggs had been filled with water and then buried to create a water storage point that could be used when a group returned. It is not clear why the man in the photograph has uncovered them. (NAN 07981 Victor Botha, 1920)

Te !oroh ke ku n̄ai sea tca dsuu n!u te g!a'in g!u te tcaq tsxautsxaru te !om ko ku n̄om ko g!u he n̄ai llkoa ka l'ae ko ll'aea xrupu he ke ce ka tsi. Ka loa llau n̄ai sea ka l'ae ko tca !'hoan he llxao te sin !'o sila. (NAN 07981 Victor Botha, 1920)



!Nai, with a kaross, squats on the edge of a pan pouring water from a tin into an ostrich egg shell. (Photo. PM2001.29.17516)

!Nai, te kaross, squats ko tci n!ang te l'ua ka ko g!u he llama tooh n!ang nlang l'ua dsuu n!u n!ang (Photo. PM2001.29.17516)



MA1943-225 – Singuri (!Xung) – (Water Carrier)
We sometimes also used this container to store the honey that we had collected, but mainly it was used to store water. It would keep the water cool, like a fridge.

*MA1943-225 – Singuri (!Xung) – (G!u tan)
M!a ll'ae gesin m!a n̄ai llkoa tan ke ko l'ua zo he m u
ʼhan, mara ka koh n̄ai llkoa ka l'ae ko g!u. Ka n̄ai
ʼa'ua g!u, n!ana yskas.*



MA1945-225A !xung; Kuru - Khwe, Kgaba – Naro;
(Storage container)

MA1945-225A N!hoa (!xung); Kuru (Khwe) (Tan g!am tci)



MM40_69_2378 !homa - N/hoa; /uisii – Naro Bag for gathering food made out of the skin of a Duiker. The skin at the neck of the bag was cut to make a fringe, with another fringe also at the closed end of the bag. The design on the bag was made by scraping off the outer layer of the skin.

MM40_69_2378 !homa - N/hoa; /uisii – Naro !Haoa ju !'hu l'xoa 'msi he kuru l'xoa ha l'ae ko l'Au nlo. Te !ain nloa o lhao he !xai g!xa ka l'ae, te ka nlui ce ka loah ko ka ko toansi te ka o lhao. Te ku nlla lhao okaa ha koh kuru ha l'ae ko n!oqe coe !kui ko nlo.



MA1988-792 – #obe – Naro; #obe - N/hoa; (Bag)
A handbag used by mature women to carry their herbs and medicine. The fact that the bag is covered with a lot of white ostrich egg shells indicates that the owner was probably a healer. Women generally designed and made their own bags.

MA1988-792 – N!hoe (!Xung); #obe (Naro); #obe (N/hoa);
te lhaoma dshausi n!ai ko ha nllaq'm kota l'ua nlo. Te lloeh lhao ku llgaoa ha l'ae ko nlo lla'a sa #hai te ku n!ai sea tca ha kxao te n!oam ha. Dshausi llxoasi n!om kota ku kuru si l'ae hasi lhaosi.



MM40_69_2432 !oma – N/hao; //ho'o – Naro; Container made from horn with leather caps. Such containers were usually used to hold grease. The grease would be used for cooking or could be mixed with ground red wood and applied to the skin for sun-burn protection.

MM40_69_2432 !oma – N/hao; //ho'o – Naro; !Uru dua ka l'ae ko tci !hu he ka tzi !'o ka l'ae ko nlo. !Uru tci sa ke llxoasi n!ai llkoa ka l'ae ko g!am nlai. Te nlai ku n!ai llkoa ka l'ae ko nloa kana doqma ka l'ae ko !aihn he g!aan he gea kxa te #xaua ka l'ae ko nlo ko ku l'uin nlang lam loa ku'u ka.



MM40_69_2387 !oma – Naro; !homa - N/hoa; A bag used by women when gathering food. This bag had been stitched together with sinew and repaired with a patch, showing that the owner was fond of it and had used it for some time.

MM40_69_2387 !oma – Naro; !homa - N/hoa; Te lhao he dshausi n!ai llkoa ko !'hu 'msi. Te lhao he !'ang llkae ha l'ae te g!a'i zeze ha l'ae, n!ai sea o ha kxao koh kxae ha te n!ai llkoa ha ko ll'ae gesin.



MM40_69_2424 /uisii – Naro and N/hoa; //halxa - !xoo; Water bag. Water bags were normally made from the stomach of an animal that had a lot of folds, but it had to be carefully looked after as water was precious.

MM40_69_2424 /uisii – Naro and N/hoa; //halxa - !xoo; N!habi llxoasi kuru l'xoa ha l'ae ko !ham n!ang tciasi sa o n!aqsi, mara te ka a llau ku se ka okaa g!u goaq gea ha n!ang.



MM40_69_2592 !oma – N/hao; //ho'o – Naro; Container made from horn with leather caps.

MM40_69_2592 !oma – N/hao; //ho'o – Naro; !Uru dua ka l'ae ko tci !hu he ka tzi !'o ka l'ae ko nlo.



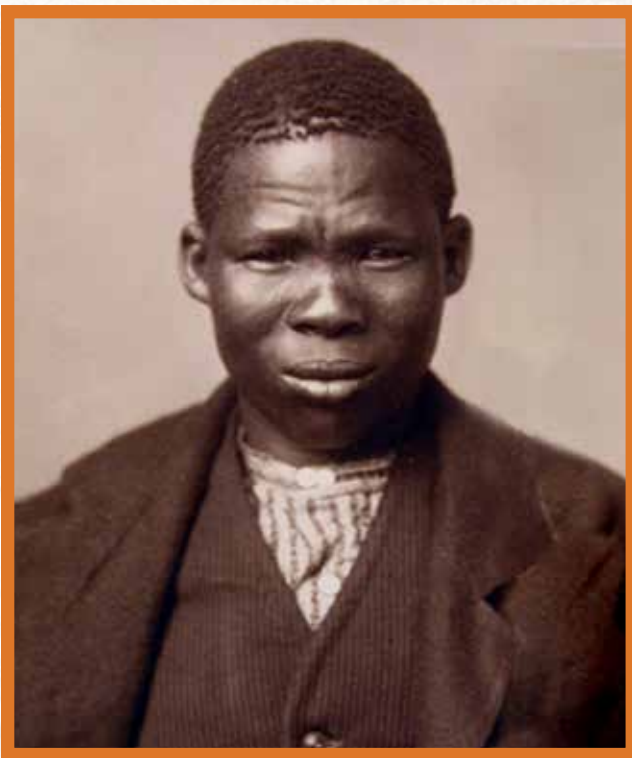
MM40_69_2422 /uisii – Naro and N/hoa; //halxa - !xoo; A water bag. If you look carefully you will see that a hole in the bottom of the bag has been repaired with grass.

MM40_69_2422 /uisii – Naro and N/hoa; //halxa - !xoo; N!habi ka a llau ku se okaa dom n!uan koa tsi #aeh ke te ha kuru zea ha l'ae l'xoa ko ll'aisi.



MM40_69_2728 !oma – N/hao; //ho'o – Naro; Container made from horn with leather caps.

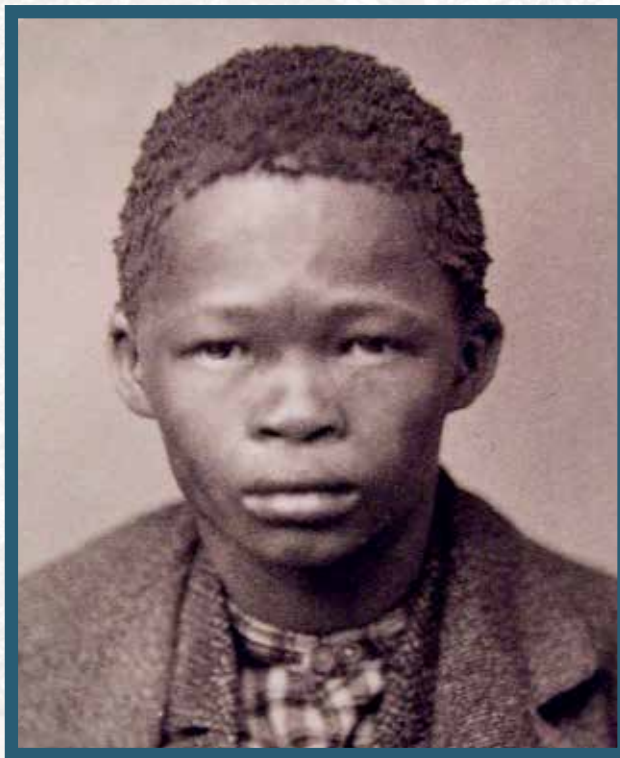
MM40_69_2728 !oma – N/hao; //ho'o – Naro; !Uru kuru ka l'ae ko tci !hu he ka tzi !'o ka l'ae ko nlo.



!Nanni !Nanni

!Nanni was from a community that was known as the //noo yau and he called the area where he lived Kaku i ra but he also explained that one of his grandfathers, who taught him a lot, had been Hai//om. One note states that he was taken from 'Damaraland' by Axel Eriksson after having been first captured and taken from his family by the 'Makoba'. On 15th September, 1881 !nanni created a map of the region where he had grown up. It features the 'Kavango River', but the notes on the map show that the !Xung name for the river was | xumm whilst neighbouring communities called it the Shonongo River. He also identified five !nuerre (the !Xung name for countries) close to the Kavango River

!Nanni ha jua sa !'han ha koh llnoo yau te n!ore ha koh !xoana ha !'au Kakuira te ha koh nlla #ansara tca ha !u-n!a'an, koh kaice n!aroh ha, ll'a ha koh o Haill'om. Te tci nle'e nlui ce n'ai !'han tca ha te koh gua ha l'ae ko Darama n!ore' ko Axel Eriksson ko ll'aea koh kxaice kota ll'aea ha ko gua ha l'ae ko ha juasi ko 'Makoba'. Te 15 Semtember 1881 !Nanni koh n#om n!ore#xanua he ko !antzia ha koh !'ama. Te gla'a-n!ang khoea ka ce o Kavango !xom, te mara ka a se n!ore#xanua n'ai sea tca !kung !u o !xom ga te o llxumm te ll'a ju sa !'au ka ko Shonongo !xom. Ha koh nlla #ansara tci sa !hun-g!au-nle'e !nuerre (te !Kung !u ko n!oresa) to'ma Kavango !xom



Tamme Tamme

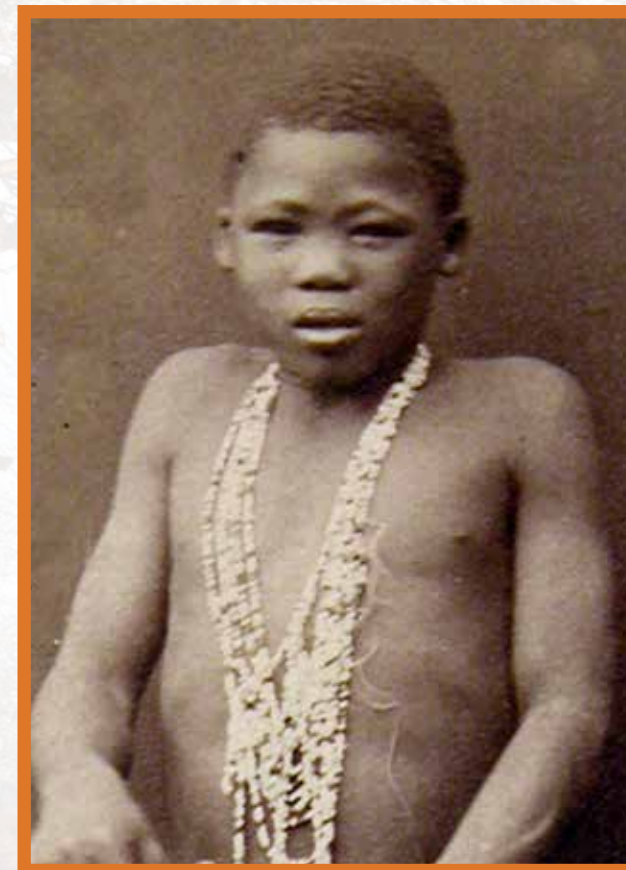
Tamme said that he came from another !Xung group known as the //koo yau and knew the area where he had lived as Tsaba. He said that he had been taken from his family by the 'Makoba' and then traded with one of the Ovambo kingdoms. He also claimed that his parents had been killed later by Ovambo.

Tamme koh ko ha te llama !Kung Xrupu nlui he o llhoo yau te !'han n!ore ha koh !xoana te ha o Tsaba. Ha ko ha te koh gua ha l'ae ko ha jua sa o 'Makoba' te koh llhai tih ko Ovambo nlui tci ooasi. Ha cete nlla n'ai !'han tca dinn!ang te ha n!lauasi ll'a Ovambo !'oan.



This drawing by Tamme carries the caption: M tai !nuerre | ka kue ti ddoa a (The | ka kue of my mother's country is here)

Teken ke o Tamme ga ko tca ha koh llae ha l'ae: M tai !nuerre | ka kue ti ddoa a (l ka kue o mi taqe n!ore hin ke)



|uma |uma

|uma was described as being from a group known as #ka'o yau from an area that he named as | ka saba. He also said that he had been taken from his family by the 'Makoba' and then given to a 'Boer' trader called Krenys – in exchange for a gun. He was beaten and after a few months ran away to try and find his way home, but the distance was too much. He met another white hunter called Karo (Mr Carew ?) and that is when he met Da. Karo gave them to another white man who sent them to Walvis Bay and they sailed from there to Cape Town.

!Uma koh nlla #ansara tca ha te xrupu o #ka'o yau ko n!ore o lka saba. Ha koh gu ha l'ae ko ha juasi khoea ko 'Makoba' te l'an ha l'ae ko l'hun he koh n'ai ll'ama Krenys- he mani mani n!aohsi. Ha koh n#a'm ha l'ae ko n!ui sa tsi ha koh nluri te !aah ll'a ha ua tjulho. Mara ll'akoa n!obe #xaan. Ha tsi llkae l'xoa l'hun nlui he o !aqekxao he !'aua ha l'ae ko Karo (Mr Carew) te ll'akoa ha llkae l'xoa Da. Karo l'an si!a ko l'hun nlui te ha llkoa ua si!a ko Walvis Bay te si!a llama khuinto'a te #xuru g!u-nluu te ua Cape town.



Da Da

Da was the youngest boy in the group, being only around seven years old. He said that he had been captured after the 'Makoba' had attacked his family and killed his parents and that he had seen some of his brothers and sisters thrown into the river and eaten by crocodiles. The other boys said that he was from a different community that they called the Biriko yau and Da said that he had grown up in an area known as | | noma.

Da koh da'ama!o ko nllaqemhi sa hin to'a khoea, ha koh sin o kuri sa o !hun-g!au-nle'e kota tci tsan. Ha nlla tca ha te koh gu ha l'ae ko 'Makoba' ll'aea ju koh n#hai ha jusi he !'oan te ll'akaa ha koh se ha !osin ha !uisin te si koh n!o'an l'ua si l'aesi ko !xom g!ua te lxuni koh 'm si. Nllaqemhi gesin koh ce nlla tca ha te o !'hao dore ke o Biriko yau, te Da nlla tca ha te !'ama n!ore o llнома.



Gustaf de Vylder o. Joseph

Another example of the way in which San children were traded in Namibia at this time is the case of 'Joseph'. It is believed that he was born around 1868 and is described as having been a member of the Onguaoa. It is believed that his parents has been killed and that he had, subsequently, been owned by several different people. We know that the Swedish trader Axel W. Eriksson obtained him in exchange for a rifle and then gave him (as a gift) to a Swedish scientist, Gustav de Vylder, in Omaruru on 7th November, 1874. De Vylder referred to him as 'my son' and sailed to Sweden with him in July, 1875. He was placed with a family at Kyerrestad, whilst de Vylder returned to southern Africa. 'Josef' died of tuberculosis on 22nd November, 1880 and is buried in the local graveyard. The fictional novel 'The Son of the Wind' (2000) by Henning Mankell was based on Joseph's story.

Te llaellhae l'an nlu ke tca Jul'hoansi koh oo llaea hi l'aesi ko Namibia ko ll'ae sa hin to'a koh o 'Joseph' ll'aea. Te #om o ha te koh glla'ia ha l'ae ko kuri sa ke o 1868 te koh nlla #ansara ha te koh o jua o Onguaoa jua. Ha #om tca ha n!auasi te koh !oan si l'aesi, #huin#huian, ko ju llaq'inll'aq'ian sa he. M!a koh l'han tca Swedish trader Axel W. Eriksson koh n!un l'an ko tcisi mani te koh l'an ha ko (ko xaro) Swedish scientist, Gustav de Vylder, Omaruru ko 7th November, 1874.

De Vylder n#ai sea ha l'ae ko ha ' mi !han' te kahin ha #xuru glu-nluu te u lxo ha ko Sweden ko July, 1874. Te koh u llae l'an ju sa he o Kyerrestad, ko ll'aea de Vylder koh ce ua Southern Africa. 'Josef' koh !aia ko glo'a lkaea ko 22 November, 1880 te koh !oma ha l'ae ko !aoh hin to'a. Te n#oahn llxam !uh' !Han o Maq ' (2000) te Henning Mankell ll'a ha llae Joseph's n#oahn.

CHARMS AND MEDICINE

CHARMS KOTA NIOM

Bones were sometimes used by a fortune teller to predict the future. In South Africa these sets of bones were known as Dolos. A different type of Dolos (Ku - #Xao-//Aesi, Gaikwe - Naro) were made out of wood by San communities living near the border with Botswana. They consisted of male (Koa or !Hoa) and female (Tjo or Teau) discs (Plural Koacha and Tjocha). When they are used for fortune telling they are taken off the string and placed on a bag made of skin that is spread on the ground. Fourie reported that the use of the wooden type of Dolos started with the #Xao-//Aesi. "It is made from a tree [!Gī (#Xao-//Aesi) or Gara (Naro)] growing only in [#Xao-//Aesi] country beyond Amasib". Fourie collected several sets of these discs which, he noted, were made from Aru by a group of #Xao-//Aesi led by a man named Go-//ūb' that lived at #Nu-anis

The Dolos might be used, for example, when hunters were delayed in returning to the camp: "When first thrown and [the] male falls on back it denotes that somebody has died; if [the] female falls on [her] back it denotes that the people are still alive and that the fire is still burning". It was explained that two of the discs had a special significance: "One set of male and female denotes a white man and his wife. If those denoting Europeans face each other it means that a party of white people are coming & if they face each other close by that [means] they will arrive today. While throwing them he says "you are lying in what you tell me. Tell me the truth' . . ."

Fourie noted that the Dolos was used for three main purposes. Firstly, before a hunt to provide information about the places where the hunters will find game. Secondly, to look for a person or to indicate when they will return. Finally, information could be obtained about a person living at another place. For example, if one of the discs landed on its edge then the person being asked about was sick,

!Usi ll'ae gesin ka n#ai llkoa ka l'aesi ko glha!oma ko n!hoe.Ko South Africa koh du !u sa koh !han ka l'aesi ko Dolos.Te ka kxae !hao llaq'inllaq'ian gesi sa o Dolos (Ku - #Xao-//Aesi, Gaikwe - Naro) Koh dua ka l'ae ko !aihn sa Jul'hoan sa to'ma n!ore!xaisi ko Botswana. Sila o nllaqesi (Koa kana !Hoa) te dshausi (Tjo kana Teau) n#oahnsi (Plural Koacha kota Tjocha).ll'Aea to'a si koh n#ai llkoa glha!oma si gu !hui ka ka du mani ko lhao he kuru lxoā ha l'ae ko nlo he gl!xuan ha l'ae ko kxa. Fourie n#oahn tca ko n#ai llkoa ko !aihn !hao he ke o Dolos tchoatchoa lxoā ko #Xao-//Aesi. "Ka kuru lxoā ka ka l'ae ko !aihn [!Gī (#Xao-//Aesi) or Gara (Naro)] te sin !am ko [#Xao-//Aesi] n!ore he koh o Amasib". Fourie #han llkaellkae tci wece sa oo n#oahn, ha lore g#a , hatce re dua ka l'ae ko Aru ko xrupu tcia o #Xao-//Aesi n#ai n#haoha kxao koh o !'hoan ha !u o Go-//ūb' he !xoana ko #Nu-anis

Te Dolos xoana n#ai llkoa, llhaellhae l'an, ll'aea !aqekxaosi loa n!o'o he sin ce tsia tjulho: "ll'Aea o kxaice n!o'an kota [te] nllaqe !aosi l'aesi ko si !'osi te ka o tca n#ai !'han ko ju nlui te !ai: kana [te] dshausi !ao ha l'ae ko [ha] !'o okaa nllatca ju te ciniha kxae lxoā te ciniha lxoā kota ka da'a ciniha n!om".Ka koh !oa #ansara ka l'ae ko tci tsan sa koh n#oahn llkae ka l'ae ko tcisi #angasi: "Tci nle'e n!ui o !'hoan kota dshau nlang nlae !'hoan !a'u kota ha dshau. Ka si nlae lxoā si l'ae ko Europeans ko n#oahn llkae lho kota lho ka nlla ko party he o jusa !a'u ko koa si llama & ka si sea khoe ka ka to'ma ko ll'akoa [nlla] si llxoasi tsi #aeh ko lla'ike.Koh ku ji hatce re a n#oahn mi. Nluu mi ko sinl'ae' . . ."

Fourie koh du tca Dolos koh n#ai llkoa hi l'aesi tci !aelae o ka glaohasi.Kxaice, gla'a-n!ang he !aqekxao glae du n#oahn ko khoe sa !hamh ju hoa. N#ai tsan, Kxoā ko jua ku koah ku kana n#ai sea ko ll'aea ha koah ce.Toansi,nluu n!un l'an ko ju lxoā n!ang ko n!ore dore. Ko llhaellhae l'an, ka n#oahn sa hin o n!ore masi ko tzi-!ang ko jua tsitsa'a he

if the male disc lay on its back and the female disc lay across it then it meant the person had died and earth had been thrown over them. The wooden and leather Dolos were used in the same way.

The leather discs are normally made from big game. Each was made from the skin of a different animal that had been killed. It was recorded that normally: "There should be a set of seven on a string. They are called Tgūs. This is the collective name . . . The thread on which they are strung is made from bark of [a] tree growing further north (/Gam)". One circular leather disc was called //Kū (#Xao-//Aesi) or Gao-Asi (Naro) and they were made from the thinnest skin of the animals, such as that of the neck. Dorothea Bleek described the Dolos of Naro groups as consisting of four pieces of wood or leather which were thrown on to a skin blanket (kaross). She wrote that two were pointed and female, whilst the other two were flat and male.



MM40-69-805 – /xuu – Naro; N#oma - N/hoa; (Leather Divining Dice)

MM40-69-805 – /xuu – Naro; N#oma - N/hoa; (Nlo nluu sa #om ka l'ae)

koh lkae, ka koh !'hoan he koh cua !'o kota dshau he koh cu !xai okaa ka nlla te ll'a jua te koh !ai kota kxalho koh n!o'an n#hao taqmsi. Te !aihn kota nlo Dolos koh n#ai llkoa ka l'aesi ko tci nle'e.

Te nlo nluu o llxoasi koh dua ka l'aesi ko !hamh !ae nlosi. Ka waqn tsan koh llama ko nlo sa o !hamh llaq'inllaq'ian gesi sa koh !oan ka l'aesi. Ka koh lorekharu ka l'aesi ko llxoasi: "Khuinto'a koh llxaun ka l'ae ko !hui sa o seve.Te ka !'aua ka l'aesi ko Tgūs. Ka o !'hoan koh nlhui tcisi ll'a ha !u . . .te tso si koh dua !hui okaa dua ka l'ae ko !aihn nlo [o]!aihn he koh !'ama #kao (/Gam)".Ka nle'e koh o nlo nluu ka koh !'aua ka l'ae ko //Kū (#Xao-//Aesi) kana Gao-Asi (Naro) te si koh dua ka ko nlo he zani he o !hama ga, ko khoe sa to'a o tci !ain!u nloa. Dorothea Bleek n#oahn #ansara ko Dolos ko Naro xrupu koh glla l'an ko !aihn !abih sa o bine kana nlosi dua n#ahmsi (kaross). Ha lore ko tci tsan sa llhaellhae ko dshau, ko ll'aea ka gesin sa tsan paqin ka o !'hoan.



03374 – Denver African Expedition, Namutoni Hai//om shaman with his tools (1923)

03374 – Denver African Expedition, Namutoni Hai//om shaman ko ha tciasi sa koh o (1923)

TATTOOING

/NAM-//AI - #XAO-//AESI;
/GOREBA - NARO

Men and women were given tattoos to mark their transition to adulthood. The role of tattooing in the initiation of boys as hunters is described in the hunting section of this handbook, but will be elaborated on here. "Tattooing is done only with the first three or four head of small & big game shot by [the new hunter]". The meat of each animal that had been successfully killed was rubbed into a cut that was made to mark the successful hunt. Both male and female animals should be hunted because for as long as the meat of only one sex had been rubbed in, the hunter would only have luck in hunting that sex. When a female animal was killed meat from the left leg should be rubbed into the cut. If a male animal was killed meat from the right leg should be used.

Tattooing was an important ritual for new hunters: "The right side [of the face] is incised first, then the forehead, then he washes [his] face with Naŭn, then they dance for a time after which [the] novices are separated from the recently initiated who are instructed to return to main werft [homestead] . . . The incisions are made with flints and not with knives". The tattooing of hunters was scarification. "[It] is done by the subject lying on his back with his head resting on the thigh of the operator. A fold of skin is held by two people and nicks made with a flint or sharp iron tip. Charcoal from a special root called Kaua-e is then rubbed in". Cuts on the face improved the sight of the hunter, whilst the cuts on his body increased his speed and stamina when running down animals.

A special dance, the /ui dance, would be danced in the evening, after the tattooing, and it was after this ritual had been completed and young men had received their tattoos that they were able to hunt game and get married. "When tattooing is no longer necessary the frontlets [a piece of skin from the animal's forehead] are made into bangles for his . . . legs and arms . . . After having been tattooed

IOM

/NAM-//AI (#XAO-//AESI),
/GOREBA (NARO)

Nllaqe kota dshausi koh l'an si l'aesi ko lom si l'aesi konlaesi ko ll'aea si ciniha o da'abiloa. Te lom tci dua o nllaqemh ga koh !aqe tci dua ka koh n#oahn #ansara ka l'ae ko !aqe tci dua ko #xanua he, mara ka xoadu ll'ae ka l'ae ko khuinke. "lom du ka l'ae ko kxaice ko tci n!ani kana tci bine ko ha nlai khoea ko tca tzema & ko !hamh !aw txa khoea [te !aqekxao zesin]". Te !ha he to'a o !hama nlui waqnhe llau !hun ka l'ae ku l'ua ka l'ae ko khoe !xai ka l'aesi he ku nlae ko tca ha te !aqekxao l'hoan. !Ha di kota !ha g!oq waqn tsan ku !aqe ka l'aesi khama ka te o !ha te sin o glla'i n!ang sa l'ua ka l'ae ko lom tzi-n!angsi, te !aqekxao #aun kxani ko !aqe cu nllhoo. Ka !hama di !hun ka l'ae ka o !ha he o ka lom di !hahe ku l'ua ka l'ae ko lom tzi-n!ang. te ka !ha g!oq !hun ka l'ae ka !om g!oq !ha ku n#ai ll'koa ka l'ae.

IOm o tci n!a'an n!a'an ko tcoan ko !aqekxao ze: "An g!oq [ko lho] l'ua ka ko kxaice, ka gla l'ua ka ko ha koatsi!'anke, ka ll'ka ka [ha] lho ko Naŭn, ka djxani ll'ae tzema ka [te] n#aq!uianjua sara khoe ko n!ana ko nllaahn tciasi ko jua loo ka ll'xam ka ka ce l'xoa glaoh [laoh tci ooa] . . Te l'ua ll'akoa ka du l'xoa ka ko ll'xao te ll'xaisi koara ll'akoa". te lom sa o !aqekxaosi koh llau du ka l'aesi ko lom tzi-n!angsi. "[ka] koh toan he koh nlla ko cua a !'o ko a nlai ka can tca glaoh ko ce !'oahn. Fau nlo he ju tsan koh ll'ae te ka lom l'xoa ka kana ko tca #xam he o !aq gla'a. Charcoal ko ll'ari he ku !'aua ka l'ae ko Kaua-eko l'ua khuinto'a". IOm tzi-n!angsi ko tca jan nlang ka o lho l'xoa o !aqekxao ga, ko ku lom tzi-n!ang sa gea a ama he l'an glaoh kota ko ll'aea a l'xoe n#hao ko !hama.

Te djxani tzi nlui, te lui djxani, kaice are djxani ko l'uia, ko ka to'a ha lom, ka o ll'aea to'a ha tcoan toan ko nllaqemh ho hi lom sa to'a hi xoana !aqe !hamh !ae kota ku gu dshau. "ll'Aea to'a lom goaqka loa du ka l'aesi ko si lhosi khoea [te nlo !abih o !hama koatsi!'anke] ku du l'xoa ka l'ae ko ll'aqmallaqma sa ha . .

for small game he may hunt the latter at pleasure without the old man's permission. But he may not under such circumstances shoot big game without permission".

Fourie observed that the #Xao-//Aesi community living near Epukiro made short cuts of around 2-2.5cm to mark each of the first small game killed and produced longer scars, about 7cm long, to mark a successful big game hunt. "A piece of the first head of game shot by each is tattooed early in the morning on the day after it was shot . . . This [is] charred on the coals, powdered [and] mixed with a bush called // Goreba and incised on [the] arm, chest and forehead . . . Each must continue until he has shot four head of big game".

Women were also tattooed. The residents of Sandfontein, north of Gobabis, explained (in 1919) the significance of body tattoos on women: "Tattooing of the thighs and buttocks is done at the age of puberty . . . In married women the whole thigh is decorated, in young married and unmarried girls the buttocks only are done & the operation is completed only after marriage . . . The pigment consists of pulverized charcoal mixed with any kind of fat". Tattoos were, therefore, only given to a girl after she had had her first menstruation. Only then would girls be allowed to participate in the Eland Bull Dance



MA1945-272 – G!un - Ju/'hoansi (Pestle)

MA1945-272 – G!un

..!hom n!angsi kota g#ai n!angsi. . .ka to'a si lom toan si l'aesi ko !hamh sa tzeamh sa si xoana !aqe ko koah okaa jansi ko n!aua he ll'a ha tosis. Mara koa ha khoea tci soara hin o ku tchinllhan !hamh !ae ko kxae tosis".

Fourie koh ho ka o #Xao-//Aesi juasi he !xoana to'ma ko Epukiro koh !om tci sa !oamh he o 2-2.5cm o loam tzi-n!angsi sa o kxaice o !hamh sa tzeamh ku !oan khoea ka ku du ka sa g#a'in ko he o, 7cm g#a'insi, nlae sa o !aqekxao lhoan gasi. "Koatsi!'anke lom sa o kxaice ko !hamh tchinllhan gasi lomsa sa o n!oma gasi ko ka to'a ha txa tci . . .Ka [ko] da'all'ai, ll'koro [te] doqma ka l'ae ko tzi tcia he !'aua ka l'ae ko // Goreba ko l'u ka [ko] g#aqo, g!o'a kota koatsi!'anke. . Si nlui waqnhe he #aun ciniha sin tchinllhan !hamh !ae!ae sa o bine ko koatsi!'anke".

Dshausi xabe ce lom. Te !xoansisi sa o Sandfontein, #kao ko Gobabis, !oa #ansara (ko 1919) te n#ai sea sa o lom sa o dshausi ama-n!angsi: "lom ko g!aoh kota #oasi koh du ka l'aesi ko kuri he to'a o tcoan ga. . Te dshaua gu !'hoan g!aoh wece ha ani, te dshaumhi sa nlhui nllaqe kota dshaumh sa loa nlhui nllaqe si din #oasi du ka l'aesi & ka du ka l'ae ko !kom ll'aea. . .Te l'hoan g!oq n!un l'an ko ll'hai l'u ko da'all'ai he doqma ka l'ae ko nlai !'hao-!haosi". IOm koh, kahinto'a, koh sin l'an ka l'aesi ko dshaumh ko ll'aea si ho n!ui. ll'A kahin si xoana g!a'ama ko N!ang G!oq Djxani

The stone was actually obtained by Fourie at Pampoenpoort in the Northern Cape where it was used to grind ochre for painting, but stones like this were also used to crush herbs such as Sai or Sa.

Te n!om koh ll'xoasi n!un l'an ko Fourie ko Pampoenpoort ko #Kao tzi ko Cape ko koa ka koh n#ai ll'koa ka l'ae ko g!oq'in sa si #xau, mara n!om sa khuin ka khuian n#ai ll'koa ka l'aesi ko ku du coe tci sa koe Sai kana Sa.



MM40/69/977 - #gi-hiba – Naro; (Necklace)

MM40/69/977 - #gi-hiba – Naro; !Ain-n!ang (Ju/'hoansi)

This necklace was the type given to young girls and contains a bundle of different sticks with different purposes. The necklace contains three sticks of Khuxa which help young women during menstruation. It is soft so it can be easily scraped into food. The necklace contains two sticks of Sā-sā and four of #Kari which were both 'eaten by young women for stomach complaints'. One stick of #gĩ!gāihā #Xao-//Aesi), #gi-hiba (Nara) could also be used for stomach problems. The necklace also has one stick of Khoba, which, it was said: *"When swallowed it excites the sexual appetite. It is chewed, spat on hands which are then rubben together. The little that remains in mouth is then spat towards the woman who is desired. This will make her come to the man of her own accord. Fourie's handwriting is unclear, so it has not been possible to confirm the identity of the final piece of stick"* - Tjinagin [?].

te !ain-n!ang he ke koh l'an ka l'aesi ko dshaumh he koh gea !aihn lla'ian gesi ko tci !'hao-l'haosi. Te !ain-n!ang kxae !aihn n!ani ko Khuxa ko ka sa hui dshaumh ko ll'aea ha ho n!ui.te ka soan te xoana l!xaunl!xaun l'ua ka l'ae ko 'm. te !ain-n!ang kxae !aihn tsan sa o Sā-sā kota bibe ko #Kari sa ka wece'm ka l'aesi ko dshaumh ko ka ka kxae n!ang ll'an'). !Aihn nle'e ko #gĩ!gāihā #Xao-//Aesi), #gi-hiba (Nara)xoana n'ai llkoa ka l'aesi ko g!u-n!ang ll'an tihsi. Te !ain-n!ang xabe kxae !aihn nle'e ko Khoba, ka, ka koh koe n!ae: *"ll'Aea ka gom 'u ka l'ae ka g!a'ama g!aresi khoea. Ka n!ai ka,ka lxai ka ko g!au-n!angs ka caincani llkae ka.. te tcima tzema gea a tzi-n!ang ka l!xaia ua dshaua ha #'anga. Ka nlla tca dshaua te tsia !'hoan ko ha l'ae ha tci oo. Fourie's g!au-loresi llxanllxan, ka koh loa to l'an ko n'ai !'han ko #'ansara ko toansi !aihn !abih ma"* - Tjinagin [?].

A charm worn by young men around their neck with five sticks of #Gi-Igāia (#Xao-//Aesi) ki-!nomaba (Naro). Shavings from the sticks were: *"Scraped into water and food for stomach medicine . . . "*

Te charm !u he kxarosi !ain n!angsi ko !aihn sa !hun-g!au-nle'e he o #Gi-Igāia (#Xao-//Aesi) ki-!nomaba (Naro). !xaru ka ko llama !aihn sa to'a: *"llxaunllxaun l'ua ka ko g!u kota 'msi te ka o n!ang nloma. . "*



MM40_69_1356 Charm

MM40_69_1356 Charm



MM40_69_1358 Charm

MM40_69_1358 Charm

The charm contained one stick of □Gi-Igāia and two sticks of Khau-Khau-An. The latter was described as a root 'for bringing luck'. It was: *" . . . worn on [a] string round [the] neck or loose in or attached to [a] quiver; worn by men and scraped into food; men use the pyriform [pear shaped] stick by chewing a bit and smearing [their] face, arms and hands before setting out on a hunt in order to bring luck so that they may find game . . . This helps the hunter to find game quickly. [It] is chewed and spat over [the] quiver and [hunter's] arms when [his] wife has her periods in order to preserve luck in the chase [and] scraped into [the] food of [a] dog so that it may hunt well"*.

Te charm tan nle'e o !aihn sa o □Gi-Igāia kota !aihn tsan sa o Khau-Khau-An. Te dinn!ang khoea ka n#aohn #'ansara ka l'ae ko ka llari `sa tani kxani'. Ka koh: *" . . !xaru ko [ko] !hui he !'ami [ko] !ain kana khoara l!xa ka [te] !uru; !xaru ko !'hoan kota ku llxaunllxaun l'ua ko 'msi; !'hoan n'ai llkoa ko n#ang nlai[ko !kui n!ang] ka n!ai !aihn ko tcima tzema ka #xaua [si!ar] lhosi,#'hansi kota g!ausi ka nllhaa glae ku g!hoo l'an ko !aqe ko tca jan ta tani kxani ka si ho !hama. . tci sa ke hui ko !aqekxao ko ho !hama ko n!o'osi. [Ka] n!ai kota lxai koa to'a [te] !uru kota !aqekxaosi] #'hansi ko ll'aea [ha] dshau ho n!ui he toto l'an ko kxani ko ka !xoe [te] llxaunllxaun l'ua ka [te] 'm sa o [te] g#huin ko xabe llau ka !aqe"*.



MM40_69_1625 Charm

MM40_69_1625 Charm

A charm from the //Aikwe group. It has been made from two duiker horns threaded on a string with large blue beads obtained from trade. The horns were used when somebody had a headache. A cut would be made in the face with the horn and then it would be used to suck out blood from the cut and this would stop the pain. The cut would be treated with white material that had been taken from a spider's web.

Te charm he llama ko //Aikwe xrupu. Ka kuru l!xa ka l'ae ko l'au !hu te dua ka l'ae ko !hui he n!a'an he lauhn he o gl!an sa ll'ama hi l'aesi.Te !hu ku n'ai llkoa ka l'ae ko jua kxae n!ain!ang ll'an.Te lom ku dua ka l'ae xo-n!angsi te !hun kahin to'a n'ai llkoa ka l'ae ko ko n!o'm coe l'ang ko lom tzi-n!angsi te ka du ka ll'an #ani. lOm o n#omtciasi sa #'aun o n!ham web.



Small pieces of stone would be placed into the insect cocoons. The /Gunu-gu would be wrapped around the ankle and so it would make a noise when the dancers stamp their feet. Stamping the feet in this way was the method used to call the ancestors.

N!om !abih mh ku l'ua ka l'ae ko ll'akoa ko luni. Te /Gunu-gu ka #am ka ko !'homsi okaa ka du #xubi ko djxani l'xoa a lkaisi. llU a lkai ko kxa ka khuin ka oo dua ka koh o #'anga ju n'ai llkoa te l'aua koh nllaahn.

MM40_69_1537 /Gunu-gu – Hai//om (Rattle)

MM40_69_1537 /Gunu-gu – Hai//om (Rattle)



RM1968_667B //ai (#Xao-//Aesi), Tgās - Naro (Magic Quiver)

RM1968_667B //ai (#Xao-//Aesi), Tgās - Naro (Nlom !Uru)

The Magic Quiver was used to hurt people through supernatural forces. It was said that a San hunter called Tji-tji killed a gemsbok. Gāua, the bad Supreme Being of the San (the good Supreme Being is called !Khutze) arrived and said 'You need not be afraid; we can both sleep here'.

Te Nlom !Uru koh n'ai llkoa ka l'ae ko tzisi ko n!o'o du ju ko glaoh. Ka koh nlla tca Jul'hoan !aqekxao he l'aua ha l'ae ko Tji-tji !hun glo'e. Gāua, Ko tci lkainlkain ko Supreme Being ko Jul'hoansi (te Supreme Being jan koh l'aua ha l'ae ko !Khutze) ku tsi #aeh kota nlla 'A #'aun ku koaq; mtsa waqn tsan tza khuinke'.

Then after sleeping & consuming the animal Tji-tji said "Give me that stuff (/!ai)" to which Gāua replied "If I give it to you what will you pay me". Tji-tji replied: "Give me tgās and I will give you the horns [of the Gemsbok]". Gāua took the horns. Gāua then made tiny arrows out of the horns. He filled them with //ai and then taught Tjui-tji to do the //ai dance. This is how the San received the magic quiver.

The magical quivers were not made by the local #Xao-//Aesi but ". . . purchased from the [San] of /Gam and Naron of Quaggenai. It is used for magical purposes. It makes the victim sick, but doctors can cure him . . . It is the magic property of the arrow which injures other people. The bow is called a Y-nan, the arrow Ain-u . . . Those with sinew ornamentation and beads are those which are used for playing only. The large quiver with bare arrows is used in dances as a play thing but not for magical purposes".

Te ka mtsa tza & ko !hamh o Tji-tji nlla "l'An ko tca to'a (/!ai)" ko hajoe Gāua mani a "ka mi l'an a hatce re a l'xoa mi". Tji-tji mani: "Na ko tgās te mi l'an a ko !hu [he o g!o'e]". Gāua gu !hu". Gāua te du tchi ma gla'ia !hu. Ha glxun l'xoa ka ko //ai te cete n!aroh ko Tjui-tji ko ka du //ai djxani. Otca kahin Jul'hoansi koh oo hoa n!om !uru.

Te n!om !uru koh !oa du ka l'ae ko khoe gesin sa o #Xao-//Aesi mara ". . . ll'ama ka llama ko [Jul'hoansi] ko /Gam kota Naron of Quaggenai. ka n'ai llkoa ka l'ae ko ka oosi. Ka n'ai l'kae, mara dokosi !'uin ka . . . Ka o !uru n!om he o tchisi ga ko ka nllau kxuia ju gesin. Te ka n!oa !'au ka l'ae ko Y-nan, ko tchisi Ain-u . . . Ka o l'kausi tci ooasi kota glxan sa ju gesin ge ka kui l'xoa. Te !uru !aelae sa kxae tchisi n'ai llkoa ka l'ae ko djxani o kui l'xoa ko tcisi mara ka loa o n!om tciasi".



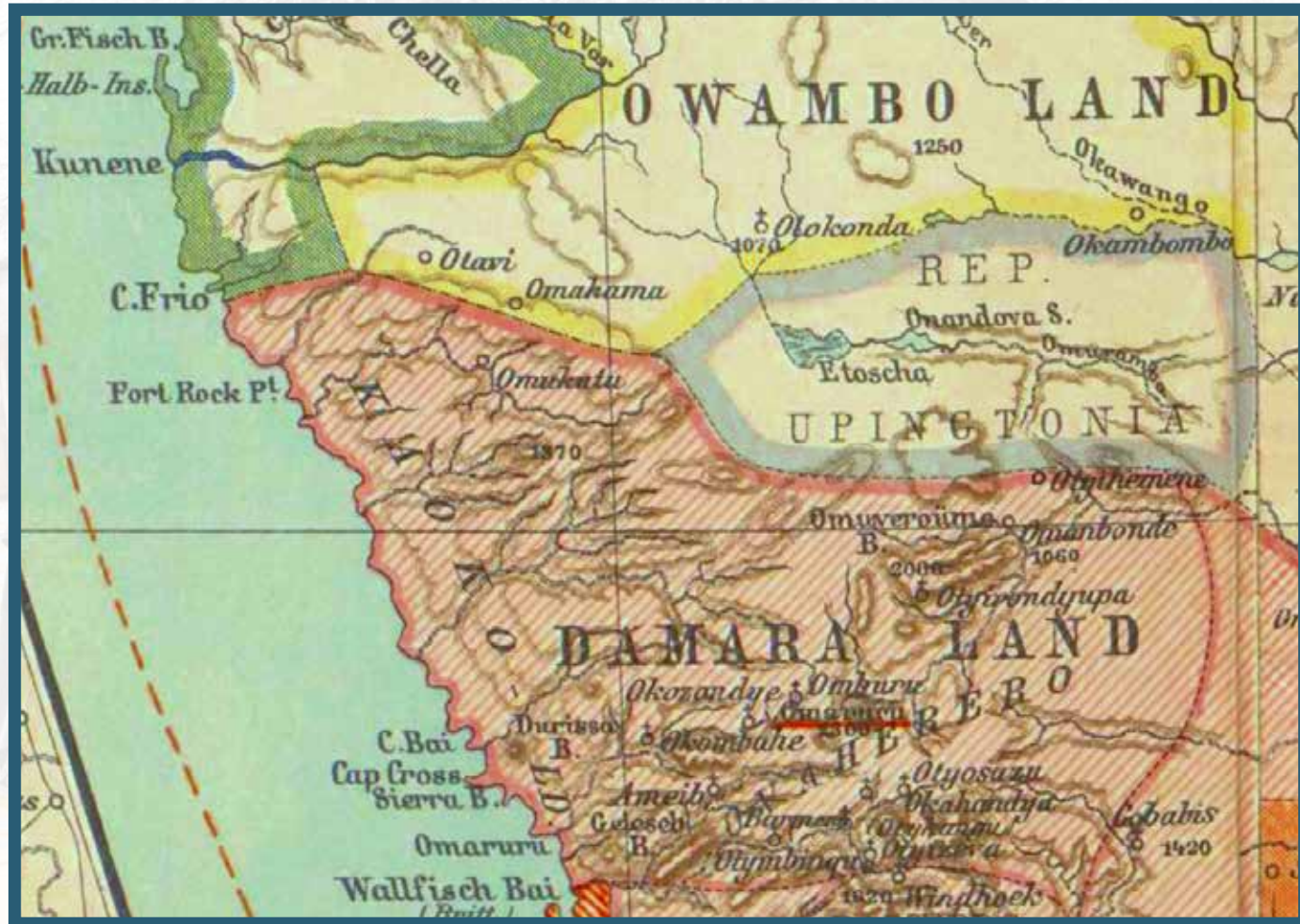
MA2014-138 Tcetcere – Khwe (Rattle).

This type of rattle is used for healing, particularly to calm babies. It is simply made from a calabash containing some seeds from the Abrus Precatorius plant.

MA2014-138 Tcetcere – Khwe (l'Uni).

luni !'hao sa he n'ai llkoa ha l'aesi ko n!omkxaoi, Te n!un l'an koqe ko da'abi. ka sin dua ka l'aesi ko !'hoan tcia te lla'a gesin llama ko Abrus Precatorius !'an.

THE FALL OF THE REPUBLIC OF UPINGTONIA TCA JU N!ORE HE O UPINGTONIA OO N#HAOHA



Wilhelm Liebenow, Extract from Karte von Afrika mit besonder Berücksichtigung der deutschen kolonien (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53022983k/f1.item.zoom>)

Wilhelm Liebenow, Extract from Karte von Afrika mit besonder Berücksichtigung der deutschen kolonien (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53022983k/f1.item.zoom>)

During the 1870s a number of 'Boer' families left the 'South African Republic' and trekked through the Kalahari, past the Kavango (||xumm) River and into southern Angola. The families struggled to sustain themselves and in 1885 a man called Will Worthington Jordan persuaded and then led a group of about 45 families to travel south again and settle.

N!anga o 1870 ju tzin!anga o Burusi juasi koh nllah Said Afrika JuN!ore te !au !hara Kalahari, n#oahn #aun Kavango !Xuma te g!a'ama Angola #Am-lantzitzi. Il'A !'haoha koh ku lhai tih ko si |xoah te 1885 !'hoan he ha !u o Will Worthington Jordann#uin n#uin-n#uin te llae !'haoh gesin sa o juasi sa o 45 te cete !au #aun te u !xoana #am tzi.

Jordan had negotiated with the Omukwaniilwa of Ondonga, Kambonde ka Mpingana to buy a large piece of land measuring some 25,000 km². Interestingly, at the time, two OvaHerero leaders, Kamaherero and Manasse, challenged the legality of the sale. Kambonde received 300 English pounds, 25 muzzle-loading rifles, a horse and a barrel of brandy in an agreement witnessed by Finnish missionaries. Most of the new arrivals settled at Gei-ous which they called 'Grootfontein' (Large Spring). The settlers proclaimed the establishment of the 'Republic of Upingtonia' (named after Sir Thomas Upington who was the Prime Minister of the Cape Colony at the time) in October, 1885 (even though Germany had already also declared its colonial intentions over Namibia).

A total of 43 farms were allocated in Upingtonia, although the land was already occupied by San and Damara communities. Jordan had plans to seize control of the copper mines in the area from them. It was the violent resistance of these local communities that forced the first wave of settlers to abandon their farms. On 30th June, 1886 Jordan was killed by Nehale Iya Mpingana near Omandongo and because of this and the continuing cattle raids most of the settlers abandoned their homes. The President of Upingtonia, George Prinsloo, wrote to the German Reichskommissar, Heinrich Göring, explaining 'we are obliged to move from here' due to the 'rebelliousness' of the local black communities 'which endanger the safety of our families' (cited in Burger, 1978: 380). An old resident of Grootfontein, Mr Volkman, wrote to the administration in 1939 recalling that the first settlers had left as 'they were unable to protect themselves' against the constant cattle raids by local San communities (NAN SWAA A50/67). One historian has described the abandonment of Upingtonia as the first example of successful resistance against colonial land dispossession.

Jordan glae kxae |xoa ya Omukwaniilwa ko n#oahn-l!kae ko Ondonga, Kambonde ka Mpingana Il'a ha ll'ama kxa n!a'an he ka n!a'ansi o 25,000km². !Kan!ang, ko ll'a ll'ae n!anga, Tamah ll'aiha tsan, Kamaherero kota Manasse nlla llxui n#ai ll'amasi ko #hanu khoea. Kambonde koh ho Inglishi mari sa o £300, n!aoh sa o 25, joeh kota n!ao-#aeh he xuin ma llama tsa'aa khoe he hatoqi ka l'ae llama Fin ll'a ha |xom kxaosi. Si sa tsi zea ll'a sis a n!a'an he #hai #aun koh !xoana Gei-/aus he si koh !'a Grootfontein(!'Han n!a'an). ll'A !au-!xoana juasi sa koh !'a jore-llxun ua ka ko 'Republic of Upingtonia' Gagea ka l'ae ko Sir Thomas Upington he ll'a ll'aea ha koh o Kxaice Minister ko Cape Colony) ko Oktober 1885 Xabesi ka Doqitchisi koh kua jore g#a tca si te ku kare kxae Namibia ko ll'ae.

llKae-l!kaesi farama sa o 43 l'an ua ka l'aesi ko Upingtonia, xabesi ka ll'a n!ore Ju!hoansi kota Xautamahsi koh gea #ani. Jordan koh kxae #angsa o !ai si ll'ae sa glla ka l'aesi ko kopper mainsi sa gea ll'a n!orea. Tca nllae he ll'a n!ore jua sa koh kxae n#oqri khama si te koh joa kare hin nllae te ll'a !xoana zessin sa ll'a si gesin !au-nllah si faramasi. 30 Yuni, 1886 Nehale Iya Mpingana !hun Jordan ko Omandongoo to'msi te ka tci-ooa kota gumi sa sin ku !ao toan u !xoana jua zessin sa #hai !au-nllah hi tju|hosi. Presidenti he o Upintonia ma, George Prinsloo koh jore German Reichskomisar, Heinrich Göring "e ku veta n!ang !aua koake' khama ko n!ore n!ang juasi sa jot e |kausi-|oa-kare te ka ku tani l'an e juasi ko ta'm|kau (ku hoa ka l'ae ko Burger, 1978: 380). !Xoan kxao #anga o Kai-l'ao ma, Mr. Volkman jore l'an #hanu ko 1939 te nlla tca !xoanakxaosi zessin sa o kxaice te !au ko 'si n!a koh ju xoana hui !'uian l'an si l'aesi gumi !aosa ke he sin ku ua gl'a'an!ang llama ko Ju!hoan sa o n!ore hiasi (NAN SWAA ASO/67) N#oahnkxao koh jore #asara tca Upingtonia koh oo nllah ha l'ae n#ai-seasi he o kxaice ko tca ju ku oo n!un glaoha ka !ai n!ore dore jua ku gu g!xa ju ko n!ore.



THE IMPORTANCE OF BEADS

TCI N!A'AN N!A'AN O GIO'O

Fourie was told that the #Xao-//Aesi and Naro around Sandfontein had learnt bead making from the !Xoon (who were believed to be the most skilled ostrich shell bead makers). The Hai//om traded ostrich eggshell beads (//Nūb) to the Ovambo Kingdoms to the north, for goods such as tobacco and axes. Strings of beads served as an important form of currency.

Training girls in the skills of bead-making was one feature of their passage from being a girl to being a woman. Girls who had experienced their first period were called !Gari-/Gei (#Xao-//Aesi). Fourie's informants said that bead-making was taught to !Gari-/Gei: "From then onwards she makes bead ornaments for herself . . . What they make remain their own property and on marriage do not come to belong to their husbands".

The leaf seals . . . are placed between beads and are known as [ʃam (#Xao-//Aesi & Naro)] and are wound in a spiral manner to separate the beads from each other . . . A newly made string of beads is called //Nūi (#Xao-//Aesi & Naro). When the string of beads is in a cluster . . . it is known as //ae. ʃam is used so that the beads can be well & firmly pressed against each other. If this is not done they roll against each other when smoothened and may break or the string may break, [so] ʃam is always used". The stone on which beads are rounded is known as Nom (#Xao-//Aesi)] or Hoa (Naro) and the horn used for the purpose is known as Ku (#Xao-//Aesi) or Gua (Naro). The grooved sandstone for smoothing the bead is known as !Koro (#Xao-//Aesi); Guba (Naro).

The leaf seals [ʃam (#Xao-//Aesi; ʃamba (Naro))] ". . . are not removed after [the] completion of a string of beads, the latter after completion is rubbed with fat and ochre. The [ochre] is made from red sandstone [Goe (#Xao-//Aesi)] found at Gei-ʃsoub on [the] Nosob River south of Gobabis (ochre = !Guiba (Naro)).

Fourie koh !oa te ko ʃXao-//Aesi kota Naro sa gea Sandfonteinkoh n!aroh ko llama ko !Xoon (Ju sa koh ʃom he kaice kxae ʃ'ang sa o dsuu n!usi kuru). Te Haill'om glo'o!umisi (//Nūb) ko Ovambo Khoea ko ʃkao tzi, ko tci sa koe coro kota l'aisi. !Hui !umisi kaice o tci n!a'an n!a'an xabe tse lla'ike.

N!aroh ll'homm ko ʃ'ang sa o glo'o kuru koh o tci sa ua gla'a-n!ang ko ll'homm tci ooa. ll'Homm sa koh kaice !'han ko kxaice ll'aea koh l'aua si l'aei ko !Gari-/Gei (#Xao-//Aesi). Fourie's n!oahn te nlla te ko glp'o!umi te koh n!aroh te o !Gari-/Gei: "llama te ua gla'a-n!ang ha kuru glo'o ko ha l'ae ha . . . Tci sa sa si!a du ka ka ge l'xoa si!a l'ae hasi kota ko ll'aea ha du ko !kom te ka lu sin o !'hoan nle'esi".

Te b!u'ubu doaqrasi . . .ku du mani glo'o ka !'han ka ko [ʃam (#Xao-//Aesi & Naro)] kota ʃ'ang sa o ju sa koh nllaahn koh ku du saraakhoe l'an khoe ko glo'o!umisi . . . Te kuru ze ko glo'o!umi !'aua ka l'ae ko //Nūi (#Xao-//Aesi & Naro). ll'aea ka glo'o!umi ku to'ma. . ka koh //ae. ʃam te koh n!ai ll'koa ko ka l'ae ko tca jan & ko kxaea khoe ju wece. Te ka tci sa ke wece loa koe du ka l'aei okaa ll'aea ka kxuia kana glo'o!umi ku kxuia, [te] ʃam ll'aea wece n!ai ll'koa ka. Te n!om sa si nllhanga okaa o Nom (#Xao-//Aesi)] kana Hoa (Naro) te n!ai koa ka tca si o !'han ka Ku (#Xao-//Aesi) kana Gua (Naro). Te kxalho ko kxa o n!omsi ku n!ai g!haia glo'o !Koro (#Xao-//Aesi); Guba (Naro).

Te n!u'ubu doagra [ʃam (#Xao-//Aesi; ʃamba (Naro))] ". . .loa du coe ka l'aei te glo'o sin toan ka ʃxaua ka l'aei ko n!ai kota g!oq'in. Te [g!oq'in] du hi l'ae ko n!om kxa sa gla'an [Goe (#Xao-//Aesi)] ho hi l'aei ko Gei-ʃsoub koh [te] Nosob !Xom ko ʃ'am Gobabis (g!oq'in = !Guiba (Naro)).Hi xai hi l'aei & te san sa gea n!om.Si du l'xoa n!om sa g!hai lhosi he sin loa kxuia tci hi".Te !xung !'hu g!oq'in ko ll'hai tzia ke o !aohtzia o Oukwanyama.

It is broken up & powdered on a stone. They use a round stone for pulverizing it on a flat stone which does not have a depression on it". The !xung gathered ochre in the east and traded it with the kingdom of Oukwanyama.

The Ovambo learnt bead-making from [the] San. Hei//om gather ostrich egg shells and sell them to the Ovambo kingdoms . . . Blue beads from sea shells come from Angola . . . The beads when made are not rounded. They become round by being worn". "The shell beads ([oonyoka in Oshindonga]) are made from seashells but not in Ovamboland. They are made by the [Ovahimba] around Humbe and [OvaNdimba] beyond Humbe. They are obtained by exchange for cattle and clothes . . . The Ovambo do not make shell beads but obtain them from the [San – Ovawakedi?] – who live on the big flats north of [Omalonga – the 'place of the river] in [Ovamboland]. The beads are made by the [San] and the Ovambo thread them. They go to Ukuambi & Ongandjera first as they are made there & later resell [them] to Oukwanyama".

"The blue shell beads are made rough. They are first placed in [a] sour milk calabash to soften as [the] calabash is shaken when new milk is put in & angularities are worn off. After that they are worn & so become rounded generally in about 2 years. The grease applied to the body & on to the beads help to soften them & wear them down".

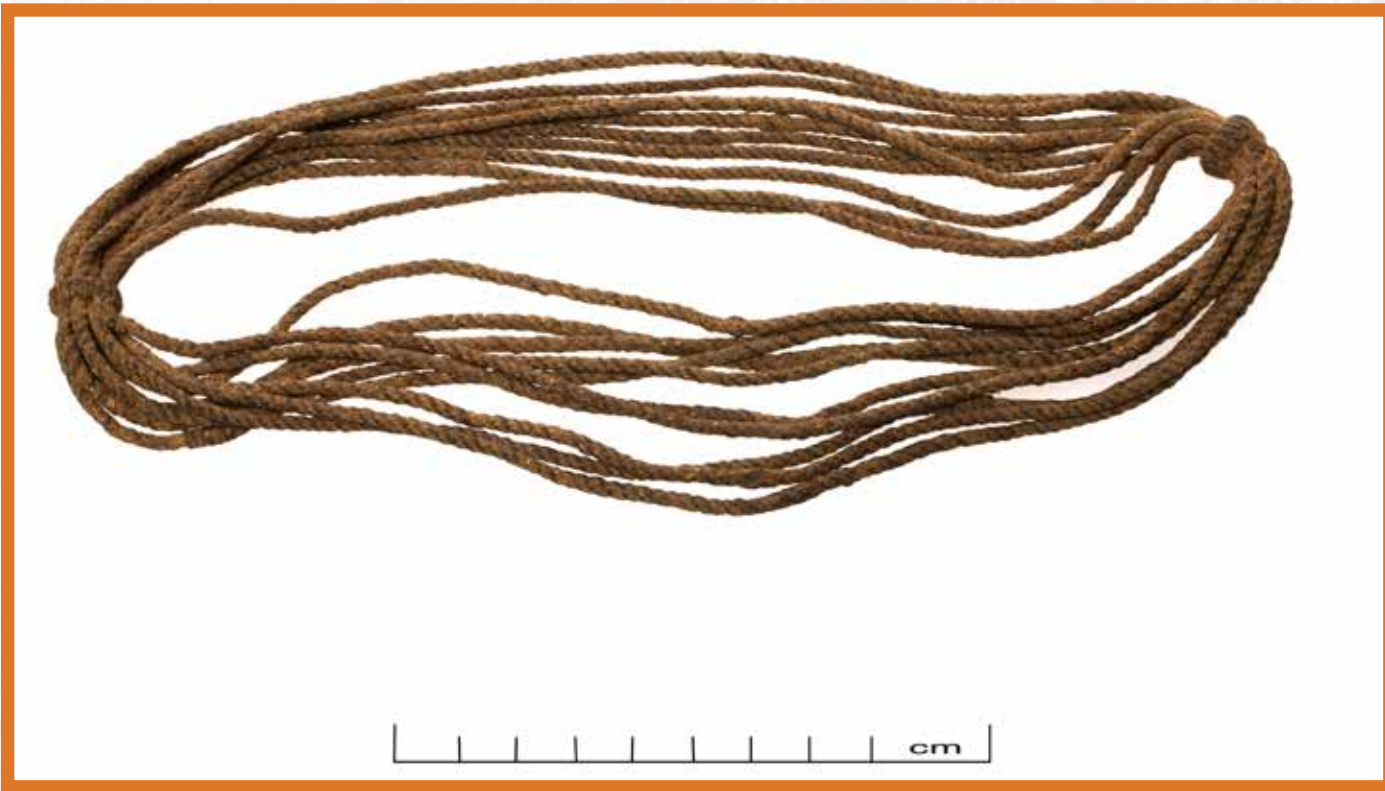


Te Ovambo n!aroh glo'o kuru [te] Jul'hoan. Hei//om ll'kaell'kae dsuu n!u n!osi ka n!ai ll'ama ka ko Ovambo !antzia. . .te n!hu n!o sa lauhn he llama g!u-!ka he llama Angola . . . Ka to'a ka !umisi koh koara.Si sin gea tcisi ʃ'angsi khoea". "te glo'o!umi ([oonyoka ko Oshindonga]) si kuru g!u-!ka n!hu te loa o Ovamboland juasi.Si kuru l'an ka ko[Ovahimba] ko khoe sa o Humbe kota [OvaNdimba] gea ko Humbe. Si gla l'an ko l'an khoe ko gumi kota !xaisi. . . Te Ovambo loa kur glo'o !umisi te ka sin o [Jul'hoansi – Ovawakedi?] – ka sin o si sa gea ʃkao !antzia ko [Omalonga – ko `n!ore !xom gea] ko [Ovamboland]. Te glo'o jul'hoansi koh kuru [Jul'hoansi] te Ovambo g!a'i ka.Si ku ua ko Ukuambi & Ongandjera kxaice si!a koh kurua ka ko ll'akoa & dinn!ang n!ai ll'ama ka [Si!a] te Oukwanyama".

"Te n!hu n!u !umi sa g!xa. Te koa koh kxaice ʃ'an o [te] ku n!oq'isi n!oan n!ai soan ka [te] n!oan nllubu ka ko ll'aea ku ze g!a'ama & ka ʃ'angsi g!a'i ka.Te ka ʃ'ang sa to'a & ka kxae n!uri sa khoe nlui waqnke ko kuri 2. Te nlai ku g!a'ama ka amasi & te glo'o!umi ku hui ka n!ai soan ka& ka llaqma ka l'aei".

MA1943-214 – ʃAro (!Xung), Koro (Khwe) – (Bracelet) Bracelets like this could be made by either a man or a woman, but there were certain people who were skilled and specialized in making these items. The bracelet was normally made from the skin of a Kudu or a Gemsbok and was the sign of a successful hunt. If it was worn by a woman it was a sign that she was the wife of the hunter who had killed the animal. The wife of a good hunter was, therefore, traditionally, a well-dressed member of the community. After a successful hunt belts could also be made for babies and small children. These bracelets were collected from the Naro community at Sandfontein.

MA1943-214 – ʃAro (!Xung), Koro (Khwe) – (Tsaq'o) Tsaq'o khuin ha khuian he !'hoan kana dshau ku du,ju gesin ge te kxae ʃ'ang sa o kuru tci sa ke. Tsaq'o he o n!o ll'xoasi llama ko N!hoan kana Glo'e te ll'xoasi gla l'an ko !aqekxao jansin.Ka koh o tci ʃ'ang sa o dshau ga okaa ka nlla tca ha te o dshau o !aqekxao he oh !hun !hama.Te o dshau he o !aqekxao jan, kahinto'a,!hao-n!ang, ha o jua llau ku llaqma l'an ko ha juasi khoea.Te !aqesi xabe xoana ko du ka l'ae ko da'ama kota da'abi.



MM40/69/932- !Ain-n!ang - Ju/'hoansi (Necklace bands). A !Xoo necklace obtained in the Omaheke in 1925. It is made from 9 pieces of sinew held together with two bands. It was normally worn around the neck to bring a long life. It would also be given to babies to help them to grow and the necklace might be worn for the rest of their lives.

MM40/69/932- !Ain-n!ang.
Te !Xoo / !ain-n!ang sa o Omaheke ko 1925. Ka kurua ka l'aesi ko tci sa o 9 he l!kaellkae ka l'aesi he o tci tsan. Ka l!xoasi o ka #'ang sa o !ain-n!ang te o l!xoasi l'a l!xoan!ang. Te l'an ka l'aesi ko da'abi ko hui ka si !'am kota !ain-n!ang #'ang sa ke ko si l!xoan!ang.



MM40-69-863 G#ai-n!ang – Ju/'hoansi (Armlet). Obtained from a Hai//om group living in Gobabis District.

MM40-69-863 G#ai-n!ang. glla l'an ko Hai//om xrupu he !xoana ko Gobabis !Antzia.

When James Alexander met a San group in 1834 he described their hair ornaments: "The men wore karosses [skin blankets], and the heads of the women were ornamented with circular cut pieces of ostrich shell strung on the hair, one or two also wore dangling ornaments of red seeds" (Alexander, 1838: 288)

l'Aea James Alexander l!kae l!xoan Jul'hoansi xrupu ko 1834 ha n#oahn #'ansara ko si nlai!kusi tci ooa: "Te nllaqe #'angsi karosses [Tci!an nlo], te dshausi ku l'ang si nlaisi ko glo'o kota !hui si l'anga ko si nlaisi ko ka nle'e kana ka tsan ko l'ang !'ami ka ko tci lla'a sa g!aan." (Alexander, 1838: 288)



MM40/69/1137 – Glo'o-nlail'oa – Ju/'hoansi (Headband). This one was obtained from a Hai//om group in Gobabis District.

MM40/69/1137 – Glo'o-nlail'oa. Glla l'an ko Hai//om xrupu ko Gobabis !Antzia.



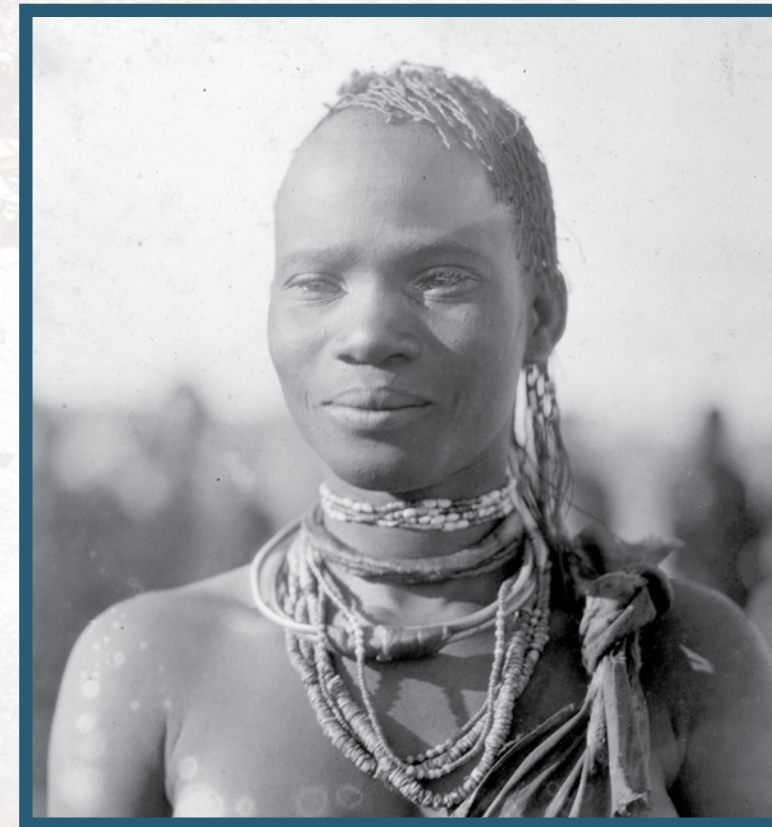
MM40/69/1277 – Nlai!kui l'anga – Ju/'hoansi (Hair ornament)

MM40/69/1277 – Nlai!kui l'anga



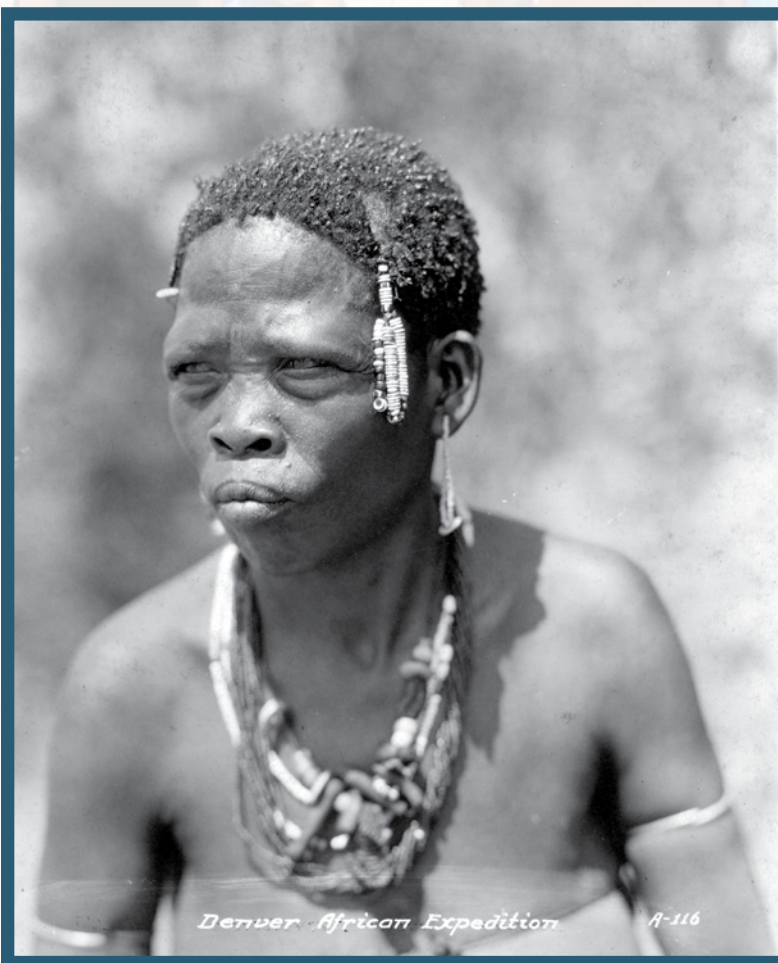
MM40/69/1311 – Nlai!kui ll'anga – Ju'hoansi (Hair Ornament)

MM40/69/1311 – Nlai!kui ll'anga



Portrait of a Hai//om woman (Photo: Cropped from NAN 20458, Denver African Expedition, 1925)

Portrait ko Hai//om dshaua (llXao: Tci sa llama ko NAN 20458, Denver African 'Msi ꞑ'han, 1925)



Portrait of a Hai//om woman (Photo: Cropped from NAN 20464, Denver African Expedition, 1925)

Portrait ko Hai//om dshaua (llXao: Tci sa llama ko NAN 20458, Denver African 'Msi ꞑ'han, 1925)



MM40/69/1324 – Gꞑai-n!ang – Ju'hoansi (Bangle)
Bangle – One of a set of 4 bangles - open circlets of steel with edges incised

MM40/69/1324 – Gꞑai-n!ang
Gꞑai-n!ang – Glla ko gꞑai-n!ang sa o 4 - !'oahn nllari ko !aq he ke o nllarisi



MM40/69/2636 – Nlailkui ll'anga – Ju'hoansi Hair Ornament with three sections of ostrich egg shell beads

MM40/69/2636 – Nlailkui ll'anga ko tci sa o n!ani ko glo'o!umisi



MM40/69/1299 – Nlailkui ll'anga – Ju'hoansi Hair Ornament with two tassels of ostrich egg shell beads. People used thorns as needles to help thread the ostrich eggs beads onto the sinew. The sinew on which beads are strung is known as Teō (#Xao-//Aesi)] or Awa (Naro)

MM40/69/1299 – Nlailkui ll'ang ko tci tsan ko glo'o!umisi. Ju sa n!ai llkoa !husi kota naqni te hui ko gla'i glo'o!umi ko gla'i ka. Te gla'i lxoā ko tso Teō (#Xao-//Aesi)] kana Awa (Naro)



MM40-69-1206 – Nlailkui ll'anga – Ju'hoansi Necklace from the //Aikwe group made from bent wood and decorated.

MM40-69-1206 -!Ain-n!ang he llama ko //Aikwe xrupu kurua ka l'ae ko !aihn kota !hui tso.



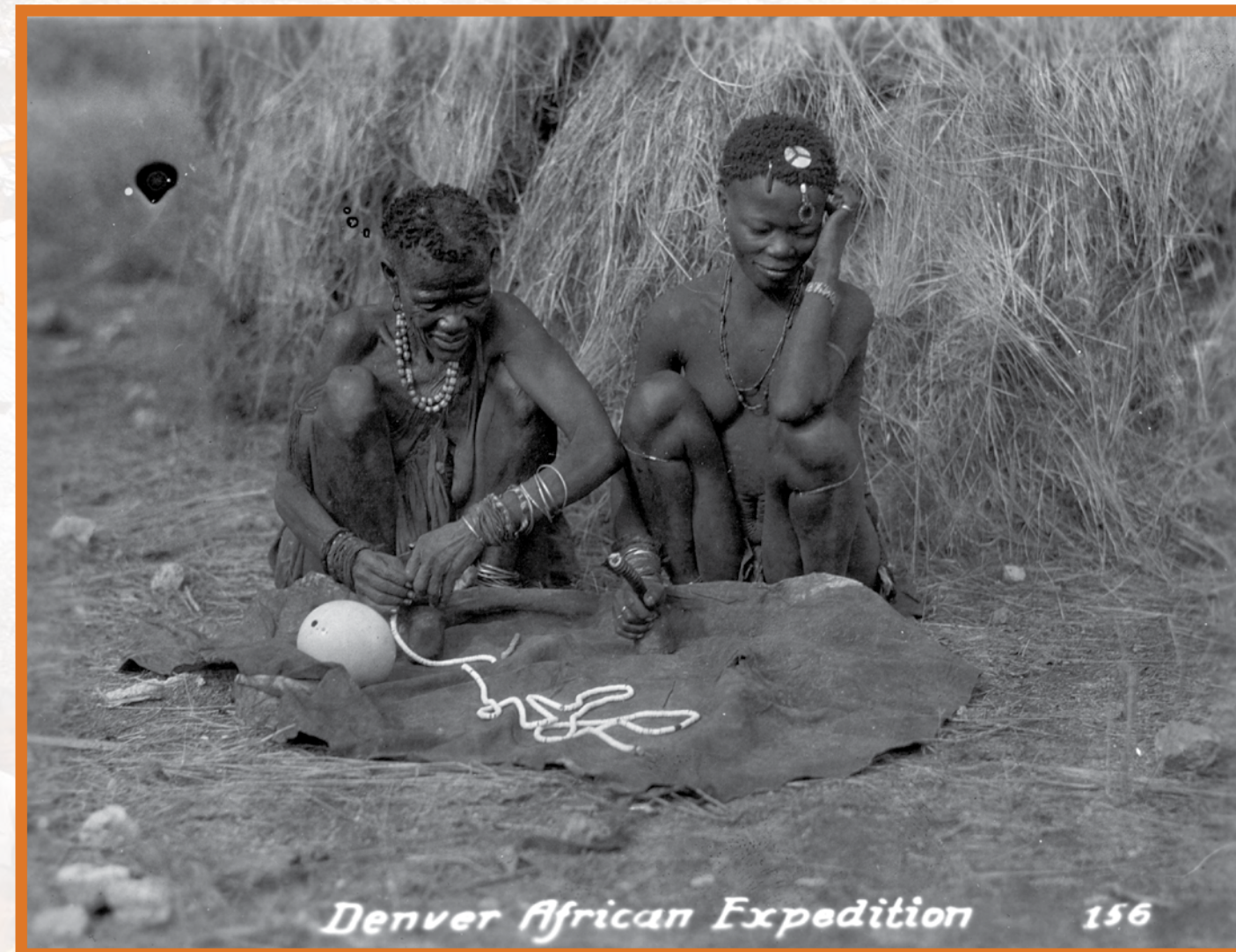
MM40-69-1236 – Necklace with fifty-nine sinew strings. This was worn by a married woman.

MM40-69-1236 – !Ain-n!ang sa o !hun-g!au-nle'e ll'akaa !hui tsosi. Ka o tci #!ang sa o dshaua goaq gua ha l'ae ko !kom.



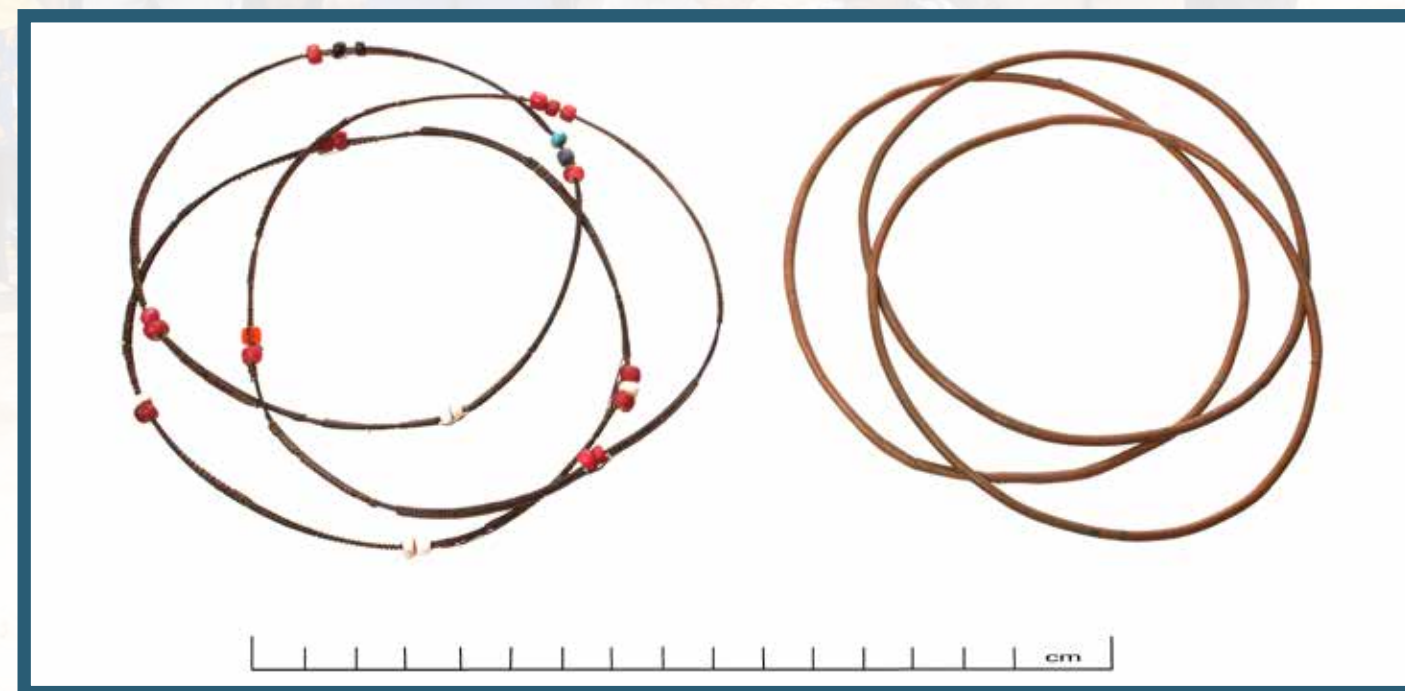
MM40-69-1159 – Nlailkui ll'anga – Ju'hoansi . Necklace made from ostrich egg shell beads. Seven pieces of scented wood have been inserted into the necklace. The word for one bead was /go to the #Xao-//Aesi and !Kore to the Naro. A string of beads was known as //ae to the #Xao-//Aesi and hē to the Naro.

MM40-69-1159 – !Ain-n!ang kuru lxoā ka l'ae ko glo'o!umisi. !Aihn mhi sa o seve he ku gla'ama ka ll'amsisi ko !ain-n!ang. Te kokxui he o nlai koh o /go te o #Xao-//Aesi) kota !Kore te Naro. Te tso !umi o //ae te o #Xao-//Aesi kota ko Naro.



Hai//om women displaying ostrich shell and beads on a skin (NAN 20498, Denver Africa Expedition, 1925)

Hai//om dshauasi ku du glo'o!umi ko nlo ko (NAN 20498, Denver Africa 'Msi #!han, 1925)



MM40-69-1223 – Bangles from the Nu-//Ein group from Nubus on the Nosob River. Three bangles have been made from the tail hair of a Gemsbok and 3 from finely twisted copper wire.

MM40-69-1223 – Tci sa llama ko Nu-//Ein xrupu ko Nubus te o Nosob !Xom. Tci n!ani sa n!ai g!a'ian he koe glo'o'e !kuisi kota tci n!ani l'hom he o tci tsan he o #kai tarah.



MM40-69-862 – Nlailkui ll'anga – Ju/'hoansi. Necklace obtained from a !Xoo group near Somerville on the Nossob River made from large copper beads threaded onto a leather string.

MM40-69-862 – !Ain-n!ang llama ko !Xoo xrupu gesin sa to'ma ko Nossob !Xom te kuru tci sa !aea he #kai !umisi kota tso kota nlo sa koe !hui.



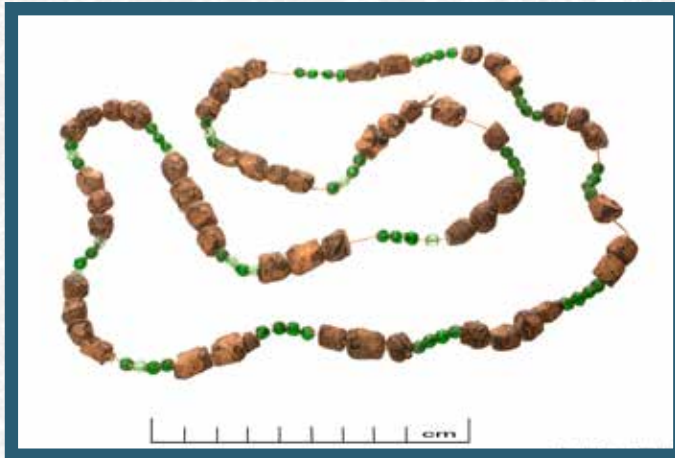
MM40-69-4016 – Nlailkui ll'anga – Ju/'hoansi. Necklace made from blue sea shells mixed with pieces of a scented root and red and yellow beads (obtained from trade).

MM40-69-4016 – !Ain-n!ang kuru ka l'ae ko glu !ka n!usi sa lauhn lla'asi sa doqm ka l'aesi ko g!aan kota g!loqni-n!u !umisi (glla l'an ko ll' khoe sa).



MM40/69/1219 – Armlet made of eleven separate bands which were worn together. The bangles were made from spider's web with red, turquoise and white glass beads woven onto them.

MM40/69/1219 – G#ai n!ang kuru elfu llaq'inllaq'ian gesi g#ai-n!angsi sa o ka #'angsi llaellkae khoe nle'e. Te tci sa kuru ka l'aesi koe n!ham n!ham he g!aan, turquoise kota lui lumi sa !a'u he o ka #'angsi he o si gasi.



MM40-69-4014 – Nlailkui ll'anga – Ju/'hoansi. Necklace made from pieces of scented root separated by green beads threaded on animal sinew. The !xung use a powder known as Tsnga which is taken from the tree.

MM40-69-4014 – !Ain-n!ang kuru ka l'ae ko tso llaq'ian ge sa o lla'a llaq'inllaq'ian ge sa lauhn he o !hamh. Te !xung sa n#ai l!koa ko san o Tsnga he si hoa ko !aihn khoea.



MM40-69-4012 – Nlailkui ll'anga – Ju/'hoansi. Necklace made from short pieces of scented woods mixed with beads. The wooden beads were known as !Kheire (#Xao-//Aesi & Naro) from the !Kharie tree. "The !Kheire is put in to enforce the appearance of the string and to relieve the monotony of a single colour".

MM40-69-4012 – !Ain-n!ang sa !oamh sa o llaqma llaqma ko !aihn mhi sa doqm ka l'aesi. Te !aihn !hui !umisi sa koh o !Kheire (#Xao-//Aesi & Naro) he llama ko !Kharie !aihn. "Te !Kheire ku ko sin g#kain l'u ka nlang tsosi nlang du tca ka ko ka #'usi".



MM40/69/1239 – Hair ornament obtained from a /Nu/en group from Somerville on the Nossob River. The cowrie shells have all had their backs removed and been filled with a brown material.

MM40/69/1239 – Nlailkui tciasi sa glla l'an ko /Nu/en xrupu he llama ko Somerville ko Nossob !Xom. Te lloo o nlo l!xoasi ll'ae wece ha kxae !'o-n!ang ko ka ha g!xa ha l'ae te o kxa #'u ko l!xoasi ll'a ha #'usi g!a'in.



MM40/69/1246 – Hair ornament with 20 Cowrie shells sewn on with sinew. Research is needed on the important regional trade in sea shells. We know that cowrie shells were used as a form of currency in the trans-atlantic slave trade between Angola and Brazil. Luanda Island was one important source of cowrie shells in Angola, but were these shells obtained from there through trade or did they travel even further – from Mozambique or West Africa?

MM40/69/1246 – Nlailkui tciasi sa o 20 gumi nlo he g!a'i ka l'ae ko g!a'isi. Te se ce koh dua ka l'ae tci n!a'an n!a'an ka tci ooa !antzi tci ooa ko !xom tcia n!usi. M!a !han te gumi nlosi ko n#ai l!koa ka l'aesi ko tca ku lla'ike ko trans-atlantic slahsi tci ooa ko ll'ami n!ang he o Angola kota Brazil. Luanda Island koh o khoe nle'e he ko o khoe n!a'an n!a'an tciasi ko gumi nlosi ko Angola, mara n!u nlosi gea khuinto'a te llama ko ka tciasi kana si re koh !au nllhoo ko gla'a-n!ang-ko Mozambique kana West Africa?



MM40/69/1245 – Hair ornament
An Eagle's beak, mounted on a thong strip on the centre of which strip is an oblong of skin on which are sewn in 23 rows, very small variously coloured European beads.

MM40/69/1245 – Nlailkui tciasi
te tzama o llaoha, te lua tso nlaea ko ll'ami n!ang nlaea ll'a nlo he g!a'i ka l'ae ko 23 nlaesi, kaice tzema te taa khuian nllhoo te kxae #'u o European !hui.



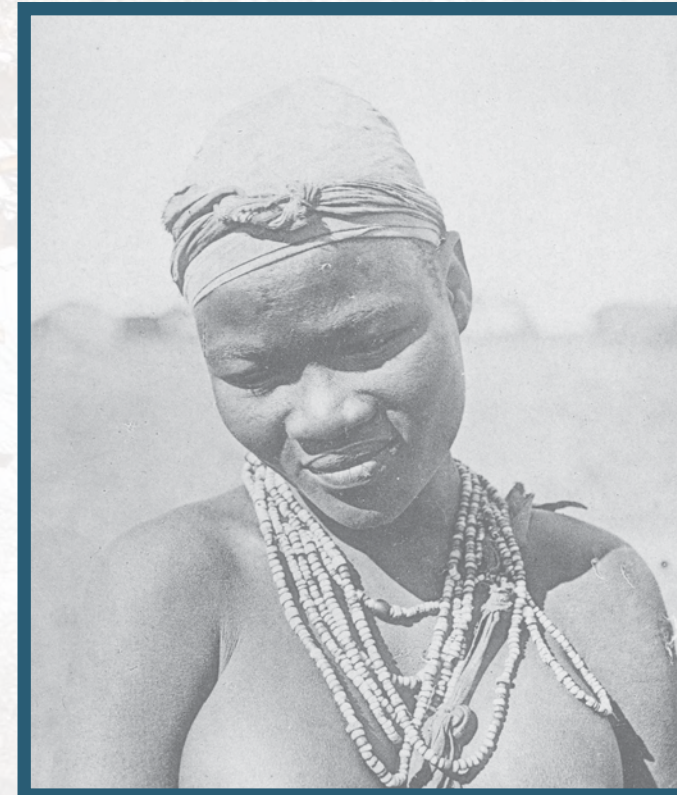
The archives caption only identifies one person on this photograph, Dr Cecil Joseph Lemmer, who is with 'a group of Bushmen'. However, we are showing this photograph because it illustrates the way in which beads were worn as necklaces and hairpieces. We do not know when or where this photograph was taken, but Dr Lemmer was born in 1900, so perhaps it is from the 1940s (NAN 06824)

Te lloa kxao ll'aiha ko #ansara ko ju nle'e ko lloa kxao hin he, Dr Cecil Joseph Lemmer, jua koh ge lloa ko 'xrupu he o Jul'hoansi ga'. ll'Ae wece, m!a n'ai sea ko lloa he ke khama ka n'omtciasi ko tca glo'o !umi #angsi kota !ain-n!angsi kota nlai !kui tciasi. M!a loa !han ko ll'aea ne kana kore ce re lloa he ke lloa ka l'ae, mara Dr Lemmer koh glla'i ha l'ae ko 1900, te khoeca ka o 1940s (NAN 06824)



A Khwe man photographed around 1930 showing beads woven into his hair and wearing a necklace (NAN, c. 1930)

Te Khwe !hoan he o lloa kxao koh gea ko 1930 te n'ai sea ko glo'o!umi #angsi ko nlai!kui tciasi kota llaqma sa o !ain-n!angsi ko (NAN, c. 1930)



The photograph of a young unidentified San woman was taken in Okahandja on 20th February, 1897 (NAN 25842, Theodor Rehbock, 1897)

Te lloa kxao he o da'ama!o te loa llau #ansara ko Jul'hoansi dshausi sa lloa ko Okahandja ko 20th February, 1897 (NAN 25842, Theodor Rehbock, 1897)



/Gam making ostrich egg shell beads (Photo. PM2001.29.14246)

/Gam kuru dsuu n!u glo'o!umisi (Photo. PM2001.29.14246)



Copper rings hanging in a woman's hair, red ornament from store beads, copper bead earring and scarification (Photo. PM2001.29.482)

#kai !anug!ain llua dshau nlai!kuisi, glxan he glaan he llama tora, #kai glxan #aere kota tuku



!Nai and another girl sitting on the ground (Photo. PM2001.29.14861)

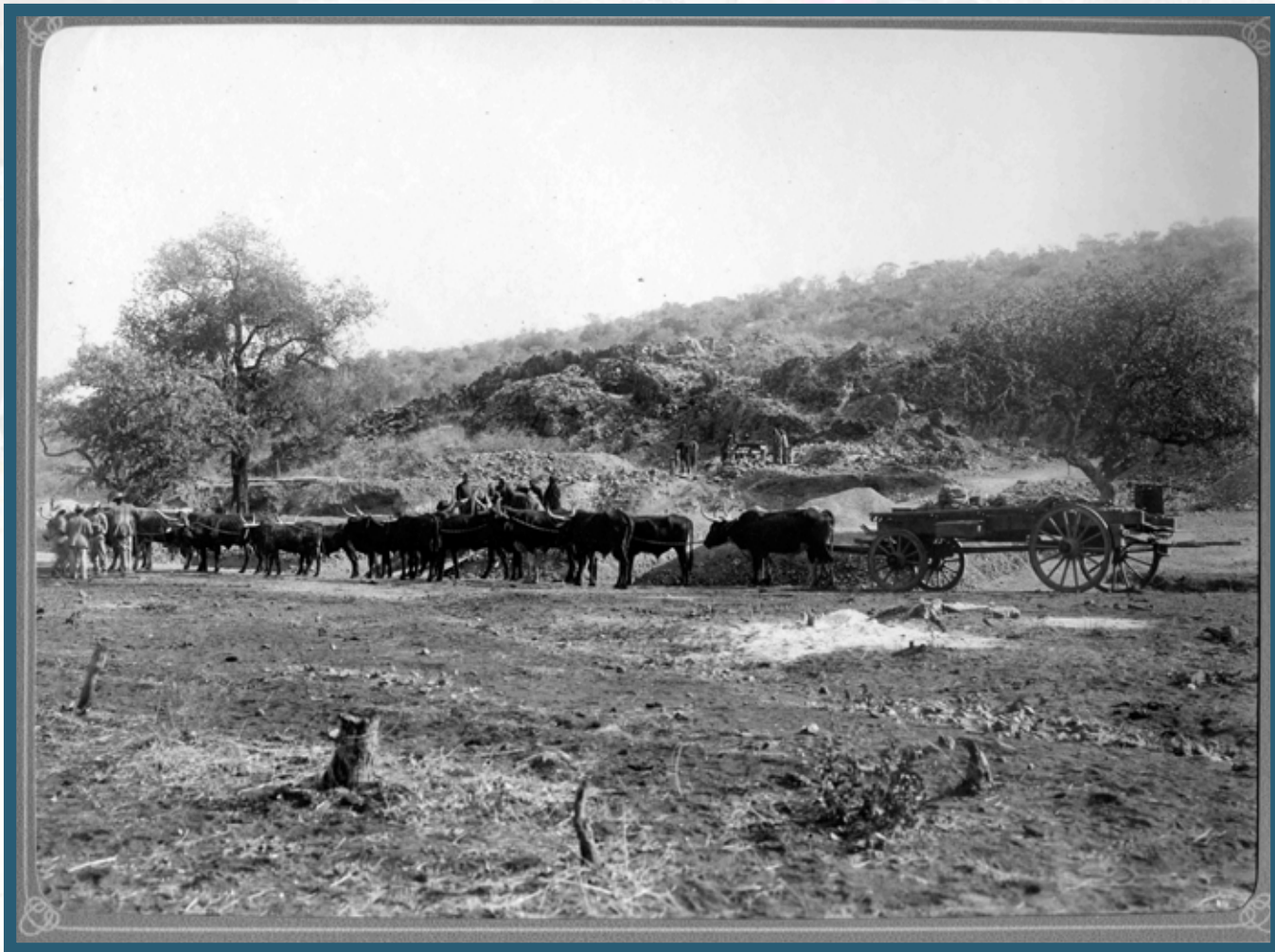
!Nai te dshaumh gesin g!hooa kxa (Photo. PM2001.29.14861)

THE ORIGINAL COPPER MINERS

llxoasi ll'a #kai mine

The entry from the diary of the German missionary, Hugo Hahn, for 18th July, 1857 noted that: "We met two [San] today who were taking copper ore from Otjorukaku to Ondonga on their own account where they would sell it for corn, tobacco, and calabashes". Hahn expressed his surprise that a group, who he had viewed as hunter-gatherers, were involved in mining. However, he estimated that, around 50-60 tons of copper ore were being exported to Ondonga annually (Hahn 1985: 1034 & 286, cited in Dierckmann, 2007: 47)

Ko gla'amasi ko lam n!ang ko German komsarasi, Hugo Hahn, ko 18 July 1857 se khuinto'a: "M!a llkae lxo ko ju tsan (Jul'hoan) ko lla'ike he koh gu #kai ko llama Otjorukaku ka ua Ondonga ko si l'aeha gesi ko koa ha n#ai ll'ama komm, coro, kota n!oan", Hahn ha #ang l'an ko ll'a xrupu, hi sa koh to'a he koh o !aqekxao-l'hukxaosi, koh llhai tsau ll'a mine. ll'Ae waqnsi, ha n!obe tca ka, #haisi o 50-60 n!a'ansi #kai sa to'a koh tani ua ha l'aesi ko Ondonga ko barah n!ang (Hahn 1985, 1034& 286, dorpa n!a'an o Dierckmann, 2007: 47)



This is, perhaps, one of the earliest photographs of the 'Green Hill' from which copper was obtained. A number of European traders sought to obtain the rights to mine the copper (Photo. NAN 17314)

Tca ke, khoeca, o llxao sa o nllaahn gasi sa o Green Hill' ko tca #kai sa koh oo glla l'an. Te nomara sa o European n#ai ll'ama kxaosi koh kxoa ko glla l'an ko tosi ko mine ll'a ha #kai (llxao, NAN 17314)

Early European travellers to Namibia identified Lake Otjikoto as an important trading point. (Andersson, 1856: 182). "Specialised blacksmiths from Ondonga smelted the copper ore to create objects which were important symbols of wealth and prestige. Francis Galton described 'Nangoro's wives' as wearing 'a copper amulet' as 'a sign of distinction' and noticed 'very pretty' daggers where "... both handle and sheath were in part covered with copper plating, and, in part wound round with copper wire beaten square" (Galton, 1854, 216, 223).

The Swedish trader, Charles Andersson, commented on the importance of a particular copper object that was only worn by women: "... at the time of my first visit [to Ondonga in the 1850s] it was customary for the fair sex to wear as ornaments heavy copper rings about the ankles". Although he also heard that, later, "... rings are worn by servants and slaves to prevent their running away" (Anderson, 1875, 231).

llxo European lau tsi Namibia ko l'han n!ang ko Lake Otjikoto te o khoe n!a'an o n#ai ll'amasi khoea. (Andersson, 1856; 182). " llxoasi ko o jua jo he llama Ondonga n#ai soan #kai ka kuru tcisi koh ho ka l'ae te o tci n!a'an n!a'an he o wealth kota prestige. Francis Galton nlla #ansara ko Nangoro's dshauasi sa llaqma #kai manisi ko ka teken n!ang' kota l'han' ka kaice l'hom' !oeh ka' ko ka #han waqn tsan kota ka l'ansi sa gea #kai l'hoan, kota, ka lan to'a gra #kai tarah n#a'm n!hui ha l'ae" (Galton, 1854, 216, 223).

Te Swedish n#ai ll'amajua, Charles Andersson, koh nlla tci n!a'an he sin nlla ko tci sa o #kai he sin o dshausi gasi: ll'A ll'aea mi l'hoo o kxaice ga (ko Ondonga ko 1850s) ka koh o kxaea khoe l'hom ko dshau sa l'hoan llaqma ornaments #kai !aq sa tih ko si l'homsil. Sin #ang ha xabe tsa'a ko, goaq ka nllhaa, " !aq sa o n#ai llkoa ka l'ae ko !ahsi he ku !ai si!a loa sin !aah u" (Andersson, 1875, 231).



Ongodo: a heavy copper anklet worn around the leg (Photo: MAN)

Ondonga: #kai he tih he n!hui he glla ju l'homsil (llxao: MAN)



An aerial view of Lake Otjikoto. Oral tradition indicates that there was a 'trading tree' in the area to the top right of the circular lake where the exchange of copper ore for goods took place (Photo: Google Earth).

Ce se laohlaohko ko Lake Otjikoto. !'Hao-n'lang wece n'ai se tca N'ai ll'ama !aihan' ko khuinto'a koa tsi aeh ke ll'a !an gloq he !'ami ll'akoa koe l'an ahoa khoe ko k'ai ko tci sa tsia n'lore hin he (llXao: Google Kxalho).



Omwele Gwoshipika (Oshindonga): This special type of knife was given to a respected member of the Ondonga kingdom. The sheaf and handle have been decorated with copper plate and copper wire (III D 3647 a,b, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ethnologisches Museum. Photo: Martin Franken)

Omwele Gwoshipika (Oshindonga) llxai !'hao tci sa ko l'an hi l'aesi ju sa o aomtom he o Ondonga ll'aihasi. Hi ama kosin koa ju gu ll'akaa du l'xoa ka l'ae ko a'kaia lu'i kota tarah a'kai (III D 3647 a,b, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ethnologisches Museum. Photo: Martin Franken)

THE PATH OF THE HUNTER

#HA O !AQEKXAO HI

BECOMING A HUNTER

Young boys of 7 or 8 would start off by learning to set snares to catch birds and already start to learn how to make bows and arrows. “Practice with bow and arrow is made when quite young. The bow is very small and the arrows are . . . [tipped?] with wood. The little boys stand in two rows facing each other and shoot at each other”.

“At the age of 8 or 10 the father provides [his son] with a bow and three arrows but the latter are not poisoned. He may only shoot such things as hare, guinea fowl, [wild] cats and small buck. He always goes with his father and does not go hunting by himself. After shooting his first steinbuck or duiker he is given a few poisoned arrows”.

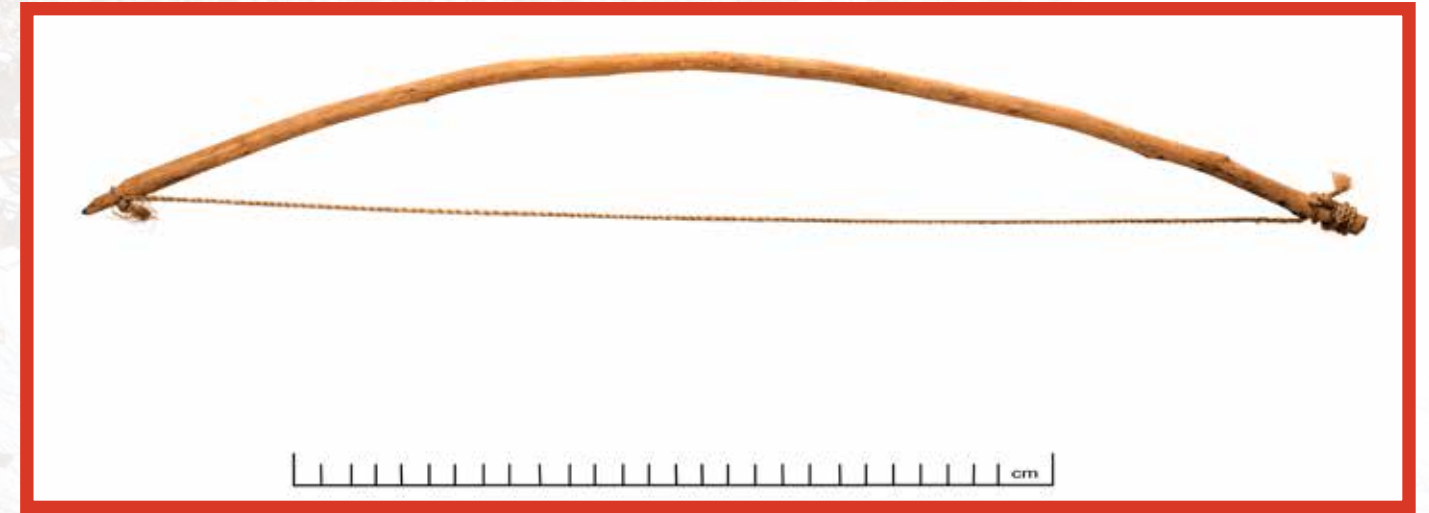
“The first small buck shot by him is roasted by the father but neither he nor his father may partake of it. Only married and old men may eat it but not women and young men. With [the] meat of the first buck a /Gores, a vertical incision [Tattoo Scar], is made on forehead and arms . . . With the first head of big game the same is done”. A small piece of meat from the animal was cut off and rubbed on to the cut that had been made. Further scarification was used to show the further successes of a young hunter. “After he has killed his second buck, he also brings it to the old man. The meat is then placed upon the fire and when half cooked a tiny morsel is cut off by him, chewed & given to the young man who shot it, to eat. After the meat has been completely cooked, the latter gets the whole of the front leg. What he is unable to eat is handed back to the old man (-& no one else-) who finishes it . . .” If an animal was wounded, but had not yet died, the hunter was not allowed to speak to anyone until it had died.

KA GIAE O !AQEKXAO

Kxaro sa o kuri sa o 7 kana 8 ku tchoatchoa ka ku n!aroha khoe ka llxau !huisi ka ll'ang tzama kota za'a tchoathcoa ka ku n!aroh n!aohsi kota tchisi kuru. “!Ang!angse n!aoh kota tchi ko ka to'a a ciniha da'ama!o. Ka n!aoh tzema ka tchisi tzeamhi....(ka lhosi) du lxo a ka l'aesi ko !aihn. Ka da'abimh ku o tsan ka glla ka sea khoe ka tchinllhan khoe”.

“te khoe sa to'a o kuri sa o 8 kana 10 ha ba du l'an ha (!'han) ko n!aoh ka du tchi n!ani mara ka loa o !'oan. Ha sin tchinllhan tci sa koe !'hai,ari, (!hamh) nloahn kota l'au. Ha geka llxam ha ba te loa o nle'e ka !aqe nllhoo. Ka to'a ha kxaice txa l'hun kana l'au ll'akaa ha nllhaa l'an ha l'ae ko !'oan tchi sa lkoromh”.

“Te l'au ha kxaice txa !hun ll'a ha ba sau ha te xabe tse ha ba loa 'm ha khoe nlui. Ka sin nlla ju sa to'a nlhuia khoe he o !'hoan hin xoana 'm ha te loa o dshaumh kota kxaros. ll'A si sa hin 'm ll'a l'aua ll'a ha !hasi he ha kxaice !hun ko lGores, te koa tsi #aeh ke (lom) ku du ka l'ae ko koatsi!anke kota #oresi.....xabe tse !hamh !ae ka sin o ll'a tci nle'ea du ka l'ae”. !Ha khoe ma tzema o !hama n!a'an khoe ga ku lom ll'akoa ka l'ua ll'a lom tzi-n!angsi. Gla'a-n!ang ka si to ko n#ai llkoa ko n#ai sea ko kxaro sa o !aqekxaosi. Ka ha ce !hun l'au he n#ai tsan ma, ha ce ka tani ha ko n!au n!a'an. Te !ha #aun nloa-!an ka l'ae ka ha hin !xai ka, n!ai ka £ ka ha kxaro he !hun ka , ka ha 'm ka. Ka to'a !ha ka n!om toan, ka dinn!ang ka g#aqo wece. Ka waqnsi tsia n!au n!a'an (-& loa o ju dore) ha hin 'mtoan ka....” Ka !hama koh l'habi ka l'ae, he loa !ai, !aqekxao ciniha loa xoana, ko ka ha n#oahn nllhoo ko ka !ha ciniha loa !ai.



MA 2015-51 khāb – Hai//om; dii – Naro; !àoo – Ju//hoansi; //abe -!Xoon; n/habe - N| hoan (Bow)

MA 2015-51 khāb – Hai//om (N!aoh) dii – Naro; !àoo – Ju//hoansi; //abe -!Xoon; n/habe - N| hoan

BOWS

The process of making a bow takes several days. Firstly, a suitable branch should be cut from a bush with the right blend of strength and flexibility. The branch is then placed on a fire to enable the bark to be removed. The wood is then left to dry for a day or two and during this time it is also trimmed into shape. After this, the fat of an animal such as a kudu is rubbed into the wood and it is heated by a fire and bent into a curve with pressure from the maker's foot. A string is then attached to both ends of the bow. It is important that the “Wood [is] cut during the cold season. [Since] [i]f cut during summer it is not strong”. “The neck sinew (nanu) of gemsbuck & other big game is used for winding round [the] bow to strengthen it. . . The notch for holding the string is made by attaching a bit of skin of gemsbuck or other big game”.



MM40_69_2186A_W0 A quiver with arrows - //gāe-a (#Xao-//Aesi). !oma – Naro; !huru – Ju//hoansi; !homa - !Xoon and N| hoan.

MM40_69_2186A_W0 Te !Uru kota tchisi - //gāe-a (#Xao-//Aesi). !gao (Naro)). !oma – Naro; !huru – Ju//hoansi; !homa - !Xoon and N| hoan

A quiver with the complete contents carried by a hunter. The short arrows are poisoned, whilst the longer ones are aimed to kill an animal or to cripple it by breaking bones. The photograph also clearly shows the way that arrows are made. The feathers used for arrows were often taken from a Guinea Fowl or an Eagle. It was important that not just any feather was used. You had to take the feathers from a bird's wings. These feathers were chosen so that your arrow would fly fast and silently to its target.

Te !uru du toan ka l'ae he kxae loma he !aqekxao llae nllhoo . Te tchi sa loamh sa kxae kage, ko xabe tse ka sa g#a'ian xabe !hun !hama kana !hamh sa n!om he ka !omsi kxoma. llaxoa ke llau ku n#ai sea ko tca tchisi ku oo kurua ka l'aesi. Te !kui sa ke si n#ai llkoa ko tchi sa ke si kaice ku nlhui o Ari !kuisi kana llAoha. Te ka o tci n!a'an n!a'an ko loa ku sin n#ai llkoa ko tzama !kui nlui waqnke. Te ka #aun ka a sin nlhui tzama !'habu !kuiasi. Ka !kui sa a nlhui ll'a a tchi n!om tca n!o'o he ce !'haeh nlang ka ka n!om.

The larger quivers would be made from the skin of small game such as a steinbuck [Steenbok]. The skin was treated to make it more flexible. "The . . . skin is stretched out to dry and hair removed by scraping it with an iron (same as used for arrow tips). It is not buried under the ground. When the hair is off it is smeared with the marrow of the animal, wetted and flayed. The strap is also [made from] steinbuck skin. Of every animal he kills with [his] bow & arrow a [piece] of skin, removed from the forehead between the eyes, is attached to the quiver".

Te !uru lae!ae ku n#om l'xoa ka l'aesi !hamh sa ke tzeamh he o l'hun ka o (l'au).Te nloko du ka l'ae te xoana jan l'an ka. "Te.....nlo ku thin ka l'ae ka ku !kau ka !kui ku n#oqe l'xoa ka ko l'ai tzau !aqa (ko tci nle'e he n#ai llkoa ko tchi tzausi). Ka loa !om ka l'ae ko kxa n!ang. Ka !kui g!a'i okaa si #xaua ka ko !hama nlai, ku n#ai dcii ka te gom ka,Te ll'akaa tcia (dua ka l'ae ko) l'au nlo. Ko ka ll'a !hama tcia ku !hun ka l'ae (ko) n!aoh & tchi a (!abih) ko nlo,du coe ka ko #hansi kota ka gla'asi khoea, ko ka tsia ko !uru".



MM40_69_2760 !Uru – Ju/'hoansi (Quiver)

MM40_69_2760 !Uru

MA2014/64 !Uru kota N!aoh – Ju/'hoansi (Quiver and Bow)

MA2014/64 !Uru kota N!aoh

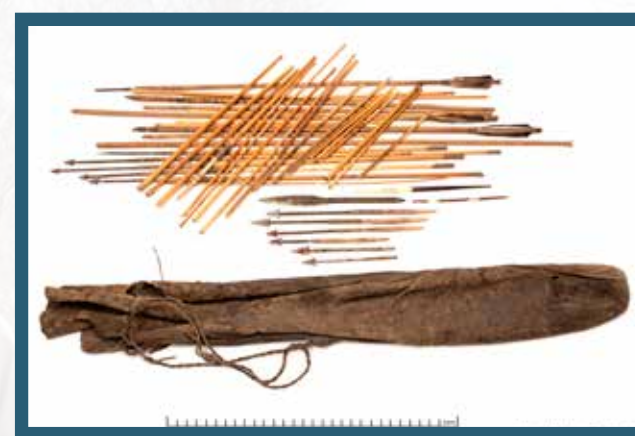
The quiver may be made from the !ung //ari root and is used for carrying the arrows. The end is covered with the skin of a springbok or another animal to prevent the poisoned arrows from hurting the hunter. The bow may be made from the camelthorn tree (!ai) or / ung plant and can also be used as a musical instrument. Fibre from the Mbare was twisted to make the strings of the bow.

Te !uru kuru ka l'ae ko g!un llari te ku !uin ko tchisi. Ka !ansi ku l'o ka l'aesi ko #aq'i nlo kana !hamh gesin nlosi ko l'ai !aqekxao ko kage ko xabe tse ha n!o'o he !aqe cu.Te n!aoh kurua ka l'ae ko !aihan o l'ana te cete n#ai llkoa ka l'ae ko #xai-n!aoh. Tso #am o Mbare ll'ang glaoha ka l'ae ko tso n!aoha.



MM40_69_2594A_P A quiver with a complete set of hunter's arrows.

MM40_69_2594A_P Te !uru toan te o !aqekxao ll'a ha tchisi.



MM40_69_2939A_XD0 A quiver with its complete contents. The stick used to apply poison still has traces of poison and gum. Some of the arrows have feathers, but do not have arrowheads attached. You can clearly see where sinew Tso (#Xao-//Aesi); //aiuab (Naro), has been used to attach the arrowheads.

MM40_69_2939A_XD0 !Uru toan l'xoa loma. Te !aihan he to'a n#ai llkoa ka l'ae ko l'oan ku l'u xabe tse gom. Tchi gesin kxae !kuisi, mara ka kxae tchi l'huisi gllaoa ll'akoa.A sin llau se tca ka khuian (#Xao-//Aesi); //aiuab (Naro), ku n#ai llkoa tchi l'hui sa ke.

QUIVERS

"The small horn quiver is used for small [odds?] and ends such as bow splinters, broken arrowheads or those in process of manufacture and iron arrow tips and, during the wet season, for bow tips as well to prevent them being injured. It is made from gemsbuck horn, cut by means of a heated iron, and reinforced with sinew. The [caps?] are made with gemsbuck skin (from [the] leg). A circular piece is cut out, pulled over [the] end of [the] horn till it is quite smooth and tight and then tied". Fourie reported that the scrotum of a gemsbok could be used to make a good cover for the smaller quivers made from horn.

!URUSI

"Te !uru mhi sa tzeamh sa o tci !husi ku n#ai llkoa ka l'aesi ko (ka tzausi) te ka o ll'a ka tci sa o ka zessin, ka o tchi sa kxoma koa !aice kana kana ka kurusi khoea te tchigla'a ko ll'aea to'a ka o barah ll'aea, ll'akaa n!aoh sin jan ko soan ka loa kxuia. Ka kuru ka l'ae ko g!o'e !hu, ka !xai ku nlla ko !aq n#ai khuia,ka nlluri ka !xai ka.Te (g!xoa nlai l'ua ?) ka dua ka l'ae ko g!o'e nlo (llama) (ko) !om), ll'A l'ua llhom g!xa ka l'ae ka gu g!xa ka l'ae (ko) toansi he (ko)!hu te ciniha soan te glaoh te nlhuia khoe".Fourie ko n#oahn tca g!o'e com!o nloa te xoana dua ka l'ae ko !uru he tzema he l'hom he tci !husi ga.

POISON

The geographical location of different San communities meant that they had access to different natural resources from which to create poisons for hunting. Hai//om communities living in a different environment used poison made from the Desert Rose (!Khores, *Adenium Boehmenianum*), but in the region around the Kalahari, San communities relied more on the poison that can be obtained from a particular beetle:

“The poison used by the Nu-//ein and some of the southern groups is known as #Gobi and is an insect found . . . during the rainy season”. The poison is present at every stage of the development of the beetle [*Diamphidia*]. “The larval poison in the cocoon stage is called !Oa; when in the [beetle] stage //Gō (#Xao-//Aesi); //Gu-!Gĩ (Naro). The //Gō is more potent than the !Oa. //Gō is mainly used by Naro because they have more faith in it while !Oa is preferred by the #Ao-//ein (#Xao-//Aesi) who strengthen it with the juice of the bark of the [Black Thorn Acacia – known locally as ‘Wait-a-Bit’ because of its vicious thorns which catch passers-by] and the seed of the //Gi-ri (#Xao-//Aesi), Bapa (Naro) whose root is used for tanning skins”. The lava “. . . appears on the leaves of a bush called Karu, . . . After the larva has eaten all the leaves it goes underground”.

After the insects had been collected they were dried in the sun and then pounded inside a tortoise shell to create the poisonous powder.



Diamphidia larvae, mature inside the sand-grain cocoon. (Photo by Caroline Chaboo.)

Diamphidia kage (Caroline Chaboo)

!OAN

Kxalho !'hao llaq'iangesi sa o jul'hoansi okaa ka nlla te ko si te kxae glaoh ko tca si oo dua tzi tciasi ko !'oan ku oo dua ko si sa o !aqekxaosi. Haill'om ll'a hi tzi lxoaa taa du ka l'ae ko tca si oo dua !'oan Khoe sa o kxalho sa n!omsi (!Khores, *Adenium Boehmenianum*), mara kxalho he ge to'ma Kalahari, jul'hoansi lxoalxoaa !'oan gesin sa #hai te ka ku nlla ko hi sa o nlaq'aro:

“!Oan n#ai llkoa hi ko Nu-//ein te ju gesin sa o xrupu he to'a o #am he o #Gobi te hi ho hi te o g!oq'm. . . . ko hi l'aeasi ko ll'aea gla cua”. Te !'oan sa lla'ike kxae ll'ae n!ang sa hi nllhaa mani ka o nlaq'aro (!'oan nlaq'aro). “Te kage sa gea koq ku l'aua hi l'aeasi ko !Oa (!'oan), ko ll'aea to'a hi o (nlaq'aro) te ka glae o //Gō (#Xao-//Aesi); //Gu-!Gĩ (Naro). Te //Gō kaice kxae glaoh ko !Oa. //Gō hi sa kaice n#ai llkoa hi l'aeasi ko Naro khama hi kxae !'hao gesin sa o !Oa sin koe #Ao-//ein (#Xao-//Aesi) hi sa ku du tcaq lxoaa hi l'aeasi ko tca dcii ko !aihn nlo [!Aqri- he !'han ka l'aeasi ko khuinto'a 'Kxaice-kho-tcima' khama ka o !aihn !'haosi sa ka tzausi ku nlhuia khoe) te ka o lla'a sa o //Gi-ri (#Xao-//Aesi), Bapa (Naro) he ka llarisi du lxoaa ka l'aeasi ko nlosi”. Kage “. . . sea khuinke o n!u'ubu sa hin ke sa o tzi gasi he l'aua ka l'aeasi ko Karu, . . .ka kage 'm toan n!u'ubusi wece sa hin ke hi gla'ama kxa”.

Ka si #han toan g!oqm sa hin ke si n#ai !kau ka ko lam te ll'hai ka ko llo'a nlosi khama si ka n#om #hau.



Diamphidia Cocoon (Photo. Wikipedia)

Diamphidia Kage (llXao. Tjul'o)



Diamphidia Beetle (Photo. Wikipedia)

Diamphidia Nlaq'aro (llXao. Tjul'o)

“Poison containers (//Khuru (#Xao-//Aesi); //Khuruba (Naro)) are made from the root of the !Gai (#Xao-//Aesi); Heiba (Naro) tree from which firesticks are made . . .” A careful technique was used to ensure that the poison stays attached to the arrow, just below the tip of the arrow. “The root of the white thorn is applied to the arrow tip, then the gum and then the poison . . . mimosa root . . . is used only for bone tips”. “Poison is applied with [a] stick sharpened at one end, generally the stick on which a clump of gum is moulded. This gum is moistened on the tongue [and] applied to arrow point after it had been reddened with the white thorn root which is done in order to prevent the gum coming off”.

“The larva is scarce during dry years but plentiful during good rainy seasons. It is the only poison used by the #Ao-//ein (#Xao-//Aesi). Snake poison is not used nor are any plant poisons. The poison does not deteriorate but when it becomes very dry on the arrow tip fresh poison or the juice of the tsamma or kwa is applied to it . . . The root of the . . . tsamma (itsa (#Xao-//Aesi) Kang (Naro) is also used as a vehicle for the poison”. The poison discolours the meat around the place where it hit the animal, so this part was cut off and thrown away. The carcass of the animal is then skinned before the arrow was pulled out, dried in the sun and then tied again to another shaft. In the morning fresh poison is put on the arrow tip and it is ready for the next hunt.

“!Oan tcia (//Khuru (#Xao-//Aesi); //Khuruba (Naro)ka dua ka l'ae ko !aihn sa o da'a !aihansi. . . .” !Uin n!aroh koh du ka l'ae nlang !'han ko !'oan te gea tchi tzau, koa tsi #aeh ke tchi tzau”. !Aihn llari o glaun ga ku l'u lxoaa ka l'ae ko tchi tzau, ka o gom ka khain ka o !'oan. . . . mimosa llari. . . .ka n#ai llkoa ka l'ae ko !'u tchiasi”. “!Oan l'ua lxoaa hi l'ae ko (hi) !aihan ka ka lho txam ko !an nle'e ko ka lho, te llxoasi gom kxae !aihan. Te gom he ke ju dhari ju n#ai dcii ka (ka) ka nllhaa l'ua ko tchigla'a ko ll'aea ka za'a l'ua ka l'ae ko glaun he ka toan ko toto l'an ko !'ai ko ce gla'ia ka”.

“Te !'oan koara ko ll'aea o !kau ll'aeasi te barah ll'aea kahin. Te !'oan nle'e n#ai llkoa hi l'aeasi ko #Ao-//ein (#Xao-//Aesi). #Agama !'oan loa n#ai llkoa ka l'ae ko !aihn sa ke ll'akaa !'oansi. Te !'oan sa he loa khuian khoe te ka tchi tzau n!obe !kau ko !'oan #hau kana ko g!ua o tsamma kana kwa xoana. Te !aihn llari. . . .kana tsamma (itsa (#Xao-//Aesi) Kang (Naro) cete n#ai llkoa uto ko tca ka te o !'oan “. Te !'oan n!aisi gea khuinto'a a txa ka l'ae ll'akaa tzi ko !hama , te ll'a !an !xai g!xa ka l'ae ka n!o'an u ka l'ae. Te llubu o !hama ga ko ka nlo khoea ll'aea to'a tchi tzau llhai #hoe ka l'ae he cua lam he !kau, ll'a ka koah ce !am ka l'ae ko !oahn!oan nlui. Okaa n!oma !'oan ze #hau ce l'ua ka l'ae ko tchi tzausi te ka sin jan l'an ko n!oma nlui ce glae !aqe lxoaa.



MM40_69_2917 Quiver with an arrow with a half-moon shaped arrow

MM40_69_2917 !Urua gea tchi tzau sa koe n!ui-labih ko tchi tzausi khoea



MM40_69_3477A_W A quiver with a set of long feathered arrows. The hunting arrows in this quiver are all 45-50cm in length.

MM40_69_3477A_W A !Urua gea !kui sa g#a'ian ll'a ka tchisi. !Aqekxao tchisi gea !uru n!angte ka g#a'insi o 45-50cm ka g#a'ian.



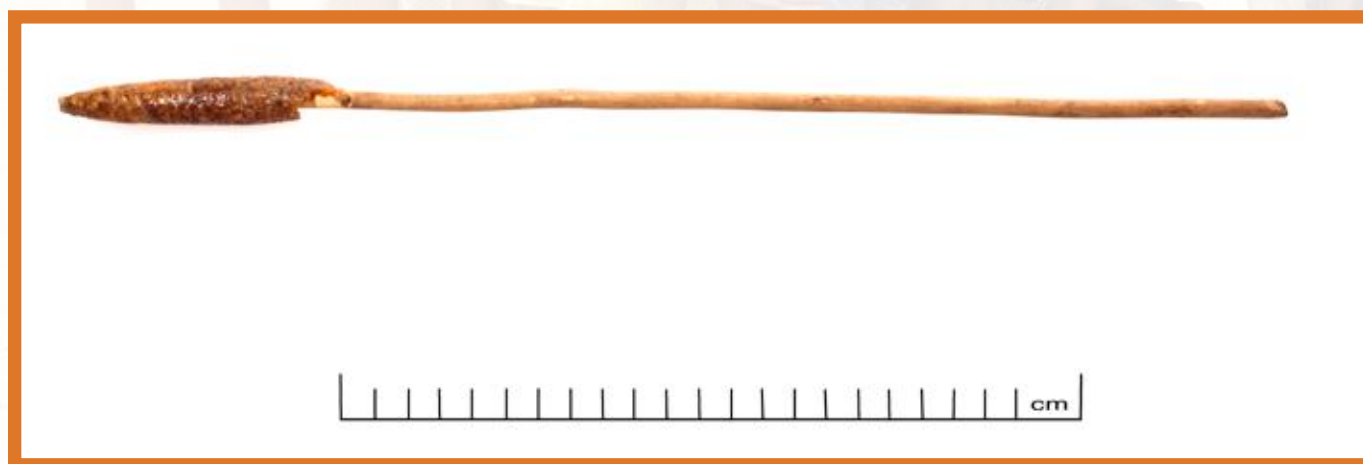
MM40_69_2652A_I A quiver for small poisoned arrows made from a horn with caps made from skin at the top and the bottom.

MM40_69_2652A_I !Urua tzema he o tci !husi ga he !oan tchisi gea ka n!ang he n!osi !xom ka !ansi ko koa !aice ke kota koa tsi #aehke.



MM40_69_2925 A quiver with a complete set of arrows.

MM40_69_2925 Te !uru sa du toan ka l'aesi he tchisi gea ka n!ang.



MA40-69-1033 !ga-heib -#Xao-//Aesi; #hii-hi – Naro; !hoa-tsu'um – Ju/'hoansi. A pointed stick used for applying gum to arrows. A lump of gum is still attached to the stick.

MA40-69-1033 !ga-heib -#Xao-//Aesi; #hii-hi – Naro; !hoa-tsu'um – Ju/'hoansi. Auen – !Aihn he n#ai ll'koa ka l'ae ko ku l'ua gom ko tchisi. Gom ciniha gea ka !aihan. Te !an ll'a !aihan n#ai ll'koa ka l'ae ko gom !'aua ka l'ae ko !ga-heib (#Xao-//Aesi) kana !gei-huba (Naro)

ARROWS

Fourie recorded that the usual way to make the shaft for an arrow was to find a soft stone, shaping it with an axe and then make a straight groove in it. “The shafts are prepared by 1st straightening. For this purpose a sandstone, cut oval and with a groove into which the shaft fits, is heated in fire, taken out [and] placed on grass on [the] ground . . . 2nd Reinforcing shaft with sinew taken from the lumbar region of springbuck, gemsbuck kudu, hartebeest, wildebeest etc. Steinbuck sinew is not used as it has none. Leg tendons are too coarse and hard.”

The tip of the arrow had to be hard and were made from the bones of particular animals. “In the olden days before the [arrival] of Europeans bone tips were barbed and made from the leg bone of the ostrich which is very hard.” The leg bones, both front & hind, of all big game are used for arrow tips. All the long bones of the giraffe [including the ribs] are used as they are stronger than those of other animals. They make the best arrowheads.” It was recorded that: “The bone used for arrow points is split by means of an iron wedge hammered into it on a stone”. The bone tips were called #gānu (Naro) or //kama (Auin).

The tips varied in shape and size depending on the purpose for which they would be used. “Bone tips are made either long or short because short ones are required for small game, duiker, steinbuck, etc and long ones for big game. Small game are often killed outright or will die within half an hour.”

When iron became available our ancestors started to use this to make their iron tips. The iron was obtained through trade with the north where the Kingdom of Oukwanyama obtained iron ore from its mines around Cassinga. “Iron has been used for this purpose for generations as long before [arrival] of Europeans the [San] obtained iron from the [Ovambo kingdoms]”. “Iron arrow heads are used not merely because they do not break as readily as the bone tips and consequently can be recovered & used again but also because they penetrate deeper and therefore the animal dies sooner”.

TCHISI

Fourie lore kharu ka ko #’anga ha du ko #’u tchisi ko ku ho n!om sa soan, he koe l’ai ka to ka koe tchilkai. “Tchi!’ansi oo dua ka l’ae 1 ka to. Ka khuin ka oo dua ka l’ae ka nlla ko kxa o n!omsi, du !xai ka nlang tchi!’an to nlang #’aun ko tchi!’an, ka n#ai ll’huin ka l’ae ko da’a, gu g!xa ka (te) gllxuan ll’ai ko kxa (te) kxa.....2 Tchi!’an sa glaoh he nlhuia ka l’ae ko Lumbar kxalho ko #aq’i, g!o’e n!hoan, dsoo, g!aih. Te #aq’i loa n#ai ll’koa ha l’ae. Ha !omsi taa du ka l’aesi te glaoh”.

Te tchi tzausi glaoh te kurua ka l’aesi ko !’usi !hama nlui he ke.” Te kuri sa o nllaahn he dinn!ang he (tsi) ko Europeans !’u tchiasi du ka l’aesi kota ko ka o !’u sa o dsuu !omsi he kaice glaoh.” Te lom !’uasi, ka wece gla’a-n!ang & dinn!nag, !hamhi sa laea ka !’usi kurua ka l’ae ko tchisi. Ka sa ka !’uasi g#a’ian he o #oah (ha g!kaa!’uasi) kaice n#ai ll’koa ka l’aesi ko !hamh gesin khoea. ka kaice l’hom ko tchi tzausi.” Ka koh lorel’u ka l’ae: “Ko !’u sa n#ai ll’koa ka l’aesi ko tchi tzausi ka ka sarakhoe ku nlla ko !aq ka kxuia ko n!omsi”. Te !’u tchiasi !’aua ka l’aesi ko #gānu (Naro) kana //kama (Auin).

Te tchi tzau !’hao !’haosi ka nlla ka !kui n!angsi ko tca ka oo n#ai ll’koa ka l’aesi. “!’U tchiasi xabe g#a’in kana !oamh khama ka gesin o !hamh sa tzeamh, l’au, l’hun, te !hamh sa !aea he g#a’in. !hamh sa tzeamh ll’ae waqnsi !’oan ka l’aesi te koara toansi kana ka !ao ll’ae n!angsi”.

ll’Aea to’a !aqsi ka ge ll’akaa ju sa nllaahn ka tchoathcoa te n#ai ll’koa !aqsi te te tchi tzausi. Te !aqsi koh !antzia to’a o #kao tzi ll’a Oukwanyama koh gea !aqsi ko ll’a mine koh gea khoe sa to’a to’ma Cassinga. “!Aq sa ke koh n#ai ll’koa ka l’aesi ko kuriha g#a’in ko ju sa o nllaahn ko koh kxaice (tsia) ko Europeans ko [Jul’hoansi] ka koh o !aq sa llama (Ovambo khoea). !Aq tchisi he koh n#ai ll’koa ka l’aesi khama !oa sin ku ku kxoma ko n!ana ko !’u tchiasi te ka ka #’auce laoh ka l’aesi & ce n#ai ll’koa ka ka l’ae khama ka kxae glaoh ka g!a’ama #aeha !hama te ka kua !ai.

One of the products that European traders introduced was wire and the arrows in the Fourie collection demonstrate that, by the early twentieth century, many San people obtained wire from which to make arrowheads. *“Iron tips are made from any bit of wire which is first cut into the appropriate length for a tip by hammering on a stone . . . Any suitable available stones are used as [the] anvil & hammer. Should however [the maker] find two stones of suitable hardness he will take them for use to [his home]. The wire is not heated first”.*

The indigenous knowledge that gave San communities their success in hunting (and, often, made them feared by those they encountered) was their knowledge of poison. It was important that the tip of the arrow could effectively and quickly deliver a lethal dose of poison into an animal. *“Iron tips are first surrounded with sinew before the poison is applied so that the latter may stick to the iron”* It was important to take precautions to ensure that the archer did not accidentally scratch himself with his own poisoned arrow and so *“ . . . they are carried in the big quiver instead of the smaller one and the poison on them is protected by wrapping the gullet [the passage food passed down from the mouth to the stomach] of duiker, steinbuck etc. round the poisoned tip”.* In quivers the piece of skin that was wrapped around the tip was known as Tsau.

Te tci nle'ea European koh kxaice kuru o tarahsi ko tchi tzausi te Fourie ꞑ'han ka te nꞑai sea ka, kollxoa ll'a kuri sa o twentah nllaahn, Jul'hoansi sa ꞑhai ka kuru tarah tchiasi te kxae. *“!Aq sa hin ke kuru ka l'ae ku o tarah !oma he !xai ha l'aesi ko tci sa !oamh ko ku nꞑa'm ha l'ae ko hamara ko n!omsi.....Ka nlui waqnke ko n!omsi koh nꞑai llkoa ka l'aesi (te) o nllaahn& te hamara. llxoai ko ll'ae waqnasi (kurukxao) ho n!om tsan sa l'hom he glaoh he si xoana nꞑai llkoa ka l'aesi ko (si !aohsi). Te tarah koh kxaice loa nꞑa'm ha l'aesi “Te llxoasi nllaahn ꞑ'angasi sa koh l'an ka l'aesi ko jul'hoansi ko llau to l'an ko !aqekxaosi (kota, kaice, du si sa o koaq gasi ko si sa ꞑ'ang l'an) ko ꞑ'ang sa o !oan masi.”*

Te ka kaice o tci n!a'an n!a'an ko tchi tzausi koah kxuia kota n!o'o ka tani l'ua nllhoo !oan ko !hama ama n!ang.Tchi!aqa koh o kxaice gea khoe sa hin to'a te dinn!ang !oan nllhaa !oan dua hi l'ae ko !aihn ka ꞑxaua ko tchi tzi !aqa” ka o tci n!a'an n!a'an ko llau ka l'han ko nllau oo ll'a a n!aq'i llaq'in a l'ae ko a l'aehasi !oan”.....si !oana !uru sa !aea ko ll'aea si ni !oan ka sa tzeamh te !uin ko !oan ko g!oqm hi ko tci (‘Msi nla gla'ama a tzin!ang ka nllhaa ꞑaeha a glu) te l'au, l'hun kota, sin gea tchi tzau”. Te !urusi kota nlo !abih he g!oq'm ka l'ae he o Tsau.

A hunter would carry a range of arrows. Different arrowheads were used depending on whether the animal being pursued was large or small and whether it might attack the hunter. Most of the arrows were poisoned. However, the arrowheads at the top and bottom were flat and not pointed so that they could be fired to crack the ribs. “The sharp pointed iron tipped arrow [in the middle] is known as tkai [or Kx'ao in Khwe]: it shoots very well just like a bullet. [The] flatpointed [arrowhead at top and bottom] is called Tsi-!Go [ꞑXao-//Aesi] or Khao-//nao [Naro] or Kauyambo [Khwe]



MA1973-2587B - //gaude - Hai//om; kgao-kgom – Naro; //aisi – Ju/'hoansi; taba - !Xoon and N|hoan. (Arrows)

MA1973-2587B - //gaude - Hai//om (Tchisi)

These arrowheads have unusually long tangs (the piece of metal that is sunk into the shaft to fasten the arrowhead to the end). Before iron became available arrow heads were carved from bone taken from the leg of an ostrich. Arrows varied in design, but the poisonous arrows, used for hunting, usually consisted of four pieces: A shaft, a link, a collar and an arrowhead. The shaft was made from a hollow reed or wood and the link joined the shaft to the collar and tip. The collar was usually made from grass and sinew and was designed to break off when the arrow hit its target. The poison tip would remain in the arrow, whilst the rest fell away. Generally, they did not have feathers attached to the opposite end of the shaft from the arrowhead. However, communities that traded with the Ovambo kingdoms started to add feathers. Some of the arrows have small markings burnt into the shaft which would help an individual hunter to identify their arrows.

!Aqekxaosi xoana llae tchisi. Tchi tzau llaq'inaq'ian gesi nꞑai llkoa ka l'aesi te sin nlla ko !hama tcia ne re n!a'an kana tzema te !aqekxao xoana nꞑhai ka. Tchi sa ꞑhai ku gea !oan. ll'Ae waqnasi, tchi tzau he !aice ke nꞑaxosi ka to l'an ko ku gla'ama ko g!kaal'uasi kota !hama !ka. Te ka nlua tsi ꞑaeh ke gla'ama !hama g!kaal'ua.“Te tchi tzausa ꞑxam he o tchi !aqa ll'akaa o ꞑomꞑom he o tkai: Ka tchinllhan gla'ka ka l'ae ko tca l'hom he koe lkuri.(Te) nꞑaxosi (tchi tzau) ka l'aua ka l'ae ko Tsi-!Go [ꞑXao-//Aesi] kana Khao-//nao [Naro].



MA1948-61 – //xai (!xung) – Arrowheads. The poisoned arrow tips are known as Qara in Khwe, whilst the quiver that holds them is Quru.

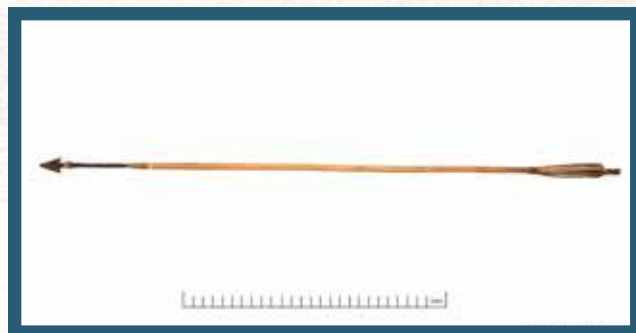
MA1948-61 – //xai (!xung) – Tchi tzausi

Te tchi sa ke llxoasi gꞑa'ian (!Aq !abih ma !tci!an du glaoha ka l'ae ko tchi tzau ko koa tsi ꞑaeh ke ka toansi).Gla'a-n!ang !aqa sin jan l'an ko tchi tzausi te n!om he o !u he llama tci !om!ua o dsuu ga. Tchi txau llaq'ain gesi sa du ka l'aesi, mara tchi tzau sa o !oan gasi, !aqekxao nꞑai llkoa, llxoasi o !abih mh sa bine: Tchi!'ansi, ll'akoa, !ain!'usi ko tchi tzausi. Tchi!'an koh du ka l'ae ko n!oan kana !aihn te llkae lxoia Tchi!'an te !ain!'u he o ka tzau. Te ka !ain!'u llxoasi dua ka l'ae ko !oahn!oan te llxoasi du l'an ka l'ae ko kxoma ko ka ka txa tci. Te koa to'a !oan gea, xabe hi gesin taqm. llxoasi, te ka llxoia loa gea !kui ko ge lxoia ko ka toansisi ko tchi!an khoea ka ua tchi tzau.ll'Ae waqnasi,te ju sa koh ge lxoia Ovambo he koh tchoatchoa he laoh ko !kuisi. Tchi tzau gesin sa tzeamh kxae nlae sa ku'u ka l'aesi he !xoekxam ko !aqekxaosi n!ui waqnhe ko n!o'o ka ho ha tchisi.



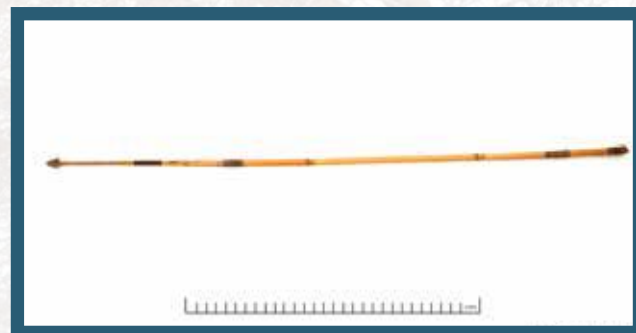
MA1948-60 – dara - ꞑXao-//Aesi; //xai - !xung and Naro; ꞑhiꞑam - Ju/'hoansi; (Arrowheads). The iron tips with a tang.

MA1948-60 – //xai - !xung, Tchi !aqa llkae lxoia tang- dara (ꞑXao-//Aesi); /guriei (Naro); //xai - Naro; ꞑhiꞑam - Ju/'hoansi (Tchi tzau)



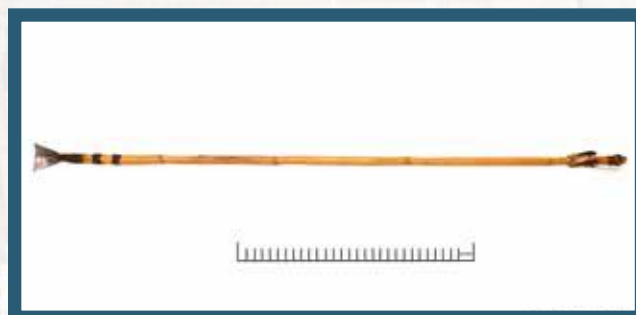
MM40_69_2103 Arrow

MM40_69_2103 Tchi



MM40_69_2783 Arrow. This type of arrow was used for killing small game such as Springbok and Duikers.

MM40_69_2783 Tchi



MM40_69_3011 Arrow. The type of arrow used to crack ribs. The wooden shaft of the arrow was often made from the Bush Berry (Grevia Flava) as the wood is strong and does not break easily. Feathers from birds such as Guinea Fowl and Vultures were often used on these arrows.

MM40_69_3011 Tchi



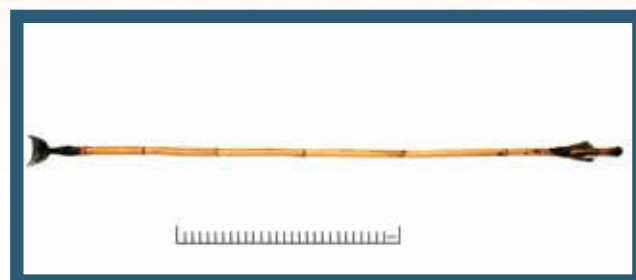
MM40_69_3012 aritsi – Ju/hoansi. Arrow – for catching birds

MM40_69_3012 Tchi– ka n!ahm tzama



MM40_69_3525 Arrow

MM40_69_3525 Tchi



MM40_69_3006 Arrow – for breaking rib bones.

MM40_69_3006 Tchi – txa kxoma gl'kaal'ua

RUNNING DOWN GAME:

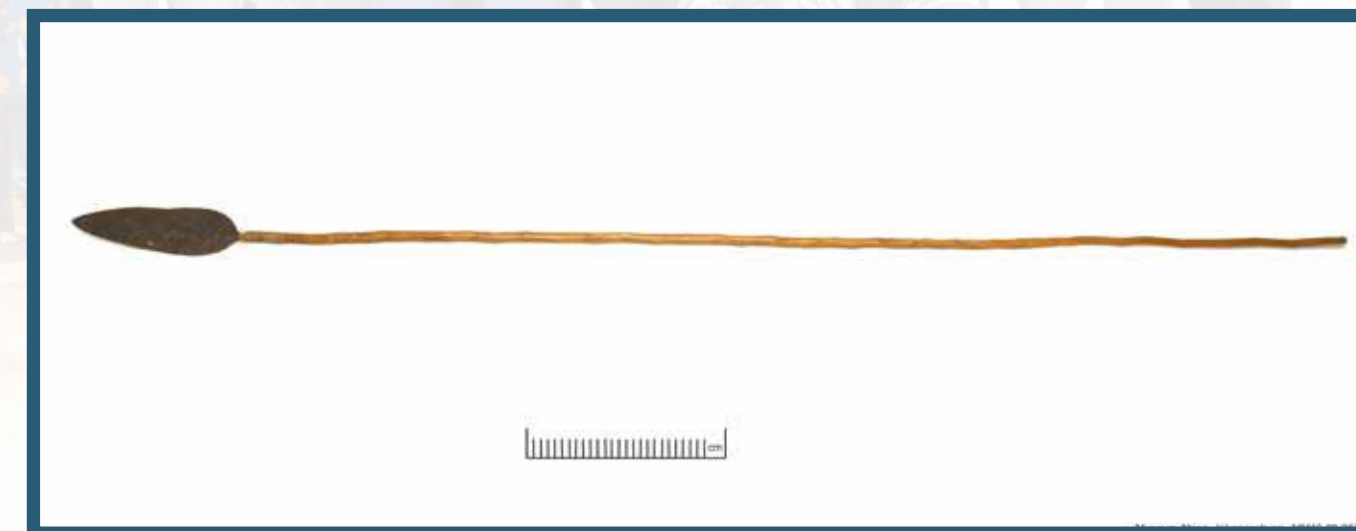
“The running down of animals on foot is practiced by all . . . [using] ordinary sandals curled down at the edges”. “In the rainy season . . . [the hunter] is able to run down the steinbuck [Steenbok] & duiker (but not big game) as they tire easily . . . In winter . . . he is unable to run down the duiker or steinbuck . . . nor can he in summer when the sand is very hot owing to the difficulty in keeping the spoor when going at the necessary pace”.

“In the hot dry season one or two or more [hunters] run down big game. After finding a herd of game they give chase and pursues it at a steady pace, . . . and when they notice by the spoor that the animal showed signs of tiring by hanging behind and walking while the others are still going fast they will follow it until, having turned away from the herd, it is at last brought to bay. They in turn take up the chase until the animal is worn out, using running sandals for the final sprint . . . It is then . . . dispatched with [an] assegai . . . It takes . . . about 6 hours to run down a few buck in this way. The chase usually begins when it is hot already . . . about 10 a.m. All the big game of these parts Kudu, wildebeest, Gemsbok, Hartebeest and Eland are pursued in this way.

!XOE TAAHN !HAMA :

!Xoe taahn !hama ko lkaisi o duse ko ju nlui waqnhe... (n!ai llkoa) koh nllaahn g!oehsi ko koh nllaahn”. Ko barah ll'aea,(!aqekxao) xoana !xoe taahn ko l'hun (#aq'i) & l'au (mara loa o !hamh !ae) si kua ll'huin. . .ko g!om. . .ha xoana !xoe taahn l'au kana l'hun..... te barah ll'aea lam kaice khui te ka o tih ko loo ko !uh ko ka ua khoe gesin”.

“ Ko kuri he khoe khui nle'e kana tsan kana #hai (!aqekxaosi) !xoen taahn !hamh sa !aea. Ka si ho !ha nllaqe si !xoe ka ko ka o n!aa.... Te ka si llau se he !uha o !ha ma ga si n!haoh loo !hama hin to;a ko ll;aea si gesin n!o'o ka llxam ka, kana si glae ll'a !ha nllaqe sa, khama ka nlla ko to'ma ka. Okaa ka nlla tca si te ka !xoe ko !hama ka !hama sin o tcima l'hoan, sin n!ai nlo g!oehsi ka !xoe l'xoa ka te toansi.... Ka ce kxae glae (ko)!u!u....ka gu... l'hun ko ll'aea hin to'a.... ll'ae sa o 6 ka !xoe taahn l'hun. Te !xoe taahn sin tchoathcoa ll'aea khoe khui... 10 iri o n!oma. !Hamh !ae!ae !an tzia sin o n!hoan, g!aih,g!o'e, dsoo kota n!ang? Kahin khuin ka oo dua ka l'aesi.



MM40-69-2577 – !gub!gub – Hai //om; //hai-//xoa – Naro; !gu-!gu-a - Ju/hoansi; (Spear) This large and heavy spear has an iron spearhead with a tang pushed into the long wooden shaft and fastened with sinew. When an animal was chased down, a spear was normally used to kill the exhausted animal.

MM40-69-2577 – !gub!gub – Hai//om //hai-//xoa – Naro; !gu-!gu-a - Ju/hoansi (!U!u) te tci sa !aea he ke o !u!u sa tih he o !aq tzausi ko g!xuni ko tca #xaan kana !aihn ha !'an dua ka l'ae ko tca glaoh.ll'Aea to'a !hama !xoe taahn ka l'ae !u!u hin llxoasi n!ai llkoa ha l'ae ko !hun ko !hama hin to'a.

SNARES FOR SMALL GAME

"First [the trapper] sets the snare on the path of small game and makes a fence about 2 feet high for about 50 yards on either side of it. If on the following day he finds that the buck has circumvented the fence he sets a snare at each end of it and prolongs the fence for another 50 yards or so on either side of it". A particular technique was described for catching spring hares. After identifying the location of the hares' burrow a long trench was dug, filled with sharp stakes and covered with grass. A small fence is used, once again, to direct the hares that are following their normal path to feed into the trap. A long stick can also be used to pin the hare down inside its hole, whilst a shaft is dug down so that it can be pulled out.

Informants described the method used to catch Aardvarks. "The method of choice for capturing this animal is by means of a stout snare set at [the] entrance to [the] burrow". "The methods adopted for its capture vary according to the nature of the soil, etc. For example, in stony ground it is unable to burrow quickly and shafts are sunk until it is caught. In sandy soil different tactics are pursued. The animal returns to its burrow before sunrise. The [hunter], seeing the aardvark meanwhile is going deeper . . . listens in which direction he is burrowing and sinks another shaft to head it off. He continues in this manner until the animal is caught. It is more easily caught in stony than in sandy soil. In sandy soil he may have to make as many as 10 to 15 shafts and be busy for several days and nights before he catches it. Sometimes he digs a shaft down to the burrow, fills it in again and then returns home. When the animal in trying to emerge [it] burrows through the loose sand there is a subsidence of the loose ground and it is killed". A similar technique could be used to catch Porcupines. Jackals could not be hunted with snares as they would chew through the restraints and so jackals would be hunted with dogs.

!IXAU !HAMHI SA TZEAMH

" Kxaice [ko kabi] !lxau ko n!ama ko !hamh tzea kota ko du tarah xabe tse gllaqe 2 he g#a'in he o 50 ko caosi ko !an nlui. Te lam nlui a ho !'hun he ha gea tarah khoea loo ka nlui waqnke !'a ka toansisi ko tarah ko !an nlui he o 50 caosi kana ka sin khuian khoe. N!aroh gla'in nlui koh n#oahn tca ju oo !'ang ko nloqm.Dinn!ang ka a llau se nllhoo koa nloqm gea te ka o koa gu g#a'ian ka l'ae, he gla'in tcisi he !'aisi !'o ka.Ko n#ai !lkoa tarah tzema, ko !'a n!ang nle'ea, ko si to ko nloqm nlang loo ha ko tca !lxoasi a koh oo !lxaun ha. Te !aihn ka xoana n#ai !lkoa ka l'ae ko n#a'm gllxun ha ko dom n!ang,ko !antzia #aeh ke nlang ka xabe xoana ku !lhai tsau.

N#oahn o nlla #a'ansara ko #a'ang sa ju n#ai !lkoa ko gu ko N!han. " Te #a'ang a o ko ku nlhui !hamh sa ke ka nlla ko !lxau (ko) gla'amsi te (ko) n!ooh". "Ka o #a'anga o se ko tca kahin ka khuian ko !'a kxalhoa o tzi ga, n!ana. Ko !lhaellhae !'an, te kxa o n!omsi loa sin n!o'o ka koe !'an kota koe gla'ama ko ka a gu ka. Te kxa o koqe !laq'inllaq'ian khuian ko oosi. Te ka !hama ce tsi dom ko ka lam ku gla'i. Te (!aqekxao), se ko nlhan he khoe tca ha te gla'ama #aeh....ha #ae#ae ka ko kore ce re kxa taqma kana ha g!xa ha nlai. Ha ciniha sin du !'a #a'anga ka sin gu !hama. Ka kaice soan ko n!omsi khoea kota kxa o koqe. Kxa o koqe ga oo ka a #xoe ka du ka ko !'ae sa o 10 ka ua 15 cu !'an ciniha du ka ko lam waqnsi kota glusi ka dinn!ang a nllhaa u gu ha. !'Ae gesin a gu n#hao koa !'an ke ko dom gla'a-n!ang, ka !om ka ka ua tjulho." Ka !hama nlluri he ku glaea !'akoa (ka) !'a doma khoea ka gu lhuru !'a kxa koqea ka ka loa ce ho kxa ka gu ka ju ka glae !hun ka ".!l'A tci nle'ea tci !'han kxaosi du ka !hun !'om. !Ari loa !aqe ha l'ae te sin !lxau ha l'ae te cete sin !aqe !xoa ha l'ae ko g#uinsi.



MM40_69_2429 Snare made out of rope woven from vegetable twine.

MM40_69_2429 !lxau du !lama ka l'ae ko !hui #a'amsi kana tau



MM40-69-2327 Sticks for building small fences to guide small animals, such as guinea fowl, into a trap.

MM40-69-2327 !Aihn sa kuru tarah ma tzema he o !hama tzema, ka o ari, sa ju !lxau.



MM40-69-2998C #gõ#gurib - Hai//om, Gui – #Xao-// Aesi, Gab - Naro (Stick for hunting Spring Hare). The Khwe word for the pointed stick used to catch hares is Gondo.

MM40-69-2998C #gõ#gurib - Hai//om, Gui – #Xao-// Aesi, Gab - Naro (!Aihn sa o Nloqm guni gasi)



The caption on this photograph at the National Archives of Namibia says 'Bushman with Bow and Arrow in the Veld' (NAN 04664). We would like to see a project where we can review the photographs held in archives to remove offensive language, but also to add more depth to the reading of the photographs. Here the man is carrying the type of stick that is used to hunt porcupines or warthogs and to get them out of their burrows. Warthogs are actually quite dangerous to hunt as they often charge out of their burrows at speed.

Te !lxaoa ke gua ka l'ae ko National Archives ko Namibia nlla`Jul'hoan kxae !Oma ko Tchisi ko Tzi khoea.' (NAN 04664). E1a kare projeka ko koa m!a ce ka n#ai zeze !lxaoa ke koh gea ko archives tca koh koe du g!xa !'a dharia, mara xabe ce laoh ka se ko ku nllaq'ara ko !lxao he ke. Khuinke !'hoan he !'oana !aihn !'hao nlui he ju ku !hun !xoa !'om kana !hoan ko du g!xa !xoa ha ko n!ooh.!Hoan !lxoasi o koaq koaq ko !aqe khama ha mani #ania n!ooh n!ang ka gla'i !xoa glaoh.



MM40_69_1419 A stick designed for scraping the hair of small skins. The stick has been split and a sharp blade inserted and tied to the stick with string. The string seems to have been obtained through trade.

MM40_69_1419 !Aihn he o #oqe kana n!aq coe a n!ai!kuisi n!oa. !Aihn sa kxae !kui n!ang ka taa khuian te ka ka lho #xam ku gla'am khuinto'a ka ll'ang !huisi. Te ll'a !aihan sin khoe tca ka



MM40_69_2036 A knife with a curved blade used for shaping arrows.

MM40_69_2036 llxai he n!hui he n#ani tchi tzausi.



MA1961_325 N#a - !Xung; Kyaixo – Khwe; //xao – Naro; //khai – Ju/'hoansi; #hora - !Xoon and N|hoan. Hunting knife used for skinning animals.

MA1961_325 N#a - !Xung; Kyaixo – Khwe; //xao – Naro; //khai – Ju/'hoansi; #hora - !Xoon and N|hoan. te n!un l'an ko llama ka kurusisi. (!Aqekxao llxai n#ai llkoa hi ko !hamhi nlosi)



Mother showing her young son how to shoot (Photo: PM2001.272)

Dshau ku n#ai sea ha !'han ko tca ha oo tchinllhan (llXao: PM2001.272)[MA1]



Boy carrying a stomach bag and another bag on a digging stick.. Photo. PM2002.29.14224)

Kxaro ku ll'aona nlhabi kota lhao he gea !aisi
Photo. PM2002.29.14224)



Gao grinding ingredients for making poison arrows. (Photo: PM2001.29.14864)

Gao nlom ku du lxoa ka l'ae ko l'oan ko tchisi. (Photo:
PM2001.29.14864)



Children with bows and arrows. (Photo. PM2001.29.13980)

Da'abi sin llae n!aohsi kota tchisi .
(Photo. PM2001.29.13980)

MEMORIES OF ETOSHA

#'ANG I'AN KO ETOSHA



This engraving from the book *Deutschlands Kolonien* (Leipzig, 1910) by Kurt Hassert was based on a photograph of 'Chief' Aribib and his family taken at Naidas in 1895. It is a rare example of an image of a named individual from one of our San communities from the nineteenth century (NAN 20302 and NAN 19796)

I'Om sa gea #xanu o *Deutschlands Kolonien* (Leipzig, 1910) Te Kurt Hassert ka gea l'xaoi khoea ko 'l'aiha 'Aribib kota ha juasi koh l'xao si l'aei ko l'Naidas ko 1895. ka o tci'ae l'hoan ko l'haellhae l'an ke ko l'xaoa ke ko !u l'laq'inlaq'ian gesi sa o Jul'hoansi sa o m!a gesin ko negtag kuri sa o nllaahn (NAN 20302 kota 19796)



This photograph shows a large group of Hai|om that visited the members of the Denver Africa Expedition at their camp at Etosha when they visited Namibia in 1925 (Photo. Paul Hoefler, NAN 03384)

l'Xao ke n'ai sea ko xrupu n!a'an o Haill'om ga he koh l'hoo ju sa o Denver Africa Expedition ko si!a kam o Etosha ko l'aea si!a koh l'hoo Namibia 1925 (l'xao. Paul Hoefler, NAN 03384)

In 1940 the so-called 'Native Commissioner for Ovamboland', 'Cocky' Hahn, known locally as 'Shongola' (The Whip), was discussing the possible relocation of a San community from the Kavango to Game Reserve No. 2 (it was only renamed Etosha National Park in 1958). He provided a history of the family of one of the Hai|om leaders in Etosha at that time, Fritz Arabib:

"Fritz's father, Arabib, was the most important Heikum [sic] Bushman during the German regime whereas Arabib's father, Tsameb (Ameb) who lived before the German occupation of South West Africa appears to have been a true leader . . . When the Herero with their cattle herds penetrated further and further on to Heikum hunting grounds and preserves, the Heikum retaliated by organising cattle raids and deprived the Hereros of many animals.

Ko 1940 ka koh koe-!au ka l'ae 'Jua koh Komsara o Ovamboland', Cocky' Hahn, l'han khuinto'a ko 'Shongola' (N!aba), n#oahn re koh xoana ju sa o Jul'hoan sa o Kavango hisi Game Reserve No.2 (Ka koh ce l'au ka l'ae ko Etosha National Park ko 1958) ha n#om n#oahn o nllaahn ko ju nluia koh o Haill'om l'aiha sa koh o Etosha hiasi ko l'a kurih koh o, Fritz Arabib ga:

" Fritz's ba, Arabib, koh kaice o tci n!a'an n!a'an Heikum (Sic) Jul'hoan ko kuriha koh o German #hanua ko kore he Arabib's ba, Tsameb (Ameb) Koh !xoana kxaice l'aea German nllhaa tsia du l!koasi Suid West Afrika koara he ka ku kxae l'aiha o #om#om.....Ko l'aea tamahsi l'ae gumi sa #hai he ka tsi n!obe oo he n!obe oo ko !aqe lho kota ho nllhoo, te Heikum gu l'a oxanisia o gumi ga kota ko gu l'ae te nlhui tamahsi ko gumi sa #hai.

This raiding greatly annoyed the Hereros and they killed any Heikum who were unfortunate enough to fall into their hands. Tsameb then set about organising the various Heikum clans into one body so as to resist the Herero invasion. Because of his clever and bold leadership he was recognised 'Chief'. . . Tsameb's own clan became one of the best-known of the Heikum groups; it was known as the Kai-ei-kwan, meaning the people belonging to the great places. It seems that the places concerned were Karachas, now Farm Karachas, in the Outjo District and Huis, now Farm Klein Huis, also in the Outjo District. These places are near the locality where the Bushmen are now giving trouble".

"After Tsameb's death he was succeeded by his son Arabib, Fritz's father. This was not in accordance with Heikum tradition as succession with the Heikum is matrilineal . . . He is said to have been so cunning that he gained the name of Kai-tsaireb (Great Jackal). He had his 'great places' at Naidaus also Okoruso and the country now occupied by the farms Brandenburg and Wittenberg in the Grootfontein district. All these places still hold strong ties for the Heikum. Arabib was subsequently employed by the German Government as a recruiter of Bushman labour, and also as a tracker of Bushman culprits . . . his younger brother, Tsomseb, fell foul of the Germans and was hanged by them, Arabib became afraid and deserted. He fled to Ovamboland where he was caught by a party of Hereros and was murdered because he had been in the employ of the Germans. The unity of the Heikum suffered a setback . . . They were then hunted and killed by both the Hereros and the Germans and were gradually pushed Northwards to areas which many of them still occupy today." [NAN. SWAA 433 A52/26 Hahn to CNC, Windhoek, 5th September, 1940]

PROTECTION TREATY

Georg Hartman, the representative of the South Africa Company, reported that in the 1860s Aribib and his Hai | | om followers and Damara groups had kept the Ovaherero south of the Waterberg mountain and a line that ran from Grootfontein through Nutsas (Swartwater). The boundaries of Aribib's territory were described as stretching from Otjenga (Agob), to Otjiwarong[o], and Okomsu (Kileib) (Hartman,

Te koh dua kaqian ko tamahsi te hi ka ku l'oan Heikum nlui waqnhe to'ma ha #aun gua ha ko ha glausi. Tsameb ce du Oxanisasi he ku mani mani Heikum ce du tca koe ama nle'e te ka ku se ce tamahsi tci ooasi. Khama ha nla koh kxae #angsi te koh o ll'aiha he koh toto 'll'Aiha'.....Tsameb's l'ae ha nlang ha ka tsi glae o jua nluia o jua o l'han-n!anga he o Heikum xrupu,te ka l'han ka l'ae te o Kai-ei-kwan, ka nlla ju sa gea koe n!ore n!a'an. Ka koe tca ll'a n!orea te o Karachas, ll'a'ike o farama o Karachas, ko Outjo !Antzia kota Huis, ll'a'ike ll'a farama o Klein Huis, ll'a'ike farama Klein Huis, xabe ce o Outjo !Antzia. N!ore he to'ma koa Jul'hoansi ll'a'ike lma'an tih ".

"Ka Tsameb's !ai okaa ha l'han kaqa jan #ani ko ha l'han Arabib, Fritz's ll'a ha ba. Ka ka loa koe l'hao ke o Heikum ka n!aroh gl'a'in.....Ha ko ha te kare o lxuri kxao ka kxae lua o Kai-tsaireb (l'Ari n!a'an). ha kxae ' n!ore n!a'an# ko Naidaus xabese Okoruso te ll'a kxalhoa ka ll'a'ike kxae ll'koasi ko farama o Brandenburg kota Wiienberg ko Grootfontein !antzi. N!ore wece sa si cinuha kxae glaoh o Heikum. Arabib #'auce ku l'ua German ko ll'koasi okaa German #'Hanu ku l'u Jul'hoansi ll'koasi, kota !uh loo kxao Jul'hoan sa nllaahn..... ha tshin, Tsomseb, ha kxae ta'm sa o German ge l'xoa te sin ge l'xoa si, Arabib tchoa te koaq ko ll'a !antzia. Ha kxae ta'm sa o Owamboland ua o koa ha glae gu party ke o Tamahsi ga te ka o !hun kxao khama ha gl'a'ama Germans. Te l'hao o nle'e o Heikum ka ll'hai tih te ce gl'hoo.....Si ka o !aqekxaosi te si kota Tamahsi kota German ka !oan khoe te ka cu te ua #kao !antzia khoeasi te si sa #hai cinihaku #oa#oa ka ko ll'a'ike. " (NAN.SWAA 433 A52/26 Hahn ko CNC, Windhoek, 5th September, 1940)

IIAU KA !'UIN

Georg Hartman, aohlaoh o Suid Africa Company, n#oahn ka ko 1860s Aribib kota Haill'om l'xam kxaosi kota Gl'a'utamah xrupu sa koh ll'ae Ovaherero ko Suid ko Waterber n!oma kota ll'ami he to'a ua Grootfontein ka #aun Nutsas (Swartwater). " N!ore!xaisi he to'a o Aribib's kxalho nlla #ansara ka l'ae ko tca ka te cao ko llama Otjenga (Agob), Otjiwarongo (0), Okomsu (Kieib) (Hartman, 1895, ko dorpa n!a'an ko

1895, cited in Köhler, 1959: 17). An account of their travels by the German missionaries, Hugo Hahn and Johannes Rath, published in 1859, stated: "The people here (Omumborombonga) live in constant strife [or feud] with the Damara and San from the Omuverume Mountains [=Waterberg] (Hahn and Rath, 1859: 297 cited in Dieckmann)

Fritz Arabib [≠Arexab] signed a 'Protection Treaty' with the District Commander of the German Schutztruppe, von Estorff, in Outjo on 14th October, 1898. The treaty stated that the 'Bushmen' would "... cede the entire area which they, up to now, believed they have been entitled to, to the German Government. It stretches from the vicinity of Outjo up to the vicinity of Grootfontein. The Etosha Pan will be the northern boundary; the northernmost kraals of the Herero form the southern boundary". The Treaty promised that the community would never be 'driven away' from their waterhole at | | Naidaus, would have the right to 'search for veld food everywhere in their present area' and that they would be provided with 'security and protection against everyone'. But in return agreed 'not to oppose the settlement of German farmers'. It is believed that ≠Arexab was killed by Herero forces around 1904 at a waterhole called | Arabes during the conflict with the Germans (Friederich & Lemp, : 51-60)

EVICTIION FROM ETOSHA

A huge area around the Etosha Pan was proclaimed as a game reserve by the German colonial administration in 1907, however Hai | | om communities continued to live in and around the reserve. The increasing enforcement of regulations to control livestock and hunting in the park meant that people started to leave, moving north or to work on commercial farms. On 30th January, 1954 it was finally publically announced that all the remaining Hai | | om residents should leave the park within three months. Transport was provided to carry people to Ongandjera or people were given the option of walking to Ondonga. A few members of the community were able to remain in the park by working as game wardens, but the apartheid state had, finally, removed the majority of the community from a huge area of land where they had hunted and gathered resources for generations.

Köhler, 1959:17) Kxae mari l'usi ko n!ama to'a o ua German tci khoea, Hugo Hahn kota Johnnes Rath, !oahn ko 1859 ko #hanu: " Te ju sa gea khuinke (Omumborombonga) koh sin !xoana tcima tzema (kana ll'ae ma) ko Gl'a'utamah kota Jul'hoan sa llama ko Omuverume N!omasi (= Waterberg) (Hahn kota Rath, 1859: 297 n!ore n!a'an o Dieckmann)

Fritz Arabib (≠arexab) n!aq'i-lore ko 'll'Au ll'ae ' ko Gl'a'-n!ang kxao !Antzia o German he o Schutztruppe, von Estorff, ko Outjo ko 14th October, 1898. Te tca #hanu ku oo ll'aea ko ' Jul'hoansi ' xoana ".....ll'huian ll'a n!ore sa si gea, xare tse ko ll'a'ike, te #om tca te o ha kxaosi, te German #hanu. Ka cao te khoara llama ko Outjo te khoara ka tsia Grootfontein. Te Etosha Xoana ka o #kao tzi ko n!ore!xaisi; te #kao tzi kaice o !hu sa o Tamah gasi hi sa llama #Am tzi ko n!ore!xaisi". ll'Au ll'ae tosis sa o ju gasi si l'xoa xoana !au gl'xa'ia si glun!ang he ll'naidaus, xoana kxae tosi ko kxoa tzi 'masi ko khoe nlui waqnke ko koa gea si n!ore' te khuinto'a si!a du tca koe !'uin kxaosi sa ku !'uin ju nlui waqnhe'. Mara ka ce l'xoa ko zaihn' loa !antzia to'a o !xoansi sa o German faramasi'. Si #om tca ≠Arexab te koh !hun ha l'ae ko Tamah sa koh #huin#huian ha ko kuri he to'a o 1904 ko gl'u-n!ang he koh !'aua ka l'ae ko l'Arabes ko ll'aea koh o n#uihan khoe ll'aea ko Germans (Friederich & Lemp, :51-60)

TCI N!A'ANSI IIAMA ETOSHA

Te Huge khoea ko Etosha Xoana koh dua ka l'ae !hamhi se ko German kuria ko lorekxao ko 1907, ll'ae waqnsi Haill'om juasi ciniha ll'xoana ka !'ami ka se. te laoh pari veta ko ku !'uin gumi kota ku !aqe lhosi ka nlla tca ju te tchoa ka u, !au ua #kao tzi kana ll'koa farama sa to'a tarah ll'ang !'o ha l'aeasi. Te 30 January, 1954 ka koh o toansi lore ll'akaa n#oahn ko Haill'om sa ka gl'a ge he o !xoana kxaosi #aun nllah Xoana ko n!ui n!ani. Uto koh ho ha l'aeasi ko tani ua ju ko Ongandjera kana si l'an ll'ae ko n#haoha ua ko Ondonga. Si gesin gl'a ge te ll'koa ko Xoana, mara kxae tsaqni #hanu, toansi, si du coe ll'a ju sa ko Huge khoea ko ha n!ore ko koa si koh !aqe ka !'hu ko tci sa o ll'xoasi gasi.

TURTLE SHELLS AND COSMETICS

!LO'A !'ORA KOTA G!OQ'IN

The tortoise is called Itjam [ʃXao-//Aesi], Tamba [Naro]. The shell is known as itjam - /o (ʃXao-//Aesi) Etjoroba (Naro). It is used for drinking water and for small children to eat out of.

Two of the most common types of tortoise in Namibia are the Leopard Tortoise and Kalahari Tent Tortoise (also known as the Serrated Tortoise). Can you identify which type of tortoise shell has been used to make each of the perfume containers in this section ?

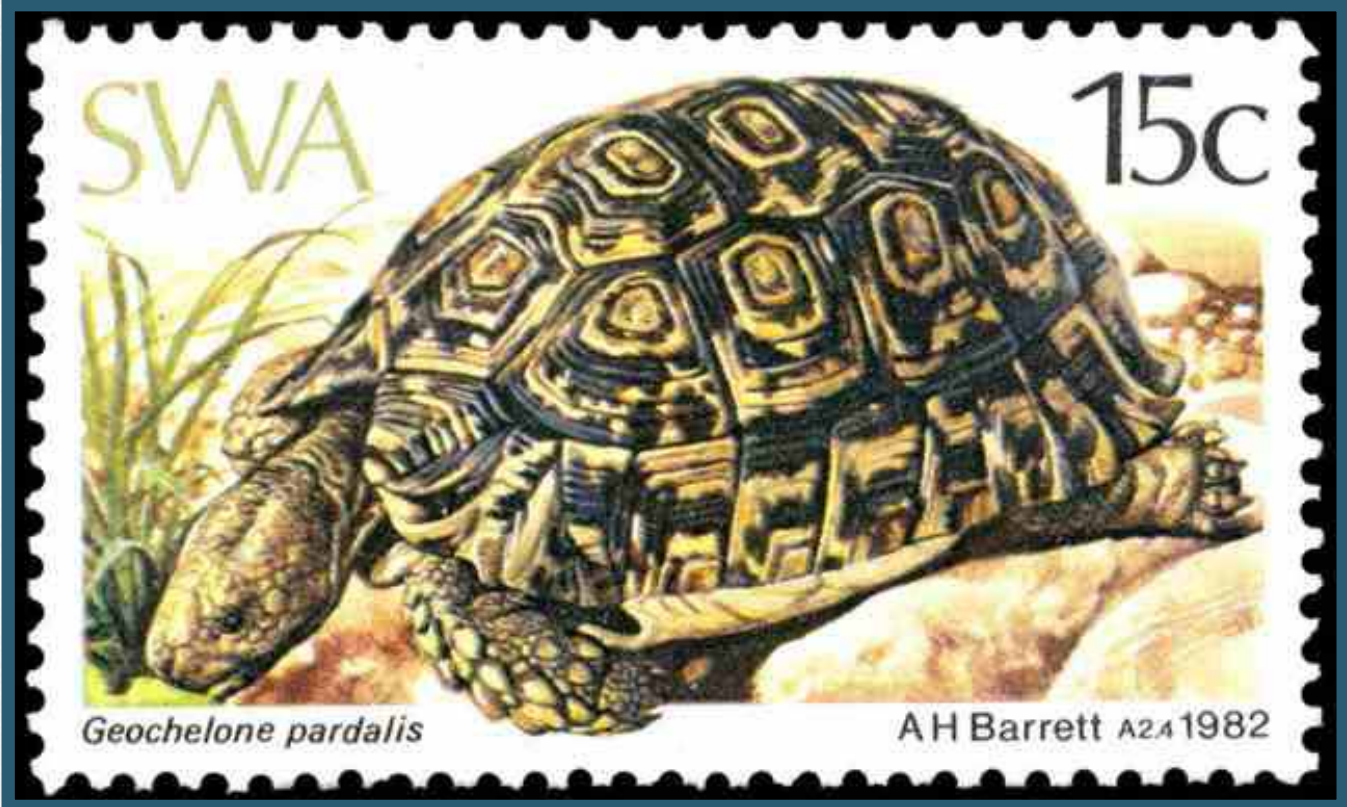
Te !lo'a !'aua ha l'ae ko Itjam [ʃXao-//Aesi], Tamba [Naro]. Te !lo'a !'ora o itjam - /o (ʃXao-//Aesi) Etjoroba (Naro). Te ka n'ai !lkoa ka l'ae ko ku tchi !xoa glu te da'abi!oa cete ku 'm !xoa ka.

!LO'a !'hao tsan sa gea Namibia o !lo'a ko Kalahari Tent !lo'a (xabe !'han ko zam). A re xoana ʃ'ansara !lo'a !'hao tcia ne re he te ha n'ai !lkoa ha l'ae ko tci wece tcia sa hin?



A baby Leopard Tortoise (Photo: Katie Cox, Pinterest)

Da'ama!o !A'o o !LO'a (!lXao: Katie Cox, Pinterest)



Leopard Tortoise Stamp from Namibia in 1982 (Photo: vbujia.blogspot.com)

!A'a !LO'a o Namibia ko 1982 (!lXPhoto: vbujia.blogspot.com)ao



Kalahari Tent Tortoise (Photo: Bernard Dupont, Wikipedia)

Kalahari Tent !lo'a (!lXao: Bernard Dupont, Wikipedia)



MM31/68/97- //u !xui -!Xung; !oro – Naro; !khura; si//asi - !Xoon and N|hoan - Perfume holder

Perfume known as Xurusi (≠Xao-//Aesi) or Tjotamba (Naro) was kept in the tortoise shell that was decorated with beads and animal skin (often the soft fur from a jackal's stomach). The skin was used here to close the tortoise shell which was then worn on the waist, hanging from the baby carrier. Perfume (Buchu) was often used to remove the smell of breast milk on babies and their mothers.

MM31/68/97- //u !xui -!Xung; !oro – Naro; !khura; si//asi - !Xoon and N|hoan – ll'Ora gesi

ll'Ora gesi ko Xurusi (≠Xao-//Aesi) kana Tjotamba (Naro) te l'ua ka l'ae ko ll'ora ko glxan kota !hama nlo (ll'ae waqnsi !'u nlo he soan).Te nlo n'ai ll'koa ka l'ae ko ll'ora ku !'o ha tzi, te llae l'an ko da'ama !'uin. ll'Ora (Buchu) kaice n'ai ll'koa ka l'ae ko du glxa ku ≠'aan sa da'ama!o kota ha taqe.



MM40/69/908- Tortoise perfume bag with porcupine quills. A necklace made from porcupine quills was, sometimes, given to a child to stop them from crying.

MM40/69/908- !oro – Naro; !khura – Ju//hoansi; si//asi - !Xoon and N|hoan;. ll'Ora gesi he o lhaoa gea !'om !husi.Te !ain-n!ang kuru l'xo ka l'ae ko !'om !husi, ll'ae gesin, l'an ka l'ae ko da'abi ≠xami ha ko gla'a!u.



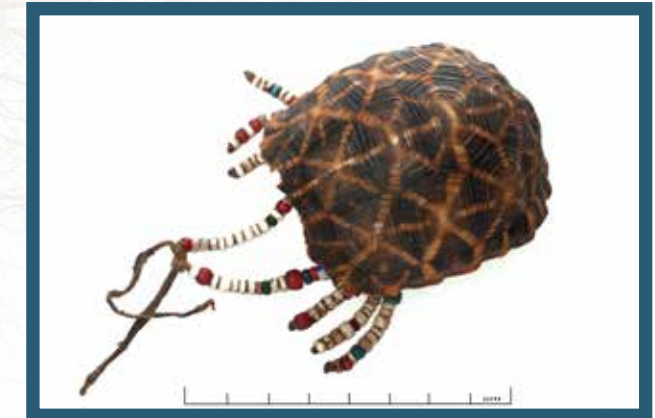
MM40_69_1516 This shell from a Leopard Tortoise was obtained from a member of the /Nu//en group. One end was sealed with wax.

MM40_69_1516 Te ll'ora llo'a he kxae ha l'ae ko /Nu//en xrupu. Ka toansi ku sin ll'xobe ka l'ae.



MM40_69_2679 Tortoise shell encased for its length in hide with the hair on and decorated with 6 stripped and 4 white traded beads. A circle of dried skin and a piece of hide with black hair is attached.

MM40_69_2679 ll'Ora llo'a g#a'in te cao te !kui kota ku ani ko nlae sa o 6 !a'u sa o 4 gea glxan !umi. Nlo !kausi he nllari ka l'ae kota !kui sa jo gea ll'akoa.



MM40_69_2680 A tortoise shell that contained buchu and was decorated with beads.

MM40_69_2680 ll'O'a ll'ora nlo buchu kota ani ka glo'o.



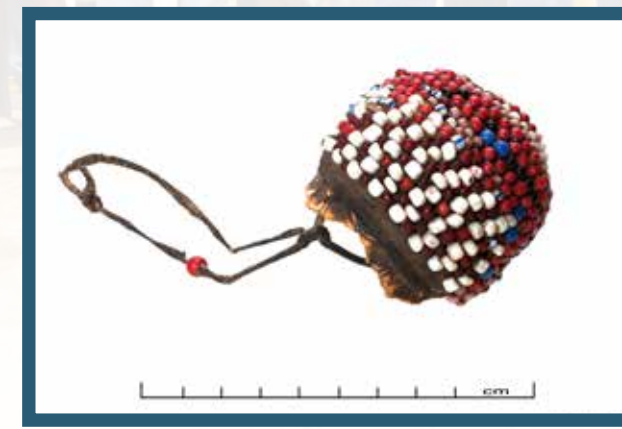
MM40_69_1576_1

MM40_69_1576_1



MM40_69_1576_2 A simply decorated tortoise shell used by a member of the Hai//om decorated with a cowrie shell. Cowrie shells were rare and valuable and have been widely used across Africa as a form of currency.

MM40_69_1576_2 ka gesin ani ka l'ae ko llo'a ll'ora te si n'ai ll'koa ka ju sa o Hai//om te xabe ani ka ko cowrie glo'o. Cowrie glo'o sin!ae to l'an kota koh kaice n'ai ll'koa ka l'ae ko Africa te ka sin koe ll'a'ike.



MM40_69_1580 Tortoise shell container. One end has been sealed with plant gum mixed with pieces of animal skin. The outer shell (the carapace) has been covered with beads.

MM40_69_1580 ll'O'a ll'ora glo'o tcia. Ka toansi ka sin khaua !aihn nlo dcii sa doqm l'xo ka l'ae ko !hama nlo. Te ka !'o-n!ang glo'o (te !'o caosi) ka gl'aoa glo'o.



MM40_69_1575 A tortoise shell container.

MM40_69_1575 ll'O'a ll'ora tcia.



MM40_69_1578 & 1579 A tortoise shell with a pod attached. The pod would be put against the face of a child to encourage them to speak early. The white material that surrounds the seeds inside the pod can also be crushed into a white powder and put on sores.

MM40_69_1578 & 1579 Te llo'a ll'ora glo'o gllaoa. Te ka tcia llua da'ama'o lho ka l'an ha ko glaoh ko n!o'o ka !'han kokxui. Te ka lla'a sa to'a he gea ka n!ang khoea cete xami ka l'ae ka soan ka l'ua ka l'aesi ko l'habi.



MM40-69-1540A A tortoise shell container.

MM40-69-1540A Te llo'a ll'ora tcia.



MM40_69_2332 A Bottle containing Buchu

MM40_69_2332 Te nloq'obe tcia Buchu



MM40_69_2428 Four bottles containing Buchu

MM40_69_2428 Nloq'obe sa o bine tcia sa o Buchu



MM40-69-1540B A- A perfume container and a matchbox containing a sample of the Buchu that was collected from inside the container. The opening at one end of the tortoise shell has been sealed with wax.

MM40-69-1540B A- Te gesi tcia kota da'aihan tcia sin koe Buchu okaa sa nlhuia ka l'ae ko ka tcia n!ang. Te ka koe l'aice ke o llo'a ll'ora !'o ko toansi glo'o sin !'ami ka.

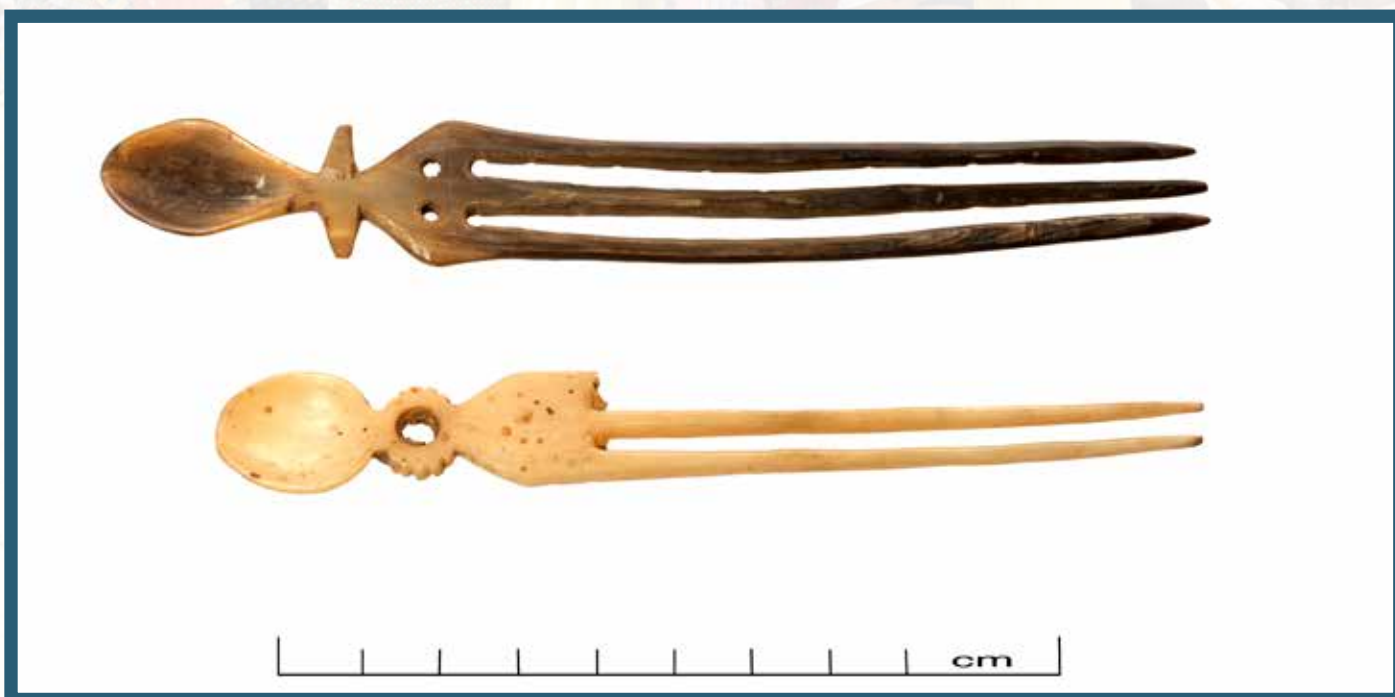
Buchu was the name that was given to plants that had been ground into a powder and was known as Tsa or Sā. One of the first written accounts of a journey across the Gariep by Hendrik Jakob Wikar describes Buchu consisting of powder from a camelthorn tree, being used in a San marriage ceremony. In more recent years the word has been used more specifically to describe powder made from *Agathosma betulina*. Fourie recorded the name of the plant that was most commonly used as Tsi-Nagū. Buchu was often carried in tortoise shells by women as a cosmetic and could be used as a perfume. However, it also had many important ritual uses. For example, in Hai//om, Ju/'hoansi and Nara healing dances, the healers would take Sā from a tortoise shell that they carried and rub the powder onto the dancers. Alternatively they would throw a smouldering ember into the tortoise shell and then pass the shell under the noses of the dancers so that they could breathe the scented smoke. Buchu was also sprinkled over the grave of somebody who had passed away to prevent them returning as a ghost. Buchu could also be mixed with fat and smeared onto wounds to help them to heal faster.

Buchu koh o !ua o !aihan gla'ia kxa he o llkoro ga h koh !'han ka l'ae he o Tsa kana Sān. Te lore o kxaice ga ko ku llxam ko Gariep ko Hendrik Jakob Wikar n!oahn ꞑ'ansara ko Buchu te n!un l'an llkoro he llama l'ana !aihan, te n!ai llkoa ka l'ae ko Jul'hoansi !kom ll'aea ko zoqin llkae. Te koh nllaahn kxaice kuriha kokxui koh n!ai llkoa ka l'ae ko tci sa ꞑhai he nlla ꞑ'ansara ko llkoro tciasi sa llama ko *Agathosma betulina*. Fourie koh lore !aihn !u sa n!ai llkoa ka l'aesi ko Tsi-Nagū. Buchu koh kaice !'uin ko llo'a ll'ora glo'o ko dshausi tci ooa kota ku n!ai llkoa ll'a tci sa. ll'ae wece, ka xabe koh kaice o tci n!a'an n!a'an ko n!ai llkoa ko tcoan. llhaellhae l'an, ko Hai//om, Jul'hoansi kota Nara ꞑhoe nlom, te nlomkxao ku gu g!xa Sā ko llama llo'a ll'ora n!ang he si koh !'uin ka llkoro ka ko djxani kxaosi. Te llxoasi si!a koh l'ua da'an!o llo'a ll'ora n!ang ka doqe ju tzun-n!ang ko o djxani ll'aeasi ka si ku nlhuin l'u ka g!oha. Buchu ka koh gea ju ama n!ang ka l'ai gllaoansi ko ce ka ce tsia a. Buchu koh xabe doqm lxoaa ka l'ae ko nlai he o ꞑxau ga he ku n!o'o ka hui si ko ꞑhoe.



Peltoporum, one of the plants used to make Buchu
(Photo. National Botanical Research institute (NBRI)
a subdivision of Ministry of Agriculture Water and
Forestry, Silke Rügheimer

Peltoporum, ka o !aihn nle'e he n̄ai lkoa ka l'ae ko Buchu
(!lXao. National Botanical Research institute (NBRI) a
subdivision of Ministry of Agriculture Water and Forestry,
Silke Rügheimer

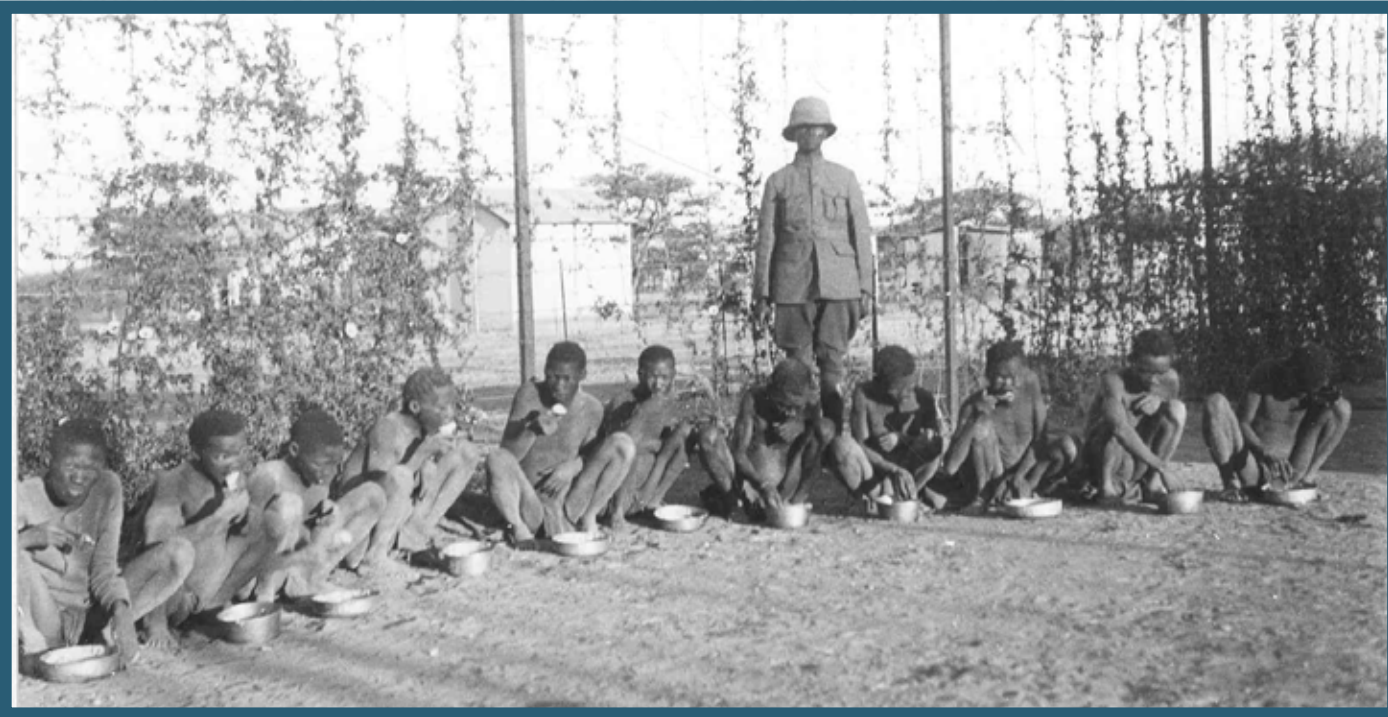


MM1_67-156 Hair ornament made from tortoise shell.

MM1_67-156 Nlailkui tcia he kuru ka l'ae ko glo'o.



THE CASE OF `ZAMEKO': CATTLE THEFT OR LAND THEFT? TE #`HANU O `ZAMEKO': GUMI DCAA KANA KXAIHO DCAA?



San witnesses in Otjiwarongo. Policeman (NAN 08016 Victor Botha, 1920)

Jul'hoan mucupe koh o Otjiwarongo. Pari (NAN 08016 Victor Botha, 1920)



San prisoners and black policemen, Gobabis (NAN 17349)

Jul'hoansi turunkhoe kxaosi kota pari sa jo, Gobabis (NAN 17349)

The establishment of commercial farms in the German colonial period was accelerated in the 1920s with the arrival of a new wave of immigrants from South Africa. Land was not purchased from the San communities, but sold as 'Crown Land' by the South African administration. The wild game that had roamed the landscape was increasingly supplemented and replaced by cattle, sheep and goats and members of the San communities found themselves viewed as farm workers. Killing the animals on their traditional hunting areas (that were now farms) became a crime.

In 1921 the Magistrate at Gobabis, Captain van Ryneveld, received reports that, between February and September, 1921 a total of 82 cows had disappeared from a herd of 450 on Farm Alexeck owned by Mrs Bullik. The farm was situated about 160 kilometres north of Gobabis. It was reported that one of the men living on the farm, known as 'Zameko', had gained influence over the whole San population of the area between Epukiro and Eiseb Omaramba. Captain van Ryneveld led a patrol to track down the band who were viewed as cattle thieves and caught up with the group on the banks of the Eiseb River. The official report gave the following account of events:

"... the Magistrate, for some reason, got off his horse and as his foot struck the ground an arrow struck him in the left side fired from straight ahead. Nobody saw who shot the arrow but the Magistrate immediately raised his Browning which he had loosened in his holster as he entered the bush and fired at a bushman who was lying down besides a pontok about fifteen yards ahead. The shot wounded the bushman but did not incapacitate him and van Ryneveld fired a second time and killed him on the spot. The arrow which killed van Ryneveld was identified by one of the trackers as belonging to Tsaub – the dead bushman – and his was the only spoor directly ahead of the party there is little doubt that he fired the shot which resulted in van Ryneveld's death in great agony some hours later".

The report explained the reason for the quick

Te #`ansarasi ko faramasi sa o German ll'aea ko zoqin ll'ae ko 1920s he te #aeh he o ju zessin sa llama South Africa. Kxalho koh loa ll'ama ka l'ae ko Jul'hoansi juasi, mara kxa 'Koh o Kxalho' te South African koh o lorekxao. Te !hamh sa o tzi gasi koh sin !au nllhoo he kxalho te ku #hai u, te ka cete mani te ka o gumi, guu kota pari te ju sa o Ju'hoansi ka ho tca hi te ka o farama ll'koa kxaosi. Te ku l'oan !hamh ko si !'hao-n!ang ko khoe sa ll'xoasi o !aqelhosi (ll'a khoe sa ll'a'ike o faramasi) te ka o #o.

Te 1921 ko Magistrate gea Gobabis, Captain van Ryneveld, ho ll'a #xanu sa, Ko ll'ami n!ang he o February kota September, 1921 te #haisi o 82 gumidisin koh koara ko gumi nllaqe sa 450 ko Farama o Alexeck kxao te Mrs Bullik. Te farama tci ooa ko #xaansi koh o 160 #xaan ko #kao tzi ko Gobabis. Te ka koh o #xanua o jua nluia koh !xoana ll'a farama sa ll'a ha nluie 'han ko 'Zameko', ha koh o jua gl'a'ama gl'a'in ko Jul'hoansi #haiasi ko ll'a khoe sa ko ll'ami n!ang he to'a o Epukiro kota Eiseb Omaramba. Captain van Ryneveld koh n#ai n#haoh ko patoni ko ku loo !uhsi ko ju sa dcaa gumi kota ku nlhui si xrupu sa gea !xom !nasi ko Eiseb !xom. Te #`hanu #xanu l'an ko tci gesin sa ke o tihsi:

". . . Te Magistrate, te ll'akoa sa hin, ha gl'xa ha loeh kota ha !uh he loo ka 'ae ko kxa kota tchisi sa o ha gasi ko !an ke o da'a khoea ko tosi ko ka gl'a'a-n!anga. Te ju nlui ho jua tchinllhan tchi koara te mara Magistrate kua sin ll'haellhae ha l'ae tca ha te koara gl'a'amasi ko ll'ae ka ko ka ha gl'a'ama tzi kota da'a o jul'hoansi hi ko hajoe re koh cua khuinto'a ko !an ko pontok fifteen n!angsi ko gl'a'a-n!ang. Te ha txa !'oan jul'hoansi mara ka loa koa cao te van Ryneveld da'a ku n#ai tsan ka !hun ha ko kaqian. Te tchi sa koh !hun van Ryneveld koh llau te se ka l'aesi llama ko !uh loo kxao nlui he koh gea Tsaub – Te jul'hoan he !ai – ha hin koh o ju nle'ea o taahn taahn ko !uh loo ko ko si gesin khoea ko khuinto'a te o jua tzema te sin o da'a ko tchinllhan ko van Ryneveld's !ai o tci n!a'an ko dinn!ang khoea ko ll'ae gesin".

Te #xanu he #`ansara ko tca kahin n!o'osi !ai

death of the Magistrate (who died on 26th July, 1922) : “The arrowhead is dipped in a poison which appears to be compounded of four ingredients – a cocoon, a species of euphorbia, a small spotted bush of which the name is unknown locally and the hakkiesdoorn. No antidote seems to be known . . .” A patrol was sent out and captured ‘Zameko’ on 18th August, 1922. He and his followers were taken to Gobabis. In a statement he admitted that four of the cows that had disappeared had been killed “. . . with an assegai by Koma, Gaisen, Knauea and Kneukaib who are, at present, not with my band” and that a man named Gow’ [Tsaub ?][Tsaub ?] had shot van Ryneveld, but then also been killed himself. (SWAA 411 ‘Report, Acting Magistrate Grayson, 17th September, 1922; Statement of Zameko, nd’). It was reported that four San had been killed at the same time that van Rhyneveld died. The official report stated that a further six were killed during the operation to arrest ‘Zameko’ (although other witnesses claimed that from a dozen to as many as 37 were killed) whilst 23 men and 60 women and children were captured and bought to Gobabis. Fourie was at the prison in Gobabis in September, just a few months after the death of the Magistrate. Whilst in Gobabis he was told that: “The *dolos* [the bones or objects that are thrown for fortune telling] [had] told Tsamkhao that police would come and he fled”.

he o Magistrate (ha !ai ko 26th July, 1922) : “Te tchi tzau gla’ama #aeh te !’oan saraa khoe ko khuinto’a o ll’ae sa o bine te nlla #’ansara –te kaqetju, te !oo !’hao , luin he tzema he !’aua ha l’ae ko hakkiesdoorn. Koara antidote te sin koe ha . . .” te patoni ku du ka l’ae te ll’koa u ju ll’a hi ll’ang ‘Zameko’ ko 18th August, 1922. Ha kota ha ll’xam kxaosi ka si ua ko Gobabis. Te #’hanu koh ko gumidi sa o bibe koh koara te !’oan hi l’aesi “. . ll’ae l’xoa ko !u!usi he koh o Koma, Gaisen, Knauea kota Kneukaib ll’a si!a sa, gea khuinto’a, loa o mi #hu” te ll’a !’hoan ll’a ha !u ‘Gow’ [Tsaub ?] ha txa van Ryneveld, mara ha ce !hun ha l’ae. [Tsaub ?] ha txa van Ryneveld, mara ha ce !hun ha l’ae. (SWAA 411 ‘#Xanu, Acting Magistrate Grayson, 17th September, 1922; #’hanu ko Zameko, nd’). Ka o #xanu he koh n#oahn ko Jul’hoan sa o bine te koh !’oan si l’aesi ko ll’a ll’ae nle’ea to’a he van Rhyneveld !ai. Te kantoor #xanu o #’hanu ko gla’a-n!ang ko ju sa o ses te !’oan si l’aesi ko ll’aea si !hara ha te ll’ang ‘Zameko’ (xabe mucupe gesin nlla tca ka te llama ko ko #xanu ko ju sa #hai he o 37 ku !’oan hi l’aesi) ka nllaqe sa o 23 kota dshau sa o 60 kota da’abi xabe ll’ang si l’aesi ka tani ua si l’aesi ko Gobabis. Fourie koh gla’ama turunkhoe ko Gobabis ko September, te n!uimhi gesin #aun te Magistrate kua !ai. Ko ll’aea Gobabis ha koh !oa he ko: “Te *dolos* [ko !’usi kana tci sa n!o’an u ka l’aesi ku toto l’an ka ko n#oahn] [koh] !oa Tsamkhao ko pari ku tsi te ku !ao”.



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STICKS AS TOOLS FOR MAKING FIRE AND FINDING FOOD

!AIHN O TCI SA DU DA'A KOTA KO KU HO 'MSI

MAKING FIRE

//NARI !GĀISI (≠XAO-//AESI)

Not all fires are just fires. Traditionally, a number of different names were given to fires that indicated the different meanings that they had. "All fire belongs to the chief (//aixa). In a new werft the first fire is made by the //aixa. If [he] should die and his successor is too young the fire will be kindled by the late chief's oldest friend. No hut is built until all the members of the group have kindled their fires from that made by the //aixa. The first fire that is lit is known as Eisi-Khau-Da by the ≠Xao-//Aesi or Khaia-/Ae-//Gu by the Naro] . . .

The female firestick is called !Gaindi (≠Xao-//Aesi), //Gi-Hiba (Naro) the male !Gāi !O (≠Xao-//Aesi), , Khao-Hiba (Naro). Both are made from the same bush growing in rocky ground and called !Gai (≠Xao-//Aesi), Heiba (Naro) . . . Sā-Sab, ≠Arib and Tsoma are scraped into the depression in the female stick. The male stick is then applied and twirled & as he does so he says:-

I scrape medicine into the hole
I apply the stick to it
May the earth be fine
May it rain
May the young men have luck with the chase so that I may obtain food
The sun burns me
Why is the earth not food?
May my children have a good hunt tomorrow
For that purpose I have you my children to hunt well."

Once the cinders have started to burn, the grass or tinder is added and gently blown so that it catches fire. As he blows to make the fire catch hold, he said, 'It is for meat that I blow the fire'.

N≠AUA DA'A

//NARI !GĀISI (≠XAO-//AESI)

!Oa o Da'a wece te Sin o Da'a.!Hao-n!ang,ju llaq'ian gesi !usi koh l'an ko da'a !'hao !'hao llaq'in llaq'ian gesi ku nlla hi sa si koh kxae. "Da'a wece ll'aiha kxae (//aixa). Te tci zessin gesin da'a o kxaice ll'aiha koh du. Te (ka) koh !ai kota ka ciniha o tca g#a'in ciniha o tci !'hansi ko ll'aiha ll'a ha ≠ara.Tju nluia koh koara ka l'ae koh koara ko ka xrupu !'hao !'hao sa ke ll'akaa da'asi llama ko ll'aiha khoea. Da'a o kxaice koj !;han hi l'ae te o Eisi-Khau-Da koe ≠Xao-//Aesi kana Khaia-/Ae-//Gu by the Naro] . . .

Te n≠aua da'a sa o dshau gasi !'aua ka l'aesi ko !Gaindi (≠Xao-//Aesi), //Gi-Hiba (Naro) te nllaqe o !Gāi !O (≠Xao-//Aesi), , Khao-Hiba (Naro). Hi wece llama ko ll'a tzi nle'ea te !'ama ko n!om !ka ko kxalho te !'aua hi l'aesi ko !Gai (≠Xao-//Aesi), Heiba (Naro) . . . Sā-Sab, ≠Arib kota Tsoma te n≠aua hi l'aesi ko dshausi !aihansi.Te nllaqe !aihansi du l'xoa hi l'aesi ko tci nle'e & te hi koe du te ko:-

mi ≠oqe l'u n!om ko dom-n!ang
Mi l'ua !aihn ko ll'akoa
Kxalho re kuma jan
G!a re kuma cua
Kxarosi re kuma !ain ko !xoe khoarasi ka ku ho ko 'msi
!Am ku'u mi
Hatcekhoea re kxalho koara 'msi?
Mi da'abisi re kuma n!hoe o !aqekxao jansin
Ka khoea a o mi da'ama ≠aun o !aqekxao tca jan",

Ko tciin to'a ha oo tchoatchoa ka n≠oqe, ll'aisi kana kunnun ≠aun loah ha l'ae ka tchoatchoa okaa !'hoan dchuun tcima tzema ka da'a n≠oqe.Ka ha dchuun okaa da'a n≠oqe, ha

As soon as the fire is burning the pointed ends of the firesticks are pushed into the ground and the leader of the group calls out:

"It is in order to obtain meat that I ignited the fire; may the spirits see that I obtain meat tomorrow."

The other fires in the werft are called Khaua oa Suta (≠Xao-//Aesi). The fire under the tree is known as Da-Nā !Gai-!Nase (≠Xao-//Aesi), and is made from the first fire by the young men . . . The fire under the tree is never allowed to go out. It also belongs to the //aixa. Everybody returning from the veld takes fire from it to kindle their own which are put out when they leave their huts because otherwise the huts may be burnt . . . When the chief has kindled a fire with the firestick he places grass on the smoldering fire and blows it. As he blows he says "I make you so that the people may hunt well, may find the game soon to obtain meat; the sub burns a great deal; the earth is drying out and the good is not appearing".

"Towards the end of the rainy season when veldkos is plentiful an enclosure [known as the //Gaba to the ≠Xao-//Aesi and the //Tso-!Nūba to the Naro] of stakes put into the ground & sides covered with grass [but without a roof] is made in the werft to the west of the tree in the center . . . The novices are collected in the enclosure and made to sleep with their heads together towards the fire . . . the devil's fire . . . a smouldering grass fire which does not burn with a flame but only smokes. It is known as Gāua-Da [≠Xao-//Aesi] or // Gāuab-Aisa [Naro]. Having brought it he comes to where they lie, picks up the covering of each and blows the smoke underneath it . . . Then he goes and get the root of the camelthorn tree, chews it, lifts the covering off the novices and spits the former over them. The smoke from the devil's fire has stupefied them and now the spitting wakes them up . . . About 6 pm the old man goes to the veld and gets the devils urine [known as // Gāua-//Kam by the ≠Xao-//Aesi] bring[s] it and each novice has to drink of it. When all have partaken of it they "die" again. Chewed camelthorn root is again spat over them and they recover. By this time night has set in and they dance the big dance called the Tsei until midnight . . . When the sun rises they are given //Noūn to eat as well as the root of it roasted".

ko, ka o da'a o !ha hia mi dchuun !hara'. Ka n!o'osi hin to'a da'a kua tchoa ka n!om ka da'a !aihan hin to'a !huia kxa ka ll'aiha o si!a xrupu n!ang !'au !hara:

" Hi toto l'an hi l'ae te o da'a o !ha hi, jusa glae koe ge se tca mi te du l'an da'a ko !ha ko n!hoe "

Te da'a gesin cete !'aua hi l'aesi ko Khaua oa Suta (≠Xao-//Aesi). Te da'a sa gea !aihn din o hi sa o Da-Nā !Gai-!Nase (≠Xao-//Aesi),o da'a sa o kxaice he !'hoan to'a du.Te da'a to'a gea !aihn !oa xoana ua khoe nluui. Te hi cete o ll'aiha hi. Ju nluui waqnhe llama tzi ku gua da'a ko ll'akoa ko ha l'aehasi ko ll'aea to'a ha nllah hi ko !aoh okaa tju khoe nluui ka ku'u. Te ka ll'aiha ku n≠aua da'a ko !aihn sa to'a ha ku l'ua kunnun ko ll'aisi ka dchuun !hara da'a. Ka ha dchuun hi ha ko ". Mi du hi ll'a ju !aqe tca jan, ka n!o'o ka ho !hamh ka ho !ha; da'aku'u o tci n!a'an; kxalho !kau te l'hom nluia gea ll'akoa koara".

"Gla'a-n!ang ko toansi ko gla kuriha ko ll'aea to'a tzi 'masi ku o ho ho ka to'm [!han ko //Gaba ko ≠Xao-//Aesi kota //Tso-!Nūba ko Naro] n!obe du ko kxa ko kxalho & !an nluui gea ll'aisi (mara koara ll'hann!ang) ka du ko tci sa o ll'hanga ko !aihn sa gea ll'ami.... n≠aq!'uianjuasi ≠han koa to'm te n≠ai can si l'aehasi ko gla'a-n!ang da'a...te glaoansi da'asi, ku'u ≠koo≠koobo ko da'a ll'aisi sa l'oa ku'u l'xoa da'a dharisi mara ka sin o g!ohsi. Ka !han ka l'aesi te o Gāua-Da [≠Xao-//Aesi] kana // Gāuab-Aisa [Naro] ha ≠aun tania ka ko koa ha cua , ka n!hui tuih nluui waqnke tciasika dchuun l'ua ka ko koa tsi ≠aeh ke. . ka g!a'ama ka ho !aihn ll'ari o l'ana ga, n!ai ka, ka !'oahn llu ka te n≠aq!'uianjuasi ku tzigag'ana ka wecce. Te gl'oh he llama g≠aoansi da'a ku g!a'ama ka te ka ll'a'ike sin o tzigag'anasi nla'nga khoe. . . te 6 iri n!oma n!au n!a'an ua tzi te ho gl'aoan gl'xam [!han ko // Gāua-//Kam ko ≠Xao-//Aesi] tani[tsi] n≠aq!'uianjuasi nluui waqnhe ≠aun tchi ka. ll'Aea si wece tchi toan ka si "lao" cete. N!ai l'ana ll'ari cete l'xai si wece te ka ll'ahlah si. Te glu he ke si!a kxae d!xani n!a'an he !'aua ka l'ae ko Tsei ka sin tsia glu ll'ami. . .ll'aea lam gla'i si l'an si l'aesi ko //Noūn te 'm tca jan te sau ka ll'arisi".

FIRE FOR RAIN-MAKING

"The [San] doctor [/Nomkau - #Xao-//Aesi, Tsokahu – Naro], digs up a bulb or tuber known as #HĒ[#Xao-//Aesi & Naro] and scrapes it, and then it produces water. The water is mixed with the blood from the horn of game. He then throws the mixture out and says:- "!'Ga / Goa #Nam?" (Why does it not rain?). The . . . medicine of the /Gam [San] is made from the tree known as #Hĭ and also added to the mixture.

This ceremony is performed in the werft in the early morning before sunrise. The men and boys gather round [the] doctor who sits under the tree in the centre of the werft. Women may not be present. No dancing is indulged in. The doctor, using firesticks, makes a small fire. The red powder from /Gam is scraped into the depression of the female stick and as he twirls the male stick he says:- "!'Ga / Goa #Nam" ('It must rain today'). After having kindled the small fire he takes the abovementioned mixture throws it over the fire, thereby extinguishing the latter.

DA'A SA O G!AHIASI

"Te [Jul'hoansi] n!omkxao [/Nomkau - #Xao-//Aesi, Tsokahu – Naro], gu g!xa n!oqn kana n!lang he o #HĒ[#Xao-//Aesi & Naro] te n!oqe ha, te doq'ma khoe ko ka te ko:- "!'Ga / Goa #Nam?" (Hatcekhoea g!a loa cua'). Te . . . n!om he to'a o /Gam [Jul'hoansi] ga okaa dua ka l'aesi ko !aihn sa o #Hĭ te cete laoh doq'm ka.

Te ka o tca tcisi koh oo dua ka l'aesi ko g#hahan ko ka lam loa gla'i.te n!laqesi kota !arikxaosi ku !kaellkae [te] n!omkxao n!ui he ku n!anga !aihn ko l'ami n!ang tci ooasi. Dshau loa #aun gea l'koa.te d!xani koara l'akoa. Te n!omkxao,n#ai l!koa da'a sa o n#aun hisi, ka du da'a ma tzema. Te l!koro tcia he g!a'an llama ko /Gam ka l!xaunl!xaun l'ua ka l'aesi ko ko dshausi !aihan ka doq'm ka l'ae ko n!laqesi !aihan ka ha ko:- "!'Ga /Goa #Nam" ('Ka #aun ka g!a ka cua').Ka to'a ha l!xoa #ani da'a ma tzema ha gu tca mi koh n!la koa !aice ke ka doqma ka n!o'an l'aba ka ko da'a, kahinto'a te ka o #ang l'an khoe ko dinn!ang.

San fire sticks in a small acacia bark quiver with resin (!Xu //ari) from the tree being used to bind the bark together to form the quiver. These fire sticks were obtained from Omboto in the Onalusheshete area of Oshikoto Region. The quiver contained a number of fire sticks because sometimes it rained and it was necessary to keep some dry, also people would often use two sticks at the same time. The sticks became shorter as they were worn down over time.

In the Zambezi Region people would even travel as far as the Kavango to obtain fire sticks from the Mangetti Tree. Both men and women could make fire and it was women who commonly made fire when there were vegetables to be roasted. A special stone known as /Uni (!xung) would be used to put the stick in and twist. If you have none of these trees one should just find a tree that has branches with hollows. In the Zambezi region, elders travelled to the Kavango region to obtain the Mangetti tree.

Jul'hoansi da'a !aihan sa o tzeamh he o laqri n!osi !uru kota (!Xu //ari) llama ko !aihansi khoea ku n#ai l!koa ka l'aesi ko jaoh ko ka n!osikota ka sa du ko !urusi. Te da'a !aihan sa ke llama ko Omboto ko Onalusheshete khoeasi ko Oshikoto N!ore!antzia. Te !uru sa ke kxae #haisi kota da'a !aihansi khama l'ae gesin g!a cua te ka #aun lae ka l'aesi ko koa !kau, te ju xabe cete kaice ku n#ai l!koa !aihan sa ke ko l'ae waqnsi ko n#ai l!koa da'a !aihan tsan sa ke ko l'a n!ang n!e'ea.te l'a !aihn sa !oamhi te lae ka l'aesi ko l'ae wece.

Ko Zambezi N!ore!antzia khoea ju kaice !au n#aun n!lhoo khoe sa #xaan he o Kavango ka lae da'a !aihansi te ka llama Gllkaa !Aihan. !'Hoan kota dshau wece ku du da'a te dshau o jua kaice du da'a ko n!oqn ka ku sau ka. Te n!omsi o /Uni (!xung) ku n#ai l!koa ka l'aesi ko ku l'ua ka ko !aihnsi ko n!ang tsan. Te ka a koara !aihnsi okaa !la n!ui #aun kxoa !aihn l'hau he kxae doma !oma. Ko Zambezi n!ore!antzia, n!ausi !au llama ko Kavango n!ore!antzia ka lae Gllkaa !aihan



MA1943-207 –Da !unga - !Xung; /aeii /hii - Khwe (Fire sticks)

MA1943-207 –Da !unga - !Xung; /aeii /hii - Khwe (Da'a !aihan)



MM40/69/233 –!Gǎi-si - #Xao-//Aesi, Goaba – Naro (Fire Stick)

MM40/69/233 –!Gǎi-si - #Xao-//Aesi, Goaba – Naro (Da'a !aihan)



MM40_69_3511 This box made from an old bullet cartridge was used to carry Tāni (tinder) that would catch fire easily and could be used to start a fire. Several materials were known to be very good as tinder as they could catch fire easily. A couple of examples were the grass that birds collected to make their nests and the fungus that grew on trees.

MM40_69_3511 Te boks he ke dua ka l'ae ko lkuri tcia he koh llae nllhoo ka l'ae Tāni (da'ani) ka n!o'osi gu da'a te n!ai llkoa ka l'ae du da'a. Tci nlui waqnke jan l'an ko da'ani te gu ko n!o'osi. ll'Aisi tzi n!a'an tzama l!kaellkaea he koh hi tju kota ku l'ama ka ko !aihn.

DIGGING AND GATHERING

Whilst the different San communities moved around in the past to hunt and gather, it was known that different groups had rights to the resources of particular territories. A procedure had to be followed before members of one group could hunt or forage in the territory of another group: “. . . two or three women are sent [because women do not fall under the law of trespass] as long as they do not do so for the purpose of collecting veldkos etc. On arrival at a werft in a foreign territory they sit down under a tree 10 to 20 yards from the huts. Permission would then be granted for the visiting group to make temporary use of resources within the surrounding area. “The ritual is clear evidence that San communities had a clear sense of land rights.

GU KOTA !'HU

ll'Aea to'a he jul'hoansi !'hao llaq'ian gesi koh !au nllhoo ko nllaahn ka !aqe nllhoo ka ku !'hu nllhoo, okaa si !'han tca si !'hao !'haosi te kxae tosisi ko si tcisi kota si n!oresi. Te ll'atca si koh oo dua tcisi ka xrupu nlui ku !aqe kana !'hu ko n!ore o ju gesin xrupu: “. . . o tsan kana dshau n!ani si llkoa u [khama dshausi koh ciniha loa xoana ko ll'a veta tciasi te xabe tse ka si loa koe du okaa si xoana tzi 'msi ku ≠'han. Ka koah tsi ≠aeh ko n!ana ko n!ore!o okaa si!a g!hoo ko !aihn din ko !aoh sa o 19 kota 20 ko tju. Ka permit ce ka ka laoh tsau l'an ha l'ae ko l'hookxao xrupu sa sin kxae !oma ko n!ai llkoa tci sa gea khuinto'a o ll'a n!orea.” Te tcoan o ≠om ≠om ko jul'hoansi khoea ko ll'a ll'aea ko n!ore tosisi.



MA2014-41A-B – !eh - !Xung; /hoe – Naro; /ho'o-//hari – Ju'hoansi; //aan - !xoon; //haa - N|hoan; (Digging Stick)

MA2014-41A-B – !eh - !Xung (!Ai) /hoe – Naro; /ho'o-//hari – Ju'hoansi; //aan - !xoon; //haa - N|hoan

The digging stick was used to dig up onions and other different roots and tubers (such as //aba./aba,!aba, sah.!aba and!hedum (!xung) A stone was placed on the stick to give it more weight when the ground was hard. “Among the ≠Ao-//ein the digging stick of the deceased is stuck in to the ground at the head of the grave and his bow . . . arrows and poison placed on the grave or hung in a neighbouring tree . . . so that the spirit of the deceased need not return and look for them”.

A digging stick !Gari [≠Ao-//ein], !Gariba [Naro] was made by the old male leader of the group and given to a girl when she got her first period. “Once the !Gari is given to a young girl she is required to retain it until it is worn out when another will be made for her by her husband. The old stick is then thrown away”.

Te !ai si koh n!ai llkoa ko gu g!oq'oro kota ka gesin sa kxae n!aisi kota nllang (n!ana ka sa o //aba./aba,!aba, sah.!aba kota !hedum (!xung) Te n!om ka nllah ka l'ae te !ai ka l'an ka l'aesi te ≠hai ko ka to'a kxa ka glaoh.“llae l!xoa ko ≠Ao-//ein te !aisi ka laoh te kxa glaoh te !oro kota n!aoh. . . tchisi kota !'oan ka nllah ka l'aesi te !oro ka l!kotmh te ka loa ce n!ai llkoa ka l'aesi te !oro kana sin gllao te si ka kxoa ka !aihnsi ko si gesin. . . te ju sa glae ge ka loa ce kxoa si”.

Te !ai !Gari [≠Ao-//ein], !Gariba [Naro] n!au n!a'an koh kuru ka ko xrupu kota ko l'an ko dshaumh ko ll'aea si ho n!ui. “N!ang nle'e ko !Gari koj l'an ko ll'homm sa kare ka ko sin ge l!xoa ko ka ka sin ua ko ll'aea ha gu !'hoan. Te !ai ,≠angsi ka taqm ka l'aesi”.



Five women with digging sticks walking in the veld.
(Photo. PM2001.29.15575)

Dshau sa o g!au-nle'e llae !aisi te n#haoh ua tzi. (Photo. PM2001.29.15575)



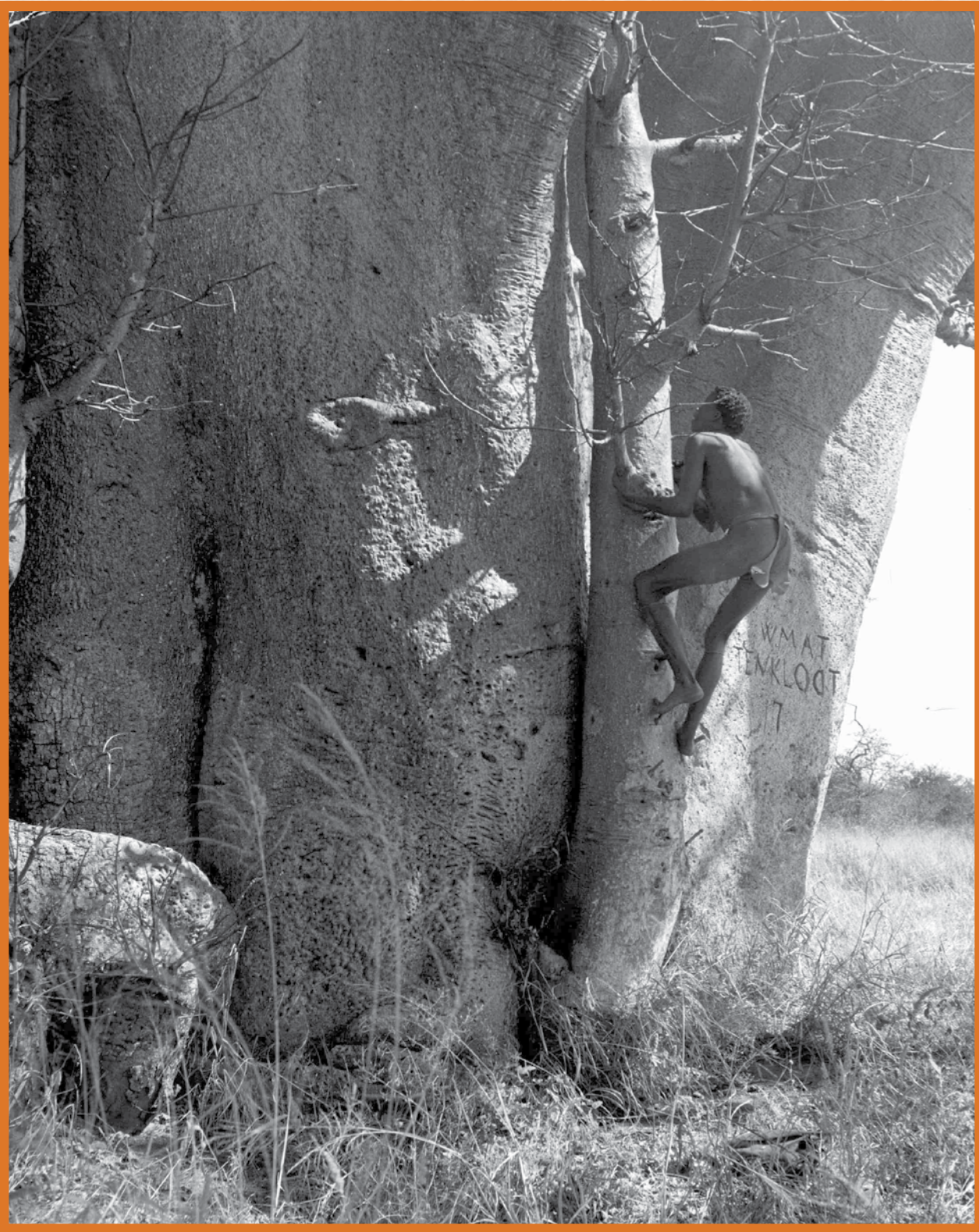
Women and children digging for edible roots (Photo: NAN 03377, Paul Hoefler, 1923)

Dshausi kota da'abi ku gu 'm sa kxae llarisi ko ka nlaisi (l!Xao: NAN 03377, Paul Hoefler, 1923)



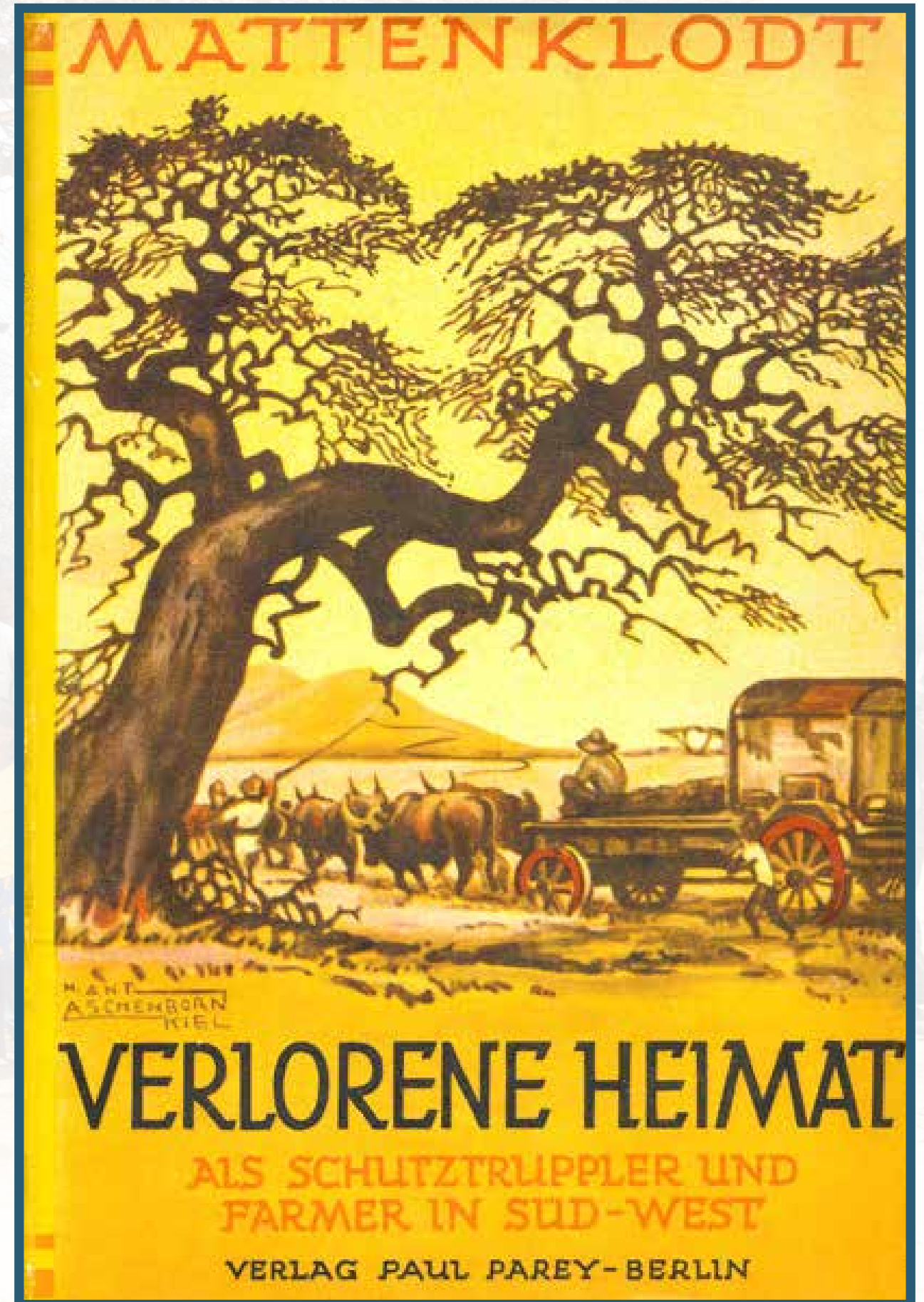
‡Nisa digging with her digging stick. (Photo. PM2001.29.15589)

‡Nisa gu lxoah ha !ai (Photo. PM2001.29.15589)



This photograph was archived because it shows graffiti carved on a Baobab tree by Wilhelm Mattenklodt, a German soldier who evaded capture after the South African defeat of German forces in Namibia in 1915. However, we know that it also shows a Ju'Hoansi man climbing the tree near Gautscha Pan in Nyae Nyae. He is obviously not climbing the tree because of the graffiti. Perhaps he was gathering honey or collecting Baobab fruits for seeds to make a hot drink. Honey (known as *Ishō* by the #Xao-//Aesi or *Taniba* by the Naro) is normally gathered during the rainy season. In the dry season, there is no honey as the bees have no food (Photo: NAN 03616, L. Marshall, nd).

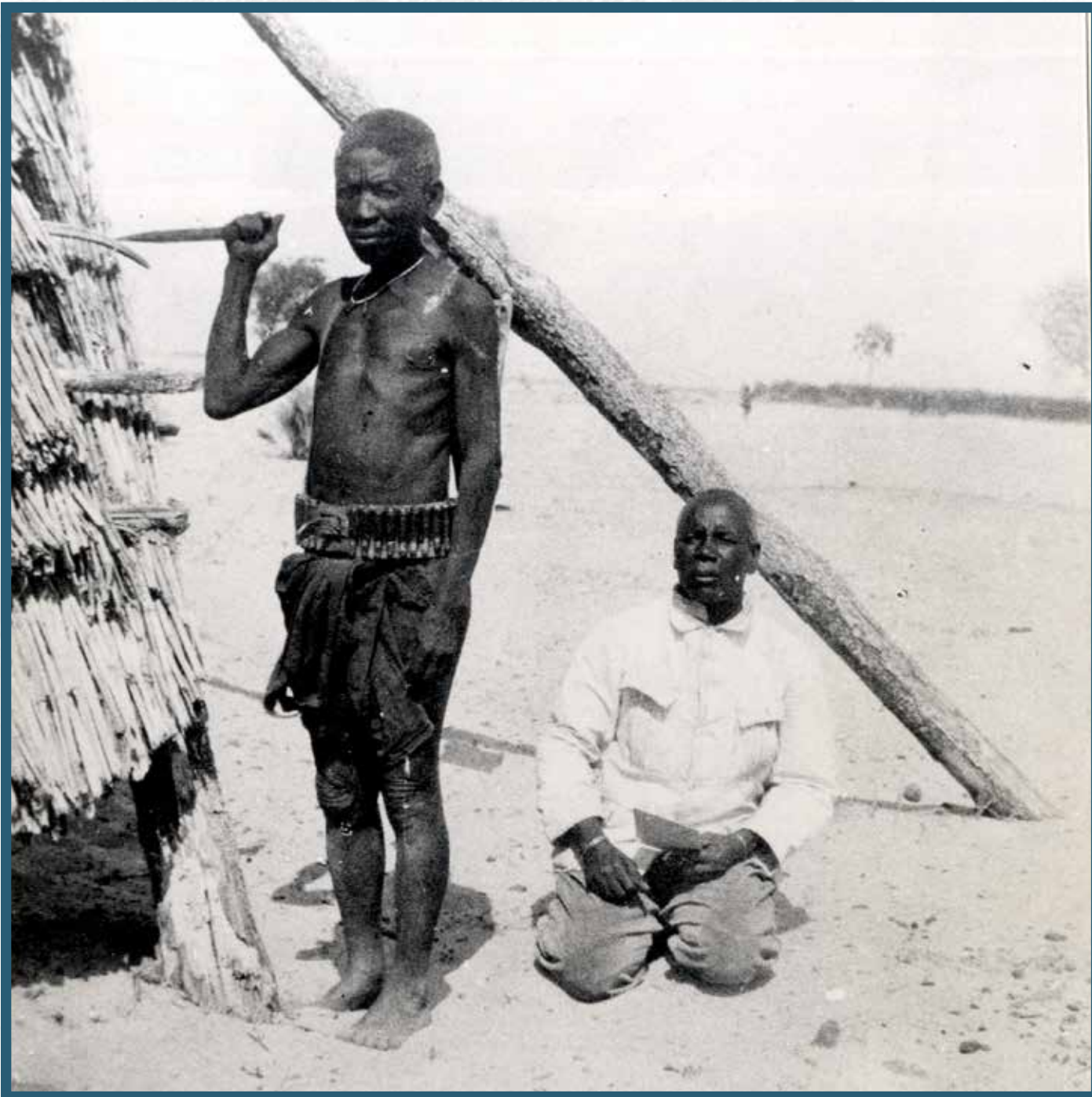
||Xao ke koh du ka l'ae khama ka n'ai sea ko #Om n!a'an he te Wilhelm Mattenklodt, o German sonda sa koh ||'ang ||kae ko ||'aea to'a South African kota German sonda ko Namibia in 1915. ||'Ae wece, e!a !'han okaa ka xabe n'ai sea jul'hoan gloq he #xuru !aihn he to'ma Gautscha dobe ko Nyae Nyae. Ha koh ni loa #xuru !aihn khama ha sin nllari ha. Khoeca koh kxoa zo kana #han #Om nlaisi ka du koce ka tchi. Zo (!'han ko *Ishō* kota #Xao-//Aesi kana *Taniba* ko Naro) ka ||xoasi sin o !'hu ko kuria o g!a ||'aeasi, zo com koara khuinto'a te hi koara tca hi 'm (||Xao: NAN 03616, L. Marshall, nd).



The cover of the popular book published by Wilhelm Mattenklodt entitled 'Lost Homeland: A Schutztrupper and Farmer in South-West' (Paul Parey, Berlin, 1928)

Te #xau !'o-n!ang ko hia #amm g!xa hi l'ae ko Wilhelm Mattenklodt Hi !u 'N!aan a N!ore: Te Schutztrupper kota farama sa o South-West' (Paul Parey, Berlin, 1928)

THE SAN COMMUNITIES OF NORTHERN NAMIBIA JUL'HOAN GEA #KAO KO NAMIBIA



The Report of Major Pritchard, the first South African official to travel to northern Namibia, included a posed photograph, taken in 1915, of a Hai//om man who, he claimed, had served as an executioner in Ondonga (Photo: NAN 07001, Pritchard, 1915)

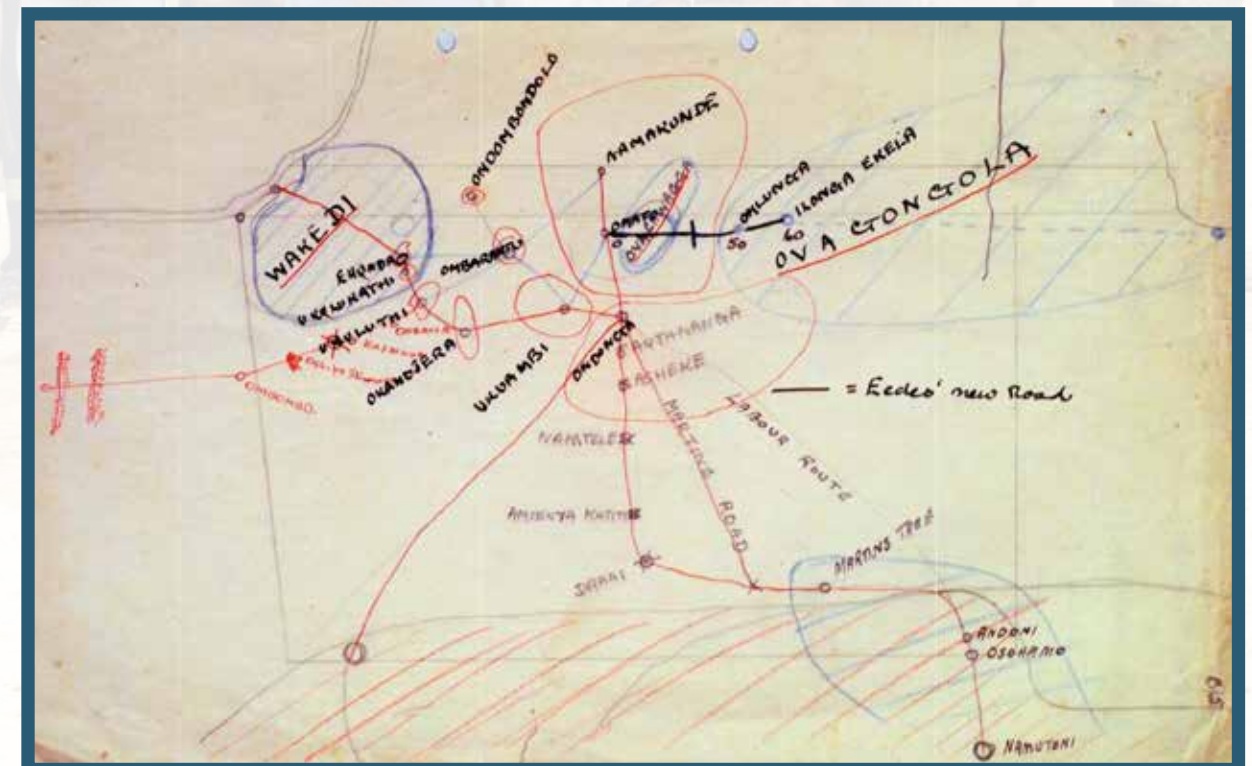
#Xanua o Major Pritchard, Suid Afrika #kai he o kxaice !au #aeha #kao Namibia, !lae l'u #xanu sa o !lxaosi, ka !lxao ka l'ae ko 1915, ko !'hoan o Hai//om, ha lore, koh !lae ko executioner ko Ondonga (!lXao: NAN 07001, Oritchard, 1915)

Omukwaniilwa Kambonde ka Mpingana who ruled the Kingdom of Ondonga (1884-1909) was reported to have recruited Hai//om to carry out executions by shooting or strangling prisoners who had been sentenced to death. Peter Möller p117, p191. Axel Ericksson Biog, p253

The San communities living in northern Namibia and southern Angola had a long history of strong personal and trading relationships with the Oshiwambo-speaking kingdoms. Hai//om were recruited to serve as bodyguards with their knowledge of poison giving an early military advantage to the Kingdom of Ongandjera. The Aakwaniilwa [Kings] of Ongandjera and Ondonga reportedly also used their services as trackers when making hunting trips to the area around the Etosha Pan. Intermarriage was quite common. It was reported that one of the parents of Kadhikwa, the father of Omukwaniilwa Martin yaKadhikwa of Ondonga (1912-1942) had been a Hai//om member of the Ondera group that lived near Etosha. The father of former Ongandjera Omukwaniilwa, Shaanika sha Nashilongo, also had a Hai//om father from the Okaukuo group. (NAN. SWAA 433 A52/26, NC to CNC, 7th November, 1949)

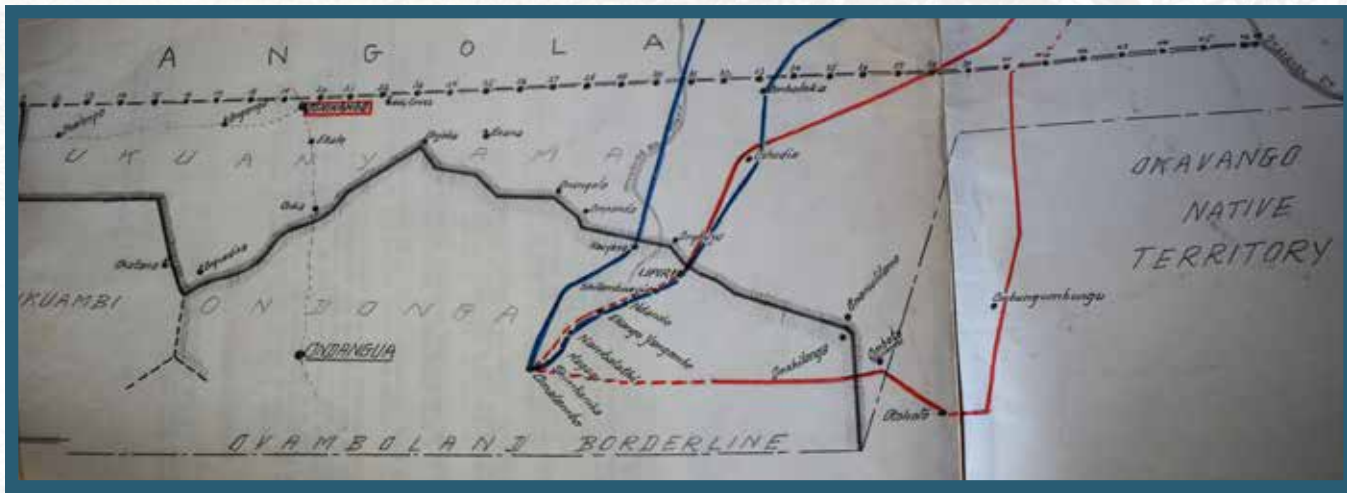
Omukwaniilwa kambonde ka Mpingana koh kxae l'ae ko kingdom o Ondonga (1884-1909) koh n#ai !'han ko tchoa ka l'u Hai//om ko !'uin ko executions ko tcinllhan kana du tci sa lkani he o turunkhoe kxaosi sa koh n#oahn !ao. Peter Moller p117,p191. Axel Ericksson Biog,p253

Jul'hoan sa koh !xoana !lxam #kao tzi ko Namibia kota #'Am tzi ko Angola koh kxae n#oahn g#a'in ko tci sa nllaahn he koh kxae jua kaice glaoh kota kxaea khoe n!anga ke o Oshiwambo- kokxui kxao kingdom. Hai//om koh l'ua si l'aesi te !'uin ko ama-n!ang !xo te koh n#ai !lkoa si #'angsi ko l'an !'oan ko sonda sa koh kxaice ko kingdom ko Ongandjera. Te Aakwaniilwa (!l'aiha) ko Ongandjera kota Ondonga cete n#oahn xabe koh n#ai !lkoa !uh loo ko !l'aea si du !aqe tci ooasi ko khoe sa o Etosha xoana. Gla'ama ko !kom koh kxae tih gesin. Ka koh n#oahn tca n!au nluia koh o Kadhikwa, Omukwaniilwa Martin yaKadhikwa ko Ondonga (1912-1942) koh o Hai//om jua ko Ondera xrupu sa !xoana to'ma Etosha. Te ba n!a'an koh o Ongandjera Omukwaniilwa, Shaanika sha Nashilongo, te Hai//om ba n!a'an o Okaukuo xrupu. (NAN,SWAA 433A52/26,NC ko CNC, 7th November, 1949)



A sketch map drawn by Louis Fourie showing the distribution of the three main San communities in the central north of Namibia (Photo: Museum Afrika).

!lore#xanu he Louis Fourie teken he n#ai sea laoh ko Jul'hoan n!ani sa o #om#om ko ju sa gea #kao !l'ami n!ang ko Namibia (!lXao: Museum Afrika).



An Administrative map from 1940 showing the boundary (in blue) of the territory used by the 'Wa Ngongolo' and (in red) the territory used by the 'Ochwagga'. (Photo: NAN SWAA 433 – A50/67: Native Commissioner, Ondangua to Assistance Native Commissioner, Oshikango, 18th August, 1940)

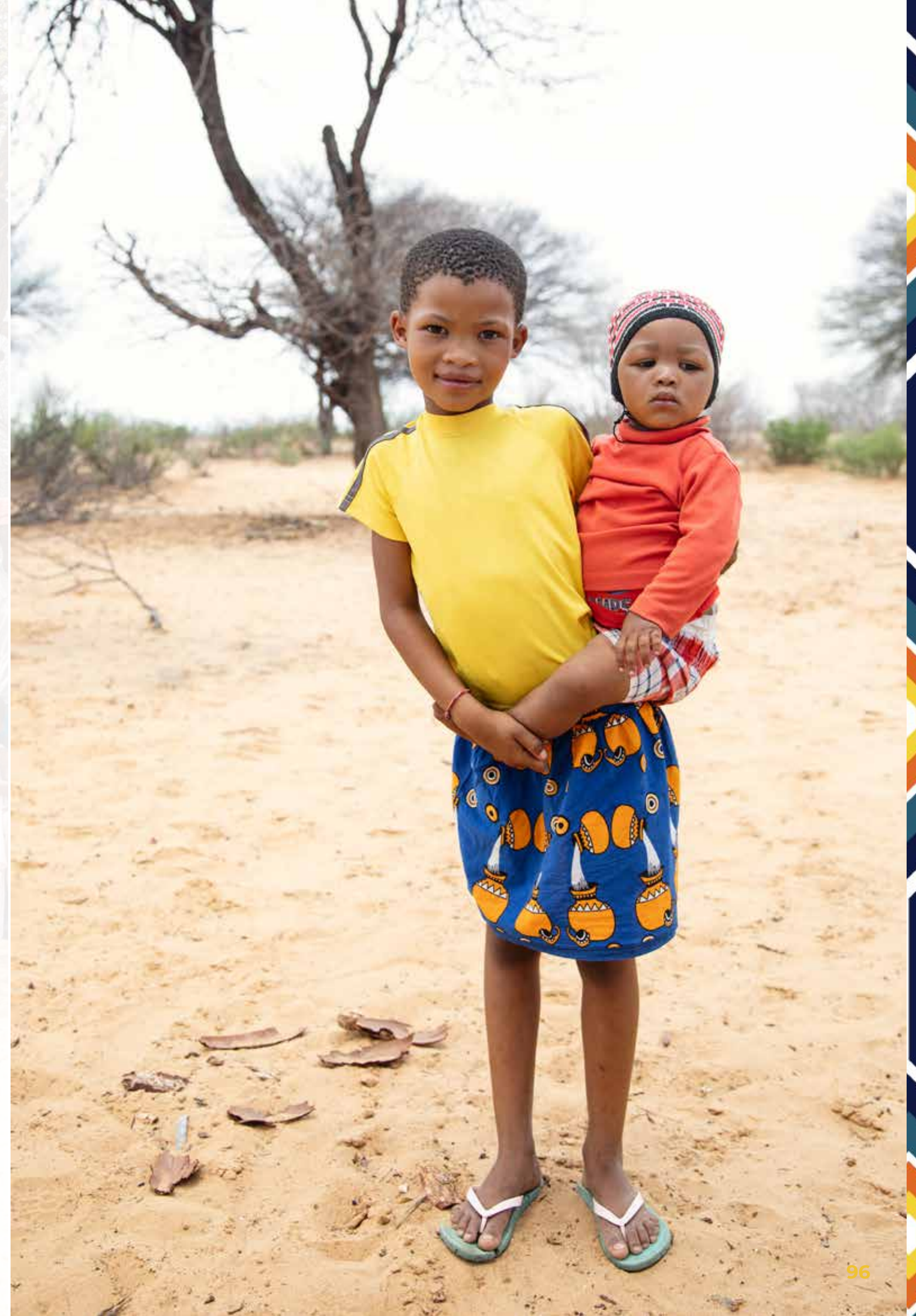
In 1940, twenty years after Fourie had drawn his map, the administration described two San groups that lived in the border area from northern Namibia into southern Angola. One were described as the 'Wa Ngongolo' whose territory extended from Omupiri and Omalambe as far north as Nkango Neme in Angola. It was noted that they were increasingly been incorporated into the Ovambo kingdoms of the region with the leaders of different groups having already adopted Oshiwambo names in addition to their original names. For example, Kaikai had taken the name 'Nepembe', Tai had taken the name 'Hamunyela' and Twatama the name 'Hippinge'.

The other group that were identified in Ondonga and the east of Oukwanyama were the 'Ochwagga', as marked on Fourie's map, who had "... permanent settlements some twenty to thirty miles south to south-east of Omshilonga in, what can be called the Omboto area. This group has been settled there for generations". (NAN. SWAA 433 A52/26, ANC to CNC, 18th August, 1940). Today, whilst it is still possible to identify San communities living in northern Namibia many no longer know their mother tongue, whilst many more have been absorbed within the Oshiwambo-speaking communities. However, the history of these San communities is clearly entangled with that of the Ovambo Kingdoms of northern Namibia.

Te Administrative kari he o 1940 ku n'ai sea ko n!ore#ansarasi (koa lauhn) ko n!ore ju sa koh n'ai || koa 'Wa Ngongolo' koa (glaan) ko n!ore ju sa koh n'ai || koa o 'Ochwaga'.

Ko 1940, twentag kuri ko ka to'a Fourie koh taken n!ore#xanua he, te lore kxao nlla #ansara ko jul'hoan tsan sa o xrupu sa !xoana khoe sa o n!ore -!xaisisi ko #kao tzi ko Namibia ko #am tzi ko Angola. Si nlui koh nlla #ansara tca 'Wa Nkango' he ha n!ore koh n!un ko Omupiri kota Omalambe ko #kao tzi he #xaan ko Nkango Neme ko Angola. Ka koh nlla tca si te cete laoh ko llkoa llkae ko Ovambo kingdom ko ll'a kxa tzia o ll'aiha llaq'inllaq'ian gesi sa o xrupu sa koh ho Oshiwambo !u sa koh ce laohlaoh ko si !u sa o llxoasi gasi. Ko llhaellhae l'an, Kaikai gu !ua o 'Nepembe' Tai gu !ua o 'Hamunyela' kota Twatama !au ha l'ae ko 'Hippinge'.

Xrupu nlui koh ce gea Ondonga ko llhai tz he o Oukwanyama koh o 'Ochwagga',ka kxae nlae ko Fourie n!ore#xanua, ha koh "...llxosi !xoana ko twentag ko dertag #xaansi ko #am ko #am-ll'hai ko Omshilonga, hatce re koh xoana !'aua ka l'ae ko Omboto khoea. Ka o ju xrupu he koh llxoasi !xoana khuinto'a", (NAN.SWAA 433 A52/26,ANC ko CNC, 18th August,1940). llA'ike okaa si cinha xoana ku nlla #ansara tca si te o jul'hoan sa gea #kao ko Namibia te si sa #hai ll'a'ike loa !'han si taqe dhari, te si sa xabe #hai ka o Oshiwambo-kokxui kxao juasi. ll'Ae waqnsi, llxoan nllaahn jul'hoan sa he koh nlla #ansara lxoan si l'aesi ko Owambo kingdoms he o #kao ko Namibia.



FASHIONING CLOTHING FROM SKINS

GIAOHSI HE !LAMA!XAI SA O NIOSI

Making clothes started with the treatment of skins which was, traditionally, work done by men. After an animal was killed and skinned, the skin would be stretched out on the ground (using sticks) and dried in the sun. The skin would be scraped on both sides and then be treated with the juice taken from the root of a plant (//ao (#Xao-//Aesi); /Noheba (Naro). Finally grease would be applied and the skin would then be flayed a little more.

“The decoration or marking of the skin is made by removing the cuticle with the point of a knife. Red sandstone mixed with fat is used to colour the skin when desired. The roots of the //Gari [are] also used for the purpose, first being pounded and the juice, mixed with water, applied to the skin. The red stone is known as !Nom (#Xao-//Aesi); !goi (Naro) & is obtained from Gei-Tsoub on the Nosob River. It is pulverized by being rubbed on a stone. . . . [The stone] is heated in the fire over night, buried in moist ground until cold and then pulverized and mixed with fat for coloring skins after the flaying process has been completed.

The skin of an animal shot with poisoned arrow is of no use. Hence it is thrown away or roasted, pounded in mortar and eaten . . . For this reason the running down of game is practiced by the Naron in order to obtain good skins for making into garments. The #Ao-//ein buy prepared skins from [the] Naron for pots, [assegai?] etc.

[The] String [worn] at [the] waist is ē-/kari(#Xao-//Aesi); #geiba (Naro). [The] !gasi (#Xao-//Aesi); !gaisen (Naro) is tied lightly round the belly when a person is hungry. It is made only by the Nu-//ein and Naro. The #Ao-//ein, however, also use it and buy it from [the] Naro.

Kuru ku tchoathcoa ko n#om nlosi sa o, !'hao-n!ang, !lkoa sa !'hoan koh du. Ka !hama !hun ka l'ae okaa nlo, nlo !lxau g!lxun ka l'ae ko kxa (n#ai !lkoa !aihn mhi) n!ang !am du !kau ka. Te nlo hin to'a ka !an wece n#oqe ka l'aei ko tca n#ai dcii he o !aihn !lari o !laq'allaq'a (//ao (#Xao-//Aesi); /Noheba (Naro). Toansi ka gom ka l'ae ka l'ua ka l'ae ko tca kaice n#ai g#haia.

“Te !hui kana dua ka l'ae ko nlo okaa du coe ko !kui ko koahn gla'a. Te kxa gla'an o n!omsi doq'm ka l'ae ko nlai te n#ai !lkoa ka l'ae ko #xaua nlo ko ka a kare. Te !l'a !aihan !laria o !laq'allaq'a- //Gari [ha] xabe n#ai !lkoa ha l'ae, kxaice !l'hai te ha dci, doq'm !xoa g!u, l'ua ko nlo. Te n!om he gla'an o !Nom (#Xao-//Aesi); !goi (Naro) & n!un te koe ka !lama ko Gei-Tsoub te Nosob !Xom. Ka o tca !lhai ka l'ae ka !lxum ka l'ae ko n!om . [te n!om] te ku ku'u #oa da'a ko glu wece, !oma ka ko kxa dci n!ang ka sin u #a'u n!ang a ce !lhai dhoara ka n!ang l'ua ka ko nlai okaa a ho nlo !kui-n!ang he ka dhoara he za'a toan.

Te !hama nlo he txa !xoa ka l'ae ko tchi he gea !'oan loa n#ai !lkoa ka l'ae. !Hamhi n!laqe nlosi n!o'an u ka l'aei kana sau, !l'hai ka ko !ai ka 'm ka l'aei. .ka n!la tca g#auh kxaosi te !xoe !l'huin !hama ko duse a l'aei ko Naron ka ka kxoe ka ka o nlo jan he o !hama ga. Te #Ao-//ein !l'ama ka toto !l'a nlo he !lama Naron ko kxo, [!u!u] .

[Te] !hui [taqe] te [Te] g#ai o ē-/kari(#Xao-//Aesi); #geiba (Naro). [Te] !gasi (#Xao-//Aesi); !gaisen (Naro) #'auce #'ang ko xoro ko ka ju !'an. Ha sin du l'an ha l'aei ko Nu-//ein kota Naro. Te #Ao-//ein, !l'ae waqnsi, xabe n#ai !lkoa hi kota ku !l'ama hi ko !l'ama [ko] Naro.

Running sandals known as Tsi-!ōagu (#Xao-//Aesi) or /Ari-//hoheodi (Naro) were made with the edges turned down for young men who would chase game so that they could grip better in the sand, but not for older men who were simply wearing them to protect their feet. Wildebeest was considered a good skin for sandals, whilst it was believed that gemsbok skin was likely to crack.

[A] Skin mantle [cloak] or blanket [Tsi-!ā(#Xao-//Aesi); #Amsi (Naro)] is made from steinbuck skin for young men, four being sown together. It is short as young men do not carry food. The strings are ornamental and not long enough to go round the belly as in the mantle worn by women. Those worn by men have knotted twisted strings for tying round the neck; the strings of women's are long and when fastened round neck hang down in front and are not twisted or knotted. The button is made of soft skin.



MM40_69_2716 Kgo'oa - Naro; Cloak Obtained from the #Xao-//Aesi community. Made from six pieces of soft thin skin. At the two corners there are knobs which serve as buttons and enable the cloak to be fastened.

MM40_69_2716 Kgo'oa - Naro; !'O l'an ko !lama ko #Xao-//Aesi juasi. Ka dua ka l'ae ko nlo !abih sa o ses he soan. Te ka !an wece kxae !'amsisi ko koa tsi #aeh ke te xoana !'am ka l'ae ko tca glaoh.

#Auh g!oehsi o Tsi-!ōagu (#Xao-//Aesi) kana /Ari-//hoheodi (Naro) hi koh du l'an hi l'aei ko kxaorsi !ae sa ku !xoe !ham n!ang kxoe hi n!o'o ka !aah !xoa hi ko kxa, te n!ausi ku sin g!laba hi ko !'uin ko ha !kaisi. G!aih nlo koh o g!oeh jansin sa o !aah hisi, xabe tes g!o'e nlo koh o #om#om.

[Te) Nlo coasi [!xomsi] kana tci!'an [Tsi-!ā(#Xao-//Aesi); #Amsi (Naro)] ka du ka l'ae ko l'hun nlo ko kxaosi, ko ku !u ka ko g!a'i !lkae ka ka. N!laqe sa !oamh loa !lae 'msi. Te !hui sa ke g#a'ian te loa #a'un ku !a'ami ju g!ohm te sin koe ka sa o dshausi gasi. ka sa o n!laqe gasi ku #hoa#hoa khoe ko n!ang tsanko ce ka gea ju !ain khoea; te !hui sa o dshausi gasi g#a'ian ko ju !l'anga ju !ain te koa tsi !'an ke te loa !l'ang !l'ang #hoa khoe ko n!ang tsan kana !'o. Te g!omh khoea dua ka l'ae ko nlo sa soan.



MM40_69_2717 Kgo'oa - Naro; Cloak. Made from a duiker skin that has been beaten to remove the fur. The skin of the head includes the ears.

MM40_69_2717 Kgo'oa - Naro; !'O. Dua ka l'ae ko l'au nlo he koh n#a'm ka te du coe !jui. Te nlo he gea ka nlai khoara kota ka l'huisi khoea.



MM40_69_2351 //ui'a - Naro; !uu - Ju/hoansi; !abe - !xoo; n//habí(N/hoa). Apron used by women.

MM40_69_2351 //ui'a - Naro; !uu - Ju/hoansi; !abe - !xoo; n//habí(N/hoa). !U dshausi xabe n'ai lloka.



MM40/69/2407 – Apron made from a heavy skin that has been worn out at the end.

MM40/69/2407 – !U dua ka l'ae ko nlo he glaoh he okaa ð'ang.



MM40_69_2019 ðnoe - ðXao-//Aesi and Ju/hoansi; /hoa – Naro; kowe - //ha'a - !Xoon; ðaan – N|hoan; (Scraper). A knife made by splitting a long bone down its length and carving to create a sharp and rounded end. Such a knife could be used to skin an animal and to cut up the meat.

MM40_69_2019 ðnoe - ðXao-//Aesi; /hoa – Naro; //ha'a - !Xoon; ðaan – N|hoan; N#oqe – Ju/hoansi. Koahn dua ha l'ae ko !hara !'u he g#a'in he kuru ka l'ae ka lom ka ðxam ka ko toans.te ll'a koahn ku n'ai lloka hi l'ae ko !hama nlo ko ku !xai g!xa !ha.



MM40_69_2015 ðNoe (ðXao-//Aesi); //Gahe (Naro).
MM40_69_2015 ðNoe (ðXao-llAesi); llGahe (Naro).



MM40_69_2009 ðNoe (ðXao-//Aesi); //Gahe (Naro).
MM40_69_2009 ðNoe (ðXao-//Aesi); //Gahe (Naro).



MM40_69_1419 A stick designed for scraping the hair off small skins. The stick has been split and a sharp blade inserted and tied to the stick with string. The string seems to have been obtained through trade.

MM40_69_1419 !Aihan he n#oqe coe !kui ko nlo. ll'A !aihan !hara ka l'ae te ka lho ðxam te ll'ang lxo ka ko !hui. Te !hui ðoa sin koe tca o ll'ama tcia



MA1961_329 A scraper with a blade.
MA1961_329 N#oqe lxo ka ko l'ari.



MM40/69/959 hai - #Xao-//Aesi; Kai - Naro (Apron).
The apron was obtained in Sandfontein in Gobabis District. The apron was for covering the loins and worn by women. The apron has ten rows of beads with five rows of beads along the edge.

MM40/69/959 hai - #Xao-//Aesi; Kai - Naro (Apron)
Te !u koh n!un l'an ko Sandfontein kota Gobabis
!Antzia.!U koh ce loah ko tcoanasi kota ka #'ang sa
o dshausi gasi.Te !u kxae glo'o nlaea sa o tin kota
glo'o nlaeasi sa o glau-nle'e ko dsuu n!usi.



MM40_69_1280 Tgosi - #Xao-//Aesi; Teai - Naro;
A girdle to be worn by a small child. It has 9 strands of ostrich egg shell beads on fine thong strips. Each strand starts with a tsamma seed. In addition there are 23 unbeaded strands. Today it is increasingly difficult for us to obtain ostrich eggs.

MM40_69_1280 Tgosi - #Xao-//Aesi; Teai - Naro;
Te lloo #'ang he o da'ama!o ma. Ka kxae glo'o mhi
sa o 9 he o dsuu n!usi te koe n#oqn nlaeasi.Ka nlui
waqnke tchoatchoa l'xoa tamah lla'a. Te ka loahsi ko
khuinto'a o 23 glo'o nlo sa o ka lla'asi. lla'ike ka cete
laoh gla'in te kaice tih l'an ko mla ko glla l'an dsuu
n!usi.



MM40/69/1290 - Hai - #Xao-//Aesi; Kai - Naro (Apron). A small skin apron trimmed with a 5-deep bead border of ostrich egg shell beads that are sewn on with sinew.

MM40/69/1290 - Hai - #Xao-//Aesi; Kai - Naro (!U). Nlo tzema o
!u xau l'xoa ka l'ae ko glau-nle'e ko glo'o ko !ansi ko dsuu n!usi sa
gla'i ka l'aesi ko ka.



MM40/69/1292 - Tgosi - #Xao-//Aesi; Teai - Naro (Apron)
A girdle, with 12 strands of thong threaded with ostrich egg shell beads in the front section. The strands are about 28cm in length.

MM40/69/1292 - Tgosi - #Xao-//Aesi; Teai - Naro (Apron)
ka #'angsi, ko ka !umi
sa o n#oqn sa 12 sa
gla'i l'xoa ka l'aesi ko
glo'o n!usi lla'asi ko
gla'a-n!ang khoea. Te
ll'a !umi sa ka g#a'insi
o 28cm.



MM40_69_1030 A feather used while dancing encased in a tube of reed.

MM40_69_1030 Te !kui koh n̄ai l!koa ka l'ae ko djxani ko nllang ko ka ꞑoa.



MM40_69_24880 A feather used while dancing encased in a tube of reed.

MM40_69_24880 !Kui n̄ai l!koa ka l'ae ko djxani ko nllang ko ka ꞑoa.



MM40_69_3180 Sling

MM40_69_3180 l!hao



MA1948_25 Sling

MA1948_25 l!hao

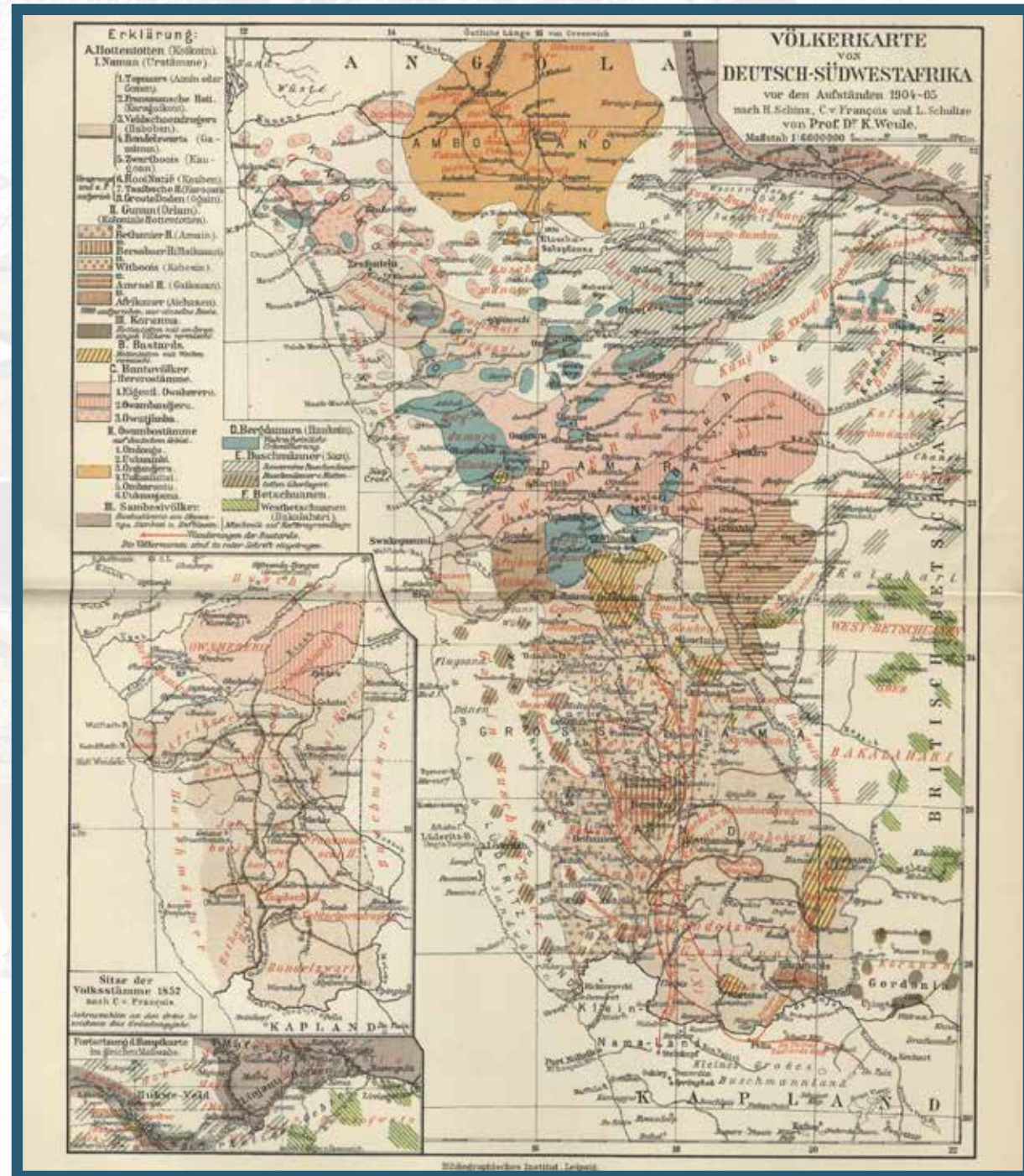


MM40_69_2398 Cap.
Conical in shape. An inner and outer layer of stomach skin are joined at the top of the cone. Hats were worn for hunting when the weather was very hot.

MM40_69_2398 l!Ah.
N!laahn l'a !kui-n!ang. Ha n!ang kota ko ha !ansi ko nlo n!ang kota ko ka !aice ke ha l'hann!ang. l!Ah he o !aqekxaosi ma ko l'aea khoe n!obe khui.

A SAN PERSPECTIVE ON THE NAMIBIAN GENOCIDE

TE JUIHOANSI PERSPECTIVE SA O NAMIBIAN GENOCIDE



A map that attempts to show the distribution of Namibia's population just before the outbreak of the 1904 indicates an awareness of the wide distribution of San communities in Namibia at this time (K. Weule, Völkerkarte von Deutsche-Südwestafrika vor den Aufständen 1904-05', 1905). NAN 05891

Karti he ku kare n̄ai-sea tca Namibia juasi oo gea cu ko ciniha ka 1904 ko n̄la sara !'hansi ko tca Ju'hoansi !'haosi oo !xoana sara cu ko Namibia n!ang ko ll'ae n!anga hin ke. (K. Weule, Völkerkarte von Deutsche-Südwestafrika vor den Aufständen 1904-05', 1905). NAN 05891

When the South African administration took over control of Namibia (in 1915) one of the first instructions issued by the 'Secretary for South West Africa' was that: "The farmers must be told that shooting of Bushmen will no longer be permitted . . ." (Gordon, 2009: 30). In 1947 the Chief Inspector of the South African Police sent a circular to the commanders of every single police station in Namibia giving guidelines on 'the treatment of Wild Bushmen'. He expressed his opinion that:

"Before the occupation of South West Africa in 1915 . . . the bushmen had a very meagre existence, in fact the ordinary white man looked upon him as vermin, to the dominant Native tribes he was nothing but a scavenger and slave, and extermination from all sides was quoted as being the only solution to what was considered a menace to human existence in South West Africa". (NAN, SWAA 433, A50/67 Chief Inspector, 3rd April, 1947)

It is clear that San people were among the victims of the genocide of 1904-8 as they lived in the regions where many of the battles took place and were also swept up by German military patrols that sought to clear the land. We know that many ended up in the German concentration camps. However, a post-war campaign to clear the land of its local residents and transform them into workers on white commercial farms or the new diamond mines had a dramatic impact on San communities.



Battle of Hudup, 21st December, 1904. A German soldier guards San women and children in front of a burning ox wagon after an engagement with Hendrik Witbooi's guerrilla unit (NAN 04999, Stuhlmann, 1904)

Battle o Hudup, 21st December, 1904. Te German sondasi !'uin Jul'hoan disin kota da'abi gea gla'a-n!ang ko koa to'a da'a ku'u !hun gumi kara n!a'an koa to'a kaoha o Hendrik Witbooi's guerrilla nle'esi (NAN 04999, Stuhlmann, 1904)

ll'Aea South African lorekxao koh gu ll'ae ko Namibia (ko 1915) tci nle'e nlui ko !oa#'ansara ko n̄oahn he ko 'lorekxao o South West Africa' koh to'at: "Te faramasi #aun !oa ko ll'a tchinllhankoh jul'hoansi ga lla'ike loa o ll'aea g#a'in ko kxae tosi . . ." (Gordon, 2009: 30). Te 1947 ll'aiha Inspector o South African Pari lloka l'an ko commanders ko pari lloasi ko Namibia te l'an ko !oa #a'ansara ko n̄om ko !Hamh sa Jull'hoansi gasi. l'An ha ko glaoh ko ha !an tzia :

"Gla'a-n!ang ko lloka sa koh oSouth Africa ko 1915 . . .te jul'hoasi si l'aesi ka du nllhoo tci sa lloasi o ll'ae wece, ko gla'ama #aeh ko lloais !'hoan !a'u koh se ha l'ae ko tca ha te #auce, ko dominant Native jua te koh koara tci nlui mara ha koh o scavenger te o !ah, kota ko !ju sa llama ko !ansi koh n̄ai soan l'an ha ko n!un l'an ko se g!xa tca ju ho ko ju ko gla'a-n!ang ma ko South West Africa". (NAN, SWAA 433, A50/67 ll'Aiha Inspector, 3rd April, 1947)

Ka sin !oahn l'an ko jul'hoansi sa o victims ko genocide ko 1904-8 ko ka si koh !xoana n!ore !an tziako koa sonda sa #hai sa koh taahn ko German sondasi ko patoni ka kxo ko !han ko kxaho.M!a !han ju sa #hai koh #ani ko lloka kxaosi sa l'hun sa !a'u farama sa o commercial faramsi kana diamond mine koh kxae kui lloka n!a'an ko Jul'hoansi juasi.

The Verordnungen [Government order] of 1907 indicated that “. . . natives who are loitering, may be punished as vagrants, when they can show no means of support”. The consequence was that those living in districts such as Outjo and Grootfontein that were being carved up into farms had the choice of becoming farm workers or being hunted as criminals. In Grootfontein District alone the number of farms increased from 25 in 1904 to 173 in 1913. A new Verordnungen in 1911 explicitly gave the police the powers to shoot San if they showed ‘the slightest case of insubordination’ or did ‘not stop on command, but trie[d] to escape’. Over a twelve month (1911-1912) period, over 400 police patrols took place in the Districts of Grootfontein, Outjo, Rehoboth and Mäلتahohe against San groups that were living there. Large numbers were arrested or detained as witnesses and conditions led to terrible death rates in the prisons. For example during 1913 a total of 32 San prisoners were held in Swakopmund Prison and 15 of these were reported to have died during the year (Gordon, 2009).

Jacob Haibib, a !Xung man was employed by the German police and described his experience:

“I was employed as a tracker to help round-up gangs of Bushmen [sic]. We used to have fights with them and often killed Bushmen. Those we captured were brought to Grootfontein. If they had committed murder they were hanged. If they had stolen stock they were transported to Swakopmund and Windhuk to work there. That was before 1912. In 1912, however, a German sergeant named Heldfrich was murdered by a Bushman near Narugas, about 80 kilos away. We then got a lot stricter, and Bushmen who killed stock were shot on the spot if they attempted to evade capture” (Silvester & Gewald, 2003: 241-242)

Johannes Kruger, who was the leader of a mixed community of Damara and San at Ghaub near Grootfontein argued that tensions had risen when some farmers in the District had sexually abused San women:

“This conduct of the Germans annoyed and irritated the Bushmen more than anything

Te Verordnungen [Xoromente toto] ko 1907 n̄ai sea tca “. . .kxaea khoe ko ju dinn!ang,khoeca !lxarah ko vagrants, !l’aea si n̄ai sea ka loa nlla ko hui”. Te ꞑ’auce !xoa ko !xoa ko !antzia to’a he koe Outjo kota Grootfontein he koh !’uin ko farama sa kxae !l’ae he o !lkoa kxae ma kana !aqekxae sa otc !hun. Te Grootfontein !Atzia nle’esi kxae farama sa ꞑhai he o 25 ko 1904 te 173 te 1913. te khoe ze Verordnungen ko 1911 explicitly l’an parisi ko glaoh ko tchinllhan Jul’hoansi ko ka si n̄ai sea ko tshutshu tci ooa ko insubordination’kana loa ꞑani ko command, mara nlluri[te] te n!hae u’. ꞑaun ko n!ai sa o welve ko (1911-1912) !l’aea, ꞑaun ko 400 l’abe-n!ahmsi patoni te tsia n!ore he o !Antzia o Grootfontein, Outjo, Rehoboth kota Mäلتahohe koh hore Jul’hoansi xrupu sa koh !xoa khuinto’a. Te nomara n!a’an koh !l’ang ka l’ae si kana glla l’an ko se kota ko tca kahin koh nllae he !ao !kain!kain gea turunkhoe n!ang. Ko !lhaellhae l’an ko kuriha o 1913 te ꞑhaisi o 32 Jul’hoansi sa gea turunkhoe he o Swakopmund Turunkhoe n!a’an kota 15 juasi koh ꞑ’humi !l’a !ao sa ko !l’a kuriha o barah o (Gordon, 2009).

Jacob Haibib, te !Xung g!oq koh g!a’ama !lkoa ko German parisi koh n̄oahn ꞑ’ansara !l’a ꞑ’ang sa:

“Mi koh g!a’ama !lkoa ko ku hui ko !uh loo ko Jul’hoansi [si]. M!a ꞑ’aun l’an si ko n!ai ko !l’ae sa ꞑhai ka !’oan Jul’hoansi. Te si sa m!a n!hui m!a tania ko Grootfontein.Ka l ho !hun okaa si koah kxae ge. Si!a koh dcaa tci sa ju tani ua ko Swakopmund kota Windhuk te !lkoa khuinto’a. Te ka koh o kxae he o 1912. Te 1912, !l’ae wece, te German ꞑkai he ha !u o Heldfrich koh o !hun kxae te to’ma Jul’hoan sa o Narugas, khoe sa o 80 kilos ku gla’i. E!a koh ho nlluri sa ꞑhai, kota Jul’hoan dcaa tcisi ku txa !hun ha l’ae ko ka si!a nlluri ka ku !l’ang” (Silvester & Gewald, 2003: 241-242)

Johannes Kruger, ha koh o !l’aiha he o !’hao !laq’in!laq’ian khoe juasi he o Damara kota Jul’hoansi sa o Ghaub to’ma Grootfontein kxae n̄uian glaoh ko ua gla’a-n!ang ko !l’aea farama gesin o !Antzisi ko n!om ko kaqian Jul’hoansi sa o dshausi:

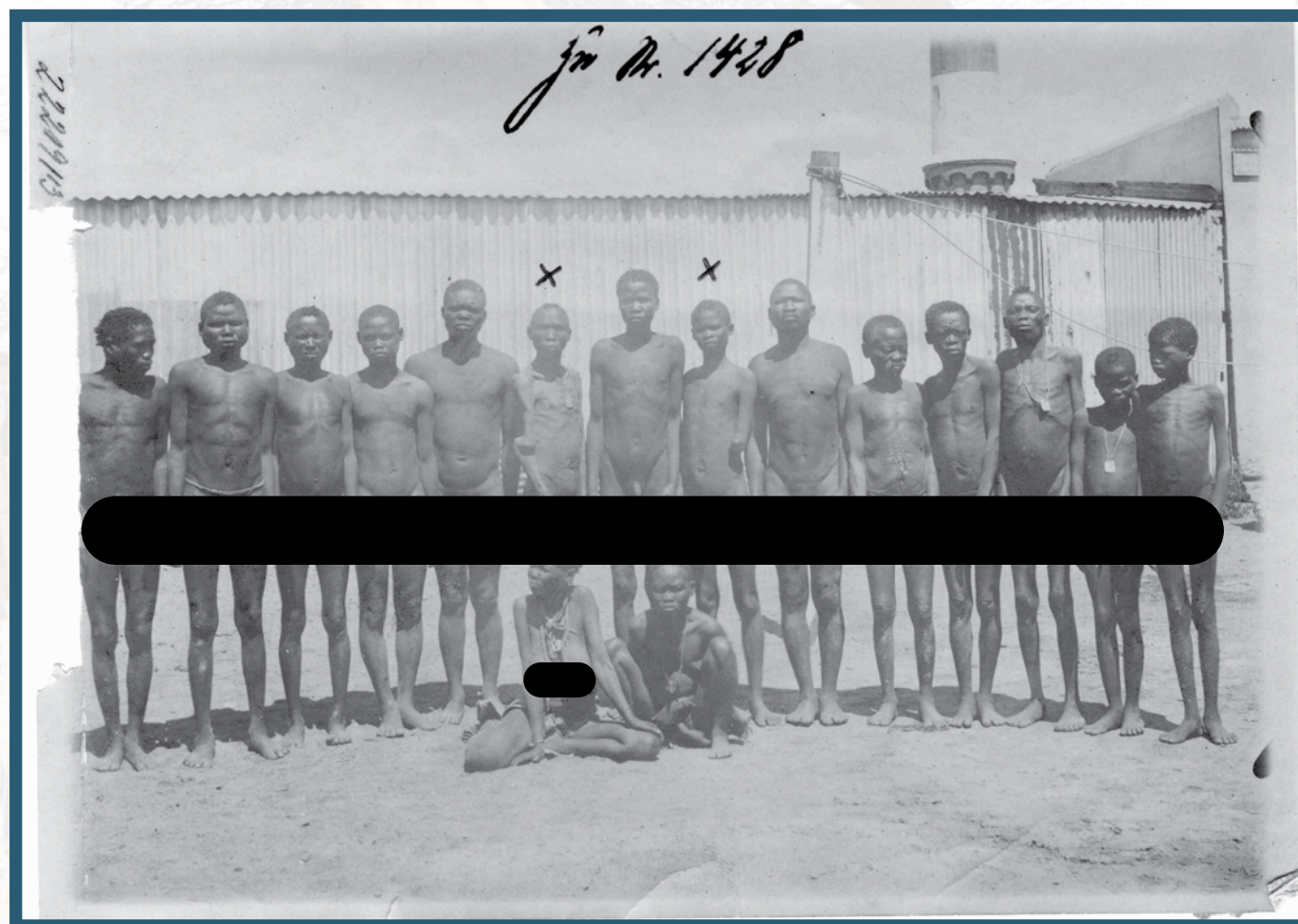
“Te tci n!a’an Germans kaqian kota !l’huin!l’huin ko Jul’hoansi ko tci sa n!obe ꞑhai

else. They deeply resented it; I received numerous complaints from them. I made representations to the German Magistrate, Volkmann, but the trouble continued. This resulted in the Bushmen refusing to work on farms unless compelled by hunger to do so. Then they began, for the first time, to steal the cattle of the Germans and rush them away to the bush. One Bushman whose wife had been taken in this way, murdered the German farmer who had despoiled him. Bushmen were shot on sight by police and German farmers, and no mercy was shown to them. Those who were shot were men who, too afraid to stand, ran away on being seen by a German patrol or a farmer. They were in a state of terror. Often the Germans surprised and captured families of Bushmen in the veld. These people were transported, with women and children, to Swakopmund or Lüderitzbucht to work. Many died down there. I only saw two who had escaped and returned to the bush there. They say all their people perished there of cold and exposure. . . (Silvester & Gewald, 2003: 243-244)

Families found themselves labelled as trespassers on the land where they had lived and hunted with independent families becoming the hunted. Farm workers lost their cultural identity as their names were changed to make them easier for the farmers to pronounce. If they learnt to write it was generally in German or Afrikaans, rather than a mother tongue. It is for these reasons that the historian Robert Gordon has argued that the dispossession and criminalisation of Namibia’s San should be labelled as genocide as it destroyed our independence and cultural identity.

he tci doresin.Si!a kaice !lkoa ce ka; Mi ho tihsi !lama si!a.Mi kxae n̄oahn l’ansi ko German Magistrate, Volkmann, mara !kain!kain ciniha ua gla’a-n!ang.Te ka nlla ko Jul’hoansi te !xau !lkoa faramasi ko ku nlae !xoa ko !a’n ka ku du ka.te tchoatchoa,te kxae, ku dcaa gumi ko Germans kota !xoe ua hi o tzisi. Jul’hoan nle’e ha dshau koh gu ha l’ae ko !l’akoa,!hun ha l’ae ko German farama te si kxuia ha.Jul’hoansi koh tchinllhan si l’ae si te parisi ku kxae si ko German faramasi, te g!o’a-n!ang koh koara he n̄ai sea si.Te si sa koh tchinllhan koh o nllae sa, kaice koaq ko glla, !aah u ka German patoni farama ka sin se si.Te is ka kxae ko n!ore ꞑ’hanua.N!obe du ko Germans n̄ai are ju ꞑ’angsi kota ku !l’ang Jul’hoansi juasi ko tzi.Ka koh o ju sa koh tani nllhoo tcisi, ko dshausi kota da’abi, te Swakopmund kana Lüderitzbucht ko !lkoa. Si sa ꞑhai !aoa khuinto’a.Mi se te ju tsan n!hae te ce ua tzi.Si!a ko si juasi wece te nlla koh oo khuinto’a ko ꞑa’u ku kxuia si. . . (Silvester & Gewald, 2003: 243-244)

Ju l’ae ha ho tca si te glla n!ama ko n!ore ko koa !aqekxaei khoarasi ko si juasi sa o !aqekxaei. Farama !lkoa kxae ka koara si !’hao n!ang tciasi ko ku nlla si !usi mani te n̄ai soan l’an ka l’ae ko farama kxae ku n̄au ka.Ka si koh n!aroh lore ka sin o tca !lxoasi koh German kana Afrikaans,xabe tse si taze dhari. Te ka o tca kahin ka koh oo ko nllaahn ko Robert Gordon koh kxae n̄uin khoe ko n!obe du kota !hun ko Namibia’s Jul’hoansi s kxae nlaea he glla ko kxuia e!a khoarasi kota ku nlla ko !’hao-n!ang.



The photo shows twelve men, two women and two children prisoners in Swakopmund in 1913. The court records name the men as: 'August', 'Max', 'Michel', Xangung-hoa, 'Mische', 'Anton', Kai, Kasuppi, Tamme, Kasib, Kawina, Aumann and Nani Kai. The women were named as Katu-Hona and Sanau. The prisoners have been stripped to be photographed. Two of the prisoners (marked with an X) have limbs missing. It is alleged that amputation was one way in which stock thieves were punished (NAN 27534: File ZBU 2043, WII o2 Band 1, fol 151)

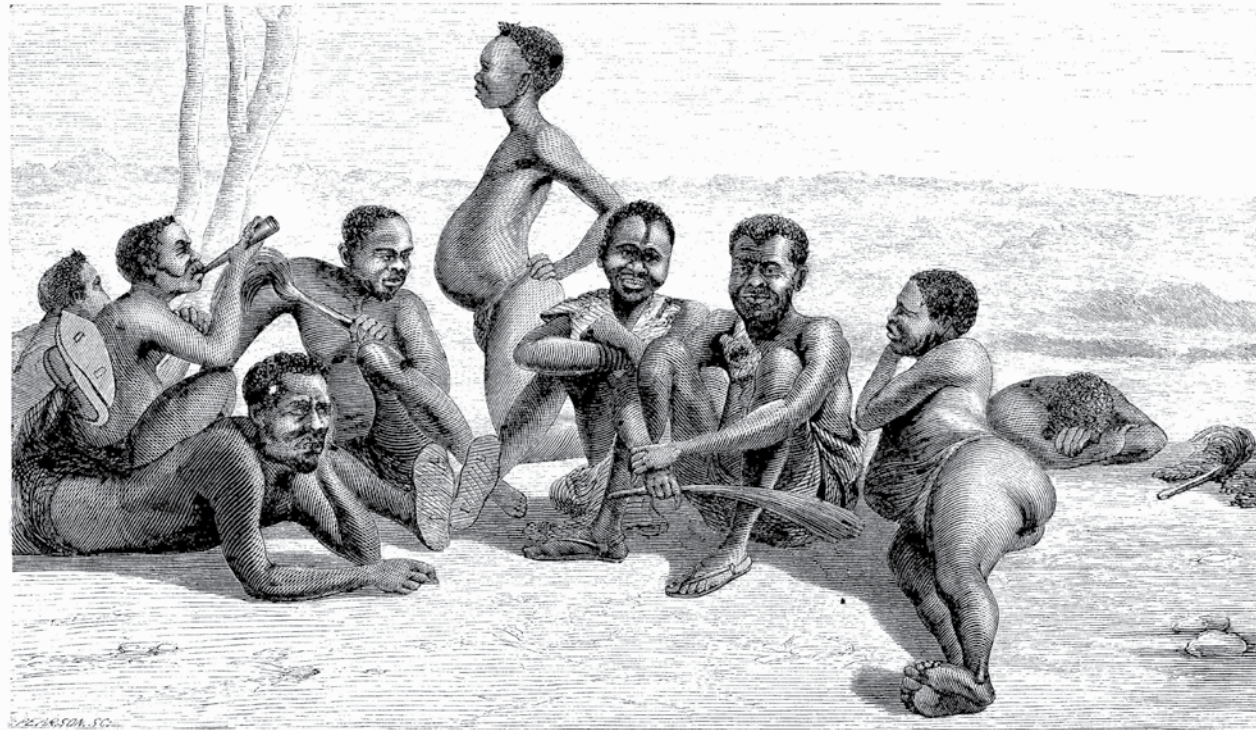
Te llxao n'ai sea nllaqe sa o twelve, dshau tsan kota da'abi tsan sa gea turunkhoe ko Swakopmund ko 1913. Te court lore si !usi ll'a nllaqe sa: 'August', 'Max', 'Michel', Xangung-hoa, 'Mische', 'Anton', Kai, Kasuppi, Tamme, Kasib, Kawina, Aumann kota Nani Kai. Te dshausi !usi o Katu-Hona kota Sanau. Te turunkhoe kxae nlaeasi ko llxao. Turunkhoe kxao tsan (lore sa l'aesi ko X) sa ku *'aun koara. Te ka o *'hanu nle'e he koh o dcaa ma ll'a ha llxarah (NAN 27534: File ZBU 2043, WII o2 Band 1, fol 151)



Schutztruppe soldiers guarding prisoners (men, women and children). The men are in chains. (Photo. NAN 27189: Schultz-Ewerth, Deutschlands Weg zur Kolonialmacht, Berlin, 1934).

Schutztruppe sonda !'uinkxaosi sa o turunkhoe hiasi(nllaqe, dshausi kota da'abi). Te nllaqe gea ketanga . (llxao. NAN 27189: Schultz-Ewerth, Deutschlands Weg zur Kolonialmacht, Berlin, 1934).

WAYS TO RELAX TCA JU OO CAN



BUSHMEN, A GROUP (Aug. 1861).

One of the first images we have of a San community in Namibia is a drawing by the artist Thomas Baines from 1861. The drawing shows a man smoking a pipe, fly whisks and sandals as well as a woman wearing a scarf on her head and an indication that material was already being imported (NAN 20094 Baines, *From Explorations in South-West Africa*, London, 1864, facing p.96).

Smoking pipes were made from different materials, depending on what was locally available and what could be obtained from traders. #Nau (#Xao-//Aesi), #Nausi (Naro) is a fungus that grows on camelthorn trees and which was used to light pipes. Whilst tobacco was very popular, elders also used to smoke a form of dagga (cannabis) which was grown by Damara communities.

Ka nle'e nlui he o llxao o kxaice e!a kxae Jul'hoansi ko Namibia te ka o n#omtcia he teken kxao Thomas Baines ko kuri he o 1861. Te teken n#ai sea ko !'hoan he llhai coro ko !xo, fly whisks kota nlo g!oehsi jan l'an ko dshau ku !auh tuku ko ha nlai te ka n#ai sea tca ll'a tci sa te za'a tani ka l'aesi (NAN 20094 Baines, *llAma ko Explorations ko South-West Africa*, London, 1864, facing p.96).

!Xo ju llhai ku kuru ha l'ae ko tci llaq'inllaq'ian gesi,ka sin nlla hatce re to'ma ll'akoa te ku koah n#ai ll'ama ka l'ae. #Nau (#Xao-//Aesi), #Nausi (Naro) te kunnun gla'ia ko !aihan o l'ana te n#ai llkoa ka l'ae ko !xo he cui.Xabe tse coro o llxoasi, n!ausi xabe n#ai llkoa coro ko #ang o zoan ga (Jomma) hajoe re koh !am lxoa ko Damara juasi



MM31-68-461 Pipe Cleaner

MM31-68-461 !Xo llxoan



MA2014/37 – Xho (!Xung), N/ebe (Khwe) - Smoking pipe carved from wood.

MA2014/37 – Xho (!Xung), N/ebe (Khwe) – llhai !xo he o !aihn



MM40_69_3367B Pipe carved from wood and lined with metal.

MM40_69_3367B !Xo kur ko !aihn kota ko nlae ha.



MM40_69_2510 Pipe made of clay

MM40_69_2510 !Xo he kuru ha l'ae ko g#kaa



MM40_69_2509 Pipe made of clay

MM40_69_2509 !Xo kuru ha l'ae ko g#kaa



MA2014/38 No – (!Xung)

This pipe was made from bone and animal skin. The skin was used to protect the smoker from the heat generated in the pipe.

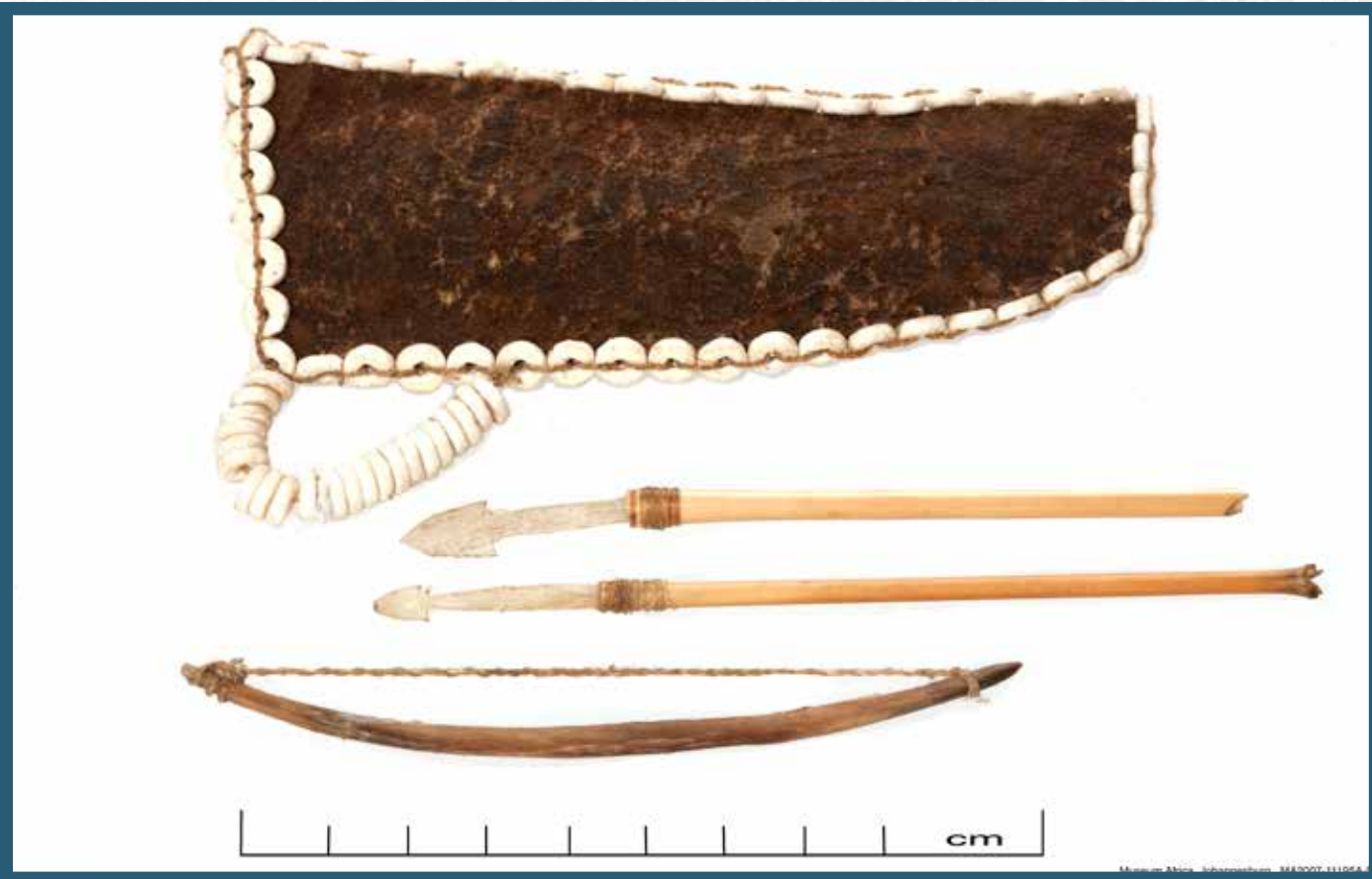
MA2014/38 No – (!Xung)

Te !xo kuru ha l'ae ko !'u kana !hama nlo. Te nlo n#ai llkoa ka l'ae ko ku !uin ko llhai ka ha khui ko !xo.



MM40/69/905 (!Gau (#Xao-//Aesi);; #Gomsa (Naro) Tobacco pouch with ostrich egg shell decoration, obtained near Sandfontein in Gobabis District. The skin of a rock dassie was often used for such pouches.

MM40/69/905(!Gau (#Xao-//Aesi);;#Gomsa (Naro)Coro ll'hai ha l'ae he l'ua ha l'ae ko dsuu n!u he !hui ka l'ae, ka !osi to'ma ko Sandfonteinkota Gobabis !Atzia. Te nlo n!om dassie koh kaice n#ai llkoa ka l'ae ko n!ana makhain-!aua.



MA20071195A/D #o#o/xima – Ju/'hoansi. Love Bow and Arrows

If a man was interested in a woman, they would shoot a light arrow to lightly touch their clothing. If the woman was interested in the man, she would pick up the arrow and hold it next to her heart

MA20071195A/D Are !uru kota Tchisi

Ka !'hoan kaice l'ua ha !ka ko dshau, si #'auce txa ha ko ka tchia ko ka sin g#xaba ha !xaisi.ka dshau kaice l'ua ha !ka ko !'hoan, ha gu ll'a tchi ma ka llaea ka ko !ka nlang khoea



MM40_69_1397 xgao-#obe – Naro; #obe – Naro; //khaitsu – Ju/'Hoansi; #aara-//ae - N|hoan. Calendar Calendar. The device was to help keep track of the days of the week. This one has nine holes. Do you know why?

MM40_69_1397 xgao-#obe – Naro; #obe – Naro; //khaitsu – Ju/'Hoansi; #aara-//ae - N|hoan. Calendar N!ui lamas. Ka ku hui ko ku !'han l!xam ko lamsi kota bekese. Ka ke kxae don sa o nex. A re !'han ko hatcehkoea?



MM40_69_3296 l'Oan!oan Bopi – Ju/'hoansi (Fertility Doll)

The doll obtained from a Hai//om group might have been traded from one of the Aawambo kingdoms or, if made within the group, indicates the cultural interaction between the different ethnic groups in northern Namibia. Amongst the Aawambo communities, fertility dolls were a precious gift from a father to her daughter just before initiation. In some cases, such dolls are also given to ladies as a form of marriage proposal. The doll is only accepted when a lady accepts the proposal. The doll would be given a name, and that name that would be given to the couple's first child. Do you think this doll had the same meanings for the Hai//om ?

MM40_69_3296 l'Oan!oan Bopi Hai//om

Te bopi n!un l'an ko llama ko Hai//om xrupu ko du l'an ko llama ko traded he o Aawambo tci ooa kana, ka koh dua ka l'ae ko si xrupu,ku n#ai sea ko !'hao G1a'ama l'an ko ll'ami n!ang ko !'hao llaq'inlaq'ian gesi xrupu sa o gea #kao tzi ko Namibia. Kaice ku o Aawambo juasi,l'oan!oan bopi koh ka o xaro khoe ko llama ba kota ha #xae ko kxae #aia. Te khoe gesin, bopi tci sa hin he l'an hi l'aesi ko dshaumh sa du !kom tciasi. Te bopi koh jan l'an ko dshaumh ko ll'aea tciasi. Te bopi l'an ha l'ae ko !u, te ll'a !ua l'an ka l'ae ko !'hoan ll'a ha kxae da'ama.A re #'ang te ko bopi te sin o tci nle'e ko Hai//om?



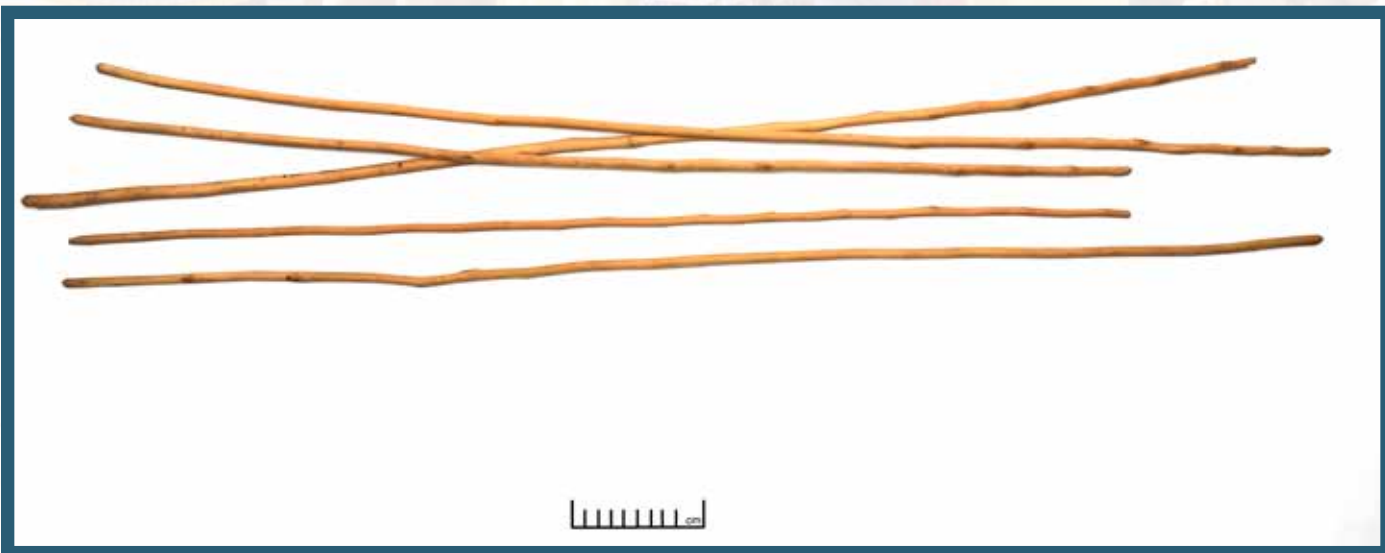
MM40_69_4106 !Xung A carved wooden spinning top.

MM40_69_4106 !Xung Te lom !aihn llu ka nlai.



MM40_69_2495A Sani – Naro; Zani – Ju/hoansi
The game is played by men and is sometimes called 'the ostrich game'. A thin short stick weighted with a bean at one end and with a feather at the other is thrown into the air. The aim of the game is to use a stick to flick it back into the air before it hits the ground and so to keep it off the ground for as long as possible. The feathers at the end of the sticks were taken from a Guinea Fowl. These toys were collected from a #Xao-//Aesi community at Sitontsaub.

MM40_69_2495A Sani – Naro; Zani – Ju/hoansi
Te kui tcia sa ke nllaqe ku kui te ll'ae gesin ka !'aua ka l'ae ko 'ko dsuu kui'. Te !aihn !oma he kxae ka tiha ko ka toansisi ko tci !kuisi ju n!o'an ka ka maq du ka. Te ka nlla kui te koh n'ai l!koa !aihn mhi sa ke ko ku thara ce khaua ko llama maq ko ka to'a du cea ka ko kxa khoea te g'a'in #'auan xoana. Te !kui he o toansi ga ko !aihn khoea ko ari !kui. Te kui tcia sa ke nlhuia ka l'aesi ko #Xao-//Aesi juasi ko Sitontsaub.



MM40_69_2571 //Abib – Naro (Playing Sticks)
These five sticks which have been shaped at both ends were collected from the Naro community at Sandfontein in Omaheke Region. The sticks were thrown into the ground in a game called #Nam //Abi.

MM40_69_2571 //Abib – Naro (Kui !Aihansi)
Te !aihn sa !hun-glau-nle'e !kui-n!angsi wece khuian khoe kxae toansisi te n'hui llama ka l'aesi ko Naro juasi ko Sandfontein ko Omaheke !Antzia. Te !aihn sa he ku n!o'an l'xoa ka l'aesi ko kui he !'aua ka l'ae ko #Nam //Abi.



Girl making a cat's cradle, a game with string
(Photo: PM2001.29.14442)

Dshaumh kuru nloahn mh,ku kui l'xoa !hui
(l!Xao: PM2001.29.14442)



Khuan//a, 85, playing the //guashi
(Photo: PM2001.29.14378)

Khuan//a, 85, kui ko //guashi (l!Xao: PM2001.29.14378)



Four boys playing the counting game
(Photo: PM2001.29.15985)

Kxaro sa o bine kui g!oa Dshau l!hai !xo
(l!Xao: PM2001.29.15985)



/Gaishay plays a one string bow
(Photo: PM2001.29.16089)

/Gaishay kui !hui nle'e n!aoh (l!Xao: PM2001.29.16089)

RETURN TO THE OMAHEKE

CE TSIA OMAHEKE

Most of the objects in this Handbook were collected from San communities living around Gobabis. A photographer, Trace Garren, visited some of our communities almost a hundred years later.

Tci wece sa ke koh gea #xanu he koh nlhuia ka l'aesi ko Jul'hoan sa !xoana khoe sa o Gobabis. !lXaokxao, Trace Garren, koh l'hoo ko m jua gesin ko nauce ko kuri sa o hondord kuriasi.



The growth in global communications means that communities such as that in Corridor 17B are no longer isolated from the world. (Photo - !lXao: Trace Garren)

Te ku !'am l'xoan ko kxalho ko ju kokxui l'xoan ku nlla tci sa ke o Corridor 17B he !la'ike koara gesi ko kxalho. (Photo - !lXao: Trace Garren)



Frans and Rooiland Maasdorp taking a ride on their donkeys at Donkerpos (Photo: Trace Garren)

Frans kota Rooil kota Maasdorp #xuru dongisi te ua Donkerpos



Mr !Gubi Tieti in Corridor 17B (Photo: Trace Garren)

Mr !Gubi Tieti ko Corridor 17B



Mr Klaudius Konteb at Corridor 17B modelling a waistcoat he designed from a sack (Photo: Trace Garren)

Mr Klaudius Konteb gea Corridor 17B !lxoasi ko n#uata-n!ang te n#om tca !lama ko lhao



Mr Lukas /Huka playing a !Oma at Donkerpos (Photo: Trace Garren)

Mr Lukas /Huka kui ko !Oma gea Donkerpos



Mr Lukas /Huka playing a Dongo at Donkerpos (Photo: Trace Garren)

Mr Lukas /Huka kui ko Dongo gea Donkerpos



Ms Martha Kaptein at Drimiopsis (Photo: Trace Garren)
 Ms Martha Kaptein gea Drimiopsis

COLLECTING INFORMATION

The Namibian San Council held a workshop to help check the names and information about the artifacts. However, as many of our languages are still not well documented we hope that this exhibition will encourage further discussion in communities about our cultural heritage and the name that was used for each object in our different languages.



Mr Jan Jalo being interviewed by Mr Kavena Tjiworo at Blouberg (Photo: Moses Mberira)
 Mr Jan Jalo koh n!un l'an tsitsa'asi ko Mr Kavena Tjiworo gea Blouberg (l!Xao: Moses Mberira)



Ms Maria Britz making embroidery based on rock art designs for sale at Drimiopsis. (Photo: Trace Garren)

Ms Maria Britz n!om gesi ko khoe n!a'an o n!om n!om teken ko koa o n!ai l!amasi he o Drimiopsis.

NIHUI l!KAE l!KAE N!OAHNSI

Te Namibian Jul'hoansi rada koh kxae n!aroh l!ho ko ku hui ko se ko !usi kota n!oahn sa o teken kuru tciasi. l!Ae wece, ka o e!a dhari gesin sa #hai cininha loa jan ko du #xanu he e #om he ko !xunisi te xoana kxae glao ko gla'a-n!ang ko n!oahn l!kae ko ju sa gea e!a !'hao-n!ang l!xoa kota !u sa koh n!ai l!koa ka l'aesi ko tci l!aq'inl!aq'ian gesi ko e!a dharisi.



Ms Appolia Dabe at Blouberg (Photo: Moses Mberira)
 Ms Appolia Dabe gea Blouberg (l!Xao: Moses Mberira)



Ms Christina Marman at Zelda Lodge (Photo: Moses Mberira)

Ms Christina Marman gea Zelda Lodge (l!Xao: Moses Mberira)



Mr Trace Garren taking photographs at Drimiopsis (Photo: Moses Mberira)

Mr Trace Garren nlhui l!xao sa gea Drimiopsis (l!Xao: Moses Mberira)



Obtaining fresh water is still a major challenge for many San communities (Photo: Manon Steiner)

ka ko n!un l'an ko sin o g!u ze he ciniha sin #haia #'angsi ko Jul'hoansi juasi (l!Xao: Manon Steiner)



Ms Appolia Dabe interviewing Ms Christina Marman about artifacts in the Fourie Collection (Photo: Moses Mberira)

Ms Appolia Dabe tsitsa'asi Ms Christina Marman ko teken kuru tciasi koh Fourie N!hui (l!Xao: Moses Mberira)



A garden at Drimiopsis (Photo: Moses Mberira)

Te l!xarah gea Drimiopsis (l!Xao: Moses Mberira)



The Ju'hoansi Living Museum at Grashoek is a community-based project where demonstrations of traditional skills help generate an income and also help to pass on knowledge to the San youth (Photo: Manon Steiner)

Te Jul'hoansi l!xoasi Museum gea Grashoek o Ju-oosi projeka ko koa ju n!ai sea ko !'hao-n!ang #'angasi ko hui ko gla'a-n!ang ko mari ma gla'ama kota xabe hui ko l'an #'angsi ko Jul'hoansi da'abisi (l!Xao: Manon Steiner)



Objects that were historically made for use are now made for sale to tourists (Photo: Manon Steiner)

Tci sa o nllaahn koh kuru ka l'aesi n#ai lkoa ka l'aesi ko lla'ike ku n#ai ll'ama ka l'aesi ko l'hookxaosi (IlXao: Manon Steiner)



FURTHER READING

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STAND TOGETHER

//HA//XAE (!KUNG) MA/AOS (HAI//OM) GIIA I!KAE (JU'/HOANSI) TÊÊ /XAI (KHWE) DEA /XAE (NARO)



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