

ISSN 1363-0342

Occasional papers - University of Edinburgh. Centre of African Studies

no. 102. 94
[8745]

Diverse People Unite:

Two Lectures on Khoisan Imagery and the State

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2003

Contents

Introduction	3
About the author	5
<i>!Ke e: /xarra //ke</i> (People who are different, coming together): Khoisan imagery in the reconstruction of South African national identity -- Inaugural Lecture as Professor of the Anthropology of Southern Africa in the University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh 29th April 2003	6
Mutual aid and the foraging mode of thought: Reading Kropotkin in the Kalahari -- Public Lecture presented under the auspices of the Japan Association for African Studies and the Center for African Area Studies, Kyoto University, Kyoto, 18th April 2002	49

Introduction

The two lectures presented here are diverse in many ways, but they share a common theme: the representation of Khoisan peoples. They also share a concern with the relations between the state and Khoisan peoples. Both employ the perspective of regional comparison that has been a major part of most of my studies of Khoisan peoples, but in both cases the structuralist aspects of my earlier work have been softened in favour of a more complex interpretive understanding that stresses both similarities and differences among Khoisan groups.

The first, my professorial Inaugural Lecture, emphasizes the use of Khoisan imagery by the South African state and others in the construction of a new South African national identity based on universal rather than racial principles. While the state, in the form of President Mbeki's government, is closely involved, the intention is nation-building; and the state and the nation are, I believe, intentionally merged. Here the /Xam people of the Northern Cape, who have now all died, represent both South Africa's ancient past and the pan-ethnic national unity now fostered by government and opposition parties alike. Apartheid is left behind, but ethnicity, once virtually taboo among many in South African anthropology (because of the association between ethnic classification and the apartheid regime) is now acceptable again and part of a new kind of emphasis on ethnic difference in which all peoples share the nation. The focus is on the new motto and Coat of Arms, both replete with Khoisan, and specifically Bushman, symbolism.

The second, a lecture given in Kyoto a year before, utilizes the social theory of Peter Kropotkin, a Darwinian anarchist thinker well ahead of his time. He believed that the principle of mutual aid

is fundamental to human nature; and he argued that what are now called NGOs (non-governmental organizations), rather than the state, epitomize the best of the formal organs of human sociality. Although I am not an anarchist, nor perhaps particularly a Darwinian, I share many aspects of Kropotkin's assessment of Khoisan society and have gained from his proto-functionalist anthropological insights and his comparative approach. This second lecture was presented during a research visit to Japan (to learn more about Japanese approaches in hunter-gatherer studies), and my visit was sponsored by the British Academy and the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science. I am grateful to both for their support.

About the author

Alan Barnard is Professor of the Anthropology of Southern Africa in the University of Edinburgh. He studied at George Washington University, McMaster University and University College London (UCL), and has taught at UCL, the University of Cape Town, and since 1978, the University of Edinburgh. He has been carried out research on and with Khoisan peoples since 1973, his primary research being with the Nharo (Naro) of Botswana. His Ph.D. was on Nharo kinship and Khoisan kin categories (University of London, 1976). He has also served as a part-time social development advisor to the Department for International Development

Professor Barnard's books include *Research Practices in the Study of Kinship* (with Anthony Good, 1984), *A Nharo Wordlist with Notes on Grammar* (1985), *Hunters and Herders of Southern Africa: A Comparative Ethnography of the Khoisan Peoples* (1992), *Kalahari Bushmen* (a children's book, 1993), *History and Theory in Anthropology* (2000), *Social Anthropology: A Concise Introduction for Students* (2000) and *The Hunter-Gatherer Peoples: Three Lectures Presented in Argentina* (bilingual edition in Spanish and English, 2001).

His edited books include the *Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology* (with Jonathan Spencer, 1996), *Africa's Indigenous Peoples: 'First Peoples' or 'Marginalized Minorities'?* (with Justin Kenrick, 2001), and *Self- and Other Images of Hunter-Gatherers* (with Henry Stewart and Keiichi Omura, 2002). He has written some sixty journal articles and chapters in edited books, and his works have been translated into French, Spanish, Italian, Russian, Japanese, Korean and Chinese.

!Ke e: /xarra //ke

(People who are different, coming together)

Khoisan imagery in the reconstruction of South African national identity

Inaugural Lecture as
Professor of the Anthropology of Southern Africa
in the University of Edinburgh

Edinburgh, 29th April 2003

ABSTRACT

!Ke e: /xarra //ke (officially translated 'Diverse people unite') is the new motto of the Republic of South Africa. It comes from the extinct /Xam language once spoken in the Northern Cape. This Inaugural Lecture will focus on language and the imagery of the state, and on the use of 'Bushmen' or 'San' in the symbolic construction of national unity through South Africa's new motto and Coat of Arms. The lecture will deal mainly with South Africa, but will also offer wider comparisons and touch on related issues

such as the current plight of Khoisan populations in neighbouring countries. Embedded in the discussion is a consideration of the placement of social anthropology and African studies among the disciplines.

THE INAUGURAL LECTURE

I began university life as a political science student. My roommate was doing anthropology. I have long since lost track of him, though I believe he later ended up as a disc jockey, while of course I became an anthropologist. Unlike many anthropologists, I have since my second year of university always been one. But in my career I have dabbled in linguistics, in archaeology, and in the history of ideas. Within social anthropology I have worked in quite diverse areas: kinship, ethnicity, settlement ecology, hunter-gatherer studies, ritual and religion, symbolic culture, regional structural analysis, social development, and the history of anthropology. Throughout, my ethnographic specialization has remained the study of the Khoisan peoples—the 'indigenous' hunter-gatherers and herders of southern Africa.

Tonight I plan to take a journey through many of these, to end up where I started, with politics—the politics of post-apartheid South Africa. My focus is on South Africa's new motto,

its multiple origins, the complexity of its symbolism, and its ethnic and national contexts. More precisely, I shall take the motto first in the literal context in which it lies, at the base of South Africa's new Coat of Arms, then attempt an 'archaeology' of the motto through its layers of meaning, and finally explore (through deconstruction of the motto) the reconstruction of South African nationhood.¹

South Africa's new Coat of Arms

Let me begin with a quotation from President Thabo Mbeki's speech, Freedom Day, 27th April 2000—the speech with which he launched the new motto and the Coat of Arms in which it is contained (see Fig. 1).

[Our new Coat of Arms] is both South African and African. It is both African and universal.

It serves to evoke our distant past, our living present and our future as it unfolds before us. It represents the permanent yet evolving identity of the South African people as it shapes itself through time and space.

¹ I am grateful to Thomas Bloom Hansen for his very helpful comments on an earlier draft of this lecture, and to David Lewis-Williams for providing essential details, at my request, of his important role in the creation of South Africa's new national symbols. Of course, I am responsible for any errors which remain.



Fig. 1. The South African Coat of Arms

Through this new coat of arms, we pay homage to our past. We seek to embrace the indigenous belief systems of our people, by demonstrating our respect for the relationship between people and nature, which for millions of years has been fundamental to our self-understanding of our African condition.

It recollects the times when our people believed that there was a force permeating nature which linked the living with the dead.

It pays tribute to our land and our continent as the cradle of humanity, as the place where human life first began
....

President Mbeki continues:

Those depicted, who were the very first inhabitants of our land, the Khoisan people, speak to our commitment to celebrate humanity and to advance the cause of the fulfilment of all human beings in our country and throughout the world.

These figures are derived from images on the Linton Stone, a world famous example of South African Rock Art.

They are depicted in an attitude of greeting, demonstrating the transformation of the individual into a

social being who belongs to a collective and interdependent humanity.²

Interestingly, the President picks out *one* of South Africa's peoples—the 'first inhabitants', the 'Khoisan people'. *Khoisan* is, in fact, a term invented in the 1920s to describe peoples of a certain supposed physical type. Since then it has come to describe cultural features and social organization as well, and to refer to languages of a particular family (see especially Schapera 1930; Barnard 1992). This word *Khoisan* is a concoction, *Khoi* or *Khoe* plus *San*. As a linguistic label, *Khoe* designates those who use this term to mean 'person'.³ These include the cattle and sheep-herding *Khoekhoe* or 'People of People' (who were once called Hottentots). And it includes the hunter-gatherers known as the Central Bushmen or *Khoe* Bushmen, who speak languages related to *Khoekhoe*. *San* means Bushmen, hunter-gatherers, or foragers, not in any San language at all—but in one of the *Khoekhoe* dialects. The fit between lifestyle and language is not a precise one, since the Central San speak *Khoe* languages, and only Northern and Southern San speak what we might call 'San languages'. All Khoisan languages have the famous click sounds, but vocabulary

² 'Address by President Thabo Mbeki at the Unveiling of the Coat of Arms, Kwaggafontein, 27 April 2000'. For the text of this and other relevant speeches, see www.gov.za/speeches/.

³ This is a slight simplification, as some eastern *Khoe* groups use a different term, *shua*.

and grammar are very different—reflecting the great linguistic distance which lies between them. For example, the linguistically genetic distance between my own primary fieldwork language, Nharo (Naro), and the language of South Africa's motto, /Xam, is much greater than that between, say, English and Russian.

The Coat of Arms is publicly credited to a professional designer, Iaan Bekker, whose winning design was chosen from among three final submissions in a competition overseen by the South African Cabinet. But behind the scenes, there are many others—not least the Bushman man or woman who painted the Linton Stone. Furthermore, the choice of the image was not Mr Bekker's or President Mbeki's. It was a collective decision by staff members of the Rock Art Research Institute of the University of the Witwatersrand, while the idea of utilizing a rock art image was, collectively, that of 'Government'. Government decreed that the piece of rock art had to be one held in a South African museum, not one still in a rock face in some remote cave. That decree was made on grounds of the security of what they knew was to become a national art treasure, as well the source of a core national symbol. The Linton Stone (Fig. 2) lies in South African Museum, Cape Town. It was removed from a farm called Linton, in the Eastern Cape Province, in 1917 and deposited in the Museum the following year. Today it is displayed prominently, yet still with no mention of its place in the Coat of Arms.

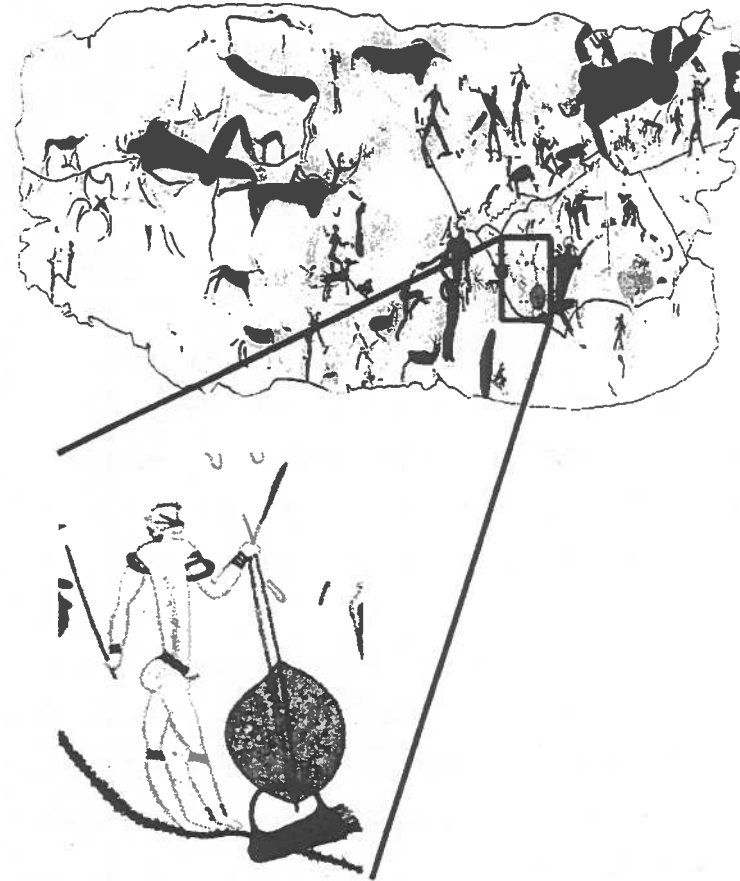


Fig. 2. The Linton Stone

In fact, the Linton Stone does not depict the figures as shown in the Coat of Arms. It shows several eland, the animal that in Bushman symbolism represents sometimes male sexuality, sometimes spiritual power. If Bushmen had had their way, the eland, not the springbok, would be the national symbol. The Stone also shows a number of human figures, all male, some dancing, some hunting—and one, a small figure in the lower right-hand corner, holding a bow and arrow and standing on a 'line of power'. According to the South African government website:

The panel shows people capturing a power the /Xam called !Gi. The San [or Bushmen] sought and used this power for the benefit of their community. It allowed for the healing of the sick and for the healing of divisions within society. San rock art was believed to be rich in this special power.

This delicately painted figure has power that we can all share in. It was intended to have special power as it was painted straddling a line of !Gi. Within the new Coat of Arms the figure will continue, as its painter intended, to channel its power for the benefit of all.⁴

This description comes from a particular theoretical point of view in rock art studies—the 'symbolic approach', often seen in

⁴ www.gov.za/symbols/lintonpanel. The source is Dr Ben Smith, Director of the Rock Art Research Institute, University of the Witwatersrand.

opposition to the 'art for art's sake' approach. The figure, as transferred to the Coat of Arms, has his bow and arrow, some of his body decoration, and his rather prominent genitalia removed. Removal of the latter has caused controversy in the media, but the government, the designers, the heralds, and the rock art experts are united in agreement that it is appropriate for the figure to be represented in 'un-gendered' form. What is added is a mirror-image of the original figure, such that the two—the original and the mirror-image—are shown clasping hands (Fig. 3).

The official description says:

The Khoisan, the oldest known inhabitants of our land, testify to our common humanity and heritage as South Africans. The figures are depicted in an attitude of greeting, symbolising unity. This also represents the beginning of the individual's transformation into the greater sense of belonging to the nation and by extension [*sic*], common Humanity.⁵

And so, we have a layered set of representations in which the transformed image of the Khoisan is, in the President's words, 'both South African and African', 'both African and universal'. But it is worth noting that, although greetings and sociality generally

⁵ www.geocities.com/landswapen

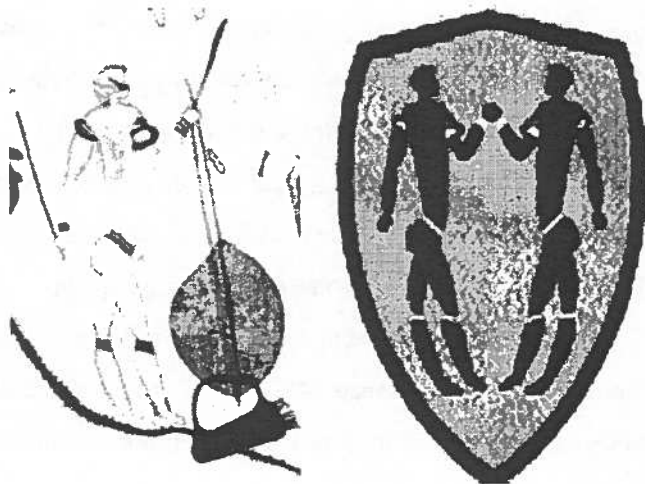


Fig. 3. The Linton figure and the same figure (original and mirror-image) in the shield of the Coat of Arms

are of great importance for Bushmen, nevertheless greeting is not a typical theme in southern African rock art. Rock art typically depicts individuals, sometimes groups, in ritual or in hunting.

Finally here, among the creators of the image, we should acknowledge Thomas Dowson, now of the University of Southampton, who some years ago copied the image for the Rock Art Research Institute archive. It was actually Dowson's re-drawing, not the original painting, which was used in the design.⁶ This is not as odd as it might seem, because in technical studies, rock art in southern Africa still tends to be re-drawn in pen and ink, and not reproduced by photography. It is believed that photography distorts the art by giving prominence to the background, the rock face, rather than the painted image.

I believe we can re-draw the motto too, in light of its multiple origins in the history of the Khoisan and in the history of Khoisan studies.

Origins of the motto

Let me return to President Mbeki's address. In addition to describing the central figures, from the Linton Stone, the President

⁶ For details of the Rock Art Research Institute's involvement, see Smith, Lewis-Williams, Blundell and Chippindale (2000). For an analysis of the Linton paintings themselves, see Lewis-Williams (1988).

analyses for us the surrounding heraldic images. I shall just to point them out: we have a large serpent-eating secretary bird with uplifted wings, a rising sun, a flowering protea, two ears of wheat for fertility, a spear and a knobkierie deliberately placed lying in repose, two pairs of elephant tusks said to represent men and women and to symbolize 'wisdom, steadfastness and strength', and finally the shield, designed also, in its shape, to evoke the image of an African drum.

But here is what President Mbeki says about the motto:

The motto of our new Coat of Arms, written in the Khoisan language of the /Xam people, means: diverse people unite or people who are different join together.

We have chosen an ancient language of our people. This language is now extinct as no one lives who speaks it as his or her mother-tongue.

This emphasises the tragedy of the millions of human beings who, through the ages, have perished and even ceased to exist as peoples, because of peoples [*sic*] inhumanity to others.

He continues:

It also says that we, ourselves, can never be fully human if any people is wiped off the face of the earth, because each one of us is a particle of the complete whole.

By inscribing these words on our Coat of Arms - !ke e: /xarra //ke - we make a commitment to value life, to respect all languages and cultures and to oppose racism, sexism, chauvinism and genocide.

Thus do we pledge to respect the obligation which human evolution has imposed on us - to honour the fact that in this country that we have inherited together is to be found one of the birthplaces of humanity itself.⁷

The /Xam were a Southern Bushman group. They once inhabited an area of the Northern Cape, about 200 hundred miles north and inland from Cape Town. They were probably in these semi-desert lands before sheep and cattle-herding Khoekhoe arrived some 2000 to 1500 years ago. To put them into a wider time framework, fully modern human, fully cultural, *Homo sapiens sapiens* hunter-gatherers, no doubt including ancestors of the /Xam, lived in those lands for some tens of thousands of years. The /Xam no longer exist as a people, though their descendants may be counted among the people once called 'Cape Coloured', many of whom now prefer the to call themselves 'of Khoisan descent' (see, e.g.,

⁷ 'Address by President Thabo Mbeki at the Unveiling of the Coat of Arms, Kwaggafontein, 27 April 2000'.

Bredekamp 2001). As President Mbeke noted in his speech, the /Xam language is no longer spoken by anyone. Descendants of the /Xam today speak Afrikaans as their mother tongue.

So why is the motto in /Xam? The previous motto was in Latin.⁸ And South Africa today has no fewer than eleven official languages to choose from, compared to other countries where Bushmen once lived—Botswana, with two official languages, and Namibia, with one. /Xam is not one of South Africa's official languages. And why is spelled in such a peculiar way, with an exclamation mark, a single stroke and a double stroke?

It is all because of a German linguist and folklorist called Wilhelm Bleek, who in 1870 was given the opportunity to work with /Xam—specifically 28 /Xam prisoners who were building the breakwater for Cape Town harbour. Bleek was employed as curator of the library of the famous ex-governor of the Cape Colony, Sir George Grey. Bleek persuaded the new governor to let him take a few of the 28 home with him to work as his servants and serve as his informants. And while there were 28 /Xam prisoners, there were also at that time exactly 28 different *systems* for writing clicks. Bleek documents this himself in his catalogue of the Library of Sir George Grey (Bleek 1858: 6). And Bleek selected, from among *these* 28 the system most anthropologists and linguists in the field today still insist on—a system invented in 1854 and

⁸ *Ex unitate vires* (From unity, strength), dating from 1910.

adopted by the Rhenish Mission Society in 1856. Bleek, and Mbeke, chose this one rather than the older system employed by Scottish missionaries (as early as 1823) to write isiXhosa. In isiXhosa (which is the language of both Mbeki and former President Mandela), ordinary roman letters represent these clicks: c is /, x is //, and q is !⁹ I shall return to the political reasons behind that decision later.

Meanwhile, two other members of the Bleek family are important for our story: Wilhelm Bleek's wife's sister Lucy Lloyd, and his younger daughter Dorothea Bleek. Wilhelm died in 1875. Lucy continued the study of /Xam folklore with both prisoners and volunteers from the Northern Cape until 1884. Together Bleek and Lloyd recorded more than 12,000 pages of linguistic, folkloristic and ethnographic material. Lucy published a selection of the folktales in 1911, called *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*. Lucy died in 1914; and Dorothea, just two years old at the time of her father's death, took up the family tradition. In 1920 and '21, Dorothea did fieldwork with the Nharo (the group I worked with in the 1970s and '80s). She also published widely on other groups and languages, including /Xam. She died in 1948, and her great *Bushman Dictionary* (of all the known Bushman languages), was published after her death—in 1956.

⁹ According to conventional popular description, c or / sounds like 'tsk' as in 'tsk tsk'. X or // sounds like the sound used to make horses go. Q or ! sounds like a cork popping from a bottle.

The /Xam words which make up the motto come to us via Dorothea's dictionary. What happened was this. In early April, 2000, President Mbeki telephoned the Rock Art Research Institute. He spoke to the new director, Ben Smith, and asked him to produce a /Xam translation of the English words 'Diverse people unite', within four days. Dr Smith turned the problem over to the founding director, recently retired, the great rock art and /Xam expert, David Lewis-Williams, who was working at home that day. Professor Lewis-Williams took out his Bleek dictionary and spent the next day on the problem. For 'unite' he used the word //ke, given by Dorothea as 'to meet, to be together with'. She had also recorded a slightly different form, probably of the same word, //k"e:, which she says means 'to be or talk together, often used as together' (D.F. Bleek 1956: 566). Among Dorothea's sample phrases we find, for example, tai:§ //k"e: o i /ka:gan, which she gives as 'walk together with each other' (Bleek 1956: 604).

For the rest of the motto, Lewis-Williams used a phrase recorded by Dorothea under the word /xarra, 'different, differently, separately'. The phrase is !k?e e: /xarra, translated by her as 'people who are different, strangers' (Bleek 1956: 363). My pronunciation of !k?e here is slightly different from that in the motto, !ke, as in this sample phrase Dorothea records a glottal stop after the click. She lists her source simply as Ll., meaning her aunt Lucy Lloyd.

Recently though, I have had the good fortune to uncover more detail. This exact phrase (with the glottal stop) occurs in *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, where Lloyd glosses it as 'strangers' and adds in brackets that the more literal meaning is 'people who are different' (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 32-33). The sentence reads: 'I desire thee to say to grandfather, Why is it that grandfather continues to go among strangers . . . ?'¹⁰

The words are from a mythological tale called 'The Son of the Mantis, the Baboons, and the Mantis', recorded by Lloyd in an 1878 notebook (Lloyd Series I, Notebook 5, p 7077). The myth tells of the killing of a child by baboons, and the use of his eye as a football. Grandfather Mantis plays ball with the baboons, the 'people who are different', but later replaces the eye and restores life to the child. The Mantis, or Stick Insect, was an important mythological figure. In primal time, he was responsible for the creation of the Moon and the animals; and he remains responsible, in the time of the /Xam, for the maintenance of human sociality. I say 'Mantis' here, but the interpretation of /Xam religion, and the words used for mythological figures, is rather complicated. Lewis-Williams himself has written that Lucy Lloyd was mistaken to confuse the stick insect with this deity—though both are described by the same word, /kaggen. According to Lewis-Williams, writing in 1980 (1980: 20), '/Kaggen [the deity] neither is nor is not a

¹⁰ Or in /Xam, N kan ka, a #kakka !kóin, tssá ra xá ā, !kóin ta /ku lé //e !k'é ē /xarra?

praying mantis'. I have slightly disagreed with this interpretation, writing in 1992 that /Kaggen *both* is *and* is not a praying mantis (Barnard 1992: 84); but that ethno-theological debate lies slightly beyond our concerns here. What is important is that translation is not a simple matter; and the translation of culture, as we shall see later, is much more complex than the translation of language.

But where do the words of the motto actually come from? In one sense, they come from President Mbeki, and allude, some say, to Marx and Engels' words, 'Workers of all nations, unite'. The expression of unity, especially, recalls these closing words from the *Communist Manifesto*.¹¹ But also, quite consciously and deliberately, the words are in the /Xam language. If we credit Marx and Engels for the sentiment, we must give credit too for the words. And this credit, for the noun phrase at least, goes to two South Africans whose names are known only to a very few: /Han#kass'ō and /Xábbi-an. It was /Han#kass'ō (see Fig. 4) who told the myth to Lucy Lloyd, and /Xábbi-an, his mother, who told it to him. According to prison records, /Han#kass'ō (also known as Klein Jantje, or Convict Number 4630) was born about 1848, the year of the *Communist Manifesto*.¹²

Although imprisoned at the Breakwater, /Han#kass'ō was not one of Bleek's initial informants. After serving two years for

¹¹ *Proletarier aller Länder, vereinigt euch!* (Marx and Engels 1963 [1848]: 63).

¹² More specifically, the records say that he was about 21 in when he was arrested in 1869 (Deacon 1996: 39). For further details on the prisoners, see Deacon (1996) and Bleek and Bleek (1909).



Fig. 4. /Han#kass'ō (watercolour by W. Schröder, ca. 1878)

stock theft, he went home to the /Xam lands in November 1871. Six years later he set off for Cape Town, at Lucy Lloyd's request. The journey was not a happy one. His small child, left behind with friends in April 1877, soon died. His wife, who was accompanying him to Cape Town, was brutally attacked, by a policeman, and she too died, in December. /Han#kass'ō reached Cape Town alone in January, 1878 and again served two years, this time as Lloyd's informant. At least one folklorist (Guenther 1989: 29) has remarked that he was the *best* of all the Bleek and Lloyd informants. Certainly he had comparative and analytical insights into Bushman culture, as well as a knowledge of folklore. His mother, from the flat lands, had told him her folktales. His father, from the mountains, must have known the rock art there—though the /Xam themselves were no longer painting. And in the late 1870s /Han#kass'ō became perhaps the first person to interpret rock art and its symbolic significance in light of comparative cultural knowledge—from copies of paintings given to him on paper. And so, the theoretical perspective known as regional comparison arguably begins with this man, fifty years before Isaac Schapera (1930) and one hundred years before Adam Kuper (e.g., 1979; 1982)—my own more direct intellectual antecedents in this approach.

While I have always acknowledged my debt in comparative Khoisan studies to Schapera and in theoretical matters to Kuper, it

is worth mentioning that my inspiration for the comparative study of Khoisan kinship was not these two. It came, in fact, from a diverse group of people, united through residence and intermarriage, living on a white-owned farm in the central-western Kalahari around 1975. They knew each other's kinship terminologies and the structural differences between systems; and they could translate for me, not only the words, but the structures, the marriage rules, the prohibitions of avoidance behaviour, and other things which differed between the different Bushman ethnic groups. Translation in this is not merely a matter of words; it is a matter of the relations between words, or more broadly, the relation between elements in a common framework.

Unity in diversity, !Ke e: /xarra !ke

'People who are different coming together' is a phrase that could well describe our School of Social and Political Studies. At a narrower level, it is applicable too specifically to social anthropology at Edinburgh. I have already mentioned in passing /Han#kass'ō's Cape Dutch name—Klein Jantje, meaning Little Johnny. The great figure of Edinburgh anthropology when I arrived in 1978 was Jimmy Littlejohn. His department had both unity and diversity, and this diversity is still with us and is a

source of our collective strength. This, of course, does not mean that Edinburgh anthropology has no specific areas of strength. Our focus on social development, one such area, began through Eric Hanley's effort, in 1989, to mould us into an advisory team working part-time for ODA. We were later to lose Eric to ODA, now DFID, and he now works in Harare. The reorganization and expansion of the Department began with Tony Cohen, who has recently left us to become Principal of Queen Margaret University College. He too, and all my present colleagues, have been a source of strength to me.

'Unity in diversity' recalls many mottos: that of the United States for example, *E pluribus unum* (From many, one). Or that of the old South Africa: *Ex unitate vires* (From unity, strength). Or of modern Namibia, 'Unity, liberty, justice'. The *exact* words 'Unity in diversity' comprise the motto of the South African province of Gauteng, that of the Republic of India, and also that of the Republic of Indonesia. Former President Mandela, speaking in Jakarta in 1997, commented on its widespread use and its applicability to South Africa:

'Unity in Diversity' is a phrase we use often in South Africa, which is also a country of widely diverse peoples and cultures. These differences were misused by apartheid in order to divide our nation. But today our diversity is a

source of strength. We are a nation of many colours and cultures, but forming a harmonious unity like a rainbow after a heavy storm.¹³

President Mandela, also said in his Jakarta speech:

I have seen this motto [Unity in diversity] also written in Bhasa Indonesia, but I will refrain from attempting to pronounce it. I might cause more diversity than unity in doing so!

If Madiba thought his pronunciation of Indonesian words would cause 'diversity', he should have considered what might have happened had he tried it in /Xam! Yes, for a diversity of reasons, *he* would get away with it. But it is that sentiment in his speech which has given us, a few years on, some problems with South Africa's new motto.

Pronouncing and writing the motto

The pronunciation of the motto is a subject of some controversy. There are variant transcriptions among the Bleek family texts, but the one chosen by Lewis-Williams is the easiest to pronounce.

¹³ 'Mandela Speech at State Banquet in Jakarta, 14 July 1997'.

I mentioned that there were political decisions behind President Mbeki's decision to have the clicks written in what we might call the 'German' rather than the 'Scottish' system. It appears that President Mbeki wished to give no preference to speakers of his own language. It is perfectly possible to write !Ké e: /xarra //ke in isiXhosa (or Scottish missionary) orthography: Qe ee cgara xe. I have no way of knowing whether the President transcribed the words into isiXhosa orthography in his own copy of the Freedom Day speech. However, I am reliably informed that he did telephone a /Xam expert for pronunciation advice, and that his rendering of the motto is faultless. This is hardly surprising, given that isiXhosa is the most click-using of Bantu languages, and that all three clicks in the motto do occur in isiXhosa—whereas /Xam has two other clicks that do not occur in the motto, not to mention click releases that would give non-Khoisan speaker a great deal of difficulty.¹⁴

It is said in some circles that !Ké e: /xarra //ke is not meant to be pronounced at all. Instead, one can say in English *Diverse people unite*, in Afrikaans *Diverse mense verenig*, in isiXhosa *Abantu abohlukeneyo bayamanyana*, or whatever (see Fig. 5). Perhaps this gives the motto yet greater symbolic power, emphasizing as it does the fact that no-one in South Africa today speaks this

¹⁴ The additional clicks are ǀ, a kissing sound, and ǁ, a bit like c or / but produced with the blade rather than the tip of the tongue.

/XAM

/Xam (Scottish missionary orthography): !Ké e: /xarra //ke

/Xam (German missionary orthography): Qe ee cgara xe

OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

Afrikaans: Diverse mense verenig

English: Diverse people unite

isiNdebele: Bandu beentjhaba ngeentjhaba bumbanani

isiXhosa: Abantu abohlukeneyo bayamanyana

isiZulu: Ukubumbana kwabantu abahluhahlukene

Sepedi: Batho ba ba fapanego ba kopane

Sesotho: Batho ba fapa fapaneng kopanang

Setswana: Batho ba ba farologaneng kopanang

SiSwati: Bantfu labehlukeneyo bayahlangana

Tshivenda: Vhathu vho fhambanaho vhe na vhuthihi

Xitsonga: Vanhu lava nga hambana va hlagana

Fig. 5. The motto in /Xam and in South Africa's eleven official languages

'ancient' language. Shortly after the motto was announced, there was a great deal of correspondence in the South African newspapers about how to pronounce it. Some descriptions were quite good. Others were virtually nonsense. A few correspondents even commented that the use of such 'primitive' symbols to write the motto was an insult to the memory of the /Xam. My favourite description of pronunciation is the explanation in the East London *Dispatch* (28 April 2000): '(click)-eh-air-(click)-gaara-(click)-eh'.¹⁵

There is something else in the East London *Dispatch* the same day: comments by members of some of the opposition parties. While there were the expected opinions that the ANC was hijacking Freedom Day, and so on, nevertheless the other parties welcomed the new Coat of Arms and the new motto. To give one example, the *Dispatch* reported:

The New National Party said it was pleased the motto of the new coat of arms was in the now-extinct Xam, a dialect of the group of Khoi-san languages, and not English.

NNP spokesman Adriaan van Niekerk said the acknowledgement of the ancient language indicated the revival and conservation of various indigenous languages.¹⁶

¹⁵ East London *Dispatch*, 28 April 2000. Available online via www.dispatch.co.za.

¹⁶ East London *Dispatch*, 28 April 2000.

In other words, the fact that the motto was *not* in English was wonderful; the fact that it was in a *Khoisan* language, and an *extinct* Khoisan language at that, was even better. The motto does remind us that there is no Khoisan language among South Africa's eleven official ones—a fact that has caused some concern among speakers of Nama, the only Khoisan language still spoken in South Africa by any sizable population.

The meaning of the motto

Before we can appreciate the meaning of the motto we need to know a little about Khoisan languages. Contrary to popular belief, these are not in any sense 'primitive' languages. They are rich in a great variety of ways. Ju/'hoan and !Xóõ vie for the title of phonologically most complex language in the world. Each of the five clicks of !Xóõ, for example, may be released in sixteen or seventeen different ways, giving us then, with the same click, the same vowel and the same tone, sixteen or seventeen different words (Traill 1994: 11-13; cf. 1985): *!e*, *!ge*, *!xe*, *g!xe*, *!kx'*, and so forth. My count in the !Xóõ dictionary gives 83 click consonant clusters, 23 non-click consonant clusters, and a fair number of vowels given especially they have phonemic length and tone. /Xam was probably simpler, but we do not know precisely.

So what, you may say! Well, consider too the fact that many Khoisan languages, especially the Central ones, are very rich in their ability to express abstraction. Bleek's successor as keeper of Grey's Library, Theophilus Hahn, grew up speaking Nama. He pointed out, in 1881, that in Nama you can say *khoë* (person), *khoëkhoe* (person of people, or best person), *khoësi* (friendly or human), *khoësis* (humanity, kindness, friendliness, or friendship), *khoëxa* (kind), *khoëxaxis* (kindliness, in a more abstract sense than *khoësis*), *khoësigagus* (friendship, intimacy, or marriage), *khoëxakhoëb di* (my intimate friend), and so on (Hahn 1881: 17). Typically Central Khoisan languages have three genders (masculine, feminine and common), three numbers (singular, dual and plural), inclusive and exclusive pronouns, emphatic and non-emphatic forms, and so forth. The word order is like Japanese, but overall the grammar is very much more complicated, whereas some languages, including /Xam, have quite different grammatical forms and resemble English in many ways.

With that in mind, let us take a brief look at this simple sentence, *!Ke e: /xarra //ke*, its grammar and its meaning. The sentence is officially translated as 'Diverse people unite', which are the words President Mbeki gave Professor Lewis-Williams, and often more literally rendered as 'people who are different come together', which are the words Professor Lewis-Williams gave President Mbeki. It is my argument that both the English

translations and the /Xam motto are ambiguous, and that that linguistic point has profound political implications, in particular, implications for the symbolic relation between the people and the state. But let me stress that this should *not* suggest that either Mbeki or Lewis-Williams were incorrect in any way in their translations, only that the matter is more complex than is generally appreciated.

Two linguistic facts are relevant: first, the absent verbal particle (see Fig. 6); and secondly, the use of the form *!ke* to mean 'people' (see Fig. 7). The words of the motto are *!ke* (people) *e:* (who) */xarra* (different, differently, or to be different) *//ke* (to come together). Typically, /Xam adds a verbal particle to indicate mood and tense, but there is none here. But nor is one necessary, in order to have a complete sentence. This may be a complete sentence: 'People who are different come together' or 'People who are different are coming together'. Or it may not: 'People who are different, coming together', with the 'are' omitted. Verbal particles are frequently omitted in /Xam, so there is no problem, either way.

But what does the English mean? Is it imperative, or declarative? 'Diverse people unite', rings in my ears as if there is an imperative: the state commanding or requesting the people, or the people themselves urging each other, to unite. /Xam has about thirty verbal particles, placed before the verb to indicate mood and tense (see D.F. Bleek 1929/30: 161-71). The most obvious one would

<i>!Ke e: /xarra /ne //ke</i>	People who are different, unite! People who are different really must unite.
<i>!Ke e: /xarra ka //ke</i>	Would that the people who are different come together.
<i>!Ke e: /xarra //ke-ta</i>	People who are different, unite! People who are different are being united.

Fig. 6. Variant possibilities for the motto in /Xam

SINGULAR		
Basic form	<i>!kui</i>	'person' (acc., nom., possibly voc.)
Emphatic	<i>!kuiten</i>	'person' (nom., possibly voc.)
Genitive	<i>!kuita</i>	'person's'
Vocative	<i>!kuwe</i>	'O person!'
Alternative	<i>!kuko</i>	'another person'
PLURAL		
Basic form	<i>!ke</i>	'people' (acc., nom., possibly voc.)
Emphatic	<i>!keten</i>	'people' (nom., possibly voc.)
Genitive	<i>!keta</i>	'people's'
Vocative	<i>!kauwe</i>	'O people!'
Alternative	<i>!kekuiten</i>	'other people'

Fig. 7. The declension of *!kui*

have been */ne*, which can mean imperative, but can also mean simply emphasis. My own preference might have been *ka*, which indicates wishfulness. *!Ke e: /xarra ka //ke*, meaning something like 'Would that the people who are different come together'. But perhaps that would have been too weak.

/Xam also has a smaller number of suffixes, placed at the end of the verb, to indicate duration of action, completion of action, repetition of action, and so on—and sometimes imperative mood. But the forms for this are always ambiguous: there are several variants which can mean imperative, *-wa*, *-ja*, *-ka* and *-ta*, and each of these can also mean various other things, including passive voice. A particle before the verb would be better than one of these.

So what about the word 'people'? In the myth from which it comes, the phrase 'people who are different' is the object of a verb. In the motto it is the subject. This actually causes no grammatical problem, but here again the motto presents us with an interesting ambiguity. The secrets lie in Wilhelm Bleek's partial parsing of a folktale called 'The Resurrection of the Ostrich' (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 145) and in Dorothea Bleek's (1928/29: 87-93) notes on noun case. As Wilhelm said, 'The noun *!kui* 'man' is very irregular in its declension'. My version of that declension, which broadly is a compromise between Wilhelm's and Dorothea's explanations, is shown here (Fig. 7).¹⁷

¹⁷ I have simplified the orthography here such that it corresponds exactly to that chosen for the motto.

What I am calling the basic form is what Dorothea called the simple, and Wilhelm called the accusative and nominative. This form is ambiguous in case function, at least in the sense that it can represent either accusative (as in the myth from which the noun phrase comes) or nominative. What I am calling emphatic was also called emphatic by Dorothea; Wilhelm called it nominative, though noting that the basic form too could be used as the subject of a sentence. What we do not know is whether the basic form or the emphatic can also be employed with vocative intent.

The word in the motto is *!ke* (the plural basic form). Were I to put 'Diverse people unite' into */Xam*, with unambiguous imperative meaning, I would use vocative *!kauwe* rather than basic *!ke*. That would, I think, tend to emphasize the verb, *//ke*, 'unite' and imply, in the absence of any unambiguously imperative particle (since the language has none), that imperative meaning is intended. Were I to emphasize the idea of 'people', I would use *!keten* rather than just *!ke*, though that would probably not carry an imperative meaning.

But the motto as we have it is *!Ke e: /xarra //ke*. I am not suggesting for one moment that we change it. On the contrary, I believe it is *perfect* exactly as it is. But it cannot unambiguously carry simply a command from the state to the people, or even from the people to each other. If one word is emphasized, by default it must be the word */xarra*, 'diverse'. The call then is not for 'people'

to unite. It is for 'people who are diverse' to unite. Or if it is not a call, it is, quite possibly, a wonderfully descriptive sentence, even an incomplete sentence. But that too is all right. It is quite normal for mottos around the world *not* to be complete sentences.

The official translation 'Diverse people unite', therefore is only one, and not the most obvious. It lies at one end of a spectrum, with the most literal translation (an incomplete sentence) in the middle: 'People who are different coming together'. My current preference, for I have changed it many times in the course of my research on this topic, lies at the other end of the spectrum, in the indicative mood, progressive (in both linguistic and political senses) and with two sets of almost Derridaian double meaning, 'People of *different* origins are *joining* together; people who *differ* in opinion are *talking* with one another' (for *//ke* can also mean 'to talk together' as well as 'to come together').

Let me repeat that: 'People of different origins are joining together; people who differ in opinion are talking with one another'. What better motto could there be for a new democracy?

Conclusions, theoretical and practical

Let me conclude with a few comments on theory and on the application of what I have said tonight. Anthropology is a subject with diverse theoretical perspectives, and Edinburgh's strength is precisely in its diversity. Lest anyone think, by my emphasis on translation here, that I have taken up some form of 'thick description', or that my reference to Derrida renders me 'post-structuralist', let me reassure them. My theoretical position is essentially the same as it has been for the last 28 years. Translation, whether of language or of culture, is only possible within a common framework. For me, this remains primarily a framework of regional structural comparison, in which the explanation of cultural and social facts must reflect a search for deep systematic relations at the level of, say, Khoisan thought or southern African ethno-politics. However, my present inclination is to stress interdisciplinary regional emersion (through art, archaeology, folklore, history, language, and so on), rather than pursuing underlying regional structures of a kind that characterized some of my early work, especially on settlement patterns and kinship.¹⁸

No-one will persuade me away from this position, but at the same time we would all be poorer if everyone agreed with me. In the context of my own Subject Area, School, College or University,

¹⁸ My earlier work in regional comparison is summarized in Barnard 1992; 1996.

we might translate the motto, 'People with diverse research programmes, come together for common goals'. The multiple scholarly and humanitarian objectives of anthropology, and African Studies too, require both competing theoretical ventures and cooperation. 'People who are different, talking with one another', is made possible through shared values and common purpose.

Today, there are many practical problems for Khoisan peoples and for the people of Khoisan descent in southern Africa. One of these is the question of land, and another is the question of indigeneity. The land question is particularly acute for the G/wi and G//ana, and also for some BaKgalagadi, of Botswana's Central Kalahari Game Reserve. While South Africa has been proactive in restoring land, at least in one significant case,¹⁹ Botswana has deprived the few hundred remaining inhabitants of the Reserve, which is about the size of Switzerland, of the right to remain and pursue a hunting-and-gathering lifestyle. Of course, the reasons are complex. Of course enticement, rather than forced removal, is the mechanism. Yet the effect is the denial of an identity rooted in a land occupied by their ancestors for millennia (see, e.g., Sugawara 2002).

The problem of indigeneity is related. The Botswana government defines all citizens of Botswana as 'indigenous' to the

¹⁹ The case of the #Khomani (see Robins 2001; Chennells 2002).

country. No-one, in other words, is more indigenous than anyone else. No African country at all, not even South Africa, has ratified ILO Convention 169, which defines the notion of 'indigenous' more narrowly and precisely—including autochthonous populations like the Bushmen, but excluding other populations. Anthropologists have a diversity of opinion on the matter. Though at opposite ends of the modernist/postmodernist divide, Adam Kuper (in an unpublished paper) and my former student, James Suzman (2001), now at Cambridge, are on the same side here in rejecting the usefulness of Convention 169. Others, notably Sidsel Saugestad (e.g., 2001a; 2001b), of Tromsø, aim to defend the special rights of particular populations—not only as minorities, but as indigenous minorities. A few months ago, Justice Albie Sachs spoke in Edinburgh, not quite on this issue, but more broadly about the relations between the protection of minority interests and giving power to democratic voices.²⁰ He argued that both sides, minority and majority, must be protected. President Mbeki has captured this form of diversity in his appeal to symbolic unity in the Bushman imagery of the Coat of Arms: 'both South African and African', 'both African and universal'.

And so it is in our case. As the Botswana government says, all citizens of Botswana are indigenous to Botswana. All peoples of

²⁰ 'The Evolution of Devolution: The Court Steps In', British Academy Lecture, Edinburgh, 17 February 2003. Justice Sachs is a Judge of the Constitutional Court of South Africa.

southern Africa are indigenous to southern Africa. But that precludes neither the notion that some may also be indigenous in another sense—the first, aboriginal inhabitants. Or that all of us may also be indigenous in some yet wider sense. The South African Coat of Arms expresses this too: the human species, as a whole, is indigenous to Africa, and to southern and eastern Africa at that. We are all southern Africans in prehistoric origin, and our common humanity is symbolized here through the imagery of the most ancient of artists and in a language now forgotten—though soon to be restored. Thanks to Pippa Skotnes, Director of the Michaelis School of Fine Art in Cape Town, the entire corpus of 12,000 pages of /Xam manuscript material is soon to be available on CD-ROM. Professor Skotnes' own Inaugural Lecture was also devoted, in part, to rock art and /Xam folklore.²¹

Perhaps it is significant in all this, that the Khoisan, and Bushman at that—with the lowest status of all South Africa's peoples—were chosen to embody the mythical charter of the new South African multicultural nation. The great rock art authority of the nineteenth century, George Stow (1905: 230-31), once wrote:

Had they been . . . of any other race except that of the despised and often falsely maligned Bushmen, the wrongs which were heaped upon them, the sufferings they endured,

²¹ 'Real Presence', Inaugural Lecture as Professor and Director of the Michaelis School of Fine Art, University of Cape Town, 3 October 2001.

... and the length of the hopeless struggle they maintained when every other race was arrayed against them, coveting their land and thirsting for their blood, would have placed them ... in the rank of heroes and patriots of no mean order.'

South Africa's new Coat of Arms, and its new motto, along with last year's repatriation and burial of the body of Sara Baartman go some way towards righting the wrongs. Sara Baartman (the so-called 'Hottentot Venus') was exhibited as a curiosity in England and France in the early nineteenth century, and her treatment remained, long after her death, an icon of European racism and sexism. After her death in 1815, her body was dissected and lay for 187 years in a Paris museum, and on show until 1974 (see, e.g., Strother 1999; Fauvelle-Aymar 2002: 305-59). The French government ceremoniously handed over Sara Baartman's remains to South African government in Paris exactly one year ago today, 29th April. Her remains were buried, in South Africa, in the presence of President Mbeki and Khoisan representatives, on Women's Day, 9th August 2002.

Let us hope that others in power, in southern Africa and elsewhere in the world, also see fit to restore human rights to Khoisan peoples and individuals, and, in whatever way one may

wish to interpret it, to restore too an indigenous Khoisan spirit to the land. !Ke e: /xarra //ke.

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Mutual aid and the foraging mode of thought:

Reading Kropotkin in the Kalahari

Public Lecture presented under the auspices of the
Japan Association for African Studies and the
Center for African Area Studies, Kyoto University

Kyoto, 18th April 2002

ABSTRACT

The social milieu of the people known as Bushmen, Basarwa, San or Khoe has long been subject to anthropological debate, particularly between ecological anthropologists and revisionists. Some of the former have a special concern with the Marxist notion of 'mode of production'. The latter argue, also in Marxist terms, that it is best to see 'Bushman' not as a collectivity of related ethnic groups, but rather as an underclass subjugated for centuries by agro-pastoralists.

This lecture will propose an alternative framework for the understanding of hunter-gatherer and pastoralist political and economic relations. While anthropologists often use anthropological

perspectives as if they were political philosophies, I do the reverse. I argue that anarchist writer Peter Kropotkin's work, especially his *Mutual Aid* (1902), offer an insight into the workings of certain stateless societies, including those of Bushman hunter-gatherers, those of their Khoekhoe pastoralist cousins, and those of non-governmental organizations who seek to aid their social development. The lecture will draw on my early concerns with regional comparison, and also with my recent work on what I have termed the 'foraging mode of thought'. Bushmen, Khoekhoe and non-governmental organizations all share, if not the same mode of thought, common understandings of mutual aid as a force in social interaction.

THE LECTURE

Randnotiz von Wenstrup in Kropotkins Gegenseitige Hilfe in der Entwicklung.

Der Mensch, der im Wagen fährt, wird niemals der Freund dessen sein, der zu Fuß geht! (altindische Weisheit)

Uwe Timm (1985: 301)

Marginal note by Wenstrup in Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid in Evolution*: humans who go by cart will be never be the friends of those who go by foot! (Old Indian wisdom)

It is perhaps no accident that Uwe Timm uses an annotated copy of Kropotkin's book *Mutual Aid* as a central prop in his novel *Morenga*, which is set in colonial Namibia (Deutsch-Südwestafrika). Kropotkin's book, first published in 1902, was a beautifully-written exploration of the principle of mutual aid and social responsibility, independent of state authority. Through that humble device, the book carried by a German officer during the vicious campaigns of 1904-05, lessons of the futility of war and the common humanity of colonial and indigenous peoples emerge. Like Timm's character, I shall also carry *Mutual Aid* across the interior of southern Africa,

though I may read it differently. How anthropologists read texts is a problem of recent debate, and I hope that this lecture can contribute in some small way to that theoretical problem.¹

A second purpose of this lecture is to develop an alternative framework to those of isolationists, revisionists, and Marxists—a framework I suggested in an earlier paper which serves as a prelude to this one (Barnard 1992a; 1993a) – ‘Primitive Communism and Mutual Aid: Kropotkin Visits the Bushmen’.² Anthropologists often use anthropological perspectives as if they were political philosophies, but in these two papers I do the reverse. Kropotkin was an anarchist. Although I am not an anarchist, I nevertheless take Kropotkin's writings as serious social theory, and I think they have much value for modern anthropology. *Mutual Aid*, in particular, can

¹ A number of people have contributed indirectly to this lecture through discussion of its ethnographic and theoretical content. Joy Barnard, Kuno Budack, Eliphas Eiseb, Ben Fuller, *Antani Fuller, Jan-Bart Gewald, Willi Haacke, Sue Kent, Adam Kuper, and Tom Widlok have all helped in some way.

An early draft paper was first presented at the ‘Khoisan Studies: Multidisciplinary Perspectives’ conference, Tutzing, Germany, in 1994. Fieldwork in Botswana and Namibia was supported by the James A. Swan Fund, the U.S. National Science Foundation, the Nuffield Foundation, and the University of Edinburgh (Department of Social Anthropology, Munro Lectureship Committee, Tweedie Exploration Fellowship Committee, Centre of African Studies Committee, and Travel and Research Fund).

² That paper was first delivered at the annual conference of the Association of Social Anthropologists of the Commonwealth, held in Cambridge in April 1991. A translation into Kropotkin's own language (Barnard 1992a) was published before the slightly shorter English version (1993a).

be read simply as an anthropological text, and indeed one with special relevance to the understanding of Khoisan society. This is not only because of Kropotkin's brief but incisive comments on Khoisan peoples themselves, but also because the idea of ‘mutual aid’ is especially relevant for the understanding of Khoisan society and its historical and ongoing encounters with wider social and state formations.

My third and final purpose is to expand the theoretical framework of regional structural comparison that was used in my *Hunters and Herders of Southern Africa* (Barnard 1992b). While kinship, settlement patterns, and religious belief have always seemed to me highly amenable to explanation within such a framework, economic relations have proved more elusive. I hope that by coupling regional comparison with a study of mutual aid, we can eventually come to a better understanding of Bushman, Khoekhoe, and Damara economic relations than has yet been achieved.

Kropotkin's ‘Mutual Aid among Savages’

The mutual-aid tendency in man has so remote an origin, and is so deeply interwoven with all the past evolution of the human

race, that it has been maintained by mankind up to the present time, notwithstanding all vicissitudes of history.

Peter Kropotkin (1987a [1902]: 180)

Peter Kropotkin, or Pyotr Alexeyevich Kropotkin (1842-1921) (Fig. 1), was a scientist, and long-exiled Russian prince, as well as an anarchist. He wrote a great many works. Some were purely political (anarchist or anarchist communist), others geological, geographical, historical, or ethnological, while still others combined these interests. He often saw his diverse interests as related. Without doubt, his masterpiece was *Mutual Aid*, written in English during his years in Britain. The concept 'mutual aid' (*vzaimopomoshch'*) is attributed to the Russian zoologist Karl Fredorovich Kessler and dates from 1880 or shortly before (see Kropotkin 1987a [1902]: 14, 24-27). The chapter of special concern here is his Chapter 3, 'Mutual Aid among Savages' (1987a [1902]: 74-101).³ Kropotkin's chapter, 'Mutual Aid among Savages', was written in 1891 and, like many of Kropotkin's shorter works, was first published as part of a series in the journal, *The Nineteenth Century*. Kropotkin, of course, used the word 'savages' in its neutral, and not its modern derogatory sense, and I shall do the same in this summary of that key chapter.

³ Here I follow the convention of giving the date of the first book publication in square brackets after the date of the edition I have used.



Fig. 1. Peter Kropotkin (1842-1921)

The first thing Kropotkin does is to dispel the Hobbesian notion that primitive life was, or is, one of 'war of each against all'. He suggests that mutual support, rather than mutual struggle, is evolutionarily adaptive. He says that those 'tribes' who develop an avoidance of internal competition stand the best chance of Darwinian survival. He imputes a 'tribal' origin to human society and rejects what he regards as a seventeenth and eighteenth-century notion that the family was the basis of early human existence. For Kropotkin, the family (either polygamous or monogamous) was a late invention. 'Societies, bands, or tribes--not families--were thus the primitive form of organization of mankind in its earliest ancestors' (1987a: 76). He stresses the fact that, with the exception of some carnivores and a few 'decaying' species of apes (gorillas and orang-utans), higher mammals all live in societies. The first human societies, in his view, were a further development of these. Incidentally, Kropotkin's reading of seventeenth and eighteenth-century literature is, arguably, 'incorrect' here. Later scholars would point to Sir Henry Maine (1861) as the figure who most significantly put aside the 'social contract' in favour of the family, as the basis of social organization.⁴ But in any

⁴ For example, Kuper (1988: 17-41) argues that the recognition of the family as the foundation of society marks the beginning of anthropology as we know it. For Kuper, this point is reached in Maine's (1861) overthrow of social-contract theory

case, for Kropotkin, saw tribes, and not the family, and certainly not the state, as the basis of society.

Kropotkin then goes on to consider the archaeological evidence of his time for 'the earliest traces of man' in glacial and post-glacial Europe, Asia, and North America. He then briefly traces the prehistory of tribe and clan organization, based on evidence culled from Bachofen, Morgan, McLennan, Lubbock, and Tyler. And after this, he takes up the system of mutual aid that operated among Bushmen (or San) prior to the destructive forces of European expansion in the Cape Colony of South Africa.

Kropotkin regarded Bushmen as occupying 'a very low level of [technological] development' (1987a: 83), yet he praised their meat-sharing practices, their affection for their comrades, their love of children, and their trustworthiness, as marks of their high degree of mutual aid. He was not a person to emphasize any sharp distinction between hunting and herding societies. He went on immediately to suggest: 'The same social manners characterize the Hottentots [Khoekhoe herders], who are but little more developed than the Bushmen' (1987a: 83-84). Citing Lichtenstein, Philip, Burchell, Moffat, W.H.I. Bleek, and Fritsch on the Bushmen, and Kolb, Tachard, Barrow, and Moodie on the Khoekhoe, together with secondary

in the latter's argument for the evolutionary precedence of private over criminal law.

sources, Kropotkin comes to the conclusion that Bushman and Khoekhoe societies are characterized by sharing and kindness (which, at least to some extent, he seems to equate).⁵ He notes, for example, that the Cape Khoekhoe described by Kolb (e.g., Kolben 1731: 332-36) shared food widely and divided whatever they had among all present. Although he devotes only two pages to the Khoisan peoples, Kropotkin paints a vivid picture of them as exemplars of the splendid ethos of sharing and co-operation which, he says, characterizes 'savages' generally.

The remainder of his chapter on 'Mutual Aid among Savages' concerns other ethnographic examples of mutual aid. After the 'Bushmen' and 'Hottentots', Kropotkin concentrates on two other pairs of geographically contiguous and (in his view) ethnologically similar peoples: the 'Australians' and those he calls the 'Papuas', and the 'Eskimos' and those he calls the 'Aleoutes'. Among the former pair, he emphasizes strong and wide kinship links, and among the latter, morality and communism. He finishes the chapter with a discussion of 'features of savage life [which are] a puzzle to Europeans' (Kropotkin 1987a: 91). These features include contradictions between *infanticide* and *parricide* (killing of children and

⁵ Kropotkin's main (secondary) sources on 'savage' society were Reclus (1878-94) and Waitz (1859-72), and the primary sources he cites on Bushmen and Khoekhoe here are from Waitz.

parents) on the one hand and *generosity* on the other, and notably the explanation of such customs as blood feuds and consequent 'head-hunting' among the Dayaks of Borneo. Dayak head-hunting, he argues, reflects a moral obligation towards the tribe and not a personal passion; thus it promotes internal solidarity. Kropotkin's general concern here is with the distinction between 'relations within the tribe' and 'relations with outsiders' (1987a: 100).

His conclusion reads:

And it is one of the most interesting studies to follow that life of the masses; to study the means by which they maintained their own social organization, which was based upon their own conceptions of equity, mutual aid, and mutual support—of common law, in a word, even when they were submitted to the most ferocious theocracy or autocracy in the State (Kropotkin 1987a [1902]: 101).

Thus Kropotkin conceives of society not only as something standing apart from the state (in a way that his some of his eighteenth-century predecessors could not), but also as something that could be maintained *in spite of the state*. Citing Charles Darwin as his inspiration, Kropotkin (1987a: 98-99) explicitly rejects both the idealization of 'the state of nature' in Rousseau's works and the

'savagery' imputed to 'savages' by Darwin's contemporaries. He wants us to see 'savage' life as it is. But he also wants us to recognize in it both the foundation of human society in general, and the survival of fundamental social principles. These, he believed, were all too often obscured, though not destroyed, later in evolutionary time by the anti-social nature of the state.

Mutual aid among Khoisan hunters and herders

It seems very unequal when you watch Bushmen divide a kill, yet it is their system, and in the end no person eats more than any other It is not the amount eaten by any person but the formal ownership of every part that matters to Bushmen.

Elizabeth Marshall Thomas (1959: 57-58)

These two sentences hint at different but complementary aspects of property relations in Bushman society, and perhaps in Khoisan society generally (see Fig. 2). It is not the eating which is socially important, but the sharing. Sharing, in turn, implies not simply equality, but rights to dispose of property, and indeed requirements to dispose of it. Whatever aspect of 'primitive communism' they may

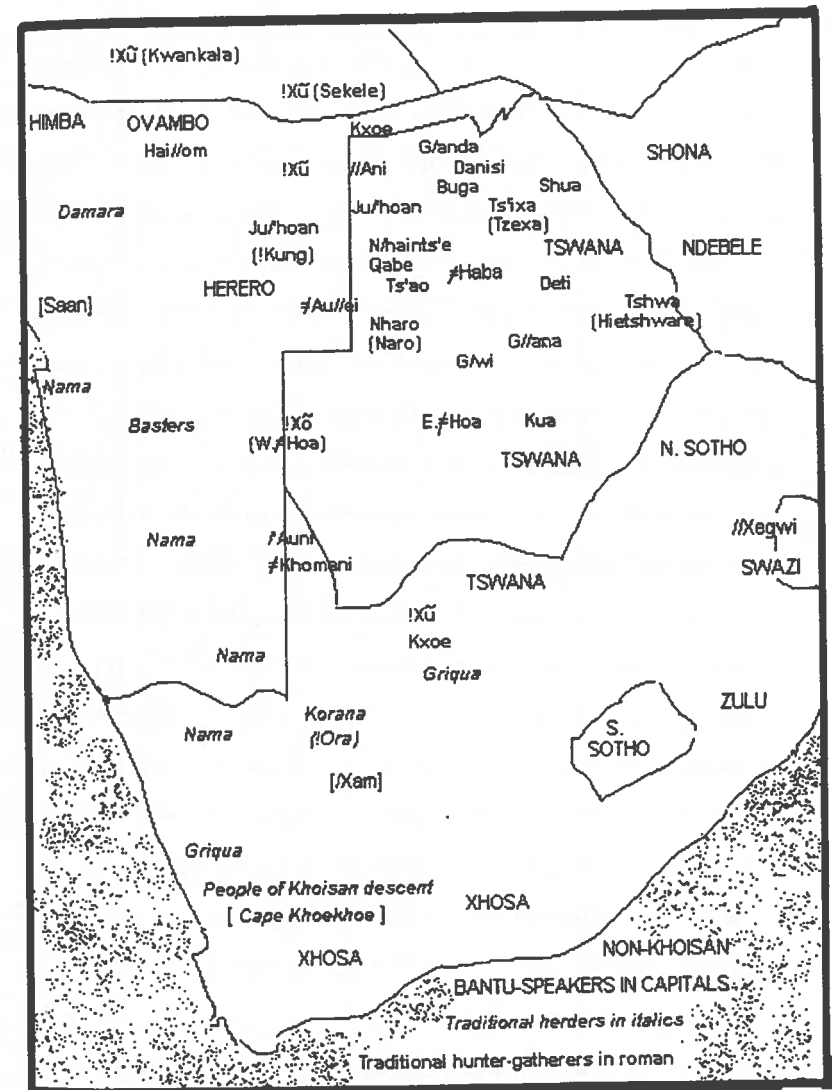


Fig. 2. Some ethnic groups of southern Africa

exhibit (cf. Lee 1988; Barnard 1993a), Bushmen are as much involved in exchange relations as their pastoral and agricultural neighbours.

The trends in Khoisan studies have followed, or in some cases have led, other, broader trends in social anthropology. The first phase of modern Khoisan studies (from the 1950s to the early 1970s) concerned the accumulation of facts, especially within functional and ecological frameworks. The work of the Marshall family, as well as of Tanaka, Lee, and in some respects Silberbauer, was typical of this period (see, e.g., Tanaka 1980). A second phase (beginning in 1970s and continuing) has involved the development of structural models, both for the understanding of particular groups and for comparative purposes. In this I would include much of the work of Cashdan and Silberbauer, as well as my own more explicitly structuralist attempts (e.g., Barnard 1992b). A third phase (also beginning in the 1970s and prominent in the 1980s and since then) has given us a more direct concern with social change. Here, I would include much of Guenther's work, and that of Hitchcock, as well as some of the work of Tanaka, (1991), Sugawara (e.g., 1991), Ikeya (e.g., 1993; 1999) and Osaki (e.g., 2001). A fourth is that of the 'Kalahari debate' in both its archaeological and its bibliographical manifestations (see, e.g., Barnard 1993b). That debate is between 'traditionalists' who see Bushmen or San as exponents of a hunting-and-gathering culture and isolated until recent times, and 'revisionists' who see Bushmen as an

underclass and part of a larger social system. The revisionists argue that that larger social system has affected Bushman life for many centuries.

Over the last decade or so, new writings in the field of hunter-gatherer studies have focused attention on sharing and reciprocity. This was a concern of the Marshall family in their early work, notably in Lorna Marshall's classic article, 'Sharing, talking, and giving' (Marshall 1961). Such new writings also mark a return to the interests of the ecological school and of Sahlins in his *Stone Age Economics* (1974 [1972]) period. Yet, an important difference is that today's work is informed by a much greater emphasis on ideology and indigenous explanation. Recent statements on the reasons for sharing have emphasized social over economic aspects of such practices. For example, Kent (1993) argues, on the basis of statistical evidence from her own field site, simply that: the social reasons for individuals' sharing activities outweigh the economic ones. Bird-David (1990; 1992) emphasizes the ethos of sharing and the relationships foragers maintain with their environments, as well as with fellow members of their societies. Hawkes (1993) tells us that the commonplace notion of sharing as an 'insurance policy' should be replaced by a consideration of sharing as an enforced social obligation. In her view, hunter-gatherers share because they have to, and individuals are sometimes

caught between two contradictory goals: to share with their families, or to share more widely and gain social capital.

Beyond a certain threshold it would seem that sharing must give way to restricted exchange. In the early 1980s, I found that Nharo (Naro) from different band clusters had taken to buying and selling meat across the band-cluster boundaries (Barnard 1986: 49). This was at who a government settlement (Hanahai West). So, mutual aid has its limits. However, for every such transaction one could point to an instance of aid, without any apparent expectation of return. Additionally, the ethnic boundaries, taken for granted by most anthropologists working in the region, may not be the relevant ones. Outsiders incorporated into bands and band clusters are often treated as full members of local society. Woodburn (1982: 448) regards this phenomenon of incorporation as characteristic of his immediate-return type of economic system – where hunter-gatherers live from hand to mouth, and do not plan for the future.

The boundaries between insiders and outsiders, kin and non-kin, sharing relations and exchange relations may be clear-cut in specific instances; but they are not so easy to define cross-culturally. This is true in three senses. In the first sense, of course, cultures differ from each other. The most significant difference here might be in the degree to which outsiders are incorporated as 'kin'. In many Bushman societies, they are easily incorporated – even

anthropologists are put into kin statuses (cf. Barnard 1978). In the second sense, an individual's degree of incorporation may be, by definition, an individual matter. Other individuals may act differently according to either very specific circumstances or personal preferences. In the third sense, forms of reciprocity differ according to sphere of exchange. For example, among the Ju/'hoansi, meat may be shared, but a digging stick is given in *hxaro* (a system of formalized gift-giving of non-consumable movable property).

In her richly documented study of Ju/'hoan reciprocity, Wiessner (1977) draws attention to a number of features which have wide applicability for Khoisan. Close kin engage in generalized reciprocity, while more distant individuals, classified as 'kin', engage in *hxaro*, the giving of non-consumable, movable property with the expectation of an eventual return. *Hxaro* represents a system of delayed and conceptually balanced reciprocity, and, in turn, it overlies a system of generalized rights of access to resources. This ultimately reduces risk (contrast Hawkes 1993). Whatever the real reasons behind individual choices in these matters, *hxaro* and its Nharo equivalent, the //a! relationship, do serve to equalize access both to movable property and to the resources shared between exchange partners. They also represent part of a social system of responsibilities in which the purely economic ones are only a part.

Where virtually all commentators are wrong is in the assumption that such mechanisms represent either a typically Bushman or an exclusively hunter-gatherer mode of exchange. This is where regional comparison is useful. The fact is that *hxaro* has been recorded only among relatively few Bushman groups; other groups often have quite different arrangements for reciprocity and mutual aid. For example, among the Kua of Kutse, there is a practice of long-term 'borrowing' between kin (Kent 1993: 496-97). This is quite a different custom from *hxaro*, but it is one that may serve some of the same functions as *hxaro*. The Jua of Kutse do not practise *hxaro* (Kent (1993: 498). Kent's study of sharing among the Kua shows that alternatives to the Ju/'hoan practices are quite possible. It also shows that sharing practices can remain important after sedentization, a fact I also found in my early work with the Nharo of the Ghanzi district. At Kutse, meat is still the most important shared item, and it can be shared in diverse ways (which Kent terms 'formal' and 'informal'). Social aspects operate well beyond economic necessity, as in the case Kent cites of the sharing of a small and therefore virtually meatless squirrel (1993: 493). Of course there are both continuities and changes with sedentization, and the relationship between continuity and change is complex. Sugawara (1991) has dealt with such issues in his article on the economics of social life among the G/wi and G//ana of !Koi!Kom.

Among the G/wi, who similarly lack *hxaro*, Silberbauer draws yet more specific attention to the social nature of sharing:

The G/wi repeatedly spoke of harmonious relationships as something toward which to strive, to be desired, and, when experienced, to be celebrated. Good fortune, pleasure, and contentment were referred to in terms of being shared. (Silberbauer 1994: 130.)

Although Silberbauer refers to the past, it is my contention that some of this ethos remains today. We need an approach that takes account of the continuity of foraging culture. The idea of a 'foraging mode of thought' may be helpful (Barnard 2002); and this should direct our attention away from production, in the narrow, Marxist sense, and towards an understanding of social relations as the key to a wider Khoisan ecology. We also need a framework for understanding the continuity of Khoisan culture across boundaries between hunters and herders and between hunters or herders and wage labourers.

If the Kua differ from the Ju/'hoansi, might the Nama and Damara (who are linguistically related to the Kua) be more similar? Many have long denied a simple relation between economic system and language (see, e.g., Barnard 1992b: 16-36), but might some

aspects of economics, like some aspects of kinship, display linguistic relationship? My preliminary answers to both these questions are negative, but not perhaps in the way one might expect. The fact is that there seems to exist a pan-Khoisan, and in some respects pan-southern-African, set of economic relationships which cross-cut hunter/herder boundaries. These relationships can endure also among recently settled or otherwise disrupted Khoisan communities. Even economic relations can be resilient, especially where they do encode social and not merely material functions.

One of the several small debates in hunter-gatherer studies is especially relevant here. This is the question of the relation between egalitarianism and a foraging economy. Woodburn (e.g., 1982: 449), echoing numerous Bushman ethnographers, asserts that the value of equality is deeply embedded in the ethos of foraging society and is not easily shed—except in a community of 'mixed origin' such as the mainly G//ana one described by Cashdan (1980). In contrast, Cashdan (1980) and following her, Gulbrandsen (1991), have seen 'fierce egalitarianism' as a constraint that is removed when the former foragers of the Kalahari settle down. I see no reason not to accept the fact that both sides are right; both an egalitarian spirit, and a set of social pressures which serve to keep it intact, are present. What both sides fail to take into account is the fact that Khoisan systems of thought possess contradictions like this; these contradictions are what

makes for flexibility and adaptation. This, in turn, is perhaps a good reason to see the transition to settled existence as one which makes use of principles inherent in Khoisan thought and not one which is simply antithetical to Khoisan life (see also Barnard 1988).

Contrary to popular anthropological opinion, *hxaro*-like exchange networks are found among herders as well as among hunter-gatherers; and marriage gifts which might reasonably be considered 'bridewealth' (a paragon of herding society) are found among hunters. The latter include the gifts of *kamane* (Nharo), *kamasi* (Ju/'hoan), or *gamasi* (Hai//om), which often coexist with brideservice. The notion of 'helping' (the verb *wi*, found in Nharo, Ju/'hoan, and Khoekhoe alike) is distinguished among all these groups from 'buying and selling' (the verb *//ama*, similarly found in all these languages). There is much scope here for comparative linguists to find out how such words came to be found in all these and other languages (whether they are cognates or loan words); and there is much work for anthropologists to find out exactly how they are used and what precise social practices they designate.

Sharing and reciprocity bear a strong relation to kinship. The well-known joking relationship known as *//nuri//gäb* or *//nuri//gäs*, including teasing and in past times cattle-snatching between sister's son and mother's brother, is found among both Nama and Damara – the pastoralist Khoisan peoples of Namibia. Yet family exchange is

wider than such specific relationships may imply, and generalized reciprocity is widely extended. Nama and Damara family members are continually giving gifts to each other at weddings, confirmations, etc., as well as in less formal ways. Ben Fuller sums up some of these relations as follows:

In the generalized reciprocity of Damara/Nama life, goods of low value –puffs on a cigarette, a piece of candy, a few cents here and there—are so commonly exchanged they go unnoticed. Yet, the more regular the exchange, the more likely it will be with a family member. (Fuller 1993: 221)

Fuller adds that non-relatives who exchange on a regular basis come to call each other by kinship terms. Thus the notion of family (*/nikhoen*) is at least metaphorically extended beyond ties of blood and marriage. Much the same happens among those Kalahari Bushman groups who lack the naming practices and system of extension through namesakes of the Ju/'hoansi (or !Kung) and Nharo. Among G/wi and G//ana, friends are classified and treated as kin, more specifically as 'cross-cousins' or 'grandrelatives' (cf. Barnard 1992b: 48-50, 111, 150-52).

Fuller (1993: 222) also notes the significance of extended-family mutual aid in pastoral pursuits. The */nikhoen* are expected to manage

and look after the resources of the land they occupy; and labour is shared in the sense of herding each other's cattle, sheep, and goats. Any herd will have within it sub-herds actually belonging to various relatives of the apparent 'owner'. Grazing rights are traditionally communal but established through kin links, and the system of communal grazing reduces risk due to drought, stock raiding, and contagious disease (1993: 276).

The Damara equivalent of *hxaro* goes by a different name and, unlike the Ju/'hoan form, includes consumable items. It is called *mā!unigus* and involves the giving of things in delayed exchange. Like may not be exchanged for like, but the goods may be similar; e.g., a bag of white sugar may not be exchanged for another bag of white sugar, but it may be exchanged for a bag of brown sugar. This practice is distinguished from simply asking for something (with the verb *mā*, 'give', or *ou*, 'feed') without any expectation of a return (≠Antani Fuller, pers. comm.).

On a short visit to Damara areas in northern Namibia, I found both family support systems and giving relationships (*māgus* or *aogus*, the infix *-gu-* meaning 'to each other') in evidence, though some people said that the latter were now collapsing or were much more common in the old days than they are today. Likewise, relations with one's neighbours were said to have been more important in the past than today. What do we make of this? It could simply be that the

elderly people I spoke to have fond memories of their youth. It could be that social and ecological changes, including overpopulation and overgrazing, have overtaken them. Yet obviously in this case, it cannot be anything to do with a former hunting-and-gathering lifestyle, as these people and their recent ancestors have all been herders.

The Nama may not have *hxaro* but they do have *soregus*, in the past any close relationship between people, or an exchange relation between friends (see also Barnard 1992b: 190-91, 246). In some areas the term may now imply more specifically an improper sexual relationship. Nama also have a custom known as *aoboa-gus*, the pooling of money to give to one who needs it. Some of these various relationships among the Nama, *//nuri//gāb* (the exchange between mother's brother and sister's son), *soregus* (in the sense of free giving between friends) and *māgus* (giving in exchange relationship), are touched on in a thesis by Johanna Hoff (1981: 19-22, 46). Yet they hardly figure at all in the better-known literature on the Khoekhoe. I strongly suspect that if the customs of Nama and Damara herders were more widely known among Bushman ethnographers, and indeed among hunter-gatherer specialists generally, the current debates on reciprocity would be quite different than they are. When we comment on the changes that affect Kalahari hunter-gatherers, we would do well to compare not only hunting and gathering

populations in other parts of the world, but also, as Kropotkin did, those affecting related herding populations in southern Africa.

Of course, we must not idealize either the hunting-and-gathering lifestyle, with its emphasis on mutual aid, or the transition to food production and storage. In all the cases mentioned here, sharing and reciprocity are partly strategies for social well-being and partly strategies for material well-being. Cashdan's (1985), idea of sharing is broadly of the 'insurance policy' school (sharing among hunter-gatherers is like insurance in an industrialized society). She sees sharing in contrast to the alternative – an economy based more on accumulation and storage. The ideals of sharing and storing, the social and the material, and other such variables, present us with a constellation which individuals and social groups choose in order to survive. An ideal of mutual aid is itself, ultimately, of both social and material benefit. From Cashdan's data it would seem that the pressure to share is greater among Bushmen than among their Tswana and Kgalagari neighbours, but this pressure is as much culturally as ecologically-driven. The sharing of food on the basis of such concerns has recently been dubbed 'vigilant sharing' (Erdal and Whiten 1994: 177), and this principle may complement the abstract ideal of mutual aid in Khoisan society generally.

Add to these theft, raiding, and banditry – the examples of 'negative reciprocity' which might reasonably be related also to a

foraging ethos with a devaluation of property rights. On the basis of the frequency of such practices at certain times in the past, an argument could be made for tendencies within Khoisan society towards 'anarchism' in its negative sense, as well as towards a (federalist) 'anarchist communism' in Kropotkin's sense. However, it might be best to consider, as did Sahlins (1974 [1972]: 185-275) in his classic statement on the problem, the fact that negative reciprocity is always predominantly practised with reference to outsiders, with balanced reciprocity the norm in one's 'tribe', and generalized reciprocity in one's family. (Negative reciprocity is trying to get something for nothing; balanced reciprocity involves equal exchange; and generalized reciprocity is giving things freely.) The changing aspects of 'reciprocity' in Sahlins wide sense among the Khoisan reflect, of course, not only ethnic differences but also historical ones. These in turn hinge on relations between internal Khoisan political structures and the outside forces of dominant neighbouring groups, colonial and state authorities, and even benevolent foreigners.

Society, the State, and the Non-Governmental Organization

It is said that the history of peoples who have a history is the history of class struggle. It might be said with at least as much truthfulness, that the history of peoples without history is the history of their struggle against the state.

Pierre Clastres (1977 [1974]: 185-86)

One of the main aims of the revisionist school (e.g., Wilmsen 1986) is to rectify the absence of an active history in the literature describing Bushman society. Yet history tends to be something that is written about states, and not about societies or even peoples. That history does describe peoples is actually something of an illusion championed by nationalists, and indeed statist.

At the other end of the scale, Clastres (1977: 159-60) points out that the very designation of 'primitive' societies as stateless carries with it both an ethnocentric and an evolutionist assumption. Stateless societies are somehow seen as not quite true societies; and the premise of those who use the term 'stateless society' is that all societies eventually evolve either to form states, or to form smaller units within states. For Clastres, as for many other anarchists, the essence of the state is violence. The force that it implies turns an economy into a political economy (1977: 166), while the economies of

'primitive' societies remain lacking in what economic anthropologists often consider primary to economic organization: social control in the hands of but a few members of society.

The problem of the relation between state and society is hardly new, and it has long been the subject of much confusion. Kropotkin (1987b [1897]: 9-16) situated the confusion in the fact that many of his contemporaries (especially 'the best German thinkers and many of the French', p. 10) simply could not conceive of society without the state. Even one of my closest colleagues in British hunter-gather studies, Tim Ingold (1999) has recently expressed similar views as part of his argument that hunter-gatherers do not have society; they have instead sociality without a fully-formed society. At any rate, Kropotkin's opponents, if not Ingold, follow the erroneous eighteenth-century notion that society and the state had emerged through an almost literal social contract. Kropotkin adds that while such an idea may have been of utility in the fight against the supposed divine right of kings, it was not borne out by the comparative evidence from stateless societies. For Kropotkin, both society and government were logically distinct from the state. Although a state cannot exist without government, stateless societies nevertheless can govern their members. The anarchists, he said, did not want to destroy society; they wanted to abolish that relatively recent invention of human history: the state. Society, in contrast, was

part of both animal and human nature: 'there cannot be the slightest doubt that the first human beings with human attributes were already living in societies' (1987b: 12).

Kropotkin was not alone among social thinkers of his time in his views on the evolution of society and the early state, but he differed in refusing to distinguish early from modern states with regard to their abilities to coerce. Herbert Spencer (1994 [1860]: 152-57), for example, had also pointed out that in the evolution of society, customs to 'regulate conduct' precede 'definite government'. He even mentioned the (somewhat anarchical) Korana as one of his examples. Far from guaranteeing individual rights, Spencer wrote, early states acted to infringe upon the rights of their individual citizens. Where he disagreed with the anarchists was in his assumption that in the most advanced forms of state organization, the state does protect the individual.⁶

In their dealings with the state, Bushmen throughout southern Africa, and other Khoisan in Namibia and South Africa, have until recently had Kropotkinist rather than Spencerian experiences. What

⁶ For his part, Kropotkin, along with intellectual anarchists generally, tended to incorporate rather than exclude the efforts of those with whom he felt affinity. In his famous article on 'Anarchism' in the Eleventh Edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Kropotkin 1910: 918), he cites Spencer, along with J.S. Mill, Emerson, Thoreau, Nietzsche, Tolstoy, Zola, Walt Whitman, and several others, as comrades in a larger movement towards freedom and enfranchisement.

Dorothea Bleek reports for the Nharo of Sandfontein in the early 1920s might not be misplaced if reported five or ten years ago:

They let themselves be tyrannized over with very little resistance. They are dreadfully afraid of the white man, particularly the policeman, who appears to them merely an arbitrary tyrant, as they do not understand the laws, and never know what they may be arrested for. They have no idea that the law can protect as well as oppress them . . . (Bleek 1928: 42).

Of course, the successor states now in control of southern Africa are a very far cry from their predecessors, but to the Bushmen (anarchists of the Kalahari) this may not be enough. All states, even the most democratic ones, exercise authority that threatens the freedom of people to make choices for themselves and their kin groups.

Although large-scale anarchist society is an ideal which remains elusive, neither Kropotkin's social theory nor some of his suggestions on general social improvement have proven falacious, especially in a context of Khoisan society. His vision of networks of small federations resembles what we know today of Bushman social organization better than it does of what was known of Bushman social organization in Kropotkin's own time. Kropotkin's advocacy of

small-scale, non-specialized production (e.g., Kropotkin 1912 [1898]) is echoed in the work of Schumacher (*Small is Beautiful*, 1973), and has been found effective in many Third World contexts, including development projects in Botswana and Namibia. Above all, Kropotkin's advocacy of voluntarism has been vindicated. A favourite example of his was the Lifeboat Association in Britain, as well as unions and the clubs and lodges popular in his day (e.g., Kropotkin 1987a [1902]: 216-223; cf. 1968 [1892]: 179-84). What would he have made of Oxfam, Save the Children, or the host of smaller organizations that operate across the Third World? I would argue that he would have seen them as a global extension of his notion of mutual aid. He might even have seen them as 'anarchist' in motivation.

Some years ago I suggested that sometime in the distant, unknown past, as the range of social interaction increased with geographical range, mechanisms for kin category extension developed. These in turn produced ideologies of universal kinship, systems in which all members of society were classified as 'kin' and behaviour between individuals was regulated by belonging to given egocentric kinship categories (Barnard 1978: 69-71). Many Khoisan societies still operate on this principle, whereas other societies make distinctions between 'kin' and 'non-kin' which are quite foreign to such an ideology. The ideology of the major NGOs, and indeed states

in their benevolent forms, represents a further extension of social range for the purpose of widening the scope of mutual aid and support. In this sense they are analogous to, though certainly not identical to, systems of universal kinship. They are a further way to define and expand the limits within which mutual aid is given.

Conclusion

ANARCHISM, a petit bourgeois social and political current hostile to proletarian scientific socialism.

The Great Soviet Encyclopedia

(Kolomiets, Aleksandrov, and Pirumova 1973: 388)

At the time of his death in 1921, Kropotkin had returned to Russia and was working on a book on ethics. His unfinished text (Kropotkin 1924 [1922]) was an attempt to apply the scientific argument of *Mutual Aid* to the solution of practical problems. As one of his biographers puts it, 'Since man is inseparable from nature, he imbibes his moral conceptions from the experience of nature' (Miller 1976: 246). Nature itself contains the elements of an ethical system in which mutual aid is the most prominent principle. At the end, Kropotkin saw mutual aid as a principle that was increasing in prominence,

though it was not to be sustained in his native Russia nor extended to the world at large for some time to come.

Kropotkin held that the mutual-aid principle is retained in all forms of society: from animal to savage, from barbarian to feudal, from agrarian to industrial. Similarly, a case could be made for a continuity of the foraging mode of thought, at least beyond the narrow confines of 'pure' hunting-and-gathering society. Thus one should not think of distinctions like that between immediate and delayed-return economies (e.g., Woodburn 1982) as absolute--each entailing its own radically-opposed mode of thought. As Woodburn himself has pointed out, at least some immediate-return hunter-gatherers do have a strong incorporative principle, which I see in their universal extension of kinship. He sees it in economic terms, but what he says of the Hadza could apply to many, if not all, Khoisan foragers and former foragers:

Equality is, in a sense, generalised by them to all mankind but, sadly, few of the rest of mankind, so enmeshed in property relations, would be willing to extend parity of esteem to hunter-gatherers who treat property with such a lack of seriousness (Woodburn 1982: 448).

In southern Africa, both the foragers and those who were recently foragers retain attitudes to wage labour, the redefinition of property rights, and the increasing dominance of the state, all of which are reminiscent of attitudes in 'purer', immediate-return economies. The further understanding of this foraging ethos and its relation to systems of mutual aid, both indigenous and imposed, is a problem not only of theoretical, but also of practical importance.

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