

# Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of <sup>the</sup> Bushmen

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## References

### ABBREVIATIONS

BC Bleek/Lloyd Archive, University of Cape Town  
 CA Cape Archives (State Archives), Cape Town  
 CO Colonial Office  
 CTA Cape Times Archive  
 CUMAA Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology  
 DC Duckworth Collection, Cambridge  
 GH Government House (Cape Town)  
 INIL Index to Illustrations  
 JL Jagger Library, University of Cape Town  
 KC Kirby Collection, University of Cape Town  
 KCAL Killie Campbell Afrikaner Library, Durban

LP Library of Parliament, Cape Town  
 MA Museum Africa, Johannesburg  
 MM McGregor Museum, Kimberley  
 NM National Museum, Bloemfontein  
 PRM Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford  
 SA State Archives (Cape Archives), Cape Town  
 SAL South African Library  
 SAM South African Museum, Cape Town  
 SAN State Archives of Namibia, Windhoek  
 UCT University of Cape Town  
 WM Wellington Museum, Western Cape

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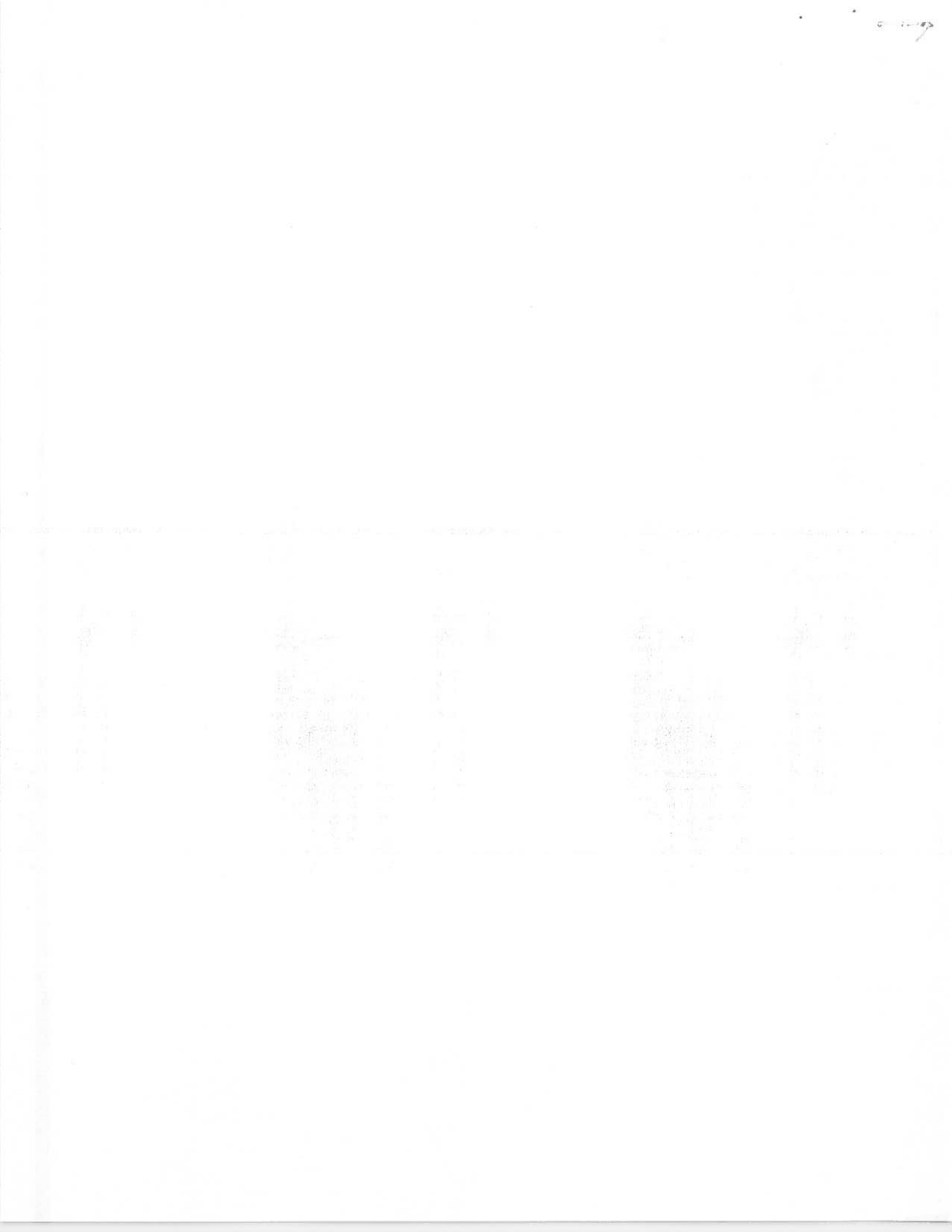
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## Notes

### Foreword Marilyn Martin

#### Notes

1. Personally I prefer to use the collective term Khoisan where appropriate; as an Afrikaans-speaker I have heard the derogation in 'Boesman' too often to be able to use it.
2. The divisions and contestations reside in the very use of the terms 'coloured', 'so-called coloured' and 'black'. For insight into the current debates I refer readers to two articles in *Die Suid-Afrikaan* (55, December 1995/January 1996): Kadalie, B. *Coloured Consciousness: Building or Dividing the Nation?* and Van der Merwe, A. *Tweede Swart Afrikaanse Skrywersimposium*.
3. Recent legislation to restore land excludes San groups; the government of national unity has opened a desk for indigenous affairs to address the situation of the approximately 200 people who remain in the Karoo and Kalahari Desert (*The Sunday Times*, 25 June 1995).
4. These exhibitions were: *Ezakwantu: Beadwork from the Eastern Cape* (1993); *Muslim Art from the Western Cape* (1994); *Anne Frank in the World* (1994); *IGugu lamaNdebele-Pride of the Ndebele* (1994-5).
5. The photo-documentary exhibition, *Anne Frank in the World*, which came from the Anne Frank Centre in Amsterdam, traced the story of Anne Frank and her family; a complementary photographic exhibition, curated by the Mayibuye Centre, University of the Western Cape, described apartheid and resistance. But we missed the opportunity of telling our own story of genocide.
6. These exhibitions were: *Where We Live—Panels by the People of Cape Town* (1992); *Made in Wood—Work from the Western Cape* (1992-3); *Picturing our World—Contemporary Images of the Western Cape* (1993); *District Six—Image and Representation* (1995-6), organised in collaboration with the District Six Museum, Cape Town.

### Mutilation and Meaning Stephen Greenblatt

#### Notes

1. On the problem of the term as used in ordinary speech, there is a remarkable footnote in J.L. Austin's "A Plea for Excuses": "You have a donkey, so have I, and they graze in the same field. The day comes when I conceive a dislike for mine. I go to shoot it, draw a bead on it, fire: the brute falls in its tracks. I inspect the victim, and find to my horror that it is your donkey. I appear on your doorstep with the remains and say—what? 'I say, old sport, I'm awfully sorry, etc., I've shot your donkey by accident? Or 'by mistake'? Then again, I go to shoot my donkey as before, draw a bead on it, fire—but as I do so the beasts move, and to my horror yours falls. Again the scene on the doorstep—what do I say? 'By mistake? Or 'by accident?'" (Austin 1979:185 n.1). In the light of this analysis, it would not

be legitimate to call the circumcision of the anthropologist's sons either an accident or a mistake.

2. See Jacques Derrida (1982: 307-30). As will become clear, my interest is not in the indeterminacy that Derrida argues to be the condition of iterability but rather in the historical contests over meaning.
3. It is striking that *Deuteronomy* also explicitly forbids other ritual mutilations: "Ye are the children of the Lord your God: ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead" (14:1).
4. This moralisation seems based upon the passage in *Deuteronomy* 10 from which I have quoted: "Only the LORD had a delight in thy fathers to love them, and he chose their seed after them, even you above all people, as it is this day. Circumcise therefore the foreskin of your heart, and be no more stiffnecked. For the LORD your God is God of gods, and Lord of lords, a great God, a mighty, and a terrible, which regardeth not persons, nor taketh reward" (10:15-17). See also *Deuteronomy* 30:6 and *Jeremiah* 4:4 and 9:26.
5. I owe this reference to Lowell Gallagher.
6. The *Oxford English Dictionary* attributes the first printed use of the term Juggernaut to W. Bruton (1638) in *Hakluyt's Voyages*.
7. See the brief critique of Catz's thesis by Robert Viale in his French translation of Mendes Pinto (Viale 1991:22).
8. Subtitle: *Being an essay to a new method of observing the most important movements of the muscles of the head, as they are the nearest and immediate organs of the voluntarie and impetuous motions of the mind. With the proposall of a new nomenclature of the muscles*.
9. He provides a sample of this language which English was capable of rendering in utterances like the following: "obedient alma honasa hul; generati alvah ableuvisse insi locat amorvissem humanet rokoas salah axoret eltah alvah hon ono olephad in se mori melet eri neri meleare; okoriko olo ophaus narratus asa sadoas loboim olet amni Phikepeaa ebeller elme bosai in re meal olike" (Tany 1655:54-5). I owe this passage to Thomas Luxon.
10. If we think that the hands are too limited a means of human communication compared with the tongue, Bulwer proposes to show us that their range of expressiveness is actually greater than that of words. In a flight of rhetorical enthusiasm that leads him to forget that he is himself, after all, using words, Bulwer offers his proof by launching into a list of what we do with our hands:

Sue, entreat, beseech, solicit, call, allure, entice, dismiss, grant, deny, reprove, are suppliant, fear, threaten, abhor, repent, pray, instruct, witness, accuse, declare our silence, condemn, absolve, show our astonishment, proffer, refuse, respect, give honour, adore, worship, despise, prohibit,

reject, challenge, bargain, vow, swear, imprecate, humor, allow, give warning, command, reconcile, submit, defy, affront, offer injury, complement, argue, dispute, explode, confute, exhort, admonish, affirm, distinguish, urge, doubt, reproach, mock, approve, dislike, encourage, recommend, flatter, applaud, exhalt, humble, insult, adjure, yield, confess, cherish, demand, crave, covet, bless, number, prove, confirm, congee, salute, congratulate, entertain, give thanks, welcome, bid farewell, chide, brawl, consent, upbraid, envy, reward, offer force, pacify, invite, justify, condemn, disdain, disallow, forgive, offer peace, promise, perform, reply, invoke, request, repel, charge, satisfy, deprecate, lament, condole, bemoan, put in mind, hinder, praise, commend, brag, boast, warrant, assure, inquire, direct, adopt, rejoice, show gladness, complain, despair, grieve, are sad and sorrowful, cry out, bewail, forbid, discomfort, ask, are angry, wonder, admire, pity, assent, order, rebuke, savor, slight, dispraise, disparage, are earnest, importunate, refer, put to compromise, plight our faith, make a league of friendship, strike one good luck, give handsel, take earnest, buy, barter, exchange, show our agreement, express our liberality, show our benevolence, are illiberal, ask mercy, exhibit grace, show our displeasure, fret, chafe, fume, rage, revenge, crave audience, call for silence, prepare for an apology, give liberty of speech, bid one take notice, warn one to forbear, keep off and be gone; take acquaintance, confess ourselves deceived by a mistake, make remonstrance of another's error, weep, give a pledge of aid, comfort, relieve, demonstrate, redargue, persuade, resolve, speak to, appeal, profess a willingness to strike, show ourselves convinced, say we know somewhat which yet we will not tell, present a check for silence, promise secrecy, protect our innocence, manifest our love, enmity, hate, and despite; provoke, hyperbolically extoll, enlarge our mirth with jollity and triumphant acclamations of delight, note and signify another's actions, the manner, place, and time, as how, where, when, etc (Bulwer 1644:20).

This reminder that the Renaissance was the great age of lists is not likely to persuade many readers that "postures of the hand" exceed "the numerical store of words," but it is enough to license Bulwer's lengthy and painstaking analysis of gestures, from scratching the head with one finger (an "effeminate gesture bewraying a close inclination to vice" [130]) to putting forth the middle finger, the rest drawn into a fist ("a natural expression of scorn and contempt" [132]).

11. After giving an account of circumcision as



a wide-spread practice, Bulwer carefully acknowledges that the Jews were not simply imitating neighbouring peoples: "Not that the Hebrews took this fashion from the Egyptians, but from the Covenant God made with Abraham, *Genesis* 16. "But the Circumcision of Abraham was not new, but at length approved of and sanctified by God" (1650 ed.:210-11). Similarly, he cites the moralisation of circumcision in attempt to explain the departure from nature: "As for Circumcision commanded by God, it was for a moral reason, and had an expresse command; otherwise, as a Grave Divine expresseth it in the case of Abraham, as a natural man, it would have seemed the most foolish thing in the world, a matter of great reproach, which would make him, as it made his posterity after him, to seem ridiculous to all the world" (214).

#### The Self Image of Jacob Adams Robert Ross Notes

1. As formulated, Moodie's essentialist, racist view is both unacceptable and false. Philip's more sociological position is basically right, but heavily exaggerated.
2. Case 13, 16 June 1768, ARA VOC 10968.
3. The documents on this case, some 500 pages long, are to be found in ARA VOC 10952, and also in the Cape Archives.
4. There is one other uncertain case. Heese (1994:227) refers to a certain Kees, sentenced in 1787, as a "Hottentot-Boesman." As I read the case, "Boschman" refers not to a social category, but to an individual with that name. See ARA VOC 10986.
5. Unfortunately it is not clear which of the three missionaries, Bonatz, Kühnel and Küster, then present at Genadendal held the conversation, but as they all worked very closely together, and were of much the same mind, this blemish is not very serious.
6. Presumably the modern Bamboesberg, the most south-westerly outlier of the Drakensberg escarpment, between modern Steynsburg and Sterkstroom.
7. This is clearly a translation of "Bosch", which in South Africa is normally rendered as "Bush".

#### Trophy Skulls, Museums and the San Alan G. Morris

##### Acknowledgements

I would like to thank all those curators of institutions in South Africa and around the world who have allowed me access to their osteological holdings and to the written documentation about the specimens. Rosemary Powers of the British Museum (Natural History) was especially helpful in providing me with a wealth of information about the origin of many of the Khoisan individuals stored in London. Professor Johannes Raum of Munich was kind enough to alert me to

Lakeman's description of the boiling of skulls, and Mrs Elise Fuller of the University of Cape Town was most giving of her time to help in translation. Professor J.C. de Villiers was not only willing to search his own files about Namaqualand history, but was also very kind in gathering information from Dominee Moller. Stella Branca, her brother Willem Steenkamp and her nephew (also Willem Steenkamp) provided invaluable assistance in tracking the events which led to the arrival of Koos Sas's skull in Stellenbosch. Mrs Branca deserves special thanks for being kind enough to read through the manuscript and provide critical comment. She has also provided permission for the publication of Willempie's photographs of the dead Koos Sas.

##### Notes

1. From the original letter dated 9 November 1847 from Whittle to his parents. Letters are the property of Gordon Everson of England and the quotation concerning the heads was sent to me by Mr Denver Webb of King William's Town.
2. Steenkamp, W.P. & Branca, S. (1978) "The half century", unpublished manuscript, property of Stella Branca of Mowbray, Cape Town.
3. Dominee Moller's testimony is in the form of a letter to Professor J.C. de Villiers dated 27 April 1995. The translation from Afrikaans was kindly provided by Mrs E. Fuller of the Department of Anatomy & Cell Biology.
4. The original transcript of this interview is in the possession of Professor J.C. de Villiers, and was signed by G.J. van Zyl on 5 October 1962. Again Mrs E. Fuller did the translation.

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

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#### Images of //Kabbo Michael Godby

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#### With Camera and Gun in Southern Africa: Inventing the Image of Bushmen c.1880 to 1935 Paul S. Landau

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Figs. 14 & 17: Jones & Doke, 1937. Jhb.:

Witwatersrand University Press.

Fig. 15: Duggan-Cronin, 1942. Kimberley:

Alexander McGregor Museum.

Fig. 16: Johnson 1940. New York: J.B.

Lippincott.

Fig. 26: Green 1936. London: Stanley Paul.

##### Notes

1. For the purpose of this paper I adopt the word bushmen without the exculpatory quotes, along the lines advanced by Gordon (1992a), not for people—I do not want to give a name to anyone—but for the *images* of various people in the perceptions of others. Bushmen thus includes not only many "San" and indigent Khoe-speakers, but "Sarwa"

people (Motzafi-Haller 1994), some Nama, subordinate BaKgalagadi, and other ethnic mixes. Bushmen did not mean San. Where necessary I have used the term "Hottentot", in quotes since it is universally considered offensive. But with "bushmen", too, I wish to stress that I am not discussing the attributes of the actual people. If readers, feeling constrained and yet implicated by the word, detest its use, then let them consider that this essay is a contribution to understanding why.

2. For a very useful overview, incidentally noting the dearth of studies on travel photography, see Roberts (1988a). Geary (1988) remains the most impressive specific study of photography in Africa. For South Africa, Bensusan (1966) is not very helpful. It must be noted that a signal lacuna in the material of this paper is the postcard. Due to various constraints, I could not attempt to treat this important medium for the southern African photograph's disbursement (Roberts 1988b).

3. Mathias Guenther (1980) has treated the topic, and especially the denigration of bushmen, but he has less to say about why the supposedly *bestial* became "harmless". Maughan-Brown (1983) sees the shift as cloaking whites' racism from their own consciences.

4. By hunting literature I refer to the abundance of volumes devoted to southern and central African hunting, which form the sub-genres sampled here. "Travel" literature is a more permeable rubric, whether in books or magazines. I wish it to signify a narrative perspective centered in mobility through an African landscape, mostly (but not necessarily) chronological in progression, and in which other people are "encountered" as objects of attention. It is in the same aspect, i.e. the "encounter", that such people are photographed—not, for instance, as personalities.

5. Montaigne, *Essays* (bk. 1, dated 1572–4), no. 31, "Of Cannibals".

6. Bleek died in 1875, and most of the photos (of Cape Town prison labourers) date from the mid 1880s. *Bushman Folklore* (1911) was a posthumous collection.

7. For more on the relationship between photography, "anthropometry" and colonial anthropology, see Pinney (1992) and in general Edwards (1992), Wright (1987), and especially Banta & Hinsley (1986). For typologies of the British, see John Beddoe's *The Races of Britain* (1885). *The Peoples of India* was compiled by John Forbes Watson & John William Kaye; see Flukinger (1985: 53); Pinney (1991, 1992); and Washbrook (1982). Sieberling (1986:47) describes the effect of such pictures as similar to an antiquarian's portfolio, but some of the more egregious examples surpass such an analogy by their violence.

8. See Sekula (1989) for a thorough discussion here; Tagg (1988); and Bourdieu (1990) [1965] whose argument foreshadows Tagg's. Sekula, Tagg and Umberto Eco strongly imply that because "the photograph" is subject to cultural definition as an "incomplete" message in a

larger system of signs, it follows that verisimilitude cannot be said to exist as an independent quality. I disagree with this view.

9. It was economical to copy photos via lithography or etching before the introduction of the half-tone plate, which occurred about the time Farini's book was published.

10. Some girls fetching water, for instance, "dart[ed] into the bush as if shot" (214). Cf. Gibbons (1898:270) and Hunter (1952:232).

11. As if to put his action in contrasting perspective, Farini (1886) shortly draws attention to the "war of extermination" supposedly waged against Koranna by Bastaards, and comments that they "looked upon the killing of a black with no more compunction than on the destruction of some vermin" (369–70). Farini's real name was William Hunt. Hunt adopted an "ethnic" *nom de guerre* after he crossed Niagara Falls on a tightrope. Having seen one of the travelling bushman "exhibits" at Coney Island (cf. Parsons, 1992; Gordon, forthcoming), in 1884, the showman charged a shilling to view his own bushmen at the Royal Westminster Aquarium (Clement 1967:1).

12. T.R.H. Owen, in his 1960 book *Hunting Big Game with Gun and Camera in Africa*, calls for sportsmanship (meaning effort) in photography as well as hunting! "Each weapon has its peculiar fascination . . ." (1960:9–11).

13. Yet, tellingly, the section titled "Who's who in nature photography" included Teddy Roosevelt, who loved the gun, not the camera (ix, 191).

14. Both the photo and the trophy pointed iconically toward nature and the animal's or the person's 'natural' fellowship in 'the wild': they shared actual characteristics with the real beings far away, and so harkened toward them. But *indexically*, meaning as traces or imprints, the photo and the trophy diverged. The trophy was a "trace" left by the herd, a single being from a wider moment. The photo could and did bear the imprint of the entire environment.

15. For all its great merits, Lutz's and Collins's (1993) *Reading National Geographic*, is at times hurt by readings in which every pictorial element, even incongruous and contradictory ones, is seen to have hegemonic functions. Yet it is also good to bear in mind Patricia Hayes' general point that colonial photographs mostly display moments selected from the outcome of imperialism, not taken from its rougher establishment (Hayes 1994).

16. Thus photographic subjects participate in making photos, a point Jan Vansina raises (Vansina 1992). But a more significant issue here is that it does not really matter for our purposes whether the Ituri people were actually disgusted. They appear so to a viewer. Thanks to Tracy Jean Boisseau for this insight. Although it is not my focus here, a full analysis of gender in pictures of bushmen is called for, a point made separately by Deborah Posel and Patricia Hayes.

17. Those interested in the further elaboration of the figure 'bushmen' after the war should see Barnard (1989), Harraway (1988), and Wilmsen (forthcoming) for trenchant analyses.

#### The Proximity of Dr Bleek's Bushman Martin Hall

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##### Notes

1. Diary of Sir Thomas Maclear; Cape Archives A515/72.
2. "Traverse of the Roads between Mowbray and Wynberg, shewing the Principal Residences." A.A. Morshead, District Adjutant, 24th Regiment. Published by Saul Solomon and Co, Steam Lithographers, Cape Town. Cape Archives D1991/2134.
3. *Cape Argus*, 19 August 1875.
4. The only explicit criticism we have been able to find was by John Merriman in 1873. In the parliamentary consideration of the Estimates, Merriman objected to the continuation of Bleek's annual grant: "Mr Merriman objected to the item of £150 grant to Dr Bleek for prosecuting Bushman researches", which he thought very nonsensical and absurd. "The money would be far better spent in keeping the sons of three Kafirs at school." *Cape Argus*, 24 June 1875.
5. Bleek, writing to Ernst Haeckel in Germany in April 1871: "In the parcel you will also find a hamper for bottles, which our young Bushman carried during our expedition." (UCT/BC151/C12.12.1). The "young Bushman" was /A!kunta.
6. Letter from Bleek to Sir George Grey, 21 April 1875. South African Library MSB 223/19A.
7. Bleek to the Governor, 23 August 1870: UCT Manuscripts and Archives BC151/C11.6.
8. 20 December 1870 Bishop Colenso to Bleek. UCT Manuscripts and Archives BC151/C13.129.
9. Lucy Lloyd to Dr Felice Finzi (Florence), June 1871. University of Cape Town Manuscripts and Archives BC151.
10. Bleek to Sir George Grey, 12 April 1872. South African Library MSB 223/19A.
11. Bleek to Colonial Secretary, 9 April 1872. Cape Archives CO 4172/B42.
12. Selkirk was a partner in the firm of Lawrence and Selkirk, which had been formed in Cape Town in 1866. Lawrence had gone north, diamond prospecting, in 1869 (Bull & Denfield 1970). As Michael Godby shows (this volume), Selkirk was also respon-

sible for the "Huxley" style photograph of //Kabbo (Bleek & Lloyd 1911, facing page 452), captioned "photographed at the Breakwater, 1871", which must have been taken before 16 February 1871 when //Kabbo was discharged into Bleek's custody in Mowbray.

13. !Kweiten ta //ken arrived in Cape Town in June 1874 and left again in January 1875 (Bleek & Lloyd 1911), and so her photograph must have been taken in this period. For the second, unpublished pose in the same photographic session, see Cape Archives J868.

14. UCT Manuscripts and Archives: BC151.G1.1. Published in Spohr 1962:34. 15. It is often assumed that /Han=kass'o only came to Mowbray in 1878. However, Lucy Lloyd reported that "he was . . . an excellent narrator and remained with us from January 10th, 1878, to December, 1879" (1911:xi). Bleek's statement of expenses for 1871 included the following entry: "Food etc. for Klein Jantje (old Jantje's son-in-law) from June 22nd to July 28th, 1871, 36 days at 1/6d per day £2 14s 0d" (UCT/BC151/C11.13). Clearly, /Han=kass'o did not provide any testimony in 1871, and was probably brought to The Hill as part of Bleek's plan to get his informant's wives to stay at the house.

16. Hermann was born in 1841 in Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany. He was granted a travelling bursary to paint landscapes while on a sea voyage from Europe to the East and stopped in Cape Town in 1869, staying until about 1871 or 1872. Hermann returned to settle in the Cape in 1875.

17. UCT Manuscripts and Archives BC151. 18. Bleek and Lloyd 1911: facing page 101-male, right profile, measuring rod, dated 1880 and labelled as a "grass bushmen" (the photograph deviates from the ethnographic stereotype in that the subject is fully clothed; facing page 36-male figure, left profile, measuring rod, undated; facing page 52-three men, one left profile, two right profile, measuring rod, undated. These photographs were also published as 6 1/2 x 4 1/2 inch format cards, attributed to Hermann's studio (South African Library collections).

19. UCT Manuscripts and Archives BC151/C15.6

20. The South African National Gallery has a recently acquired mixed album of water-colours and sketches, and a set of accessioned water-colours. Examples of town scenes are Cape Town waterfront from the front of the Castle (No.1428, dated 1884), Cape Town from the Old Quarry (No.1426), and Table Bay from Zonnebloem (No. 1429). There are also several views of the town across Table Bay, incorporating seascapes. Several of the landscapes are forest scenes and tree studies painted at Knysna.

21. South African Library Collection. The convention of the man sitting and his wife standing was established in about 1860, with J.J.E. Mayall's portrait of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, posed in order to disguise the great

difference in height between the Queen and her husband. This remained a highly popular pose for the rest of the century (Heyert 1979). 22. Cape Archives J868.

23. Price's reference to the "Bushman family" suggests a reworking of hearsay as reportage; the family must have been (\*Kásin, !Kweiten ta //ken and their children, last together in Mowbray four years earlier.

24. UCT Manuscripts and Archives: BC151/C15.14. 28 February 1878.

25. Bleek to Sir George Grey, South African Library MSB 223/19A, 7 May 1874.

26. Anthing had been sent to Bushmanland to investigate the situation in 1862, discovering evidence for wholesale extermination of the /Xam over previous years, including massacres of groups of 200 /Xam, driving the /Xam to turn to banditry in their turn. As part of his attempts to deal with the situation, Anthing brought three /Xam to Cape Town in February 1863 (Deacon 1991).

27. Diä!kwain had been accused of stealing sheep by a farmer, Jacob Casper Kruger. Diä!kwain shot Kruger in self-defence, and the farmer died a few kilometres away. When apprehended by a posse of Special Constables (after being tracked for a month), Diä!kwain freely admitted shooting Kruger, explaining that Kruger had threatened to return and exterminate the entire /Xam camp (Deacon 1991).

*!Khuwa-Ka Hhouiten Hhouiten "The Rush of the Storm": The Linguistic Death of /Xam*  
Anthony Trill

#### Acknowledgements

I am indebted to K. Schoeman, Head of the Special Collection at the South African Library, Cape Town, for his generous help in sending me relevant parts of his forthcoming book, J.J. Kicherer *en die Vroeë Sending, 1799-1805*, for introducing me to the original record of the Questions to the Missionaries in the Krynauw Collection, and for sharing with me his knowledge of the London Missionary Society Missions to the Bushmen. Nigel Penn kindly sent me a copy of his outstanding Ph.D. thesis on *The Northern Cape Frontier Zone* and I have plundered that extensive intellectual frontier for many details. To Tim Couzens must go the credit for locating the records of the trial of the Tooren gang in the Cape Archives. Mike de Jongh has shared his knowledge of the "Karretjies Mense" with me and has generously provided a number of photographs which appear in this paper with his permission. Patrick Pearson provided me with copies of archival documents relating to the Rhenish Missionary station at De Tuin. Garth Sampson climbed into his attic to find a number of his papers that would satisfy my curiosity about evidence of early bilingualism amongst the /Xam of the Upper Seacow River. Helize van Vuuren gave me a number of references to /Xam bilingualism among the Boer farmers interviewed by G.R. von Wielligh. David Morris kindly sent me the

photograph of Abraham Berend and gave me permission to reproduce it. The sample of L. Lloyd's research notes was compiled from material in the Bleek Collection in the Manuscripts and Archives Department of the University of Cape Town and is reproduced with the permission of the Principal Librarian. Janette Deacon, David Morris and Karel Schoeman provided valuable comments on an earlier draft of this paper and Lynne Murphy assisted with expert editorial advice. I am most grateful for all this assistance and co-operation.

#### Notes

1. The Khoe and San groups who served in the Bushman Battalion in Namibia and who moved to South Africa in 1990 do not belong to the South African Khoisan tradition.
2. Traditional names for areas of South Africa have been used instead of the current provincial names in the interests of historical transparency.
3. Permission to reproduce this photograph from M. de Jongh is gratefully acknowledged as is the copy of the tape-recording on which these remarks are based.
4. There are also a number of Khoe borrowings in addition to the four identified by W.H.I. Bleek (see above), including *ddebba* "kapater", *ddoro* "tinderbox", *hagu* "pig", *kei* "grow", *ss'o* "lungs". It would be surprising if Khoe influences in /Xam were restricted to four words given the fact that "they had been in contact with Khoikhoi pastoralists for a millenium or more . . ." (Deacon, forthcoming). See also Penn (1995b:182) for a discussion of evidence of what must have been a tradition of /Xam-Khoe bilingualism in parts of the Colony arising from this extended contact; this would have been a potential source of a sustained linguistic influence.
5. Presumably Bleek had managed by then to learn the "... local Hollands . . ." which he had found so difficult to follow 15 years previously. He also "... did not understand much Hollands . . ." then (Spohr 1962:10).
6. He had another /Xam name, /Uhi-ddoro (Bleek & Lloyd 1911[1968]:303 fn.5). This probably means Smoke-firestick. One wonders whether Oud Jantje survives as Dream because Smoke-firestick is simply not evocative enough!
7. Deacon (forthcoming) places the Bleek and Lloyd informants in the group of over 200 /Xam who were "rounded up" as part of the Northern Border Police action against the Koranna in 1868. They were either convicted of theft or distributed amongst farmers as labourers. This suggests that the Tooren gang could have been victims of a miscarriage of justice. Of course, this is a possibility. E. and D. Bleek's idea that the informants had been sentenced merely "for eating part of a stolen ox, I believe" is dismissed by Schmidt (forthcoming). According to //Kabbo himself he was arrested with his son, Witbooi Tooren (/goo-ka-lui), and son-in law, Klein Jantje Tooren (/han=kass'o), when eating a spring-



bok in the company of members of his family (Bleek & Lloyd 1911[1968]:29, 295).

8. Kicherer claimed that he and Edwards had learnt some /Xam but not very well particularly because of difficulties with the clicks (Examination of Missionaries by the South African Missionary Society, Cape Town, February 1801. South African Library MSB 849,1 (36)). Given the nature of /Xam phonetics, this sounds like a gross overestimation of his and Edwards' linguistic progress and the fact that he always relied on an ever-present interpreter suggests he was aware of this.

9. Penn considers evidence that there was a good deal of linguistic communication between Khoes and San along the Frontier during this period (1995b:182). This must have involved bilingualism of some kind because of the radical linguistic differences between !Kwi and Khoekhoe languages. This bilingualism was not one-way (Kakkerlak, Smit's /Xam interpreter at Toornberg came from these parts), but one may assume that the relative status of the San, Khoes and Dutch communities would have dictated the patterns, and that the sociolinguistic pressure would have been primarily on the San to learn other languages. Penn assumes that the Sneeuwberg Bushmen were not linguistically /Xam (Penn 1995b:185). This is possible, but the differences would probably have been of the order that characterised the minor differences amongst the /Xam dialects. After all, Kakkerlak was competent in a dialect of /Xam that he had learned in the "Achter Sneeuwberg" and this served him in Bushmanland. In fact the name given to the Sneeuwberg San by the colonists, Sway ei, is probably a derivative of ss'o !e which is part of the /Xam name for the Berg Bushmen, namely !kaoko-ss'o !e (Bleek & Lloyd 1911 [1968]:144).

#### Decolonising the Mind: Steps Toward Cleansing the Bushman Stain from Southern African History

Edwin Wilmsen

##### Acknowledgements

These ideas were expanded in my critique of the 'Bushman' paradigm in my book *Land Filled with Flies: A Political Economy of the Kalahari* (University of Chicago Press, 1989), but they are developed here in a more global form. Two essays by my long time friend and colleague, Hartwig Isernhagen, have been crucial in the crystallisation of these ideas: "A constitutional inability to say yes: Thorstein Veblen, the reconstruction program of The Dial, and the development of American modernism after World War I" (REAL: *The Yearbook of Research in English and American Literature* 1:153-190, 1982) and "Tribal and academic knowledge: constructing 'the West' and 'the Native'" (Zeitschrift f r Kanada-Studien 24:87-106, 1993). And, of course, Ng gi wa Thiong'o *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (James Curry, 1986). More recently, my thinking has

been greatly stimulated by Francis Barker, *The Culture of Violence: Essays on Tragedy and History* (University of Manchester Press, 1993). This essay also owes much to Leo Marx (1964), *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (Oxford University Press), to Ana Maria Alonso (1988), "The effects of truth: re-presentations of the past and the 'imaging of community'" (*Journal of Historical Sociology* 1:33-57), and to David Bunn (1994) "'Our wattled cot': mercantile and domestic space in Thomas Pringle's African landscapes" (W. Mitchell, ed., *Landscape and Power*:127-74, University of Chicago Press). I have drawn freely from these works without indicating specific paraphrasing (in three cases, short quotes) in order not to interrupt the discursive flow in an essay of this kind. A much longer version titled "God eats flies: ethnographic complicity in the construction of alien others" is in preparation which will carry full documentation of these intellectual debts. A fellowship from the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation gave me the freedom to read and think about the subject in ways that I could not otherwise have done. The essay was written while I was a Senior Simon Fellow in the Department of Social Anthropology, University of Manchester.

#### Between the Lines: Some Remarks on 'Bushman' Ethnicity Pieter Jolly

##### Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the Librarian, Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, for permission to photograph plates from books in this library and to reproduce the photograph of San rain-makers from the Stanford Collection. I thank Sandra Kloppe for comments on some of the plates reproduced in this article, as well as for pointing me to the article by James Clifford which I have cited here, and Ben MacLennan for information related to his interview with Paulus, the principal Dordrecht informant.

Notes  
1. This informant and others who claimed to be "Bushman" descendants were interviewed in 1994 for a film on interaction between San people, their descendants, and the relationships that were established between San and other groups. I was involved in the making of the film at the time, and evaluated their testimony from video tapes of interviews which were conducted with these people by others, as well as from other oral data collected earlier by Ben MacLennan from Paulus, the principal informant.

2. See Parkington (1984) and Guenther (1986a) for discussions of the ways in which the terms "Bushman", "Soaqua" etc. were employed in early accounts of the inhabitants of the Cape, and Humphreys (1995) on the construction of ethnic identities for precolonial populations in South Africa.

3. It is possible that these were "Sonquas", people living by hunting and gathering and attached to the Namaquas, but the point is

that the two groups were so similar in appearance and weaponry that Meerhoff was unable to distinguish between them.

4. Interestingly, Thompson goes on to state that the situation of the Korannas at that time "exhibits the obvious process by which the Bushman race have been originally driven back from the pastoral state to that of hunter-man and robber" (1968:33), a theory supported by Philip, Pringle and Buxton (Anonymous nd.:5-6) as well as Andrew Smith (1830:173), but strongly contested by others (Anonymous nd.). Current debates are often older than we realise.

5. A good example of the active promotion of "Bushmanness" for financial gain is that of Kaggga Kamma, a well-known farm in the Western Cape, where "Bushmen" are displayed for the benefit of paying visitors to the farm.

6. This was also the conclusion to which Ben MacLennan had come after conducting an interview with Paulus, before this man had been interviewed by others.

7. See Spiegel and Boonzaaier (1988) on the promotion and invention of tradition and ethnicity in apartheid South Africa.

8. While recording oral histories in Lesotho, related to relationships which may have developed between the Sotho and San people, I was almost a victim of a similar scheme designed to entrap unwary anthropologists and ethno-tourists interested in the "Baroa" (San). I was taken to a small settlement by a person who told me that he knew of people staying there who could speak a San language and who had been living as hunter-gatherers in caves, where they painted, until very recently. One of these "Baroa" had gone to the lengths of fabricating a small bow and arrow as part of his act, and gave a quite convincing imitation of the manner in which a late twentieth-century "Bushman" might be expected to speak and behave. He took me to a shelter nearby and showed me paintings which he claimed that he and his fellow "Baroa" had made. My initial excitement was tempered, however, when I examined the testimony of these people more closely, and my consequent doubts concerning the authenticity of my informants' information were confirmed when translation of my interpreter's remarks to the "Bushman" informants revealed that he was cleverly leading the informants so that they gave the correct ethnographic information in reply to my questions concerning their supposed hunter-gatherer lifestyle.

#### Praise to the Bushman Ancestors of the Water: the Integration of San-related Concepts in the Beliefs and Ritual of a Diviners' Training School in Tsolo, Eastern Cape Frans E. Prins

##### Acknowledgements

I would like to thank David Wopula who acted as interpreter and assistant during the field-work. The inhabitants of Cqaqala for their courtesy and friendliness during my

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stay. Irene Stachelin for kindly lending me her photographs taken during one fieldtrip. This paper benefited from long discussions with Sjan Hall on theoretical and conceptual issues.

**From 'Lords of the Desert' to 'Rubbish People':  
The Colonial and Contemporary State of the  
Nharo of Botswana Mathias Guenther  
Notes**

1. See Guenther (1990b) and Schott (1955), also see Fritsch (1906) who, in a review of Passarge's Bushman book, accused the author of fabrication, exaggeration and misconception.
2. For more on this point see Guenther (1992a:96-9).
3. It is to be understood that the conditions here described, in the "ethnographic present", pertain to the period when I conducted the bulk of my field-work, from 1968 to 1970. At that time the existential, economic and social situation of the farm Bushmen was considerable worse from than what it appears to be today (basing my impression on more recent times on two brief return trips to Ghanzi, one in 1983, the other in 1991). Throughout the ensuing two decades a succession of improvements came about, thanks to the oftentimes enlightened development policies and actions on the part of the Botswana government. Most of these derive from a massive, multi-part and phase omnibus development scheme that was conceived and adopted by government in 1975 (the so-called "Project Memorandum LG.32"). I have described some of these developments in detail elsewhere (Guenther 1986b:296-320; also see Wily 1982). Hopefully, these policies will continue to guide those officials charged with the social and economic welfare of what may be the nation's most vulnerable and most exploitable ethnic minority. Concern has been expressed by colleagues who have recently worked in Botswana about two schemes in particular, as capable of seriously undermining that welfare. One is the "Tribal Grazing Lands Policy" which was introduced the same year as the omnibus development project. It is a land and cattle ownership and management scheme that holds the threat of pauperising and proletarianising most of the country's Bushman citizens (Stephen 1983; Hitchcock 1982). Another is the more recent move to relocate forcefully the Bushmen who live and herd their few stock in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve, onto poorer land (Hitchcock 1985).
4. For more detailed accounts of the social and economic problems faced by the farm Bushmen of Ghanzi, see Guenther (1976, 1977, 1986b) and Childers (1976).
5. To some extent these demands and expectations became fulfilled about a decade later. One part of the massive Bushman development project conceived in the early 1970s consisted of setting aside a number of farms, near and at some distance from the farms, at which

to settle Bushmen, and set up their own cooperative-style ranching operations as well as schools and stores. As reported elsewhere (Guenther 1986b:304-7), a number of such settlements have been created in the district.

**Fashioning the Bushman in Van Riebeeck's  
Cape Town, 1952 and 1993 Rob Gordon, Ciraj  
Rassool and Leslie Witz  
Notes**

1. See C. Rassool & L. Witz, 'South Africa: A World in One Country: Moments in International Tourist Encounters with Wildlife, the Primitive and the Modern. Africa Seminar, University of Cape Town, September 1994 for an account and analysis of the cultural politics of South African tourism.
2. See Hylton White (1995), *In the Tradition of the Forefathers: Bushman Traditionalism at Kaggga Kamma*, Cape Town, for a study of the complexity of Bushman identity at Kaggga Kamma. See also the article by Buntman in this catalogue.
3. Tourists to Cape Town during 1994 have witnessed a series of history storyboards displayed at the Waterfront. In order to address criticisms and some misgivings about representations of Cape Town's past at the Waterfront, these histories had been commissioned by the Waterfront Company from the Cape Town History Project at the University of Cape Town (N. Worden, talk presented at Symbols for a Democratic Cape Town, conference organised by the Mayibuye Centre and the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa, 30 March 1993.) While these do go some way towards presenting an alternative history, these remain overshadowed by a pervasive set of British imperial codes.
4. Eco-Explorers, "guarantee the most interesting eco-experiences" and now undertake tours through the Cedarberg with Bushman adventures.

**Bushman Images in South African Tourist  
Advertising: Representation or  
Misrepresentation? Barbara Buntman  
Acknowledgements**

Interviews were held with the following people in 1995. I acknowledge and thank each person for the time they gave me. This project would not have been possible without their help: Roger Chennells, Gunther Komnick, Louis Liebenberg, Fran Buntman, the people of Kaggga Kamma, Caroline Schmidt-Gross.

- Notes**
1. The appropriate term, Bushman or San, remains a strongly debated issue. The people themselves, at both Schmitzdrift and Kaggga Kamma (pers. comm. 1994, 1995), and the predominant view in current academic practices indicate an acceptance of Bushman (Gordon 1992a:4-8; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989:8-9). This issue is discussed more fully in Buntman 1995.
  2. The group consisted originally of 27 people, "all patrilineal kin of Dawid Kruiper" (White 1995:9), who is generally held to be the

spokesperson and leader appointed by the group, although his 95-year-old father, Regopstaan Kruiper, is the most revered (Chennells, pers. comm: May, 1995). The numbers of people resident at Kaggga Kamma fluctuate somewhat as members of the clan move to and from the Kalahari, but currently there are about 40 people there (Chennells, pers. comm. June 1995).

3. Michael Duiber, who accompanied Dawid Kruiper when he was invited to address the United Nation's International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs in the early 1990s. Duiber's primary obligation seems to be attending to the well-being of the Kruiper family and to taking tourists to visit the Bushmen. He has an undergraduate degree with a major in anthropology, and is almost always referred to as 'the anthropologist'.
4. The specific contribution made by photographer Paul Weinberg is important. He has produced a significant body of work in which he has documented the changing lifestyle of the Bushman people. I examine these works in a forthcoming paper.
5. I use Walter Benjamin's ideas on "authenticity" and its authority as a basis for the use of the concept, as explained by MacCannell below. "The authenticity of a thing is the essence of all that is transmissible from its beginning, ranging from its substantive duration to its testimony to the history which it has experienced. Since the historical testimony rests on authenticity, the former too, is jeopardized by reproduction when substantive duration ceases to matter". When discussing "aura", Benjamin asserts that one cannot separate the 'authentic' from its basis in ritual function and original use value (Benjamin 1970:221, 224). MacCannell argues that "the progress of modernity ('modernization') depends on its very sense of instability and inauthenticity. For moderns, reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere: in other historical periods and other cultures, in purer, simpler life-styles. In other words, the concern of moderns for "naturalness", their nostalgia and their search for authenticity are not merely casual and somewhat decadent, though harmless, attachments to the souvenirs of destroyed cultures and dead epochs. They are also components of the conquering spirit of modernity—the grounds of its unifying consciousness" (MacCannell 1976:3). This is experienced in tourism: "The rhetoric of tourism is full of manifestations of the importance of the authenticity of the relationship between tourists and what they see: the typical . . . house, the . . . very place where . . . the actual pen . . . the original manuscript . . . (etc) . . ." (MacCannell 1976:14).
6. Graburn suggests that the use of 'tribe' is avoided by many writers who consider it a colonial category imposed on indigenous groups. It was criticised firstly because it implicitly divided people into those representing an early stage of human social evolution and the so-called modern nations.

Secondly it implied "significant additional dimensions such as culture, language, territory and even race" and thirdly it acted as a labelling device to "describe a broad range of phenomena that are assumed to result for basic 'tribal identities'" (Graburn 1976:69).

7. The use of the notion of "privilege" is ambiguous as it implies a special advantage or prerogative for the tourist to be able to witness or participate in an unique experience as well as giving the assurance that s/he will be treated as an honoured guest.

8. The word 'primitive' is not used in the text of the brochure and the problematics of the term are recognised. It is used, however, in parenthesis, following Torgovnick, as it encompasses some of the unstated yet subtly suggested synonyms such as savage, tribal, Third world, underdeveloped, developing, traditional, ethnic, non-western, or other. "All take the West as norm and define the rest as inferior, different, deviant, subordinate and subordinatable (Torgovnick 1990:21).

9. The identity of this group of people at Kagga Kamma is closely aligned to their concept of labour. White asserts that they argue for their appropriateness to "Bushman work" to which "they are suited by virtue of their innate identity as people of nature and as heirs to the hunter-gather tradition. "Bushman-work" entails offering services that are founded in putative attributes of Bushman-ness, such as physical and cultural characteristics, and especially bushlore." He notes, further, that they reject certain forms of wage labour "which in the Bushmen's experience have entailed poverty, prejudice and diaspora" (White 1995:34).

10. For an insight into common attitudes as to whether the Bushman state of dress or undress is significant according to some Western and/or Christian needs, see Gordon 1992a:171, 179.

11. The owners of the reserve give the Kruiper clan a certain amount of food each month which is supplemented on shopping expeditions and with the products from their modest collection of livestock which is, of course, not visible to the tourists. The situation is very different from that in the Kalahari Gemsbok Park where food is very scarce. "In the Kalahari hunting requires great effort and in energy return, is a less rewarding activity than gathering vegetable foods, which provide the major part of the diet. Nevertheless, the hunt holds a central place in the community and camp life" (Liebenberg 1990:54). White quotes, but does not identify, one of the Bushmen from Kagga Kamma.

"The owners write in the brochure that this is the 'Place of the Bushmen', but it's not our place. We hear we can hunt, but they say hunt to a point and then stop. That can easily be said, because we aren't the owners. If this was our place, then if we left we could take the wildebees on the brochure with us... Abejol can hunt, but now he can't. There is something in front of his eyes. One presumes it's

that this isn't his own place" (White 1995:45). 12. The account of the visit is based on my personal experience at Kagga Kamma in January 1995.

13. White (1995:30-3) describes how the Bushmen of the southern Kalahari and Kalahari Gemsbok National Park have been moved around by officials and white patrons since the 1930s.

14. The group is neither culturally nor linguistically homogenous. White (1995:25) asserts that none of the Kagga Kamma Bushmen "speak the  $\approx$ Khomani language they claim as their heritage, or indeed any distinctively Bushman dialect. Instead they all speak a colloquial mixture of Afrikaans and Nama—the 'coloured' lingua franca of the northern Cape".

15. Although the Kruiper family still practise some forms of hunter-gathering and hunting when they return to the Kalahari, they are no longer socially isolated from the modern conveniences of twentieth century life, so that they rarely produce traditional artefacts for their own use. They do, however, produce small items such as beads and bows and arrows which they sell to tourists in their little curio shop. Each person is entitled to keep the total proceeds of the sale for him or herself (Chennells pers. comm. 1995).

16. In addition to other duties at Kagga Kamma, Bets Hammon is the unofficial teacher at the informal school. She told a researcher in 1994 that the children were learning to read and write in Afrikaans, but that she did not want to teach them too much as this would "Westernize them". During my 1995 visit, the importance of maintaining traditional culture was emphasised by some white staff and my Bushman informant, Rick, stressed the need for children to learn about their own cultural heritage.

17. They are selling a particularly unusual and 'rare' form of ethnicity and difference, quite distinct from those attributes one might find at other tourist venues in South Africa, for example Shakaland in Kwa-Zulu Natal (Hamilton 1993) or Gold Reef City in Johannesburg (McKenzie 1994).

18. "'White Culture', as used here, is the structural (that is, social, linguistic, and unconscious) pre-condition for the existence of 'ethnic' groups. (MacCannell 1992:129). See Vogel (1989:11-12) on how the west shapes Africa when imaging Africa.

19. Academic interest in the Bushmen is also notable. "'Bushmen' represent the most heavily scientifically commoditised grouping in the annals of human science" (Gordon 1992a:186).

20. There is a very urgent need to question notions of a unified Bushman identity generally, and at Kagga Kamma specifically. Norton argues that "[i]n constructing signs of collective identity, people not only preserve the identity they represent, they also bind themselves—and that identity—to the images that signify it" (Norton 1988:97). Although analysis of the images and presentation does not allow

for an investigation into areas such as gender relations, both within the group and in terms of relationships outside the group, it remains as an issue of concern. Other issues include tradition, questions of identity and struggles with particular ways of understanding their heritage.

#### **What is an Eland? Nlao and the Politics of Age and Sex in the Paintings of the Western Cape John Parkinson**

##### **Acknowledgements**

I have been fortunate to have supervised Anne Solomon's MA thesis, to have worked closely with Royden Yates, Anthony Manhire and Pippa Skotnes and to have interacted regularly with David Lewis-Williams.

Inescapably I have learnt much from these colleagues and I acknowledge a great debt. I acknowledge particular debts to Yvonne Brink and Royden Yates, who discussed with me some of the contradictions and weaknesses inherent in my argument. I am extremely grateful for their critical comments. I also want to thank Sandra Prosalendis and Pippa Skotnes for sustained encouragement to write this essay.

#### **Some Questions about Style and Authorship in Later San Paintings Anne Solomon**

##### **Acknowledgements**

Especially thanks are due to the staff of the Natal Museum, Pietermaritzburg, particularly Aron Mazel, Val Ward and Tim Maggs, without whose help visits to the sites discussed would not have been possible. Beth Wahl assisted on the trip to Barnes' Shelter, and John Morrison and Patrick Solomon assisted on the visit to Mpongweni North. Financial assistance from the Swan Fund, Oxford, made the trip to Mpongweni North possible.

#### **Bushmen Music: Still and Unknown Deirdre Hansen**

##### **Notes**

Simha Aroms method of recording polyphonic music involving instruments of fixed pitch (e.g. instruments tuned to one pitch, or voices) is essentially one of record-and-playback, and requires standard technical equipment that is readily available and easy for one person to operate: two portable stereophonic recorders (designated A and B) to be used for playback and recording respectively. Recorder B requires an input jack and a microphone jack, which can be used simultaneously, and applied to either of the two tracks. A cable is needed to connect the output jack of recorder A to the input jack of the other recorder B. Other essentials are a microphone with a connecting cable, several headphone sets (for individual performers), and a terminal box with cables so that the headphones can be connected to the appropriate jack of either Recorder A or B (cf. Figure 1 in Arom 1991:107).

Basic to the recording procedure is the recording of the total musical performance (what Arom calls the TUTTI recording).



Afterwards this tape is rewound back to the beginning, and inserted into recorder A, ready for play back. This recorder must be connected by cable to the input jack of recorder B, so that it will feed the bottom right-hand track. The microphone is connected to the jack on recorder B, so as to feed the top left-hand track. A clean tape is placed in recorder B.

The next stage involves the recording of individual performers (P1, P2, P3, P4 etc.). Each wears a set of headphones, so that all of them can monitor the TUTTI recording, and the playing procedures of each performer. Performer 1 listens to the TUTTI recording through his/her headphones, and performs his/her part in time with it, the performance being recorded through the microphone on the top track of recorder B, while the TUTTI recording is copied from recorder A onto the bottom track. At this point the researcher has made the TUTTI recording and this same recording on the bottom track, while Performer 1's part exists alone on the top track.

A similar procedure is followed for performer 2. The tape just recorded on recorder B is rewound and inserted into recorder A (the TUTTI tape being set aside) and a clean tape is inserted into recorder B. Thereafter performer 2 executes his/her part. S/he will hear performer 1's part through the headphones. Recorder B will record performer 2's part on the top track, and the synchronous recording of performer 1's part will be copied from recorder A onto the bottom track. This procedure will provide synchronised, but separately recorded individual parts of performers 1 and 2. The researcher can now choose to hear a playback of either performer 1 alone (on the bottom, right-hand track), or performer 2 alone (on the top, left-hand track), or even both of the players together.

The third performer can opt to play with reference to either P1 or P2 (with recorder A playing both tracks simultaneously), or to the TUTTI recording, which can be placed on recorder A. Whatever his/her choice, the new recording will have Performer 3 alone on the top track, and his chosen reference music on the bottom track. As Arom rightly asserts, without this method of recording, the analysis of Central African polyphony and polyrhythm, which is the focus of his book (1991) would not have been possible. The advantage of this recording method is that it can be applied in different ways to suit a particular type and style of music. In much more diversified polyphonic music with fixed pitches, for example, music incurring xylophones, lamellophones and harps, an individual player will play two parts together simultaneously (using left and right hands), so the technical procedures—and the musical analysis—are more complicated. By extending the basic method described above, and by developing it, Arom has invented a method for recording virtually any kind of multipart polyphonic music. (cf. Arom 1991:109–11).

Bushman vocal polyphony, often supported by polyrhythmic handclapping, should be subjected to this method of recording, so that the researcher be able to arrive at a transcription in which all the constituent elements of the musical entity, produced by individual performers with reference to one another's individual patterns, and to the total musical result (TUTTI recording), are described.

**"The ideas generally entertained with regard to the Bushmen and their mental condition"**

*J. David Lewis-Williams*

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I am grateful to colleagues who commented helpfully on drafts of this article: Geoff Blundell, Anne Holliday, Simon Hall and Rory McLean. The manuscript was kindly typed by Denise and Wendy Voorvelt and Anne Holliday. The Rock Art Research Unit is funded by the Centre for Science Development and the University of the Witwatersrand. Neither institution is responsible for the ideas herein expressed.

**Prisoners of their Reputation? The Veterans of the 'Bushman' Battalions in South Africa**  
*John Sharp and Stuart Douglas*  
**Notes**

1. The erstwhile National Party government approved plans for a housing scheme at Schmidtsdrift in 1991. However, these plans were never realised as a result of uncertainty about imminent political changes.
2. The ownership of Schmidtsdrift base has been under contention since 1990, when the Tswana-speaking Tlhaping clan began to demand restitution on the basis of ancestral rights of occupancy. Members of this clan were forcibly evicted from Schmidtsdrift in 1968 as part of apartheid 'black spot' clearances. Tlhaping leaders lodged a claim for the return of Schmidtsdrift in 1992, and despite their success in this regard, they have, as yet, been unable to reoccupy the entire Schmidtsdrift base.
3. The !Xu and Khwe Trust was formed at the request of the South African army, with the express purpose of assuming the responsibilities previously carried out by the military.
4. See footnote 3.
5. Pressure from the ANC resulted in the Schmidtsdrift 'Bushman' battalion (31 South African Infantry Battalion) and 32 Battalion at Pomfret being disbanded. The ANC associated the 'Bushman' battalion with South African mercenary activities in Angola (in support of UNITA), and with the largely Angolan-constituted 32 Battalion's horrific activities in Phola Park (*The Star* 27 January 1993).
6. The Angolans who served in the SADF during the Namibian liberation war were, technically speaking, mercenaries fighting in a colonial war. Moreover, they have been relatively prosperous, in material terms, as soldiers. Their past political allegiances together with the fact that they are not absolutely poverty-

stricken (nor have they been for the last twenty years) strongly militate against calls for assistance from the ANC government.

7. See footnote 2.

**Native Views of Western Eyes** *Carmel Schrire*  
**Notes**

1. This essay is a slightly expanded version of Schrire 1995:168–83.
2. For the historical context of these studies, see Stocking 1987. For development of craniology, see Gould 1981:73–112.
3. A biographical sketch of Riou appears in Ffolliott 1981:504–5; Nash 1990:xv–xxxix. The quotation appears in Riou 1990:33.
4. Flash Poll's problems appear in Searcy 1907:57–8.
5. Tasmanian sea-level changes are discussed in Blom 1988; Chappell 1993; Jones 1977. For a history of Aboriginal people there, see Ryan 1981.
6. For details about the lives of William Lanne and Trucanini, see Ellis 1981:133–44; Murray 1993:513–16.
7. Trucanini's dealings are related in his extensive diaries, in Robinson 1966. Her intimacy with Robinson appears in Ellis 1981:38–9. For Robinson's interests in relics, see Rae-Ellis 1988:129–31.
8. For a spirited and convincing exoneration of Robinson in the light of Rae-Ellis's accusations, see Ryan 1988; for indications of Trucanini's feelings, see Rae-Ellis 1988:132–3; for treatment of her remains, see Ellis 1981:154–6, and plate 27, facing 56.
9. The sale of Robinson's goods appears in Rae-Ellis 1988:262–5. Early views of the origins of the Tasmanians are discussed in Kirk & Thorne 1976; Sollas 1924:107–32; and in its broader intellectual context, Jones 1992. The final disposition of Trucanini's skeleton is related in Ellis 1981:158–72; Hubert 1989:150.
10. For a portrait of Riou, see Nash 1990, facing xxii, and for his relationship with Cook, Nash 1990:xvi. Cook's voyages are described in Beaglehole 1968; 1974. Riou's presence on the third voyage is noted in Beaglehole 1974:499. For an account of Bligh, see Denning 1992, and for the close call between Bligh and Riou, Nash 1990:xxv.
11. The Australian Aboriginal reaction appears in Cook 1846:205; Swain 1993:114–15; note 5. For Gordon's estate, see Nash 1990:xxxviii.
12. The allusion to "kangaroo" appears in Cook 1846:234, 240–1. For a recent statement about *Terra nullius*, see Treaty 88 Campaign 1988. The landmark judgment recognising native title to land is *Eddie Mabo and Ors, Plaintiffs vs. The State of Queensland, Defendant*, High Court of Australia, 3 June 1992.
13. For Gordon's hands-on examinations, see Cullinan 1992:31, 35, Gordon 1988:56. The exchanges between Diderot and Gordon appear in Cullinan 1992:22–3, quoting Diderot 1875–1977:445–6. Other writings on this subject include Gordon 1992b; Gould 1982; Altick 1978:268–72; Gilman 1985b:76–108.

14. For Baartman's story, see note 16. I am grateful to R.J. Gordon and R. Ross for directing my attention to the discussion of her financial affairs in Drescher 1986:43-5.

15. Cited reasons for testicular evulsion include faster running, in Raven-Hart 1971:19; cooling the ardour, Raven-Hart 1971:56; birth control, Raven-Hart 1967:122-3; more sons, Valentyn 1973:63. For relationship of Hottentots and Jews, see Grevenbroek 1933:209; and for Cook's observations, Cook 1846:326. For classification, see Linné (Linnaeus) 1767:29; and for Cuvier's impressions, Griffith *et al.* 1827:196-201.

16. Galton 1890. The 'Venus' is Galton 1890:53; the crinolines, and the extended quotation, 54.

17. For an account of Cook's death, see Beaglehole 1968:301-7; 1974:637-77.

18. Joppien and Smith 1988:126-7; Smith 1985:108-23. For a detailed analysis of the mutual incorporation of European and Pacific islander cultures, especially with regard to pantomimes and shows, see Denning 1986.

19. For expositions of these ideas, see Sahlins 1981:9-32; 1987:104-35; Denning 1982a.

20. For Cook as tyrant, see Denning 1982a:430; and for a full exposition, Obeyesekere 1992.

The passionate rebuttal of Obeyesekere is Sahlins 1995, and the quotation, Sahlins 1995:5.

21. The definition of ethno-history is Denning 1982b:35. For references to sharks, and burned or sparkling eyes, see Denning 1988:xviii-xix, 89, 94; Fornander 1969 II:25; Sahlins 1981, 20; 1987, 18-19. For Gooch's watching sharks, see Denning 1988:88.

22. The photographs in question are catalogued as SAM nos. 655, 655A, 1278-1307. They were taken by J. Drury, modelmaker to the museum, who made a large series of live casts for the South African Museum between 1907 and 1924. For particulars, see Drury and Drennan 1926, and for a comprehensive overview of this subject and an account of how the live cast collection was made, see Davison 1991:139-67; 1993.

The particular photograph described here is now missing. I saw it in the South African Museum in 1991. It was housed in a folder that contained those numerous other shots of female genitalia attributed above. When I returned the following year to check its acquisition number, the file was gone. My initial inquiries met with blank denial that any such pictures had ever been in the collection. When I persisted, I was told that since (but not on account of) my previous visit, all anatomical photographs had been placed in a special place to prevent them being used for pornographic purposes. A search of the newly hidden material failed to reveal the particular photograph that I was after, but it did elicit considerable concern from a senior curator, who was loath to imagine that the photographer (presumably Mr Drury), should ever be construed to have operated in a prurient way.



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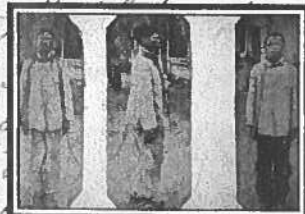
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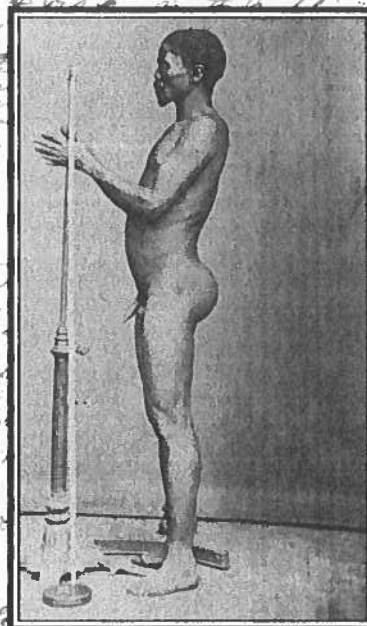


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