

Dyson Notes

one of two folders

This folder typed and  
incorporated in file

2018.9.1

Dyson notes  
completed

f 20.37

Dyson Notes  
typed  
Xeroxed

MARRIAGE: (1) Inter. RHD/FM/ /umah et al.

301  
585  
Red Pigment: Get this from Bushmen at /goisah northeast of Gautscha at the base of a mountain where it occurs as small stones. /umah replied that they no longer knew why this was used, it just always was used.

58  
Exogamy: It is stated that customarily a man selects his wife from another band. (We have example of /samko and Baou in child marriage apparently within our band - but reason to think her family largely belongs elsewhere).

602  
606  
Mother-in-law Tabu: A husband may not speak to his wife's parents except by talking through his wife to them. Similarly the wife is not allowed to talk to his parents. It is stated however that after the birth of the second child this tabu is ended for the men. We tried to get /ee!kai to speak to his mother-in-law as he had two children. He did but would not look at her while he did so and said it wasn't right to ask him to speak to her.

587  
589  
Widowing: A widow is cared for by her brother-in-law for 10 rainy seasons after her husband's death at which time she may return to her own family if she chooses to. In this case her brother-in-law (or sister-in-law) if there is no brother) takes charge of the children. If she wishes to remarry she may do so but it is forbidden to marry any of her former husband's family.

In the case of a widower, however, he may marry his former wife's sister if he so chooses. Naturally he keeps his own children.

587  
582  
Marriage: Does not marry his brother's wife if his brother dies but must take care of her.

May not marry sister, mother, father's sister's child or mother's sisters child.

May marry his wife's sister.

Son tells his parents of his choice for a wife.

MARRIAGE: (2)

584 His parents then go with his grandmother who acts as chairman of the group to the girl's parents (without gifts) and ask for their daughter. While the boy's parents are gone the boy hunts for meat. If the girl and her parents agree the boy's parents return home. A little later old women friends go to visit a second time and take gifts of meat and ostrich shell beads. This marks a pledge of the girl to the boy and is sometimes done when both are quite young. On the third trip the boy's family takes a present of meat and fat. Girl's parents and grandmother and girl return to the boy's weft.

585  
602 When the bride arrives at the boy's band the two grandmothers build a new skerm in the center of the dancing circle. The girl is placed in this. Wives remove all clothing except their genital aprons and dance the Eland dance. Meanwhile the boy has been sent out to hunt alone (ordinarily hunt in twos and threes) and the other men stay in their skerms. Dancing goes on for two days and the boy remains away and wife remains in the hut (coming out for no reason). When the boy returns from the hunt on the night of the second day he is only allowed to speak to his wife's grandmother to get food. On this night the wife sleeps in the back of the skerm and the boy sleeps in the front by the fire. On the third day both boy and girl are washed by the girl's grandmother with water from boiled ozombani nuts gathered by the grandmother (whole body washed while in the skerm but leaving on loincloth and genital apron). From now on they sleep together. On fourth day all hunters go out and shoot animals for a feast and dance. After the marriage the mother-in-law gets Eland fat. Girl's family stays visiting for about six weeks and then go home leaving the girl behind. If the young couple later visit her parents they take fat meat along as a gift. When wife becomes pregnant the couple goes to her parents where she remains until after her child is born. The husband may or may not remain with her.

836 If a girl never marries then all the men have the right to sleep

837, 586

MARRIAGE: (3)

with her. Or if a husband leaves a wife she may sleep with other men. She may marry later again if she wants to. If a man forces her to sleep it is bad. But if she says o.k. it is all right.

836  
684  
628  
If parents discover a boy has slept with their daughter and like the boy they will ask him if he wants to marry her. If he says "no" they ask, "Why did you sleep with her if you don't like her?" If he still refuses to marry her there will be a fight.

If the parents dislike the boy who has slept with their daughter this is bad. There will be a feud. The father tries to shoot the boy. There is no way to stop this. "I keep my daughter clean, therefore, I give her to a man I like" says the father.

If the girl slept with has been pledged to someone else then there is a feud between the two suitors.

586  
If a married woman without a husband has a child her father cares for it while it is young. Later if the child's father asks for it he has the right to get it. Applies to either boy or girl child.

584  
628  
583  
If girl says no to a proposal the young man tries to persuade her by being nice to her and keeps asking her. If he gets tired of this the affair is ended. If he persists (having already obtained permission from her parents to try to convince her) and she refuses he captures her in the veld and brings her to his werft. If the parents have said "yes" they will follow and stay there too until she is convinced to change her mind. If capture occurs without prior consent of parents then blood feud results.

628  
584  
682  
If two boys ~~like~~ want the same girl and parents like both they fight without weapons in a public wrestling match to see which is stronger (loser being pinned to the ground). If the decision is refused by the loser Then the two keep on fighting with bow and arrow in the veld and all members of the werft try to kill the loser who has been driven out. In many cases both die of poison arrows.

If one wins then family feud starts.

MARRIAGE: (4)

585  
586  
587  
If when the marriage is over the husband fails to provide meat (which is legal groundx for divorce) and another hunter likes the wife he may kill an animal and present the bow and arrow to the wife. If she accepts the marriage is dissolved and the husband leaves. In first marriage is offically completed when fat is sent to the mother-in-law. In second wifes acceptance of the bow and arrow makes complete.

Marriage Ceremony filmed: Obs./RHD

585  
Girl is !nai. Her mother doesn't dance.

!ungkah and Dee!ai built the skerm. /goo washes the little girl while her mother sits alongside watching. Men all away from the dance circle. Kooshay rubs red powder on the girl. Whole body is annointed. Face has a red circle around each eye with a line down the top of the nose making a sign like the combined two eye signs used in the boys initiation ceremonies. Turned the girl to face the back of the skerm and cover her with a skin. Wipe the remaining red powder off on themselves. Women refuse to remove karcesses for the film - instead drop them to the waist.

582  
Married too soon after puberty for any period of license to be importe ant. Usually monogamous and exogamic.

281  
SKINS: (1)

<sup>F. Toma</sup>  
/umah & the Gemsbok Skin: Observation/RHD

<sup>F. Toma</sup>  
/umah scraped both sides of this skin (which was already dry)

with his axe to remove flesh and hair. Then began the long process of rubbing it with fat. The skin was left covered with fat for a day. Then he heated water with a wildebeaste brain (theoretically in the movie) in it and soaks the skin in it and rubs it. Then he puts the skin into the pot and leaves it there to soak until the next day. He used a bunch of grass as a sponge in this process.

Tanning: Observation/RHD

A large skin is scraped clean with a knife or axe-adze and stretched out on the sand - hair downwards. The edges are then stretched and pegged (v. Wood). The tail, legs, arms, and neck are all pegged out. The skin was then covered with salt and left for at least two days in the sun to dry. It is then treated with fat and rubbed in the regular way between the hands.

F.M.: work skins as soon as possible. May remove hair before skinning the animal or after skinning. Rubs the skin against itself until it begins to dry. Then rubs any fat available into it until soft. Total time for a medium sized skin two to three days. No other method. Both men and women do this. (From his farm group).

Scraping: Obs/RHD

Broken long bones of the legs may be used to scrape parts of meat from skin in preparation.

Springbok Skin: Obs/RHD

One of the men took the Springbok skin the day after it was killed - in the morning - and began kneading it with his hands. After several hours of this he began to apply fat collected from the cooked meat the night before. This was spread by hand on the skin and kneaded into it by a sort of scrubbing technique. This continued all afternoon and by 4 p.m. the skin was quite soft. On occasions the worker picked

SKINS: (2)

up the cracked distal end of a femur and used the sharp edge as a scraper to remove areas of meat still adhering to the skin. This area was then scrubbed again to make it soft. The fur was not removed. The skin is constantly stretched in this process. It was worked intermittently for two more days at which time it was soft and pliant.

281  
411  
Making the Bow String: Obs/RHD

Chew the sinew. Use two strands - roll each simultaneously in one direction and roll the two together in the opposite direction, continually splicing pieces in. (v. Wood, bow)

Making Sinew Thread: Obs/LJM

The little "extra" woman worked most of the day on this (and bead work). Sinew was from the ankle of the Hartebeeste. It was dry. Woman shredded it off bone, shredded it into fine shreds, as fine as #70 thread. She then took two separate shreds and laid them on her upper leg about 4" apart and rolled her hand over them. Moving her hand in the direction from her knee to her body. When the two strands were wound together she reversed the motion and rolled them the other way a few times. She did all this quickly.

(v. Hunting - arrow making; Wood, bow; Ornaments, beads).

281  
412  
Misc. Obs./RHD

The "nutcracker" (v. Stone; Cooking) may also be used for pounding up used bone fragments to a fairly fine substance which is then smeared on older dry skins (e.g. kaross) that are in use so that the oil will rejuvenate them.

281  
756  
Oracle Discs: Obs/RHD

There are five of these made of Eland hide measuring: 2 3/4"; 2 1/2"; 2 1/4"; 2 1/8" in diameter. The user piles the discs in the palm of his hand which he covers lightly with the other hand. He then slams the the discs down quite hard on the ground and pulls his hands back from them. He asks a question while he tosses them and blows on them saying "dah. hum hum hum a he"

SKINS: (3)

281  
283  
Making Hide String: Obs/LJM

Made from Springbok hide. A piece of hide was cut from the leg just above the hoof, a piece about 7" long and  $3\frac{1}{8}$ " wide. The hoof was held down by a foot (the right foot) while both hands worked at the cutting. The hide was deftly peeled off, as in the other skinning. The piece was then held out in front, a slice made about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch wide and cut to within an inch of the end. The piece was then turned, and another slice cut to within an inch of the other end. When these two slices were spread out the string was roughly a foot long. One end was then held between the big toe and the next and more slices cut as above till the whole was completed and the string about two feet long. Tying a bundle of meat: two strings of hide were tied together with two granny knots exactly as I should tie them. The bundle of meat was tied at each end. Then a handle was made with a strand of hide run back and forth three times between the end ties. The hair was left on the strips. The man who made the strings tested their strength by pulling quite hard on them. He tightened the knot by pulling it hard. Another man tied his bundle with a piece of our kind of string. The meat was in strips about 16" long and about 1" x  $1\frac{1}{8}$ " wide and thick. It had been cut the day the kill was made and hung to dry on the bushes. It seemed quite hard and stiff. Each bundle was about 12" in diameter. Each of the two men who left took a bundle.

281  
302  
Woman's Make-Up Bundle: Obs/RHD

12 strands of sinew string with small undecorated and decorated bags attached by being tied on to the whole bundle, clam shell rattles tied on, two empty cartridges suspended by having sinew wrapped around their small ends, a brass buckle and three strands of white, black, and red beads - about 5 on each strand. P28. Belonged to Dee!ai .

Redwood Powder Bag: Obs/RHD

A small bag filled tight with the red powder of the redwood,



SKINS: (4)

with a drawstring.  $1\frac{1}{2}$ " high,  $1\frac{1}{4}$ " max. diameter. This is to streak the forehead to give luck just before going hunting. Found in /kow(med) Big Hunting Bag.

Objects in /kow(med) Small Hunting Bag: Obs/RHD

1 length of sinew with copper wire tied around it -  $7\frac{1}{2}$ " long,  $1/8$ " diameter. P25#5

1 strip of hide 23" long with one end slit and tied in a simple over and under knot, ~~tkaxothhxaxndkxwtikmzxmsklt~~ after being passed through the slit. Used for hanging his knife. not photographed.

Three pieces of sinew string:  $35\frac{1}{2}$ ",  $19\frac{1}{2}$ ", 20" long. Used for fixing arrows. P25#12.

Leather strap with four brass lined holes and two plain holes. Double sewn edges. European. Used for a bracelet. P25#9

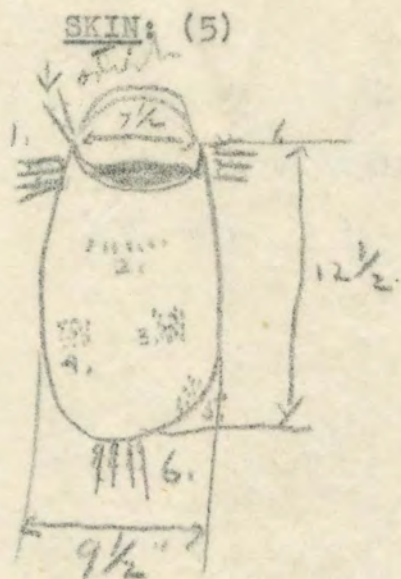
Hunting Bag P28#1: Obs/ EM(?)

Length of handle is  $13\frac{1}{2}$ ". Handle is 2 rawhide thongs twisted together. They are tied at the corners of the bags. The bag is sewn around the edge with overcast stitch. The opening extends partway across the top of the bag. The decoration is of beads (all store beads except for two strands of ostrich eggshell beads).

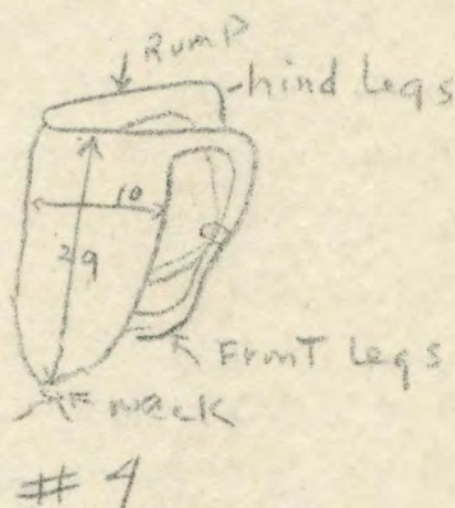
1. 5 thongs strung with 10 to 11 beads - white with a few pink and a few copper.
2. A single line of beads 3" long.
3. 7 rows of beads strung in lengthwise rows, white, red, white, ~~xxxxxxx~~ red, white red, red.
4. 7 rows of beads strung in crosswise rows - a row of white, a row of red and pink; white, red etc.
5. 6 rows lengthwise white, red, white, red, white, blue.
6. 4 strings strung with 7 to 8 pink and white beads each.

281  
292

281  
415



#1



#4

281  
4/15

Hunting Bag P28#4: Obs/EM(?)

Length 29", width 10", handle 19". Soft leather - no sewing - all one piece. Even the handles are not attached by sewing. It is made of the skin of a single animal. The opening is the rump - the neck is drawn together by a piece of thong of stembock hide - the whole thing is made of it. It has no decoration at all. The straps - legs - are tied together in a knot where they meet.

Hunting Bag P28#2: Obs/?

Handle 22" long; 9" long, 7 1/2" wide. Handle twisted rawhide thong. Bag has no decoration except a small block of carved wood - the block is a charm that if you rub it on your arm before you shoot your bow you shoot straight. Bag stitched in overcast stitch around the edge. Opening extends partway across the top - 6" long. Belongs to /ee!kai.

Hunting Bag P28#3: Obs/JM

Two pieces sewn together by sinew - pieces are of duiker skin. Sewn with overcast technique. Slits around the top of bag as if for drawstring. 14" long, 11 1/2" wide, cord 14" long for handle. A number of rips from used duiker horn with three bead strings attached, alternating red and white stone beads. One piece of cut wood suspended. Bag called /au ! nah

SKINS: (6)

281  
415  
Sandals: Obs/RHD

A flat sole with a hole under the place where the space next to the big toe would be. Taking an oblong piece of skin the man holds it taut over his left thumb and makes a cut in it with a knife held in his right hand. As a result of cutting this way each man's thumb nail has many cuts on it. The irregular piece of skin is then held up in the left hand and the point of the knife stuck through the hole and the slice extended to remove the piece of skin. By this method the skin is trimmed to a regular shaped thong about 8" long. A single over and under knot is tied in one end of this. The free end is trimmed to a point and is inserted through the toe hole with the knot on the bottom. Under the heel are two slits in the sole through which a thong is passed up and over and tied under the sole after passing through the second slit. the instep. To this on both sides are attached another thong the forward ends of which bear another slit. The toe thong is threaded through each of these two slits and tied with a granny knot.

281  
304  
Tails: Obs/RHD

Wildebeeste tail is used in the men's dance.

281  
756  
Oracle Discs: Obs/RHD

Made of Eland hide. 2 3/4" diameter, 2 1/2", 2 1/4", 2 1/4", and 2 1/8".

v. Ritual.

281  
415  
Woman's Little Bag: P28#17: Obs/EM

1. Length 4", width 3", average length of string ornaments 5". Bag sewn all around the edges with an overcast stitch. At the bag's opening (top) is sewn a rim of beads, both ostrich shell and store beads. From the top of the bag (opening) hang 25 strings, sinew, ornamented with ostrich egg and a few store beads - average of 12 beads per string. Beads on strings attached to bag by a band of skin - strings are not sewn to the band but are part of the band itself - all one piece - band sewn to the bag. 4 strings have alternating black and white beads. At the bottom of the bag is a tab sewed to the bag having 7 strings strung

SKINS: (7)

with 9 to 11 ostrich egg beads ( a few store beads). The strings are connected to the tab in the same way as the strings are attached to the band - v. supra - i.e. all one piece. One string (at the bottom) has 7 tiny beads connected near the end.

Woman's Bag P28(18) # 2: Obs/EM

Length  $3\frac{1}{8}$ ", width  $2\frac{1}{8}$ ", sewn all around the edge (except opening) with overcast stitch. Has no ornaments but has a little fringe around the top. Contains sinew, nuts, fibres.

Skin Water Bag P64(1): Obs/EM

Length  $6\frac{1}{2}$ ", width (with wrinkles)  $4\frac{1}{2}$ ". Made of a bladder and has a pointed stick skewered through the top. Top of the bladder is fastened by looping string over and under the stick. Part of the string acts as a handle.

281  
415

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: (1)

Inter. RHD/ FM/ Gautscha men

621  
221  
Area of !kung people about 10 miles west of Gautscha to 5 days walking east (about 150 miles). (To Tsau - east of that is /nai group. West of here are Narro group)

Band: Comes together for the First Fruits Ceremony (the abundant food supply making the gathering possible), when the food supply is at its best. The rest of the time the families stay apart. (Apparently the availability of veldkos is the variable and determining factor here - this would imply that meat is in relatively constant supply - probably scarce). They may assemble briefly for a marriage but initiations are family affairs taking place whenever a girl has her first menstruation or a boy kills his first buck.

621  
622  
423  
Bands do not come together as such except for a special reason. Ordinarily only individual families visit and these come under the authority of the local headman. Bands may come together for trade (in which case the lineage of the headmen gives the authority) or for veldkos (e.g. if band A has a big forest of mangeti nut trees band B which has none may come and ask headman A for permission to gather nuts in which case the two bands will go together to gather the nuts, but will camp apart. Authority technically resides in the headman of the owning group - in this case A.

628  
621  
Bands do not customarily fight as such. Feuds are usually personal family affairs.

622  
574  
A visitor is under the authority of the headman.

622  
831  
Headman's Authority: Scarifies men for hunting kills (There is no note on this under initiation, but apparently for some time afterwards a scar is added when male and female animals are killed - the scar going on the side appropriate to the sex of the animal killed viz. Initiation Ceremony. How long this continues is unknown).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: (2)

Leads the trek to a new camp site, chooses the site for the new werft, choice of his skerm location forms orientation point for the rest of the werft; makes new fire with the oldest man; can send a trader to the Okavango, etc; can punish a bad deed by holding back the persons share of meat; performs first fruits ceremony.

628  
682 Wife Stealing: The worst misdeed is one man stealing another's wife. In this case a blood feud results between the two men's families.

684 Murder: If one man in the band kills another the headman may investigate the cause. If he finds no justification he may kill the offender in which case the affair would be ended. Should he not deem it fit to do so the brother of the dead man would do it and a blood feud would result.

Adultery: If the husband is liberal the offender may get off with only being whipped with branches; otherwise a blood feud.

The band being essentially a family necessarily assumes collective responsibility for its members.

622  
619  
628 Extension of Band Authority & Tribal Structure: The headman unlike other people sends both his sons and daughters away upon marriage to live with other groups. Since these people have great prestige and are his children he can call upon them for assistance and by right of family relationship can tell them what to do. This extends his authority via the extended family system into these other bands. In addition he has chosen his wife from still another group. The result is that while there is no tribal government of the !kung tribe many headmen are related to a number of other bands and could consequently in theory at least gather large segments of it ~~mkga~~ together to fight if need be. This has probably not happened in any recent time, present day warfare being confined to intra-family feuding.

L

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: (3)

622  
619  
Inheritance of Headmanship: /samko, son of /umah, will return to this area when grown to assume authority - if his father dies before he is of age his cousin /kox at Gam will take care of him.

/umah's cousin /samko becomes the regent for young /samko in the meantime. Should the young /samko die before coming of age, the office of headman would descend through the older /samko's line passing down from father to son. The areas are fixed for the office.

/umah and /kox are cousins; their fathers were headmen of the respective areas and had a single father who controlled Gam area as headman. This latter man's brother-in-law was headman of Gautscha. He died without children and the office passed to /umah's father (his father's older brother, i.e. /kox's father, already being the new headman at Gam), and down to /umah. Why this will revert back through the father's generation to go to the older /samko instead of going to /umah's present brother-in-law we don't know except that /samko is older and the brother-in-law is lame and young and without a family.

Boundaries: not apparently defined by anything definite.

VOCABULARY: (1)

! nai	-	war
tsi		brother - male reference term
tsin		brother - female refernce term
ko		big
tsam		son
tsamko		big son
koo		step
qui		(something about sister)
kah		brother's (i.e. child <u>of the</u> brother etc)
shay		back
mee		my, mine
ah		you
/ah sah		deaf
/qui		hyena
nah		big
/kooshay		one step back and one step foreward
/goisah		red ochre
!goom		cold (winter) (May-July) (or dry?)
!kah		between cold and rain (Spring, Aug-Oct)
Barrah		rains (Summer Nov-March)
dah		fire
oh ! gomah		make strong
/uh ! kai		a purifying root
/goom		medicine
! karah		chief(?)
! kowah		male collecting bag(First Fruit ceremony)
! kow		female, "*****"
! kee is		tree
/kai		cooking paddle



VOCABULARY: (2)

! kah ee	digging stick
/nee !om	wooden spoon
!ung	pestle
! i	mortar (i: eye)
zo	axe handle
n!koh	quiver
/kah ree	tree for quiver wood
n/	bow
!un !koo	eland horn
! kor ray	spare parts box
//kai	metal arrow tip
//goom//nah	bone arrow tip
!goo	connecting rod of reed in arrow
//gah pah	bone balance piece in arrow
!gwa!gwa	shaft of the arrow of reed
tsoc-noh	ostrich shell beads
!om!umi	stone anvil
!om!ah	stone hammer
// i ee	knife
!koh	pot
/oh	tree for firesticks and poison grubs
//ah ee	fire tinder (grass)
sau goom	yellow gum
toh voh	black gum
qui	fibre plant for string
sah	aromatic root
/un/gama	feather toy

VOCABULARY: (3)

Gautscha (!kung)

/nay  
oh-tсах  
un!nani  
oh-tсах kay tsah  
oh!kay  
oh jut !kay see

Gam (Narro)

/nay one  
tsee tsah two  
kooree !nani three  
kooree koh tsah four  
!gow five  
kooree!gwah!gowsee ten  
  
!nung stars  
/nah sky  
!now/koh earth  
!gah dee lightning  
/gum sun  
!gwah yumah soul

//gawa God  
/gow or /kow + Mrs. God  
/kwah mah { boy  
nah nah nee { boy  
/kung go { boy  
/kahroo koo koo { girl  
!nah /koh!noowah { girl  
!kow { girl

CLOTHES: (1)

Men: Obs/RHD

29/ Wear a diaper style skin loincloth; sometimes sandals of hide; and a skin kaross which may be tied over both shoulders around the neck or may be tied over one shoulder and under the other. Very young boys wear only the diaper loincloth usually.

Women: obs/RHD

A genital apron of skin and beads which ties around the waist and hangs in front in a semi-circle; a large kaross covering the shoulders and buttocks tied around the waist with a cord may be worn tied around the neck or over and under a shoulder, or may be untied and allowed to drop around the belt. Young girls wear a simple genital apron.

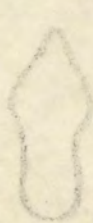
Men usually make the clothing of skin. They also make jackal skin caps though no one present had one at the time.

Sandals: Obs/RHD (Photograph in black & white P25 # 10)

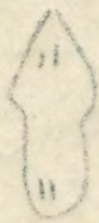
Made of Eland skin. Cut out sole  $9\frac{1}{2}$ " long x  $4\frac{1}{4}$ " wide under the ball of the foot and  $3\frac{1}{2}$ " wide under the heel. Two incisions  $\frac{1}{2}$ " long are made under the forward part of the heel, and two alongside the big toe. A sinew strip 7" long and  $\frac{1}{2}$ " wide with two incisions one near each end, each  $\frac{3}{4}$ " long is threaded through the heel incisions in the sole. A second similar strip is threaded through the ends of the heel strip with the front edge of the incision on the inside. A third strip 8" long is tied to each of the incised ends of the second strip. Two strips about 4" long are then taken. In each a simple over-&-under knot is tied. Each is then threaded through a toe hole leaving the knotted end underneath the sole. Then the right toe thong, ~~ix~~ followed by the left is tied onto the third strip. Two small strips about  $2\frac{1}{2}$ " long x  $\frac{3}{8}$ " wide may then be tied on in front or behind of the toe knots to adjust the length. These are added with simple over and under knots. The man's foot to whom this pair belonged

CLOTHES: (2)

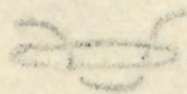
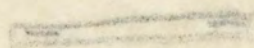
measured  $9\frac{1}{4}$ " from heel to toe,  $3\frac{1}{2}$ " wide at the ball, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$ " wide at the heel.



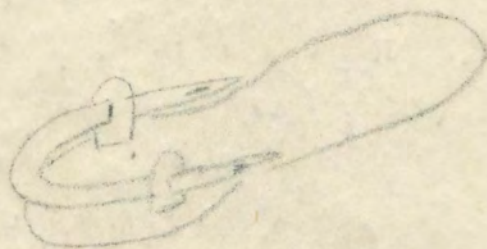
1



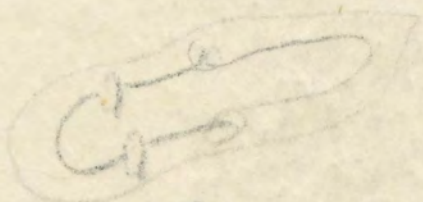
2



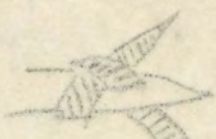
3



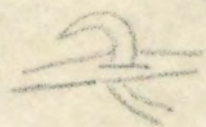
4



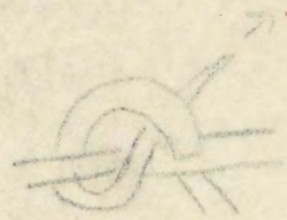
5



5a

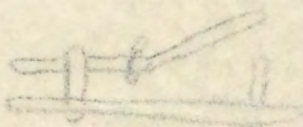


5b

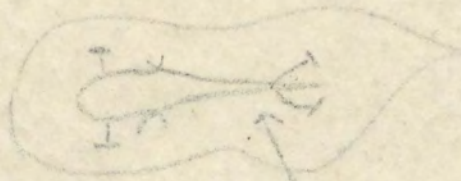


5c

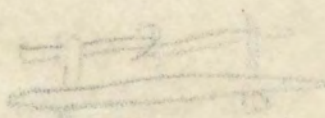
= 5b + 5c



6



7



8



9

POISON: (1)

Obs/RHD

278  
224  
31

The poison pupa is obtained by digging at the base of a certain kind of tree (called ?) (do the women know the location of this?). The pupae occur in the rich brown soil at a depth of one to two feet. These trees form permanent sources of supply and are used again and again. The pupae are dug out with a digging stick and carried back to camp. Here the hunter sits down with his arrow points and pupae. He rubs the pupa between his fingers to crush the insides. He then pulls the legs of the pupa out and annoints the shaft of the arrow but not the sharp metal tip. He then smears the guts around the end of the shaft below the tip and heats it in the fire to dry. Unused pupae he stores in his hunting bag.

222 COLLECTING: (1)

Digging Stick: RHD

Held with both hands - the left above the right when digging to the right and vice versa. v. Wood. P25 #9

Veldkop: RHD-FM-Katukwa-Katembehe

We are limited in obtaining this by (1) the late season (2) the poor quality of the area. But we have samples of roots, berries, bulbs, and nuts used for this purpose.

222  
262  
264  
Quantity: varies with availability. At harvest time food is abundant - provided rains have been good. The Bushmen use a variety of all available foods and the quantity depends upon what is available in a given area and in particular foods. Consumption is about that of a European and causes the distended abdomen. Evening is the big meal usually.

222  
How: digging with the digging stick (!kahee or Herr. Epinguo) any strong stick will do. Bushmen use green wood cut with a metal knife (in old days from the Bantu). If no knife is available he breaks the wood off at an angle. If doesn't do this uses a forked branch and places stick in it and breaks it at an angle. May on occasion use a sharp stone to help sharpen the point - but seldom. Digging also sharpens the point due to the motion.

Who: The women and children and by hunters if they see it - but the latter do not particularly look for it.

How: cont'd: Hunter will eat raw edible foods while hunting. Otherwise will put it in his bag. May use this if he makes a meal at the end of the hunt. Women put it in a collecting bag which is made by a man (v. Skins) either husband or another man may give it to her or she may make it herself if convenient. May own two of these but not more. Called ! kowwah.

✓  
Digging scoop: v. Wood.

SPECIALIZATION: (1)

462  
554

Except for the sex division of labor everyone does the same things, with the exception of the shaman, but he goes hunting as do the others. Individuals with particular interests or skills may produce more objects however, as for example the old man /k<sup>h</sup>ow who made a number of pairs of sandals for his family; or by shaman /ee!kai who made a number of objects such as pipes, knives, etc. In general the women are responsible for getting water, firewood, and veldkos. But men may do these if they have spare time.

GUM: (L)

~~Obs~~

31  
411  
Gum Stick: Obs/RHD Each arrowmaker uses a gum stick which is about 15" long with a lump of black gum ( tovo) from yellow wood and yellow gum (saugoom) from the Omungondo Tree (Bastard Camel Thorn). (v. HUNTING) This is obtained by making a hole in the tree and sucking. through a grass or reed. This gum is used to secure sinew to the bow, or any object around which it is wrapped and threatens to come apart; it cements parts of the arrow together and may be used to repair cracked ostrich eggshells.

A lump of gum 1" square was present in /kow's (med) Big Hunting Bag.



FEATHER: (1)

Games: Obs/RHD

524 1. Guinea Fowl feathers are used to make the "bird" for the "Johnny" game. (v. GRASS; GAMES)

2. Toy: one of the smallest children made a toy by binding a handful of Guinea Fowl feathers together with a piece of sinew string and then suspending this on the end of a small stick so that the bundle dangled in the air about 6" below the stick. He then marches about with this stuck over his shoulder or waving it in the air.

Hair Ornaments: Obs/RHD

301  
535 /umah wore a white downy goose feather in his hair one afternoon after we killed the goose. On another day he wore two Guinea Fowl feather in his hair - one on each side pointed foreward like horns ( Fritz Metzger, p.61, states the Narro use short bits of wood stuck into the hair to represent horns in the Eland Dance).

On another day two of the boys appeared wearing brown ostrich feathers in their hair - also like horns - pointing upright and foreward.

NARCOTICS: (1)

276

Note: We found no evidence of the use of "Dagga" among our group, who denied having anything of that sort. Whether this is true or not we cannot say. We may state, however, that if it is used it apparently is infrequent enough to prevent any member of the group from showing symptoms of it (cf. Schapera). (RHD)

Smoking: OBs/RHD Everyone likes to smoke, though tobacco is rare enough so that children do little of it - being given a drag or two on the pipe which then continues its passage around the group. The men all owned pipes, but not the women who desired them from us. (v. STONE, WOOD) In one instance /qui(knee) took a wad of grass and cut it to an even length and wet it in his mouth and stuck it in his pipe from the mouth end of the stem to act as a filter.

GIRLS INITIATION CEREMONY: (1)

881 Inter. RHD/ FM7 Gautscha man

Same as the marriage ceremony (q.v.) (dance, bath, symbols, hut, etc) but only lasts two days. The girl is then forbidden to speak to a man for three moons. //note: this doesn't explain the women's scarification//

If she spoke to a boy she would get thin; or if a boy speaks to her they would both get thin. In this case the old women clean her with Eland fat to purify her again.

If a boy steps over the girl's initiation hut fire he will get swollen legs (among the Narro the boy's testicles swell or woman's genitals become thick). To prevent this the old men must roast meat and a tree root (called /uh!kai from Samangeigel)

L

Inter/RHD/FM/ /umah

The headman may send the shaman or anyone else on a trading expedition. /kow (med) once took some skins and went north to !kum/nah about 10 days walk (a river). He takes his arrows along and walks alone. The arrows are only for protection and food. If he goes alone he is allowed to carry arrows in other band territories. He carries no other objects. They do not trade with the Herero. Generally do not trade for salt - though they will use it if given to them for tanning skins. Obtain tobacco at /ai/ai. Trade all kinds of skins to the Bechuana for iron and gourds and some pottery. Trade metal knives from the Okavango for Duker skins, trade ostrich egg shell beads for store beads and other objects such as stone pipes. One cartridge pipe from Bechuanaland. A tin pipe from the Eiseb Bushmen as well as duiker horns with medicine. They do not trade honey. The /uh ! kai tree root used by old men to purify boys contaminated by girl's initiation ceremony is obtained at samangeigai. From the Okavango area also came the redwood powder, red ochre, clam shells, and metal.

A better list of trade objects will be available when these notes are analysed.

ROUTINE: Daily:

Obs/RHD:

512  
Are up by sunrise with a fire going. Having an adequate food supply spent the greater part of the day lying about idly cracking bones for marrow and eating from time to time. One worked on a skin, another on sinew, another repairing sandals. About 4 p.m. go out and gather wood for the fire. The children ( and some women on other days) go after water. In evening sit around the fire and joke, talk, laugh, perhaps sing and dance around dance fire if women there - if men are alone elsewhere may play men's game or just smoke pipe. Sleep intermittantly during the night. On days when need food women and younger children go out collecting veldkos, men and older boys go out hunting. The werft is virtually deserted in midday. In late afternoon people reappear with whatever food has been found during the day, and with firewood. Hearths are cleaned periodically of ash, the old ash being dumped in the bush behind the skerm, and fires are started up - one always is going somewhere - never goes out after first fire lit, and the evening meal is cooked. Any food left over until morning will be eaten before setting out on the days activities. Meals are eaten by each family at its own skerm though if the family has no pot it may cook its meal jointly with someone else (a relative). After supper they visit each others fires, the owner sitting inside, the visitors outside. Dances and curing ceremonies last indefinitely, perhaps four hours or more, even all night on occasion.

STONE: (1)

412  
Misc. Obs/RHD

Two sparking stones for fire P25#1 in /kow (med) small bag.

No memory of a stone drill or any other stone tools.

Whetstone: In kow's Big Hunting Bag a fine grained igneous stone  $2\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{4} \times \frac{1}{4}$ ".

Use flat 2" square stones of a limey sandstone quality which they carry with them. Sand is placed on these for sharpening metal edges of knives and axes.

Marrow Stones: any convenient large and small stone may be used for cracking marrow out of bones by anvil and hammer technique.

Nutcracker: P25#4

Stone anvil  $2\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6" x  $1\frac{1}{2}$ " thick. called: !om !umée

Stone hammer 2" square called !om !ah

Both objects are of a fine grained igneous rock which is rare in this area. The constant use of the anvils and the hard quality of the nuts causes holes to wear down as deep as  $\frac{1}{2}$ " in the one observed. (v. Skins, Wood)

Pipes: Obs/GM

276  
1. Bowl 1" diameter at top, stem  $\frac{3}{4}$ " diameter at mouth, stem  $3\frac{1}{8}$ " long on top,  $4\frac{3}{8}$ " long on bottom, inside diameter of bowl  $\frac{5}{8}$ ", height of bowl  $1\frac{7}{8}$ ", the elbow was covered with a belt of skin with the hair left on. Owned by old /kow. From the Okavango.

2. Bowl outer diameter at top  $1\frac{3}{8}$ ", inside  $\frac{3}{4}$ ", height of bowl  $2\frac{1}{2}$ ", bowl a truncated cone with punctate design, stem  $3\frac{1}{2}$ " long. Owned by lqui (knee). From Okavango.

3. Bowl outer diameter  $1\frac{1}{8}$ ", inner  $\frac{3}{4}$ ", height of bowl 2", stem  $1\frac{3}{8}$ " long on top, 3" along bottom, diameter at mouth  $\frac{7}{8}$ ", inside diameter of mouth  $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Owned by /qui(nean) from Okavango.

TEXTILES: (1)

Do not make reed mats.

Cloth Tobacco Pouch: Obs/RHD

European cloth bag with drawstring 5" long and 3½" wide.  
Fragment of a cloth bag belonging to /kwo Med. in his Hunting Bag.

28

Make string out of /qui fibre (in same way as sinew) at Samangeigei.

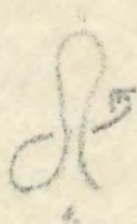
Cut long strips of bark for tying purposes. Also use sinew string.

Only attempt at weaving was seen in the interweaving of several cross poles in the wooden frame of the men's skerm. A simply over and under arrangement. Note however the intricate pattern of putting bead work together (v. ORNAMENTATION).

Netting: Used around water gourds and pots and made by the Bushmen. Bound in double strands in squares of 2½" with an inverse sheep bend knot (cf. A38) called /uh-see. The ends of the net around the top of the gourd were gathered with a small rope. In the end of this was a loop and knot (cf. A38) called !gum-ah. It was impossible to determine a name for net as opposed to the /uh-see knot used. Its only use is for netting. (P25 #4)



/uh-see

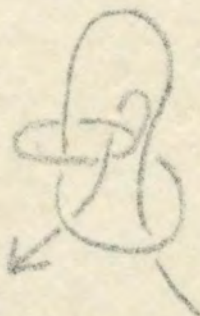


!gum-ah

Knots: used for snares: two types tied by holding one end of the cord around the big toe. In any case the tag end may be finished off by a simply over and under knot. There are two variations of kah-donee, and one of !gum-mah:



I



II

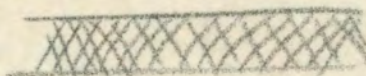
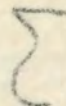
POTTERY: (1)

323  
437

Clay Pot: Obs/RHD & EM

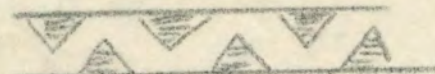
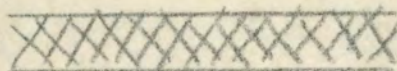
7" deep 5 3/4" diameter at rim; diameter 1 1/2" below the rim 5" forming a constricted collar. 3" below this point maximum diameter of 6". Rim 1/2" thick. Collar: 3/4" wide band around rim of incised cross-hatching. 1" below this is a 1/2" band of squares and chevron designs. Squares are 2 3/4" apart and 3/4" wide. Surface smooth, brown to black. Tends to be polished by grease. Fine grit temper. Handmade. Used for carrying water and boiling food. Called: /ko . /qui says these are traded from the Okavango and that his people do not know how to make them.

(P25#6)



Large Clay Pot: Obs/RHD & EM

Diameter at rim 9", height 12 1/4" maximum circumference 35 1/2" rim above neck 2 3/4" ; two 1" design bands with 7/8" band between them. Thickness varies from 1/4" to 1/8". Bottom is curved for burying in ash. To make it stand a flexible withie has been bent in double thickness around the bottom. The withie is wound with rope and fastened to the pot by a network of rope (v. Textiles for knots); half hitches used. There is a simple strand of rope around the constricted neck of the pot and ~~EM~~ this is fastened to the bound withie at the bottom by nine connecting ropes. From the rope around the neck come 6 other strings about 14" long tied together at their top ends to form the handle of the pot. Water is carried in this.





BONE: (1)

412  
Scraper: Obs/RHD

Broken long bone may be used to scrape skins with in process of preparation.

411  
Bone(Arrow)Balance Piece: Obs/RHD

Bone points and balances are usually made of Giraff rib. A long sliver is broken off with the axe-adze. This piece is trimmed to a point with the axe. It is then inspected and licked off. Then it is scraped on all sides with a knife blade. The tip is cut to a point with the knife and sharpened and smoothed on a stone. May then trim a little more with the axe-adze. Takes 18 minutes to make one.

415  
30  
Tortoise Shell Box: Obs/RHD (P28)

Used for miscellaneous cosmetics, attached to the woman's make-up bundle. Sometimes holds loose beads. Consists of a small tortoise shell about  $2\frac{1}{2}$ " long set in a tight skin bag decorated with three rows of colored beads in no particular pattern along the underside. The opening is the space for the tortoise's head. It is suspended by a thong threaded through two holes, one on each side of the orifice. The right thong had two strands of 12 white beads attached.

HORN: (1)

Pipe: Obs/RHD

321  
276  
A small pipe made of young wildebeeste horn 1 3/8" long, 7/8" diameter at the wide end. Owned by old /kow.

Spare Parts Container: Obs/RHD

321  
415  
Made of Eland horn (!un!koo) 8" long with the large end diameter 2", capped with kudu skin on both ends. The cap on the short end is removed to take the contents out. Container is called !korrax and contains:

//kai - metal point

//goom //nah - bone point

‡ connecting rod !goo

//gahpah - bone balance

!gwa !gwa - shaft

Whetstones: Obs/RHD

321  
412  
May sharpen knives on hoofs and horns or killed animal while cutting it up.

Duiker Horn: Obs/RHD

321  
415  
One of these tied to the fringe of /kow (med) hunting bag. The other loose inside. Both 3 1/2" long with 3/4" diameter at top. Both filled with "medicine".

SHELL & EGG SHELL: (1)

Clam shell: Obs/RHD

301  
321  
Woman's make-up kit sometimes has attached a set of clam shells. Each is tied to one leather thong and the thongs are all tied in a group - numbering about 20. Dee!ai's is seen in P28.

Ostrich Egg Shell Beads: Obs/RHD

Called: tsoo-no

The woman breaks the shell into small pieces about  $3/8$ " square. She then ~~trims~~ trims the edges to a roughly circular shape with the metal axe head. This takes about 10 seconds per blank. She then sharpens the drill point on a rock - it is of n/ wood like the bow and is used like the fire drill but has a metal point  $1\frac{1}{2}$ " long stuck into a rod of wood 15" long wound with sinew. The bead is drilled half through and turned over and drilled. This takes 50 seconds per bead. After a few of these are made she cleans the holes with a long metal rod with a sharp end.  $5\frac{1}{2}$ " long  $1/8$ " diameter.  $2\frac{1}{2}$  minutes from start-to end of each bead cleaned. These are strung on sinew wet in the mouth in three strands. Held in the left hand she rolls the three strands separately with the right and then rolls them in the opposite direction, ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ together. Then reverses the rolling. Strings beads. Takes about 1 minute. Ties a knot in one end. Then in the other end.

MUTILATION: (1)

304 Male: Inter.RHD/FM/ //gow (& Obs.)

1. Forehead scar: a series of short  $\frac{1}{4}$ " horizontal scars arranged vertically (i.e. each  $\frac{1}{4}$ " is horizontal but placed one above the other like rungs on a ladder) - about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  - 2" long. To prevent sickness. Done by his mother's brother in the Initiation ceremony.(q.v.)

2. Nasion scar: A series of short  $\frac{1}{4}$ " scars (vertical) arranged in a horizontal line between the eyes at the base of #1. Made by his mother's brother at the initiation ceremony.

3. Right half of Torso: (from neck to waist) and right arm: One horizontal scar (of about six vertical  $\frac{1}{4}$ " scars) is made on this part of the body by the headman (and no one else) for each adult bull animal killed within 5 years after the boys initiation.

4. Left half of Torso: same as right, but reserved for adult cow animals.

5. Between the eyes and the ears on each temple a short incision of vertical  $\frac{1}{4}$ " lines arranged horizontally is made for appearance.

If a man has repeated headaches another cut may be made down his forehead.

Females: marks made for good looks generally. Some marks for sickness prevention.

Ear Piercing: This is done in early childhood with a thorn and the hole is kept open with a piece of grass.

Finger Joints: none observed missing; stated no knowledge of ever cutting them off.

Shaman's Leg scars: stated a matter of preference. No further data.

DECORATIVE ART: (1)

531  
301  
No attempt to use this except in the stringing of colored beads (q.v.) and in the patterns occasionally seen on the kaross. The men denied ever having seen any rock carvings, we could find none, and the type of rock in the area is not conducive to rock drawing, or at least would not preserve such drawings for any length of time.

DANCES: (1)

Inter & Obs/RHD/FM/ Gautscha men

535  
Dances are for different occasions - Marriage Dance (the women's Eland Dance); Honey Dance; Giraff Dance (The most important and the favorite); the Aardvark Dance; the Mourning Dance (following death); the Rain Calling Dance. For the girl's Initiation Ceremony the Eland Dance is used. Women sit in a circle around the dance fire (any ritual significance to this???) and clap and sing. The men dance in a circle around them, usually beginning in a counterclockwise direction but often reversing direction from time to time during the dance. They dance with both hands clasped behind the back, with both extended and held over the head clasped, ~~or~~ with one arm extended forward over the head and one trailing behind, or with no particular gesture. The steps vary greatly with the individual - sometimes being a short hop with both feet, other times being a two stamp on one foot and a two stamp on another, and again a two on one three on the other. It is always slowly performed with great dignity. Occasionally a woman gets up and dances. The explanation of these gestures and the significance of the dance in general was not obtainable at the time. The dance sometimes ends by all turning to face the center and stopping abruptly - but more often just casually halts.

MUSIC: (1)

534

Musical Bow: Obs/RHD at Gam:

A long stick (3' long) with a wire strung taut and tied down at about 1/3 of its length. The upper end is held in the partially open mouth. The bow is played with a miniature bow moved in a rotary motion. The sound is created largely in the mouth and is similar in nature to the vocal singing.

A second bow was a long piece of wood (3') with a trough cut in it about 2" wide and 1" deep nearly the whole length. Over this a wire was stretched, the upper end being encased by a crushed tin can instead of a mouth. Instead of being tied down 1/3 of the way the player used a finger as a stop and played with a miniature bow in a circular manner. The sound again was similar to the singing.

Rattles: Obs/RHD

These are small cocoons, about 2" long, filled with small stones and strung on two strings to make lengths of rattles to be tied around the ankles of the man while dancing. ~~xxx~~

Musical Bow at Gautscha: Obs/RHD

The ordinary hunting bow is used, the string tightened, one end placed in the mouth and the bow string made to vibrate by tapping upon it with a stick - not by playing it. The mouth is then moved slightly to alter the sound produced.

Singing and clapping form the only other sources of sound of a musical nature. Each person sings and claps a part and the group together produces a very complex structure which remains to be analysed. This is done by the women only.

FAMILY: (1)

Father-Baby son: Obs. RHD:

593  
201  
A little before sundown /umah joined his family around their fire. His mother-in-law, wife and two sons were there. He began to play with his small son (about 2 yrs?) showing great parental pride and affection. Squatting down he picked up the baby by holding it under the arms and bounced it up and down. Then he hugged it in both arms and rapidly kissed it all over its face with loud smacking noises. Next he sat down and stretched his legs out in front of him. He picked the child up under the arms and swung it to and fro so that its feet bumped his legs from side to side. Then he placed the child along his legs on its back and took one leg at a time and rubbed it between his palms very rapidly switching back and forth from one leg to the other. Then he pumped the legs up and down. Following this he took his bow and placing the top end in his mouth holding it to the left with the left hand and tapping the string with a stick in his right hand he played it. After this continued for a few minutes he took out his pipe and smoked.

602  
606  
Avoidance in Family: Inter. RHD/FM/ /qui, /umah etc.

If tells something to his mother-in-law or sister-in-law on wife's side tells whatever it is to his wife who tells it to the other two. If it is a daily happening he may tell his brother who will tell them; but if it is a family affair he tells his wife who tells them. Never tells his mother-in-law to do anything. Not allowed. Mother-in-law tells daughter to ask him to do something. Wife cannot speak directly to her mother-in-law either. Never looks directly into the face of the mother-in-law.

621  
484  
Family Groups at Gautscha:

I /qui m. (quide or knee)  
dee!ai f.  
/gasah m.

/Gautscha



FAMILY: (2)

- II /umah m.  
/goc f.  
10 /samko m.  
kaishay m.
- III. /qui (Neanderthal) m.  
/kooshay f.  
!naishe f.  
/kow m.
- IV /kow (med.) m.  
dee!ai f.  
!nai f.  
/ee!kai m.
- V. /qui (Frenchman) m.  
!Nai f.  
/kaishay m.  
/owqwa f. /Gai sha  
/Naoka
- VI /samko m. Tsang x 0
- VII /ee!kai m.  
/owkah f.  
!nai f.  
/kow m. Gao  
/kow m. Gao  
/kahmay m. Khami  
Baou f. Bau
- VIII /kow (Old) m. ~  
!ungkah f. Gau  
/kow m. !ungka  
/quishay m. Gao  
/Gishay
- IX /nowgah f. (or /nowkah or /owgah or /owkah)  
/kow (lame) m. /Naoka
- X /ohshay f. /Goishay /Gao
- XI /owgah or /owkah f. /Naoka
- XII added later  
//Kow or //gow m. (Guide) /Goo  
Naisah f. #Nisa

Family Group -

Dyson -

Dyson spelling -

Prof. sp.

I / Qui m (guide or knee)  
dee'ai (f)  
/ gasah. m

/ Qui'  
Di'ai  
(m is an error. their  
child is a girl named  
/ gasa)

II / umah (m)  
/ goo (f)  
/ samko (m)  
Kai shag (m)

≠ Toma  
! u  
Tsangoo  
/ Gai shag

III / Qui (Neanderthal)  
/ Koo shag (f)  
! Naishe  
≠ Kow

/ Qui  
// Kushag  
! Naishe  
≠ Gao

IV ≠ Kow (med) (m)  
dee'ai (f)  
! nai  
/ ee'kai (m)

Gao  
Di'ai  
! nai  
(an error. the son  
of Gao and Di'ai is  
/ Gai shag)

RITUAL: (1)

Shaman's Curing Ceremony: Obs/RHD

755  
787

Women gather one at a time to the dancing circle. The two shaman put on their leg rattles. Gradually one by one the men gather. Begin dancing counter-clockwise. The dance kept up. Suddenly /k<sup>w</sup> collapse flat on his face into the circle. //gow and /umah picked him up - massaged him. Then held him - he acted as though he were possessed and out of control - the other two lead - occasionally he pulls away into the outside but they pull him back. He picks out a patient and places his hands on both sides of the head or the front and back of the chest and vibrates them, shaking himself and making various guttural sounds in his throat and mouth. After doing this for a minute or more he lets out a loud shriek and staggers away. /k<sup>w</sup> went after //gow who was holding him up and with his forehead ran up and down //gows back. His hands he placed around //gows waiste and ran them up his chest to his shoulders reaching under the arm pits - all the time gurgling. Then he got loose and ran about the circle several times. The women seemed more or less unconcerned - sit talking and clapping and singing. The trance is brought on by the monotonous dancing in a circle, clapping, concentration, and heavy breathing with the stomach. This latter is particularly characteristic. Eventually they all broke out into perspiration. The other men dance around and massage and hold onto the shaman when necessary. At one point /k<sup>w</sup> fell into a trance and the two helpers //gow and /umah (? helped him I presume). Then /ee!kai the other shaman came behind and put his head down on his (/k<sup>w</sup>s) back and went through the routine. Then he came around in front and placing the crown of his head on /k<sup>w</sup>'s forehead rubbed his hair up and down /k<sup>w</sup>'s face going through the routine. Finally after the ceremony continued for an hour /ee!kai collapsed in a stiff faint and was carried off behind a hut where he was laid down to rest.

O-cho-mah or Men's Dance: Obs/RHD

RITUAL: (2)

O-cho-mah or Men's Dance: Obs/RHD

535  
881

The men gather in the dance circle and the two shamen stand to one side and begin - the men sing. Then /kow began the dance. All dance and sing circling to the right (facing in?) taking short steps. Next change song and face center of circle with a stamping step. All the men wore feathers in their hair. /kow led. /umah carried a wildebeaste tail in his hand. If available they use all animal tails. Löfferrhund dance at the end. Imitative barking. Very end of dance is formalized. One man turns toward center and is followed by each man in turn counter-clockwise until all face center then stop.

~

PROPERTY: (1)

421 Inter. RHD/FM/ /umah, /qui et al.

Water & Grass: These belong to everyone, animals and men both have equal rights, and so Bushmen live away from these.

Game & Veldkos: These belong to the Bushmen - were put there in their area for them by //gana.

Food: Technically food belongs to the obtainer but in practise it is always shared by the whole group. If a woman finds an extremely rich area of veldkos she could keep this information to herself by explaining to the others that she walked more slowly and thereby obtained more. But there is no sign by which she could stake a claim and in most cases she would tell the others as she is expected to share the veldkos if she has enough.

422 Man's Property: No wife may dispose of her husband's property nor may she use any of it against his will. He owns: bow, arrows, quiver, assegai, all hunting gear, his clothing, cooking pot (because he bought it).

Woman's Property: No husband may dispose of his wife's property nor may he use any of it against her will. Objects belonging to women are the skerm, mortar and pestle, spoons, wooden bowls, collecting bags, ostrich shells, scoop, digging stick, clothing.

421 Beehives: This may be marked as personal property in the same manner that water is marked, i.e. by placing a bundle of grass on a bush nearby where it can be seen.

422 Skerm: Built and owned by the woman but used by the family.

421 Ostrich Nest: There is no method for marking these as individual property. If a man finds one and wishes to use the eggs but is unable to carry them at the time he must dig a hole and bury them while he goes home to fetch help. If he wishes to catch the ostrich he places a poison arrowpoint among the eggs where the hen will sit upon it and thus be killed.

PROPERTY: (2)

421  
Burned Veld: Although a party of men may burn a special section of veld in order to force a fresh growth of grass this does not give them precedence in the use of the area for hunting over other band members.

421  
628  
Land: No one owns the land, but there is a roughly defined "band area" over which the band's "headman" holds nominal authority. Members of the band may come and go, may change their residence to be with family, but the "headman" is expected to stay in the area at all times. In theory at least, visitors may stay and hunt but must submit to the headman's authority, and all present are entitled to share any meat killed in the area.

Thus there would appear to be a sense of communal privilege which entitles members of the band to share in the products of the area in which they live, though actual ownership is vested in //ga<sup>u</sup>/a who put the animals, plants, and water there for the Bushmen to use.

421  
555  
(Comment: In general the theory of private property is accepted with regard to all the products of personal labor (thus the hunter, collector, or craftsman owns the meat, veldkos, or objects he produces) though in practise especially as regards food the custom of communal distribution supercedes the theory with the result that personal greed is looked upon very unfavorably. Indeed in the few instances in which individuals evinced anxiety over gifts it was not to gain more for themselves but to ensure that they got as much as the others. Any deviation from an equal division brought immediate protests from the other members of the band who considered this treatment unfair. Taken aside, away from the others, any individual would of course accept anything offered as a gift usually. In the insurance of generosity in the matter of food distribution, without which existence would probably be impossible, the obtaining and subsequent distribution of food has become a major factor of prestige

PROPERTY: (3)

in the band. Thus social position ties directly into economic ability, the best hunter having precedence over the lesser hunters. This may not be true in the case of the shaman who has prestige accruing from his curing powers. Such a system shows the combination of personal competition within the framework of communal cooperation; a practical economic system for the group which at the same time provides motivation for the individual in terms of prestige derived from his ability to contribute to the common welfare. )

L

DEATH: (1)

Legend of the Origin of Death: Inter. RHD/FM/~~g~~kow

539  
761  
The moon and the hare brought death to mankind. The moon said to //gawa "You must let men die and come back again." But //gawa didn't want to do this, and replied, "The smell from the decayed body will always remain with it even if the man returns and this would be very bad for the living." Then the hare said, "Well, I think //gawa<sup>u</sup> is right." And since the moon was only one against the other two it happens that from this time on men die and do not return.

Inter. RHD/FM/~~g~~kow :

776  
775  
681  
If a murderer kills an adulterous rival and is killed by the latter's younger brother the two dead men must meet the Evil One on their way to God. The Evil One takes them to God who asks what happened. The Evil One tells him. God says then that "Both are bad, so take them with you." ~~g~~ wasn't sure what happened to these men - thought probably they stay on the clouds and do bad things.

Heart (life) and soul go to God. Only the body is left. The soul is like air and can't be kept - it disappears.

Inter. RHD/FM/guide /qui; /umah, et al.

765  
764  
Widow does nothing; a widower: "if a man loved his wife he would be very unhappy".

If someone dies in the evening everyone cries all night. The first night the mourning dance is held. Mourning lasts about five days. States no one eats in this time. Men bury the dead. This is done as soon as possible. If death occurs at night the body is buried the next morning. As soon as the person is dead the body is put in a flexed position and tied with fibre string. The string passes between the big and second toes around the thighs and up the back to the shoulder and



DEATH: (2)

around the neck. The body leans against the side of the hole. In most cases a veldkos bag has been cut up and put over the head to keep out the sand. Thus the dead person is buried in a crouching position with hands placed just below the knees facing the direction in which he was born. If the man has been killed he is buried on the spot. If he dies in his hut he is buried there and the werft is abandoned - permanently. The body is buried with the eyes and mouth closed. The ears and nose are stuffed with bird nest fluff. The figure wears a kaross. A man's weapons and hunting gear are usually put in a tree above the grave. Sometimes these may be put into the grave but usually not. If there be a son he may receive some of the arrows. No food is placed in or near the grave. Placing the weapons in a tree means that the weapons are dead just as their owner is dead since there is no one longer anyone to use them. It is considered a very bad thing to steal these weapons and such a theft would lead to a feud, though no supernatural retribution was acknowledged in association with such a theft.

A woman is buried wearing all the property she has on when she dies. Her other property is usually broken over the top of the grave.

BOY'S INITIATION CEREMONY: (1) Obs. & Inter. RHD/FM/old /kow et al.

881  
304 A fire is built under the big Tree in an area cleared behind the headman's hut. The headman brings in a pot of meat from the animals killed by the boys for their first kill (usually small buck). The men of the band sit in a semi-circle with the boys of the band squatting in the background. There are two ceremonies performed by the oldest man on the initiates (1) for the first kill (2) for the second kill.

(1) The old man marks in ash mixture two marks on the upper right arm below the shoulder; 4 marks on the right arm above the elbow; 2 marks on the right arm below the elbow; 2 marks on the upper right breast. Also a straight line from the tip of the nose to the forehead and around the right eye forming a circle around the eye. (In movie old /kow did this to lame /kow) On upper right back 3 long dabs; top of lumbar area 2 lines 1" apart with a third line 2" lower. On right side 3 black dots (3/4" wide x 1" long) 1" apart just above the waist. These would be actual incisions with the ointment rubbed into them for scarification in a real ceremony.

(2) In second ceremony for killing the second buck the old man marks the second side. On left middle upper arm 3 dots; on upper left just above the elbow 5 dots; on lower left just below the elbow 3 dots; on left breast 2 dots; on back 4 marks in a verticle row on left portion; 4 similar dots on right portion; 4 dots in verticle row along lumbar region; on right arm 3 dots below the elbow on the inside. Sign on face repeated but on the left side.

If a boy fails to get his first buck within a reasonable time the other men try to help him by putting him through the ceremony for the second buck. The first meat is eaten by the old men. Then some of the water is poured into the ash and the steam is "to wake the hunters up to be better".

First Ceremony: signs are made with a mixture of ash and fat (and

BOY'S INITIATION: (2)

probably additional "medicine"). Signs are applied to arms and thorax and face only. They are all taken together as a unit and done for one animal. There being no meaning known for individual points. For groups:

sign over the right eye helps him to see - must be done with the rest

sign on the back is to keep him from becoming nervous when stalking prey

sign on the right side of the stomach keeps the animal from running away from the hunter.

For each mark on a boy a corresponding piece of meat must be taken from the animal and boiled. The pieces are then ~~mixed~~ dried and ground up. Two kinds of medicine are ground up with this. They are obtained from a tree on the Okavango River. "My" medicine also comes from Gam and is the root of a plant about 1 foot high, yellowish, and poison to cattle. This is burned and added to the black ointment which is kept to put into cuts. The poison is to give poison enough to his arrow.

The Second Buck Ceremony:

sign on the left eye to make a sexually potent man

signs on the right side for bulls

signs on the left side for cows

signs on lower middle back to keep from getting frightened

Cuts of meat are taken and treated as in First Buck Ceremony.

The completion of the ceremony signifies that he is now eligible for marriage and is now a full-fledged hunter. The boy now gets a hut like the marriage hut in the center of the dance floor (note: replaces the central fire - any relation to fire-significance??). The boy must stay in the hut after this for a day or more and then goes out to shoot for meat a second time. No women may sit in front of this hut. He may eat a little bit of the second animal but all the rest is for men only. (i.e. he may be given meat from the back). During this time his mother

BOY'S INITIATION: (3)

prepares the food but only his father brings it to him. He cannot speak to any woman at all - only men.

On the second day of the ceremony he is also instructed. He is told that from this day all these places that are marked are not given to him to eat until he is married. If he breaks this tabu he will never be able to kill another animal. If he speaks to a woman by mistake during the ceremony nothing happens - she replies "You think you're ready to marry after you've killed your first animal" to remind him. Should he purposely speak he will be able to kill no animals and hence never marry. He is also instructed now on the making of poison. The first and second buck were killed with poison made by his father. From this time on he must kill with his own poison. He is also told that he must always keep his arrows out of the way of walking people or he will kill somebody. Poison must be handled carefully!

After the ceremony (which usually takes place at an early age) he has to hunt for about ten rainy seasons until he is completely ready to marry. During this period he usually receives some sexual instruction from older men. After the ceremony of the second buck his father may pledge him to a wife if he is a good hunter.

✓

CHILDREN: (1) Misc. Obs. RHD

857  
864 Observed one little girl lying on a skin with an older young girl who proceeded to suck vigorously at the younger girl's breasts, alternately.

524  
857 Two little boys played at drawing ~~xxx~~ another little boy on a skin like a sledge. Later three little boys and a girl took the four corners of the skin and carried the fourth little boy in it as on a litter.

857  
864 One young boy attacked another and pulled his loincloth off much to the amusement of the older women about and to the shame of the young boy who broke into tears.

At first the children were restrained and never showed any aggression. Now that they are used to us they run about screaming and playing and occasionally get into little arguments.

Two older boys played with each other one sitting close behind the other and reaching around teasing the first by touching his loincloth and fingering under it.

548  
859 Young /sanko slapped his brother Kaishay on the head quite hard early in the morning over some dispute. This is the first observation of overt aggression between children.

868  
857 A little boy with his fathers knife squats with a pile of lungs and kidneys cutting them up by sticking the knife point through and slicing, and then hangs the strips on a small bush.

857  
524 A little boy tied a bunch of Guinea fowl down and feathers to the end of a stick on the end of a string and played with it by carrying it over his shoulders and waving it in the air.

Another little boy was playing with a small bow about 1' long (don't know where he got it - perhaps made it himself) and an arrow about 1' long. Occasionally he hit the arrow on the bow string and held the end of the bow against his ear - apparently trying to make music (cf. musical bow)

CHILDREN: (2)

857  
868

The smallest child followed its mother home from the water hole carrying an ostrich egg shell filled with water and corked with a wooden plug.

The youngest male child borrowed his father's (?) hunting bag which is almost as big as he is and is walking about with it over his left shoulder. He wears two upper arm bands, two wristlets, two leglets just below the knee all of sinew. A single strand tied about the waist with the tag ends from the knot hanging down the back. Two strands of his hair have metal beads dangling in the middle of his forehead and a single strand necklace is around his neck.