

2018.9.1

crossed

Hunting <sup>red</sup> etc 52  
Jo O B Row -

20.6.7

Saturday, 16<sup>th</sup> Aug, 1952 AM.

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Interrogation at Group I werst - Food, here and now, dry season.

Mr. Marshall and John took more movies of processing Mangetti nuts (11 G2)

Interrogation Team: J.O. Brew, L.K. Marshall, Frederick, 1 G20.

Informants: G20 (Headman), G20 (medicine man), 1 Qui.

Ques: What do you eat now?

Ans: In this time we eat 11 G2 (Mangetti) and 1 G2 (root), the only food we eat in this time.

Ques: Don't you catch birds and animals?

Ans: We eat Khorran (both kinds, 1 G2 and Nam), and Gemsbok, Kudu, Hartbeeste, Eland, Giraffe (remember, they have not had a ~~giraffe~~ Giraffe for 5 years), Guinea Fowls (stopped flow here - apparently we can get here, again, the same list as on Aug 13 - theoretical, not the aim of this interview), they continued a bit however, Rhebok, Steenbok.

Ques: When did you last ~~shoot~~ <sup>get</sup> a Steenbok?

Ans: Steenbok is not enough for a group this size, some would have meat but others would not, there would not be enough.

If they get a Rorbok (Rhebok??) that is enough for this group.

Kudu is only enough ~~for~~ about for one day for this group.

We Bushmen nation (nation probably Frederick's concept), we eat too much meat. A good fat Gemsbok is only good for one day, they will finish it in one day.

An Eland for this group will last 3 days. He got a lot of fat and lot of meat.

Giraffe will last for 10 days for this group.

Wildebeeste lasts only 1 day.

Aard Vark lasts one meal, one night only, for this group.

Wild pig, also one meal.

Rhinoceros, food for two days (but see pg. 3, Wed. Aug. 13)

Ques: What is the last animal you have had?

Ans: Before the Expedition came we only killed Kudu. Gemsbok and others are very far from us so we can not get them. and country is very dry and there is no water on veld for hunting big game.

Ques: When did you get your last Kudu?

Ans: Nearly, in the omaramba, is where they killed last Kudu - a bull. Brought the meat to werst. This is since the Expedition came - shot by headman while Mr. Marshall was at Windhoek. Everyone gets meat, also the old woman (11 G20) <sup>Kushay</sup>

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S2T, 16<sup>th</sup> Aug. (cont)

2.

Ques: And the one before that?

Ans: We killed 2 before the Expedition came - one one day, one the next. 2 days before the Expedition came.

1 Gui has gone today to hunt on veld (the one with sore feet, who could not go to t ai t ai to get news of Fuma last night because of his sore feet). He went alone - he went west.

Ques: When was the one before the last 2, described above?  
(A series of questions was needed to get this answered)

Ans: Before that they shot 2 Gemelok. A little over a week before. They killed the Gemeloks, then they had meat for 4 days, then it was 5 days before they got the Kudiu.

Ques: Do they shoot any game when they already have meat in the wofft?

Ans: You see, we do like this, there are many people in the group, and one animal will be killed, and still eating this meat, a hunter goes out, and if he finds game, he shoots.

Ques: Does a hunter go out every day?

Ans: Yes, and he comes back and tells where he sees any animals, and next day they go out to hunt.

Ques: If he finds game when he first goes out, can he shoot it then, or must he come back to tell them?

Ans: He may also shoot. He is alone.

Ques: But when he comes back and tells of game and they go out next day, how many go?

Ans: Five men go out. (plus old man - see ~~now~~ below - also remember the five men who were going after Mungettis, 5=19)

Ques: What happens then?

Ans: They hunt on basis of information brought in by watching man.

Ques: Do the five hunt together, or split up, or spread out, etc.?

Ans: These 5 men go out, and they search, when they not get game they sleep that night out, next morning hunt again, until they get animal. They do not hunt together, but spray out, and come together in afternoon if they haven't got animal.

Ques: What happens when one of them gets an animal?

Ans: If one gets animal, and it is not dead, he comes back to where they slept, tells others, next morning all go to search for dead animal.

Ques: When they find the animal, what happens?

Ans: When they find him, slaughter (butcher) him, carry meat home.

Ques: Do they fetch the women to carry it?

Ans: NO.

Sat, 16<sup>th</sup> Aug (cont)

3.

Ques: Do they eat any of it when they butcher it? (some laughter)

Ans: Yes, eat some at slaughtering place and on the trail as way back.

Ques: Is any particular part eaten then?

Ans: They eat only the chest

Ques: Do they eat any part in addition to the chest at the slaughtering place?

Ans: They do not eat the chest, they bring the chest to the headman,

They eat only the bones of the chest at the killing place.

Ques: How do they distribute the meat in the werft?

Ans: The meat of the chest is given to the headman.

Ques: Who gives out the meat?

Ans: The man who shot the animal.

Ques: Are any special parts given to special people?

Ans: There is no particular meat for special people except chest for headman.

Just cut up meat and give some to everyone.

Ques: The hunter and his family get no particular piece?

Ans: He gets the saddle.

Ques: Is any special piece given to <sup>Kushay</sup> "Guse" (the wise woman)?

Ans: She gets the fillet (sirloin). Old women must get soft meat (later question developed that <sup>chi</sup> ~~Tei~~! K<sup>chi</sup>ho, another old woman gets some of this, too, it is not special to <sup>Kushay</sup> "Guse")

Ques: Who gets the liver?

Ans: The man who shot the animal.

Ques: When does he eat it.

Ans: at the shooting place. (refer to top of this page).

Ques: What happens to the feet?

Ans: An old man always goes with them to the hunt.

He gets the feet and head.

Ques: This makes 6 men on the hunt then, rather than 5?

Ans: Yes.

Ques: Do other people get special parts, medicine man, etc?

Ans: The medicine man gets the belly, entrails, and throat meat.

Ques: (suggested by Frederick). Do they have meat testing - for luck?

(The Bergdama cut out a piece and have a special man to test it for luck)

Ans: Yes, if they shoot an animal, then they take some blood, and throw it on the ground. It is for the grandfathers who are dead.

They speak, 'Here is the blood, take and eat it, and give us luck'.

Sat, 16<sup>th</sup> Aug., (Cont)

4.

ques: Who says this?

ans: The old man who goes with them, young people can not do that.

ques: Is this old man a medicine man?

ans: Just an old man of the group, not a medicine man.

ques: Who does this for them?

ans: This group (I) has no old man so they don't do it.

(querie: what about the old man in the werft? Is it because he is too old and blind to go with them - or is it because he comes from elsewhere - only 3 of his group were left so he came and joined Group I - more work needed on this - I did not know about him during this questioning, so could not ask on the point)

ques: Do they leave any other part of the animal at the shooting place?

ans: Just the blood, nothing else.

ques: Since there is no old man in this group, who is given the feet and head?

ans: They eat it.

ques: Where do they eat it?

ans: at the shooting place; do not bring to werft.

ques: What happens to the horns and hoofs?

ans: they throw it away at the shooting place.

ques: Do they have to leave the horns or/and hoofs at the shooting place?

ans: The bone of head (skull) and horns is put in a bush, with the horns up, in unnatural position at the shooting place.

ques: What happens to the hooves?

ans: The hooves are thrown away.

ques: Why do they hang up the skull in a bush?

ans: For luck, to get some more.

ques: They do not use the horns for anything?

ans: No.

ques: Do they leave anything else at the shooting place, testicles, uterus, etc?

ans: nothing else is left behind.

ques: Who gets the testicles?

ans: A special man eats this.

ques: What man?

ans: The man who shot the beast.

ques: Where does he eat it?

ans: at the shooting place.

ques: you shoot a female beast, if it has foetus, what happens?

ans: They bring it home and give it to the old man of the group.

ques: But they said this group does not have an old man, so who do they give it to?

ans: It is given to old women like //Guse and <sup>Chi</sup>!kko.

ques: Does <sup>Chi</sup>!kko also, like //Guse, tell them what their dreams mean?

ans: No. <sup>Chi</sup>!kko is only an old woman, but younger than //Guse, not an old woman like //Guse.

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Kushary

Sat 16<sup>th</sup> Aug (Cont)

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Ques: How long is it since they have had an Aard-Vark? (laughter, much talk)

ans: They have never done this.

ques: Why don't they ever do it?

ans: They are too weak, it is too heavy work, the Aard Vark goes very far in the ground.

ques: Do they get an Aard Vark any other way?

ans: Since they have grown up they haven't killed anything like that.

ques: How long since, when did they kill a Giraffe?

ans: 5 years ago at Gantscha.

ques: Were they out hunting at Gantscha or did they live near Gantscha (1 Gantsa)?

ans: They lived there.

ques: Is this Gantscha near # Nama?

ans: Yes

ques: Is that where # <sup>To</sup>ma is now?

ans: # <sup>To</sup>ma is at # Nama. Killed Giraffe western side from 1 Gantsa, at INI!Ao.

ques: How far west of Gantscha?

ans: One day - go and come back. Five years ago they lived at Gantscha (repeated).

ques: Where did they get their water?

ans: at Gantscha.

ques: Where did # <sup>To</sup>ma live then.

(This question brought out a clarification - they are referring to Gantsa, not to Gantscha.)

ques: Why did they move here?

ans: You see that in that year, Giraffe was not in this country, and they moved up there to get Giraffe meat.

ques: Have they a piece of 1 G<sup>2</sup> (Veldkos) in the werft?

ans: Yes (a ♀ brought a large root, ca 3 lbs weight).

ques: Do they dig this every day.

ans: Yes

(They pointed out that the sample shown was too old and stringy - the end was cut and it was very stringy - so that this piece was not good)

(Information from Frederick - during the rains this same plant, 1 G<sup>2</sup>, has fruit like a tomato, sweet, if you see it you will think it is a tomato; eaten by Bergdama, too.)

ques: do you eat 1 G<sup>2</sup> every day?

ans: yes.

ques: Does each person eat one every day?

ans: They are large enough for 3 or 4 people.

#### END OF INTERROGATION

after distribution of tobacco, further questions seemed to contradict the information above, about the Veldkos 1 G<sup>2</sup>. Mr. Marshall, wishing to learn what they actually eat now, and wanting to get a movie of them collecting 1 G<sup>2</sup>. A further question about whether they collect it every day brought forth a very indefinite answer.

ques: Did the ♀ collect any yesterday?

ans: No.

ques: When did they last collect any?

ans: It is too far, they are not collecting it now.

ques: When are the women going out to collect 1 G<sup>2</sup>?

ans: They are not thinking of doing so now.

#### End of Interrogation

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Interrogation

Wed. Aug 13, 1952, A.M. AT Camp near Gum

J.O. Brew, Frederick, /Gao.

Informants. Gao (old man), /Gui (young man), Later joined by /G<sup>aishay</sup>ase

Subject: Hunting

List of Animals hunted in the order given by the Bushmen

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English	Bushman	Bergdama
Eland	! N <sup>?</sup>	! Khani
Giraffe	≠ Goa	! Naib
Kudu	! Hoa	Xaib
Gemsbok	! Goe	/Gaeb
Wildebeeste	! Gi	?
Hartebeeste	Tso	// Khanab
Rhinoceros	/Nō	! Nawas
Rhebok (or Roibok)	/Au	/Naus
Steenbok	/Hā	! Airis
Ostrich	Tsu	! Amib
Rabbit	! Hai	! Ōas
Springhare	/Nom	≠ Gob
Aard Vark	/Hā	/Khuwub
Wild Pig	/Hōa	Tirib

"this is all the big animals"

"Now the small animals"

Porcupine	! Ōn	! Noab	(Laughter at this animal)
Landis Fox	! ū	//AB	
Paoww	! Gui	! Huib	
springbok	≠ Gai	//Gūb	
Guinea Fowl	Ari	/Ginis	
Khorran	! Ga	≠ Naubes	} 2 kinds of khorran. Charley Handley says there are 6 kinds of khorran
Khorran	Nam	Xar //gas	
Pheasant	/Gowo	! Nowo	

"that's all"





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Aug 13, 1952, AM (cont.)

Steenbok - / Hū Springpole trap on trail. S steps on stick, is  
grabbed by noose. Go to water during rains,  
Rhebok / Au do not use water in dry season.  
Roibok  
also shoot with poison arrow - stalk to 20 yards.

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Rhinoceros - / Nō. "That's a war". - must creep up and  
shoot him with poisoned arrow. 2 men stalk - others stay  
behind - shoot - must not let Rhino see you - if he sees you,  
you go in other direction - if Rhino see you he run at you,  
you run - do not stop to shoot, you run. Do not try to hit  
particular spot on Rhino - just shoot.

Have not killed Rhino since last rains. Rhino no longer in  
this country but used to be.

None of these men has ever killed a Rhino.

Gao has not killed a Rhino but was with a man named  
/ Qui when he killed one. This was at #Nai#Nai, other  
side of Gantscha, big pan, beyond Thinthuma. This was a  
very long time ago but when Gao was still an old man,  
"just the same age I am now".

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Friday, 15<sup>th</sup> Aug, 1952 AM.

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Interrogation - Group I - at Skerm.

Team - J.O. Brew, Frederick, / Gao.

Main informants - Gao (headman), Gao (medicine man), / Gase<sup>assistant</sup>.

Continuation of hunting techniques - methods of kill.

Kudu. Follow up until kudu is tired, then shoot - make him run.

This takes 1 day, dies same day.

Question about new and old poison got nowhere here and seemed to occasion some slight merriment. "Kudu is tired and must die quickly!"

She come very close to exhausted kudu - 5 to 10 feet.

Gembok Do not run Gembok - stalk and shoot with arrow. Stalk to within 40 or 50 feet.

Kudu again. Also get kudu by stalking. Gao got one this way 2 weeks ago.

Wildebeeste: Stalk and shoot - distance like for Gembok.

Tso Hartebeeste: Like Gembok.

Giraffe, #G02: stalk to within 70 to 80 feet. Shoot him today and after 4 days you are going to find him dead.

Mangetti nuts - //G3

Places: the place we went to yesterday in Gum omarumba. Always go with women.

Yesterday, went farther into forest than usual, so left most of women behind. Wanted to see if nuts were plentiful farther in, usually go only to this side of forest.

Also go south - 4 days - 2 there, 2 back - cross 5 omarumbas, our camp being in the first of these. Our car tracks (Eisob?) are on the other side of these Mangettis.

Other groups also have right to collect //G3 in these forests.

Piles of nuts previously gathered which we saw yesterday in the forest had been collected by them (check with 4<sup>th</sup> statement above).

"They always go there". That place about 4 years ago we used to stay there - now go and come back - used to stay there while collecting during rains (4 years ago) - now go, stay one night and come back.

The area where the forest is was given to them by Gao's father. (This is Gao the Medicine man, not Gao the headman)

His father's name was /Gai!Gao (this checks with genealogies).

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Friday, 15<sup>th</sup> Aug (cont)  
Continuing Manzettis

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The other people (other than Group I) have no right to collect there but are very hungry which is why they go there.

ques: Do they have to ask permission?

ans: They come and ask permission to go there.

ques: Have the other groups here asked that permission?

ans: Groups 2, 3, + 4 have asked permission.

ques: How do they ask permission?

ans: Permission is asked from G20, the headman. The headman of the other group sends small boys to ask G20 if they can find food in the area, then they take back the answer.

Everytime they want to collect //G2 they must come to ask, but the first time they must go alone; the second time they come to ask, we go along, too.

ques: Have all these groups around here asked?

ans: Gongara group (II) have just come, 2-3 days. Have not asked (definite embarrassment here, it appears that some of Group II are present in the audience, so this line of interrogation was suspended)

ques: How are the nuts distributed in the wraft.

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ans: If a person collects nuts, these nuts are distributed; that is, if some go and others stay behind, then the ones who go give nuts to those who stay behind. Not divided by relationships, but those who stay behind to look after the wraft all get some, the whole group. The old Lady (//G450<sup>Kushay</sup>), for example, gets some, given her by the Headman - This apparently applies to all food, he gives food to her from his own supply, does not collect from others for this purpose. "This applies to all food"

ques: The USE of //G2

ans: ① Crack and eat the nuts

② Pound in mortar with pestle, eat like flour.

(Apparently the inner and outer parts are so treated, separately)

③ Another food, //G2 (Bergdama, //H2b), is mixed with ground Manzettis (inner meat or outer covering?).

//G2 is a veldkros - is a root - (also eaten by Bergdama)

//G2 is cooked in fire, black brushed off, and stamped together with nuts, looks like bread. (Bergdama eat //G2 with butter - nice, good, heavy food - get fat).

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Friday, 15<sup>th</sup> Aug (Cont)

Mangettis (116a) (continued)

4. Put Mangettis (Mangedies) in pot and boil (whole nuts).
5. Nuts roasted directly in fire, put in with shells on, crack afterwards. This is the inner nut, have taken off yellow outer covering, which is eaten first.
6. Yellow outer covering eaten separately. This is a separate food, gnawed off with teeth. Not a separate word for the two edible parts, only one word, 116a, for both foods.
7. Pound off outer covering in mortar, eat dry (same as 1?)
8. Pound off outer covering in mortar, mix with water into gruel.

ques: Do they do anything for luck in collecting, good crops, etc?

ans: In old times, go to one special old woman - ask her where they should go to find food because they are hungry - and she tells them the side to which they go.

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This they still do.

(Much conversation here, among the informants, and among the audience)

ques: Did they ask a woman before going out yesterday?

ans: yes. She said, when we asked her, you won't get much but you will get some.

ques: What ♀ did you ask?

ans: The old ♀, 116use, <sup>(Mushay)</sup> (this is the old woman without any relatives living, who is fed by the Headman)

ques: How does she know?

ans: (We want to keep our old customs. We will answer these questions as long as people do not try to change the old customs. This from the headman)

She is a woman who has travelled much in the veld and she knows that on such and such a time food must be there. She is old and has much experience.

ques: Has she any connexion with any God, etc (generalized).

ans: She is an old ♀ who knows about dreams. Sometimes she dreams and tells you that you must go this way to find food, that there is a lot of food that way, and we go to the direction she says and we find some food. That's why we believe her when she tells us something.

Friday, 15<sup>th</sup> Aug., (Cont)

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ques: If one of them has a dream, do they go to her and tell it to her?

ans: They also take their dreams to her (<sup>Kushay</sup> Guse).

ques: What kind of things does she tell them about their dreams?

ans: Kam sukutsa means 'sleep'; ku ≠ Noami means 'tell me',  
Tsa zuahē kuotsia, 'tell me if the men will be here',

Sometimes myself (Gao - medicine man), I dream that I have fight with one of my friends and this dream haven't given me a rest and I went to <sup>Kushay</sup> Guse and I tell her my dream. What's this dream mean? and she tells me that's not a trouble and not a fight with your friend, you dreamed just of meat you will get, and I went out and I got meat, and same day I go out to get this meat I kill gemsbok and kudu. That was my dream, how she explained it to me.

I have also a dream (Gao - headman). I dreamed that I shot 3 kudu bulls. Next morning I get up, I went to old woman <sup>Mushay</sup> Guse, and I tell her my dream about the 3 kudu bulls, at once she says very good dream, good, you will get lots of meat, she says, and from there I turn around, going home, and I took my arrow, my things, and I went to veld, and I shot 2 kudu bulls. On these things we believe the old woman, what she tells us.

End of interrogation.

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Hunting<sup>x'd</sup>, etc '52  
J. O. Brew-



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