Phase 2a Archaeological Site Documentation / Sketch Plan: Sensitive Area 1 –

CLUSTER 9 PHASE 5 AND CLUSTER 8 LINKAGE, WATER SUPPLY AND ACCESS ROAD, NXAMAGELE AND CATSHILE, NEAR TSOMO, CHRIS HANI DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY, EASTERN CAPE

EASTERN CAPE PROVINCIAL HERITAGE RESOURCES AUTHORITY (EC PHRA)
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ENGINEERING CONSULTANT – MALUTI GSM	HERITAGE CONSULTANT – ARCHAEOMAPS	DATE – 2 JANUARY 2023
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SPECIALIST DECLARATION OF INTEREST –

I, Karen van Ryneveld, ArchaeoMaps, declare that:

- I act as independent specialist in this application.
- I do not have any financial or personal interest in the application, its proponent or subsidiaries, aside from fair remuneration for specialist services rendered.
- I am suitably qualified, accredited, and experienced to act as independent specialist in this application.
- That work is conducted in an objective manner; and that any circumstances that may have compromised objectivity is transparently reported.
- That all material information collected that may reasonably influence the decision of the consenting authority is transparently disclosed.
- That work is conducted in accordance with relevant heritage legislation, regulations, and policy guidelines, and with reference to relevant environmental legislation, regulations, and policies, including the principle of Integrated Environmental Management (IEM).

SIGNATURE – 2 JANUARY 2023

KAREN VAN RYNEVELD – ARCHAEOMAPS			
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PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIP AND ACCREDITTION	ASAPA (Association of Southern African Professional Archaeologists) Member Nr. 163 ASAPA CRM (Cultural Resources Management) Accreditation: ❖ Principal Investigator: 2010 – Stone Age CRM ❖ Field Director: 2005 – (Stone Age), Iron Age and Colonial Period CRM		
QUALIFICATION	MSc – Archaeology, WITS University, 2003		

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

PROJECT NAME AND LOCALITY

Cluster 9 Phase 5 and Cluster 8 Linkage, Water Supply and Access Road, Nxamagele and Catshile, near Tsomo, Chris Hani District Municipality, Eastern Cape.

- General development coordinate – S32°'02'08.0"; E28°00'38.9" (Nxamagele Command Reservoir).
- 1:50,000 Map Ref – 3227BB and 3228AA.

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

The Phase 1 Archaeological and Cultural Heritage Impact Assessment (AIA) for the *Cluster 9 Phase 5 and Cluster 8 Linkage, Water Supply and Access Road* development refers, referenced as:

- Van Ryneveld, K. (ArchaeoMaps). 2022. Site Sensitivity Verification (SSV) and Phase 1 Archaeological and Cultural Heritage Impact Assessment (AIA) – Cluster 9 Phase 5 and Cluster 8 Linkage, Water Supply and Access Road, Nxamagele and Catshile, near Tsomo, Chris Hani District Municipality, Eastern Cape [SAHRIS CaseID 19058].

A total of 14 archaeological and cultural heritage resources / sites, as defined and protected by the National Heritage Resources Act, Act No. 25 of 1999 (NHRA 1999), are recorded in the AIA, and labelled Sites C9P5-01 to C9P5-14. Development recommendations pertaining to identified sites for purposes of development are summarised as:

- Sites C9P5-01, C9P5-02, C9P5-12, C9P5-13, and C9P5-14: in situ site conservation (without additional conservation measures on behalf of the developer) based on proximity to the line route.
- Sites C9P5-03, C9P5-04, and C9P5-05: temporary conservation measures (fence and signage) during the construction phase of development.
- Sensitive Area 1 – Sites C9P5-06, C9P5-07, C9P5-08, C9P5-09, and C9P5-10: temporary conservation corridor (fence and signage) during the construction phase of development; archaeological site documentation / sketch plan recording; and archaeological environmental–heritage monitoring during the construction phase of development, with a relevant report submitted to the Eastern Cape Provincial Heritage Resources Authority (EC PHRA).
- Sensitive Area 2 – Site C9P5-11: temporary conservation corridor (fence and signage); and archaeological / Environmental Control Officer (ECO) monitoring during the construction phase of development, with a relevant (photographic) report submitted to the EC PHRA.

This report comprises the AIA recommended, and EC PHRA approved Sensitive Area 1 site documentation / sketch plan recording and archaeological environmental–heritage monitoring.

PHASE 2a ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE DOCUMENTATION / SKETCH PLAN: SENSITIVE AREA 1

See Map 3: Sensitive Area 1 – sketch plan (and related photographic site documentation).

Summarised Findings –
The Sensitive Area 1 site cluster – comprising five homesteads, or homestead complexes – is from a settlement layout point of view described as a developed labyrinthian maze-like pattern based on a rectangular underlying paradigm (worldview); thus, in stark contrast with the Central Cattle Pattern (CCP) that typifies Nguni settlement pattern, and with consideration to CCP variation among the Xhosa.

Original organic (wooden) build structures have decayed. Stone features, thus, comprise the most visible signatory features of the site cluster, but providing a skeleton-like impression of the actual site only.

The number of water holes at Sensitive Area 1 is noticeable: the landscape seems amenable to the natural formation of water holes. It, however, remains uncertain if, and to what degree, anthropogenic agents may have facilitated water hole formation for use.

Settlement layout at Sensitive Area 1, in the absence of even variable CCP elements, excludes the site as an early Xhosa settlement. And it excludes Western acculturative influence, be it Cape government or missionary influence alike. Raising, in turn, the inevitable question of who the builders and inhabitants of the site were. Two hypotheses are proposed:

- Hypothesis 1: That there was among the amaMfengu fleeing the *difaqane* – the Mumbo–Abembi–Abambo culture cluster tribes / clans – and afforded residency by Hintsa in the Eastern Cape in 1818, a tribe / clan, or an incorporated section of a people to such a tribe / clan, of a culture very different from that generally associated with the Nguni.

  This amaMfengu tribe / clan, or incorporated section of a people to such a tribe / clan, is inferred to have practiced a more pastoralist centred lifeway that resulted in the different settlement pattern at Sensitive Area 1 (as opposed to the

CCP). Pastoralist elements may have been original minority Mbo cultural aspects (by comparison with the Ovambo of Namibia and Angola), or acculturative or direct Later Stone Age (LSA) pastoralist (Khoe / "Hottentot") cultural aspects.

- Hypothesis 2: That the Sensitive Area 1 site represents the settlement of a people prior to the seizure of political power in the Eastern Cape by the Xhosa. In accordance with this hypothesis Sensitive Area 1 would be representative of the settlement pattern of the "original inhabitants" of the area.

  The "original inhabitants" thus referred to is inferred to have been a Chainouqua – including Korana – clan / band cluster (or a people of a kindred Khoe tribe / clan). With the Khoe political lead – or the Chobona – overthrown further north, and the Chainouqua ("Little Chobona", or the second-in-charge) defeated by the Xhosa, reasonably during the latter part of the wars of the seventeenth / eighteenth century, the site fell into disuse.

The developed nature of the settlement pattern at Sensitive Area 1 calls for caution. No rectangular based labyrinthian maze-like settlement pattern is reported on or researched from the eastern parts of the country; not from the greater northern Eastern Cape (or the Transkeian region), nor from Natal. The omission of this settlement pattern in the research records and interpretation of the peoples of the eastern part of the country is here described as gross oversight and may well prove a fatal flaw in the writing of indigenous histories, at least where it affects the intricate histories of the peoples of the eastern part of South Africa.

RECOMMENDATIONS

This report closes the Sensitive Area 1 site documentation / sketch plan recording and archaeological environmental–heritage monitoring compliance for the *Cluster 9 Phase 5 and Cluster 8 Linkage, Water Supply and Access Road* development. No additional recommendations apply.

[The Sensitive Area 2 ECO monitoring report will be submitted – in due time – by the appointed ECO, Earth Free Environmental Consultancy.]

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The AIA for the *Cluster 9 Phase 5 and Cluster 8 Linkage, Water Supply and Access Road* development refers, referenced as:

- Van Ryneveld, K. (ArchaeoMaps). 2022. Site Sensitivity Verification (SSV) and Phase 1 Archaeological and Cultural Heritage Impact Assessment (AIA) – Cluster 9 Phase 5 and Cluster 8 Linkage, Water Supply and Access Road, Nxamagele and Catshile, near Tsomo, Chris Hani District Municipality, Eastern Cape [SAHRIS CaseID 19058].

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- Sensitive Area 2 – Site C9P5-11: temporary conservation corridor (fence and signage); and archaeological / ECO monitoring during the construction phase of development, with a relevant (photographic) report submitted to the EC PHRA.

This report comprises the AIA recommended, and EC PHRA approved Sensitive Area 1 site documentation / sketch plan recording and archaeological environmental–heritage monitoring.

Fieldwork for the project comprises an on-site meeting convened on 14 July 2022, and site documentation conducted on 19 and 20 October 2022. The on-site meeting was attended by:

- The engineering consultant and project manager – Maluti GSM.
- The construction consultant – SLS Civils JV E.G. Piping.
- The ECO – Earth Free Environmental Consultancy.
- And the heritage consultant – ArchaeoMaps.

The on-site meeting aimed to finalise development heritage and environmental particulars from an IEM point of view with a focus on Sensitive Areas 1 and 2 situated along the Catshile to Nxamagele reservoirs portion of the line route. With only sections of the development subject to the environmental process, construction had already started at the time of the meeting. Limited construction activities (manual trenching) had impacted on the eastern extremity of Sensitive Area 1 where an earlier proposed line route running through Sensitive Area 1, mainly along the informal access track, was followed. The error was identified, and work ceased prior to the meeting; whereafter works continued along the final proposed and approved alignment. Limited construction impact on the eastern extremity of Sensitive Area 1 is described as of a no to low (temporary) impact with reference to the cultural landscape and without any impact on Sensitive Area 1 site features.

Site documentation for Sensitive Area 1 was done by ArchaeoMaps, with on-site work facilitated by Mcebisi Pala, Maluti GSM, and assisted by Nceda Maqume [NM], SLS Civils JV E.G. Piping.

Map 1: AIA identified Sites C9P5-01 to C9P5-14: the *Cluster 9 Phase 5 and Cluster 8 Linkage, Water Supply and Access Road* development (Van Ryneveld 2022)

Map 2: Close-up of Sensitive Area 1: Sites C9P5-06 to C9P5-10 (Van Ryneveld 2022)

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL HERITAGE RESOURCES SUMMARY – CLUSTER 9 PHASE 5 AND CLUSTER 8 LINKAGE, WATER SUPPLY AND ACCESS ROAD, NXAMAGELE AND CATSHILE, NEAR TSOMO, CHRIS HANI DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY, EASTERN CAPE				
CLUSTER 9 PHASE 5 AND CLUSTER 8 LINKAGE WATER SUPPLY AND ACCESS ROAD – S32°'02'08.0"; E28°00'38.9"				
MAP CODE	**SITE**	**COORDINATE**	**SITE SIGNIFICANCE**	**RECOMMENDATIONS**
C9P5-06	LIA – Homestead	S32º02'20.0"; E27º59'50.0"	SAHRA Medium Significance – Generally Protected IV-B Field Rating	**Site Conservation – Sensitive Area 1 Conservation Corridor:** 1. Temporary conservation corridor (fence with 15–20m conservation buffer and signage) ensuring that construction activities are contained within the demarcated development area. 2. Archaeological environmental–heritage monitoring of construction works and submission of monitoring report to EC PHRA. 3. The archaeological monitoring report must include a sketch plan layout recording of the Sensitive Area 1 settlement pattern.
C9P5-07	LIA – Homestead	S32º02'25.3"; E27º59'45.1"	SAHRA Medium Significance – Generally Protected IV-B Field Rating	
C9P5-08	LIA – Homestead	S32º02'23.1"; E27º59'35.3"	SAHRA Medium Significance – Generally Protected IV-B Field Rating	
C9P5-09	LIA – Farmstead	S32º02'14.0"; E27º59'28.7"	SAHRA High Significance – Local Grade III-B Field Rating	
C9P5-10	LIA – Farmstead	S32º02'22.5"; E27º59'06.7"	SAHRA High Significance – Local Grade III-B Field Rating	

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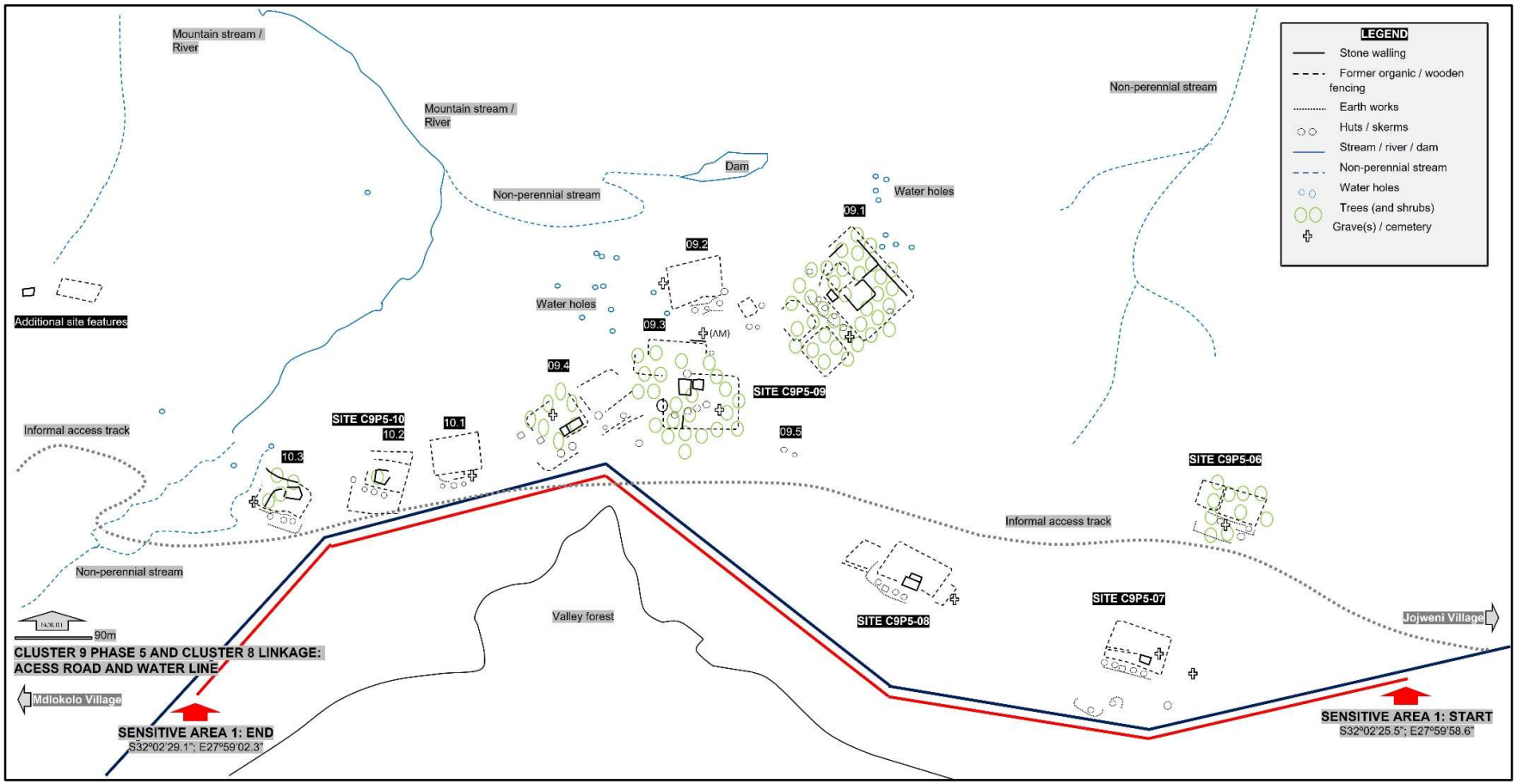
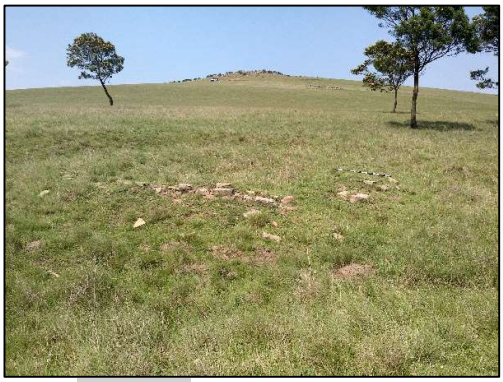
Plate 4: Accidental pipeline impact near Site C9P5-06

1.1.1 Sensitive Area 1 site documentation / sketch plan



Map 3: Sensitive Area 1 – sketch plan

❖ **Site C9P5-06**



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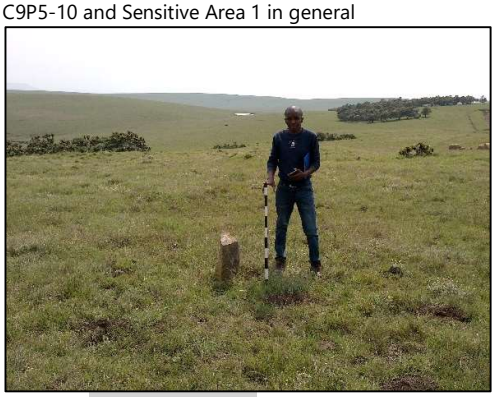

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2.1 SITE DESCRIPTION

The Sensitive Area 1 site cluster (Sites C9P5-06 to C9P5-10) is collectively described as a cluster of five homesteads, or homestead complexes (farmsteads), characterized by their dominant rectangular emphasis, as expressed in the patterning of homestead "yards" and kraals. Organic material (wood) was the primary building material, while stone was used for select – and seemingly principal / prestige – kraals. The different types of kraals – the more numerous large organic build kraals vs the smaller stone build ones – may, furthermore, be indicative of the management of different types of livestock. Evidence exists for double kraal enclosers: a primary stone kraal alignment, supplemented by a secondary organic fence (as at the Site C9P5-09 site complex). Double kraal enclosures may be evidence of prestige kraals; but an outer organic fence would reasonably have served an additional safety function against wild animals. The construction of livestock pathways or "drives" is a unique feature (Sites C9P5-07 and C9P5-09); so is the funnel shaped stone kraal structure at Site C9P5-10. General settlement layout is summarized as a developed labyrinthian maze-like pattern based on a rectangular underlying paradigm (worldview); thus, in stark contrast with the CCP that typifies Nguni settlement pattern. And with the CCP, by definition, also being the Xhosa settlement pattern, albeit with a fair degree of variation.

Original organic rectangular shaped kraal structures have decayed in totality: fence lines are discernible by either earth mound features or a change in vegetation – sometimes hardly visible on-site, but recognisable on aerial imagery. The like routinely rectangular stone features / kraals, thus, comprise the most visible signatory features of the site cluster, but providing a skeleton-like impression of the actual site only. Stone features are decayed, to varying degrees: stone kraal decay spells mainly of natural weathering over the years, but in limited cases anthropogenic agents are inferred to have played a part. At the Site C9P5-09 site complex, for example, the remains of partial stone wall foundations only, give the impression of on-site stone repurposing. Identification of kraal entrances are in many cases problematic; in other cases, entrances are marked by prominent vertical stones (isiXhosa: ixhanti [NM]). Stone constructions – specifically the size of stone boulders used – give the impression that some form of technology, aside from mere manual labour was in use to haul stone to the various building sites.

Additional site features comprise mainly hut remains. Circular shaped hut remains vary in size, with an average 5–7m in diameter footprint. Little can be said about the particulars of these huts: circular ring-shaped and mound remains constitute the bulk of the on-site information. No evidence exists for *daga* plastered hut walls: hut walls have decayed to a sandy consistency with a seeming preference for stone foundations, albeit not evident at all huts. Select hut features may in fact represent skerms instead of huts, signalling special activity areas. Hut mound remains to the south-east of Site C9P5-07 is indicative of the practice of special activity areas; so is the rectangular shaped hut (skerm) 3 at said site. Earth works are regularly associated with especially the residential areas of the sites, assumably to have ensured a levelled surface, or at least a degree of levelling, before construction at the residential areas commenced.

The fairly low presence of graves at Sensitive Area 1 is noteworthy: the low presence of graves may be taken as an indicator of short site occupation; however, the developed nature of the site does not, unconditionally, support short occupation, and lifestyle, health, and related longevity need to be considered. An off-the-cuff grave–residential unit vs kraal size ratio speaks of a low-density population, but one markedly rich in livestock. Graves comprise primarily stone cairn graves, but including head-, as well as head- and footstone demarcated graves. A single Christian grave at Site C9P5-09 bears an engraved stone cross inscription: "*DIED OCT 2 195[?]0 / ABEE MDLOKOLO / BORN 1866*". The Christian grave is not inferred to be related to Site C9P5-09 in the same manner as the site cemetery: situated apart from the site cemetery and within its own stone demarcated area, the grave spells of a hiatus or "time lapse" – a possible return of the deceased to his "ancestral home", but with a life lived, or mainly lived, elsewhere.

Stone monoliths (isiXhosa: mokolo [NM]) are widely used, not only in the demarcation of the general area of residing (see also Sites C9P5-04, and C9P5-05, van Ryneveld 2022) but also at individual sites. In addition, monoliths may have served an on-site "survey" purpose with specific reference to kraal planning since many a kraal corner are associated with some nearby monolithic marker.

The landscape seems amenable to the natural formation of water holes, associated with – at least seasonally – fairly numerous wetlands and a related underground water presence. The question remains whether the natural formation of water holes was exploited by anthropogenic agents; with many a water hole seemingly of

anthropogenic make and use they signal a central position in site use, directly supportive of a (more) pastoralist lifeway. Water holes are notably numerous north to north-west of the Site C9P5-09 complex, the largest, possibly oldest, and most complex of all the Sensitive Area 1 homesteads / homestead complexes. A few water holes are also cited to the north-west of Site C9P5-10, located near a non-perennial stream.

* * *

The Sensitive Area 1 site cluster is not associated with Xhosa occupation: the Xhosa – like other Nguni peoples – is a CCP people, with consideration to known variation of the CCP among them. But even extreme Xhosa variation of the CCP does not account for the labyrinthian maze-like settlement pattern at Sensitive Area 1.

Maggs and Whitelaw (1991) explain that among Iron Age farmer communities, livestock – and specifically cattle – systematically became preferenced over cultivated crops because livestock is a safer economic "bet": the storage capacity of livestock is greater than in cultivated crops; livestock can easily be moved in the event of threat; and herds increase in number with little effort on the part of the owner. Some households accumulated more livestock than others. They, resultantly, entered into asymmetrical exchange relationships with other households. In doing so these households gained power: by giving more than they received an obligation was created on the part of recipient households, and a new economic order emerged – mainly around 900 AD, albeit with earlier roots – where the appropriation of surplus product took place at a larger collective, or lineage level, instead of at household level. It was, thus, principally cattle that came to symbolise this new economic (and associated emerging political) power system.

> *"The new symbolism invested in cattle was manifested in the organisation of village and homestead settlements. In the new layout, homes were arranged in order of the occupants' ranks around the cattle byre, in which grain storage pits were located and where elite people (mostly men) were buried. In recognising the symbolism of this settlement pattern [… is also to be found the] southern African agriculturalist bridewealth systems, [… that shows] that the pattern symbolizes relationships between people and between the spirit and real worlds […]. The pattern (now known as the Central Cattle Pattern) […] indicates that the original occupants of the site were patrilineal Bantu-speaking people who exchanged cattle for wives. The significance of the Central Cattle Pattern (CCP) lies in the recognition of underlying structuralist principles linking different agricultural entities.*
>
> *[…] Despite the concept of the CCP being derived almost exclusively from Nguni ethnography, […] settlements of Sotho-Tswana speakers were also 'likely to conform'"* (Maggs & Whitelaw 1991).

On the other hand, square and rectangular settlement features are routinely ascribed to Western influence. But in the case of Sensitive Area 1 Western acculturative impact is rejected, despite the known (and complex) Xhosa–Mfengu–Missionary–Cape government intercultural situation that prevailed in the Eastern Cape throughout the nineteenth century (Van Ryneveld 2022).

Following the first British annexation of the Cape in 1795, but more prominently after the second annexation of 1806, missionaries came to play an ever more important role on the cultural landscape. And a close relationship – albeit not without its problems – was maintained between the missionaries and the Cape government (Markham 1900). Missionary influence – along the eastern frontier initially among the Khoe and the Xhosa – was, however, slow, and commonly concentrated in the direct vicinity of the mission stations. Missionaries focused on the conversion of tribal chiefs / kings, from where Christianity and its acculturative impact diffused among the tribes' peoples. The amaMfengu of the Eastern Cape, seeking refuge from the *difaqane* and thus afforded land by Hintsa[1] of the Gcaleka (Xhosa) in 1818, is known as a people who, despite initial scepticism, converted to Christianity notably quickly – best evidenced by the 1835 Peddie / Ngqushwa movement's "Mfengu Vows" (Bikitsha 2019).

The establishment of the Transkeian territories in 1865, including *Fingoland* (Mfenguland), witnessed the return of many a Mfengu to the general area initially afforded them by Hintsa. In 1876 the village of Nqamakwe was founded where, between 1873–1877, the Blythswood mission and college was established (McGregor 2022; Roger 1977). But Nqamakwe is situated some 20km to the south-west of Sensitive Area 1 and it is highly unlikely that missionary influence would have impacted settlement layout at the site. The date of establishment of Site C9P5-02, inferred to be the ruins of the Anglican mission at Nxamagele – and situated some 3km, as the crow flies, south of Sensitive Area 1 – is unknown, but the mission is reasonably argued to post-date establishment of the Blythswood mission (Van Ryneveld 2022); it is equally unlikely that the Anglican mission would have exerted influence to settlement

[1] Hintsa kaKhawuta, (circa. 1780–1835).

layout level at Sensitive Area 1. The 1865 Transkeian resettlement programme was, furthermore, directed by the Cape government, with the scale of government directives at the time stifling missionary influence at least in so far as settlement pattern would have been affected. That said, the layout of Mdlokolo village (at Sensitive Area 2) speaks of the typical Western idiom of a "village": houses and gardens (or "yards") to the one side; livestock enclosures to the other. It is, thus, fair to conclude that Mdlokolo village was established under the 1865 resettlement programme.

Last but not least, it is important to note that typical settlement features at Sensitive Area 1 – its labyrinthian maze-like layout coined with livestock "drives", water holes and the more – is, as yet, unrecorded in the Western idiom, including that of the Cape government and the various European missionaries active on the southern African landscape at the time alike: the Sensitive Area 1 settlement pattern it is not a Western settlement pattern; Western acculturative influence is, thus, not inferred to have influenced the pattern.

In conclusion, settlement layout at Sensitive Area 1, in the absence of even variable CCP elements, excludes the site as an early Xhosa settlement. And it excludes Western acculturative influence, be it Cape government or missionary influence alike; raising in turn the inevitable question of who the builders and inhabitants of the site were. Two hypotheses are proposed:

- Hypothesis 1: That there was among the amaMfengu fleeing the *difaqane* – the Mumbo–Abembi–Abambo culture cluster tribes / clans – and afforded residency by Hintsa in the Eastern Cape in 1818, a tribe / clan, or an incorporated section of a people to such a tribe / clan, of a culture very different from that generally associated with the Nguni.

  This amaMfengu tribe / clan, or incorporated section of a people to such a tribe / clan, is inferred to have practiced a more pastoralist centred lifeway that resulted in the different settlement pattern at Sensitive Area 1 (as opposed to the CCP). Pastoralist elements may have been original minority Mbo cultural aspects (by comparison with the Ovambo of Namibia and Angola), or acculturative or direct Later Stone Age (LSA) pastoralist (Khoe / "Hottentot") cultural aspects.

- Hypothesis 2: That the Sensitive Area 1 site represents the settlement of a people prior to the seizure of political power in the Eastern Cape by the Xhosa. In accordance with this hypothesis Sensitive Area 1 would be representative of the settlement pattern of the "original inhabitants" of the area.

  The "original inhabitants" thus referred to is inferred to have been a Chainouqua – including Korana – clan / band cluster (or a people of a kindred Khoe tribe / clan). With the Khoe political lead – or the Chobona – overthrown further north, and the Chainouqua ("Little Chobona", or the second-in-charge) defeated by the Xhosa, reasonably during the latter part of the wars of the seventeenth / eighteenth century, the site fell into disuse.

The developed nature of the settlement pattern at Sensitive Area 1 spells of anything but an impromptu arrangement by a destitute people. Either these people – a tribe / clan of the amaMfengu, or an incorporated section of a people to such a tribe / clan – had been practicing a lifeway expressed in the settlement pattern at Sensitive Area 1 prior to their departure from Natal, and upon the granting of land by Hintsa they resettled according to known cultural custom. Or the settlement pattern – in the case of a people who occupied the region prior to the seizure of political power by the Xhosa – must have developed systematically either in the region, or in the case of migration, must be traceable from elsewhere. But the developmental "skeletal track-log" of the Sensitive Area 1 settlement pattern is startlingly amiss from the academic record. No rectangular based labyrinthian maze-like settlement pattern is reported on or researched from the eastern parts of the country; not from the greater northern Eastern Cape (or the Transkeian region), nor from Natal. The omission of this settlement pattern in the research records and interpretation of the peoples of the eastern part of the country is here described as gross oversight. Oversight that may well be ascribed to the general notion that square and rectangular structures are representative of Western acculturative influence and sites thus typified are, therefore, deemed not worthy of recording and research for purposes of the reconstruction of southern Africa's past. If so, this faulty assumption on the part of the heritage–academic arena may well prove a fatal flaw in the writing of indigenous histories, at least where it affects the intricate histories of the peoples of the eastern part of South Africa.

Sensitive Area 1 settlement pattern aspects are scattered about the greater terrain. Reasonably speaking recording and further investigation of these will aid interpretation and reconstruction. Select related / unrelated additional settlement aspects are recorded in the AIA for the *Cluster 9 Phase 5 and Cluster 8 Linkage, Water Supply and Access Road* development (Sites C9P5-12 to C9P5-14), but settlement aspects beyond the footprint of the development

are not recorded. None of the additionally recorded sites are impacted by the development. And based on proximity to the development alignment only Sensitive Area 1 was recommended for additional documentation / sketch plan recording within the development framework.

2.1.1 Introductory discussion: the Mfengu, the Xhosa, and some context to their histories

It is fair to state that general histories, the likes of Wikipedia publications – and with specific reference to the amaMfengu – as included in Appendix 1, albeit well researched, have strong Imperialist (with the terms neo-Colonial and neo-Imperialist increasingly used in recent years) and political, or political-historical, undertones. In that context they are certainly of value; however, their value diminishes when attention is turned to the culture specific of the past. An example includes (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fengu_people):

> *"Timothy Stapleton and Alan Webster, argue that the traditional narrative of the Fengu [Mfengu] people as refugees of the Mfecane [difaqane] is in fact a lie constructed by colonial missionaries and administrators. They question the existence of the Fengu people as a distinct group prior to colonial contact, instead positing that the term was coined by the British government in the Cape Colony to describe a collection of Xhosa defectors, migrant laborers, and labor captives."*

For purposes of this report, with its focus on the culture specific, Imperialist and neo-Imperialist historical constructs the likes of the example given above is largely set aside – and at most briefly commented on.

Of the histories included in Appendix 1 the section by Bikitsha (2019) is with regards a cultural-historical interpretation of the amaMfengu the most valuable. Bikitsha (2019) traces the history of the amaMfengu (or "wanderers") – first thus named by Hintsa in 1818 – back to a *"Mumbo–Abembi–Abambo"* culture cluster with their collective fifteenth century history at a "homeland" further north, cited in the rough vicinity of the Great Lakes, before their southward migration started. For some time – and it is unknown for how long – they resided in the east of the country, reasonably inferred among the peoples historically simply described as the *"east coast tribes"* (Theal 1898), being mainly the Nguni cluster of Iron Age peoples, and with their residency confirmed in the years prior to the outbreak of the *difaqane*, circa. 1815, specifically in Natal.

Bikitsha (2019) states that: *"[I]t was during that era [difaqane] that a group of abaMbo clans, dominated by Zizi, Hlubi, Bhele, and Ntlangwini arrived at kwa-Gcaleka in 1818. […] Hintsa [who] was the chief during the arrival of abaMbo […] had arrived in his place from the battle of Amalinde […] (Ngqika versus Ndlambe), and he was informed by one of his people that, 'there are strangers who had entered in Gcaleka land, they look hungry and destitute.' [Whereupon] Hintsa ordered that the amaMfengu should be offered food, shelter, and clothing*". Thus, "*[w]hen abaMbo arrived in kwa-Gcaleka, they accepted and adopted the name 'Mfengu' as was given by amaXhosa led by Hintsa."* They were, "*offered land by Hintsa ka-Gcaleka [and thereby] bonded and ennobled as 'a people.'*" Bikitsha (2019) adds that: "*In hindsight, Hintsa might have viewed amaMfengu as possible allies which would increase his army because he was also under political duress"*. The allocation of land was deemed "*a noble gesture"* by Hintsa; not granted to any other people *"but amaMfengu"*.

In addition, Bikitsha (2019) makes an interesting comment on language: "*Ford, Geoffrey Eric (2010) quotes Lesley Woods, an indigenous Aborigine who had lost her heritage until she studied indigenous languages writes, 'Finding out what my language was and then reconnecting back to it and studying it and working with it, I often describe it as a really healing process,' so must be for amaMfengu,*" and with specific reference to the amaMfengu routinely reported on as a historically Xhosa-speaking people.

It is necessary to here make mention of the fact that during the post-*difaqane* period the term Mfengu came to be loosely applied to a variety of displaced peoples: albeit an applicable "name" to describe such peoples – the term amaMfengu meaning "wanderers", interpreted as refuge seekers or displaced peoples – not all peoples so named share the history of the amaMfengu who sought refuge from Hintsa in Gcalekaland in 1818. AmaMfengu, as used in this report, refers only to the peoples originally thus named by the Xhosa: the Mumbo–Abembi–Abambo culture cluster who arrived as refugees from the *difaqane* and was afforded residency by Hintsa in 1818 in the Eastern Cape, their descendants, and their history.

The naming – amaMfengu or "wanderers" – of the new arrivals in Gcalekaland by Hintsa is in itself an interesting cultural phenomenon, although it will not be further explored in this report; suffice to say that under circumstance

the like "naming" of peoples was practiced among the tribes. Bikitsha (2019), for example, states: *"Mzilikazi[2] ka-Mashobane, one of the Zulu warriors ran away from Natal during the Shaka[3] wars [difaqane]. He went with his army to Zimbabwe via Lesotho. The period Mzilikazi was in Lesotho King Mshoeshoe[4] called him / them Letebele or Matebele [Matabele] (Sotho language for foreigner). His people in Zimbabwe are called amaNdebele (Matebele) ka Mashobane."* A similar naming of a new people was, thus, applied by Mosheshwe to Mzilikazi and his followers – the "foreigners" – upon their sojourn in the Basotho lands. Interestingly enough "amaMfengu" and "Matabele" are two names designated (in part) to peoples who scattered / migrated consequent to the outbreak of the *difaqane*, albeit under very different circumstances, but signaling different scatterings of the same parent tribe: the "Bhele" who arrived as part of the refugee Mumbo–Abembi–Abambo culture cluster in Gcalekaland and the "Bele (B[h]ele)" of the Matabele / Ndebele of Mzilikazi are peoples / scatterings of the same parent tribe, the difference between "Bhele" vs "Bele" being solely ascribed to the standardisation of Bantu languages:

- Bhele → B[h]ele → Bele = Bhele / Bele.
- [mata-][**b[h]ele]** / [nde-][**b[h]ele]** → Matabhele / Ndebhele = Matabele / Ndebele.

* * *

Following from the above, two concepts already used warrant additional introductory discussion:

1) "Homelands" in native folklore and mythology

The concept of a "homeland" further north that typifies many a southern African native folklore and mythology warrants additional introduction. These "homelands" can seldom be geographically directly pinpointed but indicates anything from a rough general to an un-descript northern locale associated with a significant tribal event or the start of an "origins myth" (the beginning of a peoples' oral history). Archaeologically they are interpreted as "stops" along the southward migration / expansion of proto-Bantu- and Bantu-speaking peoples from the Niger–Congo–Cameroon area. These migrations started some 5,000 plus years ago, along three basic migratory routes to the south described as an Eastern, Central, and Western stream / route (Bostoen 2018; Mitchell 2002; Phillipson 1985).

Soon after the beginning of the Christian era (200–800 AD) the archaeological record in South Africa evidences the first cultural remains signalling the arrival of these immigrants – or the first "wave" of Iron Age migration – a period referred to as the Earlier Iron Age (EIA). The EIA farmers, few in number, settled geo-spatially in a north-east orientation across the land amidst the then resident Later Stone Age (LSA) pastoralist and hunter-gatherer occupants: in the north they settled as far south as the rough Johannesburg area (200 AD), from where they expanded eastward toward the coast and henceforth southward, to roughly as far south as present-day East London (800 AD) (Ngcongco & Vansina 2000). Despite general cultural material similarities between the EIA farmers and the Bantu-speaking peoples of today, a notable cultural hiatus exists. The EIA is, resultantly, interpreted as representing the arrival of the first proto-Bantu- or perhaps already Bantu-speaking migrants but is, aside from general similarities, not directly associated with contemporary southern African Bantu-speaking peoples.

Between roughly 1000–1600 AD – or the Middle Iron Age (MIA) – a second "wave" of Iron Age farmers entered the southern African region. The more numerous MIA immigrants settled according to the same north-east orientation as their EIA forebears, albeit not quite to the same extent. A mosaic-like system of rule unfolded where the peoples with more complex social systems – the Iron Age farmers and the LSA pastoralists (Khoe / "Hottentot") – ruled side by side. From 1600 AD onwards – or the Later Iron Age (LIA) – migratory pressure from further north resulted in yet another "wave" of Iron Age farmers entering the southern African region, albeit with more limited immigration into South Africa, despite resulting in fairly significant LIA migration within the country's borders[5] (Ngcongco & Vansina 2000).

[2] Mzilikazi Khumalo (circa. 1790–1868).
[3] Shaka kaSenzangakhona (circa. 1787–1828).
[4] Mosheshwe I / Moshoeshoe I (circa. 1786–1870).
[5] Period classifications differ. Huffman (2007), for example, classes the EIA: 200–900 AD; the MIA: 900–1300 AD; and the LIA: 1300–1840 AD based on multidimensional ceramic analysis. But specialist period classifications are of less relevance in a general cultural-historical approach, as is followed in this report. Period classification difference does not affect archaeological evidence for the historical arrival of the first "wave" of Iron Age farmers at around 200 AD and the second "wave" at around 1000 AD, and with the second "wave" of farmers being directly ancestrally linked to the present-day Bantu-speaking peoples of South Africa in general, and the greater Nguni cluster of peoples in specific.

It follows from the above that specifically toward the east of the country EIA and MIA farmer settlement was, geo-spatially, far advanced in comparison with their central and western counterparts. The MIA farmers who thus entered the region and settled toward the east of the land comprised predominantly Nguni peoples; while their LIA history is more directly tied to their rise to economic and political power in the region.

Among the Nguni of southern Africa folklore tells of an original northern "homeland" called eMbo[6], from where they all originally came, reasonably inferred in successive migratory "waves", entering the southern African region mainly during MIA times. The Nguni is divided into two basic groups: a northern (Zulu, Mamba, Ngwane, Swazi, Ndebele, Zizi, Qwabe, Shangaan, and Ndwandwe), and southern group (Xhosa, Pondo, Mtetwa, Thembu, and Njeya) (Soga 2013).

2) Subjugation, incorporation, and amalgamation

In sub-Saharan Africa war – as well as natural disasters – regularly resulted in the scattering of tribes, more than often with only sections of tribes surviving. Tribal sections survived principally by means of two methods: the forceful subjugation of mainly (women and) children by the conquering tribe (forced acculturation); or the incorporation of an in-tact, or more in-tact, remnant of a tribe (men, women, and children) into a new parent tribe (acculturation by choice) (Els 1992).

In the case of forced acculturation, where only (women and) children are incorporated into the conquering tribe, limited to no traces of the original subjugated culture survive. Where cultural traces are discernible, they are restricted to the women's arena, either because the tribe's men were exterminated in war, or because the (women and) children were forcibly removed for purposes of inclusion in the conquering tribe. The expansion of tribes in this manner – through the inclusion of (women and) children from another tribe – was often the purpose of war; and more than often resulted, in turn, in retaliatory wars. (Women and) children thus incorporated into the conquering tribe were subjugated, to varying degrees, to their conquerors, ranging from being kept in a slave-like state to marriage arrangements with tribal recognition.

In the case of acculturation by choice an in-tact, or more in-tact, surviving remnant of a tribe (men, women, and children) becomes the subject matter. Not excluding subjugation, but the processes of incorporation and amalgamation take precedence. The best-known example of incorporation is probably that of the Lemba, commonly known as a section of the Venda. The Lemba section thus incorporated has survived, for many

[6] *"Of the next Bantu to make their appearance on the eastern coast very little definite information can be given. As they spoke the same dialect, however, as those that arrived towards the close of the sixteenth century, as their siboko was the same, and as all their leading customs were similar, they must have been members of the same community proceeding in advance of the main body. Such migrations can only be accomplished slowly, as halts are made for years at convenient places along the line of march. Then a party coming on behind arrives, and the one in advance is obliged to move on. At last the shore of the ocean is reached, and as progress in the previous direction is now barred, the future line of advance must be either up or down the coast. When the ancestors of the Xosas [Xhosas], Thembus, and Pondos reached the sea, the coast to the north was already occupied by the Batonga, so they turned to the south, and entered the territory now known as Natal. Vestiges of their sojourn in that region could be found there after the middle of the nineteenth century.*

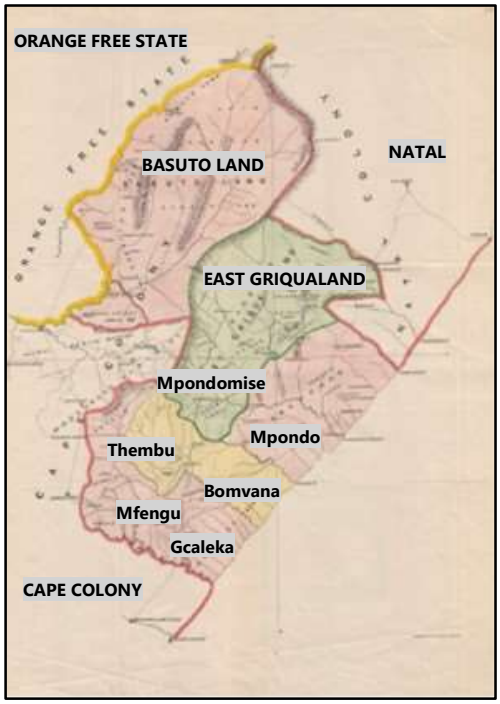
They had scattered themselves thinly along the coast as far south as the mouth of the Umzimvubu river when, towards the close of the sixteenth century their numbers were greatly increased, and an impetus was given to the movement southward by an irruption from the far distant north-west into the lower valley of the Zambesi of devastating bands that pillaged and destroyed all the weaker clans in their line of march. When other food could not be procured, these invaders resorted to cannibalism, and at length became so accustomed to eat human flesh that they consumed it as an ordinary article of diet. One of the largest of these bands was termed the Amazimba, and to this day the word zim with the southern Banu denotes a cannibal. It enters largely into folklore tales, and is commonly used to frighten disobedient children. This band drove before it a horde of fugitives composed of the remnants of numberless tribes plundered and partly destroyed on the way from the Atlantic shore, and that collectively was known as the Abambo.

Just as with the Mantati horde and the Amangwane two centuries and a quarter later, the Abambo and the Amazimba were partly destroyed by starvation and partly by incessant war, but some remnants forced their way in murderous marches through the earlier settlements to distant localities, where they remained and built permanent kraals. A considerable remnant of the Abambo horde in this manner cut its way through the western part of the territory occupied by the Makaranga, and finally settled in the valley of the Tugela and in the territory farther south. On its march it had incorporated a large number of Karanga girls, and probably of boys also, so that at least one section of it was largely affected by this mixture of blood. To the present day this section – the Amazizi – show abundant signs of Karanga ancestry, and are as a rule more intelligent than any of their neighbours. By other tribes they were even often termed Amalanga on this account. The occupation of Natal by the Abambo compelled the pioneers of their family to move farther along the coast, and very likely these were joined by many little offshoots from the main body. The Xosas, Thembus, and Pondos still term Natal Embo, that is the country of the Abambo" (Theal 1910).

generations, with varying original cultural elements and including their religion – a faith very similar to that described in the Torah, with the most significant difference being that Lemba tribal incorporation is conferred upon birth to a father of the faith, and not as within the Jewish faith upon birth to a mother of the faith – in-tact among the Venda (Van Warmelo & Phophi 1967).

What is important about tribal incorporation, for purposes of this report, is that the incorporated section of a tribe often continue to practice their culture (fairly) independently of the new parent tribe. The original incorporated culture, or significant trace elements thereof, thus, remains discernible in the record, in both the male and female arenas, often for many generations after which amalgamation between the two cultures emerge, a process that in itself happens over generations. Tribal incorporation should not be confused with "tribal amalgamation" or the "fusing of cultures": amalgamation or the fusing of cultures may or may not be the result of tribal incorporation, but is, firstly, not a requirement, and secondly, a slow cultural process.

Elite marriage was commonly practiced among the tribes, with the purpose thereof being the forging of political and social allegiance between the tribes involved. Elite marriage, as a rule, do not result in the amalgamation of cultures: both cultures keep their cultural identity with the political and social aspects of the marriage restricted to the elite circles within which the marriage took place. On occasion elite marriage do, however, consequent the amalgamation of cultures, in which case, as is inherent in the process of cultural amalgamation, the fusing of cultures take place over generations.



Map 4: Map of the Transkeian territories, circa. 1879
(https://digitalcollections.lib.uct.ac.za/islandora/object/islandora:25087/datastream/OBJ/view)

2.1.2 Mfengu cultural identity: one step forward and one step back in time

Of the Mumbo–Abembi–Abambo culture cluster, or the principal Mfengu tribes / clans – the Zizi, Hlubi, Bhele, and Ntlangwini – thus settled in the Eastern Cape, the history of the Hlubi is of the best recorded. Mntungwa (2016) places the amaHlubi by 1300–1400 AD along the Lubombo mountains in the northern Zululand–Swaziland–Mozambique border region, and by the 1650s in Natal. But it is important to note that the various tribes / clans who thus sought refuge from Hintsa in 1818 most likely do not share a common pre-*difaqane* MIA and earlier LIA migratory tribal history. What is confirmed of the amaMfengu of the Eastern Cape is only their most recent collective history of residency in Natal before their migration to the Eastern Cape during the early years of the *difaqane*.

The Hlubi seized their place in KwaZulu-Natal's history in, among other, the years preceding the Anglo-Zulu War (1879). Watson (1879) relays an abbreviated version of the events:

> *"Let us look for a few minutes at our government of the natives in Natal [proclaimed a British colony in 1843] where we were in authority eleven years before the Dutch rule was established in the Transvaal. They are for the most part Zulus, and there are not less than 320,000 of them. We rule them by Kaffir [native] law; we do not compel them to work; we allow them to have as many wives as they like, and to live in idleness whilst there unfortunate wives are dealt with and dealt in as simple slaves. We draw the line, however, at murder, and do not permit them to steal if we can prevent it. To illustrate our method of ruling them I must tell you the stories of the two chiefs—Mattyana and Langalibelee [Langalibalele I].*
>
> *A young Zulu chief, Mattyana by name, was accused of a murder, and Mr. Shepstone was told to arrest him. Mr. Shepstone did not credit the charge, but sent for the chief to come and see him, and he came with an escort of 300 men. Both parties agreed to be unarmed at the conference, but Mr. Shepstone hid a gun under his cloak. Mattyana's men left their arms at some distance from the place of the interview, as agreed upon, and they were secured by some of Mr. Shepstone's men, whom he had ordered to steal secretly away for that purpose. He next thought that the Zulus had been as deceitful as he was, and that he saw the handles of short assegais (iron-headed spears) beneath their leopard skins. There was a quarrel; blows were struck on both sides; Mattyana cried out that he was betrayed; Mr. Shepstone fired off his gun over the heads of the Zulus, who ran back for their arms, but found them gone; and then the armed English fired upon the defenceless Zulus and killed thirty of them.*
>
> *This peculiar mode of punishing a murder, which had probably never been committed, bore such fruit as we might reasonably expect. Soon afterwards unlicensed guns were seen in the kraals of a tribe living under the Drakensberg Mountains, and the natives refused to give them up because they belonged to their chief, Langalibelee. He was twice summoned to go and see the English authorities, but he had heard of their short way with contumacious chiefs, and he declined. On the 4th of October 1873, five thousand soldiers, under the command of the Lieutenant-Governor himself, went up to the chief's territory. He absconded, and his people tried to follow him. A small party of English overtook them and summoned them to stop, but were fired at, and three of the English and two natives were killed. Then the army swept over the country; burned every house; shot down every man taken with arms in his hands; carried off the whole of the women, children and cattle; and followed and captured Langalibelee and many of his men. He was tried and sentenced to imprisonment for life (which has since been commuted by the Home Authorities to expatriation), five hundred of his followers were kept in prison for twelve months without trial, and they were then sentenced to penal servitude for terms varying from two to twenty years, - a sentence which to a free man accustomed to live in the open air is worse than any death. The Home Government commuted some of these sentences also, saying that the matter should also have been dealt with by the police, not by an army.*
>
> *For the refusal of their chief to appear before the English authorities we had destroyed two large native tribes."*

The passage by Watson (1879) is of importance with reference to criticism against the use of "Zulu risings" among the Natal *Zulu* in the years prior to the Anglo-Zulu War, and with both cases – that of Mattyane and Langalibalele I, the 22nd Hlubi king (Mntungwa 2016) – used for said purposes at the time, while Zululand was an independent territory bordering the then British colony of Natal to its north.

But what is important here is that the royal Hlubi lineage is recorded in Natal during the post-*difaqane* / pre-Anglo-Zulu War years despite the known scattering of the amaHlubi during the *difaqane*: a section of the amaHlubi under the royal Hlubi lineage – thus under traditional leadership – remained in Natal (affiliated *Zulu*) during the *difaqane*, while a section is recorded to have fled eastward, toward the Free State / Lesotho area, and yet another section fled southward, as part of the amaMfengu, to Gcalekaland (https://www.liquisearch.com/hlubi_people/history). These two scattered sections of the amaHlubi were thus without in-tact traditional leadership. The scattered Hlubi sections would have had to regroup and restructure; to do so they required adapted traditional or new leadership structures. Tribal law prescribes the basic process: should the royal lineage or a section of the royal lineage be present among a scattered tribal section, leadership as a norm remained uncontested and the scattered section regrouped under the then present remnant of traditional leadership. However, should no traditional leadership structures be present among the scattered section of a tribe, then a new leader must be chosen, a process that may, or may not, follow general tribal / clan seniority. But, either which way – adapted traditional or newly chosen – the scattered remnant must be led by a leader. This would have been the case not only for the Hlubi section of the amaMfengu, but for all the principal amaMfengu tribes / clans. Should leadership structures not have been in place among the refugees

who thus arrived in Gcalekaland, the Xhosa would not have engaged with them. It is the amaMfengu leadership structures introduced to Hintsa and his council that would have been acknowledged by the Xhosa, irrespective of whether they were adapted traditional or newly chosen ones. Negotiations for residency – and the customary celebrations that accompanied the successful negotiations – as briefly described by Bikitsha (2019) would have taken place within Xhosa–Mfengu leadership echelons: it is simply not the type negotiations that common members of a tribe / clan engage in.

Despite the collective Xhosa naming of the amaMfengu and, thus, acknowledgement of them as "a people", the principal Mfengu tribes / clans – the Zizi, Hlubi, Bhele, and Ntlangwini – as per their scattered tribal regrouped and restructured, and new leadership structures were, in addition, independently acknowledged by Hintsa and his council, as is best attested by the outcome of the residing negotiations. Hintsa afforded the newcomers land, in general, but specific residency arrangements were agreed upon per acknowledged principal tribe / clan (and including incorporated sections of peoples to these tribes / clans – see Hypothesis 1), for example: *"[A]maZizi settled in Mgomanzi and Mpenduza, amaBhele in Cegcuwana, amaHlubi stayed with Sarhili*[7]*, the son of Hintsa"* (Bikitsha 2019).

The amaMfengu who found protection under Hintsa in 1818 effectively escaped one war zone, that of the *difaqane* (circa. 1815–1835) in the central-eastern part of the interior, for another on the Cape Colony's eastern frontier, where war had been raging since 1779 with the outbreak of the First Frontier / Xhosa War[8] and was only to end 100 years after with the close of the Ninth Frontier / Xhosa War. A complex Xhosa–Mfengu–Missionary–Cape government intercultural situation prevailed on the frontier (Van Ryneveld 2022), and friction soon rose, replacing the initial gracious relationship that existed between the Xhosa and the Mfengu. The Frontier / Xhosa wars resulted in a further scattering of the Mfengu: in 1835 many a Mfengu crossed the Great Kei River and, under missionary and Cape government protection, resettled in the Peddie area as part of the Peddie / Ngqushwa movement, whereafter amaMfengu thus resettled formally sided with the British in their campaigns against the Xhosa. As renumeration for military services rendered, various portions of land were afforded the allied Mfengu by the Cape government – a customary British practice at the time. Hence, from Peddie (Ciskei) sections of the amaMfengu subsequently also resettled, among other, at Grahamstown, Port Elizabeth, and the Tsitsikamma. In 1896 a further section of the amaMfengu were granted land in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) following their military service to Cecil John Rhodes in the quelling of Mzilikazi's successor, Lobengula's[9] Matabele rising of 1893 (Bikitsha 2019; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fengu_people).

On the other hand, the 1865 establishment of the Transkeian territories, including *Fingoland*, witnessed the return of many a Mfengu – initially part of the Peddie / Ngqushwa movement – back to the general territory granted them by Hintsa in 1818. Some amaMfengu who thus resettled in *Fingoland* sided with the Xhosa; while their fellow kinsmen continued their Cape government support against the Xhosa. It was only after the Ninth Frontier / Xhosa War (1877–1879) that erupted, at least in part, because of Gcaleka–Mfengu tensions and the British response thereto, that the amaMfengu, collectively, rekindled their relationship with the Xhosa (Bikitsha 2019).

AmaMfengu cultural identity – based on the brief historical description given – is described as a particularly complex multifaceted identity, from at least the early nineteenth century typified by war and the consequences of war: dispossession, tribal scattering, and displacement. Individual Mfengu tribal / clan pre-*difaqane* migratory histories necessitate further investigation, so does the *difaqane* to facilitate reconnection and association of the amaMfengu with their parental tribes / clans. Their post-*difaqane* history is no less complex: the further scattering of the amaMfengu consequent to the Frontier / Xhosa wars spells not only of a complex history in South Africa but also in Zimbabwe with reference to, at least, both the Matabele and the Mfengu resettled there in 1896. Since 1865, and again after 1879 much effort has been invested to rekindle initial gracious Xhosa–Mfengu relationships, especially

[7] Sarhili kaHintsa (circa. 1810–1892).
[8] First Frontier / Xhosa War: 1779–1781.
Second Frontier / Xhosa War: 1789–1793.
Third Frontier / Xhosa War: 1799–1803.
Fourth Frontier / Xhosa War: 1811–1812.
Fifth Frontier / Xhosa War: 1818–1819.
Sixth Frontier / Xhosa War: 1834–1836.
Seventh Frontier / Xhosa War: 1846–1847.
Eighth Frontier / Xhosa War: 1850–1853.
Cattle-killing Movement / Xhosa "suicide": 1856–1858.
Ninth Frontier / Xhosa War: 1877–1879.
[9] Lobengula Khumalo (circa. 1845–1894).

from the *Fingoland* region; but the granting of land by the British to allied Mfengu during the Frontier / Xhosa wars, with significant portions of land thus granted having had been Xhosa tribal lands wrested from the Xhosa during said wars continue to mar Xhosa–Mfengu relationships to the present day. Despite the collective nature of post-*difaqane* amaMfengu cultural identity and their recognition as "a people", their tribal leadership was never officially recognised by the Cape government, despite promises to do so, and remains officially unrecognised to this day.

Last but not least, it is necessary to state that Hintsa's 1818 ennobling of the amaMfengu – as also expressed in the Xhosa naming of the newcomers, *the wanderers,* to their land – signifying their recognition not only as *a people* but as a part of and, hence, as Xhosa, has never, irrespective of the troublesome history that unfolded, been denounced by the Xhosa.

It is necessary to comment on the negative impact of Imperialist and neo-Imperialist historical ideologies, in doing so the same text previously quoted is referenced (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fengu_people):

> *"Timothy Stapleton and Alan Webster, argue that the traditional narrative of the Fengu [Mfengu] people as refugees of the Mfecane [difaqane] is in fact a lie constructed by colonial missionaries and administrators. They question the existence of the Fengu people as a distinct group prior to colonial contact, instead positing that the term was coined by the British government in the Cape Colony to describe a collection of Xhosa defectors, migrant laborers, and labor captives."*

Should the amaMfengu in fact be a collection of Xhosa defectors, migrant labourers, and labour captives, as argued by Stapleton (1996), then their tribal and clan composition would reflect that of the Xhosa – which it does not reflect. AmaMfengu tribal and clan composition is reflective – with reference to the examples briefly commented on thus far including the Hlubi and the Bhele – of the east coast / Natal tribes and, thus, in support of the claim that they are refugees from the *difaqane*. Furthermore, the amaMfengu could not have existed as a distinct group prior to colonial contact in the Eastern Cape (or in Natal), because, as per their history, they comprise a collection of scatterings of individual tribes / clans that fled Natal in the wake of the *difaqane* to seek refuge, in 1818, in Gcalekaland. Upon their arrival in Gcalekaland only were they named amaMfengu – or the "wanderers" – by the Xhosa and granted land by Hintsa, thereby ennobling them as "a people". It is evident from the before said that Imperialist and neo-Imperialist historical ideologies continue to negatively impact the Mfengu, not only with reference to amaMfengu exploration of their own history and heritage but also with regard to a general understanding of them by their fellow South Africans and beyond.

2.1.3 Early amaMfengu days in Gcalekaland

After the arrival of the amaMfengu in Gcalekaland in 1818 a gracious Xhosa–Mfengu relationship prevailed for some time, but then turned to strife. Increasingly the amaMfengu sided with the Cape government, and at the expense of their original hosts, the amaXhosa. In order to explore the possible reasons for the change in affairs, to better understand Mfengu decision making, it is necessary to track back time to before the Mumbo–Abembi–Abambo culture cluster's departure from Natal. Theal (1898) in his transcript *Of the Voyage of the Father Dom Conçalo to the Kingdom of Monomotapa and of His Happy Passing Away* – dated 15 December 1561 – provides some useful information:

> *"There is a quantity of material available concerning the happy passing away and blessed death of our beloved Farther Dom Gonçalo, but as it is related by many persons and in many different manners, our Father Provincial ordered that the truth should be made known and gathered from a letter written by an individual in that kingdom to a friend of his, and from the account of the master of a ship in which father Dom Gonçalo went there, with whom we have spoken here, and that of a young man whom he took with him to Mozambique and whom Father Pina brought to this college of Goa.*
>
> *After Father Dom Gonçalo had made the king of Inhambane a Cristian, together with the queen and a good number of the people, he left there Father André Fernandes and Brother André da Costa to instruct the Christians in the Faith, and came himself to Mozambique with the determination to get ready to go to the kingdom of Monomotapa as soon as he had negotiated through Pantaleão de Sá, the captain of Sofala, for the pieces of cloth necessary for the king, and everything else which was required.*
>
> *He set out from Mozambique in a small pinnace, in company with five or six Portuguese on the 18th of September. Arriving along the coast near the river Mufata ninety leagues from Mozambique, there arose such a storm of wind and heavy waves that they all gave themselves up for lost, on account of the fury of*

the storm and the quantity of water shipped by the pinnace. The father placed himself on his knees on the baleu [gallery?] of the pinnace, with his eyes and hands raised to Heaven, commending himself and his companions to God, and our Lord proved that he had heard their prayer, for after this the tempest ceased and the sea grew calm, and they reached the mouth of the river and entered it on the feast of St. Jerome. When they had landed, before dining, a portable altar was set up that the Father might say Mass on the shore […]. They were three days at Mafute, and thence they set out with fair weather for the river Quilimane, where again they had great trouble to save themselves, both in another tempest which arose and in entering the river.

On reaching land, they went to the principal kraal where the king of Guiloa dwelled, who is called Mingoaxane. He gave them a good welcome, and being a friend to the Portuguese and having no mosques or other observances of the Mohamedan sect, he sent some provisions to the Father. And afterwards in speaking to him about conversion, he said that all those in his kingdom wished to become Christians, and he would give him permission for that purpose and would rejoice very much to see the true law of God taught in his kingdom.

But the Father, whose chief end was the conversion of the principal person of those kingdoms, who is the king of Monomotapa, would not delay there, because it seemed to him that the conversion of that kingdom would be an easy matter when the greater work was accomplished.

The king offered them another vessel that they might travel more easily, but the father would not accept it, as the pinnace was much more secure; and taking leave of him with many marks of affection, they left Quilimane and set out for the larger river Cuama, which is thirty leagues distant from Sofala. Here they met with another storm, which obliged them to put into another bay called Linde, where they remained thirteen days.

Here they met with a pangaio from Mozambique, which continued the voyage in their company for the entrance of the Cuama. The pangaio parted company with the pinnace on a Wednesday, and on the Thursday was lost.

On entering the Cuama the pinnace remained there two days, and the father said Mass, and as they were already penetrating the land of Monomotapa by the river, the Father made an exhortation to the Portuguese, in which he asked them earnestly to commend him to our Lord, as they knew how weighty and important was the business which he was about to undertake, and begged them for the love of God not to be scandalised or surprised at the retirement in which he must keep himself from that time until they disembarked, for nothing could be accomplished without first communicating with God in prayer.

He asked them to hang a cloth around the awning of the pinnace, which was small, and here he went into retreat, speaking to no one for eight days, and only eating once a day a handful of roasted grain, and refusing everything else, and with this he drank a cup of water. Here he remained in constant meditation after he had said his office, and if any time remained he spent it in reading the lives of the saints.

After eight days they reached a place called Inhanguoma. They informed the Father, who asked the master of the pinnace how far it was to Sena, which was the last place to which the pinnace could go, and he pointed it out to him with a musket shot. Then the Father made them all kneel down and say a Pater Noster and an Ave Maria to our Lady of Grace, for the conversion of the king of Monomotapa.

Thence they went to Sena, which is a large town, where there are ten or fifteen Portuguese settlers, with some Christians from India.

As the Father had to remain there some days to await a message from the king of Monomotapa that he might go and speak to him, the Christians from India and the Portuguese made him a small hut in which he found shelter and said Mass every day. The greater number of the Christians there were living in concubinage, and the Father induced most of these to marry, administering the sacraments to them and instructing them. He also occupied himself in learning the language of Mocaranga [maKaranga language = Chikaranga], as he was already acquainted with that of Inhambane. Here he baptized the Portuguese slaves and the members of their families, who numbered about five hundred souls, a little more or less.

From Sena the Father went nearly every day to visit the king of Inhamior, which was a league distant, a pagan, subject to the king of Monomotapa; and several times in the course of conversation the king told the Father he would willingly be a Christian with his wife and eight children, if he would baptize

them. The Father, having no one to leave with him to instruct him in the doctrine of God, said that it would be better to make the king of Monomotapa a Christian first, as it would be an offence to him to make others so before him, but that he should persevere in his desire and admonish his people to have faith and hope in God, who certainly would not fail him.

The Father remained at Sena two months, and having sent a message to Monomotapa, he sent a letter by the master of the pinnace to a place called Tete, a hundred leagues distant, to a Portuguese called Gomes Coelho, earnestly begging him to come and see him, as he was a great friend of the king and was able to speak his language.

In the meanwhile, during the absence of the pinnace which took seven days going and returning, an ambassador from the king arrived at Sena to receive the Father and to bring a message from the king inviting him to come and see him.

Gomes Coelho came to the Father, and they travelled together to Tete, and as the journey was now by land they left all their goods to be sent on more slowly. Only the Father carried the church ornaments on his shoulders, often crossing rivers with the water up to his neck, carrying the ornaments, altar-stone, chalice, and other things necessary for saying Mass, upon his head or held up in his hands, and thus they proceeded on their way. One river which they had to pass was very wide, and the Father being burdened and unable to swim, the Kaffirs [natives] placed him in a large pot, very wide at the top, and swam across the river holding on to it till they reached the other side.

They reached Chatucuy, which is a place close to Monomotapa, on Christmas Eve. Here the Father said all the three Masses of that solemn feast with the greatest consolation to himself and the Portuguese who were with him; and thence they reached Monomotapa on the first day of the octave of Christmas.

On reaching the city, the king immediately sent to visit him, sending the Father a large sum in gold and many cows and people to serve him, the Portuguese there having told him that the Father, besides being a man of great virtue, was also very noble and one of the principal persons of India. Gomes Coelho aforesaid remained in Tete, there being another Portuguese in Monomotapa very friendly and familiar with the king, called Antonio Caiado, who brought the king's present to the Father. The Father, with great humility and gratitude for such a benefit, returned the present to the king, saying that Antonio Caiado would tell him what was the gold he came to seek, with other good words.

The king was overcome with surprise to find a man among the Portuguese who did not want gold, provisions, or people to serve him.

The Father went to visit him, taking him some pieces of cloth. The king received him with great pleasure and satisfaction, and showed him the greatest honour he had ever done to any man, according to the Portuguese, which was to admit him into a house of his to which no one is ever admitted, and there made him sit on a carpet between himself and his mother, while Antonio Caiado stood in the doorway to act as interpreter.

The king asked him four questions: first, how many wives he wanted; second, if he wanted gold; third, if he wanted lands; and forth, if he wanted cows, which according to the Portuguese from those parts are worth more than gold in that country.

And as the father replied that he wanted nothing but His Highness, the king in amazement said to the interpreter, 'It is not possible that a man who cares for none of these things which are offered to him, the desire of which is so natural to all, should be like other men, but he must have been born of the herbs and had his origin in them.' Then he made him many offers of everything he might want, taking leave of him with many expressions of affection, and the Father retired to a little house they had given him, where he said Mass and communed with our Lord.

One day when he was saying Mass, some nobles of the kingdom passed before the door and saw upon the altar a very beautiful picture of our Lady of Grace, which the Father had brought with him, and they went and told the king that the Father had a mozunga, id est a very beautiful woman, in his house, and that he should ask for her.

The king sent him a message that he was told he had a woman with him, and desired him to bring her to him, as he very much desired to see her.

The Father wrapped the picture in rich stuffs and carried it to the king, but before showing it he informed him through the interpreter that this lady was the mother of God and all the kings and emperors of the earth were her servants. Having thus prepared him and increased his desire to see her, he uncovered the picture and exhibited it to the king and his mother, who were delighted to behold it, and after having shown it great reverence and respect he begged the Father for the love of God to give him the Lady that he might keep her in his house, by which it seemed to him he was doing him a great favour.

The Father said he would be very glad to do so, and went to the house where the king slept that he might himself arrange a kind of oratory with rich hangings, where he placed the picture.

The Portuguese who came from that place declare that for four or five nights the king, who is still quite young, being half asleep, the Lady of the picture appeared to him surrounded by a divine light of soft and glorious splendour, and spoke to the king with great and gentle sweetness of countenance. Much amazed he made it known to his mother and the Portuguese, who went and told the Father each time they heard it; and at last speaking of it to the Father he said that he was strangely grieved that he could not understand the language in which the Lady spoke to him every night. They say the Father replied that it was a divine and celestial language which none could understand save those who lived in the holy law of that Lady's son, who was God and the redeemer of the world, and when His Highness was a Christian he would be able to understand it.

The king showed himself very willing to become a Cristian, though only in words. A day or two later he sent a message by Antonio Caiado begging the Father to come and make him and his mother Christians, which they both greatly desired.

The Father delayed the baptism for a few days in order to instruct him in the Faith, and catechized him twice a day. Within twenty-five days, a little more or less, of the father's arrival in Monomotapa the king and his mother became Christians. The Father made a great feast of the day of their baptism. He gave the king the name of Dom Sebastian and his mother that of Dona Maria. He presented the king with some rich pieces of stuff which he had brought with him, and the king sent him a hundred cows the same day, because he would not take gold. The Father sent them to the house of Antonio Caiado to be cut in pieces and dried, to be distributed to the poor who come to the house, by which the natives were greatly edified.

The Father made between two hundred and fifty and three hundred Christians, or thereabouts, from among the principal nobles and chiefs of the country, who were never out of his house, and coming for instruction, others bringing him milk, eggs, butter, kids, and other things to be had there, of which the Father ate nothing, never touching meat, but living on a little millet cooked with herbs, and some bitter fruits found in the thicket.

The Father was so beloved by the king and all the nobles that they never left him. All the people, noble and plebeian, wished to become Christians.

The Father never ceased glorifying God, and did many other notable and heroic acts through love of God, and of penitential severity towards himself, which I do not write down for fear of being diffuse and because those who came from that place could not explain them, only saying that they always saw him engaged in most holy works and that he greatly astonished them.

But as God our Lord had determined to place the Father in His glorious kingdom and to bestow upon him a most glorious and abundant reward for the service he had rendered, and as the devil could not bear to see this triumphant spoil of souls over whom he had lorded it peacefully for so many thousand years, he determined to vehemently instil discord and dissension with all his perverse sagacity into the heart of the king, to turn him from the great love and esteem he had for the Father; and his instruments for the purpose were not wanting. These were some wealthy Moors of those parts, who were greatly vexed by the king's conversion, and being in great favour and familiarity with him, and great magicians and deceivers, they sought him with the pretext of being greatly grieved at the loss of his kingdom and state, and began to persuade him that the Father was a great sorcerer and not a man, bringing many false accusations against him, which Antonio Caiado wrote down in a letter to a friend, which was afterwards sent here, and the accusations are stated below.

The chief of this conspiracy and malice was a Moor, a native of Mozambique, who is the same Mafamede that is called Mingane, the cacique of the Moors. This man, finding that he could not speak to the

king, secretly sent him a clever young man, also a Moor, who under colour of some business came to conspire and instil his diabolical poison against the Father; and what the told the king is as follows: -

They said that the Moorish engangas (who are the Moorish wizards of that land, who cast lots with four sticks) knew that the Father came by order of the governor of India and the captain of Sofala, to inspect the country and see what number of people were there, and send them information on the point, that they might then send a large army to kill the king and take his kingdom; and that he came by command of Chepute, namely Chiteve who is another king of Sofala, his rebellious subject, to tell the morefos, who are the nobles of the kingdom, that as they did not come and acknowledge him as their lord, and made one their king who had no lawful right, the Father had come thither determined to kill the king and all the people of the country by inducing them to become Christians and pouring water on their heads and saying the words of the langarios, namely the Portuguese, by which they were made subject to him and would not stand against him, for so it had been done in Sofala; and that Monomotapa should beware of what he did, for this was the custom of the Father, and that the pouring of the water on the head was the tungo, that is the anointing, by which he took the land, and especially by the words he said while pouring the water.

That the Father went first to Chepute before coming to Monomotapa, and had left his people there that it might be thought he was a man who had come in friendship to the king, and afterwards his ends could be accomplished.

That the Father was a moroo, which means a wizard, - a traitor who brought heat and hunger, and had with him a dead man's bone and other medicines to take the country and kill the king.

That another was to follow him with a woman in search of the Father, and he was also a wizard, and that the king should look to himself, for if he let him depart without killing him he would get away without anyone knowing it, and the people of the country would kill each other without knowing who was the cause of their death.

Before this treason of the Moors was known, Father Dom Gonçalo said to Antonio Caiado: 'I know that the king will kill me, and I am delighted to receive such a happy end from the hand of God.' Antonio Caiado replied, 'It is impossible that the king should do such a thing, being such a friend of your Reverence.'

And going to the king, he found him much troubled and moved by what the Moors had said to him, and he said to him, 'If you have any property in the father's house secure it, for I must command him to be killed.' Antonio Caiado returning to him again, he said he would call the engangas and would consult with them upon the matter. Antonio Caiado immediately made known all that he had heard to the Father. And again returning to the king, his highness said that the most he could do to a man who had plotted such evil against him was to command him to depart.

This was the Friday after the third Sunday of Lent, and on the Saturday the king sent for his mother to attend the council with the engangas, which was a work of the devil.

The mother returning to her house, the next day Antonio Caiado went to her and asked her what had happened. She replied that the Father would return to the shore, and that she would go and speak to her son on Sunday, without telling him anything else, though they had already agreed when he was to be killed.

Antonio Caiado then going to speak with the Father, the latter said to him: 'I entreat you for the life of God to go to a certain place (which was at a little distance) and tell the two or three Portuguese who are there to come to confession directly, and come with them yourself and receive the Blessed Sacrament, for if this is not done today I shall not be able to give it to you.' Then Antonio Caiado left him and went in search for the others, and the Father waited for them till nearly mid-day, and seeing that they did not come he consecrated two hosts which he had and consumed them. That same day he baptized fifty Christians, to whom he gave pieces of cloth in which to dress themselves and bracelets of beads to wear. And in the afternoon the Portuguese came to him, and he made them go to confession, but could not then give them the Blessed Sacrament; and he consoled and encouraged them with great joy, they being far from guessing what was in his heart.

Before this (I do not know if it was four days) Father Dom Gonçalo wrote a letter to Father Antonio de Quadros, our Father Provincial, and another to the captain of Sofala, in which he gave a long account of

his success. These letters, being sent afterwards with his property in a pinnace, were lost at sea with that vessel.

When the Portuguese returned to their houses, the Father made them carry away on their shoulders everything which he had in the house, namely books and ornaments for Mass, sending with them two youths that he had with him, and keeping nothing but a crucifix and a light for the night.

Returning to speak with him in the evening, Antonio Caiado found him walking up and down near his house, dressed in a new cassock with a surplice over it. On seeing him, the Father put his hand on his breast and said 'Antonio Caiado I am certainly better prepared to die than the enemies who are to kill me. I forgive the king, who is but a youth, and his mother, because the Moors have deceived them.' And this he said with his face wreathed in smiles.

Antonio Caiado took leave of the Father, saying that he would send two of his servants to sleep in his company that night.

So far almost all those who came from Monomotapa agree with what has been related, but what follows concerning his death was not told to him by the servant of Dom Gonçalo who came from that place, but he says it was told to him by the two servants of Antonio Caiado who slept in the Father's house that night.

They say that the Father walked up and down a piece of ground near his house until nearly midnight, preparing for his glorious journey. His steps were hurried as if he wished to be already free and reigning with Christ; his eyes were nearly always raised to heaven, his hands now raised, now extended in the form of a cross, his deep and heartfelt sighs came from his inmost soul.

This was on Saturday night, the eve of the feast of the glorious St. Susanna. When he retired to his hut and prayed before the crucifix, which was all he had left in the house, after which he laid down upon a mat of reeds with the crucifix beside him and the lamp alight, and seemed as if he was already sleeping the sleep of the just. The enemies were awaiting this opportunity. Seven or eight of them entered, and the servants who were in the house say that they knew one of them who was still a heathen and had often dined with the Father and with the nobles of the king's family. His name was Mocurume. They say that he laid the Father on his chest, and two of his assistants raised him from the ground by his hands and feet, and while he was thus extended two others tied a rope around his neck and each pulled it on either side, so that the blood rushed from his nose and mouth, and he gave up his spirit to the creator. They then tied a rope around his neck, and by the trace of blood they say that the body was thrown into the river called Monsengece, which was close by, the king having been told that his body should not be left under the sun, for the poison of that man was enough to contaminate them all.

The next day at dawn, while it was still almost dark, Antonio Caiado sent the servant of the Father who came here, and another of his own, to observe the Father's house as far as possible and see how he fared. The young men found the track of blood near the house, for it was still flowing when they carried away the body.

The house was deserted, the servants who had slept there that night when the enemies were dragging out the body to carry it away, escaped, and by their traces had hidden in the thicket. In the house they found the crucifix broken to pieces, which they returned to get, and gave it into the hands of Antonio Caiado.

This, beloved brethren, is all that with the greatest diligence we have been able to learn concerning our beloved Father Gonçalo.

Even after the Father was dead, to confirm the king in his obstinacy and hardness they put the grossest absurdities into his head, saying that they saw the Father stripped to the waist, and that he came to the king's enclosure and took the bark from the stakes of the palisade and tied it to his shirt, and that it was through this a thunderbolt broke one of the stakes in the king's door, and that even the key of the Father's chest had some medicine or witchcraft in it.

The king commanded that the fifty Christians baptized by the Father on the day of his happy death should be killed, and the pieces of cloth and beads given to them by him should be taken from them.

Upon this the encoces [choeques (?)], who are the principal lords of the country, came and said to the king 'Sir, if you command these men to be killed for receiving the water which the Father poured on their heads, and that they be treated like the Father, command us to be killed also, who received it with them, and yourself as well, for you also turned Christian.' He then desisted from this command, and retired into his house in confusion.

About two or three days afterwards, when it seemed to the Portuguese there that the king's fury might be appeased and he be more fit to receive instruction and admonition, they went to him, and expressed their amazement at the grievous sin he had committed in ordering the Father's death, and besides the evils and punishments which God would send upon him, the Father being a person of such nobility it would be a small wonder if an army was sent from India to destroy him, and other reasons, in fear of which he retired into his house.

The young man now began to excuse himself, and to show more sorrow for the Father's death, throwing the blame upon the instigation of the Moors. They further say, but it is not certain, the master of the pinnace which carried the Father and his servant who is now here in this collage having only written to report what he was told, that the king, sorry and ashamed of what he had done, wishing to show by evident signs that he was grieved for the Father's death, commanded the four principal Moors who persuaded him to it to be put to death, and two of them were immediately killed, and Mingane and others fled. But it does not seem that they can possibly escape, on account of the great diligence with which the king's orders are executed, he being very powerful and able to bring three hundred thousand men into a field when he likes, as I was assured by a captain of Sofala.

This was the blessed journey, pilgrimage, and happy end of our beloved Father Gonçalo.

The Father Provincial, besides the great wish of the Count Viceroy, is awaiting the monsoon with great joy and rapture, to send some Fathers and Brothers to that empire and great monarchy to carry on the work thus begun.

It seems that this work cannot fail to have a happy issue, and to prove solid in itself, the foundations of that Church being built upon blood shed purely for the honour and glory of Jesus Christ, our God and Lord &c.

From this College of St. Paul of Goa, the 15th December 1561.

By command of the Father Provincial.

The unprofitable servant of all,

Louis Froes."

The above is the oldest known record of a baptism of the Monomotapa[10], or the chief / king of the maKaranga. As per the record, the Jesuits continued their missionary work in south-eastern Africa following the death of Father Gonçalo[11], albeit, reasonably, with less severe repercussions to the missionaries in their Christianising endeavours.

The record of the Monomotapa's baptism fairly explains the priority Christianised tribe cum trade-and-industry pact system of allegiance that directed the east coast trade between the Portuguese / Jesuit missionaries and the politically powerful tribes thus engaged, being principally the Monomotapa of the maKaranga from at least the sixteenth century onwards. Not only did the political importance of the Monomotapa direct the preferential order of Jesuit Christianisation of the tribes, but it also spelled the hierarchical order of trade relations entered into by

[10] Monomotapa – "*Munu mu tapa. Elliot's Chicaranga dictionary renders 'monomotapa' as munu mu tapa = the man who plunders; but more correctly = he who is a great receiver of tribute. The title was not a mere derisive epithet bestowed by neighbouring tribes of Zulu variety, but one employed as a 'praise-name' by the Ma-Karanga for their kings, and was their dynastic title. Its derivation must therefore be sought for in Chicaranga. Mocaranga included more tributary kingdoms than any other Bantu power, not even excepting Cazembe. Further, we find the title 'Great Thief' given in the records as one of the praise-names of the king (Dos Santos, VII, 202). The attempts to show that it meant 'lord of the mines' or 'lord of the hill' must fail, as the Chicaranga language does not contain words which could be so construed. Muene = lord, thaba = hill, are not known in Chicaranga, but are of Zulu variety.*

Livingstone found a surviving munu mu tapa, Chitoro, in the same district (Chidema), and bearing the same name (Chitoro), as mentioned in the records. Chidema was the district in Mocaranga in which the monomotapas had their northern zimbaoes (residences), and in which were the kraals of the kings' wives, relations, and chief officers. Monteiro (1831) also discovered a munu mu tapa somewhere in the same locality" (Hall 1909).

[11] Gonçalo da Silveira (1526–1561).

the Portuguese according to tribes / clans thus allied to the Monomotapa. This pact system of allegiance, as practiced by the Portuguese on the east coast was, thus – bar religious particulars – not much different from that which prevailed in the years prior to Portuguese dominance on the east coast when trade was in the hands of the Arabs / Moors.

In circa. 980 AD Arabs from Muscat and Persians from Shiraz and Bushire settled along the east coast of Africa to as far south as Cape Correntes (Cape Corrientes) where they founded the towns of Mogdishu (Mogadishu), Melinde, Mombassa (Mombasa), Quiloa (Kilwa), and Sofala. But between 1505–1507 the Portuguese wrested Kilwa and Sofala from the Arabs and founded Mozambique. In 1513 they ascended the Zambesi River and established the posts of Sena and Tete further inland (Mizra 1945). Jesuit missionaries were probably active alongside the first of the Portuguese settlers in the region, but little is known of their Zambezi and coastal missionary activities prior to the work of Father Gonçalo.

If Mntungwa's (2016) brief history of the amaHlubi – their arrival by 1300–1400 AD in the northern Zululand–Swaziland–Mozambique border region, and their presence around 1650 in Natal – is approximated as a rough general Mumbo–Abembi–Abambo culture cluster[12] history then it is evident that the pact system of allegiance described was in place ever since their arrival in the southern African region and specifically under Portuguese–Monomotapa control for some 100 years prior to their historical settling in Natal. It was not only a known system to the Mumbo–Abembi–Abambo culture cluster peoples; it was the only system of trade-and-industry on the east coast.

The main articles of east coast trade, under the Arabs / Moors and the Portuguese alike, comprised gold, ivory, and slaves. With a focus here on the Portuguese managed period, trade seems not to have been quite as profitable as necessarily portended. Hall (1909) elaborates on the situation:

> *"On account of the poorness of the gold trade at Sofala […] Alcaçova applies for a better position in India. De Lemos, factor of Sofala, reports in 1508, the gold of Sofala 'is plentiful in the country, but the natives barter very little'. Soarez, factor of Sofala in 1513, complains of the small quantity of gold bartered for. He says, 'I see so few natives and traders from the interior that from then to the present time I have not bartered 500 miticals […], [a]lthough there is gold scattered over the whole country, no one has such a quantity that it is worth his while to come so far in order to barter it'; [… whereupon], [h]e suggests the abolition of certain offices, also the reduction of salaries of officials […]. De Brito, factor of Sofala, reported in 1519 that in eleven months he had only received 552 miticals of gold, which, he says, was insufficient to pay the official salaries.*
>
> *In 1552 official reports show a further serious decline in the gold trade of Sofala. In 1560 Father Monclaros states, 'The favourable reports of the abundant riches of Monomotapa are not born out by facts.' In 1580 it was officially reported that 'this fortress [Sofala] yields no revenue to our lord the King, except a small trade in ivory'. De Barretto writes, 'Not a grain of gold is to be found in [… the kingdom of] Quiteve' […]. In 1585 Sofala was yielding nothing except for the profit on a small quantity of ivory. In 1634 Rezende,*

[12] *"The Portuguese, who occupied stations at Sofala, Sena, and Tete at this time, give no direct information upon the occupation of Natal by the Abambo. Very likely they knew nothing of what was going on at a distance from their forts, just as the Cape government and colonists knew nothing at the time of the career of the Mantati horde or of Sotshangana [Soshangana] or Moselekatse [Mzilikazi]. Or if rumours of terrible destruction being caused inland by a horde of ferocious invaders ever reached them, they were too much taken up with their own disasters to pay attention to them. Even of the section which they term the Cabires, that gave them much trouble, they placed very little information on record. It is from them, however, that we learn that in 1570 the Abambo horde made its first appearance on the northern bank of the Zambesi above Tete, that there were then very few Bantu inhabitants south of the Umvolosi river, and that after 1600 Natal had a considerable population. The traditions of all the tribes that came down from the north may not count for much, but they cannot be altogether passed over. A much stronger proof of the recent occupation by Bantu of the country south of the Sabi river is the fact that the Arabs never attempted to form a station there. They were among the very keenest traders in the world, but south of the Sabi were only Wakwak or Bushmen [including a mixed MIA Bantu and Khoe population], so nothing was to be bought or sold there. In 1505 the Portuguese wrested Sofala from them, but they never thought of sending a trading party south of Delagoa Bay before the irruption of the Abambo, and then the days of their enterprise and vigour were gone for ever.*

The remaining tribes on the south-eastern coast, that is those between Natal and Delagoa Bay, may have occupied that territory at the same time as the Abambo settled in Natal, or they may have arrived there at a little later date [archaeological evidence supports an earlier occupation date]. They are the same in language and generally in customs, and there is nothing unlikely in the supposition that they were part of the same horde that had lagged somewhat behind. But it is possible that they were connected with the Amazimba, who, though pursuing the Abambo, were themselves fugitives from some stronger power in the locality from which they set out on their murderous career. Before the time of Tshaka [Shaka] the Abathethwa were the most prominent people in that part of South Africa, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century they were under a chief of note named Dingiswayo" (Theal 1910).

> *'the most competent writer of his day,' reports that Sofala had no garrison, only three Portuguese residing there. He states, 'The only commerce carried on was in ivory' […]. In 1635 it is reported, 'The fortress at Sofala is in a ruinous state, with no men'. In 1667 Barretto states that the principal trade of Sofala, 'which is mostly deserted,' is 'ivory' […]. Ferao attributes the failure of the Sofala trade in gold to civil wars in progress in Quiteve."*

And with regard the civil wars reported on including, among other (Hall 1909):

> *"In 1593 Kilwa was destroyed by the Muzimba, who ruined the trade at Kilwa and Mombasa for many years […]. In 1635 […] the Macua tribe besieged Quilimane and stopped all trade. […] In 1711 local tribes again besieged Quilimane and stopped all trading."*

Nonetheless, the Portuguese continued their activities along the Zambesi and the coastline. In 1727 they founded a trading post at Inhambane; and in 1781 they permanently occupied Delagoa Bay, directing the main trade traffic southward of Sofala (https://www.mozambique.co.za/About_Mozambique-travel/mozambique-info.html). The trade in ivory flourished along the *Ivory Route* – running along the Strydpoort, Waterberg and Lebombo mountains – the southern-most "formal" trade route of the time (https://golimpopo.com/tour-item/african-ivory-route/), but many a smaller route was also exploited. However, a prolonged drought around 1760–1800 brought not only farming but business as usual to a grinding halt – bar slave raiding! By 1800 Mozambique had become one of the world's major slave trading centres (https://www.mozambique.co.za/About_Mozambique-travel/mozambique-info.html) fed primarily by labour demands from Brazil and the Mascarene Islands. The Delagoa Bay slave trade reached its height in the rough 1820s, but continued well into the 1840s (https://www.britannica.com/place/South-Africa/The-Delagoa-Bay-slave-trade).

Slave raiding ravaged the tribes of the interior (https://www.britannica.com/place/South-Africa/The-Delagoa-Bay-slave-trade) and prominently so along the main trade-, or the *Ivory Route*. But not at the expense of existing trade agreements; never before was the Portuguese–Monomotapa pact system of priority Christianised tribe cum trade-and-industry allegiance more important to a tribe's / clan's survival. But the slaving industry did not only affect the tribes of the interior; slave transport logistics alone preferenced a coastal practice, and needless to say one at some distance from the tribes more readily allied to the Monomotapa. Richard's Bay is situated some 300km, and Port Natal (Durban) but 450km south of Delagoa Bay. While Port Rex (East London), located roughly 900km south of Delagoa Bay, is reported to have first been surveyed in 1836, but with plans for its use only implemented prior to the outbreak of the Eighth Frontier / Xhosa War (1850–1853) (https://sahistory.org.za/place/east-london-eastern-cape). Only a few smaller ports are to be found between Durban and East London, including the likes of Port Shepstone, Port Edward, and Port St Johns. The tribes of the Eastern Cape would, by definition, have been one step further removed from the Portuguese–Monomotapa pact system of allegiance, with reference not only to trade-and-industry relations, but also shelter from slavery. In addition, the Eastern Cape tribes are known to have resided further inland than their northern coastal-tribe counterparts, and including the Mumbo–Abembi–Abambo culture cluster of Natal.

The lived experience of the amaMfengu prior to their arrival in Gcalekaland – and not limited to the *difaqane* alone – certainly impacted their decision making in the politically tense warlike Xhosa–Cape government environment on the eastern frontier. AmaMfengu allegiance to the British, at the expense of initial gracious Xhosa–Mfengu relations, must also be considered against the backdrop of a survival-of-the-people / safety-from-slavery decision inherent in the Mfengu's Portuguese–Monomotapa pact system of priority Christianised tribe cum trade-and-industry allegiance experience. To infer that tribes thus affected by the pact system of allegiance (and slavery) were ignorant of the British – another seafaring Christian-slaving people stationed along the coast – following the 1795 / 1806 annexation of the Cape would be a mistake, as is evidenced in other tribal histories. For example, during the latter part of the *difaqane*, and soon after a bloody succession war (1828) when Shaka was killed and his half-brother Dingaan[13] seized the Zulu throne, it is told that (Rosenthal 1961):

> *"At first he [Dingaan] maintained amicable relations with the handful of European settlers at Port Natal, and in 1830 sent a mission with presents to the Cape, where Governor Sir Lowry Cole's refusal to receive them offended him."*

With Dingaan's *offer* of peaceable relations thwarted by the British, he turned his attention back to the Portuguese (Murray 1891):

[13] Dingane kaSenzangakhona (circa. 1795–1840).

> *"The Portuguese hold no other stations in any part of Gazaland, which, as stated, roughly coincides with the old kingdom of Sofala. The Zulu, or rather Swazi, kingdom of Gazaland was founded about the year 1833 by Manikûs [Manikusa], who had been sent by Chaka's [Shaka's] successor Dingan [Dingaan] to drive the Portuguese from Delagoa Bay. Failing in this enterprise, and fearing to return to certain death, he passed northwards, reduced the whole country between the Limpopo and the Zambesi, captured the seaport of Inhambane (1834) plundered Sofala itself (1836), and levied tribute on Tete and Sena, at that time the only Portuguese stations on the Zambesi."*

Hence followed a difficult British (Cape government)–Zulu relationship; and with the power of the Zulu quelled only some four decades after by the British during the Anglo-Zulu War (1879).

All due credit is granted the British for their part in ending slavery. The Slavery Abolition Act of 1833 (SAA 1833), an Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom (UK), provided for the gradual abolition of slavery throughout the British Empire – bar the territories then in possession of the British East India Company (BEIC), being Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and Saint Helena. The SAA 1833 expanded the jurisdiction of the Slave Trade Act of 1807 (STA 1807) that declared the purchase and ownership of slaves illegal (despite ongoing incidences of both practices) (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Slavery_Abolition_Act_1833). In the Cape, a British colony since 1806, the SAA 1833 was implemented on 1 December 1834 (Markham 1900); thus, but months prior to the Peddie / Ngqushwa movement when many a Mfengu relocated under missionary and Cape government protection to the Peddie (Ciskei) area from the then unconquered Gcalekaland. The Peddie / Ngqushwa movement is directly associated with the "Mfengu Vows" of 14 May 1835, the particulars of which are summarized as (Bikitsha 2019):

- To be faithful to God.
- To educate their children.
- To support their missionaries.
- And to respect the British government.

The coincidence of the Peddie / Ngqushwa movement's timing on the part of the Cape government with reference to the implementation of the SAA 1833 on 1 December 1834 in the Cape Colony, however, raises fair questions. The British at the time was not only an expansionist colonial power, but also a Christian-slaving people and well familiar with the benefits of the priority Christianised tribe cum trade-and-industry pact system of allegiance, as described at the hand of the Portuguese–Monomotapa consortium that directed the east coast trade. That haste on the part of the Cape government, in the face of changing legislation combined with their dependence on Mfengu allegiance to assist in the execution of British colonial ambitions on the eastern frontier – the very purpose of tribes allied under the pact system of allegiance – played a part in the initiation, arrangement, and "protection" of the amaMfengu in the Peddie / Ngqushwa movement must be considered; amaMfengu "allegiance" thus secured, both militarily and labour related – and confirmed by the "Mfengu Vows" – is curiously reminiscent of the "slave system," or the benefits to be derived by the British from the pact system of allegiance.

The negative impact of Imperialist and neo-Imperialist historical constructs inherent in, among other, the routine denial of the *difaqane* and related histories, including the likes of Stapleton's (1996) assertion that the amaMfengu is but a "*pseudo-ethnicity*" with a group identity *"created and manipulated by nineteenth-century colonial authorities,"* and that they are merely *"a collection of Xhosa defectors, migrant laborers, and labor captives,"* at the expense of their amaMfengu history, including their pre-*difaqane* history, and supported by Mfengu tribal / clan composition being reflective of the Natal tribes / clans and contrary to that of the Xhosa, cannot be overemphasised, especially in light of the amaMfengu's heritage rights as well as reconciliatory Xhosa–Mfengu efforts. Stapleton (1996), however, makes some valid concluding remarks, well worthy of contemplation, with regard the continued use of the amaMfengu by the Cape government in their colonial ambitions against the Xhosa pertaining to the establishment of the Transkeian territories (1865):

> *"While it is correct that the Fingo [Mfengu] population did increase dramatically in the late 1850s and 1860s, this was not the result of natural reproduction but of Xhosa changing their status in order to gain economic advantage or simply survive colonial aggression. Bouch touches on this point but does not acknowledge that it supports Cobbing's and Webster's claim that the Fingo were not a distinct group which had originated from Natalian refugees, but rather a colonial creation designed to meet settler requirements for labor. Competition and tension between growing settler and Fingo populations resulted in the colonial government evicting many of the latter beyond its borders. The contention of previous historians that the Fingoes 'had no qualms' about moving to the Transkei is incorrect, as many who were unwilling to abandon their land in the colony were forced to do so by colonial agents and police. Once across the Kei, armed Fingoes conquered existing Gcaleka people and colonial officials recategorized them as Fingoes.*

> *Contrary to orthodox view, Fingoes were not moved east of the Kei in 1865 as an altruistic courtesy. For the colonial regime, the Fingo 'exodus' killed three birds with a single stone. First, farm land in the colony, including the former British Kaffraria, was opened for white settlement. Second, Fingoland represented a new and larger labor reserve for the expanding white farming industry—and the diamond mines a few years later—which could now begin to harness the population of the Transkei on an unprecedented scale. Third, the dominance of pro-colonial Fingo headmen in part of the Transkei served to quietly and inexpensively pave the way for future colonial expansion in that area. The exodus was really an invasion. Crossing the Kei in 1865, both armed Fingoes and their reluctant charges represented the advance guard of colonial intrusion which culminated in the final conquest of the last independent African chiefdoms in the Eastern Cape. In fact, the term 'exodus,' which conjures images of freed slaves happily returning to the vacant land of their former masters, seems inappropriate to describe an event which was actually a simultaneous expulsion of Africans from the colony and an extension of colonial hegemony over others already in the Transkei."*

It is, likewise, necessary to consider the statement that the amaMfengu following the 1865 resettlement programme in the Transkei, "*began, on their own initiative, to collect funds and to lay down the groundwork for the establishment of a technical institute*" (https://www.sahistory.org.za/place/ngamakwe) as a neo-Imperialist construct vested in the close missionary–Cape government relationship and the directly related Cape government's benefits derived from the said pact system of allegiance that prevailed: the statement needs to be dispelled as neo-Imperialist "whitewashing" of history.

All African cultures have an education system imbued as aspect of their culture (Els 1992) – like all cultures do – but traditionally it is based on a holistic learning approach to being a member of the tribe / clan; and, thus, very different from the "Victorian a-b-c" system. The amaMfengu is known as a people who converted to Christianity notably quickly; but even their Christian conversion took some time. Initially they were suspicious of the new religious cum education system avowed to in 1835 through missionary education. In time, however, many of them became devout Christians (and scholars).

The Lovedale mission (founded in 1824) played a central role in missionary work and education on the eastern frontier, mainly aimed at the Xhosa albeit with a wider scope from the start. A difficult expansion of Lovedale coined with the establishment of the Blythswood mission (1873) and college / technical institute (1877) following the 1865 Transkeian resettlement programme, and the rather troublesome independence of Blythswood from Lovedale (1881–1882), set the stage for committed missionary work among the amaMfengu. But amaMfengu commitment to the construction of the college went hand-in-hand with a temporary hut tax exemption in lieu of their subscriptions to the college. According to Rodger (1977):

> *"When therefore the government agent for Fingoland, Captain Blyth, and a Free Church of Scotland missionary, Richard Ross, gained the support of a few headmen for an educational Institution in the Transkei, and approached Dr James Stewart of Lovedale to found such an Institution on the lines of Lovedale, they had very slender support. Stewart agreed on condition the Mfengu subscribe £1000 towards the cost. Support for this somewhat startling and, to some, unpalatable request was gained mainly because it was known that the government intended introducing a hut tax which would be far more onerous than the levy which, it was estimated, would be required to find the sum Stewart was asking. Blyth was able to use the agreement to a voluntary levy for an institution to persuade the government to postpone the tax.*
>
> *The Institution was built on a larger scale than had been planned, for the Mfengu made two subscriptions, each larger than the total requested, and Stewart raised money in Scotland."*

That the amaMfengu contributed significantly to the college's establishment is, thus, confirmed; but their decision to do so was vested in the complex missionary–Cape government political milieu of the times.

* * *

Sensitive Area 1 is not a CCP site; it is, thus, not a Xhosa site. Resultantly, the Xhosa is not the subject of this report. For purposes of this report the Xhosa is simply defined as a Nguni people who entered the southern African region during MIA times and after their own sojourn in the greater Natal area migrated farther southward to the Eastern Cape. That a degree of migration was still ongoing at the turn of the MIA–LIA is not questioned; but their LIA history is essentially an Eastern Cape history. Early amaXhosa history in the Eastern Cape is one of humble origins, where they initially resided in (some form of) clientship to the then resident occupants, but where fair to good relations is inferred based on evidence of specifically cultural amalgamation between some Eastern Cape tribes / clans. During

the wars of the seventeenth / eighteenth century the Xhosa first seized political power, after which they systematically expanded their political dominance as well as their territory of rule.

In an aggressive expansionist campaign, the Xhosa first clashed with the then advancing Dutch / Boers near the Great Fish River and two wars ensued, the First (1779–1781) and the Second Frontier / Xhosa Wars (1789–1793): the Dutch / Boers had the advantage of modern weaponry; the Xhosa that of their numbers – with resultant losses and gains on both sides. In summary, these were wars between rival expansionist farming communities, with citizen armies.

The nature of war changed noticeably with the arrival of the British on the cultural landscape. Following the first British annexation of the Cape in 1795 the Third Frontier / Xhosa War (1799–1803) ensued, but with the return of the Cape to Holland peace was negotiated under the Batavian government. After the second British annexation of the Cape in 1806 conquest of the eastern territories was prioritised under a series of six frontier wars – the Fourth (1811–1812) to the Ninth Frontier / Xhosa Wars (1877–1879). These were no longer expansionist farmer wars, but a Xhosa *War of Independence*: for some three-quarters of a century the Xhosa defended their territory against the British, in what were not only the first native wars fought against a primarily foreign professional army, but thus against the most powerful military in the world at the time. Despite ultimate victory to the British, the frontier wars greatly frustrated British colonial expansionist ambitions at the southern tip of Africa.

Against the above abbreviated history Bikitsha's (2019) statement that, "*Hintsa might have viewed amaMfengu as possible allies which would increase his army*" upon their arrival in 1818 in Gcalekaland, at the time of the Fourth Frontier / Xhosa War, thus well carries weight.

2.2 HYPOTHESIS 1

That there was among the amaMfengu fleeing the *difaqane* – the Mumbo–Abembi–Abambo culture cluster tribes / clans – and afforded residency by Hintsa in the Eastern Cape in 1818, a tribe / clan, or an incorporated section of a people to such a tribe / clan, of a culture very different from that generally associated with the Nguni.

This amaMfengu tribe / clan, or incorporated section of a people to such a tribe / clan, is inferred to have practiced a more pastoralist centred lifeway that resulted in the different settlement pattern at Sensitive Area 1 (as opposed to the CCP). Pastoralist elements may have been original minority Mbo cultural aspects (by comparison with the Ovambo of Namibia and Angola), or acculturative or direct LSA pastoralist (Khoe / "Hottentot") cultural aspects.

* * *

This section starts with a slight detour through the very basics of African linguistics – the term Bantu / Ba'Ntu to describe the Iron Age farming peoples not only of southern Africa, but the majority of peoples of sub-Saharan Africa. Theal (1910) explains that the term Bantu[14] [Ntu: singular / Bantu: plural] coined around 1850 by Wilhelm Bleek, is essentially a linguistic term:

> *"They [Xhosa–Zulu / Iron Age farmers] had no word except tribal names to distinguish themselves from other races, 'ntu' in their language meaning a human being or person of any colour or country; but ethnologists felt the want of a specific designation for them, and adopted this as a convenient one. In the division of mankind thus named are included all those Africans who use a language which is inflected principally by means of prefixes, and which in the construction of sentences follows certain rules depending upon harmony of sound."*

Bleek (1862) further explains the applicability of the term *Bantu* as, *"the Kafir [Xhosa–Zulu] word 'a-bâ-ntu' (people), Se-tshuâna 'bathu', Isubu and Dulla 'batu', Benga 'bato', Southern Tekeza (Ma-nlolosi) 'bânu', becomes the Northern Tekeza 'vanu', in Sofala, Sena, Tetto 'vánttu', oTyi-hereró 'o-vandu', Nano 'omano' (by assimilation from 'ovano', formed like 'ova-lome' men)."*

In application of the principles of Bantu linguistics to describe the other peoples of southern Africa, the LSA hunter-gatherers (San / "Bushman") and pastoralists (Khoe / "Hottentot"), Theal (1910) states that: "*The earliest inhabitants of South Africa, termed by Europeans Bushmen, by Hottentots Sana, by Bantu of the eastern coast Abatwa, of the western Coast Ovatwa, of the interior Baroa.*" On the other hand, "*[t]he Hottentots, [were] termed by the Bantu of the eastern coast Amalawu, and by the Bantu of the south-western coast Ovaserandu.*"

* * *

Bikitsha (2019) describes the primary tribes / clans of the Mumbo–Abembi–Abambo culture cluster of the amaMfengu of the Eastern Cape as the Zizi, Hlubi, Bhele, and Ntlangwini. It is necessary to have a closer look at the culture cluster's recorded cluster names by means of the [prefix-]–[root name] system:

- Mumbo – Abembi – Abambo → [mu-][**Mbo**] – [abe-][**Mbi**] – [aba-][**Mbo**].

It is fair to conclude that Mbi in the above signals at minimum a dialect, at maximum a linguistic variant of the root Mbo language. In other words, the peoples who thus arrived in the Eastern Cape were a (Mbi) / **Mbo** people, who at minimum spoke different dialects of the same language; the majority of them spoke a dialect in which they referred to themselves as Mbo ([mu-][**Mbo**] – [aba-][**Mbo**]), with Mbi ([abe-][**Mbi**]) being the minority dialect variant. The root name of these people, (Mbi) / **Mbo** – and where [abe-][**Mbi**] → [abe-][**Mb**(**i**)] →[abe-**Mb**(**o**)]) – thus designates them a collective Mbo people, from the original eMbo homeland. Dialect difference among the people is further detectable in the prefixes that describes them as people of the parent (Mbi) / **Mbo** tribe:

- Mumbo – Abembi – Abambo → [**mu-**][Mbo] – ([**abe-**][Mbi]) – [**aba-**][Mbo].

Based on the common collective reference to the Mumbo–Abembi–Abambo culture cluster peoples as abaMbo ([**aba-**][Mbo]), as opposed firstly to muMbo ([**mu-**][Mbo]) and secondly to abeMbi ([**abe-**][Mbi] / [**abe-**][Mbo]), it is

[14] *"In the dialect of the Thembu, Pondo, Zulu, and other coast tribes: um-ntu a person, plural aba-ntu people; diminutive um-ntwana a child, plural aba-ntwana children; abstract derivative ubu-ntu the qualities of human beings, diminutive ubu-ntwana the qualities of children. In the Herero dialect: omu-ndu a person, plural ovu-ndu people. In the dialect of the Basuto: mo-tho a person, plural ba-tho persons. The pronunciation, however, is nearly the same, the h in batho being sounded only as an aspirate, and the o as oo, baat-hoo"* (Theal 1910).

reasonably inferred that the abaMbo tribe / clan, or the peoples who spoke the dialect of the [**aba-**][Mbo] peoples, were either the majority, or the politically senior of the tribes / clans that thus arrived in Gcalekaland in 1818.

Bleek (1862) classes the Bantu languages of sub-Saharan Africa into four broad branches:

- A south-eastern branch, including the Xhosa language, the Zulu language, the Tswana language, and the Tekega dialects.
- A middle branch.
- A north-western branch.
- And an unknown branch of Bantu / Ba-Ntu [Ba'Ntu] languages.

And, furthermore, explains that (Bleek 1862):

> *"The Kafir [Xhosa–Zulu] Language belongs to an extensive family of languages which occupy (as far as our knowledge goes) the whole remaining portion of the South African continent, extending on the Eastern side from the Keiskamma to the equator, and on the Western side from 32° southern to about 8° northern Latitude.*
>
> *Members of this family of languages, which we call the 'Bâ-ntu' family (§12 and 140), are also spread over portions of Western Africa, as far west as Sierra Leone, where the Bullom and Timneh languages are cousins of the Kafir. They are here interspersed particularly by members of the Gōr family of languages (Fulah, Wolof, Ga, &c.), which belongs to the same class of languages as the Bâ-ntu family, and forms together with it the African section of this class; whilst the Malay, Polynesian, and Papuan families are to be considered as members of the Oceanic section of the same class.*
>
> *The chief characteristics of this class of intertropical languages is that the pronouns are originally borrowed from the derivative prefixes of the nouns, whilst in that class of languages to which the Hottentot [Khoe], Egyptian, Semitic, and Aryan or Indo-European families belong, the pronouns are originally borrowed from the derivative suffixes of the nouns.*
>
> *The former class is, on this account, called that of Prefix-pronominal Languages, and the latter the class of Suffix-pronominal Languages; both classes together are included in the group of Pronominal Languages."*

Without going into the particulars of linguistics, the above speaks of the integrated nature of, or strong likenesses between the Bantu languages of sub-Saharan Africa. The southern African Bantu languages are divided into two broad branches: the Sotho-Tswana branch (including Southern- and Northern Sotho, and Tswana); and the Nguni branch (including Zulu, Xhosa, Swati, and Ndebele) (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Languages_of_South_Africa). It is the Nguni branch that concerns us here, or more specifically Bleek's (1862) south-eastern branch, and specifically the sub-categories of Xhosa, Zulu, and the Tekega dialects, notwithstanding Ndebele. No linguistic-specific information could be obtained for purposes of this report on the Zizi or Ntlangwini languages, but Hlubi is classed as a Tekega dialect (Mntungwa 2016). Should we assume that the Mumbo–Abembi–Abambo culture cluster peoples were a predominant Tekega dialect group (including Ndebele), with dialect / linguistic difference among them already illustrated, and by implication also applicable to the amaMfengu. Hence, by extrapolation it can be stated that dialect / linguistic difference existed between the Mumbo–Abembi–Abambo culture cluster peoples – a presumed predominant Tekega dialect people – and the Zulu at the time of their residing in Natal; but with both the Tekega dialects and Zulu being classed under the broader Nguni linguistic group / Bleek's (1862) south-eastern branch, Tekega dialect speakers and isiZulu speakers would, despite difference, have been able to understand one another. A similar situation would, likewise, have prevailed in the Eastern Cape: the Tekega dialect peoples – the amaMfengu – spoke dialects / languages different from isiXhosa, but because the Tekega dialects and Xhosa are both classed under the broader Nguni linguistic group / Bleek's (1862) south-eastern branch, Tekega dialect and Xhosa would, despite difference, have been mutually understandable. The similarity in dialect / language may well account for the amaMfengu – or the Tekega dialect people – to have readily adopted isiXhosa as first language following their arrival in Gcalekaland in 1818; but that the Xhosa and Mfengu were originally of different dialects / languages cannot be disputed.

The concern raised by Bikitsha (2019) that the loss of language among the amaMfengu – as stated, probably originally a predominant Tekega dialect group – and their subsequent adoption of isiXhosa as first language, may signal a general loss of amaMfengu, or Mumbo–Abembi–Abambo cultural aspects is, thus, very fair.

While dialect / linguistic difference among the amaMfengu themselves and originally between the Xhosa and the Mfengu have been established, it does not account for the Sensitive Area 1 settlement pattern difference – the labyrinthian maze-like settlement pattern of Sensitive Area 1 vs the CCP settlement pattern typically associated with Nguni peoples in general, and by implication including the Xhosa and the Mfengu; the Nguni people, broadly speaking a Mbo people who, in their folklore and oral history hold on to an eMbo homeland further north. It is necessary to look for a Mbo people, culturally different from the broad Nguni group of the south-eastern part of southern Africa whose lifeway finds expression in a settlement pattern different from the typical Nguni CCP, and more similar to the Sensitive Area 1 labyrinthian maze-like settlement pattern. We curiously find such a people on the opposite side, the very western side, of southern Africa: the Ovambo of Namibia and Angola.

The [prefix-]–[root name] system establishes a possible culture–historical link between the amaMfengu – the Mumbo–Abembi–Abambo culture cluster, commonly simply referred to as the abaMbo – and the Ovambo:

- AbaMbo → [aba-][**Mbo**]; and Ovambo → [ova-][**Mbo**].

The abaMbo and Ovambo are, thus, both Mbo peoples: people who trace their Mbo roots back to an eMbo homeland in their respective folklore. They are, however, from a dialect / linguistic point of view notably different, as per the prefix by which they denote themselves as "the peoples" from Mbo:

- AbaMbo → [**aba-**][Mbo]; and Ovambo → [**ova-**][Mbo].

It is time to briefly consider the Ovambo. The Ovambo comprises the principal native peoples of Namibia and a minority group in southern Angola. "Ovambo" may be understood as an umbrella term for the various kindred Bantu tribes / clans constituting the greater Ovambo tribe. They trace their history back to a homeland [eMbo (?)] in the Zambia region from where they migrated westward in the fourteenth century, initially settling in the Angola–Namibia border region and from where, during the seventeenth century, they expanded further south into Namibia. The Ovambo lead a fairly settled life, relying on a combination of agriculture and animal husbandry. Staple crops include standard sorghum and beans. It is, however, in their practice of animal husbandry that they differ most markedly from the southern African Nguni farmer lifeway: in dryer regions or seasons they adopt a pastoral lifeway with their herds of cattle, goats, and sheep. And with their pastoral subsistence strategy based on milk as staple, not meat. Their diet is supplemented by hunting, fishing, and gathering. Their kraals are typified by a complex of huts, surrounded by a fence of vertical poles, linked by horizontal poles on each side. Kraal complexes are described as "maze-like" in layout – easy to get lost in – and as a norm with two gates. A male chief leads each tribe, but chieftaincy and general inheritance follows a matrilineal line (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ovambo_people).

The Ovambo's "maze-like" settlement pattern and their emphasis on the use of wood for kraal construction provides a rough comparative example of settlement layout among a Mbo people with that of Sensitive Area 1. In addition, folklore and oral history that tells of an Ovambo migration from the greater Zambia region in the fourteenth century finds resonance in the eMbo homeland of the Nguni in general, as well as in the departure from a former northern homeland around the fifteenth century by the abaMbo tribes / clans – or the amaMfengu – of the Eastern Cape. Fair speculation, in the absence of evidence other than folklore and oral history, centres on the dispersal of the Mbo peoples of eMbo around the fourteenth / fifteenth century – a dispersal that may well have been one of many: a significant group moved south along an eastern migration route, the Nguni migration route; and another group migrated westward, comprising the Ovambo tribes. The difference in settlement pattern – a material expression of lifeway – the CCP of the Nguni vs the "maze-like" settlement pattern of the Ovambo, despite their common Mbo / eMbo origins is noticeable. If we assume that these different lifeways were both practiced in the eMbo homeland, then it is possible that a section of the Mbo people whose lifeway is expressed in a "maze-like" settlement pattern moved south along the greater Nguni migration route and lived among them as a minority tribe / clan. It then follows that at the time of the abaMbo tribes – or the Mumbo–Abembi–Abambo culture cluster – of Natal fleeing the *difaqane* and seeking refuge further south, such a minority tribe / clan constituted one of the tribes / clans, or an incorporated section to such a tribe / clan of the amaMfengu who was afforded refuge by Hintsa: this amaMfengu tribe / clan, or incorporated section to such a tribe / clan, may have been responsible for the construction of the kraal complexes at Sensitive Area 1.

This hypothesis finds support in the number of monoliths, with no less than three (Sites C9P5-04, C9P5-05, and feature C9P5-10.1) recorded in the AIA (and with more identified during the site-specific recording, albeit in direct site construction contexts), and situated in the immediate vicinity of Sensitive Area 1. The monoliths, interpreted as territorial markers, spells of an "us" vs "them" land agreement: Hintsa, owner, or authority over Gcalekaland, upon agreement with his council – the "us" – afforded the new arrivals in the land, the amaMfengu – or "them" – set sections of land. And land thus allotted for occupation by the amaMfengu would have been demarcated. But sub-

sectioning of allotted land also occurred among the amaMfengu along intra-cultural or intertribal / clan divisions. According to Bikitsha (2019):

> "*Hintsa welcome abaMbo and allocated them land to settle in Kwa-Gcaleka, Butterworth district. 'They were allowed to settle among the Gcaleka', says […] Hammond-Tooke (1956), as evident in the following areas, 'amaZizi settled in Mgomanzi and Mpenduza, amaBhele in Cegcuwana, amaHlubi stayed with Sarhili, the son of Hintsa' […], likewise […] Mndende (2010), shows amaZizi in Mgomanzi and Cerhu, amaBhele in Cegcuwana and eZolo, amaHlubi at Theko, others at Zingqayi and Bika.*"

It is, thus, reasonable to infer that any amaMfengu tribe / clan, or incorporated section to such a tribe / clan, whose lifeway resulted in a different settlement pattern from the bulk of the amaMfengu would, likewise, have been granted a section of the apportioned land in the subdivision thereof among the Mfengu themselves, to continue the lifeway that they had practiced in Natal prior to their departure to the Eastern Cape, as the other amaMfengu did: hence, the varying settlement pattern among the amaMfengu, CCP on the one hand, and the labyrinthian maze-like pattern at Sensitive Area 1 on the other hand (and not excluding alternative unresearched settlement patterns).

But such a one-to-one interpretation of Sensitive Area 1 should be considered with caution. History is more complex than that. Characteristics of the Ovambo, most notably the fairly central position of pastoralism and their subsistence strategy based on milk as staple, instead of meat from their domesticated animals, spells of a lifestyle in southern Africa generally associated with LSA pastoralists, or the Khoe / "Hottentot" peoples, and very different from that practised, generally speaking, by Iron Age farmers, or the Bantu peoples.

Until the eighteenth century the Namaquas (Khoe) still held much political power in the Namibia–Angola border region and in the territory south thereof. The Damara, a Bantu group, and probably the earliest Bantu inhabitants of the region were initially subjected to Namaqua political rule. In time, however, political power shifted to the Herero and Ovambo. According to Theal (1910):

> *"The first small horde [of Damara] that appeared there was subdued by the Hottentots [Khoe], and forced to adopt the language and customs of its conquerors. These are the people now called Berg Damaras by Europeans and Ghou Damara by the Namaquas – Haukoin they term themselves, - who are Bantu or possibly negro by blood, and live like Bushmen almost entirely on game, insects, reptiles, and wild plants […].*
>
> *At length the Hottentots moved further southward, and left them behind. They were then attacked by the Ovaherero, a purely pastoral and nomadic tribe, who came down from the north, drove them into the mountains of what is now southern Damaraland, and occupied the plains themselves. The reverend C. Hugo Hahn, of the Rhenish missionary society, who was for many years a resident with the Ovaherero and collected their traditions, states that they can only with certainty be tracked back to a locality somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Zambesi below the Victoria Falls. From that locality they migrated westward with great herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, and then turned to the south, crossing the Kunene a little before the middle of the eighteenth century. After passing the Kaoko, they met the Haukoin or Ghou Damara, who fled from them to the mountains. They next encountered clans of the Namaqua Hottentots, whom they fought with and gradually drove far to the southward. This war with the Hottentots lasted many years, and occasionally the Ovaherero would be beaten and driven back for a time, it was found to be the case in 1792 by the expedition from the Cape Colony which penetrated the country in that year […].*
>
> *The Ovaherero were preceded by the Avare group, of which the Ovambo tribe is the best known. This group consists of eleven distinct tribes, who occupy a small tract of land south of the Kunene River some distance from the coast. These people were industrious agriculturalists, breeders of cattle, and workers in iron. They sink wells, sometimes thirty meters in depth, manufacture many useful articles, and are altogether far in advance of their southern neighbours. They are believed to have migrated from the valley of the Congo River, but the exact locality is unknown. Their dialect differs considerably from that of the Ovaherero, though there are strong reasons for supposing that the last-named people migrated from the same valley to the neighbourhood of the Zambesi some time before their removal to their present home."*

Namaqua acculturative influence on the Damara is evident in changes to their lifeway, including Damara adoption of the Namaqua language (Khoekhoegowab) and their cultural subjugation – that may or may not include the loss of typical Iron Age farmer practices – to Namaqua political dominance (Sullivan & Ganuses 2020).

However, to date no studies have been done on possible Ovambo adoption of Khoe cultural elements: pastoralist elements among the Ovambo may spell of original lifeway, i.e. that two subsistence strategies – pastoralism and

farming – were practiced among the Mbo peoples. Or the Ovambo may have adopted elements of Khoe culture – pastoralism and a subsistence strategy based on milk as staple – during their years of westward migration, and then incorporated these elements into their essential mixed farming lifestyle, typified by agriculture, metal working, and the more. Pastoralism, and the associated "maze-like" settlement pattern among the Ovambo may, thus, be an acculturative rather than an original Mbo cultural aspect. Should that be the case, a Mbo pastoralist element among the abaMbo of Natal prior to their departure to the Eastern Cape, must, likewise, be sought in pastoralism itself: either in acculturated pastoralism (acculturation by choice, implying amalgamation over generations) or in the incorporation of a section of a LSA pastoralist people to an amaMfengu tribe / clan; and not in a minority original Mbo lifeway pattern.

In summary, pastoral cultural elements among the amaMfengu that found expression in the labyrinthian maze-like settlement pattern at Sensitive Area 1 may have its origins in a minority Mbo (Nguni) group who practised a more pastoralist centred lifeway as original Mbo subsistence strategy variant to traditional farming and, thus, brought this lifeway, associated with its unique settlement pattern from Natal upon their refugee relocation to the Eastern Cape. Alternatively, pastoral elements among the amaMfengu may be acculturative, adopted by a Mbo tribe / clan in southern Africa through contact with LSA pastoralists / Khoe peoples: if this is the case, it is reasonable to consider that cultural contact and acculturation occurred at minimum in Natal, and found expression in the already developed accultured settlement pattern in the Eastern Cape. The possibility also exists that a LSA pastoralist / Khoe group formed an incorporated section to one of the amaMfengu tribes / clans that sought refuge from the *difaqane* in the Eastern Cape. Upon the granting of land by Hintsa to the amaMfengu, the incorporated section of LSA pastoralists / Khoe continued to practise their unique lifeway associated with the Sensitive Area 1 settlement pattern in the Eastern Cape, as they had done previously in Natal, as a minority group among the amaMfengu tribes / clans.

* * *

George William Stow (1822–1882) was an English born geologist, ethnologist, historian, cartographer, and the more. Educated in England, Stow, not interested in following a medical career emigrated to South Africa, where he arrived at Port Elizabeth in 1843. Based in the eastern Cape Colony he held various positions: he taught at a mission near Cuylerville, worked as a clerk in the commissariat, and he tried his hand at farming and book-keeping. In the early 1870s he relocated to Kimberley where he opened a wine dealership cum diamond dealer / auctioneering enterprise (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_William_Stow).

While seeking refuge in the Renosterberg mountains near Middleburg during the Eighth Frontier / Xhosa War (1850–1853) Stow discovered a fossil, the *Micropholis stowi* of the family Amphibamidae on which, in November 1858, he delivered his first paper to the Geological Society. But it is not Stow's interest in the natural history of the country that concerns us here – even though it is what propelled him into the academic arena – it is his interest in the people of the land. In 1872 Stow was appointed by Sir Henry Barkly to compile a geographic report on Griqualand West – unfortunately, never published – and in 1877 the Orange Free State commissioned him to do a geological survey of the republic. It was while working on the report for the Orange Free State coined with his vast knowledge of the people of the land that Stow started to compile the notes for his book *The Native Races of South Africa*, published posthumously in 1905 (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_William_Stow).

Stow, thus, lived and worked during the British Imperialist period, and alongside the likes of the most renowned scientists (ethnographers, linguists, historians) of the time: Wilhelm and Dorothea Bleek, Lucy Lloyd, and George Theal, to name a few. The early British Imperialist period is typified by the wealth of ethnographic recordings produced mainly by missionaries, but not excluding those of independent ethnographers. The British Imperialist idiom – and cemented by the work of many a missionary (and administrator) – held an essentially static centred view of southern Africa: tribes encountered were by many assumed to have always lived, bar limited migration where and, in the state or condition, encountered in the early nineteenth century. Consequently, and with great endeavour many a missionary, thus, laboured to secure such land on behalf of the tribe or tribes in question, through their involvement in the *Christianizing and civilising*, or the education, but not excluding the political governance of the tribes. Increasingly a cultural–political paradigm evolved where the KhoiSan (or the LSA hunter-gatherers and pastoralists) were held to be a people that had their origins in the south-western extremity, or the greater Cape peninsula region, and from where they expanded into the country: with inroads mainly northward, into the central interior region, and along the coastline, as expressed in the long held naming of these peoples as a *Capoid*, as opposed to a *Khoisanoid* physical type, to designate the apparent location of their original "homeland" (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khoisan; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Capoid_race). On the other hand, the Iron Age farmers or Bantu peoples – a *Negroid* physical type people, to distinguish them from *Negro*, and with the collective term *Congoid* at one time proposed to designate their collective "place of origin" or original "homeland", but with

little support from the scientific arena (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Negroid) – were held to be a people who (migrated from the north and) settled primarily in the (then largely vacant) north and east of southern Africa.

Stow's contribution lies primarily in his countering of the overwhelming static missionary (and administrative) view of the Khoe in the years following the British annexation of the Cape in 1795 / 1806. He relied heavily on the work of the few missionary accounts of, albeit largely (inferred) distant Khoe migrations coined with the Dutch records and was of the first to hypothesize a Khoe migration radiating from the greater Cape peninsula region wherein the Cape Khoe, as recorded in the early Dutch records (1652–1662) – but at the expense of the coevally recorded north (to north-east) to east Khoe power structures and the Khoe socio-political hierarchical system – played a central role, and to the level of associated hypotheses regarding clan formation, tribal sub-sectioning, and related intertribal relationships. This south-western (Cape peninsula) centred Khoe migratory hypothesis increasingly won favour in early academic (and political) circles and is, thus, described as the British Imperialist Khoe idiom or cultural–political paradigm. The British Imperialist cultural–political paradigm found its most astute expression in the post-Second Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902) / Union of South Africa (1910) period when it became the official (or state) accepted cultural interpretation.

Stow's work today seems feeble in interpretation and time depths of the true dynamics of African history and many of his inferences and assumptions have already been disproven. However, his work coevally speaks of early inquiry in unravelling the true complexity of the pre-history of the peoples of southern Africa. Despite mentioned inaccuracies the section by Stow (1905) on *The West Coast Tribes* expands on Theal's (1910) summary quoted above. What is important here is the complexity of the peoples described – including LSA hunter-gatherers, pastoralists, and Iron Age farmers; migration histories; adopted or amalgamated cultural elements between these culture groups; competition for land, including wars, displacement, subjugation, and retaliatory encounters; and their struggle for political superiority or a place within the cultural–political landscape at any one time. It is this cultural complexity and the associated intertribal interaction – albeit described by Stow (1905) in terms of the west coast tribes – that stages the basic milieu for analogy of the tribal complexity, though more Bantu (or Iron Age farmer) dominated, on the east coast in the years before the outbreak of the *difaqane* in circa. 1815.

According to Stow (1905):

> *"THE TRIBES OF THE WEST COAST*
>
> *It is quite evident that when the Hottentot [Khoe] race commenced its southern migration along the western coast about the end of the fourteenth century [radio-carbon dating have pushed dates back to more than 2,000 years ago], the tribes did not move onward in a dense body, but, as in every other native migration we have been able to trace, one tribe or group of clans followed the other in a straggling, scattered manner, some lingering in the rear while others were pushing on in front like the advanced guard of the main body; and we find from the report of the voyage of the 'Bode' in 1677 that some of these loiterers were still to be found as far to the north as 12° 47' lat. S [central Angola].*
>
> *We will on the present occasion only consider those tribes which are now found along the west coast, viz. (a) the Namaqua, (b) the Berg Damaras, (c) the Ovaherero or Damaras, and (d) the Ovambo.*
>
> *The Namaqua*
>
> *This tribe of Hottentots was at one time found much farther to the southward than at present, as in the first days of the Dutch settlement they were the neighbours of the Grigriqua and Cochoqua [a misinterpretation based on trade delegation information]. The latter people informed the Commander Van Riebeek that they were Hottentots like themselves, dressed in skins, living in mat huts, and subsisting on cattle. They were described as being men of tall stature, they were armed with bows and assagais, and their breasts were protected by a large piece of dry hide like a gorget or breastplate, which neither assagai nor arrow could penetrate. They also used shields in war, and thus in defensive armour had made a considerable advance upon the more primitive mode of fighting still retained by the Cape tribes. They were at that time advancing towards the south, but such was the number of their flocks and herds that they could, although divided into four camps, migrate but slowly.*
>
> *Their near approach gave rise to a succession of disputes and skirmishes between themselves and the Cochoqua. After this they appear again to have fallen back, for in 1659 a bartering party of the Dutch advanced as far as the lower Oliphant's river, when they heard of the Namaqua living seven or eight days' journey north of where they then were. In 1661 Van Meerhof visited them [the Great Grigriqua, residing north*

of the Oliphant's river arranged the conferences attended by delegations of the Dutch and the Namaquas, respectively. The Namaquas resided further north – see Hypothesis 2]. The foremost of them he met near the site of the present town of Clanwilliam, the greater part of the remainder were then located around the Khamiesbergen. He described them, after seeing tribes of smaller made Hottentots near the Cape, as half giants. Their chief Akembi treated both him and his party very kindly, and Van Meerhof succeeded in negotiating a peace between them and the Cochoqua. This was done from no particular love for the natives, but in order to facilitate their own trade.

The lucrative character of this bartering may be surmised, and the anxiety of the Dutch to extend it will be understood when we learn that in the early days of this traffic a bottle of brandy worth sixpence was considered the fair value of an ox in their exchanges with the natives. All the Dutch sought for in those days was the cattle of the natives, with which the latter, who had but few wants and loved their herds, were frequently very reluctant to part. Whatever expeditions were undertaken into the interior were to carry out this one object, and none other. The same one-sided way of bartering appears to have continued until 1685, when the Governor, Van der Stel, visited the Namaqua clans himself, hoping in his progress to discover gold or silver, and to reach Vigiti Magna ["city," or town / large village recorded by Linschoten]. But he failed to attain either of these objects. He displayed such an amount of overbearing cruelty towards the victimized Namaqua that they rose in self-defence, and he was forced to make a somewhat hasty retreat.

This uncalled for ill-treatment laid the foundation of future troubles, and in 1689 the Namaqua came down frequently with hostile intentions as far as the Berg and Twenty-four rivers. No other inhabitants were then found in the wide extent of country between the grazing grounds of the Cape tribes and the Great river except these Namaqua hordes and the groups of Bushmen [San] who were its original proprietors. Even as late as 1797, when the boundary of the Colony extended as far as the Onder Bokkeveld, Barrow found that the wild and almost unknown country beyond was inhabited by Bushmen alone, showing that the Hottentots in their southern migrations always kept within a certain zone, extending parallel with the coast line. In travelling through the country beyond this, a strong escort was required as a protection against the irate savages.

In 1797 the Namaqua were found to be possessed only of flocks of sheep and goats, their great herds of cattle had already disappeared. At one time in the country between the Khamiesberg and the Orange river numerous tribes of Namaqua possessing vast herds of cattle used to live, who dug deep wells in the beds of the periodical streams, and covered them over to prevent evaporation. But at the time of Barrow's visit the country was desolate and uninhabited. In less than a century the original inhabitants had dwindled to four hordes, who were in a great measure subservient to the Dutch.

The Namaqua like the Kaffirs [Bantu] always paid the greatest attention to their cattle, and like the latter had a fashion of giving artificial directions to the horns of their oxen, the Namaqua, however, confining the shape of the horns to a spiral line something like those of the koodoo [kudu]. This custom seems to have been a very wide-spread one, not only among these tribes of Hottentots, but also among the Amaxosa, Amampondo, Amazulu, and even some of the tribes to the north of the Kalahari and towards Ngami. The same method of ornamenting their cattle was practised by some of the inhabitants of Northern Africa in very ancient times, a fact which is found depicted in some of the old Egyptian paintings.

The Namaqua women were remarkable for the same prominences of body as those before noticed belonging to other tribes. Some of the younger women, although they had figures which might have been considered elegant, had the same conformation of certain parts of the body as the Bushwomen [San women] and the other Hottentots, yet it was in a less degree than is usual in the former, though more so than in those of the latter. In women who had borne children the breasts were disgustingly large and pendent, the usual way of giving suck to a child when carried on the back was either by throwing one of them over or under the shoulder. In this way they agree with the Latin satirist's description of Ethiopian women on the borders of Egypt. In the women of ancient Egypt enormous protuberances of body were very common, and have been attempted to be accounted for by various authors from a variety of causes. The men of this particular tribe, however, were taller in stature than the tribes farther to the south, and less robust.

The ancient weapons of the Namaqua were like those of the other Hottentot tribes, the bow and arrow. The country formerly abounded with elands, hartebeests, gemsboks, quaggas, and zebras, together with the giraffe, rhinoceros, and great numbers of beasts of prey. In allusion to the great diminution in the quantity of their game, and the loss of their cattle, an old Namaqua woman who was asked by the traveller Thompson if she could remember the first arrival of the Christians amongst them, replied that she had good

reason for remembering it, for whereas before they came she knew not the want of a full meal, it was now a difficult thing to get a mouthful! This individual was the oldest woman met with among the natives, and produced a daughter who headed five generations.

In 1797 the Namaqua in their reduced condition were in great dread of the Bushmen. They represented these as such a cruel, bloodthirsty race of people, that they never spared the life of any living thing that fell into their hands. And the Namaqua stated that even to their own countrymen who had taken up their residence with the Dutch, they behaved with atrocious cruelty. These poor wretches when retaken by their countrymen were generally put to the most excruciating tortures. A party of Bushmen, so the Namaqua informed Barrow, living in that part of the country, having captured a Namaqua Hottentot, set him up to the neck in a deep trench, and wedged him so fast with stones and earth that he was incapable of moving. In this position he remained the whole night and part of the next day, when he was discovered and liberated by some of his companions. The unfortunate fellow declared that he had been under the necessity of keeping his eyes and mouth in perpetual motion the whole day to prevent the vultures from devouring him.

From what can be gathered of the condition of the Bushmen in an undisturbed state, one cannot help suspecting that fearful cruelties must have been frequently committed by the intruding Hottentot tribes upon the aboriginal inhabitants of this portion of South Africa, and thus roused in their breasts this feeling of bitter revenge.

In 1813, at the time of the Rev. J. Campbell's first visit to the country, few of these people were left in Little Namaqualand except such as had congregated in the neighbourhood of Pella, near the left bank of the Orange river. Here the principal inhabitants of the place were the Namaqua, of whom one hundred and seventy-four were men, two hundred and three women, twenty-two young men, forty-six young women, and one hundred and ninety-one children. They lived in low circular huts, like the Koranas, composed of long rods, or withes, stuck into the ground at both ends, with mats made of rushes fastened over them. They differed from the Koranas in this, that in the inside they dug about a foot or a foot and a half into the ground, in which they slept, to protect them, as they said, from the wind. They lived entirely on their cattle, and having no trade and few wants, seemed to spend most of their time in groups conversing together. These people were under two captains, named Owib and his son Bundelzwart; there was also another called Vlegermuis (the Bat). Few of them were tall. They were generally of slender make, and were a timid people.

The Namaqua country extended along the sea coast as far as the Damara.

The tribes to the north of the Orange river possessed in abundance horned cattle, sheep, and goats, which were assigned to the care of the children and boys. The women made the mats of rushes for covering their huts, milked the cows, the same as with the Koranas, built the huts, and dug roots for food. When they married, the husband gave cattle to the parents of the female and also slaughtered some for a feast. They danced to music from flutes made of reeds and roots of the camel-thorn tree, and used drums made of skins. Two parties often had a set fight, those who conquered seized the cows of their opponents and drank their milk, after which they returned them. The men manufactured wooden vessels for holding milk, and bowls, assagais, rings, axes, and knives; they also dressed hides and dug wells. Their numbers had been reduced by wars of former times and broils among themselves.

Their wars generally originated in disputes about cattle, in which their chief wealth consisted, and frequently in one tribe boasting its superiority over another, which rousing the pride and rage of the party insulted, they flew to arms to ascertain which tribe was the strongest. Their object in war was to rob each other of cattle, and this gave rise to their fighting; their battles were almost always in the vicinity of their cattle-kraals. If they took prisoners, some of these were killed, others liberated. It was rarely that a Namaqua left his own country even on a temporary visit to another. Those who lived in the neighbourhood of the Great river in 1813 were in a state of perpetual terror of that irrepressible marauder Africaander, the least rising of dust or sand excited great consternation, as they felt sure that Africaander was coming against them. In 1823 the number of the Namaqua had still further diminished to the south of the Orange river; by that time all who could escape across the stream had done so, and were then living to the north of it.

The Namaqua, like the rest of their race, were divided into a variety of separate clans governed by a chief whose authority was very circumscribed and precarious. The existence of such a number of subdivisions to the north of the Orange river would suggest the idea that in addition to those who managed to escape from the pressure of the advancing Europeans by recrossing it, some portion of them had in all

probability always remained there, and thus preserved the herds of cattle which were so much coveted by the Dutch.

In the south, those who had remained behind in the kraals bordering on the Colony had been long ago exterminated or reduced into servitude by the Boers. Thompson found only one independent tribe of these people living to the southward of the Orange at a place called t'Kams, near Pella. This Pella, which we have before mentioned, had become one of the landmarks in the history of the Koks and their Griqua followers, as it was from this spot that they started upon their migrations to the eastward along the valley of the Orange river. The features of the locality were striking and characteristic. Pella was described as standing at the foot of the Kaabas mountains, which rose in frowning grandeur almost perpendicularly to the height of about two thousand feet. It was about half an hour's walk from the 'Gariep, which flowed through a narrow rocky pass, forming a rapid between the two opposing ranges.

It was here that Thompson visited the last of the Namaqua tribes left to the south of the river. They were called Obseses, i.e. the Bees, from a species which associates amicably with the common sort, a name probably adopted from the fact that this horde was formed by the association of the fragmentary portions of a number of those which had been previously broken up and scattered[15].

These people, in common with every one else who unfortunately fell within the reach of the ruthless Africaander, suffered many atrocities at his hands and were plundered of much of their cattle. We will however defer our remarks upon this point until we examine more fully into the career of the notorious Africaander himself, and the influence his advent into the country had in giving an impetus to the migrations of several other tribes. The sufferings however which the Namaqua endured both on this and on previous occasions had no effect in teaching them forbearance to those whom they found weaker than themselves, and whom they attacked in their turn; and it cannot be questioned but that they were guilty of acts of equal barbarity, not only upon the Bushmen, but also upon the Ovaherero, or Damara clans, living to the north of them.

The Namaqua, like the kindred Korana tribes, were ever making forays upon their weaker neighbours, and of the deliberate cruelty practised by them in some of these cattle raids upon the unoffending Ovaherero there is abundant evidence. In one that has been recorded, an unfortunate Damara lad stated that these Hottentots, after shooting his parents, had invariably mingled his scanty rations of milk with wood ashes before they allowed him to drink it. This treatment was continued to the last possible stage of starvation, when he managed to escape by crawling away. Baines gives other instances of still greater atrocity. In a foray near Bokberg, a Herero cattle herd having been caught in the kraal by them, these Namaqua marauders cut off both his hands at the wrists. At Barmen Baines saw several hapless women, who had been mercilessly crippled in some of these cattle raids by the same inhuman wretches, who had cut off their feet as the easiest way of obtaining their iron anklets!

As the Namaqua have always clung to the zone of coast land into which their forefathers migrated, and as they retreated northward along the same line when the irresistible pressure from the south prevented all further progress in an opposite direction, their movements did not have such an effect in accelerating the annihilation of the old Bushman race as those of the tribes that sought an asylum in the interior of the country and therefore invaded the very heart of the widespread domains of the ancient aborigines. This retrograde movement of the Namaqua, which they were able to carry into effect without trenching upon the claims of any other emigrant tribes, seems to demonstrate the additional fact that a considerable interval of time elapsed between the southern migration of the Hottentot hordes and those who followed upon their trail, and that for a long period an extensive tract of unusurped Bushman territory intervened between them, until the receding wave of the nomadic Namaqua rolled over the space and broke in restless depredations upon the once distant boundaries of the Ovaherero.

The following tribes, although they do not belong to the Hottentot family, may yet be conveniently considered in this place, as these tribes on the western coast afford us a clearer illustration of the sequence in which the migration of the various tribes to the south took place than those of the central, eastern, and south-eastern portion of the continent, where they have been frequently huddled together and mixed up most confusedly by the occurrence of wide extended native wars.

[15] *One of the Namaqua clans north of the Orange was called Kannamaparrisp, or the veldschoen wearers (Stow 1905).*

The Berg-Damaras

These people most probably represent the pioneer tribes of the dark-coloured races [Bantu] that first followed upon the trail of the yellow-skins [KhoiSan]. They seem to possess a mixture of affinities, the counterparts of which among other people are only to be found in distinct races that have no present connexion with each other. Thus, whilst they possess the physical characteristics of the Bantu nations, and are as a rule even blacker than the Ovaherero, and although they are as different in colour and stature from the Hottentots as it is possible for two races to be, still we find the remarkable fact that one language is common to both peoples. The territory which the Namaqua inhabit is entirely separate from that of the Berg-Damara, still none the less is the language of both nations the same. The difference between the Namaqua and Korana dialects is greater than that between the language of the Namaqua and Berg-Damara.

But these people are neither pastoral like the nomadic Hottentot hordes, nor are they agricultural like many of the more advanced of the Bantu nations; they inhabit the rock-shelters of the mountains, or build small temporary huts in concealed positions like the Bushmen. They carry the same weapons as the Bushmen, a bow and quiver of arrows; the iron points for war and poisoned arrows are quite like those of the Bushmen. Besides these, they have arrows without iron points for killing guinea fowls and other small game. These are the weapons of those who remain unsubdued in the Waterberg, and therefore in all probability the ancient arms of their race; while the men of the clans that have been partially subjugated by the neighbouring tribes are mostly armed with a miserable spear with an iron point, which is often only about the length of a finger, and a stick hardly four or five feet long, together with one or two rude kerries, i.e. a stick a foot and a half long [0.45m] with the thick root end as the knob. These are chiefly employed as throwing weapons. Here then we find in this one race distinctive features which characterize the other three, still, notwithstanding these separate points of similarity, the Berg-Damara are a nation by themselves, and apparently quite distinct from the Ovaherero, the Namaqua, and the Bushmen.

Their number is estimated at about thirty thousand. They inhabit the mountainous parts in the south-west, west, and northwest of Hereroland, that is to say the mountains between Rehoboth and Otyimbingue, to the westward as far as is habitable, the Erongo mountains, the Etyo mountains, and the Waterberg, and to the north and north-west half way to Ondonga; how far they live in the interior is unknown. They have not, however, been found in the hunting veld of the Bushmen to the east. Of their political condition very little is known. In individual families the house-father is the natural head, but for the rest it appears that every one who can provide for his sustenance can have his own way of doing and leaving undone what he likes. To the north of the Waterberg, however, a few chiefs have apparently authority over several thousand people.

From the extremely slight cohesion of this nation, it is also to be explained why it hardly ever comes forward as acting independently. Although enslaved, robbed, and murdered on all sides, somehow it never gathers its strength to go against its enemies. And yet such an undertaking might prove very dangerous to its oppressors, for the nation is numerous, and in possession of the mountains, the natural strongholds of the country. Instead, however, of thus combining for defence, at most a family when attacked will attempt resistance. In the wars between the Namaqua and Ovaherero, the Berg-Damara are found on either side, being employed on that of the Namaqua as spies and accomplices, following for the sake of booty. Dacha ["dagga" / marijuana] smoking seems to have sapped the last vestige of energy out of these people in the Waterberg.

As regards the mode of living among the Berg-Damara, it is to be remarked that it is the very meanest imaginable. Few of them possess cattle of any description, at most they try to get a few goats, all the remaining cattle which falls into their hands is eaten up at once, on which occasions they can consume a very large quantity of meat. Although they are as little herdsmen as hunters, they kill all the game they can, and for this purpose spare no trouble in making pitfalls, immense abattis into which they drive the game, as well as now and then organizing a chase. Such is only the case, however, when game fortunately happens to be in the neighbourhood of their dwelling places. They do not, like the Bushmen or Hottentots, follow up the game with any earnestness, or undertake distant hunting expeditions for the sake of capturing it. Veld-kost, i.e. everything which is eatable and procurable in the desert, is their ordinary sustenance. All these things are sought for and gathered, and, whenever possible a considerable store for bad times is kept on hand.

Their principal nourishment is locusts and 'uintjes'. When the locust season comes, their time of harvest arrives, and when the country is being devastated by locusts the Berg-Damara rejoices, for the time

has arrived when he is able without much trouble or exertion to fill his belly to his heart's content. The locusts which are caught are roasted at the fire, and crushed into powder, which can be preserved in this state for a long time. Besides these two chief articles of food, there are many other things which afford a living to the Berg-Damara; here he finds a nest of wild bees, there he digs up an anthill to rob the industrious little creatures of their winter provision of grass seeds; the thorn tree offers its gum, all sorts of berries, which chiefly consist of skin and kernel, all kinds of thick caterpillars are collected, mouse holes are dug up, and in general all that can be chewed or digested forms the food of the omnivorous Berg-Damara.

They live in bush huts of a very peculiar form, somewhat in the shape of a cone. A few long poles whose points meet together form the framework, and over and through these as much bushwork is put as will form at least a shelter just big enough for a fire near the entrance and sleeping places for the family. The household furniture is likewise simple. Earthen pots are manufactured by rolling out clay to slender sausage-like sticks and laying them in a spiral form so as to construct the sides, then the half dried wall is stroked smooth with the hands. They may have a few wooden buckets and bowls, the last always of an oval shape, and probably a wooden mortar, i.e. the trunk of a tree hollowed out, in which the locusts and 'uintjes' are pounded with a wooden pestle.

Although it would be incorrect to say that they, like the Bachoana [baTswana] and Basutu [baSotho] tribes, were agriculturists, they seem to display incipient germs in the art of cultivation, as wherever a secure spot offers suitable soil and water for a small garden, they take advantage of the situation and plant tobacco, dacha, pumpkins, and melons. In this respect they far surpass the Ovaherero and the Namaqua.

The covering of the men is a belt, with a piece of skin in front and another behind like an apron. The aprons of women are generally adorned with small strings, all kinds of beads, buttons, and small bones. A peculiar custom is that the women, even during the greatest heat of the summer, carry about with them all the skins and skin rugs they possess, so that they may be always prepared for flight. It is from this cause that the women of even the poorest class amongst them are wrapped in furs, as among the Greenlanders. Similar to most of the Bushmen, the Tambukis [abaThembu], and a few other tribes, these people mutilate their hands by cutting off the first joint of one of their little fingers. There are certain families among them that cut out one testicle of every male child.

The Ovaherero take away the children of the Berg-Damara. The revenge which the Berg-Damara takes is to seize and slaughter the cattle of the Ovaherero. The first is a very trifling error in the eyes of the Ovaherero, whereas they look upon the second as a grievous crime, quite like murder. In these thefts the Berg-Damara have a great advantage over their pitiless enemies the Ovaherero, in being accustomed to the rough life of mountaineers, and thus easily escaping from the pursuing commandos which are sent after them. As mountain climbers they are not excelled by any other tribe in the country, and thus with their hard feet they pass rapidly over the rocks and leave their disappointed persecutors far in the rear. From the smallness and bushlike appearance of their houses, and as their situation is not betrayed by the lowing of cattle, it is no easy task without the assistance of a special guide to discover their position, especially as they are generally concealed in some nook of the mountains. The Ovaherero make short work with those who fall into their hands: the full-grown are murdered, and the children are reduced to abject slavery.

Notwithstanding they omit no opportunity of plundering their bitter enemies, no particular malignity of character is ascribed to them. Much, however, cannot be said in praise of their morality. Polygamy is the order of the day, and each has as many wives as will stay with him. The man has undoubtedly the same right to put away the wife as the wife has to leave the husband, and if one person feels himself stronger than another he will consider himself perfectly at liberty to take away by force any female to whom he takes a fancy.

Among their peculiar customs, the men, although such universal feeders, do not eat hares. The reason given for this is an old story of the hare and the moon. If, to wit, they were to eat the hare, they would become like the hare, which dies and does not return to life; but if they do not eat the hare, they will become like the moon, which dies, but again becomes alive. Women and children, however, eat the hare, but on such occasions they must bury the animal's fur. The Berg-Damara bow to the stone-heaps of Heitsi Eibib, in the same manner as the Hottentots. This custom they may have copied from them, as many of the Ovaherero do the same. The Berg-Damara of the Waterberg speak of a large black stone situated at a certain spot in the Kaoko mountains, which they term their great-grandfather, and say that they and every other living thing came from it.

The Ovaherero like the Namaqua despise the Berg-Damara as heartily as possible. These, they declare, stand quite on a level with the baboons which inhabit the rocks, and dig up 'uintjes' like the Berg-Damara. Nothing excites the laughter of the Ovaherero so much as to say that the Berg-Damara are as good men as themselves.

The Ovaherero or Damara

It is stated upon good authority that the name Herero is an attempt to reproduce the whirring sound of the broad-bladed assagais used by the Ovaherero in their passage through the air, a name which was bestowed upon them by the Ovambo, who had good reason to remember this formidable weapon. Va is one of the forms of the plural prefix of personal nouns common to all South African Bantu languages, which may be rendered the men, sons, or those of, so that the meaning of the name Ovaherero, although not its literal translation, is the men of the whirring assagais.

These Ovaherero are known to have migrated from the north or north-east, but the period of their migration is not known. It cannot, however, be less remote probably than two hundred years. The name Damara is of comparatively recent origin, and is applied alike to Ovaherero, Ovambanderu, and Ovatyimba. The Ovambanderu were originally Ovaherero, but on separating themselves either acquired or assumed the name by which they are now known. Many Ovaherero and Ovambanderu are destitute of cattle and sheep, and live apart from the others, existing very much by the same means and in the same manner as the Bushmen. These, strangely enough, are not called either Ovaherero or Ovambanderu, but Ovatyimba. We may be allowed then to conjecture that of the three names these people are designated by, that of Ovatyimba, or Watyimba, as it is undoubtedly the oldest, is that they were originally known by, and we are at once led to consider that the cradle of the race is in the land by the waters of Muta Nzige, in the country of the Wazimba recently traversed by the intrepid Stanley.

The Ovaherero, or Damara as they are more commonly called, are the first of the black tribes we meet after passing through the yellow races scattered over that wide tract of country which extends for two hundred miles north of the Orange river, and includes Great Namaqualand and a large portion of the Kalahari desert. They belong, as has been shown, to the Bantu family, are a purely pastoral people, possessing great wealth in cattle and sheep, and are not the less interesting because so much has still to be learnt respecting them. The country they occupy is of vast extent and varying richness, admirably adapted to their requirements. Their neighbours to the north are the group of tribes of which the Ovambo is the most familiar to us.

In 1797 these Ovaherero lived, as now, to the north of the Namaqua. In 1813 the southern boundary of their country was some twenty-five days' journey to the north of the mouth of the Orange river. They were then a numerous people, divided into five principal clans. Their riches consisted in cattle; while the poor Damaras, who lived in the vicinity of the ocean, frequently entered the service of the Namaqua.

Their chief amusement was dancing to music from a reed, and they also beat on an instrument made of skin resembling a drum. They were often at war with the Namaqua, generally in consequence of their stealing women from each other. Their endeavours were directed to obtaining each other's cattle. The prisoners taken by the Damaras were not put to death, but were made either servants or interpreters. On the death of a rich man they covered his grave with the horns or bones of the cattle he had killed when he was alive, as a proof, from their number, that he was rich.

They appear to have been ever in the same degraded state as that in which they were described in 1861 by the traveller Baines, who then visited them. They were not able to manufacture iron, and the assagais which they used were obtained in barter from the Ovambo, till the incursions of the Hottentots forced them to call their energies about them. The men of this tribe are of moderate height, and generally well made, of a rich brown colour like the Kaffir [Bantu]; their hair is generally straightened out and matted in strands three or four inches long with fat and red clay. Their dress consists of from fifty to eighty fathoms of thin leather thongs coiled round the hips, and a small piece of skin between the legs, with the ends brought up and tucked under the cord. Beads, iron rings, and strips of tin and brass are used for ornaments.

The headdress worn by the women of the tribe is of a peculiar description. It is formed of stout hide, bent while still soft to fit the head, and kept in form by rows of ornamental stitching. To this is attached three large ear-shaped appendages, one at each side and one at the back, which are also stitched in such patterns as to give them the proper hollow. Long strings of iron tubing, which like their assagais and ornaments of

metal were formerly obtained from the Ovambo, are worn pendent down the back. The weight of such a headdress cannot be trifling, but for a Damara woman to appear without it, with her shaven head uncovered before her husband, would be considered such a gross and unwarrantable breach of etiquette that even her discovered infidelity would sink into insignificance in comparison.

These people are about the most heartless under the sun. The aged and helpless are left to perish by several tribes, but that a mother should refuse to pull a few bundles of grass to close up a sleeping hut for a sick daughter, until she was threatened with personal chastisement if she neglected it, is almost beyond belief, yet Baines assures us that this was one of the occurrences which he witnessed during his travels among them. He also relates another case of an even more diabolical character. A Damara was found robbing his sister, a blind girl, of the food apportioned to her. When this was forbidden, he, in revenge, enticed his sister to a distance in the veld and there abandoned her in her helpless condition to be devoured by hyenas.

Cruel as was the treatment these Ovaherero received at the hands of the Namaqua, they made forays of an equally unjust character upon the Bushmen. Those who believe, writes the observant Baines, in the Arcadian innocence of the savage state, and fancy the poor natives know no ill till it is taught them by wicked Christians, ought to have a few weeks' experience of these people. Heaven knows some of us are bad enough, but the utter want of decency, and even of common humanity, apparent here seems to be the rule, and not the exception.

The Ovambo

The Ovambo are living still farther north than the Ovaherero, and belong to a group of tribes that should be called the Avare but from white men having first made the acquaintance of this branch we call the whole Ovambo.

They are described by Mr. Henry Chapman, F.R.G.S., as a very hospitable people, who must have been—before they were plundered by the Namaqua Hottentots—a rich and industrious nation, capable not only of working in metals, but also of undertaking works of no small importance, such as sinking wells of ninety or a hundred feet in depth [27–30m], with a spiral path cut round the sides to enable people to descend to the water. Their villages were also fenced in with considerable care, and the huts and outhouses erected by a family have as imposing an appearance as those of a populous village among other tribes.

They trade with the Portuguese. Their oxen constitute the staple on their part, and in consequence of this one of their chiefs, when a foray was made upon his herds, allowed his cows to fall into the hands of his enemies and devoted all his energies to the preservation of his oxen.

It is much to be regretted that so little is known with regard to this interesting series of tribes. Their position on the western coast is an isolated one, cut off from the great lines of commercial traffic; they have been seldom visited, and consequently only a very few facts have been recorded about them. But even these scattered fragments reveal to us the rich ungarnered field that awaits future investigation. We find there the representatives of races still remaining distinct, which in other parts of South Africa have been so rudely intermingled that the entanglement has become almost chaotic; and therefore, although we know but little about these western tribes, the teachings of that little, if rightly read, have an important bearing upon the subject of our inquiry.

Here in considerable portions of this western country, as far north as our present researches carry us, we find tribes or clans of the aboriginal hunter race still persistently maintaining their independence, treated with the same contumely and unreasoning harshness as they have been treated by every other race with which they have ever come in contact, yet amid all the oppressions which have been heaped upon them, still clinging with the same steadfast tenacity to the ancient strongholds of their forefathers, as did their compatriots to the south. Here we find representatives of the yellow-skinned pastoral nomads, who, driven themselves from the intra-lacustrine regions of Central Africa, fled before the southern advance of the more strongly built men of the darker race. Here again we find representatives of these latter, whose pioneers pressed into the rear of some of the retreating Hottentot tribes, and became so far amalgamated with them that their descendants acquired the language of those with whom they had fraternized to the extinction of their own. We find that after acquiring the language of the Hottentots, their numbers so increased that their own physical characteristics were thoroughly inherited by the tribes which now represent them, the Berg-Damara of the present day.

We discover that this intermixture of races, giving rise to a seeming paradox, namely that of a dark-skinned people speaking a language allied to that of the Bushman, or the Hottentot, took place at every point upon which the hordes of stronger men advanced. We shall find as we proceed with our investigations that this fact forces itself prominently forward, especially in the migrations of the Amaxosa and other Coast Kaffirs [east coast tribes], as well as those of the pioneer Bachoana tribes and some of the advanced clans of the Leghoya, which gave rise to the formation of such Bushman speaking peoples as the Masarwa and others.

We have here also a Bantu race still retaining the primitive hunter stage of existence, yet carrying with them the latent germ which developed in other branches of the family into that wonderful fondness for agriculture for which they have made themselves celebrated. Here we find in the Ovaherero a tribe of men wearing the staart-riem, a mode of covering which distinguishes the agricultural tribes of the Bachoana and Basutu from the more semi-agricultural Coast Kaffirs, still remaining in a partly pastoral condition; while, superior to all these, we have the industrious Ovambo, skilled in the working of metals, displaying an energy in overcoming the difficulties of nature unparalleled in any other native tribe of South Africa, exhibiting also in the neatness and extent of their dwellings and in their passionate love for agricultural pursuits, all the characteristic traits of the most advanced of the Basutu tribes, such as the Bakuena [baKwena], the Bamangwato, and others.

From the foregoing résumé we seem to obtain a glimpse of the migratory movements of the two races here brought into contact. In the first place we find amongst those of the yellow-skins [KhoiSan] the old cave-dwellers who have occupied this portion of the world from a period of such remote antiquity that the advent of the nomadic pastoral Hottentots is perfectly recent. Again we have different phases of the stronger race of dark-coloured men [Iron Age farmers] who followed on the trail of the Hottentot hordes. These phases represent the different waves of migration thrown off like sequent ripples from a common centre, each carrying with it and preserving in a stereotyped manner a facsimile of the social condition and the modes of thought and action of the main central body from which it was derived at the time of its separation and each in succession showing the advance which had been made in the conditions of life by the parent stock during the interval which succeeded the previous separation, and by this means affording a reflex view of the various stages through which the parent stem itself had passed, from the time when its people subsisted upon veld-kost [edible plant foods] until they gradually merged into the hunter stage, whence they became developed from tamers of animals and cultivators of grass-seeds into the pastoral and agricultural tribes of the present day.

Having thus noticed the principal tribes along the eastern shore of the Atlantic, we shall now proceed to gather further particulars about those which proceeded to the south, and of which remnants exist until the present time. The principal of these are at present known under the titles of Korana and Griqua [Khoe], and as the Koranas are certainly the purest of the Hottentot tribes which still survive, we will commence our investigation with them."

Map 5: Historical map of southern Africa indicating the migration routes of the Khoe (radiating from the Cape peninsula region) and the Bantu as per the British Imperialist idiom or cultural-political paradigm accepted as official (or state) cultural interpretation following the Union of South Africa (1910). The map was produced in 1922 by Walker, then professor of history at the University of Cape Town (UCT), and the atlas published by Oxford University Press, United Kingdom (UK) (Walker 1922)

2.3 HYPOTHESIS 2

That the Sensitive Area 1 site represents the settlement of a people prior to the seizure of political power in the Eastern Cape by the Xhosa. In accordance with this hypothesis Sensitive Area 1 would be representative of the settlement pattern of the "original inhabitants" of the area.

The "original inhabitants" thus referred to is inferred to have been a Chainouqua – including Korana – clan / band cluster (or a people of a kindred Khoe tribe / clan). With the Khoe political lead – or the Chobona – overthrown further north, and the Chainouqua ("Little Chobona", or the second-in-charge) defeated by the Xhosa, reasonably during the latter part of the wars of the seventeenth / eighteenth century, the site fell into disuse.

* * *

"Another element in the Boers' ancestry must not be overlooked, namely, the strain of Hottentot [Khoe] and Kaffir [Bantu] blood which undoubtedly runs through their veins. The antipathy with which the Dutch at present regard the natives is not noticeable in their early records. On the contrary, marriages between the Company's servants and native girls were actually encouraged as tending to improve the mutual relations of Hottentots and settlers. We hear of the marriage of a Hottentot girl, Eva [Krotoa], with one of Van Riebeeck's surgeons, and the festivities which took place on that occasion. Irregular alliances between the Dutch and the native women were very common. The Griquas [Khoe], or half-breeds, sprung from such unions are a dwindling race, but the very existence of such a race is a commentary on that high morality of the Boers strongly insisted upon by some people. It is well to remember these simple religious peasants have nevertheless peopled whole districts of South Africa with bastard descendants of that unfortunate class who hate their fathers and despise their mothers. It is unnecessary to exaggerate this strain of black blood in the Boer ancestry, but it cannot be totally ignored. It exists to a certain degree, and to that degree is a pernicious element. Any admixture of black blood produces deplorable results in a white race. In the offspring of such unions it is as though the savage had lost both strength and vigour, and the European his moral sense. The expression 'a white Kaffir' is very significant in South Africa. Though frequently used as a political taunt, it is an expression which in its literal meaning graphically sums up the hateful characteristics peculiar to the half-breed. The brutality and the cunning at times displayed by the Boers are more suggestive of Kaffir forebears than of those sturdy Netherlander ancestors who drove the Spaniard from their land" (Markham 1900).

The Griqua was named – thus general history teaches us – in the manner of the British colonial Christianising and civilising principles of the native peoples of their colonies. In the case of the Griqua, they were named specifically by the Rev John Campbell[16] of the London Missionary Society, on 7 August 1813, at Klaarwater / Griquatown: "*Adam Kok, head of the Griquas at Nomansland, on the demand of the teacher John Campbell, concocted the name Griqua*" (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Griqua_people); "*The Griqua people date back to the early European settlement of southern Africa. They are descendants of white Dutch settlers and Khoekhoe [Khoe] people. In the early 1800s a British missionary named John Campbell suggested that they adopt the name Griqua. This name came from a Khoekhoen group called the Chariguriqua*" (https://kids.britannica.com/kids/article/Griqua/602044); and *"The Griqua people vaguely became aware of a group identity around 1800 when a group of migrant farmers of mostly Khoi [Khoe], but also European and slave descent, searching for land of their own, settled at Klaarwater north of the Gariep River. On their long trek from the south-western Cape they had passing contact with the Grigriqua or Chariguriqua Khoi clan but they called themselves bastards. However, the Rev John Campbell, a missionary who worked among them, thought the name was offensive to an English ear and persuaded them to adopt the name Griqua and rename their settlement Griquatown"* (https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/rsa/griqualand.htm).

According to the Rev Campbell's diaries the referenced event of the naming of the Griqua is described as (Phillip 1841):

> *"We arrived at Griqua town on the morning of the 26th of July; so that our journey to Lattakoo [Kuruman], from thence had occupied six weeks […].*
>
> *At midnight, a messenger arrived, informing us that a party of Caffres [Bantu] and Bushmen [San] were coming to attack the settlement. The bell was rung, and the inhabitants immediately collected, to consider what was best to be done. They agreed first to despatch some persons to gain intelligence, and the whole proved a false alarm.*
>
> *Had a meeting with the male population, to consider various viewpoints, especially regulations for the protection of the lives and property of the community. I endeavoured to explain to them the necessity*

[16] John Campbell (1766–1840).

and design of laws for the government of every society; that if there was no law against murder, and no punishment annexed to the commission of it, then every man's life was in danger of being taken from him, even on the most frivolous occasions; if no law against theft, then the property of the industrious was at the mercy of the idle; and in case they should become a much more numerous people, which was not impossible, should they remain without laws, all would be anarchy and confusion. I told them that, in the history of the world, there was no account of any people existing and prospering without laws. I commended them for relinquishing a wandering life, and for having become a stationary people; and said that I was happy that they were, from experience, convinced of its utility.

The chiefs and people unanimously consented that laws should be made, and magistrates chosen to put them in execution; and that a meeting should be held in the afternoon to consider what laws should be adopted.

It was agreed that their two captains, or chiefs, should continue to act as commanders, in things respecting the public safety against foreign attacks. The whole people likewise resolved, that henceforth they should be called Griquas, instead of Bastaard Hottentots; and that the place should be called Griqua Town, instead of Klaarwater.

I had drawn up fourteen laws, which were proposed and agreed to; likewise that nine magistrates should be chosen to act as judges at Griqua Town, and one at each of the two principal out-posts, or large villages, who are to judge the smaller cases.

It was agreed that the two captains, or chiefs, Bern and Kok, with Messrs. Anderson and Janz, be a court of appeal, and that the limits of their country be marked out in the course of one month, and the magistrates chosen.

Many of the people have gardens: tobacco holds a distinguished place in them. It evidently is the favourite plant. Many acres of land in different parts of the country, especially around Griqua Town, are cultivated. They abound in horned cattle, sheep, and goats; and these, with other outward comforts, the people acknowledge, have considerably increased since they became a stationary people. For the first five years after the missionaries came among them, they wandered about like wild Bushmen, from place to place, notwithstanding the constant urgent entreaties of the missionaries that they should adopt a settled residence. Many of the old, as well as the young, can read: they dress like Europeans.

From the best calculator that could be made of the number of Griquas and Corannas [Koranas], who consider themselves in union with the Griquas, and who statedly or occasionally attend instruction by the missionaries, is 2,607.

Then the church at Griqua Town had only 42 members, now 630; then 110 children were at school, now nearly 1,000. Almost the entire population of the district attend Sunday-schools. Besides the three missionaries, there are six regular, and 16 occasional native teachers. In 1840, 96 members were added to the churches of this mission.

The next missionary station to be visited was in Namaqualand, which lies on the western coast of Africa […]."

Albeit portended by Imperialist and neo-Imperialist general histories that the Rev Campbell first thus "named" the *Griqua* at Klaarwater (Griquatown), the statement from Campbell's biography that (Phillip 1841), "*[t]he whole people likewise resolved, that henceforth they should be called Griquas"* must be carefully considered. Reference is made to the Griqua prior to the Rev Campbell's arrival in Klaarwater and including, among other, by a chief – simply referred to as Munaneets – and visited on route from Lattakoo (Kuruman) to Klaarwater (Phillip 1841):

"Munaneets said, 'I have heard more this evening than in all my life before; we must shut our mouths, and only hear,' looking at his companions while he spoke. 'I acknowledge the things you have to tell us are good, from the change they have made on the Griquas and Corannas [Koranas], at Klaar Water. Sometimes, when we have no rain, food is very scarce; wherefore I fear that those whom you shall send will not be satisfied, and will leave us.'"

The Griqua was, thus, recognised as such – by their tribal name, Griquas – prior to the arrival of the Rev Campbell at Klaarwater; the Rev Campbell did not afford the Griqua their tribal name nor -identity, he merely confirmed it.

Fair criticism can, however, be raised against the Rev Campbell's work among the Griquas. He spent very little time with them, and time spent focussed on the Christianising and civilising of the peoples; little inquiry was made unto the history and culture of the Griquas, resulting in rash and unsubstantiated inferences and claims that to this day affect the cultural reconstruction of the Griquas' past.

One such notion was that the Griquas – and including the Koranas for purposes of this report – was a "*wandering*" people who knew not the advantages of a pertinent or permanent place of residing, cultural organisation, suitable subsistence strategies, or the benefits of trade and industry, and had to be taught these "advantages of civilisation" through the benefactory endeavours of the missionaries (and administrators). Non-conformity to the rules of "civilization" denoted the Griquas and the Koranas the widely held British Imperialist reputation of "marauding" peoples. Such rebellious Griqua and Korana bands are recorded determined in their "marauder" lifeway particularly toward the north and the east of the land (Markham 1900; Noble 1877; Theal 1910).

Another such British Imperialist notion is that the Griquas – as well as the Koranas – were little more than races of "*half-breeds*" that "*sprung*" into existence sometime in the seventeenth / eighteenth century in the Cape Colony resultant from the unsavoury "*unions*" between mainly Khoe, slave, and Dutch / Boer settlers thereby having "*peopled whole districts of South Africa*" with their black and white mixed blooded "*bastard descendants of that unfortunate class who hate their fathers and despise their mothers.*" But *luckily* the unfortunate "*half-breeds*" that "*sprung*" from such unions were already then "*a dwindling race*" destined for extinction (Markham 1900). The current neo-Imperialist revitalisation of this very much misrepresented and poorly researched notion is evidenced, again, in many a contemporary general history:

> *"Griqua was the name given to a mixed-race culture in the Cape Colony of South Africa, around the 17th and 18th century. They were also known as Hottentots [Khoe] before Europeans arrived into their lands where they lived as close-knit families. They are a racially and culturally mixed people who are primarily descended from the intermarriages and sexual relations between European colonist men and primarily Khoikhoi [Khoe] slaves. The Griquas could trace their forefathers to two clans, the Koks and the Barendse, the first made up mainly of Khoikhoi and the second of mixed-European descent. Genetic studies of the 21st century have shown these people also had Tswana, San, and Xhosa ancestry. Later, the Europeans chose mixed-race women of the Khoikhoi, who were living in the Cape during the 17th and 18th centuries. As time went on mixed-race people began to marry among themselves, establishing a distinct ethnic group that tended to be more assimilated to Dutch European ways than tribal peoples in separate villages"* (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Griqua_people).
>
> *"Slavery was practised in the Dutch East India Company-controlled Cape Colony, and the mixed-race groups which developed in the early Cape Colony as a result of white settler interaction with captured Khoe people who began to work around the farms, eventually opted different names for themselves, including Bastards, Basters, Korana, Oorlam or Oorlam Afrikaners, and Griqua"* (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Griqua_people).

While the origin of the Korana is coevally described as (https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/kora):

> *"The Korana or Kora were a nomadic Khoikhoi group that probably derive their name from a chief called Kora (or Gora), who was originally a leader of the Gorachouqua ('-qua' meaning 'people of'). This leader detached himself from this group with his followers and became the first great chief of the Korana. Others say that the name Korana could mean 'the real thing'.*
>
> *Initially there were two main groups, the Great Korana and the Little Korana. Each of these broke into splinter groups that divided until there were many groups whose names have been slowly forgotten or were not recorded. Quarrels over water and grazing rights, or the ownership of women or livestock usually caused the divisions amongst groups. When parties split up they usually assumed the name of their leader. But sometimes they took the name of a place where they had stayed for a long time."*

* * *

The unique LSA pastoralist lifeway of the Khoe / "Hottentot" peoples of southern Africa, typified by their domesticated animals, is first evidenced in the archaeological record of the northern Botswana / Zimbabwe region in the years (700–200 BC) before the Christian era; initially by the remains of sheep / goat (700 BC) and subsequently thereto by that of cattle (200 BC), giving rise to the archaeological hypothesis of a Khoe "homeland" in the region. Archaeological evidence suggests fairly rapid primarily southward / south-westward migration, and by some 2,000 years ago the first of the Khoe migrants had reached as far south as the greater Cape peninsula region (Bousman 1998; Deacon & Deacon 1999; Sadr 2013; Wright 1977).

The LSA pastoralists were, thus, the first to challenge the age-old lifeway of the then resident LSA hunter-gatherers, or the San / "Bushman" peoples of the region (Deacon & Deacon 1999).

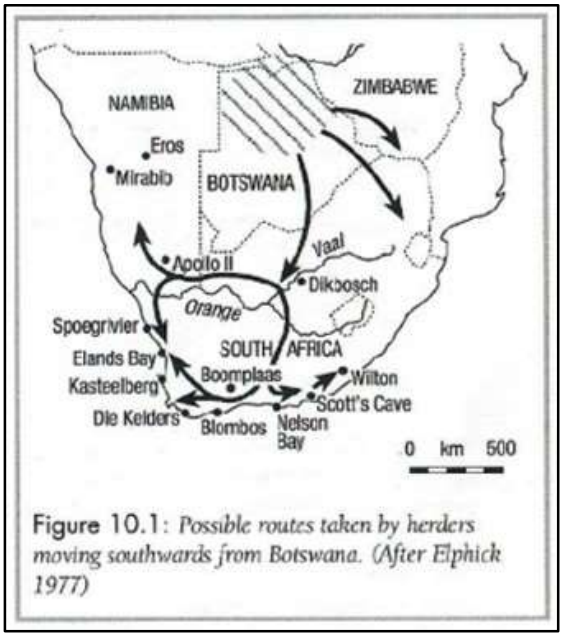


Figure 10.1: *Possible routes taken by herders moving southwards from Botswana. (After Elphick 1977)*

Map 6: Possible migration routes taken by LSA pastoralists (herders) or Khoe / "Hottentots" from their "homeland" in the northern Botswana / Zimbabwe region (Deacon & Deacon 1999)

The turn of the Christian era – or the period roughly 2,000 years ago – is, hence, often described as the *Food Producing Revolution*, with the arrival of LSA pastoralists just before, and that of the first Iron Age farmers soon after the year 0 (BC–AD). The arrival of these food-producing peoples marks a break with the past that represents the major turning point in southern Africa's pre-history. The spread of their cultures at the expense of the LSA hunter-gatherer way of life spells not only a new departure in terms of human behavioural patterns, but also a radical reordering of human-to-land and human-to-human relationships that, to date, still underlies the very functioning of southern African society (Wright 1977).

A map of the principal archaeological research sites reflecting LSA (hunter-gatherer and pastoralist) vs Iron Age farmer sites in the investigation of this approximate 2,000-year-old pre-history reflects a LSA site record geo-spatially centred on the south-western portion of southern Africa, while Iron Age sites dominate the north-eastern part of the region; and, thus, curiously reflective of population demographics as encountered by the British upon their annexation of the Cape Colony in 1795 / 1806.

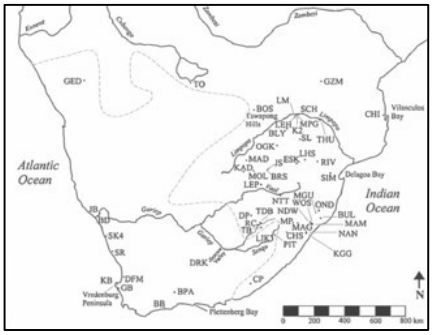


Fig. 1. Southernmost Africa showing archaeological sites mentioned in the text and the maximum extent of settlement by indigenous farming communities (dotted line).
Site names are abbreviated thus: BB Blombos; BD Bloeddrift 23; BLY Beauley; BOS Bosutswe; BPA Boomplaas; BRS Broederstroom; BUL kwaBulawayo; CHI Chibuene; CHS Collingham Shelter; CP Canasta Place; DFM Dunefield Midden; DP Doornpoort; DRK Driekoppen; ESK Esikhunjini; GB Geelhoutboom; GED Geduld; GZM Great Zimbabwe; JB Jakkalsberg; JS Jubilee Shelter; K2 K2 (Bambandyanalo); KAD Kaditshwene; KB Kasteelberg; KGG KwaGandaganda; LEH Leokwe Hill; LEP Lepalong; LHS Lydenburg Heads Site; LIK Likoaeng; LM Little Muck; MAD Madikwe; MAG Magogo; MAM Mamba; MGU Mgungundlovu; MOL Molokwane; MP Moor Park; MPG Mapungubwe; NAN Nanda; NDW Ndondonwane; NTT Ntsuanatsatsi; OGK Ongelukskraal; OND Ondini; PIT Pitsaneng; RC Rose Cottage Cave; RIV Riverside; SCH Schroda; SIM Simunye; SK4 SK4; SL Silver Leaves; SR Spoegrivier; TB Thaba Bosiu; TDB Tandjiesberg; THU Thulamela; TO Toteng; WOS Wosi.

Map 7: Map of the principal LSA and Iron Age research sites in southern Africa (Mitchell & Whitelaw 2005)

* * *

Soon after the first British annexation of the Cape in 1795 the first mission stations were established and more abound following the second annexation of 1806. Missionary focus centred on the Christianising and civilising of the native tribes coined with their education: the missionaries' work became almost synonymous with mission colleges / schools. Albeit, as mentioned, not without criticism unto missionary conduct. In 1818 Lord Charles Somerset, Governor of the Cape Colony, established the first library (https://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/national-library-south-africa-founded). And in 1829 the South African College for Higher Education[17] was founded (https://uct.ac.za/history-introduction). Education increasingly became a focal point, also for the Cape government and in 1854 Sir George Grey, then Governor of the Cape Colony, began to subsidize mission schools as part of his "border pacification" policy (https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/history-education-1658-present). In pursuance of the tradition, the year 1873 witnessed the establishment of the University of the Cape of Good Hope[18] (https://www.unisa.ac.za/sites/sbl/default/About/History), and thus the list goes. There is no shortage of evidence – bar logistical concerns – of early British Cape government effort in their labours to educate the native tribes. Nor is there a shortage of evidence of their effort to ethnographically record, study, and make available information on the native tribes that resided in the newly acquired colony of the Crown.

But ever since the days of early missionary and academic inquiry, and through to the present day, it is the peculiar methodology applied to KhoiSan studies that startle most. All around the world cultures are studied in a top–down manner; from the rulers at the "top" to the common peoples at the "bottom". Cultures – or perhaps rather peoples of cultures – are studied by the kings and queens who rule them, by sheiks, moguls, caliphs, khans, their dignitaries, important military and public officials, and the more, and from there the history filters through to the common people. Excepting the case of the KhoiSan, and with the focus here being specifically the Khoe.

In pursuit of their seventeenth century trading operations both the Dutch and the English had called at Table Bay. The operations of Holland in the Far East were controlled by the Dutch East India Company (DEIC): the wealthiest and most powerful corporation at the time. But the advantages of the Cape had also been obvious to the BEIC, although British commercial interest was focused on the West Indies and the Virginian settlements. As such it was the Dutch who entered into possession of the Cape in 1652, where they established a port of call for homeward and outward-bound fleets: to refit ships, and obtain fresh water and produce. The expedition was led by the DEIC appointed Commander Jan van Riebeeck[19]. Under the command of van Riebeeck a fort was built, relations entered into with the local Khoe tribes, and after some trials and difficulties a little settlement, centred on the growth of wheat and the cultivation of vegetables was established (Noble 1877). At the time of van Riebeeck's command at the Cape (1652–1662) the Portuguese had asserted their influence in East Africa, mainly centred – for purposes of this report – around Sofala and (later) Delagoa Bay, Mozambique. While the French was in possession of a small outpost in Madagascar (Leibrandt 1897a).

In order to reconstruct Khoe socio-political structures, and not relying on the records of the south (Cape Town and Algoa Bay, harbours of the Cape Colony) where the missionaries of the nineteenth century came from, but from the north, where the Khoe originated from, it is necessary to consult earlier – or the earliest known – recorded oral records of them, being the mid-seventeenth century Dutch records compiled during van Riebeeck's command at the Cape from 1652 to 1662 (Leibrandt 1897a, 1897b, 1900); thus, as Khoe oral history was reported, and recorded at the time – bar the many Dutch interpretative considerations mainly pertaining to the Monomotapa, the riches of gold, and the east coast trade, as already briefly touched on.

The early Dutch records (1652–1662) is read at the hand of Pierre Du Val's circa. 1663 map, titled *Cafrerie et Monomotapa*, and that of Isaak Tirion, circa. 1730, titled *Kaart van het Afrika of het Land der Hottentotten*. It is important to note that Du Val was French: he, reasonably, obtained the bulk of his information from the east coast – as the east coast was understood at the time. Tirion, on the other hand, was Dutch, and recorded histories as reported on and collected mainly at Cape Town. Furthermore, the Khoe – like the Bantu – did not had written languages, and the early Dutch records as well as Du Val's and Tirion's maps are based on phonetic interpretation of names and places. All these records pre-date the standardisation of native languages in southern Africa. And then last but not least, these recorders were working with peoples who spoke different languages themselves.

1. Two principal Khoe language groups were identified by the early Dutch, resulting in the varying recording of tribal names – a reminder of Bleek's (1841) classification of Khoe languages as "suffix-pronominal languages." Leibrandt (1900) explains: "*Note that the Hottentoo [Khoe] terminations of qua and na in the names of tribes,*

[17] 1829: South African College for Higher Education – today the University of Cape Town (UCT).
[18] 1873: University of the Cape of Good Hope – today the University of South Africa (UNISA).
[19] Johan Anthonizoon (Jan) van Riebeeck (1619–1677).

have the same meanings, e.g. Choboqua or Chobona, Namaqua or Namana, and so forth." In other words, the suffix -qua(s) or -na(s) means people. It is a [root name]–[-suffix] system:

- [Chobo][**-qua(s)**] / [Chobo][**-na(s)**] → Choboqua(s) / Chobona(s) → The Chobo people / tribe (or the people of Chobo).
- [Nama][**-qua(s)**] / [Nama][**-na(s)**] → Namaqua(s) / Namana(s) → The Nama people / tribe (or the people of Nama).

But the above reflects dialect / linguistic difference among the Khoe who most readily communicated with the Dutch at the time only. And it was reported that Khoe further afield, to the north and east of the land, spoke different languages from those nearer the Cape (Leibrandt 1897b, 1900).

Further to the above, the original Arab recorded *Wãk-Wãk,* or Wakwak / Wak-Gam, to describe the peoples of the land to the south of the Sofala territory is varyingly interpreted as the San / "Bushman" or as a (mis)translation / corruption of Qua-Qua / Kwa-Kwa, referring to the Khoe / "Hottentot" peoples (Murray 1891; Theal 1910). A general collective approach would designate this area to have been inhabited by KhoiSan peoples; and Wãk-Wãk, Wak-Gam, Qua-Qua, and Kwa-Kwa are, thus, best regarded as variations referring to the KhoiSan collectively. We thus find the translation, or standardisation, of the suffix -qua / -kwa, for example Qua-Qua / Kwa-Kwa (interpreted as meaning *people of the people*) not only in the early Arab but also in the later Dutch records, and subsequently thereto standardised to -kwa in Afrikaans:

- [Chobo][**-qua(s)**] / [Chobo][**-kwa(s)**] → Choboqua(s) / Chobokwa(s) [also Chobona(s)].
- [Nama][**-qua(s)**] / [Nama][**-kwa(s)**] → Namaqua(s) / Namakwa(s) [also Namana(s)].

2. It has been mentioned that the Khoe did not have written languages. Recording and standardisation of their languages were not priority; besides it is a timeous and specialised process. Inconsistencies in spelling in the early Dutch records are ample, for example Sousoa – also spelled Sousa – was the chief of the Chainouqua – also spelled Chainoqua Chonaqua, Chonauqua, Chaynouqua, or Chaijnouqua, etc., – who on occasion sent an important *captain* of his, Chaihantima – also spelled Chaihantema, or Chaihautma, etc., – to trade with the Dutch (Leibrandt 1897a, 1897b, 1900).

   Likewise, the tribal name Korana ([Kora][-qua(s)] / [Kora][-na(s)]) is briefly considered: Korana(s) is also spelled Korannas, Corannas, Couranas, Corans and Courans; while a simple variation on Koraqua(s) produces, among other, Goraqua(s) (Le Vaillant 1796; Lichtenstein 1815; Nienaber 1989; Phillip 1841; Theal 1898, 1910). Hence, *"[t]he Korana or Kora were a nomadic Khoikhoi [Khoe] group that probably derive their name from a chief called Kora (or Gora)"* (https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/kora), but where the correct spelling of the people of Kora / Gora, or the Korana tribe is !Orana (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Griqua_people).

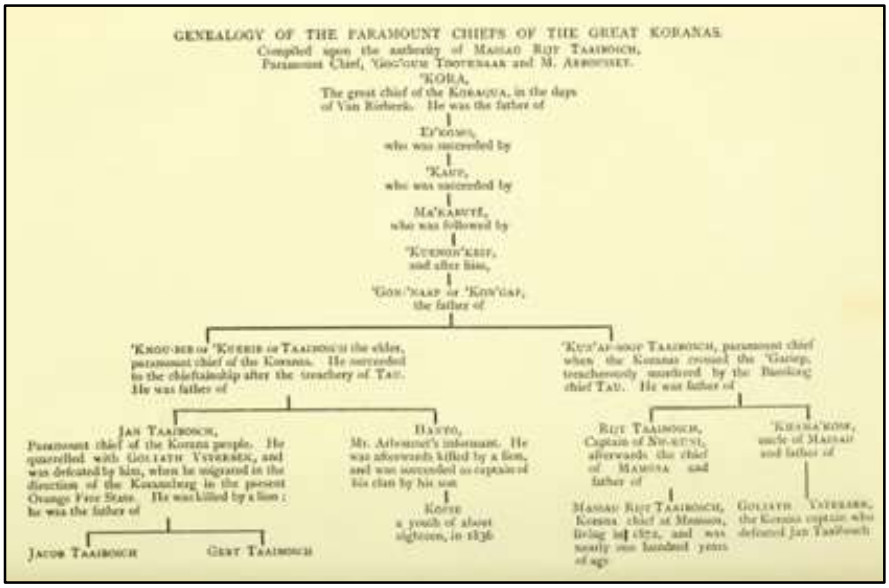


Figure 1: Genealogy of the paramount chiefs of the Great Korana as recorded by Stow (Stow 1905)

KhoiSan languages are known as click-languages. Early authors phonetically interpreted many a click-sound but wrote them alphabetically. Consonants written as -ch-, -c-, -ck-, -k-, -g-, -n-, -r-, -f-, -s-, -h-, -b-, etc., are, thus, interchangeable with one another, and often represents an original (explosive) click sound. The same is to be said for the interchangeability of vowel sounds: -ou-, -au-, -o-, -a-, -u-, -ai-, -ie-, -e-. And sometimes the vowel sounds are dropped altogether.

3. Each Khoe tribe had a chief ("Great chief"), and the chief of the tribe was – as respect's address – named after the tribe he presided over. Hence, the chief of the Choboqua(s) / Chobona(s) tribe is referred to as the Chobona, and the chief of the Hancumqua(s) / Hancumna(s) as Hancumqua, and so on (Leibrandt 1897a, 1897b, 1900). Whether, for example, Chobona refers to the tribe or the tribal chief is to be gleaned from the context in which it is used.

   Many of the first names of the tribal chiefs that the Dutch engaged with are recorded, for example Sousoa was the chief of the Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s)[20]. The names of two chiefs are recorded for the Cochoqua(s) / Cochona(s), namely Ngonomoa (the *Black Captain*) and Oedasoa. Of the Cape Khoe, or the Khoe residing nearer the Cape peninsula the Gorachouqua(s) / Gorachouna(s) was under a chief recorded as Chousa, and the Gorinchaicoqua(s) / Gorinchaicona(s) under a chief named Gogosoa (Leibrandt 1900).

4. All the Khoe tribes – reported to the Dutch at the Cape or with whom they engaged – were connected by a single socio-political hierarchical structure. The early Dutch records of 1652–1662 indicate the principal Khoe tribes as residing in a north (to north-east) to east orientation across the land.

   At the head of the structure was the Chobona – the chief / king or monarch of all the Khoe – who resided with his tribe the Choboqua(s) / Chobona(s) at some undefined location in the distant north / north-east. Second to the Chobona in the socio-political structure were a number of regional chiefs called choebaha(s) – or choebaba(s) – all subject to the Chobona. The chief choebaha (the second-in-charge, or the "Little Chobona") lived towards the south-east of the land (indicated as nearer Natal, and inferred south of the Maluti / Drakensberg mountains): we have already met him, Sousoa (by first name) in the time of van Riebeeck, and chief of the Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s). Regional choebahas were subject to the Chobona through the chief choebaha / "Little Chobona".

   The choebaha of the north-west region (and with authority over the Cape Khoe tribes) is reported as the Namaqua, chief of the Namaqua(s) / Namana(s), who resided in the vicinity of the Angolan border; while the Hancumqua, chief of the Hancumqua(s) / Hancumna(s) was choebaha of the north-east region. But the Hancumqua may not have been the only regional choebaha of the interior / north-east region, and with this region being undefined. The Namaqua and the Hancumqua are, however, the only two chiefs pertinently indicated as regional choebahas in the Dutch records: no other tribal chief, irrespective of tribe size or apparent prominence, is mentioned in a direct choebaha capacity.

   The choebahas in turn held sway over numbers of tribal chiefs, called choeque(s) – or choequee(s) or hunque(s) – subject to them.

   The actual number of choebahas in the mid-seventeenth century Khoe socio-political system cannot be confirmed from the early Dutch records; and neither can a reconstruction be made of choebaha–choeque tribal structures and relationships. The Khoe socio-political hierarchical system can, from top to bottom, be summarised as (Leibrandt 1897b, 1900):

[20] "*31 October 1657 – The chief living towards the East belonged to the Chainunquas [Chainouquas], called so after their great chief [founding chief] Chaynunqua, who was very rich in cattle and the subject of the Chobona with the rest*" (Leibrandt 1897b); and with the Chainouqua "Great chief", or the Chainouqua [Chaununqua], being in the time of van Riebeeck, Sousoa (by first name).

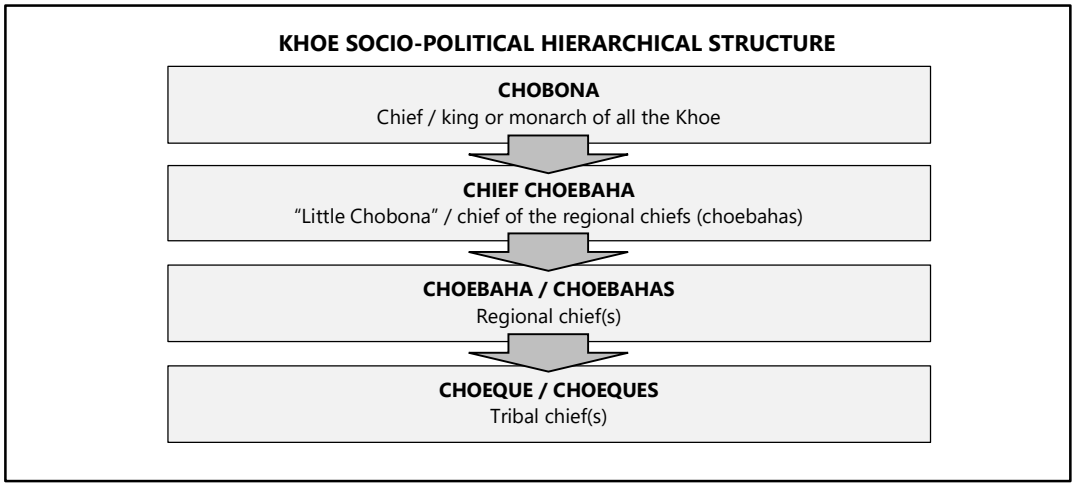


Figure 2: Khoe socio-political hierarchical structure / system

All the Khoe tribes were ultimately, through this system, via the chief choebaha / "Little Chobona" tributary to the Chobona.

The relationship between the Chobona and the Chainouqua defines the "Great" vs "Little" two-tiered system of rule and social structure, best expressed as the "Great Chobona" (Chobona: chief / king or monarch of all the Khoe) vs the "Little Chobona" / the Chainouqua (the Chainouqua: chief choebaha, or the second-in-charge to the Chobona)[21].

All tribal rule and structure followed the "Great–Little" two-tiered system. Every tribe had two chiefs: the chief of the senior clan, or the first-in-charge – the "Great chief" – and that of the second most important clan, or the second-in-charge – the "Little chief". The early Dutch records, for example, recorded the Cochoqua(s) / Cochona(s) chiefs as Ngonomoa and Oedasoa, but it is mentioned that Ngonomoa had more power and was, thus, senior to Oedasoa: Ngonomoa was the "Great chief" and Oedasoa the "Little chief" of the Cochoqua(s) / Cochona(s) tribe / clan.

In tribal expansion (clan formation) the "Great–Little" two-tiered system was not only sustained but principled. As a norm the clan of the "Little chief" became an independent clan of the tribe. The former "Little chief" assumed the responsibility of the "Great chief" of the independent clan, and another "Little chief" was identified to support him (the head of the second most important family / band of the newly formed clan). The clan thus

[21] *"5 March 1657 – As far as we could gather, the tribes may according to our letters of last year be classified as follows: Chobona or Choboqua, whom we believe to be the Emperor of Monomotapa, dwelling, as far as we can understand, to the N. East in towns and castles, and who is rich in gold and ivory, under whom the Namana or Namaqua have the government over the Hottentoos and Saldanhars [Khoe], who also dwell in permanent houses and fortifications towards the N. West on the Angola side. Their clothing consists of white skins, and they maintain themselves also with cattle, churning butter in churns, just like the Hollanders, even making all kinds of casks. At present seven strong volunteers or adventurers have left to find them and also the Chobonas."*

"22 February 1658 – Now there is still another great Monarch dwelling towards the south-east side of the coast deep inland towards Monomotapa, whom the aforesaid described to us as the Chobona, a different kind of people from the tribes of the Cape, quite black, and rich in gold, in whose house the Chainuouqua's [Chainouqua's] wife had been reared and given to him in marriage [Dutch misinterpretation – the Chainouqua's wife was reared in the Chobona's house]. He also claimed dominion over the Namanas or Namaquas as well as the rest of the Hottentoos, but when we asked Herry [(Harry) / Atshumao (Autshumao)] about it he spoke of him contemptuously and spat at the name, holding it with the Namaquas who live in the direction of the Angola coast" (Leibrandt 1897b).

"27 October 1660 – A certain new tribe, which had never before seen our people or ships, came down to us; their language, but not their clothing, differs somewhat from the Hottentoos dwelling in our neighbourhood. They are called the Chainouquas, whose king or chief, Sousa [Sousoa], has been twice at the Fort […] and entertained with presents and good treatment, in order to allure not only himself but also other tribes from the far inland to us, as this man states that he has intercourse with the Chobonas, among whom he has seen gold and white stones. He promised to prove to us the truth of what he communicated, and to endeavour to bring one of that tribe to the Fort […]. He also intended to visit us again with another large nation named Hessequas [Heusaquas], as powerful as the Chainouquas. May God grant a successful issue. Thanks to Him, it all goes well with the cattle trade, and our late enemies are hitherto keeping very quiet and obedient. Oedasoa off and on permits his people, the Chochoquas [Cochoquas], to bring in a few small sheep, but he had to give way to the Chainouquas, whose king he and all the others had to salute and meet with presents &c" (Leibrandt 1900).

formed, the "Little [<tribe name>]", was subject to the "Great [<tribe name>]": the "Great–Little" clan to parent tribal allegiance was, thus, both maintained and declared. The "Great chief" of the parent tribe, likewise, identified another "Little chief" to support him (the head of the second most important family / band of the parent tribe). Hence, numerous references to "Great" and "Little" tribes / clans are found with reference to larger tribes, for example, the "Great Namaqua" and the "Little Namaqua". Should the tribe expand further each new clan will be presided over by a "Great chief" and a "Little chief"; but without impact on the "Great–Little" hierarchical tribal structure. In other words, with reference to the example of the Namaqua, more independent Namaqua(s) / Namana(s) clans could be formed, all subject to the "Great–Little" Namaqua tribal structure: the "Great Namaqua" represented the senior clan – the first-in-charge – and the "Little Namaqua" the second most important clan – the second-in-charge – within the Namaqua(s) / Namana(s) tribal hierarchy. All the other Namaqua(s) / Namana(s) clans are subject to the "Great Namaqua" and the "Little Namaqua" clans in that order. Namaqua(s) / Namana(s) remained the tribal name, irrespective of independent clan formation.

A tribe is named after the founding chief of the tribe. Hence, it can readily be stated that the founding chief – or the first "Great chief" – of the Namaquas tribe was a man by the (first) name of Nama (or a variation thereof). And every successive "Great chief" of the "Great Namaqua" would be addressed by the respect's address of the Namaqua. Should an independent clan form the tribal name is, as said, not disposed of; but the independent clan may assume a clan name that would, as a norm, be the (first) name of the founding chief – or the first "Great chief" – of the clan:

- *"5 March 1659 – Charigurinas alias Chariguriquas, also a numerous people and rich in cattle. Among them are the little Chariguriquas called the Hosamans"* (Leibrandt 1900).
- *"5 May 1662 – Little Chariguriquas, a tribe about as numerous as the Goringhaiquas […]. They had been subjects of Oedasoa, but had rebelled against him. They used to be his cattle herds, but afterwards they appropriated all the animals to themselves. For that reason all the other tribes of Hottentoos refuse to acknowledge them as a people who have a Choeque or Hunque, that is, a hereditary King or Chief. However, their situation is such at all times that they can take care of themselves, as the result of the fear which Oedasoa is said to have of the Namaquas, from whom the great Chariguriquas have sought and obtained intercourse and alliance"* (Leibrandt 1900).

A developed two-tiered Chariguriqua(s) / Charigurina(s) tribal system, thus, existed as evidenced by the "Great Chariguriqua" and "Little Chariquriqua" clan to parent tribal system. Chariguriqua(s) / Charigurina(s) is the tribal name. "Little Chariguriqua" designates recognised prestige within the tribal system: the "Little Chariguriqua" was the second most important clan – or the second-in-charge – within the Chariguriquas' tribal system; they were not an ordinary independent Chariguriquas clan. "Chariguriqua" and "Little Chariguriqua" can be used interchangeably as tribal name; but considering their importance in the greater tribal system "Little Chariguriqua" would reasonably have been preferred. Hosamans is the clan name: Hosaman (or a variation thereof) was the (first) name of the founding chief – or the first "Great chief" – of the Little Chariguriqua clan.

Following the theft of Oedasoa's cattle herds, he seems to have sworn revenge unto the wrongdoers, the Little Chariguriqua clan. But any action from his side was thwarted by the Great Chariguriqua, senior to the Little Chariguriqua, who nonetheless requested protection on their behalf from the Namaqua – the choebaha of the north-west region, and with authority over the Cape Khoe. As per the Namaqua's instruction, Oedasoa was not allowed his revenge; the Little Chariguriqua clan was expelled from the Khoe tribal system – they could keep their clan name as the Hosamans, but lost their place in the Khoe tribal system. (They were no longer acknowledged as a people with a choeque, or a clan with a legitimately recognised tribal chief); and the Great Chariguriqua had to appoint another Chariguriqua clan as Little Chariguriqua, or had to form a new Little Chariguriqua clan as their second-in-charge.

The above briefly explains the Khoe socio-political hierarchical structure as well as tribal expansion through clan formation. Clan formation, as described, comprised the primary system of tribal expansion, but a second system based on tribal sub-sectioning where the independent clan assumed tribal status under a new tribal name reflective of the parental tribe's name was also practised. The newly chosen tribal name's direct association with the parental tribal name confirmed and declared the "Great-Little" tribal allegiance of the newly formed independent tribe to the parent tribe; and the new tribe structured itself and expanded according to the clan formation system described.

It is necessary to reiterate that despite the valuable information contained in the early Dutch records of 1652–1662 there are many interpretative considerations to address, most notably pertaining to the early Dutch

assumption that the Chobona – be it the Chobona or the "Little Chobona" – was the Monomotapa. The Chobona and the Monomotapa were two different historical personas: the Chobona was the chief / king or monarch of the Khoe as described; and the Monomotapa was the chief / king of the maKaranga. The histories of the Chobona and the Monomotapa must not be conflated. The Monomotapa certainly did capture the fascination of the early Dutch; his kingdom was well acknowledged and best known – at least to the Western world – primarily through Portuguese reports and records of the time.

5. The Chobona presided over a Khoe people who were culturally (in lifeway and language) as well as physically quite varied – yet, regarded by themselves as one people. An early Dutch report, for example, states (Leibrandt 1900):

> *"5 May 1662 – This tribe [Great Chariguriqua] has lately, after a long journey, been discovered by our people. It is mightily rich in cattle. The men and women are of very tall stature, almost like half-giants."*

The Cape Khoe, on the other hand, is a people of small stature, with an average height of 4–5ft. (1.2–1.5m). What exactly a "half giant" people may be is a difficult question; but it is fair to infer a people, on average, significantly taller than 5ft. (1.5m). Moreover, physical difference among the Khoe is not limited to stature alone and early Dutch reports include commentary on colour variation, with some tribes reported as of darker / lighter skin tone than others (Leibrandt 1897a, 1897b, 1900).

Khoe cultural difference is, among other, evidenced by (Leibrandt 1897b):

> *"31 October 1657 – The Commander [van Riebeeck] spent most of the day communicating with the Saldanhars [Khoe – Cochoqua(s) / Cochona(s)], by means of a girl named Eva [Krotoa], about 15 or 16 years old, since the arrival of the Dutch in the service of Mrs. Riebeeck, and now already speaking Dutch very well. We gathered that there was an emperor or king, who ruled over all the Cape natives, and called by them Chobona. He lives far inland, and is rich in gold, which they called 'Chory,' and which is taken out of sand. They also know to coin and stamp the coins, which they make as big as, or even bigger than, the palms of the hands. These people were represented to be very fond of red copper and red beads. They had large houses of stone and beams, sowing white rice and planting all kinds of vegetables. They also wore clothes and spoke another language than those nearer the Cape, who were all subject or tributary to this Chobona. They were known to us as the Saldanhars, and by this nation as 'Quena,' being of one language and dress."*

6. The Chobona – the chief / king or monarch of all the Khoe – had, like all kings do, an army; however, contrary to many chiefs / kings of the time the Chobona's army was a permanent army (Leibrandt 1897b):

> *"31 October 1657 – An army of the Chobona keeps them [the Khoe] under proper control, and punishes all rebels. This army is of the same nation, dress and language as the Saldanhars [Khoe; Dutch in consultation with the Cochoqua(s) / Cochona(s)], and called Kockoqua. It consists of two sections. The second one is called the Gorona, which has nothing else to do than fight the rebels, and this keeps them constantly busy. They are not successful in their object, as some do not wish to pay the homage to the Chobona which he requires as his right. These Kochoqua and Gorona are consequently always engaged in war. When killed they are succeeded by their children, brothers, and also sisters."*

It is worthwhile to note the dual composition of the Chobona's army, comprising Kochoqua and Gorona sections, and with these tribes / clans – the Kochoqua and Gorona – then also known as the Khoe warrior tribes. The passage, furthermore, alludes to ongoing wars (notably in the north-east) at the time. But the impression from the 1652–1662 Dutch records is that these were mere intertribal Khoe wars or "tribute disputes". It is necessary to keep in mind that it was the MIA–LIA turn with significant migratory pressure from the north, and not excluding foreign competition for the east coast trade. Portuguese records complement an understanding of the warlike nature of the times (Hall 1909):

> *"The small amount of gold arriving at Sofala is attributed to native wars inland. De Brito, factor of Sofala, in 1519 reports, 'This country is ruined,' and that a chief of Quiteve had 'reduced all the territories round this fortress'. In 1569 Tete trading station was temporarily abandoned owing to wars. In 1570 the Portuguese were fighting with the Quiteve, the king of the hinterland of Sofala. Then followed the twenty years' war (1570–1590) of the Muzimbas with other tribes, also with the Portuguese, which stopped all trade with Mozambique, Zambesia, and Sofala, the ill-effects continuing till the end of the seventeenth century. In 1592 there was a slight revival in trade, but later 'matters along the great river (Zambesi) were in a worse condition than ever before'. In 1602 'the Cabires, a warlike tribe, were in possession of the mines of Chicova, and the principal mines of the kingdom of monomotapa'. Dos Santos states there was war 'nearly every year', and*

further states, 'the natives went about in bands at variance with each other'. De Barros reports, 'No gold has been extracted from the mines for years because of the wars'. In the Government reports (1584–1668) it is evident that the kings of Portugal were more concerned for the safety of Sofala and Mozambique as naval depots on the route to India, which were threatened by the Dutch, and later by the English, than for their value as gold trading stations. In 1607 the crews of Dutch ships robbed and sacked the town and port of Mozambique. In 1609 the chief trading station of the Portuguese at Masapa in Mocaranga was abandoned, 'all the country was in arms against the Portuguese', and the Portuguese are ordered to withdraw from the Zambesi to Mozambique 'to defend it from the Dutch'. In 1615 the Chicova fort was abandoned by the Portuguese. In 1628 the King of Portugal writes, 'The trade of the rivers of Cuama ('five mouths,' Zambesi) is in a miserable state,' which he attributes to wars. In 1634 Dutch pirates rob the Portuguese trading ships off Sofala. In 1635 the Portuguese are at war with the kingdom of Manica. In 1651 English ships threaten Sofala coast ports. In 1667 'the settlement (Mozambique) is almost deserted'. In 1687 English ships trade in South-east Africa and seized the commerce of the Portuguese. In 1719 'disorders (in Mocaranga) are frequent'; 'the vast empire (of Mocaranga) [of the maKaranga / Monomotapa] is in such a state of decadence that no one has dominion over it'. In 1748 French ships visit Mozambique and usurp the Portuguese trade with the neighbouring islands, and 'the commerce of Querimba (an important trading station between the Zambesi and Mozambique) is entirely in the hands of the French.'"

2.3.1 Exercise – reading a map: Khoe displacement as a result of LIA migratory pressure and war

The early Dutch records of 1652–1662 (Leibrandt 1897a, 1897b, 1900) as well as Du Val's circa. 1663 and Tirion's circa. 1730 maps are read from the north where the Khoe came from; and not from the south where the missionaries (and administrators) of the nineteenth century British Imperialist period came from, or where they arrived at the coastal ports and started their journeys northward. The early Dutch records, compiled during van Riebeeck's command at the Cape – albeit compiled at the Cape and with a focus on the Cape Khoe – contain important information on the mid-seventeenth century Khoe tribes further afield. It is the identification of at least select of these northern, north-eastern, and eastern Khoe tribes that is the focus here with the aim to provide a more realistic context to the socio-political structure that connected the tribes and comment on the impact and displacement of the Khoe in consequence of LIA migratory pressure and war for interpretive purposes.

The early Dutch interpretation of the greater Cape surrounds was conjured from various sources at the time[22], but it was also strongly vested in Linschoten's 1596 journal, *Voyage Ofte Schipbaert Van Jan Huygen Van Linfchoten*

[22] *"17 November 1653 – Examined the Frenchmen, who gave us important information regarding the preparations of the skins, which were valuable, and though a great clearance has been made, soon a larger of young seals will make their appearance, whose skins are in high favour, as appears from the beautiful fur shown us. They offered to proceed with the decked boat and twelve men to obtain a lot. One of them had for more than nine years voyaged to Madagascar, where they had been located to the number of 400 without a fortress on Ante Pera, eight or ten miles [12–16km] from St. Lucia Bay, buying very cheaply a large number of cattle merely for the skins, which they obtained from the natives in great quantities for beads, and also in some places obtaining fine ebony, and abundance of rice and slaves for inferior and small red coral and brass wire—which they used as rings for arms and legs—and also tamarind. Said also that the French there would be inclined to trade with us for European stores, &c., cheese, rice and hides, as they only every four or five years obtained a cargo from France, and have to keep themselves. Abundance, however, of cattle, fowls, and all sorts of birds, fruit and fish was at hand, and their principal Masters were Cardinal Mazarin and Monsgr. de Tuyne, the King's treasurer and some other Counts and big-wigs of France, who had sent them in consequence of information received that a gold mine was to be found there, and that already they had so far laid one of the natives under obligation, that they were on the way of being shown the spot. Said native, however, had been ordered to Court, where he had hitherto been detained, so that their plans had been frustrated. They were quite convinced however, of the existence of such a mine, as they had cheaply bought 300 lbs. [136 kg] of alluvial gold, but for some years now the natives had refused to bring any more. Reasons unknown. Country also full of indigo, with which the natives dye their clothes and veils of cotton and silk. Did not, however, know whether they could prepare the article for the European market. Also had heard that silver existed along the coast, and might have found it if the captain had made an inquiry, which he did not do"* (Leibrandt 1897a).

"4 May 1653 - By the Oliphant there is proceeding home a German Priest called Martinus Martiny, who has been a long time in China and travelled through the Indies in all directions. He has made many notes and charts, and in German told us that during June, July and August we might easily voyage towards the Rio dos Reyos, about 280 (Dutch) miles [1 Dutch mile = 'an hour's walk" = about 5km; 280 Dutch miles = 1,400km] to the East of this Cape on the coast of Africa, nearly half-way between Mozambique and this, and in 25½ºS. Lat., on this side of Cape Corrientes, where much gold, tusks, ebony and fine Caffers [natives] or slaves were to be had, at cheap rates and easily, in exchange for Genoa linen, red cotton, coarse and painted cloths, tobacco, iron, glass beads of all colours, little bells, and salt, of which latter we have an abundance. He also said that annually the Portuguese obtain their slaves

Near Dalt Ofte Putugaels Indie. Linschoten (1596) reported on his visitation to a number of Khoe (or "Ottentoo" / "Hottentoo") "cities" (or towns / large villages), some of which are recorded on Du Val's (1663) and Tirion's (1730) maps. The early Dutch, with their mentioned focus on the Monomotapa, but with cognisance that Linschoten's visit to the interior commenced off the east coast, thus states (Leibrandt 1900): "*We have fully written about the poor prospects of obtaining ivory, &c., that is, as long as we have only these lazy Hottentoos to deal with, but we are very sanguine of soon discovering other nations, yea! Should it please God! Even those of Monopo'apa [Monomotapa] and Davagul, where the Emperor of that country (van dit landt) according to Linsehoten [Linschoten] has his court, which is as far from it as this Cape,*" and, "*[a]fter a very strict examination, we concluded that the Namaquas have communication with those of Monomotapa, and sometimes meet the latter in the cities mentioned in Linschoten's charts as Vigiti Magna, Mossatae samot, Cumissa, Souros and neighbourhood.*" And on Tirion's (1730) map, for example, cities thus recorded by Linschoten are indicated as follows: [L] Davagul as "*Davagul*"; Vigiti Magna as "*Vigitimagna*"; Cumissa as "*Kumissa*"; and reasonably Mossatae samot as "*Samet*", etc.

Map 8: Copy of Pierre du Val's *Cafrerie et Monomotapa*, published circa. 1663 (https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/64847/cafrerie-et-monomotapa-du-val)

and gold there by means of a small vessel, and that the same may be obtained from Os Montos d'Ouro in about 28½°S. Lat. and not more that 220 (Dutch) miles [1,100km] from this, round the point, and as accessible to us with light yachts or galiots armed with 4, 6, 8 or 10 carronades, as it is from Mozambique. Besides, according to this priest the Portuguese do not number more than 20 and are without a fortress, which they only have at Mozambique. They would very likely be inclined to trade with us as well as the natives, especially to obtain European stores, cheese, butter, wine, &c. They get very little help (which must be obtained from Goa via Mozambique) and would therefore be anxious to trade. By water they could not hinder us at all, as the place is only visited from Mozambique by two or three vessels smaller than galiots, with two guns, and sent by private merchants from Mozambique to fetch the gold obtained there by the Portuguese from the natives. Gold may also be obtained along the same coast as far as the rivers or bays named R. de Cuamo and R. de St. Jorge in 18° and 19½°S. Lat., and for the same merchandise. Because of the shallowness of the water they can only be navigated by small vessels during the months named, so that there is no danger of being caught by large Portuguese ships in the neighbourhood, as soon as Terra de Natal has been passed" (Leibrandt 1897a).

"22 December 1653 – It is, therefore evident that the latter [Caapmen / Goringaiquas] try to keep those from the far interior away from the fort, in order to secure the full profits for themselves, which is not at all a good thing, as it prevents us from finding out what other things may be bought from the natives besides cattle. It would therefore not be strange or contrary to expectation, if intercourse were impeded by these Caapmen, when in course of time natives as far away as Monomotapa or Butna [Batua] visited us by land, as many allege that they trade with those in Angola, whose gold is said to come from Monomotapa. Yea! Those of Coffala [Sofala] and Angola are said to have intercourse; so that we may expect them this way also if the Capemen are not such hinderances. This must be looked into, that the inland natives may be able to come to us in safety" (Leibrandt 1897a).

Map 9: Copy of Isaak Tirion's *Kaart van het Afrika of het Land der Hottentotten*, published c. 1730 (http://www.tanap.net/content/activities/documents/resolutions_Cape_of_Good_Hope/landkaart.htm)

❖ The Choboqua(s) / Chobona(s)

To reconstruct a typical top–down or ruler–common people historical description of the Khoe it is necessary to start with the early Dutch (1652–1662) recorded "king" of the Khoe (Leibrandt 1897a, 1897b, 1900): the Chobona – the chief / king or monarch of all the Khoe – who resided with his tribe, the Choboqua(s) / Chobona(s), at some undefined location in the distant north / north-east. We do not find the Choboqua(s) / Chobona(s) on Du Val's circa. 1663 map, but we do find them on Tirion's of circa. 1730 recorded as the [1] "*Kobonas*":

- [Chobo][-qua(s)] / [Chobo][-na(s)] → [Ch(K)obo][-qua(s)] / [Ch(K)obo][-na(s)] → Koboqua(s) / Kobona(s).

In conclusion, the Chobona's tribe – the Chobona(s) / Kobona(s) – is recorded in circa. 1730 by Tirion as residing toward the far north north-west of his map. Do we infer that a surviving section of the Chobona(s) / Kobona(s) was forced south-west from their original Dutch reported residing in the distant north / north-east in consequence of the LIA migratory wars? Their early Dutch recording as the principal Khoe tribe and seat of the Chobona do not make sense with regard their absence on Du Val's (1663) map and their presence on Tirion's (1730) unless we infer significant migration. Was the Chobona(s)' / Kobona(s)' original "homeland" residing in circa. 1663 further north than that of Du Val's "*Giaques ou Galles*" cited north-east of the Lake Ngami–greater Okavango region in the kingdom of Monoemugi, thus in the territory toward the very north of the map indicated as "*Abissinie*" or the Abyssinian lands?

Tirion's (1730) map is a larger scale map than Du Val's (1663), implying a more detailed display of a smaller geographic area: Tirion's map has as its northern boundary the Tropic of Capricorn, at latitude S23°26'11"; Lake Ngami is situated at latitude S20°28'57", well north of the Tropic of Capricorn at the rough centre of Du Val's map. Significant south-westward migration of the surviving section of the Chobona(s) / Kobona(s) in the rough 70 years that passed between the compilation of these maps – from Du Val's in circa. 1663 to Tirion's in circa. 1730 – from somewhere in the distant north / north-east, further north than Du Val's (1663) cited "*Giaques ou Galles*" north-east of the Lake Ngami–greater Okavango region to south of the Tropic of Capricorn in circa. 1730 as per Tirion's map is reasoned.

Tirion (1730) added a disturbing note to his recording of the "*Kobonas*," describing the tribe as "*Menschen Eeters*" (cannibals). Is this, cannibalism, what the ruling tribe of the Khoe, the Chobona(s) / Kobona(s), had resorted to as consequence of the conquest and expulsion of the remnant of the tribe from their original homeland? Cannibalism, as last resort to survival, the manifestation of deprivation associated with war, dispossession, and forced displacement? It is further worthwhile to note that Tirion (1730) makes no mention of the "*Kobonas*" as the once ruling Khoe tribe – the surviving remnant of Chobona(s) / Kobona(s) is merely recorded by tribal name with the notary description of them as cannibals.

An inscription in the Dutch records may further inform the described circa. 1730 state of the Chobona(s) / Kobona(s) (Leibrandt 1897b):

> *"1 November 1657 – The chief [of the Chainouqua] having told us that gold was to be found in the Chobonar land, we showed him diamonds, pearls and gold chains; excepting diamonds he recognised all the rest, a thing not hitherto done by the other Hottentoos. He told us that his wife was abundantly supplied with pearls and golden ornaments, but not caring for such things she had left them with the Chobona, wearing only a few on the ears and fingers. He also said that the Chobona wished to give him all these trinkets with his wife, and also a lot of gold, but as he did not know the value before he saw the like things here, he did not wish for them, and had asked what he was to do with them; he would have it that he could not have obtained the pearls and gold except in Chobona's land, where before this some Englishmen had called on the coast and take away many of the people. If we came there they would think that we were of the same nation. It was therefore necessary that he should first introduce us everywhere, and then he might take some of ours with them. Time will show whether all this is true."*

At some point in time prior to 1 November 1657 the British had, thus, been slave raiding in Chobonar – or the land of the Chobona – and many of the Chobona(s) / Kobona(s) were taken as slaves. But it is not inferred that it was the reported British raid on the Choboquas that ultimately quelled the power of the Chobona; subsequent British slaving of the Choboquas, or perhaps by another seafaring nation then operational in the Indian Ocean must be considered. Moreover, slave raiding may have significantly weakened the tribe, and with the weakened tribe finally quelled by invasive LIA migratory wars. The details of the fate of the Choboquas are not discernible from the early Dutch records. It is, however, deduced that Chobonar, assuming a locality along the east coast, was situated further north along the coastline than at least the greater Mozambican territory then under Portuguese control. Access to British slaving records of the time would be the most reasonable starting point to further investigate not only the fate of the Chobona(s) / Kobona(s) but effectively the fall of the Chobona's Khoe "empire".

It is necessary to mention, in closure, that Herry's (Atshumao's) renunciation of the Chobona – as communicated to the early Dutch at the Cape (1652–1662) – as chief / king of all the Khoe was an exception to the rule[23].

[23] *"15 November 1657 – Whilst Eva [Krotoa], Herry [Atshumao] and Pieter were with the Chanouquas [Chainouquas], we again showed the latter some gold and pearls, and asked when it would be convenient to have an interview with the Chobona, but as soon as we mentioned this, Herry became quite wild, and said it was not his duty to be humble to the Chobona, but the duty of the Chobona to be humble to them. Upon our statement that we had acted in accordance with what the Chaynouquas [Chainouquas] had told us, he answered that they were mad and did not know what they said. He seemed partly to quarrel with them, and hinted, whilst we were looking on, that it would be better not to continue this topic. Eva therefore changed the conversation, for Herry, who had winked to Pieter to say as he said, angrily spat on the ground and covered the saliva with his foot as often as we mentioned the Chobona, saying, 'That and as much for the Chobona.' From this we feared a rupture between him and the chief, and told him that what we heard about the Chobona had been told to us by others. In this way we endeavoured to avoid all quarrels; but when we said that the large majority of Saldanhars [Khoe] considered the Chobona as their king, he replied that they were mad, as the great chief was the old stout man named Gogosy [Gogosoa] who lived among the biggest troop of the Caapmen, and who was acknowledged as such by all who dwelt on this side of the Great Berg River, and had been visited by our party, who had obtained some cattle from them, and who are named as follows: -*

❖ **The Namaqua(s) / Namana(s)**

The Namaqua(s) / Namana(s) is reported in the early Dutch records of 1652–1662 as an important Khoe tribe residing nearer Angola / the Angolan border region[24]. They are described as a large, powerful, and particularly wealthy tribe – an industrious people who, aside from their notably large flocks of livestock manufactured beads and traded, among other, in cowrie and other shells, ivory, and the more. In terms of socio-political Khoe tribal status, the Namaqua was the choebaha of the north-west region with authority over the Cape Khoe tribes (Leibrandt 1897b, 1900).

It is necessary to revisit Du Val's (1663) recorded residing of the "*Giaques ou Galles*" to the north-east of the Lake Ngami–greater Okavango region, and their seemingly smaller – or perhaps less prominent in east coast trade – western neighbours, labelled simply "*Gallila*", nearer the Angolan border region. Who were Du Val's "*Galles*" and "*Gallila*"? If "*Galles*" / *"Gallila"* is interpreted as the "naming" of a people and adopted by Du Val from *"gauls"*[25] as reference to the original inhabitants of the land, then it is reasonable to conclude that *"Galles"* / *"Gallila"* refers to Khoe peoples in a like manner to the Arab's WakWak or WakGam designation for the KhoiSan and the Dutch's "Saldanhars" designation for many a Khoe, and on occasion specifically the Cochoqua(s) / Cochona(s). It is, thus,

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Goringaycoina, Caapmen's largest troupe, with whom Gogosy – well known to us – lives at all times. [And the] Goringaina […], or Goringuaqua [Goringaiquas], the troop of Herry and all the watermen […], Gourachouqua or Gorachauna, the tobacco thieves; also the Charingurina who last year had surprised our 'Robbejacht' and robbed the men of their copper, with the intention of murdering them.

All were well known to the Caapmen, and dwell on this side of the Great Berg River, and together are continually at war with the real Saldanhars on the other side. When we told Herry that sometimes they might be made subject to the Chobona, he replied that those who allowed this were also often mad, but that they would by right acknowledge no one save Gogosy, whose kinsman Pieter Otenga was. He acknowledged that the Namana or Namaqua was a powerful and rich tribe, living towards the north and to the west of the Cape, where all these Cape aborigines dwell; but they were not Hottentoos, and had no dominion over them (Herry and his associates). They had long hanging but not curled hair, as the Hottentoos. They were also dressed in sheepskins and obtained all the copper, but he did not know where they again sold it to other nations. From the Namaquas they also obtained their red beads, which that nation made, and most of the cattle now among the Saldanhars" (Leibrandt 1897b).

[24] *"4 May 1661 – His Honour will be able to tell you how our explorers (landreysers) returned on the 23rd instant from the newly discovered Namaquas, after an absence of 33 days, and reported that they had not found the king [of the Namaqua / regional choebaha of the north-west] at the former place, and had accordingly travelled 5 days further, when they reached the great Chariguriquas, among whom they found some of the king's people. The chief of the Chariguriquas had there sent word to them that if our people came there (to him?) with Oedasoa's emissaries, he would, in the king's name (in sijn naam) [the Namaqua] accept the peace with them (Oedasoa's people). This was effected, the Soaquas [San / "Bushmen"], or the mountain tribes, who had shortly before been conquered by the Namaquas, being included in the terms and brought to subjection; so that there was peaceful travelling in every direction everywhere. He had now proceeded against a certain nation named Brigouay [Briqua / baTswana], ere this wrongly named Bryckje, in order to bring them once more to their former devotion, and after that to endeavour to obtain everything from the tribes with which he traded, in order to show it to the Dutch. With that object he would, about the end of the present rainy season, arrive at the place where the Chariguriquas were encamped, whose chief had orders to tell this to our people so that, if we wished it, we would find him there, prepared to accompany Oedasoa's ordinary emissaries, named Kerrari and Hactona—who had also been with our people—on their return to the Cape; and to bring with him some of the Brigoudys who formerly brought gold from the other tribes named Kerry Eyqua, and called by the Hottentoos living here Choy [Chory / Kerry] Eyqua, that is gold nation. He would also bring elephant's tusks and other things more which the newly discovered Namaquas brought overland from the very distant north to a nation like the Dutch, where ships call. This may perhaps be the Portuguese in Angola. As the way was very long and difficult, and he had now heard that there were Dutch settled at the Cape, from whom also everything might be obtained, he seemed inclined to choose the shortest way to them, and bring with him samples of everything that was obtainable among the interior tribes, so that he might show them to us and we might select what pleased us best. After a very strict examination, we concluded that the Namaquas have communication with those of Monomotapa, and sometimes meet the latter in the cities mentioned in Linschoten's charts as Vigiti Magna, Mossatae, Samot, Cumissa, Souros and neigbourhood. You can therefore see how far we, unto the last moment, have endeavoured to discover for the Company, with all possible diligence, the hidden things of this land, and how we have already succeeded so far that in consequence of the peace established with the tribes in every direction (and which has also been brought about by us), there is no doubt that in time more trade will follow, such as cattle; and we would also come into contact with the north eastern natives, who traffic with those of Mosambique. The evidence of this the Chainouquas also promised to bring with them when they came down next year, when they will also bring with them the natives. Further information must therefore be waited for, and we hope, which God grant, that our successor may be fortunate as to discover something for the Company. And regarding the Namaquas residing mostly to the north and north by east (? west) from this toward Angola, we refer you to our daily notes of the 23rd instant, which also contain the journal of the land travellers, which has been embodied in them for the sake of more clearness"* (Leibrandt 1900).

[See also the references to the Namaqua(s) / Namana(s) on 5 March 1657 and 22 February 1658.]

[25] *"Gauls – A Celtic people who inhabited a Western European area corresponding to modern France, Belgium, western Germany, and northern Italy. They sacked Rome in 390 BC, and were conquered primarily by Julius Caesar 58–50 BC"* (https://www.thefreedictionary.com/Gauls).

inferred that Du Val's (1663) *"Gallila"* residing near the Angolan border region designates the principal residing or "homeland" of the Namaqua(s) / Namana(s) as described in the early Dutch records of 1652–1662[26].

The Namaqua(s) / Namana(s), with ample reference to them in the early Dutch records, and with cognisance to their inferred *"Gallila"* homeland residing on Du Val's (1663) map, features prominently on Tirion's map of circa. 1730, with their then scattered residings indicated as [2] "*Namaguas*" (Namaquas) toward the central-western portion of the map. To the west of *"Namaquas"* is the record of *"Dorp Namaquas"* (town / village of the Namaquas). Slightly south south-east of the "*Namaguas*" we find the "*Groote Namaquas Natie*" (the Great Namaquas nation). Further south south-west we have the "*Kleine Namaquas Natie*" (the Little Namaquas nation). And even further south south-east we find another splinter section of the tribe, simply recorded as "*Namaquas*" (Namaquas). Again, the rough 70 years between Du Val's and Tirion's maps speaks of significant southward migration, from a locale near the Angolan border region in the north – or the *"Gallila"* homeland residing as recorded by Du Val in circa. 1663 – to Tirion's circa. 1730 recording of them in present-day southern Namibia from where they settled dispersed southward, as far south as the Cape Colony border region and toward the interior. The Namaqua(s)' / Namana(s)' southward migration spells of significant LIA migratory pressure (and war) – rationally the reason why they had abandoned their homeland and property, keeping only that which they could carry on their bodies, and the livestock they could save and manage on their southward march. Yet they arrived at their dispersed southern refugee residings with their Khoe socio-political status as choebaha of the north-west region as well as tribal clan structure of the Great Namaqua(s) / Namana(s), the Little Namaqua(s) / Namana(s), and a number of independent Namaqua(s) / Namana(s) clans still in-tact (although recorded independent Namaquas recordings may represent restructured tribal scatterings of original independent Namaquas clans). Albeit displaced and scattered, the Namaqua(s) / Namana(s) was still in circa. 1730 – generally speaking – a wealthy tribe in comparison, numerous, and powerful. And to such a degree that their presence on the south-western cultural landscape of the time demanded acknowledgement, and towards their southern and interior extremities stern political attention from Cape authorities.

But the history relayed here, of a significant Namaqua(s) / Namana(s) southward migration is wholly contrary to that of Stow (1905) who argues a northward migration of the Namaquas. It is important to keep track of time. The large-scale southward migration documented in the rough 70 years between the early Dutch records of 1652–1662 cum Du Val's map of circa. 1663 and that of Tirion, circa. 1730, precedes the northward migration commented on by Stow (1905) who worked during the British Imperialist period that only commenced in the nineteenth century after the British annexation of the Cape in 1795 / 1806. Altogether the history spells of a massive southward Namaquas migration between the mid-seventeenth to earlier eighteenth centuries, ascribed to increasing LIA migratory pressure and wars from the north, and then again, albeit smaller in size, a migration back northward during the latter part of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, due in large to Namaquas dissatisfaction as to their condition and treatment by both the Dutch and the early British Cape governments, as reported by Stow (1905).

The very abbreviated but more holistic migratory history of the Namaquas between the mid-seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries explained above warrants fair questions regarding some of Stow's (1905) interpretations:

1. Firstly, according to Stow (1905), *"[t]he Namaqua, like the kindred Korana tribes, were ever making forays upon their weaker neighbours, and of the deliberate cruelty practised by them in some of these cattle raids upon the unoffending Ovaherero there is abundant evidence"* and *"cruel […] was the treatment these Ovaherero received at the hands of the Namaqua"*. While, *"[t]he Ovambo are living still farther north than the Ovaherero […], [t]hey are […] a very hospitable people, who must have been—before they were plundered by the Namaqua Hottentots—a rich and industrious nation."* But both the Ovaherero and Ovambo are Iron Age farmer peoples and the impact of their migratory histories on the early Dutch (1652–1662) cum Du Val (1663) inferred *"Gallila"* Namaquas homeland is not considered in Stow's nineteenth century interpretation. It is necessary to ask why the Namaquas seemed to have always *forayed* northward in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Were they *foraying* back home, back to their *"Gallila"* homeland of the mid-seventeenth century before it was wrested from them in the LIA migratory wars?

2. Secondly, two extracts from Stow (1905) are considered: "*In 1797 the Namaqua were found to be possessed only of flocks of sheep and goats, their great herds of cattle had already disappeared. At one time in the country between the Khamiesberg and the Orange river numerous tribes of Namaqua possessing vast herds of cattle used*

[26] *"29 May 1658 – After that loss the skipper had reached Cape Negro [see Du Val's C. Negre]. The people however, who all had short dresses on, fled inland; two big towns were found quite deserted. The houses were similar to the Hottentoo huts here"* (Leibrandt 1900).

to live, who dug deep wells in the beds of the periodical streams, and covered them over to prevent evaporation" and "*The Ovambo […] are described by Mr. Henry Chapman, F.R.G.S., as a very hospitable people, who must have been—before they were plundered by the Namaqua Hottentots—a rich and industrious nation, capable not only of working in metals, but also of undertaking works of no small importance, such as sinking wells of ninety or a hundred feet [27–30m] in depth, with a spiral path cut round the sides to enable people to descend to the water."*

It is necessary to further investigate LSA pastoralist impact on the Ovambo practice of sinking wells. The sinking of wells is not habitual among Iron Age farmer peoples; it is, however, a widely reported not only Namaquas but general LSA pastoralist (Khoe / "Hottentot") practice. It is unlikely that the Ovambo never sunk wells on their southward migratory path but did so upon their arrival in southern Angola and Namibia, and then to a depth of 90–100 ft. / 27–30m complete "*with a spiral path cut round the sides to enable people to descend to the water*." The construction of wells thus described must be traceable in the Ovambo's migratory past, alternatively acculturative adoption thereof from pastoralist practice, possibly connected with the LIA migratory wars and conquest of the Namaquas' mid-seventeenth century inferred *"Gallila"* homeland, nearer the Angolan border, should be considered.

3. Thirdly (and lastly for purposes of this section), Stow's (1905) interpretation of the conference arranged by the Great Chariguriqua between the Dutch and the Namaqua(s) / Namana(s) is revisited. According to Stow (1905):

> *"This tribe [Namaqua] of Hottentots was at one time found much farther to the southward than at present, as in the first days of the Dutch settlement they were the neighbours of the Grigriqua [Chariguriqua] and Cochoqua. The latter people informed the Commander Van Riebeek that they were Hottentots like themselves, dressed in skins, living in mat huts, and subsisting on cattle. They were described as being men of tall stature, they were armed with bows and assagais, and their breasts were protected by a large piece of dry hide like a gorget or breastplate, which neither assagai nor arrow could penetrate. They also used shields in war, and thus in defensive armour had made a considerable advance upon the more primitive mode of fighting still retained by the Cape tribes. They were at that time advancing towards the south, but such was the number of their flocks and herds that they could, although divided into four camps, migrate but slowly.*
>
> *Their near approach gave rise to a succession of disputes and skirmishes between themselves and the Cochoqua. After this they appear again to have fallen back, for in 1659 a bartering party of the Dutch advanced as far as the lower Oliphant's river, when they heard of the Namaqua living seven or eight days' journey north of where they then were. In 1661 Van Meerhof visited them [Great Chariguriqua / Grigriqua and Namaquas]. The foremost of them he met near the site of the present town of Clanwilliam, the greater part of the remainder were then located around the Khamiesbergen. He described them, after seeing tribes of smaller made Hottentots near the Cape, as half giants. Their chief Akembi treated both him and his party very kindly, and Van Meerhof succeeded in negotiating a peace between them and the Cochoqua. This was done from no particular love for the natives, but in order to facilitate their own trade."*

The trade conferences[27] referred to (1661 and 1662) was arranged by the Great Chariguriqua(s) / Grigriqua(s). The Dutch trade delegation under van Meerhof travelled north to the meeting place near the Oliphant's River; and the Namaquas trade delegation travelled southward for the meeting; during the latter / southernmost part of their journey they were joined by the Great Chariguriquas, the meeting conveners (the Namaqua "homeland" was further north than the residing of the Great Chariguriquas) – "*but such was the number of their flocks and herds that they could, although divided into four camps, migrate but slowly,"* thus, a notably large combined Namaqua–Great Chariguriqua party under the direction of a chief named Akembi [Great Chariguriqua(s) / Grigriqua(s)]. That van Meerhof sincerely willed peace between the Cochoquas and the Little Chariguriquas at the time of the conference is not questioned (see the references to 5 March 1659 and 5 May 1662 relating to Oedasoa's stolen cattle herds by the Little Chariguriqua(s) / Hosamans). But van Meerhof, with all due respect, had little to no say in the matter. The matter was presided by the Namaqua, the choebaha of the north-west region: the Namaqua did not attend the conference in person, but his decision on the matter was conveyed by his appointed representatives of the trade delegation. Stow's (1905) assumption that van Meerhof negotiated the peace between the Cochoquas and the Little Chariguriqua(s) / Hosamans is a dour reminder of the Imperialist / neo-Imperialist construct of the Rev Campbell's "naming" of the Griqua in 1813. In summary,

[27] Two trade conferences were arranged by the Great Chariguriqua(s) / Grigriqua(s), one in 1661 and another in 1662. But the early Dutch only ever met Namaqua trade delegates at these conferences (Leibrandt 1900); the Dutch never met the Namaqua (or the choebaha of the north-west region), or for that matter the Namaqua(s) / Namana(s) at their *"Gallila"* homeland.

Khoe socio-political matters were presided over according to the Khoe socio-political hierarchical system and, thus, also directly applicable in the case of Oedasoa's (Cochoqua) stolen cattle herds.

It is, in addition, reasonably inferred that the *"Chimbelles"* and the *"Matamans,"* as indicated on Du Val's (1663) map, may well represent two significant Namaqua clans; *"Chimbelles"* and *"Matamans"*, thus, being clan and not tribal names, as they were known by clan name to the Western traders of the time because of mentioned Namaqua involvement in trade. The question is whether some of the *"Chimbelles"* fled east in the wake of the LIA migratory wars, whether they were called by the Chobona to assist in the wars, or whether the inscription of *"Land Chembe"* on Tirion's circa. 1730 map references a generalisation that should be interpreted simply as Khoe.

❖ **The Chariguriqua(s) / Charigurina(s)**

The reader is already familiar with the Chariguriqua(s) / Charigurina(s)[28]. The Chariguriqua tribal structure comprised the Great Chariguriqua(s) / Charigurina(s), the Little Chariguriqua(s) / Charigurina(s), and presumably some independent Chariguriqua clans. The early Dutch (1652–1662) recorded the Little Chariguriqua (clan name: Hosamans) residing in the Saldanha Bay area where they, as subjects to Oedasoa of the Cochoqua, stole his cattle and was resultantly expelled from the Khoe tribal system. The early Dutch met the Great Chariguriqua, who resided north of the Oliphants River, only after their acquaintance with the Little Chariguriqua; and it was then the Great Chariguriqua who consulted the protection of the Hosamans from Oedasoa's revenge with the Namaqua, the choebaha of the north-west region. As consequence to the expulsion of the Little Chariguriqua (Hosamans) the Great Chariguriqua had to choose (or form) another Little Chariguriqua clan as their second-in-charge.

- [Chariguri][-qua(s)] / [Chariguri][-na(s)] → [Ch(G)arigu~~r~~i][-qua(s)] / [Ch(G)arigu~~r~~i][-na(s)] → Grigriqua(s) / Grigrina(s).

The Chariguriqua(s) / Grigriqua(s) is not recorded on Du Val's circa. 1663 map, but they are thus on Tirion's of circa. 1730, as the [3] *"De Groote Grigriqua"* (the Great Chariguriqua / Grigriqua) residing to the north of the Olifant's River, and the *"KL Grigriqua"* (the Little Chariguriqua / Grigriqua [KL = *"Klein"* / Little]) residing to the south thereof. The *"KL Grigriqua"* (the Little Chariguriqua / Grigriqua) recorded by Tirion (1730) would thus, unless a like incident recorded by the early Dutch had occurred in the interim, represent the Little Chariguriqua(s) / Grigriqua(s) chosen as substitute to the Hosamans after their expulsion from the Khoe tribal system.

It is impossible to postulate an original Chariguriqua(s) / Grigriqua(s) "homeland" based on the early Dutch records and Du Val's (1663) map[29]. In terms of migration some southward Great Chariguriqua(s) / Grigriqua(s) migration may be inferred in the rough 70 years that passed between the early Dutch records and Du Val's map (1663) and that of Tirion in circa. 1730, but migration among the Chariguriqua(s) / Grigriqua(s) seems insignificant in comparison with the other tribes discussed.

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[28] *"29 October 1657 – Riebeeck visits the corn-lands, forests, &c., to look for more land suitable for cultivation. Returning home at nightfall he met, near the orchard, about 1½ hours' distance from this, the interpreter Herry [Atshumao], quite alone, who, to serve his own purposes, had come to confirm the news, adding that when on the 4th night our men came upon the first encampment (the Charigrina) [Chariguriqua(s) / Charigurina(s)], the latter had fled, fearing that they would be robbed, but going on that they had met another lot, called the Cochona, with whom they had traded little. Some distance away were the Chorachouqua, who last year had robbed the freemen of their tobacco on the field. Among these, our men, letting bygones be bygones, encamped, being treated right royally with milk. The Chragrina, having been informed of this, returned and visited our party, also bringing sheep, and more milk than our people could consume. The tobacco and copper were soon expended, so that the expedition would return within a few days, bringing with them the Saldanhars, who would buy all our copper. We trust that the news may be true"* (Leibrandt 1897b).

"5 March 1659 – Charigurinas alias Chariguriquas, also a numerous people and rich in cattle. Among them are the little Chariguriquas called Hosamans, together allied with the Cochoquas, mostly living about Saldanha Bay, and lower down, depasturing cattle for the Cochoquas also, so that they as it were live among them as tributaries, whilst both the great and little Chariguriquas are tributaries to the Namaquas, to whom we trust they will escort our people, or show them the way" (Leibrandt 1900).

"5 May 1662 – Little Chariguriquas, a tribe about as numerous as the Goringhaiquas [Goringaiquas], who chiefly dwell between Saldanha Bay and midway between Robben and Dassen Islands, about four or five hours walk from the sea coast inland. They had been subjects of Oedasoa, but had rebelled against him. They used to be his cattle herds, but afterwards they appropriated all the animals to themselves. For that reason all the other tribes of Hottentoos refuse to acknowledge them as a people who have a Choeque or Hunque, that is, a hereditary King or Chief. However, their situation is such at all times that they can take care of themselves, as the result of the fear which Oedasoa is said to have of the Namaquas, from whom the great Chariguriquas have sought and obtained intercourse and alliance" (Leibrandt 1900).

[29] In terms of tribal sub-sectioning an original Chariguriqua(s) / Grigriqua(s) migration from the "*Giaques ou Galles*" parental tribal Gouriqua(s) / Griqua(s) homeland is implied.

❖ **The Gouriqua(s) / Gourina(s)**

The Gouriqua(s) / Gourina(s) is but briefly reported on in the early Dutch records of 1652–1662, and in the capacity of a tribe with a station in the east (Leibrandt 1897b).

But who are the Gouriqua(s) / Gourina(s)?

- [Gouri][-qua(s)] / [Gouri][-na(s)] → [G~~ou~~ri][-qua(s)] / [G~~ou~~ri][-na(s)] → Griqua(s) / Grina(s).

Notwithstanding their reported station toward the east, it is necessary to first explore the Gouriqua(s)' / Griqua(s)' primary residing or "homeland." Du Val's map of circa. 1663 clearly indicates the locale as "*Giaques ou Galles*" – a notably large and prominent tribe, well-known to the Western traders at the time, with their homeland situated toward the north-east of the Lake Ngami–greater Okavango region in the kingdom of Monoemugi, and east of the inferred Namaqua "*Gallila*" residing. In exploring their recorded name – "*Giaques ou Galles*" – it has been pointed out that *"Galles"* is best interpreted as a derivative of *"gauls"* in reference to the original inhabitants of the land. The northern Khoe was also referred as the "Quena": similar to the Arab's WakWak or WakGam designation for the KhoiSan, a probable (mis)translation of QuaQua. With cognisance that both the suffixes -qua(s) and -na(s) denote people, it is fair to say that [-qua][-qua(s)] / [-qua][-na(s)] → Quaqua(s) / Quana(s) both denote *people of the people*. But the northern tribes were called "Quena(s)" not "Quana(s)". A dialect / linguistic difference is evident: [-qua(s)] → [-qu~~a~~(e)(s)] → [-que(s)] → Quaqua(s) / Quana(s) [southern languages] = Queque(s) / Quena(s) [northern languages][30]. Thus, in considering Du Val's (1663) recorded tribal name *"Giaques"*:

- [Gia][-que(s)] / [Gia][-na(s)] → [G(r)i~~a~~][-qu~~e~~(a)(s)] / [G(r)i~~a~~][-na(s)] → Griqua(s) / Grina(s).

No Khoe tribal "homeland" is as clearly recorded as that of the Gouriqua(s) / Griqua(s), or the "*Giaques,"* in the mid-seventeenth century on Du Val's (1663) map. LIA migratory pressure and war – as read in the rough 70 years that passed between Du Val's (1663) and Tirion's (1730) maps – on the Gouriqua(s) / Griqua(s) is described as total: large scale extermination and expulsion of the Khoe from the Lake Ngami–greater Okavango region occurred, although sections of them made their way south to safety. And never again has a Khoe people been recorded in the greater vicinity of their mid-seventeenth century "*Giaques ou Galles*" homeland region than in a subjugated, subverted, or slave-like state, as attested to by the Rev David Livingstone's (1857) records during his first northward journey to the Lake Ngami region in 1849, some 180 years after Du Val's map of circa. 1663:

- *"On the 4th of July we went forward on horseback towards what we supposed to be the lake, and again and again did we seem to see it; but at last we came to the veritable water of the Zouga, and found it to be a river running to the N.E. A village of Bakurutse lay on the opposite bank; these lived among Batletli, a tribe having a click in their language [KhoiSan language characteristics], and who were found by Sebetuane to possess large herds of the great horned cattle. They seemed allied to the Hottentot [Khoe] family."*
- *"The Bechuana [baTswana] chief of the Lake region, who had sent men to Sechele, now sent orders to all the people on the river to assist us, and we were received by the Bakoba, whose language clearly shows that they bear an affinity to the tribes in the north. They call themselves Bayeiyi, i.e. men; but the Bechuanas call them Bakoba, which contains somewhat of the idea of slaves. They have never been known to fight, and, indeed, have a tradition that their forefathers, in their first essays at war, made their bows of the Palma-Christi; and, when these broke, they gave up fighting altogether. They have invariably submitted to the rule of every horde which has overrun the countries adjacent to the rivers on which they specially love to dwell. They are thus the Quakers of the body politic in Africa."*

The Great Gouriqua(s) / Griqua(s), alongside the Little Gouriqua(s) / Griqua(s), and many an independent Gouriqua(s) / Griqua(s) clan seem to have been exterminated in the LIA migratory wars of the seventeenth / eighteenth centuries. They were a particularly large tribe and many a tribal scattering made their way south, including inferred elitist clans, but never has any of the scattered sections claimed the title of Great Gouriqua(s) / Griqua(s) or Little Gouriqua(s) / Griqua(s). A significant section of them, most likely a composite of various tribal scatterings, is found recorded toward the central interior on Tirion's circa. 1730 map as [4] *"Les Gafaiquas"* (the Gouriquas / Griquas) where they had sought at least temporary refuge. Despite impact on their "*Giaques ou Galles*" homeland their station toward the east, as recorded in the early Dutch records (1652–1662), survived the LIA migratory wars where they are recorded as *"De Gouriquas"* (the Gouriquas / Griquas) in the Natal region. Aside from these two principal recordings of the Gouriqua(s) / Griqua(s) in 1730 it is reasonable to infer that many a

[30] *"Quena(s)"* must not be confused with baKwena, a Tswana tribe, who would fall under Tirion's (1730) *"Land van Ryk Biri,"* as the Khoe name for the baTswana was Briqua(s) (Malherbe 1998), while the *"Land van Fumos"* indicates the principal residing of the east coast tribes or the bulk of the greater cluster of Nguni peoples.

splintered section of them found refuge in the south, and specifically the Cape Town region, either independently or allied to other Khoe tribes / clans.

It is the Khoe recorded with a presence in the east and specifically in Natal, such as Tirion's (1730) *"De Gouriquas"* (the Gouriquas / Griquas), that sets the precedent for a pastoralist people to have been incorporated as a section to a tribe / clan of the Mumbo–Abembi–Abambo culture cluster in the wake of the *difaqane* when they fled south to seek refuge and was afforded it by Hintsa in 1818, and then as part of the amaMfengu (see Hypothesis 1).

During the 1800s and following the British annexation of the Cape in 1795 / 1806 a number of smaller recognised Griqua(s) (as the name was standardised) migrations – or *little treks* – primarily from the greater Cape Town region inland occurred, including a migration to what became known as Griqualand West where some Griqua were already settled, centred at Griquatown (the former Klaarwater) on the northern border of the Cape Colony, and annexed to Britain in 1877 (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Griqualand_West_Annexation_Act). This migration was followed by another to Griqualand East, situated south of Lesotho, on the border of the eastern Cape Colony and Natal, or the general Kokstad area – so named after their leader, Adam Kok III[31] – and annexed to the Cape Colony in 1878 (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Griqualand_East). The Griqua (as well as the Korana) is also typically, during the British Imperialist period, widely reported on for their *"marauding"* ways in the interior of the land, with plenty an attack on the eastern mountain regions and toward the north (Markham 1900; Noble 1877). Sections of them, in addition, accompanied the Dutch / Boers on their migration – or *great trek* – from the Cape Colony circa. 1834–1840, where they were involved in, among other, the raid on Mzilikazi's military kraals at Mosega in January 1837, and in November of that year at Kapayin, when Mzilikazi was finally expulsed to the north of the Limpopo River (Theal 1908). It is necessary to understand some Griqua history prior to the British Imperialist period to make sense of their *"marauder"* ways toward the north and east: toward their old "*Giaques ou Galles*" homeland in the north before the LIA migratory wars of the seventeenth / eighteenth centuries; and toward their station in Natal in the east before the outbreak of the *difaqane* in the early nineteenth century. It is argued that constant Griqua *"marauding"* is best understood as a people who willed a return to their own former lands and lifeway. The incident at Moordkop being but one such an attempt, where, in 1831 a Griqua unit, some 1,000 men strong, was brutally decimated – hence, the name *Moordkop* (the hill of murder) – in today's North-West Province, by a veteran unit of Mzilikazi's Matabele / Ndebele army (Smillie 2019).

Imperialist and neo-Imperialist constructs the likes of, *"Griqua was the name given to a mixed-race culture in the Cape Colony of South Africa, around the 17th and 18th century […]. They are a racially and culturally mixed people who are primarily descended from the intermarriages and sexual relations between European colonist men and primarily Khoikhoi [Khoe] slaves"* (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Griqua_people), and *"[s]lavery was practised in the Dutch East India Company-controlled Cape Colony, and the mixed-race groups which developed in the early Cape Colony as a result of white settler interaction with captured Khoe people who began to work around the farms, eventually opted different names for themselves, including Bastards, Basters, Korana, Oorlam or Oorlam Afrikaners, and Griqua"* (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Griqua_people) must be dismissed. That the races – the Dutch / Boer settlers and the Griqua in this case – intermixed upon contact at the Cape, and following the expulsion of the Gouriqua(s) / Griqua(s) from their northern "*Giaques ou Galles*" homeland in consequence of the LIA migratory wars is not questioned; but that the intermixing of the races resulted in the Griqua as a tribe is an Imperialist construct revived under the neo-Imperialist idiom, and thus at the expense of Gouriqua(s) / Griqua(s) history.

The neo-Imperialist idiom has its roots directly in the earlier British Imperialist paradigm centred on, among other, Stow's (1905) work[32].

[31] Adam Kok III (1811–1875).

[32] *"There is however a vast difference between the tribe we are now treating and those of the Namaqua and Korana. In these last we had the pure descendants of the old tribes with which the early Dutch settlers carried on their profitable bartering, but in the case of the Griqua it is very different. Although since 1813 the whole of them have adopted the appellation of Griqua, a large majority of them were not only descendants of the Hottentot tribe we have mentioned but of the Dutch colonists also. They were, in fact, a race of mixed blood, many of them being half-castes, the offspring of Hottentot [Khoe] and Bush [San] women by the old colonists. This mongrel breed afterwards intermixed with the miserable remnant of the true Griqua, who appear to have principally occupied their time, for a considerable period previous to their great migration to the eastward, in wandering about in the neighbourhood of Piquetberg and along the borders of the present Division of Clanwilliam.*

While these latter have always considered themselves Griquas, the larger portion of those now included under this designation were formerly called Bastaards, a name which, however distasteful to European notions, was one of which they were originally particularly proud. The preponderance of the Dutch element amongst them was shown by the Dutch language being spoken by the more influential majority and by its superseding that of the purely Hottentot minority.

It is necessary to briefly return to tribal expansion. Tribal expansion through the "Great–Little" system of independent clan formation has been explained as is evidenced in the early Dutch (1652–1662) records of Khoe history as well as in the mapped records of tribal / clan names. But a second system based on tribal sub-sectioning was also practised where the independent clan assumed tribal status under a new tribal name reflective of the parental tribe's name. The newly chosen tribal name's direct association with the parental tribal name confirmed and declared the "Great-Little" tribal allegiance of the newly formed independent tribe to the parent tribe; and the new tribe structured itself and expanded according to standard clan formation. A case at hand is the relationship between the Gouriqua(s) / Gourina(s) or the Griqua(s) / Grina(s) and the Chariguriqua(s) / Charigurina(s) or the Grigriquas(s) / Grigrina(s). The Griqua is the parent tribe; the Grigriqua is the independent clan that assumed tribal status and chose a name reflective of the parent tribe – the Griqua – to reflect their tribal allegiance. It is, hence, assumed that:

- [**Gri**][(first) name of the "Great chief" of the parent tribe] + [**Gri**][(first) name of the "Great chief" of the independent sub-section of the tribe] + [-qua(s)] / [-na(s)] = New tribal name → [Gri][Gri][-qua(s)] / [na(s)] → Grigriqua(s) / Grigrina(s).
  (There is, seemingly, no rule that the parental tribal root must be first and newly formed tribal root second, just that both tribal roots must be present in the new tribal name. And the same would apply to a three-

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We shall find as we proceed, that at the commencement of their career the purer Griqua element seemed to congregate around the elder Kok, whilst those of mixed descent formed the principal following of the Bastaard chief Barend Barends; and that these two diverse elements only combined when from the force of circumstances their leaders entered into a kind of mutual bond for the purpose of strengthening themselves, and that they might defend themselves against common danger.

From the records which have been preserved it would appear that the early condition of the Griquas who first gathered around Kok, as their chosen captain, was on a lower level in the scale of civilization than even that of the Koranas. In a report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Aborigines, they are thus described: In 1800, when their first missionary, Mr. Anderson, went among them, they were a horde of wandering naked savages, subsisting by plunder and the chase. Their bodies were daubed with red paint, their heads loaded with grease and shining powder, with no covering but the filthy kaross over their shoulders. Without knowledge, without morals, or any trace of civilization, they were wholly abandoned to witchcraft, drunkenness, licentiousness, and all the consequences which arise from the unchecked growth of such vices. With his fellow labourer, Mr. Kramer, Mr. Anderson wandered about with them for five years and a half, exposed to all the dangers and privations inseparable from such a state of society, before they could induce them to locate where they afterwards settled.

The missionary Anderson, writing of this period states: When I went among the Griquas, and for some time after, they were without the smallest marks of civilization. If I accept one, who had, by some means, got a trifling article of colonial raiment, they had not one threat of European clothing among them, and their wretched appearance and habits were such as might have excited in our minds an eversion of them, had we not been activated by principles which led us to pity them and served to strengthen us in pursuing the object of our missionary work. They were in many instances little above the brutes. It is a fact that we were among them at the hazard of our lives. This became evident to us from their own acknowledgement to us afterwards, they having confessed that they had frequently premeditated to take away our lives, and were prevented only from executing their purposes by what they now consider an Almighty power. When we went among them, and for some time after, they lived in the habit of plundering one another, and they saw no moral evil in this, nor in any of their actions. Violent deaths were common, and I recollect many of the aged women told me their husbands had been killed in this way. Their usual manner of living was truly disgusting, and they were void of shame; however, after a series of hardships which required much faith and patience, our instructions were attended with a blessing which produced a great change.

The old Griquas were clad in the earlier days much in the same fashion as the other wild races by whom they were surrounded, viz. a bunch of leather strings about eighteen inches [0.5m] long hung from the woman's waist in front, and a prepared skin of a sheep or antelope covered their shoulders. The men wore a patch of an apron, as big as the crown of a hat, and a mantle exactly like that of the women. To protect the skin from the sun by day and the cold by night, they smeared themselves with a compound of fat and ochre; the head was anointed with pounded blue mica mixed with grease. The particles of shining mica, as they fell upon the body and on the strings of beads and brass rings, were considered highly ornamental.

The present Griquas, however, are clearly, as we have pointed out, an aggregation of individuals of comparatively very modern origin, whose homogeneity consisted only in the sameness of their wandering and plundering proclivities, and who could certainly lay no claim to being the descendants of the more ancient tribe called Grigriquas at the time of the early Dutch settlement. At the period when the elder Kok commenced his wanderings they could only have been few in number, a weak sept, consisting principally of the members of his own family and their adherents. The Koranas started as a compact body on their north-eastern journey, at a time when they still retained a considerable degree of their original tribal organization, and carried with them their tribal traditions and hereditary leaders. This movement commenced, as we have seen, at a much earlier date than that of the Koks, for we find that although Cornelius Kok, the elder, was an old man, he had never heard of the Koranas within the limits of the Colony. In his time, however, the means of communication was rather difficult, and he had his embryo Griqua tribe moved diagonally across the Bushman country, and struck the 'Gariep, or Great river, much lower down than where the main body of Koranas first came in contact with it.

Differing so greatly as these Griquas did from the earlier Korana emigrants, we can easily understand why such a mongrel and miscellaneous collection of people had neither hereditary chiefs nor hereditary traditions. This of course cannot be wondered at when we take into consideration the diverse and almost antagonistic elements of which this tribe was composed" (Stow 1905).

tiered independent tribe, the sequence of the tree tribal root names is not prescribed, just that all three of them must be present in the new tribal name.)

The statement (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Griqua_people):

> *"According to the 18th century Dutch historian Isaak Tirion, the Khoi name Griqua (or Grigriqua) is first recorded in 1730 in reference to a group of people living in the northeastern section of the Cape Colony. In 1813, Reverend John Campbell of the London Missionary Society (LMS) used the term Griqua to describe a mixed-race group of Chariguriqua (a Cape Khoikhoi group), Bastaards, Korana, and Tswana living at the site of present-day Griekwastad (then known as Klaarwater). The British found their 'proud name', Bastaards, offensive, so the LMS called them Griqua. The term Bastaards refers to a group of people of mixed origin.*
>
> *The actual name was derived from the Chariaguriqua people whose princess became the wife of the first Griqua leader, Adam Kok I. Adam Kok was a liberated slave, who figured out how to acquire burgher rights and a ranch close to the present Piketberg, established the most incredible blended local area. Because of a common ancestor named Griqua and shared links to the Chariguriqua (Grigriqua), the people officially changed their name to the Griqua."*

must, therefore, be regarded as a neo-Imperialist construct. Khoe history must be read from the north, where the Khoe came from, and not from the south where the missionaries (and administrators) came from. The Griqua is not the Grigriqua: these are two independent albeit directly connected tribes, formed through the tribal expansion sub-sectioning system with the Griqua as the parent tribe and the Grigriqua being the sub-sectioned independent tribe with allegiance to the parent tribe as is evidenced in their tribal names: [Gri][-qua] → [Gri][Gri][-qua].

With the bulk of information regarding these tribes in the early Dutch records (1652–1662) centred on the Chariguriqua(s) / Grigriqua(s) and with the Gouriqua(s) / Griqua(s) but briefly mentioned certain inferences can be made such as, if the Grigriqua was subject to the Namaqua as choebaha of the north-west region, then it is reasonably inferred that the Griqua was, likewise, subject to the Namaqua as regional choebaha. Effectively the argument needs to start with the Griqua as subject to the Namaqua as regional choebaha, and with the formation of the Grigriqua, as a sub-sectioned independent tribe of the Griqua, they were, by definition, through their direct "Great–Little" association with their parent tribe, the Griqua, also directly subject to the Namaqua as regional choebaha.

❖ The Cochoqua(s) / Cochona(s)

The Cochoqua(s) / Cochona(s) needs little introduction, their acquaintance with the early Dutch (1652–1662) dominates many a record where they were initially referred to as the *"Saldanhars,"* and upon wider Khoe trade and intercourse with the Dutch often as the *"real Saldanhars."* They were under two chiefs: Ngonomoa, the "Great chief" – also called the *Black Captain* by the Dutch – and Oedasoa, the "Little chief" of the tribe. Oedasoa's wife was Eva's (Krotoa's) sister / half-sister. Eva was a young girl, about 10 years of age when the Dutch settled at the Cape. She resided in the Commander van Riebeeck's house where she was employed as a hand to his wife and later, upon adequate Dutch competency, as interpretess to the Dutch. Herry (Atshumao) was Eva's uncle. He spoke English and had, prior to the Dutch settlement at the Cape, travelled with the English to the Bantam (Javanese port). He initially acted as interpreter to the Dutch but was replaced by Anthony (Doman). In 1653 Herry and his cohorts robbed the Dutch of their cattle and murdered a young Dutch herd boy, David Jansz. The relationship between Herry and the Dutch became increasingly complex after the incident, and ultimately underlies the Dutch–Khoe war of 1659 (Leibrandt 1897a, 1897b, 1900).

The Cochoqua(s) / Cochona(s) was a notably wealthy tribe with vast herds of livestock and one of the most prominent Khoe tribal traders with the early Dutch (1652–1662)[33] (Leibrandt 1897a, 1897b, 1900).

[33] *"29 October 1858 – Bought 1 ox and 39 sheep from the Cochoquas, who arrived at the fort with Eva. She told us that the Caapmen, when she left the fort, had taken all her things away, and that her mother had not taken any steps to have them restored. She had therefore gone to her sister living among the Cochoquas, and the wife of one of the chief captains named Oedasoa, who had not seen her since she was a baby, and received her with great joy. She had taken the opportunity of fully explaining to Oedasoa our desire to trade with them on friendly terms, and that she had been educated by Mrs. Riebeeck, and that she had learned the Dutch language and also partly our religion, &c. Oedasoa felt favourably disposed to us, and to show this, had during some days been sending sheep to the fort and also cattle. He also wished to enter into an alliance with us, but was prevented by the Caapmen and*

the Gorachouquas, being afraid that we would help the latter. For that reason Oedasoa did not dare to visit the Commander, in spite of all her efforts to persuade him and the examples adduced by her to prove our patience under the continual wanton acts performed from time to time against us by the Caapmen and Gorachouquas.

She thought that it would be good to send a commission with some presents to Oedasoa, which should take some cinnamon with them, which the Hottentots [Khoe] had been asking for, also cloves, &c., to see whether they also liked the latter, and the very strongest tobacco and brandy obtainable; also one or two persons who could play the fiddle and (other) instruments, the Hottentoos being very fond of music; in short, whatever might serve to draw them nearer and amuse them.

She was told what Doman had said about the Cochoquas, but answered that he was a liar and worthless fellow with a double tongue, endeavouring to prejudice the Dutch against the Cochoquas and vice versa; therefore Oedasoa would not come hither. He could easily route them, but they continually threatened him with our troops, which all the natives are so afraid of, that if they hear us talked about and even see the houses and the fort from afar, they commence to shiver and shake from fear; how then could they mediate any harm against us? Oedasoa told her also that we should not assist any of the Hottentoo tribes, but leave them to one another in war and peace to do just as they liked. She was told that such was our intention according to the conditions of peace made with the Caapmen, who did not carry out their part of the agreement, as they kept the Cochoquas back instead of bringing them to us. She replied 'Yes! I was present at the time and told Oedasoa about it;' who said 'Well! Why don't the Dutch take their cattle?' and that she had answered 'because we were such good people,' &c. She added that she would have returned sooner but had been very ill, also her sister, whom she had taught to pray to Our Lord, which all the natives listened to with tears in their eyes, instead of laughing like Doman and the Caapmen, who if spoken to about God always laughed at her. The Cochoquas had however told her to learn everything attentively from us, that afterwards she might be able to teach them, for, she said, she had always prayed, day and night, if she was not sleepy or had not fallen asleep, until her sister had recovered. After that she had instructed her about God and how He was to be thanked for that mercy of restoring her. All this was very pleasant to the natives as already stated, whilst they desire to have further instruction. The Caapmen and Gorachouquas were, however, too angry with her, and would have killed her long ago if they had not been afraid of us. We told her that we had been partly afraid of this, because she had stayed away so long. She replied, 'No, sir, have no anxiety; they dare not, they are too afraid of master's people,' &c. adding also other reasons" (Leibrandt 1897b).

"15 November 1657 - The Kochoqua or Kochona [Cochoqua(s) / Cochona(s)] were [according to Herry / Atshumao] the largest and most important of all the Hottentoos, not only of those near the Cape and on this side of the Berg River, but of all the real Saldanhars, who consisted of several groups, and were called the Gorona, or Goroqua, of the Kochoqua tribe; and Chaynouqua, or Chaynouna [Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s)], with whom we were now trading; a large and rich tribe; also the Kaygunna, or Kaygunqua; great friends of Chaynouqua [Chainouqua], of whom some were yesterday with cattle among the Chaynouqua natives; Hancumqua and Charigriqua [Chariguriqua].

These seven tribes generally live on kindly terms with each other, and often fell out with those on this side of the Berg River, but for the sake of trading with us they had made peace until they had had enough of trade.

From the above it is evident that Herry, Caapmen, &c. are rebels against the Chobona" (Leibrandt 1897b).

"31 October 1658 – Return of Harwarden and his men with one of the Cochoquas bringing 3 cows, 2 calves and 19 sheep as a present to the Commander from the great Captain of the Cochoquas named Oedasoa. They were, however, paid for. 'The chief had with pleasure accepted our gifts and treated the men well. He, however, could not make up his mind to come to us, saying that his chief wife was ill and in the family way. She was Eva's [Krotoa's] sister. He was a beardless man, beyond middle age, small and thin, very stately, and a man of authority among his people. It appears that none of them had ever seen a Christian before. They had asked whether the Dutch Captain was also of high descent, and what sort of people they were, and who the ancestors were of the Ensign. Answers were given as required. The whole night was passed in recreation to amuse the ensign, who amused them with the fiddle, whilst a certain soldier made a lot fun to the great amusement of all. Only at daybreak a little sleep was indulged in. After that, and the enjoyment of a lot of sweet milk, the party left, accompanied by Oedasoa and about a thousand human beings, a distance of fully half an hour on the road. The chief declared that he desired to live in friendship with the Commander, and allow his people to sell as much cattle as they liked, but as there was no pasture in the neighbourhood for their cattle, and no water to drink, a statement confirmed by the ensign, they could not very well come nearer; but if copper and beads were sent, his people would be allowed to trade.'

The Ensign who had served in the States' Army, declared further, 'that he had never before seen so many people living in so many encampments all on one spot, all full grown powerful men, living in large round houses made of mats, 30 or 40 ft. [9–12m] in diameter. Oedasoa had 3 houses for himself, much larger even, and so full of assegais, arrows and bows as if they were armour rooms. His sleeping place was on a very fine mat in a hole in the ground. Like all the Hottentots [Khoe] he was dressed in skins, and so besmeared that the fat dripped down his body. This is their greatest pomp.

Their cattle were in such numbers that the end could not be seen. In half a day they would clear all the pastures from the Cape, and whatever besides the Company and freemen possessed.

This morning the sheep alone took 3 hours to leave their kraals, and the cattle not less. The latter were bigger than any oxen ever seen at home, and about 2½ ft. [0.7m] broad on the back and the buttocks. They were also so high that he, being a very tall person could scarcely look over the backs of the animals, or reach them with the elbow. In short it was a nation rich in cattle, and able, as they said, to drive the Caapmen into their holes whenever they liked. They however, did not care about them (?attacking) unless they made too much bother. We have therefore no reason to dread them, for we would be able to trade freely with them if we went to them. For the reasons stated they could not come nearer to the fort. The Ensign further stated that if last night, when he arrived, he had had enough beads and copper he could have brought many oxen. But he stated that he had only brought presents to the chief. Upon this he was fetched in, his pack-ox was driven among the others, and orders were given for the protection of our men and their goods" (Leibrandt 1897b).

But for the time being it is necessary to turn our attention away from the Cape peninsula region and to the north-east of the land where war was raging. And the Chobona's two-tiered army comprising the Kochoqua and Gorona sections; it is specifically the Kochoqua Khoe warrior tribe that concerns us here:

- [Cocho][-qua(s)] / [Cocho][-na(s)] → [C[K]ocho][-qua(s)] / [C(K)ocho][-na(s)] → Kochoqua(s) / Kochona(s).

In conclusion, the Cochoqua(s) / Cochona(s) are the Kochoqua(s) / Kochona(s).

It is not possible to ascertain the principal residing or "homeland" of the Cochoquas / Kochoquas from the early Dutch records (1652–1662) or Du Val's circa. 1663 map; an interior to north-eastern residing is, however, inferred. Neither is it possible to ascertain whether the Cochoquas / Kochoquas under Ngonomoa and Oedasoa comprised the Great Cochoquas / Kochoquas, the Little Cochoquas / Kochoquas, or merely an independent clan, with the latter inferred. However, it must have been an independent clan with significant standing not only within the tribe but also in the eyes of the Chobona. While a clan (or clans) of the Cochoquas / Kochoquas held the prestigious position of one of two sections of the Chobona's army – at the time engaged in the north-eastern wars as reported – the clan under the auspices of Ngonomoa and Oedasoa must have warranted such respect with the Chobona that he had appointed them to keep, albeit informal, watch over the new seafaring peoples, the Dutch, who had then settled in the south-western corner of the land. The war-like times of the general mid-seventeenth century cannot be understated. Ample reference has been made to the impact of LIA migratory pressure and war on Khoe tribes. In addition, the southern African cultural landscape was at an unprecedented scale affected by Western nations with many a trading station operating in the region, and including the adjacent islands – and with all the Western newcomers to the southern African landscape being seafaring Christian-slaving peoples with their trade focus centred in the East. The Dutch had just taken up permanent residency in the Cape peninsula region; but the many Western newcomers were everything but necessarily friends, including with one another (Leibrandt 1897a):

> *"Letter No. 11 (Received 1652) – To the Governor-General and Council of India (From the Chamber of Seventeen) – And as we [Chamber of Seventeen / Directors of the DEIC] have received your letters dated 19th December, 1651, on the 28th and 29th June, informing us that our naval power in India had from various causes been much weakened, we intend to provide you with ships and men, as may be required, especially if the five following ships arrive safely, in order to prosecute this war most vigorously not only against the English but also the Portuguese, and with such prudence that we do not do too much at once, but endeavour to ruin first of all those who can do us the greatest injury, viz., the English, who, as we read in your letter, assist the Portuguese to the best of their power, and are to be attacked first, so that the Portuguese, deprived of their assistance, may be more easily followed up. It is certain that the English nation, especially after having beheaded their king and adopted a new form of Government, never had any intention to live on friendly terms with our Government but determined to obtain undivided dominion over the sea unjustly, which no nation can allow, and certainly not ours, the free Netherland nation, which has now battled for about 80 years for liberty and at last obtained it with great honour for itself and posterity."*

The rough 70 years that passed between the early Dutch records (1652–1662) and Tirion's map of circa. 1730 seems to bear witness to the virtual extermination of the once wealthy, large, and prestigious Cochoqua(s) / Kochoqua(s) tribe, including the complete decimation of them as military wing of the Chobona's army, the Great Cochoqua(s) / Kochoqua(s), the Little Cochoqua(s) / Kochoqua(s), and all of their independent tribes; aside from a single clan recorded by Tirion (1730) as the [5] *"Kochoquas Natie"* (Cochoquas / Kochoquas nation) in the Cape peninsula region, reasonably inferred to be the descendants of Ngonomoa and Oedasoa's clan who were able to seek refuge nearer the then decades familiar Dutch at Cape Town.

"8 November 1658 – As it appears from the report of Ensign Harwarden that Oedasoa's people are abundantly supplied with beads, whilst those of Ngonomoa wish to have copper wire, but also that neither parties are willing to part with their cattle, preferring to sell sheep, and as it appears also that because of the multitude of their cattle they can never stay more than a fortnight on the same spot, and must move like flying armies, so that they can only be caught like birds in the air, and must be taken advantage of whilst here. If we wish to get as much cattle as possible, it was resolved to send as soon as possible another expedition to Ngonomoa with enough copper wire for 1,000 sheep, and some beads for those who may want them. Also enough plate copper for 80 or 100 cattle, and should not enough be obtained there, the expedition is to proceed to the Chainouquas, about 10 or 12 hours' distant on foot in the direction of False Bay, where these two chief captains of the Cochoquas are camped in the middle of the land of Africa, and the Charugriquas [Chariguriquas] toward the sea side of Saldanha. Therefore these three tribes, of which the Cochoquas are the most powerful, enclose, or with their encampments enclose, the whole region between both the seas of India towards the East and Ethiopia on the West. The whole breath of the land between the Mountains, and the beautiful valleys, are travelled over by them, and therefore as they are here now, the chance is to be taken advantage of" (Leibrandt 1897b).

❖ **The Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s)**

Likewise, the Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s) needs little introduction. The Chainouqua – or the "Great chief" of the Great Chainouquas – was the "Little Chobona," the chief choebaha, and the second-in-charge to the Chobona in the Khoe socio-political hierarchical system. Their mid-seventeenth century principal residing or "homeland" (the base of the Chainouqua, or the "Little Chobona") cannot be directly ascertained from the early Dutch records (1652–1662) and is also not indicated on Du Val's map of circa. 1663. But the Chainouqua is recorded as the "Chobona" (interpreted by the early Dutch as the *Monomotapa*[34]) of the south-east region – subject only to the Chobona of the north / north-east[35].

At the time of van Riebeeck's command at the Cape (1652–1662) the "paramount chief" of the Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s) was a man by the (first) name of Sousoa; Sousoa was, thus, the Chainouqua, the "Great chief" of the Great Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s), and by implication the most important Chainouquas chief – the leading chief of the Great Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s), the Little Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s), and all the independent Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s) clans. He was also the "Little Chobona" or the chief choebaha, the second-in-charge to the Chobona, and the choebaha that all the regional choebahas reported to. In addition, he was the (regional) choebaha of the south-east region; in other words, he presided over affairs of all the south-eastern Khoe tribes.

The principal residing of the Great Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s) is indicated in the early Dutch records as nearer Natal and some 30 days' travel from the Dutch fort, Cape peninsula, toward the east: the residing is, accordingly, inferred to have been cited at some locale south of the Maluti (Drakensberg) mountains[36] (Leibrandt 1897a, 1897b, 1900).

Sousoa, the "Great chief" of the Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s) respect's address as the Chainouqua was based on the (first) name of the founding chief – or the first "Great chief" – of the Great Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s) tribe, and with the tribe reported on, among other, also as the "Chaynunqua[37]" (Leibrandt 1897b), while Raven-Hart (1971) quotes Nieuhof, who died at the Cape in 1672, 10 years after van Riebeeck's departure from the Cape, as referring to the Chainouqua(s) as the "Chamaquas" in his notes: "*Also there is a tribe called 'Chamaqua' with a click after the word.*" Variation in the spelling of the tribal name – of which only a limited variety can be considered in this report – further informs; the first name of the first "Great chief" or founder of the Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s) tribe can, thus, preliminary be inferred to have been:

- Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s) → Chainou (and variations thereof); or
- Chaynunqua(s) / Chaynuna(s) → Chaynu(n) (and variations thereof); or
- Chamaqua(s) / Chamana(s) → Chama (and variations thereof).

The reader may recall that Khoe names were not standardised at the time of the early Dutch records, and "*Chainouqua*" is also, among other, variably recorded as Chainoqua Chonaqua, Chonauqua, Chaynouqua, and Chaijnouqua. All of these spellings would be applicable to the Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s) as tribe, and the tribal

[34] It is noteworthy that the Khoe never reported on the Monomotapa, only ever on the Chobona as the chief / king or monarch of the Khoe, giving the impression that despite the known rule of the Monomotapa (and the importance of him in specifically east coast trade at the time) he was not recognized in Khoe socio-political circles. This may imply a rival MIA migration that rose to the highest south-eastern political power – the maKaranga is invariably reported as a Bantu people or "Black Moors" (Hall 1909) – and although affected Khoe tribes / clans may have been subjected to tribute to the Monomotapa for local trade and political reasons, it did not affect their cultural allegiance to their own age-old tribal system.

[35] "*22 February 1658 – Now there is still another great Monarch dwelling towards the south-east side of the coast deep inland towards Monomotapa, whom the aforesaid described to us as the Chobona, a different kind of people from the tribes of the Cape, quite black, and rich in gold, in whose house the Chainuouqua's [Chainouqua's] wife had been reared and given to him in marriage [Dutch misinterpretation – the Chainouqua's wife was reared in the Chobona's house]. He also claimed dominion over the Namanas or Namaquas as well as the rest of the Hottentoos, but when we asked Herry [(Harry) / Atshumao (Autshumao)] about it he spoke of him contemptuously and spat at the name, holding it with the Namaquas who live in the direction of the Angola coast*" (Leibrandt 1897b).

[36] "*6 May 1658 – The Chainouqua captain sends word that he is staying with the stout captain Gogosoa, and waiting for the return of his men sent by him to fetch a large number of cattle. His place is about 30 days' journey from this. He had wished to be sure, before bringing any cattle, that the same Dutch captain was still here, and had now sent men to report this fact to the paramount chief. He would not allow any of our men to accompany his men, and advised us to wait until the native's fear of the whites had worn off more*" (Leibrandt 1897b).

[37] "*31 October 1657 – The chief living towards the East belonged to the Chainunquas [Chainouqua], called so after their great chief [founding chief] Chaynunqua, who was very rich in cattle and the subject of the Chobona with the rest*" (Leibrandt 1897b).

root (in the [root name]–[-suffix] system) was the first name of the founding chief, or the first "Great chief" of the tribe.

The importance of the Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s) in the Khoe socio-political hierarchical system is further confirmed by the practise of the gifting of wives by the Chobona not only to Sousoa as the "Great chief" of the Chainouquas tribe, but also to men of elite tribal rank, including, among other, to Chaihantima, the *captain* of Sousoa already mentioned. Wives thus given by the Chobona are reported to have been women raised in the "house" of the Chobona. This practice, as recorded in the early Dutch records, is only confirmed between the Chobona and the Chainouqua (the "Little Chobona"). No other chief (or *captain*), excepting those of Chainouqua rank, are reported to have been gifted wives by the Chobona (Leibrandt 1897a, 1897b, 1900) – although the practice was, most likely, extended to other socio-politically significant tribes as well. And with this practise – the gifting of wives and resultantly directly related to elite marriage – already described as a central customary practice to forge and maintain intertribal political and social allegiance; hence, also practiced, albeit differently from the Bantu, by the Khoe.

With the Chainouqua(s)' / Chainouna(s)' importance in the Khoe socio-political hierarchical system and their close allegiance to the Chobona reconfirmed, it is sensible to briefly revisit the Chobona's two-tiered army, with its Cochoqua / Kochoqua (as has been established) and Gorona[38] sections. Who was the Gorona?

- [Goro][-qua(s)] / [Goro][-na(s)] → [G̲(K)oro̲(a)][-qua(s)] / [G̲(K)oro̲(a)][-na(s)] → Koraqua(s) / Korana(s).

In summary, the Gorona clan (or clans) [Goroqua(s) / Gorona(s) or Koraqua(s) / Korana(s)] that comprised the second military wing of the Chobona's army in the mid-seventeenth century is directly associated with the Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s) in a tribal or tribe–clan relationship, for purposes of this report referred to as clan / band cluster.

Nienaber (1989) links the Gorona(s) directly with the Cochoqua(s) / Cochona(s), but without distinction between the two tiers of the Chobona's army – its Kochoqua and Gorona sections – and, furthermore, directly with the Cape Khoe tribes, specifically the Gorachouqua(s) / Gorachouna(s), argued on the basis of tribal name similarity with that of the recorded chief of the Korana, 'Kora / !Kora, also spelled *"Chora, Chorou, Coru, Gora,"* etc. On the other hand Nienaber (1989) also links the Gorona(s) with the Korana(s); likewise argued on the basis of tribal name similarity, namely 'Kora / !Kora, etc. In support of the link between the Gorona(s) and Korana(s), Nienaber (1989) states that the, *"Korana carries the name of a historical chief named !Kora who lived in the south, and presided over the Western Cape's grazing fields*" and, further thereto and in support of, *"Stow, who held that van Riebeeck in effect only traded with the 'Korannas,' in other words with the peoples who became the Korannas.*[39]" But Nienaber's (1989) argument is little more than a reiteration and elaboration of Stow's (1905) early hypothesis, and a dour reminder of the British Imperialist cultural-political paradigm accepted as official (or state) cultural interpretation following the Union of South Africa (1910) – a type of late Imperialist / early neo-Imperialist link – and revived under the neo-Imperialist banner as attested to by many a general contemporary Korana *history*:

> *"Slavery was practised in the Dutch East India Company-controlled Cape Colony, and the mixed-race groups which developed in the early Cape Colony as a result of white settler interaction with captured Khoe people who began to work around the farms, eventually opted different names for themselves, including Bastards, Basters, Korana, Oorlam or Oorlam Afrikaners, and Griqua"* (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Griqua_people).
>
> *"The Korana or Kora were a nomadic Khoikhoi group that probably derive their name from a chief called Kora (or Gora), who was originally a leader of the Gorachouqua ('-qua' meaning 'people of'). This leader detached himself from this group with his followers and became the first great chief of the Korana. Others say that the name Korana could mean 'the real thing'* (https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/kora).

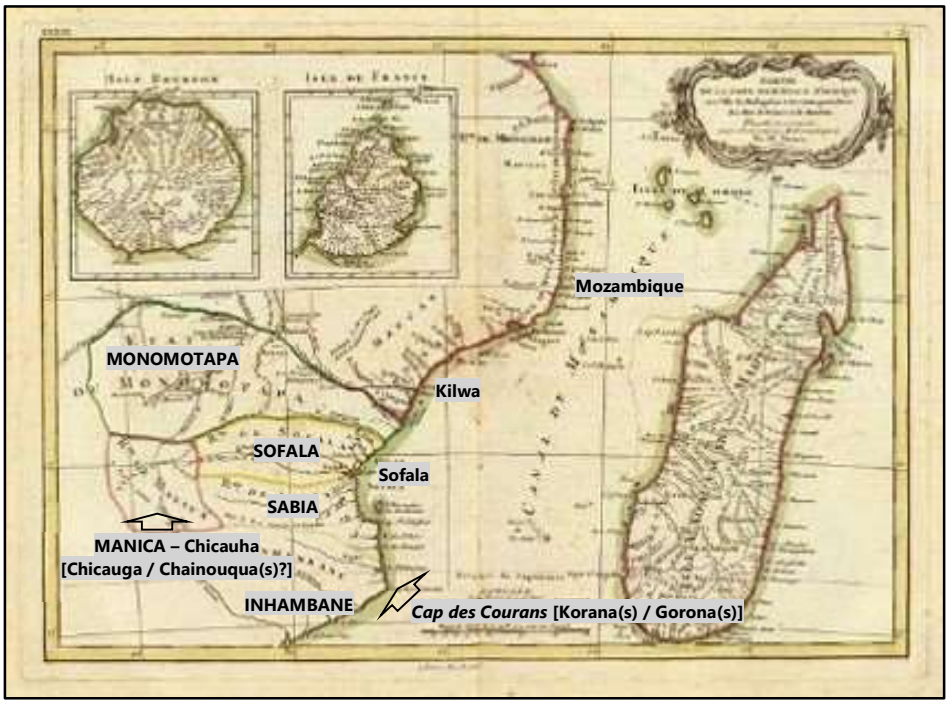
[38] *"31 October 1657 – An army of the Chobona keeps them [the Khoe] under proper control, and punishes all rebels. This army is of the same nation, dress and language as the Saldanhars [Khoe – Cochoqua(s) / Cochona(s)], and called Kockoqua [Cochoqua]. It consists of two sections. The second one is called the Gorona, which has nothing else to do than fight the rebels, and this keeps them constantly busy. They are not successful in their object, as some do not wish to pay the homage to the Chobona which he requires as his right. These Kochoqua and Gorona are consequently always engaged in war. When killed they are succeeded by their children, brothers, and also sisters"* (Leibrandt 1897b).

[39] *"Die geskiedkundige, die taalkundige and die naamkundige, die een meer, die ander minder, sien 'n verband tussen die Wes-Kaapse stamme soos die Gorachoukwas (ten engste verbonde met die Goringhaikwas en konas) en die Goronas (ten engste verbonde met die Cochokwas) aan die een kant, en die Korannas aan die ander kant. Volgens 'n wydverspreide oorlewering dra die Korannas die naam van 'n historiese hoofman !Kora wat in die suide was, in die Wes-Kaapse weivelde.*

Toegegee dat baie skakels ontbreek, is daar nogtans 'n sterk argument vir bv. die gedagte van Stow dat dit in werklikheid net 'Korannas' was met wie Van Riebeeck handel gedryf het, d.w.s. met mense wat Korannas geword het" (Nienaber 1989).

It is, first and foremost, necessary to ask why the Khoe would have reported the Chobona's army as comprising of two sections, if, following Nienaber's (1989) argument, they were in effect the same, both effectively being (clans of) the Cochoqua(s) / Cochona(s). That the Kochoqua – as reported military wing of the Chobona's army – comprised a clan (or clans) of the Cochoqua(s) / Kochoqua(s) tribe is a sensible conclusion; that the Kochoqua by implication comprised the Gorona is an unconvincing argument. The Imperialist and neo-Imperialist assumptions fail to explain the early Dutch reported (1652–1662) two-tiered army of the Chobona and the Gorona–Korana as military wing thereto, engaged in war in the north-east while coevally having their origin in the Western Cape following the settlement of the Dutch in 1652.

But who is the Gorona(s) / Korana(s) then? It is known that the Chobona's army was employed in the north-east of the land at the time of the early Dutch recordings (1652–1662) where war was raging; can we locate them there? No, not on Du Val's circa. 1663 map! But knowing that the Korana(s) was, among other, also recorded as the Corannas, Couranas, Corans and Courans (Le Vaillant 1796; Lichtenstein 1815; Phillip 1841; Theal 1898, 1910) Tirion's circa. 1730 recording of [6] *"K. Korientes of Courans"* (Cape Correntes of the Koranas) to the far north-eastern corner of his map certainly intrigues. Is it possible that a people – the Korana(s) / *Courans* – that allegedly only came (or *"sprung"*) into existence following intercourse with the Dutch settlers post-1652 at the Cape of Good Hope / Cape peninsula region had a Cape named after them on the south-eastern seaboard of Africa in 1730? The "marauding" nature of the Koranas is well recorded during the British Imperialist period (Noble 1877; Markham 1900), but the British only annexed the Cape in 1795 / 1806. Is it possible that a section of *marauding* Koranas had made their way thus far north along the east coast of Africa from the Cape peninsula region in the approximate 80 years that passed between the first arrival of the Dutch at the Cape in 1652 and Tirion's circa. 1730 map? If so, it must have been a truly impressive section of *marauding* Koranas for some 60 years after a French circa. 1791 map of the Mozambican Channel retains the name *"Cap des Courans"* (Cape of the Koranas)[40]. Tirion (1730), however, also recorded a *"Gouros Natie"* [Gorana(s) / Korana(s)], a curious Khoe tribal name that seems somewhat like a conflation of Gorona(s) and Korana(s) with specific reference to the spellings *Corans*, *Courans*, etc., cited just south of Natal where the principal residing of the Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s), nearer Natal and some 30 days' travel from the Cape peninsula region according to the early Dutch records of 1652–1662, is expected.

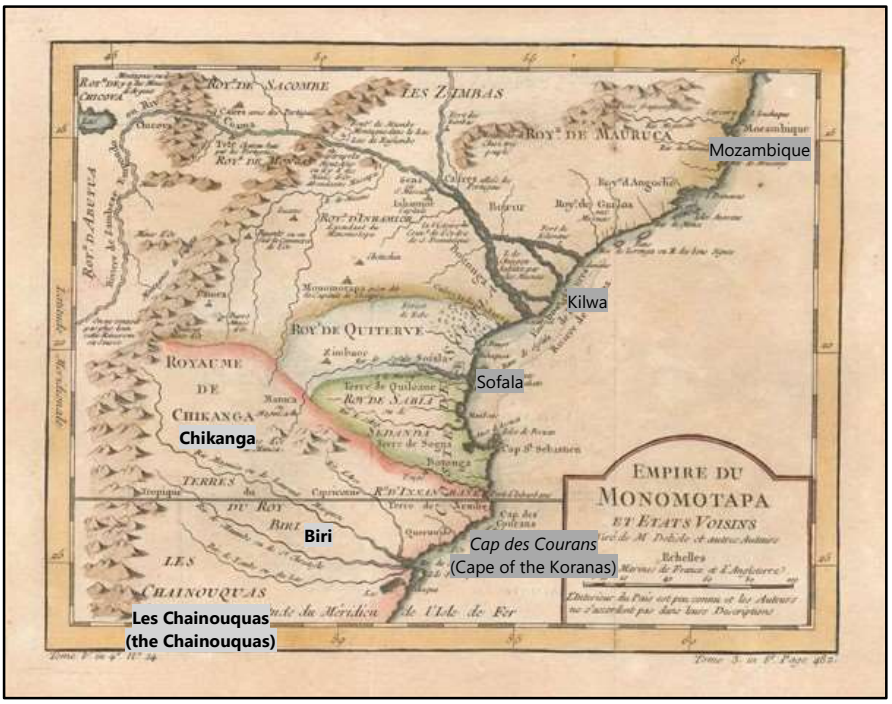


Map 10: Copy of the French Mozambique Channel map, published circa. 1791 (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cape_Correntes#/media/File:Bonne_-_Afrique,_cote_orientale.jpg)

[40] The placename "Cape Correntes" is still in existence.

Let us turn our attention back to the Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s), the principal residing of whom may be indicated by Tirion's (1730) *"Gouros Natie"* citing. Du Val, circa. 1663, records the *"Chicauga"* on the northern bank of the the River Rio de Spirito Santo (Sabie River), perhaps engaged in the wars of the north-east as reported on by the early Dutch (1652–1662); could Du Val's (1663) *"Chicauga"* be the Chainouquas – the name rings somewhat similar. We find the *"Chicauha"* of the *Kingdom of Manica,* curiously akin to Du Val's (1663) *"Chicauga,"* on the French Mozambican Channel map (1791), notably north of the Sabie River, though, and nearer Sofala and Cape Correntes (of the Koranas), with an approximate 130-year difference between these recordings. But it is worthwhile to further explore the possibility of the French Mozambican Channel map's (1791) *"Chicauha"* in relation to Du Val's (1663) *"Chicauga"* in the search for the Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s).

Jacques Nicolas Bellin's map, circa. 1780, titled *Empire du Monomotapa* was reprinted several times with the first print dated to circa. 1745. Bellin's (1745 / 1780) map, however, clearly indicates the Manica territory as *"Chikanga"* domain; but *"Chikanga"* may also be an early version of *Chikanka*, a people with a history generally related to the maKaranga / Rozwi / Shona people. Just south of Bellin's (1745 / 1780) "*Chikanga,"* however, we find a narrow strip of land designated to the *"Biri,"* the Briqua as they were named by the Khoe, the baTswana as they are commonly known. It is to the south of the *"Biri"* territory that Bellin (1745 / 1780) records the *"Les Chainouquas"* (the Chainouquas), just south of Cape Correntes.



Map 11: Copy of Jacques Nicolas Bellin's Empire du Monomotapa, published c. (1745) / 1780 (https://www.geographicus.com/P/AntiqueMap/monomotapa-bellin-1780)

Chicauga–Chicauha–Chikanga speculation set aside, the historically recorded south-eastern geo-spatial overlap of Chainouqua(s) and Gorona–Korana territory, from the early Dutch (1652–1662) recorded principal residing inferred south of the Maluti mountains, coinciding roughly with Tirion's (1730) *"Gouros Natie"* citing in the south (Eastern Cape, South Africa), to Bellin's (1745 / 1780) *"Les Chainouquas"* record just south of Cape Correntes in the north (Mozambique) establishes not only a vast Chainouqua(s) / Gorona–Korana territorial domain, intercepted in mosaic-like manner by many a Bantu tribe who entered the territory primarily during the MIA southward migrations, but it reinforces the Chainouqua(s) / Gorona–Korana tribal or tribe–clan relationship; or the Chainouqua(s) / Gorona–Korana clan / band cluster. The Chainouqua(s) / Gorona–Korana clan / band cluster can, thus, be summarised as a people who resided – at least during the rough 1652–1745 period (from the date of their recording by the early Dutch to the first print of Bellin's map) – across a vast south-eastern territorial region, cross-cutting various dialect / linguistic and cultural zones consequented mainly by interaction with the various Bantu peoples that then occupied specific intercepting areas.

However, it is here hypothesised that the Chainouqua(s) / Gorona–Korana was a single large tribe, described as the Chainouqua–Gorona / Gonaqua–Korana; the notably large size of the tribe, with cognisance to localised varying dialect / linguistic and cultural difference, underlies the varying recording of them not only by early recorders, but also through reporting by themselves (with specific reference to dialect / linguistic variation). The tribe scattered into a multitude of surviving remnants following successive wars – including, among other, the MIA and LIA migratory invasions and wars, the Xhosa–Khoe wars, and the *difaqane* – and, hence, reporting on their origin or "homeland" ranges from eastern, to north-eastern, to northern, to interior records.

To further discussion, it is necessary to brief over the spelling of the tribal references used for the Chainouqua–Gorona / Gonaqua–Korana:

- [Chainou][-qua(s)] / [Chainou][-na(s)] → [Ch(G)ai(o)nou(a)][-qua(s)] / [Ch(G)ai(o)nou(a)][-na(s)] → Gonaqua(s) / Gonana(s).
  The reader is reminded that the Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s) was also variably reported on as the Chainoqua Chonaqua, Chonauqua, Chaynouqua, or Chaijnouqua by the early Dutch (Leibrandt 1898a, 1898b, 1900).

The relationship between Gorona(s) and Korana(s) has already been explained:

- [Goro][-qua(s)] / [Goro][-na(s)] → [G(K)oro(a)][-qua(s)] / [G(K)oro(a)][-na(s)] → Koraqua(s) / Korana(s).

And with the relationship between Gorona(s) and Gonaqua(s), thus, self-evident:

- [Goro][-qua(s)] / [Goro][-na(s)] → [Gor(n)o(a)][-qua(s)] / [Gor(n)o(a)][-na(s)] → Gonaqua(s) / Gonana(s).

Despite the variety of used and applicable tribal references the simplified version followed here centres on Chainouqua–Gorona based primarily on the early Dutch records of 1652–1662 (Leibrandt 1989a, 1989b, 1900), and Gonaqua–Korana as these tribal references were mainly standardised during the British Imperialist period of 1795 / 1806 onwards.

It follows without saying that the Imperialist and neo-Imperialist constructs of Chainouqua–Korana (Chainouqua–Gorona / Gonaqua–Korana) history, as a people with their origin in the greater Cape peninsula region in consequence of the Dutch settlement of 1652 from where they then migrated into the interior must be questioned. In fact, in the case of the Chainouqua–Korana these academic cultural–political ideological constructs have resulted in a complete reversal – or *re-writing* – of Chainouqua–Korana history, from an age-old north (to north-east) to east socio-political hierarchical and geo-spatial settlement orientation to a constructed south-western mid-seventeenth century centred origin. The negative impact of these ideological constructs on the living communities with specific reference to their historical and heritage rights must be addressed; albeit falling outside the scope of this report. The aim here is to provide an abbreviated outline for reconstructive purposes.

Seligman's (1939) work serves as a suitable starting point. His work falls within the post-Union of South Africa (1910) Imperialist paradigm; but – with specific reference to the eastern Khoe – Khoe geo-spatial distribution is (at least) described as reaching the Kei River:

> *"The former distribution of the Hottentots [Khoe] comprises practically the whole of the western part of South Africa from the Kunene River in the north to the Cape Peninsula in the south, and extends inland to the Kei River. At the present time, while scattered remnants are found over a considerable part of this territory, the tribal organization is met with in any state of preservation only in South-West Africa north of the Orange River. Although many tribes existed, all spoke one of four closely related languages, and it is from these latter that the customary division of the Hottentots into four main groups – Naman, Korana, Gonaqua, and Old Cape-Hottentots – is derived. The survivors in South-West Africa belong to the Naman group, and here there is still a considerable number, over fifteen thousand being recorded in the census of 1926. The old Hottentot population of the Cape has become largely absorbed by racial admixture with incoming Europeans and East Indian slaves, and has thus continued the basis of the present 'Cape Coloured,' 'Griqua,' and 'Rehoboth' half-breeds.[41]"*

[41] Seligman's (1939) interpretation finds additional support in British Imperial records, where Donald Moodie's oral records, among other, that of Platjie Zwartland, dated 30 March 1836, made at Graaf-Reinet, comes to mind. Moodie, after having had lost his position as Slave Protector of the eastern district of the Cape Colony following the abolition of slavery under the SAA 1833,

With a focus on the eastern Khoe, Theal (1898), in his transcript of Portuguese shipwreck survivor records along the southern African coast, and with specific reference to the *Santa Alberto* that ran ashore in March 1593 near the mouth of the Umtata (Mthatha) River stretches Khoe occupation at the time northward from the Kei to the Umzimvubu (Mzimvubu) River, the present-day border between KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape. Luspance, the chief the wrecked survivors met, is described as Khoe, but of mixed Bantu blood and speaking a Nguni or a strongly Nguni influenced dialect / language; a reminder of the early Dutch records that some Khoe were of darker skin tone than others, and also spoke different languages (Leibrandt 1898a, 1898b, 1900). North of the Umzimvubu River – or the Natal region – virtually no occupants were met with (though tribes, as in the Eastern Cape, probably simply resided further inland, while the shipwreck survivors followed a strict coastal route; and with cognisance, among other, to the Khoe stations recorded by Tirion, circa. 1730 in Natal and the Mumbo–Abembi–Abambo history relayed at the beginning of the report.) From northward of Natal to Delagoa Bay the survivors encountered many a Bantu tribe, including the east-coast tribes, or the Nguni culture cluster peoples, already mentioned.

Theal (1989), thus, describes Luspance, the Khoe chief met with by the survivors of the *Santa Alberto*, 1593, as:

> *"While the preparations [for the journey overland after the Portuguese were shipwrecked] were in progress, on the 27th of March a native chief with sixty followers made his appearance. His name, as recorded, was Luspance. Calling out 'Nanhata! Nanhata!' in a friendly tone, the band came forward, when the chief presented two large sheep with heavy tails like those of Ormus. Among the slaves were one who could make himself understood by Luspance, and who spoke also the language of the Bantu of Mozambique. Another slave spoke the last-named language and also Portuguese, so that through two intermediary interpreters the Europeans could make their wants known. And throughout one of the most remarkable journeys ever made in South Africa slaves of the party could always converse with the natives, a circumstance which tended greatly towards the safety of all.*
>
> *Luspance is described as a man of good stature, light in colour, of a cheerful countenance, and about forty-five years of age. He and his people wore karosses of oxhide made soft by rubbing and greasing, and they had sandals on their feet. They could run with great speed. In their hands they carried sticks with jackal's tails attached to them, and the chief had as an ornament a piece of copper suspended from his left ear. They were husbandmen and graziers. Their grain was millet of the size of peppercorns, which was ground between two stones, and of which they also made beer. Their wealth consisted of cattle, whose milk was one of their ordinary articles of diet. Their huts were round and low, were covered with reed mats, and were not proof against rain. They had pots made of clay[42], used assegais in war and the chase, and kept dogs. They were without any form of worship, but were circumcised, as were nearly all the natives south of the twenty-ninth parallel of latitude. They were very sensual, each man having as many wives as he chose. Gold and silver were esteemed by them as of little value, but for very small pieces of iron or copper they were willing*

implemented at the Cape on 1 December 1834, was retained by the Cape government to do archival work. Zwartland's testimony reads as follows (Malherbe 1998):

> *"I was born on the farm Zuur Plaats, on Sneeuwberg [Eastern Cape] – I do not know my age – but I remember that I had no wife when Landdrost Woeke came (1780). I do not know why the Boers and the Bushmen fought, unless it was because the Bushmen were always murdering and stealing. I never knew or heard of a time when they did not do so – they stole from all alike. My nation is the Coranna [Korana] – our tribe lived along the Zwarteberg range – and some in Camdeboo, along the foot of the Sneeuberg. They kept goats and cattle, some had sheep, they had no wars with the Dutch, but with the Bushmen – they lived with the Dutch, partly for fear of the Bushmen, partly because the Dutch divided them among them. […] I never heard that the Corannas stole from the Boers, they are not a wild people like the Bushmen, they kept cattle – they were armed like the Bushmen with poisoned arrows and assagaays, but their bows were longer and could shoot further […]. I accompanied the English Bloomzoeker Batchal (Burchell?) [William John Burchell (1781–1863)] to the Briqua [baTswana] country – I was fighting on the side of the Boers when Van der Wald was killed [Field Commandant Tjaard van der Wald, killed in action in 1802 during the Khoikhoi Rebellion 1799–1803] – I never joined the Hottentots against the Boers in Maynier's time, for I had nothing to complain of – until that time the Hottentots were Boers, and kept on their masters land, large flocks of their own – but what shall I say Sir; then came a time when everything done by the Boers was black ['black' as reference to the Black Circuit – the Circuit Courts established by the Earl of Caledon in 1811], and a Hottentot could do no wrong – Then the ill treatment began."*

[42] With the general omission of the eastern Khoe from the historical and archaeological record it is needless to state that no eastern Khoe ceramic tradition is as yet identified or researched and with the study of ceramic tradition often informing migratory routes, i.e. an eastern migration route if such a route existed. The historical record of a sixteenth century eastern Khoe ceramic tradition is, however, echoed by like mid-seventeenth century use of ceramic by the Cape Khoe: *"29 January 1654 – Sent the Catechist to the Saldanhars [Khoe] to try and buy cattle and if possible obtain some pots to melt the ore, which seems to contain silver and gold, which God grant for the reimbursement of the Company"* (Leibrandt 1898a).

to sell oxen and sheep. Their language was a dialect of that in use by all the people of Kaffraria, and their chief, like the petty rulers in the country to the north, was termed an Inkosi.

From this description it is evident that Luspance's clan was of mixed Bantu and Hottentot blood, the former, however, prevailing, and that in 1593 the condition of things along the Umtata was similar to that along the Fish river two centuries later, when the incorporation of the Gonaquas in the Xhosa tribe had already taken place.

[…] In all the region traversed by the crews of these wrecked ships not a single tribe is mentioned of the same name as any now existing. The people were all of the Bantu race as far south as the Umzimvubu, spoke dialects of the same language, had the same customs, but were not grouped as at present. South of the Umzimvubu there was a mixture of Bantu and Hottentot blood, but how far the former extended in this diluted form cannot be ascertained. Probably not far, as the country was very sparsely populated. It is noticeable also that the whole of the high plateau from which the Drakensberg rises was without inhabitants at least as far north as the present colony of Natal. […] The Pondo, Pondomise, Thembu, and Xosa tribes of our day were either not yet in existence as separate communities, or were little insignificant clans too feeble to attract notice."

Portuguese records of the time centred on the Monomotapa, and with descriptions of other tribes thus engaged with vague for purposes of tracing Chainouqua–Korana history. Olfert Dapper's (1663) *Naukeurige Beschrijvingen der Afrikaensche Gewesten* describes various Eastern and Western African kingdoms of the time, and including a description of the *Kingdom of Monomotapa*. But Dapper never visited Africa; his work constitutes synopses – or composite histories – of a variety of travelogues, records, and the more, that resulted in a near fantastical rendering of the *Kingdom of Monomotapa* that is of little to no scientific use. However, his brief comments on the Chobona and Chainouqua – and with no parallel of these tribes in West Africa – is of value: Nienaber (1989), quoting Dapper (1663), states:

"De Kobonas [Chobonas], aen wiens lant de Chainouquas na by gelegen zijn, is een heel zwart volk … Deze zijn rechte mensch-eters … Zy hebben ook vee … en planten kalbassen, dear zy zich mede erneren … Noit heft eenigh Neerlander van de Kaep by deze volkeren geweest, ter oorzake van de verre te lande in."

Dapper (1663), thus, confirms the Chainouqua territory as located near that of the Chobona (or Chobonar); and states that, at the time, no Cape Dutch had visited these territories because of proximity from the Cape (Cape of Good Hope). In addition, he describes the Chobona(s) as of notably dark skin tone, rich in livestock, proud agriculturalists, and as a people who practised anthropophagy (cannibalism).

Before the Portuguese seized Kilwa and Sofala in 1505–1507 the Arabs / Moors was in control of the East African trade where, around 980 AD, they had founded the towns of Mogadishu, Melinde, Mombasa, Kilwa and Sofala – their southernmost trading station near Cape Correntes (Mizra 1945)[43].

[43] The history of Islam dates to the seventh century AD, and originated in the vicinity of Mecca and Medina, Arabian Peninsula. Around 610 AD the Muslim prophet Muhammad began receiving divine revelations: Muhammad called for submission to the one God, the expectation of the Last Judgement, and caring for the poor and needy. Muhammad's prophecies won over a few followers but was met by opposition from Meccan notables. In 622 AD Muhammed relocated to Yathrib (Medina), where he stayed until his death in 632 AD, after which disagreement broke out as to his successor during the Rashidun Caliphate (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Islam). Mohammed's journey from Mecca to Medina in the year 622 AD marks the commencement of the Islamic epoch, or the *Hegira* (meaning *departure* or *migration*), thus 622 AD marks the year 0 AH (after the Hegira) (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hegira).

The doctrine of Islam spread rapidly. By the eighth century the Umayyad Caliphate extended from Iberia (Spain) in the West to the Indus River (India) in the East. In North Africa, following the death of Muhammad, the Umayyad conquest continued a century of rapid Islamic expansion. By 640 AD the Arabs controlled Mesopotamia, they had invaded Armenia, and were concluding their conquest of Byzantine Syria, with Damascus as the seat of the Umayyad Caliphate. By the end of 641 AD all of Egypt was in Arab hands. But their subsequent attempt to conquer the Christian kingdom of Makuria, Nubia (southern Egypt and northern Soudan) proved less successful. By 670 AD the Muslim city of Kairouan was founded in the Maghreb (Tunisia). Independent Islamic governments of the Idrisid Dynasty ruled over the western Maghreb (Morocco) from 788 to 985 AD, while the Almoravid Dynasty, a Berber Dynasty from the Sahara ruled over a wide area of North-western Africa and the Iberian Peninsula during the eleventh century. Under the Almoravid Dynasty the Moorish empire was extended to present day Morocco, Western Sahara, Mauritania, Gibraltar, Algeria and a part of what is now Senegal and Mali towards the south, and including Spain and Portugal in the north. In the twelfth century the Almohad Dynasty, another Berber Muslim Moorish dynasty, conquered all of Northern Africa as far as Egypt, largely replacing the Almoravids (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Islam).

Some of the great Arab authors' work has been translated and it is worthwhile to brief over it. Abou-Zeyd-Hassan wrote about the year 880 AD. A copy of this work was transcribed in 1199 and translated to French in 1845 under the title *Relation des Voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et à la Chine dans le IXe siècle de l'ère chretienne. Avec une traduction francaise par M. Reinaud, member de l'Institut*. Abon'l Haçan Ali el Masoudi completed his great work in 943 AD; it was translated to French in 1861–1877 under the title *Les Prairies d'Or*. Abi l'Cassem Abdallah Ebn Haukal's work, probably completed around 950 AD, was translated from the original Arabic to Persian, and from Persian to English and published in 1800 under the title *The Oriental Geography by Ebn Haukal, an Arabian Traveller of the Tenth Century. Translated from a Manuscript in his own Possession, collated with one preserved in the Library of Eton College.* And Abou Abdallah Mohammed el Edrisi's work of 1154 was translated to French and published in the years 1836–1840 as *Géographic d'Edrisi traduite de l'Arabe en Français d'après deux manuscrits de la Bibliothèke du Roi, et accompagnée de Notes, par P. Amédŕe Joubert, Professeur de Turk a l' école royalé et spéciale des langues orientales vivantes, etc., etc., etc.*

The Arab authors mentioned – with sections of their work pertaining to southern Africa translated to English and relayed by Theal (1910) – are in consensus of Arab trade with the *Zendj* or *Zendjes* – the Black tribes of Africa[44] – along the east coast, but specific tribes traded with, with regard tribal names warrant further research: not the Chobona or Chainouqua, nor for that matter the Monomotapa[45] (or *Benomotapa*, etc.) are specifically mentioned in the English translated sections of their work. Furthermore, these authors focussed on general histories, unarguably of notable worth, but trade particulars of Arab / Moor tribal trade intercourse may well be best recorded in trade transaction records. It is, thus, here surmised that earlier records of the Chobona–Chainouqua relationship should be looked for in Arab / Moor east coast records with specific reference to their southern stations, the likes of Kilwa and Sofala, that might shed light on the tribes they specifically traded with: the key to Chobona–Chainouqua tribal history is reasonably inferred to lie in the greater Sofala region (and north thereof) along the east African coastline.

According to Theal (1910): *"From the time of Mohamed to that of Vasco da Gama the Arabs and Persians were the only traders on the Indian ocean, and they must have been well acquainted with the inhabitants of Eastern Africa even before they founded a chain of settlements from Magadosho [Mogadishu] down to Sofala*." Theal (1910) describes Masoudi's work of 943 AD as: *"This great work contains more information upon the Bantu than all the other Arabic volumes yet translated put together. Those people were then found as far south as Sofala, which is mentioned not as a town or village, but as a territory,*" and on the territory north of Sofala, and with Sofala being the place where the Arab trade thus basically ceased, Theal (1910) quotes Masoudi:

> *"As we have already stated, the Zendjes and the other tribes of Abyssinia spread themselves out along the right bank of the Nile to the extremity of the sea of Abyssinia. Alone among all the tribes of Abyssinians, the Zendjes proceed along the channel which flows from the larger stream of the Nile and empties itself in the sea of the Zendj. They established themselves on this country, and spread out to Sofala, which is the most distant frontier of the territory and the terminus of the navigation of the vessels of Oman and of Siraf in the sea of the Zendj. Just as the sea of China reaches to the country of Sila (Japan), of which we already had occasion to speak, so are the limits of the sea of Zendj the country of Sofala and of the Wakwak [KhoiSan], a country which produces gold in abundance and other wonderful things. The climate is hot and the land is fertile. It is there that the Zendjes built their capital; afterwards they chose a king whom they named Waklimi.*

In the Horn of Africa the history of Islam is nearly as old as the faith itself: through trade with Muslim partners on the opposite side of the Red Sea, merchants and sailors of the Horn gradually came under the influence of the new Islamic religion. Many an early Islamist disciple fled the Arabian Peninsula from the Quraysh, a mercantile Arab tribe opposed to Mohammed's teachings and Islam, seeking refuge in the port city of Zeila (northern Somalia) from the Aksumite Emperor's court. Islamists so granted protection settled in various parts of the Horn from where they promoted their religion. The seventh century victory of the Muslims over the Quraysh had a significant impact on local merchants and sailors, as their trading partners in Arabia had by then adopted Islam, and the major trading routes of the Mediterranean and the Red Sea had come under the sway of the Muslim Caliphs. Further instability in the Arabian Peninsula resulted in increasing migrations to the Somali seaboard, resultantly forwarding on the faith to ever larger parts of the Horn region. The expansion of Islam thus reached the Great Lakes region of Africa, or the greater Lake Victoria region, where locals became progressively more acquainted with the Muslim faith and manner and where, after the immigration of Muslim Zayd peoples, local Islamic governments centred in Zanzibar (Tanzania) upholding the structure of Islamic authority throughout the pre-Colonial period (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Islam).

[44] Zendj / Zendjes are routinely translated as Bantu tribes. Although it is acknowledged that the majority of tribes along the coast were Bantu, the direct translation of Zendj / Zendjes, meaning "black" to Bantu excludes for example "Black Khoe," or Khoe of darker skin tone, the result of EIA (and to a more limited degree early MIA) cultural and physical amalgamation, as well as admixture with other groups then active in the East African coastal region, such as the Arabs / Moors themselves and Indians.

[45] The Monomotapa (or maKaranga) is, however, generally described as a MIA people that rose to political power, thus not necessarily expected in the Arab records.

This name, we have already seen, has always been that of their sovereigns. The Waklimi has as dependents all the other Zendjian kings, and has command of three hundred thousand fighting men. The Zendjes employ the ox as a beast of burden, because in their country there are neither horses, nor mules, nor camels, and they do not even know of such animals. Snow and hail are unknown to them, as to all the Abyssinians. Among them are some tribes who have their teeth very sharp and who are cannibals. The country of the Zendjes commences at the channel which is derived from the upper Nile, and extends to the country of Sofala and of the Wakwak. Their habitations are spread out over an area of about seven hundred parasangs[46] in length and breadth."

And from Edrisi's work of 1154 AD, an extract of Theal (1910) pertaining to the region north of, and of Sofala is relayed as:

"First Climate[47] – Seventh Section: This section contains the description of a part of the Indian sea and of all the islands that are found there, and that are inhabited by people of different races. In the middle of the region comprised in this section are the rest of the territory of the black Kaffirs [heathens] and various countries bordering on the sea. Our intention is to describe all these subjects clearly. We say then that this sea is the sea of the Indies, and that upon its shore is situated the town of Merouat, at the extreme end of the country of the Kaffirs, people without a faith, who worship nothing but stones smeared with fish oil, such is the degree of stupidity in which they are sunk and the absurdity of their vile beliefs. Part of this country is subject to the king of the Berbers, the other part is a dependency of Abyssinia. From Merouat, situated upon the coast, to Medouna [Medina], is reckoned three days' journey by sea. The last named town is in ruins, almost deserted, filthy, and unpleasant to live in. Its inhabitants subsist upon fish, shellfish, snakes, rats, lizards, and other loathsome reptiles. These people carry on fishing in the sea without boats, and without living constantly on the shore. They fish by swimming or by diving with little nets made by them of vegetable fibres. They fasten these nets to their feet; by means of lines and of running knots which they hold in their hands they close the net as soon as they feel that a fish has entered it, and that with a skill in which they excel and with ruses of which they have long experience. To attract the fish they make use of land reptiles. Although they live in such a condition of distress and profound misery, still these people (God loves those who cling to their domestic hearths) are satisfied with their lot, and are content with that which they have. They are under the government of the Zendj.

From the town of Medouna, following the coast, Melinde, a town of the Zendj, is reached by sea in three days and three nights. Melinde is situated on the border of the sea, at the mouth of a river of fresh water. It is a large town, of which the inhabitants occupy themselves in hunting and fishing. On land they hunt the tiger and other ferocious animals. In the sea they catch different kinds of fish, which they salt, and with which they carry on commerce. They possess and work mines of iron, and this is with them an article of commerce and the source of their greatest profits. They claim to understand the art of charming the most venomous snakes, and making them harmless to everyone except to those to whom they wish evil, or on those to whom they desire to execute vengeance. They claim also that by means of enchantments tigers and lions cannot do them harm. Such enchanters bear in the language of these people the name of el-Mocnefa. From this town to Manisa, along the coast, is two days' journey. This is a small place, and is a dependency of the Zendj. Its inhabitants are occupied in working mines of iron and hunting tigers. They have dogs of a reddish colour that fight with and conquer every kind of wild animal, even lions. This town is situated upon the border of the sea, and close to a great gulf which vessels go up for two days' sail, upon the shores of which there are no habitations on account of the animals of prey that live there in the forests, where the Zendjes go to hunt them, as is reported. It is in this town that the king of Zenghebar resides. His guards are footmen, because there are no horses in this country, as they cannot live there. From Manisa to the town of el-Banes is by land six days' journey, and by sea a hundred and fifty miles. El-Banes is a very large and populous town. The inhabitants venerate a drum called errahim, as large as …, covered with skin on one side only, and to which is attached a cord by means of which the drum is beaten. This results in a frightful noise, which can be heard at a distance of three miles [4.8km] or thereabouts.

El-Banes is the last dependency of the Zendj. It borders on Sofala, the country of gold. From el-Banes to the side of the town named Tohnet is by sea a hundred and fifty miles, and by land eight day's journey, as between these places there is a great gulf which, extending towards the south, compels travellers to turn from a straight course, and a high mountain named Adjoud, of which the flanks have been worn into deep

[46] *"A parasang was a measure of length equal to about five kilometres and a half"* (Theal 1910).
[47] *"The zones of Edrisi are climatic, not measured by degrees from the equator as ours are"* (Theal 1910).

ravines on all sides by the waters which course down with a frightful noise. This mountain draws towards it the vessels that approach it, and the sailors take care to keep away from it and to flee from the locality.

The town of Tohnet is also a dependency of the country of Sofala, and borders on that of the Zendjes. There are a good many villages, and they are all built upon the banks of rivers. In all the country of the Zendjes the principal productions are iron and the skins of tigers of Zenghebar. The colour of these skins is reddish, and they are very pliant. As these people have no beasts of burden, they are obliged to carry upon their heads and their backs the articles destined for the two towns of Melinde and Molbasa [Mombasa], where they make their sales and their purchases. The Zendjes have no ships in which they can make voyages, but vessels from the country of Oman visit them, and others bound to the islands of Zaledj, which are dependencies of India; these strangers sell their merchandise at Zenghebar, and purchase the productions of the country. The inhabitants of the islands of Zaledj go to Zenghebar in large and small ships, and they make use of them for commerce with their merchandise, as they understand the languages of each other. The Zendjes have at the bottom of their hearts great respect and a good deal of veneration for the Arabs. For this reason when they see an Arab, whether he is a traveller or a trader, they prostrate themselves before him, magnify his dignity, and address him in their language: "you are very welcome, o son of Yemen!" Travellers who go into this country steal children, and delude them by means of dates which they give them. They entice them away here and there, and end by taking possession of their persons and conveying them into their own country, for the inhabitants of Zenghebar form a numerous population, and are wanting in resources. The prince of the island of Keich, situated on the sea of Oman, with his vessels undertakes military expeditions against the Zendj, and makes a good many of them captives.

Opposite the shores of the Zendj are the islands of Zaledj; they are numerous and large.

"Eighth Section: This section contains the description of the remainder of the country of Sofala.

To begin with, two towns, or rather two burghs, are found there, between which are villages and camping places like those of the Arabs. The burghs are called Djentama and Dendema. They are situated upon the border of the sea, and are not of great size. The inhabitants are poor, wretched, and have no other means of existence than iron. There are a good number of mines of this metal in the mountains of Sofala. The inhabitants of the islands of Zanedj and of other neighbouring islands come to seek iron there to transport it to the continent and the islands of India, where they sell it at a good price, for it is an important article of trade and is much used in India, and although it is found in the islands and in the mines of that country, it is not equal to the iron of Sofala, either in abundance or in quality and malleability. The Indians excel in the art of manufacturing it, in that of preparing the ingredients by means of which, by fusion, the soft iron is obtained which is commonly called iron in India. They have manufactories in which the most highly valued sabres in the world are made. It is thus that the irons of Sind, of Serendib, and of Yemen are estimated according to the account of the quality resulting from the local atmosphere, as well as according to that of skill in manufacture, in smelting, in forging, in the beauty of polish and of brightness, but it is impossible to find any capable of taking a sharper edge than the iron of India. This is a matter universally recognised, and that no one can dispute.

From Djentama to Dendema is reckoned two days' journey by sea, seven days' journey by land.

Dendema is one of the principal towns of Sofala, three others adjoin the territory of this country. One of these is Siouna, a town of medium size, of which the population consists of Indians, Zendjes, and others. It is situated upon a gulf where foreign vessels come to anchor. From Siouna to Boukha, upon the border of the sea, is three days' journey; from the same place to Dendema of Sofala towards the west is three days' journey by sea, and by land about twenty days' journey, because there lies between them a great gulf which extends towards the south, and which necessitates a considerable detour. From Boukha to Djentama is by sea one days' journey, by land four days' journey. In all the country of Sofala gold is found in abundance, and of excellent quality. Notwithstanding this the inhabitants prefer copper and they make their ornaments of the last-named metal. The gold that is found in the territory of Sofala exceeds in quantity as well as in size (of the nuggets) that of other countries, for pieces are found of one or two mitheals, more or less, and sometimes even of a rotl. It is smelted in waste places by means of fire made of cowdung, without which it would be necessary to have recourse to quicksilver, as is done in Western Africa, for the inhabitants of the latter country put together their pieces of gold, mix them with quicksilver, fuse the mixture by means of charcoal fire, so that the quicksilver evaporates and nothing remains but the mass of pure gold. The gold of Sofala does not need to be treated in this manner, but it is smelted without any contrivance that alters it. We shall conclude afterwards what we have to say of this country, if it pleases God."

It is proposed that the Chobona–Chainouqua tribal relationship dates to at least the time of the establishment of Kilwa and Sofala, circa. 980 AD (with specific reference to Cape Correntes or the Cape of the Koranas, situated in the Sofala territory), and that this hypothesis must be considered until such time as it can be either confirmed or rejected by east-coast evidence; Western Cape or Cape Khoe history does not afford plausible interpretations. Likewise, it is surmised that the first "Great chief" of the Chainouquas was a man by the (first) name of Chainou / Chaynu(n) / Chama (or variations thereof) who is the same person as the Korana recorded founder of the tribe, Kora ('Kora / !Kora) / Gora / !Ora / Chora (or variations thereof), but who probably lived 1,000 or more years ago.

It is necessary to return to the mid-seventeenth century and the two prominent Khoe tribes of whom a clan (or clans) each comprised a section of the Chobona's army: the Chainouqua–Gorona and the Cochoqua–Kochoqua. The early Dutch records (1652–1662) contain a number of references to the "jealousy" – or rivalry – between the tribes; but with no more an acute example thereof than in the case of the attack by the Cochoquas on the Chainouqua trading party during which Chaihantima's wife, gifted him by the Chobona, was killed (Leibrandt 1900):

> *"7 November 1658 – Now it happened that this chief [Chaihantima, the Chainouqua 'captain'], in consequence of our continued requests, had been induced with the knowledge of his head men, to visit us December last, (whilst Eva was still with her sister in the country) with a large number of cattle and men, as well as with his wife (who had very long hair falling down to her feet) whom he wished to introduce to us; but having approached the Fort at a distance of 4 or 5 days journey, he was met there by the Cochoquas, and as shortly before there had been some differences between them, he was attacked by the latter who were very strong, with the result that the woman was also killed and he was so completely vanquished that he barely escaped with about 10 men. This is a great pity for the Company which through this woman would have finally become acquainted with the marrow of the Chobonas country and its resources, the more so as the said Chaihantima had promised the Commander to let some of our people accompany his wife to the Chobona, &c., which by this intervening misfortune has been miserably frustrated. According to Eva he has returned to his people, who would all proceed together to the Chobona for obtaining justice or a larger force to take vengeance on the Chochoquas, so that probably we may soon hear of a sharp encounter between these two mighty tribes as both possess thousands of fighting men."*

But Khoe intertribal conflict is not the objective here, the general warlike times of the mid-seventeenth century is: the reported wars in the north-east, and notwithstanding the impact of Western seafaring nations on the African peoples. That the Khoe alluded the Dutch at the Cape to the true affairs further afield, but that the intensity thereof was not comprehended by the Dutch can be gleaned from the records; with Dutch ambition to travel inland and meet the Chobona typically stifled by the Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s) holding that the Khoe would meet the Dutch at the Cape for said purposes:

- *"31 October 1657 – The chief [Sousoa] from whom we had bought the 3 oxen told us that one of his wives had lived in the house of the Chobona, and been educated there. She was, therefore, a great friend of this big man, and he told us that his wife had worn in her ears, round her neck and fingers, golden ornaments. Riebeeck immediately asked that he should bring hither his wife or her ornaments. He replied that she could not move, being accustomed to remain only at home, and to be served by other young women. Walking would hurt her feet. He was offered a fine wagon to fetch her, but answered that she would die of fear if she saw the Dutchmen. Riebeeck even offered to go himself, but this also would not do. As he intended to leave tomorrow he was asked whether he required any escort towards the Chobona, which might also invite other people to visit us. He declined this offer, stating that if his friends heard that he had Dutchmen with him they would all run away and kill their cattle by over-driving, for though they had heard of us they know nothing of our good nature as he did. This is his second visit"* (Leibrandt 1898b).
- *"1 December 1657 – The Chaynouqua [a Chainouqua 'captain'] brings 53 cows, among them 6 fine oxen. We bought all. He also brought back the ox which we had borrowed. He promised to bring more. It seems as if the freemen had said that they intended going on an expedition towards the camp of these people, and he therefore begged that we would forbid our men from doing so, as his people would run away, whilst they are now coming down in large numbers"* (Leibrandt 1898b).

Following van Riebeeck's departure from the Cape for service in Batavia and his official replacement by Zacharias Wagenaar[48], who arrived at the Cape on 9 April 1662 (Leibrandt 1900), Dutch records of trade intercourse with the Chainouquas diminish successively. It is unknown when exactly the power of the Chobona in the distant north / north-east was finally quelled, reasonably inferred not long after Wagenaar took command at the Cape; with little

[48] Zacharias Wagenaar (1614–1668).

more than Tirion's *"Kobonas"* record of the once powerful and ruling Khoe tribe – the Choboqua(s) / Chobona(s) – an almost memoir-like testimonial in 1730 to a largely unknown tragic history. With the fall of the Chobona the "Little Chobona" – or the Chainouqua – resumed command as chief / king or monarch of all the Khoe – and pressingly, thus, to direct the wars of the north-east from the Great Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s) stronghold or "homeland" to the south of the Maluti mountains. And at this very crucial time – the political turmoil resulting from the fall of the Chobona, the greatest recorded onslaught on the age-old Khoe socio-political hierarchical system and the ripple effect thereof through Khoe society, coined with the transfer of power to the Chainouqua and the never-ending LIA wars in the north-east – the Xhosa rose in the south and seized political power.

Tirion's (1730) record of the *"Gouros Natie"* [Gorana(s) / Korana(s)] may well indicate that the Xhosa–Khoe wars were raging in the "homeland" of the Great Chainouqua at the time, perhaps with the Gorona–Korana military wing split between the wars in the north-east and the south. But for the time being it is Tirion's record of *"De Chainouquas"* (the Chainouquas) toward the north-western interior of the map, below the *"Land van Ryk Biri"* (or the Briqua / baTswana territory) that intrigues. A notary description pronounces this group of Chainouquas as *"Ryk in Vee"* (rich in livestock). At least two interpretations may apply to Tirion's *"De Chainouquas"* interior record:

- Firstly, the record may merely indicate the residing of a significant clan (or clans) of the Chainouquas–Koranas that escaped the impact of the LIA migratory cum Xhosa–Khoe wars from somewhere across the Chainouqua–Korana territorial domain.

- Secondly, it was customary practice among many a southern African tribe that in times of political tension and war the heir to the chieftaincy was sent to a place of safety, often to reside for some time with a party neutral to the conflict. Within this explanation Tirion's *"De Chainouquas"* interior record would refer to the residing or *place of safety* of the heir to the chieftaincy – the successor to the "Great chief" – of the Great Chainouquas / Koranas during the Xhosa–Khoe wars. Should this be the case, then not only is the fairly prominent recording of the Chainouqua–Korana in the interior explained, but also the notary description of this group being rich in livestock, for the heir to the chieftaincy would have been accompanied by a significant contingent to ensure his safekeeping. But if this is the case then there is no evidence that the heir to the Great Chainouqua / Korana chieftaincy survived the impact of LIA migratory invasions and war in his interior *place of safety*. As a matter of fact, there is no evidence that the Great Chainouquas / Koranas or the Little Chainouquas / Koranas survived the impact of the LIA migratory cum Xhosa–Khoe wars: the power of the age-old second most important Khoe tribe in the Khoe socio-political hierarchical system seems to have been vanquished in these wars. Ample evidence, however, exist of many a scattered tribal remnant, of not only the Chainouqua–Korana but including kindred south-eastern Khoe tribes / clans, having had survived these wars at expulsed and displaced interior and southern Cape coast refugee residings.

  [This interpretation is directly contrary to Stow's (1905) genealogical record of the Great Koranas, interpreted in this report as the genealogy of the Gorachouqua(s) / Gorachouna(s) alias the Great Koranas.]

That the *Xhosalands*, as they are colloquially known, are conquered territory stands uncontested. That the Xhosa–Khoe wars of the seventeenth / eighteenth centuries were particularly brutal wars with may a Khoe tribe exterminated and survivors, mainly (women and) children, forcibly subjugated and incorporated by their conquerors stands, equally, uncontested. The aim of the Xhosa in these wars was, first and foremost, the complete annihilation of the "Little Chobona" and his tribe, the Great Chainouquas / Koranas: without achieving this central objective the Xhosa could not seize political power. Once accomplished, every allied Khoe tribe / clan was successively exterminated, expulsed, or surviving sections subjugated as the Xhosa successively expanded their political rule and territorial domain southward through the region. But the Xhosa–Khoe wars were, firstly, not LIA migratory wars: that limited Xhosa migration into the Eastern Cape may still have been ongoing at the turn of the LIA–MIA is acknowledged. But at the time of the outbreak of the Xhosa–Khoe wars the Xhosa had been – generally speaking – a long time resident in the region. Secondly, these wars were political wars, not race wars. The Xhosa–Khoe wars is, therefore, best understood as a product of the politically tumultuous and war-like nature of the times. But it is in the preceding peaceable period, prior to the outbreak of the Xhosa–Khoe wars – and where peaceable elements may reasonably have continued throughout the wars, or at least been rekindled after the wars – that an explanation for Sensitive Area 1, and specifically site elements the likes of the grave of Abee Mdlokolo, is to be sought.

Stow (1905), speaking of the Damara, for example, states that, *"Similar to most of the Bushmen [as well as some Khoe / "Hottentots"], the Tambukis [abaThembu], and a few other tribes, these people mutilate their hands by cutting*

off the first joint of one of their little fingers[49]*. There are certain families among them that cut out one testicle of every male child.*" These type of very intimate and private, essentially KhoiSan practices recorded, among other, under the abaThembu during the early British Imperialist period serves as evidence of long peaceable relations that prevailed in the region between the Xhosa and the Khoe prior to the outbreak of the Xhosa–Khoe wars. It is not the type of cultural practice likely to survive in a conquered tribal section and where conquest involved the forceful subjugation of (women and) children only. The cross-cultural adoption of such intimate essentially KhoiSan practices by the abaThembu speaks of generational tribal (physical and cultural) amalgamation, that can only be explained within the context of acculturation by choice.

Cultural customs the likes of the above mentioned – and therewith also the shared nature thereof as cross-cultural intertribal practices amongst select groups – were irrevocably lost during the Christianisation and civilization of the native tribes. However, the loss of cultural practices (especially under pressure from a culture not involved in the process, in this case the Cape government / British) did not necessarily affect intertribal and -personal Xhosa–Khoe relationships. Hence, albeit rare, it is not unheard of that certain Khoe customs are still respected, whether never or no longer practiced among the Xhosa; and likewise, it is not that extraordinary – and with specific reference to the grave of Abee Mdlokolo – that a person of Khoe descent who lived as Xhosa, whether in consequence of a subjugated or incorporated context, or a Khoe who lived a Khoe lifestyle elsewhere, may well, upon request, have been granted a wish to be buried at their known Khoe ancestral site even in a Xhosa dominant cultural-political context.

The abaThembu is then, curiously, also the Xhosa tribe that was propelled not only into the national, but also the international arena with the election of Nelson Mandela[50] as South Africa's first democratic president from 1994–1999, but with seemingly little understanding and interest in the history and tribal- and cultural complexity of the very Xhosa tribe – the Abathembu – that he himself hailed from, and by inference the principles of interraciality, interculturality and human rights including history and heritage rights that he stood for.

But how did the Xhosa manage the conquest of the Khoe during the Xhosa–Khoe wars? The Great Chainouquas / Koranas was not only the age-old second most important Khoe tribe in the Khoe socio-political hierarchical system, but at the time of their conquest by the Xhosa they were at the helm of Khoe affairs, one of but two recorded Khoe tribes with a clan (or clans) that had, for generations, comprised a military wing to the Chobona's army and, thus, with a standing permanent military force? There is no answer to this question. But the reader may well recall that it was also the Xhosa, just another Iron Age farmer people – no more, no less – with their citizen army, that had for near three quarters of a century from 1811–1879 – from the Fourth (1811–1812) to the Ninth Frontier / Xhosa Wars (1877–1879) – in what was the greatest *War of Independence* in South African history, withstood the power of the British, the mightiest military power in the world at the time, before ultimate victory was claimed over them: a war barely mentioned in the pages of our history books.

The memory of Xhosa victory in the Xhosa–Khoe wars, specifically over the "Little Chobona," or the Great Chainouquas / Koranas carried well into the British Imperialist period. Many an Imperialist and neo-Imperialist branch school of thought offered hypothesised explanations, mainly centring on the *re-writing* of the "Chobona" (the Chainouqua) – or the "Little Chobona" – as Xhosa[51] (or alternatively as undesignated Bantu), or the *writing out* of the Chobona / "Little Chobona" from southern Africa's history altogether.

[49] *"Various forms of bodily mutilation are practiced by the Bushmen [San]. Perhaps the best known of these is the removal of a finger joint, as a rule that of one of the little fingers. The older writers on the Southern Bushmen frequently mention it as occurring in some men and women, as well as in children, but it is not universally found. The joint is usually removed during childhood, and the custom appears to be associated with some magical belief. One of Miss Lloyd's informants stated that the joint is cut off with a reed before the child sucks at all, and that the motive underlying the custom is that the child should live to grow up. Other writers add that the operation is performed only on a child whose predecessor has died young, and is intended to protect it from a similar fate. Various other interpretations have been given of the custom, but the one just mentioned appears to be the most probable. This form of mutilation does not seem to occur to any extent in the Northern [San] tribes. Seiner found it in a few persons among the Kung, but states that it was exceptional, and there is no other record of its occurrence in these tribes"* (Schapera 1930).

[50] Nelson Rolihlanhla Mandela (1918–2013).

[51] It must be noted that the Xhosa never claimed an overarching ruler or monarch over all the Xhosa tribes (or such authority over all the Khoe tribes), neither do their histories contain reference to the Chobona, not as a tribe / clan, respects address, or hereditary title.

John Milton[52] was a keen protagonist of the late Imperialist / early neo-Imperialist paradigm and a professor in Law at the University of Natal. In 1983 he wrote his acclaimed book on South African history *The Edges of War*. According to Milton (1983):

> *"During the first fifty years that they were at the Cape, the Dutch had shown little activity in discovering what lay beyond the mountain ranges that walled their settlement. The maps they possessed were littered with the fantasies of medieval cartographers: cities that had never been built and rivers of gold that had never run. From these maps Van Riebeeck persuaded himself that the legendary empire of the fabled Monomotapa, drained by the gold-rich river Spirito Santo, lay just beyond the mountains. He was thus keenly interested when some Khoi [Khoe] visitors told him about 'Chobona'.*
>
> *Thus, they said, was the name of 'a powerful lord emperor or king, who ruled over all the Cape natives'. The emperor, lord or king had a large army; his people spoke a different language to the Khoi and were 'very keen' to obtain 'red copper and red beads'. But what really aroused the Commander's interest was the information that Chobona 'was rich in gold' which his people made into coins 'as big as the palms of the hand, or even bigger'. Dazzled, Van Riebeeck persuaded himself that the chief of the Chobona was the emperor of Monomotapa. In 1661 he despatched an expedition into the interior to seek the way to this land of gold, ivory and diamonds. All it found was a Khoi chieftain who, when made drunk with brandy, claimed to have dealings with a tribe called 'Coboqua' [Choboqua(s) / Chobona(s)], darker skinned Khoi who in turn 'trade with the real Cabonnars of Monomotapa'.*
>
> *Van Riebeeck departed from the Cape in 1662 leaving to others the tantalizing vision of the gold of Chobona. In 1668 Olfert Dapper published an account of the peoples of the Cape which described the 'Kabonas' in alarming terms. They were very dark people with long hair, and if they got hold 'of a Hottentot or any other person they roast him alive and eat him'. 'No Hollander at the Cape', Dapper added, 'has ever been to this tribe due to its remoteness'. In 1689, however, there appeared at the castle (which had replaced Van Riebeeck's mud fort) a captain of an interior tribe whom the Dutch called 'The Banditti'. What was interesting about this man was that he said he had been sent by his powerful neighbour 'Inqua Komsakou', whom the Dutch promptly 'supposed to be the King of Monomotapa'. The Commander was gratified to learn that 'King Komsakou' wished to 'open communications' with him and happily agreed to do so. He despatched an expedition, led by Ensign Isaac Schrijver, with instructions to visit this supposed king of 'Monomotapa'. However, when Schrijver reached Komsakou's country he found the 'king', though 'of great stature and more robust than any of our men', no emperor but simply a chief of a powerful and numerous Khoi tribe. This disappointment was tempered by the fact that the Khoi chieftain knew of the Coboqua, the tribe Van Riebeeck had understood to trade with the Chobona. Their country, Komsakou said, was five days' journey to the east. But Schrijver chose not to go any farther and returned home, bringing the report the Coboqua were 'rich in cattle'.*
>
> *Nothing more was done concerning the Chobona until 1702, when some free burghers decided to mount an expedition which would seek out and trade with the cattle-rich 'Cabuqua' [Choboqua(s) / Chobona(s)]. Since the authorities frowned on private trade with the tribes, the expedition was organized in secrecy and departed secretly. It was 45 strong, comprising mainly young men in search of adventure and profit. The expedition was away for seven months and returned with a rich haul of nearly 2,000 head of cattle and 2,500 sheep.*
>
> *Rumours concerning the expedition had, however, reached the ear of the Governor (as Van Riebeeck's successors were now styled) and he ordered the arrest of such members of the expedition as could be found. Under interrogation the detainees blurted out a disgraceful story.*
>
> *After leaving the frontier village of Stellenbosch the expedition made its way across the Hottentots Holland Mountains to the nearest Khoi encampment. There each man hired himself a servant (some of these Khoi were later rounded up by the Governor's men and also interrogated) and then the expedition travelled on, calling at various Khoi encampments along the way. Somewhere their way was blocked by great primeval forests and local Khoi guides showed them a pass into a long valley rimmed by mountains. They travelled down this 'Langekloof' until they emerged at the end into the open rolling country which was the hinterland of the great bay the Portuguese seafarers called Algoa [Port Elizabeth / Gqeberha].*

[52] John Robert Landrey Milton (1939–2017).

After a few days they went inland to the encampment of those same Inqua that Ensign Schrijver had visited in 1689. Here they obtained the thousands of cattle and sheep they had brought back to the Cape. What, the interrogators enquired, had they given for so much livestock? Reluctantly the witnesses explained that since they were by then rather short of provisions they had crept up upon the Inqua encampment under cover of darkness and, as dawn broke, they had fired shots into the Khoi huts, whereupon the 'Hottentots [Khoe] took to flight'. (The Khoi servants' story differed in one detail: after the firing they saw in the kraals 'various men, women and children lying dead, but cannot express the number'.) The Europeans then rounded up all the livestock of the Inqua tribe and drove them off to the Cape. Actually not 'all'; as an act of humanity they had returned some few hundred cattle and sheep to the Inqua. (The Khoi, however, claimed that only '40 old cows' were returned.)

After this they had returned home. They had sworn to each other that they would not reveal the truth about how they had obtained their booty. They wrote down this covenant in the back of a book entitled 'The Christian Voyage'.

But what of the Chobona? Well, when they reached Algoa bay they found a Khoi—'Captain Snel'—who agreed to guide them to the land of the Chobona and interpret for them. On the way they fell in with Gonaqua Khoi, 'seized' three of them and 'kept them in bounds in order to show them the way'. Some Gonaqua evaded capture and ran off towards the Chobona country.

Then early one morning, before sunrise, while the men were clustered about the fire and servants were loading the oxen for the day's journey, the sentinel suddenly cried out. And there, on a lip of high ground surrounding the camp, framed against the dawn sky, were five or six hundred warriors, armed with shields and assegais. It was a band of Chobona. Even as the Dutch scrambled for their guns, the Chobona came storming down on them. Desperately the Dutch fired a volley of shots at their attackers, who promptly fled in consternation and terror. Half an hour passed and then the Dutch saw the Chobona advancing 'standing in a line, one of them coming on as a captain carrying his shield in his left hand and holding an assegai in his right, being gradually followed by his men'.

On and off for another three hours the Chobona pressed their attack and the Europeans held them off with volleys of shot. In the end, though, the Chobona broke and fled, and the Dutch and their retainers 'from the morning to the evening pursued them on foot and horseback'. Nevertheless at the end of this hot, bloody day the Dutch decided that it was not advisable to continue their journey any further towards Chobona country. They would rather turn back and visit the Inqua Khoi who were rich in cattle and not so fierce.

The Dutch were evasive when asked how many Chobona they had slain. Three, perhaps more. The Khoi witness again told a rather different story: 'They did not know the number, but it must have been rather large, having first found 20 dead, and afterwards on different spots two, three and more together, as the captured Kaffers [natives] had, by order of the Dutch, been beaten to death with sticks by the Hottentots of Captain Snel.'

And the Dutch, on returning to their camp after pursuing the Chobona, found their colleague Herman Janz 'sitting on his haunches, but dead, with the bridle of his horse around his right arm, and with an assegai in his back'.

The first blood in a long and bitter struggle had been spilled.

They greeted with the salutation 'sakubona!'; this word became 'Chobona' to the Khoi, who thus identified them to the Dutch. The Khoi, however, had another name for those Chobona into whose country the Dutch marauders had intruded in 1702. They called them 'Xhosa', which in the Khoi tongue meant 'The Angry Men.'"

* * *

Following the fall of the Chobona – the chief / king or monarch of all the Khoe – together with his tribe the Choboqua(s) / Chobona(s), some time after Wagenaar took command at the Cape in 1662, but prior to the tribal remnant *"Kobonas"* record of them by Tirion in circa. 1730, the Chainouqua (the Korana) – the "Little Chobona" – or the second-in-charge in the Khoe socio-political hierarchical system assumed the power of the "Chobona" as chief / king or monarch of all the Khoe. Very little detail is known of the Khoe socio-political hierarchical system as it pertained to the regional choebahas. The Hancumqua is recorded as choebaha of the north-east region (although

he may not have been the only north-eastern regional choebaha). Remnants of the Hancumqua(s) / Hancumna(s) certainly survived the LIA migratory wars of the seventeenth / eighteenth century as evidenced by Tirion's (1730) map. But it is uncertain if the Hancumqua, the "Great chief" of the Great Hancumqua(s) / Hancumna(s) survived with his clan; or the Little Hancumqua(s) / Hancumna(s), from who, in the event of the former having been decimated in the wars, a legitimate heir to the title of the Hancumqua could have been chosen. The only known regional choebaha that survived the LIA wars was the Namaqua, choebaha of the north-west region, and "Great chief" of the Great Namaqua(s) / Namana(s). The Namaqua(s) / Namana(s) tribe, including the Great Namaqua(s) / Namana(s), the Little Namaqua(s) / Namana(s), together with independent Namaquas / Namana(s) clans survived – despite LIA impact – tribally in-tact. The Namaqua, former choebaha of the north-west region is known to have assumed the position of the "Little Chobona" or the second-in-charge to the "Chobona," in the post-LIA wars period being the Chainouqua / the Korana.

The "Chobona" – as chief / king or monarch of all the Khoe, in other words the first-in-charge – followed / supported by the "Little Chobona" – or the second-in-charge – as per the Khoe socio-political hierarchical system as recorded in the early Dutch records (1652–1662) survived the collective impact of the LIA migratory invasions and wars in terms of Khoe tribal customary system. The system is, albeit much repressed, at least in certain circles respected to the present day. Accordingly, there is a colloquial saying that *the Namaqua is the Little Korana*. The saying is no more than a "play" or contemporary translation on the age-old tribal system:

- **The Chobona** (first-in charge) → [LIA wars] → the Chainouqua / (the Gonaqua) / **the Korana** (as the "Little Chobona") succeeds the "Chobona" as the **first-in-charge** after the decimation of the Chobona and his tribe further north / north-east. The reader is reminded that despite the quelling of the Great Chainouqua(s) / Korana(s) during the Xhosa–Khoe wars the heir to the chieftaincy – or successor to the "Great chief" – of the Great Chainouqua(s) / Korana(s) and his contingent may have been harboured in the interior of the land, but in which case without evidence of him having had survived LIA migratory impact at his interior *place of safety*. Many a Chainouqua(s) / Korana(s) clan and kindred Khoe tribe / clan scattered inland and southward where they found refuge, in cases under the protection of other Khoe tribes / clans.

  [It is uncertain if a successor to the title of "Great chief" of the Great Chainouqua(s) / Korana(s) was appointed among the multitude of tribal scatterings, or if the former tribal system was reconstructed to any agreeable level. Increasingly these Khoe came into contact with the then expanding Dutch / Boers, with such meetings varying from hostile encounters to protection of Khoe under labour agreements. Following the British annexation of the Cape in 1795 / 1806 protection of Khoe communities was also afforded under the missionary system; albeit including some very reasonable Khoe histories, the missionaries never aimed at holistic tribal recording or restructuring and the very purpose of their work, the Christianising and civilising of the native tribes, resulted in a tremendous loss of Khoe customary practices and traditional cultural information.]
- **The "Little Chobona"** (by extrapolation from the above to be referred to in the post-LIA wars system as the "Little Chainouqua" / ("Little Gonaqua") / **"Little Korana"**) or the **second-in-charge → the Namaqua** assumed the position of the second-in-charge, thus the former position of the "Little Chobona" in the post-LIA wars system the "Little Korana".

Hence, the Khoe saying that *the Namaqua is the Little Korana*. The Korana is the first-in-charge (in the post-LIA wars system, the former Chobona), and the Namaqua is the second-in-charge to the Korana, or the "Little Korana" (in the post-LIA wars system, the former "Little Chobona".)

❖ The Hancumqua(s) / Hancumna(s)

The Hancumqua(s) / Hancumna(s) is recorded in the early Dutch records as an important north-eastern Khoe tribe and the (only reported) choebaha of the north-east region. They are recorded as Hancumqua(s) and on occasion as Hanoumqua(s)[53] (Leibrandt 1897b, 1900):

[53] *"31 October 1657 - The Çhancumqua's [Hancumquas], also from the east, rich and numerous; also one of the principal chiefs of the Chobona"* (Leibrandt 1987a).
"21 June 1858 – Upon this the new interpreter Doman, now called Anthony, who had returned from Batavia with the Hon. Cuneus, being asked why the Hottentoos would not search for the runaways [slaves], coolly replied that he did not know. Riebeeck (not trusting him) called the Interpretress Eva [Krotoa] alone to his office, who was asked whether the blacks [the runaway slaves] were not harboured by the Hottentoos. Being told that the Commander thought so, she replied, 'I shall tell you straight out; Doman is no

- [Hancum][-qua(s)] / [Hancum][-na(s)] → [Hanє(o)um][-qua(s)] / [Hanє(o)um][-na(s)] → Hanoumqua(s) / Hanoumna(s).

The early Dutch reported north-eastern residing of the Hancumqua(s) / Hancumna(s) is at best described as an extremely vague geo-spatial indicator; and no Hancumquas residing – or "homeland" – is discernible on Du Val's circa. 1663 map. They are, however, indicated on Tirion's map of circa. 1730 as [7] "*De Hancumquas*" (the Hancumquas), then residing near the west coast at some distance south of the Tropic of Capricorn. The simple recording of "*De Hancumquas*" on Tirion's (1730) map is without indication of them being the Great Hancumqua(s) / Hancumna(s), the Little Hancumqua(s) / Hancumna(s) , or an independent Hancumqua(s) / Hancumna(s) clan, and without as much as a notary description of their former prominence in the Khoe socio-political hierarchical structure. Significant impact as a result of LIA migratory invasions and war, perhaps to near extinction of their former selves, and the regrouping of but scattered survivors is read in the albeit undetermined but notable (near) cross-continental east to west Hancumquas migration that occurred during the rough 70 years that passed between the early Dutch records (1652–1662) and Tirion's map of circa. 1730.

❖ The Heusaqua(s) / Heusana(s)

Another prominent north-eastern Khoe tribe recorded in the early Dutch records of 1652–1662 is the Heusaqua(s) / Heusana(s), known as the lion hunters. (No, not like that! Those who hunted with lions). According to Leibrandt (1900):

> *"5 May 1662 – We conjecture that they are the people of Monomotapa [Choboqua(s) / Kobona(s)], as Eva [Krotoa], the interpretress, often tried to make us believe, for according to the translation of Sousoa's statement, there was Chory, that is, gold among the Choboquas, as well as white stones, proofs of which he has promised to bring with him when he returns; as well as that of that nation. We hope that you will experience the success of this for the good of the Company, and obtain further information regarding a certain nation, of whom the Emissary from the Heusaquas said that they keep the Lions so tame and use them as we do dogs, and that among them also will be found chory or gold and white stones."*

As in the case of many a northern and north-eastern tribe, the residing or mid-seventeenth century "homeland" of the Heusaqua(s) / Heusana(s) remains unidentified: the early Dutch records do not provide adequate information to geo-spatially infer a residing and neither is a locale indicated on Du Val's circa. 1663 map. But Tirion's map of circa. 1730 gives the impression that they must have been a tribe of considerable size. Expulsed from their north-eastern lands they scattered and dispersed mainly in a south-westerly direction where remnants of the tribe found refuge and safety; while others fled south-east – they are, thus, found scattered on Tirion's (1730) map spread from the west to the south-west to the south-east. Toward the western desert Tirion recorded them as [8] "*De Heufaquas*" (the Heusaquas) with a notary description that reads *"dese Natie word gebruikt in de Stryd tegen de Leuwen,"* translated as *the nation that is used in the battle against the lions.* Although it is evident that their former notoriety as lion hunters was still recalled in the 1730s, the common misperception that they hunted lions, rather than using tamed lions in their hunts was already prevalent. Further south-westward another section is recorded as the "Hefiquas" (Heusaquas), and toward the south-east yet another as the "Hesfaquas Natie" (Heusaquas nation). It is impossible to tell from Tirion's (1730) map whether any of these groups represented the Great Heusaqua(s) / Heusana(s), the Little Heusaqua(s) / Heusana(s), or if all of them were mere recollected scatterings of independent surviving clan sections. What can, however, be said with certainty is that significant tribal scattering and migration

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good. What we spoke yesterday in master's room he communicated to the Hottentoos. I told him that what he was doing was wrong, but he replied, "I am a Hottentoo and not a Dutchman, but you Eva, are a lickspittle of the Commander,"' &c. She added: 'I believe with master, that the stout captain of the Caapmen harbours the slaves and intends to present them as gifts to the Cochoquas in order to remain on good terms with the latter, who would in their turn convey the slaves to the Hanoumquas [Hancumquas], living far hence and cultivating the soil in which they grow 'dacha,' [dagga / marijuana] a dry herb which the Hottentoos eat and which makes them drunk, and is highly esteemed by them" (Leibrandt 1897b).

"5 May 1662 – Hancumquas, according to the hopes given us about them. These Hancumquas, as we have always been able to understand, must be the greatest and most powerful of all the dirty [fat smeared] Hottentoo tribes, living like all the others in huts of matting, but of a much bigger size. They live permanently on the same spots, where they plant and dry a certain plant which they call 'dacha' [dagga / marijuana] which they bruise and eat, and which makes them very silly, just as in India is done by opium, which is the reason that they long for the very strongest tobacco. The chief of the tribe seems to be the Paramount Chief over all the Choequees or Kings, and is called Choebaha [of the north-east region], which seems to mean Emperor or at least Chief King or Lord over all the others [subject choeques / tribal chiefs]" (Leibrandt 1900).

occurred among the Heusaquas in the rough 70 years that passed between the early Dutch records (1652–1662) and Tirion's map of circa 1730.

❖ **The Houteniqua(s) / Houtenina(s)**

The early Dutch records (1652–1662) designate the Houteniqua(s) / Houtenina(s) as a people from the distant interior, thus, vaguely as a northern to north-eastern to south-eastern people. Not only their residing(s) but also their identification by name is particularly problematic: the Houteniquas' mid-seventeenth century history is notably difficult to pinpoint. Later documentation, however, supplement information on them.

Goodwin (1952) argues that, *"[t]he Houtunqua are obviously the Houteniqua or Outeniqua … Van Plettenberg's explanation [for the Outeniquas is] //ho-taniqua, the 'sack-carrying folk.' But Engelbrecht gives the 'Sack-people' as the //ho://?êikwa, a subdivision of the Great Korana [Great Chainouqua(s) / Korana(s)] of whom nothing is known. I suggest that both people [the Outeniqua and the //ho://?êikwa or the sack-people] are the same, the latter being an abbreviated form of the former."*

The mid-seventeenth century Houteniqua(s) / Houtenina(s) is understood as a notably large tribe, possibly with a number of stations scattered across the land. According to Kolb (1727), *"na de ander kant van het strand, vind men aan de oever de Houteniquas welker land vol schone bome en dichte wouden is*," thus, confirming a Houteniquas residing along a forested shore with the landscape typified by impressionable trees and forests; supporting a south-eastern coastline locale. Cloppenberg (1758), on the other hand, states: *"wederom een landstreek is sonder hout, en niet bewoond, het gee nook in de kaart onder Houteniquas Land gerekend word … Her word Houteniqua wil seggen in het Hottentots 'Houteni' sak drag, 'quas' man of volk, wijl de daar bij gelegen hottentotten in sakken de honing uit de bossed haelden end us driegen,"* and placing the Houteniquas in a dry desolate landscape devoid of woods and trees but, nonetheless, describing them as a people actively engaged in their characteristic honey collecting activities. Honey collected was carried in honeybags for trading purposes and, hence, the interpretation of the Houteniquas' tribal name as the "sack-people" or the "sack-carrying people" (an interpretation contrary to the naming of a tribe / clan after the first "Great chief" thereof, although the name of the "Great chief" may have denoted the *intention* of honey collecting, carrying, and trading). According to Swellengrebel (1776) the Houteniquas are the "Autoniqua", while Le Vaillant (1795) states that, *"[t]his country beats the name of Autinequa; which in the Hottentot idiom signifies a man loaded with honey […]. The whole country of Auteniqua … is inhabited by several planters, who … collect honey, all of which they transport to the Cape."* And according to Thompson (1827), *"Euteniqualand … in the Hottentot language signify ever-green land."*

It is not only the wide geo-spatial dispersal of the Houteniquas of the eighteenth century, but importantly also their reported close association with the Great Korana who by then was already difficult to identify, that intrigues. In addition, it is necessary to consider variation in their recording, for the time being limited to its most basic forms:

- [Houteni][-qua(s)] / [Houteni][-na(s)] → [~~H~~outeni][-qua(s)] / [~~H~~outeni][-na(s)] → Outeniqua(s) / Outenina(s).

Houteniquas / Outeniquas is the most common variant, but it is worthwhile to be cognisant of other references such as Euteniquas, Autoniqua, Auteniquas, and Attaquas (Nienaber 1989); the varying spellings of their tribal name may signify recording over different Khoe dialect / linguistic zones.

The Houteniquas' eighteenth-century association with the Great Korana designates them, by virtue also of the Chainouqua–Gorona / Gonaqua–Korana tribal–clan relationship, an inferred mid-seventeenth century primary north-eastern to south-eastern Khoe designation. No Houteniqua(s) / Outeniqua(s) (or name variation) residing or "homeland" is indicated on Du Val's circa. 1663 map, but they are found scattered from west to south-west to south-east on Tirion's circa. 1730 map, where they are towards the west recorded as the [9] *"Attaquas Natie"* (Attaquas nation), toward the south-west in the greater Cape peninsula region as the *"Attaquas"* (Attaquas), and toward the south-east in the Natal region as the *"Houteniquas Natie"* (Houteniquas nation). Significant scattering and migration of the Houteniqua(s) / Outeniqua(s) is, thus, argued in the rough 70 years that passed between the early Dutch records (1652–1662) when they were first recorded (*"Houtunqua"*) and Tirion's circa. 1730s map.

The early Dutch of 1652–1662 variably referred to the Khoe as "Ottentoos" or "Hottentoos" / "Hottentots" and a number of explanations is posed to explain the once common naming of them as *Hottentots*, including that the name has its origins in Dutch, Portuguese, or Arabic, to name but a few, while even a Hamitic origin has been

proposed (Nienaber 1989). More than often, however, an early Dutch (mis)imitation or mimicry of their language and on occasion their dance is argued (Raven-Hart 1976):

> *"When bread is given to them [Khoe] they gobble it up at once, and it seems that they would eat as much as they were offered. When they meet us, the first thing they do is to point to their stomach, which they so pull into their body that it seems as if they had a great cavity in their chest … They speak from the throat, and seem to sob and sign when speaking. Their usual greeting on meeting us is to dance a song, of which the beginning, the middle, and the end is 'hautitou.'"*

But the Dutch of the seventeenth century was a colonising people, and in none of their colonies are the indigenous / local peoples named after a cultural aspect or trait; hence, raising the question why they would thus have named the Khoe as exception to the rule.

The Houteniqua(s) / Outeniqua(s) is confirmed as avid (honey) traders as late as the eighteenth century, and it is fair to assume a lifestyle with earlier roots[54]. The early Dutch at the Cape (1652–1662) was also not the first to use the terms "Ottentoo(s)" and "Hottentoo(s)" / "Hottentots." These terms were adopted from Linschoten's (1596) journal, who, as previously mentioned, in his southern African travels had spent a notable amount of time visiting the "cities" (towns / large villages) and recording the lifeways of the Khoe, or the "Ottentoos" / "Hottentoos" / "Hottentots" of the interior. Ehret (1982) argues that the KhoiSan languages of the interior are very similar designating them the collective category of a Khoe-Bushman language group, and with the close relationship between the San / "Bushman" and the Khoe / "Hottentot" of the interior further echoed in lifeway, including general tribal intercourse such as trade relations and extended to intermarriage. The reader may recall Theal's (1910) introduction to the San and the Khoe: *"The earliest inhabitants of South Africa, termed by Europeans Bushmen, by Hottentots Sana, by Bantu of the eastern coast [where Linschoten's journey into the interior started] Abatwa, of the western Coast Ovatwa, of the interior Baroa,*" and, "*[t]he Hottentots, [were] termed by the Bantu of the eastern coast Amalawu, and by the Bantu of the south-western coast Ovaserandu,*" noting that there was no specific Bantu name for the Khoe of the interior – there was only the collective eastern Bantu reference to the interior KhoiSan as Baroa, while the San was also called the Abatwa. It is these two root names that are of importance here: Baroa → [ba-][**roa**]; and Abatwa → [aba-][**twa**], with -roa and -twa both designating the San, and in the absence of a specific eastern Bantu designation for the interior Khoe extrapolated to imply KhoiSan:

- [Houteni][-qua(s)]/[-na(s)] – Bantu: [-twa(s)] → [Ho~~u~~t(t)en<u>i</u>(_)][-t~~wa~~(oo)(s)] → Hottenitoos.
  Based on the early Dutch recording of "Houtunqua" as Houteniqua(s) / Outeniqua(s) the above would read as:
  [Houtun][-qua(s)]/[-na(s)] – Bantu [-twa(s)] → [Ho~~u~~t(t)~~u~~(e)n][-t~~wa~~(oo)(s)] → Hottentoo(s).
- [Outeni][-qua(s)]/[-na(s)] – Bantu [-twa(s)] → [O~~u~~t(t)eni][-t~~wa~~(oo)(s)] → Ottenitoos.
  With *Outungua* as derivative of the early Dutch recording of "Houtunqua" as Houteniqua(s) / Outeniqua(s) the above would read as:
  [Outun][-qua(s)]/[-na(s)] – Bantu [-twa(s)] → [O~~u~~t(t)~~u~~(e)n][-t~~wa~~(oo)(s)] → Ottentoo(s).

It is argued that if the Bantu of the east coast informed Linschoten on the KhoiSan people of the interior with regard trade possibilities they would have referred to them as Abatwa. If they informed Linschoten on a particular (trading) tribe of the interior, such as the Houteniqua(s) / Outeniqua(s) they would have referred to them as [<tribe name>][-twa(s)] → [Houteni][-twa(s)] / [Outeni][-twa(s)] or [Houtun][-twa(s) / [Outen][-twa(s)] that was (mis)translated / corrupted as "Hottentoos" or "Ottentoos". In conclusion, it is hypothesised that the early reference to the Khoe as "Ottentoos" or "Hottentoos" / "Hottentots" is a derivative of the eastern Bantu reference to the Houteniqua(s) Outeniqua(s) of the interior. The specific tribal reference was then generalised and applied to all like people, thus to all kindred Khoe tribes.

Likewise, it is necessary to consider Toroa and Butua – as indicated on Du Val's (1663) map – as KhoiSan (or Khoe) "cities" or towns / large villages. At least some of these "cities" may have been subject or allied to the Monomotapa in the mid-seventeenth century for purposes of trade:

- Baroa – ([<u>Ba</u>][roa]) – KhoiSan peoples → Toroa – ([<u>To</u>][roa]) – Place of the KhoiSan peoples.

[54] *"5 March 1659 – In our earliest letters you have no doubt read that we not only had great hopes of securing ivory, but also amber, seed pearls, musk, civet and ostrich feathers, all of which, excepting amber, we have heard of as possessed by some (by sommige wel hebben vernomen), but whatever we promise or do, we cannot induce them to bring us any, or take any trouble to procure anything, not even honey, which is so abundant in the forests (bossen). Now, however, it is collected by the freemen in the baskets sent them, with the prospect of becoming abundant in course of time"* (Leibrandt 1900).

- Abatwa – ([~~A~~ba][t~~w~~(u)a] / [Ba][tua]) → Batua – KhoiSan peoples.

The interpretation of Batua (also spelled Butua, Butwa, etc.) as an "African" kingdom warrants either clarification or must be regarded as a neo-Imperialist construct:

> *"Butua, historical kingdom, Africa. Alternate titles: Butwa, Guruhuswa. Butua, also spelled Butwa, former African kingdom in what is now southwestern Zimbabwe. Though called Guruhuswa in Shona tradition, the region was first mentioned in Portuguese records as Butua in 1512.*
>
> *The Togwa dynasty [maKaranga / Rozwi / Shona] governed the kingdom until 1683, when it was conquered and absorbed by the changamire (or ruler) of the powerful Rozwi kingdom. Butua was renowned as the source of gold for Arab and Portuguese traders" (https://www.britannica.com/place/Rozwi-historical-state-Africa).*

❖ **The Gorachouqua(s) / Gorachouna(s)**

The Gorachouqua(s) / Gorachouna(s) is frequently reported in the early Dutch records (1652–1662) as a central Cape Khoe tribe and one of the three main tribes the Dutch thus engaged with upon their arrival. They are, among other, referenced as (Leibrandt 1900):

> *"5 March 1659 – The Gorachouqua alias Gorachouna, under a chief Chousa, the tobacco thieves."*

It is necessary to consider the early Dutch record of the Gorachouquas against contemporary Korana history:

> *"The Korana or Kora were a nomadic Khoikhoi group that probably derive their name from a chief called Kora (or Gora), who was originally a leader of the Gorachouqua ('-qua' meaning 'people of'). This leader detached himself from this group with his followers and became the first great chief of the Korana. Others say that the name Korana could mean 'the real thing'"* (https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/kora).

It is here argued that Kora / Gora was not the (first) name of the "Great chief," or the founding chief, of the Gorachouqua(s) / Gorachouna(s) and, thus, with effect not only to the above contemporary relayed Korana history but also to the Great Korana genealogy and history as recorded by Stow (1905). The early Dutch (1652–1662) recorded the (first) name of said chief as Chousa, but with cognisance that this may be a (mis)interpretation / corruption of an abbreviated version of the respects address, the Gorachouqua:

- Gorachouqua → [Gora][**c(C)hou**][-q(**s**)~~ua~~] → Chousa.

The (first) name of the "Great chief" of the Gorachouqua(s) / Gorachouna(s), and the chief at the time of the early Dutch recordings was, thus, a man by the (first) name of Chou (or variations thereof).

It is, furthermore, noteworthy that Gorachouqua(s) / Gorachouna(s) is a tribal name, and not a clan name. It is a case of tribal sub-sectioning where the (first) name of the "Great chief" of the new independent sub-sectioned tribe is known: Chou. The parental tribe's root name in the [root name]–[-suffix] system, Gora – the (first) name of the "Great chief," or founding chief, of the parent tribe – warrants further exploration to reconstruct the Gorachouquas' tribal allegiance: the parental tribe's name, Gora, within the [root name]–[-suffix] system is Goraqua(s) / Gorana(s). Variation in the spelling of the parental tribe's name include:

- [Gora][-qua(s)] / [Gora][-na(s)] → [Gor**a**(o)][-qua(s)] / [Gor**a**(o)][-na(s)] → Goroqua(s) / Gorona(s) – and, thus, the same parent tribe as the Chainouquas' military wing of the Chobona's army.
- [Gora][-qua(s)] / [Gora][-na(s)] → [G(K)ora][-qua(s)] / [G(K)ora][-na(s)] → Koraqua(s) / Korana(s) – and, thus, the familiar Koranas as the name was standardised.

In summary, the Gorachouqua(s) / Gorachouna(s) was an independent sub-sectioned tribe of the Chainouqua–Gorona / Gonaqua–Korana clan / band cluster[55], where the first "Great chief," or founding chief, of the tribe was a

[55] An alternative to this hypothesis includes expulsion from the parent tribe (Chainouqua–Korana) after which the offender (and his followers) founded a new tribe (Gorachouquas). However, no reference to such a scenario is made in the early Dutch records (1652–1662). Proximity alone of the Gorachouquas from the Chainouqua–Gorona / Gonaqua–Korana territorial domain supports the hypothesis; but it does not explain why many a Chainouqua chief or *captain* thus frequently resided with the Gorachouqua on their trade visits to the Dutch, a practice that rather supports an affiliate sub-sectioned tribal relationship.

man by the (first) name of Chainou / Chaynu(n) / Chama / Kora ('Kora / !Kora) / Gora / !Ora / Chora (or variations thereof) [see the Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s)], but who probably lived 1,000 or more years ago. Thom's (1954) description of the Gorachouquas as the *"Chora Chougua"* provides an interesting alternative spelling to the tribal name, emphasising the parental tribe affirmation with *"Chora"* as founder of the parent tribe. Within the tribal name lies the claim of the Gorachouquas as Korana(s): it is a parent tribe (Chainouqua–Korana) – independent sub-sectioned tribal (Gorachouqua) relationship with the parental tribe's name (Kora / Gora) reflected in the independent sub-sectioned tribe's name:

- [**Gora**][(first) name of the "Great chief" of the parent tribe] + [**Chou**][(first) name of the "Great chief" of the independent sub-section of the tribe] + [-qua(s)] / [-na(s)] = New tribal name → [Gora][Chou][-qua(s)] / [na(s)] → Gorachouqua(s) / Gorachouna(s).

The Gorachouqua(s) / Gorachouna(s) is recorded in the early Dutch records (1652–1662) as a fairly standard Cape Khoe tribe, of notable but not particular size. It seems to have been a contemporary tribal establishment and, hence, within the system of tribal expansion the Gorachouqua(s) / Gorachouna(s) by definition, would be the Great Gorachouqua(s) / Gorachouna(s), and no Little Gorachouqua(s) / Gorachouna(s) or any other independent Gorachouqua(s) / Gorachouna(s) clans were, thus, in existence at the time of van Riebeeck.

The Gorachouqua(s) / Gorachouna(s), as said, was a fairly standard Cape Khoe tribe at the time of the early Dutch records (1652–1662) and is not expected on Du Val's circa. 1663 map. They are, however, recorded on Tirion's map of circa. 1730 as the [10] *"Gorachouquas"*, still residing in the greater Cape peninsula region, and with their residing not indicative of any particular migration in the rough 70 years that passed between the early Dutch records and Tirion's map of circa. 1730.

The tribal sub-sectioning here described is, thus, the reverse of that proposed under the Imperialist and neo-Imperialist paradigms: the Gorachouquas is an offshoot – or independent sub-sectioned tribe – of the Chainouqua–Korana, not the other way around. The tribal system is a system of tribal / clan expansion; the tribal name system, accordingly, follows a system of expansion. A tribal name system of contraction cannot be superimposed on a tribal system of expansion.

The Imperialist and neo-Imperialist notion of the Korana(s) as a people with their origin in the Cape peninsula region at the time of van Riebeeck's command at the Cape (https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/kora; Nienaber 1989; Stow 1905; Thom 1954) must be questioned: this is Gorachouqua(s) / Gorachouna(s) history (an independent sub-sectioned tribe of the Chainouqua–Korana). The claim of Kora / Gora as (first) name of the "Great chief" or founder of the Gorachouquas tribe (https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/kora), as recorded by Stow (1905) must,

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On the other hand, Herry [Atshumao] is, for example, recorded as a rebel expulsed by the Chobona and, thus, at the Cape partnered with the Watermen [Goringaycoiqua(s) / Goringaycoina(s), and of whom he is also described in a chiefly capacity.

Wright (1977) briefly expands on judicial system differences between LSA hunter-gatherers and pastoralists:

"The flexibility of the hunter-gatherers' social system was paralleled by the informality of their political organization. Public affairs centred primarily round subsistence strategy, and since all adults had an intimate knowledge of their natural environment there was unlikely to have been much serious argument in a community over the courses of action open to it at any time. The small-scale, face-to-face nature of Bushman [San] groups allowed communal decisions to be made by an informal consensus of the members best fitted to do so – the older and more experienced hunters. A more formal system of rule by recognized chiefs and councils would have impeded the individual freedom of decision and of movement that was essential for efficient foraging. In the 'judicial' sphere, disputes could normally be settled on a person-to-person or family-to-family basis. If the group as a whole became involved, most issues were still simple enough to be decided by a consensus of public opinion, and in extreme cases a built-in social safety valve came into operation, in that parties who felt themselves wronged were able to walk out and join another group. Exposure to public ridicule was usually enough to bring dissidents into line with accepted norms of behaviour, and as last resort persistent troublemakers could be expelled from the community. Other means of bringing group sanctions to bear against deviants were not needed, and in any case could not have been implemented as Bushmen society lacked the institutional framework to put them into effect. Hence, fines, imprisonment and executions were unknown.

[… But in the case of pastoralists / Khoe and] [t]o manage production of milk in the long term, Khoi [Khoe] society needed something more than the informal leadership structures found among the Bushmen. The husbandry of livestock was too delicate a business to be left entirely to individual whims and fancies: it was essential for society to have some generally accepted means of regulating access to grazing and water, and of concerting the labour required for milking, for day-to-day herding activities, and for protection of livestock. The necessary authority was vested in recognized chiefs and councils, whose powers, though usually very limited in scope, were based in the last resort on the use of physical force, to the point, in certain circumstances, of their being able to enforce executions. The contrast with the Bushman culture could hardly be more marked […]. In short, Khoi society was characterized by dependance on a pastoral economy, government through a system of institutionalized authority, and the maintenance of a social hierarchy based on the private accumulation of wealth. In its ordering of human relationships, it was fundamentally different from Bushman society, and much closer to that of the Bantu-speaking farmers […]."

likewise, be questioned as preferred reference to their parental tribe's (Chainouqua–Korana) origin / affiliation rather than their own tribal name (Gorachouqua) or as an abbreviated form of the respect's address, the Gorachouqua:

- **Gora**chouqua → [**Gora**][chou][-qua] → Gora / Kora ('Kora / !Kora).

The history recorded by Stow (1905) as Korana(s) rather than Gorachouqua(s) / Gorachouna(s) history remain an exception to the rule and contrary to custom – the answer to which should probably best be sought in the complex socio-political milieu of the times, at minimum between Tirion's circa. 1730 recording of them as *"Gorachouquas"* and Stow's (1905) rough mid-nineteenth century fairly elaborate documentation of their *Korana* migrations from the Cape peninsula region, thus, the later Dutch / early British Cape government period. Stow's (1905) Gorachouqua(s) / Gorachouna(s) alias Korana(s) history remains of the best Khoe histories recorded – bar the mystery surrounding the tribal name change – and with overlap between the early Dutch (1652–1662) and Stow's (1905) records there is little doubt that it is a single tribal history including, among other, the Dutch–Khoe wars, with the war of 1659 pertinently reported in the early Dutch records and the (Kora / Gora) Chousa to Eikomo succession confirmed. Interestingly, though, Stow (1905) highlights notable tribal expansion at the time of his Gorachouquas alias Koranas recordings, but only a *Great Koranas* [Great Gorachouqua(s) / Gorachouna(s)] and a number of (independent) Korana / Gorachouquas clans are reported on and the Korana / Gorachouquas Stow (1905) thus describes never seemed to have expanded to a degree where they elected a formal *Little Koranas* [Little Gorachouqua(s) / Gorachouna(s)], a possible indicator of the disintegration of the age-old Khoe tribal system directly coined with ever-increasing Western and Bantu impact and pressure on their lifeway.

Stow's (1905) interpretation of the Koranas, as principal British Imperialist narrative, directly underlies the neo-Imperialist construct of the Koranas as a people who resided in the greater Cape peninsula region at the time of the Dutch settlement in 1652, contrary to the early Dutch (1652–1662) Chainouqua(s) and Gorona(s) accounts with their direct south-eastern and north-eastern references, respectively – and from where the Chainouquas–Goronas / Gonaquas–Koranas clan / band cluster hailed from. Following the British annexation of the Cape in 1795 / 1806, Korana(s) became the standardised term for the Gorachouqua(s) / Gorachouna(s) independent sub-sectioned tribe of the Chainouqua–Korana from the Cape peninsula region, while Gonaqua(s) became that of many an interior and southern tribal remnant scatter of the parental Chainouqua–Korana clan / band cluster.

Should Stow (1905) be read as an account of the post-seventeenth / eighteenth centuries wars and the later Dutch / early British Cape government period, thus, as a localised and already displaced nineteenth century Gorachouqua(s) / Gorachouna(s) alias Korana(s) history, albeit excluding in totality the Chainouquas–Goronas / Gonaquas–Koranas clan / band cluster connection then his *Korana* history provides a most valuable and detailed account of the early Dutch (1652–1662) recorded Gorachouqua(s) / Gorachouna(s) independent tribal sub-section of the Chainouqua–Korana. However, should Stow's (1905) account of the *Koranas* be read as a holistic account of Chainouqua–Korana history then it becomes largely exclusionary and fatally flawed.

Stow's (1905) account of *the Koranas,* in other words the Gorachouqua(s) / Gorachouna(s) – an independent tribal sub-section of the Chainouqua–Korana – alias the Korana reads as follows:

> *"THE KORANAS*
>
> *In commencing our examination of the traditions which have been preserved among the Korana clans, we soon discover that they have been able to preserve a more consecutive history than that known of any other branch of the Hottentot [Khoe] race. It is for this reason therefore that its study sheds a clearer and more definite light upon the early migrations of these nomadic hordes than is to be obtained from any other source, and it cannot be doubted but that this elucidation of their wanderings furnishes a key to those of many others.*
>
> *The earliest traditions of their race were secured by Mr. Kallenberg, for many years a missionary at the Pniel station on the Vaal, which was established especially for the benefit of these people. He was fortunate enough to obtain them from the old people of the tribe who were looked upon as the repositories and guardians of their tribal lore. He says that the traditions of these Koranas are very clear upon the point that their forefathers came from the far north-east interior, where they had dwelt in a land which, from its abundance of water and every good thing requisite for a pastoral people, was described as being almost an earthly paradise. This description seems to point to the great lake country of Central Africa. They knew nothing of how long their remote ancestors had remained there. From the descriptions given, it would appear that they were driven thence about the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century by tribes*

which they describe as Bachoana (baTswana), a stronger race of men than themselves, armed with the bow and battleaxe, and who were themselves pressing down from the north and driving the weaker Hottentot [Khoe] tribes before them as they advanced.

The fugitive tribes fled towards the setting sun, and continued their flight until their progress in that direction was checked by the great waters in front of them, when they turned towards the south, following the shore of the great waters, which always remained on the right hand [this is a direct repetition of Namaqua history and the general south-westward Khoe migration]. The country through which they passed was either unoccupied, or inhabited only by enormous herds of game and scattered tribes of primitive Bushmen [San]. Thus they slowly migrated along the coast-line until they reached the Cape districts, where they settled and lived for some generations.

Such then are the Korana traditions with regard to the migrations of their forefathers, and such doubtless was the line of migration of all the other Hottentot tribes of which we have treated. As we are now confining our research more especially to the Korana branch of that race, we will for greater explicitness pursue our inquiry under the five following heads, viz. –

(1) The Koranas at the Cape,
(2) The Koranas of the great valley of the Orange river,
(3) The clans of the Middle Veld,
(4) Their migrations along the valley of the 'Gij 'Gariep or Vaal and towards the north,
(5) Their migrations to the eastward in the basins of the Orange and Caledon rivers.

(1) The Koranas at the Cape

All the traditions of this tribe unhesitatingly affirm that their forefathers were at one time settled in the present Cape district, and that they took their title from a chief named 'Kora. With the knowledge of this fact in our possession, we cannot help suspecting that the orthography of Van Riebeek in his rendering of Hottentot proper names was incorrect, and that 'Kora and not 'Gora was the word which ought to have been used in the time of Van Riebeeck, and which we have advisedly adopted in a previous section when writing of the 'Gorachoqua and the kindred tribe of Cochoqua, which from Korana tradition would appear to be merely, as we have suggested, subdivisions of one and the same tribe. These Cape traditions of theirs carry them back not only to the time of the Dutch occupation, but also to some of the visits of the Portuguese.

With regard to their great chief 'Kora, they state that he was the first one with whom the Europeans who settled there made a treaty. The strangers, however, soon began to encroach upon the lands of the natives, and war followed as a natural consequence. 'Kora was then alive. It is not known whether he was slain in battle or not, but it is known that he died young. He left as a successor a son called Eikomo. He also had to defend his territory against the daily encroachments of the new colonists, but he could not long resist them, and he was ultimately driven back to the Brak river [this is Cape Khoe history more reminiscent of Herry's / Atshumao's version than that recorded by the Dutch in terms of the Chobona, the "Little Chobona", and the north (to north-east) to east Khoe socio-political hierarchical system.]

From that place he went still farther north, until he arrived amongst a numerous tribe of Bushmen who were wandering on the banks of the 'Gariep. Here he entered into a treaty with these people, and settled in the country. Doubtless in this retreat he avoided traversing the country occupied by the Namaqua [by this version, according to the early Dutch records, the "Little Chobona" or chief choebaha avoided entry upon the land of the choebaha of the north-west region], the old rivals of his tribe, and in that case would first strike the river between its mouth and the falls.

It was from this point that the Korana clans began to separate and spread themselves, some continuing along the river-valley, others migrating into the Middle Veld, near the present Richmond and Victoria West, where they remained until they appear to have lost all tradition about the Great river.

The early history of the Dutch settlement furnishes some interesting coincidences, which tend to prove the correctness of these tribal traditions. Thus the Koranas give a pedigree of six generations between 'Kora and a chief living in 1836, a period of one hundred and eighty-four years after the landing of Van Riebeek, a length of time which would be about equivalent to the six generations indicated. In 1659 Van Riebeek, having made a distribution of land among the Dutch colonists, the Hottentots and they were

involved in war. In 1669 peace was concluded, and the Dutch were permitted to occupy a piece of land stretching three miles along the shore. And in 1673 they were again at war with the Hottentots.

Mr. Backhouse also obtained confirmatory evidence upon this point from a source independent of that from which the above traditionary testimony was obtained. Some of the members of a Korana clan living at Mira-Matchu informed him that the great tribe of the Koranas took its name from 'Kora, an ancient chief under whom they had formerly lived, and that they had descended from a people who inhabited the Cape when the Dutch first took possession of that part of the country. The unanimity of these traditions seems thoroughly to substantiate the points now under examination, and to establish as historical facts, as firmly as such facts can be established upon native testimony, that the Koranas derived their appellation from a chief named 'Kora, and that their ancestors formed part of the group of tribes which in the days of Van Riebeek occupied the country around Table and Saldanha bays.

(2) The Koranas of the great valley of the Orange river

It is worthy of remark that almost in every instance the names assigned to the various rivers and mountains by the natives were more lucid and distinctive, and therefore less likely to lead to erroneous ideas with regard to the several localities indicated, than those bestowed upon them by their more civilized successors. Thus instead of the entire stream being called by one name, that portion of the Orange river between its mouth and its junction with the Vaal was designated by the former the 'Gariep, the river or great river, in contradistinction to the 'Gij-'Gariep, the yellow river or Vaal, and the 'Nu-'Gariep, the black river or Orange. In speaking therefore of the Koranas of the Orange river, it is the first portion of this great water system, or as we have styled it, the great valley of the Orange river, of which we now speak, and of the Korana tribes which emigrated in that direction.

The backward condition in which many of these Koranas were with regard to a knowledge of metals, even to a very recent period, is not generally known. A considerable number, however, of the migratory clans of the early Koranas equally with the Bushmen were unacquainted with the use of iron, and employed pieces of sharpened bone, flint, and crystal as points with which to tip their arrows. They also used pieces of split reed as knives for the purpose of cutting their meat; moreover, these Koranas were also unacquainted with the use of poison to render their arrows more efficacious and fatal, until they acquired this knowledge from the Bushmen, from whom they first obtained their supplies, but who for a long period retained the secret of its manufacture; and it was only after fraternizing with the Bushmen of the 'Gariep for many years that they discovered the method of mixing it for themselves[56]. Even to as late a period as 1823 all the Korana clans of the 'Gariep were still armed only with their ancient bows and poisoned arrows. Thus it was that such men as Africaander, Barends, and the Koks became in early days, by the possession of firearms, so formidable, and rose to such importance in the estimation of the surrounding natives.

A number of these old-fashioned Korana clans appear to have clung more especially to the tract of country immediately above and below the great falls of the 'Gariep. They continued here so tenaciously that this section of them might well have been called the Koranas of the Falls, until the ruthless forays of Africaander drove them higher up the river. These falls are at a spot where the entire volume of the waters of the great river precipitates itself over a ledge into a yawning abyss several hundred feet in depth. They were graphically described by the traveller Thompson as early as the year 1823. These falls possess features of so grand a description that even the Koranas were impressed with a superstitious dread concerning them.

The great waterfall was surrounded by dangerous precipices, where the whole volume of the river was compressed into a channel not more than fifty yards [45m] in breadth, whence it descended at an angle of nearly forty-five degrees, and rushing tumultuously through a black and crooked chasm, among rocks of a frightful depth, escaped in a torrent of foam. This, however, was only the prelude, the commencement of the scene. Continuing its way through this deep chasm for about a mile, the entire body of water, confined to a bed of scarcely one hundred feet [30m] in breadth, descends at once in a magnificent cascade fully four hundred feet [122m] in depth.

The grandeur and sublimity of this scene, however, made little impression upon the Koranas. To them its surroundings only clothed it, amid the gloom of evening, with supernatural terrors. Fortunately, these acted upon the minds of their enemies as well as their own, so that it became a kind of guardian spirit

[56] "*Evidence of 'Goggum' Toovenaar, an old Korana interpreter, upwards of eighty years of age, who was born on the banks of the Taba-Taeboep, or Kat river, running into the 'Gariep or Great Orange river*" (Stow 1905).

to them while the fastnesses and dens of the surrounding woods and rocks became their strongholds and places of asylum when too closely pressed by their pursuers.

The clans which remained wandering upon the banks of the river were the more insignificant ones of the main tribe; all the leading branches appear to have migrated to the Middle Veld at a very early period. Of these smaller river clans none of their history has been preserved from the time of their first migration northward until the commencement of the troublous times which agitated, at the beginning of the present century, the native world of South Africa. The deplorable condition to which they were reduced shortly after that time we shall more fully enter upon when treating of the freebooter Africaander and his exploits.

We will now, before proceeding with the account of the migrations of these people, attempt to draw such a picture of their social economy and character as may give additional life and reality to our study of their further movements, remembering that the description of the habits and customs of one of their clans is a description equally applicable to all, and that in the early portion of the nineteenth century these were the same conditions of life as those which had been handed down to them from their remote ancestors. For long ages they had evidently been an unprogressive race, and what they were in 1800 was but a reflection of what they had been previously, and what they would almost certainly be in the days which were to follow.

The countenances of the Koranas exhibited a total absence of mind, combined with an indescribable habit of drowsiness. The women were complete sovereigns over the cows and milk. Their children seemed playful and active, but in their progress to manhood they lost this disposition. As a rule they lived in separate kraals, each independent of the other, in each of which they had a captain or chief, but his power was only nominal. The rank was hereditary, but the richest man, or he who possessed the greatest number of cattle, had always the greatest influence in the community. With regard to their cattle, it was the duty of the boys to watch them during the day, unless there was danger of an attack from enemies, when the young men assisted. The cattle were considered so much the property of the husband and wife that the former could not dispose of any of them without the consent of the latter. The women milked the cows, and some of the cattle were killed entirely for their use; the men had nothing to do with the disposal of the flesh, but the husband in his turn had a similar privilege. In the first case only women partook, in the latter only men. The instance was rare when men and women ate of the same ox or cow.

They had no rite of circumcision like the Bachoana and Kaffirs [Zulu-Xhosa], but when a boy entered upon the state of manhood a feast was held, and, according to the circumstances of the father, eight or ten oxen were killed in honour of the event. The Koranas were timid and cautious when opposed to Bushmen, but bold in their attacks upon any of the Bachoana tribes. As the different clans assisted each other when attacked, it was rare for any other nation to become the assailants.

Mr. Sass, a missionary who resided for some time among them, states that most of them did not milk their cows in the morning, because their rest would be disturbed by early rising. After a long night's sleep, they would stretch their hands to the warm ashes of the fire to light their pipes, and smoke for a few minutes, and when the heat of the sun increased they crawled to the nearest shade again to indulge in sleep. About noon the cattle returned from the fields to drink, when with great exertion they bestirred themselves to rise and milk them; they then drank as much of the milk as they could, after which they smoked and composed themselves to sleep till the coolness of the evening seemed to arouse them a little. This was their ordinary mode of living, except when on journeys, for which they prepared by killing a sheep and eating as much of it as they were able to devour. They then set off, and were sometimes absent five or six days without tasting a morsel more. Like most of the savage tribes, if destitute of food they tied a skin cord around them, which they drew tighter and tighter as they felt the attacks of hunger.

The Koranas, though superior to the other Hottentots in stature and muscular strength, were greatly inferior to them in moral character. Excessively vain and impudent, they had a great deal more effrontery than true bravery. To a love of plunder they joined an excess of idleness. All the work was done by the women. The only time they shook off their apathy was when they were engaged in the chase, or cattle-lifting, or at one of their dancing festivals. Capricious and insubordinate, they tolerated their chiefs, rather than obeyed them, each recognizing his own will as his only law. They were irreconcilable in their hatreds.

The bodies of the women were loaded with beads, - they wore them on their necks, their arms, their loins, and their ankles. Their dress consisted of an apron of small cords, which descended to their feet, and a kaross made from the skins of sheep or other animals sewed together. They anointed their bodies with sheeptail fat, mixed with a reddish coloured ochre. They consumed a great part of the day in smoking, and

left their children covered with vermin and their rush houses in a state of most disgusting filth. All their energy and vigour appeared to be reserved for their monthly dances. When the moon entered her first quarter the kraal assembled on some favourite elevation, danced to the sound of the tang-tang all night long, and sometimes for eight nights in succession. In this amusement they placed no control on their passions, but abandoned themselves to excesses of which, writes M. Arbousset, it would be a shame even to speak.

One of the most singular customs of these people was that which related to the succession of their chiefs. The eldest son of the captain of the kraal while a lad was hardly allowed to walk, but was kept constantly in his hut, and compelled to drink milk frequently in order that he might grow up a strong man. The milk was handed to him, for he was not allowed to wait upon himself. When the father considered that he had arrived at the age of manhood, he took two kerries, and presenting one to his son, reserved the other for himself. With these the father and son often fought, but immediately the son managed to vanquish his father by knocking him down upon the ground, the parent on rising commended him, and from that time acknowledged him as the captain of the kraal in his stead.

Like the Bushmen, the Koranas exposed the aged to be devoured by wild beasts, alleging in defence of this cruelty that such people were of no use, and only consumed food which ought to fall to the lot of others.

Having thus obtained a few glimpses of the inner life of one of these Korana kraals, we will once more take up the thread of our investigation with regard to their continued migrations and the influence those migrations had in dispossessing the more primitive Bushmen of their long inherited territories.

(3) The Korana clans of the Middle veld

From the traditions preserved among some of the members of the Katse and other clans of this tribe, it would appear certain that some of them at any rate migrated direct from the Cape districts to the tract of country in which they for a time first located themselves, that is in or near the present Division of Victoria West. These traditions prove also that they did not arrive there in a body, but as in all other native migrations they joined their new settlement one after the other in a kind of straggling manner, until they became at length a formidable people.

According to the evidence of Hendrik de Katse, an old Korana living on the bank of the Vaal near Pniel, his portion of the tribe came from the old colonial districts about four generations before his time[57]. The Bushmen in those days, he said, inhabited all the land: there were neither Griquas nor Kaffirs [Bantu], and the Bushmen lived alone in it. They lived by hunting, and if they had quarrels with one another, they soon made friends again, as is the custom of those who belong to the same people. The Bushmen of those parts called themselves T'hors-qua, but the Koranas styled them Sana. The Bushmen were also called by them 'Tua-'kne – the Krantz or Cave dwellers.

It was the main stem of their tribe which settled here, originally called the Great Koranas [Great Gorachouqua(s) / Gorachouna(s)], from which all the offshoots or clans were derived. Here they remained for some two or three generations, slowly moving about from place to place, dividing, and subdividing, until they formed about thirty distinct septs, distinguished by different appellations indicative of some peculiarity of their dress or mode of subsistence. Their only occupations were those of making war upon the aboriginal inhabitants, following the chase, or making forays upon one another's kraals for the purpose of cattle lifting. Some of their kraals possessed large herds of cattle, and also some sheep and goats. Their flocks of the latter, however, were not numerous. The difficulty of driving them from place to place and of protecting them from wild animals doubtless operated against augmenting their flocks to any considerable amount. Many kraals possessed neither sheep nor goats, but only cattle; some of the weaker clans had been plundered of all, and had retrograded in consequence from the pastoral to the hunter state.

In personal appearance these Koranas, similar to those previously described, were superior to any other race of Hottentots, many of them being tall and possessing an air of ease and good humour about them. They bore an inveterate animosity towards the Bushmen, on account of continual depredations on

[57] *"The narrative of Hendrik de Katse was obtained from him in 1874 by the writer whilst engaged on the geological survey of Griqualand West. He was then about seventy years of age, which would give about one hundred and eighty years since his forefathers migrated into the interior. His information related not only to the origin of the Korana tribe, but took up the thread of the tribal history at the point where that of Mr. Kallenberg ended, and treated also of the disappearance of the primitive inhabitants of the country"* (Stow 1905).

their flocks and herds. Their wars with the Bushmen were prosecuted with so much rancour that quarter was seldom given on either side, either to old or young. Though possessing similar weapons to the Bushmen, those of the Koranas were superior in size and workmanship, and their poisoned arrows were occasionally feathered. Their only manufactures were mats, arms, karosses, some coarse earthenware, and a few wooden vessels carved with much labour out of solid blocks of wood. In their earlier days, as before stated, they possessed no iron at all; their arrow points were made of crystal, or flint, while the sharp edge of a split reed answered the purpose of a knife for cutting flesh. They did not work in iron, such things as knives and hatchets were afterwards obtained either from the Bachoana or the Boers.

Like the rest of their countrymen they were fond of singing and dancing by moonlight, and of amusing each other by relating fictitious adventures around their evening fires. True to the instincts of their race, whenever they could procure honey they made a very intoxicating sort of mead or hydromel, by fermenting it with the juice of a certain plant, the secret of which was always retained amongst them with great strictness. Either by copying from their brethren, the Namaqua, or urged thereto by constant hostilities with the Bushmen, or equally frequent squabbles and skirmishes among themselves, these clans of the Middle Veld had made an advance in their mode of warfare, by adopting the use of defensive armour in the shape of shields, which were enormously large and so thick that an arrow or an assagai could not penetrate them. One which Barrow saw was made of the hide of an eland, and measured six feet by four. Their regular attacks were made in large parties of four or five hundred. Though very good friends among each other while poor, the moment they obtained a quantity of cattle by plunder they began to quarrel about the division of the spoil. On some of these occasions this was carried to such an excess that they continued to fight and massacre each other till very few remained on the field.

Such then remained the conditions of life among these Korana hordes of the Middle Veld, until some of them had so entirely forgotten the traditions of their race that when one of their hunting or marauding parties, on a reconnoitring expedition penetrated as far as the banks of the Great river, or 'Nu-'Gariep, they returned to their friends and told them they had reached the end of the world, where the water went all round its borders; and it was not until a much later period that any of the Koranas were found hardy enough to cross to the opposite bank of the stream, and discovered that the world continued on the northern side and that a country existed there similar to the one in which they lived.

This discovery had an important bearing upon the future destinies of the Korana race. Their increasing clans began gradually to spread themselves in the direction of the river, moving slowly from stage to stage through the present Richmond Division. At this time the principal branches of their tribe were the Taaibosches, who represented the main stem of the Great Koranas [Great Gorachouqua(s) / Gorachouna(s)], and whose chiefs were acknowledged to be paramount over all the others. The first great offshoot from the main trunk was that of the Lynx clan, after which followed the Toovenaars, who again threw off a clan called the 'Gaap or Katse people. These, or portions of their clans, took the lead in the northern migration. At first only a portion of the 'Gaap or Katse moved onward, the older people belonging to it still lingering behind in the Middle Veld. Even in 1797 a large portion of the Korana tribe was still on the left bank of the 'Nu-'Gariep, but by that time they had commenced congregating more thickly along the banks of the river itself. They were then a very formidable tribe. Their pioneers had struck the 'Nu-'Gariep a little below the present Hopetown, and their advanced parties crossed somewhere between that and the junction of the 'Nu and 'Gij-'Gariep, or Vaal, migrating over the country diagonally until they struck the 'Gij-'Gariep itself near the present Backhouse drift. These people were principally the 'Gaap or Katse and the Toovenaars.

Another body seems to have crossed the river lower down, near where the great escarpment and plateau of the 'Kaap fringes upon the 'Gariep or Great river. These penetrated, in a line of march in the rear and to the westward of the advance of the others, as far as Klaarwater, the site of the present Griquatown, then called 'Gatee t'Kamma. The whole country was then inhabited by Bushmen, and was covered with thick groves of the wild olive tree. The place of their crossing was at the Presala, Prisoca, or Prieska drift.

The Toovenaars and Katses, on their arrival at the 'Gij-'Gariep, turned and continued their migration up the stream, extending not only as far to the westward as the ridge of the 'Kaap, near Upper Campbell, where one of the clans made a temporary halt, but also along the valleys of the Kolong (the present Hart) and the 'Gij-'Gariep itself, some of them stretching to the north along the former until they came in contact with the Bachoana tribes advancing from the opposite direction. This collision took place about the same time with the advanced parties of both the Taaibosches and the Toovenaars, and thus once

more the Koranas came face to face with the very tribes before whom their fathers had fled some centuries previously from the far north-east interior.

In the interval, however, the Koranas had made advances in the art of war, they no longer used the puny stone or bone tipped reed shafts of their forefathers, but had acquired the mystery of rendering their arrows fatal with the deadly poison of the Bushmen. They were no longer a few fugitive hordes, but an advancing formidable tribe of hunter herdsmen, who had been accustomed for several generations to lord it over all with whom they came in contact. The more confirmed agricultural pursuits of the Bachoana, on the other hand, appear to have deprived them of a portion of the warlike fire which had in earlier ages enabled their forefathers to conquer; while the Koranas had become more cruel and more daring than any other tribe of their nation. Very soon, therefore, these Bachoana, or Briquas as some writers have called them, found to their cost that they were great sufferers from the proximity of such restless and daring neighbours. Large herds of their cattle were carried off, and their children were also seized and forced into slavery, while in the conflicts which took place between them the assagais of the Bachoana had little chance against the poisoned arrows of the Koranas.

Such, however, was the innate love of plunder which possessed these Koranas, that they were not content with looting the herds of the rich Bachoana tribes, but they frequently turned back to rifle the kraals of their own countrymen whom they had left behind in the old camping grounds south of the Great river. This was especially the case after the advent of the Griquas, and when both they and the Koranas began to possess themselves of firearms. This acquisition so increased their rage for plunder, that they carried their devastating freebooting expeditions to an extent never before thought of, until their names became a terror to the native tribes, and they were not unfitly styled by one writer the Southern Arabs of the Desert. It was during this period of unrest that the remaining clans of the Middle Veld were frequently exposed to forays made upon them by the more hostile and poorer branches of their own tribe.

A graphic description of one of these attacks was given to the writer, which may form a characteristic ending to our remarks upon these clans of the Middle Veld. The narrator was one Leonard Jagers, a counsellor of the Katse clan, who was present at the time of the attack made upon his parents' kraal. What he remembered of this affair was that at the time he was rather more than three years old, when one morning at day-break his friends suddenly found their camp surrounded. Their assailants opened a heavy fire upon the huts and kraal, which as quickly as they could seize their arms was returned by the inhabitants. The firing on both sides continued without intermission, or, as Jagers expressed himself, they fired and fired until the smoke was so thick you could not see through it. This was continued all the day, the women and children in the meanwhile remaining concealed in the huts. Nearly the whole time Jagers was lying with his head on his mother's lap, as she was seated on the ground. Late in the afternoon, as the fire was gradually slackening, a stray bullet entered the hut and struck his mother on the breast, piercing her heart, when she immediately fell dead upon him, covering him with her blood. This was the only life sacrificed, no one else was killed on either side.

From this peculiar plan of attack and wonderful waste of powder, it would seem as if the design of the assailants was to make as much noise as possible, and then amid the din and terror inspired by it upon the minds of those who were as yet somewhat unaccustomed to firearms, to get possession of their cattle with as little risk to themselves as possible; for their intention was evidently to capture and to feast, and not to fight and die. This instance, however, will give a very good idea of what some of the natives have described as the desperate wars which were waged between Korana and Korana for cattle.

Shortly after this, the increasing depredations of the banditti of the Lower 'Gariep, the frequent forays of their own countrymen, and the steady but ever-continued advance of the Whites beyond the colonial boundary, compelled the last of these clans to break up their camps and rejoin once more the different portions of the tribe to which they severally belonged; and a few years afterwards only a few very insignificant kraals were to be found to the south or on the left bank of the 'Gariep and 'Nu-'Gariep.

These rivers formed the Rubicon of the Korana race. Passing that, they steadily grew in power and daring, pursuing a course of devastation, until tribe after tribe was impoverished or ruined by them, and the terror of their name spread far into the interior, even as far to the northward as the great town of the Batlapin [baThlaping], and to the eastward until they made the Basutu [baSsotho] around Moshesh [Mosheshwe] tremble in their mountain strongholds.

Having arrived thus far with our subject, we will in the next place take their northern migrations into consideration.

(4) Their migrations along the valley of the 'Gif-'Gariep and towards the north

Before the intrusion of the Koranas into the country north of the Great river in the latter half of the last century, an almost boundless expanse of territory was still in the hands of its primitive owners. To the east and west the stronger races had already passed it, but in doing so had merely skirted its opposite borders along the coast lines. From the north, the Bachoana and Basutu tribes had pressed in like two long sand banks jutting into the broad bosom of an extensive lake; but we shall find that even the portion of the country into which they had intruded was only partially occupied by them, while in the midst of these wilds there were still numerous clans of Bushmen who had never before the arrival of the Korana intruders seen the face of any other men than those belonging to their own race. Fortunately the native evidence upon this point is clear and definite.

In 1874 when the writer was employed in a geological survey of that portion of the Orange river valley through which these migratory tribes had passed on their northern route, he met, among the precipices of the great 'Kaap plateau, at a spot between the two points where these nomadic Koranas had crossed the river, an ancient Bushman whom the Griquas had named Oude Timmerman. He was found among his ancestral rocks of the 'Kaap, about halfway between the junction of the Orange and Vaal rivers and the black precipitous gorge through which the united streams run, near a place called Bang Hoek, which may be interpreted 'The Glen of Terror,' where the river, hemmed in by great precipices, dashes over a succession of rocks. He was the oldest looking man the writer had ever seen, and he certainly at the very least must have numbered a hundred years. He had more the appearance of a skeleton with a shrivelled parchment skin drawn over it than anything else. He looked like a man of past ages again revisiting the earth, a fossil man, who bore all the signs of antiquity about him, and was a veritable relic of the past. His legs were covered with the most frightful scars, from the burns he had received whilst cowering over a small fire to impart some warmth to his withered limbs during the severity and frosts of the chilling winters.

He said that he was now living alone, that his wife had gone away to see his two daughters, who were staying at the nearest police camp, that he had descended from a race of Bushman captains, and he then gave the names of the five last descents.

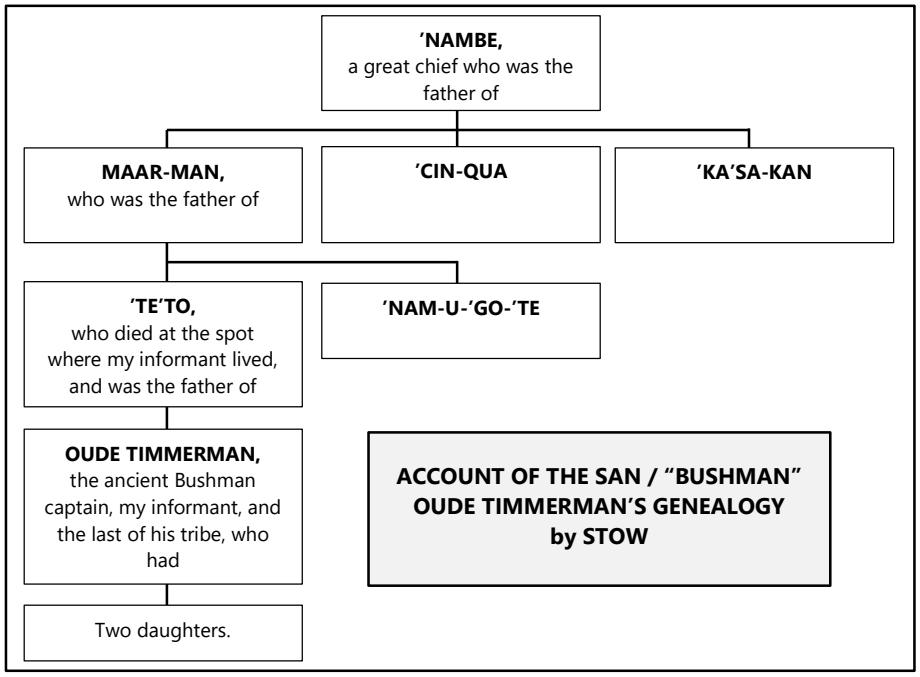

Figure 3: Account of the San / "Bushman" Oude Timmerman's genealogy as recorded by Stow (1905)

He stated that when he was a child the Bushmen of that part believed that the only people in the world were Bushmen and Lions. We fought, he said, the lions, and hunted the great game, and all the game was our cattle! In those days the country swarmed with lions and large game; they were there, and there, and there, wherever you see! He said when a boy of, as he described it, about ten or twelve years of age[58],the first Koranas crossed the Great river, and came into the country where his father and his tribe lived. The Koranas began to destroy the Bushmen's cattle, and drive them away; it was after this that the sight of the herds belonging to the strangers became too strong a temptation for them to withstand, and then, he said, we saw that they would kill us all, annihilate us from the earth, for we were not as they, our houses are among the rocks, we are free men, we love the sun!

A war of extermination was commenced against them by the Koranas. Many of the Bushmen, he said, were shot; others fled from the country; a few like himself tenaciously clung to their old haunts, the place of their birth, where they lived out of the usual track, and could hide themselves in the krantzes [cliffs]. The bees' nests, he said, were to him what cows were to other men, as he could fill his leather sacks with the honey whenever the nests were full. The place where he and his fathers lived is now called Timmerman's Fontein, and was one of the spots reserved by the Griqua chief Waterboer as a farm for himself. This ancient added with an expression of sorrow that now he was very old, and his only wish was that they would not drive him away, but let him die and leave his bones where his fathers had laid theirs before him.

Such was the somewhat pathetic account of the former condition of the country and its prior occupants, a statement thoroughly substantiated by every old Korana whose evidence could be obtained upon this point. Hendrik de Katse was most emphatic in asserting that the country when they came into it was unoccupied, that it was only filled with the wild game and the Bushmen. The Koranas, he said, after crossing the Great river, traversed the country without hindrance until they arrived on the hills near the present farm Backhouse. At this place a number of Bushmen gathered together, and a large body of them attacked the cattle whilst they were grazing in the veld.

The Bushmen had concealed themselves among the hills, and after the Koranas had finished milking and were driving the cattle out, the Bushmen suddenly attacked them in large numbers. They were all armed with bows and arrows, and some carried also a kind of assagai. They immediately commenced driving off the cattle, when the alarm was given in the camp of the Koranas, who were armed in those days in the same manner as the Bushmen. The Koranas, some hundreds in number, seizing their weapons, followed over the flats, where they overtook the Bushmen and the cattle. Here a great battle commenced between them. The Koranas, after two or three hours' fighting, succeeded at last in driving the Bushmen away from the cattle. Seven Koranas were wounded. Then the Bushmen fled towards the drift near Backhouse, and here again the Koranas overtook them, and a great slaughter followed. The bank of the river leading to the drift was covered with dead Bushmen, who fought and struggled until they gained the opposite side, when the Koranas ceased from pursuing them. From that day the drift was called 'Go-'koo-lume[59], from the great destruction of the enemy there. This, said Hendrik, was the first Bushman war.

A kind of peace was then made. During this peace the division of the Koranas called 'Gaap or Katse settled at the top of the kloof, where Campbell was afterwards built, but after remaining here a short time they again removed, and after a year's absence returned. Three years afterwards another war broke out between them and the Bushmen, who on this occasion came from the Langeberg. The remnant of those they had first come in contact with were at this time living intermingled with the Koranas, subsisting on the honey of the 'Kaap.

This statement evidently confirms that of the old Bushman captain, and shows that the Bushmen with whom the Koranas were first at war were those inhabiting the rocks of the 'Kaap, which would include the clan of 'Nambe, and of which Maarman must have been the captain, so that he obtained his name from some Dutch-speaking Korana or some of the Bastaards who followed shortly afterwards.

The Langeberg Bushmen, continued De Katse, came down in a great commando upon them, and surrounded their camp in the night. In the morning the Koranas were perfectly unaware of their danger, and after milking their cows, sent the cattle out as usual. As soon as they arrived at the great vlei (Upper

[58] *"The statement of Timmerman would show that the Koranas first crossed the Great river about 1785–90, a date which, although the exact year is not known, must be nearly correct"* (Stow 1905).

[59] *"The drift was thus named by the Bushmen [San] themselves, from the merciless way in which they were shot down. The meaning of the word is equivalent to the expression, 'You showed us no mercy.'"* (Stow (1905).

Campbell) the Bushmen sprang out of the long grass and reeds upon them, seized the herds, and drove them rapidly off. Three of the Koranas were killed in the vlei, and three were wounded; but the alarm being given, they overtook the raiders before they got clear away. An obstinate struggle took place, and they fought for some time, but at last succeeded in driving the Bushmen clear of the cattle and into some deep kloofs near the high ridge where the road passes. Here the Bushmen stood at bay, but a great number were slain[60]. The remnant fled, and the Koranas taking up their spoor, followed on it, but did not overtake them. They found the skulls of seven of them in one spot, however, and a much larger number at a place farther on. These were evidently men who had died during the flight from their wounds and the poison of the arrows, and who had been afterwards devoured by the hyenas which abounded in those parts. The routed Bushmen succeeded in gaining the Langeberg without being again overtaken by the pursuing Koranas.

In those days, and in that battle 'Ku-'nap-soop was the great captain of the Koranas, and his children are living now. This was the second war. After that there was peace, and the Koranas moved away from Campbell and occupied the land near the Klip drift (the present Barkly [Barkly West]), and made their kraal near the great camel thorn there[61]. It was the great tree on the ridge near the poort, on the right bank of the river[62]. They had enjoyed a long time of peace, when after some years the Bushmen east of the Vaal gathered all their tribes together, and seizing the favourite pack ox of the Koranas, upon which they rode, drove it to the hills and there slaughtered it. The Koranas, indignant at this insult, followed on the spoor, and discovered the Bushmen at their place of feasting. The Koranas came there in the night, surrounded the place, and lay still until morning. When the day broke, the Koranas called out to the Bushmen, and asked them to give up the ox, but when they found it had been slaughtered, they attacked the Bushmen so warmly that three fell and the others fled, and no Korana was wounded that day. This was the third and last war of the Katse clan with the Bushmen of the Vaal. It was called the 'War of the Pack Ox'.

There was peace from those days, and many of the Bushmen came and mixed with the Katses and lived under them. Thus it is that the Katses understand the Bushman tongue, and the Bushmen the Katse's, although they are two languages. After that there was war between the Koranas, one clan with the other. Many years afterwards other Bushmen came from the mountains and fought with the Koranas, but they were altogether destroyed, and then the missionaries came into the land, and the Katse people have dwelt at Pniel unto this day. The captain of the Katses in 1874 was Andries Kats—his father was a great captain, but he was killed and devoured by a lion.

Thus ended Hendrik de Katse's somewhat quaint description of the early movements of that portion of the Korana tribe to which he belonged. We will now revert to the second division, which, passing the river at Prieska drift, advanced through the country rather more to the westward, until they made a temporary halt at 'Gatee-t'Kamma, afterwards chosen by the missionaries as the site of their Griqua station, to which the name Griquatown was subsequently assigned.

At this time the nearest of the Bachoana tribes appears to have been the main branch of the Barolong [baRolong], then staying at Taung, the place of the Lion, under their chief Tao or Tau, the Lion. This place was situated on the Upper Hart river, then called the Malalarene, while the lower portion of the same stream was distinguished as the Kolong. The Koranas were then under 'Kunapsoop or Taaibosch the Elder, the paramount chief of the Great Koranas [Great Gorachouqua(s) / Gorachouna(s)]. The Barolong chief, upon hearing of their advance into that part of the country, came to pay them a visit, and after an apparently friendly interview departed. After a lapse of time Tau paid them another visit, accompanied by a large number of his people. The old Korana captain, thinking they had come in the same friendly manner as before, hastened to meet them, and offered to the chief, according to their custom, sundry articles of food for himself and his people.

[60] "*This advantage was very likely obtained from the large shields, which we have already learnt these Koranas carried, and which enabled them to approach the Bushmen [San] with comparative safety*" (Stow 1905).

[61] "*This tree escaped the ruthless axe of the diamond diggers until late in 1876. It was a landmark which could be seen many miles*" (Stow 1905).

[62] "*In 1874 the writer visited this spot, and found on the hill on the opposite side of the river, near the site of the old Korana camp, the place where the Bushmen [San] on the look-out had formed two or three screens of loose stones, from which they could watch whatever was going on in the camp without exposing themselves to view*" (Stow 1905).

The chief Tau however was meditating treachery, and his followers had concealed under their skin karosses assagais broken short. Noticing a convenient opportunity, they suddenly displayed their perfidy, and most treacherously murdered 'Kunapsoop, with a large number of his people.

After this dastardly attack Jan Taaibosch the Elder, or 'Knon-bil, was unanimously declared chief. He rallied the Koranas, and crossed the Malalarene in pursuit of Tau and his people, who were on the way back to their own country. The Koranas overtook them, and a battle ensued in which the Barolong were defeated and driven away. Following up this advantage, they pursued the retreating Barolong to the great place of Tau. Here he turned at bay, four battles were fought with him and some of the Batlapin, who were then in a state of vassalage under the Barolong, and who had contracted intermarriages with the Bushmen. In the end they forced the Barolong to leave the country, when they retired as far as Setlagole for refuge, a place nearly one hundred miles [160km] farther to the north. The chief Tau, it is said, died of his wounds.

After fighting and defeating the Barolong, most of these Koranas removed and settled in the conquered territory. Rijt Taaibosch occupied Patuni or 'Nukuni, and the Korana captain 'Khammakose died at 'Nukuni. It was long subsequent to these Korana victories over the Barolong that the Griquas came and settled with their missionaries at Klaarwater.

These Koranas attempted at various times to push their predatory inroads far to the north, attacking not only the different branches of the Batlapin, but also of the Batlou, the Bakuena, the Bangwaketse, the Leghoya, the Bataung, and others. These attacks were carried on so pertinaciously that some of the branches of these tribes lost all their cattle, and were reduced to the greatest extremities. In all their settlements cattle lifting seems to have been their chief employment and amusement. Never before in the history of their tribe had they possessed such an opportunity of developing their powers of acquisitiveness, and it certainly cannot be said that they did not avail themselves of it to the utmost. Some of their kraals depended entirely upon these raids as a means of support. As long as the captured cattle lasted, there was feasting and dancing, rejoicing and singing, but as soon as the supply was exhausted a preparation of bows and poisoning of arrows commenced for another foray.

As a demonstration of the deplorable effects of these continuous depredations upon many of the surrounding tribes, we learn that Intshe, the Ostrich, a son of Inkwane, who at one time possessed a great many cattle, lost them all in one of these attacks, and was reduced to such utter distress that he and the remnant of his people were obliged to seek shelter among the wild and much despised Bushmen, in order to obtain subsistence. This fact illustrates at the same time that these wild Bushmen could not have been the remorseless and bloodthirsty creatures they have been so frequently depictured, seeing that we find them not only in this case, but in numerous other instances, affording an asylum to many fugitives under similar circumstances.

In all these attacks the principal weapons of the Koranas appear to have been the ancient bows and arrows of their race, which continued to be used until the settlement of the Griquas at Griquatown, about which time firearms were introduced by the Koks and their guardian missionaries."

* * *

For purposes of this report, this is where the mapping exercise ends. The exercise demonstrates specifically the impact of LIA migratory pressure and war on the Khoe, and the principal south-west (and southward) migration of surviving remnants of originally northern, north-eastern, and eastern Khoe tribes – and including tribes integral to the north (to north-east) to east Khoe socio-political hierarchical system – as apparent in the approximate 70 years that passed between the early Dutch records (1652–1662) and Du Val's map of circa. 1663 on the one hand, and Tirion's map of circa. 1730 on the other, by means of the 10 Khoe tribes briefly discussed.

The exercise also evidences the negative impact of the Imperialist and neo-Imperialist idioms on Khoe history; the Khoe being a people who as late as the seventeenth / eighteenth centuries resided across southern Africa with their rule intercepted in mosaic-like manner by many a Bantu tribe – most notably that of the Monomotapa, the chief / king of the maKaranga – that entered the region mainly during MIA times, albeit with the emphasis here being the LIA migratory invasions and war, but not excluding the Xhosa–Khoe wars and the *difaqane*, and including the impact of Western seafaring nations with their trade focussed on the East, and their related activities along specifically the east-African coastline (and with cognisance to the south-western Dutch settlement). In the wake of these troublesome times many a northern, north-eastern, and eastern Khoe tribe was exterminated, and others expulsed from their land; tribes and scattered tribal remnants thus affected fled south-west and southward where they found

refuge resulting in the basic population demographic of the KhoiSan as a people who principally occupied the western part of the southern African region and the Bantu the northern and eastern parts thereof, as encountered by the British upon their annexation of the Cape in 1795 / 1806.

British Imperialist expansionist ambition resulted in the rapid acquisition of land; coined with the Christianising and civilising directive under a close missionary–Cape government relationship to manage the native peoples of the newly acquired colony of the Crown many a mission station was established, and missionaries came to play an ever-important role in not only the Christianising but also the administration of Khoe peoples. The missionaries initially held an essentially static view of the Khoe; the tribes were regarded as having always lived as, and where encountered by the missionaries, without due consideration to the cultural pasts of these peoples. Early scientific inquiry, including the work of Stow (1905), greatly challenged this static missionary interpretation, resulting in the British Imperialist paradigm of the Khoe as a people with their origins in the greater Cape peninsula region from where they migrated into the interior and along the rough shoreline of South Africa. It is fair to question the British Imperialist paradigm with regard the biased / unbiased inclusion of information then available in their historical reconstructions vs, among other, its usefulness as a British colonial cultural–political management tool; like questions can reasonably be raised with regard the work of many an early missionary pertaining to their Christianising and administrative, and not excluding political priorities and ambitions vs the accurate historical recording of Khoe tribes under their authority. Such questioning remains valid on their own, but coevally as it pertains to the neo-Imperialist paradigm.

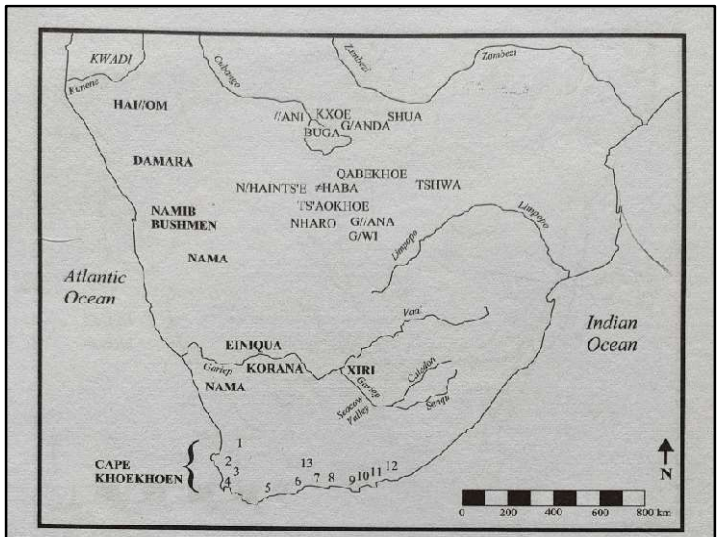

Figure 9.3 Distribution of Khoe-speakers and historically known Cape Khoekhoe groups (after Barnard 1992; Vossen 1998). Khoekhoe languages are shown in bold with known seventeenth-century Cape Khoekhoe tribes numbered as follows: 1 Guriqua; 2 Cochoqua; 3 Goringhaiqua; 4 'Peninsulars'; 5 Chainoqua; 6 Hessequa; 7 Gouriqua; 8 Attaqua; 9 Gamtoos; 10 Damasqua; 11 Hoengeyqua; 12 Gonaqua; 13 Inqua. Note that an unknown Khoekhoe group was also present in the upper Seacow Valley until the mid-eighteenth century and that the Damara, Hai//om and Namib Bushmen were ethnically distinct from the Khoekhoen. Non-Khoekhoe languages fall into four groups, all shown in plain typeface: Central Khoe (G//ana, G/wi and ≠Haba); Eastern Khoe (Shua and Tshwa, both with several subdivisions); Northern Khoe (//Ani, Buga, G/anda and Kxoe); and Western Khoe (N/haints'e, Nharo, Qabekhoe and Ts'aokhoe). Kwadi (shown in italics) forms a third division, separate from both Khoekhoe and non-Khoekhoe languages.

Map 12: Mitchell's (2002) map of Khoe tribal distribution during the seventeenth century. The map serves to demonstrate the impact of the neo-Imperialist paradigm on Khoe history when compared with specifically Tirion's map of Khoe tribal distribution, circa. 1730

It is the continuation, or revitalisation of the British Imperialist paradigm – or the neo-Imperialist paradigm – that is of concern here; and with neo-Imperialism being a prominent, if not the most prominent paradigm of the democratic era also as it affects Khoe history – and nowhere, for purposes of this report, more evident than in a

comparison of Mitchell's (2002) map of Khoe tribal distribution in the seventeenth century[63] vs. the early Dutch records (1652–1662) cum Du Val's circa. 1663 map, and specifically Tirion's *Kaart van het Afrika of het Land der Hottentotten*, circa. 1730. The neo-Imperialist construct, with its undeniable peculiar scientific methodology applied to KhoiSan studies where these peoples' cultures are studied in a bottom–top approach contrary to the standard ruler–commoner or top–bottom hierarchical manner must be questioned. With the first universities established between 1829–1873, and with South Africa acknowledged as the world leader in KhoiSan studies, it is fair to state that the neo-Imperialist methodology applied to KhoiSan studies has, in some 150 years of scientific inquiry (and counting), not amounted to the "discovery" of the Chobona, the chief / king or monarch of all the Khoe, nor to the north (to north-east) to east oriented Khoe socio-political hierarchical system, as it was orally reported and early Dutch recorded (1652–1662) in the mid-seventeenth century – or at least not yet! And raising sincere questions about scientific bias, alleged scientific emphasis on cultural–political paradigms (with an emphasis on the "political" rather than the "cultural"), and the negative impact of the neo-Imperialist paradigm as it affects the very indigenous histories it purports to investigate and, by implication, concealing rather than revealing the cultural pasts of the very peoples thus affected.

It is fair to state that Khoe history is a poorly understood history. However, it is here argued that it is less of a misunderstood history than a pertinently violated one, and with the *violation* thereof at once vested and veiled in the peculiar *scientific* methodology applied. It is coevally fair to question whether the *scientific* method thus employed serves a "political" rather than "cultural" purpose in a revived cultural–political paradigmatic sub-category of the neo-Imperialism paradigm.

Interpretation of Sensitive Area 1 serves, thus, to underscore the requirement of an unbiased, non-politicised paradigmatic approach as basis for scientific archaeological–heritage research: reconnaissance, basic site description, and preliminary interpretation. It is in this unbiased holistic approach to history and heritage, only, that Hypothesis 2 can, and must be understood. Hypothesis 2 then centres on the interpretation of the site as the settlement of a people who occupied the area prior to seizure of political power in the region by the Xhosa, with the site being representative of the settlement pattern of the "original inhabitants," inferred to have been a Chainouqua – including Korana – clan / band cluster (or a people of a kindred Khoe tribe / clan). With the Khoe political lead – or the Chobona – overthrown further north, and the Chainouqua ("Little Chobona", or the second-in-charge) defeated by the Xhosa, reasonably during the latter part of the wars of the seventeenth / eighteenth century, the site fell into disuse.

The omission of the eastern Khoe from the historical record, a direct product of the Imperialist and neo-Imperialist paradigms, underscores the absence of an identified associated eastern Khoe cultural record. In the absence of such scientific records, Sensitive Area 1 provides a type settlement pattern, albeit not necessarily the only one that may apply to the eastern Khoe. The Sensitive Area 1 settlement pattern is briefly described as a developed labyrinthian maze-like pattern based on a rectangular underlying paradigm (worldview). Structures were mainly constructed of wood and stone, with an emphasis on the former as principal building material. The number of water holes at the site is of particular interest. Stow (1905), with reference to the San / "Bushman" explains that water holes were used by these communities because game are deterred by the smell of humans, thus, to facilitate hunting at known designated water bodies; and the Khoe may for said reasons have relied on water holes for human and domesticated animal consumption while the natural water body – or the dam – to the north of the site may have been designated for hunting. The sites' water holes highlight a potential important subsistence difference between the Khoe and the Bantu, in the case of Sensitive Area 1 specifically the Xhosa, but not excluding the principal Mfengu tribes: the Bantu, as Iron Age farmers, relied for subsistence purposes on their farm produce including both plant and domesticated meat matter, while hunting was practiced mainly as a recreational pastime and sometimes ceremonial custom. The Khoe, with their pastoralist lifestyle, albeit by the mid-seventeenth century reported as with permanent villages towards the north-east, relied for subsistence purposes principally on the milk of their livestock, while meat was hunted. It is, furthermore, noteworthy that of all the southern African Bantu tribes, wells are only recorded among the Ovambo, while the practice of digging wells for drinking are widely reported on among the Khoe even in their dispossessed and displaced refugee locales.

[63] It is noteworthy that the Chobona – the chief / king or monarch of all the Khoe – as recorded in the early Dutch records (1652–1662), is typically excluded from neo-Imperialist constructs. Despite evident concerns with Mitchell's (2002) map of seventeenth century Khoe tribal distribution the Chobona would have resided with his tribe, the Choboqua(s) / Chobona(s), at some undefined distance to the north of the map.

2.4 THE GRAVE OF ABEE MDLOKOLO (1866–195[?]0)

The grave of Abee Mdlokolo (1866–195[?]0) (S32º02'14.9"; E27º59'26.9") at Site C9P5-09 constitutes the only Christian grave at Sensitive area 1. The slabbed grave is marked with a (broken) engraved stone cross headstone with the inscription: "*DIED OCT 2 195[?]0 / ABEE MDLOKOLO / BORN 1866*". The inscription on the cross is hardly readable; with wording reconstructed by means of a pencil rubbing; and with "Abee" an inferred abbreviation of Abraham / Abram. The grave is not regarded as related to Site C9P5-09 in the same manner as the site cemetery: situated apart from the site cemetery and within its own stone demarcated area, the grave spells of a hiatus or "time lapse" – a possible return of the deceased to his "ancestral home", but with a life lived, or mainly lived, elsewhere.

The grave does not support one hypothesis above the other. With reference to Hypothesis 1, argued as an amaMfengu tribe / clan, or an incorporated section of a people to such a tribe / clan and granted land by Hintsa in 1818, with cognisance to the 1835 Peddie / Ngqushwa movement but specifically the 1865 Transkeian resettlement programme, and with the majority of the Mfengu Christian at the time, it is reasonable that Mdlokolo may have simply willed burial at his "ancestral home" as originally granted by Hintsa and, hence, the late Christian burial at the then already abandoned site.

With reference to Hypothesis 2 and the seizure of political power by the Xhosa during the wars of the seventeenth / eighteenth century from the "original inhabitants" or the Chainouqua (Korana) or a kindred Khoe tribe, Xhosa incorporation of individuals or small scatterings of Khoe during these wars must be considered and the presence of the eastern Khoe – or the "Black Khoe" – in the province further researched. The Christianising and civilizing of the native tribes, in addition, included recognised (displaced) Khoe tribes / persons. The grave may be the result of Mdlokolo, as an eastern Khoe, or of eastern Khoe descent, that willed reburial at the abandoned site of his "ancestral home".

Plate 117: The grave of Abee Mdlokolo [1]

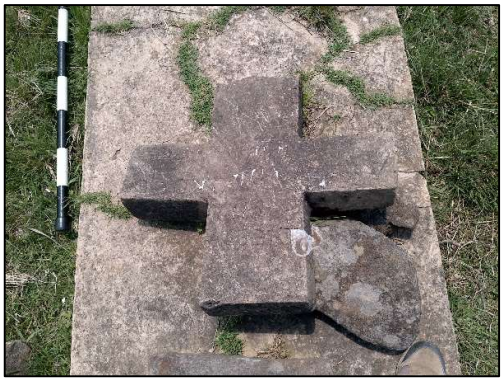

Plate 119: Close up of the engraved headstone

Plate 118: The grave of Abee Mdlokolo [2]

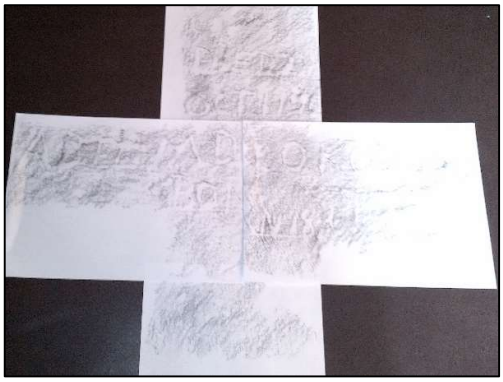

Plate 120: Pencil rubbing of the headstone inscription

3 – CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Sensitive Area 1 sites (Sites C9P5-06 to C9P5-10) were ascribed SAHRA *Medium Significances* and *Generally Protected IV-B Field Ratings* in the AIA (Van Ryneveld 2022). Based on the Phase 2a site documentation / sketch plan recording and related site interpretation, Sensitive Area 1 is ascribed a SAHRA *High Significance* and a *Generally Protected IV-A Field Rating*. Sensitive Area 1 is of confirmed archaeological research worth not only with regard the lesser-known histories of the Eastern Cape, but also the general lack of identified LSA pastoralist (or pastoralist-like) sites in the eastern part of South Africa and by implication the (obscured) role they play in the reconstruction of indigenous histories and pastoralist migration routes, notwithstanding the possibility of minority Bantu histories related to a lifeway more reminiscent of pastoralism than the typical Nguni CCP.

This report closes the Sensitive Area 1 site documentation / sketch plan recording and archaeological environmental–heritage monitoring compliance for the *Cluster 9 Phase 5 and Cluster 8 Linkage, Water Supply and Access Road* development. No additional recommendations apply.

[The Sensitive Area 2 ECO monitoring report will be submitted – in due time – by the appointed ECO, Earth Free Environmental Consultancy.]

4.1 THE AMAMFENGU OF THE EASTERN CAPE: AN INTRODUCTORY HISTORY

A brief online history of the amaMfengu is given as (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fengu_people):

"The amaMfengu (in the Xhosa language Mfengu and plural amafengu) was a reference of Xhosa clans, whose ancestors were refugees that fled from the Mfecane in the early 19th century to seek land and protection from the Xhosa Nation, and have since been assimilated into the Xhosa cultural way of life, becoming part of the Xhosa people. The term derives from the Xhosa verb 'ukumfenguza' which means to wander about seeking service.

They were previously known as the 'Fingo' people, and they gave their name to the district of Fingoland, the southwestern portion of Transkei, in the Eastern Cape of South Africa.

HISTORY

- *Formation and Early History*

The name amaMfengu translates as 'wanderers' and the Mfengu people – like the Bhaca, Bhele, Hlubi and Dlamini peoples – was formed from the tribes that were broken up and dispersed by Shaka and his Zulu armies in the Mfecane wars.

Most of them fled westwards and settled amongst the Xhosa. After some years of oppression by the Gcaleka Xhosa (who called the Fengu people their 'dogs') in the 1820s, they formed an alliance with the Cape government in 1835 and Sir Benjamin d'Urban invited 17,000 to settle on the banks of the Great Fish River in the region that later became known as the Ciskei. Some scholars, including Timothy Stapleton and Alan Webster, argue that the traditional narrative of the Fengu people as refugees of the Mfecane is in fact a lie constructed by colonial missionaries and administrators. They question the existence of the Fengu people as a distinct group prior to colonial contact, instead positing that the term was coined by the British government in the Cape Colony to describe a collection of Xhosa defectors, migrant laborers, and labor captives.

- *Early Frontier Wars (1835–1856)*

They subsequently became notable allies of the Cape Colony in the frontier wars against their former oppressors. In this capacity, they won several victories against their Xhosa enemies (particularly the Gcaleka Xhosa), and through shrewd and successful management of regional trade, formed a developed and materially successful nation. In addition, many bought farms and started businesses in the small towns that were springing up in that part of the Cape frontier.

- *The Cattle-killing Movement (1856–1858)*

The Fengu people did not take part in the great cattle-killing in 1857, which devastated the Xhosa people.

While the Xhosa slaughtered their own cattle and burnt their crops, many of the Fengu people instead bought the Xhosa cattle at very low prices, only to resell them at a profit during the subsequent famine. They also were recorded as producing large excesses of grain at this time for their starving neighbours. The famine induced by the cattle-killing effectively brought much of the armed resistance in the eastern Cape to an end.

- *The Fengu-Gcaleka War (1877–1879)*

Over a decade of relative peace and economic development, which peaked in the mid-1870s, was brought to an end by a series of devastating droughts across the Transkei, which began to place severe strain on intertribal relations. Their severity increased up until 1877, when the last major war that the Fengu people fought, the Ninth Frontier War [1877–1879], broke out after a bar fight between Fengu and Gcaleka guests, at a Fengu wedding. Many Fengu people were Cape citizens by this time, so the Cape Colony took a partisan view of the war, which brought it into conflict with the Gcaleka forces.

The Cape government appointed the Fengu Captain Bikitsha to co-lead the Cape's forces (composed primarily of Fengu, Thembu and Boer commandos) in the war. They inflicted a string of crushing defeats on the enemy and dispersed their armies in the space of only three weeks. The ingratitude of Cape Colony governor Sir Henry Bartle Frere, who promptly humiliated the Cape's Fengu allies by forcibly disarming them, caused the Fengu to begin to identify more with the Xhosa, partly also as a reaction to increasing persecution from the Colonial authorities.

- *Transkei and Ciskei*

The Fengu lived in the Bantustans of Transkei and Ciskei, established by the Apartheid government. Ciskei was the scene of political rivalry between the Rharhabe and the Fengu as a result of the apartheid policy of 'retribalisation', which resulted in resentment toward the historically better educated, and relatively economically advantaged Fengu, and this rivalry culminated in the election of Lennox Sebe, a Rharhabe, who replaced Fengu leader Chief Justice Thandathu Jongilizwe Mabandla in 1973, however Sebe subsequently abandoned his anti-Fengu rhetoric.

CHRISTIANITY IN THE FENGU COMMUNITY

Christianity played a major role in the survival of the endangered Fengu people after the Mfecane wars. After contact with the Gcaleka Xhosa, who were hostile towards them, the Fengu people found comfort in Rev. John Ayliff, the missionary at Butterworth who devoted himself to the tribe for the next 30 years. In 1835, Ayliff led 17,000 and 22,000 head of cattle to Peddie. On the 14 May 1835, the Fengu people gathered under an old milkwood tree in the Peddie district, in the presence of Rev. John Ayliff, and swore an oath to obey the Queen, to accept Christianity, and to educate their children. This agreement became known as the 'Fingo-Oath'. Soon after accepting Christianity, the Fengu became the first Bantu in South Africa to use ploughs, demonstrated to them by the missionaries, and also the first to plant wheat. A small group moved to Tsitsikamma and carried their Christian customs with them. The Fengu, who were most Wesleyans, soon moved to Grahamstown where they fought on the side of the British in the Eighth Frontier War of 1850 to 1853 and were rewarded with land in a freehold village known as Fingo in Grahamstown in 1855. The educated Fengu went as far as Port Elizabeth, where they worked at the harbour and established urban communities in Cape Town, where they also continued practising as Christians. Since the day the 'Fingo-Oath' was sworn, the 14 May has been celebrated as 'Fingo Emancipation Day' and a ceremony held under the old milkwood tree where the oath was sworn.

FENGU PEOPLE IN ZIMBABWE

After the occupation of Matebeleland in 1893, the Ndebele took up arms in an effort to re-establish the Ndebele State in 1896. Cecil John Rhodes brought a group of Fengu fighters (who had fought on the side of the British) and were known as 'the Cape Boys' in 1896. After the war, Rhodes tried further to 'neutralise' the 'war-like' Ndebele people by inviting more Fengu people into Southern Rhodesia. He promised the Fengus three 'reserves' on which they could settle with the proviso that each man would work for three months a year. After 36 months of labour, each one would be given an individual title. More Fengu leaders moved to Southern Rhodesia as Wesleyan Methodists, Salvationists, Anglicans, Presbyterians and Lutherans. In 2000, the Mbembesi Fengu / Xhosa community celebrated their centenary in Zimbabwe. The Fengu in Zimbabwe, who are Xhosa speakers, are the subject of the first ever PhD thesis written in Xhosa by Dr Hleze Kunju titled 'IsiXhosa ulwimi lwabantu abangesosininzi eZimbabwe: Ukuphila nokulondolozwa kwaso' (Xhosa as a Minority Language in Zimbabwe: Survival and Maintenance).

- *Veldtman Bikitsha (1829–1912)*

For much of the 19th and early 20th century, the Fengu were led by Captain Veldtman Bikitsha. Initially a constable who was of great service to the Cape in the Eighth Frontier War [1850–1853], he was later promoted and served as a de facto military leader of the Cape's Fengu commandos.

Prime Minister John Molteno, who held a very high opinion of Bikitsha, appointed him as a leader of the Cape forces (together with Chief Magistrate Charles Griffith) in the Ninth Frontier War in 1877, where he swiftly won a string of brilliant victories against the Gcaleka. Throughout the Ninth Frontier war, Bikitsha and his location were a focal point for the Gcaleka armies attacks and came under immense military pressure.

His military genius in the frontier wars earned him considerable renown and he was widely acknowledged leader in the Cape Colony. His courage was also frequently referred to. He famously once jumped onto a wounded and charging lion, holding it by the tail, overpowered it and killed it. He was invited to London in 1889, where Queen Victoria requested to meet him to thank him for his services. He reputedly told her, 'We have never feared a white man, and we have never lifted our hand against any of your people.'

He founded the Transkei General Council, and served as a juror and commissioner for the Cape Colony in later life.

- *John Tengo Jabavu (1859–1921)*

As Fengu history switched from military defense to political struggle, so the great Fengu politician and activist John Tengo Jabavu rose in prominence after Bikitsha's military leadership ended.

Jabavu edited the first newspapers to be written in [...] Xhosa and from 1876 he edited 'Isigidimi samaXhosa' (The Xhosa Messenger). From 1884 he edited 'Imvo Zabantsundu' (Black Opinion). He wrote on the threat of Afrikaner nationalism, equal rights for South Africa's black population, and in support of women's rights.

The rivalry between the Fengu and the Gcaleka Xhosa, which had previously broken out into war, declined during the era of Jabavu's leadership, as greater unity was encouraged. Nonetheless, some divisions remained. Jabavu's main political rival, Walter Rubusana, was Xhosa. Rubusana's rise in the 1890s was through the new Gcaleka-dominated South African Native National Congress and their newspaper 'Izwi Labantu' (The Voice of the People) which was financed by Cecil Rhodes. The rise of Xhosa institutions meant that Jabavu and the Fengu were no longer in a position to provide the only leadership in the Cape's Black community.

Over the next few decades, divisions persisted between Jabavu's movement 'Imbumba' (The Union) and Rubusana's South African Native National Congress. However, the rivalry was finally laid to rest and there was union under the newly named African National Congress [ANC]. One of the early aims of this movement was finally to lay to rest 'the aberrations of the Xhosa-Fingo feud.'

- *British Annexation*

British Kaffraria had been annexed to the Cape Colony in 1866. Barring the brief revolt in 1877 and 1878, when the Gcaleka turned upon their Fengu neighbours, the British annexation of land east of the Kei River proceeded fitfully, but generally unimpeded. In September 1879 this was followed by Idutywa Reserve and Fenguland, and Gcalekaland in 1885. It is assumed that the restructuring of these territories into the divisions of Butterworth, Idutywa, Centani, Nqamakwe, Tsomo and Willowvale dates from these times.

- *Social Change and Adaptability*

Originally farmers, the Fengu people had quickly built themselves schools, created and edited their own newspapers, and translated international literature into their language. The reason that the Fengu people were able to adapt so effectively to changing circumstances (like the coming of capitalism and urbanisation) was because they lacked a fixed tribal social-structure and hierarchy (having presumably lost it in their earlier flight from the Zulu). This state of social change and flexibility allowed them to quickly adjust to the European expansion, learn and adapt new techniques, and take advantage of the upheavals that followed. Other tribes were often suspicious of outside ideas and consequently resisted any change to meet the colonial threat. The Fengu had no paramount-chief as other tribes did, but the Cape Commander, Veldman Bikitsha, was a Fengu and held authority over the Fengu's military capacity.

Many Fengu have also subsequently intermarried with other ethnic groups, particularly with the Xhosa and Zulu, while some still live in Zimbabwe.

TERRITORY

The region that was later known as the Transkei was originally divided into territories known as the Idutywa Reserve, Fingoland and Galekaland (Gcalekaland). Fingoland lay the borderlands in the far south of the Transkei, just north of the Kei River.

Following their annexation by the British however, they were restructured into the divisions of Butterworth, Tsomo and Ngqamakwe for Fingoland; Centani and Willowvale for Galekaland; and Idutywa for the Idutywa Reserve.

- *Present-day South Africa*

Today virtually all the Fengu people have intermarried with other ethnic groups particularly with the Xhosa and Zulu. Many are now often considered – especially by outsiders – to be ethnically Xhosa and others Zulu, because of their common language and some similar customs. A considerable number have a mixed racial background, especially in and around the Cape provinces."

4.2 THE AMAMFENGU – BY BIKITSHA (2019)

"INTRODUCTION

[…] Fingoism / Fingoness is endangered because of amaMfengu themselves who are indifferent, overlooking the notion of 'who they are,' a sense of ethnicity (identity + culture), a nation that has history traced back from the era of 'Mumbo–Abembi–Abambo' tribe of the 15th century in the Great Lakes, traversing and evolving to the current generation of the 21st century of amaMfengu.

AbaMbo demonstrated their skills in mineral digging (abembi-ukomba), trade and warfare in the 16th century […]. 'Fingoness developed out of a lifestyle and world view that emphasized agriculture and trade and rejected established systems of Xhosa authority', [… this] emphasis […] on social practice […] was reliant on Xhosa chiefs which was modified and adapted by Mfengu as they compulsory participated in farming and trade. For survival and sustainability, the abaMbo / Mfengu who came to Gcaleka in the 1800s had to establish themselves, among other things, merging their culture with two different British and amaXhosa cultures.

AmaMfengu, brilliantly grasped British economic perspectives for advancement. Consequently, they were the first Bantu in South Africa to use a plough and plant wheat as was demonstrated to them by missionaries. The reality is that the 19th century was an era of intense socio-political turbulence, implicating African tribes, who were absorbed in rival perpetual conflicts, for the accomplishment of supremacy and territorial control. War and conflict provocations were complicated by the infiltration and invasion of colonial forces into the native territory. Various tribes were migrating, sometimes under duress, geographically scattered, settled and resettled in different Southern African terrains. According to Inskeep (cited by Schoeman [1987]) 'the history of the Southern lands was one of […] continuous migration.' Various tribes and their people were moving at different periods, away from their native lands and, it was during that era, that, a group of abaMbo clans, dominated by Zizi, Hlubi, Bhele, and Ntlangwini arrived in kwa-Gcaleka in 1818 […]. AmaMfengu is a legitimate group of people whose origin can be traced back to the Mfecane wars and have thus been referred to as the descendants of the refugees who survived the massive migrations of the Nguni communities during the uprising […]; amaMfengu signifies a group of people who moved and settled in amaXhosa land while fleeing from the Mfecane wars which happened during the first half of the nineteenth century.

[…] According to Theal (1910), the Fingo people had their traditional leaders, who were the chiefs bestowed with the responsibility of guiding their people, in the years of migration […]. […] Although, Pieter G. Boon (2018), from the 'Moravian, Encounters with refugees in South Africa: A Contribution to the Debate on the Origins of the Fingos' concludes that abaMbo who came to Gcaleka were individual clans, not a tribe. Boon might be correct; however, one should take into account that those clans progressively adapted and advanced their culture and religion to united Fingoness […].

HINTSA'S NATION-BUILDING STRATEGY AND SIYAMFENGUZA

When abaMbo were welcome[d], named 'amaMfengu,' and offered land by Hintsa ka-Gcaleka, they were bonded and ennobled as 'a people.' Welcoming, naming and granting land to people who were rather desperate and terrified of a possible demise, was philanthropic. Hintsa was imbued with an element of Ubuntu, giving hope to those clans so that they could establish themselves as a community. […] Hintsa, the son of Khawuta from the Great House, born 1789, took the reign in 1809. He was the chief during the arrival of abaMbo, 1818, in Kwa-Gcaleka. He embraced the Abambo in Zizi, Hlubi, Bhele, Ntlangwini clans who

were refugees. Peires' [1982] version is: Hintsa had arrived in his place from the battle of Amalinde in 1818 (Ngqika versus Ndlambe), and he was informed by one of his people that, 'there are strangers who had entered in Gcaleka land, they look hungry and destitute.' […] Hintsa ordered that amaMfengu should be offered food, shelter, and clothing, he said, 'ngabam nabo' (they are my people also). Zibele Mtumane (2017) in his article, 'The practice of Ubuntu concerning amaMfengu among amaXhosa as depicted in SEK Mqhayi "Ityala Lamawele"' talks about the practice of Ubuntu by the traditional amaXhosa towards amaMfengu who came to them as strangers and refugees during the 19th century. […] Hintsa could have ordered for the extermination of those strangers, especially that it was a period in which the imperialist forces were devoted to asserting their supremacy in the area. In hindsight, Hintsa might have viewed amaMfengu as possible allies which would increase his army because he was also under political duress, he, nonetheless, received amaMfengu.

- *The name Mfengu*

Mfengu Siyamfenguza (we are destitute), so, they said, a group of abaMbo clans, such as Zizi, Bhele, Hlubi, and Ntlangwini, who came to Gcaleka in the 1800s. The name amaMfengu meant 'w[a]nderers' and was applied by the Xhosa to the remnants of several tribes which had been broken and scattered by the armies of the Zulu king, Shaka, and a little later by Ngwane of Matiwane. When abaMbo arrived in kwa-Gcaleka, they accepted and adopted the name 'Mfengu' as was given by amaXhosa led by Hintsa. According to Mtumane [2017], amaMfengu is a term that was used to refer to people who came to the land of amaXhosa fleeing from attacks during the Mfecane wars in the 1800s. It was these attacks, wars, and conflicts during migration, passing through other tribes that led to the pathetic state of abaMbo. […According to] Soga, H. (1930), […in] 'amaXhosa-life and customs' […], 'Bantu tribal names through the use of several designations for one tribe, prove somewhat mystifying to persons unacquainted with the significance of, and reasons for them', hence […and pertaining] to Mfengu as a relevant name and identity for those who were called abaMbo […].

- *Settlement (1818 Mfengu)*

Hintsa welcome abaMbo and allocated them land to settle in Kwa-Gcaleka, Butterworth district. 'They were allowed to settle among the Gcaleka', says […] Hammond-Tooke (1956), as evident in the following areas, 'amaZizi settled in Mgomanzi and Mpenduza, amaBhele in Cegcuwana, amaHlubi stayed with Sarhili, the son of Hintsa' […], likewise […] Mndende (2010), shows amaZizi in Mgomanzi and Cerhu, amaBhele in Cegcuwana and eZolo, amaHlubi at Theko, others at Zingqayi and Bika. Allocating land was a noble gesture, not to any other tribe but amaMfengu by Hintsa. According to Kawa (1928), the Hlubi tribe stayed with Sarhili, son of Hintsa. Hintsa said to Sarhili 'aba ngabantwana benkosi ungaboze ubashiyele ukutya esityeni,' translated as, 'These are the children of God you must never give them food-left-overs.' As indicated, during settlement, Kawa concludes that the amaHlubi chiefs shared food with Sarhili, which was an indication of acceptance of amaMfengu by […] Hintsa, […as expressed] by Hintsa's […kindness in] asking his people to take good care of amaMfengu, as well as reforming his tribal court for equal treatment. Hintsa encouraged amaMfengu to look after themselves finally. Despite Hintsa moral high-ground towards Mfengu, it is imperative to recognize socio-political dynamics during the Xhosa / Mfengu association that was blemished by accusations of oppression by amaXhosa (Ayliff & Whiteside 1912). The Mfengu community who have been in Butterworth for about 17 years, exposed to hostile socio-political challenges, exerted by amaXhosa and British, resulted to amaMfengu crossing the Great Kei River to the west side.

THE 1835 FINGO VOWS

In the year 1835, amaMfengu were compelled to confront the prevailing and challenging socio-political circumstances, between Xhosa, Mfengu, and British. They had to determine sustainable life that would be of enormous benefit to them. As a result, decisions pertinent to their envisaged future led to [the] Peddie movement. Pledging of the oath by those Mfengu who moved from Butterworth to Peddie (Ngqushwa), became a turning point for socio-cultural revolution and lifelong impact to amaMfengu and amaXhosa. Fingo vows began to be a guiding principle for an ensuing Fingo culture and a sense of identity whose manifestation […] is observable in a modern society that is Christianized and educated. The settlement of amaMfengu in Peddie in 1835, had symbiotic bondage between Mfengu and British, a blessing in disguise, resulting in a societal progression that spill over all Mfengu / Xhosa communities. There are everlasting socio-political and educational gains which are evident nowadays as argued by Ndletyana. The pledge of

Fingo vows was on the 14/05/1835, in Peddie (Ngqushwa) […]. Fingo vows were to be continuously commemorated annually on the 14th of May […]:

- *To be faithful to God […]*
- *Educate their children […]*
- *Support their missionaries […]*
- *Respect the current British government […]*

These Fingo vows, among other things, were due to persuasions by the British who were campaigning for the advancement of evangelization of the African people. The amaMfengu became amenable to the idea, mainly because there were promises that they would source land for them, and recognition of all their chiefs will be a priority. Amid Mfengu / Xhosa existence, there were also allegations of Mfengu enslavement and oppression by Xhosa, as some authors [Ayliff & Whiteside; Peires; Stapleton; and Hammond-Tooke] argue. Ayliff and Whiteside (1912: 19) write, 'Fingo were liable to be robbed, reviled, or killed at the will of a Gcaleka chief.' The alleged Xhosa heartlessness could have deterred the Mfengu who ultimately went to Peddie; hence, they possibly sided with British. When amaMfengu joined the British, Peires (1982) regarded that as a form of Mfengu salvation, he concluded that 'the old (Shaka and Gcaleka), had led them (Mfengu) to a life of wandering and misery, the new (British) one seemed to offer peace and prosperity.' AmaMfengu, Rev Ayliff, and Sir Benjamin Durban crossed [the] Great Kei River to Peddie (Ngqushwa). AmaMfengu left with their belongings, including livestock. In contrast to the claim authored by Mvenene [2014], that amaMfengu drove cattle which belonged to amaXhosa, he, however, fails-to-note that amaMfengu have been in Butterworth for more than 15 years. During that period, they were very productive and, as a result, amaMfengu are acknowledged as naturally bright and diligent […], Mfengu participated productively in farming, agriculture, and trade, therefore, cattle that Mfengu drove when they crossed [the] Kei River in 1835 must have been a product of their sweat. Webster, DJ (1986), in 'The Journal of African Studies' - Cambridge.org, […makes] mention of a high economic activity in the 1870s that led to colossal production and sale of corn and wool crop by Fingoland, which supports the notion [of] a hardworking community.

THE 1865 FINGOLAND

The area between Bashee and the Great Kei Rivers, is currently and mainly inhabited, by three distinct tribes, the Gcalekaland / amaXhosa (a kingdom) situated in the lower terrain bordering [the] Indian ocean, Western Thembuland / abaThembu Base-Rhoda (a kingdom) located in the upper Kei River, and Fingoland / amaMfengu (not yet a kingdom), located almost in the middle, between Xhosa and Thembu Kingdoms. Fingoland was geographically demarcated and established in 1865 by amaMfengu who crossed [the] Kei River from Ciskei, simultaneously with the Western Thembu land (Tambookie Location), emigrant Thembuland which was established by Chiefs Mathanzima-Madiba, Gecelo-Gcina, Stokwe-Vundle, and Ndarhala-Ndungwane, (commission to determine Mathanzima and Dalindyebo Paramountcies).

Hammond-Tooke (1956) confirms that the cattle-killing episode in 1857 resulted in depopulated large tracks of Gcaleka territory that was settled by the Cape Government and Fingo. In his paper 'A social and economic history of the African people of Gcaleka land 1830 to 1913', Mvenene [2014] regards amaMfengu of 1865 as 'undesirable' Africans dumped from Kaffraria (Ciskei), still, in his biased mind h[e] seems to be excluding the Western Thembuland from his unwarranted insult (undesirable Africans), despite the fact that, its establishment was similar to that of Fingoland. Furthermore, the British of that era, desperately desired amaMfengu of their military prowess and possible proliferation of the gospel as envisaged by British missionaries. Soga (1930) mentions about 40,000 amaMfengu moved from Peddie to a territory between upper Kei, [and] Peires (1982), confirms, the fact that amaMfengu resided along the banks of Ciskei and Transkei. Fingoland which has no king yet seems to be conveniently under Xhosa kingdom, probably because there are amaMfengu populace in Gcalekaland (Willowvale / Idutywa) areas which they occupied after the Ngcayechibi war of 1877.

The current geographic arrangement is that Fingoland and Gcalekaland have a total of seven Districts, with Fingo land (Butterworth, Tsomo, Ngqamakhwe [Nqamakwe]), and Gcaleka land (Willowvale, Kentane, Idutywa, and Xhora). At least amaMfengu have land of their own in Fingoland, well established in all aspects of life, something that amaMfengu should treasure as Mfengu heritage […]. It is too much a demand by anybody who envisages abandoning ubumfengu (fingoism, fingoness), because, amaMfengu will lose their inheritance […]."

4.3 A MISSIONARY HISTORY OF THE AMAMFENGU – BY ROGER (1977)

"The Mfengu, or Fingos, of the Transkei were a mixed group of refugees. Originally driven from Natal during the Mfecane, they moved into the Transkei and then the Ciskei. In the 1860's some were allowed by the Cape government to settle in an area in the Western Transkei which it had recently seized. The majority of those who moved were opposed to mission work and education.

When therefore the government agent for Fingoland, Captain Blyth, and a Free Church of Scotland missionary, Richard Ross, gained the support of a few headmen for an educational Institution in the Transkei, and approached Dr James Stewart of Lovedale to found such an Institution on the lines of Lovedale, they had very slender support. Stewart agreed on condition the Mfengu subscribe £1000 towards the cost. Support for this somewhat startling and, to some, unpalatable request was gained mainly because it was known that the government intended introducing a hut tax which would be far more onerous than the levy which, it was estimated, would be required to find the sum Stewart was asking. Blyth was able to use the agreement to a voluntary levy for an institution to persuade the government to postpone the tax.

The Institution was built on a larger scale than had been planned, for the Mfengu made two subscriptions, each larger than the total requested, and Stewart raised money in Scotland.

From the first Stewart envisaged Blythswood as a fairly small branch Institution, which would concentrate on primary school ('elementary') education and a certain amount of industrial (i.e. technical) instruction, so as to relieve Lovedale of some of its elementary work. The first principal, the Rev. James MacDonald tried to widen the scope of the work considerably. At the same time he mismanaged Blythswood badly. The Presbytery of Kaffraria became involved in the bitter clash between MacDonald and Stewart, as some members tried to use the issue to assert control over Blythswood. This was an expression of a deep division in the Mission over the status and policies of Lovedale under Stewart.

The Foreign Mission Committee [FMC] of the Free Church moved MacDonald and appointed John A. Bennie, a teacher from Lovedale, as temporary principal. He did very good work in reorganising the Institution and putting it on a sound educational and administrative basis, but his health would not allow him to stay longer than two years (1881–82). During his time the FMC settled the vexed question of Blythswood's status by removing it from Lovedale's control, but making its principal directly responsible to the Committee, so that the Presbytery could not gain control of the Institution either.

The Rev. James McLaren was the first principal to work independently of Lovedale, but he did not have an entirely smooth course. Criticism of his discipline and administration from Stewart and others and the dissatisfaction of Blyth and the advisory Native Committee over the separation from Lovedale led to an unsuccessful attempt to persuade the FMC to bring Blythswood under Lovedale once more.

McLaren stayed for fifteen years and was able to steer the Institution along the road to full independence and viability. Educational standards were raised, a semi-separate girls' Institution built and many new extramural activities started. Though there was unpleasant friction at times, the staff generally worked hard, both in school and in promoting the spiritual work of the Institution.

Blythswood survived its earlier vicissitudes to become more widely accepted and influential in the community, and though it remained similar in many respects to Lovedale, did develop an identity of its own."

4.4 CONCERNS WITH MISSIONARY HISTORIES

As raised by Stow (1905)

"The greater number of the missionaries who were then residing among them [native peoples of South Africa], and who might have collected many of the traditions which are now lost for ever, considered the past history of a race of savages as a matter of little moment in comparison with making converts to their own special ideas of salvation, and even when any facts regarding their new 'protégés' were recorded by them, they in general gave such a biased and distorted description as to render their evidence so untrustworthy as to be perfectly valueless in carrying out any impartial philosophical or ethnological inquiry.

The simple fact that certain tribes were found occupying some given tract of country at the time of the missionary's arrival was of itself, without further question, deemed irrefragable proof that these particular

natives must have been its rightful owners from time immemorial. Thus erroneous statements and unfounded claims were not only promulgated, but upheld with a holy fervour, a positiveness of assertion, and acrimony of feeling, which were only equalled by the profound ignorance of the disputants with regard to the real state of the case. The white nations were looked upon, and spoken of, as the only intruders into the ancient domains of the 'poor natives,' and the only race which had trodden under foot, with a remorselessness and cruelty deserving universal execration, the rights of the ill-treated aborigines.

Each of the men of this school confidently asserted that his own special tribe, or the one he had taken under his own special protection, was the true representative of the original possessors of the soil. Such was the spirit in which inquiries were made into tribal history from 1843 to 1853, if such dogmatic assertions can be called inquiry. How then can it be a matter of wonder that so many unfounded theories were circulated, giving rise to a multitude of erroneous opinions, many of which are current at the present day? One fallacious statement backed up by another, and they were so often reiterated that they not only gained implicit credence, but, from the character of their promulgators, were considered to carry with them an authority which ought not to be doubted; and thus, ultimately, the claims of 'the true aborigines' of this portion of the continent were lost sight of entirely.

For some years after my arrival in the Colony I was impressed with the idea that the Hottentots were the aboriginal inhabitants of the western, and the Kaffirs of the eastern portion of the country, and that the Bushmen were waifs possessing no particular claims to territory, nor any fixed place of abode. My ideas, however, upon this point underwent a considerable change as my notes accumulated, for as I gained more and more information regarding the native tribes, I became gradually impressed with a firm conviction that the Bushmen alone were the true aborigines of the country, and that all the stronger races, 'without exception,' were mere intruders. Traces of Bushman cave-paintings were still to be found in every direction, and even in localities where for a generation or two no Bushmen had been seen. In the first instance the existence of these primitive artistic productions suggested the idea of gathering materials for a history of the Bushmen, as illustrated by themselves.

In carrying out this design, every additional item of information but tended to establish the fact that they were once thickly spread over the whole country, and that their occupation could also be traced far towards the north, even into the tropics; and the evidence proved, in as equally conclusive a manner, that there was doubtless a time when they were 'the sole proprietors' of the country. This conclusion brought me face to face with the question of 'the Intrusion of the Stronger Races.'"

And Markham (1900)

"It is thought by many people that the regeneration of the black races is better achieved through secular than ecclesiastical agencies. In the one case the aim is to make the Kaffir [native] a citizen; to teach him the restraints of, and the obedience due to, the law; in the other, the aim is to make him a Christian. The missionary wishes to civilise, but his first aim is to achieve a convert. Having attained that object, the duties and restraints of a citizen are no longer matters of first-rate importance. It is necessary to discriminate carefully between the various societies and their methods; but evangelistic missionary effort, when judged by its results, appears to be of more than doubtful value […]. The fatal tendency of some missionaries to extend their spiritual functions to political affairs has been wholly productive of harm. Missionary influence played a very important and, I regret to say, a very unfortunate part in the early days of British rule at the Cape. The conviction is forced upon one that in some cases these gentlemen were influenced not only by their desire to regenerate the heathen, but by less honourable ambitions as regards political power.

At the beginning of the century a certain Dr. Philip, an agent of the London Missionary Society, had much authority in Africa. He laid down three principles of government by which he hoped to rule the country. It was declared, in the first place, that the coloured races were in all respects save education on a mental equality with the white ones. Secondly, that they ought to be placed on the same political footing as the latter. Thirdly, that they were shamefully oppressed by their rulers.

[…] Unfortunately Dr. Philip had the ear of the British Government, and his theories were allowed weight when the facts presented by the colonists were disregarded. Few things have had more far-reaching influence in South Africa than that disastrous native policy between 1843 and 1847 for which Dr. Philip was responsible […]. It is surprising to find a missionary assuming such an authoritative attitude, and, still further, wielding so much influence over the Secretary of State. Certain philanthropic societies, however, had great

power in England during the first decades of the century. It is a sad illustration of the spirit of evil in things good that people actuated by the most humanitarian motives as regards the natives should nevertheless have been directly responsible for much trouble and bloodshed in South Africa."

4.5 THE HISTORY OF THE HLUBI – BY MNTUNGWA (2016)

"This article was written to assist in the efforts of bringing the history of amaHlubi to the populace. Another reason is that people wonder on this land, not knowing who they are. I, writing this article was under the illusion that I was Xhosa- I speak the language, was raised and even circumcised in the tradition. I am certain a great number of people exist who previously identified as Swati, Tswana, Ngwane, Zulu, Sotho and Ndebele and are actually Hlubi. It also never occurred to me as to why we mention the name of our nation in our clan praise songs (Ukuzithutha). My personal curiosity about amaHlubi was sparked by the book 'Iziduko ZamaHlubi' (Clan Names of AmaHlubi) by H.M Nawo (1939). Since then I am learning till this very day. I hope this article may also ignite the desire to learn more of their origins.

The Hlubi, similar to other current Southern African nations, originate from Central Africa. They moved as part of the eMbo people's southern migration. More specifically, they are said to originate from the people known as the Shubi. The Shubi can still be found today in Congo and some parts of Rwanda and Tanzania.

AmaHlubi arrived in 1300s South Africa and momentarily settled along the Lubombo Mountains, extending from Zululand North, northwards along the Swaziland-Mozambique border in the 1400s. They then traversed south and stabilised in what today is known as Natal in the 1650s. They also left behind a section of their group which later became the Swazi nation. There is great evidence which confirms amaHlubi are closely related to amaSwazi. Other evidence to this effect is in the linguistics (related under the Tekela languages). Further evidence lies in the preference of royal amaSwazi lasses by amaHlubi Kings. At this stage, they are said to be the largest formation of the eMbo nation. AmaHlubi are said to have occupied the territory, which was marked by the Pongola River on the north-east border. It then extended east beyond the Ncome (Blood) River, south to where Umzinyathi and the Thukela rivers meet. The territory then goes further south to where the Bushman's River meets the Drakensberg mountains, which also marked the Western border. In present expressions the Hlubi Land would include the following areas: Charlestown, Volkrust, Newcastle, Madadeni, Utrecht, Wakkestroom, Alckockspruit, Paulpietersburg, Vryheid, Dundee, Nquthu, etc, up to Estcourt. AmaHlubi were the first to colonialise the land mass later called Natal Colony. Hlubi oral historians maintain the amaHlubi territory included and extended beyond Pietermaritzburg. In this day, amaHlubi are spread all over parts of the country which include parts of KZN, the Eastern Cape with examples being specifically the old Ciskei, Transkei and small parts of the North West and Mpumalanga. These regions have their own Hlubi Chieftains which report to the Estcourt Royal House. It is important to note that the Hlubi nation has always been independent and never paid allegiance to neither Zulu kings nor any other authority.

The kings of amaHlubi since the arrival in South Africa are listed below:

1. *Chibi (1300–1325)*
2. *Lubelo (1325–1350)*
3. *Busobengwe (Bungane I) (1350–1370)*
4. *Fulathel'ilanga (1370–1390)*
5. *Bhele (1390–1410)*
6. *Lufelelwenja (1410–1430)*
7. *Sidwabasenkomo (1430–1450)*
8. *Mhuhu (1450–1475)*
9. *Mpembe (1475–1500)*
10. *Mhlanga (1500–1525)*
11. *Musi (1525–1550)*
12. *Masoka (1550–1575)*
13. *Ndlovu (1575–1600)*
14. *Dlamini (1600–1625)*
15. *Mthimkhulu I (1625–1650)*
16. *Ncobo and later, Hadebe (1650–1675)*
17. *Dlomo I (1675–1710)*

18. *Mashiya (1710–1720)*
19. *Ntsele (1735–1760)*
20. *Bhungane II (1760–1800)*
21. *Mthimkhulu II (Ngwadlazibomvu) (1800–1818)*
22. *Dlomo II and later, Mthethwa (Langalibalele I) (1839–1889)*
23. *Siyephu (Mandiza) (1897–1910)*
24. *Tatazela (Mthunzi) (1926–1956)*
25. *Muziwenkosi (Langalibalele ll) (1974– [Present])"*

4.6 THE OVAMBO OF ANGOLA AND NAMIBIA: AN INTRODUCTORY HISTORY

A brief online history of the Ovambo is given as (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ovambo_people):

"The Ovambo people […], also called Aawambo, Ambo, Aawambo (Ndonga, Nghandjera, Kwambi, Mbalantu), or Ovawambo (Kwanyama) the biggest of the Aawambo sub-tribes are a Bantu ethnic group native to Southern Africa, primarily modern Namibia. They are the single largest ethnic group in Namibia, accounting for about half of the population and one of Namibia's most vibrant tribes. They have retained many aspects of their cultural practices, despite concerted efforts from Christian missionaries to wipe out what was believed to be 'pagan practices'. They are also found in the southern Angolan province of Cunene where they are more commonly known as 'Ambo'. The Ovambo consist of a number of kindred Bantu ethnic tribes who inhabit what was formerly called Ovamboland. In Angola, they are a minority, accounting for about two percent of the total Angolan population.

There are about 2 million ethnic Ovambo, and they are predominantly Lutheran Christians (97%).

DEMOGRAPHICS

The Ovambo people reside in the flat sandy grassy plains of north Namibia and the Cunene Province in south Angola, sometimes referred to as Ovamboland […].

The Ovambo people are a Bantu-speaking group. In Namibia, these are the AaNdonga, Ovakwanyama, Aakwambi, Aangandjera, Aambalantu, Ovaunda, Aakolonkadhi, Aakwaluudhi and Aambandja. In Angola, they are the Ovakwanyama, Aakafima, Evale and Aandonga.

HISTORY

The Ovambo started migrating to their current location from the northeast around the 14th century from the Zambia region. They settled near the Angola-Namibia border then expanded further south in Namibia in the 17th century. They have a close cultural, linguistic and historical relationship to the Herero people found in more southern parts of Namibia, and Kavango people to their east settled around the Okavango River.

In contrast to most ethnic groups on Africa, the isolated, low-density pastoral nomadic lifestyle left the Ovambo people largely unaffected by the Swahili-Arab and European traders before the 19th century. When Germany established a colony in Namibia in 1884, they left the Ovambo people undisturbed. The Germans focused on the southern and coastal regions. After World War I [1914–1918], Namibia was annexed by the South African government into the Union of South Africa as the Territory of South-West Africa. This brought major changes, with South African plantation, cattle breeding and mining operations entering Ovamboland. The Portuguese colonial administration in Angola, who had previously focused on their coastal, northern and eastern operations, entered southern Angola to form a border with the expanding South African presence. The Ovambo people launched several armed rebellions against South African rule in the 1920s and 1930, which were all suppressed by the Union Defence Force.

The South African administration in Namibia continued the so-called 'Police Zone' in the south, a region created by the Germans with a veterinary Red Line covering about two-thirds of the province later to become Namibia. Ovambo people were not allowed to move into the Police Zone, neither other tribes nor Europeans could move north without permits. This isolated the Ovambo people, preserving traditional authorities and reducing numbers of White farmers in the north. However, because of labor shortage in the Police Zone and South Africa, in part because of massacre of native Africans such as through the Herero and

Namaqua genocide, the South African government allowed migrant wage labor. Numerous Ovambo people became migrant laborers in South African towns such as Cape Town and in the Police Zone, where they experienced segregation and lived under highly restrained human rights.

The South African Apartheid rule was brought into the Ovamboland in 1948. The South African government declared Ovamboland as independent province in 1973, and appointed chiefs aligned with the South African government policies. The Ovambo people rejected these developments, and in 1975 the appointed chief minister of Ovamboland was assassinated. In conjunction with the armed SWAPO movement, Namibia and its Ovambo people gained independence in 1990 from South Africa.

RELIGION

- *Traditional Religion*

The traditional religion of the Ovambo people is the primary faith of less than 3%, as most state Christianity to be their primary faith. The Ovambo's traditional religion envisions a supreme being named 'Kalunga,' with their rights and rituals centered around sacred fire like many ethnic groups in southwestern Africa. The 'Kalunga' cosmology states that the Supreme Being created the first man and first woman, who had a daughter and two sons. It is the daughter's lineage that created Ovambo people, according to the traditional beliefs of the matrilineal Ovambo people.

The rituals involve elaborate fire making and keeping ceremonies, rain making dance, and rites have involved throwing herbs in the fire and inhaling the rising smoke. The head priest traditionally was the king of a tribe, and his role was in part to attend to the supernatural spirits and be the chief representative of the Ovambo tribe to the deities.

- *Christianity*

Christianity arrived among the Ovambo people in the late 19th century. The first Finnish missionaries arrived in Ovamboland in the 1870s, and Ovambo predominantly converted and thereof have identified themselves as Lutheran Christians. The influence of the Finnish missions not only related to the religion, but cultural practices. For example, the typical dress style of contemporary Ovambo woman that includes a head scarf and loose full length maxi, is derived from those 19th-century Finnish missionaries.

The Ovambo now predominantly follow Christian Theology, prayer rituals and festivities, but some of the traditional religious practices have continued, such as the use of ritual sacred fire. They also invoke the supreme creator 'Kalunga'. Thus, the Ovambo have preferred a syncretic form of Christianity. Most weddings feature a combination of Christian beliefs and Ovambo traditions. Their traditional dancing is done to drumming (Oshiwambo folk music).

SOCIETY AND CULTURE

The traditional home is a complex of huts surrounded by a fence of large vertical poles linked by two horizontal poles on each side. The complex is a maze with two gates, but it is easy to get lost within the homestead. Each hut generally has a different purpose, such as a 'Ondjugo' (the women of the homestead's hut) or 'Epata' (kitchen area).

The Ovambo people lead a settled life, relying mostly on a combination of agriculture and animal husbandry. The staple crops have been millet and sorghum ('iilyavala'), and beans ('omakunde') are another popular crop. In drier regions or seasons, pastoral activity with herds of cattle ('eengobel' / 'eenghwandabi'), goats ('iikombo' / 'onakamela') and sheep ('eedi') becomes more important. The animal husbandry is not for meat ('ombelela'), but primarily as a source of milk ('omashini'). Their food is supplemented by hunting, fishing, and gathering.

During the colonial era, the Ovambo were active in elephant ('eenjaba') hunting for their tusks to supply the ivory demand, and they nearly hunted the elephants in their region to extinction.

Each Ovambo tribe had a hereditary chief who is responsible for the tribe. Many tribes adapted representation by having a council of headmen who run tribal affairs. Members of the royal family of the Ovamboland are known as 'aakwanekamba', 'ovakwaluvala', 'ovakwamalanga', 'ovakwaanime', 'aakwanyoka' and many more; only those who belong to this family by birth, through the maternal line, have

claim to chieftainship. The tribes figure their descent by a matrilineal kingship system, with hereditary chiefs arising from the daughter's children, not the son's. Polygeny is accepted, with the first wife recognized as the senior.

Ovambo brew a traditional liquor called 'ombike'. It is distilled from fermented fruit mash and particularly popular in rural areas. The fruit to produce 'ombike' are collected from makalani palms (Hyphaene petersiana), jackal berries (Diospyros mespilliformis), buffalo thorns (Ziziphus mucronate), bird plumes and cluster figs (Ficus racemose). 'Ombike', with additives like sugar, is also brewed and consumed in urban areas. This liquor is then called 'omangelengele'; it is more potent and sometimes poisonous. New Era, a Namibian English-language daily newspaper, reported that clothes, shoes, and tyres have been found brewed as ingredients of 'omangelengele'.

OVAMBO CLANS

The following table contains the names, areas, dialect names and the locations of the Ovambo according to T.E. Tirronen's Ndonga-English Dictionary. The table also contains information concerning the classification of noun class of the Proto-Bantu language for these words.

AREA	CLAN	DIALECT	LOCATION
Classes 9 (*ny > on-) **and 11** (uu-/ou-)	**Class 2** (*wa-, a-)	**Class 7** (*ki > oshi-)	
O-ndonga	Aa-ndonga	Oshi-ndonga	Southern Ovamboland
Uu-kwambi	Aa-kwambi	Oshi-kwambi	Central Ovamboland Oshakati
O-ngadjera	Aa-ngandjera	Oshi-ngandjera	Central Ovamboland
Uu-kwaluudhi	Aa-kwaluudhi	Oshi-kwaluudi	Western Ovamboland
O-mbalanhu	Aa-mbalanhu	Oshi-mbalanhu	Western Ovamboland
Uu-kolonkadhi	Aa-kolonkadhi	Oshi-kolonkadhi	Western Ovamboland
Ou-kwanyama	Ova-kwanyama	Oshi-kwanyama	Northern and Eastern Ovamboland
E-unda	Ova-unda	Oshi-unda	Western Ovamboland, Epalela vicinity
O-mbadja	Ova-mbadja	Oshi-mbadja	Southern Angola, Shangalala region

4.7 THE GRIQUA [KHOE]: AN INTRODUCTORY HISTORY

A brief online history of the Griqua (and Korana) is given as (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Griqua_people):

"The Griquas (/ˈgriːkwə/; Afrikaans: Griekwa, often confused with !Orana, which is written as Korana or Koranna) are a subgroup of heterogeneous former Khoe-speaking nations in Southern Africa with a unique origin in the early history of the Cape Colony. Under apartheid, they were given a special racial classification under the broader category of 'Coloured'.

Similar to the Trekboers (another Afrikaans-speaking group at the time), they originally populated the frontiers of the nascent Cape Colony (founded in 1652). The men of their semi-nomadic society formed commando units of mounted gunmen. Like the Boers, they migrated inland from the Cape, in the 19th century establishing several states in what are now South Africa and Namibia.

Griqua was the name given to a mixed-race culture in the Cape Colony of South Africa, around the 17th and 18th century. They were also known as Hottentots before Europeans arrived into their lands where they lived as close-knit families. They are a racially and culturally mixed people who are primarily descended from the intermarriages and sexual relations between European colonist men and primarily Khoikhoi slaves. The Griquas could trace their forefathers to two clans, the Koks and Barendse, the first made up mainly of Khoikhoi and the second of mixed European descent. Genetic studies of the 21st century have shown these people also had Tswana, San, and Xhosa ancestry. Later, the Europeans chose mixed-race women of the Khoikhoi, who were living in the Cape during the 17th and 18th centuries. As time went on, mixed-race people began to marry among themselves, establishing a distinct ethnic group that tended to be more assimilated to Dutch and European ways than tribal peoples in separated villages. During apartheid, the Griqua were called 'Coloured' by Europeans.

Slavery was practised in the Dutch East India Company-controlled Cape Colony, and the mixed-race groups which developed in the early Cape Colony as a result of white settler interaction with captured Khoe people who began to work around the farms, eventually opted different names for themselves, including Bastards, Basters, Korana, Oorlam or Oorlam Afrikaners, and Griqua. Like the Afrikaners or 'Boers' as they were known in that time, many of these groups migrated inland when the British took over the colonial administration. The word 'Afrikaner' itself was originally (for over 350 years) used as a description for not white Boers but a mixed-race bastard child. Note that the name Baster and Bastards were not derived from the English word 'bastard', but rather the Dutch word meaning 'hybrid'. It was only around 1876 that a group of Boer intellectuals, who named themselves 'The fellowship of real Afrikaners', decided to use the term as a new means to describe the Boer peoples, as part of the project to create a new national identity for pioneer Boer people during the First [1880–1881] and Second Boer Wars [1899–1902] and for more powerful political legitimacy. This is why today many Afrikaans-speaking white people are still known as Afrikaners, as this message was powerfully conveyed as a national identity during the times of the South African Union (1910–1961) and the apartheid years of the Republic of South Africa.

According to the 18th century Dutch historian Isaak Tirion, the Khoi name Griqua (or Grigriqua) is first recorded in 1730 in reference to a group of people living in the northeastern section of the Cape Colony. In 1813, Reverend John Campbell of the London Missionary Society (LMS) used the term Griqua to describe a mixed-race group of Chariguriqua (a Cape Khoikhoi group), Bastaards, Korana, and Tswana living at the site of present-day Griekwastad (then known as Klaarwater). The British found their 'proud name', Bastaards, offensive, so the LMS called them Griqua. The term Bastaards refers to a group of people of mixed origin.

The actual name was derived from the Chariaguriqua people whose princess became the wife of the first Griqua leader, Adam Kok I. Adam Kok was a liberated slave, who figured out how to acquire burgher rights and a ranch close to the present Piketberg, established the most incredible blended local area. Because of a common ancestor named Griqua and shared links to the Chariguriqua (Grigriqua), the people officially changed their name to the Griqua."

4.8 PORTUGUESE SHIPWRECK ACCOUNT OF THE SANTO ALBERTO, 1593 (THEAL 1898)

"On the 21st of January 1593 the ship Santo Alberto sailed from Cochin for Lisbon. She was commanded by the captain Julião de Faria Cerveira, and had as pilot a man of experience named Rodrigo Migueis. Among those on board were Dona Isabella Pereira, daughter of Francisco Pereira, an officer at Goa, and widow of Diogo de Mello Coutinho, who had been captain of Ceylon, Dona Luiza, daughter of that lady, a girl sixteen years of age, Nuno Velho Pereira, recently captain of Sofala, and two friars. There were many other passengers, some of them gentlemen of position.

In latitude 10° S. the ship sprang a league, and could not afterwards be freed of water. On the 21st of March the African coast was in sight, in latitude 31½° according to observations with the astrolabe, and here the leak increased greatly. The ship was lightened as much as possible, the pumps were kept constantly at work, and baling was resorted to, but the water in the hold continued to rise. In order therefore to save the lives of those on board, as there was no hope of being able to keep afloat much longer, the Santo Alberto was run ashore. Between nine and ten o'clock in the morning of the 24th of March she struck about three to four hundred yards [270–360m] from the beach. One hundred and twenty-five Portuguese, including the two ladies, and one hundred and sixty slaves got safely to land, and twenty-eight Portuguese and thirty-four slaves were drowned.

Fortunately a quantity of stores of different kinds, arms, ammunition, bales of calico, pieces of metal, beads, an astrolabe, some writing paper, and other articles were saved from the wreck. The pilot believed the latitude of the place to be 32½° S., but that was certainly an error, because there was only one large river between it and the Umzimvubu, and if it had been correct the Bashee and the Umtata must have been crossed. The Portuguese maps were still so defective that the position of all but very prominent places upon them was uncertain. The wrecked crew of the Santa Alberto believed the remarkable rock now known as the Hole in the Wall, close to which they were, to be the Penedo das Fontes of Dias, and the first river beyond, which was the Umtata of our day, to be the Rio do Infante of that explorer. From this time onward until their arrival at Delagoa Bay, to which place they resolved to proceed, the pilot kept a journal, in which he noted the distances travelled, the direction, occasionally the latitude, particulars concerning barter, observations

upon the natives, and other matters of interest. Many Bantu words given in his journal are easily made out, and from the observations recorded the route of the party can be laid down nearly – if not quite – accurately on a modern map[64].

The wrecked people commenced their journey from the streamlet Mpako, about ten miles [16km] west of the mouth of the Umtata. The great rock, which then, according to the journal, bore the name Tizombe, is now called Zikali. Nuno Velho Pereira, being a man of rank and experience, was elected leader, and Antonia Godinho, who had for a long time traded at stations in the Zambesi valley, took charge of the barter, on which the very lives of the travellers depended. Arrangements were made for the journey similar to those of a trading caravan. Calico, beads, and pieces of metal were done up in packs to be carried by the slaves, and the arms and provisions were borne by the Portuguese.

While the preparations were in progress, on the 27th of March a native chief with sixty followers made his appearance. His name, as recorded, was Luspance. Calling out 'Nanhata! Nanhata!' in a friendly tone, the band came forward, when the chief presented two large sheep with heavy tails like those of Ormus. Among the slaves were one who could make himself understood by Luspance, and who spoke also the language of the Bantu of Mozambique. Another slave spoke the last-named language and also Portuguese, so that through two intermediary interpreters the Europeans could make their wants known. And throughout one of the most remarkable journeys ever made in South Africa slaves of the party could always converse with the natives, a circumstance which tended greatly towards the safety of all.

Luspance is described as a man of good stature, light in colour, of a cheerful countenance, and about forty-five years of age. He and his people wore karosses of oxhide made soft by rubbing and greasing, and they had sandals on their feet. They could run with great speed. In their hands they carried sticks with jackal's tails attached to them, and the chief had as an ornament a piece of copper suspended from his left ear. They were husbandmen and graziers. Their grain was millet of the size of peppercorns, which was ground between two stones, and of which they also made beer. Their wealth consisted of cattle, whose milk was one of their ordinary articles of diet. Their huts were round and low, were covered with reed mats, and were not proof against rain. They had pots made of clay, used assegais in war and the chase, and kept dogs. They were without any form of worship, but were circumcised, as were nearly all the natives south of the twenty-ninth parallel of latitude. They were very sensual, each man having as many wives as he chose. Gold and silver were esteemed by them as of little value, but for very small pieces of iron or copper they were willing to sell oxen and sheep. Their language was a dialect of that in use by all the people of Kaffraria, and their chief, like the petty rulers in the country to the north, was termed an Inkosi.

From this description it is evident that Luspance's clan was of mixed Bantu and Hottentot blood, the former, however, prevailing, and that in 1593 the condition of things along the Umtata was similar to that along the Fish river two centuries later, when the incorporation of the Gonaquas in the Xhosa tribe had already taken place.

On the 3rd of April the travellers commenced their march. Luspance sold them two cows and two sheep, and went with them himself as a guide as far as the Umtata. A negro boy, one of whose legs had been broken in getting to land, was left behind with the friendly natives. On the afternoon of the next day they crossed the Umtata, which they believed to be the Infante, and then Luspance bade them farewell, after directing a guide whose name is given as Inhancosa – (evidently Nyana wenkosi, i.e. son of the chief) – to conduct them onward.

On the 5th they obtained eight cows in barter, on the 7th they passed a field of millet, of which they purchased some, and on the 9th they reached a little kraal that was in possession of a hundred head of horned cattle and a hundred and twenty sheep of the large-tailed breed. The chief presented calabashes of milk, and sold them four cows for pieces of copper worth as many pence. A little farther on they reached a kraal of another chief named Ubabu, who was a brother of their guide. He was a man of middling stature, not very black in colour, with an open cheerful countenance. He entertained the strangers with a dance, in which about sixty men took part, the women clapping their hands and singing in time. Though Ubabu had about two hundred head of large cattle and as many sheep, he would not part with any except at prices which the Portuguese regarded as extortionate, but he was very pleased to accept of the presents they made him.

[64] *"I am indebted for assistance in tracing this route to Walter Stanford, Esquire, C.M.G., recently chief magistrate of Griqualand East. This gentleman is thoroughly acquainted with the territory, which I have not had an opportunity of examining"* (Theal 1898).

Soon after leaving his kraal some natives were seen with beads of Indian manufacture hanging from their ears, which the journalist conjectured must have been brought down from the trading station at Delagoa Bay, though it is much more likely that they obtained from the wreck of the S. João or the S. Bento. Progress was slow, often little more than a league in a day being covered, but on the 14th the caravan reached the Umzimvubu at the ford now known as the Etyeni, where the passage of the stream was safely made.

After crossing this river, the largest in Kaffraria, the tone of the journal changes. The travellers found themselves now in a more thickly populated country, and the inhabitants were blacker in colour. They had not proceeded far when a chief named Vibo, who was much more powerful than any they had seen before, and who is described as being very black and about eighty years of age, came to meet them. After that, chiefs in possession of kraals of considerable size were found at intervals along their whole line of march, except when they were on the high plateau from which rises the Drakensberg. They had no difficulty in purchasing as many horned cattle, sheep, hens, gourds, and millet cakes, and as much millet and milk as they needed. For the millet cakes, probably on account of their being so different from European bread, they used the native name 'isinkwa', which the journalist wrote 'sincoa'. The gleeful exclamation 'Halala! Halala!' they mistook for a form of greeting, but they were correct in believing that the word 'manga' (properly 'isimanga') referred to the sea, though literally it means wonder.

They passed over the high ground behind the present mission station Palmerton, along by the Ingele mountain, which they called Moxangala, and on the 3rd of May saw the Drakensberg to the northward and north-eastward covered with snow. This part of the country, being too cold in the winter season to be pleasant for Bantu, they found uninhabited. Turning now towards the lowlands, on the 13th of May they crossed a beautiful river which they called the Mutangalo, the Umzimkulu of our day.

The present colony of Natal they found thickly peopled. By this time they were inured to travel, the weather was in all respects favourable, and they could usually obtain competent guides, so they made much longer stages than at first. It took them only sixteen days to go over the ground from the Umzimkulu to the Tugela – the Uchugel they termed it, - which stream they crossed on the 29th of May.

Continuing at this rapid rate, they reached Delagoa Bay on the 30th of June, having marched as they computed three hundred leagues in eighty-eight days [~1,600km in 88 days = ~20km/day]. From the Mpako to the Espirito Santo a straight line measures only one hundred and fifty leagues, but they thought the various turns in the footpaths had doubled the distance. They had nineteen head of cattle when they reached the bay. On the journey they had been compelled to abandon nine Europeans who were worn out with sickness and fatigue, and they lost ninety-five slaves, mostly by desertion. This wonderful success was due to its being the best time of the year for travelling, to their being so strong and so well armed that no natives dared to attack them, to them being provided with means to purchase food, and to their having slaves who could make themselves understood by the Bantu along the route.

At Delagoa Bay they found the trading vessel Nossa Senhora da Salvação nearly ready to return to Mozambique. She was not large enough to contain them all, but her mixed-breed Moslem sailors, who had their wives with them, consented for liberal payment to remain behind, and this she was lightened of forty-five individuals. It was the custom of these people, instead of receiving wages, to be allowed to trade in millet, honey, and anything else except ivory or ambergris on their own account, and therefore they would have little difficulty in providing for themselves on shore. From them the chief captain purchased an ample supply of millet for food on the passage. Twenty-eight Portuguese soldiers and sailors resolved to travel overland to Sofala, but only two of this party reached their destination; the others perished on the way in conflicts brought on by their own misconduct. Eighty-eight Portuguese, including the two ladies, and sixty-four slaves embarked in the trading vessel, which sailed on the 22nd of July, and reached Mozambique in safety on the 6th of August.

In all the region traversed by the crews of these wrecked ships not a single tribe is mentioned of the same name as any now existing. The people were all of the Bantu race as far south as the Umzimvubu, spoke dialects of the same language, had the same customs, but were not grouped as at present. South of the Umzimvubu there was a mixture of Bantu and Hottentot blood, but how far the former extended in this diluted form cannot be ascertained. Probably not far, as the country was very sparsely populated. It is noticeable also that the whole of the high plateau from which the Drakensberg rises was without inhabitants at least as far north as the present colony of Natal.

It would serve no useful purpose to give the names of the tribes about Delagoa Bay and farther northward, as placed on record by the Portuguese writers, for even if those names were accurate at the time, the communities that bore them have long since ceased to exist, and never did anything to merit a place in history. Along the coast south of Delagoa Bay only four tribes of importance are mentioned. The first was that of the Inyaka, occupying the island now known by that name and the territory between the Maputa river and the sea. Joining them on the south were the Makomata, under a chief called Viragune by the Portuguese, whose kraals were scattered over the country from the coast ninety miles [145km] inland. Then came the Makalapapa, who lived about the St. Lucia lagoon. South of them was a tribe termed the Vambe by the Portuguese, which was to a certainty the Abambo of Hlubi, Zizi, and other traditions, from whom Natal is still called Embo by the Bantu.

All the paramount chiefs of the tribes were termed kings by the Portuguese, and the territories in which they lived were described as kingdoms. In the same way the heads of kraals were designated nobles. Phraseology of this kind, so liable to lead readers into error, ended, however, with the so-called Vambe kingdom, as farther south there were no tribes of any importance, no chiefs with more than three or four kraals under their control, and to these a high-sounding title could not be given. The Pondo, Pondomise, Thembu, and Xosa tribes of our day were either not yet in existence as separate communities, or were little insignificant clans too feeble to attract notice."

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