

Review: Adi Inskeep, *Heinrich Vedder's "The Bergdama". An annotated translation of the German original with additional ethnographic material*, Volumes I and II, Köln, Köppe, 2003.

The human species is widely regarded as having evolved into its present form somewhere in Africa and as having subsequently spread out to populate much of the rest of the globe. There are good grounds for this belief, grounds so good that these days any alternative view is generally felt in intellectual circles to be idiosyncratic and worthy, perhaps not exactly of scorn, but at least of a doubtful smile. Nevertheless, despite all the attention lavished during the past two centuries on attempts to lighten the darkness of the Dark Continent, despite the abundance of scholarship devoted to it both externally and internally, there yet remain aspects of the populating of Africa itself which have so far defied straightforward elucidation; and not the least of these is the mystery of one of its humblest population groups: the Dama of Namibia.

Perhaps one reason for this may lie in the attitudes of their immediate neighbours and the extent to which this has coloured the conclusions of newer arrivals towards them. In ages when the resources of Namibia have been a matter of contention among more settled and more recent immigrants not only have the Dama tended to withdraw themselves, often into obscure and relatively inaccessible fastnesses, or to submit quite readily to subjection, but they have also practised other strate-

gies to make themselves unobtrusive. They have not, however, always been innocent refugees or simple hunters and gatherers. They have never been disinclined to trespass and steal when it appeared that they could get away with it, and have sometimes planned raids on their neighbours, whether of their own type or of other peoples, no less eagerly than their neighbours have set about robbing them. Nevertheless, in the book translated here, the author makes it clear that whereas attacks on other Dama were usually provoked by blood-feuds or the violation of what they saw as hunting and gathering rights, their quarrels with their Nama and Herero neighbours often resulted from the Dama practice of attracting game by firing what these others regarded as grazing grounds and thereby occasioning the growth of fresh vegetation. Other factors, mainly their occasional identification by Nama with even more powerful peoples such as the Herero, on occasion helped them to elude culpability.

In two ways especially they seem always to have stood out, phenotypically, from their other neighbours. Among Bushman San or Nama Khoi, they have been conspicuously black, so that for some time they have been seen as part of encroaching Bantu-speakers, and regarded as connected with the Herero (who are, or were, themselves also referred to as Dama by the Nama), cattle-less contrasted with cattle-Dama. The fact that, like the Herero, the Dama have a cult of the sacred fire, would have contributed to this, and although the two cults differ significantly in detail they share enough common features to

suggest strongly that they originally derived from a common origin. The looser beliefs and practices of the Herero in this regard may be connected to a different attitude to place than that possessed by the Dama – the sacrosanctity of the fire to the Dama, and the beliefs respecting its extinction and rekindling, can be readily linked to the anxieties of migration, allayed among the Herero by a securer sense of possession associated with becoming geographically settled. The Dama are hunter-gatherers, but then so are the Ovahimba, an offshoot of the Herero. Confusion has also been further confounded by the fact that the language that the Dama speak is not a Bantu one, but Khoisan: not only that, but identical except in a few minor details with that of the Nama. This led for a time to the theory that the Dama arrived in the region as slaves of the Nama, slaves who, like slaves elsewhere, had lost their own language(s) and been forced to assume that of their masters. This is something which they themselves strongly deny, though up until quite recently some of them have indeed been held in subjection by Nama. A puzzle evidently centuries old, and one which it took a remarkable man to set about solving. This book discloses his efforts and comments in detail on his results and those of his successors. To what extent he, and those who followed him, have been successful is still not clear; but he – and his translator – at least have contributed more to the solution, and more lucidly, than anyone else before or since.

Hermann Heinrich Vedder was born in 1876 at Westerenger in Westphalia into a devout family of farmers and weavers. He was educated at the local *Volkschule*, trained as a missionary of the *Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft*, and arrived in Namibia in 1903. Of major advantage to a missionary is linguistic competence, and Vedder possessed this to an outstanding degree. He had taught himself Greek (*koine, katharevousa*) from a study of the New Testament, quickly mastered English in a few months in England, and in then German South West Africa attained great proficiency in Nama and Otjiherero as well as in an Ambo and a Bushman (San) language. Though it is not precisely stated which this Ambo language was, it seems most likely to have been Oshindonga, since he would almost certainly have had access to the dictionary and abbreviated grammar of Otjiherero, heavily interlarded with comparisons from Oshindonga, (taken as the type-language of Ambo), compiled by Heinrich Brincker of the *Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft* and published in 1886. The San language was !Kung, of the fundamentals of which Vedder published an account in 1910-11 in the *Zeitschrift für Kolonial-sprachen*. His earliest duties had by then already brought him into contact with the Dama at Karibib and Swakopmund; he later moved to Omaruru with the objective of ministering to them, and then on to Ghaub in the Otavi Highlands, where he began to devote specific study to their dialect(s) of Nama and to the traditions and customs of the people themselves. Out of this grew the first of his two greatest and most detailed

contributions to Namibian studies, *Die Bergdama*, published by L. Friedrichsen of Hamburg in 1923. The second, *Das alte Südwestafrika*, was published in 1934 by the Martin Warneck Verlag of Berlin and, in an excellent (though incomplete) English translation by Cyril Hall, by Frank Cass & Co of London (in arrangement with the Oxford University Press) in 1938. *Die Bergdama*, however, remained available only in German until the publication of the present volumes.

Adi Inskeep was first seriously drawn to study the Dama when, bedridden in Oxford and finding the management of heavy volumes difficult or impossible, her serious reading was virtually limited to the perusal of xerox sheets provided for her by the Bodleian Library. Among these was what amounted to a complete copy of Vedder's *Die Bergdama*. German was not a language entirely familiar to her, but she was intrigued by the records of the existence of a hunter-gatherer society of very dark people who, though certainly not San or Khoi, spoke a Khoisan language and practised an individual culture distinct from those of other Khoisan-speaking hunter-gatherers and of the neighbouring Bantu-speaking Negro pastoralists. She resolved to dig deeper. This of course needed more German than that at her command, and, finding that the book had never been translated into English, she embarked on a serious study of German, which led on, ultimately, to a resolve that, having found a gap that needed to be filled, she would fill it by making a translation herself.

In doing so she discovered the need also to amplify Vedder's record by taking into account the later work of Viktor Lebzelter, which she has done by supplementing her work with a translation of the 80 pages of the latter's *Eingeborenenkulturen in Südwest- und Südafrika* which deal with the Dama and by scattering the results (fittingly acknowledged) at appropriate places in Vedder's text. Vedder, a meticulous ethnographer, by this and by his translator's occasional passages of commentary, is brought more into line with the requirements of contemporary anthropology. This has called for something which would be not simply a straightforward translation interleaved in places with commentaries and additions taken from other observers and writers. The expansion that has resulted has necessitated to some extent a breaking up of the original (in no way a deconstruction) and the recapitulation of some of Vedder's work into sections additional to those originally intended. As a result we are presented not only with the original work and some supplementation, but also with a third section which makes additional use of some contemporary facilities not available to Vedder but which we can be reasonably certain that a man of his calibre and interests would have welcomed. Thus perspectives are broadened and avenues opened, in a way perhaps not so much simply placing contemporary Dama into the context of contemporary Namibia as providing them and their congeners with the secure confidence of at least a well-checked recent historical and socio-cultural background. In this the

translator has been supported and encouraged by her husband, the archaeologist Ray Inskip, who has provided a preface for this work. It is to him that we are indebted for pointing out that the Dama are not, strictly speaking, just hunter-gatherers, and this not only because part of their subsistence often depends on their keeping a few goats, but also because they are, strictly speaking, trapper-gatherers, since a greater proportion of their diet derives from setting traps than from hunting. Sadly, Ray Inskip died shortly before this book was published.

The first traceable mention of the Dama is credited by Vedder in *Das alte Südwestafrika* to the appearance in an (unspecified) Portuguese map of a Kingdom of Mataman in the north of what is now Namibia. The ascription is dubious, involving as it does the assumption that the Portuguese cartographer kept *ma-* as signifying a collective plural in some language of Angola, with the first consonant of the stem becoming unvoiced and the Nama masculine plural *n* being retained. Furthermore, it may be doubted whether the Dama have ever lived in any concentration under so imposing a government as to merit the title of a kingdom. It is nevertheless quite likely (though not certain) that the dark-hued honey-gatherers encountered by Vasco da Gama at St. Helena Bay may have been Dama. On the other hand, the statement in the *Roteiro* of Gama's voyage that the keepers of substantial herds of cattle encountered a few days later at Mossel Bay resembled them suggests that they were not. Be that as it may, the various peoples described by

subsequent travellers to the south-western parts of Africa during the next two centuries became increasingly likely to include the Dama. The accounts of the most informative among such travellers have been edited by E. E. Mossop and published by the Van Riebeeck Society. The names Damara and Damrocqua frequently recur, as do mentions of copper-working, a characteristic Dama skill, as well as accounts which progressively discriminate them more sharply from their neighbours. As the influx of perceptive missionaries and travellers into the area grew in number, so did unmistakable mentions of the Dama. No longer were they encountered mainly by passing sailors, encroaching settlers, fleeing adventurers or youthful emissaries of the Dutch East India Company: the newer observers were likely to be traders or educated clergymen and scientists and strongly motivated army officers or civil servants.

This led to more detailed though not necessarily mutually altogether compatible accounts of the Dama, scrupulously summarized by Vedder's translator from the accounts in Lebzelter and in Vedder's own section on them in *The Native Tribes of South West Africa*. The scattered passages dealing with them in the travel records of Baines, Alexander, Campbell, Schinz, Andersson, von François, Möller, Lichtenstein, Galton, Gürich, Irle, Coates Palgrave, Burchell, Chapman, and others have had good use made of them by Adi Inskip, particularly in her own major contribution which makes up Part Three of this work. The multiplicity of mentions, however, have served less to explain the Dama than to add to

ongoing confusion about their background, not made any easier by Vedder's determination to include as many as he could of the facts at his disposal. It needs to be borne in mind that, although the Dama are scattered in pockets across Namibia, Vedder's direct contact with them occurred mainly in the area to the north and west of the Swakop River. This is, admittedly, the area most densely inhabited by them and is known as Damaraland. It includes the fastness of the Parasis Mountains where the "caste" distinction between the #Ou-khoin or Mountaintop Dama and the !Hom-khoin or Bergdama, of which Vedder makes much, has been particularly evident. Nevertheless, he was careful to enumerate the "tribal" divisions among the Dama as well as he could, culling information from a number of sources and discussing it amply while setting it down. In places this leads to elaborations above and beyond the simply geographical, until at times it seems to verge on the fanciful, though one is brought up sharply by the recollection that Vedder was a man of high principle and unlikely to invent baseless facts. Nonetheless the book is packed with facts to such an extent that it would be unlikely if there were no clashes. There are differences, for instance, between different versions of the Aga-Abes myth, which might appear at first sight to be so general as to unite rather than divide, but seems rather to derive from a single narrative which in its serial transmission has split into deviant versions — no more so, one might say, than divergent climactic passages among the four Christian Gospels. (This reviewer, however, was

struck by a more startling parallel, the curious likeness of the myth to the classical Greek tale of Leda, especially the rebirth of twin brothers, separately from their sister, out of an egg.)

An appreciative note by great linguist Carl Meinhof prefaces a section devoted to the Poetic Art of the Bergdama; but the interest of this turns out to be as great from a literary as from a linguistic standpoint. The songs and narratives and praises of the Herero fit quite neatly into a poetic tradition that has followed the Bantu expansion, and those of the Nama are strongly influenced by a fairly long contact with Christian missionaries. Both these peoples and the Bushmen share with the Dama the same range of musical instruments, horns, pipes, the musical bow and a stringed instrument variously described as a harp or a guitar. Both and the Dama differ from their Bushman neighbours in having left no legacy of pictorial art or of curing with the help of dances. There is almost as great a profusion of Dama proverbs as there are in many Western European languages, and some of them happen coincidentally to echo each other (the Dama "There are two dawns" = the Afrikaans "Môre is nog 'n dag," there's another day tomorrow.) The effect of the missionaries on the Dama has not been of such long duration, and Vedder and Lebzelter both had the opportunity to comment on the nature and content of traditional poetic expression and make textual records of or about it. It contrasts with that of most peoples by reflecting but in no way codifying their traditional religious beliefs. It frequently has a dramatic narrative content, actually acted out in performance with

its recitation. It cannot be divorced from song and dance, or, it seems, from death: a great many of the texts recorded are laments. None of the examples given expresses in the narrative a myth or a legend, though some have a kind of ritual significance. There is a curious simplicity about the traditional central religious creed, which involves a single Supreme Being instrumental for both good and evil, and an afterlife to which no term, it appears, is allotted. Both writers are, from the evidence of the examples given, justified in regarding the Dama as poetically peculiarly gifted.

One main interest of the Dama contribution to verbal art arises from the evidence it in places appears to provide for the original possession by the Dama of a language other than the one shared with the Nama. Vedder discusses the possibility that pronunciation, articulation of the click-sounds and the command of verbal tone, may afford an indication of the influence of a lost language, but dismisses this as in many cases anatomically conditioned. For this he cites the fact that such variations appear to occur among Dama individuals. He does, nevertheless, adduce the fact that there are differences from Nama speech which are of a grammatical nature and relate to accident and syntax and differ from one Dama group to another, being most distinctive among the #Ou-khoin of the mountain-tops and some dwellers in the veld. He regards these as archaic residues, though he does ascribe some of them to retention among the Dama of essentially Nama linguistic elements

which the Nama have discarded. There is also idiosyncratic use of some parts of speech and of post-positions, and also suffixial extensions of varying signification. The absence of particles which in Nama convey nuances is especially distinctive; this is noticeable in the expression of tense and could argue for a disregard for temporal precision among the Dama. A juggling with word order can also on occasion lead to confusion among non-Dama addressed.

Lexical differences are more likely to be changes in cognates than distinctive elements. Such cognates are abundant. There are nonetheless a number of words which have a Nama form but no meaning in Nama. It is possible that these are true remnants of one or more older languages. Such are found in the poetic repertoire more commonly than (if at all) in every day speech, and may in fact represent survival for poetic rather than more ordinary reasons. Examined individually such lexical elements do not invariably carry what might elsewhere be regarded as a poetic significance. (but then such significance is not readily definable: one is reminded of a Shona love-poem collected by Hodza and Fortune, in which the length of the beloved's neck is acclaimed as being unable to be climbed by a louse without resting.). Vedder acutely draws attention to the fact that none of the non-Nama words in fact contain click-sounds; unfortunately he does not comment on tone-pitch variations, but it is unlikely that so acute an observer would not have noted these if they were manifestly significant. The attempts occasionally made to link the

Dama linguistically with Nilo-Hamitic elements do not appear to this reviewer to carry much weight derivable from these abundant and characteristic examples of Dama poetic expression.

Considering the extent to which the Dama have segmented, though, and the degree of variation, there is among them even in the Nama which they speak, it is surprising how coherent among them the family structure and the domestic economy are and how markedly these differ from those of the neighbouring peoples. Much the same applies to their games, which tend to be secular and derivative, and to their dances, which tend to embrace a religious element. The latter, together with their overriding fundamental monotheism, provide us with some of the best grounds for thinking their settlement in the region to have been of considerable antiquity. Furthermore, where resources are sparse it takes a great deal of trial and error to find ways of making the best of them, and more still for the solutions of fundamental problems to gain general acceptance. The construction of dwelling-places, for instance, admittedly depends on where they are situated and on the building materials available. But there are relatively immutable rules which have come to be accepted in all the Dama "tribes": for instance those governing the layout of settlements, the positions of the Holy Fire and of the "male" and "female" houses, the situations of the firewood, the water-vessels, the other utensils, the areas where strangers and children might sleep, and the storage areas for clothes and the pens for livestock, and the relationship of all

these to the "settlement tree" and the place of the Holy Fire. At the same time such basic patterns as those of kinship recognition and mutual responsibilities would have remained relatively constant among people subjected to similar stresses.

There is a degree of fission, not always directly attributable to historical factors, but the essential patterns and principles appear to be due to shared sets of experiences and to differ mainly in the expedients devised for dealing with them. This provides good grounds for the postulation of a single (shared) evolution over a number of generations, one, moreover, which has taken place not in the course of migration but in the course of adaptation to a single but difficult terrain. This could have led to economically provoked segmentations during which drifting apart of, and perhaps strife for resources between, the segments might be responsible for any major subsequent distinctions.

There are, of course, objections which can be raised to any such postulates. If the Dama do comprise a single people, why should there be within them different traditions concerning the direction from which they originally came? It may be argued that for a "primitive" people there would not be all that much difference between the south-east suggested in one tradition and the east proposed in the other. To anyone who has worked among preliterate peoples such an argument carries little weight. Those who keep records in their heads are much more aware of the natural world than are those who have learned to depend on the written word. Moreover, the disparate stories can

suggest that the Dama may have originated from the fusion of two strains, perhaps from the withdrawal of autochthones from the threatening approach of migrants from two different directions. This would fit in with the southward movements of Bantu-speakers down and to the east of the Rift Valley, displacing the relics of earlier migrant Khoi and San to the southwestward, the former of whom, as pastoralists, would present a challenge to the incumbent inhabitants. It is possible to speculate that the Dama acquisition of the Nama language might have represented a need to establish communications with the newcomers. The translator, however, quotes Wilfrid Haacke, Eliphas Eiseb and Levi Namaseb (1997) who have found the roots of Dama speech to have been grounded not, as Vedder claimed, in Nama, but in proto-Khoe. This would not, however, exclude the possibility that this could have helped to enable mutual understanding of a kind between the peoples.

Both Vedder and his translator (and, of course, Lebzelter and many of the others who have dealt, even in passing, with the Dama) have been diligent not only in searching written records but have also been in a position to question living representatives of the people. Vedder, being the excellent ethnographer he was, made a record of what was accessible to him, and has furnished us with a compilation which deals with a previously largely unobtrusive people in great detail. What is more, he has very rarely been carried away by speculation; his accounts of almost everything he put down derived

from his own personal observations. It might even be suggested that he might have benefited later comers had he exceeded the remit he had set himself and attempted more often to hazard reasons for the state of affairs he was observing. But that would possibly have deprived his translator not only of the opportunity to supplement a record of facts until it became a useful anthropological repository but also of much of her reasons for embarking on her own researches, for her questioning of informants and her grounds for deploying recent anthropological material towards further unravelling of the puzzles which the Dama pose. The use of what she has discovered, combined with her commentaries and the interpretations she has given to it in the light of the established work of Vedder and Lebzelter, make up the last third of what she has transformed into a comprehensive and up-to-date work. Furthermore, in this section she has not been afraid to speculate, and though some might cavil at these speculations they are ones which needed to be made. If later work will refute them, well and good: she has not represented them as irrefutable, and indeed all her work, both in translation and her own interpretations of the facts presented, amounts to an encouragement to yet more scholars to read Vedder and while acknowledging his achievement to add to it from what they themselves have discovered or determined.

Adi Inskeep opens this final section with a consideration of the Dama and their interaction in one way and another with their neighbours – especially in the way they might have experienced

“Bushman” and “Hottentot” influences, particularly that of the Hei//om, who share (variants of) the Aga-Abes myth with them. She has had at her disposal the corpus of recent work, largely that of Trefor Jenkins and Himla Soodyall and those who have worked with them, though it was originally the work of the Knussmans which confirmed that the Dama had to be considered as biologically Negro. It must be granted that their methods of sample selection were far from ideal and that their contributions are based on demographically inadmissible premisses, but their results stemmed largely from the detection in the Dama of gene markers which set them definitively apart from the San and even, though to a lesser extent, from the main Negro groups in the region. Other workers were soon to confirm in addition that there was a lower Khoisan contribution to the Dama genome than had already been detected among the various Bantu-speakers of the region. This fitted in with what Estermann had concluded on biologically less sophisticated grounds about some of the peoples of southern Angola and published in 1956.

Estermann establishes as far from unlikely (and in fact not uncommonly acknowledged) connection between these peoples and the Dama, and extends it to include some of the most prominent groups among the Ambo. Vedder makes a passing reference to this in *Das alte Südwestafrika* (though Lebzelter records them as being antipathetic). Adi Inskeep regards aspects of Kwanyama ritual as an adaptation to an agricultural setting of hunter-gatherer practices imposed by

originally hunter-gatherer Kwangali rulers, and supports this by citing appropriate myths. She devotes a great deal of space and effort to underlining the similarities, and though these are present the upshot of a great part of her argument is simply a recapitulation of the origin of the Dama as Negroes and the persistence of some essentially Negro attitudes and custom. She sees this as spreading to some extent into Ambo custom and outlook, even to suggesting that the important position of women in Dama society may somehow have influenced the Ambo to adopt matriliney – an improbable suggestion, in the light of the broad band of matrilineal societies which runs east-to-west across Africa at those latitudes. Notably, too, the position of the smith in Ambo society resembles the same in a great many African societies. However the fact that the situation of the smith alternates between societies from aversion through fear to cautious respect, and may reflect an original dread of pollution deriving from the lowliness or mystery of his origins, is not mentioned.

She cogently raises the subject of other hunter-gatherers in Southern Africa, to which Vedder gave very little consideration. For this he is by no means to be blamed, as what was known of them in his day was scanty and depended to a great extent on the expectations, to some degree on the intellectual background, of those who observed them and chose to leave records of their observations. They were most likely to be seen first by relatively unschooled people who remarked that they were black and spoke click-containing languages which did not

contain words or speech patterns resembling those of the more familiar click-using black people such as the Zulu and the Xhosa. For this reason they were lumped together and dismissed together as “black Bushmen”, a classification at which on the whole their more organised and more sophisticated Bantu-speaking neighbours connived. Thus it was that for a long time any specific consideration of them tended to be sidelined. They were accepted as being melanotic, though not morbidly afflicted, Bushmen, and that was that.

This could not, however, save them from being subsumed into Southern African legend; not just that of the indigenous peoples and the later Bantu immigrants from the north, but the tales told by the white settlers spreading out from the south. Of course the stories interleaved and became confusing, and a number of associations, some of them mutually contradictory, accrued to them. In many instances the people referred to were taken as being small. This is, in fact, the connotation most properly given for the term “Twa” and its cognates, and contradicts that of “stranger, foreigner, inferior” originally given by M. D. W. Jeffries. It is more often used in a simple diminutive sense, as in the derivation of the names widely given to peoples considered small. It extends far to the north, and is applied to some Pygmies by their associates. The “black Bushmen” were often regarded as small, and though their growth was nutritionally restricted in many cases this did not always accord with physical actuality. They were shy: not unnaturally, since as hunters they would

try to prevent the scent of strange and frightening strangers from interfering and disturbing their prey. They, like the Dama, were often said often to regard domestic animals simply as prey, and, like the lighter-skinned San were not infrequently hunted into local extinction. Examples of this are common, from the stories in central Africa of little men who demanded one to tell them where they had first been sighted, and if the reply implied that they were seen as small that would be dangerous for the person asked and might lead to his killing the interlocutor in self-defence, to the accounts given to the present reviewer when he worked among the Transkei Mpondomisi, of campaigns of extermination of Bushmen deliberately carried out, by blacks and whites to protect their cattle.

The black hunter-gatherers are to be found not in widespread groups but generally in enclaves. Prominent among them are the Yeii or Koba of the Okavango Swamps, the Bakgalagadi inhabiting the desert south of Lake Ngami, and scattered parties of “Masarwa” (a name cognate with “Twa”) to the east and south and inconstantly spilling over into Zimbabwe and South Africa. The mass of the last-named comprises the Denasena. The Kattea, usually included with them, are more often mentioned than actually seen. Like the Dama, all of these are (or are reputed to be) round-eyed, sharp-featured and dark-skinned, unlike the ubiquitous San. Like the Dama, too, they make expert use of traps. Some construct huts resembling those of the Otavi Dama. Many of them speak Sotho or Tswana but are said to retain their

own click-languages as a means of hiding their meanings and intentions when in the company of Bantu-speakers. Residues, or memories, of such people are widespread, extending from southern Tanzania to the Lovedu gynaecocracy in the north-eastern Transvaal. Adi Inskip has unearthed and discussed a great deal of what is known of such peoples, but there is still much work to be done before we can be sure of any connection with the Dama.

It is worth remarking in conclusion that the ongoing emergence from among the Dama of intellectually curious individuals interested in and close to the remaining conservers of their native traditions is likely before very long to add new insights which will affect and transform the way in which that people is regarded in the future. This may mean that some of Adi Inskip's speculations, based to some extent on the findings of recent external investigators and prompted by her anthropological training, may end up losing cogency more rapidly than the ethnographical stringency of Vedder will. This would not, however, diminish in any way the credit due to her for not only making a scrupulous translation of a seminal work for the study of the peoples of Namibia, but also the copious commentary with which she has expanded it. These two volumes are likely to remain essential items for any study of African peoples in general, and though one cannot but decry the fact that they have waited so long for translation into English and for an expansion such as has been made here, they can only be welcomed by those engaged in the study of Namibia and its peoples.

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References

(Rather than transcribing references included in the book reviewed, the following consist only of references which might be helpful to later workers *in addition* to those in the book. No claims are made that these are comprehensive.).

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