

Future Pasts

Dama / #Nūkhoen and ||Ubun cultural landscapes mapping, west Namibia

In Progress Report to Namidaman Traditional Authority, Sesfontein, compiled by Sian Sullivan s.sullivan@bathspa.ac.uk, last updated 6 August 2019.

Background

The material shared here has been compiled through journeys conducted as part of a research project called *Future Pasts* (see www.futurepasts.net). The core team leading these journeys has consisted of:

Sian Sullivan - Principal Investigator for the Future Pasts project, Associate of Gobabeb Desert Research Institute and Research Affiliate of the National Museum of Namibia;

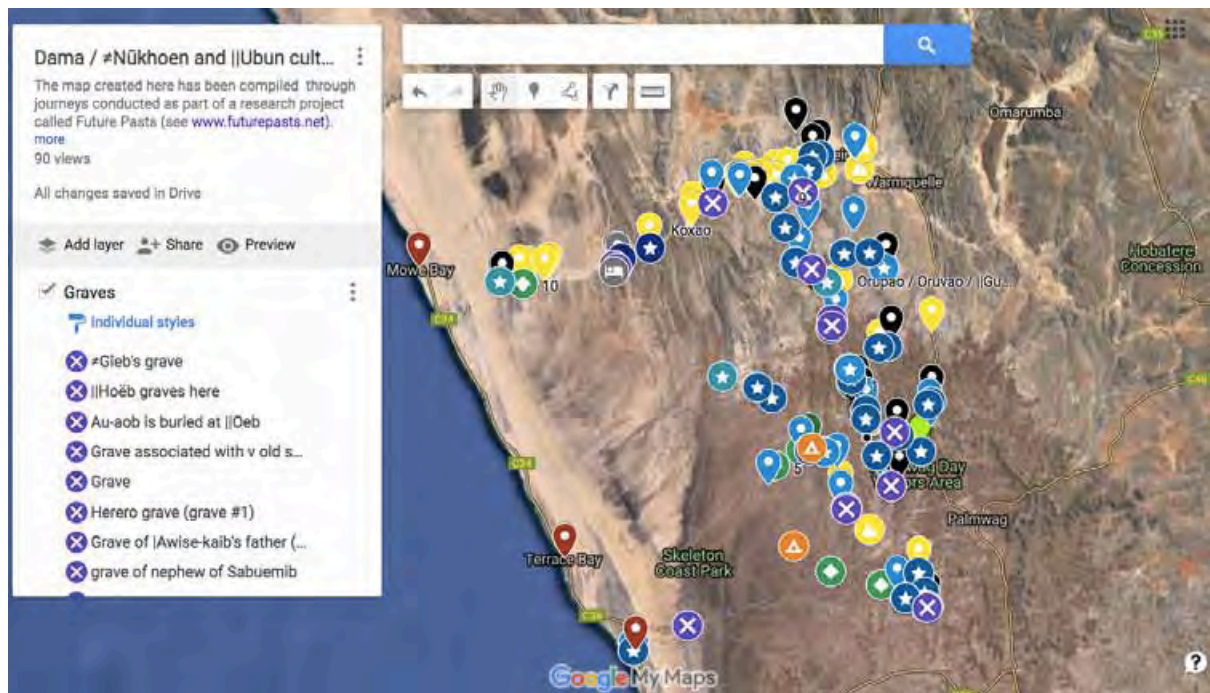
Welhemina Suro Ganuses - Sesfontein resident, administrator with Save the Rhino Trust Namibia and Khoekhoegowab-English translator;

Filemon /Nuab - Sesfontein resident and Conservancy Rhino Ranger and guide.

The *Future Pasts* project explores diverse perceptions and practices of sustainability in the cultural and conservation landscapes of west Namibia. It is funded by the UK's Arts and Humanities Research Council and Bath Spa University. Its main Namibian partner organisations are the National Museum, Gobabeb Desert Research Institute and Save the Rhino Trust.

The map below is a screenshot of an online map showing former *//an-//huib* (living places) and other sites (springs, graves, Haiseb cairns, etc.) in the broader landscape of the Sesfontein, Anabeb and Purros Conservancies and especially the Palmwag Concession, as known by diverse Khoekhoegowab-speaking peoples now living in settlements concentrated on the edge of the Palmwag Tourism Concession area. The full online map is linked at <https://www.futurepasts.net/cultural-landscapes-mapping>.

Figure 1. Screenshot of online map showing former ||an-|| buib (living places) and other sites (springs, graves, Haiseb cairns, etc.) in the broader landscape of the Sesfontein, Anabeb and Purros Conservancies. The full online map can be found at <https://www.futurepasts.net/cultural-landscapes-mapping>. Source: on-site oral history research, 2014-2019, building on oral history documentation in the late 1990s.



The information included in this map is derived from different journeys to former dwelling places and other known localities in the broader landscape with a number of senior residents of the Hoanib River valley, especially Sesfontein / !Nani|aus and Kowareb – see Table 1. These elders are named with the information shared with each place marker. They include Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi |Awises, Franz ||Hoëb, Noag Mûgagara Ganaseb, Christophine Daumû Tauros, Michael |Amigu Ganaseb and Julia Tauros (as indicated for each data point below). Some places were also sought following their mention in a series of oral histories recorded in the late 1990s by Sian Sullivan and Welhemina Suro Ganuses and the map here thus builds on information from a diversity of people. Although we have worked intensively with a handful of elderly people considered locally to have relevant historical knowledge of how the broader landscape was inhabited and moved through in the past, it is important to understand that their knowledge also ‘speaks for’ many others. It reaches across generations to connect with the experiences and knowledge of their elders (the *kai khoen*), as well as horizontally to include families and friends with whom they shared experiences of living in the past. In other words, the information recorded here represents to varying extents the experiences and knowledge of a much wider group of people than those named above.

Table 1. Journeys forming the basis for on-site oral histories in the broader landscape with elderly Khoe-speaking inhabitants of Sesfontein and Anabeb Conservancies.

Date	Name	Ethnonym / <i>!haoti</i>	Focal Places
27-281014 & 20-231114	Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi Awises	Khao-a Dama, Ubun	Kowareb, Mbakondja, Top Barab, Kai-as
17-190215	Ruben Sauneib Sanib	Khao-a Dama	Kowareb, Kai-as, Hunkab, Oruvao/ Guru-Tsaub, Sesfontein
07-091115	Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi Awises	Khao-a Dama, Ubun	Kowareb, Khao-as, Soaub (Desert Rhino Camp area)
13-141115	Christophine Daumû Tauros, Michael Amigu Ganaseb	!Narenin Hoanidaman / Ubun	Sesfontein, Purros, Hoanib
20-261115	Franz Hoëb, Noag Ganaseb	Ubun	Sesfontein, Hoanib, coast, Kai-as
05-090519	Franz Hoëb	Ubun	Sesfontein, !Uniab mouth, Hunkab, Mudorib, Oeb, Hoanib
12-150519	Ruben Sauneib Sanib	Khao-a Dama	Sesfontein, Gomagorras, Nobarab, Khao-as, Soaub
17-200519	Julia Tauros	Purros Dama	Sesfontein - Purros
22-240519	Hoanib Cultural Group, Sesfontein (n = 18, + 7 facilitators)	Multiple	Kai-as

All these elderly local historians are from predominantly Dama / #Nūkhoen and ||Ubun families with whom I have interacted for a quarter of a century. They are integrally and intimately connected with Nama, ovaHimba and ovaHerero histories and families in the area. So-called Damara Khoe-speaking people refer to themselves as #Nūkhoen, meaning literally ‘black’ or ‘real’ people and thus distinguished from *Nau khoen* or ‘other people’.

Historically, ‘Dama-ra’ was the Nama or Khoe name for ‘black people’ generally (referring literally to two female black-skinned people). Since Nama were often those whom early European colonial travellers first encountered in the western part of southern Africa, they took on this use of the term ‘Dama’. This gave rise to a confusing situation in the historical literature whereby the term ‘Damara’, as well as the central part of Namibia that in the 1800s was known as ‘Damaraland’, tended to refer to dark-skinned cattle pastoralists who called themselves Herero (see, for example Alexander, 2006(1853); Galton, 1890[1851]; Tindall, 1959). The terms ‘Hill Damaras’ [‘Berg Dama’] and ‘Plains Damaras’ were used to distinguish contemporary Damara or #Nūkhoen (i.e. ‘Khoe-speaking black-skinned people’) from oshiHerero-speaking peoples respectively. In conjunction, these names also signalled historically-constitutive processes whereby pressure on land through expansionary cattle pastoralism pushed Khoe-speaking Damara / #Nūkhoen further into the mountainous areas that became their refuge and stronghold (Hahn *et al.*, 1928; Lau, 1979). Lau (1979, pp. 30-32, emphasis in original) maintains that ‘the Damaras are *historically* a group apart and settled in the country *before* other Nama and Orlams moved in’, living in ‘a scattered collection of communities *historically apart and separate* from all other Nama peoples who migrated into the territory’. Alongside a more recent consolidation and appropriation of an homogenising Damara ethnic identity associated with colonial and apartheid governance processes (Fuller,

1993), #Nūkhoen are thus also linked with a diversity of dynamic and more-or-less autonomous *!haoti* (lineages) associated with different land areas (*!hūs*) (as clarified below), with both specific and overlapping livelihoods and lifeworlds enacted by different *!haoti*. The ‘ethnonyms’ listed in Table 1 are the names people used for themselves to refer to these *!haoti*, despite current circumstances in which it is very difficult for people to access the land areas (*!hūs*) with which their *!haoti* are linked.

Khoe-speaking ||Ubun are sometimes referred to as ‘Nama’ and at other times referred to as ‘Bushmen’ (personal fieldnotes), for whom a mythologised origin tale tells that they split from #Aonin / Topnaar Nama at Utuseb in the !Khuseb river valley, following a dispute in which a #Aonin woman refused her sister the creamy milk (*//ham*) that the latter desired. They travelled and established themselves north of the !Khuseb and are linked with many former dwelling sites located in the Namib close to the ocean [i.e. ‘*hurib*’]¹ in this far westerly area (see Sullivan *et al.*, 2019).

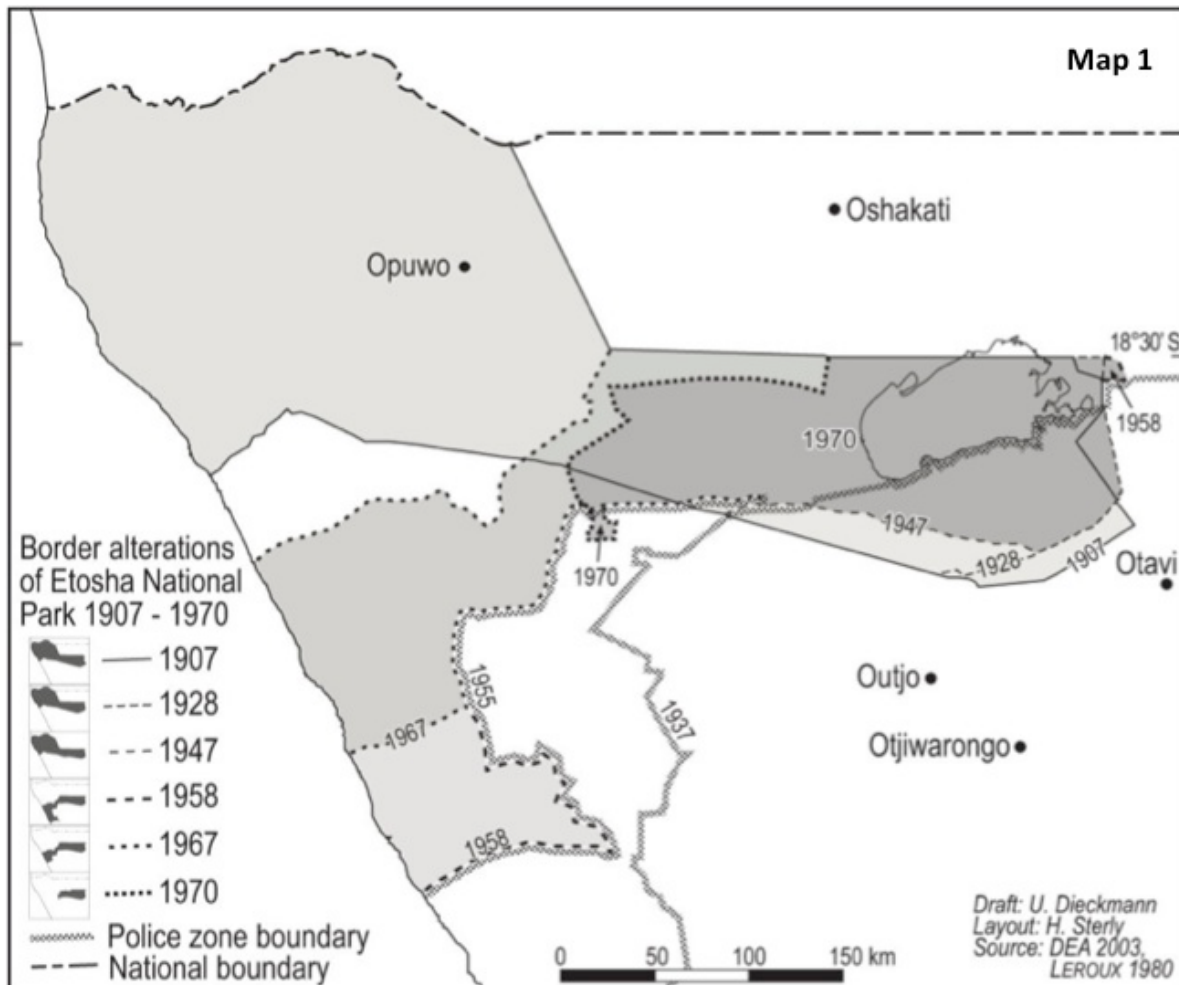
Clearances

In recent decades a number of key historical processes acted to clear people and livestock from land areas of southern Kunene Region, experiences that have lived on in the memories of people alive today. For example:

1. a livestock-free zone north of the veterinary fence dissecting Namibia from east to west (see Figure 1) was coercively cleared of people living there so as to control the movement of animals from communal areas in the north to settler commercial farming areas in the south (Miescher, 2012). Moments of this clearance in the late 1930s are vividly remembered by elderly informants today (see transcript from Ruben Sauneib Sanib below);
2. in the 1950s relief grazing was made available in the west under Namibia’s South African administration, mostly for Afrikaans livestock farmers (Kambatuku, 1996);
3. from 1950 on, several diamond mines were established in the northern Namib, especially at Möwe Bay, Terrace Bay, Toscanini and Saurusa (Mansfield, 2006), making this territory a ‘restricted access area’. This is a remembered process that displaced especially ||Ubun people living and moving in this far westerly area, as well as offering new employment opportunities in the mines thereby established;
4. the westwards extension of the boundary of the former ‘Game Reserve no. 2 (now Etosha National Park) to the coast in 1958, following the Hoanib River in the north and the Ugab River in the south (Tinley, 1971) – see Figure 1, was associated with the clearance of people and livestock utilising and moving through this area;

¹ Interviews with Heldika |Nuas (Sesfontein), 06/04/14, Emma Ganuses (!Nao-dâis), 12/11/15.

Figure 2. The shifting boundaries of Game Reserve No. 2 / Etosha National Park, 1907-1970. Source: Dieckmann, 2007, p. 76 (also Tinley, 1971), reproduced with permission.



5. various boundary changes took place in connection with the creation of new 'homeland' areas following government recommendations in the 1960s (Odendaal Report, 1964). At this time, much of the western portion of Etosha National Park was reallocated as part of the 'homeland' of 'Damaraland' and the western park boundary was moved eastwards to its 1970 position, allowing the Skeleton Coast National Park to be gazetted (in 1971) (Tinley, 1971) from the northern Namib, already cleared of people through its establishment as a restricted access mining area from 1950. The new 'Damaraland Homeland' provided re-settlement opportunities for many Dama / ǀNūkhoen in other parts of Namibia. In the southern parts of the Homeland territory in particular, surveyed farms that had been settled by predominantly Afrikaans settler farmers were 'communalised' (i.e. turned into communal land) through their (re)allocation to ǀNūkhoen herders (Sullivan, 1996). Later, the Damara Regional Authorities committed a large area of land in between Etosha and Skeleton Coast Parks as the hunting and then tourism concession of Palmwag (see Figure 3).

Figure 3. Boundaries of current tourism concessions, surrounding communal area conservancies and state protected areas in southern Kunene Region, west Namibia. Source: Jeff Muntifer, 5 March 2016.



People were understandably reluctant to leave places they considered home. Some oral histories indicate that coercion accompanied this movement. In November 2014 I sat at the waterhole of ǀKhabaka, now in the Palmwag concession, with Ruben Sauneib Sanib, a renowned hunter of the ǀAwise ǁKha-a Damara family associated with ǀKhari Hurubes and surrounding areas who was born *ca.* 1930s. He recalled his experience of families being evicted from the formerly large settlement of Gomagorras, an event that happened prior to the memorable death of Husa, then Nama captain of Sesfontein / ǀNaniǀaus who in 1942 was mauled by a lion at the place known as ǀAo-daos (personal fieldnotes, and Van Warmelo 1962(1951), pp. 37, 43-44):

The government said this is now the wildlife area and you cannot move in here. We had to move to the other side of the mountains - to Tšabididi [the area also known today as Mbakondja]. Ok, now government police from Kamanjab and Fransfontein told the people to move from here. And the people moved some of the cattle already to Sesfontein area, but they left some of the cattle [for the people still in Hurubes and Aogubus] to drink the milk. Those are the cattle the government came and shot to make the people move.

Some of these cattle belonged to a grandfather of Ruben's called Sabuemib:

And Sabuemib took one of the bulls into a cave at |Ui-gomabi-Igaus and he shot it there with a bow and arrow [so that they would at least be able to eat biltong from the meat and prevent the animal being killed by the authorities]. Other cattle were collected together with those of Hereros [also herding in the area] and were shot by the government people at Gomagorras [named after the word *goman* for cattle and located in the hills south of Tsididi]. Some of Sabuemib's cattle were killed in this way.²

Named land areas or *!hūs*

These and other recent historical processes affected the land embodying territories (*!hūs*) known as ≠Khari Hurubes, !Nau Hurubes³, Aogubus, and Namib (see Figure 4). At this time, ||Khao-a Dama of ≠Khari Hurubes and Aogubus were mostly consolidated in the northern settlements of Sesfontein / !Nani|aus, Anabeb, Warmquelle and Kowareb. Dâure-Dama of the more southerly !Nau Hurubes became concentrated mostly in the vicinity of the Ugab River to the south of the Palmwag Concession. These historic clearances and mobilities underscore the current geography of conservancies, concessions and national parks in the area, as shown above in Figure 3.

A *!hūs* is a named area of the *!garob* or 'field'/'veld'. As the former headman of Kowareb Andreas !Kharuxab explains:

From the !Uniab River to this side it's called Aogubus. And the Hoanib River is the reason why this area is called Hoanib. And from the !Uniab to the other side (south) is called Hurubes. That is Hurubes. From the !Uniab to that big mountain (Dâures) is called Hurubes. If you come to the ||Huab River – from the ||Huab to the other side (south) is called ||Oba (now Morewag Farm). Khorixas area is called |Huib. And from there if you pass through and come to the !U≡gab River we refer to that area as |Awan !Huba, i.e. 'Red Ground'. *Every area has got its names.*⁴

A *!hūs* is also known in association with the lineage-based exogamous group of people or *!haos* who lived there. I say *lived* because the exigencies of a colonial and apartheid history mean that few such *!haoti* retain unbroken relations of habitation to such areas. Nevertheless, most Dama/≠Nūkhoen in north-west Namibia continue to identify with reference to the *!hūs* that they or their ancestors hail from. So, for example:

... the people get their names according to where they were living. ... My mother's parents were both Damara and my father's parents were both Damara. I am a Damara child; I am part of the Damara 'nation' (*!hao*). I am a Damara (*Damara ta ge*). We are Damara but we are also Dâure Dama. We are part of the Dâure Dama 'nation' (*!hao*). We are Dâure Dama. (*Dâure Dama da ge*).⁵

And,

² Robert Hitchcock and colleagues record similar reports for the northern British Protectorate Crown Lands of Botswana in the late 1940s, describing the purposeful shooting by camel-mounted police of domestic livestock belonging to Tshwa Bushmen (Hitchcock *et al.*, 2017).

³ Also '||Hurubes', see see Dâure Daman Traditional Authority in Hinz and Gariseb (2013, p. 186).

⁴ Recorded interview with Andreas !Kharuxab, Kowareb, 13/05/99.

⁵ Recorded interview with Andreas !Kharuxab, Kowareb, 13/05/99. (Nb. 'Dâures' is the Khoekhoegowab name for the Brandberg massif).

My father was really from this place [Sesfontein/!Nani|aus], and my mother was from Hurubes. Really she's from Hurubes. She's ||Khao-a Damara.⁶

Relationship with a dynamic lineage-associated *!hūs* is further reflected in such things as the location and orientation of families in larger settlements, and the directions in which people travel when venturing into the *!garob* to gather foods and other items (see below). While Sesfontein, for example, is one of the longest established precolonial and colonial administrative settlements in Kunene with a relatively large and permanent population of Dama/≠Nūkhoen people, most Damara 'households' have tended to be physically located within the settlement in places that reflect their affinity towards the direction of the *!hūs* with which their *!haoti* is identified. In southern Kunene, these different groupings are now categorised under the broader linguistic, lineage, and land-based grouping of *Namidaman* and represented by the Namidaman Traditional Authority.

Figure 4. Named land areas (*!hūs*) as known by Khoe-speaking Dama/≠Nūkhoen and ||Ukun inhabitants of conservancies in southern Kunene. The green-shaded areas are conservancies, the orange-shaded area to the east of the image is Etosha National Park. Source: personal fieldnotes and on-site oral histories.



In the material that follows we have tried to record information as accurately as possible and to triangulate with other sources where we can. That said, there are bound to be some lapses in memory and inaccuracies that find their way in, however careful we have tried to be. Please bear this in mind when reading the material. Please also note that this is an incomplete compilation of data gathered that is being added to all the time, and does not gather all the data together for everyone with historical connections and interest in these areas. All photographs are © Sian Sullivan, unless otherwise stated.

⁶ Recorded interview with Philippine |Hairo | |Nowaxas, Sesfontein, 15/04/99.

The places detailed below are grouped as follows:

1. Kai-as, at the heart of the Palmwag Concession;
2. Uruhunes / ǀǀKhao-as;
3. ǀGâob places, i.e. places on or near what is now known as the Aub River;
4. Places and springs from north to south on and along ǀNobarab (today known as Barab River);
5. Living places and springs east to west along Hoanib from Sesfontein;
6. Coast;
7. Hûnkab area;
8. Souab;
9. Springs and living places south of Sesfontein / ǀNaniǀaus
10. Purros – to be included in future draft**

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Multiple people and organisations in Namibia helped to make possible the research on which the material below is based. Kapoi Kasaona at Palmwag Lodge, Chairman of Sesfontein Conservancy Usiel ǀNuab, Emsie Verwey at Hoanib Camp, and friends at Save the Rhino Trust - Jeff Muntifering, Simson ǀUri-ǀKhob, Sebulon ǀǀHoëb, Andrew Malherbe and Alta van Shalwyk – all helped in different ways to make it possible for the on-site oral history mapping work to take place. As noted above, the field research and documentation could not have happened without the work of Welhemina Suro Ganuses and Filemon ǀNuab. Mrs Esther Moombolah-ǀGoagoses and Mrs Emma ǀUiras at the National Museum of Namibia have supported my research affiliation with this organisation, as have Gillian Maggs-Kölling and Eugène Marais at Gobabeb Desert Research Institute. Werner Hillebrecht at the National Archives of Namibia located the Kaokoveld Reports and Map by Major Manning. Last but in no way least, I am grateful to the UK's Arts and Humanities Research Council and Bath Spa University for grants that have supported this research (Refs. AH/K005871/2 www.futurepasts.net and AH/N504579/1 <https://dsrupdhist.hypotheses.org/>).

1. Kai-as:



‘Kai’ = big, ‘as’ = hole, i.e. big hole in ground – the name refers to where a large permanent freshwater spring comes out. This spring was an important focus of past settlement for ||Khao-a Dama and ||Ubun. The spring used to feed a garden and people would gather at Kai-as after the rains had started. At the permanent clear waters of Kai-as spring in November 2014 Ruben Sauneib Sanib and Sophia Opi |Awises thus recalled how people from different areas used to gather at this place to play their healing dances called *arus* and praise songs called */gais*. These were times when young men and women would meet each other. Times when different foods gathered in different areas were shared between the people. And when much honey beer (*!khari*), made from the potent foods of *sāui* (*Stipagrostis* spp. grass seeds collected from harvester ants nests -) and *danib* (honey), was consumed (see Sullivan 1999). As Sanib and Sophia said, ‘our hearts were happy here’ (*sida #gaogu ge ra !gaia neba*)⁷.

Kai-as was also a key place on routes between locations of key resources. For example, ||Ubun would move between *!nara* (*Acanthosicyos horridus*) fields in the !Uniab and Hoanib river mouths via Kai-as and Hūnkab springs.

⁷ Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi |Awises, Kai-as, 22/11/14.

Kai-as spring

-19.75566, 13.59826

Images below: 1. Ruben Sauneib Sanib at Kai-as; 2. Kai-as spring (from 22/11/14).



Ruben Sauneib Sanib at Kai-as spring, 22/11/14.





Old garden fed by Kai-as spring - the image shows rough location of a former small dam for gathering water.
With Franz |Haen ||Hoëb and Noag Mûgagara Ganaseb, 26/11/15.

Kai-as settlement area

-19.75895, 13.59385

Information about houses below is from Franz |Haen ||Hoëb, Noag Mûgagara Ganaseb, 26/11/15:

<i>Hut circle1</i>	-19.75912, 13.5924
<i>Hut circle2</i>	-19.75882, 13.59254
<i>Big hut circle</i>	-19.75862, 13.5927
<i>Kid kraal1</i>	-19.75922, 13.59263
<i>Kid kraal2</i>	-19.75912, 13.59303

|Hûb's house -19.75965, 13.59374
|Hûb was a great-uncle of Franz.

Ao-aob's house -19.75946, 13.59271
Ao-aob was a great uncle of Franz |Haen ||Hoëb (2nd brother of #Gîeb who is buried near !Uniab, see below) who later died and was buried at ||Oeb (see above) on the Hoanib, near the current site of Hoanib Camp. ||Ubun would move on foot between !Uniab *!nara* fields, Kai-as, Hûnkab and *!nara* fields at Auses / !Ui| |gams on the Hoanib.

Sorero's house -19.75934, 13.59265

Franz ||Hoëb's father's house at Kai-as

-19.75974, 13.59402

The house of Franz ||Hoëb's father (Dawid | Gero ||Hoëb) at Kai-as.



House with a door at Kai-as

-19.75969, 13.59424



Large hut circle remembered by Ruben Sanib (23/11/14)

-19.75744, 13.59337

First three images below are with Ruben Sanib on 23/11/14; 4th image is on 26/11/15 with Franz |Haen ||Hoëb, Noag Mûgagara Ganaseb.



Grave of |Awise-kaib's father (grand-father?)

-19.7588, 13.59574

The man who died here had chest pain and he died here. He was a person who was coming from that side - he was a ||Khao-a Dama [from ||Khao-as mountain to the south]. So he came from the ||Khao-as and when he died here they buried him here. And they moved away. It was Ruben's great grandfather so we were/are living together and when we saw him sitting here alone we [Ruben and Sophia] are not feeling well. That's why they *tsē-khom* here, so we can go by a clear path. So that he [|Awise grand-father] can chase away the predators like lions. (Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi |Awises 23/11/14).





kai #goburun oms (Messor tropicurum)

-19.75968, 13.59425

Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi | Awises 23/11/14, with Filemon | Nuab and Welhemina
Suro Ganuses.



Haiseb cairn / ||ho||hobab (#3)

-19.75468, 13.60068

Haiseb cairn / ||ho||hobab just east of Kai-as (permanent spring), visited with Ruben Sauneib Sanib and Sophia Obi |Awises (22/11/14), and later with Franz ||Hoëb and Noag Ganaseb (Nov2015).

Ruben and Sophia describe how 'this is the ||ho||hobas of the Haiseb. Now each place where he comes he brings the rocks together and he prays there. And when he goes from here he finds the food. So from - maybe from Kai-as to Uruhunes, when he comes to Uruhunes he does the same thing - he puts the rocks together and pray [like Ruben does in *tsē-khom*]. And if you go into that area he finds the food. Like that. This is why you see the ||ho||hobas of Haiseb in each place' (22/11/14).

Ruben says, 'now Haiseb was very clever. And when he came to the place where the others killed the people, he killed those attackers with his mind (intelligence) - he was very clever! He thinks twice before doing something - with that mind of his. Because he was a clever person. Then he killed those attacking people. Now all the people who were left were frightened and they won't go out to collect food. And Haiseb was the one who said, 'I will go'. And he do it. As you can see there are the rocks where Haiseb was praying. So the things were happening here in this area, in this world. Haiseb] was a clever person. The places where you see the piles of rocks, this is the Haiseb place where he was praying. So he was also a person who was on earth [i.e. he really lived].'

Whilst drinking tea in the shade of the *tsabi* (*Euclea divinorum*) trees near this Haiseb ||ho||hobab, Ruben started to relate the well-known story of Haiseb and #An-guseb, a story which had us all laughing until our sides ached - a common response to Haiseb stories. In this story, Haiseb acquires the meat of #An-guseb's fat sheep. Haiseb visits the house of #An-guseb and through his cleverness (involving disguise as a beautiful woman) makes #An-guseb slaughter his (#An-guseb's) very fat sheep, which no one else has convinced him to slaughter. In escape from #An-guseb's anger on realising he had been tricked, Haiseb again shapeshifts into a very old man (in a landscape in which there is lots of holes from digging *ûias*), at which point everything also shifts fantastically into something else ...





Kai-as composite image

At the permanent spring of Kai-as in the heart of the Palmwag tourism concession Ruben Sauneib Sanib (top left) and Sophia Obi | Awises (middle left) recalled how people from different areas used to gather at this place to play their healing dances called *arus* and praise songs called |*gais*. These were times when young men and women would meet each other. Times when different foods gathered in different areas were shared between the people. Dances through the night were supported by honey beer (*!khar*) made from the potent foods of *sāui* (*Stipagrostis* spp. grass seeds collected from harvester ants nests) and *danib* (honey).

On a different trip Franz | Hoëb (bottom left) pointed out the exact place of his father's hut where Franz himself had once lived.

The aerial photographs combined in the image above show the many animal tracks that converge on the permanent spring of Kai-as, including those of *!nawab/s*, the black rhino (*Diceros bicornis bicornis*). In the midst of these tracks are the traces of former dwellings, kraals and the small gardens that were once fed by the clear waters of Kai-as.

Photos: Sian Sullivan, November 2014 and 2015, composite made with the assistance of Mike Hannis using aerial photographs from the Directorate of Survey and Mapping, Windhoek.

Haiseb cairn / ||*ho*||*hobab* (#4) – and/or mapping beacon? -19.75894, 13.57606



||Gam-da aida kaia-dis

-19.76335, 13.63257

It looks like there is a spring here but there isn't, i.e. false spring.
(Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi |Awises, 22/11/14).

Haiseb cairn / ||ho||hobab (#5) – and/or mapping beacon? -19.79192, 13.51693
17/02/15, with Ruben Sauneib Sanib.



2. Uruhunes / ||Khao-as:



Uruhunes

-19.88393, 13.68093

Usually known today as Urunendes. There was a settlement here with a garden. The spring is strong and permanent. Spring has been damaged by elephant, i.e. the opening to the spring has not been kept clear of stones and debris. Filemon cleans it a bit when we are there. There has been an increase here of *Euclea*, *Salvadora* and */harus* / *Cyperus*. There was none here in the past - this was just a plains area. The people were living here and living here. They were living that side. Here, a mopane tree was here, and the lion also bite the donkey here at that spring and they make a snare [!Inuis] with the wire and they leave the head of the donkey and the skin of the donkey there in the night and when the lion came, and when he wants to take that head it was caught by that wire and in the next morning the people came and shot the lion with the bow and arrow.

The people here were Sabuemib [Ruben's grandfather] and !Kharuxab (i.e. Andreas' !Kharuxab's father |Gawisen !Kharuxab - nb. |Gawisen's father's family name was !Kharuab - there is a shift in spelling here) who were here that time [when the lion was caught]. There was a garden here, but there were no *Eucleas* and *Salvadoras* there then. It was just a plain area. But now there is */harus* [*Cyperus*] and *Eucleas* - *tsabi*. At that time there was only the rhino and the lions, not the elephant. They just saw the elephants when they go to the !Uniab or in the Huab River. On top [≠ Gâob and Hoanib side] there were elephants, but not here. (Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi |Awises, 23/11/14).



||Khao-a Dama houses were once here
(Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi |Awises, 23/11/14).

-19.88539, 13.68382

||Ubun Nama houses were once here
13.68353

-19.8837,

Sophia's family lived this side. (Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi |Awises, 23/11/14).



Grave of nephew of Sabuemib

-19.88458, 13.68191

At Uruhunes, behind a *Salvadora* bush, is the grave of Sabuemib's nephew. At the time when that child passed away [of 'child sicknesses'] here Ruben and Sophia were here, but they were young and they don't know the name of the child. It was now Sophia's father's [elder] brother Sabuemib's nephew. Sabuemib's was elder/bigger than Sophia's father. They just dug where the ground was soft, and then put the stones on top. The body was covered with something – a skin. The big rock is where the head is. The name for the logs on which the person is placed is */araxabe*. We did *tsē-khom* here. Sabuemib is the elder of Sophia's father and Ruben's father - so they told them, that time they are also here but they were small and when they grew up they were told - this is your brother's grave. (Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi |Awises 23/11/14).



||Khao-as
**



|| Khao-as

In November 2015 we made our way to the flat top mountain said to be the place where || Khao-a Dama originally came from.

Standing behind Ruben Sauneib Sanib and Sophia Opi |Awises is the mountain called || Khao-as. It is also the prominent mountain rising from the aerial photograph image to their right. Today, || Khao-as is far from where people are living, and it had been a long time since Ruben and Sophia were able to see the mountain.

When we travelled to || Khao-as Sophia broke into an *amus* healing song telling of how the || Khao-a Dama lineage originated at || Khao-as mountain. The song that came forth in the moment of returning to the mountain can be listened to at **.

Photo: Sian Sullivan, November 2015, composite made by Mike Hannis using aerial images from Directorate of Survey and Mapping, Windhoek.

3. #Gâob places, i.e. places on or near what is now known as the Aub River:



#Gâob (Damara living place #1)

-19.72249, 13.79569

Sophia Opi |Awises once lived here and both she and Ruben remembered the site.

There are a number of *!kare #goburun omti* (i.e. harvester ant nests of *Carebara* - formerly *Pheidologeton - kunensis*) nearby that they tended and from which they gathered *sâun* (*Stipagrostis* spp. grasses) and *bosûi* (seeds of *Monsonia umbellata*). At the time of visit there was no observable activity of ants - its is empty / there is nothing. Now, when it's a good rainy season the *!kare #goburun* peel the *bosû* and put the clean *bosû* into the nest, which is highly valued by people! Also Damara *sâi* (perfume) from a grey aromatic shrub with a minty smell is found here. (Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi |Awises, 20/11/14).



!kare #goburun oms

-19.72298, 13.79542



Very old Herero kraal #1

-19.72328, 13.79282

Herero lived here at the same time as Ruben and other #Nūkhoen people living at the place nearby (on other side of water course) where there are !kare #goburun omti. Herero had a goat kraal here. For both settlements, water was collected from #Gâob [Aub] spring and the river nearby when it flowed. The image is taken from the #Nūkhoen #Gâob living place on the other side of the tributary. (Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi |Awises, 20/11/14).



Grave of Herero man

-19.72002, 13.79063

It was at this Herero grave that we first did *Tsē-khom*. The person buried here was known to Ruben Sanib and Sophia |Awises. They used to live at a settlement near/over the river to where this Herero man lived and herded (see above). When the Herero man died and was buried the Hereros moved away from this place.



Tsē-khom translation:

‘We are coming, we are coming. You who are sitting on Soaub [‘Soaub’ refers the broad area Desert Rhino Camp is located and where Aukhoeb is buried], |Gui-gomabi-!gaub, |Aobi| |gams [A spring at Tsabididi side] and |Gui-|naibi-| |gams [A spring at Baranga side. Baranga is where Sophia |Awises was born. /Naib is the name for *Cordia* sp. which produces edible fruit]. And you who are lying here also [Here Ruben is naming all the places where the ancestors are, as well as to the Herero grave close to where we are sitting]. Let’s go by a clear road, give us power/strength, let’s go by a clear road. The car must not be having a problem. The sicknesses that we have, take them away. We are giving you tobacco now. The car must not be having a problem. The car must not be having a problem. My elders, push the angry animals away completely. We don’t want any trouble. [referring to lions especially] There is a white person with us – and we don’t want any trouble, we don’t want any trouble.’

(Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi |Awises, 20/11/14).



#Gâob||gams

-19.72754, 13.80065





honey hive (#1)

-19.71763, 13.74293

There is a tree near here where Runib Sanib used to collect honey. The hive is dead now.
(Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi |Awises, 20/11/14).





Ruben Sanib searches for formerly harvested honey hive, 20/11/14

!nabise (seeds), *kai #goburun oms*

-19.72524, 13.72744

!nabise (*Enneapogon desvauxii*?) is the type of seed found in these harvester ant nests (*Messor tropicurus*). When the rain is coming and it goes into the nest and the food gets wet, then the *#goburun* put the food outside the nest to dry and they clean the food and then they put it back inside the nest where it is covered. That's why the people put the stones back on the nest so that the ants will stay there because they have more places to hide the food. This is *!nabise* (*Enneapogon*) collected here, and the nest is a *kai #goburun* nest (*Messor tropicurus*). At that time when the rain is coming they make the food clean and then the people collect and eat. Also, if you sprinkle a little bit of water on the nest the ants bring the seeds out to dry and then the people can collect easily. (Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi |Awises, 20/11/14).

!Garoa

-19.82153, 13.80196

Former Dama / #Nūkhoen living place. It's because of those rocks, these ones that are together - that's why it's called !Garoa [referring to the steep cliffs here]. Ruben Sanib and his family once lived here. They were moving in the past and they came here, and in the past there was a garden of Ganuseb-kaib [a relative of Suro's family] and Aukhoeb [who used to herd livestock at Sixori and is buried at Soaub] who planted the garden here. Now they left and then the others came here and they didn't have tobacco, and there was the *#khari #gaeb* tobacco here that had grown big [left by Ganuseb-kaib and Aukhoeb] and when they [Ruben and others] came here they found that tobacco and they smoked it here.

And at that time his [Ruben's] grandmother [Aukhoeb's wife] was sick, and she passed away there at |Gui-gomabi-!gaub (to the west of Gomagorra). And from here [!Garoa] they moved into the #Gâob area (see above). Andreas !Kharuxab's family was also here at !Garoa [as mentioned in !Kharuxab interview at Kowareb, 13/05/99]. There are the remains of dwellings and kid kraals here. (Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi |Awises, 20/11/14).





#Khabaka | |gams

-19.76115, 13.85055

#khaba' = 'thin' refers to the water being spread out thinly - it 'sits on' on the flat 'landing strip' of land at the spring, i.e. 'the water is sitting on a flat area'. This spring is in the land area (!hūs) of Aogubus. Now, they were living in this area and they were collecting sâu and bosu. So, the names of the springs - they call the springs, when they come to that spring then they name the spring, and they were collecting in that area (around the springs). And when the food is finished then they move to another spring and they stay then, and when the food is finished there then they move to another spring. And from there they are just moving from spring to spring, according to the food that they are collecting. If the food is finished in that place where they are collecting then they go to another one.

So, he is calling the names of the food - like bosû, sâu, #nami [some kind of food which is also growing in the gardens - a small seed from tall grasses, also grows in the field and is collected by #goburun], dîнки, #gari - those are the things they are eating. [Ruben calls out 'danib'.] Yes and the honey also. And he calls also a lot of the springs. The places where they are calling is because when they go to that spring they call the name. From that one they go to another one they call the name [check significance of this calling]. So, this is the way how they are living in this area. And also, they pour that bosû and sâu and #gari and another also food in the skin of the goat or oryx and they pack it [store it] and when it is drought they eat that food and when it is raining they collect it [the seeds] again and when it is drought they are just sitting there and eating that food [that they have stored].

And when the Odendaal government came in then they said the people must move from the field to Sesfontein. And the people who are in small Hurubes and Aogubus moved to Sesfontein/!Nani-|aus. And the people who are in !Nau-Hurubes moved to !U#gab. At this place 'they stayed together with the animals, and sometimes the lions would also bite the goats but sometimes he [the lions] just came and drink [at the spring] and then go again. And sometimes he [the lions] killed the zebra and the oryx here and when he eat and then leaves to fetch the water then the people also go and fetch meat from his kill.'

(Ruben Sauneib Sanib and Sophia Opi |Awises, 20/11/14).

**

!Nao-dâis spring1

-19.65578, 13.8731

Current !Nao-dâis settlement

-19.65128, 13.87558

!Nao-dâis spring2

-19.66019, 13.86833

**

Gomagorra

-19.65931, 13.81997

**

|Ui-gomabi-!gaus (approx.)

-19.65987, 13.77823

**

4. Places and springs from north to south on and along |Nobarab (today known as Barab River):



Tsaub

-19.58325, 13.68533

Tsaub refers to holes made in the soft soil, e.g. by elephant where they suck water out, where water concentrates and can be collected from here. With Filemon | Nuab in first image. (Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi | Awises, 21/11/14).





Dama / #Nūkhoen former living sites near Tsaub (Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi |Awises, 21/11/14):

#3

-19.59282, 13.68921



#4

-19.58851, 13.69001

Ruben Sanib had lived here in the past.



#5

-19.58956, 13.69011



*Observed 'gorra' where oryx had kicked stones in
(21/11/14)*

-19.58524, 13.68782

Haiseb cairn / ||ho||hobab (#2)

-19.60605, 13.69166

Haiseb cairn / ||ho||hobab in Top Barab, encountered with Ruben Saunaeib Sanib and Filemon |Nuab on 21/11/14. This one is elongated in shape - possibly a grave?



Tsabi-||gams

-19.60839, 13.69273 and -19.60875, 13.69271

‘Tsabi’ refers to *Euclea divinorum* trees said to have been here in the past but have died now. Sophia says that they were there where there are dark trees (pointing just east of here - see photo.) It’s a rainy season spring (is dry at the time of our visit).

(Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi |Awises, 21/11/14).



Dama / #Nūkhoen living site (#2) at Tsabi-||gams
(Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi |Awises, 21/11/14).

-19.60771, 13.69195





Spring (#1) near Tsabi-||gams

-19.60999, 13.692

There is water here when it rains. (Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi |Awises, 20/11/14).

Haiseb cairn / ||ho||hobab (#1)

-19.61604, 13.69236

This is the first Haiseb cairn we encountered and mapped on 21/11/14. It is situated in the valley of Top Barab (||Nobarab) river, close to the temporal spring of Tsabi||gams, named after the *Euclea divinorum* (*tsabi*) trees that were once prominent here.

Cairns such as these are considered to have been made by Haiseb, a prominent ancestor-trickster-hero character that features in the stories of Khoe- and San- speaking peoples throughout southern Africa. On encountering this cairn, Ruben told of how they were made by Haiseb himself a long, long time ago. He would sit on the cairns and pray to God / Elob for protection and for food etc., as Damara / ǀNūkhoen have done when greeting ancestors and unknown spirits of the dead associated with places and landscapes through the greeting and gifting practice of '*tsē-khom*'. Haiseb is considered to have once protected the people in a big war in the land.



!Nobi-| |gams

-19.62994, 13.70666

'!No' means trapped - the water is trapped in a cave underneath where the mountain goes up. There is a spring in watercourse nearby (just to the south) that has water in rainy season only (if you follow the watercourse/valley in the photo southwards you will come to it). It is like a cave and underneath there is water - the mountain goes up and the water is trapped ('!no') underneath. There was a kraal here (see 2nd photo and 3rd photo where Filemon is sitting at the kraal of the kid goats).

The 4th images shows the site of a former dwelling. For the houses, the stones were at the base and the houses were made with poles bent over, e.g. from mopane branches. For the goat kraal they would move the rocks out of the way in the morning so that the goats can leave to go grazing. The houses had grass or 'sage' placed on the top of the poles, and the rocks were at the bottom. Sophia and Ruben lived here. Tsabididi is in the north - this is in the area of Tsabi| |gams. They lived here in the rainy season - the water from the spring nearby is only there in the rainy season.

They would also get water from !Nobi| |gams whilst they were living here – it's just the other side of the //gams from the place marked as !Nobi| |gams. In the rainy season there would be water in the watercourse as well. (also Damara living place #6). (Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi |Awises, 20/11/14).





Dama / #Nūkhoen living place (#6) & kraals
In area of !Nobi |gams. (Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi |Awises, 20/11/14).

-19.62925, 13.70638





kai #goburun oms just to south of !Nobi-||gams

-19.63624, 13.70745

Harvester ants nest that Ruben would collect from - of big / 'kai' harvester ants (i.e. *Messor tropicurum*). Ruben says that,

'the #goburun go to collect the food and to bring it back to the nest, and then the other #goburun go to collect the food and bring it back to the nest. And at the rain time, when the seeds inside the nest get wet, the #goburun put the food (the seeds) outside the nest to make it dry. At that time, when the #goburun take the food out to dry, the people come to collect it. They steal the food from the ants! But the people also help the ants by collecting stones and placing on the nests so that when the rain is coming the food stays dry under the stones and the stones help to make the nest bigger – to grow. The food in this nest includes *bosû, sâun* - especially *!garibe sâun*. The nest was bigger in that time and it was a nice place to come and take the food out. And also, to help the #goburun they do not take all the food. They take some, but not all of it.' (Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi |Awises, 21/11/14).



Mutatibi-!haob

-19.65277, 13.71388

Damara former living place. The stones were where a kraal stood. Ruben's grandmother's grave (i.e. Aukhoeb's partner) is the other side of the mountain from here to the east. Filemon says that Sophia was born near here (at Baranga). The 5th image here is the view north to the SRT camp where we camped. (Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi |Awises, 21/11/14).





Dama / #Nūkhoen living place (#7) in area of Mutatibi-!haob -19.65646, 13.7163
Ruben Sanib explained how they would move to this place from Mutatibi-!haob because of drought / in dry season. This is an area of *bosu* (*Monsonia umbellata*) #goburun oms - i.e. of harvester ant nests where *Monsonia* seeds could be collected.
(Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi |Awises, 21/11/14).



Barab spring (near here)

-19.6747, 13.72413

(Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi |Awises, 21/11/14).

!Uri-aira-||gams (white zebra spring)

-19.69149, 13.72575

White zebra spring is near here in the watercourse to the east of these coordinates.

(Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi |Awises, 21/11/14).

Turn to the west here goes to Baranga, where Sophia Opi |Awises was born

-19.73303, 13.72803

!Hubu-||gams

-19.77208,

13.74833

Permanent spring - in the rainy season there is a lot of water - there is still some now (Nov14). When Ruben approached the water he threw some to the front, some to the left and right - by way of greeting. Then he washed his bowl and went upstream for water to drink. Because of the people who are dying here in this area - he gives them the water so that they can make the road clear for us. Lots of zebra, oryx, springbok, when we got there. (Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi |Awises, 22/11/14; visited again with Ruben Sanib on 14/05/19 - spring was very dry**).





Sama-i di ||gams

-19.83668, 13.78291

This is where the |Nobarab meets the #Gâob (named today as Aub River), before the #Gâob joins the !Uniab. Sama-i di ||gams is named after a Damara woman who found the spring when she was collecting food here. Noag and Joel ||Hoëb [father of Mannetjie] were working on roads together in the area and Joel told Noag this, 26/11/15.



Grave at Sama-i di ||gams
26/11/15 **

-19.83618, 13.7835



5. Living places and springs east to west along Hoanib from Sesfontein:



Sesfontein / !Nani|aus / #Gabia-#gao

-19.12305, 13.61752

(See separate file on Sesfontein history**)

'#Gabia' means confused, '#gao' means heart. The meaning refers to the confusion that is generated by there being so many amazing springs in this place.

Sesfontein springs =

Kai-gams (Sesfontein)

-19.12447, 13.61907

add more here re: Sesfontein springs

|Awise graves

**

Haiseb cairn / ||ho||hobab (#8)

-19.13038, 13.61429

**

#Gubitas / Otjindagwe

-19.13108, 13.60362

#Gubitas spring

-19.12665, 13.60514

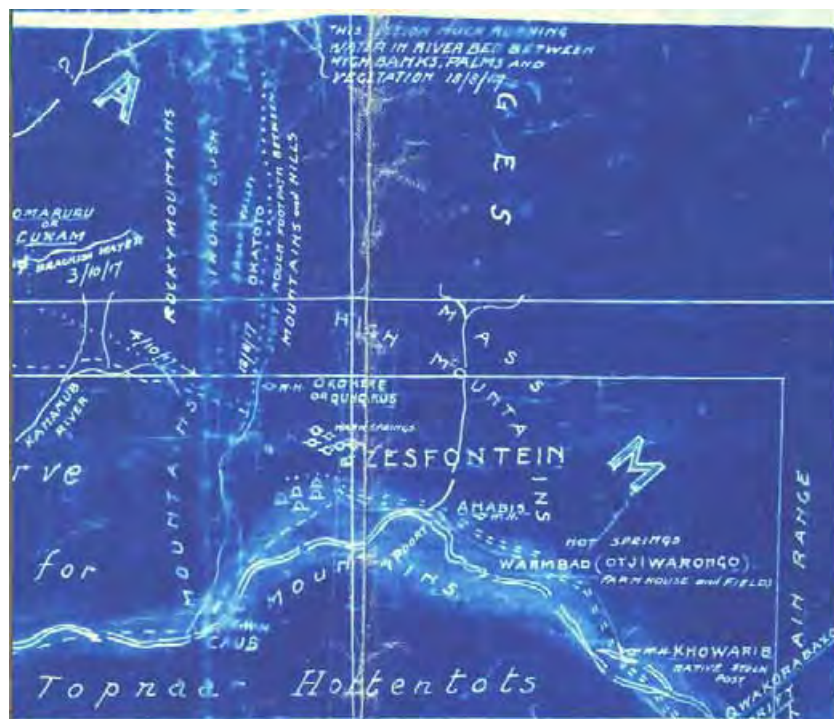
#Nū-larus

-19.07422, 13.56591

Also Okahare (Nathan #Ūina Taurob) / Okahere (Manning Report, 1917 p. 9). A widely known former settlement site.



The late Nathan #Ūina Taurob in 1996 at the site of his former home at #Nū-larus, north-west of Sesfontein, Namibia.



The place is clearly marked on the 'Traveller's Map of Kaokoveld' made by Major Charles N. Manning's, the first Resident Commissioner of Owamboland, compiled from 'tours' in August – October 1917 and June – July 1919. National Archives of Namibia.



#Ūinab's daughter, Christophine Daumŭ Tauros and her partner, Michael |Amigu Ganaseb,
at #Nū-!arus on 07/04/14.

#Anubeb

**

-19.15631, 13.59249

!Gaus

-19.17691, 13.56371

There used to be water sitting here permanently. It flowed down and accumulated from the spring at #Anubeb. People lived here once, using the water that was standing here. The water from #Anubeb used to run all the way to !Gaus but a borehole built 'on top' - on the #Au-daos (see below) road - has now taken all the water (with Franz ||Hoëb, Noag Ganaseb, 21/11/15).

This place is marked as 'Caub' on the map by Major Charles N. Manning of 1917, as shown above.



#Au-daos

-19.18149, 13.58251

'#Au-daos' means 'the road between two mountains' – '*dao*' is a mountain pass, and '*Ao*' is the name of the white-flowered plant *Salsola* sp. which grows here and from which soap can be made⁸. This plant was reportedly gathered in the past by Dama / #Nūkhoen who had been recruited from their dwelling places in the wider *!garob* to work for an emerging Nama élite as this became established historically in Sesfontein / !Nani|aus from the late 1800s. They would make soap from the ashes of the plant, combined with animal fat⁹.

Where Captain Husa was mauled by a lion

-19.20504, 13.58287

#Au-daos is a potent place, having been the site where the Nama captain¹⁰ of Sesfontein died after being mauled by a lion here in 1942. The story goes that cattle here belonging to a Herero herder were bitten by a lion here and Husab, accompanied by Theophilous ||Hawaxab, Namasamuel and GamāGâub came to shoot that lion. The lion was lying there in a cave nearby (maybe it had been poisoned?) and when Husa shot the lion the lion came to Husa and grabbed Husa ... The lion dragged Husa to a */narab* (*Acacia tortilis*) tree, attacking Husa after he had shot the lion. As the lion was pinning Husa down, Theophilous ||Hawaxab grabbed hold of its ears to try and pull him off. Meanwhile, GamāGâub shot the lion from far away (even though the others told him to get closer) and, although he managed to kill the lion, he also accidentally shot Husa in the side which killed him. When GamāGâub shot Husab, Namasamuel came and took the gun and shot the lion in the ear. When Husa was shot he called for his wife [De-i] and when she came he talked to her and then he passed away. And then they brought Husa here to the big *Acacia tortilis* there and they brought him there where, it is said, they made the */araxab* [stretcher] on which they carried him back to Sesfontein. (Ruben Sauneib Sanib 09/03/15).



⁸ Philippine |Hairo | |Nowaxas, Sesfontein, 15/04/99.

⁹ Interview Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Kowareb, 090315. Soap-making in this way is described by James Edward Alexander (2006[1838], vol. 1., p. 83), at the Nama-influenced reed mat hut of field-cornet Agganbag in the northern Cape, where he finds the 'three fresh and strapping daughters [of the field-cornet] boiling soap, prepared with fat and the branches of the soap-bush', and a fictionalised account is also conveyed in the Northern Cape novel *Praying Mantis* by the late André Brink (2006). At #Au-daos reportedly so much of the soap-plant was collected that there is little left here now, although the plant grows extensively further downstream in the Hoanib River.

¹⁰ 'captain' / kaptein**

Haiseb cairn / ||ho||hobab (#9)

-19.21196, 13.5273

This is a Haiseb cairn according to Franz ||Hoëb and Noag Ganaseb, and it was near here that we did *tsē-khom*, i.e. greeted the ancestors, on this journey (21/11/15) (see 3rd image). On a different journey Christophine Daumû Tauros claimed that this cairn marks the grave of the grandfather of Nathan #Ūina Taurob who is said to have died near here (14/11/15).



Franz ||Hoëb enacts *tsē-khom*, as we journey from Sesfontein to former dwelling places in the Hoanib
21/11/15.

Gudira-a

-19.21622, 13.51866

Spring (211115, Franz ||Hoëb and Noag Ganaseb).

'Sam Nujoma's spring'

-19.32415, 13.23236

Borehole for wildlife in lower Hoanib.



Wilderness Safaris borehole

-19.34734, 13.16683

!Hos (approx.)

-19.22327, 13.47179

!Hos is a former living place located straight ahead in the view below from the north side of the Hoanib. Noag Mûgagara Ganaseb's family lived here and Franz |Haen ||Hoëb was also there. Here the important food plants *xoris* (*Salvadora persica*) and *ares* (*Setaria verticillata*) are found. The *ares* grows under the *ana* (*Faidherbia albida*) trees in the river. Although we didn't see this on this trip, Noag and Franz also remembered a large fig tree (*!nomas*, *Ficus sycamorus*) in the river. They would leave the tree for the fruit to get ripe and then harvest the fruit and divide/share between them. It's a nice fruit! they said. They could *gorra* for water in the river here.

They used to use the stomach (*||goms*) of an animal (e.g. like a goat or springbok) as a container for carrying drinking water. They would clean it out and then turn the stomach inside out and pour the water in there and then drink. It would make nice cool water. They called this bag '*kunu*'. They would put poles in a cross through the top of the stomach and then carry it on poles carried on a man's shoulders.
(Noag Ganaseb, Franz ||Hoëb, 21/11/15).



|Garis

-19.21209, 13.43327

Here an event happened in the past when two men of the same age were wrestling (playing) in the river. They were called ||Huruesib and ||Hobenab. They got warm and they were naked and the women saw that they are not wearing their loin-cloths, and so the women ran away into the *xoris* bushes so that they couldn't see the men! Noag and Franz were here then and remember this event - Franz was a boy then.

A goat was slaughtered – the one that was not fat – and was given to the women. The '*soto*' *Salvadora persica* is the one that grows tall and long (branches hang low like a willow).

(Noag Ganaseb, Franz ||Hoëb 211115; Franz ||Hoëb 090519).

**

Dubis

**

-19.23008, 13.37677

Burue

**

Graves here associated with the ||Hoëb family

-19.22789, 13.37488

Franz ||Hoëb's younger brother, who died after being buried in sand when digging a *gorra* for water at Burue nearby, is buried here, as are other members of the ||Hoëb family (Franz ||Hoëb, 211115, 090519).

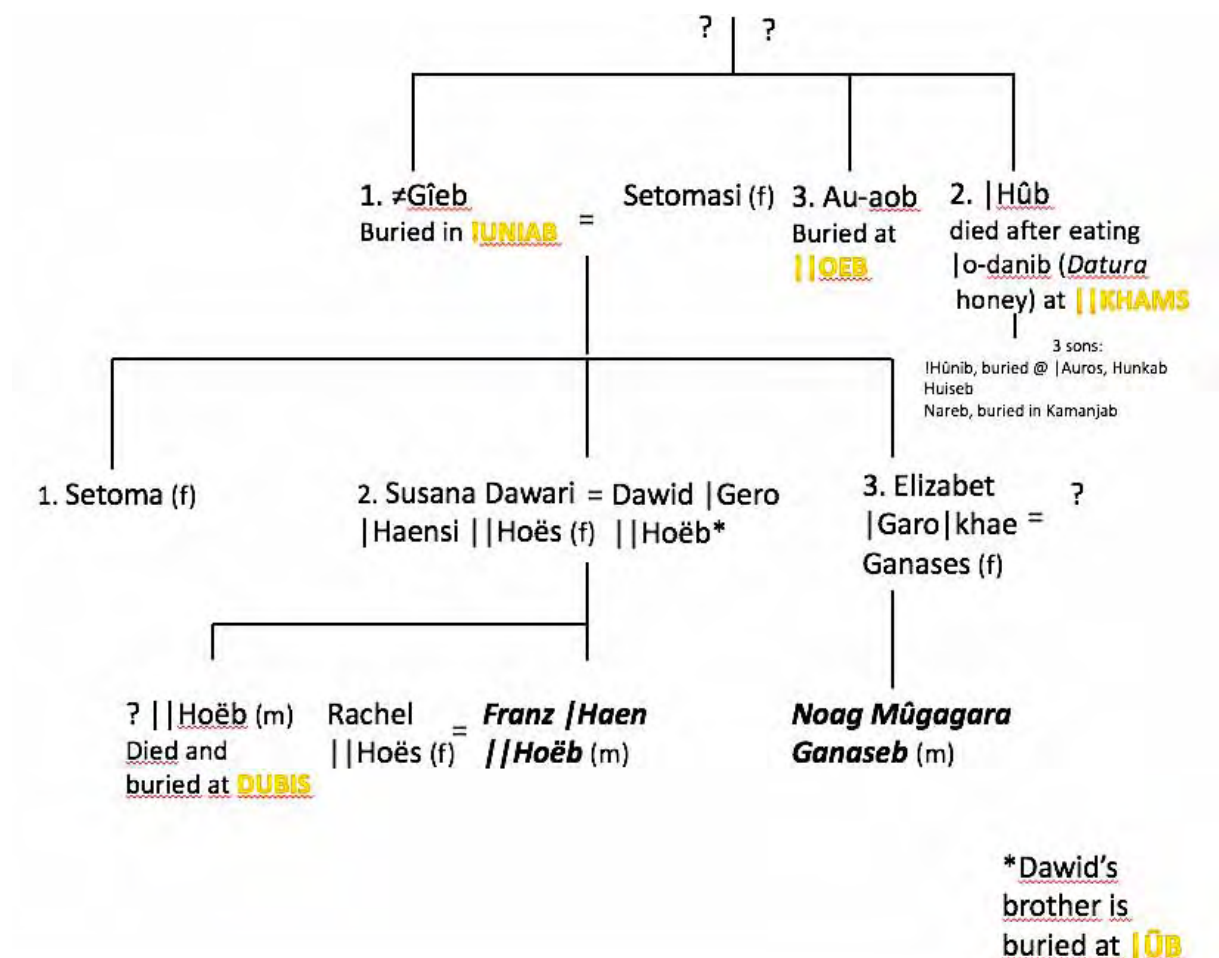
**

||Oeb

**

-19.36334, 13.15233

Au-aob is the great-uncle of Franz |Haen ||Hoëb (i.e. the younger brother of #Gîeb). He died and was buried at ||Oeb. The Hoanib River has moved its course since Franz lived at ||Oeb, creating a big meander that appears to have washed away the actual grave site (Franz |Haen ||Hoëb, 22/11/15; 09/05/19).



||Hoëb genealogy indicate places where family members are buried. Source: fieldnotes.



||Oeb

Cousins Noag Mûgagara Ganaseb (L) and Franz |Haen ||Hoëb (R) revisit places in the westward reaches of the Hoanib River where they used to live. Here they are close to ||Oeb, now the site of an eco-tourism lodge called Hoanib Camp, located on the south side of the bend in the Hoanib River just to the right of centre in this image.

When Franz, Noag and their families lived in this area they would alternate between harvesting *!nara* (*Acanthosicyos horridus*) from their *!nara* fields near the waterhole of Auses / !Ui |gams, and walking southwards to Kai-as and the !Uniab River where different foods as well as *!nara* could be found.

In the 1950s the coastal dunes were opened for diamond mining. Then in 1971 the lower Hoanib was gazetted as part of the Skeleton Coast National Park. As these areas became opened for industry and conservation, they became closed to habitation by those who once lived there.

Photo: Sian Sullivan, November 2015, composite made with the assistance of Mike Hannis using aerial images from Directorate of Survey and Mapping, Windhoek.

Site of very old and unremembered living place, next to staff village at Hoanib Camp
-19.36648, 13.15786



Grave associated with very old settlement site

-19.36708, 13.15709



||Khams / Amspoort

Haiseb cairn / ||ho||hobab (#10)

-19.40103, 12.94186



Auses / !Ui| |gams

-19.39657, 12.88962

Large spring of brackish water.



||Ubun used to live around here when harvesting *!nara* near Auses.

-19.40653, 12.88969 and -19.40791, 12.89441



6. Coast:

Open water (on coast, south of Möwe Bay) reportedly created by diamond mining

-20.17157, 13.19321

With Franz |Haen | |Hoëb and Noag Mûgagara Ganaseb, 23/11/15.

|Garis

-20.19101, 13.19471

Spring & grazing area where reportedly goats brought from Sesfontein to feed diamond mine managers at Möwe Bay in the 1950s would graze before being slaughtered (Franz |Haen | |Hoëb, Noag Mûgagara Ganaseb 23/11/15). There were lion here in May 2019. nb. '|Garis', meaning 'weeds', is also a remembered residential area for Topnaar near #Kîsa-|gubus / Sandfontein, just south of Walvis Bay (Köhler 1969: 102).

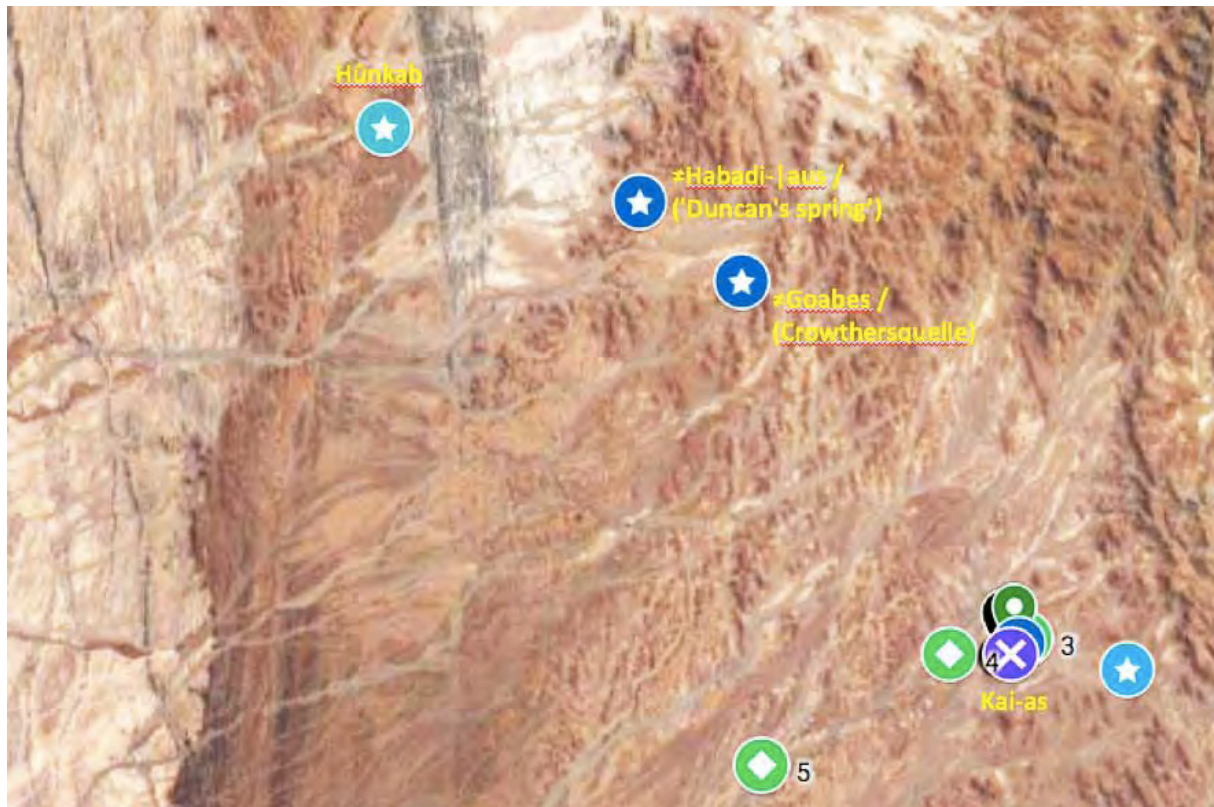


#Gîeb's grave

-20.13615, 13.31687

Franz |Haen | |Hoëb, 07/05/19.

7. Hûnkab area:



**I have a lot more information to add for this area.

Hûnkab spring

13.39715

**

-19.60153,

#Habadi-|aus / 'Duncan's spring'

(Ruben Sauneib Sanib 18/02/15)

**

-19.62374, 13.47791

#Goabes / Crowthersquelle

-19.64776, 13.51075

The name #Goabes for Crowthersquelle was told to Welhemina Suro Ganuses by Sebulon ||Hoëb (SRT), and shared with me at Crowthersquelle on 08/05/19.



8. Soaub:



Soaub

-20.09563, 13.86771

Soaub was once a large Dama / #Nūkhoen living place, in the *!hūs* or land area of !Nau Hurubes. Aukhoeb |Awise died and was buried here (see below).

(Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi |Awises 07/11/15 - photos 1-3; revisited with Ruben Sanib, 15/05/19 - photos 4-6).





Aukhoeb's grave

-20.09555, 13.86885

Markus Aukhoeb ||Oisi |Awiseb was a ||Khao-a Dama man who stayed in and around Sixori in ca. 1910s-1920s (where Suro's 'grand-mother' Philippine |Hairo ||Nowaxas was born) and who died and was buried at Soaub after a short illness. He had followed his second partner Sabuemi there.

(Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi |Awises 07/11/15 - photos 1-2; revisited with Ruben Sanib, 15/05/19 - photo 3).



Dâureb Dama grave?
(Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi |Awises 07/11/15).

-20.09845, 13.86561



Soaub spring
(Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Obi | Awises 07/11/15).

-20.09682, 13.86302



Former Afrikaner / 'Boer' farm dam (#1)

-20.0644, 13.86032

This farm dam must date back to the 1940s or 1950s when the area was opened up as relief grazing for settler farmers. (Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi | Awises 07/11/15).



Former Afrikaner / 'Boer' farm dam (#2)

-20.07619, 13.81537

This farm dam must date back to the 1940s or 1950s when the area was opened up as relief grazing for settler farmers. (Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi | Awises 08/11/15).



#Axa-|au

-20.07586, 13.81569

A big spring in a watercourse where there is a lot of *Salvadora persica*. Filemon knows the spring as Kai |gams (as also recorded for Franz |Hoëb and Noag Ganaseb in Nov2015). Next to Boer dam #2.

(Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi |Awises 08/11/15).



Borehole associated with former Afrikaner farming here (farm dam #2)

-20.07618, 13.81516

This borehole must date back to the 1940s or 1950s when the area was opened up as relief grazing for settler farmers. (Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi |Awises 08/11/15).



Kraal associated with former Afrikaner farming here (farm dam #2) -20.07557, 13.81439

This stone kraal must date back to the 1940s or 1950s when the area was opened up as relief grazing for settler farmers. (Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi |Awises 08/11/15).



Kai-| |gams

-20.07551, 13.81547

(Franz |Haen | |Hoëb and Noag Mûgagara Ganaseb, 25/11/15).

Haiseb cairns (#6 & #7) or graves?

-20.04795, 13.75916 and -20.04819, 13.75919

There was disagreement as to whether or not these two cairns (#6 & #7) are Haiseb | |ho| |hobabs or graves. Ruben and Sophia think they are | |ho| |hobabs; Suro and Filemon think they are graves of people from the old living place here. They are both quite large (3m+ diameter), pointed and circular. Suro maintains that Haiseb | |ho| |hobabs are only found one at a time. There are literature records, however, of sites where there are several large cairns. But maybe these are graves?

(Ruben Sauneib Sanib, Sophia Opi |Awises 08/11/15).

Haiseb cairn (#11)

-20.02098, 13.64389



Hosabi-| |gams

-20.02318, 13.84496

This is a place where people here previously here would xora, i.e. dig to access fresh water.
It is just in front of Desert Rhino Camp. (Sophia Opi |Awises 09/11/15).



9. Springs and living places south of Sesfontein / !Nani|aus



!Nam-khoe
(Ruben Sauneib Sanib 19/02/15).

-19.28072, 13.54135





Dama / #Nūkhoen living site (#8) at !Nam-khoe spring
(Ruben Sauneib Sanib, 19/02/15).

-19.27837, 13.54114



Sixori

-19.35498, 13.56664

A high point of this on-site oral history documentation for the *Future Pasts* project was finding Sixori, the birth-place of Welhemina Suro Ganuses' grandmother Philippine |Hairo | |Nowaxas. The ||gâumais (stock-post) of Sixori effectively kickstarted this deep mapping research when |Hairo began the first oral history interview I recorded in 1999 with the words, 'I was born at Sixori in Hurubes'. Neither of these names appear(ed) on any maps of the area. After several failed attempts to (re)locate this ||gâumais, eventually we made it to the spring Sixori that in 1999 started this thread of enquiry.

Sixori is named after the *xoris* (*Salvadora persica*) bushes that grow around a permanent spring of clear, sweet water and whose fruit provide a filling dry season food. The spring is located in the deeply incised landscape to the south-west of Sesfontein. Finding it on a brutally hot day in March 2015 required triangulating the orientation skills of Ruben Sanib – who remembered Sixori from past visits – and Filemon |Nuab - a younger man and well-known rhino tracker, who knew from present patrols in the area the location of the spring, but had not previously known its name of 'Sixori'.

As we sat in the shade of a rocky overhang close to the spring Sanib recalled harvesting honey from a hive in the vicinity of Sixori. He was with three older men: Aukhoeb |Awisib (also called ||Oesîb after his daughter ||Oemî), Seibetomab and Am-!nasib (also known as Kano). Aukhoeb was the brother of |Hairo's mother (Juligen ||Hūri |Awises). He was living and herding livestock at Sixori, a stock-post (||gâumais) linked with Sesfontein / !Nani|aus. ||Hūri was visiting him when she gave birth to |Hairo, my collaborator Suro's grandmother, sometime in ca. 1910s or 1920s (|Hairo's 'birthdate' is ca. 1924, but this is her baptism date, not her actual birthdate which would have been some years previously). The honey cave was west of Sixori. Sanib and companions travelled there to *sam* (to pull) the honey out from this cave, coming to Sixori afterwards to make *sâu* beer with that honey. From Sixori they walked back to Sesfontein through the pass that is called #Au-daos. At that time they didn't have a donkey so they carried the honey in big tins on their shoulders. Filemon wanted to call it 'Rhino Rangers spring' when he 'found' it after following rhino tracks that went into and back from the watercourse leading to the spring in Dec2014, on patrol with Usiel |Nuab. He also calls it Tsuxori – 'hard to find' spring.

Sixori is in !Horab !hūs / Hurubes.

(Philippine |Hairo | |Nowaxas 15/04/99; Ruben Sauneib Sanib 19/02/15, mapped on 13/03/15).





/Awise ||Khao-a Dama living place, closest to Sixori spring
(Ruben Sauneib Sanib 13/03/15).

-19.35431, 13.57087



/Awise ||Khao-a Dama living place, near Sixori spring
(Ruben Sauneib Sanib 13/03/15).

-19.34274, 13.58119







Finding Sixori

Ruben Saunaeib Sanib leads us past old dwelling structures of the |Awise family towards the clear permanent water of Sixori, a spring located in the folds of the hills just above the centre of the aerial photograph above and the birth-place of Suro's grandmother |Hairo.

As we were at the place where her grand-mother was born, Suro commented,

I said in my mind I will go and see where my grandmother is born. And I have to tell also my children, and even the others who are not here and don't know where my grandmother is born.

I will tell them that my grandmother was born here and there is water surrounded by Salvadoras. So it is very wonderful, and I am very happy to be here because she is the one who taught me a lot of things - she is my hero! I'm very happy to be here.

Photos: Sian Sullivan, March 2015, composite with the assistance of made by Mike Hannis using aerial images from Directorate of Survey and Mapping, Windhoek.

/Gabi-khoeb was killed by a lion near here

-19.37031, 13.59987

|Gabikhoeb, a man from the ||Hoëb family in Sesfontein, was killed by a lion as he slept at a cave near here where he was collecting honey. 'Gabi' means something which is higher.
(Ruben Sauneib Sanib, 09/03/15).





Orupao

-19.39997, 13.63749

Permanent but less water now than known in past. Brackish.
(Ruben Sauneib Sanib 09/03/15).



Former living places at Orupao – according to Ruben Sauneib Sanib 09/03/15:

Dama / #Nūkhoen living place (#15) at Orupao

-19.39896, 13.6371

Dama / #Nūkhoen living place (#16) at Orupao

-19.39238, 13.61635



Former house of Ruben Sanib and his wife, at Orupao

-19.39234, 13.61649



Former Himba house at Orupao

-19.39208, 13.61681



Former house of Maleagi Ganuseb, Orupao

-19.39207, 13.61696

!Hā-dâis

-19.5375, 13.77526

This strong permanent freshwater spring is named after the *Combretum imberbe* or '!'hā' trees growing there. The leaves are used to treat coughs. This place is in the !hūs or land area of ǀKhari Hurubes. The pass behind !Hā-dâis is called ǁArigu-dao-ams, and this takes you to ǁAwa-tsaub. (Ruben Sauneib Sanib 10/03/15).



Former living place at !Hā-dâis

-19.52366, 13.78241

Living place associated with the spring !Hā-dâis. Ruben lived here in 1980s after moving from Orupao (see above). There are many stone circles here indicating the sites of former dwellings and kraals. This place is in the !hūs or land area of #Khari Hurubes. (Ruben Sauneib Sanib 10/03/15).



Dama / #Nūkhoen living place (#18a and b)

-19.53202, 13.77228 and -19.52897,

13.7779,

Dama / #Nūkhoen people lived here in 1970s-1980s.

(Ruben Sauneib Sanib 10/03/15).

Sanibi-||gams

-19.53933, 13.75558

Permanent freshwater spring named after Ruben's father 'Sanib'. Located in the *!hūs* (land area) #Khari Hurubes. There were tadpoles in the spring when we were there on 10/03/15. In the last image here Ruben Sanib is telling of how his father and others used to hunt with a bow and arrow in the past, which is how Ruben learnt to hunt. (Ruben Sauneib Sanib 10/03/15).







Dama / #Nūkhoen living place (#17a)

-19.53697, 13.76328

The first and second images here show the site of Andreas !Kharuxab's father's [i.e. Esegel's grandfather's] house. Esegel stayed here when collecting foods with his father. The late Andreas !Kharuxab was the former headman of Kowareb, whose perspectives on land and local history were recorded in an interview on 13/05/99.



Dama / #Nūkhoen living place (#17b)

-19.53862, 13.75851

Ruben Sanib and Ezegiel |Awarab explain how Dama / #Nūkhoen and Herero lived here with their livestock in the past. The circle of rocks in the second image is the site of the kraal of a herder called Quatro. (Ruben Sauneib Sanib 10/03/15).



Aogu-||Gams

-19.49665, 13.64428

Permanent freshwater spring.
(Ruben Sauneib Sanib 22/02/15).
**

/Ūsegaib grave

-19.49143, 13.64707

(Ruben Sauneib Sanib 22/02/15).
**

Bukuba-#noaehes

-19.47947, 13.64738

Multiple Dama / #Nūkhoen graves, attributed to late 1800s conflict with incoming Oorlam / !Gomen Nama. This place is in the Aogubus land area or !hūs.
(Ruben Sauneib Sanib 22/02/15).
**

||Huom

-19.3358, 13.67624 and -19.33606, 13.67497

(Ruben Sauneib Sanib 21/02/15).
(Also ||Hum [Philippine via Suro in 1995], ||Um - notes on Gū-o in 1996).
**

#Khari Soso

-19.36757, 13.7655

Rain season water pools here. #Khari' means small; 'Soso' is name of the place. Petraglyphs here.
(Ruben Sauneib Sanib 21/02/15)
**

Former Dama / #Nūkhoen living place (#9) at #Khari Soso

-19.36596, 13.7721

Former Dama / #Nūkhoen living place (#11) at #Khari Soso

-19.36731, 13.77198

(Ruben Sauneib Sanib 21/02/15).

Kai Soso

-19.33439, 13.73167

'Big' Soso. Seems permanent. Still some water now 210215 even with no rain yet.
(Ruben Sauneib Sanib 21/02/15).
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