

THE WORLD OF THE KHWE BUSHMEN
IN SOUTHERN AFRICA
(DIE WELT DER KXOÉ-BUSCHLEUTE IM SÜDLICHEN AFRIKA)

A self-portrait in their own language
(Eine Selbstdarstellung in ihrer eigenen Sprache)

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VII

Omens and Dreams, Spells and Magic
(Vorzeichen und Traum, Zauber und Magie)

VIII

Religion: Beliefs, Institutions and Rites
(Religion: Vorstellungen, Institutionen und Riten)

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CONTENTS OF THE OEUVRE / INHALT DES GESAMTWERKES

Band 1	I	Die Kxoé-Buschleute und ihre ethnische Umgebung
Band 2	II	Grundlagen des Lebens
Band 3	III	Materielle Ausrüstung: Werden und Wandel
	IV	Wohnplatz und Buschlager
Vol./Band 4.1	V	Family and Society (Familie und Gesellschaft)
	VI	Customary Law: Norms and Practices (Gewohnheitsrecht: Normen und Praktiken)
Vol./Band 4.2	VII	Omens and Dreams, Spells and Magic (Vorzeichen und Traum, Zauber und Magie)
	VIII	Religion: Beliefs, Institutions and Rites (Religion: Vorstellungen, Institutionen und Riten)
Vol./Band 5.1	IX	Illness and Healing (Krankheit und Heilung)
	X	Music and Dance, Games and Arts (Musik und Tanz, Spiel und Gestaltung)
Vol./Band 5.2	XI	Myths and Legends, Fairy Tales and Narration (Mythe und Sage, Märchen und Erzählungen)
	XII	Welt und Natur (World and Nature)

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P R E F A C E

The present book is the second part of the fourth volume in a series of five volumes with vernacular texts describing the culture of the Khwe (in Köhler's orthography: Kxoé or Kxoe), one of the San populations in southern Africa. The texts were recorded by the late Professor Dr. Oswin Köhler (*14.10.1911, †2.5.1996) between 1959 and 1992 for a comprehensive encyclopedia entitled "The World of the Khwe Bushmen in southern Africa" (*Die Welt der Kxoé-Buschleute im südlichen Afrika*). The present book covers the domains of magical and religious beliefs and practices. Köhler designed the encyclopedia five volumes, integrated in twelve parts. He himself published parts I and II in volumes 1 and 2 respectively (Köhler 1989, 1991), and prepared parts III and IV in volume 3 to an almost ready for print stage, posthumously finalised by Klaus Keuthmann and Rainer Voßen (Köhler 1997), while the texts for parts V-XII remained to be sorted and edited. The editorial work on those parts only started in 2015 within the scope of a DFG-funded project on the Khwe material in Köhler's academic legacy (<https://gepris.dfg.de/gepris/projekt/259322312>; see also Boden 2018). Köhler had planned volume 4 to cover parts V-VIII and volume 5 to comprise parts IX-XII. The amount of texts for each of the remaining volumes was, however, found to far exceed what would fit between two book covers. Sticking to the original structure of the encyclopedia, as announced in the previously published volumes, meant splitting the last two volumes into volume 4.1 containing parts V and VI (Köhler 2018), the present volume 4.2 containing parts VII and VIII (Köhler 2021a), volume 5.1 containing parts IX and X (Köhler 2021b) and volume 5.2 containing parts XI and XII (Köhler 2021c).

Although it sticks to the overall structure of the encyclopedia, the presentation of the texts in the edited volumes is fundamentally different from the presentation of those published by Köhler himself: Instead of German we provide English translations. Instead of listing every single text in the table of contents and filling lots of pages, we provide a concise subject structure on just two pages. Instead of only indicating the underlying grammatical structure of Khwe by punctuation marks between morphemes, we provide grammatical glosses and interlinear translations. Instead of Köhler's idiosyncratic presentation of diacritics, we use the modern Khwe orthography as in the linguistic descriptions by Kilian-Hatz (2003, 2008). Instead of bypassing the changes made to the texts over the course of time and several phases of revision, we provide detailed text-historical analyses. In addition, scans of all versions of a text that we could identify are accessible online through an access code accompanying this print publication.

English and interlinear translations make the structure of the language and the contents of the texts more widely accessible, not only for academics but also for Khwe. For typographical reasons, and because the few Khwe who know how to read and write their own language are more familiar with the modern Khwe orthography, we use the latter.

The text-historical analyses allow the reconstruction of and insights into the provenance of changes and manipulations to the texts. We do not simply present what is presumed to be the latest version of a text but reconstruct its individual text history by tracing all the modifications it underwent during Köhler's multiple revisions in annotations to the individual texts. Modifications comprise changes in wording and syntax as well as operations such as splitting or merging of texts. Additions and occasional omissions range from individual morphemes to whole text passages. Only for very few texts in

part VII and XIII in the present volume was Köhler's text processing sufficiently advanced as to include typed annotations to his latest German translation as in volumes 1-3. Where extant, such annotations are also provided in the footnotes and specifically marked with '[OK]'. We decided against the presentation of Köhler's German translations in addition to the English translations for reason of economy. Scans of existing German translations are also provided through the concomitant access code.

The content structure of the first three volumes (Köhler 1989, 1991, 1997) relies on a hierarchical decimal numeration system with up to seven levels for topics and subtopics on dozens of pages. For parts V-VI as well as, partially, for part VII, Köhler designed similarly detailed tables of contents which were, however, not finalised. For parts VIII-XII such tables do not exist but only early versions from the late 1970s or early 1980s plus, possibly, lists of texts. We decided on handier tables of contents in volumes 4.1-5.2 in order to provide the reader with a concise overview of the extensive text material. Instead of a sophisticated hierarchical system, we simply allocated sequential numbers to the texts. In doing so, we stick to the overall order of subject matters as in the respective latest versions of tables of contents as designed by Köhler, even though they are ambiguous or even inconsistent at times. The reader should be aware that it was not always straightforward to decide where an individual text belonged and that we might have put it in a different place than Köhler himself would have done, although it is evident from the numerous renumberings and rearrangements of texts that Köhler struggled to find a consistent structure. Where available, scans of Köhler's drafts of tables of contents and text lists are also accessible via the concomitant access code.

Unlike parts V and VI, comprehensive drafts of résumé texts do not exist for parts VII and VIII. For part VII, we include an undated but relatively recent (after 1992) manuscript of a lecture entitled 'Remnants of early thought and imagination patterns in the oral traditions of the Khwe Bushmen' (*Reste frühzeitlicher Denk- und Vorstellungsmuster in den oralen Überlieferungen der Kxoe-Buschleute*), in place of an introductory résumé text. For part VIII, only a very short and fragmentary résumé text exists. In addition, we refer the reader to Köhler's publications on the subject, in particular his articles of 1973 on "ritual hunting" (*Die rituelle Jagd bei den Kxoe-Buschmännern von Mutsiku*) and 1979 on "myth, beliefs and magic" (*Mythus, Glaube und Magie bei den Kxoe-Buschmännern*). While the grouping of subject matters follows academic categories and is always difficult and far from unequivocal, the demarcation between magical and religious beliefs appears particularly unclear, artificial and imposed. The 1973 article covers topics which ended up in either of the two parts of this volume. The lecture title speaks of "thought and imagination patterns" and calls them "remnants of an early world view". Diverse practices to ensure hunting success are dealt with in part VII, while "ritual hunting" is dealt with in part VIII. Ancestors are invoked in the hunting ritual but they also bring dreams or are invoked during practices categorised by Köhler as 'magic'. Intersections not only occur between the two parts of this volume but also with other parts of the encyclopedia: Deities and ancestors may cause illness and are addressed in case of illness, and divination identifies the causes of illness, which is the subject of part IX in volume 5.1. Songs invoking ancestors appear in part X (Music and Dance, Games and Arts), myths in part XI (Myths and Legends, Fairy Tales and Narration), and beliefs about natural phenomena such as lunar eclipses, for example, in part XII (World and Nature). Köhler (1979) deals with texts which finally ended up in six different parts of the encyclopedia.

Given the premature state of the table of contents, of the résumé texts, of Köhler's annotations and, in some cases, even the Khwe texts or German translations, it was impossible for us to foresee the order of texts which Köhler would ultimately have decided upon or his final wording of the résumé texts, annotations, translations, and, in cases where the latest text versions have handwritten corrections and annotations, the final wording of the texts. From a research-historical perspective, the histories of the texts are as important for understanding the value of the encyclopedia as their contents. Therefore, instead of trying to guess what Köhler would have done, we have attempted to trace the history of each individual text by indicating in footnotes the changes from one text version to the next. We also include text passages or texts that are clearly in an unfinished state and which certainly would have been revised by Köhler before publication.

For a detailed description of the overall history of the text collection, its context, biases and problems, we refer the reader to the introduction in Köhler (2018: 9-24, see also Boden 2014b, 2018; Widlok 1998). We do the same for our general editorial procedure and the orthographic and linguistic conventions (Köhler 2018: 24-33). Only particulars of parts VII and VIII will be described in the editors' introduction to the respective chapters.

In sum, although the present publication is a volume in a series, and first and foremost Köhler's oeuvre and merit, it looks very different from his first three volumes of *Die Welt der Kxoé-Buschleute* between the covers. Nevertheless we tried to match the outward appearance of the previous volumes in order to maintain the integrity of the series and to acknowledge Köhler's work.

Most texts were unproblematic to translate with the aid of Köhler's German translations, the Khwe dictionary (Kilian-Hatz 2003) and the Khwe grammar (Kilian-Hatz 2008) to hand. In some cases, it was nevertheless necessary to consult Khwe native speakers in order to understand text passages or grammatical constructions and find out the meaning of words not included in the dictionary. Due to the Coronavirus pandemic, travelling to Namibia for the clarification of such final questions was impossible at the end of the work phase for this publication and had to be done via the telephone, a process which left some questions unanswered, indicated by '?' in the texts and footnotes.

We would like to thank Thaddeus Chedau from the Khwe community for his commitment, patience and humour in discussing difficult linguistic issues in person or on the telephone. When not certain of an issue himself, he was always ready "to do homework", as he wryly put it, and ask elders or other experts on a certain topic, whose individual contributions to the translations we acknowledge in respective annotations. For this volume, they are Sonner Geria, Gyamaxu Mu|uma and Lukas Phoko. Our sincere thanks further go to Rainer Voßen and Lisa McKee for their meticulous proof-reading of the English texts and the often quite unwieldy annotations. Our biggest thanks are due to the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (DFG) for funding the preparatory and editorial work, and the clarification of text passages with Khwe, as well as for meeting the printing costs for the present volume of *Die Welt der Kxoé-Buschleute* as an important step towards finalizing a unique project: an encyclopedia with vernacular texts on ideally all aspects of the culture of a San community in southern Africa and a project of unrivalled scope and great value for interested Khwe and Khoisanists.

Frankfurt am Main, January 2021

Gertrud Boden

P R E F A C E	5
VII O M E N S A N D D R E A M S, S P E L L S A N D M A G I C	11
Introduction to Part VII	11
Editors' introduction to Part VII	11
Text numbers and structure	11
Text histories	12
Texts on omens, dreams and inner unrest as anticipation	15
Texts on spells and magic relating to subsistence and the life cycle	16
Köhler's introductory résumé text to Part VII	18
Texts of Part VII: Omens and Dreams, Spells and Magic (Texts 7001-7273)	24
Omens (Texts 7001-7040)	24
Dreams (Texts 7041-7142)	43
Ancestors and dreams (Texts 7041-7044)	43
Animal dreams as omens (Texts 7046-7111)	47
Dreams of prey (Texts 7112-7117)	81
Other dream omens (Text 7118)	87
Bad dreams (Texts 7119-7135)	89
Dreams of evil spirits (Texts 7136-7140)	108
Other dreams (Texts 7141-7142)	115
Inner unrest (Text 7143)	117
Spells and Magic (Texts 7146-7273)	119
Subsistence (Texts 7146-7217)	119
Garden and bushfood (Texts 7146-7147)	119
Honey (Texts 7148-7153)	121
Money (Text 7154)	128
Hunting (Texts 7155-7217)	130
Social life	234
Manipulation of child's sex (Texts 7219-7220)	234
Giving birth (Texts 7221-7224)	236
Sweat and shadow (Texts 7225-7232)	242
Menstruation (Texts 7233-7239)	256
Love magic (Texts 7240-7240b)	273
Death (Texts 7241-7250)	280
Preemptive magic (Texts 7251-7264)	295
Defensive magic (Texts 7265-7269)	307
Metamorphoses (Texts 7270-7273)	314
VIII R E L I G I O N: B E L I E F S, I N S T I T U T I O N S, R I T E S	321
Introduction to Part VIII	321
Editors' introduction to Part VIII	321
Text numbers and structure	321
Text histories	321
Texts on religious beliefs and practices	324

Köhler's introductory résumé text to Part VIII (fragment)	326
Texts in Part VIII (Texts 8001-8070)	327
The High God Khyani (Texts 8001-8027)	327
Names of God (Texts 8001-8006)	327
Appearance, residence and behaviour (Texts 8007-8027)	340
Ancestral spirits (Texts 8028-8047)	372
Status and tasks (Texts 8028-8038)	372
Invocation of ancestral spirits (Texts 8039-8047)	388
The <i>cóà</i> spirits (Texts 8048-8048a)	436
Transmission of healing power (Text 8049)	440
Divination (Texts 8050-8058b)	445
Transmission of divination power (Texts 8050-8051)	445
Divination practice (Texts 8052-8058b)	449
The ritual medicine (Text 8059)	477
Invocation of the new moon (Texts 8060-8070)	481
A P P E N D I X	506
Abbreviations and Symbols	506
Words not listed in the dictionary of Kilian-Hatz (2003)	507
Indices	511
Focal terms in Parts VII and VIII: Khwe	511
Focal terms in Parts VII and VIII: English	520
Kin terms: Khwe	527
Kin terms: English	527
Plant names: Khwe	528
Plant names: Scientific	531
Animal names: Khwe	533
Animal names: Scientific	537
Deity names	539
Ethnonyms	540
Personal names	540
Place names	541
Numerals	541
References	542
Tables	544
Figures	544
Colour plates	544

Table 1: Structure of current volumes of Köhler's Khwe encyclopedia

Volume	Part	Subject area	Publication
1	I	The Khwe Bushmen and Their Ethnic Environment (Die Kxoé-Buschleute und ihre ethnische Umgebung)	1989
2	II	Livelihood (Grundlagen des Lebens)	1991
3	III	Equipment: Development and Change (Materielle Ausrüstung: Werden und Wandel)	1997
	IV	Homestead and Bush Camp (Wohnplatz und Buschlager)	
4.1	V	Family and Society (Familie und Gesellschaft)	2018
	VI	Customary Law: Norms and Practices (Gewohnheitsrecht: Normen und Praktiken)	
4.2	VII	Omens and Dreams, Spells and Magic (Vorzeichen und Traum, Zauber und Magie)	2021
	VIII	Religion: Beliefs, Institutions and Practices (Religion: Vorstellungen, Institutionen und Riten)	

Table 2: Texts in volume 4.2

Part	Subject area	Text IDs
VII	Omens and Dreams, Spells and Magic	7001-7273
VIII	Religion: Beliefs, Institutions and Practices	8001-8070

VII O M E N S A N D D R E A M S, S P E L L S A N D M A G I C

Introduction to Part VII

Editors' introduction to Part VII

Text numbers and structure

Part VII contains 279 texts on the meaning and relevance of omens, dreams, spells and magic, numbered from 7001 in ascending order with the initial '7' standing for the seventh part of the encyclopedia. The highest text number (7273) is slightly different for a number of reasons: On first inspection, 273 texts were identified. When, later, additional texts on the relevant subjects were discovered, they were inserted with a-numbers where they seemed to fit. This is true for 7111a, 7169a, 7207a, 7217a, 7240a and 7240b. In some cases, we decided to treat earlier text versions as individual texts because the differences to the final versions were too numerous to be comprehensibly followed up in footnotes. 7166a, 7208a, 7234a, 7235a and 7235b are earlier text versions of the respective numbers. At the same time, some text numbers had to be removed or deleted because they were found to be earlier versions of other texts.

For part VII, there is no comparably detailed table of contents from Köhler's hand as there was for parts V and VI (Köhler 2018). The table of contents which Köhler compiled during his longest stay in 1977/78 had put the texts on magic relating to subsistence or the life cycle before the texts on omens and dreams. Since Köhler's final title for part VII (see Köhler 1997) starts with omens and dreams and a later fragmentary version of the table of contents assigns the lowest numbers to the texts on these subject areas, we have decided to put the texts on omens (7001-7040), dreams (7041-7145), and inner unrest as a third type of anticipation (7143) before those on magical practices aimed at subsistence (7146-7217) or the life cycle (7219-7250). Additional texts deal with beliefs about danger of death *tamâá* (7251-7264), defensive magic (7265-7269) and metamorphosis (7270-7273), and all these subject headings are as defined by Köhler.

As already mentioned in the preface to this volume, it is not always clear why certain texts came to be placed under magic instead of, for example, under religious beliefs or under illness and healing. Likewise, texts which have been included in earlier parts would also have made sense in part VII, e.g. text 5164 in part V (Köhler 2018) on making women in a polygynous marriage love each other, or text 5160 (*ibid*) on practices aimed at making the groom a successful hunter.

The problematic task of imposing academic categories on people's understandings and ontologies, and the difficulties Köhler faced in assigning texts to subject areas is also evident from different versions of the table of contents (see Table 3). In particular, a fragmentary but later and very detailed table of contents breaks up earlier subject headings. Where present, we followed the order indicated by – possibly preliminary – text numbers assigned by Köhler according to this fragmentary latest version of the table of contents. For the texts not covered by the latter, we followed the structure of the 1983 version of the table of contents which is much less detailed. Scans of the different versions of tables of contents are accessible via the access code to digital material which comes with this print publication.

Text histories

There are generally fewer text versions in part VII compared to parts V and VI (Köhler 2018). This is due to the fact that Köhler lacked time to review these texts, since, until his death in 1996, he was still busy reviewing the texts up to part VI. A large number of texts for part VI (as for the whole encyclopedia) were only recorded during Köhler's longest field trip of 22 months in 1977/78.¹ The date can either be given as 1977, 1978 or as 1977-78. For the latter indication, it is not clear whether it refers to different working rounds on a text or the whole stay without specification of the individual year. 119 texts have dates earlier than 1977/78: 1962 (3), 1965 (17), 1968 (2), 1971 (4), 1974 (41), 1976 (42). This means that more than half of the texts in part VII were recorded for the first time in 1977/78. This is true for all dated texts on omens (7001-7040) and for all but three dated texts on animals as dream omens (7046-7111). Only 20 of the 235 dated texts in part VII have dates later than 1978. Most of them represent texts added at a later stage rather than being revised versions of already existing texts (see Table 4). In many cases, there is no difference between the first and the second and last typed version, apart from the fact that the second typed version has a heading, which in the cases of omens and dream omens are generally no more than the names of the respective phenomena. In two cases (texts 7226-7227), headings were formulated and added by Ndo in his own handwriting.

As has been explained in the editor's introduction to volume 4.1 (Köhler 2018: 23), the working procedure from one text version to the next, as described in Köhler (1989: 13-20), does not fit precisely with the extant text versions found in the archive. For example, several versions of a text might exist, but only one date is indicated (e.g. 7047, 7055, 7134). In the case of text 7055, the typed versions contain more text than the handwritten versions which are part of a list. This would mean that the list was produced in 1978 as well but other texts having previous versions from the same list carry dates such as 1974 or 1977. Handwritten lists and other handwritten versions almost never carry indications of authorship or a date. If they do, it is often just a date, e.g. 'Mutsiku 8-7-1962'. It is entirely unclear how Köhler remembered with whom he produced these early text versions (e.g. 7116) or for what reason the authors mentioned in a previous version are no longer listed on a later version (e.g. 7043, 7135, 7147). Texts 7137 to 7140 are texts about the dreams of individuals. While for 7137 it is clear that Kafuro is the dreamer and Ndo the person who first wrote down the text, 7138-7140 have four names listed as authors whose individual role is unclear. Sometimes author information differs between the Khwe version and the German translation (e.g. 7124). Only in very rare cases (e.g. 7058) are individual sentences identified as being from a certain author.

¹ For a detailed description of the history of the encyclopedia, see Köhler (2018: 9-23); for an overview of his field trips, see Table 1 on page 11 in Köhler (2018).

Table 3: The development of the matrix for part VII

no date (probably 1965) ¹ Section G: “Omens, dreams, illness, death”	1976 & 1978: Volume H: “Magic and spells, omens and dreams”	no date Folder 11	1980 Volume III, Part I: “Magic and spells. Influence of people and ancestors on life and events” Section A: 1. Subsistence 2. The life cycle 3. The <i>djèù</i> power of the ancestor and of anticipation 4. Transformations 5. Analogue magic (<i>tàmàà</i>) Section B: Omens Section C: Dreams	1983 Part VII: “Spells and magic. Omens and dreams”	no date no heading: “4.7.1 to 4.7.0”
I. Omens II. Meaning of dreams III. Illness (transferred to part IX: “Illness and healing”)	I. Hunting and gathering II. The life cycle III. Black magic and poison IV. Transformations V. Omens and analogue magic VI. Dreams	1. Hunting and gathering 2. Life cycle 3. Black magic and poison (including transformations) 4. Omens, analogue magic and dreams		- Gathering - Hunting - The life cycle - Black magic and poison - Transformations - Omens and analogue magic - Dreams	4.7.1 Omens 4.7.2 Magic omens 4.7.3 Ancestors and dreams 4.7.4 Dream figures 4.7.5 Analogue magic 4.7.6 Spells by sweat and shadow 4.7.7 Spells by menstruation 4.7.8 Magic impurity and defensive magic 4.7.9 <i>tàmàà</i> spells by the water 4.7.0.1 Transformation and magic 4.7.0.2 False oaths and illness 4.7.0.3 Unrest as warning of a danger 4.7.0.4 Dreams and death 4.7.0.5 Magic against hunting success and search for honey 4.7.0.6 Magic for hunting success and search for honey 4.7.0.7 The light of the new moon and the clairvoyance of the hunter 4.7.0.8 The invocation of the new moon

¹ Note that an even earlier table of contents (cf. Table 5) does not contain the respective categories at all.

Table 4: Texts of part VII recorded and/or revised after 1977/78

No.	Contents	Recorded	Revised
7138	Individual's dream ¹	1979	
7139	Individual's dream ¹	1979	
7140	Individual's dream ¹	1982	
7142	Dream of White people	1979	
7151	Ensuring the spotting of beehives	1979	
7152	Ensuring the spotting of beehives	1979	
7156	Ensuring success in hunting	1978	1986
7159	Invoking ancestors for success in hunting	1991	
7160	Invoking ancestors after killing a python	1976	1978, 1981
7163a	Reserving first honey for elders	1990	
7167	Ensuring success in hunting	1978	1979, 1990
7170	Ensuring success in hunting	1990	
7172	Ensuring success in hunting	1985	
7205	Treatment of duiker snares	1979	1983, 1985
7219	Influencing the gender of an unborn child	1979	1990
7223	Taboos after child birth	1979	
7230	Sweat and shadow affecting others	1979	
7240a	Love magic	1987	1989
7240b	Love magic	1979	

In the first volume of the encyclopedia, Köhler (1989: 18-19) writes that the texts for the subject areas covered in part VII are among the spontaneous texts as they are about specific cultural ideas which are unpredictable and represent “ideas and beliefs about secret powers effecting a Khwe’s everyday life from birth to death”, as well as “detailed knowledge known only to elders and requiring absolute trust in the non-Khwe researcher” (ibid: 18). Köhler further states that these texts were written down without being phrased by a “speaker” because such knowledge is regarded as private property and not openly discussed. However, only five out of the 235 texts for which authors are

¹ Remarkably, the texts on individuals’ dreams also have as authors the group of four men with whom Köhler worked from 1971 onwards in the research camp at Dikundu (see Köhler 1989: 22).

indicated have only one author, 227 include the name of the speaker Ndo, and 34 the name of the speaker Mbongi.¹

Texts on omens, dreams and inner unrest as anticipation

Both real appearances and dream figures can be omens, separated by Köhler into ‘omens’ and ‘dreams’. The Khwe term for omen is /góá. Köhler compiled lists with the headings *tcéka /góá* ‘good omens’ and *djéxò /góá* ‘bad omens’, whereas the Khwe of today (fieldwork March 2019; see also Kilian-Hatz (2003: 163)) stress that /góá is always a bad omen and, in fact, the announcement of someone’s death. The only text where a /góá does not refer to someone’s death is text 7090 on dreaming of a polecat where the bad omen is the fainting (*//’ó khóá*, lit. die like) of a child. The difference in meaning between what Köhler understood and what the Khwe of today say, might be due to a semantic shift over the course of time. However, the texts compiled under /góá by Köhler that announce something good or neutral do not contain the word /góá. This suggests that Köhler used the German category *Vorzeichen* (omen) instead of the Khwe category. On the other hand, some of the texts talk about the dream appearance of an animal being a /góá for that very animal, i.e. a successful hunt for the people. In Köhler (1973: 225), he himself speaks of /góá as bad omens and of good omens as *djèú*. The same animal can mean a bad or a good omen. For example, the stretched tail of a chameleon means a biltong pole, i.e. meat, while the curled-up tail of a chameleon means misery (cf. Köhler 1973: 225). Good omens announce meat, visitors or rain. According to the Khwe of today, /góá falls under the term *bóri* ‘message, news’, which may be *tcéka bóri* ‘good news’, *djéxò bóri* ‘bad news’ or */góá bóri* ‘death news’. Bad omens outnumber good omens (see also Köhler 1973: 225).

Texts 7001-7040 deal with real-appearance omens. Several lists exist, none of which contains all omens covered by the individual texts. It is not clear which final order Köhler would have decided on. From the extant text versions, the order could have been:

- a) alphabetical
- b) divided into good (*tcéka /góá*) and bad omens (*djéxò /góá*) with bad omens further divided into the categories *kx’óxò* ‘game’, *djaára* ‘birds’, *ǀ’yo* ‘snakes’ and ‘other’, in this case sneezing and thunderstorm
- c) omens for hunting as a separate category, divided into bad and good omens.

We have decided on a purely alphabetical order according to the modern Khwe alphabet, as in Kilian-Hatz (2003), which is not exactly the same as Köhler’s alphabetical order. One change in alphabetical order is a result of recent information from Khwe, namely the name of *kóko-//aámà* for rain scarab instead of *tú-//aámà*, identified as a name for a species of lice (Sonner Geria, 13.4.2016 after consultation with Khwe elders).

Texts 7001-7038 were easy to sort alphabetically because the headings are single words. All of them discuss appearances and behaviour of animals or other features. Texts 7039 and 7040 deal with human behaviour as omens which might also have been included in the section on social behaviour in part V. This is particularly true for text 7040 which does not occur on any of the lists of omens.

¹ For the role of the speakers, see Köhler (1989: 17-18); for portraits of Köhler’s main coworkers, see Köhler (1989: 25-55).

One of the omens occurring on the lists, the appearance of a snake at the homestead (text 7261), was transferred to the subject category *tàmàá* (danger of death) following a handwritten note on the corrected handwritten version, while a note on the handwritten version says that it can be either *tàmàá* or */góá* (*/únò tàmàá, /únó /góá*, i.e. sometimes danger of death, sometimes death omen).

Following the diverse tables of contents, texts on dreams start with the role of ancestors in dreaming. Next are texts on animals appearing in dreams, for which early lists exist, including and differentiating between *kx'óxò* (edible game), *n#gí-/õã* (predators), people and 'other'. The first handwritten list has 63 dream omens, including dreams about the killing of game. For 22 of the dream omens on that list, no other version exists than this list.

The subdivision of the texts on dreams decided on here is as follows:

- a) texts on the role of ancestors in dreaming (texts 7041-7044)
- b) texts on animal appearances in dreams in alphabetical order, for which German translations do exist (texts 7046-7089)
- c) texts on animal appearances in dreams in alphabetical order for which no German translations exist (texts 7090-7111)
- d) dreams about killing of animals and harvesting honey (texts 7112-7117)
- e) other dream omens (text 7118)
- f) bad dreams, i.e. dreams of people as omens (texts 7119-7135)
- g) dreams of evil spirits (texts 7136-7140)
- h) other dreams (texts 7141-7142).

Inner unrest is also a form of anticipation and is dealt with in text 7143.

One final note concerns what Köhler calls "magical omens" (*Magievorzeichen*). The respective texts speak about how certain animals and plants cause illness. In some versions of the table of contents, Köhler included the texts on animals causing illness in part VII after the texts on dream-appearances of animals. In other versions of the table of contents he included them in part IX on 'illness and healing'. The texts describe symptoms of illness and ways of treating them. Therefore, we decided to include them, together with the corresponding texts on plant-induced illnesses, in part IX.

Texts on spells and magic relating to subsistence and the life cycle

It is not clear how Köhler defines spells and magic or the difference between the two. We have nevertheless adopted his wording. The order of texts attempts to follow the table of contents from 1980, with additional texts slotted in where they seemed to fit. The subdivisions for the section on magic related to subsistence practices are as follows:

- a) garden and bushfood (texts 7146-7147)
- b) honey (texts 7148-7153)
- c) money (text 7154)
- d) hunting (texts 7155-7217).

The texts on practices in relation to hunting comprise by far the majority, a fact which underlines the central position of hunting in Khwe culture. In spite of the high number of texts, Köhler (1979: 33) writes that magical practices to ensure success in hunting are probably only partially known. The texts include those which deal with practices relating to still hunting, hounding, hunting with snare and trap, and with the hooked probe as well as fishing. Text 7217 explains how the Mbukushu hunt a crocodile, and does not cover magical treatment. It was placed here because an earlier text version carries a text number that places it together with hunting magic. Note that the texts on how one can try to increase one's luck at hunting and finding honey also include some texts on the invocation of the ancestors which could just as well have been placed in part VIII on religion (e.g. texts 7155 and 7157). Again, the distinction between what Köhler (1973: 226) calls 'profane' and 'ritual' hunting, is not straightforward and not necessarily made by the Khwe themselves.

The next section deals with spells and magic related to the life cycle, including practices in connection with:

- a) the manipulation of a child's sex (texts 7219-7220)
- b) giving birth (texts 7221-7224)
- c) the effect of sweat and shadow (texts 7225-7232)
- d) the effect of menstruation (texts 7233-7239)
- e) love magic (texts 7240-7240b)
- f) death (texts 7241-7250).

Last, come beliefs and practices on:

- a) preemptive magic or *tàmàá* (texts 7251-7264)
- b) defensive magic (texts 7265-7269), and
- c) metamorphoses (texts 7270-7273).

Köhler's introductory résumé text to Part VII¹

“Remnants of patterns of early thought and imagination in the oral traditions of the Khwe Bushmen”²

Oswin Köhler

The *Mitteilungen der Universität zu Köln*, issue 1983, reports on a conference held at the Theodor Heuss Academy that year under the chairmanship of Professor Hansjakob Seiler.

In the report on the ‘Identity of fundamental problem-solving strategies’, the subtitle ‘Bridging linguistics and anthropology’.

Even if the report essentially and mainly refers to problems associated with the linguistic research programme on universal types, this bridging, also using linguistic means, should be extended to the study of ancient cultures in ethnology, especially since oral traditions from the early times of primitive peoples’ lives are threatened, and are approaching their end as the decades pass, due to the spread of modern global civilisation. As far as the African continent is concerned, a few languages have survived so far, and studying them in the field could still bring to light some important insights for our knowledge of the beginnings of the hunter-gatherer culture.

Remnant peoples in Africa include the relatively isolated Bushmen of the Kalahari, among whom the recording of oral texts, especially about ‘omens, dreams, spells and magic’, can still yield important results. Oral texts on hunting in the early times also provide some information that shows us the metaphysical dimension not only of magic and spells, but also of hunting – especially of individual hunting.

Field research in this area requires a lot of time, which is available to the scholar only to a very limited extent, and, moreover, a lot of luck, because competent knowledge about the ‘old’ times is basically only to be found among the ‘elders’ who were born at the beginning of our century and grew up before the middle of our century,³ while the younger generation, born before the war, only

¹ The original German text seems to have been prepared as a manuscript for a lecture and includes a number of annotations which are provided here as well, identified at the end with ‘[OK]’. It is unclear for what purpose the lecture was prepared and whether Köhler actually gave it. The text is reproduced in full although the introduction is not on the topic. However, it contains interesting information on the context of the text collection, both in terms of fieldwork practice and in terms of Köhler’s thoughts and attitudes. Part of the text also refers to subjects covered in part IX on illness and healing. In the translation, we stuck to Köhler’s ductus as far as possible and did not change outdated and debatable terms or the use of the definite article and singular form for a group of people (the Khwe, the Bushman). Typographic emphasis such as spacing, underlining and quotation marks are also represented as in the original text. The orthography of Khwe words, however, was changed to the modern Khwe orthography as in Kilian-Hatz (2003) and the orthographic conventions applied in this volume.

² cf. 1973 ‘Die rituelle Jagd bei den Kxoe-Buschmännern’. In: Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von HELMUT PETRI. Ed. Kurt Tauchmann, pp. 215-257; 1978 ‘Tierzauber und Krankheit bei den Kxoe-Buschmännern’. *AuÜ (Afrika und Übersee)* 61,1: 35-58; 1978-79 ‘Mythus, Glaube und Magie bei den Kxoe-Buschmännern. Bericht aus den Studienergebnissen 1959-1974’. *JSWASS (Journal of the South West Africa Scientific Society)* 33: 9-49; 1955 ‘Die Welt der Kxoé-Buschleute im südlichen Afrika’, Bd. 3 Teil III ‘Materielle Ausrüstung: Werden und Wandel’ und Teil IV ‘Wohnplatz und Buschlager’. [OK]

³ i.e. the 20th century. The text is undated but was written after 1992 (see below).

has a superficial knowledge, for example, of huntable game and, in particular, of magic plants that serve the hunter as hunting spells and hunting aids when hunting luck was lost.

The tape recorder plays an important role in the research, as it is only with its help that it is possible to quickly record spoken and longer texts and analyse their content with Bushmen speaking the local language, provided that, as a White person, one has a good knowledge of the local language.

The following is taken from volume 4 of my work 'The World of the Kxóé Bushmen in southern Africa', who live on the eastern Okavango and on the Angola border as well as in West Caprivi, and to whom I have made a total of 22 expeditions from 1959 until 1992, during which I enjoyed my wife's support with the fieldwork from the 1960s onwards, for which I am grateful.

The research results are recorded in the Khwe language in the aforementioned work and reproduced with a German translation. The statements are presented in the present tense, as they were recorded between 1968 and 1980, that is, at a time when these ideas were still alive among the Khwe.

Since the Khwe are not christianised, calling these ideas 'superstition' or 'folk belief' or 'misbelief' is inaccurate. It is the realm of old traditional beliefs par excellence. In the meantime, some patterns of thought and imagination may have fallen into oblivion, but they are nevertheless presented in the historical present.

Given the time available, only examples will be given here, while all the material is contained in volume 4, to which I refer.

We begin with the o m e n s, which the Khwe generally subsumes under the term /gõá¹, which so far cannot be traced either in the Nama or in any other related language. Among the omens, Khwe *cú* (Nama *sí*, Shua *ts'í*, |Xaise *ts'í*), meaning 'sneeze', plays a special role, since 'sneezing' holds one back from an action or expels a 'magical impurity'.

Thus, a Khwe hunter who, early in the morning, goes to the bush in order to hunt returns to his homestead when he has sneezed before the hunt.

If a Khwe dreams of the death of another Khwe, which, according to the Khwe imagination is brought by an ancestor, and then sneezes, the bad dream leaves his body.

A great danger is brought about by the death of a wild dog, which spreads a strong aura of magical power. Whoever finds its carcass, hides himself behind a hut at the dwelling place, then looks for roots of the aardvark tree, scrapes and dries them and gives them to the old people and children to sniff so that they sneeze. The finder of the carcass calls out: "*//xéba*,² come and go out, I have found the wild dog". If they do not, the whole family dies! In Khwe, the magical power that the *//xéba*

¹ Khwe /gõá 'omen'. Other special expressions in Khwe are *n//áá* 'signify' (lit. say), *tcóò* 'magic' (also danger, taboo, poison, poisonous (of fruit, spoiled meat), *tcóò* 'magic', also 'medicine', *tcóo* 'treat with 'magic' (or 'medicine)'), *tcóò-/éé* 'Sunday' (lit. taboo day), *//oé* 'to bewitch, enchant', *oávà* 'to pull out sweat or shadow spells from the body', *ngya* ('to transfer sweat or shadow spells to others'), *dòré* 'to release' (to release a taboo spell), *djèú* 'to anticipate a danger' (i.e. to avoid a danger), *cúkuni* 'dream' and also 'to dream', *//áòáá* 'ancestor, ancestors', Gyán 'Godmother' (personal name), Khyani-mà 'male God Khyani', Khyani-hè 'female God Khyani', *//'áo* 'to curse', *tàmàá* 'misfortune', *txáú* 'to stand still' (of game by hunting spells). [OK]

² i.e. 'wild dog'.

spreads around itself,¹ is called *tcóò*, which the Goddess Khyani-hè brought into the world when the world was created.

Among the spontaneous omens known to the Khwe is the ‘earthhole’, called *yéé* in Khwe. *Yéé* also has the meaning ‘open grave’, while a grave filled up with sand is called *tcóò-#’ám*, i.e. ‘top of the magical power’, a grave that the Khwe avoids when walking through the bush. All omens, as well as ‘burrows’, i.e. ‘dwellings’ in the earth and also animals that dwell in the burrow (such as the mole, the aardvark, the ant lion (Khwe ‘earth drill’), the porcupine or the spring hare), announce death.²

The Khwe attribute the influence of many animals to the power of magic or to sympathetic magic. For example, the loud hoof beats of the duiker cause ‘palpitations’, which can be cured by piercing a duiker’s hoof and tying it around the neck.

The bush pigeon induces measles because it has red eyes, and these ‘red eyes’ transfer to humans and cause them to come down with measles.

The bullfrog, which is made of skin and bones, bewitches humans and makes them lean. Its growl is reminiscent of the lion’s roar and announces that a Khwe will die by a predator.

The big belly of the water turtle bewitches the Khwe to have a swollen belly.

The crocodile bewitches the Khwe so that its stomach swells and becomes heavy. The Khwe are convinced that the crocodile was created with a stone in its stomach.³

If the Khwe crosses the track of the secretary bird, the Khwe’s knees become stiff, just as the secretary’s legs are stiff.

If a person has a raspy and deep voice, the baboon has induced it.

These connections reveal how the Khwe sees the world as being created as an indivisible whole. This view of the world not only concerns the special characteristics that connect living beings and

¹ Here I recount the following experience. When I started my Khwe studies in Mutc’iku in West Caprivi around mid-May 1962, Mbongi, my first informant, came to me and asked me if I could send my Damara (German text: ‘Bergdama’) driver with him together with a shovel. He himself was armed with a spear. I asked him the purpose of their going, and all I heard was that Mbongi wanted to catch a *//xéba*, i.e. a wild dog with his trap and needed my driver’s help. News of the plan spread quickly, and I – who had only heard the wild dogs’ call at night – learned that it was very dangerous to humans because of its magical powers and that it could even cause death. When Mbongi and Ismael returned, they reported with excitement that the *//xéba* had broken away from the trap and attacked both of them, and that they could only defend themselves with the spear and the spade. At that time, Kwangali men were building an enclosure with a fence for cattle for the Khwe on behalf of the [Native] Commissioner in Rundu. As the workers had witnessed the attack by the *//xéba* on Mbongi and Ismael the day before, they loosened the chain holding the trap that morning. Mbongi came alone to the place where the trap was. The *//xéba*, still badly injured, leapt at Mbongi, who had the presence of mind to pierce it with his spear. The Kwangali experienced everything with great glee, for Mbongi was a special kind of Khwe. While all Khwe and also other inhabitants of the Okavango avoided the *//xéba* because it brought death, Mbongi was all about earning two Rand that the Commissioner in Rundu had offered as a reward for the skin of a *//xéba* as a predator. And it was only Mbongi for whom it was worth risking his life for two Rand. [OK]

² When an adolescent boy is sent on a duty and repeatedly refuses to go, the Khwe say that he smells the fresh sand of a new grave and is held back by the smell. [OK]

³ According to D. WESTERMANN (oral comm.), the Ewe believe that the crocodile swallows a stone every year so that it knows how old it is. A comparison of similar widespread ‘motifs’ in traditional lore apparently points to ancient cultural relationships, into which an investigation into the spread of cultures or the influence of substrates and superstrates could shed more light. [OK]

situations, but also penetrates into the behaviour of animals which the human hunters observed in early times.

Thus, the Khwe knows that the ‘honey badger’ goes hunting at night, and children faint at nightfall. Similarly, the ‘genet’ and the ‘African wild cat’ are also nocturnal, and children only wake up at sunrise from the fainting that one of the aforementioned cats has induced.

According to the primeval Khwe way of thinking, the boundaries between animate and inanimate, as well as the different identities of living beings and spirits, dissolve. In this context, verbal magic – as can also be seen in incantations and charmings or in curses¹ – takes on an important intermediary role.

Thus, the snake medicine man, who places a snake formed from soil on a path, can bring it to life and send it in order to bite and kill an enemy.

Those who possess the magical lion medicine – as is the case with the Mashi-Mbukushu on the Kwando islands on the Angola border – are able to dress themselves in the skin of a reedbuck or a lechwe in order to hunt humans as ‘lion men’.²

When medicine men possess the *tom-tom* (‘devouring spirit’) medicine, they transform others into *tom-tom* spirits.

The motif of transformation is also found in fables, for example in the fable in which two sandals are thrown up in the air and fly away as vultures.

Apart from the transformations, the traditions of the Khwe reveal psychosomatic connections between verbal magical impurity and its consequences.

If a Khwe has stolen and eaten food and the owner misses it, but the thief denies it and swears “Gyán³ shall come down! I have not eaten your food,” when night has fallen, the thief’s body swells. If the illness has worsened, a relative goes to fetch the *temta-goro* plant, breaks its roots into small pieces and soaks them in a *Strychnos* bowl. Placing the *Strychnos* bowl on the head and thigh of the sick person, the relative charms the medicine, while whisking it: “You oath, don’t speak, let him live. You have been heard, come out!” Then, when the body becomes cool and healthy, you know: “He did steal after all, but he swore before me. So he is guilty!”

There are further forms of spells such as the sweat and the shadow spell.

When someone passes by the bed of a friend, the friend’s sweat hits him. When someone comes from hunting and shakes hands with his friend, the sweat hits him. Or, if one borrows a friend’s hunting

¹ Cf. the role of swearing and the reaction of farm workers during the apartheid regime. The curse of a farm owner against a coloured farm worker worked like a magic bullet. [OK]

² That the Khwe still believed in ‘lion people’ in 1974 was witnessed on Tuesday 4 June, when a total lunar eclipse occurred on the night of 5 June. The Bushmen – both !Xun and Khwe – panicked with excitement at the darkening of the moon, and the oldest informant Kafuro explained: ‘People make war somewhere, and they send the blood to Khyani [God] in the sky. But Khyani rejects it, and so it comes to the moon that is looking red. In the darkness of the night that thus arises, the lion-men go through the bush undetected, hunting for people.’ [OK]

³ Gyan is the mother of the male God Khyani and of the female Goddess Khyani-hè.

bow and hangs it around one's shoulder, the shadow hits as it does when one takes meat from a friend's pot.

If the sweat or shadow of a Khwe hits a friend, it causes liver or stomach pains. The fortune teller then asks the oracle¹, and names the one from whom the spell originated. Once he has named the person, the latter scoops the sweat from the body, especially from the armpits and the belly, and blows away the sweat or the shadow. Doing so, he flicks the middle finger and thumb of his right hand. Then the pain subsides.

Also, if, in a bigamous marriage, the 'bow-wife' as the first wife and the 'little wife' as the second wife have a child each and the child lies on the mat and becomes skinny, the mat bewitches the child.² Then one treats the child by putting the string of a mat around the child's neck. The neck is often the place where medicines are worn.

It is different when the python bewitches the neck so that it hurts. In this case, a knowledgeable old man collects spinal vertebrae from the python, threads them on a string and has them worn around the neck like a necklace.

Here we have one of the many cases in which healing procedures and the fight against pain and illness are linked to magic in the pre-rational thinking of natural science and find a solution in magical beliefs.

After this walk from human being to human being, I come to the descendants of the Bushmen hunters, who occasionally hunt wild animals in the bush and collect honey from bees, at a time when the game hunters with their ancient culture are dying out and when the gathering of wild fruits by the Bushmen women remains the only form of subsistence.

Just as the wild animals are the property of the Khwe God Khyani and the ancestors of the Khwe herd the game as the 'cattle' of the God Khyani, hunting is central to Khwe life and culture. The wild animals are protected by Khyani as his property through a taboo, and no hunter can kill a game unless it is released by Khyani. The ancestors and the sacral medicine man (in Khwe: 'yèú-kx'àò') are the mediators between him and the people.

From the Khwe experience and imagination, Khyani created the wild animal as well as the human being with an inner unrest that arises when the creature approaches or faces an unexpected situation, danger or surprise.

Thus the duiker walks around the snare lying on top of the treading pit of the springpole snare as if it senses the danger, and the hunter can only lift this spell by scraping the bark of the //guu-//ani medicinal plant, mixing the scraped bark with the //geve plant and dropping this medicine on the

¹ The way in which the diviner casts the oracle is described in detail in the treatment of the disease (see volume 5, chap. 9). The yèú-kx'àò (i.e. 'the sacral medicine man') learns from the oracle which ancestor has sent the illness. [OK]

² Before winding up our research camp at the end of the eighties, the oldest informant Kafuro left behind a new floor mat I had given him earlier and started the journey home to West Caprivi in our truck. Soon some Khwe came begging for floor mats. Some of the Khwe mats were worn out, but there were still good mats in our camp which I wanted to use myself in the mission camp in Andara. I therefore offered them the new mat on which Kafuro had been lying. The Khwe did not understand why I offered them this new mat. Then I learnt from them that one does not give someone a new mat if another has lain on it, because the sweat of the other remains in the mat and infects the one who is going to lie on it. [OK]

snare. Then he leaves, keeping his eyes tightly closed. If this spell does not work, the hunter takes the round leafy fruit of the tree called *Pterocarpus angolensis*, thrusts two pointed sticks through its centre and sets them up to influence the duiker in his behaviour by this spell and by this dazzlement.¹

If the magical *tcoo* power prevents the Bushman hunter from killing a game with bow and arrow and thus depriving the Bushmen of their meat, a sacral medicine man (Khwe *yèú-kx'àò*) tries to find out through the oracle which ancestor is thwarting the hunting luck.

For 'luck' and for 'hunting luck' in general, the Khwe knows no linguistic term, unless he asks to go with a 'good ancestor'. If the oracle, in ancient times the 'axe handle oracle' or the '*Strychnos* oracle', has found out who has caused the disfavour of the God Khyani, Khyani releases a game and the *yèú-kx'àò* seizes the shadow of a game and ties it to the 'bow fork'² at the homestead so that the arrow hits and the prey is assured. The next morning the 'head of the homestead' sits down at the bow fork and invokes the ancestors, whistling several times and knocking with a stick on the wood on which the carrying poles for the game prey lie. To his side sits the hunter, with a line drawn from dolf powder in the middle of his forehead. The 'head of the homestead' seizes the bow, which is lying on the carrying poles, and gives it to the hunter together with the arrows. The hunter rises and follows the ancestor's track, which leads him to the game released by Khyani.

According to Khwe belief, hunting luck depends on the clairvoyance that comes to the hunter with the light of the rising new moon. If the light of the new moon is not sufficient for a successful hunt, the hunter takes stalks of the */xaru-beye* grass, lights them and holds them in front of his face. When the new moon had risen, the hunters used to take a duiker's horn and flute with it to call the game.

For the light itself, which is crucial for the hunter's clairvoyance and the killing of prey, the Khwe still has no term, while other terms in the domain of hunting bear witness to a deep insight into the behaviour of animals and the connection between hunting and creation. Throughout creation, the function of ancestors in dreams, magic by humans and animals, and omens in reciprocal action together with magic, interact, and, with the male-female High God Khyani, shape a multiply composed world view that had its basis in a metaphysical and pre-animistic dimension in the early days of culture.

This is how it appears in the lore of the Khwe, who as a small population near Andara on the eastern Okavango and in the western Caprivi, have wandered through time and space over thousands of years and are heading towards an uncertain future.

3

¹ The fruit of the *Pterocarpus angolensis* looks like an eye, hence the magic with the dolf fruit. [OK]

² forked stick at the hunting altar

³ See honey badger and other nocturnal animals such as the genet and the African wild cat. [OK] The typed text does not indicate the placement of the footnote in the text.

Texts of Part VII: Omens and Dreams, Spells and Magic (Texts 7001-7273)

Omens (Texts 7001-7040)

[7001-7039]¹

7001-7039_K_1	Excerpt from dictionary (list: 9 bad omens)
7001-7039_K_2	First handwritten version (list: 25 omens)
7001-7039_K_3	Second handwritten version (list: 10 good, 22 bad omens)
7001-7039_K_4	Copy of second handwritten version with corrections (list: 10 good, 24 bad omens)
7001-7039_K_5	First typed version (individual texts)
7001-7039_K_6	Additional typed version without tones (list: 28 bad omens)
7001-7039_K_7	Second typed version (individual texts)
7001-7039_K_8	Third typed version without tones (individual texts)
7001-7039_D_1	First list in German, typed (7 good, 4 bad omens for hunting)
7001-7039_D_2	Second list in German, typed (7 good omens, 3 bad omens for hunting)
7001-7039_D_3	Typed German translation (individual texts)
7001-7039_D_4	Typeset German translation (individual texts)

|Góá

omen

Omens

[7001]²

Bángwara ú -xa |xé|xeri -e -tè nò [|hań -à -tè -m]³ |x'èè-khòè -m à
 woodpecker morning -GER Nag -I -PRES when approach -I -PRES -3sg.M visitor -3sg.M O
When a woodpecker nags in the morning, it announces an approaching

n||áà -à [-||òè]⁴.

tell -I -HAB

visitor.

¹ Texts 7001-7039 are texts about individual omens in alphabetical order. They appear on different lists and are treated together, firstly, because most of them consist of just one or two sentences. Secondly, some versions, including a relatively recent one, i.e. 7001-7039_K_6, are also lists, suggesting that Köhler himself considered treating the omens in conjunction at some stage. Note that none of the lists covers all 39 omens. The extant text versions for each individual omen among those listed conjointly are indicated in a footnote to each text. On the lists, the omens are arranged either alphabetically, or sorted into different categories, including 'good omens' versus 'bad omens', 'omens for hunting', and omens relating to either 'animals' (*kx'ó-xò*), 'birds' (*djaára*), 'snakes' (*#'yvo*), 'rain' (*tú*) and 'other'. Good omens announce a visitor, rain or meat while bad omens always foretell death. Note that one and the same appearance can be both a bad and a good omen. Headings and information on authors are not always available. Unless otherwise indicated, they were added for bad omens in version 7001-7039_K_6, and for good omens in 7001-7039_K_8. Pdf-documents of text versions of individual omens, accessible through a link accompanying this volume, are only named according to their individual text ID, e.g. 7001_K_5.

² extant text versions 7001: 7001-7039_K_3-4+6, 7001_K_5; 7001_D_3; an additional note on a separate paper (OKW 479: 73) with date '1979' says: '||gàà - Nebenname für *bángwara* s.d. weil er Dinge vorhersagt' [ancestor- byname for woodpecker, see there, because he foretells things]

³ added in 7001-7039_K_4

⁴ corrected from '-tè' [-PRES] in 7001-7039_K_4

[7002]¹

[Bángwara]²

woodpecker

The woodpecker

Ú -ì -tà háã -i nò bángwara []³ tc'í-kà |xé-|xeri -e -tè nò kx'óxò -m̄
hunt -IMPS -PAST2 be.there -IMPS and woodpecker behind nag -I -PRES when meat -3sg.M
When one is there hunting and a woodpecker is nagging at one's back, it announces

à n||áà -à -||òè. Tàxúnò cúũ-a-xa Kúũ -ì -kò cì kúì -ca.
O tell -I -HAB then fast Go -IMPS -CONV MOV hit -PURP
meat. Then one should go fast and hit (the target).

Kafuro, Gombo, Ndo 1978

[7003]⁴

Bángwara

woodpecker

The woodpecker

[Úì bángwara]⁵ |xé-|xeri -e -tè nò []⁶ [xú]⁷ à n||áà -à [-||òè]⁸.
evening woodpecker Nag -I -PRES when thing O tell -I -HAB
When the woodpecker nags in the evening, it sometimes announces meat.

[7004]⁹

[Bángwara]¹⁰

woodpecker

The woodpecker

[Úì Bángwara]¹¹ |xé-|xeri -e -tè nò []¹² tcá à pá -xò -m̄ à n||áà -à [-||òè]¹³.
evening woodpecker nag -I -PRES when 2sg.M O bite -thing -3sg.M O tell -I -HAB
When the woodpecker nags in the evening, it announces a thing that will bite you.

¹ extant text versions 7002: 7001-7039_K_5 + 8; 7001_D_3

² added in 7002_K_8

³ omitted from 7002_K_5: '-mà' [-3sg.M]

⁴ extant text versions 7003: 7001-7039_K_3-4 + 6; 7001-7039_D_1-2; 7001-7039_K_2: one text with 7004

⁵ 7001-7039_K_3-4: different word order: subject-adverb

⁶ omitted from 7001-7039_K_3-4: 'úndò' [sometimes]

⁷ 7001-7039_K_3-4: 'kx'óxò' [meat]

⁸ corrected from '-tè' [-PRES] in 7001-7039_K_4

⁹ extant text versions 7004: 7001-7039_K_2-4 + 6; 7004_K_5 + 7; 7004_D_3-4; 7001-7039_K_2: one text with 7003

¹⁰ added in 7004_K_7

¹¹ 7001-7039_K_3-4: different word order: subject-adverb

¹² omitted from 7001-7039_K_3-4: 'úndò' [sometimes]; omitted from 7001-7039_K_2: 'úndò kx'óxò-m à úndò' [sometimes meat, sometimes]

¹³ corrected from '-tè' [-PRES] in 7001-7039_K_4