

Chapter 13

The Spectator's and the Dweller's Perspectives: Experience and Representation of the Etosha National Park, Namibia

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In this contribution I exemplarily analyse two different ways of looking at the same environment, that is, the Etosha National Park in north-central Namibia. I portray the view of the western tourists visiting the area and on the other hand the perspective of the Haillom, a San group which up to the 1950s resided within the park area and lived predominantly from hunting and gathering. It is argued that the perspectives – the spectator's view and, following Ingold's terminology (Ingold, 2000, p. 189), the 'dweller's perspective' – are influenced by long-established cultural concepts and by the mode in which space is experienced and engaged. Both factors, the conceptualisation of and the engagement with space, are closely intertwined and have to be contextualised politically and historically in order to arrive at meaningful explanations of landscape visions and comprehension. The tourists' view is shaped by the Western aesthetical perspective of landscapes and a broad idea of how African sceneries should look. The tourists are located outside of the environment and visual features dominate their experience. The angle of the Haillom is one from within and is affected by their active engagement with the land. For the Haillom the Etosha

landscape is not merely scenery, but a network of paths, of social relations, and of places imbued with social identity.

This morning we left Oukujeko for a game drive which turned out to be the best game drive I've ever been on. Apart from the abundant Common Zebra, Giraffe, Springbok, Gemsbok, Wildebeest, Red Hartebeest and Greater Kudu we saw 2 young male Lions on their own only a few metres from the truck. We then saw a Black Rhino before going to a waterhole where there was a pride of Lions, including a litter of cubs. (Trip Report, Sep-Oct 1998, David Kelly, Prestonpans, East Lothian, UK, <http://www.camacdonald.com/birding/tripreports/Namibia98.html>)

This is now the grave of my grandfather. He takes his rest since 1948, that year, he died. They have buried him here. I did not help by myself to bury him but my parents, my father has shown me where they had buried him. This man is Petrus, Oahetama Suxub. Oahetama is the house name and Petrus is the Christian name. The surname is Suxub. It is the father of my father. He was the leader of !Gobaub, of this area. It was his area. They stayed here [pointing out] . . . different families, Suxub and Haneb and !Khumub and . . . !Aib and !Gamxabeb. . . . (Kadisen !Khumub, 6-9-01)

13.1. INTRODUCTION

What do both quotes tell us? The first one comments and focusses on animals whilst the second one relates to people. Remarkably, both of them refer to the same site, the Etosha National Park in Namibia. In this contribution, I explore the two perspectives which they illustrate. After a short sketch of the Etosha National Park and of my fieldwork, I take the reader on two distinct journeys to Etosha in order to portray the different perspectives in more detail. I then explore the underlying concepts of the two perspectives and contextualise them historically and politically before finally suggesting a more specified use of the term landscape in social and cultural anthropology.

13.1.1. The Site

The Etosha National Park (22,270 km²) as one of the world's largest national parks is the premier tourist attraction in Namibia. It draws more than 100,000 visitors every year. The popularity of the park is based on the abundance of wildlife: most of Namibia's lions, elephants, rhinos, and other large animals live within the boundaries of the park. About 54% of the overnight visitors originate from outside southern Africa (Mendelsohn et al., 2000, p. 30, 34). Those are the people to whom I refer when portraying the spectator's perspective. Today, when tourists travel on the park's comfortable roads they think of themselves as traveling in a virgin natural environment. However, traveling in the region has a long tradition. The area was already traversed by various travelers during the nineteenth century

on the way to Ovamboland and the Kunene river (e.g., Andersson, Galton, Schinz, and McKiernan; see Hayes, this volume). Their travel records often resemble those of contemporary tourists and are expressions of a similar perspective on tropical savanna landscapes passed down to the tourists of today (see below).

The area south of Etosha Pan, where most of the tourist roads run, has long been the home of a hunter-gatherer community. In the second half of the nineteenth century these people were labelled 'Nama-Bushmen' (Schinz, 1891, p. 127), so-called Bushmen (who were proposed to be in fact regarded as 'impoverished Namaqua', Hahn & Rath, 1859, p. 298) or 'Saen' (Galton, 1889, p. 42) and became known as 'Haiumga' (v. Francois, 1895, p. 233), 'Heikum' (von Zastrow, 1914, pp. 2ff.), 'Hei-²om' (Fourie, 1959 [1931], pp. 211ff.), in the beginning of the twentieth century (Dieckmann, 2007). Nowadays they are referred to as Haillom and are generally categorised as one of the 'Bushmen' or San groups of Namibia. The label 'Bushmen' is no longer popular in the official discourse in Namibia, and the term 'San' is used instead. But in informal conversations, people, especially white farmers, still talk of 'Bushmen'. Some Haillom even prefer the label 'Bushmen' and do not regard themselves as San. They assume that San mainly refers to Kung¹ whereas 'Bushmen' is a mere description of the former way of life. Without doubt, for the sake of simplicity, Haillom were called Bushmen by different parties in former times. The term did not necessarily imply a negative attitude according to the judgement of the Haillom.²

Nowadays around 7000–8000 Haillom live mostly in the Kunene and Oshikoto region of Namibia according to the census data (1991) of the National Planning Commission of Namibia (see Widlok, 1999, p. 19).³ In precolonial times and during the onset of the colonial period, they were reported to live in the region stretching from Ovamboland, Etosha, Grootfontein, Tsumeb, Otavi, and Outjo to Otjiwarongo in the south (some authors claim that the southern limits extended to Rehoboth, e.g., Bleek, 1927; Schapera, 1930), and were enmeshed in trade networks and sociopolitical relationships with surrounding groups. Sometimes, neighboring groups shared pieces of land and resources with the Haillom (Widlok, 2003).

As a consequence of the ongoing European penetration into Namibia since the mid-nineteenth century, these hunter-gatherers were gradually alienated from the land they lived on and thus lost control over economic resources as well as their political autonomy. The German Colonial Administration created

¹The !Kung are another group of (former) hunter and gatherers, living in the eastern parts of north Namibia. Both – Haillom and !Kung (as well as, e.g., !Xoon, Khwe, Naro, etc.) – are officially categorized as 'San'.

²Academics, members of the public, and diverse NGO's disagree on the politically and/or scientifically correct term; for a discussion see Gordon (1992, pp. 4f., 17ff.) and Widlok (1999, pp. 6ff.).

³This number is a rough estimation, due to difficulties involved in the census method which does not mention ethnic status and the "problem" of switching identities (see Widlok, 1999, p. 19).

the park in 1907. However, initially and for a long time afterwards, the Haillom were accepted as residents within the game reserve. White settlers increasingly occupied the surrounding area with the result that nearly all the land (outside the park) formerly inhabited by Haillom was occupied by the settlers in the 1930s. The game reserve became the last refuge where these people were still allowed to practice a hunting and gathering lifestyle. Up to the 1940s, the Haillom were regarded as 'part and parcel' of the game reserve, articulated for instance in a letter by the native commissioner of Ovamboland, who was acting game warden of the game reserve, to the secretary of South West Africa in 1940:

I do not consider the Bushmen population of the Game Reserve excessive; in fact I thought that room could be found for more wild families and that these could be settled at places other than the main springs and game watering places, where big concentrations of various species of game even proved so attractive to visitors. I pointed out too that the Bushmen in the Reserve form part and parcel of it and that they have always been a great attraction to tourists. (NAN, SWAA A50/26, 5-9-1940)

The few adventurous tourists visiting Etosha enjoyed this ethnographic ingredient during their otherwise wildlife-focused safaris. Haillom men were temporarily employed at the Namutoni and Okaukuejo police stations, or obtained seasonal work on the farms in the vicinity of the reserve. In the 1940s, the official attitudes of the park administration changed remarkably. Following the appointment of the first full-time game warden in 1948, a strict limitation was imposed regarding the species that were allowed to be killed, after a period of 20 years without any amendments to the laws concerning hunting by the Bushmen. They had been allowed to hunt with bow and arrow for their own consumption. The only exemption had been protected game. Additionally to the strict regulations with regard to hunting, instructions were issued that stockowners were no longer allowed to possess more than five head of large stock and ten head of small stock each. In 1949, the Commission for the Preservation of Bushmen was appointed to investigate the 'Bushmen question' in South West Africa. The Commission was asked to issue recommendations primarily on the question if 'Bushmen reserves' were advisable. In the final commission's report, the Haillom were not regarded 'Bushmen-like' enough to be preserved:

Nowhere did your [the Administrator's] commissioners receive the impression that it would be worthwhile to preserve either the Heikum or the Barrakwengwe [Khwe, another group labelled 'Bushmen'] as Bushmen. In both cases the process of assimilation has proceeded too far and these Bushmen are already abandoning their nomadic habits and are settling down amongst the neighbouring tribes to agriculture and stock breeding [. . .]. (NAN, SWAA A627/11/1, 1956)

Thus, it was recommended that the Haillom be removed from Etosha to work on farms or to settle in Ovamboland. In the beginning of 1954, the native commissioner of Ovamboland convened a series of meetings in Etosha to reveal the deci-

sion to expel them to the Haillom. All Haillom with the exception of 12 families, who were employed in the park, had to leave (Dieckmann, 2001). The increasing interest in tourism (NAN, SWAA A511/10, 1938–1951) was undoubtedly a major factor which influenced this decision. At the same time international conservation organisations had begun lobbying for game parks without people.

In a grand-scale vision of national planning the coexistence of intensively used agricultural landscapes and pristine 'natural' landscapes became the epitome of an African modernity. It was the task of the state to implement such 'modernised' landscapes in order to stimulate development. The administration acknowledged the potential of nature conservation in this context. Although the game reserve had still a way to go in order to become the Etosha National Park,⁴ by now, the 'national park ideal' (Neumann, 1998, p. 9) had emerged as the underlying concept for further development. This concept of a 'pristine landscape' excluded people from the area to be preserved, in particular people who were not 'pure' in a racial sense. This entails the ideal of the same pristine condition of the people as of the landscape to be preserved.

Today, the Haillom are one of the few groups left without legal title to any land in Namibia (Widlok, 1999, p. 32).⁵

13.1.2. Fieldwork in Etosha

I went to Etosha on various field trips between 2000 and 2006 to explore the history of the National Park, and in particular the developments in regard to the former population of the southeastern part of the park (Dieckmann, 2007). In 2001, I became involved in a project which was aimed at the creation of maps that take into account the long human history within the area, the documentation of the 'forgotten past' in order to deconstruct the image of Etosha as an untouched and timeless wilderness. Particular realities of the past are not 'forgotten' by chance but with reason, as Silvester et al. (1998, p. 14) have argued for the southern African historiography: 'Empirical gaps are a symptom rather than a disease: they exist for reasons which have to be theorised'. The maps produced in the project present more of the park than the few waterholes accessible to tourists and more than just the fire patterns, animal distribution, or vegetation zones.⁶ In this way, they aim at presenting a 'forgotten' landscape, which is silenced by the official representations of the National Park. Much in the same way as there are reasons for gaps in historiography, there are obviously

⁴In 1958, The Game Reserve No. 2 became the Etosha Game Park and finally the Etosha National Park in 1967.

⁵The same holds true for the Topnaar living in the Namib Desert, see Gruntkowski, this volume.

⁶Open Channels, a UK-based NGO with the funding support of Comic Relief (collaborating with WIMSA, a Namibian-based NGO, and STRATA 360, a Canadian organisation responsible for the realization of the maps) has sponsored several field trips to Etosha.



Figure 13.1. Photo Pan (Ute Dieckmann, 2007) (See also *Color Plates*)

also reasons for gaps in what is visually represented on maps: the ‘national park ideal’ being just one of the reasons.

My own perspective on the landscape of the Etosha National Park changed noticeably during the period of my fieldwork. Upon my arrival my perception was certainly not very different from common Western views of African landscapes in general and the Etosha area in particular. I saw an arid environment populated with an abundance of wild animals in an essentially bare and unpleasant landscape, epitomised by the Etosha Pan, a huge salt pan without any vegetation (Figure 13.1).

But due to my previous historical research in the Namibian National Archives on people categorised as Bushmen formerly living in Etosha, I was already aware that hunter-gatherers must have lived rather comfortably within the Etosha area for – at least – some centuries. Driving through Etosha, it was hard to imagine how people survived in this landscape, which did not appear to be very hospitable. With the ongoing work and the permission obtained to get out of the car whilst in the park,⁷ my own perspective of the park changed considerably. By walking through the area together with the people who grew up there, I became more familiar with the different plant resources, the seasonal variation of edible plants and animal distribution, the remains of former settlements, the temporality of the landscape, as well as the stories linked to specific places, and so on. The ‘hostile’ turned into a more habitable environment.

⁷ Researchers have to apply for special research permits at the Ministry of Environment and Tourism to work in the Etosha National Park. Dependent on the research focus, certain activities, such as walking around in the park, can be carried out with this permit.

13.2. TWO JOURNEYS IN ETOSHA

The two journeys described below aim to illustrate the different perspectives of the landscape. The first paragraph, called 'the spectator's trip' exemplifies the view of tourists visiting Etosha. The second trip called 'the (former) dwellers' trip' reveals an entirely different perspective. Both are notional journeys. I did not travel with the tourists but read the accounts of their trips publicised weekly on the Internet. Further information was obtained by occasional observation whilst traveling with the Haillom and via participating observation and informal conversations at the waterholes and other tourist spots in Okaukuejo, Halali, and Namutoni. The second trip is not the description of one single recorded journey with the Haillom, but includes information collected during various journeys which I undertook as a researcher with the Haillom and through interviews and informal conversations at the rest camps.

13.2.1. The Spectator's Trip

Many tourists prepare themselves by reading about Etosha, either by surfing on the Web or by reading some travel guides. Etosha is advertised as 'Africa's untamed wilderness' under the title of 'The Living Edens':

Southern Africa's Etosha is a vast and ancient land of seasonal paradox. During the blooming of the wet season, this is an Eden of glorious abundance in which springboks, elephants, lions, leopards, cheetahs, jackals, zebras and giraffe thrive. It is also an Eden that slowly disappears when heat, drought and thirst put all life at risk, except for that of opportunistic vultures. (<http://www.pbs.org/edens/etosha/>)

About half of the tourists enter Etosha from the south and stop first at the Andersson gate, the entrance to the National Park.⁸ The name of the gate evokes the image of adventurous explorers arriving in an untamed wilderness (at least for the tourists acquainted with that part of Namibian history), inasmuch as Charles John Andersson was the first European explorer to reach the Etosha Pan together with Francis Galton in 1851 (Dierks, 1999, p. 14; also Hayes, this volume). At the gate, the visitors are informed about the manifold rules one has to obey when visiting the park. The fact that you are prohibited to get out of your car outside of the rest camps limits the experience to just gazing. Usually the holiday-makers go straight to the nearest rest camp, Okaukuejo, to arrange their booking and find their bungalow or put up their tent. On the 17 km long way to the camp, they can

⁸ Until recently, the Etosha National Park was only accessible for tourists through two gates, the Anderson Gate in the south, close to Okaukuejo and the Lindequist Gate in the north-east, close to Namutoni. In 2003, a new gate was opened in the north (King Nehale Gate), giving additional access to visitors entering from Ovamboland.



Figure 13.2. Waterhole Okaukuejo by sunset (Ute Dieckmann, 2003)
(See also *Color Plates*)

catch a glimpse of the mopane grassland along the road and depending on the season they will most likely see some animals crossing the road.

A map of the park, which is useful for sightseeing tours to the various waterholes as well as postcards, mostly with animal shots, is available in the shop.

The rest camp is fenced in. Visitors have to be inside the fences of the rest camp by sunset and may leave the protected area only after dawn. The gates of the camp, as well as the small shop, close at sunset. In the evenings, there is not much to do except ramble along the waterhole (Figure 13.2), which is of course also fenced off. During the peak season at sunset the number of tourists often exceeds the number of animals, which despite their ‘wildness’ do not seem particularly impressed by the human visitors. The noise of clicking and whirring cameras sometimes disturbs the enjoyment of the romantic atmosphere created by the elephants, zebras, giraffes, kudus, oryx, springboks, and others coming to quench their thirst.

In a travel report it is remarked that:

The observation area at the water hole is separated by a large wall, a deep ditch and an electrified fence. We grab a seat and wait for the movie to start it didn’t take long. A herd of elephants walked in like they owned the joint, which based on the reaction of other animals they do. It is amazing to watch the elephants play with a gorgeous sunset as the backdrop while I have my feet up enjoying a cocktail. I am sure my photos will not do the scene justice. (<http://www.worldwander.com/namibia/textetosha.htm>)

Tourists usually start a game drive early in the morning as soon as the gates open to have a good chance of seeing some animals. The rest camp is left behind, the birds have started twittering earlier on, but neither their sounds nor their

appearance seem to be worth documenting for most of the Western visitors. The tourists drive to the different waterholes and are looking forward to finding the animals for which Etosha is famous.

Driving, for instance, to Gemsbokvlakte ('oryx pan'), Olifantsbad ('elephants bath'), Aus ('fountain'), Rietfontein ('reed fountain'), and Springbokfontein one can reach Namutoni (the third rest camp) in the early afternoon. The visitors don't know the Hailom names for these places, †Kharios, †Gaseb, †Aus, †Nasoneb, †Arixas, and †Namob, nor anything of the settlements, history, and former life at some of the waterholes. Furthermore they do not get any information on the fact that some of the waterholes are artificial boreholes whereas others are natural springs (some equipped with a pump nowadays) nor about the difficulties of managing such a park.

A waterhole without animals is not worth stopping at to observe, photograph, and document; these places are just passed by. On the other hand a herd of elephants with their offspring, for instance, or several hundreds of zebras and springboks, some kudus, black-faced impalas, or giraffes seem attractive enough for an extended halt in the hot and shadeless landscape. The most important animal to be seen and photographed is without any doubt the lion.

From the main road to Namutoni, two dolomite hills near Halali (the second rest camp) are noticeable from afar. They stand out in Etosha's plains (Figure 13.3).

On the other side of the main road, one sometimes gets a glimpse of the huge white-greenish salt pan, reaching as far as the horizon, which may serve as background for an impressive scenery with a herd of zebras, springbok, or a couple of gnus.

Etosha Lookout extends one kilometer onto the pan, giving ghostly sightings of the odd hazy silhouetted ostrich or antelope in the distance. The pan is such a unique natural wonder and the lack of vegetation is great for viewing game. Reaching Halali campsite, we felt physically drained from the constant 47°C temperature inside the car. (<http://www.bootsnall.com/cgi-bin/gt/travelogues/taylor/54.shtml>)

Reaching Namutoni in the afternoon, those tourists interested in history have the opportunity to visit the old Fort at Namutoni and the one-room museum inside. A model of the battle at Namutoni of 1904 is on display (with miniature figures representing Ovambo warriors trying to attack or escape) as well as old weapons and historical photos from the German period, the Fort, the German Schutztruppe, and so on. Additionally, some information is offered on the history, in particular the German history of Namutoni.⁹

The visitors may leave the park the next day, many films filled with shots of animals at waterholes or near the pan. Some travellers publish their reports on the Web and others just put their best shots there:

⁹The museum in the Fort was closed in 2007. Another permanent exhibition with more comprehensive information about the history and the management of the park at another location replaced it.

We didn't see any lions in Etosha, but we did see a couple of leopards heading off on their evening hunt. A highlight was the black rhino family (dad, mum and junior) drinking at the floodlit waterhole near the Halali camp. Not sure how the pics will turn out, as it was fairly dark, but it was magical! (<http://www.horizonsunlimited.com/johnson/Etsoha.shtml>)

To see most of the 115 mammals you should stay at least for one week at the park. Etosha is a "paradise" for photographers. (http://www.wildlifephotography.de/reisebericht_e.htm)

Most of the photographs of private tourists displayed on the Web are animal shots, at waterholes, at sunset, or on the main roads. Views of the landscape without any animals are hardly ever published. Certainly, this can be ascribed to the tourists' perception of the landscape as 'desert-like', 'scorching, dry', and the pan itself as 'an eerie, blinding white landscape' or even 'an eerie, quiet and lifeless landscape'.¹⁰ I came across one photo of 'bare' landscape, with the following comment.

This was the wet season but Etosha Park looked pretty dry to me. Gerhard explained that in the dry season most of the park becomes a desert like the barren area in the background called the Etosha pan. (<http://berclo.net/page95/95en-namibia.html>)

This 'desert landscape' serves well as a background but it is not worth documenting on its own:

. . . The size of the park is 22 270 km² and it consists mainly of grass and bush savanna. This type of landscape provides excellent opportunities for game viewing at the numerous waterholes or in the open countryside. (http://www.biztravel.com/TRAVEL/SIT/sit_pages/5908.html)

In a word, for the tourists, the landscape serves as a stage for the daylight and nightly performances of African animals. This implies also that their concept of African landscape refers to the natural environment without animals and people; those are not perceived as an integral part of the landscape itself. They are mentioned additionally, that is, as the main actors in front of the prototypical image of an African savanna landscape.

13.2.2. The (Former) Dwellers' Trip

The second excursion takes some Hailom and me to old locations, no longer documented on contemporary official maps. We want to find a waterhole, which was culturally important in former times. ||Nububes, as it is called, is recorded

¹⁰E.g. For example, <http://www.go2africa.com/namibia/etosha/4>; <http://berclo.net/page95/95en-namibia.html/4>; www.rehlh.com/VacationPackages/Africa/Namibia.htm/4; <http://africanadrenalin.co.za/wildernesssafaris/ongava.htm/>



Figure 13.3. Halali Koppies from the main road (Ute Dieckmann, 2002)
(See also *Color Plates*)

on old German maps of Etosha, originating from the beginning of the twentieth century, but disappeared from the official maps during the South African colonial period. There is no road passing the old waterhole but the men claim to know its location. They are sure that they will recognise where we have to leave the car and how to find the way (see Figure 13.4).

The trip is undertaken under different circumstances than the spectator's trip: we have official approval to leave the tourist roads and we are allowed to get out of the car and to walk around in the park. The Haillom who guide me are four elderly men, Mr. Kadison ||Khumub (born 1940), Mr. Willem Dauxab (born 1938), Mr. Hans Haneb (born 1929), and Mr. Jacob |Uibeb (born 1935).¹¹ All of them grew up in the park. Kadisen ||Khumub has worked most of his life in the park, whereas the others worked on farms outside of the park for quite some time. All of them regard Mr. ||Khumub as fortunate because of his regular employment in the park for more than 40 years. The life on the farms was more difficult: the treatment of the workers was left to the attitude and character of the farm owner. Some farm owners were reported to treat their workers very badly, to beat them,

¹¹ Sadly, Hans Haneb died in November 2006 and Jacob |Uibeb died in June 2007, Willem Dauxab died in August 2008.

close to the Lindequist gate near Namutoni. He paid regular visits to extended family members living in Okaukuejo.

I leave the rest camp Okaukuejo and drive to the location to pick up the four men. The majority of the ('native') staff and their families live some hundred metres away from the rest camp and out of the tourists' sight. The layout of Okaukuejo with this separated location is an imprint of the apartheid era in Namibia. The game reserve is not the 'natural island' as which it is marketed, but instead provides evidence of the political developments around it. The four men are already waiting at the location. They are familiar with all the Etosha roads; indeed they assisted in constructing most of them. After the eviction of the Haillom from the park in 1954, a few Haillom were allowed to stay on to work for the Nature Conservation within the park. They had to settle near the stations of Namutoni and Okaukuejo and helped construct the tourist facilities and roads, maintaining vehicles, and the like. Others, such as Mr. ǀKhumub, were encouraged in the late 1950s to start working there again, as the need for labour increased (see Dieckmann, 2001).

On the road, they warn me when approaching a sharp bend; they comment on the animals, mentioning, for example, that the zebras have already moved back from the west, where they spent most of the rainy season. Springboks and gnus have also returned. We leave the car at a sandy road, a firebreak. Firebreaks divide the whole national park into small quarters in order to prevent the spread of bushfires giving evidence of the park management having left visible marks on the landscape.

An old footpath, hardly visible, crosses this newer road.¹² According to Mr. ǀKhumub, this path leads from ǀNububes to a small hill, called Druib, where the families living at ǀNububes used to go to collect some bushfood when ripe. We get ready for the walk, taking sufficient water with us. Along the footpath, we find some dry naue (*Termitomyces*); our guides want to collect them on the way back to prepare them for dinner in the evening. We sometimes stop at raisin bushes (ǀâun, ǀnarakallnaen, sabiron, different *Grewia* species), as the men are keen on eating the berries; it is the best time of the year now, after the rains. While walking they keep their eyes fixed on the ground most of the time and check for animal tracks. In front of a small elevation we lose the path, moving around in dense thorny bushes. It is not evident how the men distinguish the animal paths from the people's paths.¹³

¹² In fact, we went several times to ǀNububes, and twice, the men had difficulties in telling me exactly where to stop. They orientate themselves on the course of the road, knowing that the path is situated behind several "normal" bends followed by a sharp right-hand bend.

¹³ Probably different criteria than the sole appearance of the paths are needed, in particular, the course of the sun and their own movement within the landscape.



Figure 13.5. ||Nububes (Ute Dieckmann, 2003)

They find the right way while walking around within the network of foot-paths and/or animal paths.¹⁴ Finally one of the men finds the path and we continue our march. After one and a half hours of continuous walking we eventually find ||Nububes (Figure 13.5). Everybody is glad; the Haillom haven't been there for more than 50 years. However, in the meantime, the well has dried up.

Mr. ||Khumub shows us how visitors were greeted (*mainuai*) by the headman (*gaikhoeb*) in former times. He put some ash on the legs of the visitors to welcome them. People of other areas sometimes came to visit, to collect bushfood or to hunt, but first they had to go to the headman to ask for permission. The headman was a respected man, responsible for solving conflicts within the group and between individuals of different groups. He also had a specific role in the management of resources.

We leave the waterhole to look for the former settlements that were usually situated some hundred metres away from the water to avoid irritating the animals coming to drink. At ||Nububes, there were several settlement areas from different periods and various family groups. According to the season they either stayed there or moved to other places to collect bushfood or to hunt game. Mr. ||Khumub grew up – at this place – here, the father of his mother, !Nuaiseb, was the headman of the area. While moving around, Mr. ||Khumub finds an old cartridge case

¹⁴ Once, we tried to find another former historically important waterhole, situated about three kilometres away from the road. Our guide lost the right path at a crossing of several paths. He had been to the waterhole in 1994, but that time, he had the same difficulties in finding the right path. Finally we found the waterhole without returning to the crossing, walking along other paths which ran more or less in circles.



Figure 13.6. Goat kraal at !Nububes; some kraals at other locations are easier to recognise (Ute Dieckmann, 2003)

and he tells us that his grandfather must have hidden his rifle around here before the people had to move away. The people traded with the Ovambo; they got the rifles from the Ovambo king (most likely Ondangwa, but the people always refer to Ovambo in general) in exchange for some animal skins. We come across the remains of an old *kraal* (Figure 13.6), either for young goats or for dogs. However, outsiders like myself may not easily recognise the meaning, that is, the former function, of these heaps of stones without the insiders' explanations.

The Haillom kept goats up to the 1940s; some also had cattle. The dogs were used for hunting, a fact which was not appreciated by the station commanders of Okaukuejo and Namutoni, but difficult to control. We discover a grave, another heap of stones, which according to Mr. !Khumub was the grave of !Nuaiseb's mother. It is very obvious that the Haillom did not only have a number of stories attached to the land but also left imprints of their communities in the land in manifold ways.

On the way back to the car, I ask them if they were not afraid of the lions. No, the lions were regarded as 'colleagues', as friends. 'And if they try to attack?' Mr. !Khumub explains that there was a saying shouted at approaching lions: '!Gaisi ai!nakarasa', 'you ugly face, go away!'. Lions were usually not eaten, just two brothers of one family, !Oresen, ate lions, and one died later prematurely, a fact related by other people to his predilection for lion meat. A remarkable funeral took place at !Nububes, a man with the surname !Oreseb had killed a lion, prepared the meat, and ate it at !Nububes; the few leftovers of the lion had to be buried and all the people at !Nububes were called by !Oreseb to attend the burial, crying like the lion roars. Another story is connected to !Nububes. There was an elephant that chased the people and roamed around the settlements.

The people said that this elephant was ridden by a *llgamab* (spiritual agent),¹⁵ creating unrest at *llNububes*. The *!gaiob* (shaman), in this case Mr. *llKhumub*'s father, was called and he discovered the hidden rider. He took his bow and arrow and shot the *llgamab* off the elephant; the elephant disappeared and peace returned to *llNububes*. That is to say that numerous stories are connected to the place and that *llNububes* serves as a hub of collective memory.

Later on our way back, one of the men points out a smaller flowering plant, explaining that it is *!khores* (*Adenium boehmianum*) which is comparatively scarce in the Etosha area. The root of *!khores* was used to prepare the poison for the arrowheads (*!khoreoas*). As it grew mostly in the southern area of the park, it was exchanged with people residing closer to the Etosha pan, in return for salt. We continue, most of the time silently, but the men do not forget to collect the *naue* at the termite hill to take them home.

Back at the car, we decide to make a turn to *‡Homob*, where Mr. Dauxab stayed for a couple of years before the *Hailom* were evicted from the park. He shows us the settlement areas including the house of his father and the *!hais*. A *!hais*, a specific tree could be found at each settlement and was the ritual place where the men used to bring the prey after a hunting trip, prepare the meat, and divide it up. Depending on the occurrence at the settlement, different species of trees were used as *!hais*. Explaining the meaning of this tree to me, the men jocularly called the tree 'the kitchen of the men'. *‡Homob* consists of two waterholes, and Mr. Dauxab explains that one was for drinking and the other was used to hunt. While he shows us the remains of a *!goas*, the shelters used by the hunters while waiting for game, the other two men lament about the condition of the waterhole surroundings nowadays; most of the bushes around the water have been destroyed by elephants by the way, an observation which holds true for quite a few springs. The removal of humans from this habitat and the sole use of resources by game have altered the environment, in some places significantly. Far from being a virgin nonchanging environment, environmental change is of importance and the idea of 'natural equilibrium and stability' a mere fiction.

Mr. Dauxab points out the tree where the *Hailom* dwellers waited for the tourists visiting the waterhole, in order to get sweets, oranges, and sometimes clothes from them. During the years immediately before the eviction a game warden regularly patrolled *‡Homob* and the men living there were temporarily employed to procure the wood as building material for tourist facilities in *Okaukuejo*. Mr. Dauxab moves around and points out the footpaths which connected different settlements.

¹⁵ Because belief systems were not the focus of my research, I did not analyze the data concerning belief systems including the *llgamab* systematically. It seems fair to say that several *llgamab* usually stay in *llGamallaes* ("llGama-Nation", somewhere in heaven) and watch the events on earth from there. The earth and the sky are two separated entities. Furthermore the *llgamab* can help people as well as harm people. There are good *llgamagu* and bad *llgamagu* (see also Widlok, 1999, pp. 52--56).

In the process of the removal in the 1950s, the Haillom were first persuaded to settle close to the police stations at Namutoni and Okaukuejo, which took a while. Only then, the native commissioner of Ovamboland convened a series of gatherings to tell the Haillom to leave Etosha completely. Mr. Dauxab and his family left their former place of residence (Tsínab) to move to †Homob, closer to Okaukuejo, which was more accessible for the station commanders and later the game wardens. Mr. †Khumub and his family left †Nububes as well to move to †Nasonab, closer to the main road and easy to access from both the police stations. These memories are revitalised while rambling around at the different sites.

Driving back, everybody is covered in dust, hungry, and scratched by thorns; we experienced the landscape with more than just our eyes.

13.3. LANDSCAPE EXPERIENCE AND REPRESENTATION

What do these journeys tell us about the conceptualisation of space? And what does this suggest for the anthropological approach to a productive use of the term 'landscape'?

13.3.1. The Spectator

The spectator is physically separated from the land. He or she can observe the animals in front of an African environment with his or her own eyes but is separated by a fence or surrounded by the bodywork of a vehicle. She looks at the landscape from a distance. This seems to be the crystallisation of the conventional Western landscape concept. 'In the contemporary Western world we "perceive" landscapes, we are the point from which the "seeing" occurs. It is thus an ego-centred landscape. A perspectival landscape, a landscape of views and vistas' (Bender, 1993, p. 1). The spectator has a fixed point (here the parked car) from which he perceives the landscape or she experiences the landscape as a scenic view gliding past the window, as Neumann puts it: One travels 'through the landscape as an observer "taking in" (consuming) the scenery, rather than travelling in the landscape' (Neumann, 1998, p. 20).

Neumann points out that development in transportation technology in the course of the development of the Western landscape concept has strengthened the perception of landscape as a picture (1998, p. 20). The spectator does not move around and experience the landscape with the various senses; he doesn't smell, feel, or taste the environment. Unquestionably this focus on the visual perception can be attributed to the strong linkage of the concept to art (see Rössler, this volume).¹⁶ But this origin

¹⁶ In the English language, for instance, the term was introduced as a technical term used by painters in the late 16th sixteenth century (Hirsch, 1995, p. 2; Neumann, 1998, pp. 15ff.). The contemporary popular "'Western landscape concept'" still contains more of the aesthetical connotations which evolved with its artistic origin than characteristics produced by scientific thought later on (see Hirsch, 1995, p. 2; Luig & von Oppen, 1997, p. 10).

is not the only crucial aspect: why did it all of a sudden become interesting to paint the 'landscape'? The genre of landscape painting and the concept of 'landscape' therewith developed in the emergent capitalist world at the same time as the dichotomies between the ruling city and the dominated rural hinterland came into being in the emergent capitalist societies (Bender, 1993, p. 1).

It is significant that the involvement of the people with the land had changed before. The urban dweller was no longer engaged in the cultivation of the land, and the 'countryside' became aesthetically attractive for the urban elite as 'nature'. Nature was now regarded as an entity of its own, detached from the social world. The subject, the perceiver, usually the urban dweller, looked at the landscape as an object of contemplation. By the end of the nineteenth century, landscape and nature had become almost synonymous categories (Neumann, 1998, p. 21). But there were, at the same time and the same place, different ways of understanding and relating to the land and tensions between the elitist aesthetic perspective and the alternative perspective of the peasant dwellers (Bender, 1993, p. 2).

African landscapes have been annexed by the aesthetical view. They became incorporated into the system of Western polarities. Whereas the Western world became more and more associated with urbanity and 'culture', Africa itself was transformed into a symbol of wilderness, nature, and rurality:

[Eighteen]th and nineteenth century travellers developed an appetite for visions of wilderness, opaqueness, darkness and disaster which coincided with increasing European expansion to other parts of the world. [. . .] With the advancing urbanization and industrialization of Europe, otherness was increasingly identified as 'nature' (for which, since the eighteenth century, 'landscape' was also used as a synonym) or 'wilderness', remote from the world of humans subsequently labelled as 'culture'. (Luig & von Oppen, 1997, p. 12)

European travelers were unquestionably accustomed to the vistas of landscapes back home. Arriving in Africa, the travelers found 'nature', which was in many aspects incomparable to the familiar landscapes they were used to appreciating in Europe. The African landscape (without animals) was experienced and described as 'uniform, monotonous, without end', 'naked', 'monotonous' (see Harris, 1997). Frank Oates noted in his diary in 1873: 'South Africa is sadly dull and monotonous, and I believe the influence is a bad one, and the loss of scenery has a depressing effect on the spirits' (1889, pp. 46ff., cited from Ranger, 1997, p. 60). Harris noted: 'When the landscape did not speak in a language understood by the viewers they described it in inverted and negative terms of what they knew. The land was empty, monotonous, colourless, treeless, silent, naked, devoid of perspective, unmarked by human enterprise and without God' (Harris, 1997, p. 183). However, for the Europeans who settled in Southern Africa (missionaries, settlers, soldiers, etc.), the perception of the landscape changed after a while with the active engagement with the land (for Swiss missionaries see, e.g., Harris, 1997).

The contemporary descriptions of the Etosha landscape as 'desert-like', 'scorching, dry', 'an eerie, quiet and lifeless landscape', 'sparse', or 'parched' by the tourists have a striking similarity to the descriptions of earlier travelers.

The 'wilderness' and 'otherness' of Africa became subsequently epitomised and immortalised in the famous national parks and game reserves throughout the continent: 'The trope of the "wild" has become a particular trade mark of Africa' (Luig & von Oppen, 1997, p. 33). All of them were established by the European colonial authorities, which helped to reinforce and legitimate imperial rule. The idea behind the establishment of these parks was 'the notion that "nature" can be "preserved" from the effects of human agency by legislatively creating a bounded space for nature controlled by a centralised bureaucratic authority' (Neumann, 1998, p. 9; for Kruger National Park see Carruthers, 1995; for Matobo National Park see Ranger, 1989; for Arusha National Park see Neumann, 1998).

Tourists travel there to consume 'nature', which actually means to *look at* the exotic, rich, and primordial. 'Wild' animals are a crucial part of Western fantasies about this 'other' world. They are the symbols of unspoilt nature and untamed wilderness. One German woman in a tourist group made her motivation plain: she visited Etosha because of the animals, whereas the Kaokoveld, northwest of Etosha, was believed to be a suitable destination to watch the 'native' people, the Himba.¹⁷ Thus, nature and culture are separate spheres of interest.

The spectators come equipped with their video cameras, binoculars, and photo cameras to 'capture' the various species of animals. Documenting the scene seems even more important than watching and observing it. The films and movies on Africa as well as photographs in brochures and on postcards have become the framework for perceiving the African landscape. Gordon notes: 'If there is one thing which characterises contemporary tourism it is its visual aspect. Tourism is photography' (Gordon, 1998, p. 111). Indeed, this urge for representation supports Casey's notion that the mere existence of landscape already calls for its representation, that is, that the representation is actually already part of the landscape experience (Casey, 2006, p. 10), although I would limit this notion to the Western landscape concept. In particular for the African context, the representation by Western spectators can also be interpreted as a form of appropriation of the wilderness. At least the parallels between the hunting tradition and the tradition of photographic representation suggest this reading (for Shooting and shooting see, e.g., Landau, 1998). The exotic animals are the key ingredients within the national park context: African scenery becomes worthwhile photographing or filming if and only if there is sufficient game to be seen. The African landscape acts as a stage for the 'wild' animal. A skim through old travel accounts and arti-

¹⁷ For the visual presentation and marketing of the Himba see Bollig & Heinemann, (2002); for an historical analysis of the pictorial construction of the Kaoko in the 20th twentieth century see Miescher & Rizzo, (2000).

cles about Etosha proposes that this way of written and pictorial representation of the Etosha landscape has not changed considerably since Etosha was first passed through by early travelers in the nineteenth century.

McKiernan – who undertook several journeys to South West Africa between 1874 and 1879, noted:

I left Okoqea (Okaukuejo) at sunset; expecting to travel the greater part of the night and get to Okokanna (Okahakana, saltpan west of the Etosha pan) early next day. There was a bright moon and the road was open, but it was cold and frosty, and my naked people seemed to suffer so much that at 9 o'clock I camped by a thicket. . . . We were on the road again at sunrise, and about 10 o'clock came to where there were great numbers of wild animals feeding on the open plain. Gnus, zebras, gemsboks, hartebeest and thousands of springbok were before us, and above the low bush to our left were long necks of six giraffes. It was the Africa I had read of in books of travel. (McKiernan, 1954, p. 96)

When comparing contemporary travel descriptions and this quote from the nineteenth century two aspects become obvious. Firstly, already during that time the actual landscape experience was guided by culturally embedded epistemic structures and secondly, the notion of the landscape serving as the mere background for the African game was also already prominent.

The travel descriptions in the twentieth century demonstrate the same mood. Professor Dr. Lutz Heck – a German tourist visiting Etosha at least twice and publishing a book and articles about his experiences – noted in 1956:

White and never-ending, the plain of the Etosha Pan lay in front of us. The paths of the game lay criss-cross over it, trodden by the hoofs of thousands of thirsty animals who since the beginning of time visit the watering places. Below us, at the foot of a steep ridge the water of a pool was reflected sparkling in the sunlight. It was midday and the zebra, wildebeest and a few gemsbuck lay peacefully by the water. It was like a picture of the Garden of Eden, and when we looked back on to the steppes the giraffe came into view among the Acacia trees. (Heck, 1956, p. 85)

But photography became an increasingly significant part in the representation of African landscapes. Whilst the written accounts of the 1940s and 1950s, for instance – although seldom – mentioned encounters with people in Etosha (trips with specific game wardens who served as tour guides, or Bushmen dances), the photographs exclusively show the animals (e.g., Heck, 1955, Figure 13.7; Davis & Davis, 1977).

As we have seen, African landscape without animals is frequently perceived as 'desert-like'. By contrast, the Garden of Eden seems to be a prominent metaphor when animals populate the landscape. This Garden of Eden appears as the timeless paradise from which temporality and history are excluded. When looking at it, most visitors do not think about the changes it has undergone over the years or centuries. Instead, they perceive what they see as static scenery, immortalised in the photographs.

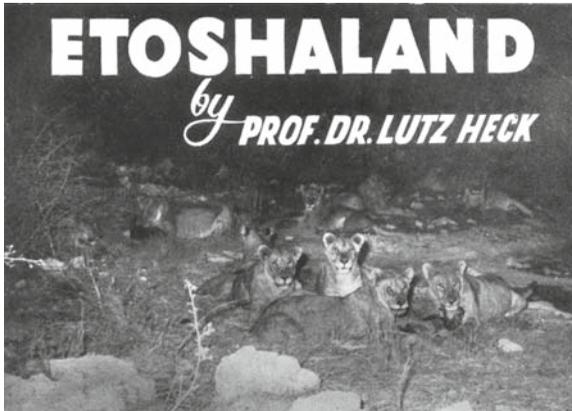


Figure 13.7. Photograph of a travel account to Etosha (Heck 1955)

Pictorialized nature is fundamental in the history of the national park ideal. 'Framing' nature in painting, whether pastoral or sublime, transformed it into picturesque scenery, where the observer is placed safely outside the landscape. Likewise, surveying, bounding, and legally designating a 'wild' space makes it accessible for the pleasure and appreciation of world-weary urbanities. (Neumann, 1998, p. 17)

The 'framed' or 'fenced' nature is perceived as a relic of the ancient past, but it is in fact a contribution to a particular historical narrative of European imperialism and capitalism and a commodity of the present. Whereas colonialists transformed most of the African 'wilderness' into productive fields and exploitable resources, 'national parks represent remnants of the pre-European landscape, pockets of the remote, unoccupied wildlands preserved as reminders of a "national heritage"' (Neumann, 1998, p. 29). National Parks may *represent* wilderness, although they are in fact, as Luig argues (1999, pp. 24f), often 'inventions of wilderness', an observation which holds true for the Etosha National Park as well. Former human inhabitants as reminders of human impact in the past, firebreaks as indicators of contemporary nature management, and tourist roads as signs of contemporary economic utilisation definitely contradict the wilderness idea of western thought.

For the tourist, the history of the land lies on the other side of the fence, either outside the National Park or in the rest camps, at Fort Namutoni, within the museum, and in some old photographs in the reception of Okaukuejo. The history is encapsulated in the patches of 'civilisation', the rest camps, and separated from the landscape whereas the 'naturalness' of the landscape can be discovered 'out there', within the fenced (sic!) park. This constructed landscape is consumed by the tourists and thus perpetuated as 'the Edenic vision of the landscape' (Neumann, 1998, p. 18),¹⁸ in glaring contrast to the world of 'civilisation'.

¹⁸ In fact, most of the African National Parks are advertised as versions of the "Garden of Eden" – a romanticized wilderness (see Neumann, 1998, p. 18, for further references).

13.3.2. The Dweller

The way in which the land is perceived by the (former) dwellers is completely different. Even if the elder Hailom men with whom we undertook our second trip are no longer dwellers in the land, their views of it have been shaped and changed over time in the course of both practical and social appropriation of the land first and subsequent dispossession afterwards. They perceive the land from within. It is nothing exotic to watch but a familiar dwelling domain.

The relationship amongst the land, human beings, and nonhuman beings is obviously defined differently than in Western thought. For example, the story of the lion eaters reveals that lions, in particular, were respected by the people as colleagues or friends, as equals. Lions were also sources of divine power. The *llgamagu* (spiritual agents) supervised the land and the people and prevented misbehaviour.¹⁹

The death of the lion eater *llOreseb* was interpreted to be caused by the fact that he had eaten lion meat. *llGamagu* would punish other forms of misbehavior as well, for example, unreasonable hunting. The *!gaiob* (shaman) could mediate between *llgamagu* and humankind, and *llgamagu* could also be asked for support, for example, for rain.²⁰

This perception of the Hailom – that the world is not separated into a natural world on the one hand and the world of human society – is shared with other people who live (or have lived in the recent past) primarily from hunting and gathering; see, for example, Turnbull (1976, 1965) for the Mbuti, Endicott (1979) for the Batek, and Bird-David (1990) for the Nayaka:

Whereas we [Westerners] commonly construct nature in mechanistic terms, for them [some hunter-gatherer groups] nature seems to be a set of agencies, simultaneously natural and human-like. Furthermore they do not inscribe into the nature of things a division between the natural agencies and themselves as we do with our ‘nature-culture’ dichotomy. They view their world as integrated entity. (Bird-David, 1992, pp. 29–30)

Additionally, for the dweller the land is charged with emotion and personal identities. Specific areas were occupied by specific family groups and personal identity was strongly linked to these family groups and the area in which they lived. Mr. *llKhumub* still feels strong links to his family group and the area occupied by

¹⁹ Detailed descriptions of the spiritual world of the Hailom are to be found in Wagner-Robertz (1976,) and Schatz (1993), but different to the information provided there, the Hailom in Etosha talk about several *llGamagu*, not just a single one. A compilation of religious characteristics in various Bushmen groups is found in Guenther (1999), providing insight into their relation to land and non-human inhabitants as well.

²⁰ For a discussion of this see Ingold (2000, pp. 40–60). The question, insofar as this feature can be explained exclusively by the practice of hunting and gathering or which other factors – shared with non hunter-gatherers – might contribute to such a world view, cannot be discussed here.

them. Arriving at !Nububes is arriving at 'his' place. He takes over the task of his grandfather to welcome the visitors.

Still today, after more than 50 years, every elder Haillom who grew up in Etosha knows the area of his or her family group, the headman, and the seasonal patterns of mobility. This is the space they are most familiar with, whereas the areas of other family groups are not as well known. Social relations are embedded in the environment. The landscape is not something out there, detached from social life as it is for the spectator. Again we notice similarities to other hunter and gatherers, in this case, for example, the Koyukon of Alaska:

The Koyukon homeland is filled with places . . . invested with significance in personal or family history. Drawing back to view the landscape as a whole, we can see it completely interwoven with these meanings. Each living individual is bound into this pattern of land and people that extends throughout the terrain far back across time. (Nelson, 1983, p. 243, cited in Ingold, 2000, p. 54)²¹

The people and the places are connected with each other via footpaths that form a visible inscription of a network of social relations and of potential movement in the landscape. Individuals and family groups are attached to territories which are connected via paths to each other. Moving from one place to another entails the enactment of family relations.

The relation between people and places is also reflected in some place-names. The two dolomite hills pointed out on our tourist trip as outstanding landscape features are called !Khumub and !Nuaiseb by the local people. !Khumub and !Nuaiseb, as already mentioned during the journey, are two important family names in the Etosha area. Oral history tells us that !Nuaiseb was the headman of a larger area, including these two hills, !Khumub was his nephew. The hills offered a lot of bushfood, in particular berries (sabiron: *Grewia villosa*, Ꞥâun: *Grewia* Sp., Ꞥhuin: *Berchemia discolor*) but also roots (e.g., !han: *Cyperus* sp.). !Nuaiseb decided to let his nephew !Khumub, who was a subheadman of that area, have one hill for collecting the bushfood there.

Other places or areas are referred to in the same way: for example, !Amessihais is the name for an area of shrubs. The meaning of the name is 'the bushes of the woman with the family name !Ames'.

As Adam states:

. . . [F]or the native dweller the landscape tells – or rather *is* – a story, 'a chronicle of life and dwelling' (Adam, 1998: 54). It enfolds the lives of predecessors who, over the generations, have moved around in it and played their part in its formation. To perceive the landscape is therefore to carry out an act of remembrance. . . . (Ingold, 2000, p. 189)

²¹This concept of landscape is not restricted to hunter and gatherer groups; some pastoral nomads share similar ideas (for the Himba see Bollig, 2001). Probably, the mobility of these groups is the decisive factor in shaping the concept.

Graves are maybe the most obvious landscape markers involving the 'act of remembrance'. They can serve as illustration for another crucial aspect of the dweller's perspective. The process of dwelling is fundamentally temporal and therefore, the dweller recognises the temporality of landscape (Ingold, 2000, p. 208). The dweller is well aware of the changes of the landscape over time and these changes are an integral part of his perception. The animal tracks tell him about their presence and their behavior a couple of hours ago. Seasonality is acknowledged in remarks about the migration of the zebras. The lack of bushes around the waterholes is interpreted as a result of the increase of the elephant population within the park over the last decades. The remains of human settlements and the graves – signs of the human inhabitants living there more than 50 years ago – are remembered. The men who worked in the park still know about the artefacts such as cartridge cases, arrowheads, and broken tins and they can explain their origin.

But the incorporation of the past into the landscape is not limited to the material remnants (or the lack of them); it is also present in the stories connected to particular places. These stories are personal stories about specific individuals. We already heard about it in the place-names for the two dolomite hills and the story of the lion eaters. Travelling through the landscape with the Haillom brings up more and more stories, about encounters with lions, conflicts with other groups, about crazy or lazy men. These stories are memorised when passing the places where they happened or when visiting the birthplace, the former place of residence, or the place of death of the specific individuals. The stories are not only remembered and explained to me as a researcher interested in oral history, but the people tell them to each other in Haillom, when passing the places. Only after my repeated questions about what they are talking or laughing, did they make the effort to translate the stories into Afrikaans. The stories are inscribed in the landscape itself. New features, new meanings, and new memories are constantly woven into it. The landscape itself is under permanent construction and reconstruction and different parties were and are involved in this process.

The gravestone of Johann E. M. Alberts (1841–1876) near ǀNasoneb (Rietfontein) testifies to the presence of the Dorsland Trekkers from South Africa. They passed the area several times on their way to Angola where they settled for some years and back to the area of Grootfontein, where they founded the short-lived Republic of Upingtonia during the second half of the nineteenth century (Mouton, 1995, pp. 47–55). Mr. ǀKhumub remembers from the time of his childhood that he and his playmates respected the grave and avoided playing there. During the German colonial period at the beginning of the twentieth century, some settlers tried their luck within the area. The ruins of their houses are proof of their former presence. The Haillom are still aware of the German colonial period, even if they were born after the South African Administration took over the territory. The old people tell you that the Germans used to ride on camels on patrols. They identify old shards of glass lying around as German leftovers. During the early South African period, the Haillom were temporarily employed

at the stations, in road construction, and some were engaged in transporting food relief in government vehicles to Ovamboland at the beginning of the 1930s (see Hayes, , for that period). Remnants of those vehicles were first given to some Haillom staying in the park and left at several settlements within the park in the course of the eviction.

The reminiscence of the eviction became attached to the landscape and specific places much later. For decades before the eviction, most of the men were used to finding temporary seasonal employment on the farms around Etosha. Thus they were accustomed to leaving home for a prolonged period of time. Therefore, immediately after the eviction, the former dwellers did not realise that there was no return for them (see Dieckmann, 2003, pp. 71–75).

During the time of the war of liberation, some army camps were put up within the area and patrols were undertaken to chase the liberation fighters. Some Haillom, like members of other San groups as well (see Gordon, 1992), actively took part as trackers for the SADF.

All these different threads became woven into the texture of the landscape. The Haillom remember them when moving around in the park. The different fragments are picked up and explained at the very places where the events took place.

During the last decades a new implication was attached to the Etosha Park. Although ancestors of Haillom were living all over northern-central Namibia in the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century, after independence Haillom started to represent and claim the Etosha National park as their 'homeland'. Etosha has become the catchword with respect to the land issue of the Haillom. Several factors are crucial: first, Etosha is a demarcated space with clear borders and a fixed name; second, Etosha was the last refuge in the face of increased (white) settlement in the vicinity; and third, Etosha is a catchphrase well suited to draw national and international public attention. Gupta and Ferguson pointed out that 'homeland' remains 'one of the most powerful unifying symbols for mobile and displaced peoples' which serve as 'symbolic anchors of community for dispersed people' (1992, p. 11).

13.4. CONCLUSION: REFLECTIONS ON TERMINOLOGY

The two views presented here are certainly extreme examples in the whole field of possible perspectives on landscape. There are without doubt some others as well. The maintenance staff or the scientists employed in the park, for example, hold other views, which could be called the 'operator's perspective' or the 'scientist's perspective'. They have to maintain the roads or check the waterholes; they have to count animals, or are preoccupied with fire prevention. They perceive the park in a completely different way than the tourists, but are well aware of the tourist's perspective. The farmers occupying cattle farms on

the border of the National Park have still another view of the park. They see it as a nuisance because the lions and other predators cross the border wherever the fence is broken and feed on their cattle. The Oshivambo-speaking people inhabiting the communal area north of Etosha may again have another point of view. It becomes clear that 'landscape perceptions form embedded histories' (Brinkmann, this volume).

The decisive point in the different perspectives is the kind of engagement with the land. The conventional Western concept of the aesthetical landscape developed in a time when the interaction with the environment changed profoundly. This concept still prevails in the tourists' view of the park. Because they are not permitted to change their kind of engagement with the landscape (looking at it from an outsider's viewpoint), the concept itself is perpetuated in a highly specific way.

On the other hand, the conceptualisation of the land is also not the same for the different generations of Haillom. The younger Haillom regard Etosha as a lost homeland but having lived their whole lives in the location of Okaukuejo or outside the park, they are not or have never been dwellers at all. They are not aware of family groups and social organisation linked to the landscape. They have no or just a vague idea about animal tracks, the ways of hunting, or the bushfood areas. They don't believe that the *llgamagu* have mystical powers to control social-ecological processes in the land. They often do not even know the birthplaces of their parents or the Haillom names of specific places. Certainly their consciousness of the temporality of the landscape is very limited. Because the knowledge is no longer of practical use for the younger generation (and there is also a lack of opportunities to be taught in practice), the elder generation does not deem it necessary to pass the knowledge on to the younger people. Furthermore, the young people don't have the possibility to interact with the environment in the same way as their mothers, fathers, and grandparents did. Thus, it is likely that they will start to develop a perspective of the landscape of the park from the 'outside', although certainly with a different meaning/significance than that of the tourist visitor.

In my point of view, the two different perspectives on and understandings of landscape presented in this chapter provoke once again a revision of the concept of landscape. Its inflationary and little reflected use, which is observable both in social anthropology and neighboring disciplines (Luig & von Oppen, 1997, p. 15; see also Rössler, this volume), impede an operational way of analysis of phenomena connected to land, land-morphology, topography, land features, environment, and above all also the varying cultural and individual perceptions of those material features. Depending on the discipline and the scientific paradigm, some authors refer to landscape as a cultural concept or symbolic construct (*ibid.*), whereas others regard it as the material surface of the land, or a defined section of the earth's surface (with or without human impact).

Ingold suggests the adoption of a 'dwelling perspective' in approaching landscapes in order to move beyond the opposition between a naturalistic view

of landscape, which deals with landscape as a neutral external background of human activities and a culturalistic concept that considers every landscape as a cognitive or symbolic ordering of space. According to the 'dwelling perspective', the landscape 'is constituted as an enduring record of – and testimony to – the lives and works of past generations who have dwelt within it, and in so doing, have left there something of themselves' (Ingold, 2000, p. 189). This is what also constitutes the temporality of landscape.

This suggestion alludes to my argument – as illustrated in this chapter – that the term landscape should be used in contexts where the complex physical and mental involvement or interaction of (human) actors with the environment is in the focus of investigation. That is to say that the relationship amongst the actor, the person who experiences (in our case the spectator or the dweller), and the spatial unit is crucial for the term landscape to be used. The term includes thus cultural, social, and cognitive aspects, because it neither refers to something entirely external of the person – the material world – nor to something merely in his mind or internal to the person but is defined by the link between the two.

Furthermore, it is worthwhile emphasising that the term landscape is a heuristic device. One should not fall into the trap of assuming that the actors involved with the environment in varying ways must have a similar concept of 'landscape' when actively engaged with the environment.

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