



The archive in *Don't Call Me a Rebel:* A practice of critical reciprocity

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BIOGRAPHY

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→ **In my artistic practice** I often develop a body of work by means of a process of interacting with one or more archives. In fact, this way of working has come to be a recurring methodology to such an extent that it is now intrinsic to my practice. In this paper I elaborate on such a working process and, in doing so, explain how, as outcome, a larger project of critical research and knowledge production ensues, which is mutually beneficial not only to the artworks resulting from such a process, but also the archive/s with which I interact – thus effecting a kind of critical reciprocity between my practice and ‘the archive’. In this paper, I explicate the above through an analysis of the collaborative project I am currently working on for the stage, provisionally titled *Don't Call Me A Rebel*. It is a work in the genre of music-theatre. This project draws extensively from two separate archives; on the one hand an audio-archive of Nama folktales collected by the folklorist Sigrid Schmidt during the last 40 years of the twentieth-century and, on the other, a remarkable collection of letters between the Nama leader, Captain Hendrik Witbooi, and the German colonial governor, Major Theodor Leutwein, at the end of the nineteenth-century, in Namibia.

In my artistic practice I often develop a body of work by means of a process of interacting with one or more archives.ⁱ In fact, this way of working has come to be a recurring methodology to such an extent that it is now intrinsic to my practice. In this paper I elaborate on such a working process and, in doing so, explain how, as outcome, a larger project of critical research and knowledge production ensues, which is mutually beneficial not only to the artworks resulting from such a process, but also the archive/s with which I interact – thus effecting a kind of critical reciprocity between my practice and ‘the archive’.

I explicate the above through an analysis of the collaborativeⁱⁱ project I am currently working on for the stage, provisionally titled *Don't Call Me A Rebel*. It is a work in the genre of music-theatre:ⁱⁱⁱ a combination of dramatic action and speech, *Sprechstimme*,^{iv} movement and dance, music, singing (both in the conventions of opera and folksong), costume and prop, and video images projected on stage. It is a work in which a complex web is spun, by means of the poetics of performance, of quotations and re-scripted references relating to a variety of archival sources dating from the end of the nineteenth-century to the present. The work takes place in 1894 in the Naukluft, Namibia. The characters are as follows: Captain Hendrik Witbooi (leader of the Witbooi Nama),^v Major Theodor Leutwein (German colonial governor or *Landeshauptmann*), Hare (a prominent female character in Nama folklore), Kaiser Wilhelm II (German Kaiser 1888-1918) and Vicky (Empress Frederick of Germany and mother of Kaiser Wilhelm II). All five characters relate to and are representative of the different archives on which the work draws, namely the correspondences between Witbooi and Leutwein and those between Vicky and Wilhelm II, as well as the letters of Vicky to her mother, Queen Victoria of England. In addition there are two archives of folklore, one being the Sigrid Schmidt audio-archive of Nama folklore and, the other, the many existing translated (into English) and published versions of the so-called *Volsung Saga*.

The process of deciding which archives to draw on or interact with in the construction of the work was an organic one, based on intuitive research and chance discovery. When I started the making process, the conceptual focus and emotional thrust the work was to assume was not clear to me. It was only through the process of finding and researching the various archives and discovering ways in which to incorporate

these into *Don't Call Me a Rebel* that the work started to take shape and clarity.

I happened upon the Witbooi/Leutwein correspondence and the Schmidt archive of Nama folklore at around the same time in 2007. Both archives fascinated me and I undertook trips to both Namibia and Germany where the respective archives are held in order to research them first-hand. In Namibia I spent time in Windhoek at the National Archives going through the actual correspondence between Leutwein and Witbooi, as well as researching all other documentation I could find related to the correspondence. In Germany I went to Hildesheim where Dr. Schmidt lives and here I met with and interviewed her about various aspects of the archive she had assembled. She generously allowed me to spend time listening to her audio recordings and comparing these with her transcriptions and English translations of the tales. She also gave me permission to make digital copies of a selection of these recordings for possible use in the stage production.

My first-hand encounters with both these archives helped me to understand something of the complex, multi-dimensional signifying potential of the various documents contained in each. I became aware of the way in which the content of these documents often is directed and shaped through acts of selection, translation and publication in an attempt to make the archives available and intelligible to a wider audience. These first-hand encounters also alerted me to the ‘corporeal’ nature of the respective archives. For example, in the various letters between Leutwein and Witbooi, the way in which the different handwritings in red, blue and black ink speak of different emotional states, ranging from calm to agitated, as well as the way in which the folds and stains on the different letters vividly bring to mind lapses of time and the presence of human activity in relation to these texts. Furthermore, the silences and slippages that occur during acts of translation and publication make visible the emotive content of these documents. These encounters made me realise the need to find means for engaging with archives, by which the content of these collections is not focused in a single direction, but rather the complexity and ambiguity of their meaning emphasised. I also realised the important role that artmaking processes can play in finding such means of engagement with archives.

In order to provide a background to this project, I briefly describe both archives, beginning with the

Witbooi/Leutwein correspondence and thereafter moving to the audio archive of Nama folktales.

The remarkable correspondence (The Hendrik Witbooi Papers 1995) between Hendrik Witbooi and Theodor Leutwein took place over the course of a few months, in 1894, while both men were stationed in the Naukluft in Namibia.^{vi} During the time of Germany’s colonisation of Namibia (then South-West Africa) Leutwein was appointed governor and, together with a small force of military *Schutztruppen* (a protection force or colonial force or protection troops), was given the express task by the Berlin colonial authorities to persuade all tribes in Namibia to sign a ‘Protection Treaty’, which, in actuality, was Germany’s alibi for taking possession of the country without having to spend money or lives in the process; in other words, colonisation through the act of persuasion. Most tribes did end up signing the treaty, save for the Nama leader. Leutwein made it his foremost business to try to get Witbooi to sign since he knew that without this signature the process of Germany’s colonisation of the country would not be complete. Leutwein realised that he was up against a political opponent with extraordinary political skill and cunning, and that he would have to use all his persuasive skills to obtain this signature and, if this tactic failed, that the Namas would have to be persuaded by force. He tracked Witbooi down where he was hiding in the Naukluft mountains – a massif situated along the western margin of the interior highlands of Namibia. Leutwein and his troops were stationed in front of the Naukluft while Witbooi and his men hid inside the mountains. As soon as Leutwein arrived in the Naukluft he started corresponding with Witbooi – a complicated and time-consuming process that involved translators and messengers on horseback. With the correspondence Leutwein hoped to get to know the personality and intentions of his opponent, but also, by means of it, keep track of Witbooi’s whereabouts since he was completely unfamiliar with the complicated geography of the Naukluft.

These letters between the two men were carefully preserved by Witbooi by having them transcribed into a journal. This, in itself, makes this archive exceptional, since it is one of the few instances in African history wherein the process of colonisation was responded to in writing from the perspective of the colonised and, furthermore, purposefully preserved by its author.

While the correspondence between Witbooi and Leutwein deals, ostensibly, with the question as to

whether or not Witbooi would sign the treaty, the letters also speak of many other things, as letters do, and reveal personalities that are complex, nuanced and often contradictory in nature. Here the researcher gets a sense of Witbooi’s piercing intelligence and his political cunning, but also his hunger for power. The correspondence also reveals a sense of Leutwein, his political naivety and his moments of arrogance, but also a man with an ability to be compassionate. The letters speak of two men with a certain degree of respect for and understanding of each other as political opponents. Besides bearing witness to these fascinating inter-personal tensions, the letters also stand as testimony to the perverse and violent nature of acts of colonisation. The correspondence speaks of the absurd arguments employed at times by both the coloniser and colonised in moments of power abuse – the coloniser in his attempt to persuade the colonised to submit to his power and the colonised in trying to dissuade the coloniser from taking possession of his land.

Another fascinating aspect of the exchange is the fact that both men were fluent in the language of power and conquest. In his letters to Leutwein, Witbooi presents himself as the innocent captain of his people trying to defend what is rightfully his (land) against the penetrating German empire. However, the scenario is more complicated than that. Witbooi was from ‘Oorlam’ Nama descent, a group of Nama that, in reaction to European invasion of the Cape, moved up from the Cape into Namibia during the second half of the nineteenth-century. Due to their possession of guns and ammunition (acquired from traders in the Cape) the Oorlam Namas had an advantage over the Nama groups who had settled earlier in the area, as well as other indigenous peoples, such as the Berg-Damara. Thus, the Oorlam Nama subjected these other groups to their power without much difficulty, appropriated their land and, in some instances, even took them as slaves. This happened during the time of Witbooi’s father, Moses, and grandfather, Kido Witbooi. When Hendrik Witbooi came into power he became one of the most powerful and feared leaders in Namibia.^{vii}

The second archive, comprising audio recordings of Nama folktales, was put together by the German folklorist Sigrid Schmidt during the second half of the twentieth-century in Namibia. Schmidt was born in Berlin in 1930 and studied English and German literature at the Free University of Berlin and in the United States of America (USA). During the early 1960s,

after completing her Ph.D degree, she lived with her family in Namibia where her husband was involved in building dams. During this time she became interested in studying the traditions of the Nama-speaking peoples of Namibia – the Nama, Damara and Hai||om – particularly their folk narratives, customs and pre-Christian religion. Between 1972 and 1997, while living permanently in Germany, she returned eight times to Namibia to collect further material. These field trips, and her initial stay in Namibia, resulted in an audio archive consisting of hours of recorded conversations between her and the Nama-speaking peoples about their customs, religious beliefs as well as numerous narrated versions of their folk narratives. These conversations were recorded almost exclusively in Afrikaans whereas the folktales were, in most instances, narrated twice – in Nama, and again in Afrikaans. During the more than 40 years of collecting this material, Schmidt systematically transcribed and translated a large number of the recorded tales into German and English for publication.^{viii}

The immense importance of this archive lies in the fact that it is a record of the Khoi oral tradition during the second half of the twentieth-century – a period of extremes and flux in the socio-political history of Southern Africa.^{ix} Whereas the Lloyd and Bleek collection (National Library, Cape Town) serves as an important register of Khoisan oral culture at the end of the nineteenth-century, the Schmidt archive achieves the same on an equally monumental scale approximately a century later. Versions of a number of the stories recorded by Lloyd and Bleek can be found in Schmidt's archive, only adapted and changed according to the very different socio-political circumstances within which they were told almost a century later.

During my initial discovery of, and research into, the two archives described above, I did not contemplate the possibility of combining these in a single work. It was only some time later, when I was reading, once again, through some of Witbooi's correspondence that I came across a reference to a well-known Nama folktale about the Jackal and the Sun, that I envisioned that combining the folktales with the correspondence could be an interesting strategy, drawing on both the critical and poetic impact of the artwork. I thus set about doing so and soon realised the possible productive outcomes of such a strategy. The most obvious outcome is that one set of documents, or archive, is read within the context of the other, or through the other – a process that has a dramatic effect on how both archives are received, or interpreted. The

immediate effect is that one starts to gain insight into the Nama folktales, where, for example, the term 'king' often gets used interchangeably with that of 'boer' (white farmer). Thus, the correspondence provides a socio-political context for the folktales themselves.

Furthermore, by situating the correspondence in the context of the folktales, the nature of the correspondence as rhetorical, make-believe exercises in politics is highlighted. Also, as it is with folktales, often at the heart of these fantastical narratives lies the theme of good versus bad. This theme seems to seamlessly spill over into the correspondence, which is littered with absurd accusations between Witbooi and Leutwein as to whose fault it would be if their negotiations were to end in bloodshed (which it did). Also, with the folktales providing a context in which the correspondence gets read, the nature of the correspondence as products of the imagination and as the result of an emotional life is accentuated, and, in this way, the status of the letters as political documents becomes threatened in its claim to being 'truthful' or objective representations of past events and situations. In this way, what is brought to the fore is the important work of the imagination in producing accounts of the past, or history.

The final observation I make regarding the effects of combining these two archives is that the Nama folktales help place Witbooi's letters in the broader context of a cultural imagination. For example, as already mentioned, Witbooi refers to the story of the Jackal and the Sun in his correspondence with the Herero chief, Maherero, in which Witbooi tries to demonstrate the effect that the Germans' protection treaty would have on their freedom in the long term. It is also this notion of traditional folklore being able to provide a cultural context in which to understand historical documents, such as political correspondence, that caused me to wonder what kind of folklore I could use, as an equivalent to that of the Nama, in which to situate Leutwein's letters (to Witbooi). Here my search led me to the so-called Saga of the *Volsungs* (1888),^x a story that came to preoccupy the late nineteenth-century German imagination.

When I started researching the *Volsung Saga* I made the extraordinary discovery that parts of the saga, particularly the story of Siegfried slaying the dragon, found its way into Nama folklore and in the form of the character called Jannie who, in a number of Nama stories, kills a seven-headed snake. This is most likely the result of the increasing European presence in southern Africa from the mid-nineteenth century

onwards. Consequently, weaving together certain Nama folktales with aspects of the *Volsung Saga* became a seamless exercise.

The *Saga of the Volsungs* is based on the oral folk culture of Old Scandinavia and was written down in Iceland in the thirteenth-century. Around the same time a version of the saga was written in German, probably in Austria, entitled the *Nibelungenlied* (Byock 1990:3). In both versions, though in different ways, the Volsung Siegfried slays the dragon, acquires the Rhinegold, and then becomes tragically entangled in a love triangle. In nineteenth-century Europe, as the saga was discovered by a growing urban readership, it became widely known and was translated into many languages. The text became a primary source for writers of fantasy, and for those interested in oral legends of historical events and the mythic past of northern Europe (Byock 1990:1).

One such person who turned to the *Volsung Saga* in search of a mythic past for himself and his countrymen was the German composer, Richard Wagner. He did so in composing the four operas in his *Ring-cycle*,^{xi} which became popular in Germany during the last decades of the nineteenth-century. Such use of ancient European folklore was, of course, for Wagner not without its ideological impulse, and a recently unified German people towards the end of the nineteenth-century, understood these operas and his work as a cultural manifestation of the search for new nationalist ideals.^{xii} Thus, by referring, in *Don't Call Me a Rebel*, to aspects of the *Volsung Saga* not only in the libretto, but also by quoting in the music score from Wagner's *Ring-cycle*, reference is made to a cultural imagination as well as the political and social climate in Germany during the late nineteenth-century. Such references to a German cultural imagination provides a context in which to posit Leutwein's letters to Witbooi.

My research on Germany and German society during the time of Namibia's colonisation led me to the discovery of two more archives that I wanted to include in *Don't Call Me a Rebel*, both for the same reason, as I now explain.

In the same way that Wagner's music can be seen as an aesthetic expression of a moment in history when there was a particular need amongst the German people for renewed feelings of national belonging and unity, so can Germany's desire to take part in Europe's colonisation of Africa during the same period be seen as a political expression of this emotional

need. Obtaining colonies was a way for the Germans to practice *Weltpolitik*, the term used for this burning new ambition to assert themselves as a people on the world political stage. However, what also came to fascinate me was the realisation that this need amongst the German people for colonies was even stronger in their leader, Kaiser Wilhelm II, but for different, more personal reasons. Of all the colonies Germany eventually secured,^{xiii} Namibia was the most curious, in that it is a dry stretch of land north of the Orange River with hardly any natural resources or riches to be had.^{xiv} Therefore, Germany's decision to claim ownership of such an unyielding terrain seems most irrational, apart from, perhaps, the desire to own as much colonial territory as possible, but even this rationale is difficult to understand considering the expense of colonisation. If one looks, however, to the persona of Kaiser Wilhelm II and the strong emotional currents (often of an infantile nature) that governed his life, one comes to new insights regarding such a decision on Germany's part. The emotions that ruled both the personal and political life of the German Kaiser sprung from two inter-connected issues: on the one hand, his intense love-hate relationship with his English mother Vicky, and, on the other, the conflicting relationship he had with his own (impaired) body, and, as a result, with his masculinity in general. Both these conditions were the result of the circumstances surrounding his birth – a traumatic breech birth that left the young infant with crushed muscles in the left shoulder and the tendons stretched, as well as a damaged cervical nerve plexus. Not only was Wilhelm's arm paralysed, but the left side of his upper-body, neck and left ear were also affected, leaving the little boy with an awkward posture and gait (Kohut 1991:6). This state of Wilhelm's body was a great source of worry and disappointment to his mother, who wanted the future Kaiser of Germany to be like her father, Albert, the Prince of Whales, who was according to her 'perfect in every way'. Vicky (cited by Kohut 1991:34, emphasis in original) writes to her father on Wilhelm's first birthday:

This day fills me with joyful gratitude! Last year at this time I was in the midst of suffering, and now there is nothing but happiness. Your little Grandchild is a very intelligent little creature very lively – and very violent though merry and good-tempered, and not at all shy. ... The arm hardly makes any progress, it is a great, great! [sic] distress to me, and keeps me often awake at night ... the idea of him remaining a cripple haunts me ... I long to have a child with everything perfect about it like everybody else, for I am tired and sick of being teased and tormented with questions, which are very kindly meant but which always seem to me like a reproach. I

am sure another will never be so dear to me as this one just because of all the trouble and anxiety he has given us. ... May he grow up to be like you in all and *everything* then I shall be the proudest and happiest being in the world and not think about the arm being short or long.

This quotation sums up Vicky's attitude towards her eldest son throughout his infancy and childhood, a mixture of pleasure and pain, hope and fear, pride and embarrassment, as well as her sense of responsibility towards the child. However, she ultimately lost the battle against her own ambiguous feelings towards her son's physical impairment and turned her emotions away from him. Sigmund Freud (cited by Kohut 1991:227) writes about their relationship as follows:

It is usual for mothers whom Fate has presented with a child that is sickly or otherwise at a disadvantage to try to compensate him for his unfair handicap by a superabundance of love. In the instance before us, the proud mother behaved otherwise; she withdrew her love from the child on account of his infirmity. When he had grown up into a man of great power, he proved unambiguously by his actions that he had never forgiven his mother.

Not only did Wilhelm never forgive his mother for having abandoned him emotionally, but he also, throughout his life, raged against everything she stood for in his mind, namely England (the most powerful country in the western world at the time) and everything English. Many political decisions during Wilhelm's career as Kaiser were based on this sentiment and his desire to proclaim Namibia as a German territory was another such instance in view of the fact that just below Namibia on the map lay South Africa, then a British colony. Colonisation provided a perfect opportunity for the Kaiser to aggressively assert his own identity as both a man and as a German *vis-à-vis* his mother and the country she stood for. By proclaiming Namibia a German territory, Wilhelm II made sure that any further attempt by Britain to claim more African soil north of the Orange River was barred by the flag of a newly unified German people.

In order to refer to these emotional currents that played a significant role, however covert, in Germany's decision to colonise Namibia in *Don't Call Me a Rebel*, I chose to incorporate two further sets of correspondence that I came across during my research. The first is that between Wilhelm II and his mother while he was away from home as a teenager studying at the gymnasium in Kassel and, secondly, the letters Vicky wrote to her mother, Queen Victoria, during

Wilhelm's infancy and childhood. These correspondences shed light on both the extraordinarily complex and emotionally charged relationship between Vicky and Wilhelm, as well as bearing witness to the circumstances that gave rise to their kind of relationship.

Once I had decided on the different archives I wanted to draw from in the making of *Don't Call Me a Rebel*, I set about finding ways in which to incorporate these into the work. I scripted a number of passages and drafts consisting of phrases, sentences and sometimes, whole paragraphs quoted from the various archives, as well as re-scripted references, but without succeeding in combining these into a single coherent text on which to base the music-theatre performance. I then engaged the South African poet Henning Pieterse who, based on the research I had done, and the passages and drafts I had written, completed the process of writing the final text for *Don't Call Me a Rebel*. This text is currently being used as the basis for the performance.

Most references to and quotations from the different archives that were incorporated into *Don't Call Me a Rebel* were, as mentioned previously, done so as text to be performed. However, in the case of the audio archive of Nama folktales, Pieterse and I used both Schmidt's published versions of certain stories, which were re-scripted, together with the composer Philip Miller, who made extensive use of her actual recordings, which she generously allowed us to do. The result of this working method can be viewed as in itself constituting a critical reflection on the way in which oral traditions get recorded, preserved and archived, as well as the ways in which such archives are made available to the public. The outcome of Schmidt's research appears in the form of publications, in both German and English, in which the tales have been transcribed and translated (not always entirely successfully) and analysed in terms of their motifs and in relation to Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson's *The types of the folktale* (1964) and her own *Catalogue of the Khoisan folktales of southern Africa* (1989). The problem with having de-contextualised the recorded oral narrations in this way is that they appear without any life and 'meaning', since whatever 'meaning' folktales might have (as they exist in the oral tradition) is located in the performative act of telling. When reading the stories in their translated and published form they have little impact due to Schmidt's at times rather literal, word-for-word translations of the recorded narratives in her effort to remain as 'truthful' as possible (in her role as social scientist) to

the recorded oral account. As a result the published versions of the folktales appear as disembodied, skeletal remains of the initial performance.

In *Don't Call Me a Rebel* a very different approach is taken to the audio recordings in Schmidt's archive. By means of 'sampling' from the original recordings and incorporating these into the 'soundscapes' that form part of the performance the nature of the tales as performed oral narratives gets acknowledged (with children crying, music in the background, truck passing on the road outside). The fact that the archive is an audio recording of such a performative event, and one that was 'staged', if you like, for the benefit of Schmidt's research is also acknowledged. For this reason Schmidt's voice is included as she asks questions regarding the content of the tales and prompts the various narrators to tell further stories.

Don't Call Me a Rebel thus exists as an entangled number of different archival references and quotations, each relating in some way back to the historical moment and place in which the work is situated, namely Namibia during the time of its colonisation. The productive outcome of such a strategy is, as I have already alluded to in this paper, that each archival reference or quotation gets read or interpreted in a context provided by another archive. In this way the potential for the production of multiple meanings

and interpretations that exist within each archive is presented in its complexity. Consequently, the different layers of meaning or multiple signifying potential of each archive is emphasised, rather than the content of each being focused in one direction to produce a single narrative about the past. In this way the signifying potential of each archive is opened up, rather than being closed down, as is usually the case when historians and other social scientists engage with archives.

Don't Call Me a Rebel can be seen as almost constituting an archival document in itself, in that it produces yet another version of the past, but one which is open-ended and multilayered, rather than monolithic and simplified in its understanding of past events. By way of the different archives being caught up in each other, a different understanding of the past, and the processes by which history is produced in its reliance on documents such as political correspondence, starts to emerge. Thus, a creative endeavor such as the one I am currently working on (in relation to a number of archives) should not only be considered as a work which in itself can be both a critical and poetic reflection on the archives it draws upon, but can also be seen as an example of how a larger project of critical engagement and knowledge production in relation to the archives ensues.

Endnotes

- i. One example is my installation titled *Portrait of Hugh McFarlane* (1997) that was exhibited at the Africus Institute of Contemporary Art in Newtown, Johannesburg in the same year that the work was made. The work comprises hundreds of archival photographs of white South African Allied soldiers taken during World War II. The men were photographed nude against a grid, in full frontal-, side- and back views. Another example is the series of color photographs titled *Trappings* (2000) of military uniforms from the South African Military Museum exhibited at the Goodman Gallery in Johannesburg in 2000.
- ii. While I am the person responsible for having conceptualised the work, I am, in its execution, collaborating with the following people in their various capacities: Marthinus Basson (stage director), Henning Pieterse (librettist), Amanda Evans (film director) and Philip Miller (composer).
- iii. I use the term music-theatre as outlined by Robert Adlington (2005:230) in his essay 'Music theatre since the 1960s', where he states that music-theatre "tends to illuminate the awkward interstices between art forms, the gaps between existing aesthetic categories". He distinguishes music-theatre from other genres in which there is a combination of music and performance, such as opera, by drawing attention to the nature of music-theatre as anti-realist and with a thrust towards disintegrating the stage illusion. Also, as he explains, music-theatre's interest in politics, the practices of different cultural traditions and certain existential universals such as time, the human body, and space.
- iv. *Sprechstimme* (German for spoken-voice) is a musical term used to refer to a vocal technique between singing and speaking, however it is closer to speech in that it does not emphasise any particular pitches.
- v. The Nama are a branch of the indigenous collective name 'Khoi-khoi', or 'Hottentots' as they were misnamed (Malan 1995:114). In earlier centuries the Cape Khoi freely moved around southern Africa with their herds of cattle, sheep and goats. When the Europeans started settling in the Cape from 1652 onwards the Cape Khoi gradually lost their wealth and freedom. Many groups moved north in an attempt to escape white rule and started appearing during the first half of the nineteenth-century as the so-called Oorlam Nama in Namibia.

- vi. These letters are included in the publication titled *The Hendrik Witbooi papers* (1995) that was published by the National Archives of Namibia in 1995. This publication is a combination of three types of record left by Hendrik Witbooi. The most important record is his journal; a large ledger bound in red leather containing copies of his correspondence, accounts of campaigns and minutes of meetings with German colonial officials, between 1884 and 1893 - all items which he considered politically important and which he felt he might need for future reference. Some entries are in his handwriting and others are by scribes. The second set of records originates from the 1929 edition of the Journal when it was published by the South African Van Riebeeck Society in Afrikaans as *Die dagboek van Hendrik Witbooi* in which are included a number of additional letters to and from Witbooi found in German colonial archive files in Windhoek. These letters subsequently went missing. The third set of documents consists of correspondence subsequently found in colonial archives files, mission records, private document collections and in books and newspapers.
- vii. Witbooi was known amongst his many enemies as the 'little thing'. To be called an inanimate object, and 'little' in reference to his small posture was the worst insult amongst the indigenous peoples of Namibia (Voigts 1929:ix).
- viii. These translated tales were published, together with Schmidt's commentary and analysis, in a series of ten volumes under the heading *Afrika erzählt* - volumes 1-7 in German and 8-10 in English. She also indexed all tales known to her up to 1985 in her *Catalogue of the Khoisan folktales of southern Afrika* (Schmidt 1989).
- ix. In 1915, after a defeat to the Union troops of South Africa, Germany surrendered the administration of Namibia to South Africa. It remained a protectorate of South Africa until Namibia's independence in 1990. The apartheid regime was thus a primary factor of everyday life in Namibia and many of the Nama folktales can be seen to both register and comment on the socio-political circumstances of the time.
- x. In the English language the three most important translations of the *Saga of the Volsungs* are those by William Morris in the nineteenth-century and that by John Ronald Reuel Tolkien and Jesse L Byock in the twentieth-century. All three translations were consulted during the making of *Don't Call Me a Rebel*.
- xi. Das Rheingold, Die Walküre, Siegfried and Götterdämmerung.
- xii. See, for example, Berry (2006).
- xiii. Tanganyika (present-day Tanzania), Ruanda-Urundi (present-day Rwanda and Burundi), Wituland (part of present-day Kenya), Kionga Triangle (part of present-day Mozambique), German South West Africa (present-day Namibia), Kamerun (present-day Cameroon), Togoland (present-day Ghana and Togo).
- xiv. Diamonds were discovered only in 1908, in Lüderitz (First 1963:155).

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