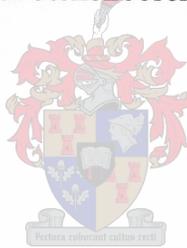


PROPHETIC CRITIQUE AND LAND DISPOSSESSION
The significance of spatial awareness for the interpretation of I Kings 21

PETRUS JOHANNES BOOYS

**Dissertation presented for the degree of
Doctor of Theology in the Old Testament
at the
University of Stellenbosch**



Promoter: Prof H L Bosman

December 2003

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declared that the work contained in this dissertation is my original work and has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted at any University for a degree.

Date

ABSTRACT

The dissertation is an answer to the question: How should the story of Naboth's land (I Kings 21) be theologically understood by a Khoi who is dispossessed of his/her land and kept on the periphery?

The first chapter consists of the hypothesis, the theological assumption of the research, a summary of existing research on the story of Naboth's land and the point of view from which a Khoi looks and listens to the story. The place, from which the story would be looked and listened to, the methodology, is followed by a list of concepts used in the research.

The second chapter is an exposition of the hermeneutical position of the Khoi in the theological debate regarding land as a living space for humankind. Opinions from outside (European) and opinions from inside (Khoi) the living space of the Khoi are placed in contrast with one another to illustrate the divide between landed and landless people on the land.

Against the European negation of their knowledge of God, the Khoi put their knowledge of God as their Supreme Being, Father and Ruler who has his abode in the clouds but who is always and everywhere powerfully present for the sake of humankind. Against the negation of their human dignity, the Khoi put the dignity of human beings as the creations of God. Against the violent invasion of their land, the Khoi put their viewpoint that human beings should live in peaceful coexistence with neighbours in their physical living space. Against those who violate their spatial identity, the Khoi affirms their identity as Khoi on the periphery of their land under foreign occupation. Against those who deny them a cultural living space, the Khoi establish their right on a cultural living space and their right to think and be heard in their mother tongue.

The third chapter is a contribution to the theological debate regarding the story of the land of Naboth from the perspective of a dispossessed Khoi. The personal identities of individuals and of groups are discussed according to their relationships with fellow human beings with whom they had to share their living space. The identity of the city of

Jezreel as a physical and cultural living space is discussed in accordance with the attachments of Naboth and Ahab to it. Upon this discussion follows an exposition of land as communal possession (Naboth's living space) and land as private property (Ahab's living space). The purchase and the dispossession of ancestral land by Ahab to demote Naboth's family to the status of dependent subjects are identified as acts of violence. The dispossession of ancestral land caused Naboth and Elijah to protest against the violation of the spatial order because of God.

The fourth chapter contains an exegesis of the story of the dispossession of the land of Naboth from the perspective of a dispossessed Khoi. The moral of the Khoi stories of the ancestral figure Heitsi Eibib determines the understanding of the story of the dispossession of Naboth's land by Ahab.

Chapter five is an exposition of the significance of the Khoi perspective for the theological understanding of the story of Naboth's land.

Chapter six is a summary of the dissertation and shows other possibilities to further develop the theological debate regarding the dispossession of Naboth's land.

OPSOMMING

Die dissertasie is 'n antwoord op die vraag: Hoe moet die verhaal van Nabot se grond (I Konings 21) teologies verstaan word deur 'n Khoi wat van sy/haar grond onteien is en op die periferie gehou word?

Die eerste hoofstuk omvat die vraagstelling, die teologiese begroning van die ondersoek, 'n kort opsomming oor bestaande navorsing oor die verhaal oor Naboth se grond en die plek vanwaar 'n Khoi die verhaal bekyk en beluister. Die plek vanwaar die verhaal bekyk en beluister word, naamlik, die metodologie, word gevolg deur 'n lys van woorde wat in die ondersoek gebruik word.

Die tweede hoofstuk is 'n uiteensetting van die hermeneutiese posisie van die Khoi in die teologiese debat oor die grond as 'n leefruimte vir die mens. Opinies van buite (Europese) en opinies van binne (Khoi) die leefruimte van die Khoi word teenoormekaar gestel om die skeiding tussen grondbesitters and grondlose mense te illustreer.

Teenoor die Europese miskennings van die Khoi se kennis van God, stel die Khoi hul kennis van God as hul Opperwese, Vader en Heerser wat bokant die wolke woon maar altyd en orals magtig teenwoordig is ter wille van mense. Teenoor die miskenning van hul menswaardigheid, stel die Khoi die waardigheid van mense as God se skeppings. Teenoor die geweldadige inname van hulle leefruimte, stel die Khoi die standpunt van die vreedsame saambestaan van mense binne dieselfde fisiese leefruimte. Teenoor die standpunt van diegene wat hulle ruimtelike identiteit geweld aandoen, bevestig die Khoi hul identiteit as Khoi op die periferie van hulle land wat in vreemde besit is. Teenoor diegene wat hulle kulturele leefruimte geweld aandoen, vestig the Khoi hulle reg op 'n kulturele leefruimte en om te dink en gehoor te word in hul moedertaal.

Die derde hoofstuk is 'n bydrae tot die teologiese debat oor die verhaal van die grond van Nabot vanuit die perspektief van 'n onteierende Khoi. Die persoonlike identiteit van individue en groepe word bespreek in terme van hulle verhoudinge tot medemense met wie hulle hul leefruimte moes deel. Die stad Jezreel se identiteit as fisiese en kulturele leefruimte word bespreek volgens die gehegtheid van Nabot en Agab daaraan. Hierop volg 'n uiteensetting van grond as gemeenskaplike leefruimte (Nabot se leefruimte) en

grond as privaat eiendom (Agab se leefruimte). Die koop en onteiening van die erfgrond deur Agab om van Nabot se familie afhanklike onderdane te maak word as daad van geweld geïdentifiseer. Die onteiening van erfgrond het veroorsaak dat Nabot en Elia protes aangeteken het teen die geweld teen die ruimtelike orde ter wille van God.

Die vierde hoofstuk bevat die eksegetiese van die verhaal oor die onteiening van die grond van Nabot vanuit die perspektief van 'n onteinde Khoi. Die morele betekenis van die Khoi verhale oor Heitsi Eibib bepaal die verstaan van die verhaal van die onteiening en besetting van Nabot se grond deur Agab.

Hoofstuk vyf is 'n uiteensetting van die betekenis van die Khoi perspektief op die verhaal van Nabot se grond vir teologiese denke.

Hoofstuk ses is 'n opsomming van die dissertasie en wys op moontlikhede hoe om die teologiese debat oor die onteiening van Nabot se grond verder te ontwikkel.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We have arrived at this event because of the contributions of our fellow creations of God in our part of the living space on the continent and beyond. Having arrived at this event we are able to look back along on the bumpy road we journeyed to overview the major related events that we have shared. Being grateful for what they contributed that I could achieve this I shall note my regard for their generous support and loving care.

First in the line I acknowledge the sacrifices my parents, Johannes and Catherina, made to pave the road and teach how to walk on it with God and fellow creations. They stimulated me to continue with and never give up on God because God can see when we fail to see and remember when we fail to remember.

I am indebted to the displaced communities of Ebenezer (Olifants River) where I was born, !Hubous (Richterveld) and Gomaxas (Namaqualand) where I served as a minister in the congregations of the DRMC. Because they took a firm stand for the restoration of their land I came to see the significance of awareness of space for theological reflection. Because of their love our family enjoy sharing with them the Gospel of God's love for his creations on the periphery. I appreciate the space that they made available in their lives that we could pastor among them and further our theological studies.

I am also indebted to my colleagues and friends of the Belydende Kring for the opportunity to further my studies at the Theologische Hogeschool van de Gereformeerde Kerken in Kampen (Nederland). I highly valued the concrete and loving support they gave to our family when we had to move to Gauteng in search for a place to work in the vast vineyard of God.

I wish to express a word of special thanks to my friends for their loyal support when our family went through many crises in these years. They encouraged me to continue with the research, shared with me their views on the problem of landlessness and avail themselves to help our family in times of need. In this regard I must mention the families of George Brink, Bernard Kleinveld, Martin Bosch, Hendrik Theys and Christy Loff for their moral and material support.

A word of sincere appreciation to Mario Pekeur for copying the chapters the thesis developed through these years. A word of thanks to Vernon Goeieman for proof-reading the text and exposing my grammatical and logical errors in my effort to write the thesis in the second language.

To my promoter prof H L Bosman of the Faculty of Theology of the University of Stellenbosch, I owe a very special word of thanks for his patience and for guiding me to progress on the road to this event. You proved yourself a sincere teacher because you seriously looked to see and listened to hear the displaced Khoi on the periphery of the land. It was a privilege to walk with you on this bumpy road and receive your encouragement and guidance.

To the Human Sciences Research Council I wish to express my sincere thanks for the financial grant to produce this thesis.

To my wife, Elizabeth, and our sons Allistair and Emile, I want to say these words: because of your support through all these years I have completed this research. You were loyal to me despite my many shortcomings and strong under the severe pressure because of the pains of unemployment. To you and to our extended family I dedicate this thesis because of the sacrifices you offer in order that we all should have a place in God's sun.

CONTENTS

	Page
ABBREVIATIONS	7-8
INDEX OF NAMA CONCEPTS	9-12
Chapter One	
INTRODUCTION	13-42
1.1 PERSONAL FRAME OF REFERENCE	13
1.2 THE PROBLEM	16
1.3 THE THEOLOGICAL HYPOTHESIS	17
1.4 EXISTING RESEARCH ON NABOTH'S VINEYARD	18
1.5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	23
1.6 TERMINOLOGY	29
1.6.1 Identity	29
1.6.2 Space	30
1.6.3 Spatial identity	31
1.6.4 Spatial awareness	33
1.6.5 The Khoi	35
1.6.6 The Nama	35
1.6.7 Elob Mís	36
1.6.8 Land ownership	37
1.6.9 Prophetic critique	39
1.7 CONCLUSION	40
Chapter Two	
THE HERMENEUTICAL POSITION OF THE KHOI IN THE LAND DEBATE	43-128
2.1 INTRODUCTORY NOTE	43
2.2 OPINIONS ABOUT THE RELIGIOUS IDENTITY OF THE KHOI	44
2.2.1 OPINIONS ABOUT THE RELIGIOUS IDENTITY OF THE KHOI FROM	
2.3 OUTSIDE	44

2.2.1.1 Denials of a religious identity	44
2.2.1.2 Incorrect presentations of religious identity	45
2.2.1.3 Violations of religious identity	46
2.2.2 OPINIONS ABOUT THE RELIGIOUS IDENTITY OF THE KHOI FROM INSIDE	47
2.2.2.1 Affirmations of the knowledge of God	47
2.2.2.2 Correct presentations of religious identity	50
2.2.2.3 Reparations of religious identity	55
2.3. OPINIONS ABOUT THE HUMAN DIGNITY OF THE KHOI	57
2.3.1 OPINIONS ABOUT THE HUMAN DIGNITY OF THE KHOI FROM OUTSIDE	57
2.3.1.1 Denials of human dignity	57
2.3.1.2 Insults on human dignity	58
2.3.2 OPINIONS ABOUT THE HUMAN DIGNITY OF THE KHOI FROM INSIDE	62
2.3.2.1 Affirmations of human dignity	62
2.3.2.2 Protections of human dignity	65
2.4 OPINIONS ABOUT THE LAND AS LIVING SPACE OF THE KHOI PEOPLE	68
2.4.1 OPINIONS ABOUT THE LAND AS THE LIVING SPACE OF THE KHOI FROM OUTSIDE	68
2.4.1.1 Displacement of the Khoi from the land	68
2.4.1.2 Misidentification of the Khoi	75
2.4.1.3 Christianizing the land	76
2.4.2 OPINIONS ABOUT THE LAND AS THE PHYSICAL LIVING SPACE OF THE KHOI FROM INSIDE	78
2.4.2.1 Sharing life on the land	78
2.4.2.2 Sharing life from the land	80
2.5 OPINIONS ABOUT THE LAND AS THE TEMPORAL SPACE OF THE KHOI	85
2.5.1 OPINIONS ABOUT THE LAND AS THE TEMPORAL SPACE OF THE KHOI FROM OUTSIDE	85
2.5.1.1 Introducing spatial disorder	85

2.5.1.2 Contribution of the Church to the disorder	87
2.5.2 OPINIONS ABOUT THE LAND AS THE TEMPORAL SPACE OF THE KHOI FROM INSIDE	92
2.5.2.1 Protecting the spatial order	92
2.5.2.2 Advancing the spatial order	94
2.6 OPINIONS ABOUT THE LAND AS THE CULTURAL LIVING SPACE OF THE KHOI	99
2.6.1 SPEAKING IN THE LANGUAGE FROM OUTSIDE	100
2.6.1.1 Negative inclinations from outside	100
2.6.1.2 Positive inclinations from the outside	102
2.6.2 SPEAKING IN THE LANGUAGE FROM INSIDE	105
2.6.2.1 Positive inclinations from the inside	105
2.6.2.2 Advancing the right to be heard	106
2.7 CONCLUSION	108
2.8 ADDENDA	115
2.8.1 Copy of Document from 1985. The “Colored Rural Areas” under the management of the House of Representatives of the Apartheids Government (1984-1994)	115
2.8.2 Copy of the “Ebenezer Deed” (6 th July 1837), r:e: Khoi land dispossessed by the British colonial government	116
2.8.3 Copy of letter (8 th September 1915). Rev. I Leipold of the RMS to Rev. L.A.R . du Plessis of the DRMC. at Ebenezer, re: the dispossession of Khoi land by the Government of the Union of South Africa	117
2.8.4 Copy of letter (10 th March 1921). Rev. W.A. Booysen to Minister of Lands, re: the dispossession of Khoi land by the Government of the Union of S.A	118
2.8.5 Copy of letter (18 July 1921). Rev. W.A. Booysen to Minister of Lands, re: the dispossession of Khoi land by the Government of the Union of S.A.	119
2.8.6 Copy of letter (11 April 1921) Church Board of the DRMC congregation at the Ebenezer mission station to the Minister of Lands, re: the dispossession of their ancestral land by the Government of the Union of South Africa	121
2.8.7 Copy of letter (4 th May 1921) President of the APO to the Minister of Native Affairs, re: the dispossession of the ancestral land of the Khoi community on the Olifants River flood plains by the Government of the Union of S.A.	123
2.8.8 Copy of list of 50 displaced families (13 December 1923) compensated for the	

lost of their houses only because of the alienation of the land on the Khoi on the Olifants River flood plains	124
2.8.9 Copy of list of 152 families impoverished because of the alienation of the land of the Khoi on the Olifants River flood plains (27 March 1924)	125
2.8.10 Copy of rules issued (19 October 1945) by Europeans who occupied the land of the displaced Khoi on the Olifants River flood plains	127

Chapter Three

THE THEOLOGICAL DEBATE REGARDING THE STORY OF NABOTH'S

LAND	129-172
3.1 INTRODUCTION	129
3.2. THE IDENTITY OF PERSONS IN THE STORY OF NABOTH	129
3.2.1 Pertaining the identity of individuals	129
3.2.1.1 Naboth the Jezreelite	130
3.2.1.2 Ahab the king of Samaria	132
3.2.1.3 Jezebel, his wife	136
3.2.1.4 Elijah the Tishbite	138
3.2.2 Pertaining the identity of groups	141
3.2.2.1 The elders of Jezreel	141
3.2.2.2 The nobles of Jezreel	142
3.2.2.3 The people of Jezreel	144
3.3 LAND AS LIVING SPACE IN THE STORY OF NABOTH	145
3.3.1 Jezreel as physical living space	145
3.3.2 Jezreel as cultural living space	147
3.4 LAND OWNERSHIP IN THE STORY OF NABOTH	149
3.4.1 Land as communal possession	149
3.4.2 Land as private property	152
3.5 LAND ACQUISITION IN THE STORY OF NABOTH'S LAND	155
3.5.1 Illegal removals from ancestral land	155
3.5.2 Illegal purchase of ancestral land	157
3.6 PROPHETIC PROTEST AGAINST LAND ALIENATION IN THE STORY OF NABOTH	159
3.6.1 Introductory note	159

3.6.2 Naboth voices his protest	160
3.6.3 Elijah advances Naboth's protest	163
3.6.4 A prophetic bearing for spatial order	164
3.6.5 CONCLUSION	167

Chapter Four

THE ALIENATION OF THE LAND OF NABOTH THE JEZREELITE

(I KINGS 21:1-29)	173-215
4.1 INTRODUCTORY NOTE	173
4.2 THE INTRODUCTION TO THE STORY OF NABOTH'S LAND (I KINGS 21:1)	176
4.2.1 The introductory phase	177
4.2.2 The introductory note	178
4.3 NABOTH OBSTRUCTS AHAB FROM ALIENATING HIS LAND PORTION (I Kings 21:2-7)	181
4.3.1 Ahab requests to acquire Naboth's land (v2)	181
4.3.2 Naboth refuses to alienate his land (v3)	184
4.3.3 Ahab withdraws to his land (v4-7)	187
4.4 AHAB TAKES NABOTH'S LAND IN POSSESSION (v8-16)	188
4.4.1 Ahab's conspiracy against Naboth (v8-10)	189
4.4.2 Naboth's execution because of Ahab (v11-14)	192
4.4.3 Naboth's land invaded by Ahab (v15-16)	195
4.5 ELIJAH ADVANCES NABOTH'S PROTEST AGAINST DISPOSSESSION (I Kings 21:17-22)	196
4.5.1 Articulating God's place in the protest (v17-19)	197
4.5.2 Communicating God's protest against the spatial disorder (v20-22)	201
4.6 ELABORATIONS ON GOD'S PROTEST AGAINST DISORDER (I Kings 21:23-26)	205
4.7 FOCUSING GOD'S DEMAND FOR SPATIAL ORDER (I Kings v27-29)	209
4.8 CONCLUSION	212

Chapter Five

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF READING THE STORY OF NABOTH'S LAND

FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF A DISPLACED KHOI	216-233
5.1 A FOCUS ON GOD AS THE OWNER OF LAND	216
5.2 A FOCUS ON THE INTERACTION OF HUMANKIND WITH LAND	219
5.3 A FOCUS ON CONTRASTING SPATIAL IDENTITIES	220
5.4 FOCUS ON LIFE IN PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE ON GOD'S LAND	222
5.5 A FOCUS ON A PROPHETIC STANCE AGAINST DISPLACEMENT	223
5.6 A FOCUS ON HUMANKIND AS NEIGHBOUR ON GOD'S LAND	226
5.7 CONCLUSION	230

6 SUMMARY	234-247
-----------	---------

7 ADDENDA	248-255
-----------	---------

8 INDEX OF BIBLICAL REFERENCES	256-261
--------------------------------	---------

9 BIBLIOGRAPHY	262-275
----------------	---------

LRC – Land Research Centre

NOK – Nederlandse Oorlogsomroep Nederland

NONK – Nederlandse Oorlogsomroep Nederlands-Indië

NIDOTTE – New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology

OTL – Old Testament Library

OTE – Old Testament Essays

POT – Preiking van de Gode Tenslotte

RLCC – Regional Land Claims Commission

RMS – Rhodesia Mission Society

RSA – Republic of South Africa

SA – South Africa

SPP – Surplus Peoples Project

TDOT – Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament

THAT – Theologische Handwörterbuch Süd-Africa Theologie

TPA – Transvaal Provincial Administration

UDEIC – United Dutch East India Company

ABBREVIATIONS

AFRA	Association for Rural Advancement
BHW	Bijbels-Historisch Woordenboek
CBQ	Catholic Bible Quarterly
COT	Commentaar op het Oude Testament
DRC	Dutch Reformed Church
DRMC	Dutch Reformed Mission Church
Ev Th	Evangelical Theology
IHN	Instituut vir Historiese Navorsing
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JHI	Journal of the History of Ideas
JTSA	Journal for Theology in Southern Africa
JSOT	Journal for Study of the Old Testament
KV	Korte Verklaring der Heilige Schrift
LRC	Legal Research Centre
NGK	Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk
NGSK	Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk
NIDOTTE	New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTE	Old Testament Essays
POT	Prediking van de Oude Testament
RLCC	Regional Land Claims Commission
RMS	Rhenish Mission Society
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SA	South Africa
SPP	Surplus Peoples Project
TDOT	Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament
THAT	Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament
TPA	Transvaal Provincial Administration
UDEIC	United Dutch East Indian Company

- VT Vetus Testamentum
- WCC Witwatersrand Council of Churches
- WBC World Bible Commentary
- ZAW Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

various positions. Click this picture to see what it looks like.

- g Position in mouth
- g dental click (front)
- g palatal click (front)
- g dental click (back)
- g palatal click (back)

In the Ndebele language the letters of the alphabet, used to be pronounced like the following sounds:

- | Letter | Sound |
|--------|----------------------------------|
| g | like "gh" in English |
| g | like "g" in Afrikaans |
| g | short like "oo" in Afrikaans |
| g | long like "oo" in Afrikaans |
| g | long like "w" in Afrikaans |
| g | short like in "kwa" in Afrikaans |
| g | long like in "min" in Afrikaans |

- | Word | Meaning |
|------|---------------------|
| Abu | father |
| aba | abas (in Afrikaans) |
| ak | fox |
| ama | Names |
| ama | busy |
| jan | we know |
| jan | knowledge |
| ob | man |

INDEX OF NAMA CONCEPTS

The most distinctive characteristic of Nama are the click sounds. There are four click sounds which the speaker creates by moving his/her tongue inside his/her mouth from various positions. Elob Mîs presents these click sounds by means of the following signs:

Sign	Position in mouth
/	dental click (front)
!	palatal click (front)
//	dental click (lateral)
‡	palatal click (back)

In the Nama language the letters of the alphabet, used underneath, produce the following sounds:

Letter	Sound
g	like "gh" in English
x	like "g" in Afrikaans
u	short like "oe" in Afrikaans
û	long like "oe" in Afrikaans
ë	long like "ee" in Afrikaans
i	short like in "kies" in Afrikaans
î	long like in "mier" in Afrikaans

Word	Meaning
Abo	father
aba	abba (in Afrikaans)
/ais	fire
!Amas	Namas
amase	truely
‡an	to know
‡ans	knowledge
aob	man

aos	woman
/Aris	a personal name
arin	dogs
/au	snake
/aub	blood
Autshumao	a personal name (Harry)
axab	boy
axarob	a little boy
bereb	bread, food
birin	goats
//Eixa//ais	a tribal name
eibe	beforehand
Elob	God
Elob Mís	God's Word
ga- eis	wisdom
!gab	brother
!gas	sister
‡gab	pit
‡Gama ‡Gorib	personal name
//gamē	water
//gamxas	fountain
gao-aob	king
/gam	two
!garo	karoo (in Afrikaans)
//Guanab	The evil one
//guanān	evil doers
!gai-oan	good doers
gei	old or great
/gawi	high or stately
Gei/Aub	Great Snake
Geigu	elders

goman	cattle
Gomaxas	place name (Komaggas)
‡ goab	mud
!Gurub	Thunderer
//gûb	father (biological)
//gûs	mother (biological)
gun	sheep
Gurub	Creator
!hanab	garden
!hau	family
/haub	rock
hei	tree
heisi	to tell
Heitsi Eibib	epithet for the ancestor
/Hoa-/ara	a family name
hoa	all
//hob	sackcloth
/homi	heaven
!hub	land
!hub-eib	earth
!Hubous	place name (Kuboes)
!Hu!gais	place name (Cape Town)
îb	father
îs	mother
kharob	karos (in Afrikaans)
khoi	a human being
khoin	human beings
khoikhoi	the human being
khoikha	enemy
!Khub	Ruler, Lord
kiri	kierie (in Afrikaans)

Krotoa	personal name (Eva)
mîs	word
marin	money
mû	to see
mû-†ans	knowledge
!nau	passage rite
//nôu	to hear
//nôu-!ats	to understand
ouë	bitter
/ao	child
/oab	son
/oas	daughter
oms	house
sida	our
taras	woman
tse	an expression used for emphasis
tsi	and
Tsûi //Goab	The Supreme Being
ûi	live or be alive
!Urikoras	personal name
!Urisib	personal name
!uri/urib	white stone (silver)
Xam/a	family name

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

1.1 PERSONAL FRAME OF REFERENCE

Late in the 15th century AD European seafarers sailed out from the harbours of their lands to explore new worlds and set up trade links for the benefit of Europeans. Because the seafarers to the 3rd World grew in numbers, the identity of the peoples on the coastlands of Africa and her islands were severely pressurized.

In South Africa the settlers cooperated with European based trading companies and in order to advance their economic interests, they dispossessed the Khoi of their land and subjugated them to colonial rule. At the end of the 18th century they eventually dispossessed the Khoi of most of their tribal land and developed European settlements in those places.

In 1909 the government regulated the location of Khoi who were still in possession of parts of their land, by means of the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act (Act No 29 of 1909). By that racist land Act, those Europeans declaring the land rights of the Khoi null and void, totally destroyed the economic independence of the Khoi. They therewith also destroyed the Khoi family structures because they compelled them to find employment on settler stock or crop farms.

They dispersed the rest of the dispossessed Khoi and placed them in “*protective insulation*” (Fredrickson 1981:6) of missionaries on the mission stations that they established over a widespread area in the land (see Addendum 2.8.1). In land issues those Europeans (the missionaries) acted as “*officials of the government*” (De la Harpe 1995:79) and not as servants of God who positioned themselves on the side of what was right in the sight of God. The land dispute between the Minister of Lands, Mr. Abraham Fisher, and Rev. L.A.R. du Plessis of the DRC, is an excellent example in this respect (see De la Harpe 1995:78-79).

The Khoi tribal possessions of the land in South Africa once covered the vast coastal and inland areas from the Gariiep River in the Northern Cape to the Fish River in the Eastern Cape. Having dispossessed the Khoi of their tribal possessions, colonial governments forced the Khoi to terminate their nomadic lifestyle and settle down on one of the 23 small portions of poor land (see Addendum 2.8.1) or live as migrant labourers in the European occupied territory.

In the spring of 1927, the government of the Union of South Africa also dispossessed the land and displaced our community from the Olifants River flood plains. Rev. W. A. Booysen of the DRC played a decisive role in the process of dispossessing the Khoi of and displacing them from the best and greater part of their ancestral land and relocating them to the Ebenezer mission station (see Addendum 2.8.4 & 5).

The Department of Lands of the Government of the Union of South Africa with the assistance of the Home Missions of the DRC set up the confiscation of the land of our Khoi ancestors on the Olifants River flood plains. The Government engineered and the DRC managed the displacement of the Nama Khoi who in vain protested against the alienation of their land (see Addendum 2.8.6). The government compensated fifty of the displaced families for the loss of their houses and "*pondoks*" only and none for the loss of their ancestral land (see Addendum 2.8.8). Because of their zeal to uplift the landless poor "*whites*" the DRC had to fulfill an adapted version of the Church's divine "*call to mission*" (Saaiman 1991:12). Thus, church and state representative worked "*in collusion with one another*" (Saaiman 1991:11) to displace hundred fifty two families and grant their land to "poor whites" (see Addendum 2.8.9).

The displaced Nama Khoi continued their protest against the occupation of their land. Rev. W. A. Booysen accused them of enmity against him and even expelled some of his opponents from the mission station. Those who remained opposed to the occupation of their land, he condemned as "*troublemakers, decidedly from the worst type of occupants on the Reserve, ignorant and deeply neglected*" (De la Harpe 1995:31).

The Europeans who occupied the Khoi portion of the land seriously violated the spatial identity of the displaced Khoi in the area (see Addendum 2.8.10). Being landless and unemployed, the Khoi were forced to subjugate themselves to the rules of the DRC on the mission station, or leave. Those who remained, struggled to survive on a small portion of poor land on the mission station or worked as "*Coloured*" farm labourers on land dispossessed by the government for the sake of landless "*whites*." Many impoverished and dispossessed Khoi eventually left the mission station in search for better employment in nearby villages.

In the winter of 1950, the Boois family temporarily left the mission station for the fishing village of Lambert's Bay on the West Coast. They returned in the winter of 1963 to the mission station to continue the quest for justice and the restoration of their

ancestral land. In 1964, I left Ebenezer to study in theology at the Theological School for the Dutch Reformed Mission Church (DRMC) at Bellville.

During those five years not even one theological or biblical issue about land, land possession and land dispossession ever came up. Questions with respect to social issues, for example: the problem of displacement as it was experienced by the displaced members of the DRC mission, were ignored by our lecturers and negated as politics in which Christians should not get involved.

The Theological School was in fact a special mission project *of* the DRC *for* a theological instruction of Coloured ministers *for* the DRMC. It was separate theological school for Coloured DRC mission converts, who would appreciate the mission work of the DRC among the impoverished dispossessed Coloureds in the Cape Province.

During my years in the ministry on the reservation congregations at *!Hubous* (1969-1972) and *Gomaxas* (1972-1983) in Namaqualand, the issues of communal pasture land rights for the livestock came up among the community members as regularly as the sun rising in the east. The land issues in these “reservations” were very similar to land issues in the other so-called “*Coloured Rural Areas*.”

From October 1984 to June 1987, studying for a degree in theology at Kampen in the Netherlands, I brought up the land issue in every study project. In 1984, I did an assignment in Christian Ethics concerning the ethical assumptions of the introductory paragraph of the Preamble of the 1984 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. The first sentence of that Preamble runs as follows: “*In humble submission to Almighty God, who brought our forebears from many countries and gave us this land as their own.*” In 1985 I completed a close rereading of Luke 22:35-53 and brought up the issue of proper Christian response in a violent spatial situation. In June 1987 I completed my theological studies with a rereading of: The Plague narrative (Exodus 7-12) from the perspective of an oppressed and displaced community.

From May 1988 to December 1990, our family went through numerous crises of displacement. I received a call to be a part time minister in a DRMC congregation at Rabie Ridge in Midrand (Gauteng). My family had to remain in the Cape for practical reasons.

I involved myself in the problems of displaced black families in the Midrand area. The Church Council of the DRC congregation, Halfway House, wrote a letter to our congregation in which they suggested that the congregation should terminate my

services as a minister. They complained that I neglected my work as a minister and undermined the agreement between the DRC and DRMC congregations and demanded that I should be compelled by our Church council to involve myself in “*kingdom work*” in Midrand. They threatened to terminate their subsidy of R9,600 per year should our Church council fail to terminate their contract with me.

In that same year, we shared in the joy of landless people, when the “*squatters*” in our area, with the support of the Witwatersrand Council of Churches (WCC), won their spatial dispute with the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA). The lawyers of the WCC argued that the TPA was morally accountable for the sufferings of landless “*black people*” in its area and was compelled to provide land and services to landless people.

The TPA, consequently, immediately had to provide land in order that the 350 homeless black families could reconstruct the shacks which were demolished by the Midrand City Council. The successful outcome of the land dispute of the 350 landless families with the TPA caused dozens of landless families to come forth with their land claims and demanded their share in the redistribution of the land. Within months, the TPA had to redistribute more land to the landless African families who were squatting on many places in that area.

My involvement in the problems of landless Africans caused the financial relationship between the DRMC congregation and the DRC congregation to reach a turning point. On 15 September 1990, the DRMC Ring of Witwatersrand discontinued my services as a minister of the DRMC congregation and the church council of the DRC congregation in Halfway House offered to continue with the spiritual work in the Midrand.

These personal experiences caused me to seek an answer for the spatial crises of landless natives in our part of the continent. If we fail to solve the crises because of landlessness our descendants would have to solve a spatial dispute to prevent a spatial conflict similar to the conflict in neighbouring Zimbabwe.

1.2. THE PROBLEM

How then must the displaced Khoi people on the periphery of our land, understand the story of the dispossession of the land of Naboth the Jezreelite? For colonial regimes (Dutch and British) displaced the Khoi from their tribal land portions and their racist

successors kept them on the periphery of their land. Being kept on the periphery of land for centuries caused the landless Khoi to suffer for so many generations that this question sounds – to say the least - bizarre. Because being landless for so many generations encapsulates a series of events that consist of much miserable and little good news for the Khoi.

Being colonized caused the Khoi to look and listen intently to the story of the land of Naboth as being retold by Europeans. Being a story about God and humankind, the story of the dispossession of the land of Naboth has to announce for them the good news of the restoration of their human dignity.

The Khoi conveyed their knowledge of the interaction of people with the land by means of stories and dramatic performances. Hence, because they lack written tradition of the interaction of people with land, the story of Naboth is to them a foreign story. Because it is a story that is told by Europeans in European languages that fail to bring into focus the place of the displaced Khoi before God.

Displaced from their native land, the Khoi indeed heard the story of Naboth's land as being retold by Europeans, for the sake of people on the periphery. They failed to perceive the story as good news for people on the periphery because they noted the discord between what they heard and saw.

To understand the story of Naboth's land, the displaced Khoi focused on their situation of being a people dispossessed of and displaced from their land. For land possession is crucial for the Khoi in order to live a composed, peaceful and contented life on the land and from what she yields to them. They therefore experience the occupation of their land as an insult on their human dignity because they thought of themselves as the creation of God.

1.3. THE THEOLOGICAL HYPOTHESIS

In my hypothesis I shall maintain that because God is the owner of land, the natural attachment of a people to their portion of God's land, is crucial to live a composed life on the land. By granting to people the blessings of rain on the land, God enables them to live in peaceful coexistence with one another in the same living space.

In so doing God shows his compassion for humankind whom he created and lovingly cares for by always being present in his land, for their sake. Landlessness defines the

evil of spatial disorder, which emanates from evil human beings and runs against the good order of landedness, which is from God.

To dispossess natives and to keep them on the periphery of their portion of God's land constitutes a people's condemnation and hatred for them. For people who are aware of themselves being the creation of God being kept on the periphery, have an unmistakable awareness of space.

Old Testament scholars for this reason should focus in their research more on the social aspects of the story of the dispossession of the land of Naboth. Focusing too much on the historical and judicial aspects of the story and too little on its social networking fails to highlight the importance of spatial awareness for reading it from the perspective of displaced people. On the contrary, focusing on the social networking of the story keeps the focus on the personal and spatial identities of the people and their place before God.

1.4 EXISTING RESEARCH ON NABOTH'S VINEYARD

In this section I shall summarize the theological research done on the story of Naboth's Vineyard to show why some researchers note and some fail to note the significance of spatial awareness for understanding it. For since the 19th century Old Testament scholars produced a variety of readings of I Kings 21 but the lack of an awareness of space remains in their publications.

To focus on the point which some researchers failed to see I should mention some examples from respectively synchronic and diachronic readings of I Kings 21. Examples of synchronic readings of the story will reveal that the researchers focused on the text of the story to draw a picture of the author and his situation, namely, to which people did he write and for what purpose. The synchronic readers of I Kings 21 were not concerned about "*the traditional semantic*" context of the story, but only with what its author meant to share with his readers. (Patte 1979:14). Examples of the diachronic readings of I Kings 21 will reveal that the researchers were concerned with the text in its context to "*understand how it grew*" through the readings (Noort 1994:134). Diachronic readers of the story of the land of Naboth sought to make by means of a rereading a current picture of this biblical story.

Readers focusing on a *diachronic reading* tabled the question of the character of the text of Naboth's Vineyard. As an answer to this question, they argued that the story of

the land of Naboth could be read as a legend (De Vries 1985:254) or a novel (Rofé 1988:90) or a wisdom teaching (Oeming 1986:373). They also focused on the arrangement of the textual material of the story and argued for the unity of I Kings 21:1-29 (Oeming 1986:369) and noted the additions to and omissions in the text (Bohlen 1978: 93, Rofé 1988:94).

From this viewpoint they formulated a theological answer to their own question (Oeming 1984:373, Deist 1991:51, Van Heerden 1991:212) and not to a question that was asked by people who are aware of being dispossessed of and displaced from their land. The gap in this reading can be heard in Loader's comment on the conclusion of his structural analysis of I Kings 21:1-29. He argued that "*liberation theologians could do a lot with the data within the framework and for the purposes of their method*" (Loader 1991:41) and thus revealed that he preferred to read the story of Naboth's land with mainstream readers.

Some of these readers reveal an awareness of space because they foresaw that "*Naboths in South Africa*" (Bosman 1991:205) eventually would table their claim on land dispossessed by Europeans. They also foresaw that the "*Jezebels and Ahabs*" who occupy the land would intervene to "*redistribute*" the wealth of the land (Bosman 1991:205). They agreed to a change in the proportions of landed and landless South Africans, but warned against the reality that the Old Testament should be used as a "*textbook for modern judicial or economic systems*" (Bosman 1991:205). They agreed that the Old Testament should be used as an important "*source of reference*" and that "*Christians*" should direct the process of redressing the injustices of the past (Bosman 1991:205). They however failed to reveal who from among the much divided Christian community in South Africa, would contribute to a redistribution of the land to the "*benefit*" of all in the "*modern*" South Africa (Bosman 1991:205).

Because of their awareness of the spatial crisis in our land, they tabled an answer that troubled the prophets of Yahweh, namely: *Can injustice be allowed to flourish in the name of the law?* (Van Heerden 1991:213) The Old Testament should never be used as a "*textbook for modern judicial and economic systems*" (Bosman 1991:205). Neither should the prophets of God favour the landed people and fail to proclaim truth, reconciliation, and the reparation of the land.

Old Testament scholars failed to interpret the attachment of native inhabitants to their land in their analysis of the story of Naboth's land. It is because they are too much

focused on the historical and judicial aspects and too little on the social networking of this biblical story. Hence a summary of a few examples of a social-critical reading of the story is able to do justice to the importance of spatial awareness for doing a theology of land.

Readers focusing on *a synchronic reading*, attempted to understand the story of Naboth's Vineyard. They asked questions, like: why did the author place the story between I Kings 20 and 22, instead of after I Kings 19? They focused the argument that the main redactor of the Book of the Kings used the two sources: namely the Elijah cycles and Ahab's wars against Syria, and put these historical events in a chronological order (Van Gelderen 1956:266). Being mentally occupied with the problem of the chronological order of the story, they failed to address the violation of the social order in the ancient city of Jezreel by the king.

They also emphasized the dual location of Naboth's ancestral land as a problem and attempted to solve it by arguing, "*a single setting*" for the story (Napier 1959:369). The focus of the historical-critical readers on the problem of location of Naboth's land was the cause that they failed to hear the expressions referring to awareness of space. Examples in this respect are: "*which was in Jezreel*" (v1), "*his city*" (v8, 11) and "*which was in Samaria*" (v18).

They emphasized the time of the story and argued the contrasting "*ideas of kingship, citizenship and property*" denoting that it emerged from the time when Israel was a kingdom (Andersen 1966:57). The ongoing conflicts between the king of Israel and the prophets of Yahweh indeed kept these contrasting viewpoints on schedule and in the focal point (Fohrer 1969:28). However, these readers failed to perceive that the contrasting viewpoints represent the spatial awareness of people of different walks of life who then had to share the same land.

They, focusing on the time of the composition of the story, identified additions to it that were made by authors during and after the period of the exile of Israel in Babylon. These additions, they argued, are the various condemnations in I Kings 21 in which those authors voiced their stand for Yahweh, the God of Israel and their rejection of Ahab, the king of Israel. They focused too much on the issues to which part of the story of Naboth's land is original (Seebass 1975:474, Würtwwein 1984:247) and which are additions to it (Gray 1970:443, Rehm 1979:207, Würtwwein 1984: 252). Consequently, being too much focused on the compilation of the story, they failed to

ask the important question of how the people experienced it being in or being displaced from their land.

The readers, who employed a social-critical reading of I Kings 21, focused on the influence of the dispossession and displacement of Naboth from his land and highlighted the importance of an awareness of space for doing a theology of land. To illustrate my point I will mention as examples the interpretations of Poggiolli, Napier, Abrahams and Mosala.

Poggiolli, interpreted the story of Naboth's vineyard as "*a pastoral view of the Social Order*," (Poggiolli 1963:3) and identified Naboth with the figure of Meliboeus in the ancient play of the Greek writer Virgil. In the story of Virgil, the figure Meliboeus is the poor rural landowner and the victim who lost his land because of the aggression of the powerful and wealthy city dwellers. In the Biblical story, Naboth the Jezreelite is the poor rural landowner who lost both his life and his land to Ahab, the powerful, wealthy city dweller. Those poor Naboths lived on and from the produce of their land that protected them against internal "*disorder*" but not against the "*violence*" from outside, inflicted on them by powerful landowners" (Poggiolli 1963:3).

He argued that the moral of the stories of Virgil's Meliboeus and the Biblical Naboth are similar but that their respective "*ethos*" differs (Poggiolli 1963:7). For in the Biblical story the poor landowner Naboth is killed and denied a reward because of his righteousness and innocence. However, the powerful landowner in the Biblical story, who murdered and dispossessed the poor of his land portion, repented and is awarded with forgiveness (Poggiolli 1963:8).

Napier agrees with Poggiolli with respect to those wealthy people and influential Christians of mainstream Churches in the First World who conspired against the poor and helpless farmers in the Third World to dispossess them of and displace them from their land. He highlighted three characteristics of the violence measured out by the Ahabs and Jezebels of the First World to the Naboth's of the Third World.

He mentioned the violation of the spatial identity of the Naboths (indigenous people) of the Third World by Ahabs (foreigners) from the First World. These Ahabs, coveting the inheritance of the Naboths, violated the identity of these Naboths by falsely accusing them as people who caused the problem of adjacency (Napier 1976:4). Napier's viewpoint resounds the violation of the spatial identity of landless "*Black Naboths*" (Napier 1976:6) in South Africa by governments, since the invasion of our land.

He also noted the violence of the conspiracy of the Ahabs and leaders of the Church – “*organized religion*” (Napier 1975:10). They conspired to forcefully dispossess the land native inhabitants and eliminate their prophets who dared to voice their protest (Napier 1975:5). In South Africa the displaced human beings in rural areas in Namaqualand are in this respect living proof of the conspiracy between the racist governments and leaders of the Christian Church to violate the spatial identity of natives of the land.

Napier noted a third characteristic, namely, that the violent crimes are committed “*in the Name of God*” (Napier 1975:8). He points out that Church leaders in the First World countries legitimated the crime of land dispossession in Third World countries by calling on the name of God. In so doing they turned a deaf ear on the protest of poor people in Third World countries who also called on the name of God and refused to alienate their ancestral land.

By emphasizing the point that “*the force of right*” (Napier 1975:10) will eventually defeat “*the right of force*” (Napier 1975:10), he argues that the First World conspirators murdered and dispossessed many Naboths and Elijahs in Latin America. They however failed to eliminate the natural attachment of the Naboths to their land and uproot the message of their God from the Latin American soil.

Like Napier, Abrahams also argued the viewpoint of God’s intervention on the side of “*the vulnerable and weak people*” - the dispossessed black Naboths in South Africa (Abrahams 1990:19). These are those “black human beings who remain conscious of the evil that they are “*poor and weak*” (Abrahams 1990: 119) because the wealthy and powerful landowners murdered their ancestors and dispossessed their land.

Defining the place of the black Naboths before God, he highlighted their belief in the intervention of God on their side. For these landless blacks, he argued, believe that no “*earthly power*” has the right to take away their “*God given land*” (Abrahams 1990: 119).

Land in the Bible constitutes the “*freedom or unfreedom*” (Mosala 1991: 22) of respectively landed and landless people, argues Mosala, therefore landed blacks are the free and landless blacks the unfree natives of the land.

This reality defines the struggle for more power between a minority of wealthy white Ahabs and the exploited masses of black Naboths on the South African market. He correctly illustrates that the market is a place of struggle and violence for the sake of absolute control set up by political powerful people.

The violence in the land manifested itself in that white authorities displaced black people “*forcibly from their land*” (Mosala 1991:22). Local black councilors and homeland leaders contributed to the violation of the dignity of blacks in their areas (Mosala 1991:22). He identified three types of violence that people in positions of power kept in place against native South Africans. These three types of violence are the following, namely, the violence of the state; the violence meted out against defenseless people and the violence of wealthy people against the unemployed (Mosala 1991:22).

I disagree with Mosala’s viewpoint that Elijah represented the interests of the middle class in Israel (Mosala 1991:23), for Elijah, because of his appearances at and disappearances from places, was not restricted to a specific place. He was a prophet of God who voiced the protest of Israelites whose spatial identity Ahab, the king of Israel, violated. By voicing the protest of the landed Israelites whom Ahab dispossessed from their ancestral land portions, Elijah proved himself to be an obedient prophet of Yahweh, the God of the Israelites.

1.5. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Being from a cultural context different from that of the narrator of the story of Naboth’s land, I shall read it as a Khoi displaced to the periphery of his land. Reading the story from this place, I perceive the land as land occupied by Europeans and the Khoi as natives being kept by them on the periphery.

I shall bring into focus a reading that kept in play the respective social locations of the storyteller of Naboth’s land and that of the Khoi (Okure 1995:52) Okure focused on three levels of social location, namely, that of the biblical people; the biblical author and the biblical reader. I, for that matter, shall focus on only two, namely: that of the storyteller of Naboth’s land and that of the displaced Khoi engaged in the protest against displacement. For according to the Khoi reflection on Naboth’s land did the storyteller account events in which he/she was involved. Engaged Khoi focus on Naboth’s land because they are natives who are conscious of themselves being natives on the periphery and of their land being under European occupation.

Firstly, the displaced Khoi are natives, *who identified themselves* as people who are on the move to the centre to bring about social change in their living space.

Being unemployed, they voice their protest because of the thousands of landless and unemployed fellow Africans on street corners, begging the employed motorists to

employ them for only one day. They are the under-educated citizens who collect waste paper, plastic and metal in the living spaces of their wealthy or employed neighbours next to and near to their townships. They are the hungry human beings who sell these scrap materials to keep the wolf at bay and starvation away for just another day. They articulate the hunger of the homeless native who never has any money to buy food or pay for a shelter for his/her family. They are the displaced native citizens who have to sweep the streets of and collect the refuse bins in our affluent suburbs to earn a place in the sun.

They are displaced families who trust God in prayer for an employment opportunity of only one of their members in order to have daily a bread on their table. They are the thankful families who have to survive on the government allowance of a disabled or retired member for weeks. They are the sick human beings who have to be patient while they wait on doctors and chemists to distribute tablets at the day hospitals and clinics in the townships.

They look and listen to the story in I Kings 21 to become more than merely mentally occupied with its trend but to answer to the test of being engaged to transform their miseries into delight. Hence they suffer physical and mental pain because of the occupation of their land and refuse to denounce their spatial identity. They are aware of the double injury imposed on them because they are spiritually impoverished and lack the right to enjoy the dignity of living from the wealth of the land (Mosala 1995:242).

Secondly, they are natives who are conscious of *their right to be heard* in their mother tongue in their living spaces on and beyond the periphery.

Thus, they read the story of Naboth's land as human beings who suffer because foreigners occupy their land and insult their spatial identity. Listening to the story of Naboth's land, they can hear the people denying them the right to be heard and seen as human beings with a dignified place before God. Because of that they voice their disapproval of the violation of their cultural identity as the creation into which God breathed so that they can speak out in their mother tongue. These experiences caused the Khoi to look and listen in order to understand their place before God in God's land. Because of these experiences God opens the way for them of knowing what he does on their behalf to survive on the periphery.

The reading of Naboth's land from this place *is* not one that mainstream readers made accessible for the sake of people on the periphery (West 1995:80). Neither is it a

reading that mainstream readers provide for the sake of educated Khoi on the periphery (West 1999:40). It is one that displays their awareness of space and of being denied to display their spatial identity by living on their portion of the land and from what she yields.

Reading from this perspective is a re-educative exercise to find the shelf on which partial historians kept the history of the Khoi hidden from the eyes of the Khoi. It is re-educative because the Khoi can walk in the spoor of the ancestors to understand the paths along which they followed God. Hence, walking in the spoor of the ancestors with God is a faith experience that opens their eyes to perceive God's omnipresence in their life-death struggle. For having seen God in their history enables them to perceive their place before God on the periphery of their land.

It is a faith experience that establishes their respect for the dignity of human beings because they are the creation of God. It is a faith enterprise in which they share among themselves their fortunes and misfortunes because of good and evil events on the periphery and beyond.

Thirdly, the reading of Naboth's land from this viewpoint of the displaced Khoi enables them *to analyse the history* of the ancestors and read with insight. Being able to read with insight opens their mind for a re-education in their culture and to make *an analysis* of them being a displaced people in their land for the sake of those who rape her and exploit them. It enables the displaced Khoi to cleanse their minds of colonial imprints that obstruct the view on the faith of the ancestors.

Being cleansed from colonial imprints on their minds the displaced are able to perceive the spatial disorder in their living space as an evil kept in place by evil neighbours. It enables the displaced Khoi to know that the colonizers keep the oppression of the Khoi in place by continuing the occupation of the land.

To illustrate the violation of the cultural identity of the Khoi, I will reread some of the paintings and letters of their colonizers. Because of the evil process of colonization that was initiated by European settlers, the Khoi culture can only be seen on the periphery.

The colonizers *violated the freedom* of the Khoi to practice of life in peaceful coexistence on and from the produce of the land. The life in freedom of these native Africans can be seen when one rereads the European paintings on p70,72,79 and 81.

The painting on p70 illustrates the body language of Khoi freedom of sitting as the owners on the soil. The painting on p72 illustrates the Khoi withdrawal to the lifestyle

of gatherers rather than be enslaved in their land. By their withdrawal to the periphery of their land in this manner, the Khoi dramatized their protest against colonization. The painting on p79 illustrates the freedom of the Khoi nomad to live on and from the produce of the land and trek around in their tribal living space. The painting on p81 illustrates the culture of the Khoi of living in peaceful coexistence by sharing their land portion with European settlers.

The colonizers *violated the human dignity* of the Khoi by displacing them from their tribal pastures. Violation of the human dignity of the Khoi can be seen when one rereads the paintings on p72,73 and 74.

The paintings on p73 and p74 illustrate the servile position of displaced Khoi men and women in the service of European settlers. The painting on p74 illustrates the situation of colonized Khoi families, being mercilessly dispossessed of their land and displaced to a Christian mission station. The first painting on p72 illustrates the position of displaced Khoi who lost their livestock and tribal pastures and had to adapt to the lifestyle of hunters and gatherers.

The colonizers *violated the spatial identity* of the Khoi by invading their portions of the land. Violations of the spatial identity of the Khoi can be seen when one rereads the paintings on p70, 73 and 74. The painting on p70 illustrates the violent invasion of the land of the Cape Peninsula Khoi by the Dutch. The paintings on p72 illustrate the total control of the colonizers over the land. In the colonizer with his rifle ready, overlooking his herds and flocks, symbolized their military and economic control in the land. The presence of his wife next to him articulates his position of power over his servants sitting around an open fire within hearing distance (Dube 1996:17). The other painting on p74 illustrates the dominance of European males in the land. The attitude of participants in European “*male game*” had the effect of a double-edged sword on the Khoi women servants. The European women in the group are apparently only listeners in that European men only conversation. Their Khoi female servants were barred from being either participants or listeners to the all-male conversation.

The painting on p82 illustrates the Khoi driving Portuguese invaders back into the sea from where they came to occupy their land.

One can also observe the violation of the spatial identity of the Khoi in documents and the letters about the dispossession of the land of the Khoi. The official letter in Addendum 2.8.2 displays the total disregard of the British for the spiritual unity of the Khoi with their land. The letter in Addendum 2.8.3 displays the insult of the RMS to

the spatial dignity of the Khoi. The letters in Addendum 2.8.4 and 5 display the insults of the DRC to the cultural identity of the Khoi.

The breakdown reveals the violent force that those Europeans applied to come into possession of all the Khoi portion of God's land. Having displaced the Khoi from their physical living space the Europeans geared them to violate the temporal living space and pollute the cultural living space of the Khoi. By continuing the "*imperial process*" (Donaldson 1996:3) of raping their allotment in the presence of God they display their despise for the human dignity of the Khoi.

Finally, an appropriate analysis of the situation of the displaced Khoi causes the reader to provide *a correct reflection* on the place of the Khoi before God. With regard to a consideration of their place before God, the engaged Khoi reader is aware that human beings are the creations of God, who is always present on his land. For they believe that they are the creation of God, the Creator, who is ever present with them, his creation. The celestial bodies of sun, moon and stars are the symbols of God's omnipresence (Carstens 1975:80). God is the Creator-Father who placed these symbols of his presence for the sake of humankind that they may perceive his glory and always look up unto Him in times of need. He placed the symbols of his omnipresence in a specific order with one another in order to appear and disappear and to be afar and to be near. Having placed these symbols in that order to, God can neither be ordered to act accordingly, nor dismissed because he failed to act according the desires of humankind. The coexistence of these symbols of God in space, defines that God desires that humankind should occupy his earth in peaceful coexistence.

According to the Khoi thought God is actively present to uphold the spatial order that he shaped on the earth for humankind to live on and from what it yields (Carstens 1975:82). By living according to this divine agenda for humankind, they contribute to the spatial order that God shaped for them in their living space. This divine shaped order is two-fold, namely, that humankind should live in an ultimate relationship with the land and in peaceful coexistence on the land.

The divine programme that God introduced for humankind to follow in order to contribute to the divine shaped order, pronounces his wisdom as *di Gurub* (the Creator). For example the divine plan excludes the probability that the woman should be the slave of the man and that one people should colonize another.

This reflection of the Khoi on the place of humankind before God, I have illustrated in my reading of the paintings of the colonizers. For example the paintings on p70, 73,

78 and 80 also illustrate the place of Khoi women before God. God created husband and wife to be equal as partners; therefore the wife should not be the slave of her husband and vice versa. For example, the woman in the painting on p78 sits while her partner is packing their belongings on the ox for their trek to greener pastures. On their trek she, however, will *abba* the baby (see p69 and 80) and gather food for them to eat. In the painting on p73 however, the two Khoi women serve while their three European counterparts drink coffee with their husbands. These two paintings illustrate the contrast between the Khoi and the colonists' considerations with regard to the place of women before God.

The thought on the presence of God with his creation comes from their analysis of the conflict between good and evil forces and their influence on people (Carstens 1975:81). Their belief in the active presence of God means not that they deny the active presence of //Gaunab the supernatural rival of God. In fact, their reflection on the conflict between good and evil acknowledges the reality that they have among their ranks *!gai-oan* (good doers) and //gaunan (evil doers) (Carstens 1975:84). The conflicts between these forces of good and evil cause the ongoing consequences of "good life and bad death" among them (Carstens 1975:81).

The reflection of the Khoi with regard to the place of humankind before God provides for them a choice either for what they know is good and against what is evil in its outcome. The outcome of the ongoing conflict between good and evil constitutes the basis of the ongoing schooling of human beings as the creations of God. Being informed with regard to the cause of a good life and a bad death and because of the outcome of good and evil life the peripheral person is equipped to choose the good and reject the evil.

In addition the Khoi's reflection demands that the engaged readers should exercise their faith in God, by making life and death contributions in order to advance the good life and defy an evil death. Life and death contributions by peripheral people to advance a good life disallow them to think of personal comfort and strive for a comfort zone of their own. Life and death contributions require from people with a materialistic attachment to their land, to get rid of and replace it by a natural attachment. For in Khoi thought with regard to their life and death contribution to life in the land requires a holistic approach. By being naturally attached to the land personal greed has to make way for communal need and violent exploitation of people has to be put out of place by life in peaceful coexistence.

In symbolic language an engaged reading shows that contributions to good life among peripheral people are like the desert plants. Being naturally protected against the merciless heat of the day and the bitter cold of the night, these plants are for long periods exposed to a lack of moisture. Like these desert plants peripheral people, however, are part of the fine artwork of God our Creator-Father to display the beauty of his love for his creation. Hence the Khoi reflection requests a faith response from the community that they should express by making contributions to life in peaceful coexistence. This exercise of faith is responsible because it places peripherals to be on both the giving and receiving ends of love and kindness. For God also loves to be on both ends of love i.e. to be both the subject and the object of love (Rothuizen 1973:119). The Khoi reflection accommodates a mutual responsibility and creates space for all on both ends of the sharing of love in the community. It challenges the attitudes of those people who at all times prefer to be the trustees of love and those who at all times prefer to be the beneficiaries.

Hence, by their reflection on an engaged breakdown they acknowledge their dependence on God whom they believe provides life in abundance for all the creatures of the earth. The contemplation on God's providence brings into focus their hope in God enabling them to be a landed people. The hope becomes visible when engaged people seek to live from what God provides and on what they need and not out of greed from the fat of the land. For the reflection charges the engaged people with a mindset that is opposed to spatial evils that caused people to remain displaced from their land.

The reflection provides an inspiration to the hard-pressed peripherals to choose what is good and reject what is evil, to hope on God and never give up. It defies lip service to a Euro-centric reflection that fails to touch the soul of natives who hope to find edible morsels on fly infested dumps far outside the cities of the land. It challenges the disengaged displaced Khoi to value good hope in their dignity because of the love of God for them and share in the delight of those who defeated the evil spirit of despair.

1.6. TERMINOLOGY

1.6.1. Identity

The concept identity defines that a person is *a human being* and he/she has specific individual characteristics. It emphasizes that the condition (form) of being a human

being distinguishes a person from animals, reptiles, etc who share with them their living space, called the earth. Being a human being means that a person should never be thought of and treated as an animal by other human beings because they are both part of the divine artwork of our Creator-Father. Hence the humanbeingness of a person is his/her primary identity.

Identity also defines that a person has *specific individual characteristics* that distinguish him/her from other human beings and by which he/she can be described. God acts against human beings in positions of power who violate the basic identity of fellow human beings on the basis of their distinct individual characteristics, because both are created after his image and likeness.

Thus, this concept highlights that the primary identification that is similar to all human beings, is their human dignity. It happens that, "*the physical particles*" (Macquarie 1984:279) of the human body of human beings can be altered because of old age, illness and misfortune. Because the primary identity remains throughout these negative influences, fellow human beings should keep their respect for it in place.

The concept identity is also applied to describe the *secondary associations* of human beings. For it happens that human beings who live in the same street have different political social, religious and cultural associations. Because of this they can be identified as democrats or socialists, wealthy landowners or poor laborers, Christians or Muslims, Afrikaners or Khoi.

Racist regimes applied negations such as, non-Europeans and non-whites to identify the native South Africans whose land they invaded. These negations denote the fact that the Europeans can never be seen as Africans and that Africans are not Europeans and deserve not to be respected by Europeans. Expressions that denote human identity should always be positive evaluations with regard to the dignity of human beings and correspond with respect for their culture. Thus the mis-identifications: "*blacks and coloureds*" that so-called "whites" imposed by means of racist laws on native inhabitants of South Africa were actually insults on the creations of God in this part of Africa.

1.6.2. Space

The concept space has two distinct dimensions, namely, the *temporal dimension* that denotes the idea of time and the *territorial dimension* that denotes the idea of place.

These two dimensions are inseparable and we can only distinguish between them by means of an abstract discourse.

The separation of the temporal and territorial dimensions in the concept 'space' is a phenomenon that occurs in the context of the western world. In this respect I mention the argument of Brinkman in his dissertation on the concept space in the Old Testament, that space and time are seen as separate categories are because of "*a development within the Western science and philosophy*" (1992:39). In the context of the Old Testament world, he correctly points out that the uses of concepts with spatial connotations are "*in particular connected with time and time experience*" (Brinkman 1992:39).

I shall use the concept 'space' in the sense of land as *an all-inclusive living space* – a physical, temporal and cultural living space. In so doing, I make a distinction between time and living place but refrain from separating time and living space. For example, being still on the periphery of the new South Africa, the Khoi more intensely experience the contrast between pre-colonial and colonial South Africa. For because of the occupation of our ancestral land by pre-apartheid, apartheid and post apartheid regimes we still await the restoration of our land.

I shall apply the concept living space *inclusively*, in the sense that it defines the land on and from the produce of which the Khoi live. The notion the land as living space refers to land as physical, temporal and cultural living space.

Due to the ongoing colonization and continuing occupation of the land, it indeed becomes a living space whose natural resources are stretched to its limits. For example, while some European farmers own more than one farm and enough water for their families, some displaced Khoi families are unemployed and suffer ill health because of malnutrition.

The peripheral spaces, to which the colonizers displaced the Khoi, are places in the land to be born, to suffer from ill health and to be buried in her soil. These living spaces will never qualify as living spaces because of their lack in natural resources like, hectares of fertile soil and an abundance of water for all the living creatures within their boundaries.

1.6.3. Spatial identity

The notion of spatial identity refers to *the place or territory* to which a person, family and a people identify could themselves. For example the people of the continents of

Africa, identify themselves as Africans, the citizens of South Africa identify themselves as South Africans.

The notion of spatial identity refers to people with respect to their *attachment* to their living space. This attachment of people to the land could be either natural or not natural. Naturally attached people are those who have both spiritual and material links with the land. Not naturally attached people had no spiritual attachment with the land. The divergent attachment of peoples to the land can be observed in their language with regard to the interests of native South Africans.

Spatial identity is subjective, positive and liberating in terms of their association with and disassociation from the people who share with them a living space in the land.

With regard to the *subjective aspect* of spatial identity, people associate themselves with some and disassociate themselves from others. The subjective option of people causes individuals to form groups and identify themselves as different from others in that specific living space. These associations and disassociations of people who have to share the same living space in the land cause them to be seen by fellow citizens as, Africans and Europeans.

Africans are the citizens of South Africa born from an African parent or parents and who practise their African culture. Those Africans living in South Africa, who denounced their culture and accepted a European one, could identify themselves as, Afro-Europeans.

Europeans are the citizens of South Africa, born from a European parent or parents and who practise their European culture. Those Europeans living in South Africa, who denounced their European culture and accepted an African one, could identify themselves as, Euro-Africans.

With regard to the *positive aspect* of spatial identity, it is apparent that people are inclined to associate them with people because of similar cultural preferences. They are also inclined to dissociate themselves from people who seek to insult, violate and destroy the cultural preferences of neighbours. For example, after the 1994 election some Afrikaners became inclined to associate with Afrikaans-speaking, while other Afrikaners tend to associate with English-speaking South Africans

With regard to the *liberating aspect* of spatial identity, some South Africans committed themselves to contribute to the development of their land. Those citizens are people who, being naturally attached to the land, perceived the land as the mother of all the citizens.

They are people who belonged to the land as much as that the land belonged to them, for they are geared to protect and develop the cultural identity of all the peoples of the land. Being geared to protect the cultural identity of all, they would disassociate themselves from those people who are geared to exploit the resources of the land and leave when they achieved their goals.

1.6.4. Spatial awareness

The concept spatial awareness defines *the mental condition* of human beings with regard to their attachment to land as a place on which and from which they live. During the apartheid regime, for example, inhabitants of our land were aware that they might join any religious group. They were also aware that they might not associate freely with every fellow citizen within the boundaries of our land. Some fellow citizens are made to believe that they are superior because they are “whites” and had to govern the other peoples of the land. Other fellow citizens were made to believe that they are inferior because they are “non-whites” and consequently had to be governed by the “whites” of the land. The introduction of a democratic government in our land in April 1994 adapted the spatial awareness of space of some of our fellow citizens. Hence, spatial awareness denotes a state of the human mind that involves geographical issues and affects the living conditions of “*the different communities*” in a land. (Olivier 1996:251).

The concept also indicates a *continuing interaction* between people and their living space in the land. This interaction between peoples of the land is an expression of their cultural identity that is an activity which is physical, rational and emotional.

With regard to *the physical aspect* of this interaction, the land is, in symbolic language, the mother of those Khoi who are on the periphery of their occupied land. Not the people who occupy the land but the land itself yields, like a pregnant woman providing oxygen and food to her unborn baby through her own lifeblood, also to them a living space. They exploit the land not merely to produce food and to provide employment to the Khoi, but to fill their own pockets.

I summarized the physical aspect of the interaction of the Khoi with their land in my poem, *the Christ of the Khoi* that expresses the experiences of the displaced Nama-Khoi community of the Olifants River flood plains in 1927. Being violently dispossessed of and displaced from their living space because of a conspiracy between

Europeans, they experienced that Christ acts differently in their living space from what the DRC missionaries told them (see Addendum 7.4).

With regard to the *rational aspect* of the interaction of the Khoi with their land, they remain conscious of their attachment to their temporal living space. The Khoi of the Richtersveld excellently illustrated this attachment to the land, when they celebrated on the weekend of the 5th and 6th April 2003 the victory of “*the force of right*” (Napier 1975:10). For the judges of the Appeal Court unanimously decided in their favour because they refused to be misidentified as “*Coloureds*” and remained naturally attached to the land of which they were dispossessed in 1847.

The rational aspect of this interaction of people with their land constitutes the awareness of a person or a group of having a rightful claim on land because of the belief that God apportioned to them the land. The rational aspect of the spatial awareness of the Khoi one can see and hear in the trend of my poem, *the earth is God's earth* (see Addendum 7.6).

The *emotional aspect* of the interaction of the Khoi with their land denotes that they are conscious of their land as their cultural living space. According to this aspect of the spatial awareness of the Khoi their land is the breathing space for the past, present and future generations. For the land is, in their view, the soil in which the ancestors are resting and in which their descendants are waiting to emerge as the current generations. The land as cultural living space constitutes the environment in which they can express their feelings and voice their thoughts in their mother tongue.

The emotional aspect of spatial awareness highlights the consciousness of the Khoi of their language that is the vehicle for their way of life. I have summarized the emotional awareness of the Khoi in my poem; *we sit at polluted waters* (see Addendum 7.1).

Together these three aspects define *the existential aspect* of the spatial awareness of human beings. Hence, these aspects function together to inform the Khoi people with regard to their identity as native South Africans whose land foreigners occupy. The co-operation of the physical, rational and emotional aspects define the existential dimension of the Khoi people's awareness of space. These aspects of spatial awareness are as crucial for the Khoi existence, as the natural sources of unpolluted soil, water and air are for the vegetation in our land.

1.6.5. The Khoi

The Khoi people are displaced Africans on the periphery of their ancestral land that is currently occupied by people of European origin. The ancestors of these displaced natives once inhabited the whole of the western and southern parts of Southern Africa, (Elphick 1977:51, Newton-King 1991:106). In colonial times they identified themselves by the term "Khoi" to those Europeans, who in the second half of the 17th century AD invaded and since then have occupied Khoi territories.

The *self-identification* "Khoi", translated into the English language, simply means, human being. Some Europeans identify our forefathers and foremothers as the *Khoikhoi* (Schapera 1930:3), which is a repetition or an emphatic use of the term "Khoi." The identification "Khoikhoi", frequently used by first generation European settlers, translated into English, means "a true human being." The term Khoikhoi, therefore, emphasizes the human dignity of the Khoi people.

The term "Khoisan" is a combination of the common self-identification: "Khoi" and the Khoi term "San." The term "San" denotes people that are biological relatives of the Khoi but do not spatially identify themselves with the Khoi.

1.6.6. The Nama

The language spoken by the Khoi people of Namaqualand is "Nama." In Namibia, Nama is an official language and is mostly spoken by the inhabitants in the Southern and central parts of Namibia.

The most *distinctive characteristic* of Nama is the click sounds, which are formed motions of the tongue from different positions of the palate or "the roof of the mouth" (Ps 137:6). Nama consists of four different click sounds that are generously applied to express the Khoi concepts. In the translation of the Bible in Nama, the translators, used the following signs: //, !, † and / to write the language of the Khoi. For the function of these signs in Nama see: Index of Nama concepts. In order to master this language it is essential to master the art of listening before one should attempt to master the art of speaking it.

Nama was colonized by the successive colonial, union and apartheid regimes and displaced by Dutch, English and Afrikaans. Both governmental and church officials contributed to the violent process which has kept the language on the periphery. Since 1998 Nama is taught at primary school level to children and adults at !Hubus in the

Richtersveld in the Northern Cape. In Namibia, however, Nama is one of the official languages.

1.6.7. Elob Mís

Elob Mís is the name that translators gave to the translation (1966) of the Bible into the Nama language. The name “*Elob Mís*” means “**God’s Word**” but it is not an authentic Nama expression. For the concept “**Elob**” is a derivation from the Hebrew term, *Elohim*. The concept “**mís**,” however, is an authentic Nama concept that means “*word*.” The name for the 1966 translation of the Bible into Nama is, consequently, the product of a combination of a Hebrew and a Nama concept.

In his analysis of the belief of the Khoi in God, Hahn noted that Rev. Knudsen a missionary of the Rhenish Mission Society (RMS) “*changed the Khoikhoi Tsúí //Goab into Elob, taking it from the Hebrew Elohim*” (Hahn 1881:55).

In the thesis I shall use expressions from *Elob Mís* because of the language. For the European translators at places popularize some but not all Nama thought and concepts. Consequently, a translator can knowingly introduce foreign ideas into the thought patterns of cultural groups. When these groups come to notice one foreign concept they could listen and look more consciously and they might even find foreign ideas.

In the story about the dispossession of the Vineyard of Naboth, they correctly translated place names “**Jezreels, Samarias and Israels**” (I Kings 21:1,7), namely, with an “s”. For the name of a place in the language is expressed in the feminine, because in Khoi thought she is the womb from which a person came forth. The name of Ahab’s wife is consequently spelled “**Isebels**” (v.5, 7,23,25) because the name of women always has an “s” at the end.

The translators exchanged the original concept “*silver*” (v2,6,25) in favour of the more popular concept “**marin**” (money). However, in I Kings 20:39 they retained the Nama concept, **!uri-urib** (silver). In v4 they exchanged the European concept “*bed*” for the Nama concept *kharob* (in the Afrikaans language “*karos*”) and in v27 they exchanged the concept “*sackcloth*” for the Nama concept *//hob* (shouldercloth).

In *Elob Mís* the concept **!hub-eib** (earth) describes land as the physical living space of all the earth-bound creatures as the counterparts of water creatures. The living space of humankind is described as **!hanab** (a garden) which defines a portion of cultivated

land and defines spatial order. The concept **!garo** (wilderness or desert) is the counterpart of **!hanab** (a garden) and defines a situation of disorder.

1.6.8 Land ownership

In the Old Testament the concept of land ownership is articulated by different words in Hebrew, such as, נחלה, אהזה and ירשה.

The first concept, נחלה conveys the idea of land inherited from the family or tribal ancestors. It defined the spiritual bond between people and the portions of land allotted to their ancestors (I Kings 21:3). The נחלה tradition defined a specific land portion as the possession of a specific family or tribe.

Tradition allowed a family to alienate their נחלה temporarily in times of economic crises to another family within the boundaries of their tribal נחלה but disallowed that both family and tribal נחלה should become the permanent possession of another family or tribe. Being protected land no נחלה should ever become the private property of any individual inside or outside the tribal territory so that no family or tribe should be landless.

No נחלה should ever be sold to become the private property of any financially powerful individual or group of individuals. The tradition regarded such purchases as a crime in the eyes of God because it equals the violation of borders of the poor (Deut. 19:14, 27:17; I Kings 21:3,4; Job 24:2; Hos. 5:10). For according to the tradition the land belonged to God who was the actual owner and who decided that land should be apportioned (Maarsingh 1974:232) to the poor so that they should not be landless (Lev 25:23).

Moreover, the idea that God was the only landowner demanded that only he should be worshipped in the land. The possessors of a family and a tribal נחלה should exercise a strong belief in God because their land is in a sense the dwelling place of God (Roubos 1972:93-94). Hence, should the possessors of his land cause a bloodguilt in God's land (Deut 32:42), God will uproot them from his land (II Chron 7:20) to reconcile his land and his people.

The Hebrew concept: אהזה indicates land portions acquired because of an agreement between a buyer and a seller to buy a land portion for an amount of silver or to exchange a specific land portion for another one (I Kings 21:2,6). The concept also

denotes the seizure of land by people who destroyed existing structures in war and the confiscation of land by wealthy landowners (Fohrer 1966:114).

The ownership of land defines development from communal possession of land to a monetary and market economy. For by purchasing the land of the poor for money (I Kings 21:2,6,15) and by confiscating the land of their debtors who were unable to pay their loans, some people became the owners of estates (I Kings 21:1) and the owners of more than one land portion (I Kings 21:1,6).

The concept brought into focus the cause of the prophetic dispute against greedy landowners who caused impoverished families to be landless and unemployed. For it happened that the dispossession of impoverished families caused the landed people to cause more social injustices (Fohrer 1966:222) against landless fellow citizens (Neh 5:1-5).

The Hebrew concept הָרַשָׁה denotes an act of violence against the authentic inhabitants of a land by people who came from outside to occupy the land as their own. Such a violent intrusion into the land portion and a violation of the traditional land rights of a family can be observed in I Kings 21. For in this story the narrator, condemning the violent dispossession of Naboth by Ahab, used three times the root of the Hebrew verb רָשָׁה that denotes to take in possession.

The story of the dispossession of the land of Naboth of Jezreel by Ahab the king of Samaria (I Kings 21) portrays these divergent and contrasting viewpoints on land ownership. The family of Naboth of Jezreel represented the viewpoint that human beings are only the present caretakers of the land, for God is the actual owner of land. God provided through them, the keepers of the land, that their descendants should not be landless generations. That their descendants could continue the relationship of their ancestors with Yahweh, their God, Naboth and his family kept possession of the land (Wright 1997:178). Ahab the king of Samaria represented the viewpoint that land could be privately owned by means of a land purchase transaction. That king, consequently, attempted to conclude an agreement with Naboth to become the owner of his land that was located next to his palace in Jezreel. Jezebel, his wife, represented the viewpoint that the king should take possession of a portion of land if he desires to own it. He should not withdraw into his palace when a subject denied him his land, but eliminate such a person to take possession of his land.

The concept land in the context of this biblical story (I Kings 21) shows that it “*is never simply physical dirt but always physical dirt freighted with social meanings*” (Brueggemann 1977:2). Therefore, landownership in the biblical context denotes the relationship of people with both God and those human beings who share the land with them. This relationship of landowners with their God (Helberg 1998:230, Wright 1999:83,84) and the neighbours would have either favourable or fatal consequences for both them and their neighbours.

The Khoi viewpoint that their land is the communal possession of their ancestors corresponds with the biblical viewpoint of the *נחלה*. They believe in the omnipresence of God in the land and that humankind should refrain from imposing foreign viewpoints on the people with whom they share the land. Being only “*boundary creatures*” (Barth 1966:63) human beings can never influence God to endorse viewpoints that they imposed on fellow human beings.

1.6.9 Prophetic critique

Some of the prophets of Yahweh, the God of Israel, sometimes openly took a specific stand against Israel’s leaders and for Israel’s God. By this public stand they reminded those generations of the people of Israel of the covenant relationship between them and Yahweh, their God. This relationship between Israel and their God was the basis of the analysis of these prophets for the relationship that they should have with people who share with them the land.

The critique of these worshippers of God carried a definite vocabulary that reminds the people that Yahweh is their God and they are his people. It could be heard in the awareness of Naboth namely that Yahweh forbids (I Kings 21:3) that he should do “*what is good in his own eyes*” (I Kings 21:2). It could be heard in the words of these prophets against the king, namely, that he did “*what is evil in the view of Yahweh*” (I Kings 21:20,25). Making use of “*deut. Sprachgebrauch*” (Timm 1982:126) they opposed the violators of those authentic commandments of Yahweh and voiced their protest of the poor who were dispossessed of and displaced from their ancestral land by the wealthy landowners.

This relationship between God and Israel was the basis of their critique, these prophets of Yahweh were trustworthy in their condemnation of crimes committed by both the common people and their leaders. Naboth refused to alienate his family land

(I Kings 21:3) because he knew that in doing such a thing, he will be guilty of committing “*sacrilege*” against himself and his generation (Napier 1976:7). The prophet condemned Ahab the king of Israel for murdering Naboth the Jezreelite and taking possession of the land of his ancestors (I Kings 21:18).

This bond between Yahweh and Israel, being the basis of the prophetic analysis, cause them to focus on the steadfast love of Yahweh for Israel and his demand that they should faithfully exercise justice and compassion (Mullenberg 1967:237) towards both the neighbour and the stranger who dwell among them. Because of their love for Yahweh, these prophets faithfully opposed the alienation of the traditional land rights of the poor. They were indeed conservative Yahwists (Fohrer 1968:4) but that was because of their bond with Yahweh, whom they believed is the only true God in Israel.

These prophets, having positioned themselves on the side of Yahweh their God, highlighted in their analysis both the causal and consequential elements of this relationship between their God and Israel. The causal elements of the analysis were the good or evil things that Israel did in the eyes of Yahweh, their God, by, which they honoured or insulted him. The consequential elements of the analysis were the good and evil things that befall them because they honoured or insulted Yahweh, their God. The consequential elements of the analysis of the prophets corresponded with claims that the people will either live in their land or be violently displaced from it by the hand of Yahweh.

1.7. CONCLUSION

The dispossession of the land of the Khoi and the occupation of their portions of the land in South Africa, are acts of violence by Europeans who left their homelands to live in this part of the continent. Those Europeans set up a colonial governmental structure to manage the land and regulate the movement of the landless Khoi in the service of settler farmers and the location of landless Khoi in “*protective insulation*” (Fredrickson 1981:6) on the mission stations. The colonial government and the Christian mission co-operated to keep the process of the dispossession of all the Khoi portions of the land on track and the occupation of the land by Europeans in place. In this regard the co-operation between the Department of Lands of the Government of the Union of South Africa and the Home Missions Commission of the DRC to

dispossess the land of the Namas on the Olifants River flood plains provides an excellent example.

Personal experiences revealed that the DRC, for example, firmly positioned herself on the side of the dispossessors of land and against the dispossessed in the land. Because they failed to address the issue of land in their theological program for “Colored” ministers for the DRMC. Moreover some congregations of the DRMC were afraid to become engaged in land issues because of the DRC who subsidized them.

How then should *the displaced Khoi* on the periphery of their portion of the land understand the story of the dispossession of the land of Naboth (I Kings 21)? They failed to hear the good news on their behalf, because colonial regimes displaced them to and the racist successors keep them on the periphery of their land.

In my *theological hypothesis* I shall maintain that because God is the owner of land, the natural attachment of a people with their portion of God’s land, is crucial to live a composed life on the land. By granting to people the blessings of rain on the land, God enables them to live in peaceful coexistence with one another in the same living space. Landedness establishes the good order because of God but landlessness constitutes the evil of spatial disorder that evil people keep in place because of them. Old Testament scholars should focus on the social aspects of the story of Naboth’s land to highlight the place of God in the spatial crisis of people on the periphery of their land.

Theological research with regard to the story of Naboth’s land reveals that some Old Testament scholars noted but others failed to note the significance of spatial awareness for understanding the message of the story. The difference between those who saw and those who failed to see the significance of awareness of space is because they respectively focus on a synchronic and a diachronic analysis of the story. The diachronic readers of the story focused on social-critical analysis to determine the message of the story of Naboth’s land for current readers. The diachronic readers focused on a historical -critical analysis of the text to determine how the text grew in its historical context, until its finalization in its current form.

Being from a cultural context different from that of the storyteller of the story of Naboth’s land, I shall read it as *a Khoi displaced* to the periphery of his land. Reading

Naboth's land from this perspective, I perceive the land of the Khoi as occupied land and the Khoi as natives being kept on the periphery of their native land.

The reading the story Naboth's land *from the perspective of* displaced Khoi focused on the social location of these native South Africans. The reading of this story *by the Khoi* on the periphery reveals that they make a serious effort to understand the social position of the people in the story. Hence, displaced Khoi reading the story of the land of Naboth are Khoi who engaged them in the struggle to move from being kept on the periphery to the centre of events.

By reading the story from their perspective as Khoi displaced to the periphery the Khoi voiced their *right to be heard* in their mother tongue in their living spaces on and beyond the periphery. They read the story of Naboth's land as natives who suffer because foreigners occupy their portion of God's land on the continent.

The reading of Naboth's land from this viewpoint enables the Khoi *to analyse the history* of their ancestors and read with insight. Being able to read the story of Naboth's land with insight opens the mind of the Khoi to educating them in the culture of the ancestors. Because of an analysis of their history and culture the Khoi are able to perceive the evils caused by the colonization of their portion of God's land. The colonizers violated *the freedom* of the Khoi to live on and from the produce of the land. They violated *the human dignity* of the Khoi by displacing them from their tribal pastures. They violated *the spatial identity* of the Khoi by invading their portions of the land.

An appropriate analysis of the situation of the displaced Khoi causes the reader to provide *a correct reflection* on the place of the Khoi before God. With regard to considering their place before God, the displaced Khoi are aware that human beings are the creation of God.

In the next chapter I shall bring into focus the hermeneutical position of the Khoi in the debate regarding the dispossession of the land of Naboth.

Chapter Two

THE HERMENEUTICAL POSITION OF THE KHOI IN THE LAND DEBATE

2.1 INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The European critics, who reflected on the land of the Khoi and her native inhabitants, had in their ranks four different types of researchers. Among them were researchers who never set a foot in this territory, but only read from the accounts of settlers in the land of the Khoi. Others, who visited the Cape on their way to or back from Batavia, saw and heard of the Khoi from the settlers at the Cape. A third type of European researcher lived at the Cape and talked to other Europeans of the Khoi. The last type of European researcher lived among the Khoi and experienced much of them from that position.

I shall focus on the hermeneutical position of the Khoi as a displaced people on the periphery of the land debate in our part of the continent. In five subsections I shall emphasize the fact that though the Khoi are still on the periphery of their ancestral land, they contest being kept on the periphery.

Each of these five subsections consists of two points of view that reveal contrasting examples with regard to awareness of space in the land. The historical focus on these viewpoints highlight the Khoi view that history is a cyclic progression of events. In other words the Khoi relived the experiences of their ancestors of being a people, displaced to and kept on the periphery.

In the first part of each subsection I shall summarize a European perspective (an external perspective) on the Khoi. In the second part of each subsection I shall summarize a Khoi perspective (an internal perspective) on them as a people.

I shall focus on five distinct parts of the identity of the Khoi that affirm an awareness of space on their side in these subsections. To understand the Khoi, the reader should read these five subsections as parts that function together in the Khoi reflection of their land. These parts form the basis for the reader to focus on the hermeneutical position of the Khoi in the land debate.

2.2 OPINIONS ABOUT THE RELIGIOUS IDENTITY OF THE KHOI

Despite being a people who are kept on the periphery of their land, the religious identity of the Khoi is still the basis of their awareness of space. In other words their reflection on their identity emerges from their belief in God.

2.2.1 OPINIONS ABOUT THE RELIGIOUS IDENTITY OF THE KHOI FROM OUTSIDE

Since they invaded the land of the Khoi, Europeans defined an external religious identity for the Khoi. Europeans continually changed their view on the religious identity of the Khoi. They started with a negation of the possibility that the Khoi could have had any knowledge of God. They also misinterpreted the authentic belief of the Khoi in God's presence in their land. Finally, they violated the belief of the Khoi in God by ridiculing the Khoi belief in God's presence in the land.

2.2.1.1 Denials of the religious identity

Among Europeans, who never set a foot in our land, was the Dutchman, Dapper, who negated the possibility that the Khoi had a religious identity.

He wrote in 1665 in his account, "*Kaffraria or Land of the Kafirs*," that he heard from the Dutch who made contact with the "*Kafirs or Hottentots or Beachrangers*" (Schapera 1933:75) that they were unable to find among the Khoi "*any trace of religion*" (Schapera 1933:75). He, however, acknowledged that the Khoi ancestors "*know that there is a Being, named by them as Humma, who sends rain on the earth, makes the wind to blow, and produces heat and cold*" (Schapera 1933:75).

Schapera showed in 1933 that Dapper based his accounts of European experiences based on an anonymous source that was published in 1652 in Amsterdam, as a, "*Klare ende Korte Besgrywinge van het land aan Cabo de Bona Esperanca*" (Schapera 1933:2). He revealed that Dapper indeed admitted that his accounts on the "*customs of the Hottentots*" (Schapera 1933:2) were based on manuscripts sent to him from the Cape by "*men on the spot*" (Schapera 1933:2).

Another critic of the religious identity of the Khoi was Ten Rhyne, who visited the Cape in 1671. He wrote in a "*Short Account of the Cape of Good Hope and the Hottentots who inhabit that region*," a short negative note on the religion of the Khoi.

He asserted that the Khoi are a “*barbarous and brutish*” people, who nevertheless, “*seem to have a slight knowledge of a Supreme Being*” (Farrington 1933:139). They identified the Supreme Being as their “*Great Chief*” (Farrington 1933:139), who controlled the wind and rain. When the Great Chief was “*angry*,” he sent thunderstorms to punish them, because of an evil that was committed in the community, but when he was “*friendly*” he sent rain and sunshine and clear sky (Farrington 1933:141).

A third critic, Grevenbroek, who resided for a time at Stellenbosch, only conversed with settlers and “*civilized natives*” who were able to understand and speak a European language. He wrote in 1695 to “*a Dutch clergyman*” (Schapera 1933:165) and noted his experience with a Khoi on the 28th of January 1687. He asked those natives whether the Khoi people believed in God and he got an answer that they believed in a Supreme Being whom they called “*Khourrou*” or “*Thikkwa*” (Farrington 1933:193).

Finally, a German, Hahn, correctly pointed out that the Europeans had held a variety of opinions about the religious identity of the Khoi. Some of the visitors and missionaries remarked that the Khoi observed “*things which looked like religious worship*” (Hahn 1881:38). Others remarked that some of the Khoi knew “*very little*” of God and some of the Khoi knew “*nothing about God and his nature*” (Hahn 1881:39). A third group of European observers remarked that “*at least the intelligent among them (the Khoi) know that there is a God*” (Hahn 1881:41). A fourth group of critics noted: “*all Hottentots believe in a God, they know him and confess it*” (Hahn 1881:41).

2.2.1.2 Incorrect presentations of the religious identity

Some Europeans exchanged their negations of the religious identity of the Khoi in favour of a misidentification that the Khoi worshipped the moon and the sun.

Dapper declared that he heard from settlers at the Cape that the Hottentots had “*superstitions*” about *the moon*. He heard that “*they all turn towards it in groups*” to the moon, sang, danced and made music throughout the night, (Schapera 1933:77).

Ten Rhyne asserted that he saw the “*Hottentots worshipped the moon by dancing*” on moonlit nights (Farrington 1933:141). He claimed that moon worship among the Khoi was similar “*with almost all the pagans of antiquity who adopted the opinion that the sun and the moon are gods*” (Farrington 1933:141).

Hahn observed that the Khoi sang and danced the whole night, with their faces turned “*toward the moon*” and argued that those performances were some form of “*religious worship*” (Hahn 1881:40). He apparently was influenced by the viewpoint of Kolbe, for which he expressed much appreciation. Hahn attempted to substantiate his viewpoint by mentioning an incident that he observed among the Namas in Great Namaqualand. Those Namas, he claimed, worshipped, praised and prayed through the night to the new and full moon (Hahn 1881:44).

Schapera, having studied the possibility whether the Khoi worshipped the moon, came to the conclusion that they revered the moon (Schapera 1930:375). He remarked that Khoi continued to honour the moon, despite the fact that many of them became “*Christians*” (Schapera 1930:374).

Grevenbroek disagreed with the assumptions of these critics that the Khoi worshipped the new and full moon. He argued that the Khoi despised the moon and probably blamed it for the *diseases and disasters of every kind in their land* (Grevenbroek 1933:207).

With regard to the view that the Khoi were *sun worshippers*, Ten Rhyne found that the Hottentots worshipped the sun at its “*rising*.” Sometimes they threw clay balls into the river water “*to honour the sun*” (Farrington 1933:141) and at sunsets, they gazed on it “*with dreadful curses*” (Farrington 1933:141).

Grevenbroek disagreed with him and claimed that the Hottentots regarded the sun as “*the author of all good*” (Grevenbroek 1933:207) things. Hahn agreed with Grevenbroek and noted a Dutch officer observing that the Khoi assembled “*when the day dawns*” (Hahn 1881:40) taking each other by the hands and looking to the heaven they started to sing and dance for a while (Hahn 1881:141).

2.2.1.3 Violations of the religious identity

Europeans also violated and ridiculed the Khoi belief in God as being always present and greater than all. By their presence Europeans often violated the Khoi focus on God’s presence at their church services on Sundays.

For example, some European missionaries consistently violated the religious identity of the indigenous church leaders in front of the congregation during church services. For example before the introduction of “*black*” ministers in the DRMC at *Gomaxas*, neighbouring stock farmers used to attend church services in that congregation. The resident European missionary at those occasions welcomed those European

neighbours as “*our white friends*.” He then ordered the leaders of the congregation to step down from the platform and take seats among the members of the congregation, so that the “*white*” visitors should take the seats reserved for members of the Church Board.

By voicing their despise for the Khoi belief that God is greater than all, some Europeans insulted the religious identity of the Khoi.

It also happened that landed European neighbours insulted the religious identity of landed Khoi. For example it happened that such a neighbour on a visit to a Khoi crop farmer, having observed the fat ears of wheat on the Khoi’s side made the negative remarked: “*Dit maak tog geen verskil nie, want dit is nou maar eenmaal ‘n Hotnot se koring*”. (It makes no difference, because it still remains a Hotnot’s wheat.)

Therewith the European threw a shot of cold water to dampen that Khoi’s delight in God whom he believed blessed them with an abundance of rain and a good harvest.

Through the occasional humiliation of the church leaders, Europeans placed themselves in charge of the religious identity of the Khoi. They were aware that by sitting on the seats of the elders and deacons, they were exercising occasional trusteeship over the congregation. Therefore, when the congregation decided to call “*black*” ministers in 1971, the “*white friends*” terminated their visits and drove the 80 kilometres of dirt road to the DRC congregation at Springok.

2.2.2 OPINIONS ABOUT THE RELIGIOUS IDENTITY OF THE KHOI FROM INSIDE

Contrary to the outside opinions are the opinions of the Khoi with regard to their place before God. They knew God by experience and had personal relationships with him. They called on God in prayers for rain and thanked God for his life-giving rain that he sent on their fields. They praised God as their Creator-Father who is ever-present (omnipresent) and greater than all because God controls the clouds and the winds and sends or withholds the rain from their fields.

2.2.2.1 Affirmations of the knowledge of God

Dapper, by repeating the incorrect pronunciation of his informants for the Khoi personification of the name of God, revealed that he knew little of the place of the Khoi before God.

The correct pronunciation of the personification denotes the celestial abode of God is, /*homi* (heaven) and instead of, *Humma*. For the application of the concept “*Heaven*” (/homi) as a personification of God, see the reference in the account of Ten Rhyne (Farrington 1933:141).

Grevenbroek however applied a wrong pronunciation for these epithets for God in the Nama. In the language of the Khoi, masculine gender of personal and common names should always be uttered with the b-consonant in the end. The correct spelling is “*gurub*” (creator) instead of “*Khourou*” and “*Tsûi //Goab*”, instead of “*Thikkwa*”. See for the correct spelling of the epithets the note of Hahn (1881:58).

The translators of the Bible into Nama correctly applied *Gurub*” (Creator) in Elob Mîs, for this identification for God is important in Khoi thought about God and their place before God. See in *Elob Mîs* the concept for God’s creation of heaven and earth, “*ge guru*”, which means: he created, in Gen 1:1. See for the epithet “Creator” as it is applied on God - see in this respect for example, the expression “*di guru-aob*” in Is. 40:28 - which literally means “*the man who creates*”.

The above-mentioned account reveals that our ancestors already knew God long before the Europeans even visited, journeyed through, invaded and settled in our ancestral land. Our ancestors had a name by which they knew God in all the Khoi territories in South Africa and Namibia. In Little Namaqualand (in South Africa) and in Great Namaqualand (in Namibia), *the Namaquas* called God by the name *Tsû //Goab and Tsûni //Goab*. The *Korannas* of the Upper Gariep River, however, called God by the name *Tsû //Goam*. The *Chainouqua* of the Baviaans Kloof in the Western Cape and also the *Gonaqua*, whose tribal territory was at the Fish River and adjacent to the living space of the Xhosas, called God by the name *Tsûi //Goab*. The name for God, that according Hahn became “*the most worn of*” (Hahn 1881:58), was the name *Tsûi //Goab*.

The **b**-consonant in the name *Tsûi //Goab* denotes that the Khoi regarded God as a male figure. But the **m**-consonant in the name *Tsû //Goam*, probably, denotes that the Korannas regarded God as neither a male nor a female figure. For if God should be regarded as a female figure her name would have a **s**-consonant as an ending

In the prayer-hymn for rain (see page 38), the ancestors expressed the *personal relationship* between themselves and God. They expressed their total dependence on God in the past and for the present and that God should bless them with the same blessings with which he blessed their forefathers and mothers.

Twice in the prayer-hymn, those worshippers addressed God as “*Abo-îtse*” and once as “*Abo îtsao*.” Hahn translates the epithet, “*Abo-îtse*,” to give the meaning, “*Father of the fathers*”.

A more likely meaning for *Abo-îtse* is: *you who carried the fathers on your back*. For Hahn probably used the Aramaic concept “*ab*” (father), instead of the Nama concept “*Ib*” (father). The Nama concept “*aba*” means: *to carry someone or something in a skin on one’s back*” (Schapera 1930:246). In the Khoi tradition the women of the community used to carry the babies and the food in a *kharos* on their backs (Schapera 1930:268).

Using the epithet “*Abo-îtse*” for God, Hahn encapsulated the very intimate relationship between the forefathers and *Tsûi //Goab* (God). They honoured God as the one who patiently cared for them, like the women carried on their back the weakest members of the community as well as the food for her family. In that public communal prayer they expressed their reverence for God as the One “*who aba the fathers*”, and their unity with their fathers.

The idea of God as the one who carried a people on the back, reminds one of an expression in the Old Testament. In the context of a group of people who was displaced from settled life in Egypt to a life in the wilderness (desert), the narrator of that story, shared the following experience of that displaced people of Yahweh: “*You have seen what I did to the Egyptians and how I bore you on eagles’ wings and brought you to myself*” (Ex.19: 4).

In the same prayer-hymn the ancestors also addressed God with the most personal epithet, “*Sida îtse*” (*Our Father*). By the epithet, *Sida îtse*, the community identifies itself as people that belong to God and honoured God as a Father.

For in their manner of thought, the family belonged to the ancestors with whom they identified themselves in a most personal (direct) manner. Thus, they would consequently reflect in terms of kinship and identified themselves to outsiders as the son or daughter of so-and so, their family head. The epithet, *Sida îtse*, obviously was a very old epithet, because during our ministry at !Hubus, I experienced, that members of the congregation, who were unable to pray in a European language (mostly the elderly), usually began their prayers with “*Sida îtse*” (*Our Father*).

The translators of *Elob Mís* used a similar expression when they translated the prayer of Jesus when he taught his disciples to say: “*Sida îtse !homgu !na hatse*” - which means: “*our Father who are in heaven*” (Matt. 6:9).

By these affirmations, the Khoi worshippers negated allegations that they had had no place before God because they had no knowledge of him.

In the Prayer-hymn for Rain they also addressed God as: *!Khub* in the language which expresses the strength and greatness of God. In the context of personal relationships, *Sida !Khutse* (our Ruler) defined the sovereignty of God over the winds and clouds, the thunder and lightning.

2.2.2.2 Correct presentations of religious identity

Carstens correctly argued, that the viewpoint that the Khoi were moon worshippers, is an “*assumption*” which, in the light of definite evidences, “*is not very convincing*” (Carstens 1975:79).

Firstly, Khoi activities like singing, clapping with their hands and dancing the whole night through, during new and full moon positions, are not an evidence of moon worship. Secondly, activities with the face turned to the new and full moon cannot be a proof that the Khoi worshipped the moon during these positions in the sky. Thirdly, a mere declaration that the religion of the Nama “*consisted principally in worshipping and praising the moon*” (Carstens 1975:79), is not evidence that the Khoi are moon worshippers. Fourthly, the fable of the moon, the louse and the hare, explains a Khoi opinion on the origin of immortality and death, instead of moon worship. Finally, a belief among the Khoi that an eclipse of the moon “*is a bad omen*” (Carstens 1975:79), is not proof that the Khoi were originally moon worshippers, (Carstens 1975:79).

Carstens mentions four reasons to substantiate his argument that the Khoi did not regard the moon as a deity. Firstly, they never associated the moon with Tsûi //Goab (Carstens 1975:79). Sacrifices were offered to Tsûi //Goab “*during certain phases of the moon*”. (Carstens 1975:79). Secondly, besides those prayers and sacrifices during the phases of the full and new moon, the Khoi also prayed and sacrificed to God “*at the first rising of the Pleidas*” (Carstens 1975:79). Thirdly, no evidence of “*any sacrifices offered to the moon*” (Carstens 1975:79) was ever observed by any visitor to the Khoi living spaces. Finally, no visitor in the Khoi land ever reported about a single Khoi chief “*officiating at any moon-worshipping ceremony*” (Carstens 1975:79).

Hence, in the light of the analysis of Carstens, it is apparent that those critics, who identified the Khoi as worshippers of the moon and sun, ignorantly misinterpreted the

place of the Khoi before God. To elaborate on the knowledge of God among the Khoi ancestors, I shall mention the following examples:

Firstly, the ancestors believed that God could send the rain down to restore their fields so that they and their livestock could live. They put their trust in God whom they *believed* is the Ruler of the natural powers and who could be petitioned to be compassionate with them and send rain that they may live. Being people who lived from the soil, they had to look up to God, who at times “*is hard to please*” but could be “*successfully appeased by sacrifices*” (Carstens 1975:80).

Hahn, who recorded this prayer-hymn (Hahn 1881:58-59), also pointed out that the prayer for rain was a well-known prayer, for various communities said the same prayer at full and new moon. He mentioned the following three territories: //Kharas mountains, the area north east of the //Kharas mountains and in and around the /Khomab mountains (Hahn 1881:58).

Hahn noted that at those occasions the whole community came together and emphatically *prayed* to God to give them an abundance of rain. The seriousness of those specific petitions of the Khoi worshipper is captured in the concept Tsûi //Goatse, used thrice in the prayer-hymn for rain.

In the Nama language the particle “*tse*,” when it is suffixed to nouns and verbs, denotes, that these concepts must be expressed with emphasis. The noun Tsûi //Goatse, therefore, should be translated, O *Supreme Being*. It expresses the reverence of the Khoi people for God as a powerful Being.

Those worshippers opened their prayers with *praises* to God as the one who carried fathers and who is also their father. They acknowledged their absolute dependence on Him who controls the life giving rain. They followed their praises with *petitions* to God to send them an abundance of rain, to sustain their life by restoring their fields so that their livestock would live. Thirdly, they offered sacrifices to God to *thank* him for the blessings of rain since that last rain season and pronounced their need to praise God for what he did for them. They closed their prayer with *adoration* to God because he carried the fathers on his back, provided in their needs and protected them against disasters.

In the prayer-hymn for rain, they petitioned God to restore all life on the land (Hahn 1881:58) so that all could live from the produce of the land, in the following manner:

!Nanuba /avire (Let rain the thundercloud)
ên xuna ûire (let our sheep live)

<i>ên sida ûire</i>	<i>(let us also live)</i>
<i>‡Khabu ta gum goroö</i>	<i>(For we are so weak)</i>
<i>//Gas xao</i>	<i>(from thirst)</i>
<i>!As xao</i>	<i>(from hunger)</i>
<i>Eta xurina amre</i>	<i>(Let us eat field fruits)</i>

In this prayer-hymn they expressed their gratefulness before God for what he did to restore their life (Hahn 1881:59), in the following manner.

<i>êda sida gangantsire</i>	<i>(that we may praise thee)"</i>
<i>êda sida //khava /khaitsire</i>	<i>(that we may also bless thee)</i>
<i>Abo îtse</i>	<i>(You who carried the fathers on the back)</i>
<i>Sida !Khutse</i>	<i>(Our Ruler)</i>
<i>Tsûi //Goatse</i>	<i>(O Supreme Being)</i>

Being not sure how he would formulate the desire of the community to bless God, Hahn gave two readings, namely: “*that we may give thee in return*” and “*that we may bless thee*” (Hahn 1881:59). The probable option in this case could be “*that we also may bless thee*” – i.e. that we may be in a position to express our gratitude to you who blessed us with rain on our field.

The Khoi worshippers prayed as a community to God for the “*collective good fortune and social protection*” (Carstens 1975:80). Carstens, in this regard, made this significant remark that the belief of the Khoi in that God sent the rain on the land echoed the belief in “*the God of the Old Testament*” (Carstens 1975:80).

By expressing in those prayers and hymns their gratitude for God’s continuous help, the Khoi focused their place before God and the physical aspect of their awareness of space. They highlighted their gratitude for God’s help at annual celebrations when they slaughtered the best animals from the herds and flocks. The chief of the tribe acted at those annual festivities as the officiating priest (Carstens 1975:80).

The second example focuses on the belief that although God is *benevolent*, he at times was *angry* when the community tolerated an injustice in their midst. When he became angry with them, then “*Heaven (God) thickens and gathers its (his) hairy brows into a frown so that thunder peals and the red hot bolt falls crashing down or lightning flashes*” (Farrington 1933: 141). Being afraid and helpless, the Khoi then pleaded with God to control his anger and refrain from striking them with his lightning bolts.

The Khoi in this respect thought of God as “*great and powerful*” (Hahn 1881:61) *Chief and “a warrior of great physical strength*” (Schapera 1930:377) who can control these dangerous forces of nature.

Hahn recorded the “*Hymn of the Thunder*” (Hahn 1881:59-60) in which the Khoi addressed the thunder and begged for tranquility in the heaven so that they would not have fear in their midst.

In those pleas they addressed *the thunder* as the “*Son of the Thundercloud*” (Hahn 1881:59). They pleaded with the thunder to refrain from being too angry with them and begged him for calmness, saying: “*talk softly please.*” They then pleaded innocence, saying: “*I have no guilt*” and for forgiveness, saying, “*leave me alone*” (Hahn 1881:59,60). They based their pleas for innocence and forgiveness on being ignorant with regard to any crime that could have been have committed, saying to the Thunderer: “*I am indeed ignorant*” (Hahn 1881:60).

Hahn, obviously, was not sure how the expression “*ǀoútago xuiǀe*” should be translated in the context of the plea for forgiveness. He placed three possible options before the readers for their consideration. These options are, “*for I have become quite weak - i.e. for I am quite stunned, and for I am quite perplexed*” (Hahn 1881:60). A more probable translation of the expression “*ǀoútago xuiǀe*” will be “*I am indeed ignorant*”. The expression “*ǀoútaá*”, in the language of the Khoi means: “*I do not know.*”

A third example illustrates the *fear* among the Khoi for sudden death by being struck by lightning. The fear for sudden death is encapsulated in the play: “*The Dance-song of the Lightning*” (Hahn 1881:60), which Hahn recorded in his book: *Tsuni //Goam - the Supreme Being of the Khoikhoi*.

A choir of Khoi dancers acted the part of the fearful and helpless community and a soloist play the part of the lightning. The community, disturbed because of the death of a **ǀgaba** (*a brother*) lamented his death, (Hahn 1881:60). They addressed the lightning as “*the Thundercloud’s daughter*” (Hahn 1881:60) and demanded her to admit that the death of the brother was cold-hearted, (Hahn 1881:60). The lightning responded and admitted that the sudden death of the beloved brother was indeed cold-hearted, saying: “*Yes, I have killed thy brother nicely*” (Hahn 1881:80).

The chorus stressed their disapproval and blamed the lightning for being vindictive by cold-heartedly striking their brother. The lightning, however, nicely coiled in its hole

like a snake, remained silent. The play ended with a deafening silence after the storm of lamentations and accusations.

The reflection in the context of the play illustrates that God allowed the community to pronounce their *discontent* and lament the unnecessary death of their beloved brother. They are aware that God, in allowing them to pronounce their discontent in lamenting their loss, are healing their spiritual wounds with the salve of time.

The fourth example focuses the belief of the Khoi that God had *power over* natural disasters that sometimes made destructive inroads into their community life and instilled fear among them. In the Khoi mythology, the trust of the ancestors in the sovereignty of God is summarized in the stories about the battles between the two supernatural rivals - *Tsûi //Goab*, who represents the power of good and *//Gaunab*, who represents "a spirit of evil" (Hahn 1881:61, Schapera 1930:377, Carstens 1976:81).

//Gaunab, is an evil supernatural being, brutal and very strong (Hahn 1881:61, Schapera 1930:377). He is the main rival of *Tsûi //Goab* and lives in the part that they called the "dark heaven" (Hahn 1881:61). The dark abode of *//Gaunab*, denotes a place above the sky, which is "quite separate from the beautiful, heaven of *Tsûi //Goab*" (Hahn 1881:61). He manifested his evil influence in three areas in their communities.

Firstly, *//Gaunab* was the cause of war which in their perspective was the major evil. Secondly, he was the cause of "certain types of illness, death from various causes, and of sorcery" (Carstens 1976:81). Finally, he was the cause of the manifestation of "evil spirits" (Carstens 1976:81), namely, the spirits of the dead "who lived wickedly" (Carstens 1976:81) and operated in their living space under his command.

In the battles between the two supernatural beings, *Tsûi //Goab* "died several times and several times he rose again" (Hahn 1881:61) but after each defeat *Tsûi //Goab* became stronger. Each time when he returned from the death, there was great joy and feasts in all the Khoi communities. Milk and meat were abundantly distributed among the communities. Then God gave to all in the community "plenty of cattle and sheep, because he was very rich" (Hahn 1881:61). Then, according the ancestral belief, God made the clouds and sent the rain, for he again lived in the clouds, and made their "cows and sheep fruitful" (Hahn 1881:61). In the final conflict between "the two supernatural beings" (Carstens 1976:81), *Tsûi //Goab* dealt his rival a deadly blow behind the ear and was too strong for his rival. *//Gaunab*, however, dealt *Tsûi*

//Goab a serious wound on the knee and since then *Tsûi //Goab* walks with a limp (Hahn 1881:61).

2.2.2.3 Reparations of religious identity

Contrary to European allegations that the Khoi worshipped the moon, it must be emphatically stated that God is to the Khoi the Creator-Father and not a creation of the *human mind*. They worshipped only one God whom they called *Tsûi //Goab* (the Supreme Being). They had no religious objects and, consequently, had no need to explain but could only express their belief in *Tsûi //Goab*.

Because the Khoi honoured God as *Hoa-Geixab*, which means, that he is greater than all, they had no temple for God. Neither had they temples for alleged gods that could be identified with the moon or the sun or temples for gods whom they identified with the new moon, full moon, the sun or the Pleiades.

The Khoi had no holy places whereto they invited, in which they welcomed, praised and worshipped God because to them God is *hoa* (all) and *gei* (great). European missionaries and adventurers found no idols or religious symbols in the Khoi territories that represented the moon, the sun or the Pleiades.

What those Europeans observed were the Khoi communities bringing their communal petitions before God at these specific positions of new and full moon, sunrise and sunset, the seven stars (the Pleiades) and at water sources in their land. These celestial bodies denote the *times* on which they gathered to worship God. Europeans had their Christian Sundays and their annual Christian feasts on which they came and still come together to worship their God.

Thus, the Khoi required no Church buildings with bell towers to remind them of the presence of God or announced the times of worship. They believed that God is *always present* like the sun at daytime and the moon at night times and can be worshipped in all the tribal territories. They believed that *Tsûi //Goab* is “*as active on earth as he is in his heavenly abode*” (1976:80). For, according to their understanding, God is like the sun and the moon always present and he can intervene everywhere. They, consequently, needed no religious objects or written texts that explained to them His divine presence. To them God is the sovereign God who arranges the sun, moon and Pleiades to appear *!homi //na* (in the heaven) according to a definite order. They appreciated the beauty of the sun, moon and Pleiadas as signs of light and hope and because of the abundance of life they represent.

The Khoi were aware that human beings could not manipulate these signs. Nor can they manipulate God by either many prayers or by sacrifices from the best animals of their herds. The Khoi were aware that they were only, as Barth put it, “*boundary creatures*” before God (Barth 1966:63). Being boundary creatures they are between the “*conceivable*” earth and “*inconceivable*” heaven (Barth 1966:61) of which God is the only true owner. Therefore, they could only turn their faces to the “*inconceivable*” (heaven) and call out unto him, knowing that they will always fail to comprehend and manipulate God.

They believed that God is in the heaven and that he “*lives in clouds*” (Hahn 1881:61) from where he controls the clouds and causes the rain or prevents it from coming down on the earth (Schapera 1930:75). Hence, in Spring when the Pleiades appears in the sky, the communities sang prayers, danced to their music before and offered sacrifices to God.

For according to them the Pleiades announces the coming of the new season in which God will restore all the living creatures by means of the rain (Hahn 1881:61; Schapera 1930:383; Carstens 1976:80). They believed that God is not “*enclosed and confined within the circumstances of heaven*” (Beveridge 1889:187) but that he could be invoked to send his rain on their pastures.

Rain is in their thought the answer of God to their prayers and the proof of his goodwill to his creation. For by means of the rains, God restored the vegetation, making their livestock fruitful and growing in numbers. By the restoration of the veld, God provided life to all the living creatures on it so that human beings may eat “*field fruits*” (Hahn 1881:59). They, therefore, regarded rain as God’s “*holy*” gift to humankind because of its life-giving qualities (Wilson 1975:62).

The ancestors never received a formal Christian instruction with respect to the belief in God as the Father who is in the heaven. However, their belief in God as the Father resounds the account of St Matthew about a teaching of Jesus. Jesus taught his disciples about the abundance of the love of God the Father who is in the heaven, who “*makes his sun rise on the evil and on the good and sends rain on the just and on the unjust*” (Matt. 5:45).

2.3 OPINIONS ABOUT THE HUMAN DIGNITY OF THE KHOI

Having explained the Khoi reflection on their place before God, I shall now focus on the human dignity of the Khoi people as the creation of God in the land. The emphasis of the Khoi on the dignity of human beings emerged from their view that human beings are the creation of God. In this subsection I shall emphasize the contrasting viewpoints with regard to the human dignity of the Khoi.

2.3.1 OPINIONS ABOUT THE HUMAN DIGNITY OF THE KHOI FROM OUTSIDE

With respect to outside opinions about the human dignity to the Khoi it is evident that Europeans initially denied a human dignity to the Khoi. Having accepted that the Khoi are human beings, they then insulted their human dignity to imprison their mind and occupy their land.

2.3.1.1 Denials of human dignity

Some of those Europeans, whom the Khoi supplied with fresh food and water, shelter and care for their sick, *insulted the human identity* of the Khoi people. They described their hosts, who gave them food to eat and a place to rest and heal from the diseases as, “*more likely animals*” and creatures that are inferior to human beings (Elphick 1972:194).

Other Europeans *insulted the dignity* of our forefathers and foremothers by highlighting body structures and failing to appreciate their culture of sharing with and caring for the displaced and sick. Instead of comparing the cultural preferences of the Khoi with their own, they prefer to compare the physical appearances and superficial differences between themselves and the Khoi. They also insulted the dignity of our forefathers and foremothers by colonial misidentifications like the following, “*the Kafirs, the Hottentotte and the Bushmen.*” They handed down these insults to their descendants so that they could continue the insults on the dignity of the descendants of our ancestors.

In this respect see for example, the reference of Hahn about the adventure of a European civil officer with “*the Hottentot interpreter Harry*” (Hahn 1881:36); Schapera’s elaborations on “*the build of Kaffirs and Hottentots*” (Schapera 1933:43)

and Wilson's reflections on the different "*Hottentot physical types*" (Wilson 1969:45).

2.3.1.2. Insults on human dignity

Eventually, leaders in the Church contributed to the insults on the human dignity of the Khoi. Physical insults on the Khoi that emerged from Church circles filled pages in the history of the Church and its mission to the Khoi in Southern Africa. In this last respect, I shall mention two examples in the fourth decade in the 20th century to illustrate the contributions from the *Christian Church* to insults to the human dignity of the Khoi people.

Firstly, at a DRC mission conference at *Uitenhage* in the Eastern Cape in 1931, a DRC theologian, Dr D G Malan addressed the conference on the topic: "*Die Sendingbeleid van ons N.G.Kerk vir die Toekoms*" (The mission policy of the DRC for the future). Reflecting on the education of "*Coloured children*" on the "white" settler farms, he warned the conference not to harm the economic interest of the farmer and insulted the human dignity of those pupils, saying:

"En wat aangaan die ekonomiese behoeftes van ons boerestand aan werkkragte op die plase, daarmee moet ongetwyfeld rekening gehou word. Maar myns insiens is dit nie onmoontlik om sake so te skik dat jong gekleurde kinders, sê tussen 6 en 10 jaar, elementêre onderwys sal kan ontvang, sonder dat die boer daar ernstige skade deur hoef te ly" (Van Wyk 1931:82). (Translated into the English language it means: "And with respect to economic needs of our farmers for workers on the farms, this should be kept in mind without any doubt. But to my opinion, it is not impossible to arrange matters in such a way that young Colored children, between 6 and 10 years of age, to receive an elementary education, without causing any serious damages to the interests of the farmer.

The extensive correspondence of the DRC missionary Rev. W.A. Booysen with the Minister of Lands to dispossess "*the Coloreds*" of the Olifants River for the sake of poor "*whites*" proved the point. See in this regard Addenda 2.8.3&4.

Although some leading figures in the DRC voiced their objections against the wall that would divide "*white*" and "*coloured*" members of the Church, the voices in favour of racial separation won the debate (Adonis 1982:55). These leaders won the support of the majority of the members of the Church for their argument that not good

intentions, but physical efforts would put religious principles for “*coloureds*” in place (Adonis 1982:56).

The second example is an incident that happened in 1936 when a DRC official insulted a delegation from the Olifants River flood plains in Namaqualand. The delegation visited the offices of the DRC Home mission in *Cape Town*. Their mission was to get information from the Secretary of the Home Missions on the role of the DRC in terms of the dispossession of their community and their displacement from their ancestral land. The Secretary of that Church Commission refused to share with the delegation the information and the delegation sought legal advice to extract the information from the Church. In his report to the Home Mission Commission, the Secretary ventured to insult the dignity of our delegation. He identified the delegation, as “ ‘*n ou jong wat half na ‘n Hottentot en half na ‘n Boesman gelyk het, sowel as nog ‘n jong en ‘n meid*” (De la Harpe 1995:33). Translated into English this racist insult of the adult dignity of our delegation has the following meaning, “ *an old boy with the looks of half a Hottentot and half a Bushman, as well as another boy and a girl.*”

The “*old boy*” (Simon Michel) happened to be the neighbour and about of the same age as Petrus Boois (1870-1955), my grandfather. The “*other boy*” (Eliab Galant), a friend and of about the same age as the “*old boy*,” happened to be a nephew of my grandfather. The “*girl*,” (*Sarah Miggel*), of whom we had no knowledge, was a family relative of Simon Miggel. Geland and Miggel were two of the 25 family heads that refused to pay their annual tax out of protest against the dispossession of their ancestral land (see page 67).

Reflecting on the dispossession of land of the Khoi, Fredrickson correctly argued that “*an unflattering white stereotype of the Khoisan survives to this day in the use of “Hotnot” as a derogatory term applied to the Coloreds*” (Fredrickson 1981:38).

Besides these verbal insults from Church circles, the Khoi were subjected to *physical mutilations* at the hands of Europeans. For since colonial times, some Europeans who occupied land away from Table Bay, subjected the Khoi to extreme punishment. They took the form of severe whippings for minor mistakes like negligence, to serious bodily injuries for thieves and escapees (Newton-King 1991:110).

Sol Plaatje elaborated in his historical novel, *Mhudi*, on an incident about the bodily injury of a Khoi woman by settler stock farmers. In his example, Plaatje focused on the cruelty with which settler farmers assaulted the human dignity of displaced African human beings, revealing:

Mhudi went, for the first time, with Ra-Thaga, her husband, to visit his friend, De Villiers, at Moroka's Hoek, a place located next to "*the Barolong town of Thaba Nchu*" (Plaatje 1978:114). At the place of the De Villiers family, she witnessed the humiliation, the physical assault on and the torturing of a young Khoi woman by De Villiers' family. The "*old Boer*" gave the "*Hottentot maid some thunder and lightning with his tongue*" (Plaatje 1978:116). The old lady at the fire "*took sides against the maid, pulled a poker out of the fire and beat the half naked girl with the hot iron*" (Plaatje 1978:116). The Khoi girl tried to escape the physical pain. She, however, was caught and dragged by "*a stalwart young Boer*" to the vice, which stood by the wagon. He helped "*the old lady*" to secure the ear of the victim between the iron jaws of the vice. Mhudi noticed that none of De Villiers family members intervened and she looked to De Villiers' mother, but even she "*went about her own domestic business as though nothing at all unusual was taking place*" (Plaatje 1978:116). Mhudi experience a surge to intervene but was too afraid, because "*remembering that every Boer had a gun, she feared that such cruel people might as easily riddle her with a score of bullets, for she was revolted by their callous indifference to the anguish of the unfortunate girl*" (Plaatje 1978:116).

On the return of Ra-Thaga and his friend, Mhudi appealed to her husband to intervene on behalf of the young Khoi woman. He asked De Villiers to release the ear of the Khoi woman from the jaws of the vice - which De Villiers then did. The Khoi woman, being freed from a moment of pain and humiliation, gratefully fell at De Villiers' "*feet and blessed him*" (Plaatje 1978:117).

After her gruesome experience at Moroka's Hoek, Mhudi "*vowed never to go there again*" (Plaatje 1978:117). That night Mhudi interrogated her husband "*Have not the Boers got a saying like ours: a e ne modiga (a plea for someone chastised?)*" (Plaatje 1978:117). The next day she shared with all her visitors "*the cruel episode of the previous afternoon. Every now and then she would exclaim 'My husband's friends'*" (Plaatje 1978:117).

Since then the Baralong women called the Boers "*Ra-Thaga's friends*" (Plaatje 1978: 17). The Boers unaware of the origin of the expression thought "*that they had made a fresh impression of friendliness and so took it as a compliment*" (Plaatje 1978:17).

To illustrate the *structural assaults* of Europeans on the dignity of the natives, I shall use as an example the short story of Bessie Head. In her short story: "*The heaven is*

not locked”, this political refugee summarized the protest of *African women* against the humiliation of African women by influential European men, revealing:

Galethebege was a dedicated Christian, a loyal member of her congregation and a much-respected member of the community. Ralokae, her lover, was not a member of the Church but a much-respected member of his community. He asked to marry her according to their Setswana tradition and she agreed. She, however, went over to the mission post to request the European missionary’s blessing on her decision. He refused to bless her and she refused to give up her love for Ralokae. He expelled her because she refused to reject her lover and claimed that “*the heaven will remain locked*” for Ralokae (Head 1978:51). Galethebege was astonished by the uncompromising attitude and his anger and hatred against her husband to be. For to her, Ralokae represented an ancient and holy custom, according to which all their ancestors lived, long before a European landed in their country. Because of the attitude of their minister, the guests at the marriage reception stayed away from the Church services because the minister locked his heaven for both Galethebege and Ralokae. Galethebege used to withdraw to a silent corner in their house to pray. One day Ralokae asked her. ‘*What are you doing there, mother?*’ And she answered ‘*I pray to God*’ (Head 1978:53).

In *!Hubous* it happened that the missionaries appointed separated places for the burials of “*heathens*” and “*Christians*” to progress the Christian Church among the Khoi in Namaqualand. They buried the “*Christians*” nearby the entrance, inside the graveyard and the “*heathens*” away from the entrance on the far back. It happened that “*heathen*” babies i.e. those who died before being baptized, was separated from their unmarried “*Christian*” mothers because of this evil practice of the Christian mission. .

In *Gomaxas* the missionaries concluded the marriages of “*heathens*” on places separated from that of “*Christians*.” They concluded the marriages of “*Christians*”, for the sake of the holiness in the congregation, either in the Church building or in the mission school next to the Church or in the parsonage next to the mission school. They concluded the marriages of the “*heathens*”- i.e. those who were not baptized members of the Church – under a guava tree next to the parsonage.

2.3.2 OPINIONS ABOUT THE HUMAN DIGNITY OF THE KHOI FROM INSIDE

In contrast with the negations and insults from outside is the reflection of the Khoi on their own human dignity. They affirmed that human beings are creations of God and that they should respect the human dignity of their neighbours by living in communal dignity with them.

2.3.2.1 Affirmations of human dignity

The Khoi identified them as human beings created by God to live as his *creations* in community with i.e. in peaceful coexistence with fellow human beings in the land.

Hahn noted that the Nama believed that God was “*the ancestor of men and the creator of the Khoikhoi*” (Hahn 1881:105). Also Schapera accounted that, according to the “*Bericht of Wikar to Van Plettenberg*,” the Nama believed that God “*first made the rocks from which the ancestors of the Hottentots came*” (Schapera 1930:377). Carstens rephrased this account of Schapera and wrote that the Khoi believed that Tsûi //Goab, who is the “*High or Celestial God*” (Carstens 1976:80) of the Khoi people, “*made the rocks and stones from which the first Khoisan came*” (Carstens 1976:80).

It is noteworthy that although the Khoi had no religious books and lacked a formal religious instruction, they nevertheless believed that God was the Creator of humankind. It is also amazing that their belief, that God created the first human beings from stones, reflects references that are noted in the Holy Bible about the creation of the people of Israel.

See for example in some Genesis stories in which we read that God is the creator (*guru-aob*) (Gen. 1:26), that he created humankind “*!hub-tsaraba*” (*from seeds of soil*) (Gen. 2:7). See also the Biblical notions that the people of Israel are hewn “*from the rock*” (*//na /haub*) who was Abraham, their father (Is.51:1,2), and the words of Jesus, recorded by St. Matthew, that Jesus reprimanded his opponents to refrain from boasting that they are the children of Abraham, for God is able to raise children for Abraham “*from these stones*” (*ne /uina xu*) (Matt 3:9).

With respect to the Khoi belief that God created the human beings from stones, I shall mention two examples.

Firstly, the Khoi believed that because *Tsûi //Goab* created them, they *shared this dignity* with other human beings on the land and belonged to God their Creator-Father. Some human beings would remain hard rocks, but in the end they would become soft like clay. God made them all with his own hands i.e. lovingly to become as soft as clay after his rains and to cause the next generation to come forth from the soil.

The epithet *Tsûi //Goab* (The Supreme Being) denoted the awareness of the Khoi that human dignity is founded in God who breathed life into the nostrils of humankind. The first syllable of the epithet *Tsûi //Goab* therefore capsulated the idea of life (*ûi*) and the second syllable the idea of beingness (*oab*).

Secondly, they believed that God created male and female human beings from the *same physical matter but sexually different*.

The creation of female human beings was not the outcome of an afterthought on the side of the Creator. Hence the Khoi belief about the creation of women appears to contrast with the Bible story. For in the Bible, the storyteller accounted that God realized that it was not good that the male human being should be alone, after which he created the female partner. The Khoi version of the creation reveals that the female human being was not created to be available as *a partner* for, but as *the partner* of the male human being.

That the Khoi did not regard women as convenient additions to life for the sake of men can be read in the accounts respectively noted by Grevenbroek and Hahn.

The first account showed that the Khoi men emphasized the unique sexual aspects and independent identities of both males and females. The sexual uniqueness and independent identities of males and females could be heard in the *names* that God gave to the first pair of human beings he created.

Grevenbroek, a settler farmer in the district of Stellenbosch, recorded an event that took place in the Dutch settlement at Table Bay on the 28th January 1687.

On that day two rival Khoi captains, “*Klaas*” (*Thausouwe*) and “*Koopman*,” shook hands and made peace in the presence of the governor at the Cape. Grevenbroek wrote that he asked one of those rivals (who was “*right-handed*”) whether they believed in God. To his surprise, said Grevenbroek, “*the “shrewd fellow immediately traced a wonderful genealogy back to the beginning,*” (Schapera 1933:193). He also revealed that they called “*Khourrou or Thikkwa*” who created “*Noh, the first man and*

Hingnogh his wife” (Schapera 1930:193). *Thikkwa* created the first male and female as “a pair” and who became the “ultimate authors of his race”(Schapera 1933:193).

The second account also focused on the sexual uniqueness and independent identity of males and females and highlighted the fact husband and wife in the Khoi thought are economically interdependent.

Hahn wrote in 1881 that he learned from a missionary, Reverend Wuras, that the Korannas believed Tsûi //Goab “made two persons” (Hahn 1881:105). The male person God called “**Kanima** (ostrich feather)” and the female was called “**Hau Na Maos** (yellow copper).” God gave to the human beings “cows, whose milk they should drink, a jackal tail to wipe the perspiration from their brow, a staff with a club (*kiri*), a quiver with arrows, and a shield” (Hahn 1881:105).

According to Khoi tradition, the cows and their milk, technically, belong to the women of the family. The wife and her daughters were traditionally the ones who had to milk the cows (Schapera 1930:294-295). According to the Khoi culture weapons belonged to those males who passed the *!nau* (see subsection 2.5.2.3.1). By this passage rite, a male adult ritually separated the young men in the community from the juveniles and introduced them into the ranks of the hunters.

These two accounts revealed that the Khoi emphasized two primary aspects of human beings, namely, their human identity and human dignity. The human identity of human beings is encapsulated in the Khoi reflection that God created them as human beings and endowed them with individual (personal) characteristics to distinguish them from the *gurun* (wild beasts), their *goman* (cattle), *gun* (sheep), *birin* (goats) and *arin* (dogs).

The human dignity of human beings is encapsulated in the Khoi reflection that God created males and females as equals and as interdependent sexual partners.

While the opinions from outside (Europeans) emphasized the superficial differences of human beings, the Khoi emphasized their human beingness and the interdependence of males and females. The material objects with which God awarded them emphasize the notion of the interdependence of males and females.

The Khoi view highlighted the equal dignity of both *oab tsi taras* (male and female) before God their Creator (Gen. 1:16, 1:27, 5:1, Matt. 19:4). It is therefore to the Khoi an evil that human beings should oppress the spirit of fellow creations of God with hard labour (Ex.2:11) or alcohol (Prov. 31:6,7) so that they should be unaware of their dignity before God. It is to their understanding a sin that people who violate their

dignity, should not be obstructed from committing such an injustice. They believed that victims have the responsibility to ascend “*their fear for freedom*” i.e. their fear for their oppressor (Croatto 1981:21). The Khoi ascended their fear for their oppressors and affirmed their awareness as the creations of God, in “*the spirit of self-discovery in relationship with God*” as Leputu puts it (Leputu 1984:92).

2.3.2.2 Protections of human dignity

The Khoi believed that human beings could secure their dignity by living in harmony with and in the protective circle of their extended family. I shall illustrate the Khoi reflection in this respect by four examples.

Firstly, Hahn accounted that Rev.Wuras learned from the Koranas that the Khoi believed that the first human being and *lau* (a snake) “*originally lived together on the earth*” (Hahn 1881:62,105). They also believed that every water resource had a “*guardian snake*” (Hahn 1881:53). Hahn also noted the Khoi belief, that the first human beings and *lau* coexisting in the same living space, was a widespread and a well-known myth “*throughout the Khoikhoi territory*” (Hahn 1881:62).

The interaction between human beings and the snake in Khoi myths echoes the Biblical myth about the coexistence of the first human beings and a snake in the Genesis story. The narrator noted that God planted “*a garden*” in a territory called “*Eden*” where he “*put the man whom he formed*” (Gen. 2:8). In that garden there was an abundance of water because of the river with four branches which “*flowed out of Eden to water*” the garden (Gen.2:10). The Lord God placed humankind in the garden “*to till and keep it*” (Gen. 2:15). He “*commanded*” humankind to enjoy life in his garden, which he planted for their sake. He warned him never to violate a single part of his commandments, which He had put in place to sustain life in the garden.

When the snakes were active and moving about, the Khoi predicted that rainfall in that year would be good and all the rivers and fountains will flow strong by (Hahn 1881:105).

The point of comparison in this belief is the symbolism of the movement of snakes and flowing water streaming from a fountain and in rivers, which then flow between mountains and hills. In Afrikaans people sometimes say: “*die stroom of die rivier kronkel deur die vallei*” (the stream or the river flows through the valley).

In Namaqualand I came upon the same belief and was informed that when it happened that snakes at times are very active near the communities before the winter rains, it is

a sign of a good rainy season. At **Gomaxas** a friend of mine explained this activity as a natural occurrence. When snakes showed up in unexpected places in and around the community a good rainfall could be predicted. They then moved from the valley upward to higher territories, like the mountains to escape the possibility to be swept away by a stream of water. When the dry season returns they will come downwards to lower areas again.

Hahn also recorded an ancestral belief that no human being should kill a snake which happens to be nearby or in a fountain. If it occurred that a person either accidentally or purposely killed a snake in such a territory, the deed could cause that specific water resource to dry up. Life in and around the water resource could die away, because the snake was possibly the guardian of that specific fountain. If it happens that the fountain runs dry, it is confirmed and, consequently, all life around the fountain will indeed come to a standstill and die away (Hahn 1881:53).

Again the Khoi myth about the death of the guardian snake of a water resource echoes the Biblical story in Genesis about the disruption of life in communal harmony. In both the Khoi and the Biblical story, the death of the snake announced the end of the coexistence of humankind and the snake in the same living space. In the Biblical story the snake and human beings will no longer coexist in peace in the same territory, but will hate one another (Gen.3:15). The snake will go about on its belly *in the dust of the earth* (Gen. 3:14,19) – away from the water. The female will no longer be *the partner* whom the male could love like his own body. She will be *a partner* on whose body he could quench his selfish desires and this disharmony would be to a great discomfort and pain for her (Gen.3: 16). The male will no longer enjoy a peaceful and prosperous life in the garden. Hums will suffer many hardships because they failed to respect a life determined by the commandments of God. They caused the disharmony among themselves because they ventured to take command of the garden of God and failed to live in harmony in his garden. Because they failed to protect the commandments of God and to *live in harmony inside his garden*, they will suffer *death and disharmony outside* that living space which God had created for them (Gen. 3:18,19).

The second example emphasized the significance of the dignity of human beings for peaceful human relationships in the community. This highly valued the tradition that a family should therefore remain in and communicate with other families in the community. By means of such an affinity with the clan a family uplifted their own

dignity in the community and enabled their members to think and speak in terms of kinship (Wilson 1965:62).

Thus in the Khoi reflection on life, dignity and harmony in the community, were realized when families associate themselves with other families of the clan. An example will highlight their perception of a dignified life in harmony with the community as the extended family.

It happened that a stubborn family head withdrew with his family from the community of *!Hubous* to the mountains. Their withdrawal from the protection of life in the community caused a serious concern among the members of the community. The withdrawal of that family caused numerous problems for that family head. He physically abused his marriage partner and she pleaded with the community leaders to help her. Her husband told the leaders to mind their own business. Sometime later the three daughters ran away from the family camp and became prostitutes at the diamond mine at Sendelingsdrift. The father pleaded with the church leaders to help him to bring them back to his family. They consented to do this because he agreed to return with his family to live in coexistence with the community.

The third example focused on the regard of the Khoi for neighbourly relationships among members of extended families. The family heads demanded from the younger members to respect older members on account of their wisdom. Until recently the respect of young people for elderly members was an absolute demand in Khoi communities.

It was expected from young people to introduce their future marriage partner to the elderly members of both their parents. Should they disregard this code of conduct they obstruct the communication between the families and their respective fathers and mothers. However, by honouring this code of conduct, they keep the important link with their respective paternal and maternal families safe and sound.

Finally, the Khoi valued dignified relationships between family groups who had to share pastures and water resources. No clan had the right to unilaterally settle a spatial dispute with their neighbours, for their chief should resolve such a dispute in such a manner that the clan could live in peaceful coexistence.

Wilson for example, wrote the following significant note on the resolution of disputes between neighbours among the Khoi.

Disputes were heard before all the men of the camp, assembled under the leadership of the senior kinsman of the clan. The chief of the horde (tribe), sitting with the heads

of clans, tried disputes between members of different clans; he could and did sentence a man to death, himself striking the first blow, and the others following. But he could not compel the kinsmen of the murdered man to accept compensation. A murderer or adulterer was not received by another Khoikhoi horde but might try to escape to the Buchies - i.e. to the hunters in the mountains,” (Wilson 1969:60)

Contrary to the European opinion on the dignity of human beings, is the view of the Khoi with regard to these relationships among all human beings. In the Khoi tradition both the individual and the family, males and females, family and community, deserved respect and protection, for God endowed them all with dignity to live on and from the land. Thus, to experience the value of the extended family in times of personal and family crisis, a family and an individual should value their extended family. Because the extended family constituted both the place of the family before God and the spatial awareness of both the individual and family, our Creator-Father ensured that there would be neither a widow nor an orphan, neither a stranger nor a landless person.

2.4 OPINIONS ABOUT THE LAND AS THE PHYSICAL LIVING SPACE OF THE KHOI

In the preceding subsection, I have focused on the regard of the Khoi for the dignity of human beings as the basis of their reflection on life in peaceful coexistence in the same living space.

In this subsection I shall argue, that in the Khoi reflection on land, a living space consists of three distinct parts. These distinct parts are: land as physical living space, land as temporal space and land as cultural living space.

2.4.1 OPINIONS ABOUT THE LAND AS PHYSICAL LIVING SPACE OF THE KHOI FROM OUTSIDE

2.4.1.1 Displacement of the Khoi from the land

Since colonial times the Khoi protested against *occupation* and them being *displaced* from the land of their ancestors. The Khoi attempted to persuade the colonizers to return to the countries from where they came so that they could return to the places

where they lived before. The Europeans, however, invaded more land and since the end of the 18th century they occupied every hectare of the Khoi living space.

Some Europeans highlighted their focus on the *violent displacement* of the Khoi from their land to the periphery in paintings concerning the Khoi and their land. The most renowned painting – that the descendants of the Europeans displayed in every book of the history of South Africa and her people - in this regard is that of the invasion of Table Bay by the Dutch.

About 200 years after that Dutch incursion into the portion of the Goringhaiquas at Table Bay, Samuel Bell painted that act of the displacement of Africans from their living space.



His painting shows a group of a well-fed, well-clothed and well-provided landing party of Europeans who displays the Dutch flag - which symbolizes their intention. Those invaders confront a small group of five unarmed, underfed and miserable looking Khoi. They were two unarmed men and two women –one with a baby. The men being unarmed and the presence of the women and the baby symbolize the inability of these native inhabitants to defend themselves against the well-armed invaders. A Khoi male, probably the spokesperson, stands, while the other natives sit

on the ground before the invaders. The body language of the sitting Khoi symbolizes attachment to the land, namely, that they were natives of the land.

Those Europeans declared that they intended good trade relations with the Khoi and that they want to spread the good news of Christ Jesus as Saviour of sinners to the Khoi. However in the 5th year of the invasion they spread total spatial disorder from that place in the living space of the Goringhaiquas. In their greed for more profit they used force to dispossess the natives of their land in order to realize European economic objectives. Those Dutch settlers undermined their objective to share the good news of Christ Jesus with the Khoi by ordering them to remain with their livestock outside the area between the Salt and Liesbeek Rivers.

The Goringhaiquas ignored those orders and continued to exercise their rights on the part of the land where those Europeans chose to settle down without their consent. Being denied to have their way with the Goringhaiquas, those Dutch settlers applied violent force to prevent those Khoi from coming into the land over which they started that dispute.

The Khoi retaliated by destroying the crops of those settlers in order to reiterate their refusal to alienate the best part of their pastures to foreigners. This corrective action of the Goringhaiquas sparked the first war of native South Africans for the liberation of their land from foreign occupation. The Khoi defenders lost the battle for the land occupied by Europeans in the area west of the Salt and Liesbeek Rivers and had to remain east of the area. Having colonized the land west of the Salt and Liesbeek Rivers the Europeans spread from that place the spatial disorder into all the other Khoi territories.

The ongoing European violations of the spatial identity of the Khoi caused “*a bitter conflict of interests*” between them and the Khoi (Sebidi 1986:4). Under the leadership of Doman in the first Khoi-Dutch war (1659) and under the leadership of Gonnema in the second Khoi-Dutch war (1673-1677), the Khoi fought courageously to defend their land against incipient colonial expansion, (Sebidi 1986:4).

To keep the Khoi *on the periphery* of the land those Europeans made use of evil land laws, by which they attempt to violate the awareness of space among the displaced Khoi. They also attempted to impose a European awareness of space on the Khoi so that they should accept the alienation of their ancestral land. They got hold of the Khoi herds of cattle and flocks of sheep and made them to be only the herders of cattle and sheep in their ancestral land.

They *regulated in cold blood* the life of Khoi individuals to a life of suffering on settler farms away from a dignified life of being with their families. They built villages and cities on the occupied Khoi land and caused the displaced Khoi families to suffer from unemployment in the townships on the periphery.

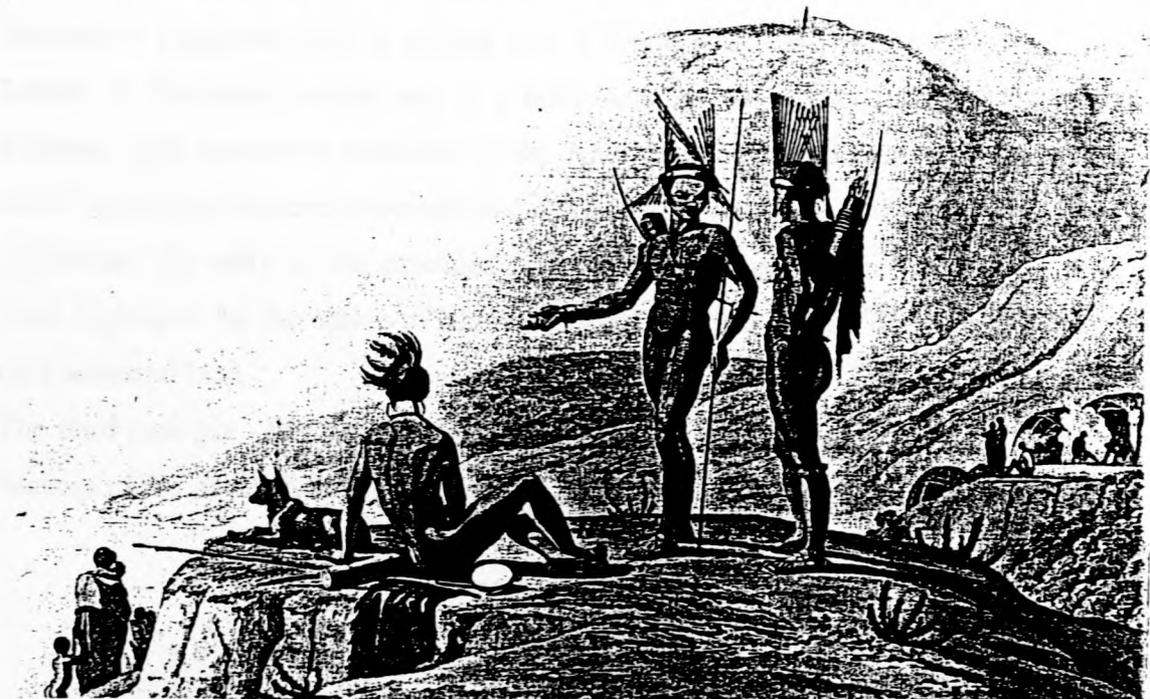
They restricted the rest of the displaced Khoi families to small and poor land in rural areas that they granted to Christian missions from Europe. By means of so-called Christian and civilized laws they subjugated the displaced Khoi on these mission stations to the trusteeship of European missionaries. In so doing those Europeans by confined those dispossessed Khoi to a living space with natural resources of fertile soil and water. In so doing they achieved their goal to made the dispossessed and impoverished natives dependent of Europeans for employment.

Because of these evil land laws -the Mission Station and Communal Reserves Act of the Cape of Good Hope of 1909, the Coloured Mission Stations Act of 1949 and the Rural Areas Act of 1987 - they occupy the land of the Khoi until now.

These evils of European civilization – kept in place in the dispossessed Khoi living space until now- one can see when one read the photo history of the dispossession and displacement of the Khoi by Europeans from the perspective of the displaced. The photo history reveals the spatial disorder that the Europeans cause to keep the Khoi on the periphery of their land.

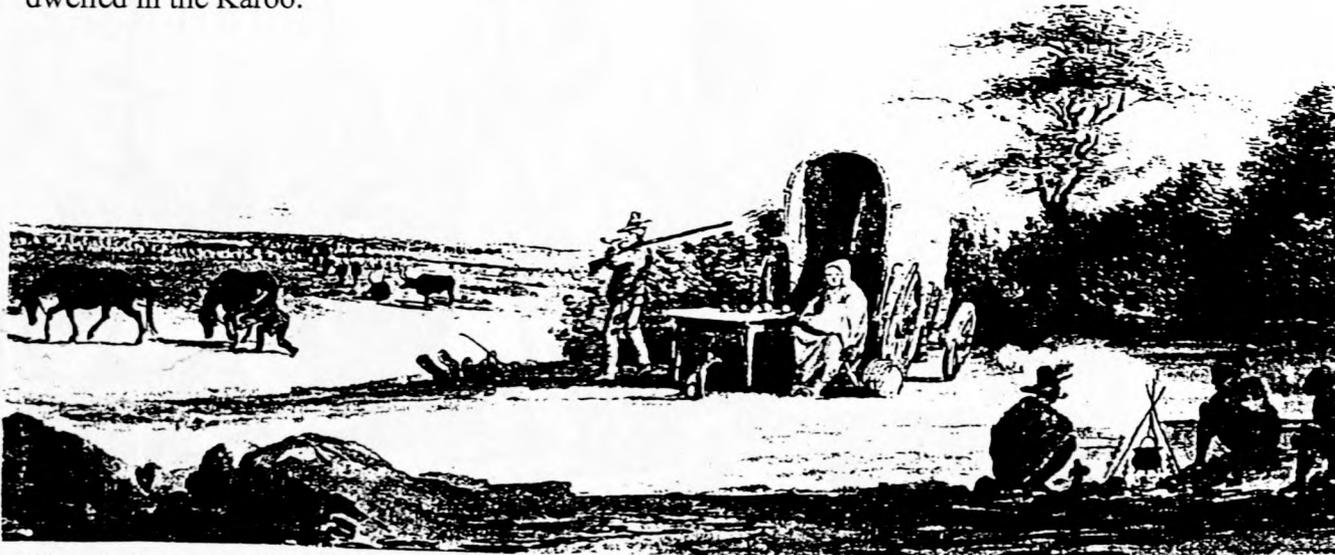
From the photo history of the displacement of these native South Africans, I shall mention the following four examples to illustrate the *spatial disorder* in these parts of the South African living space.

As a first example I refer the reader to the painting of a British painter, Charles Bell, who illustrated the displaced Khoi as a hunting party of "*Bosjesmans Hottentotten*".



On the foreground in the painting, the hunting party of three Khoi hunters armed with bows, arrows and spears and a Khoi dog – that symbolize their unstable lifestyle. In the background in the painting, are three typical dome-shaped Khoi huts on a mountain plateau – this symbolizes *the violation of Khoi community organization* from outside, for the Khoi huts should be on a plain and arranged in a protective circle. The painting displays the impoverishment of the Khoi, for the wealth of a Khoi family was a herd of cattle and a flock of sheep.

The second example – a painting by Bell in 1836- focuses on the European reflection on what should be *the place of the displaced Khoi*. This painting reveals the contrasting lifestyles of a settler stock farmer family and their Khoi “servants” dwelled in the Karoo.



The obvious wealthy stock farmer looked over his herd of cattle and flock of sheep. Three of his “servants” sat at a respectful distance around an open fire, preparing for themselves a separate meal in a black pot. A fourth Khoi cared for the horses of the farmer. A European woman sat at a table near an ox-wagon, minding her own business. The respective positions of the Khoi and the Europeans symbolized the social separation between colonizers and colonized. In the Khoi culture the family fire symbolizes the unity of the extended family. The absence of Khoi women on that place highlights the disruption of Khoi family life because of their displacement from their ancestral land.

The third example -Africana-Museum- illustrates *the humiliation of the Khoi women* because of the occupation of their land by the Europeans. In the Khoi community the

women have a dignified place as the female marriage partner who have an economic independent position next to that of her male partner. The painting of Bell illustrates the Khoi women as the domestic servants of Europeans and, for their sake, dressed in European garments.



The two Khoi women in European service focuses on the violation of the spatial identity of Khoi women by Europeans. The older Khoi woman holds a platter with eatables and the younger one holds a fan of ostrich feathers, for the comfort of seven European adults – four men and three women – sitting inactively around.

The absence of the baby of the family on the back of either the older or the younger of the Khoi women, reveals the violent impact of European regard for themselves on the lives of Khoi children who lack the nearness of their mothers.

The fourth example (Africana Museum) focused on the *displacement of a Khoi community* to the periphery of their land to a so-called Christian mission station. The painting is of the Christian mission station, *Genadendal, (Valley of Mercy)*, established in the 18th century by the Moravian Brethren – a mission society in Germany. However, the Khoi, being displaced from the ancestral living spaces to that peripheral outpost, experienced no mercy from the Europeans who occupied their land. Until today the dispossessed impoverished inhabitants of that place have to struggle to survive on the remainder of their ancestral portion in God's sun.



The painting displayed the derangement of the traditional Khoi nomadic community. It displayed rows of small matchbox dwellings that sharply contrasted with the circle of traditional Khoi huts. The painting also showed that the settled Khoi were boxed-in by huge mountains that symbolized them being dispossessed of and displaced from their ancestral land. The groups of Khoi males and females are dressed like Europeans, sitting and standing around in idleness. The absence of a herd of cattle or

a flock of sheep reveals that they, having lost their pastures and being restricted to that limited space, became an impoverished community.

2.4.1.2 Misidentification of the Khoi

The European concluded their advancement into the land of the Khoi when they restricted the Khoi, whom they regarded as redundant, to small portions of poor land. To protect their occupation of the land of the Khoi, they eventually misidentified these Khoi as the “*Coloureds*” of the rural areas. They reserved these so-called “*Coloured rural areas*” as places from where they can draw numbers unemployed and under-educated “*Coloureds*” as laborers on the farms, mines and industries. To keep the Khoi on the periphery of land they spread these rural areas over a wide area, separated from European villages and centers of development.

Today these places of Khoi resettlement are still in place - eleven of them are located in the *Western Cape*, nine in the *Northern Cape*, two in the *Free State* and one in the *Eastern Cape*. The smallest of these settlements is *Pniel* in the Western Cape, which consists of about 56 hectares and the largest, is the *Richterveld* in the Northern Cape, which consists of about 513,000 hectares. To give the reader an idea in this regard, namely, the displacement of descendants of the dispossessed Khoi to small portions of poor over a vast area, I place as an example of these places of subjugation and exploitation of the Khoi in Addendum 2.8.1.

To advance their own development on and from what the land yielded Europeans discouraged the advancement of the Khoi in these rural areas. An example in this respect one can see in the restrictions that Europeans issued for the use of the land by the displaced “*Coloureds*” and “*Naturals*.” on the *Olifants River flood plains*.

For example, the Europeans who occupied the land in that region restricted the displaced natives to one bundle of firewood per week. They also prohibited those landless natives from hunting wild game to sustain themselves from what the land yields. They also disallowed those Khoi to keep their own herds of cattle so that they would not become independent of “*whites*” next to and nearby.

They allowed the displaced to keep only *two* donkeys at a fee of one shilling and *ten* sheep at on penny per head per month and the on condition that they should be in the service of a “*baas*” (boss), namely, a European who occupied Khoi land. Finally, they prohibited the Khoi who identified themselves as “*naturals*” (native inhabitants) from

sharing with them in life on and from the land by prohibiting them from keeping any livestock. See in this regard the copy of the document in Addendum 2.8.10.

2.4.1.3 Christianizing the land

The Europeans, defending the occupation of the land, attempted to impose a peculiar type of *Christianity* on the Khoi. This peculiar relationship constantly occupied the minds of “whites” in their struggle for “white” unity in the land they occupied. Any effort from outside their living space that sought to undermine their claim on the land that belonged to the Khoi, aroused their anger and withdrawal from international forums to the enclosure of “super white” ranks.

For example in December 1960 they rejected the proposals of the Cottesloe Church Consultation and in April 1961 withdrew from the Commonwealth. By those demonstrations they voiced their disapproval of outside interference in their manner of managing the affairs of the land. In May 1961 they founded a “white” republic in South Africa in order - as they explained many years later - “to secure the integrity and freedom of our country” (Constitution of the RSA 1984:1).

The role that some leaders of the Church had to play was to nurse the agony of the victims while trying to heal the land from the unique disease of legalized racial oppression. They were compelled by the authorities to support the evil desire of the land rapists and to defend the so-called civilized manner in which the government managed the dispossession of and the displacement of the Khoi. These Church leaders zealously propagated that South Africa should become “a *Christian national state with self-government and independent of British imperialism*”(De Villiers 1965:272).

In their propaganda in favour of “*self-government*” they pronounced that they were loyally following “*the Calvinist Creed.*” De Villiers, however, identified this interpretation of the Calvinist Creed as: “a *sort of neo-Calvinist philosophy*” (De Villiers 1965:371) upheld by some “whites” who believed that they are “a *supernatural creation*” of God (De Villiers 1965:371). For they believed that God brought their forefathers from different European countries together and miraculously created Afrikaans speaking language group in this part of Africa. It was among them that the idea of them being a “*supernatural creation*” of God existed, to whom God commissioned to Christianize the Africans at their doorsteps.

A summary of the original "*Calvinist Creed*" contains an argument of John Calvin, that some human beings "*are elected*" while others "*are excluded*" from being elected by God. These concepts define the relationship between humankind and God, namely, if they indeed are his people or not a part of his people.

Some of these Afrikaners, occasionally, voiced their deep-felt "*conviction that the Afrikaner was placed in this land by God and was destined to pursue its existence as a nation with its own character and calling*" (De Villiers 1965:371)

Ds. S.J du Toit, once asserted that they are "*a people, occupying a distinct mother land, South Africa and are destined by God to rule South Africa and civilize the heathen*," (Thompson 1965:302). This religious philosophy was emphatically reiterated at the annual Day of the Vow celebrations on the 16th of December. For example on the celebration of 16 December 1966 Mr. W A Maree, the leader of the National Party of Natal, exclaimed: "*We believe that the only road is the one which fulfills the demands of our Calvinist Creed*" (De Villiers 1965:371) And at the same occasion Prof. F J M Potgieter, a professor in theology, announced that: "*God saved the Afrikaner people at Blood River and allowed them to proceed to where they are today*"(De Villiers 1965:371).

Some Church leaders preached that God elected the Afrikaners to be his chosen people in SA. They compared their experiences in the land with the people whom the narrators of the Pentateuch identified as "*Israel*". They viewed their oppression by the British government as their sufferings in the land of "*Egypt*". They experienced their ox wagon trek from settled life on dispossessed Khoi tribal land to the inland, as their own "*wanderings*" in the desert. They identified the native South Africans as "*the Canaanites*" that should be dispossessed and driven off their land in order that it should become the "*Canaan*" of the "*white*" race. De Villiers argued that Afrikaners who subscribed to this philosophy viewed that they are a super white race destined by God to rule over the black races (De Villiers 1965:371).

They maintained that God brought Europeans from different countries together and miraculously created an Afrikaans speaking language group in this part of Africa. They even put this peculiar reflection on the land as the leading note to the Preamble of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa in 1984. This note to the Preamble of that effort to produce a Constitution for South Africa, reads: "*In humble submission to Almighty God, who controls the destiny of nations and peoples, who gathered our*

forebears together from many lands and gave them this their own. (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1984:1)

According to this philosophy, they factually *discredited God* by claiming he was the One who dispossessed the ancestral land of all the African tribes and gave it to their ancestors to distribute it between themselves. Hence God appointed them, they believed, to open the land of the heathens for the introduction of their “*Christian values and civilized norms*” to this part of the African continent (The Constitution of the RSA 1984:1).

2.4.2 OPINIONS ABOUT THE LAND AS THE PHYSICAL LIVING SPACE OF THE KHOI FROM INSIDE

Contrary to the outside opinions of invasion and occupation of the land, are the Khoi opinions of the land as the physical living space of all who live on and from it. The Khoi ancestors practiced their belief that the land should be shared in order that they all should live from what it yielded.

2.4.2.1 Sharing life on the land

The Khoi were *pastoral nomads* and never remained in the same living space all the time. They consequently never needed to be available for the sake of Europeans who needed to trade with them. They trekked around in their tribal territories to fulfil in their needs for pastureland and enough water for themselves and their livestock.

The picture history of the nomadic lifestyle of the Khoi herders explained the point. Samuel Daniel for example illustrated in 1805, how a Khoi nomad family demolished their dome-shaped huts and packed their basic material possessions on a pack-ox for their trek to another camp in their tribal land.



The Khoi indeed valued their living space with her pastures and water resources, as much as they valued their herds of cattle and flocks of sheep and goats. To lose even a small part of their living space had serious consequences for their inclusive cultural identity. For land loss caused them to become economically dependent and unable to contribute to live in dignity in their living space. Land loss also caused their spatial identity to be violated, their living spaces to lose their status as a safe place for refugees and independent Khoi to be absorbed by other clans and tribes.

Before colonization, the Khoi *shared their living space* among about 16 tribes (Elphick 1972:50). In South Africa the Khoi tribal possessions included the whole of the West and South Coast and the adjacent inland territories.

The Khoi tribal possessions corresponds with their spatial identities and can be described as follow: *The Cape Peninsula Khoi* who was the **Goringhaiqua**; **Goringhaicona**; **Gorachoqua** and **Cochoqua**, whose tribal living spaces were the Cape Peninsula and vicinity. *The Southern Coast Khoi* who comprised the **Chainouqua**; **Hessequa**; **Gouriqua**; **Houtiniqua**; **Damasqua** and **Houchaiqua**, and their tribal territories were the coastal area west of the Breede River and up to the Fish River. *The Southern Inland Khoi* consisted of the **Attaqua**; **Inqua** and **Gonaqua**, lived to the inland in the territory between the Gourits and Fish River. *The Western Coast Khoi* were the **Grigriqua** and **Namaqua** and their tribal territories were the coastal and inland territory between the Berg and Orange River. *The Western Inland Khoi* were the **Koranna**, whose tribal territory was the area between the Hartebeest and Orange River).

Tribal land portions were the *communal possession* of the tribes and members were traditionally prohibited to sell any land. Tribal land should consequently never be alienated, for such an undertaking would cause serious consequences for their life if even a part of their living space is alienated, (Bredekamp 1982:62-65; 1991:104-105). The attachment to a specific territory explained the Khoi community's attachment to their specific families. Land in their perspective is like a mother who gives birth to the

inhabitants in a specific territory. Khoi families lived together on and from their tribal possessions in family groups to express both human dignity and spatial identity.

One can hear the natural attachment of the Khoi towards their tribal land in their spatial identities that are encapsulated in the Khoi names of territories and places that survived the evils of colonization. See in this respect the following names of territories: *Namaqualand and Griqualand* that hints that these territories were the living spaces of the Namaqua and the Griqua Khoi. Before colonization these territories covered the whole of the province of the Northern Cape of today. In the province of the Eastern Cape place names like: *Outeniqua, Gourits, Gamtoos and Tsitsikamma* hint that these places were part of the living spaces of the Khoi tribes of these areas.

In these names of territories and places the suffix “*qua*” expressed the physical and rational aspects of the attachment of the Khoi tribes to their portion of physical and cultural living space. The suffix is a distortion of Nama concept, “*goa*” that denotes a woman who is with child i.e. pregnant. The Khoi apparently employed the “*goa*” to emphasize the natural attachment of tribes to a specific land portion. Thus in Khoi reflection, the tribal land is thought of as the mother (*îs*) who gave birth to them, her children (*/goan*).

2.4.2.2 Sharing life from the land

In their *reflection* on land as physical and cultural living space the respect of the Khoi people for the mothers of their family had its roots. This explains the indignation of the Khoi, should a person fail to respect especially the mothers of the extended family. For the mothers are to them, in a sense like their tribal living spaces, who shared among them life from her own lifeblood.

I shall illustrate the point of the natural attachment to their tribal land possessions and sharing life on and from the land by using examples of paintings by European visitors to illustrate my point.

Firstly in 1711 a Dutch painter, Abraham Bogaert, painted the *natural attachment* of the Khoi to their living space and sharing her with friendly neighbors. The painting shows two communities (a Khoi and a Dutch) coexisting side by side in the same living space.

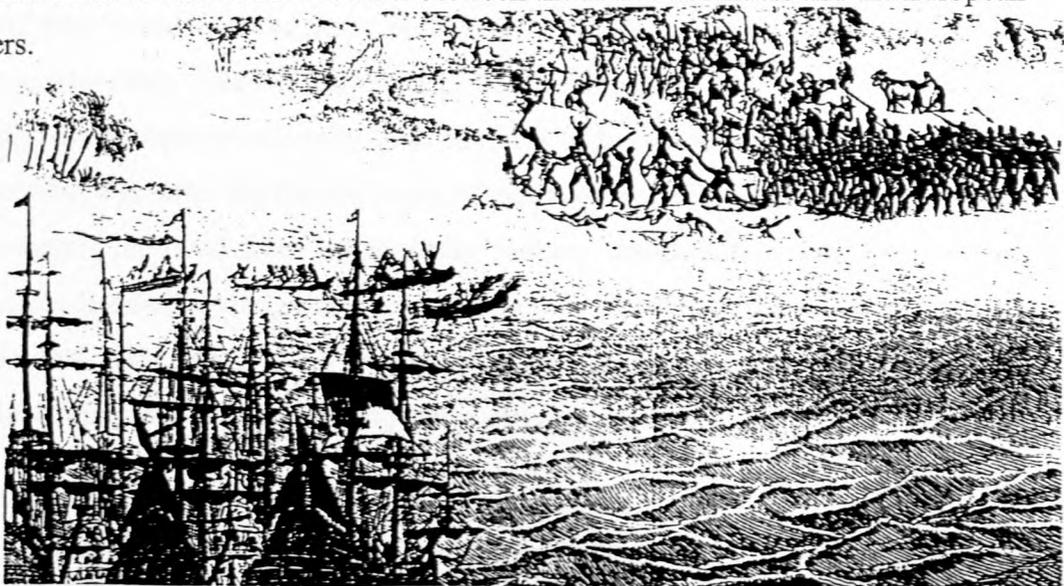


On the foreground of the painting is a Goringhauqua community on the beachfront north of Table Bay (denoting their continuing presence in the land). Inside the circle formed by their huts, is their flock of sheep and on the outside their cattle (the symbol of Khoi wealth). In the immediate background, a group of Khoi hunters is attacking two elephants with spears (that symbolizes their lifestyle as a nomadic people who lived from the land).

To the right of the elephant hunters, five trade ships are anchored in the bay. In the distant background to the south, stretching from the beachfront to the slopes of Lion's Head, are the dwellings of the settlers, separate from the Khoi huts. Prominent between the dwellings in the Dutch settlement, is the tower of a church building (the symbol of European Christianity) and on Lion's Head the Dutch national flag (the symbol of colonial occupation) marked their occupation of the living space of the Peninsula Khoi.

Secondly, the physical contacts were at times friendly but other personal contacts ended in violent conflicts between the seafarers and the Khoi. For some of those European seafarers who ventured into the Khoi living space, somehow caused an armed conflict between themselves and the indigenous inhabitants.

See for example the painting of the armed conflict between a group of Khoi and Portuguese seafarers in 1510 at Table Bay. The Dutch painter, P van der Aa, illustrated in 1707 that violent conflict between the native defenders and the European invaders.



On the foreground in the painting, five Portuguese ships are anchored in Table Bay and five rowboats filled with sailors are making progress for the safety of the ships. In the background, the survivors of the attacking force are retreating into the sea. Khoi defenders armed with spears, bows and arrows are driving battle oxen into the ranks of their attackers, forcing them back into the sea.

Tribes who lost their land because of European civilization and failed to solve the *spatial crisis* were displaced to new territories where they had to adapt in order to rescue their *spatial identity* and economic independence (Bredekamp 1982:62-65; 1991:104-105).

The **Griquas**, for example, inhabited the territory from the Berg to the Olifants River on the West Coast and trekked to the north to escape colonialism.

In this respect see for example the essay of Engelbrecht on: *The seduction and denial of Khoisan Rights* (Engelbrecht 1997:32-33). The Griqua tribe was apparently a refuge for Khoi from neighbouring colonized territories until they also became the victims of colonization.

Engelbrecht described the pre-colonial spatial identity of the Griqua as, “*the Quena Griqua tribe*” who shared the physical living space between the “*Piquetberg/Olifants Rivers* and whose land was “*the refuge and comfort zone of the orphan Khoi and San victims*”(Engelbrecht 1997:32).

The Khoi focused on sharing life on and from the land by means of peaceful coexistence with their neighbours. For example, they coexisted in relative peace with the **San**, who were factually their biological relatives but followed a lifestyle of gathering, while they followed a lifestyle of herding and gathering.

When the San hunters occasionally stole numbers of livestock from the Khoi herders, the latter had to go after the thieves to take their property back. Both the Khoi and the San, however, refrained from purposefully seeking confrontation with another for they “*used poisoned arrows, and a scratch might be deadly*, (Wilson 1969:60). Both Khoi herders and San hunters never went out with the purpose to hunt and exterminate the group with whom they had a difference.

They also had relative peaceful trade relations with African neighbours, like the *Xhosa* and the *Tswana* people. Elphick illustrated in this respect the trade relations between the *Gonaqua* of the Eastern Cape and the *Xhosa* and also between the *Namaquas* of the Northern Cape and the *Tswana*, (Elphick 1972:18,50,65,233).

Plaatje illustrated in his historic novel the regard of the *Korannas* for sharing life on and from their land with Ndebele refugees who were displaced from their land because of the Dificane (war of extermination). Plaatje wrote in his novel, *Mhudi*, about the following incident in the kraal of Chief Massoub of the Korannas:

Ton-Qon, a Qoranna headman, had an eye on *Mhudi*, the beautiful wife of Ra-Thaga, the Ndebele refugee. On a hunting trip Ton Qon ran away with the rifle that Chief Massoub gave him to protect the guest of his camp. Ra-Thaga was severely mauled by a leopard. Ton Qon believed that Ra-Thaga would not survive the serious wound and spread the rumour, that a leopard killed Ra-Thaga. *Mhudi*, however, went to investigate and found that her husband was severely injured but still alive and nursed him. They eventually returned to the camp of the Qorranas.

Chief Massoub was furious with his headman and spoke to his people, saying, " *So let it be understood that every person in my dominion is one of us. My home is his home, my lands are his lands, my cattle are his cattle and my law is his shield.*" (Plaatje 1978:80).

The chief decided that Ton Qon should pay with his life for the crime of betraying the Qoranna traditions. Rev. Moffat, however, intervened and pleaded with the Chief to punish the headman but spare his life. The Chief accepted the advice but removed the traitor as headman, saying, "*The dog is not fit to live. Amase (truly), he will lead my people into ways that are wrong. I will degrade him and install some other headman in his place*"(Plaatje 1978:80).

He also commanded that the family of the criminal should take the lead affirmative actions in favour of the guest of the Qorrana tribe. He commanded them, saying, "*And you, the relatives of Ton-Qon, I want you to hand over before sundown twenty of Ton-Qons's best cattle, his horse, his saddle and bridle and his rifle. Ten of the cows I will award to Ra-Thaga, the Bldi (Ndebele) whose life Ton-Qon attempted to take, and the remainder of the fine will be mine. That is my law which you must obey and don't let me ever hear of so brutal a case again*" (Plaatje 1978:80).

Plaatje emphasizes in this story that in the Khoi culture the dignity of the community is the guarantee for the dignity of their guests. They equally valued the human dignity

of both “*the headman*” and the “*guest*” of the Chief. All the leaders of the tribe, both “*the Chief and his headmen*” should set the example for common members in the execution of respect for the life and dignity of all their guests.

The Khoi identified their physical living space as their mother and consequently highly valued the significance of communal *hospitality* to strangers. In this respect I will mention two examples of Europeans that experienced this important practice of Khoi people.

The first example was noted by Dapper who accounted the experiences of a Dutch expedition that journeyed in February 1661 into the tribal territory of the Namaquas.

This Dutch expedition was heartily welcomed by a group of about hundred musicians “*with considerable gaiety*”(Schapera 1933:35) for about two hours. Thereafter, the Namaquas Chief entertained them in his hut with “*milk and sheep’s flesh*” (Schapera 1933:35) and gave them a safe place to rest and sleep.

The second example was noted by Grevenbroek, who accounted of the hospitality that Khoi extended to “*the crew of the Stavenisse*”, whose boat shipwrecked on the Western Cape coast.

He claimed that it appeared, that to the Khoi, it was a “*sacred obligation*” to comfort distressed people by means of hospitality “*at the expense of the community*”. Grevenbroek remarked that the Khoi community “*never breaks the laws of hospitality*” and wished that “*our European citizens who profess the name of Christ would rival them in their respect for strangers*” (Farrington 1933:239).

Before such European concepts like, civilized norms and Christian values were even mentioned, the ancestors already practiced them in their divergent tribal living spaces. By these practical teachings about respect for the dignity of all human beings they already educated generations of indigenous communities who shared life in coexistence. By means of these cultural practices, the minds of generations were reinforced to understand the significance of human dignity as a vehicle to transport communal harmony from generation to generation.

Being aware that they are the creation of God the Khoi never gave up their historical right to live on and from the land. Their right to live on and from the land, instead of on its periphery, is historical because their ancestors are resting in its soil. Their right to live from the wealth of the land is historical, because they honoured the land as their mother who gave and will give birth to many generations. Being native inhabitants they refused to give up their natural attachment to the land, because they

authentically – to use the expression of Brueggemann – “*belonged to the land and not the land to them*” (Brueggemann 1977:93).

2.5. OPINIONS ABOUT THE LAND AS THE TEMPORAL SPACE LIVING SPACE OF THE KHOI

In this section I shall focus on the second part of the reflection of the Khoi on their spatial identity, namely their thought on temporal space i.e. on time and space. The Khoi reflection on temporal space constitutes the rational aspect of their spatial awareness.

2.5.1 OPINIONS ABOUT THE LAND AS THE TEMPORAL SPACE OF THE KHOI FROM OUTSIDE

In this part I shall summarize as an example of the European opinion on land as temporal space, the occupation of the land of the Nama on the Olifants River flood plains. The official occupation of this part of the land by the Khoi people was announced in 1734 and the factual occupation of the land continued until the present. The reason for this view on land as temporal space is because the land of which our community was dispossessed is located adjacent to the land to which we were displaced.

2.5.1.1 Introducing spatial disorder

Since the sixth decade of the 17th century AD, Europeans bartered with (Bredekamp 1982:22) and made contact with 10 Namaqua communities in the area south of the Olifants River (Bredekamp 1982:30). Khoi land rights remained unaffected by settlers at the Cape until Europeans settled in the area since the beginning of the 18th century (Wernich 1996:2)

In 1734 it happened that the “*Politieke Raad*” (political council) of the UDEIC in Amsterdam, declared the Olifants River as “*an area of the Dutch East Indian Company*” (Wernich 1996:2). By this declaration they officially occupied the original Namaqua territory from the “*Upper Olifants River and the Upper Breede River*” (Hahn 1881:97) to the mouth of the Olifants River.

In 1806 the *British* disposed of the Dutch and continued the evil policy of colonization. The British colonial regime introduced in 1809 the “*Pass and Land laws*” (Mokoka 1984:21), by which they compelled the Khoi people in SA to either be employed by a settler farmer or be imprisoned as a vagrant native in occupied territory. In a letter from the “*Landros en Heemrade of Stellenbosch to Governor J W Jansens*” (Wernich 1996:3), dated 5 March 1804, a Dutch official informed the governor that the people of *Doornkraal* were “*de wettige en oregineelee bezitters*” of the land and that “*Captain Lowies*” ought to be the legal representative of their land rights (Wernich 1996:3).

The colonizers confirmed the opinion of that official at Stellenbosch when they gave to Captain Louis a staff of authority in *Doornkraal* but as a subject of the British crown.

According to oral traditions, the original territory of the *Namaqas* of *Doornkraal* was the coastal area from the mouth of the Groen River in the north to Donkins Bay in the south. To the inland their traditional pastures stretched from Donkins Bay to Heerenlogenmentsberg in the east and in a northern direction to the Flaminkberg and from that point to the mouth of the Groen River (De la Harpe 1995:78). The *Namaqas* had access to the coastline to catch fish and crayfish, to hunt seals on Gull Island in the mouth of the Olifants River, to mine salt at Fish Water at the mouth of the Olifants River and to hunt wild game in their tribal territory.

In 1813 the British governor of the Cape Colony, sir John Cradock, announced that land “*perpetually*” utilized by the same European settler, may be “*legally*” possessed by such a farmer, (Wernich 1996:2). That declaration restricted the *Namaqas* of *Doornkraal* to a very small living space on the Olifants River flood plains.

The dispossession of the greater part of their land caused much dissatisfaction between the leaders of the *Namaqas* and the British exploited the situation in their favour.

To illustrate that state of affairs I shall summarize the case of “*Pruim Nero*” against *Andreas “Kees” Lewies*. According to oral tradition “*Pruim*” *Nero* was the current Captain of the *Namaqas* at *Doornkraal*. He, however, could not speak any of the colonial languages. His son in law, *Andreas “Kees” Lewies*, could speak both Dutch and English, and sought to obtain the authority of Captain. In 1834 Kees Lewies submitted a memorandum to the Colonial Secretary, explaining that the Earl of Caledon gave to his father *Andreas Lewies* a staff as a symbol of authority over the

people of Doornkraal. He requested that he, being in possession of that symbol of authority, should have the authority over the people of Doornkraal.

That British colonial official granted *Andreas "Kees" Lewies* his request and issued a document in which they declared their authority over him in the following words:

"The mark of distinction given on former occasions to deserving Hottentots, whereby they assumed the title of Captain of the Kraal, has generally produced a good effect, as such Hottentot obtain much influence on the people living within his kraal, and became more or less responsible for their good conduct, and when any irregularity occurred among them, such Captains were usually spoken to, by whom these irregularities were generally addressed" (Wernich 1996:4).

Thereby those colonists disposed of *Pruim Nero* and effectively restricted his successor's authority to the kraal of the Namaquas on the Olifants River flood plains. *Pruim Nero* left the flood plains and journeyed further to the north into Little Namaqualand and never returned to the kraal of that son in law who sold their land to the British.

In July 1837 the British governor at the Cape, Benjamin D'Urban, notified *Andreas "Kees" Lewies* that he dispossessed 5250 morgen of the land of his Hottentots and granted it to the *Renish Mission Society* (RMS). That ruling left the kraal of *Kees Lewies* with only 6555 morgen of land and put a strict condition in place that only those Khoi who acknowledged colonial rule may profit by living on and from that land grant (see Addendum 2.8.3).

2.5.1.3 Contributions of the Church to the disorder

The RMS established a Christian mission station on the dispossessed land and took a loan of £500 from the government to develop their land grant. The agricultural experiment of the RMS failed and they withdrew from the plains after 50 years of hardships to keep that experiment on track. Because the RMS also failed to pay back their debt, the British took possession of the 5250 morgen of land that they granted to the RMS and which the RMS offered as a guarantee for the loan.

In 1890 the *DRC* continued the missionary work of the RMS and involved itself in the land dispute between their government and the Khoi. Having established itself as a DRC mission in the area, the Church placed itself as a dividing instrument in the congregation. The DRC encouraged "*Coloureds*" to establish themselves on the land

portion of 5250 morgen that the British again made available for the mission of the Church.

In 1905 the DRC took a second loan of £1000 from the government and offered the mission station, *Ebenhaezer*, the 5250 morgen of developed land, as a guarantee. With the £1000 the Church bought the farm, Namies, to establish a DRC congregation for their members at Pofadder (De la Harpe 1995:46).

The DRC openly co-operated with the government to dispossess the Khoi of most and the best part of their land and to displace them to a small part of poor land.

In 1911 the government requested the DRC to avail the land of the mission station for distribution to and the social development of landless “whites.” The government decided in 1913 to execute their decision of building an irrigation system from the Bulshoek Dam and make land available for landless poor “whites.” They also decided that both the “Coloureds” on the 5250 morgen at Ebenezer and “the people” (the Khoi) on the 6555 morgen should be displaced to Olifants Drift so that land distribution to “whites” could get underway.

In the dispossession of the land of the ancestors, two missionaries of the DRC at Ebenezer mission station stood out in their personal dedication to the case.

In 1912 Mr. Abraham Fisher, the Minister of Lands, wrote to Rev L.A.R du Plessis, the DRC missionary at Ebenezer, reprimanding him “to act as a government official and not as a missionary in his negotiations with the people” (De la Harpe 1995:79). He revealed to the missionary that even the Khoi *people of Doornkraal* would be displaced from the 6555 morgen and their land would be redistributed to poor “whites.”

Because of his position on the side of the government in the land dispute between the Khoi and the government, Rev. Du Plessis was strongly opposed by the “Louis party” (the Khoi) (De la Harpe 1995:13). For on 4 March 1912, he wrote a letter to a Ds. D G Botha in which he displayed his frustration and anger with the Khoi of Doornkraal. He condemned the Khoi and claimed that they should submit to him if they wanted to escape total destruction. He wrote that “the people” were unaware that the axe was coming down on the root of the green unfertile tree (de groen onvructbare boom). If they knew, he claimed, they would clothe them with sack and ash (“zak en as”) and layed them down at the feet of the Church Commission, pleading for help against the government (De la Harpe 1995:13).

He also wrote a letter to Rev. I Leipold of the RMS to get his views about the dispute between the Khoi and the government. For on 8 September 1915 Rev. I Leipold presented his view on the case and claimed that the Church had the right of occupying the land granted to them by the government, but it would be unfair if the government would dispossess more land that rightfully belonged to "*the people*" (Addendum 2.8.4).

In April 1921 Rev. W. A. Booysen succeeded Rev Du Plessis as the DRC missionary at Ebenezer mission station. He also met with fierce opposition from "*the people*" but being a retired colonel from the First World War he very soon succeeded to impose his desire on both the inhabitants of Ebenezer and Doornkraal. Within weeks he communicated to the Minister of Lands that the "*Coloureds of Ebenezer and Doornkraal*" were ready to discuss a "*land exchange deal*" with the government. See in this respect his letters to the Minister of Lands, (Addendum 2.8.5 & 6).

The Church Council of the DRMC congregation of Ebenezer accepted the government's proposal of a land exchange between them and the government.

The majority of the members of the Church Council were "*Coloureds*" who supported the missionary work of the DRC mission and residents of the land that the government made available for the missionary work. The land exchange deal involved that they as well as "*the people*" (the Khoi) should give up their land claims and agree to be relocated to a smaller and poor land portion at Olifantsdrift. In exchange the government would also supply them with irrigation water from the Bulshoek irrigation scheme and recompense the Church and both the communities of Ebenezer and Doornkraal for their houses.

That Church Council obviously was aware of the bitterness of the Khoi members of the congregation against the missionary and the government, who conspired to displace them from their land. For on 11 April 1921 the Council wrote a letter to the Minister of Lands to plea against the dispossession of the land in which soil their ancestors were resting. Rev. Booysen apparently distanced himself from the position of his Church Council, because he did not sign the letter as chairperson, but separately and at the bottom of their letter (see the Addendum 2.8.6).

To add to the disorder that the Church caused some of the people refused to pay their annual tax to amplify their protest against dispossession. Rev. Booysen, who was also the chairperson of the Local Board of Management, saw that the names of the tax boycotters were noted in the minutes of the Board. He branded those protesters as his

personal enemies and threatened to ban them from the mission station if they would continue to boycott tax and oppose the land exchange proposals.

Those Khoi refuted Booyesen's threats because their portions of land fell outside the boundaries of the land exchange deal. Rev. Booyesen being opposed to the arrangement of the government wanted a larger portion of land to be dispossessed from the Khoi. He removed the boundary, erected by the surveyor at Vaalkranz to a position southwest of Vaalkranz, (De la Harpe 1995:21) to accommodate the greed of "whites" for more land. That move displayed how strongly he despised the Khoi for opposing his efforts of dispossessing their land. Having removed the beacon from its original place, he was in a position to take revenge on the families who opposed him.

Therewith he also dispossessed Khoi families who were not affected on account of the beacon of the surveyor and avenged himself on them because they refused to pay the water tax of 10 shillings in solidarity with their relatives who were dispossessed off their land. The families who boycotted tax and were dispossessed of their land because of Rev. Booyesen's beacon, according to the minutes of the Board of Management the following households: Piet Alexander, Josef Alexander, Lewies Andro, Gert Boois, Jan Boois, Gert Brand, Jacob Brand, Jacobus Coetzee, Jan Coetzee, Abraham Coetzee, Kaas Cloete, Koela Cloete, Cupido Friesley, Pieter Friesley, Jacob Geland, Eliab Geland, Jacob Goliat, Jonas Goliat, Johannes Lewies, Dirk Lewies, Piet Oerzon, Klonkies Oerzon, Andries Miggel, Simon Miggel (De la Harpe 1995:9)

The DRC arranged with the government that the land of the Khoi of Doornkraal should be transferred "*in favour of Daniël Bosman, Adriaan Jacobus van Wyk and Andrew Chalres Murray*" who were officials of their Church. The Khoi people protested against the arrangement and demanded that the land should be transferred in the names of "*the people of Kees Lewies.*" They commissioned Christiaan Geland and Petrus Julies to communicate their protest to the DRC and requested that the land should be "*transferred in the name of the volk.*" They warned the DRC that they would "*take legal steps against the Sendingkommissie*" (De la Harpe 1995: 9) if the DRC failed to correct the injustice.

The DRC stood firm on the side of the government and refused the request of the people. The people, consequently, sought legal help to prevent the Europeans from alienating that last portion of 6555 morgen of ancestral land. That new position of the

people against the disorder in their living space is summarized in a letter that the president APO wrote to the Department of Native Affairs (see Addendum 2.8.8).

Nevertheless, the DRC stood firm with the government and in the Spring of 1927 the Namaquas on the Olifants River flood plains lost their battle against the alliance of the government and the DRC. The last four Khoi families whom they displaced, from Doornkraal to the smaller and unfertile land at Brakvlei, were the families of, Abraham Kasper, Christiaan Galant, Jacob Lukas and Petrus Boois.

De la Harpe encapsulated in his research document the impact of the dispossession of the ancestral land on "*the people*" as follow:

"The move from old Ebenezer has left memories which haunt older people of the community to the very present. They fall silent at the recollection of this painful event when as children they were part of the trauma of removal. When news reached them at the same time that the church had been closed down, it was perceived as symbolizing the defeat of the community and a violation of their very dignity as people" (De la Harpe 1995:28).

De la Harpe excellently summarized the social injustice that the government, with the help of the DRC, inflicted on the displaced Khoi, stating:

"The move had also brought hardships with it such as rising costs of living, high transport costs, distance from produce markets, brackish land that had to be cleared and leveled, which led to displaced inhabitants of Ebenezer squatting on the Coloured Camp at Lutzville. By contrast those white farmers placed on the former Ebenezer lands were supplied with food rations, farm implements and even 2 laborers. When unable to pay accumulated water debts a few years later, these were written off by government" (De la Harpe 1995:29).

The displaced Khoi people of Doornkraal, together with the "*Coloureds*" on *Ebenezer*, received the amount of £1310-00 as a compensation for the lost of their houses and none for their land (see Addendum 2.8.9). Having lost their land and their houses the Khoi community were at once homeless and unemployed. Having achieved their goal the government integrated the Khoi and the "*Coloureds*" and redistributed the smaller and poor land at *Brakvlei* among 152 land claimants, among who were 26 females and "*the children of Piet Dirk*" (see Addendum 2.8.9). The government then granted the best land at *Brakvlei* to the DRC (10 hectares) and to 2 hectares to each of the "*Coloured*" families who supported the mission of the DRC.

In 1930 a delegation of the DRC Home Missions Commission visited the Rev. Booysen to thank him for what he has done “*to conclude the exchange of land on such favourable terms for the residents*” (De la Harpe 1995:30). In 1938, Booysen eventually, became a Member of the Parliament, representing the United National Party and in 1939 he exchanged his position as a Church minister for a comfortable seat in the Parliament, leaving behind him a people that was no more than a dump for unemployed and impoverished human beings.

After more than a three-quarter of a century the disorder caused by that government and DRC are still bearing its fruit of evil in that impoverished community. The survivors contemplate that fateful year of 1927 and know God is aware of their sufferings and will restore order in their portion of the land.

2.5.2. OPINIONS ABOUT THE LAND AS THE TEMPORAL SPACE OF THE KHOI FROM INSIDE

Contrary to the position of the Europeans about land as temporal space, is the Khoi viewpoint of land as the breathing space of the culture of their ancestors. For the Khoi, emphasizing the significance of the culture of the ancestors, focused on the need to protect order in their living space. While their colonizers sought to impose their view of spatial development on them, the Khoi, by reflecting on the respect for dignified spatial relationships, sought to protect the dignity of human beings who shared the same living space.

2.5.2.1 Protecting the spatial order

Our ancestors lacked a written tradition with respect to historical and traditional progress in their living space. They, however, have oral traditions which bring into focus their awareness of *time and place* (temporal space). Central in the Khoi reflection on temporal space is the viewpoint that the individual should be aware of his/her place in the community. A person acquires an awareness of his/her place in the community through processes of instruction by means of seeing and hearing. The fruit of the instruction is that members know that respect for the *human dignity* of people starts with respecting his/her own human dignity.

The basis of instruction is that the extended family that, is in Khoi thought, decisive for securing the spatial order *in the land*. For in Khoi family life, the emphasis on

ancestral traditions played an important role in their reflections on temporal space. To explain the significance of *tradition* for reflection on temporal space (time and place), we will apply as examples, the Khoi traditions of the *!nau* (*the passage rite*) and the social institution called the *!hau* (the generation or family).

With regard to the tradition of the *!nau*, I shall use as an example the introduction of a girl to the ranks of the women. The tradition of the *!nau* focuses on the important place of women in the Khoi reflection about the dignity of the extended family.

The period of this rite is managed by the *mama geis* (the grandmother) and it constitutes three periods. The time of *separation* defines the separation of the daughter (the *!nau*) from her surroundings, social grouping and work obligations. After the days of the first menstruation of the daughter follows her time of *preparation*. That includes an instruction by the grandmother, the washing and distribution of her old clothes and she to be clothed with new clothes (Witbooi 1986:104). The final period of this rite is the time of *reintroduction* to the community as a member of the young women in the family group. The formalities consist of the slaughter of an animal for the feast, the invitation of the young people to the family fire, and the celebration of a woman being introduced into the ranks of young women. The responsibility to preserve the *!nau* tradition at their house is the responsibility of the family. The fire in the family hut will be kept alive during these periods, to symbolize their high regard for the history and traditions of the ancestors.

A second example with regard to the significance of the family in Khoi reflection on time and place is their emphasis on the importance of the *!hau* (family unit) of a person. From the perspective of the *!hau* of a person, the Khoi could determine the *!hau !anti* (clan) to whom an individual belongs (Schapera 1930:225). In other words an individual had to be able to explain his/her family line and from there he/she would be able to recite his/her *family history*.

It happened, for example, that the Khoi chiefs, who refused to become colonial subjects, withdrew from the Little Namaqualand because of “*their love for freedom they left their native hills and dales*” (Hahn 1881:97).

Those Namas escaped colonization and found an alternative land portion space among their kinsfolk in Great Namaqualand, were from the “*//Eixa//ais tribe*” (Hahn 1881:97). That tribe formerly “*occupied the valleys of the Olifants River and the Upper Breede river, in the vicinity of the Witsenberg, a mountain named after Witsen, the famous burgomaster of Amsterdam*, (Hahn 1881:97).” Of those who found an

alternative living space in Great Namaqualand were the *clans* *Xam/a* (the Loin's Tail) and */Hôa/ara* (the Cat's Rib) or "as they are now styled the *Amraals* and *Boois*" (Hahn 1881:102). Among the */Hôa/ara* were " *Jager Afrikaner /Hôa/ara*" (Hahn 1881:64), who allegedly in 1811 destroyed the mission station at Warmbad, and " *Jonker Afrikaner /Haramûb*" (Hahn 188:98) who 1823 caused much concern for the German missionaries in Great Namaqualand.

The *!hau* (family unit) and *!hau !nati* (family group) of an individual reflect the identity of the family and the territory they traditionally owned before colonization. The Khoi in their reflections on temporal space kept these two aspects of physical occupation and traditional utilization inseparably together. In this manner the Khoi continued their ancestral history by giving the name of the family to the leaders of their group, who shared the same land. In the Khoi thought, *!hau* defines the bond between people and their land by possessing a specific land portion for generations.

2.5.2.2 Advancing the spatial order

The Khoi people transmitted to their descendants their demand for spatial order by telling to them the stories of *Heitsi Eibib*. In the *Heitsi Eibib* stories, they focus on the importance of life in peaceful coexistence, in order to advance the history of the community on the land. I will illustrate the significance of these stories by means of a few examples. Because of the fact that the figure of *Heitsi Eibib* is unfamiliar to most Europeans, I will clarify the importance of the identity of *Heitsi Eibib* for the sake of understanding the Khoi reflection on time and place.

From European descriptions of the figure *Heitsi Eibib*, one fails to gather a definite picture of this figure. Hahn, for example, presented two separate descriptions of the *Heitsi Eibib* that he took from Europeans who travelled in little and Great Namaqualand. From Captain Alexander he heard that the Namaquas identified *Heitsi Eibib* as "their great father" of whom all the Khoi tribes originated (Hahn 1881:52). From Rev. Knudsen he learned that *Heitsi Eibib* was regarded as "a great sorcerer" (Hahn 1881:55).

Schapera compiled various descriptions of *Heitsi Eibib* from Khoi stories that he heard from Europeans. He saw *Heitsi Eibib* as both "a popular figure and a sort of mythical ancestor" in the Khoi stories (Schapera 1933:xiii). He pictured *Heitsi Eibib* as both a "powerful and rich chief" in Khoi legends (Schapera 1933:xiii). He described *Heitsi Eibib* as both "a seer-hunter and leader with supernatural powers"

in Khoi myths (Schapera 1933:xiii). He identified Heitsi Eibib as *the "great-grandfather and founding hero"* from whom all the tribes of the Khoi originated (Schapera 1933:xiii). Schapera landed on the idea that Heitsi Eibib was a renowned "foreteller" among the Khoi. Because, he argued, the name is apparently derived from the Nama concepts "*heisi*" (to tell) and "*eibe*" (beforehand) (Shapera 1930:383). Carstens put forward the idea that Heitsi Eibib was "*a sort of common ancestral hero*" who emerged "*with the growth of private property and the institutionalisation of inequality between people*" (Carstens 1975:83). Carstens added to his hypothesis pictures of the "*anti-social*" character of Heitsi Eibib (Carstens 1975:83). He concluded his exposition on Heitsi Eibib, arguing that the stories of this Khoi figure disappeared with the acquisition of private property and the reality of social inequalities, (Carstens 1975:94).

Heitsi Eibib obviously, was the most renowned figure among the Khoi ancestors. Although his tribal and family identity is unknown, the Khoi stories of Heitsi Eibib survived the oppression of the cultural identity of the Khoi people. What the above-mentioned researchers failed to appreciate is the significance of Heitsi Eibib stories for the transmission of the Khoi thought on their culture and religion. They failed to appreciate the significance of Heitsi Eibib in this context because they separate the function of religion as cultural expression from its temporal space. The name Heitsi Eibib is an epithet for the renowned ancestor of the Khoi people. For an analysis of this epithet renders the following, picture: ***Gei + tsi+eib+ ib***, which means, *a great + and + wise + father*. The figure Heitsi Eibib in Khoi reflection on temporal space should be identified as "*the Great- grandfather*" of the Khoi from whom all the Khoi tribes originated.

With regard to the issue of the advancement of spatial order I will note a few examples from the stories of Heitsi Eibib. The salient point in these stories is the moral lesson that the storyteller shared for the sake of the advancement of good relationships in time and place. My arrangement of the stories will follow the following sequence: regard for a parent, the dignity of the family, the dignity of a neighbour and for peaceful relationships in the community.

The first example is the story of "*Heitsi Eibib and his mother*" (Hahn 1881:69).

Heitsi Eibib was still a baby boy and his //gûs (mother), travelling with her friends, had to stop on the way and clean him while the other women proceeded. Suddenly the little boy miraculously "*became a big man, forced his mother to the ground, and*

committed incest" (Hahn 1881:70). After his disgusting deed, he miraculously became baby again. When she arrived at her maternal home she put him "*down on the ground*" (Hahn 1881:70) and totally ignored him. Eventually, his grandmother said to his mother, "*Don't you hear your child crying?*" His mother answered her, "*I hear, but let big men help themselves, as big men do,*" (Hahn 1881:70).

The moral lesson of "*Heitsi Eibib and his mother*" is that *big men* (strong people) who help *themselves* (raped the land), should, when they are down "*on the ground*" (humiliated) face the consequences of their self-centered deeds.

The story affirms the tradition of the Nama that men should display absolute respect in particular to the "*gei tàras*" (the older sister). To affirm that his words are true a male person would swear his highest oath, saying, "*as true as my sister is alive*" (Schapera 1930:271). Schapera in this respect correctly pointed out that a severe insult to a male person is to say, *sa !gâsa xae asa* (commit incest with your sister) – it would even activate the temper of a most peaceful person (Schapera 1930:271).

Second in line from the *Heitsi Eibib* stories is the story of *Heitsi Eibib and /Aris* (Hahn 1881:56).

Heitsi Eibib became an old and difficult individual to cope with. He ate from the fruit of the raisin tree that he knew was forbidden because it causes a severe stomach disease and even death. */Aris*, his wife, warned him against the consequences but he refused to listen. He, eventually, became severely ill but before he died he arranged with *!Urisib* (the white one), his son, to cover his grave with "*soft stones*" (Hahn 1881:56). *!Urisib* buried his father according to his instructions and went home. On */Aris*' instructions he later returned to his father's grave and found that his father, just as his mother suspected, had left the grave to eat from the forbidden fruit. *!Urisib* reported to */Aris* and the two set off to intercept *Heitsi Eibib* on his return to his grave. They got hold of him and "*brought him home and from that day he was fresh and hale*" (Hahn 1881:57).

The moral lesson of "*Heitsi Eibib and /Aris*" is that people who share the same living space should be directed by the principle of life in peaceful coexistence and not by their selfish greed. People who live in peaceful coexistence with their neighbors advance the order in their living space but they who violate the order dig their own graves. The father, being the head of his family should cooperate uninterruptedly with

his family to contribute to communal order. If the father failed to fulfill his role, his wife should take the lead in preserving the dignity of the family.

The third example is the story of *Heitsi Eibib and Xami* (Hahn 1881:68)

Xami (Lion) had wings like a bird and lived with his family in the biggest tree but they had to share a water fountain with their neighbours. †*Kam xami* (young lion) used to insult the daughter of *Heitsi Eibib* when she fetched water at the fountain and she complained to her father about the incident with that arrogant young man. *Heitsi Eibib*, eventually, being “*tired of the impudence of the Lion and his children*” (Hahn 1881:68) set off to his tree to have a serious word with Xami.

On his arrival he learned from *!Urikoras* (white vulture), that Lion was not at home. *Heitsi Eibib* then chopped down the tree of Lion and his family so that they could no longer live in a tree in their communal living space. On a day when Lion again was unable to fly because he ate too much, *Heitsi Eibib*, ambushing Lion, quickly cut off his wings to restrict his arrogant posture. Since the day *Heitsi Eibib* cut off Lion’s wings “*there is enmity between Heitsi Eibib’s people and Lion’s children*” (Hahn 1881:68).

The story illustrates, that to advance neighbourly relationship people who are used to disrespect the dignity of others with whom they shared the same land, should be brought down to earth by limiting the advantages that they enjoyed over fellow human beings.

The fourth example is the story of *Heitsi Eibib and †Gama-†Gorib* (Hahn 1881:56).

†*Gama-†Gorib*, the archrival of *Heitsi Eibib*, delved a large pit in the land that the people of *Heitsi Eibib* would be lured into and trapped inside it. †*Gama-†Gorib* positioned himself next to the pit and challenged *Heitsi Eibib*’s people to throw stones at his forehead. Each time when a stone thrower hit his forehead, the stone rebounded and killed the thrower and toppled him/her into the pit. By that trick †*Gama †Gorib* displaced many of *Heitsi Eibib*’s people to acquire absolute control over their land. *Heitsi Eibib* investigated the reason for the disappearance of some of his people and found †*Gama-†Gorib* sitting next to the pit. †*Gama-†Gorib* challenged him to throw a stone at his forehead, but *Heitsi Eibib* was too prudent. Instead of throwing the stone at his rival’s forehead, *Heitsi Eibib* drew his attention aside and hit him with the stone behind the ear. †*Gama-†Gorib was knocked forward because of the blow and fell into and perished in his own pit. “After that there was peace and people lived happily”* (Hahn 1881:56).

The moral of this story of “*Heitsi Eibib and †Gama-†Gorib*” is in the advancement spatial order; the judgment of one’s rival should never be one’s guideline, but the principles of truth and reconciliation. Hence, people who are used to throw stones at others might be fatally struck by one of their stones that rebounded from the head of another hard-headed fellow human being. In addition people who excelled in digging pits for others might eventually land in one of these pits and experience that there was no one nearby to help them out of their misery.

The Khoi thought concerning land is that an individual can never own the land because the land belongs to those who are resting in and those who are waiting to come forth from its soil. The forefathers and the foremothers, who are resting in the soil, are as much part of their thought as their descendants, who are not yet born and are waiting to emerge from the soil. This line of thought constitutes the burial places of the forefathers and foremothers, which are to the clans the meeting places of past, present and future generations and their rightful claim on the land. In addition, these ancestral burial places in a territory define the cultural breathing space of the Khoi tribe.

Attached to these spatial markers were the boundary markers (Schapera 1930:386) which the Khoi tribes established in their tribal land but which were deliberately demolished by those who occupy the land.

Hahn noted three of these peculiar “*rock piles*” in his book on the religious identity of the Khoi (Hahn (1881:36,46, 48): In October 1655 a Corporal Muller found the first marker near False Bay in the Western Cape (Hahn 1881:36). In 1792 Sparrmann, a Swedish adventurer travelled through *Namaqualand* (Namibia) and demolished such a rock pile. He, however, found neither a corpse underneath the pile of rocks, nor a valuable treasure hidden in the soil underneath it, (Hahn 1881:46). In 1803 a dr. Liechtenstein, who travelled through the territory of the *Gonaqua* tribe in the *Eastern Province*, measured the size of such a pile of rocks and found that it was about “*twenty to thirty yards in circumference*” (Hahn 1881:46-47).

Some of those Europeans were of the opinion that the markers were Khoi places of ancestral worship because they heard the Khoi murmuring the name of Heitsi Eibib at those rock piles (Hahn 1881:36). But other European visitors thought those places were the *graves* of great Khoi chiefs (Newton-King 1991:108). Those rock piles were much larger in circumference and higher than the “*common graves*” (Schapera 1930:385).

What those Europeans observed were Khoi reflecting on their ancestral history. By adding a rock to the pile they demonstratively highlighted the unity between past, present and future generations. Those rock piles in the various Khoi tribal territories were symbols that focused the Khoi belief in the presence of the ancestors who rested in the soil. By placing stones and twigs on the piles of rock the Khoi passersby demonstratively identified themselves as members belonging to the same ancestral father.

Because of their experiences of displacement from their ancestral living spaces, the Khoi think in terms of two conflicting realities about the history of the land. These are the reality of the wealthy, educated, employed and landed Europeans who occupied their land and on the other hand the reality of poor, under-educated, unemployed and landless Khoi people on the periphery.

These realities constitute an insult on the dignity of native human beings and the spatial disorder in our living space. To contribute to the restoration of order in their living space, the Khoi threw away their shame and embraced their dignity as Khoi human beings. For God, they also believe, provided to them human dignity as a “covering” – to speak with Bonhoeffer – to terminate the “*disunity between*” them and others with whom they share the land as living space (Bonhoeffer 1970:20). Thus to “*meet a stranger’s gaze directly*” (Bonhoeffer 1970:20) the Khoi discarded their shame and became – as Suh Nam-dong phrased it – “*true subjects of human history*” (Suh Nam-dong 1983:157).

2.6 OPINIONS ABOUT LAND AS THE CULTURAL LIVING SPACE OF THE KHOI

The third manner of imposing a colonial identity on the Khoi was that the colonizers imposed their languages on the Khoi to prescribe to them a manner of thinking. Having imposed their languages on the Khoi they would place their descendants in a position to influence their thoughts. Having influenced the thought of the Khoi they could distort the outlook of the Khoi on their own cultural identity and obstruct them from contesting the occupation of their ancestral land.

The Khoi adapted to their colonizer’s plan to educate them in their culture, but only to advance towards a reintroduction of their own. For being educated in the culture of

their colonizers they could move from an oral to a written tradition and in that manner improve the transmission of their culture.

2.6.1 SPEAKING IN THE LANGUAGE FROM THE OUTSIDE

2.6.1.1 Negative inclinations from outside

Initially those foreigners who visited our ancestral living space and bartered with the ancestors used sign language to explain to the Khoi the purpose of their visits to this part of Africa. Later they made use of the services of Khoi who, eventually, managed to speak elementary *Dutch and English* to communicate with the natives.

Elphick mentioned in this respect that as early as 1638 there were indications “of two Khoikhoi who spoke English”(Elphick 1977:85). These “two Khoikhoi” were probably the same person who served “two masters.” “Isaac the Dutch Caffer” and “Harry the English Caffer” was probably the same interpreter, for “after 1646 Isaac disappeared from the records, leaving Harry (*Autshumao*) alone to reap the benefits of the founding of the colony in 1652” (Elphick 1977:86). See in this respect also the role of the Khoi interpreters “Eva (*Krotoa*) and *Doman* who learned Dutch” (Elphick 1977:103). However, despite their relative prestige among natives and foreigners for being able to speak the Dutch language, their masters prevented them from acquiring the wealth of their own herds and flocks and they eventually “died in poverty,” (Elphick 1977:104).

Another group regarded the language of the Khoi as no language at all, but more likely animal and bird sounds. Van Riebeeck *ridiculed* the language of the Khoi, on whose land he found a working space and made a living, writing that “they cluck in their speech almost like turkeys”(Kieskamp 1997:170).

They argued that Europeans should not make an effort to master *the language of the natives*, because the language is too difficult to learn and that they need not learn the language of natives. Willem Barents Wylant, who was a spiritual counselor in the service of the UDEIC at the Cape settlement, set as early as 1655 asserted in a “pessimistic tone” (Elphick 1977:205), that because of the click sound the language “cannot be learned” (Elphick 1977:206).

He quoted a note from a letter from the Board of the Directors in Amsterdam (dated 29th April 1664) to employee Wagenaar at the Cape settlement, to inform him that it was Company policy, “that the natives there shall learn our language rather than we

theirs” (Elphick 1977:210) Sixty years after the Dutch landed in Table Bay only “*a few white children*” (Elphick 1977:210) picked up the Khoi language, but the vast majority failed to master the language of the indigenous inhabitants

Nevertheless, the policy of the UDEIC and a general attitude among the settlers caused the Europeans to ridicule the language (Shapera 1933:71-72; Farrington 1933:153-154); the Khoi name being exchanged for European names (Elphick 1977:209) and the Khoi being forced to forsake their mother language and speak “*Khoikhoi Dutch*”(Elphick 1977:211).

That colonial language policy, by which the language of the Khoi was negated and the language of the colonizers was forced down the throats of the Khoi, consequently contributed to the birth of the *Afrikaans language* (Elphick 1977:212). (Examples of European mockery about Khoi inability to speak the *Dutch* can be seen in the reflections of Elphick on the “*psychological and cultural aspects*” of the colonization of the Khoi (Elphick 1977:207-213).

Being landless and unemployed, the Khoi had to learn to speak the languages of the nations who colonized them. They were forced to betray their own culture and accept that of their colonizer. They were compelled to end their protest against the oppression of their language or face the consequences. Being unable to express themselves properly in the Afrikaans language they remained *silent*. European government officials like: schoolteachers, medical doctors, nurses, welfare workers and police leveled insults on their human dignity

At the government subsidized mission schools those Khoi were taught to pray to God in Afrikaans and made to memorize selected portions from the European translation of the Bible. School children were compelled to listen, think and answer in Afrikaans. In limited spaces of school classrooms they remained silent until they were on the playground and free to speak in their mother language.

On the diamond and copper mines the Nama adults and youth had to suffer humiliations because they could not understand and speak proper Afrikaans. At the end of each month when they could return to their families in the Richtersveld, they drank from their own fountain again: eating and drinking, thinking and speaking in the Nama language, without the fear of being interrupted and insulted by people who did not speak the mother tongue.

In the Richtersveld, the Khoi communities were compelled to drink water that was hazardous for human consumption. The mortality rate of babies was very high. That

water negatively affected the health of the weakest community members (babies, elderly). That water symbolized the cultural colonization and humiliation of a community on the periphery of their ancestral land.

The European missionaries visited these communities four times a year to share Holy Communion with the congregation, but brought their own drinking water. They noted that the community was politically helpless and materially too poor to change their own situation. They were also aware that the community was too weak to fend for themselves but failed to terminate the insults on the dignity of their congregants who had no option but to drink that water.

Those experiences of the Richtersveld communities, namely sharing drinking water from a borehole, was like a hazardous journey. It reminds one of a group of people in the Exodus story, who came to a *gamxas* (fountain) in the *!garo* (desert) and had to quench their thirst with water that was salty. Similarly, the Khoi had to quench their thirst for justice and had to speak in the language of the oppressor, knowing that their requests would be rejected. To speak in the language of the Europeans who displaced us from our ancestral land was indeed to be encamped in the desert at the fountain of Mara. To survive the journey through the wilderness we had to drink the *ouë* (bitter) water at our Mara, namely to make progress we had to speak and think in the Afrikaans language.

Inside the Richtersveld life was embittered by disputes between the people who could not speak Afrikaans and disrespectful younger generations who learned to speak the Afrikaans. These disputes gave birth to bitter murmuring among and resistance against some of the old men in the community. Some of the family heads experienced that those community leaders failed to defend their dignity of their families. Being oppressed and powerless some many of those family heads sought to escape their experience of humiliation in drinking cheap alcohol.

2.6.1.2 Positive inclinations from the outside

Some Europeans attempted to learn the Khoi language and “*wished that the Khoikhoi would become Christians so that Ham would no longer be a servant of servants*” (Elphick 1977:206). Elphick for example mentioned that Rev. Petrus Kalden, who “*took concrete steps and who made considerable progress in learning the Khoikhoi language.*” Kalden’s “*good work*”(Elphick 1977:206) was terminated: “*because of his*

association with “the discredited governor Willem Adriaan van der Stel, he was recalled to the Netherlands” (Elphick 1977:206).

Wikar managed to master the Khoi language because he lived among and moved with the Khoi nomads along the Orange River and corresponded with “His Excellency Joachim van Plettenbergh” at the Cape settlement (Elphick 1977:27).

Hahn noted that the German missionaries who worked among the Khoi made a variety of contributions to the development of the language of the Khoi people.

Hahn made the following significant note with respect to the effort of Rev. J H Schmelen to share the Gospel with the Khoi:

“Annoe Kayn hoeaati Nama-Kowapna gowayhihati. Diihiiko Hoekays na Kaykoep Bridekirk, kipga 183. (Written with the letters of the standard alphabet). **!Anu !gaiꞑhoati Nama gobab !na xoahêehâti.**(Holy good news as it have been written in the Nama language). **Dîheko //Hu!gais !na gei!Khub Bridekirkib xa.** (Printed Cape Town in, great-man, i.e. Mr Bridekirk by, 1831) (Hahn 1881:98-99).

Rev J Schmelen translated, with the assistance of his Khoi wife, the “four Evangelists and a Catechism” into the Nama language (Hahn 1881:99). In 1930 the two traveled to the publisher Bridekirk in Cape Town (**//Hu!gais**), for she had to assist him in looking “over the last proof-sheets” (Hahn 1881:99). On the return journey to “her country, Little Namaqualand, this pious woman, was taken suddenly ill and died. Her grave is not far from the western slopes of Piquetberg” (Hahn 181:99).

Rev. Schmelen “spoke the Nama language fairly” and because of the assistance of his Khoi wife he started to write “a Hottentot dictionary” that could still be somewhere in existence (Hahn 1881:50).

Also Strassberger reported in 1969 that Rev. Schmelen also “translated a small hymn-book into Nama and compiled a grammar and dictionary of the Nama language” (Strassberger 1969:69). She attests that the RMS was rewarded “for his (Schmelen’s) valuable translation of part of the Bible” (Strassberger 1969: 68) by the British governor at the Cape settlement, Sir Lowry Cole, with “an area of 69,172 morgen of land” in Komaggas (Gomaxas) in Little Namaqualand (Strassberger 1967:68). She however failed to note that Schmelen’s wife was from the Khoi community at Gomaxas and that she helped him to translate the Gospel in the Nama language.

Hahn also noted a contribution of Rev. Knudsen who translated the Gospel of St Luke into the Nama language. Of Knudsen’s translation Hahn remarked: “Knudsen left us a translation of St Luke, up to this date unsurpassed in style and correctness by any

other missionary who attempted the difficult task of translating the Bible into Khoikhoi”(Hahn 1881:55). Knudsen, however, “changed the Khoisan name for God ‘Tsûi //Goab’ into Elob, taking it from the Hebrew ‘Elohim’ while for the Devil he left the name of the evildoer ‘//Gâuab’. The word ‘Elob’ is now generally used wherever the Gospel is preached in Great Namaqualand, but it has not supplanted yet the old” name for God, namely, “Tsûi //Goab” (Hahn 1881:55). Regarding the Nama that Knudsen used in his translation, Hahn remarked: “we have in this way an excellent specimen of the old Cape Hottentot idioms” (Hahn 1881:102). The Cape Khoi idioms in Knudsen’s translation, Hahn ascribed to the influence of the *Xam/a* (Amraal) and */Hôa/ara* (Boois) families who migrated from the Cape to Namibia (Hahn 1881:102). Rev. George Schmidt, accounted Hahn, valued the poetic fashion of Khoi in prayers when they petitioned God for rain. He argued that poetry and drama was the method of instruction among the Khoi people. Being a people of an oral transmission of their culture, the Khoi poets, musicians, singers and dancers were geared to instruct the current generation (Hahn 1881:103).. By making music, singing and dancing they shared the sweetness of the language and invented a variety of stories to display their inclusive-cultural approach in life.

Hahn correctly noted that the poems and drama: “is more easily remembered than a prose form, and that it is better adapted for securing the strict accuracy of historical myths” (Hahn 1881:103). In fact for people who had only an oral culture and had to depend on a sound memory, they were comfortable with the poetic style.

He apparently is also correct by maintaining that the original Khoi stories about “the heroic deeds and fights of Heitsi Eibib and Tsûi //Goab were all in poetic form” because the written transmissions of these stories indeed appear to be remnants of original stories (Hahn 1881:103).

Hahn established his viewpoints with regard to the oral transmission of cultural expression with an example, saying: that he experienced over a period of fifteen years, the Khoi sung and danced, “The Song of *Sanaxab* and *Gei/aub*” (*The Song of Sanaxab and the Great Snake*). The musical drama was about the “men who distinguished themselves in the late Nama and Dama war” (Hahn 1881:103). Over those 15 years the drama was presented in the same manner. Various scenes about that war were lively acted out in the same manner by those singers, dancers and pipe-blowers. Those actors retold a scene about the heroic deeds of the recapturing of the cattle and sheep by the horsemen; about the fallen hero being devoured by the

vultures of the field, the return of his friends to collect his bones and his burial that was by the singers singing a very “*doleful song*” (Hahn 1881:104).

Hahn’s positive comments with regard to the Khoi culture of oral transmissions is important because in the Khoi thought the history and religion of the ancestors could be lived and relived by the people by seeing and hearing. By visual and verbal repetitions the Khoi conserved their cultural identity against pollution from outside.

2.6.2 SPEAKING IN THE LANGUAGE FROM INSIDE

2.6.2.1 Positive inclinations from the inside

During my ministry in Little Namaqualand, I experienced that the older generation of the congregation at *!Hubous* voiced their thinking that God can understand Nama. They consistently opened their prayers to God, addressing him as: “*Sida Îtse*” (Our Father). Therewith they consciously voiced their preference for their mother tongue, regardless of the fact that the younger generation prefers that they also should align themselves to Afrikaans. To get the younger generation along with the culture of praising God in the mother tongue, a wise old elder would start to sing the moving hymn, “*Esa !Khub Jesub, Elob tsi Marias /goab*” (Fairest Lord Jesus, Thou God’s and Mary’s Son). He succeeded each time to take even them all along through singing and dynamically uplifted their participation in the services on Sundays.

Since 1998 the community of *!Hubous* moved away from using Afrikaans in order to instruct the community in the Khoi culture. They began to draw from their own human and material resources to teach the community to read and write the Nama language. Being able to draw water from their own resources by means of reading and writing in their mother tongue, they revived the ancestral culture. They cleansed their minds from cultural pollution and drink the water (*//gamë*) that they draw from their own sweet spring (*//gamxas*) in their cultural living space.

Church people and schoolteachers aligned their intellectual and material resources and began to educate the children, the youth and adults in the language and culture of the Khoi people. They put behind them the time that the Khoi were forced to learn and think, read and write, pray and sing in the languages of the people who occupy their ancestral land.

In their thought they arrived at the sweet waters of their *Elim* and have the delight to hear their people freely speaking and singing in the language in places far away from *their actual living space*. They therewith check the murmurings in their ranks and founded an experience of being free to speak in their own language and being free to express themselves in their mother tongue. Being set free they currently enjoy the experience to teach themselves and to heal their own mental wounds at their own cultural fountains of living water.

2.6.2.2 Advancing the right to be heard

Central to the Khoi thought with regard to their place before God is their view that people should exercise the right to understand and speak their own language. The Khoi thought includes the idea that agreement or disagreement could be expressed by being silent in the face of both truth and untruth. For their silence before the truth means that the truth is already being established but the untruth will also be established in due time. They believe that permission achieved by means of proper consultation always have a good result for life in peaceful coexistence. The decision of any individual or body of influence had no lasting effect with the community, if they have negated these guiding principles. For disregard of the principles of consultation and permission, affirms a person's insult to the dignity of his/her fellow human beings. Hence an insult to the dignity of the community is a violation of the spatial order of the community.

For example, the right to be heard is manifested in the Peace Treaty of Hoachanas in 1858, which sealed the agreements between the Namas and the Hereros.

The principle of the right to be heard is emphasized by the conditions, stated in each of the articles of the Treaty. For example in Article 5 the chiefs agreed as follows: *"No chief may permit copper being mined without the knowledge and agreement of all the other chiefs, or to sell a farm or site in his territory to a white person from the Cape Colony. Whoever, despite this, makes such a sale, shall be heavily fined, and the purchaser himself will have to bear the cost if he has been acquainted with this law beforehand"* (Brown 1981:154).

Another example with regard to the right to be heard, can be heard when one listens to the contribution of a delegate on the Khoisan Identities and Cultural Heritage Conference at Cape Town. A delegate from the Richtersveld exclaimed in that meeting: *"Ons was Khoikhoi gewees en hulle het ons identiteit verander. Hulle het*

ons Kleurlinge genoem. Nou wat ek vandag by the regering van vandag vra is, ons weet dat ons 'n volk is, ontvang ons as 'n volk. Maak ons identiteit reg! En die taal wat ons het, help en ondersteun ons daarmee, dat ons die taal as 'n vak ook by ons skole kry om dit te kan lees en skryf. Want ons voorvaders het dit so gehad maar die apartheidsregering het dit van ons ontnem", (Bank 1997:12).

(We were Khoikhoi but they changed our identity. They identified us as Coloureds. What I ask now of the government is - we know that we are a people, accept us as people. Restore our identity! Help and support our language to become a subject in our schools that we may read and write it. For our ancestors had it like that, but the apartheid government took it away from us.)

In the creation story the storyteller accounts that **!Khub Elob** (the Lord God) breathed into the nostrils of the human beings the breath of life in order that they must be **ge khoiba ûitsaba** (a living human being). Therewith *di Gurub* empowered humankind with an ability to speak, to develop a vocabulary and a native language. It is also noted that God empowered believing human beings with the Holy Spirit, who enabled them to speak in other languages to the surprise of all the citizens and visitors that were in Jerusalem (Acts 2:8).

Hence when God created the ancestors, God established the right of the Khoi to be heard in their mother tongue. God, having established the right of the Khoi to be heard, therewith opened for their sake fountains of cultural wealth in the center of their ancestral land. The power of the Spirit of God empowered the Khoi communities to voice their right to be heard in the center of the land. Because the right to be heard in one's mother tongue is rooted in that we understand that our place before God is rooted in our contributions to order in one's living space.

2.7 CONCLUSIONS

2.7.1 Firstly, Europeans initially denied to our Khoi ancestors any place before God i.e. a religious identity (Schapera 1930:75). Some of those critics from outside our ancestral living space never set a foot on the land; other only visited the land on their way to and back from Batavia. Others argued that at least the intelligent Khoi possibly had an idea of God (Hahn 1881:41).

European critics also incorrectly identified the Khoi as moon and sun worshippers because they sang, danced, made music and pray at the phases of the full moon and new moon and at sunrise and sunset (Farrington 1933:141).

These critics from outside also violated the religious identity of the Khoi by imposing their own religious identity on them. In addition, they also distorted the religious identity of the ancestors by subtly influencing them to believe that Europeans are on a higher level with God because Europeans introduced them to God. They illustrated this viewpoint of them, by separating themselves from the Khoi church services on Sundays and by revealing disregard for the Khoi belief that God reveals his compassion to them by sending them rain so that they can plant and sow and that that the numbers of their livestock might grow.

Contrary to the European denials of a place for the Khoi before God, the expressed their knowledge of God to the Europeans who asked them what they know of God. The Khoi explained that they knew God by the names, *Tsûi //Goab* – which means that they honoured God as “*the Supreme Being*” and as *Gurub* – which means “*the Creator*.”

The Khoi praised God as *Abo îtse* (the One e who carried the fathers on his back) i.e the one with whom they had a relationship because of their ancestors who also believed in God. They also praised God as *sida îtse* (our Father) i.e the God with whom they had a personal relationship. They also praised God as *sida !Khutse* (our Chief) i.e. the God who is their Great Chief. All the Khoi tribes knew God by and addressed God by these epithets because they all praised God in the same manner, namely, when they prayed the Prayer for rain and thanked God. They also believed that at times God could become The Khoi were not moon and the sun worshippers as Europeans alleged but they worshipped God, as the Supreme Being, at the phases of new moon and full moon as well at the appearance of the Pleiades (the seven stars) in the spring (Carstens 1976:79).

They believed that God is a benevolent Supreme Being who lived above the clouds and sent rain on their fields so that they and their livestock might live. God is the Great Chief who controlled the clouds and the winds and let the rain come down or prevent the rain from coming down on the fields (Shapera 1930:377). At these times God thunders over them and sent lightning to install them with fear for him. The Khoi at these times petitioned to God that the “Son of the Thundercloud” (the thunder)

should speak softly with them (Hahn 1881:59) and that the “Thundercloud’s Daughter” (the lightning) should return to the hole from which she came to strike at them (Hahn 1881:60).

The Khoi then was aware of their place before God, namely, that they are but human beings and that Tsûi //Goab (The Supreme Being) is as active on the earth as he is in his heavenly abode (Carstens 1976:81). Besides that he is everywhere (omnipresent) God is also *hoa-geixab* (greater than all). Hence, no building, like a church, temple or whatever, can hold him and no symbol or book can describe God’s powerful presence. Because of God’s greatness, human beings – despite their mental power – are before him only “*boundary creatures*” (Barth 1966:63).

2.7.2 Secondly, Europeans initially denied to our Khoi ancestors the primary identity of every human being i.e. *their human identity*. To some Europeans the forefathers and foremother were more likely animals instead of human beings (Elphick 1972:194). In addition, they failed to appreciate the hospitality and expressed their disregard for the culture of the Khoi and instead highlighted the physical appearances and superficial differences between themselves and their Khoi hosts (Schapera 1933:43). . European misidentifications for the Khoi are as absurd as they are because it varied from Kafirs, Hottentotte and Bushmen to “*Hotnots*” and Coloreds (Wilson 1969:45).

The descendants of the European colonists inherited these and used them to insult the *human dignity* of the Khoi whose land they occupied. In this respect the Church lavishly contributed to the insults on the human dignity of the Khoi (De la Harpe 1995:33).

In so doing they contributed to protecting the material interests of the European stock and crop farmer who occupied the land of the Khoi and kept the landless status of the Khoi in place. Having dispossessed the Khoi of and displaced them from their land, they destroyed their family life and exposed them to brutal physical assaults on defenseless Khoi human beings. In addition they insulted the human dignity of the Khoi structurally by denying to Khoi children the right to equal education and protection against being exploited by “*white*” farmers and Khoi woman against being physically maimed and emotionally insulted by European settlers (Van Wyk 1931:82).

In contrast with viewpoint from outside their living space are the viewpoints of the Khoi with regard to their human identity and the dignity of human beings.

They believed that *Tsûi //Goab* is the creator (Gurub) of humankind (Hahn 1881:105). He created the first human beings from “*the rocks from which the ancestors of the Hottentots came*” (Schapera 1930:377). That God is the Father and Creator of human beings constituted their place before God i.e. their dignity as human beings as the creation of God.

Moreover, the Khoi believed that God created male and female from the same matter, namely, with equal dignity and sexually unique (Schapera 1933:193). . They regarded the female as the partner of the male and not as a partner for the man, namely, sexually unique and independent of the human dignity of the male (Hahn 1881:105).

They also regarded their own dignity by insisting that that who shares the same living space should live in peaceful coexistence with one another. They illustrated their view in this regard by the myth of *khoin* (humankind) and */au* (snake) who shared the same living space (Hahn 1881:62). They valued the dignity of human beings that much that they insisted that no family must separate herself from but live in harmony with her extended family. The extended family constituted the place of the family before God and is the refuge for the widow, the orphan and the stranger in times of crises.

2.7.3 Thirdly, Europeans continued their incursions into the *physical living space* of the Khoi tribes, so that at the end of the 18th they occupied every hectare (Newton-King 191:111). They were supposed to establish good trade relations with and spread the goods new of Christ Jesus to the Khoi. Because of their greed for more land they spread disorder in the land of the Khoi that caused the latter to defend themselves.

They illustrated their despise for the spatial identity of the Khoi land in paintings as a manner of civilizing the Khoi from being a landed people in the land to a landless group on the periphery of the land. Those painting showed that the Europeans destroyed the established order of the Khoi communities, families and marriages to impose their civilization on the Khoi and keep them on the periphery.

Europeans also explained the disorder that they caused in the land of the Khoi as a manner of Christianizing the land. Their opinion of civilizing and Christianizing the land of the Khoi was that they imposed a peculiar type of Christianity on the dispossessed and displace Khoi people. This type of Christianity was obviously a “*white*” religion generated by a philosophy of “*white*” superiority and accommodated

by "white" structures of self-government and the subjugation of the Khoi people. Because they perceived themselves as God's chosen people and propagated that God brought the forefathers from Europe and gave to them the land to civilize and christianize the natives (De Villiers 1965:371).

On the contrary Khoi tribes valued their own spatial identity and respected that of their neighbours. They shared their physical living space among them and each tribe received a portion of the land to live on and from what she yielded. The divergent portions of each of tribe constituted the divergent spatial identities of the Khoi tribes. Tribal portions of the land were communal land and never their private property. A family identified themselves as a member of a specific tribe by their natural attachment to a specific land portion.

The Khoi valued their own spatial identity by living in peaceful coexistence with the San, their biological relatives, with whom they occasionally had short-lived conflicts (Wilson 1965:60). They also valued peaceful trade relations with other African neighbours, like the Tswana and the Xhosa (Elphick 1972: 18,50,65,233) and extended hospitality to displaced families (Plaatje 1978:80). They valued their physical living space as their mother and her significance for extending communal hospitality to visitors (Dapper 1933:35) and strangers (Farrington 1933:239).

2.7.4 Fourthly, as an example of a European view of land as the *temporal living space* of the Khoi, I used the occupation of our ancestral portion of the land. Europeans introduced the ongoing disorder in our ancestral living space

The era of disorder in our area started in the 6th decade of the 17th century AD when the UREIC dispossessed parts of our portion of the land (Bredekamp 1982: 22). In the beginning of the 18th century the British disposed of the Dutch and by means of evil land laws extended the disorder to the rest of our ancestral land (Wernich 1996:2). See in this regard the "Ebenezer Deed" in Addendum 2.8.2.

The mission of the Christian Church in Europe in the Olifants River flood plains contributed to the entrenchment of the disorder in our portion of the land. The RMS opened the involvement of Christian Church in the dispossession of the land of the Nama in the area. See in this regard the letter of Rev I Leipold of the RMS in Addendum 2.8.4.

The DRC completed the dispossession of the Nama at this place and caused them to be eventually misidentified as the Coloureds of Ebenezer. For the DRC co-operated with the government in order to dispossess the Nama of and displace them from their ancestral land in order to distribute the land to landless “whites.” See in this respect Addendum 2.8.4 & 5 – the correspondence of the DRC missionary Rev. W.A.Booyesen that focused on the DRC’s involvement in the dispossession of the Khoi portion of the land in favour of landless ‘whites.’ See also in this respect Addenda 2.8.6 & 7 the efforts of the Khoi community to prevent the dispossession of their land.

Having accomplished his mission Rev. W.A. Booyesen exchanged in 1939 the pulpit for a seat in the parliament as a member of the National Party and he left behind an impoverished landless congregation (De la Harpe 1995:30).

In their focus on land as temporal living space the DRC and the government co-operated to destroy the land title of Nama communities on the Olifants River flood plains, in order to violate their spatial identity. Addenda 2.8.7,8 & 9 reveal the result of the plot against the Nama communities on the Olifants river flood plains to dispossess them of and displace them from their portion of the land.

Contrary to the European view is the Khoi view of the land that belonged to their forefathers and foremothers because she gave birth to them. The Khoi viewed the land as the mother who gave birth on various places to our forefathers and foremothers who are resting in her soil. They focused on their view of temporal space, despite the efforts of Europeans to adapt their awareness of time and place.

They are aware that the Europeans occupy the land in which soil their forefathers and foremothers are resting. They are aware that they must introduce their descendants to the history of the family so that they could be aware of their place in the community. See in this regard the place and function of the passage rite (!nau) by which a !nau //eib or !nau //eis is separated from an age group, instructed by an experienced member and introduced to a new age group.

The Khoi also focused on knowing the places that gave birth to the ancestors, where they lived on and from the soil and where they are resting in the soil before colonization.

See in this regard the significance of the !hau (generation) and the natural attachment of a family group (!hau !nati) to specific living space.

To advance the history of family life on the land the Khoi focused on the stories of Heitsi Eibib – the popular figure in the Khoi reflection on time and space (Schapera 1933:xiii). His name is an epithet for the father of the ancestors of the Khoi that means, *a great+and wise+father* (Gei+tsi+eib+ ib). The educational value of the stories of Heitsi Eibib focused on the fact that it is wise to live in peace with neighbours. Because one may succeed in destroying For one may destroy the living spaces of your neighbors but your name would be remembered as the one who eradicated the boundary markers of your neighbors' physical and cultural living space.

2.7.5 Finally, the viewpoint on the land as the *cultural living space* of the Khoi defines the emotional aspect of their spatial awareness. With regard to the emotional aspect of the living space of the Khoi, I have focused on the significance of the language of the Khoi.

Since colonial times the Europeans sought to colonize mind of the Khoi by using their languages as tools to make us to agree to the occupation of our land by them. They were zealous in imposing a colonial identity on our ancestors so that they could influence their thoughts, distort their outlook on land and prevent them from discontinuing the occupation of the land.

Europeans negated the language of the Khoi for three reasons, namely it is a non-European language consisting of click sound too difficult to master. It is a barbaric language because it sounded rather like animal and bird sounds It was not the policy of the colonizer to learn the language of the colonized but that the colonized must learn the language of the colonizer. Europeans eventually gave European names to the colonized and spoke to the Khoi in Dutch and forced them to learn Dutch.

The result was that the dispossessed Khoi were forced to adapt to the language of the colonizer and eventually contributed to Khoikhoi-Dutch and Afrikaans (Elphick 1977:211).

Contrary to the European view of the language of the Khoi were the inclinations of European individuals who translate the good news of God's love for humankind in the language of the Khoi with the help of Nama speakers.

More significant is the positive inclinations of the Nama speakers who not only mastered the language of their colonizers but also continued to pray to God and sing

praises to God in their mother tongue. Being able to cleanse their minds from the cultural pollution and to use their own intellectual and cultural resources they checked the murmurings in their own cultural ranks. Being able to speak in their mother tongue they could advance their right to be heard in their own mother tongue and broke the silence imposed on them by their colonizers.

From this hermeneutical position, I shall make a contribution in the following chapter to the debate with regard the story of the dispossession of the land Naboth (I Kings 21).

	1982	1983	1984	1985
Caracas NC	14 303	14 303	14 303	14 303
Guayana WC	14 254	14 254	14 254	14 254
Derechos NC	7 502	7 502	7 502	7 502
Esca EC	10 200	10 200	10 200	10 200
Evangelina WC	150	150	150	150
General WC	4 211	4 211	4 211	4 211
Harera WC	1 113	1 113	1 113	1 113
Korogon NC	67 500	67 500	67 500	67 500
Krusheba WC	254	254	254	254
Lala Fabela WC	199 719	199 719	199 719	199 719
Morón WC	7 936	7 936	7 936	7 936
Mir NC	194 789	194 789	194 789	194 789
Upper Maricao FS	34 133	34 133	34 133	34 133
Pella NC	48 276	48 276	48 276	48 276
Piel WC	36	36	36	36
Richersveld NC	113 519	113 519	113 519	113 519
Rietpoort NC/NC	15 092	15 092	15 092	15 092
Sama WC	3 153	3 153	3 153	3 153
Slangrivier WC	1 123	1 123	1 123	1 123
Steinkopf NC	324 301	324 301	324 301	324 301
Sunbraz WC	4 789	4 789	4 789	4 789
Tsaba Fabela FS	3 634	3 634	3 634	3 634
Zaar WC	5 882	5 882	5 882	5 882

2.8 ADDENDA

2.8.1 Copy of Document from 1985. The "Colored Rural Areas" under management of the House of Representatives of the Apartheids Government (1984-1994)

STATISTICS IN RESPECT OF COLOURED RURAL AREAS

AREA	EXTENT - HECTARES	NUMBER OF INHABIT- ANTS	REGISTERE D OCCUPIERS/ OWNERS	NON- REGISTERED OCCUPIERS
Concordia NC	63 383	8 000	498	705
Ebenezer WC	18 286	1 488	160	555
Eksteenskuil NC	2 012	1 481	136	50
Enon EC	10 261	768	208	22
Friemersheim WC	190	462	74	41
Genadendal WC	4 821	5 406	967	597
Haarlem WC	1 415	1 558	156	33
Komaggas NC	62 603	3 554	450	253
Kranshoek WC	244	1 052	221	8
Leliefontein NC	192 719	4 825	876	227
Mamre WC	7 951	4 700	845	100
Mier NC	398 789	4 180	723	35
Oppermansgronde FS	34 185	2 020	187	49
Pella NC	48 276	1 820	437	17
Pniel WC	56	1 667	296	212
Richtersveld NC	513 919	2 329	450	200
Rietpoort NC/WC	15 092	1 369	140	348
Saron WC	3 152	7 254	558	301
Slangrivier WC	1 123	2 316	584	24
Steinkopf NC	329 301	6 636	872	1 184
Suurbraak WC	4 789	4 500	250	198
Tnaba Patchoa FS	3 624	624	84	93
Zoar WC	5 882	2 811	693	217

Population figures contained in 1985 annual report of Department of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture (House of Representatives)

2.8.2 Copy of the "Ebenezer Deed" (6th July 1837). Re Khoi land dispossessed by the British colonial government

ANNEXURE I.

EBENEZER'S DEED.

By His Excellency Lieutenant General Sir Benjamin D'Urban, Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, of the Royal Guelphic Order of Hanover and of the Royal Portuguese Military Order of the Tower and Sword, Colonel of His Majesty's 51st Regiment of Foot, Governor and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Castle Town, and Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa, and of the Territories and Dependencies thereof, and Ordinary, and Vice Admiral of the same. Commanding the Forces etc.

I do hereby grant subject to His Majesty's approbation, unto the Revd. G. Forlinden in trust for and on behalf of the Rhenish Missionary Society of Barmen & Eberfeld the portion of Land coloured in pink in the annexed Diagram, situated at the Mouth of the Oliphants River, measuring 5,270 Morgen with power and authority to possess the same under the following Stipulations viz:—

1st. That the portion hereby granted, together with the buildings erected or hereafter to be erected thereon by the Society shall be exclusively used for the purposes of the said society's Institution called Ebenezer, and when no longer so used shall revert to the Colonial Government to be disposed of in manner herein after mentioned.

2nd. That the remainder of the Lands as shewn on the diagram shall be appropriated to the use of *Hottentots* only; those now residing thereon or belonging to the party of which Kees Louis is the present acknowledged head being entitled to a preference in all Grants of Erven to be hereafter made in favour of Individuals of that Class.

3rd. That the grazing of the whole of these Lands both Missionary and Hottentot Portions shall be in common between those parties to the exclusion of all others.

4th. That the Society shall have the right to construct such aqueducts or make such water courses in any part of the Hottentot Portion of the Lands as the Resident Missionary for the time being shall deem proper for the good of the Settlement.

5th. That in case of the Society's Portion reverting to the Colonial Government the same together with all the Buildings erected thereon shall be held by said Government for the sole use and benefit of the said Hottentots and shall be disposable only under the conditions set forth in Article No. 2.

Granted at the Cape of Good Hope this 6th day of July, 1837.

B. DURBAN.

By His Excellency's Command,
(sgd.) W. Fred Hertzog,
Asst. Surv. Genl.

2.8.4 Copy of letter (10th March 1921). Rev. W. A. Booyesen to the Minister of Lands, re the dispossession of Khoi land by the Government of the Union of South Africa

ack: 19-12-14
 P. de Waard
 Schiedamschen dijk
 Rotterdam
 P.P. 210
 H.O.
 W. A. Booyesen

Dip. van Landen,
 Kaapstad.

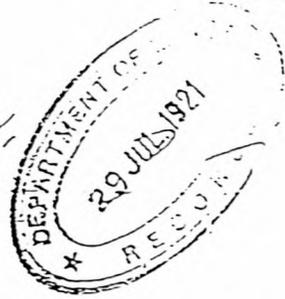
Piketberg,
10. 3. 1921.

Mijn Heer,
 Met betrekking op de overeenkomst
 gesloten tussen uw Commissie, de heren
 Faure & Wege, en de eigenaars van Doornbosch
 & Ebenzer, dist. v. Kromsdrif, heb ik te
 rapporteren, dat er een algemeen ontvreden
 heid bestaat. De gekleerden beweren, dat
 500 morgen voor hen onder de bespreking
 te min is, na rijpe overweging verkieszen
 zy liefs het eerste overeenkomst, waarin
 vastte wats bepaald werd, als verdelings-
 baten aan de Olifants Rivier te aan-
 vaarden. Geef deze zaak a.u.b. uw naam
 keurige overweging, en indien mogelike
 laat uw Commissie nog eens de plaats van
 zaken en zien of er niet bevrediging
 kan geschieden. Ik zal bereid zyn same-
 te gaan met uw Commissie. Ik ben tante
 bestuurder van de Ebenzer Zending Station, en
 wil de correspondenties gelieve naar mij
 zenden. D.M. u.w. Dien

W. A. Booyesen

2.8.5 Copy of letter (18 July 1921). Rev. W.A. Booysen to the Minister of Lands, re: the dispossession of Khoi land by the Government of the Union of South Africa

De Hoog Edle
Minister van Landen,
Kaapstad.



Ebenesen
18.7.1921.

Hoog Edle Heer,

De Kleurlingen van Ebenesen en Doornkraal hebben heden op een algemene vergadering besloten tot een vreedzame schikking te komen met u, Hoog Edle Regering, en wel als volgt:

1. Wij zijn gewillig de plaats genaamd Virchwaten van de Regering over te nemen tegen Koopprijs per morgen.

2. Wij bieden de Regering aan het voordelige gedeelte van de plaats genaamd Doornkraal, gelegen langs de Blifskreek van af Blauwkrantz met een rechte lijn naar de zuid oostelijke boeker van de outpansklipheuwel.

A. Het gedeelte vallende onder de kanaal tegen £ 15 (vijftien ponden) per morgen.

B. Het gedeelte niet vallende onder de kanaal tegen Virchwaten Koopprijs per morgen.

3. Servituten. De Regering waarborgt:

A. Eene vry water voor meub en diest te

Vierkwaterspistel (waterrekk.)

F. Eene vrije drinking aan de Kanaal
tō Olifants-Drift.

G. Eene vrije onbelemmerende vichery tō
Olifants-Drift zoals het hiertoe bestond.

D. Eene vrije zoek rapen voor huiselike
gebruik tō Vierkwater.

E. De Regening onderneemt om een draad
keuring op eigen kosten op tē richten tinnen
Regening en Genootschap gronden.

W. A. Booysden

A. H. O. Visser.

J. de W. van der

H. Geyer

J. Manel

W. Lelits

J. X. Koopman

(Commissie van Rectuur van Genootschap)

2.8.6 Copy of letter (11 April 1921) Church Board of the DRMC congregation at the Ebenezer mission station to the Minister of Lands, re: the dispossession of their ancestral land by the Government of the Union of South Africa

Ebenezer
11^{de} April 1921

Landen.
Minister van Binnel-zaken
Kaapstad.

Wij die ondergetekende eigenaars van Doornkraal en Ebenezer hebben na grondige en rijpe overweging, met betrekking op de overeenkomsten getroffen tussen ons en de Regerings Commissie in verband met de ruiling van Ebenezer en deel van Doornkraal voor Viochwater en ziende dat wij ontbezigd en onbekend met feiten waren en dat wij uit vrees de documenten getekend hebben, door dat nu Commissie waarschuwend en dreigend had opgeboden dat, indien wij niet volgens hun aangewezen plan in willigen en tekenen, het Parlement over ons zal beslissende hetwelk minder gunstig te staan zal komen. De wamenleving is hier over zeer opgewonden ongelukkig en bitter ontevreden. Hun "Erfpaakt" die hun allen waard is als een hunne "Voorgeslachten" begraven liggen, wordt op een onbillike, onrechtvaardige wijze van hun afgescheurd. Wij vragen beleefdelyk doch ernstiglyk om de genoemde documenten die door ons uit vrees en onkunde getekend werd te "Cansileren", met het doel om een nieuwe overeenkomst met de Regering aan te gaan ter bevrediging. Wij bidden u

(2)

toe, slacht ons a.u.b. niet wyl wy slapen
in kinder staat, maar wees bejield met
rechtvaardige vaderlike liefde, over ons
belangen. Wy waren altoos gehoorzame,
getrouwe en onderdanige kinderen, en
beloven zulkas te zyn in de toekomst.
Wy rekenen dus op uwe rechtvaardige
en billike consideratie en te gemoetkoming
en hopen dat dit bitter gevoel in
der minne geschikt zal worden.

Gekonden door die Commissie van Rechten.

Jacobus B. Oude

Koninkrijk Nederland

H. 1. 2. 4. 1. 2.

P. Marek

J. Rogman

Reverent

W. A. Booy, senj.
P. K. H. G.

2.8.7 Copy of letter (4th May 1921) President of the APO to the Minister of Native Affairs, re: the dispossession of the ancestral land of the Khoi community on the Olifants River flood plains by the Government of the Union of South Africa

African Political Organisation.

(General Executive).

PRESIDENT:
DR. A. ABUBRAHMAN.

Headquarters: 119 Loop Street,
Cape Town.

GENERAL SECRETARY:
AAT. J. FREDERICKS.

Telephone No. 291 Central.

4th May, 1921.

All Communications to be addressed to the General Secretary.

Mr Garphorne
Native Affairs Department
Cape Town

Sir,

A Mr T.B. Lewis called on me a few days ago with regard to certain peieces of land, situated at the mouth of the Oliphants River, and granted by Sir Benjamin Durban to the Rev. Torlinden of Ebenezer and to the Hottentots. He also informs me that the people have been asked by the farmers and others in the neighbourhood to move from the ground which they are occupying at present to an adjoining piece. This has disturbed the holders of the land very much, and I have been asked to write to you and find out whether the people are to be dispossessed of the land. I shall be glad if you will kindly give me any information on the subject.

Yours faithfully,

Abdullah

2.8.8 Copy of list of 50 displaced families (13 December 1923) compensated for the lost of their houses only because of the alienation of the land on the Khoi on the Olifants River flood plains

Valuation list of buildings on Eoenezer and Doornkraal
for which compensation is to be paid

<u>NAMES</u>	<u>HOUSE</u>	<u>KIND</u>	<u>VALUE</u>
Philippus Marel	1	Brick	£ 15
Sarah Marel.	1	"	15
Petrus Marel	1	"	30
Christina Marel	2	" £50, £150	200
Zacheus Galant	1	"	30
Daniel Galant	1	"	20
Paulus Galant	1	"	30
Martha Lukas	1	"	30
Johannes Saul	1	"	50
Josef Hahn	1	"	50
William Hahn	1	"	45
Johanna Julie	1	"	45
Julie Afrika	1	"	150
Zacheus Love	1	Pandok	10
Leah Afrika	1	Brick	15
Pieter Blankenberg	1	Half-Brick	15
Henry Friar	1½	Brick £75 & 40	115
Gertruida Love	1	"	90
Johannes Love, Jnr	1	"	75
Dirk Coetzee	½	"	20
Nicolaas portuin	1	"	40
Andries Louis	1	"	45
Petrus Boois	2	1 pandok, 1 Brick	40
			<u>£115</u>
Jacob Saul	1	pandok	5
Frederick Cupido	1	"	5
Christiaan Saul	1	"	5
Johannes Love	1	"	5
Willea Love	1	"	5
Felix portuin	1	"	5
Christiaan de Fleur	1	"	5
Piet Dirk	1	"	5
Elizabeth Dama	1	"	5
Sarah Mostert	1	"	5
Jan Goliath	1	"	5
Andreas Louis	1	"	5
Klaas Jasop	1	"	5
Sofia Kasper	1	"	5
Abraham Kasper	1	"	5
Abraham Alexander	1	"	5
Coenzad ovies	1	"	5
Oktober Kasper	1	"	5
Andreas Louis	1	"	5
Willem Diegard	1	"	5
Hendrik Louis	1	"	5
Jacob Lukas	1	"	5
Christiaan Galant	1	"	5
Josef Goliath	1	"	5
Lera Julie	1	"	5
Abraham Coetzee	1	"	5
Jan Cedras	1	"	5
			<u>£ 135</u>
			<u>£ 1310</u>

2.8.9 Copy of list of 152 families impoverished because of the alienation of the land of the Khoi on the Olifants River flood plains (27 March 1924)

LIST OF CLAIMANTS

David Louis	Philippus Galant
Andreas Louis	Christiaan Daumann
Frederick Donn	Josef Eahn
William Hahn	Hendry Fryer (Jnr)
Hendrik Louis	Christiaan Saul
Petrus Manel	Nicolas Fortuin
Petrus Donn	Andries Michel
Abraham Alexander	Frederick Goedeman
Julie Donn	Kristina Michel
Tobias Donn	Johannes Boyes
Johannes Donn	Gert Boyes
Lodewijk Carolus	Jan Struys
Henry Krik Fryer	Sarah mostert (b. Galant)
Jacobus Koopman	Sarah Catherina Manel
Dirk Coetzee	Julie Afrika
Johannes Love	Boel Lukas
Daniel Love	Gertruida Dirk
Josef Tailor	Leah Afrika (b. Lukas)
Pieter Blankenberg	Kristina Manel (b. Solomon)
Gert Donn	Jonas Goliath
Jacob Donn	Cupido Ovies..
Aaltjie Koopman	Jan Kero
Jacob Koopman	Andreas Afrikaander
Jan Goliath	Johannes Louis
Jonas Goliath	Louis Ovies
Josef Michel	Piet cloete
Jacob Michel	Ruiter Swart
Jan Michel	Abraham Coetzee
Sarah Louis	Petrus Boyes
Willem Love	Lina Cupido
Hendrik Dirk	Gertruida Love (b. Ovies)
Andreas Louis, A.Sn	Jacob Brand
Catherina Josef (b. Louis)	Gert Brand
Christiaan Galant	Boy Swart
Jacob Galant	Maria le Fleur
Andries Brand	Elisabeth Goliath (b. Fortuin)
Oktober Kasper	David Thuyz
Dirk Louis	Elisabeth Love (b. Pochenpoel)
Hendrik Louis	Paulus Louis
Jantjie Louis	Jan Thuyz
Dirk Louis	Jan Cedras
Jacob Louis	Koos Maarman
Martha Lukas (b. Louis)	Frederick Cupido
Paulus Louis	Jacob Saul
Abraham Kasper	Maria Love
Klaas Goliath	Christiaan le fleur
Sofia Kasper	Beth Damm
Magrita Julie	Lijs Damm
Piet Alexander	Jan Goliath
Coenraad Brand	Andries Louis (B.Sn)
Coenraad Ovies	Gert Alexander
Paulus Donn	Louis Andro
Jantjie Alexander	Jacob Andro
Willem Damm	Keyser Boyes
Leah Love (b. Afrika)	Willem Diegart
Johanna Julie (b. Love)	Pieter Oerson
Francisca Knikker	Pieter Love
Ben Saul	Josef Eahn
Catherina Fortuin	Gert Brand
Paulus Galant	Jantjie Kaushamer
Daniel Galant	Gert Cloete
Zacheus Galant	Andries Louis (B.Sn)
Eliab Galant	Cupido Freislich
Jan Oktober	Zacharia Love
Piet Dirk	Cornelius Donn

Sophia Love
 Frederick Donn
 Julie Afrika
 Jacobus Coetzee
 Paul Michel
 Frederick Hansen
 Jacob Joseph
 Hendrik Farau
 Johannes Cloete
 Piet Gerson
 Cupido Clöete
 Andries van Wijk

Joseph Alexander
 Joseph Ovies
 Willem Ovies
 Sanna Goliath (per J.Hahn)
 Nicolaas Cloete
 Children of Piet Dirk's brother
 Jan Prins
 Grietjie Alexander (per B. Saul)
 Frederik Brand
 Elisabeth Hager (B. Daumann).

2.8.10 Copy of rules issued (19 October 1945) by Europeans who occupied the land of the displaced Khoi on the Olifants River flood plains

REELS IN VERBAND MET VELDBEHEER OP KROONGROND

OLIFANTSRIVIER NEDERSETTING:

1. In hierdie stuk word beliggaam alle reels wat in verband met veldbestuur in die verlede neergelê is asook sekere aanvullings. Mnr.E.H.Truter, veldwagter van die Departement van Lande, sien toe dat hierdie bepalings stiptelik uitgevoer word.
2. GAAN HAAL VAN HOUT:
 - (a) HURDERS: Op 20 Julie 1935 is huurders in kennis gestel deur mnr.van Rhy(Superintendent) om houtry uit die veld te staak. Hierdie reël word behou.
 - (b) KLEURLINGE: Elke huisgesin kan een keer per week n.l.op Donderdae, 'n drag hout in die veld gaan haal.
3. DIE SMUT VAN DIERE:
 - (a) Alle diere wat sonder verlof van die Superintendent of sonder sy medewete op Kroongrond gevind word, word geskut.
 - (b) Diere wat op weg is na die skut kan by die Veldwagter weer gelos word teen 'n vasgestelde fooi. 4d per kop grootvee en 1d per kop kleinvee.
 - (c) Diere in die skut word by die skutmeester gelos teen 8d per kop grootvee en 2d per kop kleinvee en 'n fooi vir jaagkoste.
4. JAGOORTREDINGS:
 - (a) Geen persoon mag met 'n geweer en/of hond op kroongrond jag nie.
 - (b) Die veldwagter kan enige hond, wat agterdog by hom verwek, sonder verdere kennisgewing doodskiet. (Sien ook opdrag Superintendent, 20 Julie 1935).
5. VERNIETIGING VAN PLANTEGROEI:
 - (a) Geen groen bosse mag, vir watter rede ookal, uitgekap word nie.
 - (b) Alle persone word verbied om op los paadjies op die veld rond te ry en veeposte te maak waar dit nie deur die Veldwagter toegeken word nie. (Sien ook opdrag mnr.Kaltwasser ,17 April 1942).
 - (c) Enige brandstigting word belet.
6. FOOIE VIR WEIDING OP KROONGROND EN OOK BEPALINGS:
 - (a) HURDERS: (i) Hul is nie geregtig om meer as 30 stuks kleinvee , wat hul eiendom is, in die veld aan te hou nie.
 - (ii) Wanneer die veld (in die somer) nie meer die vee kan dra nie, word huurders in kennis gestel om die vee terug te bring op die persele om dit daar te versorg. (Opdrag mnr.Kaltwasser, 17 Oktober 1944).

(b) TYDELIKE HUURDERS: (i) Persone wat tydelike weiregte geniet op Kroongrond mag nie meer as 600 kleinvee aanhou nie. Grootvee spesiale verlot.

(ii) Die fooi vir weiding op beide die linker- en regteroewers van die rivier is as volg:

Grootvee 1/- per kop per maand.
 Kleinvee 5/- per 100 per maand.
 Uitsondering by donkies: Eerste ses teen 1/- per kop per maand, verder vir elke een 2/6 per kop.

(iii) Gelde is maandeliks vooruitbetaalbaar.

(iv) Kroongronde tussen die persele en die rivier mag nie bewei word nie. (Brief nmr. Kaltwasser, 27 Desember 1941.).

(v) Geen vee van 'n huurder op die Nedersetting mag op die veld, toegesê aan 'n tydelike huurder, gevind word nie.

(c) SLAGHUISE: Die drie besighede mag nie meer as 50 stuks kleinvee aanhou nie.

(d) KLEURLINGE: (i) 'n Kleurling mag net vee aanhou as hy by 'n baas werk.

(ii) Donkies: Mag nie meer as 2 donkies aanhou nie. Fooi 1/- per kop per maand, verder vir elke een 2/- per kop per maand.

(iii) Kleinvee: Mag nie meer as 10 kleinvee aanhou nie. Fooi 1d per kop per maand.

(e) NATURELLE: Mag geen vee aanhou nie.

7. Oortreders sal sonder uitsondering, volgens die meriete van elke saak, tot verantwoording geroep word.

C. J. Nel.
SUPERINTENDENT.

19.10.45.

u. Kerk
 15/11/46

Chapter Three

THE THEOLOGICAL DEBATE REGARDING THE STORY OF NABOTH'S LAND

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I shall comment on some of the viewpoints of some of the Old Testament scholars whom I only mentioned under subsection 1.4 and contribute to the debate regarding the land of Naboth.

I shall make my contribution to the debate under the following headings to highlight the relation between the identity of people and their land in the story of Naboth's land. In subsection 3.2, I shall debate the identity of people in story under the two captions: *the identity of the individuals* and *the identity of the groups*.

In subsection 3.3, I shall debate the issue of *land as living space* and focus: *the city of Jezreel as physical and cultural living space*.

In subsection 3.4, I shall debate the issue of *land ownership* under the headings: *land as a communal possession* and *private property*.

In subsection 3.5, I shall debate the issue of *land acquisition* of and focus, respectively, the issues: *the forced removal from* and *the illegal purchase of inherited land*.

In subsection 3.6, I shall debate the *prophetic protest* against land alienation under the captions: *Naboth's voices his protest*; *Elijah advances Naboth's protest* and *a prophetic bearing for spatial order*.

3.2 THE IDENTITY OF PERSONS IN THE STORY OF NABOTH

3.2.1 Pertaining to the identity of individuals

Four personalities emerged from the story of the land of Naboth the Jezreelite. These were: Naboth the Jezreelite, who was the spokesperson of the family whose inheritance the king dispossessed; Ahab the king of Samaria and the neighbour of Naboth and the dispossessor of his land; Jezebel, Ahab's wife and loyal associate in the acquisition of Naboth's land, and Elijah, the prophet of Yahweh, who stood with Naboth in his protest against the king.

3.2.1.1 Naboth the Jezreelite

Napier compared the story of the dispossession of the land of Naboth with the problem of land alienation in Latin America in the 20th century. The story in I Kings 21 is a story of the “*problem of adjacency*” (Napier 1976:5), with Naboth as the unwanted neighbour at the doorstep of the king. ‘*The Jezreel event*’ took place in the middle of the 8th century BC when Ahab ben Omri ruled from Samaria, the capital city, as king over Israel (Napier 1976:5).

The king declared Naboth an “*adjacent person*”(Napier 1975:4) because he dared to defend his land rights against him. Naboth refused to sell his land to Ahab and obstructed his plans to develop his land around his palace in Jezreel.

Napier maintained that Naboth’s stand for the protection of his land rights compared with Latin Americans who “*are adjacent, or appear to be adjacent or are declared to be adjacent*” (Napier 1976:5) because they refused to alienate their land to the Ahabs of the day (the multinational corporations).

Napier identified in this respect the “*Black Naboths of South Africa*”(Napier 1975:6) and the “*Latin American Naboths*” who were ostracized and who paid with their lives because they protected their land rights. From the circle of Latin American Naboths, Napier mentioned the names of: the late president “*Allende of Chile, the late archbishop Dom Helder Camara of Brazil and president Fidel Castro of Cuba*” (Napier 1975:5). Archbishop Helder Camara, Napier described as a fighter that stood in the shoes of, “*both Naboth and Elijah on behalf of all victims of covetousness and appropriation*” (Napier 1976:5). For Camara, said Napier, lived out his role as a fighter for land rights of the dispossessed, condemned the dispossessors of their land and paid with his life for doing just that.

I agree with Napier’s view that the identification “*Naboth the Jezreelite*” was the “*full name*” (Napier 1959:366) of the unwanted person at the doorstep of Ahab.

Firstly, Naboth was a natural Jezreelite because he grew up and *lived in* the city of Jezreel. In the story, the visitors to the city (the outsiders) called him, “*Naboth the Jezreelite*”(v1, 4,6,7,15,16), but the citizens of the city (the insiders) only called him, “*Naboth*”.

The outsiders, who identified Naboth as “*the Jezreelite,*” were people like, “*Ahab the king of Samaria* “ (v1) and “*Jezebel, his wife* (v5, 7,25). Because he failed to acquire Naboth’s land, Ahab withdrew to his palace and, contemplating his failure, he angrily recollected the words of “*Naboth the Jezreelite*” (v4). Answering the question of

Jezebel on what was causing his negative state of mind, he said that it was because of “*Naboth the Jezreelite*” (v6). Jezebel promised to give him, “*Naboth the Jezreelite*” (v7) and when she received the message she informed him that “*Naboth the Jezreelite*” (v15) died. She urged him to take possession of the land of “*Naboth the Jezreelite*” (v15) and when Ahab got that news he arose and went down to take possession of the land of “*Naboth the Jezreelite*” (v16).

The insiders who identified him only as “*Naboth*,” were the fellow citizens who lived with him in “*his city*” (v8, 11). They were the elders, nobles and the men of Belial. Jezebel wrote letters to the elders and nobles, commanding them to put “*Naboth*” (v9) on a prominent place before the people. The two men of Belial falsely accused Naboth before the people and saying, “*Naboth blasphemed God and the king*” (v13). The messengers of the leadership elders and nobles reported to Jezebel, saying, “*Naboth is stoned and he died*” (v14).

Besides those insiders, also prophet Elijah the Tishbite used the local identification, “*Nabothi*”(Naboth) instead of identification employed by outsiders, namely, “*Nabothi, Jezreels -//êib* (Naboth, the man of Jezreel). The outside identification, “*Naboth the Jezreelite*,” apparently, focused the divergent spatial identities of individuals who resided side by side in the city of Jezreel.

Secondly, Naboth ***lived on*** his family land in Jezreel, emphasizing his family’s attachment to “*his city*” (v8, 11), which apparently defines his attachment to the city that was part of the allotment of his tribal ancestors. Being on his land and in his ancestral city, pictured Naboth as the spokesperson of a family that kept strong historical ties with their land. They were Jezreelites who grew up in the city of Jezreel (Timm 1984:119) and lived on their portion of land in the Valley of Jezreel and not in Samaria on the mountain on the central highlands in Israel (Napier 1959:367).

Thirdly, Naboth ***lived from*** the produce of his land that was located in Jezreel next to and nearby the palace of Ahab (v20). His family was not in tax debt to the king because of a drought (I Kings 17:7) or a famine (I Kings 18:2). They managed to live from their land when there was “*no rain in the land*” (I Kings 17:7) and their king’s herdsmen were scattered over the land to find water and pasture to save his livestock (I Kings 18:5,6).

He refused to sell his family land; because God prohibited that, he should sacrifice “*his own status and that of his family*” (Gray 1970:439) and become seasonal farm workers on the land of the king.

Finally, Naboth *gave his life* to protect his traditional right to live on and from his family inheritance, for the royal house conspired against and murdered him to come in possession of his land, (v21:10,13,14,15,16). For Naboth, living on and from his family land, was an unwanted person for the king, because they shared the same living space but not the same place before God who send the rain on and withhold it from the land.

Aware of the authority and economic power of the modern-day Ahab's, "*the Black Naboth of South Africa*" stood for many decades to voice their faith in God and their historic right to live on and from their land. By taking this bold stance, the Naboth of the Richtersveld responsibly pronounced their historical link with their land and demanded that the land should be restored to them and they with their land.

Würtwein, however, argued that Naboth was "*ein sonst unbekannter Bürger in Jezreel*" who owned land that was located in Jezreel next to the winter palace of Ahab the king of Samaria (Würtwein 1984:248).

I disagree with Würtwein's view that Naboth was an unknown citizen, for the king was aware that the vineyard "*next to and nearby*" (v2) his palace in Jezreel, belonged to Naboth. He knew where to find Naboth, because should he attempt to acquire their land he would have to remove him from the land adjacent to his palace. Ahab also was aware of the fact that Naboth was a "*free Israelite*" (Seebass 1974:480) that possessed a portion of family land and he should request Naboth to buy his land. Being the possessor of a portion of family land, Naboth was rather a well-knowned citizen, instead of an unknown citizen in Jezreel.

3.2.1.2 Ahab the king of Samaria

Van Gelderen argued that the expression "*Ahab the king of Samaria*" (I Kings 21:1) was unnecessary, because the storyteller only emphasized that Ahab's main residence "*was in Samaria*" (I Kings 21:18) and that the palace in Jezreel was his second palace (Van Gelderen 1956:266). Thus, when the king resided in Jezreel, he was in principle "*een doodgewoon eigengeërfde*" (Van Gelderen 1956:266) and at occasions, he belonged to the "*boerenstand van Jezreel*" (Van Gelderen 1956:266).

The viewpoint of van Gelderen is plausible if one should argue that the unusual spatial identification "*Ahab the king of Samaria*" brought into focus an identity crisis on Ahab's side. Ahab then indeed had to readapt to the two applicable spatial situations, namely, when in Samaria, Ahab executed kingship over Israel (v7) but

when, residing in Jezreel, the king exchanged his attitude and became like one of the farmers of the city.

Gray disagreed and argued that the expression "*the king of Samaria*" defines that Ahab's "*basis of power*" was in Samaria (Gray 1970: 438). The unusual spatial identification "*Ahab the king of Samaria*" denoted that Ahab "*was not truly of the people of Israel*" (Gray 1970:438). Thus the identification in v18, "*Ahab the king of Israel who is in Samaria,*" is probably a "*conservative sneer at the crown possession in Samaria*" (Gray 1970:442). The references to Ahab's "*palace*" in Jezreel, located next to the vineyard of Naboth (v1, 2, 4), probably defined that Jezreel was Ahab's "*ancestral home*" (Gray 1970:439).

It is also plausible to argue that Ahab was not truly a "*representative of the people of Israel*" (Gray 1970:438) and that Jezreel was his "*ancestral home*" (Gray 1970:439). For the narrator of the Elijah stories identified him as member from "*a house*" that "*forsook the commandments of Yahweh and followed the Ba'als*" (I Kings 18:18).

Rehm agreed with Gray and claimed that the identification "*Ahab the king of Samaria*" focused "*die besondern Beziehungen*" of the house of Omri with the city that they built on the central highlands. In addition, Walsh agreed with this view and argued that the unusual identification for the king of Israel also focused Ahab's "*alienation from Israel and Israelite land traditions*" (Walsh 1996:318).

The unusual identification, "*Ahab the king of Samaria,*" for that king of Israel probably hinted Ahab's problems to keep his kingdom intact. Because Ahab had most probably, besides the mountain kingdom in Samaria, also inherited some enemies of Omri, his father. For Omri, before he declared himself, as the king of Israel, had to get rid of "the half of the people" who followed his opponent (I Kings 16:21,22). Being at times absent from his main palace, probably because of the reconstruction of the fortifications in Samaria (Rehm 1979:209), he resided in "*his house*" (v2, 4) in Jezreel. Napier argued the point of the intolerance of that king of Israel with unwanted subjects next to or nearby his house when he ruled over Israel in "*the ninth century before our era*" (Napier 1975:4). He identified the king of Israel as one who caused that "*particular crisis of adjacency*" because he "*coveted adjacent property*" and murdered his neighbour in Jezreel "*for the sake of possession*" (Napier 1975:4).

He blamed the "*Government of English Ahabs*" as the one who criminalized the "*Black Naboths of South Africa*" and the "*Government of US Ahabs*" who caused

many natives to be unwanted neighbours “*from Santiago to Saigon, from San Juan to Seoul*” (Napier 1975:6).

However, one should attempt to perceive the unusual identification “*Ahab the king of Samaria*” by focusing on his style of managing affairs in and for the land.

Firstly, on a **personal level** the king failed to associate with those prophets of Yahweh who opposed his manner of managing religious affairs. He, for example, accused Elijah the Tishbite as the “*troublemaker in Israel*” (I Kings 18:18) and a personal enemy enmity (I Kings 21:20) and caused Jezebel to displace that prophet of Yahweh (I Kings 19:1-3).

Ahab in frustration and anger turned his back on a prophet of Yahweh, who rebuked him for sparing the life of the king of Syria, instead of applying the **חרם** (ban) on him (I Kings 20:35-43).

That king of Israel voiced his hatred for Michaiah ben Imlah, the prophet of Yahweh who denounced his plan to capture the strategically located city Ramoth in Gilead. He imprisoned Michaiah because he (the prophet) refused to speak only “*good*” things of his plan to capture the city of Ramoth from the Syrians (I Kings 22:2-28).

Ahab, however, communicated his negative experiences with the followers of Yahweh to Jezebel, his wife. He reported to her “*all what Elijah had done*” (I Kings 19:1) so that she should put him on the run (I Kings 19:2,3). Because he failed to acquire the land of Naboth, he reported the matter to her (I Kings 21:5-7) and conspired with her to eliminate Naboth for the sake of possessing his land (I Kings 21:8-16).

These followers of Yahweh aroused his frustration, anger and hatred to such a level that he prohibited his vassals to give shelter (I Kings 18:10), stoned (I Kings 21:13) and imprisoned them (I Kings 22:27).

Secondly, on **the local level**, Ahab publicly displayed his preference for the religion of the Canaanites. He introduced in Samaria the “*cult of the Syrian-Canaanite deity of Baal*”(Frost 1963:506). He erected “*an altar in the house of Ba'al which he built in Samaria*” (I Kings 16:32), that helped the already dominant Canaanite population group (Welten 1973:19) to be even more stronger than the Israelite population group.

Ahab also made a wooden **אשרה** - that symbolized the goddess of fertility - that was to be placed next to the image of Ba'al to be the female “*companion of Ba'al*” (De Moor 1974:441). He made provisions for the accommodation and sustenance of the

numbers of prophets associated with the worship of Ba'al and Asherah in Samaria (I Kings 18:19). By those arrangements, the king of Israel enabled the prophets of Ashe'rah – to speak with De Moor- the Ashe'rah cult “ *well organized*” in Samaria (De Moor 1972:444).

On the contrary, Ahab allowed Jezebel, his Phoenician wife, to persecute those prophets of Yahweh who were opposed to the worship of Ba'al and caused them to flee for their lives and hide in caves (I Kings 18:4,13).

Soggin argued in this respect that Ahab exploited what appeared to be a “*marked tension between certain Israelite religious groups, with the cults that they practiced, and the Israelite court and its religious policy*” (Soggin 1985:206) to divide and rule over them. For it appear that the king could gather in Samaria hundreds of prophets of Yahweh who would back his military adventure to capture the economic strategic but Syrian-held city, Ramoth-Gilead (I Kings 22:6).

Thirdly, on *the international level* the king of Israel was committed to make and uphold neighbourly associations with neighboring states. He invited Jehoshaphat, the king of Judah. to Samaria and publicly displayed his friendship with that neighbour by “*sitting on their thrones, arrayed in their robes, at the threshing floor by the entrance of the gate of Samaria*” (I Kings 22:10).

Ahab involved himself in wars on the side of his neighbours against their enemies Soggin in this respect quoted from an account in the “*annals of Shalmaneser III*” (Soggin 1985:208), mentioning that “*Ahab the Israelite*” involved himself on the side of “*a coalition of kings,*” in a battle against the Assyrians at Karkar on the Orontes River in 853 BC (Soggin 1985:209). Soggin, mentioning Ahab's involvement in that battle, concluded, that “*Ahab succeeded in establishing friendly relations with the Arameans at least while the danger lasted,*” (Soggin 1985:209).

Bright, quoting from the same extra-biblical source, mentioned in this respect, that “*Ahab of Israel*” (t1972: 239) “*contributed two thousand chariots and ten thousand foot*” (Bright 1972:240) to that military effort of the coalition.

Ahab readily made agreements with foreigners and failed to make agreements with his neighbours with whom he shared the same living space. For example, he made an agreement with the king of Syria who sought to subjugate the Israelites (I Kings 20:34). In so doing he accepted that enemy of the Israelites as “*his brother*” (I Kings 20:32) because of the “*diplomatic correspondence between*” them as kings (Ringgren1977: 191).

He took Jezebel, the daughter of Et-Ba'al the king of Sidon (I Kings 16:31) as his wife. By his marriage with Jezebel, he secured “*the natural seal on his alliance*” (Soggin 1985:205) with the Phoenician merchants on the Mediterranean coast. By the marriage Ahab forged stronger cultural ties between Samaria on the central highlands in Israel and the Phoenician merchants on the Mediterranean coastline. He paved by that economic arrangement the way and created a climate for those Phoenician merchants, “*in the interests of trade*” (Bright 1970:241) and prosperity in Samaria.

This king of Israel had the remarkable ability to manage affairs on personal, local and international levels in such a manner that Samaria became his “*basis of power*” (Gray 1970:438). Being finally mortally wounded he attempted to arrive alive in but died en route to Samaria. The king of Samaria also died outside the walls of his city as he caused Naboth of Jezreel to be stoned to death outside the walls of Jezreel, “*his city*” (v8, 11,13).

The things that Ahab, the king of Israel, did to violate the identity of subjects who opposed his manner of managing his country witnessed against the meaning of his name. Because of what he, אָחָב (Ahab), did to his opponents, he acted not like a אָח (brother) or like אָב (father) to neighbors and outsiders who stood in his way.

Seen from this viewpoint this king of Israel was the uncontrolled person (Luke 15:11-32) of the Old Testament. Because by seeking total control over his neighbors and refusing to be under God's command, Ahab failed to be like a son to God, his Creator-Father. Because he failed to love the land he conspired with neighbors with a similar mindset to rape her i.e. to dispossess his neighbor. Unlike the prodigal son in the parable of Jesus, this prodigal son of the Old Testament failed to humble himself before God, because of God. Because Ahab failed to regard Naboth as his neighbor, he, like the elder brother in Jesus' parable, remained self-righteous – having much regard for himself and none for his neighbor who shared with him God's land.

3.2.1.3 Jezebel, his wife

Frost claimed that Ahab's marriage to Jezebel was “*part of his policy of what we might call the Canaanization of Israel*” (Frost 1963:506). He claimed that Ahab was the “*architect and protagonist*”, but Jezebel represented *his policy* of the Canaanization of Israel (Frost 1963:506).

Ahab indeed did well when he chose Jezebel to be “*his wife*” (v5, 7,25) for because of her, his enemies fled and his policy made progress in Samaria. She sided with him in his land dispute with Naboth and made a significant contribution in acquiring his land. Being on the spot (actively involved) she skillfully managed the land dispute between her husband and Naboth the Jezreelite.

Jezebel was not just an addition to Ahab’s collection of “*beautiful wives*” (I Kings 20:3) but a most *loyal associate* in his manner of managing local affairs. She was – argued Bright - “*a strong-minded woman*” (Bright 1972:241) who disliked the limitations on the authority of her husband. She apparently liked to be in control of a situation instead of the situation obstructing her in her role as Ahab’s wife and associate.

I agree with these identifications for Jezebel because when Ahab, seemingly, hesitated she challenged him to impose his will on Naboth and take his land in possession. He spoke with her about his frustration and anger with his neighbour and she solved his negative state of mind. (I Kings 21:5-7).

She had an “*unquestionable loyalty*” to her husband and could enter the privacy of the room of the king and interrupt the privacy of his thoughts without invitation (Seebass 1974:480). She dared to interrogate the husband, insisted to know what caused his negative state of mind, and criticized his ability to stamp out his authority in Israel (v6, 7).

The First World strategists who planned and executed the murder and dispossession of Third World Naboths – argued Napier – are the Jezebels of our time (1976:8).

They also used their privileged positions and higher educational qualifications to corrupt under-educated native leaders. Like Jezebel of Phoenicia, they zealously wrote letters in the name of the Ahab of the First World and sealed these Ahabs’ official seals. They incriminated the Naboths of the Third World and manipulated subservient local leaders. They manipulated the religious sentiments of the natives of a land and committed evil – as Napier phrased it - “*in the name God*” (Napier 1975:8).

Being in a powerful executive position, and the true prophets being displaced and silenced Jezebel could write in the name of God and the king without fear that her statements could be cancelled out.

In the United States, Napier claimed, “*organized religion*” is silent in the face of “*treachery, violence and murder,*” because she is comfortable in living “*like Ahabs*

because Jezebel” is still scheming Third World human beings out of their land (Napier 1975:10). Because of the silence of the Church, no prophetic protest could be heard in “*this Jezreel place of ours*” but only the bitter and militants cries of dispossessed people because of the “*practice of the right of force instead of the force of right*” (Napier 1975:10).

In agreement with Napier, I will focus on the question of the reason for the silence of the Church (organized religion). It could be either because of fear for losing a relative comfort zone in the ranks of “*the Ahabs and Jezebels*” or because of her feeling of helplessness with the ranks of the adjacent persons. However there is no neutral gospel, for the gospel reveals on the one hand some people’s delight in freedom and on the other hand some people’s “*fear of freedom*” (Croatto 1981:21). As for the Church to overcome her “fear for freedom” she should practice what she knows, namely, that the same spring cannot pour forth both “*sweet and brackish water*” (James 3:11). Should she opt to remain silent and withhold a prophetic protest she will be like an open pit (*ḫgab*) – symbol of darkness and despair - on a cold night instead of a family fire (*/ais*) – a symbol of hope in the darkness.

3.2.1.4 Elijah the Tishbite

Brongers argued that the name of Elijah denotes that his parents were loyal followers of Yahweh, as the God of Israel. Elijah grew up in a spiritual environment in which he became a dedicated prophet of Yahweh, (Brongers 1967:167).

It is evident that Elijah grew up in such a spiritual climate, when one looks and listens to the Elijah stories in I Kings 17-19 and 21. Zimmerli emphasized Elijah’s **abhorrence** for the Ba’al and his astonishing **zeal** for the worship of Yahweh. He claimed that Elijah’s unyielding stand and highly penetrating message, despite the pressures of the royal house, caused him to be “*the greatest of the pre-literary prophets*”(Zimmerli 1987:183). Elijah’s perseverance not to adapt to but uproot the worship of Ba’al, created a climate conducive to the promotion of the worship of Yahweh.

The identification “*the Tishbite*” linked the prophet with a place called Tishbe that was located in “*Gilead*” (I Kings 17:1) in eastern Jordan. Being an inhabitant from the eastern side of the Jordan, he definitely interfered in Ahab’s manner of managing affairs in Israel (I Kings 18:17).

Being persistent in his condemnation of Ahab's manner of managing religious affairs for Israel, Elijah was indeed a personal עַרְבִים of Ahab (v20) – a person from outside and geared to inflict personal harm. Being *an outsider* and zealous in his service of Yahweh, he indeed actively opposed Ahab's policy of the Canaanization of Israel.

The name of Elijah is a confession that, *Yahweh his God* and that prophet consciously lived up to this confession, claimed Brongers (1967:167).

I agree with Brongers, because Elijah acted when and where “*the word of Yahweh came*” to him (I Kings 17:2,8; 18:1; 19:10; 21:17,28). He also warned and encouraged people in the name of Yahweh, prayed for the sake of people in distress and quarreled with Yahweh because of his own distress and then Yahweh answered him.

Wiener described Elijah as one who proved himself as a prophet of the common people. Being a prophet of the people, argued Wiener, he was “*neither a prophet of the cult, connected with a sanctuary, nor like many of his predecessors, subject to the royal court*” (Wiener 1968:60).

Elijah indeed was a prophet *not confined* to a specific place or tied down by the official responsibilities servicing the people who gathered at a sanctuary or an altar. Being not a “*subject of the royal court*” Elijah was a worthy opponent of “*Ahab the king of Israel who is in Samaria*” (v18) and convincingly voiced his condemnation of Ahab's management of affairs in Israel. Elijah was a prophet who brought into focus God's love for Israelites who were displaced from their land, because he frequently had to appear and disappear he condemned Ahab, their king, for what he did to violate their spatial identity (Brongers 1967:167).

He indeed did not confine himself to people in cities and to the inhabitants of the territory of western Jordan. Displaced from western Jordan, he fled to eastern Jordan (I Kings 17:2-7) and lived among העַרְבִים (I Kings 17:6). They shared with him and he ate with them לֶחֶם וּבָשָׂר (bread and meat), בְּבֹקֶר וּבְעָרֵב (in the morning and in the evening) and he drank water from the stream Cherith (I Kings 17:5).

Gray in this respect considers as a possibility that those עַרְבִים were “*friendly Arabians who during the drought regularly supplied Elijah with food*” (Gray 1970:339). I agree with Gray that העַרְבִים were friendly Arabians acting according a definite routine, rather than ravens that acted against the natural character of scavenger birds. For the general application of the spatial identification עַרְבִים (Arabians), see the references in Ex. 12:38, I Kings 10:15, Neh. 13:3.

He acted out his *confession* of Yahweh, his God, in an area much larger than the boundaries of the territory of Israel. For he dwelt as גַל (a *stranger*) with a Sidonese widow and they shared with him their house and meager food.

He publicly accused Ahab for the murder of Naboth and the illegal occupation of his land. Therewith the prophet indeed – as Rofé phrased it - “*stepped into the place of the victim*” (Rofé 1988:94) and demanded that justice should be restored in Jezreel. Confronting Ahab in the name of Yahweh at that place; Elijah stepped into place as both prosecutor and the judge in the case against the king of Israel. For the crimes committed by Ahab against his neighbour was in fact “an offense against *God*” (Nelson 1987:142).

By denouncing Ahab on that place, he announced that Yahweh would restore justice in the living space of Naboth’s ancestors. Not at the city gate, where Naboth was falsely condemned of blasphemy, nor on the soil outside the city gate, where Naboth’s blood was innocently spilled, but Naboth’s land was the place for Elijah, to announce that Yahweh would restore justice in the city of Jezreel.

By condemning “*the king of Israel whose throne is in Samaria*” for both the crimes of murder and land dispossession, Elijah focused the plight of the king to execute justice in both Samaria and Jezreel. Elijah, denouncing the king and announcing the punishment of Yahweh personally to and before witnesses, opposed the mockery that Ahab made of justice in Jezreel. Elijah evenhandedly condemned Ahab i.e. he did not revenge Naboth, so that the king should know that – to speak with Welten- the same fate would befall him and his family “*wie Naboth erleiden müssen*” (Welten 1973:24).

Hence, being a prophet *from the common people*, Elijah was visibly and actively on the side of the displaced and announced Yahweh’s condemnation of the king on the scene of the crime.

Napier correctly maintained that because the Elijahs of the 20th century also voiced the affinity of the current Naboths with their land, these Naboths could keep “a *people’s understanding of property*” (Napier 1975:7) in place. Today’s Elijahs also voiced the truth so that the Latin American Naboths and Black Naboths of South Africa are aware that they would commit “*sacrilege against oneself and one’s kindred*” if they should alienate their land (Napier 1975:7). These people expected, that because of the dispossession of the land portions of natives, the Elijahs of the

land would voice the request for restoration of their land and that responsible authorities would execute justice and restore order in the land.

3.2.2 Pertaining to the identity of groups

The story revealed that three groups of Jezreelites involved themselves in the case of the throne against Naboth and his execution outside the walls of their city. The storyteller identified those groups of people, and in the following order, as, the elders, the nobles and the people.

In this part, I shall picture the place of these groups of Jezreelites in the drama about the land dispute between Naboth the Jezreelite and Ahab the king of Samaria.

3.2.2.1 The elders of Jezreel

Gray argued that Jezebel could rely in the case of the throne on the elders because the king was personally influential in the city. The family of Ahab “*was from Jezreel*” and the king maintained the support of “*the local elders*” for the royal house in Samaria (Gray 1970:440). Seebass, however, argued that Jezebel wrote to the elders because they were the responsible council in the city who should take the side of the king in his dispute with Naboth (Seebass 1974:480). Würtwein agreed that those elders were a local council of family heads whom Jezebel commanded to proclaim a fast and directed how to go about in the case of the crown against Naboth (Würtwein 1984:249).

However, the narrator explicitly identified the elders as “*men who dwelt with Naboth in his city*” (v8, 11). This expression brings into focus the identity of the elders as fellow citizens who **shared with Naboth** the living space of the city. The references to their relationship with one another, namely, “*dwelt with*” and with their physical living space, namely, “*in his city,*” denote how closely linked they were. They were a generation of inhabitants who shared both the land in Jezreel and her natural resources of soil, water and climate. Being the body of “*the family heads*” of the city, they were a generation who shared with Naboth the same ancestral cultural breathing space.

Moreover, the narrator also noted that those elders “*did according to what Jezebel commanded them and according to what she wrote in the letters that she sent to them*” (v11). These references, namely that they acted “*according to what Jezebel commanded*” and “*according to what she wrote to them,*” indeed took the side of the king in the case of the crown against Naboth.

The old men were citizens of “*advanced age*” (Conrad 1980:126) whom the younger citizens held in great esteem because of the wisdom with which they judged cases in the past. In the case of the crown against Naboth they, however, allowed Jezebel, the wife of Ahab, to prescribe to them how they should execute justice in their city gate. Those elders of Jezreel probably were also -as Gray suggested - an influential group, because of their association with the group identified as “*the nobles of the city.*” For, like the nobility, they also received letters from Jezebel and they associated with them in the case of Ahab against Naboth. That they received letters that bore Ahab’s seal, obviously, illustrated that they were influential because of their position being a literate group of people. Being literate leading citizens could have boosted their estimation in the eyes of the illiterate among the people.

They, however, ***failed the test of trust*** when they allowed Jezebel to manipulate their position and exploit the religious sentiments of the people to make and close the case against Naboth. After the day of fasting, they rushed that case through the court and failed to try the testimonies of those two witnesses before the gathering of the people. Those elders deliberately sacrificed their insight in that court case for the sake of the king, and their place before God because they became like judges who accepted bribes, perverted justice and consequently failed to judge a fellow citizen “*with righteous judgment*” (Deut. 16:18). They were wise leaders who acted like blind followers, because of their fear for the king of Samaria who had a palace in Jezreel, next to the land of Naboth. Their fear of freedom caused that body of local judges to fail to act in concurrence with justice and prove themselves as fearless opponents of injustice.

3.2.2.2 The nobles of Jezreel

Rehm argued that the nobles were Jezreelites that, through relative wealth, acquired for them a position of influence in the city (Rehm 1979:210). Seebass agreed and argued that the nobles probably obtained their wealth through land parcels and other privileges from the king (Seebass 1974:479). Having accepted whatever privileges from the hand of the king, they indeed placed themselves under a moral obligation to the crown in Samaria (Seebass 1974:480).

I agree with Seebass that they were just like Naboth also “*Freiherren*” who were in possession of their ancestral inheritances, but because they placed themselves under a

moral responsibility, they were not free to deny the king from imposing himself on them.

Those free men were also *fellow citizens of Naboth* (v8) but unlike him, they were in favour that the king should execute kingship over all the free men of their city. In exchange for royal privileges in Jezreel, they sacrificed their position as free men and for good relations with the king of Samaria; they sacrificed their spatial identity as free men of their city.

In exchange for being respected citizens of their city, those free men of Jezreel became the *loyal servants of Ahab* the king of Samaria. For they, like the leaders of their city, also acted according to what Jezebel wrote in the letters that she sent to them and co-operated with her plot to eliminate Naboth.

These two groups in Jezreel obediently followed the directions of the royal house and executed their plot to murder citizen Naboth and take possession of his land. Those two groups incriminated themselves by placing two witnesses— probably from their ranks in the case of the king against Naboth. The two witnesses exactly accused Naboth before the people on two accounts of blasphemy, namely, against God and the king – according to the written directions of the royal house.

3.2.2.3 The people of Jezreel

In her letters to the elders and the nobles, Jezebel prescribed a specific role for “*the people*” of Jezreel in the drama to eliminate Naboth. Those elders and nobles should proclaim a solemn day of fasting that the people (community) of Jezreel had to observe. On the day of fasting the elders and nobles should place citizen Naboth at “*the head of the people*”. They should organize two witnesses to accuse Naboth before the people of blasphemy against “*God and the king.*” The people of Jezreel then should take Naboth to the outside of the walls of their city and stone him until he dies.

Who was that group of citizens of Jezreel whom the storyteller identified as “the people” and what was their factual role in the drama of the murder of Naboth and the dispossession of his family land?

Gray identified the group as “*the community*” who stoned Naboth after being condemned “*by the elders with a show of conservative democracy*”(Gray 1970:441).

Seebass emphasized that the people on the “*Fastenversammlung*” of that day after they came to know what person caused the anger of their God to rest upon their community removed his sin from among them (Seebass 1974:481).

Würtwein also identified this group as “*die Volk*” (citizens) of Jezreel who gathered for a “*Bussversammlung*,” sang their “*Klageliedern*” and expressed their “*Schuldbekennniss*” before their God in their city (Würtwein 1984:251). In order to remove the burden of guilt from the people, they stoned its “*Urheber*” i.e. the person in which their guilt had its origin (Würtwein 1984:251).

Pogioli, however, identified them as the common people in rural areas who lived on their land and managed to sustain their families from what they produced on it. The “*bucolic community*” (common people) experienced “*extreme insecurity*” because “*those who dwell within city walls*” (wealthy and influential neighbors), placed them under severe social pressure. The family of Naboth, he argued, was from the common people who were the voiceless masses of that city. The influential and the wealthy leaders among them proclaimed that solemn day of fasting on the instructions of the city dwellers (Ahab the king and Jezebel, his wife).

I agree with Gray, because the people of Jezreel played but an unimportant role in those public leaders’ show of “*conservative democracy*.” Those leaders knew that the people was only *the tool* that the royal couple provided for them to express some respect for public decency.

The people – as Pogioli illustrated – were a group of common citizens who were under social pressure because of the greed of the wealthy and influential people in their midst.

They were *ignorant* of the fact that the elders and nobles acted on the instruction of the king to eliminate fellow citizen Naboth so that he could dispossess Naboth’s land. They were *silent* because they were unaware that the king employed the elders and nobles to manipulate their religious sentiments and settle a score with Naboth. The people were a group unaware that their leaders were colluding with Ahab and Jezebel who engineered the drama that unfolded before their eyes in their courtyard. They fulfilled their part by listening in silence to the court proceedings and participated ignorantly in the execution of an innocent fellow citizen.

3.3 LAND AS LIVING SPACE IN THE STORY OF NABOTH

In the preceding subsection, I debated the identities of the persons who shared the living space in the city of Jezreel. In the subsection, I shall debate the city of Jezreel as the living space of those people under the following two headings, namely, Jezreel as physical and as cultural living space.

3.3.1 Jezreel as physical living space

Oeming, for example, argued that the location of Jezreel in the Valley of Jezreel had many *advantages* and caused many problems for the people who shared the living space in- and outside her walls.

He pointed out that Jezreel had the advantage over places outside the Valley of Jezreel that it was one of the most fertile alluvial valleys in Palestine. Quoting Donner, he mentioned that the physical territory in which it was located was in ancient times “*eine Kornkammer ersten Ranges*” (Oeming 1986:374).

Moreover, he also emphasized the fact that the city was located in the Valley through which ran the important road that linked the eastern and the western parts of the Middle East (Oeming 1986:374). The Valley of Jezreel was in ancient times “*a strategic trade and communication bridge*” between the trading centers in Damascus and Egypt (Wegner 1997:778).

The Valley of Jezreel, however, was in ancient times a battlefield (Jos. 17:16, Jgs. 4:7,13, 5:21, 6:33). where neighbouring peoples settled their disputes so that it lost its “*neutralen Ortsbezeichnung*” (Oeming 1986:374) and was thought of a place of bloodshed and murder (Oeming 1986:375).

The cities in the Valley of Jezreel – of which Jezreel city was one - were apportioned to be the permanent possession of the tribe of Issachar (Jgs.19: 17-23). Because their land was “*the main scene of military conflicts*” the tribe of Issachar would eventually indeed become too weak to defend her (De Geus 1976:81).

De Geus concluded that the tribe of Issachar were probably been “*absorbed by and driven away from*” their land by stronger neighbours. Having lost their independence, those landless families from Issachar became the servants of the other tribes. The name of Issachar (*a man who bears a burden*), probably hints at the “*servile position*” of those detribalised and landless people in the Valley of Jezreel (De Geus 1976:72).

I agree with the hypothesis of Oeming that the *location* of Jezreel city provided the spark to the spatial crisis in that portion of land in that space of time. For the land

portion that caused the dispute between that king of Israel and his neighbour, was located adjacent to, but was not part of his place estate in the city.

Ahab *desired* to extend his part of the physical living space inside Jezreel at the cost of his neighbour and consequently had to refuse him a share of soil in that part of the land. He desired that place in the sun and was prepared to share it, but only with the members of family.

He owned a palace “*in Jezreel*” at that place and managed to acquire more land (v2, 6) in that part of a most fertile territory in his kingdom. He reckoned that he could do with more land in order to develop a vegetable garden only for himself (v2) i.e. to the benefit of his house. Moreover, his palace, being located at the foot of Mount Gilboa, provided “*a beautiful scene over the valley of Jezreel and a mild climate during the winter months*” (Wegner 1997:778) that he would share only with his family and their friends but not with locals.

The land “*next to and nearby*” (v1, 2) the winter palace of the king “*belonged to Naboth the Jezreelite*” (v1) i.e. to the family of Naboth. That portion of fertile soil was *their only* means of livelihood and for many generations they belonged to her as much as that she belonged to them. Their family ancestors, who are resting in her soil, removed the stones from her, tilled her soil, planted her with vines, lived from what she yielded for them and shared her wealth with them.

They did not to desire that portion of the land because it was part of their living space in the valley of Jezreel. The family of Naboth lived from the natural wealth of the soil in “*his city*” (v8, 11), as their vines shared the wealth from the soil of their portion of family land. That portion of physical living space remained in the possession of that family of Jezreelites, because she provided to them food and shelter and a physical frame of reference i.e. an awareness of space. For to them the city of Jezreel was their historical living space given to their tribal ancestors.

Furthermore, that kingdom of Israel under the house of Ahab was a living space of the *free but helpless subjects*, as well as of powerful but corrupt rulers. The family of Naboth defended their ancestral land rights and dramatically lost both their lives and their communal land. The king of Israel owned two palaces (I Kings 20:43, 21:1,4) and more than one portion of land (v1, 2, 6) but he, nevertheless, confiscated the only land portion of the family of Naboth.

3.2.2 Jezreel as cultural living space

Omri, Ahab's father, built Samaria, the new capital of Israel on Mount Gerizem to control the strategic located passage on the north-south trading route that linked Judea in the south and Phoenicia at the coast in the north.

Theologians argued that the new capital city, which that king of Israel built, was located in a territory in which the Canaanites were the dominant population group.

Fohrer, following Alt's view, argued that Omri built his capital on Canaanite soil because the Canaanites in those days dominated the trading (Fohrer 1968:73). Welten, following Fohrer's argument, argued that Omri built two capitals because of the two population groups in his kingdom. Hence, Samaria was the capital for the Canaanites who were the dominant population group in the high lands and Jezreel for the Israelites, who were the dominant population group in the cities in the Valley of Jezreel (Welten 1973:147).

Napier, arguing against the "*dual location of Naboth's vineyard*" (Napier 1959:366), maintained that there is "*considerable evidence*" that Naboth land was "*in Jezreel*" (Napier 1959:367). De Vries disagreed and argued that should one "*take the story on its own terms*", it becomes clear that Jezebel sent the letters from Samaria to Jezreel. The name of the city, Jezreel, denotes "*the geographical separation of Ahab/Jezebel and Naboth*" (De Vries: 1985:256).

The story of the land of Naboth, however, focused neither on the dominance of Canaanites in the central highlands, nor the subjugation of the Israelites in the Valley of Jezreel. The story of Naboth is about land as the physical and cultural living space of the citizens of Jezreel.

The story, indeed, reflects evidence that Jezreel was the scene of the entire chapter and that Ahab sometimes lived "*in Jezreel*" next to Naboth the Jezreelite. The trend of the story focused the ideological separation of Ahab/Jezebel and Naboth who at times shared the same living space.

Firstly, in the story the city of **Samaria** functions rather as the *cultural counterpart* of the city of Jezreel. For the story emphasizes the cultural divergences between people like, "*Ahab, the king of Samaria who had a palace in Jezreel*" and "*Naboth the Jezreelite who had a vineyard*" in Jezreel (v1).

The story also emphasizes the location of the living spaces of these people, namely that they were located "*next to and nearby*" (v1, 2) one another.

It emphasizes “*the palace of the king of Samaria*” and “*the vineyard of the Jezreelite*” as living spaces that represent different cultures. For Ahab apparently argued that he had “a house” (v2, 4) in Jezreel, “*executed kingship over Israel*”(v7) and had the right to own more land in Jezreel. Naboth the Jezreelite argued that his family owned a portion of land on that specific place in their ancestral city, which should not be displaced from it (v3).

In v18, the story focuses on the displacement of citizen Naboth by his king, for it emphasizes the intrusion of Ahab into the land and the violation of the land rights of Naboth. In v18, the story reads as follows, “*Behold Ahab the king of Israel who is in Samaria, is in the vineyard of Naboth.*” From the view of Ahab’s intrusion into the land of Naboth, it should be read: *Ahab the king of Israel whose throne is in Samaria is now occupying the land of Naboth.*

References to the title and the power seat of the king of Samaria (v1) and Israel (v18) focus on the point that Ahab, living in Jezreel, was well-placed to influence the cultural living space of the city.

The notion that Ahab and Naboth lived at times side by side “in Jezreel” denotes that two cultures at times existed side by side in the city that protected both of them cultures against violations from outside.

Secondly, that Naboth apparently had no problem to *share with Ahab* the same living space with Ahab, can be seen in v1: “*Naboth the Jezreelite had a vineyard that was located in Jezreel next to the palace of Ahab the king of Samaria.*” In a context of older versus younger cultures, it should be read: *Ahab the king of Samaria had a palace that was located in Jezreel next to the vineyard of Naboth.*

Naboth had no difficulty with the king of Samaria being a neighbour on land next to and nearby his family in his ancestral city. Ahab however in due time developed a higher regard of his own culture and a disregard for the culture of his neighbours in Jezreel.

The intolerance on part Ahab’s can be heard in his request to exchange Naboth’s land for another or to purchase it for silver; and one can see it in his uneighbourly reaction when Naboth refused to sell his land.

He decided that the vines on Naboth’s portion of family land should be exchanged for his sake, for “*a vegetable garden*”, and that Naboth should be displaced to “*a better vineyard*” (v2) on “*another*” (v6) land portion away from “*his house*”. Ahab also put before Naboth the option to accept an amount of silver as recompense for the

loss of his land and at the value of its market price. Because Naboth refused to grant him his request Ahab became frustrated and angry and left for “*his house*” (v4).

Ahab’s efforts to displace his neighbours so that he could develop “*a vegetable garden*” on their land echoed the oppression of non-Egyptians “*in Egypt*” (Deut.11: 10). For the Egyptians of old use to keep neat gardens planted with “*kürbisartige*” vegetables around their houses “*und auf den Dammrücken*” (Yoyotte 1978:12). His strategy to buy all the land “*next to and nearby*” his house echoed a story about an official of the king of Egypt who bought all the land for his master (Gen. 47:20). The intention of Ahab to displace the family of Naboth to “*a better*” land portion or a place away from his house, echoed the displacement of foreign families in Egypt by the pharaoh. The reaction of Ahab when Naboth refused to sell his inheritance echoed the reaction of that king of Egypt who “*hardened his heart, refused to listen, turned his back and went into his house*”(Ex.7: 22,23).

Ahab’s decision to displace Naboth from his land and develop on it “*a vegetable garden*” highlighted his high regard for himself and for foreign cultures. The “*something deeper*” in the story seems indeed to be the “*contrasts*” (Nelson 1987:141) between the cultures of the citizens living side by side in Jezreel which were highlighted because of the intolerance of some.

3.4 LAND OWNERSHIP IN THE STORY OF NABOTH

In this subsection, I shall debate the two viewpoints on land ownership in the story, namely, the communal possession of land and land as private property. People who resided side by side in the city of Jezreel during the middle of the 9th century BC held these two viewpoints on land ownership.

3.4.1 Land as a communal possession

Gray argued the importance of being in possession of land that one inherited from one’s ancestors. He mentioned three points with respect to the protection that Naboth’s inherited land provided to that family for being on their land.

These three points of protection were: that portion of land provided protection for their religious identity; the solidarity of their ancestral family and their identity as free Jezreelites. Because by living on and from their communal land, Naboth’s family

remained self-employed farmers and did not become “*state dependents*”(Gray1970: 439),

Seebass agreed and argued that Naboth, by being still in possession of their communal land, remained a “*free*” (Seebass 1974:477) Jezreelite. He and his family lived from what they produced on their land, were not in tax debt and hence were natural citizens who were under no responsibility “*sich dem König erkenntlich zu zeigen*” (Seebass 1974:480).

De Vries agreed and argued that Naboth refused to sell his land in order to live by the “*ancestral law*, keep his status as a “*free*” Jezreelite and protect “*his posterity*” from being “*royal pensioners*” (De Vries 1985:256).

Firstly, Naboth **refused** to sell their communal land, because he was aware that they were only the current utilizers and not the owners of the land. Because according to their traditional belief Yahweh is their God, who gave the land to their ancestors, the factual owner of all the land. Yahweh gave his land to the tribal ancestors to apportion land to every family so that no family should be landless but that all should have land to live on and from what it yields.

Naboth’s family acted responsibly before Yahweh, their God, by communally cultivating and developing their land portion. Yahweh having blessed them with land also blessed their labours of cultivating and developing their land so that they could live from what it yields. His viewpoint resounds an ancient belief, that Yahweh promised to the ancestors of the people of Israel, that when “*they came into*” the land (Lev 25:1) which he gave to them (Lev 25:2), they should remember that Yahweh is the owner of the land (Lev. 25:23). By obeying that ordinance, Naboth honouring Yahweh as their God, preserved a strong relation with their land and caused their descendants to inherit the land as a permanent possession.

Naboth, by swearing a solemn oath by the name of Yahweh, vowed to obey the God of Israel and protect the possession of the family in order that the land should be a protection for their religious identity. By taking a vow by the name of Yahweh, he, by refusing to exchange his family land for “*a better vineyard*” (v2) or sell it for silver, highlighted his religious identity. Because he believed that Yahweh gave that communal land portion through his ancestors to him and through him to his descendants.

His oath revealed that he had no legal grounds to agree to a land transaction with the king and that the king had no authority to impose his will on his family. Because of

Yahweh, they never had any “*control over*” but always stood in a “*covenantal relation*” with their land (Brueggemann 1977:93). Because of their religious identity, they belonged – as Brueggemann phrased put it - to the land and not the land to them (Brueggemann 1977:93).

Naboth then emphatically rejected the king’s suggestion that he must “*do what is good in his own eyes*” (v2) and take from him an amount of “*silver*” (v2, 6,15) in exchange. Because alienating his family land to the king in exchange for “*silver*” was in his view an act of blasphemy against Yahweh his God.

For Yahweh remains the landowner and the possessors of communal land portions were only foreigners in his land and dependent on his goodwill. They were in a sense “*foreigners and inhabitants*” in his land just like Abraham their ancestor was “*in the land of the Hittites and dependent on their goodwill*” (Maarsingh 1974:232).

Secondly, Naboth ***lived on and from*** their communal possession because he had a delight to be free in the land of his ancestors. The portion on which his family lived was developed land that was planted with vines (v1) and communally utilized by them (v3). That portion of communal land was located in the city of Jezreel next to a palace of Ahab the king of Samaria (v1). Jezreel was Naboth’s city (v8, 11) and the vineyard that was located next to Ahab’s palace was land that belonged to “*his family ancestors*” (v3, 4).

That communal land portion “*in Jezreel*,” focused the spatial identity of Naboth family, his extended family (clan) and tribe (Jos.19:8). That portion of land defined the freedom of Naboth and his family to live on (reside and cultivate) that land portion and live from the fruit (share the produce) of her soil. That communal land portion also defined the limits of their freedom in the city, for only direct descendants of the family ancestors could live on their land.

Naboth refused to be alienated from their communal land because they would indeed lose their status as “*free*” Jezreelites. Hence, they shared with their royal family from Samaria the freedom of Jezreel, but disliked the king’s viewpoint that they should sacrifice their spatial identity for his (Ahab’s) sake.

Had Naboth agreed to a land exchange transaction with Ahab, he not only would have sold his inheritance, but also *himself and* his family to the king. He also would have severed the spiritual link between his family and their land, betrayed the future generations, and caused them to be strangers in the land.

Thirdly, Naboth *acted responsibly* before God, by keeping possession of their land so that their descendents should not be landless and being “*reduced to a status of state pensioners*”(De Vries 1985:256).

Naboth, by refusing to sell that land portion, emphatically identified their communal possession as the cradle of his ancestors. By this expression, “*the inheritance of my ancestors,*” Naboth described their land as the both the physical and cultural living space of his generation and their descendants. Being still on that limited and fragile living space proved that they overcame the hardships of droughts, famines and also crises in spite of the second palace of the king next to their land.

Naboth’s ancestors remained on that land portion, so that Naboth’s generation could be a landed family. Being a landed family in their ancestral city, Naboth and his family members could walk in their city with dignity instead of being landless beggars at the gate of the winter palace of the king.

Being on their communal land, they prevented the king from acquiring more land and more power in their ancestral city. For all the power in that place should not be vested in one person and every free citizen in Jezreel need not to be in the service of Ahab.

Their land was to them the mother who gave birth to their predecessors and she nurtured their identity as natural Jezreelites. They refused to give their “*ancestral inheritance*” (v3) to “*the king of Samaria*” (v1) in exchange for his “*better vineyard*” (v2) because the historical-cultural roots of the king differed from theirs.

The land of Naboth was the protection for his human dignity in the city and the city of Jezreel was the protection of their cultural identity. Being in possession of their family land, they could express their cultural preference, because the land provided for them a breathing space for cultural - historical reflection. For that portion of geographical space on the Plain of Jezreel was the womb of their ancestral history and culture.

3.4.2 Land as private property

Fohrer argued the point that the king of Israel sought to “*consolidate his crown land*” (Fohrer 1968:78) in Jezreel and offered to Naboth “*a better vineyard*” (v2) in exchange for his land portion because it was “*nearby and next to his house*” (v2).

I agree with Fohrer’s view that Ahab the king of Samaria (v1) apparently sought to consolidate his private land possession in Jezreel. He already privately possessed more land in Jezreel – see for example the references to “*a better vineyard*” (v2) and to “*another vineyard*” (v6) – and desire to own Naboth’s family land portion. Ahab

sought to purchase Naboth's land because it was located in Jezreel next to and near "his house" (v2, 4). He considered developing the land around that house of his because at times he had to reside in that place.

Gray argued that Ahab made that offer to Naboth because Jezreel was also Ahab's "ancestral home" (Gray 1970:439). His palace on that place nearby and next to Naboth was possibly to him a "winter resort" (Gray 1970:440) whereto he and his family could withdraw in the cold season on the central highlands.

It is probable that Jezreel city could have been Ahab's "ancestral home" and "winter resort" for at times Ahab and his family resided in that place (I Kings 18:45; 21:2,4; II Kings 8:29, 9:15, 30-33).

Seebass argued that Ahab have miscalculated that the land adjacent to his palace was land privately developed by Naboth. For, he continued, that "the inheritance of the ancestors" defined both the land originally apportioned to Naboth's family and the "Neubrücke" adjacent to the original inheritance (Seebass1974: 477).

I doubt that Ahab being the king of Israel, a "normal landowner" (Seebass 1974: 475) and Naboth's neighbour in Jezreel could have been ignorant with regard to the status of the land adjacent to his palace estate. Moreover, even so-called "selbst angelegten Feldern" were part of the land apportioned to the ancestors and could not be sold (Seebass1974: 477).

Firstly, Ahab's viewpoint that Naboth's land *should be annexed* to his property contrasted with Naboth's view that Yahweh should remain the owner of his land. That Naboth's family possessed land "next to and nearby" his palace in Jezreel disturbed Ahab very much. Because when he failed to displace them from it or to purchase their land, he reacted extremely emotionally.

Ahab was aware that Naboth's land was a communal possession and in order to acquire it he had to offer him a better land portion in exchange for his land or purchase it from them for silver.

Secondly, the king *denied to Naboth's family* their right to live on and from their ancestral land because he offered to them a "better" (v2) land portion on "another"(v6) place. He also thought to purchase their ancestral land for silver according to its value. Those references to Ahab's efforts to acquire Naboth's land emphasized the fact that he denied him his protection of their communal land rights.

Thirdly, having failed to persuade Naboth to agree to a land transaction with him, the king **accused him** of causing the land dispute in the city of Jezreel; because he withdrew to his room in his palace, refused to communicate with the members of his household and to eat his meals until Jezebel, his wife came to his assistance.

Fourthly, Ahab had his main palace “*in Samaria*” (v18) and a second place “*in Jezreel*” (v1) but he **desired** to annex the only land portion of a local family to his second palace. He requested the family to sell to him their only land portion that he can grow vegetables on it for himself.

He viewed his neighbour’s land as an asset by which he could increase his economic power in a city in which he only was a seasonal resident. He requested his neighbours to give up, for his sake, their status as an independent and self-employed family and be landless and unemployed individuals in their ancestral city.

He apparently viewed his neighbours as subjects whom he could displace from their family inheritance by a land exchange or ruled landless by a land purchase transaction. Thus, his request that Naboth should betray his natural attachment to his portion of land and avail it for further developments in that part of the city.

Finally, Ahab obviously was **not ignorant** with regard to the status of the land of Naboth because he was focused on obtaining that specific portion at a definite price - either a land exchange or a purchase of the land at its valued price. He vowed to become the private owner of the land adjacent to his winter palace in Jezreel and in the process to devalue his neighbours’ “*covenantal relation*” with their land (Brueggemann 1977:93).

The viewpoint of land as the private property of king Ahab, brought into focus the reality of that human being’s response to a persistent craving for more land. It also focused that king’s failure to contribute to that reality of sharing peacefully the same living space with a family whose viewpoint happened to differ from his. It also revealed that because of his viewpoint, he stopped at nothing to either displace his neighbours from or dispossess them of their communal land.

Finally, the viewpoint of land as the private property of “*Ahab the king of Samaria*” (the outside viewpoint) contrasted with the viewpoint of land as the communal possession of “*Naboth the Jezreelite*” (the inside viewpoint.). The inside viewpoint that land should be the private property of the king being exclusive in intention and enterprise eventually became too strong and destroyed the inside viewpoint on land ownership.

Ahab's view on land ownership nullified Naboth's need to coexist peacefully next to the royal estate, on and from what they could produce on communal land. For in the process of pushing his viewpoint forward he refused them their historical right to share the wealth from the soil in their city of Jezreel.

3.5 LAND ACQUISITION IN THE STORY OF NABOTH

In this subsection, I shall focus on the two methods of land acquisition that I came across in the story. These two methods of land acquisition are: the forced removal of the family of Naboth from and the illegal purchase of their ancestral land.

3.5.1 The illegal removals from ancestral land

Pogiolli argued the point of the injustice of "*internal disorder*" because of the "*incursions*" into the land rights of the "*bucolic community*" by the "*proud and powerful*" city dwellers (the Ahabs), (Pogiolli 1963:3).

He portrayed the "*bucolic community*" i.e. "*the humble and poor*" (the Naboths) and their land as their "*pastoral oasis*" i.e. their territory of "*innocence and happiness*" (Pogiolli 1963:3). He portrayed the incursions of the proud and powerful into the land of the humble and poor as acts of "*might and violence*" that "*produces in the pastoral soul a sense of outraged justice*" (Pogiolli 1963:3).

Making use of pastoral poetry, Pogiolli illustrated the violence and injustice that proud city dwellers (the Ahabs from outside) measured out over many eras for the poor in many peaceful places (the Naboths). Focusing on the violence of the eviction of the poor from their land, Pogiolli quoted from Goethe's, *Faust* the following words:

"It happens as it happened of old:

Still Naboth's vineyard we behold!" (Pogiolli 1963:16).

Focusing the violent attitude that the people displayed in displacing the poor from their land, Pogiolli quoted from the same eclogue, the words:

"Why be annoyed, when though canst well despise them?

Wouldst thou not long since colonize them?" (Pogiolli 1963:17).

I agree with Pogiolli's viewpoint because the incursion of Ahab of the 9th century BC into the only land portion of Naboth of Jezreel was but an event in the series of invasions into the "*bucolic oasis*" of the humble and poor in South Africa since the

17th century AD. Moreover, also in our land the proud and powerful colonizers kept the occupation of the land of the humble and poor (the economic powerless) neatly in place. The proud and powerful invaders sealed the occupation of the land with their despise for the poor and humble on the periphery of the occupied land.

Napier described the dispossession of the land of Naboth by Ahab as *an act of aggression against the psyche of an adjacent person*” (Napier 1976:4). He compared *“the Jezreel event”* with events that took place in many territories away from the USA and caused repetitive *“human carnage down to our time ”*(Napier 1976:4). For he argued, that *“we”* invaded, we seized and kept the only land portions of impoverished natives in Latin America, Asia and Africa so-called *“in the name of God”* but actually to fill our own pockets (Napier 1976:8). In these acts of ongoing aggression, he maintained, our Ahabs arrogantly inflicted treachery on *“our people”* whose land we violently occupied (Napier 1976:9).

I agree with Napier’s analysis of *“the Jezreel event”* for Europeans kept the *“aggression against the psyche”* of landless natives neatly in place. In 1984, they even declared in the preamble of that so-called *“new”* Constitution that *“Almighty God”* brought their ancestors to this land and gave them this land as their own. In that preamble they also declared to pursue *“Christian values and civilized norms”* (The Constitution of the Republic of S.A.1984: 1) but continued to colonize the native inhabitants of our land. To violate the consciousness of the native South Africans they used the name of God as a seal for their oppressive land laws to keep the displacement of the native South Africans in place. To continue their occupation of the ancestral inheritances of the native South Africans they used principles like *“Christian values and civilized norms”* to distort the outlook and misdirect landless natives on the periphery.

Sarna argued that the king legally confiscated the land of Naboth because he was condemned as a blasphemer of God and the king (Sarna 1997:126). Being condemned for those *“capital charges”* the state declared him a *“nonperson,”* his descendants to be *“disinherited”* and his inheritance to be *“ownerless”* (Sarna 1997:126).

He used various examples from the application of criminal law to explain that Ahab was *acting “according to his legal rights”* when he confiscated Naboth’s land and caused his descendants to be landless citizens (Sarna 1997:126).

I disagree with Sarna’s reading that Ahab legally confiscated the land of Naboth for the story revealed that it was Ahab whom traditional law condemned for violating life

in peaceful coexistence. For he coveted his neighbour's land and attempted to trick him into betraying his covenant relation with his land. He became furious with and turned his back on his neighbour when he, voiced his covenant relationship with his God and refused to sell his land. He produced false accusations against his neighbour, murdered him and took his land in possession.

The story focused the fact that traditional law saw "Ahab" and "Naboth" as neighbours—no matter whether the one was "*the king of Samaria*" and the other "*a Jezreelite*." It also focused the fact that traditional law saw Ahab and Naboth as equals before the law – no matter if the king owned more than two land portions and his neighbour communally possessed only one land portion.

3.5.2 The illegal purchase of ancestral land

Andersen argued that Ahab the king of Israel legally concluded a land purchase transaction with Naboth the Jezreelite. He (Andersen) argued that commercial documents from the Ancient Near East guaranteed the ownership of the buyer of a land and prohibited the seller from dispossessing the buyer after they agreed on a price (Andersen 1965:58).

Those documents stated that the agreement bound both the contracting parties in a land purchase transaction. Those documents ended with the warning that the party who violates the agreement would be guilty of "*cursing the gods*" (Andersen 1965:58). If the violator of the agreement happened to be the seller, the deity would punish him and the buyer should legally confiscate his land.

Naboth, Andersen argued, initially agreed to sell his land to Ahab but later broke his agreement and the leaders of his city executed him for "*cursing the gods*." The letters that Jezebel wrote to the elders and nobles were to direct them in the case against Naboth to correct the injustice committed by Naboth. Hence, Ahab legally confiscated the land of Naboth the Jezreelite.

I disagree with Andersen's view that Ahab **legally confiscated** the land of Naboth. For Ahab requested to purchase a portion of family land, which Naboth under no circumstances could have agreed to sell to the king. The storyteller not even hinted that Naboth initially could have agreed to sell his family land, but emphatically stated that Naboth refused to sell, (v3, 4,6,15). He was also aware that for him to suggest, that Naboth should "*do with what is good in his own eyes*" was fundamentally evil. Naboth had no right even to consider doing what Yahweh had forbidden

From three accounts noted in the Old Testament, it indeed seems that *kings* were active in purchasing the land from subjects in their territory.

Firstly, king *David* requested to purchase a threshing floor that was located in Jerusalem from its owner, Araunah the Jebusite. He needed the threshing floor to build “*an altar for Yahweh*” on that place in that city (II Sam 24:24). Araunah gave his threshing floor to the king for that purpose and offered oxen, their yokes and threshing sledges as wood for the offering, (II Sam 24:22). David, however, insisted on paying for the threshing floor and the oxen and Araunah then accepted the amount of “*fifty shekels in silver*” (II Sam 24:24) as a payment for his threshing floor and the oxen.

Secondly, king *Omri* bought a mountain from Shemer because he wanted to build his new capital city on that strategic located place in his kingdom. Shemer gave up his mountain for that purpose and Omri paid him the amount of “*two talents of silver*” for the loss of his land (I Kings 16:24).

Both these land purchase transactions emphasized the fact that kings requested to buy land from people for a communal purpose. Both those land purchase transactions emphasized the situation that the seller voluntarily agreed to sell. Both those land purchase transactions mentioned that those willing buyers paid those willing sellers a specific amount in silver for the loss of their land.

None of these aspects were present in the transaction that Ahab, the king of Israel attempted to conclude with Naboth the Jezreelite.

Finally, king *Ahab* attempted to purchase Naboth’s land not for a common purpose but because it was strategically located “*nearby and next to his house*” to develop on it a “*vegetable garden for himself*”(v2). Naboth never agreed to sell his land because it was the ancestral inheritance of his family (v3). Ahab attempted to purchase Naboth’s land for silver at its valued prize but he failed to conclude a transaction with his neighbour because Naboth’s family was only the current utilizers of the land.

Israelite land laws allowed that an impoverished family could sell their land when they became “*so impoverished that they could not otherwise survive*” (Walsh 1996:318). Such a land purchase, however, was only temporary because the land should be returned to the family as soon as they paid their debt and should they fail to settle it, the affected land portion must be returned in the Year of Jubilee (Lev. 25:23-28).

Ahab, however, requested Naboth to commit a crime against his ancestors and his descendants and Yahweh, the true owner of the land. An agreement to sell their family land implied that the seller involved himself in removing the ancient landmarks of the ancestors (Prov.22: 28, 23:10-11).

Creditors should never permanently alienate the ancestral land of their debtors because God distributed his land among humankind and commanded that they should not be kept on the periphery of their land. The factor that determined the legality of a temporary land purchase arrangement was the wisdom that God gave to humankind. That divine provision implied that God determined that every landed family could be independent and that no human being should attempt to stand in the place of God.

Naboth was aware that the king was attempting to talk him into an illegal land transaction to dispossess his family of their communal possession and demote their descendants to a group of landless, homeless and unemployed citizens. He refused to involve himself into a land purchase because he was aware that by concluding an agreement he would give the king the right to displace them from their land and cancel their land rights irreversibly.

3.6 PROPHETIC PROTEST AGAINST LAND ALIENATION IN THE STORY OF NABOTH

3.6.1. Introductory note

Naboth introduced the prophetic protest against the alienation of his family land for in his answer he voiced their place before God. Taking an oath by the name of Yahweh, he voiced his family's option for Yahweh who gave to their ancestors the land and against Ahab who sought to alienate it from them and their descendants.

In I Kings, 21:17-29 Naboth's protest against the manner in which Ahab managed land affairs got its momentum and lead to a total condemnation of that king of Israel. Elijah took up and advanced the protest of Naboth and, revealing his religious identity again, he condemned the king of Israel for what he did to Naboth and to Yahweh, his God.

I agree with the view of Fohrer, who argued that Ahab had to hear all those condemnations because he removed the old tradition that protected *the land rights of families and introduced* the pro-Canaanite "*Staats und Königs recht*" (Fohrer 1968:74). Elijah, therefore, extensively condemned that king of Israel because the

king, in what he did to mislead Israel to worship foreign gods, extensively insulted Yahweh, the God of Israel.

Some Old Testament scholars argued that I Kings 21:19b-29 is a compilation of contributions by deuteronomistic authors (Gray 1970:443, Rehm 1979:211, De Vries 1984:275, Rofe 1978:94), who contributed critical evaluations of Ahab's manner of managing religious affairs in Israel. Those critics of Ahab's manner of management - these scholars argued - took a bold stand for a true faith in Yahweh, as the God of Israel, and against the corruption of the faith of God's people by the worship of "*other gods*" (v26).

These Old Testament scholars argued that I Kings 21-20-29 has a different focus than the story of the dispossession of the land of Naboth the Jezreelite by Ahab the king of Israel (I Kings 21:1-19). They also argued that the second part consists of materials that authors from a later time added to the story of the land of Naboth. The announcements of the prophet to Ahab displaced the issue of the dispossession of the land of Naboth from its center place on the stage. They divided this part into smaller parts that they attributed to authors of the time before the Babylonian exile until the time of the resettlement of the exiles in their land.

Having noted the divergent viewpoints, I shall respond to their viewpoint by focusing on the Khoi view that an event is a part of a whole ongoing series of events. Seen from this perspective it is possible to discern between events that took place in the same place but involved earlier and later generations. The fact remains that an event is a part in a series of events and could be compared with but not separated from former and later events that took place in the same living space.

I shall debate the issue in this section in three parts as follows: Naboth voices his protest; Elijah advances Naboth's protest and a prophetic protest for the restoration of spatial order.

3.6.2 Naboth voices his protest

Gray pointed out that Naboth by using the exclamation *הלילה* expressed his absolute disgust in Ahab's request to barter or sell his land to him, because such a transaction would be "*wrong in the eyes of God*" (Gray 1970: 439).

Seebass agreed with Gray and emphasized the fact that the family נהלה of Naboth placed him under a “*religious law*” to keep possession of their land and refrain from violating his obedience to Yahweh and the ancestors, (Seebass 1974:477).

Rehm agreed that Naboth refused to alienate his inheritance because of Yahweh, his God, and emphasized the point that he refused because his ancestors are resting in the soil of that land portion (Rehm 1979:209).

Naboth *protested* against the confiscation of his land because Ahab violated the restriction that the tradition with regard to the possession of a נהלה placed on his authority. Naboth voiced the protest against the king of Israel to alienate his family land and caused them to be landless, using the traditional land law as point of departure.

The Jezreelite pronounced *his disassociation* with the king on the point that he should do what is good in his own eyes and his attachment to the ancestors. He explicitly made it clear to Ahab that he was aware of the limitations on the king’s authority when it came to issues of land ownership. He was aware that Ahab had private land rights in Jezreel, but he also was aware that he had no absolute authority to enforce his will on him.

Hence, in his protest Naboth voiced *his belief in God* and emphasized the relationship of the unity of his family with their ancestors who lived on and from what they produced on their allotment according to traditional land laws. They believed that those land laws were sacred because Yahweh, their God, is the factual owner of all the land. They believed that those laws were legally binding because they traditionally belonged to their ancestors who are resting in the soil. They were free Jezreelites, who lived under the rule of the king, but according to the land traditions of the ancestors. Unmoved by Ahab’s royal authority, Naboth, voicing his family’s genuine right to live on and from the soil of their ancestral land, took a prophetic stand. He defied Ahab’s suggestion that he should give up both his religious and spatial identity and betray both his family ancestors and descendants.

Ahab suggested that Naboth should “*do what is good in his own eyes*” (v2) and exchange his land for either “a better vineyard” or to sell it for silver. Naboth, however, vowed that he would never do what is good in his own eyes because to do such a thing is evil in the sight of Yahweh. Ahab attempted to make Naboth believe that to do what is good in their own eyes would be a real estimation of the value of

their land. Naboth, however, stood firm and, rejecting the king's offer did not even consider the material value of their land. `

By taking the oath in the name of Yahweh, Naboth placed himself under the judgment of Yahweh. He consciously decided to obey Yahweh, the God of Israel and to disobey Ahab the king Israel. By taking *a stand for Yahweh*, he acknowledged the sovereignty of Yahweh over him and his family. Should they ever break the oath, which he took in Yahweh's name and enslave his generation and the future generations to the throne, Yahweh should punish them.

Naboth turned down Ahab's suggestion that he should forsake the custom of the inalienability of land, the viewpoint that Yahweh gave the land to his ancestors and accept from his (Ahab's) hands a better land grant or as recompense, an amount of silver from the royal coffers. Naboth, understanding the religious implications of Ahab's suggestion, refused to forsake his ancestral custom and vowed to honor and never commit blasphemy against Yahweh and his ancestors. Taking an oath by the name of Yahweh not to alienate his land, he stated his decision to keep this commandment of Yahweh and never transgress any part of it (Dommershausen 1980:410).

By his family's presence on their land and his pronouncement of the name of Yahweh in the presence of the king of Israel, Naboth publicly voiced his *confession of Yahweh*, as the sovereign God in the land. Therewith he expressed their trust in Yahweh as the true God in the land and denounced Ahab's suggestion that he should give up his trust in Yahweh and exchange him for gods who can neither hear nor help even if they all would loudly call on their names, (I Kings 18:29).

Facing those false witnesses in the case of the crown against him, Naboth said nothing when they accused him of blasphemy against God and the king. He *remained silent* because he was aware that they were indoctrinated by Ahab to lie in the people's court at the city gate of Jezreel. Naboth said nothing when the elders and the nobles of his city condemned him and brought him outside his city where the people of his city stoned him. When he faced his executioners, Naboth remained silent because he knew that Yahweh heard his protest against the dispossession of his land and the accusations of those witnesses.

3.6.3 Elijah advances Naboth's protest

Gray argued that the prophet Elijah also entered this protest "*as usual*" with "*dramatic suddenness*" (Gray 1970:442). Indeed! Because that prophet's "sudden" appearance in that land drama emphasized his immediate obedience when and where to Yahweh commanded him to go. His appearance in the drama showed that the protest against the dispossession of Naboth land did not end with Naboth and "*his sons*" (II Kings 9:26) being stoned. Because Yahweh, the God of Naboth, never ran out of able representatives to continue his demand for the restoration of land that was alienated from the people whom he blessed with land.

Thus, because Ahab murdered Naboth, Elijah had "*to go down*" from where he dwelt to advance the protest against Ahab "*the king of Israel*" who was "*in the vineyard of Naboth*" (v18). Moreover, Ahab seemingly expected (v20) that "*his enemy*" (Elijah) would find him again (v20). He seemingly was aware that he murdered a spokesperson of Yahweh and invaded land that belonged to Yahweh. Viewed from the point that Ahab expected that Elijah would interfere again, the reappearance of that prophet seemed to be indeed "*as usual*" and less "*dramatically sudden.*"

Welten phrased the encounter between king and prophet accurately. For he pointed out that, the prophet confronted the king in the vineyard before witnesses (II Kings 9:25), now that he had confiscated the land, (Welten 1973:24). The element of accuracy in that encounter between prophet and king focused the faithfulness of Yahweh for the sake of his servant. For being faithfully present, Yahweh commanded his prophet to continue Naboth's protest against the alienation of his land on that specific time and from that place.

I disagree with De Vries's view that the "*transcendental element*" in the land dispute emerged "*for the first time*" when the prophet appeared on the scene (De Vries 1985:257).

For Elijah only appeared on the scene after Naboth, by living on and from what his land yielded, illustrated his belief in the faithfulness of God. Taking an oath in the name of Yahweh, when Ahab sought to alienate his land, Naboth voiced his belief in the faithful presence of Yahweh to protect his land rights. Thus, Ahab murdered and dispossessed Naboth because he (Naboth) lived by God's command on and from the land and Elijah intervened in the land dispute because of God's command.

Hence, on Yahweh's command Elijah "*came down*" (from outside) on Ahab because he (Ahab) illegally occupied the vineyard of Naboth. Coming down on Ahab for

being on the wrong side of justice, Elijah advanced Naboth's protest against the dispossession of his portion of the land. In so doing, the prophet of Yahweh took a stand because of his honour for Yahweh, the God of Israel and against Ahab, the king of Israel.

Elijah "*came down on*" (confronted) Ahab because of a specific word from Yahweh that was meant for the ears of that king of Israel. The prophet highlighted in that word from Yahweh to Ahab, Naboth's innocence on the accusations of blasphemy against God and the king. In that word of Yahweh Elijah held together – as Seebass phrased it - the "*Widersinn im Tatbestand*" and focused Ahab's guilt in terms of both crimes (Seebass 1974:482). Confronting Ahab, the king of Israel, for illegally occupying Naboth's land, the prophet indeed "*stepped into the place of*" that victim (Rofé 1988:94).

The prophet's announcement to Ahab that the same fate that Naboth had suffered would befall on him (Welten 1973:24), focused on Yahweh's demand for justice. Ahab by being "the king of Israel" and "*in the vineyard of Naboth*" put himself before Yahweh to be judged by his "*eigenen Gerechtigkeit*" on that place (Seebass. 1974:482).

Naboth was aware that he had to keep possession of his family land because of their place before Yahweh and their position as free Jezreelites. Ahab was aware that Naboth refused to alienate his land to him because of his (Naboth's) place before Yahweh but he put him before the people to be judged and condemned.

Thus Ahab, being "*in the vineyard of Naboth*" (v18), illegally occupied the land that Yahweh gave to Naboth's ancestors. As for Naboth, his blood on the field outside the walls of Jezreel was a testimony of his innocence before Yahweh. His blood spilled on the soil outside the wall of his ancestral city appealed to Yahweh to hear his case. Elijah, consequently, revealed to Ahab that Yahweh heard Naboth's appeal and found him (the king) guilty on the charges of murder and the illegal occupation of land.

3.6.4 A prophetic bearing for spatial order

Gray argued that I Kings 21:20-29 consists of various views on the "*judgment*" (Gray 1970:442) on Ahab the king of Israel by Yahweh the God of Israel and its "*fulfillment*" in due time (Gray 1970:443).

The prophetic announcements to Ahab indeed consist of words and actions of judgment and fulfillment in the living space of Israel. However, because of the

dynamic enterprise of the judgment and fulfillment, the interpreters of that word of God to Ahab indeed would have experienced it as negative in purpose and outcome (fulfillment) for Ahab's house and positive in its outcome for the people of Yahweh (Israel).

Welten perceived the position of Naboth in "*Novelle*" (I Kings 21:1-20a) as a type of person who held fast to the "*gottgewollten Ordnung des Bodenrechts*" (Welten 1973:31). He identified Elijah as a prophet who took a firm stand to proclaim the "*alte Gottersrecht*" for the sake of Israelites whom the king dispossessed of their ancestral land portions, (Welten 1973:32).

Welten emphasized the significance of God's word in his reflection on both Naboth's and Elijah's awareness of their place before God. Naboth rejected Ahab's proposal that he should give up the word of God *in* exchange for the word of the king and the experience of being blessed with land in exchange for the suffering of being landless. Elijah actualized the word of God and in coming down with the word of Yahweh on Ahab emphasized "*alte Gottersrecht*" in the land dispute between king and subject.

Napier made the point that Elijah condemned in the 9th century BC the "*lust for adjacent land*" (Napier 1976:7). Elijah's successors in the 10th century BC did the same because they understood the natural attachment of those landed people to their land. Being engaged in the struggle for the restitution of the land of the victims, prophets like Isaiah and Micah (see Isaiah 5:1-7, Micah 2:1-2) indeed "*passionately*" voiced the divine appeal for "*justice and righteousness*" (Napier 1976:8).

Comparing that situation – as he phrased it - with "*our times and kingdom*," Napier argued that "*we*" used the same "*name of Yahweh to do away with*" adjacent peoples and seize their inheritances (Napier 1976:8).

He pointed out the contrasting places before God of human beings who were dispossessed of their land and those who occupy their dispossessed land portions in "*our times*" despite the fact that they called on the "*same name of God*" (Napier 1976:8). This problem reveals either a dual position of God in, or confusion with regard to the place of God, because of the ensuing spatial disorder. Thus, "*if the church is silent*" in our times should be rephrased: "*when the church falls silent*" (Napier 1976:8)- two questions might emerge. These two questions could be: On whose side is she and whose word occupies her mind on the place where she is?

Würtwein tabled at the end of his analysis on the "*Naboth Novelle*" the question "*Schweigt Jahwe, der Gott des Rechts, zu solchem Utrecht*" (Würtwein 1984:251). He

answered his own question that Yahweh was not silent because he intervened “*mit einem strengen Gericht*” and revealed to Ahab the end of his reign (Würtwein 1984:252).

Yahweh indeed was never silent but he concealed in his silence the end of Ahab’s reign so that Ahab, seemingly unchallenged, kept the disorder in place. Elijah came unchallenged down on Ahab, his offspring and Jezebel, his wife with the word of Yahweh.

Oeming argued that the issue in the story of the land of Naboth is the question of God’s place in the history (Oeming 1986:382) of humankind because of the relationship of people with power (Oeming 1986:377). Because of the misuse of their power by “*den Mächtigeren*” to eliminate their opponents, critics voiced their doubt and asked, *Does God exist?* (Oeming 1986:381). The “*prophetische Nabothversion*” (v20-29) gave the answer to this question and emphasized the point that God does exist. God managed the time of the powerful oppressor and brought him to book with his “*wirkungsmächtigen Gerichtswort*” (Oeming 1986:381).

I agree with Oeming, with respect to his view on the dynamic character of the word of God, for words uttered in doubt and words of admonition can grow together to a powerful word of judgement.

It is in line with the Khoi reflection, namely, that peaceful coexistence among human beings in the same living space is a divine arrangement for spatial order. It reminds of the Khoi story of Heitsi Eibib and his mother, who shared the journey through time. God punished the violator of spatial order by putting him down on a spot and kept on with his words of judgment that he (the violator) should grow up. Hence, little boys who raped the one who carried him on the back should be put down and the word of judgement should come down on him that he could grow up. In fact, in the Khoi reflection on spatial order, it runs against the order of the Divine Provider of wisdom that her receivers should outgrow her.

God put all the blame for disorder in the land on Ahab, because he remained “*the responsible authority*” (Rofé 1988: 94). He allowed Jezebel to write those letters in his name and sealed them with his seal and therewith sealed – as Rofé phrased it - “*implicitly and concomitantly,*” (Rofé 1988: 94) his own guilt and punishment.

God remained opposed to disorder but patiently directed Ahab to perceive his guilt in the light of the guilt of other kings of Israel before his time (v22). God being always in favour of order, patiently directed Ahab to perceive himself as being totally out of

line with Naboth's innocence before him. For Naboth adhered to God's guidelines for life in peaceful coexistence and honoured God for always being present as the One who carried the ancestors on the back. Ahab failed to adhere to God's guidelines and insulted him by doing what was an evil in his sight (I Kings 21:21,25).

The restoration of order in Israel correctly started with the word of God to Ahab and his house, delivered by Elijah who, standing in the place of the victim, came down on that king with the word of God. As Nelson correctly phrased the correction of Ahab by Yahweh – Ahab “*entered*” that confrontation because of his obedience to Jezebel, and “*left*” it because of his obedience to the word of God through Elijah (Nelson 1987:143). In v21 the words of the messenger (Elijah) indeed “*merged*” with the word of the Sender (God) and with the word of the “narrator” in v25. Together these words of God to Ahab for the restoration of order merged to “*a single Deuteronomistic chorus*” that denounced him because of the evil he did and pronounced the restitution of the order (Nelson 1987:143).

3.7 CONCLUSION

Firstly, in the part regarding the identity of persons in the story of Naboth's land (3.2.), I debated respectively the identity of individuals (3.2.1) and of groups (3.2.2) who lived in Jezreel city.

The personal identities of four individuals emerged from the story of the land of Naboth. These four persons were: Naboth the Jezreelite, Ahab, the king of Samaria, Jezebel, his wife and Elijah, the Tishbite.

Naboth, the Jezreelite (3.2.1.1) was a natural Jezreelite because he was born and grew up in the city of Jezreel and lived with his family on and from their ancestral land portion. Outsiders knew him as “*Naboth the Jezreelite*” but insiders (natural Jezreelites) knew him as just: “*Naboth.*” He became as “*adjacent person*” in Jezreel because he refused to be displaced from his ancestral land or sell his land to Ahab. He preferred to live side by side while, sharing the living space in Jezreel with his neighbours (Ahab the king from Samaria) and gave his life to protect his land rights.

Ahab, the king of Samaria (3.2.1.2), despite the fact that he had good international relationships, was less fortunate on local and personal levels. He disliked the limitations that traditional land law imposed on his authority as king, because he sought to impose his will on his neighbours in Jezreel. He carried the unusual

identification, the king of Samaria, because Samaria was his “*basis of power*” (Gray 1970:438).

The things that he did to violate the human dignity of his subjects witnessed against his name אָחָב. For he never was to them like a brother (אָח) and like a father (אָב).

Jezebel, his wife, (3.3.1.3), was his closest associate in his land dispute with Naboth the Jezreelite. She was a strong-minded person who liked to be in control of a situation and not to be obstructed in her role as Ahab’s associate. As a princess who grew up in the authoritarian atmosphere of a Phoenician royal household, she despised the limitation on Ahab’s royal authority. As Ahab’s most loyal supporter, she encouraged him to impose his will on Naboth and confiscate his family land. Ahab was the architect of his policy of the Canaanization of the people of Israel. Jezebel, his wife, was on the spot and directly involved in managing his policy.

Elijah the Tishbite (3.2.1.4) was a prophet of Yahweh who was not obstructed from intervening in that land dispute, because of official responsibilities at a religious sanctuary or moral responsibilities towards the throne in Samaria. He condemned Ahab for the murder of Naboth and the confiscation of Naboth’s land and thereby stepped in the place of the victims to advance their case against the dispossession of their ancestral land.

The personal identities of groups in the story form the background for the land dispute. Three groups of Jezreelites involved themselves in the case of the throne against Naboth. These three groups were the elders, the nobles and the people of Jezreel city.

The elders (3.2.2.1) and *the nobles* (3.2.2.2) of Jezreel were the local leaders and fellow citizens of Naboth. They failed to execute justice in the city gate of Jezreel, because they allowed Ahab to corrupt their judgement in the case of the throne against Naboth. They forsook their positions of trust and betrayed the trust that the people of Jezreel had put in them.

The people (3.2.2.3) of Jezreel were the common citizens who were used to be followers and be misdirected by their influential and wealthy leaders. Being used to listen those peripheral citizens were blatantly misinformed by their literate leaders and participated in the condemnation and subsequent execution of the family of their fellow citizen Naboth.

Secondly, on the issue of living space in story of Naboth's land (3.3). I debated the significance of the city of Jezreel as physical (3.3.1) and cultural living space (3.3.2). The city of Jezreel was *the physical living space* of the family of Naboth the Jezreelite. They shared that living space with Ahab the king of Samaria, who at times resided in his palace next to and nearby their land portion.

The family of Naboth lived on and from their land that provided to them food and shelter and a physical frame of reference i.e. an awareness of space. For to them the city of Jezreel was their legal living space that the tribal ancestors gave to Issachar, their ancestor, when they distributed the land.

They defended their ancestral land rights and dramatically lost both their lives and their land to Ahab who owned two palaces (I Kings 20:43, 21:1,4) and more than one portion of land (v1, 2, 6) but still desired and confiscated their only land portion.

Jezreel city was *the cultural living space* of the family of Naboth. That family, living on their ancestral inheritance next to Ahab's palace, shared their cultural living space with "the king of Samaria."

Ahab however developed a higher regard for his own culture and a disregard for that of his neighbours because he became intolerant with them being on the adjacent land. Because they refused to sell their cultural living space Ahab reacted in a hateful manner.

Thirdly, with regard to the issue of land ownership in the story of the land of Naboth (3.4), I debated, land as a communal possession (3.4.1) and land as private property (3.4.2).

The viewpoint on land as *the communal possession* (3.4.1) provided protection for the religious identity of Naboth and his family. It was a portion of land on which they could display they place before Yahweh, their God and differ from the viewpoint of their royal neighbours if they liked. The communal possession of Naboth also protected the solidarity of their ancestral. Because they were still in possession of their land, they could stand together on the land in the soil of which their ancestors were resting. The communal possession of Naboth's family protected their identity as free Jezreelites. Their land portion provided for them and their descendants a place to live (shelter), a place to work (employment) and a place to rest (retirement). Being independent and self-employed farmers, they did not need to be dependent on Ahab or to be beggars at his doorstep.

Ahab, however, desired to extend his palace estate that was located next to and near Naboth's family land. His view was that he could exchange Naboth's land for another or purchased for silver and make it part of his *privately owned property* (3.4.2 in Jezreel. He was aware that the land his neighbours was an ancestral inheritance and should therefore not be alienated. He, however, rejected the reality that Naboth's viewpoint on land ownership should exist side-by-side with his viewpoint and sought to annex their land to his palace estate. Ahab, because of his greed for more land, nullified the need of Naboth's family to coexist peacefully on their communal possession next to the royal estate.

Fourthly, on the issue of land acquisition in the story of Naboth's land (3.5), I debated the problem of the forced displacement from (3.5.1) and the illegal purchase of ancestral land (3.5.2).

The "*Jezreel event*" constituted an incursion into the "*bucolic oasis*" of Naboth's family by Ahab the king of Samaria. The Jezreel event repeats itself over many decades and that exists on many places in all the Third World countries, including South Africa.

The displacement (3.5.1.) of natives from and the occupation of their land constituted outside "*aggression against the psyche*" of landless natives. Ahab rejected the reality that because of traditional law he should be the neighbour of Naboth and that traditional law regarded his dignity as human being to be equal to that of Naboth.

The "*Jezreel event*" constituted an illegal purchase of the land of natives because they become people displaced from their inheritance to the periphery.

I disagree with Andersen's view that Ahab legally confiscated the land of Naboth. Ahab denied Naboth's family their historical land rights and requested the purchase of their land portion for silver. Naboth refused to adhere to Ahab's suggestion that he should "*do what is good in his own eyes*" because it was fundamentally evil to do what God forbade them

Finally, in the prophetic protest against land alienation in the story of Naboth's land (3.6), I debated Naboth voicing his protest (3.6.2) and Elijah advancing Naboth's protest (3.6.3) as a prophetic bearing for spatial order (3.6.4).

The indigenous family, refusing to sell their land to the foreign powers therewith *took a prophetic stand* on the basis of their ancestral land rights and obstructed them (the foreign powers) from executing an injustice from the point of view of God. That they remained silent when they were falsely accused of blasphemy against God and the

state authority (the king), condemned before the people and executed outside the walls of their ancestral city, can be seen as moments of prophetic protest because of the injustice committed to acquire the ancestral land portions of defenceless indigenous citizens. The silent protest of those defenceless citizens marked their awareness that God witnessed their innocence and condemned the injustices committed in their ancestral living space.

The prophet, *stepping into the place* of the victims of illegal land acquisition, announced to the criminals that God is aware of crimes of murder and the illegal acquisition of land. God also is not ignorant of who factually caused and should be punished for those crimes committed against the innocent and defenceless possessors of ancestral land portions. The prophet, by stepping into the place of the victims of land dispossession, publicly acted as the witness of the God of the innocent and defenceless Naboths (dispossessed and displaced indigenous inhabitants) and, therewith, pronounced that their God saw their blood and heard their pleas of being falsely accused and innocently condemned because of the greed of people in powerful positions.

The prophet announced that *God is aware* that those powerful people who caused the extensive spatial disorder in the living spaces of humankind are not unaware of the injustices that they executed against fellow human beings and the insults that they levelled against God the Creator of humankind and the created living space. They knowingly “sold themselves to do what is evil in the sight of Yahweh.”(v20, 25) and excelled in doing what is evil in the perspective of God. They excelled in executing “*kingship*” (v7) and failed to execute justice and insulted the human dignity of fellow citizens but failed to protect the subjects in their territories against illegal dispossession of and displacement from the land portions that God allotted to their ancestors.

He announced that the reality that those people in power failed to execute justice in their living spaces, did obstruct God from demanding and executing justice. He pronounced that God managed time and space, for in his own time God will restore the spatial order. He will execute justice and remove the powers of spatial disorder from their positions. Those people who kept structures of *spatial disorder* in place will not be allowed to participate in the restoration of the spatial order.

Having concluded my contribution on the debate on the land of Naboth, I shall read the story of the land of Naboth in the following chapter from the position of displaced Khoi.

THE DISPERSION OF THE LAND OF NABOTH

II KINGS 21:1-31

AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE

In my contribution to the *Journal of Theological Interpretation of the Bible* (2013) regarding the "Dispersal of the Land of Naboth" in the twentieth century, I looked mainly at the "dispersal of the land of Naboth" pointed from those years until today. I did not want to say that I have seen and been said to be heard that I shall have a story to tell. Reading the story of Naboth's Vineyard, I made use of the work of Die Bybel (1915) and Elie M'kandawire (1961). Regarding the story of Naboth's Vineyard, I positioned myself to trace the "dispersal of the land of Naboth" as a Khoi described a "dispersal of the land of Naboth" in their own identity in phrase and retell the story.

This chapter is an *interpretation* of "Africanised Land of Naboth" whose *original land* is occupied by people of European origin. It is a story of people whose opinions regarding land issues were never heard. It is an *interpretation by peripheral people* whose *original land* is the *creation of God* were violated until recently when they were acknowledged on this part on our continent. I shall recount the story of "Naboth's Vineyard" from the position of a person who is in every sense a "displaced person" whose *original land* is violated. I have now arrived at the point to make a contribution to the *decolonisation* of the story of Naboth's land from the perspective of a Khoi displaced person whose *original land* is violated. I shall now read the story of Naboth's land to her periphery.

I Kings 21 is a focus on the confrontation between the king of Israel and the God of Israel, the God of Naboth. The dispersion of the sacred land of Naboth is

Chapter Four

THE DISPOSSESSION OF THE LAND OF NABOTH THE JEZREELITE (I KINGS 21:1-29)

4.1 INTRODUCTORY NOTE

In my contribution to the theological debate I listened intently to hear what Old Testament scholars said regarding the “*Vineyard of Naboth*” since the second half of the twentieth century. I looked intently to see the pictures of Naboth’s Vineyard that they painted from those years until today. I am aware that much have been published to be seen and been said to be heard, that I shall have to shout to make myself audible.

Reading the story of Naboth’s Vineyard, I made use of Biblia Stuttgartensia (1967/67), Die Bybel (1955) and Elob Mîs (1966). Reading from these *translations* of story of Naboth’s Vineyard, I positioned myself to track the spoor of the story closely. Tracking the spoor of the story of Naboth as a Khoi defines that the reader should look and listen intently to picture and retell the story.

This chapter is *an interpretation* of “*Naboth’s Vineyard*” from the perspective of a Khoi whose *ancestral land* is occupied by people of European origin. It is an interpretation by people whose opinions regarding land issues were never needed and, therefore, never heard. It is an interpretation *by peripheral people* whose attempts to display their *dignity as the creations of God* were violated until recently when *also their right to be heard* was acknowledged on this part on our continent. I shall interpret the story of “*Naboth’s Vineyard*” from the position of a person who is in every sense a peripheral because of the violation of the *spatial identity* of the Khoi, which needs to be restored.

I have now arrived at the point to make a contribution to *the theological understanding* of the story of Naboth’s land from the perspective of a Khoi displaced from his ancestral land to her periphery.

I Kings 21 is a focus on the confrontation between *the king of Israel and the prophet of Yahweh*, the God of Israel. The dispossession of the ancestral land of Naboth the

Jezreelite by Ahab the king of Samaria prepare the scene for the confrontation between the prophet and the king in Jezreel.

The confrontation between the prophet of Yahweh and Ahab the king of Israel took place on Naboth's *portion of family land* (נַחֲלֵה) in Naboth's *ancestral city, Jezreel* (God plants).

Ahab's attempt to purchase and annex the land next to his palace defined *his alienation from Yahweh* (God) and His land. Naboth's confession of Yahweh, as God, defined *his family's rootedness* to their portion of God's land.

The king of Samaria, Ahab, *freely associated* with Jezebel (a non-Israelite) but failed to do be a brother (אָח) to his neighbour (Naboth) and to be a father (אָב) to Naboth's family (Israelites). Elijah, the Tishbite, *freely associated* with Israelites who publicly confess Yahweh, as God and *disassociated* himself from Israelites (like Ahab) who abandoned what Yahweh commanded.

The king of Israel violated justice in the city of Jezreel and caused widespread disorder (injustice) in Israel from Samaria, his capital city. To restore order (justice) in the land, Yahweh commanded his prophet Elijah to announce, on His behalf, that Ahab's house would be uprooted and burned off from the face of the land.

The story of Naboth's land consists of two different parts that focused on the attachment of people to land in Israel. The first part (v1-16) is "*Ereignis in Form einer Novelle*" and the second part (v17ff) is a prophetic "*Gottesreden*" (Würthwein 1984:247) that Elijah uttered, on behalf of Yahweh, to condemn Ahab, the king of Israel. The words of Elijah, on behalf of Yahweh, reflected the *deuteronomistic prophetic words*, which we found in the Book of the Kings, and preceding parts – especially Deuteronomy - that focused on the attachment of Israel to the land that Yahweh promised and gave them as an inheritance.

They should keep the gift (land) from God in trust "*from generation to generation*" and express in that manner a "*covenant relation*" with it (Brueggemann 1977:93).

The story of Naboth's land highlights the fact that Israelites because of their "*covenant relation*" with the land, should separate them from the foreign nations, however "*nicht durch seine qualitas*" but because of their covenant with Yahweh (Seebass 1977:233).

Against this background it is save to assume that “*land is (indeed) the context within which humankind’s (Israel’s) obedience to God (Yahweh) is tested or measured*” (Bosman 2004:2).

I Kings 21 also brought into focus that the land is Yahweh’s land and for that reason could not be exchanged for another land or sold for silver. Humankind (Israel) can only utilize their family land portions and in times of economical crises give it for a limited time to a neighbour. For as soon as their debt is paid their land portion should be returned to them and must be return to the family in the Year of the Jubilee, because the land is holy to Yahweh and they are only *תושבים וגרים* (strangers and residents) in Yahweh’s land (Lev. 25:23,25). Yahweh is and remains the Owner of the land and only He decides who should be the trustees of His land (Maarsingh 1974:232) because the land is holy ad those to whom he entrust His land should not defile it.

Ahab, *the king of Samaria*, said to Naboth the Jezreelite, his neighbour, that he need to uproot the vines on the land adjacent to his palace in Jezreel so that the land should become the royal *vegetable garden* in Jezreel. The undertone of Ahab’s intention with Naboth’s family *נחלה* echoes the struggle of Israel to preserve their religious identity against harmful influences from outside and within their living space. In his reflections on land in the Holiness Code the author warned “*the strangers and residents*” (Israel) on God’s land are explicitly that they must not defile the land (her) so that she would not spit them out (Lev. 18:25) and they should “*perish among the nations*” (Lev. 26:38). .

I shall interpret the story of the dispossession of the land of Naboth the Jezreelite, using *six divisions* in order to illustrate *six distinct events* in the story. I shall utilize the rootedness of the stories of *Heitsi Eibib* in the Khoi reflection on land, to argue for the importance of reading I Kings 21 from the position of a displaced Khoi.

The first event (v1) opens the story and encapsulates the physical and cultural living space of Naboth the Jezreelite. I shall focus in this event, *the introduction to the story of Naboth’s land* (4.1), on, the *introductory phrase* (4.1.1) and the *introductory note*, (4.1.2).

The second event (v2-7) highlights the conflict between Ahab and Naboth over Naboth’s land. I shall interpret the event of the land dispute, under the caption: *Naboth obstructs Ahab from dispossessing his land portion* (4.2). Under this caption, I shall focus the

distinct contributions of people to the dispute in their living space under three subsections. The three parts show the following steps, *Ahab requests to acquire Naboth's land* (4.2.1), *Naboth refuses to alienate his land* (4.2.2), and *Ahab withdraws to his land* (4.2.3).

The third event (v8-16) focuses on: Ahab takes Naboth's land in possession (4.3). I shall focus in this event on, Ahab's *conspiracy against Naboth* (4.3.1), Naboth's *execution by Ahab* (4.3.2) and Ahab's *invasion of Naboth's land* (4.3.3). The fourth event (v17-22) focuses on, Elijah's advances Naboth's protest (4.4). I shall interpret the event of the advancement of Naboth's protest, under the following two captions: *Articulating God's location in the protest* (4.4.1.) and: *demonstrating God's protest against spatial disorder* (4.4.2.).

The fifth event (v23-26) focuses on: *Elaborations on God's protest against spatial disorder* (4.5.).

The final event (v27-29) focuses on: *God's demand for spatial order* (4.6).

4.2 THE INTRODUCTION TO THE STORY OF NABOTH'S LAND (I Kings 21:1)

In Khoi storytelling the storyteller started his stories either with a name that could be the name of Heitsi Eibib or that of a relative or an opponent of his family or people. From that point of departure, the storyteller continued to share the rest of his story with his listeners. The listeners know that the name functions as the introduction of the story and understand its relatedness to other stories in the same living space. In addition, they also know that the name of either Heitsi Eibib or his relative or rival implies the standing of people who share the same living space.

The first event of the story of the land of Naboth constitutes a background that in the first place appeals to the listeners and focuses their attention on the story that the storyteller was about to share with them. In the second place it brings into focus the spatial identity of Naboth the Jezreelite i.e. the natural attachment of Naboth to a specific portion of land and a specific place.

4.2.1 The introductory phrase

Other than the stories of the Khoi people about Heitsi Eibib, starts the biblical story of the dispossession of the land of Naboth with an introductory phrase By means of the vague introductory phrase: *ויהי אחר הדברים האלה*, the Hebrew narrator appealed to his listeners to connect his story with other stories of the same trend.

An analysis of the meaning and function of the introductory phrase shows that it opens the door to the understanding of the story. The Hebrew expression: *ויהי* (*and it happened*) is the waw consecutive, with the shortened form of the Qal imperfect of *היה* which means, *to be; exist; to come into being, to happen* (Bernhardt 1978:373) or as Amsler puts it: *“werden, wirken, geschehen, and sich verhalten”* (Amsler 1984:478).

Contributive to the meaning and function of *ויהי* is its correspondence with the particle *אחר* (after).

Helfmeyer, commenting on the meaning of *אחר* explains that it *“is used to express a temporal succession without implying any concrete relationship between what comes first and what follows”* (Helfmeyer 1977:204). *אחר* denotes *“temporal succession”* with respect to the *“relationship between an ancestor of a tribe or clan and his descendants”* (Helfmeyer 1977:204). Furthermore *אחר* also has an *“exclusively local meaning”* (Helfmeyer 1977:204), namely that it also *“without a more precise statement of the relationship between what precedes and what follows, refers to spatial sequence”* (Helfmeyer 1977:204). Finally *אחר* denotes the conscious interaction of people in motion in the same place and time to achieve a specific goal. See in this respect, for example, the application of *אחר* in Ruth 2:9, I Sam.17: 35, I Kings 20:19 and II Kings 4:30.

Also contributive to the meaning and function of *ויהי* is its correspondence with *האלה הדברים*. The noun, *הדברים* and the demonstrative pronoun, *האלה* are in the plural and have the definite article, *ה* that vaguely defines the time and event.

The phrase *“and it happened after these events”* is an *“editorial transition”* (De Vries 1985:254) to the story and should not be placed after I Kings 19 – as Würtwein suggested - because it does not link easily with the Elijah stories (I Kings 17-19). It indeed looks

“*superficially neater*”- as Walsh argued – to place I Kings 21 after I Kings 19 because of the prominent place of Jezebel and Elijah, the Tishbite. The superficial standing of a story with other stories should not cause its removal from one to another place.

The Hebrew introductory phrase should remain in its place because it continues the stories of Ahab’s standing with the people with whom he shared the living space of Israel. For example in I Kings 20 he had cut a covenant with his enemy, who intended to invade the land but in I Kings 21 failed in live in harmony with his neighbours, with whom he shared the land.

4.2.2 The introductory note

The first event focused on the personal and spatial identity of “*Naboth the Jezreelite*” that is contained in the introduction to the story of the dispossession of his land. In this regard, the opening of the biblical story corresponds with the name *Heitsi Eibib*, for example, in Khoi story telling.

The personal identity, “*Naboth*,” derived from the noun תְּנוּבָה (produce or fruit), hints that he belonged to the living space of the city of Jezreel as the fruit of the trees that grew in its soil. Gray claims that the name “*Naboth*” is derived from the Arabic concept “*nabata*” (to grow), which was the pet name of a person who carried that name in Jezreel city.

I regard the name “*Naboth*” as the epithet of the family, instead of the name of the individual who spoke on behalf of his family in their land dispute with the king. Seen from this viewpoint the name “*Naboth*” denoted the family roots of the spokesperson and that the story is about the dispossession of the land of a family.

The spatial identification, “*the Jezreelite*” denotes that Naboth and his family were born and lived in the city of Jezreel. They were Jezreelites who continuously lived in and represented an authentic viewpoint of the history of their city. In this sense the city could be called “*Naboth’s city*”(v8, 11), namely, the place to which they were naturally attached.

I argue that “*Naboth*” was not the name of an unknown citizen – as Würtwein argued (1984:248), but the identity of a well-known family of the city of Jezreel. In addition I must point out that *Elob Mis* focuses on the spatial identity of that family because it

consequently refers to Ahab's rival in the dispute as, *Jezreels-//êib*" (the man from Jezreel). It is important to note that the name of the city is correctly spelled "*Jezreels*" i.e. with the s-consonant at the end. It is because the birthplace of an individual is thought of as his/her mother that gave birth to him/her as a member of his/her family group. The concept *//êib* denotes that the individual to whom she gave birth and who was the spokesperson of the family is thought of as a male person. Jezreel city was the mother of the family of Naboth because being in her was to the family to be naturally attached to her as living space. She provided to them as a family a living space like a mother provided to her baby food and oxygen through her own blood.

Furthermore, the family of Naboth identified themselves in a unique manner with the soil of the city of Jezreel. The bond of Naboth's family with the soil of the city is encapsulated in their bond with their כרם (a vineyard). The "*vineyard of Naboth*" described their portion as cultivated land i.e. גן (a garden) which that family tilled and whose vines they pruned and cared for. It was not a portion of land that was owned by them but left to remain fallow from season to season but land to the cultivation of which they dedicated themselves and on which they made a living.

They belonged to that land portion as much as the land belonged to them because the land secured to them also a place of employment at home and not away from home. Their sense of belonging to their land is summed up in the Hebrew verb הִיָּה (to be, exist) and the preposition לְ (to, of) prefixed to "*Naboth the Jezreelite*." Naboth was a landed family who belonged to the land because they utilized it to sustain themselves from what they produced on it and develop themselves on that place in the their city.

Their bond with their land enabled them to live as a family on and from it בִּיזְרְעָאֵל (in Jezreel) their ancestral city. Moreover, they, being aware that their land portion was the inheritance of their ancestors, positioned themselves in terms of that place as a planting of God in Jezreel. Hence, by living on and from what they produced on that land portion they displayed their religious identity as a family who honoured God because God cared for them as his planting.

Napier regards this reference to the location of Naboth's land as "*superfluous*" (Napier 1959:367) because the vineyard (family allotment) of Naboth was indeed in Jezreel and

not in Samaria. De Vries however argues that this reference to the location of the vineyard, defines both a contradiction in the story and confusion on the side of the storyteller, who apparently, only knew “*the main details of the Naboth story*” (De Vries 1985; 256). And Loader finds that the reference to space is an “*ambiguous*” (Loader 1991:38) expression, because it vaguely refers, either to the vineyard or to the person to whom the vineyard belonged.

בִּיזְרְעָאֵל (in Jezreel), however, affirmed their spatial identity by stating that the land was in Jezreel and not in the Samaria, the city of Ahab. The remark בִּיזְרְעָאֵל reflects the contradiction between the spatial identities of “*Naboth the Jezreelite*” and “*Ahab the king of Samaria*” in this event in the story. In this manner it prepares the listeners for the concluding remarks with respect to the eventual dispossession of Naboth land, namely, that Ahab who ruled as king of Israel בְּשֹׁמְרוֹן (in Samaria) i.e. whose throne is in Samaria, was “*in the vineyard of Naboth*” (v18) i.e. occupied the land of Naboth.

The seemingly contradistinction with respect to the location of Naboth’s land, was not to confuse but rather to alert the listeners to keep the spoor of the story. In Khoi storytelling, following the story is an art, like tracking the spoor on familiar soil. For like an experienced spoor-tracker, a good listener would not allow a seemingly superfluous remark, put on a spoor in the story, to lead him/her to the wrong destination.

They continued to live on their land despite the fact that they at times had the royal family as their neighbours. The Hebrew expression אֲשֶׁר אֵצֶל הַיִּכָּל (that was next to the palace) reflects and defines that the respective land portions were adjacently located. The relative pronoun אֲשֶׁר and the preposition אֵצֶל (next to) reflect that the family of Naboth and the royal family were at times immediate neighbours. For in scriptural references the Hebrew concept אֵצֶל denotes the wrist of the arm or the shoulder joint of the body (Ez. 13:18, Jer.38: 12).

By living on their land and side by side with Ahab, they brought into focus the liberating aspect of their spatial identity. They never requested their neighbour, Ahab, the king of Samaria, to utilize any part of his land when he resided in Samaria. Remaining on their land, they emphasized their intention to live on and from their land portion on that place in their ancestral city.

4.3 NABOTH OBSTRUCTS AHAB FROM DISPOSSESSING HIS LAND PORTION (I Kings 21:2-7)

The story of *Heitsi Eibib and Xami* echoes the event of Naboth obstructing Ahab from violating spatial identity and refusing the king acquisition of his portion of the land.

The reaction of *Xami* in the Khoi story summarizes the reaction of Ahab to Naboth's obstruction of his attempt to acquire the land for himself only. Because Naboth refused to alienate his land to him, the king, being hurt in his pride, frustrated and angrily turned his back on his neighbour. The story of Heitsi Eibib and Xami shows that the cause of the crisis in that living space was because that proud and mighty neighbour (*Xami*) had a dislike in the spatial identity of their neighbour (*Heitsi Eibib*) who shared with him the land and her resources.

The moral lesson of the Khoi story is that because God is the owner of land people should live as neighbours in peaceful coexistence on God's land. If a neighbour ventures to violate either the dignity or the spatial identity of another, the victim must obstruct him from doing that because they are the creations of God.

The second event focused on the king's regard for his dignity as the king and his blatant disregard for the human dignity of his neighbours, who at times shared with him their living space. Coming from outside the living space of Jezreel, the king attempted to change the spatial identity of the Naboth family from a landed family to that of landless individuals. Being aware of their place before God, Naboth refused to be disposed of and displaced from their ancestral land in Jezreel to the periphery of their land (v2-7).

4.3.1 Ahab requests to acquire Naboth's land (v2)

Ahab caused the land dispute with his neighbours and violated their position that they should peacefully live side by side in the city of Jezreel. He spoke with his neighbours with a forked-tongue to displace them to the periphery of the living space in Jezreel (v2).

The expression to speak with a forked-tongue means to speak with the intention to deceive a person by using double speech. The tip of the tongue has a crucial function in the Nama language because the speaker uses the tip of the tongue to create two of the four clicks with it (see the / and the ! clicks signs in the, Index of Nama Concepts. On the

contrary, the expression to speak with a flat tongue means that a person is one who talks straight to another. The flat upper side of the tongue has a crucial function in the Nama language because the speaker uses the flat upper side of the tongue to create the other two clicks (see // and ꞥ click signs in the, Index of Nama Concepts).

The Hebrew particle לאמר (*saying*) hints that Ahab, the king of Israel, spoke face-to-face with Naboth. In his conversation with Naboth he showed his self-centeredness and excluded from his thoughts the possibility of living next to him in the city. For in the vocabulary he used, he revealed his regard for his own and his disregard for the view of his neighbours on landownership.

The king spoke to Naboth in a vocabulary in which the first person singular suffix dominated the conversation. Speaking to them he obviously viewed them as a problem family on the doorstep of his palace in Jezreel, for he said to Naboth, their spokesperson:

תנה־לי (*Give to me*) your vineyard

ויהי לי (*that it will be to me*) a vegetable garden,

for it is nearby ביתי (*my house*)

ואתנה לך (*and I will give*) to you in its place a better vineyard

כי ואתנה (*Or... I will give*) to you silver

Ahab's self-centered request revealed that he rejected the possibility of allowing Naboth to remain on the land next to his winter palace. Instead of tolerating them on their land אצל (next to) his house, he decided נצל (to strip) them off that land portion and annexed it to his palace estate.

The indigenous family, being uninterruptedly present on their land, made him aware that they legally belonged on the land. He also was aware that because of Israelite traditional land law he had no legal power to displace the family from their land and annex it to his. Being aware of the limitation on his power, he attempted to lure them into an agreement and from that position enforce it onto them. His awareness of the land rights of that indigenous family one can hear in his undertaking to recompense them for the lost of their land. He promised to them to be generous with them if they would agree to either an exchange of land portions or a land purchase transaction.

The king's promise to recompense the family with כרם טוב ממנו (a better vineyard) indeed appears to be a "*perfectly reasonable offer*" (Bosman 1991:303). However, his intention to uproot the vines and redevelop their land to become the royal garden in Jezreel, betrayed his hatred for them. For like the vines, which their ancestors planted and grew on that place, they grew up and were part of the history of the land in the city of Jezreel.

Ahab lacked an intimate relation with the soil in the city of Jezreel, because of his blatant disregard for the dignity of the indigenous neighbours of that place. For by blatantly disclosing to them that he will uproot their vines from the soil, he revealed that he would also uproot that family from their place.

In addition, by requesting them to alienate their land to him in exchange for a better land portion, the king blatantly insulted them. For he judged that they should regard the "*better vineyard*" that he offered them as being of higher value compared to their attachment with their land.

Being aware of their right to refuse to alienate their land, Ahab pretended to allow them to consider his generous offer. He said to them that they should do what is "good in their eyes" to determine whether the decision to sell his land will be or not profitable for his life. The Hebrew expression בעיניך (in *your opinion*) indicated the space that Ahab allowed Naboth to make "*visual estimation*" (Höver-Johag 1986:308) to determine if a decision will or not be "*beneficial for the purposes*" (Höver-Johag 1986:308) of the life of his family.

By the suggesting that Naboth should do what is good in his eyes, the king subtly attempted to lure Naboth into betraying his place before God. He was aware that Naboth honoured God as the owner of their family land and that he for that reason should not even consider to do what is good in their eyes but always do what is good in the eyes of God. He, therefore, restricted Naboth's space for making a decision for either "a better vineyard" or "*silver*" but not both. That meant that Ahab already had decided that not both the "*better vineyard*" and an amount of "*silver*" would be good in his eyes for the family of Naboth. By this either-or proposal limitation his proposal, he attempted to put Naboth under pressure to decide within the time limit of his request.

In this respect it is important to know that the physical experience of a person's words were important for the Khoi to determine if they were *good* or *evil*. The physical experience of a person's words demanded, to their understanding, adequate time to consider a verbal suggestion in order to make a favourable and prevent a wrong decision. For this reason in their language the verbs: “*mû* “ (*to see*) and “*ẓan*” (*to know*) consistently function together for the sake of “*mû-ẓans*” (*knowledge*).

4.3.2 Naboth refuses to alienate his land (v3)

Naboth answered the king without hesitation, for he did not consider for a moment the king's generous offers of either “*a better vineyard*” in exchange or a recompense “in silver” for his family's ancestral land (v3). The verb וַיֹּאמֶר (and he said), which when followed by the preposition אֶל (unto) functions in story telling as “*communication term*”(Wagner 1977: 331) defines Naboth's face-to-face encounter with Ahab

Unaffected by his neighbour's royal authority and wealth, Naboth stood firm and rejected the king's offer as very much out of order. For because of his honouring of God, he saw the trap that the king set for him to step into and heard the insult that the king leveled against him. In addition, because of his honour for God, he remained aware of Ahab's subtle suggestion that he should blaspheme God and does what he (Ahab) desired.

Using the interjection חֲלִילָה Naboth brought into focus the place of his family before Yahweh, their God.

This interjection חֲלִילָה לִי מִיְהוָה in some places shortened to לִי חֲלִילָה is frequently employed in stories after Israel became a kingdom (I Sam. 12: 23; 14:45; 20:22; 24:7; 26:11; II Sam. 20:20; 23:17) and denotes a peculiar “*perspective on life*” (O'Kennedy 1997:146) among those Israelites. And according to that perspective on life, a person can be good or evil, holy or unholy, accordingly, and his or her life will either be good or evil, holy or unholy. The life of an evil person “*causes damage to the worship of God and the value system of the community*” (O'Kennedy 1997:146).

By the interjection “*Yahweh forbids me*”, Naboth rejected Ahab's suggestion that he should betray their religious identity by disobeying their God. The interjection is a direct answer from Naboth's side with which meaning the king of Israel was familiar and which defines that Naboth was aware that Ahab spoke to deceive him.

Hence, Naboth expressed for Ahab's sake his awareness of the presence of God in his oath not to alienate his ancestral land at all i.e. at no price and not even for the sake of the king. Standing on his land portion in his ancestral city, Naboth confessed the sovereignty of God who owned the land on which he stood. By rejecting Ahab's suggestion, Naboth revealed that he was aware that the king spoke to deceive him. For according to his perspective on life, the things, which were good in the eyes of God, produced good fruit in life and evil deeds produced evil results in life.

Furthermore, Naboth refused to alienate his family land portion to the king because of the ancestors who are resting in the soil of their land. The presence of the royal family on the estate land next to their family land did not corrupt Naboth's awareness of space. For the land portion that Ahab mis-identified as "*Naboth's vineyard*" was to him (Naboth) "*the inheritance of the ancestors.*" Thus, the vineyard was to him much more than a physical living space that he could exchange for another land portion or sell for an amount of silver. Naboth made no apology for being on their land but voiced their protest against the king's intention to displace them from or dispossess of their land.

Naboth refused to alienate his land because it was to him not just *a vineyard* that he could exchange for *a better vineyard* (v2) or *another vineyard* (v6). That land was the נחלה that Yahweh promised and gave their ancestors to inherit and which their ancestors caused them to inherit.

God gave to each of the tribes and each family a נחלה (a land portion) as a living space i.e. he caused them to share the land between them. All the tribes, except the tribe of Levi (Deut. 10:9, 18:2), received a portion that must be "*their permanent possession*" (Wright 1997:178). The land portion that Ahab attempts to alienate by an exchange or purchase was the permanent physical living space of the family of Naboth. It was Naboth's cultural living space, despite the reality that Israel became a kingdom and that they at times had the royal family as residential neighbours.

Thirdly, Naboth refused to alienate his land to the king because of his family and the generations that are waiting to emerge from the soil. They had nothing against living side by side and sharing boundary lines with the king, but he protested against the king's disregard for his spatial identity. He refused to give up his land and allow the king to alter the boundary lines of his land, because traditional law compelled him to keep it unaltered

for the sake of their descendants. Their ancestors kept the land that it should be their physical and cultural living space and they vowed before God to do the same for the sake of their descendants. Standing between the generations who are resting in the soil and the generations who are waiting to come forth from the soil, Naboth protested against Ahab's plan to dispossess them of their land.

Naboth defined their refusal to alienate their land because of the ancestors both subjectively and decisively. One can hear the subjective element in their refusal in application of the pronouns of the first person singular in their answer, *מתתי* (*that I shall give*) and *אבותי* (*my ancestors*). The noun *אבותי* denotes that Naboth regarded himself as a direct descendant of the family's ancestors (Ringgren 1977:8) and in this respect the legal heir to their land.

Naboth refused to alienate their allotment to Ahab because of the spiritual unity of their generation with their ancestors, who once lived on the land and from what they could produce on it. Living on and from what they produced on their land, visibly continued the traditions of the ancestors. Hence, the subjective element in the refusal defines the family's awareness of the spiritual unity between them and their ancestors. It not only denotes their dependence as a family on their land, but also their loyalty to their ancestors (Rehm 1979:209).

Refusing to alienate their family inheritance, they protected their land so that their posterity (Wright 1997:178) *should have a portion of land to live on and to live from what they could produce on it.*

Their refusal to alienate their family land was decisive; because the land portion constitute them being free Jezreelites. They were not indebted farmers and desired not to be a disunited family because of land lost in favour of the throne.

Finally, standing on his rights to the land, he voiced his protest in a responsible manner because he subjectively excluded the king from sharing in his and his descendants' share of living space in Jezreel. He decisively sent Ahab from their family land portion to his palace estate next to and nearby in the same living space.

4.3.3 Ahab withdraws to his land (v4-7)

Being denied by Naboth to annex their land to his palace estate, Ahab arrived at his palace frustrated and very angry (v4). The verb וַיִּבֹּא followed by the preposition לָא defines the movement of someone from a place “*towards a certain goal in space and time*” (Preuss 1977:21).

The fact that Naboth caused Ahab to withdraw to his palace and become angry, is denoted by the preposition לְ and the definite article ה prefixed to the noun דְּבַר, which in this context has a causal function (Kautzsch 1976:492). Thus, the king of Israel was in that negative state of mind, because his subject Naboth, the Jezreelite, spoke אֵלָיו (*to him*) Naboth, refusing to agree to sell his land to Ahab and obstructing his king from illegally acquiring the land portion of his family.

Ahab deepened his anger for Naboth because, contemplating Naboth’s refusal, he was aware that God prohibited him to alienate the land at all. The Hebrew negative particle לֹא and the Qal imperfect of נָתַן (*to give*) with the prefix of the first person singular denote the “*unconditional prohibition*” (Kautzsch 1976:317).

Ahab’s frustration was a mixture of negative outcomes (failures) that he brought upon himself. He failed to lure his neighbour into an illegal land transaction of exchanging his family land for another land portion. He failed to distort his neighbour’s spatial awareness in order to purchase land and demote them to the status of landless subjects. He failed to, with the help of his neighbour, violate the legal limitation on his authority with respect to land rights, but instead got a legal lecture from him. The fact that Naboth legally prevented him from acquiring more land hurt his pride and caused him to remain in that negative state of mind. Having failed to rise above his frustration, he failed to defeat his anger because he withdrew to his room where he angrily turned his case with Naboth over in his mind.

Ahab’s wife, Jezebel, interrupted the privacy of his thoughts and interrogated him with regard to the cause of his negative state of mind (v5). He explained to her that he reasoned with Naboth but failed to acquire his land, neither by a purchase of the land nor an exchange of land portions (v6).

The expressions “*because I spoke to*” and “*I said to him*” denote his personal contact with and the concept יָפַח (*to prefer*) hints that he proposed a *high “level of agreement”*

(Botterweck 1986:95) in the transaction between him and Naboth. Ahab, repeating Naboth's refusal, לֹא אֶתֶן לָךְ (*I shall not give to you*) explained to her that God prohibited Naboth to alienate his land. The divine prohibition caused Ahab to remain aware of the obstruction, which that tradition placed on his authority. He, however, needed not to impose himself or his viewpoints on land and ownership on Jezebel and readily answered her question about what caused his state of mind.

Boshoff asserts, that Ahab contrary to the viewpoint of Jezebel, his wife “*showed some respect for the traditional customs of some Israelites by accepting the fact that Naboth had resisted him*” (Boshoff 1991:180). His negative attitude contradicts the possibility that he accepted the restrictions on his authority. His body language of laying down on his couch, turning his face to the wall and refusing to eat his meals, reveals that that he remained arrogantly angry and refused to accept being tied down by restrictions.

She condemned the limitations on her associate's authority, commanded him to come out of his negative attitude and emphatically promised to give him the land of Naboth (v7).

The repetition of the pronoun of the first person singular in the expression אֲנִי אֶתֶן לָךְ (*I certainly shall give you*) provided the emphasis in her promise. The limitation on her husband's authority caused Jezebel to voice her total disregard for the religious law that protected the land rights of subjects of the king. She encouraged him to annul traditional order and violate the limitation on his authority to come out of his negative state of mind.

Naboth, by voicing his honour for God and establishing his spatial identity, stirred up Ahab's frustration with and anger against him. Naboth's family displayed their awareness of space and Ahab, his pride being hurt because of Naboth's rejection of his offer, refused to accept that Naboth could have the nerve of refusing him to have his way with them.

4.4 AHAB TAKES NABOTH'S LAND IN POSSESSION (I Kings 21:8-16)

The story of *Heitsi Eibib and †Gama †Gorib* echoes the event of the murder of Naboth by the king to come in possession of his (Naboth's) portion of the land.

The position of *†Gama †Gorib* in the Khoi story encapsulated the position of Ahab, the king, in the land dispute between him and his neighbours. Ahab was unable to share the

same living space with the family of Naboth, he could only display his hatred for and took revenge on them for refusing him to have his way.

The moral lesson of the Khoi story shows that unchecked anger for the neighbour gave rise to hatred against and the ultimate violent termination of his life. Hatred and unrestricted self-love are neighbours who make many casualties among people who share the same living space of which the greatest casualty is their love for the neighbours who dare to differ from them.

The third event shows that Ahab, being restricted from acquiring the ancestral land portion of Naboth's family, spread his hatred for them among their fellow citizens (v8-10). The fellow citizens of Naboth, filled by the king's hatred for Naboth and his family, murdered them for the king's sake (v11-14). The king, annexing the land portion of Naboth to his palace estate, demonstratively rejected their position of living in peaceful coexistence with him side by side on and from the produce of the land (v15-16).

4.4.1 Ahab's conspiracy against Naboth (v8-10)

Having failed to corrupt the awareness of Naboth, Ahab and Jezebel conspired to murder Naboth to acquire his land (v8). Naboth's awareness caused the king to participate actively in the plot to violently displace him to the outside of his city and illegally confiscate his land.

Loader contrasted the parts respectively played by Ahab and Jezebel in their plot to murder Naboth to acquire his land. Ahab, he argued, kept a low profile of sullenness and passivity while Jezebel made things happen in a dynamic style (Loader 1991:39).

However, both Ahab and Jezebel were actively involved in the plot to murder Naboth and his family and confiscate their ancestral land.

Jezebel was Ahab's loyal associate in the plot and was aware that she was not alone in the crime to eliminate Naboth's family. For she incited him to execute kingship in Jezreel, urged him to come out of his negative state of mind and promised to give him the land that Naboth refused to give to him (v7). She knew that he desired that land because he failed to discourage her from violating the restrictions on his authority as king of Israel.

Ahab engineered the conspiracy and Jezebel managed the conspiracy to murder Naboth for his land. For Ahab, having failed to defeat his anger and still coveting his neighbours' land, engineered the plot על־מטתו (upon his bed). Because of his negative state of mind he went on a hunger strike and drew the attention of Jezebel אשתו (his wife) to share with her his negative experience with and his plot to eliminate Naboth. Jezebel managed the plot for his sake because she wrote those incriminating letters בשם אהאב (in the name of Ahab). She sealed those letters בהתמו (with his seal) and sent them on that authority from היכל אהאב (the palace of Ahab) in Jezreel to the elders and the nobles of the city.

The privileges to write read and own reading materials and seals were according to references in the Bible common in royal and official circles. In this respect see for example the privilege to write, כתב, references in II Sam 11:14, II Kings 10:1,6, and II Chron.30: 1. In this respect for the privilege ספר (to read) and of having ספרים (letters, books, documents) to read see for example references in I Kings 15:7,23, 31, II Kings 10: 1,6,34, 23:3,21,24,28.

התמים (seals) were made of wood and stone objects that carried the name and personal symbols of the king or an official (Millard 1997:324). These objects were used to stamp out a king's or an official's "*authority and dignity on documents*" (Otzen 1986:266). In this respect see for the privilege of having a personal seal the references to seals in Est. 3:12; Neh.10: 1 and Dan. 6:18.

The seal of Ahab would have carried his name and possibly his personal symbols. Jezebel used that seal to stamp out his authority and dignity on the documents that she sent to the leaders of the city of Jezreel.

I disagree with Loader's viewpoint that Jezebel took the place of Ahab in his land dispute with Naboth (Loader 1991:39). The fact is that Ahab was certain that Jezebel was able to manage the plot to murder Naboth for he did not interfere with her manner of managing it. Jezebel was quite positive that Ahab approved of her style of managing the plot because he explained to her that he failed to acquire the land because God prohibited Naboth to sell his land. Ahab was neither ignorant nor inactive with respect to Jezebel's part in the plot to murder Naboth so that he could take possession of his land. He never

accepted the fact that Naboth should remain on the land next to his palace in Jezreel because their presence reminded him of the limitation on his royal authority.

I disagree with Gray viewpoint that Ahab “*only acted, or allowed Jezebel to act*” (Gray 1970:442) because she criticized him for failing to impose his authority on Naboth. He gave her a free hand to express his contempt for the limitation on his authority in her formulation of his letters to the elders and the nobles of Jezreel. For Ahab, having failed to defeat his anger, utilized his hatred to have his way with his indigenous neighbours in the living space of the city of Jezreel. In addition, “*the king of Samaria*” spoke אל־נְבוֹת (unto Naboth), his neighbour, who lived on a land portion “*next to and nearby*” his palace “*in Jezreel.*” Jezebel, however, wrote official letters *in his name* אל־הַזְקֵנִים וְאֶל־הַחֲרִים (unto the elders and the nobles) אֲשֶׁר בְּעִירוֹ הַיֹּשְׁבִים אֶת־נְבוֹת (who dwelt with Naboth in his city). Hence, the king from Samaria used this authority and official letters to inflame the elders and the nobles of the city with his hatred. That visitor hated his neighbours in Jezreel so much that he commanded those leading citizens of Jezreel to take the same position as against them. Jezebel in this sense noted Ahab’s hatred for his neighbours and, sealing those letters with his seal, factually sealed Naboth’s stoning and death.

Jezebel acted as if she had a personal reason to disgrace Naboth before the people of Jezreel and to eliminate him from his living space. She wrote that the elders and the nobles, for the king’s sake, had to proclaim a day of fasting in the city. She noted that he also needed */gam khoikha* (two evil men) to stand as false witnesses נֹגְדוֹ (against him) i.e. against Naboth נֹגְדוֹ הָעָם (before the people). Those two evil men, should for the king’s sake, falsely accuse Naboth of blasphemy against God and the king in order to incite people of his city with hatred against Naboth. She commanded that they had to condemn Naboth to death, brought him מִחוּץ לְעִיר (to the outside of the city) and stone him to death.

Loader asserts that “*Jezebel was the literal antithesis of Naboth and even though she never met him*” (Loader 1991:39); she falsely accused Naboth of blasphemy against God and the king.

The Hebrew verb בֵּרַכְתָּ (you blessed) used euphemistically (Brown1997: 766) stands in the place of the verb אָרַר (to curse). The exchange of verb בֵּרַךְ (to bless) for verb

אָרַר (*to curse*) hints that Jezebel's accusation that Naboth committed blasphemy against God and the king was unfounded. The allegation that Naboth cursed "*God and king*," contradicts Naboth's confession of Yahweh as God and the actual owner of their family inheritance.

Thus, both Ahab and Jezebel were as guilty as sin and in no way "*polarized characters*" (Loader 1991:39). For in their palace next to the family land of Naboth, they conspired to murder their neighbours in order to take possession of their portion of land.

Ahab's letters to the elders and the nobles of Jezreel also revealed that he blatantly despised the spatial order in that city. Because Naboth argued that they should live, side-by-side in peaceful coexistence and, by sharing the living space, uphold the order in that place. On the contrary Ahab did not want them to be his neighbours and sought to either displace or dispossess them of the land next to his winter palace.

Ahab regarded himself and despised Naboth that much that saw them either dead than that he should share with them the same living space. His command to the elders and nobles to stone Naboth and his family expressed the finality of Ahab's judgement on them. That they should conspire with him in a crime against fellow citizens also revealed his regard for his own authority and his disregard for their position as leading citizens in Jezreel.

4.4.2 Naboth's execution because of Ahab (v11-14)

to the written directions sent by Jezebel from the palace in Jezreel. They were the *geigu* (Heb. הזקנים) i.e. the old and strong ones and the */gawu* (Heb. הגוהרם) i.e. the high and grand ones among the citizens. In the Bible the idea of having grown old and strong i.e. high and stately among the trees of the bush reflected the standing of the wealthy and influential people in the land. For the comparative descriptions of influential and wealthy people in a land with the trees in a bush, see for example the references to the high and strong trees that grew on the Lebanon (in Is. 2:13, 37:24, Ez. 27:5,31:1-9).

When the king commanded those strong and high citizens of Jezreel they slavishly obeyed him as if he was their master and they his slaves. The application of the relative pronoun אֲשֶׁר in v11 defines those leaders of the city of Jezreel as acting in full agreement with Jezebel's directions.

ויעשו כאשר השלחה אליהם (And they did according to she sent to them)

כאשר כתוב בספרים (according what was written in the letters)

אשר שלחה אליהם (that she sent to them)

The following expressions focused on how those leaders of the city sowed the seeds of the king's hatred for Naboth among the people.

קראו צום (they proclaimed a fast) (v12)

והשיבו את נבוח (and they placed Naboth) (v12)

ויבאו וישבו נגדו (and they came and sat opposite him) (v13)

ויעדהו נגד העם (and they accused him before the people) (v13)

ויצאהו מחוץ לעיר (and they brought him outside the city) (v13)

ויסקלהו באבנים (and they stoned him with stones) (v13)

וישלחו אל איזבל (and they sent unto Jezebel) (v14)

Loader argues that, “*we are not told how the recipients knew that the orders actually emanated from the iron lady behind the throne*” (Loader 1991:39). They indeed knew that they spread hatred against Naboth for the sake of the king but that Jezebel only sent them the directions how to murder Naboth.

They did not speak to Naboth before the people according Jezebel's directions, by saying, ברכת אלהים ומלך (you blasphemed God and the king) but spoke to the people, saying, ברך נבוח אלהים ומלך (Naboth blasphemed God and the king). They, speaking directly to the people, stirred up hatred against Naboth by accusing him falsely of blasphemy against God and the king.

Ahab was indeed a “*bad monarch*” but he'd rather imposed his will on those local leaders than making use of the “*corruption among*”(Loader 1991:39) them. For he only used them as instruments to spread his hatred and display his despise for spatial order in their city.

As leading citizens they obeyed the written directions of the king but failed to obey their conscience as people who were responsible to protect the rights of the weak and poor. They were in no way “*simply more progressive*”(Boshoff 1991:180) than their fellow

citizens but they posed a grave danger for people who differed with the king's view on land and ownership.

They proclaimed and oversaw a צום (a fast) in their city (v12) according to the instructions from the palace (v12). The צום denotes that they observed a day of self-humiliation that involved an abstinence from food and personal pleasures like, sexual intercourse. The elders proclaimed a day of self-humiliation on the command of the king and not as it ought to have been, namely, after a “*Gerichtsankündigung*” by a prophet of God (Stolz 1984:538). For people embarked on a period of self-humiliation after a prophet announced that they had insulted God and aroused his (God's) anger. (See in this respect for example the condemnations that the prophet Elijah announced because Ahab did what was evil in the sight of Yahweh (I Kings 21:20, 25). See the result of these prophetic condemnations, namely, that Ahab humbled himself before Yahweh because of those condemnations (I Kings 21:27),

The elders proclaimed that day of self-humiliation, however, not because Naboth insulted God and aroused his anger, but because Naboth honoured God and aroused Ahab's anger. Hence, they placed Naboth בראש העם (*among the leadership of the people*) to make a mockery of him before the people at their gathering in the city gate.

The preposition ב means “*among*” (Clines 1995:82) and denotes a specific place or position. The noun ראש (head) functions as a collective that denotes “*the leaders of the city*” (Arnold 1997:1028). Seen from a collective point of view the elders and the nobles were actually the בראש העם (*leadership of the people*) in Jezreel.

The two false witnesses whom they placed against Naboth knew that Naboth was innocent and that they acted to arouse the anger of the people against Naboth and his family for the sake of the king. Positioning themselves against Naboth before the people, those false witnesses were aware that they were in an undisputable position and that Naboth and his families were helpless. They also knew that because of the accusations the people were no position to test their reliability as witnesses and that Naboth and his family would surely be stoned to death.

Having accomplished their commission the elders and the nobles sent a message to Jezebel to report that, “*Naboth is stoned and he died.*” Thus, Ahab failed to persuade

Naboth to terminate his rightful claim on his ancestral land but succeeded to persuade the leaders of Naboth's city to terminate Naboth's life.

4.4.3 Naboth's land invaded by Ahab (v15-16)

Jezebel received the report of the execution and death of Naboth from the leaders of Jezreel (v15). The death of Naboth was good news in her ears, for the time had arrived for her to fulfill her promise to give the land of Naboth to her husband (v7).

See in this respect the preposition ׀ prefixed to the infinitive construct of the verb שׁמַע (to hear), which “denotes the time” (Kautzsch 1976:503) when a person took action to do a thing.

She urged her husband to take action and take the land that Naboth the Jezreelite refused to sell to him at the equivalent value of an amount of silver. She brought up the matter that Ahab failed to acquire by means of a land transaction and hinted that she acquired Naboth's land without paying a cent.

She encouraged her husband that he as the king of Israel should apply force to acquire the ancestral land of the family of Naboth. The Qal imperatives קוּם רַשׁ (arise, take possession) amplified her encouragement of Ahab that he must invade and annex the land of his neighbours next to his land in Jezreel.

In this respect the comment of Schmidt on the verb יָרַשׁ (to take possession) is helpful, because he noted that the verb mostly occurred in the “*dtr Geschichtswerk*” (Schmid 1984:779). The object of dispossession was the land or a specific land portion that the enemy acquired because they drove the inhabitants off and took possession of their land (Schmid 1984:779).

Jezebel focused again on the conflicting perspectives of landownership between her husband and their neighbours with whom they at times had to share the same living space in the city of Jezreel. She noted that Ahab caused the land dispute by requesting to purchase their neighbour's land but that Naboth responded by rejecting his request as totally out of hand.

The Hebrew relative pronoun אֲשֶׁר with the Piel perfect מָאֵן (to refuse) stated that Naboth absolutely refused to give i.e. to alienate his land portion. The expression

לתת־לך (*to give to you*), focusing on Ahab's failure to acquire Naboth's land, also emphasizes Naboth's unwillingness to give up their only portion of physical living space. They rather would be a landed family on a communal land portion, than landless citizens in his ancestral city. Moreover, they would rather be on their cultural living space, next to the palace of the king of Samaria, than give up their cultural identity for his sake.

She also focused on the violent elimination of Naboth so that her husband could dispossess his land. Naboth, being on the land next to the palace in Jezreel, obstructed the king from occupying his land. Naboth, being dead, enabled her to give his land to her husband. The negative expression כִּי אֵין, denoting "*the idea of non-existence*" (Kautzsch 1976:480), summarized the fact that she removed the human obstruction in the king's way to occupy Naboth's land portion.

By using the contrasting Hebrew concepts, חַי ("*life*") and מַת (*death*) the Hebrew storyteller emphasized the reality that Naboth, being dead, enabled Ahab to occupy his land. For this application of these two concepts in Hebrew story-telling see for example the reference to חַי and מַת in Deut 30:19; II Sam. 15:21; I Kings 3:22.

When he received the news of Naboth's death, Ahab acted without delay and invaded the land of his neighbour in Jezreel. The infinitives of the verbs ירד (*to go down*) and ירש (*to take possession*) define that the king purposely went down to dispossess the land and annex it to his palace estate.

4.5 ELIJAH ADVANCES NABOTH'S PROTEST AGAINST DISPOSSESSION

(v17-22)

The story of *Heitsi Eibib* and *‡Gama ‡Gorib* also echoes the outcome of the encounter of Elijah the prophet of God with Ahab the king of Israel on the land portion of Naboth.

‡Gama ‡Gorib in the *Khoi* story, attempting to trick *Heitsi Eibib* into throwing a stone at his hard forehead, stands for the evil authority that seeks to get the witnesses of God involved in advancing the disorder of land occupation.

Heitsi Eibib in the story stands for the witnesses of God who spoke against the disorder caused by the occupation of the land and contributes to the restoration of order in the land of the dispossessed.

The moral of the story is that land invaded by people who despise the image of God in humans, nevertheless, remained land God's land. The stronger human being that occupies the land of the weaker neighbour factually despises the image of God in his/her neighbours. By continuing to occupy their neighbour's land portion they dug their own muddy pit in which they eventually will perish because they would have no neighbour nearby to help them out.

The fourth event focuses on Elijah the Tishbite, the prophet of God, coming from outside the living space of Jezreel to table the standing of God in the land dispute between Naboth and Ahab (v17-19). Bringing the standing of God in the land dispute into focus, Elijah denounced Ahab for causing disorder in the land and I so doing insult God the owner of the land (v20-22).

4.5.1 Articulating God's place in the protest (v17-19)

Naboth, taking an oath by the name of God, he honoured God who is always present for his sake and is the factual owner of his portion of the land (v3). Ahab, being frustrated and angered because of the word that Naboth spoke to him, demonstrated his disregard for Naboth's place before God (4). In the conspiracy to murder Naboth in order to confiscate his land, the king mistakably displaced God to his side in his land dispute with Naboth (v10). Naboth remained silent because he believed that God heard Ahab's assumption and would reveal his place in the dispute about land.

Ahab did not hear the final word about Naboth when Jezebel announced to him, "*Naboth is dead and not alive*" (v15). The case of the dispossession of Naboth was not closed when Ahab also occupied the land apportioned to Naboth and his descendants (v16). Both Naboth the Jezreelite and Ahab, the king of Samaria were aware of God's presence and the place of God in their dispute about the land.

In the land dispute between Ahab and Naboth, God's name only came up when Naboth took an oath by the name of Yahweh that he would never alienate his land (v3). The second event, as Van Heerden phrased it, indeed hardly contains "*any reference to the*

Lord” (Van Heerden 1991:212). Naboth’s family, however, was the witness of God in Jezreel because when Ahab threatened to displace them they voiced their belief in God as the true owner of land. By being present on their land, they brought into focus their religious identity and displayed a belief in God.

Hence, while Naboth spoke against Ahab’s plan to dispossess his portion of land because of God, God indeed needed not to interrupt. While Naboth stood firm and spoke, God indeed was silent (Würthwein 1984:251) but when Ahab silenced Naboth, God continued the dispute and spoke to and through *Elijah the Tishbite* (v17). The Hebrew verbal expression וַיְהִי (and it happened) denotes the continuation of the land dispute. The witnesses of God in Jezreel were stoned to death outside the walls of Jezreel but the word of God remained dynamic and on course despite the efforts to nullify it. Hence, neither the official letters from the palace of Ahab nor the false testimonies of those two witnesses nullified the validity of the word of God.

The “*word of Yahweh*” that came unto the prophet Elijah the Tishbite, amplified the dynamic presence of God to advance the protest of Naboth.

The preposition אל (unto) defines both “*motion and direction*” (Kautzsch 1976:378) that God took by means of his word with his prophet. Hence Elijah the Tishbite received i.e. experienced God’s word and acted on it and not under the directions of an official letter written in the name of Ahab and sealed with his seal.

God revealed to the prophet his place in the land dispute between Ahab and Naboth because God ordered his prophet to go down and confront Ahab without any delay. The imperatives of the verb קום (to arise) and ירד (to go down) echo the urgency with which God sent his prophet to meet with the king.

The infinitive of verb קרא (to meet) denotes the urgency of the word of God for the king because it implies an encounter (Kautzsch 1976:503) between prophet and king at a specific place. God commanded Elijah to reappear and confront the king, for the latter caused a crisis in Jezreel by occupying Naboth’s land.

The exclamatory Hebrew concept, הנה and the note בכרם נבות noted that God called on his prophet to perceive the injustice of the king of Israel, who had a palace in Samaria, but occupied the land of Naboth in Jezreel.

Yahweh, having seen and condemned the occupation of Naboth's land by Ahab thereby communicated to his prophet that he placed himself on the side of those victims of land dispossession. For Ahab, by occupying the land that God apportioned to the family of Naboth, placed himself against their God. The notions of direction, *אשר ירד שם* (*where he went down*) and purpose, *לרשתו* (*to take it in possession*), define this deliberate occupation of the land of Naboth by the king.

The prophet from outside Ahab's sphere of influence continued the awareness of Naboth that God is the factual owner of the land (v18). Because he decidedly arose from the place where he dwelt and purposely went down to confront Ahab for occupying the land of Naboth. Elijah, stepping into the place of Naboth, advanced the protest of Naboth against Ahab's occupation of his portion of the land. Having stepped into the place of Naboth he defined the place of God as opposed to the injustice of occupying the land that he apportioned to the family of Naboth and their descendants.

God communicated to Elijah that he condemned the king of Israel for both the crimes of murder and land occupation. Elijah noted that God was not ignorant of the fact that Ahab desired Naboth's land so much that he made use of false witnesses and engineered the murder of Naboth to acquire his land. God communicated to his prophet the right of Naboth to live on and from their land and made his prophet aware that Ahab used the right of force to acquire Naboth's land.

The prophet focused both God's position with respect to the illegal occupation of Naboth's land and God's resolution of the restoration of the land. In his focus on God's resolution for the restoration of the land, he emphasized the restoration of the spatial order in the land (v19).

He accused Ahab of murder i.e. the violent termination of a family who desired to live on their land portion side by side with the king and the dispossession of their land from which they lived next to but independent from the king. He announced to Ahab the punishment of God for the crimes that he committed to arbitrarily terminate Naboth's life in order to acquire his land.

He revealed to Ahab that to God the dignity and life of Naboth on the land is as precious as the dignity and life of the king with whom he shared the land. Ahab by shedding the

lifeblood of Naboth invited by that smell of death the dogs to a gruesome feast on the place and violated his own dignity and life.

Dogs, picking up the scent of the blood of Naboth spilled by Ahab and licking it from the soil, exposed the place of the death of Naboth and the place that became the death trap to Ahab and his descendants. For as the dogs did not fail to pick up the smell of blood, God did not fail to see and note the injustice that Ahab committed on that place against Naboth.

God communicated to Elijah that he required justice to be done in Jezreel and commanded him to speak face to face with the king of Israel and according to what he said to him. The expression *וּדְבַרְתָּ אֵלָיו* (*and you will speak to him*) denotes God's demand for a face-to-face encounter between the prophet and the king. The expression *כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה, לֵאמֹר* (*saying: thus says Yahweh*) defines God's demand for Elijah to utter the message that he gave him.

God charged Ahab for both the murder of Naboth the Jezreelite and the dispossession of his portion of land in the living space of Israel. The *ה* interrogative prefixed to *רְצַחְתָּ* functions as "a double question" (Kautzsch 1976:475) and emphasizes the fact that God charged the king of the murder of Naboth and the dispossession of his land. The emphatic expression *וְגַם* (*and also*) holds these two charges against Ahab together because he desired Naboth's land, engineered the plot to murder him and, on receiving the news of Naboth's death, occupied his land.

God's demand that justice must be done in Jezreel resounded the serious impact of Ahab's crimes on the life of the family of Naboth. One can hear the serious impact of Ahab's crimes on the life of Naboth and his family in the expression *בַּמָּקוֹם* (*on the place*) and *דַּם נְבוֹת* (*the blood of Naboth*). The expression *בַּמָּקוֹם* refers to the place of execution where the soil on the outside of Naboth's ancestral city drank his blood and of his family. For Naboth lived peacefully on and from his portion of family land next to and nearby Ahab's palace estate in Jezreel city but died violently outside her walls.

The reference to dogs that licked *אֶת־דַּם נְבוֹת* (the blood of Naboth) from that place on the soil of Jezreel, focused on the violent termination of the life of Naboth. For the *דַּם*

(lifeblood), being the carrier of life-giving food and oxygen, must flow inside the body and should not be have been shed or spilt on the soil from which he/she lives.

The reference to dogs that also licked the blood of Ahab focused on the fact that God knew that Ahab ordered the murders of Naboth and his family. The dogs of Jezreel picked up the scent of the blood of Naboth and did not fail to find the place on the soil of their city where Naboth and his family were stoned and died. Thus, God did not fail to charge Ahab with “*bloodshed*” because of the death of the family of Naboth and to level charges of “*bloodguilt*” against Ahab and his family.

4.5.2 Communicating God’s protest against the spatial disorder (v20-22)

When they met, Ahab opened the encounter and accused Elijah of enmity against him as the king of Israel. The subjective manner in which Ahab accused Elijah of enmity, אִיבִי הַמְצֵאתָנִי (*Have you found me, o my enemy?*), also revealed the king’s unmistakable loyalty to himself. His accusation of enmity against himself corresponded with his anger and frustration with the Israelites who opposed his manner of managing affairs in Israel. Elijah, however, did not evade Ahab’s personal attack but answered Ahab directly, מְצֵאתִי (*I have found*).

The prophet braced himself against the king’s anger and frustration and took a firm stand for God against the king in the living space of Jezreel. In this encounter between the king of Israel and the prophet of God, the king addressed the prophet as אִיבִי (my enemy). The prophet responded to the king’s accusation in a positive manner, namely that he indeed met him as his personal opponent because of Yahweh, his God. The encounter between them was because of the disorder that the king caused in the living space of Jezreel, the city of Naboth. Advancing the protest against the disorder in the land, Elijah indeed, by placing himself on the side of God, became Ahab’s opponent in the land dispute.

The response of the prophet on the accusation of the king brought into focus a bigger picture of Ahab’s guilt, for what he did was not merely an offense against Naboth or the ideal of justice but indeed “*an offense against God*” (Nelson 1987:143). For because of God Naboth explicitly rejected Ahab’s offer of a better vineyard or a value of silver in exchange for his land portion. Moreover, because of his hatred for Naboth he did not

prevent Jezebel from accusing Naboth falsely of blasphemy against “*God and the king.*” He, in manner, knowingly placed himself on a level alongside God because of his regard for himself and his disregard for his neighbour as a creation of God.

The prophet denounced Ahab as an evil person i.e. a morally corrupt person who caused much harm among the people of the land over whom he governed as their king. The Hithpael reflexive of מכר (*to sell*) hints on the evil manner by which he came in possession of Naboth’s land, which he (Naboth) refused to sell to him (Ahab).

The preposition יען and the Hithpael infinitive התמכרך denote that the king caused the corruption because he misled them into serving foreign gods. The expression התמכרך, because of its reflexive meaning, must be translated as, “*you let yourself be induced to do what is wrong*”. (Lipinski 1983: 294). The Qal מכר denotes a “*simple transfer*” of land in a legal transaction and a gradual transfer of land to its purchaser (Lipinski 1983:296). The reflexive התמכרך (you sold yourself) hints at the corrupt standing of the king with regard to his subjects in the city of Jezreel. Because he (Ahab) made use of false witnesses, corrupt judges and committed murder to come in possession of the family land of his neighbours.

Moreover, the prophet accused the king of purposely transgressing the limitation on his authority and insulted God the true owner of land. The preposition ל prefixed to עשה (*to do*) denotes that Ahab purposely (Kautzsch 1976:348) did what was “*evil in the sight of Yahweh*” and in so doing insulted Him.

Elijah also communicated the standing of God to the king with regard to the disorder that he (Ahab) caused in the land. The prophet totally disassociated himself from the disorder that Ahab caused in the living space of Israel to keep his standing in place.

One can hear the prophet’s disassociation with Ahab’s manner of managing the affairs of the land in the verbs with the suffix of the first person singular in v21 and 22.

הנני מבי אליך	(Behold I, I will bring unto you) v21
ובערתי אחרריך	(and I will destroy behind you) v21
והכרתי לאחאב	(and I will cut off of Ahab) v21
ונתתי את ביתך	(and I will make your house). v22

אל־הכעס אשר הכעסת (because you provoked) v22

ותחטא את־ישראל (and you caused Israel to sin) v22

Because of what he did to insult God, the prophet called Ahab to heed the warning that he brought the disaster upon himself, his successors and his dynasty.

By the expression מבי אליך the prophet called on the king to listen and pay attention to what God was doing to restore the order in the land. What Ahab did was רע (an evil) in the sight of God because he violated the dignity of his neighbours. He announced that what God would do, would be experienced as רעה (a tragedy) that would deal his dignity as the king of Israel a severe blow.

The seeds of hatred that Ahab sowed in the land yielded a harvest of evils, which God's wrath surely would set alight to burn it off from the face of the land. The verb בערתי (I shall burn or destroy) hints at the destruction of a harvest on the land by a fire intentionally started. The expression אהריך (behind you) hints at the seeds of hatred that Ahab had sown in the land that produced behind him weeds, which needed to be destroyed to purge the land. God would destroy in a time of punishment all the corrupt people that had co-operated with Ahab to clean the land of corruption and restore order.

The restoration of order would be complete because God would כרת (cut off) all the male descendants that came forth from Ahab's loins with the sword.

The comparative expression כבית (*like the house*) and the names of the dynasties of Jeroboam ben Nebat and Baasha ben Ahijah (v22) emphasized that God would destroy Ahab's dynasty completely. It meant that because Ahab also insulted and arouse the wrath of God in the living space of Israel, God would also bring the dynasty of Ahab to a shameful end like the dynasties of those two kings who ruled over Israel before his time.

The destruction of Ahab's house would be punitive אל הכעס אשר והכעסת (because of the insult that he committed) i.e. because he insulted God by what he did. Stolz correctly argued that the verb כעס (to provoke) functions in the context of the provocation of Yahweh by Israel by serving foreign gods in the land (1984:839). Because he served foreign gods, Ahab insulted God. He caused the destruction of his own house and caused the people of Israel to sin against their God.

The verb $\aleph\aleph\aleph$ denotes that the king sinned against the people with whom he stood in an institutionalized relationship that also included offences against his neighbours, compatriots and subjects - (Koch 1980:311). See in this respect for example the application of $\aleph\aleph\aleph$ for offences against neighbours, compatriots and subjects in references in Gen. 42:22; 50:17, I Sam. 19:4, II Kings 21:17.

The reason for the condemnation of the house of Ahab was not only because he misled Israel to sin against God by serving foreign gods in God's land. It was that he indeed provoked God's to anger because of both the cultic and social crimes by which he mismanaged the living space of Israel (Würthwein 1984:252). The condemnation of the house of Ahab then was part of – to make use of Nelson's phrase- "*a network of doom oracles*" (Nelson 1987:144), that included all the regimes who insulted God by violating the dignity of his creation i.e. the people who honoured God as the owner of the land.

Thus the crimes that Ahab committed to come into possession of the land portion of the family of Naboth next to his winter palace in Jezreel, is not an isolated incident but a related event. For Ahab because of his hatred for them violated both their human dignity and their spatial identity, both their awareness of space and their place before God.

Moreover, events similar to the event of the despise and hatred of Ahab, the king of Israel, for his neighbour (Naboth) occur at many places on God's earth –even in our part of the continent. Because in our part of the African living space people in positions of power, refusing to share the living space with their weaker neighbour, voiced their disregard for their dignity in that manner. Like Ahab, the king of Israel, the Ahabs of our era are evil neighbours who like to amplify their regard for themselves and their hatred for the spatial identity of the neighbours with whom they have to share this place in God's sun.

Like the state of affairs in Ahab's time caused the prophet Elijah to take a stand for God and against the disorder in the land, the disorder in our land caused Elijahs of our era to take a stand for God. The Elijahs of our era are those messengers of God who voiced Gods protest against the disorder of keeping the neighbour's dignity at ransom. They are the witnesses of God who stand firm against the disorder in our part of God's land and voice their protest for the sake of what is right in the view of God. They are like the

prophets of God who refused to be silent onlookers for the sake of people of high standing.

They are the Elijahs of our era who voice God's demand that people must live on and from God's land and in peaceful coexistence with others. They are the prophets of God from the periphery, who voiced God's position with regard to the violation of the spatial identity of the peripherals of the land, of whom I contemplated in my poem: *The earth is God's earth* (see Addendum 7.56) in poetic style in the following manner.

In them beats the heart of God
 for people on the periphery
 For in them beats the heart of God
 with the under-educated in the townships
 with the unemployed widow on the street
 with the dispossessed of the land
 For in them beats the heart of God
 that humankind should live
 in peaceful coexistence
 on the earth that is God's earth.

With God the peaceful co-operation between divergent species on his earth is in no way a matter of coincidence, but a live demonstration for the sake of people who also have to share the same living space.

For example in nature the ox-pecker bird and rhino coexist peacefully on and from the African soil in the same living space in God's sun. While they tirelessly do away with these troublesome bloodsuckers, it does not matter to ox-pecker birds that their hosts are "white or black" rhinos. What matters to both the "white and black" rhinos are that they could graze in peace while their guests that do away with those uninvited guests because they suck their lifeblood and could cause them to suffer from severe illness.

4.6 ELABORATIONS ON GOD'S PROTEST AGAINST DISORDER (v23-26)

The story of *Heitsi Eibib and /Aris* resounds the opposite of the relationship between Ahab and Jezebel. */Aris* stood in Heitsi Eibib's way when he acted foolishly, by turning

down her warnings against disgracing himself and digging his own grave by eating the fruit of the raisin tree. She intervened to rescue him from his foolishness and restore him to his place as husband and father of his family. The name of /Aris (Rib) symbolised the wisdom and loyal support that she, Heitsi Eibib's wife, gave him to progress through life. The moral of the story of *Heitsi Eibib and /Aris* is that the wife must be to her husband a source of wisdom and loyally supportive of him in what is right and obstruct him from doing what is evil because of God.

The fifth event in the story of Naboth's land focused on the word of God with regard to the fate of Jezebel who managed the plot to murder Naboth for the sake of his land. Being Ahab's closest associate, she supported him in keeping the disorder in place in order to rule as king over Israel (v23-26).

The prophet of God revealed to Ahab that God condemned Jezebel, his wife, to meet a violent death in the city of Jezreel. Thus, Ahab had to hear that God did not exclude, Jezebel from punishment for her part in the plot to murder Naboth the Jezreelite.

Jezebel spoke *a final word* in the land dispute when she announced to Ahab that Naboth was "not alive but dead" (v15) but the prophet of God spoke *the final word* in the dispute on behalf of Yahweh, his God. The expression נגם (and also) continues the event of God's condemnations of the disorder and focused on the fact that Ahab had to hear out the prophet on the part that concerned Jezebel.

Jezebel noted in their plot to murder the family of Naboth that they should be stoned to death on a place outside the walls of Jezreel. The prophet of God announced to the king that Jezebel, his wife, would die on an open space inside the walls of Jezreel.

בחל יזרעאל (at the wall of Jezreel) apparently hints that Jezebel would meet her death by means of a public execution, witnessed by the people in the street. The expression that the street dogs of Jezreel יאכלו את־איזבל (they will eat Jezebel) focused on the absolute disrespect for her as wife of Ahab. The inhabitants of the city of Jezreel would witness in disgust the street dogs eating from her corpse, cleaning up the street where they left it exposed as for a public display.

The prophet also announced to the king to note that his associates would meet a violent death and that no one would escape the mass execution.

The extermination of לְאֹהָבָי (those who belong to Ahab) i.e. who served Ahab would be extensive and merciless. The repetitive expression, הַמָּוֹת (*those who die*), followed by descriptions of the places of their death, affirms that the executions would be merciless. Not one person in Ahab's service would escape the massacre, for both those who served him בְּעִיר (*in the city*) and those who worked for him בְּשָׂדֵה (*in the field*) would die a violent death. Those violent executions of the servants of Ahab would not go unnoticed because in the city “*the dogs*” and on the fields “*the birds*” would converge on the places where the victims had fallen.

Moreover, as a king of Israel, Ahab excelled in doing what was evil in the eyes of Yahweh, the God of Israel.

The adverb רַק (*indeed*) followed by the negative לֹא הָיָה and the preposition ל of comparison prefixed to the name of Ahab, emphasize the point that Ahab excelled in doing what was evil in the sight of God.

He excelled in doing what was evil because of his close association with Jezebel, his foreign wife, whom he used to manage affairs to his benefit. The Hebrew relative expression אֲשֶׁר in v25 focuses on the close association of Ahab with Jezebel in corrupting the land. The king kept the disorder in the land in place because הִתְמַכֵּר (he sold himself) and Jezebel, his wife, enabled him to keep on doing so because סָתָה (she encouraged) him to it.

In addition Ahab, by dedicating himself to serve גִּלְלִים (foreign gods), undid the achievements of the ancestors to establish a living space for Israel next to and near other peoples. For the sake of foreigners, he allowed the altars for their gods (see for example I Kings 16:31-33) and failed to prevent the destruction of the places of the altars of Yahweh (I Kings 18:31,19:10). By participating in the worship of the gods of those foreigners he sealed the persecution and execution of those Israelites who served Yahweh, as their God.

Jezebel was Ahab's closest associate in the mismanagement of affairs in the land that kept the downfall of his dynasty on course and received her – as De Vries phrased it – “*proper share of scorn*” (De Vries 1985:257). Her contribution to her husband's corrupt religious and social practices aggravated his guilt because he was the king of Israel. He “*reintroduced*” the worship of idols (De Vries 1985:258) that caused the disorder in the land to achieve absolute authority over Israel and was condemned because of that.

The place of Jezebel in the story compares with the position of Europeans who violate the spatial identity of natives in our part of the African living space for the sake of material gain. The Jezebels of our era even misuse God's name to administer the evil of keeping displaced native South Africans on the periphery of their land.

They are evildoers who excelled in their zeal to formulate a rationale for the occupation of the land of the helpless neighbour. They invest quality time in putting their contempt for the spatial identity of these natives on paper and are eager to exchange the truth in favour of the lie.

They are evildoers whom their associates honoured for the spatial disorder that they caused by placing Africans from their land and keeping them on the periphery. They are citizens who - like the wealthy individual in the parable of Jesus (Luke 16:19-31) - fail to serve the crumbs from their tables to “*Lazarus*” in the street. Despite the fact that they also call on “*Abraham*” (confess God), they frequently fail to see and hear “*the beggar*” (unemployed) on the sidewalk. Because they wear comfortable clothes and eat to the full they fail to note the rags and the pestering sores of the homeless fellow creation of God on their doorsteps.

They are the people of whose place on God's land I contemplated in my poem: *The earth is Gods earth*” (see Addendum 7.6) who fail to extend love to the neighbor on the periphery because of God.

For they are those who oppose life
 in peaceful coexistence
 sharing the same living space
 with the poor and peripheral
 are like muddy pits in the dark
 that corrupt the family of God.

are like chaff in a whirlwind
 that has no definite direction
 like an unmarked cul de sac
 that has no definite destination

4.7 FOCUSING GOD'S DEMAND FOR SPATIAL ORDER (v27-29)

The story of *Heitsi Eibib and his mother* (*//gûs*) resounds the punishment of Ahab because of God's demand for spatial order in the land. In the story Heitsi Eibib's mother carried him on her back and stopped on the road to clean and make him comfortable. The part illustrates the intimate relationship that some people uphold with the mother (the land). That Heitsi Eibib miraculously changed from being a little boy (*axarob*) to a man who raped his own mother and miraculously became the *axarob* again, illustrates the point that some people fail to uphold an intimate relation with the mother (the land). That Heitsi Eibib's mother put her little boy down on the ground when she arrived at their family house and ignored his cries for attention highlights the point that "big men" (the unwise wealthy neighbour) who rape the land violate their own dignity.

The moral of the story of *Heitsi Eibib and his mother* is that, people who rape the land would go down in his story as a little boys because the land remains God's land. Hence, God, being the sovereign of the land, can restore the beauty of the mother so that his creation would live on and from her wealth in peaceful coexistence.

The final event in the story focused on God's view on the termination of the disorder and the restoration of order in the land. In the second event of the story the king showed his dislike in living side by side in the same living space with neighbours who honoured God as the owner of land. Because he imposed his will on his neighbours, God disciplined *Axab* (the big boy) and made him an *axarob* (a little boy) so that he should respect their dignity.

Because of the word that Naboth spoke to him, namely that Yahweh, his God is the true owner of his land, Ahab became so frustrated and angry, that he refused to eat his meals. Because of his hatred for Naboth he commanded a day of fasting in Jezreel so that the people should because of him, humble themselves before Yahweh, their God. Because

the prophet condemned him and his dynasty for insulting God, the king withdrew to his room and humbled himself before God.

The Hebrew introductory expression ויהי כשמע (and it happened *when he heard*) denotes the time when Ahab humbled himself before God. The expression הדברים האלה (these words) defines that the words of condemnation, which the prophet uttered, caused that the king to humble himself before God.

Ahab only humbled himself in the privacy of his room but failed to involve his house and those who served him in the city or on the field outside the city. One can hear in v27 the manner in which the king focused on a self-humiliation in the privacy of his room.

ויקרע בגדיו (and he rent his garment)

וישם־שק על־בשרו (and he wrapped a sackcloth round his body)

ויצום (and he fasted)

וישכב בשק (and he slept in the sackcloth)

ויהלך אט (and he walked slowly)

The king humbled himself and on account of the prophetic condemnation, he tore his clothes from his body in grief. He exchanged his royal garment for rough sackcloth, wrapped it around his body and slept in it to get a feeling of being humiliated down to the ground. He fasted to express his remorse and walked slowly to display his sadness because of these divine condemnations.

Being down on the ground the king did much to express his misery but he failed to express his honour for God in requesting a share of God's mercy. Being down on the ground because of God's judgment he failed to defeat his remorse and remained a victim of his arrogance before and ignorance of God. Because in spite of being a sovereign on God's land he mismanaged the land for a limited time and God being the Sovereign of the land managed his time on his land.

The point is that the king of Israel heard and understood that he insulted God by mismanaging the living space of Israel, from Samaria to Jezreel. He, however, failed to hear and understand the prophetic appeal that he must obey God and restore the dignity of the citizens of these places.

The king of Israel also heard and understood that Naboth refused to alienate his land to him because of Yahweh his God. But, being the king of Israel, he also refused to accept that one limitation on his royal authority and share the living space in Jezreel with his neighbours at that place. The focal point in the event is not that Ahab's "apparent contrition" was in line with "divine justice" (Walsh 1996:336), which he brought over himself. Ahab, however, had such a high regard for himself and disregard for his neighbour that he failed to appeal for "divine mercy" (Walsh 1996:336) and received amnesty from what he did to insult God.

God informed Elijah that he postponed the punishment of Ahab and his house, because the king of Israel humbled himself before God but failed to voice his reverence for God.

The interrogative expression הֲרֵאִיתָ (*have you seen*) implies that the prophet of God noted that Ahab humbled himself before Yahweh. Ahab, however, failed to honour God as the Sovereign of the land because he failed to terminate the disorder and restore the order in the land. Thus Ahab and his son would experience how God used the realities of definite event and time to restore the order in the living space of Israel. God would bring הרעה (the disaster) i.e. a definite disastrous event בְּיָמֵי בְנוֹ i.e. in a definite time עַל־בֵּיתוֹ i.e. upon the dynasty of Ahab.

The point is that Ahab succeeded in tearing the beautiful robe on his body but failed – as the prophet of God said of the inhabitants of Jerusalem- to tear the heart (Joel 2:13). Being down on the ground in his own pit Ahab - just like the wealthy individual in the parable of Jesus – still attempted to be in command of his own life and that of his neighbours despite the miseries of being in "the deep pit" (Luke 16:26).

Thus, because he remained in the pit, Ahab excluded himself from the process of restoring the spatial order in the land so that neighbours should live on and from the land. For despite the policies of the wealthy wise fools who live from the fat of God's earth, God consequently executes his divine policy. For God undid the spatial disorder caused by the "strong men" who seek to execute kingship over Israel and beyond and, in so doing, God proclaims that the earth is his earth.

4.8 CONCLUSIONS

4.8.1 The first event in the story (v1) provided the background for the story of the dispossession of Naboth's portion of the land. The introductory phrase vaguely links the background of the story with other events in the same living space. The relatedness of these events were possibly determined not so much by the time and events, but by the physical and cultural living space in which they occurred.

The background to the story of the dispossession of Naboth's portion of the land, focused on the spatial identity of Naboth the Jezreelite. Naboth was the spokesperson of the family who lived on a portion of land in their ancestral city, Jezreel. They lived from their portion of the land that was located next to the palace estate of Ahab, the king of Samaria.

The background of the story focused on the natural attachment of the family to their portion of the land. Their portion of the land was their specific physical and cultural living space and being on their living space next to, the palace of Ahab constituted the liberating aspect of their spatial identity.

4.8.2 In my interpretation of the second event (v2-7), I focused on the disregard of the king for the spatial identity of the family of Naboth.

Ahab started the land dispute with his neighbours because he requested to alienate their only portion of the land by means of an exchange of land portion or of a land purchase.

Because of their natural attachment to the land, Ahab tried to lure his neighbours into a land transaction with him. His neighbours were aware of his royal authority and wealth, but because of their awareness of space, they stood their ground against the king. They dismissed the king's request to alienate their land totally out of hand because God, being the factual owner of the land, forbid them to dishonour him by doing such a thing.

Ahab, frustrated and angered because of the limitation on his authority, withdrew to his palace and, contemplating his failure to lure Naboth into an agreement, refused to eat his meals. He shared with Jezebel, his wife, the reason for his negative state of mind, namely, that Naboth refused to alienate his land to him because God forbade him to do such a thing.

4.8.3 In the third event I focused in my comments on the conspiracy of Ahab and Jezebel to murder Naboth to occupy his portion of the land.

Ahab failed to overcome his anger for Naboth, his neighbour in Jezreel, for refusing to alienate his land to him because of God and the ancestors. He failed to corrupt Naboth's religious identity and adapt their spatial identity but thought out a plan to murder Naboth so that he could have his land.

The king authorized Jezebel, his wife, to manage the plot to murder Naboth in order to dispossess his portion of the land. She, therefore, wrote letters in Ahab's name, sealed them with his seal and sent them to the elders and the nobles of the city on his behalf. For his sake she wrote the letters to disseminate his hatred for Naboth among those leading citizens in Jezreel. For his sake she directed them as how to arise the anger of the people of Jezreel against Naboth so that they would stone him outside the city.

Those leading citizens obeyed the directions of Jezebel and, accusing Naboth before a gathering of the people of blasphemy against God and the king, they gave vent to their anger against Naboth. They violated their own conscience and criminalized a family of innocent citizens and stoned them outside the walls of their city for the sake of the king.

4.8.4 In my interpretation of the fourth event (v17-22) I highlighted the fact that God was aware of the land dispute between Naboth and Ahab and the eventual dispossession of Naboth's portion of the land. Elijah, the prophet of God, voiced the position of God in the land dispute between Ahab and Naboth, namely that God stood opposed to the occupation of the land portion of Naboth.

God communicated to the prophet the evils that Ahab committed to come in possession of the only land portion of his neighbours in Jezreel. For the family of Naboth exercised their right to live on and from their land portion next to the winter palace of Ahab, but the king of Israel made use of force to displace them from their land. The prophet also noted God's demand that justice should be done in Jezreel in order to correct the damage in the ancestral living space of the family of Naboth.

The prophet, bracing himself against the anger and frustration of the king, communicated to Ahab that God condemned him and his house for the disorder, which he had brought about in the living space of Israel. Because they deliberately did what was evil in terms of

the viewpoint of God, they insulted God and violated the dignity of their neighbours. Therefore God would punish the king and his house to resolve the disorder and restore order in the land. Communicating the protest of God against the disorder of the occupation of Naboth's land the prophet of God voiced his commitment to order in the land.

4.8.5 In terms of the fifth event (v23-26) I comment on the announcement by the prophet of God of the death of Jezebel to Ahab. Ahab, being responsible for the disorder in land, heard from the prophet that Jezebel would die a violent death inside Jezreel. She would be executed and in disrespect for her, her executioners would leave her corpse displayed on the place where she died. The prophet also announced to the king that every person who associated with him would die a violent death. None of Ahab's servants would escape the extensive massacre in the city and in the field on the outside of the city. Because of the loyal support that Jezebel, his wife gave him, to do what was evil in the eyes of God, Ahab excelled in doing evil. He insulted God, by dedicating himself to serve foreign gods whom the ancestors displaced to establish a living space for Israel.

4.8.6 In my interpretation of the final event (v27-29) in the story I brought into focus Ahab's self-humiliation because of the prophetic condemnations. After he heard that God would punish him for what he did to insult God and to violate the dignity of his neighbours, Ahab extensively humbled himself before God. The king's extensive self-humiliation before God was in line with the extensive condemnations that the prophet of God announced because of God.

Ahab's self-humiliation was superficial because he failed to honour God as the owner of the land and restore the dignity of his neighbours on their portion of the land. Because of his regard for himself as the king who ruled over Israel he continued with his disregard for those living side by side in the same living space.

Because he persisted to oppose Yahweh, the God of Israel and owner of the land, God put the king of Israel down on the ground to affirm his authority over him. God, therefore, announced to his prophet that he postponed the fulfillment of his punishment of Ahab. Thus Ahab would not escape the punishment that he, the prophet of God announced,

because that strong man from Samaria being put down by God on the ground will remain down. Moreover, for being down on the earth neither he nor his son (successor) would be part of the restoration of the order in the land because he humbled himself but failed to honour God.

Having interpreted the story of the land of Naboth from the perspective of a displaced Khoi, I shall in the following chapter focused on the significance of our reading for theological studies in our land.

5.1 A FOCUS ON GOD AS THE OWNER OF LAND

The reading from the perspective of a displaced Khoi is that the land is God's land because he created and cared for her. God is the Owner of land because of his neighbourly and selfless love for the weak and the oppressed who inhabited his earth. The Khoi express their plight to keep peace and order in the land of their honour for God who gave the land to their ancestors who worked it against people who exploit his creation and treat his land through the eyes of humankind and the Owner of land. Taking a stand for God's creation is taken against the people who occupy their position of God's land. These people are not the Owner of land because these people had to themselves like Naboth's wife who God's land, gave her to their forefathers and appointed them as the managers thereof. The reading of the story from the perspective of a displaced Khoi is that the land is their ancestors for God. God showed his creative compassion for the weakness of his forefathers when he carried them on his back. He cared for them as their personal

Chapter Five

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF READING THE STORY OF NABOTH'S LAND FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF A DISPLACED KHOI

What does the point of view of a displaced Khoi on the story of the dispossession of the land of Naboth contribute to theological reflection?

The answer on this question requires that the reader should perceive the place of God as being with the people of the land because of the crisis of landlessness. The answer also requires that the reader should perceive the place of human beings before God in the land because of the spatial crisis. The answer reveals the positions of landed and landless people as the creations of God in the quest to solve the spatial crisis in our land or leave it unsolved.

It challenges the readers in our part of God's earth to follow God's directions out of the disorder of the landlessness towards a situation of landedness. It requires from them to come and step into the place of the victims who are resting in the soil of the land to contribute to life in peaceful coexistence on and from what the land yields.

5.1 A FOCUS ON GOD AS THE OWNER OF LAND

The reading from the perspective of a displaced Khoi focuses on the *belief* that the land is God's land because he created and cares for her. God does what is good in his own time, because of his neighbours and not for the sake of the Ahabs and Jezebels of late who inhabited his earth. The Khoi express their plight to keep possession of the land because of their honour for God who gave the land to their ancestors. They voiced their protest against people who exploit his creation and rape his land because of God the Creator of humankind and the Owner of land. Taking a stand for God, they positioned themselves against the people who occupy their portions of God's land. They take a stand for God as Owner of land because these people lied to themselves that their God brought them to the land, gave her to their forefathers and appointed them as the trustees of his land.

The reading of the story from the perspective of a displaced Khoi resounds the *choice* of their ancestors for God. God showed his creative compassion for the forefathers and foremothers when he carried them on his, back i.e. cared for them in their portions of

God's land. The perspective of the Khoi displaced from their land portion emphasizes the fact that God did not need to invade and rape the land for the sake of foreigners. It shows that God does not need to dispossess the land of Africans for the sake of Europeans because God is able to care for Europeans in a foreign land because the earth is God's earth.

The view of the Khoi that God is the owner of land corresponds with their view that God is the *Creator* of and lovingly cares for humankind, his creations, on his earth. They, therefore, acknowledged God's absolute control over the natural sources and forces (rain, thunder and lightning) and their dependence on God to restore life on the land. In so doing, they are aware of their responsibility to contribute to life in peaceful coexistence on God's land and refrain from violating the dignity of people with whom they have to share life on God's land. See in this regard my contemplation on Psalm 24 in my poem: *The earth is God's earth, in Addendum 7.6.*

It contradicts the assumption of Europeans that God appointed them as *trustees* of his land for the sake of Africans. Because such an assumption implies that human beings can do better than God when it comes to the management of his land and her natural wealth to sustain them. The assumption also implies that God needs to control the wind and the clouds so that the rain should come down on the land so that they could execute trusteeship over God's land and her resources.

However, humankind can cultivate God's land to sustain them but they can never own God's land. Because only God can, by sending his rain on her make the land fertile and by withholding his rain from falling on her, God can cause the vegetation to wither. Humankind can store the water that God sent on the land and hold out without God's help on God's land for a time, but they cannot restore God's land without God's help. Because God can prevent his life giving rain from falling on the land, until the land is dry and dead, and restore his land as it was before.

The Khoi viewpoint shows that they believe that God wants them to live on and from the wealth of the land instead of suffering on its periphery. Because God makes them *see* his presence in the land and *understand* his compassion for them by restoring life on and from the soil.

The reading of a displaced Khoi enables one to view people who occupy God's land as people who contest God's ownership of the land. It reveals that they view God as a God unable to change the miseries of people whom they displaced from their portions of God's land to the periphery. However, God is able to end the insults of the proud rulers and to terminate the misery of the people on the periphery, to establish his kingship on his earth. The Khoi honour God as the Ruler (*!Khub*) of the earth who displays his **sovereignty** over the natural forces by making the thunder to speak softer and to hush and command the lightning (the copper bellied snake) to return to her den.

The Khoi perspective of God's ability to humiliate the proud ruler on his land to the dust of a threshing floor and restore God's sovereignty, can be heard in my poem on Daniël 2:31-45 in Addendum 7:5. The dream of the proud ruler about the miracle stone that ground the monstrous human image, made of valuable materials, to fine dust and grew until it filled the earth, affirms God's sovereignty over the rulers of the earth.

The perspective of the displaced Khoi on God's powerful presence in his land echoes the special emphasis that Bonhoeffer placed on God's presence in his world. He dismissed thoughts in terms of two spheres (a sacred and a profane sphere) and argued that *"there are not two realities, but one reality, the reality of God, which has become manifest in Christ in the reality of the world. Sharing in Christ we stand at once in both the reality of God and the reality of the world"* (Bonhoeffer 1970:197). With the manifestation of God in Christ in the reality of the world, the *"frontier dispute"* between the two spheres ended. Because of this reality in the world, it is impossible to believe in God through Christ outside the reality of the world (Bonhoeffer 1970:198).

Hence, the South African context of landed Europeans versus landless natives constitutes a violent reality in God's presence on God's land. These two realities exist side by side in our living space, where human beings who - as Bonhoeffer phrased it in the context of Nazi Germany - *"stood by while violence and wrong were committed under cover of this name (Christ)... and witnessed in silence the corruption of the strong"* (Bethge 1975:119).

5.2 A FOCUS ON THE INTERACTION OF HUMANKIND WITH LAND

The reading of the story from the perspective of a displaced Khoi also focused on the *rational* aspect of the awareness of space. For this reason, they share their portion of God's land with neighbours but refuse to alienate her for the sake of those who have no historical link with her.

The Khoi perspective emphasizes the view that the *attachment* of people with the land is historical and exclusive. It is historical and exclusive to the Khoi because of their ancestors who are resting in the soil of their portion of God's land. They experienced their attachment to the land as natural because of the rational aspect of their awareness of space. They regard the natural attachment of people with the land as *historical* because they know that they are the current generation who has to live from what the land yields. The natural attachment with the land is exclusive, because people are aware that they belong to the land but that she never belonged to them. For this reason they do not feel naturally attached with another land and would not consider giving up their portion of God's land for another.

Thus, people who are naturally attached with their portion of God's earth associate them with the mindset of the younger son in the parable. On the contrary, people who are materialistically attached would speak about the land in the manner of the individual in the parable, saying to the father, "*give me the share of the property that befalls me*" (Luke 15:12). People with such a mindset disassociate them from the idea that God is the factual owner of their portion of God's land. Because of their materialistic mindset, they would give their portion of God's earth away to neighbours who stand far from God and would take the land portion of their neighbour for themselves.

However, people who are naturally attached with their portion of God's land, seek to live in peace with their neighbours and share the produce of the land with them. In so doing they share with their neighbours in "*the love of the father*" (Jeremias 1981:113) and in loving the father because of his love for them.

Moreover, loving the father enables neighbours with such a mindset, to live in peaceful coexistence on and from the produce of their portion of land on God's earth. Thus, they can associate them with the "*servants*" on their father's land and distance them from

those who seek to acquire their neighbor's portion of the land and annex it to his own portion.

A reading from this perspective reveals that naturally attached people are able to take a stand against neighbours who seek to displace them from their portion of God's land. It shows that materialistically attached neighbors lack unwavering loyalty to the land, crave to own the land and dislike to be owned by the land.

It also shows that such people tend to exchange the land for their benefit but they dislike changing their mindset for the benefit of the land. Being dissatisfied with a single portion, they seek to displace their neighbours from their portion of the land. They will request to acquire the only land portion of their poorer neighbours and detest their belief in God being owner of the land. They will impose their viewpoint of land ownership on their poorer neighbours but dispose of the view that human beings are inhabitants on God's land.

The Khoi perspective reveals that people who are materialistically attached with the land tend to turn their back on the land traditions of their ancestors. Having turned their back on the love and kindness of their family, they are the family's prodigal children, whose dignity the family has to restore. Being naturally attached with the land, people can join in with the local music and dances (Luke 15:25) i.e. they can speak in language of the local culture. Being naturally attached with the land preserves their "*historical link*" (Rehm 1979:209) with the land and helps them to hold fast to their portion of the land. Because of their natural attachment with the land, they are able to put their "*whole trust in him the heavenly Father*" and to respect the dignity of their neighbors (Jeremias 1981:156).

5.3 A FOCUS ON CONTRASTING SPATIAL IDENTITIES

The perspective of the displaced Khoi on the story of Naboth's land focused on the contrasting identities of people with their land as living space. Some people identify themselves with their land because of the land, namely, because they *only need the land* to be their physical living space for some time to live on and from what it could yield to them. They are people who seek to buy as much land as they can make available by

offering to purchase at its market valued price and sell it at a later stage to make a large profit.

People who identify themselves with a living space in this manner would *own* land portion in their living space but would never allow them *to be owned* by their living space. Their identification with the land is like that of a foreign mining company who rape the land of her valuable minerals and leave when they realize that they can in no way make a profit from the land. In this manner, these citizens would even seek to stamp a foreign identity on the land instead of the land should stamping her identity on them. They would even seek to change the face of the land fundamentally so that she constantly portrays the dominant presence of their culture.

They would *associate with evil neighbours* to corrupt the spatial identity of the good neighbours with money, in order to dispossess them from their portion of the land. They would associate with evil neighbors to undermine the truth and promote the lie to get even with neighbours who are standing for the truth for the sake of God. They would associate with corrupt people in powerful positions, who even would tolerate false witnesses in the court, to get a decision in favour of the powerful landowner. They would also associate with corrupt neighbors who would not hesitate to use the name of God, to manipulate the religious sentiments of people and committing murder for the sake of possession.

From this perspective, the people who identify themselves with the land and her inhabitants in this manner, are like the seeds of *poisonous* plants in the soil of the land. When God sends the life-giving rains on the land, the plants from these poisonous seeds will emerge from the soil with the good plants and grow with them on God's land and in God's sunshine. However, the wise animals will not eat from them, because they profit from life from the soil but contribute to suffering and eventual death on the soil. People who spatially identify with their neighbours in this manner, are for the wise of the land like toadstools among the mushrooms in the field.

The perspective of the displaced Khoi also focused on the mindset of neighbours who identify with the land *because of God* the factual owner of land. To these inhabitants on God's land, the land is much more than a geographical space that provides them with a place to build a shelter and earn a living from what is in her soil. She is to them a cultural

living space i.e. the place that they never even consider to exchange for a better living space because they love her because she gave birth to them. Moreover she is the place in which their ancestors rest and because of that gives them an awareness of space that no other cultural living space would ever be able to provide.

5.4 A FOCUS ON LIFE IN PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE ON GOD'S LAND

Reading the story of the dispossession of the land of Naboth from the perspective of a displaced Khoi, focused on the view that people should live in peaceful coexistence. It is because people are but squatters on God's land and sharecroppers that have to share among them the land and her resources because of God. Neither should the stronger neighbours *impose* their view on landownership on their weaker neighbours in displacing them from their portion of the land. Nor should they *insult* the human dignity of the weaker neighbours by refusing to share with them their portion of God's land. Neither should the wealthy and powerful neighbours *covet* his poorer neighbour's portion. Nor should they *terminate* his life in order to come in possession of his portion of God's land. The Khoi perspective shows that people who have divergent cultural identities could live side by side in the same living space. Even the wealthy and powerful citizens who live in palaces are like squatters and sharecroppers on the land. They have no right to control the valuable resources of God's land to enrich themselves and enact laws by which they can make the life of their poorer neighbours unbearable.

The Khoi view of the peaceful coexistence of people shows that because of the cultural disassociation of people in positions of power on God's land, neighbours can be displaced and force them to adapt to their demands or suffer persecution. For example in the Bible, the stories of the Hebrew nomads Abraham, Isaac and Jacob show that they for some time coexisted peacefully with the Canaanites and Egyptians. Moses, an Egyptian prince who became a refugee in Midian - because of a murder he committed in his land of birth - did even better, in Midian. For on that place a nomad family sustained him and gave him employment and protection for being a member of their family. Moreover, sharing with those nomads life in coexistence in the desert, he identified with them in their reflection on God's presence in the desert (Cross 1971:71).

The stories of the displaced prophet who had to live with people on the periphery, fall in the context of the Khoi view of peaceful coexistence of people who have to share the same living space. Because of the hatred of the king, that prophet had fled and lived among Arabian nomads of eastern Jordan, who sustained him there (I Kings 17:1-7). He eventually found shelter in Phoenicia, where a widow gave him a shelter and shared with him her meager food supplies and he shared with her his faith in Yahweh, his God (I Kings 17:9-24).

Yet, another example in the context of the Khoi perspective on peaceful coexistence among peripherals is the story of Jesus and the Samaritan woman (John 4:1-30). Jesus, a Jew, journeying from Galilee to Judea through Samaritan territory, took a rest at the well of Sychar. At that place he, "a Jewish man," to the surprise of "a Samaritan woman," who came to fetch water, started a religious dialogue that changed her perspective on life. That "Jewish teacher" (Vermes 1983:125) drank water from the fountain from the hand of that woman who had intimate relationships with more than one man. In so doing, Jesus convinced that Samaritan woman on that place that he was the one that God sent to end the Jewish-Samaritan "*dispute over sanctuaries*" (Jeremias 1981:249) and defeat the Galilean "*antipathy towards gentiles*" (Vermes 1983:49).

5.5 A FOCUS ON A PROPHETIC STANCE AGAINST DISPLACEMENT

The reflection of the displaced Khoi on the periphery is a focus on the right of the Naboths of the land to take a stand against being kept displaced from their land. Taking a stand against being kept displaced from their portion of God's land, they voiced a prophetic protest against what they know is an evil in the sight of God. By protesting against being kept displaced from their portion of our land, they define their land as land being occupied by the Ahabs and Jezebels of this era. By voicing their protest, they highlighted their option to manage their spatial crises in their own manner. For to develop their abilities they need to manage their own *spatial crises* instead of people outside doing it on their behalf.

The perspective of the displaced Khoi on the periphery defines their *prophetic option* not to give up their land so that the Ahabs of this era could continue to rape her. It highlights

the fact that they accepted the challenge to dispute the blatant violation of their right to live on the land and from what she yields. Their prophetic option not to give up their land constitutes that they value their spatial identity more than the crumbs from the tables of the Ahabs who occupy their land. If they allow the Ahabs of this era to impose their will on them, their descendants would do the same to their descendants who wait to emerge from the soil.

The perspective of the displaced Khoi defines a *prophetic position* on their side in the spatial dispute for the restoration of their portion of the land. Their prophetic position in the dispute defines on the one hand their place before God and on the other hand the place of God in a conflict for the restoration of spatial order. The position of the Khoi in the spatial conflict shows that it is possible for two divergent cultures to exist side by side in the same physical living space. Thus, to live peacefully with people with whom one shares a living space, one must respect their culture because it defines from their perspective their place before God.

The prophetic position in the land dispute from the perspective of the displaced Khoi implies that to themselves there is no *absolute authority* but God. For this reason they positioned them before God and because of God speak the *cultural language* of the ancestors. For God carried the ancestors on his back and apportioned to the ancestors the land, from which people from outside displaced them to suffer on her periphery.

They positioned themselves in the spatial dispute on the side of God *to speak the truth* in his name, because they experienced God as reliable in providing in their needs. Speaking the truth because of God, implies that they refuse to speak with other prophets in “*one mouth in favour of*” (I Kings 22:13) the Ahabs. For if they would fail to speak what is the truth, implies that they would fail to phrase the inside view of the religious identity i.e. the place of the ancestors before God. If they would fail to speak, what is the truth in the view of God implies that they took a position with the Ahabs to alienate the inheritance of the ancestors to them. In so doing, they would not only betray the ancestors who God carried on his back but also God who proved himself as reliable and avails himself to carry them and their ancestors on his back.

By positioning themselves in a manner in the land dispute, they refuse to prophesy lies in God’s name for the sake of the Ahabs but to speak the truth for the sake of God (I Kings

22:24). Because they positioned themselves to speak the truth for the sake of God and the restoration of order in the land, they excluded themselves from being in contention for a place near the thrones of the Ahabs. The prophetic position of the displaced Khoi focuses on God's option for people on the periphery of the land. The option of God for people on the periphery is that God is always present with people displaced to the periphery because of their option for God. The option for God constitutes their awareness of the presence of God because of "*a visual sensory perception*" (Botterweck 1986: 461) of what God does for their sake to restore life on the land.

The perspective of the displaced Khoi constitutes their option *for the restoration* of the belief in God as the factual owner of land. For the powerful and wealthy neighbours seek to impose their belief in God on their weaker and poorer neighbors for material gain. By taking the prophetic stance against being displaced from and kept on her periphery, they prove themselves as trustworthy because of their relationship with God (Jepsen 1974:311).

The view of the displaced Khoi on the story of Naboth's land brings into focus the *spatial disorder* in the land with regard to the belief of the people in God. The disorder in the land with regard to the belief of the people in God had a negative influence on their awareness of space.

Some of them are so obsessed with wealth and prosperity that they exchanged their belief in God for the idols of the Jezebels (foreigners). In so doing, they displaced their neighbours from the land, destroyed their altars and persecute their leaders (I Kings 19:10).

Others are geared to be next to and nearby the Ahabs (political power) that they compromised their faith in God to speak what the Ahabs like them to speak. When the Ahabs called them together for a gathering, they responded as ordered by slapping the opponents in the face and stabbing them in the back (I Kings 22:13-18).

It shows that others are like Naboths and Elijahs who refuse to adapt their faith in God for the sake of the people in positions of power. They consequently would take a stand for God in the Samaria (capital city) of the land and on the Mount Carmel (periphery) of the land. They would take a stand for God in the city next to the palaces of the Ahabs and Jezebels because of the ancestors who are resting in the soil of the land. They would take

a stand for God in the presence of the Ahabs in the city and on the periphery because of the ancestors to whom God gave the land as an inheritance. They would make a firm stand in the presence of the Ahabs and Jezebels because of what God did for the ancestors for the sake of their descendants. They would rebuild the altars of God even on the periphery to demonstrate the unity of the creations of God who should live as neighbours on God's land.

5.6 A FOCUS ON HUMANKIND AS NEIGHBOUR ON GOD'S LAND

Firstly, the Khoi point of view emphasizes that the dignity of people, as the creation of God, constitutes their place before God, their Creator. By emphasizing the dignity of human beings before God, the Khoi bring into focus the notion that human beings are neighbours on the land of which God is the true owner. In so doing they imply that that South Africans, by living in peaceful coexistence, for the matter, should be a tapestry kharos of peoples for all neighbours in the land.

The viewpoint of the Khoi brought into focus the situation of people who fellow human beings displaced to the periphery of God's land. Because fellow human beings displaced them from their portion of the land, God identifies with the displaced as his neighbors on the periphery of his land. It is because the displaced Khoi view that God is aware that people violate the dignity of his neighbours. They keep this view of God because they believe that God, being their neighbor, is not blind and deaf but know about them being kept on the periphery. It means that God is not ignorant with regard to the fact that his neighbors on the periphery are the victims of the spatial crisis in their portion of the land. In addition, the viewpoint shows that the good or evil options of human beings determine a favourable or fatal future for neighbours on the land portion next to and nearby them. It shows that it is not the history of our land but the option of human beings who share the land with others that cause a spatial crisis in their living spaces.

Hence, human beings who caused a land crisis should adjust their place before God in order to perceive God's neighbours on the periphery. For, a people who opt to insult the identity of their neighbours, in fact insult their Creator. Moreover, by keeping the

violation of the dignity of God's neighbors in place, the violators in fact insult themselves and their own descendants.

In this regard, Bonino, reflecting on the value of Christian ethics for change, made a quotable note – that I shall quote at length. He argued that, *“ethical options are posed by reality (which naturally includes previous decisions and options). To dream of ethical decisions outside the framework of reality is the illusion of moralism. But history will not in any fatal or mechanistic way decide for men, the decision will always be a human decision”* (Bonino 1983:41).

God displays the most beautiful examples in nature to educate people who have to solve spatial crises. For example after the dry seasons, God sends his life-giving rain on a dry and dull landscape to change it into a tapestry of blush and beauty. These temporary changes in nature in the living spaces of God's neighbours are his signs of life and hope for the sake of his neighbours. God illustrates in these temporal spaces to his neighbours that they are part of the *“historical process in which everything flows”* (Witvliet 1983:100). Being his neighbours on his land God makes them aware of their commission to make *“history turn around and flow backward”* in times of spatial crises (Gutierrez 1983:202).

However, in so doing, God also indicates to them that it is both evil and irresponsible to withdraw to a comfort zone. Because such an option on the side of human beings created after the likeness of God, is an option against God and God's neighbours. To withdraw to a comfort zone is evil because God made people his covenant partners to promote what is good by acting as *“the true subjects of human history”* (Suh.Nam-Dong 1983:157). To withdraw to a comfort zone is irresponsible because God educates people in time and space to stand before him and stand up for his and his neighbors' sake to restore the spatial order and keep it in place.

Reading the story from the perspective of a displaced Khoi focuses the option against a convenient belief in God that Europeans set up for all in the South African living space. For the Khoi are aware of the fact that God values the dignity of his neighbours and therefore voice their position that human being must value their own dignity because of God their Creator and neighbour.

Secondly, reading the story from the perspective of a displaced Khoi focuses on the cultural identities of people living side by side in the same land. It enables people who live side by side in the same living space, to sit around the same table "*despite the efforts of our enemies*" to overturn it (Psalm 23:5). Being able to sit around the same table they would share in the same educational facilities so that disadvantaged neighbours can remove the obstacles out of their way. It enables neighbours to share the warmth (fellowship) of the beautiful new kharos that we made and put on display for the people of the land to assess.

Reading the story from this perspective concentrates on the right to see and hear the story in the mother tongue in order to understand it as peripheral neighbours. In so doing readers would be able to follow the track of the story, understand its educational value and become equipped to retell it. In so doing, they also are positioned to look and listen intently to the neighbours who know only their own version of the story. Thus, they listen to the story from their perspective to know if the neighbours' versions of the story are in line with the spatial order in God's land. For being free to think in the mother language, the Khoi are able to read the spoors of disorder that land greedy neighbours printed on native soil.

In addition, being able to share their reading of the story with the neighbours, the Khoi are free like an unpolluted stream that contribute to our river of cultural wealth. For being able to read the story in the mother tongue opens the way to appreciate the significance of the neighbors' culture. Moreover, tracking the spoor of the story requires from the reader to be on foot i.e to patiently follow the direction of the cultural imprints in the soil (historical-geographical terrain). To follow the spoor means that not the reader but the cultural imprints in the soil determine the direction i.e. the moral of the story. Following the cultural imprints in the soil, not the reader but the soil defines the value of the imprints i.e. its moral directives for the sake of the hearers.

It shows that a neighbour who despises the cultural preferences cause spatial disputes between neighbours who share the same living space. Because the land is the loving mother who gave birth to the current generations and will give birth to their descendants it will be an ill-considered option to impose one's own perspective on any generation.

It shows that people who are naturally attached with the land opens themselves for cultural exchange and to be culturally supplemented by the neighbours at their doorstep. However, it also shows that proud and powerful neighbors who despise the culture of their powerless neighbors nearby caused spatial disorder in their living space.

It shows that to live in harmony with neighbours it is crucial to respect their cultural identity in order to prevent a land dispute with them. It enables peripheral people to put an end their distorted outlook imposed on them and contribute to a better life for all in the land. For to the Khoi their cultural living space is the better living space to be a neighbour of God, compared to foreign lands in which soil their ancestors are not resting.

Finally, the perspective of a displaced Khoi show that because of land greedy landowners the land is a place of prosperity for some neighbours and of poverty for the rest. It is like a new blanket that shares warmth and comfort to the wealthy landed neighbours in a city center next to and nearby the townships on the outskirts. However, to their neighbours in the overcrowded matchbox dwellings in the townships the land is like a tattered wet blanket on a cold winter night.

The perspective of the displaced Khoi displays the hope of the displaced that their descendants would live as neighbours of God on and from the produce of God's land. For they defeated ignorance and embraced an awareness of space, their descendants would enjoy the comfort of being part of the kharob in this part of the continent. The viewpoint of the displaced Khoi also emphasizes their option as a people to be the family of God on this place in God's land. Because by sharing their physical living space and what they could produce on it with neighbors and strangers they prove them as neighbors of God on God's land.

Because of their option, the displaced Khoi on the periphery disassociate themselves from a situation that keeps landless beggars begging for food "*at the gate*" of the rich (Luke 16:20). They disassociated themselves from a situation that denies them the right to a family house and medical care and with only the street dogs as friends to lick their sores (Luke 16:21). They refuse to agree with a situation of being peripherals on the roadside, hungry and begging for the breadcrumbs "*from the wealthy man's table*" (Luke 16:21) or competing with the flies for food in refuse bins inside or on refuse dumps outside the city.

From this place, they opposed native South Africans who despise their natural attachment with their land and allow foreigners to gang-rape the mother. For in so doing they contribute to the disorder at the cost of our descendants' dignity in the physical living space in this part of the continent. Moreover, in so doing they in a sense commit incest with their mother and commit euthanasia with regard to their own descendants waiting to emerge from the soil. Because according the spirituality of the forefathers and foremothers they must commit them to live in peaceful coexistence as God's neighbours on God's land.

5.7 CONCLUSION

With regard to the significance of reading the story of Naboth's land from the perspective of a displaced Khoi I have focused on the following issues:

5.7.1 Firstly, the perspective of the displaced Khoi emphasizes the point that God as the owner of the land created and cares for her. God cares for his land because of his neighbours and not for the sake of the Ahabs and Jezebels of nowadays who exploit his neighbours and rape his land.

The Khoi viewpoint on land as God's land brings into focus their honour for God who according to them gave the land to their ancestors. By honouring God as the Owner of the land, they took a stand against Europeans who lied to themselves that he gave the land to their forefathers.

It also highlights the option of their ancestors for God because they know that God need not to invade his own land and as neighbour, God displays his creative compassion for them. God displays his creative compassion for them because he cares for and guides them as he cared for and guides their ancestors.

By their belief in God as the Owner of land, the Khoi reject the belief of Europeans that God appointed them as the trustees of the land that he apportion for the Africans. Because Europeans, by occupying the land of the displaced Khoi, not only reveal their desire to keep the miseries of the displaced in place, but contest God's ownership of the land.

5.7.2 Secondly, the perspective of the displaced Khoi on the story of Naboth's land pays attention to the interaction of people with land as their living space. According to their viewpoint, people are either naturally attached with land as their living space or materialistically attached. Because of these contrasting outlooks, people would either share their portion of God's land with their neighbours or refuse to share her with them. People who are naturally attached with their portion of the land will naturally refuse to alienate her to neighbours because of God. They are people who are aware that their attachment with the land is historical because they have to live from what the land yields. They are people who are aware that their attachment with the land is exclusive, because of the belief that they belong to the land but that she never belonged to them. Being naturally attached with the land, they disassociate with the mindset of people who turn their back on God as the factual owner of the land. They seek to live in peace with their neighbours and share the produce of the land. In addition, they refuse to turn their back on the land traditions but to share in the language of the local culture and keep the historical link with the land unbroken.

5.7.3 Thirdly, the view of the displaced on the periphery reveals the contrasting spatial identities of people who share the same land. Because some neighbours identified with the land because of what they could extract from her and when they fail to profit from her they would leave for the land from which they emigrate. Other neighbours identify themselves with the land because she gave birth to them and because they know only her as mother, they would honour and never even think of raping.

People who identify them with the land because of the land would even corrupt their neighbors and cause spatial disorder to have their way with her. The mindset of the true children of the land differs from that of their neighbors who dishonor the land, because she provides to them an awareness of space that enables them to remain with and restore her dignity.

5.7.4 Fourthly, the view of the displaced focus on the demand of God that people must live in peaceful coexistence because they are squatters and sharecroppers on God's land. Neither should the neighbours who live in palaces disassociate themselves from their

poorer neighbours to displace them from their portions of the land. Nor should the wealthy and stronger neighbours violate the spatial dignity of their poorer and weaker neighbors because of whatever cultural differences.

5.7.5 Fifthly, the reading of the story from the perspective of a displaced Khoi focuses on the right of displaced people to take a stand against being displaced and kept on the periphery because of God. Taking a firm stand against displacement in this manner means to take a stand against the Ahabs and Jezebels of this era who cause the disorder in the land.

The perspective defines a prophetic option on their side not to give up the land so that the Ahabs of this era could continue to rape her. The perspective defines a prophetic position on their side in the spatial dispute for the restoration of their portion of the land. The prophetic position in the land dispute from the perspective of the displaced Khoi implies that to them there is no absolute authority but God.

They positioned themselves in the spatial dispute to speak the truth because they experienced God as reliable in providing in their needs. Having taken this position in the spatial dispute, they voiced their option for the restoration of the belief in God as the factual owner of land.

5.7.6 Finally, reading the story of Naboth's land from the perspective of a displaced Khoi focused on human beings as neighbours on God's land. Because God created human beings with a human dignity, they have a dignified place before him. Being God's dignified neighbours on God's land, human beings must because of God not displace fellow human beings from God's land nor occupy and keep the displaced on the periphery. Hence, the good or evil options of human beings determine a favourable or fatal future for neighbours. The viewpoint of the Khoi shows that they cast off the belief in a God set up for them by Europeans and at the cost of their dignity as the creation of God.

The reading also emphasizes the significance of the cultural identities of people as the neighbours of God living side by side on his land. It concentrates on reading the story in the mother tongue because the mother tongue opens the way to appreciate the

significance of the neighbours' culture. It stands opposed to people who despise the cultural preferences of neighbors causing spatial disputes between neighbours who share the same living space. Because the land is the loving mother who gave birth to the current generations and will give birth to their descendants it will be an ill-considered option to impose one's own perspective on any generation.

A reading the story from this perspective focuses on the reality that the land is a place of prosperity for some neighbours and of poverty for the neighbors on the periphery. The neighbours on the periphery of God's land hold fast to the hope that their descendants would live as landed neighbours of God on God's land. Because they are opposed to be kept landless beggars begging for food at the gate of the wealthy landed neighbour. Moreover, because they are opposed to the event of foreigners who gang rape the mother, they commit themselves to life and that people could live in peaceful coexistence as neighbours on God's land.

Chapter Six

SUMMARY

6.1 Chapter One tables the problem namely: how should the Khoi understand the story of the land of Naboth the Jezreelite (I Kings 21). In this chapter I argue that the Khoi, being displaced from their ancestral land to her periphery, need to read the story of the dispossession of the land of Naboth from that place. Because they believe God as the factual and actual Owner of land, land possession is crucial to them in order to live a peaceful, composed and contented life on the land. God is the factual owner of land and is always present and grants to them – as God's creations on God's land - the life-giving blessings of rain on the land that he apportioned to them. In so doing God provides them the means to live a peaceful, composed and contented life on and from what she yields to live in peaceful coexistence with their neighbors.

The reading of the story of Naboth's land from the perspective of displaced Khoi is a focusing on the story by them as native South Africans and not for the sake only of native South Africans. For by reading the story from their perspective they voiced their *right to be heard* in their mother tongue in their living spaces on and beyond the periphery. Being able to read the story of Naboth's land from their perspective, places them in a position to analyze the history and culture of their ancestors to see and hear it in a native context. Because an appropriate analysis of being a people displaced from their land to the periphery provides to them *a correct reflection* on their place before God.

6.2 Chapter Two is a summary of *the hermeneutical position* of the Khoi in the land debate in our portion of the land on the continent. The starting-point of the reflection on the hermeneutical position of the Khoi is their knowledge of their place before God. From this place they are able to affirm their primary identity, namely, their human identity and because of this they are able to affirm their dignity as the creation of God. Being able to affirm their dignity as the creation of God they are able to account for their affinity to the land that God apportioned to their ancestors.

The reflection on the place of the Khoi before God consists of two parts, namely, an outside (a European) opinion and an inside (a Khoi) opinion with regard to the knowledge of God among the Khoi. Europeans initially denied to our Khoi ancestors any *place before God* i.e. a religious identity (Schapera 1930:75). Contrary to the European denials of a place for the Khoi before God, they expressed their knowledge of God to the Europeans who asked them what they know of God.

Europeans initially denied to our Khoi ancestors the primary identity of every human being i.e. their human identity. In contrast with their viewpoint from outside their living space are the viewpoints of the Khoi with regard to their human identity and the dignity of other human beings. That God is the Father and Creator of human beings constituted their place before God i.e. their dignity as human beings and as the creation of God. The Khoi believed that God created male and female from the same matter, namely, with equal dignity and sexually unique (Schapera 1933:193).

The reflection of the Khoi on land as *living space* consists of three accounts, namely, their land as *physical, temporal and cultural* living space. Each of these accounts begins with an outside (a European) opinion and ends with an inside (a Khoi) opinion on the land as the living space of the Khoi.

Europeans continued their incursions into the land of the Khoi tribes, so that at the end of the 18th they occupied every hectare (Newton-King 191:111). They explained the disorder that they caused in the land of the Khoi as a way of Christianizing the land. On the contrary Khoi tribes valued their own spatial identity and respected that of their neighbours. They shared their physical living space among them and each tribe received a portion of the land to live on and from what she yielded. Tribal portions of the land were communal land and never their private property.

In the beginning of the 19th century the British disposed of the Dutch and by means of evil land laws extended the disorder to the rest of our ancestral land (Wernich 1996:2). Contrary to the European view the Khoi view of the land that belonged to their forefathers and foremothers is that she (the land) gave birth to them.

The Europeans, who bartered with the Khoi, made use of sign language and interpreters to communicate and when they eventually occupied the land, refused to learn the language of the Khoi. The Khoi viewed the land as their` mother who gave birth on

various places to our forefathers and foremothers who are resting in her soil. They also considered to be heard in their mother tongue in their land as their God-give right.

6.3 Chapter Three is a Khoi focus on *the theological debate* with regard to the story of the land of Naboth. The Khoi contribution to the debate consists of five parts, in which I attempt to keep the focus on those people who shared the same living space but who had conflicting views on landownership.

In the first part the focus is on *the identity of persons* who lived side by side and shared the natural resources of the living space in the city of Jezreel.

In the second part the focus is on the significance of the city of *Jezreel as physical and cultural living space*. I argued that the city of Jezreel was the physical and cultural living space of the family of Naboth the Jezreelite. However, they shared their living space with Ahab, the king of Samaria, who at times resided in his palace next to and nearby their land portion.

In the third part of the debate I bring into focus the contrasting views of people with regard to *the ownership of land* in the story of Naboth's land. I argue that the viewpoint on land as the communal possession provided protection for the religious identity of Naboth and his family. It was a portion of land on which they could display their place before Yahweh and differ from the viewpoint of their royal neighbours if they liked. Contrary to the view of Naboth's family was that of the royal family because they viewed the land as a commodity that they could exchange at the cost of God's neighbours.

In the fourth part of the debate I bring into focus the issue of *the violent acquisition of inherited land* in the story of Naboth's land. I argue in this part that the forced removal of people from and the illegal purchase of inherited land constitute acts of violence.

In the final part of the debate I bring into focus *the protest against the dispossession of inherited land*. I argue in this part that Naboth voiced the protest of his family against the dispossession of their inheritance because of Yahweh, their God. The prophet Elijah, coming from outside the living space of Jezreel, advanced Naboth's protest because of God and his bearing for spatial order in the land.

6.4 Chapter Four is *the interpretation* of the dispossession of the land of Naboth from the perspective of a displaced Khoi. In this part I argue that the story of the dispossession of the land of Naboth the Jezreelite consists of six related events.

The first event in the story (v1) provided *the background* for the story of the dispossession of Naboth's portion of the land. The background to the story of the dispossession of Naboth's portion of the land, focused on the spatial identity of Naboth the Jezreelite.

The second event (v2-7) focuses on *Ahab's land dispute* with his neighbours because he requested to alienate their only portion of land by means of an exchange of land portion or a land purchase. Because of their natural attachment to the land, Ahab tried to lure his neighbours into a land transaction with him.

In the third event (v8-16) I focus in my comment on *the conspiracy of Ahab and Jezebel* to murder Naboth to occupy his portion of the land. Ahab failed to overcome his anger for Naboth, his neighbours in Jezreel, for refusing to alienate his land to him because of God and the ancestors. He failed to corrupt Naboth's religious identity and adapt their spatial identity but thought out a plan to murder Naboth so that he could have his land.

In my interpretation of the fourth event (v17-22) I highlighted the fact that *God was aware* of the land dispute between Naboth and Ahab and the eventual dispossession of Naboth's portion of the land. *Elijah, the prophet of God*, voiced the place of God in the land dispute, namely that God stood opposed to the occupation of the land portion of the family of Naboth. God communicated to the prophet the evils that Ahab committed to come in possession of the only land portion of his neighbours in Jezreel. Because they deliberately did what was evil according to the viewpoint of God they insulted God and violated the dignity of their neighbours. Therefore God will punish the king and his house to resolve the disorder and restore the order in the land. Communicating the protest of God against the disorder of the occupation of Naboth's land, the prophet of God voiced his commitment to order in the land.

The fifth event (v23-26) focuses on the point that, Ahab, being responsible for the *disorder in land*, heard from the prophet that Jezebel would die a violent death in Jezreel.

The final event (v27-29) focuses on the point that Ahab's self-humiliation was in line with the *condemnations* that the prophet announced to him on behalf of God. His self-humiliation was superficial because he failed to honour God; God postponed the fulfillment of his *punishment* of Ahab.

6.5 Chapter Five tables an answer on the question of the significance of reading the story of Naboth's land from *the perspective of a displaced Khoi*.

The perspective of the displaced Khoi emphasizes the point that *God being the creator and owner of the land*, God also cares for her. God cares for his land because of his neighbours and not for the sake of the Ahabs and Jezebels of nowadays who exploit his neighbours and rape his land.

It also pays attention to *the interaction* of landed and landless people with their living space. According to their viewpoint, people are either naturally attached with land as their living space or materialistically attached. Because of these contrasting outlooks, people would either share their portion of God's land with their neighbors or refuse to share her with them.

Reading the story of Naboth's land from the perspective of a displaced Khoi focused on human beings as *neighbours on God's land*. Because God created human beings with a human dignity, they have a dignified place before him. Being God's dignified neighbours on his land, human beings must because of God not displace fellow human beings from his land or occupy it to keep the displaced on the periphery.

6.6 To conclude the study on the story of the land of Naboth (I Kings 21), I shall summarize its *contribution to theological reflection*.

In this regard Old Testament scholars should have much regard for *the significance of spatial awareness when doing a theology of land* in our living space. It is crucial for them to firmly position themselves in that manner, because the landedness and landlessness of people defines their place before God (religious identity).

In 1991 a group Old Testament scholars of our living space published valuable views on the story of the dispossession of Naboth's land. However, these fellow South Africans speculated so hard on their perspectives of the story that they kept the land debate

standard on the main track. They showed that it is possible to debate wealth and poverty because of the landedness and landlessness of neighbours with whom they have to share this part of God's land.

However, focusing on the various readings of the story about land is only a part of the steps the biblical reader needs to take to solve the land crisis. The initial step for the reader to take in this regard is to make a stand *for or against* the solution of the land crisis, which implies being in favour of a specific view and against the others. Because to be in favour of all the various viewpoints implies to be in favour of none, and being in favour of having a land debate but with no clear intention of contributing to a solution for the land crisis.

To solve our land crisis, South African theologians ought to keep in mind the awareness of natives of the land as their *cultural living space*. By focusing on spatial awareness they would find an applicable method in order to keep the land debate *on track and in motion*. The need to provide *an applicable method* to solve the land crisis is a challenge to the readers in our land to open the door to knowing God as their neighbour.

An open door, for the sake of God as neighbour, enables readers to terminate their “*white versus black*” approach on a land theology. Having opened the door for the sake of God denotes that the reader takes a stand against entertaining them with “*a cerebral religion*” a comfort zone of their own (Witvliet 1985:90). By focusing on the significance of spatial awareness, the readers who take the step will be able to see that the solution for the spatial crisis is like taking step in faith towards God and away from their comfort zone. For fear for spatial change cause them to remain in their comfort zone and to miss the experience to stand before God with one's hand in God's hand upon the troubled waters (Matt. 15:31).

For having managed to step *out of their comfort zones* enables them to share with neighbours on the periphery in having arrived at knowing (**mû-ḫans**) God as neighbour. For being able to share in the experience of peripherals defines the need of the creations of God to understand (**//nou-!a**) him. For when “*boundary creatures*” (Barth 1966:63) arrive at the place where their wisdom has her borderlines, they would see that at that place begins the journey into “*depth of the riches and wisdom and knowledge of God*” (Rom 11:33)

The challenge to solve the land crisis with neighbours on the periphery of the theological debate equips the readers from the centre *to see and hear God from their place*. It enables them to discard of the shackles of misinformation and instructs them how to walk in the spoor of the belief of their ancestors in God with confidence.

6.6.1 To do a theology of land one should focus on the significance of *a relevant theological language*. A relevant theological language requires that readers should refrain from reading about the land crisis behind closed doors. For reading the text behind closed doors is to take a wide bend around the text and making little effort to see and hear the people affected because of the crisis of landlessness. Thus the text should be the binoculars for readers to look and see the victims on the periphery and the center, and by seeing them, make a stand for or against God. By making a stand for God, these readers have chosen to promote the truth and life (Joh. 14:6) and oppose those who take a stand for the lie and death.

For the written words in the text are only a part of the events of the story of God and humankind who live on and from what God's land yields. To see and hear the unwritten body language, the engaged reader should step in pace with the displaced people on the periphery. For failing to step in pace with displaced people is like a person who heard and spoke about a terminally ill HIV positive relative in hospital but whom he failed to visit.

A relevant theological language in the context of awareness of space starts with the place of humankind before God. For by the affirmation of the *religious identity* of people engaged readers comes into place to honour God as the Creator. On the contrary, by failing to affirm the place of fellow creations before God implies that they dishonour God as their Creator. Having disrespect for the *primary identity* of fellow creations caused people to disallow them a place before God and to violate their *dignity as creations* of God. The affirmation of the place of people before God obstructs the reader from deciding on God's behalf whose Creator he should be and whose Creator he should not be.

Having affirmed the dignity of the creations of God enables engaged readers to honour the *spatial identity of people* i.e. the right of people to live on and from their portion of God's land. To disallow people this right implies that they deliberately insult God as being unable to put right what they did wrong. For they know that they do what is evil in the sight of God and in their arrogance expect from God to bear with them and agree with their manner of managing spatial issues. However, being aware of the spatial identity of people because of God enables readers to perceive God's love and caring for people as his neighbours. It also implies that they need to keep their misidentification of people whose land they occupy in place until despair defeat them and they could disrobe them of their spatial identity. For being spatially mis-identified, some of the victims would be unable to see and hear when people, lacking a natural attachment with the land, misdirect them.

Focusing on a language for doing a theology of land enables engaged readers to have regard for the *cultural identity* of people with whom they have to share their living space. They would be able to perceive that the occupation of the land of the displaced is factually an insult on their cultural identity. Moreover they would perceive that they obstruct respect for their own cultural identity if they insist that their neighbours should see matters according to European perspectives. In so doing they mislead themselves because people know by seeing and hearing when suggestions are out of line with their experience of God. For example, to be free to read the story of Naboth in the mother tongue can make an authentic contribution towards solving the spatial crisis of displacement. Being free to think in our ancestral language and express our viewpoints in official languages, people are equipped to read the spoors of the land greedy monsters that caused the disorder in our land. Being free to read these spoors, they are free to express their view in their mother tongue. Being free to express their viewpoints in the mother tongue, they are able to bring their awareness of space in line with their belief in God the Creator. Being able to bring our awareness in line with our belief in God the Creator they are able display our identity as the creation of God on the land of God. Being able to display our identity as the creation of God, they are able to consciously display the body language of a people, who have a historical claim on the land portions in which our ancestors are resting.

6.6.2 Secondly, in doing a theology of land, engaged readers should focus on *an agenda for spatial change*. Such an agenda for spatial change should encapsulate their hope in God as the owner of the land and them as the neighbors of God on the periphery on God's land. A theological program would manage spatial disputes because the audience would know how they could defeat despair and embrace hope in God.

On the negative side, a programme for spatial change involves the termination of the spatial injustices that landed neighbours imposed on their dispossessed, impoverished neighbours next to and nearby their portions of God's land. So that the misdeeds of their fathers should not be practised by their descendants on the current generation of landless natives and that their descendants would be able to live peacefully side by side in the same living space.

It also implies that the final stage of the occupation of the land of native neighbors has arrived so that "*blacks and whites*" would no longer regard one another in this manner. The powerful landed neighbours therefore would not take the land or a portion of it as a first and last payment of the debt of indebted neighbours. The strong neighbours will intervene before the weaker neighbours go down and encourage them to continue to live on and from what the land yields to them.

Powerful landed neighbours would not seek to realize their own land development objectives and keep unjust land redistribution practices in place. They would no longer seek to extend their economic comfort zones at the cost of their weaker neighbours on the periphery of their shared living space. They instead would become engaged in programmes to narrow the gaps between the very rich who need to dump the crumbs from their tables in the refuse bin and very poor who need to find edible morsels on the dump. They would be geared to narrow the gap between the owners of fully developed portions of land and families on underdeveloped ones. They would seek to narrow the gap between educated employed citizens standing in the queue to deposit their earnings and their under-educated unemployed neighbours, standing before God to beg for daily bread.

Neighbours geared for spatial change would not polish the image of the farm owners but seek to protect the dignity of the family of the underpaid farm workers. They would clean

both “*the outside of the cups and the plates*” and *their inside from the evils of greed* (Matt. 23:25). They would refuse to play the ignorant **!gome** (a deaf and dumb person) in the drama of the land rape but volunteer to play the part of the prophet who voices the pain of the victims on the periphery.

On the positive side a programme for spatial change focuses on *discontinuing the occupation* of the land so that all could live from the abundance that she yields. The strong men who raped the land should co-operate in her restitution and the restoration of the spatial identity of her children because they perceive that the land is God’s land. They involved themselves in projects for the restoration of the human dignity of the neighbour (*/gu-khoib*) i.e. the human being nearby no matter if he/she is “*white or black.*”

6.6.3. When doing a theology of land, engaged readers should give attention to *a local focus* on theology. In so doing, the engaged readers will have to apply a revealing and healing theological objective.

The *revealing* aspect of a local focus on theology will show that the contrasting attachment (natural versus materialistic) of neighbours to the land undermines life in peaceful coexistence. It reveals the truth that people who voiced their preference for a materialistic attachment to the land opposed the healing of the land. It also reveals the truth that materialistically attached people are in fact against life in peaceful coexistence.

The *healing* aspect of a local focus on theology will show that life in peaceful coexistence highlights the abilities of human beings because of God’s presence in the land. God being present in the land enable the *blind* to see that *contrasting associations* keep the evil of violent land conflicts in place. God being present in the land enables the *deaf* to hear the appeal for life and peace in negotiations for land redistribution. God being present in the land challenges the *lame* of the land to defeat despair and step into line with neighbours who opted to heal the land. God being present in the land enables his creations to jump with him over all these obstacles and be an able worker for life on and from what the land yields.

The healing aspect of the local focus will show the need for the *spatial order* by which landed indigenous people will share and care for God’s land. For they disassociate themselves from spatial disorder, caused by people who are focused on raping and

exploiting every hectare of the land, and are focused on the restoration of God's ownership of the land. Disassociating them from people who rape the land, they associate with God's demand for justice in and the healing of his land.

6.6.4 The Khoi awareness of space exists on the periphery but should *be seen and heard in the center*. Because it *exists on the periphery* it is unknown to Europeans and Afro-Europeans living in the center of our living space. However, to God the Khoi experience of the close relationship between humankind and their living space is neither unknown nor peripheral.

The Khoi emphasis on spatial awareness shows that the conscious interaction of people with their land enables them *to keep their dignity as the creations of God in the focal point*. It reveals that it is crucial for people to live on and from the wealth of their land, because an ultimate relation of people with their land highlights their human identity.

Moreover, the awareness of their human identity caused them to remain aware of the fact that they have *a dignified place before God* on God's land. The perspective highlights the fact that people, who know that they have a dignified place before God, attached them to their land on account of God. People who position them before God in this manner also perceive that the land was the living space of past generations and should remain as such for the sake of their future generations. For to people with such an awareness of space, their portion of God's land is not merely a physical living space, but the temporal and cultural breathing space of their ancestors, that they should keep for the sake of their descendants.

The reflection on their natural attachment with the land i.e. their *spatial identity*, has its roots in *their history* because of God. For because of God they are able to perceive God as the Father who carried the fathers on his back, like a mother carried a baby on her back. For because of God they are able to perceive their forefathers and foremothers as the generations of their people who are resting in the soil of the land. For because of God they are able to perceive their descendants as the generations who are waiting to emerge from the soil. For because of God they are able to affirm their authentic right to live on and from their ancestral land and voice a prophetic protest against being kept on its

periphery. The Khoi reflection on their natural attachment to the land brings into focus their view that the land is the living space of past, present and future generations.

The Khoi perspective enables people *to actualize their faith in God* so that they and their descendants would live in peaceful coexistence with neighbours with whom they have to share their living space. For their perspective challenges people to see that they do not need a theological reflection that focus on the *denial of the spatial identity* of the neighbour. It also challenges people to see that they do not need a theological reflection *that reacts* to the denial of one's spatial identity. It enables people on the periphery to see that *a white versus black theology* and a black versus white theology is *a luxury* that exists in the center of our land and for the convenience of people in the center.

It also enables people to see that they need a theological reflection that keeps the focus on *the affirmation* of their human dignity and *the reparation* of their spatial identity. For by bringing such a theological reflection into place they would realize the *subjective, positive* and *liberating* aspects of spatial identity.

They would be enabled to step into the shoes of those disciples whom Jesus named "*the blessed of his Father*" who shared bread, water and shelter with his brothers and sisters (Matt. 25:34,35). They would also be enabled to do a theology of sharing and caring for the sake of life. It means that they reject an undertaker-theology of caring for dead bodies and sharing in the grief of the relatives of the dead bodies. On the contrary they focus on stepping into place to realize the vision of the prophet so that the descendants of the cow (*gomas*) and the lioness (*xamis*) would live in peaceful coexistence in the same living space (Isaiah 11:7).

6.6.5 In conclusion, the view of the displaced Khoi regarding the awareness of space of peripheral human beings is but an effort *to rephrase the final* word that God spoke for peace on his earth. To escape the plight to rephrase the final word that God spoke in this regard contributes to the agonies of landless people on many places on God's earth.

Should human beings attempt to escape their plight by withholding their rephrasing of God's final word they contribute to the agony of God for the sake of peace on his earth. For any policy that causes disorder in the living spaces of humankind is bound to destroy itself but the policy of God will remain in place. It reminds us of the wise words of Jesus,

who said for the sake of peace in their living space: “*Any country that divides itself into groups which fight each other will not last very long. Any town or family that divides itself into groups which fight each other will fall apart*” (Matt. 12:25).

Nevertheless, to rephrase the final word of God for the sake of life in peaceful coexistence among his creations on his earth, awareness of space directs the way. Thus theologians, who seek to contemplate on God’s final word from this viewpoint, can perceive at least three trajectories from the divine mainline.

6.6.5.1 Firstly, they can, following the track of *physical living space*, seek to perceive the position of God in spatial dispute regarding the distribution of land as a space to live on and from. In this respect researchers could bring into focus questions like: how should God’s creations perceive God’s position in the dominant position that people with much *money (marin)* had over needy neighbours? How should they perceive God’s position in terms of the right to *live (ûi)* on and from a portion of the land instead of to die (*//o*) outside the walls and be eaten by the dogs of a city? Questions such as these would help the theological researchers to address ethical issues like: good need and evil greed, good life and evil death, etc.

6.6.5.2 Secondly, they can, following the track of *temporal living space*, seek to perceive the position of God in the spatial crisis of the violation of the spatial identity of people by their neighbours. In this respect theological researchers could bring into focus questions like: what is the place of neighbours, who have a disregard for their neighbour nearby, before God? If neighbours nearby, refusing to see, hear and know their neighbours, turn their faces to a wall in a comfort zone, would they be able to know God as ever-present in their living spaces? Questions like these would help theologians to highlight the belief in God’s divine uniqueness, namely, that human beings failed to direct the flow of history because God cannot be restricted by limitations of time and place.

6.6.5.3 Finally, they can, following the track of *cultural living space*, seek to perceive the place of God in the spatial dispute of dominant cultures with peripheral cultures in many places on his earth. In this respect theologians could bring into focus questions like: is

God ignorant with regard to the need of his creations to be heard from the periphery and in a peripheral language? Does God keep the eyes and the ears open for the culture of the colonizer (the dominant) and close them for the culture of the colonized (the peripheral)? Questions like these would help theologians to see the beauty of the cultural rainbow of people sharing the same living space on God's earth.

raising to her work-cloth,

for they come from the east

drumming on her dress,

That we refuse to sing

to another thing with drums

while some sit down

and pollute our air

to heads like it

How dare we sing with joy?

when our ancestral spaces

are polluted by foreign debris?

How dare we sing with

alms in familiar places?

"Let my tongue cleave

to the roof of my mouth

if I forget the ancestors

resting in the sand

who defended our right

to be free on the land.

May I never be able to sing

and dance on thy throne of your music

if I ever forget those

who came from your womb

7 ADDENDA

7.1. We sit at polluted waters

While we sit at polluted waters
 on our ancestral soil
 we weep for our ancestors
 resting in her underneath.
 For they cannot hear our feet
 drumming on her face.
 Thus we refuse to obey
 to amuse them with dances
 who cause the decay
 and pollute *sida îs*
 to insult *Sida îb*.

How dare we sing with joy
 when our ancestral spaces
 are polluted by foreign faces?
 How dare we entertain
 aliens on familiar places?

*“Let my tongue cleave
 to the roof of my mouth”*
 if I forget the ancestors
 resting in the sand
 who defended our right
 to be free on the land.

May I never be able to sing
 and dance on rhythm of your music
 if I ever forget those
 who came from your womb

May I never be able
 to drum out your rhythm
 with my feet on your face
 if I ever forget you as my greatest joy.

*“Let our tongues cleave
 to the roof of our mouths”*
 if we ever dance on the rhythm
 on the music of foreigners
 if we ever forget the ancestors
 resting from the toil.
 for our peace
 on the soil.

7.2. The Displaced

We are not extinct
 as wise fools seek to prove
 We are the seeds in the *!garo*,
 the plants of the Namib
 awaiting the blessings of *Sida itse*.

We are not extinct
 as wise fools seek to prove
 but children of the soil
 lovingly contributing
 to the cultural wealth of Africa
 and appreciated by *Sida gurub*.

We are not extinct
 as ill-informed aliens
 attempt to find

We are indeed displaced
 from fertile ground
 from ancestral land
 by an alien hand
 made a public display
 as on that day
 on Calvary.

Where Marias /oab
 was made to be
 for all people to see
 a stream of life
 for God so loved his earth

7.3. Gang-raped.

Foreigners gang-raped *sida is*
 to please their selfish greed
 and thanked their evil gods
 and applauded their evil need
 Outlaws violated her beauty
 at the foot of *Cochoqua*
 Criminals abuse her grace
 on the banks the *Gariép*,
 and blatantly defiled her charm
 at the front door of the *Nama*

When the pirates continue
 to gang-rape our mother
 their Christian priests
 having nothing to say
 turned their faces away.
 But the great sea in the west

loudly voiced her protest
 of her children who perceive
 their blatant contempt for *Sida Gurub*

7.4 The Christ of the Khoi.

Christ of the Khoi never suffers hunger
 when the flood is low
 and meager the food

He teaches us to share
 to love and to care
 to work and to pray
 for the bread of the day,
 when the flood is low
 and meager the food.

He laughs with us
 when we're glad
 he weeps with us
 when we're sad
 when the flood is low
 and meager the food

He counsels our wise
 and supports our poor
 He urges us to hope
 and never gives up
 when the flood is low
 and meager the food
 He works for justice
 and never demands
 for one-sided changes

that God never commands
when the flood is low
and meager the food
He speaks our language
and for our delight
he opens the dungeon
that there will be light
when the flood is low
and meager the food

He serves on our side
like a string on a guitar
shares our limited space
with strings near and afar
He values the gifts
of strings weak and strong
and applauds the harmony
of the beautiful song
when the flood is good
and abundant the food.

7.5 The miracle stone

Behold a stone
sent by God's mighty hand
come with vast speed
to strike the fragile feet
and grind on high command
all heads of gold to dust
inferior than sand
Who among mankind can bind
the works of God's hand?

Who among mankind can prevent
 that peace shall fill the earth
 and cause the end
 of the oppressors
 and their successors?

No son of mankind can prevent
 the mountain to be a growing miracle
 and be a shadow tree
 to all kinds of birds!

No son of man accomplished to deny
 the God of gods
 his power to be shown!

7.6 The earth is God's earth

The earth is God's earth
 he created her
 he decorated her
 by his grace
 with life abundant
 life upon her face.

The earth is God's earth
 he founded her sources.
 He set up riches
 on oceans of love
 on rivers of care
 for neighbours to share.

The earth is God's earth
 Only those who ran the race
 before his eyes, his face
 may approach him
 the Supreme Being.

They who stand in his holy place
on their knees
Who've wash down
the hands of their mind
Who've take a humble seat to eat
with the poor peripherals
on the bounds of the city
for God's sake, and not out of pity

But those who oppose life
in peaceful coexistence
sharing the same living space
with poor peripherals
are deep dark dungeons
who corrupt the family of God.
They are chaff in a whirlwind
en route to the destination of chaos

But those who share life
in peaceful coexistence
are like green trees at unpolluted streams
the light on the earth that belongs to God
the family house of weary wanderer
the family fire for the sad soul.

For in them beats the heart of God
for people on the periphery
For in them beats the heart of God
with the under-educated in the townships
For in them beats the heart of God
with the unemployed widow on the street

For in them beats the heart of God
 with the dispossessed of the land
 For in them beats the heart of God
 that humankind should live
 in peaceful coexistence
 on God's earth

1:27 64

2:2 62

2:8,10,15 65

2:14,15,16,18,19 66

3:1 64

42:22 201

50:17 201

Exodus

2:11 65

7:12 15

7:22,23 149

12:38 140

19:4 49

Leviticus

25:1,2,13,23 150

25:23 37

25:23-28 159

Deuteronomy

10:9 183

11:10 149

15:14 142

18:2 183

19:14 37

27:17 37

INDEX OF BIBLICAL REFERENCES

Genesis	Page
1:1	48
1:16	64
1:26	62
1:27	64
2:7	62
2:8,10,15	65
3:14,15,16,18,19	66
5:1	64
42:22	201
50:17	201
Exodus	
2:11	65
7-12	15
7:22,23	149
12:38	140
19:4	49
Leviticus	
25:1,2,13,23	150
25:23	37
25:23-28	159
Deuteronomy	
10:9	183
11:10	149
16:18	142
18:2	183
19:14	37
27:17	37

30:19 194

32:42 38

Joshua

17:16 145

19:18 151

Judges

4:7,13 145

5:21 145

6:33 145

19:17-23 145

Ruth

I Samuel

12:23 182

14:45 182

17:35 182

19:4 201

20:22 182

24:7 182

26:11 182

II Samuel

11:14 188

15:21 194

19:36 148

20:20 182

23:17 182

24:22,24 158

I Kings

3:22 194

10:15 140

15:7,23,31 188

16:21,22 101

16:24	158
16:31	136
16:31-33	205
16:32	135
17-19,21	138
17:1-7	220
17:9-24	221
17:2,5,6,8	139
17:7	131
18:1	139
18:2,5,6	131
18:18	133,134
18:4,10,13,19	134,135
18:17	139
18:29	163
18:31	205
18:45	153
19:10	205
19,20,22	20
19:1	134
19:1-3	134
19:10	139,223
20:3	137
20:19	175
20:32-34	136,175
20:35-43	134,175
20:39	36
20:43	146
22:2-28	134
22:6,10	135
22:13,24	222

22:13-18	223
22:27	134
II Kings	
4:30	175
8:29	153
9:15,30-33	153
9:26	123
10:1,6,3 4	188
21:17	201
23:3,21,24,28	188
II Chronicles	
30:1	188
Nehemiah	
10:1	188
13:3	140
Ester	
3:12	188
Psalms	
23:5	225
24	215
137:6	35
Proverbs	
22:28	159
23:10-11	159
31:6,7	65
Isaiah	
2:13	190
5:1-7	166
11:7	244
27:6	122
40:28	48

51:1,2	62
Jeremiah	
38:12	178
Hosea	
5:10	37
Micah	
2:1-2	166
Daniël	
6:18	188
Ezekiel	
13:18	178
31:1-9	190
Matthew	
3:9	62
5:45	56,224
6:9	49
12:25	244
15:31	237
19:4	64
23:25	241
25:34,35	243
Luke	
15:11-32	136
15:12	217
15:25	218
16:19-31	206
16:20,21	227
16:26	209
22:35-53	15
John	
4:1-30	221

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ABRAHAMS, S.P 1990. *Do Justice or Suffer Fury. A Theological-Exegetical study on Divine Anger in the Prophetic Literature. A Black theological perspective.* Amsterdam, 1990.
- ACT No.14 OF 1925. "Ebenezer (Van Rhynsdorp) Exchange of Land" in *Statutes of the Republic of South Africa*, 14, p151-157.
- ADONIS, J C 1982. *Die afgebreekte skeidsmuur weer opgebou. Die verstrengeling van die sendingbeleid van dies N G K in Suid Afrika met die praktyk en ideologie van die Apartheid in historiese perspektief.* Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- AFRA News, August/September 1994. "Rural Tenants and Land Rights" in *Newsletter of the Association for Rural Advancement*, p10-13.
- AFRA News, May/June 1995. "Changing the balance of Power on farms" in *Newsletter of the Association for Rural Advancement*, p3-13.
- AFRA News, April 1996. "Tackling Tenure" in *Newsletter of the Association for Rural Advancement*, p3-21.
- ALT, A 1955. "Das Königtum in den Reichen Israel und Juda" in *ZAW* 21/22 p 2-22.
- AMSLER, S 1984. "היה" in *THAT Vol. I* p478-486. Jenni and Westermann eds. Munich: Kaiser.
- ANDERSEN, F I 1966. "The socio-juridical Background of the Naboth Incident" in *JBL* 85,46-57.
- ARCHER, F & MEER, S 1995. *A Woman's works work is only recognized when it is not done: women, land tenure and land reform in Namaqualand's coloured rural reserves.* Athlone: Surplus People's Project.
- ARNOLD, B T 1997. "רש" in *NIDOTTE* Vol. 3, p1026-1028. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.
- ASSMANN, J 1991. *Ägypten -Theologie und Frömmigkeit einer frühen Hochkultur* Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- BARTH, K 1966. *Dogmatics in outline.* London: SCM.
- BENGTSON, D R 1996. "Three African Religious Founders" in *Journal of Religion in Africa* 7/1, p1-26.
- BERENG, P M 1982. "Hungry and Angry" in *Echoes of Passion* Bereng and Stinus eds. Morija: Morija Printing Works.

- BERNHARDT, K-H 1983. "היה" in *TDOT* Vol. III, p369-389. Botterweck and Ringgren eds. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- BETHGE, E 1975. *Bonhoeffer, Exile and Martyr*. London: SCM.
- BEVERIDGE, H 1889. *Institutes II or The Christian Religion by John Calvin*. Edinburgh: Clark.
- BLOUNT, B K 1995. *Cultural Interpretation. Reorienting New Testament Criticism*. Minneapolis: Fortress.
- BLAAUW J W H 1983. *Geen plek Om het hoofd neer Te leggen. Israel en de Palestijnen*. Baarn: Ten Have.
- BOHLEN, R 1978. *Der Fall Naboth. Form, Hintergrund und Wedergang einer alttamentlichen Erzählung (1 Kön 21)*. Trier: Paulinus-Verlag.
- BONHOEFFER, D 1970. *Ethics*. London: Fontana.
- BONINO, J M 1983. *Towards a Christian Ethics*. London: SCM.
- BOSHOFF, W 1991. "God, gods and believers: Concepts of God in Israel's religious history" in *Plutocrats and Paupers: Wealth and poverty in the Old Testament*. Pretoria: J L van Schaik.
- BOSMAN, H L 1991. "Such a thing is not done in Israel'. The judicial system of ancient Israel" in *Plutocrats and Paupers: Wealth and poverty in the Old Testament*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- BOSMAN H L 2004. *Deuteronomic perspectives on land*. (An unpublished address)
- BOTTERWECK, G J 1986. "הפך" in *TDOT* Vol. V, p92-107. Botterweck & Ringgren eds. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- BOTTERWECK, G J 1986. "דע" in *TDOT* Vol. V, p448-481. Botterweck & Ringgren eds. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- BOUCHER, M 1991. "Die Kaap onder die Verenigde Oos-Indiese Kompanjie" in *Nuwe Geskiedenis van Suid Afrika*, p61-74. Kaapstad: Human & Rousseau
- BREDEKAMP, H C 1982. *Van Veeverskaffers tot Veewagters. 'n Historiese ondersoek na betrekkinge tussen die Khoikhoi en Europeërs aan die Kaap 1662-1679*. Bellville: Instituut vir Historiese Navorsing (IHN).
- BREDEKAMP, H C 1991. "Jagters, herders en landbouers. Die oorsprong van Khoisan gemeenskappe in Suider-Afrika" in *Nuwe Geskiedenis van Suid- Afrika*, p28-31. Kaapstad: Human & Rousseau.

- BREDEKAMP, H C 1991. "Van brose selfstandigheid tot permanente gedienstigheid" in *Nuwe Geskiedenis van Suid Afrika*, p102-105. Kaapstad: Human en Rousseau.
- BRIGHT, J 1972. *A History of Israel*. London: SCM Press.
- BRINKMAN, J 1992. *The perception of space in the Old Testament*. Kampen: Kok.
- BRONGERS H A 1967. "De wijngaard van Naboth" in *I Koningen in De Prediking van het Oude Testament (POT)*. Nijkerk: Callenbach, p160-219.
- BROWN, J 1981. *To be born a nation. The liberation struggle for Namibia. A publication of the Departement of Information and Publicity of SWAPO of Namibia*. London: Zed Press.
- BROWN, M L 1997. "ברך" in *NIDOTTE* Vol. 1, p757-767. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.
- BRUEGGEMANN, W 1977. *The Land. Place as Gift, Promise and Challenge*. London: SPCK.
- CARAGOUNIS, C C 1997. "בן" in *NIDOTTE* Vol. 1, p671-677. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.
- CARSTENS, P 1975. "Some implications of Change in Khoikhoi Supernatural Beliefs" in *Religion and Social Change in Southern Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip, p 78-95.
- CHIDESTER, D 1996. "Savage Systems" in *Colonialism and Comparative Religion in South Africa*, p 68-72.
- CHOON, L S 1999. "Ahab takes possession of Naboth's Vineyard" in *The First and Second Books of the Kings. Introduction, Commentary and reflection*. Nashville: Abington, p53-159.
- CLINES, D J A 1983. "Methods of Old Testament Study" in *Beginning of Old Testament study*. London: SPCK, p33-34.
- CLINES, D J A 1995. "ב" in *The Dictionary of classical Hebrew* Vol. II, p83-86.
- Clines, D J A eds. Sheffield: Sheffield.
- COLE, J 1995. "The landless bear the brunt of apartheid legacy" in *SASH*, Vol 37/3, p21-25.
- COMBRINK, H J B 2000. *The Challenge of making and Redrawing Boundaries. A perspective on Socio-Rhetorical Criticism*. Stellenbosch: Centre for Science Development

- CONRAD, J 1980. “זִקְן” in *TDOT Vol. 4*, p124-131. Botterweck and Ringgren eds. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- CORNELIUS, I 1997. “מַחִיר” in *NIDOTTE Vol. 2*, p15-916. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.
- CROATTO, J S 1981. *Exodus. A hermeneutics of freedom*. Maryknoll: Orbis.
- CUTHBERTSON, G 1989. “Van der Kemp and Philip. The Missionary Debate Revisited” in *Missionalia 17*, p77-94.
- CROSS F M 1973. *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic. Essays in the History and Religion of Israel*. Massachusetts: Harvard.
- DAPPER, O 1933. “Kaffraria or Land of the Kaffirs also named Hottentots” in *The early Cape Hottentots*. Cape Town: Nasionale Pers, p1-77.
- DE BRUYN, J T 1991. “Die Groot Trek” in *Nuwe Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*. Kaapstad: Human & Rousseau, p127-139.
- DEARMAN, J A 1988. *Property Rights in the Eighteenth Century Prophets. The Conflict and its Background*. Atlanta: SBLDS.
- DE GEUS, C H J 1976. *The Tribes of Israel. An Investigation into some of the presuppositions of Martin Noth's amphictyony hypothesis*. Amsterdam: Van Gorcum.
- DEIST, F 1991. “Where do the biblical texts come from? Historical exegesis” in *Plutocrats and Paupers: Wealth and poverty in the Old Testament*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- DE KOCK, L 1992. *Missionaries, Language and the Land*. JTSA, p62-68.
- DE LA HARPE, D 1995. *Ebenezer: Origins of a Community*. Athlone: Surplus People's Project.
- DE MOOR, J C 1977. “אֲשֵׁרָה” in *TDOT Vol. I*, p438-444. Botterweck and Ringgren eds. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- DE MOOR, J C 1977. “בַּעַל” in *TDOT Vol. II*, p181-192. Botterweck and Ringgren eds. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- DE VAUX, R 1968. *Ancient Israel. Its Life and Institutions*. London: Darton, Longman & Todd.
- DE VILLIERS, R 1975. “Afrikaner Nationalism” in *The Oxford History of South Africa*, Vol. I. Oxford: Claraden.
- DE VRIES, S 1985. “The Narrative of Naboth's Judicial Murder. 1 Kings 20:43b-21:29” in *The World Bible Commentary (WBC)*, p252-258. Waco: Word Books.

- DOMERIS, W 1991. "God cares for his chosen ones: A prosperity reading" in *Plutocrats and Paupers: Wealth and poverty in the Old Testament*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- DOMMERSHAUSEN, W 1980. "ללל" in *TDOT* Vol. IV, p409-417. Botterweck and Ringgren eds. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- DONALDSON, L E 1996. "Post-colonialism and Biblical Reading. An Introduction" in *Semeia* 75, p1-13. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- DUBE, M W 1996. "Toward a Post-Colonial feminist interpretation of the Bible" in *Semeia* 78, p12-25. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- DU PLESSIS, H 2001. "Innie Skylte vannie Jirre" in *Griekwapsalms en ander gedigte*. Pretoria: LAPA Uitgewers.
- ELPHICK, R 1977. *Kraal and Castle. Khoisan and the Founding of White South Africa*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- ENGELBRECHT, M 1997. "The seduction and denial of Khoisan Rights" in *The Khoisan Identities & Cultural Heritage Conference*, p32-33. Cape Town: InfoSource.
- FARRINGTON, B 1933. "A Short Account of the Cape of Good Hope and the Hottentots who inhabit the Region" in *The Early Cape Hottentots*, p81-157. Cape Town: The Van Riebeeck Society.
- FARRINGTON, B 1933. "An elegant and accurate Account of the African Race living round the Cape of Good Hope" in *The Early Cape Hottentots*, p161-299. Cape Town: The Van Riebeeck Society.
- FOHRER, G 1957. *Elia*. Zürich: Zwingli Verlag.
- FOHRER, G 1966. "Het grondbezit" in *BHW* Vol. II, p222. Utrecht: Het Spectrum.
- FOHRER, G 1966. "Kroondomein" in *BHW* Vol. III, p114. Utrecht: Het Spectrum.
- FREDRICKSON, G M 1981. *White Supremacy. A Comparative Study in America and South African History*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- FROST, S B 1963. "Judgement on Jezebel, or A Woman wronged" in *Theology Today* 20, p503-517.
- GEREMAN, G 1971. "דד" in *THAT* Vol. I, p448-451. Jenni & Westermann eds. Munich: Kaiser.
- GERLEMAN, G 1977. "Nutzrecht und Wohnrecht" in *ZAW* 89, p314-325.
- GERHART, G N 1979. *Black Power in South Africa. The Evolution of an Ideology*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

- GOBA, B 1983. "Emerging Theological Perspectives in South Africa" in *Irruption of the Third World. Challenge to Theology*, p19-29. Maryknoll: Orbis.
- GOBA, B 1986. "Black Conscious Movement: Its impact on Black Theology" in *The Unquestionable Right to be Free. Black Theology from South Africa*, p57-69. Maryknoll: Orbis.
- GOTTWALD, N K 1980. *The Tribes of Yahweh. A sociology of the Religion of liberated Israel*. London: SCM.
- GUITIERREZ, G 1983. *The Power of the Poor in History*. Maryknoll:Orbis.
- GREVENBROEK, J G 1933. "An elegant and accurate account of the African Race living round the Cape of Good Hope commonly called Hottentots" in *The early Cape Hottentots*. Cape Town: Nasionale Pers.
- GRAY, J 1970. "The Incident of Naboth's Vineyard. A Social Crisis in Ahab's Reign" in *I Kings*, p433-443. London: SCM.
- GROUNDWORK, March/April 1995. "Land Reform Pilots - aimed at the poorest" in *Groundwork -Border Rural Committee Newsletter*, p3-8.
- HAHN, J Th.1881. *Tsuni //Goam. The Supreme Being of the Khoikhoi*. London: Trubner.
- HEAD, B 1978. "De hemel is niet gesloten" in *Korte verhalen uit Afrika, Azië en Latijns Amerika*. Weesp: Het Wereldvenster.
- HELBERG, J L 1998. *Understanding the concept land in the Old and New Testament. The importance of persons and factor* Potchefstroom: Koers 63 (3) p22-240.
- HELFMEYER, F J 1974. "אֶרֶץ" in *TDOT* Vol.I, p204-207. Botterweck and Ringgren eds. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- HOUSE, P R 1999. "Elijah's opposition to idolatry and oppression" in *The New American Commentary. An exegetical and theological exposition of Holy Scripture*, p 231-233.
- HöVER-JOAG, I 1986. "תּוֹב" in *TDOT* Vol. X, p296-317. Botterweck & Ringgren eds. Grand Rapids:Eerdmans.
- JACOBS, D 1998. *Ebenhaezer-Navorsingverslag aangaande historiese Grondeise*. Kaapstad: Kommissie vir Historiese Grondeise.
- JEPSEN, A 1977. "אֶרֶץ" in *TDOT* Vol. I, p292-323. Botterweck & Ringgren eds. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

- JEREMIAS, J 1981. *New Testament Theology*. London: SCM.
- KAUTZSCH, E 1976. *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- KEET, B 1968. "Die klok het al gelui" in *Vertraagde Aksie. n Ekumeniese getuienis uit die Afrikaanse Gereformeerde Kerke deur predikante en andere*, p5-11. Pretoria: Craft Pers.
- KELLER, C A 1984. "שבע" in *THAT* Vol. II, p855-863. Jenni and Westermann eds. Munich: Kaiser.
- KIESKAMP, A 1997. "The Khoekhoe in Van Riebeeck's Official Accounts" in *Khoisan Identities and Cultural Heritage Conference*, p165-171. Cape Town: Infosource.
- KEKANE, S N 1978. *A History of the Black People in S.A. A Critical analysis of 19th Century South African Historiography*. Leuven: 1978.
- KELLNER, H 1989. *Language and historical representation. Getting the story crooked*. London: Wisconsin.
- KOCH, K 1980. "הטא" in *TDOT* Vol. IV, p309-319. Botterweck & Ringgren. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- KONKEL, A H 1997. "כסף" in *NIDOTTE* Vol. 2, p683-684. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.
- KOOPMANS W T 1997. "אהזה" in *NIDOTTE* Vol 1, p358-360. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.
- KRUGER, P A 1997. "Jezreel" in *NIDOTTE* Vol. 4, p777. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.
- LEPUTU, K M E 1984. *רוה יהוה in Deutoro Isaiah. Doctoral script Old Testament*. Kampen: Theologische Hogeschool der Gereformeerde Kerken
- LIPINSKI, E 1983. "מכר" in *TDOT* Vol X, p295-297. Botterweck and Ringgren eds. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- LOADER, J 1991. "How is the biblical text structured? Immanent exegesis" in *Plutocrats and Paupers: Wealth and poverty in the Old Testament*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- LOFF, C J A 1981. *Dogter of Vertoteling? Kantaantekeninge by die Geskiedenis van die NGSK in Suid Afrika*. Plumstead: Maranatha.
- LOHFINK, N 1986. "חרם" in *TDOT* Vol V, p80-199. Botterweck and Ringgren eds. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

- LONG, B O 1984. "Ahab and the murder of Naboth, I Kings 21:1-29" in *I Kings with an introduction to historical literature*, p223-230. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- MAARSINGH, B 1974. *Leviticus*: Nijkerk: Callenbach.
- MAAS, F 1984. "ד" in *THAT* Vol. I p570-575. Jenni and Westermann eds. Munich: Kaiser.
- MAGUBANE, B M 1979. *The Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa*. London: Monthly Review Press.
- MACQUARRIE, J 1984. "Identity" in *A New Dictionary of Christian Ethics*, p278-279. Richardson and Bowden eds. London: SCM.
- MERRILL, E H 1997. "מת" in *NIDOTTE* Vol 2, p886-888. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.
- MILLER, J M 1967. *The Fall of the House of Ahab*. VT 17 p307-324.
- MILLARD, A 1997. "תה" in *NIDOTTE* Vol 2, p324-325. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.
- MINNAAR, A & PAYZE, C 1994. "Rural land reform no easy solutions" in *Social Update*, Third Quarter 1994.
- MESTERS, C 1984. *Das Wort Gottes in der Geschichte der Menschheit*. Neukircher-Vluyn: Neukircher.
- MOKOKA, C M 1984. *Black Experience in Black Theology. A Study on the Roman Catholic Church Missionary Endeavor in South Africa*. Oesgeest: Centraal Missie Commissariaat.
- MOSALA, I J 1986. "The relevance of African traditional religions and their challenge to Black Theology" in *The unquestionable right to be free*, p91-100. Maryknoll: Orbis.
- MOSALA, I J 1991. "Ownership or non-ownership of land forms the basis of wealth and poverty: A Black theological perspective" in *Plutocrats and Paupers: Wealth and poverty in the Old Testament*. Pretoria: Van Schaik. .
- MOSALA, J I 1995. "Reconstructing the Azanian Mispahot (Clans). Land, Class and Bible in South Africa Today" in *Text & Experience. Towards a cultural exegesis of the Bible*, p238-246. Sheffield: Sheffield
- MOSCATI, S 1962. *The Face of the Ancient Orient*. New York: Anchor.
- MUILENBERG, J 1967. "Old Testament Ethics" in " *A Dictionary of Christian Ethics* p235-237. London, SCM.
- NAPIER, B D 1959. *The Omrides of Jezreel*. VT 9, p66-378.

- NAPIER, B D 1976. *The Inheritance and the Problem of Adjacency. An Essay on 1 Kings 21 Interpretation* 30, p3-11.
- NCUBE, D 1985. *Black Trade Unions in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Skotaville.
- NGUBANE, J B 1986. "Theological Roots of African Independent Churches and their challenge to Black Theology" in *The unquestionable right to be free*, p71-90. Maryknoll:Orbis.
- NELSON, R 1987. "1 Kings 21 Royal Tyranny and Prophetic Condemnation" in *First and Second Kings. Interpretation. Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching* p138-145. Atlanta: John Knox.
- NEWTON-KING, S 1991. "Khoisan-verset teen Koloniale uitbreiding" in *Nuwe Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, p106-114. Kaapstad: Human & Rousseau.
- NINEHAM, D E 1990. "Cultural Relativism" in *A Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation* , p155-159. R J Coggin and J L Houlden eds. London: SCM.
- NOORT, E 1993. *Een Plek Om Te Zijn. Over de theologie van het land aan de hand van Jozua 8:30-35. Rede uitgesproken bij aanvaarding van ambt van hoogleraar*. Kampen: Kok
- NOORT, E 1994. *Synchronic or Diachronic? A debate on Method in Old Testament Exegesis. Paper read at the 9th joint meeting of the Society for Old Testament Studies at Kampen*.
- NWOKO, M 1985. *The Rationality of African Socialism*. Rome 1985.
- ODUYOYE, M A 1986. *Hearing and knowing. Theological Reflections on Christianity in Africa*. Maryknoll:Orbis.
- ODUYOYE, MA 1995."Biblical interpretation and social location. African Women's Reading of the Bible" in *Reading from this place. Volume 2. Social location and Biblical interpretation in Global perspective*, p33-51. Minneapolis: Fortress.
- OEMING, M 1986. *Naboth der Jezreeliter. Unterzungen zu den theologischen Motiven und Uberlieferungsgeschichte von 1 Reg 21*. ZAW 98, p363-3820.
- O'KENNEDY D F 1976. "חלל" in *NIDOTTE* Vol. 2, p144-150. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.
- OKURE, T 1995."Reading from this place. Some problems and prospects" in *Reading from this place. Social location and Biblical interpretation in Global perspective*. Vol. 2, p52-66. Fortress: Minneapolis.

- OLIVIER, J P J 1996. *Spatial Awareness: An essential element of historical understanding in Old Testament Studies*. OTE 9/2, p249-260.
- OLIVIER, J P J & AITKEN T 1997. “הָרַ” in *NIDOTTE* Vol. 2, p255-256. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.
- OTTOSON, M 1978. “הַיְכָל” in *TDOT* Vol. III, p382-389. Botterweck and Ringgren eds. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- OTZEN, B 1986. “חַתָּם” in *TDOT* Vol. V, p263-269. Botterweck & Ringgren eds. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- PATTE, D 1979. *What is Structural Analysis?* Philadelphia: Fortress
- PLAATJE, S T 1986. *Mhudi*. London: Heineman.
- PIENAAR, D N 1997. “Samaria” in *NIDOTTE* Vol. 4 p777-779. Grand Rapids: Zondervan,.
- POGGIOLI, R 1963. *Naboth’s Vineyard or the Pastoral View of the Social Order*. JHI 24. p.3-24.
- PREUSS, H D 1977. “בּוֹאֵ” in *TDOT* Vol. II, p20-49. Botterweck & Ringgren eds. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- REHM, M 1979. “1 Kön 21:1-29: Naboth’s Weinberg” in *Das erste Buch der Könige*. Echter: Echter Verlag, , p206-212.
- REDELINGHUYS, M J 1968. “Die Kerk in Suid Afrika” in *Vertraagde Aksie. ‘n Ekumeniese getuienis uit die Afrikaanse Gereformeerde Kerke deur predikante en andere*. Pretoria: Craft Pers, p67-90.
- RINGGREN, H 1977. “אֶבֶן” in *TDOT* Vol. I, p1-19. Botterweck & Ringgren eds. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- ROBBINS, V K 1996b. *Exploring the texture of Texts: A guide to a socio-rhetorical interpretation*. Valley Forge: Trinity Press International.
- RODNEY, W 1983. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. London: Bogle-L’Overture.
- ROFé, A 1988. *The Vineyard of Naboth. The Origin and Message of the Story*. VT XXXVIII 1, p85-104.
- ROTHUIZEN, G Th, 1973. *Wat is Ethiek?* Kampen: Kok.
- ROUBOS, K 1972. “II Kronieken” in *POT Nijkerk*: Callenbach.
- SAAIMAN, W 1991. *Christian Mission in South Africa: A Historical Reflection*. International Review of Mission. 83, p11-19.

- SAAIMAN, W 1994. *Christian Mission, Public Life and Reconstruction in South Africa. Some historical perspectives (mission impact on education, health services and land ownership)*. *Missionalia* 25, p 87-99.
- SARNA, N 1997. "Naboth's Vineyard Revisited" in *Tehillah le-Moshe*, p119-126.
- SCHAPER, I 1930. *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa. Bushmen and Hottentots*. London: Routledge and Paul.
- SCHAPER, I 1933. "Kaffraria or Land of the Kafirs" in *The Early Cape Hottentots*, p1-71. Cape Town: The Van Riebeeck Society.
- SCHEFFER, E 1991. "What does God's word refer to? Historical-grammatical exegesis" in *Plutocrats and Paupers: Wealth and poverty in the Old Testament*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- SCHMOLDT, H 1985. "Elijas Botschaft an Ahab. Überlegungen zum Wedergang von 1 Kön 21" in *Biblische Notizen* 28, p39-52.
- SCHOLTZ, G D 1978. *Afrikaner Waarheen?* Johannesburg: Perskor.
- SCHMID, H H 1984. "יֵרֵשׁ" in *THAT* Vol. I, p778-781. Jenni & Westermann eds. München: Kaiser.
- SCHNIEDEWIND, W.M 1993. *The Religion of Ahab and Mannaseh in the Book of the Kings*. *CBQ* 55, p649-657.
- SEBIDI, L 1985. "The dynamic of Black Struggle and its implications for Black Theology" in *The unquestionable right to be free*, p1-36. Maryknoll: Orbis.
- SEEBASS, H 1974. "Der Fall Naboth in I Reg XXI" in *VT* 24, p474-488.
- SEEBASS, H 1977. "Die Landverheissungen an die Väter." in *Ev Th* 37, p210-229.
- SOGGIN, J A 1984. *A History of Israel. From the Beginnings to the Bar Kochba Revolt AD 135*. London: SCM.
- SOGGIN, J A 1980. *Introduction to the Old Testament. From its Origins to the closing of the Alexandrian Canon*. London: SCM.
- STOLZ, F 1984. "כַּעַס" in *THAT* Vol. I, p838-842. Jenni & Westermann eds. München: Kaiser.
- STOLZ, F 1984. "צוּם" in *THAT* Vol. II, p535-538. Jenni & Westermann eds. München: Kaiser.
- STRASSBERGER, E 1969. *The Renish Mission Society in South Africa 1830-1950*. Cape Town: Struik.
- SUGIRTHARAJAH, R S 1996. "Textual Cleansing: A move from the Colonial to the

- Postcolonial Version” in *Semeia*, p7-19. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- SUH, Nam-dong 1983.”Historical References for a Theology of Minjung” in *Minjung Theology. People as the Subjects of History*, p155-182. Maryknoll:Orbis.
- SURPLUS PEOPLE’S PROJECT, 1995. *Grondeise in Namaqualand.Beacon Industries*: Formeset.
- TEN RHYNE, W 1933. “A short account of the Cape of Good Hope and of the Hottentots who inhabit that region” in *The early Cape Hottentots*.Cape Town: Nasionale Pers.
- THIEL, W 1999. *De Totesrechtsprozess Naboyh’s in 1 Kön 21. Aus: Recht und Ethos ins Alten Testament-Gestalt und Wirkung*. FS für H.Seebass. Neukirchen: Vlijn.
- TIMM, S 1982. *Die Dynastie Omri. Quellen und Untersuchunegn zur Geschichte Israels im 9 Jahrhundert*. Göttingen.
- TOBIAS, P V 1991. “Die Laaste Miljoen Jaar in Suid-Afrika” in. *Nuwe Geskiedenis van Suid Afrika*, p20-27. Kaapstad: Human en Rousseau.
- TOBIAS, P V 1998. “Myths and Misunderstandings about Khoisan Identities and Status” in *The Khoisan Identities and Cultural Heritage Conference*, p19-27. Cape Town: Infosource.
- TOLEN, A 1983. “Political Ethics in Africa” in *Perspectives on Political Ethics.An Ecumenical Enquiry*, p45-49. Geneva: Oikoumene.
- THOMPSON, L 1975. “Great Britain and the Afrikaner Republics” in *The Oxford History of South Africa*, Vol 1. Oxford: Claraden.
- VAN GELDEREN, C 1956. “De wijngaard van Naboth” in *Boeken der Koningen, tweede deel 1 Koningen 12-22 en 2 Koningen 1-4*, 264-278. Kampen: Kok.
- VAN HEERDEN, W 1991. “Prophets and profiteers. Prophetic perspectives on wealth and poverty” in *Plutocrats and Paupers: Wealth and poverty in the Old Testament*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- VAN UCHELEN, N A 1991. *Psalmen deel I (1-40) in the POT*.Nijkerk: Callenbach.
- VAN WYK, A J 1931. ‘*n Mylpaal in die Geskiedenis van die N G K in Siud Afrika. Groot Sendingkonferensie te Uitenhage*. Kaapstad: Nasionale Pers.
- VAN WYK, J A 1968. “Kommunikasie en Menslike Waarde” in *Vertraagde Aksie. n Ekumeniese getuienis uit die Afrikaanse Gereformeerde Kerke deur predikante en andere*, p105-116. Pretoria: Craft Pers.

- VILLA-VICENCIO, C 1987. *Theology and Violence. The South African Debate*. Braamfontein: Skotaville.
- WALSHE, P 1983. *Church versus State in South Africa. The Case of the Christian Institute*. Maryknoll:Orbis.
- WALSH, J T 1996. "Naboth's Vineyard. I Kings 21" in *Berith Olam*, p316-341. Collegeville: Liturgical Press.
- WAGNER, S 1977. "אמר" in *TDOT* Vol. I, p328-345. Botterweck and Ringgren eds. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- WAY, R J 1997. "צום" in *NIDOTTE* Vol. 3, p780-783. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.
- WEGNER, P 1997. "Jezreel Valley" in *NIDOTTE* Vol. 4, p777-779. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.
- WEGNER, P D 1997. "בליעל" in *NIDOTTE* Vol. 1, p661-662. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.
- WEISER, A 1971. *The Psalms. A commentary*. London: SCM.
- WELTEN, P 1973. "Naboths Weinberg (1 Könige 21)" in *Ev Th* 33, p18-32.
- WERNICH, P 1996. "The Ebenezer Community. Land and Land Use" in *Ebenezer Navorsingverslag aangaande Historiese Grondeise*. Bellville: 1996.
- WEST, G O 1995. *Biblical Hermeneutics of Liberation. Modes of Reading the Bible in South African Context*. Maryknoll:Orbis.
- WEST, G O 1999 *The Academy of the Poor. Towards a dialogical reading of the Bible*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press
- WHITELAM, KW 1989. *Israel's Traditions of Origin. Reclaiming the Land* in *JSOT* p19-42.
- WILLIAMS, R J 1976. *Hebrew Syntax in Outline*. Toronto: University of Toronto
- WILSON, M 1969. "Hunters and Herders" in: *The Oxford History of South Africa Vol. I* Oxford Claraden.
- WITBOOI, B 1987. "Liminality, Christianity and the Khoikhoi tribes" in *Hammering the swords into ploughshares*, p101-109. Braamfontein: Skotaville.
- WITVLIET, T 1985. *A Place in the Sun. An introduction to Liberation Theology in the Third World*. London: SCM.
- WOLTERSTROFF, N 1983. *Until Justice and Peace Embrace. The Kuyper Lectures for 1981 delivered at the Free University of Amsterdam*. Kampen: Kok.
- WRIGHT, C J H 1997. "נחל" in *NIDOTTE* Vol. 3, p77-81. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.

WRIGHT, C 1999. "Theology and Ethics of the land" in *Transformation* 16/3, p81-86.

WÜRTHWEIN, E 1984. "Der Justizmord an Nabot. Elijas Drohung gegen Ahab" in *Die Bücher der Könige*, p245-253. Göttingen: Vanderhoek & Ruprecht.

YOYOTTE, J 1978. "Ackerbau in *Knaurs Lexikon der ägyptischen Kultur* p11-12. München: Knaur.

ZIMMERLI, W 1978. *Old Testament in Outline*. Edinburgh: Clark.