

Origin and meaning of place names in the Etosha National Park, Namibia

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ABSTRACT

Names given to a total of 183 places in Etosha during the past 140 years, involving four African and four European languages, are interpreted. Analysis of original place names shows San (language of the Heikom Bushmen) predominates (43%), followed by Afrikaans (30%), Herero (8%), English (7%), Oshindonga (6%), German (3%), Latin (3%), Nama (<1%). When names are ranked according to descriptive category, 19% refer to animals, followed by water (16%), plants (14%), people or their weapons (13%), hills / rocks / soils (10%), encounters / actions (10%), scenery (7%), map references / farms / companies (5%), birds and invertebrates (each 3%). Interpretation of San names especially is difficult because of illiteracy, varying pronunciations, and ambiguity among people interviewed. The origin and meaning of some place names in Etosha are increasingly difficult to verify as people who remember the history die.

INTRODUCTION

This document explains most of the place names in Etosha we were able to locate and we are responsible for their interpretation.

Our efforts are dedicated to the memory of Bernabè de la Bat, the man whose imagination and drive fuelled the development of Etosha into a national park of world repute. He was its first full-time biologist, later its warden, and finally the first director of Nature Conservation for the country.

When "Game Reserve Number 2" was proclaimed somewhat unimaginatively in 1907, the Etosha area assumed its elevated status bearing many names within its borders. These had been given by the resident peoples or travellers who linked them to specific places, characteristics or events. Later, as Etosha developed into a fully-fledged national park, names with modern connotations were added to new development points such as rest camps and bore-holes. Today, with a written history of 140 years (Berry 1997), Etosha hosts at least 183 recognised place names which originated from Afrikaans, English, German, Herero, Latin, Nama (language of the Damara people), Oshindonga (language of the Ndonga people in Owambo), and San (language of the Heikom Bushmen, hereafter referred to as Hei//om).

Some of the names are picturesque, others evocative of times when Etosha witnessed the passage of successive cultures. Some remain obscure in their origin and meaning. Many names have undergone changes which make them unrecognisable from the original word. Together they form a mixture of unique descriptions which capture the imagination of visitors to Namibia's mecca for tourists.

During compilation of this record, it became obvious that it may already be too late to capture the original meanings of some place names because the persons who had given them have died. Since these people most likely were unable to read or write, the names were passed on by word of mouth and underwent changes in pronunciation which may have influenced their present spelling.

The purpose of this document, therefore, is to provide a reference of place names for persons working in Etosha or those visiting or reading about it. Our interpretations are intended, for example, to enable a reader to understand why the hills fringing Etosha's southern boundary to the west of Andersson Gate are known as "Ondundozonanandana". These descriptions are consequently not intended to be scientific or unemotional, as this would rob the place names of their anecdotal value.

METHOD

We list most known place names currently or recently in use in Etosha, giving previous names and alternative spellings or pronunciations, and attempt to trace their origin and meaning. When we were unable to interpret names from the literature and our own experience, totalling 35 years in Etosha, we asked especially the old Hei//om, Hereros and Wambos who resided there.

The language relating to the name is bracketed and abbreviated as follows:

A = Afrikaans, E = English, G = German, H = Herero, L = Latin, N = Nama, O = Oshindonga, S = San. San names are spelled phonetically to assist in pronunciation and the symbols ! // and ≠ are used to distinguish the

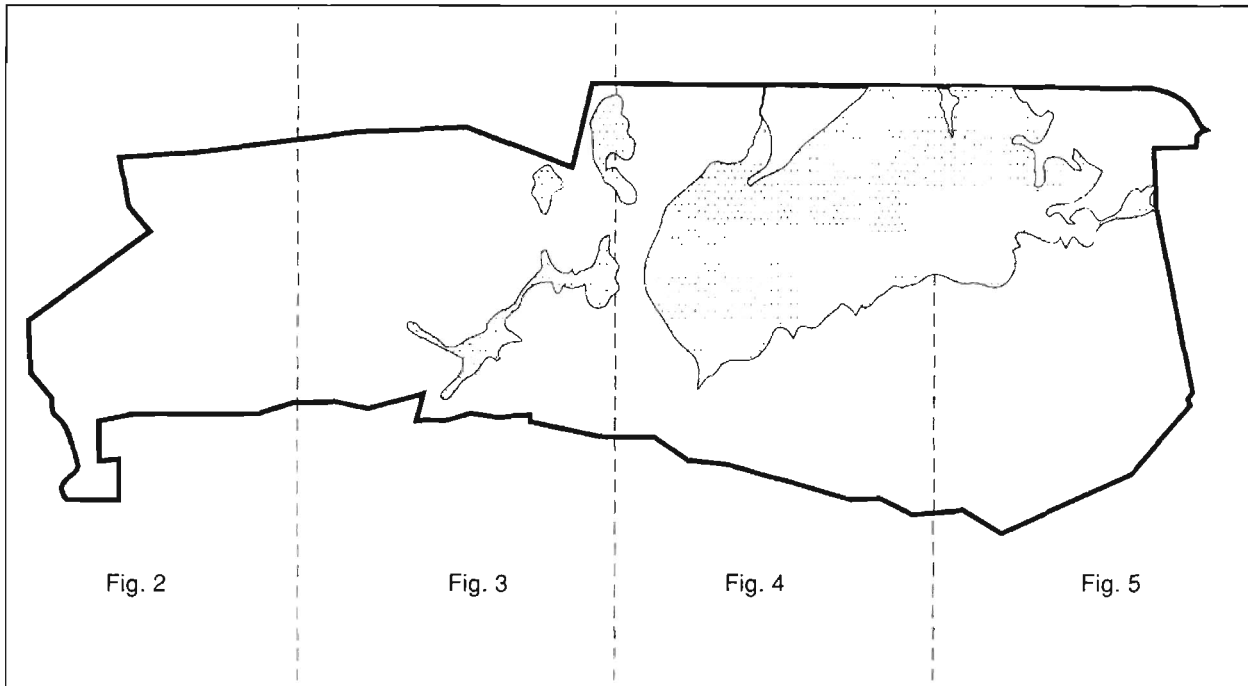


FIGURE 1: Map of Etosha National Park, showing the division into four sections for the purpose of locating place names.

various pronunciations, according to Bleek and Lloyd (1968)¹. To facilitate locating the places, a map of Etosha (Figure 1) is sub-divided into four sections (Figures 2 through 5) with names numbered from the lower western side of Etosha moving eastwards.

¹ Phonetic pronunciations of San names by Hei//om in Etosha (based on Bleek and Lloyd 1968).

- ! cerebral click, sounded by curling up the tip of the tongue against the roof of the palate, and withdrawing it suddenly and forcibly.
- / dental click, sounded by placing the tip of the tongue against the front teeth of the upper jaw, and then forcibly withdrawing it.
- // lateral click, sounded by covering with the tongue the whole of the palate and withdrawing it forcibly *or* by placing the tongue against the side teeth, and then withdrawing it forcibly (the lateral click is similar to the sound made when urging a horse forward).
- ≠ palatal click, sounded by pressing the tip of the tongue with as flat a surface as possible against the termination of the palate at the gums, and withdrawing it forcibly.
- a hyphen denotes brief pauses between words.

In the case of artificial water points (bore-holes), an "i" (inactive), following the number indicates the bore-hole is permanently closed. Active bore-holes may be closed for varying periods to assist in the management of Etosha.

When other places in Etosha are mentioned, the number of the name referred to is bracketed.

Latin names of wild animals and plants are bracketed following the common name when first used in the text. Classification of animals is according to Meester, Rautenbach, Dippenaar and Baker (1986); classification of plants follows Merxmüller (1966-72) and Palgrave (1977).

MEANING OF HEI//OM

The name means "tree sleeper" ("heib" or "heis" is tree and "om" is sleep), referring to past times when these people who lived and hunted in Etosha escaped into trees when wild animals threatened their safety (Fourie 1963-65), or slept on rudimentary tree platforms to avoid mosquitoes. Smoky fires lit under the platforms from the bark and wood of "au-heb", the Tamboti tree (*Spirostachys africana*) (Schatz 1993), with its copious milky latex and oily wood, burnt with a sweetish aromatic odour which is a highly effective insect repellent (Palgrave 1977). Confirming the problem caused by mosquitoes since early times, Rohlwink (1973) found adult Hei//om very resistant to most illnesses except malaria, but high infant mortality was prevalent. Nevertheless, Budack (1969) regards the meaning of Hei//om as "tree sleepers" not verified and considers it originated with derogatory intent.

ORIGIN OF THE HEI//OM PEOPLE

Hei//om are the greatest intermixture of all Bushmen races. They have no language of their own and speak a Nama dialect. A clearly delineated group, they occur in the districts of Outjo, Tsumeb and Grootfontein, as well as in Owambo, where they intermarried with Ngandiyela, Kwanyama and Ndonga tribes. For additional reading about Hei//om refer to Budack (1969), Fourie (1963-65), Rohlwink (1973) and Schatz (1993).

ANNOTATED LIST OF PLACE NAMES IN ETOSHA

To be read in conjunction with Figures 1 through 5.

Etosha (O) - It is also spelled "Etotha" (O) in early literature. When used in conjunction with the word "Pan", which refers to a slight, sometimes saline depression which may hold water, the name has various interpretations: the Great White Place is the most accurate, or Place of Emptiness (describing the vast salt pan covering 4 760 km²), Lake of a Mother's Tears (to illustrate the limitless grief of a Hei//om mother when her infant died), "to run falteringly across" (illustrating the fatigue an early hunter felt when he attempted to cross the Pan). Jaeger (1926-27) says "Etotha" was the Wambo equivalent of the Nama word "Namib", meaning "bare place". Damaras refer to the Pan as "Tù≠gas" (the Rain Plain). Hei//om call the Pan "Khubus", "Khubush" or "Khushu", saying this means totally bare, white place with lots of dust. It is also known as "Chums"(S) which Hei//om say originated from their description of the "chum-chum" noise made by a person's feet when walking across soft mounds of powdery clay which form on large areas of the Pan. Yet another Hei//om description is "Xom" (pronounced gutturally as "Ghom"), meaning Bruised Place or place where the Earth's skin has been scraped away. Recently Berry (1978) coined the name Place of Dry Water, using journalistic licence to portray an old Wambo

staff member's way of describing the mirages which frequent Etosha's horizons. Samples taken of the Pan's clay sediment were highly alkaline, having a pH of 10,2, and saline, with a sodium content of 3,25% (le Roux 1980). In addition to Etosha Pan, which covers 23% of the Park, 19 smaller pans occur, totalling approximately 877 km², or 3,9% of the Park's area (Lindeque and Archibald 1991). Pans therefore account for more than one quarter of the Park's total area.

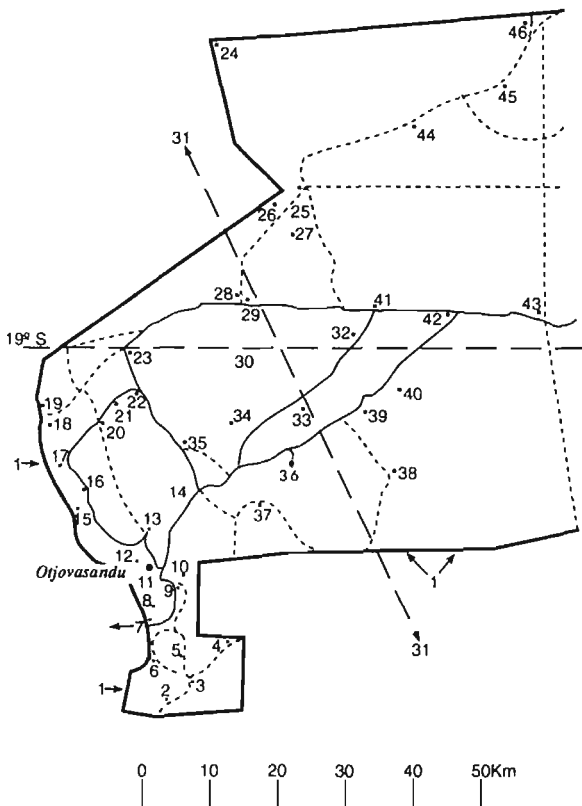


FIGURE 2: Map of section one of Etosha National Park, showing location of place names 1 through 46.

1. **Rooilyn (A)** The name means "red line". Originally maps of the area demarcated Etosha's western boundary with the Kaokoveld by means of a red line (Green 1981). When an epidemic of foot-and-mouth disease occurred in domestic ungulates in South West Africa (SWA), a veterinary cordon fence was erected in 1961 along the entire southern and eastern boundary of Etosha. This fence also became known as the "Red Line" to denote the potential contagious diseases in Etosha's wild ungulates which lived behind it. From that time it became a colloquial figure of speech, as evidenced by the name given to the local farmers' organisation, namely Rooilyn Boerevereniging (A), meaning "Red Line Farmers' Union".

2(i). **Soutputs (A)** - "Sout" is salt and "puts" a well or bore-hole producing salty water, sunk close to the southern boundary of the Karos enclosure for rare animal species. The water source dried in 1989 and, because its location near to the boundary could make animals vulnerable to poaching, it has been permanently closed.

3. **Karosfontein (A)** - The farm Karos, meaning "skin rug" or "skin cloak" with the hair still attached, belonged to the von Bach family. The original spelling was "Kaross", and "fontein" is a natural fountain or spring. The farm was bought by the South West Africa Administration (SWAA), enclosed with a game-proof fence, and added to the greater Etosha as an adjoining refuge for rare animal species. A bore-hole was later sunk to supplement the fountain's flow.

4. **Karoshoek (A)** - "Hoek" is corner, describing a bore-hole in Karos located near its north-eastern boundary corner.

5. **Karosdrink (A)** - "Drink" refers to a bore-hole which supplied water for domestic stock and wildlife on the former farm. It was later closed to protect the Karos enclosure from over-grazing, but was re-opened when the bore-holes at Soutputs (2) and Karosfontein (3) became dry.

6. **Zebrapomp (A)** - Zebra refers to the mountain zebras (*Equus zebra hartmannae*) which frequent the "pomp" (pump or windmill) where water is supplied near the western boundary of Karos enclosure.

7. **Galton Gate (E)** - Named in honour of the explorer Francis Galton, who teamed with Charles Andersson to become the first Europeans to record the existence of the Etosha Pan when they reached Namutoni (165) on 29 May 1851.
8. **Zebradam (A)** - A cement dam wall was constructed near Galton Gate (7) to hold back run-off water from the adjoining hill, but it is dry most of the year. It, too, received its name from mountain zebras which inhabit the area.
- 9 (i). **Sterculia (L)** - The African star-chestnut (*Sterculia africana*) and the large-leafed star-chestnut (*S. quinqueloba*) grow in the vicinity of a windmill which supplied water to a trough in an ephemeral river-bed. The installation is defunct.
10. **Equinus (L)** - Roan antelope (*Hippotragus equinus equinus*) were released into the 765 hectare quarantine camp of Khoabendes (N) (known originally as "Qoabendus", it was earlier a farm owned by Mr. Schmidt-Heini) meaning "the place where elephants pass through". It lies directly north of Karos enclosure. Introduction of roan to Khoabendes and later Karos followed an air-lift of 74 of these rare animals to Etosha from the Khaudum in Kavango, Namibia (Hofmeyr 1974). The bore-hole supplying water for the roan was named after this operation.
11. **Otjovasandu (H)** - Correctly spelled Otjovazandu, this camp serves as the base for wildlife conservation staff in the western sector of Etosha and means "place of the young men" ("omuzandona" is young man). Warriors used the nearby perennial spring (12) as an outpost for watering their cattle during the winter months. Due to the presence of lions (*Panthera leo*), black rhinoceroses (hereafter called rhinos) (*Diceros bicornis*) and elephants (*Loxodonta africana*), the fittest and most fearless young men accompanied the cattle to protect them. More recently, when an aerial census recorded 2 665 mountain zebra and 1 044 Burchell's zebra (*Equus burchellii*) in the Otjovasandu sector of Etosha (Berry 1984), the biggest game capture operation in southern Africa took place: 2 235 mountain zebras and 450 Burchell's zebras were captured, as a management measure to reduce grazing pressure, and sold to farmers in Namibia and South Africa.
12. **Otjovasandufontein (A)** - This fountain, which seasonally flows westwards in the river-bed north of Otjovasandu (11), is a favoured drinking place for a variety of wildlife. When it dries, mountain zebras and elephants excavate "gorras" (A) or holes in the sand to obtain water, thereby providing a source for other species.
- 13(i). **Miernes (A)** - Meaning "ant nest" or, more correctly, "termite nest", this bore-hole was so named because termites built a nest in it. It was originally drilled by farmers who utilised emergency grazing in the Otjovasandu area, but was later decommissioned due to its proximity to Otjovasandufontein (12) and Renostervlei (14).
14. **Renostervlei (A)** - "Rhinoceros hollow" or "bog", literally translated, is an apt description of the muddy pool created by the overflow of the nearby drinking trough supplied from a bore-hole. It is a favoured place for several black rhinos which wallow in the mud or the dusty bowl surrounding the water-hole.
- 15(i). **Dinteri (L)** - Named after the well-known German botanist Kurt Dinter, *Aloe dinteri* grows in nearby hillside dolomite fissures. The windmill which took its name supplied water for wildlife until it was decommissioned because its proximity to the western boundary of Etosha resulted in numerous fence breaks by elephants.
- 16(i). **Aasvoëlbad (A)** - "Vulture bath" was the name of the bore-hole where Whitebacked Vultures (*Gyps africanus*) and sometimes Lappetfaced Vultures (*Torgos tracheliotus*) congregated to drink, bathe and preen. Vultures favoured this water-trough above other drinking places in the Otjovasandu area. Its proximity to the western boundary fence and adjacent main road made animals which drank there vulnerable to poaching, so it was permanently closed.
- 17(i). **Luiperdkop (A)** - In the vicinity of this bore-hole an "inselberg" (G = island mountain) of dolomite rises above the undulating plain. An exceptionally large male leopard (*Panthera pardus*) made this "kop" or hill his residence. He became a favourite with the nature conservators because he preyed on goats from neighbouring villages when they strayed into Etosha. His predation was sufficient to force the local communities to restrain their herds from entering that part of the Park. Similar to Aasvoëlbad (16), its proximity to the boundary has forced its closure.
18. **Okondethe (H)** - The original spelling is Okondese, meaning "small place of the honey badger" (*Mellivora capensis*) ("ondese" is honey badger). It is a tiny spring situated on the western boundary of Etosha.
19. **Kowares (H)** - It is also known as Otjikovares. "Kowares" implies quenching of thirst ("kowa") by drinking an alcoholic beverage made by fermenting the growing tip of the fan palm (*Hyphaene petersiana*). Kowares was apparently derived from the word "Otjivare", which is Herero for the leaf of the fan palm. Another possibility is that this place was called Otjokuvare (H), meaning "place of Hottentots" (Green 1981), a name used historically and with derogatory intent against indigenous people. Previously a farm called Kowares (also Khowares / Kowareb / Khowareb) was given out

during the German occupation of SWA. Later it became enclosed in Game Reserve No. 2 (Etosha's first European name) and belonged to Mr. Schmidt-Heini in the 1950s. Kowares reverted to the State as part of Kaokoland in 1966, thereby excluding the spring from the Park (le Roux 1980). At present the name Kowares refers to the Herero settlement immediately to the west of Etosha's boundary fence, on the road to Ruacana Waterfall.

20. **Klippan** (A) - "Klip" is stone and "pan" is a depression in the ground. It describes the shallow calcrete basin in which the bore-hole and watering point are situated. Originally this place was called "Klein Kowares" ("Small Kowares") (19).
21. **Omumborombongan** (H and A) - A name combination of the Herero word for leadwood tree (*Combretum imberbe*), Omumborombonga, and the Afrikaans "pan". This shallow, occasionally flooded pan supports fine specimens of leadwood, a protected tree in Namibia. The hard, durable wood makes excellent charcoal, but it is revered by Hereros and Wambos, who regard it as their ancestral tree from which the first humans, cattle, sheep and wild animals originated (Berry, Loutit and Müller 1982).
22. **Rateldraf** (A) - "Ratel" is the honey badger and "draf" describes its determined, jogging gait. The namesake of this bore-hole lived nearby in an antbear (*Orycteropus afer*) hole and was often seen jogging fearlessly, in typical badger fashion, to the water.
23. **Dolomietpunt** (A) - "Punt" is point, referring to the bore-hole situated at the northern point of a range of dolomite hills from the Otavi series, extending to the south-east, and reaching the southern boundary of Etosha approximately 30 km away.
24. **Omutamba Maowe** (H) - The correct spelling "Omatambo" (the back of) "Omaewe" (stones), means "place lying behind the stones". Both the north-western corner of Etosha and the livestock quarantine camp in Owambo adjacent to the northern boundary are known by this name.
25. **Etoshafontein** (A) - This small, seasonal natural fountain was located close to the western boundary fence, which makes a right-angled bend at the Onaiso corner. It became dormant in 1981 and has remained so during an exceptionally dry phase in Etosha. Ancient paths used by elephants link this part of Etosha with neighbouring Kaokoveld, and the fence in the vicinity of Onaiso is frequently damaged by migrating elephant herds.
26. **Onandera** (H) - Meaning "place of the bird" ("ondera"), the name refers to large numbers of Cape Turtle Doves (*Streptopelia capicola*) and Redbilled Francolins (*Francolinus adspersus*) that flock to this natural, seasonal spring.
27. **Onangombati** (H) - The 1:1 000 000 map of SWA/Namibia (Surveyor-General 1979) gives the name as "Onangombali", but no explanation of this version could be found. Onangombati is probably correct and refers to the sickle-shaped pod of the camel-thorn tree (*Acacia erioloba*) which occurs in the area. However, an alternative spelling is "Onangombari" and may refer to the place where "two waters tasted as bitter as gall", or where "the water is twice ("mbari") as bitter as gall" ("onango"). A bore-hole was drilled here to supply water for wildlife when the Onandera spring (26), 2 km to the west, dried.
28. **Onautinda** (H) - The original name was "Omutindi", the Herero name for the ghost trees (*Moringa ovalifolia*) which grow nearby. From the spring, "Starkberg" (A) can be seen 5 km to the west. These steep hills, rising 100 m above the surrounding veld, are named after Peter Stark, a former Chief Nature Conservator of Etosha, to commemorate his successful pursuit of poachers in this area.
29. **Duineveld** (A) - Meaning literally "dune veld", the bore-hole bearing this name is located in the dry western Kalahari-type sandveld (le Roux, Grunow, Morris, Bredenkamp and Scheepers 1988).
30. **19e Breëdtgraad** (A) - Because the graded road leading from Duineveld (29) eastwards for almost 100 km to Ozonjuitji m'bari (57) lies a few kilometres north of and parallel to 19°S, it is known as "the 19th Latitude". In 1956 when Etosha was developed for tourism, a series of 10 bore-holes, each approximately 10 km apart, was drilled along the 19th Latitude (Ebedes 1976). This action was a response to the findings of the "Elephant Commission" of 1956 which sought to relieve the problems experienced by farmers in the Kamanjab District and Kowares settlement with elephants (B. de la Bat, Director of Nature Conservation, personal communication 1974). The rationale was to attract elephants away from the farms by supplying water in an area of Etosha far removed from boundary fences, such as the 19th Latitude.
31. **Die Kraglyn** (A) - Meaning "the power-line", it was built by the South West Africa Water and Electricity Corporation (Pty) Ltd (SWAWEC). This high voltage line carries current generated at Ruacana Waterfall on the Kunene River to the central reticulation system near Windhoek. Because its pylons are highly visible and laid in a straight line through Etosha, "the power-line" is used as a reference point by nature conservators on patrol and during aerial censuses. It was previously also used by freedom fighters to guide them on forays into the country during Namibia's liberation struggle.
32. **Okatjongeama** (H) - "The place of the lion" ("ongeyama") is a small, seasonal, rock-lined spring, dormant during dry phases.

33. **Otjihaka (H)** - Correctly spelled "Otjiouhaka", it means "place (otji) of the beasts (cattle) with white stomachs and hooves" (ouhaka). It is linked to Okatjongeama (32) by an elephant path which widened into a vehicle track used by patrolling nature conservators. Otjihaka spring also is seasonally dormant when drought conditions prevail.
- 34(i). **Kalahari (A)** - This bore-hole was named after the well-known Kalahari (originally called Kgalagadi ("always dry")) desert in the Setswana language, the tongue of the Batswana people inhabiting Botswana (Thomas and Shaw 1991). The surrounding area is actually only vaguely reminiscent of true Kalahari which comprises open grassed plains, thick bush, and parallel low dunes; however, western Etosha technically falls within the Mega Kalahari as defined by Thomas and Shaw (1991). The bore-hole's weak delivery rate, coupled to the over-grazing it caused, prompted its closure.
- 35(i). **Dolomietpoort (A)** - "Poort" means a defile or pass in a mountain range. This bore-hole, now closed for management reasons, is located in a gap in the dolomite range, which extends north to Dolomietpunt (23) and south to the southern boundary of Etosha.
36. **Jakkalswater (A)** - The bore-hole was named when the carcass of a drowned black-backed jackal (*Canis mesomelas*) was found in the water trough. As with most of the bore-holes in western Etosha, a name which was considered appropriate was given by the early nature conservators.
37. **Pioniersdam (A)** - Lying west of the dolomite hills, this earth-walled dam was built to hold run-off water, but proved a failure because it remained mostly dry. It was named after the adjacent farm Pionier, meaning pioneer, a reference to the first European farmers of the nearby Kamanjab District. These farmers' livestock were permitted to move up to 16 km into Etosha for emergency grazing during droughts (Executive Committee of SWAA. Minute 334 of 1962).
38. **Duikerdrink (A)** - Although the common duiker (*Sylvicapra grimmia*) occurs in this area, the name given to the bore-hole may seem a misnomer because the species is independent of water (Skinner and Smithers 1990). However, Senior Nature Conservator 'Jaap' Meyer saw a common duiker drinking there and felt this was sufficiently unusual to name the bore-hole accordingly. It was originally drilled by a farmer Mr. W. J. Grobler, to provide water for sheep during emergency grazing operations in 1962-63 (I.D. Grobler, Chief of Management, personal communication 1993).
39. **Okawao (H)** - The original spelling was "Okavao", alluding to "the place of the shield" (oruvao). This natural spring was previously perennial until uninformed maintenance workers in Etosha attempted to clean the "eye" of the fountain using earth-moving equipment. The result was disastrous, sealing off the "eye" until mountain zebras and elephants re-opened it some years later. Nevertheless, the initial damage appears to have reduced it to a seasonal water source.
40. **Leeukamp (A)** - "Lion camp" was so named after a bore-hole had been sunk to supply water in a holding enclosure for translocated wildlife prior to their release. The water and enclosed animals attracted lions which became relatively unafraid of humans. Leeukamp's lions have since earned the reputation of being the most aggressive in Etosha, and on several occasions have attacked rangers' vehicles.
41. **Nomab (N)** - The correct spelling is "!Nomab", meaning "root of a plant". It refers to the skew-leaved elephant-root (*Elephantorrhiza suffruticosa*), a shrub which produces an underground rhizome or tuber much sought after by elephants. Prior to the gravelling of the 19th Latitude road where this bore-hole is located, elephants often created major obstacles for vehicles by excavating holes up to a metre deep to reach these tubers.
42. **Olifantsrus (A)** - "Elephants' rest" is a bore-hole on the 19th Latitude initially named as a haven of rest for trekking elephants. In 1983 the name took on a different and ironical meaning when the decision was taken to cull a large number of elephants in western Etosha. Olifantsrus served as the water supply for a modern abattoir constructed nearby. Subsequently Olifantsrus became synonymous with culling operations, and in addition to 525 elephant culled (Lindeque 1988), 465 gemsbok (*Oryx gazella*) and 622 springbok (*Antidorcas marsupialis*) carcasses were also processed there (Berry 1984).
43. **Tobiroen (A)** - The original spelling is Tobiroem. "Tobie" is Afrikaans for Tobias and "roem" means praise or fame or celebrity. This bore-hole on the 19th Latitude was named in honour of a Heil/om tracker, Tobias. He was an exceptional tracker and fearless, as shown when a nature conservator left his vehicle and his rifle without first checking the area. Having completed his inspection, the conservator saw to his dismay that a pride of lions lay between him, his vehicle, his rifle, and safety! In desperation he called to Tobias, sitting on the back of the truck, to bring his rifle. The courageous Heil/om grabbed the firearm, circled the lions and handed the rifle to a relieved, if somewhat embarrassed conservator who, with Tobias, was able to reach the vehicle in safety.
44. **Dorsland (A)** - Meaning "thirst land", this bore-hole was drilled in the north-western Kalahari sandveld, a seasonally waterless area, in an effort to attract wildlife and thereby utilise the plant production.

45. **Skerpioenbult** (A) - It means scorpion ridge or knoll, but was previously known as Elandsbult (eland ridge, because the species *Taurotragus oryx* frequented the area). It is waterless and was renamed by nature conservators who camped at night on this sandy hillock. One of the conservators killed a scorpion and threw it into the campfire. Within a very short time the area around the fire was swarming with scorpions, making it too risky to sleep on the ground. The conservators, subsequently spending an uncomfortable night on the backs of their trucks, recorded their undignified retreat in their patrol diaries.

46. **Okuamburu** (O) - The correct spelling is Okoumburu, meaning "small wildebeest". The origin is obscure. Perhaps it refers to blue wildebeest (*Connochaetes taurinus*) which historically calved in the grassy depression bearing the name, although they have not been recorded there recently.

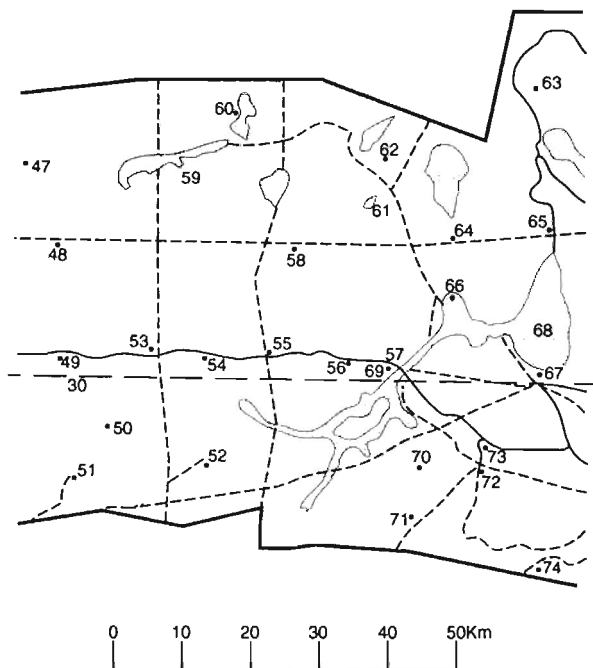


FIGURE 3: Map of section two of Etosha National Park, showing location of place names 47 through 74.

47. **Meyersput** (A) - Named after an early conservator 'Jaap' Meyer, who explored and knew the Otjovasandu area thoroughly. This pit or well, in a waterless region, is away from well-used tracks and difficult to locate. It was originally excavated by poachers who frequented the area to hunt especially eland and giraffes (*Giraffa camelopardalis*). 'Jaap' discovered the well while on an extended patrol and was able to draw a limited amount of drinkable water during a time when no bore-holes existed in the vicinity.

48. **Nêrens** (A) - Meaning literally "nowhere", or in this context "a desolate place", this bore-hole is surrounded by monotonous shrub mopane *Colophospermum mopane* (le Roux *et al.* 1988).

49. **Teëspoed** (A) - Misfortune and set-backs marred the drilling of this bore-hole and erection of the windmill on the 19th Latitude. To commemorate the hardships encountered, it was unceremoniously dubbed "place of adversity".

50(i). **Mopanie** (A) - This bore-hole was drilled but never commissioned. It is located in an area of shrub mopane veld.

51(i). **Olifanttrek** (A) - A bore-hole previously supplied water along a route used by elephants moving through the area. Because its proximity to the southern boundary resulted in numerous fence breaks by elephants which then caused problems on adjoining farms, it was decommissioned.

52(i). **Elandsvlakte** (A) - A bore-hole was drilled on a plain ("vlakte") frequented by eland, whose numbers have declined significantly in Etosha. They are now rarely found in this area. As in the case of Olifanttrek (51), the bore-hole has been decommissioned because of its proximity to the southern boundary.

53. **Bitterwater** (A) - The water from this bore-hole on the 19th Latitude is bitter to the taste because of its high magnesia content. It is repugnant to humans but wildlife appear to be more tolerant of it.

54. **Duiwelsvuur** (A) - A devilish or hellish fire in the late 1960s ravaged this area of the 19th Latitude shrub mopane veld when a nature conservator's camp fire accidentally spread to the surrounding veld. The tall grass caught fire and the flammability of the aromatic oils found in mopane leaves added to the blaze. The bore-hole was named after this event when nature conservators and their trackers fought for six days and nights to control the blaze. When finally extinguished, the fire had laid waste almost the entire area between Charl Marais Dam (69) in the east and Otjovasandu (11) in the west, spreading to numerous farms on Etosha's southern border. It defied the combined efforts of nature conservation staff and farmers to extinguish it, but was eventually brought under control near Kamanjab, 80 km to the south-west.

55. **Sonderkop** (A) - "Sonder" means without and "kop" is a head or top. This bore-hole on the 19th Latitude is pumped by a windmill whose head wheel was wrenched off by strong whirlwinds three times in a period of two months. Exasperated nature conservators, reporting to Park headquarters, wrote that this windmill "is alweer sonder kop" (is once again without its head) !

56. **Arendsnes** (A) - Meaning eagle's nest, this bore-hole on the 19th Latitude was named after Tawny Eagles (*Aquila rapax*) were found nesting in the vicinity.

57. **Ozonjuitji m'bari** (H) - Correctly spelled "Ozonyutji mbari", it is the most easterly of the 19th Latitude bore-holes and the last of this series to be drilled. With no money left to erect a windmill, the warden of Etosha 'Bernie' de la Bat approached two ardent conservationists, H.A. Böttger and L.W. Bermann, for help. They willingly donated funds and then named the drinking place by putting together their surname initials B & B, thereby evolving the description of "two Bs". This was connotatively given the Herero name for "two honey bees".
58. **Good Hope** (E) - A bore-hole was drilled in this seasonally waterless area to attract wildlife, and it was so named because the geologist who demarcated the drilling point expressed doubts about its chances of success. It was drilled in faith and good hope and -- to the delight of nature conservators and amazement of the geologist -- proved successful.
59. **Omuramba Onaiso** (H) - Omuramba is a seasonally flooding water course, and Onaiso is the name of a small Herero village situated west of the Park's boundary near Etoshafontein (25). According to the local inhabitants, Onaiso means "place of many trees" whose branches, they say, are used to build strong "bomas" (protective enclosures) against predators. Sometimes the word is pronounced "Ona-iso" ("ona" is tick or louse or flea, but the suffix "iso" cannot be explained). The depression lies east-west for a distance of approximately 25 km and has no outlet except for indistinct drainage lines at both ends.
60. **Paradys** (A) - Meaning paradise, this area is used for camping by nature conservators on patrol. It is picturesque, holding impressive stands of colourful purple-pod terminalia (*Terminalia prunioides*) which provide good shade. The "Paradys veld" is considered a distinct vegetation mapping unit (le Roux *et al.* 1988).
61. **Narawandu** (O) - The correct spelling is Enarovandu, meaning "the name of the People", referring to the Ndonga tribe in Owambo. A bore-hole was drilled here to supply water for elephants and other wildlife.
62. **Narawanduputte** (O and A) - The Afrikaans word "putte" was added to describe the pits or wells from which the People, namely persons travelling along an early road from the town of Outjo via Okaukuejo (80) past Narawandu (61) to Owamboland, drew water.
63. **Natukanaoka Pan** (O) - Meaning "you need long strides to walk to this place" ("katuka" is a striding walk), the name probably refers to the walk required from the adjacent Otjivalunda Pan (H) in Owambo where salt was mined historically by Hereros and Wambos. Natukanaoka, covering approximately 264 km², is the second largest pan in the Park after Etosha Pan. In years of good rainfall it is linked to Adamax Pan (68) by a drainage line known as the Brakwater Omuramba (A and H).
64. **Pan Point** (E) - Situated south of a cone-shaped saline pan, this bore-hole is appropriately named. The base camp for the Etosha Wildlife Protection Unit, which investigates poaching within the Park, lies 4 km to the east.
- 65(i). **Brakwater** (A) - Meaning water with a brackish or alkaline content, the bore-hole was commissioned but later abandoned when its water supply proved so high in total dissolved solids that wildlife seldom drank there.
- 66(i). **Okahakana** (H) - Meaning "to grab something away from a person", the name's origin is unknown, although it is named "Okana Kandjila" (O) on old maps, a reference to the road used by early traders moving through to Owamboland. It was one of the first bore-holes drilled in Etosha, but the poor quality of its highly brackish water made it unpalatable to wildlife and it was subsequently abandoned.
- 67(i). **Adamax** (G) - This bore-hole obtained its name by combining the Christian names of a Swiss couple, Ada and Max Kessler, whose generosity contributed to its construction. It was heavily utilised by plains animals, leading to the deterioration of surrounding vegetation. Adamax, Leeubron (83) and Gaseb (77) were permanently closed to prevent over-grazing following research and recommendations by Ebedes (1976), le Roux (1980) and Berry (1980).
68. **Adamax Pan** (G and A) - The saline pan took its name from Adamax bore-hole (67). The third largest pan (208 km²) in the Park after Natukanaoka Pan (63) and Etosha Pan, it receives water from pan systems to the south-west which empty into Charl Marais Dam (69).
69. **Charl Marais Dam** (A) - Named after a former Secretary of the SWAA who obtained money to build the dam, it is also known as Suksesdam (A), meaning "success dam". An earth wall was built across the narrowest point of a drainage system covering about 100 km² of pans in the south-west, with the intention of providing drinking water for plains animals. The road to Ozonjuitji m'bari (57) continuing to Otjovasandu (11) was constructed over this wall to provide good game viewing for tourists. However, Ebedes' (1976) studies on sources of anthrax (*Bacillus anthracis*) infection identified Charl Marais Dam as one such source. Thus, to prevent the accumulation of stagnating water which may facilitate the proliferation of anthrax, several aqueducts were laid through the base of the wall to allow for drainage into the adjoining Adamax Pan (68). Consequently the dam is defunct and although

water accumulates temporarily below the level of the aqueducts, it evaporates rapidly.

70. **Grootvlakte** (A) - Meaning "great plain", this extensive area covers approximately 40 000 hectares, forming the largest single component of the vegetation type classified as "sweet grassveld on lime" (le Roux *et al.* 1988). Grootvlakte is a favoured summer rainfall area for plains herbivores such as Burchell's zebras, wildebeest and springbok which aggregate there by the thousands. Previously, large herds of eland also congregated on Grootvlakte (P. Stark, Chief Nature Conservator, personal communication 1974), but are no longer found there following their decline throughout Etosha.

71. **Eindpaal** (A) - A bore-hole supplying water to a drinking trough near the southern boundary, it means "the last (fence) post" and was named after the adjacent farm, originally named Eindpaal, now re-named Stillerus ("tranquil rest").

72(i). **Grünewald** (G) - A bore-hole on the eastern edge of Grootvlakte (70) was somewhat imaginatively named "Green Forest", probably to capture the brief but verdant setting of mopane forest and short annual grasses which sprout there following good rain. Like Adamax (67) and other bore-holes occurring in the summer grazing areas, Grünewald was permanently closed to prevent further degradation of the habitat.

73. **Sprokieswoud** (A) - Meaning "fairy-tale forest", the name refers to the bizarre shapes of hundreds of ghost trees or African phantom trees which are found immediately east of Grootvlakte (70). It is also known as the Haunted Forest or Witches Wood. The sudden profusion of these trees growing on a plain instead of their typical habitat on rocky hillsides has not yet been scientifically explained. But the Hei//om of Etosha are confident its origin will remain according to their folklore, which relates that during the act of creation, the Great God of Nature allocated a place on earth for each kind of animal and plant. However, upon completion of His task, He realised there was still a large number of moringas in His hand. Not knowing where to plant them, He flung them to earth and they became embedded at Sprokieswoud, their roots still pointing skyward (Berry and Cubitt 1989).

74. **Ondundozonanandana** (H) - The original spelling of this composite word is Ondundu (mountain), omuzandona (boy), ondana (calves). Thus the range of dolomite hills lying west of Andersson Gate (75) bears one of the most unusual names in Etosha. It means literally "mountain where a boy took the calves". More sinisterly, the local people tell the tale of a boy who herded calves to the foot of the mountain and never returned, because he and his animals fell prey to a leopard. Therefore this range also has become known in English as Leopard Hills.

Early maps demarcate these hills as "Gabgas" (S), a possible reference to the sound, "ghab-ghab", made by Hei//om when munching on the resin exudates of trees growing there.

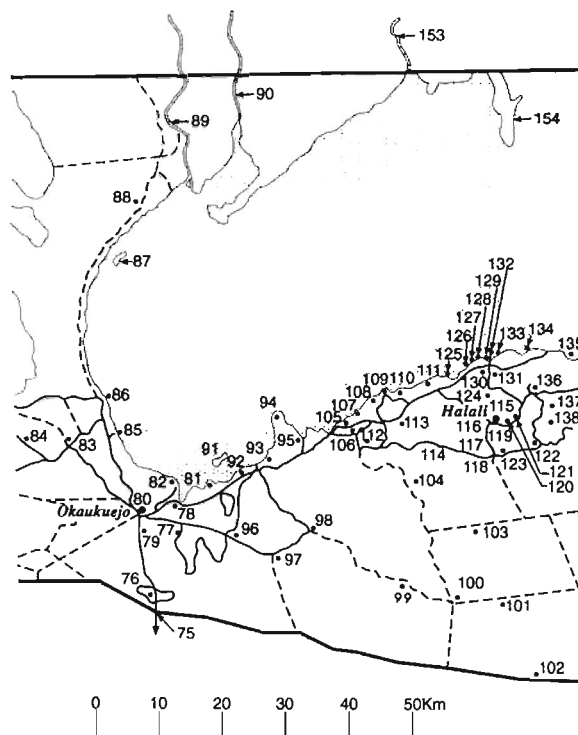


FIGURE 4: Map of section three of Etosha National Park, showing location of place names 75 through 138, plus 153 and 154.

75. **Andersson Gate** (E) - Named in honour of the explorer Charles Andersson, who teamed with Francis Galton to become the first Europeans to record the existence of the Etosha Pan when they reached Namutoni (165) on 29 May 1851.

76. **Ombika** (H) - Also known as "Ompica", but originally spelled "Ombike", the names refer to hand picks used to remove rocks from this natural spring to make its water more accessible for early travellers. It may also imply that the black mud in the spring compacts and dries as hard as a rock when the spring diminishes, requiring picks to open the water source. The Hei//om name of "Bichab" (S) may be a modification of the name Ombika. The spring is perennial, and although its flow reduces considerably, no record was found of it becoming dormant until 1994 following 14 years of a dry phase in Etosha (Beyers 1994). When this happened, a solar-driven pump was employed to pipe water from a bore-hole situated 300 metres away.

77(i). **Gaseb** (S) - Pronounced "!Gaseb" and also spelled "Gasib", it may relate to the ear or the sense of hearing, although some Hei//om said it was named after one of their men who had become bald (apparently a rare phenomenon among Hei//om). Others maintain it refers to the action of scooping water from a deep hole and that this name was originally given to Olifantsbad (97). Gaseb bore-hole was

considered to cause over-grazing on the surrounding plains, so it was permanently closed.

78. **Nebrownii** (L) - A new bore-hole was opened north of Gaseb (77) in 1992, as an experiment to relieve pressure on Okaukuejo's (80) vegetation from the high numbers of animals, particularly elephants, coming to drink there. It also attracted animals, especially Burchell's zebras, away from nearby Gemsbokvlakte (96) where over-grazing is evident. Named *Nebrownii* (L), after the water acacia (*Acacia nebrownii*) thickets surrounding it, the small concrete basin and adjacent mud-hole lie approximately 8 km east of Okaukuejo on the road to Halali (115) at the western edge of a large omuramba.
79. **Stark's Pan** (E) - This is a small, seasonally flooded saline pan immediately east of the tarred road, about 4 km south of Okaukuejo (80). It was named when a Chief Nature Conservator of Etosha, Peter Stark, got his vehicle unceremoniously stuck in its mud one rainy day, virtually within sight of Okaukuejo.
80. **Okaukuejo** (O) - Pronounced "O-ka-kwi-you", the original spelling is Okakwiyu, meaning "the woman who has a child every year" or a prolific woman. One of several legends associated with Okaukuejo relates how a tribal princess and her followers living by the natural fountain were visited by a prince from a neighbouring tribe. He had every intention of sleeping with the attractive princess but his ardour was dampened by the news that her menses were flowing, so he left without making love to her, venting his frustration by calling the spring "place of red water" or "place of the sick woman". Another tale tells of "the place of the bandits", headed by a mulatto who, during the 1930s, held Hei//om women captive, raping them. Hei//om call the place "Thekwi", meaning "place of the small bush", probably referring to the dwarf shrub savanna on the surrounding plains. One Hei//om was more specific, calling it "≠Oeop", "≠Oe-e", "Hui-e" (S), or "place of the salt-bush", referring to the major component of the dwarf shrub savanna around Okaukuejo, namely *Salsola etoshensis*. A little-known alternative name for Okaukuejo is to be found on the Kriegskarte von Deutsch-Südwestafrika, redrawn by Sprigade and Moisel (1987) from the mapping work done by Dr. Georg Hartmann, and indexed by von Schumann & Rusch (1987). There it was known as "Huiub" (S) which relates phonetically to the name "Hui-e" given above. The rest camp's floodlit water-hole, now supplemented by bore-holes, is one of Etosha's major tourist attractions. Okaukuejo has been the headquarters of Etosha since formal tourism began in 1955.
81. **Eugene's Pan** (E) - Named in memory of Senior Nature Conservator Eugene Cronjè who, with four colleagues and the pilot, was killed during an aerial census on 1 June 1982 near Halali rest camp in Etosha's worst air disaster. Assisting with research on lions, he often followed the resident pride to this seasonal spring close to the edge of Etosha Pan, about 14 km north-east of Okaukuejo (80).
82. **Pan** (E) - Denotes a viewing point of Etosha Pan approximately 8 km north-east of Okaukuejo (80) to which tourists can drive.
- 83(i). **Leeubron** (A) - Meaning "lion fountain" or "source of lions", the well was originally sunk by German troops for their horses while on patrol during the occupation of Namibia. Later, under the SWAA, a bore-hole replaced the well, feeding a cement trough. Leeubron's artificial supply of water is permanently closed to prevent habitat degradation. Leeubron's name was derived when Prof. P. Schoeman, then warden of Etosha, found an emaciated lioness (who became known as 'Mietjie', a colloquial Afrikaans name) with five equally thin cubs at Leeubron. Schoeman shot Burchell's zebras, which he considered over-abundant, for the lions, which he considered so scarce as to justify feeding them. 'Mietjie' was soon joined by other lions, necessitating the provision of two carcasses a week. Feeding was done at night, and the conservator on duty usually took friends to watch the spectacle. Tourists complained about this discriminatory outing, so a maximum of 10 tourist cars was allowed to accompany the conservator on Wednesday and Saturday evenings. Known as "the lion party", this dangerous practice was stopped when nature conservators could not control visitors to Leeubron's lion feast and it became apparent that sooner or later people would be attacked by the lions. The dominant male of Leeubron's pride was by all standards a huge animal, nicknamed 'Castor'. His massive forepaws were immortalised by casting his tracks in cement at the entrance to the Etosha Ecological Institute at Okaukuejo (80) (B. de la Bat, Director of Nature Conservation, personal communication 1974).
- 84(i). **Natco** (E) - A bore-hole supplying water to a trough was drilled between Leeubron (83) and Adamax (67) with the intention of attracting wildlife for tourist viewing. The cost of this windmill was borne by conservationists Herbert Alfons ('Oom Piet') Böttger and Louis William Bermann, representing the National Trading Company of SWA (thus the acronym Natco). The abundance of permanent, artificially supplied water in this fragile area of ephemeral grassland, although well meant, soon proved to be a mistake. It and similar bore-holes were closed after research indicated habitat deterioration through over-grazing.
85. **Wolfsnes** (A) - The Afrikaans word for hyaena, "wolf", combined with "nes", meaning nest or haunt or den, describes this area frequented by spotted hyaenas (*Crocuta crocuta*). The natural spring so named flowed seasonally onto the Etosha Pan during wet phases, but dried and became dor-

mant when a dry phase started in 1981. According to Fourie (1963-65), hyaenas or “/geirab” (S) and jackals or “#hireb” (S) were relished as food by Hei//om. This earlier practice was confirmed by our trackers.

86. **Okondeka (H)** - This perennial fountain, flowing onto Etosha Pan for several hundred metres, has never dried up in living memory. The place has at least four names, and each has an entirely different interpretation. Okondeka means “place of sedges”, belonging to the Family Cyperaceae, but we also traced an interpretation meaning “place of the small (wild ?) dog”. Early literature uses Ondeka (O), which means “creeping plant”, possibly referring to the halophytic grass *Odyssea paucinervis*, with its radiating stolons giving it a creeper-like appearance. It is known to local Afrikaners as “stergras” (star grass), but more colloquially as “brakkweek” (brackish grass) (Müller 1983) or “steekgras” (stick-grass) (Volk 1974). The other spelling is Onkondeka (O) which means to encircle or ambush, and this relates to the water-hole’s lion pride which lies patiently in wait for prey. Also, the geography of the spring facilitates an ambush because it is enclosed on three sides by grassy dune hummocks, providing ideal hiding places for lions. The fact that Wambos returning from farms south of Etosha were frequently molested by lions when they passed the spring and attempted to draw water, favours the name Onkondeka. A favourite and true tale of these legendary man-eating lions describes the fate of four Wambos who dared drink at Okondeka in 1950. The men, on contract to farmers south of Etosha, had deserted and were travelling to Owamboland via Okaukuejo (80) on foot. Whilst they drank from the spring, the lions attacked and killed one man, but three escaped into a tree which grew where the tourist parking area is now located. After eating the unfortunate victim in full view of his terrified comrades, a lioness pulled two more from the low tree and killed them. The fourth man in his fear managed to climb through the thorns and lay spread-eagled across the tree’s prickly crown for three agonising days and nights, while the man-eaters settled beneath the tree waiting. A South African Police patrol from Okaukuejo rescued him from approaching death, but the poor fellow was mentally deranged by a combination of thirst, fear and the sight of his companions being devoured. It is not recorded whether he ever recovered fully.
87. **Logan’s Island (E)** - Lying a kilometre from the western edge of Etosha Pan, this narrow, grassy island of about one kilometre in length was named in honour of the American geographer Prof. ‘Dick’ Logan of the University of California, who worked in game parks throughout the then SWA.
- 88(i). **Okotumare (H)** - The name relates to a bitter taste, referring to the unpalatable water. It is also spelled “Oukotomare” where “oukoto” describes the deepness of the well dug by early travellers. A bore-hole was drilled here next to the original wagon track leading from Okaukuejo (80) via the Ekuma River (89) to Owambo, but was never developed. Le Roux (1980) argued against supplying water artificially in the Ekuma grasslands which he described as sweet, sandy, fragile and too small to support large concentrations of grazers.
89. **Ekuma River (O)** - The word means soil or clod and refers to the hardness of the clay in the river-bed when it dries. Another interpretation is that it means “corner”, but this could not be substantiated. This seasonally flowing river drains from Lake Oponono in central Owambo to flood the northern parts of Etosha Pan. Lake Oponono (O) is aptly named, for it means “place where all the waters meet”, and is in fact a sump for the Cuvelai drainage system which covers 37 000 km² of Owambo and central-south Angola (Stengel 1963). After a rainy season, the Ekuma dries into a series of stagnating, highly saline pools which can be toxic to wildlife drinking the water. This happened in 1959 when an estimated 4 000 to 5 000 wildebeest and several hundred Burchell’s zebras died from acute salt poisoning near the banks of the Ekuma (van der Spuy 1960, Ebedes 1976).
90. **Oshigambo River (O)** - Meaning “the river comes from far away”, the Oshigambo or Gwashigambo, as it is known also, takes its name from the town in central Owambo through which it passes. Second to the Ekuma River (89) in flow volume to the Etosha Pan, its catchment area extends northward into Angola.
91. **Haas Eilande (A)** - Meaning “hare islands”, it refers to the scrub hares (*Lepus saxatilis*) which occur on this pair of grassy shrubland islands 4 km north of Kapupuhedi (92) on Etosha Pan. Not knowing the original name, conservators now call them Gemsbok Islands because they frequently see gemsbok there. A massive old mustard tree or toothbrush tree (*Salvadora persica*) grows in isolation on the larger island, which lies a few hundred metres north of the smaller, treeless one.
92. **Kapupuhedi (O)** - The only interpretation we could find is “small earth-worm mounds” (“e/hedhi-hedhi” means earth-worm). Some Hei//om call the place “Tsam” (S), meaning “soft mud or soil” (refer also to Tsam [147]), while others say its name is “Tsamsa” and interpret it as “if you walk on it, it is very soft” or “place which the wind blows closed”. Legend has it that a Hei//om hunter who came across this seasonal spring overlooking Etosha Pan said, “I came and looked but could not see the other side. I became afraid and went away, but I was drawn back to this place”, which was his way of describing his fascination with the Pan’s endless vistas.

93. **Ondongab** (O) - The name's meaning is uncertain, but because alternative spellings are Ondonga or Ndonga (O), it may refer to the Oshindonga-speaking people in Owambo. Early literature refers to the place as Ondeka (O) which means "creeping plant" and may refer to the halophytic grass which occurs also at Okondeka (86). The seasonal spring affords good game viewing due to its location at the bottom of a rocky ledge adjoining the Etosha Pan. Here it forms a small pool where elephants may come to drink and bathe, covering themselves in clay which dries to give them a pale pinkish colour. The "pink elephants" of Ondongab reported by visitors have sparked many jests about over-indulgence while game viewing. Ondongab ceases to flow during dry phases.
94. **Gonob** (S) - Also pronounced "!Gomob", the name of this spring may mean "place at the point" (of the peninsula) or it may refer to "eye of the elephant" which is called "gono" (S). Another pronunciation was "!Goro luite" (S), which Hei//om say refers to calcrete or limestone rocks. The spring emerges in a calcrete basin close to the northern point of a peninsula jutting into Etosha Pan. When stands of the short-lived micro-perennial grass *Sporobolus etoshensis* (= *salsus* = *tenellus*) occur on the Pan following good rain, grazers converge on this area, drinking either here or at Okondeka (86).
95. **Homob** (S) - One interpretation is "place nearby the point" (of the peninsula). Another meaning is "big locusts", but when pronounced "≠Homop" (S), some Hei//om say it means "there are not big locusts", illustrating the subtle differences existing in San pronunciation. Situated 5 km to the south-east of Gonob (94), this spring emerges from two distinct "eyes" in a large, calcareous depression.
96. **Gembokvlakte** (A) - "Gembok plain" is the name allocated to the bore-hole where a variety of wild-life comes to drink, providing excellent viewing for tourists. Hei//om knew the area as "//Khari-!ganos", meaning small open plain, or "//Khariros" (S), meaning "small pan of water". It was the first bore-hole in Etosha to be converted from wind power, with a diesel pump as stand-by, to purely solar power.
97. **Olifantsbad** (A) - "Elephants' bath", a bore-hole supplying water to a cement-lined depression, received its name when elephant herds regularly came to drink and bathe. A natural seepage occurred seasonally in the depression prior to the drilling of the bore-hole. Katison Khomob, a Hei//om who has lived in Etosha for 56 years, maintains this place was originally called "≠Aseb" or "≠Gaseb" (S), meaning "to scoop water from a deep hole" (refer to Gaseb [77]).
98. **Aus** (G) - Meaning "out", this term refers to its previously out-of-the-way or remote location when Aus was the furthest point to which tourists could travel. Coincidentally, it is the Hei//om name for the spring, also pronounced "Aus" (S), which they say means bitter (using the example of an aloe to describe the water's taste). Other Hei//om call the place "/Os" (S), meaning "salty water". The seasonal spring has a series of "eyes" from which water seeps. Situated in a natural depression, it may fill with rain-water and look like a lake.
99. **Charagas** (S) - It is also known as "Karagas", "//Haraxas", "Kora" or "Thiachab" (S), all of which relate to "fine stone grit". The names of this seasonal spring which becomes dormant in dry phases probably refer to the surrounding black, coarse turf soil. It lies in an area of Karstveld turf pans, typically containing Arcadia series soil (le Roux *et al.* 1988).
100. **Gobaub** (S) - Pronounced "!Gobaob" or "/Opa-op", this name comes from "!Gobas" (S), meaning loin-cloth or the skin garment covering a man's buttocks. It recalls an incident when a Hei//om at the water-hole was charged by an elephant and, in his haste to escape, his !Gobas fell off, leaving him to retreat nakedly to safety (Cooper 1983). The setting for this strong, perennial artesian spring is dramatic: it is located in a large clearing denuded of vegetation by elephants and surrounded by impressive stands of mopane, leadwood and purple-pod terminalia bushveld. Gobaub is probably one of the oldest natural water points in Etosha, judging by the calcareous build-up around it which gives it a low, volcano-like appearance (Paxton 1985). In the dry season it attracts thousands of animals which graze on the neighbouring Karstveld turf pans (le Roux *et al.* 1988). It is inaccessible by road after heavy rains, when graded fire-breaks leading to Gobaub become flooded.
101. **Tgumses** (S) - Also pronounced "!Gomses", it means "the soil deep in the hole is always wet". It is a hole about 4 m deep in the calcrete surface. A Hei//om tracker recalled an incident when a young girl who was in the hole was deserted by her companions at the approach of an elephant herd. She was dragged from the hole by an elephant and killed on the surrounding rocks. A well-worn elephant path links Tgumses to Gobaub (100).
- 102(i). **!Abba-chub** (S) - This name means "red soil". Nature conservators on patrol used to water their horses at this bore-hole near the southern boundary fence opposite the farm Grensplaas (A), meaning Border farm. They knew the place by its Afrikaans name of Rooivlakte which means "red plain" (I. D. Grobler, Chief of Management, personal communication 1993).

103. **!Harib** (S) - The word describes the process of looking for a place to camp or set up home on arrival in the area. The name may also refer to a mouse, because viewed from the direction of Halali (115), the rock formation resembles a crouching mouse. Located about 10 km south-east of Aasvoel-koppie (104), the spring lies in a calcareous depression backed by a rocky outcrop. It supplied water to the early Hei//om only after digging. The last two Hei//om who roamed and lived freely in Etosha, named 'Hans' and 'Leefie', were found here in 1967 and taken to live at Halali (P. van der Westhuizen, Nature Conservator, Halali, personal communication 1974). 'Leefie' adapted to civilisation, but 'Hans' returned to live in the bush and was never seen again.
104. **Aasvoel-koppie** (A) - Meaning "vulture hill", it was so named because Lappetfaced Vultures are said to have nested there. It is also known as Witkopen (A) or "white hill" because of the presence of numerous whitish rocks. Previously it was named "Turueb" (S), which explains that many mice were found on this hill. It lies about 10 km south of Rietfontein (113) and east of the fire-break road to Gobaub (100). There is reportedly a place nearby called "//Nububes" (S), referring to sedges or "wild onions" (*Cyperus* species) with edible tubers, where Hei//om used to dig for water, but the exact location is unknown.
105. **Sueda** (L) - This perennial spring on the southern edge of Etosha Pan takes its name from the ink bush (*Suaeda articulata*), a fleshy-leafed halophyte growing on brackish, low-lying areas fringing the Pan. Thick stands of sedge also occur at the spring. On old maps this place is called "Ciouib" (S), which may mean "the stones are made of salt", a reference to the noticeable deposit of salt crystals occurring here. Paxton (1985) observed the southern edge of Etosha Pan between Sueda and Okerfontein (156) to "have the most seepages either drinkable, salty or freshwater" in the entire Park. He emphasized: "These seepages, being small, are often overlooked as important watering points for game species in Etosha and I feel deserve more attention and investigation". Place names 108 to 111, 125 to 129, and 133 to 135 describe some of these.
106. **Charitsaub** (S) - Originally known as "Geikoitsaub" (S), it means "large water-hole". Aged Hei//om maintain that this artesian spring, situated among thick stands of sedge, used to produce substantially more water than Salvadora (107). Previously perennial, it recently became dormant due to an exceptionally harsh and dry climatic phase in Etosha.
107. **Salvadora** (L) - A perennial spring, it is named after a single specimen of the mustard tree growing on a calcrete ridge where tourists can view animals drinking at the spring below. Previously the spring was called "≠Kharitsaub" or "≠Aritsaub" (S), meaning "small water-hole", and was apparently less extensive in past times than it now is.
108. **≠Hoibdis** (S) - This name refers to wild raisin bushes (*Grewia* species) growing in the vicinity of a spring seeping onto the southern edge of Etosha Pan, about 2 km north-east of Salvadora (107). Near it grew a large specimen of bird plum (*Berchemia discolor*), a tree known as "≠Hotna" (S), much sought after for its delicious fruit by Hei//om who camped there during hunting forays. Our trackers told how "≠kores", or impala lily (*Adenium* species), which grow in the area, were boiled to extract sap for their poisoned arrows known as "≠ab".
109. **Ani-/Us** (S) - Meaning "where many vultures bathed and preened, leaving feathers", it names a fresh-water spring seeping behind a copse of trees where Hei//om lived permanently in a group or "//gaub". It is located about 5 km north-east of Salvadora (107).
110. **Xunabes** (S) - Pronounced gutturally as "Ghunabes", the name given to this spring describes the noise water makes when boiled over a fire. Seeping onto the main Pan, it is approximately 8 km north-east of Salvadora (107). The Hei//om tracker Paul Daugchab's father, whose San name was "//Kharaseb//Oreseb", lies buried here. He died in his hunting territory ("!hub") from what appeared to be an abdominal disease (Paxton 1986).
111. **Peter's Pan** (E) - Originally known as "//Gases" (S), it is the name given by Hei//om to the water acacia when it is in flower. Apparently this acacia occurred in thick stands surrounding the water, and lions used the cover as a refuge. The spring was re-named after Peter Lind, a former Nature Conservator at Halali, who later died in an accident. It seeps onto the main Pan about 6 km north-east of Rietfontein (113).
112. **Soring Tkaigab** (S) - Also known as "Sore≠axab" (S), it means "place where the sun is so hot you cannot even sit in the shade of trees". Appearing on the early maps of Etosha, it refers to a slightly raised, rocky outcrop with mopane and purple-pod terminalia trees, situated like an island on the plains about 3 km south-east of Charitsaub (106). Hei//om lived there permanently in a large encampment or "gei-//gaus".
113. **Rietfontein** (A) - "Reed fountain" was the name given by the Dorstland (Dutch for "Thirst Land") Trekkers in 1876 to this strong, perennial spring. Originally it was called "//Naseneb" or "//Asonheb" (S), which describes the action of unloading baggage and resting after a journey. Dorstlanders, finding its artesian water a haven of refreshment for themselves and their wagon oxen as they trekked

to Angola, later returned to farm in the area. However, the lush reed beds (*Phragmites australis*) and sweet water belied the harsh environment; malaria, lung sickness in their cattle, and raiding Wambos, Hereros and Hei//om combined to prompt their evacuation (Trümpelmann 1948). Nearby, the grave of a Trekker woman, Johanna Alberts (1841-1876), lies under a mopane tree where a memorial service for her and other Trekkers was held on 10 October 1955. The reed beds have since been demolished by elephants whose numbers increased greatly after Etosha gave them protected status. Two Hei//om who assisted us with interpretation of San names, tracker Dickman Khaiseb and Katison Khomob, an operator in Okaukuejo's workshop, were born here. Still standing are ruins of the bone meal plant built next to Rietfontein by game warden and noted hunter, Prof. P. Schoeman, who decided in 1952 to cull Burchell's zebras and wildebeest. Official records said 293 zebras and 122 wildebeest were processed there. Public outcry about the culling (conservationists claimed that thousands of animals of several species were shot), and the unaesthetic appearance of the site forced its closure that same year (le Roux 1980).

114. **Renosterkom pad** (A) - "Renoster" is rhino, "kom" is a depression or shallow valley and "pad" is road, referring to the tourist road traversing an undulating section of mopane woodland south of Rietfontein (113) and Halali (115). Black rhinos regularly are sighted in this area.

115. **Halali** (G) - Given to the rest camp which opened in 1967, the name is traditionally used in Germany by huntsmen who sound the "Halali Horn", a bugle-like instrument signifying that the quarry has been brought to bay and the hunt is over. In Etosha the word is used with a different connotation: it proclaims that within Etosha's borders sport hunting is indeed over and there will be no more needless killing of wildlife. An artificially supplied, floodlit water-hole named Moringa was built on the boundary of Halali in 1992, enabling tourists to view wildlife at the edge of the rest camp.

116. **Halali Koppie** (G and A) - Located within the Halali rest camp (115), this dolomite hill was originally named "Ogomabes" (S), meaning "place where many people died". Hei//om were unable to give a reason for this. When a self-guided walking trail was established on this hill, it was called "Tsumasa" (S), which means "hill".

117. **Tsinaib** (S) - Also known as "Tsinab" (S), it is the onomatopoeic description of a sneeze, although why this place was so named is unknown. An entirely different interpretation by old Hei//om is "place where our toes were bitten"; again, the origin is unknown. It refers to a previous water-hole near low dolomite outcrops a few kilometres

south-west of Halali rest camp (115). Early Hei//om lived there permanently and dug deep to obtain water, but the small spring has since dried.

118. **//Gam !Na ≠Naosoneb** (S) - It means "hill from which the water-hole (of Tsinaib [117]) can be seen clearly". Thoughtless removal of stones from these outcrops for building purposes in the rest camp has desecrated them.

119(i). **Helio** (G) - This bore-hole is named after the German heliograph station which was located on top of one of the nearby Helio Hills (120). From its elevation German soldiers signalled to their comrades at Fort Namutoni (165). Helio was closed with the intention of attracting wildlife to the new drinking place at Halali (115), approximately 2 km away.

120. **Helio Hills** (E) - Also known as "Tweekoppies" (A), meaning "two small hills", these conical, twin dolomite hills are a landmark in this otherwise undulating landscape. They were originally known as "Tsina-!Gomab" (S), which basically means "hills near the Tsinaib spring" (117). There is a comparison of these hills to a woman's breasts (see also the explanation given under Geikoitsaub [126]), simply because from a distance their twin peaks resemble breasts, but we could obtain no more definite Hei//om name for them except "Gomab" (S) which means "hill".

121. **Gamgoas Koppie** (S and A) - Also pronounced "Ghamghas" or "Xamxas" (S), which means "place where lots of lions are found". It is a low dolomite hill to the east of Helio Hills (120) where the road to Goas (136) curves sharply. Hei//om maintain that lions regularly gave birth to cubs in a favoured lair among the rocks on top of this hill. Our trackers took this opportunity to inform us we must take care not to offend lions, who observe certain practices after they have killed. To accord lions the respect they deserve, Hei//om hunters who chased lions off a kill, to take meat, used to leave the pelvic girdle and haunches of the prey for the lions. They believed firmly that failure to do this would cause the enraged lions to follow them into their huts to retrieve what was rightly theirs.

122. **Xamxarob** (S) - It is pronounced "Ghamgharob", meaning "ridge or small hill that is nearby (south-east) but smaller than Gamgoas Koppie" (121). Hei//om say their forefathers harvested fruit of bird plum trees here.

123. **Elandsdraai koppies** (A) - It means "eland detour hills", referring to low hills located approximately 3 km north-east of the T-junction made by the Halali-Renosterkom-Elandsdraai roads. Hei//om call them "Gaugus" (S), descriptive of a small, undulating range cut in places by shallow valleys. Eland were once plentiful in this area but are now

seldom seen. Our Hei//om trackers said the meat of eland, traditionally protected by their forefathers, was regarded as “soxa” (pronounced “sogha”), or prohibited except to the chief of a clan.

124. //Khus (S) - The name was given to the flood-plain acacia (*Acacia kirkii*) which grew near a Hei//om campsite located about 8 km due north of Halali (115) and just south of the main tourist road. The area is bordered on the east by mopane woodland and on the west by the Halali plains.
125. /Goses (S) - The name refers to the dense stands of sedge which grew at this spring and from which Wambos wove baskets. It seeps onto the main Pan, about 3 km north of the main road turn-off to Halali (115). It is flanked by two slightly raised calcrete ridges with a few trees. Hei//om camped near the spring during hunts.
126. Geikoitsaub (S) - It bears the same Hei//om name as that given originally to Charitsaub (106), but refers to a different spring seeping strongly onto the main Pan, about 3 km east of /Goses (125). It too means “large water-hole”. Hei//om with whom we worked sometimes referred to this spring as “Au//omaas”, saying that from here you can see the Halali hills, and their forefathers asked the gods to take them safely to that destination. Unable to specify what “Au//omaas” means, a tracker who was pressed for an answer turned and pointed to the silhouettes of the twin Helio Hills (120) and Halali koppie (116), saying that from this place you could clearly see the form of a pregnant woman’s breasts and distended stomach.
127. #Kharitsaub (S) - This is the same name Hei//om originally gave to *Salvadora* (107), but it refers to a different spring seeping onto the main Pan, about 4 km west of Etosha Point (132). It means “small water-hole”.
128. Xoroses (S) - Pronounced “Ghoroses”, this word describes the noise water makes when bubbling over rocks. It was given to a minor spring seeping onto the main Pan, about 3 km west of Etosha Point (132).
129. !Naba#Khus (S) - Meaning “rhino food”, it refers to a spring seeping onto the main Pan, about 2 km west of Etosha Point (132). It could refer to plants eaten by rhinos or have been named when a rhino was killed there. According to aged Hei//om who were born in the wild, the mere sighting of a rhino was considered an important event, indicating that in the past the species may have been less numerous in Etosha.
130. Nuamses (S) - Pronounced “#Nu//amses”, it means “black water”, referring to a perennial spring producing murky water which fills a circular sink-hole of calcrete rock. Historically used by Hei//om who camped nearby, it is one of the most picturesque springs in the Halali area, with numerous rocky crevices offering shelter for shy species and giving the water-hole a secretive appearance. One of the Hei//om trackers who helped with these interpretations, Paul Daugchab, was born at Nuamses (Paxton 1986).
131. Koerigas (S) - Originally called “Korexas”, “Korighasa” or “Gorexas” (S), which means “place of the aloe” (“Korisa” is aloe), this spring was so named because many of these plants grew in its immediate vicinity. A small, secluded, murky spring located about a kilometre east of Nuamses (130), it is perennial, but the water has an offensive taste and is laden with algae.
132. Etosha Point (E) - Also known as Etosha Look-out, this road permits tourists to drive for a short distance onto Etosha Pan during the dry season and experience the unique atmosphere of its vast expanse.
133. /Uses (S) - Also called “/Oses” or “/Huruses” (S), meaning “very salty water”, it refers to a seepage immediately east of Etosha Point road (132) on the southern edge of Etosha Pan.
134. !Gao-Khaob (S) - “!Gao” means “to cut” and refers to the indentation or inlet which the main Pan makes into the plain at this substantial seepage. It is located about 5 km east of Etosha Point (132), and Hei//om formerly lived in the mopane woodland to the east of this spring, hunting game which drank there.
135. Au-//Gamson (S) - The original name is “Au-//Gamseb” (S), meaning “bitter water”, it names a strong seepage on the main Pan, approximately 12 km east of Etosha Point (132), where Hei//om temporarily camped while hunting in the winter months.
136. Goas (S) - Originally known as “/Khoas” (S), the word has various interpretations: “the noise made when walking over many rocks”, “drinking hole between the rocks”, or “the water overflows”. Hei//om stayed in the vicinity throughout the year, attracted by its sweet water and large numbers of game. The spring, comprising two distinct pools which are linked, provides superb game viewing during the dry season. It is not known whether each pool has its own subterranean water supply or whether there is a single “eye” overflowing into a second pool.
137. Noniams (S) - Alternatively pronounced “/Honi-ams” or “/Uniams” (S), it is the name of the smelly shepherd’s tree (*Boscia foetida*) growing near the tiny spring. Hei//om utilised the tree’s berries for food. Another version is that the name

means “bad breath”, referring to the offensive smell coming from the water and mud which carry an odour similar to the smelly shepherd’s tree. The Afrikaans word “Noeniebos” (Noni bush) is remarkably similar to the San. Noniams provided limited but sweet-tasting water which belied its original name. Previously seasonal, it became dormant during the present, prolonged dry phase in Etosha.

138. **!Khaneb** (S) - “!Khan” means eland, and the name refers to a seasonal pan about 3 km south of Noniams (137) where large numbers of eland used to occur. None is found there at present. Hei//om dug for water in this pan.

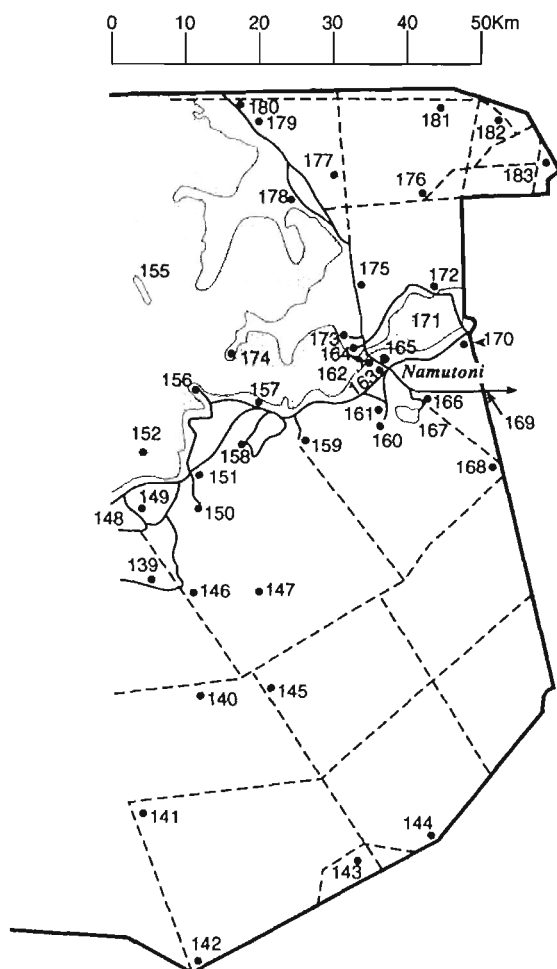


FIGURE 5: Map of section four of Etosha National Park, showing location of place names 139 through 183, except 153 and 154 (Figure 4).

139. **Koinseb** (S) - Originally called “!Goiseb” or “/Kuisseb” (S), it means “we are brothers”, referring to the fact that in the past there was a smaller artesian spring where the overflow from the present spring now collects, and these two “eyes” were connected. It is also said to mean “respect each other”. Yet another interpretation is “place where families or clans meet or congregate from time to time”. Koinseb is a strong perennial spring hosting a variety of wildlife, including birds of prey and vultures which aggregate at the substantial overflow to bathe and preen.

140. **Kameelperdkoppie** (A) - Meaning “giraffe hill”, it makes a good landmark, rising steeply above the undulating surroundings, just south of the !Harib (103) - Dungaries (145) fire-break road. As in the case of eland, giraffes were “soxa” (pronounced “sogha”) to free-living Hei//om, meaning their folklore prohibited all except the clan’s chief from eating meat of the neck and legs or bone marrow. The original name of these hills was “!Hoseb” or “!Hosib” (S), describing an early carrying method used by Hei//om to transport veld food gathered in bulk during forays. Roots and berries collected were placed in skin bags slung on sticks and carried across the shoulders. However, when asked on a separate occasion, other Hei//om referred to the hill as “!Gosib” (S), saying it means bead work, trinkets or general adornments such as shells or stones worn by people.

141. **Nau-Obes** (S) - Pronounced “!Nau-obes”, it means “you always turn back to the water which is pleasant tasting”. An alternative interpretation is “I was not at this place when the event or argument you speak of took place”. The name refers to a seasonal spring, now dormant, located approximately 18 km east of Tgumses (101).

142. **Hestria koppie** (A) - “Hestria hill” takes its name from an adjoining farm on the southern boundary of Etosha. The Hei//om name is “//Kuxas” (S), meaning “place of many thorns”.

143. **Vredkoppies** (A) - “Vrede”, meaning peace, is the name of a farm next to the south-eastern boundary, and “koppies” refers to dolomite outcrops on the southern boundary of Etosha.

144. **Tkai-Tkab** (S) - Also pronounced “≠Xai !Xab”, which describes the action of collecting water with a scoop at the end of a long rope and pouring it into a smaller container. This subterranean lake is similar to the well-known Lakes Otjikoto and Otjiguanas, about 45 and 65 km, respectively, to the south-east in the Tsumeb District, and is possibly connected to them. Otjikoto (H) means “place whose water is deep”, which supports the theory of a subterranean connection between major sink-holes in this region. Tkai-Tkab is located in a well-concealed, deep sink-hole close to the south-eastern boundary of Etosha. Ruins of cement water troughs built by farmers occur along the steep descent into the sink-hole leading to the water in an underground cavern. The cavern houses swarms of leaf-nosed bats (*Hipposideros* species) (Paxton 1985), lending a mysterious atmosphere and strengthening the superstition about Tkai-Tkab held by Hei//om who accompanied us.

145. **Dungaries** (S) - When this name is pronounced “Dun!aries”, Hei//om say it means “an unexpected discovery”, describing how the original small spring was discovered by their ancestors.

- They also maintain that the original spring was called "Xaga-gabakab", referring to a Hei//om named "Xaga" who got lost a long time ago while searching for water. In 1994 a secluded sink-hole with a similar name of "Aghawaghab" (S) which may contain a subterranean lake like Tkai-Tkab (144), was rediscovered in the vicinity of Dungaries during an aerial survey (C. Brain, Etosha Wildlife Veterinarian, personal communication 1994). It is also pronounced "Tungaries" or "Tu!Aris", in which "Tu" means rain, but the derivation of this name could not be established. It may relate to a Hei//om's description of the immediate area as always open or treeless with misty rain. Originally a natural spring, it has been augmented by a bore-hole which provides water for animals in a seasonally waterless area of the south-eastern mopane, purple-pod terminalia, tamboti woodland (le Roux 1980).
- 146(i). **Kamaseb** (S) - Originally pronounced "Amaseb", meaning "many hartebeest", it refers to red hartebeest (*Alcelaphus buselaphus*) which frequented this area. Originally Hei//om dug here for water. Later a bore-hole was drilled, but is no longer functional. A nearby shallow depression is surrounded by sedge, and the presence of two fan palms (A = makalanie palm) indicates water close to the surface.
147. **Tsam** (S) - Originally the name was "Tsham", meaning "crumbly soil". During the late 1950s and early 1960s it was a strong spring, the only watering point serving a large area about 10 km east of Kamaseb (146). At present, however, Tsam is seasonal, completely secluded and accessible only by foot or on horseback along well-used elephant paths. Hei//om occupied this water-hole permanently when it was a perennial spring. The parents of Hei//om tracker Simon Tsam, who assisted us with these interpretations, were born here.
148. **Hartebeesdraai** (A) - "Draai" means curve or detour in a road and refers to a triangular section linking Goas (136) to the main tourist road and Springbokfontein (151). Red hartebeest are frequently found in this area.
149. **Agab** (S) - Pronounced "Axab", it means "place of many reeds", although none occurs here at present. Agab is thought to be one of the oldest natural springs in Etosha, supplied by an artesian well with a volcano-shaped perimeter. Hei//om lived there permanently. Rising noticeably above the surrounding landscape, Agab is located within the Hartebeesdraai section (148).
150. **Batia** (A) - Named after Bernabè de la Bat, a former biologist and later warden of Etosha who became the first director of Nature Conservation in SWA, this small, freshwater spring seeps south of Springbokfontein (151). It was dammed, forming a pool, to provide good game viewing for tourists.
151. **Springbokfontein** (A) - Meaning "springbok fountain", it lies about 2 km north of Batia (150). It is a strong freshwater spring drainage line, extending along the edge of the main Pan which projects, finger-like, past Springbokfontein to Batia. Its San name, "Arixas" or "Arighas", has widely differing interpretations. Some Hei//om say it refers to a song sung by girls approaching puberty during a traditional gathering at the spring. Others insist it describes the dried, cracked clay of the Pan, while for some the name tells how the skin on their hands and feet dried and cracked with the cold winters experienced at this low-lying spring. The clan lived in the wooded area south of Springbokfontein.
152. **Os** (S) - Also pronounced "Osa", both names refer to salt deposited by a briny spring which erupts on the bare Etosha Pan about 5 km north-west of Springbokfontein (151). Hei//om collected considerable amounts of salt from this deposit, using donkeys to transport it to their camps at the southern edge of the Pan. This clan was also known as "xom" (pronounced "ghom") (scrape) "-khoim" (people), or people who scrape salt from the pan.
153. **Kleinrivier** (A) - Meaning "small river", it refers to a seasonally flooding, shallow water course which drains from Owambo into the Etosha Pan to the west of Poacher's Point (154).
154. **Poacher's Point** (E) - Jutting southwards into the Etosha Pan from Owambo, this narrow, steeply rising peninsula of about 33 km² became notorious because of poachers who took advantage of its elevation above the Pan to look for game. They also made temporary camps here, receiving ample warning of approaching nature conservators. Numerous stromatolites (calcified or fossilized algal remains resembling round stones) occur on the surrounding Pan.
155. **Pelican Island** (E) - During 1971, heavy rains made conditions ideal for White Pelicans (*Pelecanus onocrotalus*) to breed south-east of Poachers Point (154) on the Etosha Pan (Berry, Stark and van Vuuren 1973). The pelicans used this island as a roosting place when fishing in the surrounding shallow waters. It lies 16 km south-east of Poachers Point and 6 km west of the peninsula of Stinkwater (178). It is the largest island occurring on Etosha Pan, measuring 2,5 km in length and about 700 m across its widest point.
156. **Okerfontein** (A) - Meaning "ochre fountain", this perennial spring is on a blunt peninsula jutting into Etosha Pan. Its water is sometimes a yellowish-brown colour due either to dissolved solids or micro-organisms which flourish under

the saline conditions. Hei//om call it “!Gamob” or “/Am-op” (S), meaning there are no green plants at this place. A Hei//om tracker who worked closely with us, Otavi Tsumeb, was born near this spring. Dr. B. Lombard, formerly Chief Medical Officer in the town of Tsumeb, photographed two roan antelope here during the late 1950s, but roan no longer occur in this area of Etosha.

157. **Miershoop** (A) - Also known as Antheap Milepost, this name means “ant hill” or, more correctly, “termite hill”. “!Gwasa” (S), meaning “sharp bend” (of the road), was the name given by Hei//om to locate the original termite mound which stood at the junction of the eastern detour to Okerfontein (156) and the main tourist road to Namutoni (165). When the mound was largely destroyed by a speeding vehicle which failed to negotiate the bend in the road, Hei//om tracker Otavi Tsumeb skilfully helped one of us rebuild it, using a mixture of clay and cement to maintain this well-known landmark.
158. **Ngobib** (S) - Also pronounced “!Njobeb” or “/Nobeb”, meaning “the water becomes less”, it names a perennial spring, slightly sunken and enclosed by a round basin of calcrete rock. Hei//om sometimes refer to it as “water-hole of snakes”, because of numerous encounters with snakes in its vicinity.
159. **Kalkheuwel** (A) - Meaning “limestone hill”, it is an apt description of the calcrete ridges in the vicinity of this bore-hole. The previous spring near fan palms to the north-east of present-day Kalkheuwel was named “/Narubis” or “//Harubes” (S) because “!naru” means “to creep”, and Hei//om had to creep into the hole to reach the limited water. Nowadays water is supplied to a cement trough which overflows into a muddy basin. Kalkheuwel is an outstanding viewing point for a variety of wildlife, including birds, in the dry season.
160. **Chudop** (S) - The name means “black mud”, but the names “Tjjobin”, “Chiob” or “/Ciob” (S) are used by Hei//om, meaning “many stones in the water”. Chudop has, in fact, very few visible stones. This contradiction was supported by elderly Hei//om we interviewed who said “/Ciob” should apply to the nearby Aub spring (161) which is very rocky. Chudop is a perennial spring, sunken in a calcrete basin with a thick overlay of black mud supporting dense reeds. When the water level drops, the muddy substratum may trap animals which drown or suffocate in it. Several young elephants have been so trapped, and nature conservators expend considerable effort to free them.
161. **Aub** (S) - Also named “/Chaub”, simply meaning “fountain”, this tiny seasonal spring, set among a bed of calcrete rocks, becomes dormant in dry phases. Again, elderly Hei//om we spoke to were
- emphatic that this name belongs to the spring presently called Chudop (160), while this water-hole should be called “/Ciob”, meaning “many stones in the water”.
162. **Doringdraai** (A) - “Doring” means thorn and “draai” means curve or detour. It refers to a road detour circling an isolated patch of trees north of the main tourist road, about 4 km west of Namutoni (165).
163. **Koinagas** (S) - Originally named “!Caucaghas” or “!Cauaxas” (S), it means “strong bulrushes”, for the thick stands of *Typha capensis* which give this raised perennial spring a picturesque setting in its surrounding calcrete basin.
164. **Numeros** (S) - Originally pronounced “!Namos” (S), it means “we (Hei//om) love this water-hole”. A small, seasonal spring, Numeros is similar to Aub (161) and, like Aub, may also become dormant.
165. **Namutoni** (O) - Historically known variously as “Namitoni”, “Amutoni” or “Onamotoni”, the last name appears to be closest to the Oshindonga spelling of “Onamutune”. It means “an elevated place” or “place which can be seen from far away”, because it is noticeably elevated due to the accumulated mineral deposits borne to the surface by artesian water. Historically the Herero name was “Omutjamatinda”, describing the “strong water coming from the raised plain”. In the past century a trader and cattle post existed near to the reeded fountain. However, another tale exists about the name Namutoni: pronounced “Nà-mutoni”, it refers to large male genitals. This is supported by the story told of Wambo men who were examined by doctors before going on contract work. The examination included palpation of the genitals for possible hernia, and they named the place accordingly (C. du Plessis, Farm Leeudrink, personal communication 1958). Hei//om refer to the entire area between Namutoni, Chudop (160) and Klein Namutoni (166) as “!Namob” (S), meaning “place of pleasure”, possibly because of its pleasant and attractive situation with plentiful shade and edible berries. In contrast, however, some Hei//om call it “/Am-op” (S), saying there is no love (pleasure) in this place, a possible association with the frequent clashes between Owambo, Hei//om and German troops during Namutoni’s early history. The name “/Am-op” is identical to the name given for Okerfontein (156) by Hei//om, which they said means “place where no green plants grow”, thereby illustrating the ambiguity of some place names. In 1896 the German Reich established a garrison under Lieutenant Fischer, who became the first warden of the as yet unproclaimed Etosha (Fischer 1914). In 1957 Namutoni opened its Beau Geste-like features for the first time to tourists. The modern rest camp is a far cry from its former colonial setting, although the refurbished fort still brings a sense of the bygone days of German

Empire in Africa. Legend has it that on the night of a full moon, the massive wooden gates of the old fort can be heard creaking as they swing open, allowing the German cavalry to ride forth under bugle call.

166. **Klein Namutoni** (A) - Meaning “small Namutoni”, it is a relative term when comparing this perennial and copious fountain to that at Namutoni (165). The name “≠Khari-!Namob” (S) given by early Hei//om is similar to “!Namob” which they used for Namutoni, the prefix “≠Khari” meaning “small,” and “!Namob” describing an “attractive or pleasant” place. The contrasting name of “≠Khari /Am-op” (S) defines this as “small place without love or pleasure” (refer also to “/Am-op” under Namutoni [165]).
167. **Bloubokdraai** (A) - “Bloubok” is the common name of the Damara dik-dik (*Madoqua kirkii*) and “draai” means curve or detour, referring to the road which circles a section of purple-pod terminalia and tamboti woodland to the south of Klein Namutoni (166), where dik-dik are plentiful.
- 168(i). **Leeudrink** (A) - “Lion drink” was the old entrance to Etosha when the main road to Owambo passed Namutoni (165) and crossed the Andoni Plain (180). It was a bore-hole (now closed) named after the farm adjoining the Park where the road entered. Black-faced impala (*Aepyceros melampus petersi*) were kept here in a quarantine camp before re-introduction into their former range. A Hei//om tracker named Frederik, who worked for one of us, told of earlier times when they hunted this species in the vicinity of Namutoni (165) and Gobaub (100), which confirms its historical occurrence in Etosha.
169. **von Lindequist Gate** (E) - Named in honour of the Governor of German South West Africa, Dr. F. von Lindequist, who had the foresight to proclaim Etosha a game reserve on 22 March 1907 by Ordinance 88. The designated name was merely “Wildschutzgebiet Nr. 2” (Game Reserve No. 2), in numerical order after the West Caprivi (Game Reserve No. 1), and preceding the Namib (Game Reserve No. 3). The San name for this place is “≠Goa” (clay) “//Garus” (hole with water at the bottom), because Hei//om obtained rain-water trapped by clay in small sink-holes occurring on the nearby hillock.
170. **Twee Palms** (A) - Two fan palms stand at the edge of this spring, located on the south-eastern fringe of Fischer’s Pan (171). The muddy water of the spring gave rise to the earlier name of “!Chuaba” (S). One of our trackers, Simon Tsam, was born here. He remembered vividly how, at night, fires (“/ais”) and dances (“≠nab”), accompanied by loud singing, were their clan’s major defences against predators. One such precautionary measure, the “/geirab ≠nab” (“wolf” dance) kept the numerous and bold spotted hyaenas away from meat which the Hei//om had in their camp. A young buffalo bull (*Syncerus caffer*) was killed by lions here in the late 1950s when one of us was warden at Namutoni (165). This appears to be one of the last records of buffalo in Etosha (see also under Andoni [180]).
171. **Fischer’s Pan** (G and A) - Named after Lieutenant Adolf Fischer, a German cavalry commander of Namutoni (165), this finger-like, eastward protrusion of Etosha Pan covers about 56 km². It was previously known as Onzila (O), which means “place of the loaded gun” (“zila” is to load a gun). This in turn may refer to the heavily-armed German garrison which was stationed next to Fischer’s Pan at Namutoni (Fischer 1914). Hei//om call it “Kubush” (S), meaning “white with lots of dust”, a reference to its windswept surface during the dry months. There is another quaint name for Fischer’s Pan, “/Khae Kho-eib” (S) which, according to Hei//om, means “place where the loinskins covering the genitals are washed”. The Omuramba Ovambo (H and O) carries a seasonal inflow to Fischer’s Pan at a point just outside Etosha’s eastern border.
172. **Aroe** (S) - Also known as “Aru”, the name refers to the worm-cure albizia tree (*Albizia anthelmintica*) occurring in the vicinity. A bore-hole was drilled to supplement the natural artesian spring which erupted next to the Omuramba Omuthiya (H and O), a seasonally flooding water course named after the camel-thorn trees growing along its banks. The original spring subsequently became dormant. The name “!Xunub” (S), pronounced “Ghunub”, describes how Hei//om shivered with cold during winter in this low-lying omuramba.
173. **Okevis** (O) - This name is said to mean “from under the ground” or “from under the rocks”, referring to the pair of perennial springs. Situated approximately 1,5 km apart, Klein (A) “small” and Groot (A) “big” Okevi are linked by a well-worn elephant path to Koinagas (163). Hei//om call Klein Okevi “/Kharikebesa” (S), meaning “small steep place”, and Groot Okevi “/Kaikebesa” (S), meaning “larger steep place”, possibly due to the concave setting of these sunken springs.
174. **Leeunes** (A) - Meaning “lion den” or “lion haunt”, this spring lies near the western tip of a peninsula extending into the Etosha Pan. Hei//om name the spring “/Cuichab” (S) to describe a large slab of stone jutting out of the water. It is perennial and difficult to access by vehicle because of rocky terrain. Visibility is restricted by a dense clump of mustard bush which grows close to the spring. Nature conservators reaching it on foot have on several occasions been confronted by lions hiding under the bush, hence the name.

175. **Tsumcor** (E) - An abbreviation for Tsumeb Corporation, the name honours the mining company which donated the windmill serving this bore-hole, after conservationist H.A. Böttger approached C. Stott of the company for assistance. The water supply failed in 1994, probably due to the relentless drought, necessitating Tsumcor's temporary closure. There is a nearby depression or vlei called "!"Chubu !Chuaub" (S), which Hei//om say means "place where the first rainwater can be collected".
176. **Kameeldoring** (A) - "Camel-thorn" is the name given to this bore-hole located in a large depression of the North-eastern Kalahari Sandveld (Je Roux 1980). The earlier name "Ubarees" (S), which appears on the 1:1 000 000 map of SWA/Namibia (Surveyor-General 1979), referred to this pan-like depression, and means "take me with you" (to this place).
177. **Mushara** (O) - Also pronounced "Omushara", it is the name of the purple-pod terminalia which occurs in the vicinity of the bore-hole. An underground concrete bunker close to the trough and mud-bath overflow provides a unique ground level viewpoint for photography when animals come to drink.
178. **Stinkwater** (A) - Meaning "stinking water", this natural seasonal spring lies close to the eastern edge of Etosha Pan on a side road bearing the same name. Its water smells and tastes odious because of the sulphur content. It becomes dormant in a dry phase. The Hei//om call this place "!"Garubib" (S), referring either to the large old buffalo-thorn tree (*Ziziphus mucronata*), which grew there earlier, or to flowering trees in the vicinity.
179. **Oshanana** (O) - The name may mean "to be pulled by animals" ("nana" is to pull), or it could refer to the cattle or donkeys used by Wambos to draw water from the series of shallow pits or wells located here. It is also spelled "Osohama" or "Ohama". Hei//om claim they originally dug these wells, calling them "!"Nasan-!nanis" (S), saying this means "go away, go away from this place" (it is not yours). The San name probably alludes to the times when Hei//om defended these wells from use by Wambos. Elephants continue to use the open wells at Oshanana, excavating them to maintain a seasonal supply of water.
180. **Andoni** (O ?) - The origin is obscure, but it may refer to the extensive, flat plain. An unusual interpretation gives its derivation from the name of Anton, a colonial family in Angola whose name was difficult for the Wambos to pronounce. They called the family Andoni instead. Hei//om call the area "Kashana" (S), which means "plain", referring to Andoni's treeless expanse. When Etosha's northern boundary with Owamboland was defined in the 1950s by an unfenced cut-line (a corridor in which all vegetation was removed), free-living Hei//om dubbed the area "!"Aisa-/anis" (S), naming this strange practice of the white man "a belt which has been cut through the veld". A bore-hole was originally drilled in 1923 by the South West Africa Company which explored the area for minerals. The geologist located a thin layer of coal, commercially not viable, plus two aquifers: the upper level fresh and the lower level very salty. Water pressure at that time measured 3 atmospheres, or 304 kPa. When Andoni was identified as an anthrax-endemic area (Ebedes 1976), attempts were made to close the bore-hole. However, the pressure plus the water's corrosive content ruptured the plug in the bore-hole casing. Andoni therefore unintentionally continues to supply water to a saline depression, attracting a variety of wildlife, especially Burchell's zebras, wildebeest, and flamingoes, in the dry season. Two buffalo bulls were photographed on the Andoni plain in the late 1950s by Mr. Horst Komer, formerly a butcher in Tsumeb, during the same period that a buffalo was recorded at Twee Palms (170).
181. **Beisebvlakte** (S and A) - "Beiseb" (S) describes the manner in which herds of game break up and scatter when hunted. The grassy depression bordering the north-eastern corner of Etosha is called "vlakte" (A), meaning an open plain. This area frequently was the scene of traditional hunts by both Owambo and Hei//om in past times.
- 182(i). **Acacia** (L) - Acacia species such as umbrella thorn (*Acacia tortilis*) which occur on Beisebvlakte (181) gave this now closed bore-hole its name.
- 183(i). **Makalane** (A) - The bore-hole was situated in a depression where makalanie or fan palms are plentiful. The original name was "!"Nxai-!Xubis" (S), meaning "vlei where many giraffes are found". Similar to the fate of several bore-holes in Etosha, its proximity to the boundary and the possibility of poaching made it necessary to close the water source permanently.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Based on names presently in use at Etosha, the majority of places bear Afrikaans names, followed in descending order by San, Herero, English, Oshidonga, Latin, German, and Nama (Table 1). Predominance of Afrikaans names is explained primarily by the development of bore-holes west of Okaukuejo (80) occurring under the SWAA, when most European staff members of the Directorate of Nature Conservation and Tourism were Afrikaans-speaking. San names are concentrated south of Etosha Pan, especially in the Halali (115) area, where the greatest number of natural springs is found (Paxton 1985). Hei//om were dependent on these springs for survival during the dry months, and it follows that each spring was described by these earliest inhabitants. If present Afrikaans names are discounted in favour of the original San name, prevalence of Afrikaans decreases from 40% to 30%, and if names in other languages are

replaced by the original San name, then San accounts for 43% of all place names in Etosha (Table 1).

TABLE 1: Place names in Etosha National Park, ranked according to present and original language. Percentages are bracketed.

		Number (and percentage) of names						
Afrikaans	San	Herero	English	Oshindonga	Latin	German	Nama	
Present name used								
74 (40)	46 (25)	18 (9)	16 (9)	14 (8)	7 (4)	7 (4)	1 (<1)	
Original name used								
56 (30)	78 (43)	15 (8)	13 (7)	10 (6)	5 (3)	5 (3)	1 (<1)	

When names are ranked according to their present description, the three most important categories are animals, water and plants, which account for 49% of all place names (Table 2). Wild animals featured prominently in the lives of all people living in Etosha; many kept domestic animals historically as well. Of Africa's "Big Five", the lion tops the list of place names in Etosha, with five water-holes and one hill referring to lions. Four water-holes were named for elephants, three places for rhinos, and one for leopards. It is not surprising that water places second in frequency (29) for names given in this semi-arid environment; past and present known sources of water number 135 (61 natural springs, 40 active bore-holes, 24 inactive bore-holes, three seasonal rivers, three wells or pits, three dams, and at least one subterranean lake). Both African and European language names reflect the importance of plants: 26 places refer to plants ranging from sedges to trees. Seventeen places bear the names of individual persons, and seven names describe people or their weapons. Another 18 place names describe human actions and encounters, either good or bad. Hills, rocks and soils also receive specific attention, with 19 places falling into this category. The unique landscapes of Etosha evoke the names of 13 places. Map references, farms and companies have nine places named after them. Six places are named after birds, and invertebrate names denote five places.

TABLE 2: Place names in Etosha National Park, ranked according to present description. Percentages are bracketed.

Descriptive category				
Animal	Water	Plant	People/ weapon	Hill /rock /soil
34 (19)	29 (16)	26 (14)	24 (13)	19 (10)
Encounter /action	Scene	Map/ farm/ Company	Bird	Inverte- brate
18 (10)	13 (7)	9 (5)	6 (3)	5 (3)

Hei//om, Herero and Ndonga people we interviewed disagreed or were uncertain about some names. Even when the same persons were re-questioned later, their answers varied from the original interpretation (Cooper 1983, Paxton 1985, 1986). We therefore have no guarantee of the validity of the origin and meaning of some place

names. The generation of Hei//om previous to the one we worked with were free-living and nomadic. As Etosha developed for tourism during the 1950s, Hei//om families began living at the outskirts of rest camps and increasingly took jobs with the SWAA. Some of these Hei//om who were born in the wild were our guides and trackers for many years, and with time and mutual trust they became willing to share their knowledge. However, because these people were illiterate, we were obliged to record their pronunciation of names phonetically, and this may be a source of error in our spelling. Regrettably, most Hei//om who lived as hunter-gatherers in Etosha have died, and it becomes increasingly difficult to obtain a correct version of the origin and meaning of place names from their descendants.

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Simon Tsam	- Namutoni
Willem Douchab	- Okaukuejo
'Ou Fritz' Hoorib (deceased)	- Okaukuejo
Katison Khomob	- Okaukuejo
Otavi Tsumeb (deceased)	- Okaukuejo

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