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Izaak Schapera, Lud Tswany a brytyjska antropologia społeczna

INTRODUCTION

It is not my aim to present a complete research profile of Isaac Schapera and his contribution to the Tswana studies.¹ Such an attempt has not yet been undertaken and is still waiting for a competent author.² My purpose is more modest. I am going to examine Schapera's links with British social anthropology by emphasizing the influence of B. Malinowski and A. R. Radcliffe-Brown upon his methodology and understanding of this area of research. I am also going to discuss briefly some methodological ideas of Isaac Schapera. First of all his view of the relationship between social

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¹ See J. E. Archibald (ed.): *The Works of Isaac Schapera: A Selective Bibliography* (Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, 1969). It contains a long list of more important publications of Isaac Schapera.

² A. Kuper: *Isaac Schapera, International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. Biographical Supplement* (New York: The Free Press, 1979), vol. 18, pp. 694-696.

anthropology and history as well as his concept of comparative method in social anthropology.³

Professor Isaac Schapera, the distinguished researcher of the Tswana of the Protectorate of Bechuanaland, their life, customs and culture, and the outstanding authority in social anthropology of Southern Africa, was the student of two very famous British social anthropologists: Bronisław Malinowski (1884–1942) and Alfred R. Radcliffe-Brown (1881–1955) who were largely responsible for the development of modern studies in social anthropology. As the founders of functionalism (Malinowski) and structuralism (Radcliffe-Brown) they established the competing theoretical models and schools which gave the British social anthropology its distinctive character.⁴ They both have strongly, though in different ways, shaped anthropological concept and methodology of Isaac Schapera who also became one of the top representatives of British school of anthropological studies and an outstanding specialist in Southern African anthropological research.

Isaac Schapera has done more than anybody else to enlarge our knowledge of Tswana life, law, culture and customs.⁵ Through his many books and articles he made the Tswana people and their history better known in the world. Until today his works are of fundamental importance in studies of the Setswana-speaking peoples. He also made major contributions to the study of other Batswana peoples like the Bakalanga, Baherero, the Bayei and the Khoisan. Schapera's numerous field trips in Bechuanaland Protectorate which he started towards the close of the 1920s and continued in the 1930s and 1940s allowed him to record oral history accounts and study different aspects of Tswana history and life in great detail. No student of the peoples of Southern Africa can carry on his research without the knowledge of Professor Schapera's work. It is something unique in African anthropology and sociology. British eminent social anthropologist, Professor Mayer Fortes, also student of Malinowski's seminar at London School of Economics, wrote in 1975 that Schapera's research on the Tswana "has given us the most complete and comprehensive body of knowledge relating to the history, the social and political life and the contem-

³ For the general background see: L. A. Coser: *Masters of Sociological Thought: Ideas, Ideas in Historical and Social Context* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977); M. Fortes and S. Patterson (eds.): *Studies in African Anthropology: Essays Presented to Professor Isaac Schapera* (London: Academic Press, 1975); A. Kuper: *Anthropologists and Anthropology* (London: Allen Lane, 1973).

⁴ Of great interest in this discussion is I. C. Jarvie: *The Revolution in Social Anthropology* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964). See also L. Mair: *An Introduction to Social Anthropology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

⁵ See Fortes and Patterson (eds.): *op. cit.*

porary situation of any single group of African peoples... It is a body of work that is unique in the literature of African Sociology and Anthropology".⁶

THE INFLUENCE OF RADCLIFFE-BROWN

Like B. Malinowski, his great teacher at London School of Economics and his predecessor on the Chair of Anthropology there, Isaac Schapera was the offspring of an Eastern European family. His Jewish parents came to South Africa from Belorussia (Malinowski was born and educated in Poland). Schapera was born in 1905 in Garies (Cape Province) in South Africa. When he enrolled at the University of Cape Town, he originally intended to study law, but after attending a course of lectures by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, who was the first professor of social anthropology in South Africa, he switched to anthropology. In 1925 Schapera obtained his M. A. at the University of Cape Town and in 1929 his Ph. D. at the University of London. He taught social anthropology at the University of Cape Town in 1939–1950 and at the University of London (London School of Economics) in 1950–1969.

As already mentioned, it was Radcliffe-Brown who first encouraged Schapera to study social anthropology and sociology, and it is important to note that Radcliffe-Brown's Durkheimian structuralism left a permanent imprint on Schapera's understanding of social phenomena and his methodological approach. It was through Radcliffe-Brown that Emile Durkheim was a decisive influence on British social anthropology.⁷

Throughout his academic life in South Africa and Britain, A. R. Radcliffe-Brown asserted the need for scientific method and regarded social anthropology as a comparative sociology whose task was to derive generalizations about social structures and social systems from empirical data. His first principle of methodology was the assumption that general laws can only be discovered by the comparative study of diverse types of society, or of variant "species" of one social type. He also thought that comparative social anthropology must use the standard specific technique of starting from an hypothesis, testing it by intensive field-work, modifying the original hypothesis in the light of the

⁶ Quoted by T. Tlou: *Citation on the occasion of the conferment of honorary degree on Professor Isaac Schapera*, „University of Botswana Newsletter" 1985, vol. 26, p. 27.

⁷ For a wider background see: Caser: *op. cit.*, pp. 129–174; A. Kuper: *Anthropologists and Anthropology*, pp. 51–88; M. Fortes (ed.): *Social Structure: Studies Presented to A. R. Radcliffe-Brown* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949).

field results, and continuing thus to build up a systematic body of knowledge.⁸

The more developed comparative approach was on the whole not fully accepted by Isaac Schapera whose main emphasis in research was on very detailed and monographic study and description of particular peoples and cultures without much applying comparative methodology and without wider attempt at generalization and methodological reflexion. Schapera has always been an empiricist aiming at objectivity and trying to avoid abstractions and conjectures. He focuses the facts on specific topics within the context of different system of social life. He seems to be rather suspicious of generalizations and cross-cultural comparisons.

Schapera's structuralism had no doubt its sources in Radcliffe-Brown and Durkheim's idea that the object of social anthropology was the social system or social process. These constituted the social structure, which is not an abstraction. It consists of the sum total of all the social relationships of all individuals in a particular group at a given moment in time. Radcliffe-Brown accepted that although social structures were in flux, social forms were comparatively stable. Although new members of the society are born, people divorce and remarry, the old chiefs die and are replaced, the same social usages persist and there is stability of the structural forms. He was not too much concerned with problems of social dynamics and that is why his descriptions and analyses are rather static.

A good example of Radcliffe-Brown influence on I. Schapera is the problem of kinship which constitutes in the research of both of them an important issue. They saw a system of kinship and marriage as a set of interrelated social usages which were based upon the recognition of certain biological relationships for social purposes. For instance, their particular interest was in the usages governing the relationships between kin and in the terms used in addressing the kin and referring to them. The problem of kinship, very closely examined by Radcliffe-Brown and also Isaac Schapera on two very different anthropological materials (the Andaman islanders and the Australians in case of Radcliffe-Brown, and the Tswana in Schapera's

⁸ Among more important works of A. R. Radcliffe-Brown there are: *The Andaman Islanders* (Cambridge University Press, 1922); *Introduction to Kinship and Marriage in Africa* (Oxford University Press, 1950); *Structure and Function in Primitive Society* (London: Cohen and West, 1952); *Method in Social Anthropology* (Chicago, 1958); *Methods of ethnology and social anthropology* „South African Journal of Science” 1923, vol. 20; *On the concept of function in the social science*, „American Anthropologist”, N. S. 1935, vol. 37. See M. Fortes: *Radcliffe-Brown's Contribution to the study of social organization* „British Journal of Sociology”, vol. 6, 1955.

research) constitutes a very central area in anthropological studies of both of them and also comes close to B. Malinowski's research on *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*.

B. MALINOWSKI AND I. SCHAPERA

The second teacher and master of Isaac Schapera was the distinguished British social anthropologist of Polish descent⁹ Professor B. Malinowski, one of the founders of functionalism in social anthropology.¹⁰ Having completed his Master's degree in 1925 at the Cape University under the supervision of Radcliffe-Brown, Isaac Schapera was accepted as a doctoral candidate at the London School of Economics where Malinowski was at the peak of his career as Professor of Anthropology there (in 1927 he was appointed to the first Chair of Anthropology in London). Schapera attended Malinowski's seminars in 1926–1929 and served for a time as his research assistant in anthropology in 1928–1929. He received his Ph. D. degree in 1929 at London School of Economics (his supervisor was C. G. Seligman, a scholar in more traditional school of anthropology) on the basis of his dissertation which was published under the title *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa: Bushmen and Hottentotes*¹¹ in 1930, when Schapera was only 25 years of age.

Bronisław Malinowski was the founder of modern social anthropology and the holder of the first Chair of Anthropology at LSE.¹² He really was the first to introduce modern fieldwork methods in the two years he spent on the Trobriand Islands in 1915–1918 and his influence in social anthropology was tremendous. He broke in his *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* with the classicist, speculative tradition of James George Frazer and crystallized the methodology of intensive fieldwork in an "exotic" community.¹³ There is no

⁹ For Malinowski's Polish background see: K. Symmons-Symolewicz: *Bronisław Malinowski: An intellectual profile*, „Polish Review” 1958, vol. 3, pp. 35–67 and also by the same author *Bronisław Malinowski: Formative influences and theoretical evolution*, „Polish Review” 1959, vol. 4, pp. 17–45.

¹⁰ W. Firth (ed.): *Man and Culture: An Evaluation of the Work of Bronisław Malinowski* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957); M. Gluckman: *An Analysis of the Sociological Theories of Bronisław Malinowski* (Oxford: University Press, 1947); H. Zins: *Bronisław Malinowski: The Polish-born Professor of Jomo Kenyatta* „The Weekly Review” (9 May 1980).

¹¹ I. Schapera: *The Khoisan People of South Africa: Bushmen and Hottentotes* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1930).

¹² I. Kuper: *Anthropologists and Anthropology*, pp. 13, 90–91.

¹³ Among more important Malinowski's works there are: *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1922); *Magic, Science and Religion, and Other Essays* (London: Free Press, 1925); *The Sexual Life of Savages in North-Western*

doubt that Schapera's strong emphasis on fieldwork developed under the influence of Malinowski.

Malinowski had also specified the object of social anthropology as separate from history, stressed the importance of institutions and the way they functioned within extant societies. It enabled him to formulate the methodology of ethnographic data-collection (another example of Malinowski's influence on Schapera). He advocated the preparations of detailed charts and tables, genealogical charts and censuses, a detailed diary noting normal events and deviations from the norm, etc. In this way he laid foundations for the way anthropological fieldwork is still carried out.

Like Isaac Schapera some years later, Malinowski belonged to those anthropologists who were able to spend a longer time among the tribe he was studying. Malinowski learned the language of the people of Trobriand Island and working directly through their language was deeply involved in their life which again reminds us of the research technique of Schapera in Bechuanaland Protectorate.

Looking for other examples of Malinowski's influence upon Isaac Schapera it is worth to emphasize Malinowski's analysis of human culture in those basic institutions that exist to fulfil such fundamental human needs as food, sex, procreation, shelter, defence, etc. To describe such basic institutions meant for Malinowski and Schapera studying in detail every aspect of society. Schapera's *The Tswana*, published for the first time in 1953, is the best example of it.

Through his scientific activities, especially his methodological innovations, Malinowski became a major contributor to the transformation of nineteenth-century speculative anthropology into a modern science of man. He played a decisive role in the formation of the contemporary British school of social anthropology as a fieldworker, a scholar and teacher. Malinowski's primary scientific interest was in the study of culture as a universal phenomenon and in the development of a methodological framework. He reacted strongly against the speculative reconstruction and atomistic treatment of studied social phenomena torn from their cultural context. Schapera's functionalism and empirism were undoubtedly shaped by Malinowski's concepts and ideas. At the same time, as was already mentioned, he owned a lot to his first master — A. R. Radcliffe-Brown.

Melanesia (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1929); *Sex, Culture and Myth* (New York: Brace, 1929); *A Scientific Theory of Culture, and Other Essays* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944); *The Dynamics of Cultural Change: An Inquiry into Race Relations in Africa* (New Haven: Yale University, 1945).

HISTORY AND SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

One of the areas where Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown definitely differed was their attitude towards history and its role in anthropological research. Whereas Radcliffe-Brown and Schapera recognized that the peculiar characteristic of any social institution must be the resultant of its historical development, Malinowski appeared to argue that no past events were of interest to anthropologists. His obsession against history even made his observations sometimes naive and inconsistent. Although he stated that historical data were useful in drawing comparisons, he denied their value for the study of change in one society, partly because of the quite often unreliable character of oral tradition. He seemed to believe that the past is significant in so far as it lives in the present, as far as developments and recorded events of the past have bearing on the present phenomena under investigation.¹⁴

In his works, Schapera tried to emphasize the empirical and historical perspective and in this respect was much closer to dynamic acculturation theories of Radcliffe-Brown than to Malinowski's then-prevailing ahistorical model. Already in the first book about the Khoisan peoples of South Africa he has chosen a historical presentation at a time when there was among British structural and functional anthropologists a strong trend to write only in the ethnographic present. It should be mentioned that Schapera was one of the first anthropologists in Africa to collect and publish oral tradition data and to edit the journals and letters of early missionaries and travellers. Schapera had used historical material in the interpretation of the Tswana and other Southern African societies and in an interesting paper published in 1962 he discusses the relationship between anthropology and history.¹⁵

Let me briefly examine Schapera's ideas on this issue not only because of its crucial importance in studies of African societies. Isaac Schapera very rarely was involved in theoretical discussions on methodology of social anthropology. He is a typical field worker and left very few theoretical thoughts about the methodology of his discipline. As a very dedicated researcher of great precision and patience, he gives a good example of analytical and empirical understanding of, and methodological attitude to, social anthropology.

Isaac Schapera is of the opinion that the anthropologist must necessarily supplement his study of modern tribal life with a study of tribal history.

¹⁴ A. Kuper: *Isaac Schapera*, pp. 694-696.

¹⁵ I. Schapera: *Should anthropologists be historians?* „Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain”, vol. 92, 1962, pp. 143-156.

Criticizing the functional theory of society which was claiming that to understand the functioning of social institutions of traditional societies it is not necessary to know their history, Schapera thinks that to comprehend the nature of human society we must study all forms of that society, including those of "bygone years" as well as those of the present. As a historian I can only fully agree with this opinion which expresses our contemporary comprehension of interdisciplinary studies. Let me add that John L. Comaroff in recently published by him Schapera's book *The Tswana* (1991) stresses that Schapera has always located the Tswana in their proper political and economic contexts.¹⁶

A good example of Schapera's historical analysis and presentation is, for instance, his *A Short History of the Bakgatla-bagaKgafela* (1942)¹⁷ in which the author goes back to the beginnings of known tribal history of this people, discusses the period of chaos, the restoration of tribal unity, the impact of Western civilisation, the early days of the British Protectorate, etc. It is a typical dynamic presentation, embracing several generations of the history of this people since the 18th century — a good example of the interdisciplinary method which in this case combines anthropology with history.

The same approach we find in Schapera's other works including his interesting paper *The Contribution of Western Civilisation to Modern Kxatla Culture*, presented by him in 1936 at the School of African Studies of the University of Cape Town.¹⁸ This article examines from the historical point of view different aspects of early encounter of Western civilisation and the Tswana and cultural results of those contacts for this Southern African people.

SCHAPERA AND COMPARATIVE METHOD IN ANTHROPOLOGY

Apart from his view on the role of history in anthropological studies, the other methodological issue discussed by Schapera more extensively was his concept of comparative method in social anthropology. This issue also throws important light on Schapera's understanding of some basic anthropological concepts and his methodology.

¹⁶ I. Schapera and J. L. Comaroff: *The Tswana* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1991).

¹⁷ I. Schapera: *A Short History of the Bakgatla-bagaKgafela* (Cape Town: School of African Studies, University of Cape Town, 1942).

¹⁸ I. Schapera: *The contribution of western civilization to modern Kxatla culture*, „Transactions of the Royal Society of South Africa" 1936, vol. 24, pp. 24–52.

In an article published in 1953 on the comparative method in social anthropology¹⁹, Isaac Schapera warned the scholars to be very cautious in using this method. He is of the opinion that there is no single method of comparison in anthropology, that methods are largely determined by the nature of the problem under investigation. Basically, contrary to some older anthropologists like Frazer, Schapera was against large-scale comparative studies in social anthropology, particularly in the study of kinship systems, without regard for the scientific principles to which such comparisons ought to conform. Random comparisons are the source of serious distortions and misunderstandings. He was rather advocating the method of intensive regional comparisons, "an intensive study of a given region, embracing all the peoples living there, and trying to establish one or more basic types into which the social institutions of those people can be classified".²⁰ This method, according to Schapera, insures that all known groups of people in a region are covered. He mentioned that in many comparative studies the selection of cases was not rigorously unbiased and that the units compared were not always comparable. A misuse of this method being the result of comparison of uncomparable phenomena always leads to false conclusions which only distort our research and its results.

SCHAPERA AND THE TSWANA STUDIES

For several years the main area of Schapera's studies was the Bechuanaland Protectorate and for some twenty years or so he was doing field trips there and published their results in several articles and books of great importance for our knowledge of the Tswana. The range of Schapera's studies in this field is extremely wide and diversified and there is neither need nor space to discuss them here in detail. They should be analysed in a separate paper. It is enough to mention here that Isaac Schapera has chosen as the particular field for his studies the Bechuanaland Protectorate, an area which for many years had been neglected by scholars. During his numerous trips from Cape Town he was able to collect materials for his many works on the Tswana customs and law, married life and family, land and tenure, labour migration, government and politics. Tswana chiefs and so many other aspects of Tswana life and culture.

The most synthetic and complete analysis of the Tswana life, customs, institutions and social organization can be found in Schapera's

¹⁹ I. Schapera: *Some comments on the comparative method in social anthropology*, „American Anthropologist” 1953, vol. 55, pp. 353–362.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 359.

small booklet *The Tswana* (1953) whose new, enlarged and updated edition has been recently prepared by J. L. Comaroff in 1991.²¹ This important work, to a large extent based on Schapera's own research, presents a very detailed but concise picture of Tswana groupings, demography and history, language and literature, economy (such topics as physical environment, land tenure, production of food, organization of labour, trade and exchange, etc.), social organization, government and law, religion and magic. It is an extremely solid, competent and unbiased study of the Tswana society, free from colonial and eurocentric perspective.

Among Schapera's more synthetic studies, illustrating very well his wide interest in the Tswana social organization and his historical and — to some extent — comparative method of interpretation is his important book *Tribal Innovators: Tswana Chiefs and Social Change 1795–1940*.²² In this work Schapera has shown that the chiefs substantially contributed through legislation, judicial decisions, and administrative action to the transformation of Tswana life towards innovation. The book is based on materials gathered by Schapera in the years 1925–1940 during his fieldwork with the Kgatla, Ngwato, Ngwaketse, Kwena and Tawane peoples. This study contains essentially a historical description and analysis of all changes made by chiefs of those larger Tswana tribes up to the end of 1940. Schapera's approach here is not only historical but also comparative. It applies intertribal comparison to emphasize social change among the native peoples of this part of Africa. In establishing some innovations the chiefs often initiated the process of change long before the coming of Europeans.

Historical approach was also applied by Schapera in several other works. Let me mention his *Handbook of Tswana Law and Customs* of 1938²³, which has even been used as reference by magistrates and the High Court in disputes involving custom. In 1940 appeared his well known work *Married Life in an African Tribe*²⁴ in which the author examined different aspects of married and family life among Bakgatla. Already in 1942 Isaac Schapera

²¹ See note 16.

²² I. Schapera: *Tribal Innovators: Tswana Chiefs and Social Change 1795–1940* (London School of Economics. Monographs on Social Anthropology, no 42. London: The Athlone Press, 1970). Its first version of 1943 was entitled *Tribal Legislation among the Tswana of the Bechuanaland Protectorate*.

²³ I. Schapera: *A Handbook of Tswana Law and Customs* (Oxford: University Press, 1938).

²⁴ I. Schapera: *Married Life in an African Tribe* (London: Faber and Faber, 1940).

published *A Short History of the BaKgatla-bagaKgafela of Bechuanaland Protectorate*²⁵, in 1943 *Native Land Tenure in Bechuanaland Protectorate*²⁶, in 1947 his work about *Migrant Labour and Tribal Life: A Study of Conditions in Bechuanaland Protectorate*²⁷, in 1952 *The Ethnic Composition of Tswana Tribes*²⁸, in 1971 *Rainmaking Rites of Tswana Tribes*²⁹ and others which have been listed by J. E. Archibald in already mentioned bibliography of Schapera's work (note 1).

Another feature of Schapera's research of Southern African tribes is his unbiased and honest attitude towards Africans. Already in his Ph. D. dissertation about *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa* he expressed the opinion which only today, sixty years later, is slowly accepted by white historians of South Africa. Schapera wrote that "by the year 1652, when the establishment of the pioneer Dutch settlement at Table Bay laid the foundations for the present political dominance of the white man in the country, Africa south of the Zambezi River was already inhabited by a considerable number of different native peoples".³⁰

In the Preface to *Western Civilization and the Natives of South Africa* Schapera stresses that in the course of a long time of inter-racial contact and adjustment "Europeans and Natives have exercised a steadily growing influence upon each other's lives... The presence of the Natives has so profoundly affected the social and economic development of the Europeans that it has become an indispensable part of the whole structure of civilization in South Africa".³¹ It is no longer possible — continued Schapera nearly sixty years ago — "for the two races to develop apart from each other. The future welfare of the society now depends upon the finding of some social and political system in which both may live together in close contact".³² His words very well express more progressive trends and programmes of our decade.

²⁵ I. Schapera, see note 17.

²⁶ I. Schapera: *Native Land Tenure in the Bechuanaland Protectorate* (Alice: Lovedale Press, 1943).

²⁷ I. Schapera: *Migrant Labour and Tribal Life: A Study of Conditions in the Bechuanaland Protectorate* (London: Oxford: University Press, 1947).

²⁸ I. Schapera: *The Ethnic Composition of Tswana Tribes* (London School of Economics. Monographs on Social Anthropology, no 11, 1952).

²⁹ I. Schapera: *Rainmaking Rites of Tswana Tribes* (Leiden: Afrika-Studiecentrum, 1971).

³⁰ I. Schapera: *The Khoisan Peoples...*, p. 3.

³¹ I. Schapera: *Western Civilization and the Natives of South Africa* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1934).

³² *Ibidem*.

As already mentioned, Schapera shows in his studies not only a very solid knowledge of Southern Africa, but also a lot of objectivity and understanding of the African peoples for whose study and research he has done so much. Let me add that "even where British African anthropology has been most heavily criticized — for its promiscuous relationship with colonialism — Schapera's personal and scholarly integrity has never been called into doubt" — writes the well known American Professor of anthropology John L. Comaroff, in his new edition of Schapera's already mentioned work *The Tswana*.³³

Schapera himself gave us perhaps the strongest wording in this matter. After having received in 1985 an honorary doctorate from the University of Botswana, he said to a Gaborone journalist "anthropologists in Africa have the reputation of being colonial stooges. I am glad that I am not regarded here as such". He added that "the fact that the University of Botswana found it necessary to honour me, shows that this country does not regard me as its enemy".³⁴

In his doctoral dissertation on the Khoisan people of South Africa, Isaac Schapera paid tribute to his masters and teachers. He thanked Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown who during Schapera's undergraduate days at the University of Cape Town, both stimulated and directed his interests to the study of the Khoisan people and "by his able and thorough teaching equipped me with an anthropological training for which I am grateful" — wrote Isaac Schapera.³⁵ He also expressed appreciation to Professor B. Malinowski "for constant inspiration in matters theoretical and for an insight into anthropological problems which has largely determined my handling of the material set forth in the text" — he confessed in the same dissertation.³⁶ At that time, the 25 years old beginner in Southern African studies could not, of course, foresee that in relatively near future he would belong, together with Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski, to the most representative members of British social anthropology.

³³ I. Schapera and J. L. Comaroff: *The Tswana*, p. V.

³⁴ K. Modikwe: *Anthropology earns world fame*, „Botswana Daily News" 1985, no 204, p. 3.

³⁵ I. Schapera: *The Khoisan Peoples*, p. VII.

³⁶ *Ibidem*.