7

FROM 'FOLKLORE' TO WORLD LITERATURE

Reading Indigenous Responses to Place and Belonging in the Bleek–Lloyd Archive of San *Kukummi*

Lars Atkin

San Worlding

The Bleek–Lloyd archive has its genesis in the work of German philologist Wilhelm Bleek. Bleek came to South Africa initially to help the then-governor Sir George Grey to organise his collection of grammars and ethnographies from a range of Indigenous cultures across Africa and the Pacific. Bleek became the curator of the Sir George Grey collection at the South African Public Library and in the 1870s embarked on a collaborative enterprise with his sister-in-law Lucy Lloyd to document the language and the customs of /Xam (San) people. At this point in history, /Xam and other San communities lived across much of the Western part of South Africa and Namibia. Although they had suffered 200 years of bloody war and genocide, resisting encroachment onto their lands by settler pastoralists and the capture and enslavement of their communities by Boer, Griqua, and British invaders, the archive attests to the resilience of /Xam culture in the face of settler colonialism.[1] Bleek and Lloyd had access to /Xam informants who were recruited from the Breakwater Prison, where the informants were serving prison sentences for cattle theft and other acts of resistance against the expropriation of their land by European settlers.

As British historical geographer Alan Lester has pointed out, large-scale ethnographic collections such as those undertaken in colonial South Africa by Governor Grey and Bleek and Lloyd were part of what Lester terms 'ethnographic governmentality,' a colonial policy 'directed at reconfiguring the lives of individual Indigenous people around the projects of the settler state.'[2] Just as convict stations like Breakwater were designed to discipline San communities out of practising their traditional lifeways by removing them from their

DOI: 10.4324/9781003363378-10

lands and subjecting them to forced labour, so the project of 'ethnographic salvage' embodied in the Bleek–Lloyd collection was bound up with the 'eliminationist' practices of settler colonialism.[3] By reifying /Xam culture in an archive organised under Western literary categories for the consumption of Euro-American intellectuals, Lloyd and Bleek were re-shaping /Xam cultural knowledge to fit European taxonomies. As South African literary scholar Michael Wessels pointed out:

> The process of the collection of oral materials always entails more than the recording of extant traditions; it involves their invention, construction, and presentation, whether as mythology, folklore, or literature. Theoretical expectations and scholarly and aesthetic practices preceded and determined the course of the collection of the /Xam materials.[4]

Historian Andrew Bank has argued that the intimate relations between Lucy Lloyd and the /Xam informants who stayed in their home at Mowbray, Cape Town, produced 'a meeting of worlds' that enabled 'a decade of dialogue without precedent in the history of this country and perhaps the world.'[5] However, notwithstanding the interpersonal dynamics, colonial racial hierarchies structure the encounters, with informants recruited from colonial incarceration and put to unpaid labour in the Bleek household while staying with the family.

The most widely available printed text to emerge from the work with the /Xam informants was Lucy Lloyd's *Specimens of Bushman Folklore* (1911). *Specimens* is a highly mediated textual artefact. The notebooks from which the text is drawn were produced from interviews with /Xam people recorded between 1870 and 1875. As the /Xam informants and Bleek and Lloyd would have communicated in Cape Dutch, a second language for both communities, these interviews were transcribed in Cape Dutch (which does not appear in the published text), transliterated into a /Xam orthography invented by Bleek, and then translated into English to make them comprehensible to the European reading public. As well as a negotiation between multiple linguistic registers, the Bleek–Lloyd archive also throws up questions of genre. How are we to classify these texts? In *Specimens*, Lloyd uses the genres that would have made sense to literature and folklore specialists in the early twentieth century, but to her /Xam informants, these genres would not have had any meaning. To them, all are *kukummi*, a /Xam word which encompasses all narratives from personal histories to creation stories.

Seeing this archive as structured by the epistemologies of colonialism, how can we read it ethically from a twenty-first-century, decolonial perspective? If we centre Khoisan epistemologies and political identities in our teaching and scholarship on the Bleek–Lloyd archive, how can this change our understanding of both the Indigenous knowledges in the archive and the lifeways that exist beyond the bounds of the archive? To begin to answer this question, we

must exorcise from our discussion the colonial category of 'folklore' and instead view the /Xam *kukummi* available in the Bleek–Lloyd Archive as a unique form of worlding. As we proceed, we must be mindful of Spivak's caution against seeking to stand as interpreters of Indigenous cultures. Spivak writes that:

> To consider the Third World as distant cultures, exploited but with rich intact literary heritages waiting to be recovered, interpreted, and curricularized in English translation fosters the emergence of "the Third World" as a signifier that allows us to forget that "worlding," even as it expands the empire of the literary discipline.[6]

To head Spivak's warning, we must understand our task not as an exercise in hermeneutics that foregrounds our own skills at mastering Indigenous knowledges and histories. Instead, we must seek to move reflectively and with humility, foregrounding what Anishinaabe scholar Leanne Betasamosake Simpson has termed the Indigenous 'brilliance' revealed in the *kukummi* of storytellers such as //Kabbo and Dia!kwain.[7] We must read and teach self-reflexively, giving primacy to the unique worlding revealed in the *kukummi* without seeking to impose ourselves and our own scholarly investments upon the texts. We must begin this endeavour by thinking a little more about what we mean when we talk about the 'world' of world literature.

Pheng Cheah has criticised the approach of current world literature theorists which prioritises 'spatial extension' as the primary index of what makes literature 'world' literature. Following on from Heidegger's distinction between the 'world' and the 'earth,' Cheah usefully distinguishes between the 'globe' and the 'world.' In this dialectic, the 'globe' is 'a bounded object in Mercatorian space' across which commodities, ideas, texts, and populations circulate across national and regional borders, traversing land and sea.[8] In contrast, the 'world' speaks to a phenomenological experience of 'relating, belonging, or being-with' that constitutes a community.[9] Stories narrativise being in time because, 'as modes of recounting they depend on and express the world's temporal structure.'[10] If temporality is fundamental to being, as Heidegger claimed, then an analysis of temporality must be the beginning of any phenomenological investigation into Indigenous worlding.

Although concerned with applying his phenomenological reading to postcolonial narratives, Cheah does not explore in any great detail the ways in which Indigenous 'temporal orientations' might differ from the linear or circular narratives familiar to Western cultures.[11] The /Xam *kukummi* of the Bleek–Lloyd archive express multi-directional temporalities that stretch across generations. As well as being passed down from story-keeper to story-keeper, /Xam *kukummi* have their own temporal elasticity. Stories, Mark Rifkin notes, can connect current and former generations occupying a particular place,

producing particular types of cross-generational experience that 'cross apparent temporal gulfs but do not arrive at an uncanny or spectral remainder.'[12] For example, in the case of 'The Broken Spring,' we are told in the headnotes that Dia!kwain is not himself the keeper of the song, but that he 'heard it from his father, Xaa-ttin.'[13] Narrating 'The Broken String' links Dia!kwain to Xaa-ttin, his father, and also to !nuin-|kuiten, the singer/storyteller whose power Xaa-ttin's mourning song celebrates as it marks his physical death. These complex expressions of /Xam 'temporal sovereignty' are one way in which the *kukummi* of the Bleek–Lloyd Archive can be understood to disclose a mode of being in time that is central to /Xam worlding, and which is distinct from Western ways of understanding narrative, time, and being.[14]

1 Teaching place and belonging on EN343 Romantic Ecologies through the *kukummi* of the Bleek–Lloyd archive

The particular /Xam worldings disclosed in the *Kukummi* of the Bleek–Lloyd collection are useful entry points into an Indigenous phenomenology that provides a helpful counterpoint to European representations of the space of the southern African desert. In his early essay on the Farm Novel and *Plaasroman*, South African writer and literary critic J.M. Coetzee famously identified in Olive Schreiner's *Story of an African Farm* (1883), 'one of the *topoi* in South African literature: the veld as the site of the presence of an absence, in this case most particularly the absence of a personal God.'[15] The European failure to view the Karoo as peopled and storied enabled this topos of the desert as emblematic of absence and struggle to emerge within white South African writing during the nineteenth century. Teaching /Xam *kukummi* alongside one such representation of the desert as absence, Scottish Romantic poet Thomas Pringle's lyric poem 'Afar in the Desert' (1824), enables the *Kukummi* to operate as counter-narratives to these negative colonial representations.

In this next section, I am going to provide a case study using three *kukummi* I currently teach in a first-year undergraduate English literature course called 'Romantic Ecologies.' This course is a freshman/first-year elective open to English literature and creative writing students at the University of Kent, Canterbury, UK. We take a thematic approach to studying writing and nature, combining canonical Romantic-era writers such as William and Dorothy Wordsworth and John Clare with contemporary nature writers like Robert MacFarlane. The 12-week module is structured topographically; students are guided through poetry and prose concerning the following environments: 'mountains,' 'forests,' 'seas and oceans,' 'walking,' 'trespass and enclosure,' 'deserts,' 'belonging,' and 'climate change.' The assessments for the course are a reflective learning journal of 1,500 words, submitted mid-term, a ten-minute documentary, and a 1,000-word reflective commentary, submitted at the end of the course.

In the 'deserts' week, I teach the /Xam *kukummi* of the Bleek–Lloyd archive alongside 'Afar in the Desert,' a poem by Scottish Romantic poet Thomas Pringle that centres Western views of the South African Karoo. In Pringle's poem, the topos of the desert as absence is created by the poet-speaker's failure to find in the Karoo flora and fauna that could be easily integrated into the European aesthetic categories of the sublime and the picturesque. This representational failure leads the speaker to see the desert as only 'A region of emptiness, howling and drear,' causing the Karoo to operate symbolically in the poem as a site for the projection of the speaker's own disillusionment with colonial society.[16] His journey through the desert becomes a quest for spiritual salvation analogous to Prophet Elijah's flight to Mount Horeb or Jesus's struggle against Satan.

When tackling //Kabboo and Dia!kwain's narratives with students, I frame the session with a lecture providing much of the contextual detail outlined in this essay. Since the module is thematically concerned with Romanticism(s) and ecologies, I find it helpful to think about the differences between Khoisan approaches to the desert as expressed in '//Kabbo's Intended Return Home' and the ideas attached to the desert by Romantic-era poets. Scottish settler-poet Thomas Pringle's 'Afar in the Desert' (1824) provides an accessible entry point into Eurocentric conceptions of the desert as a site of symbolic spiritual struggle and physical emptiness. J.M. Coetzee's landmark work on this landscape tradition in white South African writing *White Writing* (1988) provides a useful postcolonial critical framework for problematising this mode of representation. Having already introduced and problematised this Eurocentric tradition, the groundwork is laid for the introduction of Khoisan cosmology via //Kaboo and Khoisan scholar Berthe Van Wyk. From there we move through the three *kukummi*, which are framed in relation to Khoisan-centred critical frameworks and theoretical concepts developed by scholars in Critical Indigenous Studies. However, because the work produced in this field that relates to the Khoisan peoples of Southern Africa is rare, I also draw on anthropological articles that follow Khoisan-centred research protocols, most notably those produced in collaboration with San informants by the anthropologist Chris Lowe.

As has been noted by many literary critics, /Xam *kukummi* are densely metaphoric, with much of the meaning implicit rather than explicit. This is evident if we look at Dia!kwain's poem 'The Broken String.' If we define this in terms of Western genres, we might call it an elegy as it's a mourning song composed by Dia!kwain's father about the death of a well-known /Xam shaman, !nuin-/Kuiten. Although the /Xam suffered from continual encroachment onto their unceded lands in what is now the Northern Cape Province of South Africa throughout the nineteenth century, what Dia!kwain is mourning in 'The Broken String' is more phenomenological than physical. As anthropologist Chris Low notes, central to Khoisan cosmology was the idea that each individual has an *//om* or 'wind' which 'moves through them and anchors them within

their body.' He explains: 'The /Xam envisaged an essential wind gift that characterised their living form. At death it fluidly left their body to re-engage with the cosmos.'[17] So although what is being described in 'The Broken String' would be understood by the /Xam as a natural, perhaps even desirable, process, whereby !nuin-|Kuiten's spirit leaves the mortal realm and rejoins the spirit world, this is still experienced as a psychological loss by those in his community whom he leaves behind. 'The place feels as if it stood open/empty to me,' the speaker says, 'Because the string has broken for me.'[18] Here the 'string' is both the personal spirit embodied in an individual and, as Andrew Bank has suggested, a metaphor for 'the breaking of a chain of knowledge, traditional wisdom or spiritual power that has been passed down from one generation to another.'[19] Since /Xam *kukummi* rely upon oral and aural communication, the death of a shaman who embodied a range of powers necessarily decreases the power or potency available to the rest of the community.[20]

'The Broken String' is an elegy. The differences between a /Xam cosmology that posits a more immanent understanding of the divine as opposed to the more distant God of Judeo-Christian theology might be one entry point into a comparison between 'The Broken String' and other nineteenth-century elegies. The poem also offers opportunities to consider the relationship between the individual and the collective, with the metaphor of the broken string articulating the devastating impact that the loss of an individual has upon a family or community. Linking back to the theme of the desert as a 'present absence' that we find in Pringle's poem, students could also be encouraged to think about the ways in which the metaphor of the 'string,' and the cosmology of the wind more broadly, articulates a more intimate and relational connection between the human and more-than-human. Considering the continuous connection between the human, the land, and the cosmos that is expressed in the 'string' metaphor provides an Indigenous-centred epistemology that usefully disrupts the Eurocentric Romantic individualism of Pringle's poem, a philosophy that posits a separation between man, nature, and the divine.

After using Dia!kwain's poem, 'The Broken String,' to introduce key /Xam cosmological concepts, I introduce /Xam attitudes to place and belonging via the work of Griqua scholar Berthe Van Wyk. Although there is more famous work in Indigenous studies focusing on Indigenous relations to the land, such as Glen Coulthard and Leanne Betasamosake Simpson's work on 'grounded normativity,' I find it important here to centre Khoisan scholarship on land and belonging.[21] This is because Khoisan philosophies of land disrupt what scholar and Goenpul woman of the Quandamooka people Aileen Moreton-Robinson has theorised in the Australian context as 'white possession.' Moreton-Robinson has argued that settler-colonial states operate a set of 'possessive logics' which serve to reaffirm the state and white settlers' rights of 'ownership, control and dominion' over Indigenous land.[22] In contrast to the 'possessive logics' of white political philosophy, which privileges individual

ownership of land and encourages extractive practices, Khoisan political philosophy begins from the principle that 'the land is not ours, we belong to the land.'

Griqua Khoisan scholar Berthe Van Wyk explains:

> Thus, Khoisan ways of life were built on a strong sense of community. In such a community, the well-being of the community came first, as opposed to that of the individual. Since the community was dependent on natural resources, there were no permanent towns or places of settlement. The land thus provided Khoisan people with shelter and food. When food sources became scarce, the entire community moved to areas where they could find more resources. This nomadic lifestyle resulted in parts of the land being uninhabited for periods of time, and also no formal or Western style of ownership of land. Colonialists exploited this indigenous approach to land and legally claimed Khoisan ancestral lands for themselves and, in the process, prevented access to land.[23]

Teaching Van Wyk's work on Khoisan philosophies of land ownership in a module where students also read John Clare's poetry challenging the enclosure of common land in Britain encourages students to think globally about the interconnection between the agricultural revolution of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century and the rise of British settler colonialism in the same period. Both Clare's sonnet 'I Dreaded Walking Where There Was No Path' (c.1832–1837), which students examined alongside a number of other poems by Clare on enclosure and extracts from Robert Macfarlane's *The Old Ways* (2012) in a week devoted to enclosure and trespass, and //Kabbo's story about his intended return to his home reveal to students the challenge that the rise of capitalist individualism posed to communal land management practices, as well as giving students a sense of the human cost of alienation from communitarian practices of land management both in Britain and the settler colonies.

The *komm* labelled by Lucy Lloyd as '//Kabbo's Intended Return Home' is narrated by //Kabbo, the archive's most prolific storyteller. In it, he provides a genealogical account of his claim to belonging at the place he called Bitterpits in the Northern Cape Province in modern South Africa.[24] This account was dictated to Lucy Lloyd in the winter of 1873, shortly before his departure from the Bleek household to search for his wife and family on 15 October 1873.[25]

> Their place it is not; for //Kabbo's father's father's place it was. And then //Kabbo's father did possess it; when //Kabbo's father died, //Kabbo's father was the one who possessed it. And when //Kabbo's father died, //Kabbo's elder brother was the one who possessed the place, //Kabbo's elder brother died, (then) //Kabbo possessed the place.[26]

In this account, //Kabbo is not claiming possession on account of exclusive ownership over land and resources but a right to belonging based upon genealogy and prior occupancy. In /Xam culture, bands were configured in extended family units with genealogy used to establish not only identity but also the right of possession over land and resources. Because historical precedent clearly establishes //Kabbo's right to the land, his children also built their huts on the land, including his elder brother's child (Betje), who //Kabbo had adopted on his death.

For //Kabbo, marking out his place is a matter of establishing prior occupancy to explain to his settler interlocutors why he needs to return to his homeland. As his painful account of his capture elsewhere in the archive makes clear, //Kabbo's journey into the colony was coerced. Like many /Xam people, he was first captured by Black colonial police officers and then tried in court for stock theft. During the two years during which he was imprisoned at the Breakwater Prison in Cape Town, //Kabbo describes how 'his place' has been taken over by either Black Xhosa or European settlers whom he refers to only as 'people who are different.'[27] The use of this term suggests that they are not /Xam as /Xam groups are referred to by //Kabbo as 'people.' Returning home is imperative because people walk at his place and, he tells Lucy Lloyd, 'their place it is not.'

In //Kabbo's account of his return home, stories are connected to place and 'like the wind, come from a far off quarter and we feel it.'[28] Storytelling in /Xam culture is a phenomenological experience that relies upon embodied connection between teller and listener, as well as a genealogical connection to those who have passed on a particular story in previous generations. The catching of stories upon the wind is central to his identity as a /Xam man, as he explains to Lucy Lloyd:

> My fellow men are those who are listening to stories from afar, which float along; they are listening to stories from other places. For, I am here; I do not obtain stories; because I do not visit, so that I might hear the stories that float along; while I feel that the people of another place are here; they do not possess my stories. They do not talk my language; for they visit their like.[29]

In //Kabbo's telling, *kukummi* encode specific cultural knowledge and practices unavailable to those outside the /Xam community, in spite of Bleek and Lloyd's meticulous efforts to record them. //Kabbo makes it clear that 'people of another place' (i.e., non-/Xam) 'do not possess my stories' because 'they do not talk my language' and only 'visit their like.' This refusal to allow non-/Xam to claim possession of his stories is an act of what Mohawk scholar Audra Simpson has theorised as Indigenous 'interruption' of the ethnographic archive's effort to reify /Xam culture as 'timeless or out-of-time.'[30] //Kabbo

refuses the basic assumption of ethnographic collection, namely that the possession of testimony given by informants is equivalent to gaining full knowledge of their culture. By saying 'people of another place do not possess my stories,' //Kabbo is drawing a boundary between himself and the Western anthropologists collecting his stories, guarding his cultural knowledge from their foreign epistemologies.

Like his genealogical account of belonging, //Kabbo's phenomenology of storytelling in which stories 'float along' and are 'heard' by 'those who are listening to stories from afar' evidences a relational understanding of the connection between the human and the more-than-human. As Aileen Moreton-Robinson has argued, relationality is central to many Indigenous epistemologies, providing an ethical praxis based on a holistic understanding of the connection between people and land. She writes: 'Relationality is grounded in a holistic conception of the inter-connectedness and inter-substantiation between and among all living things and the earth, which is inhabited by a world of ancestors and creator beings.'[31] *Kukummi* are central to /Xam world-making because they embody relationality by strengthening genealogical connections between different groups of /Xam at different locations via the *kukummi* that 'float' or travel between different communities. As the prominence of *kukummi* labelled 'animal fables' in the Bleek–Lloyd archive suggests, the *kukummi* also express a relational connection between the /Xam and the more-than-human, including animals, which are given equal agency to humans in /Xam cosmology. 'Inter-substantiation' between the human and the animal is also evidenced in the stories of trickster figures who are able to shapeshift across species.

Meanwhile, genealogical narratives that represent the moon and various stars as ancestors evidence a multi-directional temporality that stretches across generations as well as between storytellers, dynamically expressing /Xam 'temporal sovereignty' from the narrow linearity of Western historicism.[32] //Kabbo's longing for home is therefore intimately connected not only with a longing to return to his family and 'his place' but also to escape from the temporal rhythms of settler life, structured by labour and the needs of his 'master,' back into a /Xam world in which the ability to catch *kukummi* is central to the expression of what Mark Rifkin has theorised as 'temporal sovereignty,' a multi-directional temporality that stretches across generations and between storytellers, dynamically expressing /Xam being-in-time.[33]

Earlier in the year, in February or March 1873, //Kabbo used a different analogy to explain /Xam phenomenology to Lucy Lloyd in an anecdote concerning animal tracking titled by Lloyd as 'Bushman Presentiments.' He uses the word *gwe!*, the /Xam word for both letters and books, to explain the /Xam understanding of communication as an embodied experience. Whereas European 'letters' are depicted graphically, //Kabbo tells Lucy Lloyd that 'the Bushman's letters are in their bodies. They (the letters) speak, they move, they make the bushmen's bodies move.'[34] For the /Xam, communication is an

embodied experience that takes for granted a dynamic relationship between human, animal, and spirit life. In the narrative that follows, //Kabbo describes two key purposes for the 'vibrations' he describes as affecting different parts of the body, depending on the occasion. The pulsing of an old wound, for example, signifies the arrival of an important family member. A tapping in the ribs, meanwhile, can signal the approach of springbok or other game.

The movement implied in the transitive verb 'tapping' alludes to an animate force that connects the /Xam hunter to his prey and allows him to precisely track the animal, suggesting a symbiotic connection between humans and animals. This is particularly significant at the moment of the kill as //Kabbo writes: 'For I am wont to feel thus, I feel a sensation in the calves of my legs when the springbok's blood is going to run down them. For I always feel blood, when I am about to kill springbok.'[35] Here, the connection between hunter and prey is embodied and relational. The hunter's body registers with a 'tapping' the place(s) where the prey's blood will run. //Kabbo goes on to describe several other locations on the hunter's body which indicate the approach of the springbok, the /Xam's main source of food, including the feet to correspond with the approach of the springbok and a 'black stripe' on the face to signal the animal's distinctive facial marking. The manner of tracking the springbok is also described in some detail in this anecdote, including topographical references to //Kabbo's home of Bitterpits.

So what Lloyd glosses in the title as 'presentiments' are actually nothing of the sort, but rather a way of using wind and smell to stress the entanglement between the human, animal, and spiritual domains. In the footnote, we learn that //Kabbo used the analogy with the printed word as a means of translating this important Khoisan cosmological concept into terms that the philologists Bleek and Lloyd, steeped as they were in a world of text and print, could more easily understand. Lucy Lloyd states in the note: '//Kabbo explained that the beatings in their bodies, here described, are the bushman's "letters", and resemble the letters which take a message or an account of what happens in another place.'[36] This footnote is really telling because it speaks to the complexity of the cross-cultural negotiation going on here. //Kabbo is desperate to correctly represent his culture to Lucy Lloyd, demonstrating his mastery of not only the language of the coloniser but also of literary discourse. //Kabbo needs to master his own storytelling traditions *and* find metaphors and analogies that would make his world legible to the Eurocentric Bleeks and Lloyds of the colonial world. This mastery of the discourses of colonialism has allowed //Kabbo and the other /Xam and !Kung contributors to the Bleek–Lloyd archive to carve out a space in the colonial archive for the articulation of their experiences, beliefs, and lifeways. By doing so, they challenged the epistemological assumptions underwriting the project of 'salvage ethnography' that Bleek and Lloyd were undertaking in order to articulate unique /Xam 'worldings' that are available today for scholarly analysis and political and linguistic revitalisation.

Seminar Reading

Thomas Pringle, 'Afar in the Desert' in *African Sketches*. London: Edward Moxham, 1834.

From Specimens of Bushman Folklore Collected by the Late W.H.I. Bleek and L.C. Lloyd (London: George Allen and Co., 1911)

- 'The Broken String' by Dia!Kwain (David Hoesar), p.236–237
- '‖Kaboo's Intended Return Home' by ‖Kabboo, pp.298–316
- 'Bushman Presentiments' by ‖Kabboo, pp.330–339

Seminar Questions:

1 How does 'Afar in the Desert' create a sense of physical and spiritual movement?
2 How does the movement of the speaker in 'Afar in the Desert' compare to the movement ‖Kabbo describes in his *kumm* '‖Kaboo's Intended Return Home'?
3 A.E. Voss has suggested that 'Afar in the Desert' 'goes beyond the picturesque to dramatize the psychological alienation created by settler colonialism.' Do you agree with this analysis? Discuss with reference to the poem.
4 How does the alienation of Pringle's speaker differ from the mourning expressed in Dia!Kwain's elegy, 'The Broken String?'
5 What has studying the /Xam *kukummi* this week taught you? Has it challenged the way you think about literature and literary value?

Group Activity: Comparing /Xam and settler representations of the Southern African veld

1) Hedley Twiddle has stated: 'Without recourse to an idea of primordial hunters or herders, one can suggest that many of the Kukummi (stories) emerge and embody a distinctive cultural response to like in the challenging environment of the southern African interior.' How is the |Xam's particular cosmology and worldview shaped by their surroundings? How does their relationship to the Southern African veld differ from that of Pringle's speaker?

Notes

1 On colonial policy against the San as genocide see Mohamed Adhikari, *The Anatomy of a South African Genocide: The Extermination of the Cape San Peoples*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 2010; for more on the microhistories of each of the informants in the Bleek–Lloyd archive, see Andrew Bank, *Bushmen in a Victorian World: The Remarkable Story of the Bleek-Lloyd Collection of Bushman Folklore*. Cape Town: Double Storey, 2006.
2 Alan Lester, 'Settler Colonialism, George Grey and the Politics of Ethnography,' *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 34.3 (2016) 492–507 (493).

3 See Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (London and New York Cassell, 1999), p.2.
4 Michael Wessels, 'The /Xam Narratives of the Bleek and Lloyd Collections: Questions of Period and Genre', *Western Folklore* 71:1 (Winter 2012), 25–46 (30).
5 Bank, *Bushmen in a Victorian World*, p.397.
6 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism', *Critical Inquiry* 12 (Autumn 1985), 243–261(243).
7 Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom Through Radical Resistance*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017. pp.11–26.
8 Pheng Cheah, *What is a World? On Postcolonial Literature as World Literature*. Durham and London: Duke, 2016. p.30.
9 Cheah, *What is a World?*, p.42.
10 Cheah, *What is a World?*, p.311.
11 Mark Rifkin, *Beyond Settler Time: Temporal Sovereignty and Indigenous Self-Determination*. Durham and London: Duke Press, 2017, p.2.
12 Rifkin, *Beyond Settler Time*, p.45.
13 W. H. I. Bleek and Lucy Lloyd, *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*. London: George Allen and Company, 1911, p.236.
14 Rifkin, *Beyond Settler Time*, p.45.
15 J.M. Coetzee, 'Farm Novel and "*Plaasroman*" in South Africa', *English in Africa*, 13.2 (Oct 1986), 1–19 (1).
16 Thomas Pringle, 'Afar in the Desert', ln 73, in *African Poems of Thomas Pringle* ed. by Ernest Pereira and Michael Chapman. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1989, p.10.
17 Chris Low, 'Khoisan Wind: Hunting and Healing', *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. 13, 2007, pp. 71–90 (80).
18 Dia!kwain, 'The Broken String', trans. by Lucy Lloyd, *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, p.237.
19 Bank, *Bushmen in a Victorian World*, p.258.
20 For more on Shamanism in /Xam, !Kung and San cultures more broadly, see Chris Low, 'Finding and Foregrounding Massage in Khoisan Ethnography', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 33:4 (2001), 783–799.
21 Glen Coulthard and Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, 'Grounded Normativity/ Place-Based Solidarity', *American Quarterly*, 2016, pp. 249–255.
22 Aileen Moreton-Robinson, *The White Possessive: Property, Power, and Indigenous Sovereignty*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015. p. xii.
23 Berte Van Wyk, 'Indigenous Rights, Indigenous Epistemologies, And Language: (Re)Construction Of Modern Khoisan Identities', *Knowledge Cultures*, vol.4, no.4, 2016, pp. 33–45 (38–39).
24 Bank, *Bushmen in a Victorian World*, p.130.
25 Bank, *Bushmen in a Victorian World*, p.199, 203.
26 //kabbo, 'What //kabbo told me about his intended return to Bushmanland' trans. by Lucy Lloyd, *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, p.305–7.
27 For more on the use of this term see Bank, *Bushmen in a Victorian World*, p.141.
28 Lucy Lloyd, *Specimens*, p.301.
29 //Kabbo, 'What //kabbo told me about his intended return to Bushmanland', trans. by Lucy Lloyd,*Specimens of Bushman*, p.301.
30 Audra Simpson, 'On Ethnographic Refusal: Indigeneity, 'Voice' and Colonial Citizenship' *Junctures: The Journal for Thematic Dialogue* Vol. 2007: 9 (2007) 67–78 (68).
31 Aileen Moreton-Robinson, 'Relationality: A Key Presupposition of an Indigenous Social Research Paradigm' in *Sources and Methods in Indigenous Studies* ed. by

Chris Andersen and Jean O'Brien. London and New York: Routledge, 2017. pp. 69–78 (71).
32 Rifkin, *Beyond Settler Time*, p.26.
33 Rifkin, *Beyond Settler Time*, p.26.
34 //Kabbo, 'Bushman Presentiments', trans. by Lucy Lloyd in *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, p.331.
35 Lucy Lloyd, *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, p.335.
36 Lucy Lloyd, *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, p.335.

Works Cited

Adhikari, Mohamed. *The Anatomy of a South African Genocide: The Extermination of the Cape San Peoples*. University of Cape Town Press, 2010.
Bank, Andrew. *Bushmen in a Victorian World: The Remarkable Story of the Bleek-Lloyd Collection of Bushman Folklore*. Double Storey, 2006.
Bleek, W. H. I. and Lucy Lloyd. *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*. George Allen and Company, 1911.
Coulthard, Glen, and Leanne Betasamosake Simpson. 'Grounded Normativity/Place-Based Solidarity', *American Quarterly*, 2016, pp. 249–255.
Cheah, Pheng. *What is a World? On Postcolonial Literature as World Literature*. Duke, 2016.
Coetzee, J.M. *White Writing: On the Culture and Letters of South Africa*. Yale, 1988.
Coetzee, J.M. 'Farm Novel and "*Plaasroman*" in South Africa'. *English in Africa*, vol. 13, no. 2, Oct 1986, pp. 1–19.
Lester, Alan. 'Settler Colonialism, George Grey and the Politics of Ethnography'. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, vol. 34, no. 3, 2016, pp. 492–507.
Low, Chris. 'Khoisan Wind: Hunting and Healing', *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. 13, 2007, pp. 71–90.
Low, Chris, 'Finding and Foregrounding Massage in Khoisan Ethnography'. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 33, no. 4, 2001, pp. 783–799.
Moreton-Robinson, Aileen, *The White Possessive: Property, Power, and Indigenous Sovereignty*. University of Minnesota Press, 2015.
Moreton-Robinson, Aileen. 'Relationality: A Key Presupposition of an Indigenous Social Research Paradigm'. In *Sources and Methods in Indigenous Studies* ed. by Chris Andersen and Jean O'Brien. Routledge, 2017. pp. 69–78.
Pereira, Earnest and Michael Chapman (eds), *African Poems of Thomas Pringle*. University of Natal Press, 1989.
Rifkin, Mark. *Beyond Settler Time: Temporal Sovereignty and Indigenous Self-Determination* Durham and London: Duke Press, 2017.
Simpson, Audra. 'On Ethnographic Refusal: Indigeneity, 'Voice' and Colonial Citizenship'. *Junctures: The Journal for Thematic Dialogue* 9, 2007, pp. 67–78.
Simpson, Leanne Betasamosake. *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom Through Radica lResistance*. University of Minnesota Press, 2017.
Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. 'Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism'. *Critical* Inquiry, vol. 12, Autumn 1985, pp. 243–261.
Twdidle, Headley. '"The Bushmen's Letters": |Xam narratives of the Bleek and Lloyd Collection and their afterlives'. In *The Cambridge History of South African Literature* ed. by David Attwell and Derek Attridge. CUP, 2012. pp.19–37.

Van Wyk, Berte. 'Indigenous Rights, Indigenous Epistemologies, And Language: (Re) Construction of Modern Khoisan Identities'. *Knowledge Cultures*, vol.4, no. 4, 2016, pp. 33–45 (38–39).
Wessels, Michael. 'The /Xam Narratives of the Bleek and Lloyd Collections: Questions of Period and Genre', *Western Folklore*, vol.71, no.1, Winter 2012, pp. 25–46.
Wolfe, Patrick, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event*. Click or tap here to enter text. Cassell, 1999.

Further Readings

Bank, Andrew. *Bushmen in a Victorian World: The Remarkable Story of the Bleek-Lloyd Collection of Bushman Folklore*. Double Storey, 2006.
Twiddle, Headley. 'The Bushman's Letters': |Xam Narratives of the Bleek and Lloyd Collection and their Afterlives'. In *The Cambridge History of South African Literature* ed. by David Attwell and Derek Attridge. CUP, 2012., pp. 19–37.
Van Wyk, Berthe. 'Indigenous Rights, Indigenous Epistemologies, and Language: (Re) Construction of Modern Khoisan Identities'. *Knowledge Cultures*, vol. 4, no. 4, 2016, pp. 33–45.
Voss, A.E. 'Thomas Pringle and the Image of the Bushman'. *English in Africa*, vol.9, no. 1, May 1982, pp. 15–22.