

H Jonathan Klijn

Expository Writing E-42A

Dr. Elizabeth Sharp McKetta

May 9, 2020

The Bushman Susurrus. /Xam folktales as cautionary rememories in the face of extinction.

Contents

Introduction	3
1 The Philologist, His Sister-in-Law, and the Noble Savage	8
1.1 Bleek and Lloyd	9
1.2 A Bleek Cult	11
1.3 The Last Voices	12
2 /Xam Storytelling	15
2.1 Nature or Nurture	15
3 Surviving Trauma	22
3.1 The Angst Rubric	23
4 The First Susurrus: Adapt, or Die	25
4.1 “The Young Man and the Lion”	26
4.2 Crimes of Otherness	29
4.3 Making a Language Sing	33
4.4 Building Character	36
4.5 Brusque Expressions of Melancholy	38
4.6 Seduction	40
4.7 Once, We Were Here	46
Appendix A	50
Appendix B	52
Works Cited	54

Introduction

On the morning of March 1, 1510, Dom Francisco de Almeida, nobleman and first viceroy of Portuguese India, dropped anchor at the “southern Portal to the Indies.” A few hours later he, and nearly sixty of his crew, were dead. Various theories around the how and why of the day’s events still exist. Stepping ashore, De Almeida and his men angered the Goringhainya (a Southern African Bushman nation) because of their disrespectful proximity to the Goringhainya settlement. During a short confrontation, several Portuguese were injured and they, in turn, retaliated by confiscating some livestock and seizing a few children. With rapid precision, De Almeida and his men were encircled by a herd of cattle, trapped and vulnerable to the multitude of spears aimed at them. Dom Francisco de Almeida and fifty-eight Portuguese marines were gored and trampled to death. Consequently the Cape of Good Hope, halfway point on the grueling voyage from Portugal to India, was abandoned by the Portuguese (Vergunst). They would never return en masse, instead setting their sights on what is now Angola and Mozambique as convenience pitstops, and so, the “brush with the Hottentots¹ in 1510 decided the fate of South Africa” (Burman).

It would take a new seafaring monolith in the shape of Dutch Calvinists to tame the Cape, with racial prejudice as a preset, when the first Dutch ship landed in 1652. The Bushman nations, now tainted as Janus-faced and villainous, were displaced from the beginning of the occupation and the cudgel of colonialism thrived on the predictable binaries of us/them, white/brown, Christian/heathen, superior/inferior. As colonial forces spread with gangrenous impact, even more nefarious binaries were deployed: black/brown, advantaged/disadvantaged, safeguarded/browbeaten.

¹ Hottentot was historically used by the Dutch and English when referring to the Bushmen. Use of the term is now considered offensive.

Some of these still exist. The /Xam Bushmen were brainwashed by years of subjugation that they were an inferior race—not white enough, and just not *that* black, or rich and powerful, or feared enough. These comparisons exhausted their motivation to exist and thrive with catastrophic consequences, as we will see.

By the nineteenth century, the ancient Bushman nations were second-class citizens in their own land—all efforts to establish a viable working relationship with white settlers had failed. Frantz Fanon could as well have described the /Xam when he wrote, “Meanwhile, however, life goes on, and the native will strengthen the inhibitions which contain his aggressiveness by drawing on the terrifying myths which are so frequently found in underdeveloped communities.” Hurting toward extinction, the /Xam language was lost, and the last member incorporated into other communities. As a consequence of escalating land grabs by European settlers, many /Xam were jailed for trespassing and theft (Krog). At various times, the white farmers would arrange “hunt parties, where Bushmen were hunted and killed like vermin. Local newspapers would carry reports of the last Bushmen killed in their area” (Krog).

The Southern African Bushman story is an origin story. It is also my story. Not just because a 2018 DNA test revealed that in the last four hundred years, I had Bushman ancestors from the arid badlands of the western edges of Southern Africa. But because it is a story, DNA optional, of humans steeped in connectedness. I am hardly unique. Afrikaans-speaking people of Dutch, French, and German descent have strands of DNA—between 6.5 and 10 percent of non-European admixture² to be exact—that link them to a people who have been extinct for nearly one hundred and fifty years (Hollfelder). Archbishop Tutu was one of the first South Africans to have his genome sequenced in 2010 and discovered that he, too, was related to a fellow sequenced Southern African named !Gubi, a Kalahari Bushman from Namibia. Archbishop Tutu mentions in an article on his

² Between 1658 and 1807, slaves at the Cape colony were from Africa, Madagascar, South Asia and Southeast Asia. Two ships with West African slaves moored at the Cape in 1685. The Cape slave trading was ceased in 1807, and the practice of slavery was ended in 1834.

genome, that !Gubi's wife, Anna resembled his mother, and that "it was a truly uplifting experience to discover that I was genetically related to a long line of peaceful and gentle people that have trod the soils of Southern Africa for centuries." Hosting the Archbishop in October 2013, at my South African home, he was still buoyed by this revelation and insisted that everyone called him "Bushy." True story.

Arch Tutu, however, understood the importance of the Bushman connection better than most, and he wrote extensively on the subject (Tutu). Beyond the more-than-one-drop claims and Tutu's family resemblance to !Gubi lies a great truth which Tutu is justifiably famous for. Ubuntu—the connectedness of us. He knows that according to his philosophy, we are all reflected in each other and through each other. The life and the demise of the South African Bushman were directly related to the effects of over two thousand years of aggression, subjugation, land encroachment by Nguni-speaking Bantu tribes, and plain bad luck. Much of the world's precious minerals and gold come from places where Bushmen hunted and gathered peacefully until they were displaced to make way for imperialist greed. Their tales warn us that an ill-fated struggle may willy-nilly become someone else's fate. And it does. Displacement is still rife. Several genocides worldwide have occurred since the demise of the /Xam. Human rights are still violently suppressed in some countries and turning a blind, but "godly" eye to institutionalized discrimination is quasi-religion in some parts of the United States. We still inhabit a world where the empathy embodied by Ubuntu is a much-needed salve for the caustic hole in our collective hearts.

The folktales of the /Xam are the oral history of a nation shaped by random interactions with a hostile milieu and bellicose occupiers. /Xam history and achievements are minimized and overlooked as the collateral damage of imperialist victories. By the middle of the nineteenth century, they had become vanity projects for anthropologists and linguists with white savior complexes. As Fanon searingly pointed out in *The Wretched of the Earth*,

"The settler makes history; his life is an epoch, an Odyssey ... And because he

constantly refers to the history of his mother country, he clearly indicates that he himself is the extension of that mother country. Thus the history which he writes is not the history of the country which he plunders but the history of his own nation in regard to all that she skims off, all that she violates and starves.” (50)

In 1870, a small group of /Xam storytellers were convened at a house in Cape Town, where for the next fourteen years they would share their tales and poems that cover themes as wide-ranging as human consciousness, racism, the cosmos, group dissolution, cultural resentment, and gun ownership (Krog). Their stories are achingly lyrical—unencumbered by genre or the pedantic balls and chains of punctuation. Author Antjie Krog points out that the /Xam output forms the bedrock of much of the South African oral tradition, compensating for the relative lack of literary giants from the country.

Discovering the folktales of the /Xam is a pilgrimage that I am breathless, impatient even, to invite any reader to undertake with me. Predictably, any expedition starts with planning and a few basics, such as learning the words to life’s most pressing pickles. “Where is the bathroom?” in a native language, is one that comes to mind. Packing water purifying pills is another, as it renders useless any need to remember ablutionary verbiage. Understanding the process by which the /Xam literature came to being is almost as fascinating as the odyssey promised by the tales themselves.

A Few Notes

Bushman, plural Bushmen, is the collective proper noun for the hundreds of indigenous hunter-gatherer groups of Southern Africa who inhabited the vast region, before being displaced by the Nguni-speaking populations during their expansion south from central Africa. The Bushmen comprise three distinct but wholly unrelated language families and two isolates.

The /Xam language was spoken by the /Xam-ka !ǀe people of South Africa, and were part of the !Ui (or !Kwi) branch of Tuu languages. The last living language of this branch is N//ǁn and

was believed until the 1990s to have only five elderly speakers. Another twenty-five were located in time to create a corpus. Today, only Ouma Geelmeid is alive in Upington, South Africa, having recently lost her sister Hannah at the age of 100.

In some circles, Bushman and San (from Khoisan) were used interchangeably, before it was accepted as late as 2003 that many “Khoisan” people do not share any linguistic genealogy. The only common feature is the use of clicks and consonants as phonemes, rather than consonants. The language families are as dissimilar as Indo-European is to Semitic or Turkic, although they live in close proximity (Metford-Platt).

The term Bushman is accepted and widely used by the remaining members of the group, though guardedly. For this work, I also use the descriptor /Xam to describe the people, language, and nation.

For pronunciation purposes, the following four click sounds apply to this text:

- / Dental click. Similar to a “tsk” expressing sympathy.
- // Lateral click. The sound made to encourage a horse.
- ! Alveolar-palatal click. A cork popping, the tongue strikes the floor of the mouth.
- ≠ Tenuis palatal click. A softer popping cork, the back of the tongue is raised to the hard palate.

1

The Philologist, His Sister-in-Law, and the Noble Savage

The oral tradition of the /Xam tells tragic, historic tales that document a slow passage to redundancy. They act as intimate primal mythologies, becoming survival testimonies of man's precarious condition vis-à-vis the natural world with a reluctantly calibrated focus on continuance. /Xam tales are allegories on an almost operatic scale where animals are thinly veiled metaphors, and man is perpetually tested by a malevolent universe. But they also dwell on inaction and paralysis in the face of adversity. Psychohistorian David Lotto suggests that "along with the *kevell* (pride) of your people's virtues and accomplishments you should acknowledge the *shande* (shame) that is also yours" (Lewis). The /Xam oral tradition does all that. And then some.

Contemporary society is increasingly at odds with burgeoning nativism, which attempts to expand second-class citizenship through restrictions of civil rights. Could the folktales of a five-thousand-year-old Bushman culture in accelerated self-extinction, provide us with a privileged diagnostic to resist and reconstruct?

/Xam folktales are rememories. In her novel, *Beloved*, Toni Morrison explains it "[as] places, places are still there. If a house burns down, it's gone, but the place—the picture of it—stays, and not just in my rememory, but out there in the world." Similarly, a society subjugated, sanitized, and discarded on the fringes of humanity, are canaries in a coal mine of assimilation. They express alarm as they share intergenerational memories of memories so that everyone can know their collective pain. It is the /Xam conundrum: the need to outmaneuver the reality of an accelerated die-off, dire replacement rates, extreme cultural fragmentation, imprisonment, and victimization by a militarized

regime—while the memory of old loss and displacement remains vivid.

Even cursory reading reveals timeless stories on origin and loss. In a poetic adaptation of /Xam poetry, *The Stars Say Tsau*, Antjie Krog says that “one is tempted to imagine that much of the recorded material could be the starting point for a South African epic poem such as the Greek *Odyssey* or the ancient English *Beowulf*.” She is right. The /Xam oral tradition comments on humanity viewed through a lens of self-effacing truth. It is a compelling story that starts with a curious researcher, his intrepid assistant, and a humble group of crestfallen storytellers who are caught in a race against time, as they face their inevitable demise.

1.1 Bleek and Lloyd

Prussian philologist Dr. Wilhelm Bleek arrived in Cape Town in 1861 to act as the private librarian for Sir George Grey, then Governor of the Cape Colony. Bleek was the bookish European Jekyll to Governor Grey’s Hyde, whose sole purpose was to bring civilization to the furthest corners of the colony and extend its reach beyond its borders. Grey forced the Xhosa³ into submission by commanding them to build extensive public works while establishing a wage system that barely met subsistence requirements. He expedited a selective education strategy with the purpose of forming a buffer of intellectual elites while a proliferation of missionaries would convert the unwashed to faithful followers, willingly subjugated to the colony (Saho).

Between 1870 and 1884, Wilhelm Bleek and his sister-in-law, Lucy Lloyd, arranged for a group of /Xam-speakers from the Karoo region of the Western Cape to reside at the bottom of the garden of his property in Mowbray, Cape Town. Lloyd, a qualified teacher, had traveled to Cape Town for the wedding of her sister Jemima to Bleek, and settled with the newlyweds in Mowbray, from where she would start recording the oral histories of the Bushmen. Recently incarcerated at

³ A South African people, traditionally living in the Eastern Cape Province. They form the second largest ethnic group in South Africa after the Zulu, and like the Zulu, are part of the Nguni group.

the city's Breakwater Prison, the /Xam subjects were convicted for non-aggressive acts such as theft of livestock, and reactionary incidences against the virulent spread of white settler land-gluttony with its penchant for annexing traditional grounds and converting it to farmland. The /Xam were compelled to accept their fate as laborers or retreat deeper into the malpais looking for hunting terrain (Krog). Many resorted to petty theft, and while jailed, were the subject of substantial research and endlessly photographed in the anthropometric style of Thomas Huxley, a leading British anthropologist and evolutionary theorist of the time. The fourteen-year project consisting of interviews and observations by Bleek and Lloyd, and eventually Bleek's daughter Dorothea, produced almost one hundred forty notebooks of transcripts and notes, supported by sketches, testimonies, and Bleek's record of the /Xam alphabet, the first time it had been captured. The Bleek and Lloyd output still forms the backbone of Bushman study and it is held in three archives: the Iziko South African Museum, the National Library of South Africa (the modern incarnation of the Grey Collection), and the Archives of the University of Cape Town. The volume of work consists of over twelve thousand verbal and artistic expressions by an ancient culture who were, by 1880, critically endangered. The collection goes beyond esoterica, however, representing a Gordian knot of narratives braided with spirituality, eschewing temporal boundaries and verisimilitude.

Undoubtedly, Bleek's main task was the study of indigenous Southern African languages and, while a product of the nineteenth-century imperialist worldview, he intended to uncover a universally shared linguistic genealogy that would act as a departure point for human connectedness. He would ultimately not find his Rosetta lingua franca, but Bleek and his team did compile an ethnographic marvel of cultural significance. Besides being pivotal in the academic recognition of Bushman expression, Bleek has the distinction of being a pioneer in the concept of race at the time. He put what would become the trademark South African differentiation by racial preset, on the proverbial map. Bleek also coined the term *Bantu*, a plural form of a word that means "person" in what he called "that great family" of languages, without actually naming them. Today the term

includes Bantu-speakers of Nguni, Sotho-Tswana, Venda, and Tsonga. As a consequence, Bleek is held in extraordinarily high regard, and history has looked kindly on his legacy. His obituary on August 25, 1875, exclaimed that “[a]s a comparative philologist he stood in the foremost rank, and as an investigator and authority on the South African languages, he was without peer” (UCT).

1.2 A Bleek Cult

The view of Bleek as a lone voice of equality in a colonial maelstrom, celebrating diversity and misty-eyed racial harmony, is a curated one, to say the least. It ignores painfully problematic optics such as his subjects’ living arrangements on his property while being studied relentlessly for fourteen years and skims over his less-than-ideal views on race while turning a blind eye to the politics of the day in the grand tradition of weekend liberalism. Bleek’s views are being reevaluated, with considerable attention paid to his private correspondence, revealing a jarring image of a man so carefully positioned on top of the anthropological-linguistic pile. In *On the Origin of Language*, Bleek pointedly indicates an intention to explore the primitive language of the Bushman in context of simian similarities: “[I]n how far a system of sounds like that of the Bushmen shows points of coincidence with sounds produced by the apes resembling man, is a question which seems to me well deserving of closer investigation.” It was a theme Bleek would return to, especially in personal letters, and, if nothing else, evidences the immense prejudice a people like the /Xam had to endure.

Bleek and Lloyd have nevertheless seen a revival over the last forty years. Renewed interest in Bushman rock art research has catapulted Bleek into the forefront of the field, notably through the works of noted scholar David Lewis-Williams that dominated the early 1980s (Lewis-Williams). Renowned artist Pippa Skotnes mounted two exhibitions for the South African Museum focusing extensively on exposing aspects of brutality under colonialism. She collaborated with leading linguists, anthropologists, and historians with a central aim to recalibrate the role of Lloyd, going as far as renaming the partnership, Lloyd and Bleek. Early proponents of /Xam literature included

poet Stephen Watson who took a poetic stance in *The Return of the Moon* by interpreting selections from the Bleek Lloyd archives before accusing Krog of doing the same thing with *The Stars Say Tsau*. Acclaimed dance theatre company Jazzart produced *Rain in a Dead Man's Footprints*, an event merging movement, visual elements, original music by Neo Muyanga, and puppetry. The main character of the production was that of Lucy Lloyd and was portrayed by South Africa's eminent movement actress of the time, Jenny Resnik (Rassool).

Rassool further points out how “notions of cultural salvage and remarkable equality have served to create a kind of cult out of Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd whose archive has been understood in a very limited way as a system of linguistic and cultural documentation, and which has been mined for a lost, extinct authenticity.” He questions explicitly “the most recent renditions of the Bleek-Lloyd canon that reproduces all of its discursive characteristics.” Invoking Rassool's ire is photographer Craig Foster's coffee table book *The Great Dance*, accompaniment to an eponymous feature film. Foster takes a preponderantly artistic view in merging text, landscape photography, and archival images in a document that lacks authenticity as much as it soaks in a postapartheid soup of faux-scholarship and parochial pomposity. It is a breathtakingly tone-deaf exercise, branded and promoted as a celebration of /Xam culture and its artistic legacy in the South African context especially considering their devastating demise. Nevertheless, Foster did make an important point. It is not enough to merely read within the given text, or remain bound by the frame of the image. We need to proceed beyond the perceptible and connect with the dynamic voices and personalities who are whispering intimate susurrus of love, violence, and death.

1.3 The Last Voices

Lucy Lloyd was a stickler for detail. Her notebooks betray a structured approach and a curious mind. In her journals, right-hand columns on right-hand pages are filled with /Xam

transcriptions, filling the rest of the page with English translations and copious annotations⁴. Lloyd yielded to an altogether more accommodating approach since the /Xam did not tell stories chronologically, nor were they bound by any semblance of sequence, both qualities typical of the oral tradition. She frequently devotes the facing left-hand page to further excursions by her collaborators, who could mirror and expand the existing transcription with bouts of stream of consciousness. The process transforms the stories and poems into fluid yet robust creative meanderings that reflect the /Xam view of the world. A contemporary reader senses how Lloyd indulges the storytellers, in contrast with the more conventional, rigorous delineations by Bleek. Lloyd's notes make it cognizable that the /Xam tradition is not a monolithic, neat oral history.

From the collection of notebooks and stories, the emerging picture is one of shared experiences between distinct groups of Bushmen. Bleek and Lloyd's subjects revealed that several small clusters lived over geographically vast spaces, yet were known to each other, belonging to a broader group who shared, traded, and married. Customs and habits may have differed from cluster to cluster, prescribed by the terrain and microclimate, but a sense of loyalty and adhesion to the expanded group identity connected them, contrasting sharply with their apprehension to black tribes and white settlers (Deacon). The subjects of the study spoke some Dutch, although their home language was /Xam, and it was through rudimentary Dutch that Bleek and Lloyd initiated conversations with them (Lewis-Williams). Bleek noted that the Bushmen were quick to act out any unclear sentences and they rapidly learned a range of English words. He also notes that over time the hunter-gatherer preset had shifted to reflect the habits and accoutrements of white settlers, and that their lifestyle began to incorporate items like guns, iron cookware, and cutlery (Bleek).

The Bleek and Lloyd subjects came from two /Xam groups. The "Flat Bushmen," //Kabbo and his son in law /Han#kass'o, came from a region of majestic flatness in the Northern Cape. An expanse dotted with empty dams and barren rivers where years can pass without a drop of rain. It is

⁴ See Fig.2: image of Lloyd's first page of "The Young Man and The Lion" in Appendix B.

a landscape where mirages play tricks on the eye, and arid flat soil occasionally convulses into arid dolerite boulders. The other group—/Alkunta, Diä!kwain and his sister !Kweiten-ta-//ken—were “Grass Bushmen” from a grassy district further west with some water, and several travelogues make note that the /Xam used the grass seeds as food source. The seed crop was severely depleted when cattle and sheep belonging to white settlers saw to it that little grass remained, thereby prohibiting seed development. In her book of /Xam poetry, Krog points out how the regions tells its histories through names “like Gifberg (Poison Mountain), Keelafsnylaagte (Cut-Throat Flats), Rugseer (Backache), Loerkop (Spy Peak), Putsonderwater (Waterless Well), Verneukpan (Cheat Pan), and Kulsberg (Trick Mountain)” (Krog).

The /Xam unknowingly embarked on a process of slow extinction the fateful day when they first crossed paths with the white settler. As a consequence of ongoing logistic challenges and after repeatedly experiencing collective trauma, the inherited generational distress at constant upheaval reflexively turned into a self-fulfilling prophecy of extinction. By 1870 they were the among the last of their ancient nation, sitting at the bottom of a white man’s suburban garden—strangers in what was once their land—narrating their demise.

2

/Xam Storytelling

The /Xam oral tradition consists of several intimate stories. Many /Xam storytellers were also shamans, credited with experiencing out-of-body phenomena harnessing transcendental forces to fuel them on their quest to Elysium where they would do battle with diabolical specters, make rain, and heal the infirmed (Blundell). Their stories are chronicles of imperialism, sexuality, and violence. They comment on displacement from traditional land and repeated voluntary retreats further west into the barren backlands of the Karoo desert, in futile efforts to persevere peacefully (Kabbo). They outline the tales of alienation and loss through ephemera and metaphor, dynamically shifting from social commentary to personal confession, frequently in a single sentence.

2.1 Nature or Nurture?

In 1864 Wilhelm Bleek published a collection of /Xam narratives that brimmed with ritualism and frequent delinquency under the title *Reynard the Fox in South Africa, or Hottentot Fables and Tales*. It was a defining literary moment, being “the first published book of indigenous literature” which “must rank as one of South Africa’s first published works of sustained narrative imaginative fiction, in a context where colonial literary production had long been dominated by the genres of diary and travel writing” (Wittenberg).

Bleek’s quasi-Victorian, reductive translation stands as a monument to cultural whitewashing as he attempted to realign the libertine/Xam output with the ringingly jejune European fairytale

genre. *Grimms' Fairy Tales* by the Brothers Grimm, which had reached European readers just a few decades before, in contrast with the /Xam material, focused on Teutonic ideals that squared up neatly with a burgeoning nationalist fervor on its march to eventual Aryanism. These tales had little tolerance for disobedience, which it sharply rewarded with pain of land forfeiture and loss of title. The Grimm collection venerated courageous dullards and it treasured milksop princesses, and above all fostered a love of virtuoso militarism (Snyder). Correspondingly, the Bushman folktales were sanitized to within an inch of cuteness, meant to appeal to the silk-stockinged Victorian palate. Bleek's restrictive opinions on linguistics and diversity reveal his editorial motivation to recast the wild /Xam characters in the narratives with acceptable sanitized proxies, while still indulging the European reader with the Rabelaisian spectacle of scantily civilized but satisfyingly exotic people. Noted Bleek scholar, Michael Wessels, sums it up when he ventures that "Bleek and Lloyd not only recorded the /Xam narratives; in a sense they created them."

It is therefore small wonder that Bleek and Lloyd had insufficient appetite to indulge /Xam forays into pre-Freudian profanity and verboten sexual deviances and "Bleek framed the stories as naive 'moral lessons' that were eminently suitable for the diversion and edification of children" (Wittenberg). Bleek and his subjects were trapped in nomenclature and cultural expectation that sat at odds with anything resembling mature or adult content. He admitted that "to make these Hottentot fables readable for the general public, a few slight omissions and alterations of what would otherwise have been too naked for the English eye were necessary" (Wittenberg). Over time Bleek became entirely invested in the portrayal of the /Xam as mystical beings who cantilever innocent, childlike qualities on lashings of spirituality. No sex and depravity then. Even Phillip Tobias, acknowledged internationally as an expert in anatomy, evolution, and human fossils, writes in a forward to *With Uplifted Tongue* that the "Peter Pans of humanity they have been called and well do these babyfaced, pygmoid, yellow-skinned huntsmen deserve the title ... In their simplicity and their quaintness, these brief tales underline the child-like qualities of the little yellow people" (Markowitz).

Interpreting Bleek's transcriptions and subsequent adaptations of his work, one would be forgiven for assuming that the /Xam were indeed infantile and spiritually inclined with nary a thought giving to carnal pleasures. Bleek was so uncomfortable with the concept and utterance of sexual terminology that he turned to Latin in an effort to coax /Xam equivalents to the phrases *exerceo coitum* (I have sex), and *exerceo coitum cum ea* (I have sex with her) while "possibly pointing to Lucy or his wife Jemima" (Bank). Bleek was bound by the morality of the time, and his work needs to be contextualized as an example of a revisionist approach that coerces a reductive connection between the storyteller and the reader (Wittenberg).

Awkwardly, it would turn out, Bleek and his team were but the first team doing research, annotating the stories and lives of the Bushmen. Leonard Schultze (1872-1955) was a German inter-disciplinarian working on ethnographic projects specifically in locations under German control such as German Southwest Africa and New Guinea. His eye was detail-inclined, even at his most prosaic and scathing of German colonialist shortcomings mentioning in *Aus Namaland und Kalahari (From Namaland and The Kalahari)* that "[w]e have to admit openly by now that the Hottentot knows us better than we know him... He never loses interest in studying the white invader." Schultze by contrast, employed a radically different style when interviewing his subjects, compared with that of Bleek. The Mowbray residence subjected the /Xam storytellers to yet another milieu of displacement in a suburban setting that even in the nineteenth century must have seemed congested and alienating to the Bushmen. The buttoned-down setting certainly put them at a disadvantage, almost guaranteeing a level of self-sanitation as a byproduct of what by this stage, after imprisonment, resulted in a dialed-back version of their traditional stories. Schultze transcribed his versions of the tradition by using a "fly on the wall" approach and immersing himself in the culture, observing his subjects in a relaxed state aided by their natural environment. The results could not be more revealing. Some stories appear in both Bleek's and Schultze's collections, with the latter consistently evidencing a natural, colloquial quality, displaying ribald earthiness and complete ease

with bodily functions. Bleek's versions are ambiguous, somewhat schoolmarmish, and vague (Wittenberg). Schultze famously wrote that "Bleek's stories do not reveal to me the Hottentot whom I have gotten to know. Since I was able to tap into the very source of their lore, I will disregard his versions completely."

Compare the different versions of a story from *Reynard*. Schultze's version alongside it, translated by Wittenberg, was transcribed fifty years after Bleek's and appeared in Schultze's exposition, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*:

"The Lion Who Took a Woman's Shape"

(Bleek)

Some women, it is said, went out to seek roots and herbs and other wild food. On their way home they sat down and said, "Let us taste the food of the field." Now they found that the food picked by one of them was sweet, while that of the others bitter. The latter said to each other, "Look here! This woman's herbs are sweet." Then they said to the owner of the sweet food, "Throw it away and seek for other." – sweet-tasting herbs being apparently unpalatable to the Hottentot [*siz*]. So she threw away the food, and went to gather more. When she had collected a sufficient supply, *she returned to join*⁵ the other

"The Girls who Picked Gara Berries"

(Schultze)

Some girls went out to pick gara berries, and they all went there and picked them. But all the others picked sour berries and only one of the girls picked sweet berries. And when it got late they all went home. As the sun went down they spoke to each other: "Let us taste the berries." And they tasted the berries and all their berries were sour. Then they said to the girl who had sweet berries: "Your berries are not good, go back and go pick where we had picked!" So she turned around and went back to pick more. As it was getting dark *they shat some shit* in the place [to help her find home].

⁵ Italics mine

women, but could not find them.

She went therefore down to the river where the *Hare* sat ladling water, and said to him, “Hare, give me some water that I may drink.” *But he replied*, “This is the cup out of which my uncle (the lion) and I alone may drink.” She asked again: “Hare, draw water for me that I may drink.” But the hare made the same reply. Then she snatched the cup from him and drank, but he ran home to tell his uncle of the outrage that had been committed.

When she came back to that place where the others had left her, she called for them. Then *the heap of shit* answered: “Here!”, so it answered, but she could not see anybody and walked past.

Then she came to the place where the hare sat ladling water, and she said: “Pour me some!” But the hare answered: “This tortoise shell cup is my grandfather’s and mine, and only meant for us.” But she grabbed the cup away from the hare and drank. The hare ran to the one with the great mane and [told him everything].

Over the following pages, both versions describe the killing of the girl by a cantankerous lion who, after eating her, dresses up in her skin, which he made sure was kept whole—a Dr. Hannibal Lecter type of lion, if you will. Naturally not a soul in the village recognizes anything amiss, except the girl’s sister, with whom the lion/girl shares a bed. After the hut burns down replete with the lion/girl, the deceased girl’s heart leaps out of the ashes, and when the mother places the bouncing heart in a bowl of fresh milk from a fertile calve, the girl rematerializes. One can barely make this stuff up.

The dominant view of the Bushman imagination remains largely shaped by Bleek's editorial interventions, while Schultze's transcriptions veer towards a more substantive understanding of the richly chimeric, yet scatological imagination of the Bushman. "The two women who were taken away by Aigamuchab" is a simple tale about the mythical Aigamuchab—a cannibalistic figure frequently encountered in Bushman literature. The story, notated by Schultze, reveals a side to the Bushmen that simply did not square up with Bleek's elegiacal excursions (Wittenberg):

"The Two Women Who Were Taken Away By Aigamuchab"⁶

(Schultze, translated by Klijn)

And it happened like this.

Two women have lost their way. They arrive at an area where Aigamuchab is hacking away at a thorn bush for food. They shout at him: "You, who are hammering. Take us somewhere!"

Aigamuchab looks up and says, "Let me show you my place!" And so they go. Soon the fat woman falls behind but they carry on further, until the other woman turns around. When Aigamuchab looks back he sees only one woman. He questions her and she answers: "I don't know—she is falling behind." He curses: "Come on! You child of a dirty crusty dick! Twins should always stick together!"

When they arrive at Aigamuchab's place he says: "That thing will never taste good! You cut her throat! Let us at least slurp her blood as if it is soup!" They grab her and cut her throat open. And when she shits herself, they yell: "Catch the asshole fat!" And they eat all of it.

Aigamuchab searches for footprints. After he finds it, he catches up with the woman. Then the woman lets loose a gassy, putrid stink as if she was rotting from

⁶ See Appendix A for the original German transcription and the corresponding English translation.

the inside. He exclaims: “[You] smell so sweet, you will go straight into my sweet pot, so it will be fragrant and tasty!” Aigamuchab feverishly looks around for a pot.

The woman jumps up and flees. He walks in with the pot, looks around disappointedly, and wails: “Sweetest stink-bag, where did you disappear to?”

That’s how it happened.

3

Surviving Trauma

A 2019 study led by Ibrahim Kira suggests that the “Will to Exist, Live, and Survive” (WTEELS) is the critical component to group survival and the intrinsic drive to prevail despite critical onslaught (48). Against this view, the /Xam oral history becomes examples of documentary storytelling which, through thinly veiled metaphor, outline a people desperately trying to assert agency as an act of volition against a range of threats. It is no stretch to interpret the /Xam output as indicative of motivational expansions beyond a primary will to survive. Throughout the collection, the gradual realization of mortality fueled by repeated victimization by hostile forces manifests as an account of existence compromised by its being exposed and vulnerable within its physical and political environments.

It was implicit in /Xam experiential undertakings to perennially seek validation at the hands of the oppressive colonial regime, and this requisite motivation contributed notably to a modicum of human agency. Fortitude is a precursor to continuance. It underpins a transfusion process of sorts, by taking control of negative reaction to trauma events while deriving deeper meaning from the broader processes of existence. Current psychology links human viability with incentivized reactions to anxiety factors while managing to steer clear of denialism and hyperbole (49). Most revealing, survival of the group (and our species) is secured by the ability to convert trauma from calamity into a burst of evolutionary expansion. Darwin was right, as long as we view sheer chutzpah as the cause célèbre of survival fitness.

3.1 The Angst Rubric

The /Xam could not manage the process of survival while subjected to the unrelenting presence of adversity. Close reading of their tales provides a voyeuristic view of a group that gradually becomes cognizant of its increasing cultural irrelevance. Threats to personal and group identities continually intercepted their will to exist. The collective had faced incessant discrimination and complete subjugation from the moment the first ship moored in what is now Cape Town. Kira postulates that repeated exposure to various duplicitous, often hostile occupiers forces a “new normal” on the recipients of aggression, to distinct incidences as well as aggregate occurrences. He advances the theory that dwindling WTELS are consequential, affecting judgment where it intersects with right-to-life verdicts, and by extension, especially in the unpredictable setting of the kangaroo court. Evaporated survival instincts act as tacit green lights, unintentionally authorizing radical methodologies “such as conversion, identity switching, fleeing, or leaving to another country, e.g., asylum-seeking” (Kira).

One legend in the Lloyd collections tells of a man of the early /Xam people who was killed and eaten by a lion. The story is a cautionary tale to stop anyone from daring to fall asleep when out alone in the field. It was narrated by both !Kweiten-ta-//ken and her brother Diä!kwain who was also acting as interlocutor at Mowbray—they both heard the tale from their mother, ≠Kámme-an:

A lion places a young man in a bush and goes to drink water. The lion sees the young man move, decides to drink quickly, and runs back to eat him. The young man jumps out of the bush and runs home where he is wrapped in animal hides and mats—they hide him behind the screens in the hut.

The lion arrives, and the people shoot at it, but he seems impervious to their attempts. After a while, the people grow tired of trying to kill the lion. They band together and demand that the young man’s mother sacrifices her son to the lion. As the lion kills the young man, the people shoot and stab it, and it collapses.

According to Lloyd's notes, the story was told primarily as a warning to young members of the group of the dangers that may present themselves when falling asleep under a tree. Curiously, Lloyd pays little attention to the temperature of the escalating collective reasoning, nor does she untangle the gigantic mental leap from fight to forfeiture of life. Lévi-Strauss refers to the dangers of an insular *shtetl* mentality when he writes that "humanity is confined to the borders of the tribe, the linguistic group, or even, in some instances, to the village." Kira provides us with a psychologically sound explanation for the group behavior that follows when the young man returns after an intimate and fateful encounter with the lion. The young man is hidden and subjected to a conversion process by his mother, and ultimately nominated to be sacrificed as a buffer against "existential annihilation anxieties related to mortality and extinction salience" (49).

Kira further provides a quick rubric that we may use to gauge the depth of /Xam angst in their literature, by identifying the presence of four major threats: "threats to personal identity, threats to one of the person's collective identities, threats to the person's social status identity, and the threat to the person's physical identity"(53). It is hardly surprising that even an uncurious reading of the /Xam text reveals repeated reference to the exact same four points of Kira's rubric.

Equally important constructs, which heavily influenced the /Xam worldview during the latter part of the nineteenth century, were tenaciousness and fixity of purpose—or lack thereof. Defying the effects of forfeiture and deprivation of agency coupled with the sustained aggression of profound upheaval would have required an inalterability, which was denied by the actions of the ruling establishment. The /Xam were exposed, vulnerable, and forced to simultaneously deny and hyperbolize their imminent extinction. Their stories are the expressions of a group suspended in a process of achieving something that resembles closure.

4

The First Susurrus. Adapt, or Die.

Outed by a nosey neighbor who could not explain why she had the urge to expose his shrouded existence, Shimmy Braun knew that his methodically starched life was over. Married in 2001, a mere twelve days after meeting his Orthodox bride within the parochial atmosphere of his ultra-conservative Jewish community in Brooklyn, he would go on to father four children. After sixteen years of self-denial and compelled conformity, however, he was no longer camouflaged. Some things are unsayable. In those moments, a whispered sigh—a susurrus—has to suffice: Braun is gay (Johnson). And he is not alone. Within fundamentalist societies, certain expressions of identity are automatic triggers. Personal articulations that fall outside societal benchmarks are reason enough for excommunication from the group, and in extreme cases, may provoke torture or worse, death. Reformatory techniques, including corrective rape⁷ and conversion therapies, are still suggested with scant hesitation aimed at modulating behavior while recalibrating daily life for the wayward (Halime).

Every /Xam story is a barely audible rustle—a susurrus. It is there in the wind's sibilant hissing over arid dunes and breathing over parched grass. It is present when the hunter exhales, taking aim with his poisoned arrow at an unsuspecting antelope, knowing that his aim is true. It is suspended in the anxious silence at birth when the newest member of the tribe takes its first soft gasp. But the saddest susurrus, the one that this story is about, is the final one—the susurrus of letting go. And gradually becoming untethered.

⁷ In the South African context corrective rape refers to rape perpetrated by heterosexual men against lesbians to “correct” their homosexuality. Corrective rape is a form of political violence (Mabuse).

4.1 “The Young Man and the Lion”

As told by !Kweiten-ta-//ken, from *The Stars Say Tsau*, collected and adapted by Antjie Krog.

while hunting the young man becomes sleepy
 he lies down and falls asleep under a bush
 in the heat of the day a lion comes
 the lion drags the young man by the neck
 the lion drags the man into a blackthorn tree
 the lion is thirsty, it leaves to drink water
 the lion does not want to be thirsty when it eats a man
 the man in the blackthorn tree turns his head
 at that moment the lion turns round:
 is the man moving? is he still alive?
 the lion trots back, because it is the lion that makes the man sleepy
 the lion moves the man so that his head is more comfortable amongst the branches
 it licks the tears from the corners of the young man’s eyes
 the lion licks the tears from the young man’s face
 the young man looks the lion in the eye
 the lion looks the young man steadfastly in the eye licking the tears
 the lion trots back to the water

 when the lion disappears over the hill
 the young man leaps up and runs home
 his mother wraps him in hartebees⁸ skins

⁸ The hartebeest *Alcelaphus buselaphus*, is a large African antelope.

his mother wraps him in mats

she burns herbs so that the lion won't smell him

she covers him with branches

but suddenly then the lion appears on the ridge

the people grab their quivers

they run forward to challenge the lion

they let loose their arrows but nothing happens to the lion

the lion keeps coming

“we have to throw a child to the lion so that it'll leave us alone”

they throw a child in front of the lion

but the lion says: “I do not want a child

I want the young man whose tears I have licked”

the people throw more children

but the lion ignores them

the people throw assegais

but the lion keeps coming

it claws the huts, it tears them asunder

“we have to throw a girl to the lion so that it leaves us alone”

they throw a girl in front of the lion

but the lion says: “I do not want a girl

I want the young man whose tears I've licked”

the people stab the lion, but nothing happens

the lion keeps coming

then they call the mother of the young man

“you will have to give your son to the lion, even though he is the child of your heart

or the lion will never leave us, it insists on having your son”

the mother of the young man says:

“I will give my child to the lion

but you will not allow the lion to eat my child

and then let it walk about

you will kill it when it kills my child

so that it will die when my child dies”

then they take the young man from the hartebees skins

and give him to the lion

and the lion places his big paws on the shoulders of the young man

and bites the young man in his neck

and the people stab the lion, they stab and stab

while the lion bites the young man in his neck

then the lion says: “now I can die

because I have found the young man I was searching for

I found him”

and the lion dies while lying on the man

the dying young man

4.2 Crimes of Otherness

Against a background of symbology and social ostracism, “The Young Man and the Lion” illustrates a foundational fear that societal value systems may be compromised by expressions that go counter to group alliance or by doctrines that conflict with accepted group norm. This fear is unfortunately not exclusive to the /Xam and is widely prevalent not only with regards to sexual expression but also at intersections with racial diversity.

A central fulcrum in “The Young Man and The Lion” emerges as the view that restriction of self-expression amounts to a civil rights issue. The act of concealing the young man in skins, mats, and branches speaks directly to how society regulates what we wear and how much we are allowed to reveal. By regulating the individual’s clothes, we regulate hierarchical scale, while ameliorating aspects of the individual deemed as less acceptable, often relating to markers such as race. Carl Wittman sums up the challenge in his seminal *Refugees from Amerika* as he reflects how “we’ve lived in these institutions all our lives. Naturally, we mimic the roles. For too long we mimicked these roles to protect ourselves—a survival mechanism. Now we are becoming free enough to shed the roles which we’ve picked up from the institutions which have imprisoned us.” But society does not easily bury a hate hatchet.

The concept that Africanism and queerness do not line up is a constant refrain from African conservatives and a central component in understanding the pressures on Africans to modify their behavior while under occupation. Noel Kututwa of Amnesty International explains that “in Africa homosexuality is nothing new. In fact, there are cave paintings which have been found in Zimbabwe which are more than two thousand years old of male-to-male sex.” Kututwa continues by pointing out that we “find that in most African languages there are terms for homosexuality and those who have studied culture will say that once you find a term in a particular language that’s indicative of the fact that [the] phenomenon is there and is accepted.” Although this may be correct, it still leaves us

with the unaddressed dilemma of virulent homophobia among African leaders. Thirty-six out of fifty-five African countries prohibit same-sex relationships—punishable by death in some. The Gambia’s Yahya Jammeh went so far as to announce that “we will fight these vermins called homosexuals or gays the same way we are fighting malaria-causing mosquitoes, if not more aggressively” (Saine). Notably, this was the kind of language used in the Rwanda genocide when eight hundred thousand Tutsis were slaughtered over one hundred days. Rampant African homophobia led human rights campaigner, Peter Tachell, to say that “the real import into Africa was not homosexuality but homophobia” (Smith). Kututwa stresses the fact that “when colonialism came and with it the laws that governed colonialism, anti-gay laws came in” (Eyewitness). He is correct in his assumptions—the current draconian laws and punishments for sexual diversity, commonly held by despotic African leaders, are Victorian leftovers. The thought process is a cacophonous clash with their second favorite hate subject, which is Victorian colonialism itself.

During the period of imperial diversification, the African body and its methods of expression were a prime focus of endeavors to redeem a graceless barbarian. Victorians, including Bleek, viewed the African definition of sexuality as nymphomaniacal bordering on being ribald über-fornicators with a penchant for bestiality (Van den Heever). This fetishized and objectified view persists in various guises, not least of which linguistically with words like Mandingo—the name of a tribe in Sierra Leone since 1623—also referring to generously endowed African men. Several African languages have pre-colonial words for post-colonial taboos, and the Elizabethan adventurer, Andrew Battell described the Imbangala (of what is now Angola) as “beastly in their living, for they have men in women’s apparel, whom they keepe among their wives.” Battell is near apoplectic when he loses all English restraint and divulges that “women witches ... [who] use unlawfull lusts betweene themselves in mutuall filthinesse” (Burton).

Much closer to !Kweiten-ta-//ken, the eighteenth century Khoikhoi used the term *koetsire* to describe sexual congress between men and even had a word, *soregus*, for their version of friends with

benefits (Evaristo). Another Bushman group, the San, were hunter-gatherers, spread across Southern Africa, inhabiting the region north of the Limpopo for at least one hundred thousand years. The San left a wealth of artifacts and cave paintings behind as a result of the Bantu expansion two thousand years ago. One cave painting dating back to 8000 BCE, shows several couples engaged in same-sex sexual activities (Reid-Smith). The depiction is important in our understanding of ancient Bushman culture, as well as the amnesiac effects of contact with the outside world, which succeeded in putting the kibosh on the sexual expressions of indigenous Africans.

In much the same way, notwithstanding a temporal and distance divide, expressions of otherness and its resulting reactions are examined by Ruthann Robson in a 2013 study on identity expression in the United States. Robson pauses at the 2000 US Supreme Court decision, *Boy Scouts of America v Dale*, when the Court sided with the Boy Scouts. The private organization revoked former Eagle Scout and assistant scoutmaster James Dale's adult membership when they learned that Dale was gay and a gay rights activist. The Court was delivering a tit for tat: if Dale flaunted his sexual expression, citing his First Amendment right, the Scouts could discriminate against him, citing their First Amendment right. In his dissent, Justice Stevens sharply criticized the ruling by stating that the judgment rendered Dale's sexual expression an inferiority symbol while holding group identity and its symbols in a superior position. Stevens quoted the Court decision verbatim, explain that they who viewed Dale's sexual identity as "a banner around his neck" and that Dale "can't take that banner off" (93).

Increasingly the loftiest "otherness" triggers such as homophobia, anti-Semitism, and racism, find their way into similar threads of tweet rage, by the same itchy-fingered tweeters. Already in January 2008, a freshly elected President Obama called on the community to do more in its fight against homophobia, anti-Semitism, and racism at Dr. Martin Luther King's Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta (Horowitz). Unfortunately not much has changed in ten years as members of College Republican United (CRU), "a conservative student club at Arizona State University used

anti-Semitic symbols, made racist and homophobic comments, and appeared to advocate for eugenics, according to a dossier” which was leaked to the *Phoenix New Times* (Hsieh). Robson refers to the systemic and institutionalized racism manifested by reactions to loose “saggy pants which signal African American identity and urban sexuality and masculinity,” which have frequently been the target of ire and several attempted banning procedures, despite legal weakness around the issue (119). In her book, Robson points out that groups coalesce around draconian confirmation biases, which she calls “doctrinal asymmetry.” It matters because stop and frisk searches proliferate when clothing become proxies for concepts, and when “saggy pants” becomes gaslit code for racially charged profiling without ever using words like “race” or “black male” (121). At the intersection of race and hierarchy, black women and men in body-conscious, fitted garments elicit a specific response, which some would prefer to control and is central in ongoing efforts to marginalize black skin while fetishizing and objectifying the wearer. The same can be said of black hair—frequently objectified, denied, and regulated, while appropriated at breakneck speed.

Gay men are similarly controlled when they cross the line between sexual expression and hierarchy, often at an intersection with gender expression. In *We've Been Here All Along*, Richard Wagner pauses at the Lavender Scare of 1952 which promised that a Republican victory in November would ensure the expulsion of lavender lads from the State Department. The toxic combination of McCarthy, Eisenhower, and Hoover led to Executive Order 10450, which barred gays from federal employment, including private contractors and the military. A fractured version of Executive Order 10450 remained in play until President Bill Clinton signed the “Don’t ask, don’t tell” policy of 1995. What Wittman refers to as institutionalized conformism and self-denial within social constructs, dexterously leads to a Potemkin village of “love the sinner” bigotry. It is a volatile beast which frequently votes against broader self-interest, and at its worst leads to extreme human right violations and in some cases, much worse. In 1988 Matthew Shepard was pistol-whipped by two homophobic men who tied him to a fence in freezing weather before setting him on fire. They

left him to die. Wyoming law at the time did not accommodate that the two men may be charged with a hate crime. Ironically, things do get better, and the Matthew Shepard Act signed into law by President Barack Obama in 2009 allows certain acts of violence motivated by victim identity to be tried as hate crimes (Bindel). Shepard's ashes were only interred in October 2018 at the National Cathedral in Washington, D.C. It took that long for his family to feel that his remains would not be desecrated (Simon).

The struggle continues. Internet celebrity Coach Dave Daubenmire, a 2020 keynote speaker for Ohio's Harrison County Republican Party, proclaimed that "we need to make homosexuality unthinkable again" in reference to Pete Buttigieg's expression of sexual identity. Fellow Republicans quickly hailed the fundraiser as a success, with executive committee member Chuck Harrah saying the event brought together "like-minded people" who "believe in Christian values" (Parsons). There is no misappropriation of ideology here: a sizable chunk of the post-Obama electorate wants Marriage Equality to go away, have millions anointed with sacred herbs to mask the satanic sulfur of self-expression to become the unseen gay in the woodpile, covered with branches. And by staying silent, we are allowing it.

4.3 Making a Language Sing

/Xam tales organically follow thought-patterns, with pauses for breathing, avoiding commonplace meters. Free strophic units engage anaphora, combined with almost obsessive repetition of specific words and phrases. Structures increase tension by settling into a quasi-tribal meter through cadences that rattle off like arrows from a bow, only to be interrupted by a carefully placed *fermata* on longer words. T.S. Elliot commented on the permissive structure of vers libre when he wrote in *The New Statesman* how, when "the comforting echo of rhyme is removed, success or failure in the choice of words, in the sentence structure, in the order, is at once more apparent. Rhyme removed, the poet is at once held up to the standards of prose."

It is important to note that the sentence structure relies heavily on the Cape Dutch—Afrikaans—language which reveals itself in phrases such as “but suddenly then the lion appears on the ridge.” Krog points out that by the end of the nineteenth century, most Bushmen were bilingual in that they spoke tribal languages and Afrikaans (Krog). The unusual syntax, which contributes to the mystical quality of the work, is primarily due to Afrikaans, while the place names and descriptors are also of Afrikaans provenance.

On a tonal level, the reader detects a spiritual connection between Igor Stravinsky’s *Le Sacre du Printemps* and /Xam poetry. Commissioned by Diaghilev’s Ballet Russe in 1913, Stravinsky’s primal soundscape delves profoundly into a visceral world of ritual sacrifice and fundamentalist groupthink. Stravinsky writes that he “wanted the whole of the composition to give the feeling of closeness between men and the earth, the community of their lines with the earth” (Stravinsky).

“we have to throw a child to the lion so that it’ll leave us alone”

they throw a child in front of the lion

but the lion says: “I do not want a child

I want the young man whose tears I have licked”

the people throw more children

but the lion ignores them

the people throw assegais

but the lion keeps coming

it claws the huts, it tears them asunder...(29-37)

!Kweiten-ta//ken injects unintentional modernism into her otherwise tribalist work, with frequent textual fibrillations, mostly in the form of clipped dialogue, to sidestep potential tedium. The text’s use of irregular rhythm and temporizing story development further lends to sparseness, stopping short of static abstraction through her formula for rhythmic propulsion occurring in distinct blocks. The first text block is devoted to a remarkable introduction/seduction sequence,

while further scenes involving the young man and the lion follow a consistent, frictionless tonality. She presents a modified, crisper formula for the negotiation episode between the mother and the young man, while the mother's interactions with the community, over the sacrifice of the young man, are presented with dense urgency. !Kweiten-ta//ken establishes a structure that underlines the increasingly insistent group dynamic through repetition, only changing core words. The lion responds in equally repetitive fashion. By doing so, she effectively expresses the tension that flows from both sides' refusal to compromise. More than that, she reflects a rising emotional temperature on the groups' side who are prepared to stymie possible further aggressions by the lion using any means necessary. !Kweiten-ta//ken also portrays a lion, impervious, relentless, and immovable in his raw determination to consummate the bond he feels with the young man.

“we have to throw a girl to the lion so that it leaves us alone”

they throw a girl in front of the lion

but the lion says: “I do not want a girl

I want the young man whose tears I've licked”

the people stab the lion, but nothing happens

the lion keeps coming

then they call the mother of the young man

“you will have to give your son to the lion, even though he is the child of your heart

or the lion will never leave us, it insists on having your son”... (38-46)

The text shifts to frantic tribal exclamations as the group negotiates with the mother—the rhythm of the text taking on denseness leading to a conclusion consisting of synchronized, sketched fragments. The textural effect creates deliberate irregularity, highlighting motivational nuances at choreographed intersections, thereby producing angular patterns of speech, narrative, and eventual denouement. These are reminiscent of the windblown wave patterns in desert sand, constantly shifting and undulating. Like Stravinsky, /Xam texts at their best feel theatrical and vivid in concept,

not least of which as a result of bitonality, facilitating two signatures working hand in glove. Icelandic musician Björk Guðmundsdóttir captured the essence of angular textual idiosyncrasy with “Bedtime Story,” a 1994 composition for Madonna’s eponymous album. Guðmundsdóttir unknowingly describes the /Xam trance-induced custom when she articulates the act as “leaving logic and reason” before declaring “words are useless, especially sentences, they don’t stand for anything, how could they explain how I feel?” From a deconstructed perspective !Kweiten-ta//ken’s unintentionally post-modern work acts as a tone poem in which words repeat and collide. Her sentences reconstruct as authored abstractions on obsession and loss, all but guaranteeing misinterpretation without the reader’s analogous ideations and dynamic trajectories of imagination.

4.4 Building Character

/Xam oral tradition does not indulge in rampant Bambification. Instead, it frequently hybridizes human and animal forms into metaphysical phantasmagoric beings with truculent messages of admonishment. The tradition, and indeed the entire Bushman worldview, saw the place of man as part of a much-expanded natural order. Humans are presented as “of the world” as opposed to the Western “over the world” perspective. Lévi-Strauss refers to this foundational interconnectedness when pointing out that “nature has only a limited number of procedures at her disposal and that the kinds of procedure which Nature uses at one level of reality are bound to reappear at different levels.” Karmic causality commonly occurs as individuals intuit each other’s experiences and emotions as if inhabiting that corporeal structure, beyond any concept of empathy. Besides human to human, transmigration can also take place between humans and animals, as well as humans and meteorological events. In keeping with sexually relaxed outlooks and a penchant for ribald humor, the animal/human hybrids may be wild and wanton, frequently fluid in both gender and sexual expression, tantalizing and taunting vulnerable young men immediately following tribal rite ceremonies (Guenther). Across the /Xam literature, lions exhibit a fondness for degrees of

transfiguration, nimbly assuming a human form and sometimes forgetting to hide its tail while in human form as “it trots (along) like a man ... for it feels like a real man” (Bleek).

Privileged reading of /Xam text may attach European humanistic traditions to the lion, aiming to reach progressivist conclusions which focus on the diminution of a tribe, rife with self-alienation, as a contributing cause. We have to, however, expect cognitive disputes when applying structuralist academic approaches to ancient generational folktales, told in an extinct language, Xeroxed and distributed as sanitized post-Victorian mimes. Viewing the lion/anti-hero structure as a cartoon villain, or that of the young man/victim as redolent with fetid malaise invites humanistic contentions. The/Xam stories-as-rememories tradition is elementally unaware of the newsstand mentality of a modern reader. Deconstructed reading may establish the figure of the lion as a dynamic expression of individuality—of choice, for example. Another set of eyes may hermeneutically view the character as representative of an invading force or a political threat. A contemporary interpretation factors in, and expands on the subaltern reluctance preset which precludes univocal restrictive hegemonic narratives in favor of sociocultural discursivity.

Similitudes with Aesop’s “Androcles and the Lion” show up counterpointed by significant departures, but essential denominators loom large. The leading characters are from central fable casting, and while the Aesop lion is incapacitated by a thorn in his paw, the /Xam folktale sees an imposing carnivorous feline incapacitating a young man by depositing him on a bush of thorns. The Greek fable and its subsequent iterations are primarily concerned with themes around burgeoning Christianity at its intersection with baptism, penitence, and redemption. By contrast, “The Young Man and The Lion,” as a folktale in the oral tradition, is unable to present its characters in recognizable binary value structures where negotiations prevail, good deeds go unpunished, and hierarchies exist despite temporary falls from grace or having to clean up after ugly step-sisters. The character of young man is sketched as the milquetoast object of a lion’s ravenous affection. The lion is epitomized by obsession and !Kweiten-ta-//ken presents him as a Steinbeckian seductive

loner, tempered by an inner bad-boy.

The European folktale and fairy tale tradition positions western civilization in the dominant cultural role, where the power struggle with wild animals are incidental to the achievement of higher morality, often with scant resistance to the heroic alpha dominance of the white/male/heterosexual construct. The /Xam interaction with wild animals and natural order simply cannot accommodate the “white people problems” embodied by the Grimms’ pretty princesses and roguish suitors caught in the mid-nineteenth century overture phase of what will become rampant nationalism, anti-Semitism, and the ideological domination of places where people like the /Xam lived. The European fairy tales sketch safe places where young love and entitled virility are set, gingerly, in ersatz binaries, and birthright prevails as they graduate from hocus-pocus simplicity to the dark arts of colonization and domination. African folk tradition is about fragile life and brutal decimation often at the hands of the very people who like to read fairy tales in their spare time.

4.5 Brusque Expressions of Melancholy

One of the few female voices in the /Xam storytelling tradition, !Kweiten-ta-//ken, also known as Rachel, was a ‘Grass Bushman’ from the mountains north of Calvinia, in the Western Cape. Not having spent time at the Breakwater Prison and therefore not subject to anthropometric measurements, little is known about her age or general measurements. The Bleek notes mention that she “was a pretty little woman, lively and hot-tempered. Her feet were so tiny that the outgrown boots of a small child of eleven were just right for her” (Bleek & Bleek). Lloyd was keen to interview a /Xam woman who could provide information regarding female customs, rituals, and experiences. !Kweiten-ta-//ken lodged at the Mowbray house between June 13, 1874, and January 13, 1875, with her dictations taking place over a surprisingly abrupt period between December and January 1875 (Skotnes). Friction between her and Bleek was revealed by his reticence at bearing the sustenance expenditures associated with her four young children, who also resided at the house,

resulting in her leaving the property (Bleek). Tellingly, Lloyd did not invite !Kweiten-ta-//ken back to Mowbray, indicating that the two women had a less than stellar working relationship.

!Kweiten-ta-//ken's tales are among the most succinct in the collection, with scant reference to ritual cantillations or songs.. !Kweiten-ta-//ken's narrations are visceral, violent, and a sharp departure from her male counterparts who frequently veer into poetic or philosophical realms (Krog). The jagged style reflects a daily reality of economic uncertainty as experienced by the pragmatic matriarch of a nomadic household. Her stories deal in a brutally frank manner with the female experience. Another tale by Kweiten-ta-//ken, "What the Man did with his Pregnant Wife," tells of a man who accuses his wife of eating all the meat because of her visibly swollen belly (Krog). When he cuts her open with a knife to check, he cries as he sees her "filled with child" before exclaiming:

my wife! my wife!
 I thought you had stuffed yourself with meat
 but you have stuffed yourself with child
 he sharpens a stick and sews her up. (21)

In her collection of /Xam poetry, Krog points out that the /Xam output "manages to portray the unsayable or the abstract through exquisite control of the concrete." Moreover, "The Young Man and the Lion" is a morality anchor—a metaphoric tale of dominant tribalism suddenly threatened by lioness "otherness." The inexpressible "otherness" causes societal hysteria replete with unfounded fears of possible cultural decimation, and it leads where good African tales frequently do: sacrifice.

while hunting the young man becomes sleepy
 he lies down and falls asleep under a bush
 in the heat of the day lion comes
 the lion drags the young man by the neck

the lion drags the man into a blackthorn tree...(1-5)

!Kweiten-ta-//ken could as well be narrating a scene for a David Attenborough documentary, devoid of emotion, resigned to the inevitability of it all. Her tale is centered on a single interaction between the young man and the lion. It is a short section of quiet intensity compelling the reader to slow down and read attentively, pausing to visualize the transaction. Even a cursory reading of the text accommodates a homoerotic overtone.

the lion is thirsty, it leaves to drink water

the lion does not want to be thirsty when it eats a man... (6-7)

!Kweiten-ta-//ken relentlessly drives the narrative, limiting descriptors and avoiding punctuation. She creates a textual world that is fundamentally existential. Her use of nouns remains resolutely positivist, which leads her to insert the only punctuation, a set of two questions in a single line, indicating a thought attributed to the lion, while lacking in any relativity. She keeps her questions simple, and it is unclear if she is asking or postulating, and the effect underlines the calculated nature of the beast from her perspective.

the man in the blackthorn tree turns his head

at that moment the lion turns around:

is the man moving? is he still alive?

the lion trots back, because it is the lion that makes the man sleepy

the lion moves the man so that his head is more comfortable amongst the branches... (8-12)

4.6 Seduction

The seduction of the young man and the power exuded by the dominant lion is mesmerizing as the repetition of specific words and phrases add a distinct intonation to the phrasing. !Kweiten-ta-//ken and the careful placement of the English translation by Krog uses repetition to rhythmically draw the reader into the scene, while specific placement of words like “sleepy” with

its downward cadence, slows the pace down from documentary sparseness.

The consequence of dalliances outside the tribe would be disastrous for the /Xam community as they had always been small in numbers, perpetually under threat of extinction following the arrival of the first white settlers. There is no room for procreation outside a narrow scope, which allows for survival of the tribe. A similar phenomenon within the Hasidic community, where deviations from traditional family structures lead to shunning and threats of violence is explored in the 2020 Netflix drama *Unorthodox*. !Kweiten-ta-//ken is similarly telling a recognizable story of kicking against the pricks and adapting. Still, society will have its members believe that denial, suppression, and forbearance, create better versions of itself. We are under sustained pressure to conform to narrow aspirational definitions of acceptable race, gender, orientation, and religion. The language we choose to express ourselves through is policed and designed to encourage self-censorship.

it licks the tears from the corners of the young man's eyes

the lion licks the tears from the young man's face

the young man looks the lion in the eye

the lion looks the young man steadfastly in the eye licking the tears

the lion trots back to the water... (13-17)

!Kweiten-ta-//ken's work is distinctive in how she constructs prose with extensive verbs usage extending into long "doing phrases" taking an active stance that shows, but tells only bare essentials. She inhabits a world in which thought and philosophy could be detrimental to the struggle to stay alive. It is a place where the hunter has to blend into the surroundings, the smells of the landscape, and act instinctively to threats. Groupthink is not a thing. It is just group. Individualism is a liability as the survival of the group depends so heavily on inconspicuous group activities and shared responsibilities. Perhaps unknowingly, she sketches the lion throughout the first strophe in a devoutly sympathetic tone, with the doubt around his intentions and the inference of his violence

entirely as a result of her reading.

The /Xam text allows us scant reading of the characters as not belonging to a caustic social group or that they act as surrogates for the unacceptable as it stands outside the space of acceptance. Even viewed as general narrative, the description of the lion licking “the tears from the young man’s face” while “young man looks the lion in the eye” and in return “the lion looks the young man steadfastly in the eye licking the tears,” has a choreographed quality.

In minimalist style, !Kweiten-ta-//ken describes the young man in a generalized state: she starts from a static assumption that lions do what they do while she leaves room for a dynamic reading, especially when considering the text as a gnarly metaphor. Her first eight lines are a riff on the “it walks like a duck” logic as she comments on the predatory certainty of otherness. Her assumption, part of collective paranoia, is that a hostile power structure will be consequential at least, and catastrophic at worst. The African condition is preset—calibrated by European aggression and endemic Afrophobia—to expect the worst.

The story, and its contemporary relevance, pivots on four lines which form a *cri de coeur* within the story. The mother forces the young man to assume a closeted stance, camouflaged and muted, establishing herself as controlling matriarch.

his mother wraps him in hartebees skins
 his mother wraps him in mats
 she burns herbs so that the lion won’t smell him
 she covers him with branches... (20-23)

She changes his appearance. She covers him in skins. His expressed state is unacceptable, compromised, and it has manifested itself by piquing yucky attention in the shape of a lion, which is code for whatever it is that the orthodoxy will spurn. She hides his shape and form, burning herbs to neutralize his smell. The young man is transfigured, modulated, and when she girdles him in branches, he has become undetectable. His personality, shape, smell, and presence have been

recalibrated into something that efficaciously silences and subjects him to non-existence.

The text suggests that beyond conjectural animalism, the lion is a force of nature, representing iterations of fundamentally challenging expressions of “otherness.” It explains the frantic cleansing rituals undertaken by the mother and the subsequent series of negotiations. As departure point to an unnamed and invisible interaction with the influence of the lion or its symbolic structure, the mother instinctively neutralizes her son’s agency, by removing whatever vestiges he may be presenting. She is demonstrating her bias in the hope that he would be acceptable, undetected, and perhaps most importantly, without any visible bias trigger. She strips him down to a reset position, before proceeding with a four-step reprogramming process.

!Kweiten-ta-//ken maintains fragile symmetry between primitivism and interludes of vivid, structured tension. She sets up a phalanx of community members who, in unison, evolve in their attempts to negotiate with both the mother and the ominous threat. !Kweiten-ta-//ken allows them a cyclical presence, and even their continued, at time frenetic, actions are natural and expected in the milieu. Like life.

“we have to throw a child to the lion so that it’ll leave us alone”

they throw a child in front of the lion

but the lion says: “I do not want a child

I want the young man whose tears I have licked”...(29-32)

The text reveals itself as it presents hierarchical confrontations between what is established as an ingrained bias against what the character of the lion represents and the privilege that is afforded through precise positioning.

“we have to throw a girl to the lion so that it leaves us alone”

they throw a girl in front of the lion

but the lion says: “I do not want a girl

I want the young man whose tears I’ve licked”...(38-41)

The mother responds with a monologue that stands as a *pietà* to denial, rejection, and sacrifice in the face of the slash-and-burn plague that was AIDS in the 80s.

“I will give my child to the lion
 but you will not allow the lion to eat my child
 and them let it walk about
 you will kill it when it kills my child
 so that it will die when my child dies”... (48-52)

She is the Bible Belt parent who, high on Jerry Falwell⁹ and Jesus, lives a pernicious version of truth, and delivers her *coup de grâce* when declining their son's life partner the dignity of equal opportunity bereavement (Jones). She channels the stigmatized dead of Hart Island's burial trenches in New York City where scores of unclaimed AIDS victims, including babies in sealed bags, were buried in mass graves by prisoners at Rikers (Kilgannon). The act of hiding the young man, disguising the stench that is the shame which has been foisted on him, will come at some expense. Silence = Death.

As a response to protest the silence being forced around the disease, ACT UP became a leading force in civil disobedience to inform, educate, and destigmatize. By the time then-president

⁹ Jerry Falwell Sr, 1933-2007, founder of the Moral Majority and Baptist preacher obsessed over queerness famously said: “AIDS is not just God's punishment for homosexuals, it is God's punishment for the society that tolerates homosexuals” (Press).

Ronald Reagan¹⁰ mentioned AIDS in public, 59,572 cases of the disease had been reported. Enforced silence and futile negotiations within a silence/death paradigm have repercussions. The stigma attached to HIV and AIDS initially perpetuated social rejection, leading to suicide and even physical violence against victims. An example of death as the wage of silence and the challenge of standing up, resisting, and bearing the consequences is *Still/Here*, a ballet produced by ACT UP in 1994 as part its AIDS protest movement which has roots in Reagan's inaction in the face of a growing epidemic during the mid-80s. It was as an eloquent artistic assertion of social legitimacy in the context of bureaucratic dismissal counterpointed by a slow-footed limousine liberal riposte.

then they take the young man from the hartebees skins
 and give him to the lion
 and the lion places his big paws on the shoulders of the young man
 and bites the young man in his neck
 and the people stab the lion, they stab and stab
 while the lion bites the young man in his neck
 then the lion says: "now I can die
 because I have found the young man I was searching for
 I found him"
 and the lion dies while lying on the man
 the dying young man (53-63)

¹⁰ Louis Ironson, in Tony Kushner's *Angels in America*, nails it when saying that:
 "You have Bush talking about human rights, and so what are these people talking about, they might as well be talking about the mating habits of Venusians, these people don't begin to know what, ontologically, freedom is or human rights, like they see the bourgeois property-based Rights-of-Man-type rights but that's not enfranchisement, not democracy, not what's implicit, what's potential within the idea, not the idea with blood in it. That's just liberalism, the worst kind of liberalism, really, bourgeois tolerance, and what I think is that what AIDS showed us is the limits of tolerance, that it's not enough to be tolerated, because when the shit hits the fan you find out how much tolerance."

Noted critic Arlene Croce, while not having seen *Still/Here*, slated the ethos of the production but took time to coin the term “Victim Art” and claiming that “the thing that *Still/Here* makes immediately apparent, whether you see it or not, is that victimhood is a kind of mass delusion that has taken hold of previously responsible sectors of our culture. The preferred medium of victimhood ... is videotape, ... but the cultivation of victimhood by institutions devoted to the care of art is a menace to all art forms, particularly performing-art forms.” Croce’s tone-deaf, blistering opinion is notable in furthering our understanding of how otherness is suppressed and why some feel empowered to shove it back in the closet. She is exhibiting a neoconservative political strain. Allergic to mindful commenting and dismissive of any connection between art and social engagement, she manipulates her reader by complaining about art’s power to manipulate the audience. Croce expects “others” within society to not have a voice, and she does that by bullying the artist, inventing a term which is as insulting as it is a warmed-up undercooked version of Reagan’s doctrine of ignorance. Croce probably blew her nose in the AIDS quilt.

4.7 Once, We Were Here

Viewed as a narrow representative expression, “The Young Man and the Lion” delineates clear sociopolitical and morality markers. Due to the relative absence of representation in mainstream culture, alterity is strained under the additional impediment of stick caricature summarization without the remedial benefits of tangible references, which can have calamitous results on real lives. As a result of the pervasive use of metaphor, the opportunity to identify and establish a core character who may voice the plight of *some* within the group is absent, and the result is causal to group denial and rejection. It is this metonymic occurrence that forces the mother to reject the young man’s attempts at self-expression, motivating her to frantically camouflage him, leading to his eventual sacrifice for the greater good.

In an attempt to delineate the tension between voluntary acts and ordained ones, Gayatri

Spivak achieved notoriety with her essay, “Can the Subaltern Speak?” by making a controversial statement on the practice of *sati*, the self-immolation of a widow on her husband’s pyre. She commented that “[w]hite men are saving brown women from brown men,” referring to the white savior complex as a byproduct of dominant privilege. She added that “brown women do not need saving,” which translates to the possibility that white men are attempting to save *themselves* from brown men through elaborate savior constructs (Spivak). These paradigms brew into a heady stew of white atonement, value judgment, and a toxic divide-and-conquer strategy. Predictably, the savior intention remains just that—hanging in the air—pregnant, with useless “thoughts and prayers.” The subjected in true Pavlovian style frequently capitulates, committing to self-regulation. Spivak’s essay connects to the /Xam survival dilemma in two ways: the subjugated have no voice nor tangible platform to transact on, nor do they actively record their dissent. As a result, they are without agency in the eyes of colonial (and western) ideology with its hierarchical systems and binary notions. And just like the burning widows who self-immolate, the /Xam were conditioned and demoralized as they continued the process of self-sabotage.

It explains why the young man has no voice: he is without agency as he represents deviance that compromises the security and survival of the group. Whatever alterity he perpetuates or introduces to the community, he will remain unseen as long as he falls short of group mandates, themselves the victim of gross intolerance and injustice within a broader colonial context. He represents a fatal compromise that has to be hidden, subjected to therapies like burning herbs, and failing that, sacrificed. In a broader sense, the young man is representative of the /Xam themselves, and the lion plays the part of the colonial system. No matter how many times the young man declares his submission to the will and might of the lion, the future of the young man is a fait accompli.

Traditional /Xam storytelling presupposes a state of being before it bifurcates from fireside story-time moments into cautionary folktales, flirting with teleological ethics while firmly rooted in

consequentialism. The stories are propelled by canonical episodes, braided together into revisionist constructs describing a group increasingly untethered from a tenable survival strategy and frequently at the behest of nature. There are no allowances for otherness in this context. The sacrifice of group identity, language, and threats of physical displacement are at the vanguard of what is left of the /Xam survival instinct. The threats never cease. The end of “The Young Man and the Lion,” as with every Bushman story, is a mere mental pause button. It denies the reader any closure and to view this installment as a flirtation with failure or invitation to disaster is to underestimate the spirit of man. The narrative tradition expresses a paradoxical African axiom that a step forward still roots the other foot in the same place, fostering an illusion of progress.

Certainly, it is not just the ancient /Xam and their oral tradition about young men, marauding lions, and the vagaries of change, who evangelize cognizance of the inherent futility of the one-step-forward approach. Closer to home, reinvented in Chicago sixteen years after stepping on the glass under the *chuppah*, Shimmy Braun is now living his best life. Unwittingly proving the principles that underpin WTELS, he defied the dynamics of his situation by attending a men’s support group for queer men in heterosexual marriages. He confronted his annihilation anxiety by spending years in therapy, allowing him to develop an amiable rapport with his ex-wife and become a doting dad to his four children (Hansen-Bundy). Having lost his community-based customer network in Brooklyn when the door was blown off his closet, he was forced to reevaluate and proceeded to refocus his mortgage origination firm to the Chicago LGBTQ community. Driving around the city’s gayborhood, Boystown, his face is on billboards everywhere. While researching this paper, I asked Braun if he would have chosen to liberate himself if he was not forced by his suspicious neighbor. “I don’t think so. In my community, the answers were made for us. Everybody sacrifices something, after all.” His unprompted answer echoes “The Young Man and the Lion,” albeit that Braun was a slightly older man who turned away from his insular group, embracing his lion, and allowing *himself* the freedom to exist, live, and thrive.

Our zeitgeist is one of populism merging with religious fervor and rampant nativism. Sacrificing insouciance, remaining free from discrimination and persecution is precariously cantilevered on how we engage, whether we dare to dissent, how we choose to manifest desire, and the choice to assert identity. Compromising on any of these deceptively simple rights of expression is a violation which many would prefer to be suppressed. The pressure to self-sacrifice is pervasive in society, business, family, politics, and religion (Edwards). Although subdominant at the outset of !Kweiten-ta-//ken's tale, the group sanctions a sacrifice to distract and appease the threat of annihilation, represented by the lion. After deploying a cruel deus ex machina by hiding under the sacrificial young man and killing the lion, hierarchical power shifts back to the people, but even within the spirit of the static text, the victory is bittersweet.

The /Xam tradition allows omnidirectional interpretations while creating tensions around easily mythologized realities. Every /Xam reflection could be part of an origin narrative on essential human rights—an African *Odyssey* of sorts, as Krog has frequently pointed out—but occasionally, it also emerges as a love story to humanity: an African *Tristan and Isolt* in this case. Reading “The Young Man and the Lion” as metaphor reveals outcomes in which survival is precariously predicated on the needs of the many as opposed to those of one. To tie their survival to the whim of the oppressor was ultimately a failed strategy. The reader senses !Kweiten-ta-//ken's resignation to the fact that she is one of the last of her people. The tone magically suspends the exchanges between the young man and the lion. The last lines are regretful susurrus—whispered sighs—telling the contemporary reader that, “Once, we were here!” But the words, bathed in profound melancholy, convey a sense of knowing that they have succumbed—relegated to become a sociolinguistic footnote on a page, like this.¹¹

¹¹ By 1910 the /Xam were extinct. Their language no longer exists, except for 12 000 hand-written pages by Dr Bleek. South Africa's motto on the coat of arms is a /Xam phrase: *!ke e: /xarra //ke*. It means: Diverse People Unite.

**Die beiden Frauen die von Aigamuchab
mitgenommen wurden.**

Und es begab sich so (*hībe* wurde gemacht): Zwei (*/gam*) Frauen (*keχoëra*) hatten sich verirrt (*!keχoë* eilen, */ari* verlieren). Und sie kamen (*/keχi*) an die Stelle, wo Aigamuchab Rindenkost (*!lūna*, comm. plur.) abschlug (*!lhā, ta=ra*). Da [riefen] sie: “[Du] Mensch, der (-*ë* Suff. 3 per sing. comm.) da (*nēba*) hämmert (*!gō!gō*), nimm (*ū*) uns zur (*!lga*) Werft!” (*!lgaūs*, S. 232). Da sah (*gō*) Aigamuchab auf und sagt: “Laß (*ha*) mich (-*ta*) dir (*si*) die Werft zeigen!” (*!lgaun*). Und sie gingen. Aber die fette (*gausa*) Frau bleibt (*hā*) zurück (*keχaus ai*); derart (*!lnā tumi*) gehen die beiden hin (*bē*), gehen [immer weiter], doch die eine (*nau*) Frau kehrt um (*oa*). So sieht (*mū*) der Mann [Aigamuchab], als (*o-*) er zurückschaut, nur eine (*/gui*) einzige (*/guisa*) Frau. Da fragt (*ti*) er, und die Frau [antwortet]: “Ich weiß nicht (*ūta*), sie ist zurückgeblieben.” Er aber [fluchte]: “Komm vorbei, (*hā i*) du (-*sa*) Kind (*ōas*) der großen (*gaib*) Schmutzkrustenscham! (*!garab* männl. Scham, vgl. S. 320). Zwilling-Pack (*!gëgōab* Zwilling, *χūba* Ding, verächtlich) soll doch wohl (*gom---o*) miteinander gehen!” (*sao* folgen, -*gu* Reciprocalpartikel).

**The Two Women Who Were Taken Away
by Aigamuchab.**

And so it happened (*hībe* was made): Two (*/gam*) women (*keχoëra*) had got lost (*!keχoë* hurry, */ari* lose). And they came (*/keχi*) to the place where Aigamuchab slaughtered treebark food (*!lūna*, comm. plur.) (*!lhā, ta=ra*). Then they shouted: “[You] man who (-*ë* 3rd per sing. comm. suffix) [that] (*nēba*) pounds (*!gō!gō*), take (*ū*) us to the (*!lga*) yard!” (*!lgaūs*, p. 232). Then Aigamuchab looks (*gō*) up and says: “Let (*ha*) me (-*ta*) show you (*si*) the yard!” (*!lgaun*). And they went. But the fat (*gausa*) woman remains (*hā*) [back] (*keχaus ai*); this way (*!lnā tumi*) the two go (*bē*), go [on and on], but the one (*nau*) woman turns around (*oa*). So sees (*mū*) the man [Aigamuchab] when (*o-*) he looks back, only one (*/gui*) single (*/guisa*) woman. Then he asked (*ti*) and the woman [answered]: “I don’t know (*ūta*), she stayed behind.” But he [cursed]: “Come over, (*hā i*) you (-*sa*) child (*ōas*) the big (*gaib*) filthy crust of phallus! (*!garab* male shame, see p. 320). Twin pack (*!gëgōab* twin, *χūba* thing, contemptuously) is supposed to be (*gom---o*) go together!” (*sao* follow, -*gu* reciprocal particles).

Dann kamen (*sī*) sie zur (*doba*) Werft des Aigamuchab.
 Und als (*o*) er ankam, sagte er: “Was? (*tareë*) Niemals
 (*buga* von jeher, *toma* nicht) wird das Ding schmecken!
 (*!k̄χoa*). Schneidet [ihr] (*!gao*) die Kehle ab! Laß (*ē* und,
 imperat.) uns (*-gye*) [wenigstens] die Suppe (*surosa*)
 [davon] schlürfen!” (*!bum*) so rief er.

Da ergriffen (*!k̄χō*) sie (*-gu*) sie (*si*), schnitten ihr die
 Kehle ab. Und als sie sich (*s(e)n*) bescheißt (*χau*), rufen
 sie: “Fangt auf (*χaba*) das Hinterloch-Fett!” (*tsoallnuiba*,
 euphem für Kot). Und sie fressen (*ō*) sie auf (*toa*
 beenden). Er aber suchte die Spur; (*mā* stand, *ai* auf,
≠aib ihrem Fuß) und er kommt dahin, findet die
 Fährte (*daoba*), nimmt sie auf (*!k̄χō*) und holt die Frau
 ein (*sao* folgen, *sī* hinkommen, *≠are* zusammenkommen).
 Da gab die Frau einen fauligen (*tsau* weich) Gestank
 (*/ō*, verb.) von sich, [als ob] sie von selbst in Verwesung
 zerfiel (*nora*) wenn (?) er sie finge. Er aber sagt: “[Du]
 stinkst süß, (*≠k̄χun*) du (*-s* in */guis*) wirst gerade (*!na*) in
 meinen (*ti*) Topf (*sūs*) hineingehen, (*≠gā*) so (*k̄χoma*)
 riecht (*tsā* schmecken) es!”

Und er sucht (*ōa*) eilig (*!k̄χōë*, verb.) den Topf. Da steht
 die Frau auf (*k̄χai*) und entflieht nach Hause (*!laru*
 heimkehren). Und während die Frau enteilte, kommt (*ik̄χi*)
 er [mit] dem Topf angeschleppt (*!k̄χara*), kommt herzu
 (*hā*) und sieht enttäuscht (*!k̄χui* vermissen) drein und
 rief: “Süßstinkchen, wo (*maba*) bist du hingegangen?” (*i*).
 So (*tumi*) [trug es sich zu].

Then came (*sī*) they to (*doba*) Aigamuchab’s yard.
 And when (*o*) he arrived, he says: “What (*tareë*) Never
 (*buga* ever, *toma* not) the thing will taste good! (*!k̄χoa*).
 Cut [you] (*!gao*) the throat! “Let (*ē* and, imperative) us
 (*-gye*) sip (*!bum*) the soup (*surosa*) [of it]!” (*!bum*)
 so he called.

Then seized (*!k̄χō*) they (*-gu*) her(*si*), cut her throat.
 And when she (*s(e)n*) shits herself (*χau*), they shout:
 “Catch (*χaba*) the behind-hole fat!” (*tsoallnuiba*,
 euphem. for feces). And they eat (*ō*) it (*toa* finished).
 But he searched for the trail; (stood *mā*, on *ai*, her
 foot *≠aib*) and he comes there, finds the track (*daoba*),
 picks it up (*!k̄χō*) and catches up with the woman (*sao*
 follow, *sī* get there, *≠are* come together).

Then the woman gave off a feculent (*tsau* soft) stench
 (*/ō*, verbal), [as if] she was decomposing (*nora*) by
 herself when (?) he caught her. But he says: “[You]
 smell sweet, (*≠k̄χun*) you (*-s* in */guis*) will just (*!na*)
 go into my (*ti*) pot (*sūs*), (*≠gā*) so (*k̄χoma*) smells (*tsā*
 taste) it!”

And he searches (*ōa*) in a hurry (*!k̄χōë*, verbal) for the
 pot. Then the woman gets up (*k̄χai*) and escapes
 home (*!laru* return). And while the woman was
 hurrying, he came (*ik̄χi*) [with] the pot dragging (*!*
k̄χara), came over (*hā*) and looked disappointed (*!k̄χui*
 missed) and called: “Sweet-stink, where (*maba*) did
 you go?” (*i*). So (*tumi*) [it happened].

Appendix B: Images from the Lloyd and Bleek Collection



Fig. 1. Samuel Baylis Barnard, “Bushwoman [sic] and Children, South Africa.” 1874-1875. A portrait of !Kweiten ta //ken with two of her sons. She is wearing a sheepskin shawl. Barnard refers to her by name and notes that she acts as “advisor on the /Xam language for well-known philologists,” on the photograph’s panel. Albumen print, mounted on paper. Courtesy of The Digital Lloyd and Bleek Collection (Digital).

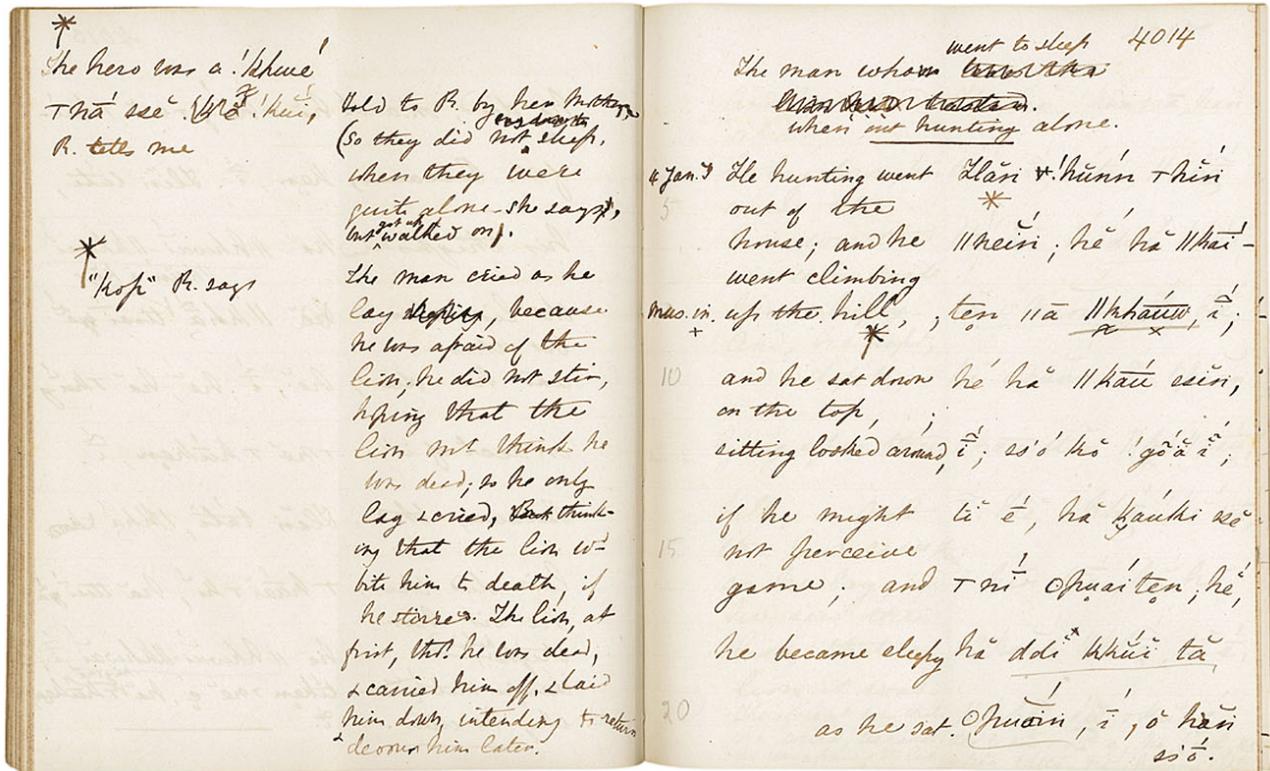


Fig. 2. Lucy Lloyd's notebook, with the opening pages of "The Young Man and The Lion."
 Courtesy of The Digital Lloyd and Bleek Collection (Digital).

Works Cited

- Bain, Andrew Geddes. "Kaatje Kekkelbek, or Life among the Hottentots." In *Journals of Andrew Geddes Bain. Trader, Explorer, Soldier, Road Engineer and Geologist*. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society. 1949 (1838).
- Bank, Andrew. *Bushmen in a Victorian World: The Remarkable Story of the Bleek-Lloyd Collection of Bushman Folklore*. Cape Town: Double Story. 2006.
- Bieseke, Megan.. *Women like Meat. The folklore and foraging ideology of the Kalahari Ju/'hoan*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press. 1993.
- Bindel, Julie. "The Truth behind America's Most Famous Gay-Hate Murder." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 26 Oct. 2014, www.theguardian.com/world/2014/oct/26/the-truth-behind-americas-most-famous-gay-hate-murder-matthew-shepard.
- Bleek, Wilhelm, and Lucy Lloyd. *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*. Daimon, 2001.
- Bleek, Wilhelm. *On the Origin of Language*. Hansebooks, 2016.
- - -, *Reynard the Fox in South Africa, or Hottentot Fables & Tales*. Trübner, 1864.
- Blundell, Geoffrey. "San Ethnography." *Metmuseum.org*. 2001, www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/san/hd_san.htm.
- Braun, Shimon. Personal interview, February 2020.
- Burman, Jose. *Safe to the Sea*. Human & Rousseau, 1962.
- Burton, Neel. "Gender Variation and Same-Sex Relations in Precolonial Times." *Psychology Today*, Sussex Publishers, 12 July 2017, www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/hidden-and-seeking/201707/gender-variation-and-same-sex-relations-in-precolonial-times.
- Croce, Arlene. "Discussing The Undiscussable." *The New Yorker*, The New Yorker, 19 June 2017, www.newyorker.com/magazine/1994/12/26/discussing-the-undiscussable.
- Deacon, Janette, et al. *The Courage of //Kabbo: Celebrating the 100th Anniversary of the Publication of Specimens of Bushman Folklore*. UCT Press, 2014.

- Digital Bleek and Lloyd, lloydbleekcollection.cs.uct.ac.za/index.html, 2020.
- Edwards, Donna, et al. "Constitution in Crisis." Harper's Magazine, Harper's Magazine Foundation, 12 Sept. 2019, www.harpers.org/archive/2019/10/constitution-in-crisis/.
- Eliot, T. S., et al. "T. S. Eliot: Reflections on Vers Libre." *T. S. Eliot: Reflections on Vers Libre*, 22 May 2013, www.newstatesman.com/culture/culture/2013/05/t-s-eliot-reflections-vers-libre.
- Evaristo, Bernardine. "The Idea That African Homosexuality Was a Colonial Import Is a Myth | Bernardine Evaristo." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 8 Mar. 2014, www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/mar/08/african-homosexuality-colonial-import-myth.
- Eyewitness News, Staff Reporter. "Homosexuality Not New in Africa" *Eyewitness News*, 25 Nov. 2016, www.ewn.co.za/2014/02/24/homosexuality-is-not-new-in-Africa.
- Fanon, Frantz, et al. *The Wretched of the Earth*. Kwela Books, 2017.
- Guenther, Mathias Georg. *Human-Animal Relationships in San and Hunter-Gatherer Cosmology*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.
- Halime, Farah. "Life after Conservative Faith: the Defectors Who Leave Ultra-Orthodox Communities." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 27 Mar. 2015, www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/27/ultra-orthodox-judaism-defectors-new-york.
- Hansen-Bundy, Benjy. "My Time Inside a Group Where Men Confront Their Feelings." *GQ*, GQ, 29 Oct. 2019, www.gq.com/story/inside-a-group-where-men-confront-their-feelings.
- Hollfelder, N., Erasmus, J.C., Hammaren, R. *et al.* Patterns of African and Asian admixture in the Afrikaner population of South Africa. *BMC Biol* 18, 16, 2020. doi.org/10.1186/s12915-020-0746-1.
- Horowitz, Jason. "Obama Addresses Homophobia, Anti-Semitism and Xenophobia Among Black Americans." *Observer*, Observer, 20 Jan. 2008, www.observer.com/2008/01/obama-addresses-homophobia-antisemitism-and-xenophobia-among-black-americans/.

- Hsieh, Steven. "Leaked Chats Show Racism, Anti-Semitism, and Homophobia in ASU Republican Group." *Phoenix New Times*, 4, 4 Mar. 2020, www.phoenixnewtimes.com/news/leaked-chats-show-alt-right-views-in-asu-republican-group-11252146.
- Jones, Chris. "Recalling the AIDS Crisis through Parents, Partners Who Live On." *Chicagotribune.com*, Chicago Tribune, 17 June 2018, www.chicagotribune.com/entertainment/theater/ct-aids-crisis-parents-column.html.
- Kabbo, "//Kabbo: Rainmaker, Storyteller & Visionary." *The Journalist Kabbo Rainmaker Storyteller Visionary Comments*, 4 Aug. 2014, www.thejournalist.org.za/pioneers/kabbo-uhi-ddoro-jantje-tooren-rainmaker-storyteller-visionary.
- Kilgannon, Corey. "Dead of AIDS and Forgotten in Potter's Field." *The New York Times*, The New York Times, 3 July 2018, www.nytimes.com/2018/07/03/nyregion/hart-island-aids-new-york.html.
- Kira, Ibrahim, et al. "Will to Exist, Live and Survive" (WTELS): Measuring its role as master/metamotivator and in resisting oppression and related adversities. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 26(1), February 2020, pp. 47-61. doi.org/10.1037/pac0000411.
- Kushner, Tony. *Angels in America*. Nick Hern Books, 2017.
- Krog, Antjie. *The Stars Say "Tsau"*. Kwela, 2004.
- Lévi-Strauss Claude. *Myth and Meaning*. Routledge, 2016.
- Lewis, Hélène Opperman. *Apartheid: Britain's Bastard Child*. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2018.
- Lewis-Williams, J. David. *Believing and Seeing: Symbolic Meanings in Southern San Rock Paintings*. Academic Press, 1981.
- - -, *Myth and Meaning: San-Bushman Folklore in Global Context*. Routledge, 2016.
- Mabuse, Nkepile. "Horror of South Africa's 'Corrective Rape'." *CNN*, Cable News Network, 28

- Oct. 2011, www.cnn.com/2011/10/27/world/wus-sa-rapes/index.html.
- Madonna. "Bedtime Story." *Bedtime Story*, Maverick/Warner Brothers, 1994. open.spotify.com/track/1dOxmR1VsGmkM9c72ka0je?si=7ucdwHpfQbSuxQaFpAqd9g.
- Markowitz, Arthur. *With Uplifted Tongue: Stories, Myths and Fables of the South African Bushmen Told in Their Manner*. Central News Agency Ltd., 1960.
- Metford-Platt, Michel. Personal Communication. Swellendam, South Africa. 24 April 2020.
- Morrison, Toni. *Beloved*. Vintage, 2010.
- Press, Bill. "Press: The Sad Legacy of Jerry Falwell." *MetroWest Daily News, Framingham, MA*, MetroWest Daily News, Framingham, MA, 18 May 2007, www.metrowestdailynews.com/article/20070518/NEWS/305189946.
- Rassool, Ciraj. *Beyond the Cult of "Salvation" and "Remarkable Equality": A New Paradigm for the Bleek-Lloyd Collection*. *Kronos*, No. 32, Nov. 2006, www.jstor.org/stable/i40047095.
- Reid-Smith, Tris. "This Prehistoric Rock Art Celebrates Gay Cavemen." *Gay Star News*, 2 Oct. 2017, www.gaystarnews.com/article/prehistoric-rock-art-celebrates-gay-cavemen/.
- Robson, Ruthann. *Dressing Constitutionally: Hierarchy, Sexuality, and Democracy from Our Hairstyles to Our Shoes*. Cambridge Univ. Press, 2013.
- Saho. "The Cattle Killing Movement." *South African History Online*, www.sahistory.org.za/article/cattle-killing-movement.
- Saine, Pap. "Gambia's Jammeh Calls Gays 'Vermin', Says to Fight like Mosquitoes." *Reuters*, Thomson Reuters, 18 Feb. 2014, www.reuters.com/article/us-gambia-homosexuality/gambias-jammeh-calls-gays-vermin-says-to-fight-like-mosquitoes-idUSBREA1H1S820140218.
- Schultze, Leonhard. *Aus Namaland und Kalahari. Bericht an die Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin über eine Forschungsreise im westlichen und zentralen Südafrika in den Jahren 1903 – 1905*, Jena: Gustav Fischer. 1907.

- Simon, Scott. "Matthew Shepard Laid To Rest" NPR, 20 Oct. 2018, www.npr.org/2018/10/20/659122600/matthew-shepard-laid-to-rest-20-years-after-his-death.
- Skotnes, Pippa. *Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen*. University of Cape Town Press, 1996.
- Smith, David. "Why Africa Is a Hotbed of Homophobia." *The Guardian*, Guardian Media, 23 Feb. 2014, www.theguardian.com/world/2014/feb/23/africa-homophobia-uganda-anti-gay-law.
- Snyder, Louis L. "Nationalistic Aspects of the Grimm Brothers' Fairy Tales." *Taylor & Francis*, 1 July 2010, www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00224545.1951.9921813.
- Stravinsky, Igor, et al. *Le Sacre du Printemps ballet in 2 acts*. Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, Paris, 29 May, 1913. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, www.loc.gov/item/ihas.200185210/.
- Stravinsky, Igor. *Poetics of Music in the Form of Six Lessons*. Harvard University Press, 1970.
- Tutu, Desmond. "My Genome." *Science*, American Association for the Advancement of Science, 11 Feb. 2011, science.sciencemag.org/content/331/6018/689.2.
- - -, *No Future without Forgiveness*. Image/Doubleday, 2000.
- UCT. "The Digital Bleek & Lloyd." *Contributors / Researchers*, lloydbleekcollection.cs.uct.ac.za/researchers.html.
- "Unorthodox." Schrader, Maria, director. *Unorthodox*, season 1, Netflix, Apr. 2020.
- Van den Heever, Lucinda. "Sexual Diversity in South Africa ." *AIDS Accountability Working Papers*, vol. 7, no. 2015, 1 July 2015, doi:10.18411/a-2017-023.
- Vergunst, Nicolaas. *Knot of Stone: the Day That Changed South Africa's History*. Arena, 2011.
- Wagner, R. Richard. *We've Been Here All Along: Wisconsin's Early Gay History*. Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2019.
- Watson, Steven. *Return of the Moon: Versions from the /Xam*. Cape Town: Carrefour. 1996.
- Wittenberg, H. *Wilhelm Bleek and the Khoisan imagination: a study of censorship, genocide and colonial science*. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 38(3): 667-679. 2012.
- Wessels, Michael. *Bushman Letters: Interpreting /Xam Narrative*. Wits University Press, 2010.