

Story of a /Xam Bushman Narrative

Michael Wessels

Summary

This article explores the intricate discursive histories that have accompanied the telling, transmission, publication and reception of the narratives in the Bleek and Lloyd collection. I will use as an example the story that David Lewis-Williams calls "The First /Xam Man Brings Home a Young Lion" in his selection of materials from the Bleek and Lloyd Collection, *Stories That Float from Afar: Ancestral Folklore of the San of Southern Africa*. I argue that a contemporary reading of the narrative, either in the notebooks or in the form in which it appears in LewisWilliams's book, has to take into account a series of events and interventions that undermine its ontological unity. These include the performance and reception of the narrative in various real and virtual spaces as well as its recording, transcription, translation and interpretation.

Opsomming

Hierdie artikel verken die verwickelde diskursiewe geskiedenis wat met die vertelling, oordrag, publikasie en resepsie van die narratiewe in die Bleek en Lloyd-versameling gepaardgegaan het. Ek neem as voorbeeld die verhaal waaraan David Lewis-Williams die titel "The First /Xam Man Brings Home a Young Lion" gegee het. Hierdie verhaal is geneem uit sy keuse van verhale uit die Bleek en Lloyd-versameling getitel *Stories That Float from Afar: Ancestral Folklore of the San of Southern Africa*. Ek voer aan dat 'n eietydse lesing van die narratief kennis moet neem van gebeure en intervensies wat die ontologiese eenheid daarvan ondermyn. Dit behels benewens die opvoering en resepsie van die narratief in verskeie werklike en virtuele ruimtes ook die opname, transkripsie, vertaling en interpretasie daarvan.

Introduction: A Story

The people who are today generally referred to as the San or Bushmen first came to the attention of the German linguist, Wilhelm Bleek, in the mid-1850s when he was resident in the new British Colony of Natal (Bank 2006: 25).¹ Some fifteen years later Bleek persuaded the governor of the Cape to

1. The huntergatherers of the southern African region are commonly referred to as San or Bushmen. Both these terms have denigratory histories. Neither was invented by the people denominated by it. "San" is a Khoi-derived term

release into his custody in his home in Mowbray, Cape Town, a number of male /Xam Bushman prisoners from the northern Cape who were incarcerated in the Breakwater Prison. These men became ethnographic informants. This enabled Bleek and his collaborator, his sister-in-law, Lucy Lloyd, to conduct research on /Xam language, culture and mythology for a decade. //Kabbo, the second of the informants, and the oldest, arrived in the Bleek household in early 1871. He proved to be a skilled storyteller and a rich source of information on the way of life the /Xam had pursued before frontier farmers usurped their land. In 1873, towards the end of his stay in Mowbray, //Kabbo related “The Story of a !Khwe // na ssho !kui who Brought Home a Young Lion to Use as a Dog” – a story contained in a number of Lloyd’s notebooks (L II.-26. 2320-2412; 27. 2413-2504; 29. 2597-2687; 30. 2688-2779; 31. 2780-2873).² It is also available today in David Lewis-Williams’s selection of /Xam materials from the Bleek and Lloyd Collection *Stories That Float From Afar* (2000:174-2005). This story will serve as the basis for the discussion in this essay. I am not primarily concerned with analysing the story itself, though; I have done this elsewhere (Wessels 2011). Here I wish to use it to illustrate my contention that the /Xam materials cannot be treated as timeless examples of mythology or traditional folklore. This is not only because narrative participates in the multivocality of discourse but also because there is no point outside history from which a /Xam narrative could be viewed as a stable artefact.

that refers to people without cattle in an insulting fashion and “Bushman” (or its Afrikaans equivalent, “Boesman”) is a term that was introduced by the settlers to the Cape to refer dismissively to the hunter-gatherers of the region (Bennun 2005). Lucy Lloyd was told by /Han#kass’o that the /Xam and the Korana referred to each other as “Saa”, a term which Bank notes “was a derivation of ‘San’, meaning ‘thief’ in the language of the Korana” (Bank 2006: 289).

2. This article follows the generally accepted practice when quoting from the unpublished notebooks of the Bleek and Lloyd collection. The letter L or B is used to indicate whether the notebook was compiled by Wilhelm Bleek or Lucy Lloyd. The Roman numeral, in the case of Lloyd’s notebooks, refers to the informant. //Kabbo is consistently accorded the numeral II, for example, while Dia!kwain is indicated by the numeral V and /Han#kass’o by VIII. The number following the Roman numeral indicates the number of the notebook collected by Lloyd from a single informant. The final number refers to the page of all the materials collected in a set of notebooks from a particular informant. An apostrophe or the abbreviation “rev” following this number indicates that reference is being made to the reverse pages which Bleek and Lloyd used to record information or make observations that illuminated the main text. The Roman numerals which accompany references to Bleek’s notebooks refer to the number of the notebook rather than to an informant.

Michel Foucault (1970, 1972) uses the term episteme to refer to the particular conditions and power differentials that pertain to, and make possible, the constitution of knowledge and its discourses, including aesthetic practices such as literature, in specific epochs. He later acknowledges that different epistemes may coexist within a broader power-knowledge system (1980). Foucault maintains that epistemes are characterised by ruptures with those that have preceded them (1972: 8). Drawing on Foucault, David Chidester (1996), in his study of the practice of comparative religion in southern Africa, identifies three epistemes in which the discourses about the indigenous religion in the southern African region can be situated: frontier, imperial and colonial. The first two occurred on the open colonial frontier and in the metropolitan centres respectively while the third characterised the closing of the frontiers and the consolidation of the colonial state. In addition, Chidester identifies apartheid and post-apartheid forms of comparative religion. In each of the periods that he identifies, he notes the existence of indigenous comparative religion, which operated in accordance with a different set of epistemes. Chidester argues that southern African religion cannot, as a result, be seen as a single phenomenon that possesses a causal temporality but as a contingent assemblage of disparate representations, ideologies and practices. In this article, I wish to make a similar point about mythology and folklore. From this perspective, a story such as the one being discussed in this article appears as a changeable phenomenon with multiple manifestations and meanings rather than as a stable narrative that possesses a core structure and whose underlying meaning can be decoded. Myth, argues Chidester (1996: 261) “is not a story with a canonical closure. Rather than being subject to timeless repetition, a myth is opened and reopened by interpretation. As a result, myth is a type of ongoing cultural work”. The situation with regard to materials such as the /Xam narratives is especially complex. /Xam narratives belong to oral literature and performance as well as to various forms of writing. They have been subject to histories of translation, appropriation, publication and interpretation, a process that is still open and contested.

The narrative “The First /Xam Man Brings Home a Young Lion” is one of the longest in the Bleek and Lloyd collection and readily invites different kinds of exegeses. Its plot, however, is quite easy to summarise. A man, who is either the first man of all or, more probably one of the first men, we are informed in a note, arrives home with a lion cub (also the first lion) claiming that it is a puppy that was given to him by his younger brother. It is the offspring of a fine hunting dog and will be especially useful when hunting gemsbok. His wife accuses the man of endangering his family by bringing home a dangerous wild animal, detailing the physical characteristics which mark it as a lion. She warns, correctly as it transpires, that the cub’s mother will come looking for it. He reprimands her for her disrespect towards both him and his brother. The animal becomes more and

more aggressive as it grows bigger, and the man has to fight it off with increasing force. He describes these encounters to his wife, seemingly unaware that his testimony undermines his insistence that the animal is a dog. The woman and the boy have to keep the fire going and throw burning brands at the animal to keep it at bay. It has a habit of eying them hungrily. They also hear its mother roaring in the night, calling her lost cub. The story builds towards a climax as the lion's behaviour towards the man becomes more and more threatening. It is now inevitable that the man will be killed by the lion. Eventually it kills a gemsbok on a hunt and then turns on the man. The boy from a vantage point on a hill, a position his mother has advised him to take in order to facilitate his own escape, sees it all.

There is a tragic inevitability about the man's death but also an element of black comedy that results from the disjunction between the animal's conferred canine identity and its true leonine identity. The conflict between the "ignorant" man and the knowing woman, a battle of the sexes, also exhibits comic elements. An extraordinary feature of the text is the interweaving of narrative voices. The story is built up through a series of layered descriptions, tellings, retellings and interpretations of the man's actions.

Despite its length, the story is, as Lewis-Williams points out, a "coherent narrative" (2000: 174). What this coherence conceals from the reader is the fact that the text is the product of multiple interventions and different kinds of histories. An oral narrative from a different time and place appears before us in print in a book published at the turn of the millennium. The English in which we read the text has become a medium that still, in some respects, appears to retain something of the "Bushman" and the spoken:

The lion thinks that the man will go away when he comes to life, but the man does indeed lie dead. The lion also thinks that the vultures will eat his man. Therefore he hastens back. He first gallops about looking for the child's spoor. Then he turns back: so that he can go quickly to carry the man away from the ground which the blood has soaked; so that he can go quickly to hide the man under a large tree. Then he fetched another thing, so that they can all lie under the bushes.

(Lewis-Williams 2000: 174)

A close consideration of the history of the text does not entirely dispel this effect although it does reveal that the illusion of having direct access to a traditional /Xam story depends, to a large degree, on the disappearance of much that produced the text that appears in Lewis-Williams's collection. What is invisible, however, is not so much the past of the text as its present perfect: the layers of performance, improvisation, collection, translation and publication which have always just happened. These events are the necessary condition that enables the narrative to continue to enunciate itself. They also, though, must remain silent in order for the story to be present as a "coherent narrative". The narrative inhabits, too, a double past. On the one

hand, it is a tale of the People of the Early Race told in an imagined pre-colonial oral context of direct address and reception.³ It invites the sort of commentary that concerns its performative and formal properties; it can be described, for example, as comprising multiple consenting and dissenting voices which are interwoven with the voice of the narrator-reporter and articulate themselves in the form of direct speech: dialogues, monologues, soliloquies. At the same time, though, the narrative as we have it, is a reconstruction, representation and staging of this narrative. This fact invites an altogether different sort of commentary, one which discusses cultural and epistemological politics, for example.⁴ The challenge of this article is to consider these two aspects of the text simultaneously. A consideration of the narrative's retrospective ability to speak in the space of what I will call the precolonial imaginary⁵ is accompanied by the recognition that the text is linked inextricably (and violently?) to those forms of academic and cultural capital that apparently confer upon scholars the almost exclusive power to enunciate the story now: to reproduce, represent, interpret and reinterpret it.⁶

-
3. The people of the early race lived in a time before those who do now. They "are said to have been stupid, and not to have acted well" (Bleek & Lloyd 1911: 73). The "present-day" Bushmen (i.e. the people to whom the narrators belong) are not descended from them, according to /Han#kass'o, but from some "springbucks" that /Kaggen, the Mantis, had shot (L.VIII.4 6365').
 4. Ruth Finnegan (2007: 159) observes in this regard that "[t]he actions and preconceptions of the multiple collectors and enscribers who worked on capturing into writing the oral productions of Africa may be as important for understanding the final written product as the apparently solid product of the 'texts themselves'".
 5. I use the term "precolonial imaginary" for two reasons. Firstly, and most obviously, life in the precolonial period has to be imaginatively reconstructed to a large degree. More significant, perhaps, though, is the fact that the way in which the social system and culture of people such as the Bushmen have been represented and imagined comprises a potent ideological construct that has been central to the formation of particular forms of European identity and to the idea of modernity itself
 6. I describe this power as only apparent, for it is likely that the story is still told in some form in Afrikaans in the area from which the /Xam informants came. Ansie Hoff's work has shown that elements of /Xam belief and narrative are still capable of articulation in Afrikaans (Hoff 1998: 109-124; Hoff 2007). Versions of the narrative still circulate elsewhere in the region. Sigrid Schmidt lists three Damara versions of it in her catalogue (1989) in which it is numbered as 1618, and also a Nama version in her book *Tricksters, Monsters and Clever Girls: African Folktales, Texts and Discussions* (pp. 172-173).

In order to examine these disparate elements of the story, I will draw on the work of several scholars, each of whom has written about part of the process that I am describing in some detail but none of whom has considered the sum total of these processes.

It is, of course, not possible to speak or write about the narrative and the interventions that have been made in relation to it, without making yet another of these interventions. Nor, as I have already observed, can a commentary on a /Xam narrative altogether escape the context of domination that framed the ethnographic encounter in Cape Town between the /Xam informants and Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd. The narrators, after all, were convicts, released into Bleek's custody for the purpose of research, not voluntary informants. The independent life of their communities had come to an abrupt end on the northern frontier in the space of the few decades that preceded and followed their enforced presence in Cape Town, a fact most graphically illustrated perhaps by the rapid extinction of /Xam as a language with a community of speakers within a few decades of the recording of narratives in the /Xam language by Bleek and Lloyd. Not only this grim frontier history accompanied the gathering of the /Xam materials but also Bleek's intellectual positions, which were underpinned by ideas of linguistic, religious and cultural evolution (Moran 2009). A /Xam narrative, it is clear, arrives before the reader only as the result of an extremely complicated and contested web of histories, biographies, discourses and ideologies. The reader her-/himself is always part of this history, adding to it as soon as she/he begins to read and to analyse.

The Precolonial Story

I have already referred to the narrative that inhabits the realm of precolonial oral space. For many this still constitutes an ideal Platonic realm in which mythology exists, untainted by contingency and history. But what can we say of the real historical space of precolonial southern Africa, that space which, in the Lacanian sense of the real produces the narrative that I am discussing here but which resists representation and comprehension? What can we say of the ontological status of the narrative in this space?⁷ Clearly, it existed nowhere in concrete form, apart, that is, from the times in which it was performed, which given the small pool of storytellers and audiences and the vast corpus of stories must have been few and far between (Finnegan 2007: 129). But it did exist always as potential. It awaited performance in one of its many variations.

7. See Finnegan (2007: 77-95) for an extended discussion of this question in relation to oral literature in general.

The precolonial space of a performance of this story can be reconstructed to some extent on the basis of present-day performances and information present in the materials in the Bleek and Lloyd collection. Such a move requires both imagination and caution. We can imagine the setting on the basis of knowledge about the environment in which the /Xam lived. A visit to the area or a survey of photographs, such as those that illustrate Janette Deacon and Craig Foster's *My Heart Stands in the Hill* (2005), quickly supplies the backdrop: scrub, low hills, rounded boulders. Stories were told, according to Hewitt (2007: 33-42), by non-specialist storytellers of both sexes by day or night and to audiences that might comprise anyone in the band, men and women, young and old. A sense of the dramatic possibilities of the story can be gained by the ways in which storytellers enact animal movements among other Bushman groups today and by our knowledge of the fact that the /Xam used different ways of speaking for different species of animals (Hewitt 2008: 38-39; Hollmann 2004: 331-381). The story features three characters speaking at length as well as the movements and gestures of the lion, presented in different and dramatic ways by the narrator. //Kabbo's version of the story contains extended pieces of direct speech which would have given him considerable opportunity for characterisation.

A degree of caution is also in order, however. The Bushmen have been the objects of a great deal of imagining by others of a sort that can only be described as ideological, the product of both ideas of superiority and a complex of nostalgia that reflects European concerns, anxieties and longings rather than Bushman culture or society. As Derrida (1976) shows in his critique of Claude Lévi-Strauss's *Tristes Tropiques*, aspects of the ideology he calls the metaphysics of presence still attend ideas about hunter-gatherers and cultures without writing. One of its results, I would argue, is the location of oral narratives within the realm of the traditional and the timeless sphere of the mythological, a move which fatally undermines their status as socially and historically situated events. Even if it could be shown that this narrative had remained almost the same over a long period of precolonial time, it cannot be assumed that it produced the same kinds of meaning at different times in /Xam history or that it constituted exactly the same sort of cultural practice.

/Xam narrative, as it appears in the pages of Bleek and Lloyd's notebooks, is a fluid affair: capable of endless permutation and reconfiguring, full of cut and paste, of intertextual allusion and digression. The narrative, we can assume, existed not only in as many versions as there were tellers of it but also in the countless (both because there must have been many and because we cannot count them) performances. These were endlessly varied. Many contingencies attended oral narrative performance: the composition of the audience, the setting, the season, to mention only a few (Guenther 1996: 77-99). As often as not, pieces from different narratives were brought together

in a temporary discursive space, effectively creating a fresh narrative event. The very length of the narrative, as it appears in Lucy Lloyd's notebooks and in *Stories That Float from Afar*, probably meant that it was not always recounted in its longest possible form. There is only one version of the narrative in the collection, the one recounted by //Kabbo in 1973 to Lucy Lloyd, but another of the major /Xam informants, Dia!kwain, also knew the story from his mother and his paternal grandfather (Lewis-Williams 2000: 204). He does not contribute a new version of it himself, though. Instead he helps translate and explicate it three years after //Kabbo's narrative. We cannot tell how this narrative might have varied from one telling to another as we can to some degree with those narratives that exist in several versions in the notebooks.⁸

Roger Hewitt (2008: 55-56) is of the opinion – as was Wilhelm Bleek (1875: 14) – that the story is a legend. It is rooted in a real event but, over time, took on mythological elements. If we accept that Bleek and Hewitt are right, then we should also have to admit the entry of history into the usually ahistorical space of the precolonial imaginary in two ways. Firstly an event that is rooted in real or historical time is described in the story. Secondly the story itself can be seen to change through time, from a real event recounted first hand to a narrative set in the mythological space of the First Times.

The Story as Told by //Kabbo

With the event of //Kabbo's telling of the narrative to Lucy Lloyd in Mowbray in 1873, the story enters a different kind of history: European, colonial, South African. It operates suddenly and ambiguously in very different epistemic contexts. This also marks its extraction from the precolonial "real" and its assumption into the precolonial imaginary, a pure realm of mythology and culture that continues to resonate as an important ideological construct in both popular and scholarly thought. But let us begin by considering what might be said of the narrative as it existed during the years immediately before //Kabbo's telling it in Mowbray, the years during which he knew it but had not yet articulated it in the space in which it was recorded and captured for writing and literary history.

Lewis-Williams notes that the informants were not merely ethnographic abstractions (Lewis-Williams 2000: 40). The story is not simply an example of /Xam narrative, or more broadly, of Bushman or Khoisan narrative, but one of //Kabbo's narratives. We know who told which story and also something of a narrator's biography. This is even truer now than it was when

8. Different versions of a story can vary considerably in their emphasis and invite very different interpretations (see Wessels 2010: 195-216) although also possibly mutually consistent and reinforcing ones (pp. 217-240).

Lewis-Williams wrote his introduction, thanks chiefly to Andrew Bank's historical work and Neil Bennun's historical fiction (Bank 2006; Bennun 2005). The narrative, of course, preceded //Kabbo. It belonged to /Xam interdiscursivity. //Kabbo had heard the story from others and at least one other informant, Dia!kwain, also knew the story. Nevertheless, the information is also available which allows the narrative that we are considering here to be seen as distinctively //Kabbo's, a result of his listening as well as interpretation and performance skills. Features of his storytelling style, which already emerge from a comparison with the narrative style of the handful of other major /Xam informants who contributed to Bleek and Lloyd's project, include extensive use of dialogue (Hewitt 2008: 193-204; Guenther 1989: 28-29), a striking feature of this narrative, as even the following short extract illustrates:

The man said to the dog, "Sit down over there!"
 The child said to his mother, "I am now watching."
 His mother said to him, "You must not sleep; the day must break while you are still lying awake. You must watch the dog sitting over there. That is not a dog."
 Her son said to her, "It is a thing that walks by night. It looks at us, killing. That is the animal with which my father deceived us. It may kill us."

(Lewis Williams 2000: 183-184)

As Hewitt notes, this aspect of //Kabbo's technique allows for different perspectives and gives the characters more depth.

The life of the oldest of the informants, //Kabbo, spanned different phases of /Xam nineteenth-century history. It would be a mistake to describe these entirely as precolonial and colonial. The effects of the movement into southern Africa of Europeans from the seventeenth century had an almost immediate impact on the northern Cape since waves of people migrated northwards. /Xam encounters with Koranna bands are frequently documented in the materials, which also include references to Boers, Tswanas, Xhosas and Korannas. Nor, of course, did the seventeenth century and the advent of Europeans in the Cape mark the entry of the /Xam into history, if we identify history with that consciousness of self and group that arises from encounters with others. Migrations from further north in Africa by both Bantu-speaking and Khoi pastoralists had preceded the advent of Europeans by more than a millennium. The dog, present in the story largely as an absence (a signifier with a substitute signified), is indicative of this longer history since all dogs are descended from an animal, the wolf, that is not indigenous to sub-Saharan Africa.

It is true, nevertheless, that //Kabbo passed his childhood and young adulthood in the context of a foraging economic system and its cultural correlatives to a degree that was then rare, even in what is today the Northern Cape Province of South Africa. It is no accident that it was the

/Xam language and mythology that formed the subject of Bleek's study and not that of another group of people in the Cape Colony. By the late nineteenth century the /Xam were something of an anomaly in the area and of peculiar interest to a cultural and linguistic evolutionist who saw the disappearance of "stone-age" people as inevitable and who, therefore, wished to record as much as possible of the language and culture in the brief time before they vanished. The world of this story was still present during //Kabbo's childhood, which included direct encounters with lions (Bank 2006: 138). His detailed descriptions of the movements and characteristics of the young lion seem to be derived from first-hand experience.

Later, //Kabbo experienced the full force of the incursions of farmers, land dispossession and commando raids that resulted in the /Xam becoming either part of the labouring population of the Cape, among whom Afrikaans quickly became the lingua franca, or outlaws and renegades. He tried both options, working on a farm and leading a band of stock thieves (Bank 2006: 152). He spoke Afrikaans and went by the name of Jantje Tooren, the name by which he was known in the Bleek and Lloyd household.⁹ What, we might ask, became of the narratives that he knew at this time, including the one which is the subject of this article? Were they told on the farms and in the places that only recently, with the advent of the farmers, had become bush, the places in which outlaws and poachers hid, but which had in living memory been part of a territory that was home? If this narrative had been told, was it always narrated in /Xam or was it sometimes told in Afrikaans? Did //Kabbo himself tell it and if so, to what extent did those versions differ from the one that is being considered in this article? How was it received and understood in different settings: the bush, the farm and the prison? Did the /Xam men hold onto their stories in the Breakwater Prison, reminding one another of them and the places and people from which they had come, or was the context too alien, were the distances too painful? Were they interested in the exchange of narratives with prisoners from other areas?

When //Kabbo began working with Bleek and Lloyd in February 1871 /Xam discourse entered writing. The narrator experiences another kind of

9. It might be argued that this more "Afrikaans" or hybrid identity has been suppressed by scholars of later generations who, for reasons adumbrated by Shane Moran (2009), Hein Willemsse (2003) and others, are more interested in the "pure" Bushman inhabitants of southern Africa than in the mixed, Afrikaans-speaking population of the Cape (Moran 2009; Willemsse 2003). The /Xam also provide a unifying, precolonial symbol of South African nationhood, one which stands outside the habitual categories of black/white contestation while the coloured people highlight the racialised and violent history of settler hegemony and a cultural and ethnic hybridity that was rejected in the interests of white purity and also, more recently and less directly, by African nationalism, with its essentialised notions of an identity based on a perceived linguistic, physical and cultural commonality.

narrating context and a kind of colonial encounter different from the commando, the farm or the prison. The story was told over a period of several months to Lucy Lloyd in 1873. Why, we might ask, did //Kabbo only tell this story towards the end of his stay in Cape Town and why did he tell it to Lloyd and not Bleek? A clue might lie in Guenther's (1996: 91-92) suggestion that the narrators told different stories towards the end of their stay when they knew they were going home, those that reminded them more clearly of their former lives. //Kabbo might also have been more confident and assertive than he had been at the beginning of his sojourn in the Bleek household, more able to choose the content of his narrative performances. It might also have been the case that, by the end of //Kabbo's stay, Bleek had elicited the "mythological" materials that he was primarily interested in and //Kabbo was free to relate the materials he wanted to, especially to Lloyd.

All the /Xam materials, including this narrative, result from an ethnographic encounter, but one in which the ethnographic object enters the home and "exotic" culture of the ethnographer. In this context, the narratives might indeed be described as having floated from afar, as the title of Lewis-Williams's collection suggests. This can be understood in the sense that Lewis-Williams's title, as I understand it, proposes. Stories enter the known world from a distant and unknown one. They travel, in our case, from the precolonial hunter-gathering world of both imagination and history into the bookstores, the libraries and websites of the 21st century.¹⁰ //Kabbo himself, though, it must be remembered, uses the term to express his sense of cultural alienation and to distinguish between storytelling in an ethnographic setting and storytelling in his own place and among his own kind. He is actually talking about a social and physical proximity that is the necessary condition for a "real" storytelling exchange, which is "accompanied by well-developed indigenous methods and techniques by which their interpretations are carried out" (Barber 1991: 4). In Cape Town, isolated from his community, stories do not, in fact, float from afar.

/Xam narrative as it exists in the notebooks is a form of orality that immediately becomes writing. It spans the words of the narrator and the inscriptions in the notebook of the collectors; it is transcribed in a certain form and accompanied by notes and explanations. Translation and explanation probably interrupted the narration of this story, which is often, as we can tell from the dates, broken off at arbitrary points. While the narration might still have contained elements of performance,¹¹ it also involved dictation, a kind of second-hand writing. Does //Kabbo become a writer as well as a performer

10. The entire Bleek and Lloyd collection is available online at <http://lloydbleekcollection.cs.uct.ac.za/data/menu.html>.

11. Both Bank (2006: 157, 168, 364-365) and Lewis-Williams (2000: 31-32) point out that the storytelling sessions in the Bleek household often contained performative elements and included a small audience.

in the process? This question is complicated. Its consideration involves not only the recording of oral literature but also the relationship between speech and writing and between written and oral composition in general. It is a safe assumption, I think, however, that a skilled narrator like //Kabbo would have adapted his stories and his storytelling technique to a new audience and a new medium. While various commentators have seen this as involving a loss of the authentic participatory performance context in particular, it is possible that some of his skills at least were refined and developed through the daily practice of narration in the Bleek and Lloyd household. It is also possible that he extended this narrative in a way that a single storytelling event to an audience would not have allowed. He might even have found Lucy Lloyd an especially attentive and receptive audience and adapted the narrative accordingly. We don't know, of course. But I would suggest that the assumption that the story is necessarily a lesser thing in all ways in the context of the Mowbray sessions than it would have been in a traditional setting cannot be reasonably sustained. It is true that the performance context, with its opportunities for audience participation, dramatic enactment and so on, is largely lost. But at the same time a new cultural form emerges, one whose possibilities remain open.

The narratives generally appear on alternate pages of the notebooks, the right-hand pages. Each of these pages is divided into two columns. In the right-hand column the narrated /Xam text appears, while next to it we find either the English translation or a blank space, signalling untranslated text. The alternate pages are sometimes left blank and sometimes contain notes on the text, mostly supplied by the informants, or even fresh narratives that illuminate the main narrative in some way. When //Kabbo left Mowbray, the right-hand column was filled with his narrative in /Xam, part of the corpus of the first written /Xam texts, and the alternate pages were blank or contained his comments. The left-hand columns were still blank, awaiting translation. The text, it might be said, was in these years, 1873 through to 1876, to all intents and purposes, only a possibility, for besides Bleek and Lloyd there were no readers of /Xam. But we might also reflect on the possibility that, at the same time as the inscribed version of the story remained untranslated in Lloyd's notebooks, the story in one version or another might have been told in various forms and languages in different settings, by farmworkers, prisoners and outlaws, yielding interpretations at which we cannot even guess.

In 1876 Lloyd and Dia!kwain began translating the narrative. If translation is an act of textual production, then we might say that they are also authors of the text. They did not complete the task, though. Large sections have never been translated. Lewis-Williams surmises that these sections contain repetitions and are not crucial to the integrity of the text since "the tensions of the story are unimpaired" without them (2000: 174). He is probably right. But we don't really know. This uncertainty is not, incidentally, an unavoid-

able state of affairs. Linguists are working on new and complete translations of the Bleek and Lloyd notebooks.

Publication and Commentary

The next period in the history of the text and its layering is that of its reproduction in printed form. A point to consider is that it had not been published before it appeared in David Lewis-Williams's selection despite its obvious literary qualities. Lloyd excluded it from the first selection from the notebooks, *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, published in 1911. We can only conjecture about her reasons. It would not easily have fitted the categories into which she ordered the chosen materials in the book. More practically, the story, running as it does to 460 pages in the notebooks, would not have fitted into *Specimens*. Its length would also have excluded it from Dorothea Bleek's collection of /Xam stories, *The Mantis and His Friends*, which appeared in print in 1923. But even if it had been of the appropriate length, and Dorothea was quite capable of making it conform (cutting "needless repetition"), it does not feature /Kaggen the Mantis, the criteria for the selection of the materials in her book (Bleek, D. 1923: introduction). Dorothea also excluded the narrative from the materials from the notebooks that she reproduced in the journal, *Bantu Studies*, in the 1930s. We might guess once again that the text was too long. Nor does it appear to illustrate /Xam customs and beliefs, although Lewis-Williams, as we shall see, categorised it as belonging to /Xam belief, the common strand in the *Bantu Studies* pieces. Length would have definitely excluded the narrative from the next selection of new materials from the notebooks, Mathias Guenther's *Bushman Folktales* published in 1989, which consists of extract-length pieces. Guenther also ordered the materials in *Bushman Folktales* according to categories such as trickster tales, creations myths, and so on. Once again this tale would not easily have fitted his classifications.

The story had to wait until 2000 and Lewis-Williams's book in order to attain the status of a published text. Nevertheless, its publication can be understood as part of a process of engagement with the /Xam collection that began in the 1970s and was continued in the 1980s and 1990s in the form of research by Hewitt, Lewis-Williams and Guenther and the use of the materials by poets and other writers. This scholarship forms a new kind of history in relation to the archive that intersects with those I have already described in this article. When Lewis-Williams's selection appeared, it was inevitable that scholars would have brought to their reading of materials presented in the book, the impact on them of a short but significant history of interpretation and presentation of the materials. They would have read Hewitt's structuralist and functionalist discussion of the Bleek and Lloyd

archive and Guenther's comparative treatment in *Bushman Folktales* and his later linking of the materials, those pertaining to /Kaggen, in particular, with a foraging ideology, expressed in myth and religion, that was predicated on the absence of power (Hewitt [1986] 2008; Guenther 1989, 1999). Bleek's (1875: 14) and Hewitt's (2008: 55-56) identification of this particular story as a legend would have had to be taken into consideration when reading it although Hollmann's (2004: 34) competing reading of it as a story of origin would not yet have required consideration. Scholars would also have read Lewis-Williams's articulation of Bushman rock art with shamanic experience (1981; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989) and also his attempts (1996, 1998) to do the same with narrative.

Stories That Float from Afar, though, was not intended primarily for scholars. It aimed to present the /Xam materials to the general reader in something like their original form but with some of the difficulties of syntax and vocabulary removed. This reader, we can assume, might have read Watson's versions in poetry, which appeared in 1991, but would have been most unlikely to have read the more scholarly materials I have just referred to. Such a reader's response to the text would be mediated in all likelihood primarily by Lewis-Williams's lengthy introduction to his selection from the notebooks and his presentation of the pieces in the book.

Myth, Ritual and Belief

When the story of "The First /Xam Man Brings Home a Young Lion" was published, it did more than appear in print for the benefit of the public for the first time; it began to exist in new ways. It could be read in different ways by many more people than before, silently or aloud, for pleasure, information or analysis; it could also be reproduced, quoted, curricularised and translated into different languages. It might provide the material or the inspiration for dramatic, musical or artistic compositions.

The book is divided into two main sections: "Daily Life in /Xam-Ka !au" and "Myth, Ritual and Belief". "The First /Xam Man Brings Home a Young Lion" appears in the second section. These sections are further divided into seven categories. The story is classified as an animal tale. Lewis-Williams does not supply a direct analysis of the narrative but simply observes that much of it is untranslated in the notebooks. The heading "Myth, Ritual and Belief", does, though, link the story to his discussion of the trance dance and spirituality in the introduction and, for scholars familiar with the field, to his earlier interpretations of /Xam narratives (Lewis-Williams 2000: 6-8; 1996, 1998). Although he notes that his division of the stories into two main categories does not reflect a /Xam division, he observes at the same time that the spiritual can never be separated from the prosaic in /Xam discourse, intimating that these stories have a more magical or spiritual content than

might meet the eye (Lewis-Williams 2000: 40). These comments and the category under which the story is placed prompts, I would argue, an interpreter of the narrative, as it appears in Lewis-Williams's book, to consider how it could be read in terms of categories such as myth, belief and ritual.

As Hewitt (2008: 55) notes in his brief discussion of the narrative, it is presented in a naturalistic mode. There are no animal-people or magical transformations, for example, a feature of the myths that Lewis-Williams discusses in some of his other writing and also of all but one of the other animal tales he puts in the same section as this narrative (see Lewis-Williams 2000: vi). Hewitt (2008: 55-56) identifies the story as legend, following Lucy Lloyd in his deployment of the category, something which actually happened but which has assumed fictional elements in the retelling.¹² He notes that there are very few pieces that fit this description in the notebooks. Most of the other "legends" involve conflict between the Koranna and the /Xam. One might ask, however, if many of the events that occur are all that likely to have happened. Would a mother, for example, really have sent her son out to witness his father's death? Would the boy have managed to outwit the lion and escape? And so on. But of course these are probably the wrong questions to ask of any literary discourse, even realism, which is not a simple reflection of something outside itself. Instead we might ask how particular rhetorical effects are achieved in the narrative (see Brown 1998: 20). What kinds of questions are interrogated in it and what sorts of interpretation does it invite? An undoubted feature of this text, one that separates it from many of the /Xam narratives, is that it does not rely on supernatural elements to achieve these effects or ask these questions. Once again, however, we should note that these distinctions would not necessarily have resonated in the same way for a hypothetical /Xam audience. Hewitt points out in relation to beliefs about the wind that erased a dead person's footprints that "there is no textual evidence to suggest that the /Xam regarded this force as supernatural or magical" (Hewitt 2008: 29). We might extend this insight to the treatment of /Xam narrative in general. Just as the identification of supernatural elements in a narrative in the first place is probably, in large part, a product of external interpretation, so, it follows, is the detection of their absence.

While Hewitt regards the story as fictionalised history, legend, and demotes the significance of the man and the lion's appellation as the first man and first lion respectively to a matter of stylistic convention, Jeremy Hollmann (2004) magnifies the importance of the location of the story in the time of the people of the Early Race by reading it as the account of the

12. Hewitt (2007: 164) observes that his borrowing of these categories can be seen as having limited his analysis in retrospect. The narratives that Lucy Lloyd places under this category in *Specimens of Bushman Folklore* are much less prosaic and historical than the pieces that Hewitt discusses in terms of the category "legend", however.

origins of the enmity between humans and lions. By reading the story as etiological he is also tacitly reading it as a founding or charter myth. His comments accord with Lewis-Williams's categorisation of the story while Hewitt's do not.

Shamanism and Social Contradictions

The two /Xam narratives for which Lewis-Williams offers detailed interpretations are both described as myths. Both stories feature /Kaggen, whom he regards as a trickster-deity (Lewis-Williams 2000: 8). He discusses the plots of both narratives in structuralist terms, following Lévi-Strauss (1955: 428-444) in emphasising the ways in which contradictions between affinal and blood relations are symbolically resolved. In both cases, though, he considers this level of interpretation to exist at the literal, horizontal level of analysis. Open to the outside interpreter and also perhaps to a small group of /Xam people, the shamans, among whose ranks Lewis-Williams (2000: 16-17) places //Kabbo, the narrator of "The First /Xam Man Brings Home a Lion Cub", is a vertical axis of meaning which describes shamanic experience and practice.

The question arises as to whether or not Lewis-Williams could use a similar approach to hermeneutics in this narrative. This question is hypothetical, of course. He gives no indication as to whether or not he suspects that the story might include a vertical axis of meaning. As I've mentioned, his categorisation of the story as myth, belief or ritual indicates that the story might be considered in this way but that his choice of the subcategory, animal tales, somewhat qualifies this impression.

The narrative displays the ternary structure that Lewis-Williams discerns in /Xam mythology more generally and which characterises the methodology by which he reads /Xam narrative (1996). There is the order of the camp, the crisis of importing the wild into it that is played out most graphically on the hunting ground and a resolution, achieved by the man's death and the little family's absorption into the husband's family and their relocation to a place outside the territory of the lions. The narrative also contains the kinds of social contradiction that Lévi-Strauss (1955) explores and which Lewis-Williams also discusses in his other work on /Xam narrative. A tension between affinal and blood relations is present in the man's contention that the woman should accept the identity of the "dog" because the animal was given to the man by his brother. This could be read as an argument from the primacy and authority of blood relations. Her refusal to agree to his statements about the animal is presented as disrespect for blood ties by the man and not, as she would wish it, as a genuine concern for their safety. By the end of the narrative, however, the woman's position is vindicated and she assumes a place in her affinal family that is,

of course, no longer available to the dead man. The spilling of the man's blood, in a sense, enables the woman to bridge the contradiction between blood and affinal status. The other contradiction that would immediately attract the attention of a structuralist analysis is, of course, that between nature and culture. While a hunting dog represents a reconciliation of nature and culture, a lion cannot be a substitute sign for "dog." Instead it figures the violent irreconcilability of the wild and the domestic. As Hewitt (2008: 146-147) points out, conflict in the narratives frequently occurs in the unruly space of the hunting ground, away from the social and predictable space of the camp. The man in the story wilfully (or ignorantly) imports the disorderly world of the wilderness into the camp; it is only the appropriate domestication of nature in the form of the campfire that enables the family to survive the incursion. The woman's success in protecting the domestic space also means that the man's violent end will occur in the wilderness. Even then, though, the man's death has to be turned into discourse in the form of the boy's witness and testimony before the people can respond appropriately to it.

What of the vertical axis? Lewis-Williams claims that this point is signalled in a myth by the presence of inexplicable elements in the story (1996: 128). The story does not obviously contain such elements, but one could if one wished, ask questions of the narrative that the surface of the story does not readily answer. Why, for example, is it always gemsbok that the man and the lion hunt? And then, of course, the significant question remains: why does the man insist on substituting a lion for a dog in the first place? To even begin to answer this question entails a consideration of the ways in which lions signify in /Xam discourse. Such an enterprise is well beyond the task of this article. I will, however, offer a few observations. Hollmann (2004: 33-36) notes in his introduction to a selection of lion materials from the notebooks, first published by Dorothea Bleek in the journal *Bantu Studies* in the 1930s, that the /Xam saw lions as possessing "extraordinary abilities". They are comparable to humans in many ways. Both hunt, live in groups, consume their prey away from where they kill it. In addition, both lions and human sorcerers are nocturnal.¹³ According to Lewis-Williams, lions are inevitably linked in some way to trance experience and to transformations of various kinds. Pippa Skotnes (1996: 239) has argued, though, in relation to Lewis-Williams's interpretation of Bushman rock art, that a signifier such as "lion" might have multiple significations: "Lions, often interpreted within the framework of the trance hypothesis as transformed malevolent shamans, when depicted in the paintings may thus quite reasonably be interpreted as lions behaving as lions, as benevolent or

13. The /Xam term *!gi:ten* is generally translated as sorcerer or shaman. Whereas this figure is central to Lewis-Williams's interpretation of /Xam mythology, Anne Solomon (2007, 2008, 2009) argues that the term more often refers to spirits of the dead than to living practitioners.

as malevolent transformed shamans, as wild cats wreaking vengeance on hunters who kill them (L VIII-23 8080-8083) or, as the following story suggests, lions behaving as men”.

The lion in this story fails to transform itself into anything other than what it is. It is only transformed through the man’s insistence that it is a dog. This doesn’t preclude symbolic readings, of course. The story could, for example, be read as an allegory of the dangers that attend the attempt to draw on superior (shamanic) powers by someone who is not suited to do so. It is also possible to favour a literal or metaphorical interpretation while also accepting the possibility of another reading being held in suspension for the duration of the story. Even though, by the end of the performance, this different reading might be rejected it is, until then, a presence and a possibility. Interpretation in relation to the /Xam materials is never only a question of interpreting a discrete story. The narratives exist as part of an archive and, therefore, as part of a network of signification. While it seems reasonable to me to identify the lions in this narrative as “lions behaving as lions” rather than as “malevolent transformed shamans”, a participant in a performance of the story (or indeed a reader who is familiar with the Bleek-Lloyd collection) would not have been able to elude the multiple significations of “lion”, significations that would have enhanced the multivocal properties of the narrative. What we might call a supernatural interpretation of the sign “lion” in the story would never have been entirely foreclosed.

A Story of the First Times

The decisions an editor makes, his/her resolutions of what Lewis-Williams (2000: 41) refers to as the “dilemmas of editing”, necessarily have an impact on the way a story is read. I noted at the beginning of this piece that Lewis-Williams’s editing of the materials as they appear in the English translations in the notebooks is relatively light. Most of the changes he makes are to the punctuation and the word order. He also introduces paragraphs, a move that takes the text further into the domain of “writing”. But he has, he states, “resisted the very real temptation to arrange the often poignant narratives as verse ... versification comes close to prettification, and the starkness of the narrators’ dictated text, in its very proseness, better conveys the tragedy that permeates the whole collection”. Despite his light editorial touch, Lewis-Williams’s rewriting could have far-reaching consequences for an interpreter of the stories. I will illustrate this point briefly by referring only to the title of the piece and to its opening lines. Lewis-Williams calls the story “The First /Xam Man Brings Home a Young Lion”, Lucy Lloyd calls it “The Story of a!Khwe // na ssho !kui Who Brought Home a Young Lion to Use As a Dog”. Lucy Lloyd seems to have changed the title from “The Story of!Khwe // na ssho !kui Who Brought

Home a Young Lion to Use As a Dog” to “The Story of a !Khwe // na ssho !kui Who Brought Home a Young Lion to Use As a Dog” at some point after she had first transcribed the story, when she realised that the term !Khwe // na ssho !kui referred to the first people in general rather than to a single person. Lewis-Williams still uses !Khwe // na ssho !kui as the man’s name, reinforcing an interpretation that views the man as the first man rather than as one of the first men.

Another potentially important consequence for interpretation arises from Lewis-Williams’s description of the man as the first /Xam man rather than the first Bushman in the first line of the story. Lewis-Williams’s version reads: “The First /Xam man, !Khwe // na ssho !kui, was the one who went and spotted the lion’s children. He lifted up in his arms the first little lion. He held it in his arms and brought it to his house. He came and put it down” (Lewis-Williams 2000: 174). Lucy Lloyd’s translation of these lines reads: “The first Bushman was the one who perceived the lion’s children; he lifted up in his arms the first lion. He held it in his arms; he brought it, to his home; he came and set it down” (L.II.26: 2320-2321). The First Bushmen, a reading of the notebooks indicates, are the People of the Early Race who lived during a formative time which preceded the way things are now. They are often ignorant of the most basic facts of life. This is especially true of the adult males among them. One of these men, for instance, thinks that his pregnant wife has been eating more than her fair share of food (L.VI.2: 4064-4070). Interestingly, though, in some accounts, these people are said not to be the ancestors of the present-day /Xam who are said to be descended from springbok rather from the People of the Early Race (L.VIII.4: 6365’). This possible disjunction between the /Xam and the People of the Early Race introduces a degree of ambivalence and uncertainty into a reading of the story that plays differently according to whether the man is identified as a /Xam man or as a man of the early race. The shift in likely readings of the story that the change from first /Xam man to first Bushman signifies provides another illustration of the instability of narratives in which even apparently small changes can have major consequences.

Conclusions

The /Xam materials bring together, unequally and in impossibly intricate ways, two genealogies, a /Xam and a European one. A reading of the narrative that has been discussed in this article carries with it the pull of this Foucauldian archaeology. It involves navigating between the hermeneutics of a range of disciplines – folklore, mythography, literary studies, anthropology, rock art studies, Khoisan studies – that span different colonial and postcolonial epistemes. The reading of the narrative also has to take into account a “real” that lies beyond interpretation, a twin legacy of the

discursive nature of the text and also of its predication with an elusive set of precolonial contexts and performance spaces. This irretrievable Lacanian “real” interacts with the hybrid space of colonial and postcolonial discourse in ways that are impossible to satisfactorily delineate. To this might be added the open-ended project of criticism, its tentative reaching out to new possibilities of thought. How, then, does one turn to the text as a new reader, conscious of the freight of this archaeology, its limitations and its myriad invitations, cognisant of possible /Xam interpretations but also as the responsible agent of something new: the contemporary interests and concerns of cultural and literary theory and of cultural and literary life, as it concerns southern Africa, in particular? And how, finally, does one take into account the likelihood that the text will once again be reclaimed, transformed into performance art and circulated in new ways, inviting different aesthetic and political responses from audiences whose class, cultural and identity profiles we can only speculate about?

References

- Bank, Andrew
 2006 *Bushmen in a Victorian World: The Remarkable Story of the Bleek-Lloyd Collection of Bushman Folklore*. Cape Town: Double Storey.
- Barber, Karin
 1999 Poetry, Obscurity and Exegesis in African Oral Praise Poetry. In: Brown, Duncan (ed.) *Oral Literature and Performance in Southern Africa*. Oxford: James Currey, pp. 27-49.
- Bennun, Neil
 2005 *The Broken String: The Last Words of an Extinct People*. London: Penguin.
- Bleek, Dorothea
 1923 *The Mantis and His Friends: Bushman Folklore from Material Collected by the Late Dr. W.H.I. Bleek and the Late Dr. Lucy C. Lloyd*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller.
- Bleek, Wilhelm
 1875 *A Brief Account of Bushman and Other Texts*. Cape Town: Juta.
- Bleek, Wilhelm & Lloyd, Lucy
 1911 *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*. London: George Allen.
- Brown, Duncan
 1998 *Voicing the Text: South African Oral Poetry and Performance*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Chidhester, David
 1996 *Savage Systems: Colonialism and Comparative Religion in Southern Africa*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.
- Deacon, Janette & Foster, Craig
 2005 *My Heart Stands in the Hill*. Cape Town: Struik

- Derrida, Jacques
 1976 *Of Grammatology*, translated by G.C. Spivak. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Digital Bleek and Lloyd*
 2011 Online: <<http://lloydbleekcollection.cs.uct.ac.za/>>. 29 Nov. 2011
- Finnegan, Ruth
 2007 *The Oral and Beyond: Doing Things with Words in Africa*. Oxford: James Currey.
- Foucault, Michel
 1970 *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. London: Tavistock.
 1972 *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. New York: Tavistock.
 1980 *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings*. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Guenther, Mathias
 1989 *Bushman Folktales: Oral Traditions of the Nharo of Botswana and the /Xam of the Cape*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.
 1996 Attempting to Contextualise /Xam Oral Tradition. In: Deacon, Janette & Dowson, Thomas (eds) *Voices from the Past: /Xam Bushmen and the Bleek and Lloyd Collection*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, pp. 77-79.
 1999 *Tricksters and Trancers: Bushman Religion and Society*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Hewitt, Roger
 [1986]2008 *Structure, Meaning and Ritual in the Narratives of the Southern San*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.
 2007 Reflections on Narrative. In: *Claim to the Country: The Archive of Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd*, edited by Pippa Skotnes. Johannesburg: Jacana, pp.161-167.
 2008 *Structure, Meaning and Ritual in the Narratives of the Southern San*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Hoff, Ansie
 1998 The Water Bull of the /Xam. *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 53: 109-124.
 2007 *Medicine Experts and the |Am San: The !Kwa-ka!gi:ten Who Controlled the Rain and Water*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.
- Hollmann, Jeremy (ed.)
 2004 *Customs and Beliefs of the /Xam Bushmen*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude
 1955 The Structural Study of Myth. *The Journal of American Folklore* 68: 428-444.
- Lewis-Williams, David
 1981 *Believing and Seeing: Symbolic Meanings in Southern San Rock Paintings*. London: Academic Press.
 1996 A Visit to the Lion's House: The Structures, Metaphors and Sociopolitical Significance of a Nineteenth-Century Bushman Myth. In: Deacon, Janette & Dowson, Thomas (eds) *Voices from the Past*:

- /Xam Bushmen and the Bleek and Lloyd Collection*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, pp. 122-141.
- 1998 The Mantis, the Eland and the Meerkats: Conflict and Mediation in a Nineteenth-Century San Myth. *African Studies* 26: 195-216.
- 2000 *Stories That Float from Afar: Ancestral Folklore of the San of Southern Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Lewis-Williams, David & Dowson, Thomas
- 1989 *Images of Power: Understanding Bushman Rock Art*. Johannesburg: Southern Books.
- Moran, Shane
- 2009 *Representing Bushmen: South Africa and the Origin of Language*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press.
- Schmidt, Sigrid
- 1989 *Catalogue of the Khoisan Folktales of Southern Africa*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.
- 2001 *Tricksters, Monsters and Clever Girls: African Folktales, Texts and Discussions*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.
- Skotnes, Pippa
- 1996 The Thin Black Line: Diversity in the Paintings of the Southern San and the Bleek and Lloyd Collection. In: Deacon, Janette & Dowson, Thomas (eds) Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, pp. 234-244.
- Solomon, Anne
- 2007 Images, Words and Worlds: The /Xam Testimonies and the Rock Arts of the Southern San. In: Skotnes, Pippa *Claim to the Country: The Archive of Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd*. Johannesburg: Jacana, pp. 149-159.
- Solomon, Anne
- 2008 Myths, Making, and Consciousness: Differences and Dynamics in San Rock Arts. *Current Anthropology* 49(1): 59-86.
- 2009 Broken Strings: Interdisciplinarity and /Xam Oral Literature. *Critical Arts* 23(1): 26-41.
- Watson, Stephen
- 1991 *Return of the Moon: Versions from the /Xam*. Cape Town: Carrefour.
- Wessels, Michael
- 2010 *Bushman Letters*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- 2011 The Story of!Khwe // na ssho !kui Who Brought Home a Young Lion to Use As a Dog: Character, Identity and Knowledge in a /Xam Narrative. *Folklore* 122(2): 177-196.
- Willemse, Hein
- 2003 Textual Production and Contested Histories in a Performance of the Namibian Storyteller Dawid Platjies. *Research in African Literatures* 34(3): 27-45.

Michael Wessels
wesselsm@ukzn.ac.za
University of KwaZulu-Natal