

Copyright © 2009 Shane Moran

*All rights reserved.* Except as permitted under current legislation, no part of this work may be photocopied, stored in a retrieval system, published, performed in public, adapted, broadcast, transmitted, recorded, or reproduced in any form or by any means, without the prior permission of the copyright owner.

First published 2009

University of Rochester Press  
668 Mt. Hope Avenue, Rochester, NY 14620, USA  
www.urpress.com  
and Boydell & Brewer Limited  
PO Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 3DF, UK  
www.boydellandbrewer.com

ISBN-13: 978-1-58046-294-5

ISSN: 1092-5228

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Moran, Shane.

Representing Bushmen : South Africa and the origin of language / Shane Moran.  
p. cm. — (Rochester studies in African history and the diaspora,

ISSN 1092-5228 ; v. 38)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-58046-294-5 (hardcover : alk. paper) 1. San (African people)

2. Apartheid. 3. Language and languages—Origin. 4. Racism in language. I. Title.

DT1768.S36.M67 2009

305.896'1068—dc22

2008044593

A catalogue record for this title is available from the British Library.

This publication is printed on acid-free paper.

Printed in the United States of America.

# Contents

List of Illustrations	viii
Preface and Acknowledgments	ix
Note to the Reader	x
1 Introduction: Unity in Diversity	1
2 Colonial Intellectual	19
3 On the Origin	31
4 Human/Animal	48
5 Writing Bushmen	67
6 Language and Blood	80
7 Colonial Family Crypt	96
8 Bushman Literature	114
9 Conclusion: Presentiment	128
Notes	149
Bibliography	187
Index	207

# 1

## Introduction: Unity in Diversity

*!ke e: /xarra //ke*

Imagine a burning hotel. Of the one hundred people inside, the stranded delegates from a conference on the representation of indigenous peoples, it is only possible to save fifty. There happens to be just that number of South African San or Bushman guests trapped in the flames. Despite the commitment to a universal principle rejecting any appeal to race as arbitrary, is it not reasonable to save them before the other guests because of the obligation to preserve threatened cultures? Doesn't a sense of the injustices of history, and the spirit of the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, demand the preservation of the most threatened?

In his *Racist Culture*, David Theo Goldberg employs a version of this grisly parable to demonstrate the relevance of nonbiological or culturalist racial distinctions.<sup>1</sup> In this nonbiological interpretation, race stands for historically specific forms of cultural connectedness and solidarity. Hereditary here involves cultural practices and self-identification. The assumption is that if the culture, defined in terms of language and practices, vanishes then the people or race are extinct too, and vice versa. This is one of the more recent forms given to the scandalous thought-experiment proposed by William Godwin in *Political Justice* (1793) designed to underline the importance of social utility; confronted with a burning building containing a progressive thinker (Fénelon) and his valet, justice demands that he who is more conducive to the general good shall be saved.<sup>2</sup> Our modern version injects race and culture into this scenario, whereas those objecting to Godwin's coldness sought to introduce the importance of family ties (blood?) and affection (culture?).

Taking issue with Goldberg, Walter Benn Michaels uses the example of the San to argue that although we no longer identify race with the biological or conflate race and culture, culture is still tied to a biological anchor.<sup>3</sup> Discrimination, even the virtuous kind, requires identifying race and culture to the extent that persons embody culture. The analogy between cultures and persons leads to a misunderstanding about the nature of culture for, if culture is simply what people do rather than who they are, then it doesn't matter if the San all move to the suburbs and start hanging out in malls. San

culture will have died even though there's been no loss of San. To identify culture with *who* a group is is to slide into using culture as race, and the fact that we so readily think of culture in these terms means that we continue the racial thinking we congratulate ourselves on having abandoned. What is being preserved under the melancholic cover of vanishing cultures, and the confusion of culture with its bearers, is nothing other than a fetishization of phenotype and descent. You can't have a culture without living people, but to identify culture with people is to move in the ambit of racial thinking. Nostalgia for race is an inheritance that will remember us if we do not remember it.

Whatever the merits of this debate within the context of the United Nation's International Decade of the World's indigenous Peoples, it does illustrate the importance of the San to the question of origins, culture, and race. Hence the Bushmen of South Africa feature in Lévi-Strauss's exploration of the savage mind, in Mary Louise Pratt's discussion of othering, are invoked by Patrick Brantlinger to support the argument for the place of mourning in nationalist celebration, and they feature in George Stocking's conclusion to his study of Victorian anthropology as evidence of the continuities surrounding the notion of the primitive.<sup>4</sup> In response to criticism of the colonization of the academy by stealthy Marxists, the Bushmen have been invoked as the exemplary threatened minority.<sup>5</sup> We can reach further into this textual reserve to include Herbert Spencer's *Descriptive Sociology, or Groups of Sociological Facts: African Races* (1875), Leo Frobenius's *The Childhood of Man* (1909), and W. E. B. Du Bois's *The Negro* (1915). The light thrown by the example of the Bushmen could not be closer to home for Andrew Lang who, in 1886, argued that the history of religion and of mythology is to be unraveled via examination of "what the unprogressive classes in Europe have in common with Australians, and Bushmen, and Andaman Islanders."<sup>6</sup> Georgy Plekhanov's 1899 discussion of aesthetic creativity invokes the Bushmen as evidence of "primitive communistic instincts": their cave paintings show their genius as artists, particularly "as all the Bushmen's dark-skinned neighbours are very poor artists."<sup>7</sup>

In the context of the achievement of the South African national liberation struggle it is appropriate to recall that the Bushmen have been a presence in the debate around the right to national self-determination. Responding to Bukharin at the eighth congress of the Russian Communist Party, Lenin defended the rights of minorities by noting that "[t]here are no Bushmen in Russia, nor have I heard that the Hottentots have laid claim to an autonomous republic."<sup>8</sup> Lenin declared: "[a]ll nations have the right to self-determination—there is no need to speak specially of the Hottentots and the Bushmen."<sup>9</sup> Subsequently Soviet, and particularly Stalin's, thinking on the national question had an impact on South Africa in the form of the Communist Party of South

Africa's 1928 adoption of the "black republic" resolution that put the achievement of national liberation before the move to socialism.<sup>10</sup> The "two-stage" theory still forms part of the background of political debate on the left here.

If it hardly seems possible to think of South Africa without the historically sedimented figuration of the Bushmen, it is also significant that they feature in debates about the past and the future of humanity. We are within the shadow cast by F. W. J. Schelling's observation in his Berlin lectures of 1842 regarding those tribes lacking any representation of the gods: "A people whose language was so richly articulated and sufficiently flexible to designate scientific concepts with thoroughly particular terms will not have expressed itself through mere clicking sounds, like the African bushmen."<sup>11</sup> From Freud's claim that "[s]avages—Australians, Bushmen, Tierra del Fuegians" retain "a vein of ethical sensitiveness which has been lost by us civilised men," to Fanon's confession that "Bushmen and Zulu's arouse even more laughter among the young Antillians," representing Bushmen plays a pivotal part in debates about humanity.<sup>12</sup> It is a representation that is intertwined with the inquiry into the origin of language. Who, then, are the Bushmen?

## I

Think of the Bushmen. Think of the two men and the two women who have been exhibited about London for two years. Are the majority of persons—who remember the horrid little leader of that party in his festering bundle of hides, with his filth and his antipathy to water, and his straddled legs, and his odious eyes shaded by his brutal hand, and his cry of "Qu-u-u-aaa!" (Bosjesman for something desperately insulting I have no doubt)—conscious of an affectionate yearning towards that noble savage, or is it idiosyncratic in me to abhor, detest, abominate, and abjure him?

Charles Dickens, "The Noble Savage"

The Bushmen, who thrived before the advent of European settlers (from 1652) and the encroachment on their hunting fields by African tribes (from about 500 AD), have the status of South African indigenes. Before the arrival of Europeans there were thought to be some 150,000 to 300,000 Bushmen hunter-gatherers living throughout southern Africa. The Bushmen were called "Twa" by the Xhosa, "Baroa" by the Sotho, and "San (Saan)" by the Khoikhoi, Khoekhoen, or Hottentot herders. Alternative

names are /Kham-Ka-!k'e, /Kamka!e, /Xam-Ka-!k'e. This nomenclature is often unstable and contested, and the term Bushmen has a pejorative connotation ("Bossiesmans," "Bosjesaman"). Paintings and engravings have been dated back to 10,000 years ago, and it is now claimed (the out of Africa or exodus theory) that the Bushmen ancestors of some 100,000 years ago are the ancestors of all modern humans. And these in turn are our link to the original colonizers who about 1.5 million years ago moved out from the Eden stretching from Ethiopia to the Cape, and began the first great colonization of Africa.<sup>13</sup>

In 1911 historian George McCall Theal described the Bushmen as

one of the most interesting savage races of the earth, a race that there is good reason to believe once extended not only over Africa, but over a large part of Europe, over South-Eastern Asia . . . and possibly over a much greater portion of the world's surface, a race that had made little, if any advance since the far distant days when members of it shot their arrows at reindeer in France, and carved the figures of mammoths and other now extinct animals on tusks of ivory in the same fair land.<sup>14</sup>

Representing Bushmen is part of the origins of South African historiography.<sup>15</sup> Subject to competition by Nguni speakers and colonial settlers, a bitter war of extermination was waged against a people whose nomadic lifestyle was seen a threat to conventional modes of agriculture and stock rearing. As Marx wrote in the mid-1850s, we are concerned here with "pastoral peoples (mere hunting and fishing peoples [that] lie outside the point where real development begins)."<sup>16</sup> According to Harriet Martineau, one of the sources for Marx's reflections:

The Bushmen were the original possessors of much of the country about the Cape, which the British and the Dutch have since taken for their own. The natives were hunted down like so many wild beasts. This usage naturally made them fierce and active in their revenge.<sup>17</sup>

During the eighteenth century expansion of Dutch settlers at the Cape, armed *trekboers* fought the Bushmen for water and grazing. The end of the rule of the Dutch East India Company in 1795 and the assumption of power by the British in 1806 saw commandos being replaced by a policy of "pacification." In the words of a government proclamation of 1798, "the reclamation of these Boshiesmen from their present savage and deplorable state, is not only of the greatest importance to this colony, but highly interesting to humanity."<sup>18</sup>

By 1862 magistrate Louis Anthing could report to the governor of the Cape Colony that indigenous peoples were being subjected "to a wholesale system

of extermination” at the hands of farmers.<sup>19</sup> David Livingstone captured this process with brevity when, following an appeal to the book of Genesis and contrasting a pastoral and an agricultural race, he pointed out that viewed in the light of “the Divine and primitive charter, the rights of a civilized community, willing to till the soil, are superior to those savages who derive their precarious subsistence from roots and wild beasts.”<sup>20</sup> Those Bushmen who survived were to be incorporated into a laboring class, and by the early 1870s their communities were impoverished and depleted. Their fate was to be tied to global forces, as the last words of Engels’s supplement to volume three of Marx’s *Capital* testify:

Then colonisation. Today this is a pure appendage of the stock exchange, in whose interest the European powers divided up Africa a few years ago. . . . Africa directly leased out to companies (Niger, South Africa, German South-West and East Africa), and Mashonaland and Natal taken possession of for the stock exchange by Rhodes.<sup>21</sup>

The disappearance of the Bushmen has evoked a range of emotions. In 1853, reviewing an exhibition of Zulus in London, Dickens recalled a similar exhibition of Bushmen in 1847. Concerned to indict the attention given to Noble Savages at the expense of London’s poor, Dickens confessed to being driven to abandon reserve on the subject. Although extremely ugly, the Zulus compare favorably with the Bushmen and yet “the world will be all the better when his place knows him no more.”<sup>22</sup> In contrast, Olive Schreiner’s 1883 *The Story of an African Farm* describes two children, in the year of the great drought of 1862, sitting in the shade discussing diamonds: “They sat under a sheltering rock, on the surface of which were still visible some old Bushman-paintings . . . such as no man ever has seen or ever shall.”<sup>23</sup> By the end of the nineteenth century the Bushmen were undergoing a process of idealization, and George W. Stow could eulogize:

Little is now known of the final struggle of the clans that once occupied the present Cape Colony. The actors therein have with few exceptions passed away, and the only remembrance preserved is that in every instance they maintained the hopeless conflict with an unconquerable spirit, fighting “without conscience” to the very last against the men who had predetermined to destroy them utterly.<sup>24</sup>

This pattern reappears in Noël Mostert’s monumental *Frontiers*; credited with “the richest of all mythologies of the wild,” and a talent for “mimickry,” the aura of indigeneity forms “an unbroken communion between these small yellowish aboriginal people and their descendants and the wild, beautiful natural world surrounding them.”<sup>25</sup>

Today, descendants of the Bushmen have organized themselves into political groups and are defending their own heritage.<sup>26</sup> The terms “Khoisan” or “San” are now preferred to the heteroglotonym “Bushman,” and the Working Group for Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA) represents the San of Botswana, Namibia, and South Africa.<sup>27</sup> It is estimated that today about 50,000 San remain, some of whom are involved in asserting their land rights and contesting their commodification by academics, museums, and the tourist industry. The Oral Testimony Collection Project, conducted by the San for the San, aims at valuing “the stories of an extinct group of their fellow San and of their language.”<sup>28</sup> These initiatives navigate a context in which the connection between indigenes and origins is particularly insistent: “Take a tour through history at the University of the Witwatersrand’s Origins Centre, opened by President Thabo Mbeki. The culture of the San features prominently in the exploration of the evolution of humans through rock art, sacred dances and ancient tools.”<sup>29</sup>

Representations of the San play a key part in the *topoi* of a postapartheid discourse that negotiates the (re)founding of community in the wake of racialism’s compartmentalization of the cells of the nation in accordance with consanguinity and culture. In the name of democracy, the indigenes are figured as the children of the soil, living and dwelling in their own land (*tô ontî en patrîdi oikountas kai zôntas*).<sup>30</sup> The establishment of civil equality (*isonomía*), equality of rights, in the wake of colonialism has mobilized the value of autochthony as equality of birth (*isogonía*) as part of the symbolism of the imagined community. Yet, as Jacques Derrida remarks, the bond between political and autochthonous consanguinity, the isonomic (political equality) and the isogonic tie (unity of origin)—the natural bond between *nómos* and *phúsis*—is mystical and can always be exploited for the purposes of nationalism, xenophobia, and so on. As we read in *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, the subjugation of the other is linked to the subjugated inhabitants in early forms of state, the indigenous population of colonies.<sup>31</sup>

At a moment when a democratic South Africa has sought to free itself from a past mired in blood, indigeneity is called upon to play its part in grounding the nation. Perhaps this interest is traceable to the recognition that all cultures and states have their origin in an aggression of the *colonial* type, and that colonization rests at the heart of culture.<sup>32</sup> At the very least, as Helize van Vuuren has noted, the preoccupation with subaltern or autochthonous people and the hybridity of metropolitan and colonized in the era of globalization plays its part here.<sup>33</sup> And yet at stake in the South African “miracle” is the possibility of thinking democracy and the political beyond a colonial legacy that shapes the material and ideological landscape. The visible outlines of this tradition can be briefly sketched.

As a result of conquest, segregation, and apartheid, South Africa is a society of extreme inequality. According to the World Bank, in 1992 51.2

# Index

- analogy, 1, 15, 39–46, 49–52, 59, 71–74, 86, 89, 98, 106, 120–24, 130, 142, 156n35, 163n22, 165n10, 181n37. *See also* anthropomorphism; metaphor; personification
- ancestor, 4, 9, 11, 33, 97–112, 114, 122, 134–8, 173n7, 174nn8–9. *See also* religion
- Anderson, Benedict, 7, 130
- animal, 4, 9, 13, 15, 26, 29, 33, 37, 42, 47, 48–66, 69–73, 77–78, 80, 85–95, 100–110, 122–23, 130, 136, 142–43, 161n6, 164n8, 165n10, 167n24, 167n27, 174n8
- anthropomorphism, 14, 38–42, 44–47, 97, 120, 122–23, 127, 140, 159n14, 160n32. *See also* analogy; metaphor; personification
- apes, 15, 48, 62, 67, 70–75, 164n7, 165n10, 166n11. *See also* parrots
- Arendt, Hannah, 177n41
- Aristotle, 33, 42, 44, 62, 72, 80, 129, 136, 142, 144, 160nn17–18, 160nn28–31, 163n22, 165n13, 166n20, 179n20, 184n25, 185nn53–54, 186n56, 186n60
- Arndt, E. M., 93–94, 172n41
- Arnold, Matthew, 25–26, 135, 156n31, 156n34, 184n32
- Bank, Andrew, 80, 150n15, 168n1, 170n19, 184n19, 184n22
- Benjamin, Walter, 21, 27–28, 36, 44, 134, 154n7, 169n25, 183n13, 184n24
- Bennun, Neil, 159n11, 184n19
- Bernal, Martin, 15–16, 28, 81, 89, 91, 156n33, 158n55, 165n16, 168n4, 168n8, 170n16
- Bhabha, Homi K., 27
- Biesele, Megan, 12, 152n52
- Bleek, Dorothea, 116, 127, 133, 141, 167n29, 178n4, 179n22, 182n57, 185n47
- Bunn, David, 12, 153n59
- Bunsen, Christian K. J., 16, 81, 90, 120, 169n6; George Bunsen, 81, 168n6
- Cassirer, Ernst, 105, 162n10
- Chakrabarty, Dipesh, 21, 154n8, 163n22, 183n9
- Chapman, Michael, 117, 179n18
- Chidester, David, 28, 97, 174n8
- Coetzee, Carli, 134, 184n27, 184n34
- Coetzee, J. M., 48, 161n1
- Colenso, John William, 22, 81, 108, 156n34, 159n11, 174n8
- Comaroff, John and Jean, 96, 173n2
- commemoration, 16, 27, 98, 117, 126, 123, 136–37, 140; memory, 9, 11, 25, 27, 34, 37, 38, 41, 64, 72, 86, 127, 130, 133–34, 142–43; restitution, 37, 138
- communication, 37, 45, 51, 58, 67–73, 104, 106, 129, 141, 143, 161n6, 162n15, 180n29
- Darwin, Charles, 22–23, 26–28, 62–63, 85, 157nn36–37, 162n15, 165n9, 182n25
- Deacon, Janette, 11, 132, 133; and Thomas A. Dowson, 178n2
- de Man, Paul, 44, 45, 135
- Depelchin, Jacques, 20–21, 154nn4–5
- Derrida, Jacques, 6, 8–9, 19, 28–29, 75–76, 130, 145–46, 151n30, 151n32, 151nn40–41, 152nn47–48, 154n3, 157n41, 158n54, 158nn56–58, 168n30, 170n14, 170n16, 175n19, 177n45–46, 184n25, 186n54

- Dubow, Saul, 12, 80, 152n52, 153n57, 168n2, 183n15
- Egypt, 15, 21, 75, 81, 88–91, 120–21, 154n6, 168n4, 169nn9–10, 171n24, 172n33, 179n39; Coptic, 22, 88, 172n32; hieroglyphics, 29, 163n23
- Eliot, T. S., 118
- Engels, Frederick, 5, 14, 50, 69, 87, 150n21, 159n7, 161n6, 169n9, 170n15, 172n33, 173n45, 173n5, 176n39, 183n7
- feeling, 7, 15, 20, 44, 49–72, 80, 100, 103, 114, 116, 123, 125, 137, 140–41, 144, 156n33, 161n6, 162n9, 167n26, 179n26, 185n50; emotion, 5, 42, 51–55, 64, 99, 157n37, 162n10, 165n10
- Fanon, Frantz, 3, 46, 149n12, 161n39, 173n3
- Feuerbach, Ludwig, 41
- Foucault, Michel, 9, 26–27, 28, 31, 32, 95, 170n16
- Frazer, James George, 126
- Freud, Sigmund, 3, 42, 73, 99, 137, 149n12, 160n19–21, 160n26, 165n14, 166n22, 177n43, 184n28, 184n33, 184nn35–36; Freudian, 99, 154n3; repression, 66, 139
- gesture, 15, 67–69, 74–78, 130, 164n9, 165n10, 166n22, 167n24
- Gilmour, Rachael, 80, 155n24, 157n48, 158n51, 168n3, 171n27, 182n48
- Goldberg, David Theo, 1, 149n1, 155n18
- Gordon, Robert, 12, 150n26, 153n58
- Greenblatt, Stephen, 67, 163n1. *See also* gesture
- Haeckel, Ernst, 22–23, 70, 85, 87, 117, 154n12
- Hartmann, Eduard, 185n50
- Hegel, G. W. F., 14, 16, 28, 32, 41, 45, 49, 53, 59, 65, 96–97, 99, 105, 109, 112, 131, 140, 144, 153n63, 158n52, 157n1, 158n2, 158n4, 163nn18–21, 170n18, 171n25, 176n39, 177n45, 186n60
- Heidegger, Martin, 160n22, 170n14, 170n16
- historicism, 32; historicity, 38, 144. *See also* temporality
- Horkheimer, Max, and Theodor W. Adorno, 6, 8, 46, 128, 151n31, 152n43, 161n36
- Humboldt, Wilhelm von, 14, 38, 51, 63, 159n6, 161n7–8, 162n15, 170n14, 175n30
- identity, 7–8, 28, 35, 38–44, 58, 64, 78, 92, 112, 131–32, 137, 145, 149n3, 157n39, 179n18
- image, 21–37, 40–45, 52–54, 60–64, 68–73, 107–8, 133–35, 139–44, 159n9, 166n22. *See also* sight
- imagination, 16, 26, 36–44, 49, 52, 100–106, 11, 115, 119–25, 139, 142–46, 153n59, 165n16, 180n30, 181n38
- indigenous, 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 13, 16, 95, 138, 180n30; autochthonous, 6, 11, 126, 127, 134, 138, 143, 184n29
- Jakobson, Roman, 24, 162n14
- //Kabbo, 125, 132, 135, 182n49
- Kant, Immanuel, 21, 45, 64, 71, 87, 159n5
- Koselleck, Reinhart, 31, 38, 158n1
- Krog, Antjie, 117, 133, 179n16
- Lacan, Jacques, 41, 44, 46, 73
- Legassick, Martin, 7, 149n10, 151n34, 153n61
- Lenin, V. I., 2
- Lewis-Williams, J. D., 29, 115, 135, 150n19
- Livingstone, David, 5, 128, 150n20, 176n32
- Lubbock, John, 117
- Lloyd, Lucy C., 10, 115, 133
- Mandela, Nelson, 7, 8
- Mamdani, Mahmood, 26, 139, 151n34
- Marks, Shula, 12

- Martineau, Harriet, 4
- Marx, Karl, 4–5, 14, 21, 41, 44, 51, 59, 66, 69, 92–95, 101, 110, 130–32, 150n16, 150n21, 153n61, 156n33, 159n4, 159n7, 159n15, 160n24, 161n5, 162n12, 163nn22–23; Marxism, 29, 157n42, 170n14; Marxists, 2
- Mbeki, Thabo, 6, 9, 10, 11, 138, 155n17, 168n4
- metaphor, 19, 29–45, 60, 64, 84, 96, 119–27, 140–43, 156n35, 174n8, 180n32, 181n33; trope, 14, 40, 42, 44–45, 100, 119, 123, 126, 127, 135, 140, 143, 185n53. *See also* analogy; personification; anthropomorphism
- Michaels, Walter Benn, 1, 149n3
- mimesis, 27, 40–46, 52–54, 118, 144; economimetic, 57, 65, 104
- Mostert, Noël, 5
- Mpande, 109, 111, 177n41
- Mudimbe, V. Y., 19–20, 27, 32, 154n1, 158n3
- Müller, Max, 16, 28, 62, 82, 88, 121, 123, 162n15, 168n31, 170n20, 177n43
- myth, 2, 5, 19, 22, 42, 46, 64–65, 98–106, 110, 112, 114–27, 136–37, 144, 149n6, 150n26, 150n58, 163n4, 179n15, 179n19, 180n30, 181n35, 181nn37–3, 172n42, 180n30; Aryan, 28, 82; of progress, 48
- nation, 6, 10, 12, 76, 83–86, 91–95, 99, 108–17, 123, 126, 139–40, 149n3, 152n50, 169n12, 172n33, 180n30
- Nietzsche, Friedrich, 25, 31, 45, 60, 158n2, 159n5, 160n32, 165n15, 170n16, 172n37, 173n49
- Parkington, John, 143
- parrots, 15, 70–71, 165n11
- personification, 40–46, 96–101, 112, 120–24, 127, 129–31, 140, 180n28, 181n38. *See also* analogy; anthropomorphism; metaphor
- Plato, 134, 142, 153n60, 184nn25–26, 184n30, 185n54, 186n57, 186n61
- Plekhanov, Georgy, 2
- poetic, 11, 13, 14, 16, 41, 42, 100, 106, 114, 117–18, 120–24, 135; teleiopoetic, 144
- Polanyi, Karl, 26
- Pound, Ezra, 118
- presentiment, 21, 38, 63, 128–47, 185n50; dream, 7, 9, 13, 29, 73, 78, 100–112, 135, 141–42, 174n9, 175n18
- race, 1–2, 4–6, 8, 12, 14–15, 28, 38, 62–63, 70, 80–95, 104, 119, 125–28, 131–33, 138–42, 146, 149n3, 149n5, 151n32, 151n34, 153n58, 153n61, 157n39, 169n11, 170n14, 170n16, 172nn32–33, 175n29, 180n30, 185n15; human race, 70, 84, 86, 99, 108
- religion, 2, 12, 14, 16, 28, 40–42, 87, 96–111, 114–15, 121, 123, 131, 156n35, 159n11, 173n7, 180n28, 181n38. *See also* ancestor
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 25, 48, 63, 158n55, 167n24
- Said, Edward, 28, 81
- Saussure, Ferdinand de, 15, 28, 68, 159n9, 162n14, 163n22
- Schelling, F. W. J., 3
- Schreiner, Olive, 5, 127, 167n28
- Shelley, Mary, 114–15, 177n1
- Skotnes, Pippa, 133, 138, 149n16, 150n18, 152n52, 153n58, 153n63, 168n2, 178n6, 178n13, 179n17, 182n58, 183nn17–18, 184n36, 185n37, 185n42, 186n63
- sight, 33–37; seeing, 44, 73, 145; visual, 71, 75; vision, 78; impression, 51, 142–43. *See also* image
- sound, 3, 12, 15, 25, 49–64, 68–76, 106, 114, 119, 133, 140–44, 159n9, 161nn6–8, 162n9, 164n6, 164n9, 166nn23–24, 167n26, 168n31, 174n8, 175nn29–30, 176n32, 180n28; hearing, 57, 71–76, 114, 165n12
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty, 25, 156n28, 159n4, 161n35
- Stow, George W., 5, 125, 182n53

- temporality, 11, 31, 38, 43, 57, 127, 129, 137, 144. *See also* historicism
- Thornton, R. J., 12, 170n20, 185n40
- Theal, George McCall, 4, 182n53
- touch, 71, 77, 142, 154n6, 166n24; reverberation, 107, 185n50
- Tylor, E. B., 26, 126, 156n35, 159n6, 162n11, 164n7, 165n12, 166n22, 172n37, 176n33, 177n47, 180n32
- van Vuuren, Helize, 6, 179n23, 182n49, 142, 185n52
- Verne, Jules, 128–29, 179n17
- Voloshinov, V. N., 164n5
- Watson, Stephen, 117–18
- Whitney, William Dwight, 14, 24, 54, 57–58, 62–66, 72, 155n22, 162n9, 162n14, 162b19, 164n9, 165n12, 169n11, 171n24, 180n28
- Williams, Raymond, 27
- writing, 15, 20, 27–28, 31–32, 66–78, 115, 140–44, 168n4, 176n32, 177n50 ; imprint, 76–77, 142, 159nn8–10
- Wundt, Wilhelm, 166n22
- Young, Robert, 26, 28,
- Zulus, 3, 5, 16, 21–22, 96–97, 100–112, 122, 164n8, 173n6, 174nn8–10, 175n29, 176n34, 176n36, 177n43, 181n37, 182n51