POSTCOLONIAL ENVIRONMENTALISMS AND PSYCHOANALYSIS: THE ECOLOGIES OF SKIN

Frances Catherine Hemsley

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Leeds School of English

September, 2017

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is their own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

The right of Frances Hemsley to be identified as Author of this work has been asserted by Frances Hemsley in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

Acknowledgements

My thanks go firstly to Dr Brendon Nicholls who has been an irreplaceable supervisor. Thank you for your extensive support, your enthusiasm, and for your role in shaping my intellectual thought.

This research was fully funded by Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC). The AHRC also funded my Masters (2012-2013) and my attendance at the 2016 Triennial Association for Commonwealth Literature and Language Studies Conference in Stellenbosch, South Africa.

I am grateful to Dr Catherine Bates and to the Leeds Centre for Canadian Studies for funding my research at the Archives of Ontario, Canada.

I would also like to thank Dr Nicholas Ray for his precision as a reader of my work in its early stages. Many thanks also to Professor John McLeod for his support and encouragement during my time at the University of Leeds.

To my parents, Dr Sue Hemsley and Clive Hemsley, and to Jed Hemsley, thank you for all your love and support. Many thanks also to those friends who have aided and abetted me – Jennifer Lee O'Brien, Hayley Toth, Dr Arthur Rose, Dr Anna Fleming, Dr Mick Wood, Dr Ragini Mohite, and Dr Emma Trott. Finally, I must thank my partner Toby Jones, whose love and wit has sustained me.

Abstract

This thesis advances a postcolonial psychoanalysis that is materialist – attending to both the materiality of the body and the materiality of the colonially-produced environment. It is my contention that the usefulness of postcolonial "uses" of psychoanalysis lies in future engagements with critical medical theory and the biological sciences. Through these fields we are increasingly aware of the "environmental" constitution of the subject. I reach beyond the human-centered environment typical of psychoanalysis and conceptualise a material basis for psychic life. The chapters in this thesis reveal the subject as alwaysalready immersed in and interpellated by ecological materialisms (pollution, disease, epigenetic acquisitions, extinction). In this thesis, I use the term "ecologies of skin" to allude to the material and psychic "skin" as an environmental category: a substrate for our environmental relations. I situate the skin of the subject within new biomedical ecologies (the microbiome) and the ecologies of the colonial environment (its nexus of forced labour migrations, its uneven distributions of disease and environmental "sanitation", and its production of materially deprived environments). I work across a range of colonial and postcolonial contexts in which environmental relations are inflected by the politics of skin. These contexts include: rural and urban reserves and the politics of water reservoirs in Zimbabwe, immigrant labour and environmental sanitation in Canada, socio-spatial assignments in apartheid South Africa, and land rationalisation and the racial politics of the nature reserve in post-genocide Rwanda. I show how colonial environmental racism - which I further refine as epidemiological racism - forms a constitutive nexus for psychic life. Ultimately, I contend that the postcolonial vividly coimplicates our psychic proclivities with our ecological situation and that this coimplication is the wider resonance and continuing lesson of the postcolonial beyond its initial purview.

Contents

Introduction	1
1. Ecologies of the skin in Dambudzo Marechera	41
2. An epidemiological reading of Michael Ondaatje's In the Skin of a Lion	127
3. Spatial reserve and the incest taboo in Bessie Head's <i>The Cardinals</i>	203
4. Mourning ecologies in Véronique Tadjo's <i>The Shadow</i> <i>Travels in the Heart of Rwanda</i>	of Imana: 259
Conclusion	287
Works cited	293

Introduction

Interdisciplinarity is not the calm of an easy security; it begins effectively (as opposed to the mere expression of a pious wish) when the solidarity of the old discipline breaks down ... this unease in classification being precisely the point from which it is possible to diagnose a certain mutation. Over against the traditional notion of the work ... there is now the requirement of a new object, obtained by the sliding or overturning of former categories. That object is the Text.

Roland Barthes, 1977 pp. 155-156

What have dams, toxic industries, oceans, and nature reserves got to do with psychic life? What are the psychic economies of colonial and postcolonial environmental relations? What, moreover, does psychoanalysis have to do with postcolonial environmentalisms? This thesis will advance a psychoanalysis that is materialist – attending to both the materiality of the body and the materiality of the environment. It is my contention that the usefulness of postcolonial "uses" of psychoanalysis lies in future engagements with critical medical theory and the biological sciences. Through these fields we are increasingly aware of the "environmental" constitution of the subject. We now know that the human body cohabits with a microbiome – composed of bacteria and viruses that inhabit our skin, gut, and mucous membranes. The human genome is radically outnumbered by the collective genome of these cohabiting microbial communities. It is thought that the microbiome will be central to our future understanding of human health and disease (Lederberg, 2003). The microbiome radically revises our understanding of the matter and materiality of the human body. We know that the microbiome performs physiological functions for the human body: we have not evolved alone. We can no longer understand ourselves as individual organisms: we are ecologies. Our microbiome is influenced by the environments we inhabit. What this also means is that environment can no longer be taken as a manageable substratum, composed of de-instrumentalised matter. Industrial histories of public health and sanitation have not only altered our inhabited environments but our inhabiting micro-ecologies. The composition of our microbiome is capable of affecting our mood – our affective, emotional states. We cannot treat the body as the "object" of the mind. The field of epigenetic research, too, is developing in ways that show us how the organism is always already constructed by what is without materially, socially, and environmentally. If materiality is meaningful, and if affect is also proper to the nonhuman, then we need to get beyond the human-centered environment typical of psychoanalysis. We can recover psychoanalysis for environmentally-conscious postcolonial critique. To do so I formulate a non-human-centered materialist analysis of colonial and postcolonial environments and psychic life. Alongside the colonial production of environment through patterns of resource expropriation and management, I explore the ways in which psychic structures co-produce the inhabited environment. Both collective phantasies and individual psychophysiology reveal at different levels the inter-permeation of psyche and world.

In many ways, the radical inter-permeation of human and environment confirms that which Frantz Fanon – in his examination of colonial space and psychic life – already suspected. In *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon defines the "materialisation" of difference between the colonised and coloniser as an externally-imposed biological caesura. He writes:

This compartmentalized world, this world divided in two, is inhabited by different species. The singularity of the colonial context lies in the fact that economic

reality, inequality, and enormous disparities in lifestyles never manage to mask the human reality. Looking at the immediacies of the colonial context, it is clear that what divides this world is first and foremost what species, what race one belongs to. (2004: 5)

Fanon's psychoanalytic critique of the colonial world shows us how environment creates a subject (and vice versa). The conditions of existence in the colony – where resource expropriation and human exploitation combine – form a constitutive nexus for psychic life:

In the other sector, the colonized subject lies coiled and robbed, and fuels as best he can the spiral which moves seamlessly from the shores of the colony to the palaces and docks of the metropolis. In this petrified zone, [....] the raw materials come and go, legitimating the colonist's presence, while more dead than alive the colonized subject crouches for ever in the same old dream. (2004: 14)

Here the petrified zone matches the psychic state of the colonised: both are "resources" for expropriation. Fanon presents a systemic analysis here: alluding to a spiral of extraction that exploited labour – with the attendant suggestion of physical exhaustion and material combustion – must attempt to "fuel".

Environmentalism, materialism, and the postcolonial "text"

Our new understanding of the permeability of human and environment is also being worked through in cultural theory, and this has implications for the way in which we read the (postcolonial) text. In his now famous essay 'The Death of the Author', Roland

3

Barthes deconstructs the figure of the "author" as the text's privileged centre of meaning. He envisages the text as 'a multidimensional space [...], a tissue of quotations drawn from the innumerable centres of culture' (1977: 146). What we would now understand as "culture", however, includes many things that in Barthes' time would have been understood as "nature". Contemporary academic theory has set about dismantling the binary of nature and culture. This dismantling is marked by conceptual terminologies such as Donna Haraway's "nature-cultures", Bruno Latour's "hybrids", and Karen Barad's "agential realism".¹ In the environmental humanities, the boundary between the human and the environment is increasingly being rethought as porous (environment is no longer a mere inscribing surface for human action). Equally, the field of new materialism has brought into question hierarchicalised constructions of human agency vis à vis the nonhuman world. At the same time, we now face the need to radically re-imagine human agency in the context of global ecological crisis. We know now that our global environment is entangled with our cultures of consumption. We have reached a point in human history in which our activities are producing climatological effects, some of which manifest geologically. In the Anthropocene, humans have become a geologic force in the world. This critical co-implication of human with nonhuman - and the attendant understanding that human organisations like capitalism are part of "nature" - has led some to the alternative term "Capitalocene". This term alludes to our epoch as the geologic age of capitalism, rather than of the human as such (Haraway, 2015; Moore, 2017). It is the capitalist world-system, rather than human activity per se, that is the "agent" of our ecological crisis. The worldliness, and world-ecology, of our current

¹ Barad's agential realism resolves the distinction between nature and culture found in both realist and idealist ontology when she states 'discursive practices and material phenomena do not stand in a relationship of externality to one another, rather, the material and the discursive are mutually implicated in the dynamics of intra-activity' (2007: 152).

geopolitical age has registered in the institutional movement away from postcolonial studies and critiques of colonialism toward world literature and world-systems analysis.

There is a "new" materialism in literary theory that has recently been articulated by the Warwick Research Collective (WReC). This model positions "world literature" as 'the literature of the world-capitalist system', specifically as it manifests in 'combined and uneven development' (Deckard et al., 2015: 16). World literature, understood as a system structured by inequalities, is presented as a 'new materialist basis for a revivified literary comparativism' (Deckard et al., 2015: 6).² While WReC acknowledges that the world capitalist system needs to be understood as a world-ecology (2015: 96), the materialist basis for literary analysis outlined is nonetheless human-centrered. The emphasis remains on human social structures and their material constraints. WReC argue for a 'single world-literary *system*' and critique the misapprehension of the 'structurality of the capitalist world-system' for the 'civilizational category' or cultural construct of the "West" (Deckard at al., 8, 28-29). My position is that we also need to be thinking modes of materialist reading that are non-human-centered. Part of a materialist reading is not only decentering the human but getting over the author as a privileged site of meaning (even if the commodified "author" is the primary means by which postcolonial texts circulate on a global literary market). Indeed, for Barthes, the understanding of text as author-function is a capitalist logic that regards textual meaning as an objective meaning be consumed, exhausted and discarded. In this thesis, I take seriously the idea that the text is not necessarily an "authored" book, but is rather a "tissue" woven from wider archives of life, including environmental materialities and epidemiological landscapes.

 $^{^2}$ The theory of 'combined and uneven development', elaborated by Trotsky in an amplification of the "unevenness" identified in Marx's and Lenin's work, takes imperialist contexts where 'capitalist forces are conjoined forcibly with pre-existing forces and relations' as its basis. The theory describes 'a situation in which capitalist forms and relation exist alongside [earlier economic conditions] and pre-existing social and class relations' (Deckard et al., 2015: 9).

The nodes of "culture" from which the texts I analyse are drawn from include colonial environmental management and public health policy. I also take seriously the idea that material and nonhuman factors (such as parasitic diseases or the presence/absence of mineral resources) co-produce the human ecologies of the colony and its postcolonial afterlives. My model of reading is therefore in conversation with the other "new materialism", associated with thinkers like Jane Bennett and Diana Coole, that theorises the agency manifest in materiality, objects, and the nonhuman world.³

The material environment, from the perspective of historical materialism, is human-centered – and cannot account for a more distributive ontology of complex human-nonhuman-material assemblages. Psychoanalysis is equally human-centered in its orthodox form. Nonetheless, the material relations of the colonial and postcolonial environment (its human and nonhuman ecologies) *are* readable in phantasy and cultural imaginary. Rather than taking the author as a point of intention in such phantasies (whether conscious or unconscious), I treat the author as an organising node within a material-textual nexus. The literary gives us a way of thinking about phantasy and psychic life (which always already incorporates the material conditions in which the text/writer is situated) without annexing it to the individual. The significance of the literary text in this thesis derives from its status as that which is subjective, but not personal. Literary narrative retains a relationship with both material history and phantasy life, but it is not a testimony or a case study. As such, the literary supplies a structure for thinking from literary representations of psychic experiences to a range of material inter-texts that

³ These two materialisms – historical materialism and new materialism are not necessarily inimical to one another. Susan Lettow, drawing on the work of Diana Coole and her elaboration of a "capacious historical materialism" (2013), suggests that there are points of correspondence between non-ontological versions of old and new materialism (2017: 108).

participate in broader political and social ecologies. The texts I look at - Dambudzo Marechera's House of Hunger, Michael Ondaatje's In the Skin of a Lion, Bessie Head's The Cardinals, and Véronique Tadjo's The Shadow of Imana: Travels in the Heart of Rwanda - are all read in relation to various "outside-texts". Form and genre are particularly at stake here. All the texts are relatively short, non-linear and fragmentary and participate in wider archives of life-writing, epidemiology, and environmental materiality. Dambudzo Marechera's novella The House of Hunger is co-extensive with a series of inter-related (but discontinuous) short stories, all of which bear some relation to his biography and cross-sect his autobiographical writings, interviews, and essays. The richly intertextual web of Marechera's writing has no doubt influenced the relative lack of critical attention to Marechera's materialisms. Similarly, Ondaatje's attention to visual archives of construction and public health in early twentieth century Ontario - which interpenetrate In the Skin of a Lion - have led to further critical elaboration of his aesthetics - but not his materialist interests in human and environmental health and industrial toxicity. Equally, critics have observed that Ondaatje wrote In the Skin of a Lion alongside the memoir Running in the Family – which concerns his family history in Sri Lanka. Ondaatje has been criticised for his aestheticising introspection and his "faulty consciousness" of political and social realities. Caste-based systems of social stratification in Sri Lanka condition and inflect Ondaatje's representation of the social and economic marginalisation of immigrants in In the Skin of a Lion. Sri Lankan social stratification becomes an alternative archive for In the Skin of a Lion operating alongside and within the text's analysis - its literary epidemiology - of unevenly distributed occupational hazard. Another kind of archive conditions the reception of Head's texts. Head is a prolific writer of letters. Her exile from South Africa, as well as her life as a refugee in Botswana, are well-documented by her correspondence but her early adult life

in Cape Town is a relative aporia. *The* Cardinals, published posthumously, is the only text Head wrote in and about South Africa. Head's genealogy, and her column at the *Golden City Post* – are two biographical "archives" that have pre-conditioned the critical reception of her text. I look instead to the way *The Cardinals* constructs alternative "biological" archives that respond to apartheid's spatial and environmental productions of "race".

In proposing a psychoanalysis of postcolonial environmentalisms and environmental relations, I am not proposing a return to the anti-systemic textualism of postcolonial "high theory".⁴ It is from the vantage of such 'textual idealism', Benita Parry reminds us in her (2004) materialist critique of postcolonial studies, that concerns like 'the material impulses to colonialism, its appropriation of physical resources, exploitation of human labour and institutional repression [...] [recede] from view' (2004: 2). Parry also reminds us that materialist critiques can account for culture: for 'the negotiated practices within which subjectivities, cognition, and consciousness are made and remade under determinate historical and political conditions' (2004: 5). The question of textual *idealism* aside, however, the text and its representations are intimately conditioned by, and emerge in relation to, the systemic effects of capitalism. The colonial production of environment – intimately linked to historical capitalism – is systemic. For Jason Moore, capitalism is a 'world-ecology of power, capital, and nature, dependent on finding and co-producing Cheap Natures' (2017: 595). The co-production of Cheap Natures that Moore refers to is historically embedded in colonialism and industrialisation: both of which depend upon resource expropriation and the use of exploited human labour.

⁴ As Claire Westall observes, citing Arif Dirlik (1994): 'postcolonial studies was quick to mobilise its Marxist inheritance, but the field's early poststructuralist universalism led to a decentering and deconstructing of Marxism that ushered in a new, largely silent totality – that of global difference without a structure of relations. Crucially, this allows "postcolonial critics [to remain] silent on the relationship between the idea of postcolonialism to its context in contemporary capitalism" (2016: 15).

Materialist analysis, attentive to the structure of the mode of production, labour exploitation, and resource extraction, can be re-interpolated into psychoanalytic modes of reading. The materialist psychoanalysis I advance takes as its object the cultural imaginaries, phantasies, and traumas that accompany the colonial production of environment. A particular paradigm for this lies in what we might call "epidemiological terrain". In the colony, environments are epidemiologically contoured by uneven distributions of sanitation and toxicity, as well by the projection of unwanted communities, both indigenous and immigrant, into diseased/diseasing spaces. Epidemiological terrain is at once material and cultural – the existence of informal settlements and vulnerable habitations index colonial "sanitation syndromes", while potable water reservoirs operate as materially-signifying entities with complex ecological and political entanglements in the postcolonial. Alongside the embeddedness of manmade ecologies in colonial epidemiological histories, the material distribution of disease incidence across a population can also embody long-historical situations and proposes another "archive" to be read.⁵ Framing these "extra-linguistic" readings are my engagements with the psychic and subjective experiences of health and disease in the context of colonial epidemiological racism.

In Chapter 1, on Marechera I look at trypanosomiasis (sleeping sickness) epidemiology in the context of land apportionment in colonial Zimbabwe. Land apportionment worked to unevenly distribute diseasing lands to the colonised, and to annex fertile and irrigable lands for industrial agriculture.⁶ Alienation has

⁵ Stacy Alaimo provides an instructive example of how such an "archive" of life is composed: she notions that to map the material drift of silica and the embodied epidemiology of silicosis (an industrial lung disease caused by airborne silica particulates) is also to offer 'an ontology in which the body of the worker, the river, the silica, the "natural," and the industrial environment are simultaneously material and social, sites where institutional and material power swirl together' (2010: 48).

 $^{^{6}}$ This part of Zimbabwe's colonial material history is occasioned by the relative absence of mineral resources (in comparison with South Africa where mining industries abound) – which led early settler-colonists prospecting for mineral wealth to turn to alternative sources of revenue. Minerals have a part to

epidemiological motor: it runs along simultaneously biomedical and environmental lines. Marechera emerges in my investigation as an astute reader of colonial environmental history and the epidemiological dispositions of the reserve. Marechera's writing takes the material and psychic immersions and interpellations demanded by the colonial environment and translates them into a critique of environmental colonialism. I maintain this focus on the colony as a simultaneously medical and environmental nexus in further explorations of systemic ill health in the township - which in Marechera's work is "put into the inside" and embedded in psychosomatic ontologies of disturbed gut function. The states of illness that Marechera himself inhabited emerge as immanent, politically and environmentally-located subject-positions in his writing. I extend my analysis of material immersion, according to a model of "health" and "infection" in Chapter 2 on Michael Ondaatje's In the Skin of a Lion. In this chapter I focus on industrial disease and immigrant labour histories, concentrating on tuberculosis epidemiology and control in Ontario in the twentieth century. I extend the archive of immigrant experience through which Michael Ondaatje's In the Skin of a Lion has been read in my engagement with Ontario's colonial archive of tuberculosis epidemiology (a disease that disproportionately affects the socially and economically marginalised). In this chapter I position disease as an embodied archive affecting the collective body of immigrant labour. This "archive" of illness arising from the immigrant's uneven exposure to environmental hazards indexes another form of environmental racism (the distribution of epidemiologically hazardous labour and living conditions to immigrants, according to a racist taxonomy). Both Marechera and Ondaatje are interested in water reservoirs. In Ondaatje, this interest stems from the histories and discourses of public health and soft-heredity that produce the

play in the material-human-historical assemblages of colonial Zimbabwe. Marechera recognises the implication of minerals in psychic life in the colony when his narrator compares the "stitches" of a psychic wound to the geological feature of Zimbabwe's great dyke, running like a stich down the country.

immigrant as an unclean figure. In Marechera, the politics of water in colonial Zimbabwe register in cultural imaginaries, and psychic phantasies, of the reservoir. In Marechera's thought, reservoirs, related to ecologies of environmental alienation and addiction, are a polluting "hangover" of the colonial project of modernity.

In Chapters 3 and 4, I shift my focus from the cultural imaginaries of the reservoir to that of the reserve. In Chapter 3, a psychoanalytic conception of the "reserve" takes us more or less seamlessly from psychic space to material space. In apartheid, taboo prohibitions place a reserve on particular bodies and zones, which are differentially charged with meanings. The "reserve" set aside by the taboo makes the race-segregated residential township as a psychic, and materially interpellative, space. In Head's The *Cardinals*, physiology is written as an effect of segregated environmental space. In my reading of *The Cardinals*, I show how identity in apartheid is ambivalently tied to ideas about heredity, while what appear to be collective epigenetic acquisitions respond to apartheid's environmental segregations of race. In thinking segregation in *environmental* terms, I am not only considering apartheid's spatial dispensations, but the material *quality* of space as that which is inflected by the uneven apportionment of sanitation and resources. Epigenetic acquisitions – as that which is acquired in a non-hereditary fashion, in interaction with our environment - take us beyond narrow genealogical determinants of psychic life. In apartheid, this kind of engagement with the epigenetic over the genetic is motivated. Head, in *The Cardinals*, avoids repeating apartheid discourses of race as biological identity and destiny, through another non-conscious model of epigenetics. In Chapter 4, I offer another perspective of environmental racism and the "interpellative" qualities of environment. This time, the space of reserve is being constructed within a global nexus of commodified mourning, and in racialising narratives of ecological preservation. For this chapter I take the space of the nature reserve – Rwanda's national park in the mountains – as my focus. I argue that the differential production of environmental spaces (agriculture, conservation) currently subscribes, discursively, to the same segregations of human and nonhuman difference that are at work in genocidal strategy. In Chapters 1 and 2, I work to collapse boundaries between the environmental and the medical as a constitutive nexus for psychic life. In Chapters 3 and 4, I dismantle borders between the psychic and the material. I show how apartheid and post-genocide environments are organised by particular psychic regimes (taboo and mourning). I offer new materialist readings of colonial and postcolonial space and psychic life.

New materialism and postcolonial environments

Latour's conception of hybrid human-nonhuman assemblages is an important precursor for the new materialism. For a postcolonialist new materialism, Latour's analysis of how power is materially entrenched is particularly useful.⁷ In *Reassembling the Social*, Latour asserts that power is distributed (unequally) through the millions of human and nonhuman participants in our courses of action (2005: 84). Latour observes that '[p]ower and domination have to be produced, made up, composed' (2005: 64). The point here is that material asymmetries are difficult to maintain, inequalities are difficult to enforce, and power relations are difficult to entrench – their endurance therefore cannot be ascribed to social ties (to human actions) alone (Latour, 2006: 64). There are other actors: nonhuman 'things [that] might authorise, allow, afford, encourage, permit, suggest, influence, block, render possible, forbid, and so on' (Latour: 2005, 72). Here materiality is vested with the capacity to enhance or inhibit human will. Matter has a regulatory function: there is a

⁷ On the Marxist-type materialism, in which nonhuman things enter social ties as a "material infrastructure", Latour comments that such an account of objects in the collective is not wrong, per se, but rather a 'primitive' mode of 'packaging the bundles of ties that make the collective (2005: 84).

material "economy" of agency. We are reminded here of the psychically oppressive 'petrified zone' of the colony that Fanon outlines in *The Wretched of the Earth*. For Fanon, as for Latour, it is the material world, and its objects, that explain 'the contrasted landscape [...], the over-arching powers of society, the huge asymmetries, the crushing exercise of power (Latour, 2005: 72). In Latour's analysis, power is not self-determining: it relies on a material world and this has consequences for how we think the psychic interfaces of the subject and its material environments. In an analysis of colonial and postcolonial environments, we also need to be thinking the social and political agency of matter as a co-participant in psychic structures of resistance and social conflict. Equally, we need to pay attention to the way literary responses to the world participate in human-nonhuman-material assemblages.

Latour's thought suggests a more distributive understanding of agency that is taken up by Jane Bennett in her book *Vibrant Matter*. For Bennett, agency is not the sole preserve of human intentionality and action but is instead distributed horizontally within a heterogeneous assemblage that includes nonhuman animals and non-human materiality (biotic and abiotic). Bennett traces the shifting political capacities of actants that operate "below" our perception – particularly as they affect public policy (electricity grids) or embodied human experience. Bennett is attentive, for example, to the lively powers of material formations, such as the way 'omega-3 fatty acids can alter human moods or the way our trash is not "away" in landfills but generating lively streams of chemical and volatile winds of methane' (2012: vii). Bennett theorises the unanticipated agential effects of material assemblages. However, and partly because of her focus on the unpredictable, distributed affectivity and agency of material assemblages, Bennetts's analysis does not

give us a critique of power or human exploitation.⁸ For a critique of power with materialist and environmentalist dimensions, we might turn to a text like Rob Nixon's Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor. Slow Violence shows how the human "agencies" underlying lively - if deadly - material assemblages (such as environmental toxicity) are obscured politically. Nixon's model of slow violence thinks the ways in which 'political violence both intimate and distant, unfold[s] over time and space on a variety of scales, from the cellular to the transnational, the corporeal to the global corporate' (2011a: 46). The forms of slow violence that Nixon elaborates - chemical, radiological, environmental, ecological, epidemiological, economic, climactic - are spatially and temporally dispersed and manifest on differing scales that are hard to map. Nixon notes, for example that: 'in the case of Chernobyl, not only did radiological toxicity travel across the national border, but (as the Soviet Union fragmented) the national border traveled across the toxicity. The Ukrainian body politic, though politically autonomous, remained environmentally and epidemiologically dominated by the "foreign burden" of a ghosted country' (Nixon, 2011a: 50). This slow unfolding means that the causes and effects of epidemiological and environmental trauma are hard to trace and to represent. They share none of the spectacular coordinates we usually expect of a "trauma" or a violent event. This comes to the fore, especially, in Nixon's suggestion that domestic violence is another mode of "slow violence", with associated representational challenges. Thus, the scales at which "slow violence" operates may be both personal and familial and global and environmental. At all scales of Nixon's "slow violence", physiological impact on the body is emphasised. Like Bennett, Nixon is attentive to the lively materiality of matter specifically, as it 'live[s] on in the environmental elements we inhabit and in our bodies'

⁸ Bennett writes that a 'newfound attentiveness to matter and its powers will not solve the problem of human exploitation or oppression, but it can inspire a greater sense of the extent to which all bodies are kin' (2012: 13).

(2011a: 8). When Nixon writes of '[c]hemical and radiological violence, [...] driven inward, somaticized into *cellular dramas* of mutation' (Nixon, 2011a: 6 emphasis added), we are reminded of the capacity of matter to affect our courses of action and our human embodiment. Here, matter produces its own mutational *drama* – a term which emphasises an emotional response, a story (en)acted at the level of the cell. If we are to think the ways in which the materiality of environment affects embodiment, Nixon's thought is key, but Nixon does not give us an account of psychic life or of *psychic* regimes of trauma. Equally, while Nixon's study does attend to the psychic and material ecologies of colonially-produced environments (e.g. the game reserve in South Africa), and of postcolonial landscapes of extraction (e.g. environmental toxicity occasioned by "petrodespotism" in Nigeria), his primary focus is on the way global capitalist dynamics manifest slow violence on a global scale.⁹

The value of approaching colonial environmental relations through psychoanalytic methodologies and accounts of psychic life becomes apparent in light of the 'quite evident psychological components of racism' (Hook, 2012: 5) (and thus of environmental and epidemiological racism). Mel Chen's work on environmental health and racial mattering reveals that materiality takes on symbolic or discursive codings – Chen examines the 'implicit or explicit raced and classed components of toxic threats' (2012: 10). Chen's conception of the racial mattering of both bodies and toxic elements shares coordinates with both Bennett's new materialism and Mbembe's necropolitics.

⁹ For other works that intersect postcolonial and environmental studies, see Elizabeth DeLoughrey and George Handley's *Postcolonial Ecologies* (2011), Graham Huggan and Helen Tiffin's *Postcolonial Ecocriticism* (2010), Pablo Mukherjee's *Postcolonial Environments* (2010), Bonnie Roos and Alex Hunt's *Postcolonial Green*, and Byron Caminero-Santangelo and Garth Myers' edited collection *Environment at the Margins: Literary and Environmental Studies in Africa* (2011).

Chen re-appraises the way matter participates in unlikely ways in the political application of "life" and "death". She notes that:

[A] consideration of "inanimate life" imbues the discourses around environmental illness and toxicity. For instance, the constant interabsorption of animate and inanimate bodies in the case of airborne pollution must account for the physical nonintegrity of individual bodies and the merging of forms "life" and "nonlife". (Chen, 2012: 11)

The patterns of racial mattering underlying environmental health threats expose racial "others" to higher levels of epidemiological risk. Chen describes, for example, how health burdens for black children living in homes with un-remediated lead paint are scotomised in the U.S. mass media. Black children living in toxic homes are the recipients of slow violence – their plight unrepresented. Meanwhile, the U.S. media concentrated instead on a spectacular racial narrative of "yellow peril" – the endangerment of white middle class children by "Chinese lead" toys (Chen, 2012: 159-189). The projective modes of psychic phantasying on the part of those with political and material power functions to "matter" the bodies of others.

Mbembe's necropolitics functions within a similar nexus: the production of zones of non-being and the ability to put the body to death as though it were a thing. Mbembe connects violent sovereign exterminism to resource extraction:

Many conflicts are likely to oppose those who have weapons against those who have none. In those contexts, *a marked disconnection between people and things ensues, the value of things surpassing that of people.* The resulting forms of

violence have as their chief goals the physical destruction of people (massacres of civilians, genocides, various kinds of maiming) and the primary exploitation of mineral resources. (2002: 268)

In the colonial and postcolonial histories of public health, environmental sanitation, epidemiological violence, and resource management that I examine, resource expropriation and racial mattering is similarly at stake. While Mbembe is interested in the status of the *living dead*, I similarly develop an analysis of the ability to render unwell. The experience of illness in the colonial environment is the primary site at which the psychic and the embodied combines with the material and the political.

Materialist psychoanalysis

Recent developments in the field of psychoanalysis are emphasising the materiality of psychic structures and the bio-psycho-social physiology of the body. At the forefront of this field, Catherine Malabou's work on neuropsychoanalysis connects psychic life to the material structure of the brain (its neuro-biology) in order to posit an alternative regime of psychic causality and trauma.¹⁰ In *The New Wounded* Malabou argues that there is another "event" – the material, cerebral wound – that psychoanalysis has so far not thought. Cerebral causality, or "cerebrality", is constructed in the same way that "sexuality" is constructed in Freud, vis-à-vis its capacity to determine the course of psychic life. In Freudian psychoanalysis – and its resumption in the work of contemporary psychoanalysts like Jean Laplanche and Didier Anzieu – the mind takes the body as its object. In Malabou we find a radical new interweaving of mind with matter and

¹⁰ Malabou's more recent theoretical projects connect ontology to biological processes like cellular biology and epigenesis (2012).

materiality: the subject is a neuronal being and the psyche is cerebral (where cerebral denotes the affective quality of the material brain). In its emphasis on the affectiveaffected matter of the brain, Malabou's thought chimes with new materialist sensibilities. Materiality participates in a psychic and affective economy.¹¹ In analyses of colonial environments and psychic life, we might want to think about how psychosexual affect is tied to material wounding and high rates of sexually-transmitted infection. High transmission rates are not only an effect of health care inequalities. The Rwandan genocide has epidemiological coordinates - rape, designed to transmit HIV infection, was weaponized during the genocide, creating forms of epidemiologically accented survivorship. In post-genocide Rwanda, post-traumatic stress disorders like ihahamuka are often comorbid with HIV/AIDS. It is precisely the psychic consequences of material wounding that Freud was unable to think. For Freud, in Beyond the Pleasure Principle, the incidence of a material trauma or wounding is incompatible with the development of a psychic neurosis. Freud held that war traumas – the paralyses, losses of memory, and tremors that result from material injuries to the nervous system – were not psychic events, unless they happened to reactivate a sexual conflict of disturbance unrelated to war. Thus, there is no war trauma that is psychic, for the suffering inflicted on the nervous system is either presumed to be non-psychic or the reactivation of an endogenous psychosexual conflict. The war trauma, what we now know as post-traumatic stress disorder, is rendered a common "neurosis", and the traumatic event is stripped of its external specificity. Malabou's intervention in *The New Wounded* is to assert that there are psychic events that cannot not be translated into the language of sexual etiology. Freudian etiology traces how an external event is assimilated by the subject through psycho-sexual processes (and

¹¹ The brain is capable of feeling and affecting itself and this cerebral auto-affection 'makes possible the attachment of life to itself which becomes the basis of all ulterior erotic investments' (Malabou, 2012: 41).

sometimes expressed as embodied symptoms). In the movement from sex (and sexuality) to the brain (and cerebrality), Malabou elaborates a new economy of the psyche's exposure to wounding and trauma. The subject is a neuronal being, and therefore materially destructible – open to the possibility of destruction by a material wound.¹² Ultimately, Malabou argues, Freud never gets "beyond" the pleasure principle, because he is unable to account for accidental or meaningless events – we might say: events where agency is distributed so as to be imperceptible. Such events are stripped of any signification and cannot be appropriated by the psyche either consciously or unconsciously.

Malabou's neuropsychoanalysis changes how we think the traumatic event. The crucial yield of cerebral causality for my project is the proposition that biological trauma and sociopolitical trauma share the same cerebral economy.¹³ In other words, cerebral trauma does not have to be physical or organic in origin – it can be caused by other "events" that remain 'exterior to the interior', and inassimilable, because they appear to be without meaning or identifiable cause (2012: 5, 10). Sociopolitical traumas also have a neurological impact and materially affect the brain. Malabou's thought gestures toward a larger theory of trauma that can account for the interrelation of human subjectivity with socio-political realities. She notes that '[t]oday [...] the border that separates trauma and socio-political trauma is increasingly porous' (2012: 11). For example, in *The Ontology of the Accident*, Malabou notes that those who suffer forms of psychic loss with physical

¹² Malabou's key paradigms for material psychic wounding are Alzheimer's disease and brain legions. Referring to the "cool" psyches of those affected by Alzheimer's disease, Malabou asks, 'Could it be that this disease finally brings out into the open a type of legion that psychoanalysis has never taken into account. Could it be that it manifests – a posteriori, as it were – *new forms of suffering*? Could it be that there are a *new wounded* whom psychopathology has never encountered before now?' (2012: xiii)

¹³ This means that the modification of cerebral connections can occur either directly, as in neuropathological cases, where psychical disorganisation follows as a result neuronal changes, or indirectly, as a consequence of psychic disorganisation in cases of sociopolitical trauma.

biomedical causes (those diagnosed with Alzheimer's, for instance), or those who lose their livelihoods because of an economic depression, are subject to the same type of transformation as can be witnessed in victims of more spectacular traumas: '[t]hey [become] new people, others, re-engendered, belonging to a different species. Exactly as if they had had an accident' (2009 13). At the same time, her analysis of the biological impositions of trauma lead us toward Mbembe's necropolitics, which we might in turn treat as a form of political eventality stripped of meaning, characterised by a 'nonchalance towards death even as it seeks out killing as a primary aim' (Puar, 2007: 35). Of necropower, Mbembe writes:

Operating on a split between the living and the dead, such a power defines itself in relation to a biological field – which it takes control of and vests in itself in. This control presupposes the distribution of human species into groups, the subdivision of the population into subgroups, and the establishment of a *biological caesura* between the ones and the others. (Mbembe, 2003: 17 emphasis added)

The porous border between conventional psychic trauma and political trauma and its impact on subjectivity in the African continent is explored by Mbembe in the essay 'African modes of self-writing', in which he considers the 'state of war as a general cultural experience that shapes identities' and the ways in which war becomes a part of *new practices of the self*:

First among the state of war's effects can be identified as an entry into a *zone of indistinction*. [...] In most contemporary war zones in Africa, the descent into

indistinction is marked by an unprecedented degree of torture, mutilation, and mass killing. Progressively the spread of terror fragments inhabited spaces, blows temporal frames of reference, and diminishes the possibilities available to individuals to fulfil themselves as continuous subjects. The ensuing spectacularisation of suffering only serves to reinforce this process through the bequest of traumatic memories. [...] *Trauma has become something semi-permanent. Memory is physically embedded in bodies marked with the signs of their own destruction*, moving through a general landscape of fragmentation and economic decay. (Mbembe, 2002: 267)

Malabou reflects these violent political realities when she notes that '[w]e have entered a new age of political violence in which politics is defined by the renunciation of any hope of endowing violence with political sense' (2012: 155). Her account of the "new wounded" offers a new psycho-pathological landscape intimately linked to political oppression. This has consequences for the way we think about freedom, and what liberation from a colonial environment might look like.

Malabou's cerebral trauma blurs the boundaries between history and nature. Similar currents of thought, which emphasise the inscriptions of history in the biological, also characterise the emerging field of epigenetic research, in which 'events of the near and more distant past, occurring in the family or in the broader society, are becoming sources of claimed biological damage' (Meloni, 2016: 211). Epigenetics are offering a similar representation of porousness of the body, both to environment and to the experiences of past generations.¹⁴ Shannon Sullivan is another contemporary theorist

¹⁴ Epigenetics looks for the way in which experience and environment (from social deprivation to histories of enslavement) is registered in hypo-methylated genes. In some cases, in uterine environments in particular, hypo-methylation can be passed between generations. In epigenetics research, epigenetic acquisitions are treated as a signature or archive of individual and transgenerational experience. In *Political*

working within both psychoanalytic and materialist paradigms. In The Physiology of Racist and Sexist Oppression, Sullivan offers an account of the way racism and sexism as "insidious" sociopolitical traumas – are materially embedded in the body's materiality (e.g. in its epigenetic coding) and in its embodied physiological functioning (e.g. gut habits). The experience of racism and sexism, to some degree, 'constitute the body's muscle fibres, chemical production, digestive processes, genomic markers' (2015: 17).¹⁵ As such, Sullivan's thought acts as a psychoanalytically-grounded complement to those new materialist ontologies of becoming which rethink the processes involved in the subject's ongoing materialisations. Sullivan's project shares terrain with other recent attempts to reconceptualise racialised embodiment in epigenetic terms (see Kuzawa and Sweet, 2009). Equally, Sullivan and Malabou share an interest in the way biological processes such as epigenetic acquisitions might supply examples of "resistance". For Malabou such processes might constitute a form of biological resistance to the operations of biopower – that 'the revolutionary discoveries of molecular and cellular biology', in particular epigenesis reveal 'a biological resistance to politics' (2016: 431, 438). Sullivan takes up the notion of resistance from a psychoanalytic perspective, as that which is repressed in a bodily unconscious. Our bodily unconscious is a way of doing things (our unthought physiological habits) that emerge through our dynamic interactions with the world. Sullivan explains:

Biology, Mauricio Meloni urges the exercise of caution in such interpretations, noting that epigenetic research, if misappropriated, can work to pathologise the poor or ethnic groups constructed as '(epi)genetically damaged' (2016: 221).

¹⁵ There is a move by Sullivan to avoid pitting physiology – the subject of emerging material feminisms (see Barad, 1997; Coole and Frost, 2010) – against poststructuralism or continental philosophy.¹⁵ For Sullivan, 'a psychoanalytic notion of the unconscious is crucial for producing an account of the hormones, tissues, and biological processes of the lived body that is non-reductive, psychologically rich, and fully material' (2015: 8).

By means of their habitual transactions with the world – which includes the social, political, and historical, as well as the material world – physiological functions help to constitute the particular beings we are. When those living connections, relationships, and *investments* are troubled or troubling – whether because of an organic or a sociopolitical trauma – then *unconscious problems, symptoms, and resistances* tend to result. (2015: 14)

Notice Sullivan's use of a psychoanalytic language of investment, symptom, and resistance. Sullivan extends the psychoanalytic understanding of resistance to 'nongenetic, psychophysiological inheritance across generational lines in the context of white domination' (2015: 20) – in other words, to the psychophysiology constituted by a racist environment, and the epigenetic processes of methylation inscribe genes. Epigenetic acquisitions that are transgenerational are, Sullivan suggests, 'a product of racism that then attempts to perpetuate itself and thereby actively resist efforts to change or eliminate it' (2015: 120). This model of "resistance" is ambivalent – it is not clear where the benefits, of such a bio-chemical (as in methylation), resistance to changing form might lie, especially when epigenetic studies highlight negative epidemiological consequences (higher risk of premature birth). We are nonetheless reminded, here, of Mbembe's assertion that:

[T]o account for both the mind-set and the effectiveness of postcolonial relations of power, we need to go beyond the binary categories used in standard interpretations of domination, such as resistance vs. passivity, autonomy vs. subjection, state vs. civil society, hegemony vs. counter-hegemony, totalization vs. detotalization. (2001: 103) Resistance, in Sullivan's account, is tied to an essentially abstract, passive (non)experience. Sullivan maintains that such bio-chemical processes, although they are not tangible to the subject – we cannot feel our genes methylating, are nonetheless psychological and social. Resistance, in psychoanalytic terms, arises from an attempt to suppress unwanted thoughts: liberation then, would also mean unbinding the conditioning of such unconscious physiological mechanisms and conditioning. What we are missing in Sullivan is an attention to the phantasy routes by which such an unbinding might take place. Literature might provide us with radical new perspectives on what liberation from racist environments might look like.

Both Sullivan's and Malabou's psychoanalytically-inflected materialisms can aid us in an analysis of materiality – including bodily materiality – as pervaded by power relations. Malabou's connections between cerebral and sociopolitical traumas that have no clear etiology, as well as her blurring of the distinction between organic and political trauma in and of itself, suggests points of connection with the thought of Rob Nixon. Both Malabou (implicitly) and Nixon (explicitly) re-think the temporality of the traumatic event. Nixon uses the term "slow violence" to indicate 'a violence that occurs gradually and out of sight, a violence of delayed destruction that is dispersed across time and space, an attritional violence that is typically not viewed as violence at all' (2011a: 2). This kind of violence is not 'an event or action that is immediate in time', but is rather 'incremental and accretive, its calamitous repercussions playing out across a range of temporal scales' (2011a:2). This theory comprises an extension Johan Galtung's theory of "structural violence": the vast structures that can give rise to personal acts of violence and constitute forms of violence in and of themselves. We might also think here of Laura Brown's conception of "insidious trauma", which is characterised not as a single event, but as 'the traumatogenic effects of oppression that are not necessarily overtly violent or threatening to bodily wellbeing at the given moment but do violence to the soul and spirit' (Brown, 1995: 107). Insidious trauma is caused by stress and everyday chronic conditions caused by racism and sexism. Between organic and sociopolitical trauma we can position environmental trauma. Environmental trauma adds a psychoanalytic dimension to Nixon's "slow violence", while drawing on the non-organic, social conditions of Laura Brown's notion of "insidious trauma". Environmental trauma is a simultaneously political and organic trauma: it is sociopolitical in origin (especially in the colonially-produced environment) and it materially affects the psychophysiological body.

Frantz Fanon and materialist psychoanalysis

My interest in Fanon lies in his psychoanalytic theories of racialising embodiment, including his account of "epidermalisation" in *Black Skin, White Masks*, and his description of the muscularised embodied praxis of the colonised in *The Wretched of the Earth*. Critics tend to emphasise either Fanon's materialism or his psychoanalysis. Along these lines, Ranjana Khanna argues that Fanon's interest in the postcolonial psyche – and his understanding of 'the existence of colonial melancholy when he wrote with concern on the need for national culture and the failure of the colonized bourgeoisie in his late work *The Wretched of the Earth*' – has been a driving factor in what she describes as the 'delayed affect' of recent critical "returns" to his earlier, psychoanalytic register, 'less clearly formulated and more contradictory than the later work, curiously appears more pertinent today as nation-states are losing their power to multinational conglomerates and to global capital' (Khanna, 2003: 167). In seeking to extend postcolonial uses of

psychoanalysis through an engagement with colonial environmental and epidemiological histories, I am not "returning" to the Fanon of *Black Skin, White Masks* over the Fanon of *The Wretched of the Earth.*¹⁶ The psychic and the material are interwoven in Fanon's analysis. In *Black Skin, White Masks*, for instance, Fanon argues that '[g]enuine disalienation will have been achieved only when things, in the most materialist sense, have resumed their rightful place' (2008: xv).¹⁷ The black person's alienation, Fanon argues, follows a double etiology that is first 'economic', and second epidermalising (2008: xv). In the chapter of *Black Skin, White Masks* titled 'The lived experience of the black man', Fanon draws upon the perceptual phenomenology of Maurice Merleau-Ponty in outlining the embodied experience of being black in a racist environment.¹⁸ Fanon supplements Merleau-Ponty's corporeal schema with a twofold schema of racialised experience: the historical-racial schema, and the epidermal racial schema. I quote at length:

I know that if I want to smoke, I shall have to stretch out my right arm and grab the packet of cigarettes lying at the other end of the table. As for the matches, they are in the left drawer, and I shall have to move back a little. And I make all of these moves not by habit, but by implicit knowledge. A slow construction of my self as a body in a spatial and temporal world – such seems to be the schema. It is not imposed on me; it is rather a definitive structuring of my self and the world –

¹⁶ Indeed, I would argue, following Khanna (2003), that the line between Fanon's psychoanalysis and his materialism, usually identified with his early and late texts respectively, is not clear cut.

¹⁷ Similarly, Fanon asserts that 'the true disalienation of the black man implies a brutal awareness of the social and economic realities [...] the alienation of the black man is not an individual question' (2008: xiv-xv).

¹⁸ For critics and philosophers of race who establish Fanon's critical dialogue with Merleau-Ponty in *Black Skin, White Masks* see Macey (1999), Weate (2001) and Salamon (2006).

definitive because it creates a genuine dialectic between my body and the world. [...] Beneath the body schema I had created a historical-racial schema. The data I used were provided not by "remnants of feelings and notions of the tactile, vestibular, kinaesthetic, or visual nature" but by the Other, the white man, who had woven me out of a thousand details, anecdotes, and stories. (2008: 90-91)

In Merleau-Ponty, the corporeal schema is neither purely physiological, nor purely mental, but a way of living through the world. As such, phenomenology offers another instance of the irreducible involvement of the subject with the world that new materialists are rethinking in relation to a range of ontological types. Here, Fanon begins by elaborating the phenomenological experience of the body through the spatial and experience of a particular action: that of taking a packet of cigarettes and a box of matches in order to have a smoke. He alludes to Merleau-Ponty's understanding of '[t]he fusion of soul and body in the [action], the sublimation of biological into personal existence, and of the natural into the cultural world [...] made both possible and precarious by the temporal structure of our experience' (2002: 97). It is through such sublimations that even habitual reflexes – like reaching for a packet of cigarettes – have meaning. Fanon then complicates Merleau-Ponty's corporeal schema, which is unable to account for the differentiated experience of the black person's racialised and racialising embodiment. He writes that '[i]n the white world, the man of color encounters difficulties in elaborating his bodily schema. The image of one's body is solely negating. It's an image of the third person. All around the body reigns an atmosphere of certain uncertainty (2008: 90). Compare the atmosphere of certain uncertainty with Merleau-Ponty's exploration of the meaningful structures of our spatial environment:

Not only have I a physical world, not only do I live in the midst of earth, air, water, I have around me roads, plantations, villages, streets, churches, implements, a bell, a spoon, a pipe. Each of these objects is moulded to the human action which it serves. Each one spreads around it an atmosphere of humanity. (2002: 405)

We know from theorists like Latour and Bernard Stiegler, that we are simultaneously moulded by the objects that we mould. For Stiegler, for instance, the tool is an agent in human evolution (a process Stiegler terms epiphylogenesis) (Stiegler, 1998: 135). Human consciousness evolves in concert with the tool because its use engenders reflexivity. Merleau-Ponty recounts the subject reflexively creating a world, and the world, correspondingly, enveloping the subject with an 'atmosphere of humanity'. By contrast, Fanon's 'atmosphere of certain uncertainty' alludes to the phenomenological experience of one's bodily existence as human being drawn into question. The racist world constructs a negating body schema, which then disturbs the subject's embodiment (tactile and postural senses). In the oft-quoted passage "Look, a Negro!", in which Fanon describes the accumulative trauma of being constructed as a raced object, we can observe a broadly environmental stimulus for racial trauma:

"Look! A Negro!" It was a passing sting. I attempted a smile.

[...]

"Look! A Negro!" The circle was gradually getting smaller. I was really enjoying myself.

"Maman, look, a Negro; I'm scared!" Scared! Scared! Now they were beginning to be scares of me. I wanted to kill myself laughing, but laughter had become out of the question. [...]

As a result, the body schema, attacked in several places, collapsed, giving way to an epidermal racial schema. (2008: 91-92)

The experience of being made into an object leads to an affective experience of disintegration and discontained tactile response. Fanon writes of 'Peeling, stripping my skin, causing a haemorrhage that left congealed black blood all over my body'. Equally, the environment itself becomes infective: 'I was unable to discover the feverish coordinates of the world [...]. Nausea' (Fanon, 2008: 91-92).

Fanon writes, similarly, in Black Skin, White Masks of the infective quality of racism. He states that 'the white man infects the black with extremely toxic foreign bodies' (19). Considering that the historical and the material are essential to the psychic workings of colonialism outlined by Fanon, we might want to think this observation in epidemiological terms. As David Macey observes in his biography of Fanon, Fort-de-France, the Martinique capital where Fanon grew up was a nexus of disease, poverty, and infestation. A sewage system was not constructed until 1951, leaving human waste to be dumped into open drains and rivers. The polluted land was a breeding ground for rats and land crabs. Infectious and parasitic diseases - tuberculosis, leprosy, malaria, and elephantiasis, were present throughout much of the 1950s. Fanon's lived experience of the colony as a vulnerable and potentially infecting/infesting environment does overtly mark Black Skin, White Masks. Nonetheless, analysing the pull of the metropole for one living in the colonies, Fanon quotes Émile Snyder: 'The city of Fort-de-France is truly lacklustre and shipwrecked. Over there on the slopes of the sun is "the city - flat, sprawled, tripped up by its common sense, inert, winded under the geometric weight of its eternally renewed cross $[\dots]^{"}$ (5). Here, the oppressive qualities of the environment

are simultaneously material and psychic: the city is caught under the "geometric weight" of the cross: a symbol replete with material heaviness. Fanon also offers a materialist analysis of the way race and poverty become embodied states when he writes:

I refused [...] any *affective tetanization*. I wanted to be a man, and nothing but a man. There were some who wanted to equate me with my ancestors, enslaved and lynched: I decided I would accept this. I considered this internal kinship from the universal level of intellect – I was the grandson of slaves the same way President Lebrun was the grandson of peasants who had been *exploited and worked to the bone*. (92-93 emphasis added)

This alludes to material embodiment (not just phenomenological embodiment): how poverty becomes an embodied state – work wears the bones and muscle-fibres, poor diet makes one susceptible to disease and wasting. Colonisation – with its histories of forced and expropriated labour, corporeal punishment, and epidemiological burden – is similarly "embodied".

The oppressive environment of the colony also produces an embodied, psychophysiological response. In Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth* we find an account of the canalisation of colonial trauma into a state of ersatz muscularity. The material asymmetry, and dehumanising conditions, of the colony manifest in a 'constant muscular tonus' (2004: 17), expressive of the desire an 'impulse to take the colonist's place' (2004: 17). The aggressive desire for restitution is sublimated into 'muscular dreams, dreams of action, dreams of aggressive vitality' (2004: 14). The colonised's muscular tension is alleviated only through violence, codified in social practices (dance) or through 'the very real collective self-destruction' (2004: 17). Fanon describes this state of muscular tension

as an 'overexcited affectivity' (2004: 19). This ersatz muscularity is both a psychic boon (it liberates when expressed) and an affliction. Fanon writes: '[i]n the colonial world, the colonized's affectivity is kept on edge like a running sore flinching from a caustic agent. And the psyche retracts, is obliterated, and finds an outlet through muscular spasms' (2004: 19). Notice here Fanon's imageries of wounding and burning. The colonial environment here acts as a "caustic", while the colonised's affective state is one of reactive openness to the environment (characterised as an open sore). This affective state, 'kept on the edge', is always capable of manifesting in (self)destructive explosions. Both epidermalisation and muscular tension in Fanon share simultaneously psychic and physiological features. Muscular tension, in particular, resonates with Sullivan's account of the bodily unconscious, which in its physiological functioning resonates with the biopsycho-social world.

Psychoanalysis and embodiment: the ecologies of skin

I began this introduction with the human microbiome, as that which radically coimplicates "nature" and our embodied state. We have also seen how environmental stressors (racist environments) may be chemically imprinted on our genes in forms of epigenetic inheritance. I now move on to an examination of another model of our environmental openness: the immune system – as that which is inflected by a range of psychic and environmental exposures. In what follows, I offer a psychoanalytic rendition of immune functioning, which I derive in part through Didier Anzieu's theory of the skin ego. My interest in Anzieu's psychoanalytic theory of the skin lies in the way it ties psychic life to the phenomenological experience of the body's physiological functions. This phenomenological perception, Anzieu argues, is tied to the skin. Thus, Anzieu shares with Fanon an interest in phenomenology and the reflexive nature of perceptual and sensory (particularly tactile) experience. Anzieu suggests that phantasy figurations of the skin ego follow various permutations. If psychic life and structures of phantasy are tied to phenomenology and physiology, how might our states of health and illness influence this nexus?

For Anzieu that the psyche constitutes itself, first and foremost, on a tactile foundation, on the skin. The skin ego is formed from sensory impressions, organised by the skin, that *surround* the body to form a psychic envelope. These sensory impressions are primarily tactile and auditory but they are also olfactory and, to a lesser extent, visual. For Anzieu, cutaneous phantasies – phantasies that derive from the skin and its sensory envelopes – are the first to clothe the nascent ego with a figurative representation. This representation is imaginary but it mobilises what is 'most profound in us, our surface' (Anzieu, 2016: 60). The skin ego is the projection in the mind of the surface of the body: it is a psychic surface that can be expanded or contracted and that can take other objects as an auxiliary surface or "second skin". The theory of the skin ego resonates with Fanon's phenomenology of racial trauma and racialising embodiment. The phenomenological supplies third term between the physiological and the psychic. Fanon's materialist model of psychophysiology suggests points of connection with Anzieu's account of the embodied psychophysiology of the skin - where physiological functioning like sweating or the deposit of fat – can become entangled with meaning. In her reading of Anzieu, Nicola Diamond argues that the skin, in both its sensorial and physiological dimensions is not a 'fixed preconstituted biological bedrock', which would exist prior to 'being in the world' (2013: 44). Rather, it is the other who supplies us with a semiotic skin matrix for organising and interpreting our sensory impressions (Diamond, 2013: 44). Anzieu's theory of the skin ego is predicated on both the sensory primacy of the skin, and on the skin as a signifying object that is taken up by the psyche in its phantasy life while also being socially and culturally invested with a range of meanings. Fanon – although concerned with the phenomenology of the body - is also concerned with the ways in which the skin itself – in its symbolic and signifying dimensions – is made into an object. He writes, for instance: 'I cast an objective gaze over myself, discovered my blackness, my ethnic features, deafened by cannibalism, backwardness, fetishism, racial stigmas' (2008: 92). Equally, the experience of psychic trauma which disturbs the phenomenological senses of being in space is described in terms of the skin: 'Peeling, stripping my skin, causing a haemorrhage that left congealed black blood all over my body'. Here the skin covering the body is second, object-skin – a skin composed of black disembodied (because haemorrhaged) blood. Elsewhere still Fanon writes: 'I [...] discover my livery for the first time. It is in fact ugly' (93). Here, the facticity of the skin serves to designate its symbolic status as object. While a livery refers to a servant's apparel, is also refers to a fur hide: it interweaves the significations of servitude and animality. I therefore want to think the materialist psyche in terms of phantasies that manifest around the borders of the body, the skin as boundary and as signifier of "race".

Fanon's account of the ersatz muscularity of the colonised appears to correspond with Anzieu's account of the "second muscular skin" – a particular skin ego figuration. The second muscular skin compensates for deficiency in the protective function of the skin ego. It is an active protective shield that reinforces the passive protective shield – the one which must be in contact with a potentially traumatising external environment. Anzieu writes that: '[t]he specific instinctual cathexis of the musculature and thus of the second skin is that of aggression (whereas the primary tactile Skin-ego is cathected with the drive for [...] self-preservation' (2016: 220). We can read Fanon's account of muscular demonstrations and sublimated aggression for how the social structures our psychic skin (and our embodied physiology).

In reading colonial and postcolonial environmentalisms through what I term the ecologies of skin, I am envisaging psychic boundaries that are mutable and multiple; I argue that our psychic skin in infancy is not only shared with the mother and that the psychic properties of space do not only derive from contact with human others. There is also a "tactile" environment that surrounds us and is incorporated by the senses: the sensate psychic subject is always-already immersed in a sensate world that can be both stimulating and traumatic. Here, I use the term tactile in the sense of a touching proximity, for the environment beyond the self is of course not only tactile. The sensate is more than touch, the sensate subject more than skin – although, and crucially, the sense organs are housed, or contained, within the skin envelope. In his original (1974) formulation of the skin ego, Anzieu advances three primary configurations of the skin ego – the sac, the screen, and the sieve (2016: 105) – each with its own function.¹⁹ These phantasies of form are propped upon the phenomenological experience of the skin and its physiology.²⁰ I am also interested here in the skin ego's function as a filter for exchanges. This function 'which it shares with the mouth and carries out at least as much as the mouth does, is to be a site and primary mode of communication with other people' as well as to operate as a surface for registering the traces left by those others' (Anzieu, 2016: 44). The skin – as

¹⁹ In *The Skin Ego*, Anzieu expands on this original formulation to postulate nine functions of the skin ego, some of which he extends further in the direction of abstraction from refined levels of physiological functioning.

²⁰ The "sac" alludes to a containing and unifying envelope and relates to the skin as that which contains the body. The "screen" describes a protective barrier for the psyche and relates to the skin's protective function. The "sieve" serves as a filter for exchanges and acts as a surface that registers the earliest signifying traces brought to us by others. Of the containing function, Anzieu writes: '[t]he first function of the skin is to be the sac that contains and retains inside itself all the good, full material that has accumulated through breast-feeding, everyday care, and the experience of being bathed in words' (2016: 44)

a surface of psychic and physiological significance – must also be situated in a social environment. As both a culturally complex and vital dimension of human reality, the skin does not only have an organic identity – it is not only a bodily organ with a set of biological functions.

Nonetheless there are also areas of our bodily "openness" to environment that are related to the skin's nonhuman dimensions. The ecologies of the skin also include an ecology *circulating* around the body, inhabiting the skin and impinging on the body. "Otherness" is, from birth, already present in the organic matter of our skin, which houses complex ecologies of microbial life. As Jane Bennett notes, taking the skin as her example, there is an "alien" quality' to our flesh, which captures the 'very radical character of the (fractious) kinship between the human and the nonhuman' (2012: 112). Bennett observes that:

The crook of my elbow [...] is "a special ecosystem, a bountiful home to no fewer than six tribes of bacteria [...] The bacteria in the human microbiome collectively possess at least 100 times as many genes as the mere 20,000 or so in the human genome." The *its* out-number the *mes*. (2012: 112)

Our skin, then, is encompassed by, or shared with, an unseen surface comprised of "notmes", a biological ecosystem that enables our skin to function as it does.

Immunologics of the materialist psyche

The meaningfulness of the immune system – as that which differentiates between "me" (including our cohabiting microbial communities) and "not-me" (pathogenic infections)

brings me to a further theoretical realisation. Namely, that if we are to think about skin ego figurations in terms of colonial epidemiological burden we need to expand Anzieu's account of the skin ego, as that which is propped upon the physiology of the skin, to take into account the skin's role in immune functioning. We can elaborate on the figurations and phantasies of the skin ego through an analogy with the immune system. Anzieu suggests that the skin, as a foundation for the skin ego, has 'elements of both the organic and the imaginary' - it is, he further suggests, 'at once a system for protecting our individuality and a primary site of exchange with others' (2016: 3). Anzieu's figuration of skin as a 'system for protecting our individuality' (2016: 3 emphasis added) evokes the discourse of immunology and the conception of the immune system as that which is "protective" of our identity. (As we know, auto-immune diseases arise when the immune system, no longer able to identify the "me" from the "not-me", attacks the body's own substances). We might say that the idea of the immune-system has, like the skin, elements of both the organic and the imaginary. The immune system is of a biological order, comprised of biological structures (e.g. white blood cells, lymph nodes) and processes (e.g. immune response) within an organism. Nonetheless, the functioning of the immune system can be formulated, imaginatively, as either protective of identity – the idea that 'the immune system must *recognize* self in some manner in order to react to something foreign' (Golub, 1987: 484, qtd. Haraway, 1991: 203) - or as constitutive of it.

I derive this "immunological" rendition of the skin ego, for the most part, from the natural immunity of the skin, and the skin's relationship with illness. In *The Skin Ego*, Anzieu proposes a series of parallels between the biological functions of the skin and the functions of the skin ego, but does not comment directly on skin immunity.²¹ Suggesting

²¹ Anzieu's scattered references to immune functioning in *The Skin Ego* indicate the potential theoretical yield of incorporating immune functioning more systematically into our conception of the ecologies of the skin. Anzieu connects specific aspects of immune functioning to the functions of skin ego. For instance, he refers to innate cell immunity. There is a suggestive crossover between innate cell immunity and the skin

that 'every psychical function develops by leaning anaclitically on a bodily function' (2016: 105), Anzieu proposes eight principal "positive" functions of the skin ego: maintaining, containing, protecting, individuating, connecting, sexualising, recharging, and signifying – and one "negative" function of assaulting/destroying. In each case, the psychical function is propped upon a physiological function. For instance: the skin ego function of maintaining the psyche is compared to the way the skin supports the skeletons and muscles, while the signifying function of the skin ego is connected to the dermatopic sensitivity of the skin – that is, connected to the way the skin provides sensory information about the external world. Anzieu also postulates several other possible psychophysiological skin functions, including 'the function of emission (e.g. of sweat or pheromones)' (2016: 117).²² Anzieu proposes that the function of emission is related to the psychical function of projection (a defence mechanism), with unwanted emotions being "projected" outward through bodily secretions: literally sweated out the skin to create an odorous envelope. The psyche expresses itself through refined, and mutable, physiological functions.

Both the gut and the skin are epithelial surfaces through which our bodies are continually exposed to potentially infectious agents. Infection occurs when a pathogen "impinges" upon this surface – when it is able to adhere to, colonise and penetrate the skin. Disease can only develop when a site of infection has been established, allowing a pathogen to spread to other sites or to secrete toxins that spread throughout the body.

sac, which functions to regulate, through orifices and through regulatory physiological function (e.g. thermal regulation through sweating), what is incorporated and what is expelled. The immune-function of the cell membrane acts to 'protect [...] the cell's individuality by distinguishing between foreign bodies to which it bars entry and substances that are similar or complementary to it and to which admission or association are permitted' (Anzieu, 2016: 111). Instead, we can look at what happens when we move beyond metaphor to actual immune functions localised at the skin surface.

²² Anzieu suggests that his proposed 'grid' of biological skin functions and their psychical correspondences is not exhaustive, and that the study of skin ego functions 'remains open to further development and improvement' (2016: 117).

Often, transient microorganisms are repelled by the skin's innate immune response before a site of infection can be established. The skin is an organ that is exposed to the environment, but it also acts as a barrier that is home to innate and adaptive immune functions. Microbial ecologies are not only present in the physical structure of the skin: they also contribute to the skin's physiological functioning, performing vital functions for cutaneous immunity. I would therefore suggest that, in any theorisation of the skin ego, the skin's microbial ecologies must be considered part of the physiological structure of the skin.²³ Microbial ecologies are not only present in the physical structure of the skin: they also contribute to the skin's physiological functioning, performing vital functions for cutaneous immunity. Resident microorganisms on the skin help to prevent transient pathogenic organisms from colonising the skin's surface (by competing for nutrients, by secreting antimicrobial compounds and by stimulating the immune response of cutaneous cells, priming them to respond to similar pathogens) (Sanford and Gallo, 2013: 374; Grice and Segre, 2013: 244). However, at the same time as the skin microbiota perform critical functions for human physiology, 'influencing normal skin health' (Sanford and Gallo, 2013: 370), they also 'pose the *threat of breach* with ensuing pathologies' (Hooper et al., 2012: 1268). The microbial "physiology" of the skin has a stake in states of health and of illness.

So far, the discussion has been highly technical. This is for a purpose: there is considerable recent medical research that is increasingly thinking of the skin in similar ways to those which I am trying to set out here. I want to take a moment to run through some of these positions. Firstly, the skin is a surface exposed to environmental

²³ Resident microorganisms on the skin help to prevent transient pathogenic organisms from colonising the skin's surface (by competing for nutrients, by secreting antimicrobial compounds and by stimulating the immune response of cutaneous cells, priming them to respond to similar pathogens) (Costello et al., 2012: 1255).

materialities. The skin's 'location at the interface with the outside world', James Sanford and Richard Gallo note, 'makes it [the] most subject to environmental influences that will affect the [composition of its] microbiota' (2013: 371). The composition of the skin's microbiota is known as the skin microbiome. A microbiome is the combined genetic material of the microorganisms in a particular environment, including human and animal "environments" as well as biophysical ones. Medical science is increasingly positioning the human microbiome as inherently "environmental", subject to environmental influence. The human microbiome also acts like an ecosystem, shaped by ecological processes (diversification, dispersal, environmental selection, ecological drift) (Costello et al., 2012: 1255). Including microbial ecologies (the microbiome) in our understanding of the structure and function of the skin, I suggest, makes it possible to explore the skin ego as an environmental category.²⁴ The very matter that makes up this "organ" comes from without, and is environmentally inflected, so treating the microbiome as an organ radically destabilises the notion of the body (and the psychic) as an uncontaminated human whole.

In the chapters that follow, I focus on the skin (and other boundary-inducing and boundary-reducing entities) as a simultaneously psychic and material stratum underpinning human existence. The skin ego gives us both the psyche and the organism and it allows us to think about the permeability of psyche and world. The "skin" of the subject is always-already immersed in and interpellated by ecological materialisms (pollution, disease, epigenetic acquisitions, extinction). Understood as an environmental category, the concept of the skin ego allows us to open the subject up to its multiple other

²⁴ While Anzieu suggests that the skin is a surface that individuates through the variability of its composition and cultural markers, it is also true that our physiological skin state is biologically individuated by the composition of its microbiome. The skin, then, is also individuated through the "not-me" – through its microbial ecologies.

orientations. Some of these orientations are biophysical: we are affected, for instance, by environmental distributions of disease and pollution. In the colonial environment epidemiology is meaningful because of the uneven distribution of resources, waste, and sanitation. Although the surface of our body is permeable, with its zones of exchange, it is also a surface that we charge with the symbolic task of separating the "me" from the "not-me". This is as true of our social relations – the visual allocation of race – as it is of our environmental relations – the avoidance of dirt and polluting substances. Our contemporary ecological awareness has, as Bonnie Roos and Alex Hunt note, been borne out of the 'nightmare of contamination' (chemical and nuclear) – and it is this environmental pollution that has revealed the permeability of our bodies to contaminated ecosystemic flows, to pollutants carried in water and weather systems (2014: 186). Our bodies, as Rob Nixon notes, are never our simple contemporaries, either ecologically or epidemiologically (2011: 8).

1

Ecologies of the skin in Dambudzo Marechera

The parasite intervenes, enters the system as an element of fluctuation. It excites it or incites it; it puts it into motion, or it paralyzes it. It changes its state, changes its energetic state, its displacements and condensations.

Michel Serres, 1989 p. 191

The ecology of urban and rural reserves in Zimbabwe index the epidemiologically invasive nature of the colonial environment. The colonial distribution of space is also a distribution of epidemiological burden. The history of land clearances in Zimbabwe sees black people removed to "reserves" that are often situated within disease-ridden areas. Historically, black Zimbabweans are made into reservoirs of ill health, both epidemiologically and psychically. In this chapter, I deploy the cultural imaginary of the "reservoir", as in a reservoir of disease, to think through this history. In the context of colonial Rhodesia's environmental history, the ecologies of skin take me in the direction of epidemiology and vectors of disease. Black Zimbabweans are, through a history of land clearances, being determined or carried by vectors: where and what they are flows from where and what the vectors are. The enforced colonial matrix of racial difference is also a matrix of projection (of black bodies "elsewhere"), infection, and disease. I therefore think the pathogenic impingement of the colonial environment on the psyche in material terms: as infection. Equally, the notion of an environmentally-mediated message (issuing from the meaningful materiality of colony) is thought here in terms of environmental pollution and infestation. Accordingly, the first section of this chapter offers an environmental history of land clearances in colonial Rhodesia from the perspective of trypanosomiasis epidemiology. Trypanosomiasis is a vector-borne zoonotic disease (a disease which can be transmitted to humans from animals). The disease is caused, like malaria, by parasitic protozoa introduced into the blood by the bite of an insect. In the case of trypanosomiasis, the vector is the tsetse fly (the vector of malaria being the mosquito). As vectors of disease, the distribution of tsetse flies within the landscape is inextricable from certain aspects of Zimbabwe's colonial environmental and medical histories. Tsetse flies are the subject of intensive environmental sanitation initiatives. Marechera does not write of tsetse flies, but in 'Protista' (the title alludes to trypanosomal protozoa) he deploys the arid lowland environments they inhabit as a trope for colonial environmental alienation and despoliation. In The House of Hunger, where Marechera writes the residential "reserve" of the township, flies feature frequently as a sign of inadequate sanitation and the uneven distribution of waste and resources. It is in response to this material history that the second half of this chapter explores forms of environmental and bodily "contamination" (pollution and systemic ill health) in Marechera's thought and writing. In this part of the chapter, I am especially concerned with how the phantasied and material incorporation and projection of the "not-me" (especially in immunological terms, as a microbiological "not-me") inflects psychic life. I conceptualise the "ecologies of skin" in Marechera's thought as part of an environmentally-oriented psychology, concerned with the incorporation into the body, and the projection out of the body, of infecting "bad contents" (and un-metabolisable

messages) that issue from the colonial environment. These contaminations are primarily psychic, and are propped upon the material and imagined contaminations of various bodily sites and systems. Specifically, they are propped upon contaminations of the gut and of the genitals (both of which sometimes merge in a form of cloacal contamination).

I connect the epidemiological burdens of colonially-produced environments to both the imaginative trope and environmental history of the "reservoir" in Zimbabwe. Marechera is attentive to the reservoir as a potentially infective (or infested) site. The contaminable body in Marechera is not only the body of the subject (a psychophysiological body) but also the reservoir (a body of water). In Marechera's writing, psychic life is opened up to its multiple environmental orientations through an engagement with the history and ecology of "reservoirs" in colonial and postcolonial Zimbabwe.²⁵ The reservoirs in this chapter are "man-made": sculpted by the material practices of colonialism. They include the waters impounded by the Rusape (Lesapi) Dam, located close to Vengere township where Marechera grew up, and Lake Chivero, a man-made reservoir and municipal water supply near Harare. Other "reservoirs" - those that retain disease, or that contribute to forms of systematic ill health – are similarly sculpted by the material practices of Rhodesian settler-colonialism. These material practices unevenly distribute disease through land clearances (both rural and urban) and resource annexation. In other words, in this chapter, both colonial environmental history (infestation) and the states of bodily illness that Marechera inhabited (infection) are held together within the trope of the "reservoir". The technonature of the reservoir promises modernity in the colonial era, particularly through the Kariba megadam project (Tischler, 2013). But the reservoir has a complex postcolonial afterlife. Bodies of water, in

²⁵ I concentrate here on the novella *The House of Hunger*; a short story, 'Protista', originally published as a subsection of a longer short story 'The Writer's Grain'; and an essay, 'Fear and Dread Out of Harare', published posthumously and now collected in the 2009 Heinemann edition of *The House of Hunger*.

Marechera's thought, are important psychic containing-objects not only because they are both contaminable and contaminating but because the specific history of environmental colonialism in Zimbabwe involved the production of new bodies of water through the construction of dams, as well as the annexation of land and water resources.²⁶ The creation of reservoirs in this context is a form of environmental colonialism – a regulation of water and its flows – that re-inscribes the modes and rights of access to water as well as materially altering the distribution of water in a landscape. Dam construction expropriates the water resource for colonial agro-economic development and destroys existing land use patterns (for both humans and animals) through the filling of the reservoir. Before proceeding to an analysis of the reservoir proper, it firstly behoves us to think through the epidemiological terrain of reserves and reservoirs in colonial Rhodesia. In the following section, I elaborate how the reserve and the reservoir are working in connection with one another in Zimbabwe's colonial and environmental history. There is a connection to water and resources here, because the distribution of disease is also an effect of water distribution in the landscape. Settlers annexed [alienated] agriculturally productive areas (areas with the highest rainfall), clearing these lands of their populations and redistributing diseased lands to black Africans. Building reservoirs and irrigation systems also allowed settlers to annex additional lands that were potentially productive (and potentially disease-free, because agricultural lands do not sustain the host animals on which tsetse flies feed).

Laurice Taitz treats Marechera's allusions to disease as a materialist critique of the colonial. He writes: '[t]he use of disease as a metaphor [in Marechera] emerges out of a social context in which there is an unequal distribution of resources and political

²⁶ Most notably, the Kariba mega-dam scheme involved the forced relocation of some 860,000 Tonga inhabitants of the Zambezi valley, which became the Kariba lake basin once the dam was sealed.

power' (1999: 30). But disease, and its distribution across human and material environments, also allows us conceptualise the nonhuman actants that combine in material assemblages as agents of such unequal distribution. One example of the distributive agency of disease is provided by Clapperton Mavhunga and Marja Spierenburg - who, in examining the role tsetse flies have had in 'human migration, entomology, and wildlife management', describe these insects as 'non-human agents or drivers of human programmes, though their influence is mediated by human perception and interpretations' (2007: 117). Here, we are reminded of Jane Bennett's notion of a confederate agency - an agentic combination of micro- and macro-actants. In Bennett's usage, the term "actant" designates the 'material agency or effectivity of nonhuman or not-quite-human things' - the 'active powers issuing from nonsubjects' (Bennett, 2012: ix). One example Bennett gives us of a confederate agency is the combination of human will (a macro-actant) and intestinal bacteria (a micro-actant). Marechera's The House of Hunger is marked by a form of ontological becoming associated with gut rot -aconsequence of systemic ill health in the township. Marechera's references to gastric pain indicate how the effectivity of nonhuman microbial life - the bacteria that circulate in and around human bodies in colonially-produced environments - re-combines in myriad relations with the social environment, becoming part of a colonial bio-power that curtails human will. The readings of Marechera I advance in this chapter offer radical new points of departure for understanding the politics of Marechera's aesthetics, especially what we might term his "excremental" aesthetics. Esty suggests that the trope of shit performs an 'autocritical function' for postcolonial writers (Esty, 2007 36). Referring to Warwick Anderson's 'Excremental Colonialism', which analyses the crucial role played by phantasies of excremental and unsanitary others in the development enterprises of colonialism, Esty suggests that, following such forms of epidemiological debasement,

excremental images begin to operate counter-discursively in the postcolonial (2007: 25). Esty states that he is concerned with 'shit not so much as a material object but as a powerful "discursive resource" (2007: 26), I am, however, concerned with the role of shit, microbes, and parasites, in the material nexus of the lived environment and in the biomedical conditioning of psychic life. In Marechera's work, human-nonhuman assemblages emerge as both a constitutive nexus for psychic life and a space from which the nonhuman-centered operations of the colonial system may be apprehended and critiqued. In Marechera's literature, this critique is psychically-constructed. It is perhaps for this reason that Marechera's critics have consistently treated his biography, and state of psychic health, as a privileged node of meaning. While I by no means abandon biography, or autobiographical allusion in his work, I decenter it through attention to other "outside-texts" composed of politically-meaningful environmental materialities. Few critics have provided ecologically-inflected readings of Marechera. Those that do emphasise the cultural resonance of environmental conditions like drought. Musaemura Zimunya identifies a paradigm of 'cultural drought' (1882: 3), patterned by an empirical reality of drought, structuring post-colonial Zimbabwean literature (culminating in Marechera's The House of Hunger). Grant Lilford Marechera's drought takes two forms, the familiar rural condition of deprivation of rain, and an urban drought which has more to do with spiritual barrenness' (1999: 284).

Much literary scholarship on Marechera emphasises his "individualism" or the 'complicated internal universe of his writing' (Nicholls, 2013: 1). Marechera's narrative form – fragmentary, allusive, dreamlike and nonlinear, marked aesthetically by auditory and visual hallucinations and autobiographical allusions – emerges here as a politicised response to colonial environmental relations and histories of epidemiological racism. Marechera writes from within the embodied experience of illnesses that are unequally distributed to the colonised. The illnesses that Marechera's texts aesthetically belong to the collective experience of the colonial environment – its material histories and meaningful biophysical (and biomedical) materialities. In the case of 'Protista', which in my reading formally inscribes the symptoms trypanosomiasis causes in its host, Marechera engages with forms of systemic health that he himself – as an inhabitant of an urban residential reserve - did not experience. What my reading of 'Protista' demonstrates is that Marechera writes politicised forms of colonially-imposed epidemiological burden that do not correspond to his own personal experience. I emphasise this point because Marechera scholarship has been slow to adequately respond to the early allegation that Marechera 'makes myths for himself, not for the tribe' (Zimunya: 1982, 177). Early criticism not only positioned Marechera's writing as 'modernist (thus coded "European") and as such 'outside "the African tradition" (Shaw, 1999: 8) but read Marechera himself as "alienated" and Europeanised (Okonkwo, 1981; Zimunya, 1982; Zinyemba, 1983; Omole, 1991; Wylie, 1991; Mzamane, 1992). These critics condemned the "individualism" of Marechera's literary aesthetics, which did not conform to the politicised aesthetic preference for nationalist social realism in postcolonial Zimbabwe.²⁷ Later waves of critics laud the same "individualism" as an index of Marechera's politically antagonistic mode of authorship.²⁸ Others read Marechera in terms of his individual psychology and offer critical perspectives that

²⁷ For a detailed appraisal of early nationalist criticism of Marechera, see Drew Shaw's essay 'Transgressing traditional narrative form' (1999: 6-8). Anna-Leena Toivanen similarly argues that Marechera was criticised for 'being too westernized and individualistic, lacking "serious commitment" to the anticolonial struggle and to the construction of empowering national identity' (2011: 16).

²⁸ Anthony Chennells and Flora Veit-Wild position Marechera as a writer whose aesthetics challenge 'formulations which constitute the idea of a discrete "African identity" (1999: xi). Anna Leena Toivanen characterises Marechera as a "writer-fighter" for this rejection of ethno-nationalistic identifications (2009). Bill Ashcroft suggests that 'Marechera's rejection of the term "African writer" lies in the same category as other writers' rejection of nationality' (2013: 79). This rejection allows Marechera to single-handedly 'break [...] the iron grip of realism in the African novel' (Ashcroft, 2012: 13). David Huddart also responds to the critical emphasis on Marechera's 'unique[ness]', observing wryly that 'according to Brian Evenson, Marechera on his own constitutes "Zimbabwe's Beat Generation"' (2013: 99-100).

highlight his paranoiac tendencies or psychic ambivalence, his double-voicedness, psychic unease, or multiple fictions of self.²⁹ In my reading of 'Protista', I offer a new critical figure for thinking through Marechera's politics of placement (in Europe or in Africa). I read the manfish – a critical figure for European parasitism on African ecology, as well as for the colonised's hybrid forms of cultural and political life – as a mobile signifier for the writer who operates according to a logic of the "retro-viral", and whose literary insertions into the book environments of colonial "culture" re-code its coordinates. One early critic, Juliet Okonkwo, condemned Marechera's aesthetics for being 'alien to Africa', a consequence of his having 'grafted a decadent avant-garde European attitude and style to experiences that emanate from Africa and Africans' (1981: 91).³⁰ What Okonkwo condemns as aberrant, and politically destitute (hence decadent), I read as materially hybrid.

²⁹ At the extreme end of this spectrum, David Pattison reads Marechera's writing as marked by 'extreme paranoia', degenerating aesthetically in line with progressive schizophrenia (2001: 38, 122). Nicholls by contrast, emphasises the politics – or cryptopolitics – of Marechera's aesthetics. He reads Marechera's writing as structured by psychic unease, and his 'fantasies of self [as] strategically canny responses to the available cultural narratives and to the larger politics of placement within which he found himself, whether in Africa or in Europe' (2013: 1). Bill Ashcroft claims that '[t]here is possibly no writer whose fiction is more enmeshed with his life, no writer whose life seems more like a picaresque novel' (2013: 76), while Melissa Levin and Laurice Taitz trouble the line or boundary between Marechera's life and his writing, describing Marechera's 'fictional autobiographies or autobiographical fictions' (1999: 163). Similarly, David Buuck writes that "Marechera constantly relocates himself (and his written self) within the shifting allegiances and constructions of identity, preferring to refract the self into many rather than invent a cohesive and stable subject position' (1997: 121). Also emphasising Marechera's 'focused for his "hybrid consciousness", a form of psychic ambivalence consequent on colonialism (1999).

³⁰ Ranga Zinyemba diagnoses Marechera's exceptionalism through a European literary analogy: 'as is the case of Conrad's Kurtz, all Europe contributed to the making of Marechera' (1983: 149). Similarly,

Mbulelo Mzamane argues that Marechera's 'literary analogies owe very little to the African tradition, and rob the work of a Zimbabwean authenticity' (1992: 94).

Reserves and reservoirs

In the context of Zimbabwean environmental history, the conception of the "reserve" that I want to frame is related to the Land Apportionment Act of 1930. This Act codified a system of possessory segregation along racial lines, and "reserved" for black African use only those lands with the lowest agricultural resource-potential. These lands were also, and not coincidentally, diseased - infested with tsetse and mosquito which act as the vectors for trypanosomiasis and malaria (respectively). The colonial production of environment in Zimbabwe is interpretable through the paradigm of its "diseasescape" (its landscape of disease). This diseasescape contours and, to an extent, is also contoured by colonial Rhodesia's political ecology. I arrive at this conception with reference to John Ford's (1971) study of trypanosomiasis - The Role of the Trypanosomiases in African *Ecology.* In his examination of trypanosomiasis epidemiology in the context of colonial Rhodesia, in the chapter titled 'Land Apportionment and the Rhodesian Grenzwildnis', Ford delineates how the racially segregated apportionment of land followed, simultaneously, the contours of environmental resource potential and of disease. The Land Apportionment Act divided land into European Areas, Native Areas, Native Reserves, Native Purchase Areas and Forest Areas, and an additional 7 million hectares of "unassigned land" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009: 66).³¹ The lands assigned for African use were, overwhelmingly, distributed in regions that had historically been "reserved" from

³¹ The Land Apportionment Act allocated 51 per cent of the land to approximately 50 000 whites and 28 per cent to over 1 million Africans (Moyana, 2002: 70). In addition to land alienation, which included the creation of exclusive forest reserves, white settlers also expropriated wildlife hunting rights.

use because they were agriculturally unexploitable and disease-ridden. These are the ecological zones that John Ford, in his 1971 study, defined as *grenzwildnisses*: arid, uninhabited and unsettled areas of woodland infested with tsetse flies. The *grenzwildnis* areas had remained uninhabited, Ford suggested, not because they were infested with tsetse as such, but because they were uncultivatable. Ford's key discovery was to show that as soon as land becomes agriculturally exploitable it no longer sustains populations of tsetse (which rely on the presence of wild game to act as their hosts). The 'essential character' of the *grenzwildnis*, according to Ford, 'is not that it is tsetse infested, but that it consists of land that is inherently poor or else difficult to exploit' (1971: 340). In other words, it is not 'it is not the tsetse that keeps out man, but that the tsetse flourishes where man cannot' (Ford, 1971: 374).³²

The racial segregation of land set out in the Land Apportionment Act followed the contours of both environmental aridity and of the disease-scape, simultaneously and indissociably, for one flows from the other. Settler-colonists annexed the agriculturally productive highveld – the agro-ecological region with the highest rainfall. Of course, this land was also disease-free. Later on, following both the Land Apportionment Act the reallocation of lands recommended in the Quinton Report (1960), vast tracts of the potentially irrigable areas of the lowveld (areas in which aridity could be combatted through water) were also allocated for European use. The irrigable lands could be

³² According to Ford, bush areas where the tsetse flourishes have historically been avoided by human populations, but the maintenance of low levels of interaction also historically supported a level of resistance to trypanosomiasis among human and cattle populations. As James Giblin points out: 'Ford believed that African societies successfully co-existed with trypanosomiasis. They achieved protection against the disease, he thought, by modifying their environment in ways which affected the sizes of and interaction among the five populations involved in the transmission of trypanosomiasis – humans, their livestock, wild faun, tsetse flies and the trypanosome parasites' (1990: 59). Land Apportionment, as Ford comments, meant that 'Rhodesian African peasant populations are prevented by land apportionment from making the traditional adjustments to population growth, that is, expansion into unused land; they are also prevented from making a natural adjustment to the presence of heavy infection by withdrawing to other areas where the risk is not so high' (1971: 358).

agriculturally exploited, leaving them relatively free of tsetse. The lands allocated for African use were disproportionately situated in arid or otherwise unexploitable areas of the lowveld – in infected zones, eco-epidemiological settings of high potential diseasetransmission. Although it was not implemented on a large scale in the 1930s, the Act of 1930 formalised and entrenched a longer historical process of land alienation that operated through the creation of "reserves". The first African reserves were created in 1894 in the arid Gwai and Shagani areas. These first reserves, together with the Hwange National Park (then known as Wankie Park), were situated on the Kalahari sands areas of Rhodesia - areas that had historically been avoided and that had remained unsettled because of their aridity and infertile agricultural conditions. Indeed, Ford described these reserves as being: 'created in land of which it might be said that some of it is too inhospitable even for tsetse flies' (1971: 342).³³ In 1898, a Southern Rhodesian Order-in-Council made it obligatory for the British South Africa Company (BSAC) to assign 'sufficient' land for African use. As Henry Moyana suggests: '[s]ufficient land for Africans seems to have been interpreted by the settlers to mean areas into which an overflow of Africans who could not be accommodated as labourers on white farms could be resettled. The term "reserve" clearly carries such a connotation' (2002: 5). Between 1908 and 1960, processes of land annexation and land clearances continued. This allowed white settlers to continue to appropriate vast tracts of the most fertile agricultural land (Wolmer, 2007: 36).³⁴

³³ The Gwai and Shagani Reserves were allocated to the Ndebele (Matabele) by the British South Africa Company (BSAC) after their defeat in the Anglo-Ndebele war. Around 1,6 million hectares of Matabeleland had been alienated in advance of the war, as the failure to discover mineral wealth led the BSAC to focus on 'developing the agricultural possibilities of the country' (Wolmer, 2007: 79; Moyana, 2002: 1-2). The Land Commission, established in 1894 to allocate new territories to the Ndebele, assigned for their use two waterless tracts of land – the Gwai and Shagani Reserves – located on Kalahari sands: a region of low natural fertility with poor soils unsuitable for cultivation.

³⁴ In 1898, a Southern Rhodesian Order-in-Council made it obligatory for the British South Africa Company (BSAC) to assign 'sufficient' land for African use. As Henry Moyana suggests: '[s]ufficient land for Africans seems to have been interpreted by the settlers to mean areas into which an overflow of Africans

Ford also shows how the contouring of the diseasescape in Zimbabwe, and, therefore, of the racial segregation of land that was imposed by colonial policy, is inflected by altitudinal limits. In his 1971 study, Ford describes Zimbabwe as 'a geographical unit more or less isolated between a northern and [a] southern Grenzwildnis'- the Sabi-Limpopo and Zambezi lowlands, respectively - both of which had, in the past, been infested with tsetse (1971: 340). The 'politically effective portion' of the country, Ford notes, 'lies above the altitudes' at which the tsetse finds its natural limits (1971: 283). The forced resettlements that followed the implementation of the Land Apportionment Act in the 1940s and 1950s effectively removed Africans from higher healthy altitudes and relocated them at lower altitudes in infected zones. The altitudinal contouring of land alienation is emphasized by E. Gwebu in a letter written in 1957 from the Shagani reserve to the president of the Bantu National Congress Thompson Samkange. Gwebu wrote that the process of expelling Africans 'to the Zambesi depression, that low-lying, malarial, and tsetse-fly region' and of 's teeping the African people in the unhealthy *lower lying* region' was murderous initiative designed to create a 'white Rhodesia' (McGregor and Ranger, 2000: 215). Here, Gwebu alludes to an epidemiological violence that is transacted altitudinally and to the physical suppression of a people, as the term steeping suggests, by epidemiological means.

We can also perceive this process of epidemiological violence, via Ford's analysis, through the environmental sanitation initiatives of the colonial government. These sanitation initiatives attempted to control uncertain and shifting tsetse frontiers. At the time of the Land Apportionment Act (1930) the fly-belts in the northern Zambezi and southern Sabi-Limpopo lowvelds were the process of rapid recovery, having retracted

who could not be accommodated as labourers on white farms could be resettled. The term "reserve" clearly carries such a connotation' (2002: 5). We might also term this process the creation of "reservoirs" of exploitable labour.

dramatically after the Great Rinderpest of 1889-96, which had destroyed much of the wild game that act as natural hosts for the tsetse. One-third of the land allocated to Africans under the Act of 1930, Ford points out, was situated inside the Zambezi fly-belt, while over half of the Native Purchase Area adjoined the borders of the territory - 'carefully sited within the *Grenzwildnis* and therefore [...] virtually useless' (1971: 344, 350). What must be emphasised here, in terms of the contouring of epidemiological violence through "sanitation" initiatives, is the importance of boundaries and the demarcation of space. African populations are positioned as buffer-zones – a 'protective barrier', as Ford puts it (1971: 558) - between infected zones, which are naturally avoided, and white agriculture (cattle ranchers). As Ford comments: 'In addition to new techniques of land management and pest control, the Rhodesian invasion introduced a quite new factor into the African trypanosomiasis problem. This was private ownership of land. The great estates were *marked out* [and] fenced (especially where they adjoined native reserves)' (Ford, 1971: 353 emphasis added). The tsetse infested lands have been subject to an array of environmental sanitation initiatives. The lowland areas were the focus of shooting policies (intending to eradicate the wild game that host tsetse flies), bush clearance policies (the ecological devastation of ironwood groves and large riverine trees), and the creation of controlled corridors between healthy and infected areas (Wolmer, 2007: 154-155). Some of these measures were undertaken by chemical means, as Clapperton Mavhunga notes:

In 1959 the state turned to residual pesticide spraying, using a dieldrin and DDT solution with considerable success. It was soon realized that in and of themselves, dieldrin and DDT could not totally eliminate tsetse, so the chemicals were used to create a patrolable Tsetse Free Corridor — a sort of demilitarized zone — that

could be cleared of all vegetation and game likely to accommodate the pest. (2011: 159)

The creation of this *cordon sannitaire* along with the reallocation of land in the Quinton report (1960), far from reclaiming lands for African use, actually 'greatly improved the position of European landowners *vis-à-vis* the Africans within tsetse-infested areas' (Ford, 1971: 345).³⁵

The contouring of land apportionment by the diseasescape (and, thus by resource potential) is also apparent in the settler-colonial annexation of irrigable areas of the lowveld. Ford's study observes that in contrast to the Zambezi fly-belt, which is largely unexploitable, the 'greater part of the Sabi-Limpopo potential tsetse area is [...] irrigable', meaning that this southern grenzwildnis, 'formerly tsetse infested, contains a large area of European land' (1971: 349). As we have seen, the essential character of the tsetseinfested grenzwildnis is not that it is fly-ridden as such but rather that it is arid and agriculturally unexploitable. The fly belt recedes in cultivated terrain because it no longer harbours the wild game that act as trypanosomal reservoirs and blood meals for the tsetse. Unsurprisingly, then, Ford notes that two thirds of this potentially valuable - and potentially trypanosomiasis-free – land in the southern lowveld is annexed for European use, and that in the Zambezi fly-belt in the north 'the only substantial portion [...] still reserved for European occupation in the Quinton report (1960) contains a large irrigable area, much of which had already been planted with sugar by 1965' (1971: 349). The uneven apportionment of resources – including water resources – is underlined when Ford comments: '[i]n Rhodesia as a whole, at the end of 1960, some 90 000 acres of land were

³⁵ After the shooting campaigns had closed in 1961, the area of African land infested with tsetse had risen from around 57 to 71 per cent, while the percentage of European tsetse-infested land after the reallocation and closing of the shooting campaign had fallen from around 9 to 18 per cent (Ford, 1971: 346).

under irrigation from rivers and dams and of this area only 10 per cent was on African land' (1971: 349). The development of the irrigation potential of the south eastern lowveld was a colonial project that involved the construction of dams in highveld areas to the north and northwest. The lowveld was constructed in colonial discourse as a frontier to be pioneered. William Wolmer (2007) records that:

In 1947 Alexander Gibb was appointed to carry out a survey of the irrigation potential of the Save valley, particularly for the production of wheat, sugar, vegetables and fruit, and dairy produce. The Gibb report of 1948 concluded that at least 100,000 hectares of the lowveld could be properly utilized, and recommended the building of dams [...]. By 1964, the recommendations of the Gibb report [...] came to fruition with the establishment of the Sabi-Limpopo Authority. (2007: 95, 96)

In a publication entitled 'Rhodesia's Golden Dawn' (1970), the Sabi-Limpopo Authority compared the Save valley to the 'respective lands of promise' of other colonised territories – the American west, the northern territories of Australia and Canada, and the Amazon basin. The impoundment and diversion of water through the construction of dams was heralded as the means of transforming parched and diseased landscapes unsuitable for agriculture into a veritable 'second Nile valley' – an agricultural landscape of irrigated fields (Wolmer, 2007: 93). By the close of the colonial period in 1978, 'there were over 9,800 private dams and weirs in the white farming areas' and fewer than 1,300 dams in the African communal areas' (Campbell, 2007: 300).

We have seen here the importance of reservoirs of disease and of water to histories of environmental alienation in Zimbabwe. In the next section, I show how this larger historical logic - distributing infested and potentially infective lands to Africans informs Marechera's response to the colonial environment and to the reservoir specifically. The histories of environmental alienation and epidemiological violence so far outlined intersect directly with the environment in which Marechera lived - with Vengere township and the area surrounding it. The Rusape dam is a prominent feature of this environment - located on the Rusape river close to Vengere. The Rusape (also known as Lesapi) is a tributary of the Save and the dam was constructed, in 1972, as part of the development of the irrigation potential of the Save drainage basin (Olivier, 1977: 105). As noted above, the construction of dams in this area (most notably the Kyle dam) was designed to supply agricultural estates in the previously tsetse-ridden lowveld. As such, the damming of the Rusape – which derives from the Shona *rusapwe* meaning "may it never dry" - forms part of a colonial production of environment which unevenly apportions drought and disease. Dam construction re-inscribes the modes and rights of access to a water resource, as well as materially altering the distribution of water in a landscape. In the context of Rhodesia, dam building is a form of environmental colonialism, a regulation of water and its flows designed to maximise colonial expropriation.³⁶

'Protista' as parasitic narrative

I began this chapter with the colonial land clearances designed to distribute infectious landscapes to the colonised. I now propose to read Marechera's short story, 'Protista', as

³⁶ David Hughes suggests that the water annexation in Rhodesia dam formed part of the imaginative project of colonialism, enabling white settlers to engineer a landscape to which they were "entitled", economically and to which they belonged aesthetically. The impoundment of water, Hughes suggests, was 'a political technology of belonging' (2010: 24).

a psychic response to that history. In order to respond to a history of colonial environmental alienation – and the forced movement of African peoples from healthy ecological zones to infected zones – the narrative invokes the example of trypanosomiasis and the symptoms that this disease causes in its host. In naming the text 'Protista', Marechera refers to the group of microorganisms that include disease-causing protozoan parasites - the cause of both malaria and trypanosomiasis. In doing so, Marechera is alluding to the infectious diseases that characterise the lowlands and therefore also to the diseased environments of the lowlands themselves. Environment itself is being figured as infective in 'Protista'. Parasitism is also, of course, an apt metaphor for the colonial expropriation of land and resources. In what follows, I read 'Protista' as a parasitic narrative that performs, on the level of form, an invasion of a "host" body. 'Protista' is positioned as a written text composed while its writer-narrator is in the throes of a feverish and hallucinatory reverie (as an infection "colonises" his mind). The writer-narrator records: 'I had decided to write this all down, because I do not know when the stinking menfish will get me' (130). There is another connection to be made, here, between the infectious "protist" and the text's central figure - the "manfish", Marechera's rendition of the njuzu water-spirit-creature of Shona mythology. Njuzu reside in natural water sources (rivers, pools, and springs), while protists live in aqueous environments, (including blood environments). The human body, as an aqueous environment for protozoan bodies, may be symbolically equated with the water resource, as that which is inhabited by the njuzu/manfish. Both the human body and the body of water (the reservoir) are containers for other bodies. The annexation of the human body – the body invaded by parasites – is in 'Protista' being connected to both the colonial annexation of water resources and to histories of colonial environmental alienation.

The narrative of 'Protista' is structured by the narrator's becoming-other to himself within an infective environment. After infection, trypanosomal protozoa spread throughout the bloodstream, pervading and affecting the organs of the body. In the latter stages of infection, protozoa enter the central nervous system, passing through the bloodbrain barrier, and produce a range of symptoms including neuralgia, forms of psychosis, and disturbed sleep. In 'Protista', the narrator complains of multiple bodily and neurological symptoms. The narrator is plagued by 'a sharp but remote flame of pain in [his] head' (128), and, at the close of the narrative, he records: 'my head is roaring with fever and I scarcely know what I have written' (130). Another narrative element to be taken into account here is the narrator's metamorphoses. These metamorphoses model the environmental despoliation of the 'Lesapi valley' which transforms into an 'eerie region [...] stricken by the sun' (127). In the valley the only signs of life are a 'prodigious population of insects' that torment the narrator with their 'sudden stinging' (127). Here, of course, we are reminded of the infectious tsetse and mosquito populations that characterise the lowland "reserves". The Lesapi valley that the narrator inhabits is, I suggest, a psychic space that shifts between a fertile childhood landscape and an arid land of exile. The arid Lesapi valley is a diseased space evocative of those reserves that Ford characterised as almost too inhospitable for tsetse flies. While dwelling in the valley of exile, the narrator's psychic skin metamorphoses. After his initial transformation into a parched waterless state, redolent of a dried-up riverbed, the narrator changes into a tree. After 'severing his roots' to 'once again walk the way of the valley' (129), the narrator, confronted by a figure from his past known only as Barbara's father, transforms into a crocodile. When Barbara's father transforms into a 'mist', leaving the narrator to 'bite chunks of air' (130), he 'sullenly turn[s himself] back into human form' (130). One final transformation, into a manfish, is immanent at the close of the narrative when the narrator,

in his diseased state, confesses that he has 'been a manfish all [his] life' (130). This confession also re-inscribes the narrative parasitically: it is as though the narrative has become infected with a new meaning. At this moment, the narrative retroactively acquires new meaning as a written trace of the narrator's becoming-other to himself. The notion that the narrator has been a manfish all his life alludes (and I expand on this later) to a protista-like infection implanted in the narrator long ago (and perhaps lying dormant until this point). We can read these successive transformations of self as the narrator becoming-other to himself through infectious disease.

In 'Protista', environment is pathogenic. The sudden stinging of insects alludes to a pathogenic impingement of the skin boundary. Elsewhere, impingement is broadly environmental, and psychical: 'scathing' winds also '*sting* into' the narrator's *mind* (123 emphasis added). Here we can start to see a connection between pathogenic impingement (being bitten by insects synonymous with disease) and a trauma-like effraction that affects the skin of the psyche. If environment is being figured as infective, then we might read the narrator's metamorphosis into a tree as a becoming-environment, as environmental conditions are implanted in the skin of the psyche (and in the body as disease). Recounting this first transformation, the narrator recalls:

I woke up one morning and at once felt in myself that something was wrong. I could not move; I could move neither my body nor my hands nor my feet. [...] Not only had my hair grown into the floor like roots, but also my fingers and my toes and the veins and arteries of my body had all in my sleep grown into the earth floor. I have been turned into some sort of plant, I thought. And as soon as *that thought seared through my head* I immediately could feel that my skin had turned into bark. [...] I could not feel my eyes, nor my ears, but, strangely, I could see

and I could hear. I do not know how long I lay there; nor what days or weeks passed as I lay there fighting back the feverish delirium that soon swamped me.

It was like sleeping with one's eyes open. (128-129 emphasis added)

Several diagnoses grow out of this passage: paralysis, neuralgia, insomnia, and fever. Most strikingly, the passage evokes that disturbed state of sleep characteristic of the later stages of trypanosomiasis. These conditions are nonetheless profoundly environmental (and the environmental is the psychical, in 'Protista'). The narrator's searing thought, for instance, reflects the scathing conditions of drought in the valley. Searing is elsewhere related to psychic drought: the narrator describes his 'imagination' being 'constantly seared by the thought of water, of thirst, of dying barren and waterless in a grave to be nothing but dehydrated remains' (124). It is as though the 'waterless valley' (127), which is itself described as 'paralysed by the cramping effects of an overwhelming oppression' (127), has fused with the skin, figuring the narrator's own paralysis as his veins and arteries grow into the earth like the fissures of a riverbed on its geomorphic floor. The narrator's sensation of being 'swamped' also alludes to an infective environment penetrating the body (we might think here of the "miasmal" theory of diseases communicated through moist, stagnant atmospheres, like swamps). At other points the narrator refers to the valley's 'symbolic mists' that 'overpower' his 'imagination' (127). At the apex of his delirium, the narrator connects his sleepless condition (characterised by an interpenetration of night and day) to a multiplication of menfish within the environment itself. He records:

After that, the sun never came up. I do not know where it had decided to go. Perhaps it fell into the sea where the great manfish lives. Anyway, the night did not come either; it had retreated to the bedrock of the deepest sea where the great manfish came from. There was in the sky so much of its face that even the stars had grown vicious and turned into menfish. And they all wanted company; they were all hungry for me, thirsty for me. (129)

The passage figures menfish completely infiltrating the environment – masking both night and day. The 'thirst[iness]' (129) of the menfish for the narrator could even be connected to the parasitic infiltration of an aqueous body. The aqueous body of the sea is host to the 'great manfish' (129), while we see the narrator, paralysed and staring at a firmament above in which menfish swim.

At this point I wish to clarify what bearing the narrator's successive transformations have on the colonial production of space and environment. The answer is that colonial history makes people other to themselves. The history of land clearances in Zimbabwe places its peoples in a "protista-like" relation, because their lives becomes an effect of the distribution of illnesses (trypanosomiasis and malaria) carried by its vectors. What people are, and where they are, flows from where and what the vectors are. These people are in a sense "carried by the vectors". This leads me to another aspect of 'Protista', which is that infection (which has environmental coordinates) operates as a colonial *curse*. In fact, infection and curse the same thing in this context, for witching very often infests the victim with another body. We might think, by way of example, of the snake projected into the womb of a woman treated by John Chavafambira (a Manyika healer), as recorded in Wolf Sach's *Black Hamlet* (1996: 180). Infection is operating, in 'Protista', on a mythic plane (becoming-manfish). The manfish represents both precolonial environmental mythologies and colonial environmental relations (which involve parasitic infections). The text's menfish are, as we will see, at once mythical

bodies, human bodies, and parasitic bodies (protozoa). We are in 'Protista' in a space that is accessible from the position of myth: we might say that environmental histories of alienation, drought and infection are iterated into Marechera's manfish mythology (the becoming-manfish that the story records).³⁷ The valley, too, is a mythic topography, populated by a manfish and the archetypal figure 'Maria the huntress' (125). The narrator's metamorphoses are also symptomatic of this mythic register. Njuzu often take the form of crocodiles, while the narrator's transformation into a tree alludes to Daphne's metamorphosis into a laurel tree in Greek mythology. Marechera alludes to Daphne's metamorphosis because Daphne is the daughter of Peneus - the river God. The narrator's transformation into a tree therefore preserves a connection to the politics of water and exile in the text. In making this allusion, Marechera is staking out a riverine metaphorics of exile in the text. We are reminded here of the fact that *njuzu* are spirit-deities that occupy rivers and other water sources. We also know that Marechera claimed to have been finishing the manuscript for The House of Hunger while living - in a self-styled 'exile' – camped in a tent on the banks of the river Thames. Whether apocryphal or not, this does suggest that a riverine metaphorics of exile might have been on Marechera's mind while he was writing 'Protista'. As I elaborate later, the manfish functions as a personal mythology for Marechera. What I also want to propose is that the manfish, in its intersection with the njuzu and with Marechera's scattered references to water impoundments, also has environmental coordinates.

³⁷ This reading puts paid to Musaemura Zimunya suggestion that Marechera 'makes myths for himself, not for the tribe' (1982: 117).

Manfish: Environmental coordinates

By reinventing the njuzu as a "manfish" Marechera emphasises its environmental coordinates. The term "manfish" emphasises a creaturely quality that anticipates the environmental effects of damming, because reservoirs are often used as fisheries. Njuzu exist as part of a vernacular knowledge system governing the use of water resources. Certain prohibitions are applied to the sources of water where *njuzu* are thought to reside (Mapedza, 2004: 11). While njuzu are therefore "indigenous" arbiters of access to water resources, the manfish refers, I suggest, to an alien presence in the water. As part of a vernacular knowledge system governing the use of water resources, *njuzu* also mediate the relationship between colonial invasion and environmental aridity - between historical and environmental change. Within the mythology that positions *njuzu* as arbiters of access to water, it is also theorised that European colonisation caused droughts and environmental aridity by alienating many *njuzu* from their habitats. The *njuzu* is therefore also a vernacular figure connecting colonial environmental relations and aridity. As Herbert Aschwanden delineates: '[i]n the past - before the arrival of the white man there were said to have been many more pools and springs with water snakes. The many noises that came with the Europeans made many njuzu leave their habitats forever, which caused aridity' (1989: 189). In 'Protista' it is as though the njuzu have been alienated and replaced by their colonial equivalent: "menfish". Water, in 'Protista', exists only in memory - in the pools and streams of the narrator's youth. But even these sites are menaced by the presence of dangerous bodies: the menfish who plague the narrator and seek to 'undermine' his 'reason' (130). These menfish are symbolically coded white because they are associated with colonial water annexation. Marechera experienced this aspect of Zimbabwe's colonial history close to home, at the site of the Lesapi dam.

'Protista' is set in the Lesapi valley, or at least across two renditions of Lesapi. The first is the Lesapi valley of the narrator's childhood where the narrator 'had learned to fish, to swim and to lie back into the soft green grass' (125). This Lesapi is fertile but segregated – with one side of the river annexed as white-owned farmland. The second rendition of the Lesapi valley is a projected future of environmental despoliation and drought: the valley is 'red and clayey and scarred with drought fissures' (123). The unsaid term in this narrative logic, in the transition from fertility into aridity, is, I suggest, the construction of the Lesapi dam. In other words, the vision of environmental degradation in 'Protista' implicitly explores how colonial land annexation is simultaneously an annexation of water resources. The fact that the Lesapi valley metamorphoses from fertile farmland into an arid bushland redolent of the tsetse-ridden *grenzwildnis* suggests that the systemic economic and health burdens of colonial land policy might also be at stake here.

The Lesapi Dam was completed and its reservoir filled in 1972. The first vision of the Lesapi valley from the narrator's childhood corresponds to the colonial period leading up to the construction of the dam. The waterless Lesapi valley that the narrator inhabits, in his diseased state, at the end of 'Protista' obliquely positions drought as an after-effect of environmental colonialism (damming water and its flows). The critique mounted here against the environmental effects of damming works through the text's mythic register. 'Protista' alludes to Shona mythology and the alienation of *njuzu* from their watery habitations. In the first part of the narrative, recollected from the narrator's colonial childhood, a white boy drowns in the river and transforms into a manfish. The narrator recalls:

And in the summer the white people held rubber-boat races on the river and sometimes I was allowed to watch them swirling along in the breezy hold of the river. But somebody drowned one day and my father told me not to go down to the river anymore because the drowned boy would have turned into a manfish and would want company in the depths of the waters. (126)

The transformation of the white child into a manfish effectively annexes the water resource: the narrator can no longer access the river for fear of the white manfish.³⁸ The "manfish" – as-drowned-white-child – evokes the colonial production of environmental alienation. The narrator's alienation from the water resource is then transmuted into environmental aridity in the narrative present. Although *njuzu* traditionally have white skin, Marechera seems to be exploiting a potential ambivalence here. Grant Lilford refers to a:

[...] variation on the njuzu narrative in South Africa's Mpumalanga lowveld. The njuzu surfaces in parts of South Africa, known as *nzunzu* in Tsonga or the *MmaMolapo* in Sotho. The latter is always positive and trains people to be healers and diviners, like the njuzu [...]. According to Niehaus, a more sinister white woman has been seen bathing in the waters of the Lekgowa Dam in Green Valley and disappearing when seen. She has been linked to the disappearance of a child in 1949. Local people have named the dam Lekgowa, which is the Sotho word for white person. (1999a: 293)

³⁸ Grant Lilford writes that '[n]juzu are like whites because they have pale skin [...] they come from the water just as whites come from over the seas' (1999b: 201). He suggests that following the war of liberation the njuzu becomes an allegorical figure for whiteness.

Here we find the same "mythic" translation of colonial water annexation that Marechera offers in 'Protista'. I have suggested that the construction of the Lesapi dam is the environmental subtext for the presence of a white manfish in the waters of the Lesapi. At Lekgowa, the presence of a white "body" in the water is synonymous with the damming of the river (quite literally, for the white body in the water gives the dam its name). In both 'Protista' and in the Lekgowa myth, "white" environmental management (the white presence in the water) operates like a curse. I now move toward an examination of the infective correlates of this curse elsewhere in Marechera's writing. In doing so, I show how Marechera locates colonial environmental history and embodied states of infection in the tale of the manfish curse.

Manfish: infection and curse

In 'Protista', the infection-as-curse (or curse-as-infection) figures as the precursor for the narrator's transformation into a manfish.³⁹ The narrator has a curse visited upon him during his childhood by a neighbour (known only as Barbara's father). This curse effectively projects a dangerous creature – the manfish – into the narrator's dreams. Through this projection, the narrator is marked out as an initiate of the manfish. He recalls:

My first nightmare was about a white manfish which materialised in my room and licked its great jaws at me and came towards my bed and said: 'Come, come, come

³⁹ In the next section I show how the idea of infection-as-curse is at work in the experience of epidemiological violence in the township. In the township, the disease is a curse, or a 'casus belli between neighbours' (7).

with me' [...]. And then he stretched out his finger and *touched my cheek* with it. It was like being touched with a red-hot spike. (126 emphasis added)

Here, the manfish's touch signifies an effraction or "pathogenic impingement", characterised by the searing effect of a 'red-hot spike'. There is, as I will elaborate, also an infective logic at play here. The manfish's touch is the vector for a parasitic form of infection (or infestation) and reproduction. We know that the narrator finally concedes, at the close of the narrative, to having been a manfish all his life. Born during the colonial period, and as such subject to the colonial biopolitics that render colonised subjects ill, the narrator is always-already "infected", or infested. The narrator's concession, however, also indexes the substantive transformation – the rebirth – that the manfish's touch initiates. A further point of connection is drawn between the narrator and the manfish through the narrator's childlessness. The narrator laments, referring to his barren existence, that his 'hands [...] had never touched the cheek of a child of [his] own' (125 emphasis added). Here, the parallel with the manfish's touch (the manfish touches the narrator's cheek) suggests that for the narrator, 'a child of [his] own' (125) means an initiate whom he might touch in the same way that he is touched or marked out by the manfish during his own childhood. The manfish, in 'Protista', is associated with childlessness. The narrator, as a manfish, is unable to 'give' Maria, his lover, a 'child of her own' (130). The implication here is that the narrator is unable to father a child that would be birthed by Maria: he can only reproduce as a manfish, through the same searing touch that he is marked by.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Another related logic here is that of the "mammywata" (mami wata), a mythic figure associated with water and childlessness. The mammywata has been likened to an anglicised or 'foreign' water deity, whose features derive from European colonial influences (Ogunyemi, 1996: 29; Drewal, 2002: 197). For initiates or devotees of mami wata figures the cost of success is the ability to bear children. This is consistent with the fact that Maria cannot get pregnant.

For the time being, I want to expand on the immunological or infective coordinates of the manfish's touch. These infective coordinates are suggested by Marechera's autobiographical account of a childhood illness. There is a correspondence between the marking of the narrator's skin by the manfish (in 'Protista') and the marking (in Marechera's account) of his own skin by an *n'anga* in treatment of an illness. In 'Protista', the spot where the manfish touches the narrator transforms into an infected chancre that 'swell[s] with pus' and must be excised with boiled salted water. After the excision, the 'spot' where the manfish has touched the narrator forms a 'little black mark' (127). This mark is a sign or residue of the narrator's infection by a parasitic "manfish" body (if we are to read according to an infective logic). Other marks are left on the narrator's skin by the *n'anga* who is called in to treat the narrator following his dream, and who, in the process of warding off the curse, makes 'little incisions on [the narrator's] face and on his chest and rub[s] a black powder into them' (126). The *n'anga*'s treatment in 'Protista' closely mirrors Marechera's account of being treated by a *n'anga* during his childhood. He recollects:

I still have scars from one time when I was ill [...]. They brought this *n'anga* home and he cooked some sort of porridge in a huge pot and then thrust my head under a blanket so that all the steam would get at me and afterwards he cut certain incisions on me [...] and rubbed a very black dust in. (qtd. Veit-Wild, 2004: 11)

Both procedures mentioned involve scarification: they affect and mark the skin. Each procedure also involves black powder. Black powder also features within the short story

'The Writer's Grain', within which 'Protista' was initially published as a subsection.⁴¹ In 'The Writer's Grain', the narrator conjures up 'fine black grains' that bear a resemblance to the black powder and black dust already mentioned. The narrator of 'The Writer's Grain' hallucinates lines of ink rising off his page and leaving a 'sooty imprint' on the ceiling. The black dust then falls 'slowly back to the ground like a fine black soot' (Marechera, 1978: 101). This soot is imagined as the writer's grain – in the sense of an inclination or mode of thinking - the narrator/writer records: '[a]nd they were my thoughts, too, those fine black grains. They were my life' (Marechera, 1978: 101). The fact that Marechera's maps the scarring of 'Protista's' narrator onto his own experience of scarification (and onto the writer's grain) suggests that he is making an oblique point of connection between himself (a writer) and the narrator of 'Protista', and between an infection and a curse. I want to propose a possible wordplay that advances our thinking on the significance of parasitic infection in 'Protista'. The term "parasite" (to which 'Protista', by its title, certainly alludes) derives etymologically from the Greek parasitos meaning "beside the grain" - literally, someone beside you sharing the food (Miller, 1977: 441). Considering that settler-colonialism in Zimbabwe has a primarily agricultural dimension, this is significant. We have seen, for example, that the settler-colonial annexation of agriculturally exploitable highveld works to unevenly distribute disease (to the colonised). The fact that 'Protista' is first published as a subsection of the short story 'The Writer's Grain' suggests that Marechera is also alluding – in the positioning of a parasite within the grain – to a connection between colonialism, parasitism, and writing.⁴²

⁴¹ The full text of 'The Writer's Grain' is not published in the 2009 Heinemann edition of *The House of Hunger*, in which only 'Protista' features. For 'The Writer's Grain', see the 1978 edition.

⁴² The idea that the "parasite", or the idea of the parasite, might carry or communicate a signifying excess is suggested by Michel Serres, who writes that '[t]he parasite intervenes, enters the system as an element of fluctuation. It excites it or incites it; it puts it into motion, or it paralyses it. It changes its energetic state, its displacements and condensations' (2007: 191).

The writer is positioned as at once "carrier" and "parasite" of colonial culture, and this is a potentially productive ambivalence (the writer is a potential retrovirus of colonial culture, while meaning is "communicated" extra-textually). What is at stake here is not whether or not Marechera researched the etymology of the parasite (via protista) but, for our own explanatory purposes, we might want to think about this parasite figure within a story called 'The Writer's Grain'.

Marechera as manfish

Marechera makes a point of connection between himself, a 'London-returned ghoul', and the parasite-manfish of 'Protista' in the poem 'My Time to Know', published posthumously (1992: 200). In 'My Time to Know', Marechera refers to the Lesapi river, and to a *drowning* of childhood that calls to mind the *njuzu* myth. He writes:

Here, childhood drowned never to rise No bloated floating corpse was ever seen: Only these flameweeds on the bedrock of a river Known as Lesapi. (1992: 200)

Here, Marechera constructs a mythology of self, with particular environmental coordinates in the Lesapi river. In the interview of 1983, Marechera refers to the 'bodies that occasionally turned up at the Lesapi dam' (qtd. Veit-Wild, 2004: 1). That these bodies are described as 'turn[ing] up' indicates that they have floated from unknown coordinates upstream, or from elsewhere within the waters impounded by the dam. In the poem, the absence of a body, of a 'bloated floating corpse' is rendered strangely conspicuous. The poem insists that '*no* bloated floated corpse was ever seen' (Marechera, 1992: 200) (the

corpse of the drowned child) in a manner that alludes, I think, to the sighting of other corpses. The Lesapi Dam was completed in 1972, after the reservoir had filled partially to a level of 1362m during the first 7 months of 1971 (McKellar et al., 1974: 249, 255). It is likely that Marechera would have encountered such bodies during the year after his expulsion from the University of Rhodesia and prior to his departure for England to study at Oxford in October of 1974, during which time he is thought to have resided in Vengere (Veit-Wild, 2004: 138). The absence of a 'bloated floating corpse' (Marechera, 1992: 200) to mark the drowning of childhood also alludes, of course, to the *njuzu* myth: *njuzu* seize children whose drowned bodies are not always found. We know that Marechera is referring to himself - and therefore to his own "drowned childhood" - because he alludes to himself in the poem: he is a retuned exile in Harare, a 'London-returned ghoul' (Marechera, 1992: 200). The ghoul is rendered with 'stone-hewn eyes' and smouldering 'live coal tears' (Marechera, 1992: 200). These lithic, elemental features map onto the 'bedrock' and 'flameweeds' (Marechera, 1992: 200) of the Lesapi river while the idea of eyes hewn by stone is evocative of a drowned body abraded by current-drawn sediment on a river bed. In the poem 'Angling' – a title which also alludes to the reservoir as fishery - Marechera makes another reference to a drowned corpse:

Softly, swimmingly In the depths of the deepest sea Where gods and regrets cavort ... The poem, belly up, floats into view. (1992: 64)

Here, the poem floating belly up models a drowned body, while also connecting the presence of drowned bodies in the water to the figure of a poet-writer. If the poem-corpse issues from the depths of the deepest sea, then it is possible to connect the poet to the

figure of the manfish: in 'Protista' the narrator describes 'the bedrock of the deepest sea where the great manfish came from' (129).

If Marechera is referring to a curse in 'My Time to Know', then there is a possible biographical context for it, which is supplied by Marechera's brother, Michael Marechera, who suggests in interview that Marechera was cursed by his mother during his adolescence. He recalls:

Towards the end of 1969, Mother became mad. She went to consult a *n'anga* who told her that she could only get rid of the problem by passing it on to one of [her] children. [...] She did not choose me because I was named after a powerful ancestor whose spirit would protect me from such things. She chose Dambudzo. (qtd. Veit-Wild, 2004: 54).

Michael goes on to record that in 1971 Marechera became ill, suffering delusions and taking tranquilizers. He suggests that Marechera had become aware of his mother's curse: 'Subsequently I felt he must have known what Mother had done. When later he left for England my bones told me he was running away from something. When he returned to Zimbabwe he refused to see Mother – I now understand why' (qtd. Veit-Wild, 2004: 54). The title of the poem, 'My Time to Know', refers, of course, to a revelation – but in its temporal dimension ('*time* to know') the poem's title also alludes to an event that effects a transformation in the life of the one who "knows". We might then, connect the drowned part of the self that Marechera alludes to in this poem to his inheritance of his mother's curse.

Bodies in the water

The reference to 'stinking menfish' (130) in 'Protista' may be an allusion to the the decaying corpses of humans (and possibly of fish) encountered at the Lesapi reservoir. A human corpse is also recovered from the waters of the Lesapi. After the narrator is visited by the manfish, the *n'anga* identifies 'Barbara's father' as the man who has cursed him. The narrator recalls:

[M]y father bought strong medicine which would make what had been done to me boomerang on Barbara's father [...]. Soon afterwards Barbara's father went mad and one day his body was *fished* out of the river by police divers who wore *black fishsuits*. There were various abrasions on his face and the body was utterly naked, and something in the river seemed to have tried to eat him – there were *curious toothmarks* on his buttocks and his shoulders had been partially eaten; the hands looked as though something had chewed them and tried to gnaw them from the arms. (126-127 emphasis added)

Alongside 'the drowned bodies that occasionally turned up at Lesapi Dam', Marechera refers to 'the madman who was thought harmless until a mutilated body turned up in the grass east of the ghetto' (qtd. Veit-Wild, 2004: 1). Barbara's father is retrieved from the river a drowned and mutilated corpse. The dehumanised body *fished* out of the water has been stripped of its protective container: the body is naked – its epidermis abraded – and it has been *partially* consumed. While the human envelope of the body disintegrates, animal residues are retained in skin imageries. In being "fished" out of the water the corpse is likened to a fish, while police divers take on a piscine or "fishy" second skin. Animal residues are being retained in skin imageries. The 'black fishsuits' (126) of the

police divers recall the hybrid form of the manfish while functioning as a protective impermeable second skin. African police officers were an essential component of the Rhodesian colonial state's coercive power, relied upon to enforce discriminatory laws. The African police officer also takes on a new "symbolic skin" - as Timothy Stapleton suggests, '[t]he gaining of prestige likely represented another motive for enlistment, as colonial police and soldiers were immediately distinguished by uniforms that associated them with the power of the colonial state' (2011: 16). The police diver's protective black fish skin associates the manfish with the politics of skin in colonial Rhodesia. (And in Marechera, the politics of skin is an environmental category). As well as recalling the reservoir as fishery, the term "manfish" also implies a partial quality: something split into parts that replicate colonial divisions of space. A mutilated body is a body denied coherence and made into parts. The skin is, as well as a container and an interface which marks a boundary with the outside, also 'the barrier that protects one against being penetrated by the aggression and greed of others' (Anzieu, 2016: 44). The protective shield, here, is a fish skin. The manfish is being associated with both power and dispossession, colonial expropriation and environmental alienation.

Land clearances and political "exile"

In 'Protista', the Lesapi river is a site of drowning and annexation, around which forms of prohibition or spatial "reserve" are placed.⁴³ The lands on one side of the river are annexed as white farmland: 'Mr Robert's side of the river, where it was fenced and there was a notice about trespassers' (125). There is a concrete historical precedent for Marechera's description. In *Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe*,

⁴³ I elaborate on the notion of spatial "reserve" as that which reserves certain areas or bodies from touch, in the following chapter.

Terence Ranger cites a source, Chap Chipunza, who recounts the colonial annexation of land along one side of the Lesapi:

When the whites arrived the people of chief Chipunza lived in the west of what is now the Makoni district and extended as far as Macheke and Headlands, now the heart of the commercial farming area, while chief Makoni and his people had moved across the Lesapi River to the east. The Chipunza side of the Lesapi was all beautiful farming land, and in the end the whites took almost all of it, leaving a good deal of Makoni's land. In the 1940s the Chipunza's were finally scattered about all over the district and many had to move outside it altogether. (qtd. Ranger, 1985: 106)

In the Makoni district, of which Rusape is the main town, thousands were moved into reserves (Ranger, 1985: 106). It is at this point that we can begin to appreciate what is at stake in Marechera's rendition of environmental alienation in 'Protista': the history of land clearances directly inflect Marechera's deprived childhood habitation – Vengere, Rusape. There is a personal, experiential connection between the imagined space of the *grenzwildnis*, in 'Protista', and the conditions of deprivation in the township.

In 'Protista', I suggest, environmental exile (of the narrator) is being connected with both the long historical process of land alienation *and* a more contemporary terrain of political exile. The narrator of 'Protista' states that he has been in exile in the waterless Lesapi valley for 'twelve long lean years'. He writes: 'I still had three more years to serve. I had been exiled to this raw region by a tribunal which had found me guilty of various political crimes' (123). For Lilford, exile by a political tribunal is an 'action [that] speaks more of a European state like France or Russia in which political prisoners were exiled into penal colonies' (Lilford, 1999a: 287). There are, however, colonial Rhodesian examples of "political exile" and detainment. We might first of all draw attention to the fact that Vengere township was a political detainment camp before it became residential. Marechera observes in interview that:

Vengere township was not actually a township at all to start with. It was a concentration camp for those people who were arrested during the Second World War: white people like Poles, Italians, Afrikaners who were interned for being suspected of supporting the Germans. After the Second World War Rusape was developing very much as a transportation centre for tobacco and maize, and so they needed more black labourers – then blacks were put behind that fence with their families. (qtd. Veit-Wild, 2004: 6)

Here, Marechera makes a direct connection between the concentration camp and the living conditions accompanying migratory labour in colonial Rhodesia. The punitive "colony" for political detainees is effectively transformed into a labour camp, with – Marechera suggests – comparable living conditions. Marechera also refers here to the agricultural boom, especially in tobacco production, of the late 1940s that led to large-scale dispossessions (Ranger, 1985: 104). In interview in 1983, Marechera refers to this cycle of dispossession whilst describing his experience of Rusape. He writes:

I was all those who were being evicted from the surrounding white farms and being dumped and dumped anywhere. [...] I was the ghostly lamentations and wails when someone died and you knew they would have to bury him in that rubbish dump they used to call the Native Cemetery. (qtd. Veit-Wild, 2004: 2) The idea of the 'Native Cemetery' as rubbish dump alludes to human disposability – we are reminded here of the corpse of the mixed-race child found by Marechera on a literal rubbish dump.⁴⁴ There is also another pretext for political exile in 'Protista' that stems from the text's depiction of a veritable *grenzwildnis*. The *grenzwildnis* is also conceptualized by Ford as a terrain into which the politically or militarily effective exile other peoples. Ford described the *grenzwildnis* as an area:

avoided by the majority of people, especially the ruling class who tend to drive unwanted members of subject races into it, it serves as a wildlife reserve and reservoir of zoonotic infection, and also as a base of operations for dissident political groups. The Rhodesian political detainees as well as the freedom-fighter groups may be compared with the followers of the surviving brothers of interlake divine kings. (1971: 349)

Wolmer notes that, in this 'mildly subversive aside', Ford alludes by the 'mention of political detainees' to 'the construction of Gonakudzingwa Restriction Camp at which various ZIPRA freedom fighters, including Joshua Nkomo, were interned in 1964 in the – misplaced – hope that their *spatial isolation* would minimise their influence' (2007: 37 emphasis added). Wolmer also records that:

The black civilian population of the area were also forced to move from their home-steads, which were burnt, into fenced 'Protected Villages' or 'keeps' –

⁴⁴ Land clearances also had the effect of alienating Africans communities from ancestral burial sites with spiritual significance.

essentially concentration camps – to which they had to return at night in order to deny their support, in the form of shelter and food, to the 'comrades' in the bush. In this way, far more blatantly than by the centralisation programmes on the Highveld of previous years, populations were relocated in the interest of surveillance and control. This strategy stemmed directly from the long-standing way of seeing the lowveld as a land of fear / and insecurity over which dangerous elements freely moved. (2007: 37-8)

The reality and experience of political detainment and exile was, then, far closer to home than Russia's Gulags.

We have seen how the colonial history of rural land clearances places communities of people in a "protista-like" relation – subject to the distribution of vectors of disease (tsetse flies). What also emerges in relation to the liberation struggle, which was fought with particular intensity in the south-eastern lowlands – an area that Rhodesians termed the 'Repulse Operational Area' (Wolmer, 2007: 37) – is that black guerrillas were treated as infectious bodies – or what Clapperton Mavhunga terms 'vermin being (pestiferous being in need of elimination)' (2011: 152). The very language of the 'Repulse Operational Area' mirrors the kind of eradication activities undertaken to control the extend of the tsetse fly belts.⁴⁵ As we have seen, both shooting operations – to create 'game free zones' (Ford, 1971: 320), DDT spraying (to eradicate tsetse), and environmental "sanitation" were deployed in the colonial struggle against

⁴⁵ In the article 'Vermin Beings: On Pestiferous Animals and Human Game', Mavhunga delineates this process, theorising that 'the reduction of humans to pests justifies the elimination of pests, sanctions policies of elimination, and blurs the division in weapons required to police people and to police nature' (2011: 152). Mavhuna shows how this logic is working within the forms of biological and chemical attrition deployed against both tsetse (DDT) and guerrillas (cholera, thallium sulphate, anthrax) (2011: 159, 168, 167).

trypanosomiasis reservoirs. In the next section, I proceed from rural reservoirs and land clearances to urban ones, which I will show operate according to a similar logic of sanitation, infection, and disease.

The township as reservoir

We have seen that for John Ford, the reserve and the "reservoir" of zoonotic disease are materially and epidemiologically interdependent: the grenzwildnis 'serves as a wildlife reserve and a reservoir of zoonotic infection' (1971: 349). The infected zone of the grenzwildnis, a hindrance to colonial economic development, is made "useful" instead as the site of rural African reserves. In this section of the chapter, we will see how the urban reserve - the township that acts a labour reserve - functions as an epidemiological and affective reservoir. Marechera was born in 1952, and he lived in Vengere – a high density housing area near Rusape – until he left to attend a Catholic Mission school aged 14. In interview, Marechera recalls the colonial dispensations of race and space that prevailed around Vengere: 'there was a mile-wide green belt dividing the two areas [...] we admired everything about the white section and we used to go down to the rubbish dump where all the rubbish from the white area was dumped' (qtd. Veit-Wild, 2004: 8). The division of physical space described here is immediately comparable to Fanon's observation that the 'colonized world is a compartmentalized world' ([1961] 2004: 3). Concerning the spatial arrangement of the colony, its 'geographical configuration', Fanon notes that '[t]he dividing line, the border, is represented by the barracks and police stations' situated on the frontiers between native and settler zones (2004: 3). He does so, Achille Mbembe reminds us, because 'for the colonized, the colony is primarily a place where an

experience of violence and upheaval is lived, where violence is built into structures and institutions' (2001: 174). Mbembe observes that:

[Violence] is sustained by an imaginary – that is, an interrelated set of signs that present themselves, in every instance, as an indisputable and undisputed meaning. The violence insinuates itself into the economy, domestic life, language, consciousness. It does more than penetrate every space: it pursues the colonized even in sleep and dream. It produces a culture; it is a cultural praxis. (2001: 175)

In Marechera's rendition, the frontier of this 'world divided in two' (Fanon, 2004: 3) is an imposing environmental perimeter. The mile-wide green belt – acting as a veritable *cordon sanitaire* – positions the township and the rubbish dump, equally, as out-of-sight areas, both aesthetically unappealing and ecologically (and epidemiologically) unsound. The grassland that divides the white town from the black township is inscribed with *meaning*. The green belt is a buffer-zone that implies particular lines of force. It is invested with the symbolic double function of curtailing unrestricted encroachment into the white area (for the green belt takes time and effort to traverse), and, simultaneously, of conveying an influx of exploited labour into the white town. In Marechera's short story, 'The Slow Sound of His Feet', the green belt is depicted as continuous with other more obvious manifestations of racist social division:

My sister and I, we walked the four miles back home, passing the Africans Only hospital, the Europeans Only hospital, the British South Africa Police camp, the Post Office, the railway station, and walked across the mile-wide green belt, and walked into the black township. (2009: 110)

Marechera's spatial mapping of the environment through the distribution of colonial institutions adjoining the green belt bears out Mbembe's observation, following Fanon, that colonial violence signifies spatially.⁴⁶ Marechera positions other colonial institutions along this dividing line, alluding to the uneven distribution of resources in healthcare (and therefore to the increased epidemiological burden carried by black Zimbabweans).

In *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon contextualises the establishment of railways within a broad nexus of colonial environmental relations, in which the projection of "native space" onto swamp and bush – synonymous with mosquitos and disease – make possible a dual process of colonisation. He writes:

A hostile, ungovernable, and fundamentally rebellious Nature is in fact synonymous in the colonies with the bush, the mosquitoes, the natives, and disease. Colonization has succeeded once this untamed Nature has been brought under control. Cutting railroads through the bush, draining swamps, and ignoring the political and economic existence of the native population are in fact one and the same thing. (2004: 182)

The dual process of colonisation alluded to here renders the fault lines of colonial dominance visible. Colonisation visibly re-inscribes the landscape – draining swamps and constructing the railway lines which act as conduits for extracted resources, while native populations are rendered "out-of-sight" (projected into and onto "undeveloped", or unruly space).⁴⁷ These environmental relations are equally at stake in the urban. Fanon observes

⁴⁶ Following Henri Lefebvre, (1991) the 'lived space' of the colonial urban environment emerges from interaction between 'conceived spaces' and 'perceived' spaces (1991: 39).

⁴⁷ I return to this idea in Chapter 3, in which I explore land annexation in colonial Rhodesia as a projection of native populations into "out-of-sight", economically unviable, and diseased reserves.

that the colonist's sector is 'a sector built to last, all stone and steel' (2004: 4), while the "native" quarters, the shanty town, the Medina, the reservation' is 'a world with no space [...] the shacks squeezed tightly together' (Fanon, 2004: 4). The colonised's sector is simultaneously figured in a demeaned and degraded posture: it is a sector that crouches and cowers, a sector on its knees, a sector that is prostrate (Fanon, 2004: 4). This figuration alludes to the way poverty and material deprivation become embodied states (forms of physical burden and oppression). The settler zone is also compared to a body – 'its belly is permanently full of good things' (Fanon, 2004: 4). This is a body that is 'sated' - it consumes, and which projects its used contents elsewhere - it pollutes. Fanon writes: '[i]t's a sector of lights and paved roads where all the trash cans constantly overflow with strange and wonderful garbage, undreamed-of leftovers' (2004: 4). Here, 'undreamed-of' has a double resonance: it evokes the settler's privilege, which, Jennifer Wenzel notes, is a matter of 'not having to see, smell or think about waste and shit, whether one's own or that of other people' (2016: 188), and the colonised's material deprivations. The Manichean divisions of the colonial are environmental states: the colonial environment develops through asymmetric patterns of consumption and pollution. These patterns of consumption and pollution produce psychic states: for the coloniser, trash is un-thought while for the colonised, it is unthinkable. The fact that the garbage is 'strange and wonderful' suggests its signifying qualities and vibrant materiality. As Jane Bennett observes, material things – like garbage – appear in the public as 'potentially forceful' political agents, often by 'disrupting human projects or expectations' (2012: x). In Marechera's life, the colonial topos of trash has the unintended effect of supplying a means of psychic escape, and of cultural opportunity. In an interview-style text titled 'Dambudzo Marechera Interviews Himself', Marechera recalls that the garbage dump near to Vengere – the 'where all the rubbish from the white area was dumped' (qtd. VeitWild, 2004: 8) was a childhood playground. He observes that for the children who lived in Vengere, the rubbish dump offered a stimulating distraction from the 'cruel externality' of the township (qtd. Veit-Wild, 2004: 2). He recounts:

The dull and brutish ghetto life was always there. Fights, weddings, arrests, church services, [...], grim poverty, [...] the notorious women's hostel – the hard physical facts of day-to-day ghetto life. But there was the rubbish dump [...] I scratched around in the rubbish with other kids, looking for comics, magazines, books, broken toys, anything that could help us kids pass time in the ghetto. But for me it was the reading material that was important. (qtd. Veit-Wild, 2004: 2)

Marechera treated this found reading material with reverence: he and his two playmates – the brothers Washington and Wattington Makombe – create a makeshift library out of cardboard to house their findings and type up 'meticulous records of [each] day's acquisitions' on an old typewriter. Through this collecting and archiving activity, Marechera and the Makombes are, in their imaginative play, locating themselves among the material effects of white privilege (Nicholls, 2013: 11). This re-location is an activity with symbolic significance: in phantasy, in the childhood library, one is able to transcend the material conditions of the ghetto. Following literary escape, actual "escape" later in life is transacted culturally and linguistically. In interview, Marechera discusses how the experience of extreme deprivation positioned the Shona language 'within the context of a degraded, mind-wrenching experience from which apparently the only escape was into the English language and education' (qtd. Veit-Wild, 2004: 3-4). Within the colonial production of space – the unequal distribution of wealth, resources, and sanitation across segregated communities – language is a site of splitting. The Shona language becomes

associated with a 'mind-wrenching experience' (qtd. Veit-Wild, 2004: 3) - with the realisation, during childhood, that the colonial environment is split between extreme privilege and extreme deprivation. This disposition of the colonial environment repeats, culturally, the schizoid position in Kleinian thought, where the subject's early objectrelations are characterised by processes of splitting. The subject splits the object - into a good object and a bad object – in a way that corresponds with feelings of gratification or frustration. The "good object" is a source of "good contents", which the subject attempts to introject - to identify with. Marechera's experience of the asymmetric colonial environment positions the English language – and English language education – as a potential "good object" that must be introjected for the purposes of survival. At the same time, Marechera suggests that the poverty of Vengere positions Shona as a "bad object" into which unwanted elements of the self are projected: 'Shona was part of the ghetto demon I was trying to escape' (qtd. Veit-Wild, 2004: 4). What does it mean, then, to find one's early reading material in the hazardous site of a rubbish dump - a site that is the receptacle for the discards of the white town? We might postulate that the 'automatic' connection Marechera describes establishing in childhood between 'the English language' and 'the plush and seeming splendour of the white side of town' (qtd. Veit-Wild, 2004: 4) is mediated by this refuse and the "enigmas" it transmits. To search for reading material on a rubbish dump is an act that is at once transgressive and taboo. In Marechera's recollected account this act localizes both fear and stimulation (in the body), it offers a narrative of insertion into colonial culture that binds (puts together in a coherent translation) the provocation of gross material inequality.

The reading material salvaged from the rubbish dump is a source of colonial cultural messages about race. Marechera recalls finding a 'very British Empire orientated' Encyclopaedia, 'jingoistic British Second World War comics [...] [and] Tarzan things

and Tarzan thongs' (qtd. Veit-Wild, 2004: 3). The mention of Tarzan's accoutrements may be a nod to Fanon's examination of the trauma of racist impositions in *Black Skin, White Masks*, when he writes:

Attend the showing of a Tarzan film in the Antilles and in Europe. In the Antilles, the young black man identifies himself de facto with Tarzan versus the Blacks. In a movie house in Europe things are not so clear-cut, for the white moviegoers automatically place him among the savages on the screen. This [experience] is conclusive. The black man senses he cannot get away with being black. ([1952] 2008: 131 n.15)⁴⁸

In other words, when one is black, one automatically numbered among the savages, even though one naturally identifies with the "hero" of the movie. One cannot get away (or from) being black in this racist social set up.⁴⁹ The white child is able to adopt the "thong" in play as a mobile signifier of difference and to later dispose of it. When it is later discovered on the rubbish dump it acts as a different kind of provocation for the black subject.

In *Mindblast*, Marechera recounts finding his first book – 'Arthur Mee's Children's Encyclopaedia' (the aforementioned 'very British Empire-oriented Encyclopaedia') – at the at 'the local rubbish dump where the garbage from the white

⁴⁸ We know that Marechera had read Fanon – he comments in the essay, 'The African Writer's Experience of European Literature': 'How can Africa write as if that Black Frenchman, Franz Fanon [sic], never existed — I refer to the Fanon of *Black Skin, White Mask* [sic]' (1987: 100).

⁴⁹ Fanon similarly suggests elsewhere that this cultural 'imposition' leads the black child to identify with the white heroes that feature in the racist cultural narratives he consumes: '[In the magazines] the Wolf, the Devil, the Wicked Genie, Evil, and the Savage are always reresented by Blacks or Indians; and since one always identifies with the good guys, the little black child, just like the little white child, becomes an explorer, an adventurer, and a missionary 'who is in danger of being eaten by the wicked Negroes' (2008: 125).

side of town was dumped' (qtd. Veit-Wild, 2004: 135). This discovery, positioned as a 'founding scene' for Marechera's literary engagements (Nicholls, 2013: 11), is connected with another, sexually charged, discovery. Marechera recalls:

One brilliant blue morning I found what I thought was a rather large doll but on touching it discovered it was a half-caste baby, dead, rotting. I fled as fast as I could to the safety and razorfights of the ghetto. I read that encyclopaedia from cover to cover. Wandering among the Ancient Egyptians, the Persians, the Hittites and the Gittites. Pouring [sic] over the voyages of discovery by the British, the Spanish, the Portuguese [...]. It was an early flowering of my imagination, all caused by a chance encounter with a Victorian imperialist on a rubbish dump in a small town in Zimbabwe. (1984: 135-136)

At the end of this account, Marechera appears to scotomise the discovery of the discarded child.⁵⁰ The flowering of his imagination is attributed to the chance encounter with a book and not with the discovery of a child disposed of as though it were refuse. It is, however, precisely the trauma of this second discovery that Marechera claims to attempt to neutralise through reading. Nicholls notes that 'the corpse forms part of a memory whose status is suspect, if only because it is strikingly redolent of Oswald Mtshali's South African resistance poem, 'An Abandoned Bundle', which includes 'a mutilated corpse – / an infant dumped on a rubbish heap' (1971: 60 qtd. Nicholls, 2013: 12). While it is not outside the realm of possibility for Marechera to have found the body of a mixed-race child disposed of in this manner (the Rhodesian colour bar criminalised interracial sex

⁵⁰ Scotomisation is a form of avoidance: a defence mechanism that distorts or represses the perception of something that cannot be "admitted" to the ego.

and as such mixed-race children were likely to be unwanted), I want to pursue a reading of this moment of "discovery" as a reconstructed, organising scene that creates a point of entry into – by reviving something sexual in relation to – the deferred and accumulated trauma of the colonial environment.

If the memory or scene of the "discovery" of a mixed-race child so disposed of is constructed later, it indicates that Marechera is finding a point of entry into the accumulated and deferred trauma of his childhood environments (out of which the rubbish dump is privileged because of its association with cultural messages about race) through something personal and sexual. The sexual provocation of the mixed race child is clear enough: interracial sex was criminalised in colonial Rhodesia and miscegenation was proscribed (taboo). As Jock McCulloch notes, 'the sexual controversies of Rhodesian society revolved around Black Peril (the perceived sexual threat posed by black men to white women), miscegenation, concubinage, prostitution, and venereal disease' (2000: 12). Each of these controversies emerges in relation to a potential blurring of the boundaries of race and class. However, we might also expect that these cultural messages - because they relate to the sexual - will be circulating within the socius as part of the adult unconscious and implanted in the infant. For instance, we might expect that the heavy penalties (which are corporeal penalties) levied against black men for perceived sexual advances toward white women would inflect the messages of gender and race assignment communicated to an infant (particularly a male infant). Marechera once suggested that he found 'love of two people of the same race very much as an incest' (Marechera, 1992: 215).⁵¹ The inversion of colonial-era taboos on interracial sex and love

⁵¹ Gerald Gaylard speaks of Marechera's 'desire for Occidental alterity, a European lover' (2012: 162). Significant also is the possible oblique allusion to a "non-incestuous" structure of desire in Gaylard's suggestion that 'Marechera attempts to *defamiliarise* love by engaging with, and deconstructing European culture' (2012: 163).

- which is to say, Marechera's revision of this taboo through the use of another (the incest taboo) - suggests that his own sexual investments were laden with traumatic cultural baggage.⁵²

At the same time, if Marechera makes a literary allusion here – to Mtshali – he also highlights structurally similar experiences that occur across colonised countries. We find, for example, a remarkably similar "founding scene" in Bessie Head's The Cardinals, written and set in apartheid South Africa (and which also explores the distortion of the incest taboo in a colonial setting). The Cardinals was written in 1960, but only published posthumously and as such Marechera could not have read it. Nonetheless, the protagonist of *The Cardinals* – Mouse – grows up in a deprived slum searching for reading material on a rubbish dump. Mouse is taught to read with the first book she discovers - TheAdventures of Fuzzy Wuzzy Bear – and this reading experience becomes an originating scene within the text (Mouse is also to become a writer). Mouse experiences reading as a kind of seduction. When she reads she 'feels [...] waves rising up to swamp her' (Head, 1995: 8) – a sensation that is later associated with sexual seduction. It is a practical possibility that a child with no access to reading material might seek it on a rubbish dump. Nonetheless, the fact that the act of reading the settler's discards is associated with the sexual in both Marechera's and in Head's rendition of a similar founding "scene" indicates that the sexual offers a point of entry into colonial environmental trauma. The encounter with writing is an enigmatic provocation.⁵³ Like the enigmatic message, the

⁵² I pursue similar lines of argument in relation to the subversion of sexual taboos (on miscegenation) through the revision or alteration of the incest taboo, in Chapter 4 (on Bessie Head's *The Cardinals*).

⁵³ Laplanche describes the idea of a de-signifed signifier: 'What comes to the fore at certain moment, is that aspect of the signifier which signifies to someone, which interpellates someone [...] This foregrounding of "signifying to" is extremely important, as a signifier can signify to without its addressee necessarily knowing what it signifies. What know that it signifies, but not what it signifies. A signifier has a discernible significance [...]. Lacan suggests the image of hieroglyphs in the desert, or of cuneiform

sign itself (as "alien" marks on a page) made by another is *supposed-to-mean-something*. In Marechera's case, meaning signifies in excess because it relates to the racist colonial world. Arthur Mee's Children's Encyclopaedia is de-signified insofar as it is detached from its intended (white) addressee. The sign is material form of prohibition. In the case of Head's intuited "scene", in *The Cardinals*, Mouse is illiterate. The sign is ill-understood – an unbounded incitement of affect.

Marechera's putting into narrative of colonial environmental trauma actually interrelates two prohibitions on touch. As well as a prohibition applying to interracial sex, there is no operative taboo on contact with the other's waste, which would usually be considered polluting and hazardous. What I want to suggest here is that the colonial environment, in particular the brutalising environment of the township, attenuates the primary prohibition on touch – the prohibition that, as Naomi Segal puts it, 'separat[es] family-space from that of the dangerous "outside world" (2009: 49). This prohibition, which would normally preclude a child (Marechera) from visiting a dangerous environment like a rubbish dump, appears to be absent or distorted. We can observe lack of distinction between these spaces in Marechera's suggestion that he fled from the traumatic encounter with a child's body to the 'safety and razorfights of the ghetto' (Marechera, 1984: 136). At the same time, the "razorfights" of the ghetto allude to the way environmental effractions (traumatic colonial messages) are being localised in the body. Within Marechera's environments, human disposability is symbolised by the corpse of the mixed-race child. The traumatic message implied by this relation of self to tactile environment (playing in a dangerous environment of white discards) is figured

characters carved on a tablet of stone; we know that they signify [...] but we do not necessarily have a signified which we can ascribe to them' (Laplanche, 1989: 44-45).

again by the reported desire to return to safety and razor fights. The razor connects the brutalising environment of the township to the dangerous items potentially available to the touch in the other childhood environment. This scene of combined sexual, epidermal, and epidemiological risk, and the modes of tactile reserve that surround it connects the meaningful materiality of the colonial environment (environmental trauma) with the possibility of physical, epidemiological trauma (infection and wounding), and the sexual *event*.

Epidemiological violence

Epidemiological violence is built into the colonial environment. Contamination anxieties of disease transmission, of proximity to Africans as a source of contagion, and of the 'township as a problem of sewage management' (Hook, 2012: 47) are all implicated in the spatial segregations of the colonial environment – in the creation of reserves that are also reservoirs of ill health. This "sanitation syndrome", as Maynard Swanson (1977) terms it, operates according to a circular logic, in which the inadequate provision of sanitation and other resources then affirms pre-existing racialised ideas about hygiene and illness. According to the logic of this sanitation syndrome, black bodies are a source of contagion (a reservoir of disease). The issue of public sanitation and the fear of epidemic disease are then used to justify racist spatial segregations. Swanson notes that:

Overcrowding, slums, public health [...] were in the colonial context perceived largely in terms of colour differences. Conversely, urban race relations came to be widely conceived and dealt with in the imagery of infection and epidemic disease. (1977: 387)

Timothy Burke suggests that the sanitation syndrome had a role in the creation of colonial Rhodesia's townships, or "locations". He notes that '[t]he Sanitary Boards of colonial Bulawayo and Harare were important arenas for the design of desegregated African "locations" removed from the city center and northern suburbs, especially from 1898 to 1911' (Burke, 1996: 194). In colonial Harare, removals were proposed in 1902 to resolve the problem of inadequate sanitary provision for the African population – which existed because most [white] employers 'failed to provide sanitary conveniences for their servants' (Yoshikuni, 2007: 27). The Council's adoption of the proposed removals were soon endorsed by the 1903 Enteric Fever Commission, which investigated an outbreak of typhoid in early 1903. The Commission's report and identified the African population of the city as a "reservoir" of disease, and recommended that African workers be confined to a segregated location (Yoshikuni, 2007: 27). Equally, Swanson notes that 'an epidemic of plague in the early 1900s apparently spurred the separation of poor whites and blacks in Salisbury (the colonial name for Harare) and the removal of the latter to a location, after which urban segregation became a fixed policy of the Rhodesian government' (1977, 388).⁵⁴ The 'mile-wide green belt' that Marechera describes 'divid[ing]' the township from the white area, starts to look, from this perspective like a *cordon sanitaire* (qtd. Veit-Wild, 2004: 8).55

⁵⁴ Jock McCulloch observes that '[t]here is some dispute among historians about the importance of sanitation as a model for the management of urban environments and it is unlikely that it was ever the dominant cause' (2000: 83). McCulloch suggests that both sanitary and sexual concerns – the Black Peril myth of black male sexual violence towards white women – reinforced the system of urban locations. There was a crossover between the fear of African people as a source of disease and of sexual violence: sanitary concerns and fears of infection shared with the Black Peril 'the same powerful imagery of pollution, contagion, and social chaos' (McCulloch, 2000: 83).

⁵⁵ In *City Politics. A Study of Leopoldville, 1962-63*, J. S. LaFontaine has noted the institution of this kind of "buffer zone" as 'a striking feature' of pre-independence Leopoldville: 'two distinct parts: European and Congolese [...] separated by a cordon sanitaire of uninhabited ground [...] designed to prevent the spread of African disease into the white residential areas' (1960: 19).

The uneven contouring of sanitation produced by the settler-colonial "sanitation syndrome" inflects the creation of the racially segregated residential "location", or reserve. From this perspective, the system of forced re-settlement under the Land Apportionment Act – moving African populations into infected and infective zones – starts to look like an extreme version of the settler's sanitation syndrome. While the sanitary concerns of setter-colonials revolve around tsetse in rural areas, in urban areas paranoid anxieties are invested in the idea of "black" bodies themselves as infective, and as sources of infective waste. We might think at this point of Joel Kovel's observation, in *White Racism: A Psychohistory*, of a long and established history of racism working via faecal and other projective metaphors (1970). The settler's racist projections undergird histories of urban expulsions. These projections are psychic (racist aversion) – but they have material consequences (the creation of reserves). The effect of settler-colonial projections is to unevenly distribute illness. As Mavhunga puts it: '[w]hat we experience as pestilence by others is sometimes a sign of our own pestilence of others' (2011: 155).

What Marechera indicates in his novella *The House of Hunger* – a fictionalised account of his experience of living in Vengere under white minority rule – is the way the township, in its ecology and, in particular, in its microbiology, forms a constitutive nexus for psychic life. Life in the township follows Fanon's model of "infestation", quite literally, as Marechera writes forms of systemic ill health (in which the materiality of the body, and its functioning in states of ill health, is entangled with the psychological and the social). Laurice Taitz observes that in Marechera's writing '[t]he use of disease as a metaphor emerges out of a social context in which there is an unequal distribution of resources and political power' (1999: 30). In my reading, I go beyond this, to suggest how disease in Marechera is figured as a biopsychosocial phenomenon. In Marechera,

the psychophysiological body is subject to effraction – the breaching of its boundaries from without – by disease.

Marechera reveals how the township environment – which he terms "the House of Hunger" – shapes these effractions:

In the House of Hunger diseases were the strange irruptions of a disturbed universe. Measles or mumps were symptoms of a malign order. Even a common cold could become a casus belli between neighbours. And add to that the stench of our decaying family life with its peripheral headaches of gut-rot and soul sickness. (7)

Here, effraction is both physical (in the sense of pathogens entering the body) and psychic: the "irruption" of an intractable, colonially produced exterior. The psychophysiological body, epidemiologically burdened by an uneven distribution of sanitation and disease, is subjected to an incremental and accretive trauma – what Rob Nixon terms 'slow violence', a 'violence of delayed destruction' that conceals its consequences in space as well as in time (2011a: 2). This accretive trauma is felt intergenerationally, in the 'stench of decaying family life' (7). Disease, in the township, is an event that conjoins organic trauma (the invasion of the body by pathogens) with sociopolitical trauma – being forced to live in a certain way, in a certain, deprived environment. Environmental trauma, then, is not only transmitted vertically (between generations) but also horizontally: from environment into body. Marechera figures the symptoms of disease and ill health as piercing or otherwise infiltrating the envelopes of the psyche: as irruption, stench and peripheral headache. In other words, Marechera

impingement is simultaneously psychical and biological. Disease – its epidemiology and causality – is invested with meaning in excess of the biological. Disease is associated with extranatural agency and operates within a matrix of communicable aggression characteristic of township life; its transmission is a *casus belli* – a cause of war – between neighbours.

Gut rot

In *The House of Hunger*, the pathogenic impingement of the colonial environment is felt in the gut. Marechera relays the epidemiological burdens of the township through a kind of gut ecology that connects forms of systemic ill health (including the materiality of alcohol addiction) to the psychic container (the environmental envelope of the psyche). Ruminating on the conditions of life in the township – the political thirst 'lick[ed] dry' and the 'emptiness [...] deep-seated in the gut', 'the unknown terrors of VD' and the 'stench of our lives' (12-14) – the narrator of *The House of Hunger* concludes:

Gut-rot, that was what one steadily became. And whatever insects of thought buzzed about inside the tin can of one's head as one squatted astride the pit latrine of it, the sun still climbed as swiftly as ever and darkness fell upon the land as quickly as in the years that had gone. (14)

This excretive ontology, in which one becomes one's gut rot, models the psychophysiologically incapacitating effect of the township environment, and connects psychological malaise to a distortion of gut function.⁵⁶ 'The expression 'the pit latrine *of*

⁵⁶ Physiological processes, Nicola Diamond notes, 'can and do err from their "proper" course, to become confounded with emotion and meaning' (2013: 69).

it' gestures towards 'gut-rot' as a mode of becoming, and at the same time delimits the township: 'it' is both existence and environment. The term squatting holds together both the idea of the body in the act of excretion and the township, as a kid of "squat". The township is also a pit latrine, or 'seething cesspit' as Marechera describes Vengere in interview (qtd. Veit-Wild, 2004: 1), while the 'stench' of the pit latrine is also described as the 'stench of our lives' upon which 'stars glittered vaguely' (14). Stench envelops the psyche, while the pit latrine is positioned as a containing-object. The township, as pit latrine or cesspit, is a "reservoir" - albeit a reservoir of contamination and ill health. The gut is also a kind of reservoir, a sink for nutrients that, in being populated by microbiota can harbour potential reservoirs of infection (including viral infection). Gut rot, as a mode of becoming associated with spatial boundaries – the 'pit latrine of it' – has become a 'a complete form of existence,' as Maurice Merleau-Ponty describes illness, referring to the way in which illness substitutes 'equally pathological phenomena' for those functions that have been destroyed or are absent (2002: 123). In this case the gut, and its vital functions (digestion and excretion), have been contaminated. Marechera's account of the contamination of gut function suggests that the township - a colonially produced environment - becomes intimate to the gut: a gastrointestinal effect of a racist environment. The epidemiology of gut rot is inherently environmental. Racial trauma, here, then, is an epidemiological as much as it is an environmental category. Racial trauma is internalised in this way, too.

Maurice Merleau-Ponty describes the substitute functions of an illness as 'allusions to some fundamental function that they are striving to make good, and the direct image of which they fail to furnish' (2002: 123). The 'gnawing' action of gut rot – an 'eternal gnawing in the gut' – implies a habitual state of muscular spasm or

hyperperistalsis (and an associated muscular exhaustion).⁵⁷ Gut-rot, then, evokes repeated excretive acts: quite literally, a habitual 'squatt[ing] astride [a] pit latrine' (14), exposed to a reservoir of potential contamination. This is also an act of knowing exposure: 'barring [sic] our arse to the yawning pit-latrine' (92). Here, the yawning of the pit latrine also threatens an incorporation or ingestion of the body, and alludes to a form of pollution associated with the bodily orifices – the mouth is being metonymically associated – via yawning - with a repository for excrement. What seems to be particularly at stake, in Marechera's habitual references, in *The House of Hunger* to excrement, flies, and latrines is the colonial production of environment through the uneven apportionment of sanitation. This is, as I have suggested, a form of environmental trauma transmitted horizontally, from environment into body. The narrator identifies the house of hunger as the place where 'the acids of gut-rot had eaten into the *base metal* of my brains' (24). By referring to the 'acids' of gut rot, Marechera suggests a connection between gut rot and an alcoholic "biliousness". "Biliousness" is a term (medically defunct but still used colloquially) for a range of digestive problems caused by the excessive production of bile acid in connection with alcohol abuses. Marechera's connection between acidity and gastric distress, then, inevitably evokes the idea of a bilious disturbance in gut function as a result of excessive alcohol consumption. If gut-rot does refer to a state of alcohol dependency, then it also shows up how social inequalities produce inequalities in health. In interview, Marechera observes that in the townships, the provision of alcohol is a form of social control. He notes: 'The very first thing they build here is not new houses, no, it is a beerhall. There was a very large and beautiful beerhall right there in the middle of Vengere township, surrounded by all these really sickly houses' (14). The spatial dispensation of the township, with a 'large and beautiful beerhall' positioned in the midst

⁵⁷ Peristalsis is a contraction of muscles that moves food down the digestive tract.

of 'sickly houses', reflects both the asymmetry of colonial expropriation and the forms of contamination and epidemiological vulnerability that this expropriation produces. The 'sickly houses' (14) Marechera refers to suggests both the meagreness of the township's housing provisions, and a state of lowered immunity, of systemic ill health, for those who occupy them. What Marechera also alludes to here, of course, is how alcohol consumption might be a response to a deprived environment. The materiality of alcohol addiction is both physiological (a bodily experience) and environmental (engrained in the social as a response to deprivation).

Gut rot, in Marechera, also alludes to a failure of psychic containment: to a contaminated state of psychic functioning. As well as being physiologically felt in the gut, Marechera also suggests that the township inhibits self-determination: 'thought' itself is contaminated, likened to insects (a common signifier of disease transmission). Gut rot, I suggest, alludes to an inability to contain and to a phantasied projection – out of the body – of unwanted "contents" issuing from the colonial environment. We have seen that in colonial Zimbabwe the urban residential reserve is established as black bodies, presumed to be a source of disease and infectious "waste", are removed from urban centres. We can read Marechera's literary rendition of psychic malaise in the township as "gut rot" as a response to this history and to the inadequate sanitation supplied to the urban reserve. Marechera's excretive ontologies, in which one becomes one's gut rot, suggest that the "constitution" of the psyche materially replays traumatic colonial messages about the colonised as a source of diseasing waste. For Melanie Klein, projection is generally related to the 'anal urethral impulses and implies expelling dangerous substances (excrements) out of the self' (1997: 8). As we know from Klein, projective identification operates as a phantasy in which bad and intolerable parts of the self are projected out of the body and into the body of the mother, identifying the mother

with bad parts of the self. In this form, projective identification is the 'prototype of an aggressive object-relation' (Klein, 1997: 8). Projective identification (putting bad contents into the other) is also an attempt to gain control of the bad and dangerous object from within. This projective aim seems particularly apposite in the context of the colonial environment – in which the control one has over where and how one lives are delimited. Marechera's gut rot, read as the projection of unwanted "contents" elsewhere, and as the refusal to introject others, positions the environment as that secondary body that either pollutes or is polluting, where in Klein it is the body of the mother. We have shifted from a maternal containing object (the breast) to an environmental containing object (the reservoirs of the township).

The two associations of gut rot – a kind of gnawing acidity and a diarrheic habit – both indicate a form of pathogenic impingement and an inability to *contain*. If the gut can be read as a reservoir, a containing object, then how might gut rot and skin ego correlate? In Didier Anzieu's theory, the skin ego, in its containing and other psychic functions, emerges primarily in relation to the experience of a tactile envelope. But other sensory envelopes, including a gustato-olfactory envelope, are also implicated in this process and problems can emerge when the tactile envelope fails to interweave with the gustato-olfactory envelope. Like the sounds associated with respiratory sensations, digestive noises make the body into a 'resonant cavity' (Anzieu, 2016: 180). The idea that respiratory sensation can 'give a sense' of the body as a 'volume emptying and filling' (Anzieu, 2016: 180) seems equally applicable to digestive functioning. Perhaps indicatively, Anzieu details the possible modes of confusion between the respiratory and digestive tracts, with air being 'eaten' or swallowed, or food being vomited which occurs when digestion attempts to function according to the model of respiration. Anzieu suggests that cases of respiratory retention indicate an 'an urge to remain full and a terror of emptying out' (2016: 125). In *The House of Hunger*, Marechera associates the urge to vomit with both the air (which is incorporated into and expelled from the body as breath) and the tactile sensation of the skin. He writes: 'I began to feel those stale mornings when the cold wind writhes about purposelessly as if there was nothing but air in the gleaming casket of creation. The sick juices were welling up inside me, making me want to vomit' (27). Here, the writhing of the air evokes the circulation of air about the body, as well as a restless state. The 'casket' of creation, in which there is nothing but air, also evokes the 'emptiness deep seated in the gut' (13).

The narrator identifies the township as the place where 'the acids of gut-rot had eaten into the base metal of my brains' (24). This "eating" evokes metabolisation. But rather than eating, Marechera's narrator feels himself being eaten. The gnawing action of narrator's gut rot – an 'eternal gnawing in the gut' – also evokes an upheaval, with the acids associated with the digestive system being "brought up" the oesophagus toward the brain. This is a form of expulsion and compulsive evacuation, a kind of forced emptying or a refusal to incorporate. The narrator's gut rot is explicitly associated with vomiting elsewhere when, in the beerhall with Harry - for whom black women are 'raw meat' destined for an indelicate consumption – the narrator finds himself racked with the urge to vomit: 'I creased my face with the effort of fighting the sickness that was welling up and eating my insides with the corrosive acids of gut-rot' (27). The narrator's description of a sickness 'welling up' suggests the wave-like action of retro-peristalsis, which occurs as a precursor to vomiting. While Harry 'swallow[s]' phlegm' (31) in a reverse action of consumption, the narrator is unable to contain the contents of his stomach, expelling them instead into the 'bowl' of the toilet, into which he is 'violently sick' (31). In the conversation that precedes the narrator's vomiting, Harry suggests that sexual access to white women is a means of transcending the township:

"A white chick?"

He laughed:

"What else, man?" His arm swept the panorama of barbed wire, whitewashed houses, drunks, prostitutes, the angelic choirs of god-created flies, and the dust that erupted into the little clouds of divine grace wherever the golden sunlight deigned to strike. His god-like gesture stopped abruptly — pointing straight at the stinking public lavatory.

"What else is there, man?" he repeated. (22)

As Mary Douglas contends: 'bodily orifices [sometimes] represent points of entry or exit to social units' (2002: 4). Sexual access to white women is positioned as a an entry to a social world outside of the polluted and polluting environment of the township of which the latrine is positioned (as the culmination of Harry's godlike gesture) as the ultimate expression. I think we can read Marechera's own sexual politics – his somewhat enigmatic suggestion that he 'finds love of two people of the same race very much as an incest' (Marechera, 1992: 215) – as similarly inflected by this polluting/contaminating social order. The family is a social unit (to which we are prohibited sexual access through the incest taboo), by rendering black women "family", and therefore sexually inaccessible, Marechera is able to escape the physical and family environment of his childhood. The narrator's projective gut rot also reads as a refusal to incorporate a dehumanising attitude towards black women – Harry's suggestion that black women are

'just meat' (24).⁵⁸ Alongside microbiological materialities, un-metabolisable messages about race are circulating in the colonially-produced environment.

This phantasied projection of unwanted "contents" out of the body is a symptom of the narrator's forced or involuntary introjection of the colonial world. Beyond the incorporation of the colony's material histories, introjected through what Rob Nixon terms the 'lived sense of a corroded environment' (2011a: 16), other histories are introjected. This sense of involuntary incorporation is alluded to when one character, Philip, tells the narrator: 'there's white shit in our history and white shit on our hands in anything we build and pray for. [...] There'll be big men always to dig pit-latrines for you and your children to fall in' (75). Another connection between ingestion and the brutalising colonial environment is alluded to when the narrator remarks: 'arrests became so much a part of one's food that no one even turned a hair when two guerrillas were executed one morning and their bodies displayed to a group of schoolchildren' (3). Other allusions connect gut rot to histories of armed struggle, Marechera suggests that gut rot is introduced to the colonised psyche after the military defeat of the First Chimurenga. The narrator observes: 'My gums were aching as if the Second Coming were around the corner, after more than eighty years of gut rot' (59). Here Marechera refers to the Second Chimurenga (1964-1979). The first Chimurenga (of the late 1890s) is just under eighty years prior. Significantly, one form of biological warfare deployed during the liberation war was the spreading of a cholera epidemic – an infectious and often fatal disease affecting the bowels, leading to diarrhoea and vomiting – among ZANLA troops and civilians. Mavhunga details that:

 $^{^{58}}$ Black women are nonetheless a source of ambivalence: the narrator feels similarly sick when he encounters an old childhood sweetheart, Julia, at the beerhall – he experiences her hypersexualised appearance as abject.

In early 1977, the Selous Scouts Reconnaissance Troop infiltrated Mozambique and planted several vials of cholera bacterium into the water tank serving ZANLA camps near Malvernia, Madulo Pan, and Jorge do Limpopo. Parker says: "A week later information from B2 intercepts monitoring FRELIMO radio signals revealed that an outbreak of vomiting and diarrhea had occurred amongst FRELIMO troops and ZANLA guerrillas." The portable cholera caught a ride in the bowels of villagers with kin on either side of the border and in the guerrillas going into Zimbabwe for operations. Their mobility became the rate of transmission, its outbreak in the villages confirmation of local contacts with ZANLA. (168)

Although these events are happening while Marechera is in England, studying at Oxford, they suggest that Marechera accurately intuits the epidemiological nature of colonial violence. Therefore, gut rot, as a colonially-produced "symptom" has a wider historical validity (extending beyond the constitution of the township or the rural reserve).

A link between gut rot and skin ego – between contamination and failures of containment – is also suggested by the fact that gut rot is associated, in the text, with stitches: 'I creased my face with the effort of fighting the sickness that was welling up and eating my insides with the corrosive acids of gut-rot. *The stitches had not tightened yet*' (27 emphasis added). Stitches, in Marechera, allude to masochistic phantasies (the rending of the skin) and failures of psychic containment (effraction). The phantasied stitches to which the narrator refers here are propped upon an experience of having a head wound stitched back together. In their psychic dimension, the stitches are no longer transcutaneous but connect the psychical with environmental: the narrator describes 'stitches enough to weave webs from the one wall of [the] mind to the wall of the House of Hunger' (51). The connection between gut rot and the 'stitches', as phantasies of failed

containment, is a history of colonial expropriation. In another image the narrator compares the pate of his skull to the geological surface of Zimbabwe – '[t]he stitches run like the great dyke across the country. A little blood still seeps through' (54). The reference here is to Zimbabwe's Great Dyke, a linear geological feature that trends on a north-south axis through the centre of the country, passing close by Harare. It is composed of narrow ridges and hills rich in ore deposits. Interestingly, from satellite and aerial images, the Great Dyke does look uncannily like a giant stitch on the surface of the earth. In Zimbabwe, although extensive deposits of chrome were found along the Great Dyke in 1906, and asbestos mining began in 1908, the failure to discover mineral riches led the BSAC to focus on land speculation and agriculture – which in turn led to the massive land dispossession and the alienation of resources codified in 1930 in the Land Apportionment Act (Wolmer, 2007: 79). Colonial land management policy ensured that white-owned land would 'span prime agricultural zones and run along the country's railway arteries and the mineral rich Great Dyke' (Gwarazimba, 2008: 124), while the creation of Tribal Trust Lands effectively produced large reservoirs of migrant wagelabour. The stitch of Zimbabwe's geological feature - the Great Dyke - is projected onto the stitched-together head because both, in a metonymical relation to minerals and labour, respectively, are resources to be extracted and exploited by colonial capitalism. Here colonial violence is shown to be environmentally embedded (the stitch-like appearance of the Great Dyke is Marechera's metaphor for this). This environmentally embedded violence is also registered here on the surface of the black skin ego.

Genital contaminations

In Marechera, both the gut and the genitals are sites of contamination. Like contaminations of the gut, the idea of genital contamination is concerned with bodily

boundaries, with what is put into or secreted from the body. Like the gut, the genitals are conceived as potential reservoirs and sources of contamination. In another image of "emptying", the narrator of *The House of Hunger* describes a woman leaving behind a trail of semen on the ground as she returns [to the township] from copulating in the bush. The narrator recalls: 'we could see on the gravel road splotches and stains of semen that were dripping down her as she walked' (64). A genital contamination, alluded to by the idea of semen as a 'stain' or polluting residue, is disseminated, literally, into environment. In *The House of Hunger* the orifices (genital, anal, oral) and their modes of emptying are co-implicated.⁵⁹ The 'emptiness deep seated in the gut' (13), for instance, is connected with forms of sexual contamination:

Dirty fingers scratching into obscure orifices; blurred images sneaking deeper into the flea-crevices of the mind. [...] An iron net had been thrown over the skies, quietly. Now it, tightening, bit sharply into the tender meat of our brains. [...] And beneath it all our minds festered; gangrenous. [...]. The underwear of our souls was full of holes and the crotch it hid was infested with lice. We were whores; eaten to the core by the syphilis of the white man's coming. [...]. Masturbating [...]; screaming abuse at a solitary but defiant racist [...]; barring our arse to the yawning pit-latrine; [...]; screwing pussy as though out to prove that white men do not in reality exist – this all was *contained* within the circumvention of our gut rot. (92-3)

⁵⁹ Shannon Sullivan discusses cloacal integration in *The Physiology of Racist and Sexist Oppression* – she notes that 'just as [the urinary, genital, and lower intestinal] tracts are substantively and functionally integrated with each other, the gut is also substantively and functionally tied to genital and sexual experiences' (2015: 67).

What we see here is that gut rot is an expression of a contaminated containing function (a container that cannot contain). But what is being held together here within an imagery of disease (festering gangrene, syphilis) and psychic effraction (iron biting into the brain's matter) are forms of genital contamination. The 'underwear of the soul', in particular suggests a covering that is 'full of holes' that are also contaminated genital orifices (the passage alludes to dirt in 'obscure' or uncertain orifices, lice-ridden crotches, the yawning orifice of a pit latrine (92). The state of being colonised is a state of being ill, while racial trauma is experienced *psychically* as forms of bodily contamination. But what is also significant here is the way genital contamination is looped back to or re-connected with the gut: genital contamination is associated with the digestive function (eaten to the core by syphilis). What is being 'contained within the circumvention' of gut rot is, paradoxically, a series of projective images (excretion, masturbation, screaming).⁶⁰

Marechera supplies a potential subtext for the nexus of genital contamination in *The House of Hunger*, when he refers to his experience of contracting a sexually transmitted disease during adolescence. He recalls:

I got VD. That was my very first sexual experience, I got VD. [...] I didn't know what was happening between my legs. I will never forget that. I had to ask my brother. I showed him, "Look, what's this?" He merely laughed and took me to the hospital [...] they gave me two injections of penicillin and that was that. But you see, that left me very much with a certain disgust about sex, about women. I can never really divorce the feeling that the very desire, the lust, the passion for a woman, will make me come out of this more and more diseased. I can love

⁶⁰ For an excellent reading of the alimentary as a site of ambivalence in Marechera's writing, see Ewa Macura-Nnamdi's (2015) article 'The Alimentary Life of Power'.

someone, but then I am afraid of the point when I have to sleep with her. I start asking myself, "Oh shit, am I going to wake up having another disease?" (13-14)

Marechera's experience of genital contamination becomes translated, he suggests, into a form of sexual reserve - an avoidance of sexual contact. The avoidance of contact inevitably evokes skin contact, and indeed genital disease is also being positioned here, I think, as a form of effraction which is then corroborated by the injections that must be used to clear the infection. Marechera writes: 'I didn't know what was happening': the trauma of infection, then, is belated, unanticipated at the moment of sexual contact, and experienced only later with the emergence of symptoms on the skin. Similarly, the brother's laugh signifies something in excess of Marechera's sexual awareness. This effractive excess leaves its resides in the psyche as anxieties about sexual intimacy, contact, and proximity as potential forms of contamination. The fear of sexual contact becomes itself infective, it is 'divorced' from its initial object - physical contact, intercourse – so that even the sexual impulse becomes a diseasing factor. As soon as desire is embodied, Marechera suggests, as soon as it is felt, it is experienced as a source of disease. The fact that Marechera simply refers to the area 'between [his] legs' indicates that the genital contamination experienced incorporates the internal and external zones of the pelvis – the anal and urinary tracts and openings as well as the penis and scrotum.

At another point in *The House of Hunger*, Marechera evokes a similar symbolic proximity between the orifices of the body – between the genital, anal, urinary and oral openings. As if responding to a confusion between these openings, the narrator's mother, who is berating him for his late initiation into sexual activity, tells him: 'You stick it in the hole between the water and the earth, its easy [...]. You were late in getting off my breast; you were late getting out of bedwetting. Now you're late jerking off into some

bitch'. Here, the proximity between the urinary tract (the water), the vagina, and the anus (the earth) is emphasised. The fact that these orifices are described in environmental terms also refers back to the idea of sexual contamination being mapped onto environmental contamination. Alongside this "cloacal" logic, there is an implicit connection between sexual acts and the incorporation (breast feeding) and expulsion (bedwetting) of bodily fluids in childhood.⁶¹ Breast feeding and bedwetting are sexualised here by being equated with sexual intercourse in the mother's complaint that the narrator is "late" in all three. The accusation of the narrator's lateness in getting off the breast also alludes to the colonial psychiatric discourse of "late weaning". The theory of late weaning connected ideas of pathological motherhood (unregulated and overindulgent feeding) to the imagined inferiority of the African mind.⁶² The colonial perception of the inferior mental life of the African was ascribed to the excesses of breastfeeding (feeding children when they were hungry, and to an age older than then common in the West) and the trauma of a sudden, late weaning, after the breast was denied. It followed, for psychoanalysts like Wulf Sachs (South Africa) and educational officials like J.F. Ritchie (Northern Rhodesia), that such a "late" or "sudden weaning" produced inferior and ambivalent forms of political and mental life. For instance, J.F. Ritchie, influenced by Kleinian theory, suggested that African models of breastfeeding left the infant unable to develop the 'complex process of introjection and projection' (qtd. McCulloch, 1005: 96) that the

⁶¹ By "cloacal logic" I am designating a symbolic, and sensory, association between the pelvic floor's separate genital, anal, and urinary tracts – the term 'cloaca' refers to their common phylogenetic origin. In *The Physiology of Racist and Sexist Oppression*, Sullivan develops colorectal surgeon Ghislain Devroede's (2003) notion of "cloacal thinking". In Sullivan's conception, cloacal thinking 'considers the pelvic floor to be a psychosomatically integrated unit, appreciating the functional and co-constitutive relationships between the urinary, genital, and lower digestive tracts' (2015: 67).

⁶² Saul Dubow notes that 'the question of sudden weaning shares common features with the wider South African literature on 'primitive mentality' (1996: 208).

denial of the breast fostered. Significantly, Jock McCulloch indicates that British scientific mother-craft of the early 19^{th} century, which influenced the ethno-psychiatric theory of late or traumatic weaning, is concerned with controlling bodily functions – like bowel function. As McCulloch describes, 'all aspects of a baby's existence, including bowel movements, had to be regulated' (1995: 93). As McCulloch suggests, the ideal relation of mother to infant was one of regulation of bodily needs, and this idea found its way into ethno-psychiatric theories of late weaning. Marechera's gut rot – a discontained state of bowel functioning – may also be read as a psychic response to this pseudo-psychoanalytic discourse. This reading works with the connection between the degrading sexualisation of black women and gut rot, and the positioning of black women (the mother) as an ambivalent object choice. In the next part of this chapter, I will be thinking about the breast as a site of ambivalence and splitting, and placing this psychic formulation in the context of colonial environmental history (polluted reservoirs).

In this part of the chapter we have looked both at the skin ego and at the environment as a replacement for the mother's body in white settler-colonial and black projective identifications. These two dynamics – skin ego and projective identification – are not inimical to one another. Indeed, Anzieu suggests that Kleinian thought is compatible with theories of the skin ego. Anzieu argues that:

[...] in focusing only on phantasy, Klein neglects the qualities of more specifically bodily experiences [...] and in insisting on the relations between certain parts of the body and their products (milk, sperm, excrement) within a creative-destructive dynamic, she neglected the one thing that links them all into a unifying whole – the skin. The surface of the body is missing from Klein's theory, and this gap is particularly surprising given that an essential element of that theory, the opposition of introjection (modelled on feeding) and projection (modelled on excretion) is premised on the formation of a boundary between inside and outside. (2016: 40-41)

Anzieu suggests here that Klein's focus on particular processes neglects the psychic dimensions of the body as a whole and of the phenomenological experience of the body as contained within an intersensorial skin sac – a 'psychical surface which links together sensations of various kinds' (2016: 112). We experience our orifices, Anzieu notes, as 'allowing things to pass either inwards (incorporation) or outwards (expulsion)', but at the same time as sensations of incorporation and expulsion are fixed at certain points 'no orifice can be perceived without relating to a sensation of surface and volume' (2016: 41-42). Without the surface, it is impossible to conceive of something passing into, or out of, the self. We have seen that projection and introjection are phantasies underpinned by colonial environmental relations and the material and cultural histories of the colony. The ecologies of the skin so far outlined show that environmental history, in combination with lived environment (the material and psychic space of the colony), affects the skin ego.

Postcolonial reservoirs: Lake Chivero

Marechera's literary ecologies have so far connected parasitic protozoa to a literarymythic "organism" (the manfish or *njuzu*). In so doing, Marechera historicises the meaningful materiality of the colonial environment. Other nonhuman microorganisms have included the parasitic protozoan (the protist) and our cohabiting ecologies of microbial life. In *The House of Hunger*, the infectious microorganism circulates throughout environmentally-mediated phantasies of projection (gut rot, ejaculation). These phantasies – in an "aesthetics of vulgarity" – critique the colonial production of environment and its reservoirs of systemic ill health and epidemiological burden. Ultimately, I suggested that Marechera's gut rot intuits the phantasmatic investments at work in colonial epidemiological violence (polluting other bodies), while also indexing the medical and the environmental as a constitutive nexus of psychic life. I return now to 'Protista's' other preoccupation - the fish-like bodies in the Lesapi reservoir - as I move on to a consideration of the reservoir-proper (and other water-borne organisms). In Marechera's autobiographical essay 'Fear and Dread out of Harare', the metaphor of the reservoir once again holds together states of bodily contamination with the colonial production of environment. 'Fear and Dread out of Harare' is one of Marechera's later writings, appearing in a collection of five essays entitled 'Social Commentary: The City', written in 1985 but unpublished during his lifetime. These were written following Marechera's post-independence return to Harare, from London, in 1982. The reservoir in question here is a physical one – Lake Chivero – a man-made reservoir and municipal water supply outside of Harare with a notoriously problematic ecology. I read the reservoir as a containing-object, into which contents are projected, and a source of poisoning. In 'Fear and Dread Out of Harare', Marechera makes several autobiographical allusions to the lake's ecology that reveal phantasmatic investments (sexual, bodily, and environmental).

Autobiographical allusions

Marechera's first allusion to Lake Chivero comes in the form of a bracketed aside, qualifying an earlier statement: '[f]or four years I had not ventured out of the City [...] (I did once get away for an afternoon of Art at Rafingora; and another of incurious awe when *that* lake spilled, the constipation having been prayed out of existence)' (150). A

reservoir is engineered to spill before the water level breaches its holding capacity. While I will suggest that Marechera is, on one level, responding here to the notoriously problematic ecology of the lake (its habitual failure to spill), his italicisation of '*that*' also signifies something in excess of the physical lake. The spilling of the reservoir is being used here as a metaphor for a loss of psychic containment. Marechera's reference to the reservoir alludes to an oblique subtext. In emphasising '*that* lake', Marechera is, I suggest, referring to a visit he made to Lake Chivero with his lover Flora Veit-Wild. In the essay 'Me and Dambudzo', Veit-Wild writes about a trip the two made to the lake in 1985:

Urged by his laments that we never have enough time together, I arrange for a three-day outing to Lake McIlwaine. [...]. A horrendous disaster. I swear: Never, ever, again. Yet, two or three weeks later I crawl under his sheets again. How often? One, two or three times? Then, finally, I feel that I will be able to let go. (2012: 5)

Veit-Wild indicates here that the circumstances of the trip precipitate the ending of their sexual relationship. Marechera's reference to 'that lake spill[ing]', implies just such a watershed moment, a building of tension that is suddenly released – 'the constipation having been prayed out of existence' (150). The idea of spilling, of course, implies an emptying (a projection) of contents, out of a lake or out of a body, while the notion of 'pray[ing]' a '*constipation* [...] out of existence' (150 emphasis added) evokes the psychic dimensions of bowel function. The psychological correlates of bowel function include the expulsion of unwanted parts of the self elsewhere (defecation), and the inability to enact such an expulsion (retention). The notion of 'pray[ing]' constipation

'out of existence' also alludes Marechera's scatological semantic field in The House of Hunger, where alcoholic biliousness and inadequate sanitation enacts an excretive ontology, with one 'steadily' becoming one's own 'gut rot' (14). I will elaborate further the relevance of the materiality of alcohol addiction and pollution for a psychoanalytic reading of 'Fear and Dread Out of Harare'. For now, I want to comment on the implied synaesthesia of a sexual tension "excreted" out of existence. Ejaculation (sexualised emptying) is being symbolically equated here with excretion (the lake spilling). Elsewhere in Marechera, in The House of Hunger, ejaculation is likened to a loss of containment: both as the tearing of a containing-structure: '[t]he taut cloth of his being, unable to bear the strain, tore' (64), and as spilling: 'he came and came and came like new wine that cannot be contained within old cloth' (64). At the same time (and not incompatibly), in the context of Veit-Wild and Marechera's disastrous trip, the "spill" alludes to the rending of the sexual relationship as a containing structure. Anzieu suggests that sexual relationships, which bring us into close psychical and epidermal contact with another, can function to shore up the containing function of the skin ego. He suggests that 'two partners attach themselves to each other at the very points where their own psychical boundaries are uncertain, inadequate or defective' (2016: 97). The lake spilling, then, also metaphorises a breaching of psychic containment.

What is significant here is that the projection of contents out of a body (whether a body of water or a human body) necessarily requires another "body" into which these contents can be projected. This body is then made to contain the "unwanted" contents. The "reservoir" acts as a metaphor for a polluted and polluting body. Both the body and the lake are "reservoirs" in that they are receptacles for pollutants and a potential source of polluting effluents. The compounds (contents) that leach into a reservoir from elsewhere alter the composition of that reservoir. In the same way, those contents that are leached from the reservoir (as a water supply) have the potential to cause illness. As well as providing a municipal water supply, and water for irrigation, Lake Chivero also acts as a sink for nutrient-rich sewage effluents discharged from Harare:

Harare drains into Lake Chivero while also abstracting raw water from the same reservoir. In this way, the lake serves as a sink for pollutants that are not effectively removed via wastewater treatment or reuse. Wastewater is believed to be the major direct and indirect source of pollution in Lake Chivero. (Nhapi et al., 2006: 101)

Considering that the excretory is linked to states of bodily and environmental contamination in *The House of Hunger*, as I have shown, it is significant that Marechera goes on to allude to the problematic ecology of Lake Chivero in 'Fear and Dread Out of Harare'. Marechera's second reference to Lake Chivero alludes to the problematic ecology of the lake and to an associated state of environmental drought. Marechera writes that, upon his return to Zimbabwe in 1982: 'I plonked myself down as naturally as a fish that's been thrown back into that Lake which was spilling no more' (152). In this instance, and unlike the first allusion to Lake Chivero ('*that* lake'), 'Lake' is capitalised. By capitalising 'Lake', Marechera indicates that he is now referring to the physical lake, and to the physical failure of the lake to spill during to the Zimbabwean droughts of 1982-1984. During a drought, of course, the composition of the reservoir will alter, with a higher concentration of its input being wastewater (and effluents). Thus the "excretion" of the lake's spilling takes on another, more explicitly ecological, dimension. The lake is now being filled with effluents (rather than with water) that it then "excretes". The environmental drought that results in a depleted reservoir (Lake Chivero's failure to spill)

is likened to a state of bodily drought – to an organic dehydration (caused by alcohol addiction) affecting the gut.

Nonetheless, I suggest, bodily and psychic states are still being mapped onto one another in the essay's allusions to drought. Whether or not the lake actually spilled in 1985 during the trip with Veit-Wild, bodily states of emptying and breaching are being mapped onto the physical reservoir. As we have seen, in the first instance, the 'spilling' of the lake alludes to a sexualised excretion, and to a breaching or loss of psychic containment. With Marechera's second reference to the lake, the suggestion that the 'Lake [is] spilling no more' (152) also returns us to the first allusion to spilling (which refers, as we know, primarily to a psychic emptying). Within the context of the essay, and the nonlinear literary time of its allusions, the statement that the 'Lake was spilling no more' (152) follows (and thus appears to refer back to, rather than prefigure) the first mention of 'that lake spill[ing]', even though, naturally, Marechera's return to Zimbabwe and the environmental droughts of 1982-84 occur before his visit to the lake with Veit-Wild in 1985. Thus, psychosexual emptying metaphorised by the lake spilling (first allusion) is overlaid with a chronologically environmental drought (second allusion) that produces an inability to spill. Sexualised emptying is followed, in the essay, by drought. What I suggest is at stake here is an intermeshing of psychical and environmental states (an intermeshing that as we can see also subtly collapses linear temporal progression). Marechera's metaphorisation of psychic rupture as a lake spilling derives significance, after the fact, from an associated terrain of environmental drought: the idea that after '1982 [...] that Lake [...] was spilling no more' (152).

In the essay, environmental drought is also being associated with the endurance, in the postcolonial, of environmental colonialism (the regulation of water and its flows) and environmental alienation. In his second allusion to Lake Chivero, Marechera

positions the reservoir as a metaphor for Harare. In doing so, as I will show, he suggests that his relationship with postcolonial Harare is ambivalent: Harare is positioned, implicitly, as an unnatural or colonially-inflected environment. I return to the second allusion, in which Marechera states: 'And when I returned in 1982 I firmly plonked myself down in Harare as *naturally as a fish* that's been thrown back into *that* Lake which was spilling no more' (152 emphasis added). Here, Marechera's unceremonious description of 'plonk[ing]' himself 'down' is compared to the careless action that throwing a fish back into a lake implies. There is a further subtext here, which has its coordinates in the ecology of Lake Chivero - specifically, in the eutrophication that has been a feature of the lake's ecology for most of its history. Eutrophication is a natural process by which a lake or other body of water becomes too rich in nutrients. The nutrientrich waters of eutrophic lakes support explosive growths of plant and algal matter, which, in de-composing, consume oxygen. The de-oxygenated waters that result can lead to fish kills. Algal blooms, infestations of water hyacinth, and fish kills have occurred throughout most of Lake Chivero's history (Gumbo, 1997: 158). The lake became eutrophic in the early 1960s (Ndebele and Magadza, 2006: 57) and several mass fish kills have occurred in the lake since the 70s (Hranova, 2006: 66). In the case of Lake Chivero, problems in the lake's ecology derive from the nutrient-rich sewage effluents discharged from Harare into the lake's waters. Although there were improvements in water quality in the 1970s after sewage effluent was first used in irrigation before being discharged into the lake (Ndebele and Magadza, 2006: 57), by the mid 1980s (following the 1982-1984 drought) rising nutrient levels led to outbreaks of water hyacinth. When fish die-off in a body of water, they float: which lends further credence to Marechera's image of a fish being carelessly thrown back into 'that Lake' (152). Marechera suggestion, then, that he has settled into the life of Harare 'as naturally as a fish that's been thrown back into that Lake', is actually rather perverse. Here he is riffing on the idea of the returned exile as a fish *out* of water, except that he is in the water...and is therefore dead. This riff on the exile as fish out of water precludes the possibility of a "natural" habitation of post-independence Harare: Lake Chivero is a colonially produced, man-made reservoir, whose waters habitually prove lethal for aquatic life.

In 'Fear and Dread Out of Harare', Marechera compares himself to a fish floating in Lake Chivero. We know that Marechera had encountered other, human bodies at the Lesapi reservoir, and in 'Protista' these bodies are given fish-like characteristics. What I want to suggest is that Marechera's having seen human bodies at the Lesapi reservoir forms a pretext for how he later apprehends dead fish in Lake Chivero. The fish floating in Lake Chivero – with all the water politics and politics of reservoirs that this problematic ecology evokes - have an excess of meaning carried over from that previous focus on bodies in reservoirs. As we have seen, Marechera connects the colonial production of dams to environmental alienation and aridity. It has more recently been argued that the construction of dams in Zimbabwe was ecologically unsound: Horace Campbell suggests that in Zimbabwe the construction of dams as part of irrigation schemes also 'depleted the water table [...] leading to periodic droughts' (2007: 279). Marechera also alludes to fish kills in the poem 'Which One of You Bastards is Death?'. Critiquing the "technoculture" of colonial water resources management in the aforementioned poem, he writes: 'All the fish in Lake Kyle refused / The can of worms you call culture' (1992: 208). Lake Kyle is another man-made reservoir. The idea that the fish themselves have refused the "cultured" environment of the reservoir is a wry allusion to a fish kill, which suggests that in dying the fish have opted-out of their unnatural environs. The "can of worms" refers at once to the reservoir and to the unintended and unanticipated ecological effects of dam building. Marechera reveals an abiding interest here in the contaminated

environmental status of the reservoir. As well as being lethal to fish, the eutrophication of a lake's waters has also been linked to ill health in human communities. As Mzime Ndebele and Christopher Magadza outline:

Blue-green algae are known to produce toxins and algal blooms and are reported to have caused livestock deaths in various countries (WHO 2001). Algal toxins, such as microcystin [...] could also be a threat to public health because they are hepatotoxic, carcinogenic and teratotoxic to both humans and aquatic organisms [...]. Circumstantial evidence linked a seasonal increase of gastroenteritis cases in Harare to algal blooms in Lake Chivero [...], and algal toxins could have contributed to an extensive fish kill observed in 1996. (2006: 57).

As mentioned, waste water from Harare drains downstream into Lake Chivero. Roumiana Hranova notes that 'diffuse pollution from runoff is a concern, considering the proximity of the discharge points to Lake Chivero' (2006: 70). The rapid urban growth that has taken place, from the 1970s onward, has placed 'tremendous pressure' on water management and the provision of adequate potable water (Hranova, 2006: 63).

The endurance, in the postcolonial, of colonial environmental alienation – an alienation from the 'life and landscape of Zimbabwe' (151) – and a continued racial segregation of "belonging" to certain environments is also explored in the essay. Marechera refers to racially coded forms of environmental appreciation, while noting, wryly, that: 'I, and most of my acquaintances, have never visited Victoria Falls, Great Zimbabwe, Lake Kariba, Lake Kyle, Chimanimani, Vumba and a host of other places. We would never ever dream of doing so' (151). Lake Chivero, the fourth largest impoundment of water in Zimbabwe, was originally named Lake McIlwaine and was a

popular colonial recreation site. As David Hughes comments: 'whites dammed rivers and filled reservoirs for hydropower and irrigation. As a by-product, these industries incised [...] shorelines' that fitted a European landscape aesthetic (2010: 23). At the time that Marechera is writing, in the 1980s and soon after independence, Lake McIlwaine – as it was still known – is an environmental space that "codes white". Marechera comments, in the essay, on the charged responses of white European expatriates to these colonially encoded areas of engineered natural beauty: 'And there is Flore and Volker whose experience of Lake Kyle, Vic Falls, Great Zimbabwe and several but lesser known dimples of our country has chiseled into their already world-hewn vocabulary an exciting and ecstatic resonance' (151-152). Here, the idea of chiseling refers to the man-made quality of the lakes, to the jagged shorelines that are carved out when a reservoir is first filled (and which, Hughes comments, eventually erode to create one 'enormous waterhole' (2010: 45)). Hughes suggests that dam schemes in colonial Rhodesia, especially the Kariba mega-dam, form part of the 'imaginative project of colonisation' (2010: xiii), enabling white settlers to engineer a sense of economic entitlement and aesthetic belonging to the landscape. By contrast, Marechera writes: 'In all my days in Zimbabwe, I had only known the towns between Mutare and Harare. I had neither the wish nor the inclination to see any more than was necessary' (152). This idea of the 'necessary', I think, is significant: it suggests that the previous relation to environment, and the one that endures in the postcolonial, is one that is predicated around a mere existing-within.

Illness and introjection

The colonial reservoir cannot sustain life. Marechera uses the trope of the contaminated reservoir to explore his own vulnerably-constituted habitation of Harare. Like the fish

that drown in the de-oxygenated waters of the lake, Marechera describes himself 'drowning in [his] own Hararean indulgences' (152). Like the lake waters, Marechera suggests that Harare leaves him starved of vital elements: 'To fall into a huge vat of beer is at first exciting, stimulating – drinkeable – but then the hour of drowning approaches' (152). Marechera likens his situation - an inability to receive sustenance from his environment – to that of the fish drowning in Lake Chivero's de-oxygenated water. In both situations, internal and external become concomitant: environmental conditions (constituted by material colonial histories) are put into the self. What "drowning" indicates, I think, is a state of cultural stagnation - related, Marechera suggests, to his alienation from the 'life and landscape of Zimbabwe'. This state of cultural or psychic stagnation is replicated materially, by consuming more alcohol than the body can adequately metabolise (until 'the hour of drowning' (152)). Marechera suggests that the feeling of succour he gleans from Harare, with its bars and hotels, threatens not to nurture but to drown him. An ambivalent position is adopted in relation to Harare's 'stimulating', 'drinkable' (152) environment. This position is suggested when Marechera describes 'learn[ing] to wean' himself from 'the rather flabby, dowdy Hararean breast' (152). The breast, as a kind of container, is being likened to the containing/constraining "vat" of Harare. Here, 'flabby' and 'dowdy' (152) do not just suggest the abject form of the breast: they also suggest that the contents that issue from the breast will lack vitality, and may even pollute the body that takes them in. There is a whiff of vulgarity, of something shabbily distasteful, in the image of a 'dowdy' breast that evokes the cycle of an 'ultimately demoralising' but 'endless round of drink, dance, film, sex and sleep' (152). Marechera's relation to the 'breast' of Harare is souring. Harare is a breast that provides too much succour. It threatens to engulf, to flood the body-psyche with "bad contents". The flabby composition of the breast evokes the bloating that accompanies alcoholism,

as well as what Anzieu terms the liquefied body image of the alcoholic (the skin sac that contains fluid rather than solid matter) (2016: 107), and suggests that the breast's contents will also be composed of 'flab' rather than sustenance, "bad", rather than "good", contents.

Kleinian theory offers a helpful departure point for thinking through the phantasies that attach to bodily experiences like consumption and excretion. In Kleinian theory, our object relations are shaped from the very beginning by the psychical processes of introjection and projection – modelled on feeding (incorporation) and excretion (expulsion). The child's first "object" is the mother's breast, split into a good (gratifying) and a bad (frustrating) breast, each of which may be introjected or projected. The infant experiences the breast as that which provides succour, associated with oral sensation and the bodily sensations of gratification that accompany feeding. The infant incorporates the breast is experienced as nurturing and gratifying – its good contents incorporated – then the good breast (felt to be complete) is introjected. When the breast is felt to be frustrating (the bad breast), orally aggressive fantasies are directed towards it and the breast is felt to be 'taken in [...] in bits'. Klein records that:

The phantasied attacks on the mother follow two main lines: one is the predominantly oral impulse to suck dry, bite up, scoop out and rob the mother's body of its good contents. [...] The other line of attack derives from the anal urethral impulses and implies expelling dangerous substances (excrements) out of the self and into the mother. Together with these harmful excrements, expelled in hatred, split-off parts of the ego are also projected [...] into the mother. (Klein, 1997: 8)

So in its orally aggressive impulses, the infant fantasies that it empties out and devours all the good contents of the breast. The 'anal-sadistic impulses to put [...] excrements' into the mother implies an emptying out or an emptying into the mother that Klein suggests is derived from the 'desire to enter [the mother's] body and control her from within' (1997: 2). Orally aggressive impulses might also be thought of as a fantasy of control: if the infant is able to take in (absorb) all the breast's good contents then the breast will no longer be in control of them, or able to hoard them for its own.

There is a potential environmental logic here. Nicholls argues that Kleinian fantasies of introjection and projection relate to phantasies of consumption and pollution. Nicholls argues that if our primary psychic processes are 'derived from basic and organic bodily compulsions to consume and pollute (ingestion and excretion)' – that our bodily compulsions form the bedrock of our later psychic dispositions then it follows that 'environmental despoliation is already pre-comprehended in all of the finer operations of the human' (Nicholls, forthcoming). In the stage of splitting the self or ego is split in a way that corresponds with the split object: the bad parts of the self are separated from the good parts. If the psychical processes of introjection and projection prefigure our psychophysiological compulsions to consume and pollute, then the desire to avoid contamination between the 'bad' and the 'good' parts of the self might also underpin our environmental relations: the need to exclude dirt and pollution, to project our bad contents elsewhere. Klein terms our developmental mode of splitting the 'paranoid-schizoid position'. This infantile "position" remains an available state to us throughout adult like and I would argue that in relation to our environmental relations it is not necessarily indicative of psychosis. The idea, in Klein, that good contents are fantasied as being not only incorporated but devoured and robbed from the mother's body suggests how this

'position' might be adopted later in life in relation to other forms of consumption. Consumption and excretion – and the associated phantasies of introjection and projection - are, in Marechera's essay, underpinned by phantasies of absorption and emptying. These are phantasies that relate to the psychic container, and that think the permeability of the container both materially and psychically. The question I want to ask now is whether the Hararean breast is black. There is a whole colonial mythology built out of theories of "late weaning" or "sudden weaning" from the mother's breast. This mythology invokes involves ideas of pathological motherhood: an overabundant (and therefore hypersexualised) supply of milk.⁶³ We know from Klein that breast is a site is where we get our foundations for phantasies of introjection and projection. In the colonial situation it is as if there is a second order of political anxiety brought to bear on that interface between infant and mother in black communities. In Marechera's thought this mythology appears to be scripting forms of discontained bodily response (to environment). This discontained response might be read as an attempt to over-introject to the point of illness (which as we know from Merleau-Ponty becomes a "complete" form of existence, unlike the experience of lack in the containing envelope of the psyche).

Infected life

We have also that Marechera's first reference to Lake Chivero connects the loss of sexualised psychic containment to bodily functions: to excretion. Like excretion, alcohol addiction (to which Marechera is referring) is psychosomatic. The environmental, the bodily, and the psychic are all being co-implicated here. The search for envelopment (in a sexual relationship, in alcohol consumption) may also relate to the psychology of

⁶³ Erik Linstum notes that from the perspective of colonial psychiatry 'the pathology [engendered by late weaning] in question was not [viewed as] individual but cultural – a disorder of Africa itself' (2016: 75).

addiction. Addiction, according to Anzieu, is related to the terror of losing the object (for Anzieu, the mother) who 'fulfils the role of auxiliary protective shield' (2016: 111). The aim of addiction is to provide a solution to this loss 'by building a barrier of smoke or fog between the Ego and external stimuli' (2016: 111). In other words, the desire to cloud the external environment and to dull its potential effractions is what motivates addictions: addiction creates a substitute envelope or container. It is, I think, important to remember at this juncture that the particular states of illness that Marechera himself inhabited may well be inflecting his writing at this time. Marechera died of HIV-related pneumonia in 1987. Little is known about Marechera's experience of his HIV infection, or whether he knew about the significance of the human immunodeficiency virus. Veit-Wild reveals that Marechera referred, somewhat cryptically, in 1987, to doctors having found a 'strange virus' (2012: 6). She also reveals that possible symptoms of the virus may have extended back to early 1986, when Marechera visited 'a clinic for a test of his semen. There was blood mixed with his sperm' (Veit-Wild, 2012: 6). Marechera visited a clinic soon after for testicular surgery – Veit-Wild finds the 'receipt from Montagu Clinic dated 25/2/1986 for testicular surgery' (Veit-Wild, 2012: 6), and questions whether Marechera was tested for HIV at this time. The clinic visit does not necessarily mean that Marechera was made aware of his condition. The surgery suggests treatment for testicular cancer (the diagnosis could have been mistaken, or accurate, for HIV infection is a risk-factor for testicular cancer), or even a vasectomy (to limit the emission of bodily fluids, although of course this would not prevent transmission). At the time of writing 'Fear and Dread Out of Harare', Marechera's health was deteriorating rapidly and he was probably also, by contemporary accounts, addicted to alcohol (see Veit-Wild, 2004: 310-319). With this in mind, we can read the essay as a psychic response to both illness and to the Veit-Wild trip. If his semen is polluted with blood and infection, the body of the lover can be read

as a container for these infecting projections. We therefore transition from environment/mother (a source of poisoning contents) to the body (a container) to the lover. As we have seen, at each stage, anxieties about a loss of containment and a containing skin intercede. We see this with the flabby breast, with the body in the vat, and the bursting of the reservoir. Illness is being integrated into a psychic structure which connects meaningful bodily states (and material psychic states) to environment and the endurance of colonial environmental relations (and traumas) in the postcolonial.

The states of illness that Marechera inhabited (systemic ill health and immunosuppression) lead me to think about the meaningfulness of the immune system, and the way in which immune functioning is inflected by colonisation and the colonial environment. The point to remember here is that the immune system is not insensible or "innate". The immune system, moreover, is not only affected by the biophysical environment (our forms of epidemiological exposure) but by an excitatory/signifying environment (stress and low emotional states are known to negatively impact immune functioning). I have presented here an environmentalist rendition of the skin ego, theorising the "ecologies of the skin" in epidemiological terms as that which moves horizontally between subjects, piercing the boundaries of the skin and operating in excess of individual agency. Far from representing the psyche as a contained and uncontaminated human "whole", Marechera's thought gives us a series of environmentally inflected "organisms", that impinge on psychic life as a form of category disturbance. These organisms are bacteria, protista, fish, and menfish. In this chapter, I have connected these "organisms" to the constitution of the psyche in the colonial environment. These organisms take us from colonially-produced ecological materialities to mythic figures for colonial environmental relations. As such, these same organisms which make up a kind of ecology – allude to the psychic connection between illness (the material) and curse (the mythic) fostered or fomented by the colonial environment. Marechera approaches colonial environmental relations (the construction of reserves and reservoirs) though the mythic and its interrelation with environmental materiality. Some of these "myths", which are ambivalently utilised, are those of colonial psychoanalytic discourse: the black mother's breast as a source of African psychic dependency on the colonial state. In Marechera's imagining, the postcolonial city of Harare (supplied by a potentially polluting colonial reservoir) becomes an intoxicating breast-like "reservoir". The re-coding of a colonial history of infection through a mythic register ties together the psychogeography of the colony (the colony as psychic space [filled with the individual's psychohistorical investments) with its material dispensation. We have seen that illness is a curse in the township. We have seen that scarification – the inscription of the skin – is given both medical (curing illness) and mythical (curing curse) coordinates. We have also seen that activities that contaminate water sources are prohibited (or tabooed) by njuzu. The "organisms" of this chapter are held together within the metaphor of the "reservoir". The reservoir is a bounded space (a container) subject to various forms of "colonisation". It is an imaginative trope active in Marechera's rendition of colonial psychic space. The manfish, a mythic figure for environmental states and bodily states of infection, inhabits a reservoir (Lesapi) that Marechera encounters close to Vengere. Marechera, who codes himself as a manfish, inhabits a "reservoir" of systemic ill health (the township). Marechera's writing bespeaks a deep interest in water reservoirs and the ecology of colonially-made lakes (Lake Chivero). There is a profoundly environmental and materialist dimension to Marechera's thought that his critics have been slow to acknowledge. This chapter's meditation on the colonial production of environment and the way it scripts Marechera (in ways which have heretofore not been recognised) has shown how the uneven distribution of health and disease in the colony materially affects

psychic life. Colonial medical and environmental histories mean that psychic life is being inflected by human, nonhuman, and environmental vectors of disease. As we have seen, this history operates on both large environmental scales (the Zimbabwean diseasescape, the construction of water reservoirs), and on the register of the body in its distorted modes of consumption and pollution (introjection and projection). I move on to another diseasescape in the following chapter, in which I think about "reservoirs" of industrial disease materially affecting psychic life.

An epidemiological reading of Michael Ondaatje's In the Skin of a Lion

In this century, at least, tuberculosis has not really emerged so much as reemerged from the ranks of the poor. One place for diseases to "hide" is among poor people, especially when the poor are socially and medically segregated from those whose deaths might be considered more significant.

Paul Farmer, 2001 p.187

In this chapter, I explore the idea that the psyche, via the psychophysiological skin, is affected by the material relations it enters into. Its affective economy ties psychic life to embodied epidemiological experience. I ask what it means to have a skin ego in a settler-industrial environment, in which the acquisition of a "raced" skin also entails forms of epidemiological risk. I set out what I term the epidemiologic organisation of Ondaatje's *In the Skin of a Lion*, in its concern with industrial affliction and disease. Reading the text through Ontario's epidemiological history (I concentrate on tuberculosis), I engage with an alternative (and environmentally-oriented) archive, which has not yet been made critically visible as a condition underpinning the text. Ondaatje's recourse to Toronto's visual archive in *In the Skin of a Lion* is critically well-established (Duffy, 2001; Rodgers,

2002).⁶⁴ What has not been explored, however, is how Ondaatje's text stages the belated coming-into-visibility of industrial disease. In this chapter, I set out what I term the epidemiologic organisation of Ondaatje's In the Skin of a Lion, in its concern with industrial affliction and disease. Reading the text through Ontario's epidemiological history (I concentrate on tuberculosis), I engage with an alternative (and environmentallyoriented) archive, which has not yet been made critically visible as a condition underpinning the text. In the Skin of a Lion represents industrialisation and urban development in early twentieth century Toronto. Bracketing this representation is the unequal distribution of health hazards among the ethnically-enclaved (and racially-coded) immigrant communities of Toronto's working poor. Industrialisation and immigration form new "contact" zones of culture and of disease. On a physical level, these contact zones are structured not only by bodies and the exchange of pathogens but also by the materials circulating within the industrial environments. The diseasescape of early twentieth century Ontario incorporates both reservoirs of infectious disease and "reservoirs" of industrial disease, occasioned by environmental exposure to hazardous materials. This industrial diseasescape is composed as a nexus of industrial sites between which seasonal workers migrate. These sites are oriented by the geographical distribution of resources, while industrial diseases that arrive and arise at these sites are both infectious (tuberculosis) and non-infectious (silicosis, arthritis, rheumatism).

In the context of the Canadian settler-industrial complex, industrial disease epidemiology produces an affective economy structuring racialised immigrant experience. I refer to an affective *economy* in the first instance because the affective exchanges of the novel are tied to forms of materially and politically uneven exchange,

⁶⁴ Other areas of Ondaatje's oeuvre have received attention for the way in which Ondaatje re-constructs photographic and historiographic archives (York, 1988; Bolton, 2008; Diebshlag, 2016).

production, and consumption. In the second instance, I wish to refer to the way an affective economy re-structures the libidinal (the erotic and intimate) attachments of immigrant workers. In offering a reading of an affective economy, in which diseases and other bodily afflictions are at stake, I move between epidemiological and psychoanalytic categories of thought. I suggest that, paradoxically, the detriment of invisible (if psychically comprehended) states of bodily affliction and epidemiological burden presents an unguessed boon, which is the transformation of racialised immigrant identity into assimilation through labour. The skin, in Ondaatje, has multiple placements in ideation and damage. The skin is written as a surface that simultaneously reveals and conceals both epidemiological vulnerability and racial demarcation.

While Ondaatje's treatment of racialised subjects has received some critical attention (Lowry, 2005; Lungren, 2012), Gail Jones notes that 'what seems underexamined is how [*In the Skin of a Lion* is] about skin, about the gaining or erasure of identity through transformations of skin' (2010: 58).⁶⁵ I read race, and the racialised skin, in relation to labour and the environmental racism which so often places racial "others" in environments of heightened epidemiological risk, displacing the burdens of toxicity onto the already economically marginalised. Beyond a passive representation of such uneven epidemiological burdens, skin, in its symbolic dimensions, patterns what we might call Ondaatje's epidemiological aesthetics. This epidemiological reading of the aesthetic in Ondaatje re-orients the long-standing critical debate on the politics of his aesthetics. Critical responses to *In the Skin of a Lion* address Ondaatje's representation of the community of Toronto's migrant working class. For Frank Davey, *In the Skin of a Lion* favours a 'conception of the aesthetic' over social history and exploits working class

⁶⁵ Glen Lowry suggests that *In the Skin of a Lion* 'represents race as a complex problem of representation' and that Ondaatje's 'appropriation of "racialized" difference [...] performs and undoes the dominant "race" codes of [Canadian Literature]' (2005: 63).

communities in the production of a 'narrative of beauty' (1993: 156).⁶⁶ Along similar lines, critics suggest that Ondaatje's subjects are written as aesthetes or as aestheticised objects. Arun Mukherjee suggests that Ondaatje 'does not write about other human beings unless they happen to be artists' (1985: 34). While, in response to In the Skin of Lion, one of Ondaatje's more overtly politically committed works, Bök suggests that Ondaatje 'does not reform his politics so much as qualify his romantic ethos' by romanticising 'aesthetes who passionately serve the social interests of the oppressed' (1992: 119). Davey, in particular, is concerned with the text's representation of 'both entrepreneur and workman equally as potential artists, painters, choreographers, dreamers, people of imagination' (1993: 153). Through the aesthetic, Davey suggest, class dialectics – the relation between capital and labour - are reimagined in terms of shared artistry. Nonetheless, as Herb Wylie notes, 'artistry comes at a cost' (2002: 225) for the economically and socially marginalised. Referring to a passage in the novel that sees dye workers beautified by colourful toxic dyes, Wylie observes for Ondaatje 'everything is at once "aesthetically plumaged" but also politically charged' (2002: 225). Many critics have written about the aesthetics of In the Skin of a Lion's representation of dye work, but few have considered the material, epidemiological emphasis and toxic co-ordinates of this scene.⁶⁷

My reading of Ondaatje's epidemiological aesthetics shares some common ground with Milena Marinkova's book-length study of Ondaatje's "haptic" aesthetics.

⁶⁶ Julie Beddoes asserts that in *In the Skin of a Lion*, 'aesthetics – the staging of scenes – blots out politics' (1994: 210). Herb Wylie observes the critical drift towards castigating the novel for its aestheticising – and therefore "depoliticizing" – 'representation of working class, revolutionary activism' (2002: 23-24).

⁶⁷ Referring to Ondaatje's self-reflexive comment: If he were an artist he would have painted them but that was false celebration' (130), Douglas Barbour notes: '[a]s it expands to analyze the dyers' early deaths due to the dye invading their bodies, the writing enters into the processes of historical time in a way no painting could' (1993: 194).

For Marinkova, Ondaatje's "haptic" aesthetics underscore micropolitical attachments -'the space of the bodily and the microsocial space of the interpersonal' (2011: 5). In In the Skin of a Lion, Marinkova suggests, '[t]he haptic betrays official historiography and normative representation through its emphasis on the bodily – brutalised and alienated during the progress of industrialization' (2011: 27). In this chapter, I work from epidemiological archives across to what Gail Jones has termed 'the skin of the text' (2010: 57), citing Michel Serres' suggestion that '[t]he body is composed as books are composed, its pages come together like pieces and patches [...] entirely sewn from the skin' (2008: 227). Here the body is being likened to a text that is compiled: a kind of archive. Glen Lowry suggests that In the Skin of a Lion 'resists the primacy of the archival fact [in order to] refigure agency in a complex manner' (2005: 65). Similarly, I suggest that the aesthetic inscription of industrial disease does not passively re-construct the historical archive but rather actively participates in the archivic to negotiate a new understanding of what "liberation" from a colonial environment might look like. Further diversifying the meaning of a historical archive, Ondaatje places Canadian immigrant experience within an extra-linguistic matrix of "communicability" (which proceeds through the distribution of contamination or infection).⁶⁸ Disease is a form of embodied memory; epidemiological exposures become part of an affective reservoir in the life of the individual, as well as an affective topology linking people and places. The ecologies of skin figure in this chapter in terms of epidemiological "contact" and labour migrations (which operate according to racial taxonomies). These ecologies of skin compose an embodied archive of postcolonial disease and industrial affliction. Disease incidence

⁶⁸ The materiality of disease is profoundly social. Disease transmission provides us with a model of 'corporeality that is [...] social but which refuses to be reckoned back into some form of idealist, linguistic, semiotic, in short narrowly "cultural" conception *of* the social' (Nimmo, 2010: 72).

across a population may also embody long-historical situations. I am interested in the idea that disease not only produces forms of embodied memory, but is itself an embodied "archive". The immune response to infections leaves an archive in the body (as memory B lymphocyte cells), or a marker of genetic adaption across a population. While we can read latent or dormant infections as "stored" or archived in the body (tubercle bacillus has a remarkable ability to persist in the human body as a latent infection). In the case of disease mortality, infectious organisms destroy this "archiving structure". I want to think, then, about the reservoir of disease that exists across a population as a colonial archive.

Epidemiological history: Settlement and immigration

I will briefly outline how ecology, infection, and industrialisation in Ontario are working in relation to two successive and overlapping diseasescapes. These diseasescapes are both cultural and material, and cross-sect two theories of disease (miasma theory and germ theory). The "reservoirs" in this chapter have environmental and epidemiological coordinates: in the production of filtration (purified water) to alleviate disease transmission in urban slums, and in the human and industrial reservoirs of industrial disease dispersed across the Canadian environment. Another correlate of the reservoir relates to the history of Canadian immigration – to what we might term the "reservoir" of migrant labour being imported to fuel the growing demands of labour-intensive industries. The term reservoir is apt here, because, collectively, the bodies of these men functioned as an exploitable resource. Immigrant and migrant workers had 'one basic commodity to exchange' – their physical labour (Avery, 1979: 8). In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in Canada, new waves of immigration were arriving to fill roles in industry (commercial farming, construction, lumbering, and mining). These immigrants were often migrating into forms of epidemiologically risky or otherwise hazardous work. Settler-industrialisation produces new diseasescapes (industrial diseases), and environments of high disease transmission (overcrowded urban and industrial working environments). Immigrant workers are not only migrating into forms of epidemiological risk, but into a cultural politics that positions immigrants as a *source* of disease. As Mark Humphries observes, in his study of the politics of public health in Canada:

The colonies clustered along the St Lawrence waterway were sparsely populated; it was not a country where urban diseases spread easily. As a result, the inhabitants of Britain's North American colonies believed that they lived in inherently healthy places characterized by clean air and cool waters – a climate contrasted by the much warmer British colonies in the Caribbean and on the Indian subcontinent, which the Imperial imagination contrasted as places of sickness. Supporting this view, when epidemic diseases did strike the Canadian province, they appeared to spread inland on the waterways, along the main routes of communication. This made it seem that illness arrived from overseas with immigrants, traders, and supply ships – that they were a result of foreign pollution. (2013: 12)

Immigration, and its conduits – the sea and inland waterways – are, from this historical perspective, that which purveys disease. Waves of immigration are constructed within dominant discourse (governmental, legislative, medical) as waves of disease and infection impinging on the "settled" population. In this section, then, I construct an epidemiological history that locates immigration within settler-colonial ideas about

disease, and within a nexus of industrialisation and environmental change. While following a notional chronological order, this epidemiological history proceeds through different forms of "contact" (both cultural and biological) and through two theories of disease etiology (miasmic and bacteriological). In Canada, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, infectious disease was treated as an "imported" problem. The historical perspective of disease that I outline charts a water-borne course, that runs from theories of miasma associated with stagnant water, to bacteriology and water purification via the sea as the conduit of immigrant bodies and "imported disease". I want to think of waves of infectious disease - and shifting forms of environmental and cultural engagement with disease – as a prism through which to read history. In a Canadian context, this approach is not without its risks. I want to avoid a reiteration here of the "virgin soil" theory – the idea that a lack of prior exposure to European diseases and the "unpreparedness" of Native immune systems resulted in the decimation of Native populations. Nonetheless, I suggest that the uneven distribution of epidemiological burden among migrant labour needs to be thought in terms of a longer history of colonial "contact" and its vectoring of infectious diseases. Moreover, I would suggest that a postcolonial approach is applicable to an examination of disease and affliction in early twentieth century Toronto: immigrants filled the most hazardous roles in industry, while industrial development forms part of a longer history of settlement.

In migrating to and settling in urban centres (often in effectively segregated or ethnically-enclaved communities), immigrant groups were conceptualised as a public health threat and a source of disease.⁶⁹ Immigrant communities were associated with slum environments – where unprotected water sources and otherwise poor housing conditions

⁶⁹ Eastern and Southern European immigrants, although they were granted basic civil rights and treated, officially, as candidates for assimilation, were nonetheless marginalised in employment and in residence (Avery, 1979: 8).

led to the spread of diseases. The urban diseasescape is figured as arriving from "elsewhere": contamination was being imported into the cities in the form of immigrant communities. During the nineteenth century, slum environments inhabited by the poor and immigrant communities were broadly treated as source of miasma - or "bad air" that threatened public health. The miasma theory attributed disease to unhealthy atmospheric conditions, particularly those occasioned by decomposing organic matter and stagnant water. Initially, then, the infective potential of the immigrant is constructed in environmental terms, and in accordance with miasmatic theory. At the same time, miasmatic strategies of disease control 'further reified a link between ethnicity, class, and disease as officials focused their efforts primarily on the working class and immigrant districts' (Humphries, 2013: 18). The pollution of the slums and their associated "miasmas", were attributed to immigrant bodies as the producers of social and environmental pollutions, rather than to the economic forces that shaped these living conditions. Immigrant bodies were treated as degenerate and therefore as "fertile soil" for disease (Humphries, 2013: 34). The "fertile soil" theory suggested that disease epidemics spread when they found "fertile soil" in an inherently unhealthy population (read: immigrant population). Environmental sanitation initiatives at the turn of the century initiatives were therefore concerned with improving the "soil" of immigrant bodies – by improving the health of urban living environments it was thought that the health of immigrant bodies would also improve, and their susceptibility to disease would lessen. From this perspective, disease was simultaneously, and indissociably, a social problem and an environmental problem (a problem of industrialisation and urbanisation), occasioned by the insanitary living conditions and social pollutions that were associated with immigration and immigrant slums.

The miasmatic association between immigrant slums and disease continued even as the germ theory of disease gained public acceptance. From the mid-nineteenth century onward, and especially following Robert Koch's discovery of the tuberculosis bacillus in 1882, disease prevention began to shift from an emphasis on environmental hazards (miasmas) to people (carriers). Miasmatic theories of disease also framed an earlier, settler-colonial perception of the Don valley as a riverine "reservoir" of disease. It is likely that earlier colonial experiences of disease within the valley were caused by mosquito carrying malaria. But these experiences were attributed to its marshes and stagnant water. The perception of the Don valley as a diseasing environment led to the area of Riverdale being "set aside" as an industrial reserve, and the river as a receptacle for industrial wastes. In time, the river was so polluted that it began to act as an actual reservoir of disease. This aspect of Toronto's environmental and epidemiological history is significant to my reading of In the Skin of a Lion: the immigrant communities represented in the text settled in Riverdale, historically. The settlement of immigrant communities in proximity to industrial areas (and places of work) puts them in closer proximity with pollution and disease. The other point I want to make here is that there are significant moments in the history of disease in Ontario that are not just playing in relation to settler/immigrant configurations in urban environments, but also in relation to earlier settler-colonial experiences of disease in natural environments. As Jennifer Bonnell notes, by the 1880s industrial and municipal pollution, as well as soil erosion (caused by deforestation) and water diversion had transformed the river into a slow-moving threat to public health (2014: 28). In the late nineteenth century industrialisation in the lower Don area was intensified following the "rationalisation" (straightening) of the Don and the draining of the "unhealthy" marshes (which actually act as a natural filter and sink for pollutants). What we have here, then, is the creation of an industrial "reserve" (a space set aside from habitation) on an area presumed to be diseased. The creation of this industrial reserve results in a concentration of waste discharged into the river. Sewage outfalls were also directed into the overloaded river in the late nineteenth century. The resulting contamination of the watercourse – which drains into Lake Ontario at Toronto Harbour – led to a high incidence of typhoid and other water-borne diseases in Toronto that continued until the turn of the century. The high incidence of water-borne disease was no doubt due to the location of the city's water intake pipe in the Toronto Bay Harbour, close to the mouth of the polluted river, and to additional sewage outfalls.

The next stage in this epidemiological history (which is also an environmental history) is the construction of filtration plants and the production of filtered water. In 1910, a new intake pipe was extended further into the lake, and a filtration plant built on Toronto island. In 1931, the R. C. Harris Water Treatment Plant was constructed and supplied by a new water intake pipe for the city constructed under Lake Ontario. With the production of filtration, the composition, and idea, of the city and its bodies is being re-inscribed along bacteriological lines. Nonetheless, the miasma theory of disease is still at stake here, symbolically, in terms of the environmental purification at which water treatment aimed. This is the latent history within Ondaatje's In the Skin of a Lion, in which the production of filtration (the construction of the R. C. Harris Treatment Plant and its water intake pipe) is shown to occlude the social relations of production. From the historical perspective of disease that I have so far outlined, we might say that water and its conduits in the novel – the river, the aqueduct, the filtration plant – are from this historical perspective also ways of discussing postcolonial disease and the immigrant's industrial afflictions. In its symbolic role as a purifier of the slum, the filtration of water may also be associated with a desire for ethnic cleansing.

The burgeoning social and infrastructural sanitation initiatives taking place in Ontario in the early twentieth century were also, at least in part, invested attempts to "purify" immigrant slums. Throughout the twentieth century, initiatives in disease control and epidemiology continued to place immigrant bodies under medical scrutiny. This scrutiny is readable in the archives – in the Ontario Department of Health's framing of public health discourse and of tuberculosis epidemiology in particular. Tuberculosis is a fatal disease, prevalent in the twentieth century, that is associated with poor living conditions and poverty.⁷⁰ In this section, I extend my focus beyond the period directly represented in the text (which is set roughly between 1900 and 1940) in order to offer a long history of disease epidemiology in Ontario. I focus on tuberculosis as a disease which is historically significant as an "urban" or "industrial" disease and which has a high incidence rate during this period. I examine an archive of tuberculosis epidemiology in Ontario, that exists in the records (reports and correspondence) of the Ontario Department of Health's Division of Tuberculosis Prevention.⁷¹ The Division of Tuberculosis Prevention adopted a bacteriological approach to epidemiology focused on case identification through mass x-ray surveying. Considering that tuberculosis is a disease that, as Paul Farmer suggests, tends 'to "hide" [...] among poor people, especially when the poor are socially and medically segregated' (2001: 187), it is significant that

 $^{^{70}}$ Lisa Berkman and Ichiro Kawachi note, referring to work of medical professional Wade Hampton Frost, that it was 'not just increased risk of exposure among the poor that produced high prevalence rates of tuberculosis: It was something about their inability to fight off the disease – their increased susceptibility to disease once exposed' (2000: 9). Tuberculosis is also often co-morbid with a variety of industrial diseases, as I later discuss and as Ondaatje identifies in *In the Skin of a Lion*.

⁷¹ The Division of Tuberculosis Prevention was operational between 1935 and 1974, although the origins of tuberculosis control date back to 1923, when the first Diagnostic Chest Clinic was established by the Division of Preventable Diseases. In 1974, the Division was renamed the Chest Disease Service and broadened out to deal with both tuberculosis and silicosis in miners.

tuberculosis is being subject to forms of visual scrutiny in particular, through the use of mass x-ray surveys. Certain bodies are also subject to particular medical scrutiny; the immigrant is a particular point of focus for tuberculosis epidemiology and the "makingvisible" of the disease. In thinking through Ontario's epidemiological archive, I want to start first of all with a community that is not "visible" in Ondaatje's text. Despite Ondaatje's elision of indigenous communities in In the Skin of a Lion, their place in Ontario's epidemiological archive is of interest to me – for it is precisely the occluded or invisible epidemiological sequelae of the settler-colonial industrial complex that Ondaatje engages with, albeit in relation to immigrant labour. In the course of my research into this archive, I was struck by the scattered references to the high incidence of tuberculosis among indigenous communities (and the administrative complications surrounding their treatment - the group defined as "Treaty Indians" could only be admitted to sanatoria with the consent of the Indian Department). In effect, indigenous communities are segregated, in both social and medical terms, within the Division's approach to tuberculosis epidemiology. In the Division of Tuberculosis Prevention's annual report of 1960, it is noted that:

Tuberculosis still takes its heaviest toll among the Indians; in Northwestern Ontario, for instance, the incidence among Indians in the five-year period 1955-59 was at least thirteen times higher than among whites – indeed, the Indians, comprising only seven per cent of the population of that area, contribute close to one-half of the cases of active tuberculosis.

The framing of this observation: that indigenous people "contribute" disproportionately to the active tuberculosis caseload suggests that incidences of infection among indigenous

people are being conceptualised as a potential health threat to the rest of the population, rather than an epidemiological burden borne by that community. This inference can be understood in terms of the Division's epidemiological bent, which is the idea that effective control flows from the identification of all cases. The epidemiological approach to disease, in terms of race, is that of the "natural history" of the disease within the body. In a memorandum dated 1969, one official notes:

There is a higher incidence of reactivation in Indians and Eskimos as well as a difference between the rate in the two paces. Whereas some of this has been attributed to living conditions, lack of co-operation, etc. there have been indications especially in Asia and certain other parts of the world [that] point to the possibility of a difference in the organisms involved. This raises the question as to whether or not such a difference does occur in the North American Indian and Eskimo and if the relatively unfavourable results are due to a faster rate of inactivation of Isoniazid in these particular organisms.

Here, the attribution of higher rates of reactivation in treated infections among indigenous people might be due to structural violence – poverty, lack of access to medical care – is positioned alongside another diagnosis: one of innate bodily difference. The indigenous body is here referred to as an 'organism', in a manner that, although consistent with medical-scientific usage, is a dehumanising choice in this context. The suggestion is that the indigenous body metabolises Isoniazid at a faster rate, and that the decreased half-life of the chemical in the body reduces the effectiveness of the treatment. The memorandum of 1969 alludes to another "epidemic discourse" – the "virgin soil" theory. The "virgin soil" theory accounts for the high incidence of infectious disease (both historic and

contemporary) among indigenous peoples in the Americas through the idea that European colonisation introduced new diseases to which indigenous people had had no previous exposure, and for which their immune systems were "unprepared".⁷² We can compare the pathologisation of indigenous bodies (as lacking immunity) to the pathologisation of the immigrant body (as innately diseased). Both discourses are concerned with the idea of a colonisation enacted through infectious disease – whether in terms of European settlement, or in terms of immigrant communities settling in infectious "ghettos" in the city.

While the immigrant – defined ethnically, and sometimes racially, as the "other" – is a contaminating influence on the white settler state, the indigene – defined as racially other – is treated as innately colonised. The idea of ready colonisation by pathogens encodes a lack of resistance, both immunological and military. The "virgin soil" theory effectively naturalises the epidemiological vulnerability of native peoples, as though this vulnerability were genetic, rather than entangled in colonial processes.⁷³ At the same time, the theory effectively naturalises European colonisation (through ideas of "natural selection"). Given the early twentieth century notion of "imported" disease as that which threatens the settled community, it is significant that the "virgin soil" theory of European settlement gains intellectual traction post-1920, at a time when infectious disease and

⁷² David Jones offers a comprehensive critique of the immunological framework of the "virgin soil" theory, and of its ubiquitous recourse to 'impossible assertions of "no immunity" (2003: 24). Jones refers, in particular, to Jared Diamond's (1997) Pulitzer Prize-winning *Guns, Germs, and Steel*. Jones observes, for instance, the specious logic of Diamond's assertion that Native peoples 'had neither immune nor genetic resistance' (Diamond, 1997: 211-12) to new infectious diseases, noting that regardless of prior exposure: 'American Indians have immune systems, encoded in their genes, that provide considerable resistance against pathogens' (2003: 21). Jones (2003) also cites two examples within earlier medical discourse of indigenous peoples being constructed as "virgin soil" for tuberculosis specifically: Woods Hutchinson (1907) concluded that indigenous peoples in North America provided a 'highly susceptible host: for tuberculosis' (199 qtd. Jones, 2003: 19); Bushnell (1920) described previously "unexposed" indigenous people as 'nearly "virgin" so far as tuberculosis is concerned' (35 qtd. Jones, 2003: 19).

immigration is being subject to increasing epidemiological and legislative control. We need to contextualise twentieth century epidemiology in Canada in terms of a longer imperial history concerned with the control of epidemiologically "threatening" populations, in which taxonomies of race and the production of the body as a subject medical knowledge are closely connected. The insight that I want to emphasise here, as I move into an analysis of Ontario's epidemiological archive, is that it is in some senses a colonial archive, structure by a colonial discourse that treats other racial and ethnic groups as innately diseased.

The epidemiological transition in infectious disease control that occurs in Ontario during the period under study (1935-1974), reflects various forms of social bias (in relation to occupation, immigration, and indigeneity). Within Ontario's tuberculosis archive, both immigrants and indigenous peoples are being positioned as problem categories and potential reservoirs of disease, either because they appear susceptible to high rates of tuberculosis reactivation (First Nations), or because they are perceived as infected entrants to the country who do not present themselves for diagnosis (immigrants). One crucial insight I derive from this epidemiological archive is in relation to the use of mass x-ray surveying in Ontario from 1941 onward to identify tuberculosis cases. These mass radiographic methods were enabled by the introduction of miniature film and portable x-ray equipment. The survey creates an archive: a reservoir of known cases and treatment histories that could be utilised for future diagnostics. At the same time, a complex system of record keeping allowed the Division to amass a coherent and cumulative record of all known cases.⁷⁴ In a report of 1945, 'The Organization and

⁷⁴ The technical archiving function of the Division is recorded in detail by Carolyn Heald who notes that 'in its guidelines, the Division not only instructed local authorities about what to record (i.e., the content), but also dictated the format, recording methodology, and paperflow' (1996: 93).

Maintenance of a Tuberculosis Case Register', the Division sets out the rationale for its own archiving function:

The primary function of a case register is to provide a central, simple, complete and easily accessible record of all the vital facts concerning tuberculous patients and their contacts from the beginning to the end of their observation. The essential information should be readily available and kept up to date so that at any time a cumulative report on each case is at hand when required. (1)

This appears then, not only as a rendering accessible of tuberculosis epidemiology, but as a rendering visible. There seems to be a coherence between the desire to make disease in the lungs visible through x-ray technique and to render the progress of disease in the individual transparent. The case register is an archive or repository that gathers together that which is dispersed both in time (the markers of disease progression) and across the population in spatial terms as a physical reservoir of infection.⁷⁵

What the Division's archive also reveals is that the immigrant is a particular point of focus for tuberculosis epidemiology and the rendering visible of the disease. From 1947, the Division of Tuberculosis Prevention began targeting certain high risk groups for surveying. The primary focus appears to have been immigrant groups and migrant workers. After 1947, in an attempt to forestall any migration of the disease into Ontario, the Division began x-raying all immigrants from countries with a higher rate of

⁷⁵ The ongoing concern for retaining a centralised archive of tuberculosis cases and x-rays is shown in the correspondence files of the Chief of the Chest Disease Service. This correspondence indicates that hospitals were reluctant to give up case files and legislation governing public hospitals had to be amended to ensure that files would be handed over to the Division. Section 48 of Regulation 729 of Revised Regulations of Ontario, 1970, stated: 'a hospital, when required to do so by the Commission, shall provide medical record information and X-ray films to the Tuberculosis Prevention Service of the Department and to the Ontario Cancer Research Foundation'.

tuberculosis incidence. In 1956, Hungarian refugees were x-rayed, as were all (possibly migrant) workers on the St. Lawrence Seaway Project. Immigration is later treated as a problem for tuberculosis control because immigrants pose problems for the Division's archiving function: its making-visible and identification of cases. The immigrant poses the problem of unseen, untreated, and unarchived infections. What we see emerging through the archive in its later records - the correspondence files of the Chief of the Chest Disease Service (RG 10-142) – is that non-domiciled immigrants, in particular, start to be viewed as a problem because they are "invisible" to the "panoptic" lens of the Division. Non-domiciled immigrants, it is suggested, do not present themselves for surveying and treatment. In the aforementioned correspondence file there is retained a clipping from the Ontario Medical review titled: 'Disease can be imported', which documents a ten percent increase in new active cases between 1970 and 1971. The problem, identified in the article, are those 'the hazards latent in a particular kind of visitor'. The visitors in question are those immigrant-visitors who arrive in the country before applying for landed status (those who apply for immigration in their country of origin have health examinations prior to arrival). Here, the idea of a latent hazard is pernicious: it alludes to a latent infection that might reactivate, but in doing so suggests that undocumented immigration is a latent threat to society: an epidemic that will at some point explode. The report speculates: '[n]o one knows how many thousands there are who are in the country, keeping quiet and stalling for time, in the hope that their status may eventually be changed to that of landed immigrant' (Kitchener-Waterloo Record, 1973: January 16). Tuberculosis is being constructed here as a "disease of importation". In the same file (RG 10-142) there is also correspondence from 1973 which discusses utilising chest clinic facilities for x-raying immigrants who are applying for landed status. The Division of Tuberculosis Prevention, while 'happy to loan [their facilities] to the Immigration

Medical Services' are firm in their position that 'films that were taken by us would have to remain with our service'. Once again, the retention of x-ray films indicates the ongoing concern to amass cases in a centralised reservoir, to create a privileged archive.

Industrial lung disease

In relation to the "making-visible" of tuberculosis, I also want to consider to what extent industrial lung disease (pneumoconiosis) becomes "visible" as a non-infectious condition affecting the lungs. Tuberculosis is a disease that has always disproportionately affected the urban poor, and industrial workers in particular. The history of tuberculosis diagnosis also intersects with the history of industrial disease in an important way. Tuberculosis is often co-morbid with other industrial lung diseases (e.g. silicosis) but after the discovery of the tubercle bacillus in 1882, industrial lung diseases began to be diagnosed as tuberculosis and medical interest in the effect of industrial contaminants like dust diminished. Indeed, as Gerald Markowitz and David Rosner observe, 'no laboratory procedures existed for distinguishing these various lung diseases from tuberculosis' at that time - occupational lung diseases like silicosis were therefore treated as 'an industryspecific form of consumption' (2017: 20). In an article written in 1925 by the clinician and Chief of the Industrial Hygiene Division of Ontario, A.R. Riddell, we find an example of this diagnostic bias. In one case of industrial disease that went undiagnosed, Riddell observes that, in one case of industrial disease caused by benzol, '[n]o diagnosis was made for a long time in this case but frequent fruitless microscopic examinations were undertaken in the hope that the bacillus of tuberculosis would be found (1925: 511). The problem here is one is of diagnostic visibility: the ability of a physician to identify industrial disease. Another problem is the visibility of the disease itself: for if the effects of a history of industrial exposure are dispersed and not immediate, if they develop across

the course of a lifetime, then the connection between a history of exposure and the resulting disease will be obscured, and "invisible" within the archives. The problem is that these forms of industrial "contact" are relatively new. These diseases are only beginning to be "framed" within cultural or medical understanding and discourse. A particular survey conducted by the Division of Tuberculosis Prevention in 1956 sheds light on the emergent "framing" and investigation of industrial disease in twentieth century Ontario. The study in question – a 'Report on Survey of Cases of Silicosis with Tuberculosis in the Porcupine Mining Camp' (Division of Tuberculosis Prevention) targets industrial workers and focuses on the co-morbidity of tuberculosis and silicosis. The interest in mining communities arguably extends further back than this first study. Timmins, Ontario where the Porcupine Mining Camp is based, and which therefore has a large mining population was the first community to be mass x-rayed for tuberculosis: the government had begun testing the population in the 1920s (Heald, 1996: 99). What this suggests is a growing awareness that lung diseases were affecting mining communities in particular.⁷⁶ Significant also, is the fact that the co-morbid cases in the 1956 study were all old or middle aged men, who presumably had a long history of prior industrial exposure to silicate dust in the mines, and whom may have been part of population tested for tuberculosis in the earlier community mass x-rays. Here, we can perceive the nexus of epidemiological hazard and risk into which immigrant workers, particularly male workers, were entering.

⁷⁶ Referring to Randall Packard's (1989) sociological study of tuberculosis incidence among black mine workers in South Africa, Gregg Mitman, Michelle Murphy, and Christopher Sellers note that regimes of colonial accumulation and the extraction of materials have had the knock-on effect of producing 'scattered local epidemics of respiratory disease among [...] mine workers' (Mitman et al., 2003: 12).

Epidemiology and affective economies in In the Skin of a Lion

In Ondaatje's In the Skin of a Lion, the immigrant body marks a locus that is other than itself. That is to say, environmental history – which is also a history of industrial disease - is transposed onto the skin. This idea is borne out particularly in the novel by the figure of the immigrant and migrant worker who not only comes from "elsewhere" but is subject to hazardous environmental presences including disease (tuberculosis), toxicity (chemical dye), and explosives (nitroglycerine). In In the Skin of a Lion, the nature of migrant labour entails epidermal and epidemiological risk. The epidemiological organisation of the text, in which worker's skins are emplotted within a history of disease and toxicity, is inherently environmental in scope and ideation. The industrial "pollutions" of the body, in Ondaatje, are connected to the industrial pollutions of water. He writes, for instance, of leatherworkers: '[t]heir knives weaved with the stride of their arms and they worked barefoot as if walking up a muddy river, slicing it up into tributaries. [...] Alice would smell the leather on him, even after he had bathed in the courtyards when work was over' (1988: 129).⁷⁷ Leatherwork is a highly polluting industry, and during its industrial history Toronto's Don River was heavily polluted with industrial effluents. Here, leather (a skin) is compared to the tributaries of a 'muddy river', while Patrick's body is polluted by the smell of hide. Ondaatje also alludes to the pollution of the Don by petrochemical industries when he describes a 'black river' of tar (28) being laid over the Don valley viaduct during its construction. The men spreading the tar work with 'their bodies almost horizontal over the viscous black river' (28) – an image that blurs the distinction between the river of tar on the bridge and the polluted, slow-moving river beneath it. There is

⁷⁷ All further references are to this edition.

another reference to smell implanting the body here: '[t]he smell of tar seeps through the porous body of their clothes. The black of it is permanent under the nails' (27). When Ondaatje writes body, he also thinks river. The text's metaphorics actually imprint the afflictions of landscape under industrialisation onto the body of labour. Patrick's progression up a 'river' of leather, which is also a body, and is sliced, embodies the migratory conditions of industrial labour in the novel. Elsewhere, an Italian immigrant, Caravaggio, is sliced at the neck in a racially-motivated attack before disappearing in a metaphorical sea of blue. In a recurring dream that follows the attack, Caravaggio climbs into a body of 'black water': a river that is the 'temperature of blood' (184). Patrick, who migrates into the city and into the conditions of immigrant labour, is set on fire before leaping into a river which then explodes around him. The exploding river alludes to Patrick's previous, and highly dangerous, occupation as a dynamiter working a lumber waterway in Napanee. The work of dynamiting leaves a deposit of highly explosive sediment on the clothes: a second skin that threatens to deflagrate, or blow apart, like the river along which Patrick sets explosive charges. I offer these examples in order to arrive at a key insight: what is happening at the level of skin, in Ondaatje, is also happening at the level of environment, historically. The threatened deflagration of the skin recasts environmental history.

In another key envisioning of deflagration, Ondaatje writes of dye-workers at a tannery, who submerge themselves in vats of flammable dye and emerge lividly recoloured in reds, greens, and yellows. The workers acquire in the process of their work a second skin that threatens to deflagrate. Once, again, a connection between environmental afflictions and those affecting the worker's skin can be made. These vats (or reservoirs) of toxic, flammable dye that re-colour both body and river "light up" the historical and epidemiological idea of the reservoir that I am concerned with in this chapter. The surface of the Don river was, by the 1930s, so polluted with flammable substances that it caught fire and self-immolated twice in February, 1931. The history of industrial pollution of the Don is also a history of its re-colouration. In 1894, the Toronto Mail described the river as a "yellowish green colour, and a slimy soup-like consistency" (Muir, 2014: 57). Jennifer Bonnell details that noxious industries – tanneries, distilleries, petrochemical and rendering plants – populated the lands around the Don, which 'offered a convenient disposal site for industrial wastes' (2014: 35). These wastes included '[a]nimal carcasses, lime from tanning operations, corrosive lye from soap work, and industrial byproducts such as gasoline' (Bonnell, 2014: 35). She also notes that the pollution of the Don with organic waste – animal offal and manure – would have placed severe strain on the water's supply of dissolved oxygen. This de-oxygenation could have re-coloured the river, by causing blooms of anaerobic microbes that colour the water, often in shades of green, yellow, brown and red. Later on in its history, the Don was literally dyed in different colours by industrial waste: 'in the 1950s, the Don River flowed red, green or yellow from paper mill dyes' (Bonnell, 2014: 53).

Toxic manufacturing and the skin

In *In the Skin of a Lion*, industrial labour grafts new skins: the dye-workers at the tannery 'get skin burns from the galvanizing process. Arthritis, rheumatism' (124). The term 'galvanizing' is particularly notable here, for galvanisation is the covering of iron or steel with a protective layer of zinc. Here, the transplanted industrial term signifies the grafting of a second skin onto the worker's body. This second skin, which is inscribed visibly through chemical colouration and burns, is not protective: it rather takes the form of a toxic skin, an invisible poisoning topology – 'they would die of consumption and at present they did not know it' (130-31). Here, Ondaatje figures a kind of 'violence that

occurs gradually and out of sight, a violence of delayed destruction' (Nixon, 2011a: 2) that conceals its epidemiological consequences. The acid burns of the tannery workers graphically inscribe the skin, registering and archiving their contact with disease-causing agents. But the physical trauma of this occupational exposure is also embedded under the skin, invisibly and belatedly affecting the body as a painful inflammation of the joints and muscular or fibrous tissues (arthritis and rheumatism). These traumas are not immediate, or obvious to the eye. As Rob Nixon observes: '[v]iolence is customarily conceived as an event or action that is immediate in time, explosive and spectacular' (2011a: 2), whereas the chronic biomedical consequences of work at the tannery are dispersed across the lifespan of the individual. Even then, for the men who are left 'invisibly with tuberculosis and arthritis and rheumatism' (Ondaatje, 1987: 131) these consequences may never become apparent diagnostically, as incidences of industrial disease.

Sites of production like tanneries, oil refineries, rendering plants, and distilleries are a crucial component of the historical experience of industrialisation in early twentieth century Toronto. In *Riverdale: East of the Don*, Elizabeth Gillian Muir gives an historical overview of the development of the eastern part of Toronto, including the environmental effects of heavy industrialisation consolidated by the construction of the Bloor Street Viaduct (also represented in *In the Skin of a Lion*). Muir writes that: 'By the end of the nineteenth century the lower Don had become an industrial hub with breweries, tanneries, soap works, and oil refineries. One particular site of production, a 'rendering plant the locals called the "glue factory," [...] using every part of the animal', appears to form the template for Ondaatje's representation of industrial manufacturing environments and their working conditions (Muir, 2014: 48). The rendering plant, in addition to glue, 'produced sausages, bologna casings, fertilizer, and animal oils amongst other meat by-

products' (Muir, 2014: 48). Muir notes that the most impressing aspect of the "glue factory" was its awful smell, which 'was so bad they had difficulty recruiting the 200 workers needed to operate such a large plant. Prisoners at the Don Jail could be paroled if they agreed to work at the glue factory, but not many did' (2014: 48). Ondaatje evokes similar conditions of coercion, this time economic, governing employment in the tannery as a dye-worker: 'They were paid one dollar a day. Nobody could last in that job more than six months and only the desperate took it' (131). Elsewhere in the novel, Caravaggio, an Italian immigrant, hides out in another space of production - a mushroom factory after escaping from the Don Jail. Historically, the Don Jail recruitment policy for Riverdale's "glue factory" also has a bearing on the epidemiological burden imposed historically on industrial workers. With the introduction of the Jail Chest X-ray Programme in 1955, The Division of Tuberculosis Prevention targeted prison communities as potential reservoirs of tuberculosis infection. In 1960, the Division noted the high incidence rates of tuberculosis among the inmates of jails: ten times the number of tuberculosis cases were uncovered through x-ray surveys in jails as in community surveys. What this suggests is that multiple conditions – social and environmental – were producing industrial environments, and industrial workers, as potential reservoirs of disease (Division of Tuberculosis Prevention: 1959; 1960).

There are other, material hazards associated with the tanning industry and its byproducts. In Ondaatje's rendering, the tannery is also a "glue factory" that produces 'sausage and fertilizer' from the by-products of animal carcasses. This mode of production involves other forms of hazardous contact: '[i]n the open cloisters [...] men stood, ankle-deep in salt, filling casings, squeezing out shit and waste from animal intestines' (131). The men who process the animal carcasses and come into contact with animal effluents are exposed to bacteria, fungi, viruses and animal parasites. The moisture in the air creates conditions of susceptibility for the transmission of infectious diseases. Ondaatje writes:

There was never enough ventilation, and the coarse salt, like the acids in the dyeing section, left the men invisibly with tuberculosis and arthritis and rheumatism. All of these professions arrived in morning darkness and worked till six in the evening, the labour agent giving them all English names.

Charlie Johnson, Nick Parker. They remembered the strange foreign syllables like a number. (131-2)

The idea that the men are left "invisibly" with infections suggests that their industrial diseases will not be registered in any medical archive. Their re-naming compounds this "invisibility", because it alludes to the impossibility of an archive or trace of their labour. As I explore in greater detail in the following chapter, to change the name is to subvert the possibility of an archive. The fact that the men remember their names 'like a number', nonetheless refers obliquely to another form of "archive": to the prison numbers given to inmates (which would be catalogued and retained).

Ondaatje is concerned with the absence of record-keeping, and with the conditions of visibility and invisibility affecting different strata of society. As we later discover – 'no records were kept' (236) of the number of worker's deaths during the construction of intake pipes for the water filtration plant. Patrick attempts to trace Alice's connection to a photograph of a 'group of men working on the Bloor Street Viaduct' but the archived records are as intractable as Alice, who avoids revealing too much of her past. Ondaatje writes: '[t]he articles and illustrations [Patrick] found in the Riverdale library depicted every detail about the soil, the wood, the weight of concrete, everything but information on those who actually built the bridge' (143). As Ondaatje highlights the unseen and unarchived consequences of industrialisation, he also countersigns his own experience in the archives.⁷⁸ In interview in 1987 with Peter Gzowski, Ondaatje reveals how the text began with the historical figure of Ambrose Small – the wealthy theatre magnate who "disappears" in the text and is the subject of a nationwide search. Ambrose Small's disappearance is well-served in the archives, with a group files in the Archives of Ontario (RG 4-123) derived from the Department of the Attorney General, who ordered a re-investigation of the case in 1936.⁷⁹ In the text, Ondaatje emphasises Ambrose's readability in terms of metrics – as a missing, wealthy person:

When Ambrose Small, the millionaire, disappeared in 1919, it was discovered that the police had his Bertillon record. Between 1889 and 1923 the Bertillon identification system was used to locate criminals and missing persons. Bertillon's method consisted of the measurement of certain parts of the body: the length of head, width of head, length of right ear, length of left foot, length of left middle finger, the length of left forearm. In homes and prisons and mortuaries all over North America limbs were measured and the results sent in to the Toronto police. (55)

Small is a figure of exception: the detailed physical taxonomy of Small's body, in which each part of the body is subject to scrutiny, highlights his individuality. As a figure of

⁷⁸ Natalie Diebschlag similarly suggests, with reference to *Coming Through Slaughter*, that 'Ondaatje stages a fictional avatar of himself as he visits New Orleans in the 1970s in order to research the book he is about to write. Through [...] two researcher figures [the author and the story's fictional detective], *Coming through Slaughter* stages the reading exercise of a disseminated text which refuses to unveil its object of investigation' (2016: 163).

⁷⁹ Ondaatje alludes similarly to gaps in the archives regarding those engaged in the construction of the Bloor Street Viaduct in a (1987) interview with Peter Gzowski.

exception, Small's metrics are in contrast to the physical taxonomies of racialised groups "gathered" within colonial medicine and science. At the same time, the metrical *archive* of Small's body makes him, in effect, the extruded version of the logic of collective, unarchived affliction affecting the "body" of labour.⁸⁰

The idea that industrial labourers are left invisibly with infectious diseases like tuberculosis - that unarchived afflictions affect and imprint the body of labour - is compounded by Ontario's epidemiological archive. From 1960, the Division of Tuberculosis Prevention began to accumulate a register of active and reactivated tuberculosis cases, and to include a section on tuberculosis epidemiology within its annual reports. From 1966, the Division also began to include 'cases whose disease was active prior to 1960' in an attempt to 'outline the total problem of tuberculosis control' in Ontario (Division of Tuberculosis Prevention, 1968). Like the mass x-ray surveys which targeted the entire population, this accumulation of an archive – or "reservoir" – of case files attempted to make visible that which was dispersed invisibly across the population as a reservoir of infection. But the annual divisional reports also obliquely suggest that tuberculosis was indeed "invisibly" affecting sections of the population. In 1959, the Division established a special section on epidemiology to study trends in infection and treatment practices. In its epidemiology reports (included within the annual report), the Division attempted to use the information accumulated in its case register to 'determine the incidence of active tuberculosis' both across the province and among special groups

⁸⁰ Intimations of bodily affliction that crop up elsewhere in the text, in relation to dye workers (who are threatened daily by flammable chemicals), appear in the archive records regarding Small's disappearance. In a memorandum regarding the disappearance of Ambrose Small, Detective Hammond, who was re-investigating the case, writes that Ambrose Small was likely murdered, but that popular speculation over the disposition of the body through *burning* is fabricated (1936). Hammond discounts the theory that Small's body was burnt in the furnace of the Grand Opera House: 'The very suggestion of "burning the body" is nothing more than a "red herring drawn across the trail" to foil the public thought [...] for no other purpose than to prevent any further search being made for Small's remains' (1936). He continues: 'The stench of human flesh being burned would have permeated the whole building, like a piece of rubber, and many would have noticed it' (1936).

of the population, including among different age groups (Division of Tuberculosis Prevention, 1968). Significantly, the first epidemiology report of 1960 notes that there is a high incidence of tuberculosis among older men – some of whom might previously have been working in industrial conditions similar to those represented in Ondaatje's novel. The report details that '[t]here is an increasing relative trend towards the occurrence of active tuberculosis in older men' with 'at least twice as many cases' occurring in men over fifty in comparison with other groups of the population (Division of Tuberculosis Prevention, 1960). The report of 1961 repeats this observation, noting that '[t]uberculosis is again seen to exact a *much higher toll* from the group of elderly men than from any other group in the population'. Here, the reference to a 'toll' extracted from a population, although referring to the uneven distribution of infection, also alludes to the physical toll - dispersed across a lifetime - of disease that Ondaatje's text draws attention to. The notion of an enduring epidemiological burden shifts fleetingly into focus in the annual report of 1962. This time, the acknowledgement of a higher rate of incidence among older men is connected with a previous or enduring history of the disease. The report outlines that:

In addition to the higher incidence of infection [in men over the age of 45], an important factor determining the preponderance of tuberculosis in the older age groups is the proportion of persons amongst them who have had active tuberculosis in the part who "recovered" and subsequently have been living in a state of uneasy equilibrium with their disease. Such persons are particularly likely to relapse. The reactivation of so-called "inactive disease" today contributes about one-third of the active cases occurring in Ontario. (Division of Tuberculosis Prevention, 1962)

What "shows up" here, marked obliquely in the archive, are forms of lifelong burden: states of 'uneasy equilibrium' that are never fully reconciled. In these cases of reactivation, the report suggests, tuberculosis may be "inactive" in name alone, exacting a physical toll and operating as an unseen reservoir of future infection.

As well as the physical toll of a lifelong uneasy equilibrium with tuberculosis, which leaves no tangible trace in the archive, the divisional reports obliquely index other conditions of invisibility. The annual report of 1961, for instance, differentiates between cases of reactivation with a previously 'documented active episode of disease' and those in whom 'chest x-rays, obtained as a routine measure' had shown 'evidence suggestive of previous tuberculosis' (emphasis added). In other words, some reactivated cases had never been previously diagnosed, affecting the individual "invisibly", while also remaining invisible to the Division's archiving function. The report of 1968 also distinguishes between cases of reactivation with a known history and those cases of reactivation 'in persons with a previously undocumented history of active tuberculosis'. However, and even with the use of x-ray, these previously undocumented cases are never rendered fully transparent. The Division's report of 1961 concedes that '[o]ther conditions, such as, for instance, histoplasmosis (a disease caused by fungal infection), may produce indistinguishable x-ray appearances'. Both this lack of documentation and the difficulty in rendering lung disease visible contextualise what Ondaatje alludes to in describing men left "invisibly" with tuberculosis. The epidemiology of these men's diseases is largely invisible in the archive.

Another form of invisibility, this time etiological insofar as it concerns the possible causes of disease, is predetermined by the form and structure of the Division's tuberculosis archive. The way the Division frames the epidemiology of reactivation is

conditioned in advance by the kind of archive it has amassed – consisting of x-rays and information included in case files – and its own archiving function which privileges bacteriology. In the divisional reports, the etiology of reactivation is framed in terms of treatment history, suggesting that the risk of reactivation is related to 'the adequacy of the antimicrobial treatment given for the active period' (Division of Tuberculosis Prevention, 1962). The report of 1967 similarly observes that about half of all cases of reactivation 'had their previous active disease more than ten years ago at a time when there was no chemotherapy'. Nonetheless, as the reports acknowledge, the fact that other similarly treated infections do not go on to reactivate suggests that other factors must be involved. While it is observed that alcoholism and low socioeconomic status 'tend to light up dormant infection' (Division of Tuberculosis Prevention, 1962), these variables are not fleshed out, either statistically or discursively. The epidemiology reports are, in a sense, pre-archived by the information available in case files (treatment history), and the kind of investigation (statistical analysis) that the structure of the archive (a case register) necessitates. What is included in the Division's own tuberculosis archive necessarily structures how their future epidemiological archive – amassed over successive annual reports - is framed. As Jacques Derrida notes, 'the technical structure of the archiving archive also determines the structure of the archivable content even in its very coming into existence and in its relationship to the future. The archivization produces as much as it records the event' (1998: 17). According to Derrida, the internal function, or desire, of the archive is to expand and coordinate its corpus. This 'archontic power, which also gathers the functions of unification, of identification, of classification, must be paired', Derrida suggests, with 'the power of *consignation* [...] the act of assigning residence or of entrusting so as to put into reserve (to consign, to deposit), in a place and on a substrate, but here the act of consigning through gathering together signs' (1998: 3). In terms of the

Division's archiving function, "signs" are bacteriological, while case-finding expands the archive or reservoir. The x-ray, is the privileged "sign" of the archive because it makes visible an archive of affliction that the bacterial infection leaves in the body.

In response to the "invisibility" of industrial affliction in the archive, I propose to read In the Skin of a Lion for the way it puts-together (consigns) an affective topology of epidemiologic "contact" and environmental exposure. The psychophysiological body is the site which gathers-together (and in that sense archives) the material and affective traces from different industrial environments (from mills to mines to lumber camps). Ondaatje indicates how the undocumented infectious diseases that affect industrial workers are passed between bodies brought into contact by seasonal migratory labour. Describing the incidence of industrial disease in the lives of men who work seasonally in logging camps for lumber industries, Ondaatje writes: 'the sweat moves between their hard bodies and the cold clothes. Some die of pneumonia or from the sulphur in their lungs from the mills they work in during the other seasons' (8). Here, an affective dimension of contact is evoked by the tactile sensation of sweat moving 'between' the men's bodies and their clothes. Here, as with Ondaatje's description of the dye-workers (who are visibly marked by the scarring of industrial dermatoses and left invisibly with tuberculosis), there is an association between the skin and diseases affecting the lungs. The second skin of sweat alludes both to the exertion of physical labour and to the fever that accompanies infectious diseases like pneumonia. At the same time, the allusion to something moving between bodies, a shared affective covering, evokes other forms of epidemiologic "contact" and passage between bodies. In this instance, industrial disease epidemiology is dispersed both across space, as sulphur or infectious bacteria are carried in the lungs from one industrial environment to another, and time, for years may pass before the men succumb to these diseases.

The epidemiological exposure and vulnerability of men working in logging camps shows up (belatedly) in Ontario's epidemiological archive, in the Division of Tuberculosis Prevention's Annual report of 1959, which proposes to survey men working in the logging and pulpwood industries. The 1959 report notes that: '[b]ecause of the nature of their work, which necessitates large groups of men having to live in close proximity in bunk-houses, it is not unexpected that tuberculosis can be a significant problem among these individuals'. The report suggests, then, that cramped living conditions leave the men susceptible to communicable diseases. In 1959, the risk of contracting infectious disease is framed in terms of the increased chances of bacteriological "contact". Along these lines, the report also frames immigrant workers as potential vectors of infectious disease, noting that 'many' of the workers are 'foreign born and from countries where the incidence of tuberculosis is consistently higher than in this Province' (Division of Tuberculosis Prevention, 1959). In In the Skin of a Lion, the men who work in the lumbering camps are mostly Finnish immigrants, but their epidemiological vulnerability is related to the harsh living and working conditions they endure as a result of their migrant status. In the bunk-houses '*[t]he log bunks are nailed* into the walls. Fires die out at night and men wake with hair frozen to damp icicles on the wall' (154). Ondaatje emphasises environmental exposure over bacteriological "contact"; the sulphur carried in the lungs from other industrial environments is placed alongside the infectious pneumonia circulating in the frozen lumber camps. Ondaatje describes the bunk-houses affectively, counterpoising the ocular with olfactory impression. He writes: 'Neither the boy nor his father has ever been into those dark rooms, into a warmth which is the odour of men. A raw table, four bunks, a window the size of a torso' (8). The bodily nature or atmosphere of the room, is suggested by the likening of the 'window' to a torso. At the same time, the window, as a point of entry, through which

air may be channeled, figures the torso as permeable, perhaps to respiratory disease. In the darkness of the rooms, in which nothing can be seen, the claustrophobic 'warmth' of odour is breathed in evokes an affective envelope: something touching the skin and the psyche. The tactile connotations of this atmosphere also allude to communicability: the air is materially there, sticking affectively to the skin and in the lungs in the body as it is passed between the lungs. In response to a lack of epidemiological visibility, Ondaatje renders olfactory forms of affect.

In his account of working conditions in the tannery, Ondaatje counterpoises the olfactory against the ocular. During their working hours, the dye-workers are visibly 'contained in [...] livid colour' (132). This lividness - a bluish, galvanised tone signifies ill health, as well as the rawness of a skin damaged by contact with chemical dyes. As a meaningful container for the body, this livid skin is not only a material coating but an affective envelope. The tactile dimensions of dye work - the dehumanising forms of contact, both with chemicals and with animal bodies - form a reservoir of affect in the lives of the dye-workers. This affective reservoir takes the form of an olfactory envelope that cannot be cast off: 'the smell of the tanning factories goes into their noses and lungs and stays there for life. They never get the smell off their bodies' (124). We are reminded here of the miasmatic theory of disease transmission, through the idea of environmental conditions (those of the industrial working environment) entering the self as foul, poisoning airs. In describing a smell that 'goes into [the] noses and lungs' (124), Ondaatje evokes the exposure of the body to chemicals through inhalation and ingestion. But the smell that is implanted in the noses and lungs also evokes psychic implantation, and the affective dimensions of a smell that 'brutalises' (124). The olfactory envelope encasing the body and the psyche derives from the submersion of the dye-worker's body in the tannery's dye-vats, reservoirs of dye in which they must 'wrestle' with the hides being treated. The brutalising smell is not only chemical but corporeal: it is the smell of 'flesh death' from the hides (130). As well as implanting the body with a brutalising smell, submersion in the dye-vats leaves the men 'aesthetically plumaged' – 'colour[ed] up to their necks' by the dyes so that they appear 'dressed' in 'reds and ochres and greens' (130). The colours of the dyes form second skins on the 'almost naked' bodies of the dye-workers who 'descend into [...] vats' of acid (131). These spectacular skins are washed away 'in the showers at the end of the [working] day' (132):

They stood under the hot pipes, not noticeably changing for two or three minutes - as if [...] they would be forever contained in that livid colour, only their brains free of it. And then the blue suddenly dropped off, the colour disrobed itself from the body, fell in one piece to their ankles, and they stepped out, in the erotica of being made free. (132)

The washing-away of the dye as it is dissolved in water, forming a 'blue' that 'suddenly drop[s] off' the body, obscures the chemical penetration of the skin (132). The chemical dyes are washed clean from the surface of the skin, but the body remains tinctured, even if not visibly so. The colour that is so easily disrobed is belied by the smell that the workers cannot get '*off* their bodies' (124, emphasis added). Unlike the affective olfactory "skins" that will indelibly mark the lives of the dye-workers, the dissolubility of the chemical dyes means that no visible archive of exposure is deposited on the skin. Although the workers' skin burns are visible on the surface of the skin, these marks do not *spectacularly* index contact with industrial chemicals. As such, the chemical dyes produce an invisible toxic covering that, in implanting itself in the flesh while also spectacularly shedding its colour, conceals its etiological consequences. These

consequences only become visible in the *longue durée* of epidemiological time: '[t]hey would die of consumption and at present they did not know it' (131). Ondaatje *reveals* the obscuring of chemical exposure and epidemiological consequence. What his collapsing of chemical poisoning into tuberculosis suggests is the way that environmental exposures (to industrial working environments and poor living conditions) lower immunity. Tuberculosis presents here as an opportunistic infection. Tuberculosis presents here as an opportunistic infects the breath, tuberculosis is, Susan Sontag notes, in its cultural imaginings, a disease that affects the breath, tuberculosis is, Susan Sontag notes, in its cultural imaginings, a disease that renders its sufferers ethereal (1977: 25). The chemical fumes to which the dye workers are exposed are similarly ethereal – rather like the 'plumes' of condensed water emanating from their mouths in the cold working environments. It is these unseen, breath-like, and ethereal exposures that increase the worker's susceptibility to disease. Chemical exposure is compounded by coldness: '[t]heir mouths sent forth plumes. They stood there, the steam coming through the burlap. And when they stopped steaming they knew they were too cold and had to go in' (131).

In working at the tannery, the men become "reservoirs" of disease and poisonous presences. The olfactory envelope is an affective reservoir implanting the body and enveloping the psyche – and here I deliberately use the term "reservoir" to allude to the pooling of infection in the body, to the flesh as a potential reservoir of illness. Ondaatje writes: 'they had consumed the most evil smell in history, they were consuming it now, flesh death, which lies in the vacuum between flesh and skin, and even if they never stepped into that pit again – a year from now they would burp up that odour' (130-131). The burping up of an odour produces a distorted echo of the men's prior work: a gustato-olfactory symptom that makes the environmental trauma of their previous working conditions a lived, embodied experience. The fact that the men continue to 'burp up'

(131) this odour suggests that the smell of the tanneries, and the provocation that it subtends, cannot be metabolised: the smell remains implanted in the body as a necrotising internal envelope, a 'flesh death' (130). The 'smell of the tanning factories [that] goes into their noses and lungs and stays there for life' (124) is an embodied environmental trauma – it is a state of affliction with material causes, an affect that recurs and that is not being metabolised. The smell that is re-consumed has a material resonance, for the consumption of a necrotising smell echoes the way tuberculosis – the "consumption" – appears to consume the bodies of those who have contracted it. We might say, then, that the affective reservoir of smell that is continually being re-consumed alludes to an epidemiological organisation of the psychic. We might think here of the bodies that carry latent infections, which mar lives imperceptibly, until a reactivation presents symptoms.

Ondaatje's account of the dye workers' lives interweaves the material and epidemiological burdens of dye work with their affective and sexual sequelae. The poisonous presences that the dye-workers absorb and assimilate transform their bodies, physically, and their lives, affectively. Attentive to what Connor calls the 'kinds of awareness embodied in odour' (2004: 211) and in taste, Ondaatje suggests how the material olfactory implantation of the dye workers' skins mutates the structure of their intimate interactions. He writes:

Alice lay beside Patrick's exhausted body, her tongue on his neck, recognizing the taste of him, knowing the dyers' wives would never taste or smell their husbands again in such a way; even if they removed all the pigment and salt crystal they would still smell of the angel they wrestled with in the pit. Incarnadine. (132) This moment of intimacy staged between two lovers – Patrick's exhausted body recalling the 'bodies standing [...] tired' (130) around the dye vats – highlights the abstraction of the dye workers from the affective and the sexual. Connor, discussing the discriminatory role of olfaction, notes that:

It is often maintained that odour acts unconsciously on instincts and emotions [...]. Smell acts as a gateway, or permeable membrane. When it says yes, the desired substance is approached and absorbed; when it says no, there is an immune response of recoil and repulsion. The sense of smell is the strongest discriminator of self from not-self. (2004: 211)

What Connor indicates here is how interwoven the olfactory (and, I would add, the gustatory) is with intimacy. Ondaatje positions the olfactory as a mode of affective recognition; Alice recognises Patrick's taste, while the dye workers are abstracted from the forms of affective recognition that structure what it means to be human. The dye workers are marked with an odour which repulses and which is instantly recognisable to those who have encountered it – Patrick's lover, Alice, asks him: 'Do you know the smell? [...] It brutalizes. It's like sleeping with the enemy. It clung to Hana's father' (124). Dye work takes the socially undesirable – 'only the desperate' (131) within already marginalised immigrant communities take these jobs – and makes them sexually "untouchable" as well through an olfactory demarcation. The possibility of affective intimacy – a skin shared with a lover – is precluded by the olfactory imprint of dye work. Ondaatje writes that: '[w]hat was left in the dyers' skin was the odour that no woman in bed would ever lean towards' (132). The workers who have 'embrac[ed] the skins of dead animals' (130) are no longer embraced by their lovers.

Caste

The dyers are left with an occupational olfactory demarcation that excludes them from olfactory forms of intimacy with a lover. In 'The Cinnamon Peeler', Ondaatje alludes to the olfactory demarcations of Sinhalese castes, which are often associated with occupation. Alongside the cinnamon peeler caste, Ondaatje refers to 'the honey gathers', 'lime burners', and 'grass cutters'. Ondaatje first published the poem in 1982 as part of his book *Running in the Family* – a fictionalised memoir that gathers-together Ondaatje's family history (and the Burgher/Tamil/Sinhalese fusions of his ancestry) in Sri Lanka. In 'The Cinnamon Peeler, the olfactory demarcation of 'profession' is readable in terms of intimacy:

If I were a cinnamon peeler I would ride your bed And leave the yellow bark dust On your pillow.

Your breasts and shoulders would reek You could never walk through markets without the profession of my fingers floating over you. (1983: 95)

Olfactory demarcation leaves its mark or trace here through intimate contact. Smell (associated with occupation and therefore with caste) is transmissible. Ondaatje alludes

to the idea of "contact" within caste systems as that which can occur not only through touch, but through a glance:

I could hardly glance at you before marriage never touch you – your keen nosed mother, your rough brothers I buried my hands in saffron, disguised them over smoking tar, helped the honey gatherers. (1983: 95)

Here, the cinnamon peeler attempts to cover-over the archive that his labour leaves on the skin with the scent of other occupations. He does so in order to cover the olfactory traces he leaves on the skin of his lover. In *In the Skin of a Lion*, Ondaatje is also concerned with traces left on the skin: on the skin as an archive of occupational exposure, affective encounter, and material demarcation (the visual and olfactory traces of dye). Ondaatje's concern with caste and smell in 'The Cinnamon Peeler' is useful to an analysis of the conditions of industrial affliction presented in *In the Skin of a Lion* because it suggests that we might reconfigure the idea of "transmissibility". Although I have so far been interested in material affects and disease transmission, there is a larger social logic of transmissibility in terms of social pollution at work here. Within caste systems, the "untouchable" castes are those employed in "unclean" or ritually impure occupations, including leatherwork and the processing of animal carcasses. Contact with a member of an "untouchable" caste is a source of contamination, as though this impurity (associated

with the unclean) were transmissible. A reserve is placed on the bodies of the dye workers who become odorous through their occupation that makes them similarly "untouchable". This reserve functions according to the logic of caste, in which those who are ritually unclean remain so all their lives. As such, I want to suggest that we have caste operating as an authorial unconscious in Ondaatje's depiction of migrant dye-workers – as he writes the immigrant, Ondaatje is countersigning himself.⁸¹

In fact, we might even say that caste – as a structure of social hierarchy – emerges as an unconscious effect of the narrative. Other characters appear to be being scripted by caste. Ambrose Small (who I suggested is the extruded version of the logic of collective, unarchived affliction affecting the "body" of labour) might also be regarded as the extruded version of the workers' "untouchability". Ambrose is also an untouchable figure – a 'rich man who escaped from a rich shoe' (99). Throughout the text Ambrose is an unapproachable figure who *leaves no trace* (he has disappeared and cannot be located) – and he remains an enigma to his lover, Clara, until the end of his life. When Ambrose dies, Ondaatje depicts him as a high caste Brahmin:

He was sitting lotus, bare-chested, his hands moving over his face sensuously rubbing the front of his skull, as he revealed the mirrors of himself, his voice slowing as his fingers discovered his right ear. Then he bent forward as he sat so his head would touch the floor in a long grace attempted bow, ascetic. (214)

⁸¹ Ondaatje's family history is predominantly Burgher but existed within a larger Sinhala Buddhist society. Many Burgher families left Sri Lanka (and thus became migrants) after Sinhala was declared the national language in 1956.

Here the imageries of sitting lotus-like alludes to the asana used within Buddhist contemplative traditions. Ambrose models a position of spiritual ascension, transcending the materiality of his existence.

The dye workers, by contrast, are unable to escape the material conditions of their existence. The one moment of transcendence, for the dye workers, comes when they remove their brightly coloured skins in the showers at the end of the working day. This transcendence is only temporary, and the workers remain figuratively, if not literally "coloured" and abjected by the tanning dyes. Ondaatje figuratively colours the image of dye workers wrestling with hides with the term 'Incarnadine' (132) – a bright crimson colour that derives from the Latin incarnatino meaning "flesh colour". Incarnadine alludes to both embodiment (incarnate) and the sacred (incarnation) – so there is a sense in which Ondaatje may be alluding here to the sacredness of cows in Indian and Sri Lankan culture. If the 'angel' – the skin of a cow – is an embodiment of the sacred, dye work is sacrilegious. Ondaatje therefore embellishes the violation that dye work entails through colour. It is contact with the abject materiality of dead cow flesh – thoroughly instrumentalised, and potentially infectious matter - that has made the dye workers ritually unclean. This figurative colouration also evokes a deathly "erotics" of flesh. In the account of dye work, a logic of illness structured by the base and the ritually unclean - sickly workers in contact with cow flesh - is positioned alongside a painterly aesthetic of dyes on the skin.⁸² The epidemiological organisation of psychic affect in Ondaatje account of dye work suggests another disease - bovine tuberculosis - as a material subtext

⁸² This painterly aesthetic subtly highlights the epidemiologic, as the coloured bodies of the men – greens, yellows and reds – evoke the way skin is marked, and sometime re-coloured, by disease. As Steven Connor notes: 'many diseases are identified by the chromatic changes they induce in the skin [...]: chlorosis; or green sickness; yellow fever; scarlet fever; purpura; jaundice' (2004: 154). Even the removal of the dyes, the moment of an erotic 'being made free' (132), that returns the body to its prior white state evokes a hidden etiology: tuberculosis was also known as the "white plague", an allusion to the pallor of victims of the disease.

for the association between taboo forms of contact [with animal carcasses] and tactile reserve. Tannery workers, like others employed in the processing of animal carcasses, would be exposed not only to tuberculosis – through contact with other infected workers in moist environments – but to reservoirs of bovine tuberculosis (Waddington, 2006: 3; McCuaig: 170). The 'flesh death' that 'lies between the vacuum of flesh and skin' (131) and which is consumed by the workers evokes a form of contact with infected flesh. Bovine tuberculosis is a zoonotic disease (caused by the *Mycobacterium bovis*) that can also cause disease in humans: through inhalation, ingestion, or through exposed wounds. As a zoonotic disease, bovine tuberculosis destabilises the boundary between human and animal flesh, and the ontological coherence of "human" corporeality.⁸³ Dye work, then, involves perverse forms of intimacy with animal flesh, while smell becomes metonymically associated with the transmission of disease.

Racial demarcation

The logic of illness and of the unclean – or of "untouchability" – also underwrites the racial demarcation of the dye workers. We have seen that dye work takes the socially marginalised and makes them "untouchable" through olfactory demarcation. The dye workers are also demarcated socially by virtue of their employment in an abject industry – working jobs that 'only the desperate' (131) will take. Canadian immigration taxonomies in the early twentieth century did not take skin colour as their only criterion: they also differentiated between white ethnicities, ranking 'national and ethnic groups according to a combination of geographical, physiological, and moral criteria' (Valverde, 1991: 110). Other extra-epidermal factors, such as not speaking English, poverty, and criminality, could render immigrants racially distinct (Valverde, 1991: 116). These

⁸³ It is along these lines that Susan Jones refers to tuberculosis, and bovine tuberculosis, as a disease with a dehumanising 'corporal imprint' that cruelly altered the bodies of its sufferers (2004: 133).

immigration taxonomies share certain features with caste-based systems of discrimination. The taxonomic classification of immigrants (from desirable to undesirable) is stratified by pigmentation *and* by other phenotypic assumptions. These "phenotypic" preferences were related to the environments from which an immigrant originated - Europeans from northern climes were preferred to southerners, while agricultural workers were preferred to urban city dwellers. Like a caste status, an immigrant's classificatory status predicts their occupational possibilities. Black and Asian migrants, were treated as inassimilable. As Donald Avery notes, '[t]heir future in the country, to the extent that they were thought to have one at all, was that of the most grinding labour. They were the Dominion's "untouchables," to be used and, if possible, discarded' (Avery, 1979: 7). Workers from Eastern and Southern Europe were also regarded as racially undesirable, but they were increasingly "imported" after 1900 because (unlike British migrants) they were unable to were unable to marshal the Englishlanguage press to raise public grievances – especially those with respect to sanitary conditions in camps (Avery, 1979: 26).⁸⁴ We see here how the "skin" is being iterated into a larger ecology that is at once political and material (economic exploitation, industrial working environments, illness and infection). In Ondaatje, then, the re-coloured skins of the dye workers are also racially accented: the dye workers are 'Macedonians, mostly' (130) – a group treated as racially undesirable in early twentieth century immigration taxonomies. The connection between colour and a projected immigrant identity is made clear by Ondaatje: he writes the dyers 'leap[ing] into different colours as

⁸⁴ The status of both Central and Southern immigrant groups as "preferred" or "non-preferred" varied. Italians, for instance, were regarded by immigration officials as racially undesirable, while Slavic groups became undesirable workers in the eyes of industrialists when they began to organise (Avery, 1979: 26). Another form of vulnerability is suggested by Sellers who notes that non-English speaking immigrant workers were particularly susceptible to afflictions arising from contact with industrial chemicals because they were less likely to be party to a shared vernacular understanding of irritants and other hazards (1997: 23).

if into different countries' (130). What is at stake in the colouring of the dyed skins is the racial accenting of a white skin that is nonetheless demarcated, by virtue of immigrant status and employment in an abject industry, as racially other to the dominant white racial group. Ondaatje's dye-workers are also racially demarcated by language: they have 'on average [...] three or four sentences of English' (130). We might say, therefore colouring of the dye-workers' skins performs their racial demarcation within a racist social structure that segregates and assigns distinctions among people on the basis of pigmentation – but not exclusively. Through dye work, the dyers' skins are "epidermalised" by both material agents (dyes) *and* by the settler-colonial gaze (dominant social valuations of immigrants); the dyers' skins are literally coloured by a kind of work that marks them as racially other.

I want to argue, nonetheless, that dye work enters immigrants into what I term an affective economy. This affective economy is created when the dye is washed from the surface of the body. The act of washing erases a visual archive of industrial affliction and, indissociably, of racialised immigrant identity. From this perspective, the 'pelt' of water previously mentioned, seems to allude not only to epidermal damage but to a symbolic covering: to a fetish that converts subordination into an erotics of liberation. Ondaatje writes that '[f]or the dyers the one moment of superiority came in the showers at the end of the day' (132). Under the 'pelt of water', the dyers step out from their coloured second skins in 'the erotica of being made free' (132). The affective lack in the dyers intimate relationships – the loss of an olfactory skin shared with the lover – is here compensated by an erotics of washing. This is significant, given that the unassimilated immigrant forms, historically, part of the category of the "great unwashed". What is at stake in the 'erotica of being made free' (132) is, I suggest, the shedding of a visibly demarcated

(because coloured) second skin.⁸⁵ The transformation that washing enacts is, symbolically, the "cleansing" of a racialised immigrant identity. Mariana Valverde has argued for a link between the provision of water and the desire for racial social cleansing in the discourses of Canadian social purity reform (discourses which informed immigration policy). At the turn of the twentieth century, social purity reform treated hygiene (washing with water) as 'the microcosmic foundation of the larger project of building a "clean" nation' (Valverde, 1991: 27). This idealised cleansing is also, implicitly, a cleansing of racial and ethnic difference. These discourses emerge alongside a burgeoning socio-symbolic investment in water within public heath discourse. This symbolic investment treats water as a social purifier, a cleanser of the "slum germ" that threatens white settler society as an inside-outside element.

The idea of the unassimilated immigrant as forming part of the category of the "great unwashed" is precisely what Ondaatje has in mind when he writes his tannery workers at steam baths. At the baths the men sit in *`whitewashed* rooms' with their bodies 'separated by *whiteness* coming up through the griddled floors' (136). The 'whiteness' of the 'wet steam' engenders a 'fading' of 'tattoos and hard muscles [...] into unborn photographs' (136) – into the undifferentiated whiteness of an unexposed negative. This is also a fading of the archive of labour written into and onto the skin. Here the worker's body is stripped of its dermal documentation – of the tattoos that are a marker of working class affiliations and marginalised identities. The pigmentation of the skin, in the form of tattoos, is whitewashed. This 'unborn' photograph also figures the absence of these men in official histories and in the archives. Their photographs are the ones that have never

⁸⁵ Frank Davey reads the dyed skins as symbolic of cultural loss: the forfeit of original skins – and languages – in the process of cultural assimilation (1993: 146). What this reading misses, and which I explore later in the chapter, are the text's various performative acquisitions of new symbolic skins (pelts), and voices (accents, storytelling).

been taken. Ondaatje here draws an equation between the dye-workers and workers digging a tunnel under Lake Ontario for the laying of intake pipes to supply the R.C. Harris Water Treatment Plant. Like the men in the steam baths, these workers emerge from the tunnel to 'see each other's bodies steaming in the air' (107), 'each within an envelope of steam' (107). These men are photographed, but the image produced, abstractedly, in a 'moment' of 'dirt-streaked faces pivoting to look towards the camera' (105), is a record of construction, rather than of the lives of the construction workers. In the photographs captured by the civic photographer, Arthur Goss, Ondaatje writes: 'moisture in the tunnel appears white. There is a foreman's white shirt, there is white lye daubed onto rock to be dynamited' (111).⁸⁶ The image described here is likely based on one of Goss' early photographs of the city's sewers construction (Duffy, 2001: 121). Moisture, in this photograph, appears white because it has been illuminated by a flash. Equally, moisture in the atmosphere of the tunnel would diffuse this flash of light, overexposing the highlights of the image so that their detail appears "washed out".⁸⁷ Moisture in the tunnel prefigures moisture in the steam baths. Both metaphorise the way working class experience and oblique histories are eclipsed by official histories.

In writing his dye workers symbolically "re-coloured" by their labour (and with the image of dye-workers shedding racially demarcated skins under a pelt of water), Ondaatje is not merely re-stating historical racist taxonomies, but embellishing them out

⁸⁶ Arthur Goss (1880-1940) was a civic photographer in Toronto who has a cameo in the novel (111).

⁸⁷ It is along similar lines that Marinkova notes othe forms of occupational imprinting in this scene. She observes that: '[w]ith their bodies being constructed as a passive container and a reflective surface, the work-men digging under Lake Ontario appear on official photographs with ash-grey faces as if the site of their labour had been imprinted on their bodies' (2013: 106). Analogously, in relation to *Anil's Ghost*, David Babcock notes Ondaatje's attention occupational imprints: Anil identifies the "markers of occupation" in the bones of a gem mine worker. As Babcock observes: '[p]rofession affects individuals at the level of the body; it leaves a record through which they can be distinguished from other bodies' (2014: 73).

of existence.⁸⁸ The text's true "insider", Caravaggio, is racially demarcated – a dark skinned Italian, while Canadian-born Patrick remains an outsider. Patrick is a 'searcher' and a 'collector' of other people's stories: a 'prism' refracting the lives of the immigrant communities he enters (157). As prism, Patrick produces a chromatic aberration that fractures a dominant discourse of 'white' nationhood into multiple stories. But is it Caravaggio's understanding of '*[d]emarcation*' (179) – of his own racialised appearance - that allows him to subvert the 'field of the visible', which, Judith Butler reminds us, is '[a] racially contested terrain' (1993: 17). In an inverse image of the 'blue suddenly [dropping] off' (132) the dye-worker's body, Caravaggio – a racially "demarcated" thief - escapes from prison by having his body painted blue.⁸⁹ During his detention, Caravaggio is employed in painting the penitentiary roof blue. Caravaggio has Patrick and another inmate paint his clothes so that, in an optical illusion, he appears to have disappeared to the perspective of the guards below. The colourful (and racially-accented) skins of the dye workers "disappear" under water, while Caravaggio disappears after taking on a second skin of blue that allows him to 'climb [...] into that ocean above the roof' (179). Once again, the moment of liberation is being played out through imageries of water. The connection between Caravaggio's blue skin and the second skin of race is made evident by his exoticisation: he 'an exotic creature who ha[s] to escape from his blue skin before daylight' (181).⁹⁰ Ondaatje is, however, not only associating the coloured skin with race, but with labour also. The "blue colour" that Caravaggio is painted is a pun on "blue collar" – a reference to manual labour. This pun on "blue collar" has a further

⁸⁸ My reading therefore draws into question Jodi Lundgren's assertion that '[t]he patterns of imagery in Ondaatje's novel question [racist] ideology but *remain embedded within* a racialized logic that ties liberation to the shedding of coloured skin and/or the attaining of whiteness' (2006: 17 emphasis added).

⁸⁹ As Marinkova notes, '[u]nlike Caravaggio's emancipatory becoming-landscape, the dyers' tenacious olfactory identities convey entrapment' (2013: 106).

⁹⁰ For a comprehensive reading of Caravaggio and racial demarcation, see Glen Lowry (2005).

fabrication: the other thieves of Toronto, Caravaggio's 'Blue Cellar compatriots' - keep company at the 'Blue Cellar Cafe' (191), a name that also evokes Caravaggio's imprisonment - through the "cell" in cellar. In terms of form, we might say, performatively, that a linguistic communicability "infects" the text. We might begin to characterise In the Skin of a Lion as an epidemiological narrative characterised by an infectious metaphoricity that mutates as we proceed through the text. In this case, a series of transformations (labour, blue collar, blue colour, water) draw the movement of interpretation towards the imaginative trope of the reservoir. After his escape, Caravaggio runs away from Lake Ontario, following the watercourse of the Trent canal system. He pitches up at the recreational island community Bobcaygeon. When Caravaggio is encountered in a canoe on the lake around Bobcaygeon his placement on a reservoir that other's use for leisure marks him socially "visible". On the lake, the traces of paint on Caravaggio's neck are no longer blue (no longer a blue collar). Instead, the woman he encounters, Anne, identifies the blue mark on his neck as 'aquamarine' (aqua marina -"seawater") oil paint. Once more, the archive of labour is being erased through an association with water. Caravaggio – whose name inevitably evokes the Italian Baroque painter – is, for a moment, entered into conditions of visibility, as an artist or painter.

With the prison escape, by contrast, Ondaatje has Caravaggio painted in a manner that enacts the conditions of "invisibility" that surround manual labour. He writes:

The houses in Toronto [Caravaggio] had helped build or paint or break into were unmarked. He would never leave his name where his skill had been. He was one of those who have a fury or a sadness of only being described by someone else. A tarrer of roads, a housebuilder, a painter, a thief – yet he was invisible to all around him. (198-199) What is at stake in this passage are the conditions of visibility (race) and invisibility (wage labour) into which immigrants enter. Also in evidence is Ondaatje's concern with the archive – with how one might think the absent archive of the lives of the poor. When Caravaggio breaks into the houses he has built or painted he doubly registers his invisibility: he leaves his mark only as a conspicuous absence (as the absence of the property he has lifted). Caravaggio understands demarcation because he knows how to become invisible: to steal under the cover of darkness. Significantly, Caravaggio, like the dye workers, is written as retaining an embodied olfactory archive of his "labours". Ondaatje writes: '[t]hat was always true of thieves, they smelled of what they brushed against. Paint, mushrooms, printing machines, yet they never smelled of the rich' (198-199). Smell is positioned as a key discriminator between the poor and the rich. An inverted logic of the embodied archive of labour applies to the rich: the rich are conspicuous for their absence of smell (thus it is not possible to smell of the rich). As Alice comments on the brutalising smell of the dye workers: 'You can bet the rich don't know it' (124). To be 'blind of smell', as Ondaatje puts it in 'The Cinnamon Peeler' (1983: 95), is to be liberated from the constraints of labour.

The phantasy of the pelt

Smell is also a key discriminator between the human and the animal. For Freud, what marks out the human is the repression of olfactory stimuli and forms of olfactory awareness, especially as sexual stimuli. This repression is operative, Freud suggests, in the 'cultural striving for cleanliness [...], which [...] arises from the wish to get rid of excrement, which has become repugnant to the senses' (Freud, 1930: 100 n.1). If becoming-human has the psychic and social significance of olfactory repression then the

olfactory implantation of the dye workers skin is not only materially dehumanising, but animalising. I now proceed to an exploration of the significance of the animal skin as a phantasy substrate in In the Skin of a Lion. Of course, in naming the text In the Skin of a Lion, Ondaatje alludes to the ancient Sumerian epic of Gilgamesh. In the story of Gilgamesh we have the becoming-human of Enkidu who lives as a wild animal before entering the civic space of Uruk, and, following Enkidu's death, the becoming-animal of Gilgamesh, who dons the skin of a lion in order to mourn Enkidu's passing.⁹¹ I have so far suggested that, in working, the immigrant becomes a reservoir of disease and poisonous presences. What I want to argue now is that nevertheless, and paradoxically, the detriment of invisible (if psychically comprehended) injury and detriment to the skin contains an unguessed boon, which is the idealised transformation of immigrant identity into assimilation through labour. It is the phantasy of the pelt, and its symbolic counterpart, the phantasy of the flayed skin, always a boundary already in crisis, that play out the ambivalence of the skin's multiple placements in ideation and damage. The pelt, Anzieu notes, is commonly implicated in masochistic phantasies of flaving and epidermal damage. Anzieu posits that, in phantasy, 'the skin torn away from the body, if it is kept whole, represents the protective [envelope], the shield [...], which in phantasy one [takes from the other] in order to [...] duplicate and [reinforce] one's own skin' (2016: 54). In the initial moment of 'embrace', which occurs when the dye workers submerge themselves 'waist-deep within the reds and ochres and greens' (130), the hide appears to take on the symbolic weight of a protective shield. Nonetheless, and as Anzieu argues, taking on the skin of the other in phantasy carries with it 'the risk of retaliation' (2016:

⁹¹ It is this moment that Ondaatje includes as an epigraph: 'The joyful will stoop with sorrow, and when you have gone to the earth I will let my hair grow long for your sake, I will wander through the wilderness in the skin of a lion' (unpaginated).

54). The men 'step out' of the dye baths as though flayed, 'in colours up to their necks' with only 'the heads white' (130).

In likening the spectacularly dyed second skin to a garment that is 'disrobed' from the body, Ondaatje suggests that the worker's skin becomes, symbolically, another hide that is being treated. Ondaatje's image of 'colour disrob[ing] itself from body' (132) evokes the flaying of the animal's body, while the daily shower is described as a 'brief *pelt* of water and steam' (129). Water pelting the body evokes a form of corporeal punishment applied to the skin. In the context of dye-work, the harsh treatment applied to the skin comes in the form of chemical exposure. The worker's emersion from the dye vats is also associated with a symbolic flaying. Ondaatje writes:

Dye work took place in the courtyards next to the warehouse. Circular pools had been cut into the stone into which the men leapt waist-deep within the reds and ochres and greens, leapt in embracing the skins of recently slaughtered animals. In the round wells four-foot in diameter they heaved and stomped, ensuring the dye went solidly into the pores of the skins that had been part of a live animal the previous day. And the men stepped out in colours up to their necks, pulling wet hides out after them so *it appeared they had removed the skins from their own bodies*. (130 emphasis added)

In this depiction, the men who work dye into the pelts appear in the first moment, the moment of their submersion, to be donning the skins of flayed animals – they *embrace* them. But as they emerge from the wells, they in turn appear to have been symbolically flayed. In the process of submersion and emersion, the animal pelt and the human skin appear to become interchangeable. The reference to the 'pores' of the hides also evokes

the living structure of the worker's skin, and suggests the way that the chemical dyes, designed to alter the physical structure of animal hide, will simultaneously materially alter the worker's skin. It is almost as though this material trauma has begun to affect other tactile sensations – tactile experience, as we know, being both psychically and materially derived – so that even the sensation of water on the worker's skin is associated with flaying. The dye-worker's skin becomes-hide in the process of being submerged, along with the animal skins, into the dye-vats.

The idea of a protective hide is also at work, in aesthetic and mythological terms, in Ondaatje's image of dye workers "wrestling with an angel" in the dye vats, as they 'embrace the skins of recently slaughtered animals' (130). Here, Ondaatje evokes the biblical account of Jacob wrestling with an angel, a scene consistently figured in the painterly arts as a violent, erotically charged embrace. In Eugène Delacroix's mural 'Jacob wrestling with the Angel' (1954-61), to which Ondaatje is almost certainly alluding here, two upright figures composed in rippling sinew and flesh grapple in a violent eroticised embrace - 'becoming aware of each other' as Paul Claudel would put it (Kauffmann, 2003: 198). The angel is clothed in feminised garb, while Jacob is shown wearing the skin of a lion. In Delacroix's rendering, then, Jacob is likened to the mythological figure of Heracles, who slays the Nemean lion and wears its pelt.⁹² The comparison that Ondaatje alludes to (between embracing pelts in the dye vats and wresting with an angel while dressed in the skin of a lion), has two important corollaries. Firstly, the pelt of the Nemean lion is impervious to attack: it is a mytheme of the protective shield or covering – a phantasy of a skin reinforced and invulnerable. Heracles discovers the protective qualities of the lion's fur when an arrow he has launched

⁹² Upon painting 'Jacob wrestling with the Angel' Delacroix, Joyce Carol Polistena notes, had, in 1854, just 'completed the Hercules cycle in the Salon de la Paix in which his scene of *Hercules and the Nemean Lion* was prominent' (2008: 216).

rebounds harmlessly from the lion's thigh. Delacroix might have had this detail in mind when he painted Jacob dressed in the pelt of a lion. In the biblical story, the angel touches Jacob's *thigh* causing a wound that cripples him and that leaves a mark that he bears permanently within his flesh. We might connect this crippling inscription of wounding to the epidemiological burden of dye work, and to the skin laden with excessive meanings operative in masochistic skin fantasies. In Ondaatje, it is as though damaging material contact with animal hides produces a masochistic figuration of the skin: hence the image of workers emerging from the dye vats and the showers as though they had been flayed. The second corollary of this mythic subtext is that the slaying of the Nemean lion is the first of the twelve *labours* of Heracles, which Heracles performs in order to *cleanse* his soul. The idea of a ritual purification through labour is at work, albeit ambivalently, in Ondaatje's rendering of dye work.

Elsewhere in the text, the fur pelt is a fetish object that allows the stories of immigrant experience to be told. Alice describes a play, performed within the immigrant community, in which '[e]ach person had their moment when they *assumed the skins of wild animals*, when they took responsibility for the story' (157). As the second skin of the storyteller, the 'cloak of pelts' enables 'even a silent daughter [...] to break through her chrysalis into language' (157).⁹³ A connection is also being brokered here between the second skin of race (or of racialised immigrant identity) and the second skin of the storyteller. To assume the skin of another is, according to Anzieu, to assume a mantle of power, while to lose a skin signifies denigration. The choice of a fur coat here has another resonance: the economic and cultural value of fur, and the role of the fur-trade in the

⁹³ Gamlin similarly argues that 'Alice's description of the oral performance model reminds readers also of the Gilgamesh epic and king Gilgamesh's acquisition of the lion skin. In Ondaatje's novel, the key gesture of taking the animal pelts precedes the telling. Amongst other conferred powers associated with the skin, the apparel transfers a character's identity to the storytelling' (1992: 71).

consolidation of a North American nation. Perhaps in this context, to assume the skin of fur is also to assimilate: the immigrant must assume a new skin in entering into the settlerindustrial complex and its placements in exploitation and trade/industry.

Chrysalis skins (migrants and moths)

Alongside the hide, then, there is another kind of "skin" - the chrysalis - being associated with immigrant experience, and its transitional "moment" in early twentieth century Canada, in In the Skin of a Lion. Allusions to moths and their life cycles proliferate in the text. There is something about the life cycle of the moth (and the insect more generally) that Patrick has to undergo in order to enter into immigrant experience and its community. Patrick, as the text's "outsider" migrates into conditions of immigrant industrial affliction - he too has to assume the skin of the lion (the second skin of labour). Ondaatje writes Patrick, who comes from a place that appears 'pale green and nameless' in the atlas (11), as an 'immigrant to the city'. Patrick 'arrive[s] in the city of Toronto as if it were land after years at sea' (53) – a passage that mimics the sea journeys of other immigrants arriving in Canada. Ondaatje suggests that Patrick also migrates into the same conditions of exploitation – in a metaphor of extraction (mining) he is written as an industrial resource 'drawn out from that small town like a piece of metal' (53). Another allusion to conditions of industrial affliction, comes in the 'piece of feldspar' Patrick carries 'in his pocket' (53) as a relic or reminder of his father's death in a feldspar mine. Here are lines of connection, drawn between the uninhabited rural regions and the industrial city through the extraction of resources and migrant labour. In the isolated region Patrick grows up within, he 'witnesses' and 'dreams about' the daily procession of Finnish loggers - a 'collection of strangers' – making their way from bunkhouses to the forest. In the city, Patrick seeks community among Toronto's immigrant workers. Ondaatje draws out a line of connection – an 'order [...], very faint, very human' (146) that runs through Patrick's life so that 'in his thirties he finally ha[s] a name for that group of men he witnessed as a child' (151). Ondaatje puts together points of contact – Patrick meets Alice, who is allied with the Finnish left-wing and whose past lover was a Finnish logging union activist. It is through these points of contact, we might say, that Ondaatje attempts to 'betray official history and put together another family' (145)

Patrick's contact with immigrant communities is connected to, or prefigured by his early childhood communion with moths. During his childhood, Patrick feels himself visited by, and his 'senses tuned' to the noises of moths and other insects 'attach[ing] themselves to the mesh screens' across the windows of his house - 'clinging to brightness' (9) from the darkness outside. Patrick clings to an idea that moths represent, recording their visits and sketching their forms. In learning the haunts and behaviours of insects - 'how the shining leaf-chafers destroy shrubbery, how the flower beetles feed on the juice of decayed wood' (9) – he is able to apprehend 'an order and shape' (9) in an insect world that exists, distinct from, and yet meshed with, his human habitation of an isolated region. In this sense, the moths are symbolic of the distinct communities of Finnish immigrants who also inhabit the region, existing alongside, but ultimately unknown to Patrick. The nightly visits of these insects affect Patrick in a manner that makes him want to 'haunt' them in return. There is a sense of communion in Patrick's passage toward the doorway that opens onto the 'empty fields' which parallels the 'nightly' movement of insects from the fields towards the 'glow' of the empty house (10). The desire to 'haunt' (10) insects also draw Patrick out of his house as a child to witness a group of Finnish loggers, holding burning cattails, skating on the frozen river. (Patrick is drawn to the lighted torches because he thinks they are fireflies). Elsewhere in the text, the passage of immigrant communities moving to the Waterworks for political meetings

is described as a 'mothlike', 'wave of bodies', while like moths they 'move in noise and light' inside the building (115). Caravaggio, similarly, is written disinterring himself from a 'cocoon of dry paint' (178), while Patrick's clothes form cocoons of dried-on clay dust when he works as a digger under Lake Ontario (108).

Entering into immigrant experience (and the transformations that the immigrant must undergo), then, is being likened to the life cycle of a moth. As we have seen, this transformation is being relates to phantasies that relate to the skin (for instance, in the allusion to the skin of a lion (or cloak of pelts) as a chrysalis) and its sensory envelopes (the auditory awareness wrought through the chrysalis of cow shit). Insect life leads Patrick to understand that there is a world adjacent to his that exists just beyond the periphery of his perception. Patrick attempts to communicate with insects through translation aids (there is another parallel here with the Macedonian community in Toronto to which Patrick must first gain some level of linguistic access to). In the isolation of his childhood, Patrick seeks community with insects:

Perhaps he can haunt these creatures. Perhaps they are not mute at all, it is just a lack of range in his hearing. (When he was nine his father discovered him lying on the ground, his ear against the hard shell of cow shit inside which he could hear several bugs flapping and knocking.) He knows the robust calls from the small bodies of cicadas, but he wants conversation – the language of damsel flies who need something to translate their breath the way he uses the ocarina to give himself a voice, something to leap with over the wall of this place. (10)

The ultrasound of insect song is imperceptible to the human ear, but Patrick is nascently aware that these creatures 'are not mute'. The image of Patrick pressing his ear to a 'hard shell of cow shit' recalls the conch shell, which, when pressed against the ear, produces an auditory sensation akin to the sound the ocean. In this earthier metaphor, Patrick attempts to transport his ear towards the intimate sounds of insect life. The hard shell of cow shit attenuates the frequencies of insects 'flapping', just as the resonant cavity of the conch shell attenuates noise issuing from the human body and the surrounding environment. The shell of cow shit promises a structure to decode the insect sounds, in the same fashion that Patrick 'uses the ocarina to give himself a voice' (10) that he imagines the insects will respond to. In this image – of damsel flies hatching through cow shit, we have another kind of chrysalis – or skin. This skin, which hatches damsel flies and allows Patrick to transcend his isolation (Patrick's first lover, Clara, is likened to a 'damsel fly' (61)), might be thought of as a reverse moment of the stinky skin of the immigrant dye workers. Here, the process of becoming free – the erotica of liberation – is being played out in cow's waste.

Submersion and deflagration

The opening passage of *In the Skin of a Lion*, titled 'Little Seeds', unfolds another depiction – this time of submersion – that prefigures the submersion of the cow skin in the dye vats. Patrick and his father, Hazen Lewis, pull a cow, 'half-submerged in the ice', out of a river. In this movement from submersion to emersion '[t]here is no colour' (11), unlike the 'picturesque yard of colour' (131) in which men pull hides from dye vats. There is only the 'black-and-white-shape of the cow', the 'grey trees, and the swamp now clean and white' (11). The "coming-into-colour", through dye work, of the immigrant is, as we have seen, a transformation in which material affects stick to and circulate around the skin. In this scene, passages of affect occur between living skins (human and animal). While rescuing the cow from freezing waters, Patrick's 'father puts his ungloved hand

against the cow's ear to collect the animal's heat' (12). A correspondence is set up, in terms of the passage of affect, between Patrick's father and the Finnish loggers who move silently through the region.⁹⁴ Of the Finnish immigrants, who stand aside to let the herds of cows pass by on their way from pasture, Ondaatje writes: '[s]ometimes the men put their hands on the warm flanks of these animals and receive their heat as they pass. They put their thin-gloved hands on these black and white creatures [...]. The holsteins pass the silent gauntlet of men' (7). The term 'gauntlet' here alludes both to the rows of men that flank the cows, and to the gloves they wear. There is a primacy of the hand, and of tactile contact, being negotiated in this passage. These scenes - of a rescued cow, of men placing their hands 'without any sense of right' (7) on the flanks of cattle – offer an alternative visions of the affective passages of migratory labour. The political and social calibrations of affect are not absent even from these sensitive contacts. The men who touch the flanks of cattle do so gently, knowing that they 'do not own this land as the owner of the cows does' (7). The river, for the Finns, is a space exempted from such propriety: they skate on it and transform themselves into 'men of burning rushes delirious in the darkness' (157).

Patrick is later reconnected with the community Finnish loggers through his lover Alice, whose previous lover, Cato, was a Finnish logging union activist. Through the figure of Cato, Ondaatje allows an alternative archive of immigrant experience to write itself in the text. Cato is modelled on two historic figures – the Finnish logging unionists, Viljo Rosvall and Janne Voutilainen. Rosvall and Voutilainen went missing (later found dead) at the tail end of the Shabaqua strike in 1929 while attempting to reach the Pidgeon River logging camps at Onion Lake, presumably in an attempt to expand the strike into

⁹⁴ Here we have an example of what Marinkova identifies as the text's 'micropolitics of embodiment, intimacy, and affect' (2013: 111).

another area (Repo, 1981: 83). Foul play was suspected. Ondaatje mirrors this sequence of events in In the Skin of a Lion. Cato leaves a lumber camp after his bosses discover 'his connection to [a] planned strike' (155). He is murdered '[w]hile [...] cutting a hole in the ice at Onion Lake' (155) and left 'buried in the ice of a shallow river' - his executioners 'try burning the body but he will not ignite' (156). Cato's shallow ice burial is historically accurate – Voutilainen's body was found the following spring in 30 inches of water at the edge of the Onion Lake dam (Repo, 1981: 89) – while the failed burning is an embellished detail (perhaps a nod to the Viking funerary rites in which the body is cremated, usually within a boat). Voutilainen's murder is re-inscribed in the text not only through the figure of Cato, Alice's first lover, but through Patrick, her second lover. Like Voutilainen/Cato Patrick is immersed in water after Ambrose attempts to set his body on fire. Through these inflicted injuries, Patrick becomes the embodiment, or incarnation, of Cato. Ondaatje is also obliquely inscribing archived oral histories within the text by renaming the composite figure of Voutilainen/Rosvall "Cato". In the text, Alice tells Patrick: 'You must realize that Cato was not his real name, it was his war name' (140). Infact, the name "Cato" appears to derive from the oral history surrounding the death of the activists, and from a man who features in the archive of the Multicultural History Society of Ontario, Toronto. The man in question, Reino Keto - whose surname finds a phonetic counterpart in "Cato" – appears to have been taken for Rosvall's doppelganger. Satu Repo's reconstruction, from archival material of the events surrounding the death of the union activists – a significant event for the Finnish-Canadian left-wing – refers to an interview with Keto, a pallbearer at the funeral who played Rosvall in a commemorative play. Keto's commentary, Repo writes:

[M]ade an interesting reference to audience reaction. He remembered creating quite a stir when he mingled with the audience after the performance, still madeup to look like Rosvali. People came over, wanting to touch him. For some, at least, the play had temporarily blurred the distinction between reality and makebelieve. For them he had *become* Rosvali. One can almost hear them exclaiming: "Vilho, so you're alive, after all! We knew they could never get you!" (1981: 97)

This scene or event also appear to be being re-modelled by Ondaatje through Alice's theatrical performances, which are staged at the Finnish Labour Temple and the Waterworks, and which similarly provoke audience participation, blurring the line between the performance and the real. In one performance, Alice, in Finnish and Serbian dress, beats the floor with her hand until a member of the audience comes out to stop her. Once again, the primacy of affective touch, and of the hand, is being brought to the fore.

In this sense – the sense of Ondaatje allowing an archive to write itself in the text – Cato and Small might be thought to be the mutual figures of exception. Cato is found in the frozen water at Onion Lake, Patrick – who grows up around the logging camps – finds Small next to the river at his childhood home (and therefore within the same terrain in which Cato's body is found). Within the world of the text, Ambrose Small is never found in any official capacity and thus his disappearance remains congruent with the history available in the archive. There are other instances of submersion and deflagration in the text other than Cato's ice burial and burning. Patrick's own burning in the book can be read as an act of immigration into the conditions of affliction affecting other immigrant figures of the text (Cato, tannery workers, Caravaggio). Upon finding Ambrose, Patrick is burned, and dives into a river. After having his coat set alight by Ambrose, (after being coated in kerosene that he first takes to be water) he runs, 'a hunchback of fire' into the

'shallow' waters of the river. Once in the river, in an image that prefigures the workers in the dye baths, he 'remains in the water, only his head visible' (94). This image prefigures the scene of the tannery workers submerged in dye vats that leave 'only [their] heads white' (130). The fact that Patrick slashes at his clothes before climbing into a river also mirrors Caravaggio's slashed neck, and his post-trauma dreams of climbing into the back water of a river. In another moment that foreshadows Patrick's work at the tannery ('slicing [..] up [...] tributaries' of leather (129)), Patrick 'sticks' the knife he is holding into the mud of the river bottom. The river then "explodes" around Patrick: 'Ambrose is standing on the beach. The bottle with the burning-cloth neck is travelling in the air and the explosion when it hits the water makes the river around him jump like a basket of fish [...] Patrick's left eye goes linen white, and he knows he is possibly blind there' (94-95). The river exploding alludes to Patrick's previous occupation as a dynamiter working along the Napanee waterways for the logging industry (the progress of thebottle through the air mimics an earlier reference to a 'fuse travelling at two minutes to the yard' (18). Patrick also swims Lake Ontario after setting off an explosive bomb and setting fire to a hotel. He alights on an island garden where he is met by a blind woman with one "mothlike" eye.

The phantasy of deflagration

Another of the skin's multiple placements in ideation and damage is represented by the phantasy of the skin's immolation (or, its deflagration). Anzieu suggests that there is a negative, or destructive, function of the skin ego that accompanies the positive skin ego functions that are propped upon life-preserving physiological functions. This destructive function is likened to an autoimmune response. Anzieu suggests that phantasies of a skin that acts like a 'poisoned tunic, suffocating, burning, disintegrating' indicates this

destructive or 'toxic' function of the skin ego (2016: 117). In the phantasies associated with this toxic function the skin 'destroys itself or is destroyed by another skin' (Anzieu, 2016: 56). We might read the toxic function of the skin ego as a parallel of the phantasy of the pelt/flaying, because in such phantasies, a new skin – a poisoning covering – is acquired. Anzieu refers to two instances of a poisoning skin in Greek mythology that illustrate these destructive skin phantasies. In the first, '[t]he dress and jewels which Medea deliberately poisons and sends to her rival (Glauce) set the latter on fire the moment she places them on her skin' (2016: 56). In the second:

The tunic which Deianeira unintentionally poisons [...], adheres to the skin of her unfaithful husband [Heracles], and as the poison heats up it penetrates his epidermis and gnaws at it. As he tries to rip away this corrosive second skin, Hercules tears off shreds of his own flesh; crazed with pain, he can think of no other way to get rid of the self-destructive wrapping than to immolate himself on a pyre. (Anzieu, 2016: 56)

The corrosive or poisoning skin, then, becomes a self-destructive covering or a covering that prompts self-destruction. In the description of dye work, Ondaatje makes a similar transition from the dyeing, or poisoning, of the skin to its burning or deflagration.

For the dye workers, deflagration is both an imminent possibility and a phantasied purification. Ondaatje writes:

What the dyers wanted, standing there together, the representatives from separate nations, was a cigarette. To stand during the five-minute break dressed in green talking to a man in yellow, and smoke. To take in the fresh energy of smoke and

swallow it deep into their lungs, roll it around and breathe it up so it would remove with luck the acrid texture already deep within them, stuck within every corner of their flesh. A cigarette, a star beam through their flesh, would have been enough to purify them. [...] during October [...] they desired a cigarette. And they could never smoke – the acid of the solutions they had stepped into and out of so strong that *they would have ignited if a flame touched them*. (130 emphasis added)

The communal taking of a cigarette is an essentially human gesture: a palliative that might for a moment elude the livid colouration of the skin. While smoking, the men are not dyed but rather 'dressed in green' and 'yellow' (130). Smoke is also being likened to a material purifier, a vital decontaminator that might expunge the 'acrid texture' from the flesh (130). In this way, smoking is being positioned as a form of symbolic purification that recalls the ritualistic uses of smoke in religious ceremonies. The purification that the men desire, however, is also a phantasy of self- immolation: a 'star beam through flesh' is a metaphor of burning, but the brilliant light consuming the flesh that is implied also evokes a kind of transmogrification: the transformation of degraded matter – flesh made abject – into something transcendental.

I want to return, briefly, to Ondaatje's figurative colouration of the dye work as 'Incarnadine'. Here, Ondaatje evokes the passage in Shakespeare's *Macbeth* in which 'The multitudinous seas incarnadine / Making the green one red' (2.2.64-5). The vision of seas turning red with blood acts as a trope for the moral stain of murder – the blood on Macbeth's hands that cannot be removed, hence his question: 'Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood / Clean from my hand?' (2.2.62-3). In *Macbeth*, then, washing a stained (or dyed) skin recolours the ocean's waters. Ondaatje also adopts the image of Neptune (the 'green one' (2.2.65) of *Macbeth*) by figuring the dye worker as a man 'in

green' (130). Thus, Ondaatje may also be alluding here, although obliquely, to the staining or recolouring of the Don watercourse with chemical dyes. As I mentioned earlier, the Don both deflagrates and is re-dyed during the twentieth century. A skin that cannot be cleansed or purified is also a phantasy configuration of the skin ego. In the case of the dye-workers, the skin that cannot be cleansed becomes destructive in phantasy: it threatens to deflagrate or explode.

On numerous other occasions in the text, the deflagration of the skin is associated with rivers and with industry. In the first section of the novel, titled 'Little Seeds', Ondaatje representation dynamite work also fosters a connection between a riverine landscape and explosion. Patrick and his father, Hazen Lewis, work dynamite for the lumber industry, setting explosive charges that free the logjams damming the flow of timber being driven downstream. It is significant that Ondaatje explores the industrial utilisation of dynamite in a riverine setting, rather than in mining. In so doing he stages the importance of inland waterways in the Great Lakes region for timber transportation – an export that increasingly dominated Canada's economy after the economic success of the fur trade during the early years of colonisation. The emphasis on dynamite work in rivers also sets up a tension between the utilisation of water as a resource and an explosive aesthetics that threatens to dismantle and unbind the water-related fetishes of industrial modernity. Mining is only mentioned in passing: Hazen Lewis is later 'killed setting charges in a feldspar mine' (74):

The company had tried to go too deep and the section above him collapsed. There wasn't an explosion. The shelf just slid down with him into the cave and drowned him. He was buried in feldspar. I didn't even know what it was. They use it in

everything – chinaware, tiles, pottery, inlaid table tops, even in artificial teeth. (74)

What is significant is that Hazen is killed not by an explosion but by a submersion. That Hazen's suffocation is described as a drowning connects the shelf of earth that collapses onto him with water. Explosion is associated with submersion in water. The work of dynamiting, which leaves a deposit of highly explosive sediment on the skin, is associated with washing. Like the workers at the tannery, Hazen and Patrick are covered each day in a second skin that threatens to deflagrate and that must be washed. As with dye work, washing is positioned as a ritual, observed in the interests of self-preservation:

[Hazen Lewis] was meticulous in washing his clothes every evening in case there were remnants, little seeds of explosive on his apparel. Patrick scorned this obsession. His father took off his shirt one evening and threw it onto the campfire. The shirt fizzed and sprayed sparks over the knees of the loggers. There were abrupt lessons like this. (19)

Clothing here, is transformed into an explosive second skin, implanted with the "little seeds" of explosive residue. Dynamite work is also associated with the acquisition of a water-proof skin: Patrick anoints his skin with an impermeable second layer when he dives into the river to secure blasting caps onto timber. Ondaatje writes:

In difficult cases Patrick would remove his clothes and grease himself down with oil [...]. He dove into the ribbed water and swam among the logs. [...]. Eventually the boy located the log his father had pointed to. He caught the charge thrown out

to him, crimped the blasting cap onto the fuse with his teeth, and lit the powder.

[...] A river exploded behind him, the crows leafing up. (17)

This oily second skin enhances the skin's protective continuity by altering its structure. But what Ondaatje alludes to here is the way explosion affects the psychic envelope. The focalisation in this passage – which switches from 'Patrick' to the disinterested noun 'the boy' and then to the pronoun 'he' – parallels the desensitisation of Hazen and Patrick to the explosions they orchestrate: to the force of a river exploding that occurs 'behind' them, to the orderly flow of 'ribbed water' becoming '[a] river explod[ing]' (17). The "ribbed" quality of the water that Patrick dives into evokes the vulnerable structure of the human chest, and recalls an earlier reference to the shattering of a man's ribcage: 'A twenty-foot log suddenly leaping out of the water and side-swiping a man, breaking his chest' (17). This oddly constructed sentence indicates that there is something unsettling in dynamite's production of movement: dynamite is disconnected here from its effect, it does not appear as the subject in the sentence, so that the log reads as leaping of its own volition.

Patrick's attempt to blow up the waterworks also alludes to a tension between the riverine (this time in terms of aesthetics) and explosion. Patrick imagines how the explosion will be amplified by water:

As he settles and beds the explosives he can see what will occur. A column of water will shoot up seventy feet into the air and break through the glass windows of the roof. The floor buckles, other pumps overload and burn out in seconds. When the settling basins explode, the military tents on the lawn above them will collapse downwards into twenty-four feet of pure water. (233)

Explosion, here, is shown to have a radical metamorphic power. Water magnifies the effect of the explosion, while explosion harnesses a destructive body of water.⁹⁵ In Patrick's imagining, the rising 'column of water' (233) replaces the building's own architectural columns. Where there were 'filter pools four feet deep, languid, reflective as medieval water gardens' (110) there will be 'twenty-four feet of pure water' (233). The water treatment plant recreates fluvial processes, using 'settling basins' (109) to filter water through sedimentation. The 'herringbone tiles imported from Siena' (110) aesthetically reflect this fluvial quality: they have a riverine appearance and allude to an already-accomplished act of symbolic skinning ("herringbone"). The fluvial process is gradual and accretive; it sculpts through a gradual process of sedimentation and erosion. The sculpting power of explosion, by contrast, attains an immediate, although destructive, aesthetic capacity, as the herringbone tiled 'floor buckles', as 'water [...] burst[s] [...] into the corridors of rosy marble' (233). These imaginaries of explosion replay the work of dynamiting the river. Here, a "river" explodes. The river, of course, is the channeled water from Lake Ontario that has been "contained" within the filtration plant. The buckling of the herringbone tiles also suggests, in this context, the 'ribbed' (17) quality of the water, or the worker's broken ribcage.

The river explodes 'behind' Patrick. The explosion is not seen, but something *felt* – a 'shudder in the air' (15). Like a trauma, the apprehension of an explosion, or of the blast wave that an explosion occasions, is belated. Because the initial shockwave is supersonic, you do not hear the explosion at the moment of its occurrence. What is heard is the slower, subsonic front that follows, belatedly, a wave reaching you first through the

⁹⁵ Explosions – which create a rapid expansion of high-pressure gas – displace an immense volume of water because water, having a greater density than air, is not easily compressed. The effect of an underwater explosion is a high-pressure column of water and spray.

ground (depending on your proximity and the force of the explosion) and then in the air (at which point you would hear it). Cause and effect relate to each other not only on a temporal, but also on a spatial level: something that is moved is moved both in time and across space. Dynamite is an explosive that detonates rather than deflagrates. An explosion is the result of a combustion process that produces, almost instantaneously, a large volume of expanding gas. In detonation, this chemical reaction accelerates through the explosive material faster than the speed of sound. You do not hear the explosion at the moment of its exploding. What you hear is a "crack" as the sound barrier is broken. The 'shudder in the air' suggests how a continual proximity to explosions might gradually affect the sensory psychical envelopes of Hazen and Patrick Lewis. In other words, the shudder suggests how the blast wave that follows an explosion might permeate the psychic envelope. The 'shudder' in the air, implies that the explosion is linked to an affect that is physical (a feeling of a vibration), and psychical: a shudder signifies a convulsion going through a body, an affective disturbance. The 'shudder in the air' is also a shudder in the body: an effraction of the psychic envelope that might alter its form. The sculpting medium of explosion – air, and rapidly expanding gas – means that it not fully sensible, its effect on the observer is always-already belated. The belated action of explosion is seen later in the text when Alice dies in an attempted guerrilla attack gone awry:

Alice had an idea, a cause in her eye about wealth and power, forever and ever. And at the end as she turned round to him on the street hearing her name yelled, surprised at Patrick being near, there was nothing completed or attained. And he could think of nothing but the eyes looking for him above the terrible wound suddenly appearing as she turned. (165) Here, Patrick arrives too late to warn Alice of the explosion that is about to happen: the sound of the explosion and its impact on Alice's body happen before Patrick is sensible of them – they occur even as or perhaps even before he shouts her name. The apparent collapsing of linear temporality in explosion is here figured as a bodily irruption. Once again, explosion is associated with a submersion in water. The means of Alice's death, the explosion of her form, mean that for Patrick 'there is a moat around her he will never cross again. He will not even cup his hands to drink its waters' (164). In *In the Skin of a Lion*, trauma tends towards either submersion or explosion.⁹⁶ Alice's attempted political sabotage leaves no ostensible imprint on the city. Ultimately, neither does Patrick's attempt to blow up the filtration plant (he falls asleep before detonating his charges).

What I want to emphasise here is that explosion leaves no ostensible archive. For instance, although dynamite work leaves a 'track of half inch holes in the granite all down the Depot Lakes system' (18), this track is only a disembodied trace. The 'track of half-inch holes' are graphic markers left where explosives have been housed, but there is no trace left of the explosion: the form of the explosion itself is un-retainable. Hazen is preoccupied with the outline of a detonation: with imposing a limit or "skin" on explosion. While teaching himself to work dynamite in the woods, his explosions cause 'snow [to] collapse out of branches from the shudder in the air. Whatever was dislodged became a graph showing him the radius of the tremor' (15). The archive or trace of something *embodied* – the 'shudder in the air' (15) – here forms a graphic imprint, the way iron filings allow us to visualise a magnetic field. Ultimately though, this imprint will be lost with the thawing of the snow. Elsewhere, the graphic "skin" of the explosion is mapped, symbolically, into human form:

⁹⁶ As Nixon observes: '[v]iolence is customarily conceived as an event or action that is immediate in time, *explosive* and spectacular' (2011a: 2 emphasis added). Against this he positions a slow, accretive – we might say submerged – violence (2011a: 2).

In the drive-shed Hazen Lewis outlined the boy's body onto the plank walls with green chalk. Then he tacked wires back and forth across the outline as if realigning the veins in his son's frame. Muscles of cordite and the spine a tributary of the black powder fuse. This is how the boy remembers his father, studying the outline which the boy has just stepped away from as the lit fuse smoulders up and blows out a section of plank where the head has been. (14-15)

Here, the tracing of the outline of the body represents the skin – as a sac or envelope that houses the body – while the wires tacked across this outline both recreates the skin-assurface and renders it as an explosive skein. The skin is both that which contains the explosion and that which itself threatens to explode. Here we are reminded of the clothing implanted with explosive sediment: what Hazen sculpts from explosives is a habiliment. The green colour of the chalk signifies clothing rather than flesh. It is also a mirror-image of 'a green man on fire' in the earlier phantasy of immolation through dye-work. Hazen Lewis elsewhere phantasises about exploding the human form:

All his energy was with the fuse travelling at two minutes to the yard under floorboards, around the trunks of trees, and up into someone's pocket. He kept receiving that image in his mind. Could he do it? The fuse stitched into the cloth of the trouser leg. The man sleeping perhaps by a campfire, the fuse smouldering horizontal into his shirt pocket, blowing out the heart. (18)

The emphasis on a fuse *stitched* into clothing concretises the provocation or traumatic possibility of explosion that comes with having your clothes implanted with explosive

sediments each day. As a phantasy, it displaces the traumatic possibility of being blown up and claws back a form of agency: the ability to blow up someone else. It is as though working with these dangerous materials re-routes Hazen psychic skin phantasies, just as the dye worker's 'desire' a ritual purification (as immolation) through the taking of a cigarette. Elsewhere in the text, the traumatically belated 'travelling' impact of deflagration is emphasised: while Cato's body is being burned his 'package of letters is travelling' toward Alice, who will receive them *after* the news of his death arrives (156). Similarly, the incendiary hurled at Patrick, and of which he is unaware until he is half blinded, is described as 'travelling in the air' (94-95). What Ondaatje's images of explosive habiliments – the green wire figure, the fuse stitched into cloth, the chemically dyed skin – allude to is the *materiality* of the symbolic second skins that immigrant workers acquire.

Sociopolitical trauma in the *In the Skin of a Lion* is embodied, archived, and accretive: it recomposes the body of immigrant labour, through disease and material industrial afflictions, while on an individual level this sociopolitical trauma registers in "scenes" of bodily immolation and explosion. In this chapter I extended my analysis of disease and infection in colonial histories to immigrant labour histories and industrial affliction. This emphasis allowed me to think about the material implantation of the skin. I related Ondaatje's rendition of sickly industrial workers who are implanted materially with tuberculosis infection and whose skins are dyed by industrial chemicals to phantasies of the flayed body: a response to racist immigration taxonomies that see certain immigrant groups (bodies) assigned to epidemiologically risky work. I also related the phantasy of immolation to a destructive function of the skin ego. (The destructive function is also allied with destructive phantasies in which the skin destroys itself or is destroyed by another). There is another related logic here – which extends the previous chapter's focus

on infection and immunity. Anzieu connects the destructive function of the skin ego – the 'unconscious attacks against the psychical [skin]' – with autoimmune phenomena (2016: 116). In autoimmune diseases, the immune system loses the ability to distinguish between the "me" and the "not-me" and directs an immune response against its own healthy cells and tissues. The notion of a psychic response that is directed back at the affected body is, I think, a particularly suggestive way of reading sociopolitical trauma (as explosive tendency) in *In the Skin of a Lion*. This leads me back to epidemiology. Epidemics are, like explosions, phenomena that we attempt to *contain*. In Ontario's tuberculosis archive: the attempt to contain infection is an attempt to make it visible, but also to inscribe its limits and track its course within a body (or within certain populations groups). *In the Skin of a Lion* reveals disease as not "contained" within the body, nor is disease ascribed simply to infection. Disease is written as that which moves materially between bodies. Industrial diseases, like autoimmune diseases, are 'not separate from the complex of environmental relations – physical, social, and economic – out of which they came into being' (Mitman, 2008: 253).⁹⁷

While the previous chapter focused on the permeability of self and world in the colonial environment, I have, in this chapter, extended this analysis to think through Ondaatje's materialist placements of the skin in modes of liberation (reinforcement through pelts and pelts of water) and affliction. The skin, even as it forcibly inscribed as a racialised surface, provokes libidinal investments (both revealing and concealing demarcation). We have seen that these erotic investments – the dye worker's affective economy – allow the dye workers to transcend their material circumstances. The daily colouration and washing of the skin is a repetitious act. With this repetition, we have at

⁹⁷ For instance, silicosis, a form of lung fibrosis, is an industrial disease caused by an immune response to the inhalation of silica. Some autoimmune diseases, for instance rheumatoid arthritis, may be industrially derived.

once an archiving (of chemical affliction as colour) and an undoing of the archive (washing). The logic of the archive, Derrida notes, is that of repetition - 'there is no archive without consignation in an external place which assures the possibility of memorization, of repetition, of reproduction, or of re-impression' (1998: 11). At the same time, Derrida notes, the logic of repetition (of the repetition-compulsion) is indissociable from the destructive drive (the death drive). Derrida suggests that the Freudian death drive is 'anarchivic' in function - it works to destroy 'in advance its own archive, as if that were in truth the very motivation of its most proper movement' (1998: 10). In the scene of dyed skins being removed *pellis-like* from the surface of the body, we seem to approach a similar anarchivic "movement". In Ondaatje, dyeing is a form or means of dying, but dying-as-infection and epidemiological risk (imperceptible) is masked by dyeing (perceptible colouration and de-colouration). The repetitious acquisition and removal of a dyed second skin - a graphic archive of labour - destroys in advance an embodied archive of labour, while also afflicting the body of labour (painting the body of labour in an erotic colour). I think we can draw an analogy between toxicity invisibly implanted in the body, and the way the destructive drive 'eludes perception' - the only "traces" of this destructive drive come in the form of 'erotic simulacrum' (Derrida, 1998: 11). The destructive drive, which is a self-destructive drive 'in so far as it destroys its own archive, that is, any trace of itself', can disguise itself: can paint itself 'in some erotic colour' (Derrida, 1998: 11). As Derrida writes, '[t]his impression of erogenous colour draws a mask right on the skin' (1998: 11). In other words, the erotic simulacrum of the destructive, archive-destroying movement conceals as it reveals itself. With this description of erogenous colour drawing a mask on the skin, it is impossible not to recall the dyeing of the skin, and the aesthetic of bodies painted in "erotic" colours (recall

'wrestling with an angel') that lead Patrick to wonder what a painting of the scene would 'tell'. Along these lines, Ondaatje writes:

What did it *mean* in the end to look aesthetically plumaged on this October day in the east end of the city five hundred yards from Front Street? What would the painting tell? That they were twenty to thirty-five years old, were Macedonians mostly, though there were a few Poles and Lithuanians. [...] That they had consumed the most evil smell in history [...]. That in winter this picturesque yard of colour was even more beautiful, the thin layer of snowfall between the steaming wells. (130-131)

The "erotic simulacrum" of the self-destroying archive of dye work are accessible here in painting, where beauty derives from vulnerability. The 'erotica of being made free' is thus a fulfilment of this anarchivic drive. In the next chapter, I turn to the role of the archive in constituting the racialised subjects of apartheid. In my reading of Bessie Head's *The Cardinals* I also examine how the archiving function (this time of apartheid) imprints itself spatially – on the body and through the racial segregation of space.

To conclude, I want to return to the 'pelt' of water that removes the visible archive or trace of industrial affliction. In this moment, water is presented as though it were, like the fur pelt, a fetish that converts subordination into an erotics of liberation. Water, in the text, mediates Toronto's ambivalent moment of "emergence" into the conditions of industrial modernity. R. C. Harris, the city's Commissioner of Public Works, 'imagine[s] a palace for water' – a "palace of purification" (as the middle section of the text is titled) – and constructs 'an essential temple' for its filtration (109). The production of filtration scotomises the social relations that undergird it. Nonetheless, while the water intake pipe under Lake Ontario is under construction, Harris dreams of 'the silence of men coming out of a hole each within an envelope of steam [...]. Swallowing the water one-and-aquarter miles away, bringing it back into his body and spitting it out clean' (111). Here, the ability to spit water out clean alludes to the bacteriological re-composition of the city, and of the bodies within it. At the same time, the production of filtration recomposes the bodies of industrial workers through exposure. The workers operate within an 'envelope of steam' – another "skin" with epidemiological coordinates. Steam is elsewhere associated with the exposure and permeability of the worker's body to disease (the moisture that moves between bodies and clothes, the dye workers whose 'mouths send forth plumes' in 'below-zero' temperatures (130)). I suggested that water and its conduits in the novel – bodies, rivers, intake pipes – are also ways of discussing postcolonial disease and immigrant afflictions. The colonial archive, of disease and water, is embodied doubly by the worker's body. The mutability and imaginary structures of the skin are informed by the ongoing "affective economies" and material relations into which the immigrant labourer is entered.

Taboo and spatial reserve in Bessie Head's The Cardinals

[1]t was to be a history of skin colour, [...] the white skin being a passport to paradise and many privileges; the black skin being a kind of rhinoceros hide at which are hurled tear gas, batons, bullets and ferocious police dogs. Bessie Head, 1990 p. 89

The first part of this thesis has been concerned with the environmental history of the reservoir. I implicated colonial environmental histories (the politics of disease and water reservoirs) in psychic life. I now proceed to a psychoanalytic reading of colonial and postcolonial space. I do so through a conception of the reserve as both a psychic space and as an environmental production. In my engagement with the space of the reserve, I develop my previous focus on reservoirs of disease. I connect the epidemiological motors for apartheid (the imagined forms of disease transmission from and the creation of insanitary environments for black communities) to the spatiality of *taboo*. In the first section of this chapter, I focus on the way taboo prohibitions organise colonial psychic space. In the context of South African apartheid, segregation is policed by sexual taboos (on miscegenation), while public health policy is informed by contact taboos related to

ideas about disease transmission. I suggest, accordingly, that the psychic provocations inherent in the taboo are an appropriate way of reading apartheid space. In order to effect its environmental dispensation of race, the apartheid state created an archive of linguistic assignations to name and interpellate race. I examine how this archiving function imprints itself spatially – both on the body and through the racial segregation of space. I show how "markers" of race are re-coded in Head's text as something resembling epigenetic acquisitions and thus signifiers of the subject's immersion in and interpellation by environment. That which we acquire epigenetically is informed by our environmental (and social) circumstances. The epigenetic is that which is in excess of the genetic – the limits of our biology – but it is also inheritable, accretively composed over successive generations. In Head, the mutability of such epigenetic "demarcations" are only shown when the subject is able to transcend both spatial demarcations and the supposedly embodied "archive" of epigenetic acquisition (apartheid's environmental production of race). One particular kind of reserve space written in Head's text – a slum polluted with sewage or ('night soil'), that is bordered by a rubbish dump, the sea, and the National Road – is also a "reservoir" of epigenetic acquisitions. Head writes the slum, as epigenetic environment, in a manner that subverts apartheid's environmental production of race. Head writes a subject - Mouse - who is somehow "reserved" from the slum environment she grows up in. Instead, Mouse is immersed in and interpellated by literature.

Apartheid and spatial "reserve"

In this section, I think through the concept of the "reserve", as that which is "set aside", in spatial and psychical terms. I connect the spatial "reserve" set aside by the taboo to apartheid's socio-spatial assignments. Apartheid relies upon dispensations of race and space, in which one's race becomes a function of one's environment (and vice versa). I derive my focus on the spatiality of taboo from Jean Laplanche's reading of Sigmund Freud's use, in Totem and Taboo, of the term "reserve". In the essay 'Time and the Other', Laplanche notes that there is, for Freud, 'something like the concept of a reserve [...] connected with the taboo' (qtd. Laplanche, 1999b: 242). Refining this concept, Laplanche identifies three types of 'reserve' associated with taboo: spatial reserve, temporal reserve and linguistic reserve. The spatial reserve set aside by the taboo corresponds to 'zones one is not allowed to enter, spaces one cannot encroach upon, objects or persons one cannot touch' (Laplanche, 1999b: 242). In the context of South African apartheid, a taboo is placed on interracial "mixing", which finds its ultimate expression in the prohibition of interracial sex and the "horror of" miscegenation expressed by apartheid's ideologues. The spatiality of taboo then informs apartheid's socio-spatial assignment of race – its desire to demarcate race spatially through the segregation of separate residential "zones". Mixing, of course, did happen. The segregations of apartheid are constantly transgressed even as they are discursively reinforced through apartheid legislation. In this chapter, I read the production of the apartheid environment (and the production of environmentallyand biologically-based forms of race determinism) through the spatiality of taboo.

Temporal and linguistic reserve

We can think about the "reserve" set aside by the taboo on interracial "mixing" under apartheid in spatial, temporal, and linguistic terms. Laplanche writes that the reserve set aside by taboo is constituted not only in space, as a 'reserve zone' of bodies one cannot touch, spaces one cannot encroach upon, but also in time (1999b: 243). Temporal limits, too, serve to separate persons or things that must not be touched. There is a 'time of the taboo' (Laplanche, 1999b: 243). Laplanche observes, for instance, that 'those who those who have touched a taboo object or person are impure and untouchable but only for a determinate time' (1999b: 243). Equally, I would add, taboos on touching and contact are often attached to what Freud terms 'exceptional states' (Freud, 1913: 22), like menstruation, childhood, and sickness, which are also states with a temporal duration. In the context of South African apartheid, a correlate of the temporal reserve emerges in relation to the desire to "contain" and homogenise racial groups within certain spatial limits. The reserve space of the segregated residential zone is constituted in time - it is a temporal process.⁹⁸ Equally, the establishing of African reserves is, in the mind of apartheid, an attempt to arrest a temporal process of social decline or "race degeneration". The Group Areas Act, 1950 assigned separate residential "zones" to specific racial groups. As part of its eventual aim to achieve total racial segregation (and to regulate human diversity within each residential zone) the act established "controlled areas", within which a freeze was placed on interracial property transfer. The freezing provisions of the controlled areas effectively allowed the apartheid state to freeze the racial composition of an area and facilitate its conversion from a mixed area into a racially homogenous full group area.⁹⁹ In a 1950 parliamentary speech, the Afrikaner Nationalist interior minister T.E. Dönges describes the creation of controlled areas as an attempt to arrest a temporal process spatially. On the creation of controlled areas, Dönges commented that:

⁹⁸ In what follows, I provide a long historical account of the creation of African reserves from the perspective of a "sanitation syndrome".

⁹⁹ In "full group areas", the ownership, occupancy and acquisition of land was restricted to a designated racial group. In 'controlled areas' the racial classification of the owner dictated who could occupy the property.

The first problem we had to face here was to prevent any *further deterioration* in the existing position. We had to see to it that the mixed areas which have grown, which have continued in the past years, will not be allowed to continue further; [...] therefore, the Bill provides for the idea of a controlled area which comes into operation as soon as the Bill is applied to any particular part of South Africa. (qtd. Brookes, 1968: 139 emphasis added)

The anxiety expressed here – of further deterioration – indicates a desire to delimit mixed areas spatially and temporally by freezing their growth and spread. In this context, I suggest, the term "deterioration" alludes to a process of environmental degradation that occurs when social space becomes increasingly mixed and to an associated "race degeneration" through miscegenation (which is temporal because it is tied to heredity).

Apartheid's racial enclave mentality – its desire to avoid the reproduction of "mixture" in the environment and in heredity – also involves a linguistic element. As such, I suggest that the taboo on racial mixing also sets aside a linguistic reserve. Linguistic categories delimit conceptual boundaries and are fundamental to the apartheid creation of racial enclaves. The apartheid production of environment depends, in other words, upon designating racial categories and "naming" residential zones accordingly: the desire to prevent racial mixture is 'expressed [both] geographically and linguistically' (Strode, 2005: 148). In order to effectively execute its aims, the Group Areas Act included provisions for naming (and thus interpellating) racial groups.¹⁰⁰ The wording of this

¹⁰⁰ The Population Registration Act of 1950 reveals the importance of linguistic markers of race for apartheid's policy of socio-spatial segregation. Under the provisions of the Act, a population register was created in order to classify every person as 'a white a coloured person or a native' (Statutes 1950 qtd. Reddy, 2001: 74). As Reddy comments, the Population Register 'accomplished textually that which escaped biology – certainty' (2001: 78). In 1959, under the Population Registration Amendment Act, the 'coloured' category was sub-divided into further indexes of race: 'Cape Coloured, Cape Malay, Griqua, Indian, Chinese, other Asiatic, and Other Coloured' (Reddy, 2001: 75).

excerpt from the Group Areas Act reveals how the designating or "naming" of racial groups inevitably sets aside a "reserve" or remainder. The Act details that:

2. (1) For the purposes of this Act, there shall be the following groups: a white group, in which shall be included any person who in appearance, obviously is, or who is generally accepted as a white person, other than a person who although in appearance is obviously a white person, is generally accepted as a coloured person; a native group, in which shall be included: (i) any person who in fact is, or is generally accepted as a member of an aboriginal race or tribe of Africa [...] and (ii) any woman to whichever race, tribe or class she may belong, between whom and a person who is a member of a native group there exists a marriage or who cohabits with such a person; a coloured group, in which shall be included: (i) any person who is not a member of the white group or of the native group; and (ii) any woman, to whichever race, tribe or class she may belong, between whom and a person who is a member of the coloured group or of the native group; and a person who is a member of the coloured group there exists a marriage or who cohabits with such a person; (qtd. Brookes, 1968: 9)

What shows up here is a series of criteria for the inclusion or exclusion of persons from the delimitations of a racial group. Race, in the logic of apartheid, cannot be determined by physical markers alone: what is being privileged are markers of general community acceptance. In the wording of this section of the Act, the conceptual boundaries of race are being either naturalised or de-naturalised. What is also significant is that the word "race" is largely occluded here in favour of the term "group". The coloured group is denaturalised: it is a category with no positive marker, such that one is defined as "coloured" only through what one is *not* – i.e. 'a member of the white or native group' (qtd. Brookes,

1968: 9). By contrast, the 'native' group is naturalised or essentialised: it is the only group to which one may belong 'in fact' as well as in general acceptance. The Act, then, assumes the ability and the power to unambiguously identify a person as belonging to a native group. For the white group, however, a category of exclusion exists for those who may be 'obviously' white in appearance but who are 'generally accepted' as member of the 'coloured' group (qtd. Brookes, 1968: 9). The Act attempts, then, to preclude the possibility of those who have been born into 'coloured' families and who are in appearance 'white' from being included in the 'white' group. The Act not only attempts to prevent any racial "mixture" from "adulterating" the white group but also scotomises the fact that mixing, inevitably, happened.

The legislative attempt to preserve the boundaries of white race "purity" is particularly in evidence in the way the Act renders race, under certain circumstances, affiliative rather than "biological", genetic, or innate. According to the provisions of the Act, married women take the racial identity of their spouse – *unless* their spouse is white. Beyond the (legally) affiliative, even co-habiting with a member of another race is enough to re-racialise (white or coloured) women. To co-habit with a member of another race, in apartheid, is also, most often, to inhabit a certain, racially-demarcated environment. Thus, we can observe here how race is also being produced spatially, socially, and environmentally. On one level, the designation of racial identity through affiliation reveals that the apartheid desire to delimit and spatialise "race" (on the basis of biological forms of race determinism) can never be achieved without setting aside some remainder – that is, without producing some categorical disturbance that is not fully translatable within the system of classification.¹⁰¹ Although this might appear to render the concept

¹⁰¹ John Western notes that 'when some of the residential areas gradually changed their racial character, certain of the inhabitants "changed" too' (36). Under the Group Areas Act: 'one is one's address. When

of race, as Timothy Strode has suggested, 'absurdly provisional' (2005: 166), it is in fact not: for focus here is on reproduction (and, moreover, reproduction within a certain social space). Under the Act, race becomes patrilineal: for if a woman's race is officially subsumed by that of her spouse then it follows that any children will also inherit (without any categorical disturbance) the racial identity of the father – *unless*, of course, the father is white and the mother is not. The 'coloured' group – which signifies racial "mixing" – shows up here as a form of category disturbance that troubles the apartheid system of racial assignment even as it motivates it (i.e. through the desire to prevent further racial "mixture").¹⁰² A form of linguistic reserve, I suggest, is operative in the attempt to keep the 'coloured' group spatially and conceptually separate from the 'white' group. This shows up in the way that the white patronym is historically "reserved" from mixed race children. 'Coloured' children were often named for the month of the year in which they were born, or were named after Greek and Roman mythical figures. By not giving mixed race children white patronyms, the "archive" of their race-identity is lost. There is no way of tracing the connection to a white parent, linguistically, because a crucial break has been interpolated in the form of a new name. (Conversely of course, these names do now speak to or index this erased inheritance and lost archive) What is also lost is an "archive" (if we want to define it in these terms) of cross-racial desire. What is being "set aside" by this linguistic reserve (on the white name) – what is not being worked-over or metabolised - is not only racial "mixing" but also the desire for "racial mixing". In a fascinating example of the convergence of linguistic and spatial "reserve", John Western observes how, in the street directories for Cape Town from 1936 and 1940, coloured names are

Mowbray, became a "White space only" in the mid-1960s, so did a number of its inhabitants become Whites, shedding – at least legally – their previous, rather indeterminate status' (Western, 1981: 36).

¹⁰² In apartheid's practice of racial assignment, Reddy suggests, the 'Coloured signifier functions as a residual category representing the 'mixing of races' (2001: 71).

placed under erasure. In the directory of 1936, addresses occupied by 'coloured' families on "mixed" streets are simply labelled 'Coloured', so that only the names of white families appear in the directory. By 1946, only white names appeared: a linguistic reserve is placed on the names of 'coloured' families that reflects the desire to segregate "mixed" spaces (1981: 17). This desire is then legislated for, in 1950, by the Group Areas Act.

Racial ecology and enclave mentality

We can understand the racial ecology of South African apartheid and specifically its "enclave mentality", through the spatiality of taboo. In other words, we can understand taboo as a potential vector of apartheid's spatial dispensations. In terms of these spatial dispensations, the "reserve" – or racially segregated township – is a temporal enclave of non-developing space. The 'dimensions' of the townships are figured according to 'the racial modernism of a non-European standard of space' (Japha, 1998: 430). As such, the racial "reserve" is itself the product of a temporal enclave mentality within apartheid, which temporally presences white developed space, while projecting black space "backwards" and outwards into the interior. The racial ecology of the apartheid environment is also contoured by terrain. Certain spaces in apartheid – altitudinal and littoral enclaves – are reserved as white space. Jennifer Beningfield observes that:

Landscape was [...] seen as a resource which was too valuable for South Africans who were not classified as "white". Under the Group Areas Act, views from particular areas of land to mountains or seas were increasingly reserved for white South Africans, while, simultaneously, the Act was used to target black areas which were overlooked by and were built in close proximity to those occupied by whites. (2006: 267) There were a number of forced removals undertaken to "whiten" areas bordering the sea. Under the Group Areas Act, Coloured communities in the Cape and coastal areas were variously de-populated and razed, from District Six, where Bessie Head lived while writing The Cardinals, to Simonstown, Claremont, and Windemere (Beningfield, 2006: 270). As both Thiven Reddy (in relation to the linguistic assignment of race) (2001: 68), and Western (in relation to the socio-spatial assignment of race) have suggested, apartheid's bio-ideology of racial segregation is directed with particular force at the Coloured group. The "Coloured" group indexes racial "mixing" and thus the instability of the definition of race. Western also notes that the possession of relief (i.e. in altitudinal terms) is reserved for the white group under the Group Areas Act.¹⁰³ The eastern slopes of Table Mountain are white residential areas, with the psychological function of offering 'domination from an overlooking height' (Western, 1981: 91-92). This spatial distribution of race also plays out in other contexts: Orange Free State, which is situated on the Highveld, prohibited Indians from living in it, or even from spending a night within its borders. The aesthetic features of the "settler's landscape" are invested with cultural capital. In Cape Town, the coastal environment, which includes both Table Mountain and littoral zones, is culturally invested through the history of settlement. As Isabel Hofmeyr observes, 'South Africa [...] is often seen as a place in-between; originally a Dutch way station between the East and the West, the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean' (2010: 104). Cape Town was first settled as an important point of "contact", not with the land but with the sea. The ocean is a purveyor of contact – human, economic and, epidemiological. It is significant, in this regard, that the first African "reserve", Ndabeni, was created in the

¹⁰³ In the following chapter, I will be exploring the altitudinal zone as, simultaneously, a space of exception and a place where violent phantasies of race are played out in the context of preservation.

wake of a Bubonic plague epidemic that arrived at Cape Town's port carried by rats among the shipping cargo. The first African residential area in Cape Town to be depopulated is the area around the docks.¹⁰⁴

Apartheid's "sanitation syndrome" – as Maynard Swanson terms the process of removing African populations to reserves according to a logic of 'quarantine' (1977: 393) - suggests that race is also being constructed, in the apartheid context, with an environmental, not only a geographical referent.¹⁰⁵ While the coastal and relief areas are coded white (a geographical referent), non-white space is associated with the insanitary. The idea that Africans degenerated morally (and therefore physically) in urban environments was a commonly held eugenic doctrine. As such, Saul Dubow observes, the maintenance of rural reserves, and the exclusion of Africans from urban centres was treated as a means of preventing racial deterioration (Dubow, 1995b: 149, 169). The "sanitation syndrome" continued find expression under the guise of slum clearances. Western notes that '[t]he 1918 influenza epidemic again drew attention to the [African] slums' (1981: 46). This renewed attention led to the creation of another "reserve", Langa, 'at what was then a location distant from the city [...]. During that same year, the Natives (Urban Areas) Act was passed, restricting [...] Africans' entry into [residence in] the cities of South Africa' (Western, 1981: 46). Slum clearance was also frequently employed as an official justification for group areas removals (Western, 1981: 73). This was despite the fact that a Slum Clearance Act already existed, and there was, therefore, no need to remove peoples in the interest of public health under the aegis of the Group Areas Act.

¹⁰⁴ This was despite the fact that fewer Africans had contracted the plague than either white or coloured groups (Swanson, 1977: 393).

¹⁰⁵ Swanson argues that a preoccupation with sanitation and a fear of epidemic disease in South Africa 'rationalized efforts to segregate Indians and Africans in municipal locations from the 1970s onward' (1977: 389).

African and Coloured racial demarcations, then, are constructed with an environmental referent (insanitary, degraded environmental space). The fact that Ndabeni reserve was built at a sewage farm called Uitvlugt, several miles from town on the Cape Flats reveals this construction of race *through* environmental space. The removal of peoples to Ndabeni - 'a hastily constructed [...] location of small corrugated-iron houses, lean-to huts and canvas tents' (Sambumbu, 2010: 184) – under the Provisions of the Public Health Act, reveals the skewed logic of the reserve as a sanitation initiative. It is the city that is being "sanitised" through the projection of African peoples (the city's bad contents) into a degraded environment that can act as a conceptual container for "race". The "cleansing" of environment through the projection of peoples deemed insanitary elsewhere is a form of ethnic cleansing. Of course, removing people onto a sewage works is exactly the opposite of a sanitation initiative. What we have with both the clearances of the docks, and the creation of Langa, is an epidemiological motor for apartheid policy.

The apartheid regulation of environment through population clearances is an attempt to regulate human diversity – another facet of ethnic cleansing. As we have seen, "sanitation syndrome" – a 'major strand in the creation of urban apartheid' – maps groupbased race identity onto insanitary living conditions (real or imagined) as though the former were responsible for the latter. Sanitation syndrome positions non-white race groups as "reservoirs" of infection. Interestingly, discourses around "race degeneration" in the apartheid context also position urban African residence as a cause of African racial susceptibility to disease. As Dubow notes, the politics of race segregation derived in part from 'eugenic-influenced fears about the relationship between disease, degeneration, and detribalisation' (1995b: 144). We can see this connection between ideas of disease, degeneration, and spatial reserves in J. Howard Pim's (1905) rationalisation of reserve-based segregation over "locations" surrounding industrial areas. Pim suggested that: For a time the location consists of able-bodied people, but they grow older, they become ill, they become disabled – who is to support them? They commit offences – who is to control them? The reserve is a *sanatorium* where they can recruit; if they are disabled they remain there. Their own tribal system keeps them under discipline [...]. All this absolutely without cost to the white community. (qtd. Dubow, 1995a: 148 emphasis added)

By positioning the reserve as a sanatorium, Pim suggests that urban residence promulgates disease. Race is being given both a geographical and an environmental referent: the rural reserve is an environmental space that can provide a continual reservoir of labour by allowing the labour body to regenerate itself, to stave off disease and degeneration in a rural setting.

I have so far suggested that the rationale of sanitary segregation and slum clearance operates as a form of biologically-based race determinism. Another form of biological determinism, similarly expressed in a language of "contamination", is indicated in the apartheid rationale of sexual segregation.¹⁰⁶ The sexual segregation of race was heavily legislated. The Immorality Act of 1927 prohibited sexual relations between whites and Africans out of wedlock. The scope of this prohibition was extended by the Immorality Amendment Act of 1950, which prohibited sex between whites and all non-whites, while interracial marriage – and therefore the birth of all 'mixed-race' subjects – was also criminalised in The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949. We might conceive of such legislation, again, as an attempted "ethnic cleansing" that tries to

¹⁰⁶ "Race hygiene" depends upon a biological determinism – the idea that race is genetically inherited, or hereditary.

prevent certain kinds of people – those who are "mixed-race" – from ever coming into existence, while also retrospectively criminalising the existence of those pre-existing mixed-race subjects of apartheid.¹⁰⁷

Under apartheid, the taboo on interracial sex maps onto social space. During apartheid's discursive elaboration, the "horror of" miscegenation and racial contamination was transposed onto the metaphorical description of society as a cultural *organism*. It was argued that racial groups differed, culturally and biologically, in ways that made them incompatible physically, intellectually, and spiritually – and that miscegenation led to "race degeneration". When this belief was mapped onto social space it led to the idea that the races ought to develop within separate spheres, to avoid any degeneration or weakening of the *volk* (Dubow, 1992: 230). The apartheid application of "race hygiene" is concerned with preventing what we might call "racial infections" (according to the logic of a sanitation syndrome) from the social body.

Taboo and materiality

In *Totem and Taboo*, Freud identifies the peculiar force of taboo prohibitions with "contagion". This association, between breaking taboo and contagion, indicates how public health policy might be being informed by "contact" taboos related to ideas of disease transmission. For Freud, 'something in the nature of a theory' of contagion is operative in taboo prohibitions, in which 'certain [taboo] persons and things are charged with a dangerous power, which can be transferred through contact with them, almost like an infection' (1913: 21). This infective potential is reflected in associated rituals of

¹⁰⁷ 'The so-called Coloured is the product of racial mixing as affirmed in the law that declares us Coloured. This self-same law [...] also declares that this sort of mixing is illegal and therefore abhorrent [...]. This repugnant law makes us feel that we as Coloureds are immoral creations. I make bold to say that never in the history of mankind has a group been forced to live under such legislated humiliation' (Pop, 1976 qtd. Western, 1981: 17).

purification for those who have come into contact with a taboo person or thing. Equally, the potential 'transmissibility of taboo' (Freud, 1913: 20) - the idea that a taboo is 'transmissible by contact' (Freud, 1913: 20) – positions those who have 'violated' a taboo as "vectors" for whatever is unclean or dangerous that has been guarded against by the taboo (Freud, 1913: 32).¹⁰⁸ The taboo - and its "vectoring" - must be policed, and contained, at all costs, precisely because of its contagious power. This contagious power threatens the social order for that which is taboo is also, paradoxically, that which is desired. In the context of South African apartheid, taboos on interracial "contact" are invested with fears of contamination and contagion. This investment is ostensible in the epidemiological motors for apartheid which produce black communities as sources of infection (both discursively and materially). It is along these lines that Derek Hook notes 'the preoccupation with the body of the other in the colonial field' (2012: 4). This preoccupation maintains 'a sequence of border-anxieties [...] involving not atypically for apartheid, themes of the unsanitary, [and] the unhygienic along with troubling bodilyboundaries related to ingestion, proximity, intimacy' (Hook, 2012: 4). The fear of "contact" – which is regulated by taboo prohibition – is extended in a symbolic way. This is ostensible in the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, 1953 in which the idea of sharing space, or even objects that the racial other has come into contact with is abhorred.

Taboos – because they operate according to a logic of contagion or "contact" and because they place a reserve on contact with certain person, things, and zones – have a basis in the skin ego. The skin ego (an environmental category) is the projection of the surface of the body through which we come into contact with the external world. In terms of the relation between skin ego and taboo (contagion, contact), we can extend the idea

¹⁰⁸ Freud writes that 'anyone who violates a taboo by coming into contact with something that is taboo becomes taboo himself and [...] then no one may come into contact with him' (1913: 27).

of an environmental category to race relations (because race and environment are synonymous under apartheid). Taboo prohibitions, according to Dider Anzieu, help to create psychic borders – boundaries that differentiate parts of the psyche. Anzieu suggests that '[a]ny prohibition is an interface connecting two areas of psychical space, each with its own psychical qualities' (2016: 160). The taboo observance is structured like the skin ego, in that it is positioned at the interface of inside and outside: '[e]very prohibition has a double face, one turned outwards (which receives, accommodates, and filters the interdictions communicated by other people) and one turned towards inner reality (which deals with the representational and affective representatives of instinctual currents)' (Anzieu, 2016: 160). In the context of apartheid, taboo prohibitions also create socio-spatial boundaries. Segregation is policed by both sexual taboos and "contact" taboos derives from ideas of disease transmission. Thus, apartheid space (or environment, with its nexus of privilege and deprivation, colonial architecture and vulnerable habitations) acts as a material prohibition and a psychic *provocation*.

In *Totem and Taboo*, Freud connects the taboo to the *desire* to touch and the prohibition of that desire. Obsessional neurosis, the 'modern' residue of taboo observance, derives from a 'strong *desire* to touch, the aim of which is of a far more specialized kind than one would [...] [be] inclined to expect' (Freud, 1913: 29). This internal and internalised desire is 'met by an external prohibition against carrying out that particular kind of touching' (Freud, 1913: 29). The desire for the prohibited touch is 'banish[ed] into the unconscious' (Freud, 1913: 29). Freud notes that in obsessional neurosis the subject has an *ambivalent* attitude towards the desired/prohibited object: 'or rather towards one act in connection with that object. He is constantly wishing to perform this act (the touching) [...] and detests it as well' (1913: 29). One entry from the Apartheid Archive Project, cited by Hook in his study *The Mind of Apartheid*, suggests how, under

apartheid, the taboo might be operating ambivalently as both a prohibition (not to touch) and a provocation (an incitement to "touch"). I quote at length:

[There was] a public toilet, essentially a black man's toilet, [...], an intimidating, squalid little building where I never saw any whites go. [...] This [...] African toilet, which always smelt bad and whose walls seemed stained with piss, was *a kind of infra-zone, a grey-area that somehow existed below (but within) the norms of a white suburb* [...]. [I never felt] that I would not be allowed in [...] it was just that this was a black man's place. I was frightened, a little disturbed [...] always too young [...] not man enough (not black man enough?) to go in there?

[...]

The question that sometimes presented itself [...] was whether I would ever get my hair cut [...] at a place like this; whether it would even be possible, whether these were different clippers for different hair [...]; or that this was ridiculous because such unhygienic conditions – dirty clippers, unclean scissors – would simply never be an option. (qtd. Hook, 2012: 2)

What is readable in this passage is a perverse attraction to and repulsion from those spaces and objects which are set aside – as a "reserve" – by the taboo on interracial contact. The taboo works to set aside from touch those zones that cannot be encroached upon or bodies that cannot be touched on which a reserve has been placed. These reserved spaces and bodies then act as a provocation (the very act of setting aside a reserve, for Laplanche, designates a space of enigmaticity or enigmatic excess, a space for that which cannot be

thought or adequately translated). As a provocation, the reserved spaces and bodies provoke translations. Here, the 'black man's toilet' is an "infra-zone" - a zone of exception within the white suburb (created because black workers in the suburbs were not allowed to share amenities with whites). The writer's use of brackets '(but within)' (qtd. Hook, 2012: 2) visibly demarcate the zone within the zone, and suggest its psychic significance as an "impossible" place. What also emerges in connection with the provocation of the black man's toilet is an ambivalent or internally divided attitude toward racial difference. The author's recollection of feeling 'not man enough (not black man enough?)' (qtd. Hook, 2012: 2) to enter the toilet can be read as a probing of the question of difference between a (white) man and a black man. The toilet is also a provocation: it brings the reality of extreme material and political inequality into white space. Another "impossible" arena is the black man's barbershop.¹⁰⁹ The author's observation that, for him, the idea of being touched by hair clippers that had trimmed a black man's hair was an 'impossible thought' (qtd. Hook, 2012: 2) indicates how the taboo on contact is being extended in a symbolic way.¹¹⁰ The taboo on contact extends to objects that have touched the taboo person. This contact taboo adopts the logic of disease transmission while the fear of contact coalesces around ideas of hygiene. But what this fear also highlights is the infectious or transmissible quality that the taboo invests in the "unclean" racial other.

The spatiality of taboo in apartheid acts a provocation (to touch, to enter) as well as a prohibition (on touch, on entry). The force of the taboo prohibition nonetheless acts

¹⁰⁹ Freud observes a similar phenomenon in his examination of obsessional neurosis in *Totem and Taboo*: ⁽[o]bsessional prohibitions are extremely liable to displacement. They extend from one object to another along whatever paths the context may provide., and this new object then becomes, to use the apt expression of one of my [...] patients "impossible" (1913: 27).

¹¹⁰ Freud observes that 'the contagious power inherent in taboo is shown chiefly by its transmissibility on to material objects' (1913: 34).

as an interface, bringing the white subject into psychic "contact" with (i.e. by leading them to contemplate) spaces that are coded black. This "contact" is ambivalent. The tabooed object (the black man and by extension the zones they are seen to occupy and the things they touch) is a site of splitting in the Kleinian sense of the term. As we know from Klein, our object relations split the object into a good object and a bad object. In terms of the taboo we might also think about the ambivalent division between the sacred and the unclean. The taboo on interracial "contact" is inseparable from an ambivalent desire operating at the interstices of that split. According to Anzieu, a taboo on touch is one of the first conditions applied to the skin ego of the infant. The taboo on touching underpins the other taboos that follow it, for instance the oedipal taboo (2016: 146). The foundational quality of the taboo on touching implies that we cannot think the taboo separately from the skin ego. The skin ego is an interface and a border (separating "me" from "not-me") that is propped upon sensory experience. Similarly, the taboo on touch 'separates the area of the familiar [the "me"] which is protected and protective, from the area of the unfamiliar [the "not-me"], which is disturbing and dangerous' (2016: 160). In the apartheid production of environment, danger (whether as infection or as other forms of risk) is being invested in the areas designated "black". For the black community, danger is invested in white spaces, where one might be subject to forms of state-protected brutalisation. A taboo on touch is active in the negotiation of apartheid's split space. If a taboo on touch is foundational in sexual taboos (i.e. it prefigures the first sexual taboo), then it works as a reading of the miscegenation taboo.¹¹¹ Both the incest taboo and the

¹¹¹ The miscegenation taboo also has ambivalence and desire at its origin. Robert Young highlights the ambivalence that structures the miscegenation taboo – miscegenation is abhorred, yet in colonial discourse it is also a fundamental white male desire. In the work of Arthur de Gobineau – a nineteenth century proponent of scientific racism, Young observes: 'the generation and degeneration of nations [...] are produced by a crossing of "blood" which must result from sexual attraction. Against this, however, he also posits a natural repugnance between races' Young R (1995) *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race.* London: Routledge.. Young notes that the colonial desiring machine 'with its unlimited appetite for territorial expansion, for "endless growth and self-reproduction" [...] was itself the instrument that

miscegenation taboo work to avoid certain kinds of "contact" or the "mixing" of substances that ought to remain separate.¹¹² The ethnographer Maurice Godelier observes that '[i]in all societies, a certain number of uses of sex are formally prohibited because they are believed to endanger the reproduction of society itself" (2011: 319). The sexual taboo positions society as a cultural organism, such that the breaking of taboo threatens not only social order, but also the "biological" transmission of that society. The taboo on interracial "mixing", and on interracial sexual contact, aims at the reproduction of an apartheid society in which races are segregated and develop within separate spheres. According to an apartheid logic, the breaking of the taboo on miscegenation is a threat to the reproduction of society – interracial "mixing" produces degenerate social forms (race "degeneration"). This logic only works by taking the surface appearance and physical traits of the body (skin colour and other racial markers) as 'the signifiers of a deeper code – the genetic' (Hall, 1996: 21). Race, however, does not correspond to genetic or biological difference. The idea of endangered reproduction makes "biological" that which is cultural.

Neither is the essence of the incest taboo biological (Shepherdson, 1998: 50). For Laplanche, incest is 'a major element within a potentially abundant *lexicon*' (2011b: 297) (observe here his linguistic metaphor). Laplanche observes that the taboo on incest functions as an unarticulated condition structuring other prohibited practices. He writes, referring to the work of Godelier, that 'incest (together with its taboo) is [...] likely to encompass or to serve as a 'screen', in the Freudian sense of the term, for stigmatizing a

produced its own darkest fantasy – the unlimited and ungovernable fertility of "unnatural unions" (1995: 93).

¹¹² According to Maurice Godelier: '[t]he term incest designates sexual unions that are prohibited between two persons [...] because they share a component that is essential to their being, whether tangible (sperm, breath, blood, bone, flesh, milk) or intangible (a soul, a name [...]). And they share this component because they received it from common ancestors – close or distant, real or classificatory [...] – or because they acquired it through an alliance' (2011: 336).

much broader range of practices' (2011b: 305). In the Freudian sense, the 'screen' covers over a suppressed content; as a screen, the incest taboo, then, would derive its force and value not from its content alone but from the relation between that content and the suppressed content. In Godelier's theory, sexuality – and the unregulated search for pleasure – is what is being regulated, and repressed, by the incest prohibition. In other, words, the existence of the incest prohibition is 'essential to a regulated use of reproductive sexuality in society' (Laplanche, 2011b: 305).

If the incest taboo functions as a 'screen', then its "content" is derived metonymically. This metonymic operation is ostensible in the way the incest taboo is symbolically, and linguistically, extended beyond biological kinship. In *Totem and Taboo*, Freud suggests that the "horror of" incest is dealt with by 'replacing real blood-relationship with totem kinship' (1913: 6). In systems of totem kinship, sexual relations between two persons of the same totem are prohibited [in an extension of the incest prohibition]. The totem is inherited (and often matrilineal) and cannot be changed (even by marriage).¹¹³ Freud notes that the practice of exogamy linked with the totem:

effects more (and therefore *aims* at more) than the prevention of incest with a man's mother and sisters [where totem descent is through the female line]. It makes sexual intercourse impossible for a man with all the women of his own clan (that is to say with a number of women who are not his blood relatives) by treating them all as though they *were* his blood relatives. (1913: 6)

¹¹³ This means that some sexual relations between biological kin – for instance, father-daughter incest – are not always taboo in every society.

The taboo of incest functions as a "screen" to prohibit sexual relations with those who bear the same totem. The totem becomes symbolic of biological kinship. The taboo is not only being displaced, metonymically, onto the name, but it is also being extended: the taboo on what we might call "totem incest" indicates the transmissibility of the taboo all those who are in "contact" - through nominal totem association - with the tabooed mother and sisters are also taboo themselves. What Freud reveals, then, as Charles Shepherdson points out, is that 'the essence of the [incest] prohibition is not biological' (1998: 50). Instead, Shepherdson suggests, the nature of the prohibition, the 'heart of the taboo' - which, following Laplanche, I would term the "enigma" in the taboo - is 'the discontinuity between biology and the name' (1998: 50).¹¹⁴ If the nature of the incest prohibition is not biological – then, as Shepherdson observes, 'the prohibition on incest must bear on a structure – a relation between subject and object – that is distinct from biological relations' (1998: 50). It is for this reason that incest prohibition, although it presents as such, cannot be taken as a "natural", evolutionary, or hereditary trait. Rather, the incest taboo is a culturally-derived 'structure' (Laplanche, 2011b: 298). This structure is social, not innate. As Laplanche notes, 'the principal ingredient of the prohibition [of incest] is naming, the capacity to name and thus to classify and memorise the degrees of kinship. No naming, no incest' (Laplanche, 2011c: 159). The structure of the incest taboo - which varies 'according to the multiple contingencies of kinship relations' (Laplanche, 2011b: 298) is therefore *cultural* – and may be predicated on the name, rather than on "biology".

¹¹⁴ In what follows, I nuance more carefully the enigma in the taboo in terms of the foundational otherness of the other in psychic life. The enigma in the taboo, when we consider that the taboo reveals the discontinuity between biology and the name, relates, I would suggest, asks the question: 'what is the parent to me?', or, even more 'What does the parent want (of me)?

As we have seen, in apartheid, linguistic assignations categorise race as though it were innate and biological. In the next section I proceed to a reading of the *provocation* of incest and the altering of the incest taboo in Head's *The Cardinals*. I suggest that the significance of the breaking of the incest taboo lies in the discontinuity between biology and the name – and therefore in the *provocation* or the fetishising pull of the "biological" name. I read Head's resistance to all forms of biological naming, including racial referentiality, as an invested response to apartheid's bio-ideology and the spatiality of race (and racial taboos) in the apartheid environment. In other words, I read Head's text as a study in what happens when we reserve certain frames of reference.

Taboo and the name in The Cardinals

In *The Cardinals*, name-changing alters the taboo on incest. The protagonist's name changes three times: 'the child' is first named 'Miriam' by the woman who raises her – an adoptive mother who takes on 'another man's accident' (Head, 1995: 4).¹¹⁵ Miriam is later vested with a new official name and 'registered as Charlotte Smith' (10) by government authorities. She is then renamed for a third time to 'Mouse' by a man who is, unbeknownst to them both, her biological father – Johnny. The unknown father, Johnny, seduces his daughter, Mouse, via 'the only thing she responds to. Writing' (58). Johnny produces autobiographical copy for Mouse to 'read' and 're-write the way [she] think[s] it should be' (28). It is Mouse's editing of Johnny's copy that leads the reader to deduce Johnny's paternal relation to Mouse. However, because Mouse's name has changed, all the things that *relate* to her are unrecoverable. Mouse's subjectivity (and

¹¹⁵ All further references to this edition.

access to history) is missing a transparent element connecting all the names. This opacity is ostensible in the *way* in which Mouse is named (for the final time) in the newsroom by Johnny: "I've already introduced her," the other man said. "Her name is Mouse" (14). Her name before she is called Mouse is never cited. That name is 'already' (14) coded over, a cipher missing a key. Within the text, name-changing shows how our subjectivity - intersubjective in origin - depends upon the way we have been addressed, interpellated, named. In apartheid, the unconscious assignations of the act of naming are overdetermined by the social assignments that structure the apartheid system of naming (race). The obfuscation or absence of the proper name means that Mouse's seduction by her biological father transmits messages which are not being actively translated within the narrative. These messages act upon the reader as a provocation, and stimulate the intuition of meaning in excess of narrative framing. The provocation of seduction (the text's altering of the incest taboo) allows the reader to translate meaning which is both hard to express, and which Head does not want to explicitly codify. In working with the provocation of incest. Head is also working with a series of consecutive "screens" through which the reader has to read Mouse (the alphabet, letters, literacy, creative writing) and her seduction by her father. Head is therefore working with a narrative model that involves *translation* and that therefore avoids any cultural or linguistic determinism.

Critical responses to *The Cardinals* formulate various responses to the provocation of incestuous seduction in the text.¹¹⁶ Most of these responses map

¹¹⁶ Other literary critics working on the apartheid context are interested in the incest taboo as a reading of apartheid. For instance, Chris Van der Merwe writes, with reference to Marlene Van Niekerk's *Triomf*, which treats incest, sexual abuse, and rape, as endemic conditions in a "degenerate" poor white family, that apartheid 'as the prohibition of mixing' becomes 'involved by association with incest' (2001: 153). Strode, describing the imaginative reconstruction of white space 'gone perversely awry' in Coetzee's writing, refers to apartheid's 'incest-like social spacing' (2005: 206). Strode implies here that the symbolic extension of the desire to avoid race "exogamy" (sexual relations and reproduction with other races), and thus of the taboo on miscegenation, is incest. I would suggest, however, that the idea of race endogamy as symbolically intra-familial (within the familiar/familial) does not work as a reading of whiteness in South Africa, which is socially and politically riven by the languages of English and Afrikaans, by immigrant groups like

incestuous seduction onto the apartheid taboo on miscegenation. Annie Gagiano suggests that the significance of Johnny and Mouse as incest 'taboo-breakers' lies in the idea that 'miscegenation is their history' (1996: 51). Here, the miscegenation taboo becomes a kind of narrative schema, translating and contextualising the provocation of incest. Coreen Brown argues that the incest taboo forms a kind of terrain in which 'Head situates her examination of the South African Immorality Laws' (2003: 51). The terrain of the incest taboo functions to highlight 'the discrepancy between social and natural law', because, for Brown, '[m]iscegenation is not, like incest, a universally accepted taboo' (2003: 51). However, as we know from Freud's rendition of Frazer, in Totem and Taboo (1913), and from Laplanche's rendition of Godelier, in 'Time and the other' (1999b), incest taboos are culturally variable. Other critics realise that other narrative schemas are in play. Dorothy Driver suggests that 'Head [...] takes us into the nexus of language and subjectivity, writing and taboo, by juxtaposing the allegedly universal Incest Taboo with South Africa's culturally specific Immorality Act' (Driver, 2009: 136). Zoë Wicomb suggests that the incest taboo is 'implicated in the process of becoming a creative writer' (1995: 13). The connection between taboo and writing offers a more nuanced reading of the provocation of incestuous seduction, which I seek to extend by accounting for the foundational (for the subject) model of translation-interpellation within the novella, which is reading/writing. For many of Head's critics, the obfuscation of the apartheid taboo on interracial sex by the incest taboo demands decipherment. I suggest that the incestuous seduction is actually a "code" into which Head translates the psychic provocations of the apartheid environment (the apartheid environment as a psychic space organised by taboo prohibitions). For Laplanche, the implantation of the enigmatic

Greeks, and by diasporic communities such as Jews. Nonetheless, what Strode, and other literary critics, intuit is the peculiar force of taboo in apartheid society and the spatiality of taboo.

message of the other 'takes place according to the model of a translation, via codes either basic or complex, which are provided by the child's *environment*' (Laplanche, 2002: 38 emphasis added). The environment is both familial and cultural. Equally, this provocation to translate is repeated throughout life in contact with cultural messages. The cultural environment proposed (and imposes) 'codes [and] preformed narrative schemas' (Laplanche, 2011d: 225) which act as aides to translation.¹¹⁷ Laplanche suggests that '[y]ou may [...] have a translation into a type of code which is internal to language, for instance, the castration code or the Oedipus myth, which is a type of code into which you can translate something' (Laplanche, 2001: unpaginated). I suggest that the incest narrative can be positioned as a "code" into which Head translates the material prohibitions and psychic provocations circulating in the apartheid environment. In working with the incest narrative, Head highlights the discontinuity between biology and the name, and, distorts the very possibility of historical certainly (the retrieval of "facts").

There is in *The Cardinals* a profound ambivalence around the name as a site of "biological" identity. Naming usually corresponds to filial, and thus biological, bonds. We assume that the name will have a motivated referent – a *natural* meaning. But biology and the name are often discontinuous. Mouse, as we know, is first named by 'the woman Sarah' (3), an adoptive mother who lives in a 'slum off the National road' and who accepts custody of the child because she works at the family home and because she herself is childless. Before she is named Miriam by her adoptive mother, Mouse is merely 'the baby' (3) – no name is supplied by her birth mother. Mouse's adoption is unofficial: 'the baby', whose existence is not recognised by the apartheid state and whose name is not entered into any official register, is delivered in silence and in anonymity: 'The woman

¹¹⁷ Myths, like the oedipal and castration myths, cannot according to Laplanche, be indexed to the psychosexual development of the individual: myths are 'part of the cultural universe, where they can be observed, described and possibly explained' (2011d: 225).

Sarah said nothing. She took the bundle that was handed towards her' (3). This undocumented adoption is transgressive: it occurs outside the remit of the state's supervision of adoption that was legislated for in the Children's Act, No. 31 of 1937. When a neighbour warns Sarah: '[s]hould the authorities get to know of this you will be in trouble' (4), another possibility is inevitably implied. that the child might mean trouble because it appears mixed race. If the child *were* to appear mixed race, this could only mean trouble if Sarah was black. It would then follow that Sarah could be accused of contravening the Immorality legislation, should she be taken by the authorities to be the biological mother. "Trouble" is overlaid with enigmatic sexual content. In this context, the act of naming – which is already transgressive – is also being overlaid with enigmatic, sexual messages about the apartheid production of "race". In apartheid the name is overdetermined by the linguistic assignation of race. As we have seen, the apartheid taboo on interracial "mixing" requires a system of naming: a Population Register designed to classify and memorise the racial identity of each individual. However, at the same time, to name race is also, and paradoxically, to de-essentialise it.

Incest as message

In *The Cardinals*, incest is a conjecture which cannot be verified or falsified. Mouse's family history – the connection between herself and Johnny – is actually *produced by* the translation of "messages". Within the text, incestuous seduction is a conjecture that arises from the production of this history. The reader, as a hermeneutical interpreter, is in a structurally similar position to the recipient of an enigmatic message. We read about Johnny's life because Johnny provides autobiographical copy that Mouse translates. There are narrative fragments in the text that detail a young Johnny's love affair, the lover's pregnancy, and the adoption of her child by a woman who lives in a slum. These

events lead the reader to deduce Johnny's paternal relation to Mouse. The re-written copy, I suggest, takes on the significance of a message. It communicates meaning *in excess* of narrative framing. This is also a message that is being *addressed* to the reader who is invited to decode its meaning. We, as readers, are being interpellated. The "sender" of the message, however, is not one but doubled (Head/Mouse). The narrative fragments of Johnny's life are written in the serial romance style and are therefore similar to the copy Head produced for *Drum* magazine. Mouse is a reporter for the magazine's proxy in the novella – African Beat. As such, the fragments are parasited by other cultural and literary assignations. Mouse's stylistic embellishment of Johnny's copy also leads to the possibility that pivotal elements of Johnny's story are pieces of Mouse's own fiction. This would mean that Mouse, as a translating subject, makes an unconscious point of connection between herself and Johnny - between her unknown biological mother and Johnny's lover – writing herself into Johnny's life-writing as a latent potential. When the narrative ends with Ruby's pregnancy, and the adoption of her child by a woman in the slum, we find ourselves in the realm of pure fiction (presumably) – because these are details of which Johnny, who is estranged from Ruby, would be unaware. We therefore also have no means of knowing whether the abandoned child, who we take to be Mouse, is also fictional, or whether Ruby is Mouse's biological mother or a phantasy-construct. By emphasising narrative "truth" in this way, Head ends up in a caricature of properly historical truth and biological certainty.

It is therefore noteworthy that Mouse is a non-referential subject, a subject for whom it is impossible to "do a history". The text *provokes* us; we translate a textual "message" to produce a history, but the dimensions of the message are always-already split or located between two planes – between textual interpellation and the internal world of interpellation within the text. If Mouse does fictionalise Johnny's copy, we might also

ask whether this process of fictionalisation reproduces a pre-existing phantasy from her unconscious, creating an organising scene sufficient to itself outside of historical reference. This organising scene is, of course, the family romance. The reader has no means of supposing the level of creativity involved in Mouse's re-writing, for the storied fragments feel neither like pure phantasy nor like the objectivity of concrete events. Take the allusive mirroring between Mouse and Ruby, with its overtones of déjà vu. Both live in their own worlds – Ruby, in a world of fairies that live in her garden; Mouse, in a world of 'quiet and solemn reserve' (5) that works to keep the brutalising slum environment at a distance. Mouse is described shyly 'swinging a stick at the ground' (6), and this habit later figures in Mouse's description of Ruby who walks through her garden 'swinging a stick at the ground' (45). It is as though, in this repetition subjectivity is static or genetically transmissible. To understand subjectivity as a static category, unchanged by situation or by where one happens to find oneself, is to de-historicise.

Within the text, seduction acts as a message. The fact that the biological father is unknown renders their mutual seduction incestuous: a burden of knowledge carried by the reader that acts as a provocation. This provocation allows Head to reformulate the conception of a politicised address. The sexual is the political when desire is criminalised (as it was under The Immorality Act and The Mixed Marriages Act) and is therefore productively confronted through recourse to an enigma. (As we know from Laplanche, the enigmatic message is never fully decipherable because it issues from the unconscious, and the unconscious is the sexual). The enigma of incest speaks to the enigma *in* sexual relationships under apartheid. And of course, in white relationships in apartheid what lurks is the unstated term of black repudiation (phobia) and fascination (desire). I would like to recall here Laplanche's careful nuancing between the enigma *of* and the enigma *in*: the idea that 'what [Freud] terms the enigma of the taboo takes us back to the function of the enigma in the taboo' (1999b: 255). The spatialisation of the enigma in the taboo alludes to the "reserve" as that which is set aside (that which cannot be touched, thought, or "approached"). Analogously, Laplanche suggests that the 'function of the enigma in mourning' (1999b: 255) designates the untranslatable elements of the other's unconscious desire, of their enigmatic address which continues to demand translation even after their death: 'what does the dead person want? What does he want of me? What did he want to say to me?' (1999b: 255). Laplanche connects the enigma in mourning to the other's enigmatic message. But both mourning and taboo are social structures. The enigma in the taboo, beyond the individual other's enigmatic message, derives from modes of social interpellation which operate in excess of our capacities for translation (and therefore acts like an unconscious assignation). We have seen that sexual taboos are not innate or "biological", but rather that they bear on a social structure -a set of relations between subjects and objects. As I have suggested, in the segregated apartheid environment acts not only as a material prohibition but as a psychic provocation. There is an enigma *in* the sexual under apartheid connected to way apartheid ideology constructs sexuate, raced subject positions. Race is spatially produced, while women occupy an overdetermined position within this system (i.e. they "change race" when they cohabit or marry a member of another group). In the context of *The Cardinals*, the enigma in the taboo indicates the provocations inherent in the social dispensation of race.

The enigma *in* the taboo indicates the provocation of what cannot be fully translated, or adequately phrased. Head's narrative strategy, if it can be named such, is echoed in Johnny's writerly advice to Mouse: 'You cannot talk reasonably about an immoral matter' (92). The questions that Head does not want to stage explicitly – or answer rationally – are ethical, in so far as they bear on situational codes of behaviour. The breaking of the taboo on sexual contact between races retains a compelling

provocation throughout the narrative, precisely because it is not full subject and centre. The taboo continually shifts into focus, but its "returns" have no systematic place or stable point of integration in the narrative. While working as a reporter for *African Beat*, Mouse is assigned to the task of reporting on the Immorality court proceedings. Within the court room, apartheid legislation is made apparent through official proceeding. This is an arena in which the accused are 'impassively [...] confronted by the law' (61). At the same time, the proceedings are entirely *untranslatable* to those who are not subjects of apartheid. A Norwegian sailor (who requires an interpreter and who therefore signifies a degree of linguistic separation from the apartheid *discourse* of race) is unable to 'understand why he was arrested' (61).

The contraventions of the Immorality Act also seem to evade adequate theorisation *inside* apartheid's discursive 'transparency' (Bhabha, 1994b: 155).¹¹⁸ When Mouse tries to theorise why white men continually 'co-habit' with black women, her first point of reference is that '[t]he women are non- White; the men are White. It is against the laws of this country for White and non-White to cohabit' (94). By deductive reasoning this should act as a deterrent, but it does not. Something in excess of reason is motivating these sexual relationships and encounters. Mouse observes that 'the social and business life of these men are completely wrecked by the court proceedings, newspaper publicity and the jail sentence' (94), while the 'shock of the jail sentence' destroys families. The enigma becomes: what 'compels these men to destroy themselves?' (95). The second – ineffective – deterrent that Mouse notes is '[t]he odour and unwashed state of the women' (94). She questions how 'a person who has learnt about bodily cleanliness could bear to come into intimate contact with another to whom cleanliness is an unheard of luxury'

¹¹⁸ Discursive 'transparency' is, for Homi Bhabha, 'the action of the distribution and arrangement of differential spaces, positions, knowledges in relation to each other, relative to a discriminatory, not inherent, sense of order' (1999b: 155-156).

(95). The abject connotations of uncleanliness indicate that there is something happening when men contravene the prohibition that cannot be annexed entirely to conscious sexual gain (for the women in such situations, the gains are presumably economic). Here, we are reminded of the taboo on contact that is related to ideas of disease transmission. We saw that the contact taboo, tied to a phobia of the black body as a source of disease and the unclean, encodes both an abhorrence of and a desire for the tabooed "object". We also saw that the taboo on interracial contact is, under apartheid, metonymically associated with "racial hygiene". Head is, of course, aware of this policy or mentality, but she is also, in this passage highlighting the destitution among these women (and how apartheid produces the poor as unclean).

The men on trial remain 'silent about the cause that led to [their] downfall' (95), their motivations are un-symbolisable, an "impossible" thought. The men are drawn to the taboo "object" of desire because it offers another kind of "culmination" which is also entirely consistent with the phobic threat posed by women's poor hygiene. Here we see how apartheid's spatial and environmental production of race is not only producing insanitary conditions (through a sanitation syndrome), but forms of psychopathology. Mouse observes that the men have 'a look of death on their faces' (98). The act of contravention is an act of self-obliteration, an acting out of the destructive drive.¹¹⁹ Mouse asks '*is it not simply that for the sex urge, harsh legislature and repugnant odours are of no account*' (95), but ultimately finds such 'simple statements' to be 'unsatisfactory' (98). These are men 'staring down in a fascinated horror into the abyss' (99). The abyssal is a total non-bounded space – a space where there are no boundaries, or spatial (racial)

¹¹⁹ As we saw in the last chapter, the destructive drive works to eradicate all its traces (its own archive). I would like to recall here the erotica, in Michael Ondaatje's rendition of dye workers, of dyeing as a mode or means of dying, for men who 'embrace' the skins of dead animals and become taboo (smelly and sexually untouchable) (1988: 130). In Ondaatje's account of the psychic burden of dye work, the destructive drive reveals itself in erotic simulacrum: 'wrestling with an angel', 'the erotica of being made free' (1988: 132).

demarcations. By "jumping into the abyss" the men are symbolically drawn into a space beyond the heavily regulated and spatialised sexual boundaries of apartheid.

As Mary Douglas tells us, the boundaries of body can act symbolically as the points of access to or exit from social groups (2002: 4). In a caricature of both licentiousness and the disruption of apartheid's racial barriers, PK holds "Immorality" themed parties. The "raced" bodies and, by metaphorical extension, the social units in these affairs are gendered: PK 'only invite[s] White men and Black women and a few White prostitutes' (81) These parties are, significantly, staged 'on the mountain' (80), in the privileged altitudinal heights of the white suburbs 'enveloped in sea mist' (82).¹²⁰ When, situated in a privileged white enclave, Johnny repulses the sexual advances of a white woman, she accuses him of being 'sick and abnormal' because he cannot perceive that she is 'just a woman' (85). Johnny agrees with her accusation – he sees a 'White woman' (85) and 'the laws of [her] government' (88). What makes Johnny "sick" however, is not his rejection of white women, but the society in which he lives. He attests: 'I'm sick. I'm abnormal. Therefore, being in such a state I have to protect myself' (88), where "state" indicates both enforced pathology and the apartheid state. Johnny can protect himself from legal aberrations, codified as law under the Immorality Act. Incest, however, is an aberration from which he cannot 'protect' himself (88). Incestuous desire, in the text, is presented as a result of the way Johnny has been seduced and interpellated. Johnny suggests that a critical attitude toward the social and political world of apartheid hinges upon aberration, which we can understand as a lack of assimilability to "environment" – where environment acts as a code for your biological and therefore for your social destiny. This leads me to the text's other sexual "enigma" - incest - which is

¹²⁰ The psychological significance of altitude is alluded to when both Mouse and Johnny spend their time 'gazing down on the town below' (83).

associated with the slum environment. First, however, I want to run through the ways in which critics have sought to map the text's provocations onto miscegenation and Head's own pre-history.

Critical desire

When narratives operate within histories of obliquity, the reader is motivated to include within their parameters scenarios which might only be enigmatically inscribed. One possible scenario, particularly compelling to Head's critics, is that Mouse is not only a mixed class but a mixed race subject of apartheid. Class is race in 1960s South Africa, but, as I have argued, race is also, and more profoundly, environment. That is to say, apartheid's bio-ideology attempts not only to name and demarcate race but to produce race spatially (and thus stabilise it temporally through a kind of intergenerational "transmission"). Numerous critics have sought to map Head's own mixed race parentage - a white mother and a black father - onto the text's subject-positions (Ibrahim, 1996: 48-49; Starfield, 1997: 660; MacKenzie, 2001: 124; Pucherova, 2011: 117-118).¹²¹ In other words, these critics import Head's genealogy into The Cardinals. These readings fly in the face of the one marker of skin colour we find in the text. Head refers, unambiguously, to Ruby's dark hair, her dark eyes, and her 'dark brown face' (45).¹²² The impulse to read Ruby as white, regardless of the lack of textual evidence, reveals a critical desire for racial referentiality, especially when a critical method is also working with the provocation of Head's own autobiography. As a mixed race subject of apartheid (born to a white mother), Head's very existence, and not just the fact of her illegitimacy,

¹²¹ Bessie Head was born in a Pretoria mental hospital to a white mother. Her father, who was most likely black, remained unknown.

¹²² Other critics realise that Head is not quite reducing her novella to these terms (see Driver, 2009; Guldimann, 1993; Brown, 2003; Wicomb, 1995).

was retrospectively criminalised by the ban on interracial marriages under the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, 1949. What this critical desire for racial referentiality misses is the text's more nuanced engagement with apartheid's spatial and environmental production of race (and class), which I have set out in this chapter. At the same time, what these critical readings also allude to are the perilous seductions involved in reading (texts, race) in the apartheid context. *The Cardinals* does not engage directly with apartheid's flawed and inhibiting categories of race. At the same time, within the text, indexes of biological identity (and thus part of the "content" of the incest narrative i.e. the identity of the mother) are not fully retrievable. As a child adopted by a woman who lives in a slum, Mouse is in a structurally similar position to those mixed race children who were abandoned and adopted during apartheid. What I argue, however, is that critical desire (to read for race in the apartheid context) rebounds on the critical method by inadvertently repeating the apartheid desire to name, to demarcate, and to interpellate "race".

I have suggested that incestuous seduction in *The Cardinals* acts as a provocation to translate. In response, these critical positions furnish a genealogical translation *code*. For instance, Huma Ibrahim suggests that '[t]he manifestation of the father as lover in [...] Mouse's life is [...] indicative of Head's defiance against and [...] her critique of the Immorality Act' (1996: 49). This reading is supported by a reading of Ruby as white. Ibrahim refers to 'the White woman's betrayal of the beautiful black fisherman, Johnny' (49). Ibrahim's desire to map in linear relation the text's subject-identities onto autobiographical and political context sacrifices the finer nuances of the text (evident in her unidimensional reference to betrayal).¹²³ Dobrota Pucherova, who also reads Ruby as

¹²³ Other critics follow a rather more exaggerated oedipal line of reading. Craig MacKenzie writes that 'Head could never be sure when meeting and being attracted to a man some years older than her (but not necessarily very much older), and becoming intimate with this man, that there was always the possibility – however remote – that she might be making love to her own father' (2001: 129). But incest is always-

white, notices and comments on Ruby's 'black hair', which she reads as 'suggestive of sexuality' (2011: 118), but does not mention 'the stillness of her dark brown face' (45). In reading Ruby as a white woman sexualized by her "black" features, Pucherova rehearses the association between markers of blackness and pathological sexuality that is attributable to nineteenth century discourses of scientific racism.¹²⁴ This association is all the more unfortunate because, if we are to follow the logic that Ruby is white, her sexual relationship with a black man would be deemed "pathological" under apartheid. Pucherova *wants* to read Ruby as white, and, in her rendition, Ruby is a white woman whose sexuality is coded as black. Pucherova's reading, which I attribute to an attempt to translate an enigma *in* the text (the enigma of Ruby's sexuality and identity, and therefore Mouse's), rehearses, in this brief moment, the system of naming, marking, and coding that Head is trying to move beyond in *The Cardinals*.

In response to these critical "seductions" I want to pursue a performative line of reading. We can read the novel's sexual politics in terms of pan-African *affiliation* rather than black/white binaries. Gagiano notes that Head does not 'emphasise' the possibility that Mouse is the child of a mixed race relationship, but contends nonetheless that 'a significant number of indicators are given to show that the novelist's linking of the erotic and the political (throughout the work) is manifest in this foundational relationship as well' (Gagiano, 2000: 171 n.28). For Gagiano, as for other critics, this 'linking of the erotic and the political' is automatically attributed to a black/white binary. By this logic the novella's politics lead, more or less incontrovertibly, to the conclusion that Ruby is

already a structural possibility of desire between known family members. Head is not reducing her novella to these terms.

 $^{^{124}}$ Sander Gilman (1985) traces how perceived physiological differences between black female bodies and white female bodies have been used to define white female sexual purity and black female sexual deviance. White females perceived to be sexually deviant – i.e. prostitutes – were by this logic also read as physiologically different to other white women.

white: '[t]he privileges and "refinements" of Ruby's upbringing in so strict a pigmentocracy', Gagiano suggests, 'make it unlikely that hers is not a "white" family' (Gagiano, 2000: 171 n.28). However, Head herself acknowledges that a pigmentocracy also stratifies Cape Town's coloured community. Head writes that: '[t]he life of the Coloured people here is very quaint and bewildering. There is a rigid caste system; the upper class who are fairly fair and cultured; the middle class who are factory workers and the no goods who are so poor that they have degenerated morally' (qtd. Eilerson, 1995: 44). As such, we might ask whether Head is not interrogating a broader conception of social barriers – structured by race *and* class (and even, perhaps, by caste) – than that implied by the black/white binary many critics want to impose upon the text.

These critical seductions demonstrate – I think – why it is important to remain *technically* accurate in respect of what the text *allows* us to say. Mouse is certainly a product of a mixed class union: when they meet Johnny is living as a homeless fisherman, having left the slum where he grew up, while Ruby is from a relatively privileged background. Race *is* class under apartheid in the 1960s (this is the logic of the Group Areas Act, as we have seen from the standards of community acceptance applied to those classified white), and therefore Mouse's mixed class heritage implies that she may be mixed race as well. What is intriguing, of course, is the fact that the only descriptions we have of Ruby's life and upbringing in *The Cardinals* are supplied as pieces of Mouse's copy. The reader therefore has no means of supposing the level of creationism involved in their telling. In other words, we cannot presume to know how far Mouse has fabricated Ruby's identity and therefore how far we can rely on these descriptions to map the text's possible or probable racial subject-positions. We can assume that some basic details are provided by Johnny's copy, but nonetheless Head's narrative is structured such that we are, at each turn, denied access to both absolute historical truth and racial certainty. What

is fascinating, then, is that critics chose to read Ruby as white, rather than as belonging to one of the groups designated coloured under apartheid. Given that the only description we have of Mouse is that she looks 'like Mahatma Ghandi' (81), I want to suggest, performatively and provocatively, that we can read Ruby as belonging to South Africa's Asian community. In this sense, I am both writing against the grain of critical interpretation and pushing the boundaries of what the text allows us to say.

Critics who read *The Cardinals* for race and for apartheid have been transfixed by Head's genealogy, rather than her political and philosophical affiliations. Rather than looking to Head's biography for a genealogical code and key to The Cardinals, we might just as easily look to Head's early affiliations with Pan-Africanism and with Hinduism (Eilersen, 1995: 33, 44). As Jon Soske points out: 'Indian and African social relationships [in South Africa] often go unacknowledged' (2010: 197). Gilian Eilersen supplies biographical evidence that Head is engaging with forms of non-white affiliation at the time of writing The Cardinals. This is a neglected history. Head wrote The Cardinals while living in District Six – a multiracial (predominantly Indian and "Coloured") community. Before moving to Cape Town, Head has been living in Durban where she had developed an intense interest in Hindu philosophy (Eilersen, 1995: 33). She also spent some time lodging with an Indian family. Head's interest in Hinduism, began with literary engagement. Head was only able to access books at the M L Sultan Library, which had been donated to the Indian community by an Indian trader (the Durban municipal library was 'Whites only') (Eilersen, 1995: 34). Head was also in Durban just after the 1949 race riots. She would therefore likely be cognizant of the volatile social tensions that existed between African and Indian communities in Durban in the 40s and 50s. These tensions coalesced around perceptions of interracial sex between Indian men and African women - 'the second most common complaint raised by Africans in the period before the [1949

Durban] Riots' (Soske, 2010: 197-198). Sexual violence against Indian women played an important role in the riots. We might say that Head re-envisions the family romance in terms of African and Indian affiliation. This re-envisioning also composes a philosophical and spiritual genealogy for Head herself, as the phantasy mother of The Cardinals becomes Southeast Asian. There would also be political stakes in Head's creative imagining of a philosophical "inheritance" or genealogy arriving from across the Indian Ocean. In terms of South Africa's migrant histories, Southeast Asian labour is brought in to undercut African labour when it starts to organise. Head's text disrupts the signifying processes of the apartheid state by refusing to index Mouse's biological identity. The text's alteration of the taboo on incest relies instead on an alternative writing and rewriting of inhuman social environments as biological indexes. The environment of apartheid is, as we have seen, socially produced. The apartheid environment, infiltrated by unconscious (sexual) significations, works to materially interpellate racialised subject positions - it acts as message and as provocation. The Cardinals responds to both the linguistic assignation of race under apartheid and apartheid's environmental production of "race". Head de-privileges linguistic markers of race and in the process shows how apartheid's spatiality produces "race" as something marked on the body through its uneven environmental dispensations. In the next section, I turn to the provocation that the slum subtends, through producing dehumanising features in its inhabitants. Head implies that these features are successively accumulated and inherited; I read them as epigenetic acquisitions. The slum is a constitutive nexus of poverty, 'interbreeding', and overcrowding - it constitutes its "subjects" physiologically and psychically. Alongside this material epigenesis (the slum as constitutive), there is also a model of creative epigenesis being brokered in *The Cardinals*. This is what is at stake in the possible Indian philosophical and spiritual inheritances that the text arranges. That Head is positioning

the littoral in genealogical terms is also suggested by Mouse's first two given names. A common etymological interpretation of the name Miriam is "bitter sea' from the Hebrew words *mar* (bitter) and *yam* (sea). In this sense, Mouse, in her first linguistic incarnation is being positioned as the bitter fruit of the sea, conceived on a littoral border between one state and another. A littoral genealogy is also implicit in Mouse's second name: Charlotte Smith. Here, Head is alluding to the Romantic poet Charlotte Turner Smith.¹²⁵ Smith's last major work was *Beachy Head* (published posthumously in 1807). The name of the poem refers to Beachy Head in East Sussex, the highest coastal cliff in Britain (and a notorious site for suicides). Head may have been drawn to the phonetic similarity between her own name – Bessie Head – and the title of Smith's poem, named for the coastal cliff Beachy Head. Head is positioning the sea as a creative or more-than-human (more-than-genetic) point of "origin".

The slum as "reserve" space

The environment of Mouse's childhood – the South African slum – means that her experience inhabits that 'point beyond which systematic research cannot capture what the everyday sense of self shores up' (Spivak, 1999: 239). We, the critics and readers, have no access to the lived reality of a slum – and Head does not attempt to represent it. What is textualised is a message – indissociably enigmatic and sexual – about how these environments (re)produce racist biologisms and mutate the relationships between family members. As Mouse observes in her first transcript, re-written from Johnny's autobiographical writing: '[p]overty does not allow for respect between a mother and child. An unpleasant and *unnatural intimacy* is forced upon them' (34 emphasis added).

¹²⁵ The connection to the Romantic poet is made by Johnson.

Unnatural intimacy between kin, of course, recalls incest. But what this intimacy also refers to is enforced spatial proximity. The unnatural proximity between kin is environmentally regulated (and, thus, legislated for by the apartheid state in its uneven distributions of space). The slum is represented as a non-developing space. When Mouse revisits the slum where she grew up as an adult she finds it 'much the same as the day on which she had left it. There was that familiar overpowering stench and the children scratching around on the refuse dump' (22). In other words, the slum is a temporal reserve, set aside from development. One slum is also much like another. Mouse is rehoused in a slum in Cape Town and finds that '[t]he only difference between this slum and the one from which she had fled was that there was no refuse dump and reeking, stagnant water. The pattern of life was the same with the weekends of drunkenness and violence and the crude, animal, purposeless, crushing world of poverty' (10). Existence is patterned by the slum. The boundaries which demarcate experience for the economically exploited black underclass of South Africa are made abundantly clear in spatial terms. Head describes the reserve: 'a large slum area of tin shacks, bounded on the one side by a mile-long graveyard and on the other by the city refuse dump [...]. A national road separate[s] the slum from the refuse dump' (3). The coded segregations of land use hem-in those who occupy the slum between the dead and other people's refuse. The oppressive marginality of their situation positions human inhabitants as disposable - the translations between the three sites appear continuous.

The township is also a forcibly regulated (and regularised) container for existence. Johnny observes that the townships, the 'new organised prison camps', were 'built to remove eye-sores, as the foreign tourists like to say. And incidentally to deprive those non-Whites, who were financially able, of their freehold rights and estates' (25). Here the political motivation at issue – maintaining the dominance of a white minority – is

occluded by re-positioning the slums as blemishes on the landscape. The slums to, are set aside or reserved as "out-of-sight" locations. Modeling the idea of a less decent or decorous culture – a degraded state of humanity – allows a racist ideology to ascribe the *way people are forced to live* to their 'inferior' biology, an inferiority which, by this logic, results in the degeneration of social space - making it less palatable to tourists. The solution is to 'provide exploited [...] people with a standard of decent living' (25). But, as Johnny observes, this 'decency' is betrayed by its oppressive regimentation and inadequacy. '[D]ecency' is dehumanising: 'they never figured out what a *human* standard of living should be like (25-6). In these new townships people are treated and penned in like animals. Johnny wryly observes 'Who cares, PK? [...] They're a big black messy lot. Just herd them any way you like' (26). Herding is also a reference to the demographic redistributions of apartheid, with its removals of black communities to more and more distant locations. After each protest riot, in which the boundaries of white areas are traversed, the people are 'driven back to their small, hovel-like location surrounded by barbed wire' with 'The Defence Force' encircling them (69).

Head also suggests that the idea of "decency" is a convenient standard deployed within apartheid, categorising those who deviate from an "ideal" standard as less cultured, and less human. Apartheid ideology also made biological differentiation and cultural difference synonymous (Dubow, 1992: 233). Culture is perceived, in part, through environment: through where and how people live. The visible asymmetry in living conditions would then, in terms of apartheid's bio-ideology, be explainable as innate difference. Hook observes that apartheid racism 'was a racism of the sensory field, where fixations on visible markers of bodily differences were omnipresent; where the belief that others not only looked, but sounded, smelled essentially different was common place' (2012: 61). The apartheid state heavily regulated social space, creating racially segregated

environments in an attempt to delimit physical diversity. In *The Cardinals*, a latent biologism in the narrative framing suggests that our biological identity is less a question of how race bears on our biological physical diversity than of how exploitation, oppression and marginality are transmitted as epigenetic acquisitions. To Johnny, it is plain that Miriam (or Mouse as he knows her) is not a genetic or biological product of the slum:

If you grew up the way she did you just would not stay sweet, young or innocent. She told me today that she started off life in that hell-hole of the National Road. It surprised me, because it's obvious she was not born there. The terrible thing about that slum is that it marks the people who have lived there, and bred and intermarried, with a facial structure and mentality that is like something inhuman. It's just an oozing, indiscriminate mixture of muck, incest and hell-fire. It stamps the individuals who live there so that they look like nothing on earth. That's why I say she was not born there and in some miraculous way escaped from that swamp. Everyone knows it's the dumping ground for illegitimate babies. I can only think that applies in her case. (25)

The idea that the slum "marks" its inhabitants offers a position on identity that avoids the idea that race is either purely biological or a purely discursive (the product of ideology or the effect of a contingent historical formation). Instead race becomes something embodied *and* synonymous with poverty. The question of biology as it bears on identity is continual. Identity is also a result of sexual selection, of the way people have 'bred and intermarried' (25). While the equation between 'mentality' and 'facial structure' (25) as markers of origin seems, on the face of it, to suggest a genetic continuity between biology

and identity ("biology is destiny"), I would argue that it actually suggests that one is as much a function of one's psychic history and one's situation (where one happens to find oneself). In this situation, 'the crude, animal, purposeless, crushing world of poverty' (10) also happens to be biologically determining. The environment in which one lives, in apartheid, acts as a message, because that *environment* is biology. Head writes the subject immersed in and interpellated by epigenetic acquisitions that are produced by apartheid's socio-spatial assignments and passed through successive generations. The way one appears and is identified as a raced subject, therefore, also determines where one lives, and vice versa, where one lives also determines the way one appears as a raced subject in apartheid South Africa. It is significant that the "mark" alludes to both physical features and mentality. Head is locating the provocation of the slum environment in apartheid's own discourse of "degeneracy". The apartheid discourse of degeneracy is being subverted here because it is the segregated environment, and poverty, that causes this dehumanising, degenerate "marking" not belonging to particular racial group.

The political order of apartheid finds its expression in the contaminations of the vital: the contamination of desire and of desiring agency. The people of the slum are, by their very physical appearance, a provocation or message: they 'look like nothing on earth' (25). The inhumanity of their living conditions, Head suggests, has reduced desire to 'indiscriminate' copulation (25). Nonetheless, any suggestion of biological *determinism* governing subjectivity is subtly challenged by the fact that, although Johnny observes that Mouse does not genetically 'belong' to the slum, the reader later discovers that she has herself, as his unidentified child, been biologically fathered by a man who grew up in a slum. The "marking" of the slum therefore takes on the secondary significance of another kind of destiny: incest. Oedipus is also "marked". His name means "swell-foot" and refers to the binding of his feet as an infant, which leaves a mark. As we

know, Oedipus' destiny is parricide and incest. Within the nexus of the slum Miriam's positioning as *biologically un-nameable* marks her as potentially code breaking. The fact that she is not synonymous with this environment, raised by a woman who is not her blood kin and therefore without a clearly referential racial identity, marks her as transgressive within the system of political naming in apartheid. By positioning Miriam as a *biological* outsider to the slum, Head seems to be positioning a question about how we theorise the biological and social dimensions of identity. Perhaps this explains Mouse's specialness and category disturbance, which is emphasised throughout the text. Mouse is characterised by her reserve - she is 'something remote, unapproachable, inhuman and eccentric' (26). This 'long habit of quiet reserve' (5) positions Mouse a taboo object – a body that should not be touched. The fact that she is 'unapproachable' (26) leads us to the notion of the "reserve" set aside by taboo – in the English translation of Totem and Taboo, James Strachey translates Freud's use of the French term "reserve" as 'something unapproachable' (Freud, 1913: 18). The "unapproachable" suggests both spatial and temporal dimensions, as well as that which cannot be thought or uttered (i.e. approached mentally). Laplanche suggests that Freud's term "reserve" in connection with the taboo evokes the sense in which a painter would use the term: to describe an area of canvas that has been left un-contoured or un-worked (1999b: 242) and which, I would add, has therefore remained "untouched". Mouse's reserve is presented as a situational response to the brutalising environment of the slum. Johnny remarks: 'It's written all over her face. Years of struggle, under-nourishment and a complete lack of love or happiness have moulded her into something remote, unapproachable, inhuman and eccentric' (26). Here, the idea that Mouse's life is 'written all over her face' echoes the inhuman facial structure of those who are born into the slum.

A series of sexual taboos, which are often broken or altered, are also arranged around Mouse. She is simultaneously projected as being both 'a child' (113) and a potential sexual partner. This aspect of her sexualisation repeats traumatic messages of sexual abuse from infancy: while she is still a child, Mouse's stepfather attempts to rape her. Both James and Johnny pathologise Mouse's reserve, and suggest that only a sexualised boundary-breaking - conceived in terms of sexual aggression or sexual love will *humanise* her.¹²⁶ Laplanche's thought equates the 'sexualisation entailed in originary seduction with becoming human' (Ray, 2012: 56). This means that the sexual drive is not "animal" but an epigenetic acquisition which marks the very trace of differentiation between human and non-human animals (Ray, 2012: 55). Mouse and Johnny's sexualisation seems to entail a kind of symbolic animality, however. Mouse bites Johnny when he embraces her for the first time. She experiences their embrace as a 'dissolution of body and bones, with only a heart left; [...] awash in an ocean of rushing tornadic darkness; helpless at its own forward rushing' (115). This "oceanic" feeling is one of unbounded affect. The ocean is being positioned, against the spatial demarcations of the "reserve", a total flooded space - an unbounded non-reservoir. Mouse's visionary translation of an erotic sensation is in marked contrast to Johnny's hard-boiled (or hardbitten) and irreverent response: 'You're a disgusting primitive woman.' [...] 'I like it that way. I'm a disgusting, primitive man' (115). The appeal to primitiveness is significant, spurring Johnny's supposition that Mouse's 'crazy notion' of 'barriers, barriers' between them has now been 'abolished' (115). Primitivity has long been associated with hyper-sexuality and a lack of individualised repression – or sexual barriers – and therefore with a condition of animality. In other words, Mouse is not properly human. Of course,

¹²⁶ While James tells Mouse: 'The trouble with you is that you're morbid. You just need a good rape [...]' (81), Johnny responds to the problem of how to 'reach' Mouse by suggesting: 'I'd just make love to her. Love is about the only thing that will make her normal again' (26).

she is as such analogous to Johnny, who grew up with his siblings 'like a lot of animals' (68) - i.e. without the sexual segregations of kinship structures. Mouse's psychic state of reserve is also described in environmental terms and is therefore spatialised. Johnny comments: '[s]he has cut off all the normal approaches. Between her and the rest of the world is a gigantic wilderness full of little side paths that lead nowhere' (27). In describing Mouse's reserve as a wilderness, Johnny evokes the "reserve" as environmental space – as that which is set aside from use. Mouse's mental life is not subject to the rationalisations of space that are to be found everywhere in apartheid. Her mental dispensation is non-rational: 'full of little side paths that lead nowhere' (27).¹²⁷

Johnny states that Mouse has 'something inside her that agrees with [his] system' (56). It tempting to translate this 'agreement' as a biological or genetic correspondence, because of the taboo on sexual attraction between kin. However, I suggest that their relational asymmetry – the 'remote, unapproachable, inhuman' (26) Mouse and the 'hell of a dirty bastard with no scruples or moral principles' (73) who lives 'without code or law' (74) – has a common root. It is their childhood environment that has formed in them two exaggerated inhuman conditions. The environmental subtext of "system" is suggested elsewhere. Johnny condemns another reporter, James, for his assimilation to racist culture: "You think you can afford to criticise me?"" [...] "For about the past four years you've been trying to get the slum out of your *system*"" (16 emphasis added). We cannot forget that Johnny, Mouse's father-seducer, was also seduced as a child growing up in the slum. This seduction was incestuous. Responsive to his sister's needs, Johnny used to kiss her, 'not the way a brother should kiss a sister but the way a man kisses a woman' (67). He explains:

¹²⁷ In the following chapter, I elaborate on the nature reserve as psychic space.

[...] we just grew up like a lot of animals. My sister was a prostitute at the age of ten in order to provide food for the rest of them. She never complained, but at night she used to come and lie next to me and cry. One night she was stabbed to death. I think I would have never forgiven myself if I had withheld the kind of love she wanted from me. All that just makes me not care one hell about the laws and rules of society. They are made by men and woman who know nothing about suffering. (68)

In the world outside of the slum, Johnny recognises that Mouse is not normal. His solution is to 'make love to her' because he figures that '[l]ove is about the only thing that will make her normal again' (27). Socially speaking of course, the kind of sexual love that Johnny has to offer Mouse is abnormal, because it biologically incestuous. Therefore, although both Mouse and Johnny both escape from their environment (and are therefore positioned simultaneously as aberrations to the text's encrypted message that environment is biology) they are, in their sexual relationship, led back to its reality – but in transmuted form: their love cannot be considered part of 'an indiscriminate mixture of muck, incest and hellfire' (25). There is also an inference that the kind of love Johnny desires continues to be incestuous. In telling Mouse about his childhood seductions, he is, in turn, seducing her by "sending a message" (in that the story is parasited by his desire *for* Mouse). We see this in the 'amused gleam in his eyes' as he asks her:

"Do you think there was anything incestuous in that?"

"No", she said.

"I think so. Society would think so too. It would condemn me as unspeakable filth for making love to my own sister. A man like that, it would say, would stop at nothing. He'd even make love to his own daughter. All I can say to society is that it's just as well I have no daughter. I'd probably make love to her too. Does that shock you?"

"No".

"That's because you aren't aware of family relationships. I wasn't aware of them either. After my father died my mother kept on getting children from various men". (68)

This passage intimates an incestuous structure of desire that continues to inflect Johnny's construction of his love-objects. Johnny frequently infantilises Mouse, referring to her as a 'guileless child' (113), and a 'damn kid' (67). Johnny is positioning Mouse, in this scene, as either a sister – he begins by telling her '[y]ou can pretend you're my sister for a bit' (67) or as a daughter. Johnny connects the trajectory of his desire to the distortion of kinship structures *within* the slum (as that environment which produces an 'unnatural intimacy' between kin (34)). The fact that his mother keeps 'getting children from various men' (68) alludes to possible failure to differentiate between and recognise one's kin.

Writing as screen

In producing a history – via Mouse's re-writing of her father's life story – that culminates in incest, Head positions Mouse's incestuous seduction as a screen narrative. Incestuous seduction recalls a broader range of stigmatised and stigmatising experience in apartheid. I here refer to stigmatisation both in the sense of prohibition and marking (with stigmata). As a screen narrative, incestuous seduction derives its meaning from a broader terrain or pattern of sexual praxis in apartheid (including child sexual abuse, misogyny, rape). Johnny conceives of his project – seducing Mouse by mentoring her writing – as having as much a political as a sexual culmination: '[t]he kind of writing I'm concentrating on is going to get rid of governments and systems for good' (28). In situating incestuous seduction as the "occasion" for writing, Head is also working with a series of consecutive "screens" that connect writing to the apartheid environment. The slum environment which I read as a spatially bounded reserve is associated with letter writing (both alphabet and letter templates), while literacy is connected to the littoral, and the ocean, which I read as a total non-bounded reservoir. As we have seen, the slum environment is associated with another kind of writing, which is the inscribing of the body with racial signifiers. In The Cardinals the slum environment writes itself into and onto the body as a form of epigenetic "marker". Mouse's first encounter with writing, as the inscription of letters, comes through a surrogate father figure in the slum – an 'old man' (6) who is, like her, marked by his 'individualism' (6). The old man performs a vital service for the community by writing letters. However, as a pre-literate Mouse observes, these letters are not so much "written" as scribed - copied out of a book of letter templates. These letters are already pre-formulated and so the when the old man 'copies out stock letters' (5) he is re-inscribing, repetitively, within the same limits. As the old man acknowledges: '[s]hould another man come and ask me to write a condolence letter I would write this same letter' (7). Letter-writing models the 'purposeless' patterning of existence in the slum, while also dignifying its inhabitants. The non-literate community hold the man's ability to read and write in high regard. They not only commission and remunerate but 'value' his letters, knowing that they function as a message – as a signifier of condolence, for instance. The other kind of letter writing that the man initiates Mouse into is the alphabet. As with all children learning to write, the first word he tasks Mouse with writing is her own (which is at this point Miriam). Learning to write her name, Mouse 'trace[s] the letters' the man has written out for her over and over. This action is finally, however,

a repetition with a difference, as her first successful attempt to write her name is, in turn, written over her face in a 'triumphant [...] radian[ce]' (7). Of course, the ability to write the name signifies more than an acquired motor ability – in this context it signifies 'purpose' (7). The first father-figure (later replaced by Johnny as father-lover) encourages her writing 'prais[ing] her lavishly and untiringly' (7).

Mouse's learning to read is positioned as her first "seduction". Mouse finds her first book, a picture book, 'while standing knee deep in the dirt of the refuse dump' (7). This description evokes wading in a sea or reservoir of others' waste. I have suggested that to locate reading material among the settler's discarded effects is a transgressive act. The way in which reading material acts as a signifying provocation is indicated by Mouse's pre-literate "locating" of it: '[s]he stretched out a finger and touched the printed words on the book then pointed to the refuse dump. "I see a lot of this over there", she said' (7). Before Mouse is able to read, she is able to identify writing. The book of letters is indecipherable to the young child: 'It was much harder to read the letter book. It did not have pictures. Most of the words were meaningless strings of letters to her, and the old man, having a limited vocabulary, was unable to explain them' (8). Mouse learns to read with the picture book through recognition, in the same way that she recognises writing as that which can be found in the rubbish dump: '[s]he followed his finger intently as he read out the words. When he came to the word 'sea' she pointed to the sea in the picture' (8). The ill-understood written sign acts as an unbounded incitement of affect: 'When he swam in the sea, she felt the wave rising to swamp her' (8).¹²⁸

¹²⁸ The seductions of reading are related to an immersion in the ocean. In fact, the first actual seduction that Mouse writes replays this surging of affect:

^{&#}x27;Love me! Love me! Love me!' she cried and it seemed as though his love was as fierce as the savage battering beat of a high sea; or, like a storm beating down on the dry, hard earth of her body and she absorbed its pounding drive, lost and lost in an elemental ecstasy' (45).

Mouse escapes from the slum after her step-father attempts to rape her. When she is picked up by the authorities her physical condition is like that of a stray animal. Her hair, 'matted with sores and riddled with lice', must be 'shave[d] off' (10) for hygienic purposes. Mouse's de-lousing places her body within the nexus of state control that operates according to the logic of a sanitation syndrome. As we have seen, sanitation under apartheid is reserved for black bodies and communities (who are removed from urban space under the guise of "sanitation" initiatives. Thus transformed, and with the hairless head of a very young infant, Mouse finds herself in the position not of identifying as, but of being identified by. In this situation, Mouse is already being identified by the hospital staff as a body out of place – a problem to be solved according to the apartheid rationalisation of race and space. The hospital staff – the 'efficient, exasperated voices in rustling white starch' (10) – want something of unidentifiable Mouse which she is herself unable to identify:

"Who are you?"

"Who are you?"

She gazed back at the exasperated faces with a dumb, animal fright [...].

"Who are you?"

"What's your name?"

To all these questions she kept silent. (10)

That the staff return to the question 'Who are you?' indicates the uncertain status of Mouse's identity – which in terms of apartheid's social determinism means her "race". The secondary concerns of Mouse's name and where she comes from are important only

[&]quot;Where do you come from?"

insofar as they are able to operate as an index or demarcation of racial identity, allowing the staff to solve the riddle of the first question.

The questions coming from the hospital authorities place Miriam in the situation of receiving a message which I would argue is in part enigmatic: their questions pose a problem to be solved, but the content of the problem is not explicitly stated and is vectored by unconscious, sexual anxieties. The desire to index Mouse's racial identity necessarily involves an unconscious investment, for the indexing of race under apartheid is, at least in part, designed to police the sexual. The unconscious sexual dimensions of this scene also derive from Mouse's positioning as an infant, in a position of structural asymmetry with the adult others. The relation between adult and infant, in the situation of sending and receiving a message, is always asymmetric – because the adult has an unconscious and the infant does not. The enigmatic signifier in the message is never fully translatable, but can be thought of as being filtered through a structure, like a sieve or matrix, which is in part culturally determined. If, as readers, we are to include within our parameters those traces of scenes which are only enigmatically inscribed, then the unconscious anxieties surrounding identity in apartheid could be expected to infiltrate this particular communicative situation. The unconscious element of the message - that which signifies something to us which is not easy to communicate, is the element that signifies that the other *wants* something of us on an unconscious level. The untranslatable residues of the message, the traces of enigma which cannot be assimilated to any code or narrative structure, are the repressed, and the repressed is sexuality. As Laplanche reminds us, '[i]t is only because the adult's messages are compromised by his sexual unconscious that, secondarily, the child's attempts at symbolisation are set in motion, where the child actively works on material that is *already* sexual' (2011: 55). Indexing racial identity is sexual, or has unconscious sexual connotations. Laplanche points out that the messages of the social are chiefly the messages of gender assignments but, of course, in a racist society, the socially-coded messages of race assignment would also take precedence. The fact that Miriam experiences their questions as 'pounding and beating at her' (10) ghosts the connection between identity and another message which it is suggested she cannot adequately translate - the message coming from her attempted rape by her step-father, and his 'savage' beating of Sarah when she cries out: 'My God, what are you doing to the child?' (9), a question which also means 'what do you want from the child?' At the level of narration – of telling – the scene is treated non-referentially. The provision of visibility or transparency to the scene is rescinded, both formally, through a figurative device, and within the narrative itself. Figuratively, the narrative perspective becomes increasingly detached from Mouse's subjective experience: 'a heavy hand was placed over her face' becomes '[i]n her fright the child kicked out' and eventually '[t]he child crept under the table' (9). Internally, reference of the event is withdrawn: '[t]he next morning Sarah's eyes and lips were puffed up and swollen but she did not refer to the incident of the night before' (9). When Mouse is later asked how she managed to escape from the slum, Mouse has screened over the attempted violent seduction with her later seduction by writing: 'Escape? I don't think I was trying to escape. I wanted to learn to read and write and it did not seem possible if I stayed there' (22).¹²⁹

Learning to read is associated with another father figure, a Communist fosterfather who supplies Mouse with party-political reading material until 'one day, among the pamphlets and protests, she found Darwin's theory of evolution, and after that, in spite of the man's protests, read nothing else' (11). The text referred to here – Charles Darwin's

¹²⁹ In addition, Mouse's first attempt at truly creative writing, in which she re-writes the first fragment of Johnny's life, refers us back to her childhood in the slum: she writes out her version of the story '[s]tiffly and uncertainly, like a child learning to walk' (33).

The Origin of the Species – concerns the way in which environment influences organisms (gene selection) and their behaviours (epigenesist) through natural selection. This is a text that supplies another environmental translation code. The reading experience is couched once again in the language of unbounded affect: the 'quiet and ecstatic beauty of the language never [fails] to awaken a delirious response in her' (11). A final "scene" of seduction and writing is offered at the close of the narrative, when, after ascending Table Mountain with Johnny, Mouse is able to write the urban space below:

The town below is a strung-out, pendulous expression of power petrified into irregular concrete and steel structures. Its mass, form and plan are the result of the conscious, working harmony in the minds of many men. The interweaving patterns of its streets, roads and alleys are blood vessels and gigantic arteries conducting minute particles of life to and fro. Its purpose is to sustain human life. Its destiny is perpetual expansion. (116)

Here we have a representation of the built environment as more-than-human: it is dynamic, alive, reproductive. The more-than-human (infrastructure) is being written in a new and humanising way. The reproduction that occurs within the spatial limits or container of the slum, however, is quite different. This reproduction reproduces sameness – a facial structure, a mentality. In the slum, possibilities are being contained within the biological (and the biological is synonymous with environment). Mouse is only able to write following a seduction: the scene of writing is overlaid by echoes of previous seductions (possibly those of her early sexual abuse):

She was hardly conscious of her agonised cry as his hard kisses ravaged her mouth. For her it was like a dissolution of body and bones, with only a heart left; a pulsing heart awash in an ocean of rushing tornadic darkness; helpless at its own forward rushing. (115)

If Mouse's seduction does echo early sexual abuse (she is described going 'blank' and 'freez[ing]' when confronted with Johnny's love) it is also portrayed here as an unbounding of "reserve" (both her characteristic reserve) and the idea of space-as-reserve, as bounded and demarcated. This is an oceanic current of affect, a 'dissolution' (115) of 'barriers. Through this passage we are also being re-situated in an alternative "landscape" of inheritance. Mouse and Johnny's love - as tornadic rushing - recalls Mouse's (possible) conception, which takes place on a littoral and which is relayed in oceanic imagery. Johnny's love is described as being 'as fierce as the savage battering beat of a high sea; or, like a storm beating down on the dry, hard earth of [Ruby's] body' (45). In having the sea as a "creative" point of origin (both writerly and elemental), Head sets up the oceanic (the total flooded space) in marked contrast to the demarcations of the reserve. At the same time, the sea – always associated with Ruby – is finally, and latently (through an 'ocean of tornadic rushing' (115)), what the text builds to in its breaking of boundaries. The Indian Ocean and the Atlantic meet at Cape point, so an alternative geography - one that gives us an "inherited" diasporic feeling – is always possible on the book's terms. Through the text's multiple and environmentally-oriented inheritances, I have, in this chapter, offered an alternative psychoanalytically-informed reading of apartheid's environmental production of "race". I have shown how the provocations of apartheid's taboo spatiality become encoded as enigmas in the text - in which environment acts as message, especially when imprinted onto the body.

Mourning ecologies in Véronique Tadjo's *The Shadow of Imana: Travels in the Heart of Rwanda*

In this chapter I am concerned with the interpolation of the psychic space of the taboo into what I term the space of mourning. As Jean Laplanche acknowledges in the essay 'Time and the other', both the taboo prohibition and the process of mourning set aside a reserve. African literary responses to the Rwandan genocide – such as those composed in association with the Fest' Africa project "Rwanda: Écrire par devoir de mémoire" (Rwanda: Writing as a Duty to Remember – connect writing to the work of mourning. In 1998 Véronique Tadjo travelled to Rwanda as part of the Fest' Africa project. The project, funded by la Fondation de France, enabled a group of African writers – Tadjo is Ivorian – to travel to Rwanda and to visit some of the genocide memorials there, as well as to meet with survivors, prisoners and NGOs (Hitchcott, 2009a; Tadjo, 2012). Referring to the Fest' Africa project in interview, Tadjo recalled that: '[b]y working on the genocide in Rwanda, by going through the process of trying to understand and formulate responses to it you went through a process of mourning' (Hemsley, 2017). Visiting Rwanda in 1998, some four years after the genocide, Tadjo was entering into a landscape of memorialised "extinction", with preserved massacre sites its nodal points.

Both Nicki Hitchcott (2009b; 2009c; 2013; 2015) and Zoe Norridge (2013), have written about the African literary responses to genocide associated with the Fest' Africa

project, including Véronique Tadjo's The Shadow of Imana. Norridge explores the shared characteristics of African literary responses to post-genocide Rwanda. She argues that the 'personal nature of the [texts'] testimonies' (2013: 144) serve to 'complicate political framings of perceptions of pain' (2013: 144). Hitchcott reads The Shadow of Imana as a "travelogue" in which Tadjo positions herself reflexively – as visitor-writer in Rwanda, and her text in critical relation with histories of travel writing.¹ Crucially, both Hitchcott and Norridge are interested in the figure of the writer, as one who comes to bear witness to the genocide, and in the writer's ambivalent reception of the sights and smells of genocide memorials such as Ntarama Church. Equally at issue is the question of literary form as an aide to "witnessing" and the crossovers between literary and non-literary testimony. Norridge and Hitchcott both note The Shadow of Imana's complex, fragmentary structure and generic slippage. Norridge emphasises the text's 'poetic language and imagery' (2013: 153), while Hitchcott focuses on the text's combination of 'fiction, travel diary, and something close to investigative journalism' (2009b: 153). At the same time, both critics remark that the text 'contains imaginary pieces alongside actual testimony' (Norridge, 2013: 139), or 'what appear to be transcriptions of witness accounts' (Hitchcott, 2009b: 153). When I interviewed Tadjo in 2016, she revealed that the testimony in the text was 'totally fictionalised', an act of writerly imagining that flowed from listening to and reading testimonies (Hemsley, 2017). She revealed that her choice to fictionalise had grown out of her encounters with Rwandans who had underlined the fact that there was no one "authentic" truth of the genocide to be mined or recovered.

¹ Hitchcott notes that travel writing is dominated by ideologically charged narratives of "discovery" and a fetishism for "darkness". Although she describes *The Shadow of Imana* as contaminated to some degree 'by the politics of darkness' (2009b: 157), Hitchcott ultimately argues, like Norridge (2013: 23), that Tadjo's narrative is ultimately oriented by an ethical objective – the search for "humanity" (2009: 157). As such, Hitchcott suggests, Tadjo evades the generic norm of portraying "Africa" as a 'tropical zone of sad inevitability, the terminus – the endzone – of extreme, death-driven abjection' (Holland and Huggan, 2000: 76 qtd. Hitchcott, 2009b: 157).

What the staging of testimony within the literary text alludes to nonetheless is how the politics of memory and witnessing after genocide qualifies value in terms of authenticity. Norridge notes that 'perceptions of suffering' are politically determined (2013: 142) along ethnic lines in post-genocide Rwanda. The politicisation of suffering, Norridge observes, positions the Tutsi ethnic minority exclusively as survivors or victims (occluding the suffering and deaths of Hutu moderates who were also targeted, as well as the human rights violations that followed the genocide). The only "authentic" victim, or survivor, of the genocide is Tutsi (Hutu moderate cannot "qualify"). This qualification places 'a relative value on human lives' (2013: 142). In a different vein, Hitchcott begins her essay with the question of "value" as it inflects the tourist encounters in developing countries. Hitchcott centers her essay, comparably, on Tadjo's reference to a group of ecotourists massacred in Bwindi Impenetrable Forest in Uganda. She writes: '[1]ike all tourists, the gorilla-watchers represented what Peter Phipps describes as 'value in motion, both in their regular operation as consumers, and in their more rarefied symbolic values as exchange objects embodying another nationalism" (2009b: 151). For Hitchcott, the 'repeated symbol of the dead gorilla-watchers signals Tadjo's self-identification as an ambiguous guest in Rwanda' (2009b: 151)

In what follows, I think about what might be "reserved" from the post-genocide landscape. I read Véronique Tadjo's *The Shadow of Imana: Travels in the Heart of Rwanda* through its embedded account of ecotourism and the environmental space of Rwanda's Parc National des Volcans. I suggest that in the context of Rwandan genocide we need to think about mourning in terms of environment and landscape. Considering what I term an "agriculturalisation" of genocide, which is present in both the implementation of genocide in rural areas and in wider environmental hermeneutics for genocide, I connect the work of mourning to a de-naturalisation of received landscapes and land orthodoxies. The Shadow of Imana, Tadjo's literary response to the Rwandan genocide, engages with exactly this kind of work – presenting readers with a vernacular mourning ecology for post-genocide Rwanda, in which "non-mourning enclaves" spaces where a human conception of mourning does not obtain - animate a mourning for everything else that remains. I adapt the term "non-mourning enclave" from Laplanche, who describes a process by which, in implementing a taboo on using the names of the dead, 'a space of non-mourning is set up inside which mourning, mourning for everything else, is possible' (1999b: 244-245). In my usage, the enclave refers to the nature reserve as a psychic space. Considering the segregation of humans from endangered animals in the context of preservation, I am also concerned, in this chapter, with the psychic significance of the "limits" interposed between and segregating the animal and the human. This segregation is at once discursive and environmental. In the wake of the Rwandan genocide, certain environmental spaces have been saturated with "meaning". They are discursively constructed as "signifiers" of atrocity. Other spaces – the nature reserve – are symbolically associated with mourning. Mapping one onto the other reveals something about the discursive construction of mourning the Rwandan genocide (and mourning "extinction"). We are unable to mourn either genocide or extinction.

What is being set aside, both in the nature-reserve and as a reserve within mourning, cannot be fully translated and opens onto the question: 'what is it, in loss, that can be metabolized in loss, and what cannot?' – a question framed by Jean Laplanche in the essay 'Time and the other' (1999b: 245). In this essay, Laplanche proposes an alternative model of mourning. He suggests that 'mourning as a work of unweaving [which] as much as it is the prototype of melancholy, can also be conceived as the very model of psychoanalysis: unweaving so that a new fabric can be woven disentangling to allow of the formation of new knots' (Laplanche, 1999b: 253-54). This work of

unweaving 'requires time, [...] is repetitive, [and] sets aside a reserve' (Laplanche, 1999b: 252 emphasis added). This reserve, or space of non-mourning, is as we know, first formulated in relation to the taboo. As I outlined in the previous chapter, there are three kinds of reserve associated with the taboo – spatial reserve, temporal reserve, and linguistic reserve. Each of these offer us a potential route through the question of why we need to think about the genocide in terms of mourning and mourning in terms of landscape, and why, within a landscape or terrain of loss, the mountainous gorilla enclave might be defined as a space of exception. The concept of a spatial reserve set aside by a taboo corresponds to 'zones one is not allowed to enter, spaces one cannot encroach upon, objects or persons one cannot touch' (Laplanche, 1999b: 244). This resonates with the spatial arrangement of the nature reserve, as that which is set aside from agricultural cultivation. This notion of an untouched environmental "reserve" nonetheless has a functional structure within The Shadow of Imana's landscape of mourning. Tadjo connects the ape enclave directly to human histories of violence and warfare in the region, commenting that '[d]uring the whole period of genocide and war, the great primates were not harmed. They took refuge in the mountain peaks. But people say in any case none of the fighters would have attempted to harm them' (81). This re-casting of a taboo on touch molds some consolation, a space for non-mourning, within 'the time when humans [...] had not yet discovered their humanity' (9). This connection between a zone of refuge and that which has been reserved from a particular time – the time of genocide – speaks to the notion of temporal reserve. In relation to the taboos that apply to the dead, Laplanche observes that that which is taboo is only so for a certain amount of time. This time of the taboo evokes the temporal aspect of mourning, as that which, as I mentioned, takes time, is repetitive and sets aside a reserve. The link between the reserve within the taboo and the reserve set-aside during the process of mourning becomes apparent in the following example of linguistic reserve. Laplanche refers to the taboo on using the name of the dead, but in the context of the genocide in Rwanda we might want to think about the names of the dead that are lost and unrecoverable, or the fact that we find genocide so hard to adequately account for. Laplanche suggests that our very human *being* exists in being confronted with loss. He writes that human temporality might best be thought in relation to the 'terrain [...] of loss: of the human being confronted with loss; to the extent that the dimension of loss is probably co-extensive with temporalisation itself' (1999b: 241). Here, we can adapt the conception of a "terrain" of loss to the received landscapes of post-genocide Rwanda – where geographical terrain is often constructed in terms of radical endangerment and loss, both human and ecological. If we are to think a terrain of human being confronted with loss in a post-genocide context, then the contouring of this terrain would need to reflect a 'limitation on mourning' (Laplanche, 1999b: 244) – the fact that not everything in loss is fully metabolisable.²

Situated at the centre of *The Shadow of Imana* – a text that is everywhere attentive to the signifying excess embedded in the post-genocide landscape (Hemsley, 2017: 15) – we find Tadjo's most sustained engagement with the nonhuman environment, in which she describes the otherworldly 'heights of the chain of volcanoes' (81) – the Virunga mountains where the 'last silverback [gorillas] are living' (81). This description is stimulated by Tadjo's encounter with an American primate researcher during a Sabena flight from Brussels into Kigali. Tadjo records: 'I am sitting next to a woman who is part of the Dian Fossey Foundation. We are talking about gorillas. They are Rwanda's principal tourist attraction' (2002: 81).³ But what is an account of ecotourism doing in an

² In *Dark Continents*, Ranjana Khanna works comparably with a conception of colonial melancholy, and positions the 'melancholic remainders' that arise in relation to postcolonial nationalism as a site of critical agency (2003: 21).

³ All further references are to this edition.

account of genocide? This may feel like the wrong question to be asking about a text that foregrounds such a grossly *inhuman* context, but it is precisely this language of the "human" which fixates our attempts to account for genocide and to describe its horror. Genocide, Tadjo notes, is the attempt to violently re-inscribe the limits of the human:

To erase all humanity. To look no more into the faces of others. Above all to exchange no more glances. An animal, a heap of flesh. A skull cracking like a dry branch [...]. To be master of the slave kneeling at one's feet. (117)

Genocide is conceptualized here as a process of rendering other humans as animal – of seeing not people but *a people*' (Gourevitch, 1999: 202).⁴ This descriptive apparatus implicitly equates speciesism with racism, where the racial or ethnic other is conceived of as animal, and the animal is conceived of as less-than-human. What remains unthought is how our humanity is a naturalised assumption: how the multiplicity of animal beings radically complicates divisions between "the human" and "the animal". The rationale that uses the animal to mark the outer limit of the human remains unchallenged.

Jacques Derrida observes that by instituting a specifically human symbolic we refuse animals certain qualities presumed to be exclusively human, qualities like language, culture, guilt, crying, laughter, lying and, significantly for this chapter, mourning and an awareness of death (Derrida, 2008: 134-135). What the animal lacks is 'precisely the lack by virtue of which the human becomes subject of the signifier [...] to be subject of the signifier is also to be a subjecting subject, subject as *master*' (Derrida,

⁴ Zoe Norridge traces how this technic of genocide – the rendering of persons *a people* – also inflects the politics of mourning in post-genocide Rwanda. She argues that '[t]he space of contestation in Rwanda' is now 'the need to individuate the experience' of the genocide, especially as collective suffering, and death, continues to be instrumentalised along ethnic lines (2013: 135).

2008: 130). This position of mastery, which relies on the sacrifice of the animal and the animalistic, produces a 'symbolic economy in which we can engage in a "non-criminal putting to death", as Derrida phrases it, not only of animals but of humans as well by marking them as animal' (Wolfe, 1998: 39). An exclusively human symbolic allows us to 'use animals as a source of social division', a marked factor in histories of western racism and slavery in which the animalistic and primordial was exiled to Africa in order to confirm western cultural dominance (Huggan and Tiffin, 2010: 135). The animal question can shed some light on the ideological mechanisms through which we place relative value on the alterity and agency of different lifeforms, including our valuations of human lives. This question of the animal, cannot, I suggest, be thought separately from the rationalisations of environmental space, including the enclaving of areas of protected nature, that differentially delimit ways of being human and animal. A response to genocide that interrogates the limits of the human must therefore also work to denaturalise received landscapes.

Genocide alters what the nonhuman environment, the landscape, means. I therefore make a case for re-grounding mourning through environmental co-ordinates. As such, the larger insight I offer to readings of post-genocide landscape is that the way environments are rationalised inflects mourning, while, in turn, how and what we mourn affects our consequent rationalisations of space. To establish this argument, I make the following steps. First, I contextualise two key environmental spaces represented in *The Shadow of Imana* – Rwanda's rural hill territories and its nature-reserve in the Virunga mountains – in terms of their material human histories. Second, I consider what the aesthetic and psychical segregation of the nature reserve from agriculture might mean within a terrain of loss, and examine why we might need to de-naturalise certain received landscapes and landscape orthodoxies. One example is a certain level of opportunism

interceding in hermeneutics for genocide supplied by those with vested environmental interests. Third, I argue that *The Shadow of Imana* re-contextualises the Rwandan landscape in terms of a failed humanitarian mourning for genocide. I identify the landscape of humanitarian mourning with a parallel pre-genocide template – mourning the destruction of the environmental space of the nature reserve (or at least a certain vision of this environment). Fourth, I connect the triangulation that *The Shadow of Imana* negotiates between the animalised dead, dehumanised perpetrators and the 'frighteningly human appearance' (81) of nonhuman gorillas to the environments in which they are encountered. These environments are rural massacre sites, prison fields and the mountainous gorilla reserve. I suggest that, within this triangulation, the nonhuman term acts as a springboard for a vernacular mourning ecology.

In the context of Rwandan genocide, I focus deliberately and counter-intuitively on enclaves of non-mourning because this approach enables a re-negotiation of what mourning can mean in a post-genocide landscape – as that which bears not only upon loss but also upon future terrains. The classical Freudian conception of mourning implies that everything can (and is available to) be worked though. This does not seem possible (or desirable) in a post-genocide context. Foregrounding that which is already set aside, as a reserve (with all the implications of a resource for futurity that this term implies) within mourning sets aside a remainder that is not worked through and allows mourning to continue by means other than mourning. This act of "setting aside" allows us to connect mourning for genocide to environmental ethics: to the space of the nature reserve as a resource for the future. In addition, foregrounding such spaces avoids segregating past from present and subsuming Rwanda to a "genocide-landscape" – a vision that is propped upon the proliferation of images of mass graves among banana plantations, for instance, or of rivers filled with the bodies of the dead.⁵

Norridge suggests that the international dimension of reportage and mourning in the Rwandan genocide, with 'genocide sites in Rwanda [...] preserved and [...] accessible tot Rwandan and international visitors' - has 'profoundly affected the literary landscape that grew out of the events of 1994' (2013: 135). In particular, she argues that writers have attempted to recreate a 'sense of the visual nature of genocide' (152). The visual nature of the genocide, however, represents an aporia: for despite the profusion of globally circulated 'images of corpses floating down the Akagera River and bodies piled by the roadside [...] there was very little imagery of the actual killings taking place' (2013: 152). It is in part in response to such imagery that The Shadow of Imana interrogates genocide's psychical impact on the environment: how genocide alters what the landscape means. In responding to and re-presenting post-genocide Rwandan environments, the text de-naturalises the received post-genocide landscape and allows an alternative ecology of mourning to take shape. In Tadjo's account of the apes, separated by 'the mystery of their imposing presence' (81), we find a tableau of primeval time, an eco-archaic 'refuge in the mountain peaks' (81). The vision of unexplored territory, prevalent in both eco-touristic discourse and in the advancement of colonial ideologies, transfixes her account:

Strange vegetation plunged into a thick fog, territory lost in eternal mists, it is here that the mountain gorillas have chosen to make their home. In this silent space, outside of time and far from humans, dense bamboo forests, gigantic plants,

⁵ As Hitchcott notes, '[d]uring the genocide, images of piles of mutilated corpses, of bodies being dragged from rivers with missing limbs, of orphaned children crying appeared on television screens across the globe' (2015: 2-3).

prehistoric flora and long-haired trees stand guard over these majestic animals. (81)

Here, Tadjo fashions a sense of impenetrability, of a timeless nonhuman pristine, registering the separation of these 'creatures of another world' (82) from the social symbolic. In positioning the gorillas' mountainous environment as a space of exception - an island zone of refuge and otherness, Tadjo plays on what Rob Nixon has termed 'the temporal enclave mentality of the eco-archaic': 'a charmed space that is segregated, among other things, from the history of its own segregation' (2011b: 160, 166). While stylistically reproducing the gorilla reserve-land as 'a sanctuary of illusory innocence and eco-archaic return' (Nixon, 2011a: 187), Tadjo ultimately indicates that the naturereserve is not an amnesiac space, isolated from external relations. There is a subtle reminder, in the text's eco-archaic depiction of 'mossy carpets, replete with dampness and stagnant water, stretch[ing] as far as the banks of the lakes huddled inside craters' (81) of the "landscape" of the genocide. In the low-lying marshes surrounding Nyamata, people "huddled" in the water: '[t]hey slept in the water, lived in the water. Many of them died among the papyrus' (13). Tadjo connects the ape enclave to human histories of violence and warfare in the region, commenting that '[d]uring the whole period of genocide and war, the great primates were not harmed. They took refuge in the mountain peaks. But people say in any case none of the fighters would have attempted to harm them' (81). This connection between a zone of refuge and that which has been reserved from a particular time – the time of genocide and ever-propagating ecologies of violence in the region – allows Tadjo to mold some consolation, a space for non-mourning within 'the time when humans [...] had not yet discovered their humanity' (9). We might say that

the gorillas characterise that 'exceptional state' that Sigmund Freud associates with the taboo (1913: 22): the gorillas remain untouched.

In The Shadow of Imana, the rendering of an eco-archaic enclave in the mountain peaks – suspended, as it were, in the centre of the text – establishes a space of "reserve". To understand the vernacular landscape of mourning that Tadjo's text premises, we need to consider what the gorilla enclave means in relation to that which it lies suspended above, as an altitudinal, but not hermetically sealed, island. The nature reserve, as a nonmourning enclave, needs to be thought alongside human histories and geographical pressures in the region: as a variously endangered and appropriated arena, an inhabited place that both apes and humans traverse. Mountain gorillas exist in small communities, scattered throughout the Virunga ecological region, an area that extends across the borders of the nation states of Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda and Rwanda. The contact zones for people and primates in this region are game parks and nature-reserves, but far from existing as apolitical and atemporal tourist enclaves, these spaces lie at the intersection of legacies of Belgian, German and British colonialisms and subsequent histories of decolonisation and warfare, as well as contemporary globalisation processes. The Virunga ecological region also lies at the confluence of various other enclaves produced by shifting political conflict, including humanitarian zones and refugee camps, as well as areas governed by militias and private security companies (Whitlock, 2010: 473). This is also an arena of intense regional flux and demographic fluctuation. The sustainability of human communities - and human uses of protected environments - is particularly fragile in the pressured geography surrounding the Virunga region's national parks, where population densities are among the highest in the world (Maekawa et al., 2013: 128).

The vulnerability and endangerment of the gorillas cannot be thought separately from the combination of environmental scarcity and social vulnerability that surrounds the Virunga mountain frontier. In Rwanda, the physical contouring of the landscape around the Virungas is inflected by the perimeter of the national park: its border is unmistakable, with farm fields cultivated to its very edge. In this geography, the Virunga "frontier" is a point of inflection. I use the term "inflection" here to imply a sense of modulation, as in a change of curvature from convex to concave at a particular point on a curve. This "frontier" as a point of inflection metaphorises the transition from environmental scarcity (below the "frontier") to perceived plenitude (the forest above). Environmental scarcity, and vulnerability - 'the hard human existence along the Virunga frontier' (Weber and Vedder, 2001: 136) - lines the altitudinal demarcation line. The interests of preservation and agriculture, strictly demarcated, invoke different forms of plenitude: ecological plenitude, in relation to bio-diversity, and agricultural plenitude, in relation to cultivation or production. In *Kingdom of the Gorillas*, Bill Webber and Amy Vedder suggest that, due to the exigencies of land-pressure, local communities naturalize the forest in terms of its unutilized potential for cultivation (2001: 137), while their own account of this environment uncritically naturalizes ecological endangerment and extinction: '[i]t was the forest that suffered from a thousand smaller wounds inflicted each day, from cut bamboo to wire snared animals' (2001: 136). The plenitudes of both the nature-reserve - and of the agricultural hills are ambivalent, marked by human and ecological endangerment respectively. Weber and Vedder emphasize the "study in stark contrasts" (2001: 136) subtended by the park boundary:

Neat rows of white potatoes were planted right up to the sparse line of exotic cypress trees that marked the boundary [...]. It was a binary world: all fields and

people to one side, all forest and wild animals on the other, with no transition zone to buffer influences in either direction. (2001: 136)

Here, it seems, "influences" might not only be defined materially (as the incursions of bio-prospectors) but also non-materially: as the provocation of unutilized land subtended by the nature-reserve, or the lived experience of a land pressure that places both human communities and undeveloped land – the habitat of the gorillas – under duress.

The naturalisation of segregated "pristine" environments overlaps with the ideological co-ordinates of genocidal discourse. Freud found the creation of "nature reserves" in the terrestrial realm a 'perfect parallel' to the 'creation of the mental realm of fantasy' (1916: 372). This 'realm of phantasy' is an after-effect of the reality principle's dominance – from which it is 'withdrawn' or set aside in reserve (Freud, 1916: 372). The nature-reserve, too, is enclaved only as human transcendence over "nature" is compounded. Freud defines the nature-reserve as a place wherein '[e]verything including what is useless and even what is noxious, can grow and proliferate' (1916: 372). The anthropocentric and hierarchical segregations interposed between biota - 'what is useless', 'what is noxious' - in this description positions 'the requirements of agriculture' (1916: 372) as a form of ecological cleansing. During the Rwandan genocide 'bush clearing' was one term that coded for the systematic slaughter (Mironko, 2009: 187). The agriculturalisation of the genocide included the use of agricultural implements in killing and burial. Those hiding in the bush or in sorghum fields were felled along with the vegetation and treated as animals to be 'hunted' or weeded out in a process of 'environmental culling or sanitation' (Mironko, 2009: 192).

For Freud, the nature-reserve is analogous to the realm of fantasy because it is unadulterated: the nature-reserve '*preserves its original state* which everywhere else has

[...] been sacrificed to necessity' (1916: 372 emphasis added). A strict ideological distinction between what is utilized (mastered) and what is preserved propagates the same kind of 'world-imagining' (Eltringham, 2004: xi) upon which the perpetrators of genocide rely. Tadjo illustrates that the construction of territory as untouched, to the violent exclusion of other claims to land and resources, is a dangerous rationale for action: 'Who knows what I might do tomorrow if the threat of punishment were removed? If I saw before me a vast unexplored territory where my previous humiliations, my frustrations could all be avenged?' (116) Here, the vision of 'vast, unexplored territory' is just that – a fantasy. For Freud, fantasy exists as a 'species of thought activity' that has been 'split off' – preserved – and 'kept free from reality testing' (Freud, 1911: 221). One implication of Freud's thinking here, if we re-ground the metaphor, is that areas of protected nature – amid that which has been sacrificed to 'the requirements of agriculture, communications and industry' (Freud, 1916: 372) - are particularly saturated arenas of phantasy. Nixon has examined how the 'racialized theatre' of conservation has allowed whites to self-mythologize as 'stewards of nature', while marking black cultures as noncoeval with white society in ethical terms (2011a: 170). As such, the rationale for strict preservation - for isolating an area from external interactions - starts to look like enclaving along racial lines, excluding certain relationships between peoples and environments. Tadjo's description of the nature-reserve as 'outside of time and far from humans' (81) reflects how these spaces are constructed as 'enclave[s] from which history has been banished' (Nixon: 2011a, 181). But these "preserves" of 'prehuman natural time' (Nixon: 2011a, 181) also police the human/animal divide: constructing a temporal limit between the human and the animal that can be exploited in terms of mastery (game

hunting) or commodified transcendence (ecotourism).⁶ Brendon Nicholls elaborates on this line of thinking, arguing astutely that:

the very idea of a reserve always contains an implicit fantasy of depopulation. In psychic terms, the fantasy of the reserve is a fantasy of ethnic cleansing, a space in which one's projections may be worked through without interpersonal and intersectional resistances. Moreover, the desire to observe and preserve animals "in their natural state" cannot be fulfilled without entering into a disturbing split axis of fantasy in which whole peoples are first absented from the scene. Therefore, the basic wish underpinning the reserve is, taken to its logical extremity, an unacknowledged genocidal wish. (Nicholls, 2017 in press: 10-11)

What this shows us is that the construction of environment – and a particular projective relation to that environment – is also the construction of self (and of our human relations).

The Shadow of Imana invests the hills with an ambivalent excess because these areas are associated with a terrible significance in collective memory. Tadjo remarks, '[i]n the hills everyone knows everyone else, you couldn't hide your identity [...]. The cleansing had to be absolutely total' (104). Lee Ann Fujii touches upon a similar geographical provocation while describing her fieldwork in Rwanda. Describing one of the rural towns from which she collected interview data, she depicts a fertile landscape of 'low rising hills, dotted with thin clumps of trees and fields of coffee, bananas, corn,

⁶ Further complications of human/animal relationships occur in the context of agriculture. For example, certain relationships with animals in agriculture have been constructed as a guarantor of ethnicity in Rwanda. In *Killing Neighbours*, Lee-Ann Fujii interviews an elderly woman who recalls that during her childhood her family was Tutsi, because her father owned cows. After these cows died from disease her family's ethnicity changed: "Since that time, we have been doing agriculture and we have been Hutu" (qtd. 2009: 117).

and other crops' (Fujii, 2009: 23). Yet this picture of an ordered agricultural Eden is ruptured by an enigmatic provocation. She continues: 'it was *difficult to imagine* how anyone could have escaped the carnage, *so un-forgiving was the terrain* as to render all movement visible' (Fujii, 2009: 23 emphasis added). For Tadjo, 'the hills, the thousand hills of this country' (48) have themselves become a fetish, a standing-in-for the unrecoverable event: the event which 'destroys our ability to imagine it' (Bartov, 1998: 798 qtd. Eltringham, 2004: xi). Tadjo observes that '[f]rom a distance the city seems to have forgotten everything, digested everything, swallowed everything' (9), but up close a tangible '[f]ear has remained in [the] hills' (27). This fear is presented alongside the fact that '[d]ogs fed on the bodies' (27), indicating that the disordering of a naturalized ecology, with humanity at its apex, caused certain bodies to lose their symbolic status as human.

In *The Shadow of Imana* the question of what can be metabolised after genocide, and what cannot, is connected to the post-genocide Rwandan landscape, in which environmental spaces are differentially charged with meaning. Tadjo suggests that enigmatic provocations inhere within certain environments without being metabolised. A "material" provocation of this metabolisation comes with the knowledge that the earth's "metabolisation" of the bodies of the dead marks them with an archive of the genocide. Tadjo observes: '[t]hose blackened skulls are those which were found in latrines or buried in the earth. The white ones were found in the open, among the tall grasses' (12). These environments and their *disjecta membra* start to act like something in consonance with a message, the precise meaning of which is enigmatic. In Tadjo's text, the intimidating signature and continued provocation of the genocide is crystallized in the rural hill territories – the 'necklace of a thousand hills' that overhangs both the 'international airport' and the 'lunar landscape' of rubbish tips where children scavenge a meager existence (87). Here, the term 'necklace' is significant for the way it evokes a South African historical context.⁷ Necklacing the country, the hills are beautiful, but provocative of human suffering. Even Tadjo's most sensual descriptions of the hills – 'in the distance the hills are making love to the sky' – are marked by a fearful excess: 'their *silent groans* create the floating clouds you see' (17 emphasis added).

Attentive to the provocation of genocide that resides in the hills, The Shadow of Imana starts to define vernacular mourning ecology propped upon the physical landscape. Tadjo suggests that '[j]ust as in some of the Pacific Isles, people return to settle at the foot of an extinct volcano to till the fertile soil, Kigali is shedding its past and donning the raiment of a new existence' (10). Here, a mountainous space of exception is directly linked to the fertile agricultural land (associated with social recovery), below. Tadjo's panoramic depictions of the post-genocide environment connect the agricultural hill territories to the reserve-land in the volcanoes: '[i]n the distance, the outline of volcanoes dominates the hills. Armed soldiers are marching along the verges of the path. We pass a line of peasant farmers going to the fields. One of them is carrying an axe' (19). The focalisation in this passage descends from the mountains, from *beyond* the hills, to the soldiers marching along lower inclines. This focalisation evokes something that Tadjo suggests elsewhere: that it is only 'the world [that] stretches beyond the other side of those hills, far from death' that holds any possibility for those condemned to 'mourn the future' (27). An ecology of violence ties together the landscape, connecting the volcanoes that *dominate* the hills to the farmer's axe that recalls the use of agricultural implements during the genocide. This mourning ecology does not attempt to completely metabolize everything: '[a] lot of time is needed to accept that trees planted in this land of sorrows have been able to bear fruit' (10).

⁷ Tadjo has lived and worked in South Africa.

In exploring that which cannot be metabolised, or adequately translated and worked-through after genocide, The Shadow of Imana turns to environment: to Rwanda's hill territories, where a pacific environmental beauty has taken on unnatural connotations. Tadjo remarks: 'I try to decipher the expressions of the people we pass. Everything seems so peaceful. The hills are so green, so fertile. Terraced crops descend like giant staircases' (18). This observation dissembles the apparent peace that returns after genocide - to the everyday lives of those who continue to farm the land's fertile slopes – for it is now peace that acts as the provocation of a violent past. Nonetheless, the text also associates nonhuman and environmental beauty with the transcendent possibility of peace (rather than peace as practical necessity) and in doing so also starts to de-naturalise other received post-genocide landscapes. A connection is drawn between the mountain gorillas, 'symbolic of a beauty that passes our understanding' (81) and the genocide, which 'passed all understanding' (32). Here Tadjo riffs on Philippians 4:7 – 'the peace of God passeth understanding' - a verse that appears in a passage exhorting *reconciliation* among the leadership of the Philippian church. There is, in Rwanda, a vernacular association between the hills and the divine: 'Rwandans have traditionally described their country of a thousand hills as 'the land where god comes to rest' (Hron, 2009: 275). In The Shadow of Imana, the hills are re-positioned as sites of spiritual transcendence after genocide through a vernacular mourning ecology that connects different temporalities (environmental, human, nonhuman). In the hill territories the return to seasonal agricultural cycles that are abandoned during genocide marks a return to human temporality: to mourning. Laplanche suggests, 'the dimension of loss is probably coextensive with [human] temporalisation' (1999: 241). As such, that which lies beyond human temporality – here, the gorillas and their environmental enclave, 'outside of time and far from humans' (81) – reflects a limitation on mourning: a zone of non-mourning that makes a mourning for everything that remains possible.

I now turn to a consideration of why a vernacular mourning ecology that denaturalises the received landscape might have practical significance. As a fetish (that stands in for the unrecoverable event), Rwanda's densely cultivated hills are environments that allow a disavowal to be directed towards an external reality: agroecology. A level of ambivalence, in which the traumatic perception of humanitarian failure is disavowed and vitiated of its explanatory power, is evident in those hermeneutics for genocide that identify environmental scarcity, resulting from overpopulation, as the primary motivating factor in the genocide. Jared Diamond writes that those 'who visited Rwanda in 1984 sensed an ecological disaster in the making. The whole country looked like a garden and banana plantation. Steep hills were being farmed right up to their crests. Even the most elementary measures that could have minimized soil erosion [...] were not being practiced' (2005: 320). This environmental narrative of disaster fits within a wider framework of colonial constructions of African landscapes. Thomas Bassett and Donald Crummey observe that colonial constructions of landscape either depopulate an environment and construct it as 'pristine', or, when they do recognize human presence in the landscape, construe its role in 'almost entirely negative terms' (2003: 4). Diamond implicitly repositions the genocide as an 'ecocide' (2005: 6), clouding multiple human contexts with both his nominal definition for the term – an 'unintended ecological suicide' (2005: 6) by people who inadvertently destroy their own environmental resources – and with that which the term ecocide actually suggests: the concerted attempt to completely destroy a natural environment. What might again be referred to as an "agriculturalisation" of genocide is at play here, for to read genocide as ecocide introduces a slippage in which genocide becomes a rationalisation of space for

which agriculture is the ultimate paradigm – prompted by overpopulation and land pressure. Simultaneously, agriculture becomes a form of ecocide, leading inevitably, Diamond presumes, to soil erosion and environmental collapse.

If the way that *The Shadow of Imana* de-naturalises received landscapes in postgenocide Rwanda suggests that we need to reconceive certain environmentalisms (those that construct "pristine" environments as more valuable, and sustainable in comparison with agricultural relationships to the land or to models of sustainable use) - then it also re-contextualises the Rwandan landscape in terms of a failed, or inadequate, "humanitarian" mourning for genocide. This failed humanitarian mourning relates both to the failure of humanitarian intervention during and after the genocide, as well as to the inadequacy of a "humanitarian" (or human-centered) conception of mourning in this context. Tadjo works to show that in accounting for genocide, ethical refinement cannot replace attentiveness to the material needs of those still alive. Her focalisation of Rwanda's geography draws attention not only to the mountains, to the 'thousand hills' of the country, but also to the 'lunar landscape' of garbage dumps that 'overhang Kigali' and the international airport 'in the distance' (87). In foregrounding these social and ecological enclaves, Tadjo suggests that Rwanda is a place in which multiple temporalities of loss and recovery loom up against one another. The 'island of garbage' (87), peopled by children who 'left, one day, to live a wandering life' (86), has become another kind of temporal reserve in which the 'future extends no further than the end of the street' (87). Social grief is circular: the paths of flight adopted by these children lead them into new 'rigid hierarch[ies]' (87) – an observation that recalls another hermeneutic for genocide - and ever-propagating ecologies of violence: for the rootless 'void of their wandering days' (88) presages their enrollment in 'barefoot arm[ies]' (88). As a 'lunar landscape [of] island[s] (87, 88), the garbage dumps mirror, and re-inflect, the endangered

altitudinal "islands" in the mountain peaks, with their 'lakes huddled inside craters' (81), so valued as sites of eco-touristic pilgrimage.

We can connect the landscape of failed "humanitarian" mourning in Rwanda with a pre-genocide template for mourning: a suspended mourning for a certain vision of "lost nature" that fixates on the threatened environmental space of the nature-reserve, where the 'last "silverbacks" are living' (81). Tadjo riffs on but ultimately de-naturalises this construction of environmental space - she writes: '[t]he mountains stretch across Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Uganda. On the Rwandan side, the Volcano National Park has been given over to their use. Dian Fossey had made of it a kingdom' (81). What is being positioned in terms of loss here is not the nature reserve as environmental space but, rather, as ecological empire. Fossey's "kingdom", Tadjo suggests, allows a Western environmental consciousness to model itself by protecting gorillas – a fetish or 'totem-animal' (81) for the would-be philanthropist West – and by directing human, emotional and material resources into conserving a 'green orientalist' (Lohmann, 1993: 247) vision of endangered nature. Within this arena, Western research stations can live out a fantasy of complete control – '[a] satellite surveillance system will track the movements of the primates with its artificial eye' (82) - their use of expensive monitoring technologies unavoidably a display of cultural power. Tadjo critiques how 'foreigners [...] with their enormous cameras and plans for some expensive project" would arrive "[b]efore the gaze of dumfounded villagers' and 'disappear into the mountains without looking back' (82). Tadjo notes that '[i]t took the establishment of a research station for [local populations] to understand that these creatures were Rwanda's most precious possession. More precious than themselves? The competition was on' (82). In this hierarchy of value we can observe the same 'hazy linkage' between 'morality and power' which reveals "humanitarian" intervention as that which is 'actually based more on power than on legal right, and [which] can therefore serve as an exercise in power' (Klinghoffer, 1990: 135-136).

Just as Rwanda's mountains are reified in a Western environmentalist imaginary as a place where nature ought to be preserved intact, so Rwanda becomes typified as a place in need of exorcism: 'I have not recovered from Rwanda. Rwanda cannot be exorcized. Danger is ever-present, lurking in the memory, crouching in the bush in neighbouring countries' (118). This reference to regional instability evokes failed humanitarian intervention – the French-led Opération Turquoise, which instituted a safe zone in southwest Rwanda, allowed genocidaires to escape into neighbouring eastern Zaire. At the same time, the provocation of danger 'crouching in the bush' (118) finds other co-ordinates in Tadjo's consideration of the kidnapping and murder of a group of eco-tourists who were tracking gorillas in Bwindi Impenetrable Forest in Uganda - 25 kilometers north of the Virunga Mountains in which Rwanda's Parc National des Volcans is situated. During the two journeys she makes into Rwanda, Tadjo contemplates the international lure of mountain gorillas in the context of regional instability. During her first journey, Tadjo notes: '[t]he tourists murdered in Uganda are still making headline news [...]. Eight foreigners, including an American couple, have been murdered in the Ugandan jungle by, according to informed sources, Hutu rebels' (7). Here, Tadjo indicates the uneven contouring of international concern: how certain narratives of suffering accrue currency while others are neglected. During her second flight into Rwanda, Tadjo meets an American primate researcher making her 'sixth trip' into Rwanda to attend '[p]ress conferences, negotiations, discussions' (83). By installing an account of the preservationist's multiple returns to Rwanda – Tadjo makes two journeys while others are unable to return - Tadjo implicitly questions where we place our humanity: our human and material resources, in the aftermath of trauma. In a sleight of hand referring to the bureaucracy surrounding ecological research and tourism – 'if you want to see the silverbacks there are humans to be dealt with first' (83) – she covertly criticizes how certain agencies extend and delimit compassion, investing cash in gorilla conservation and research rather than in sustainable communities. In doing so, Tadjo carves out a space for ecocritical ethics in a text on genocide. In post-genocide Rwanda '[r]esearch activity is being resumed. The National Park has opened its doors to the public. The country needs money, foreign exchange' (83). Tadjo introduces into this ecological economy an hermeneutics of caution, attentive to the human exigencies that are neglected when we pursue a "melancholy nature": itself the subject of a commodified mourning expressed through "eco-tourist pilgrimages to endangered places" (Mortimer-Sandilands, 2010: 333).

When Tadjo notes that '[a]s far as the authorities are concerned everything is back to normal. The chain of volcanoes is peaceful once more' (83), she indicates the space between official consensus and other dimensions of loss. Tadjo also responds ambivalently to the official dispensation of mourning in post-genocide Rwanda, which converts rural massacre sites into state-sanctioned memorials and makes a commodified mourning available to international visitors. The value of these sites inheres in the level of authenticity they project: at Ntarama Church '[s]omeone cries: "You shouldn't have cleaned the blood off, you can hardly see anything anymore!"'(15). What this scene suggests is that the rural memorial sites – a 'death laid bare' that present the disintegrating 'bones of skeleton-corpses' and the 'horror of sullied earth' (12) – engender particular 'ecologies of looking' (Nixon, 2011a: 176). Rob Nixon uses this phrase to refer to 'the interconnected webs of looking and being seen in a context where the idea of the natural predominates' (2011a, 182). What is risked, in the rural memorials, is the projection of the dead into other temporalities, and other forms of "being", which is to say, non-human

being. Through these ecologies of looking, the dead are being iterated into a symbolic economy that occludes multiple human exigencies. The desire for the authentic "scene" – a scene which ought to be respected as beyond ready perception – bears out a comparison with the artificial scene of witnessing available to eco-tourists, who wish to 'get close to [the gorillas and] watch them in the splendour of their freedom' (82).⁸ The idea of the "natural" is, in both instances, an aestheticized vision of something "untouched" – whether 'red brick stained with purplish drips' (15), remains that are no longer recognisably human, or "pristine" nature – but that is nonetheless fetishized in relation to anthropogenic annihilation.⁹

For Catriona Mortimer-Sandilands, our engagements with environmental loss cannot prompt a 'criticism of the relationships that produced the loss in the first place' because they occur 'within the confines of a society that cannot acknowledge nonhuman beings, natural environments and ecological processes as appropriate objects for genuine grief' (Mortimer-Sandilands, 2010: 333, 337).¹⁰ Like an engagement with "melancholy nature", the engagement with rural massacre sites pushes the spectator beyond a temporal frame that can foster critical questions: specifically, questions about the post-genocide government. The critical questions we might want to be asking relate not only to the "enclave" but to that which surround it – Rwanda's agricultural territories. Meierhenrich suggests that state-sanctioned memorialisation in Rwanda can be read in 'the context of

⁸ The *image* of the ape has commanded a complex ecology of desire both locally and internationally, as a trophy and as an endangered species. Equally, so have white female primatologists like Dian Fossey (see Haraway, 1989; Bingham, 2010).

⁹ It is along these lines that Sara Guyer has critiqued the '*non-anthropomorphising* style of commemoration' (qtd. Meierhenrich, 2011: 289) at rural massacre sites, which has been 'enormously successful as far as marketing the genocide is concerned' (Meierhenrich, 2011: 289).

¹⁰ Ramachandra Guha positions 'the enjoyment of nature [as] an integral part of the consumer society', pointing out that the construction of pristine wilderness areas benefit tourist elites rather than local peoples (1989: 79).

state-building' and the modes of 'spatial control' that the RPF government has, more recently, been seeking to implement in the countryside (2011: 285). These include ambitious agrarian reforms that prohibit vernacular cultivation techniques in favour of regional monocropping, and a coercive villagisation programme designed to replace the traditional residence pattern of scattered homesteads as a matter of national security and land rationalisation (Newbury, 2011; Ansoms, 2011). Taking into account the "agriculturalisation" of genocide, such a state programme starts to look invested (as a response to the genocide). Agricultural lands become the new sphere of state-sponsored surveillance. The agricultural projects run in Rwanda's prisons (overcrowded after genocide) also lie within the agro-ecology of state space. In The Shadow of Imana, Tadjo appears to intuit the significance of agriculture, both materially and symbolically in postgenocide Rwanda. At Rilissa Prison, where '[s]orghum fields mark the prison grounds' (96) and prisoners till the fields, Tadjo suggests that agro-ecological beauty de-naturalises the 'horror of sullied earth' (12): '[g]reen shoots create abstract art on the black earth' (96). Although 'the *regularity* of furrows suggests there will be good crops' (97 emphasis added), these agricultural enclaves are not being aligned with land rationalisation but with mourning. Crucially, I suggest, it is not only through an association with agriculture but in traction with the nonhuman that Tadjo is able to write the prisoners, dehumanised by their crimes during genocide, in new and dignifying ways. She writes: '[i]n the growing darkness, the pink trail of their uniforms snakes through the tall grass' (97 emphasis added). While non-anthropomorphising, the snaking formation of the prisoners is dynamic: it suggests an inevitable moving-forward. Similarly, at the rural memorial, the dead are neither recognisably human, nor recognisably animal – but are still, crucially, alive-in-spirit: 'these dead are screaming still' (12).

Derrida suggests that when we think about the gaze of the other, we should not limit ourselves to the human other: that the gaze of the animal has a peculiarly ethical or moral function (2008: 381). The fact that we are intent upon jealously cordoning off qualities we consider proper to man, means that we miss that which 'the gaze called animal offers' to our sights, which is 'the abyssal limit of the human' (Derrida, 2008: 383; 381). We find in Tadjo's text repeated inscriptions of an alterity suspended on the threshold of human life. The enigmatic presence of that which is beyond the human provokes her questions: '[d]o the great apes know what happened at the foot of the mountains? Were they aware of the carnage, did they sense death as it spread across the territory?' (83); 'Driver ants criss-cross the red earth. What do they remember of the genocide?' (13); 'Did the ancestors know the crime of genocide?' (97) These questions indicate foreclosed sites, hollowed-out spaces that provide the possibility for provisional explanations, while remaining outside of explanation themselves. These liminal sites of being, both the animal (the apes) and the transcendent (the ancestors), exist in different states of transport. However, Tadjo implies, the nonhuman gaze can offer an ethical structure for mourning, initiating translation across incommensurable zones of experience. This can help the living to address their need to 'bear witness to the cruelty that has been inflicted upon them as well as the suffering of those who are dead?' (97), and produce an eco-critical ethics which is not constructed through violent segregations of human and nonhuman difference

Conclusion

This thesis has crossed four major fields of enquiry – postcolonial studies, medical humanities, environmental humanities, and psychoanalysis. Through these interdisciplinary engagements, I have outlined a new approach to postcolonial environmentalisms and postcolonial psychoanalysis. Part of this approach involves extending the limits of what we consider "text" and "archive" in new materialist directions. This project has also involved a dismantling of the border between the psychic, the environmental, and the medical. This materialist interface moves beyond (and extends) textualist interfaces between between psychoanalysis and colonial discourse. In order to "locate" this departure, I want to cite a passage from Homi Bhabha's essay, 'Sly Civility':

From the point of view of the colonizer, passionate for unbounded, unpeopled possession, the problem of truth turns into the troubled political and psychic question of boundary and territory: *Tell us why you, the native, are there*. [...] The colonialist demand for narrative carries within it, its threatening reversal: *Tell us why we are here*. (1994c: 138)

What Bhabha points to here is the enigmaticity governing colonial *desire*. At the same time, this desire is being expressed spatially – in the psychic question (or provocation) of boundary and territory. The desire structuring the colonial encounter suggests particular, psychically-invested, environmental relations. The desire, as Bhabha puts it, for 'unbounded, unpeopled possession' (Bhabha, 1994c: 138) is particularly at work in the

colonial production of space. The desire for 'unbounded, unpeopled, possession', is as we have seen from the previous chapter on Véronique Tadjo, the desire that structures the psychic space of the nature reserve (which I read as a saturated space of racial phantasying). The desire for an unbounded, unpeopled possession also underwrites the projection of people elsewhere. This projection, as we saw in relation to apartheid's sociospatial assignments, in Chapter 3 on Bessie Head, is also a projection backwards in time. It is with this notion of temporal projection that my theoretical interests in the nature reserve, as that eco-archaic enclave, and in the residential reserve, as undeveloped and non-developing space, collide. The temporal dimension of projection is also at stake in Bhabha's rendition of what we might call the "enigmatic signifiers" vectored by the colonial encounter. 'Tell us why you [...] are there' (Bhabha, 1994c: 138) implies a projection, of native peoples, backwards in time. 'Tell us why we are here' (Bhabha, 1994c: 138) presences the coloniser. Bhabha's textualist analysis of the colonial encounter - 'the continual slippage between civil inscription and colonial address' (Bhabha, 1994c: 140), or between the sign and its colonial signification – aligns with my project in ways which might not be easily anticipated. I began this project with the question: how does the colonial environment affect psychic life? One of my main preoccupations has been the simultaneously (or co-implicated) material and signifying dimensions of environment. In other words, the model of environment I work with has not been prescriptively material. Psychic responses to the colonial emerge not only out of histories of colonisation (which is to say, belatedly) but also out of the presence of the material environment – that is, the ways in which the environment (and one's position within it) signifies, differentially interpellates, and materially affects the subject. I have explored how the interpellative dimensions of the colonial environment are also its material dispositions.

Bhabha suggests that colonial projection re-aligns the colonised discursively while also producing 'the repeated fantasy of the native as in-between [...] endangering the boundaries of truth itself' (Bhabha, 1994c: 142). This is a process that I have traced through material (environmental and medical) colonial histories. Take Chapter 3 on Bessie Head: the psychic and material boundaries bolstered by sexual taboos under apartheid are also an exorbitant effect of apartheid legislation and linguistic assignation. The apartheid anxieties around sexualised bodily boundaries ("hygiene") actually produce the material conditions of poor sanitation and epidemiological risk that threaten white space as an outside-inside element. Ecologically speaking, the "part" cannot maintain its separation from the "whole". This is a logic we also saw working, in Chapter 1, through Dambudzo Marechera's engagement with the ecology and politics of reservoirs (of disease and of water). In Michael Ondaatje, in Chapter 2, the archive becomes embodied in a form of affective ambivalence that disturbs the totalitarian framing of immigration in the context of industrial labour. I have shown that colonial environmental relations include the way human bodies are redistributed and recomposed (epidemiologically, through forced removals to diseasing environments); demarcated and reformulated (as racialising embodiment); or projected from certain environments (resource-rich lands, white urban space) or from certain modes of environmental habitation (conservation). In other words, I have attempted to map political, racial ecologies - what I call the ecologies of skin - onto postcolonial environmentalisms. To conclude, I want to return to the colonial scene – and site of splitting – with which I began Chapter 1. The discovery of the book on the rubbish heap indexes the embeddedness of psychic responses to the colonial in material conditions. This is not only a matter of where we happen to find ourselves (there or here), but also of the state we find ourselves in ecological, material, psychical.

In the essay, 'Signs taken for wonders', Bhabha relates that the "scene" of discovering the colonial book – "signs taken for wonders" is a colonial 'myth of origin' (146). Bhabha writes: 'The discovery of the book is [...] a process of displacement that, paradoxically, makes the presence of the book wondrous to the extent to which it is repeated, translated, misread, displaced' (146). We have seen, in Chapters 1 and 4 on Dambudzo Marechera and Bessie Head, that this "discovery" is also an environmentally mediated event. Both Dambudzo Marechera and Bessie Head intuit the material conditions that intercede in the de-signification of the colonial "signifier" and its potentially productive (in Head, perhaps even reproductive) play of ambivalence. The question of "origins" is thereby displaced. No longer the colonial myth of origins, the question becomes: what does it mean to find reading material on a rubbish dump. I suggested that this *environment* communicates a signifying excess. In Bhabha's essay, too, the book is also re-signified within a new environment, as the title: 'Questions of ambivalence and authority under a tree outside Delhi, May 1987' (1994b: 145 emphasis added) implies. Here I wish only to emphasise the allusive situatedness of this "scene". For this is not only a 'scene in the cultural writings of English colonialism' (Bhabha, 1994b: 145) but a scene that is being located outside the text, that refers to the native catechist Anund Messeh's 'hurried and excited journey from his mission in Meerut to a grove of trees just outside Delhi' (146) where he finds a group of five hundred engaged in the reading and interpretation of a Hindi translation of the Bible. Inadvertently or not, Bhabha emphasises the "scene" of the discovery – that is, the material conditions that obtain to it. The book is translated in order to function materially, as a colonial technic of power and dominance. But it is in its discursive materiality that the book fails to function as such. The book is "discovered" materially, at Hudwar market. It is iterated into the

material landscape of exchange. But through its materialisation, and "discovery", the book is appropriated anew.

Elizabeth DeLoughrey observes that if historicisation has 'been a primary tool of postcolonial studies', such historicist modes of analysis must now include the nonhuman world as 'participant in the historical process rather than a bystander to human experience' (2011: 4). Along similar lines, Graham Huggan critiques postcolonial studies for being 'insufficiently attuned to life-centered (eco- or bio-centic) issues and concerns' (2015: 702). The environmental humanities is increasingly oriented towards new materialist discourse, and its ontological openness to who and what is participating in action, but this orientation is, of necessity, negotiated through scales - the microbial and the planetary – that are radically other to or outside embodied human temporality.¹⁴⁰ Biomedical research and medical humanities scholarship is also increasingly interested in these scales – new understandings of medicalised human embodiment concentrate on the microbiome, while in many ways the medical humanities is a rapidly globalising field. ¹⁴¹ As Jason Moore observes, '[n]ature operates not only outside and inside our bodies (from global climate change to the micro-biome) but also *through* our bodies, including our embodied minds' (Moore, 2017: 603). Postcolonial approaches to environment need to account for the embeddedness of our psychic dispositions in our environmental dispositions. What I have sought to demonstrate in this thesis is that the postcolonial vivdly co-implicates our psychic proclivities with our ecological situation. This is the

¹⁴⁰ For example, in a recent article on the various human-nonhuman entanglements of the "anthropocene", the importance of the biotic leads Haraway to announce: 'I am a compost-ist, not a posthuman-ist: we are all compost, not posthuman' (2015: 161).

¹⁴¹ Recent calls for a critical re-orientation of the medical humanities have noted the field's rapidly globalising scope and attention to non-Western contexts (Viney et al., 2015; Whitehead and Woods, 2016). So far, scholarship situating medical humanities enquiry in global contexts has concentrated on cross-cultural medical encounters (Jolly, 2016; Bivins, 2012), or on world-systemic flows of medical matter and expertise (Anderson, 2014; Atkinson, 2016; Bradby, 2016).

wider resonance and continuing lesson of the postcolonial beyond its initial purview. That lesson is latent in Bhabha's thought, for example, but it has increasing urgency in our own moment, just as the postcolonial itself is under institutional and conceptual pressure.

Works Cited

Acheson K (1995) Anne Wilkinson in Michael Ondaatje's *In The Skin of a Lion:* Writing and reading class. *Canadian Literature* (145): 107-119.

- Agarwal A and Sawyer S (2000) Environmental Orientalisms. *Cultural Critique* 45: 71-108.
- Ahmed S (2008) Some preliminary remarks on the founding gestures of the 'new materialism'. *European Journal of Women's Studies* 15(1): 23-39.
- Ahuja N (2010) Rhetorics of Endangerment: Cutural Difference and Development in International Ape Conservation Discourse. In: Roos B and Hunt A (eds) *Postcolonial Green: Environmental Politics and World Narratives*. Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 118-136.
- Alaimo S (2010) *Bodily Natures: Science, Environment, and the Material Self.* Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Anderson W (1995) Excremental Colonialism: Public Health and the Poetics of Pollution. *Critical Inquiry* 21(3): 640-669.
- Ansoms A (2011) Rwanda's post-genocide economic reconstruction: the mismatch between elite ambitions and rural realities. In: Straus S and Waldorf L (eds) *Remaking Rwanda: State Building and Human Rights after Mass Violence*. London: University of Winconsin Press, 240-251.
- Anzieu D (2016) The Skin Ego. London: Karnac.
- Aschwanden H (1989) Karanga Mythology. Gweru, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press.
- Ashcroft B (2012) Introduction: Spaces of Utopia. Spaces of Utopia: An Electronic Journal 1: 1-17.
- Ashcroft B (2013) Menippean Marechera. In: Hamilton G (ed) *Reading Marechera*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: James Currey, 76-98.
- Atkinson S (2016) Care, kidneys and clones: The distance of space, time and imagination. In: Whitehead A and Woods A (eds) *Edinburgh Companion to the Critical Medical Humanities*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 611-626.
- Avery D (1979) Dangerous Foreigners: European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Babcock D (2014) Professional intimacies: Human rights and specialized bodies in Michael Ondaatje's *Anil's Ghost. Cultural Critique* 87: 60-83.

- Barad K (2003) Posthumanist performativity: Toward an understanding of how matter comes to matter. *Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 28(3): 801-831.
- Barad K (2007) *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement* of Matter and Meaning. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Barta T (2005) Mr Darwin's shooters: on natural selection and the naturalizing of genocide. *Patterns of Prejudice* 39(2): 116-137.
- Barthes R (1977a) The death of the author. *Image Music Text.* London: Fontana Press, 142-148.
- Barthes R (1977b) From work to text. *Image Music Text*. London: Fontana Press, 155-164.
- Bartov O (1998) Defining Enemies: Making Victims: Germans, Jews and the Holocaust. *American Historical Review* 103(3): 771-816.
- Bassett TJ and Crummey D (2003) Contested images, contested realities: Environment and society in African savannas. In: Bassett TJ and Crummey D (eds) *African Savannas: Global Narratives and Local Knowledge of Environmental Change*. Oxford: James Currey, 1-30.
- Beddoes J (1994) Which side is it on? Form, class, and politics in *In the Skin of a Lion*. 53: 204-215.
- Beningfield J (2006) *The Frightened Land: Land, Landscape, and Politics in South Africa in the Twentieth Century.* London and New York: Routledge.
- Bennett J (2012) *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Benz-Schwarzburg J and Benz S (2012) Driving the great apes to extinction: perspectives from conservation biology, politics and bioethics. In: Somit A and Peterson SA (eds) *Biopolicy: The Life Sciences and Public Policy*. Bingley: Emerald Group, 179-210.
- Berkman LF and Kawachi I (2000) A historical framework for social epidemiology. In: Berkman LF and Kawachi I (eds) *Social Epidemiology*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bhabha HK (1994a) The Location of Culture. London and New York: Routledge.

Bhabha HK (1994b) Signs taken for wonders: Questions of ambivalence and authority under a tree outside Delhi, May 1817. *The Location of Culture*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 145-174.

- Bhabha HK (1994c) Sly civility. *The Location of Culture*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 132-144.
- Bingham D (2010) Hacked: *Gorillas in the Mist* and other female biopics of the 1980s. *Whose Lives Are They Anyway? The Biopic as Contemporary Film Genre.* Rutgers University Press, 289-310.
- Bivins R (2012) Coming "home" to (post)colonial medicine: Treating tropical bodies in post-colonial Britain. SOCIAL HISTORY OF MEDICINE 26(1): 1-20.
- Bök C (1992) Destructive creation: The politicization of violence in the works of Michael Ondaatje. *Canadian Literature* 132: 109-124.
- Bonnell JL (2014) *Reclaiming the Don: An Environmental History of Toronto's Don River Valley.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Bradby H (2016) Medical migration and the global politics of equality. In: Whitehead A and Woods A (eds) *Edinburgh Companion to the Critical Medical Humanities*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 491-507.
- Brookes EH (1968) *Apartheid: A Documentary Study of Modern South Africa.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Brown C (2003) *The Creative Vision of Bessie Head*. London: Associated University Presses.
- Bryce J (1999) Inside/out: Body and sexuality in Marechera's fiction. In: Chennells A and Veit-Wild F (eds) *Emerging Perspectives on Dambudzo Marechera*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 221-234.
- Buckley R (2003) *Case Studies in Ecotourism*. Oxon and Cambridge, MA: CABI Publishing.
- Burke T (1996) "Sunlight soap has changed my life": Hygiene, commodification, and the body in colonial Zimbabwe. In: Hendrickson H (ed) *Clothing and Difference: Embodied Identities in Colonial and Post-Colonial Africa*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 189-212.
- Butler J (1993) Endangered/endangering: Schematic racism and white paranoia. In: Williams RG (ed) *Reading Rodney King: Reading Urban Uprising*. New York: Routledge, 1-22.
- Buuck D (1997) African döppelganger: Hybridity and identity in the work of Dambudzo Marechera. *Research in African Literatures* 28(2): 118-131.
- Cairnie J and Pucherova D (2012) *Moving Spirit: The Legacy of Dambudzo Marechera in the 21st century*. London: Global.

- Campbell HG (2007) Water resources, regional cooperation and the African Union: Lessons from Southern Africa. In: Kitissou M, Ndulo M and Nagel M (eds) *The Hydropolitics of Africa: A Contemporary Challenge*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 271-324.
- Chen MY (2012) *Animacies: Biopolitics, Racial Mattering, and Queer Affect.* Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Chennells A and Veit-Wild F (1991) The man who betrayed Africa? In: Chennells A and Veit-Wild F (eds) *Emerging Perspectives on Dambudzo Marechera*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, xi-xix.
- Coole D (2013) Agentic capacities and aapacious historical materialism: Thinking with new materialisms in the political sciences. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 41(3): 451-469.
- Connor S (2004) The Book of Skin. London: Reaktion Books.
- Costello EK, Stagaman K, Dethlefsen L, et al. (2012) The application of ecological theory towards an understanding of the human microbiome. *Science* 336: 1255-1262.
- Davey F (1993) Post-National Arguments: The Politics of the Anglophone Canadian Novel since 1967. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Davis M (2006) Planet of Slums. London and New York: Verso.
- Deckard S, Lawrence N, Lazarus N, et al. (2015) Combined and Uneven Development: Towards a New Theory of World-Literature. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- DeLoughrey E (2011) Introduction: Towards an aesthetics of earth. In DeLoughrey E and Handley GB (eds) *Postcolonial Ecologies: Literatures of the Environment*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3-42.
- DeLoughrey E and Handley GB (2011) *Postcolonial Ecologies: Literatures of the Environment*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Derrida J (1998) Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Derrida J (2008) *The Animal That Therefore I Am.* New York: Fordham University Press.
- Diamond J (2005) Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Survive. London: Penguin.

- Diamond N (2013) Between Skins: The Body in Psychoanalysis Contemporary Developments. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Diebschlag N (2016) Jazzing the novel: The Derridean ethics of Michael Ondaatje's *Coming through Slaughter. Mosaic* 49(1): 161-178.
- Division of Tuberculosis Prevention, Ontario Department of Health (1939-74) Annual Reports. Archives of Ontario: Toronto (RG 10-97).
- Division of Tuberculosis Prevention, Ontario Department of Health (1945) The organisation and maintenance of a tuberculosis case register. Archives of Ontario: Toronto (RG 10-97-0-25).
- Division of Tuberculosis Prevention, Ontario Department of Health (1956) Report on survey of cases of silicosis with tuberculosis in the Porcupine Mining Camp. Archives of Ontario, Toronto (RG10-163-0-662).
- Douglas M (2002) *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo.* London and New York: Routledge.
- Drewal HJ (2002) Mami Wata and Santa Marta: Imag(in)ing selves and others in Africa and the Americas. In: Landau PS and Kaspin DD (eds) *Images and Empires: Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa*. Berkely and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 193-211.
- Driver D (2009) Coastal scenes in Bessie Head's *The Cardinals*. In: Hosking S, Hosking R, Pannell R, et al. (eds) *Something Rich and Strange: Sea Changes, Beaces and the Littoral in The Antipodes*. Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 127-145.
- Dubow S (1992) Afrikaner nationalism, Apartheid and the conceptualization of 'race'. *The Journal of African History* 33(02): 209-237.
- Dubow S (1995a) The elaboration of segregationist ideology. In: Beinart W and Dubow S (eds) *Segregation and Apartheid in Twentieth Century South Africa*. London: Routledge, 145-175.
- Dubow S (1995b) *Scientific Racism in Modern South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dubow S (1996) Introduction: Part one. *Black Hamlet*. Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1-37.
- Duffy D (2001) Furnishing the pictures: Arthur S. Goss, Michael Ondaatje and the Imag(in)ing of Toronto. *Journal of Canadian Studies* 36(2): 106-129.

Eilersen GS (1995) Bessie Head: Thunder Behind Her Ears. London: James Currey.

- Eltringham N (2004) *Accounting for horror: Post-Genocide Debates in Rwanda.* London: Pluto Press.
- Esposito R (2011) Immunitas. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Esposito R (2015) Persons and Things. Cambridge: Polity.
- Esty J (1999) Excremental postcolonialism. Contemporary Literature 40(1): 22-59.
- Fanon F (2004) The Wretched of the Earth. New York: Grove Press.
- Fanon F (2008) Black Skin, White Masks. New York: Grove Press.
- Farmer P (2001) *Infections and Inequalities: The Modern Plagues*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Fitzgerald D and Callard F (2016) Entangling the Medical Humanities. In: Whitehead A and Woods A (eds) *Edinburgh Companion to the Critical Medical Humanities*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 35-49.
- Fletcher J (1999) Introduction: Psychoanalysis and the question of the other. In: Fletcher J (ed) *Essays on Otherness*. New York: Routledge, 1-51.
- Ford J (1971) *The Role of the Trypanosomiases in African Ecology: A Study of the Tsetse Fly Problem.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Fraser R (1999) The slow sound of his tongue: Speech impediments and political impediments in Marechera's work. In: Veit-Wild F and Chennells A (eds) *Emerging Perspectives on Dambudzo Marechera*. Trenton: Africa World Press, 209-220.
- Freud S (1911) Formulations on the Two Principles of Mental Functioning. In: Strachey J (ed) The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud Vol. 12. London: The Hogarth Press, 213-226.
- Freud S (1913) Totem and Taboo. In: Strachey J (ed) The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud Vol. 13. London: Hogarth Press.
- Freud S (1916) Lecture XXIII, Paths to the Formation of Symptoms. In: Strachey J (ed) The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud Vol. 16. London: The Hogarth Press, 358-377.
- Freud S (1919) "A Child is Being Beaten": A Contribution to the Study of the Origin of Sexual Perversions. In: Strachey J (ed) The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud Vol. 17. London: The Hogarth Press, 175-204.

Freud S (1923) The Ego and the Id. London: Hogarth.

- Freud S (1930) Civilization and its Discontents. In: Strachey J (ed) The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud Vol. 21. London: The Hogarth Press.
- Freud S (1933) New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis. In: Strachey J (ed) The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud Vol. 22. London: The Hogarth Press.
- Fujii LA (2009) *Killing Neighbours: Webs of Violence in Rwanda*. London: Cornell University Press.
- Gagiano A (1996) Finding foundations for change in Bessie Head's *The Cardinals*. *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature* 31(2): 47-60.
- Gagiano A (2000) *Achebe, Head, Marechera: On Power and Change in Africa.* Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Gamlin, G (1992) Michael Ondaatje's *In the Skin of a Lion* and the oral narrative. *Canadian Literature* 135: 68-77.
- Gaylard G (2012) A melodrama of the voluptuous: Marechera's love poetry. In: Cairnie J and Pucherova D (eds) *Moving Spirit: The Legacy of Dambudzo Marechera in the 21st Century*. Zurich: LIT Verlag, 157-173.
- Giblin J (1990) Trypanosomiasis control in African history: An evaded issue? *The Journal of African History* 31(1): 59-80.
- Gillen P (2016) Notes on mineral evolution: Life, sentience, and the anthropocene. *Environmental Humanities* 8(2): 215-234.
- Gilman SL (1985) Black bodies, white bodies: Toward an iconography of female sexuality in late nineteenth-century art, medicine, and literature. *Critical Inquiry* 12(1): 204-242.

Godelier M (2011) The Metamorphoses of Kinship. London and New York: Verso.

- Goldsmith M (2014) Mountain gorilla tourim as a conservation tool: have we tipped the balance? In: Russon AE and Wallis J (eds) *Primate Tourism: A Tool for Conservation*? Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 177-198.
- Greedharry M (2008) Postcolonial Theory and Psychoanalysis: From Uneasy Engagements to Effective Critique. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Grice EA and Segre JA (2013) The skin microbiome. *Nature Reviews. Microbiology* 9(4): 244-253.
- Grove RH (1995) Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Guha R (1989) Radical American environmentalism and wilderness preservation. *Ethical Perspectives on Environmental Issues in India* 11: 71-83.
- Guha R (2000) The paradox of global environmentalism. Current History 99: 367-370.
- Guldimann C (2003) *The Cardinals*: Reclaiming language through the "permanent revolution of language". In: Sample MJC (ed) *Critical Essays on Bessie Head*. Westport: Praeger Publishers, 99-120.
- Gumbo B (1997) Integrated water quality management in harare. 23rd WEDC Conference on Water and Sanitation for All: Partnerships and Innovations. Durban, 157-160.
- Gwarazimba F (2008) The Zimbabwe independence settlement revisited: race, land, class, and ripe moments. In: Lyons T and Khadiagala GM (eds) Conflict Management and African Politics: Ripeness, Bargaining, and Mediation. London and New York: Routledge, 120-134.
- Hall S (1996) The after-life of Frantz Fanon: Why Fanon? Why now? Why Black Skin, White Masks? The Fact of Blackness: Frantz Fanon and Visual Representation. London, Seattle: Bay Press, 12-37.
- Hansen R (2010) Animal skins in contemporary art. *Journal of Visual Art Practice* 9(1): 9-16.
- Haraway D (1989) Primate Visions. London: Routledge.
- Haraway D (1991) *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*. New York: Routledge.
- Haraway D (2015) Anthropocene, capitaloscene, plantatinocene, chthulucene: Making kin. *Environmental Humanities* 6: 159-165.
- Hammond, E (1926) O.P.P Memorandum re. disappearance of Ambrose Small. Archives of Ontario, Toronto (RG 4-123-0-2).
- Head B (1990) *A Woman Alone: Autobiographical Writings*. MacKenzie C (ed). Oxford: Heinemann.

- Head B (1995) *The Cardinals With Meditations and Short Stories*. Portsmouth: Heinemann.
- Heald C (1996) Documenting disease: Ontario's bureaucracy battles tuberculosis. *Archivaria* 41: 88-107.
- Hemsley F (2017) A conversation with Véronique Tadjo: Writing as a duty 11 to remember the rwandan genocide. *Bulletin of Francophone Postcolonial Studies* 8(1): 11-18.
- Hitchcott N (2009a) A global African commemoration: Rwanda: écrire par devoir de mémoire. *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 45(2): 151-161.
- Hitchcott N (2009b) Travels in Inhumanity : Véronique Tadjo's Tourism in Rwanda. *French Cultural Studies* 20: 149-164.
- Hitchcott N (2009c) Writing on bones: Commemorating genocide in Boubacar Boris Diop's *Murambi. Research in African Literatures* 40(3): 48-61.
- Hitchcott N (2013) Between remembering and forgetting: (In)visible Rwanda in Gilbert Gatore's *Le Passé Devant Soi. Research in African Literatures* 44(2): 79-90.
- Hitchcott N (2015) *Rwandan Genocide Stories: Fiction After 1994.* Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Huddart D (2013) Black but not Fanon: Reading *The Black Insider*. In: Hamilton G (ed) *Reading Marechera*. Oxford: James Currey, 99-119.
- Hofmeyr I (2010) Africa as a fault line in the Indian Ocean. In: Gupta P, Hofmeyr I and Pearson M (eds) *Eyes Across The Water: Navigating the Indian Ocean.* Pretoria: Unisa Press, 99-108.
- Hook D (2012) A Critical Psychology of the Postcolonial: The Mind of Apartheid. London and New York: Routledge.
- Hooper LV, Littman DR and Macpherson AJ (2012) Interactions between the microbiota and the immune system. *Science* 336: 1268-1275.
- Hranova R (2006) Characteristic of an urban environment in the context of diffuse pollution control. In: Hranova R (ed) *Diffuse Pollution of Water Resources: Principles and Case Studies in the Southern African Region*. London: Taylor & Francis, 61-87.
- Hron M (2009) *Icyireze* in Rwanda Fifteen Years Post-Genocide. *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice* 21: 275-279.
- Huggan G and Tiffin H (2010) *Postcolonial Ecocriticism: Literature, Animals, Environment.* London: Routledge.

- Hughes DM (2010) Whiteness in Zimbabwe: Race, Landscape and the Problem of Belonging. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Humphries MO (2013) *The Last Plague: Spanish Influenza and the Politics of Public Health in Canada.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Ibrahim H (1996) *Bessie Head: Subversive Identities in Exile*. Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia.
- Jablonski N (2012) *Living Color: The Biological and Social Meaning of Skin Color.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Japha D (1998) The social programme of the modern movement. In: Hilton J and Vladislavić I (eds) *Blank: Architecture, Apartheid, and After*. Rotterdam: NAi, 423-437.
- Jennings CL and Jennings BH (1993) Green Fields/Brown Skins. In: Bennett J and Chaloupka W (eds) *In the Nature of Things: Language, Politics and the Environment*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Jolly R (2016) Postcolonial exotic in Western medicine. In: Whitehead A and Woods A (eds) *Edinburgh Companion to the Critical Medical Humanities*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 527-540.
- Jones G (2010) A poetics of sense: Michael Ondaatje's *In the Skin of a Lion. Moving Worlds* 10(2): 57-67.
- Jones S (2004) Mapping a zoonotic Disease: Anglo-American efforts to control bovine tuberculosis before World War I. In: Mitman G, Murphy M and Sellers C (eds) *Landscapes of Exposure: Knowledge and Illness in Modern Environments.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 133-148.
- Kauffmann J-P (2003) *Wrestling with the Angel: The Mystery of Delacrois's Mural.* London: Harvill.
- Khanna R (2003) *Dark Continents: Psychoanalysis and Colonialism*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Klein M (1997) Notes on some schizoid mechanisms (1946). *Envy and Gratitude and Other Works 1946-1963*. London: Vintage, 1-24.
- Klinghoffer AJ (1990) *The International Dimension of Genocide in Rwanda*. New York: Palgrave.
- Kovel J (1970) *White Racism: A Psychohistory*. London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press.

- Kuzawa W and Sweet E (2009) Epigenetics and the embodiment of race: Developmental origins of US racial disparities in cardiovascular health. *American Journal of Human Biology* 21(1): 2-15.
- LaFonteine JS (1960) *City Politics. A Study of Leopoldville, 1962-63.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Laplanche J (1970) *Life and Death in Psychoanalysis*. Balitmore and London: John Hopkins University Press.
- Laplanche J (1999a) Implantation, intromission. In: Fletcher J (ed) *Essays on Otherness*. New York: Routledge, 133-137.
- Laplanche J (1999b) Time and the other. In: Fletcher J (ed) *Essays on Otherness*. New York: Routledge, 234-259.
- Laplanche J (2002) Narrativity and hermeneutics: Some propositions. *New formations* 48: 26-29.
- Laplanche J (2011a) Gender, sex and the sexual. In: Fletcher J (ed) *Freud and the Sexual: Essays 2000-2006.* New York: International Psychoanalytic Books, 190-245.
- Laplanche J (2011b) Incest and infantile sexuality. In: Fletcher J (ed) *Freud and the Sexual: Essays 2000-2006*. New York: International Psychoanalytic Books, 293-310.
- Laplanche J (2011c) Sexual crime. In: Fletcher J (ed) *Freud and the Sexual: Essays* 2000-2006. New York: International Psychoanalytic Books, 147-166.
- Laplanche J (2011d) Three meanings of the term 'unconscious'. In: Fletcher J (ed) *Freud* and the Sexual: Essays 2000-2006. New York: International Psychoanalytic Books, 211-230.
- Latour B (2005) *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lefebvre H (1991) The Production of Space. Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Lettow S (2017) Turning the turn: New materialism, historical materialism and critical theory. *Thesis Eleven* 40(1): 106-121.
- Lilford G (1999a) Traces of tradition: The probability of the Marecheran manfish. In: Chennells A and Veit-Wild F (eds) *Emerging Perspectives on Dambudzo Marechera*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 283-298.

- Lilford G (1999b) Transformations of a manfisch: Changing allegories for the *njuzu* in Shona literature. *Journal des Africanistes* 69(1): 199-219.
- Linstrum E (2016) *Ruling Minds: Psychology in the British Empire*. London and Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Lohmann L (1993) Green orientalism. The Ecologist 23: 202-205.
- Lorimer J (2016) Gut buddies: Multispecies studies and the microbiome. *Environmental Humanities* 8(1): 57-76.
- Lowry G (2005) The representation of "race" in Michael Ondaatje's *In the Skin of a Lion*. In: Tötösy de Zepetnek S (ed) *Comparative Cultural Studies and Michael Ondaatje's Writing*. West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 62-72.
- Lundgren J (2006) 'Colour disrobed itself from the body': The racialized aesthetics of liberation in Michael Ondaatje's *In the Skin of a Lion. Canadian Literature* 190: 15-29.
- MacKenzie C (2001) Bessie Head's South Africa. In: Yousaf N (ed) *Apartheid Narratives*. Amsterdm: Rodopi, 115-130.
- Macura-Nnamdi E (2015) The alimentary life of power. *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 21(1): 95-120.
- Maekawa M, Lanjouw A, Rutagarama E, et al. (2013) Mountain gorilla tourism generating wealth and peace in post-conflict Rwanda. *Natural Resources Forum* 37: 127-137.
- Macey d (1999) Fanon, phenomenology, race. Radical Philosophy 45: 8-14.
- Macey D (2012) Frantz Fanon: A biography. London: Verso.
- Malabou C (2009) *The Ontology of the Accident: An Essay on Destructive Plasticity.* Cambridge: Polity.
- Malabou C (2012) *The New Wounded: From Neurosis to Brain Damage*. New York: Fordham University Press.
- Malabou C (2017) The brain of history, or, the mentality of the anthropocene. *South Atlantic Quarterly* 116(1): 39-53.
- Mamdani M (2001) When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Mapedza E (2004) Old water in new bottles. LSE Magazine. 11.

Marechera D (1980) Black Sunlight. London: Heinemann.

Marechera D (1984) Mindblast, or, The Definitive Buddy. Harare: College Press.

- Marechera D (1987) The African writer's experience of European literature. *Zambezia* 14(2): 99-111.
- Marechera D (1992) Cemetary of Mind. Harare: Baobab Books.
- Marechera D (2009) The House of Hunger. London: Heinemann.
- Markowitz G and Rosner D (2017) Why is silicosis so important? In: Rosental P-A (ed) *Silicosis: A World History.* Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 14-29.
- Mavhunga C and Spierenburg M (2010) A Finger on the Pulse of the Fly: Hidden Voices of Colonial Anti-Tsetse Science on the Rhodesian and Mozambican Borderlands, 1945–1956. *South African Historical Journal* 58(1): 112-141.
- Mavhunga CC (2011) Vermin beings: on pestiferous animals and human game. *Social Text* 29(1): 151-176.
- Mbembe A (2001) On the Postcolony. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Mbembe A (2002) African modes of self-writing. Public Culture 14(1): 239-273.
- Mbembe A (2003) Necropolitics. Public Culture 15(1): 11-40.
- Mbembe A (2016) The society of enimity. Radical Philosophy 200: 23-35.
- McCuaig K The Weariness, the Fever, and the Fret: The Campaign Against Tuberculosis in Canada, 1900-1950. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- McCulloch J (1995) *Colonial Psychiatry and the African Mind*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McCulloch J (2000) Black Peril, White Virtue: Sexual Crime in Southern Rhodesia, 1902-1935. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- McGregor J and Ranger T (2000) Displacement and disease: Epidemics and ideas about malaria in Matabeleland, Zimbabwe, 1945-1996. *Past & Present* 167: 203-237.
- McKellar DCR, Nunn DJ and Pells PJN (1974) Instrumentation of some embankment dams in Southern Africa. *Field Instrumentation in Geotechnical Engineering: A Symposium Organised by the British Geotechnical Society*. London: Butterworths, 249-261.
- McKittrick K and Woods CA (2007) *Black Geographies and the Politics of Place*. Toronto, ON: Between the Lines.

- McNamee E (2007) In the midst of death we are in life: biopolitics and beginnning again in Rwanda. *Social & Legal Studies* 16(4): 483-508.
- Meierhenrich J (2009) The transformation of lieux de mémoire: The Nyabarongo River in Rwanda, 1992-2009. *Anthropology Today* 25(5): 13-19.
- Meierhenrich J (2011) Topographies of remembering and forgetting: the transformation of Lieux de Mémoire in Rwanda. In: Straus S and Waldorf L (eds) *Remaking Rwanda: State Building and Human Rights after Mass Violence*. London: University of Wisconsin Press, 283-296.
- Meloni M (2015) *Political Biology: Science and Social Values in Health from Eugenics* to Epigenetics. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Merleau-Ponty M (2002) Phenomenology of Perception. London: Routledge.
- Miller JH (1977) The critic as host. *Critical Inquiry* 3(3): 439-447.
- Mironko C (2009) Ibitero: means and motive in the Rwandan genocide. In: Cook SE (ed) *Genocide in Cambodia And Rwanda: New Perspectives*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 173-199.
- Mitman G (2008) *Breathing Space: How Allergies Shape Our Lives and Landscapes.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Mitman G, Murphy M and Sellers C (2003) Introduction: A cloud over history. In: Mitman G, Murphy M and Sellers C (eds) *Landscapes of Exposure: Knowledge and Illness in Modern Environments*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Moore J (2017) The capitaloscene, part 1: On the nature and origins of our ecological crisis. *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 44(3): 594-630.
- Mortimer-Sandilands C (2010) Melancholy natures, queer ecologies. In: Mortimer-Sandilands C and Erickson B (eds) *Queer Ecologies: Sex, Nature, Politics, Desire.* Indiana: Indiana University Press, 331-358.
- Moyana HV (2002) *The Political Economy of Land in Zimbabwe*. Gweru, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press.
- Mukherjee A (1988) Towards an Aesthetic of Opposition: Essays on Literature, Criticism, and Cultural Imperialism. Stratford, Ontario: Williams-Wallace Publishers.
- Muir EG (2014) Riverdale: East of the Don. Toronto: Dundurn Press.
- Mzamane M (1983) New writing from Zimbabwe: Dambudzo Marechera's *The House* of Hunger. African Literature Today 13: 201-225.

- Ndebele MR and Magadza CH (2006) The occurrence of microcystin-LR in Lake Chivero, Zimbabwe. *Lakes & Reservoirs: Research & Management* 11(1): 57-62.
- Ndlovu-Gatsheni SJ (2009) Mapping cultural and colonial encounter, 1880s-1930s. In: Raftopoulos B and Mlambo AS (eds) *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-colonial Period to 2008.* Harare: Weaver Press, 39-74.
- Newbury C (2011) High modernism at the ground level: The Imidugudu policy in Rwanda. In: Straus S and Waldorf L (eds) *Remaking Rwanda: State Building and Human Rights after Mass Violence*. London: University of Winconsin Press, 223-239.
- Nhapi I, Siebel M and Gijzen H (2006) A proposal for managing wastewater in Harare, Zimbabwe. *Water and Environment Journal* 20(2): 101-108.
- Nicholls B (2013) Postcolonial narcissism, cryptopolitics, and hypnocritique: Dambudzo Marechera's *The House of Hunger. Postcolonial Text.*
- Nicholls B (2017 in press) Game reserves, murder, afterlives: Grace A. Musila's *A* Death Retold in Truth and Rumour. Eastern African Literary and Cultural Studies 3(2): 1-16.
- Nicholls B (forthcoming) An environmental unconscious? Nigerian oil politics, autonomous partial objects, and Ken Saro-Wiwa's *Sozaboy. Research in African Literatures* Special issue on Ken Saro-Wiwa Ed. Newell, S: (in press).
- Nimmo R (2010) *Milk, Modernity and the Making of the Human: Purifying the Social.* Abingdon: Routledge.
- Nixon R (2011a) *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor*. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press.
- Nixon R (2011b) Stranger in the eco-village: Environmental time, race, and ecologies of looking. In: Handley GB and DeLoughrey E (eds) *Postcolonial Ecologies: Literatures of the Environment.* 159-181.
- Norridge Z (2013) Perceiving Pain in African Literature. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Noyes J (2012) Colonial Space: Spatiality in the Discourse of German South West Africa 1884-1915. Abingdon and New York: Routledge.
- Ogunyemi CO (1996) *Africa Wo/man Palava: the Nigerian Novel by Women.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Okonkwo J (1991) Review of *The House of Hunger*, by Dambudzo Marechera. *Okike: An African Journal of New Writing* 18: 87-91.
- Olivier H (1977) Great Dams in Southern Africa. Cape Town: Purnell.
- Omole K (1991) Linguistic experimentation in African literature. *Literary Review* 35: 389-600.
- Ondaatje M (1983) Running in the Family. London: Picador.
- Ondaatje M (1988) In the Skin of a Lion. London: Picador.
- Packard RM (1989) *White Plague, Black Labor: Tuberculosis and the Political Economy of Health and Disease in South Africa.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Palsson G and Swanson HA (2016) Down to earth: Geosocialities and geopolitics. *Environmental Humanities* 8(2): 149-171.
- Pattison D (1999) The Search for the Primordial I in the Novels *Black Sunlight* and *The Black Insider*. In: Veit-Wild F and Chennells A (eds) *Emerging Perspectives on Dambudzo Marechera*. Trenton: Africa World Press, 193-208.
- Pattison D (2001) No Room for Cowardice: A View of the Life and Times of Dambudzo Marechera. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.
- Polistena JC (2008) The Religious Paintings of Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863): The Initiator of the Style of Modern Religious Art. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press.
- Puar J (2007) Terrorist Assemblages. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Pucherova D (2011) A romance that failed: Bessie Head and black nationalism in 1960s South Africa. *Research in African Literatures* 42(2): 105-124.
- Ranger T (1985) *Peasant Consciousness and Guerilla War in Zimbabwe: A Comparative Study.* London: James Currey.
- Ray N (2012) Psychoanalysis and 'the animal': A reading of the metapsychology of Jean Laplanche. *Journal for Critical Animal Studies* 10(1): 40-66.
- Repo S (1981) Rosvall and Voutilainen: Two union men who never died. *Labour/Le Travail* 8: 79-102.
- Riddell AR (1925) Some remarks on industrial diseases in Ontario. *The Canadian Medical Association Journal* 15(5): 510-511.

- Rodgers A (2002) Constructing beauty: The photographs documenting the construction of the Bloor Viaduct. *Archivaria* 54: 72-91.
- Roos B and Hunt A (2014) Systems and secrecy: postcolonial ccocriticism and Ghosh's *The Calcutta Chromosome*. In: Westling L (ed) *The Cambridge Companion to Literature and the Environment*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 184-197.

Sabi-Limpopo Authority (1970) Golden dawn. Harare: Sabi-Limpopo Authority.

Sachs W (1996) Black Hamlet. London: The John Hopkins University Press.

- Sambumbu S (2010) Reading visual representations of 'Ndabeni' in the public realms. *Kronos* 36(1): 184-206.
- Sanford JA and Gallo RL (2013) Functions of the skin microbiota in health and disease. *Seminars in Immunology* 25: 370-377.
- Segal N (2009) Consensuality: Didier Anzieu, Gender and the Sense of Touch. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Sellers C (1997) *Hazards of the Job: From Industrial Disease to Environmental Health Science*. Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press.

Serres M (1982) The Parasite. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

- Shaw D (1999) Transgressing traditional narrative form. In: Chennells A and Veit-Wild F (eds) *Emerging Perspectives on Dambudzo Marechera*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 3-22.
- Shepherdson C (1998) Human diversity and the sexual relation. In: Lane C (ed) *The Psychoanalysis of Race.* New York: Columbia University Press, 41-64.
- Soja E (1989) *Postmoden Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory.* London and New York: Verso.
- Sontag S (1977) Illness as Metaphor. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Soske J (2010) Navigating difference: Gender, miscegenation, and Indian domestic space in 20th century Durban. In: Gupta P, Hofmeyr I and Pearson M (eds) *Eyes Across the Water: Navigating the Indian Ocean.* Pretoria: Unisa Press, 197-219.
- Spivak GC (1999) *Critique of Postcolonial Reason*. London and Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

- Stapleton TJ (2011) *African Police and Soldiers in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1923-80.* Rochester: University of Rochester Press.
- Starfield J (1997) Review: The return of Bessie Head. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 23(4): 655-664.
- Stiegler B (1998) *Technics and Time, 1: The Fault of Epimetheus*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Straus S and Waldorf L (2011) Remaking Rwanda: state building and human rights after mass violence. University of Wisconsin Press.
- Strode TF (2005) *The Ethics of Exile: Colonialism in the Fictions of Charles Brockden Brown and J. M. Coetzee.* New York: Routledge.
- Sullivan S (2003) Enigma variation: Laplanchean psychoanalysis and the formation of the raced unconscious. *Radical Philosophy* 122: 20-33.
- Sullivan S (2015) *The Physiology of Sexist and Racist Oppression*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Swanson M (1977) The sanitation syndrome: Bubonic plague and urban native policy in the Cape colony, 1900-1909. *The Journal of African History* 18(3): 378-410.
- Tadjo V (2002) *The Shadow of Imana: Travels in the Heart of Rwanda*. Oxford: Heinemann Educational Publishers.
- Tadjo V (2010) Genocide: the changing landscape of memory in Kigali. *African Identities* 8(4): 379–388.
- Tadjo V (2012) Writing in troubled times. In: Heidenreich-Seleme L and O'Toole S (eds) *Uber(w)unden: Art in Troubled Times*. Johannesburg: Jacana/Goethe Institut, 22-27.
- Taitz L (1999) Knocking on the door of the house of hunger: Fracturing narratives and disordered identity. In: Chennells A and Veit-Wild F (eds) *Emerging Perspectives on Dambudzo Marechera*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 23-42.
- Taylor CC (2002) The cultural face of terror in the Rwandan genocide of 1994. In: Hinton AL (ed) *Annihilating Difference: The Anthropology of Genocide*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 137-166.

Thompson A (2007) The Media and the Rwanda Genocide. London: Pluto Press.

Tischler J (2013) *Light and Power for a Multiracial Nation: The Kariba Dam Scheme in the Central African Federation.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Toivanen A-L (2009) Writer-fighter Dambudzo Marechera: Rejecting ethnic and national labels. In: Rautavuoma V, Kovala U and Haverinen E (eds) *Cult, Community, Identity*. University of Jyväskylä, 181-194.
- Toivanen A-L (2011) "At the receiving end of severe misunderstanding": Dambudzo Marechera's representations of authorship. *Research in African Literatures* 42(1): 30-41.
- Tuhkanen M (2009) *The American Optic: Psychoanalysis, Critical Race Theory, and Richard Wright.* Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Valverde M (1991) *The Age of Light, Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Van der Merwe CN (2001) *Strangely Familiar: South African Narratives in Town and Countryside*. Parow: Content Solutions.
- Veit-Wild F (2004) *Dambudzo Marechera: A Source Book on His Life and Work.* Trenton: Africa World Press.
- Veit-Wild F (2012) Me and Dambudzo. Wasafiri 27(1): 1-7.
- Veit-Wild F and Chennells A (1999) *Emerging Perspectives on Dambudzo Marechera*. Trenton: Africa World Press.
- Vincent K (1999) Liminal Positions: Dambudzo Marechera's The House of. Hunger and Black Sunlight. English Studies in Africa 42(2): 49-65.
- Viney W, Callard F and Woods A (2015) Critical medical humanities: embracing entanglement, taking risks. *Medical Humanities* 41: 2-7.
- Waddington K (2006) *The Bovine Scourge: Meat, Tuberculosis, and Public Health,* 1850-1914. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.
- Weate J (2001) Fanon, Merleau-Ponty and the difference of phenomenology. In: Bernasconi (ed) *Race*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Weber B and Vedder A (2001) In the Kingdom of the Gorillas: Fragile Species in a Dangerous Land. New York: Simon & Shuster.
- Wenzel J (2016) Reading Fanon reading nature. In: Bernard A, Elmarsafy Z and Murray S (eds) What Postcolonial Theory Doesn't Say. New York and London: Routledge, 185-201.
- Westall C (2016) Capitalizing on English literature: Disciplinarity, academic labor and postcolonial studies. . In: Bernard A, Elmarsafy Z and Murray S (eds) *What Postcolonial Theory Doesn't Say.* New York and London: Routledge, 185-201.

Western J (1981) Outcast Cape Town. London: George Allen and Unwin.

- Whitehead A and Woods A (2016) Introduction. In: Whitehead A and Woods A (eds) *Edinburgh Companion to the Critical Medical Humanities*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1-34.
- Whitlock G (2010) Remediating gorilla girl: Rape warfare and the limits of humanitarian storytelling. *Biography* 33(3): 471-497.
- Wicomb Z (1995) Reading, writing, and visual production in the new South Africa. *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature* 30(2): 1-15.
- Wolfe C (1998) Old orders for new: ecology, animal rights, and the poverty of humanism. *Diacritics* 28(2): 21-40.
- Wolmer W (2007) From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions: Conservation and Development in Zimbabwe's South-East Lowveld. Harare: Weaver Press.
- Wylie D (1991) Language Thieves: English Language Strategies in Two Zimbabwean Novellas. *English in Africa* 18(2): 39-62.
- Wylie H (2002) Speculative Fictions: Contemporary Canadian Novelists and the Writing of History. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Yoshikuni T (2007) African Urban Experiences in Colonial Zimbabwe: A Social History of Harare before 1925. Harare: Weaver Press.
- Young R (1995) Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race. London: Routledge.
- Zimunya MB (1982) Those Years of Drought and Hunger: The Birth of African Fiction in English in Zimbabwe. Gweru, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press.
- Zinyemba R (1983) Zimbabwe's "lost" novelists in search of direction. *Moto* 15(7): 9-10.