

Exploring the South African Landscape: Zakes Mda's Rewriting of the Pastoral in *The Heart of Redness*.

دراسة المشهد الطبيعي لجنوب إفريقيا إعادة كتابة الرعوية في رواية زاكس مدا قلب الاحمرار

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Abstract

Landscape writing in Africa, mainly in South –Africa, has always been a thorny issue because of the complex interplay of environmental, political, and cultural issues. While some African writers spurn the use of Western literary conventions like the pastoral to represent the South African landscape, others vouch for the lasting appeal and adaptability of the pastoral. Tilted towards ecocriticism and postcolonial ecocriticism theories, the present paper aims to evince how the pastoral is appropriated in African literature. To pursue this aim, the paper investigates Zakes Mda's depiction of landscape in *The Heart of Redness* through his engagement with the controversial trope of the pastoral. A pastoral devoid of idealism, imbued with African culture and values that fosters nature and culture unity.

Keywords anti-pastoral ; culture; nature ; pastoral South African landscape.

المخلص كتابة المشهد الطبيعي في إفريقيا و خاصة جنوب إفريقيا كما نت دائما قضية شائكة بسبب التفاعل المعقد بين المسائل البيئية و السياسية و الثقافية في حين أن بعض الكتاب الأفارقة يرفضون استخدام التقاليد الأدبية الغربية مثل الرعوية لتمثيل المشهد الطبيعي في جنوب أفريقيا، فإن آخرين يشهدون على الجاذبية الدائمة للرعوية وقدرتها على التكيف. تميل هذه الورقة نحو نظريات النقد البيئي والنقد البيئي ما بعد الاستعماري، وتهدف إلى توضيح كيفية ملائمة الرعوية للأدب الأفريقي لتحقيق هذا الهدف، تبحث الورقة في تمثيل زاكس مدا للمناظر الطبيعية في *الاحمرار* من خلال تعامله مع المجاز الرعوي المثير للجدل. رعوية خالية من المثالية، مشبعة بالثقافة والقيم الأفريقية التي تعزز وحدة الطبيعة والثقافة.

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1. INTRODUCTION

As the environmental crisis unfolded, the interest in environment and ecology grew tremendously. Literature like other fields responded to these ecological concerns through a body of environmentally –oriented works and the need to develop an ecologically-informed criticism and theory became hence urgent. The emerging field that burgeoned in the twentieth century, stoked by the tradition of nature writing in the United States was called *ecocriticism*. Ecocriticism examines how literary writings portray the natural world and seeks to elicit reactions to the pressing environmental concerns. Therefore, it aims to explore the intricate relationship between literature and the physical environment. Jonathan Bate suggests seven questions that serve as the foundation for the field of literary ecocriticism, including: “first, how is nature represented in the literary work? Second, in the genre of literary works, what role can the physical environment play? Third, is ecological wisdom in accordance with the values expressed in literary works?” (Bate, 2000, p. 4).

Landscape writing, particularly in Africa, has always been so complex because of the entanglements of environmental issues with social and political ones. In his book *white writing: on the Culture of Letters*, J. M Coetzee draws attention to the intricacies of representing landscape in Africa, especially in his mother country South Africa: “If the landscape is encoded, In what language do we decode it? How are we to read the African landscape?” (Coetzee, 1988, p. 62). For a very long time, African writers relied on European literary conventions like the pastoral, the sublime, or the picturesque to represent African landscapes. A practice that J.M Coetzee avouches since the pastoral, in his view, is a means to bolster the imperialist structure. While Coetzee throws light on the conundrum of using the pastoral tradition to address South African environmental issues, other scholars question the ability of the pastoral to deal with current environmental issues since the pastoral, as Greg Garrard contends, is: “wedded to outmoded models of harmony and balance” (Garrard, 2004, p. 65). Despite that fact, ecocritics have recently discovered a revived fascination in the pastoral genre in all of its manifestations. They attest to the enduring appeal of the pastoral due to its adaptability: “The pastoral’s ‘staying power’, its adaptability, is precisely what we need” (Huggan & Tiffin, 2010, p. 209). This article,

*Exploring the South African Landscape: Zakes Mda's Rewriting of the Pastoral in
The Heart of Redness*

therefore, aims to investigate the South African influential writer Zakes Mda's engagement with the pastoral in his third novel *The Heart of Redness*.

The novel combines two plotlines, one set in the past and another in the present, in which pastoral motifs and anti-pastoral tone converge. The novel opens in the present timeline, with the returnee Camagu's romantic portrayal of the stupendous pastoral village of Qolorha – by – Sea that contrasted sharply with the unpleasant urban city of Johannesburg. In Qolorha, he is soon immersed in the village's local culture which reconnects him to his own cultural roots. Through displaying the cultural richness and vibrancy of the village, Mda appropriated the pastoral to the South African context through imbuing it with South African culture and values, offering thus a unique pastoral. Moreover, he draws attention to the capacity of the pastoral to challenge the Western nature – culture dichotomy. This pastoral ideal is however flawed as Mda suggests. Indeed, the idyllic depiction of Qolorha and the celebration of its cultural heritage are disrupted: in the present timeline by the brute reality of South Africa and the forces of global economy, and in the past timeline by colonialism, the cattle-killing movement and the breach that ensued between believers and unbelievers that transformed it into an anti-pastoral spot. Despite that anti-pastoral features, the novel culminates in a pastoral celebration through transforming Qolorha into a heritage site.

2. Qolorha-by –Sea: a pastoral paradise or a dystopia:

2.1 Camagu's romanticizing of Qolorha by Sea:

Published in 2000, *The Heart of Redness* interweaves two distinct storylines, one past time line set in 1856, and another present time line set in 1994. The novel opens up in the 1994 narrative strand with the main protagonist Camagu, a highly –educated South African in the field of communications who spent almost thirty years in New York working for an international development agency. The end of apartheid and the democratic election of 1994 spurred his return from exile to Johannesburg. A return full of prospects, but his over-qualification strangled his employment and made his return from exile strenuous. Disgruntled over his unemployment for almost four years except for a half-time teaching job, he decided to go back into a second exile. While gallivanting around the sophisticated city of Johannesburg one last time, he was

mesmerized by the voice of a girl named Noma Russia. This event propelled him to leave the deadly landscape of Hillbrow in Johannesburg for a seaside village in the Eastern Cape called Qolorha- by-sea which establishes the fundamental pastoral movement of retreat and return.

Moreover, Mda highlights the pastoral opposition of city and country through representing the countryside as idealized and uncomplicated, which stands in sharp juxtaposition to the morally corrupt, sophisticated city since the pastoral according to Terry Gifford: "...describes the countryside with the tendency to idealize the environment, inhabitants, and life style of the countryside in contrast to that of the urban" (Gifford, 2013, p. 18). The novel begins with a romantic portrayal of the rural village after the end of the apartheid, a time of peace and abundant joy according to the narrator: "when peace has returned to the land and there is enough happiness to go around" (Mda, 2000, p. 3). Qolorha –by-Sea is a richly biodiverse rural village where human beings coexist peacefully with other species, sleep under wild fig trees, and talk in whistles with weaver birds. An idyllic remote spot described poetically by Camagu: "...a generous artist painted the village of Qolorha-by-sea, using splashes of lush color. It is a canvas where blue and green dominate. It is the blue of the skies and the distant hills, of the ocean and the rivers that flow into it. The green is of the meadows and the valleys, the tall grass and the usundu palms" (Mda, 2000, p. 55). This rural village with its breathtakingly spellbinding landscapes is hence juxtaposed to the ugliness, frustration, and wickedness of the city: "Hillbrow never sleeps. Yet he is dead scared of this town. It is four years since he came back from his American exile, but he still has not got used to the fact that every morning a number of dead bodies adorn the streets" (Mda, 2000, p. 27).

Camagu's passion for rural living and admiration for Qolorha village were deepened during the celebrations at Xoliswa's residence, an occasion that prompted him to reflect on his childhood memories. A nostalgic longing for the days of yore when the pristine beauty of the natural environment remained unaffected by Western progress: "Camagu is filled with a searing longing for an imagined blissfulness of his youth. He has vague memories of his home village, up in the mountains in the distant inland parts of the country. He remembers the fruit trees and the graves of long- departed relatives" (Mda, 2000, p. 59).

2.2.1 Challenging the nature –culture dichotomy:

In addition to Qolorha's depiction as a colourful and enchanting location, Mda portrays the villagers as deeply connected to nature, showcasing an African environmentalism rooted in a harmonious and holistic bond between the African people, their culture, and the natural environment. Zim, one of the village elders, communicates with birds and bees and dozes under a gigantic wild fig tree. The wild fig tree has a great significance for him; it is not only his confessional but also his meeting place with the ancestors of the veld, of the forest, of the homestead, and of the sea which endow the tree with a kind of spirituality. Qukezwa, his daughter, correspondingly demonstrates a unique affinity with nature, as she displays a remarkable ability to engage with birds and other species. She possesses extensive knowledge and deep understanding of the specific characteristics of native flora and fauna: "Nice plants, eh? Nice for you, maybe. But not nice for indigenous plants. This is the inkberry. It comes from across the Kei River. It kills other plants. These flowers that you like so much will eventually become berries" (Mda, 2000, p. 90). She also emphasizes the interdependence of humanity and nature by utilizing her extraordinary artistic and sensual prowess:

She bursts into a song and plays her umrhubhe musical instrument. Many voices come from her mouth. Deep sounds that echo like the night. Sounds have the heaviness of a steamy summer night. Flaming sounds that crackle like a veld fire. Light sounds that float like flakes of snow on top of the Amathole Mountains. Hollow sounds like laughing mountains . (Mda, 2000, p. 152)

Her *umngqokolo* or split –tone chanting is deeply connected to the natural world, as she chooses earthy tones that evoke a strong sense of rootedness.

Moreover, Qukezwa, the quintessential Africanness aspires to perpetuate dying traditions as she and her Father Zim are considered as the custodians of ancestral practices. In fact, Qolorha - by- sea is not only known for its beautiful pristine environment but also for its impressive cultural heritage. It is definitely the heart of redness; the symbol of the Xhosa culture. "Redness" in traditional Xhosa folklore refers to the red ochre that South African women use to adorn

themselves and stain their clothing. NoPetticoat, the wife of Bhonco, is one of the rare women in Qolorha –by-Sea that still embodies redness. She is proud of wearing traditional fashion that is ironically appreciated by city folks. This traditional culture is deeply engrained in a profound reverence for nature and its laws, and thus runs counter to the Western nature-culture divide. Its traditional laws condemned any act of vandalism or destruction that threatens the fragile indigenous ecosystems which testifies to the respect of nature by indigenous cultures. The isomi bird, for example, is revered as a sacred creature, symbolizing the sanctity of the whole natural world, which demands respect and preservation. For the Xhosa, this ecological education is paramount: “without which – the writer seems to suggest – the future of any nation, no matter how sophisticated, would be doomed (Sewlall, 2009, p. 217). This interconnection between nature and culture embodies one of ecocriticism’s core foundations, as explained by Cheryll Glotfelty, “all ecological criticism shares the fundamental premise that human culture is connected to the physical world, affecting it and affected by it” (Glotfelty & Fromm, 1996, p. xix)

Qukezwa and Camagu’s encounter is very significant in the sense that she is the one who not only initiates Camagu to Qolorha’s natural world, but also to its traditional culture. Despite Camagu’s Western education, he comes gradually to value the traditional culture of the Xhosa people. That appreciation of local traditions started immediately upon his arrival in Qolorha when he received the visit of the Majola snake in his bed. That event exalted him, as this totem of the amaMpondomise clan reconnected him with his cultural heritage. By reconnecting with his cultural roots, the spiritually morphed Camagu earned the respect of the Xhosa community. Through displaying the richness of Qolorha’s local culture and its strong connection with the natural world, Mda melds the Western pastoral with African Xhosa traditions creating a new version of the pastoral. A pastoral imbued with the village’s local culture.

2.2 Disruption of the idyllic vision of Qolorho-by-Sea:

This pastoral idyll is, however, flawed. Behind Camagu’s nostalgic memories and the idealized picture he painted of the rural landscape in Qolorha-by-Sea, lies a grim reality. The Eastern Cape is undoubtedly one of the poorest regions in South Africa, particularly following the 1994 general elections due to the policies implemented by the new government. A place in which people are

deprived of electricity, sanitation, and running water: “electricity must come to the village. [...] The Government must bring electricity here because the village needs it. It is the policy of the government now to electrify even the most remote villages” (Mda, 2000, p. 239). In addition to the abysmal living conditions, the poor villagers were denied their basic rights by the democratically elected government who dashed their hopes and that of all the other South Africans. Bhonco, for example, is grumbling about the fact that he has not received his pension for a very long time. This present -day dystopian situation is not only due to the practices of the government headed by the African National Congress, but also to the history of the Eastern Cape itself. The Eastern Cape and mainly Qolorha –By –Sea is historically associated with imperialist expansion, oppression, and disintegration of the Xhosa nation, which reinforce the novel’s anti- pastoral features.

2.2.1 The encroachment of the Eastern Cape:

Colonialism is depicted as the uttermost anti-pastoral, as it has unfortunately become a pervasive force, leading to the degradation of the natural world, the displacement of the natives, and the unfortunate loss of their ancestral heritage. In the past time narrative, Mda brings to light the destructive impact of colonialism on the natural beauty of Qolorha – by – Sea and its indigenous inhabitants in the past and its repercussions in the present . The encroachment of the Eastern Cape by the British colonizers aimed at obliterating the traditional political structure of the Xhosa, weakening their cultural and economic integrity, and devaluing their sustainable lifestyle, which would later facilitate their impingement upon their lands. To pursue this aim, British colonialism led by the British governors Smith, Cathcart and Grey perpetuated the odious practices of all European Colonialism that:

(...)rearranged the world in accordance with a European image in a largely brutal and violent manner. In this process, scant if any respect was paid to the rights or dignity of others. [Europeans] relations with the lands and peoples they 'discovered' were predatory, accompanied by wanton destruction of all that stood in their path. Never had so destructive a force unleashed itself on the world (Mtheku, 2003, p. 12).

They have not only deprived lots of Xhosa chiefs from their status but also demeaned them. They even appointed magistrates who introduced a more “civilized” judicial system that would abate the dominion of the chiefs’ indigenous judicial systems and thus extirpate the old Xhosa customs. They built schools for native children to spread their language, religion and civilization. Under that veil of civilization, British colonialists appropriated vast Xhosa territories as they believed that the land was a comparatively low cost in exchange for civilization. Consequently, white settlements were widely dispersed and the Xhosa were forced to join the British labor force in what became white farms. The rest of the Xhosa were displaced, unbelievers like Twin-Twin fled to the Amathole Mountains to protect their cattle, while Believers like Twin headed to the lands of amaMfengu where they herded their cattle, and worked the amaMfengu lands in exchange for a shelter. And since displacement imposes a sense of estrangement, the exiled Unbelievers felt estranged, and humiliated that is the case of Twin who was relegated to the status of a beggar while he was once a man of substance. The Xhosa were filled with bitterness as they realized that there was no way out: “what can we do?” repeated Nxito tiredly. “We are a conquered people” (Mda, 2000, p. 259).

2.2.2The Cattle killing movement:

Imperial powers did not only appropriate native lands through the veil of civilization but also through disavowance. The British colonizers stirred up the Great livestock slaughter movement that convulsed the stability of the Xhosa community and caused its disintegration. A critical event that bolstered the anti-pastoral frame of the Eastern Cape’s colonial invasion. This movement was sparked off by the 15 –year- old orphan prophetess Nongqwusa who did her utmost to convince her people to sacrifice their bewitched cattle. The cattle were in fact contaminated by lung sickness, a disease brought from Europe to South Africa. According to the prophetess, the sacrifice of the cattle will result in the cattle and the ancestors rising and therefore restore the Xhosa’s Golden Age. In addition to the rise of the dead, the act of sacrifice enables a renewal and a regeneration of the earth through enabling: “the beast to absorb, through its quality of innocence, the evil which polluted the homestead and thereby restore its initial purity” (Peires, 1989, p. 178) which suggests a possible fulfillment of the pastoral in the past time narrative.

*Exploring the South African Landscape: Zakes Mda's Rewriting of the Pastoral in
The Heart of Redness*

Despite that hope for a possible regeneration and Golden Age restoration, this event resulted in a tribal disavowance. A schism ripped through the Xhosa mainly the sons of the headless Xikixa and split them into two camps: those who believe in the prophecy (the believers or *amathamba*) led by Twin and those who were hostile to it (the unbelievers or *amagogyia*) led by Twin – Twin. Under the directives of king Sarhili, the Xhosa commenced the slaughter of their beloved cattle. Hundred heads of cattle were henceforth slaughtered; and believers abstained from consuming meat of the preceding day; so, they killed new cattle each day and left the previous day's putrefying causing unprecedented environmental devastation. They even enlarged their kraals to welcome the new cattle. Divisions between believers and unbelievers were stoked. Starvation struck the Xhosa and disseminated the most vulnerable, and disaffection grew among believers. The full moon of June 1856, the day Mhlakaza and Nongqwuse set for the fulfillment of the prophecy was an enormous disappointment. Another disappointment followed, and the prophets, as usual, attributed the failure of the prophecy to nonbelievers and waged a guerilla war against them. As raids against unbelievers intensified, they sought the protection of the British governors who refused to send a military force unless white settlements were threatened.

Eventually, the cattle killing movement ensued in chaos and death. Sir George Grey was the only one who took advantage of the Xhosa livestock slaughter, as it paved the way to conquer the AmaXhosa easily. In fact, this movement ended up tragically, as it severed the locals' close bond with their cattle and failed to satisfy the promises of the rise of the ancestors, the driving off of the white man into the sea, and the regeneration and renewal of the earth, which testify to the failure of a Golden Age restoration: "They sat like that every day, hoping the sun would turn red, and other suns would emerge from behind the mountains or from the horizon But every day the sun rose as it had risen in the days of their forefathers" (Mda, 2000, p. 176). The above quoted excerpt suggests that the hopes of African people turned into disenchantment in the past as a consequence of British colonialism and Nongqwuse's prophecy. The pastoral in the past timeline is therefore unattainable and the future of South Africa doesn't augur well. Despite that air of despondency in the past time line, Mda suggests that a pastoral regeneration is possible in the present narrative strand

through Camagu's scheme to transform Qolorha into a historic site.

2.Qolorha-by-Sea as a heritage site:

In the present time narrative, Mda reveals once again the intricate links between nature and culture as ecological sustainability is achieved only through a holistic understanding of the interdependence between human cultures and the environment. Zim and Bhonco's debates about the prospects of building a casino and a holiday resort in Nongqwuse's valley, which will convert that pristine paradise into a mass tourism area, clearly illustrate this. The feud between believers and unbelievers has resumed in the present. On the one hand, we have Zim and his daughter, Qukezwa, descendants of Twin, who represent the cult of the believers, and on the other hand, Xoliswa Ximiya and her father, Bhonco, descendants of Twin-Twin, and who represent the cult of the unbelievers. These two families' splitting seems to perpetuate the schism between believers and unbelievers over Nongqwuse's prophecy. In fact, the belief and unbelief division embodies a division between modernity and tradition. While Zim opposed investors' development plans that he considered an infringement on their natural environment and their ancestral lifestyle, Bhonco displayed contempt and condemnation towards the traditional values and customs and strained to dispose of backwardness and redness.

Though Camagu adamantly opposed any kind of involvement in the bickering between the believers and unbelievers, he found himself engaged in a campaign to preserve Qolorha from that encroaching form of mass tourism. He opposed that tourist project for different reasons. First and foremost, the project causes considerable damage to the village traditions and threatens the fragile ecological balance already disturbed by colonialism. Secondly, it will not profit to the people of Qolorha but to the company and its owners. A view that Dalton concurs with; though white and a descendant of colonial John Dalton, Dalton feels a deep rootedness to Qolorha and its people, to the extent that he is willing to move anyplace despite his discontent with the current circumstances, while other white South Africans left the country for security reasons. He explains that he as an Afrikaner is more dependable.

Dalton and Camagu endeavored mightily to find an alternative to that project that would respect the peculiarity and uniqueness of that village. Dalton schemed out a proposal to create a cultural enclave in Qolorha that aims at the

*Exploring the South African Landscape: Zakes Mda's Rewriting of the Pastoral in
The Heart of Redness*

preservation of both its culture and nature. The idea of that business is to bring tourists to that cultural village to become familiar with the Xhosa traditional lifestyle staged by two female residents of the village, NoManage and NoVangeli. He pleads:

Tourists like visiting such cultural villages to see how the people live. The village will have proper isiXhosa huts rather than the newfangled hexagons that are found all over Qolorha .Women will wear traditional isiXhosa costumes as their forebears used to wear (...). Tourists will flock to watch young maidens dance and young men engage in stick fights. (Mda, 2000, p. 247).

Camagu is not convinced by Dalton's tourism business plans. According to him, what Dalton is trying to demonstrate through his cultural village is a culture that remained static far away from the present actualities. Thus, it is not only feigned but also inauthentic. Through Camagu, Mda underscores the fact that culture is a dynamic entity that constantly adapts to meet the requirements of the moment and that tradition and modernity can be congruous. Camagu recommends instead an eco-sustainable tourism in the form of a backpacker's hostel. The hostel will be constructed with the natural materials available in the village and designed in the Xhosa traditional architectural style. Relying on the assistance of the people of Qolorha and his long experience in development projects in the United States, Camagu aims to offer a unique yet realistic experience to tourists eager to be immersed in the Xhosa culture and lifestyle through this cooperative. Numerous visitors will hence visit pristine locations to appreciate the splendor of nature and observe different bird species and would find pleasure in the warm reception provided by the AmaGcaleka clan, either by staying in rondavels or hostels. They will also be enticed by the traditional dishes prepared by the AmaXhosa in their authentic culinary techniques.

This project will also target another type of tourist: those who may visit this location for its historical importance. This location is indeed renowned for its extraordinary occurrences; it is where Nongqawuse delivered her prophetic messages. Therefore, this initiative serves as an opportunity to confront a traumatic past that caused division among the Xhosa people and to seek reconciliation with the historical significance of the Nongqawuse prophecies:

For Camagu, and the project of ecological tourism, the past is to be remembered, not ossified and revered, while the present must be redefined and reinvented , (...)forged within the confines and prospects of their present situation. The vision of ecological tourism can provide this, as it offers the people of Qolorha-by-Sea respectful and conservatory control over their own environment, enables them and others to reflect on the passage of history, with all of its turmoil, conflict and tragedy, through which the region and its inhabitants have passed, and permits them some independence in the construction of a new identity in a time of social transformation. (Pires, 2013, p. 144)

Camagu, in fact, envisions an eco-culture that strives to create a more harmonious and sustainable connection between culture and nature that encourages the readers to ponder the necessity of adopting an ecological approach that will halt the pervasive environmental exploitation and gradual eradication of local culture, traditions, and collective identities resulting from globalization. Camagu, hence, provides credence to Huggan and Tiffin's interpretation of postcolonial ecocriticism, according to which this new discipline seeks to question and provide viable alternatives to Western conceptions of development.

Ultimately, Camagu's scheme was carried out as Qolorha-by-Sea became a heritage site with the support of the Qolorha community, which enables the regeneration and renewal of the people of the Eastern Cape. The novel culminates in a pastoral celebration, as the novel's last scene demonstrates the characters' communion with a pristine nature unblemished by modern economic growth that proffers a sense of quietude. Through Camagu, Qukezwa and her son Heitsi, who seem to perpetuate the pre-colonial Khoikhoi traditional culture, the pastoral can be recovered: "Qukezwa laughs excitedly. Heitsi screams even louder, pulling away from her grip, "No, mama! No! This boy does not belong in the sea! This boy belongs in the man village!" (Mda, 2000, p. 277).

4. CONCLUSION

In *the Heart of Redness*, Zakes Mda offers a unique rewriting of the pastoral that foregrounds the Xhosa's way of life. Through suffusing it with South African local values, history and culture, Mda does not only demonstrate how cultural practices in South African indigenous societies, epitomized here in the novel by Qukezwa and her father Zim, are intertwined with natural environments but also particularizes the pastoral. The novel nevertheless does not propound a utopian perspective of South Africa but engages instead with issues that South African society came to grips with in the past, namely British colonialism and the cattle-killing movement and in the present including mass tourism and global forces that buttress the anti-pastoral nature of Qolorha-By-Sea.

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4. Appendices:

Uphlaza : A cultural term borrowed from the Xhosa which stands for 'bead'.

Icangci: A cultural term borrowed from the Xhosa meaning 'beadwork, cymbal'

Umngqokolo: literally means 'rough noise'.

Umrhubhe: A cultural term borrowed from Xhosa and Zulu meaning 'musical instrument'

AmaMpondomise : An ethnological term borrowed from the Xhosa which means 'people who reside presently in the districts of Qumbu'

Nkamnkam: old-age pension

*Exploring the South African Landscape: Zakes Mda's Rewriting of the Pastoral in
The Heart of Redness*

Kraal: In Collins dictionary, the kraal is an enclosure for cattle and other domestic animals in southern Africa

AmaXhosa : People living in Southern South Africa who speak bantu .

UmXhosa: An ethnological term borrowed from Xhosa which means a 'Xhosa person'

IsiXhosa: A cultural term borrowed from the Xhosa which stands for the language spoken by Xhosa people