

**THE ACTIONS OF THE STATE
IN THE PRODUCTION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE**

**THE TREATMENT OF A CULTURAL ICON AS BEARER OF
VALUES, IDENTITY AND MEANING AT
GROOT CONSTANTIA IN CAPE TOWN**



Groot Constantia

**A 60 credit research project submitted
in partial fulfilment of the degree of
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by

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AUTHOR'S STATEMENT

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation with the title '*The actions of the State in the production of cultural heritage - the treatment of a cultural icon as carrier of values, identity and meaning at Groot Constantia in Cape Town*' examines Groot Constantia as a cultural icon in a culturally heterogeneous society where a multitude of identities exist within a history of conflict. The configuring of national memory and identity at Groot Constantia through its architecture and landscape is explored. The primary rationale of this study is to explore and critically analyse the control and use of a cultural icon in an attempt by the State to configure national identity and memory. Directly related to this primary endeavour is the exploration of the State's relationship with monuments and the use of cultural heritage and memory in nation-building and as a means to claim power and/or control of such icons.

This study relies on a small survey of individuals and key actors to establish values as they relate to Groot Constantia. The outcome is supported by documentary research and an evaluation from a socio-political and socio-cultural perspective. The study concludes with findings which indicate that Groot Constantia is of national cultural significance being a rare element in South Africa's complex cultural history. During the period of State ownership, Groot Constantia's architecture and its gable was a device used for white identity creation and nation-building; to create a prideful past on which to build a sense of nationhood; and its heritage of slavery was not allowed to impinge on its architectural heritage. The findings indicate that Groot Constantia's complex cultural past remains obscured whereas its historic (and the history of its architecture) and its economic values are prioritised. The findings furthermore indicate that although Groot Constantia's role as a tourist attraction should not be undervalued, some introspection around this heritage site of national significance would not be inappropriate. Careful and considered management of cultural heritage is required in a heterogeneous society with a divided and traumatic past to ensure that places of national cultural significance serve as inclusive testimonies of the past in the present.

KEYWORDS : Memory and values, cultural icon, the State and power, national memory, national identity

CONTENTS

<u>Contents</u>	<u>Page</u>
List of figures	7
Abbreviations	9
 CHAPTER 1	
1.1 Introduction	10
1.2 Structure	12
1.3 Research methodology	13
 CHAPTER 2	
2.0 Literature review	17
2.1 Cultural heritage and potential dissonance	17
2.2 National identity and values	21
2.3 The State and power	28
2.4 Architecture, landscape, memory and power	33
2.5 Cape Dutch: Trope of South African architecture	40
 CHAPTER 3	
3.0 Description and analysis of case study: Groot Constantia	51
3.1 Introduction	51
3.2 Geographical and physical context	53
3.3 History, context and values	57
3.4 The handing over of power by the State	88
3.5 Groot Constantia as icon: Wine-making and the architecture of wine	106
3.6 Recovering an excluded past at Groot Constantia	117
 CHAPTER 4	
4.0 Cultural significance	128

CHAPTER 5	
Findings	133
CHAPTER 6	
Conclusions	139
GLOSSARY	142
BIBLIOGRAPHY	143
ARCHIVAL SOURCES	152
ELECTRONIC SOURCES	153
LIST OF INTERVIEWEES	154

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1	32 Church Street Tulbagh – before the earthquake	38
Figure 2	32 Church Street Tulbagh – restored	38
Figure 3	34 Church Street Tulbagh – before the earthquake	39
Figure 4	34 Church Street Tulbagh – restored	39
Figure 5	Groot Constantia gables homestead and Jonkershuis <i>circa</i> 1791	41
Figure 6	Groot Constantia gabled homestead and <i>Jonkershuis</i> complex 2011	44
Figure 7	Groot Constantia : side elevation of homestead.....	44
Figure 8	Groot Constantia main gable	47
Figure 9	Section of a manuscript map (<i>circa</i> 1689)	544
Figure 10	Drawing of Groot Constantia by Walton	56
Figure 11	Groot Constantia homestead complex c1990	56
Figure 12	1710 drawing of Constantia by Stade	58
Figure 13	Anna de Koningh	58
Figure 14	1741 drawing of Groot Constantia by J.W. Heydt	59
Figure 15	Diagram of hypothetical layout of farmstead in 1741 (Fransen)	59
Figure 16	Groot Constantia: drawing of wine cellar.....	61
Figure 17	Cloete Cellar 2010	62
Figure 18	Cloete Cellar pediment (much restored) 2011.....	62
Figure 19	1798 painting by Lady Hamilton	63
Figure 20	1812 drawing of Groot Constantia by J.G.Milbert	64
Figure 21	Plan of Groot Constantia.....	64
Figure 22	After the fire – 1925	70
Figure 23	Groot Constantia after restoration 1927	71
Figure 24	Menu of luncheon held at Groot Constantia	74
Figure 25	Plan of Groot Constantia showing house before and after alterations	76
Figure 26	Photograph of kitchen at Groot Constantia	77
Figure 27	Kendall's drawing showing conjectured comparison	79
Figure 28	Furniture and antiques in Groot Constantia homestead	82
Figure 29	Invitation Bertrams of Constantia	86
Figure 30	Groot Constantia <i>circa</i> 1965	87
Figure 31	Plan of Groot Constantia:.....	91
Figure 32	Plan of Groot Constantia: the 'Jonker's House'	92
Figure 33	Proposed Plan : Groot Constantia Jonkershuis.....	92
Figure 34	Early photograph of <i>Jonkershuis</i>	94
Figure 35	Early photograph of front of Cloete cellar	94

Figure 36 Area between Groot Constantia homestead and Cloete Cellar	95
Figure 37 Homestead and Cloete cellar with lawned space and ornamental pool.....	95
Figure 38 Iziko Museum Groot Constantia 2012	99
Figure 39 Image of centrepiece of the British Empire Exhibition	108
Figure 40 Portion of Kendall & Morris plan of Pavillion	109
Figure 41 Groot Constantia's gable on the cover 1928 Institute of South African Architects banquet menu.....	109
Figure 42 1985 South Africa commemorative cover Groot Constantia Tercentenary	110
Figure 43 South Africa standard postage stamp circa 1961	111
Figure 44 Statue of <i>Abundance</i> in gable above front door at Groot Constantia	112
Figure 45 18 th century sketch (1.01) of long neck bottle.....	113
Figure 46 Location of areas probed during restoration at Groot Constantia	119
Figure 47 Ground plan of excavations around the 'slave pool'.....	119
Figure 48 Stone steps leading from 'slave pool' to Cloete Cellar	120
Figure 49 Sketch of 'suspected part of slave lodge in <i>Jonkershuis</i>	1221
Figure 50 <i>Vuurherd</i> in the <i>Jonkershuis</i>	122
Figure 51 Second <i>Vuurherd</i> in the <i>Jonkershuis</i>	122
Figure 52 <i>Vuurherd</i> on western side of <i>Jonkershuis</i> complex	123
Figure 53 <i>Vuurherd</i> on eastern side of <i>Jonkershuis</i> complex	123
Figure 54 Extract from visitors book in Groot Constantia homestead.....	124
Figure 55 Storyboards in Orientation Centre 2011	125
Figure 56 <i>Slave quarters, hearth and home</i> storyboard in Orientation Centre	126
Figure 57 Storyboard in Orientation Centre 2011 showing Hendrik Cloete's slave holding his <i>master's</i> pipe	126
Figure 58 Storyboard ' <i>Domestic work at Groot Constantia</i> '	127
Figure 59 Historic farms in the Constantia Valley.....	128
Figure 60 2012 Google map of Constantia Valley.....	129

ABBREVIATIONS

CUS	Closer Union Society
HMC	Historical Monuments Commission
HWC	Heritage Western Cape
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
NHRA	National Heritage Resources Act (25 of 1999)
NMA	National Monuments Act (28 of 1969)
NMC	National Monuments Council
SAHRA	South African Heritage Resources Agency
SANS	South African National Society
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

CHAPTER 1

1.1 Introduction

Witz says that heritage is a 'complex, varied and disputatious field' and that academics need to engage with heritage because of the possibilities of contestation (Witz in Murray, Shepherd and Hall 2007:12). Groot Constantia, afforded National Heritage site status by the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA), is arguably one of the best examples of a place that functions as a metaphor for past histories in South Africa where there is a possibility for contestation. It is a place of extraordinary scenic value; beautiful historic buildings in an Arcadian setting of mature oak and other trees, surrounded by cultivated vineyards and set against a scenic mountain backdrop. It is also a place where there is a complex relationship between its architecture, colonialism and apartheid, and where there are hidden histories.

Much has been written about the history of Groot Constantia and its owners. De Bosdari says that '*A great deal more is known of this house than of any other at the Cape*' (De Bosdari 1964: 33). The State owned Groot Constantia from 1885 when it was acquired by the Cape Government until the National Party government voluntarily relinquished ownership of the entire estate in 1993, the year before apartheid's demise when a democratically elected ANC-led government came into power in 1994. This event in the story of Groot Constantia begs for an exploration: of the relationships between the imminent loss of power and the retention of control over this cultural icon¹ and of notions such as negotiating identity and contesting heritage in post-apartheid South Africa.

The primary objective of this study is to examine the values expressed through the actions of the State; the creation of Groot Constantia as a cultural icon early in the twentieth century; in its conservation; and to examine and understand the values and views of individuals who were key actors at the time when the transfer of ownership from the State to the Groot Constantia Trust was planned and executed. There is a void in the literature and research around the transfer of ownership of one of the 'old' South Africa's most treasured icons that took place at the most significant moment in

¹ According to Wikipedia, *icon* is used, in the general sense of a symbol, to describe a thing, an image or a depiction that represents something else of greater significance, either literally or figuratively (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Icon>)

South Africa's history. There has not been any exploration of the fundamentals of this act through which ownership and control of Groot Constantia was transferred from the State; nor have the consequences of this act been grappled with or responded to in post-apartheid South Africa. This void and lack of public debate is surprising and demands some examination and analysis.

The key question of this research project is whether Groot Constantia, a defining icon of cultural identity, is able to affirm South Africa's diverse cultures and play a nation-building role in a heterogeneous society with a divided and traumatic past. Other questions in this case study are 'what', 'how' and 'why' questions: what values were expressed through the actions of the State in the appropriation of heritage and the conservation of Groot Constantia as a cultural icon? Why did the State hold these values? How were these values applied? What roles did architects engaged by the State play? Why did the key actors on behalf of the State respond to Groot Constantia's heritage in the way that they did?

A secondary objective of this research paper is to assess Groot Constantia's role in the negotiation of memory and identity in post-apartheid South Africa and its role in fulfilling the aims of current heritage legislation and also to explain the values and views of some key individuals in this regard. Can Groot Constantia be a place for renegotiating national identity? A question posed by Huyssen (2003:1-2) about memory consensus provokes the question one might ask about Groot Constantia: how can there be a memory consensus about this place with its divided and traumatic national past? Our understanding of the past is fundamental to how we define ourselves and frame our nationality and how powerfully the past influences our present cannot be discounted (Lytle 2011:11). The aim of this research paper is thus to contribute to this *lacuna* in the literature by exposing, analysing and placing in context the values and opinions of the key individuals involved in the conservation of Groot Constantia and its role in contemporary South Africa.

Although this dissertation refers briefly to the disciplines of architectural and heritage conservation it has different intentions where notions such as 'historical monument', cultural values and identity are concerned, given that the purpose of this dissertation is to examine the role of the State in 'negotiating' the past through places of cultural significance with particular reference to Groot Constantia. In order to understand the configuring of national memory and identity at Groot Constantia through its architecture

and landscape and how Groot Constantia came to be considered as one of the greatest manifestations of the 'old' South Africa's cultural heritage, the analysis of Groot Constantia's role in this cultural heritage; heritage conservation and management in South Africa and the role of heritage in nation-building will be explored. The study explores and analyses the values of the State during the different periods of ownership and control of Groot Constantia, particularly by analysis of the values of the State as revealed through its approach to the restorations at and conservation of Groot Constantia. Using Groot Constantia as an example, this dissertation argues for a need to acknowledge the multiplicity of cultural heritage and a deeper analysis of the role of material culture in the construction of nationalism and the production of identity within a society.

1.2 Structure

Insofar as the organisation of this dissertation is concerned, Chapter 2 sets out the intellectual themes that form the basis for the discussion contained in this dissertation. Literature and theoretical approaches are reviewed to obtain an understanding of these intellectual themes and to enable a critical analysis of the case study with reference to this literature and these themes. The notions of cultural heritage and potential dissonance in the production of meaning and significance in heritage are discussed. Chapter 2 contains views and arguments in regard to heritage as sites of cultural construction, the competing conceptions of culture, memory and identity as well as the inherently political nature of cultural heritage policies and practices. The relationship between the State and the nation's monuments as operatives of the State's power are explored. Chapter 2 also contains some of the principal arguments in regard to the relationship between architecture and the production of heritage with reference to the relationship between material cultural objects, especially buildings and landscape, and the creation of meaning and identity. Finally, chapter 2 contains an examination of Cape Dutch as a trope of South African architecture and culture. A brief background of conservation in South Africa is woven into this chapter and those that follow to complete the framework for this dissertation.

Chapter 3 is the case study and is primarily concerned with the State's relationship with Groot Constantia, in particular the control of Groot Constantia as a cultural icon and the use of its architecture and cultural history to configure national identity. This chapter describes the geographical and physical context of Groot Constantia and its history and

values which together provide the background and a broad understanding of the context of this heritage site in relation to monuments and the notions of power, identity, and meaning. Chapter 3 also contains an analysis of the State's strategic use of Groot Constantia and the voluntary transfer of its ownership by the National Party government in 1993, shortly before the handing over of power and control of South Africa to the ANC-led government in 1994. The reasons for this remarkable event are examined here and these were confirmed in the course of the research and interviewing process. Chapter 3 also includes an examination of Groot Constantia as an icon, the heritage of winemaking and the 'architecture of wine'. An examination of an excluded past at Groot Constantia concludes this chapter.

Chapter 4 contains a brief description of Groot Constantia's cultural significance in the post-apartheid context. Chapter 5 contains findings which include answers to the key questions set forth in the Introduction to chapter 3 and in the Introduction to this dissertation. Chapter 6 contains the conclusions of this dissertation including some on Groot Constantia's role in post-apartheid South Africa bearing in mind the multi-faceted and dynamic interpretation of cultural significance today, not only in the country but also globally.

1.3 Research methodology

This dissertation is a single-case study based on a study of the actions of the State at Groot Constantia. Townsend's reference to Stakes' remark that 'case study is not a methodological choice, but a choice of object to be studied' (Townsend 2003: 86) is worth mentioning as is Stakes' emphasis that 'although the case may be interesting in itself, there is always another agenda - to learn from the case about some class of things'. Townsend's thesis *Development Rights and Conservation Restraints* (2003), Yin's *Applications of Case Study Research* (1993) and Mouton's *Understanding Social Research* were relied on for case study research guidance. Gubrium and Holstein's *Handbook of Interview Research* (2001) has been the primary source of interview research guidance.

Groot Constantia, one of South Africa's foremost heritage sites, was owned by the State from 1885 until it voluntarily relinquished ownership more than a hundred years later. The case study is ideal for examining the role and values of the State expressed through its actions in the production of cultural heritage and its treatment of a cultural

icon as a bearer of values, identity and meaning. The study relies in large degree on sixteen interviews, for the most part with two groups of individuals: first, those who were directly and indirectly involved with and at Groot Constantia at the time when the National Party government lost power and the new democratic ANC-led government obtained power; and second, those who were key actors in the heritage sector at that time. Mindful of Mason's recommendation to distinguish between insiders and outsiders (Mason 2002), the identification of individuals required careful consideration. Those who exercised power and played an active role in decision-making processes were identified as interviewees. Also, individuals with expertise and sufficient knowledge to express informed views were identified. The aim of this part of the research was to obtain an understanding of the views of the interviewees in regard to the values and actions of the State in its treatment of Groot Constantia as a cultural icon. The interviewees range from conservation architects, architectural historians, IZIKO officials, bureaucrats in State departments and members of the Groot Constantia Control Board, Groot Constantia management and staff, members of the Groot Constantia Trust and education staff at Groot Constantia. Most of the interviewees were selected because they were key role players or individuals who are in a position to afford insight and an understanding of the actions and values of the State at that time. The interviews with conservation architects and architectural historians were not intended to help in the understanding of the restorations at Groot Constantia *per se* but rather to develop an understanding of the values of the State in so far as the restorations effected by the State and its agents immediately prior to it giving up ownership and control of the entire estate are concerned. References to or quotes from responses by any of the interviewees are not to be construed as a criticism in any way of any of them whether in their personal or professional capacities nor as a denigration of any of their work and/or important contributions made by any of them which fall outside the ambit of this dissertation.

Also, the research conducted on the restorations at Groot Constantia was not in order to critique the restorations but rather to enable the analysis of the values of the State, as property owner and as representative of public interest. Cultural History Museum officials, National Monuments Council officials and bureaucrats in State departments who were involved with Groot Constantia prior to 1994 were interviewed to obtain an insight into the values of the State as owner and regulator of Groot Constantia. IZIKO officials who are involved with Groot Constantia were interviewed to obtain their views on curating at Groot Constantia post 1994 to establish the current values that

determine the nature of the cultural history exhibitions at Groot Constantia. Members of the now defunct Groot Constantia Control Board as well as Groot Constantia executives and members of the board of the Groot Constantia Trust were interviewed to gain insight into the reasons for and events surrounding the transfer of ownership from the State to the Groot Constantia Trust, the exercise of power and possible contestations of heritage. A historian of slavery who was involved at IZIKO after 1994 was interviewed to obtain an insight into representations of slavery and the State's values in this regard after 1994.

The duration of the interviews ranged from between 2 to 4 hours. Save for one, the interviews were recorded by means of a digital recorder with the full knowledge and prior consent of the interviewees. In the circumstances I trust that there will be no question of the veracity of the information supplied by and responses of the interviewees. One interviewee requested that a particular explanation which was voluntarily given should not be used or published and no reference is made to this particular explanation in this dissertation. Only one of those interviewed was not recorded due to technical problems with the recording apparatus. Full notes were taken during that interview. Quotes from that interview were referred back for comment. All of the interviews were informal and different questions were posed to the individuals interviewed. The questions were determined by the roles and involvement of each of the interviewees. The interviewees all spoke freely and gave forthright responses to questions. None of the interviewees required to have sight of the manner in which they are quoted even though the subject-matter and personal opinions of some of those interviewed could be construed as controversial. I hope that none of the interviewees will have a sense that their trust was misplaced. The opinions and views of these individuals about the actions and intentions of the State immediately prior to and at the time when Groot Constantia was transferred to the Groot Constantia Trust provide insight that enabled the identification of key issues that prevailed at that time which has affected the organisation and structure of the dissertation.

A number of visits to Groot Constantia, to its the historic homestead and cellar, the orientation centre and the vineyards; and attending lectures to school children at the education centre at Groot Constantia, gave an intuitive understanding of Groot Constantia and all that it is comprised of, the exercise of power at Groot Constantia and its heritage-related role in nation-building.

The study also includes and relies on an analysis of the Hansard² records of Parliamentary debates held at the Library of the South African Parliament, archival material at the Manuscripts and Archives Library at the University of Cape Town, the National Monuments Council archive material held at the South African Heritage Resources Agency, material at the National Library of South Africa in Cape Town and at the National Archives in Cape Town as well as the files and archival material of architects Revel Fox and Partners who were commissioned by the State to perform the 1992-1994 restorations at Groot Constantia and the files of Gabriël Fagan Architects.

²Hansard is a substantially verbatim report of Parliamentary proceedings. It is named after an English printer L Hansard (1752-1828) and his descendants who compiled reports until 1889

CHAPTER 2

2.0 Literature review

This chapter introduces the intellectual themes that form the basis for the discussion contained in this dissertation. These themes are:

- Cultural heritage and potential dissonance
- National identity and values
- The State and power
- Architecture, landscape, memory and power
- Cape Dutch: trope of South African architecture

Literature and theoretical approaches are reviewed to obtain an understanding of these intellectual themes and to enable a critical analysis of the case study with reference to this literature and these themes.

2.1 Cultural heritage and potential dissonance

Cultural heritage policy in South Africa has historically been linked to the designation or declaration and protection of monuments. The idea of Alois Riegl about the modern cult of the memorialisation of existing things and places which have acquired the symbolic 'semblance of the past', the look of 'age' and associations with an irretrievable stage of history, warrants consideration. Riegl, an Austrian art historian, says that 'Monuments attract us from now on as testimonies to the fact that the great existed and was created long before us' (Jokilehto 1999: 217). He says that he has difficulty in finding the right word for the feeling that urges us towards the cult of cultural heritage, a feeling similar to a religious feeling which is inaccessible to reasoning, a feeling that would simply be unbearable if it were not satisfied (Jokilehto 1999: 217-218). In Chapter 3 we see how this feeling prompted looking beyond the present and to use Groot Constantia and its heritage as testimonies of achievements in the past. Riegl distinguishes between an 'intended monument' and an 'unintended monument'. An 'intended monument' is defined as a 'human product erected for the specific purpose of keeping human deeds and fates ever alive and present in the consciousness of successive generations'. 'Unintended monuments' are buildings that were built to satisfy practical and contemporary needs and that only afterwards obtained historic

value (Jokilehto 1999: 215). With this distinction in the typology of monuments, Riegl was the first to distinguish between intended monuments built particularly as memorials and those buildings ('monument historique' in France) which are only later recognised as historical and which are associated with specific values. The investiture of an unintentional monument with colonial origins that bears testimony to the historical events of settlement is exemplified by Groot Constantia, built as a homestead and used as such for centuries but later obtaining historic value as an historic monument valued for its a role in the formation of cultural memory. The Voortrekker Monument completed in Pretoria in 1948, the year that the National Party came into power in South Africa, is an example of an intended monument whose significance is associative or symbolic and ranges from 'holy ground' and symbol of Afrikaner Nationalism, independence and achievement for many (Kruger 2002 : 115). The Voortrekker Monument is primarily a symbol of Afrikaner Nationalism whereas Groot Constantia, examined in Chapter 3, appears to be an icon of white/Dutch/Afrikaner culture.

Choay (2001:13) says 'the monument is a deliberate (*gewolte*) creation whose purpose is established *a priori* and at the outset, while the historic monument is not initially desired (*ungewolte*) and created as such' and says further that the purpose of the monument is to bring to life a past engulfed by time whereas the historic monument has a different relationship to living memory and to the passage of time. Choay (2001:13) critiques the value of the built environment in establishing identity and argues that '....the historical heritage has ceded its constructive function to a defensive one dedicated to the recollection (in every sense) of a threatened identity'. According to Witz, the visualisation of pastness generates 'in different ways and on several fronts what a history is about' (Witz in Murray, Shepherd and Hall (eds.) 2007:12). Lowenthal suggests that history, memory and the physical remains of the past are used to select and create a past that is to our own liking, a 'malleable past' (Lowenthal in Silverman 2010:2).

Shepherd (2008:125) discusses the 'heritage effect', referring to ordinary things which become special when placed in museum settings; 'rendering the quotidian spectacular'. He says that this 'heritage effect' lies in moving us towards 'essentialised notions of culture and identity' (Shepherd 2008:125). Shepherd's view that the notion of heritage is a site of active cultural construction for finding 'present pasts' and an accommodation between different factional interests and competing conceptions of culture and identity

is compelling. Also worth noting is Shepherd's suggestion that heritage discourse operates as one of the principal sites –perhaps *the* principal site for negotiating issues of culture, identity and citizenship in the 'postcolony' (Shepherd 2008:124). According to Shepherd (2008:118) a claim to be available and accessible to all is fundamental to the nature of heritage in post-apartheid South Africa but that in fact heritage tends to be managed and controlled by highly bureaucratised and largely unaccountable structures and agencies. He suggests that the contemporary interest in heritage may be more concerned with the 'spectacle of authenticity' than with the 'really real'. In other words, visitors to a heritage site may be aware of the 'constructedness of the experience' and the 'elisions and blind spots' even as they enjoy a 'frisson of authenticity' (Shepherd 2008:125). Having regard to these views of Shepherd, Groot Constantia is not only an ideal case to show the paradoxical nature of the notion of heritage but also to show the opportunities for confirming and contesting settled identities. Shepherd's cautionary against the tendency of heritage becoming a 'merely sentimental attachment to the past, without the rigour and steel that come from comprehending history in its full complexity, or facing up to the horrors of the past' (Shepherd 2008:123) is helpful in examining Groot Constantia's cultural heritage. Also helpful in this regard is Townsend's argument that, in a sense, historians 'produce' history and that heritage specialists produce the meaning and significance of relics; as is Davison's view that that the significance attached to particular events in the past changes in relation to the politics of the present and that there remains a "surplus of meaning waiting to be made" (Davison in Nuttall and Coetzee 1998:160).

Cultural heritage policies and practices are inherently political, lending themselves to manipulation (Silverman 2010: 24). In examining the choice inherent in a community's heritage, Silverman says that in choosing to highlight distinct aspects of their chosen heritage, communities set themselves in opposition to each other by the very nature of their self-representation, 'designed as it is to validate their political stances and to accentuate the righteousness of their presence, their lived experience' (Silverman 2010:72). Rafael Samuel, the Marxist historian of British urban life, was also concerned with the politics of heritage. He wrote 'Politically, heritage ... draws on a nexus of different interests. It is intimately bound up with the competition for land use, and struggle for urban space.... It takes on quite different meanings in different national cultures, depending on the relationship of the state and civil society, the openness or otherwise of the public arena to initiatives which come from below or from the periphery' (Samuel quoted by Silverman 2010:24).

Deacon *et al* (2003:8) consider the role of the heritage sector to be that of interpreter and protector of a nation's cultural capital and, in carrying out this responsibility, the heritage sector has to sell an interpretation of the past, or a heritage brand (Deacon *et al* 2003: 8). But interpretations of the past are always subjective, making them ripe for contestation and posing a particular challenge in countries like South Africa, with limited resources to spend on arts and culture, that have inherited a 'one-sided' heritage industry while seeking to promote 'a new national identity' (Deacon *et al* 2003: 8). The need has been identified for all role-players in the heritage sector to focus on heritage resources as a national asset that cannot be maintained simply by 'dusting and good administration'. Moreover, heritage workers, institutions and government agencies have to work together to create an environment in which 'our heritage resources come alive' by fostering new ways of identifying resources and research into what they represent and interest in their value (Deacon *et al* 2003: 25). Heritage value is not only wrought from authenticity or provenance but is also shaped by associations and symbolic significances (Deacon *et al* 2003: 24). Andrew Hall, Chief Executive Officer of Heritage Western Cape (the provincial heritage authority for the Western Cape) and a key role player in the local heritage sector, says that if people feel that they belong in a place their behaviour changes and that 'we should be concentrating on ... making people feel at home'.

Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996:20) examine the production of heritage and distinguish between heritage, as contemporary product from history, and the past (what actually happened). These authors formulate the concept of heritage dissonance to describe what takes place when there is an attempt to integrate multiple and diverse values (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996:5). Their views on dissonance in heritage are helpful in exploring how tangible heritage can wield power and how, when used in pursuit of cultural and political aims, it has 'constructive or destructive potential' (Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996:12). They argue that dissonance is intrinsic to the nature of heritage and that it is inevitable in some form or other in a system where selection is unavoidable. For them, all heritage is someone's heritage and therefore logically not someone else's.

Heritage dissonance in South Africa, with a population descended from Dutch, English, Muslim slaves, Indian indentured workers and a large number of African tribes, is undeniable (Lytle 2011:37). The pre-1994 policies of the State excluded the cultural contributions of the majority of South Africans who were profoundly disadvantaged by

centuries of oppression and exclusion. This notion of heritage dissonance is considered further in Chapter 3 with reference to Groot Constantia, where the use of power by the State in pursuit of its political and cultural aims and to satisfy its political needs, is examined.

2.2 National identity and values

'Identity, memory, patrimony: the three key words of contemporary consciousness, the three faces of the new continent, Culture. Three closely related words with broad connotations, laden with multiple meanings that echo and reinforce one another. Identity refers to a singularity that chooses itself, to a specificity that assumes itself, to a permanence that recognizes itself, to a felt sense of self-consistency. Memory means many things – remembrances, traditions, customs, habits, practices, mores – and covers a range that runs from the conscious to the semi-conscious.' (Nora 1998: Vol 3: 635)

Nora, a French historian, collected 150 essays which explore those places, events and ideals that forged French national identity in *Les Lieux de Mémoire* (1992). The translated *Realms of Memory* (1998) represents approximately one-third of the original work and *Rethinking France* (2001) groups forty five articles in four volumes by theme: *The State, Space, Cultures and Traditions* and *Historiography*. Nora's notion of *lieux de mémoire* (which he says is an 'untranslatable neologism' (Nora 2001: xx) means places or locations of memory and is defined as 'any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community' (Nora, 1998: xvii).

Nora identifies the most obvious sites of French national memory in a country that has experienced diminished power as a result of political and social events as well as its integration into Europe. That country's ties to its roots caused a shift from a focus on its history to an awareness of its traditions that are disappearing, its threatened landscapes and a resulting loss of identity. Nora's aim is to reinterpret the history of France in symbolic terms so as to construct a history that is 'neither resurrection nor a reconstitution nor a reconstruction nor even a representation, but a history that is interested in memory not as remembrance but as the overall structure of the past within the present' (Nora, 1998: xxiv). Nora's *lieux de mémoire* (memory places) are remnants of the past; and this concept of Nora includes physical places such as archaeological sites, structures, museums and historical events. As opposed to memory and history, these relics exist at the same time in the present as well as in the past. Nora's *lieux de mémoire* compensates for the loss of *milieux de mémoire*

(national or communal identity) and he trusts in our ability to make up for the loss of national or communal identity. In his general introduction to *Rethinking France* he says: 'Everything is historical, everything is worth remembering, and everything belongs to our memory' (Nora 2001: XVIII).

Huyssen explores the ways in which the past is represented in *Present Pasts, Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (2003). He refers to the past as 're-presented' and he examines how collective public memory is determined by what is presented and what is not presented. Huyssen examines how architecture, culture and art are applied in the creation of public memory and he draws attention to tensions caused by the incomparability between different historical memories. He says that today's 'critical memory cultures', that emphasise the reassessment of national and international pasts, contribute towards the writing of history in a new way so that 'a future of memory' is guaranteed (Huyssen 2003: 27).

In South Africa, new kinds of memory discourses emerged after the demise of the apartheid government in 1994 when the new democratic government came into power. Issues of memory and forgetting dominated public discourse in post-apartheid South Africa with the work done by the Truth and Reconciliation Committee. *Negotiating the Past*, edited by Nuttall and Coetzee, contains an exploration of the ways in which memory is created and used to help South Africans forgive and forget (including an examination of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission). In their introduction, Nuttall and Coetzee describe Ingrid de Kok's warning against the construction of a sanitised past saying that the task of memory should 'not be to reconstitute and make whole, a whole which needs to lie about the fracture, instead the task of memory is to reconstitute turbulence and fragmentation, including these painful reminders of what we were and what we are' (Nuttall and Coetzee (eds.) 1998: 5).

It is memory and cultural production that make a nation and the identity of a nation is signified on its cultural patrimony, both tangible and intangible (Kynourgiopoulou in Silverman 2011:162). Memory and national identity are often connected with and depend on the existence of architectural monuments. Choay refers to Ruskin's view that 'we can live without architecture, but we cannot remember without it' (Choay 2001: 92). According to Ruskin architecture is the only means of connecting us with the past; by which the identities of communities are shaped. As a result there is always a connection between memory and political processes. Choay says, in relation to values attributed to monuments, that national value is primary and fundamental and that it was

this value that inspired the conservation measures of the French State and that justified the French State's inventorisation of 'inheritance' (Choay 2001 : 77). Alois Riegl, the first historian to refer to a theory of values in the interpretation of conservation of historic monuments does not refer to national values which Choay says is telling in that Riegl reasons in terms of the historic monument and not in terms of heritage which concept, according to Choay, was established to designate assets belonging to the nation (Choay 2001: 77).

Van der Watt (1996 : 27) tells us that according to Stuart Hall, in his reference to the narratives of a nation, national identity is often symbolically grounded on the idea of a *pure, original people or 'folk'* (his italics). Stuart Hall identifies national identity as 'primordial'. But in the realities of national development, it is rarely this primordial folk who persist or exercise power (Van der Watt 1996: 27). National development in South Africa has always been linked to threatened identities and periods of uncertainty (Van der Watt 1996:22).

The period leading up to the demise of the apartheid government and the installation of a new democratic government in 1994 was such a period of uncertainty. We see in Chapter 3 the reaction of those who exercised power at that time and their responses in relation to Groot Constantia.

Coetzer (2007: 150 – 151) gives an account of the political situation and circumstances that prevailed in South Africa towards the end of the nineteenth century when the country consisted of disparate political and geographical entities including the two British colonies of the Cape and Natal and the two separate Boer Republics of the Orange Free State and the South African Republic (Transvaal). He describes Rhodes as a politically astute imperialist that saw potential in the unification of these disparate entities under British administration so that the mineral wealth of the country, its natural resources and black labour could be combined to produce wealth and contribute towards and benefit the British Empire. And indeed this transpired in 1910 with the unification of the Cape and Natal British colonies with the two Boer republics. The unification of the two Boer republics with the two British colonies of the Cape and Natal brought the mineral wealth of the Boer republics within easier administration of the British. Coetzer points to the realisation by the 'men in power' that a national identity that healed or overcame differences between the English and the Dutch 'Boers' or Afrikaners as they were becoming known was something that needed to be fought for and 'manufactured'. Rhodes was one of the earliest figures who had engaged in the

intentional structuring of a common English/Afrikaner identity. General Hertzog (who was later responsible for establishing the Afrikaner republican-oriented National Party) and General Botha were two leading political figures who espoused the co-operation of the English and Afrikaners; and in 1911 General Botha stated this as the main object at the Bloemfontein Congress of the South African Party and General Hertzog referred to this speech as the beginning of a 'South African nationality and national life' (Coetzer 2007:150-151). Yvonne Brink says in her review of Lucas (2004) that he views the beginnings of apartheid under the British and that it was during British rule that 'the seeds for the policies of Apartheid were sewn as they were an extension and adaptation of pre-existing strategies written into the 1910 constitution of the Union of South Africa' (Yvonne Brink 2004).

Cape Dutch homesteads and their architecture provided the ideal link between English and Afrikaans South Africans as they were icons of a common European culture and heritage. Coetzer (2007: 152) argues that the symbolic representation of the new nation was to be partly formed through the mutual custodianship of a set of buildings and that the promotion of Cape Dutch architecture as a South African national style formed part of the structuring of a common English/Afrikaner identity. Peter Merrington suggests that the most abiding architectural contribution to national identity at the time of Union in 1910 was the 'rediscovery' and restoration of Cape Dutch homesteads, and their adaptation in the creation of a new architectural idiom for the new state, known as Cape Dutch Revival (Merrington 1998/9). Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen and Worden say that the mixed heritage as evidenced by Cape Dutch architecture in the revivalist architecture of Herbert Baker (1862-1946) was to bridge the divisions between English and Afrikaner creating a 'new, ameliorative South African identity' (Bickford-Smith et al 1999:76). Cape Dutch style was neither English nor Afrikaans – therefore politically neutral and hence useful. Coetzer says that the emergence of a common English/Afrikaner identity distinctly in opposition to 'non-Whites' who dominated South Africa in numbers but lacked the power and wealth to take over the colonial power structures was one of the biggest events that shaped the future of South Africa. Groot Constantia, as we will see in Chapter 3, was directly used and played an important part in this 'biggest event' as referred to by Coetzer.

In the 1930s Afrikaners were articulating the threat that they felt was posed by the British on the one hand and black people on the other hand by 'harking back to what they considered to be their unique origins and traditions – their common denominators'

(Van der Watt 1996:30). One of the South African narratives of nationhood is that of the Great Trek, referred to by Van der Watt as probably the most obvious invented tradition of Afrikaner culture (Van der Watt 1996:24). Cultural symbols and visible forms of popular culture such as the ox-wagon were employed to validate identity in the 1930s when Afrikaners were experiencing their identity as a 'shifting, dynamic and non-unified site' (Van der Watt 1996:22). Van der Watt says that Afrikaner leaders of the 1930s 'harked back to a supposed idyllic past that could be carefully controlled and used to posit a fixed unified identity' and she quotes Giddens who says that in traditional societies the past is honoured and symbols are valued because they contain and perpetuate the experience of generations (Van der Watt 1996:22).

One cannot engage with the connections between Afrikaner identity and Groot Constantia without considering and understanding the significance of land in South Africa. Kepe *et al* say that:

'To understand the significance of land in South Africa, one also needs to remember the ways in which people's relationships with land form the basis of their membership of communities, ethnic groups and nations. Land is not only a productive resource and an economic asset; it also denotes a political entity. Both the liberation movement and Afrikaner nationalist discourses have invoked the idealised imagery of 'the land'. Land has been a potent signifier of nationhood in nationalist discourses. The apartheid-era national anthem, Die Stem van Suid-Afrika, (the Call of South Africa), epitomised the equation of land with the sectarian and nationalist identity of Afrikaners. It evoked the suffering and courage involved in the conquest of land, and emphasised the importance of retaining control of the land as essential to preserving the heritage of the past and ensuring continuity of Afrikaner power into the future' (Kepe *et al* 2008: 150).

Kepe *et al* (2008:150) also note that '*land*' is a powerful signifier of a range of collective identifications, which often bump up against one another in the rough and tumble of identity politics in post-apartheid South Africa. Coetzee (2007:90) argues that landownership and a particular kind of spiritual experience available only to landowners, is linked to self-realisation, not realisation of the self as individual, but rather as the 'transitory embodiment of a lineage'. With reference to the farm novels (the *plaasroman*) of the author C M van der Heever, Coetzee (2007:91) says that Van der Heever writes about a type of Afrikaner with roots that are sunk deep in private land ownership and that although the ideal farmer of the *plaasroman* is wedded to the soil of the farm, he is not consciously aware of his married state or becomes aware of it only when it is too late, when he is threatened by the loss of his farm. Coetzee tells us that Van der Heever's prototypical *plaasroman* steadily moves towards the revelation of the farm as a source of meaning (Coetzee 2007:91) and that his writing represents farming

as a heroic activity that transports the subject into 'the mythic time of the ancestors'. The voices of these ancestors are brought into van der Heever's *plaasroman* 'Groei' when one of its characters say: 'it felt as if someone were (sic) telling me that Great grandfather, Grandfather, Father and all others would be shamed if we let this ground go' (Coetzee 2007:104). In another *plaasroman* of Van der Heever, *Somer*, sturdy ancestors urge from their graves that the farm be held on to. Coetzee says further that the spirits of the ancestors do more than tie the living to the ancestral farm, they call to protect the farm against outsiders (Coetzee 2007: 107). As we will see in chapter 3, this notion of lineal consciousness and the farm's ideological importance resonates in Parliament in 1993 when Groot Constantia's transfer from the State is debated.

Leon de Kock reminds us that before South Africa became a 'settled' state and incorporated into colonial dependencies and subsequent statehoods, the pre-colonial area we now know as South Africa consisted of a diversity of cultures; and he writes, in relation to South African writing, of the 'intractable realities' of South Africa and the country's history writers struggling to become 'less colonial' and 'South African' by expressing the integrity of the land and its people without the assistance of a common notion of the nation or a common culture. He says that unlike settlers in colonies such as Canada, Australia and the United States, South African 'settlers' of European origin have remained in the minority throughout the country's history, and 'they have been divided among themselves, to boot' (De Kock, Bethlehem and Laden 2004: 8-9). De Kock refers to Noel Mostert's claim that 'It was the Cape of Good Hope specifically that symbolised for many centuries the two great formative frontiers of the modern world' i.e. the oceanic barrier on the east and the more intangible frontier of 'consciousness' represented by Europe gaining a foothold at the tip of Africa. De Kock suggests that the 'frontier', as much cultural and psychological as territorial, has historically constituted one of the great meeting points. One of the intractable realities of South Africa, particularly the Cape, is that before 'settlers' of European origin arrived, indigenous Khoi herders inhabited the mountain slopes, valleys and plains of the Cape Peninsula and that by the late 1600s, as the small European settlement at the Cape was expanding, the ancestral lands of these indigenous people were being taken over. In the fertile and beautiful valley of Constantia in the Cape, lies the farm Groot Constantia, on land that was granted to Governor Simon van der Stel in 1685, and which previously formed part of these ancestral lands of the indigenous Khoi herders.

The frontier's link to land and identity is also symbolised by the Great Trek of 1838

which entrenched the history of the Voortrekker history as official Afrikaner history (van der Watt 1996: 4). Voortrekker is the name that refers to people called 'Voortrekkers', semi-nomadic pastoralists who moved from real or perceived persecution, across the land from European-settled areas into areas beyond the 'frontier' – areas not yet settled by Europeans. Preceding the Voortrekkers is one of the first collective identifications, however, the link between land, farming and wine-growing in South Africa. Farming, particularly wine farming, is a bastion symbol of Afrikaans-speaking white South Africans. Wine-growing was introduced to the Cape in the mid 17th century under Dutch rule and was intensified and expanded during the period of slavery. The French Huguenots, who settled in the Cape from as early as 1671, also made an important contribution to the wine industry in South Africa.³ These settlers had a strong cultural influence on the Cape and indeed on the entire country (Picton-Seymour 1989: 56).

Worden (1997:38) says that although grain and fruit farming played an important role in the economy, the 'Mediterranean image of the vineyard predominates, but with distinctive Cape Dutch homesteads whose elaborate gables became an icon of Cape heritage' and he refers to Groot Constantia as the epitome and an icon of this constructed Cape heritage. Worden (1997:37) also tells us that one of the founding principles of white settler history in South Africa is the myth of the 'empty land', the notion, as he says, that African farmers had never reached the Cape Colony where settler occupation began. In her account of travel writing and European expansion, Pratt (1992:215) refers to the 'western habit' of representing other parts of the world as having no history and says that there is no excuse for this 'dehumanizing' habit which constitutes an 'extraordinary act of denial'. Her assessment of the narratives of the early travellers that reveals the 'European improving eye' which 'produces subsistence habitats as "empty" landscapes' (Pratt 1992:215) finds resonance in chapter 3 where we see how European aspirations are represented as uncontested at Groot Constantia which indeed became 'encoded' as an empty landscape that was available to Europeans for 'improvement' and how Groot Constantia became saturated with values and meaning that relate to the identity and aspirations of its owners, particularly the State.

³ The French Huguenots (Protestants) fled from religious persecution in France to countries throughout Europe. Some who went to Holland were sent to the Cape. Some of those who arrived in the Cape were from the wine districts of France and were skilled in winemaking.

Joanne Winter, who challenges the perception that Groot Constantia has a palatable and compelling history in her case study in public history, says that the term 'all-inclusive South African identity' is problematic because identities are not easily known or clearly experienced phenomena, and that culture and identity should not be treated as fixed and static entities (Winter 1995:62). She poses the question whether it is possible for an 'all inclusive South African identity to be 'forged' and then suggests the forging of a national identity through the celebration of diverse identities that existed in the Cape in the seventeenth and eighteenth century by creating 'commonality through a shared museum experience' (Winter 1995:63). The notions of identity and Groot Constantia's potential to celebrate diverse identities are examined in Chapter 3.

2.3 The State and power

Nora (2001:xxxv) tells us that in France the word 'State' - when capitalized - oscillates between two meanings: the machinery of government and administration on the one hand, and the nation itself on the other and shows why the State, historically speaking, was the operating factor in French identity and the core stability for the nation. Nora says that the word 'State' can also denote a type of regime. In *Rethinking France* Himmelfarb concludes that there is an implicit recognition that Versailles did not die with the monarchy but that it indeed continues to celebrate the monarchy while at the same time repudiating it; and it will forever have something to say about the nature of power, its exercise, and its symbols (Himmelfarb in Nora 2001:320). Nora examined the *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory) of the French State and he explains why there has been an abiding feeling of insecurity in the historic memory of the French nation; and he concludes that this country had more continental and maritime borders to defend at the same time than any other European state. In most of the countries built on European immigration, the frontier was the symbol of the future and the 'continued triumph of civilization over barbarism' whereas in European countries the frontier was a symbol of the past (Nora 2001: XXXIX). Groot Constantia's frontier' role will be discussed in chapter 3 and Groot Constantia as a symbol of colonial achievement in the 'taming of an alien landscape with cultivated vineyards and a grandiose mansion' which marked the pioneering activities of the 'first founders' in an atmosphere of rural security that was far removed from a wild and untamed Africa' (Worden 1997:39) will be examined there.

The concept of power permeated much of the thinking of Michel Foucault, theorist and philosopher. He viewed power very much as related to concepts of authority, subjection, resistance and freedom. He noted the diffuse nature of power in the modern State and he argued that power was in effect distributed among the many institutions and organisations of the State (Oliver 2010:38). As a result of this extensive network of power, it was too dispersed and difficult to challenge. According to Foucault, each society, through the prevalent mechanisms of power in that society, defines and controls the types of statement, the types of discourse, the ways of thinking and articulating ideas that are characteristic of that society. He regarded power as a process of interaction within society (Oliver 2010:167). An important notion for Foucault is that groups of people, who felt themselves powerless, could under certain circumstances exercise considerable power (Oliver 2010:170).

Foucault believes in the freedom of people and he speaks of the need for the development of 'practices of liberty' saying:

'I don't believe that there is a society without relations of power, if you understand them as means by which individuals try to conduct, to determine the behaviour of others. The problem of not trying to dissolve them in the utopia of a perfectly transparent communication, but to give one's self the rules of law, the techniques of management, and also the ethics, the ethos, the practice of self, which would allow these games of power to be played with a minimum of domination'. (Sawicki 1994:362)

Foucault realized that as individuals, we react to situations in different ways. He used his books as vehicles to show the various factors that interact and collide in his analysis of change and its effects. As a philosophical historian and an observer of human relations, his work focused on the dominant genealogical and archaeological knowledge systems and practices, tracking them through different historical eras, including the social contexts that were in place that permitted change - the nature of power in society. He argues that power 'reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives' (Foucault 1980:30).

In South Africa, the apartheid system, deemed to be the last and worst case of a colonialist regime, is said to be a *sui generis* case, unlike any other case of colonisation (Nieuwmeijer and Cloete 1991:13). The effect of the system of apartheid on the identities of South Africans is unquestionable. Racial categorisation was not only the basis of discriminatory policies, it also constructed forms of identity for most South Africans. Apartheid physically separated South Africans on the basis of race and

justified the divisive treatment of citizens of differing 'races' by a rigid identification of their separate histories (Worden in Shaw and Jones 1997:31). There was no place for a common heritage in a country where every symbol and every site was divisive (Worden in Shaw and Jones 1997:39). Worden says that during the 1960s Groot Constantia became the 'epitome of white culture' and that it acquired even greater symbolic significance in 1975 when the then Prime Minister John Vorster (1915-1983) attended an annual 'blessing of the vintage' luncheon at Groot Constantia and declared of its founder Simon van der Stel that 'Oom Simon was a man who believed in our future. He did not plant vines and 8000 trees expecting to enjoy the umbrella of dappled shade in his own lifetime, but for the future of a small colony with a big unknown beyond' (Worden in Shaw and Jones 1997:39). 'Culture' was 'very much used by the apartheid regime to promote white culture or what was perceived as 'white' culture (Du Preez: interview 09.09.2011). It is important to remember that the homestead at Groot Constantia was not used as a dwelling during the apartheid era. It was owned and controlled by the National Party government. Racial segregation divided South Africans and repressed the majority, particularly after South Africa became a republic in 1961 which was based on racist ideology and legislation. Groot Constantia, then registered in the name of Republic of South Africa, could not conceivably at that time have been open to the entire population, black and white. Yet it is a place that was inhabited by slaves and the working classes since its establishment, people who made substantial contributions to the buildings, the farming activities and the landscape, and whose descendants make up a large portion of South African society today. Ironically, 'Oom Simon', who was of mixed descent, would have been classified as 'coloured' at that time and would have been subjected to the divisive treatment that was experienced during that era by South Africans who were not white. This irony was referred to in the Parliamentary debates on Groot Constantia of 1993 when a member of the Extended Public Committee, J H Momberg (a National Party member who later 'crossed the floor' to the ANC) said that 'if Simon van der Stel had lived in 1948 (the year that the National Party came into power in South Africa), he would not have been able to live at Groot Constantia because he was what they called a "mesties" – a half-breed whose grandmother came from the East' (Hansard 25 March 1993 col. 3590).

The democratic elections of 1994 brought about the end of official white rule and white South Africans lost the position of power from which they historically defined themselves (Wasserman and Jacobs 2003:26). Ndebele says that the apartheid

regime, run by a minority group of Afrikaners with 'a firm hand', had the power which resulted in a self-confidence which rendered them insensitive. He contends that English-speaking whites who had less power were prone to greater moral agony and remained with their conscience while the Afrikaners who had power 'died from within' (Ndebele 1998:27). 'Regime' refers to the beliefs and practices of a system of governance, not only to the people, governments, or specific institutions that operate within governments. The first step in the process of regime change is the collapse of the old regime. One of the further steps is the readjustment of power relations and the final step is the resolving and establishment of transitional formulas, 'bridges to a new shore' which require careful construction and consensus before being implemented (Nieuwmeijer and Cloete 1991:13). These bridges have to be built between the parties prior to their meeting at the negotiating table. Prior to the regime change in South Africa in 1994, and in the early 1990's, the then President F W De Klerk (18.3.1936 -)⁴ tried to build support for a constitutional change that would also preserve the position of white South Africans, as part of his own consolidation of power (Nieuwmeijer and Cloete 1991:16). Never before in history has a poor majority entered into power negotiations with a wealthy minority, except by revolution or post-colonial replacement and the most remarkable aspect of the process is the shift from a political culture of authority to one of negotiation and egalitarian accommodation (Nieuwmeijer and Cloete 1991:17). As both African and Afrikaner cultures are historically authoritarian this is especially unusual.

It is during this time of bridge-building and negotiation that the planning and execution of an unusual event took place namely the relinquishing of ownership, power and control by the State, as 'curator of the nation', of Groot Constantia, at that time a national monument and museum. During this period of negotiation the National Party government was 'far too strong to simply surrender power' and at that time it was going to 'insist on negotiating the terms of the new order to ensure that it safeguards some core white interests' (Friedman 1992:31), the result being that a new political order was negotiated in which the majority will rule but in which the minority will still enjoy influence. Wasserman and Jacobs (2003:26) say that since the early 1990s white South Africans have been adapting to a situation where white 'self' and 'other' constructions are challenged by the society evolving around them and that a new sense of self consequently has to be forged on different terms. This dissertation

⁴F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1993 for their contribution to the peaceful termination of the Apartheid regime in South Africa

focuses on a particular event that can be said to be such an operative of power relations namely the transfer of ownership of the entire Groot Constantia estate by and from the State in 1993.

Andre Brink says that the apartheid memory, re-shaping history around a largely imagined social consciousness of the Afrikaner, was constrained to forget large tracts of the South African past such as the shaping of the Afrikaans language in the mouths of slaves as well as the slave revolts (Andre Brink in Nuttall and Coetzee 1998:36). Proof of this contention by Andre Brink can be found at Groot Constantia and the way in which the buildings and its museum was used without any acknowledgement of these large tracts of South African past. But this criticism is almost as valid today as will appear in Chapter 3.

Witz (2003:11) tells us that a major impetus in attempting to establish a past-present alignment in the public historical sphere comes through the State and that the State assigns a set of associations between selected monuments to fix a national narrative. This function of the State has been referred to as 'curating the nation' where the State, as curator for the nation, decides what to display and how insofar as the nation's monuments, statues, memorials and museums are concerned (Witz 2003:11). The primary methods by which state heritage authorities are given power to intervene in the management of heritage resources is by institution of protective measures, taking control of property, usually by means of acquiring title thereto, or by instituting punitive measures (Andrew Hall 2009:65). It is notable then in this context that the State gave away title to one of South Africa's most recognised heritage resources.

The experience and memory of colonialism and decades of oppression and racial segregation cause some to criticise the curating at heritage sites such as Groot Constantia. It is within a paradigm of social concern that Groot Constantia is subject to criticism. Winter (1995) acknowledges that South African museums are starting to take into account a new perspective 'from below' but says of the curating at Groot Constantia that the complex history of the house is concealed. Winter would like to see Groot Constantia acting as a force for reconciliation and as a 'means of coming to terms with a past which will not be easy to forget' (Winter 1995:63). Can Groot Constantia live up to such expectations? Can the introduction of a new dimension which reflects the social history of Groot Constantia help to fulfil these expectations?

Were there abiding feelings of insecurity in the historic memory of the South African nation prior to 1994 where, as Nora puts it, the frontier was the symbol of the future and of the continued triumph of civilisation over 'barbarism'; and did these feelings find expression through the restorations at Groot Constantia and through the transfer of its ownership by and from the State in 1993?

2.4 Architecture, landscape, memory and power

'There are also, probably in every culture, in every civilization, real places – places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society – which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested and inverted' (Foucault 1967).

Foucault refers to these real places that exist in every culture as 'heterotopias', in contrast to 'utopias' that are sites with no real place. Foucault says that there is probably not a single culture in the world that fails to constitute heterotopias and that a society, as its history unfolds, can make an existing heterotopia function in a very different fashion. Each heterotopia has a precise and determined function within a society and that same heterotopia can, according to the synchrony of the culture within which it occurs, have one function or another. Foucault makes a connection between the understanding of discourse as expressed through architectural culture and the significance of the production of space (Van Graan 2010:33). He regarded architecture not only as an element in space but sees it as extending into the realm of social relations in which it brings certain effects. Van Graan (2010:34) says that this link is fundamental to an understanding of architecture as the 'visible politics of a colonial society'. One of Foucault's heterotopias is that of museums and libraries, a perpetual and indefinite accumulation of time in an immobile place (Foucault 1967). In Chapter 3 the architecture of Groot Constantia and its link to the politics of colonial society in South Africa is explored.

Architectural theory and history have traditionally been concerned with the study of monuments where the emphasis is on the work of men of genius, the unusual and the rare (Rapoport 1969:1). Rapoport says that there are two standards – one for 'important' buildings, especially those of the past, and another for 'unimportant' buildings and the environment which they compose (Rapoport 1969: 2). Although Rapoport's criticisms are made in the context of monuments as 'important' buildings and vernacular building forms as 'unimportant', this approach which implies that

architecture is to be found only in the monuments is useful when one has regard to his contention that 'unimportant' buildings are much more closely related to the culture of the majority and life as it is really lived than is the 'grand design' tradition (Rapoport 1969: 2). This notion of life as it is really lived, particularly in relation to the everyday life that was lived at Groot Constantia and historic representations thereof, will be probed in chapter 3 when answers to questions such as what is remembered and what is forgotten at Groot Constantia are sought.

History exists as long as an object is in use, for as long as the object's form relates to its original function. But when the form of an object is severed from the object's function and only the form remains, history then shifts into the realm of memory. History is then identified through the relationship between a collective memory of events, the singularity of the place and the built form. According to Rossi (1982) the new time of architecture is that of memory which replaces history and the individual artefact is understood within the mental realm of collective memory. The introduction of memory into an object means that the object comes to embody both an idea of itself and a memory of a former self. It is important to note that for Rossi, architecture can always be reinterpreted, from which it follows that there can also be a reinterpretation of memory. Historical buildings therefore have the ability to be reinterpreted. This all relates to Rossi's ideas about 'propelling' and 'pathological' 'permanences' (Rossi 1982:6-9, 2). This potential for reinterpretation is explored in Chapter 3 in relation to Groot Constantia.

Architecture has a long tradition of evoking memory, one that goes beyond the memory of shelter and dwelling. Buildings are more than physical artefacts; they are reflections and incarnations of human aspiration and ontological meaning.

'Remembering is like constructing and then travelling again through a space. We are already talking about architecture Memories are built as a city is built. It could be said that architecture, from its beginnings, has been one of the ways of fixing memories.' (Umberto Eco quoted by Birksted 2000:53)

Birksted tells us that the interaction between vision and memory in the landscape is capable of generating narrative vision that cuts across the distinction between the textual and the visual and that landscape has a temporal dimension: 'transporting the past into the present, blurring past and present, recreating the present as past'. (Birksted (ed.) 2000: 3). According to Birksted (2000:53) architecture communicates

memory and the intensity of memory activation is closely related to the cultural involvement of the observer. Chapter 3 contains an examination of the way in which Groot Constantia's architecture intensely activates and communicates memory.

Frescura says that because a small elite controlled political power and the writing and re-writing of history in South Africa, South African society became concerned with the creation of architectural monuments.

'Architects, almost by definition and certainly by their very nature, build monuments. They build monuments to their clients, to their national heroes, to their kings, to their presidents, to their political systems, to corporate society and to their own egos. They build monuments because politicians and financiers reward them richly; because society lionises its monument builders and their power; and because, unlike other mortals, architects are given the opportunity of achieving immortality through their work' (Frescura in Japha, D. and Japha V (eds.), 1991:13)

According to Frescura, at a time when South Africa's white minority found its legitimacy being challenged from a variety of sources, it was natural that it should seek to reinforce its precarious claim to tenure by elevating examples of its material culture to the status of monuments. The architect Revel Fox realised this in 1986 when he stated that:

'To achieve true cultural representation, our very history books will have to be rewritten. People, places and events with special significance for the different groups in our society will have to be identified' (Frescura 1987:66).

However, like other architects, Revel Fox was bound by the concept of celebrating history through monuments (Frescura in Japha, D. Japha, V. (eds.), 1991:13). Frescura points out that in 1987 Revel Fox was still claiming that there will be a need for new monuments to record the memories of past events. As we will see later, the 1992-1994 restorations executed by Revel Fox and Partners at Groot Constantia took place in circumstances where South Africa's white minority government was about to relinquish power. It is significant that in the final throes of its rule, the State and its architects were involved in a carefully planned and executed conservation exercise at Groot Constantia. The historical buildings and *werf* were meticulously restored by Revel Fox who paid attention to detail and carefully researched the *Jonkershuis* but in the final analysis he failed to achieve true cultural representation by not bringing forth the significance of the heritage of slavery when he could have done so, in the *Jonkershuis* and at the 'slave pool' at the back of the Cloete Cellar. This failure of

Revel Fox, who had the power to advise on and recommend the nature and extent of renovations at Groot Constantia, particularly in regard to the *Jonkershuis* (Baumann interview 13.9.2011), arguably represents a failure to respond to the challenge of integrating the heritage of slavery into Groot Constantia's historical buildings and *werf*. Coetzer is correct in saying: 'Even today the revisionist history that quite rightly seeks to give voice to the slaves who were fundamental to Groot Constantia (and indeed South Africa's early history) battles to find representational space in the face of the dominance of the gable' (Coetzer 2008: 147).

Gawie Fagan who was involved at Groot Constantia with the 1992-1994 restorations as member of the Groot Constantia Control Board, received the South African Institute of Architects Award of Excellence in 2002 for his restoration of the VOC Castle of Good Hope in Cape Town which had taken thirty three years to complete. He is well-known in the context of conservation in South Africa particularly because of his restorations at Tulbagh after a devastating earthquake in 1969. Fagan's historical and stylistic restoration work at Tulbagh resulted in twenty eight houses in Church Street, some of which were Victorian in appearance due to the addition of elements such as Victorian roofs and verandas, being restored to their appearance as appeared on early drawings and photographs and where these could not provide sufficient information he resolved these with a design-by-analogy approach. It is interesting to note that in the editorial article in *Die Burger* of 4 October 1969 under the heading 'Tulbagh Moet Herry's' (Tulbagh must rise again), there appears a sub-heading 'Groot Constantia' where reference is made to Kendall and the restoration of the homestead, after the fire in 1925 and the decision to restore the homestead according to the formula: "Constantia op sy beste" (Constantia at its best) rather than restoring it to its original form or to its form immediately prior to the fire in 1925. At the opening ceremony of the restored buildings held in Tulbagh on 14 March 1974, the then Prime Minister B.J. Vorster (1915-1983) who was the main speaker, said 'Die sigbare spore van ons kultuurerfenis is ons historiese geboue. Laat ons hulle dus sorgsaam bewaar en liefderik in pand hou vir die nageslag, want hulle is inderdaad die transportaktes van die land wat ons liefhet' (Historical buildings are the visible footprints of our cultural heritage. Let us carefully conserve and hold them in trust for future generations as they are indeed the title deeds of the land we love) (*Die Burger*, 4 October 1979). It is interesting to note too that *Die Burger* article suggests regard to Groot Constantia that 'vandag hinder dit niemand dat dié huis vol pragtige oudhede skaars 45 jaar oud is, en dat dit nie lyk presies soos toe Simon van der Stel daar gewoon het nie' (no-one today is concerned

that the homestead filled with beautiful antiques is barely 45 years old and that it does not look exactly as it did when Simon van der Stel lived there) (*Die Burger* 4 October 1969). This supports Shepherd's contention that interest in heritage may be more concerned with the 'spectacle of authenticity' than with the 'really real' (Shepherd 2008:125). We see later how a 'frisson of authenticity' (Shepherd 2008:125) is sufficient to justify the conservation of Groot Constantia's historic buildings for future generations.

We should pause here to examine the extent of an architect's power and consider Gawie Fagan's restorations at Tulbagh in the 1960s. He gave an explanation of what transpired at the time of the Tulbagh restorations (Interview: Gawie Fagan 01.11.2011). It appears that his family connections with Church Street, Tulbagh (No's 32 and 34) (Figures 1, 2, 3 and 4) may have been one of the reasons for the restoration work done in Church Street (Gawie Fagan: interview 01.11.2011). Gwen Fagan says that the fact that her father-in-law was born in Tulbagh was not an important consideration. She says that her husband 'felt strongly that the funds donated by the different provinces and private companies should be spent in such a way that it would have a maximum impact, rather than the money being dissipated on widespread projects' in other areas affected by the earthquake such as Wolseley and Ceres (in the Cape). She also says that the fact that every building in a street which originated in the eighteenth century could be restored to its original appearance allowing 'its architectural history' has, to their minds, 'tremendous international rarity value' (Gwen Fagan: email communication 14.2.2012).⁵ Although Gawie Fagan and Gwen Fagan are not in full agreement in regard to the reasons for the Tulbagh restorations, it would appear that Gawie Fagan played a key role in determining the nature and extent of the Tulbagh restorations where, for the first time in the history of South Africa, an entire street was restored in a project that is said to be the largest and most imaginative restoration project ever undertaken in South Africa and successfully completed.

Gawie and Gwen Fagan both disagree that recovery of Cape Dutch architecture became synonymous with conservation practice as well as Nationalist Afrikaner history as stated by Shepherd and Murray. They say that this is simply 'nonsense' (Gawie Fagan: interview 01.11.2011) (Gwen Fagan interview 01.11.2011). Having regard to minutes of meetings held at Groot Constantia in 1993 (SAHRA ref. 9/2/111/15), it

⁵Gabriël and Gwen Fagan received a Gold Medal of Honour for Cultural Conservation from the NMC for their work in Tulbagh.

would appear that Gawie Fagan was well-placed to personally communicate with the State when decisions had to be made in regard to suggestions by Revel Fox such as the one that the principle should be established that any activities extraneous to the wine-making and historical/cultural nature of the Groot Constantia estate should be excluded. At that time Gawie Fagan was involved with the Groot Constantia Control Board (Gawie Fagan: interview 01.09.2011). The restorations by Revel Fox took place at the very end of the apartheid-era with the funding and support of the State and those in power at that time. This decision on the part of the State at that time is examined in chapter 3.



Figure 1: No. 32 Church Street Tulbagh – before the earthquake (Source: Fagan 1974:140)



Figure 2: No. 32 Church Street Tulbagh – restored (Source: Fagan 1974:141)

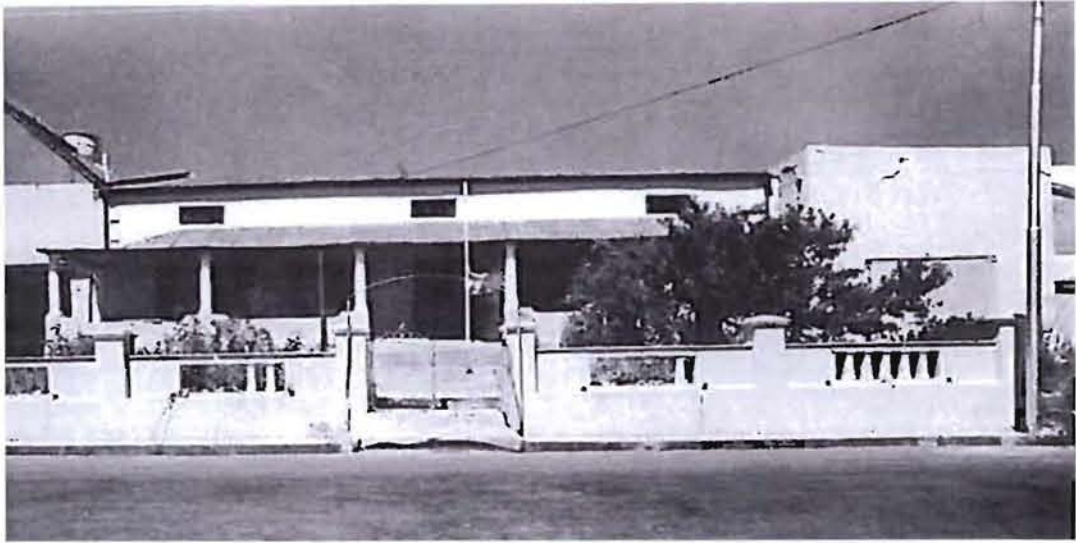


Figure 3: No. 34 Church Street Tulbagh – before the earthquake (Source: Fagan 1974:145)



Figure 4: No. 34 Church Street Tulbagh – restored (Source: Fagan 1974:145)

This study would be incomplete without considering Shell's view that the architecture of slavery is an untouched subject in the field of architectural history (Shell 1994:474). He says that the Cape literature 'bristles' with the most lavish but invariably sentimental and disappointing 'coffee table' treatments of Dutch homesteads and that James Walton is one of the few scholars to deal with the problem in an original way (Shell 1994:474). Interesting too is Shell's view that there is today an avoidance if not denial

of slavery in South Africa, not only at Groot Constantia, because slavery takes the *locus* of nationalism and puts it 'somewhere in the Indian Ocean'. He believes that the post 1994 democratic government is not particularly interested in celebrating the history of slavery in South Africa because the heritage of slavery is bound up with the VOC and colonial settlement and not with African identity (Shell: personal comment 15.12.2011).⁶ It is also worth noting that Worden and Ward (in Nuttall and Coetzee 1998) point out that certain histories fade from public memory but are later recreated in a different manner according to the dictates of present-day needs.

2.5 Cape Dutch: trope of South African architecture

Walton says that the charm of the Cape homestead does not only depend on the proportions of the house nor on its ornate gables but rather on a 'deep appreciation of Nature and an ability to blend the beauties of man's creations with those of his surroundings' (Walton 1952 : 37). He tells us that the early settlers fully appreciated the importance of choosing harmonious surroundings for their homes. He describes how these early settlers created a 'rich canvass, unsurpassed in the world' (Walton 1952 : 37) by building their thatched homesteads against a 'backdrop of ever-changing mountain hues', surrounded by white walls, avenues of oaks, vineyards, slave quarters, *Jonkers'* houses, wine cellars and stables. It is hardly surprising that Walton chose Pearse's layout of Groot Constantia (Figure 10) as an example of a Cape homestead as it is arguably unsurpassed not only in South Africa but in the world as an example of an extra-ordinarily beautiful man-made place that is in complete harmony with its surroundings and situated against a dramatic background of mountains.

Martin Hall (1994) tells us that the prominence of the farmsteads in the colonial landscape framed by avenues of trees signifies colonial possession and domination and that the eighteenth century Baroque Cape gable with its ornate plasterwork placed above the front door of the rural homestead was designed to be seen by approaching visitors (Hall 1994:1). He argues that the positioning of gables with dates on them within space and time is evidence of a close group of wealthy farmers that is associated with Cape architecture and slavery and he uses a study of forty-one surviving gabled buildings where the histories of ownership are known and dating prior to 1795 (Hall 1994:1). Groot Constantia is one of the farms which form part of the study used by Martin Hall to substantiate his argument. What he shows us is that

⁶Robert Shell was employed as senior research officer at IZIKO in 1996

these gabled homesteads were a vital part of the identity of the emerging Cape gentry. Martin Hall's argument renders the alterations by Hendrik Cloete in the 1700s significant in this context of the creation of identity by means of the addition of gables to the buildings at Groot Constantia. The homes of the early settlers, as indeed that of Simon van der Stel, bore little resemblance to what Walton describes as 'those delightful whitewashed buildings, enriched with ornamental gables and approached by avenues of shady old oaks, which one usually associates with the Cape' that he says were the homes of favoured Company officials and wealthy farmers and landowners who, towards the end of the eighteenth century, added gables or entirely rebuilt their houses in a style worthy of their positions (Walton 1952:5). These ornamental gables referred to as 'Cape gables' by Walton are listed by him as 'Cape Dutch' and 'Cape Flemish' (Figure 5).

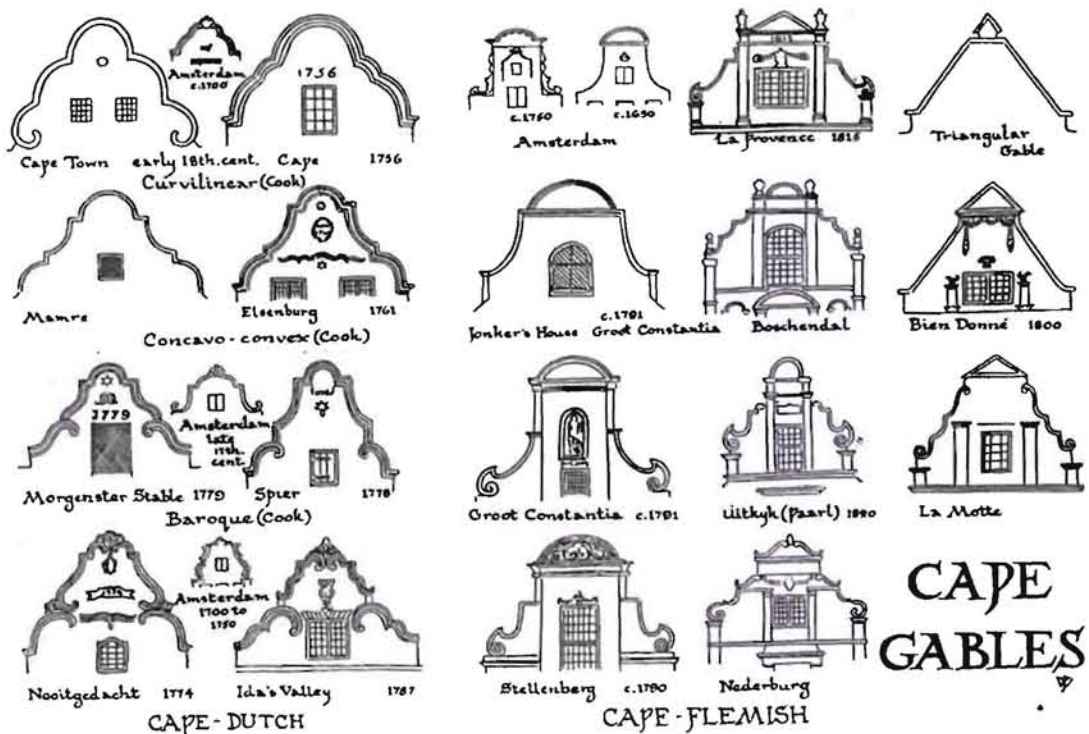


Figure 5: Groot Constantia gables homestead and Jonkershuis circa 1791 shown as Cape – Flemish (Source: Walton 1952: 13)

Yvonne Brink's examination and discovery of meaning in the 18th century Cape country dwelling proves most helpful to come to grips with the creation of material culture and the projection of identity (Yvonne Brink 2001) (Yvonne Brink 2008). She examines Cape gables to find out why excessive gabbling was so important at the Cape and what kind of social advantage ornate gables could provide for their owners (Yvonne Brink

2008). Although she accepts the adherence to the type known as 'Cape Dutch', she says that 'irrespective of the name by which we call it, dynamics rather than stasis remains a feature of Cape Dutch architecture' (Yvonne Brink 2008 : 199) and that part of these dynamics lay in the need to provide more space for ornate gables. She asks 'why all the grandification when gables do not increase dwelling space: why only at the Cape; what were the owners aiming for?' (Yvonne Brink 2008: 199) and discovers the importance of unintended consequences of an important event in Cape colonial history: the institution of free burghership (Yvonne Brink 2008: 200).⁷ Yvonne Brink refers to the old Dutch proverb '*Toon mij uw huis en ik zal zeggen wie u bent*' (show me your house and I will tell you who you are) and says that the owner of a Cape country estate almost thrust his house at all who passed that way so that passers-by could not be left in doubt as to the kind of person he was and that it was the gable that turned a mere house into a mansion; and by raising the dwelling to a more noble status, the status of the owner was raised along with it (Yvonne Brink 2008 : 200). Visibility was consciously strived for and the tall gable resulted in the Cape homestead being clearly visible from a distance. Yvonne Brink discusses the material and textual world of Hendrik Cloete, the free burgher farmer responsible for building the towering gable at Groot Constantia (Figures 6,7 and 8). She interprets the emergence of the Cape Dutch architectural style as a gentrification of the vernacular on the part of the *free burgher* farmers. Lucas (2006) gives a good account of the material culture and social differentiation at the Cape in the 18th and 19th centuries and says that the symbolism of power captured in architecture was something the 'elite burgher' exploited to express their status and differentiate themselves (Lucas 2006:111). He says that the adoption of certain neo-classical elements then current in European refined architecture such as symmetrical facades, gables and increasing room differentiation were meant to signify the 'cultured' nature of these new rural elite. Yvonne Brink reflects whether the large and costly construction work done by Hendrik Cloete to double the span of a pitched thatched roof which involved doubling of the height of (and replacing) the original van der Stel roof was not done by Cloete to 'be seen as the highest of the local 'Most High' (the VOC officials) (Yvonne Brink 2008:185). Hendrik Cloete's writing is evidence of this conscious requirement to be seen from a distance when he described clearing operations at Groot Constantia as follows: 'All the oaks and chestnuts which grow in profusion here have been pruned, so that the farm, which otherwise had not been

⁷Yvonne Brink's findings in regard to the free burghers' renegotiation of status and identity by way of thick-walled Cape country manor houses with towering gables makes for interesting reading.

visible when one rode towards it, can now be seen from very far away' (Yvonne Brink 2008:201 quoting from Schutte 1982).

Yvonne Brink (2008: 202) refers to hermeneuticist Paul Ricoeur's notion of distanciation to explain how the structure of a Cape farmstead entices visitors to pause and reflect, to evaluate and critique the dwelling and its occupants. These interpretative processes allow a visitor to create his or her own story before coming face-to-face with the owner. Ricoeur's theoretical concept of 'appropriation' follows on the interpretative process of distanciation. After pausing to evaluate, the viewer or visitor then proceeds to accept unto himself/herself the world that has been opened up (Yvonne Brink 2001:21). Yvonne Brink says that the *voorhuis* is the 'third pause', a waiting room which serves as a backdrop for the interpretative activity of distanciation and primary space where visitors' organised their interpretations of Cape material culture' (Yvonne Brink 2008: 202). The *voorhuis* was the primary space where visitors 'absorbed the meanings, not only of the dwelling itself, but also of the whole free burger way of life' (Yvonne Brink 2001: 22-23). The *voorhuis*, decorated with valuable possessions, is a space where visitors could reflectively address the material cultural objects in terms of their European background and their experience in Cape Society. Yvonne Brink refers to a 'fiction' created by visitors 'crystalised' around these objects and the people who owned them: people who lived such a life must be moneyed people, capable people who control the land by making it work for them' (Yvonne Brink 2001:21). This 'fiction' referred to by Yvonne Brink is described as the 'Groot Constantia syndrome' by Schoeman (1997:24, 89, 221,228): a syndrome whereby the reality of the past is substituted by images of white colonial aristocrats in unblemished houses that rule paternalistically over their slaves. Chapter 3 contains an examination of the '*old Dutch Voorhuis*' in the South African Pavilion (behind the entrance which contained a replica of the gable at Groot Constantia) (Figures 39 and 40) and its function as the primary space where visitors to the British Empire Exhibition held at Wembley in England in 1924 could engage with material objects of colonial production and culture.



Figure 6: Groot Constantia gabled homestead and *Jonkershuis* complex 2011
(Source: Jean Naude)

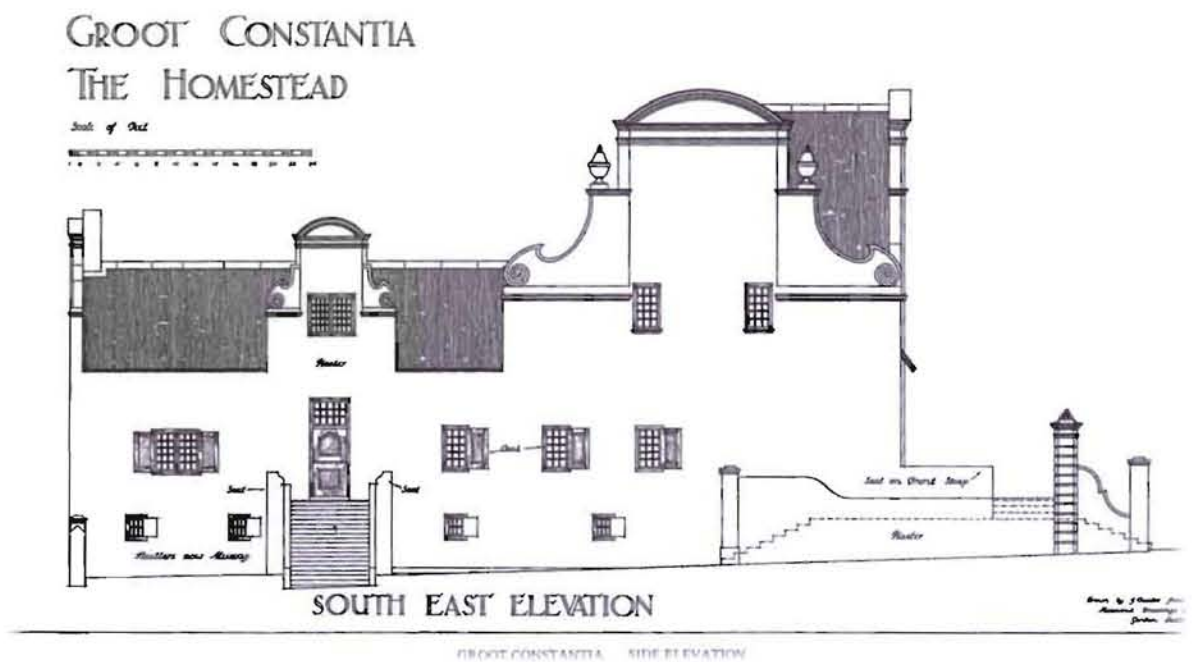


Figure 7: Groot Constantia: side elevation of homestead (Source: Pearse 1933: Plate 40)

Oliver (2003) says of vernacular architecture that it is generally defined as 'the architecture of the people' and that it refers to 'those buildings not designed by architects, but by owners and inhabitants of the houses themselves – sometimes built with the help of family or community members, using locally available materials'. Amos Rapoport wrote in *House Form and Culture* (1969) in relation to vernacular architecture that these buildings are the 'direct unselfconscious translation into physical form of a culture, its needs and values, as well as the desires, dreams and values of a people' (Malan in VASSA Journal Number 2004:25). Yvonne Brink says that while traditional Cape Dutch houses are classified as 'vernacular' in that they were not designed by architects, the design was considerably more formal than that of peasant longhouses (Yvonne Brink 2008 : 150). Whereas the peasant longhouses were built to provide shelter, the Cape Dutch house was structured out of a need to make statements (Yvonne Brink 2008 : 150). In accordance with the long European tradition of associating property and dwellings in particular with status, architecture would have been highly esteemed in eighteenth century colonial society and Europeans at the Cape would have known how to evaluate a dwelling. These material cultural objects gave visitors a conceptual hold on what being a free burgher farmer was all about (Yvonne Brink 2008: 152).

In Chapter 3 we examine how Groot Constantia homestead, built by van der Stel in the 1600s, and which bore witness to French influence (Yvonne Brink 2008: 114) was rebuilt in the eighteenth century with elaborate gables as symbols of status and power of the owner and how this homestead was used as a manifestation of the status, success and way of life of the owners. Indeed, and as will appear in Chapter 3, the homestead has been used throughout its long history to open up the world of the wealthy owners of earlier times. Indeed, it is still used today to provide an insight into the life of a successful 18th to late 19th century Cape farmer as appears from the Simon van der Stel Foundation Programme of a tour of Groot Constantia, scheduled for March 2012 (<http://www.simonvdstel.org>).

Shepherd and Murray (2007:3) note Cape Dutch architecture as an important historical trope that has come to signify not only the period of Dutch rule at the Cape during the years 1652 to 1795 but also later under apartheid as considered the most authentic form of South African cultural heritage; and say that the recovery of Cape Dutch architecture became synonymous with national Afrikaner history. Martin Hall

elaborates on the Cape Dutch architecture trope, referring to this trope's historical allusions to an earlier European baroque, to neo-classicism, linking it with the tropes of nationalism and apartheid while noting these signifiers of European cultural origins and superiority (Hall in Murray, Shepherd and Hall (eds.) 2007:296). Martin Hall is responsible for a number of cognitive studies of Cape material culture, based on the premise that material cultural objects, especially buildings, reflect the status and position of those who are dominant and are used in the ideological control of the dominated (Yvonne Brink 2008 : 52).

Gawie Fagan (Interview 01.11.2011) says there is a total over-accentuation of the gables and although Cape Dutch architecture is the most celebrated, it is not the most authentic form of architecture in South Africa. He refers to the Karoo-type '*brakdak*' architecture as the most authentic and says that Cape Dutch architecture is no more than a '*signboard*' that says who you are and who you are associated with (Gawie Fagan: Interview 01.11.2011), a view not dissimilar from that of Yvonne Brink. Gwen Fagan (Interview 01.11.2011) refers to the gable as an '*icon*', the focal point in the formal layout of a man-made landscape at the Cape and a symbol of something that is important where everything turns on the situation of the front door which is on a cross-axis at the end of an approach avenue of trees (Figures 11 and 15). According to Gwen Fagan this style of landscaping and architecture at the Cape made an international impact which lasted into the 20th century because of its regard for simplicity, symmetry, axiality and geometrical formality (Interview: Gwen Fagan 01.11.2011). She regrets that modern constructions and landscape changes (by Revel Fox) of 'this oldest Constantia farm which has surely inspired the orderly planning of most of the Constantia estates, has failed to maintain the important cross axis to the pool, and the sylvan setting of the old buildings' (Gwen Fagan (1994). Shepherd and Murray (Murray et al 2007:299) include Gawie Fagan (and his wife Gwen Fagan) among architects who worked on 'grand-scale projects' involving the recovery of Cape Dutch architecture such as the restoration of Tulbagh and the Castle of Good Hope in Cape Town. It is interesting to note the evidence of symmetry and geometrical formality in Groot Constantia's main gable (Figure 8).

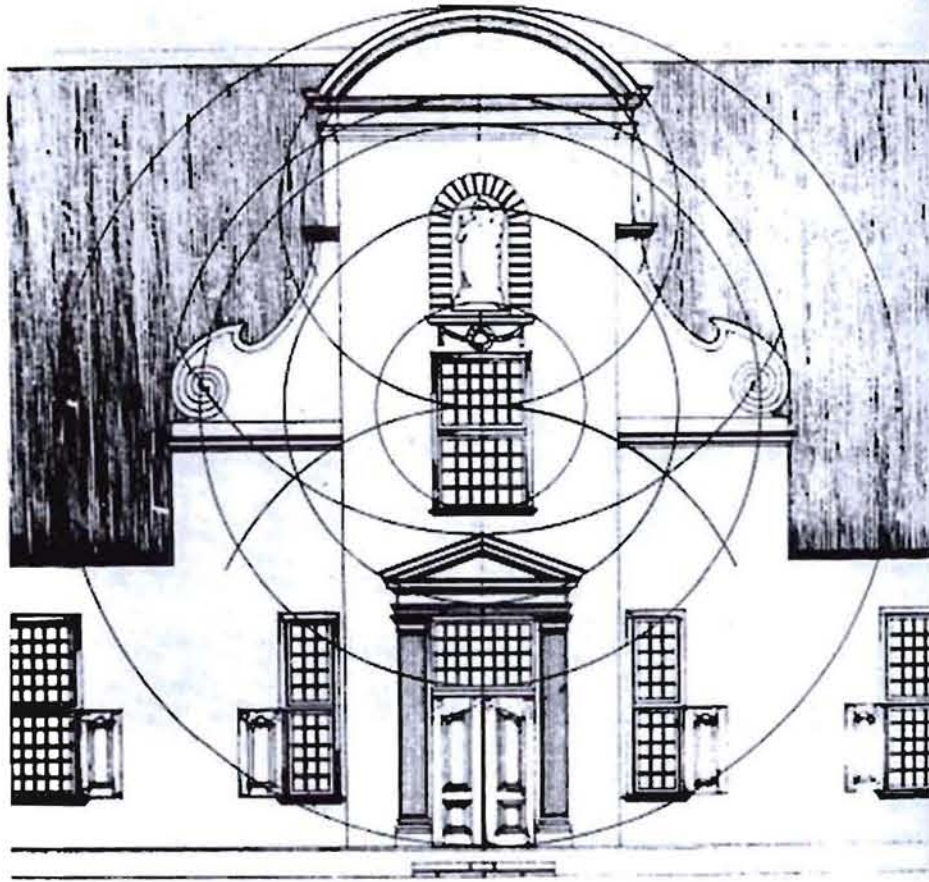


Figure 8: Groot Constantia main gable (Source: Lewcock 1963:362)⁸

Martin Hall and Yvonne Brink have expanded our understanding of the distinction between power-filled architecture and the houses of ordinary people by looking at Cape Dutch buildings as the 'material culture' of a colonising and slave-owning society. The architecture of the buildings defined their owners' status. They view central gabled, symmetrical façade, thatched houses in terms of domination and challenge (Malan in VASSA Journal Number 11 2004:25). These Cape Dutch houses provided visitors with a carefully constructed experience of the relative power of the owner (Malan in VASSA Journal Number 11 2004:25). Nic Coetzer is not one who is smitten by the gracious proportions of the buildings at Groot Constantia. Place-making, particularly architecturally-oriented place-making is explored by Nic Coetzer who examines the Groot Constantia homestead to demonstrate the limits and efficacy of place-making theory in dealing with the complexities of ideologically-loaded contexts. Coetzer says that Groot Constantia's 'object building' imageability produced it as a space that was

⁸According to Lewcock, although the position of the focal point at first seems completely arbitrary, it is noticeable that it is exactly halfway up the height of the building, and also that it lies on the circumference of the circle of which the pediment is an arc

filled with normalising and conservative identities such as nation and race (Coetzer in South African Journal of Art History (SAJAH) 2008:141). He refers to Norberg Schulz's *Genius Loci. Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture* who notes that 'human identity presupposes the identity of place' and says that in phenomenological terms the 'home' (a homeland, a home town, a square, a street, a house) 'if spatially identifiable and distinct, becomes a familiar, stable and comforting datum to be returned to in the uncertainties of life' (Coetzer in SAJAH 2008:141). Cape Dutch farmsteads, with their surrounding low white walls, were defined areas that created a secure sense of place that symbolised a separation from the 'wild'. Norberg-Schulz is quoted as saying that 'the cultural importance of defining an area which is qualitatively different from the surroundings cannot be overestimated'. (Coetzer in SAJAH 2008:141)

'Visitors to these old Cape farmsteads today continue to generate meanings when they wander through the rooms. it is important to at least *wonder* about the ways in which the houses worked for their eighteenth century owners, who after all, left an imprint on our world – an imprint so significant that we can still enjoyably engage with these 'things' they left behind.' (Yvonne Brink 201:23)

Yvonne Brink's position has to be taken a step further : it is important to *wonder* about the ways in which these houses worked for the slaves of the owners of these eighteenth century houses whose labour after all significantly contributed to these 'things' the owners left behind. Slaves who had no wealth or material objects to display but whose labour enabled or at least contributed to the accumulation of wealth and status of their owners would have seen the landscape of the farm, its *werf* and homestead in a different way. Yvonne Brink says that slaves would have perceived the landscape differently from the gentry. In her review of Lucas, Yvonne Brink says that slaves would have been much more aware of the fragmentation of the landscape into farms with spaces between and land outside of private ownership and that Lucas sees these as spaces into which they at times could escape 'the power network which held them constantly captive and where they could, perhaps, fashion a sense of identity different to that prescribed by their owners.' Yvonne Brink would probably agree that the slaves who lived and worked at Groot Constantia would have perceived the farm, its buildings and landscape quite differently from its owners where for the latter the landscape of the farm, its *werf* and homestead would have been used to forge material wealth, superior identity and status. Lucas and Brink's views are particularly relevant in the context of a remarkable event took place at Groot Constantia 1712 involving slaves. There was an organised escape, initiated out of a resistance to exile

and slavery, researched from a record in the VOC's daybook of the escape and court sentences of which it is said that 'Due to the negation of the imprint of the underclass at the wine farm, memory of the escape lay buried in colonial archives and excluded from books and unpublished work on Groot Constantia' (*Escape from Groot Constantia, October 1712*: SAHRA Archives, ref. 9/2/111/015)). This bid for freedom from Groot Constantia ended in a manner 'characteristic of power relations during slavery at the Cape in the early 18th century' (*Escape from Groot Constantia, October 1712*: SAHRA Archives, ref. 9/2/111/015). One of the participants leading the slave revolt and planned escape from Groot Constantia was a Javanese slave and religious leader *Santrij*, who was captured and tried. He was sentenced to the most extreme punishment, having his tongue cut out and being burnt alive. Considering the views of Brink and Lucas and the recordal of this event that 'lay buried in colonial archives' which reveals that slaves and political exiles who had planned to meet at Groot Constantia, were caught with the help of a *knecht* (translated as 'servant'. Yvonne Brink refers to *knecht* as a farm foreman), and with the help of some of the slaves who lived and worked there, was Groot Constantia perhaps not also a space which could ironically have evoked a sense of belonging, safety and security for people who lived, worked and slaved there who could have looked rightly with pride upon its buildings and landscape having done most of the physical work involved in its establishment. In this sense their own identities and status may have been determined by the nature and extent of their contributions. No place is better positioned than Groot Constantia to explore such an alternate sense of identity in South Africa.

The description of a Cape Dutch homestead as a 'manor house' requires a brief examination in the context of this dissertation, particularly because it has become 'politically' incorrect to use this term in relation to Cape Dutch farmsteads. It was during an interview with Wieke van Delen⁹ that the current attitude to the use of the term 'manor house' drew attention. The term 'manor house' is no longer considered to be appropriate and the term 'house' or 'homestead' is now in use although 'force of habit' lets 'manor house' still slip out now and then (Wieke van Delen: email to Matthys van der Merwe 17.9.2010). Van der Merwe provides a useful explanation of the origin and use of the term 'manor house' (Matthys van der Merwe: email 30.9.2011). According to

⁹ Wieke van Delen, employed by IZIKO in a senior management position, was curator and manager of Matthys van der Merwe who had an office at Groot Constantia, both having been in the employ of the South African Cultural History Museums at the time when the Groot Constantia Trust was enacted in 1993 for purposes of the transfer of ownership from the State to the Groot Constantia Trust

van der Merwe, in general terms, the manor house was the dwelling house, or 'capital messuage', of a feudal lord of a manor, which he occupied only on occasional visits if he held many manors. Hendrik Cloete, the owner of Groot Constantia who was responsible for extensive alterations and additions, including the front gable as it appears today, called it 'huijs' (house) or 'woonhuijs' (dwelling). It appears to have first been called 'manor house' from about the time of the fire of 1925, which almost entirely destroyed the house, and after its restoration by the architect Kendall. The Afrikaans translation of 'manor house' is 'herehuis'. Groot Constantia was consistently referred to as 'die herehuis' in the Afrikaans press from the late 1920s until the first decade of the 21st century. During this period there was regular reference to Groot Constantia's 'manor house' in the English press. The use of the term 'manor house' was indeed an artifice employed to reflect the status and superiority of the homestead.

We have seen how Cape Dutch architecture is said to function as an important historical trope and as a signifier of European culture and superiority. Style is indeed a reflection of the values held by a particular society at a particular time (Righini (2008:19). Righini, who believes that Cape Dutch is 'one of the most beautiful domestic architectural styles in the world' (Righini 2000:17), says that style is also a response to the technology available to that particular society and that buildings are not merely 'aesthetic fantasies'. He says that buildings have to cope with pragmatic issues and in so doing they reflect the times in which they are built. He tells us that context, in its widest possible sense, is important when we consider architecture.

The following chapter will explore Groot Constantia's history, architecture, its conservation and restoration in the context of the values held by its owners, particularly the State during more than a century of its ownership of the estate. Chapter 3 also includes a brief exploration of the conservation initiatives and policies in South Africa around and during that time. These explorations are necessary to understand Groot Constantia's cultural heritage and the purpose of its use and conservation as an expression of the values of the State.

CHAPTER 3

3.0 DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF GROOT CONSTANTIA

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the State's relationship with Groot Constantia, in particular the State's control of this cultural icon and the State's use of Groot Constantia's cultural heritage to configure national identity. The focus here is not on Groot Constantia's historic heritage conservation but rather on the State's strategic use of its cultural heritage and memory in relation to the formation of identity and for nation-building. An examination of the transfer of Groot Constantia from the State to the Groot Constantia Trust and the consequences of that is the key focus of this chapter.

Although this chapter is primarily concerned with the State's relationship with Groot Constantia, it is necessary to contextualise Groot Constantia by briefly examining its origins and history as a farm, owned by successive slave-owning wine producers, with a *werf* and homestead that represent the pinnacle of those owners' material aspirations. The estate, first named *Constantia* and known as Groot Constantia since 1712, (for purposes of this dissertation the farm will be referred to as Groot Constantia notwithstanding the period which is under discussion) is located on the outskirts of Cape Town, a city which originated as a planned settlement at the southern-most tip of Africa and founded by the VOC¹⁰ in 1652 as a refreshment station for vessels en-route between Europe and the East. The very earliest arrivals in Cape Town were officials from Holland followed by other northern Europeans, predominantly from Holland and Germany. Slaves and political exiles from the East Indies, Madagascar, Mozambique and India were brought to Cape Town and sold to these early settlers. Officials of the VOC were granted land to farm, one of the earliest grants of land for farming purposes being that granted in 1685 to Simon van der Stel (1639-1712), the then Governor at the Cape, who was born in Mauritius where his father was Governor and his mother of Indian descent. This tract of land of 900 *morgen* was granted to Simon van der Stel at a time when 60 *morgen* formed the normal land grant to a new pioneer (De Bosdari 1964: 33). He sought land suitable to grow fruit, vegetables and vines for wine

¹⁰The VOC (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie) known also as the Dutch East India Company, was established in 1602 in Holland and sanctioned by the Dutch government to establish colonies. The VOC established a colony at the Cape and governed the Cape from 1652 until 1795

production after having done careful tests of the soil, and he requested this land in particular to enable him to experiment with crops and farming methods best suited to the Cape. He built a homestead there in 1692. The plan of the earliest layout of van der Stel's farm can be sketched from the drawings by H V Stade (1710) (Figure 12) and Heydt (1740) (Figure 14) and the descriptions of the early travellers such as Francois Valentyn who visited the farm in 1705 and 1714 who found it 'een ongemeen heerlyk plaats op welcke men al het kleurlykste heft, dat an de Kaap te vinden is' (Gwen Fagan 1994: 137) (translated as 'an exceptionally glorious place where man has the most colourful that can be found at the Cape'). Gwen Fagan says that it is clear that Simon van der Stel had planned his property with regard for 'the rules of mathematical order' (Gwen Fagan 1994:141). After his death in 1712 it was split up and sold in portions. The portion with the homestead on it continued under the name Groot Constantia and was sold to Captain Oloff Bergh and re-sold until it came into the hands of Henrik Cloete in whose family it remained for three generations.

In 1885 it was acquired by the Cape Government and it was State-owned until it was acquired by the Groot Constantia Trust in 1993 pursuant to the Act of Parliament enacted the year before the democratic ANC-led government came into power. Simon van der Stel thus established one of the first wine farms in South Africa and it has been continuously run as such, at times under difficult conditions. It has, throughout its history, remained South Africa's best-known wine farm, locally and internationally.

The original sweet wine which made Groot Constantia world famous during the 18th and 19th centuries and which was regarded as one of the great wines of the world is produced today in the same way that made 18th century Groot Constantia wine famous. Today Groot Constantia is one of the only six remaining historically significant farms that have survived in the Cape Peninsula. More than three centuries later, Groot Constantia, still operating continuously as a wine farm, remains one of the Cape's favoured and most visited tourist destinations. Over the years, Groot Constantia has survived insolvencies, vine diseases such as phylloxera, fires and changes in ownership including from private to state control.

Groot Constantia's history is not only linked to the wine industry in South Africa. It is also inextricably linked to colonial settlement and national politics in South Africa. Groot Constantia's history is also inextricably linked to slavery in South Africa. Although much is written about the historic buildings on the farm, the planting of vines,

fruit trees and oak trees, most of the work involved in these achievements were done by slaves. During the period of slavery over 200 slaves lived and worked on the estate.¹¹ In 1799 there were at least 25 slaves housed in Groot Constantia's *jonkershuis* (Shell 1994: 256). Very little is known about the lives of most of these slaves. Records show that among the slaves at Groot Constantia were skilled masons, carpenters, wine-makers, wine-barrel makers, tailors, shoemakers, cooks and domestic workers.¹² There was a whole orchestra of fifteen slave musicians who played each morning outside the bedroom of one of the early owners of Groot Constantia. A slave acted as Groot Constantia's cellar master during Jacobus van der Spuij's period of ownership (1759-1778) (Van der Merwe 2010: 176).

Yet Groot Constantia's past, its architecture and historical role, was used to generate only images of colonial achievement and white power. How relevant is Groot Constantia today in South Africa and in a global context given the prevailing imperative of seeing this place through the prism of its social history? What debates can there be when the image of Groot Constantia's past is so overpoweringly one-way? Are such debates still necessary? The geographical and physical context of Groot Constantia and its history are examined to place the significant event that is the primary focus of this chapter in context and to pose some answers to these questions.

3.2 Geographical and physical context

The first physical description of the original piece of land granted to Simon van der Stel, the Commander at the Cape at that time, is contained in the Deed of Grant issued by Commissioner Hendrik Adriaan van Rhee in 1685 in which he said:

'.... we hereby allow, grant and give to him in free and full property a certain piece of ground situated behind the Table Mountain at or near the Steenberg, bearing westwards to the said Steenberg with the authority to sow and plant said piece of land ...'(Burman 1979:16)

This piece of land, indicated on an early manuscript map (Figure 9) as 'Gouverneur van der Stel, Sijn bouland van Granen en wijn' (translated as 'Governor van der Stel. His arable land of grain and wine'), was named 'Constantia' by Simon van der Stel.

¹¹Van der Merwe (1997) gives a detailed account of the slaves at Groot Constantia

¹²The brochure *Forced removals a case study on Constantia* published by the South African Institute for Justice and Reconciliation contains interesting information about slaves and Groot Constantia.

An early description of the of Groot Constantia's geographical and physical location is provided by François Valentijn, a visitor to the Cape in 1705 and 1714, who wrote:

'This property called Constantia lies to the east on the side of Table Mountain near the Steenberg, three (Dutch) miles from the Castle and near the Boschheuvel It is an exceptionally well-planned estate, on which grows all the choicest wine to be found at the Cape' (Burman 1979:21)

Peter Kolben, a German, who was working at the Cape in 1705 described Groot Constantia as follows:

'Near the Bosheuvel stands a beautiful seat, erected by the Governor Simon van der Stel ... The situation is extremely delightful. From the upper windows you have a charming vista, consisting of meadows, corn-fields, gardens, vineyards and several pretty country seats belonging to the Cape Burghers, the whole extremely delightful to the eye.... and which way soever you look from those windows the eye is captivated with the beautiful effects of the Dutch art and industry, and with the beauty and variety and the generosity of nature. All the garden and vineyards about those country seats are well-planted and extremely beautiful and yield a very considerable yearly profit to the owners ...' (Burman 1979:20-21)

Stade's 1710 drawing (Figure 12) and Valentijn's description give an indication of the appearance of the gardens and vineyards. The layout of the gardens was in a French-Dutch baroque style, similar to that of the Company's Gardens in Cape Town, which was typical of that time (van der Merwe 1997:12). Walton tells us that the charm of the Cape homestead does not depend on the proportions of the house itself nor on the ornate gables but rather on the creator's 'deep appreciation of Nature and an ability to blend the beauties of man's creations with those of his surroundings' (Walton 1952: 37). The 'charm' referred to by Walton is evidenced at Groot Constantia where rows of trees were planted in front of and next to the house whilst exotic trees, plants, shrubs and vines were planted immediately behind the old cellar, which (according to Matthys van der Merwe) is depicted on the 1710 Stade drawing (Figure 12) at the back and slightly north west of the farmhouse as a low walled building with a pitched thatch roof SAHRA: Memorandum 11 November 2003, file reference number 9/2/111/0015). Vines were planted in long straight rows, and fenced by other plants, on the hillside behind the homestead (Figures 10 and 12). Van der Merwe (1997:12-13) tells us that this layout is characteristic of baroque gardens.

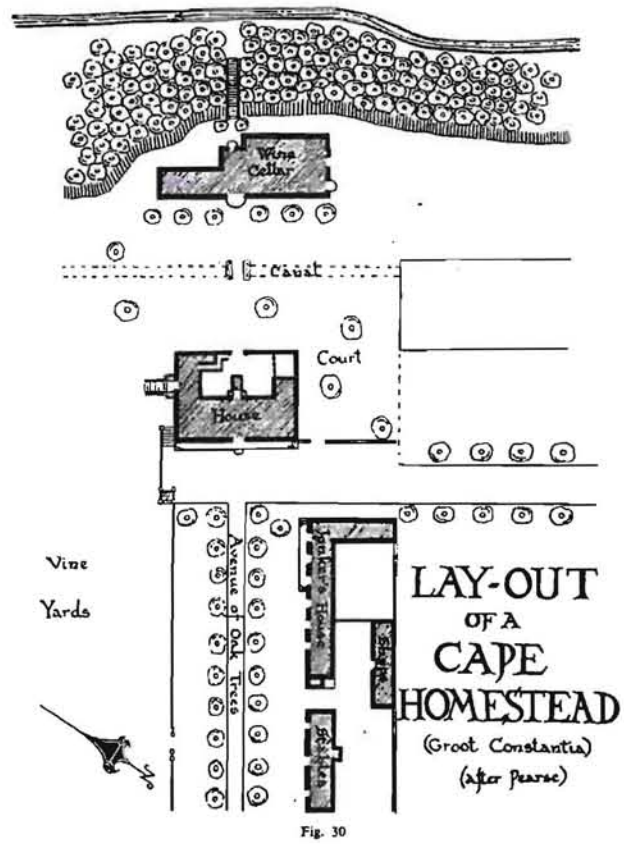


Figure 10: Drawing of Groot Constantia by Walton to show the lay-out of a Cape Homestead (Source: Walton 1952:38)



Figure 11: Groot Constantia homestead, the avenue of oak trees and Jonkershuis complex c1990 (Source: Revel Fox and Partners archives)

3.3 History, context and values

The history of Groot Constantia provides the background and a broad understanding of the context of this heritage site in relation to the notions of power, identity, and meaning. This history over a time span from 1685 to 1993 is examined in chronological order according to three distinct periods: (1) the establishment of Groot Constantia to the end of the period of private ownership (1685-1885); (2) the period of its ownership by the Cape Government during which policies of unification and nation-building between English and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans were promoted (1885-1948); and (3) the period of its ownership by the National Party Government which pursued policies of aggressive and extreme nationalism and racial ideologies based on white supremacy (1948-1993).

1685 – 1885:

We have seen that the much recorded history of Groot Constantia goes back to 13 July 1685, only 30 years after the establishment of the Dutch East India Company station at Table Bay, when land was granted to Simon van der Stel, the Commander at the Cape at that time, where he built a house and planted trees and vines.

The earliest evidence of the appearance of Groot Constantia's gardens and vineyards is the 1710 sketch by E V Stade of the farm (Figure 12). Stade's sketch is the only pictorial evidence of the farmstead and gardens during the time of Van der Stel's ownership and shows a U-shaped homestead with a hipped thatch roof.

After Simon van der Stel's death in 1712, his farm Constantia was divided into three portions with the 'mother' portion on which van der Stel's house stood, then named Groot Constantia, acquired by Oloff Bergh in 1716 who owned it until his death in 1724 when his wife Anna De Koningh, a former slave, became the owner of Groot Constantia (Figure 13). Anna de Koningh chose not to live at Groot Constantia during her period of ownership.



Figure 12: 1710 drawing of Constantia by Stade (Library of Parliament)
(Source: Burman 1979:18)



Figure 13: Anna de Koningh (Source: Burman 1979:37)

The drawing by Johan Wolfgang Heydt (Figure 14), a German visitor to Groot Constantia in 1741, shows a single storey U-shaped dwelling with two wings facing westwards and a building referred to as 'the lodging of the superintendent of the Estate'. This drawing shows a number of elements different from Van Stade's drawing: stables are shown to the north separated from the superintendant's house by a walled enclosure (Revel Fox and Partners 1992). Fransen's hypothetical layout of the

farmstead in 1741 (Figure 15) shows the symmetry, and the axiality and geometrical formality in the layout, of the farmstead.

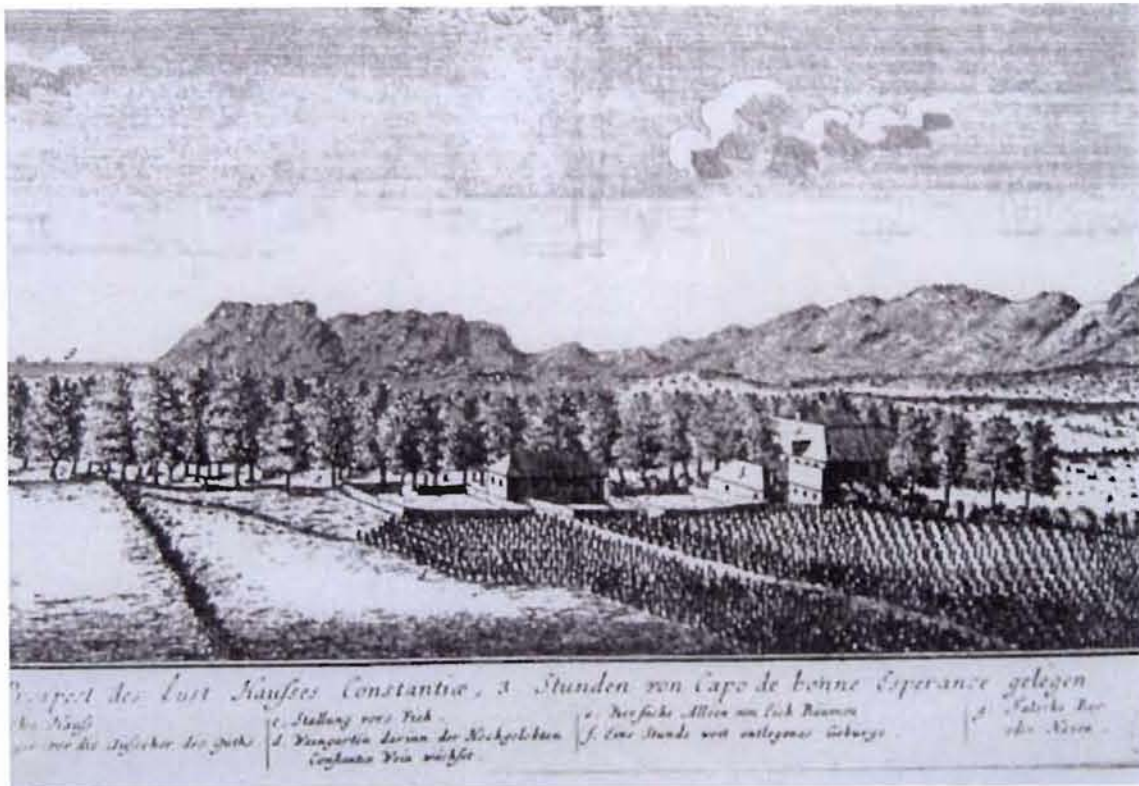


Figure 14: 1741 drawing of Groot Constantia by J.W. Heydt (Source: Burman 1979:39)

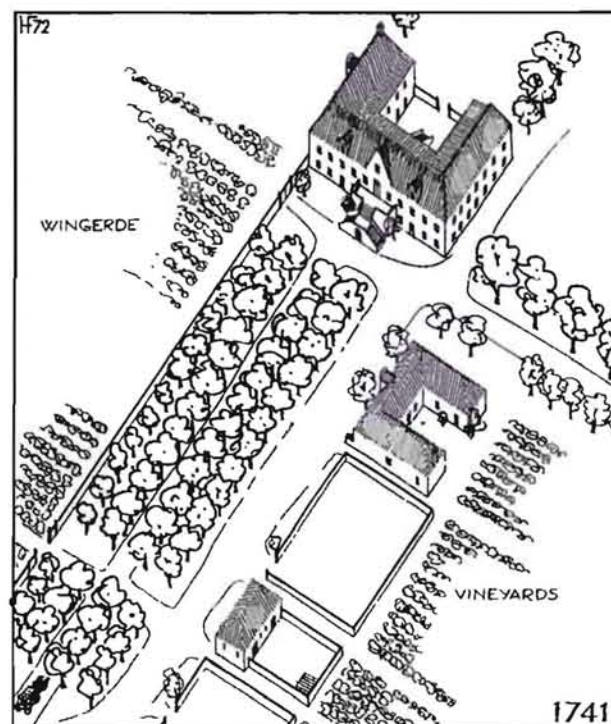


Figure 15: Diagram of hypothetical layout of farmstead in 1741 drawn by Franssen (Source: Franssen 1983: 19)

In 1778 the farm was purchased by Hendrik Cloete and it remained in the Cloete family for generations until 1885 when Groot Constantia was sold to the Cape Government. During this period of ownership by generations of Cloetes, the viticulture and wine farming at Groot Constantia reached a level of success never before achieved at Groot Constantia (Van der Merwe 1997:29). When Hendrik Cloete acquired Groot Constantia it was in a 'neglected and ruined condition... its vineyard nearly exhausted'. (Burman 1979:47). Burman (1979:47) tells us that Hendrik Cloete, 'as becomes a good farmer', first cared for the vines and orchards before turning his attention to his own comforts and that it was fortunate that he had a large number of slaves but not enough he says, which searched for insects on the vines to save the grapes from destruction. Slavery was the basis upon which Hendrik Cloete – and indeed most farmers at the Cape at that time – made their money.

Hendrik Cloete built a new cellar, probably in 1789, (Figure 16) and Burman gives a description of the cellar as 'The Cellar is an unusual farm-building in several respects: firstly it is double-storeyed with a centrally-projected pediment; it is situated, not to one side of the house on the 'werf' (courtyard) where most cellars are located, but behind the house on its main axis' (Burman 1979:49). This cellar, today known as the Cloete Cellar (Figure 17), is referred to by Fransen (1983:21) as a return to the restful, balanced classicism of a bygone age, before the dynamic Baroque and decorative Rococo styles of which the early Cape gables with their scrollwork are examples. Fransen also tells us that this neo-classicism was the style of Louis XVI in France which became fashionable in 1780.

The Cloete cellar's design is attributed to Louis Michel Thibault, an engineer and architect who had spent the first thirty-two years of his life in France, most of these years in Paris, where his studies formed his taste. This early training remained with him and in the towns and countryside at the Cape he found points of comparison with the system that he had known in France (De Puyfontaine 1972:53). Thibault, who in his twenty-six years at the Cape had studied the building materials at his disposal and who knew the local resources available said 'One cannot construct for posterity edifices of either a pure or an elegant architectural style in this Colony' (De Puyfontaine 1972:47). The Cloete Cellar, attributed to Thibault, is recognised today for its architectural style because of Thibault's design and, more so, because of the ornamentation of the cellar pediment that was done by Anton Anreith, a gifted sculptor who arrived at the Cape in 1777 as a soldier, listed until 1786 as a carpenter who became a master sculptor.

Among the many works of art attributed to Anreith, the pediment of the Groot Constantia cellar (Cloete Cellar), dated 1791, is regarded as his finest.

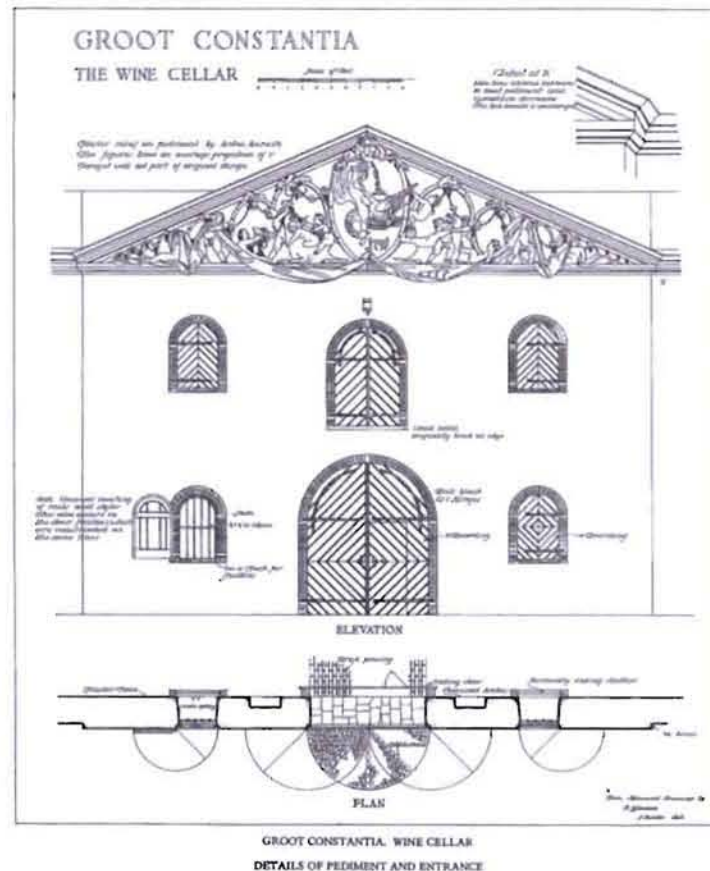


Figure 16: Groot Constantia: drawing of the wine cellar (Source :Pearse 1933: Plate 40)

The pediment of the Cloete Cellar holds a 'medallion of Ganymede (cup-bearer to Juno) on a swan surrounded by children pelting a curious species of tiger with bunches of grapes' (Trotter 1903:62). Ganymede is pouring wine from a jug. The background of the whole scene is formed by the outlines of wine casks (Van der Merwe 1997:31). This pediment is regarded as one of the most important works of sculpture in South Africa (Van der Merwe 1997:31)¹³ although it was radically restored by Revel Fox during the 1992-1994 restorations. Contrary to Thibault's sentiments and ironically, the Cloete Cellar today (Figure 17) is indeed recognised as an edifice, constructed for posterity, of an elegant architectural style. This cellar, unaltered except for a small 'addition' at the back, is used by IZIKO today as a wine museum, established there in

¹³It is believed that the pediment on the façade of South Africa House in London is based on the pediment at Groot Constantia's Cloete Cellar. This idea is given support by the fact that South Africa House was designed by Herbert Baker whose firm was responsible for architectural maintenance at Groot Constantia in the early 1900s (Van der Merwe 1997:31)

1971 by the South African Cultural history Museum (SACHM). A portion of the Cloete Cellar is used as a classroom for educational purposes.¹⁴



Figure 17: Cloete Cellar 2010 (Source: Jean Naude)



Figure 18: Cloete Cellar pediment (much restored) 2011 (Photograph - Kim Stephens)

Thibault was also a land surveyor and in surveying land on horseback and on foot he had many opportunities to meet land-owners and farmers. It is interesting to note the picture that he painted of the mentality of the land-owners at that time - '..... you cannot imagine the dexterity with which the people of the country-side in general are trying to appropriate Government land, with the pretext that such and such belong to them....'. (De Puyfontaine 1972: 72). The differences between the farmstead as it appears in Heydt's drawing of 1741 (Figure 14) and the farmstead as it appears on Lady Hamilton's watercolour painting of Groot Constantia in 1798 (Figure 19) are attributed

¹⁴The Groot Constantia Museum School was started in 1981 since which time Myrtle Edwards, currently employed by the Centre for Conservation Education, has been giving school children lessons about the history of the farm, combined with tours of the homestead and Orientation Centre. In 2009 this museum school received its 100 000th learner.

to Hendrik Cloete who, once the wine cellar had been built, turned to the house which would have been badly in need of repair. The outbuildings were already in a state of total disrepair when Hendrik Cloete bought the farm in 1779. Major alterations were done to the house during the Cloete period, starting with Hendrik Cloete who decided to alter the house instead of repairing it. According to Hendrik Cloete's son, writing many years later, Hendrik Cloete built the wine cellar and 'gave the place a new design' (De Bosdari 1964: 34). Kendall considers it possible that this 'new design' is that of Thibault (De Bosdari 1964:34) but even if Kendall is correct, this design is of gabled Cape Dutch is not Thibault's natural style (classical Louis XVI) (De Bosdari 1964: 34). Hendrik Cloete probably was responsible for the gables, *stoep* and end seats that appears on the 1812 painting of the homestead by the French painter M J Milbert (Figure 20) which did not exist on the original Van der Stel house (De Bosdari 1964: 34). It is evident that at some time during the 1790's the remains of Van der Stel's U-shaped dwelling were altered to form the larger rectangular building with gabled end walls that are evident in the painting of 1798 by Lady Hamilton (Figure 19) and the 1812 drawing by Milbert (Figure 20). Trotter's floor plan of Groot Constantia at the beginning of the 20th century (Trotter 1903:57) (Figure 21) shows the layout of the homestead with its *stoep* and end seats at that time.



Figure 19: 1798 painting by Lady Hamilton (Source: Revel Fox archives)



Figure 20: 1812 drawing of Groot Constantia by J.G. Milbert (Source: Kendall (1927:20))

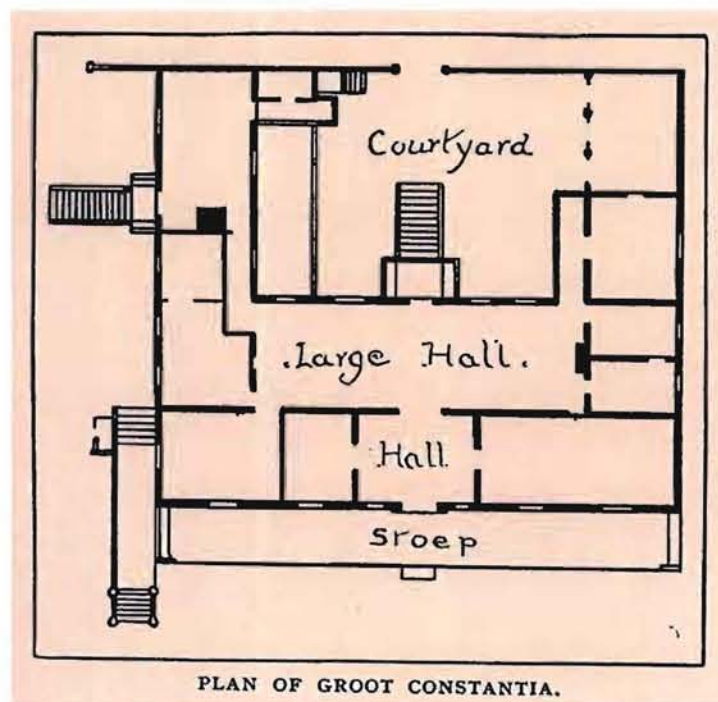


Figure 21: Plan of Groot Constantia (Source: Trotter 1903:57)

Groot Constantia remained a wine farm during these successive periods of private ownership. But towards the end of the Cloete family's period of ownership, two plant diseases brought this once successful wine farm to its knees. Following on the fungal

disease *odium tuckeri*, also known as powdery mildew, that was found in the vineyards of Groot Constantia in 1859 as in other Cape vineyards, the vine disease *phylloxera* caused by an insect known as *peritymbia vitifolii*, ravaged the vineyards of the Cape in 1866 including those at Groot Constantia. This caused the sale of Groot Constantia at an auction in 1885 when it was purchased on behalf of the Cape Government by the Master of the Supreme Court. It should be noted that slavery had been abolished by this time as on 1 December 1834 slavery had come to an end in the Cape. The move to abolish slavery in the Cape came one year after the Slavery Abolition Bill of 1883 was passed by the British.

1885 – 1948

The purchase of the Groot Constantia by the Cape Government in 1885 was announced in the Speech from the Throne of Sir Hercules Robinson during the opening of the Legislative Council at the beginning of 1886. It is evident from this speech that the interests of the wine industry as an object of colonial production motivated the Cape Government to purchase Groot Constantia:

'With the view of improving another important article of Colonial production, my Ministers undertook the responsibility of purchasing the well-known farm Groot Constantia, which happened to come onto the market for sale. You will be asked to sanction this expenditure, and also to establish upon the farm a school for giving practical instruction in the manufacture of wine of a character to suit the European markets, so that a field may be found for an important export which the climate and soil of the Colony are naturally adapted to produce.' (Quotation from Hansard 25 March 1893: column 3565).

Baron Carl von Babo was appointed by the Cape Government to run Groot Constantia as an experimental wine farm and as a training school for student farmers who were accommodated on the farm and in the main house. Although Von Babo did not make a success of the first wine school, he is given credit for having propagated and making the first natural table wine in the Cape at Groot Constantia (before this success of Von Babo, mainly fortified wines were produced in the Cape). For years the Cape Government was criticised for the financial losses that were incurred at Groot Constantia and the burden that these losses placed on the State. In 1893 Cecil Rhodes replied in Parliament to this criticism:

'The Government had from time to time considered the advisability of selling the Constantia Wine Farm. The expenditure might be large, but the money was spent with the object of educating young farmers in the production of wine. If

they could not sell the place to anybody who had respect for old associations, they might lease it or let it with the condition that the lessee would allow inspection on production of tickets to be issued by the Government' (Quotation from Hansard 25 March 1993: column 3566).

It is interesting from Rhodes' reply in Parliament that the State would not consider selling Groot Constantia to anyone who did not have 'respect for old associations'. What were these old associations that Rhodes referred to and why were these old associations so important to the State and those in power that the sale of Groot Constantia could not be contemplated even though its sale would have released the State from an ongoing financial burden? Whatever these associations may have been that gave reason for Rhodes' choice of words in 1893, it is interesting to consider the choice of words of later proponents of Groot Constantia expressed in Parliament when its future was determined by the State and those in power shortly before the demise of the National Party government when in fact the alienation and transfer of Groot Constantia was sanctioned by the State and legislated in terms of an Act of Parliament. This Act whereby ownership of the farm was voluntarily relinquished, the consequences of this Act, and the words expressed as well as the associations that apparently mattered so much to some South Africans at that time are examined later in this chapter.

We should pause here to consider the socio-historical context of Rhodes' world-view. Rhodes, born in England in 1853, took a degree at Oriel College, Oxford where he was influenced by lecturers such as John Ruskin. Ruskin at the time argued that civilization was dependent upon education and that it was the duty of all educated men to bring a civilizing influence to others whose background gave them no advantages in life. Ruskin said that 'Therefore when we build, let us think that we build forever. Let it not be for present delight, nor for present use alone; let it be such work as our descendants will thank us for, and let us think, as we lay stone on stone, that a time is to come when those stones will be held sacred because our hands have touched them, and that men will say as they look upon the labour and wrought substance from them, 'See! this what our fathers did for us.' (Ruskin 2008:14). Ruskin's influence also resonated with the thinking of men such as General J C Smuts (1870-1950) who believed that Ruskin had said that the only real contribution to architecture for the last few centuries was made by the Dutch in South Africa. Smuts said that the truth of this will be clear to all who have studied 'the noble houses built in the Cape in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries' (Fairbridge 1922: ix).

The notion of raising African civilisation to a higher order was in the thinking of both Rhodes and Sir Herbert Baker (1862-1946). Baker, during his relatively brief stay in South Africa (1892-1913) was particularly influential in the history and development of architecture in South Africa and left an indelible stamp on the country's architecture. Baker wrote about the dignity and beauty of the old gabled homesteads and outbuildings, built by the Dutch settlers, with their ordered layout, the tree-lined avenues, vineyards and orchards. He recognised Cape Dutch architecture and incorporated elements of this style into his designs and which became the hallmark of Cape Revival style. Baker had already been commissioned in 1896 to reinterpret Cape Dutch vernacular architecture Rhodes' house Groote Schuur in Rondebosch. Rhodes was at the time enthusiastic about the vernacular architectural heritage of Dutch colonial farms. This 'restoration' style of reinterpretation originated by Baker became known as Cape Dutch Revival and Groote Schuur (which was at one time a sedate Georgian building) was the first example of this style. In their Introduction to *Desire Lines Space, memory and identity in the post-apartheid city*, Shepherd and Murray (2007) mention the collaboration between Rhodes and Baker as having produced 'spatial schema and architecture on a grand scale and relating to the Cape and other projects of the British Empire' and in that this partnership aspired to domination of the African continent and that they 'envisioned imperial power along the Cape to Cairo axis' (Murray et al 2007). That then is the context and influence of men such as Rhodes and Baker at the close of the 19th century going into the 20th century in South Africa. Merrington says that the mixed heritage as evidenced by Cape Dutch architecture in the revivalist architecture of Herbert Baker was to bridge the divisions between English and Afrikaner creating a 'new, ameliorative South African identity' (Merrington in Bickford et al 1999:76). Nation-building is interpreted as a state-led process of evoking national identity to promote unity and social cohesion within the state (Stinson 2009:12). A nation-building program is not about the invention of a new national identity, but is rather a process of re-defining national identity (Stinson 2009:12).

Coetzer (2007: 153) says that of all the institutions and their members most concerned with the promotion of Cape Dutch architecture as the 'embodiment' of a common English/Afrikaner identity, the Closer Union Society (CUS) was the most active prior to and immediately after the creation of the Union of South Africa in 1910. According to Coetzer, the CUS holds the 'dubious distinction' of conflating the Cape Dutch homestead with the emerging common English/Afrikaner identity (Coetzer 2007:153)

using the magazine *The State* which was started by the architect Masey (1861-1912), the partner of Baker, to disseminate propaganda for this purpose. The first eight-part series of articles (in 1909), titled 'The Beginnings of our Nation', contained photographs by Arthur Elliott of Cape Dutch architecture. The CUS was preceded by the South African National Society (SANS), the first conservation organisation in South Africa to record and preserve in essence a range of colonial buildings. SANS was founded apparently as a result of the influence of developments in England such as the establishment in 1895 of the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest (the National Trust) to protect buildings, the English countryside and its coastline against uncontrolled development. SANS aimed to promote the conservation of the natural and scientific heritage as well as to 'preserve from destruction all ancient monuments and specimens of old Colonial architecture remaining in South Africa.' (Deacon and Pistorius 1996). Townsend refers to the formation of SANS in Cape Town in 1904 as 'the first self-conscious steps to establish conservation' when a circle led by Mrs Koopmans-de Wet and Sir (later Lord) de Villiers founded SANS. Included among the founder members were the architects Baker, Kendall (1870-1948) and Masey and other important figures in South African cultural and political life at that time such as Arderne, Bailey, Bolus, Jameson and Merriman (Townsend 2003:129). Kendall was tasked with the restoration at Groot Constantia pursuant to the fire that devastated the homestead in 1925. Kendall's restoration of Groot Constantia, referred to as the finest example of a defining restoration where the aim was not 'to restore Groot Constantia to its original form, but to its best' (Cook in Immelman and Quinn (eds.) 1968:11), is examined in later in this chapter. In the 1908 Year Book of the SANS one of the stated objectives of the society was to give the people a knowledge of their history and monuments. The history and monuments that SANS was preoccupied with at the time involved the remains and traditions of old Colonial life such as specimens of old Colonial architecture. The prevailing ideas in these circles during this first period in South Africa's conservation history were those that adhered to historical and/or stylistic restoration and Townsend tells us that the preferred style was most often that of 'the old colonial life' of the last decades of the Dutch colonial period (the last decades of the 18th century) (Townsend 2003:129). In 1923 the Natural and Historical Monuments Act 6 of 1923 was promulgated, largely due to lobbying by SANS and others who were motivated at that time by the establishment in Britain of the National Monuments Board. This Act did not empower the State to proclaim any building, site or relic and the preservation of a historical building was dependent on the goodwill of its owner (Oberholster 1972: XIX).

The atmosphere of nation-building between the English and Afrikaners at the time of Union in 1910 was still relevant when the architect Kendall was commissioned by the Public Works Department of the Government of the Union of South Africa to restore Groot Constantia after the devastating fire in 1925 (recorded as having started in the kitchen but the cause of which remains unexplained) burnt out the homestead, leaving only its walls standing (Figure 22). At that time Groot Constantia was the oldest and considered to be the most interesting and attractive of the old homesteads in what was then known as the Cape Colony. Kendall at that time was Chairman of the Council of SANS and soon thereafter president of the Cape Provincial Institute of Architects. It was in fact SANS which had impressed upon the Cape Government the desirability of sympathetically restoring Groot Constantia which it considered to be one of the finest and perhaps most dignified but certainly the most picturesque monuments of Cape Dutch architecture. In 1927 Kendall published a book *The Restoration of Groot Constantia* on his findings and restoration of the homestead. In the Foreword to Kendall (1927) the homestead is also described as 'perhaps the most dignified, certainly the most picturesque – monuments of the far-famed Cape Dutch Architecture'.¹⁵ In his dedication of this book to Herbert Baker, Kendall said that Baker had 'awakened an interest in the arts of the old cape settlers and laid the foundation of a national architecture in South Africa'. The appointment of Kendall, an important figure in South African African cultural and political life at that time, to execute the restorations at Groot Constantia serves to show how significant Groot Constantia was to the State at that time. In 1927, after the completion of the restorations by Kendall the homestead (Figure 23) was first opened as a museum.

It should be noted though that Kendall's restoration was not the first done by the State at Groot Constantia. Earlier, in 1902, it had instructed the firm of Herbert Baker and his partner Masey to 'proceed with the work of repairing the dilapidations at Groot Constantia' (extract from Department of Agriculture letter dated 4.12.1902 to Messrs Herbert Baker and Masey, UCT MAL: BC 206/45). The aim of the Government at that time was 'in no way to modernise the Buildings' (extract from Department of Agriculture letter dated 4.12.1902 to Messrs Herbert Baker and Masey, UCT MAL: BC206/45) but to restore them 'in accordance with the character of the residences of the gentry of a bygone day' (extract from Department of Agriculture letter dated 12.02.1903 to Messrs

¹⁵Extract from Senator F S Malan's *Foreword* in Kendall's *The Restoration of Groot Constantia*. Senator Malan was one of the Vice-presidents of the CUS at its inception and was president of SANS by 1922. He referred to Groot Constantia in his *Foreword* as a 'priceless national asset'.

Herbert Baker and Masey, UCT MAL: BC 206/45). We should bear in mind that South Africa at that time was still recovering from the Second Anglo-Boer War, commonly known as the Boer War, a violent conflict between Afrikaners and the British, also referred to as the 'war of the whites' (L'Ange 2005: 138) which ended in 1902. As a result of a growing acknowledgment that political unification was vital for their respective interests, a limited reconciliation came about between the Afrikaners and the British and the Union of South Africa was established in 1910.



Figure 22: After the fire – 1925 photograph by Arthur Elliott¹⁶
Source: Kendall 1927 facing page 10)

¹⁶Arthur Elliott (1870-1938), an American photographer who, during the early 20th century, was so impressed with the beauty of Cape Dutch homesteads that he made it his life's work recording these homesteads with his glass-plate camera. A collection of thousands of his photographs and old negatives that together constitute a unique and invaluable pictorial history of the Cape from early times are housed at the Cape Archives in Cape Town.



Figure 23: Groot Constantia after restoration 1927 photograph by Arthur Elliott
(Source: Cape Archives Ref. E2394)

The Act of Union in 1910, an act of reconciliation between the Afrikaners and the British, brought the original two colonies and the Transvaal and Orange Free State together in a union within the British Empire. This conflict, between white Africans who resisted domination by white Europeans, was over land – as 'native soil for the Boers, as strategic territory for the British – and for both, over its riches' (L'Ange 2005: 138). These white Africans were independent nomadic farmers who had broken away from the ruling Dutch East India Company by the early 1700s and had migrated or 'trekked' from the Cape to the north, displacing at times the pastoral Khoikhoi from land that they had used for the grazing of cattle. These 'trekkers' began to call themselves Afrikaners to mark their sense of their new identity which they saw as distinct from the Dutch who had arrived in South Africa at the Cape in 1652. In 1795 the British, who were concerned about the empire-building of other European countries and wanted to protect their own lucrative trade routes sent expeditionary forces to the Cape, forced the occupying Dutch to surrender and brought the colony under British rule. By the 1830s, the Afrikaners, who by that time had formed a cohesive group with strong nationalistic ties, were no longer prepared to remain under British rule and spurred on by the emancipation of slaves in 1834, trekked deep into the interior of the country and

became known as 'trekkers' or 'Boers'. This movement across the land, later called the Great Trek, resulted in the formation of their two own and independent Afrikaner-run republics, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. In 1880 the Boers declared war against the British, prompted by a dispute about the non-payment of taxes to the British by one of their own. This war in which the British were defeated, referred to as the First Anglo-Boer War by them (called the First War of Independence by the Afrikaners) was inevitably followed by the Second Anglo-Boer War (or Second War of Freedom as referred to by the Boers) was won by the British after their very successful scorched earth policy that resulted in more than thirty thousand farms being scorched and Afrikaner women and children placed in the world's first concentration camps where approximately twenty-nine thousand of these women and children died as a result of the conditions in the camps. The Afrikaners, who had the land in their blood, were diminished to about a quarter of their numbers, by the time they signed a peace treaty in 1902. In the context of this war that resulted in a deep and abiding hatred by the Afrikaner of the British, General Louis Botha took office on 31 May 1910 and his government dedicated itself to reconciliation between the Boer and the British to be united as a single (white) South African nation. Unifying the whites who had fought against each other in the South African War inevitably produced friction over the symbols of identity and after years of acrimonious disagreement, a new national flag incorporating the Union Jack and the flags of the Boer Republics in miniature was adopted in 1928. Interesting to note that in 1903 the Union Government made preparations for a visit to Groot Constantia in 1903 of Joseph Chamberlain (1836-1914)¹⁷, an influential British politician and Secretary of State for the Colonies at that time who was later to become the Prime Minister of Great Britain, are the instructions conveyed by the Union Government to Baker and Masey in regard to the furnishing of rooms to be set aside for Chamberlain and his wife: that the loan of Persian rugs and carpets for the 'distinguished guests' were approved but that 'Karosses are not considered necessary' although 'some of the rugs may be of 'Spring-bok skins or the like' (extract from Acting Under Secretary for Agriculture letter dated 12.02.1903 to Baker and Masey: UCT MAL: BC206/45). This is arguably a significant indicator of the disassociation with or suppression of African identity and an identification with English and the Afrikaner identities (springbok skins were commonly used by the Afrikaners at that time). It is interesting to note Chamberlain's idea about Britain as 'trustees of civilisation for the commerce of the world' (Merrington 2010: 4). Britain's relationship

¹⁷ Joseph Chamberlain was the father of Neville Chamberlain who was later to become the Prime Minister of Britain

with its Empire at large and the importance of old buildings as 'tangible evidences' of its past is also evidenced by the words of Gerard Baldwin Brown (1849-1932): 'this island possesses what is necessarily wanting to our colonies and to the offshoots from those colonies' (Baldwin Brown 1905:1-2). Ruskin and certainly Smuts would not have agreed that South Africa is 'necessarily wanting' when regard is had to what Smuts said about the contribution to architecture in South Africa by the Dutch. It is clear that abiding colonial attitudes of superiority leads to presuppositions of cultural heritage and identity on the part of these men who have political agendas of advancing their culture as the standard of civilization.

The Act of Union was a 'serious blow for Groot Constantia Wine Farm' (Burman 1979:100). Up until then the wine industry had been important to the Cape and Groot Constantia was pivotal link in wine industry at the Cape but, in the Union, Groot Constantia lost its importance as viticulture was only a small part of the agricultural portfolio of the Union government (Burman 1979:100). Groot Constantia nevertheless fulfilled an important role at that time where the Union government used Groot Constantia as a venue for hosting lavish events such as the entertainment of the first Governor General of the Union of South Africa, the Duke of Connaught in 1910. It is interesting to note the fiction contrived on the menu for this event (Figure 24): connecting the wife of the founder of Groot Constantia¹⁸ with the female figure contained in a niche in the upper part of the front gable of the homestead¹⁹, and the name of the estate, and suggesting that this figure symbolises 'CONSTANCY', thus ignoring the viticultural imagery represented by the grapes at the side and at the feet of the statue of *Abundance* (Figure 44) as discussed later in this chapter.

Groot Constantia's historic farmstead, particularly the homestead and its immediate surrounds, rather than its wine farming, was valued by the State at that time. It was used by the State to showcase colonial production and achievement and used as a stage and grand function venue. In 1925 when wine farming at Groot Constantia was 'not fulfilling its function, nor paying its way' (Burman 1979:104), the historic homestead, which had just been furnished with antiques and valuable pieces of old Dutch furniture in preparation for the visit of the Prince of Wales was gutted by fire and

¹⁸ The name of Van der Stel's wife was Johanna Jacoba and he married only once (Burman 1979:16)

¹⁹ In 1771 when the traveller Bernadin de Saint Pierre visited Groot Constantia he wrote that over the front door was 'a vile painting of a strapping girl, and ugly enough, reclining on a pillow'. At that date neither the statue nor the gable was there (Kendall 1927: 15).

all that remained were some of the walls of the house. The renaissance of Groot Constantia's homestead commenced with its restoration by Kendall in 1926. Kendall's restoration was based on the formula '*Constantia at its best*' (Kendall 1927: 12). Kendall's approach was agreed upon after consultation with the Cape Institute of Architects, the SANS and the Historical Monuments Commission (HMC) as this would effectively meet 'the real end in view' (Kendall 1927:12). The real end in view is given consideration later where the notion of national identity is examined in the context of the approach of Kendall to restore the homestead to the early Cloete period, i.e. the appearance of the homestead approximately a century after the time of Van der Stel.

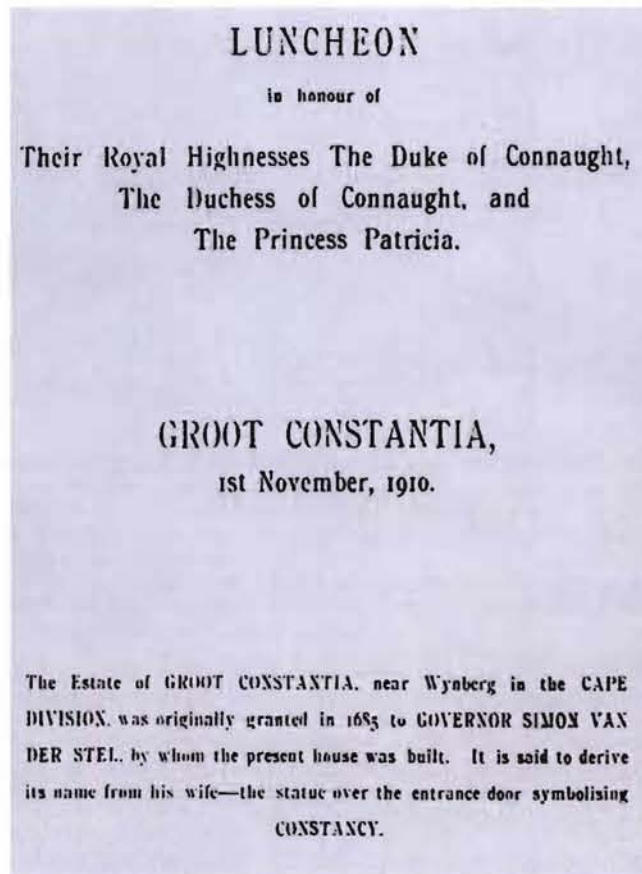


Figure 24: Menu of luncheon held in honour of the Duke and Duchess of Connaught and the Princess Patricia held at Groot Constantia on 1 November 1910²⁰ (Source: Burman 1979:100)

Kendall's restoration of Groot Constantia is one of South Africa's earliest examples of historical and stylistic conservation. For historicists, the careful and meticulous study of historical buildings and their construction methods was necessary so that they could replicate parts and rebuild buildings in an authentic way. Townsend says that the

²⁰This luncheon was the first outdoor luncheon which was to become a regular feature at Groot Constantia

historical approach requires that the shape, form and/or appearance of buildings be 'historically correct' and that this requires authentication primarily through documentary research whereas the stylistic approach requires that the design, shape, form and/or appearance be consistent or appropriate through exhaustive research so as to equip one with sufficient knowledge in order 'to put oneself in the place of the original architect and to try and imagine what he would do if he returned to earth' (Townsend 2003:17, quoting Viollet-le-Duc 1854). Fransen says that although Kendall's restoration was of the highest standard, there were some mistakes made for example the exterior woodwork was painted (in Kendall's time it was unthinkable to paint natural wood) whereas in old Dutch architecture at the Cape painting was the standard treatment of wood (Fransen 1983:25). Also, the kitchen, as it now appears after it was restored by Kendall after the fire of 1925, differs in several respects from its appearance before the fire (Figure 26). The exposure of roof material was an intervention by Kendall (Revel Fox and Partners 1992). He opened the roof to the rafters, a 'romanticising liberty' according to Fransen (1993:77).

Kendall brought to bear an 'unequalled technical knowledge' to accomplish a 'thorough Restoration' (Kendall (1927:12). Van der Merwe refers to Kendall's restoration as the first 'scientific' restoration in South Africa (Van der Merwe; interview 28.09.2011). Van der Merwe explains that this was the first restoration done in South Africa after a thorough investigation of the building by way of all archival and architectural records and documents pertaining to the building (Van der Merwe: telephonic communication 10.1.2012). Indeed, not only did Kendall investigate the ruins after the fire, he consulted archival records and considered early drawings and paintings of the homestead in an attempt to establish what the original structure built by van der Stel in 1685 would have looked like and to find out as much as possible about the past history of the homestead (UCT, MAL BC206/45-46). Because the house had been gutted by the fire, Kendall could examine the walls which were still standing.

Kendall established that Cloete had enlarged the house by the addition of a large dining hall which replaced a narrow gallery, that he had replaced the original casements with sash windows, had heightened the walls, replaced the roof with a higher one which included the new dining hall under its unusually large span of 12,50 metres, and that he had built the correspondingly high gable (double the usual height). This unusually high gable is a curiosity found nowhere else in the Cape other than at Groot Constantia (Fransen 1983:23) in that it contains the female figure of *Abundance*

with a cornucopia (Figure 44) which was almost certainly added by Anton Anreith, possibly sometime after 1800 (Fransen 2004:143). The gable itself is considered to be the work of Thibault (Fransen 1983:23). However, Milbert's 1812 drawing (Figure 20) shows a window which today contains the statue of *Abundance* (Figure 44). It appears from Milbert's 1812 drawing that there was no sculpture in the gable at that time.

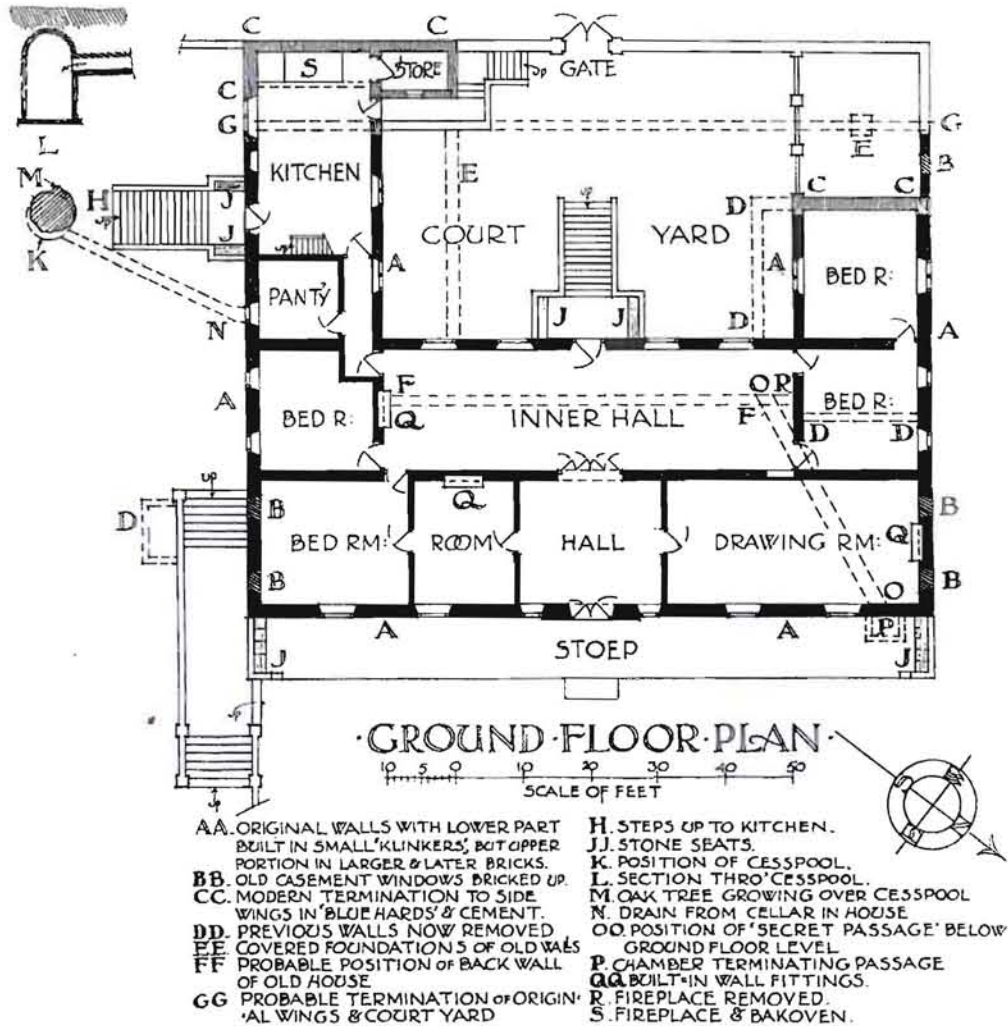


Fig. XIV.

Figure 25: Plan of Groot Constantia showing house before and after alterations drawn by F K Kendall (Kendall 1927: facing page 23)

Kendall established that Cloete had enlarged the house by the addition of a large dining hall which replaced a narrow gallery, that he had replaced the original casements with sash windows, had heightened the walls, replaced the roof with a higher one which included the new dining hall under its unusually large span of 12,50

metres, and that he had built the correspondingly high gable (double the usual height). He made a conjectured comparison between the house built by Simon van der Stel and the building before it was destroyed by the 1925 (Figure 27).



Figure 26: Photograph of kitchen at Groot Constantia (before the fire of 1925) by Arthur Elliott (Source: Fransen 1993: 77)

Kendall wrote to Dorothea Fairbridge in 1926 that 'In the general scheme of reconstruction it does not seem to be possible to aim consistently at restoring the place as it was at any one determined period – but the principle to go upon is to take the spirit of the old Dutch work, and make the building as attractive and interesting as one can in accordance with this' (Kendall letter to Fairbridge dated 22.2.1926, UCT MAL BC206/45). Dorothea Fairbridge, referred to by Merrington as 'nation builder' (Merrington in *Journal of Historical Studies*: 1), was one of a 'coterie' of 'imperial' architects, including Baker and his partner Masey, and artists such as the painter Gwelo Goodman who illustrated some of Fairbridge's works on Cape Dutch

architecture, and also historians who were dedicated to the idea of a united South Africa within the British Empire (Merrington 1994:3). These people were involved in the 'constructing of a supposedly typical South African national cultural identity with clear affiliations to the British Empire, at the time when the Union of South Africa was established in 1910' (Merrington 1994:3).²¹ In 1911 Fairbridge started a new series of articles in *'The State'*, on Cape Dutch architecture titled (Coetzer 2007:153) (Merrington 1994:4). These articles formed the basis for her publication *The Historic Houses of South Africa*. In her eyes Cape Dutch architecture represented the product of European settlement (Bickford-Smith et al 1999:76). Fairbridge, accompanied by the photographer Arthur Elliott, conducted field inspections of old homesteads including Groot Constantia. In 1922 Fairbridge published *Historic Houses of South Africa*. In his Foreword to her book, General Smuts said 'I believe it was Ruskin who said that the only real contribution to architecture for the last few centuries has been made by the Dutch in South Africa – or something to that effect' and further that 'The old houses of South Africa are a common heritage of which all South Africans are proud, and are precious links binding us all together in noble traditions and great memories of our past' (Fairbridge 1922: x). Smuts also talks about South Africa's foundations having been laid by men and women who gave their lives in the planting of a standard of civilisation in a 'wild and distant country' and that 'we as their heirs owe to them not only our spiritual environment but also our wide vineyards, our fruitful orchards, and the houses in which they lived' (Fairbridge 1922: xi). Coetzer (2007:154) tells us that Fairbridge was more focussed on the history of the more picturesque and gabled homesteads rather than promoting them as symbolic expressions of a common English/Afrikaner identity although she does not ignore Masey's views in her articles in *The State*. It is interesting to note the reference by Coetzer (2007:154) to a review in *The State* in 1909 of Trotter's book *Old Cape Colony* where her book is promoted as dealing with 'a national heritage'. Groot Constantia is one of the homesteads featured in *The Old Cape Colony*. Coetzer says that it is apparent that the people of the two Boer Republics in the north were invited by way of this review to possess these homesteads through the physical device of Trotter's book (Coetzer 2007:154).

Malan (2004:19) says that a theme emerged from this intense study of old Cape homesteads namely that these homesteads represented the vernacular essence of

²¹Peter Merrington's paper *Dorothea Fairbridge, Cape Town, 1862-1931, and the Aesthetics of Union* (1994) contains an insightful description of Fairbridge, her colonial connections, world view and literary iconography

establishment, progress, vision, cultivation, summed up as 'the will to plant, build and define a nation'. In an article published in *'The South African Nation'* in 1926, it was said that:

'An ancient building is the affirmation of an effort that those who live in its shadows are still continuing, still projecting into the future. When it is harmonious in its proportions, logical, clear, it is an arrested moment of lucidity in man's long struggle against the inanity of the universe. It is a promise. It sustains us to continue seeking and affirming its qualities. It is a living thing. And it is beautiful in the order of feeling and action which is the order of our race. Round it cluster enriching memories, traditions, all the folklore and traditions of a people. Groot Constantia is one of those monuments that are capital in the record of a nation. There is nothing made by the hands of man on the soil of our country we could have spared less well' (extract from 'Groot Constantia – A matter of Pride' in *The South African Nation*, April 1926: 10, South African National Library).

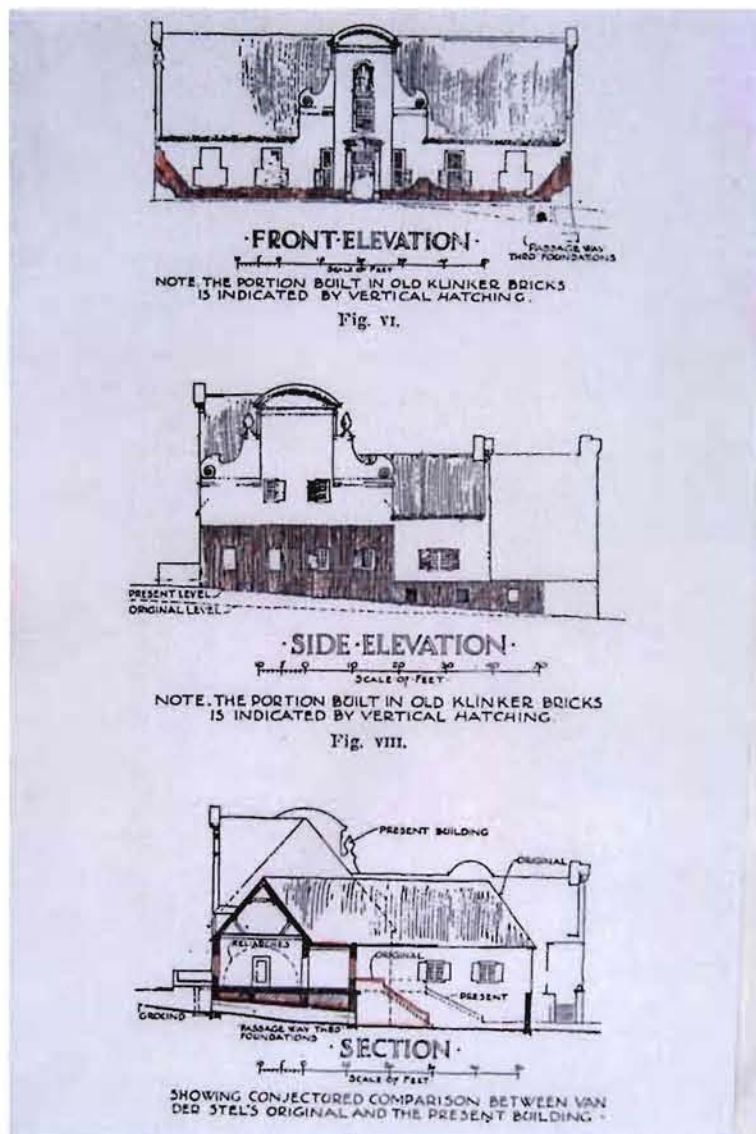


Figure 27: Kendall's drawing showing conjectured comparison between the house built by van der Stel and the building before it was destroyed by the 1925 fire (Source: Kendall 1927: facing page 22)

It is interesting to note that in 1926 Groot Constantia which had 'no gables primitively' and was built originally as 'a fine expression of the early white conquerors for the honour of their descendants' (*The South African Nation*, April 1926:10). This comment is significant in the context of the establishment of identity and supports Martin Hall's argument that the alterations by Hendrik Cloete in the 1700s are significant in the context of the creation of identity by means of the addition of gables to the buildings at Groot Constantia.

As appears from the above, the real aim of the State in its restoration of Groot Constantia as carried out by its architect Kendall was to use Groot Constantia for purposes of forging a new national identity and to create a shared national past for English and Afrikaans-speaking whites. The choices made by Kendall insofar as the restoration to 'its best period' were cultural choices: the creation of a national icon to support the structuring of a new national and common English/ Afrikaner identity. Townsend says that the qualities or characteristics that make a building or environment significant are determined by the cultural values of a society (Townsend 2003:16). Furthermore, in his address at the opening ceremony after the completion by Kendall of the restoration at Groot Constantia, the Administrator of the Cape Province spoke of that day as the marking of a new chapter in the history of Groot Constantia, saying that it 'must be preserved for the people of South Africa as a monumental record of the past' and declared the restored 'manor house' of Groot Constantia open 'that it may long serve its purpose of ministering to the inspiration, instruction and delight of many generations to come' (Fourie, A.P.J., Administrator of the Cape Province in 'A monumental record of the past', (1927) SAHRA records, NMC: Groot Constantia). This wish expressed by the Administrator bears testimony to the importance of the homestead at that time and it bears emphasising that reference to 'the people of South Africa' and 'generations to come' could only have been reference to white South Africans and for whom the homestead was then declared open. Coetzer (2007:155) indeed argues that that it is fairly certain that 'all South Africans' as referred to are white South Africans only and confirmation is found in General Smuts' words about the dissemination of South African history:

'It is, for the greater part, a record of struggles in the face of difficulties, and of those difficulties overcome and shaped to noble uses, even as the dogged spirit in which her two white races more than once met in collision is being fused into an equally determined spirit of patriotism which has a wider outlook than that of race' (Fairbridge 1922: xi)

In 1926 the Cape Government decided to turn the entire homestead, which was at times being used for visitors, into a museum to be furnished with old Cape furniture and other antiques dating to the Cloete period in order to invoke life in Cape of centuries ago. Antique furniture and other objects, intended like the house itself, to bring alive what life was like in earlier times, more specifically during the Cloete period were acquired by Alfred de Pass, a wealthy benefactor, and the antique dealer H. Robinson (Fransen 1983:13). Alfred de Pass (1861-1952) was a descendant of a Sephardic family from Holland which settled in England in the seventeenth century. It was in 1926 when he visited Groot Constantia after the fire that had destroyed its entire contents that he offered to furnish the homestead at his own expense (Van der Merwe 1983:12-13). The collection, approved by Kendall, was continuously added to by De Pass who expressed the hope that someone with 'good taste' would fill any gaps. Winter (1995:56) says that 'De Pass is made out to be an honourable, generous man who is both Dutch and English, and thus his collection would be a perfect representation of the history that was trying to be achieved'. She also observes that 'the Pass (sic) collection in the manor house are representative (of) a strata of society that was white, privileged and in a position of power' (Winter 1995:56). However, according to historic records in regard to the furnishing of Groot Constantia 'the most elaborate 'museum pieces' have not been sought, as these would have been rather inconsistent because 'It has been the intention of Mr de Pass to secure furniture of a rather simple type – such as might be met with in the Farm House of a country gentleman of taste' (*Groot Constantia Restoration 1927*, UCT MAL BC206/46).

It is interesting to note Van Delen's views today of the homestead: she says that "it remains a museum gallery" - a "tribute to de Pass" (Van Delen interview 15.09.11) and she acknowledges that 'not enough has been done' at Groot Constantia (Van Delen interview: 15.09.2011).



Figure 28: Furniture and antiques in the Groot Constantia homestead
(Source: Jean Naude)

In 1927 a catalogue of the collection of furniture and antiques in the Groot Constantia homestead (Figure 28) was produced by Lt. C. Graham Botha, one of the curators of the Groot Constantia Museum for more than half a century (Fransen 1983:2) who was Chief Archivist for the Union (and who devoted himself to stir up public interest and create awareness amongst South Africans of their historical heritage. Botha's views on the preservation of monuments are significant. He says:

'...scattered over the Union are monuments and relics which tell us of the early struggles of the pioneers, their defeats and successes. Here and there are marks of their progress which show the development and opening up of the country. Too few of these witnesses remain, and it is our bounded duty to protect them and hand them down to future generations. (Botha quoted by Winter 1995:25)

Winter (1995:25) says that Botha's views are evidence of the importance of preserving monuments and relics symbolising white development and power and that his beliefs would have influenced contemporary thoughts on the subject. What can be said with a fair degree of confidence about the values of the Cape Government and those in power at that time is that Groot Constantia's role in creating an awareness among South Africans of their historical heritage with the aim of building a united (white) South

African nation was primarily centred around the heritage of its buildings and contents and that the wine industry did not appear to play a symbolic role. It is arguably because of the contestations about land which led to the South African War that caused the men in power to focus rather on Groot Constantia's buildings and artefacts as unifying symbols.

In 1936, the Groot Constantia homestead, with areas surrounding it and all objects thereon, was one of the first national monuments to be proclaimed as such after the introduction in 1934 of the Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act, 1934 which regulated conservation in South Africa. The introduction of this Act initiated the process for the preservation of creations of the past in keeping with the Government's aim of establishing and promoting a new South African identity. In terms of this Act a new commission was established: the Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments, Relic and Antiques, known as the Historical Monuments Commission (HMC). The power of this commission included the right to make recommendations to the Minister of Education for the proclamation of any monument, relic or antique and, *inter alia*, to prohibit the destruction or alteration of a proclaimed monument. Subsequent amendments to the 1934 Act increased the powers of this commission from time to time. This 1934 Act was replaced by the National Monuments Act, No. 28 of 1969 which established the National Monuments Council (NMC) (which replaced the HMC) and which enjoyed several new powers and functions in addition to those of the HMC and a new era of cultural heritage management was born (Deacon and Pistorius 1996). The NMC, as a statutory body comprised of members appointed by the National Minister of Education, was tasked with the legislative protection of South Africa's cultural and historical heritage. During its almost thirty years of existence, the National Monuments Council proclaimed buildings and sites as national monuments by which the colonial history of South Africa is mainly reflected. The work of the NMC played a leading role in preventing the demolition of many individual historical buildings (Frescura 1999). Deacon and Hofmeyr point out that over ninety-five percent of all National Monuments Council declarations were in respect of buildings that were constructed, from the time of the establishment of the VOC in the Cape, by those of European descent (Deacon and Hofmeyr 1996: 16 quoting from Frescura 1999). According to Frescura (1999) the policy of the HMC and NMC since 1936 was primarily concerned with white, Afrikaner domestic structures mainly located in the Cape. He says that significantly, the number of declarations affecting the material culture of rural Afrikaners is particularly low (since

1948 the National Party government used urbanisation as a means of reducing rural white poverty) which he ascribes to a desire to 'submerge' or 'falsify' the historical record. The policy of monumentalising the built environment was used consciously or subconsciously to reinforce white political strategies and to support claims of white legitimacy.

Returning to 1936, Groot Constantia's homestead, the area surrounding it and all objects thereon were that year proclaimed national monuments in terms of The Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act, 1934 No. 529. Groot Constantia's inclusion in the Schedule of monuments proclaimed by the then Minister of Interior followed on a period of lobbying by Lt. Col. Graham C Botha with the HMC on behalf Groot Constantia. In 1928 he wrote to the HMC:

'It was because of the value to the spirit of South Africa of the non-interruption of things of historic significance that Mr Kendall added love to his ability in producing this continuing link – the linking of the coming years with that far away 1685 – a monument always through which past events will cast their shadows before' (Lt. Col. Botha letter to the HMC 13 May 1928, SAHRA NMC Records: Groot Constantia)

Groot Constantia was not sold at that time after it was strongly advocated by Eustace Pillans of the Department of Agriculture that Groot Constantia continue as a wine farm. Shortly before the end of the 19th century Pillans had to perform another holding action on behalf of Groot Constantia after he heard of a secret plan for the farm to be allocated as a country estate for the Governor of the Cape. It was due to Pillans' intervention that this plan was abandoned after he had shown the substantial costs that would have to be incurred to convert the house for the private use of the Governor. For the entire period of the Cape Government's ownership, Groot Constantia remained financially unviable and a burden for the State which in 1924 had come under the control of Hertzog's Pact Government.²² It is interesting to note that for the first time in its history Groot Constantia came under the control of an Afrikaner nationalist government who, as a result of the losses that were incurred at Groot Constantia,

²² J B M Hertzog (1866-1942), a Boer General during the Anglo Boer War, went on to become the Prime minister of the Union of South Africa from 1924-1939. Throughout his life he encouraged the development of the Afrikaner culture. In the general elections of 1924 his National Party defeated the South African Party of General Smuts and formed a coalition with the South African Labour Party. This coalition became known as the Pact Government. The policies of the Pact Government improved the social and economic conditions of whites but did not benefit the majority of South Africans who found themselves the targets of discriminatory laws that entrenched white supremacy

leased the agricultural component of the farm in 1927 to Bertrams, the owners of the neighbouring farm High Constantia for 30 years.²³ During this 30 year period good wine was produced at Groot Constantia by Bertrams but the vineyards and buildings deteriorated rapidly. It was during this period that farming operations at Groot Constantia were conducted by Bertrams that the National Party came into power (in 1948) from which time Groot Constantia was under the control of the National Party government.

It is interesting to note too that in the official Guidebook and Catalogue for the 1952 van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival Fair an invitation by Bertrams to visit Groot Constantia (Figure 29) appears on the reverse side of the front cover. Rasool and Witz (1993:447-468) say that this festival was an attempt to display the growing power of the Apartheid State and to assert its confidence. It is more interesting even to note that this invitation to visit Groot Constantia is illustrated with a drawing of the figure of Abundance (Figure 44) without the presence of the gable where the statue has been standing for almost 200 years. Why was its gable, which always featured prominently, not used in this illustration? Was this a contestation on the part of Bertrams against the use of the image of the gable? Whatever the reasons may have been for not including the gable at that time, this gable with the statue of Abundance therein remains the image which is most representative of Groot Constantia's historical and architectural significance as we will see later. It is interesting to note that the invitation states that 'it was at Groot Constantia that wine was first made in the Cape'. This statement is not historically correct: an entry on 2 February 1659 in the diary of Commander Jan van Riebeeck, who established the VOC refreshment station at the Cape in 1652, reads: 'Today, praise be to God, wine was made for the first time from Cape grapes, namely from the new must fresh from the vat' (Robinson, H. (2011:13).

²³Robertson Fuller Bertram owned this neighbouring property, a portion of which is today known as High Constantia, from 1902 until he died in 1942. Burman records the history of competition and confrontation between Groot Constantia and High Constantia (Byrman 1979: 118-123)

In 1969 the Groot Constantia Estate was proclaimed a National Monument in terms of the National Monuments Act No. 28 of 1969. The homestead and its contents were then placed under the control of the SACHM in Cape Town when these contents were re-arranged although no real changes were deemed necessary by the SACHM at that time and the De Pass collection remained a 'monument' for civic and culture conscious South Africans (Fransen 1983: 13). A Wine Museum was established by the SACHM in the Cloete Cellar in 1971.



Figure 30: Groot Constantia circa 1965 (Source: Fransen 2004:142)

The issue of 'national monuments' are often loaded with political values, and can be conceived as a question of national pride. Such values can provoke reconstruction and stylistic restoration of desired features of the monument, and the elimination and destruction of others that are contrary to political goals (Jokiletho 1999:308). Many state-owned buildings were declared national monuments by this state-agency which was required to 'preserve and protect the historical and cultural heritage, to encourage and to promote the preservation and protection of that heritage, and to co-ordinate all

activities in connection with monuments and cultural heritage in order that monuments and cultural treasures will be retained as tokens of the past and may serve as an inspiration for the future' (National Monuments Act, Section 2A).

In 1976 the Groot Constantia Control Board was established, which replaced the Department of Agricultural Technical Services as the viticulture body on the farm. In 1984 the consolidated area being the whole of the Groot Constantia estate including the '*manor house*' was declared to be a national monument in terms of the War Graves and National Monuments Act, No. 28 of 1969. Four years later the SACHM for the first time obtained full control over and expressed its intention to manage and 'preserve' the homestead, its surrounds and other historical buildings on the estate according to '*modern*' museum principles as a farmstead of the 18th century (*Die Burger*, 11 February 1988). A clear division of responsibilities and powers in so far as the estate, historic buildings and the wine producing vineyards were concerned was thus established in 1988 and Dr Dawid de Villiers, the new chairman of the Groot Constantia Control Board at that time, said that the decision to place the functions of 'preservation' with the SACHM was 'in the best interests of Groot Constantia' (*Die Burger*, 11 February 1988) and that this would free the Control Board to focus on its primary function namely winemaking and the agricultural management of the farm. During the period of State ownership, the estate had been run by the Department of Agriculture of as one of its agricultural farming operations when many of the vines were used for experimental purposes. It was a long process to render the farm economically viable and although the Control Board improved matters and made good progress, Groot Constantia was still not economically viable. There was a long history of losses and by 1987 the Control Board's deficit was in excess of R5 million, and in that year it received a R7 million loan from the South African Land Bank. The long tradition of a financial bail-out for Groot Constantia by the State was continuing unabated.

3.4 The handing over of power by the State

It appears that from 1988 the Control Board considered ways in which to relieve the State and in turn the tax payer of the ongoing financial burden of the farm. The Control Board realised that it needed to find another structure for the long term because the Board recognised that the increasing residential development in Constantia, there would be pressure to alienate parts of Groot Constantia if it is not financially viable

(Van Niekerk: interview 24.08.2011). A plan was formulated by which the State would hand over control of the estate to a trust which is to operate on a non-profit basis (*The Cape Times* 2 February 1993). The plan involved appointing directors of the KVV as members of the trust. The Groot Constantia Trust was then duly formed in 1993 and an agreement was concluded with the SACHM that the historic buildings on the estate would fall under their control. Before examining the formation of the trust and the transfer of ownership and control of the farm to the trust, we should pause to consider another important measure taken by the State in regard to Groot Constantia.

In addition to formulating this plan to transfer ownership of the farm to a trust, the State instructed Revel Fox²⁴ and Partners (Revel Fox) in 1992 to undertake restorations at Groot Constantia. These instructions were given by the State's Department of Local Government Housing and Works. Revel Fox was initially commissioned to undertake the restoration of the *Jonkershuis* (Figure 33) at Groot Constantia. Revel Fox identified that, in addition to the restoration of the *Jonkershuis*, the valley behind the Cloete Cellar, the area between the Cloete Cellar and the homestead as well as the area in front of the homestead (Figure 31) also required resolution. Detailed research and a spatial analysis were undertaken by Nicholas Baumann²⁵ to establish *inter alia* the historical evolution of the farmstead and the different functions it accommodated over time, the conservation worthiness of the different elements of the farmstead the physical condition of the existing fabric. The *Jonkershuis* received considerable attention and although the prevailing restoration approach at that time was 'minimum intervention', the restoration approach in regard to the *Jonkershuis* was similar to that of Kendall: to return the *Jonkershuis* to 'the best period' namely the mid-nineteenth century when the gables were added to the building (Baumann: interview 13.09.2011).

²⁴ Revel Fox (1924-2004) was the principal architect at Revel Fox and Partners which was founded in 1953 and headed by him until his death in 2004. He was the principal architect for Revel Fox and Partners when the firm was appointed by the Nationalist government in the early 1990s to undertake the restorations at Groot Constantia which were completed shortly before the State relinquished ownership of Groot Constantia on a voluntary basis. He was married into a prominent Afrikaner family: his wife was the sister of the Uys Krige, a famous Afrikaans poet and son of a famous Springbok rugby player, Japie Krige. Revel Fox and his daughter Grethe Fox, a film producer, were among the participants (comprised of 61 South Africans (of whom the majority were Afrikaans speaking) which included 17 delegates from the African National Congress) who were selected to meet in 1987 at the Dakar Conference. The Dakar Conference was given wide publicity and was seen by some as the catalyst that broke the ice for the negotiations between the government and the African National Congress two and a half years later.

²⁵ Nicholas Baumann, a conservation specialist, is related to the late Revel Fox. He obtained a BA from the University of Cape Town in 1976. He obtained, *inter alia*, a Doctor of Philosophy in Conservation Studies in 1997 from the University of York. He was involved with and responsible for the Development and Conservation Framework for Groot Constantia during the early 1990s when he was employed by Revel Fox and Partners

The *Jonkershuis* is more in the vernacular tradition than the homestead and also more authentic not having been affected by fire (Fransen 2004:143). The gables of the *Jonkershuis* (Figures 32 and 34) are of a rare type (known in the Netherlands as *klokgewels* and occur in the Cape only in the Constantia Valley (Fransen 2004:143). The main point of the findings of Revel Fox is that very little is known about the development and use of the *Jonkershuis* as most of the records of the early travellers who visited Groot Constantia refer to the main house and the cellar and only refer in passing to the *Jonkershuis*. These records indicate a range of uses including superintendents' lodging, slave quarters, stables and workshops but it is not possible to establish in which buildings these activities were located (Revel Fox and Partners 1992). Revel Fox recommended repair with an element of restoration. The motivation for this approach is that enough is known from historical records and the investigation of the existing fabric to establish what the complex looked like before the accretions that were then present occurred (during the period circa 1830 to the beginning of State control in 1885). This approach would enable a 'faithful restoration of the facade to the mid 19th century period' (Revel Fox and Partners 1992). Most notable is the motivation of the advantage that 'The appropriate treatment, particularly of the facade facing onto the historic precinct would contribute towards the recovery of the cultural significance of the place'. It was also recommended that the removal of accretions to the rear of the *Jonkershuis* would 'contribute towards the recovery of cultural significance' (Revel Fox and Partners 1992).

The only record of the appearance of the *Jonkershuis* buildings in 1799 is the painting by Lady Hamilton (Figure 19) which shows two buildings: one long and one square one. The long building has six small openings on the eastern side and a large opening, possibly a door in the middle. The smaller building has a door in the middle and two openings on either side (Revel Fox and Partners 1992). Comparing this drawing to those of Stade (Figure 12) and Heydt (Figure 14), it is apparent that the *Jonkershuis* underwent many changes since 1710 and 1741. In 1825 Martin Teenstra refers to buildings to the west of the main house as a large hall and slave quarters (Bosman 1843 as cited by Revel Fox and Partners 1992). A description of these buildings by Lady Anne Barnard is of "a large and beautiful stable and a slave lodge ..." and she refers to these buildings as 'apparently the residence of the wine dressers or persons employed on the premises'. (Revel Fox and Partners 1992). According to Shell the *Jonkershuis* would have housed at least 25 slaves in 1799 (Shell 1994:256). The word '*jonker*' could have meant '*die jong*' (the knave) which is a term used in early times to

describe a slave or servant (Shell: personal comment 15.12.2011). According to Michelle Paulse who submitted a thesis 'Slaves of Groot Constantia' in the History Department of the University of the Western Cape, slaves lived in the *Jonkershuis* during the Cloete era (SAHRA Memorandum 11 November 2003 Ref 9/2/111/0015).

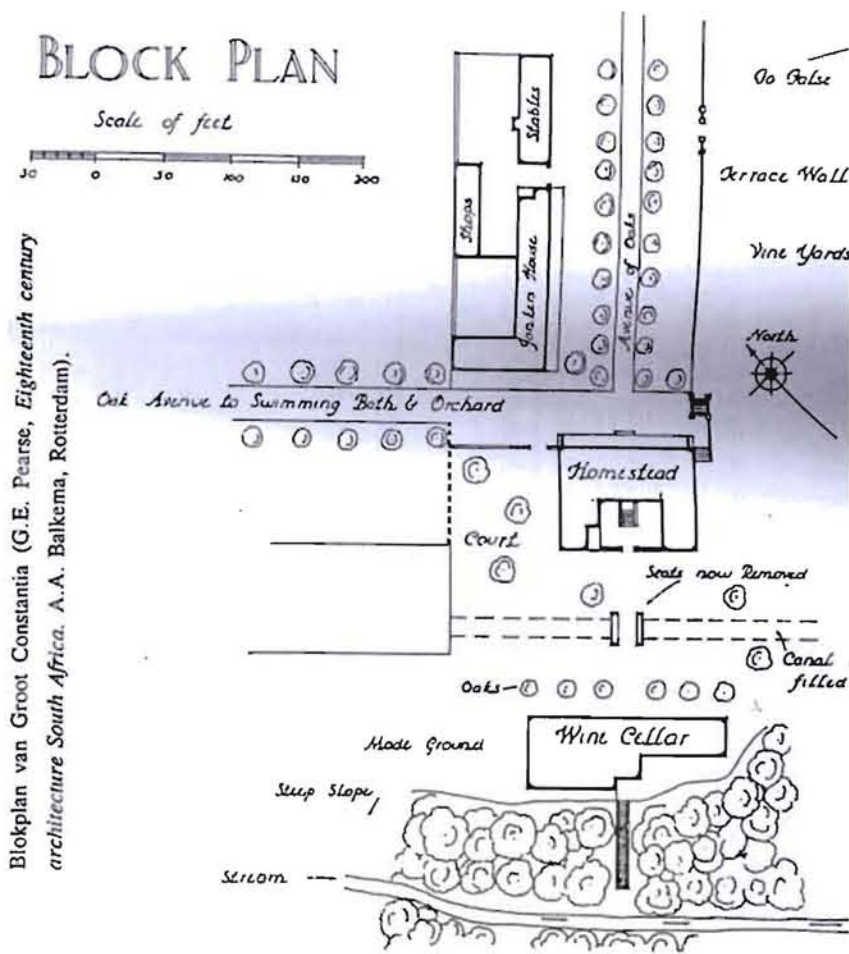


Figure 31: Plan of Groot Constantia: (Source Pearse 1933: Plate 45)

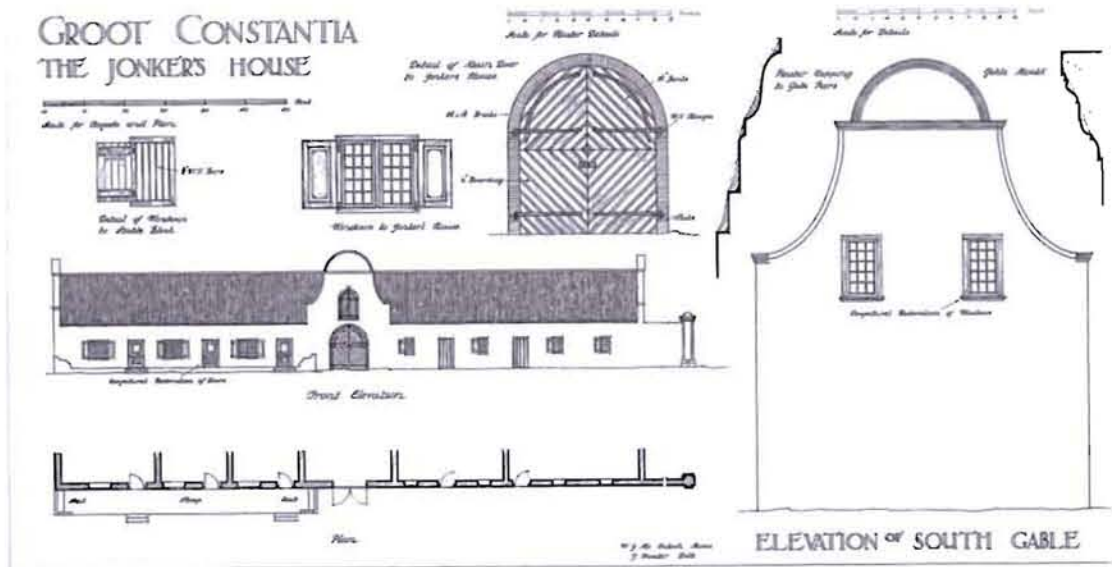


Figure 32 : Plan of Groot Constantia: the 'Jonker's House' (Source Pearse 1933: Plate 51)

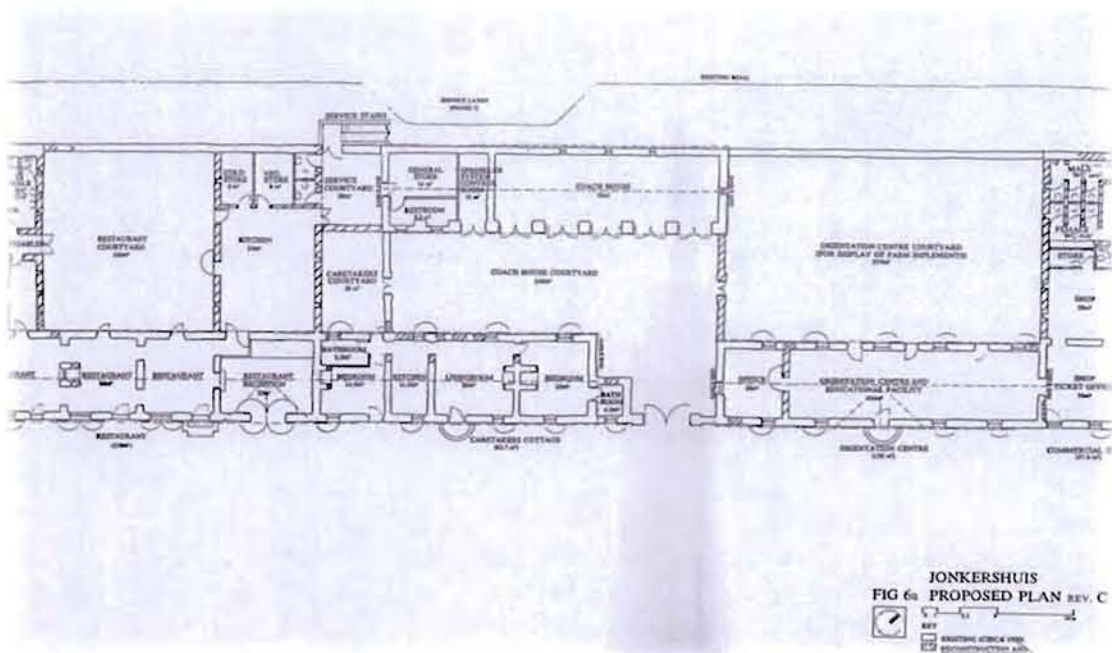


Figure 33: Proposed Plan :Groot Constantia Jonkershuis
(Source: Revel Fox and Partners archives)

It is evident from accounts that substantial work was done on these buildings in 1824 and 1829 which may have been done to upgrade the large building referred to by Teenstra and illustrated by Hamilton to the present gabled *Jonkershuis* and it is likely that Henry Cloete, the son of Jacob Pieter Cloete, would have lived in the *Jonkershuis* at that time and that was the first time that the building was used as a *Jonkershuis* in the sense of a dwelling (Figure 34) occupied by the son of the owner (*jonkheer*). The

Jonkershuis was later occupied by Henry Cloete's sons until Groot Constantia was acquired by the Cape Government in 1885 (Revel Fox and Partners 1992). Although the use and occupants of the *Jonkershuis* buildings during the period of approximately 130 years after first being constructed on the farm could not be established with certainty, their possible use as slave quarters and stables cannot be ruled out (Revel Fox and Partners 1992).

There was much debate and heated discussions about how the area between the homestead and the Cloete Cellar should be resolved (Emilia Smuts: telephonic interview 9.1.2012). It is clear from an inspection of SAHRA's records of the minutes of meetings and detailed reports on the proposed landscaping at Groot Constantia that much was made of the restoration of this area. Gawie Fagan criticises Revel Fox for the way in which the area between the homestead and the Cloete cellar was restored considering its original appearance when it was part of a working farm (Gawie Fagan: interview 1.9.2011). He believes that it was entirely incorrect to restore this area to such a '*grand*' and structured appearance (Figure 36) when one considers its historical appearance (Figure 35) (Gawie Fagan: interview 01.09.2011). Gwen Fagan refers to the 'gentrification' of this area by Revel Fox which was one of the points on which they disagreed with Revel Fox who, she says, worked to his 'own program' and as far as she can remember he never made concessions to Gawie Fagan (Gwen Fagan: email communication 14.2.2012). There was in fact much disagreement between Revel Fox and Gawie Fagan.²⁶ With regard to the restoration of the area between the homestead and the Cloete Cellar, it is worth noting that both architects, with strong personalities, more often than not did not see eye-to-eye (Emilia Smuts: telephonic interview 9.1.2012). Bauman says that 'Revel, being Revel' was always very clear and forthright but that in retrospect the interventions were 'driven by particular attitudes' whereas now there would have been 'much more debate and discussion and nothing would have been done' (Bauman: interview 13.09.2011). Gawie Fagan's criticism should be seen in the light of the improvements brought about by Revel Fox if one considers the even more formal appearance of this area (Figure 37) immediately prior to the restoration work done by these architects.

²⁶Revel Fox and Gabriël Fagan were both recipients of South African Institute of Architects' highest award, the gold medal, Fox in 1977 and Fagan in 1988. Revel Fox was also recipient of the National Monuments Council Gold Medal for Cultural Conservation in South Africa. Gabriël Fagan received the Order for Meritorius Service: Gold (State President's Award) in 1989



Figure 34: Early photograph of *Jonkershuis* used as a dwelling (*circa?*) (Source: Revel Fox and Partners archives)



Figure 35: Early photograph of front of Cloete cellar (*circa?*) (Source: Revel Fox and Partners archives)

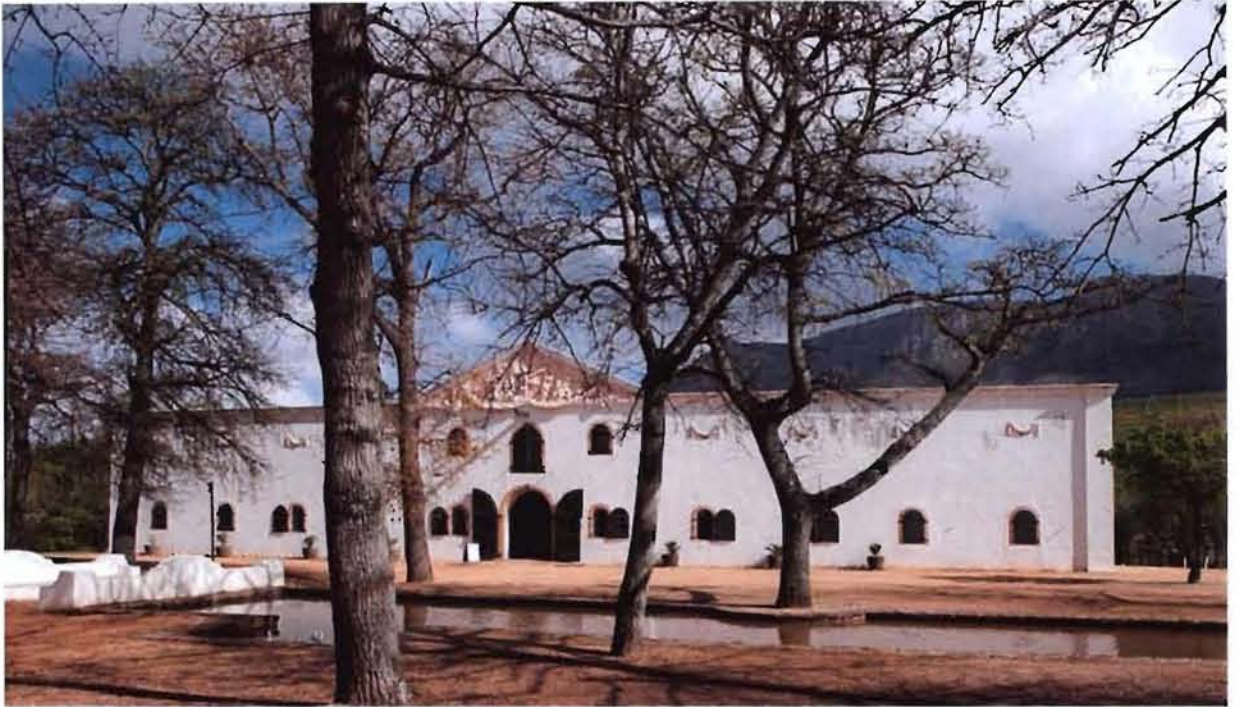


Figure 36: Area between the Groot Constantia homestead and the Cloete Cellar as laid out during the 1992-1994 restorations by Revel Fox and Partners
(Source: Jean Naude 2011)



Figure 37: Homestead and Cloete cellar with lawned space and ornamental pool in between (circa 1991) (Source: Revel Fox and Partners archives)

Gawie Fagan was on the panel of architects that the National Party government employed to restore of its national assets. Although his firm was not commissioned to do the restoration work at Groot Constantia, both he and Gwen Fagan attended meetings held at Groot Constantia regarding the proposals of Revel Fox who was appointed by the State to do the restoration work at Groot Constantia in 1992-1994. It was reported at the time that the 'thorough' restoration work that was being done at Groot Constantia was considered important to ensure the conservation of the farmstead's cultural heritage 'for posterity' and also to enable Groot Constantia to fulfil its important function as a tourist attraction (*Die Burger* 20 November 1993).

This restoration work by Revel Fox was effected by the State as part of the process of handing over ownership and control of the farm to the Groot Constantia Trust and to ensure that the buildings would be in good order for a number of years thereafter so that the Groot Constantia Trust would be able to take control and manage the wine farm without having the immediate burden of the costs of restoring the buildings that were dilapidated after years of State control when the farm was never really viable (Van Niekerk interview 24.8.2011)(De Villiers interview 19.9.2011).

The planning of the formation of the Groot Constantia Trust and the funding of the restorations by Revel Fox as well as the planting of new vines was a solution that obviously required careful planning on the part of the State at the time. It is significant that at a time when there was so much happening in anticipation of handing over power to the ANC-led majority, these measures to protect Groot Constantia were actions that the State still had the power and deemed important to exercise shortly before voluntarily giving up power and control of the entire country.

'Caretaking and control necessarily imply practical difficulties. But a more fundamental problem is posed by the need to decide – immediately and in the best possible accordance with the collective interest – the future use of the heterogeneous objects transformed into national heritage. The easy solution: sale to individuals allows the Revolutionary state to recuperate the cash that it so chronically needs. The other solutions call for determination, ingenuity and imagination.' (Choay 2001: 66)

Choay's reference to the two different approaches by the revolutionary French State to nationalised assets finds resonance in regard to the concerns about Groot Constantia's future if it should remain under State control once an ANC-led government comes into power, concerns that this new government about to be installed would take the 'easy solution' and sell off parts if not all of Groot Constantia to recuperate cash when

needed. The fear of loss of parts of Groot Constantia to development was one of the overriding factors that motivated the transfer of ownership of Groot Constantia by and from the State in 1993 to a Section 21 Company²⁷ called the Groot Constantia Trust. This remarkable event took place on 10 February 1993, when, by a unanimous vote, the Cabinet of the Parliament of the Republic of South Africa granted approval that legislation can be submitted to Parliament to convert the Groot Constantia Control Board into an 'association not for gain', as envisaged by Section 21 of the South African Companies Act, 1973 with the aim of transferring the entire State-owned estate to this Section 21 company. This solution called also for determination, ingenuity and imagination, characteristics (as Choay suggests) that are necessary to solve such a fundamental problem or concern for those in power at that time. The person whose determination, ingenuity and imagination resulted in the Groot Constantia Trust Bill being tabled and debated by Members of the Extended Public Committee who met in the Chamber of the House of Assembly on 25 March 1993 is Dr Dawid de Villiers, a man described as the architect of the whole process which culminated in the transfer of ownership of this national asset to the Groot Constantia Trust. The then Minister of Agriculture referred to that day as 'an historic day in the history of Groot Constantia' and he said that 'Just as we referred to the past today, so too will reference be made to what was said and confirmed today with regard to Groot Constantia'.²⁸ The most important consequence of the Groot Constantia Trust Act was the transfer of the whole of the Groot Constantia estate to the Groot Constantia Trust. The main business of the Groot Constantia Trust is set forth as:

'To promote communal interests and the South African wine culture by funding the Groot Constantia Estate by means of donations, contributions, other fundraising and the commercial production of products of the vine and other agricultural products in order to render the said Estate accessible to the people of South Africa and to tourism and preserve it in trust and manage it as a living museum for the cultural-historical legacy of the wine industry and the people of South Africa in consideration of the fact that this marks the origin of the South

²⁷A section 21 company is a company registered under the South African Companies Act of 1973 as an association not for gain. It does not have a share capital and its members cannot be or be referred to as shareholders. A Section 21 Company is prohibited from distributing profits by way of dividends. There is no compelling reason for it to have members and it suffices for the company to have a board of directors only. In terms of the new South African Companies Act of 2008, Section 21 Companies are replaced by companies registered as 'Non Profit Companies'.

²⁸Subsequently, and on 7 May 1993 by way of Government Gazette 14787 of 7 May 1993, No. 784 the State President's Office notified that the State President had assented to Act No. 58 of 1993: Groot Constantia Trust Act, 1993 (the Groot Constantia Trust Act) to make provision for the incorporation of the Groot Constantia Control Board as an association not for gain; for the transfer of the Groot Constantia Estate to this association; and 'for matters in connection therewith'

African wine industry, achieving a pinnacle of international recognition during the nineteenth century' (Certificate of Incorporation, 22 June 1993)

The stated main object of the Groot Constantia Trust is to take the Groot Constantia Estate into trust, to fund it and commercially run it in all its facets in order to promote and preserve it as a cultural historical monument, as an educational asset and as a wine producing estate (Certificate of Incorporation, 22 June 1993). The Groot Constantia Trust Act makes provision also for the reversion back to the State of the properties transferred to the Groot Constantia Trust, free of any charge, in the event of the liquidation, deregistration or dissolution of this Section 21 company (Groot Constantia Trust Act 58 of 1993: Section 5). The Groot Constantia Trust is empowered to manage, insure, lease, work, develop, build on, improve, turn to account or in any way otherwise deal with its undertaking or all or part of its property and assets and to implement measures which will, for the benefit of culture conservation, effective farming and security, effectively control the accessibility of the estate (Certificate of Incorporation, 22 June 1993). One of the special conditions imposed on the Groot Constantia Trust is that the use of the historical core of the estate was allocated free of charge to the SACHM in 1993 for use as a museum (Certificate of Incorporation, 22 June 1993). That the buildings, particularly the homestead, were important appears from the 1993 Parliamentary debates when the transfer of ownership of Groot Constantia was debated. One of the National Party members, W L van der Merwe, paid tribute to 'the people who preserved that precious heritage in the past' and refers to Groot Constantia as 'one of our most precious cultural heritages' (Hansard 25 March 1993: col. 3604). This member of the National Assembly spoke about Groot Constantia's formative influence on him; he described how as a young boy he stood in front of the 'beautiful old house' and told himself that 'when I was a man one day I would build myself a house like that' and he expressed the hope that the trust to which it will pass in terms of the 'legislation, will preserve this treasure, as we know it, for the present and for future generations' (Hansard 25 March 1993: col. 3604-3605). This historic building that was spoken of with such passion and commitment, today falls under the stewardship of IZIKO (Figure 38), as successor to the now defunct SACHM, who became the custodian of Groot Constantia's historic contents pursuant to the Act that was passed on Parliament that day. The maintenance of Groot Constantia's historic buildings remains the full responsibility of the Groot Constantia Trust who bears all the costs of maintenance to these buildings. The Groot Constantia Trust Act indeed created a 'partnership' between IZIKO and The Groot Constantia Trust (Naude: interview 13.09.2011). The Groot Constantia Trust's responsibility for the maintenance

of the historic building is an important and positive consequence of The Groot Constantia Trust Act if one considers that much of the funds that are disbursed to cultural institutions by the South African Department of Cultural Affairs today are being used to pay for auditing and special investigations (Du Preez interview 09.09.2011) and that IZIKO lately has to apply for funding from the National Lottery Board (Shell: personal comment 14.12.2011). It has to be said that the appearance of the historic buildings today speak of meticulous maintenance and care.

And so, returning to 1993, the State that year voluntarily and surprisingly without real contestation from any quarter of its population, relinquished power and control over Groot Constantia after a century of ownership and at a time of great political upheaval in South Africa. It is interesting to note that 'Kraai' van Niekerk, the Minister of Agriculture, said during the Second Reading debate on that day that 'The general agreement among hon members from all parties is remarkable, as well as their satisfaction that the right thing has been done' (Hansard 25 March 1993: col. 3609:25).



Figure 38: Iziko Museum Groot Constantia 2012
(photograph by author)

How was it possible to achieve general agreement between all political parties to transfer ownership and control of this national asset to the Groot Constantia Trust? This question is particularly important when regard is had to what Roger Hulley, the then member of Parliament for Constantia and member of the Progressive Federal Party at the time, said during the Second Reading debate: 'Some knee-jerk critics have suggested that this is being done now, suddenly, because of the imminent advent of the new South Africa under a new government' (Hansard 25 March 1993: col. 3572). It would appear that it was in fact Roger Hulley who had introduced this Groot Constantia Bill because of the deep and abiding concern that members of his constituency had at the time that all agricultural land in the Western Cape can be regarded as being threatened by the spectre of development (Joan Heming: Interview 22.11.2011). Hulley referred to agricultural land in the Western Cape as being 'under the sword of Damocles of threatened development' (Hansard 25 March 1993: col. 3572) and said in regard to Groot Constantia:

'In spite of Groot Constantia's special and protected status, I can report that at regular intervals during the time that I have been representing Constantia, whenever the estate has suffered a financial setback and it has been in the press that a loss has been clocked up for a particular year, a number of proposals have been put forward by a variety of profit-motivated individuals, who always promise to be financial saviours, as to how to relieve the State of the financial burden. Always, however, the catch is that a portion of the estate will have to be given up for development to finance the saving. These beguiling offers have up to now always been declined, but the point is that if even one such offer were to be accepted one day, there would be no second chance. One bad decision could lose the nation a priceless asset for ever and a day' (Hansard 25 March 1993: col. 3573).

An interesting contribution to the debates regarding Groot Constantia in Parliament on that day is that of Dr P J Gous, the member for Parys (in the Orange Free State) who not only acknowledges that 'today the Hulleys are pleading for the heritage of the Cloetes' but in the same breath goes on to say that "My party (National Party) and I pray to our God and I also pray for his protecting hand over the Afrikaner people, one of the greatest, if not the greatest national assets in this country' (Hansard 25 March 1993: col. 3583).

Another member of the Extended Public Committee, J H Momberg, spoke about the perception among the people that on the part of the Government there was a large-scale discarding of everything that was State property to prevent a new government obtaining possession of that property (Hansard 25 March 1993: col. 3589). However,

all the interviewees included in this study do not hold to the view that such fears and perception motivated the transfer of Groot Constantia to the Groot Constantia Trust. Most do, where some of those who do are forthcoming while but others do so hesitantly. Bruce Milne who was the contract architect with Revel Fox when the restorations at Groot Constantia were done by his firm says that when Revel Fox was appointed by the National government to do the restorations, shortly before it relinquished power not only of Groot Constantia, but of government of the country, 'there was no question that they were trying to protect it against the new regime' (Milne: telephonic Interview: 26.09.2011). Milne worked closely with Dr de Villiers who was 'effectively protecting Groot Constantia from being taken over by the new regime that would be under pressure to deliver land (Milne: telephonic Interview: 26.09.2011). De Villiers wanted to protect Groot Constantia against a 'land-grab' and his main aim was to protect Groot Constantia. (Milne: telephonic Interview: 26.09.2011). Ron Adams, the architect employed by the State at that time also was very clear that Dr De Villiers' aim was to protect Groot Constantia against a '*land-grab*' (Ron Adams: interview 20.9.2011). On the other hand, Ashley Lilley who was employed by the NMC at that time says that the notion that such fears and perception motivated the transfer of Groot Constantia to the Groot Constantia Trust is 'rubbish' (Lilley: interview 13.09.2011). But Lilley may have been an 'outsider' at the time. According to Mason (2002:17), outsiders are those with a stake in the heritage resource with little or no influence on the process. Lilley's views were determined by his role and position as a junior employee at the NMC at that time and he may not have been close to those who were in positions of power at the time. Although Dr de Villiers was non-committal in this respect, the interview conducted with him and others who were closely involved with him at Groot Constantia at that time leads one to conclude that it was indeed the very real prospect of a failure on the part of the ANC-led government, once in power, to run Groot Constantia as a going concern, that may lead to parts if not all of the estate being sold off for development. Indeed, those fears may well have been reasonable given that the State had never been able to farm Groot Constantia successfully and there is no reason to believe that the ANC-led government would have fared any better in which event the sale of portions of Groot Constantia could in all probability have resulted given its high land value and the allure of development for profit. Emilia Smuts²⁹ who worked closely with Dr de Villiers during the period of the 1992-1994 restorations and the formation of the Groot Constantia Trust is clear that the biggest

²⁹Emilia Smuts was responsible for the taking of minutes of meetings and liaising between the Trust and the S A Cultural History Museum and later IZIKO.

imperative for Dr de Villiers was to ensure the preservation of Groot Constantia as a working wine farm (Emilia Smuts: telephonic interview 9.1.2012). According to Smuts the other imperatives were to ensure that Groot Constantia remains open to members of the public and to protect its unique heritage. There was a degree of fear that if Groot Constantia remains the property of the State after the ANC-led government comes into power, the gates of Groot Constantia estate may not always remain open to all South Africans and that those who hold this place dear could be precluded from visiting. There was also a concern that the collection in the homestead may end up in a warehouse (Smuts: telephonic interview 9.1.2012). It is interesting to note that ironically the ANC was anxious that the proposed restructuring of Groot Constantia would result in a few individuals being able to decide not to keep the estate open to the public (*The Cape Times*, 8 March 1993 referred to by Winter 1995: 68). Van Delen says that Dr de Villiers 'imposed himself on Groot Constantia with absolute determinism' and that his efforts were aimed to ensure that the State would not have control after 1994 (Van Delen: interview 15.9.2011).

Returning to the 1993 debates in Parliament, the Minister of Agriculture, A. I. ('Kraai') van Niekerk, proceeded in the Second Reading debate by saying that 'When I have to start talking about Groot Constantia, I am touching on a very important facet of the cultural history of South Africa. Groot Constantia is newsworthy because it retains some sentiment or other of the past for every community' (Hansard 25 March 1993: col. 3563). The acknowledgment that Groot Constantia retains some sentiment or other of the past for every community is noteworthy when the proposal that the main object of the Groot Constantia Trust should be explicit and that provision should be made for the estate to be accessible to the people of South Africa. The steps taken to transfer the estate to the Groot Constantia Trust were validated by the Minister of Agriculture who referred to the original intention of the Cape Government when it purchased Groot Constantia from the Cloete family in 1885 for 5 275 pounds. He quoted the following speech which was read on behalf of Governor Robinson on 9 April 1886:

'With the view of improving another important article of Colonial production, my Ministers undertook the responsibility of purchasing the well-known wine farm Groot Constantia, which happened to come into the market for sale. You will be asked to sanction this expenditure, and also to establish upon the farm a school for giving practical instruction in the manufacture of wine of a character to suit the European markets, so that a field may be found for an important export which the climate and soil of the Colony are naturally adapted to produce' (Hansard 25 March 1993: col. 3566)

Minister van Niekerk also quoted Rhodes who said, in regard to the losses at Groot Constantia which the Cape Government had to make good, 'The expenditure might be large, but the money was spent with the object of educating young farmers in the production of wine' (Hansard 25 March 1993: col. 3566). Rhodes also referred to the fact that the Cape Government had from time to time considered the advisability of selling the farm and that if they could not sell it to anybody who 'had respect for old associations' they might lease or let it (Hansard 25 March 1993: col. 3566). The Minister of Agriculture also referred to Eustace Pillans, a senior officer in the Department of Agriculture at that time who strongly advocated that Groot Constantia should not be sold and that it should continue as a Government wine farm. Mention was made that during Pillans' time, Groot Constantia became a tourist attraction and that it was 'even visited by farmers' delegations from the two Boer Republics' (Hansard 25 March 1993: col. 3566).

The ongoing financial burden placed on the State by Groot Constantia was repeatedly referred to in the Minister's address and he said that 'the farm is top heavy, with an historical nucleus which cannot be supported by the small income from the farm' and that the estate has been a thorny problem for every Minister of Agriculture who had anything to do with it (Hansard 25 March 1993: col. 3567). Important to note is his statement that it was only in the recent past that it was possible to achieve the ideal of restoring Groot Constantia to such an extent that it was 'possible to convert it in a feasible way to a true cultural heritage for the wine industry' (Hansard 25 March 1993: col. 3568).

It is interesting to note that one of the members in the House of Assembly on the day of the Second Reading debate was a Mr N Jumuna, a member of Parliament for the then ruling National Party in the House of Delegates, the Asians-only chamber of the then Tricameral Parliament, who gave a lengthy and precise description of the history of Groot Constantia saying also that Groot Constantia is in many ways one of South Africa's most important historical monuments (Hansard 25 March 1993: col. 3576-3577). He spoke for Groot Constantia as a member of the Extended Public Committee in 1993 when the Groot Constantia Trust Bill was tabled. Jumuna's apparent knowledge and understanding of Groot Constantia, considering that he of Indian descent and living in Natal is thought-provoking and research into this member proved interesting. Jumuna is referred to as one of Apartheid's '*Uncle Toms*' with reference to

blacks who collaborated with the National Party and played 'the apartheid game'.³⁰

There is no question about Dr de Villiers' pivotal role in the formation of the Groot Constantia Trust and the transfer of the estate to the Trust in 1993. A man now in his nineties, described as a mentor and 'een van die groot geeste uit die geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika se nywerheid' (one of the captains of industry in South Africa's history) (Van Niekerk: interview 24.08.2011). When asked who formulated the plan and the whole process he responded 'Ek was die man' (Dr de Villiers: interview 19.09.2011). He says that he was first approached by a Member of Parliament when he was told 'the Government is going to invite you and you are not to say no'. (Dr de Villiers: interview 19.09.2011). He succeeded with this task which he says was a 'complicated political fight' which resulted in an Act of Parliament in 1993 (Dr de Villiers: interview 19.09.2011). In closing the Second Reading debate in the House of Assembly on the 25 March 1993, the Minister of Agriculture said:

'I should like to thank the chairman of the Groot Constantia Control Board, Dr Dawid de Villiers. He has completed a sizeable piece of work, as only he can. In the future this milestone in his life may become one of the most important. May it give him a lot of pleasure in his life and may Groot Constantia go from strength to strength' (Hansard 25 March 1993: col. 3610)

With everything that was taking place the late 1980s and early 1990s, there were some members of the ANC who were indeed suspicious of and concerned that the 'privatisation' of Groot Constantia was to obtain some or other advantage for the those that were about to relinquish power (Van Niekerk interview: 24.08.2011). The ANC initially objected to this plan and there was suspicion on the part of the ANC that the National Party government were attempting to maintain political control under the impending majority government (*The Argus*, 11 February 1993 referred to by Winter 1995:68). On the other hand, there was a great uncertainty about how the incoming ANC-led government would deal with national assets and historical heritage. Those in control of Groot Constantia at that time feared that when the ANC-led government comes into power they would sell Groot Constantia because of its land value (Van Niekerk interview 24.08.2011). De Villiers is said to have been solely responsible for the master plan that brought about the transfer of Groot Constantia from the State and he is referred to as 'die argitek en dryfveer agter die hele proses' (the architect and driving force behind the whole process) 'met sy kontakte binne die politieke sisteem

³⁰Sylvia Vollenhoven's account of Jumuna's past in *Apartheid's Uncle Toms* (google:book.google.co.za/books?id=5_YDAAAAMBAJ) makes for interesting reading

aan beide kante, die ANC en die regering van daardie tyd', het (hy) dit reggekry om die ding deur te voer' (he managed to execute the whole process with his contacts in the government at that time and in the ANC) (Van Niekerk interview 24.08.2011). Dr de Villiers says the State saw Groot Constantia as 'going to pieces' and tasked him with the responsibility to ensure a successful future for it. (Dr de Villiers: interview 19.09.2011). He engaged with the official opposition, particularly Harry Schwartz, who was concerned about Groot Constantia being '*privatised*', as well as members of ANC and he managed to win them all over in one way or another. Dr de Villiers privately discussed the State's problems with Groot Constantia and pointed out to the State's political opponents that the profits generated by the wine farming at Groot Constantia were insufficient to maintain the historic buildings and reinvest in the farming operations problem with the opposition. He persuaded the opposition of the burden that Groot Constantia imposes on the State. According to Dr de Villiers 'at the very end' the ANC became opposed to what they perceived to be the de-nationalisation of Groot Constantia and he believes that these concerns were related to the influences of the Communist Party at the time. He says that because of this it took him a long time to persuade the detractors of his plan of the poor history of the nationalising of government assets although in the end he succeeded. Dr de Villiers has a rare combination of extraordinary political skills and business acumen as many of the interviewees commented. Whereas he now suffers from ill-health and speaks with great difficulty, he clearly possessed the skill of extraordinary persuasion which is an exercise of power in itself.

Dr de Villiers believes that the 'privatisation' of Groot Constantia was vital for its future and its important role in the South African wine industry (Dr de Villiers: interview 19.09.2011). All of the procedures whereby the Groot Constantia Trust came into being in 1993 and the transfer of ownership from the State to the Trust that same year came about bear the fingerprints of Dr de Villiers. He mastered the plan and with his political savvy managed to obtain the unanimous agreement of members of Parliament. He, then in his 70s, pushed on and engaged with those that he needed and used with the drive of a man who wanted to secure Groot Constantia's future at all costs. All of the key persons interviewed spoke of Dr de Villiers' pivotal role in the 'privatisation' of Groot Constantia and described him as the man who introduced a strong business ethic into the running of Groot Constantia (Van Niekerk: interview 24.08.2011). It is worth remembering that he did all this at a time when the most profound changes were taking place in South Africa. He still, as a man in his nineties, holds dear those values

that motivated him and looks at Sasol and Groot Constantia today as evidence of the imperatives that control of national assets by the State is not advisable as the State simply does not understand the business and management principles that ensure prosperity. He says that the future of Groot Constantia could only be ensured by it being run of strict business principles, principles that the State has never shown competency in.

The planning and execution of the transfer of ownership from the State by Dr de Villiers is an exercise of power by a man who is described as 'the architect' of the whole process. He acted for and on behalf of the State and his actions resulted in the State's relinquishing power while obtaining the outcome it desired. The planning, negotiating and successful execution by Dr de Villiers of his master plan underscores that all power, even that of the State is, in the final analysis, personal as the interview with the architect Fagan's reveals in regard to his decisions in regard to the restorations at Tulbagh and the outcome of his decisions. Dr de Villiers' personal exercise of power was driven primarily by the recognition of the value of Groot Constantia's unique heritage as South Africa's oldest extant wine farm. From a conservation perspective, this exercise and act of power should ultimately be judged by whether or not the actions of this man, empowered by the State, results in a successful conservation outcome.

3.5 Groot Constantia as icon, wine-making and the 'architecture of wine'

As we saw earlier, Cape Dutch homesteads provided the link between English and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans because they were icons of a common European culture and heritage and Groot Constantia's history and architecture played an important role in the narrative of nationhood. The image of Groot Constantia's gable reached its architectural zenith with the 1924 British Empire Exhibition. The Exhibition was essentially a large trade fair intended by its organisers to rekindle interest in the declining British Empire and to encourage support for the British government's imperial ties.

There was a renewed interest in the Empire's dominions, one being South Africa, at that time. After the end of the First World War, numerous efforts were made to strengthen trade ties between the members of the British Commonwealth and to enhance markets abroad for British goods by populating these dominions with British

settlers, redistributing the white population of the Empire by moving Britons from crowded metropolitan areas to regions of 'room and opportunity', acquiring natural resources for the Empire and creating new markets under British control. South Africa's larger aim at the British Empire Exhibition was to demonstrate that stability and true political unity between the British and the Boer states had been secured by the Act of Union in 1910. It is hard to imagine a more fitting riposte to the challenge of a suitable design for the Empire Exhibition. The South African part of the British Empire exhibition was expressed in architectural language that reconciles the gable with the best that South African architecture could exhibit at that time. The image of Groot Constantia's gable found its way to London to be used at a celebration of the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley in 1924 (Figure 39).

The centrepiece of the British Empire Exhibition mounted at Wembley Park in London in 1924 was the Imperial Section which displayed the industrial and agricultural products of the empire in pavilions that invoked the achievements and splendours of Africa and the Far East. It is interesting to note that the dominion buildings were all ponderously neoclassical in style with the exception of the South African Pavilion which suggests an authentic architecture (Art and Empire Wembley, 1924: www.questia.com/google/solar.gst). There was an inherent emphasis on the 'civilising' role of British administration in an essentially 'primitive' environment, in the way British Imperial Africa was presented. The firm of Kendall and Morris Architects (the architect Kendall was responsible for the restoration of the homestead at Groot Constantia after the fire in 1925, examined in this chapter, was appointed to attend to the erection of an 'old Dutch Voorhuis' (British Empire Exhibition Cape Town Committee letter dated 18 January 1924, UCT MAL: BC206) as part of the Cape Peninsula's Exhibit pursuant to a national competition for architectural designs in September 1923. Architects and artists were invited to submit designs, prepared in the Union of South Africa, for 'an exhibit of South African building' (National Federation of Building Trade Employers letter to Secretaries of Associations of Architects dated 5 October 1923 UCT MAL: BC206) in the South African section of the British Empire Exhibition' and it was stated that this exhibit was of 'great national importance' (National Federation of Building Trade Employers letter to Secretaries of Associations of Architects dated 5 October 1923 UCT MAL: BC206). Kendall and Morris won the competition with their design of a building with a replica of the gable at Groot Constantia at the entrance to the South African Pavilion (Figure 40). As we saw in chapter 2, the *voorhuis* is considered to be the primary space where visitors organised their interpretations of Cape material

culture. The *voorhuis* at the British Empire Exhibition would have served as the place where the interpretative process which Ricouer calls *distanciation* would have taken place – where the appropriation³¹ of the Cape Dutch dwelling referred to by Yvonne Brink (2008: 202) would have occurred – the '*opening up of a world*' of colonial production and culture in South Africa which the visitor could see and accept unto himself or herself.

The architect James Morris attended to the erection of the South African Pavillion in 1924 and Kendall was advised that the 'Voorhuis' was 'so conspicuously South African' (South African Pavilion, British Empire Exhibition, Wembley, letter to Kendall dated 21 July 1924 UCT MAL: BC206/36). The choice and use of the iconic image of Groot Constantia's gable at the British Empire Exhibition in 1924 has to be understood in the context of nation building in South Africa at that time, evidenced by the statement that the competition was considered to be of 'great national importance' although the South African Pavilion with its 'conspicuously South African' design also served as a showcase of colonial production and culture.



Figure 39: Image of centrepiece of the British Empire Exhibition mounted at Wembley Park
(Source: Dr Andre van Graan)

³¹ According to Yvonne Brink (2008: 202) appropriation means making one's own what was initially strange or alien – an enrichment of one's own world experience.

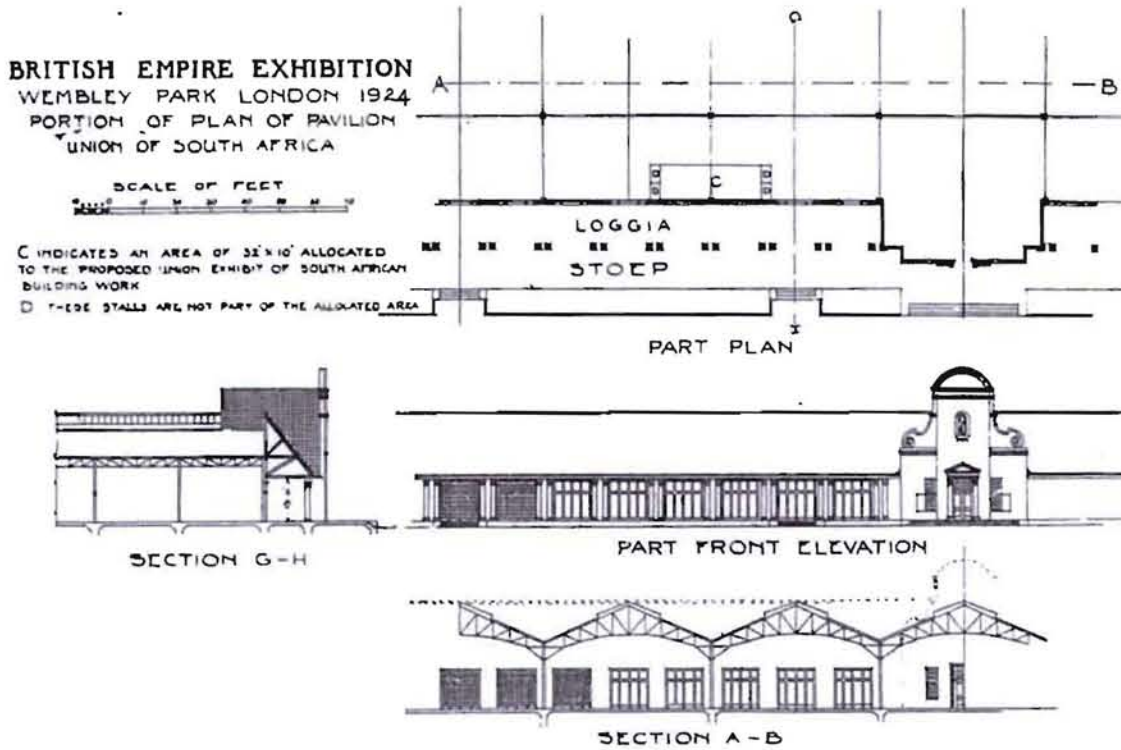


Figure 40: Portion of Kendall and Morris plan of the Pavillion Union of South Africa
British Empire Exhibition (Source: UCT MAL: BC206/36)

The image of Groot Constantia's gable was used by the Institute of South African Architects for their First Union Congress in 1928 (Figure 41). Coetzer (2007:172) says that the Cape Dutch gable reached its 'apotheosis' (for architects) as an emblem of national architecture with its appearance on this menu cover.

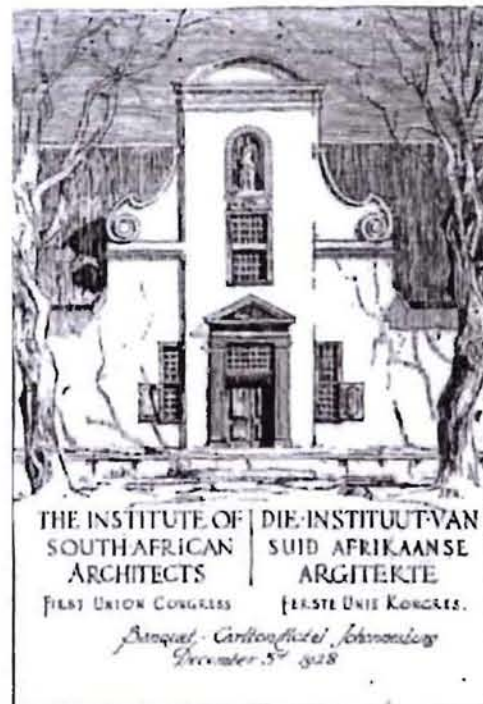


Figure 41: Groot Constantia's gable on the cover of the 1928 Institute of South African Architects (First Union Congress) banquet menu (Coetzer 2007:172)

In 1985, when Groot Constantia was owned by the National Party government, Groot Constantia's third *Eeufees* (tercentenary) celebrations were held there to celebrate three hundred years of the estate's existence. The image of the then Prime Minister P W Botha (1916-2006)³², South Africa's last hard-line white president, appeared alongside that of the homestead (Figure 42).



Figure 42: 1985 Commemorative cover Groot Constantia Tercentenary

Groot Constantia's Tercentenary celebrations took place a few months after P W Botha's inauguration as the Republic of South Africa's first State President under a new constitution that gave him effectively unlimited powers. During his inauguration speech he referred to the pioneers who established the white minority in South Africa and he said that they 'heralded the advent of a new civilization here' (Freedom Writer, Institute for First Amendment Studies <http://skeptictank.org/files/fw/10years.htm>).

South Africa became a Republic in 1961 and that year saw the first issue of the definitive stamp of the country by the South African Post Office. It cost two and a half cents to mail a standard letter and the gable of the Groot Constantia homestead appeared on this stamp (Figure 43). It is interesting to note the appearance of grapes this stamp alongside that of Groot Constantia's gable. The addition of the symbolic grape to the iconic image of the gable is arguably significant in that the heritage of

³² P W Botha was elected to the South African Parliament in 1948 at the start of the National Party's time in power. He was Prime Minister of South Africa from 1978-1984 and the first Executive State President from 1984-1989. Botha, commonly known as 'die Groot Krokodil' (Afrikaans for 'the Big Crocodile'), was a staunch advocate of racial segregation and the apartheid system. His father fought against the British in the Second Boer War and his mother was interned in a British concentration camp during that war (SA History Online www.sahistory.org.za/people/pieter-willem-botha)

Groot Constantia as the place where wine farming started in South Africa is emphasised alongside the iconic image of the gable of the homestead during the time of Groot Constantia's ownership by the National Party government. The use of the image of Groot Constantia on this definitive stamp shows the value placed on Groot Constantia by the National Party government at this important juncture in the history of South Africa when a republic was proclaimed based on profoundly racist ideology and legislation. The fact that this stamp was used for all standard mail in South Africa at that time can be interpreted as a strategy whereby the State disseminated this image of Groot Constantia throughout South Africa as part of its political and nationalist strategy.



Figure 43: South Africa standard postage stamp circa 1961

Key social and political lines clearly run through Groot Constantia whose long history is inextricably linked, not only to national identities, but importantly to the continuous productive use of land. The grapes that appear on the homestead's gable (Figure 44) and the Cloete Cellar pediment at Groot Constantia (Figure 18) are not just as ornamentation but as symbolic representations of a place which is more closely associated with the wine industry in South Africa than any other. The iconic or allegorical representation of the female figure *Abundance* with grapes at her side and at her feet (Figure 44) is a descriptive part of the viticultural imagery of Groot Constantia. The poise of this female figure with her drapery as found in Greek and Roman archaic art, and also in imperial iconography, is powerfully suggestive of a nobility of purpose.



Figure 44: Statue of *Abundance* in gable above front door at Groot Constantia 2011
Photograph by author

The history of Groot Constantia is as much about the beginning and development of the wine industry in South Africa as it is about the history and development of Cape Dutch architecture. As we know, Simon van der Stel acquired this land, in the very early years of colonial settlement in South Africa, for purposes of planting vines and making wine. The landmark farmstead buildings with its historic Cloete cellar have always been and are still associated with the commercial growth and development of the wine industry in South Africa. Its uninterrupted history and ties with the South African wine industry is as significant as is the prominence of the farmstead as a feature of the colonial landscape when the buildings were representative of the commercial success and standing of the owners in the 18th and 19th centuries who promenaded their financial status by erecting stately gables and improving the homesteads. Groot Constantia's buildings are amongst the best examples in this regard and also serve to illustrate how South Africa's colonial legacy is encoded in the architecture of the built environment.

Van Graan's article *Wine-making at the Cape: the architecture of wine* gives a synopsis of wine-making at the Cape and his reference to the architecture of wine is useful in the context of Groot Constantia's authenticity (Van Graan in VASSA Journal Number 13 June 2005: 2-9). Van Graan refers to Otto Mentzel (a visitor to the Cape between 1733 and 1741) who described an early wine cellar at Groot Constantia and says that this cellar was probably built between 1685 and 1695, the first ten years of Simon van der Stel's period of ownership of Groot Constantia. A new and more impressive cellar was built by Hendrik Cloete in 1790-91 to produce the sought-after Constantia wines, favoured with the European market (Van Graan in VASSA Journal Number 13 June 2005: 2). The wines of Groot Constantia, along with another Constantia estate, were used by VOC officials to 'attract foreigners to the Cape' (Van Graan in VASSA Journal Number 13 June 2005: 3). In the 18th century it was common to ship wine on large wooden barrels on board of ships to Holland where it would be bottled in long-neck-bottles (Figure 45). Groot Constantia's wine was of high quality and expensive at that time.

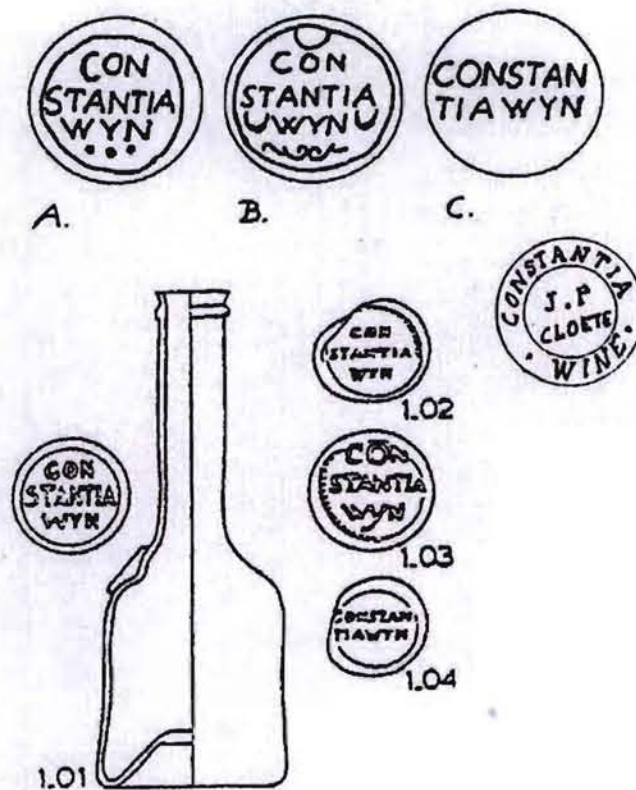


Figure 45: 18th century sketch (1.01) of long neck bottle by J P Cloete and sketches of glass badges found in the Annenwalder Glass Factory collection (Source: Wilshire-Preston 2011:18)

From the time that Hendrik Cloete became owner; large quantities of wine from the estate were shipped to members of the aristocracy and dignitaries around the world and have been mentioned in the works of Jane Austen and Charles Dickens. Apparently Napoleon preferred Groot Constantia's red wines above all else. Napoleon was kept in supply by the younger Hendrik Cloete, son of the first Cloete owner, during his forced exile on St. Helena after his defeat at Waterloo in 1815 until his death in 1821. Other notable buyers of Groot Constantia wines were members of the British Royal family, the Governor of Ceylon the Marquis of Hastings, Frederick the Great of Prussia and King Louis Philippe of France who was a copious purchaser at one time buying an entire vintage (Wilshire-Preston 2011:18). Groot Constantia won medals at exhibitions in Vienna, Philadelphia, Paris and Melbourne between 1874 and 1881 and was the official wine supplier to the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Edinburgh and King Umberto of Italy (Wilshire-Preston 2011:18).

It is significant to note that in 1975 wine-making and the culture of grapes are recognised as part of the heritage significance of Groot Constantia. In that year the Groot Constantia Control Board was established by an Act of Parliament on which occasion the chairman of the Board Dr J D Burger said as follows:

'In the light of the historic link between the farm and the South African wine industry, the Control Board will endeavour to conduct the farm in accordance with its history, whilst using the farm's agricultural potential to its full. The Board will play its part in the preservation of the entity of Groot Constantia as a cultural heritage for future generations. The Board will ensure that the culture of grapes for the preparation of wine remains the most important operation, and will endeavour to develop a model wine farm....' (Burman 1979: 177)

During the Parliamentary debate in 1993 when the transfer of ownership from the State was debated, a National Party member, G J Malherbe, said that Groot Constantia is the cradle of the wine industry and a symbol of what can be achieved 'as far as quality and the resultant image are concerned' (Hansard 25 March 1993: col. 3583). He goes on to say that in South Africa 'there has never been an industry in respect of which a symbol has been regarded with so much appreciation, pride and now, unfortunately nostalgia' and that 'We therefore now want to preserve it. We want to preserve it not only for the industry, but for South Africa and its entire people, its tourists and foreign guests as well' (Hansard 25 March 1993: col. 3583). This illustrates the importance of Groot Constantia as a symbol of achievement for white South Africans who were about to hand over power to a black majority. Perhaps the most telling contribution during

the 1993 Parliamentary debate on Groot Constantia transfer of ownership is that by G J Kotze, a National Party member and former Deputy Minister of Agriculture who spoke of his visit to Groot Constantia with the then Minister of Agriculture, 'Kraai' (Afrikaans for Crow) van Niekerk:

'Early one morning the hon the Minister and I visited Groot Constantia. We went to one of the highest points to approximately where the State forest starts. It was early and the sun had just risen. While I was standing there looking down on the valley and on Groot Constantia, I became aware of the unique spirit that emanated from the place. A farm has personality and character. All of us who farm know that this is the case. While I was standing there I thought of the song that goes approximately as follows:

Early one morning just as the sun was rising, I heard a maiden calling from the valley below. Oh, don't deceive me. Oh, never leave me. How could you treat a poor maiden so?

At that moment I realised that we did not dare fail Groot Constantia, because it belonged to the people' (Hansard 25 March 1993: col. 3596).

Who are the 'people' that Groot Constantia belongs who dared not be failed? Groot Constantia, continuously operated as a wine farm since its beginning in the early days of colonial settlement³³, belonged to a series of white owners and thereafter to white controlled Governments. Although it was briefly owned, through an inheritance, by a former slave who chose not to live on the farm during her period of ownership, the people that Groot Constantia 'belong to' are arguably those South Africans who look upon Groot Constantia as a source of pride and who are concerned with its agricultural heritage.

But there is another heritage that South Africa's wine industry is associated with. Although an exploration of the social history of wine-farming in South Africa falls outside the scope of this dissertation, it would be incomplete without mentioning Viall *et al* (2011) who give a comprehensive account of the history of wine farming and 'the social history of the grape' in South Africa. According to these authors, viticulture in South Africa, which is generally regarded as part of the allure of the Western Cape and its tourism industry, has had a destructive influence on wine-farm workers. The 'dop' (translated as 'tot') system originated in the early days of colonial settlement at the Cape as an incentive for indigenous people to work on farms in return for payment by means of tobacco, bread and wine and became a routine practice at Cape wine farms

³³Burman (1979) gives an interesting account of the wines of and wine-farming at Groot Constantia

for more than three centuries. It served as a means of control over farm workers (Van der Merwe 2010: 178). The 'dop' system, with its enduring effects on generation of farm workers, is one of the disempowering practices that the wine industry in South Africa is held accountable for.³⁴

Today South Africa is recognised as a leading wine-producing country with a wine industry that is located in a unique landscape. This landscape is categorised as an organically evolved landscape, the result of over 350 years of interaction between humans and their environment. The Cape Winelands is further sub-categorised as a 'continuing landscape' due thereto that it plays an active role in South African society and is closely associated with a traditional way of life in South Africa. Notwithstanding that the wine industry in South Africa is experiencing one of the worst downturns in recent history to an extent that many wine farms are for sale, Groot Constantia has withstood the pressures of the world-wide economic downturn by marketing the brand wider than ever reaching ever further globally. Groot Constantia celebrated 325 years of its continued existence recently and they say that 'the Estate has reached such a high level of distinction that the industry as a whole, as well as all South Africans, can truly be proud of this 'mother' of heritage sites' (Dr Ernest Messina, Chairperson, Groot Constantia Board of Directors in *Groot Constantia's Annual Report* 2010: 9). By 2000, some six years after the State relinquished ownership and control, Groot Constantia had again found its place as a successful wine farm where production had doubled since 1993 due thereto that the new owner, the Groot Constantia Trust, has run it as a strictly commercial venture with all the costs having to be covered by the profits. Today, Groot Constantia, after a century of being under State control when it was constrained by bureaucratic considerations and run more as a tourist destination than a fine-wine estate, remains dedicated to the production of fine wines at Groot Constantia. It is interesting to note that Groot Constantia is the only wine estate in South Africa that can boast that all wines sold under its label are the products of its own grapes grown on the farm (Gary May, Trustee of the Groot Constantia Trust: personal comment 13.12.2011). About two-thirds of the estate's production goes to markets abroad (Wilshire-Preston 2011:19). The General Manager Jean Naude says that 'the farm is 170 hectares with 96 hectares under vines, so our growth is vertical not horizontal. We can enhance the uniqueness and scarcity, but not the quantity' and that the wines 'all made, bottled, labelled and stored on the estate – is a heavy-hitter among South Africa's export brands' (Naude: interview 13.09.2011).

³⁴ Van der Merwe (2010) explores the 'dop' system and its legacy in South Africa

An important consequence of the Groot Constantia Trust Act is that the State today does not carry the burden of trying to run and make a success of Groot Constantia as a wine farm nor does it have any obligation to maintain the historic buildings that are under the control of IZIKO. The risk of Groot Constantia reverting back to the State in the event of failure on the part of the Groot Constantia Trust, much like the 'sword of Damocles', will serve to ensure that the Trust continues to make a success of its wine farming.

3.6 Recovering an excluded past at Groot Constantia

The extant remains of and physical evidence of a forgotten past at Groot Constantia were uncovered during restorations there, in 1926 and in 1992-1994. During the 1926 restorations by Kendall, a narrow tunnel, referred to as a 'secret passage' was commented on (Cape Institute of Architects report on visit to Groot Constantia 25 August 1926, UCT MAL: BC206/45) and described as 'some 2'0" wide and 3'0" high', leading from 'a remote cellar' through the foundations of the homestead and below the *stoep* in the direction of the *Jonkershuis*. The tunnel was bricked up at the end of the *stoep*. According to Shell (2001:277) this 'secret tunnel' is unusual and it could have been used by the owner's family to hide in if the slaves became rebellious. The Cape Institute of Architects said in 1926 that 'we are left to allow our imagination to supply such missing links as we care to devise' (Cape Institute of Architects report on visit to Groot Constantia 25 August 1926, UCT MAL: BC206/45). Neither Kendall nor Revel Fox considered it to be sufficiently significant to excavate this tunnel and explore its significance during their restorations at Groot Constantia. The 'secret tunnel' remains a secret and bricked up to this day.

As part of the investigation of the estate prior to the 1992-1994 restorations at Groot Constantia and in order to decide how to resolve the area behind the Cloete Cellar, excavations were done by archaeologist Dr Gabeba Abrahams³⁵ at the '*slave pool*' (Figures 46 and 47) (the '*slave pool*' area is circled in red on the plan (Figure 46) of the location of areas probed in 1993) to establish the extent of disturbance in the area as well as the existence of possible features for conservation. The '*slave pool*' lies at the

³⁵ Dr Abrahams, then engaged by the South African Cultural History Museums, was also responsible for excavations at the Slave Lodge in Cape Town

bottom of a steep flight of steps (Figure 48) in a natural valley behind the Cloete cellar.

Although historical descriptions of the valley behind the cellar make no mention of a slave pool in the vicinity of the cellar, according to oral tradition the Constantia slaves bathed in the '*slave pool*' after trampling the grapes in preparation for wine-making in the Cloete cellar (Abrahams, G. *Report on Excavations, April 1992*, SAHRA Records 9/2/111/15). The wall of an old concrete pool was found during the excavations based and a section view of the wall showed that this concrete pool was built on an earlier stone structure. The conclusion by Abrahams was that the current concrete pool was probably built between 1885 and 1900', long after the emancipation of slaves in 1838, and it is interesting to note from her report that 'the most interesting question which has emerged is, however, related to the earlier structure in stone'. 'This is the earliest feature thus far recognized in this part of the valley and could be the one directly related to the construction of the steps' (Figure 48). According to Trotter the steps were built by Simon van der Stel or one of his successors. Abrahams, despite finding that the visible remains of this structure was by virtue of its position more than likely a '*very rudimentary*' pool created from '*the surrounding stones and cobbles and the natural geomorphology of the valley*', did not recommend demolishing the concrete pool above its predecessor and based her conclusions on postulation (Abrahams, G. *Report on Excavations, April 1992*, SAHRA Records 9/2/111/15).

The Abrahams report was indeed 'inconclusive' (Bauman interview: 13.09.2011). Was this not perhaps a missed opportunity to uncover and reveal an important part of life at Groot Constantia as it was experienced by most of the people who lived there during the 17th and 18th centuries, particularly in the light thereof that much was made of the 'restoration' of the area in front of the Cloete Cellar as we shortly turn to? But before doing so, let us not forget that Khoikhoi herders would have used the original natural pool that was filled from water courses that run down the mountainside, long before its use in the 17th and 18th centuries. It is also worth bearing in mind the likelihood that Simon van der Stel would have chosen the piece of land, upon which he built his house and established fruit trees and vines, because of the existence of this natural pool and thereby its long period of use as a natural water source free and open for use by the indigenous Khoikhoi would have been brought to an end.

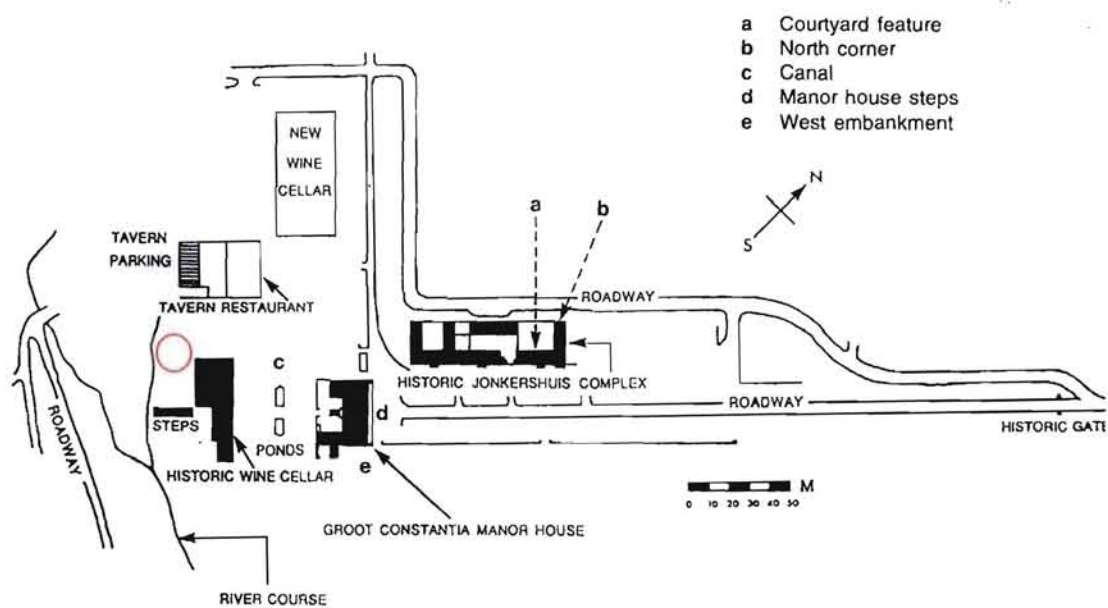


Figure 46: Location of areas probed during restoration at Groot Constantia, 1993 (Source: Revel Fox and Partners archives)

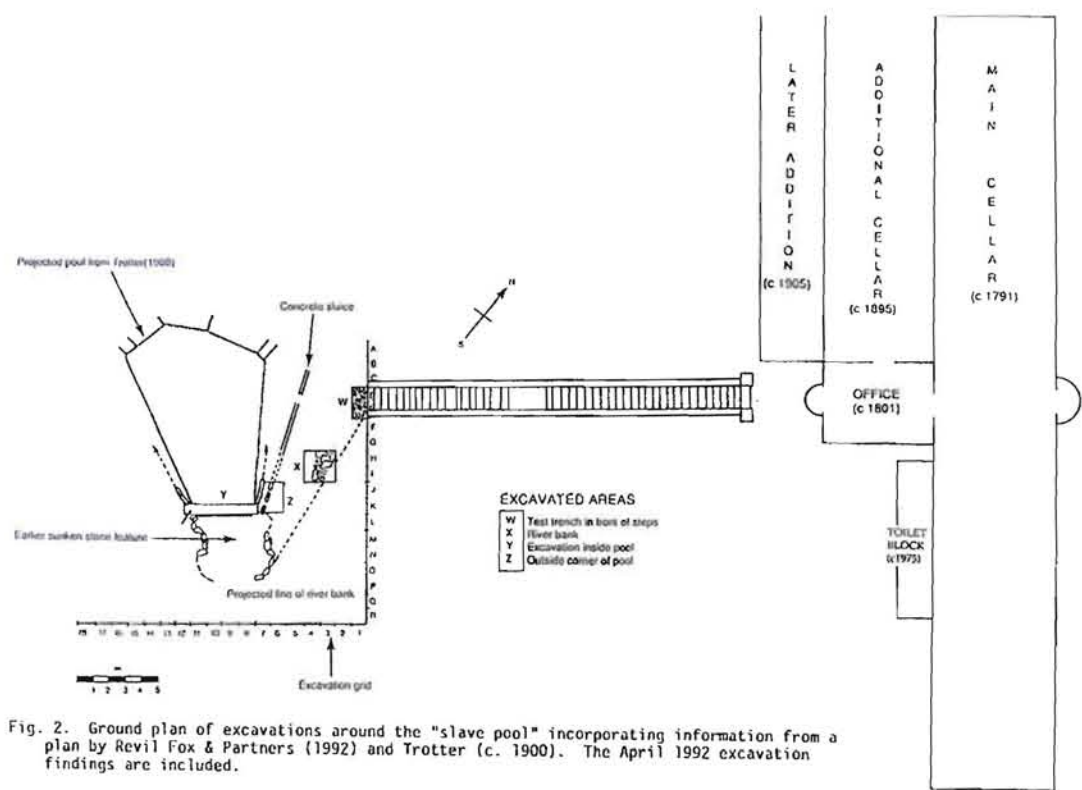


Fig. 2. Ground plan of excavations around the "slave pool" incorporating information from a plan by Revel Fox & Partners (1992) and Trotter (c. 1900). The April 1992 excavation findings are included.

Figure 47: Ground plan of excavations around the 'slave pool' (Source: Revel Fox and Partners archives)



Figure 48: Stone steps leading from 'slave pool' to Cloete Cellar 2011
Photograph by author

During the 1992-1994 restorations to the *Jonkershuis* by Revel Fox, two *vuurherds* (Figures 50 and 51) were discovered, as appears on a sketch of the 'suspected part slave lodge' (Figure 49), in the room in the *Jonkershuis* complex that is now used by The Jonkershuis Restaurant for functions.

Walton³⁶ was 'dragged out of bed' to give an opinion when these were uncovered during the restorations of the *Jonkershuis* and he said at the time that he had never seen anything like it (Bruce Milne interview 26.09.2011). Although it was speculated at the time that the two large *vuurherds* at either end of one room pointed thereto that the room was used for and by slaves and that two *vuurherds* were probably built to meet the different dietary requirements of the many of the slaves at Groot Constantia, no conclusive evidence could be found (Bruce Milne interview 26.09.2011). Although it was not established with certainty what the *Jonkershuis* buildings were used for, their possible use as slave quarters and stables were not ruled out.

³⁶James Walton, who travelled widely to secluded villages and hidden valleys in many parts of South Africa; and who dealt with slave quarters as part of his studies of Dutch homesteads and who wrote from 1965 until his death about the 'non-monumental', the ordinary, was not overly concerned with European origins of elite Cape architecture but rather the expansion and development of the earliest local structures (Yvonne Brink 2004:49)

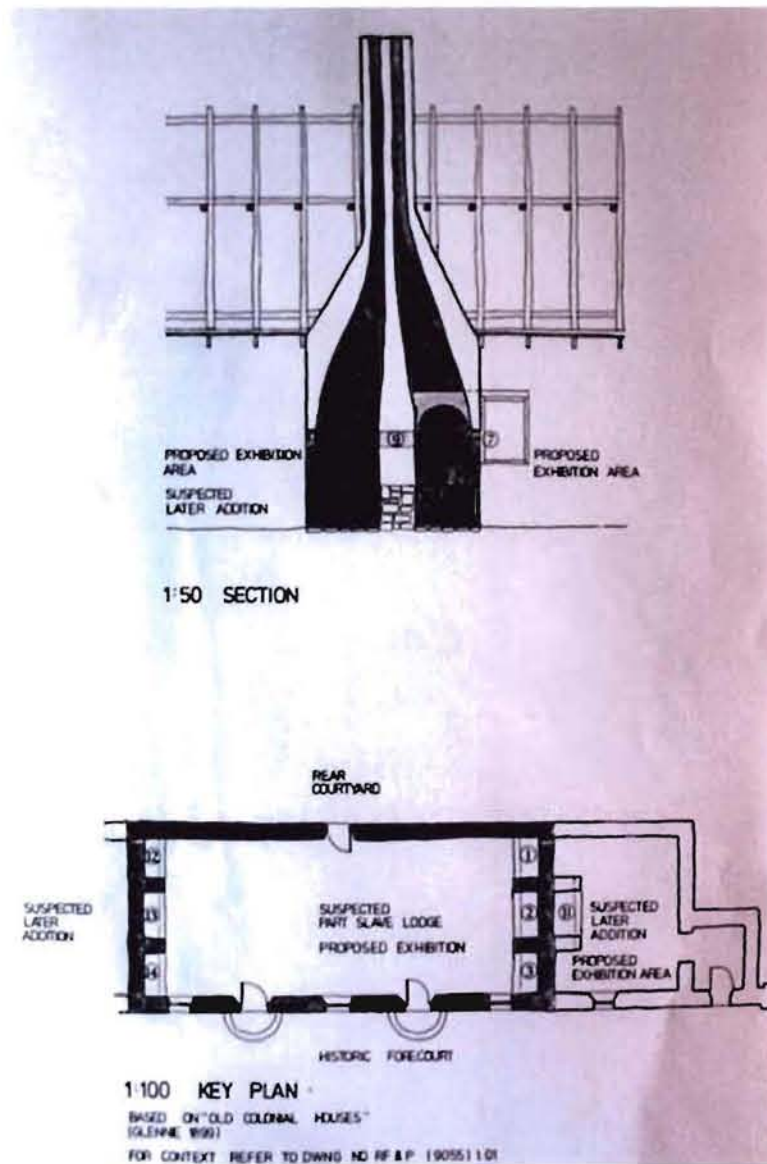


Figure 49: Sketch of 'suspected part slave lodge' in *Jonkershuis*
(Source: Revel Fox and Partners archives)

Not only the hearths in the *Jonkershuis*, but also the bath at the bottom end of the old steps behind the Cloete cellar are physical and metaphorical markers of all those forgotten people who lived as part of the 'underclasses' at Groot Constantia where the dominant discourses whether political, social or cultural were linked to white European identity and privilege. A hidden past could be exposed to afford visitors an experience of the *Jonkershuis*' history and give evidence to the conditions surrounding the slaves' lives, people who were not able to leave any other tangible heritage to be passed on from one generation to another.



Figure 50: *Vuurherd* in *Jonkershuis* (Source: Revel Fox and Partners archives)



Figure 51: Second *vuurherd* in the *Jonkershuis*
(Source : Revel Fox and Partners archives)

The current state of the historic area which contains the hearths exposed by Revel Fox and Partners (Figures 52 and 53) and the exhibitions in the Orientation Centre (Figures 55, 56 and 57) can be criticised, the former for its failure to expose the building's history and the latter for being too academic and for being at best sanitized renditions of slavery and past events at Groot Constantia.



Figure 52: *Vuurherd* on western side of *Jonkershuis* complex 2011 (Photograph by author)



Figure 53: *Vuurherd* on eastern side of *Jonkershuis* complex 2011 (Photograph by author)

Winter is correct in saying that the museums at Groot Constantia have considerable potential as instruments to support and promote the expression and development of an all-inclusive South African identity, through the representation of a history of all South Africans in its displays and exhibitions (Winter 1995: 66). She says that those involved at Groot Constantia can tackle the realities of diversity, controversy and the negotiation of identities and cultural forms that imply power sharing. It is interesting to note that in 1995 when she questioned Matthys van der Merwe about any future plans for Groot Constantia's museums, he said, at that time, that there were no plans to change the representations in the museum (Winter 1995: 66). Sixteen years later he refers to the work done by Wieke van Delen (Figure 58) and says that she is responsible for this aspect (Van der Merwe: interview 28.9.2011). Van Delen says that change is difficult as Groot Constantia is a '*beloved place*' and that any change would cause an '*outcry*'

(Van Delen: interview 15.9.2011). The Groot Constantia Trust would like to see the historical buildings being injected with life and say that their requests to allow wine to be sold in the Cloete Cellar (as it was historically done), have been consistently refused by IZIKO (Naude: interview 13.9.2011). But according to Van Delen, the Groot Constantia Trust has the ultimate power and 'there is a fundamental difference between what they want and what we want' (van Delen interview 15.9.2011). Most significant is that she says 'we don't even know what we want' (Van Delen: interview 15.9.2011). This dilemma is understandable if one has regard to some comments in the Visitors Book in the homestead at Groot Constantia (Figure 54) where one entry says 'thank you for the preservation of history' and the next entry says 'would have liked to have known what it was like to have lived here'.

Date Datum	Name of Visitor Naam van Besoekter	Address of Visitor Adres van Besoekter	Comments Opmerkinge
11/12/02	J. Venter	10a Patricia Binnings Rd.	Very informative, Thank You
11/12/2012	C. W. Venter		
11/12/2011	Stephanie Nicole Venter	Unit 25 Woodbury 9 Bartle Rd, Gillies	Very interesting, beautiful setting.
12/12/11	Udo + Martina Grewer	FIRST 283, - Köln - Germany	Groot Constantia
12/12/11	Deon Booze	St. Louis #15 1127 Kalkbaker Farming	Beautiful long drive
12/12/11	Arnette + Peter Kruiser	Kruger National Park, Victoria Falls	Beautiful long drive
12/12/11	Margie + Smoetpoel	Zeemist Noord-Wes	Beautiful long drive
12/12/11	Major Rendred	Rose Ave. Victoria	Wonderful Amazing
12/12/11	Christie Lutz	Durban, KwaZulu Natal	Fascinating!
12/12/11	Johanna Nel	Roodpoort	and
12/12/11	Wanda + Paul Kruiser	Sekkers / Casuarina	Beautiful!
12/12/11	Rachel Joubert	Cochise, Alaska	Wonderful
12/12/11	Marelië Boring	Stellenbosch	Combed up the history of the site
12/12/11	Colin Hancox	Vredelands, Cape Town	Very good view from the homestead
12/12/11	James O'Shea	London, United Kingdom	Beautiful view - gardens!
12/12/11	Wendy + Mike van der Merwe	Nelson, Netherlands	Beautiful - Beautiful
12/12/11	Anna, Agnes + John	Harare, Zimbabwe	Beautiful - Thank You
12/12/11	Nigel + Christine	Harare, Zimbabwe	Beautiful - Thank You
12/12/11	Dale + Jay	Harare, Zimbabwe	Beautiful - Thank You

Figure 54: Extract from visitors book in Groot Constantia homestead 2012 (Photograph by author)

Davison says that selectivity in museum practice is inevitable; therefore collections can never be neutral. She says that the significance attached to particular events in the past changes in relation to the politics of the present but, she says, there remains a 'surplus of meaning waiting to be made' (Davison in Nuttall and Coetzee (eds.) 98: 160). Who are the makers of meaning? Who decides and what are their values?

According to Davison, curators are inclined to overlook the mundane, domestic and less decorative aspects of material culture in favour of the extraordinary, the courtly and the beautiful. What the collection of chosen bits in the homestead does very well is to exhibit the courtly and impressive De Pass collection whilst, with the exception of a single storyboard in the kitchen, the domestic aspects of life as it was lived at Groot Constantia are overlooked. Instead, the handsome homestead with its impressive collection almost seduces the visitor into believing that the life of a slave was not bad after all. The exhibition in the Orientation Centre (Figures 55, 56 and 57) and the storyboard in the kitchen of the homestead (Fig 58) never reach below the most superficial level and fail to draw the visitor into the depths of slavery. It would not be an overstatement to say that the curating at Groot Constantia disengages the visitor from the reality of slavery.

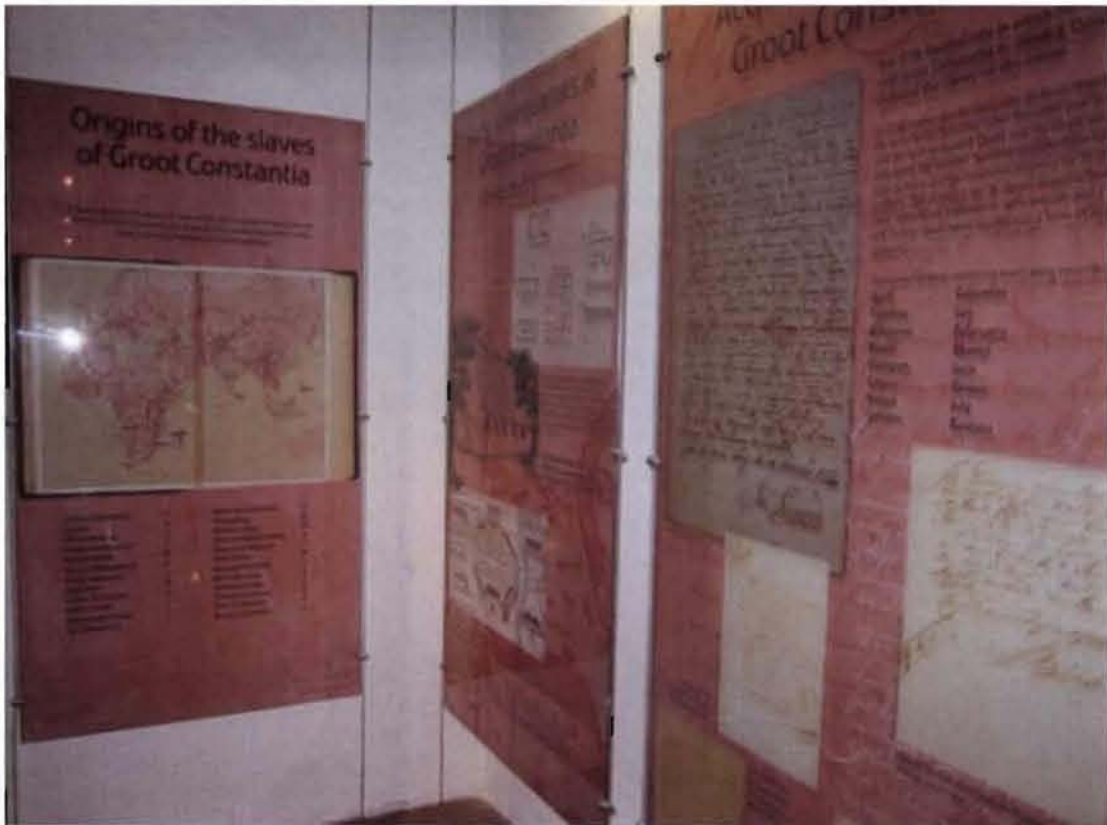


Figure 55: Storyboards in Orientation Centre 2011 (photograph by author)



Figure 56: *Slave quarters, hearth and home* storyboard in Orientation Centre 2011
(Photograph by author)



Figure 57: Storyboard in Orientation Centre 2011 showing Hendrik Cloete's slave holding his *master's* pipe (photograph by author)



Figure 58: Storyboard '*Domestic work at Groot Constantia*'
Groot Constantia's kitchen 2012
(photograph by author)

Although recovering an excluded past may be as difficult as including it, Groot Constantia, now seen through the prism of contemporary social history, has to reflect the legacy of the values that prevailed during its ownership by the State when it was not a place open or important to all the people of South Africa, a legacy that remains deeply ingrained in this place even though ownership has changed and stewardship has become diverse.

The daily occurrences, the small details of the quotidian, rather than images of power and life as it was lived by Groot Constantia's wealthy farm owners which are, after all, only a fiction. It is worth noting what Deetz (1977:161) says: that it is important that the "small things forgotten" be remembered for 'in the seemingly little and insignificant things that accumulate to create a lifetime, the essence of our existence is captured'. Groot Constantia's sanitised past, the type of past that Nuttall and Coetzee warn against, should be harvested and re-worked so that the painful reminders of what we were and what we are do not remain covered.

CHAPTER 4

Cultural significance

Groot Constantia today forms an integral part of the scenic landscape of the historic Constantia Valley farmlands (Figure 59) that is recognised as a national asset and one of South Africa's most important viticulture destinations.

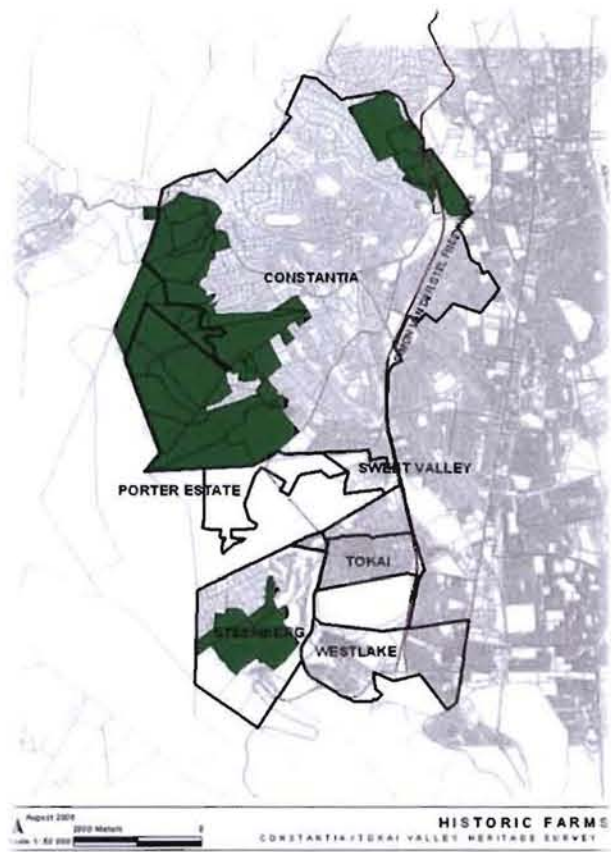


Figure 59: Historic farms in the Constantia Valley

It is not only a pivotal part of the historic Constantia Valley farmlands, but is one of South Africa's most renowned and important viticulture destinations. Indeed it is recognised as a most significant exemplar of the highest order of the architectural sites which constitute the National Estate in South Africa (Section 3 of the NHRA, Subsection (2)(d)). Together with the neighbouring farms of Buitenverwachting, Klein Constantia, Uitsig, Groot Constantia constitutes the central agricultural anchor of the Constantia-Tokai Valley (Figure 60). It forms an important part of the Constantia Wine

Route together with these other farms and Steenberg Farm, another anchor which lies to the south of Groot Constantia. These farms all contribute to the natural and cultural heritage that establishes the significance of the cultural landscape of this portion of the Cape Winelands and together they meet the criteria for inclusion in the cluster nomination for inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List.

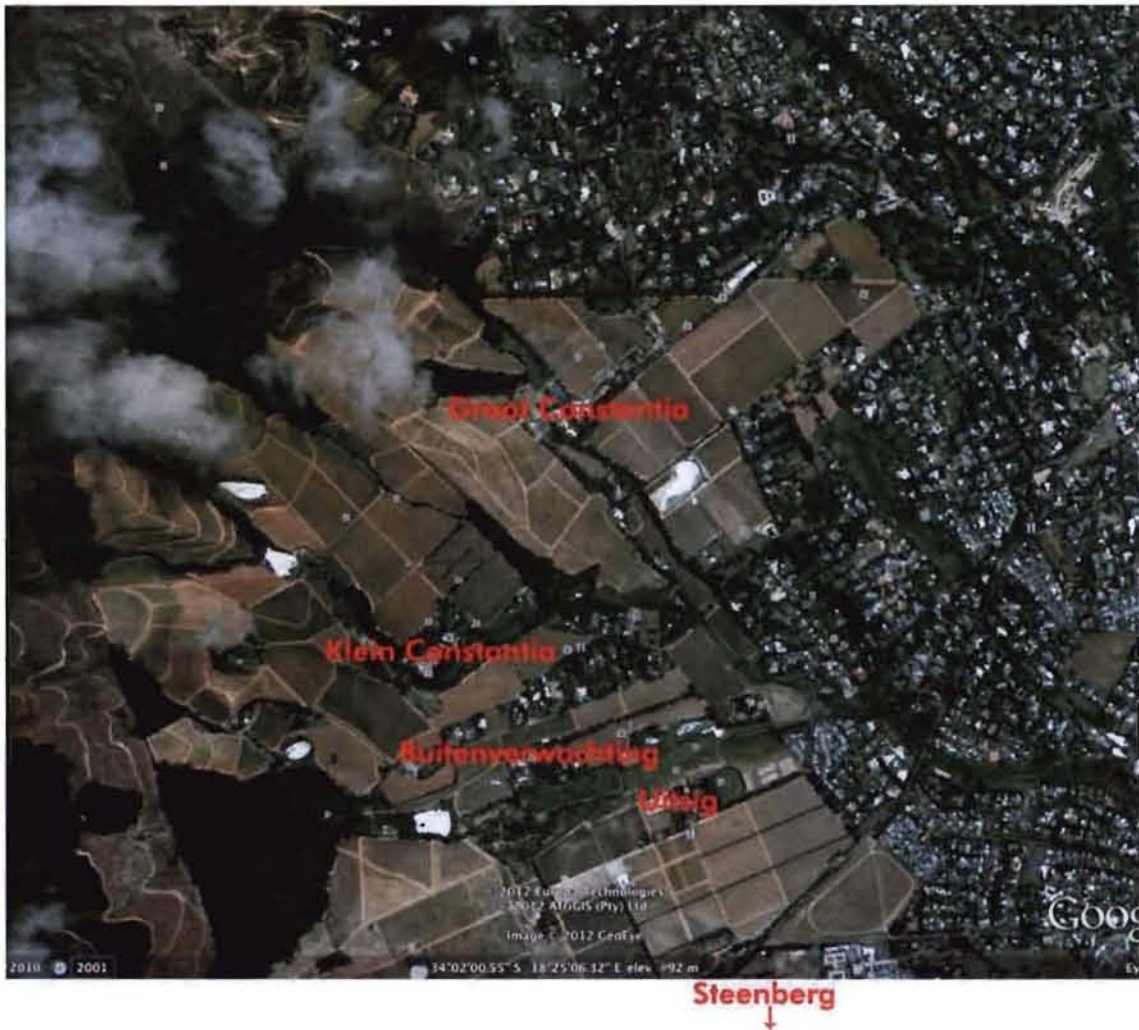


Figure 60: 2012 Google map of Constantia Valley

In 2007 the Cape Winelands was placed on the tentative list of UNESCO World Heritage Sites as a World Heritage cultural landscape by the National Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport (South African Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport, Tentative List, 2 February 2007, Additional Nomination for Tentative South African World Heritage List, 2008). Groot Constantia's 'rich layering of history' and its integral role in the Cape Winelands Cultural Landscape 'guaranteed' the inclusion of the Cape Winelands Cultural Landscape by the World Heritage Convention Committee onto the Tentative List of World Heritage Sites (SAHRA letter to Groot Constantia Trust 2

December 2010, ref. 9/2/111/15). It should be noted that since UNESCO's inception scholars have recognised that there are inherent problems with its World Heritage Convention. Silverman refers to criticisms that heritage is a social and cultural practice and process that 'legitimizes' particular spokespersons and managers of the "past" and that UNESCO's basic criterion of "outstanding universal value" in the Convention is found by many to be 'most objectionable because it is elusive and Western-biased' (Silverman 2011:18). Silverman also says that, notwithstanding UNESCO's attempt to 'generate a feel-good, international ethos of world cultural heritage and universal value', it is difficult to manage cultural heritage well while at the same time keeping it within benign parameters so as to diminish contestation because heritage belongs to particular groups (Silverman 2011:33). Indeed, it is so that the Cape Winelands landscape and Cape Dutch architecture are inextricably linked in the context of colonial settlement. In a statement of its cultural significance, SAHRA sums up the Cape Winelands cultural landscape as 'an outstanding example of a vineyard cultural landscape' because of the extant farmsteads and cellars which reflect a unique vernacular architecture set amongst vineyards, all enriched by the accumulation of different cultural influences and natural elements that are ideally suited for viticulture. According to SAHRA the Cape Winelands cultural landscape 'illustrates the impact of human settlement and agricultural activities and more specifically the production of the Cape wines over a period of more than 350 years on the natural landscape' (SAHRA Cape Winelands Cultural Landscape, *Statement of Significance*).

There is recognition of the diverse influences that created the unique vineyard cultural landscape. SAHRA also states that underlying this 'seemingly tranquil landscape' is a 'tumultuous past of the first indigenous people, echoes of slavery, colonial settlement and our most recent period of Apartheid followed by the struggle for our eventual freedom' (SAHRA Cape Winelands Cultural Landscape, *Statement of Significance*). This tumultuous past is riddled with 'tales of suffering, oppression, injustices and atrocities committed during the slave period and even before' (SAHRA Cape Winelands Cultural Landscape, *Statement of Significance*). There is nevertheless recognition that despite this tumultuous past that is referred to as 'unsavoury', the Cape Winelands is recognised as a physical manifestation which reflects the achievements of both slaves and their masters (SAHRA Cape Winelands Cultural Landscape, *Statement of Significance*).

In 2010 SAHRA formally notified the Groot Constantia Trust that Groot Constantia, which forms an integral part of the area identified as the Cape Winelands Cultural Landscape, has been identified as a heritage resource with qualities so exceptional that it is of special national significance and thereby eligible for National Heritage Status (SAHRA letter to Groot Constantia Trust 02.12.2010, ref 9/2/111/15). In terms of Section 7(1)(a) of the NHRA heritage resources with qualities so exceptional that they are of special national significance are graded as Grade I. Groot Constantia's significance as 'the oldest and most historic of wine farms in South Africa' and 'the oldest continuous wine-producing estate in the New World' is inextricably linked with the heritage of wine production in South Africa (SAHRA letter to Groot Constantia Trust 02.12.2010, ref 9/2/111/15). Groot Constantia's significance as the oldest and best known estate in the country and its reputation as the pinnacle of excellence for the wine industry is recognised and it is said to be an 'ideal example of how history, culture and viticulture can be preserved to inspire generations to come' (SAHRA letter to Groot Constantia Trust 02.12.2010, ref 9/2/111/15).

Inclusiveness is one of the key aims of the NHRA. According to Pistorius who was a member of the writing team responsible for the drafting of the NHRA, the key aims of the NHRA was to achieve an inclusive heritage system that includes previously marginalised communities and accommodates cultural diversity, to establish heritage consciousness to achieve an integrated and interactive system for the management of heritage resources and to empower communities to nurture their heritage (Pistorius 2011). These aims are enshrined in the long title of the NHRA and in its Preamble. Pistorius says that there is a need to re-look at what has been identified as heritage resources and to expand thereon so that talk about 'our heritage' would contribute to a national identity however diverse that may be (Pistorius 2011). Andrew Hall, another member of the panel that was involved with the drafting of the NHRA, refers to this Act as 'aspirational' but he says that 'we live every day in the shadow of the National Monuments Act (Andrew Hall 2011). He is disappointed with the 'very few small steps' that have been taken so far (Andrew Hall 2011).

Given the spirit of its grading as a heritage site of national significance and the challenges and opportunities for nation building, Groot Constantia could arguably play a key role if the good, the bad and the ugly in its history as well as its role in the hands of white South Africans who wielded great social and economic power are equally acknowledged; and aspects of 17th and 18th century Cape history and life as it was at

actually lived are adequately represented. Winter (1995:56) criticises Groot Constantia's historic buildings and contents which reflect that 'this was how people of the seventeenth and eighteenth century lived' and she says that 'only a small section of society could afford to live in such luxury and their lives did not involve the acquisition of objects'. The exhibition in the orientation centre and the collection in the homestead indeed do not lend themselves to a meaningful culturally and socially engaged experience in or around this cultural icon.

'We are concerned to investigate how the visualisation of pastness generates, in different ways and on several fronts, precisely what a history is about. To take heritage seriously is to look at ways in which it can open debates around the representation of pasts and consider the different ways that pastness is framed and claimed as history in its own right' (Witz in Murray, Shepherd and Hall 2007:12)

Witz's suggestion is relevant here: to take Groot Constantia's heritage seriously, there should be debates around the representation of its past and the way in which pastness is framed at this important heritage site should be revisited by those empowered with its stewardship. The views of Deetz are also relevant, particularly in regard to the exhibition in the orientation centre and the collection in the homestead: 'we must remember these bits and pieces, and we must use them in new and imaginative ways so that a different appreciation for what life is today, and what was in the past, can be achieved' and that 'we should set aside our perusal of diaries, court records, and inventories, and listen to another voice' (Deetz 1977:161).

CHAPTER 5

Findings

Groot Constantia fulfils a significant role as an important heritage site in South Africa because of its historical, cultural and architectural significance. It is a prime example of the development of Cape Dutch architecture in South Africa. Its extant image, the fact of its existence and its uniqueness gives it particular importance as a heritage site of national significance. It is the first of the farms *werfs* in the Constantia Valley and, with its symmetry and axiality and because it has remained largely unaltered for over 300 years, it is an important example of the development of a style of architecture and landscaping unique to the Cape. It has maintained a monumental, unbroken and expanding association with the wine industry.

The study underscores Coetzer's argument that the promotion of Cape Dutch architecture as a South African national style formed part of the structuring of a common English/Afrikaner identity (Coetzer 2007). Groot Constantia has been a key venue for creating a sense of national identity, albeit 'white' identity, and has served to reinforce the existential pride and cultural identity of its owners. For over 100 years the State owned Groot Constantia during which time its ideological importance to the State was considerable. The State and those in power used it as showpiece of colonial achievement; as an ideological symbol in programmes of nation-building and in the reinforcement of a common European heritage to transcend the animosities between English and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans with the aim of forging a new 'white' nation. Its image and symbolism was used by English-speaking politicians, architects, writers, artists, photographers and historians to appropriate Cape Dutch architecture as a link between English and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans with a common European culture and heritage. During this time, conservation bodies were established in South Africa and building preservation programmes were pursued. This played an important role in the pursuit of a national style of architecture and the promotion of Cape Dutch architecture as the epitome of a common English/Afrikaner identity.

An examination of the architecture of Groot Constantia and its link to the politics of colonial society in South Africa reveals that its architecture is indeed the 'visible politics of a colonial society', a description used by Van Graan to explain Foucault's idea about architecture not only being an element of space, but an extension into the realms of

social relations (Van Graan 2010:33-34). The examination of the structure of Groot Constantia's farm and homestead, informed by Yvonne Brink's idea of appropriation (Brink 2008) and Ricoeur's notion of distancing (stepping back to evaluate), reveals that Groot Constantia's homestead, and its uniquely tall gable, has been used as a repository of memory and values and as a symbol of human pride and ascent in the hierarchy of society. Groot Constantia's architecture was used by people to connect them with the past and indeed, as Ruskin tells us about architecture (Choay 2001: 92), as a means by which the identities of communities are shaped. As a result there is always a connection between memory and political processes. Groot Constantia's architecture, particularly its gable, was also used in nation-building endeavours and to promote and reinforce a sense of national identity; and was also appropriated and used as a symbol of colonial achievement by a dominant group. Its architecture and image has been used to create an awareness of a European past, a 'monument' that is exalted by white South Africans where the residues of a lost world are neglected or suppressed. Veneration of monument is not because of its fabric but rather because it is an epitome of European heritage. Its architectural heritage is indeed a unique creation of colonial culture. Groot Constantia's European past is an intrinsic part of its heritage.

This case study reveals how the State used its power to conserve a heritage resource as a cultural icon and as testimony of a constructed past, based on exclusive cultural patrimony. The voluntary relinquishing of ownership of Groot Constantia by the State in 1993 by way of an Act of Parliament is arguably the State's most radical response to a conscious fear of damage to, loss of and/or exclusion from this cultural icon. The prospect of the loss of Groot Constantia, a site of memory much as Nora's *lieux de mémoire* (of the French State), resulted in this act on the part of the State executed when it was about to lose power. This act on the part of the State points to more than just an act of conservation of a cultural icon for future generations of all South Africans and, indeed, to also more than a fear that the historic buildings would end up in a heap of ruins. An argument that is suggested is that the overriding aim in the enactment of the Groot Constantia Trust Act in 1993 by the white-controlled State as it was about to lose power was to ensure that this defining icon is not handed over to a black majority government, and, so as to safeguard it and to ensure that, in its totality, it endures as a testimony to the achievements of white Europeans at the southern tip of Africa. The 'constructive function' of Groot Constantia's heritage has indeed been 'ceded' to a defensive one, dedicated, as Choay puts it, to 'the recollection (in every sense) of a

threatened identity' (Choay 2001:13). The planning and execution of the Groot Constantia Act was indeed also a response to Groot Constantia's 'frontier' role as described by Worden: a symbol of colonial achievement which marks the pioneering activities of the 'first founders' in an atmosphere of 'rural security that was far removed from a wild and untamed Africa' (Worden 1997:39).

An examination of the planning and implementation of this act whereby the transfer of ownership was achieved indicates that it was indeed an existential response to a real or perceived concern that the ANC-led government, once in power, would not recognise and value the cultural heritage of Groot Constantia.³⁷ The examination here reveals that there were abiding feelings of insecurity in the historic memory of white South Africans prior to 1994 and that these feelings found expression through the restorations at Groot Constantia and through the transfer of its ownership by and from the State in 1993. This remarkable 'act of conservation' took place without any real contestation on the part of the ANC at that time. It was indeed said in Parliament on the day that the transfer of Groot Constantia was legislated that 'The general agreement among hon members from all parties is remarkable, as well as their satisfaction that the right thing has been done' (Minister of Agriculture, A. I. van Niekerk: Debates of the House of Assembly 25 March 1993: col. 3609).

This apparent lack of real contestation can in no small measure be ascribed to the work of a man described as the 'architect' of this 'act of conservation' who was chosen by the State to bring this act to a successful conclusion, Dr Dawid De Villiers. An argument is suggested that this 'act of conservation' is indeed a successful act of conservation insofar as Groot Constantia's architectural and viticultural heritage is concerned. Whereas the Act of Union in 1910 was detrimental to Groot Constantia's wine farming, The Groot Constantia Trust Act of 1993 is arguably a very effective piece of conservation legislation, if not the most effective, enacted in South Africa as the unbroken heritage of Groot Constantia's wine-farming ensured and its architectural heritage is now carefully managed and protected.

Architects, as agents of the State, have restored and interpreted Groot Constantia's buildings during more than a century of State ownership. According to Frescura (in

³⁷The long history of neglect post-1994 of the historical Tokai homestead situated in the Constantia-Tokai Valley serves as an example of the State's inability to maintain historical buildings bequeathed to it (Constantiaberg Bulletin 9.2.2012)

Japha, D. and Japha V (eds.) 1991:13) architects played a powerful role in the reinforcement of political strategies by a small elite who controlled political power and created architectural monuments. The case study shows how power was obtained and exercised by architects in their interpretation of the values of the State and in their interpretation of the significance of Groot Constantia to the nation, whether as a nation-builder, repository of the nation's heritage or as a means to visualise pastness.

Groot Constantia's architecture was highly valued by the State for whom it took on a political meaning. The State and men in powerful relationships with the State used Groot Constantia in the early 1900s to 'design a past' that fixed the identity and enhanced the well-being of a chosen group of South Africans, viz. white English- and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans and which intentionally excluded the black majority. This heritage is a unique creation of white Dutch colonial culture and it played a significant role, directly and indirectly, as an icon of nationalism and of white/Dutch/Afrikaner culture. It is said that architects are servants of power and that their works reflect the characteristics of that power (Winter 1995:19).³⁸ The first restoration of Groot Constantia in 1926 and then the later restoration in 1992 – 1994, served to reinforce the existential pride and cultural identity of white South Africans, a European culture and a settler heritage. This examination of the restoration at Groot Constantia by Kendall (1926) reveals how power is mobilised to create a national past. This examination and that of the restoration done by Revel Fox and Partners (1992 – 1994) as well as interviews with architects involved in the latter reveal that, although the architects involved with these restorations can be said to have been servants of power, they too wielded power.

Whilst Groot Constantia's position as one of South Africa's foremost architectural heritage resources may seem to be uncontested, there is an underlying contestation that Groot Constantia remains a 'monument' that is exalted by white South Africans only where the residues of a lost world are not adequately represented. Groot Constantia is not only a repository of memory and a sanitised past, it is also a repository of difficult past that has been smoothed over. As a result Groot Constantia's full potential has not been fulfilled. It would not be overstating matters to say that there is a disquieting element to the gracious images at Groot Constantia in that the inner tale of the contributions by the under-classes to the achievements of the owners of

³⁸Winter refers to the article *Aggressive Cape Town buildings reflect dominant pursuits of power* in *The Cape Times*, 26 May 1988

Groot Constantia is not told. Whereas its European ancestry and architectural heritage is obvious, connections to a wider/deeper/complex cultural past is not made. It is within this paradigm of social concern that Groot Constantia is open to criticism. This lacuna may be uncomfortable to many who are descended from those born into slavery, colonialism and apartheid which exercised a profound effect on the South African national psyche.

Like Foucault's heterotopias – places that exist and that are formed in the very founding of a society, counter-sites at which all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested and inverted (Foucault 1967) – so too does Groot Constantia function as a heterotopia; as a counter-site; a place formed in the founding of white South African society where there are representations, contestations and inversions. It is more than a beautiful Cape Dutch homestead in a patchwork of vineyards set against a dramatic mountain backdrop. It has long contained an assumption of a moral superiority over an untamed wilderness and has been viewed as a place where the 'savage' landscape has been transformed into a rural idyll. It has throughout its long history, but particularly during the period of State ownership, represented a set of values. Its historical buildings were restored and furnished by the State, not only to create a pretence of rural sophistication of its previous owners but also as a visible image of power.

Not only is Groot Constantia a place of some degree of artifice, but like Nora's *lieux de mémoire*, it is a place of memory which through the work of humans and through the passage of time, has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of a small segment of South African community even though the work done there to establish this place of memory was performed not only by their ancestors but also by the ancestors of groups of people who are excluded from proper recognition, both literally and metaphorically.

In answer to the key question of this research project; Groot Constantia is indeed well-placed to affirm and promote South Africa's diverse cultural heritage but it presents itself in a way that is of little or no relevance to the majority of South Africans. Its economic growth and success does not depend on the promotion of its diverse cultural heritage and tourists and visitors are, and will remain, charmed by its colonial heritage.

In the light of these findings, Groot Constantia's designation as a National Heritage site

and its placement on the tentative list of UNESCO World Heritage Sites as a World Heritage cultural landscapes is open to contestation. In order to deserve its placement on UNESCO's tentative list, the significance of and values that are represented at Groot Constantia should reflect its inclusive cultural heritage and the connections to its complex cultural past, complete with contestations that may emerge.

This study of Groot Constantia serves to illustrate that careful and considered management of cultural heritage is required in a heterogenous society with a divided and traumatic past to ensure that places of national cultural significance serve as inclusive testimonies of the past and the present. The study illustrates that some introspection is required at Groot Constantia which is remarkably well-placed to show the diversity of South Africa's cultural heritage and that the national identity of the nation should be based on its inclusive cultural patrimony.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

In order to fulfil the aim of this dissertation, to establish the values of the State as expressed through the use and treatment of a cultural icon, an exploration has been carried out on Groot Constantia's architecture, the use of its image, particularly of its front gable, and the restorations done by architects appointed by the State during its period of ownership. An examination of Groot Constantia's architecture and the use of its gable shows that it was an important device used by the State in its preoccupation with nation-building and the configuration of white national identity. The restoration work done by highly skilled architects employed by the State during its period of ownership reveal that their restoration work not only allowed the State to further those aims but failed to bring forth other identities that were an intrinsic part of Groot Constantia's complex past when they could have done so. This failure has to be seen in the context of the nationalistic trend in conservation that prevailed when these restorations at Groot Constantia took place.

Groot Constantia's architectural heritage is beyond question. It has played a key role in shaping Cape Dutch architectural history. But it is much more than an emblem for a style of architecture and landscaping unique to South Africa. Engaging critically with architecture and conservation in the context of colonialism and apartheid at this heritage site that functions as a cultural icon reveals that there are possible contestations which are obscured by representations of a chosen past which tell only the story and represent the heritage of the powerful.

This dissertation underlines the ways in which the State attached values to and used a cultural icon as a nation-builder based on exclusivity, treating its heritage in a politically exploited manner to design and establish a 'past' that enhanced the interests of a select group of people, creating a past to its own liking, which is how Lowenthal says the remains of the past are selectively employed to reveal a 'malleable' past (Silverman 2011: 2). During the period of State ownership, Groot Constantia was used for the construction of white identity, to represent particular pasts and to 'improve' these pasts and to reinforce national pride. We have seen how the prospect of its loss motivated a remarkable act of 'conservation' by way of its alienation. It was so important to those in

power at the time that they formulated the process whereby Groot Constantia was removed from the ownership and control of the State, and saw to its conclusion shortly before the State was about to concede power and control of the country to a black majority. This defining act on the part of the State reveals the high value placed on this cultural icon and highlights its significance as an icon of national and existential pride. During the period of State ownership, Groot Constantia played an essential part in the creation of a visible image of power. Leaving everything else aside, what the transfer of ownership and control of Groot Constantia in 1993 achieved is that the estate, the maintenance of the historic buildings and the wine farming operations are today out of the reach and control of the State whereas the use of its historical buildings are under the stewardship of IZIKO. An unfortunate consequence of this division of power and control is that no-one takes responsibility for uncovering Groot Constantia's excluded cultural heritage.

Groot Constantia's important role today in tourism is undeniable. It features on tourism brochures as one of Cape Town's '*Big Five*'. The most obvious thing that the heritage sector has to sell may well be an idea, a brand or a high-status association with the past, and this is a key element in tourism marketing (Deacon *et al* 2003: 28). Tourism is the leading business sector for the Western Cape and contributes an estimated R14 billion per annum to Cape Town's economy (*The Cape Times: Business Report* October 18, 2011: 19). It is significant that Groot Constantia features in Wilshire-Preston (2011) as South Africa's first brand. The Groot Constantia Trust clearly understands the importance of brands and branding and successfully uses Groot Constantia's history, particularly its unique heritage in the wine industry to promote tourist marketing. Busloads of tourists and visitors arrive daily at Groot Constantia where the sale of wine brings in much-needed revenue required for the running and upkeep of the estate, including the maintenance of the buildings. It is stated as very important for Groot Constantia to fulfil the vision of the State in 1885 when it purchased Groot Constantia to 'protect its heritage and use it as a symbol of achievement and prosperity in South Africa' and therefore to 'receive foreign and local tourists to fulfil this vision' (*Groot Constantia Annual Report 2010*: 25). Groot Constantia currently receives almost 300 000 visitors annually who are 'experiencing the tranquillity, scenic beauty and atmosphere of the historic homestead in the same way that visitors did in the 1700's (sic) and 1800's (sic), and all leaving with memories of a wine industry with a rich heritage' (*Groot Constantia Annual Report 2010*: 25). But there is a possible contestation around this 'rich heritage'.

Groot Constantia also stands for a lost identity which, though distant, requires recognition. Having regard to the concept of 'national estate' and the spirit and stated aims of the NHRA, its position as one of the country's foremost heritage resources should be uncontested. Groot Constantia is an extraordinary place which echoes much of the social systems that caused human suffering and degradation, the legacy of which will remain part of the lives of most communities in South Africa for generations to come. These social systems are of course not peculiar to South Africa and difficult and complex pasts are not unique to Groot Constantia. Colonialism and slavery were experienced in many parts of the world and there are few countries today that do not have difficult or shameful pasts. Thinking about Groot Constantia's role as an inclusive heritage site requires a willingness to situate it in all its contexts including colonialism, slavery, the apartheid era and a post-1994 democratic South African society; not only to educate people about their past but also to impart a connection to their shared past. Groot Constantia could also have a further role to play if one is willing to accept that there is a need to acknowledge that ideas of 'self' and 'nation' were forged not only in response to the heterogeneous nature of the aspirations of the European communities which first colonised South Africa and settled themselves in places such as Groot Constantia but that the ideas of 'self' and 'nation' were also derived in response to the challenges presented by the reality of encountering indigenous people with highly differentiated cultural and social structures.

South Africa's newly-formed democracy, its progressive heritage legislation, and policies of heritage transformation pave the way for managing heritage sites with a difficult past. Groot Constantia's position as a heritage site of national significance requires some introspection about uncovering its excluded cultural heritage; dealing with its difficult history in the context of a divided past; and thoughtful integration of the diversity of its cultural heritage. It is well-placed to serve as a universal example of how the challenges of heritage management and nation-building in a heterogeneous society with a divided and traumatic past are overcome to ensure that places of national cultural significance serve as inclusive testimonies of the past. Rather than erasing or smoothing over a difficult past, common historical memories can be integrated and redrawn to reinforce a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society, that together constitute a nation.

GLOSSARY

Apartheid: Afrikaans word that denotes 'separation'. The word is used to describe the racial and social ideology that was developed by the National Party government in South Africa during the 20th century whereby black and white South Africans were separated by way of its policies of racial segregation and political and economic discrimination.

Conservation: the protection of existing buildings or parts thereof to prevent damage or deterioration

Free burgher farmers: VOC employees who were contracted out of its service and given land on which they could farm independently (Yvonne Brink (2001:14)

Heritage: According to Peter Merrington (1999) 'heritage' is a loosely employed concept with distinct metaphorical connotations, primarily legal, secondary spiritual and subsequently to do with public ethics, and the cultural property of the nation and race (Malan 2004: 27)

Jonkershuis: secondary dwelling on Cape farmstead; used by a son of the owner or farm foreman, also known to have housed slaves

Stoep: veranda

Voorhuis: spacious reception room in a Cape Dutch house, behind the front door, where the owner met visitors

Vuurherd: hearth; often found in the kitchen of a Cape Dutch house

Werf: farmstead

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LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

DATE	INTERVIEWEE	REASON FOR INTERVIEW
29.9.2011	Ron Adams	Architect employed by the Department of Public Works at the time that the 1992-1994 restoration work was undertaken by that department. Responsible for liaising with Revel Fox and Partners during their restoration of Groot Constantia
13.9.2011	Dr Nicholas Baumann	Conservation specialist involved with and responsible for the Development and Conservation Framework for Groot Constantia during the early 1990s when he was employed by Revel Fox and Partners
6.9.2011	Dr Patricia Davison	Research Associate at IZIKO. Curator at S A Cultural History Museums at time of the transfer of ownership to the Groot Constantia Trust
9.9.2011	Hannetjie du Preez	Employed at the National Monuments Council as Regional Manager at the time of the transfer of ownership to the Groot Constantia Trust, trustee of the Groot Constantia Trust, currently the Chief Director, Cultural Affairs at the South African Department of Cultural Affairs and one of the role players during the process whereby Groot Constantia was inscribed for inclusion as a World Heritage Site
5.9.2011	Myrtle Edwards	Teacher at the Groot Constantia Museum School since its inception in 1981, currently employed by the Centre for Conservation Education in Wynberg, Cape Town
1.9.2011	Dr Gabriël Fagan	Member of the Groot Constantia Control Board at time of the transfer of ownership to the Groot Constantia Trust. Involved with the 1992-1994 restorations at Groot Constantia by Revel Fox and Partners. Known as Gawie Fagan.
1.9.2011	Dr Gwendoline Fagan	Involved with the 1992-1994 restorations at Groot Constantia by Revel Fox and Partners. Known as Gwen Fagan
22.11.2011	Joan Hemming	Ward Councillor in 1993 for the Constantia Valley (Ward 10) and representative of the Constantia Property Owners Association during the process whereby Groot Constantia was inscribed for inclusion as a World Heritage Site
13.9.2011	Ashley Lilley	Employed by the National Monuments Council at time of the 1992-1994 restorations by Revel Fox and Partners and the transfer of ownership to the Groot Constantia Trust

26.9.2011	Bruce Milne	Revel Fox and Partners architect directly involved with the 1992-1994 restorations at Groot Constantia
13.9.2011	Jean Naude	Chief Executive Officer, Groot Constantia Trust. Responsible for the management of the Estate.
9.1.2012	Emilia Smuts	Employed at Groot Constantia from 1992-1994 to 2001, first as Administrative Officer and later as Company Secretary to the Groot Constantia Trust. Acted as liaison between the Groot Constantia Trust and the S A Cultural History Museum
15.9.2011	Wieke van Delen	Curator employed by S A Cultural History Museums and responsible for curating at Groot Constantia at the time of the 1992-1994 restorations at Groot Constantia by Revel Fox and Partners and the transfer of ownership to the Groot Constantia Trust. Liaised between the S A Cultural History Museum and Revel Fox and Partners.
28.9.2011	Matthys van der Merwe	Employed by IZIKO as curator. With S A Cultural History Museums and involved with curating at Groot Constantia at the time of the 1992-1994 restorations at Groot Constantia by Revel Fox and Partners and the transfer of ownership to the Groot Constantia Trust
24.08.2011	Jacobus van Niekerk	Past member of the Groot Constantia Control Board and first Chairman of the Groot Constantia Trust
19.9.2011	Dr Dawid de Villiers	First Chairman of Groot Constantia Control Board, previously Chairman of Sasol - acronym for Suid-Afrikaanse Steenkool en Olie (South African Coal and Oil) - which was formed in 1950 by the National Party government, two years after it came into power, to produce fuel from South Africa's vast coal deposits. Dr de Villiers had started his career at Sasol as its first company secretary, then became managing director and later Chairman of Sasol. He was at the helm when Sasol was privatised. Dr De Villiers is known as 'Dik' (Afrikaans for Broad) Dawid